

Women and the Roman City in the Latin West



Edited by

EMILY HEMELRIJK

GREG WOOLF

BRILL

Women and the Roman City in the Latin West

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Hans van Wees, University College London

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Cover illustration: Detail of a niche portrait in the church in Neumarkt im Tauchental, Austria, late 2nd cent. AD, showing a mother (left) and daughter (right) wearing native Norican dress and the bonnets of the Flavia Solva region (Photograph © ubi-erat-lupa.org).

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PREFACE

The chapters gathered in this volume originated in papers and posters presented to the conference on 'Gender and the Roman city: women and civic life in Italy and the western provinces', which was held in the University of Amsterdam on 14–17 December 2011. Thanks are due to the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research for funding both the conference and the research project of Emily Hemelrijk 'Hidden lives—public *personae*: women in the urban texture of the Roman Empire', of which the conference was part. All contributions have been rewritten, in some cases extensively, and a few additional papers have been added from a selection of the posters presented at the conference. The presentations of Annetta Alexandridis (Cornell University): 'Girls and the City: The Public Representation of Women in the Making' and Jane Fejfer (University of Copenhagen) 'Public representation of women in the Roman West: how to choose statuary bodies and portrait styles' will be published elsewhere. Part of the editing took place at the Fondation Hardt. We are very grateful to the Fondation and its staff for creating a tranquil and scholarly atmosphere so conducive to this enterprise. We also wish to express our gratitude to Rianne Hermans, Roel Salemink and Anna Sparreboom of the University of Amsterdam for their invaluable and cheerful help at various stages of the conference organization and to Maria Sherwood-Smith for so carefully correcting the English of some of the contributions. Inge Mennen and Anna Sparreboom assisted us in the preparation of the manuscript and Anna Sparreboom also compiled the index. Caroline van Erp at Brill and Laurie Meijers and Johannes Rustenburg of TAT Zetwerk cheerfully and efficiently helped us through the production process. Our cordial thanks to all.

Emily Hemelrijk
Greg Woolf

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The names of ancient authors and works are abbreviated according to the standard practice used in the Liddell-Scott-Jones' *A Greek-English Lexicon* and Lewis and Short's *A Latin Dictionary*. Abbreviations of periodicals are those of *L'Année philologique*.

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut</i> (Berlin).
AArchHung	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest).
AC	<i>L'Antiquité Classique</i> (Brussels).
AE	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> (Paris 1888–).
AFLM	<i>Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università di Macerata</i> (Pisa).
AIIN	<i>Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica</i> (Rome).
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i> (Boston, Mass.)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> (Berlin and New York 1972–1997).
AntAfr	<i>Antiquités Africaines</i> (Paris).
ArchClass	<i>Archeologica Classica</i> (Rome).
ATN	<i>Archaeological Textiles Newsletter</i>
AvPergamon	Habicht, C., <i>Altertümer von Pergamon</i> 8, 3: Die Inschriften des Asklepieions (Berlin 1969).
BASP	<i>The Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists</i> (Oakville, Conn.).
BCAR	<i>Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma</i> (Rome).
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondence Hellénique. Athènes</i> (Paris).
BCTH	<i>Bulletin du Comité des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques</i> (Paris).
BÉFAR	<i>Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome</i>
BRGK	<i>Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission / Deutsches Archäologisches Institut</i> (Mainz).
BSAF	<i>Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France</i> (Paris).
C&M	<i>Classica et Mediaevalia: Revue Danoise de Philologie et d'Histoire</i> (Copenhagen).
CArch	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i> (Paris).
CCG	<i>Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz</i> (Paris).
CMG	<i>Corpus Medicorum Graecorum</i>
Cic. Bob.	Th. Stangl, <i>Ciceronis orationum scholiastae: Asconius, Scholia bobiensia, Scholia Pseudoasconii sangallensia, Scholia cluniacensia et recentiora ambrosiana ac vaticana, Scholia lugdunensia sive</i>

	<i>gronoviana et eorum excerpta lugdunensia. Commentarios continens</i> (Hildesheim 1964).
CIIP	H.M. Cotton et al., <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae/Palaestinae</i> (Berlin and New York 2010–).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin 1863–).
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i> (Berkeley, California).
CSIR	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani</i> .
D or Dessau	= ILS
EAD	<i>Exploration archéologique de Délos</i> .
EAOR	<i>Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano</i> (Rome 1988–).
EMC	<i>Échos du Monde Classique</i> = <i>Classical Views</i> (Calgary, Alta.).
EOS	<i>EOS: organ Polskiego Towarzystwa Filologicznego</i> (Warszawa, Polskie).
AnnuaireEPHE	<i>Annuaire École pratique des hautes études</i> (Paris).
EPRO	<i>Études Préliminaires aux Religions Orientales dans l'Empire Romain</i> .
Esp.	Esperandieu, E., <i>Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine</i> (Paris 1907–1981).
FOS	Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-Th., <i>Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier–Ile siècles)</i> (2 vols) (Louvain 1987).
IHC	E. Hübner, <i>Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae</i> (Berlin 1871).
ILA Lectoure	G. Fabre, P. Sillières, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine: Lectoure</i> (Bordeaux 2000).
ILAf	<i>Inscriptions latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> (Paris 1923).
ILAlg	<i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> (Paris 1922–).
ILAlg 2.3	H.G. Pflaum and X. Dupuis, <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie II 3. Inscriptions de la confédération Cirtéennne, de Cuicul et de la tribu des Suburbures</i> , Paris 2003.
ILB	Deman, A. and Raepsaet-Charlier, M.-T., <i>Les inscriptions latines de Belgique</i> (Brussels 1985).
ILCV	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> (Berlin 1925–1967).
ILLRP	A. Degrassi, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (Florence 2. Aufl. 1965).
ILMMalaga	<i>Inscripciones Latinas del Museo de Málaga</i> (Madrid 1981).
ILPaestum	<i>Le Iscrizioni Latine di Paestum</i> (Naples 1968–1969).
IMEM	<i>Proceedings of the Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire c. 200 BC–AD 476)</i> .
IMustis	<i>Mustitana</i> . Recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis, cité romaine de Tunisie, <i>Karthago</i> 14, 1965/66, 121–224 (= Paris 1968).
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (3 vols), ed. H. Dessau (Berlin 1892–1916).
InsDelos	Roussel, R., Launey, M., <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (Paris 1937).
InscrIt	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> (Rome 1931–).
ISIS	A. Helttula, <i>Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola sacra</i> (Rome 2007).

JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> (Berlin).
JRGZ	<i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz</i> (Bonn).
JS	<i>Journal des Savants</i> (Paris).
Lindos	Blinkenberg, C., <i>Lindos. Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914, 2: Inscriptions</i> (Berlin-Copenhagen 1941).
LUPA	<i>Ubi Erat Lupa</i> . F. and O. Harl, www.ubi-erat-lupa.org (Picture database of antique stone monuments).
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.).
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole Française de Rome</i> (Paris).
NSc	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</i> .
OPEL	Lörincz, B. and Redö, F., <i>Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum</i> (Budapest 1994).
ORom	<i>Opuscula Romana: annual of the Swedish Institute in Rome</i> (Sävedalen).
Paestum	<i>Le Iscrizioni Latine di Paestum</i> (Naples 1968–1969).
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> (London).
PCPhS	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i> (Cambridge).
PIR	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III</i> (1897–1899, second edition 1933–).
Proc.Soc.Ant.Scot.	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries Scotland</i> .
REL	<i>Revue des Etudes Latines</i> (Paris).
RHD	<i>Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis = Révue d'histoire du droit</i> (Dordrecht).
RMM	B. Pferdehirt, <i>Römische Militardiplome und Entlassungsurkunden in der Sammlung des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums</i> (Mainz 2004).
RPC	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> (London and Paris 1992–).
RSP	<i>Rivista di Studi Pompeiani</i> (Rome).
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–).
SHHA	<i>Studia historica. Historia Antiqua</i> (Salamanca).
SupIt	<i>Supplementa Italica</i>
TAM	E. Kalinka et al., <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (Vienna 1901–).
TaPhA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i> (Baltimore, Md.).
ThesCRA	Balty, J.Ch., <i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> (Los Angeles, 2004–).
TPSulp	G. Camodeca, <i>Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum</i> . Edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii (Rome 1999).

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INTRODUCTION

Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf

Most of the population of the Roman world did not live in cities. Yet cities remain fundamental to the investigation of Roman society. The reasons are clear enough. The administrative, economic and religious functions that were centralized in urban locations made them privileged areas of investment, places to set up statues, to inscribe laws and decrees, and to endow public buildings. This was true even in those parts of the empire where less than one in ten people inhabited a city, and where the permanent residents of most cities numbered in the low thousands. One consequence is that most of the evidence for Roman social and cultural history is to be found on the sites of Roman cities. Literary and even legal texts deal above all with the society of the metropolitan élites and the richest sectors of Italian and provincial society. If we wish to extend our enquiries beyond Rome and the cosmopolitan lives of the aristocracy, we must turn to epigraphy and to archaeological investigation, especially iconography, sculpture and architectural remains: evidence of this kind is concentrated in Roman cities.

The essays gathered in this book represent the fruits of a multidisciplinary attempt to investigate one dimension of the civic societies of late Republican Italy and the early imperial provinces: the roles played in them by women. Roman cities have only rarely been studied from that angle and we believe that investigation of the (limits of) civic participation by women greatly adds to the understanding of Roman urban life.* The broad chronological limits are set by the availability of several kinds of evidence, in particular Latin epigraphy, and we have centred our attention on western civic societies—with an occasional foray into the east for the representation of Italian citizens in Delos—because they display a certain level of similarity in their common use of legal and political institutions modelled on those of Republican and early imperial Rome. We are very aware how much else

* In the introduction, we refrain from citing the mass of earlier studies on Roman cities or Roman women, for which we refer to the individual papers of this volume. Yet it may be clear that we here implicitly refer to Riet van Bremen's groundbreaking 1996 study on *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*.

might be written, for example on the civic societies of the Greek East in the same period covered by this volume, or on the less civic and more Christian societies of the late antique west. But these are not the subjects of this book. We have also consciously (but not dogmatically) avoided the city of Rome, partly because of its exceptional nature—both as a city and as a body of evidence—but mostly because so much has already been written on the metropolis. The essays collected here speak for themselves. They have been composed by authors who have already been speaking to each other and to us, exploring points of convergence and difference between contributions, in the course of preparing their final versions. We will not do them the discourtesy of attempting to summarize each chapter in a single sentence. Instead, this introduction is intended to offer a little context and some modest general conclusions, as we see them.

Women never formed a society apart in the Roman world; they were part of their families and the social worlds of their friends and peers. Every chapter in this book therefore also deals with the social history of men. Indeed many contributions stress the relative absence of gender segregation in these societies. Women worshipped the same gods, in the same temples and at the same ceremonies as did men, even when their roles as participants were partly shaped by gender. Statues of female benefactors were set up alongside statues of their male counterparts. Those benefactors seem to have spent their money on very much the same sort of civic munificence, a mixture of buildings and festivals. When women travelled—which they clearly did—they mostly travelled alongside men. In fact and in representations, women were visible members of these societies. A few were prominent members of society in their own right too, with their own social networks of greater, equal and lesser friends, networks that might extend up to the women of the imperial family and downwards to female and male clients, freed and freeborn. This prominence is evident whether we focus on the forum or the cemetery, on public ceremonial or on private dining (where women, shockingly to some Greek observers, reclined together with their husbands and male and female friends). A social history that dealt uniquely with Roman women is difficult to imagine. Yet much Roman social history has begun by tacitly designating the ‘normal’ citizen, worshipper or benefactor as male, in the sense that females who occupied these roles are passed over in silence or marked out as exceptional. We are rather sceptical of this presumption. By approaching civic societies ‘from the other direction’, the perspective of women, we have aimed at a complementary and corrective emphasis.

Obviously, Roman societies were essentially patriarchal in the sense that men of high rank and distinguished family (especially the older ones with more wealth and more accumulated cultural capital than others) exercised disproportionate influence. But these qualifications immediately make clear that gender politics cannot be realistically explored independently of class politics or of the differentials between citizens and peregrines, between free, freed and enslaved and so on. If we ask from which spheres women were explicitly excluded, only one stands out, that is the political. Roman women—women that is in civic communities in the west—could not be magistrates, could not be members of town councils, could not exercise judicial functions. (If we were examining an earlier period we might want to stress their non-participation in assembly votes and in military service, but in these areas the Roman Empire had more or less eliminated the gender divide.) Formal political power in the city remained vital, and women were excluded.

But politics was not the only sphere in which power might be exercised. Roman woman of wealthy families exercised significant economic power as property owners in their own right, often with the capacity to use and dispose of a significant portion of the total property held in a family. Many Roman men must have been dependent on their wives and mothers, and those without surviving sons may have seen their capacity to influence the future as resting partly in their relations with their daughters. Roman law, as several contributions make clear, offered more freedom of manoeuvre to wealthy women than was the case elsewhere or even in many societies up to our days. We cannot assume that any woman who through a priesthood, a benefaction or a splendid funeral attracted public attention was simply being deployed as a pawn in games of dynastic rivalry orchestrated by male heads of household. A number of contributions identify women who, through holding priesthoods or by making benefactions, *chose* to make a mark on their communities and were honoured accordingly. Honours paid to these women, especially public statues and the explanatory *tituli*, show that the city councils and other members of civic societies recognised these contributions; and also their essentially voluntary nature, or more precisely, as voluntary as those of their male peers. In doing so, we should not assume that these women always acted on their own accord without consulting their male (and female) relatives, though most were legally entitled to do so. It makes more sense to regard them as full members of their familial networks, predisposed by affection and interest to form alliances with agnates and cognates, supporters that is of the projects and prominence of their kith and kin. But

it also makes sense to regard their male counterparts in this way. Women may not, in this sense, be so exceptional.

Civic societies were among the more complex social locales in the Roman world. The studies gathered in this collection do penetrate below the level of the urban élites, although we are acutely aware that epigraphy runs out before it describes the lives of the poorest women (and men). But some contributors have succeeded in revealing the role played by women in trade and manufacturing, in medicine and in the complex worlds surrounding the military. Gendering the Roman economy is in its early stages, but the studies gathered here demonstrate the potential of research that draws on as wide a range of material as possible and borrows from ethnography, archaeology, textile history, sociology and other disciplines as well as from history and classics. Gendering Roman religion, by contrast, has a longer pedigree. We are sensible of how much we have learned from very recent studies of priestesses in Italy and the provinces, and also of the participation of women in communal and private rituals. Partly for this reason religion occupies a smaller part of this book than it might have done, and the papers that deal with it focus on the gendering of ritual rather than on priesthoods and honours. This is not to say we take the religious roles of women less seriously, simply that there is so much else to discuss.

The papers gathered in this volume examine a great range of evidence for women's various contributions to civic life, their priesthoods, patronage, travels, benefactions, professional life, dress and public representation. We have tried not to be doctrinaire about the limits of civic society. Camps like Vindolanda were in many respects more urban than many of the smaller cities in the west. Women and children lived there alongside soldiers; markets and festivals took place, and as some contributors show the lives of women in military environments were not completely unlike the lives they came from and hoped to return to. Equally, although non-imperial women in the local cities take centre stage, the city of Rome and the women of the imperial family are touched upon occasionally, and although our focus is western, the island of Delos—long an outpost of Italian society in the east—, also features. Neither we nor the contributors have set out to describe a uniquely western Roman style of womanhood or to make of the civic location of our evidence more than a convenient and temporary analytical category. Rather, we hope to further similar approaches also for other parts and periods of the ancient world. With this volume, we aim to contribute to an integrated approach of the study of Roman urban society and that of Roman women, by both looking at the local Roman cities from the

perspective of women and gender, and studying women within their social and civic context. We look forward to reading further expansions of gendered Roman social history in the future.

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PART I

CIVIC ROLES

THE ROLE OF WOMEN AS MUNICIPAL *MATRES**

Francesca Cenerini

The focus of this article is the use of the titles *mater* and *parens*, awarded to prominent women as means of describing (and creating) relationships between them and civic communities. Women could play important roles in the public life of Roman cities in the West, and some of them were rewarded with the title *mater*. As is well known, the titles of *mater* or *patrona collegii* are also recorded; they indicate a close relationship between these women and the *collegia*. Emily Hemelrijk has shown that unlike the *patrona* of a *collegium*, who was of high rank, the *matres* were “mostly social climbers from within the ranks of the *collegium*”.¹ Much attention has been paid to municipal patronesses in the recent literature; for this reason, I have chosen to analyse the role of the *matres coloniae vel municipii* in greater depth.²

My focus here is on a small group of Latin inscriptions that attest to the use of the terms *mater* or *parens* to indicate an institutional relationship between the woman mentioned in the inscriptions and the town. In a recent article in *Hermes*, Hemelrijk drew attention to the fact that terms in common use to define family relationships, such as *mater* or *parens*, were used in some towns of the Roman Empire to indicate a particular bond between the woman and the town in question. The true meaning of this bond, however, is essentially still unknown.³ Similarly, the studies of Riet van Bremen have shown that the titles “mother of the city”, “mother of the people” or “mother of the council”, as well as “father”, “son” or “daughter” of the city, and so on, were especially prevalent in the towns of the eastern part of the Roman Empire during the second century AD.⁴ Van Bremen has argued that the relatively rare title “municipal mother” was awarded to generous benefactresses; the title “municipal daughter” or an equivalent, on the other hand, was more common and implied a more formal involvement

* I am very grateful to Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf for their helpful suggestions. Any errors that might remain are my sole responsibility.

¹ Hemelrijk (2008) 115.

² Nicols (1989); Hemelrijk (2004a); Hemelrijk (2004b); Hemelrijk (2010).

³ Hemelrijk (2010).

⁴ Van Bremen (1996) 167–169.

of the town, which “adopted” a son or a daughter who was bound to provide for the various needs of the town itself. So, from the first century AD, some elite women were integrated into the municipal life of the Hellenistic towns, not only by entrusting them with liturgies and public offices, especially sacerdotal positions, but also on an ideological level, through the extension of the familial lexicon to the public field.

In this paper, I will focus on the analysis of a selection of documents from Italy, in order to examine their possible meaning. These are five Latin inscriptions: three of them include the term *mater*, and on one it has been reconstructed; the final inscription includes the term *parens*. This incidence is far less than for some other comparable titles.

- (1) CIL 11, 407: *Cantiae / L.f. Saturninae / matri coloniae / flaminicae / sacerdoti divae Plotinae / hic et Foro Sempronii. / D(ecurionum) d(ecreto) / p(ublice)*.

This inscription, which has been lost, was documented by humanist copyists (Marcanova, Ferrarini) on the *porta S. Bartoli* in Rimini. This was an ancient gateway of the medieval walls that surrounded the town, in which many epigraphic monuments originally situated in the *forum* of the Roman colony of *Ariminium* had been reused. Cantia Saturnina was honoured at public expense (*publice*)⁵ in a public place (presumably the forum of *Ariminium*), at the decree of the local senate (*decreto decurionum*). We do not have any information about the exact configuration of the monument: if the layout of the inscription as recorded by the humanists corresponds to the original layout (which is far from certain), we may assume that it was inscribed in the base of a statue of Cantia Saturnina.

It is known, as Marcella Chelotti and Alfredo Buonopane put it, that “uno dei pochi onori ufficiali concessi a donne era, come è noto, l’erezione di una statua in un luogo pubblico” (one of the few official honours accorded to women was the erection of a statue in a public place),⁶ and that this honour was often awarded to priestesses and *flaminicae* (priestesses of the imperial cult). The honour dates back to the year 35 BC, when, at a time of civil war, Octavian honoured the two women who could assure him a blood successor, his sister Octavia and his wife Livia, by awarding them *sacrosanctitas*, inviolability, hitherto the prerogative of the tribunes of the people, together with other legal privileges and the right to a public image.⁷ In the local cities throughout the Roman Empire, the dedication of statues

⁵ Caldelli (2008) 278.

⁶ Chelotti and Buonopane (2008) 641.

⁷ Scheid (2003); Cenerini (2009a) 20; Cooley (2009) 148.

was decreed by the *ordo decurionum* (as in the case of Cantia Saturnina). The ongoing relationship between a city and a benefactor consisted of reciprocal exchanges in which public recognition (including statues and honorific inscriptions) played a key role. But these honours did not “pay off” the obligation, and might be used to encourage further benefactions. This widely studied phenomenon is known as ‘euergetism’ and was also open to women, especially the priestesses of the imperial cult, who were honoured by the municipal community or by a part of it.⁸

On Cantia Saturnina’s inscription we read, after her name, the title ‘mother of the city’, and a reference to her flaminiate and priesthood in the cult of *diva Plotina*, Trajan’s wife, who died in AD 123 and was immediately deified by Hadrian. Plotina had played a decisive role in Hadrian’s succession in AD 117, and he honoured her after her death with the title *diva mater* on specially minted golden coins.⁹ Hadrian himself pronounced her funeral oration,¹⁰ praising her fidelity, modesty, and culture. Cantia Saturnina fulfilled the imperial priesthood in *Ariminium* (Rimini) and in *Forum Sempronii*, today’s Fossombrone not far from Rimini, along the *via Flaminia* in the Metaurus valley.

- (2) CIL 11, 408: [D(is)] M(anibus) / [Cla]udia Ti(beri) filiae) / [---]nillae flam(inicae) / [matri? co]lon(iae) Aug(ustae) Arim/[ini et (?) sace]r(doti) divae Sabinae. / T(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).

This funerary inscription is found in Castellabate, along the coast road connecting Rimini and Ravenna. The inscription is currently impossible to trace at the Museum of Rimini, but we have a photograph (Fig. 1), taken in 1974, which clearly shows that it is the right-hand side of the front of a sarcophagus (of the type known as a chest sarcophagus, very common in Cisalpina). The inscription is inscribed in a *tabula ansata*, held up by putti.

The interpretation of this inscription is complex,¹¹ since it is difficult to calculate how many letters are missing. We can read: [D(is)] M(anibus). / [Cla]udia Ti(beri) filiae) / [---]nillae flam/[inic(ae) co]lon(iae) Aug(ustae) Arim/[ini sace]r(doti) divae Sabinae. / T(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit). However, if the point engraved by the stonecutter between D(is) and M(anibus) marks

⁸ Veyne (1976); Lomas and Cornell (2003); Hemelrijk (2005); Hemelrijk (2006); Melchor Gil (2008); Melchor Gil (2009).

⁹ Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien, MK 8622, aureus (134–138 AD): O/ Divo Traiano Augusti patri; R/ Divae Plotinae Augusti matri. See Morelli (2009) 96–97, fig. 35.

¹⁰ SHA Hadr. 12.2.

¹¹ I am very grateful to Werner Eck for his comments and criticism concerning this inscription.



Fig. 2.1. The front of a chest sarcophagus found near Rimini from Rebecchi (1989) 391, fig. 70.

the exact centre of the inscription, we may suppose that more than three letters are missing from the second line. In analogy with the foregoing inscription (*CIL* 11, 407), E. Bormann, the editor of the *CIL* volume, suggested reading [*matri co*]lon(iae) at the beginning of the fourth line. As mentioned above, we cannot be sure whether there is enough space for this word. The deceased woman is the daughter of a certain Tiberius, *flaminica*, mother of the Augustan colony of Rimini (in the opinion of Bormann), and priestess of *diva Sabina*, Hadrian's wife, who died and was deified between AD 136 and 137.¹² The deceased had been laid in the sarcophagus in accordance with an explicit provision in her will. Other archaeological material found in the same context (ceramic finds and bronze coins) suggests that the sarcophagus came either from a local necropolis or a depository of stone material collected for calcination in Late Antiquity.¹³

- (3) *CIL* 11, 5752: *Avidiae C(ai) f(iliae) Tertulliae / flam(inicae) matri municipal(i) / ordo Vviral(is) / ob merita eius.*

The text of this inscription in *Sentinum*, today's Sassoferrato in the Marche region, has come down to us through modern copyists (the inscription

¹² Cenerini (2009a) 105–107.

¹³ Rebecchi (1977) 107–114, tav. 54.1.

itself has been lost).¹⁴ Avidia Tertullia, daughter of Caius, is honoured by the municipal order of *seviri Augustales*, due to her otherwise unspecified merits. She was a *flaminica* and was awarded the title of *mater municipalis*.

- (4) AE 1998, 416: *Numis[iae] / Secunda[e] / Sabina[e] / Claudii Liber[alis] ? (scil. uxori)] / sacerdoti Aug(ustae), m[at]ri / municipii et colon[iae] / Interamnitii[m] / Praetuttianor[um] / ob munificentia[m] / huic primae omni[um] / plebs Praetuttian[a] / mulierum aere coll[ato] / statu[am] posuit; o[b] cuius] / dedica[tionem] sin[gul]is / HS (sestertios) IIII n[ummos d]edit. / L(ocus) [d(atus) d(ecurionum)] d(ecreto).*

This inscription is found on a marble slab covering an honorary statue base found near *Interamna Praetuttiorum*, today's Teramo in the Abruzzo region.¹⁵ It refers to the dedication of a statue to Numisia Secunda Sabina, wife of Claudius Liberalis, who is described as *sacerdos Augustae* (priestess of the empress) and *mater* of the *municipium* and of the colony. The double institutional definition, *municipium* and *colonia*, which is also found in other inscriptions from Teramo, corresponds to the civic situation of the area. The town had become a *municipium* after the Social War; subsequently, in the days of Sulla, a colony with its own institutions was established within the territory of the town.

The reason for the dedication is Numisia Secunda Sabina's munificence, which prompted the *plebs Praetuttiana* to erect a statue for her with money collected by women among themselves (*mulierum aere collato*).¹⁶ This was the first time the people of Teramo had set up a statue for a woman (*primae omnium*).¹⁷ In accordance with the euergetic practices of the day, the benefactress responded to the dedication of the statue with further monetary donations, in this case four sesterces *pro capite*. The inscription dates from the second half of the second century AD. We may ask whether the money collected by the women is in some way related to the title *mater coloniae et municipii* accorded to Numisia Secunda. My own interpretation is that the munificence that inspired the statue was lavished on the female element of the *plebs* of Teramo, according to the well-known pattern of reciprocity in the relationship between the dedicator and the person receiving the

¹⁴ Petracchia (2010) 54.

¹⁵ Buonocore (1998).

¹⁶ Berrendoner (2008).

¹⁷ Thonemann (2010) 177, n. 57 prefers to take the word *mulierum* with *omnium*, 'first of all women', i.e. *huic primae omnium mulierum // plebs Praetuttiana aere collato statuem posuit*, but my interpretation is that the money was collected only by the women of the people.

dedication.¹⁸ The prominent woman Numisia Secunda Sabina benefited the women of Teramo and was awarded the strongly gendered title of mother of the whole city in recompense.

- (5) *CIL* 11, 7993: [Cae]siae C(ai)f(iliae) / [S]abinae / [p]arenti municipii / dec(urionum) decr(eto).

This inscription is from *Fulginiae*, today's Foligno, in the region of Umbria. Caesia Sabina, daughter of Caius and municipal *parens*, has been honoured by decurial decree, probably with a statue (the inscription is engraved on a square base). The honorific title *parens municipii* is highly prestigious. It resembles the well-known title accorded to Agrippa by the Spanish town of Gades: *patronus et parens municipii*.¹⁹ Similarly, between 2 BC and AD 14, the *magistri Augustales* in *Falerii Novi*, between present-day Civita Castellana and Fabrica di Roma in Etruria honoured Augustus himself with the title *pater patriae et municipii*.²⁰ In the opinion of Ivan Di Stefano Manzella,²¹ this title alludes to a particular bond between the town and Augustus, probably established during the civil wars. Therefore, we cannot exclude the possibility that one of the reasons for the decree in *Fulginiae* arises from the fact that Sabina belonged to the *gens Caesia* which, in the most important Umbrian towns (*Spoletium*, *Mevania*, *Asisium*, *Sestinum*, *Sarsina*), had been part of the ruling municipal elite since the triumviral period.²²

One further inscription, in Chiusi,²³ also refers to a woman as the mother of the town: *L(ucia) Fonteia Concordia*, a wife who was *casta, pudica, sapiens, uno contenta marito ... quem semper cives matrem appellaverunt*. However, I have chosen to omit this from my corpus since, due both to its later date (in the third or fourth century AD) and differing context (as a Christian inscription), in my opinion it should not be interpreted within the present context.

To recapitulate: in the towns of the Roman Empire we find few attestations of *matres municipii* or *coloniae*. All of these are in Italy: one or two are found in Rimini, one in Sentino (the woman is called *mater municipalis*), and one in Teramo; a female *parens municipii* is documented in Foligno. Four of these five municipal mothers hold priesthoods—priestesses

¹⁸ Cenerini (2005) 487.

¹⁹ Roddaz (1984) 604: 'Il faut certainement lier cette commémoration à une réorganisation du municipio gaditan par le "co-régent", au moment de son séjour dans la Péninsule.'

²⁰ *CIL* 11, 3083.

²¹ Di Stefano Manzella (1981) 133–134.

²² Cenerini (1996) 235–244.

²³ *CIL* 11, 2538 = *ILCV* 1578a.

of *diva Plotina*, *diva Sabina*, and of an *Augusta*, as well as a *flaminica nude dicta*—whereas we have no information about a possible priesthood of Caesia Sabina. In seeking to understand the meaning of the title of *mater* of a city, it is helpful to reflect on two new developments of the early principate: the prominence of imperial women and their images, and the role played by some very wealthy women in civic euergetism.

I shall begin with imperial women. It is well known that from the reign of Augustus the female relatives of the *princeps* acquired public roles that were no longer limited to the religious sphere. Augustus used his wife Livia and his daughter Iulia to promote the supposedly traditional family values represented in the controversial family law legislation passed in 18 BC.²⁴ Livia and Iulia were represented as embodying “the notion of motherhood which ... combines discipline and authority with motherly love and care”²⁵ and were given prominent roles. This included organizing public banquets for the women of Rome during the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC, in which special emphasis was attached to the *matres familias* (literally mothers of families).²⁶ From the beginning, imperial women were key figures at the imperial court, where the government’s politics and ideology were articulated.²⁷ Their function went beyond providing legitimate heirs to the emperor to serving as exemplary models of behaviour for all Roman women, and their importance was acknowledged in the new ceremonial of the principate. Livia played a fundamental role, both in her husband’s lifetime and after his death when, as decreed in her husband’s will, her name was changed to *Iulia Augusta* and she became the first priestess of the cult of the *divus Augustus*. Nicholas Purcell,²⁸ in a famous article, argued that in Rome she had a special role in relation not only to the city as a whole but also to its *matronae* in particular. Her importance under Tiberius is signalled by her prominence in the *Tabula Siarensis* of AD 19 and also in the *senatus consultum de Cnaeo Pisone patre* of AD 20; here Livia’s patronage is highlighted and she is praised as the mother of Tiberius and the author of many *beneficia* towards all the *ordines*.²⁹ Livia’s position as a patroness was a new one, in that she was physically close to the *princeps* and also provided a model of behaviour for those women in the various cities of the empire who were ideologically and economically capable of emulating her euergetism.

²⁴ Spagnuolo Vigorita (2010³).

²⁵ Hemelrijk (2010) 455.

²⁶ Cooley (2009) 206.

²⁷ Pani (2011) 127.

²⁸ Purcell (1986).

²⁹ Cenerini (2009a) 35–39.

Imperial women remained prominent in succeeding reigns. Gaius awarded special honours to his sisters, inserting their names in the oath formulas and portraying them on coins, allegorized as traditional virtues.³⁰ Drusilla was deified after her death (AD 38) and the ceremonies accorded her provided a model for those of other *divae* on the occasion of their *dies natales*. Claudius deified his paternal grandmother Livia, and her statue was placed in the temple dedicated to the *divus Augustus*.³¹ The public roles of Claudius's wives Messalina and Agrippina aroused the censure of ancient writers.³² But the granting of the title of *Augusta* in life and the *post mortem* divinization of imperial women became quite common from the Flavians onwards, their birthdays being solemnly celebrated under the Flavians, the Antonini and the Severi in ceremonies that involved the municipalities and the colonies.³³ I have written elsewhere of the full range of honours accorded the imperial women of the first two centuries AD.³⁴

The public recognition bestowed on imperial women by the cities of the empire emerges especially clearly in the speech delivered by Hadrian on the occasion of the erection of a statue to his mother-in-law, Matidia, by the inhabitants of Tivoli, in whose territory Hadrian's villa stood.³⁵ The usual praise is given for her *castitas* and *pietas*, but the city of Tivoli also explicitly recognizes Matidia's role in relations between city and emperor. Matidia's very wealthy daughter, Matidia Minor, was a benefactress in her own right: among other things, she provided for the reconstruction of the theatre of Suessa Aurunca at her own expense, and we can suppose that she made an active contribution to the restructuring of the ports in Campania requested by Antoninus Pius, of whom she proclaimed herself *matertera*.³⁶ It became common for cities to pay cult to imperial women, the role of priestesses commonly being taken on by rich local benefactresses, who thereby enjoyed a prestigious social ranking in their cities.³⁷

The imperial priestesses bring us to the second of my explanatory contexts, the participation of wealthy women in civic euergetism. Private fund-

³⁰ *RIC* 1², 33.

³¹ Dio Cass. 60.5.2. Her honours were modelled on those granted to Augustus: *aviae Liviae divinos honores et circensi pompa currum elephantorum Augustino similem decernenda curavit*, according to Suet. *Claud.* 11.2.

³² Cenerini (2009a) 47–82.

³³ Arena (2010) 32.

³⁴ Cenerini (2009a) 95–130.

³⁵ *CIL* 14, 3579; Jones (2004).

³⁶ Chausson (2008).

³⁷ Hemelrijk (2005), Hemelrijk (2006).

ing played an essential role in providing the cities of Italy and the provinces with what had come to be thought of as essential amenities.³⁸ Cities were compelled to draw on the wealth of all those with significant property, including those—like women and former slaves—who were ineligible for municipal office and so could not be asked to make *pollicitationes* or required to fund *munera*.³⁹ It is now clear that each act of municipal euergetism needs to be explained in terms of the local situation,⁴⁰ and also that this requires careful interpretation of individual monumental and epigraphic testimonies.⁴¹ It would perhaps prove fruitful to compare this situation with the relationship between women and the professional colleges.⁴² Each city found its own ways to benefit from the female (and libertine) wealth within its own territory.⁴³ These expedients included institutions like the *seviri Augustales*,⁴⁴ as well as devising appropriate titles for female benefactors. Changing fashions in building types are well documented, as are instances of emulation between different cities and even *gentes* within individual cities.⁴⁵ Imitating the kinds of honorific titles that emperors gave to their female relatives could provide another strategy.

This combination of the models provided by imperial women, the involvement of some prominent municipal women in the cult of the *divae*, and the need of some municipalities to find ways to honour local benefactresses provide key contexts for understanding the inscriptions from which this paper took its start. The monuments on which the inscriptions feature offered a rare public setting for recognizing women's contribution.⁴⁶ Female euergetism was driven by the same motives as that of their male counterparts, and honours for women not only enhanced their personal *dignitas*, but also contributed more widely to that of their families, as well as to the

³⁸ "There can be little doubt that in their conceptualization of cities the Romans required them to have a monumental centre in order to qualify for civic status", Edmondson (2006) 251. For building development, see Jouffroy (1986).

³⁹ "Women were not strictly speaking members of the local civic body (*populus*), but this did not stop the mothers, wives, daughters, and sisters of the elite from playing a prominent role in the public life of their communities. They, like their male relatives, funded a number of building projects and sponsored various public spectacles and civic events ... and they were able to make an independent contribution to the welfare of their communities." Edmondson (2006) 274.

⁴⁰ See Lomas and Cornell (2003).

⁴¹ Eck (1997).

⁴² Cenerini (2009b) 120–148.

⁴³ Melchor Gil (2009), focusing on Hispania.

⁴⁴ Mouritsen (2011) 248–260.

⁴⁵ Lomas (2003) 38–42.

⁴⁶ Cenerini (2006).

creation of a collective civic memory and the affirmation of a “regime of notables”.⁴⁷ But the question remains of why specifically—taking these general contexts into account—a small number of Italian cities made use of the title of *mater coloniae* or *municipii*. Evidently this title combines a physiological aspect (maternity) with an institutional one (the city). Can the title perhaps be connected with the contemporaneous creation of the *alimenta*, an institution explicitly aimed at promoting the raising of children in the cities of Italy, and which also depended on a partnership between emperor and local elites?⁴⁸ The emphasis on peace and prosperity is further underlined by the fact that in the iconography of the schemes the emperor “appears only in his civil aspect”.⁴⁹ Might we see some ideological resonance between the titles *mater coloniae* and *pueri et puellae alimentarii*? Cassius Dio stresses Trajan’s desire to foster “better citizens”.⁵⁰ And the first *mater coloniae* attested was a *sacerdos divae Plotinae*.

It was not until the second century that maternity became prominent in the titulature of imperial women. After Augustus’ death, it was proposed that Livia should be awarded the title “mother of the country” (*mèter tès patrídos*) or *gonéa* (literally “ancestress”),⁵¹ but Tiberius refused.⁵² Cassius Dio asserts that a few senators hailed Livia as “mother of the country” because she had saved many of them, fed their children, and contributed to their daughters’ dowries.⁵³ In the provinces, Livia was awarded similar titles: she appears as *mater patriae* on *dupondii* minted in *Leptis Magna*,⁵⁴ and bears the title *genetrix orbis* on *dupondii* minted by Iulia Romula⁵⁵ in Spain. But this was clearly not an official title in Rome. It was only in the second half of the second century AD that the imperial chancellery started to create a broader spectrum of female titles, perhaps because the title *Augusta* had become devalued through overuse.⁵⁶ In AD 174, Faustina Minor, the wife

⁴⁷ Melchor Gil (2009).

⁴⁸ “That institution (*scil. alimenta*) involved the marshalling of local resources more than direct imperial payment and provides unique insight into the relationship between the emperor and the municipal ruling class”, Dyson (2005) 622.

⁴⁹ Woolf (1990) 223–225.

⁵⁰ Dio Cass. 68.5.4 cf. Patterson (2003) 99.

⁵¹ Dio Cass. 57.12.4–6.

⁵² Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1. Tacitus attributes Tiberius’ reluctance to honour his mother to the view that *feminarum honores* had to be assessed with due caution.

⁵³ Dio Cass. 58.2.3.

⁵⁴ *RPC* 1, 209, n. 849.

⁵⁵ *RPC* 1, 80, n. 73.

⁵⁶ Kuhoff (1993).

of Marcus Aurelius, was awarded the titles *mater Caesaris* and *mater castrorum* (mother of the army). Indeed, for the first time in the second century AD the *Augusta* Faustina was the natural mother of the emperor, Commodus who succeeded his father Marcus. Iulia Domna, wife of Septimius Severus and mother of Caracalla, was honoured as *mater Augusti nostri et castrorum et senatus et patriae*.⁵⁷ The title *mater castrorum* attributed to Faustina Minor was both a recognition of the fundamental role played by the army and also a guarantor of dynastic stability. The multiple maternities of Faustina Minor were presented as an omen of prosperity and wellbeing for the whole empire: after her death and divinization in AD 176, an altar was dedicated to her in Rome and brides to be were encouraged to sacrifice at this altar with their fiancés.⁵⁸ *Diva Faustina* thus became a protector of the weddings that would be celebrated in Rome and in the cities of the Empire, as an inscription from Ostia makes clear.⁵⁹ It is impossible to trace exact connections between the new titles of imperial women and the honours bestowed on civic benefactresses. However, the nexus of connections I have highlighted in this paper is highly suggestive.

After the end of second century AD, the “mothers of the town” no longer appear in the epigraphic record. But patronesses remain well represented, continuing to take upon themselves the interests of their cities. The communities’ choice of such women as *patronae* was motivated by their wealth, their family’s influence and, as observed by Emily Hemelrijk,⁶⁰ by reasons “that transcended their gender”. But as I stated at the beginning of the present article, their role implies a more accentuated role in political mediation than that played by the maternal benefactresses.

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⁵⁷ Cenerini (2005) 488–489.

⁵⁸ Cenerini (2009a) 122.

⁵⁹ Cébeillac-Gervasoni, Caldelli and Zevi (2010) 196–197.

⁶⁰ Hemelrijk (2004b) 235.

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WOMEN BEYOND ROME:
TREND-SETTERS OR DEDICATED FOLLOWERS OF FASHION?*

Alison E. Cooley

Introduction: Women as Public Benefactors in Italy

One of the most striking changes in city life in Italy between the first century BC and second century AD is the emergence of women as public benefactors and patrons. Between 150 BC and AD 150, the towns of Italy were transformed, with the construction of temples, *fora*, basilicas, theatres, baths, and amphitheatres, to name only some of the features of a typical townscape.¹ For the first hundred years or so of this process, men led the way, whether in their capacity as local magistrates supervising public building programmes, or as private benefactors paying for public buildings from their own funds.² By the second century AD, however, women had come into prominence, with the result that by the Antonine period we find public statues, building-inscriptions, and architectural designs all featuring the names and images of women in the towns of Italy and the western provinces.³ From the mid-second century AD, some women were so integrated into civic life as to be co-opted as patrons of towns and of *collegia*,⁴ or to be named 'City Mother',⁵ although the holding of municipal magistracies remained barred to them. Women acted as benefactors mostly towards their home-towns (or those of their husbands), contributing substantial sums of money towards public buildings, distributions, alimentary schemes, and feasts.⁶ The deification of

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¹ Patterson (2006) ch. 2.

² Alföldy (1997); Pobjoy (2000); Lomas (2003).

³ Cf. Hemelrijk, this volume.

⁴ Hemelrijk (2004a), (2004b), (2008); Raepsaet-Charlier (2005) 201–202, (2008).

⁵ Cf. Cenerini, this volume, Hemelrijk (2010).

⁶ Raepsaet-Charlier (2005) 202–203.

imperial women created a new avenue through which women might make a contribution to public life as their priestesses.⁷ Such priesthoods echoed aspects of local magistracies, with holders paying an entry fee on taking up office, making a variety of financial contributions to a town, and, in turn, being honoured with statues or public funerals.⁸

This chapter will explore the chronology and mechanisms whereby the fundamental shift occurred which resulted in the integration of women into the public space and municipal life of towns outside Rome. A single simple explanation will not suffice, since this shift should be viewed against a broad context of social, economic, political, and legal factors. Such an analysis would be beyond the scope of a single chapter; this discussion, instead, first sets out the legal framework within which some elite women gained more independence within the context of Augustan social legislation and the spread of marriage *sine manu*, and then delves more deeply into one particular aspect of the question. One innovation has already been mentioned—namely, the introduction of the cult of deified imperial women—but to what extent did imperial women set the trend for other women to take on new prominence in civic life as a whole? This chapter analyses the extent to which imperial women may have inspired other women to imitate their roles as public benefactors, and how far that imitation was a creative process rather than slavish copying. In some respects, non-imperial women may have been less constrained than the females of Augustus' family to adhere to conservative expectations of proper female behaviour. Besides, some evidence suggests that women in Italian cities beyond Rome took on prominent public roles before imperial women can have become influential models.

If we examine the contexts within which women were publicly commemorated before the Augustan era, we find that they were limited to particular geographical and social spheres. Some Roman women from senatorial families were honoured with public statues in the Greek East during the late Republic, in virtue of their relationships as wives or daughters (and more rarely mothers) of Roman magistrates. Some statues had even been set up before 184 BC, given that Cato spoke out against this practice in that year, but surviving epigraphic evidence points to the practice emerging more generally during the first century BC.⁹ This pattern underlines how this was not an

⁷ Raepsaet-Charlier (2008) 1029.

⁸ Raepsaet-Charlier (2005) 189–197; Hemelrijk (2006).

⁹ Plin. *HN* 34.31.

Italian nor a Roman practice; it also differs from the pattern that emerged in Italy later on, since the women were honoured not because of their activities as public benefactors, but on account of their family ties to important Roman officials. In many cases too, the women were not honoured on their own, but alongside their male relations. The other principal difference lies in the fact that the women were probably not even themselves present in the provincial communities honouring them.¹⁰

Within Italy, a handful of women are known to have acted as public benefactors during the Republic in the context of religion, with a few inscriptions recording women funding religious building-works.¹¹ A sanctuary of *Bona Dea* at Ostia was modified during the mid-first century BC, possibly between 70/60 BC, by Octavia, wife of one of the town's leading magistrates: the cult's close association with elite women probably explains her involvement.¹² At Padula, Ansia Rufa paid for building-work at a grove, which was sanctioned by decree of the local council: 'Ansia Rufa, daughter of Tarvus, in accordance with a decree of the local councillors, saw to the construction at her own expense of an enclosure-wall, an outer-wall, and a gateway around the grove.'¹³ These two examples illustrate how women might act as public benefactors within the realm of religion.

From the second half of the first century BC the post of *sacerdos publica* ('public priestess') also began to offer a context for female participation in civic life more generally. Most common in Campania, the office was associated with the cults of Ceres and Venus, but the activities of their priestesses went beyond those confines.¹⁴ At Pompeii, we find public priestesses paying for public buildings and being honoured with public tombs.¹⁵ The chronology of these inscriptions is often uncertain, but an inscribed architrave at Capua recording some sort of building-work by the town's *sacerdos Cerialis Mundalis* possibly dates from the mid-first century BC, in view of its lettering and use of limestone.¹⁶ Such priestesses might receive public honours analogous to those received by members of the male elite, such as seat-tombs at Pompeii, and Sextia Rufa, public priestess of Ceres at Puteoli, may even

¹⁰ Kajava (1990).

¹¹ Schultz (2006) 16, 59–61.

¹² Cébeillac (1973); Cébeillac-Gervasoni (2004) = *AE* 2004, 361.

¹³ *CIL* 10, 292 = *ILLRP* 574: *Ansia Tarvi f. / Rufa ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) circ(a) / lucum macer(iam) / et murum et ianu(am) / d(e)s(ua)p(ecunia)f(aciendum) c(uravit)*.

¹⁴ Zimmermann and Frei-Stolba (1998).

¹⁵ *CIL* 10, 810–813, 816, 998, 1074, *ILS* 6371.

¹⁶ *CIL* 10, 3926; Chioffi (2005) no. 100; [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$RECapua_00100.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$RECapua_00100.jpg)—photograph.

have received a statue: 'To Sextia Rufa(?), daughter of Gaius, public priestess of Ceres, in accordance with a decree of the local councillors'.¹⁷ The orthography, lettering, and onomastics of this marble plaque all point to an Augustan date, which suggests that some public priestesses may have received public statues as soon as imperial women started to be honoured with public statues at Rome. Other more localised priesthoods also emerged, such as *sacētis* at Cumae, which appears only on two fragmentary inscriptions. These appear to record a public benefaction by an individual woman, Lucceia Maxima, on a fragment of a large architrave over three metres wide, bearing her name in letters 27.5 cm. high,¹⁸ and honours given to her by the married women of the town (*matronae*).¹⁹ Tentatively putting these two inscriptions together raises the possibility that Lucceia Maxima may have acted as public benefactor, but perhaps within the context of an association of married women. It is possible, therefore, that some women were visible in public spaces in Italian towns from c.50 BC, whilst others received public honours at roughly the same time or even before imperial women did so at Rome.²⁰

Legal Framework of Female Benefaction

Before turning to the potential role of imperial women as exemplars, it is worth exploring how changes in the legal framework within which women were operating may have enabled women to adopt new roles as public benefactors by giving them a new level of control over their own property. An important shift that had occurred by the late Republic was a change in marriage practices. In earlier times, a woman commonly was transferred into her husband's power (*in manu*) upon marrying. As a result, anything a wife owned beforehand and anything she might acquire afterwards all passed to her husband or to his *paterfamilias*. A married woman had no property of her own until her husband died. This is made clear in Cicero's

¹⁷ AE 2005, 341; Camodeca (2005) 164–168 no. 1: [Se]xtia C. [f. Rufai?] / [sa]cerdoti Ce[reris] public[ai] / ex [dec(reto) dec(urionum)].

¹⁸ AE 2005, 369; Camodeca (2005) 175 n. 4: Lucceia Cn(aei) filia Maxima sacētis s(ua) p(ecunia).

¹⁹ Inv. C.n.p. 000094, Museo Archeologico dei Campi Flegrei: [Lucceiai Cn(aei) filiai] M]aximai sacētis / [...] matronae. <http://museoarcheologicocampiflegrei.campaniabenculturali.it/visite-tematiche/galleria-di-immagini/RA00582172?page=759>. Cf. CIL 10, 688 for dedication to a *sacerdos publica* at Surrentum by *matronae*.

²⁰ Hemelrijk (2005) 316 n. 42; cf. Pollini (1993): Cartoceto Bronzes.

Topica 23, which states: 'When a woman comes into her husband's legal power (*manus*), everything which belonged to the woman becomes the husband's as dowry'. By the late Republic, however, marriages *in manu* had become rare, and wives were not usually legally controlled by their husbands. In addition, the social legislation of the Augustan era increased the possibility for women to have control over their property: Augustus' marriage legislation created a system whereby women who were mothers of three children might qualify to be exempt from guardianship. A woman who married *sine manu* remained part of her original family, or, if her *paterfamilias* had already died, would be independent (*sui iuris*) with a guardian to administer her property: Augustus introduced the innovation of allowing such women to be exempted from guardianship if they had borne three children.²¹ Furthermore, women from the upper classes might obtain an individual grant from the emperor even without having borne three children.²² In this way, Augustus' legislation severely limited the impact of the institution of guardianship (*tutela*). The rise of financial independence among women might help to explain why some of these women then chose to pay for public buildings.

This shift in the legal status of married women opened up more opportunities for them to use their financial resources as they wished, and may have been a facilitating factor in their emerging roles in public life.²³ Not all the property of a woman fell under the authority of her *tutor*, but it did include urban land in Italy,²⁴ and this is precisely one of the basic elements that might sometimes be essential in sponsoring a public building. The public priestess Mamia at Pompeii, for example, built a temple at her own expense and on her own land, something which would potentially have required her guardian's approval, if she were subject to one.²⁵ The same is true of the public building-work of Terentia at Ostia, discussed later. Although Jane Gardner has rightly observed that we cannot know what proportion of women benefited from being released from guardianship, the fact that a new status was systematized may have created the expectation that from then on at least some women were expected to be able to control their own finances without external intervention.²⁶ These changes may not explain

²¹ Gai. *Inst.* I.194; Treggiari (1991) 29–32, ch. 11.

²² Gardner (1986) 20; Dio Cass. 55.2.5–6.

²³ Wood (2001) 13.

²⁴ Gardner (1986) 18.

²⁵ *CIL* 10, 816.

²⁶ Gardner (1986) 5.

what motivated women to become public benefactors, but do at least outline the mechanisms whereby this became a possibility.

Imperial Women as Exemplars

The age of Augustus is often seen as a turning-point in defining women's place in public life: Augustus' social legislation of 18 BC generated political consequences for marriages and marital relationships, whilst Octavia and Livia took on high public profiles at Rome. It was characteristic of the Augustan era that the activities of imperial women evolved experimentally over time: 'Livia's position can only be understood through the perception that there was a graded range of activities lying between the totally domestic and the completely public, not a sharply defined boundary. Her role was developed through subtly exploiting a variety of positions in that range, at its most public verging on the male political world, but more often making use of the less sensitive intermediate zones of the range of possibilities'.²⁷ Nevertheless, the beginning of the age of Augustus did not mark a sharp dividing-line for women at Rome. The turbulent times of the triumvirate had already brought about an unprecedented level of political activity and public representation among elite women.²⁸ With Hortensia, we find public oratory by a woman in the Forum; with Octavia we see the involvement of a woman in diplomacy; and with Fulvia we even witness a woman exercising military command.²⁹ First Fulvia and then Octavia appeared on coins minted in the East by Antony.³⁰ Nor is it simply the fact that these were three exceptional women who responded to crisis by taking control of what were more usually male spheres of activity, since the proscriptions threw into confusion the whole fabric of Roman society, among the upper classes at any rate, and brought politics into the Roman household. Another key moment was the granting of privileges to Octavia and Livia in 35 BC, by which they received honorific statues, tribunician sacrosanctity, and freedom from guardianship, privileges that no other women were ever to receive again.³¹ By the end of the civil wars, if not earlier,³² women had already broken out of the usual mould

²⁷ Purcell (1986) 87.

²⁸ Cluett (1998).

²⁹ Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.6; App. *BC* 4.5.32, 5.10.93–95; Dio Cass. 48.4–15, 48.54.

³⁰ Wood (2001) 41–51.

³¹ Dio Cass. 49.38.1; Hemelrijk (2005).

³² Dixon (1983).

of the behaviour expected for their gender. Developments under Augustus should be seen as part of a continuing process rather than a sudden change.

In *Gender, Domesticity and the Age of Augustus*, Kristina Milnor set out to explore 'How and why the early Empire developed new ways of articulating 'correct' female behaviour, and what those new articulations had to do with the larger cultural transformations of the early Empire'.³³ She suggested that new features of the period included the participation of women in public life as builders and benefactors, patrons and property-owners. Similarly, Beth Severy analysed how 'the transformation of the imperial family into a public institution' resulted in 'important shifts in gender roles' as articulated through the person of Livia.³⁴ There is no doubt that these scholars are right to see a significant shift in the representations of women in literature, but epigraphic and archaeological evidence from beyond Rome offers a slightly different perspective, giving a more prominent role to the initiative taken by the women among Italy's municipal elite in raising their public profile within their cities and in going beyond what would traditionally be expected of their gender.

There is abundant evidence for the acknowledgement, encouragement, and influence of role models in fostering patterns of behaviour in the Roman world.³⁵ Augustus increasingly tried to control what role models were to be available in the city of Rome, arrogating to himself a role as ultimate exemplar for the rest of society, and perhaps aspiring in vain to create exemplars out of the women of his family.³⁶ It has been suggested that imperial women were regarded as exemplary in terms of the way they dressed and conducted themselves.³⁷ An anecdote in Macrobius relates how Julia teased her father by wearing rather risqué clothing one day and then sober dress the following. When Augustus asked her "How much more acceptable is this style of dress in the daughter of Augustus?" (*quantum hic in filia Augusti probabilior est cultus?*), Julia was quick to reply, "Of course, today I dressed myself for my father's eyes, yesterday for my husband's" (*hodie enim me patris oculis ornavi, heri viri*).³⁸

In terms of the representation of women in art, there was a revival during the Augustan era of the wearing of the *stola* on top of the tunic, with

³³ Milnor (2005) 1.

³⁴ Severy (2003) 213.

³⁵ Bell and Hansen (2008).

³⁶ Bell (2008) 11.

³⁷ Bell (2008) 17; Wood (2001) 1–3, 77.

³⁸ Macr. *Sat.* 2.5.5.

the *palla* added above this, pulled up over the head, or draped around the body. The imperial women depicted upon the *Ara Pacis* illustrate the new ideal, appearing in *stola*, *palla*, and with *vittae* in their hair,³⁹ even though not all women on the altar are veiled.⁴⁰ This is not to imply that the everyday clothing of women at Rome changed,⁴¹ but the changing character of women's depictions in art articulated the fresh importance given to sexual morality by the Julian Law on Checking Adultery (*lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*) of 18 BC. The wearing of the *stola* was the prerogative of wives of citizens (*matronae*), as the mark of legal marriage; their clothing should not be viewed simply as a mark of legal status, but as staking a claim to moral qualities too.⁴² The increased prominence in art of women wearing *stolae* heralded a heightened preoccupation with female sexual morality rather than an actual change in day-to-day clothing.⁴³

There is no evidence to support the assumption that Augustus legislated on the topic of women's dress, and, in fact, a passage in Dio Cassius dealing with the social legislation of 18 BC implies that Augustus did not consider it appropriate to legislate on women's dress.

[3] Meanwhile there was an outcry in the senate concerning the disorderliness of women and young men, as some justification as to why they were not readily making marriage contracts because of this; and they urged him to remedy this also ... [4] He first replied to them that he had laid down the regulations that were most necessary and that it was impossible for anything further to be decreed in a similar way. But then, under constraint, he said: "You yourselves ought to advise and order your wives just as you wish; that's what I myself do anyway." [5] Having heard this, they kept pressing him much more, wanting to learn the pieces of advice which he said he gave to Livia. And so he reluctantly said something about women's clothing and the rest of their adornment, and about their going out and self-control ...⁴⁴

If we abandon the idea that citizen married-women were required by law to wear the *stola* on a daily basis, the possibility emerges that the images of imperial women which were becoming familiar throughout the peninsula disseminated new ideal representations of female clothing, as part of the moral order being encouraged by Augustus.⁴⁵

³⁹ Sebesta (1997) 531, 535–537.

⁴⁰ Olson (2002) 392.

⁴¹ Cf. Harlow, this volume.

⁴² Olson (2002) 391, (2008) 27–33, 113–114; Zanker (1988) 165–166.

⁴³ On the chronology of *stola*-portraits, see Scholz (1992) esp. 75–83.

⁴⁴ Dio Cass. 54.16.3–5.

⁴⁵ Wood (2001) 1.

One of the distinctively new activities undertaken by Livia and Octavia in the city of Rome was the sponsoring of public buildings, not just within the religious sphere of 'women's cults'. Although their names were associated with shrines of *Bona Dea*, *Fortuna Muliebris*, *Pudicitia Patricia*, and *Pudicitia Plebeia*, they were also sponsors of the *porticus Liviae*, *porticus Octaviae*, *crypta* and *chalcidicum*.⁴⁶ It has been argued that porticoes were perhaps regarded as suitable for sponsorship by women because they had no specific function within political life, but were instead associated with the enhancement of culture and society more generally by their incorporation of art collections and gardens.⁴⁷ The *porticus Octaviae*, for example, contained paintings and sculptures displayed in its garden, as well as a library.⁴⁸ In short, they were locations for the pursuits of *otium* rather than *negotium*. This, however, ignores the fact that the *porticus Octaviae* also included a *curia* where the senate could meet.⁴⁹ This model works even less well for *chalcidica*, spaces which are notoriously difficult to pin down, but which appear to have been connected with public business and commerce, notably auctions.⁵⁰ Also we should not ignore the *macellum Liviae*, a public market, even though it is not mentioned in any contemporary literary sources: this in itself is perhaps an indication that it was not considered a prestigious type of building at the time.⁵¹ At issue is the extent to which similar activities by women in other Italian towns beyond Rome took their cue from such imperial benefactions.

The Limits of Imitation: Livia and Eumachia

Livia is often singled out as having served as a role model for how other women could act as public patrons, and the most often cited example which offers a clear case of direct imitation of Livia is Eumachia at Pompeii.⁵² A public priestess from a wealthy local family, Eumachia funded the construction of arguably the most impressive of all the buildings around the Forum, replacing the shops and private houses that had previously flanked it (Fig. 1).⁵³ The building's dedicatory inscription appeared twice, once in

⁴⁶ Purcell (1986) 88–89; Kleiner (1996) 32–33; *CIL* 6, 883; Dio Cass. 55.8.3; Ovid, *Fast.* 5.157–158.

⁴⁷ Milnor (2005) 59–60.

⁴⁸ Richardson (1976) 61–64; Viscogliosi (1999).

⁴⁹ Dio Cass. 55.8.1; Boyd (1953) 156.

⁵⁰ Fentress (2005).

⁵¹ De Ruyt (1983) 163–172, esp. 166–167.

⁵² Severy (2003) 213; Davies (2008) 209.

⁵³ Maiuri (1973) 53–66, 91–99, figs 19–25, 45–53.

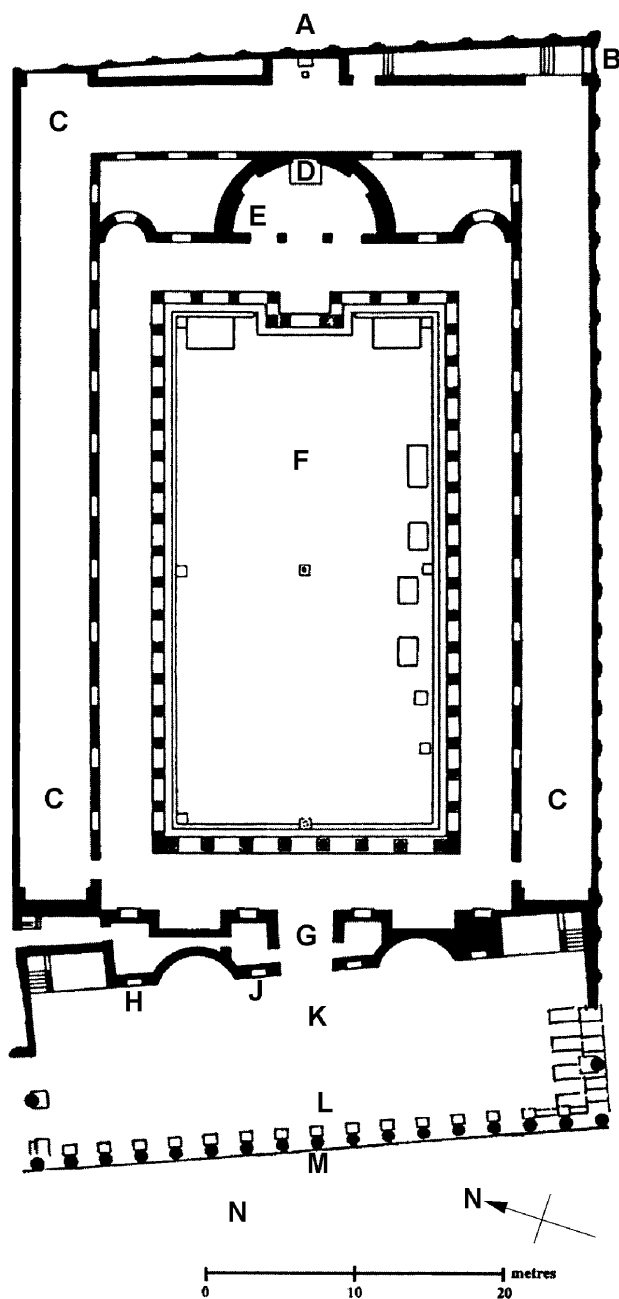


Fig. 1. Plan of Eumachia's Building (L.H. Davies).

grandiose form over its main entrance (M), and again on a smaller scale above the secondary rear entrance to the building (B): 'Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, public priestess, in her own name and that of her son, Marcus Numistrius Fronto, built at her own expense the *chalcidicum*, crypt and portico in honour of Augustan Concord and Piety and also dedicated them.'⁵⁴ Eumachia highlighted her role as public priestess, and stated that in paying for the public building she dedicated it to Augustan Concord and Piety, in the name of her son as well as on her own account. In doing so she echoed the actions of Livia at Rome.⁵⁵ The *porticus Liviae* was built by Augustus in Livia's name, and was dedicated in January 7 BC by Livia and her son Tiberius.⁵⁶ A few months later, on 11th June, Livia then dedicated an *aedes* of *Concordia* within the portico.⁵⁷ The structure of Eumachia's building encourages us to draw comparisons between the two niches within the building (A, D), in its main courtyard and on its rear corridor (Fig. 2). In the less prestigious space (A) was found a statue of Eumachia herself dedicated by the fullers. This depicted her dressed in tunic, *stola*, and cloak, with an idealizing portrait.⁵⁸ Eumachia's relegation to the back corridor, though the building's sponsor, suggests that the more prestigious space within the courtyard may have depicted imperial or divine figures. If it is correct to suggest that Livia herself occupied the focal niche in the main courtyard, it is tempting to see Eumachia's statue being located deliberately on a parallel axis to Livia's.

Some support for the idea that Eumachia was imitating imperial monuments at Rome is found in the inscription honouring Romulus, found outside the front of the building, which is itself modelled upon the *elogium* from the *Forum Augustum* at Rome.⁵⁹ A similar fragmentary inscription of Aeneas was later identified in the spoils removed from the forum area.⁶⁰ August Mau suggested that these belonged to the small niches to the left of the entrance, where a copy of one of them is now displayed.⁶¹ This visual link with the

⁵⁴ CIL 10, 810–811: *Eumachia L(uci) filia) sacerdos) publ(ica) nomine suo et / M(arci) Numistri Frontonis fili(i) chalcidicum cryptam porticus Concordiae / Augustae Pietati sua pecunia fecit eademque dedicavit*. Photographs—[http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_10_00810.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_10_00810.jpg); [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_10_00811_2a.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_10_00811_2a.jpg); [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_10_00811_1.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_10_00811_1.jpg); [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_10_00811_2.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_10_00811_2.jpg); [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_10_00811_3.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_10_00811_3.jpg).

⁵⁵ Moeller (1975); Richardson (1978).

⁵⁶ Dio Cass. 54.23.6; 55.8.1; Panella (1999).

⁵⁷ Ovid. *Fast.* 6.637–648; Flory (1984).

⁵⁸ CIL 10, 813; Eumachia's statue: Naples Museum, inv. 6232; Bonifacio (1997) no. 11.

⁵⁹ CIL 10, 809.

⁶⁰ CIL 10, 808 + 8348 = D 63.

⁶¹ Mau (1899) 115.

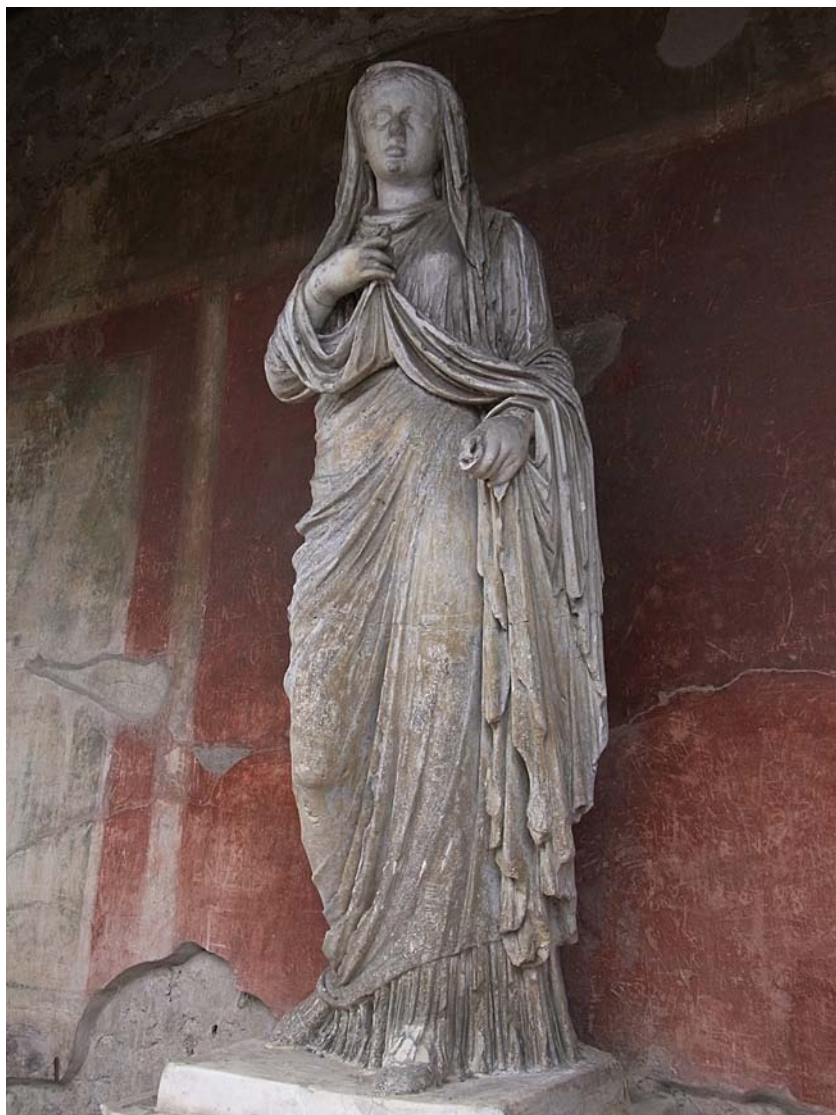


Fig. 2. Statue of Eumachia, cast in situ (L.H. Davies).

capital would not have been wasted upon the inhabitants of Pompeii: the Sulpicii archive from Puteoli illustrates how people living around the Bay of Naples might be expected to attend bail summons in the *Forum Augustum*, whilst a wax tablet from Herculaneum mentions a delegation of town councillors approaching the urban praetor, whose tribunal was also located in the *Forum Augustum*.⁶²

The degree to which Eumachia was imitating Augustan imagery has, however, gradually been inflated over the last four decades. For John Dobbins, for example, 'Eumachia was to Pompeii as Livia was to Rome'.⁶³ It is tempting to make a comparison of the design of the doorframe at the main entrance of Eumachia's building with the lower decorative frieze on the *Ara Pacis* enclosure.⁶⁴ Although both designs do feature acanthus scrolls peopled with delicately carved birds, insects, and other animals, Kurt Wallat has demonstrated that the doorframe did not belong to Eumachia's Building.⁶⁵ Furthermore, other ideas that were originally proposed as attractive hypotheses have later solidified into fact. For example, it has been asserted recently, without discussion, that the main niche in the interior courtyard of the building contained statues of Livia, flanked by personifications of *Concordia* and *Pietas*.⁶⁶ The actual finds are not quite so unambiguous. Excavation reports for 2nd August 1818 record that a headless, draped, female marble statue was found, holding part of a kind of cornucopia. The description of the statue fits what we would expect for a statue of Livia, namely a figure wearing an ankle-length tunic with gilded edges, with two further over-garments. A few days later, on 8th August, we read of the discovery of some other marble hands, two without fingers, but one seemingly belonging to a male statue since it was carrying some sort of object, possibly a sceptre, between two fingers.⁶⁷ Whereas Mau suggested that these originally represented *Concordia* with the features of Livia (but note that no head was found) flanked by Tiberius and Drusus,⁶⁸ Richardson offered an alternative suggestion that Livia might have been flanked by *Concordia* and *Pietas*. Whilst he originally put this suggestion forward purely as an attractive hypothesis, the presence of a statue of Livia alongside *Concordia* and

⁶² *TPSulp.* 14–15; *AE* 2006 305.

⁶³ Dobbins (1994) 689.

⁶⁴ Zanker (1998) 95–96.

⁶⁵ Wallat (1995).

⁶⁶ Kleiner (1996) 33.

⁶⁷ Fiorelli (1860) *Pars Tertia*, 210–211; cf. Fiorelli (1862) *Pars Quarta*, 19.

⁶⁸ Mau (1899) 112, 116.

Pietas has now taken on the status of fact.⁶⁹ Given the lack of published photographs of the sculptural material, however, we should regard the matter as still open.

If we look more closely at the chronology of the buildings dedicated in Pompeii and Rome, the degree of reliance of Eumachia upon Livia becomes less clear-cut. Eumachia's building has been variously dated by different scholars to between 9 BC and AD 22.⁷⁰ Although Livia incorporated a shrine of *Concordia* within her portico in 7 BC, for *Concordia Augusta* we have to wait until Tiberius' re-dedication of the temple of *Concordia* in the Roman Forum in AD 10, when the existing cult of *Concordia* was modified to represent *Concordia Augusta*. Admittedly, Tiberius had vowed this reconstruction to *Concordia* at the same time as his mother was building her shrine to *Concordia*, so it is possible that the idea of *Concordia Augusta* was in the air already in 7 BC. Nevertheless, it remains uncertain whether or not the cult of *Concordia Augusta* had been officially established at Rome at the time when Eumachia dedicated her building. In any case, it seems that the inclusion of *Pietas* alongside *Concordia* was Eumachia's own combination.⁷¹ If this is so, then this provides an excellent example of individual members of the local elite tapping into imperial ideology and not waiting for definite guidance before taking trends slowly developing at Rome, in new directions. Rather than viewing Eumachia as slavishly copying imperial precedent, therefore, we could view her as an active agent in disseminating and further developing ideas only slowly emerging at Rome.

Female Benefactors at Ostia and Paestum

At Ostia, Terentia, wife of Cluvius, installed a well-head in one of the town's sanctuaries of *Bona Dea*,⁷² and also built *crypta* and a *calchidicum*, as commemorated upon an inscribed architrave: 'Terentia, daughter of Aulus, wife of Cluvius, built the crypt and *calchidicum* on her own land at her own expense in accordance with a senatorial decree and decree of the local coun-

⁶⁹ Richardson (1978) 268.

⁷⁰ Dixon (2008) 57 n. 3; probably erected c. 9–3 BC; Kleiner (1996) 33; AD 22; Dobbins (1994) 647; first decade of first century AD; Moeller (1975) 234–235; c. AD 3/4; Mau (1899) III: Tiberian date, AD 14–22.

⁷¹ Cf. La Rocca (1999) for doubts that an altar to *Pietas Aug.* was dedicated at Rome in AD 22.

⁷² *AE* 2005, 304.

cillors'.⁷³ The co-operation of Roman senate and local town council is striking in this case, but fits into a context whereby Rome was still taking an interest in regulating public space at Ostia. The construction of a temple of Vulcan during the Julio-Claudian period was also sanctioned by the Roman senate.⁷⁴ In addition to this architrave, the following inscription has been preserved on marble, dating to 12th January AD 6:

*M(arco) Lepid[o L(ucio) Arru]ntio / [co(n)s(ulibus)] pridie idus Ian(uarias) / [Tere]ntia A(uli) f(ilia) Clu(v)i (uxoris) cryptam [et] / [ca]lchidicum solo suo su[a] / [pecuni]a [e]x s(enatus) c(onsulto) et d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) quod / [decretum] fa]ctum est at[---] / [---]++++RIS[---]+E+A / [scrib(endo) ad]fue-
r(unt)] Q(uintus) Setinus Volscus / [---]+a I(hviri) proximo / [---] decretum fece-
runt / [ut eadem di]e qua crypta et / [calchid(icum) Caes]ari dedicatum esset / [---]+o Caesari sacrificium / [atque Piet]a]ti publice facerent / [ac permit]te-
rent.⁷⁵*

The fragmentary state of this decree poses several problems of interpretation, but the following translation traces its meaning in outline:

In the consulship of Marcus Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius (i.e. AD 6), on 12th January, Terentia, daughter of Aulus, (wife) of Cluvius, (built/ dedicated) a crypt and *calchidicum* on her own land, at her own expense, in accordance with a decree of the senate and in accordance with a decree of the local councillors; this (?)decree was passed at ... (?) ... present at the drafting were Quintus Setinus Volscus (another name missing here) joint chief magistrates, on the next day(?) ... (?) they made a decree that on the same day on which the crypt and *calchidicum* had been dedicated to (?)Caesar ... (?) they should make and allow a sacrifice to ?Gaius/Lucius? Caesar and *Pietas* publicly.

This text, fragmentary though it is, suggests that her dedication of the buildings was accompanied by rituals honouring members of the imperial family (perhaps deceased), and raises the possibility that these rituals, rather than the building itself, may have been what attracted the intervention of the senate. Terentia too wanted to associate her benefaction with expressions of imperial ideology and loyalty, and may have been involved in formulating new rituals to commemorate a member of the imperial family. In contrast to Eumachia, there is nothing to suggest that Terentia herself held a priesthood, in virtue of which her actions could have been interpreted.

⁷³ Terentia Auli f(ilia) Cluvi / cryptam et calchid(icum) solo suo sua pecun(ia) fecit ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) et d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)—AE 2005, 301, 303. Zevi (1997); Licordari (1984).

⁷⁴ AE 1986, 115; Van Haepelen (2007) 43–44.

⁷⁵ Manacorda (2005) = AE 2005, 303.

Moving further south to Paestum, we encounter a couple of women who surpassed any precedent supplied by imperial women in terms of their public self-presentation, the tone of their involvement in civic life, and their prominence within the urban landscape. Most is known of a woman called Mineia.⁷⁶ In c.15 BC, she paid for the town's basilica to be rebuilt, as revealed by an imposing inscription: 'Mineia daughter of Marcus, wife of Gaius Cocceius Flaccus, mother of Gaius Cocceius Iustus, built the basilica from its foundations and the portico and all the pavings in front of the basilica with her own money'.⁷⁷ Although the inscription claims that she 'built' the basilica, archaeological investigation in the forum has shown that there was a predecessor to Mineia's basilica. Mineia's project was extensive, however, and even involved moving the location of the shrine of *Mater Matuta*. Inside the basilica, she set up a series of statues of which only the inscribed bases remain, honouring members of her family: her brothers, son, grandson, and husband. Each inscription mentions the family relationship between Mineia and the honorands.⁷⁸ Mineia herself was also represented by a statue.⁷⁹ The inscription honouring her husband, Cocceius Flaccus, records that he had been promoted by Julius Caesar by being adlected *quaestor* in 44 BC and sent to Bithynia.⁸⁰ Given that his career, as recorded in the honorific inscription, appears to end abruptly at that point, it seems that he did not live long enough to enjoy further promotion.

What is extraordinary, however, is the fact that the town decided to mint small-value bronze coins (half-*as*/ *semis*) in commemoration of Mineia's building-work (Fig. 3). On one side of the coins is a female head with the legend MINEIA M F, 'Mineia, daughter of Marcus'; on the other side is an image of a two- (sometimes three-) storeyed building, presumably the basilica itself, with the letters P S S C,⁸¹ *P(aestanorum) s(emis) s(enatus) c(onsulto)*, 'semis of Paestum, in accordance with a decree of the senate' (i.e., of Paestum).⁸² The most obvious interpretation of the female figure is that this is a portrait of Mineia herself. Mario Torelli has interpreted the

⁷⁶ Torelli (1996).

⁷⁷ Paestum 163: [Mineia M.f. C. Coc]ce[i F]lacci [m]ate[r] / [C. Coccei Ius]ti ab fundamentis / [basilicam e]t ante bas[ilicam sua p]ecu[nia] / [fecit porticus pavim]entaque omnia. Date of 15 BC: De Carolis (2002) 47.

⁷⁸ Paestum 81–83.

⁷⁹ Paestum 84.

⁸⁰ Paestum 85.

⁸¹ Crawford (1973) no. 38a/b/c.

⁸² Burnett, Amandry, Ripollès (1998) 159.



Fig. 3. Paestum *semis*, commemorating Mineia's basilica, obverse and reverse. © University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: On loan from Somerville College (4.37 g).

female figure as representing *Mens Bona*, an important local deity, who was depicted on other coins minted by local magistrates.⁸³ These other coins, however, represent *Mens Bona* as a seated figure within a temple, labelled BONA MEN, quite a different image from this modish female, with her *nodus*-hairstyle.⁸⁴ The contemporary looks of the portrait, accompanied as it is by the word 'MINEIA', point in a different direction, and invite viewers to make the identification with Mineia herself.

The practice of minting bronze coins at Paestum was itself an unusual phenomenon of the time within Italy, which can be paralleled at only a handful of other Italian towns.⁸⁵ There is an unexpected variety in the individuals and different types of magistrates named as being responsible for issuing coins, with *duoviri*, *quattuorviri*, a *praetor*, *duoviri quinquennales*, and *patroni*. A wide range of scenes was also depicted on the coins. The coins were of all of low denomination and did not circulate significantly beyond their place of issue. It has been argued that the coins may have been special commemorative issues to fund *sportulae* (cash-distributions), which could have been used as small change for Roman *denarii*, struck by individuals who paid for the coins to be issued.⁸⁶ In support of this

⁸³ Torelli (1993) 204.

⁸⁴ Crawford (1973) 93 no. 33a.

⁸⁵ Crawford (1973).

⁸⁶ Burnett (1982) 128–129; Harl (1996) 47.

theory is the legend EPVL DED on another issue, which can be expanded as EPVL(AM) DED(ERVNT), commemorating the occasion when L. Venedius and D. Fadius 'gave a feast'.⁸⁷ Although in our case the supposition that Mineia paid for the issue remains unsubstantiated, this does not undermine the rare distinction she received from the town of her rebuilding of the basilica being commemorated on coinage. This type of public honour was unparalleled among contemporary imperial women.

The exact chronology of Mineia's public benefactions is unclear, but towards the end of the first century BC seems a good estimate, giving her time to have become a grandmother. Mineia, therefore, may have been a wealthy widow who used her private wealth to promote the male members of her family over three generations. Another inscription containing a dedication to her by the *magistri Mentis Bonae* suggests that she may have been a prominent figure in that important local cult too, but there is no allusion to her as a priestess.⁸⁸ Nor was she the only prominent female benefactor at Paestum.

Just outside Paestum lies the sanctuary of S. Venera, where, again, we find women prominent among the cult's benefactors. The sanctuary was long established, dating back to the early fifth century BC. Sometime between 50 BC and AD 30 this sanctuary was extensively remodelled by two women: Sabina first of all, and later her granddaughter Valeria.

Sabina P.f. [---] / Flacci ux[or sacellum(?)] / deae a solo fa[bricandum] opere tector[io poliendum] sedes et pavim[enta de sua] / pecunia fac[iunda curavit] / eademque p[ro]b[avit]

Sabina, daughter of Publius, (?) wife of Flaccus, saw to the construction at her own expense of a shrine(?) for the goddess built from the ground upwards and decorated with plasterwork, seating, and pavings, and she also approved it.⁸⁹

Valeria later added *strongyla*, a word whose meaning is unclear.

[Vale]ria Sabin[i uxoris?] / [Sabi]nae neptis p[rivigna] / [C. Fla]ccei Flacci V[irg]i / [stro]ngyla de s[ua pecunia] / [faciunda] cu[ravit].⁹⁰

Valeria, (?) wife of Sabinus(?), granddaughter of Sabina, stepdaughter of Gaius Flacceius Flaccus (?), saw to the construction of the *strongyla* at her own expense.

⁸⁷ Crawford (1973) no. 35/1.

⁸⁸ *Paestum* 18.

⁸⁹ *Paestum* 158; Torelli (1993) no. 2. Photograph: [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$Paestum_00158a.jpg;\\$Paestum_00158.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$Paestum_00158a.jpg;$Paestum_00158.jpg).

⁹⁰ *Paestum* 157 = *AE* 1996, 468; Torelli (1993) no. 5. Photograph: [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AE_1996_00468.jpg;\\$Paestum_00157.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1996_00468.jpg;$Paestum_00157.jpg).

The family relationship between the two women is explicitly mentioned in this inscription: Valeria (wife of Sabinus or with the *cognomen* Sabina) identifies herself as granddaughter of Sabina, and step-daughter of Gaius Flacceus Flaccus, a local magistrate and patron.⁹¹ It is unusual to mention the relationship of granddaughter alongside filiation, and shows how the relationship between Valeria and Sabina was deliberately highlighted. The women were presented within their family context rather than as independent individual benefactors. Given that the sanctuary has been identified as associated with the cult of Venus, a prominent role for women is arguably less surprising than was the case for the town's basilica.⁹² Torelli suggested that the renaissance of the cult perhaps reflected the rise of the cult of Venus Genetrix at Rome,⁹³ but the addition of circular water-proofed structures (the mysterious *strongyla?*), perhaps connected with ritual bathing, maintained a strong local flavour for the cult.

Whether or not we wish to label this as 'women's cult', it is worth pausing to look in detail at the inscription commemorating the patronage of Sabina transcribed above, particularly the remarkable phrasing at the end of the inscription, *fac[iunda cur(avit)] / eademque p[rob(avit)]*.⁹⁴ Although we have other examples where the verb *curavit* is used to describe a woman's involvement in a building-project, the verb *probavit*, by contrast, attributes to Sabina the sort of supervisory role more commonly found among male magistrates of the Republican era. This is not a unique example, either. An inscription from Cosilinum near Padula (*Regio* III) used the same language in commemorating the benefaction of Plotia Rutila, who paid for the refurbishment of the theatre:

[Pl]otia Ruti[la] / [sp]ectacula im[a(?)] / [m]aenian(a) et pul[p(itum)] / [s]caenae d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) su[a] / [pe]c(unia) fac(iundum) cur(avit) ead(em) / [q]ue probavi[t].⁹⁵

Plotia Rutila saw to the construction of the lowest section of theatre-seats and the platform for the stage, by decree of the local town councillors, and she also approved it.

No wonder that the original editor thought that something must be missing from the start of this inscription, suggesting that a man's name was missing,

⁹¹ Silvestrini (2000) 81 argues for the reading 'Valeria Sabina' rather than 'Valeria wife of Sabinus'. Flacceus Flaccus: Torelli (1993) 220–221.

⁹² Pedley and Torelli (1993) 195 no. 1, 210 no. 7, 223–226, 236–237; Silvestrini (2000).

⁹³ Torelli (1999) 179.

⁹⁴ *Paestum* 158.

⁹⁵ *SupIt* 3 (1987) 47 no. 2 = *AE* 1988, 405.

followed by [*cum Pl*]otia Rutila, '[with] Plotia Rutila'.⁹⁶ He could only assume that Plotia Rutila was included in the inscription as wife of the actual benefactor. Now that the inscription has been rediscovered and published with a photograph, however, it is clear that Plotia Rutila was solely responsible for paying for the work to be done, and for supervising and approving the building-work. Although far from a precise science, the lettering forms of the inscription are suggestive of a date in the late Republic, before the Augustan revolution allegedly liberated women to do this sort of thing. This dating is also suggested by the use of limestone, and by use of the word *spectacula* to refer to the building-project. An Augustan date cannot be excluded, but it certainly shows women participating in civic life in a way that is strikingly parallel to their male counterparts, and it shows that at least some women in the cities of Italy went far beyond the expectations raised by imperial role models.

Conclusion

Material evidence, therefore, especially inscriptions and coins, can open our eyes to the impact made by individual women in Italian towns from the mid-first century BC onwards. The Augustan era does seem to have marked a change of pace in the activity of female benefactors in Italy, and the legal changes of the period may go some way to explaining how this could come about. In terms of what motivated women to act as public benefactors, much of our evidence points to the importance of the family context, and this is as true of the imperial women as of the local elite. Without doubt Livia did act as a role model for other elite women in Rome and Italy to some extent, but there is a dangerous simplicity in attributing too much influence to her. Simple imitation of Livia even among later imperial women is rare;⁹⁷ instead, we should see the Augustan period as a period of experimentation in defining women's public roles, with women among the local elite taking the lead both in creatively imitating imperial women and also in acting in an innovative way. Instead of assuming that influence extended only in one direction, outwards from Rome, we should not exclude the possibility of mutual influence.⁹⁸ Indeed, non-imperial women may actually have been freer to act without the constraints of having to conform to expectations

⁹⁶ *Inscrit* 3.1, 120 no. 208.

⁹⁷ Purcell (1986) 96–97.

⁹⁸ Hemelrijk (2005) 317.

governing their behaviour. We have seen how some women acted within the context of their families, supporting Milnor's argument that the Augustan era is characterised by 'ways in which women were used in conversations about, and constructions of, the urban environment as a means of mediating between civic and domestic ideals'.⁹⁹ Religion provided another framework within which women could act as public benefactors. This did not only apply to what might be regarded as female cults, such as that of the *Bona Dea*. Towns in Campania in particular fostered the role of *sacerdos publica* as being one that created opportunities for women to spend their money for the public good. Some women, however, acted outside the religious sphere, and made public benefactions to their towns in ways that do not appear to be restricted by a sense of what might seem appropriate to their gender. Although chronological indicators are often vague, there is enough cumulative evidence to suggest that such women were not always imitating imperial role models, but were themselves innovators and possibly trend-setters. It is difficult to judge quite how exceptional were women like Eumachia, Terentia, Mineia, Valeria, Sabina, and Plotia Rutila, but they illustrate the start of a process which led to the integration of women into the landscape of the towns of Italy by the second century AD, and suggest that non-imperial women were just as important as their imperial counterparts in pushing forwards the boundaries traditionally set for female behaviour.

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⁹⁹ Milnor (2005) 48.

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FRAUEN ALS TEIL DER KAISERZEITLICHEN GESELLSCHAFT:
IHR REFLEX IN INSCRIFTEN ROMS
UND DER ITALISCHEN STÄDTE

Werner Eck

Was erfahren wir aus Inschriften über die kaiserzeitliche Gesellschaft Roms und der italischen Städte? Spiegelt sich in den Inschriften die Gesellschaft als Ganzes oder nur ein Teil, und wenn ja, in welchem Maß und unter welchen Prämissen? Diese Frage kann man im Sinne unseres Kolloquiums weiterführen: Wie weit sind vor allem Frauen in diesem Bild vertreten oder daraus ausgegrenzt? Will man eine Antwort auf diese Fragen versuchen, muss man sich über gewisse Voraussetzungen klar werden, die Aussagen auf epigraphischer Basis grundsätzlich beeinflussen und bestimmen können¹.

Fundamental als Voraussetzung ist die Frage, in welchen Arten von Inschriften sich für uns heute römische Gesellschaft überhaupt widerspiegeln kann. Fast alle uns heute noch bekannten epigraphischen Texte auf Stein oder, weit seltener, auf Metall wollten in der römischen Zeit zum einen das damalige Publikum beeindrucken und informieren. Noch mehr aber und vielleicht sogar vor allem zielten sie auf ein Publikum in der Zukunft. Denn fast alle auf Stein oder Bronze noch erhaltenen Inschriften sind, wenn man vom *instrumentum domesticum* absieht, Träger von Erinnerung, sie sind Memorialepigraphik, durch die sicher gestellt werden sollte, dass Personen und Taten nicht vergessen werden. Dabei sind insbesondere Personen das Objekt der Erinnerung, weil jedes öffentliche Ereignis, jede Handlung vor den Augen eines Publikums notwendigerweise in der einen oder anderen Weise mit Personen verbunden war. Man denke nur an die Errichtung von Bauten, die durch Bauinschriften festgehalten wurde, die fast immer auch die Personen nennen, auf die diese Bauten zurückgehen, entweder weil sie diese finanzierten oder weil sie als verantwortliche Magistrate den Auftrag dazu gegeben hatten; sie stehen sogar oft im Text im Vordergrund oder

¹ Als spezielle Literatur zur Thematik sei verwiesen auf: Asdrubali Pentiti (2008); ferner manche Beiträge in den beiden Sammelbänden: Buonopane und Cenerini (2003); iidem (2005). Zur Erschließung des Materials wurde häufig die Datenbank Clauss sowie die Heidelberger Datenbank benutzt. Emily Hemelrijk danke ich für ihre substantielle Kritik an einer früheren Fassung.

werden sogar alleine angeführt, weil der Bau selbst nicht benannt werden musste; er war sichtbar und Träger der Inschrift. Auch auf Weiheinschriften an Götter steht der Dedikant meist prominent in der Dedikationsinschrift, oft prominenter als der Name der Gottheit. Denn der Dedikant will auch nach Vollziehung des Aktes in der öffentlichen Erinnerung präsent sein. Dass der Stifter sich zurückhält, seinen Namen entweder überhaupt nicht nennt, wie es manchemal, freilich relativ selten in christlichen und jüdischen Inschriften geschieht², oder den Namen nur mit den Anfangsbuchstaben angibt³, ist der griechisch-römischen Welt im Allgemeinen fremd.

Dieses Streben nach Erinnerung, nach Nicht-Vergessen-Werden betrifft Lebende und vor allem Tote. Von dieser fundamentalen Tatsache ist fast die gesamte epigraphische Erbschaft, die aus römischer Zeit bis auf uns gekommen ist, inhaltlich bestimmt. Es sind einerseits die zahlreichen, ja massenhaften Inschriften unterschiedlicher Funktion an Gräbern (*tituli* und individuelle Grabinschriften) und andererseits die Texte, die in der bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit einer Stadt oder einer Siedlung von Lebenden für Lebende oder schon Verstorbene im profanen und im religiösen Bereich errichtet wurden.

Notwendigerweise finden wir in diesen beiden Inschriftengruppen nicht die römische Gesellschaft in ihrer Gesamtheit gespiegelt. Denn sie ist auch in römischer Zeit in diesen Texten nie in ihrer Gesamtheit abgebildet gewesen – eine Binsenweisheit, die aber in manchen, nur auf Inschriften basierenden Untersuchungen nicht immer genügend Beachtung findet. Die römische kaiserzeitliche Gesellschaft wird nicht selten in einem pyramidalen Modell zu erfassen gesucht, mit einer breiten Basis und einer immer geringeren Zahl von Personen, je höher wir zur Spitze geraten. Wollten wir analog die *Inschriften*, in denen Mitglieder der römischen Gesellschaft erscheinen, entsprechend der Zahl der in den Inschriften genannten Personen auf den verschiedenen sozialen Ebenen abbilden, dann würde die Abbildung zwar ebenfalls eine Pyramide zeigen, jedoch eine Pyramide, die auf dem Kopf stünde. Je höher der Status der Personen, desto häufiger ist im Allgemeinen auch deren Repräsentation in Inschriften. Auch das ist wirklich nicht neu, muss aber, wenn man Aussagen zur römischen Gesellschaft durch das Medium der Inschriften machen will, als Voraussetzung genannt werden. Denn diese Tatsache schließt es von vorneherein aus, dass

² Ausgedrückt mit der Formel: „deren Namen Gott (alleine) kennt“; siehe z. B. *IG* 10, 2, 2, 410; *TAM* 5, 1, 644; *SEG* 16, 826; *CIIP* 2, 1152.

³ Eck (2010).

ein repräsentatives Bild der römischen Gesellschaft auf diese Weise entsteht. Es ist ein Ausschnitt, bei dem man sich bewusst sein muss, dass er notwendigerweise einseitig ist.

Inschriften sind allerdings insoweit ein zutreffender Reflex der Realität, weil diejenigen Personen, die in der römischen Gesellschaft im großen und im kleinen Rahmen: in der *res publica* des Imperium Romanum, in der Stadtgemeinde oder im familialen Verband von Bedeutung waren, auch dieser Bedeutung entsprechend zahlreich, wenig oder auch gar nicht in den Inschriften erscheinen. Damit ist aber die Repräsentation von Frauen auch in den Inschriften notwendigerweise weit stärker betroffen, sie sind weit weniger präsent als Personen männlichen Geschlechts. Denn Frauen mussten in der römischen Gesellschaft, jedenfalls soweit diese in der Öffentlichkeit in Erscheinung trat, traditionell eine bescheidene, zurückgenommene Rolle spielen. Vor allem der gesamte Raum der Politik und damit auch der aktiven bürgerlichen Öffentlichkeit war ihnen weitgehend verschlossen. Das gilt nicht nur während der Republik, sondern auch nach deren Ende. Ja, es gilt sogar für die Frauen der Principes, trotz der herausragenden Stellung, die sie an der Seite des Herrschers einnahmen. Eine geradezu klassische Formulierung dazu findet sich im s.c. *de Cn. Pisone Patre*. Denn darin formuliert der Senat⁴:

... senatum arbitrari et Iuliae Aug(ustae), optume de r(e) p(ublica) merita(e) non partu tantum modo principis nostri, sed etiam multis magnisq(ue) erga cuiusq(ue) ordinis homines beneficiis, quae, cum iure meritoq(ue) plurimum posse(t) in eo, quod a senatu petere deberet, parcissime uteretur eo, et principis nostri summa(e) erga matrem suam pietati suffragandum indulgendumq(ue) esse remittiq(ue) poenam Plancinae placere.

Der Senat sei der Ansicht, daß der Iulia Augusta, die um den Staat größte Verdienste erworben habe, nicht allein durch die Geburt unseres Princeps, sondern auch durch viele große Wohltaten gegenüber Leuten jeglichen Standes – eine Frau, die nach Recht und Verdienst darin größten Einfluß habe, was sie vom Senat erbitten dürfe, von diesem Privileg aber nur sehr sparsam Gebrauch mache – wie auch der überaus großen Loyalität unseres Princeps gegenüber seiner Mutter beizupflichten sei und dass man ihnen zu Willen sein müsse, und (so) beschließe der Senat, Plancina die Strafe zu erlassen.

Dem Senat bleibt gar keine andere Wahl, als dem Wunsch der Mutter des Princeps nachzukommen und Munatia Plancina, die Frau des Hauptangeklagten Cn. Calpurnius Piso pater, die Strafe zu erlassen, obwohl ihr, wie der Senat vorher in seinem Beschluss formuliert hatte, *pluruma et gravissima*

⁴ Eck, Caballos und Fernández (1996) 46 f. Zeile 109 ff.

crimina vorgeworfen und nachgewiesen worden waren. Doch gleichzeitig betont der Senat, Iulia Augusta mache von ihrem Recht, über Einfluss zu verfügen, nur sehr sparsamen Gebrauch: *parcissime uteretur*. Gerade diese Einschränkung ist bezeichnend für die ganz selbstverständlichen Grundanschauungen der Senatoren, die sich trotz der gewandelten politischen Umstände und deren Auswirkungen auch auf die sozialen Beziehungen nicht verändert hatten: Die Vorstellung, dass Frauen im öffentlichen Leben keine aktive Rolle zu spielen hätten, war immer noch gültig. Und wenn Frauen anders handelten, sich nicht an die selbstverständlichen Vorstellungen hielten, sondern ihre Präsenz in der Öffentlichkeit ausdehnten wie etwa im Fall von Agrippina d.J., der Gemahlin von Kaiser Claudius und Mutter von Nero, dann wird dies mit größtem Unmut registriert, zumindest nach ihrem Tod. Man braucht nur die entsprechenden Passagen bei Tacitus zu lesen, um zu sehen, wie selbst der Frau eines Kaisers gegenüber die althergebrachte Rolle der Frauen ihre Geltung bewahrt hatte. Ähnliches darf man im Fall der Sosia Galla annehmen, die im Senat beschuldigt wurde, zusammen mit ihrem Mann in der Provinz sich an Erpressungen beteiligt zu haben⁵, ein ähnlicher Fall wie bei Cn. Piso und Plancina; ihr wurde vorgeworfen, sie habe ihren Mann selbst in Feldlager begleitet und habe an Mannövern der Truppen teilgenommen⁶. Noch mehr Anstoß erregte ihre Rückkehr nach Rom mit einem unter den gegebenen Umständen durchaus als provozierend empfundenen Verhalten ihres Gefolges, als sie, ohne Zurückhaltung angesichts der vorausgegangenen Ereignisse, vom Landeplatz am Tiber mitten durch die Stadt bis zum Palast der Calpurnier nahe der porta Fontinalis zwischen Arx und Quirinal zog⁷. Solches war Verletzung der gültigen öffentlichen Normen. Nur die Vestalinnen stellten hier eine Ausnahme dar⁸. Für alle anderen Frauen galt, dass sie lediglich bei bestimmten kultischen Begehungen wie etwa öffentlichen *supplicationes* oder den Säkularspielen, die die gesamte *res publica* betrafen, auch offizieller Teil der Zeremonien sein durften, ja hier es sogar sein mussten. Bis zur caesarischen Zeit war es ihnen deshalb sogar erlaubt gewesen, in Rom einen Wagen zu benutzen, um sich zu den Kultstätten zu begeben⁹. Dieses Privileg war ersatzlos weggefallen¹⁰.

⁵ Tac. *Ann.* 4.19. 4.

⁶ Tac. *Ann.* 2.55.6.

⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.9.2.

⁸ Zu dem Recht etwa der vestalischen Jungfrauen, an bestimmten Tagen in Rom einen Wagen benutzen zu dürfen siehe die *tabula Heracleensis*: Crawford (1990) I 65 Zeile 56 ff. Dazu auch Mekacher (2006) 29–30.

⁹ Livius 34.1.2.

¹⁰ Eck (2008).

Unter diesen Prämissen ist nach der Repräsentation von Frauen in den Inschriften der kaiserzeitlichen Gesellschaft in Rom und Italien zu fragen. Dass sie dort in wesentlich geringerer Zahl als die männliche Mitwelt erscheinen, ist eine simple Tatsache, die in jeder beliebigen Stadt Italiens, aus der eine genügend große Zahl von Inschriften erhalten ist, deutlich zu erkennen ist. Völlig willkürlich sei es z. B. an der Stadt Assisium demonstriert, von wo mehrere hundert Inschriften bis heute erhalten sind¹¹. Wie üblich entfällt die Masse aller Texte auf Grabinschriften, auf Grabtituli und Einzelgrabinschriften in gleicher Weise. Darin erscheinen rund 190 Personen männlichen Geschlechts als Tote gegenüber ca. 95 weiblichen Geschlechts, also weniger als die Hälfte – obwohl Frauen in gleicher Weise verstarben wie Männer. Bei der Zahl derjenigen, die in den Inschriften als Bestattende oder Grabgründer erscheinen, ist das Verhältnis ein wenig günstiger für Frauen: Während Männer in rund 50 Texten als diejenigen genannt werden, die ein Grab für andere errichtet hatten, sind es immerhin ein wenig mehr als 30 Frauen, die in dieser Funktion in den funerären Inschriften erscheinen.

Konträr anders ist das Bild bei den „öffentlichen Inschriften“ jeglichen Typs: Bauinschriften, Dedikationen an Gottheiten, Inschriften unter Ehrenstatuen. Mehr als 40 Männer sind in den Inschriften von Assisi anzutreffen, aber nur in zweien eine Frau; und in einem Fall wird ein Ehepaar in einer Bauinschrift genannt. Im öffentlichen Erscheinungsbild der Stadt Assisi, im inneren Bereich gegenüber der Welt der Toten außerhalb, soweit sich diese Welten für uns in Inschriften abbilden, sind somit Frauen kaum anzutreffen. Dabei muss man sich freilich immer wieder bewusst machen, dass damit nur etwas über diese, für uns bis heute noch greifbaren Kommunikationsformen ausgesagt ist, nicht jedoch über die Bedeutung insgesamt von Frauen in der öffentlichen Sphäre.

Umso auffallender ist ein Monument aus Assisi, das in der Mitte der Stadt vor dem Tempel der Minerva erbaut wurde, wo es sich noch heute befindet, nun allerdings tief unter dem heutigen Straßenpflaster. Der Text lautet¹²:

Gal(eo) Tettienus Pardalas et Tettiena Galene tetrastylum sua pecunia fecerunt item simulacra Castoris et Pollucis municipibus Asisinatibus don(o) deder(unt) et dedicatione epulum decurionibus sing(ulis) (denarios) V sexvir(is) (denarios) III plebei (denarios) I s(emis) dederunt s(enatus) c(onsulto) l(ocus) d(atus).

¹¹ Forni (1987).

¹² CIL 11, 5372 = Dessau 3398.

Galeo Tettienus Pardalas und Tettiena Galene errichteten mit ihren eigenen finanziellen Mitteln das Tetrastylum, ebenso schenkten sie die Standbilder von Castor und Pollux den Bürgern von Asisi und bei der Dedikation ein Essen, jedem Dekurionen fünf Denare, (jedem) Sevirn drei, (jedem Mitglied) der Plebs eineinhalb Denar. Der Platz wurde durch Senatsbeschluss bereitgestellt.

Ein Gal(eo) Tettienus Pardalas und eine Tettiena Galene, offenbar ein Ehepaar, errichten im Herzen des Munizipiums ein gewaltiges Tetrastylum mit den Statuen der beiden Dioskuren auf öffentlichem Grund. Alleine die Inschrift misst 1.68 m in der Höhe und 2.66 m in der Breite. Der Bau wurde durch Beschluss des städtischen Senats genehmigt. Bei der Inauguration des Monuments wurde ein Empfang gegeben, bei dem die Dekurionen je fünf Denare, die Seviri je drei und alle anderen Bürger (so ist wohl *plebs* zu verstehen) je eineinhalb Denare erhielten. Daraus ist im Übrigen zu schließen, dass die Teilnehmer je innerhalb ihrer gesellschaftlichen Gruppe bei dem öffentlichen Akt der Inauguration anwesend waren. Die hierarchische Ordnung der Gesellschaft wurde damals unmittelbar durch die Teilnehmer der Inauguration sichtbar und ist auch heute noch als Reflex im Text der Inschrift erhalten. Warum in der Stiftungsinschrift Tettiena Galene, die Frau, in gleicher Weise wie ihr Mann erscheint, wird nicht gesagt, aber vermutlich war sie finanziell in ähnlicher Weise wie er an der Errichtung des Monuments beteiligt. Dass das Ehepaar an so prominenter Stelle das Tetrastylum errichten durfte, lag wohl vornehmlich daran, dass sie in den prominentesten Familienclan der Stadt dieser Zeit, den der Tettieni, eingebunden waren¹³. Mitglieder dieses Clans hatten in flavischer Zeit hohe Positionen im *ordo senatorius* und *equester ordo* erreicht, auch eine Heirat mit einem mächtigen kaiserlichen Freigelassenen hatte deren Stellung gestärkt¹⁴. Beide Ehepartner waren ohne Zweifel Freigelassene eines Angehörigen dieses Clans, sie möglicherweise die Freigelassene ihres Mannes.

Kaum wesentlich anders ist die Repräsentation von Frauen und Männern in einer weiteren mittelitalischen Stadt, deren Charakter jedoch insoweit ein wenig anders war, weil sie am Meer liegt: Terracina. In den funerären Texten sind hier Frauen etwas mehr vertreten als in Assisi, vor allem weil weit mehr Inschriften gesamte Familien nennen und damit auch die weiblichen Angehörigen. In 96 Grabinschriften werden Männer genannt

¹³ L. Sensi, in *EOS* II 263.

¹⁴ Eck (2012).

gegenüber 67 mit Personen weiblichen Geschlechts¹⁵. Bei den Inschriften, die den öffentlichen Bereich betreffen, finden sich 54, in denen Männer alleine als Handelnde oder Geehrte erscheinen, nur drei aber von Frauen. Eine davon bezeugt eine einfache Dedikation an Venus in Erfüllung eines votum¹⁶. Wichtiger ist eine zweite, die unter einer Weihung für Isis stand, die die Zuweisung eines Platzes durch den *ordo decurionum* erforderte¹⁷. Am wichtigsten aber ist eine Alimentarstiftung durch eine Caelia Macrina, die diese zur Erinnerung an sich und ihren Sohn Macer testamentarisch einrichtete. Insgesamt sollten kontinuierlich je 100 Knaben und Mädchen davon profitieren¹⁸, wobei auch diese Frau den sozialen Realitäten und Vorstellungen mit den Regeln der Stiftung völlig entsprach: Denn Jungen wurden bis zum 16. Lebensjahr mit je fünf Denaren pro Monat, Mädchen dagegen nur bis zum 14. Lebensjahr mit je vier Denaren für denselben Zeitraum gefördert¹⁹.

Solche Fälle von öffentlicher Präsentation von Frauen in Verbindung mit der Errichtung eines Bauwerks, der Aufstellung von Monumenten wie dem Tetrastylum oder von Statuen im bürgerlichen Raum einer Gemeinde oder der Errichtung einer Stiftung wie in Terracina gibt es immer wieder, aber eben im Verhältnis zu den Texten, in denen Männer allein erscheinen, nur in sehr geringer Zahl. Daneben finden sich Texte, die zunächst einmal von der Ehrung einer einzelnen Frau durch die Aufstellung von Statuen sprechen. Ein typisches Beispiel scheint folgender Text aus Puteoli zu sein, der auf der Front- und auf der Nebenseite einer Statuenbasis zu lesen ist²⁰:

Gaviae M(arci) fil(iae) Marcianae honestae et incomparabilis sectae matron(ae) Gavi Puteolani decurion(is) omnib(us) honorib(us) functi fil(iae) Curti Crispini splendidi equitis Romani omnib(us) honorib(us) functi uxori Gavi Iusti

¹⁵ Bei beiden Gruppen sind die 40 Fälle eingerechnet, in denen Männer und Frauen als Verstorbene in derselben Inschrift erscheinen. Lässt man diese weg, ist das Verhältnis 46 zu 27.

¹⁶ AE 1986, 145.

¹⁷ CIL 10, 6303 = Dessau 4367: *Dominae Isidi Flavia Marcellin(a) Sortis signum Memphiticum cum collari argenteo p(ondo) d(ono) d(edit) l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

¹⁸ Nach CIL 14, 350 = 4450 hat eine Senatorentochter in Ostia nur 100 *puellae* gefördert.

¹⁹ CIL 10, 6328 = Dessau 6278. Wenn man als drittes Beispiel die Inschriften von Rusellae in Etrurien heranzieht, dann ist die Verteilung hier nicht anders als in den beiden bisherigen Beispielen: im öffentlichen Raum finden sich 56 Texte für den männlichen Teil der Gesellschaft, für Frauen nur zwei (davon eine für ein Mitglied des Kaiserhauses). Die Zahl der Grabinschriften in dieser Stadt ist relativ bescheiden: In neun Fällen sind eine Frau und ein Mann gemeinsam diejenigen, die bestatten. In sieben Inschriften steht allein der Name eines Mannes als Toter, in dreien erscheint eine Frau. Und in je fünf Fällen bestattet entweder eine Frau einen Mann oder umgekehrt.

²⁰ CIL 10, 1784 = Dessau 6334.

splendidi equit(is) Romani sorori huic cum ob eximi[u]m pudorem et admirabilem cas[tit]atem inmatura et acerba morte interceptae res p(ublica) funus public(um) item {f}oleum et tres statuas decr(emit) M(arcus) Gavius Puteolanus pater hon(ore) decreti contentus sua pequn(ia) posuit l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

L(ucio) Bruttio Crispino L(ucio) Roscio Aeliano co(n)s(ulibus) V Kal(endas) Novembr(es) in templo divi Pii scribundo adfuerunt Caep(io) Proculus, Cossutius Rufinus, Cl(audius) Priscus, Calp(urnius) Pistus quod postulante Annio Proculo o(rnato) v(iro) de decernendo funere publico Gaviae M(arc) f(iliae) Marcianae b(onae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) item decem libris {f}olei locisq(ue) tribus concedendis quae ipsi elegerint in quibus statuae eidem Marcianae secundum eiusdem Proculi postulationem ponerentur. P(ublius) Manlius Egnatius Laurinus duovir{um} v(erba) f(ecit) q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret) d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) c(ensuerunt): optasse quidem singulos univerosque nostrum in honorem Curti Crispini magistratus n(ostri) primarii viri, item Gavi Puteolani socieri eius adaeque o(ptimi) v(iri) Gaviae Marcianae r(everentissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) vivae potius honores conferre quam ad huius modi decretum prosilire ut de solacio viventium quaereremus ei ideo quod pertineat etiam ad memoriam puellae ipsius cohonestandum placere huic ordini funus publicum {ei} decerni et decem libras {f}olei mitti concedique secundum postulationem Anni o(ptimi) v(iri) ut loca quae elegerint statuendis tribus statuīs de consensione nostra consequantur²¹.

²¹ „Für Gavia Marciana, Tochter des Marcus (Gavius), eine Frau von ehrenvoller und unvergleichlicher Denkart, Tochter des Dekurionen Gavius Puteolanus, der alle Ämter (der Stadt) absolviert hat, Gattin des vornehmen Ritters Curtius Crispinus, der alle Ämter (der Stadt) absolviert hat, Schwester des vornehmen Ritters Gavius Iustus. Als ihr die Gemeinde nachdem sie durch einen frühzeitigen und bitteren Tod aus dem Leben gerissen wurde, wegen ihres herausragenden Ehrenhaftigkeit und ihres bewundernswerten Anstandes ein öffentliches Begräbnis, ebenso Öl(?) und drei Statuen zuerkannte, hat Marcus Gavius Puteolanus, ihr Vater, zufrieden mit der Ehre, die der Beschluss vermittelte, (diese Statue) aus seinen eigenen Mitteln errichtet. Der Platz (für die Statue) wurde durch Beschluss der Dekurionen zugewiesen.

Unter den Konsuln Lucius Bruttius Crispinus und Lucius Roscius Aelianus, am 5. Tag vor den Kalenden des November waren im Tempel des vergöttlichten Pius folgende Personen bei der schriftlichen Formulierung (des Beschlusses) anwesend: Caepio Proculus, Cossutius Rufinus, Claudius Priscus, Calpurnius Pistus, als Annio Proculus, ein vortrefflicher Mann den Antrag stellte, man möge für Gavia Marciana, die Tochter des Marcus (Gavius), eine Frau, an die man sich gerne erinnert, ein öffentliches Leichenbegängnis beschließen, ebenso ihr zehn Pfund Öl und drei Plätze zuerkennen, die (die Angehörigen) selbst auswählen mögen, auf denen die Statuen für eben diese Marciana entsprechend dem Antrag des Proculus aufgestellt werden sollten. Der duovir Publius Manlius Egnatius Laurinus stellte den Antrag, was (den Dekurionen) in dieser Sache gut scheine; sie fassten folgenden Beschluss: Zwar hätte jeder einzelne von uns und wir alle zusammen gewünscht, zu Ehren des Curtius Crispinus, der bei uns die Ämter übernommen hat und den ersten Rang einnimmt, ebenso zu Ehren von Gavius Puteolanus, seines Schwiegervaters und ehrenwerten Mannes, Gavia Marciana, eine Frau verehrensweisen Angedenkens, eher zu Lebzeiten mit Ehren zu überhäufen

Geehrt wird postum eine Gavia Marciana, einerseits durch die Zuerkennung eines *funus publicum*, andererseits durch die Aufstellung dreier Statuen, von deren Basen eine bis heute erhalten ist, auf der der eben zitierte Text steht. In der Inschrift, die unter der Statue eingemeißelt ist, wird davon gesprochen, ihr sei bei ihrem unerwarteten und bitterem Tod *ob eximi[u]m pudorem et admirabilem cas[us] atem* ein öffentliches Leichenbegängnis beschlossen worden. Im Beschluss des Dekurionenrats selbst, der auf einer der Außenseiten der Basis eingemeißelt war, wird allerdings von diesen *virtutes* nichts weiter gesagt. Dort wird vielmehr sehr deutlich betont, der Beschluss, die jung Verstorbene zu ehren, geschehe zur Ehrung von Curtius Crispinus, dem Ehemann von Gavia Marciana, der bei ihnen die höchste magistratische Position erreicht hatte, und ebenfalls zur Ehre von Gavius Puteolanus, dem Schwiegervater des Curtius Crispinus. Auffällig ist im Beschluss der Dekurionen die Einordnung des Gavius Puteolanus in die Argumentation als *socer* des Curtius Crispinus, nicht jedoch als *pater* der Verstorbenen. Von irgendwelchen Verdiensten der Verstorbenen selbst wird in dem *decretum decurionum* nichts weiter gesagt. Es wird also sehr deutlich, dass sich für die Dekurionen die Motivation für den gesamten Vorgang vornehmlich aus der Stellung des Ehemannes und dessen Schwiegervaters innerhalb des Dekurionenrats ergab. Diesen beiden wird im Statuentext auch noch der Bruder der Verstorbenen hinzugefügt, so dass drei Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen von Marciana hervorgehoben werden: *Gavi Puteolani decurion(is) omnib(us) honorib(us) functi fil(iae) Curti Crispini splendidi equitis Romani omnib(us) honorib(us) functi uxori Gavi Iusti splendidi equit(is) Romani sorori*. Vater und Bruder gehören beide dem Rat von Puteoli an, der Bruder ist sogar *eques Romanus*, und der Ehemann, ebenfalls *decurio*, hatte alle Ämter in der Stadt übernommen und ebenfalls den Rang eines römischen Ritters erreicht. Nimmt man alle diese Aussagen zusammen, dann wird klar, dass bei der postumen Ehrung zwar vordergründig Gavia Marciana im Zentrum stand, dass aber das entscheidende Motiv für die Ehrung die herausragende Stellung war, welche die drei männlichen Mitglieder der Familie in der puteolanischen Gesellschaft einnahmen. Deshalb werden auch drei Statuen beschlossen, nicht nur eine, um

als zu einem Beschluss der Art zu kommen, dass wir nach einem Trost für die Lebenden suchen, der in gleicher Weise auch das Andenken an das Mädchen selbst ehren würde: Deshalb beschließe dieser Rat, ihr ein öffentliches Leichenbegängnis zuzuerkennen und zehn Pfund Öl zu senden und entsprechend dem Antrag des ehrenwerten Annius zu gewähren, dass sie die Plätze, welche sie für die Errichtung dreier Statuen auswählen würden, mit unserer Zustimmung erhalten.“

gewissermaßen jeden der drei zu ehren²². Und die Ehrung der Familienmitglieder wird noch dadurch verstärkt, dass ihnen der Rat das Recht einräumt, den Platz für die drei Statuen selbst zu bestimmen, was auch heißt, dass dies Orte innerhalb der Stadt sind, die für die Familie eine besondere Bedeutung haben und die damit ein Teil ihres öffentlichen Prestiges werden. Vermutlich haben sogar die Angehörigen der Marciana selbst oder zumindest einer von ihnen den entscheidenden Anstoß für die Ehrung durch den Rat gegeben, soweit nicht vorausgehende Fälle solche Rituale erwartbar machten. Dazu passt schließlich, dass der Vater die Kosten trägt: *hon(ore) decreti contentus*. Es ging um eine Ehrung, aber eben vor allem der Ehrung der *familia Gavia*, zu der die Verstorbene gehörte. Die Formulierung der Inschrift bindet sie ein in die Familie und zeigt, warum auch sie öffentlich zu ehren war.

Ähnliche Charakterisierungen von geehrten Frauen im Kontext ihrer Familie finden sich auch in einigen anderen Beschlüssen von Dekurionenräten in Italien. So ordnet der *ordo* der Stadt Brundisium im Jahr 144 n. Chr. an, eine Statue für die jung verstorbene *puella splendidissima* Clodia Anthianilla aufzustellen, die mit einem M. Cocceius Geminus, *praefectus alae*, verheiratet war. Der Beschluss erfolgt, um die Eltern zu trösten. Das entscheidende Moment, dass es aber überhaupt zu dem Beschluss kam, war die Tatsache, dass der Vater nicht nur *patronus* der Stadt war, sondern auch *spendidissimus eques Romanus* und, wie der Text betont, *bene de re publica meritus*²³. Doch insgesamt sind solche Beschlüsse, die auch die spezifischen Beweggründe nennen, in unserem erhaltenen Inschriftenmaterial mehr als rar. Unter den insgesamt 58 Dekreten von Dekurionenräten aus Italien, die Robert K. Sherk im Jahr 1970 zusammengestellt hatte, finden sich nur insgesamt fünf, die sich überhaupt auf Frauen beziehen²⁴. Eines davon ist die Stiftung in Gabii, mit der der *natalis dies* und die *memoria* von *Domitia Cn. Domiti Corbulonis fil(ia)* begangen werden sollte, und das nicht nur durch die Freigelassenen der Verstorbenen, sondern vor allem durch die Dekurionen und Augustalen von Gabii, die an der Feier teilnehmen sollten²⁵ – in dieser Form ein außergewöhnlicher Fall.

²² Die Nennung der drei Verwandten auf der Schauseite der Basis in Verbindung mit den drei Statuen zeigen, dass es um die Ehrung aller männlichen Verwandten geht, auch wenn der Bruder, der vermutlich wegen seines Alters noch kein Mitglied des Dekurionenrates war, im Beschluss des Dekurionenrates nicht eigens erwähnt wird.

²³ Sherk (1970) 25 f.

²⁴ Sherk (1970) Nr. 14. 20. 35. 40. 55.

²⁵ *CIL* 14, 2795 = *Dessau* 272; die Überschrift der Inschrift lautet: *in honorem memoriae domus Domitiae Augustae, Cn. Domiti Corbulonis fil(iae)*.

Andere Ehrenbeschlüsse, fast stets bezogen auf die Errichtung von Statuen von Frauen, finden sich in verschiedenen italischen Städten. So errichtet der Dekurionenrat in Aeclanum für Cantria Publi filia Longina eine Statue, weil sie wegen ihres Flaminats, das den Dienst für *div[a] Iulia Pia [A]u[g(usta)]*, für die Mater deum Magna Idaea sowie für die Isis Regina umfasste, der Gemeinde 50.000 Sesterzen gespendet hatte²⁶. Doch erhalten ist fast stets nur die Frontseite der Statuenbasen mit dem lapidaren *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. In Capena, in Südetrurien, sammeln gemeinsam *decuriones, Augustales honorati et vicani* Geld, um eine *Varia Italia*, Frau eines *Pacatus Faustus* und *sacerdos* und *cultrix* der Ceres und Venus, in der Öffentlichkeit mit einer Statue zu ehren²⁷. In Formiae wird eine *Cassia Cornelia Prisca, clarissima femina*, Frau des Senators Aufidius Fronto, der in der Inschrift als *consul, pontifex* und *proconsul Asiae* sowie als *patronus* der *colonia* erscheint, als *sacerdos Augustae et patriae* von den Bürgern der Stadt wegen ihrer glänzenden Munifizienz mit einer Statue geehrt²⁸. Solche und ähnliche Fälle finden sich an nicht wenigen Orten. Im Verhältnis zu vergleichbaren Anlässen für Männer bleiben solche öffentlichen Ehrungen aber immer eine deutliche Minorität.

Diese geringe Vertretung von Frauen im Inschriftenmaterial bei der öffentlichen Präsentation bestimmter sozialer Gruppen lässt sich besonders deutlich für die Stadt Rom feststellen. Dabei kann man sich mit den Texten für den *ordo senatorius* begnügen, da im öffentlichen Raum der Stadt Rom kaum jemand sonst neben dem Kaiserhaus durch das Medium von Inschriften präpräsentiert wurde. Es genügt dabei wohl, sich auf einen Ausschnitt der senatorischen Inschriften zu konzentrieren. Gewählt werden die Texte, die im letzten Supplement von *CIL* 6 im Jahr 2000 eingeschlossen sind. Géza Alföldy hat dort 226 Inschriften, die den *ordo* betreffen, zusammengefasst, *tituli honorarii* und *tituli sepulcrales*. In all diesen Texten werden Frauen des *ordo* nur maximal in achtzehn Inschriften genannt, eine mehr als bescheidene Zahl, die umso auffälliger ist, weil in Rom auch beim *ordo senatorius* die Grabinschriften die überwiegende Mehrheit der Zeugnisse ausmachen. Gerade dort aber sollte man deutlich mehr Frauen erwarten.

In sechs der genannten Inschriften erscheint eine Frau allein²⁹, in den anderen 12 werden weibliche Mitglieder des *ordo* stets im Kontext der

²⁶ *CIL* 9, 1153 = Dessau 6487.

²⁷ *AE* 1954, 166.

²⁸ *AE* 1971, 79.

²⁹ *CIL* 6, 8, 3, 41062. 41071. 41128. 41179. 41236. 41249.

Familie erwähnt³⁰. Fast alle Texte gehören in den funerären Bereich, wobei nur wenige Beispiele Frauen als alleinige Dedikantinnen des Grabes zeigen, wie etwa eine Marciana *clarissima femina*, die ihrem Ehemann, wohl einem Statilius Barbarus, das Grabmal erbauen ließ³¹. Zumeist werden Frauen als eine von weiteren Verstorbenen im Familienverband angeführt, ähnlich wie das auch in Terracina zu beobachten war; dies sieht man z. B. in einer Grabinschrift der *familia Licinia* bald nach der Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.³²:

*L(ucius) Licinius [- XVvir s(acris) f(aci)undis] IIIvir tr(ibunus) mil(itum)
leg(ionis) V]
Macedonic[ae quaestor tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) pr(aetor) leg(atus) leg(ionis) -] ae
adlec[tus a divo]
Claudio inte[r patricios - tes] tamen[to fieri iussit]
L(ucio) Licinio L(uci) f(ilio) C[- V] II ep[ul(onum) -] leg(ato) divi Aug(usti)
pro [pr(aetore) provinciae - prae(fecto) frumenti dandi]
ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) proco(n)s(uli) Bit[hyniae pr(aetori) tr(ibuno) pl(ebis)
quaestori pro pr(aetore) Hispaniae]
ulterioris comiti dat[o in Oriente a divo A] ug(usto) G(aio) [Caesari IIIvir(o) -
patri]
Liciniae L(uci) f(iliae) Caesi Longi[ni(?) uxori Licini] ae L(uci) f(iliae) Ma[-
sororibus].*

Die Familienmitglieder erscheinen auf einer gemeinsamen Inschriftentafel: Zunächst der Grabstifter, dann ein Vorfahre, sicherlich der Vater. Und am Ende werden zwei Liciniae genannt, vermutlich Schwestern des Grabstifters. Durch die Angabe der *cursus honorum* der beiden Männer wird der sozio-politische Kontext, in den sie gehören, beschrieben; auch die Frauen sind dadurch gewissermaßen verortet.

Was sich unter den stadtrömischen Inschriften für Frauen senatorischen Ranges kaum findet, sind *tituli*, die man der Kategorie der Ehrung von Lebenden zuweisen könnte, wie sie aber für die männliche Welt gerade bei Mitgliedern der führenden *ordines* recht zahlreich sind. Vor allem durch sie haben wir eine Vorstellung von den beiden *ordines*. Dabei kann es in Rom üblicherweise nicht um Ehrungen *solo publico* gehen. Denn solche Monumente sind in Rom auch für Senatoren insgesamt recht selten; die

³⁰ CIL 6, 8, 3, 41079 gehört nicht zu den Inschriften des *ordo*, da hier nicht ein Mitglied einer senatorischen Familie begraben gewesen sein kann, da es ausgeschlossen ist, dass eine *ser[va]* eine solche Grabinschrift in Auftrag gegeben hat. Wenn dort eine *serva* genannt war, hat sie vielleicht einen Angehörigen mit Freigelassenenstatus bestattet. Ob in CIL 6, 8, 3, 41154 wirklich eine Frau genannt war, muss m. E. offen bleiben. Bei der auf der Rückseite der Inschrift CIL 6, 8, 3, 41214 erwähnten Frau deutet nichts auf eine senatorische Qualität hin.

³¹ CIL 6, 8, 3, 41197.

³² CIL 6, 8, 3, 41070.

Masse der Ehrungen für die *virī clarissimi* stand einst im privaten Bereich, in den herrschaftlichen *domus* oder den dazu gehörigen Gärten³³. Doch auch solche Texte finden sich für Frauen kaum. Ein seltenes Monument dieses Typs ist wohl *CIL* 6,8,3, 41179:

In [honorem] Calpurni[ae] Ceiae[-] Aemilianae dominae praestant[is] simae Suetrius Ga[ude]ns lib(ertus) c(um) s(uis) [ob insi]gnem eius [erga se be]nivolentiam.

Zu Ehren der Calpurnia Ceia ... Aemiliana, der vortrefflichen Herrin, hat Suetrius Gaudens, Freigelassener, zusammen mit den Seinen wegen ihres beispiellosen Wohlwollens ihnen gegenüber (eine Statue errichtet).

Auffällig ist dabei, dass hier weder auf ein männliches Mitglied der Familie verwiesen wird, dass aber ebenso der Rangtitel *clarissima femina*, den Calpurnia Aemiliana in einer späteren Inschrift aus Africa führte³⁴, hier fehlt. Es wird also auf nichts verwiesen, wodurch ihre soziale Stellung in irgendeiner Form gekennzeichnet würde. Daraus aber lässt sich wohl schließen, dass die Statue, die mit der Inschrift verbunden war, in einem Bereich gestanden hat, in dem der Name allein genügte, um die Geehrte zu kennzeichnen; das aber kann dann nach aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nur der private Lebensbereich gewesen sein, was noch durch die Tatsache unterstrichen wird, dass ein *libertus* die Statue dedizierte.

Auch *CIL* 6, 8, 3, 41105 stammt wohl aus einem solchen privaten Kontext. Obwohl der Text sehr fragmentarisch ist, scheint die Person, die geehrt wird, eine Frau zu sein. Géza Alföldy hat, wie schon andere vor ihm, den Text so verstanden, dass diese Frau in der Inschrift von einer Reihe von Gemeinden aus Pannonien geehrt worden sei, da sie ihren Mann, der Statthalter in der Provinz gewesen sei, dorthin begleitet habe. Nach seiner Rekonstruktion wäre allerdings die Frau allein mit dem Monument geehrt worden. Das scheint aber nicht so sehr wahrscheinlich; denn das Monument muss in seiner Rekonstruktion mindestens 4.20 Meter breit gewesen, eine sehr wahrscheinliche Annahme. Eine solch breite Inschrift würde fordern, dass eine entsprechend große statuarische Repräsentation damit verbunden war. Bei einer Breite von mindestens 4.20 Metern aber wäre nur ein Gespann, also mindestens eine *biga*, wenn nicht eine *quadriga*, als adäquat zu fordern. Ein solches Monument ist aber bei einer Frau ausgeschlossen³⁵. Eher könnte

³³ Dazu Eck (1992); Alföldy (2001).

³⁴ *AE* 1995, 1653.

³⁵ Zumindest ist ein solches Monument bisher noch nie irgendwo gefunden worden; angesichts der Menge der uns bekannten Ehrenmonumente ist der Einwand, das sei ein *argumentum e silentio*, hier irrelevant.

man sich vorstellen, dass rechts vom Namen der Frau noch der Name eines Mannes gestanden hat, wodurch die vermutete Breite der Inschrift erreicht worden wäre, und unter den beiden Namen in zwei oder drei Kolumnen die dedizierenden Gemeinden zu lesen waren³⁶. Wie auch immer man sich das vorstellt: Wenn der Text sich tatsächlich auf eine senatorische Frau bezog, dann handelt es sich hier um eine außergewöhnliche Ehrung für ein weibliches Mitglied des *ordo senatorius* in Rom selbst, das aber trotz seiner Größe nicht im öffentlichen Raum gestanden haben kann, sondern im privaten Bereich, vielleicht sogar im Suburbium innerhalb eines parkähnlichen Ambientes. Es repräsentiert aber sicherlich nicht ein typisches Ehrenmonument, sondern, wenn zutreffend verstanden, ein ganz außergewöhnliches. Auch hier aber war der soziale Rang der Frau durch die gleichzeitige Ehrung wohl des Ehemannes deutlich gemacht.

Am Ende sei noch auf einen Befund verwiesen, dessen Material ebenfalls von Géza Alföldy erarbeitet worden ist³⁷. Er hat für die oberitalische Region Venetia und Histria alle Inschriften gesammelt, die zu Statuen gehörten. Scheidet man alle Monumente aus, die mit bildlichen Darstellungen von Göttern oder Kaisern verbunden waren, dann finden sich etwas mehr als 130 Monumente, mit denen Personen geehrt wurden, lebende und auch verstorbene. Darunter sind 39 männliche Angehörige des *ordo senatorius* zu finden, ebenfalls 39 Angehörige des *equester ordo*, 40 aus dem Kreis der Dekurionen und Augustalen. Sehr viele dieser Statuen standen im öffentlichen Raum, wie die häufige Erwähnung der Formel *locus datus decreto decurionum* zeigt. Doch für diesen gesamten öffentlichen Raum findet sich in dem zahlenmäßig nicht geringen Material kein einziges Beispiel, dass eine Frau mit einer Statue geehrt worden wäre. Bezeugt sind zwar insgesamt 13 Statuen, die für Frauen errichtet wurden, von denen allein sechs aus Verona stammen³⁸. Doch in allen Fällen weisen die Texte durch ihre Formulierung entweder darauf hin, dass die Statuen am Grab aufgestellt wurden oder in irgendeinem privaten Bereich. Einige Male wird überhaupt nur der Name der Frau genannt, ohne eine weitere soziale Konnotation. So steht auf einer Basis aus Verona der lapidare Text³⁹:

³⁶ Diese Form der Gestaltung von Inschriften unter Ehrenmonumenten findet sich immer wieder; siehe etwa *CIL* 6, 8, 3, 41054; dazu Eck (1984).

³⁷ Alföldy (1984).

³⁸ *AE* 2001, 1060a, ein Text der Alföldy im Jahr 1984 noch nicht bekannt war, ist der einzige Inschriftentext, der nicht diesem Typus entspricht. Eine Curtia Procilla wird als *sacerdos divae Plotinae* durch Beschluss des Dekurionenrats geehrt (dankenswerter Hinweis von Emily Hemelrijk).

³⁹ S. Ricci, *NSc* 1893, 6 Nr. 6 = Alföldy (1984) Nr. 230.

Clodiae P. f. Secundae.

Auf einer weiteren Basis, erneut aus Verona, heißt es⁴⁰:

Fabricia L. f. Festa.

Aus Bellunum stammt folgendes Monument⁴¹:

Capertiae Maximi fil(iae) Valerianae plebs urbana patronae.

Wo die plebs urbana dieses große Monument – die Basis misst 1.86 m in der Höhe – errichtete, lässt der Text nicht erkennen. Da freilich ein Hinweis auf Gewährung des Platzes durch den Dekurionenrat fehlt, ist es wahrscheinlicher, dass dies auf einem nicht öffentlichen Platz geschah. Außergewöhnlich ist hier das völlige Fehlen jeglichen Hinweises auf den familialen Kontext, dem die Frau zugehörte. Das ist erwartungsgemäß anders bei den wenigen Beispielen für Frauen senatorischen Ranges. In Aquileia steht auf einer Statuenbasis⁴²:

Rutiliae M(arci) Clementis pr(aetoris) fil(iae) Priscae Sabinianae Caeserni Macedonis (uxori).

Der senatorische Vater Rutilius Clemens ist nicht weiter bekannt; der Text sollte aber etwa in die flavische Zeit gehören; das lässt sich aus dem Namen und der Genealogie des Ehemanns der Geehrten, des Caesernius Macedo, erschließen⁴³.

Ebenfalls in Verona wird eine Claudia Marcellina als Frau eines Bellicius Sollers, der als *consul* bezeichnet wird, von zwei Privatleuten geehrt⁴⁴. In den beiden letzten Fällen wird durch den Rang des Ehemannes bzw. des Vaters die soziale Position der Frauen bestimmt, wie das auch sonst ganz allgemein üblich war. Doch auch diese Monumente dürften im privaten Lebensbereich der Geehrten gestanden haben, nichts deutet auf die bürgerliche Öffentlichkeit der Stadt hin.

Aus diesem kursorischen, an ausgewählten Beispielen orientierten Aussagen ergeben sich m. E. einige allgemeine Schlussfolgerungen zur Thematik

⁴⁰ CIL 5, 3606 = Alföldy (1984) Nr. 233.

⁴¹ AE 1976, 250 = Alföldy (1984) Nr. 151 = *Suppl. It.* 4, Bellenum 10.

⁴² AE 1934, 241 = *Inscriptiones Aquileiae* 481; unwahrscheinlich ist die Auflösung von PR nach Clementis zu *Pr(isci)*. Denn dann wären der Vater mit Praenomen und zwei Cognomina bezeichnet worden, was mehr als unwahrscheinlich ist.

⁴³ PIR² R 245.

⁴⁴ CIL V 3338 = Dessau 1031: *Claudiae Ti(beri) fil(iae) Marcellinae Bellici Sollertis co(n)s(ulis) M(arcus) et Q(uintus) Hortensi [P]aulinus et Firmus.*

des Kolloquiums: Frauen werden, jedenfalls im Vergleich mit dem männlichen Teil der Gesellschaft, nur insgesamt selten in Inschriften im öffentlichen Raum der Städte genannt, also in dem Raum, für den die lokalen Dekurionenräte zuständig sind. Der funeräre Bereich kann dabei höchstens in einem Nebensinn als öffentlich angesehen werden. Soweit sie dennoch in den Städten in Verbindung mit einem Ehrenmonument epigraphisch erscheinen, geht es den Dedikanten nur selten um die Ehrung der Frau allein, vielmehr scheint die Ehrung weit mehr und öfter auf die Familie der geehrten Frau und deren männliche Angehörige zu zielen, also des Teils der Gesellschaft, dem der öffentliche Raum traditionsgemäß vorbehalten war. Die Masse aller, zahlenmäßig (im Verhältnis zum männlichen Teil der Bevölkerung) bescheidenen Ehrungen von Frauen erfolgt im privaten Bereich, was im Zentrum der römischen Welt, in Rom, fast generell gilt, in erheblichem Umfang jedoch auch in den Städten Italiens. Hier blieben die Vorstellungen der römischen Gesellschaft über die Präsenz von Frauen im öffentlichen Leben auch in der Kaiserzeit weitgehend wirksam. In den Gemeinden der Provinzen scheint dies partiell anders gewesen zu sein, im Osten wie im Westen. Doch das wäre bereits ein anderes Thema⁴⁵.

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⁴⁵ Siehe dazu etwa die Literatur in Anm. 1; ferner van Bremen (1996).

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FEMALE MUNIFICENCE IN THE CITIES OF THE LATIN WEST*

Emily Hemelrijk

In one of his letters, Pliny the Younger presents a lively picture of Ummidia Quadratilla, an elderly lady of a well-known consular family from Casinum, who had recently died at the age of almost seventy-nine.¹ In his obituary, which starts with her name as if it were a public inscription, he vividly describes her robust physique and excellent health, praising her for the strict upbringing of her grandson and the excellent will she had left.² Yet, he does not turn a blind eye to her less appropriate habits: her fondness for playing draughts and watching her troupe of pantomime dancers, “on whom she fawned with a greater indulgence than appropriate for a woman of the greatest distinction”.³ In his sensitive assessment of this formidable woman, however, there is a remarkable lacuna in the information. Though Pliny calls her the ‘leading lady’ of the town (*princeps femina*) and dwells upon her popularity with the people because of their common love for pantomime,⁴ he

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¹ Plin. *Ep.* 7.24. For Ummidia Quadratilla and her family, see FOS 829, Syme (1968) 75–76 and Carlon (2009) 189–191 and 204–213.

² Her physique and health: Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.1: *usque ad novissimam valetudinem viridis, atque etiam ultra matronalem modum compacto corpore et robusto* (“she was vigorous until her last illness and had a sturdy physique and a robust constitution even beyond what was common for a matron”); her will: *decessit honestissimo testamento* (7.24. 2: “she died leaving an excellent will”); generally, her attitude towards her grandson is characterized by *amor*, *reverentia* and *pietas* (love, respect and familial devotion, 7.24.5 and 8). The letter begins with her name in the nominative as in building inscriptions and, occasionally, in honorific inscriptions (for instance, that of Iunia Rustica discussed below, n. 27).

³ Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.4: *Habebat illa pantomimos fovebatque effusius quam principi feminae convenit*. Her life of leisure: *Ep.* 7.24.5: *ut feminam in illo otio sexus, laxare animum lusu calculorum, solere spectare pantomimos suos* (“as a woman with the many idle hours of her sex she used to relax her mind by playing draughts and watching her pantomimes”); her luxurious life-style is summarized in Pliny’s characterization of her as an *avia delicata* (“self-indulgent grandmother”). The freedman mentioned in *CIL* 10, 1946 = *ILS* 5183 (Puteoli, It. 1): *C(aius) Ummidius / Actius / Anicetus / pantomimus*, may have been one of her pantomimes.

⁴ For Ummidia Quadratilla as *princeps femina*, Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.4. She had her pantomimes perform in the theatre before an exhilarated public, some of whom “jumped up and

does not reveal what must have been the main cause of her local renown: her munificence. By a stroke of luck, inscriptions from Casinum throw light on this side of her character. In spite of their fragmentary survival, they unequivocally show that Ummidia Quadratilla was an important benefactress: she built a temple and an amphitheatre and repaired the local theatre celebrating the dedication of the theatre with a public banquet for (probably) the decurions, the people, and the women of the town.⁵ Though she lived at least part of her life in Rome, Ummidia Quadratilla clearly felt an emotional bond with her native town, which prompted her to shower benefactions on it.

Pliny's reticence about Ummidia's benefactions is, to some extent, mirrored in modern discussions of civic munificence. Since, in the general perception, the typical civic benefactor was an upper-class man aspiring to social prestige and political power, female benefactors are often ignored or only mentioned in passing. Some scholars believe that women cannot be viewed separately from their social class and families and that female munificence, therefore, does not warrant a separate discussion. Others explain benefactresses away as exceptions or as "honorary men".⁶ A few include

applauded to show their admiration, and then mirrored every gesture of the grand lady with chants", as Pliny somewhat condescendingly relates, see Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.7: *exsultabant plaudebant mirabantur ac deinde singulos gestus dominae cum canticis reddebant*; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.4 and 6. I do not agree with Carlon (2009) 210, who assumes that the pantomimes were mimicking Ummidia Quadratilla.

⁵ *CIL* 10, 5183 = *ILS* 5628 = *EAOR* 4, 46 = *AE* 1991, +326 (on a limestone plaque from the amphitheatre in Casinum, It. 1): *Ummidia C(ai)f(ilia) / Quadratilla / amphitheatrum et / templum Casinatibus / sua pecunia fecit* ("Ummidia Quadratilla, daughter of Gaius, built the amphitheatre and the temple for the citizens of Casina from her own resources") and *AE* 1946, 174 = *AE* 1992, 244, a badly damaged inscription on fragments of a marble plaque in the theatre of Casinum: [*Ummidia C(ai)f(ilia) Qu*]ad[rati]l[la] theatr[um] / [impensis? patri]s sui [exornatum? vetus]tate / [collapsum Casinatibus su]a pec[unia] [res]titu[it et ob dedica]tionem / [decurionibus et popu]lo et [m]ulier[ibus epulum] dedit ("Ummidia Quadratilla, daughter of Gaius, restored the theatre that had been adorned on the expenses of her father and had collapsed by old age for the citizens of Casina from her own resources. To celebrate the dedication she gave a banquet to the *decuriones*, the people, and the women"). For discussion and alternative readings of this fragmentary inscription, see among others, Fora (1992); Syme (1968) 77 follows the earlier reading that she repaired the *scaena* of the theatre in honour of her father (*in h(onorem) C. Ummidii patri*]. *EAOR* 4, 47 (Casinum, It. 1; on two blocks of limestone found near the entrance of the amphitheatre): *Ummidia C(ai)f(ilia) Quadratilla / Asconia Secunda*, who may have been a sister, or half-sister, of Ummidia Quadratilla (see *FOS* 830) or is perhaps one and the same, see Syme (1968) 77 and Carlon (2009) 190.

⁶ Against a separate discussion of women, see Andreau (1977) 165: "Il serait absurde de constituer une catégorie à part regroupant toutes les femmes, alors que les femmes sont partie intégrante du groupe socio-juridique de leur père ou de leur frère, puis de leur mari." For female *euergeteis* as "honorary men", see Gordon (1990) 230: "Finally, women appear

'women' among the new groups of benefactors that came to the fore in the late second century, such as wealthy freedmen and members of the collegiate class. These new groups are believed to have undertaken less expensive acts of generosity, such as banquets and distributions.⁷ These contradictory assumptions have never been investigated: did civic benefactresses indeed only come to the fore in the late second century? Were they especially involved in small-scale donations? Should we regard them as inseparable from their class and families—and therefore not treat them separately—or were female benefactors so exceptional that they may justifiably be called honorary men?

Whatever the reasons, one thing is clear: by grouping female benefactors together with their families or explaining them away as honorary men, modern scholarship obscures their contributions to civic life. Moreover, such notions may easily lead to circular reasoning: calling benefactresses "honorary men" reinforces the assumption that benefactors were by definition male. And if women are believed to be inseparable from their families, the conclusion that they bestowed benefactions only to enhance the reputation of their families or to further the careers of their male relatives seems inevitable.⁸ Lastly, such reasoning ignores the distinct civic status of Roman women. Their position was ambiguous: on the one hand, they were citizens and members of their class but, on the other, their exclusion from politics made them civic outsiders. This calls for a separate treatment of their civic generosity, taking into account both the differences and the similarities with respect to contemporary male practice. By thus investigating female benefactors in the Latin West, I hope to achieve a better insight into their contribution to their respective cities and to contribute to a more differentiated view of civic munificence in the Latin West.

... in the role of *euergetês*, that is, as honorary men"; he regards them "as symptoms ... of the pressure which the obligation to give puts upon all wealthy families in a locality. They do not mark any particular shift in the social power of women in general". Zuiderhoek (2009) presents an excellent overview of earlier discussion of *euergetism*. Due to his focus on the political function of civic munificence, however, benefactresses are only mentioned in passing.

⁷ Mrozek (1987) 74–76; Patterson (2006) 173: "Whereas the construction of public buildings was so expensive that only a very few within the community could undertake it, the increasing popularity of distributions and their lower cost reflected the involvement of a much wider cross-section of the populace in civic benefaction; wealthy freedmen as well as *decuriones* and senators; women as well as men".

⁸ For instance, the conviction of Fagan (1999) 159 that "it is a dubious method to treat women separately from the male members of their social class", inevitably brings him to the conclusion that "their appearance seems little more than a general promotion of the family". For this view, see also Navarro Caballero (1997) 134 and (2001), and Petersen (2006) 51.

Since I exclude the empresses from my discussion, my definition of female civic munificence comprises all substantial donations to cities and to civic associations in Italy and the Latin-speaking provinces, which were initiated and paid for by non-imperial women. Gifts to individuals are excluded, as are votive offerings to deities, such as altars; in practice, however, the dividing line between votive offerings and civic benefactions is often indistinct. The numerous statues set up for deities illustrate this grey area. Though mostly dedicated for religious reasons, such statues embellished the temples and public spaces of the cities and could therefore perhaps also be regarded as civic benefactions. Yet, statues of deities (and statues set up in honour of individual persons, mostly male relatives) were donated by women in such numbers, that their sheer abundance impedes systematic collection. Besides, a public statue set up by a woman in honour, or in memory, of a relative or a friend may be regarded as a gift to that person expressing private ties rather than as a civic benefaction.⁹ In my discussion of female munificence, therefore, I have excluded almost all public statues, taking into consideration only statues women set up at more than average expense, such as gold and silver statues, colossal statues and statues set with precious stones. Because of their unusually high value, such statues may be regarded as substantial gifts to the community. Finally, I have excluded family donations and donations bestowed “in the name of” or “in honour of” a woman. In short, in order to qualify as a civic benefactress, the woman in question must be the sole donor of a substantial gift to a city or must share the expense with no more than one fellow-donor.

On these principles, I have selected 363 inscriptions of female benefactors, many of which record more than one benefaction. Geographically (fig. 1), the inscriptions are concentrated in Italy (48%)—with the almost total exclusion of the city of Rome, where in the imperial period the donation of public buildings (and the reception of public statues) was increasingly restricted to members of the imperial family¹⁰—and in the most densely urbanized and Romanized regions of northern Africa and southern and eastern Spain (together 39%). This accords with the general spread of civic munificence, though female benefactors are almost entirely confined to the Mediterranean regions, particularly to those regions that had

⁹ For similar reasons, Wesch-Klein (1990) 8–9 excludes votive offerings and statues from her discussion of civic benefactions in northern Africa, but Curchin (1983), Navarro Caballero (2001) and Melchor Gil (2009) include them in their discussions of (female) munificence in the provinces of Spain.

¹⁰ Eck (1984), Alföldy (1991) 296–297, Eck (1992), Lahusen (1983).

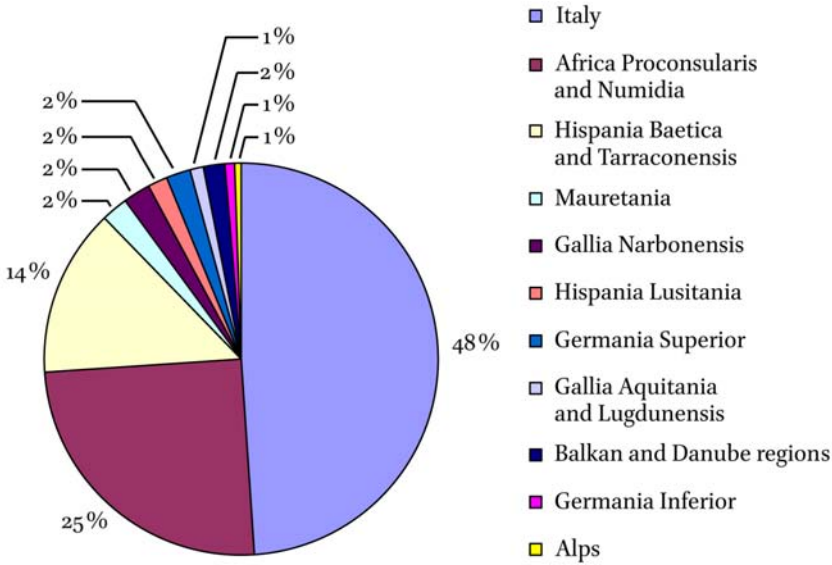


Fig. 1. Geographical spread (n = 363).

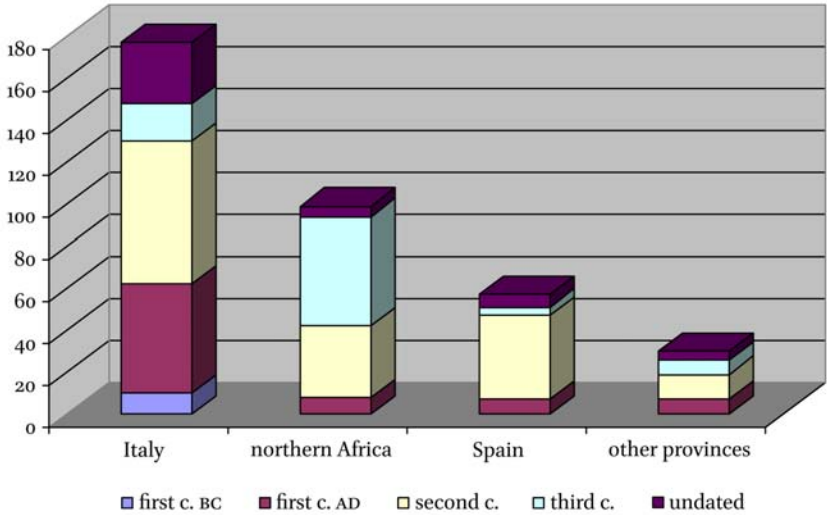


Fig. 2. Chronological spread (n = 363).

the greatest density of Roman or Roman-style cities.¹¹ As for the chronological distribution of the inscriptions, female munificence did indeed start late, but not as late as the second century AD.¹² The appearance of such inscriptions in Italy in the last decades BC coincides with the introduction of Roman marriage *sine manu* and other rulings which gave women of wealthy families an unprecedented legal capacity to dispose over their property.¹³ Accordingly, the emergence of benefactresses in the provinces closely follows the spread of Roman citizenship and Roman law.¹⁴

Wealth and the legal capacity to use it are an essential precondition for civic munificence, but they do not inevitably lead to such generosity: there must be strong incitements to spend substantial sums of money on the city rather than on one's own family. In an average local town, there was usually only a small group of families sufficiently wealthy and willing to bestow substantial benefactions, and in most regions (with the exception of

¹¹ For the predominance of Italy and northern Africa in inscriptions relating to civic munificence, especially public building, see Fagan (1999) 132 and Wesch-Klein (1990) 8; for munificence in southern and eastern Spain, see Mackie (1990), Curchin (1983) and, for female munificence, Melchor Gil (2009).

¹² In the Italy of the third and second centuries BC, virtually all benefactors were local magistrates and city patrons and thus invariably male, Jouffroy (1986) 59–61, see also Pobjoy (2000) on the construction of public buildings as part of the duties of local magistrates and other civic officials. The absence of evidence of benefactresses in the mid Republican period may be explained not only by their exclusion from politics, but also by their greater financial dependency in *manus*-marriages, and the stricter control of the *tutor*, which allowed only few women (mostly widows) some control over their finances, see Gardner (1990) 11–22 and Treggiari (1991) 28–32. In the Greek East, however, female munificence started somewhat earlier, see van Bremen (1996).

¹³ See Hemelrijk (2012) 488 and (2013b). For the effect of Roman civil law for women, see Gardner (1990), (1993) 85–109 and (1995); see also Treggiari (1991) on Roman marriage. For demographic reasons, we may assume that most adult women must have qualified for the Augustan *ius liberorum* at some point in their lives. Yet, even when still in *tutela*, women in the imperial period were not much hampered; as remarked by Jane Gardner (1995) 393: “where property is concerned, the legal capacity of Roman men and Roman women is virtually the same”.

¹⁴ Vespasian's grant of ‘Latin’ rights (*ius Latii*) to communities in Spain in the late first century (see Plin. *NH* 3.30 and Fear [1996] 131–169) and the promotion of numerous indigenous *civitates* in northern Africa to the status of *municipia* or *coloniae* in the second and early third centuries is closely succeeded by a marked increase in the number of women participating in civic life in these areas. Roman law and constitutions were, in practice, introduced in both *coloniae* and *municipia*, see Lintott (1993) 129–145. Though for legal proceedings between Roman citizens and ‘foreigners’ local law may have remained in force, allowing the parties a choice between Roman and indigenous law (see Ando [2011] 22–27 on legal pluralism and the use of local law before Caracalla), municipal charters, like that of Irni, stimulated non-Roman citizens to live according to Roman law, *inter alia* by dealing with them *as if* they were Roman citizens, see Gardner (1993) 188–190 and (2001).

northern Africa) conditions worsened in the third century.¹⁵ For male office-holders the benefits to their careers may seem obvious, but what inspired wealthy women to bestow donations from their own resources (*sua pecunia*) on the city? And to what extent did they conform to male practice, or was there a 'female' kind of civic munificence?

Let me start with the last question: apart from their later start, smaller numbers, and more restricted spread, were women's benefactions also different, or perhaps smaller in scale?¹⁶ As is apparent from figure 3, this is not the case; on the contrary, the majority of women's donations are of the most expensive type: public buildings. Of course, financing a public building stands a better chance of being recorded on stone than smaller, short-lived gifts such as public banquets and games, but even so, the outcome is remarkable. The percentage would have been even higher, if I had included civic benefactions by families in which women (usually wives and daughters) took part, since most family gifts involve public buildings.¹⁷ Banquets, distributions and games (here grouped together) were donated by a much smaller number of women, and even fewer are honoured for their *munificencia*

¹⁵ See Duncan Jones (1990) 160–184 on exemptions and evasion of *munera* and on the relative use of public and private money in the monumentalization of cities. For example, of the 750 women of equestrian rank listed by Alvarez Melero (2013), only 42 are known to have bestowed benefactions on their cities (this includes donations of statues and family gifts); the majority of them are from Italy (15), northern Africa (15) and Baetica (6).

¹⁶ Unfortunately, there is no recent survey of (male) civic munificence in the cities of the Latin West, which could serve as a background for my corpus of female benefactors. My comparison between male and female munificence is therefore somewhat impressionistic, based as it is on only a few studies of civic munificence in individual regions of the West. As to the relative numbers of male and female benefactors, these studies are largely consistent in suggesting that, in Italy, northern Africa and southern Spain, roughly one in every five or six civic benefactors was female, see Buonocore (2005) 537: one in five civic benefactors in *regio* 4 of Italy, and Frézouls (1990) 186: 19 to 20 percent (*regio* 10 and 11). For Spain, see Melchor Gil (2009) 136–138: women financed (or co-financed) 25.1 percent of the civic benefactions (including statues) in the Spanish provinces; in Baetica this percentage was higher (at almost 30%) than in the other two Spanish provinces (18–19%). For northern Africa: roughly 17 percent of the inscriptions in northern Africa discussed by Wesch-Klein (1990) record benefactions bestowed by non-imperial women, individually or together with their male relatives. Andreau (1977) 189: 22 percent of the foundations were financed by women, alone or together with a male relative. For a lower percentage of female munificence, see Mrozek (1987) 63 and 74–76, who estimates that women were responsible for about ten percent of the distributions of food or money in the cities of Italy.

¹⁷ Unfortunately, due to the lack of a study of munificence in the Latin West, it has been impossible to assess what percentage of public buildings donated by civic benefactors were financed by women, as compared to their share in financing banquets and distributions (estimated by Mrozek [1987] 63 and 74–76 as roughly ten percent). For some examples of family benefactions, see Hemelrijk (forthcoming).

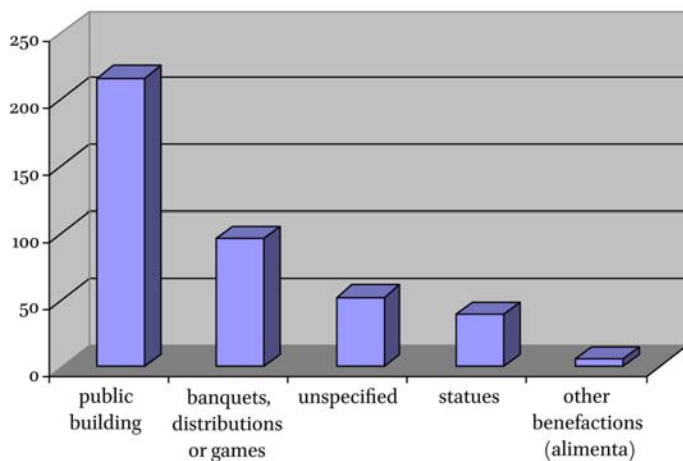


Fig. 3. Types of benefactions (n = 409).¹⁸

without further specification, or for setting up costly statues.¹⁹ Finally, there is a very small group of miscellaneous benefactions, especially *alimenta* (child support schemes). Thus, far from bestowing only the less generous donations, the evidence suggests that benefactresses were mainly involved in the more costly undertakings; some of these were among the highest recorded private outlays in their region.²⁰

¹⁸ This number is higher than the numbers for figures 1 and 2, since some benefactresses donated more than one type of benefaction. Almost a third of the benefactresses shared the expenses with a male relative (most often a husband). I have not been able to compare this percentage with that of male benefactors sharing the expenses with another person.

¹⁹ We have to keep in mind that this low number is caused by my selection of the evidence. If I had included all public statues set up by women, this would have been by far the largest category, see Hemelrijk (forthcoming) ch. 6, the section on 'female presence'. According to Donahue (2004) 887, women financed a quarter of the public statues in Spain, see also Navarro Caballero (2001) and (2004).

²⁰ For instance, Caelia Macrina (Tarracina, It. 1, mid 2nd c.; *CIL* 10, 6328 = *ILS* 6278) left 300,000 sesterces for the construction of an unidentified building, in addition to an unknown sum for its decoration and upkeep, as well as 1,000,000 sesterces for an alimentary scheme in her native town of Tarracina. Of course, the costs of public building varied depending on its scale, which ranged from modest repairs or embellishments to the construction of an

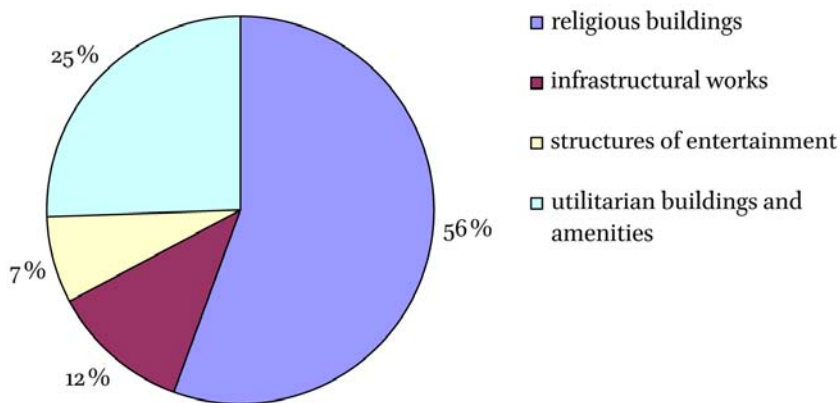


Fig. 4. Types of buildings (n = 216).

The range of women's benefactions, however, is somewhat more restricted than that of their male colleagues. For example, women did not finance embassies to Rome; nor did they spend money to relieve grain shortages. As for the buildings they donated (fig. 4), they built numerous bath-houses but no *curiae*; they paid for aqueducts, roads and arches, but only rarely for city walls or fortifications; they built theatres and amphitheatres, but no circuses. First and foremost, they built, decorated, and restored temples (56%). This preference for certain types of buildings is not solely bound up with gender or with women's political disabilities. Obviously, building temples accords with Roman notions of female propriety, which allowed women to exercise public functions mainly in the religious field. Yet, temples were also the most frequent public structures in any Roman city and

entire building. According to Duncan Jones (1982) 75, the highest attested building outlay in northern Africa was 600,000 sesterces for a temple at Lambaesis; in Italy building costs were sometimes higher, mainly because of the presence of the emperor among the benefactors (see pp. 125–126). Seen in this light, some women paid huge sums, cf. Gavia Maxima (Verona, It. 10, 1st c.; *CIL* 5, 3402 = *ILS* 5757) and Melia Annia (Iader, Dalm.; *CIL* 3, 2922 = *CIL* 3, 9987 = *ILS* 5598): 600,000 each, for an aqueduct, and for the pavement of the market and an arch with statues, respectively (both testamentary gifts); Annia Aelia Restituta (Calama, Num.; AD 161–169; *ILAlg* 1, 287 = *CIL* 8, 5366 and *ILAlg* 1, 286 = *CIL* 8, 5365 = *CIL* 8, 17495): 400,000 for a theatre. The cumulative expenses of some benefactresses (for instance, those of Ummidia Quadratilla) may have been even higher.

the buildings most often financed by private money.²¹ Similarly, women's preference for funding buildings for social use (such as bathhouses) over political structures may suggest a feminine approach, but it also coincides with a more general tendency in the second century to construct such buildings.²² Thus, female commissioners of buildings roughly followed the general trend. Yet, though we cannot speak of a distinct female kind of munificence, we should perhaps allow for some influence of gender within conventional munificence. For instance, female donors of public banquets and distributions more often included women among their beneficiaries and, unlike those of male donors, some *alimenta* sponsored by women benefited girls in equal numbers to boys, or even favoured girls over boys.²³

As regards the procedure, motives, and rewards of civic munificence, there is no essential difference between male and female benefactors (obviously apart from the motive of furthering the political career of the donor). Both the benefactions themselves and their most tangible reward—a public statue—had to be negotiated with the civic council. The inscriptions usually present such negotiations as a polite exchange of gift and counter-gift, as we see on a statue base for a wealthy lady in Nemausus: “To Indelvia Varilla, daughter of Titus, perpetual priestess of the imperial cult, who in return for the honour set up a silver statue with a base in the basilica, to the cost of 50,000 sesterces. Because of her munificence, the most venerable council decreed that a statue should be set up for her at public expense. Gratified

²¹ Cf. Jouffroy (1986) 320–321 (for Italy) and, for northern Africa, 263 and 399; Le Glay (1990) 79–80 remarks that, unlike other public buildings, almost all temples in northern Africa were set up with private money. Apart from reasons of social prestige and a feeling of obligation among the elite, religious piety seems to have been an important motive for munificence in northern Africa; Le Glay (1990) 84 speaks of “le caractère religieux de l'évergétisme privé africain”; see also Rives (1995) 178: “in Africa as a whole more temples were built by individuals than by public bodies”.

²² Patterson (2006) 178 speaks of “an urbanism based on sociability and conviviality”; cf. Lomas (2003) on shifts over time in the types of buildings donated by benefactors.

²³ For a more detailed discussion, see Hemelrijk (forthcoming). For instance, instead of omitting women or giving them the smallest sum, Varia Pansina (Nola, It. 1, AD 124–132; *AE* 1969/70, 106 = *AE* 1971, 85 = *AE* 2003, +325) distributed three sesterces per head to the people (*populus*) and to the women (*mulieres*). Caesia Sabina (Veii, It. 7, mid 3rd c.; *CIL* 11, 3811) gave a public banquet (*epulum*) for the mothers, sisters, and daughters of the members of the local council and for the women citizens of all ranks, and Capria Quinta (Corfinium, It. 4, 120–150; *CIL* 9, 3171) offered a banquet to the women (*mulieres*) at a rate of two sesterces per head (or in addition to a handout of two sesterces per head). The alimentary scheme of Caelia Macrina (Tarracina, It. 1, mid 2nd c.; *CIL* 10, 6328 = *ILS* 6278) included boys and girls in equal numbers (but at a different rate), and an alimentary endowment by Fabia Agrippina (Ostia, It. 1, mid 2nd c.; *CIL* 14, 4450 = *CIL* 14, 350) benefited girls only.

by this honour, she reimbursed the expenses”.²⁴ Thus, in return for her election as a *flaminica perpetua*, Indelvia Varilla set up a silver statue, the cost of which far exceeded the *summa honoraria* she was expected to pay.²⁵ In gratitude, the local council decreed a public statue to her, which was to be financed by the public treasury. Delighted with the honour of a statue, she graciously offered to bear the costs herself.

Obviously, such a polite ‘social ballet’ may hide tough and protracted negotiations,²⁶ but the inscriptions merely record the successful outcome, portraying all parties in the most favourable light. Thus, the honorific inscription for Iunia Rustica, priestess and benefactress of Cartima, after summing up her benefactions, records the result of her negotiations as follows:

Iunia Rustica, daughter of Decimus, first and perpetual priestess in the *municipium* of Cartima, restored the public porticos that had decayed due to old age, gave land for a bathhouse, reimbursed the public taxes, set up a bronze statue of Mars in the forum, gave at her own cost porticos next to the bathhouse on her own land, with a pool and a statue of Cupid, and dedicated them after giving a feast and public shows. Having remitted the expense, she made and dedicated the statues that were decreed by the council of Cartima for herself and her son, Gaius Fabius Iunianus, and she likewise made and dedicated at her own cost the statue for Gaius Fabius Fabianus, her husband.²⁷

In gratitude for her lavish benefactions, the local council voted to erect public statues to her and to her son. Accepting the honour, she remitted the expense, setting up the statues herself and adding one of her husband at her own cost. Thus, she formed a family group of statues. Incidentally, her example may serve as a warning not to assume that such family groups invariably centred on the male members of the family.

What these inscriptions implicitly reveal is the public nature and the protracted procedures of civic munificence. Years could elapse between the

²⁴ AE 1982, 682 (Nemausus, Gall.Narb., 161–200): *Indelviae T(iti) fil(iae) / Valerillae / flaminicae / perpetuae / quae pro eo honore / statuam argenteam cum / basi ex HS L M N (quingaginta milibus nummum) / in basilica posuit / ob quam munificentiam / ordo sanctissimus / statuam ei ponendam / de publico decrevit / quae honore contenta / impendium remisit.*

²⁵ Hemelrijk (2006) 88–92.

²⁶ Cf. the speech of Apuleius (*Flor.* 16) urging the local council of Carthage finally to erect his long-promised statue, see Hemelrijk (forthcoming) ch. 6.

²⁷ CIL 2, 1956 = ILS 5512 = ILM Malaga 6 (Cartima, Hisp.Baet. late 1st c.): *Iunia D(ecimi) fil(ia) Rustica sacerdos / perpetua et prima in municipio Cartimitan[o] / porticus public(as) vetustate corruptas refecit solum / balinei dedit vectigalia publica vindicavit signum / aereum Martis in foro posuit porticus ad balineum / solo suo cum piscina et signo Cupidinis epulo dato / et spectaculis editis d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) d(edit) d(edicavit) statuas sibi et C(aio) Fabio / Iuniano filio suo ab ordine Cartimitanorum decretas / remissa impensa item statuam C(aio) Fabio Fabiano viro suo / d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) f(actus) d(edit).* For discussion see Donahue (2004).

first public promise (*pollicitatio*) and the eventual dedication of a public building.²⁸ Throughout these years the building under construction was known by the name of the donor, who, on its completion, recorded his or her name in grand letters over the entrance. The official dedication of the building with a feast, a distribution, or games provided a further occasion for publicity, in which the donor was again at the centre of public attention. Finally, the building was named after the donor and retained that name as long as it was in use, despite possible restorations by others.²⁹

Thus, it was not only the eventual award of a public statue, but the whole process of gift-giving that brought renown to the donor, whether male or female. Scholars who believe that women should only be studied together with their families assume that the social enhancement of the family and the political advance of their male relatives were the main motives for female munificence (see above n. 8). Thus for women, otherwise than for men, they postulate selfless motives. To my mind, however, the modern distinction between individual prestige and that of the family is misleading; civic munificence allowed benefactresses to enhance their personal prestige *and* that of their families. Let us take the example of Mineia, for instance, a woman of senatorial rank in Paestum in the late Republic. Since benefactors were allowed to erect statues of themselves and their families in the buildings they donated, Mineia put up statues of herself, her husband, her two brothers, her son and her grandson in the basilica she gifted to the town. At the same time, she was individually granted a public statue elsewhere in the town, and the local senate minted small bronze coins in her honour with her portrait and the legend *Minea M(arci) f(ilia)* and, on the reverse, the basilica.³⁰ Thus, munificence enhanced the status of the donor *and* that of the family and descendants.

²⁸ Johnston (1985). Official promises, which were legally binding, were made orally or by means of a letter to the city council (and sometimes the citizens) of the town. The letter from Julia Memmia to the city council and her fellow citizens (Bulla Regia, Afr.Proc., 220–240; *ILAfr* 454 = *AE* 1973, 578 = *AE* 1921, 45) that was inscribed at the back of her statue base after the completion of her baths, may have been an official letter announcing her donation, but unfortunately it is badly damaged, see Hemelrijk (2004) 221.

²⁹ Roman law rules that restorers of buildings had to preserve the names of the original builders, see Wesch-Klein (1989) 187–188.

³⁰ *ILPaestum* 163, a very damaged inscription suggesting that she also donated the portico and pavement in front of the basilica. For the statues she erected for herself and her relatives in the basilica: *ILPaestum* 81–85 and *AE* 1975, 248–250; her honorific statue erected somewhere else (probably in the forum) by the *magistri Mentis Bonae*: *ILPaestum* 18. For the coins of Mineia, see Hemelrijk (2013a). See for Mineia also the article by Alison Cooley in this volume.

Does this mean that a desire for public honour was the main reason for women's benefactions, as is commonly assumed for male benefactors? To my mind, this is too one-sided. The motives of civic benefactors, male or female, must have been highly complex. Not only did different benefactors have varying motives due to differences in wealth, social status, gender, ambition and family traditions, but several motives must also have competed within the same person. Apart from a desire for public honour, a wish to be remembered favourably, pride in one's city, and a wish to enhance its beauty or contribute to its amenities must have been powerful motives; religious sentiments, too, must often have induced benefactors to build, adorn or restore temples.³¹ Furthermore, there is the possible influence of family strategies, of the desire to live up to a family tradition, or of competition between social peers. It is beyond the scope of the present article to examine all these motives in detail, but with the exception of furthering a political career, all these motives are also found in female benefactors.

Apart from this, we should not underestimate the influence of social pressure to spend money on the city, which weighed heavily on all wealthy citizens. Of course, the inscriptions do not mention such pressure, but the legal obligation, and frequent evasion, of *munera* shows that there was considerable resistance among wealthy families to undertake financial obligations for the benefit of the cities. This may also hold for 'voluntary' benefactions. A glimpse of this emerges from casual remarks in the literary sources, such as the remarks of Apuleius about the wealthy widow Aemilia Pudentilla, who felt forced to celebrate her marriage to Apuleius in her suburban villa and not in her native city of Oea in order to avoid the pressure of the city populace for a distribution of money. On earlier family occasions such distributions had cost her 50,000 sesterces, which, despite her great fortune, she considered burdensome.³² The decline in prosperity in most regions in the third century—with the exception of northern Africa—is reflected in the decreasing numbers of benefactresses. Thus, female munificence follows the general trend; there is no indication that women were pushed to prominence as benefactresses when male benefactors became scarce.

³¹ For a mixture of motives with due attention to the central notion of public honour (as motive and reward), see for instance, Mackie (1990) 183–190, Johnston (1985) 105–106, Hemelrijk (2006), and Verboven (2007) 868–869; Eck (1997) 327–328 adds some examples of benefactors reaping financial profit from their gifts. Discussing the importance of religious motives for munificence, Le Glay (1990) 83–84 underlines “le caractère religieux de l'évergétisme privé africain”.

³² Apul. *Apol.* 87.10–88.1.

In the last part of this paper, I shall briefly look at two aspects of female munificence: gender and social status. The ambiguous position of women who were, on the one hand, firmly embedded in their class and families but, on the other, regarded as a separate group, is reflected in the way they were judged. They were expected to live up to the standards both of their class and families and of women in general. Thus, we find benefactresses who emulated the tradition of their families and others who followed “the example of distinguished women” or competed with them as to the scope of their benefactions.³³ Yet, at the same time, women’s heavily draped portrait statues, and the occasional praise of their modesty and chastity, emphasized not only their distinguished status, but also their traditional female virtues.

Marking the esteemed position of the portrayed, honorific statues served not only to reward the honorands and encourage them to bestow more benefactions, but also guaranteed posthumous fame. As women competed with men for public recognition in the public areas of their towns, the statues of prominent benefactresses thus formed role models for other women.³⁴ The more statues a city erected for women, the stronger the competition must have become. Of course, the awe-inspiring statues of empresses and of women of senatorial rank provided the ultimate model, but once a public statue proved to be within reach for a woman of local standing, other women must have been eager not to be outdone. Wealthy women of the sub-elite classes and new citizens of wealthy peregrine families probably looked at the statues of their distinguished compatriots as an example to be emulated. When set up in sufficient numbers, then, public statues for women must have given rise to an increased rivalry among women of the local elite and those who aspired to elite status.

This is where social status comes in. All benefactresses must have been among the wealthiest citizens of their towns, but only forty percent are known to have belonged to the elite orders (fig. 5). This is, of course, disproportionate to their actual numbers; nevertheless, the percentage of benefac-

³³ Some examples: Iulia, *flaminica* in Mustis (Afr.Proc., 222–235; AE 1968, 588 = *IMustis* 20) was honoured for her generosity “in imitation of the munificence of her parents and forefathers, who showed themselves munificent towards their native city” (*imi[tata paren]/tes maioresq(ue) suos, qui munifici in [patriam] / extiterunt*). Agusia Priscilla, priestess and benefactress of Gabii (It. 1, 138–140; CIL 14, 2804 = *ILS* 6218), was praised for emulating “the example of distinguished women” (*exemplo inlustrium feminarum*) and Caesia Sabina, priestess and benefactress of Veii (It. 7; mid 3rd c.; CIL 11, 3811), was singled out for praise as “the only one of all women” (*sola omnium / feminarum*) to have presented a feast for all female citizens of the town.

³⁴ Davies (2008).

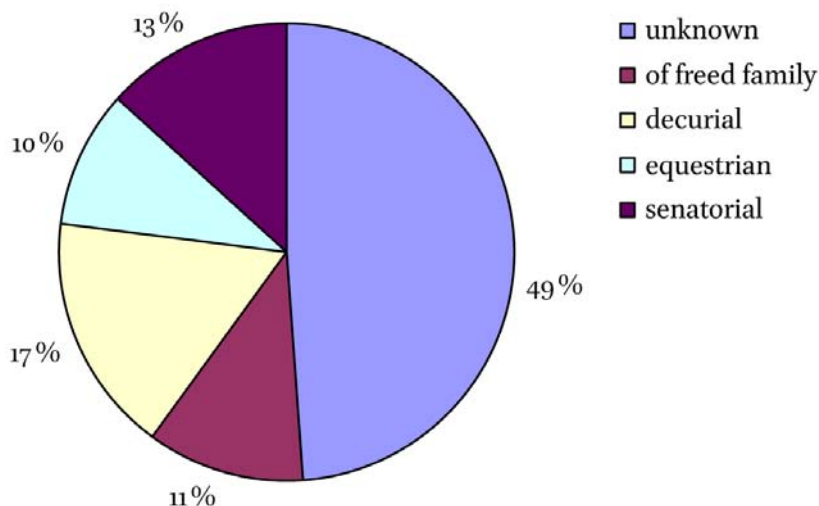


Fig. 5. Social status (n = 363).

tresses of unknown status and of freed families (together sixty percent) is remarkably high. These benefactresses are not restricted to a certain period or region, but are spread evenly in place and over time. Thus, throughout the period under discussion, civic benefactresses were a socially heterogeneous group and so—we may assume—were their motives and rewards. For women of the elite, especially those of senatorial and equestrian rank, social pressure and a feeling of obligation ('noblesse oblige') must have been compelling motives, as well as a family tradition of generosity. Because of their high rank and wealth, these benefactresses were of great importance for the cities: not only did they bestow some of the grandest gifts recorded in the inscriptions, but their distinguished names brought fame to the cities they favoured. For senatorial women themselves, civic munificence brought no essential increase in status: though they probably enjoyed the associated social esteem, their elevated rank already set them above local affairs. Some may have looked to the empress as a model, but more often, I believe, the influence was mutual. A benefactress like Mineia (n. 30 above), for instance, preceded the empresses in time and may perhaps have inspired their deeds.

At the other end of the social scale, women of non-elite rank and of freed or foreign extraction had much to gain by civic munificence: it brought them

the public recognition that they lacked because of their humble rank or foreign descent. Though other motives should not be excluded, benefactresses outside the elite probably sought public honour and an advance in status for themselves and their descendants. However, the most desired public honour, a public statue, was beyond most of them, since it was only rarely awarded to benefactresses (or, for that matter, benefactors) of sub-elite status.³⁵ Perhaps in compensation for the lack of this mark of honour, we find an inclination towards self-promotion among benefactors of sub-elite status. This may be illustrated by the well-known relief in the pediment of the temple of the Augustales in Misenum, that portrays Cassia Victoria, the donor of the monumental *pronaos*, and her husband in the guise of Faustina Minor and Antoninus Pius.³⁶ By imitating the traits of the late emperor and his daughter(!), the couple may have been expressing their loyalty to the imperial family, but the extraordinary size and location of their busts, encircled by a wreath of oak leaves held by winged *Victoriae*, make them an extreme example of self-promotion. This is in stark contrast to the silence on the subject of Ummidia Quadratilla's benefactions in the letters of Pliny. Aristocrats like Ummidia Quadratilla and Pliny looked down upon self-glorification (or at least they pretended to do so), but then, they could do without.³⁷

In conclusion, civic munificence integrated women into public life and provided them with a way to acquire local *dignitas*. To benefactresses of sub-elite rank, it brought social recognition and an increase in status, which also benefited the careers of their children and descendants. The public esteem and authority ensuing from civic munificence must also have been attractive to women of the elite. For them, civic munificence was one of the few ways in which they could leave their mark on the city. The almost

³⁵ For rules of hierarchy in erecting statues, see Alföldy (1979) and (1984); see also Hemelrijk (2013a).

³⁶ AE 1993, 477 (Misenum, It. 1): *Cassia C(ai).fil(lia) Victoria, sacerdos Augustalium, pronauum cum columnis et epistylis, nomine suo et / L(uci) Laecanii Primitivi, mariti sui, ob eximiam eorum erga se benivolentiam, cuius dedic(at)ione epulum et sing(ulis) HS XII n(ummum) dedit* ("Cassia Victoria, daughter of Gaius, priestess of the Augustales, donated the *pronaos* with its columns and epistyle in her own name and that of her husband, Lucius Laecanius Primitivus, because of their [i.e. the Augustales] extraordinary benevolence towards her [or them]. To celebrate its dedication she gave a banquet and a handout of twelve sesterces each"), with discussion by Adamo Muscettola (2000) 39–42 and Hemelrijk (2012).

³⁷ Plin. *Ep.* 1.8 hesitates about whether he should publish his speech on the dedication of the public library he had built for the city of Comum for fear of giving the impression of courting public favour. Throughout the speech he is anxious not to indulge in self-praise (*laus propria*): "fame should be the result, not the purpose of our conduct" (Plin. *Ep.* 1.8.14: *Sequi enim gloria, non adpeti debet*).

regal title *princeps femina* (for Ummidia Quadratilla) testifies to the prominence that such high ranking women could enjoy locally. Though benefactresses remained a minority in civic munificence throughout the Empire, they were sufficiently noteworthy to attract the attention of their fellow citizens and the local councils, who courted their favours in the hope of more benefactions. Incidentally, female munificence changed the notion of exemplary womanhood. In contrast to the women of Rome's venerated past, whose main assets were supposed to be chastity, modesty and domesticity, the women held up as the model of matronhood in the local cities of the imperial period were high ranking women of wealth. Combining their public prominence with the traditional female virtues, civic benefactresses are thus presented as both ideal citizens *and* exemplary matrons.

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THE PUBLIC PRESENCE OF WOMEN
IN THE CITIES OF ROMAN NORTH AFRICA.
TWO CASE STUDIES: THAMUGADI AND CUICUL

Christian Witschel

1. *Introduction*

This paper deals with the ‘monumental’ presence of women in the cities of Roman North Africa, i.e. their appearance in inscriptions and portrait statues which were erected on the public places of this region’s urban centres, thus being visible for a broader audience. As these ‘civic monuments’ were a vital element of the social life and collective memory of such towns, it will be important to study the role of women within this context. In order to do so I will focus on case studies for which I have selected two middle-sized towns in the Roman province of Numidia: Thamugadi (Timgad) and Cuicul (Djemila). These examples have several advantages for our investigation. First of all, both towns have yielded a rather extensive epigraphic material of about 600 inscriptions each.¹ Secondly, we possess a clear-cut starting-point for the development of these cities as both were founded as (veteran) colonies at the end of the first century AD;² and we can follow the evolution of the social structures at these places quite closely for the following 200 years. Finally, it is of some importance that both Thamugadi and Cuicul have been extensively (if often rather crudely) excavated by French archaeologists in the late 19th and earlier 20th centuries so that we know most of the

¹ There is no modern collection of the inscriptions of Thamugadi which have been edited in a wide variety of corpora and journals. I brought together most of this epigraphic material in my MA-thesis twenty years ago: Witschel (1992). In recent years only very few additions to this sample were made (as recorded in *AE*); for a short summary of these, see Witschel (2009) 191–192 n. 8. The inscriptions of Cuicul have fared much better in this respect as they were completely re-edited only a few years ago in *ILAlg* 2.3.

² In the case of Thamugadi we have an exact date for the foundation of the colony, i.e. the year AD 100 (see below n. 4); whereas the early history of Cuicul is much more disputed due to the lack of explicit sources. Nevertheless, there are strong indications that the foundation of Cuicul as a *colonia* also took place in the late first century AD; see most recently Kleinwächter (2001) 65–72 and Dupuis (2001)—whom I cannot, however, follow in all points.

built-up areas and especially the central places, including a large number of inscriptions connected to the public sphere.³ It is thus possible to investigate the importance that monuments put up for or by women had in the public realm of two smaller cities of Roman Africa. In the case of Thamugadi I will look at the totality of the civic society as reflected in the epigraphic record and at the position of women within this sample; whereas with regard to Cuicul I will concentrate on the equipment of the large public places and buildings with (statuary) monuments and adjoining inscriptions in order to evaluate the role of the female members of the civic body in this context.

2. *Thamugadi*

Thamugadi was founded as a colony (named *colonia Marciana Traiana Thamugadi*) by the emperor Trajan in AD 100.⁴ A rigid urban planning scheme probably designed by military architects was used for the layout of the town, and its outward appearance must have been rather austere during these first years as it still lacked most of the important civic structures. It was only during the following generations, and up until the early third century, that the urban fabric of the town was improved to a considerable degree through the construction of a large number of civic and religious buildings. Most of these were financed either through public funds (*pecunia publica*) or by the investment of private money resulting from promises connected to elections for the municipal magistracies (*pollicationes*) or from private benefactions (*munificentia*). In the first years of the colony the local society, presumably for the most part consisting of veterans of the *legio III Augusta* and their families who settled in Thamugadi, must have been rather homogeneous, although this is difficult to prove due to a lack of epigraphic sources securely dated to the early period. From the middle of the second century onwards, however, a process of differentiation and hierarchisation began which transformed the social structures of Thamugadi during the decades that followed. One result of this process was the establishment of a stable municipal aristocracy, while the leading families of the town even

³ For a short description of the excavations and the most important buildings of Thamugadi, see Courtois (1951) and Lassus (1969). The best portrayals of the city of Cuicul and its urban development are to be found in Février (1964) and (1978); cf. also Kleinwächter (2001) 62–150.

⁴ This is demonstrated by two 'founding inscriptions' which were once attached to the gates of the town: *CIL* 8, 2355 = 17842 = *ILS* 6841 and *CIL* 8, 17843; cf. Dupuis (1994).

managed to procure further social advancement by entering the equestrian and senatorial order from the later second century onwards.⁵ The members of this elite increased their social prestige through office holding and patronage (both municipal and private) as well as through different forms of euergetism that were commemorated by inscriptions attached to buildings and other structures. The most important way in which the whole civic community, and also some individuals, could reciprocally express their gratitude to these prominent persons and record their deeds for posterity was through the erection of portrait statues with honorific inscriptions. These monuments were set up in the public places of the town where they were to be seen by large parts of the local population and also by foreign visitors. The forum of Thamugadi in particular became filled with statues from the middle of the second century onwards.⁶ It is therefore quite clear that those persons whose names turn up in such 'civic inscriptions'—both actively (as sponsors of monuments or activities for the benefit of the whole community) and passively (as recipients of an honour)—can mostly be regarded as belonging to the upper strata of local society. With these observations in mind we can now have a closer look at the epigraphic record known from Thamugadi and try to elucidate the position of women within it.

The epigraphic evidence from Thamugadi is quite rich, although not superabundant when compared to other African towns of a similar size: we know c. 550 inscriptions from this city and its immediate surroundings, most of which can be dated to the second and third centuries AD.⁷ With regard to the types of inscriptions present in this sample, we can note that the largest group of *tituli* is—not surprisingly—made up of funerary inscriptions (53%), followed by statue bases with honorific inscriptions (26%), building inscriptions (11%), votive inscriptions (7%) and others (3%). It is remarkable that the proportion of votive and especially of funerary inscriptions is—at least in comparison with the epigraphic material of other towns—rather low; and it is not easy to find a convincing explanation for this phenomenon.⁸ However, one fact stands out: only about 3% of these

⁵ For the social history of Thamugadi, cf. Witschel (1992), (1995a) and (2009); furthermore Briand-Ponsart (2003) and Gilhaus (2013).

⁶ For the forum of Thamugadi and the statues which were placed on it, see Zimmer (1989) 38–51; Gros (1990–1992); Witschel (1995b) 342–349.

⁷ The following numbers are based on Witschel (1992), with some additions of recently published epigraphic material (cf. above n. 1).

⁸ Looking at the religious sphere it is remarkable that in Thamugadi one of the commonest type of votive offerings in Africa, the stelae dedicated to the popular god Saturnus, very often were not equipped with an inscription (in contrast to the situation in Cuicul); cf.

funerary inscriptions name members of the (local) aristocracy who can be identified as such. Two conclusions may be drawn from this situation: (a) most of the—more elaborate—funerary monuments of the municipal elite have probably not been found yet; and (b) it can be assumed that the great majority of individuals mentioned in the ‘normal’ funerary inscriptions from Thamugadi were members of the local ‘middle class’. These reflections are of some importance when we now turn to the persons commemorated in the epigraphic material from Thamugadi.

The total number of persons who can be identified as citizens of Thamugadi by looking at the epigraphic evidence is 622 (including some who are only attested outside of the town). This surely represents a rather low rate of attestation. To bring the number of known citizens into perspective one can try to calculate the total number of inhabitants of Thamugadi in the period from the foundation of the colony in AD 100 to the end of the third century AD, i.e. within about 6 generations. Thamugadi was a rather small town, and from the size of the inhabited area we can reckon with c. 5,000 people living in the urbanized centre, i.e. with a total of c. 30,000 for the period in question. From these figures it becomes clear that in the case of Thamugadi we know only about 2% of the population through the epigraphic evidence⁹—and this is the only source we can use to study the composition of the local society. We will probably never know what part of the epigraphic heritage of second and third century Thamugadi has been lost through the ages or has not been detected yet. It has to be kept in mind, however, that the town was more or less completely abandoned after the sixth century AD (with no substantial later settlement existing in its immediate surroundings) and that large parts of it have been excavated in modern times. It can therefore be assumed that the loss of ancient inscriptions was proportionally lower here than in other cities of the Roman Empire. This in turn would mean that a very substantial number of people living in Thamugadi during the imperial period never had the chance of being recorded in a document engraved in durable material (even on a simple gravestone) and is thus invisible for us. It is therefore evident that the following state-

Le Glay (1966) 125–161. As for the relatively low number of funerary inscriptions known from Thamugadi it might be supposed that not all cemeteries of the Roman town have been found by the archaeological investigations.

⁹ The ratio of surviving epigraphic testimonies is a bit better with regard to the members of the local *ordo decurionum*: we can calculate that we know around 4% of the *decuriones* of Thamugadi who were active in the second and third centuries through the epigraphic record, and even more of the *flamines perpetui* from the same period (see below n. 46).

ments concerning the society of Thamugadi do not have 'statistical' value in a mathematical sense—they are better understood in a descriptive manner.

Of the 622 persons known as citizens of Thamugadi through the epigraphic record, 182 are women, that is around 29%. At first glance this is a substantial number, although it is certainly lower than the real proportion of women in the local population which should have been near 50%. There is thus some bias towards the representation of men in the epigraphic record of Thamugadi, but this is not as pronounced as we might have expected. However, if we also take into account the types of inscriptions in which women are recorded, the picture becomes more nuanced: the vast majority of these women are attested in short funerary inscriptions (162)¹⁰ as well as in votive inscriptions (7), whereas only a few are named in a more elaborate form in honorific inscriptions on statue bases (18) and in building inscriptions (3) which were put up in public. We can also view this from another perspective: the latter two types of inscriptions form the category of 'civic inscriptions' which were so important for the communication and commemoration of social values and prestige (see above). From Thamugadi we know a total of 208 *tituli* of this kind (which is a rather high number), but only 21 of these (i.e. around 10%) mention women.

This situation is also reflected in the social status of the women who are known from inscriptions. Most of these were not of a very high social standing: 17 can be regarded as *servae* or *libertae*, whereas another 13 have only one name. The large majority (139) consists of ordinary female members of the civic body, i.e. women with *duo* (or very rarely *tria*) *nomina*, but no distinctive signs of an affiliation to the local elite, nearly all of them being mentioned in simple funerary or votive inscriptions.¹¹ Only 10 women can be regarded as belonging to families of the municipal elite, and two others are even known as *clarissimae feminae*. Concerning those women who are merely recorded in funerary and votive inscriptions we normally do not have

¹⁰ Most of these were quite simple monuments, but in a few cases (as in AE 2000, 1773; cf. Dupuis [2000] 286–288 no. 6) such funerary texts for common citizens of Thamugadi were more elaborate.

¹¹ There is only one exception to this 'rule', namely the freedwoman(?) Plotia Faustina [F/S 5], who is called *alumna* in the inscriptions that mention her. She was the daughter of Plotius Thallus, who also was an *alumnus*. Together with her father she erected two statues of their *patroni*, M. Plotius Faustus s. Sertius, *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus*, and his wife Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia (see below) which were placed at the entrance to the *macellum* that had been built by the Sertii in the early third century (see n. 52): *CIL* 8, 2395 and 2396.

more information than the simple name, and it is thus nearly impossible to assess their role in the public life of the town. The latter can only be done with regard to the few women of higher social status who are mentioned in some sort of 'civic inscriptions', and it might therefore be useful to take a closer look at them. This will be done in the form of a short prosopographical catalogue:¹²

a. *clarissimae feminae* (2)¹³

ARMINIA PAULLINA [S 2]:¹⁴ daughter of a *flamen perpetuus*; she was probably first married to an (unknown) *vir clarissimus* and later to a high-ranking *eques Romanus*; her son was a *clarissimus puer*. She was honoured with a statue by a 'friend and fellow citizen' of her husband (*amicus et municeps mariti eius*);¹⁵ and her—rather unimpressive—gravestone is (probably) also extant.¹⁶ Date: late second/early third century AD.

MANLIA PUDENTILLA [S 4]:¹⁷ *flaminica*; married (1) to a member of the *ordo senatorius* from the leading family of the Flavii Pudentes Pomponiani¹⁸ and (2) to a man belonging to the local elite. Known through a votive offering of a *dens* (a tusk of an elephant) to the *Genius patriae suae* initiated by her

¹² The numbers in square brackets refer to the more detailed prosopographical discussions in Witschel (1992).

¹³ In addition to these two *clarissimae feminae* who belonged to families of local origins we also know of two women of senatorial rank who were not citizens of the town but were honoured with statues in Thamugadi: Calpurnia Quadratilla (*PIR*² C 332; Raepsaet-Charlier [1987] 175 no. 181), wife of an important senator from Cirta in the later second century AD, was given a statue by the city (*CIL* 8, 2390); and Prastina C.f. Pacata (*PIR*² P 930; Raepsaet-Charlier [1987] 527–528 no. 652), daughter of a 'governor' of Numidia and *patronus* of Thamugadi was honoured with a statue in the 140s AD (*CIL* 8, 17898).

¹⁴ *PIR*² A 1066; Pflaum (1960) 545–548 no. 202; Le Glay (1982) 772; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 106–107 no. 91; cf. Zimmer (1989) 70–71.

¹⁵ Pflaum (1960) 545 inscription no. 2 (this seems to be the only edition of the inscription). The statue base was later reused in the Byzantine fortress; its original location is therefore unknown.

¹⁶ *BCH* 1907, 277 no. 2 (re-used in the *atrium* of an early Christian church, probably brought there from one of the cemeteries of the town). This seems to be a gravestone, although the inscription is very short and lacks distinctive signs of a funerary context: *Arminiae / Paullinae c(larissimae) / f(eminae) sacrum*.

¹⁷ Le Glay (1982) 772; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 438–439 no. 519; Bassignano (2005) 418 no. 56.

¹⁸ For the rather complicated reconstruction of this family's genealogy, see Jacques (1983) 63–65 no. 21; Le Glay (1982) 772; Laronde (1985); Witschel (1995a) 314–319 (with the stemma on p. 318).

(*viva praeoverat*) together with her husband;¹⁹ the vow was then fulfilled by her children, one of them a *clarissimus vir*. Date: probably early third century AD.

b. *Women Related to Men of Equestrian Rank* (3)

CORNELIA VALENTINA TUCCIANA S. SERTIA [SO 26]:²⁰ *flaminica perpetua*; married to M. Plotius Faustus s. Sertius, *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus*. Together with her husband she donated the *macellum* of the town and also another building, and she further erected a statue of Hygieia Augusta in her private house. She was honoured with five statues by her husband (twice), two *alumni*, her foster-son and the city (four of these statues stood in the *macellum* and one probably on a public place).²¹ Date: around AD 200.

FLAVIA T.F. PROCILLA [SO 29]:²² *flaminica perpetua*; (half)sister(?)²³ of an *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus*, married to a member of the local elite who was *quinquennalis* and *flamen perpetuus*. She was honoured with a statue by her (half)brother Monimus,²⁴ and she herself erected a statue of this man, probably on the forum.²⁵ Date: mid-second century AD.

VIRRIA FLAVIA SEVERIANA PETRONIANA S. VALUBIS [SO 27]:²⁶ *flaminica*(?); daughter of an *eques Romanus* and *decurio* of Carthage who was also *curator rei publicae* and *flamen perpetuus* at Thamugadi.²⁷ She was honoured with a

¹⁹ AE 2008, 1697: *Dentem votum quem / Manlia Pudentilla c(larissima) f(emina) / eademque fl(aminica) cum L(ucio) Va(lerio) Maximo marito / suo viva praeoverat ...*. This inscription, which has been known for more than 50 years, has only now been properly published; see Hamdoune (2008) 155–160. The text was engraved on an hexagonal base/altar (for the *dens*) which stood in the central temple of the vast sanctuary to the south of the ‘old’ city (beneath the later Byzantine fortress) that was enlarged in the Severan period. This temple was dedicated to the *dea patria* who is to be identified as the *dea Africa*; cf. Le Glay (1991).

²⁰ Bassignano (1974) 298 no. 17; Wesch-Klein (1990) 331–332 no. 10; Bassignano (2005) 417–418 no. 55.

²¹ For the epigraphic record of Tucciana, see below n.s 52–58.

²² Bassignano (1974) 294 no. 4; Bassignano (2005) 416–417 no. 53.

²³ She is called a *cognata* of this man; cf. Pavis d’Esurac (1980) 191 with n. 6.

²⁴ AE 1941, 45 (later reused in the Byzantine fortress).

²⁵ CIL 8, 2403 = ILS 6122 (this base was later reused to engrave the *album* of the local *ordo* in the mid fourth century AD).

²⁶ Pavis d’Esurac (1980) 184 with n. c).

²⁷ See the discussion in Bassignano (1974) 121 no. 22; Jacques (1983) 377–379 no. LXXVIII.

statue on a public place by two (male) *amici* (probably of lower social status) of her father.²⁸ Date: second third of the third century AD.

c. *Women Belonging to Families of the Municipal Aristocracy* (7)

ANNIA M.F. CARA [SO 28]:²⁹ *flaminica*;³⁰ daughter of a *libertus* (who had been freed by a *veteranus ex centurione* belonging to the first generation of settlers at Thamugadi). Cara, together with her sister Annia Tranquilla (see below), erected a statue of *Fortuna Augusta* on the forum which had been bequeathed as an act of *munificentia* by a *collibertus* of their father who himself had also given money for this purpose; together, the women added an *aedicula*, paying HS 4400 *de suo* and also sponsoring an *epulum*.³¹ Date: second quarter of the second century AD.

ANNIA M.F. TRANQUILLA: no explicit indication of social status. For her family connections and munificence, see above.

MARCIA CAELIA PROCILLA (DON[---]?)³² [SO 33]:³³ daughter of a member of the local aristocracy (a *quinquennalis* and *flamen perpetuus*) and of Flavia Procilla, *flaminica perpetua* (see above). She married into the leading family of the Flavii Pudentes Pomponiani;³⁴ and her grandson was a *vir clarissimus*. She was honoured with a statue by the *liberti* of the family (perhaps on

²⁸ AE 1909, 156 (found in the Byzantine fortress, but the closing formula *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* shows that the statue once stood on a public place). For the reading of the inscription, see BCTH 1932–1933, 197, where the letters FL at the end of l. 4 are interpreted as *fl(aminicae)*. Bassignano (2005) 419 no. * 59, however, remains doubtful whether Petroniana really was a *flaminica*.

²⁹ Bassignano (1974) 294 no. 5; Wesch-Klein (1990) 326 no. 1; Bassignano (2005) 417 no. 54.

³⁰ It is not clear how Cara, the daughter of a *libertus*, could reach the prestigious position of a *flaminica*. Perhaps she was married to an (unknown) *flamen perpetuus*. On the other hand, it is quite possible that Cara managed to accomplish an upward social mobility by her own, as this is in some cases documented for *flaminicae* stemming from (wealthy) libertine families; cf. Hemelrijk (2005) 159–160 and (2006) 85–88.

³¹ CIL 8, 17831 = ILS 5400 = Zimmer (1989) 75–76 no. T15 (see also CIL 8, 17832 = AE 1946, 73).

³² It is not certain whether *Don[---]*, mentioned in BCTH 1904, 212 no. 39 (see below n. 36), really was part of her name; it could also have been the name of the dedicator of the inscription; cf. Zimmer (1989) 73 n. 78; Witschel (1995a) 315 n. 214. Marcia is to be regarded as a sort of female *praenomen* referring to the name of her father, Marcus Caelius Saturninus; cf. Corbier (1990) 833.

³³ PIR² C 146 and M 262; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 160–161 no. 165.

³⁴ See above n. 18.

the forum)³⁵ and was also mentioned—together with her husband—on an altar.³⁶ Date: second third of the second century AD.

CONSIDIA FELICULA S. THURACIUS [SO 36]: married to a *veteranus* and *flamen perpetuus*; her son, who was patronized by the leading local family of the Sertii, also was a *flamen perpetuus* and an *eques Romanus*. She was honoured with a statue on a public place by her son.³⁷ Date: early third century AD.

IULIA VIC(...) [SO 30]:³⁸ *flaminica*; nothing is known about her family connections. She was honoured with a statue(?) in the theatre.³⁹ Date: unknown.

SERENIA LATINA [SO 44]:⁴⁰ married to a member of the local aristocracy who was *quinquennalis* and *flamen perpetuus*. She was honoured with a statue by her son in one of the baths of Thamugadi.⁴¹ Date: early third century AD.

L(UCIA) VALERIA MAXIMILLA [SO 46]: *alumna patriae*;⁴² daughter of a *clarissima femina* and *flaminica* (Manlia Pudentilla; see above), half-sister of a *clarissimus vir*, sister of a *decurio coloniae*. She took part in the votive offering of a *dens* to the *Genius patriae*.⁴³ Date: early third century AD.

Although this sample (consisting of 12 women) is not very large, some trends can clearly be made out. First of all it is striking that most of these women were members of families which belonged to the highest strata

³⁵ CIL 8, 2404: *Marciae / Caeliae / Procil/lae / M(arci) Caeli / Saturni/ni flami/nis per/petui fi/liae li/bert[i p]o/suer(unt) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. The statue base was found east of the forum; the formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* should indicate that it once stood on a public place.

³⁶ BCTH 1904, 212 no. 39: *Don[---] / sacr(um) / pro salute{m} / P(ubli) Fl(avi) Pompo/niani Pude/ntis et Cael(iae) / Procillae / Don[---] / t[---]*. It is not absolutely certain that the two women mentioned in these inscriptions are really identical, but there is some reason to assume this; cf. Witschel (1995a) 316.

³⁷ AE 1946, 65 (later reused in the Byzantine fortress, but again the formula *l.d.d.d.* hints at an original location on a public place).

³⁸ Bassignano (2005) 418 no. 57.

³⁹ CIL 8, 17908 (it is not quite certain whether this fragmented stone really was part of a statue base).

⁴⁰ Pavis d'Escurac (1980) 193 n. 9, 199–200.

⁴¹ AE 1980, 958 (found in the 'Thermes des Philadelphes').

⁴² *Alumna patriae* was a sort of honorific title bestowed on leading figures of the city; cf. Corbier (1990), esp. 833–834 no. 10.

⁴³ See above n. 19.

of local society. Four of them (Manlia Pudentilla, Flavia Procilla, Marcia Caelia Procilla and L. Valeria Maximilla) were somehow connected with the most conspicuous family of Thamugadi, the Flavii Pudentes Pomponiani.⁴⁴ Furthermore, nearly all of these women (11 out of 12) had some relationship with the most prestigious priesthood that could be gained within the city, i.e. the *flaminatus*. We know that the holders of the flamine formed a closely interrelated top-group within the local aristocracy whose members were often connected to each other by bonds of kinship or marriage.⁴⁵ This is also true for the women we are looking at: five of them were daughters, wives or sisters of *flamines perpetui*, whereas another six⁴⁶ were themselves *flaminicae (perpetuae)*⁴⁷ and had thus reached the highest position that was open for women in the public life of the town—as priestesses of the imperial cult they regularly took part in important ceremonies involving the whole community.⁴⁸ It is therefore not surprising that it is this group of women which is most visible in the surviving ‘civic inscriptions’ from Thamugadi. But if we examine who was responsible for the erection of honorific statues for these women, we see that nearly all of these monuments were put up either by male relatives of the women (5) or by (male) *clientes* (and ‘friends’) of the family (5).⁴⁹ Moreover, the inscriptions engraved on the statue bases show that in some cases the honour was not merely directed at the woman who received the statue but also (and sometimes primarily) at her father or husband. A similar observation can be made with regard to the euergetic deeds of these women: some of them are known to have been quite active in this field, but it is again to be noticed that in most cases they acted together

⁴⁴ See above n. 18.

⁴⁵ For the situation at Thamugadi, see Pavis d'Escurac (1980); Witschel (1995a) 285–287.

⁴⁶ This is a relatively high number, both in comparison with the record of other towns in Numidia (cf. Bassignano [2005] 414–420) and also with regard to the male holders of the flamine in Thamugadi itself where we know of 20 *flamines perpetui* who lived in the second and third centuries (that is around 10% of the *flamines* who must have been active during this period—under the condition that only one *flamen* was elected per year).

⁴⁷ Pavis d'Escurac (1980) 184 tab. I; Ladjimi Sebāi (1990) 679–681 nos. 54–59. Two of these *flaminicae* were married to a *flamen perpetuus*, and another one was the daughter of a *flamen perpetuus*. It is nevertheless possible and even probable that some of these female priests reached this position independently of their male relatives; cf. Pavis d'Escurac (1980) 187; Ladjimi Sebāi (1990) 654–655; Bassignano (2005) 427 as well as the detailed discussion of the problem in Hemelrijk (2005) 144–149.

⁴⁸ Cf. Ladjimi Sebāi (1990); Bassignano (2005); Hemelrijk (2005) 149–155, (2006) 96 and (2009).

⁴⁹ This trend can also be detected in the overall sample of inscriptions honouring female priests of the imperial cult, although it is not as marked as in Thamugadi; cf. Hemelrijk (2006) 93–94.

with their husbands or fathers, and this was duly recorded in the inscriptions that commemorated their acts of munificence.⁵⁰

The one woman who really stands out in the epigraphic record of Thamugadi is Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia, who lived in the early third century AD. Tucciana was a *flaminica perpetua* and had perhaps gained this prestigious priesthood earlier than (and thus independent from) her husband, the wealthy *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus* M. Plotius Faustus s. Sertius.⁵¹ She is mentioned on more epigraphic documents than any other female inhabitant of the town: whereas the other women of elite status turn up in no more than one or two inscriptions each (see above), we know altogether of nine inscriptions in which Tucciana is named. Three of them concern building projects in which Tucciana was involved: most conspicuously, together with her husband, she donated a *macellum* to her *patria* which the couple used as a stage for quite extravagant forms of self-representation.⁵² Furthermore, it seems that the Sertii were also responsible for the construction or restoration of another important public building—perhaps even the *Capitolium* of the town—and that they commemorated this act in a monumental building inscription.⁵³ In addition to that, Tucciana erected a statue of Hygieia Augusta in the private baths of the *domus* that

⁵⁰ For the benefactions of imperial priestesses in general, cf. Hemelrijk (2006) 88–92.

⁵¹ This is claimed by Bassignano (2005) 417, who argues that in some inscriptions (e.g. in *CIL* 8, 2396 = 17823) Tucciana is mentioned as *flaminica perpetua* whereas Faustus lacks this title. I am not absolutely sure, however, whether this is a valid argument, as Faustus is named in an abridged form in these *tituli*.

⁵² For the inscription commemorating the construction of the *macellum* donated by the Sertii to the city of Thamugadi, see *BCH* 1893, 159 no. 57 = *BCH* 1894, 361 no. 74 = *ILS* 5579: *Sertii / macellum / et aream / eius / patriae / suae / fecerunt*. This donation is also mentioned on the base of a statue which Faustus set up for himself at the entrance of the building *ad exornationem operis macelli quod cum Valentina coniuge patriae suae fecit* (*CIL* 8, 2399 = *ILS* 2753). For the *macellum* itself, cf. De Ruyt (1983) 193–198; De la Iglesia and Marquez Moreno (1991); Zimmer (1992) 312–313; for the location of the statue bases mentioned in the following footnotes, see De Ruyt (1983) 194 fig. 71; Zimmer (1992) 312 fig. 207.

⁵³ See *AE* 1980, 956. Some of the panels on which this monumental inscription was written were re-used in the courtyard of the *Capitolium*, during a restoration of the building in the fourth century AD; cf. Pavis d'Escurac (1980) 190, 198–199. This has led some scholars (e.g. Bassignano [2005] 417) to believe that the inscription originally also belonged to this monument and might even have commemorated the construction of the *Capitolium* which would therefore have been another donation of the Sertii to the city, as the text reads: [*M(arcus)*] *Plotius [Fa]ustus sa[er]dos ur[bis] et Cornelia Valen[tina] Tucciana [---uxor] eius flamines p(er)p(etui) [---] patriae suae fecerunt*. However, given the circumstances in which the fragments of the inscription were found, this cannot be taken for certain. Other scholars (e.g. Zimmer [1992] 313) have connected this inscription with the *macellum* which was certainly donated by the Sertii.

belonged to her family.⁵⁴ Tucciana herself was honoured with no less than five statues in the public sphere. Four of these were erected by relatives and *clientes* in the context of the *macellum* which the Sertii had built for their *patria*: two statues were put up by her husband Faustus, who explicitly mentioned their relationship in the inscriptions engraved on the statue bases.⁵⁵ One further statue was given by the foster-son of the couple, M. Pompeius Quintianus s. Optantius, himself an *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus*, to his *parens optima*.⁵⁶ The fourth statue of Tucciana in the *macellum* was dedicated by two *alumni* of the family, calling her a *patrona benignissima*.⁵⁷ Finally, Tucciana received a special honour: by decree of the local *ordo*, the whole city dedicated a statue to her.⁵⁸ But again Tucciana was not only mentioned in her own right in this inscription, but also as *coniux* of Faustus. This is followed by a statement which gives the motivation for the erection of the statue: *ob merita in civis patriamque et munificentiam eius*. The wording, which at first sight seems to indicate that Tucciana had an elevated position within local society, is still a bit ambiguous, as it is not absolutely clear whether *eius* really refers to her own merits (although this is the likelier solution) or to those of her husband.⁵⁹ This observation can be generalized: Tucciana was certainly one of the wealthiest women of her time at Thamugadi⁶⁰ and was highly visible in the public sphere of the town through the inscribed monuments referring to her, but in most cases this was combined with an explicit reference to the career and the deeds of her husband.

⁵⁴ BCTH 1901, CCX.

⁵⁵ See CIL 8, 2397 = ILS 2752 (statue base; found in the inner courtyard of the *macellum*): ... Faustus ... *coniugi desiderantissimae*; and CIL 8, 2398 (statue base; found at the main entrance of the *macellum* on the inner side): ... *Faustus maritus posuit*.

⁵⁶ CIL 8, 17905 (statue base; found in the inner courtyard of the *macellum*). In this inscription, Tucciana is called a *honestae memoriae femina*, but it is also explicitly stated that she was *coniux M(arci) Ploti Fausti a militiis fl(aminis) p(er)p(etuae)*. Quintianus erected a statue of Faustus (recorded as his *parens carissimus*) at the same place; see CIL 8, 17904 = ILS 2751.

⁵⁷ CIL 8, 2396 = 17823 (statue base; found at the main entrance of the *macellum* on the outside): [Se]r[tiae] / [Cor]neliae Vale[n]/[ti]nae Tuccianae / fl(aminicae) p(er)p(etuae) *coniugi* / M(arci) Ploti Fausti / a militiis ho/nestae memo/riae feminae / [P]loti[a Fa]ustia/na et Plotius / Thallus pater / eius alumni / patronae / benignissimae.

⁵⁸ AE 1987, 1072 = AE 1992, 1833; the statue base was found at Oued Taga, some 14 km east of Timgad, but it is probable that it was brought there from one of the public places of the urban centre in later times. As far as we know, this was the only statutory monument for a woman at Thamugadi that was initiated by the whole community.

⁵⁹ On another, parallel monument for Faustus himself we find an almost identical text, but without mentioning Tucciana; see BCTH 1896, 285 no. 251.

⁶⁰ Bassignano (2005) 418, 428 even assumes that Tucciana may have been richer than her husband, but there is no proof for that.

3. *Cuicul*

The colony of Cuicul was probably founded in the late first century AD.⁶¹ In the following decades the town grew rapidly and reached its maximum extension in the fourth century AD. The social structures of the town seem to have developed along more or less the same lines as at Thamugadi.⁶² In the case of Cuicul I want to concentrate on those monuments connected with women that were to be seen in the public spaces of the town. There were two main public places at Cuicul: the 'North Forum' (sometimes also called *forum vetus*) in the old city centre which was developed from the early second century AD onwards; and the 'South Forum' (also called 'Severan Forum' or *forum novum*) south of the 'old town' at the conjunction of important roads. It was used from the middle of the second century as a location for the erection of honorific statues and other monuments.⁶³ A large number of statue bases and other inscribed monuments is known from both places, and this enables us to answer the questions: Who would normally receive an honorific portrait on one of these places? and What would be the role of women in this context, both as persons that were honoured with a statue and as dedicators of such monuments? I would like to start with the first category. Tables 1 and 2 present the evidence for the statue bases (SB) found at the two main public places of Cuicul, divided into the different categories of persons or gods who received a statue, and also giving the number of women who were affected by such an honour.⁶⁴

Table 1: Statue bases found on the 'North Forum' (number of SB that can be identified through an inscription: 92)

Persons honoured	Number of SB	SB for Women ⁶⁵
Emperors/Members of the <i>domus Augusta</i>	39	[1]
Members of the imperial aristocracy	7	3 (for 5 women)
Members of the local aristocracy	8	1
Gods/Personifications	26	—
Fragments	12	—

⁶¹ See above n. 2.

⁶² For the society of Cuicul, see the remarks by Jacques (1984) 549–553 and Briand-Ponsart (2008).

⁶³ Cf. Zimmer (1989) 17–37; Kleinwächter (2001) 72–116.

⁶⁴ This material is well summarized in Kleinwächter (2001) Beilagen 6–8.

⁶⁵ In addition to this, we have two further statue bases for women with unknown find-spot which might have stood on the 'North Forum'; see below in the catalogue.

Table 2: Statue bases found on the 'South Forum' (number of SB that can be identified through an inscription: 32)

Persons honoured	Number of SB	SB for Women
Emperors/Members of <i>domus Augusta</i>	8 + 4(?)	[2]
Members of the imperial aristocracy	6	1
Members of the local aristocracy	1	0
Gods/Personifications	9	–
Fragments	4	–

We can add a short catalogue of those women who were honoured with a statue or a similar monument on one of the main public places of Cuicul (leaving aside the female members of the *domus Augusta*):

a. 'North Forum'

IULIA PISONINA: this *clarissima puella*,⁶⁶ daughter of a 'governor' of Numidia and *patronus* of Cuicul, was honoured with a statue by the city⁶⁷ together with her brother.⁶⁸ Their mother Iulia Celsina was given a statue on the 'South Forum' (see below). It therefore seems likely that the whole family had accompanied the senator on his duty in Numidia and had thus come into contact with the city. Date: AD 176–178.

TIBERIA CLAUDIA SUBATIANA AQUILINA and TIBERIA CLAUDIA DIGNA SUBATIA SATURNINA: these two *clarissimae puellae*,⁶⁹ daughters of a governor of Numidia who originated from Cuicul, were honoured with statues (on a common base) by the city.⁷⁰ Interestingly, the inscription on the statue base uses most of the available space for a detailed enumeration of every step of the father's equestrian and later senatorial career; and it ends with the state-

⁶⁶ *PIR*² I 690; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 388–389 no. 453.

⁶⁷ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7909 = *AE* 1916, 30 = Kleinwächter (2001) 122 no. 17.

⁶⁸ At the same place as the base for Pisonina's statue (i.e. built into a wall ca. 150 north of the *Capitolium*) another base for her brother, A. Iulius Celsus *clarissimus puer*, was found (*ILAlg* 2.3, 7903 = *AE* 1916, 31 = Kleinwächter [2001] 122 no. 16); cf. Briand-Ponsart (2008) 107.

⁶⁹ *PIR*² S 939 and 940; Le Glay (1982) 771; missing in Raepsaet-Charlier (1987).

⁷⁰ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7898 = *ILS* 9488 = *AE* 1911, 107 = Zimmer (1989) 62–63 no. C27. This statue base was found east of the *Capitolium*; its present location on the southern side of the forum is thus not the original one; cf. Kleinwächter (2001) 134. It is not absolutely clear whether the base really carried two statues (see the description of the surface in Zimmer *loc. cit.*: "Die Deckplatte weist in zwei einander gegenüberliegenden Ecken größere, annähernd runde Einlassungen auf, dazwischen ein kleines Dübelloch").

ment that the *res publica Cuiculitanorum* had awarded the monument to his daughters *ob insignem eius in patriam suam praestantiam*⁷¹—it is thus quite clear that he was the real focus of the city's actions. Date: AD 209/10.

CLAUDIA SATURA and TITINIA CLODIA SATURA:⁷² the wife and the daughter of L. Titinius Clodianus s. Consultius, an equestrian *egregius vir* who came from Cuicul and was *procurator Augustorum nostrorum* of Numidia (and at the same time acting as governor),⁷³ were honoured—together with their son/brother, who was *patronus* of the town—with a rather spectacular monument by the *ordo* of Cuicul: a small arch was erected which probably served as a base for a group of statues representing the three or four persons honoured.⁷⁴ On the two front pillars of the arch a long honorific inscription was engraved.⁷⁵ It is again to be remarked that both mother and daughter were explicitly named as *coniux* and *filia* of Clodianus, and both his social status and his current position were listed carefully so that he would get a lot of attention from the reader of the inscription. Date: around AD 230/35.

GARGILIA MARCIANA:⁷⁶ she was the wife of a member of the municipal aristocracy, C. Aemilius Martialis,⁷⁷ and was honoured with a statue by him (calling her *marita rarissima*) and by her three sons, two of them *equites Romani*, who did this for her *mater dignissima*.⁷⁸ When the statue was dedicated both *decuriones* and *cives* received *sportulae*, and the family also sponsored *ludi scaenici*. Date: AD 225.

⁷¹ In addition, he is called a *homo bonus* and *praeses clementissimus* in the inscription.

⁷² *PIR*² C 1121. It is possible that a third woman named Clodia O[---] was also mentioned in the inscription, but the text is too mutilated at this point to be sure about her position.

⁷³ He was himself honoured with a statue by the city, perhaps also on the 'North Forum': *ILAlg* 2.3, 7912 = *CIL* 8, 8328 = *AE* 1912, 132 = *AE* 1941, 175; cf. Kleinwächter (2001) 123 n. 831; Briand-Ponsart (2008) 108.

⁷⁴ See the detailed description of the monument in Kleinwächter (2001) 122–123.

⁷⁵ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7899 = *CIL* 8, 8329 = Kleinwächter (2001) 122–124 no. 18.

⁷⁶ See Wesch-Klein (1990) 305–306 no. 5.

⁷⁷ He was *pontifex* and *quaestor*. The Gargilii were one of the most prominent *gentes* in Cuicul.

⁷⁸ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7944 = *AE* 1914, 45 = *AE* 1914, 46 = Zimmer (1989) 56–57 no. C8 (for the find-spot of this statue base—north of the basilica, but not necessarily at the place where it stands now—, see Kleinwächter 2001, 133).

b. *Find-Spot not (exactly) known, but probably also from the 'North Forum'*⁷⁹

IULIA CHILONIS:⁸⁰ this *clarissima femina* was the wife of a 'governor' of Numidia and *patronus coloniae* originating from Asia minor, and she was honoured as his *coniux* by the city.⁸¹ Again most space in the honorific inscription was devoted to the specification of the man's name, rank and titles. Date: AD 188.

IULIANA DONATA and CORNELIA IU[---]NIA: these two women, about whom we know nothing more, were honoured with statues by the local *ordo* on a common monument.⁸² Date: second or earlier third centuries AD.

c. *'South Forum'*

IULIA CELSINA:⁸³ this *clarissima femina* was the wife of a 'governor' of Numidia and *patronus coloniae*; and for this reason she was honoured with a statue by the civic community.⁸⁴ Date: AD 176–178.

d. *South Baths*

CURTIA AUCTILIA GARGILIANA: this woman of unknown social status (but probably belonging to the local aristocracy)⁸⁵ was honoured with a statue by her son(?).⁸⁶ Date: ?

When analysing this evidence it becomes clear that honorific statues of women were indeed a prominent component of the equipment of public places. This is true both numerically and also with regard to the design of the monuments. For example, out of 15 statue bases for important (non-imperial) persons that we know from the 'North Forum' of Cuicul, four (i.e. nearly a third) were erected to honour women; and some of these monuments like the small arch described above were quite extraordinary structures. On the other hand, it has to be noted that these honours mostly referred to women of the highest social status, especially female family

⁷⁹ These bases were, however, excluded by Kleinwächter (2001) from her catalogue.

⁸⁰ *PIR*² I 658; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 372 no. 433.

⁸¹ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7908 = *CIL* 8, 8326 (find-spot unknown, cf. Kleinwächter [2001] 93 no. 634).

⁸² *ILAlg* 2.3, 7945 (find-spot unknown).

⁸³ *PIR*² I 657; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 371 no. 432.

⁸⁴ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7907 = *AE* 1911, 103 = Kleinwächter (2001) 140 no. 58.

⁸⁵ She also received another honorific statue at Bisica (Africa proconsularis): *CIL* 8, 12304.

⁸⁶ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7939.

members of governors who were not always part of the civic body but came from outside; and it is also remarkable that in nearly all of the inscriptions that were engraved on the statue bases the women were not mentioned alone, as these texts also highlighted the virtues and careers of their male relatives. It was thus always evident, to those who saw these monuments, that the women concerned were part of a wider social network that was to a large degree dominated by men.

The same impression can be gained when we take a final look at the dedicators of statues on the two main public places of Cuicul. The evidence will again be summarized in two tables (Tables 3 and 4):

Table 3: Dedicators of statues (i.e. statue bases) on the ‘North Forum’

Type of statues	SB dedicated by the city	SB dedicated by individuals	Including women
Statues of Emperors (39)	25	8	0
Statues of important persons (15)	9	6	4
Statues of gods (26)	4	20	3 [+ 2]
Fragments (12)	0	8	1
Totals	38	42	8 [+ 2]

Table 4: Dedicators of statues (i.e. statue bases) on the ‘South Forum’

Type of statues	SB dedicated by the City	SB dedicated by individuals	Including women
Statues of Emperors (8/12)	6	1	0
Statues of important persons (7)	5	1	0
Statues of gods (9)	2	6	2
Fragments (4)	0	3	0
Totals	13	11	2

We may once more notice that the number of women involved in the erection of statues on the public places of Cuicul was considerable: when we take the 53 statuary monuments from the ‘North’ and the ‘South Forum’ that were dedicated by individuals, we can see that in around 20 % of these cases women were involved in some way or other, and were thus named in the inscriptions on the bases of the statues, making their commitment to the town and its inhabitants highly visible in the public sphere. Some of these women acted quite independently in this context, especially those of high social status like the *clarissima femina* Didia Cornelia and her sister Didia Cornelia Ingenua (a *flaminica perpetua*), who belonged to one of

the leading families of Cuicul (and Cirta) in the later second century AD⁸⁷ and initiated the installation of three statuary monuments (two of them *ex testamento*) for their father (twice) and their brother (both of them *equites Romani*) on the 'North Forum';⁸⁸ or Claudia Marciana who dedicated a statue to her son, also an *eques Romanus*, on the same place *pro insigni obsequio et pietate eius*.⁸⁹ But in the majority of cases women were not mentioned as sole dedicators of statuary or other monuments, but as acting together with some male relatives—sometimes in first place,⁹⁰ but more often in second⁹¹ or even in third place.⁹² In a few instances the women involved in the construction of a monument were not even referred to by their proper name, but were only mentioned as *coniux* (or a similar term) of the main dedicator.⁹³ Finally, it is interesting to note that a similar picture emerges

⁸⁷ The family of the Iulii and Didii was one of the most important in Cuicul. It can be traced through several generations from the early second century AD onwards; cf. Gascou, Gros and Lorient (1964–1965) and the stemma of the family in *ILAlg* 2.3, p. 833. For Didia Cornelia, who probably had married an (unknown) senator, see *PIR*² D 80; Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) 276–277 no. 313. For Didia Cornelia Ingenua, see Bassignano (2005) 415 no. 49.

⁸⁸ Statue bases for the father: *ILAlg* 2.3, 7948 = *AE* 1923, 21 = Kleinwächter (2001) 126 no. 23; *ILAlg* 2.3, 7947 = *AE* 1920, 115 = Kleinwächter (2001) 126–127 no. 24. Statue base for the brother: *ILAlg* 2.3, 7942 = *AE* 1916, 13 = Kleinwächter (2001) no. 25. Cf. Gascou, Gros and Lorient (1964–1965) 71–72.

⁸⁹ *ILAlg* 2.3, 7955 = *CIL* 8, 8340 = *ILS* 9500 = *AE* 1913, 158 = Kleinwächter (2001) 127–128 no. 26 (statue base, found about 150 m north of the *Capitolium*).

⁹⁰ As in the case of Maria Monnosa who erected a statue (?) of Pluto Augustus on the 'North Forum' together with Flavius Marianus and Flavius Ianuarius Iunior (their relationship is not explained in the inscription): *ILAlg* 2.3, 7689 = *AE* 1926, 38 = *AE* 1927, 16 = Kleinwächter (2001) 131 no. 34.

⁹¹ See, for example, *ILAlg* 2.3, 7956 = Zimmer (1989) 69 no. C60, a fragmentary statue base from the 'North Forum' that had been dedicated by an unknown man *c[um---] Rufina uxore et Iunis Pr[imi]ano et Rustico fili(i)s*. Cf. also *ILAlg* 2.3, 7661 = *CIL* 8, 20145 = *ILS* 5460, an altar (*ara*) for Hercules Augustus (again from the 'North Forum') which was given by C. Iulius Saturninus, *sacerdos Liberi Patris*, from his own funds, *curantibus Iulia Getula uxore et Iulius Getuleius Apa et Saturnino Iuniore filiis eius*. The inscription on the base for a statue of Mars Augustus Genius Coloniae found on the 'South Forum' declares that a member of the local aristocracy, Q. Gargilius Quietus (who was *omnibus honoribus functus* and *flamen perpetuus*), had ordered in his testament that the *statua* should be put up by his wife (*uxor*), who was also a *flaminica perpetua*; however, in the end this task fell to his sons who were both *equites Romani*: *ILAlg* 2.3, 7678 = *AE* 1912, 26 = Kleinwächter (2001) 143 no. 69.

⁹² This situation occurs, e.g., in *ILAlg* 2.3, 7663 = *AE* 1955, 155, a statue base dedicated to Hercules Augustus from the eastern part of the town which had been set up by a *vir ornatus* and municipal magistrate *sua pecunia*. The *cura* for the erection of the statue was given (1) to his grandson (*nepos*) and (2) to three women: his wife (*coniux*), his daughter-in-law (*nurus*) and his daughter (*filia*).

⁹³ This is true, for example, for a statue base from the 'North Forum' dedicated to Pluto Augustus that was erected by a man named Publius *cum [[coniuge]] et fili(i)s*: *ILAlg* 2.3, 7690 = *AE* 1926, 39 = *AE* 1927, 17 = Kleinwächter (2001) 131 no. 35.

when we look at votive offerings from the middle classes of Cuicul, especially the numerous inscribed stelae for the god Saturnus.⁹⁴ Women turn up in considerable numbers on these objects (also in the pictorial representations that were typical for this type of monument), and some of them are shown in a quite active and (seemingly) independent role.⁹⁵ More often, however, they are not mentioned alone, but in connection with a male relative, and in these cases they normally—though not always—take second (or third) place.

4. A Short Conclusion

We may conclude that women certainly played an important part in creating the epigraphic record of cities in Roman North Africa, i.e. in those areas of social communication that were made public and eternalized by engraving certain messages in durable material. As we have seen, in Thamugadi nearly a third of the persons we know through inscriptions are women. However, this statement must be qualified immediately: most of these women were mentioned in simple funerary inscriptions presenting short and not very informative texts. Less than 10 % of the women known from Thamugadi turn up in the more visible and ‘monumental’ types of *tituli* like building inscriptions and honorific texts on statue bases; and of all these ‘civic inscriptions’ only about 10 % mention women, most of whom belonged either to the imperial or to the municipal aristocracy. Some of these female members of the elite were given a honorific statue that stood on one of the public places of the town; and these statuary monuments for women thus formed a quite important part of the equipment of such spaces, as the example of Cuicul shows. Every visitor of the town could therefore read and see the names and faces of some women who had an important role within local society. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that very often the inscriptions on the statue bases also contained an enumeration of the virtues and careers of the male relatives of the women concerned—the latter were thus often not merely honoured in their own right, but also because of their relationship to men of a certain social standing. A similar observation can be made

⁹⁴ Cf. Le Glay (1966) 201–237; and for the stelae in general Schörner (2009).

⁹⁵ See, for example, a building inscription coming from the temple of Saturnus situated on the southern side of the ‘South Forum’ (*ILAlg* 2.3, 7648 = *AE* 1946, 106 = Le Glay [1966] 208 no. 3): *Frugifero* [*Aug(usto) sac*]r[um] / *Caecilia Maximina et Caecilia Ve*[---pr]onaum cum / *columnis sua pec(unia) fecerunt curan[te ---F]elice viro eius / dedic(averunt)q(ue)*. In this case it was a man, [---] Felix, who was relegated to a secondary position.

with regard to the persons responsible for the erection of statues in public places (again focusing on Cuicul): women, especially those belonging to the uppermost strata of the local elite, could and did act on their own in such an environment. But more often their actions were connected in some way to those of men, in general their male relatives, who often took the first (or at least the more prominent) place in the inscriptions on the statue bases. Women were thus an active and visible part of the local society not only in the everyday life of the towns in Roman Africa, but also in their monumental appearance and collective memory as expressed through statuary monuments and inscriptions in the public sphere. However, in this context women were clearly a minority, and in most cases their dependency on male relatives was expressed quite explicitly.⁹⁶

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⁹⁶ It is remarkable in this context that even in the Greek East, where women had more chances than in the West to hold at least some civic offices and liturgies (cf. Corbier [1998] V), there were clear 'limits of participation' for them, as the important study by Van Bremen (1996) has shown.

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PART II

PARTICIPATION IN CULT

GENDER AND CULT IN THE ROMAN WEST: MITHRAS, ISIS, ATTIS*

John North

For the purposes of this paper, I would define the issues under discussion as the relations of male and female people with one another, including their attitudes towards family life and reproduction; but I also have in mind the question of male dominance, and how it was reflected and recreated in the area of religious life.¹ The main concern of the paper will be the implications of the different rules of admission of important cults and of the myths associated with their deities. The three cults of my title are chosen in this context because they take such contrasting attitudes towards the place (or lack of it) of men, women and inter-gender people in their membership. Three questions will underlie the discussion that follows:

1. Do the three cults in any sense form a set? Can we legitimately take them together for purposes of comparison?
2. Should we think of them as in any sense in competition with one another for members or adherents?
3. Would their respective patterns of admission in relation to gender or to gender orientation have been relevant to any such competition?

I shall return to these specific questions at the conclusion of this paper.

1. *Admission Rules*

Up to a point, the facts about their cults' gender 'rules of admission' are reasonably well attested, even though many of the details and their significance may prove to be contested. In the case of the cult of Mithras, the evidence of the images makes it overwhelmingly likely, as has generally been assumed,

* I am most grateful to those who commented on this paper at the conference in Amsterdam, both in the formal discussion and afterwards.

¹ On the role of women in Roman religious life, see e.g. Kraemer (1992); Schultz (2006); Hemelrijk (2009).

that only men were eligible for membership of the groups. Richard Gordon² in a famous paper tried to go further and show that Porphyry³ provided an explanation of the Mithraist position:

For all of them, metempsychosis is a crucial dogma, as becomes clear through the mysteries of Mithras. For they (the Mithraists) typically demonstrate our community with the animals by allegorizing us by means of animals, thus calling the participants in their mysteries 'lions', women 'hyenas' and inferiors 'ravens'. In the case of the Fathers [lacuna] they call them eagles and falcons. Those who reach the rank of 'lion' assume the forms of all the animals.

So women were apparently classified within the Mithraist system as 'hyenas', and Gordon⁴ was able to use the bestiary of the 'Greco-Roman Encyclopaedia' to show that this implied that they were untrustworthy and dangerous beings, who could never be thought worthy of initiation, let alone form a grade of their own. The passage is not free of problems because both 'lion' and 'raven' are true initiatory grades and to have placed 'hyena' between the two is rhetorically very eccentric, if the whole point being made by the author was that 'hyena' was not such a grade at all, but rather an anti-grade, a grade of exclusion. Gordon's position has duly been debated and challenged⁵ and it can be argued, at least plausibly, that the Mithraist iconography was not wholly free from female elements. All the same, Gordon's is still far the most plausible interpretation of Porphyry's sentence, even if it is a somewhat dislocated one: it seems certain that women were defined out of the cult; and there is no good evidence that they were ever included.

The cult of Attis provides some reason to believe in religious activity by both males and females, though the most characteristic evidence available in fact concerns the priests, the Galli, who were, perhaps in reality, or at least imagined as, males who had been ritually castrated.⁶ But whatever we may make of the erratic sources available, it is far from clear, particularly in the earlier period of the empire, whether Attis-worshippers did form themselves into identifiable groups or were merely committed worshippers associated with the cult of the Magna Mater and taking part in her festivals. The later inscriptions recording the celebration of the *taurobolium* ritual do show

² Gordon (1980) 57–64 (= (1996) V.57–64).

³ Porph. *Abst.* 4.16.

⁴ Gordon (1980) 60–62.

⁵ David (2000) challenged the whole contention, but was effectively refuted by Griffith (2006); cf. Gordon (2011) 359.

⁶ For the Galli see: Lancellotti (2002) 96–105; Borgeaud (1996) 60–75 = (2004) 35–46; Alvar (2008) 246–261; van Haepelen (2010); Attis' power in the early Empire needs reconsideration in the light of Blänsdorf (2010); Gordon (2012).

women as active participants, often when the context must have been very public.⁷ At some time in the third century CE the inscriptions also reveal a figure called the *archigallus*, who seems to be a high-status individual and not a castrated male and whose existence might seem to imply a hierarchy within the cult's organisation.⁸

The third of the cults, that of Isis and Osiris, is unmistakably friendlier towards women than the other two; and some of the evidence points to its having included deeply committed adherents of the cult.⁹ It was at one stage vigorously argued¹⁰ that the cult was a female area of dominance, but the case has not been effectively sustained:¹¹ even though it is true that women do figure substantially in the inscriptional evidence, there are still more men than women; and although there are recorded examples of women priests, both inscriptions and literary sources suggest that senior positions were generally the preserve of men.

So the first contention of this paper is that these rules of admission do provide a basis for discussion of the relations between the cults and their potential adherents. It could of course be that their respective positions on membership were not tactical in any sense, but derived directly from religious ideas, myths, the implications or readings of rituals and so on. This is a possibility always to be borne in mind; but at least it can be argued that there is an overall structure built into these attitudes, which calls for discussion, since irrespective of intentions, the rules must have had consequences for who joined and who did not. The structure might be represented as:

Mithraists	Isis worshippers	Attis worshippers
Assertion of masculinity	Conformity with conventional gender balance	Rejection of masculinity

⁷ For the *taurobolium* Duthoy (1969); Lancellotti (2002) 112; Alvar (2008) 261–276; see also Cameron (2011) 159–163 and, for detailed analysis of the evidence, the paper by Spickermann in this volume.

⁸ For the *archigallus*: Lancellotti (2002); Alvar (2008) 274; van Haepelen (2011) 473–474. It is hard to imagine that he presided over the local Galli of his community.

⁹ This seems implied (e.g.) by Apuleius' account in *Metamorphoses* XI, as observed by Versnel (1998) 88–95 and the admittedly hostile account in Juvenal 6.522–541 (= Beard et al. (1998) II.12.4d).

¹⁰ Heyob (1975).

¹¹ See Mora (1990); Kraemer (1992) 71–79.

All three cults were widely disseminated and this structured relationship seems very likely to have arisen in those contexts where they co-existed in mutual awareness, not in all parts of the Empire. Mithraism in particular has a different distribution. It is, however, a reasonable assumption that the survival of the cults would have depended on their offering to adherents and potential adherents what they wanted or needed and on their success in attracting wealthy backers. We have of course no reason to think that membership was exclusive, but even so keeping your membership together must always have been an important issue.¹²

There is, however, a still more fundamental question to be asked here: is it correct to assume that all three are organised 'religious groups' at all, or might one or two of them simply be worshippers attached to a particular deity's rituals?¹³ Mithras undoubtedly formed local groups, as is amply proved by the evidence of the *mithraea*, which must have functioned as cult-centers in some way¹⁴ and the well-attested¹⁵ sequence of seven initiations, which must imply at least an ideal of long-term membership and gradual progression.¹⁶

The case of Isis is more complex, because although there is clear evidence of initiation, at least by the second century CE, in the form of Apuleius' account of the cult in Book XI of the *Metamorphoses*, Apuleius as we shall find again below,¹⁷ is very far from being a straightforward witness. The other evidence for the Western Empire is not rich; but Laurent Bricault has recently shown very effectively that there is enough clear evidence to support the case that Isiac groups were not only an Eastern phenomenon.¹⁸

The cult of Attis is the most problematic of the three: there is quite clear evidence of groups in the form of associations of cultic or ritual officials (*Cannophoroi*; *Hastiferi*; *Dendrophoroi*);¹⁹ it hard to believe that the officials would have had such groupings, if there was not some form of attachment

¹² See below, pp. 116–117.

¹³ On the role of religious groups, Belayche and Mimouni (2003).

¹⁴ Beck (1992).

¹⁵ For instance, Beard et al. (1998) II.12.5.

¹⁶ Though it is disputed what the seven grades were and whether they were universally applied in the cult; see Clauss (1990) 138–147 = (2000) 131–140; Turcan (1999); Gordon (2001), esp. 327–345.

¹⁷ Below pp. 115–116.

¹⁸ Bricault (2012); for the strength of Isiac resistance to persecution in the West, see Dunand (1980) 113–121.

¹⁹ Clearly attested together for instance in Ostia: Bollman (1998) 318–323; see further Alvar (2008) 290–293; van Haepelen (2011) 475–476.

for other worshippers in the cult. Explicit evidence, however, comes from an unexpected place; Juvenal is here venting his spite on the worshippers of Cybele:

Here there is no decency of speech and no respect for the table, here is Cybele's [crew] and liberty for a man who speaks in squeaks, and a white-haired old fanatic as the leader of the rites, a rare and memorable specimen of the expanded throat, a *magister* available for rent. But what are they waiting for? It's high time they followed the Phrygian custom and cut away the flesh they have no use for.

*Hic nullus uerbis pudor aut reuerentia mensae
hic tur[ma est] Cybeles et fracta uoce loquenti
libertas, et crine senex fanaticus albo
sacrorum antistes, rarum et memorabile magni
gutturis exemplum, conducendusque magister.
Quid tamen expectant? Phrygio quos tempus erat iam
more superuacuum cultris abrumperne carnem.*

Juvenal 2.110–116.

Juvenal offers a spectacular combination of ritual language and obscenity; proving in seven brutal lines both the nature of the group he was conceiving and his own opinion of it. It is of course a story of *cinaedi* (passive gay men), which is why they have no use for the flesh that would be cut away to turn them into Galli; but they are specifically *not* yet Galli. The cult of Cybele and Attis is identified: the ritual context is implied throughout by the sequence *fanaticus*, *sacrorum antistes* and *magister*. I would also assume that the *mensa*, for which they have no reverence, is a table for offerings, not for eating dinner. They form a *collegium* with a religious purpose. The anti-homosexual rhetoric also runs through the lines from *nullus ... pudor aut reverentia* and *fracta voce* onwards: *conducendus* can only carry its normal meaning of 'available for rent' and it was surely the nature of the sexual services the white-haired old gentleman offered, rather than his eating habits, that had expanded his throat.

To summarize so far: while the evidence falls short of proving that one can treat the three cults as organized groups in competition with one another, there is enough to make it a plausible hypothesis that they gradually became so in the course of the first to second century CE. The central purpose of this article is to explore the implications of reasonably well-established and familiar facts about the recruitment policy of these three cults, seen in relation to their main rituals and myths. The objective of such a study is to promote and assist further research on the subject by trying to form a coherent and defensible hypothesis, which seeks to make sense of the known facts. This is, in my view, one of the most important tasks of a

historian. My claim is not that such a project can generate certainties, where no certainties exist, but rather that my hypothesis will have achieved its objective whether subsequent researches confirm it or destroy it. It will have failed only if no such research ever takes place in the future. This depressing possibility is happily one that no historian ever lives to know about.

2. *Comparing the Three Cults*

Jaime Alvar in his *Romanising Oriental Cults*²⁰ has quite recently treated exactly these cults together in a single volume and the present study is in many ways exploring the same ground as he does, if with a different agenda in mind. Alvar's book is unquestionably highly useful in collecting all the relevant sources and bibliography and I agree with him in arguing that all three cults can be seen as having been religious groups in a meaningful sense.²¹ The book's objective is to examine the evidence for these three cults methodically and comparatively with the object of analysing what they have in common and where they differ. But in many respects, Alvar is in my view headed backwards, not forwards, in his basic thinking on the subject: he revives the misleading label of the 'Oriental' cults;²² he postulates a shared concern with salvation, in the simple sense of an anticipated after-life, for which the evidence is problematic in all three cases, though for different reasons: he is in fact consciously re-stating the positions of Frazer and Cumont²³ in a new, more sophisticated and better-informed guise, but all the same, in my view, losing much of what has been gained over many years of research and discussion.²⁴

It is also to my mind very unhelpful to impose, as he does, an *a priori* division into 'Beliefs', 'Values' and 'Rituals' taken as basic characteristics of all three cults and hence used as providing the structures of analysis that run through the whole book. This is imposing modern analytic categories with a vengeance; all the more so because it is very often the same evidence about myths and rituals that is analysed and re-analysed in order to fit into his three categories. There are sensible questions to ask about what a person might believe, in order to use certain myths or rituals in a cultic context; or what values she or he might hold as a result of holding such

²⁰ Alvar (2008).

²¹ See Alvar (2008) 217–221; 276–282; 336–344; 361–364.

²² Alvar (2008) 1–16.

²³ Alvar (2008) 68–72.

²⁴ See below, p. 116.

beliefs and performing such rituals. But this evades very serious problems about the whole character of ancient religious experience and the relationship between ritual activities, beliefs and values.²⁵ For the purposes of this particular discussion, in any case, Alvar has little or no direct concern with gender issues, though of course he has to touch on them, because, at certain points of the book, the material he is discussing leaves him no choice.²⁶

Supposedly the clearest case for a specific afterlife is set by Lucius' account of his own experience in the *Metamorphoses*, a text regarded by Alvar as decisive in the debate:²⁷

You may perhaps ask anxiously, eager reader, what was said and done next. I'd tell you, if it were allowable to speak; you would hear, if it were allowable for you to listen. But those bold ears and bold tongues would suffer the like punishment for their curiosity; all the same, I will not torture you with a prolonged agony, if you are in suspense from what could perhaps be a pious desire. Therefore hear, but believe what is the truth. I reached death's boundary, trod the threshold of Proserpina and, after being carried through all the elements, I returned. I saw the sun shining brightly in the middle of the night; I approached both the gods below and the gods above and worshipped them close up. You see, I have told you things that, even though you have heard them, you must not know. So I shall tell you only what can be revealed without *piaculum* (offence to the goddess?) to the minds of the uninitiated.²⁸

How should evidence of this kind be handled? It is essential not to lose sight of the difficulty of knowing when to take the evidence of a novel, above all one by Apuleius, seriously, and when not.²⁹ There are quite clearly places where we can make inferences about religious realities, if dealing with major elements of the text: so for instance the role played by Mithras the priest in Book XI, offering comfort and spiritual advice, seems so profoundly different from the normal activities of Graeco-Roman priests³⁰ that inventiveness on the part of the author seems quite inadequate to explain what we find in the text. He must here be reporting real innovation in the cult.³¹ But the particular passage now being discussed is playful and changeable to the highest degree: first he implies that he can tell the reader nothing, without terrible risk; then he decides, without explanation, he will and apparently

²⁵ The place of belief and beliefs in pagan religiosity is much discussed at the moment: see, e.g. for widely different views, Versnel (2011); Davies (2011).

²⁶ Though see 118–119, for a brief discussion, in the context of Mithraism.

²⁷ Alvar (2008) 217–219 and *passim*.

²⁸ Apul. *Met.* 11.23.

²⁹ Winkler (1985) esp. 204–247; for an earlier view: Griffiths (1975) 47–55.

³⁰ Nock (1933) 138–155, esp. 152–155.

³¹ See above p. 111 n. 9, for another example.

then does; but next he announces that this was after all only what could be told without *piaculum* (penalty)—i.e. it was not a risk after all. But even what he actually tells is unspecific about the notion of afterlife: he reaches the threshold and sees visions, but is he in the world of the dead?³² And if so does that carry a promise to those who die in reality? Nothing can be inferred from this passage except that the concerned reader is being cruelly teased.

The missing element in Alvar's arguments is provided by a seminal discussion started by Ugo Bianchi,³³ crystallised brilliantly by Giulia Sfameni Gasparro³⁴ and developed by Jonathan Z. Smith.³⁵ They showed between them that the message of the Attis cult and of others like it did not need to be reduced to the search for another world in which life could carry on. Rather the power of the deity was imagined as enduring after his death through the ritual celebration of his suffering and death, and so salvation was achieved for the worshippers in what Smith calls the 'locative' sphere of ordinary life.³⁶ If we accept this approach, the fact that there is only such weak evidence for belief in an after-life as such, need not disturb the argument or the making of comparisons between the different cults. It may not be desire for an afterlife, as Alvar wishes, that linked the three cults, but rather for salvation imagined in the locative sphere.

3. *Competition*

The approach in terms of group competition calls here for some justification. It can be, and has been, argued that there was such easy freedom of movement among ancient religious groups at this date that the idea of 'competing' for members would hardly have arisen at all, or occurred to their members. Simon Price, for instance, argued that the characteristics of religious groups as we find them in the fourth century CE—their homogeneity, theological exclusivity and exclusivity of allegiance—are not at all characteristic of the groups as we find them in the first to third centuries CE.³⁷

³² Griffiths (1975) 294–308.

³³ Bianchi (1965).

³⁴ Sfameni Gasparro (1985); cf. Sfameni Gasparro (2006).

³⁵ Smith (1990) 125–134.

³⁶ For the distinction of locative and utopian, see Smith (1978) 67–207; (1990) 121–141. 'Locative' covers most pagan religious activity, as directed towards persuading the deities to support and sustain successful life in the world as we know it; 'utopian' religions concern themselves with a promised afterlife or at least a profoundly transformed life.

³⁷ Price (2003); (2012). However, for the personal implications of accepting Isis' authority

The rejection of competition is not, however, a necessary inference from Price's position. In the first place, some level of competition must always be present in any polytheistic system: if cults are not being maintained by city authorities, they must seek supporters and funding where they can find them. So what is at stake here is the question of the intensification of competition as independent religious associations became more established. Such competition may still have been taking place even if individual members habitually changed allegiance from cult to cult or belonged to many cults at once. It cannot have been conditional on exclusivity of allegiance. Secondly, the positive evidence that it was normal practice to join many different cults in this period is very limited. Can it be demonstrated that this in fact took place?

In an important and controversial passage, Apuleius might seem to provide a clear answer at least to this particular question: the passage comes from his speech in self-defence against a charge of magical practices in the town of Oea (Tripoli) in North Africa, so we seem to have the argument of a man faced with very serious charges, who defends himself by relying on the plausibility of the following:

I have been initiated into many mystery cults in Greece. The priests handed over to me certain symbols and tokens: these I carefully preserve. There is nothing out-of-the-way or unfamiliar about what I am saying. You, for instance, the initiates present today of just one god, Liber Pater, you know what it is that you keep hidden in store at home and, out of the sight of the uninitiated, worship in silence. But I, as I said, have learned many complex rituals, and manifold rites and varied ceremonies, in my zeal for the truth and piety towards the gods. I am not making all this up for this occasion, but almost three years ago, in the days when I had first come to Oea and was speaking in public about the greatness of Aesculapius, I made the same profession and went through all the cult-rituals I know. The speech is very famous; it is widely read and in everybody's hands, commended as it is to the pious citizens of Oea, not through my oratory but through its introduction to Aesculapius. Can any of you perhaps quote the opening words from memory? Do you hear, Maximus, how many can provide the words? Hey look there—somebody is even holding out a copy. I'll ask for that very passage to be read out, since I can see by the generous expression on your face that it won't give you any grief to listen.³⁸

see Versnel (1998) 88–95. On the evidence of later multiple initiations, Cameron (2011) 142–159.

³⁸ *Sacrorum pleraque initia in Graecia participavi. Eorum quaedam signa et monumenta tradita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulo conseruo. Nihil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico. Vel unius Liberi patris mystae qui adestis, scitis quid domi conditum celetis et absque omnibus profanis tacite ueneremini. At ego, ut dixi, multiuga sacra et plurimos ritus et uarias ceremonias studio*

If this passage provides reliable evidence and was likely to have persuaded a court, Apuleius surely cannot be the only one of whom it would have been true. If it was common practice for individuals to move freely from group to group, without restraint or any sense that they were violating established expectations, then clearly the concept of competition could hardly have arisen. However, a great deal seems to turn on the question of whether the speech should be taken—literally—as a court-room speech in which—literally—Apuleius defended himself against the charge of magic. While this view may seem to be the established one,³⁹ it is increasingly qualified⁴⁰ and even challenged⁴¹ and the intermediate possibility accepted, implying that the speech may once have been delivered, but that it was published in a highly elaborated form. But this compromise undermines the whole argument, as evidence for the purposes of this paper, which depends surely on the belief that these were the actual words spoken in court. If what we have is a heavily re-written version, that would sever the necessary connection and mean that we must re-assess the plausibility of individual passages. The current passage seems to me in fact to be deeply ironic and intended to offer an implausible and flawed defence.

The accused man has been charged with having had hidden in his house a set of objects for use in magical practices. His defence is that he is so unusually pious that he has travelled round experiencing a range of initiations in the course of researching the different mysteries. The symbols of these cults were the objects found in his house. He offers no evidence to support this claim, but instead recalls a speech he gave on first arrival at Oea; it turns out that the opening of this speech is known by heart to the audience, who start to recite it. Then, in an even more extraordinary *coup de théâtre*, it emerges that one of the audience has a copy about him and proceeds to read out from it—surely a whimsical variation on the reading out of evidence in serious speeches. Is the reader supposed to believe that all this really took place?

ueri et officio erga deos didici. Nec hoc ad tempus compono, sed abhinc ferme triennium est, cum primis diebus quibus Oeam ueneram p[ub]lice disserens de Aesculapii maiestate eadem ista prae me tuli et quot sacra nossem percensui. Ea disputatio celebratissima est, uulgo legitur, in omnibus manibus uersatur, non tam facundia mea quam mentione Aesculapii religiosi Oeensibus commendata. Dicite aliquis, si qui forte meminit, huius loci principium. (...) Audisne, Maxime, multos suggerentis? Immo, ecce etiam liber offertur. Recitari ipsa haec iubebo, quoniam ostendis humanissimo uultu auditionem te istam non grauari. (...) Apul. Apol. 55.

³⁹ So, broadly, Harrison (2000) 39–47, though he thinks it a not unrevised version.

⁴⁰ Hunink (1997) i.25–27; (2001) 21–24; Schenk (2002) 39–46; Rives (2003), with Rives (2011) 83 n. 28; 103.

⁴¹ See Riemer (2006).

However, even if it were accepted that all this did, against all probability, take place just as the speech implies, there would still be no valid argument for taking Apuleius' touring of the mysteries as a normal or accepted part of Greek religious life. What he is representing himself as claiming, presumably in the speech delivered, if there was one, and at least in the one we still have, is that he was a man of extraordinary piety: this is not the behaviour of the average Greek, but of a religious over-achiever.⁴² The orator needs an extraordinary story to explain what would normally be identified as a highly suspicious collection of objects; and that is what he provides.

If so, then the implication must be that joining many cults was not a normal part of this kind of religion. It is not necessary to carry this point too far: the general drift of Price's argument seems wholly sound: the cults were not asking for total commitment from their members nor thinking in terms of our notion of full 'conversion'. They could still have been very concerned with maintaining some commitment to attendance and to the making of offerings and dedications, on which they must heavily have depended.

4. *Myths*

However plausible it might seem that different recruitment rules should reflect the calculation of the group's interest, that calculation itself would have been exercised in the context of the cult's own inherited traditions, rituals and especially myths. Literary re-telling of myths can be misleading and treacherous; even so, the associated myths do seem to offer the best clue we have of seeing connections between the cults and their appeal to worshippers. As a matter of fact, in so far as we can reconstruct the stories as they were told in the imperial period, they do seem in one way or another to relate to the issues discussed in this paper so far.

The myth of Attis, as is true of many, exists in different and sometimes inconsistent versions, and is open to different interpretations. I am following the fullest narrative we have, that of Arnobius;⁴³ this version itself is in many ways problematic, but the main lines of his story offer the best chance of assessing its impact. The story starts in the divine sphere, with a failed attempt by Zeus to achieve the sexual penetration of Cybele:

⁴² The phrase is borrowed from Robin Lane Fox.

⁴³ Arn. *Adv. Gen.* 5,5–7, on whom, see North (2007). For the myth Alvar (2008) 63–74; full collection of sources as known in his time, Hepding (1903).

The goddess relaxed and went to sleep on the very summit of the rock and Jupiter assailed her with the lowdest intentions, but when after strenuous efforts he could not achieve what he had promised himself, in defeat he poured his lust out on to the stone. As a result, the stone conceived and with a great deal of groaning, there was born in the tenth month Agdestis, so called after his rock-mother (Agdus).⁴⁴

The child called Agdestis turns out to be hermaphroditic, but also uncontrollably violent and strong; the gods can only impose control by drugging him/her and so tricking him/her into using his/her own strength to castrate himself. The consequence of this violence is that:

With this ripping apart of the genitals, there came a great flow of blood, which was swallowed up by the earth; a pomegranate tree immediately sprang up, covered with fruit. Nana, the daughter of the king (or river) Sangarius, gazed on the beauty of the tree, in wonder picked a fruit and placed it in her bosom; from that she became pregnant.⁴⁵

Attis was thus the outcome of this second (irregular) pregnancy. It subsequently turns out that he himself must not, on any account, be married. It is to prevent that from happening that the Magna Mater / Cybele intervenes violently, smashing down the walls of the city where the marriage was about to take place, and thereby starting off the whole catastrophic sequence of events that leads straight to the madness, self-castration and consequent death of Attis. The implication is that a great deal was at stake in the attempt to prevent his marrying:

But the Mother of the Gods knowing the *fatum* of the young man and that he could only be safe amongst men for so long as he was kept free of the marriage-bond, in case some misfortune should happen, knocks down the walls with her head (this is the reason that she became crowned with towers) and enters the closed city.⁴⁶

So the different layers of the narrative of Attis are all marked by the avoidance of progeny created by normal penetrative sexual intercourse: Attis'

⁴⁴ *Hanc in vertice ipso petrae datam quieti et somno quam incestis Iuppiter cupiditatibus adpetivit, sed cum obluctatus diu id quod sibi promiserat optinere nequisset, voluptatem in lapidem fudit victus. hinc petra concepit, et mugitibus editis multis prius mense nascitur decimo materno ab nomine cognominatus Agdestis.* Arn. Adv. Nat. 5.5.

⁴⁵ *Cum discidio partium sanguis fluit immensus, rapiuntur et combibuntur haec terra, malum repente cum pomis ex his punicum nascitur. Cuius Nana speciem contemplata regis Sangari vel fluminis filia carpit mirans atque in sinu reponit: fit ex eo praegnas.* ib. 5.6.

⁴⁶ *Verum deum mater adolescentuli fatum sciens interque homines illum tamdiu futurum salvum quamdiu esset solutus a matrimonii foedere, ne quid accideret maesti, civitatem ingreditur clausam muris eius capite sublevatis, quod esse turritum ratione ab hac coepit.* ib. 5.7.

destruction of his own genitals provides the summation of the sequence. But the final outcome is the evolution of the cycle of ritual events, recording and built around his castration and death. Arnobius' version leaves no doubt that he was truly dead: Agdestis pleads with Zeus to restore him to life; Zeus does his best, but all he can do for Attis is 'that his body should not rot, that his hair should always grow, that a little finger should live on and that it alone should be kept in constant motion'.⁴⁷ There cannot be much doubt that it is only in the light of this story that we can understand both the tradition of self-castration by the Galli and the deep hostility that they attracted, as constituting a threat to all normal understandings of how human life should be maintained and continued.

In the Greek version of the Isis/Osiris myth as reported by Plutarch,⁴⁸ Isis and Osiris were brother and sister, as well as married to one another and indeed lovers already before their birth. They were in deep and violent conflict with another pair, Seth (in Greek Typhon) and Nephthys; these are children of the same parents and like Isis and Osiris, were both married and brother and sister. Seth plots against the wise rule of Osiris, traps and kills him by luring him into a made-to-measure sarcophagus, which is cast into the Nile and floats eventually to Byblos. Isis goes into mourning for Osiris, searches for and eventually recovers the sarcophagus, but Seth/Typhon comes upon it accidentally and this time cuts it into fourteen pieces. Isis locates and buries the pieces, except the penis, which had been eaten by abominable kinds of fish, and of which she has to construct a replica. The indications of Osiris' state after his death are anything but consistent: the different sections of his body are buried in different sites all over Egypt; and he becomes the lord of the underworld. On the other hand, he retains a power of intervention, for instance to assist his son Horus in receiving the education he needs to maintain a continuing battle against Seth and the powers of evil.

In many ways this story is structurally similar to that of Attis: a period of suffering and the event of death is followed by a partial return of power, but not quite life; the god's 'survival' is celebrated annually in ritual,⁴⁹ but both men/gods remain in an intermediate state between death and life, though not without the power to intervene in the interests of their followers. In one sense, the implications of the story for the power of the goddesses are also

⁴⁷ ... ne corpus eius putrescat, crescant ut comae semper, digitorum ut minissimus vivat et perpetuo solus agitur e motu. *ib.* 5.7.

⁴⁸ Plut. *De Is. et Os.* 12–19 cf. 20–21; Griffiths (1970) ad loc.; Alvar (2008) 39–52.

⁴⁹ Sfameni Gasparro (1985) 84–106.

similar: both goddesses⁵⁰ strive to restore their respected beloveds to life, but can only succeed within the limits set by fate. Neither man/god provides a model for a full life after death to their followers. There are also sharp differences between the implications of the two myths: first, the Isis and Osiris story is deeply imbued with a struggle between good and evil, the good Osiris against the evil Seth; secondly, whereas the myth of Attis and Cybele seems deeply alienated from any concept of family and family obligations, that of Isis and Osiris is a tale of loyalty and conflict set wholly in the context of a family saga. The family context of the myth should not be used, in my view, to argue in favour of any privileged treatment of women within the cult; but it does suggest that the cult offered them a context within which their commitment could be easily accommodated.

The myth of Mithras, in comparison with the other two, raises serious problems at every level: the other two are somewhat problematic, but for Mithras we have no account at all, except what can be inferred from hints in texts and from the monuments and images associated with the cult-centres; secondly, it is contested whether the results of such inferences do provide us with any picture of the actual myth behind the mysteries or whether the real thinking of those who inspired and sustained the cult went on at a distance from the images' apparent meaning.⁵¹ Some points do seem clear enough, however: Mithras—unlike Osiris and Attis—has no relationship with goddess or woman; like Agdestis, we are told, he was rock-born.⁵²

Mithras, born from the rock, as he was, and wanting to have a son, but detesting the race of women, masturbated over a certain rock. The rock became pregnant and after the proper period of time produced a child named Diorphas.⁵³

Secondly, Mithras himself is a god and does not die; nor, to a surface appearance at least, does he suffer. The most familiar and most important image, the killing of the bull, is certainly preceded by a pursuit,⁵⁴ which no doubt called for effort and great strength, but not necessarily suffering. The resulting death is not that of the god, but of the victim; however, it is clear that this

⁵⁰ Though, strictly speaking, as we have seen, Agdestis can hardly be classified as either god or goddess.

⁵¹ See the arguments of Beck (2006), rejecting the notion of 'doctrine' and seeking to establish the 'idiom' of 'star-talk' within which the mysteries were conceived. For a reconstruction of the myth, Alvar (2008) 74–106.

⁵² Clauss (1990) 71–79 = (2000) 62–71.

⁵³ Ps-Plutarch, *de fluviis* 23.4.

⁵⁴ For the pursuit: Clauss (1990) 83–86 = (2000) 74–78.

is not a sacrifice in any normal pagan sense of the word and it is not wholly wrong to argue that the death of the bull might have been a parallel to the deaths of Attis and Osiris, if the god and the victim were seen as joint actors in a divine drama, which led to the release of creative power and hence to the world as we know it.⁵⁵

5. *Conclusions*

As we have seen already,⁵⁶ it must always be possible to evoke the language of competition within a polytheistic system: gods and goddesses vary in the degree of enthusiasm they evoke at different times and, in the context of either Greek or Italian cities in the classical period, many deities co-existed without there being much official or priestly pressure to support one rather than another.⁵⁷ We get an unexpected glimpse of the naïve enthusiasm traditional cults might arouse in the fragments of Seneca's work on superstition preserved by Augustine.⁵⁸ Dwellers in the Rome of Seneca in the first century CE, like their predecessors in earlier generations, had plenty of 'religious' options open to them.⁵⁹

Twenty years ago, I argued that it was the rise of competition for members between elective groups of worshippers that radically changed the religious life of the ancient world in the course of the third and fourth centuries CE.⁶⁰ It may or may not have been helpful to have borrowed from Peter Berger⁶¹ the metaphor of a 'market-place', which expresses some aspects of the situation well, but others less well.⁶² However, if the basic contention stands, as I believe it does, then the intensification of competition seems

⁵⁵ Clauss (1990) 87–94 = (2000) 78–84.

⁵⁶ Above p. 117.

⁵⁷ An obvious exception is the Senate's suppression of the Bacchanalian groups in the 180s BCE, though even then care is taken not to suppress the worship of Bacchus, only the cultic organisation; see North (1979).

⁵⁸ Seneca *De Superstitione* preserved in August. *De civ. D.* 6.10 fgtts. 69–72, in Vottero (1998) 186–191.

⁵⁹ Bendlin (2000), usefully stressing the range of options in the late republic.

⁶⁰ North (1992).

⁶¹ Berger (1962).

⁶² The intention of the metaphor was to emphasise the intensification of competition to obtain and retain members and their commitment, in the changed conditions of the fourth century CE; it was not intended to imply (e.g.) that all competitors were using the same methods or following shared rules of behavior, as—at least in theory—they should do in a real market.

certain to have been a gradual development over the period between the first and third centuries CE and we should be looking to detect its effects, not least in the area of pagan rituals. It is in this context that the argument of this paper may be seen. It would be far from the truth to claim that anything approaching proof can be offered for the ideas put forward above; what can be claimed is that they offer a coherent and defensible hypothesis, fitting within a developmental framework.

To return to the questions posed at the beginning of this paper:

1. *Do the three cults in any sense form a set? Can we legitimately take them together for purposes of comparison?*

Despite their dissimilarities, it seems a reasonable hypothesis that they at least converged over time, so that even if their starting-points were dissimilar, they became more alike as they co-existed.

2. *Should we think of them as in any sense in competition with one another for members or adherents?*

This seems unavoidably true: the question open to argument is whether the character of the competition changed over time: the claim would be that in the context of the Roman Empire, it was becoming more essential to attain survival by retaining existing members and attracting new ones. Groups were therefore influenced willy-nilly into strategies of competition.

3. *Would their respective patterns of admission in relation to gender or to gender orientation have been relevant to any such competition?*

The observation from which this paper began was that there is some kind of relationship or tension between the membership rules of the three cults that called for an explanation. The hypothesis put forward here has been that the interaction of the three cults, whether intentionally or not, resulted in their appealing or at least trying to appeal to worshippers with different attitudes towards the relations of the genders. It is a matter of judgment how far this should be seen as the result of calculation by cult-members, and how far as the reflection of inherited myths and rituals of the deities. The outcome in any case was a set of cults with an evident appeal to different elements of the population, making it highly probable that attitudes to gender were playing a major role in their development.

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WOMEN AND ANIMAL SACRIFICE IN PUBLIC LIFE

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The role of women in the ritual of animal sacrifice has for almost forty years now been a topic of considerable interest. The first scholars to deal with it at any length argued that in the ancient Mediterranean women were considered ritually incapable of presiding over an animal sacrifice. On the Greek side, that idea was a key element in the structuralist analysis of the Greek sacrificial system developed in the 1970s by Marcel Detienne, and it was taken over from him by Nancy Jay in her stimulating cross-cultural exploration of the role of animal sacrifice in the social construction of male lines of descent. But the assumption of an essential 'sacrificial incapacity' on the part of women in Greek tradition has been effectively countered, first by Robin Osborne in a paper published in 1993 and then by other scholars, most recently Joan Breton Connelly.¹ A similar hypothesis regarding the Roman tradition was advanced in the late 1980s by Olivier de Cazanove and John Scheid, but has in recent years likewise been cogently refuted by a number of scholars, including Celia Schultz, Rebecca Flemming, and Emily Hemelrijk.² I think that it is safe to say that the majority of scholars currently agree that women in the Graeco-Roman world were indeed capable of presiding over an animal sacrifice and that at times they actually did so.

How often they did so, however, remains an unresolved question. Emily Hemelrijk, in a detailed and careful examination of the evidence for women's participation in animal sacrifice in the Roman empire, points out that the examples are 'few and widely spread', and argues that 'the scarcity of the evidence for women performing such sacrifices requires an explanation. Does it mean that women only rarely participated in animal sacrifice? Or were they for some reason hardly portrayed as such in public art?'.³ It is

¹ Detienne (1989, first published 1979), Jay (1992); Osborne (1993), Connelly (2007) 179–190.

² De Cazanove (1987), Scheid (1991) and (2003); Schultz (2006) 130–137, Flemming (2007), Hemelrijk (2009). Note also the as-yet-unpublished paper by Várhelyi on 'Women and sacrifice in the Roman Empire', presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Philological Association in January 2012.

³ Hemelrijk (2009) 264.

certainly true that direct evidence for women presiding over animal sacrifice is scanty. The sort of explanation that this requires, however, is not so clear. The widely acknowledged importance of animal sacrifice in Graeco-Roman antiquity has tended to obscure the fact that, at least for the western Roman empire, we know a great deal less about the details of its performance than one might suppose. Who in general presided over animal sacrifices, how often, and in what circumstances? Our ability to answer these questions is in all respects limited by a scarcity of evidence. Literary texts allow us to glean a small harvest of data, especially concerning the city of Rome. Inscriptions supply further material that is again helpful especially for Rome; for the cities of Italy and the western provinces, however, they are a surprisingly meager source of information, especially in contrast to the Greek inscriptions of the eastern empire. Figural representations, particularly reliefs on altars and other monuments, are relatively abundant, but tend to employ fairly generic iconography that reveals relatively little about real-life participants. Lastly, the physical traces of sacrificial acts, especially the remains of the animal victims, have in recent years been increasingly exploited as an important new source of data, yet we can learn little from them about the occasions on which the sacrifices took place and even less about the personnel involved.⁴ In evaluating the scarcity of evidence for the participation of women in animal sacrifice, therefore, we need to take into account our more general lack of information about the details of sacrificial practice in the western empire.

In this paper I focus on one particular aspect of this larger issue: how frequently, and in what contexts, did women preside over public animal sacrifice in the western Empire? Although the question is quite a limited one, it is of some importance, since the act of presiding over a sacrifice was a strong marker of one's authority within a community; the involvement of women in public sacrifice is thus closely connected with their public standing more generally. What counts as 'public sacrifice' can of course be debated; for heuristic purposes I will employ a rough-and-ready definition of public sacrifice as one that was explicitly offered on behalf of the civic community as a whole and in which members of the community at large accordingly had some stake. The core of my argument is methodological: given the overall scarcity of references to and representations of specific individuals presiding over animal sacrifice, we cannot answer this question

⁴ Iconographic evidence: e.g., Ryberg (1955), Huet (1992), and Huet et al. (2004). Archaeological evidence: e.g., Lepetz and Van Andringa (2008) and Van Andringa (2008).

by extrapolating from the number of extant references and representations that involve women, but must instead proceed from general considerations about the sort of people who presided over public animal sacrifice. In what follows I will first review the evidence for three categories of people who are likely to have presided: magistrates, priests, and benefactors. I will then turn to women, and consider what we know about the likelihood of their serving in these various roles, although without attempting any comprehensive collection of the evidence. Because my main concern is with the methodological issue, I will in fact spend more time reviewing the evidence for the involvement of men in public sacrifice than that for women: it is only by having a vivid awareness of just how scarce the former is that we can see how fragile are any conclusions derived from the scarcity of the latter.

Of the three groups under consideration, the evidence for magistrates is perhaps the best. Even in this case, however, we can do little more than extrapolate from a very slight evidentiary base. For example, we know that in Rome magistrates were traditionally the ones who presided over and partly funded the great games: the *Ludi Romani* and *Ludi Plebei* in honor of Jupiter, and the other games in honor of Apollo, Ceres, the *Mater Magna*, and *Flora*. The surviving calendars indicate that, at least in the Augustan period, all these festivals consisted of several days of unspecified *ludi*, presumably theatrical performances, followed by one or more days of chariot races in the *Circus Maximus*.⁵ Since they were presented as offerings to specific deities, we may reasonably assume that at some stage of the proceedings someone offered a sacrifice to the deity in question. The best evidence for this comes from Livy, who relates that the *Ludi Apollinares* came about because a prophecy that surfaced at the height of the Second Punic War advised the Romans to establish games for Apollo and sacrifice victims to him. The senate voted that the games be held under the presidency of the urban praetor and that he be allotted public funds and two 'major' sacrificial victims; another decree ordered the *decemviri sacris faciundis* to sacrifice an ox and two goats to Apollo and a cow to his mother *Latona*. We thus know that animal sacrifices were an integral part of the *Ludi Apollinares* and that the presiding magistrate, on the one hand, and a college of public priests, on the other, were responsible for them, and we may reasonably infer that the same was true of the other *ludi publici* as well.⁶

⁵ The evidence is collected by Degraffi (1963); the most recent thorough discussion of the development of the games in Rome is Bernstein (1998), with a brief English summary in Bernstein (2007).

⁶ Livy 25.12.8–13; cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* 1.17.27–29. Note also Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.4, a

Dionysius of Halicarnassus provides further, if somewhat problematic, evidence that the magistrates who presided over the games also presided over the animal sacrifice associated with them. In his *Roman Antiquities* he includes a detailed account of the procession that allegedly preceded the games vowed by the dictator Aulus Postumius in the very early fifth century BCE, an account that he claims to have taken from Fabius Pictor. According to Dionysius, the procession ended in the circus where the games were to take place; the consuls headed the procession and at its end 'forth-with' presided over a sacrifice of cattle, presumably in the circus itself. Such a procession, known in Latin as a *pompa circensis*, was apparently a standard feature of all circus games, even though it is explicitly attested only for the Ludi Apollinares and the Ludi Cereales. Although we have no other reference to sacrifices following the *pompa circensis*, that is the most plausible context for them, especially if we assume that the Roman games were to some extent based on Greek models, in which the sequence procession-sacrifice-games was standard.⁷ And again, it is reasonable to assume that the magistrate who presided over the games headed the procession and presided over the sacrifice. We must acknowledge, however, that much of this is guesswork.

Turning to the provinces, our best evidence for major civic festivals comes from the charter of the Roman colony at Urso in Spain, which mandates three annual festivals: a four-day festival for the Capitoline Triad organized by the *duoviri*, a three-day festival for the same deities organized by the aediles, and a one-day festival for Venus also organized by the aediles. These were no doubt meant to be local versions of the great games in Rome, and we may reasonably assume that, as in the Roman *ludi*, they included animal sacrifices to the deities in question; a later section of the Urso charter refers explicitly to *ludi circenses* and sacrifices.⁸ We may also reasonably assume that, again as in Rome, the people who presided over these sacrifices were the magistrates responsible for organizing the festival. The Urso charter in fact suggests that presiding over sacrifices was one of these magistrates'

reference to 'sacrifices and games' for Mater Magna, and Tert. *De spect.* 7, a general allusion to sacrifices at the start, in the course of, and at the end of circus games.

⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.71–72, esp. 72.1 for consuls at head of procession and 72.15 for the concluding sacrifice. *Pompa circensis* at Ludi Apollinares: Livy 30.38.11; at Ludi Cereales: Ov. *Fast.* 4.391; cf. Suet. *Calig.* 15.1, implying that a *pompa* was a regular feature of all circus games. For discussion, see Bernstein (1998) 254–268, summarized in Bernstein (2007) 228–229.

⁸ Urso charter: *ILS* 6087 = Crawford (1996) no. 25, with English translation and commentary; see section 70 on the games given by the *duoviri*, 71 on those given by the aediles, and 98 on *ludi circenses*.

regular duties, since among the publicly paid attendants assigned to them are a *haruspex* and a *tibicen*, whose services would have been needed only at sacrifices. As further corroboration, we may note that Tertullian, writing in Carthage around the year 200 CE, argues that Christians cannot serve as magistrates, because a magistrate cannot avoid 'sacrificing or presiding over a sacrifice, assigning contracts for the provision of victims, delegating the oversight of temples, administering their revenue, staging shows with his own or public money, or presiding over the shows when they are staged'.⁹

In addition to sacrifices associated with major civic festivals, magistrates are also likely to have presided over sacrifices connected with the annual vows for the well-being of the emperors. The evidence for such vows in the city of Rome is fairly ample. Vows on behalf of the *res publica* were traditionally offered on 1 January: the new consuls, followed by the Senate and people, processed to the Capitol, where they sacrificed white cows in fulfillment of the vows made by the consuls of the previous year and made new vows to be fulfilled by the consuls of the following year.¹⁰ Early in the reign of Augustus the vows were altered to include the emperor as well, and by the reign of Gaius separate vows for the well-being of the emperor were being offered on 3 January.¹¹ We can deduce further details about the specific procedures of these vows from the *commentarii* of the Arval Brothers, which include records of the similar vows undertaken by that fraternity. These preserve the actual wording of the vows, as well as indicate the deities and victims involved: a *bos mas* for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and *boves feminae* for Juno Regina, Minerva, and Salus Publica. We know that vows on behalf of the well-being of the emperor were made in provincial cities just as they were in Rome, although for these our evidence is very slight. Pliny, in his correspondence with Trajan from Bithynia, twice notes that 'we have undertaken and likewise discharged solemn vows on behalf of your safety', and a few very fragmentary inscriptions recording such vows have been found in Cyrenaica and Dacia. Enough survives of these inscriptions

⁹ Attendants of magistrates: Urso charter, section 62, with Scheid (1999) 389–390; Tertullian on duties of magistrates: Tert. *Idol.* 17.3. Further evidence for magistrates presiding over sacrifice comes from the *fasti* of Praeneste, which under 10 April has the following fragmentary entry: '[...] of/for Fortuna Primigenia; on whichever of these days the oracle is open, the *duoviri* sacrifice a bull-calf'; see Degraffi (1963) 129, with discussion in Rüpke (1995) 121–122 and 356.

¹⁰ Most details come from Ov. *Fast.* 1.79–86, *Pont.* 4.4.29–32, *Pont.* 4.9.29–30 and 49–50; see also Livy 21.63.7–9, Suet. *Ner.* 46.2, and Tert. *Cor.* 12.

¹¹ Reign of Augustus: Dio Cass. 51.19.7; 3 January: Plut. *Cic.* 2.1; Gai., D. 50.16.233.1; for detailed discussion of the evolution of this ritual, see Scheid (1990) 298–309.

to show that the language of the vows was very close to that found in the Arval *commentarii* in Rome, and that they similarly involved sacrifices of cattle. Who presided over them is unknown. Pliny's letters suggest that the governor presided when he was present, but the governor was of course present in only one city at a time. We may reasonably suppose on the basis of what was done in Rome that in other cities a local magistrate or other official presided, although we have no specific evidence for this at all.¹²

Although one might expect the evidence for the involvement of public priests in public sacrifices to be richer than that for magistrates, such is not the case. For the sake of convenience I will review the evidence under three sub-headings: first, the major priestly colleges, especially the *pontifices*; secondly, personnel associated with the cult of individual deities; and lastly, personnel involved in the worship of the emperor and the imperial house. As for the first group, it is generally agreed that the three most prestigious priestly colleges in Rome (the *pontifices*, augurs, and *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*) functioned primarily as authorities in particular areas of cultic procedure rather than as active cultic personnel, although they served in the latter capacity as well. According to Cicero, Numa established the priesthood of the *pontifices* so that, among other things, 'they might conduct the sacrificial banquet at the games', presumably the *epulum Iovis* that was held during the Ludi Plebei, although in the early second century BCE the *pontifices* delegated that job to the newly created college of *epulones*; it was presumably first the *pontifices* and later the *epulones* who presided over the sacrifice, although Cicero, our only source for particular details, does not actually say so. Ovid, in contrast, says explicitly that the *pontifices* were the ones who sacrificed the pregnant cow at the festival of Fordicidia on 15 May, and there is equally explicit evidence that they presided over sacrifices to Acca Larentia and Angerona. The *pontifices* and other priests also took part in the annual vows on behalf of the emperor, although as discussed above magistrates apparently took the lead role, and there is ample evidence that the Arval Brothers made similar vows. Lastly, we know that Augustus and

¹² I have quoted from Plin. *Ep.* 10.35; cf. *Ep.* 10.36 and 100–101. Inscriptions: Reynolds (1962) and (1965) on inscriptions from Cyrene and Ptolemais; Marghitan and Petolescu (1976) on one from Sarmizegetusa; see also Saquete Chamizo et al. (2011) for fragments of an inscription from Spain recording *vota* undertaken on an imperial birthday (probably that of Commodus). Plutarch (*Cic.* 2.1) says that *archontes* lead the vows, a term that could refer equally to Roman governors and local magistrates. On the involvement of the governor in the annual *vota*, see further Eck (1992) 153–156, who notes that governors and legates evidently had *haruspices* and *victimarii* on staff.

Agrippa, presumably in their capacity as *quindecimviri*, presided over the sacrifices offered during the Ludi Saeculares of 17 BCE.¹³

For the cult of individual deities our richest source of evidence by far is the *commentarii* of the Arval Brothers.¹⁴ This priestly college was originally dedicated to the worship of the ancient and obscure Dea Dia, whose cult centered on a sacred grove outside Rome. The inscribed records of this priesthood allow us to reconstruct in great detail the elaborate three-day annual sacrifice for Dea Dia, performed partly in Rome in the home of the college's president and partly at the sacred grove. We can also identify three other contexts for sacrifices performed by this priesthood: piacular sacrifices for infractions of the grove's *religio*; annual and extraordinary vows on behalf of the emperors; and lastly sacrifices that marked other regular and extraordinary imperial events. All these were fairly small-scale rituals, involving only the Arval Brothers themselves and their assistants. Most of them did not even take place in generally accessible spaces, as was the case with the annual sacrifice to Dea Dia, although those associated with the emperor did, often in the pronaos of the Capitol but sometimes at other locations in Rome, such as the Ara Pacis.

Although the evidence for regular public sacrifices to other individual deities is vastly less rich, it presents a roughly similar pattern. We are told that there were monthly sacrifices on both the Kalends and the Ides: on the Kalends, a *pontifex minor* sacrificed to Juno in the Curia Calabra, and the *regina sacrorum* sacrificed a piglet or lamb to Juno in the Regia; on the Ides the *flamen Dialis* sacrificed a sheep to Jupiter in his temple on the Capitoline; we are also told that the *flaminica* (presumably Dialis) sacrificed a ram to Jupiter in the *regia* every *nundinae*. Of yearly festivals, there is evidence that, for example, on the Agonalia (9 January, 17 March, 21 May, 11 December) the *rex sacrorum* sacrificed a ram in the Regia; on the Lupercalia (15 February) the *luperci* sacrificed goats and a dog in the Lupercal; on the Robigalia (25 April) the *flamen Robigalis* sacrificed a dog in the Grove of Robigus; on the Vinalia (19 August) the *flamen Dialis* sacrificed lambs to Jupiter; and on the Consualia (21 August) the *flamen Quirinalis* and the Vestal virgins sacrificed to Consus at his altar in the Circus Maximus.¹⁵ Like the sacrifices

¹³ *Pontifices*: Haeperen, van (2002) 215–241 on their expertise and 342–425 on their participation in rituals. *Epulum Iovis*: Cic. *De or.* 3.73. *Fordicidia*: Ov. *Fast.* 4.629–630; Angerona: Macrob. *Sat.* 1.10.7; Acca Larentia: Cic. *Ad Brut.* 1.15.8. Vows: Tac. *Ann.* 4.17.1; cf. Dio Cass. 51.9.7, who mentions 'all the priests and priestesses'. Ludi Saeculares: *CIL* 6, 32323 = *ILS* 5050.

¹⁴ See especially Scheid (1990) and the definitive publication of the texts in Scheid (1998).

¹⁵ Kalends: Macrob. *Sat.* 1.15.19. Ides: Ov. *Fast.* 1.56 and 587–588, Paul. *Fest.* 93.3 Lindsay, Macrob. *Sat.* 1.15.16. *Nundinae*: Macrob. *Sat.* 1.16.30 (from Granius Licinianus). Agonalia: Varro

conducted by the Arval Brothers, all these seem to have been small-scale sacrifices, generally performed by specialized functionaries in places that were not casually accessible.

It was almost certainly the case that other deities with public cults in Rome also received annual sacrifices, but explicit evidence is both scanty and uninformative. Surviving Roman calendars mark a number of days with the name of a god in the dative; for example, 5 August has the entry *Saluti*, 'to/for Salus'. The traditional interpretation of these entries is that on that day an annual sacrifice was offered to the god specified. One calendar, the *Fasti Vallenses* from Rome, indicates this explicitly: its entry for 5 August is *Saluti in colle Quirinale sacrificium publicum*. Jörg Rüpke, however, has recently challenged the traditional interpretation, pointing out that the *Fasti Vallenses* are the only calendar to make explicit reference to sacrifice; he argues instead that the dative simply means that a temple had been dedicated to the deity on the day in question. It is also worth noting that the *Fasti Vallenses* are not only unique, but also fragmentary, covering only the month of August and noting only four sacrifices. On the other hand, the sacrifice to Voltumnus that they indicate for the Volturnalia of 27 August is confirmed by evidence from Festus.¹⁶ Apart from the calendars, we have only a few stray comments that provide brief glimpses of specific festivals. For example, Livy tells us that the Saturnalia opened with a sacrifice and *lectisternium* at the temple of Saturn that was followed by a public banquet; he notes that senators prepared the *lectisternium*, but provides no details about who presided over the sacrifice. Despite the dearth of specific evidence, it nevertheless remains likely that annual sacrifices were performed for all deities who received public cult, although we can only guess who presided over them. The best guess is that in most cases members of the pontifical college presided, either *flamines*, if the deity involved possessed a flamen, or the *pontifices* themselves.¹⁷

Ling. 6.12, *Ov. Fast.* 1.317–336, Paul. Fest. 9.15 Lindsay; which deity was involved is uncertain, although Ovid suggests that on the January celebration it was Janus. Lupercalia: Plut. *Rom.* 21.4–5; cf. Val. Max. 2.2.9. Robigalia: *Ov. Fast.* 4.905–942, Colum. 10.342–343; cf. Varro *Ling.* 6.16 and Paul. Fest. 325.8–9 Lindsay. Vinalia: Varro *Ling.* 6.16. Consualia: Tert. *De spect.* 5.7; cf. Varro *Ling.* 6.20.

¹⁶ Traditional interpretation: e.g., Wissowa (1912) 474–475 and Degraasi (1963) 370–371; *Fasti Vallenses*: Degraasi (1963) no. 18. Contra: Rüpke (1995) 355–360. Volturnalia: Paul. Fest. 519.19–20 Lindsay.

¹⁷ Saturnalia: Livy 22.1.19. For the likelihood that *flamines* and *pontifices* presided over annual festivals, see the survey in Haepereen, van (2002) 345–392. Wissowa (1912) 519 suggests that most of the cult activities for which the *pontifices* were responsible would in fact have been carried out by their assistants, i.e., *calatores* or *pontifices minores*.

For the other cities of Italy and the western empire, we have virtually no clear-cut evidence for public sacrifices offered to individual deities. As a glance at the footnotes to the preceding paragraphs will reveal, we are largely dependent for our knowledge of such sacrifices in Rome on types of evidence that are unique to Rome, either literary (the works of historians and antiquarians) or epigraphic (calendars, the *commentarii* of the Arval Brothers, the records of the Ludi Saeculares); comparable sources simply do not exist for the other cities of the west. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that each city had a system of annual festivals and sacrifices, comparable to that in Rome but directed towards its own selection of deities. Some direct evidence for this exists: for example, a calendar that survives from Praeneste includes a local festival for the town's chief goddess Fortuna Primigenia in addition to the standard Roman ones, and a very fragmentary inscribed *feriale* from Ameria contains a list of deities who receive animal sacrifices, presumably arranged by day: Vesta, Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Apollo, Mercury, and, on three separate occasions, Fortuna.¹⁸

A much more extensive source is the Feriale Duranum, the cult calendar of a Roman army unit stationed on the banks of the Euphrates, dating to the mid-220s CE; since the list of festivals found therein is clearly not specific to that particular unit, most scholars agree that it represents the cult calendar observed by the Roman army as a whole. Inscribed on a papyrus roll in four broad columns, it originally covered the entire year, although the entries from the last third of the year are largely lost. Each entry consists of a date, the reason for the celebration, and the type of observance, whether an animal sacrifice or the less costly *supplicatio* (an offering of incense and wine). Of the forty entries that can to some degree be reconstructed, over three-quarters concern imperial anniversaries of various sorts and two are specifically military events. The remainder are festivals in honor of traditional Roman deities: a bull is sacrificed to Mars (probably) on 1 March; there is a *supplicatio* on each of the five days of the Quinquatrus, from 19 to 23 March; a cow is sacrificed to Roma Aeterna on the birthday of the city, 21 April; a bull is again sacrificed to Mars on 12 May; a *supplicatio* is held on 9 June for the festival of Vesta; there is both a *supplicatio* and a sacrifice on the festival of Neptune, 23 July; and a cow is sacrificed to Salus on 5 August. Although the document itself provides no details about the organization of these sacrifices, other evidence confirms the reasonable assumption that

¹⁸ Praeneste: see n. 9 above. Ameria: Degraffi (1963) no. 45, with discussion in Rüpke (1995) 357 n. 107.

the officers of the unit presided, although by this date specially appointed priests may have begun to take over their duties.¹⁹ As a cult calendar of the Roman army, the *Feriale Duranum* does not provide direct evidence for public cults in the cities of the west, but it does suggest that the general pattern of annual sacrifices to a specific selection of deities would have been widely familiar.

As to who presided over these public sacrifices in the cities of the western empire, we can do little more than guess. As I have already argued, there is reason to suppose that magistrates presided over at least some of them, especially those connected with *ludi* and major festivals. We also know that *pontifices* existed in many cities of the western empire, at least those with municipal or colonial status; they presumably had in general the same sorts of ritual duties as those in Rome, which as we have seen included responsibility for some public sacrifices.²⁰ There were also public priests of individual deities, although these are only rarely attested in the surviving evidence. One of the best known is the annual priesthood of Ceres in Carthage, of which some seventeen incumbents are known from inscriptions. Yet even in this case the evidence provides virtually no information about their ritual duties; that they presided over grand public sacrifices to the goddess seems plausible enough, but can be nothing more than an educated guess.²¹

The priesthoods for which we have by far the most abundant evidence are those associated with the worship of the emperor and the imperial house. Again, however, we are not as well informed about their specific ritual duties as we would like. Enough evidence survives to make it clear that major imperial anniversaries (birthdays, anniversaries of accession, and so forth) were regularly marked by offerings of some sort, either animal sacrifices or *supplicationes*. Our two main sources of evidence are again the *commentarii* of the Arval Brothers and the *Feriale Duranum*. The Arval Brothers observed all imperial anniversaries with sacrifice of bovines, whereas the *Feriale Duranum* restricts such sacrifices to major anniversaries and specifies *supplicationes* for lesser occasions, notably the birthdays of imperial women. Although neither of these texts concerns civic cult in the Roman west, a few other texts suggest that similar cycles of imperial anniversaries

¹⁹ *Feriale Duranum*: Fink, Hoey and Snyder (1940), with extensive commentary. Officers presiding over sacrifices: Haensch (2006) 208–209.

²⁰ Delgado Delgado (2005) 118.

²¹ Gascou (1987); Rives (1995) 45–50 and, on the issue of whether the priesthood was that of Ceres or the Cereres, 158–161.

were observed in most cities of the empire. An inscription from Forum Clodii north of Rome dating to 18 CE directs that two victims be sacrificed on the birthday of Augustus and a bull calf on that of Tiberius, with wine and pastries distributed to the *matronae* on the birthday of Livia. There is also a *feriale* from Cumae, dating to the period 4–14 CE, which lists a number of imperial anniversaries connected with Augustus and his family. As in the *Feriale Duranum*, each entry consists of a date, the nature of the anniversary, and the type of observance; in this case it is almost always a *supplicatio*, except for the birthday of Augustus, when an animal victim was sacrificed to the emperor. Lastly, there are the detailed regulations for the altar of the *numen Augusti* at Narbo in Gaul, dating to the year 11 CE; these specify that a board of three *equites* and three *libertini* offer victims and provide the people with incense and wine on three important anniversaries: Augustus' birthday, the day of his first receiving *imperium*, and the day on which he resolved a local conflict.²²

There is thus sufficient evidence to establish that there was a general pattern of observing imperial anniversaries with some type of offering. The *Feriale Duranum*, and even more the inscriptions from Forum Clodii, Cumae, and Narbo, suggest that it was normal practice to limit animal sacrifices to more important occasions and to observe lesser anniversaries with a *supplicatio*, although we may guess that there was considerable variety, depending on the wealth and ambition of the community involved.²³ As to who presided, we have even less to go on. The *feriale* from Cumae gives no indication whatsoever; in Forum Clodii it was apparently the *duoviri*, the local chief magistrates, although the inscription is far from clear on this point; in Narbo it was a special board of *equites* and freedmen. All these inscriptions date to a very early period in the development of imperial cult, however, and it seems likely enough that as its institutions developed the local imperial priests, who appear so regularly in the epigraphic record, became the ones normally responsible. For imperial cult at the provincial level we have some

²² For a general discussion of sacrifice in imperial cult in the Latin west, with a full survey of the evidence, see Fishwick (1987–1992) 2.1.501–528 on sacrifices, with 588–589 for a summary hypothetical reconstruction; see also Fishwick (2002–2005) 3.247–258. Arval Brothers: Scheid (1990) 384–439. Forum Clodii: *CIL* 11, 3510 = *ILS* 154, with discussions in Gradel (2002) 240–245 and Scheid (2005) 238–245. Cumae: *CIL* 10, 8375 = *ILS* 108 = Degraffi (1963) no. 44, with discussion in Fishwick (1987–1992) 2.1.490 and 509–510 and Gradel (2002) 96–97. Narbo: *CIL* 12, 4333 = *ILS* 112.

²³ Cf. Fishwick (1987–1992) 2.1.515: 'Expense will undoubtedly have been a major concern and one would expect the sacrifice of a victim to have been limited to a few major feast days, with other anniversaries observed by the cheaper rite of the supplication'.

direct evidence for this, since the inscribed regulations for the cult of Gallia Narbonensis refer explicitly to sacrifices over which the provincial priest presides.²⁴

The last category I want to consider here is that of public benefactors. This is a category not sharply distinct from those of magistrates and priests, since the assumption of those offices was often the occasion for a public benefaction. The distinction I have in mind is primarily one of context: public sacrifices offered by individuals to celebrate their own achievements in contrast to those offered by official representatives of the people in the context of an established public cult. Whether such sacrifices ever actually took place, however, is another question. We can easily enough identify possible contexts for them: any time a benefactor bestowed some notable benefaction on the community, for example a new public building or the refurbishment of an old one, he or she might well have marked the occasion with a public sacrifice. But although we have plenty of inscriptions from the cities of Italy and the western empire recording a wide range of benefactions, almost none mention a sacrifice. This is by no means proof that sacrifices did not take place, since the inscriptions rarely include the sorts of details that would make the absence of reference to sacrifice significant, but it does mean that, once again, we can do little more than guess.

As an example, we might consider the case of privately funded public banquets. If such banquets included meat, something that we in fact rarely know, then it is likely enough that they were preceded by a sacrifice over which, to judge from comparable evidence from the Greek-speaking parts of the empire, the benefactor himself is likely to have presided. Such banquets are well attested in the epigraphic record: John Donahue, in a monograph published in 2004, collected and analyzed more than 300 inscriptions that refer to them. Of these, however, only one clearly associates a public banquet with a sacrifice. It dates to 265 CE, and records the benefaction of a man named C. Valerius Valentinus, who rebuilt a shrine to the God Pluto in the town of Macomades in North Africa, and dedicated it with 'victims offered to the god and a banquet presented to the people'.²⁵ There are many

²⁴ Gallia Narbonensis: *CIL* 12, 6038 = *ILS* 6964, ll. 16 and 19. Reliefs that depict sacrificial scenes associated with imperial cult are generally of little help, since in most cases we cannot determine the status of the sacrificant. An exception is a relief from Vercellae in Italy that clearly depicts a *flamen*, identifiable by his distinctive headgear, presiding over a sacrifice: Ryberg (1955) 93–94 with Pl. XXIX fig. 43.

²⁵ *AE* 1905, 35 = Donahue (2004) no. 73: *C(aius) Valerius Valentinus [3] / templum modicum antiqua vet[us]tate / dilapsum ampliatio spatii columnis / et regis duabus picturis ornatum /*

more inscriptions, especially from Iberia and North Africa, that indicate a broadly cultic context for public banquets, particularly the dedications of shrines or statues or other offerings to the gods. It seems likely that at least some of these banquets followed on animal sacrifices, as that of Valerius Valentinus apparently did, but given the silence of the inscriptions we can only speculate.

This rapid survey of the evidence has served a two-fold purpose. The first has been simply to demonstrate how scanty our sources of information actually are. Enough survives for us to draw some reasonably well founded conclusions about the major contexts in which public animal sacrifices took place and the sorts of people who presided over them, but about many details we can do little more than guess. In particular, we lack the long honorific inscriptions that survive in relatively large numbers from the cities of the Greek east and that often include detailed descriptions of the role played by magistrates, priests, and benefactors in the public sacrifices of their communities. We can thus at best merely sketch a generalized model of public animal sacrifice in the cities of the Latin west. My second purpose has been to suggest that, despite the dearth of evidence, this generalized model of public sacrifice nevertheless provides a sufficient framework in which to consider the issue of women's participation. Since we have a fairly clear idea of the social roles held by the people who presided over public sacrifice, we can gauge the extent to which women were likely to have done so simply by considering how frequently they filled those social roles.

To begin with, women did not serve as magistrates. As we have seen, our evidence suggests that magistrates were the ones most likely to have presided over public sacrifices in the cities of the Roman west, particularly those associated with games and major festivals and with the annual *vota* for the emperor. It is not impossible that the wives of magistrates had a role in particular sacrificial rituals, as the wives of consuls and praetors did in Rome at the December sacrifice to Bona Dea, although any such involvement was surely exceptional.²⁶ On the other hand, women certainly served as priests, even if they were considerably outnumbered by men.²⁷ Women who

pecunia sua ex HS LXVII mil(ibus) d(omini) n(ostris) / a solo coeptum perfecit et deo / victimis redditis et popularib[us] / epulo exhibito statut[o] etiam / perpetuo epulo annuo sa[c]erdoti/bus dedicavit.

²⁶ Plut. *Caes.* 9.7, *Cic.* 19.5; cf. Dio Cass. 37.35.4. On the role of the Vestals, see n. 28 below.

²⁷ The most comprehensive survey of women as religious functionaries in the Roman west is the as-yet-unpublished doctoral research of Veerle Gaspar (2012). For the city of Rome, see briefly Schultz (2006) 69–81 and 140–142; for Campania, Zimmerman and Frei-Stolba (1990);

held priesthoods would undoubtedly have had opportunities to preside over animal sacrifices. In Rome, as we saw above, the *regina sacrorum* sacrificed a piglet or lamb to Juno on the Kalends of every month and the *flaminica Dialis* sacrificed a ram to Jupiter on the *nundinae*. The Vestal Virgins were involved in a number of public sacrifices, such as that to Consus noted above, and although they probably often played only a supporting role, it seems that they actually presided over the animal sacrifice at the December festival of Bona Dea. That priestesses in other cities also presided over public sacrifices seems likely enough. Hemelrijk, for example, has collected several funerary monuments of priestesses of Ceres and Diana from towns in Italy that depict them presiding over the sacrifice of a pig.²⁸ One particular cult in which we know that women widely and regularly served as priests was that of the imperial family; Hemelrijk has identified and analyzed more than 270 inscriptions from Italy and the western provinces that refer to imperial priestesses. She points out, however, that in none of these do we find any explicit evidence that they presided over animal sacrifices. Can we infer from this that they did not do so? As I have already suggested, the lack of explicit references is not as striking as it at first appears, since the even more abundant evidence for male priests of the imperial cult has yielded, as far as I can determine, only a single explicit reference to their presiding over animal sacrifice, the one in the regulations for the provincial priesthood of Gallia Narbonensis. Nevertheless, Hemelrijk has cogently argued that imperial priestesses are in fact not likely to have presided over animal sacrifice with any frequency, since their particular charge was the cult of imperial women, who were more likely to receive non-blood offerings than animal sacrifice, as we saw in the *Feriale Duranum*.²⁹ Given the scantiness of our evidence, however, it would be rash to conclude that imperial priestesses never presided over animal sacrifice; practice no doubt varied according to the wealth both of the community and of the individual priestess.

for the northwest provinces, Spickermann (1994; note that his catalogue consists almost entirely of imperial priestesses).

²⁸ For the *regina sacrorum* and the *flaminica Dialis*, see n. 15 above. Vestals: Wildfang (2001); festival of Bona Dea: Cic. *Har. resp.* 37 and *Att.* 1.13.3, Asc. *Mil.* 43; Plut. *Cic.* 19.5 says that the sacrifices were performed by the wife or mother of the magistrate, but as Wildfang (2001) 250–252 argues, Cicero is probably the more reliable witness. Funerary monuments: Hemelrijk (2009) 261 with n. 27.

²⁹ Imperial priestesses: Hemelrijk (2005), (2006a), (2006b), and (2007); lack of evidence for sacrifice: (2009) 265; imperial priestesses and cult of imperial women: (2005) 150–155; lack of animal sacrifices in the cult of imperial women: (2007) 327.

Lastly, women also acted as public benefactors in Italy and the western provinces, even if again they did so less frequently than men did. Hemelrijk has collected over 200 inscriptions in which women appear as the donors or sponsors of public buildings projects, of which 56% were religious in nature.³⁰ It is possible, and in my opinion likely, that some of these women presided over the public sacrifices that are likely to have taken place at the building's dedication. This is perhaps particularly likely when the inscription indicates that a public banquet took place as part of the festivities. A few specific examples: Baebia Crinita in the town of Arruci in Baetica spent 200,000 sesterces on a temple of Apollo and Diana and gave a banquet on the occasion of its dedication; Botria Fortunata in the town of Thugga in Africa Proconsularis built a temple of Tellus and at its dedication distributed *sportulae* to the decurions and gave a banquet for the entire populace; Cassia Victoria, a priestess of the Augustales at Misenum, built a pronaos and at its dedication gave a banquet and a distribution of cash.³¹ It is true that none of these inscriptions mention animal sacrifice, but as I argued above this fact does not allow us to draw any firm conclusions one way or the other; none of the inscriptions that record benefactions made by men do so either, and I suspect that few people would be willing to deduce from that fact that male benefactors never presided over an animal sacrifice as part of their benefaction.

How frequently, then, and in what contexts, did women preside over public animal sacrifice in the western Empire? As I have tried to demonstrate, the contexts in which they might have done so are relatively few: either as public priests or as public benefactors or as both simultaneously. It is clear that women acted in these capacities much less frequently than men, and there is reason to think that even when women served as public priests they are less likely to have presided over animal sacrifices. We should accordingly conclude that it was probably relatively uncommon for women to preside over public animal sacrifice. At the same time, there is no reason to suppose that they never did so. As I have also tried to demonstrate, the lack of explicit evidence for the involvement of women in public sacrifice cannot in itself

³⁰ For the details, see Hemelrijk in this volume, and also Cooley; for women described as municipal *patronae*, see Hemelrijk (2004a) and (2004b); as municipal *matres*, see Cenerini in this volume. Relative frequency: for example, women account for about 10% of the donors in distributions of money or grain in Italian cities (Mrozek 1987, 74–76) and a bit less than 10% of municipal benefactors in North Africa (Donahue 2004, 271 n. 51).

³¹ Baebia Crinita: *CIL* 2, 964 = *ILS* 5402 = *ILER* 1760 = Donahue (2004) no. 3. Botria Fortunata: *ILAFr* 530 = Donahue (2004) no. 136. Cassia Victoria: *AE* 1993, 477.

prove that it never took place, since there is likewise much less explicit evidence for the involvement of men than we might casually assume. Once we become more vividly aware of that, we can see more clearly that absence of evidence is in this case certainly not evidence of absence.

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WOMEN AND THE CULT OF MAGNA MATER IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES*

Wolfgang Spickermann

1. *Introduction*

Considering the subordinate roles played by women in the public life of the Empire, it is remarkable that there were nonetheless distinct areas in which they were able to leave their mark. When we consider their religious participation in public life, we find a number of women attested as having served as public priestesses. Moreover, women dedicated numerous votives in both the Eastern and the Western parts of the Empire, as I have been able to show in a previous study.¹ The votives dedicated by women are most intriguing in those cases in which rich donations are ascribed to them, because these indicate that not only were female donors well off themselves, but also that they were free to dispose of their property according to their own wishes. Donations of this kind have a greater tradition in the Greek East than in the Latin West, especially since it was possible there for women to also hold titular honorary offices. However, we still find a fair number of female donations referred to in the inscriptions of Gallia, Germania, and Raetia, the subject of this paper. I should mention at the outset that the number of women's donations as well as their dedicatory activity still comes to only about 10 per cent of the total amount of male dedications.²

It is certainly of interest to see that women were able to participate in public cult as priestesses and devotees and to make private dedications, yet they nevertheless seem to have done so with much less frequency than their male counterparts. But if we wish to go beyond this it is necessary to interrogate the evidence more closely. That evidence, for the western provinces, is entirely epigraphic and most inscriptions are so short and formulaic that

* I have to thank Elizabeth Begemann, Erfurt, for her help in translating this paper into readable English.

¹ Spickermann (1994).

² This is one of the results of my study Spickermann (1994).

it is difficult to probe them more deeply. Yet recent investigations give some encouragement to this project. For example, from the epigraphic testimony of women's dedications, our first impression might be that women favoured female deities. However a recent French dissertation by Audrey Ferlut on the veneration of female deities in both the *Germaniae* and *Gallia Belgica* comes to the conclusion that women were naturally not only in the minority among the dedicants, but that they also did not significantly favour female deities over others.³ There is evidently much more to say about women in cult in the western provinces. I added an early reference to *Mulieres ex voto* (n. 2 above) since that is where anyone interested in the wider issues would have to start. My aim in this paper, however, is not to take up anew the examination of the entire corpus, but instead to demonstrate how much nuance can be added when a particularly rich group of epigraphic data is interrogated in detail. It focuses on the role of women in one of the best attested cults, and one for which important new evidence has recently emerged, that of the *Magna Mater Deorum*. Not only is the testimony rich in onomastic (and some iconographic) detail, but it is also possible to contextualize it with great precision. Furthermore the cult itself, with its central myth of the castration of a male deity, is not without interest for the investigation of how Romans in the western provinces dealt with matters of gender in a ritual context.

2. *Women and Mater Magna*

The center of *Magna Mater*/Cybele worship was to be found in Rome. In 204 BCE her cult was officially introduced into the city.⁴ She was first worshipped in the temple of *Victoria* until her own sanctuary was dedicated on the Palatine on April 10, 191 BCE. Augustus later restored this temple in the neighbourhood of his own house.⁵ The cult is unlikely to have reached the provinces before the Empire, a time in which the Roman cult of *Mater Magna* was supplemented by the Phrygian cult of Cybele and *Attis*, as is shown by the growing veneration of *Attis* which was not part of Roman custom. The Spring rites of the cult took place between March 15th and 27th, the memorial of *Attis'* eviration and death. That festival, along with the highest priestly office of the *archigallus*, and the ritual of the *taurobolium*

³ Ferlut (2011).

⁴ *Ov. Fast.* 4.258; *Liv.* 29.14.5–14. Cf. Sanders (1981) 282.

⁵ Cf. at last Boppert (2008) 29 footnote 100.

did not reach the Western part of the Empire until the reign of Antoninus Pius, at the latest around the time of his Vicennalia 158/59 CE. The *archigalli* usually had Roman citizenship, and the emperor's measures were most likely directed at connecting the cult with public institutions, re-ordering and correcting it in this respect.⁶

One of the rituals often referred to in connection with the cult of Cybele was the *taurobolium* which since Prudentius has been connected with so-called "blood baptism". R. Duthoy and J.B. Rutter have shown that such a connection is quite wrong, since there is no evidence that the *taurobolium* was an initiation rite or that it was always connected to blood baptism. A number of taurobolic altars in Gallia and Germania have been dedicated by women. The celebration of the *taurobolium* was, by all accounts, repeatable. According to the *carmen contra paganos* of 394 CE, its effects lasted for only twenty years.⁷ During the first phase of their introduction into the cult, many of the earliest *taurobolia* were celebrated *pro salute imperatoris*. It has been assumed, then, that Antoninus Pius was responsible for the introduction of this new rite to the Cybele cult.⁸ The cult itself probably only reached the provinces in connection with the imperial cult.

In *Lugdunum*/Lyon, six *taurobolium* altars have been found and the remains of a Metroon (see appendix nos. 1–6).⁹ On one of the altars, which was erected on December 9, 160 CE, the oldest *taurobolium* is recorded, that of L. Aemilius Carpus. According to the inscription, the actual ceremony, the *mesonyctium* (i.e. the midnight ceremony), must have taken place in the night of December 8th to 9th, 160.¹⁰ It is conceivable that December 8th of the year 160 marked the official introduction of the *taurobolium* to Gaul, but a dendrophorial college goes back to Flavian times and can be traced into the third century CE.¹¹ L. Aemilius Carpus was both *dendrophorus* and *sevir Augustalis*, which suggests a close connection between the imperial cult and that of Mater Magna.¹² His *taurobolium* seems to have taken place at the time of his consecration as the senior *archigallus*.¹³

⁶ Schillinger (1979) 360–365; cf. Sanders (1981) 282 sq.

⁷ *Vivere num speras viginti mundus in annos?* Duthoy (1969) 54 no. 2. For the *carmen contra paganos* cf. Coskun (2004).

⁸ Duthoy (1969) 116 sq.; cf. in detail Schillinger (1979) 352–260; also Sanders (1981) 279–285.

⁹ *CIL* 13, 1751–1756 = Duthoy (1969) 50–53, nos. 126–131.

¹⁰ On the formula *cuius mesonyctium factum est*: Turcan (1972) 124–127.

¹¹ *CIL* 13, 1723, 1752 and 2026; cf. Turcan (1972) 81 sq.

¹² Turcan (1972) 83 sq.

¹³ Turcan (1972) 94; cf. Wuilleumier (1953) 62; also Audin (1965) 107 sq.

There was evidently a close connection with the local community at Lyon, as all these *taurobolia* were celebrated publicly and on the decree of the council. In contrast to Aquitanian *Lactora* (see below), the cult offices, too, were much more differentiated. There must have been some connections to cult communities in other cities along the Rhône, since the *tibicen* mentioned in *Lugudunum*/Lyon seems to be the same as the one mentioned in an inscription in *Valentia*/Valence.¹⁴ Women, too, had a prominent place in the cult community. They dedicated three of the attested *taurobolia*, compared to only two set up by men, and are found holding a number of cult offices. The highest offices were, however, reserved for men. The taurobolic ceremony in *Lugudunum*/Lyon, which lasted for several days, seems to have been particular to the local congregation. The beginning of the ceremony was marked by an *inchoatum*, its end by a *consummatum*. It is unknown why this period of time was marked out in such a way also on other inscriptions from Gaul and Germany, and it is also possible that the ceremony lasted longer in cases in which this is not explicitly mentioned (nos. 3 and 4).

The female dedicants of altar no. 3 used their *taurobolia* to express their loyalty towards the new emperor Septimius Severus and the newly appointed Caesar Clodius Albinus.¹⁵ Septimius Severus had not yet crushed the resistance of Pescennius Niger. Such an open declaration of loyalty is therefore probably best explained by Severus' governorship of Lugudunum in 187–188 CE. In the consequent power struggle, the city declared for Clodius Albinus and was duly punished by the victorious Septimius Severus in 197, who plundered and partly destroyed the city.¹⁶ Both Caesars are named in the inscription as consuls. The name of Albinus has later been erased. A priest (*sacerdos*) with the name of Aelius Castrensis presided over the *taurobolium* ceremony, assisted by the flute player (*tibicen*) Fl(avius) Restitutus. Both are also named on another *taurobolium* altar put up in June 16, 190, by the *dendrophori* residing in Lugudunum (*dendrophori Luguduni consistentes*) under the instruction (*ex vaticinatione*) of the *archigallus* Pusonius Iulianus.¹⁷ The dedicatory formula *fecerunt ex voto* can also be found on the altar put up by the women of 197 CE, although not on the altar put up by the *dendrophori* (no. 2).¹⁸

¹⁴ *CIL* 12, 1745. *CIL* 12, 1782 (Tain) with *archigallus* Pusonius Iulianus was, according to Schillinger (1979) 201 no. 1, probably brought from Lyon; cf. Audin (1976) 60.

¹⁵ For the female dedicants in Lyon see Spickermann (1994) 199–206.

¹⁶ Turcan (1972) 91–95.

¹⁷ *CIL* 13, 1752 = Duthoy (1969) 50 sq. no. 127; description in Audin (1976) 57. For the phrase *ex vaticinatione* see Duthoy (1969) 66 and Turcan (1986) 492 sq.

¹⁸ See Turcan (1972) 91.

The *taurobolium* of 197 CE (no. 4) was celebrated for the well-being of Septimius Severus, his son Caracalla, his wife Iulia Domna and the entire imperial house, as well as for the well-being of the city itself. The reliefs on both sides of the stones are very similar to those on the altar of 194 CE (no. 3).¹⁹ The dedication obviously took place after the victory of Septimius Severus, to underline the loyalty of the congregation to the new emperor and his house.²⁰ It is therefore to be taken as a proclamation of fealty for the victor over Clodius Albinus, celebrating the newly emerging dynasty, and integrating the dedication into the new, expanded imperial cult.²¹

Apart from the presiding priest and the flute player, a priestess (*sacerdotia*) by the name of Aemilia Secundilla is mentioned. Also new is the mention of the office of *apparatores*, most likely some kind of grand marshals of ceremony.²² Since all four functionaries have been listed, one must assume a rather complex and elaborate liturgy. It is even more surprising that two further offices are mentioned only three years later. Either these offices had been created in the meantime, or they had not played such a prominent part in the ceremony before. The reason for their mention at this point may be found either in the growing complexity of the ritual or in the upgrading of offices within the cult congregation.

The altars set up by the women (nos. 3 and 4) and by the *dendrophori* (no. 2) do not mention the name of the goddess, but begin with a dedicatory formula to the emperor.²³ They were put up with the official consent of the *ordo decurionum*. They are therefore to be taken as dedications, the official character of which was formally underlined by the celebration *pro salute imperatoris* and the formula *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*. The missing name of the deity underlines the emphasis put on the imperial formula. Dedications of this kind are more than unusual for women.²⁴ We do,

¹⁹ Audin (1976) 58 sq.

²⁰ For this meaning cf. Walser (1988) 88 sq. no. 32.

²¹ Cf. Fishwick (1987–1992) 1. 2, 348 footnote 195.

²² An *adparator* is known from *Massilia*/Marseille: *CIL* 12, 405. See Turcan (1972) 92; cf. Turcan (1986) 485 and for the frequent phrase *cum suis hostis et apparamentis*.

²³ This is common on *taurobolia* performed on behalf of institutions, see Schillinger (1979) 374 sq.

²⁴ The celebration of a *taurobolium pro salute imperatoris* by women is not otherwise attested in the Western Roman Empire. In *Narbonensis* where this kind of inscription was quite frequent (from 32 examples mentioned by R. Duthoy (1969) 16 come from Gaul), women are mentioned only on four altars together with other devotees: *CIL* 12, 1222 (Orange), 1311 (Vaison-la-Romaine), 1567 and 1569 (Die). Furthermore I know of only one dedication by a woman to IOM from Narbonne: *CIL* 12, 4334 *pro salute imperatoris*, cf. Spickermann (1994)

however, have earlier dedications—probably of buildings—for Isis Panthea and Magna Mater *pro salute Augustorum*, by an imperial freedwoman and a slave (?) of a Caesar in Mainz (nos. 7 and 8). It is remarkable that both plates (*tabulae ansatae*) were put up in years of special significance to the city. Since the cult community of Mater Magna in Lugudunum was in 194 CE presided over by a mostly male clergy and a college of *dendrophori*, it is remarkable that women appear as donors when it comes to these significant historical markers. The close connection between Cybele and the imperial cult in Lugudunum can already be found in the *taurobolium* of Aemilius Carpus which was celebrated in honour of Antoninus Pius, as well as in the *taurobolia* of the dendrophorial college of 190 CE in honour of Commodus. The two *taurobolia* of the women should be seen in this tradition.²⁵ In contrast to the altar put up by the dendrophoral college, these two altars (nos. 3 and 4) do not make use of the phrase *ex vaticinatione archigalli* (with the authorization of the *archigallus*) which was one of three conditions for tax exemption for having paid for public *taurobolia*.²⁶ One can, then, only take it that the initiative to put up the two *taurobolia* did not come from Pusonius Iulianus, who may still have been *archigallus* at the time,²⁷ but was an independent decision of the women, a fact underlined by the inscription.²⁸ Considering that the *taurobolium* of 194 CE is a public declaration for one party in a civil war, and the dedication of 197 CE an ovation for the victor—and considering that the imperial cult was newly organized after this victory, with the victor staying in Lugudunum in May 197—one can only read the stone as a political statement to which the city council must have consented. This is borne out by the fact that both *taurobolia* were, like the earlier ones, celebrated for the welfare of the town (*pro statu coloniae*). Moreover, we are dealing with elaborate ceremonies which were surely witnessed by the larger part of the local population. The connection between the cult congregation and the city council is already

34–36. From Hispania we know of two *taurobolia* of couples for the salvation of the Emperor: *CIL* 2, 5521 = Duthoy (1969) 36 no. 74 = Schillinger (1979) 52 nos. 10 and 11 and Wickert, L., 'Bericht über eine 2. Reise zur Vorbereitung von *CIL* II Suppl. 2', *Sitzber. Berl. Ak. Phil.-hist. Kl.*, Berlin 1931 p. 4 (Corduba) = Duthoy (1969) 36 no. 75 = Schillinger (1979) 51 nos. 7 and 8.

²⁵ A third (only fragmentarily preserved) *taurobolium*, probably from the 3rd cent. CE, *CIL* 13, 1755, is considered to have been donated for the salvation of Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta; cf. Audin (1976) 59.

²⁶ Schillinger (1979) 367 sq.

²⁷ For this person: Schillinger (1979) 201 no. 493.

²⁸ Also the dedication formula *fecerunt ex voto* is unusual for *taurobolia*.

established by the decurions' election of the cult's priests, their offices then having to be sanctioned by the *XVviri* in Rome who presided over the cult.²⁹

A dedication of *taurobolium* altars under the circumstances just described, especially if this dedication was undertaken by women belonging to the municipal elite, can hardly have been possible without the authority of cult functionaries.³⁰ Maybe there were no longer any male members left who had the means to pay for the ceremonies, or perhaps these men did not want to expose themselves in quite such a public way: men might have connections both social and political with the followers of Clodius Albinus who were now persecuted by the victor's party. Such an approach was certainly less risky for women—private persons *par excellence*—than for men, so that we may speculate that this was the reason for their public performance as donors. The participation of women in official ceremonies seems moreover to have advanced their standing within the cult community. The high status of the female benefactor within the priestly ranks may be asserted on the altar of 197, on which the priestess explicitly calls herself *sacerdotia*, while the term *sacerdos* was more common for both men and women.³¹ It is thus possible to show that the public *taurobolia* ceremonies in Lyon, which lasted for some days, were not merely of concern to the cult community, but were highly political actions: their public nature almost suppressed any individual component of the ritual. Individual action occurred in the service of the community. The case seems to be very different, however, for the Aquitanian city of Lectoure.³²

The larger part of the altars found in *Lactora*/Lectoure in Aquitania commemorate *taurobolia*, most of which are precisely dated, noting not only the year, but also the very day on which they were set up. In accordance with these dates, two groups can be established: five dated to October 18,

²⁹ Cf. Appendix no. 1, where the priest Sammius Severus gets his insignia from the *XVviri*: *ab XVviri occabo et corona exornato* and his dignity as *sacerdos perpetuus* from the council of the city, something he clearly points out was an extraordinary honour: *cui sanctissimus ordo Lugdunensis perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit*. See Ladage (1971) 81; cf. Turcan (1972) 87 sq.; Schillinger (1979) 358 and Audin (1976) 56 who points out the connection between the clergy of Cybele and the city council.

³⁰ This is particularly evident in the person of Optatia Siora who, given her certainly simple origin, had no reason for such a dedication, especially considering that her husband and son were non-citizens with the name Modestius, and for whom we do not know any profession or a political function; cf. *CIL* 12, 1986 and Schillinger (1979) 220 no. 548.

³¹ Cf. for example *CIL* 12, 185 and 5724 (Antibes): *flaminica et sacerdos* and 3224 (Nîmes): *Isidis sacerdos*.

³² Cf. Spickermann (1994) 158–171 and *ILA Lectoure* 130–177.

176, and nine dated to December 8, 241 (for example no. 12). One altar is dated to March 24, 239 (no. 11). One altar mentions the first *taurobolium* in Lectoure which must then have taken place on or before October 18, 176.³³ It is likely then that October 18, 176 saw the official institutionalization of the taurobolic ceremony within the Mater Magna/Cybele cult in *Lactora*. This seems to have happened in conjunction with the celebration of the imperial cult, since an inscription to honour the emperor Marcus Aurelius can be dated to the same year, and a second inscription to Diva Faustina must have been put up simultaneously.³⁴ R. Etienne assumes that the inscription was put up in connection with the death and divinization of Faustina.³⁵ It is, however, interesting that another *taurobolium* in Lyon dates to December 9. We may be dealing with a hitherto unknown local holiday of the cult.³⁶ A *taurobolium* altar of the *ordo* of *Lactora* in honor of Gordian, Sabinia Tranquillina and the imperial house, dates to December 8, 241 and was performed *proq(ue) statu civitat(is)*. The cult must have held considerable appeal for the local population, since the *r(es) p(ublica) Lactorat(ium)* also put up another *taurobolium* altar *pro salute et incolumitate domus divinae*, thus marking it out as addressing the living members of the imperial house. The ornaments of the altar and the formula *tauropolium fecit* date the *taurobolium* to the second century CE, maybe even to 176.³⁷ This dedication by the political community connects the Magna Mater/Cybele cult to the imperial cult, making the members of the imperial family the beneficiaries of the sacrifice.³⁸ According to the criteria established by J. B. Rutter, we are looking at the first *taurobolium* in *Lactora*.³⁹

³³ CIL 13, 504 = ILA Lectoure no. 3: *Matri Deum / Pomp(eia) Philumene / quae prima L(a=E)ctor(a)e / taurobolium / fecit*. "For the Mother of the Gods. Pompeia Philumene who was the first to celebrate a taurobolium at Lectoure".

³⁴ CIL 13, 526 = ILA Lectoure no. 25: *Imp(eratori) Caes(ari) / divi Antonini / f(ilio) divi Veri Part(hici) / Maximi fratri / M(arco) Aurel(io) Anto(nino) Aug(usto) Ger(manico) Sarmatic(o) / p(ontifici) m(aximo) t(ribunicia) p(otestate) XXX imp(eratori) VIII / co(n)s(uli) III p(atr) p(atrae) Lactorat(es) and 527: Divae / Faustinae*. Cf. Espérandieu (1892) 64–66 no. 27 and no. 4; also Etienne (1966) 37.

³⁵ Etienne (1966) 37–39.

³⁶ CIL 13, 1751; cf. Herz (1975) 304 sq.

³⁷ The altars of 241 CE mostly note *taurobolium accepit*. Duthoy and Schillinger date them to 176 CE. This is in accordance with the honorary inscription of Lectoure to M. Aurelius in the same year: CIL 13, 526 = ILA Lectoure no. 25.

³⁸ See Duthoy (1969) 69 and 116–121; also Rutter (1968) 236.

³⁹ Rutter (1968) 236–239. All those *taurobolia* are public that were celebrated *pro salute imperatoris*, thus benefiting from tax exemption as laid down by Antoninus Pius. Cf. Duthoy (1969) 88–91.

Another set of officially celebrated *taurobolia*, described as *tauropolium pub(lice) factum*, were those performed by two men of local background, Severus Iulli fil(ius) and Viator Sabini fil(ius).⁴⁰ They probably belong to the first chronological series.⁴¹ The altars are identical with regard to the formulae of their inscriptions and were therefore most likely put up at the same time. The inscriptions note that as a part of a public *taurobolium* ceremony, the genitals of a bull (*vires tauri*) were sacrificed, most likely in substitution for the genitals of the dedicants.⁴² The entrance to a cultic office may account for the public character of the ceremony.⁴³ The formula *publice factum* (which happened in public and with public money) is not recorded on any other *taurobolium* altar.⁴⁴

It is possible to discern a development from 176 to 241 CE in the cult community of *Lactora*. The first phase of the cult was dominated by freedmen and slaves, with only women explicitly celebrating *taurobolia*. Even the priests were slaves, one of whom was liberated in the course of his office. The cult must already have acquired such a good standing in the community that the population of the town came together to celebrate a *taurobolium* in honour of the imperial house. Over time indigenous men and women seem

⁴⁰ CIL 13, 522 = Duthoy (1969) 48 no. 120; ILA Lectora no. 13: Severus / Iulli fil(ius) / vires tauri / quo propri(e) / per tauro(b=P)o/lium pub(lice)factum fecerat / consecravat and CIL 13, 525 = Duthoy (1969) 49 no. 123 = ILA Lectora no. 14: Viator / Sabini fil(ius) / vires tauri / quo proprie / per tauro(b=P)o/lium pub(lice)fact(um) / fecerat / consecravat.

⁴¹ Espérandieu (1892) 31–33 no. 14 & 36–38 no. 15 date to 176 CE. ILA Lectora p. 152 dates roughly to the second half of the second century CE.

⁴² Rutter (1968) 238; cf. Duthoy (1969) 72–74; also Schillinger (1979) 365 sq.; Sanders (1981) 285 and Thomas (1984) 1523. That women also sacrificed the genitals of bulls cannot be proven following this line of argument. The only *taurobolium* in which women participated which signals *loco vires conditae* is the altar of the *pontifex perpetuus* in *Dea Augusta/Die* (CIL 12, 1567 = Duthoy (1969) 38 no. 83, which was put up by him and his wife and daughter). Other dedications by women are made for the *vires aeterni* (CIL 5, 6961 = Duthoy (1969) 13 no. 18 (Turino)) or the *natalici vires* (CIL 13, 573 = Duthoy (1969) 49 no. 124 (Bordeaux)), but do not mention the reception (*excipere*), consecration (*consacrere*) or burying (*considerere*) of the *vires*. Since the altar in *Dea Augusta/Die* was not set up by women acting alone, we actually do not have a single inscription of a woman which notes the sacrifice of genitals and the proper ceremony. All in all, there is only one more inscription in *Lugdunum/Lyon* (CIL 13, 1751 = Duthoy (1969) 50 no. 126) using this particular formula. All titles of this kind were found in southern Gaul. On the inscription *quo proprie* as found in Lectora, see Espérandieu (1892) 31–33 no. 14; Schillinger (1979) 213 sq. no. 532 and 215 no. 536 dating “second half second/third century.”

⁴³ Cf. Thomas (1984) 1525–1527; also Vermaseren (1979) 96–98. Since the castration of Roman citizens was punishable by law since the reign of Domitian, it is hardly surprising to find bulls’ genitals substituting for human ones. As the afore-mentioned stone from Die shows, however, a scarification of the genital of a bull could also happen in other contexts.

⁴⁴ But compare CIL 12, 4321: *celebrarunt publice Narbon(enses)*.

to have joined the cult, and even members of the city's elite dedicated *taurobolium* altars. The dedications by men differed from those performed by women in that the *taurobolia* which the men carried out are explicitly mentioned as being performed publicly.

The altars of 241 CE appear much more standardized than the first series. With one exception, the divinity's name is abbreviated by the formula *S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum)*. They all seem to come from the same workshop, since they are very similar in size and decoration, while the preliminary formula had perhaps already been chosen by the mason beforehand. The sides depict in relief a bull's and a ram's head, a sacrificial bowl and a knife, and again the sacrificial bowl and a bull's head. All are mentioned as *hostis suis*—i.e. the sacrificial animals were paid for by the dedicants themselves—and the dedicatory formula is given as *tauropolium accepit*.⁴⁵

An altar of the *ordo Lactorat(ium)* probably also imitated the second series of the *taurobolia*. As in the earlier altar of the *res publica*,⁴⁶ the altar again makes the connection between Mater Magna and imperial cult, maybe even in the formula dating the dedication. At this point in time, the congregation seems to have been dominated by women, since of the nine *taurobolia* dedicated that day, seven were donated by women.⁴⁷

It is remarkable that women were so prominent in the cult, which probably for 65 years was among the most important ones in Lactora. One can perhaps surmise that women introduced Mater Magna worship in Lactora, since it was again a woman who celebrated the first *taurobolium*.⁴⁸ At least with regard to the first series of 176 CE, one or two priests presided over the ceremonies. The joint celebration of a number of *taurobolia* on a certain day seems to have been a local variant that was repeated in the second generation within the cult community which seems to have grown considerably in the intervening years. It is telling that the city and city council took part in a cult which was dominated by, apparently wealthy, women. These women were of freed background, though they were later joined by women of full citizen status. The question as to why men did not play a greater part in the *taurobolium* ceremonies and took only part in joint dedications with their

⁴⁵ *S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum)* is not mentioned in *CIL* 13, 518 = *ILA Lectoure* no. 23 because the upper part of the altar is lost. The altar, however, has a different shape than the others.

⁴⁶ *CIL* 13, 520 = *ILA Lectoure* no. 7: *Pro salute / et incolumi/tate domus / divinae r(es) p(ublica) / Lactorat(ium) tau/ropol(ium) fecit* (For the health and the safety of the divine house the community of Lactora celebrated a *taurobolium*).

⁴⁷ See Pelletier (1984) 109.

⁴⁸ Valensi (1967) 35 no. 9.

wives cannot be answered. In *Lactora*, women celebrated *taurobolia* independently, but the fact that these all took place in larger ceremonies on a certain day speaks for a communal act. Again, the entire community is likely to have taken part in the ritual. We cannot say for certain whether or not women were admitted to the cult as individuals.

It is important to acknowledge the limits of what can be said about women's roles in the cult of Magna Mater, both in the colony of Lyon and at Lectoure. At a more general level, however, the differences noted are quite striking. Despite the links to the Temple on the Palatine, there is no indication that norms were set (or at least effectively imposed) on Cybele's cult at any level above that of the individual community. We should perhaps not expect enormous difference in the gendering of ritual across the western provinces, but these cases do suggest that some of the key negotiations about what women did and did not do, took place at a local level and in the context of local politics.

3. *Eviration of the galli in the 3rd Century CE?*

The self-castration of the *galli* is well documented for the cult of Cybele in Pessinus, but seemed very strange to the Romans after the inauguration of the goddess in Rome 204 BCE. Roman citizens were prohibited from becoming *galli*, which meant that these were mostly orientals or slaves. The cult of Magna Mater was put under the supervision of the *XVviri sacris faciundis*. Under Claudius, the ban was lifted. Eventually Domitian reaffirmed that Roman citizens were forbidden to practice *eviratio* (castration), but under Antoninus Pius at the latest, there was a liberalization concerning the clergy and the rituals of the cult of Magna Mater/Cybele.⁴⁹

Only one altar from *Lactora* does not belong to either of the two dated series (no. 11). The dedication is an anomaly since any hint of a *taurobolium* is lacking. The dedicant erected an altar to Mater Deum and received the *vires* as the generative power of one Eutyches.⁵⁰ Traianius Nundinius is mentioned as the priest, who is also mentioned on the altars of 241 CE.⁵¹ On both sides of the altar we find images of a sacrificial bowl and a jug. However, the *vires* seem not to refer to the genitals of a bull, which are explicitly cited

⁴⁹ Schillinger (1979) 360–364.; cf. Sanders (1981) 282 sq. and Vermaseren (1977) 96 sq.

⁵⁰ *CIL* 13, 510 = *ILA Lectoure* no. 15; cf. Spickermann (1994) 161 sq.

⁵¹ Traianius Nundinius as *sacerdos*: *ILA Lectoure* nos. 16–24.

on two altars mentioned above;⁵² they rather seem to mean the genitals of the man Eutyches.⁵³ This may point to an initiatory rite of a slave or a freedman with the Greek name Eutyches, who on March 24, the blood day of Mater Magna, joined the *galli*. According to tradition, this kind of eviration ceremony was held on that particular day.⁵⁴ Valeria Gemina would then have received the genitals of Eutyches and sacrificed them to the deity. Against such a reading it has always been said that it is the only example referring to such a rite, one in which, moreover, a woman, and not the *gallus* himself sacrificed the genitals. It has therefore been assumed that the genitals must be those of a bull, and that Eutyches was the donor of said bull.⁵⁵ The fact that the altar was set up by a woman again speaks to the dominant role women played in the cult congregation, while the dedicant herself certainly belonged to the more affluent section of the community, since we also have a *taurobolium* (no. 12) offered in her name. The latter fact underlines the peculiarity of the ceremony which had taken place two years earlier. The participation of a woman in the ritual may be explained by assuming that Eutyches enacted the eviration of Attis, and that Valeria Gemina received his genitals in Cybele's stead (*escepit*), washed them, anointed them, and buried them wrapped in linen as the goddess did in the myth.⁵⁶ She did that in a public way and documented the act in an inscription.

Recently another instance of the rite has come to light, this time from Germany. One of the earliest Metroons of the western provinces seems to have been the one in Mainz. The influence of this cult centre was even felt in the surrounding villages, as is shown by a spectacular discovery in the nearby *vicus Altiaium*/Alzey. Here, a votive altar for Magna Mater was found in September 2003 at Römerstraße 36 near the Roman walls (no. 13). At the same time, two stone blocks were found, with three sides displaying reliefs.⁵⁷ The text of the altar's inscription is remarkable. It clearly refers to the

⁵² See footnote 40.

⁵³ Schillinger (1979) 210 no. 518; cf. Vermaseren (1979) 105 and 132.

⁵⁴ Tert. *Apol.* 25; cf. Vermaseren (1979) 115 with footnote 667; cf. Rutter (1968) 238; Schillinger (1979) 210 with footnote 1 and Etienne 1966, 36. Also Sanders (1972) 1005 s.v. Gallos mentions this inscription as an example for a vow of a *gallus*.

⁵⁵ So Espérandieu (1892) 40. Keune, J.B., *RE* 12.1 (1924) 361–367, Sp. 363 s.v. Lactora and Latte (1960) 354 Anm. 2 interpret Eutyches even as the name of the bull. Cf. also Bömer (1958/64) 35 footnote 4 and the commentary to *ILS* 4127.

⁵⁶ Sanders (1981) 271. Concerning the initiation of the *galli*, Vermaseren (1979) 96 sq.; cf. Rutter (1968) 238, interpreting it as a private initiation ritual. Thomas (1984) 1523 argues against this.

⁵⁷ Boppert (2008) 24–26.

eviration of a *gallus*. The names of the consuls and the Ides of November date the inscription to November 11, 237. On the back of the altar a garlanded bull's head is depicted, framed by a Phrygian hat on the left, and on the right two musical instruments, a straight *aulos* crossed with a crooked one. The left-hand side of the altar bears an oval shield, while the right side is left unadorned. The connection to the Mater Magna cult is evident. W. Boppert concludes that, as in the Aquitanian case, we are again looking at an eviration. Servandius Maternus presided over the ceremony as *s(acerdos) M(atris) D(eum)*. Pacatia Pacata, daughter of a decurion of Augusta Treverorum, received the testicles of the *gallus* Patricus Cybelicus for the goddess, deposited the *vires* and erected a memorial altar. The ceremony is referred to by the term *consummata* (brought to completion) which we already know from the Gallic context of taurobolic altars.⁵⁸ The *gallus* had then also a theophoric *cognomen* which may refer to a mystic name in the cult community or his cultic office.⁵⁹ It is remarkable that the ceremony was commemorated by a member of the upper class of the nearby *civitas Treverorum*. On account of the presence of the priest we may assume that it concerns a *metroon*.⁶⁰ As in Lactora, the ceremony must have been a public one and was documented with a consul-dated stone altar.

Due to a very lucky circumstance, the same Patricus Cybelicus turns up again, mentioned in an inscription on a building block in the north side of the Porta Nigra in Trier which was discovered in 1996 (no. 14). We find another dedication to Magna Mater which only becomes comprehensible in connection with the inscription in Alzey. As L. Schwinden has suggested, the *haruspex* Arcadius dedicated the stone to the Great Mother of the Gods in fulfillment of a vow and in the course of a ceremony was assisted by the priest known from Alzey, Patricus Cybelicus. Schwinden assumes a *taurobolium* or *criobolium* analogous to the Gallic inscription. It is, however, impossible to say with certainty whether the inscription in Alzey pre- or postdates the one in Trier. Considering the more abundant evidence of the Mater Magna cult in the military zones along the Rhine and the large cult center in Mainz, it is more than likely that the cult was introduced from here into Gallia Belgica. Patricus Cybelicus will then have wandered between Alzey, with its Metroon, and Trier, and he may even have established the cult

⁵⁸ Boppert (2008) 26sq. and Schwinden (2008) 60–62 with examples; cf. Spickermann (1994) 199sq.

⁵⁹ Cf. Schwinden (2008) 60.

⁶⁰ Cf. Boppert (2008) 32.

in that city. At the very least he was successful in winning the support of a rich woman of the upper stratum of local society. Arcadius was probably one of the *haruspices publici* who are repeatedly mentioned for Trier, employed by the army or by the community.⁶¹ Unfortunately the inscription does not mention any distinct cultic office which might give us further clues, so that no definite conclusions concerning the cult community of Mater Magna or even a Metroon in Trier in the 3rd century CE can be drawn.

4. *Isis and Magna Mater in the Same Sanctuary*

The recent discoveries just described present a new picture of the cult of Mater Magna in the Rhine and Mosel areas. In the Flavian period there was a sanctuary dedicated to both Magna Mater and Isis, which was closely associated with the imperial cult that was so dominant in Mainz and among the army. This is documented in two nearly identical building inscriptions (?) in the form of *tabulae ansatae* for Isis Panthea and Magna Mater *pro salute Augustorum* that were set up by an imperial freedwoman named Claudia Icmas and Vitulus, a slave (?) of a Caesar (nos. 7 and 8).⁶² Until the excavations in the Römerpassage in Mainz, which uncovered a sanctuary dedicated to Isis by a family in which a mother and daughter gave large sums of money for the adornment, only one other building inscription for Isis (with female dedicants from Wettingen near Baden) was known from either of the German provinces.⁶³ The dating of the inscriptions of Claudia Icmas from Mainz is highly problematic: the circumstances of their discovery are not precisely documented and the term *Augustorum* makes it very difficult to date this to the Flavian period.⁶⁴ The dedication by the wife of a legionary legate to Isis (no. 9) shows that even the highest strata of society visited the sanctuaries. In the following years the sanctuary was completely rebuilt and probably monumentalized, indicating it had gained in prestige. The inscription found at Alzey attests to a local chapter of the cult in the third century. Moreover, *galli* are named in a number of curse tablets found in Mainz, in a conspicuous magical analogy to those named as cursed. While Attis is appealed to in a number of *defixiones* as the helping deity, and integrated

⁶¹ Cf. Schwinden (2008) 59.

⁶² Cf. Spickermann (2007) 139–145.

⁶³ *CIL* 13, 5233; vgl. Spickermann (1994) 305 sq. and 2003, 302 sq.

⁶⁴ *AE* 2007, 148 presumes the year of the usurpation of Saturninus in Mainz 89 CE, but then the inscriptions should have been removed rapidly after his failure against Domitian.

into the pantheon in place of Jupiter, his adherents, the *galli*, and also the *bellonarii*, were not considered official cult personnel, being outsiders within the community due to their self-mutilation.⁶⁵ It is remarkable that Attis, in contrast to what has so far been assumed, is already addressed as a god in the first century CE. Twelve other tablets are directed to Mater Magna, none are known for Isis.⁶⁶ The Alzey finds show that these bloody rituals were performed and publicly documented in the third century CE. A combination of Magna Mater and Isis is also attested in Aachen, another case in which a woman dedicated a sanctuary to house the two deities together (no. 10). The inscription was rediscovered in 2006 after it had been rescued in 1974 during construction works. The dedicator Iulia Tiberina was the wife of a *centurio* of *legio XX Valeria Victrix*. The inscription dates to the 2nd/3rd century CE. Nothing is known about the sanctuary, but the sanctuary in Mainz probably served as a model.

5. Conclusion

What can we conclude of the role of women in the Mater Magna/Cybele cult in the western provinces from an in-depth examination of the epigraphic testimony? It is certain that wealthy women formed an important part of the congregations at Lyon, Mainz and especially Lectoure, yet the clergy remained dominated by men. In Mainz an imperial freedwoman must have played a prominent role in establishing or renovating the major sanctuary of Isis and Magna Mater and connecting it to emperor worship and that of the senate and the Roman army. In Aachen, it was the wife of a *centurio* who donated a sanctuary to Isis and Magna Mater. So, women are signalled as playing important roles in the funding of the cult ceremonies and in the cohesion of the cult communities of Magna Mater in the Roman West. They appear as religious functionaries, even if they never attained the highest offices in the clergy. How far this was felt or perceived as a limitation on their standing is unclear. Likewise, even if we presume that women formed the majority in a cult community like Lectoure, they nevertheless seem to have played a subordinate role in the cult administration. This may have changed during the 3rd century CE when some women played a central role in the eviration ceremonies as dedicants of altars and in ritual. Even if this

⁶⁵ Cf. Boppert (2008) 40sq.

⁶⁶ Blänsdorf (2004) 52.

was a rare occurrence this testimony to their centrality in some rituals at least is striking. But the bloody ceremony of castration is only documented on the two altars of Alzey and Lectoure dedicated within a period of only two years. We cannot say what was more unusual for a cult community of Magna Mater in the 3rd century CE: the castration-ceremony itself, or its public documentation on a stone inscriptions in an official manner, dedicated by women.

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Appendix

*Magna Mater in Lyon*1. *CIL* 13, 1751 = *ILS* 4131 (*Lugdunum*/Lyon, Gallia Lugdunensis 9.12.160 CE)

Taurobolio Matris d(eum) M(agnae) Id(eae) | quod factum est ex imperio matris {D} | deum | pro salute Imperatoris Caes(aris) T(iti) Aeli | Hadriani Antonini Aug(usti) Pii p(atris) p(atriciae) | liberorumque eius | et status coloniae Lugdun(ensium) | L(ucius) Aemilius Carpus IIIIIvir Aug(ustalis) item | dendrophor(us) | vires excepit et a Vaticano trans|tulit ara(m) et bucranium | suo impendio consacravit | sacerdote | Q(uinto) Sammio Secundo ab XVviris | occabo et corona exornato | cui sanctissimus ordo Lugdunens(ium) | perpetuitatem sacerdoti decrevit | App(io) Annio Atilio Bradua T(ito) Clod(io) Vibio | Varo co(n)s(ulibus) | l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) || cuius Mesonyctium | factum est VId(us) Dec(embres)

For the Taurobolium of Mater Magna Deum from (mount) Ida performed on the orders of Mater Deum for the health of the emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, father of the nation, and for his children and for the welfare of the colony of Lugdunum, Lucius Aemilius Carpus, sevir Augustalis and dendrophorus took charge of the testicles and brought them from the (mount) Vatican, he consecrated an altar and a bucranium at his own expense, when Quintus Sammius Severus was priest, who was selected and adorned with a crown by the (Roman priesthood) of the XVviri and to whom the holiest council of Lugdunum decreed a lifelong priesthood. (This was done) under the consulship of Appius Annius Atilius Bradua (and) Titus Clodius Vibius Varus, the place was granted by decree of the council. His midnight celebration (Mesonyctium) took place on the 5th day before the Ides of December.

2. *CIL* 13, 1752 = *ILS* 4132 = *AE* 2007, 948 (*Lugdunum*/Lyon, 17.7.190 CE)

[[Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Commodi Antonini Aug(usti)]] | numinibus Aug(usti) totiusque | domus divinae et statu c(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) | Aug(ustae) Lugd(unum) | tauribolium fece|runt dendrophori | Lugduni consistentes | XVI Kal(endas) Iulias | Imp(eratore) [[Caes(are) M(arco) Aurelio Commodo VI]] | Marco Sura Septimiano | co(n)s(ulibus) ex vaticinatione | Pusoni Iuliani | archi|galli sacerdote | Aelio Castrense | tibicine Fl(avio) Restituto | honori omnium | Cl(audius) Silvanus Perpetuus | quinquennalis inpen|dium huius arae remisit | l(ocus) d(atu)s d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

[[For the health of the emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Augustus]] and for the deities (Numina) of the emperor and the entire divine house and for the welfare of the colony Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum. The dendrophori resident in Lugdunum celebrated a taurobolium on the 16th day before the calends of July when the [[Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus]] for the 6th time and Marcus Sura Septimianus were consuls, in accordance of the archigallus Pusonius Iulianus when Aelius Castrensis was priest and Flavius

Restitutus was flute player Claudius Silvianus Perpetuus has paid for this altar in honour of all by fifyear interest.⁶⁷ The place was granted by a decree of the council.

3. *CIL* 13, 1753 = *ILS* 4133 (*Lugdunum*/Lyon, 9.-11.5.194 CE)

Pro salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Sep|timi Severi Pertina|cis Aug(usti) et D(ecimi) Clodi | [[Septimi Albini Caes(aris)]] | domusq(ue) divinae et statu c(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunum) | taurobo|lium fecerunt Aufustia | Alexandria et Sergia | Parthenope ex voto | praeunte Aelio Castren|se sacerdote tibicine Fl(avio) | Restituto inchoatum est | sacrum VII Idus Mai(as) con|summatum V Id(us) easdem | [I]mp(eratore) L(ucio) Septimio Severo Pertinac(e) Aug(usto) | [[D(ecimo) Clod(io) Sept(imio) Albino Caes(are)]] | Il co(n)s(ulibus) | l(ocus) | d(atus) | d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]

For the health of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus and Decimus Clodius [[Septimius Albinus Caesar]] and the divine house and for the welfare of the colony Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum. Aufustia Alexandria and Sergia Parthenope celebrated a taurobolium according to the vow dictated by the priest Aelius Castrensis when the flute player was Flavius Restitutus. The sacrifice started at the 7th day before the Ides of May and was completed on the 5th day before the Ides of the same (month), when Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax Augustus and [[Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus Caesar]] were consuls for the second time. The place was granted by a decree of the council.

4. *CIL* 13, 1754 = *ILS* 4134 (*Lugdunum*/Lyon, 4.-7.5.197 CE)

[Pro] salute Imp(eratoris) L(uci) Septimi | [Seve]ri Pii Pertinacis Aug(usti) | [et] M(arci) Aureli Antonini Caes(aris) | Imp(eratoris) destinati et | Iuliae Aug(ustae) matris castror(um) | totiusque domus divinae | eorum et statu c(oloniae) C(opiae) C(laudiae) Aug(ustae) Lug(udunum) | taurobolium fecerunt | Septicia Valeriana et | Optatia Siora ex voto | praeunte Aelio Antho sa|cerdote sacerdotia Aemi|lia Secundilla tibicine Fl(avio) Restituto apparatore Vire|io Hermetione | inchoatum est sacrum IIII | Nonas Maias consumma|tum Nonis eisdem | T(ito) Sex(tio) Laterano L(ucio) Cuspio | Ru[f]ino co(n)s(ulibus) | l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]

For the health of the Emperor Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Pertinax Augustus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Caesar, Emperor-elect, and Iulia Augusta, mother of the military camps and their entire divine house and for the welfare of the colony Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum. Septicia Valeriana and Optatia Siora celebrated a taurobolium by vow dictated by the priest Aelius Anthus, when the priestess was Aemilia Secundilla, the flute player was Flavius Restitutus and the grand marshal Vireius Hermetio. The sacrifice started at the 4th day before the Nones of May and was completed on the Nones of the same (month), under the consulship of Titus Sextius Lateranus and Lucius Cuspius Rufinus. The place was granted by a decree of the council.

⁶⁷ Following the interpretation of von Domaszewski in *CIL* XIII.5 (Index) p. 117.

5. *CIL* 13, 1755 (*Lugdunum*/Lyon, ca. 211–217 CE)

[---] | *Per*[*tinacis* 3] | *Part*[*hici* 3] | [[[6]]] | [[[6]]] | [*I*]*mp(eratoris)* *Caes(aris)* *L(uci)*
[3] | *Perta*[3] | *Caes(aris)* *M(arci)* *Au[r](eli)* 3] | *Pii* *Feli[cis]* 3] | [*Par*]*t(hici)* *m(aximi)*
Ara[*bici m(aximi)* 3] | [3 *taurob*]oli[um---]

(Taurobolium for the health (?) of Septimius Severus)

6. *CIL* 13, 1756 (*Lugdunum*/Lyon, ca. 160–199 CE)

Taurobolium | *matris deum Aug(ustae)* | *Billia* *T(iti)* *fil(ia)* *Veneria* | *l(ocus)* *d(atus)*
d(ecreto) *d(ecurionum)*

Taurobolium of Mater Deum Augusta. Billia Veneria, daughter of Titus, (has celebrated it). The place was granted by a decree of the council.

*Isis/Magna Mater in Mainz and Aachen*7. *AE* 2004, 1015 (*Mogontiacum*/Mainz, Germania Superior)

Pro salute Augustorum | *s(enatus)* *p(opuli)* *q(ue)* *R(omani)* *et exercitus* | *Matri Mag-*
nae Claudia Aug(usti) *l(iberta)* *Icmas* | *et Vitulus Caes(aris)* *sacer(dote)* *Cla(udio)*
Attico li(berto)

For the health of the Augusti, the senate, the Roman people and the army. Claudia Icmas, imperial freedwoman and Vitulus (freedman or slave) of Caesar (dedicated it) to Magna Mater when the freedman Claudius Atticus was priest.

8. *AE* 2004, 1016 = *AE* 2007, 148 (*Mogontiacum*/Mainz)

Pro salute Augustorum et | *s(enatus)* *p(opuli)* *q(ue)* *R(omani)* *et exercitus* | *Isidi Pan-*
theae Claudia Aug(usti) *l(iberta)* *Icmas* | *et Vitulus Caes(aris)* *sacer(dote)* *Claud(io)*
Attico lib(erto)

For the health of the Augusti, the senate, the Roman people and the army. Claudia Icmas, imperial freedwoman and Vitulus (freedman or slave) of Caesar (dedicated it) to Isis Panthea when the freedman Claudius Atticus was priest.

9. *AE* 2004, 1018 (*Mogontiacum*/Mainz)

Isidi | *Regin|ae* | *Grania* | *Quartilla* | *Hastae leg(ati)* | *Aug(usti)* *voto* | *su(s=C)* *cepto* |
s(ua) *p(ecunia)* *l(ibens)* *m(erito)*

For Isis Regina, Grania Quartilla (wife) of Hasta, the legate of Augustus, fulfilled her vow with her own money gladly and deservedly.

10. *AE* 2006, 864 = *AE* 2007, 1018 (*Aquae Granni/Aachen, Germania Inferior*)

Numinibus | divor(um) Aug(ustorum) in | honorem domus | [d]ivinae Iul(ia) Tiberina Q(uinti) Iul(i) | avi uxor |(centurionis) l[e]g(ionis) XX Val(eriae) Vic(tricis) ae/des Matri d[eu]m et Isidi ex voto | de [s(ua) p(ecunia?)] s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)

For the deities (Numina) of the divine Augusti in honour of the divine house. Iulia Tiberina, wife of Quintus Iulius [...avus], centurion of the 20th legion Valeria Victrix (has given) a sanctuary of Mater Deum and Isis as a votive gladly and deservedly with [her own money?]

Eviration

11. *CIL* 13, 510 = *ILA* Lectoure 15 = *ILS* 4127 (*Lactora/Lectoure, Aquitania, 24.3.239 CE*)

S(acrum) M(atri) D(eum) | Val(eria) Gemina | vires esce|pit Eutyche|tis VIII Kal(en-das) | April(es) sacer|dote Traia|nio Nundi|nio d(omino) n(ostro) Gordi|ano et Aviola co(n)s(ulibus)

Consecrated to Mater Deum. Valeria Gemina has received the testicles (lit. generative power) of Eutyches on the 9th day before the calends of April when Traianus Nundinius was priest under the consulship of our Lord Gordianus and Aviola.

12. *CIL* 13, 518 = *ILA* Lectoure 23 = *ILS* 4128 (*Lactora/Lectoure, Aquitania, 8. 12. 241 CE*)

[S(acrum) M(atri) d(eum)] | Val(eria) Gemin|a tauropoli|um accepit | hosti(i)s suis sa|cerdote Tra|ianio Nund(in)|io d(omino) n(ostro) Gord|iano II et Po|[m]peiano co(n)s(ulibus) | [VI Id(us)] Dec(embres)

Consecrated to Mater Deum. Valeria Gemina has (celebrated) a taurobolium (and) paid for the victims when Traianus Nundinius was priest and when our Lord Gordianus for the second time and Pompeianus were consuls. On the 6th day before the Ides of December.

13. *AE* 2007, 1047 (*Altaia/Alzey, Germania superior, 11.11.237 CE*)

[M(atri) d(eum) M(agnae) et v]iribus | Patrici Cybeli|ci Pacatia Paca|ta filia Pacati | Pacatini d(ecurionis) c(ivitatis) Tr(everorum) consummata per | Servandium Ma|ternum s(acerdotem) d(eum) M(atri)s | III Idum Novembri|um Perpetuo et C[or]ne-[li]an[o co(n)s(ulibus)]

For Mater Deum Magna and the generative power of Patricius Cybelicus. Pacatia Pacata, daughter of Pacatius Pacatinus, decurio of the civitas Treverorum (= Trier), has completed (the ceremony) with the assistance of the priest of Mater Deum Servandius Maternus on the 3rd day before the Ides of November under the consulship of Perpetuus and Cornelianus.

14. *AE* 2007, 990 (*Augusta Treverorum*/Trier, Gallia Belgica)

Matri deu[m] | Magnae Ar|cadius (h)ar[u]|spex Patr[i]|co Cybelic[o] | consumtu[s] | votis con(ceptis)

For Mater Deum Magna, the haruspex Arcadius, after the consumption ceremony with the assistance of Patricus Cybelicus, has fulfilled his vows.

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PART III

PUBLIC REPRESENTATION

HONORIFIC VS. FUNERARY STATUES OF WOMEN: ESSENTIALLY THE SAME OR FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT?

Glenys Davies

Draped standing statues of women who were not members of the imperial family were, broadly speaking, erected in one of two contexts: honorific statues might be placed in one of the public areas of the town, and funerary statues would decorate a tomb or grave monument outside the town.¹ Were the same statue types used in both contexts, and did the commissioners and makers of the statues consider that the same virtues and ideals were appropriate to both? This question arose out of and relates to two other pieces of research: the first is Elizabeth Forbis' analysis of the content of honorific inscriptions for women as opposed to funerary epitaphs.² She noted that in Italy (in contrast to the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire) women honoured in public contexts were praised for their public roles and generosity but not for the domestic virtues which formed the usual areas for praise in funerary commemorative inscriptions. The second area of research is my own ongoing investigation of gender and body language in Roman art: this involves looking at the pose and gestures such statues of women employ, especially in contrast to the statues of men, and what this suggests about attitudes to women and their role in Roman society.³

¹ A third area where statues of women might be displayed is in the house or villa: Neudecker (1988) 74–84 discusses the display of private portraits in villas, but most of these are portraits of men, and the evidence he cites specifically for portraits of women is quite limited. Eck in this volume also considers the epigraphic evidence for the relative proportions of public and funerary honours to men and women in Italy, including statues commemorating them in villas and houses.

² Forbis (1990), especially 494–498.

³ See, for example, Davies (2005, 2008, 2010 and forthcoming). It is my contention that, for portrait statues in particular, the poses, dress and demeanour depicted would be those considered appropriate (even ideal) for the gender represented—such statues would thus act as role models for the rest of society. They do not necessarily show how men and women really behaved, but do express societal attitudes and expectations with regard to gender norms. Moreover, it has to be remembered that the women represented by the statues discussed here were by definition members of the most important families in their communities (or even from outside) and the social rules that applied to them were not the same as for 'women' in general, a point emphasised by Trimble (2011) 153–154, 190, when discussing the Large Herculaneum Woman type of statue.

Many of these statues conform to a specific statue body type (such as the so-called Pudicitia, Large and Small Herculaneum Women and so on), basic templates used by sculptors for the bodies of portrait statues.⁴ So the question I set myself was—were the body types used for statues of women in the two contexts (public and funerary) the same or different? And if there are differences, do they correlate in any way with the differences in the inscriptions observed by Forbis? It is noticeable that some of the body types (such as the Pudicitia and Large and Small Herculaneum Women) use more closed poses (see figs. 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11), with the arms held across the body and the figure tightly wrapped in drapery, suggesting a defensive and subordinate attitude, whereas others (such as the Ceres and Hip- and Shoulder-swathe types) are more open and use more expansive gestures, suggesting someone who takes a more active and leading role (see figs. 1, 4, 9 and 12). Might the former have been seen as more appropriate for the mothers, wives and daughters commemorated on their tombs, and the latter for wealthy patronesses and priestesses honoured with statues in the public areas of town centres?

For a database I used the impressive and extremely useful appendix 2 compiled by Annetta Alexandridis in her book on portraits of imperial women (empresses and other women related to the reigning emperor).⁵ This appendix lists statues of women—not just empresses, but other, non-imperial ‘real’ women and some ‘ideal’ subjects including goddesses—according to a number of standardised body types. There are nearly 1300 items in these lists divided into 26 types (some further subdivided into variants), which at first sight would seem to be a good basis for number crunching. But:

⁴ For a more general discussion of such statues and the contexts in which they were used see Fejfer (2008), especially Part 3, 331–372. For a detailed discussion and analysis of the replicated ‘sameness’ of one of these body types (the Large Herculaneum Woman) see Trimble (2011). An important question raised by Trimble’s discussion is the extent to which this statue type is typical of the other types used for portrait statues (my contention is that the ways in which the various types were used were not identical). Moreover, Trimble is primarily concerned with the examples of the type made in the second century AD: her emphasis on the honorific use of the Large Herculaneum Woman type is largely based on the preponderance of such a purpose for these statues in the *Eastern* empire in the second century. The situation looks rather different when only Western examples are considered. Trimble tends to downplay the ‘exceptions’ (including the funerary and imperial examples) in creating her picture of the typical standard use of the statue type as being for honorific display of non-imperial women in public contexts only.

⁵ Alexandridis (2004) 220–270.

1. My investigation only concerns the examples known to be made and displayed in the Western half of the Roman Empire: Italy, the Western provinces and the Latin-speaking parts of Africa (statues from Leptis Magna are included, but not those from Cyrene); where the line in the North is drawn is a bit trickier, but I have generally omitted anything classed by Alexandridis as 'Greek'. This cuts the numbers down by about 50 %, which is still a good-sized sample.
2. When one investigates further it becomes apparent that most of the statues are headless (see, for example, fig. 1). This means that it is often uncertain whether a statue represented a mortal as opposed to a deity (as some goddesses and figures such as Muses or personifications are represented using some of the same body types), and whether they were statues of an empress as opposed to an 'ordinary woman'.⁶ This means that for the majority of the statues we cannot be sure it was a portrait statue, let alone what sort of woman it represented. But even without a head, a statue wearing a *stola*⁷ can be assumed to be a portrait of a real woman, and if the find context is known this too may indicate whether the statue is likely to represent a mortal woman or not, or is a member of the imperial family or not. A statue found in a tomb context, for example, is likely to be a portrait of a woman from the local community commemorated where she is buried. (Fig. 1, a headless statue of the Ceres type, was found on the Via Latina outside Rome, and is likely to be a portrait statue from a tomb).⁸
3. The provenance of most of the statues is unknown—or the recorded find spot is very vague, providing just the general area it came from. Some of the assumptions made here may not be warranted: if a statue was found on the Via Appia or one of the other roads outside Rome I have assumed it was used in a funerary context (but it might actually have come from a villa)—and that if a statue was found in a town centre it was an honorary statue. The place a statue was found anyway may not be the place where it originally stood, and even if a statue's

⁶ As a general rule if a statue base survives, the statue will not—and if the statue survives the base will be lost. Thus although inscriptions can give good general information about the types of women commemorated, the reasons for the dedication, and the qualities considered appropriate to commemorate, it is very rare that these can be associated with a specific statue.

⁷ The statue illustrated in fig. 12 is wearing the *stola*: the characteristic straps over her shoulders and the V-shaped neckline of the garment are clearly visible.

⁸ Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 72252: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.8 no. 35 (where it is assigned an Antonine date, despite lack of head); Giuliano (1981) 54–56 no. 42.



Fig. 1. Headless statue of Ceres type in the Museo Nazionale Romano (Terme) inv. 72252. Photo: author.



Fig. 2. Large Herculaneum Woman type statue from the area of the *Horti Maecenati* in the Capitoline Museum. Photo: Sansaini DAIR neg. 54.1076.

find place is recorded, it may not be much help in deciding whether it counts as a funerary or a public display: the statue shown in fig. 2, for example, in the Capitoline Collection, was found in 1880 near Via Ferruccio in Rome in the area of the Horti of Maecenas on the Esquiline.⁹ The statue dates to the Antonine period—but what was this area used for then? Is this statue likely to be from a tomb or from a house or garden? Presumably it did come from a private rather than a public context, but it is not possible to be more precise.

Alexandridis's appendix lists 26 types of statue body, with many of these types subdivided into more specific subtypes and variants. Some of these types are represented by many more surviving examples than others, and for some categories there are no identifiable private (i.e. non-imperial) portraits with a provenance. The current study therefore concentrates on the six biggest categories: the Ceres type, the Large and Small Herculaneum women, Pudicitia, and the Hip-swathe and Shoulder-swathe groups. The chart shown in fig. 3 shows all those in these groups for which it was possible to say with a reasonable amount of confidence that they were a private portrait erected in a public place, a portrait used in a funerary context, or an imperial portrait (i.e. an empress or other female member of the imperial family). The last group is included to see if they have more in common with the honorific statues erected in public than the more private statues from tombs.

On the chart the first column for each type represents the statues of imperial women, the second portrait statues of non-imperial women found in public areas of towns, and the third column the statues found in funerary contexts. The sample is not big enough, and the evidence for assigning statues to each group is not secure enough, for proper statistical analysis—the 87 statues represented in this chart comprise less than 7% of those listed in Alexandridis's appendix. But although these limitations have to be borne in mind, the exercise seemed worth carrying out to see whether any significant patterns emerged.

The first pattern to emerge is that two types appear to be nearly mirror-images of each other—Ceres (see figs. 1 and 4) and Pudicitia (figs. 5, 6, 7

⁹ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12, 111; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 69 no. 90 pl. 111; Trimble (2011) 381–382 no. 42, fig. 4.1. Trimble suggests 'the statue may have belonged to a larger residential complex excavated here between 1874 and 1914, of which only the Auditorium of Maecenas is still visible, and which lay within the Horti of Maecenas'.

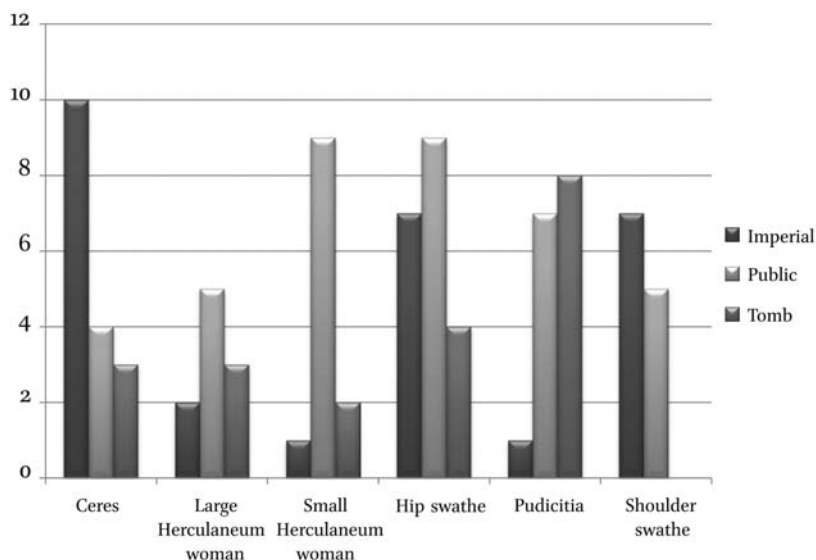


Fig. 3. Chart showing the use of the six most popular body types for portrait statues of women in the Western empire, based on information in Alexandridis's Appendix 2.

and 8).¹⁰ The Ceres type was popular for statues of empresses,¹¹ but only one statue of an empress in the Pudicitia pose survives (of Sabina, from the theatre at Vaison-la-Romaine in S. France).¹² Pudicitia was used for large numbers of funerary statues:¹³ although the Ceres type *was* used for

¹⁰ The chart only takes account of statues in the round: in the case of Pudicitia type inclusion of grave relief representations more than doubles the size of the third (funerary) column.

¹¹ Alexandridis (2004) Catalogue nos. 172 and 173 (both of Sabina in Ostia); 188 (woman of the Trajanic/Hadrianic imperial house from Carthage); 197 (Faustina the Elder in Timgad); 209 (Faustina the Younger in Timgad); 210 (Lucilla found at Mdaourouch/Madaurus); 214 (Lucilla from Bulla Regia); 216 (Crispina from Bulla Regia); 223 (Julia Domna at Ostia). Although not included in her catalogue of portraits of imperial women, Appendix no. 2.2.8, 60 (a possible statue of Faustina the Elder from Carthage, once in Tunis, now lost) is also included on the chart.

¹² Alexandridis (2004) Catalogue no. 183, pl. 37.1; Appendix 2.2.23, D2; also illustrated in Kleiner and Matheson (2000) 68 fig. 4.7.

¹³ Alexandridis (2004) Appendix 2.2.23 A16 and Aa6 (from Pompeii, Herculeum Gate Street of Tombs); A 17 and A18 (from Nocera Gate cemetery, Pompeii); A23 (from Via Appia outside Rome); A33 (from the Mausoleum of Asfonius Rufus, Sarsina); A36 (from a tomb

funerary statues it was not as popular for this purpose.¹⁴ In both cases the numbers of statues displayed in public fall in between the imperial and funerary groups—and in fact are closer to the private funerary statues than the imperial ones.¹⁵ The most striking difference therefore lies in the contrast between the imperial and the non-imperial groups, but there are also significant differences between the two statue types' uses in public and funerary contexts.

Pudicitia is a modern name for this statue type—there is no reason to suppose that it was associated particularly with the quintessentially female Roman virtue *pudicitia* (usually translated as 'modesty') in Roman times. But the statue type fits its name because of the submissive, almost defensive pose with the arms held close in to the body, wrapping the torso tightly, and copious enveloping drapery (the figure may also wear her *palla* draped over her head)—which give the impression of a woman trying to preserve her modesty and uncomfortable with exposure to public gaze. Fig. 5 shows an example of the type, a statue from a group of four (two men on horseback, two standing draped women) found near Cartoceto in N. Italy. It is a rare survival of a statue in gilded bronze: the group was presumably an honorific dedication, but one in which the women are present as key members of the family rather than as individuals in their own right.¹⁶ The sole known

on the Via Labicana at Torre Nova); A35 was found at Tarragona in the Paleo-Christian cemetery—possibly a secondary use?

¹⁴ Alexandridis (2004) Appendix 2.2.8 nos. 8 (from a tomb plot at Charchel, to the East of Caesarea Mauretaniae); 35 (in Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 72252, found on the Via Latina near Porta Furba) and 48 (found on the Via Appia near Terracina): the last two are also likely to be funerary?

¹⁵ Pudicitia: Alexandridis Appendix 2.2.23 Aa1 (gilded bronze statue from Cartoceto); B8 (Terracina—from the area of the Severan form); C12, C34 and C35 (all three from the Hadrianic Baths at Leptis Magna); C36 (from the Theatre at Carthage) and Cag (from the 'sanctuary of the Augustales', Ostia).

Ceres type: Alexandridis Appendix 2.2.8 nos. 5 and 6 (both in Charchel, from baths and the "town centre" of Caesarea Mauretaniae); 28 (from a shop East of the theatre at Ostia); 57 (from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Bulla Regia).

¹⁶ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.23 Aa1; Fejfer (2008) 43, figs 23, 24; Pollini (1993). Pollini summarises earlier suggestions for the identities of the four figures (only two of which, one of the male equestrian figures and the woman represented here, have remaining portrait heads). They have been identified as members of the Julio-Claudian imperial family (the woman as Livia or Augustus' mother Atia), but Pollini argues that the surviving portrait heads are not sufficiently close to known imperial portrait types to be convincing. An alternative suggestion is that the statues represent members of the elite (decurion) class of a local town, but Pollini argues there is no suitable town in the vicinity. Rather, based on the similarity of the Cartoceto male portrait to a portrait head in the Vatican, Pollini proposes that the statues represent an elite (but non-imperial) Roman family: two male Domitii Ahenobarbi

representation of an empress in the Pudicitia pose (Sabina) appears to be particularly tight-laced for an empress, especially when seen with her companion statue at Vaison—a swaggering Hadrian in heroic nudity.¹⁷ The pose appears to have been considered most appropriate for early funerary statues (such as fig. 6 from the Nocera Gate cemetery at Pompeii),¹⁸ and was also used for high-relief funerary images, such as the one from the Via Statilia in Rome (fig. 7), which shows the woman in the Pudicitia pose with her husband wearing the armsling type of toga.¹⁹

In assessing these Pudicitia statues it is also important to take into account their date and where in the Western empire they were displayed: all but one of the funerary examples (including those which are reliefs rather than statues) were found in Italy and date to the late Republic/Augustan period. (The exception comes from Tarragona). Of the statues found in public contexts, three come from Italy (apart from the Cartoceto one, there is one from Terracina and one from Ostia): two of these (Cartoceto and Terracina) are also Augustan, but the one from the 'seat of the Augustales' at Ostia is Hadrianic/Antonine (see note 15 for references). There are also four statues from public areas in Africa—three from the Hadrianic Baths at Lep-tis Magna, and one from the theatre at Carthage: they are all Antonine in date (again, see note 15 for references). There are also a number of statues without provenance which belong to this later date (Antonine-Severan—see, for example, fig. 8);²⁰ although these use the same basic pose as the earlier versions, their hand gestures appear more elegant and the figure is more relaxed than the rather glum-looking late Republican/ early Augustan funerary Pudicitias, who are matched by their equally well-wrapped armsling-style togate husbands (as seen on the Via Statilia relief in fig. 7). The rather dour version of the Pudicitia statue type was appropriate to this

(consuls in 54 and 32 BC) and their wives. The statue illustrated here, he suggests, is Porcia, mother of the younger of the men, and wife of the elder, who was also a member of a very prestigious Roman family. Pollini suggests that the statues were made in the Rome area and were damaged, and abandoned while being transported along the Via Flaminia to a town in N. Italy. Pollini's identification is persuasive but not incontrovertible: I am, however, convinced that this group represents private individuals rather than members of the imperial family.

¹⁷ Fejfer (2008) 343 figs. 263 (Sabina) and 264 (Hadrian).

¹⁸ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A17; D'Ambrosio and Caro (1983) under tomb 4EN, no. 6.

¹⁹ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.23 A43; in the Palazzo dei Conservatori collection, inv. 2142. See also Kockel (1993) 94–95, pl. 10a.

²⁰ Statue of an unknown woman of Severan period: Capitoline Museum (Salone 15, inv. 636); Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.23 Can; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 97 no. 141, pl. 168.



Fig. 4. Statue of a woman in the Ceres type in the Munich Glyptothek, inv 377. Photo: author.



Fig. 5. Gilded bronze statue in Pudicitia type from Cartoceto, N. Italy, now in the Museo Nazionale in Ancona. Photo: Koppermann DAIR neg.61.258.



Fig. 6. Pudicitia type statue from tomb 4EN in the Nocera Gate cemetery at Pompeii.
Photo: Eisner DAIR neg. 63.1274.



Fig. 7. Funerary relief of a man in armsling-style toga and a woman in Pudicitia type from the Via Statilia, Rome, in the Capitoline Collection. Photo: K. Anger DAIR neg. 2001.2051.



Fig. 8. Severan period statue of a woman in the Capitoline Museum, inv. 636. Photo: author.

early period as well as to funerary use. When the statue type was used in the mid-imperial period the typical gesture of the arms was subtly modified by making the hand gestures more feminine and even flirtatious: rather than being used as a prop for the chin the raised hand is used as an ornament and to draw attention to the throat in a way which can hardly be described as modest. The rather different effects created in different periods should be borne in mind when comparing the Pudicitia with the Ceres type statues.

The Ceres type gives rather a different first impression from the Pudicitia type (especially the earlier, funerary examples) and would seem to be more suited to expressing the sort of values you might expect to be associated with an empress. This is not the dour matron represented on the funerary monuments by Pudicitia: instead the pose is more open, even flirtatious (especially in the case of the Ceres type figures with more torsion) (see figs. 1 and 4):²¹ this was presumably meant to suggest the subject's sexuality and hence fertility, which is also alluded to in the corn and poppies often held as attributes. Thus at first sight the Pudicitia and Ceres types would appear to bear out the contention that statue types were chosen which best expressed the values sought in different contexts—but this becomes less clear when chronology and geography are taken into consideration. The Ceres type was not used at all in the period of the late Republic/Augustus when the Pudicitia was at its height: one of the earliest portrait statues of the Ceres type (fig. 4 in Munich, of an unknown woman) has a Trajanic hairstyle, and its period of popularity coincides with the later (Antonine/Severan) Pudicitia statues, which, as we have seen, modified the original severe, matronly look with more flirtatious hand gestures and a more elegant sway to the body.

Moreover, whereas the Pudicitia type was especially popular in Italy, the Ceres type found favour in Africa, both for portraits of empresses and for other women: although there are three statues of empresses in the Ceres type from Ostia, the other seven all come from N. African cities, including Carthage, Timgad and Bulla Regia.²² The Ceres type was most popular for

²¹ For the headless statue in fig. 1 see n. 8. Fig. 4 is a statue in Munich, Glyptothek 377: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.8 no. 24; Davies (2008) 209, fig. 4 (possibly Plotina or Marciana).

²² From Ostia: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 172 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 26); Cat. no. 173 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 27) (both Sabina), Cat. no. 223 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 25) (Julia Domna); from N. Africa: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 188 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 55) (Trajanic/Hadrianic imperial woman from Carthage); Cat. no. 197 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 53) (Faustina Major), Cat. no. 209 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 52) (Faustina Minor) (both Timgad) Cat. no. 211 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 13) (Lucilla from Madaurus); Cat. no. 214 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 58) (Lucilla); Cat. no. 216 (= App. 2.2.8 no. 59)

representations of members of the imperial family, but it was also used for other women in both public and funerary contexts—here again it was most popular in Africa, but was also used in Italy. Of those with some indication of provenance, three were found in Cherchel (one came from Baths, one from a tomb and the third came from the area of the town); a Ceres-type statue was also dedicated in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Bulla Regia.²³ Of those found in Italy one was found in the centre of Ostia, near the theatre, and another (fig. 1) comes from the Via Latina near the Porta Furba (and so is likely to be funerary); another Ceres-type statue which may have decorated a tomb comes from the Via Appia near Terracina.²⁴ The Ceres type does not appear to have been used in the other Western provinces.

One other statue type has a profile similar to the Ceres group: this is the Shoulder-swathe type (*Schulterbausch-Typen*).²⁵ In this case, however, despite the existence of a large number of statues subdivided into several sub-types, none of those found in the Western half of the Empire appear to be from a funerary context. The type was used for empresses in Africa (four examples)²⁶ and Italy (three examples, from Velleia, Pozzuoli and Cumae);²⁷ of the five (or six) portrait statues of other women found in a public setting, three come from Italy, one from the forum at Syracuse, and one from Segobriga (the sixth is a statue found in Vaison, but the context does not make certain that it was displayed in a public area—it remains a maybe).²⁸ Approximately half of both imperial and non-imperial

(Crispina) (both from Bulla Regia); there is also another possible statue of Faustina Minor from Carthage, not included in Alexandridis's Catalogue, but listed in the Appendix (2.2.8 no. 60).

²³ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.8 nos. 5, 6 and 7 (Cherchel) and no. 57 (Bulla Regia).

²⁴ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.8 nos. 28 (Ostia); 35 (Rome, Via Latina) and no. 48 (Terracina).

²⁵ This is translated as 'Shoulder bundle' in Fejfer (2008) (and similarly the type I have called the 'Hip-swathe' type, she designated 'Hip bundle').

²⁶ Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 37 (= App. 2.2.24 F25) (Livia from the theatre in Leptis Magna); Cat. no. 39 (= App. 2.2.24 A34) (Livia from the theatre at Carthage); Cat. no. 187 (= App. 2.2.24 C7) (woman of the Trajanic/Hadrianic imperial family from Carthage); Cat. no. 189 (= App. 2.2.24 A9) (woman of the Trajanic/Hadrianic imperial family from Thuburbo Maius).

²⁷ Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 143 (= App. 2.2.24 A27) (a woman of the Julio-Claudian imperial family from Velleia); Cat. no. 162 (= App. 2.2.24 A5) (Plotina from Cumae); Cat. no. 167 (= App. 2.2.24 Aa4) (Plotina? from Puteoli).

²⁸ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.24 A12 (from Rusellae); A30 (from the theatre at Caere); A2 (from the theatre of Urbisaglia); Aa8 (from the forum at Syracuse); F10 (from the theatre at Segobriga), and A4 (from Vaison-la-Romaine).

examples appear to have been used in the decoration of or in the vicinity of theatres. This type used an open pose with the arms held away from the body and extended in front of it, presumably holding out an attribute such as an offering dish (see fig. 9).²⁹ It lacks both the subordination of the Pudicitia and the coyness that characterises both the Ceres type and the later Pudicitias.

All the remaining three types on the chart share the characteristic that although the type might be used for empresses the most attested group were statues of non-imperial women put on display in the public areas of the town. There are surprisingly few examples of the Large Herculaneum Woman from the Western half of the empire which can be confidently identified as representing an empress or are portraits of other women from an identifiable context: there are in fact many more examples from the Eastern half of the empire.³⁰ None of the pieces represented on the chart come from Africa. The Large Herculaneum Woman statue type was used in the first century AD but its heyday was the second century, particularly the time of the Antonines.³¹

Both of the two instances of the Large Herculaneum Woman body type used for empresses were displayed in Italy (Vipsania Agrippina? in Pozzuoli, Faustina the Elder in Ostia).³² Of the five statues of non-imperial women displayed in public areas, one was found in the baths of the 'Palazzo Imperiale' at Ostia, one is a statue from the House of the Vestal Virgins in Rome, the third was found in the 'Roman Gymnasium' theatre complex at Syracuse, and the fourth in the forum at Iuliobona (Lillebonne).³³ I have also included

²⁹ This statue (in Naples Archaeological Museum inv. 6248) was found at Herculaneum and is conventionally known as one of the daughters of Balbus. It is described by Fejfer as a "statue of a woman with her mantle arranged in a bundle across the shoulder" (Fejfer [2008] 339, caption to fig. 238), but it is not sufficiently canonical to be included in Alexandridis's list of statues with the *Schulterbausch*.

³⁰ It came as a surprise to me, but the predominance of the type in the East and its use primarily for honorific statues of private women is noted by Trimble (2011). See also the Findspots map for the two Herculaneum Women types in Daehner (2007) 90–91.

³¹ The reason for its popularity in the 2nd century is explored from various different angles in Trimble (2011).

³² Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no 53, pl. 11,2 (= App. 2.2.12 A102) (? Vipsania Agrippina, found in a public building in the forum of Pozzuoli/Puteoli), Trimble (2011) 389–390 no. 57, fig. 1.8; Alexandridis (2004) cat. no. 193, pl. 40,3 (= App. 2.2.12.A89) (Faustina the Elder, found in the Horrea of Hortensius at Ostia). Trimble (2011) 386 no. 54 queries whether the find spot is correct.

³³ From the baths of the 'Palazzo Imperiale' at Ostia: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A115; Trimble (2011) 386–388, no. 55, fig. 5.1. From the Atrium Vestae in the Forum Romanum:

the statue from the theatre at Herculaneum which gives the statue type its name although the head is so idealised that it has been considered debateable whether this is a portrait or not.³⁴

Of the three funerary examples, one comes from a tomb at Carmona (Baetica, S. Spain), one from the Nocera Gate cemetery at Pompeii, and the third from the Isola Sacra cemetery between Ostia and Portus.³⁵ The statue represented in fig. 2, found in the Horti of Maecenas area, as discussed above could also be a funerary statue, but is perhaps more likely to come from a suburban house—but either way it does not seem to come from a public display area in the city centre.³⁶

The Large Herculaneum Woman type uses a closed pose, with the arms and drapery forming a barrier between the woman and the viewer (but not to the same extent as in the case of the Pudicitia type), and the head is often lowered (and sometimes turned to the side) so that she does not meet the viewer's gaze. The Small Herculaneum Woman type also employs a closed pose, with the right arm bent at the elbow so that the forearm crosses the chest diagonally, with the hand clutching the drapery of the mantle at the left shoulder. The right arm is held by the side, with the hand also covered in the drapery of the mantle so that only the fingertips are visible (figs. 10 and 11). The Pudicitia and the Large and Small Herculaneum Woman types all belong in my group with 'closed' poses and subordinate body language—but the defensive movements are disguised as feminine fiddling with the drapery.

Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A105; Trimble (2011) 381, no. 41, figs. 5.6 and 5.7 (not a Vestal Virgin but a patroness—could be an empress). From the 'Gymnasium' at Syracuse: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A145; Trimble (2011) 395–396, no. 72. From baths at Lillebone/Iuliobona: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A116; Trimble (2011) 441–442 no. 167 figs. 6.10 and 6.11.

³⁴ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A45—head described as 'ideal/Porträt'; Trimble (2011) 390–391, no. 58, figs. 1.1–1.4—"idealised portrait of a woman, most likely a member of Herculaneum's civic elite". For the argument that such idealised heads were intended as portraits see Dillon (2010) chapter 4, "The 'Not Portrait' Style of Female Portraiture in the Roman Period"; and Vorster in Daehner (2007) 79–83.

³⁵ Statue from the Tomb of Servilia, Carmona (Baetica): Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A38; Trimble (2011) 439–440, no. 163, figs. 6.6 and 6.7. Statue from the cemetery at the Nocera Gate, Pompeii: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 Aa10; Trimble (2011) 450–451, no. 189. Statue from the Isola Sacra cemetery between Ostia and Portus: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.12 A90; Trimble (2011) 388–389, no. 56.

³⁶ For the references for this statue see note 9. Trimble notes that a statue in Copenhagen may also come from a tomb in Rome: Trimble (2011) 382, no. 43.



Fig. 9. 'Daughter of Balbus' statue with a swathe of drapery over her shoulder, from Herculaneum, in Naples Archaeological Museum inv. 6248. Photo: Koppermann DAIR neg. 65.1257.



Fig. 10. 'Daughter of Balbus' in the Small Herculaneum Woman type from Herculaneum, in Naples Archaeological Museum inv. 6244. Photo: Rossa DAIR neg. 76.1109.



Fig. 11. Statue of a woman in the Small Herculaneum type in the Palazzo Braschi. Photo: Singer DAIR neg. 70.1553.

My reading of the gestures and postures of these figures, however, does not entirely agree with that of Trimble as expressed in her recent analysis of the Large Herculaneum Woman type.³⁷ Trimble acknowledges that these statues do express gender and show gendered differences from the corresponding statues of men, but she sees this as of far less importance than issues of social status and power. She does not accept that the gestures performed by the Large Herculaneum Women are any different from those of the male statues that sometimes accompanied them. But to my mind there are clear and important gendered differences not only in the clothing, hairstyles and faces, but also in the stance and gestures represented, especially when compared with togate men—the usual form of male companion for these figures in the West.³⁸ It is not simply a question of ‘open’ and ‘closed’ poses, but of the barriers the closed poses create across the body (via arms and drapery) and the inhibition of hand gestures by covering the hands in drapery, or using them to clutch it (men do not show the same need to grasp or readjust their togas the way women do their clothes). I do agree with Trimble on one important point, though: these statues have to negotiate a difficult path to find an appropriate image for presenting elite women in public.

The Small Herculaneum Woman body type was not much used for imperial women (though a possible example was found at Lucus Feroniae),³⁹ and there are only two examples which may be funerary: fig. 11 shows a statue in the Palazzo Braschi which is listed as a possible tomb statue by Fittschen and Zanker; the other is in the Vatican (Galleria dei Candelabri) and it is said to have come from a tomb chamber just outside the Porta del Popolo in Rome.⁴⁰ There are however nine statues of this type which come from the public areas of towns, all of them in Italy: two come from Ostia (the one found in the Palaestra of the Baths of Neptune is headless, so it

³⁷ Trimble (2011) *passim*, esp. 153–154 and 164–165.

³⁸ Imperial-period togate figures usually hold both arms away from the body, and even when the right arm is held to the chest the hand does not clutch at the drapery as female figures frequently do (see Goette [1990], Davies [2010]). The armsling-type of toga drapery (seen in fig. 7) was a short-lived fashion of the late Republic and early Augustan period. In the Eastern part of the empire, however himation-wearers (*palliatii*) continued to be more tightly wrapped.

³⁹ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A58; Trimble (2000) 54–56, fig. 6. The headless statue was found in the area of the ‘Augusteum’: it may have represented a member of the imperial family or of the local elite. For another possible representation of an imperial woman see n. 43 below.

⁴⁰ Statue in the Palazzo Braschi: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A92; Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 63–64, no. 85 pl. 107; statue in the Vatican Museums (Galleria dei Candelabri), from the ‘Tomb of Nero’ near the Porta del Popolo: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A98.

is conceivable it did actually represent an empress; the other was found in the Horrea of Hortensius).⁴¹ Others were found in theatres (at Herculaneum and Vicenza)⁴² and other public buildings (such as the Sacellum of the Augustales at Misenum),⁴³ and in other town-centre locations: these include the statue known as the daughter of Balbus from Herculaneum (fig. 10), two statues from Formia, and one from Pozzuoli.⁴⁴

The last of my six types is the Hip-swathe type (*Hüftbausch-Typen*) (see fig. 12, a statue from Pompeii).⁴⁵ This was used for empresses, honorific statues of other women, and for tombs. It was found in the Western provinces (for example at Cordoba and Tarragona) as well as various towns in Italy and in Africa. Only four examples appear to be funerary: one was found in the Isola Sacra cemetery, another in the area of the Via Ostiense cemetery outside Rome; the small statue of Claudia Iusta as Fortuna was also found outside the walls of Rome, but it is not necessarily funerary, and the fourth is a grave stone (carved in relief) which perhaps should not be counted at all.⁴⁶ The Hip-swathe type appears therefore to have been used for tomb statues in the vicinity of Rome, but it was not very popular for this purpose, and

⁴¹ Statue in the Baths of Neptune: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A74; statue in Horrea of Hortensius: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A73.

⁴² The statue from the theatre at Herculaneum (now in Dresden) is the one which gives the type its name: as with the Large Herculaneum Woman from the same location there has been debate about whether the idealised head is meant to be a portrait or not (see note 34 for references): Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A25. Statue from the theatre at Vicenza (Vicetium): Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A138.

⁴³ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.3 A11: in n. 1094 she admits this headless statue could be of an imperial woman; this uncertainty is followed in Daehner (2007) 99, where the statue (now in Baia) is illustrated in fig. 4.11.

⁴⁴ 'Daughter of Balbus' from Herculaneum: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 Aa63; Daehner (2007) 74–75, fig. 3.13; Statues from Formia: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 A32 and A66; statue in Pozzuoli/Puteoli (amphitheatre) Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.13 Aa10.

⁴⁵ Naples Archaeological Museum 6041. This statue was found in the 'Macellum' at Pompeii, where it stood in a niche in a small shrine and was paired with a male portrait statue: see Welch (2007) 560–563, figs. 36.5a–c and 36.6a–c. It was once identified as Livia, but is now seen as a non-imperial woman: the statue does not seem to be listed in Alexandridis (2004), except as a portrait that does NOT represent Livia (211) or Agrippina Minor (213). Bartman (1999) 15 n. 19 also states emphatically that this is not Livia and does not include the statue in her catalogue of her images. It is accepted as a portrait of Livia by Sebesta (1998) 111–113 where the costume worn is discussed in relation to the role and morality of the ideal *matrona* and *materfamilias*.

⁴⁶ From Isola Sacra: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Bb1; from near S.Paolo on the Via Ostiense: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ba48; of Claudia Iusta (with an inscription: *CIL* 6, 3679), from outside the city walls on the Via di Porta di San Lorenzo: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Bc17, Fittschen and Zanker (1983) 56, no. 73, pl. 91; grave stele from Rome, now in Dresden: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Bc32.



Fig. 12. Statue of a woman (not Livia, despite the label on the plinth) of Hipswathe type, from the 'Macellum' at Pompeii, in Naples Archaeological Museum inv. 6140. Photo: Rossa DAIR neg. 76.1157.

the use of this type for tomb statues may not have spread much further. The number of statues of this type found in public contexts is much greater, and they spread over a wider geographical area: this type of body was used for the portrait statue of a Vestal Virgin found in the House of the Vestals in Rome,⁴⁷ but other statues were found in the forum area in Cordoba, Termini Imerese and Sabratha,⁴⁸ in baths at Tarragona and the theatres at Tarragona, Herculaneum and at Teramo Interamnia.⁴⁹ The statue from Teramo Interamnia seems to have been used in the decoration of the *scaenae frons*: like so many others this statue is headless and so could be an imperial woman rather than someone from the local community—but as the figure is wearing a *stola* it should be a portrait rather than an ideal figure. The Hip-swathe type was also popular for portrait statues of Livia and other Julio-Claudian imperial women, especially in Italian towns (Grosseto, Falerii, Potenza, Pozzuoli and Velletri), though they also found their way to Africa (Cherchel) and the Western provinces (Avenches).⁵⁰

The Hip-swathe statue type again presents an open pose where the arms are held away from the body, though the thick wedge of drapery across the body could be seen as a barrier as much as the arms on some of the more obviously closed types—and those examples where the head survives (such as fig. 12) suggest that the head was usually placed looking more or less straight ahead, not turned to the side or tilted downwards. Because the arms are held away from the body they were usually made separately and pieced in: this means they are often lost, along with any hand gestures they may have made or attributes they held: one possibility is that the right hand may

⁴⁷ Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ba49; Museo Nazionale Romano inv. 639; Giuliano (1979) 269–270 no. 165.

⁴⁸ Cordoba: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ab2; Termini Imerese: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 E12; Sabratha: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ab38 and Ba64.

⁴⁹ Tarragona (Tarraco): (from the baths of a villa) Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Bd19; (from the area of the Roman theatre) Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ba72. So-called Antonia from the theatre at Herculaneum (Naples Archaeological Museum inv. 5599): Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ba34. From the theatre at Teramo Interamnia: Alexandridis (2004) App. 2.2.14 Ab40.

⁵⁰ Statues of Livia: from Potenza: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 25 (= App. 2.2.14 Ac4); from Pozzuoli: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 16 (= App. 2.2.14 Da3); from Velletri (?): Alexandridis (2004) Cat. 14 (= App. 2.2.14 Da1); also without provenance: in the Louvre (Ma 1242): Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 28 (= App. 2.2.14 Da5). Statues of Livilla?: from Roselle, in Grosseto: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 77 (= App. 2.2.14 A7); from Cherchel: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 76 (= App. 2.2.14 Ba1). Agrippina the Elder: Avenches (Aventicum) Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 64 (= App. 2.2.14 Ba3). 'Woman of the Julio-Claudian imperial family': from Falerii: Alexandridis (2004) Cat. no. 138 (= App. 2.2.14 Ac1).

hold a small offering dish (*patera*), as in figure 12 and in this case the statue may represent the woman in her capacity as a priestess.⁵¹

So, is it possible to draw any conclusions about the uses to which the various types were put? The more open poses (Ceres, Shoulder- and Hip-swathe types) were clearly preferred for statues of members of the imperial family whereas those with more closed poses—Pudicitia, and the two Herculaneum women—were favoured for non-imperial women. Bartman has already commented on the fact that Pudicitia was not used for Livia, possibly, she suggests, because it had funerary connotations, or simply because it seemed hackneyed, not special enough.⁵² In fact, portrait statues of empresses tend to favour stances and gestures that are closer to those of togate male statues,⁵³ and are more prone to special one-off designs that do not fit any of the standard body types.

But the question I set at the beginning was not about differences in types used for empresses and other women, but those used for statues of private women set up in public as opposed to in a funerary context. Here the differences are not so obvious or easily explained. All six of the types considered above were used for statues of women displayed in the public areas of towns, but their relative popularity does not echo the pattern seen for imperial women: private women were not simply aping the empresses.

⁵¹ See n. 45 for references to and a discussion of this statue. In this case, however, the *patera* is restored, although the small incense box (?) in her left hand may be original. The restoration is plausible given that these attributes are also held in this way by the figure of Livia represented (in relief) on the altar from the Vicus Sandaliarius, now in the Uffizi Museum, Florence (Alexandridis [2004] Cat. no. 9, pl. 2.1). Trimble (2011) 165 suggests that the Kore type usually held a *patera* in her outstretched hand, to make a libation: 'such a gesture probably did not mean the portrait subject was especially pious and it did not necessarily refer to a specifically religious identity. A woman portrayed in the "Kore" type is represented as a priestess ...; however, priesthoods were a central part of the public honors of high-status women in the Empire's cities, so that this gesture had strong ties to their public, civic activities.'

⁵² Bartman (1999) 46–47.

⁵³ The arms of many marble togate statues are also missing, restored or damaged, especially if they were held away from the body (see the illustrations in Goette [1990]), but a few surviving bronze examples have their arms intact—see, for example, three bronze statues in Herculaneum, discussed and illustrated in Davies (2010). It would seem that the empresses represented in the Hip- and Shoulder-swathe types may have held their arms out in a similar way, although it is generally not possible to know what, if anything, they held in their hands. Other statue types with open poses used for empresses include the Kore Albani type, used for Drusilla (Alexandridis [2004] Cat. 87), the Orans type, used for Livia and Crispina (Alexandridis [2004] Cat. nos. 33 and 215), and the Loggia dei Lanzi type, used for female relatives of the emperor Trajan (Alexandridis [2004] Cat. nos. 163, 164 and 165).

(This can be seen especially clearly in the use of the Small Herculaneum Woman type, for which there is only one surviving statue representing an empress compared to nine of non-imperial women displayed in public). In fact the pattern for honorific statues is closer to that of funerary than imperial statues, but significant exceptions may be the odd lack of funerary examples of the Shoulder-swathe type (which could, of course, simply be an accident of survival) and the runaway success of the Pudicitia type for tomb statues and reliefs (but only in a specific period—the late Republic and Augustan era). These exceptions might seem to be evidence for the idea that the more closed poses were more appropriate for women commemorated on their tombs and more open poses for those honoured in public, but this is not borne out by the profiles for all the other statue types: this can be seen, for example, by comparing the profiles for the Small Herculaneum Woman type (a closed pose) and the Hip-swathe (an open pose). That open and closed poses could be used side by side in a public context is also demonstrated by the two ‘daughter of Balbus’ statues from Herculaneum (figs. 9 and 10). There were also various ways in which the same basic body type could be varied, resulting in different effects. The figure might be ‘veiled’ (by wearing her mantle draped over her head)—compare the two statues in the Small Herculaneum Woman type illustrated here (figs. 10 and 11): is it significant that the statue thought to have been used in a funerary context is veiled, the one displayed in the town not?⁵⁴ Other ways of varying the statues were by the angle of the head (looking straight ahead or down and to the side), and the colours of the drapery. The availability and popularity of a particular type in a particular place at a particular time may also have limited and governed choices of statue body type: some types do appear to have spread more widely than others across the provinces, and the periods in which they were used can vary considerably (as was shown above in the case of the Pudicitia and Ceres types).

Forbis, in discussing the honorific inscriptions for women in Italy, draws a distinction between women praised for their civic involvement (honorific inscriptions) and as matrons (funerary inscriptions).⁵⁵ It is not possible to see such a clear-cut distinction in the choice of statue type for a public as opposed to a funerary setting, but some differences can nevertheless

⁵⁴ A quick count of the statues represented by the chart in figure 3 suggests that equal numbers of the honorific statues were veiled/unveiled, whereas for the funerary statues 40% were unveiled and 60% veiled. Given the numbers involved and the nature of the sample this is not a significant difference.

⁵⁵ Forbis (1990) 496.

be discerned in the pattern of use of the six statue types discussed above, especially in the case of the Pudicitia type.⁵⁶ They are not fundamentally different—but not quite the same either.

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⁵⁶ However none of the dates given for the inscriptions by Forbis (1990) 508–512, Tables I and II is as early as the period of greatest popularity for Pudicitia as a funerary statue type: the earliest date she gives is AD 79, and all others for which dates are available belong in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

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PORTRAIT STATUES OF WOMEN ON THE ISLAND OF DELOS

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The island of Delos offers a rich array of epigraphic, archaeological, and sculptural evidence for portrait statues of women, particularly in the late Hellenistic/late Republican period. Given the theme of this volume, the main focus of this paper is the period after 167/6 BCE, when the island was under Athenian control and as a free port attracted Italian businessmen and traders. While sculpture from the island plays a seminal role in the study of late Hellenistic/late Republican male portraiture—Delos offers the most extensive and closely dated collection of late Hellenistic male portraiture as well as the earliest preserved statue to combine a naked male body with a realistic portrait head in the so-called Pseudo-Athlete—the female portrait sculpture from Delos, I would argue, is no less important for understanding later Roman developments. Delos, for instance, provides the earliest dated examples of two female statue formats that were among the most popular in the Roman imperial period: the Pudicitia and the Small Herculaneum type.¹ And Delos also offers what has been called “probably the first objective looking portrait of a woman from the ancient world.”² Because of its unusual style of representation, and the fact that it was found with the Pseudo-Athlete in the House of the Diadoumenos, this portrait is usually identified as that of a Roman woman.

This paper is divided into two parts. In the first part I offer a brief overview of the evidence for portraits of women from the inscribed statue bases, with particular focus on who set these statues up, where, and why, and how the patterns of statue dedication changed over time. The second part of the paper deals with how women were represented in the preserved marble sculpture of Delos in order to understand what the bronze portrait statues—all now missing—that originally stood on the inscribed bases might have looked like. I look first at the statue formats or body types that were commonly used for images of women in both freestanding statues and on funerary reliefs. I then consider the few preserved marble female

¹ The use of these statue types in the Roman West are discussed in this volume by Davies.

² Smith (1991) 257.

portrait heads from Delos, with a particular focus on the unusual head from the House of the Diadoumenos. I review the evidence for the date of this portrait, explore what kind of statue this inset portrait head may once have belonged to, and suggest what the portrait style and the find context might tell us about the identity of the portrait subject.

Inscribed Portrait Statue Bases

With its large number of well-preserved inscribed statue bases, many of which are still in situ, Delos is one of the best contexts in which to study the patterns of female portrait statue dedications in the Hellenistic period. There are approximately forty-three bases dated to between 314 and 50 BCE for portrait statues of women.³ Most of these bases were set up along the Dromos or processional way, in the Sanctuary of Apollo, and in Sarapieion C. Thirteen of the bases are from the period of Delian independence, that is, from 314 to about 167/6,⁴ and thirty are dated after 167/6, to the period when the island was under Athenian control.⁵ Six of the thirteen bases from before 167 were for individual statue monuments,⁶ and seven were part of family groups.⁷ For the thirty statues set up after 167/6, sixteen were for

³ These numbers are based on the inscriptions collected in Dillon (2010) 171–175, Appendices 2 and 3.

⁴ Dillon (2010) 171–172, Appendix 2; the chronological distribution of statue monuments is discussed by Dinahet-Couilloud, *le* (1996) 395–396 and represented graphically in her figs. 1 and 2.

⁵ Dillon (2010) 173–175, Appendix 3; Dinahet-Couilloud, *le* (1996) 396 fig. 2; 402–407 is an appendix that lists statues set up after 166.

⁶ The individual statue monuments are: *IG* 11, 4, 1169 (statue of Amphikrite, set up by her son Xennis); *IG* 11, 4, 1184 (statue of Aristokrateia, set up by her father Lykomedes and husband Charistios); *IG* 11, 4, 1189 (statue of Aristokyde, set up by her father and brother); *IG* 11, 4, 1191 (statue of Herais, set up by her father Philon); *IG* 11, 4, 1195 (bronze statue of Nikokleia, set up by Theon son of Stratonos); and *IG* 11, 4, 1088 (statue of unnamed daughter).

⁷ *Exedra* of the family of Sosilos from the mid-third century, which included five bronze statues, the inscriptions for two are preserved, one for a female (*IG* 11, 4, 1085, 1170: Thüngen, von (1994) 147–148, cat. no. 127, pl. 81.1, Beil. 55; Eule (2001) 217); *exedra* of the family of Soteles from the second half of the third century, bronze statues of three family members, one of which was female (Marcadé (1957) 24, pl. 29.3; Eule (2001) 217; Thüngen, von (1994) 145–146, no. 124, pl. 79, Beil. 53; Schmidt (1995) 472–473, cat. no. VIII.1, figs. 122–124, 226); *exedra* of the family of Jason and Sillis from the end of the third century, evidence for around eight bronze statues, inscriptions for six preserved, four of which represented female family members (*IG* 11, 4, 1203; Thüngen, von (1994) 89–90, no. 52, pl. 38, Beil. 23.1; Eule (2001) 216); *exedra* for the family of Dexios, from the beginning of the second century; inscriptions preserved for the bronze statues of Dexios and his wife Parmo, both set up by their sons Philon and Biottos; the sons themselves were probably also represented (Eule (2001) 216 (family of Dexios); Vallois

individual statue monuments,⁸ four were from small group monuments of three statues or less,⁹ and ten were from large family *exedrae*.¹⁰ The number of female portraits set up on Delos therefore more than doubled during the period of Athenian control; the number of male portrait statues shows a similar increase between the two periods, from about twenty to around forty-nine.¹¹ To put the number of female portraits, all of which seem to have been privately dedicated, into an even broader perspective, there is evidence for around two hundred public honorific portraits from Delos, both royal and nonroyal (fig. 1): c. 75 from the period of Delian independence, most of which are royal, and about 125 from after 167/6, the majority of which are non-royal.¹² Portrait statues of women, therefore, made up around 13 percent of the total number of portraits set up on Hellenistic Delos. About half took the form of individual statue monuments, while the other half were displayed as part of family groups. The evidence from Delos, then, shows us that the number of portrait statues of women increased during the course of the second century. This is a pattern that one finds repeated elsewhere. It is in the second century, for example, that the demos of Pergamon begins to honor the priestesses of Athena Polias with bronze statues; bases for the statues of fifteen such priestesses are preserved.¹³ On Rhodes, there are four

(1923) 131–132 no. 62, figs. 199–202, 207, pl. IX.2; Thüngen, von (1994) no. 56, 94–95, pl. 41.2, Beil. 26; Schmidt (1995) 488–489, cat. IX.1).

⁸ Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, nos. 1–15: *InsDelos*, 1867 (Diphila); *InsDelos*, 1868 (Stratonike); *InsDelos*, 1870 (Sosandra); *InsDelos*, 1871 (Menias); *InsDelos*, 1872 (unnamed daughter); *InsDelos*, 1907 (Biote); *InsDelos*, 1990 (Meniske); *InsDelos*, 1991 (Onesako); *InsDelos*, 2061 (Hedea); *InsDelos*, 2074 (unnamed daughter); *InsDelos*, 2094 (unnamed mother); *InsDelos*, 2095 (Diodora); *InsDelos*, 2096 (Diodora); *InsDelos*, 2097 (Artemidora); *InsDelos*, 2238 (Nympho); *InsDelos*, 2245 (Kleopatra).

⁹ *InsDelos*, 1869: Philippe and Laodameia, with their brother Medeios, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 22; *InsDelos*, 1987: Kleopatra and Dioscurides, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 20; *InsDelos*, 1970: Philistis with her son Apollophanes, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 23.

¹⁰ *InsDelos*, 1962: Olympias, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 18; *InsDelos*, 1963: Onasion and Demetria, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 21; *InsDelos*, 1967: Theodora, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 26; *InsDelos*, 1968: Timesarate, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 16; *InsDelos*, 1969: Dionysia, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 17; *InsDelos*, 1971: unnamed mother, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 27; *InsDelos*, 1975: Myro, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 25; *InsDelos*, 1992: Theodora, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 24; *InsDelos*, 2089: Euterpe, Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 19.

¹¹ According to the study of Dinahet-Couilloud, le (1996), there were twenty male portrait statues set up during the period of Delian independence, and forty-nine set up after 166, when the island was under Athenian control.

¹² Smith (1988) 21–23.

¹³ *AvPergamon*, 8, 1, 129; 130; 167; 223; 226; 250; *AvPergamon*, 8, 2, 489–493; *AvPergamon*, 9, 126 no. 6; Eule (2001) 205, nos. 44 and 48; 206, no. 60.

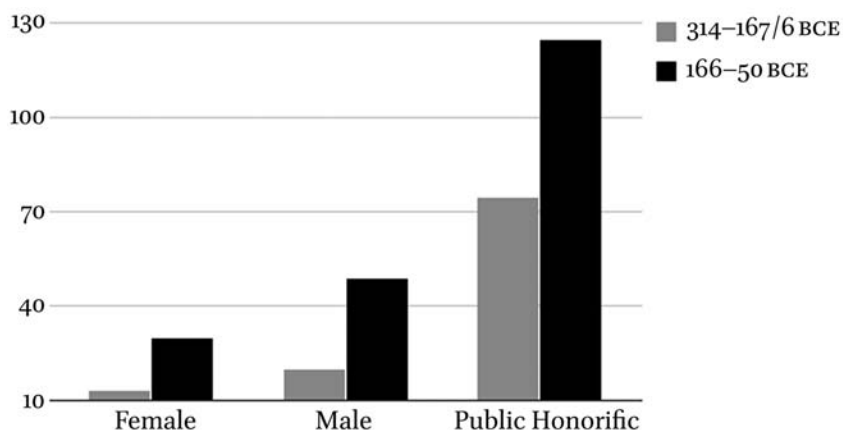


Fig. 1. Portrait statue dedications on Delos from ca. 314–50 BCE.

times as many statue monuments from the second century as there are from the third; here as on Delos family groups were particularly popular.¹⁴ The number of public portrait statues throughout the Greek East increased considerably in the later Hellenistic period; this is a trend that continued into the Roman period.¹⁵

The female portrait statues from before the period of Athenian control are mostly straightforward votive dedications; that is, the subjects are named, their filiation is given, and the monument is dedicated either to Apollo, to Apollo, Artemis and Leto, or simply to the gods. None of the women are honored for having performed a specific religious role; that is, they are not explicitly honored as priestesses. These votive statues were first and foremost gifts to the gods, ostentatious and lasting public displays of religious piety and familial pride.¹⁶ The women's male relatives were mostly responsible for dedicating their statues: fathers,¹⁷ husbands,¹⁸ and sons,¹⁹ or

¹⁴ Statue monuments from the third century: *Lindos*, 2, 1 nos. 129 (family group), and 132; *SEG* 34, 795. Second century: *Lindos*, 2, 1 nos. 142; 145; 203; 231; 244; and *IG* 12, 1, 104 are all family groups; *Lindos*, 2, 1, 147, and *IG* 12, 1, 108; 110, and 113 are all either single statue figures or pairs.

¹⁵ Smith (1988) 23.

¹⁶ Bremen, van (1996) 173–175.

¹⁷ *IG* 11, 4, 1191; Dillon (2010) Appendix 2, no. 4.

¹⁸ *IG* 11, 4, 1174; Dillon (2010) Appendix 2, no. 10.

¹⁹ *InsDelos*, 2097; *InsDelos*, 1871; *InsDelos*, 2238; Dillon (2010) Appendix 2, nos. 1, 7, 9.

some combination of the three are typical.²⁰ Most of the inscriptions use the standard honorific formula of nominative for the name of the dedicator and accusative for the honoree. Many of the family monuments, an important context on Delos for statues of women, took the form of an *exedra* with benches for seating. For example, the beautifully preserved *exedra* of Soteles, located near the propylon to the Sanctuary of Apollo, supported three bronze statues: on the left a statue of Soteles' son Telemnestos and in the center Soteles' wife Xenaino, both statues dedicated by Soteles; and on the right, one of Soteles himself, set up by the demos of the Delians.²¹ This sort of hybrid public-private monument is common on Delos, and is found elsewhere in the Aegean.²² Perhaps Soteles, who had been archon from 217–211 and president of the assembly,²³ took the opportunity of the award of a public honorific statue to set up a monumental *exedra* that included the statues of his wife and son, which he paid for himself.

After Delos becomes an Athenian colony, the number particularly of daughters honored with statues increases dramatically, from three to seventeen, and the range of female familial relationships commemorated in the inscriptions is also expanded to include sisters and nieces. Most of the daughters, not surprisingly, come from elite Athenian families and are commemorated primarily by their fathers, but sometimes by both parents, in honor of their service as sub-priestesses of Artemis and/or as basket-bearers for a variety of festivals, including the Delia, the Dionysia, and the Lenaia. The following examples are representative of the group as a whole: Timodemos of the deme Melite set up a statue of his daughter Diphila, who was a subpriestess of Artemis, near the Portico of Philip in about 125;²⁴ Demetria, daughter of Konon of Athens and subpriestess of Artemis, was honored with a bronze statue by her father within the context of a family *exedra* that

²⁰ *InsDelos*, 1097: Dillon (2010) Appendix 2, no. 2.

²¹ *IG* 11, 4, 1173–1174: Thüngen, von (1994) cat. no. 124, pp. 145–146, pl. 79, Beil. 53 (second half of 3rd c. BCE), a drawing of the top of the monument that clearly shows the placement of the statues.

²² See, for example, the roughly contemporary semi-circular *exedra* set up near the Delian Prytaneion that has one statue dedicated by the demos to a son of Sosilos (his name is not preserved), and a statue of Pytho set up by her son Gorgias: *SEG* 52, 756; Thüngen, von (1994) 147–148, cat. no. 127, pl. 81.1. An interesting reversal of male-public/female-private occurs on Thasos in an *exedra* set up in the first century CE with statues of Ti. Claudius Kadmos, set up by his wife Komeis, whose own statue was set up by the polis: Béquignon and Devambez (1932) 238–246.

²³ For the family see Vial (1984) 84, for relevant inscriptions.

²⁴ *InsDelos* 1867: Bruneau (1970) 196; Eule (2001) 216; Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 4.

stood near the “Monument of the Bulls”;²⁵ and Sarapion, who was hoplite general in 102/1, honored his daughter Sosandra for being a basketbearer at the Lenaia and the Dionysia and for her service as sub-priestess of Artemis.²⁶ This statue, set up in front of the Portico of Antigonos, was made by the Athenian sculptor Hephaisstion, son of Myron of Athens, one of the leading sculptors on the island at this time.²⁷ This custom of honoring girls with portrait statues for their religious service has a long history in Athens and is well attested epigraphically, particularly on the Athenian Acropolis.²⁸ Athenian aristocratic families appear to have brought this custom with them to the island of Delos, thereby expanding their opportunities for such ostentatious public display.

The inscribed statue bases briefly surveyed here were votive dedications set up by family members, and represented non-Roman women. What about Roman women, that is, the female family members of the island’s Italian and Roman settlers and Roman military officials? Here the epigraphic evidence suggests that while the male members of this community were well represented in the public portrait statue landscape of Delos, the female members of this Roman-Italian milieu were not.²⁹ On the one hand, their absence is perhaps not surprising. Most of the inscribed statue bases and almost all of the preserved sculpture from Delos are dated to before the disastrous sack of 88,³⁰ and according to previous epigraphic studies, it is only after this date that statues of Roman women of the senatorial class first begin to be set up in Greece.³¹ And statues of women were not included

²⁵ *InsDelos*, 1963: Thüngen, von (1994) 102–104 no. 69, pl. 47.1, Beil 30.2 (last quarter of second c. BCE); Eule (2001) 217 (Family of Konon; end of second c. BCE); Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 21.

²⁶ *InsDelos*, 1870: Turner (1983) 326 no. 41, 339; Schmidt (1995) 323, cat. no. IV.1.49 (fourth quarter of second century BCE); Eule (2001) 217; Dillon (2010) Appendix 3, no. 11. Sarapion was one of the most influential men in Athens during this period; see Tracy (1982) 159–168.

²⁷ Marcadé (1957) 60, pl. 35.4 (last quarter of second c.).

²⁸ Hoff, von den (2003) 173–185.

²⁹ Here I should say that I have specifically excluded individuals from the Hellenized Italian cities of Magna Graecia, and therefore have defined this category more narrowly than others might do.

³⁰ Stewart (1978) 65–98.

³¹ Payne (1984) 30–33, and Kajava (1990) 64. Although Kajava says (p. 63) that “While the wives of, say, prominent *negotiatores* or other Italian residents are attested as having been present in the Eastern provinces, even in statue form ...”, he offers no epigraphic evidence in support of this statement. That their existence might be inferred, as Kajava suggests, from the expression of disapproval by Cato the Elder (preserved in Plin. *HN* 34.31) regarding female statuary honors in the provinces, and by Appian’s statement that during the massacre of Romans in Ephesos in 88 BCE, the Ephesians destroyed the statues of the Romans, seems to me to be tenuous evidence.

among the privately sponsored portrait monuments set up in the so-called Agora of the Italians, a premier showplace of Italian honorific statue activity, and a context that included an extraordinarily large number of portrait statues dedicated to Roman civilians.³² Family group monuments, an important context for female statues on Delos and elsewhere in the Hellenistic period, were not part of the statuary display of the Agora of the Italians, and in general seem not to have been popular with the Roman-Italian community on Delos.

On the other hand, perhaps the epigraphic evidence is somewhat misleading; perhaps it is not the Roman women who are missing, but the evidence for their statues. Family group monuments, which the Romans on Delos apparently did not favor, are much more likely to be preserved in the archaeological record because of their size—*exedrae* with benches for seating are after all like little buildings, while bases for single statues are much more likely to have been moved, re-inscribed, or reused in later structures.³³ Perhaps the two preserved bases from Delos for statues of Roman women set up in the first century BCE represent a larger group of monuments that has simply not survived. The first is for a statue of a woman named Minucia, mother of a Quintus; her son's full name is not preserved and so he cannot be securely identified.³⁴ The statue was set up by the demos of the Athenians and those living on the island, and was dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto. Minucia is honored by a formulation typical for Hellenistic female honorees: that is, not for anything she herself has done, but for the *euergesia* of her son. The second base is for a statue of Julia, wife of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus; this is the only base for a statue of a female member of the imperial family found on Delos.³⁵ The base, found near the Temple of Apollo, preserves its crowning course, which shows the empty footprints for a bronze statue. Like the statue of Minucia, Julia's portrait was set up by the demos of the Athenians and those living on the island and was dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, and Leto; a statue of her husband Agrippa was also set up at the same time. But by the time these imperial statues were set up—between 21 and 12 BCE—the Roman community on Delos seems to

³² Trümper (forthcoming). I thank the author for graciously giving me a copy of this article in advance of its publication.

³³ Family group monuments do appear in the Latin West beginning in the late Republican period, but the statues were set up on individual bases rather than being integrated into a single monument, which makes them difficult to identify in the archaeological record. See Fejfer (2008) 43, with additional bibliography.

³⁴ *InsDelos*, 1630: Payne (1984) 303–304; Kajava (1990) 68, 117 no. 41.

³⁵ *InsDelos*, 1592: Durrbach (1977) no. 172.

have been seriously diminished.³⁶ The twin disasters of 88 and 69, and the shift in trade routes that occurred in the wake of these devastating sacks, greatly reduced the commercial importance of the island. In the second half of the first century BCE, trade between the East and Italy seems now to have mostly bypassed Delos, making the island a much less attractive and profitable place for Roman-Italian merchants.³⁷ In fact, the last statue base inscription to include the Romans living on Delos as one of the constituencies involved in the dedication is dated to 54/3 BCE:³⁸ all of the statues set up in the second half of the first century are simply dedicated by the demos of the Athenians and those living on the island. The absence of the Romans in the inscription for Minucia suggests that this statue was probably set up in the second half of the first century as well. In the end, I think the lack of evidence for public statues of Roman women reflects a real lack of statues; that is, by the time Roman women of the senatorial class begin to be honored with statues on a regular basis, or family *exedras* begin to be set up for Romans in the Greek East,³⁹ honorific activity on Delos was very much diminished. I would wager in fact that the few bronze statues set up after 69 were made in Athens and shipped to Delos, as there would hardly seem to have been a sufficient number of commissions to sustain a sculptor's workshop on the island itself.

The Visual Evidence for Female Portrait Statues

Statue Bodies

What might the portrait statues of women that are attested by the inscribed bases from Delos have looked like? Delos offers a wealth of information for the representation of women in sculpture, in the form of gravestones and freestanding marble statuary. While most of the bases discussed above were almost certainly for bronze statues, there seems to have been a great deal of overlap between the two materials in terms of statue formats and

³⁶ For example, it would seem from the epigraphic/prosopographic evidence that, in the first century BCE, a good number of Italians left Delos for Ephesos: Aurenhammer (2011) 101 with additional bibliography.

³⁷ For the history of Delos during this period see Habicht (1997) *passim*, but especially 246–263, 287–291, and 341–342; Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 42–44; Roussel (1987) 328–340.

³⁸ *InsDelos*, 1662: statue of the epimeletes Alexandros, son of Polykleitos, of Phlya; Habicht (1997) 342.

³⁹ For example, the *exedra* of Cicero and his family on Samos: Thüngen, von (1994) cat. no. 131.

overall appearance. That is, I think there is little reason to believe the bronze statues that are not preserved would have looked markedly different from the marble statues that are. The few female statues in bronze that are preserved support this premise.⁴⁰ The images of women on the gravestones from Rheneia, the cemetery of Delos, present a slightly different picture, but here there are also commonalities with the marble statues. For example, the so-called Pudicitia statue format is found both on the gravestones and in freestanding statuary, the best-known and closely dated example of which is this statue of Kleopatra from the Delian house of the same name.⁴¹ In addition, the votive statue of Diodora from Sarapieion C, also dated to the 130s (fig. 2), and two funerary statues from Rheneia are in the Pudicitia format.⁴² While the origins of the Pudicitia clearly lie in the fourth century, the type was the most popular format by far for portraits of women in the Hellenistic period,⁴³ and beginning in the mid-second century, it is also the most common format for images of women on East Greek grave reliefs.⁴⁴ The Pudicitia occurs as well on the gravestones from Rheneia,⁴⁵ but here it is not the most common mode of female representation; that distinction goes to the female seated in profile and shaking hands with a family member, a format closely based on classical Athenian models.⁴⁶ Delian funerary reliefs are on the whole much more conservative iconographically than the East Greek material, and show little of the creativity and technical virtuosity one finds in the freestanding marble sculpture from the island.

⁴⁰ These include the so-called Lady from the Sea in the Izmir Archaeological Museum, inv. 3544: Dillon (2010) 23, 24 fig. 10, 62; the veiled head in the Ackland Museum in Chapel Hill, inv. 67.24.1: Dillon (2010) 23, 113, 119 fig. 57; the unpublished female statue found off the coast of Kalymnos, Archaeological Museum of Kalymnos: Dillon (2010) 23; and the bronze statue of a woman reportedly from ancient Bactria and now in the Miho Museum in Japan: Inagaki and Green (2002) 56–57, no. 41, 236; Dillon (2010) 23.

⁴¹ Delos Museum A 7763: Dillon (2010) 89, and figs. 39–41, with further bibliography.

⁴² Diodora: Dillon (2010) 89, and fig. 38, with further bibliography; funerary statues from Rheneia include the statue of Plotina, now in the Mykonos Archaeological Museum: Eule (2001) 188 KS 63, fig. 16, with further bibliography; and a bust, perhaps unfinished, in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens: EM 779, Couilloud (1974) 232 no. 3, pl. 89.

⁴³ Pudicitia type: Dillon (2010) 87–91.

⁴⁴ The grave reliefs from Asia Minor and many of the Greek islands of the eastern Aegean are collected in Pfuhl and Möbius (1977, 1979).

⁴⁵ Couilloud (1974) including nos. 68, 181, 214, 270, 271, 304, 305.

⁴⁶ The figure is typically shown in a scene of *dexiosis*, another common feature of the reliefs from Rheneia that shows their clear Classical roots: Couilloud (1974) examples include nos. 32, 34, 46, 49, 51, 53, 56–58, 65, 68, 70, 71, 107.



Fig. 2. Statue of Diodora from Sarapeion C; “Pudicitia” format.
Photo: Sichtermann, DAI Rome neg. 1962.1991.

The Small Herculeanum statue type—like the Pudicitia, a popular format in the Roman period—is also well-represented at Delos in two examples: one from the Maison du Lac that fortunately preserves its head, the other from the sanctuary of Apollo that unfortunately does not.⁴⁷ The Small Herculeanum statue from the Maison du Lac was probably a private/honorific portrait, much like the statue of Kleopatra, which was also set up in a private domestic context; the example from the sanctuary of Apollo must have been a votive portrait. The Small Herculeanum format is not found on the gravestones from Rheneia, but this is not surprising, as this type is a rare occurrence in Hellenistic funerary reliefs from Greece and the Greek East. The non-funerary context of this format is also typical of the material from the Latin West.⁴⁸

A format that is, however, quite common on the grave reliefs from Rheneia, but that is not found in the preserved freestanding statuary, is what I have called the Rhamnous-Aristonoe (or Shoulder-swathe à la Davies in this volume) format, in which the mantle is draped diagonally across the chest from right hip to left shoulder.⁴⁹ After the seated female, this is the second most common format for women on Delian gravestones.⁵⁰ This popularity, together with the fact that there is a headless statuette in this format from the House of the Masks,⁵¹ perhaps suggests that the type was used on Delos for female portrait statues as well, but no evidence of this is preserved. The same may be true for the so-called Arm-Sling format, the statue type used for the portrait of Dioscurides, as well as for many of the images of women on Delian funerary reliefs.⁵² Other marble fragments that might have once belonged to female portrait statues are illustrated in Marcadé's 1969 study of Delian sculpture; a full study of these fragments remains a desideratum.⁵³

⁴⁷ Statue from the Maison du Lac, NM 1827 in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, and the statue from the Sanctuary of Apollo, A 2937, in the Museum on Delos: see Dillon (2010) 86, and fig. 35 (statue in Athens), with further bibliography.

⁴⁸ See the chapter by Davies in this volume.

⁴⁹ Dillon (2010) 75–77, with figs. 1 and 32 and further bibliography. All of the examples of this statuary format are collected in Filges (1997).

⁵⁰ Couilloud (1974) examples include nos. 22, 25, 27, 29, 78, 79, 80, 88.

⁵¹ Statuette from the House of the Masks: A 4134, Marcadé (1969) 114, 258 n. 1, 417, pl. VII.

⁵² Couilloud (1974) examples include nos. 94, 97, 98, 101, 181.

⁵³ E.g. Marcadé (1969) pl. 7, A 4167; pl. 9, A 4268; pl. 34, A 4155; pl. 66, A 1851, A 1881, A 4266; pl. 67, A 4264, A 4265, A 4149.

Female Portrait Heads

What about the heads of these female portrait statues? The fully preserved Small Herculaneum statue from the Maison du Lac and the few preserved marble heads likely to come from portrait statues are in a style one would expect for Hellenistic female portraiture—faces that are oval in shape, the forehead smooth and unlined forming a graceful triangle, almond-shaped eyes framed by gently arching brows, a long straight nose, full lips that are slightly parted, a rounded chin, and a long and graceful neck. Two of the preserved examples sport the youthful melon hairstyle; the Small Herculaneum from the Maison du Lac has soft curls along the hairline, while a veiled head in the Delos Museum (fig. 3) has two Venus rings marking the soft flesh of the neck, and holes in the ear lobes for separately attached earrings. Although one instinctively feels that the subject represented by the veiled head is more mature than the subject of the Small Herculaneum statue, perhaps because of the veil, both are idealized beauties whose faces are untouched by the ravages of age. We see a similar disposition of the facial features in another veiled head from Delos, worked for insertion into a statue body, here with the hair parted at the center and brushed back in soft waves that frame the face. While the surface of this head is very worn, it looks very close in appearance to the face of Aristonoe from Rhamnous, although Aristonoe has been given very slight naso-labial lines and more prominent cheekbones. And finally, an unfinished life size marble bust of a veiled woman found in the magazines along the port of Delos, whose face, had it been finished, would undoubtedly have looked much like that of the other portraits discussed above.⁵⁴

Although there are subtle differences among these female portraits—for example, in the proportions of the face, in the size and shape of individual features, in hairstyles, and in the inclusion or lack of individualizing traits—as a group these heads are remarkably homogeneous in appearance, particularly when compared with contemporary male portraiture. Male portraits of the Hellenistic period are astonishingly varied in the details of their physiognomy and hairstyles and seem to present the features of an apparently recognizable individual. This specificity and variety are exemplified by the male portraits from Delos, a remarkable collection of material evidence for late Hellenistic/late Republican male portraiture. Particularizing traits include short-cropped hair, which shows the shape of the head, the strong even rather harsh features, furrowed brows, deep-set eyes with

⁵⁴ A 4268: Marcadé (1969) 143, 144, 437, pl. 9.



Fig. 3. Veiled marble portrait head, worked for insertion, with separately attached earrings. Delos, Museum inv. A4185. Height: 46 cm. Photo: French School at Athens, neg. R 3912–006.

crow's feet, and in many examples an energetic turn of the head.⁵⁵ This more nuanced realism and intensified individuality were not, however, commonly deployed for portraits of women, which tend to conform to a handful of models that changed very little over time. Most of these models were first developed for the representation of women in Classical gravestones and were then deployed with minimal modification for late Classical and Hellenistic female portrait statues, both honorific and funerary. The reference or starting point, then, for female portraits would seem to have been another image and not the portrait subject herself. Although many marble Hellenistic female portraits do have some degree of particularity—they are, after all, individually crafted objects—one does not get the impression, as one does with most male portraits, that these images express a closely observed physiognomic specificity.

⁵⁵ Marcadé et al. (1996) nos. 86, 91, 96, and 99; Stewart (1979) figs. 18c, 18d, 19a–d, 20a–d, 22a–b.

As I have argued at length elsewhere, the homogeneity of Hellenistic female portraiture was surely the result of assimilating women visually to the highly conventional ideals of feminine beauty.⁵⁶ The emphasis in female portraiture was therefore not the subject's individuality and personal identity, as it was in male portraiture, but on collective values and the family. Familial relationships are highlighted as well in the base inscriptions for portrait statues of women; the (typically) male dedicator is named first, and in family group monuments, the inscriptions for female statues are usually much shorter than those for male statues, and highlight her male relatives. Female portrait statues were clearly an important component of what Riet van Bremen has called "the elite's family-oriented public self-presentation."⁵⁷ The female portrait head identified the subject as a member of the collective family of elite citizen women, whose virtue and modesty endowed them with an ideal beauty that was typical of the group as a whole. The actual appearance of the female portrait subject was unimportant in this system of familial self-presentation.

What, then, are we to make of the head of a woman from the so-called House of the Diadoumenos (figs. 4–5)?⁵⁸ This magnificent female portrait was found in 1894, along with three realistic-looking male portrait heads, a very fine statue of the Diadoumenos, and the portrait statue known as the Pseudo-Athlete.⁵⁹ The individual components that go to make up this very striking female portrait—the melon hairstyle, the large eyes, the prominent nose, the jutting cheekbones, the thin lips and set mouth, the severe expression, and the Venus rings in the fleshy neck—can all be paralleled elsewhere in Hellenistic portraiture, but the combination of these elements into a single *female* image appears to be something new. As R.R.R. Smith has observed, this portrait is the "first surviving closely observed realistic sculptured portrait of a woman."⁶⁰ So what does the designation "first surviving" mean? What is the likely date of the portrait's manufacture? According to Andrew Stewart's study of the preserved portrait sculpture and statue base inscriptions from Delos, the majority of portrait statues were set up in the

⁵⁶ Dillon (2010).

⁵⁷ Bremen, van (1996) 166.

⁵⁸ Delos Museum A 4196: Michalowski (1932) 46–49, pls. 33–35, fig. 32 (end of 3rd 1/4 of 1st c. BCE); Marcadé et al. (1996) 214–215 no. 97 (Queyrel); Papini in La Rocca et al. (2011) 162–163 (end of 2nd c. BCE).

⁵⁹ The sculptural finds are listed in Kreeb (1988) 155–160; Queyrel (2008) 201–202, pls. 21–22.

⁶⁰ Smith (1988) 134.



Fig. 4. Female portrait from the “House of the Diadoumenos” on Delos, front view. Total height: 34 cm; Head height: 25 cm. Delos Museum A 4196. Photo: author, used by permission of the French School at Athens.



Fig. 5. Female portrait from the “House of the Diadoumenos” on Delos, oblique view. Delos Museum A 4196. Photo: author, used by permission of the French School at Athens.

later second and early first century BCE.⁶¹ While Delos does seem to have recovered somewhat after the sack of 88,⁶² the island lost its commercial importance, and honorific activity declined rapidly after the second sack in 69. Given the pattern one sees in the inscribed statue bases, and the precipitous drop off in statue making by about the mid-first century, I have to agree with Stewart that the majority of extant marble Delian portraits were carved before 88 and certainly before 69. This female portrait, and the other sculpture from the House of the Diadoumenos, likely dates then to the later second or early first century BCE, when both trade through Delos and Delian sculptural production were at its height.

The archaeology of Delos also supports the straightened circumstances of those still living on the island after 69. In the once opulent houses one finds the remains of makeshift shops and industrial establishments.⁶³ And while the so-called Agora of the Italians was repaired after the sack of 88, it was not repaired and indeed seems to have been abandoned after the sack of 69.⁶⁴ It may also be no coincidence that the only two other realistically looking female portraits from the late Republican period (ca. 50 BCE) found in the Greek East come from Ephesos, where it would seem that a good number of the Italians from Delos went after sack of Mithridates in 88.⁶⁵

The House of the Diadoumenos does in fact seem to have been an establishment similar to that of the Poseidoniasts of Beirut, that is, a clubhouse or meeting space for foreigners resident and doing business on the island.⁶⁶ The sculpture from the building seems to me, as it has to others, to have a decidedly Roman flair, not only in the case of the Pseudo-Athlete, which combines a realistic Roman-looking portrait head with a nude ideal body, but also in the Diadoumenos, which is the earliest dated example of a marble copy of a famous Greek statue, a phenomenon closely associated with Roman villa decoration. I, in fact, like to think of the Pseudo-Cleopatra, as the female portrait is sometimes called, as the wife of the Pseudo-Athlete, who was himself perhaps a founding member and/or wealthy benefactor of the association who met in the clubhouse.⁶⁷ Although some scholars have suggested that this female portrait dates to the later 1st century and perhaps

⁶¹ Stewart (1979) 65–72; followed by Smith (1988) 21–23, 126–128.

⁶² Recovery after the first Mithridatic War: Habicht (1997) 342.

⁶³ Bruneau and Ducat (2005) 42–44.

⁶⁴ Trümper (Forthcoming) 6.

⁶⁵ Aurenhammer (2011) 104.

⁶⁶ Trümper (2011) 53–58.

⁶⁷ See also Queyrel (2008) 205–206. Smith [(1991) 257] first made the suggestion that this portrait represents someone like the wife of the Pseudo-Athlete.

represents Kleopatra VII in her so-called Syro-Roman guise,⁶⁸ I do not think it can represent a queen or date to this period. It may, however, give us some idea of what a later “Romanized” sculpted portrait of Kleopatra would have looked like, the kind we see paired with Antony on Roman *denarii* minted for the Actium campaign to express through its style a pro-Roman political message.⁶⁹ The Delian female’s stern expression, which may however be somewhat exaggerated by the harsh black-and-white mug shot-like photographs of this head that have been published, was probably meant to express the favored Roman virtues of, for example, *simplicitas* and *gravitas*, assimilated from male portraiture, while her fashionably youthful melon hairstyle, large eyes, earrings, and Venus rings suggest her beauty. This mixture of matronly forthrightness and physical attractiveness is a common visual combination in Roman female portraits of the late Republican period.⁷⁰

In fact, I would argue that the emphasis the female portrait from the House of the Diadoumenos places on the physical beauty of its subject has been underappreciated. In addition to the youthful melon hairstyle and separately attached earrings, the subject is showing a striking amount of skin below the neck. In the popular Pudicitia and Small Herculaneum statue formats, for example, the drapery covers most of the body and is pulled up quite high around the shoulders and neck, particularly at the back. The same is the case for the Rhamnous-Aristonoe format: only the neck is visible on the inset head of Aristonoe. It seems clear—at least to me—that the female head from the House of the Diadoumenos could not have been joined to a statue of these types, otherwise there would have been some indication, some remnant, of drapery on the bust of this portrait.⁷¹ So to what kind of body might this portrait have belonged? While most scholars agree that the head was inserted into a statue, no one to my knowledge has suggested what this statue may have looked like. I think the statue would likely have been wearing some kind of costume in which the upper body was covered only by a thin chiton with a rounded neckline that revealed much of the shoulders, similar to the costume worn by a female figure holding a cornucopia on a large relief in the British Museum (fig. 6),⁷² or an unfinished

⁶⁸ Michalowski (1932) 49; Lundgren (1992).

⁶⁹ Smith (1988) 133–134.

⁷⁰ Examples collected in Thompson (1996). On age in Roman female portraiture see Schade (2001).

⁷¹ See, for example, the inset female heads on which some folds of drapery are carved on the neck: Dillon (2010) figs. 48, 49, 53, 55.

⁷² London, British Museum inv. 1809,1111.1: Walker and Higgs (2001) 123.



Fig. 6. Marble relief from Athens, Hellenistic. Height: 84 cm. London, British Museum inv. 1809,1111.1. Photo: © The Trustees of the British Museum.

funerary statue from Rheneia in the National Museum in Athens.⁷³ Or, to make a more provocative suggestion, might the head have belonged to an even more sexily draped Aphrodite-inspired statue body, with the drapery slipping off one shoulder? Before rejecting this out of hand, I would only point out the large number of half-draped and naked Aphrodite statuettes found on Delos—Aphrodite imagery was ubiquitous on the island—and the way in which the Pseudo-Athlete was pieced across the naked flesh of the chest, suggesting that such a combination is at least technically possible. And such an overtly sexy style of female representation is in fact attested in a number of Attic grave reliefs of the late Classical period.⁷⁴ Although I do not wish to press this too hard, a scantily clad or half-draped statue body would have made this female portrait a fabulously bold image and a worthy pendant to the Pseudo-Athlete.

In sum, while the evidence from Delos has long been recognized as crucial to the history of male portraiture in the late Hellenistic/late Republican period, Delos also provides important information about portraits of women in this period. The epigraphic and sculptural evidence suggests that while the Roman and Italian businessmen who came to the island in the second century aggressively inserted themselves into the Hellenistic tradition of public statuary honors, they seem not to have done so with the female members of their community. By the time such public honors for Roman women became more usual in the Greek East, that is, sometime after about 88 BCE, the Roman-Italian community appears to have been seriously diminished.⁷⁵ What is clear from the epigraphic evidence from Delos is that in the second half of the first century they were no longer involved—as they had been before—in making statue dedications on the island. The female portrait from the House of the Diadoumenos must surely represent a Roman subject, but as the House of the Diadoumenos seems to have been a clubhouse, the private context must have been considered appropriate for the display of a female portrait statue. In fact, the display of sculpture in a private context may be an innovation brought to the island under Roman-Italian influence. The setting up of portrait statues in domestic contexts is not at all well documented in the Hellenistic East; indeed the best evidence for this practice comes from Delos itself. Like the veristic style of

⁷³ Athens, National Archaeological Museum inv. no. 380; Couilloud (1974) 232, no. 2.

⁷⁴ Clairmont (1993) 1.182 (Athens National Archaeological Museum inv. 3891) and 2.176 (Oropos Museum inv. 213).

⁷⁵ See discussion above, p. 208.

portraiture, the appearance of portraits in houses on Delos may well be the result of Roman-Italian influence on the island.⁷⁶

While the Pseudo-Cleopatra is the earliest surviving realistic sculpted portrait of a woman, I do not think we should imagine that it was the first: that would be placing too much historical importance on dated sculptural evidence left to us by the accident of preservation. However one interprets the mundanely realistic, sometimes brutal style of many of the best Delian portraits—the fabulous over-life size busts from the House of the Seals are two of its most extreme examples—that is, whether it was a style brought by these businessmen from Rome or whether it was developed locally in the Greek East for male portraits and then adopted by the Italians on Delos (although I think the former more likely), the portrait of the Pseudo-Cleopatra provides crucial evidence for the existence of this style for women by the late second and early first century, well before most of the preserved material from Rome itself is dated. She was not the very first portrait in this style, but she is the very first to be preserved.

In addition to the important evidence of the Pseudo-Cleopatra, the female portraits from Delos anticipate other trends in the sculptural representation of women that are more fully documented in the Roman period in the West. One is the inclusion of portrait sculpture as domestic decoration (e.g., the Small Herculaneum statue from the *Maison du Lac* and the Pudicitia statue of Kleopatra from the House of Kleopatra and Dioscurides), although this is not particular to female portraiture. Another is that the body types regularly used for images of women in Delian statuary—the Pudicitia, the Small Herculaneum, the Rhamnous-Aristonoe or Shoulder-swathe, and the Arm-Sling—are also popular formats for statues of women in the Roman West. The contexts in which they appear sometimes vary; while the non-funerary preference for the Small Herculaneum format is found in both the Greek East and the Roman West, the Aristonoe-Rhamous or Shoulder-swathe type appears frequently on Greek grave reliefs, but there is a lack of examples from Roman funerary contexts.⁷⁷ In addition, in the Greek East the Pudicitia type was not exclusively or even primarily funerary: the statue of Diodora was a votive dedication, while the statue of Kleopatra was set up in a domestic context. Both examples also appear much less modest and reserved than their Italian counterparts—the delicate fingering of the thin transparent mantle pulled tightly around the body gives these Pudicitia

⁷⁶ Fejfer (2008) 89–90.

⁷⁷ See Davies' chapter in this volume.

statues a charm and elegance that the late Republican versions from Italy are noticeably lacking. Finally, the choice of a more individualized, non-ideal Roman style of female portraiture, represented by the fine marble bust of the Pseudo-Cleopatra from the House of the Diadoumenos, never completely replaced the idealized style for female portraiture in the Greek East, even after Greece became part of the Roman Empire. And conversely, the idealized “non-portrait” Hellenistic style of female portraiture was not widely adopted for portraits of women in the Roman West, where the image of the reigning empress defined the ideals of beauty and set the style for elite female representation.

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DRESSED WOMEN ON THE STREETS OF THE ANCIENT CITY: WHAT TO WEAR?

Mary Harlow

The ancient Roman city, and particularly Rome itself, appears at first glance to be a predominantly male space. Judging by ancient authors, women rarely appear on the streets unless they are slaves or prostitutes or acting in a way considered to be abnormal or transgressive.¹ However, as walking was the main mode of transport in antiquity, women of all classes presumably traversed the city not only at times of festival or as part of their ritual activities but in their daily lives: attending the baths, visiting family and friends, going to the market, on errands or running a business. Women must have been part of the everyday visual urban landscape, but they remain, for the most part, invisible. Elite women may have been carried in litters or in carts, or, if walking for short distances, surrounded by their retinues. But still their presence on the street must have been relatively unremarkable.² My interest is in 'dress in action': i.e. in the practical reality of wearing the garments which made up the Roman female wardrobe and engaging in daily activities.³ How did women choose what to wear when they had to negotiate the city? Putting the dressed individual back into the landscape works as a tool to enable critical analysis of dress, manners and body language, and to assist in an articulation of street life in the ancient city which has the potential to render the invisible visible. My approach is informed by a number of publications from the last two decades: Diane Favro's imaginary itineraries in the *Urban Image of Augustan Rome* (1996); several papers in the recently

¹ E.g. Livy, 34.1–8: Matrons demonstrating against the *lex Oppia*, while Livy, in the voice of Cato makes much of the women's immodest behaviour, his opponent, the tribune, Lucius Valerius, asks what is so rare about matrons on the streets? 34.5.7.

² E.g. *Digest*. 47.10.15.15—referring to *matres familiae* on the street.

³ This paper is part of a larger research project undertaken with the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Textile Research (CTR), University of Copenhagen, where I was Guest Professor (2011–2013). It will also form part of the *Key Themes on Roman Dress* (Cambridge, forthcoming). I have to thank Ray Laurence, Leslie Brubaker, colleagues at CTR, delegates at the conference, the editors and the anonymous reviewer for commenting on the paper. I also thank Emily Hemelrijk for inviting me both to the conference and to contribute to this volume with what is patently a work in progress. Some ideas expressed here have also been published in Harlow (2012b).

published volume *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space* (2011) edited by David Newsome and Ray Laurence, which address the flow of traffic, the nature of obstacles, the general appearance of the physical street and the mass of people who occupy it at different times of the day, and on different occasions;⁴ Timothy O'Sullivan's *Walking in Roman Culture* (2011); and Antony Corbeill's *Nature Embodied: Gesture in Ancient Rome* (2004). All of these works, and others too, have made the townscapes of the Roman world more vivid, but still women are rarely seen in them. Authors do not ignore the place of women, but they take a position which privileges and normalises the male—reflecting the ancient literary corpus which they cite. It is sometimes difficult even to establish whether the presence of women on the street is taken to be self-evident, or whether they are assumed to be generally absent. Modern authors, like their ancient counterparts, construct a cultural discourse about the city which is inhabited by very few women—and we should also note, practically no children.⁵ Scholars write of the 'performativity' of male behaviour on the street where the upper classes in particular could use the street and the forum as a background to display their personal status expressed in grooming, dress, body language and entourage and of course, their interaction with others—a social language understood by contemporary observers.⁶ There is much written about particular localities with distinctive associated trades and areas linked to particular civic and social functions: temples, law courts, markets, baths etc. Rarely, if the ancient sources are to be believed, do any of these spaces appear to be crossed by women on a regular basis. Mary Boatwright has argued, that despite the blindness of the source material, even the most symbolic of male space, the Forum Romanum, must have "routinely seen priestesses, *matronae*, and less highly placed women such as attendants, shop keepers, beggars and street-walkers".⁷ This seems to be a more realistic view of street life, and this chapter will now examine how women, of all classes, might have appeared.

Much has been written about the Roman female wardrobe.⁸ It can be categorised both by names and types of garments and also by the moral connotations some of these garments carried. However, very little can be said

⁴ Specifically chapters by Macaulay-Lewis; Holleran; Hartnett; Betts.

⁵ Boatwright (2011) on lack of women in the Forum Romanum; Laurence (2007) on women in Pompeii; (2010) on children in the city.

⁶ Cf Corbeill (2004) 118–124; O'Sullivan (2011) 7–9, 16–18; Weiss (2010).

⁷ Boatwright (2011) 108.

⁸ See Scholz (1992); Sebesta & Bonfante (eds.) (1994); Sebesta (1997); Croom (2000); Harlow (2004, 2012b); Olson (2002, 2008a); Cleland, Davies and Llewellyn-Jones (2007).

about the experiential nature of that clothing, or how it was worn in reality; nor can we assess how far the literary prescriptions which abound in Latin literature were internalised and taken on board by a woman when she chose what to wear. If we visualise a dressed woman in the street in Rome, I would suggest that the immediate image is mediated through a composite of ancient and modern sources: an amalgam of Roman (and Greek) sculpture, 19th century history paintings and 21st century Hollywood.⁹ Unpicking these images and putting them together with the information gleaned from archaeologically recovered textiles may assist in creating a more realistic picture.

The Roman woman's wardrobe included a limited range of items in modern urban western terms, but in theory and in practice, it possessed versatility. Evidence for dress comes from a variety of media: literary images, visual images and fragments of extant textiles—within each category the evidence is remarkably diverse. Images of dressed women appear in sculpture, wall paintings, mosaics, plastic arts such as silverware, pottery, gold glass etc.; literary descriptions of dress can be found in almost all genres of literature from epic, biography, satire, elegy, letters, forensic speeches and law codes to moralising treatises. Visual and literary evidence comes from across the empire, following regional or genre protocols which need to be taken into account. Material remains of clothing and textiles, on the other hand, are often fragmentary and originate mostly from dry conditions such as the Egyptian desert and the Eastern Mediterranean. In previous work I have argued that genre dominates any reading of Roman dress, particularly for women, but more recently I have revised this position as it proved simply unworkable in creating a world where women actually wore clothes.¹⁰ While genre cannot be denied, as each type, whether visual or literary, produces a particular image of the dressed or undressed woman, over-privileging it

⁹ My own view of the Roman female wardrobe has been influenced by trips to Iran (2006) and India (2012). On Iranian streets the gender divide is visible, and many daily activities are clearly segregated. In dress this is most obvious in the wearing of the chador. The chador hides the clothes worn beneath it when out in public identifying a woman as a woman *per se* while anonymising her at the same time. However, we observed a very different wardrobe was possible for women in private (as seen in shops and markets and in the occasional glimpse of interiors). It is over simplistic to make analogies from such a short time in a culture as different as Iran but certain elements: the dichotomy between the public and private wardrobes; the range of regional dress and dress codes (see Gillian Vogelsang Eastwood, 2013); the visible and routine sexual segregation speaks to the imagination of a Roman historian thinking about the potential for female agency in a patriarchal society (see Harlow 2012b with further references to Muslim dress).

¹⁰ Harlow (2004, 2007); revision (2012b).

confounds any attempt to think about dress as worn. In Latin literature, clothing is often used as a device to idealise or demonise women, and even when a woman is clad in the traditional ensemble of *stola* and *palla*, the look is used satirically as short hand to suggest a respectability that stands in opposition to the revealing or inadequate dress of women who, in the author's view, are lower on the moral spectrum. A lot of male anxiety, or titillation, is expressed through ideas of revealing clothing and its direct association in the Roman mind with luxury, ostentation and a lack of morals.¹¹ Moreover, this prejudice against any look that does not fit the ideal of the 'good modest *matrona*' is clearly at odds with both the discourse and with the material remains of *cultus* where both iconography and archaeological finds suggest that women took care to cultivate particular looks which were thought to be part of the refinement of the upper class wife.¹²

Statuary, one of the key tools in visualising Roman women, is also potentially problematic. Art historians often talk about drapery as a form in itself—this is partly because in a great deal of sculpture the skilful rendition of different textiles or layers of textiles allows the sculptor to demonstrate his artistry through drapery. Some scholars have argued that the 'costume' of female statuary bears little relationship to clothing as worn and is highly stylised even on those statues said to represent real individuals.¹³ The common use of standard statue forms, particularly the so-called small and large Herculaneum woman and *Pudicitia* types, used the wrapped, draped and often veiled female body as their medium of communication.¹⁴ As argued elsewhere, formulaic statues do not act as fashion plates but the homogeneity of the female figure wearing a long tunic and *palla* may have suggested an overall impression of how women could wear such clothes. Indeed there are only so many ways of wearing these garments, and women had been wearing them long before the statue types came to be popular.¹⁵ Some

¹¹ See for example, Hor. *Sat.* 2; Ovid *Ars Amatoria* 3. On silk see Hildebrandt (2013).

¹² Livy 34.7.5, on adornment and apparel (*cultus*) as a matron's badge of honour. On toilette in general see D'Ambra (2007) 111–127. For deceptive nature of female toilette see Richlin (1995) 213 and her references, and Wyke (1994) 134–151; on more positive reading through iconography see Shumka (2008) 173–191.

¹³ Feifer (2008) 335, Bieber (1977) 148–162; Davies (2002); Trimble (2000) 56–65 on the role of such statues as visual representations of the Augustan moral codes. For a slightly different view on the relationship between representation and reality see Dillon (2010) 100–102; Stewart (2008) 97–101.

¹⁴ For full descriptions of these models and the implications of their body language see Davies (1997) 102–104; Dillon (2010) 82–99; Trimble (2000) 65–66, (2011).

¹⁵ Harlow (2012b).

connection between images of the clothed body and actual clothing cannot be denied, but it is crucial to be circumspect in how far images are read as unmediated reflections of social reality. Are Pompeian wall paintings of lower class women in shops and *tavernae* more likely to be representations of reality than the wrapped body of say, Eumachia, if these images are translated into women making their way through the Forum at Pompeii? Should one be privileged over the other? There is undoubtedly a symbiotic relationship between the clothed female body in sculpture and the dressed Roman woman but it requires nuancing. Sculpted figures lay the stress on drapery and often delineate the body beneath layers of clothing in a way that may have been less obvious in reality and at the same time, they produced a model of the clothed body that would have been viewed by women who wore similar clothing.

The clothed body in any particular context creates multiple layers of meaning for the viewer, both ancient and modern. Reading dress is a complex business, and the literary and visual rhetoric of dress has a powerful influence on how we read the clothed body. Visual and literary images indicate ways in which the Romans thought it appropriate to represent women (in different media) and demonstrate the range of what was thinkable to writers, sculptors and patrons (some of whom were women). This paper will now move tangentially away from representation and consider clothes on the body, and the movement of women while wearing the 'uniform' traditionally assigned to them. The textiles, colours, styles and shapes of the garments which comprise the female wardrobe can be identified, but the experience of wearing or choosing clothes, or of appearing clothed in public is less tangible. We need to consider how far the 'uniform' described in the writings of men and portrayed in visual culture, dictated a look, if not a wardrobe. Further, ways of constructively imagining how women might have managed the city streets and other open spaces in this wardrobe need development.

When the ideal of the citizen Roman wife left the house she might dress thus: some form of underwear perhaps,¹⁶ under-tunic, tunic, perhaps a *stola*, and all this, including her head, covered by a mantle, the *palla*. Tunics were the generic garments of both the male and female wardrobe. They were worn by everybody in the ancient world, rich and poor, young and old. Constructed as either two oblongs of fabric (wool or linen) sewn up at the sides with a gap for the arms and the head, or a single T-shaped piece,

¹⁶ On underwear see Olson (2003) and (2008a) 52–53.

tunics were pretty shapeless. They could be worn with or without a belt and could vary in length, although women for whom respectability mattered, or at least those who wished to simulate respectability, would wear them long, at least to the ankle.¹⁷ They could be made of wool or linen or a mix of the two of varying qualities, and perhaps, in rare and wealthy cases, of silk. Tunics could come in many colours; it is a myth that most garments in the Roman world were the natural colour of un-dyed wool or linen.¹⁸ The *stola* is a garment assigned to *matronae* (married citizen women) by male authors. In literature it serves as a short-hand for traditional respectability.¹⁹ It was, although the definition is not completely clear, a pinafore-type garment with straps over the shoulders. It was worn over a tunic and it fell to the ground covering the feet. The *palla* was a rectangular mantle, which again could come in many sizes, colours and materials. It was sometimes large enough to envelop the head and body, sometimes lighter and decorative, sometimes fringed. In an ideal situation if a woman was leaving the house and walking anywhere she would be wearing at least two and probably three (maybe four) layers of clothing with the top layer, the *palla*, draped and wrapped around the body to cover as much of it as possible. If the weather was inclement she may also have worn a felted overcoat/cloak, though presumably this would for practical reasons have replaced the wrapped *palla* as it would have been difficult to wear one over the other.

At certain stages of her life and on special occasions a girl or woman might also have worn particular items of dress or attributes which would identify her as such: a young, freeborn girl might have worn a *toga praetexta* over the tunic, perhaps a *lunula* (moon shaped amulet) and her hair braided with *vittae*, or a hairnet.²⁰ As a married woman, she would have supplemented the long tunic with the *stola* and again bound her hair with *vittae*.²¹ If she was a widow she might replace the *palla* with a different type of mantle, known as the *ricinium*.²² Women outside the citizen body or citizens with

¹⁷ On the tunic see Pausch (2003) who deals mostly with male garments but the shaping is the same. On weaving to shape see Granger-Taylor (1982). On length see Quintilian 11.2.138.

¹⁸ For use and availability of dyes see Cardon (2007), Weigle (1974), Rudkin (2007), Sebesta (1994b) 65–76. On the symbolic meaning of colours see Bradley (2009).

¹⁹ E.g. Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.29; Ovid, *Ars am.* 1. 31–32. For a full list of literary references see Scholz (1992).

²⁰ Sebesta (2005) 113–120; Olson (2008a) 15–20, (2008b) 139–157.

²¹ Olson (2008a) 25–41; Sebesta (1994a) 48–50. Fantham (2008) 158–171; on hairnets for young girls see Harlow (2012c).

²² Olson (2008a) 41–42; Sebesta (1994a) 50.

fewer economic resources to put into dress would have worn some version of the tunic and perhaps a mantle for warmth and modesty if they (or their husbands) felt so inclined.

The items of dress mentioned above are not value-free; they come fenced in by a series of moralising codes of behaviour which are part of the discourse that surrounds women in Latin literature, and is re-enforced by public statuary. In texts the clothed woman should embody the virtues of *modestia* and *pudicitia* and, according to Seneca, 'go out dressed up only so far as to avoid unkemptness' rather than 'with a face made up to look utterly seductive, naked hardly less obvious than if you had taken off your clothes' (*Contr.* 2.7.3–4). At the same time, in such a visual and face-to-face society as Rome, clothing and other dress accessories were very much part of individual identity and status, so it was important, for the elite at least, to learn to walk the tightrope between modesty and ostentation.

Clothing controls bodily movement. If citizen women internalised the rhetoric of modesty and propriety that abounds in the literature²³ and wore the standard 'uniform' on a regular basis, how did they move in all that drapery? A Roman woman who aspired to fit the respectable matron model would be wearing layered tunics, covered by a mantle which wrapped around the body. The different materials may not have sat well together, the layers of tunics and mantle may have clung to each other, creating bunching and the problem of layers riding up the body, gathering in uncomfortable places, or falling off the shoulder, causing the potential of embarrassing exposure. Women must have learnt techniques for manipulating and managing their dress for ease of walking. The tunic and *palla* ensemble requires both hands and arms be occupied with it when in movement, both for keeping it in place, especially if the *palla* is pulled up to cover the head, and for adjusting its arrangement if the long layers wound around the body or the legs so as to restrict motion. Hands were thus constantly occupied with clothing, holding it together, lifting skirts to negotiate uneven ground, steps, and the mud and filth in the streets: think of the uneven cobbled streets, high pavements and wide stepping stones of Pompeii and the steep paths of Rome and Herculaneum—these are not areas it would have been easy to negotiate and maintain the required look.²⁴ Of course, this may be

²³ There are complaints apparently from the time of Tiberius that women were not wearing the *stola*: cf. Tert. *De pallio* 4.9; Olson (2008a) 32.

²⁴ On muddy streets see Juv. 3.247–248; Mart. 7.61; 3.36; Holleran (2011) 46–51 on the streets of Rome; Hartnett (2011) 154–157 on height of Pompeian pavements.

precisely the point of all this clothing. It not only demonstrated that you did not need to walk far, or demanded that you should be carried in a litter or on a cart. It also expressed status in that it signalled that a woman did not undertake manual labour of any kind. Like the toga, the difficulty of managing it was a message in itself.²⁵

In many cultures clothing is wrapped and draped rather than cut and tailored to fit the body. Like women in such cultures, Roman women wearing the tunic and *palla* would have learned to move with ease in their clothing. The physical demands of the clothing however meant that a particular body language was required: when in public women needed to concentrate literally on holding themselves together. This may have necessitated a relatively slow walk and a demeanour that would express status in and of itself. An observer would presumably be able to identify an upper class woman not only by her retinue of retainers but also by her dress and her manner. As Corbeill has argued, hurrying is the mark of the slave, and as Horace complained, of the downtrodden; it is not the body language of the upper classes.²⁶ Indeed the *palla*, which rather like the chador could cover all clothing beneath it, could have been the primary marker of status while out in public. In this case it may have been important to have it made of finer material and richer colours to reflect the owner's ability to afford a better quality garment. No doubt other women (and perhaps men) on the street would be able to read the signs displayed in the quality of the *palla*.

For working women, slave women or women of the lower classes it might have been easier to move about the city if it is presumed (as Latin authors do) that the high standards of modesty and morality assumed for the upper classes were not meant to apply to them. Women less restrained by the moral dress codes might dress in more practical ways, wearing tunics and mantles that were more functional, belted or perhaps or knotted to free the arms, and which generally allowed for more freedom of movement.²⁷ This assumes, rather patronisingly, that the lower classes did not buy into the discourse of modesty and submissiveness that the upper class male rhetoric encouraged (or simply did not have the luxury to indulge in it).²⁸ This idea is not borne out by the choice of dress on memorials put up by freed slaves—

²⁵ On the toga see Vout (1996); Davies (2005) and (2010); Harlow (forthcoming).

²⁶ Corbeill (2004) 117; cf. Quintilian 11.3.112 on the dignity of a matron's walk on stage as opposed to the hurried movements of slaves.

²⁷ See Harlow (2004) on the various ways of wearing the *palla*.

²⁸ See for instance, Edwards (1993) on moral discourses as a form of peer group control among the elite, thus the lower classes are simply not affected.

who chose precisely the most idealising images, emulating elite moral codes while expressing something of their own. Indeed, freedwomen often appear very tightly wrapped in their mantles on grave monuments.²⁹ Thinking entirely pragmatically, it may be that everyone, if they had a choice, chose different clothes for different occasions.

There are other tangential but important issues here which need brief consideration, one practical, the other theoretical. Footwear: this controls body language as much as managing clothing. Footwear varied according to taste, but was also presumably dependent on geographical and climatic conditions as well as class and status. Sandals of various qualities and materials (from plaited hemp, to coloured and decorated leather) were common footwear for women.³⁰ These changed in style from a natural shaped sole to a more pointed shape with a single notch for the big toe during the 2nd century.³¹ Upper class men were meant to only wear sandals indoors and *calcei*, shoes which enclosed the foot, when outdoors and wearing the toga. It is unclear how far this code also applied to upper class women but statues show both types of footwear. Sandals show changes in the way the thongs and strapping are organised, on whether the heel was covered up and contained or not. There is also a development of the enclosed shoe/ankle boot. Footwear effects body language in a number of ways: wooden soles are less flexible than leather, although stacked leather can also be very rigid. Upper class women presumably did not wear the hob nailed boots associated with the military or with farm labourers, but they may have worn wedged shape pattens with wooden or stacked leather soles to give them height, but also to raise them just above the litter and dirt of the street.

A further point to consider is how, in a world of mirrors with relatively limited functionality, a woman regulated her looks for the outside world. Presumably maids played an important role in the presentation of their mistresses.³² Women would also have observed other dressed women in the street, including the clothing of foreign visitors and immigrants. In Livy's account of the demonstration against the *lex Oppia*, this is precisely the point the women are making: they demand the right to wear colours, especially purple and gold, in order to look different, both from each other,

²⁹ For images of freedwomen in monuments see Hackworth Peterson (2006).

³⁰ Cf. Diocletian's Price Edict 9.

³¹ Van Driel Murray (1987) 34; see also Goldman (1984).

³² Cf. Ovid *Ars am.* 3.239–242; cf. a well known funerary monument from Neumagen, now in the Landesmuseum, Trier, showing a woman in a basketwork seat, surrounded by maids, one of whom holds a mirror for her while another does her hair.

and also from the poorer classes.³³ They would also, in the places they visited (by the mid-first century) have seen statues and relief sculpture of women in the public gardens and porticoes of the city who wore clothes similar to their own.³⁴ To return to walking: Ovid offers advice on walking for the *puellae* in the *Ars Amatoria* (3.298–310) which plays with women's ability to manipulate their clothing:

... learn to carry yourself with womanly step. In walk too there is no mean part of charm; it attracts or repels unknown admirers. This woman sways her side with skill, and welcomes the breeze with flowing robe, as she haughtily places her dainty steps; that one walks like the sunburnt spouse of an Umbrian lord, and takes long straddling steps. But, as in many things, let there be moderation here; one motion is rustic, another will be more affected than is allowed. Nevertheless let the lower part of your shoulder and the upper part of your arm be bare and easily seen from the left hand. This becomes especially you who have snowy skins: when I see this, fain would I kiss that shoulder, wherever it is exposed.³⁵

Writing about women's gait is either framed, as here, by anxiety over clothing and modesty (or the eroticism of such clothing) or understood by oppositional definition—i.e. when men walk in certain ways they are considered to walk like women.³⁶ Anxiety about modesty and the seductive power of artfully worn dress are most clearly expressed in the Church Fathers who pick up and rework fairly traditional tropes such as Cicero on Clodia's behaviour at Baiae, or Seneca's description of the ideal wife. Audiences are expected to understand implicitly that there is a correct way of walking for women. Tertullian worries about the way women may advertise their sexual availability (even unconsciously) by not wearing the right clothes in the right way, or more to the point, choosing to wear seductive clothing and express their wealth, and therefore immorality by showing off their jewellery; Jerome complains of fake virgins who let their shawls fall down and expose their shoulders etc.³⁷ Men who move in certain ways were liable to be accused of effeminacy. Cicero was a master of using dress as part of his character assassination of his opponents but he also recognised the role body language played in public display. According to Macrobius he required his son-in-law

³³ Livy 34.4.13.

³⁴ Trimble (2011) on the ubiquity of stock types such as the Large Herculaneum woman.

³⁵ Trans. J.H. Mozley (revised G.P. Goold) Loeb edition (1979).

³⁶ For worry about women see Wyke (1987); on effeminate walking see Corbeill (2004) 120–124; O'Sullivan (2011) 16.27.

³⁷ Cicero *Cael.* 49. Seneca *Contr.* 2.7. 3–4; Tertullian *De cultu feminarum* 1 & 2; Jerome *Ep.* 22.13; Harlow (2007); Daniel-Hughes (2011).

to walk less like a woman, and his daughter who hurried too much, to walk more like her husband. In his own forensic speeches he criticised or made fun of his opponent's body language, implying that a man not in control of his body (or his dress) could not be in control of his actions.³⁸

Regrettably, none of this writing expresses the experience of walking in the full *matrona* ensemble which may have required attention, circumspection and probably, for decorum's sake relatively short steps; perhaps the *incessu commodo* that Claudia is commended for in her epitaph (*CIL* 1.1211). Still, the clothing must have allowed enough leeway to manage the steps up to the Portico of Octavia or in the theatre where the *Lex Julia Theatricalis* excluded women from sitting in delegated areas, except in the top rows or, for example, the space from the pavement to the stepping stones at Pompeii. Vitruvius thought that in an ideal world and a correctly built temple, two women should be able to pass between the columns of a temple arm in arm.³⁹ This implies perhaps that women might rarely be out alone.⁴⁰ It might also be speculated that there were different walks for different occasions: priestesses in processions may also have demonstrated their body language by walking in a stately fashion, suitable to the moment.

Weddings are interesting in this respect as the ritual of a marriage requires the bride to walk (or perhaps ride) to the groom's house (*domum deductio*), presumably through the town, wearing very particular clothing and veiled by the distinctively coloured *flammeum*. A wedding procession would have provided an occasion for showing off both the bride's and the groom's families, but it would still have to walk/ride through streets, with the veiled bride led supposedly by small boys. It is not clear what time of day wedding processions took place, but they were accompanied by torches and rowdy songs, and presumably shouts of congratulations from others on the street.⁴¹ It may be an occasion for the women of the family, protected by those who were also part of the wedding party to show off the fine clothes that moralisers complain about. While it may not be wise to show off

³⁸ Macrobius, *Sat.* 2.3.14; Cicero *Sest.* 17; *de off.* 1.131; cf Clement of Alexandria *Paed.* 3.11 on 'voluptuous motion in walking or mincing gait'. On Cicero's rhetorical use of clothing see Heskell (1994); Dyke (2001).

³⁹ Vitruvius 3.2–3.

⁴⁰ O'Sullivan (2011) 7 on rarity of solitary walking for men.

⁴¹ See Hersch (2010) 148–181 on the street part of the wedding festivities, and the debate on what time of day a wedding took place. The *domum deductio* appears so central to the marriage ritual that no one seems to discuss what happens if the groom lives in another town, presumably in this case transport would be used. It is also difficult to imagine that upper class brides would walk on this day, and not at other times.

jewellery on the street unless you were surrounded by slaves and attendants, a fine wool or even silk *palla* of bright colours and gold weave might have been considered suitable. A marriage creates a form of movement literally, physically, socially and in dress, it was an occasion to advertise, not to hide. Weddings, like funerals, religious processions and triumphs are special occasions for which a special kind of dress is called for, and arguably the type of dress also shapes a special kind of body language and movement. These are also events that legitimately find room on the street for upper class women, but, while they may be part of the everyday occurrences of life on the street, they are not part of the everyday life of individuals.

To imagine the social reality of life on the street for women, particularly those from the upper classes, requires a series of imaginative and speculative methodological leaps. One useful method to replace guess work would be to engage with serious research-based reconstructions of dress, working with carefully defined criteria; next, with the help of increasingly sophisticated virtual reality techniques which can model the weight, weave and thus, the drape of the clothing, place a properly clothed body into a Roman townscape. At the time of writing there are a number of projects across the world working on 3D virtual reconstructions of ancient cities and landscapes.⁴² However, in order to people these with characters even approaching a close idea of what clothing as worn was like (and the body language it required) necessitates an understanding of the nature of the textiles. Recent research has set up a series of criteria, protocols and priorities for how reconstructions could work, depending on the desired outcome, and a project on the clothing of the 3rd century BC Dama de Baza undertaken by Ida Demant (Copenhagen), Carmen Alfaro (Valencia) and M.L. de la Bandera (Seville) has demonstrated the research, time and labour required.⁴³ Reconstructions

⁴² See for example: www.romereborn.virginia.edu/; <http://www.proxima-veritati.auckland.ac.nz/insulag/>; <http://www.ht.lu.se/o.o.i.s?id=23922&p=552> (both accessed March 2013).

⁴³ Demant (2009): C standard: factory woven fabric, in quality as close as possible to the original, machine sewn, except where the stitching would have been visible and used for school children and adults who want to experience feeling of natural fibres; B standard: garments made from handwoven fabric from machine spun yarn, in quality as close as possible to the original. All material plant dyed. Suitable for museum displays and living history environments; A standard: hand spun fibre from as close to the original as possible, woven on correct contemporary loom, hand sewn, plant dyed. Suitable for research reconstructions; on Dama de Baza see Demant (2011); Grömer (2009) on reconstructions of pre-Roman dress in Austria. Much of this work has been undertaken as part of the European Dress ID project (2007–2013) (<http://www.dressid.eu>). On the use of tools and timings for spinning see Andersson Strand (2010) 10–22; on potential timings for Roman garments see Wild (2003); on the

allow for more consideration of the weight, the flexibility of drapery, the feel of the cloth, the sound of it: wool and silk make different sounds, so different qualities of mantle would have been noticeable. Questions arise such as: how much room might such an ensemble take up on the street? might jewellery have been glimpsed? how long might dress conceivably be to avoid the mud and filth of the street but retain ideas of modesty? By integrating the scientific analysis of dyes we can then also parallel the work that is being done to regain the polychromy of the city in sculpture and architecture, with a more realistically dressed population, and a far more colourful ancient world than imagined by earlier generations might be visualised.⁴⁴

Research indicates that the Romans could access textiles of all qualities, from the dense felted fabric that was used as protective wear or as water-proofs to the fine wools and silks that are the cause of so much anxiety in the moralists. They also had access to a colour range that still surprises many. Although most of the poorer classes might have been dressed in undyed wool, even this comes in a range of colours, and moreover some plant dyes were easy to come by and only require access to heat and water to produce.⁴⁵ A final point—in terms of thinking the street—over and above the smell of cooking, garbage and general humanity, clothing would also have given off particular odours: the smell of wool, washed and unwashed would have been common; the highly expensive murex purple was said to have retained its fishy smell to the extent that perfume was used to cover it.⁴⁶ Against this background the specially whitened *toga candida* of the electoral candidate is given an enhanced visibility as it would have been especially noticeable against the colour (bright or dull) of the street and the forum. It presumably also shone among other toga wearers. The idea that Roman street life was one of bright, even garish colours is becoming much more part of today's understanding of the Roman world. However, the ways in which the gendered social dynamics of walking in the city worked in practice across class

toga Harlow (forthcoming). On the theory and use of reconstructions see papers in Stauber-mann (ed.) (2011).

⁴⁴ For polychromy see papers in Brinkman, Primavesi & Hollein (eds.) (2010); and the preliminary reports of the project at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, *Tracking Colour*, available at: <http://www.trackingcolour.com>.

⁴⁵ See note 18 on colours and dyes; see also papers in *Purpurae Vestes* vols I–III edited by Alfaro and others (2004, 2008, 2011).

⁴⁶ Mart. 1.49.32, 2.16.3, 4.4.3, 9.62. On odours generally see Lilja (1972). On the experiential nature of the street see Betts (2011).

and in different forms of urban space remains elusive. Putting dressed individuals back in the landscape is only part of the picture but it is a potentially useful tool that will enable researchers to make yet another part of the currently intangible ancient world, tangible.

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WHOSE FASHION?
MEN, WOMEN AND ROMAN CULTURE AS REFLECTED
IN DRESS IN THE CITIES OF THE ROMAN NORTH-WEST

Ursula Rothe

Introduction

Portrait gravestones from the Roman provinces, when we are lucky enough for them to have survived in any quality or quantity, shine a spotlight on the people they represent, their achievements, their aspirations, their identity. Part of these monuments' message was the dress chosen by the various family members for their portrait depictions. Given their very public nature, lining, as they did, the roads out of towns, and the fact that they were often planned well in advance, we may assume that the dress was chosen carefully and as such gives us a unique insight into how these people wanted to be seen. Consequently, any information such images impart as to the cultural outlook of the people depicted is particularly valuable. The funerary art of Rome's northern and north-western provinces reveals a complex variety in the dress choices made not only by specific communities and societal groups, but also by families and individual people. A recurring pattern in all of the Roman provinces is a marked difference in the dress of the men and women of a particular area. This, however, is far from straightforward in its interpretation. Using as case studies two urban settlements in the northern provinces with very similar characteristics, *Orolaunum* in Gallia Belgica and *Flavia Solva* in Noricum, this paper will demonstrate how varied the dress situation in different locations could be, and will argue that although individual taste and cultural orientation were important factors in dress behaviour, the gendered dimension also tells us a great deal about the different roles men and women played within their local cultural systems.

Arlon

Orolaunum, present-day Arlon in Belgium, was a large *vicus* built at the crossing of two important roads of Gallia Belgica, an east-west route from Reims-*Durocortorum* through Trier-*Augusta Treverorum* to Mainz-*Mogontiaca*, and a north-south route from Metz-*Divodurum* to Tongeren-*Aduatuca Tungrorum*. Although never a city in a legal sense, it grew to be the second largest settlement in the extensive *civitas Treverorum* (the pre-Roman territory of the Treveri without its easternmost zone along the Rhine), serving in many respects as a western counterweight to the *civitas* capital at Trier in the east. Recent excavations by local authorities have revealed that Arlon was much larger than previously thought, and boasted many of the amenities of Roman urban life, such as baths, temples, cobbled roads, an artisan quarter, stone houses with hypocaust heating and significant quantities of imported goods.¹ Nonetheless, on the empire-wide scale Arlon was not a major centre. It had no major political or administrative functions, and, unlike the major trade cities of Gaul or the military settlements on the Rhine, did not experience a large amount of immigration from abroad: most of the people who are depicted on the grave monuments of this area can be assumed to have been of northern Gallic origin. There are 26 grave monuments in Arlon that contain part or all of a portrait depiction. None were found *in situ*, and most were recovered as broken fragments used as *spolia* in the late Roman fortifications on St. Donat's Hill when these were dismantled from the 16th century onward. For this reason, the images are rarely attached to their original inscriptions. Two of the stones date to the mid 1st century AD, the others are distributed fairly evenly across the time period from the mid 2nd to the mid 3rd century. The vast majority are of married couples or families, but there are some individual depictions of both men and women.

For the purposes of this study, funerary portrait scenes were analysed by individual person depicted according to whether their outfits consisted of thoroughly Roman, thoroughly native, or mixed Roman and native elements. In this region, the Roman dress that can be found on the gravestones is the sleeveless or short-sleeved and girt Roman *tunica* worn knee-length by men and foot-length by women, and over this the toga or the rectangular *palium* for men and the *stola* (a kind of pinafore that hung from straps over the shoulders) and/or *palla* (a rectangular cloak) for women.² For women one

¹ Recently summarised in Henrotay/Warzée (2010).

² For details and discussion of these garments generally, see Goette (1990), Scholz (1992),

can also count Roman hairstyles, because the native headdress always consisted of a bonnet that covered much or all of the hair, and rendered Roman hair fashions impossible or invisible. The native men's dress consisted of an ungirt tunic with sleeves that reached to the wrists and the hem of which hung to the mid-calf. Over this was worn a roughly bell-shaped hooded cape that was entirely closed at the front, and as such is often depicted folded up at the front and sides to reveal the arms. Sometimes a woollen scarf is shown tucked into the collar of this cape. Although we do not have the direct textile evidence to prove it conclusively, this male 'Gallic ensemble' almost certainly had its origins in the pre-Roman dress of this part of Europe.³ The female 'Gallic ensemble' consisted of a similar sleeved, ungirt tunic that fell to the ankles, a rectangular cloak draped in a variety of (symmetrical) ways across the upper body and a beret-like cap covering all or part of the hair. This is a style of dress that developed gradually in the late 1st century AD. Before this time, women in the region had worn more elaborate outfits consisting of several layers of tunics, an array of brooches and pendant jewellery at the shoulders and chest, and various hats, as well as the rectangular cloak.⁴ The styles in which the outermost tunics and hats were worn symbolised membership of local cultural or tribal groups. At the turn of the 1st century, these regional styles were giving way to the abovementioned more general Gallic style of dress, probably owing to widening geographical and cultural perspectives that resulted from integration into the Roman Empire and its bustling western European trade networks.⁵ Although usually referred to as 'Gallic', both the male and female versions of this ensemble can be found on gravestones not only across Gaul, but also on the Rhine and in Britain.⁶

In addition to the portrait images, in northern Gaul we are fortunate to have a variety of scenes from everyday life that adorned the sides of some of the larger stones. On these scenes, without exception, people wear native dress.⁷ Examples from Arlon include the double meal scene (Fig. 1) on which, in the upper register, adults are engaged in a civilised banquet, while in the

Stone (1994), Sebesta (1997), Olson (2002), (2008) 27–33, Edmondson (2008).

³ See original comments by Wild in (1985) 410f., followed largely by Boppert (1992), Freigang (1997), Noelke (1998) and more recent discussion in Rothe (2009) 33–37.

⁴ See, e.g., the ship-owner Blussus' wife Menimane from Mainz (*CIL* 13, 7067, Esp. 7, 5815, Boppert (1992) no. 2, Rothe (2009) no. M12).

⁵ See Rothe (2012).

⁶ E.g. Nijmegen: Esp. 9, 9663; Cologne: Esp. 8, 6449; Bonn: Esp. 8, 6288. For a long list of examples from Britain, see Wild (1985) 388 n. 98.

⁷ See Rothe (2009) 68f.

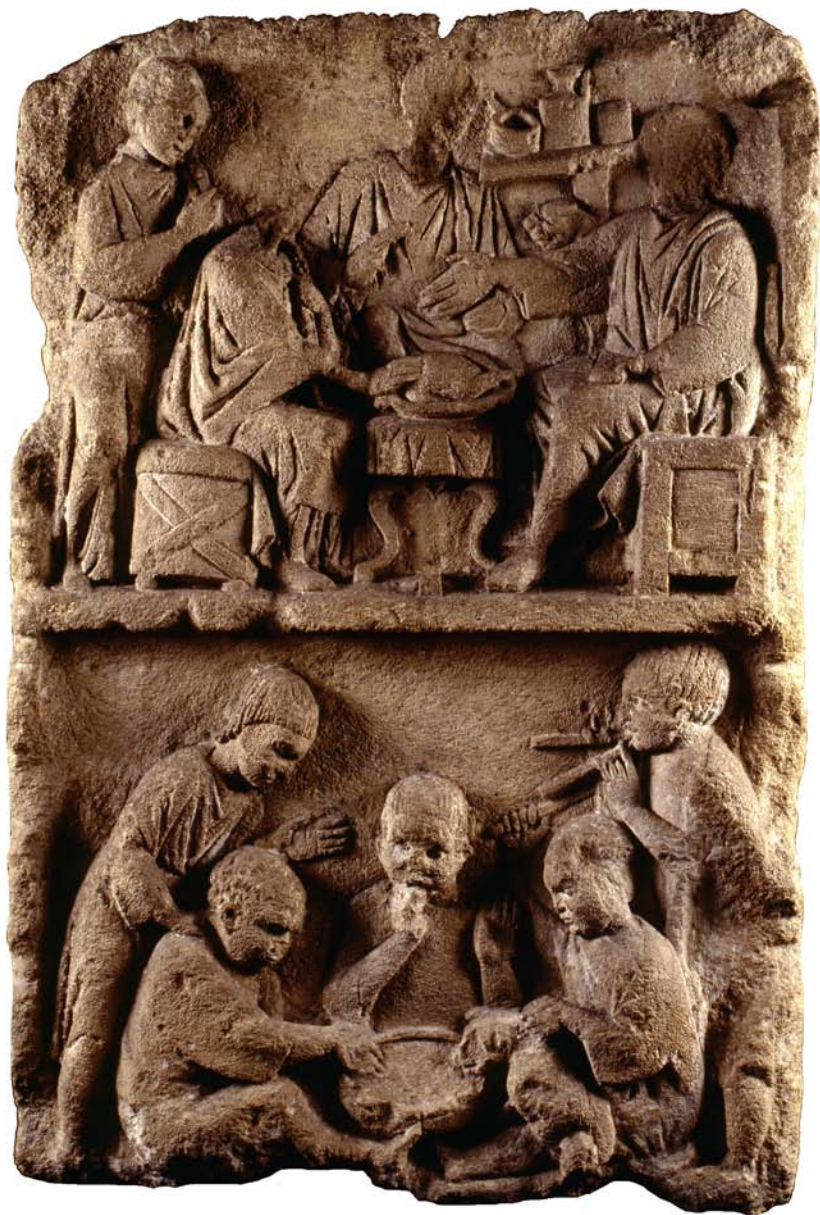


Fig. 1. Meal scenes on a grave pillar, Arlon, 2nd half of the 2nd cent. AD. Photograph Musées de Metz Métropole La Cour d'Or (Clichés Jean Munin).



Fig. 2. Office scene on a grave pillar fragment, Arlon, early 3rd cent. AD. Photograph H. Maertens © Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Arlon.

lower register the children and their little dog eat in a more casual fashion out of a bowl on the ground. All wear the sleeved Gallic tunic, the women with the rectangular cloak around the shoulders and some of the girls with a belt (probably either for ease of movement or to gather in excess fabric). In an office scene also from Arlon (Fig. 2), a landlord or his clerk wearing a long Gallic tunic and sitting at a desk is talking to a farmer dressed in a hooded Gallic cape. These and other similar scenes show that the milieu we are looking at in Arlon was mainly native in character; although scenes on funerary monuments must always be seen as idealized in nature, it is nonetheless significant that native Gallic dress was what people chose to be portrayed in in scenes from their everyday lives.

If we turn to the portrait scenes, then, it is interesting that also here native dress predominates. Fig. 3 shows the respective dress behaviour of men and women in Arlon by individual depiction of fully Roman, fully native or mixed Roman and native garments. The vast majority of men depicted in

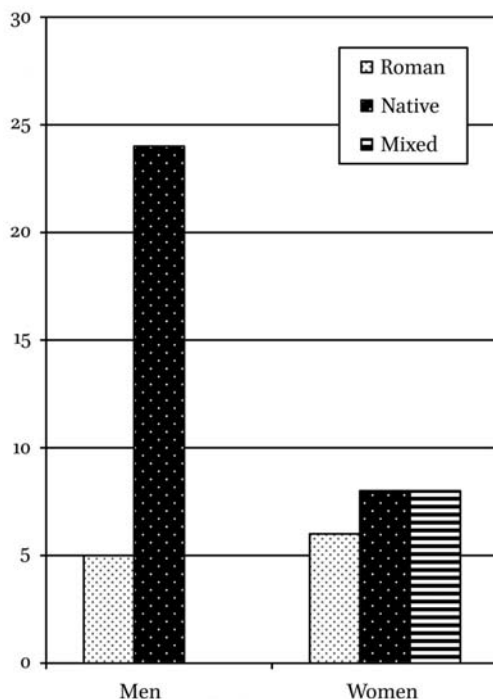


Fig. 3. Dress behaviour on the Arlon gravestones by individual depiction.

portraits wear native dress,⁸ but some do wear Roman dress.⁹ This suggests that for men, Roman dress, when worn at all, was perhaps confined to official or public occasions. Of the women, roughly a third wear purely native dress,¹⁰ another third mixed native and Roman elements,¹¹ and the final just under

⁸ Rothe (2009) no. T23 (Esp. 5, 4039), T24 (Esp. 5, 4097), T25 (Esp. 5, 4038/4056), T26 (*CIL* 13, 4025, Esp. 5, 4045), T28 (Freigang (1997) no. Trev 92), T29, T30 (*CIL* 13, 4027, Esp. 5, 4044), T31 (Freigang (1997) no. Trev 82), T32 (Esp. 5, 4041), T33 (Esp. 5, 4043), T34, T35 (Esp. 5, 4037), T36 (Esp. 5, 4040), T37 (Esp. 5, 4091), T38 (Esp. 5, 4092), T39 (Esp. 5, 4178), T40 (Esp. 5, 4088), T43 (Esp. 5, 4062), T45 (Esp. 5, 4094).

⁹ Rothe (2009) no. T20 (Esp. 5, 4020), T21 (Freigang 1997, Trev. 88), T41 (Esp. 5, 4042).

¹⁰ Rothe (2009) no. T24 (Esp. 5, 4097), T32 (Esp. 5, 4041), T33 (Esp. 5, 4043), T34, T35 (Esp. 5, 4037), T36 (Esp. 5, 4040), T39 (Esp. 5, 4178), T44 (Esp. 5, 4063).

¹¹ Rothe (2009) no. T22 (Esp. 5, 4110), T25 (Esp. 5, 4038/4056), T28 (Freigang [1997] no. Trev. 92), T30 (*CIL* 13, 4027, Esp. 5, 4044), T37 (Esp. 5, 4091), T38 (Esp. 5, 4092), T40 (Esp. 5, 4088), T45 (Esp. 5, 4094).

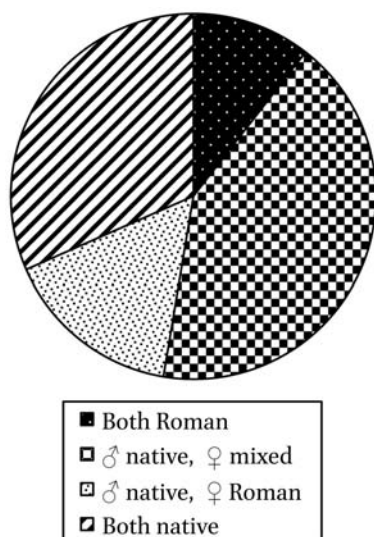


Fig. 4. Dress behaviour on the Arlon gravestones by combinations according to gender.

a third thoroughly Roman dress.¹² In other words, while native dress is well-represented, a significant number of women (nearly two thirds) chose to wear Roman dress or elements of it in their *grave portraits*. If we look at dress behaviour within the constellation of couples and families by funerary scene the picture becomes even clearer (Fig. 4): very few couples wear thoroughly Roman dress (only two, and these are the only very early monuments, dating to the mid 1st-century¹³), a good number wear thoroughly Gallic dress (six),¹⁴ but well over half (eleven) show men in native dress, with women in either Roman dress,¹⁵ or Gallic dress with Roman elements.¹⁶ In other words, apart

¹² Rothe (2009) no. T20 (Esp. V 4020), T21 (Freigang [1997] Trev. 88), T26 (CIL 13, 4025, Esp. 5, 4045), T31 (Freigang (1997) no. Trev. 82), T32 (Esp. 5, 4041), T42 (Esp. 5, 4059).

¹³ Rothe (2009) no. T20 (Esp. 5, 4020), T21 (Freigang [1997] Trev. 88).

¹⁴ Rothe (2009) no. T24 (Esp. 5, 4097), T33 (Esp. 5, 4043), T34, T35 (Esp. 5, 4037), T36 (Esp. 5, 4040), T39 (Esp. 5, 4178).

¹⁵ Rothe (2009) no. T26 (CIL 13, 4025, Esp. 5, 4045), T31 (Freigang [1997] no. Trev. 82), T32 (Esp. 5, 4041).

¹⁶ Rothe (2009) no. T25 (Esp. 5, 4038/4056), T28 (Freigang [1997] no. Trev. 92), T30 (CIL 13, 4027, Esp. 5, 4044), T37 (Esp. 5, 4091), T38 (Esp. 5, 4092), T40 (Esp. 5, 4088), T43 (Esp. 5, 4062), T45 (Esp. 5, 4094).



Fig. 5. Portrait from a large stele, Arlon, mid 2nd cent. AD. Photograph H. Schweisthal © Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Arlon.

from the two very early stones and one that cannot be dated, the only Roman dress we see depicted in Arlon is worn by women, and not by men.¹⁷

Two examples serve to illustrate the phenomenon more clearly. On a large, albeit fragmentary stele from Arlon dating to the mid 2nd century, the top half of a couple is depicted (Fig. 5). The man on the right wears the native sleeved Gallic tunic and hooded cape. The woman on the left, however, wears a completely Roman outfit: a Roman *tunica* girt below the bust and a *palla* draped over her head. She appears to be holding a wedding ring. A more complete scene of this type dating to half a century later (Fig. 6) shows the man in identical Gallic dress, but this time his wife wears a

¹⁷ The situation is similar in nearby Trier, where only five stones show men and women in differing dress, three with the man in Gallic dress, woman in Roman dress, and two with the man in Gallic dress and the woman in a mixture of Gallic and Roman dress (Rothe [2009] 69).



Fig. 6. Portrait from a grave pillar, Arlon, late 2nd/early 3rd cent. Photograph H. Maertens © Institut Archéologique du Luxembourg, Arlon.

mixture of Gallic and Roman elements: the sleeved Gallic tunic and bonnet covering the hair, but instead of the rectangular cloak, a *palla*, or perhaps the rectangular cloak draped in the typical asymmetrical style of the *palla* (the two garments are impossible to differentiate in such cases). Either way, the intended effect was basically Gallic, but consciously showing an awareness of Roman dress styles. The other stones in this category show various combinations along the scale demonstrated by these two images: women in thoroughly Roman dress, women in Roman dress with a Gallic element or elements, and women in Gallic dress with a Roman element or elements. This variety suggests that, rather than being schematic stock images, these portraits were created according to the individual wishes of those who commissioned them.

The question, thus, has to be: why, in this town, when men and women's dress differs, is it mainly the *women* who make use of elements drawn from a Roman cultural repertoire, while their husbands appear to be largely indifferent to these? And what makes these women different to their contemporaries who preferred thoroughly Gallic dress? The answer to this question would be more straightforward if the inscriptions had survived with the images to give us some clue as to who these people were. Unfortunately, most of the pieces are block fragments from larger pillar monuments, which means the inscription has not survived, or at least it has not been possible to reunite it with its portrait stone. We have inscriptions for only two of the stones, and these show women wearing Roman dress. In both cases the women have Roman names, but ones that were common in Gaul: Censorinia¹⁸ and Secundinia.¹⁹ Censorinia's husband Secundius Attianus would appear from his name to be a Roman citizen, but both he and his son wear Gallic tunics and capes instead of the toga to which they would have been entitled. There is no indication here that this woman is not from the local area. Rather, her name and that of her husband, as well as the men's dress, suggest a northern Gallic origin. Secundinia's husband Secundinius Seccalus has a Celtic *cognomen*, and their daughter the same name as a *gentilicium*: Seccalia Secundinia.²⁰ This name and similar versions of it are only known in Belgica and the Germanies.²¹ Neither of these stones give an indication of the occupation of the men depicted, but this is an area where a large number

¹⁸ Rothe (2009) no. T31 (Freigang [1997] no. Trev. 82).

¹⁹ Rothe (2009) no. T32 (Esp. 5, 4041).

²⁰ Freigang (1997) 397, *ILB* 101, Raepsaet-Charlier (2001), 377.

²¹ *OPEL* 4, 56 f.

of villas have been discovered,²² and another two of the stones from Arlon showing women in Roman dress depict attributes or scenes suggesting the family owned country estates.²³ The man in Fig. 6 is clearly holding a bill-hook, which suggests he owned and/or tended vineyards. On the sides of this stone there are various scenes showing men working in the fields, and transporting and selling produce.²⁴ But there are also stones showing rural scenes that have portraits depicting the women in thoroughly native dress,²⁵ so the dress choice does not divide clearly by the family's source of income. Nor does it appear to correspond to wealth: the occurrence of Roman and native dress in Arlon is fairly evenly distributed across the larger and smaller-sized stones, with no tendency in either direction. It would appear that, in Arlon, the choice to wear Roman dress was made largely on an individual or a family level. One could perhaps even go so far as to call it fashion. This is a word that is often misused, but actually denotes a specific and very interesting phenomenon that occurs periodically in human societies. In sociological literature, it is defined as having six key features:

1. Change that is deliberate and conscious, not gradual and imperceptible.
2. Change for change's sake, not based on practical or utilitarian considerations.
3. Expression of the possession of a certain special knowledge of what is fashionable and up to date.
4. The ability of its wearers to access this kind of knowledge.
5. A degree of aspiration and social mobility in the society that displays it (essential for the showing off of cultural knowledge to have any meaning or function).
6. An element of personal selection in the choices made, or the ability to select and reject certain elements.²⁶

All of these elements are conceivable in the case of Roman dress as worn by women in Arlon. Given the preponderance of native dress in the town,

²² E.g. Mageroy—Habay-la-Vielle (Halbardier [1989/92], [1992/93]), Goeblange-Nospelt (Metzler and Gaeng [2009]), Gaschtbiere bei Mamer (Krier [1980]).

²³ Rothe (2009) no. T30 (*CIL* 13, 4027, Esp. 5, 4044), T38 (Esp. 5, 4092).

²⁴ Rothe (2009) no. T30 (*CIL* 13, 4027, Esp. 5, 4044).

²⁵ E.g. Rothe (2009) no. T35 (Esp. 5, 4037).

²⁶ This is a synthesis from established literature on the subject, in particular König (1973), Davis (1992), Entwistle (2000).

we can assume that the wearers of Roman dress donned these garments deliberately. We can also assume they were chosen for their symbolism, not because they were, say, warmer than local clothes. In terms of acquiring cultural knowledge, in Arlon we can perhaps think of statues in the centres of towns, or other visual art, as well as women from further south who may have travelled north in their Roman clothes. The 2nd and early 3rd centuries were a time of quite marked social mobility in northern Gaul, and especially in the Treveran area. It is the period in which Treveran merchants are found in epigraphy throughout the western empire and local families were investing new-found wealth in villa estates.²⁷ The many and varied grave monuments themselves are evidence of the desire of local people to show their status to others around them. Finally, as outlined in the previous paragraph, the choice by women to wear Roman dress, or elements of it, appears largely to have been a matter of individual choice at Arlon, or at the very least to have varied from one family to another.

The scenario described above for dress in Arlon is perhaps not entirely surprising. A small urban settlement in northern Gaul with mainly local people might be expected to take on some aspects of Roman culture and not others, and women might be expected to be the ones to want to show a certain adherence to wider fashions. But in order to show how varied the situation in different cities could be, let us now turn to *Flavia Solva*.

Flavia Solva

Flavia Solva, near modern-day Leibnitz in south-eastern Austria, was in the Roman period the capital of an eastern Norican district, founded in the 1st century AD as a follow-on settlement to the La Tène-period *oppidum* on the Frauenberg 3 km to the west. The *oppidum* on the Frauenberg continued to be used as a cult place, and two new temples were built during the time of *Flavia Solva* that show the inhabitants used this area as a religious place, probably because of its connection to pre-Roman traditions and beliefs. As a town it can be said to have had more of the trappings of a conventional Roman urban settlement than Arlon. It was set out according to the typical Roman plan, with a grid street pattern, an amphitheatre, a forum, Capitoline temple and some opulent houses. It was a fully-fledged *municipium* from

²⁷ See, e.g. Wightman (1970) 50f., Krier (1981), Gabelmann (1987), Drinkwater (1978), (1983), (2001), Wierschowski (1995).

the Flavian period onwards, and was governed by *decuriones*.²⁸ Some Solvensians appear to have been ambitious; they are found in high positions in the army further north on the Danube frontier²⁹ and make up three quarters of the known Norican *equites* from the 2nd century.³⁰ But otherwise *Flavia Solva* was not a major political or economic centre, and lay on a minor road that ran north from *Poetovio* along the Mur River, a long way from the large military centres along the Danube or the trade centres of inner Noricum.³¹ Its closest neighbouring cities were *Poetovio* and *Savaria*, but they belonged to the province of Pannonia, and transport to the closest Norican city, *Virunum*, was difficult due to the high mountains that lay in between. Although excavations have revealed some imported goods, a small number of potteries and glass workshops and evidence of trade in the local iron ore, *Flavia Solva* was never an important commercial town. As such, despite the evidence for emigration, there is unlikely to have been large-scale immigration, apart from some individual merchants involved in the iron trade, and, like Arlon, *Flavia Solva* can be seen as a regional centre with a predominantly local, native population.

Men's dress in this region is more complicated than in northern Gaul: apart from the *tunica* and toga, and the Roman military officers' *tunica* and *paludamentum* (usually worn in a bunch at the shoulder), the dress style worn by local men, a sleeved tunic with a rectangular cloak held at the shoulder using a brooch, appears to have had a counterpart in the Roman military *sagum*, making them impossible to distinguish from one another on the stones.³² The *sagum* itself was originally a Gallic garment, and gradually became part of Roman dress through military contact with the peoples of northern Italy and western Europe in general. As such, the two cloaks may have been indistinguishable even in the Roman period, although the fact that the original paintwork does not survive on our funerary monuments leaves open the question as to whether there may have been differences

²⁸ For a summary of the development and topography of *Flavia Solva* see Hudeczek (1977) 426–427.

²⁹ See Sedlmayer (2010).

³⁰ Of seven known Norican pre-Marcommanic-War *equites*, five were from *Solva*: Alföldy (1974) 124. Two Solvensians even became provincial governors elsewhere in the empire (*CIL* 3, 5328, *AE* 1942/3, 69). Solvensians are, however, almost entirely absent from administrative positions in Noricum (exception: *CIL* 3, 5435: *C. Sempronius Secundinus, librarius* in the service of the provincial governor in the late 2nd/early 3rd cent. AD).

³¹ *Flavia Solva* is never mentioned in written sources other than in Plin., *HN* 3.24.146. It is not included in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* or the itineraries.

³² See Rothe (forthcoming a): *Tunica manicata*; rectangular cloak and *sagum*.

in fabric colours or patterns.³³ Either way, the fact that it is impossible to distinguish the two cloaks in relief art means it is not possible to identify a definite native element in the male dress, and as such, for the purposes of this study, such cloaks have been classed as 'Roman'. Certainly in *Flavia Solva* none of the men wear the hooded cape common to the Celtic-speaking areas that we already saw in northern Gaul, and which we also see in the Danube provinces on some gravestones.³⁴

Moreover, whether the generic men's cloak with brooch should be considered native or Roman, the *women's* dress was manifestly native and completely different in character to that of the men, being highly elaborate and heterogeneous, with bulky metal jewellery and large hats and overtunics that changed significantly in style from one region to the next.³⁵ In the area around *Flavia Solva*, the native women's dress consisted of a long-sleeved blouse, ankle-length skirt, tube-shaped, girt overtunic held at the shoulders with large brooches, rectangular cloak and hat that were common to all female iron-age dress styles in northern and western Europe; the local variant was the style of bonnet, a subtype of a larger family of hats usually termed 'Norican bonnets', which from their representation on the stones would appear to have been a piece of cloth wrapped around the head and folded at the edges in various ways to produce a kind of rim. The name for these bonnets derives from the fact that they are found on stones throughout the province of Noricum and in the neighbouring section of Pannonia that originally belonged to the late iron-age *Regnum Noricum*,³⁶ the federation of eastern Alpine tribes centred on the Magdalensberg in Carinthia that existed from the early 2nd century BC onward and had strong trade relations with Rome long before peaceful annexation under Augustus. In the area in and around *Flavia Solva*, which had constituted one of the easternmost regions of the *Regnum Noricum*, the bonnet was worn in such a way that the rim was curled up at the sides above the ears, in some cases so far as to be tucked up into the bandpiece around the head (Fig. 7).³⁷ Apart from a few isolated instances of the bonnet further west that we can perhaps put down to migration, its main distribution area corresponds largely to the

³³ See Rothe (forthcoming a): rectangular cloak and *sagum*.

³⁴ E.g. LUPA no. 367, 428, 674, 1127, 1884, 1887, 2723.

³⁵ See older literature Fitz (1957), Garbsch (1965) but also Rothe (forthcoming a) for a revised typology of the garments in the middle Danube region.

³⁶ In Plin., *HN* 3.146 he says that *Savaria* and *Scarbantia* also belonged to the *Regnum Noricum*. See also Fitz (1993) 16 ff.

³⁷ In Rothe (forthcoming a) this is Norican bonnet type H 1.2.

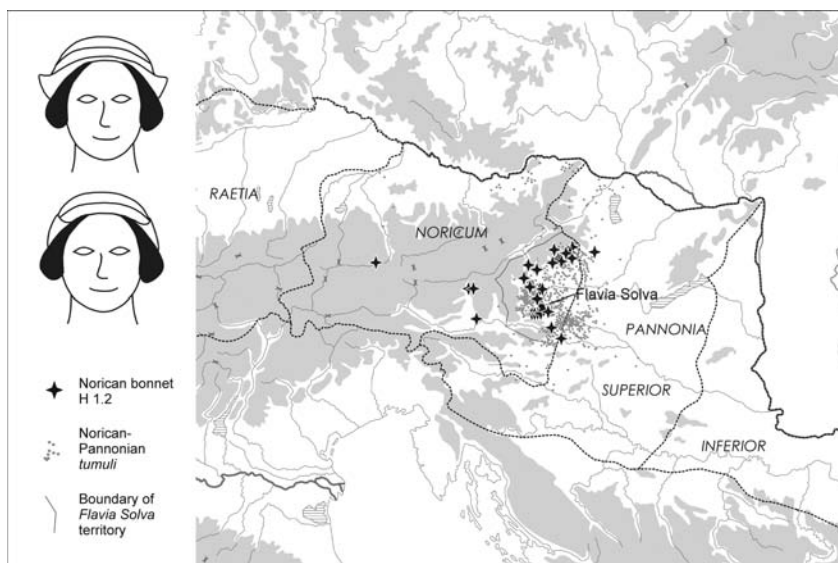


Fig. 7. Norican bonnet type H 1.2 (variants 1 and 2) with a map showing their distribution, together with that of the 'Norican-Pannonian *tumuli*' (after Hudeczek 1977, 437 fig. 4) and the administrative boundary of *Flavia Solva*.

administrative territory of *Flavia Solva*, extending slightly into Pannonia to the east. Interestingly, this overlaps well with the distribution of a distinctive local burial custom, the so-called 'Norican-Pannonian *tumuli*',³⁸ the origins of which have been a matter of fierce debate amongst scholars for many decades.³⁹ While the *tumuli* seem only to emerge in the Roman period, many scholars argue they must have had their roots in pre-Roman traditions. The fact that their distribution, like that of the Norican bonnet H 1.2, corresponds largely to Solvensian territory in the Roman period, but also extends to the east ignoring Roman provincial boundaries, strongly suggests that both the bonnets and the *tumuli* were traits of a pre-Roman cultural entity in this area, the territory of which formed the basis for the later Roman administrative district of *Flavia Solva*.⁴⁰

³⁸ Hudeczek's distribution map from 1977 (437 fig. 4) is still the most complete.

³⁹ E.g. Urban (1984), Hudeczek (1997), Nagy (2002), Palágyi/Nagy (2002). See Hinker (2005) for an excellent summary of the arguments.

⁴⁰ The name of the tribe in this region is not clear. Alföldy (1974) 68 made a case for Uperaci based merely on a place name ('Upellae') and a personal name ('Uperacus': *CIL* 3, 5390).

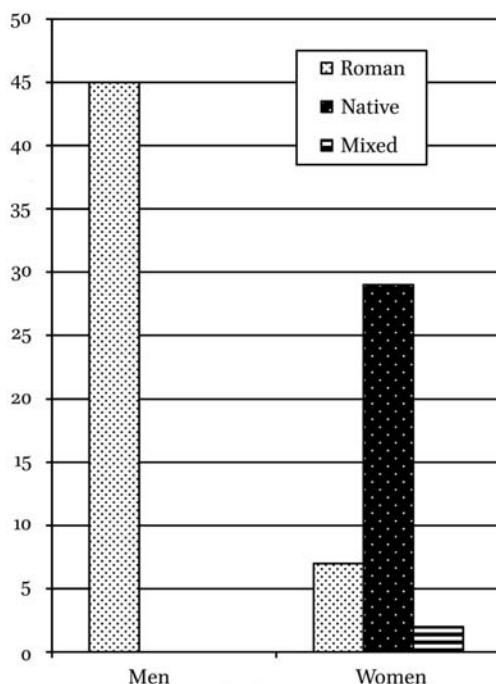


Fig. 8. Dress behaviour on the *Flavia Solva* grave-stones by individual depiction.

In *Flavia Solva*, most of the monuments that have survived were used to build a keep at nearby Schloss Seggau in the 12th century, and were discovered when this, too, was dismantled in 1816–1831 and the stones were immured into a special *lapidarium* in the castle by the then Prince-Bishop Roman Sebastian Zängerle. There are 46 portrait images, 27 of which show men and women together. The stones that can be dated range from the late 1st to the early 3rd century AD, and, just as in Arlon, the vast majority belong to the Antonine and Severan periods. In terms of dress behaviour, however, we have almost the reverse of the situation in Arlon: in *Flavia Solva*, all the men wear Roman or generic dress as defined above (Fig. 8), in most cases the *tunica* and toga,⁴¹ but also in some cases the sleeved

⁴¹ LUPA 1202 (2 men), 1204, 1206, 1212, 1220, 1239, 1268, 1271, 1273 (2 men), 1317, 1319, 1320, 1328, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1337, 1340, 1341 (2 men), 1350 (2 men), 1446, 8726.

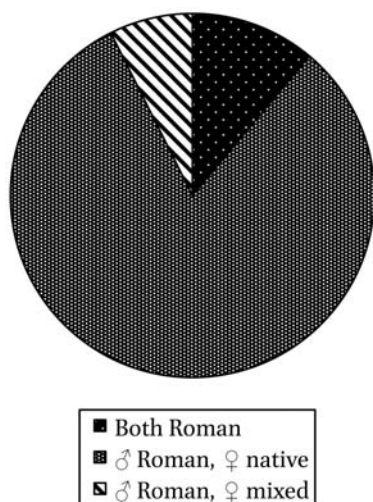


Fig. 9. Dress behaviour on the *Flavia Solva* gravestones by combinations according to gender.

tunic and *sagum*/rectangular cloak⁴² or the *tunica* and *paludamentum*.⁴³ The vast majority of *women*, on the other hand, wear local native dress—29 in total—,⁴⁴ while two wear mixed native and Roman ensembles,⁴⁵ and only seven wear thoroughly Roman outfits.⁴⁶ If we look only at the depictions of couples and families (Fig. 9), the overwhelming trend is men in Roman dress with female family members in native dress (22 instances: more than 75 % of the total).⁴⁷ In only two instances is the constellation men in Roman dress, women in mixed dress,⁴⁸ and in only three cases is the dress of the entire family or couple entirely Roman.⁴⁹

⁴² LUPA 1213, 1222 (2 men), 1223 (2 men), 1266 (2 men), 1329 (2 men), 1338, 5744, 6649, 6650, 8510, 8511.

⁴³ LUPA 1207, 1303 (2 men).

⁴⁴ LUPA 1202, 1204, 1206, 1213, 1219, 1222, 1239, 1260, 1267, 1268, 1271, 1273, 1274, 1291 (2 women), 1318, 1319, 1328, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1340 (2 women), 1341, 1446, 8510, 8511, 8715.

⁴⁵ LUPA 1222, 1350.

⁴⁶ LUPA 1212, 1223, 1328, 1336, 5744, 5745, 19962.

⁴⁷ LUPA 1202, 1204, 1206, 1213, 1239, 1260, 1267, 1268, 1271, 1273, 1291, 1319, 1328, 1332, 1333, 1334, 1335, 1340, 1341, 1446, 8510, 8511.

⁴⁸ LUPA 1222, 1350.

⁴⁹ LUPA 1212, 1223, 5744.



Fig. 10. Medallion portrait of a couple, *Flavia Solva*, late 2nd cent. AD. Photograph © Universalmuseum Joanneum, Graz.

Examples of this include a particularly fine medallion portrait in the Universalmuseum Joanneum in Graz (Fig. 10). It shows a woman dressed in the complete native ensemble of the area: visible are the blouse at the collar, and over this the loose overtunic held at the shoulders using large brooches and a decorative third brooch at the chest, a torques with *lunula* pendant, the local style of cloak around the shoulders and the Norican bonnet of the *Flavia Solva* region: H 1.2 with the distinctive curled-up sides. Her husband, however, wears the Roman *tunica* and the early form of the *toga contabulata*, which came into fashion in the late Antonine and early Severan periods.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ See Goette (1990) 54 ff.

The inscription for this and most of the other Solvensian stones has not survived, and without them, or at least clear pictorial attributes such as occupational scenes or implements in the hand, it is impossible to know exactly who these people were. Some of the men on the monuments may indeed have been immigrants to the area. In fact, the gravestone for Cantius in Graz⁵¹ in the northern part of our area almost certainly commemorates a freedman of the merchant family of the Cantii in Aquileia. He is depicted in a toga, while his wife Bonia and daughter Boniata (both of which are either Celtic⁵² or Illyrian⁵³ names) wear local Norican dress. However, given the nature of *Flavia Solva* and its district, it is unlikely that *all* the men depicted were merchants from Italy (the few inscriptions that survive give us no indication either way), and so it is interesting that local men do not seem to have distinguished themselves from these outsiders in their dress.

Even without more knowledge of the individuals portrayed, the pattern reflected in Fig. 9 tells us a great deal about gender roles in native Danubian society. Like in Arlon, the men's dress is more formulaic and less varied, but this time it is essentially Roman or at least undistinguishable in nature. Again it is the women's dress that displays nuances and variations, but this time these move within the framework of native, and not Roman, dress. In *Flavia Solva*, and the middle Danube region in general,⁵⁴ it was the women who continued native dress styles, and this based not a pan-regional identity like in Gaul, but very specific local identities of the kind that disappeared in Gaul toward the end of the 1st century AD.

The scenario described above can be seen as part of a wider phenomenon often observed throughout human history for which anthropologists have coined the term "guardians of ethnicity". Studies of both present and past societies abound in examples of men functioning in the public sphere and taking on the dress of conquering or prevailing cultures in order to function within the imposed system, while women, mainly functioning in the private sphere, are the ones who show ethnic identity in their dress and are often charged with the role of continuing local customs in general. In anthropological literature, two factors are most commonly cited when this phenomenon occurs. First, women's dress is often closely linked to ideals of beauty and female decorum, and hence a change in dress is seen to signal abandonment of that society's notions of how a woman should look or

⁵¹ LUPA 1165 (*CIL* 3, 5437, 5438).

⁵² Alföldy (1974) 233.

⁵³ Lochner von Hüttenbach (1989).

⁵⁴ See Rothe (forthcoming a).

behave. Second, families often act as units, so that rather than differing dress styles between men and women reflecting an antagonism between the attitudes of the two genders, it in actual fact displays various aspects of what an entire family wants to say about itself.⁵⁵ Without the appropriate textual evidence, we are unlikely ever to know whether the dress behaviour of Solvensian women was linked to their culture's ideas of beauty and decency,⁵⁶ but in the context of these family portraits and their insistence on conspicuous local dress customs for the women of the family, it is difficult to imagine that the second factor did not play a role. Torstein Veblen once spoke of women in European aristocratic families as 'display cases' for their husband's wealth.⁵⁷ We might see women in the middle Danube provinces as 'display cases' for their family's ethnic identity, as such playing a key role in the wider cultural system of their families and their community.

On the other hand, we should take care not to dismiss these women as rigid and parochial. In scholarly literature provincial women who wore local dress are often seen as conservative, and their husbands as progressive when they take on Roman dress.⁵⁸ But this view rules out the possibility postulated above that these women were functioning not as isolated individuals, but as members of a wider societal network which desired to retain elements of its native culture in this way. It also assumes a folkloristic perspective of local dress styles as fixed and static, a view that is invalidated by even a brief glance at the brooches used in the region to hold the dress together. Earlier scholars chose select brooch types (the so-called 'wing' and '*Doppelknopf*' brooches found predominantly in the Alpine area) to create the impression of a Norican-Pannonian 'national costume'.⁵⁹ The different subtypes of these were forced into an ethnic interpretation based on their distribution.⁶⁰ But

⁵⁵ See, e.g., case studies in Nadig (1986), Tarlo (1996), Schoss (1996), James (1996), Gelman Taylor (1997).

⁵⁶ In this context it is interesting to note that veiling the head with the cloak was widespread in neighbouring Pannonia. Likewise, on later stones from Noricum and Pannonia, although the women started to wear Roman dress more frequently, they often nonetheless retained the bonnet with their otherwise Roman outfits (e.g. LUPA 685 from *Savaria*, or LUPA 495 and 4613, both Severan and from *Lauriacum* showing women with identical clothes, jewellery, hairstyles and poses, but the woman in 495 wears a bonnet at the back of her head). Both of these patterns suggest that the covering of the head may have been an important symbolic component of native women's dress.

⁵⁷ T. Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, 1899. In this bibliography: reprint Veblen (1953) 87 ff.

⁵⁸ E.g. Jantsch (1934), Noll (1963) 160, Wild (1985) 406, Facsády (2007), Garbsch (1965), but also arguments against this on Garbsch (1965) 3.

⁵⁹ E.g. Garbsch (1965) 1.

⁶⁰ See esp. Garbsch (1965), (1985) and subsequent work based on this.

the fact is that a wide array of brooch types were worn by women in the Roman period in this region, none of which show the clear local groupings presented by garments like the hats and overtunics.⁶¹ The only exception is a brooch type called variously *Maschenfibel*, plate brooch or bow brooch by scholars of different traditions, brooches with large, flat plates that are seen in funerary images⁶² and found in graves.⁶³ These group very clearly in the Danube bend area, but still they cannot be interpreted as long-standing ethnic components for the simple fact that they were only worn for a short space of time in the first half of the 2nd century AD.⁶⁴ All the other types group roughly in larger regional agglomerations and extend along roads and waterways, much as one would expect if they were produced in a certain urban centre and sold in markets or by peddlers along the region's main trade routes.⁶⁵

What we, in fact, have in these brooches are all the prerequisite elements of fashion: *deliberate, perceptible change* in brooch styles over time—each subtype was only ever worn for a generation, and as such they were not suitable media for expressing long-standing local identities; *change for change's sake*—they all performed the same function, even if they were decorated differently; *a communication of knowledge* of the latest brooch styles and *access to that knowledge* in the form of local workshops devising new styles—semi-finished brooches and part of a mould for a strongly profiled brooch found in excavations at *Flavia Solva* show that there was at least one brooch manufactory in the city;⁶⁶ *social mobility* in the population of *Flavia Solva*, evidenced in the epigraphy showing Solvensians doing well in important imperial posts; and an element of *individual choice*—women in the same period, the same cultural group, and sometimes even same family, often wore different types of brooches.

One example of the latter is a family portrait from Neumarkt im Tauchental in which a father, mother and daughter are depicted half-figure (Fig. 11). The man (not shown in Fig. 11) wears a *tunica* and toga; his wife and daughter, on the other hand, wear identical local native dress as described earlier

⁶¹ See, e.g., distribution maps 6–13 in Garbsch (1965) or more recent overviews in Gugl (1995), Sedlmayer (1995), Demetz (1999), Sedlmayer (2010).

⁶² E.g. LUPA 734, 3586.

⁶³ E.g. Felsőcikola grave 1 (Bónis [1977] fig. 1) and Máty (Fitz-Petres [1965] figs 26 and 33).

⁶⁴ See Fitz (1957) and esp. Csontos (1997–1998), (2003).

⁶⁵ For a more comprehensive discussion of this, see Rothe (forthcoming a): “Excursus: native Danubian women's dress” and (forthcoming b).

⁶⁶ See Hudeczek (2008) 282 Abb. 22.

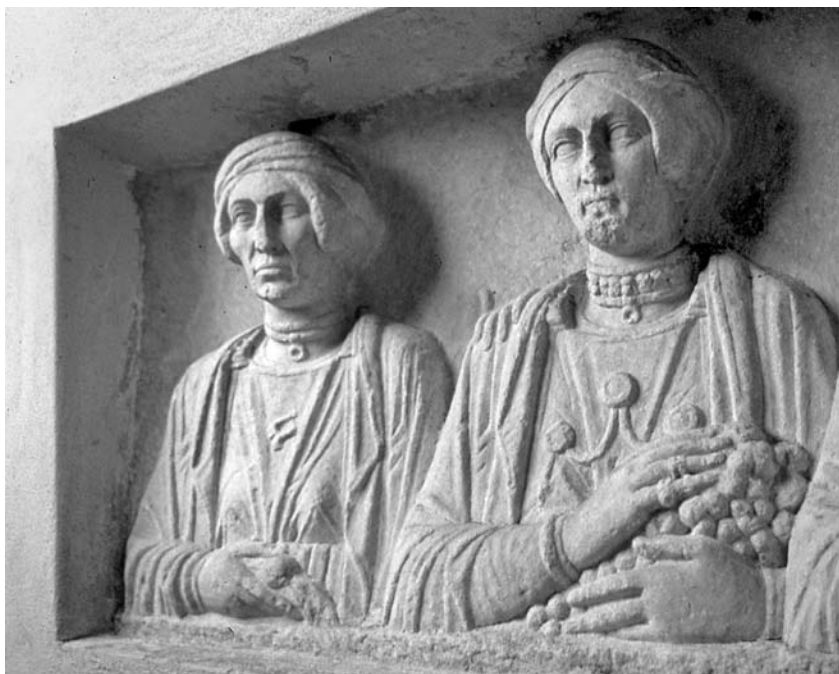


Fig. 11. Detail of a niche portrait in the church in Neumarkt im Tauchental, late 2nd cent. AD. Photograph © ubi-erat-lupa.org.

in this section: the blouse and the overtunic fastened at the shoulders using brooches, the cloak around the shoulders, the Norican bonnet type H 1.2 with the sides tucked up. When we look at the jewellery, however, there are marked differences: the mother (on the left) wears a flat, wide type of *Doppelknopf* brooch at her shoulders, two knee brooches at her chest and two collar torques, one with a *lunula* pendant. Her daughter (holding grapes in her hands), on the other hand, wears a narrower, higher type of *Doppelknopf* brooch at the shoulders, disc brooches joined by a chain at the chest, and a complex series of collar torques with a *lunula* pendant but also two rows of what appear to be beads or studding.

The diverse range of elaborate jewellery items worn in *Flavia Solva* and the middle Danube region show how wrong it is to deny these women, and native provincial cultures in general, the capacity for dynamism, for individuality and for fashion. These women were perhaps just as fashion-conscious as the ladies in northern Gaul in their Roman dress, but it was fashion on their own terms.

Conclusion

This paper has presented the different, almost contradictory, patterns in dress behaviour between men and women in two small urban centres of Rome's northern provinces. It was shown how in *Flavia Solva*, women appear to have acted as 'guardians of ethnicity', continuing local, native dress styles and as such preserving a visual manifestation of local group identities, while their husbands, fathers and brothers took on Roman dress, or a dress style so generic as to be lacking in any symbolism of this kind. So why do we not find this in Arlon, where it was especially the *women* who took on Roman dress, or elements of it, while the men wore predominantly native dress? After all, these were two settlements with comparable levels of wealth and social mobility, similar access to information on wider imperial fashions and both were places where most of the inhabitants are likely to have been of local origin. It would appear that the circumstances on the ground in specific locations could influence dramatically the ways and means by which the inhabitants expressed themselves, and the cultural reference points they chose for their dress. Taking all the evidence together one could hypothesise that in Arlon, where in everyday life scenes people are depicted in native garments, and where the whole milieu was dominated by native culture, there may have been less "identity stress".⁶⁷ Women could take on Roman dress styles because their native culture was not perceived to be under threat, while in *Flavia Solva*, a city dominated to a larger degree by Roman culture and customs and located in a region much closer to Italy, there may have been more of a threat – real or perceived – to local culture, and as such, there may have been a more concerted effort to preserve local identity. There also seems to have been a significantly stronger sense of local identity in the middle Danube region in general, certainly in terms of dress,⁶⁸ and in the *Flavia Solva* region in particular (if for example the distribution of the distinctive *tumuli* are anything to go by). These kinds of conspicuous localised customs are much rarer in northern Gaul in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD, and suggest a fundamental difference in the prevailing cultural reference points for the native inhabitants of these two regions.

The two cases described have, however, one thing in common: both reveal a central role for gender in patterns of dress behaviour. In both cases, while men tended to conform to a standard formula of dress behaviour, either local or Roman, the more nuanced and complicated women's styles show

⁶⁷ For this concept in the Roman provinces see, e.g., Oltean (2007).

⁶⁸ See Rothe (forthcoming a).

that they played a more central role in the negotiation of cultural identities. Together, the gendered assignation of dress choices in both Arlon and *Flavia Solva* would appear to have ensured that for each place the right balance was struck between local and Roman identity.

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PART IV

ECONOMICS

GENDERING MEDICAL PROVISION IN THE CITIES OF THE ROMAN WEST*

Rebecca Flemming

The Roman Empire created and maintained a unitary, but not homogeneous, medical culture across its territory; or, to be more precise, a unitary system of medical cultures.¹ Amongst the characteristics of Roman imperial cities—along with the public buildings and elements of shared architectural repertoire, the common patterns of city governance and social hierarchy, and of cultural and religious activity—was a specific type of medical presence. Certain kinds of medical transaction and encounter were an integral part of the Empire's urban fabric.

A city, in the Roman Empire, would contain a suitable number of physicians—*medici* or *iatroi* (and various cognates)—operating in what might, loosely, be called the learned medical tradition.² These doctors, broadly speaking, counted Hippocrates as the founding father of their medicine, a medicine that involved texts, even if they never even began to contemplate writing one. They considered health and disease to be, essentially, a matter of balance and imbalance of the lived, environmentally situated, body, with cure the reverse movement between the two, and their therapeutic armoury went from regimen to pharmacology to surgery in that order. This presence, itself quite diverse in constitution, would not exhaust the curative possibilities available in any city.³ These physicians co-existed with less literate and professional healing traditions, with cultures of divine healing, and so forth; but the more learned tradition was the most urban in its construction and configuration (and vice versa). Part of the imperial ordering of medicine was the sense in which divisions between city and countryside

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¹ See Flemming (forthcoming) for further discussion of medicine and empire in the Roman world.

² On the basic conceptual formation of Roman medicine, see e.g. Flemming (2000) 80–124.

³ See e.g. Nutton (1992) esp. 52–57, and (2004) 248–271, for the fundamental diversity of Roman medical practitioners.

were universalised, the distribution of roughly the same kinds of practitioners, ideas, and practices, followed the same contours throughout the Empire.

The established place of certain types of medical practitioner in the urban landscape of the Roman Empire is confirmed by a letter of Antoninus Pius.⁴ This sets out the number of physicians and teachers who could be granted exemption from some key public duties by cities, according to size. Thus, small cities could now grant immunities to five physicians, larger cities seven, and the largest ten, which is the absolute maximum. Following Hellenistic tradition, Roman cities considered appropriate medical (and educational) provision integral to their civic identity, functioning, and pride.⁵ They attracted, and retained, relevant personnel by offering a number of privileges, perhaps excessively, at least in Pius' view; so he issued restrictive regulations.⁶ This regulation was, moreover, based on an imperial hierarchy of cities, and articulates in this, and other ways, the patterns of Empire particularly clearly.⁷ Thus, it was the city's *ordo*, the local elite, who decided which physicians to include in this '*numerus*' of the privileged, not the governor, because it was their health and that of their families which was at stake.⁸

Provincial governors did, on the other hand, decide legal issues concerning payments to physicians (*medici*), as well as those made to teachers of the liberal arts.⁹ They should also, adds the jurist Ulpian, hear cases involving midwives (*obstetrices*), since they 'seem to practise a form of the medical art (*medicina*)'.¹⁰ And, indeed, those who specialise in healing only a certain part of the body—ears or fistulas, for example, or even teeth—count as doctors (*medici*), but those who use charms and incantations are excluded from this group, are not involved in '*medicina*', regardless of efficacy.¹¹ Midwives here rub shoulders with precisely the sorts of professionals cities desire, even

⁴ Just. *Dig.* 27.1.6.2.

⁵ See Massar (2005), and Nutton (1977/1988), for this Hellenistic practice, and its Roman development.

⁶ Hadrian had apparently confirmed the legitimacy of such grants of privileges, without limits: Just. *Dig.* 27.1.6.8.

⁷ The jurist Modestinus, from whose work '*On Excuses*' this all comes, provides a more explicit imperial gloss on the letter: 'Probably the largest class includes provincial capitals (*metropoleis*), the second cities with law courts, and the third the rest.'

⁸ Just. *Dig.* 50.9.1, emphasising the role and place of the city, of local elites, in the governance of empire.

⁹ Just. *Dig.* 50.13.pr.-1.

¹⁰ Just. *Dig.* 50.13.2: *utique medicinam exhibere videtur*.

¹¹ Just. *Dig.* 50.13.3.

require, suggesting an urban setting for their activities too. Those who are paid to deliver children, and perhaps to attend on female and infant health more broadly, take care of wider reproductive matters—which is what their kind of *medicina* comprises—did so in city locations. The civil law supports this placement and valuation across the Empire. The general practitioners of the medical art—the physicians—stand at the centre, and around them are arranged those who offer a form, or part, of that art, and beyond them a different kind of healer entirely.¹²

The sense of a joined up imperial medical culture—of personnel, knowledge, understandings, and practices—is broadly supported by both the textual and material evidence. Much medical writing from Rome's Empire, or at least from around its first three centuries, which is the period under scrutiny here, is delocalised in tone, and globalised in approach. It may deal with medicine as a whole, or in parts, and it may even engage with items on the borders of *medicina*, such as amulets.¹³ From internal evidence alone, it is often hard to discern the place of composition, and even the author's origin, since these texts share certain conceptual frameworks, and rhetorical forms.¹⁴ Indeed, broadly speaking, they share the geography of empire too. Thus, Greek treatises tend to have an eastern emphasis in terms of geographical references, but will usually mention Italian wines, and even locations, as well as medicinal items from, for instance, Spain and Gaul.¹⁵ All draw, in various ways, on the rich resources of empire. All concur, roughly, in their construction of the medical art.

Similarly, the eight hundred or so inscriptions referring to physicians—female as well as male—and forty odd inscriptions referring to midwives (all female)—recorded in Roman territory so far, also clearly participate in broader imperial arrangements of both epigraphy and medicine.¹⁶ Their

¹² The border was, of course, messier and more permeable than Ulpian suggests.

¹³ The genres of medical writing change in around the fourth century AD, as, amongst other things, the empire is decentralised, so this essay will focus on the earlier period. Some later texts are also more open to charms and amulets than their predecessors.

¹⁴ Thus, for example, where Rufus of Ephesus or Aretaeus the Cappadocian wrote, whether either reached Rome (often the assumed literary location, *faut de mieux*), is unclear, see e.g. Nutton (2004) 208–211 and 205–206 respectively. And Scribonius Largus' origins and status are contested, with the traditional assumption that he was a Greek freedman increasingly out of favour, see e.g. Langslow (2000) 51–53 and Nutton (2004) 178.

¹⁵ See e.g. Diosc. *MM* 5.6–7 and 11 on Italian wines, and 1.71 on resins from Gaul and a Spanish Island (as well as Etruria, Arabia, Judaea, Cyprus and Libya).

¹⁶ The two main collections are Gummerus (1932), which contains 400 inscriptions about doctors from the western half of the empire, all of imperial date, and regardless of language,

shared formulae and motifs, concerns and constructions, are all on display, as well as more local and regional variations, in a pretty predictable distribution pattern across the Empire. There are rather fewer finds of surgical instruments, and other medical artefacts and items, from the Roman Empire; at least those with something approaching a proper archaeological provenance.¹⁷ Still, though the numbers of discoveries probably do not yet greatly exceed one hundred, and their dispersal is more uneven than that of medical inscriptions, some of the same features are demonstrated right across the whole body of evidence, which recognisably belongs together.¹⁸ There is a common core of basic types of instrument and the composition of sets, which may be added to, in terms of specialist practice, and/or stylistically inflected, regionally, or, presumably, more personally.¹⁹ These specialist extensions include tools specifically designed for intervention in women's bodies: vaginal specula, embryo-hooks, and female catheters.

This essay explores, in more detail, the medical provision by and for women in the cities of the Roman west, a provision which was a conscious part of civic life in the Empire. It starts, however, from this shared, imperial, baseline, from the fact that these circumstances are not going to be radically different from those in eastern cities. On the other hand, it would be foolish to ignore some of the more obvious distinctions between the eastern and western parts of the Empire as they pertain to urbanisation, civic life, economic and cultural development, in general, and the social status of physicians in particular. Vivian Nutton has argued that there is 'a substantial dichotomy' between the social position of doctors in the two halves of the Empire, at least in the early imperial period.²⁰ In comparison to the more established, valued, and rewarded, situation in the East, immigrants

and Samama (2003), which contains 403 Greek inscriptions about doctors from the imperial period (out of a larger total). There is thus some overlap between the two, but the Latin discoveries since 1932 return the total to around 800 for the whole empire. Greek and Latin inscriptions of midwives—*maiai* and *obstetrices*—from the Roman Empire have been collected by Laes (2011) and (2010) respectively.

¹⁷ Künzl (1983) provides a magisterial study of the sepulchral material, and wider (but less exhaustive) surveys are offered by Jackson (1990) and (1995). New discoveries also continue to be made, most spectacularly, the 150 or so instruments in the 'House of the Surgeon' in Rimini (see Jackson, 2009).

¹⁸ The sepulchral evidence, as Künzl (1983) 2–4 points out, is heavily north-western, but things balance out more once the rest of the material is taken into account (Jackson [1995] 193 and table 1).

¹⁹ Thus, e.g. the all-iron variants on Roman style surgical instruments found in the Stanway Burial in Britain see Jackson (2007).

²⁰ Nutton (1992) 41, and (2004) 248–271.

and slaves predominate in the West, and find it hard to gain respect, wealth, or standing. While there are several reasons to call the starkness of the contrast into question—on both sides—it must be accepted that, outside of old Greek cities such as Marseille, learned medicine starts from a weaker position in the West.²¹

Still, the claim made at the outset was for a unitary, but not homogeneous, imperial medical culture. Its intersections with gender might be one point of regional, if not local, variation. In any case, relations between women and medicine in the cities of the West seem worth exploring further, as an integral aspect of Roman civic life.

Women and Medicine in the West: The View from the Texts

Starting with the surviving medical literature from the first three centuries or so of the Roman Empire, it must be acknowledged that its largely globalised nature impedes any attempt to track down local details. These medical treatises do, however, usually engage with previous traditions, existing knowledge and approaches, and variously cite, refute or support, a range of past and present authors and authorities. Such references may include an ethnic (though this is less common than a more medical) designation, specialism or school allegiance, so it is occasionally possible to identify imperial medical figures who at least originated in the West.²² In addition, the case history is an integral part of ancient medical writing, along with various more abbreviated or anecdotal allusions to the users of assorted remedies, or sufferers from certain diseases.²³ Sometimes location is part of the story, so patients too may be placed in the West. It has to be said, however, that Rome is the most popular setting by some distance, though this is, in large part, because the literary record is so heavily dominated by Galen who, while originally from Pergamum, spent most of his long career in the imperial metropolis.²⁴

²¹ Pleket (1995) is less optimistic for the East, for example, and the biases of the epigraphic evidence from the West which Nutton relies on are more serious than he allows: in particular its over-representation of non-*ingenui* (see e.g. Mouritsen [2011], esp. 126–129, for something of an overstatement of the opposite way).

²² This tendency—the preference for designating someone as e.g. ‘*ophthalmatikos*’ (eye-doctor), or ‘Asclepiadean’ (follower of Asclepiades of Bithynia), rather than ‘Bithynian’—is also a sign of globalisation.

²³ On ancient case histories see e.g. Álvarez-Millán (1999).

²⁴ On Galen’s case histories see e.g. Mattern (2008).

The pull of Rome is also illustrated in the literary testimony in which western physicians feature. They tend to appear only once they have left their more peripheral starting point and reached the centre of empire, or at least have established direct links with the capital. Thus, the early imperial existence of two famous physicians from Marseilles—Crinas and Charmis—is noted by Pliny the Elder only because they came to Rome and amassed huge fortunes by pandering to what he casts as the growing Roman taste for, or susceptibility to, the new, the exotic, and the expensive.²⁵ Crinas accumulated tens of millions of sesterces with his blend of astrology and medicine, while Charmis favoured ice cold baths. Charmis also practised outside Rome, presumably back in Marseilles, since it is alleged that following some dodgy dealings involving ‘a sick man from the provinces’ (*aegrum ex provincialibus*), he was condemned by the emperor Claudius, and fined one million sesterces.²⁶ Pliny claims, however, that it took him only a few years to regain his wealth, first while in exile in Gaul, and then on his return to Rome.²⁷ Assuming this Charmis is the ‘Charmes’ mentioned twice in Galen’s work *On Antidotes*—and the signs are good though not certain—then he seems to have included women among his patients.²⁸ An antidote he used was particularly effective for menstrual problems and the painless expulsion of the embryo, amongst a whole range of other benefits.²⁹

Pliny clearly counts Crinas and Charmis as completely Greek physicians, representatives of all the wickedness such a combination entails, and entirely unaffected by the Gallic location of their native *polis*.³⁰ This Greek

²⁵ Plin. *HN* 29.9–10. Pliny is, of course, a far from objective reporter of such matters, and has his own project in the *Natural History*, see e.g. Nutton (1986/8), and Flemming (2000) 131–135.

²⁶ The suggestion seems to be that Charmis effectively sold this provincial patient (who had perhaps come to Rome for treatment?) to a colleague for 200,000HS: Plin. *HN* 29.22. The reference to Claudius seems to contradict the implied sequence which Pliny had been following earlier in this narrative (29.8–10), in which Charmis arrives after Crinas, who had supplanted the famous methodic physician of the Neronian era, Thessalus; but Pliny’s priority is clearly dramatic and ideological effect not chronological precision.

²⁷ Pliny also describes Crinas as a major benefactor of Marseilles, though when in his career, and with what relation to his residence, is entirely unclear: Plin. *HN* 29.9.

²⁸ Gal. *Ant.* 2.1 and 4 (14.114–115 and 126–129 K). The chronology works in terms of the sources from which Galen has taken the citations, and there is an allusion in one to the great expense of the recipe (14.127 K).

²⁹ Gal. *Ant.* 2.1 (14.114 K).

³⁰ It is the combination, indeed, that Pliny finds really problematic, for the *Natural History* is in many ways about repackaging the best bits of Greek knowledge: taking them away from the experts and giving them to the elite.

identity is more positively, or neutrally, shared by most of the other figures with western ethnics who feature in medical texts. A third Massiliote—Demosthenes—also appears in Galen, for example, and Philonides of Catania, whose antidote is included in Scribonius Largus' Latin collection of compound remedies dedicated to an important freedman of the emperor Claudius, is one of a handful of Sicilians.³¹ Others from that island provide more mixed signals about their identity. Such as one of Scribonius' teachers, Apuleius Celsus, a native of Centuripae, a city with long and strong links to Rome, as well as Greek associations, and with a good Roman name, together with an apparent facility in Greek.³²

A number of female names also appear in similar contexts in imperial medical writing, mainly attached to various recipes and remedies in much the same way as were Charmes and Philonides.³³ Unfortunately the only two instances of accompanying origins are rather unhelpful or eastern, and while Scribonius is clear that the 'little lady' (*muliercula*) he paid a large sum of money for her successful cure for painful colic is 'from Africa', the reference remains rather vague, and she is now in Rome.³⁴ Still, this presence indicates not only that women might be medical practitioners as well as patients, but also that they might be caught up in medicine's more literate and learned forms in various ways. Their contributions might be subordinate, but they were not marginal, given the fundamental importance of the recipe in ancient medicine. And, while Scribonius is perhaps not entirely respectful of the African *muliercula*, Galen includes remedies belonging to women like Aquilia Secundilla, for instance, and Spendousa, in exactly the same way as he does the male products around them.³⁵ All of these recipes, moreover, are for general applications: such as Aquilia's myrrh based unguent and emollients, and Spendousa's ear remedy; there is nothing specifically female or gynaecological.

³¹ Gal. *Comp. Med. Gen.* 5.15 (13.856 K); Scrib. Larg. 97.

³² Scrib. Larg. 94: Apuleius as teacher; 171: Apuleius and Centuripae, and various Cretan engagements which (with 172) suggest Greek linguistic capabilities.

³³ See Flemming (2007), and now Parker (2012), for full discussion of women and medical writing in the Roman world.

³⁴ Fabylla of Libya appears with recipes at Gal. *Comp. Med. Loc.* 9.2 and 10.2 (13.250–251 and 341 K); and Pliny refers to an Olympias of Thebes (e.g. *HN* 28.246), but this bears all the hallmarks of a pseudonym (see Flemming [2007] 271–276). Scrib. Larg. 122 (*muliercula ... ex Africa*).

³⁵ Gal. *Comp. Med. Gen.* 7.6 and 12 (13.976 and 1031 K); Aquilia; Gal. *Comp. Med. Loc.* 3.1 (12.631 K); Spendousa. See Flemming (2007), 263–268 for a full list and analysis, and Parker (2012).

By contrast, the *maiai* and *obstetrices*—the ‘midwives’—who also feature in some Roman imperial medical writings, appear exclusively in connection with women’s health; though they are not limited to matters of reproduction. Galen certainly assumes that the women of elite households in late second century AD Rome will have *maiai* who customarily attend them, in a range of circumstances.³⁶ There may also be family *iatroi* on the scene, and other male physicians—like himself—may be called in if the situation becomes especially challenging. The role the *maiai* play in his accounts varies, depending on the particular drama being played out.³⁷ They may be allies, obstacles, or mere bystanders. Galen does, however, always take it for granted that they are operating in the same conceptual and practical world as himself and his more direct rivals, just lower down the hierarchy.³⁸

Galen’s midwives do, therefore, practise a form of the *iatrikê technê*, but in Rome. That perspective, and location, was shared with the most famous ancient medical engagement with the figure of the *maia*, that of Soranus of Ephesus in his *Gynaecology*, composed some decades before Galen was writing, around AD 100.³⁹ This treatise opens first with an outline of the qualities necessary for a midwife—so that only suitable women are trained—and then describes what qualifies as the best in the profession, before moving on to discuss all aspects of her practice: female physiology and health, reproduction and childbirth, infant care and women’s diseases. Even the minimum standard includes literacy and various other intellectual capacities as well as key moral and physical characteristics: she must be able to grasp the *technê* through theory, book-learning, as well as practical experience.⁴⁰ Further theoretical development, in a more methodical direction—for Soranus belongs to the ‘methodic’ school of medicine—is part of what constitutes an optimal practitioner too.

Soranus’ account is, of course, explicitly idealising, and doubt has been cast on whether any actual midwives met his exacting standards, even in imperial Rome.⁴¹ There is a particular contrast with the figure of the *obstetrix*, or, more often, the collectivity of *obstetrices*, found occasionally in Pliny’s *Natural History*, generally in the company of dubious magical

³⁶ Gal. *Praen.* 8 (CMG V 8.1 110.13–116.23); *Ven. Sect. Er. Rom.* 1 (11.187–190 κ); *Opt. Med. Cogn.* 13. 6–8 (CMG *Supp. Or.* IV 130.13–132.11).

³⁷ See e.g. Mattern (2008) esp. 112–114; and Flemming (2000) 262–272.

³⁸ Galen even claims that he wrote his short treatise *On the Dissection of the Uterus* for a certain *maia* in his home city of Pergamum (*Lib. Prop.* 2.2–3: 140.17–21 Boudon-Millot).

³⁹ On Soranus see e.g. Hanson and Green (1994); and Flemming (2000) 228–246.

⁴⁰ *Sor. Gyn.* 1.3 and 4.

⁴¹ See e.g. Laes (2010) 273.

practitioners and prostitutes.⁴² There is no book-learning here, but a rather more intimate knowledge of the broadly medicinal properties of various unpleasant, if not completely disgusting, somatic substances: human urine and menstrual fluid, goat excrement and the blood and innards of tuna-fish.⁴³ This image seems even more distorted and fictional than Soranus', however, and serves an equally clear purpose in Pliny's text.⁴⁴ Certainly the epigraphic populations of *maiai* and *obstetrices* tend to rather more reputable, medically associated, forms of self-representation, outside Rome as well as within the metropolis.⁴⁵

This is not to suggest that all, or even most, *maiai* and *obstetrices* were literate (however broadly construed), or that no women who regularly attended at births would ever have advocated the medicinal use of human urine, or goat dung (though probably not menstrual fluid).⁴⁶ Soranus himself engages with, criticises, and distinguishes his view from a rather different model of midwifery than he advocates and enacts. One based on personal experience, gendered embodiment, rather than training and *technê*, and still too entangled in an essentially social and cultural rather than medical understanding of birth. Thus he contradicts those who argue that *maiai* must themselves have given birth, and, optimally, lays down that they should not be superstitious, should not be deflected from good practice by dreams, omens, or vulgar folk rituals or beliefs: such as that it is bad luck to cut the umbilical cord with iron.⁴⁷ He also argues against the customary use of urine in washing the new-born, as it is, like wine and brine, too strong and also malodorous.⁴⁸

⁴² Plin. *HN* 28.83: *Sotira obstetrix* and 32.135: *Salpe obstetrix*; 28.67, 70 and 255: *obstetrices*. The *magi*, and/or their chief representative—Osthanes—generally appear in close proximity (e.g. 28.69, 86, 246 and 256); and there is much reference to poisons, marvels and frauds all around them. *Meretrices* are joined with the *obstetrices* at 28.70.

⁴³ Plin. *HN* 28.67, 70 and 83, 255: human urine, menstrual fluid, and she-goat dung respectively; 32.135: fish innards (for depilating slave-boys). Pliny's clearest expression of disgust (and 'apology') is at 28.87.

⁴⁴ See Flemming (2007) 271–276.

⁴⁵ The relevant Latin and Greek inscriptions have been helpfully collected by Christian Laes (2010) and (2011) respectively. The 2010 essay also discusses the conflicts in evidence about standing and status.

⁴⁶ On the range of ancient (il)literacy see e.g. Hanson (1991) and Harris (1989). Urine and excrement, human and otherwise, are reasonably standard, though not entirely uncontroversial, items in the Roman therapeutic repertoire: thus, for instance, Galen includes extensive coverage of both in book 10 of his work on simples, with a critical/cautionary introduction (11.284–288; 290–308; 245–235 κ).

⁴⁷ Sor. *Gyn.* 1.4; and 2.11.

⁴⁸ Sor. *Gyn.* 2.12: washing the new-born (whose custom this is is unclear); cf. 2.52 for similar argument against use of urine in treating infant skin complaints.

This is still a long way from Pliny, however. So it seems safer to conclude that the spectrum of Roman midwifery practice, the activities and commitments of those who called themselves and were considered *maiai* and *obstetrices*, was more Soranic in its range, as is also indicated by Galen and the *Digest*. It is also likely that those women who came closest to Soranus' ideal were concentrated in Rome and the other major cities of the Empire, and that, moving down the urban hierarchy and then into the countryside will have entailed a diminution of book-learning, and a greater reliance on practical experience, with more custom and 'superstition' involved. Eventually, indeed, anyone who could really be termed a 'midwife' would be missing all together, with only some local women who might be called on to help in a birth remaining. Medical texts do not, unfortunately, enable this pattern actually to be traced in the west, though there are some gestures towards it in the material evidence.

Female patients definitely located outside Rome in the West are also in short supply in these writings. It might perhaps be argued that the women of the imperial household named as using some of the *dentifrices* and *acopa* (cooling and soothing applications) in Scribonius Largus' collection might have been doing so at least elsewhere in Italy than Rome, if not further afield.⁴⁹ But this, and all the cases without a geographical setting, really speaks to the general imperial space of Roman medical discourse.

So, the only case that clearly fits the bill belongs to the well-known 'methodic' physician of the late Republic, Themison of Laodicea, though the reporting is very indirect.⁵⁰ In Caelius Aurelianus' late antique 'latinisation' of Soranus of Ephesus' major work on acute and chronic diseases, it is recorded that Themison had witnessed, in Milan, the death of a decent young woman, who had been married to a *nobilis*, from *satyriasis*.⁵¹ *Satyriasis* is, as its name suggests, a sexual disorder involving permanent and pathological desire, 'with erection (*cum tensione*)', which might imply that it is an exclusively male affection.⁵² Some physicians did indeed argue that. But Caelius, following Soranus, and presumably Themison, holds otherwise:

⁴⁹ Scrib. Larg. 59 and 61 (*dentifrices*); 268 and 271 (*acopa*) advertised as used by Octavia, Antonia and Messalina.

⁵⁰ Themison, though from the east, was a student of Asclepiades of Bithynia, presumably in Rome, where Asclepiades did most of his teaching. He broke with his teacher late in life, to found a distinctive 'method' of medicine, his followers being the forerunners of the 'methodic sect', one of the most successful medical groupings of imperial Rome (see Flemming [2012] 66–75).

⁵¹ Cael. Aur. CP 3.186.

⁵² Cael. Aur. CP 3.175.

‘this affection is shared by men and women’, mostly the young and middle-aged.⁵³ Given this background it would be fascinating to know more, particularly about this young woman’s view of her condition, but no further details about the case, or about the medical care of women in that Italian city more generally, are forthcoming.

Still, the story provides further confirmation of what has already been suggested, which is that female patients were treated by male physicians outside of the metropolis. Certainly that is what Galen reports, or takes for granted, in Rome, and in the few eastern locations he mentions (mainly his home-town of Pergamum). Nor has he been alone in doing so. There are some additional complications that may attend on treating women, and their husbands may be involved too; but generally speaking Roman physicians include men, women, and children amongst their clientele. The principles of therapy are the same for all, though the social niceties, and some practicalities, may differ; and, curative programmes are always tailored to the individual.

Which is, of course, to conclude that the women of any Roman city have an interest in the whole array of medical practitioners, and all the services available, in that location. Whether or not they make any of the decisions about which doctors to call in, or how they are treated and cared for, the size, shape, and constitution of the medical community where they live matters to them. Here, moreover, the evidence is a little more helpful. Inscriptions and instruments are, by and large, associated with particular places and offer an indication of the composition of those communities, together with an imprint of their practice. Conclusions will be rather speculative, since the numbers are insufficient, the epigraphic content too slight and formulaic, and the archaeological context of most instrument finds too far removed from their actual use, to provide anything approaching a full picture. Still, combining all the available evidence does provide further information and insights.

Women and Medicine in the West: Epigraphic and Archaeological Views

Of the eight-hundred or so Latin and Greek inscriptions from the Roman Empire which mention physicians—*medici* and *medicae*; *iatroi* and *iatrinai*;

⁵³ Cael. Aur. *CP* 3.176: *est autem communis passio viris atque feminis*. See e.g. Flemming (2000) 209–215 for discussion of alternative views.

and their close relatives—a little less than half can be discounted as eastern, and about two hundred of the rest come from Rome itself.⁵⁴ The rough distribution of the two hundred and fifty odd inscribed references that remain is also pretty predictable in terms of the overall patterns of the Roman epigraphic habit, and its survival; the distribution of the dozen inscribed midwives—*obstetrices*—who remain after a similar sifting is more distinctive, but the sample size makes that inevitable.⁵⁵ Just as unsurprising is that funerary epigraphy overwhelmingly dominates the collection, though physicians (not midwives) also appear in a wider range of inscribed genres, from the membership lists of associations to graffiti.⁵⁶

Still, alignments of this kind are not insignificant. That any urban location in the west which possesses reasonably rich epigraphic remains will have produced evidence for the presence of physicians in the city, and their participation in a range of civic activities, is worth emphasising. On occasion there are even inscribed references to the imperial frameworks already mentioned, such as a dedication to the imperial *numina* and genius of the city set up by two men on behalf of the *medici* and *professores*, the physicians and teachers, of Aventicum.⁵⁷ That far fewer locations have produced inscriptions belonging to midwives presumably reflects their lower level of civic engagement as well as the overlapping issues of wealth, status, and cultural inclination. So, their frequent epigraphic absence is largely meaningless in terms of actual historical population. Not that the presence of *obstetrices* should simply be assumed in any urban location, at least at a reasonably professional level, of the kind that might lead to occupational identification on stone. Still, it is only cities which do provide this material; and some pretty small cities.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ There is orthographical variation of course, and various judgements must be made too, about restorations, about whether the relevant words are in fact professional designations rather than names or divine epithets, and when references to medical skill and knowledge are sufficient to add up to such a designation. There are margins of error involved, therefore, in all the figures offered.

⁵⁵ All 13 of the Greek inscriptions to *maiai* in Laes (2011) can be discounted in terms of either chronology or geography, and of his 31 Latin inscriptions (Laes [2010]), 18 are from Rome and one is eastern. Tables showing overall epigraphic distributions, by Italian region and province can be found below (Tables 1 and 2).

⁵⁶ See e.g. *CIL* 11, 1355: *album*; *CIL* 4, 10619: graffiti.

⁵⁷ *CIL* 13, 5079. Gummerus (1932) no. 363, suggests this indicates some kind of medical school at Aventicum, but I think two distinct but associated groups, associated in part through shared immunities, are being spoken for here.

⁵⁸ See Laes (2010) for a catalogue. It is tempting to try to make something out of a pattern that, outside Italy, strongly favours certain sorts of north African cities (Utica, Mactaris, Mustis, Thagaste and Thubursicu); but the numbers require that temptation to be resisted.

These overall evidential patterns, while reassuring in some ways, do make the study of the practitioner population in any single location harder, as can be easily illustrated. Six inscriptions referring to physicians have been found so far in Carthage, for instance, a rather poor return for the largest western city outside Rome it might be thought; but nowhere else has produced many more. Four of these physicians have connections to the imperial household, as slaves, freedmen, their relatives or descendants; for the discovery of two *columbaria* in the city belonging to the *domus Augusti* has had a considerable impact on its epigraphic profile.⁵⁹ Another *medicus*—Marcius Callinicus—is a military doctor, but not one stationed locally, so it is unclear what brought him and his wife—the somewhat suggestively named Tettidia Hygia—to Carthage, where they buried and commemorated their infant son.⁶⁰ The last is the *medica*, Asyllia Pollia, daughter of Lucius, who reached sixty-five years of age and had her tombstone erected by her freedman Eusacius, in a burial area generally associated with high ranking provincial officials.⁶¹ She may well have had no heirs other than her freedman, but otherwise, her freeborn citizen status, life-span, slave ownership, and tomb location, all suggest she had a successful career.

Though this range, and mix, of statuses, as well as sexes, names, and professional designations is found across the whole medical population of the West, single cities may have a far less balanced epigraphic profile. Thus, for example, the seven inscriptions of physicians from Narbo in southern Gaul not only almost all commemorate freedmen, but most have Greek names, and there is one, fragmentary, imperial dedication from two doctors in Greek.⁶² This is the closest to the emperor's family that any of these medical personnel come, however, their patrons all appear to be private individuals, some also with Greek names.⁶³ On the other hand, the half dozen epigraphic physicians from Emerita Augusta in Hispania Lusitania display the reverse status pattern, with none identifying themselves as freed,

⁵⁹ *CIL* 8, 12921–12923 and 24689.

⁶⁰ *ILTun.* 1077: Callinicus is *medicus* of the *legio II Adiutrix*.

⁶¹ *CIL* 8, 24679.

⁶² *AE* 1996, 1032 and *CIL* 12, 4487–4489 are all freedmen with Greek names; *CIL* 12, 4485–4486 are early, fragmentary, and of uncertain status; Samama (2003), 522 is the Greek dedicatory inscription, the two *iētroi* might be freed. These names should not be taken as indication of actual origins: slave names follow their own patterns, and, there are favoured medical names too (taken by *ingenui* as well as others).

⁶³ *CIL* 12, 4487: the patron of Heraclides the doctor seems to be one Xsanthemus; *CIL* 12, 4488: Menes the doctor freed by Philinus. Regardless of nomenclature these patrons will have been Roman citizens.

though sometimes the nomenclature might suggest slavery somewhere in the past.⁶⁴ Most, however, including another *medica*—Julia Saturnina—have Roman names, are firmly embedded in their familial contexts, and have often freed their own slaves.⁶⁵

This contrast is, of course, easily explicable, though it could have been otherwise. The numbers of slave and freed physicians tend to fall as distances from Italy—and central Italy in particular—increase, and the centuries advance. The Greek flavour of the nomenclature follows a similar trajectory; though there are always exceptions to these patterns. As in Carthage, on account of the imperial presence, or, conversely, Misenum on the Bay of Naples, where the free-born sounding *medici duplicarii* (physicians perhaps on double-pay) of the fleet and marine exclude all others.⁶⁶

That only military physicians are recorded at Misenum, and some other sites, raises obvious questions about service provision: it manifestly creates problems in connecting practitioner populations to female patient experience. For, unless these *medici* practised outside the ranks of the armed forces, they will not have treated any women; and what the female inhabitants of these locations did when ill or injured is uncertain.⁶⁷ Furthermore, it should be said that, while the doctors of the *familia Caesaris* at Carthage will not have been restricted by gender in this way, whether their professional activities extended beyond the boundaries of the imperial household is also unclear.⁶⁸ So, the only epigraphic evidence of unrestricted medical practice in the city belongs to Asyllia.⁶⁹ Still, this is all part of a wider problem. Funerary epigraphy is a limited and particular genre, in which professional performance is often less important than family relations and virtues, matters of inheritance and traditions of commemoration; so, in general, these

⁶⁴ L. Cordius Symphorus (*CIL* 2, 470), and C. Domitius Pylades (*AE* 1994, 859) would be the most obvious candidates.

⁶⁵ *CIL* 2, 497: Saturnina; and see also: *AE* 1994, 840; *AE* 1999, 876: Pylades also seems to have a freedman. *IHC* 526 is probably too late to be included here.

⁶⁶ *CIL* 10, 3441–3444; and see Nutton (1970).

⁶⁷ There are epigraphic physicians from other military sites who describe themselves simply as *medici*, and do not attach themselves to any unit, e.g. *CIL* 13, 8606 (Vetera) and *AE* 1929, 215 (Carnuntum), and who could be catering to the civilian community, or, of course, military doctors might provide services beyond the ranks: see e.g. Baker (2004a) 52–53 and 81, for discussion.

⁶⁸ Slave-, and to a certain extent, freed-, physicians, might, in general, be kept within the household, or hired out, or allowed to develop their own practice (as in other occupations); the guess would be that the imperial household would be larger and more monopolistic than most, but there is no specific evidence on the point.

⁶⁹ Mentioned on p. 283 above.

inscriptions do little more than provide further confirmation of the kind of urban medical presence already indicated in other sources, across the cities of the western empire.

The point can be illustrated by returning to Emerita in Spain. Julia Saturnina is described as an 'excellent physician', as well as an 'incomparable wife' and 'most virtuous woman', on her marble tombstone, erected by her husband Cassius Philippus.⁷⁰ On the reverse of the stone is carved a small swaddled infant, which could be an indication that she included obstetric activities within her *medicina*, as commentators have tended to assume, but it might also be a reference to her family life.⁷¹ Still, the only other professional detail in the epigraphy from this city comes from the gravestone of Quintus Aponius Rusticus, *medicus ocularius* (eye-doctor); otherwise it is his origins (from near-by Patricia), and family, he is keenest to record.⁷² Looking beyond Emerita there is little to add to the dossier. A handful of funerary monuments are embellished by key symbols of the medical art—scrolls and surgical instruments—and there are a few representations of actual practice.⁷³

The two most secure representations of this kind both come from a single tomb on the *Isola Sacra* at Ostia which is decorated with a pair of terracotta plaques, one illustrating attendance on child-birth, the other, a physician treating a patient's leg (perhaps by bleeding, given the presence of a bowl, and surgical instruments).⁷⁴ The two images flank a central inscription, which announces that Scribonia Attice made the tomb for herself, her husband—Marcus Ulpius Amerimnus—her mother—Scribonia Callityche—Diocles, her freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants (except Panaratus and Prosdocia).⁷⁵ So, no-one in this sizable, and seemingly well-to-do, household is labelled by occupation; and while it is generally presumed that Scribonia is a midwife and Amerimnus a physician, given her epigraphic prominence, maybe Scribonia would have called herself a *medica*.⁷⁶ Both kinds of marital union—*medicus* with *obstetrix* and with

⁷⁰ *CIL* 2, 497: *uxori incomparabili/medicae optimae/mulieri sanctissimae*.

⁷¹ There are a number of swaddled infants on tombstones in Gaul which commemorate their own brief lives, for instance, see e.g. Deyts (2004).

⁷² *AE* 1994, 840.

⁷³ Hillert (1990), figs. 32 and 36; *CIL* 14, 3030.

⁷⁴ Tomb 100 on the Via Severiana, which may be viewed at http://www.ostia-antica.org/valkvisuals/html/tombe_100_1.htm.

⁷⁵ *ISIS* 133.

⁷⁶ See e.g. Kampen (1981) 69–72.

medica—are found elsewhere.⁷⁷ Either way, Scribonia certainly seems to be advertising the services she provided to women on her funerary monument.

As for actual examples of the instruments depicted on tombstones, and indeed described in the medical literature, only Emerita, of the cities mentioned so far, has produced results; though overall discoveries are distributed much more widely across the West.⁷⁸ Still, of the three sepulchral finds of medical objects and implements there, one includes a tri-valve vaginal speculum.⁷⁹ An implement used, so the texts say, to enable closer inspection of, and surgical intervention in, the cervix and uterus, in cases of haemorrhage, abscess, or imperforation.⁸⁰ Indeed, since the speculum was accompanied only by a balance-arm, perhaps the deceased was a gynaecological specialist; though it must be admitted that the signification of such professional grave goods is obscure. The number of surgical instruments, medicine boxes, and associated paraphernalia, in Roman burials is striking, especially in the north western portions of the Empire; but hard to interpret.⁸¹

The most exciting find site for Roman medical instruments is, in many ways, Pompeii. A doctor's travelling kit—a carefully constructed wooden box containing a basic *instrumentarium* and medicaments in small metal containers—was discovered in the *palaestra* with a fleeing group; and a good number of houses have produced substantial medical remains.⁸² Painstaking work has been required to put artefacts back in their original locations, and there have been inevitable losses along the way, but the result is that, of the ten to twenty houses which have yielded sufficient, specific, equipment to imply that they were occupied by dedicated medical practitioners, three demonstrate gynaecological specialism.⁸³ As Larry Bliquez has shown, the 'Casa del Medico Nuovo (II)' contained about forty surgical instruments and related items, including, along with a more standard array, an embryo-hook (used in the extraction of dead foetuses) and a vaginal speculum.⁸⁴ The 'House of A. Pumponius Magonius' (his name is on the

⁷⁷ See e.g. *CIL* 8, 4896 (*obstetrix*); *AE* 2001, 263 (*medica*).

⁷⁸ See Künzl (1983); Jackson (1990) and (1995).

⁷⁹ Künzl (1983) 102–103.

⁸⁰ The loss of Soranus' chapter (4.34) on 'the use of the speculum' means that the fullest accounts come from the later tradition e.g. Paul of Aegina 6.72 and 73 (abscesses and imperforation); though see also Sor. *Gyn.* 3.40 (haemorrhage).

⁸¹ For some discussion see e.g. Künzl (1983) 39; Jackson (1995) 292–293; and Baker (2004b).

⁸² See Jackson (2005) 209–211: a similar discovery has also been made at Herculaneum.

⁸³ Jackson (2005) 210; moderating Eschebach (1984).

⁸⁴ Bliquez (1995); for use of the embryo-hook see e.g. Celsus 7.28 and Sor. *Gyn.* 4.3.

lintel), yielded over seventy medical pieces, most of which unfortunately cannot now be identified with much certainty, though another vaginal speculum is assured, and three embryo-hooks probable. Similar uncertainty surrounds the finds in the 'Casa del Medico Nuovo (I)', but the speculum and hooks combination is probably repeated there too.

A number of conclusions can be drawn from this work. The first is that Pompeii's population of around 12,000 in AD 79 was pretty well provided for in terms of medical services. In all likelihood there was more than one doctor for every thousand inhabitants.⁸⁵ Their houses are not particularly impressive, and no Pompeian physician is recorded as making any particular mark on medical thought or practice; but neither are any of these locations especially unimpressive, and the numbers of instruments, quantity of materials, found in some of them, speak to a well-developed, highly professional, medical provision in the city. The treatment of women was included in this provision, as the presence of specialist equipment shows. Though this level of service was offered by only a few, it was a few of the best. It is possible to have extensive instrumentation without vaginal specula and embryo-hooks, but, away from grave deposits, these items always come as part of a rich collection.⁸⁶

There must have been some female medical practitioners, as well as female patients, in Pompeii. However, whether there were women who considered themselves *obstetrices* and/or *medicae* is unclear; so too their relationship to the equipment found. Ria Berg has suggested that the inscription, '*Sperata*', on a spatula found, with a number of surgical instruments, in the 'House of Lucius Helvius Severus', could be the name of a female medical practitioner, and Künzl has identified three graves in the Roman West containing what he argues are combinations of distinctly medical and distinctly female items.⁸⁷ While both these specific interpretations are questionable, the generality inherent in the claim to being a female physician—a *medica*—implies some basic surgical competence, familiarity with scalpel and probe, if nothing more.

⁸⁵ Even if the figure for the number of medical households is taken from the lower end of the range, the fact, as the epigraphy has shown, that medicine is often a family business, will compensate. This figure is comparable with those from Hellenistic Egypt (see Clarysse and Thompson [2006] vol. 2, 162–164). There are more like 4 doctors per 1000 today in Italy, two in the UK, and half a doctor per 1000 in Egypt.

⁸⁶ The 150 instruments from Rimini do not include anything gynaecological, for instance, and see Jackson (1995) Table 1.

⁸⁷ Berg (2003); Künzl (1995).

Finally, of course, Pompeii should not be taken as typical, even of midling cities in Italy, but finds such as the vast haul of instruments from Rimini, and, indeed, of a speculum in Emerita, show that not dissimilar situations might obtain elsewhere too. It seems that the urban medical culture of the Roman West attained a certain level of technological development overall, in addition to the existence of various centres of excellence scattered beyond the metropolis of Rome.⁸⁸

Conclusion

Women (and men) in the cities of the Roman West could expect a certain kind, even standard, of medical provision. There was geographical variation based on urban size, wealth, history, and importance. But this variation was contained within what was recognisably a single system; a system in which, indeed, all the cities of the Empire participated, and which was part of what made them both cities and Roman. This system of learned medicine, its personnel and practices, was not equally accessible to all by any means. The way women interacted with it will have been shaped by family situation and structure as well as economics and status. Still, much of the time both sexes will have shared, or at least shared access to, the same practitioners. The only clear alignment of gender that has emerged has been in respect to the *maia* (and *obstetrix*), a female figure whom Soranus and Galen represent attending exclusively on other women (and infants). They do much more than just deal with childbirth, and they certainly practised a form of the *iatrikê technê*, but their domain is definitely gendered.

The same is not true of the *medica*. These women constitute about five percent of the epigraphic evidence for doctors in the West, a figure which is not much affected by the inclusion or exclusion of Rome in the count.⁸⁹ They are slaves, freed, and freeborn, with a variety of names, and the inscriptions in which they feature reveal a range of further details about things like family, *familia*, and general fortune, but not practice.⁹⁰ Which is all to say that they are part of the same representational spectrum of status and success, announcement and reticence, as their male counterparts, with some limits:

⁸⁸ Bliquez (1995) certainly argues that the Pompeian instruments were manufactured locally.

⁸⁹ Though they are a slightly greater proportion outside Italy: see Tables 1 and 2.

⁹⁰ See Buonopane (2005) for an analysis of their status.

they are never attached to the military, are never designated as specialists, and appear in a more restricted set of epigraphic genres. The only non-funerary inscription is a large, finely finished piece from Lugdunum:

Metilia Donata, physician, gave (this) from her money, the place having been given by decree of the decurions.⁹¹

Metilia has considerable financial resources, therefore, and has engaged with the civic authorities, who have provided the space for whatever it was exactly she provided.⁹²

Any gendering of the medical activities of Metilia and her colleagues is, therefore, based on supposition rather than direct evidence. The question of whether she treated only the women of Lyons or enacted the claim to generality—the claim to equivalence (not equality) with the *medicus*—is an open one. There are, however, a number of factors which might favour universality as the default assumption. In particular, it must be remembered that, in a world of slave, freed, and non-citizen doctors, where practising medicine brought no high status with it, and being paid for that practice was a disqualification from the rank of the *liberales*, patients would have been familiar with the notion that physicians were likely to be their social inferior.⁹³ A man taking medical instructions from a woman would have simply been a variation on a constant theme; and there are issues of how much choice about personnel and therapy would have been available as size of cities, and buying power, dwindled.⁹⁴ A situation in which female physicians treated at least some men, as male physicians treated at least some (and probably more) women, seems, therefore, the most likely scenario in the cities of the West.

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⁹¹ *CIL* 13, 2019: *Metilia Donata medic[a] / de sua pecunia dedi[t] / l(oco) d(ato) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.

⁹² Unfortunately the stone was re-used in a sarcophagus, so the content of her gift, and the original location of the monument, are unknown. It is likely to have been in a public space of some kind, despite the general cautions of Eck (1992).

⁹³ *Cic. Off.* 1.150–151; and see e.g. Flemming (2000) 33–79, and Nutton (2004) 248–271 for further discussion.

⁹⁴ See e.g. Flemming (2000) 63–68 for the problems taking orders from the doctor caused, in general.

Tables

Approximate distribution of inscriptions mentioning male and female physicians and midwives in the Western Empire outside Rome: (1) by Italian Region (2) by Province:

Table 1

	<i>Medici/Iatroi</i>	<i>Medicae</i>	<i>Obstetrices</i>
Latium et Campania	41 [*] /5	3	3
Apulia et Calabria	10 [*] /1	0	0
Lucania et Bruttium	2 [*] /1	0	0
Samnium	12/0	0	0
Picenum	1/1	1	0
Umbria	13/1	1	1
Etruria	15/0	0	1
Aemilia	5/1	0	0
Liguria	0/0	0	0
Venetia et Histria	22/2	1	0
Transpadana	6/1	0	0
Totals	127/13 = 140	6	5

* total includes a few bilingual inscriptions.

Table 2

	<i>Medici/Iatroi</i>	<i>Medicae</i>	<i>Obstetrices</i>
Hispania Baetica	9/0	0	0
Hispania Lusitania	7/0	1	0
Hispania Citerior	6/0	1	0
Gallia Narbonensis	13/2	1	1
Gallia Aquitania	2/0	0	0
Gallia Belgica	7/0	1	1
Gallia Lugdunensis	4/0	1	0
Britannia	5/2	0	0
Germania Superior	14/0	1	0
Germania Inferior	6/0	0	0
Raetia	1/0	0	0
Dalmatia	3/0	0	0
Pannonia Inferior	6/0	0	0
Pannonia Superior	5/0	0	0
Sardinia	1/0	0	0
Sicilia	2/4	0	0
Africa Proconsularis	15/0	2	5

	<i>Medici/Iatroi</i>	<i>Medicae</i>	<i>Obstetrices</i>
Numidia	7*/1	0	0
Mauretania Caesariensis	8*/0	0	0
Totals	121/9 = 130	8	7

* total includes a few bi-/tri-lingual inscriptions

Data from: Gummerus (1932); Samama (2003); *Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby* (<http://oracle-vm.ku-eichstaett.de:8888/epigr/ep>)

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DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES?
THE ADAPTIVE FAMILY ECONOMY AND FEMALE
PARTICIPATION IN THE ROMAN URBAN LABOUR MARKET*

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Introduction

A widespread Roman ideal held that men and women lived in separate spheres. The public domain was a man's prerogative, whereas a woman kept to the privacy of the domestic sphere. By implication, openly engaging in arts, crafts, and commerce was theoretically reserved for men. The ideal is predominant in the literary sources and has a strong elitist ring to it—and we may presume that living up to the ideal by remaining unoccupied was probably reserved for wealthy matrons. In the eyes of the elite, idleness reflected well on a matron and her family alike. However, it will become clear that the ancient ideal affected women further down the social scale as well. The ideal is pervasive in our epigraphic sources and, more importantly, it has had a profound influence on the scholarly literature on Roman women and work.¹ This is unsurprising, in light of the fact that a gendered differentiation of the work force has been a common feature of most economies even until the present day.

The urban economy of Rome can be analysed using the same concepts and terms applied to the economic life of other periods and places; this facilitates comparison. Moreover, the presumption that a market economy and a labour market existed proves to be promising as a framework for understanding economic strategy in Roman society.² The market economy is a predominantly urban phenomenon; the distinguishing features of the Roman economy are to be found in the cities, not in the countryside where

* My thanks to the editors of this volume, and to Rens Tacoma and Roel Konijnendijk for their valuable comments. Any remaining errors are my own.

¹ 'Work', 'labour' and similar terms are used throughout to refer to an income-generating occupation, as opposed to 'domestic work' and 'housewifery'.

² Temin (2004).

agriculture was the norm.³ There was more economic differentiation and, consequently, more labour movement in the cities than in the countryside—it follows that a woman's opportunities were also located in the nearest town. This essay hopes to contribute to the exploration of the intersection of urbanization and gender. The focus of the article is on the cities of Roman Italy under the early Empire. Urbanization rates were notoriously high for Roman Italy, and it was Italy in particular that reaped the benefits of the Augustan peace. This is, of course, also the time and place where our sources are concentrated.

Gender biases doubtlessly shaped the reality of the urban labour market, but this should not blind us to the varied and vital contributions of Roman women to the economy. Women who are documented epigraphically were engaged in widely diverging occupations, ranging from a shoemaker (*sutrix*) to a slave who made her living from spinning (*quasillaria*). There is a need to explain, rather than explain away, the regular occurrence of Roman women who do not fit the ideal picture of the domestic *matrona*. To this end, I propose to introduce the model of the adaptive family economy as developed by the historical demographer Richard Wall in 1986. It will be argued that this model has particular explanatory value for the Roman family; it can incorporate and predict the widely differing attestations of working women—slave, freed and free—within the dynamic context of the family, in this way furthering our understanding of women's socioeconomic position in Roman society.

First, however, it is necessary to contextualize our sources and to introduce the women who are represented in the evidence—and those who are not. Section two provides a closer analysis of the origins and the reality of the ideal image of women, and explains how it influences women's position on the labour market; section three locates women firmly within the family as an economic unit and introduces the adaptive family economy as a model for analysing the family's economic strategies; in the final section of the article, the model of the adaptive family economy will be tested against the ancient evidence.

³ It is readily admitted that town and country were closely interconnected, cf. Morley (1996) 188. For simplicity's sake, I take 'urban' to mean 'non-agricultural'.

The Ideal Woman

The law of differentiation between the sexes is an immutable law of Nature which runs through the whole creation to become more and more accentuated the higher the types are developed. We are told that it can all be explained by the fact that we have kept all culture as a sex monopoly to ourselves, that the women have never had a fair chance. Haven't they?⁴

Gender biases are rooted in social reality, and social reality itself is based on the perception of gender.⁵ Many aspects of gender differentiation have been remarkably consistent from Roman times (and before) right up to the present. Justification for maintaining gender inequality has often been sought in nature, an opinion that is beautifully illustrated by the passage quoted above, taken from Munthe's early twentieth-century novel *The story of San Michele*. Women's perceived physical weakness, closely connected with their biological role as a mother, has been a major inhibition to their participation in the labour market.⁶ Women were naturally predestined to look after the children and often stayed at home to do so; as a consequence, running the household also became their responsibility. This particular economic contribution to the family income is hard to measure throughout historical periods. Housework is often unremunerated, which is where it differs from wage-earning occupations. This makes it difficult to trace or quantify, though it is equally important for sustaining a family.⁷ It is probable that women as well as men found it necessary to engage in paid employment, whether full-time or part-time, at various stages of the family life cycle.

Roman women were traditionally praised for their familial role, not for economic input.⁸ Consider the famous epitaph of Amymone:

Hic sita est Amymone Marci optima et pulcherrima / lanifica pia pudica frugi casta domiseda

Here lies buried Amymone, (wife) of Marcus, best and prettiest, wool-working, dutiful, modest, frugal, chaste, and stay-at-home.⁹

⁴ Munthe (2004) 130.

⁵ Gender is meant to include "all those things about women and men that are culturally and relationally constructed rather than biologically given", Flemming (2000) 4. The careful reader will notice that such a clear distinction did and does not always exist, which is reflected in my somewhat random use of 'gender' and 'sex' in this piece. I do not think it affects the argument here.

⁶ Saller (2003) 189; Flemming (2000) 7.

⁷ Haidt (2011) 20, for 18th-century Spain; cf Tilly and Scott (1978) 5: "The woman at home was said to be economically nonfunctional".

⁸ E.g. Dixon (2001a) 117.

⁹ *CIL* 6, 11602.

Amymone's epitaph lists most of the womanly virtues that were held in high esteem; her beauty counts as a bonus. Amymone is portrayed as a chaste and virtuous housewife who, we are led to believe, preserved her reputation because she sat at home and diligently spun wool. Wool-working is here simply one in a long string of female virtues.¹⁰ To set the right example, the emperor Augustus proudly advertised that his clothes were made by the women of his family.¹¹ These instances carry a strong moral message: it is impossible to say how much time Amymone or the women of the imperial family actually spent working wool. However, it is not unlikely that many women below the elite did spin wool in spare hours or more regularly, for private use or in the hope of generating a little extra income.¹² For some, wool-work became their main source of income, as for the freedwomen Iulia Soteris, wool-weigher (*lanipenda*; *CIL* 6, 9498), and Mecia Flora, wool-comber (*tonstrix*, *CIL* 6, 9493).¹³ The case of wool-work shows that the line between domestic and wage-earning occupation was a very thin one; it also illustrates the degrees to which women could be economically active.¹⁴

Women who worked for a living were not as a rule mentioned at all by the men who wrote most of the surviving literary sources. The Roman elite professed contempt for manual labour, most famously illustrated by Cicero in his *De Officiis* 1.150–151. Elite disdain appears to have had an effect further down the social scale: it must be one of the reasons why only a minority of the Romans had their job recorded in an epitaph.¹⁵ If men were seldom inclined to commemorate their occupation, however, this holds *a fortiori* for women.¹⁶ It could be argued that this is a reflection of the elite ideal, a more general gender bias, or both. Roman women at work are, therefore, hard to discern. But this does not mean they were not there. On the one hand, we may assume that many women held some kind of income-generating

¹⁰ Larsson Lovén (1998).

¹¹ Suet. *Aug.* 74; Larsson Lovén (1998) 89.

¹² Barber (1994) *passim*.

¹³ Their identification as freedwomen is not certain, but it is likely, based on their (family's) nomenclature. *CIL* 6, 9493 will be discussed in more detail below.

¹⁴ Dixon (2001a) 124: "[T]his firm post-industrial distinction between the domestic and commercial spheres is highly problematic in the Roman context, whether we are talking of courtyard workshops (*textrinae*), slave (or freed) dependents producing for high-status owner patrons, or small family businesses operating out of residential workshops".

¹⁵ E.g. Eck (1998) 32, who states that of the circa 35,000 funerary texts in *CIL* 6, some 1,300 at most list a job title.

¹⁶ E.g. Joshel (1992) 69, table 3.1 indicates that there are 1,262 men and 208 women cited with occupation in *CIL* 6.

occupation in addition to their domestic work. This was true of married women in eighteenth-century London, for example, although a similar gender bias prevailed.¹⁷ The case of early twentieth-century Catalonia is suggestive as well: a striking number of the 'housewives' listed in the household census turn up in the labour census of 1919 as paid employees.¹⁸ On the other hand, it is important to bear in mind that perhaps not all women worked outside the home. The Roman ideal of the virtuous housewife must have reflected, and influenced, social reality to some extent, if only because a strong gender bias like this can mould society's expectations of what women could and should do. It is a vicious circle limiting women's opportunities on the labour market.

Patriarchy and a Dual Labour Market

Prevailing views on women and gender in a given society are reflected in that society's attitudes towards working women. This may result in the development of what is known as a 'secondary labour market', as exists in societies where women hold 'the lowest paid, least stable and most unrewarding occupations'.¹⁹ Honeyman and Goodman point to the persistence of an engendered dual labour market in the period from 1500 to 1900 AD; they view its sole cause as patriarchy: "a pervading societal system or set of institutional arrangements which accept, reinforce, or structure male hegemony".²⁰ Whenever female labour participation became a threat to men, patriarchal forces restricted women's economic freedom.²¹ Without a doubt, patriarchy as Honeyman and Goodman understand it was also a governing factor in ancient Rome. By law, women were subject to a male guardian (*tutor*), under *tutela mulierum perpetua*, unlike men who only had a *tutor* until they reached adulthood. The institution remained in place, though it gradually became eroded under the emperors Claudius, Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius and finally disappeared in the 3rd century AD, its practical

¹⁷ E.g. Erickson (2008) 269, 292.

¹⁸ Camps-Cura (1998) 143: "40 per cent of the occupied population in the labor census of 1,919 corresponds to women who on the household listing were listed as 'housewives'".

¹⁹ Honeyman and Goodman (1991) 608; on page 610 they go on to identify secondary jobs as "largely unskilled, of low status, poorly paid, casual, seasonal, and irregular".

²⁰ Honeyman and Goodman (1991) 609.

²¹ Honeyman and Goodman (1991) 611. Patriarchy is not a static concept: there were times when it had lost some of its influence. Whenever patriarchy starts to lose influence, however, this development is countered by more rules and ideology to put women in their place. This justifies my use of patriarchy as a continuous factor here.

implications having become negligible long since.²² Augustus' marriage legislation granted the *ius liberorum* (right of children) to women who bore a certain number of children, which may possibly have freed many from *tutela*.²³ The continued existence of *tutela* as an empty institution despite these developments, however, suggests that it had become part of a social discourse designed to keep women in their place.

Women, like men, became independent by law (*sui iuris*) only after the death of their fathers, in whose power (*potestas*) they remained until that time.²⁴ However, even then, female independence was limited. Women still required a *tutor* and, more importantly, they could not themselves hold *potestas* over anyone.²⁵ Gardner summarizes women's legal position well: "This legal asymmetry encouraged certain hierarchical assumptions about men and women, privileging the male in ways which have nothing to do with strict law. Assumptions of subordination are found even where legal equality exists".²⁶ We may assume that the converse equally holds true, as social stereotyping in turn will have confirmed legal asymmetry. Rather than as institutional arrangements, then, we should perhaps see Roman law code as part of the Romans' "societal system to reinforce male hegemony".²⁷

The Family as an Economic Unit and the Adaptive Family Economy

Scholars have often approached Roman women within the context of the family.²⁸ By consequence, women's economic roles have also been viewed as contributions to family income. Whereas it is undoubtedly correct to analyse women's economic activities from a familial perspective, the prevailing model of the 'family economy' has led to a confirmation of existing biases, rather than an analysis of what the sources actually demonstrate.

²² Gardner (1995) 393; Dixon (1984) 354 with n. 48 and at 356: "The 'protective' conception of *tutela* gave rise incidentally to the doctrine of *infirmitas sexus muliebris* which took on a life of its own after the disappearance of *tutela mulierum perpetua*".

²³ Three children in the case of freeborn women, four (born after manumission) for freedwomen; Evans Grubbs (2002) 37–46.

²⁴ It is commonly assumed that by the time of the early Empire most women married *sine manu*, so they did not enter into their husbands' power, but remained legally bound to their family of birth.

²⁵ Gardner (1995) 391.

²⁶ Gardner (1995) 392, 382.

²⁷ See above, Honeyman and Goodman (1991) 609.

²⁸ E.g. Dixon (1988).

To the Romans, 'family' could signify various things depending on context.²⁹ For the purposes of the present study, the question is: who is included in the family as an economic unit? There is some discussion among sociologists as to what counts as an 'economic group': this varies from the household—defined by shared residence and/or shared meals—to family in the widest possible meaning of 'blood relatives and in-laws'.³⁰ In my view, the economic unit under consideration here largely coincides with the Roman *domus*. It consists of the nuclear family, slaves, and freedmen of the household, as well as other resident relatives.³¹ However, I would argue that the definition should be extended beyond the physical house, to encompass slave and free family members who are temporarily away for purposes of apprenticeships or seasonal labour; freedmen who are no longer actually living in the household are also an integral part of the family, since more often than not they remain closely connected to their patrons economically.³²

The preindustrial family as an economic unit has been labelled 'the family economy'. In this interpretation, the preindustrial family was "the unit of production and consumption and the household the locus of work and residence".³³ The idea of the preindustrial, home-based family economy was transferred onto the Roman family, presumably because it was also preindustrial. As a result, the concept of the family economy has had a great influence on ancient historians' perception of the Roman family as a household unit, and of women's economic contribution to that family.

It is easy to see how the model would pertain to the Roman family: in many instances, the family was indeed the unit of production and consumption. Even the largest urban production centres were mainly large elite households. Judging from the many *tabernae*, with their combined commercial and residential function, the household was the locus of work and residence for many urban families as well.³⁴ However, this picture is too

²⁹ Gardner (1998); Saller (1994) 74.

³⁰ For an overview see e.g. Laslett (1972) 23–40, though his work does not focus so much on the family as an economic unit as on the 'domestic group'.

³¹ Saller (2003) 189; Saller (1994) 81: "Whereas *familia* is frequently used of the group of slaves under a *dominus*, *domus* is often rather broader, including the wife, children, and others in the house". Saller's chapter 4 is devoted entirely to the semantic value of *domus* and *familia*—I am referring to his *domus* type 2.

³² Mouritsen (2011) 215–216; cf. Verboven (2012).

³³ In the summary of Wall (1986) 265.

³⁴ Loane (1938) 63; for archaeological indications, see e.g. Flohr (2007) on Pompeii: "Pompeian craftsmen generally lived where they worked". He does point to the fact that the situation may have been different in Ostia, and presumably also in Rome.

static. The concept of the family economy does not allow for diversification beyond the household, emphasizing the “interdependence of work and residence”;³⁵ but it is clear that some contributors to the family income sometimes resided elsewhere. The household was implicitly understood to be the nuclear family.³⁶ Slaves and freedmen are thus excluded from the model, even though their economic contribution to society was highly significant. Needless to say, this group included many women. Within the confines of the family economy, the part of women is tacitly assumed to be confined to the house, engaged in housework or domestic production.³⁷ This conveniently glosses over the many women who chose to record their own occupations in inscriptions, or who were commemorated for the jobs which earned them their livelihood. The decision to mention an occupation is significant: epitaphs are often brief, so including one’s occupation meant leaving out something else. These women wished for their occupation to be remembered.

It must be concluded that the model of the family economy is too restrictive and carries too many preconceptions. In fact, I believe that the predominance of this model partly explains why scholars still adhere to the traditional image of the Roman housewife, despite the fact that most are well aware of the biases in the material.³⁸ The dynamics of family demands and market fluctuations imply that a family’s choice of economic strategies must have been wider. The alternatives that were available to them, as well as the choices they made, could vary over the family life course.³⁹

The Adaptive Family Economy

An alternative model was proposed in 1986 by the historical demographer Richard Wall.⁴⁰ Wall’s knowledge of early modern English households led him to conclude that the existing models for household economies were inadequate. To account for the various economic strategies open to a family, he put forward the model of the ‘adaptive family economy’. The adaptive

³⁵ Tilly and Scott (1978) 12–13.

³⁶ Saller and Shaw (1984) is the classic article on the importance of the nuclear family in Rome.

³⁷ Knotter (1994).

³⁸ Awareness is most eloquently expressed in Dixon (2001a), (2001b).

³⁹ Knotter (1994) 38–39.

⁴⁰ Knotter (1994) makes a similar point, emphasizing family strategy (“gezinsstrategie”) in his aptly named paper ‘Problemen van de family economy’ (Problems of the family economy).

family economy is based on a principle of flexibility and the expectation that “families would attempt to maximize their economic well-being by diversifying the employments of family members”.⁴¹ Whether a Roman family would ‘maximize their economic well-being’ in the sense of chasing actual profit is not the concern here: I would argue that it could equally mean pursuing a comfortable level of income somewhat above subsistence level, with some savings for a daughter’s dowry. Flexibility is key. Like its predecessor, the model centres on the main family income, which as a rule is that of the *paterfamilias*. The adaptive element in the case of the Roman family should therefore be sought in the contribution of women, children, and (ex-)slaves.

The use of this particular model, however, calls for some clarification. The very flexibility of a model like the adaptive family economy implies that it can cover a great variety of economic strategies open to a family in any historical context.⁴² In fact, it could be argued that this model is so broadly applicable that it loses all explanatory value. This section therefore aims to illustrate that the model of the adaptive family economy can incorporate as well as explain the sources. In addition, I hope to demonstrate how it can further our understanding of economic choice within urban Roman families.

Family income was not subject solely to supply and demand on the labour market. Within the family itself, labour supply and the demand for consumer goods could differ significantly over time, in accordance with the changing structure of the family.⁴³ “[I]n the real world family and household came in innumerable shapes and sizes”.⁴⁴ This effect was amplified first and foremost by demography. Children were born, came of age, and eventually set up their own households; other relatives moved in, moved out, or passed away. Death and disease played an important and unpredictable part. The large age-gap between spouses in a notoriously high mortality regime predicts the existence of a large number of relatively young widows.⁴⁵ Unless

⁴¹ Wall (1986) 265.

⁴² The model was introduced with reference to nineteenth-century Colyton, a small town in England that was characterized by cloth production; it has subsequently been adduced in quite different situations, like the occupational pluralism of nineteenth-century Weymouth, a shipbuilding community in Nova Scotia (McCann 1999), and late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Catalonia (Camps-Cura 1998).

⁴³ E.g. Harlow and Laurence (2002) on the Roman life course.

⁴⁴ Saller (1994) 74.

⁴⁵ The discussion on age at (first) marriage is ongoing. However, scholars seem to agree on the existence of a relatively large age-gap (about 5–10 years) between spouses; Lelis, Percy and Verstraete (2003), with bibliography.

they were among the happy few who were wealthy enough to make ends meet, these widows needed to find a way to provide for themselves, and for their children should they have any. If the widows subsequently remarried, which seems to have been the norm, this would lead to many new composite families—‘dislocated families’, in Bradley’s terminology.⁴⁶ Social conventions added much to the dynamics of the Roman family. Thus, divorce and remarriage as political strategies were not uncommon, at least among the upper classes.⁴⁷ Family structure was also significantly altered by the buying, selling, or manumission of slaves. With regard to family structure, then, the model of the adaptive family economy is arguably even better suited to the fluctuations of the Roman familial situation than to the situation in nineteenth-century Colyton, for which it was developed.

Jobs for Women

The strength of the concept of the adaptive family economy is that it accounts for every single attestation of a woman with a job, as well as any reference to a woman attested without an occupation. This may be illustrated by a brief overview of the ancient data.

Jobs for women have been extensively studied. The best evidence is in occupational inscriptions: the sample consists mainly of epitaphs that mention a job title.⁴⁸ Though much remains to be said on the particulars, the overall pattern that can be gathered from these inscriptions is easily summarized. Not only was the number of positions available to women markedly lower than that for men, but women’s work tended to be concentrated in domestic service.⁴⁹ The job most commonly attested for women is that of *ornatrix* (hairdresser).⁵⁰ Many women were employed in typically feminine occupations, such as wet-nurse, or midwife, and in the production of cloth-

⁴⁶ Bradley (1991) 161: “The factors governing remarriage and the reconstitution of families hardly need to be spelled out. Men died prematurely from the accidents of warfare, women from the hazards of childbirth, both from the ravages of uncontrollable disease”.

⁴⁷ E.g. Bradley (1991) chapter 7.

⁴⁸ A series of articles by Treggiari, most importantly (1976) and (1979); Günther (1987) on slave and freed women; Joshel (1992) offers an important and influential analysis of all occupational epitaphs from the city of Rome.

⁴⁹ Joshel (1992) 69, table 3.1, based on the material from Rome (*CIL* 6). Domestic service accounts for 41.3 per cent of the employed women; manufacturing comes second with 23.6 per cent.

⁵⁰ According to my own preliminary calculations, this job accounts for no less than twenty per cent of all working women in Rome and Ostia (*CIL* 6 and *CIL* 14).

ing or cloth.⁵¹ The building and transport sectors were reserved exclusively for the physically stronger men.⁵² It would appear that a gendered labour market was firmly in place. Modern scholars, too, seem to think it natural: women after all did have “nimble fingers” that were useful in “fiddly’ jobs”.⁵³ But this is not the whole picture.

The majority of the women in occupational inscriptions were in fact slaves or former slaves.⁵⁴ This should not surprise us, as funerary inscriptions in the Roman Empire were generally reserved for individuals of a servile background.⁵⁵ For this reason, the occupational inscriptions cannot give us any conclusive answers with regard to the labour participation of free-born women (*ingenuae*). As a possible explanation for the predominance of slaves and ex-slaves, scholars have pointed to slaves’ easier access to job training, particularly in the context of the urban elite household.⁵⁶ However, the apprenticeship contracts that survive from Roman Egypt indicate that job training was available to both slave and freeborn children. Freeborn boys outnumbered slave boys by no less than 4:1.⁵⁷ Apparently freeborn boys did have access to job training for the more skilled jobs. Taking both sexes together, the ratio of freeborn to slave apprentices was still 2:1. Strikingly, however, there is little evidence for the involvement of freeborn girls.⁵⁸ In my opinion, the Roman life cycle posed a fundamental restriction to free-born women’s opportunities to learn a trade. It was expected that all women would marry, usually at a relatively early age, at which point the young woman moved from her parental home to her new residence.⁵⁹ The investment of an apprenticeship might not have paid off in the short time before marriage; moreover, it was perhaps considered preferable to keep a daughter safely inside the home to protect her chastity.

However, there are of course other ways to learn a trade, starting from the very early years. It is probable that many children, boys as well as girls,

⁵¹ Medical women: Flemming (2000) and this volume; clothing and cloth production: Treggiari (1979), Dixon (2001b).

⁵² Joshel (1992) 69, table 3.1.

⁵³ Treggiari (1979) 67 and 79.

⁵⁴ Joshel (1992) 98; Holleran, this volume.

⁵⁵ Mouritsen (2011) 127–128 on “freedmen’s near-monopoly of funerary epigraphy”: epitaphs make up the bulk of occupational inscriptions.

⁵⁶ Saller (2013) 78; Joshel (1992) 74; Forbes (1955); Mohler (1940).

⁵⁷ Taken from Bradley (1991) 107, who works with a sample of 30 contracts; Bergamasco (1995) provides a more recent collection of contracts, but the general pattern is the same.

⁵⁸ Bradley (1991) 108; *pace* Van Minnen (1998). The single attestation of a freeborn female apprentice is in P. Heid.IV 326 of AD 98. Saller (2013) 79–80.

⁵⁹ Bradley (1991) 108.

contributed to the family income from a young age. The Romans had no concept of child labour.⁶⁰ Because children assisted in and around the house, the adults of the family gained the time to adopt a more lucrative economic strategy and engage in better-paid occupations. Children—girls and boys alike—were sometimes commemorated with a skilled or semi-skilled occupation in their own right. We hear of four girls who were commemorated as hairdressers (*ornatrices*) at the tender ages of nine to thirteen years old.⁶¹ Nine-year-old Viccentia was commemorated as a gold-spinner (*aurinetrix*) by her mother in *CIL* 6, 9213; Pagus was only twelve years old when he died, but we are told that he could manufacture wonderful golden bracelets.⁶² Although some of these children were probably slaves or freedmen, it may nevertheless be assumed that freeborn children could have learnt from their parents, too—if only because manumitted slaves would instruct their own freeborn children. One can assume that these children acquired further responsibilities and learned the tricks of the trade as they grew older: the girls, too, gained experience and skill for when they started out in married life.

Learning by doing may easily have continued after marriage. It was probably common for women to help out in a family business. Indeed, working women sometimes appear alongside their husbands in epitaphs; sometimes both partners shared an occupation. The two pairs of *brattiarum* (gold leaf beaters) in *CIL* 6, 6939 and *CIL* 6, 9211 are a good example of such working partnerships. Of the latter, Le Gall stated that it was probably the freedman C. Fulcinus Hermeros who did the actual ‘beating’, while his wife Fulvia Melema sold the produce.⁶³ However, there is no evidence for this whatsoever in the text. Quite the contrary: the couple took pains to identify both partners as professionals. This situation is perhaps comparable to England in the early modern period, where a widow was often admitted to the guild in her husband’s place, even without the appropriate ‘formal’ training. In some places she was even allowed to train journeymen in her own right,

⁶⁰ Petermandl (1997); for a more extensive discussion of child labour see Laes (2006) 133–197.

⁶¹ *Ornatrices* required at least two months of training to qualify for the title, cf. *Dig.* 32, 65, 3. *CIL* 6, 9731; *CIL* 6, 9728; *CIL* 6, 9726; and probably *CIL* 10, 1941—although her age is not legible with certainty, this girl seems to be a teenager.

⁶² *Viccentia dulcissima filia / aurinetrix q(u)ae / vixit an(nos) VIII m(enses) VIII*; Pagus *CIL* 6, 9437.

⁶³ LeGall (1970) 125; cf. Dixon (2001a) 125; *CIL* 6, 9211: *C(aius) Fulcinus C(ai) l(ibertus) / Hermeros / brattiarum / Fulvia Melema / vixit annis XXXVIII / brattiarum*. See also Holleran, this volume.

which indicates that her skills were fully appreciated.⁶⁴ It is impossible to say whether there really was a difference in the work performed by a man and woman who held the same job title. This was apparently the case in early modern Germany: "In general, seamstresses were relegated to working with old, used, or cheap cloth while male tailors reserved the right to all other types".⁶⁵

That a woman could play a pivotal part in the family business is clear from the epitaph of Mecia Dynata (*CIL* 6, 9493). It was set up in accordance with her will and because of her bequest (*ex testam(ento) et dona(tione) t(estamenti) c(ausa)*). Dynata's legacy consisted of no fewer than three shops. She was presumably engaged in wool-working, although that is not explicitly stated. Any members of Dynata's family who are recorded with job-title, however, were involved in the wool-trade. The text seems to indicate that her mother, Mecia Flora, had formerly passed on the family business to Dynata and her brother Lucius Mecius Rusticus. Rusticus is described as a *lanarius* (wool-worker) and owned a shop at the Vicus Fortis. Thus, the mother Flora, a wool-comber (*tonstrix*) herself, seems to have passed on a flourishing family business to her children. We do not know what Flora's husband Hermagoras did for a living; nor do we know whether Dynata was married, and if so, what her own husband's occupation was.

Women were not always engaged in the family business; there are attestations of women engaged in independent jobs as well. The predominance of slave women in the domestic sector, however, may have restricted the range of options open to freeborn women, who in addition had little access to job training. For these women, it could be attractive to go into retail, as it required little skill or training.⁶⁶ Others were more like "small professionals".⁶⁷ The freedwoman Philema probably worked as an inn-keeper independently from her husband: we are explicitly told that he was engaged in a completely different economic enterprise as an eye-carver (i.e. carving the glass eyes for statues).⁶⁸ Likewise there is no occupational link between the freed *lecticarius* (litter-bearer) and the *tonstrix* (barber) of *CIL* 6, 5865. The freeborn *medica* Vibia Primilla died at the age of forty-four. She is identified first by her job, and only subsequently by her familial role as daughter (*Luci*

⁶⁴ Prior (1985) 103.

⁶⁵ Honeyman and Goodman (1991) 611.

⁶⁶ Holleran, this volume.

⁶⁷ Treggiari (1979), who then excludes these small professionals from her investigation.

⁶⁸ *CIL* 6, 9824: *Critonia Q(uinti) l(iberta) Philema /pop(inari)a de insula/ Q(uinti) Critoni/(mulieris) l(iberti) Dessi/sculptoris uclari(i)/sibi suisque poster(isque)/eor(um)*.

Vibi Melitonis filia) and wife (*coniux optima casta*); her husband does not mention his own occupation in their joint epitaph.⁶⁹ Q. Futius Olympicus does not record his job either in the epitaph he set up to Sellia Epyre—but it does say that *she* worked as a gold-embroiderer in a shop that was located along the Via Sacra.⁷⁰ The shop location suggests that Sellia Epyre was an entrepreneur, and as an *aurivestrix* she would have needed to have access to significant capital.

Strikingly, an independent female entrepreneur could also be engaged in the domestic sector; women may have been engaged in ‘domestic’ or ‘feminine’ jobs, but apparently that did not necessarily mean that they were servants in a household. A famous example is the freed hairdresser (*ornatrix*) Nostia Daphne. She was married to a goldsmith, but seems to have owned (or worked at) a beauty parlour in the Vicus Longus:

Nostia / (mulieris) l(iberta) / Daphne / ornatrix de / vico Longo // M(arcus) Nerius M(arcus) l(ibertus) / Quadratu[s] / aurifex d[e] / vico Longo / [...]

Nostia Daphne, freedwoman of a woman, hairdresser in the Vicus Longus. Marcus Nerius Quadratus, freedman of Marcus, goldsmith in the Vicus Longus.⁷¹

If we take it that Quadratus was Daphne’s husband/partner, she did not simply help out in his business, but contributed to the family income through her own independent wage-earning occupation.

Slaves and freedwomen were no less a part of these economic ‘adaptations’, albeit in strategies thought out by their masters or patrons. If slave women were members of a larger household, their occupations need to be seen in that context. Thus, the fact that six of the eight slave spinsters (*quasillariae*) we hear of in Rome belonged to the household of the Statilii can be explained by this family’s interests in cloth-production for the market.⁷² Both slaves and freedmen could act as agents for their masters; they could be employed as overseers of a workshop, for example.⁷³ A trusted freedman, in turn, could perhaps manage a more independent ‘franchise’ branch of the business and perhaps eventually succeed his patron. Is this perhaps what

⁶⁹ CIL 6, 7581: *Deae sanctae meae / Primillae medicae / L(uci) Vibi Melitonis filiae) / vixit annis XXXXIII / ex eis cum L(ucio) Cocceio / Aphthoro XXX sine / querella fecit / Aphthorus coniug(i) / optimae castae / et sibi.*

⁷⁰ CIL 6, 9214: *Sellia / Epyre / de sacra via / aurivestrix // Q(uinti) Futi Olympici.*

⁷¹ CIL 6, 37 469.

⁷² Hasegawa (2005) 39–44.

⁷³ Aubert (1994).

happened in the case of the axle makers of *CIL* 6, 9215? The freedman Euty-chus commemorates his patron Philocalus, himself a freedman; both are termed *axearius*—they have become equals.⁷⁴ Verboven is no doubt correct in stating that more often than not the epigraphic sources provide “no way of knowing whether for instance a freedman fuller was the independent owner, lessee or manager of a workshop, the manager of a dependent branch, a foreman or a simple workman”.⁷⁵ This remark highlights the wide range of economic strategies available.

Conclusion

In the literary sources, Roman women are generally portrayed in accordance with the elite ideal of a housewife. Epigraphic sources reflect this ideal to a certain extent, but women are also represented as actively participating in the urban economy. Gender biases must have had some basis in reality. I have argued that Rome was a patriarchal society, where preconceptions about women may have led to the existence of a secondary labour market: women had fewer options on the labour market than men did. Nevertheless, it is highly likely that women contributed to the family income. Freeborn women may not have had equal access to job training—as is suggested by the scarcity of the evidence for apprenticeship contracts for freeborn girls—but the situation was very different for slave girls. This does not mean that freeborn women had no opportunity to pick up a trade at home as they were growing up, since work began at a very early age. It is therefore not surprising that the occupational inscriptions show women as independent entrepreneurs and artisans, working with their husbands in the family business, like the *brattiarum*, or in an independent job: as a doctor (*medica*), for instance.⁷⁶ They could be just as skilled as their male counterparts. In the context of the model of the adaptive family economy, their economic contribution is only to be expected. But the model also countenances the fact that many women *did* conform to the ideal of the ‘virtuous housewife’, or that yet others combined domestic tasks and a part-time job. Working women are a

⁷⁴ *M(arcus) Sergius M(arci) l(ibertus) / Euty-chus / axearius sibi et / M(arco) Sergio M(arci) l(iberto) / Philocalo / axeario patron(o)*. See Mouritsen (2011) on the strong economic ties between freedmen and their patrons; Joshel (1992) 128–145, specifically 136–137 for the example of the axle makers.

⁷⁵ Verboven (2012) 93.

⁷⁶ See the paper of Rebecca Flemming in this volume.

minority in the sources. It remains unclear whether they were a minority in reality as well. Each simply chose the way she could contribute best to her particular family situation, and the evidence suggests that many women made an active contribution to the family income. Women were an integrated part of economic life in Roman society.

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WOMEN AND RETAIL IN ROMAN ITALY

Claire Holleran

Introduction

Despite Carcopino's comments about their "indolence",¹ many women in Roman Italy were economically active both within and outside the home, by choice or by necessity. Women could move with relative freedom around urban centres, and aside from the legal ban on working as *argentarii* (bankers), there were few formal barriers to female participation in the workforce.² Women appear as pawnbrokers in Pompeii, and as active participants in business transactions in bodies of material such as the Sulpician archives from Puteoli and in Egyptian papyri.³ They were free to act as *institores*, running enterprises on behalf of other people,⁴ and the jurists accepted that women legitimately conducted business in the Roman world, arguing that masculine terms, even when used in the singular, should be taken to include feminine equivalents.⁵ The practice of subsuming women into the masculine versions of nouns, something which can also be seen when women are commemorated with groups of artisans in inscriptions,⁶ is a grammatical convention that contributes to the underrepresentation of women in our written sources, both literary and legal, but there is still plenty of evidence to indicate that women in Roman Italy were economically active.

There were, however, some cultural conventions and institutional factors that limited the economic opportunities open to women, particularly to those who were freeborn. The presence of slaves and freed slaves within

¹ Carcopino (1941) 202.

² Call. *Dig.* 2.13.12. For women's legal capacity in business, see Gardner (1986) 233–237. See also Dixon (2004).

³ Pawnbroker at Pompeii, see Faustilla: *CIL* 4, 4528, 8203, 8204. Domitia Margaritis: *CIL* 4, 3340, lines 154–155, Holleran (2012) 227. For women in the Sulpicii archive, see Gardner (1999). In Egyptian papyri, see Hobson (1984), Gardner (1986) 233, 240–245, 254 n. 23. See also n. 56.

⁴ Ulp. *Dig.* 14.3.7.1, Gaius *Dig.* 14.3.8.

⁵ Ulp. *Dig.* 3.5.3.1, 50.16.195 pr. Gaius *Dig.* 50.16.152, Dixon (2004) 63, 72 n. 36.

⁶ See p. 314 of the present paper.

wealthy urban households in Italy, for example, may have restricted the opportunities for freeborn women in domestic service, while female slaves also appear to have had superior access to training in crafts.⁷ The sorts of jobs that stimulated female migration to urban centres such as London from the early modern period up to the early twentieth century, primarily domestic service and manufacturing, do not appear to have been widely available to freeborn women.⁸ Furthermore, although Libanius claims that women and children unloaded ships at Antioch, cultural conventions and physical limitations make it unlikely that women in Roman Italy were routinely hired to work as porters or as labourers on building sites.⁹ In this environment, retail was likely an attractive option to women, since it required little formal training, had minimal physical requirements, and was also compatible with childcare. This paper explores women's role within the retail trade in Roman Italy in more detail, beginning with their involvement in family businesses, before considering their place in market trading and street vending. Women were not only sellers but were also buyers, and the final part of the paper focuses on the evidence for women's role as customers in the urban centres of Roman Italy.

Women in Production and Commerce

Inscriptions rarely record female artisans or retailers, but the few examples that do exist suggest that women could play an active role in urban businesses. Freedwomen, for example, are sometimes commemorated alongside groups of *colliberti* of the same occupation; Avillia Philusa appears with a number of other male Avillii, all *vestiarii* (clothes-makers) from the Cermalus Minusculus in Rome, while Babbia Asia is commemorated alongside a male Babbius and three male Plotii, all named as *gemmarii* (jewellers) from the Via Sacra.¹⁰ As freedmen and freedwomen, these workers most likely learned their trade as slaves, indicating that there were no barriers to female slaves being taught artisanal skills. Indeed, for slave owners, training

⁷ For large urban slave households, see, for example, Treggiari's study of the household of Livia (1975), or Hasegawa (2005) 30–51 for occupations listed in the columbaria of the Statilii, Volusii, the Iunii, and Livia. For female slaves trained in crafts, see pp. 314–315 in the present paper.

⁸ For female employment in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century London, see Schwarz (1992) 14–22.

⁹ Lib. Or. 11.261.

¹⁰ *Vestiarii*: CIL 6, 33920. *Gemmarii*: CIL 6, 9435. See also CIL 6, 9398 for women included in lists of *ferrarii* (blacksmiths), also 9933 for *thurarii* (incense dealers). Joshel (1992) 141.

a slave in a skill was a sound economic investment, since a skilled slave was potentially more useful in a domestic context, generated more profit if put to work in a business, and was worth more than an unskilled slave, if sold. Perhaps most famously, the elder Cato apparently lent money to his own slaves to purchase others, whom they would then train for a year and sell on at a profit.¹¹

Apprenticeship contracts from Roman Egypt also include a number of female slaves, in these particular cases, all apprenticed to weavers. Cloth production is something that might typically be associated with women, but in these documents, women are far outnumbered by male apprentice weavers of both free and slave status, although in one document a girl is apprenticed to a female weaver, Aurelia Libouke.¹² Free males appear frequently in the apprenticeship contracts from Roman Egypt, but free females are rare, suggesting that they were not routinely apprenticed outside the home.¹³ Some female children may, however, have learnt a craft within the home; Viccentia, for example, an *auri netrix* (spinner of gold), died at the age of nine and was commemorated by one or both of her parents, pointing to the potential role of children within production.¹⁴

Women also appear in inscriptions with individual men, most probably their husbands. Fulvia Melema, for example, a woman of uncertain legal status, is named as a *brattiararia* (worker in gold leaf), alongside Gaius Fulcinus Hermeros, a freedman and *brattiararius* from Rome.¹⁵ From Turin, a female *clavaria* (nailmaker), Cornelia Venusta, a freedwoman, is recorded with P. Aebutius, a freeborn *clavarius*.¹⁶ It has been suggested that when women are paired with men in this way, they should be understood as retailers, selling the work of male artisans.¹⁷ Yet although Latin terminology can often be ambiguous, with many occupational terms referring to either a manufacturer or a seller, the deliberate inclusion of equivalent occupational

¹¹ Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 21.7, cf. Plut. *Crass.* 2.5. Bodel (2011) 326–327, 331.

¹² See Bradley (1991) 107, Table 5.1. Female weaver and apprentice: *P. Mich. inv.* 5191a (= SB 18 13305), Bradley (1991) 120 n. 20, Pearl (1985). The status of the girl is disputed; Bradley and Pearl view her as a slave, but van Minnen (1998) argues that she is freeborn.

¹³ For rare examples of free females in apprenticeship contracts, see van Minnen (1998), *contra* Bradley (1991) 107–108.

¹⁴ *CIL* 6, 9213 = *ILS* 7691.

¹⁵ *CIL* 6, 9211. See also *CIL* 6, 6939 for another pair of male and female workers in gold leaf, most probably *colliberti*, although she may have been his freedwoman: Aulus Septicius Apollonius, freedman of Aulus, *brattiararius*, and Septicia Rufa, freedwoman of Aulus, *brattiararia*.

¹⁶ *CIL* 5, 7023.

¹⁷ Le Gall (1970) 125–126, see also Evans (1991) 119–121.

titles for both parties in these inscriptions surely marks them out as doing the same or similar jobs. Furthermore, in these particular cases, the occupational titles clearly refer to an activity, rather than a commodity to be retailed.¹⁸

The notion that women were concerned primarily with retail is in many ways a reflection of modern assumptions about gender and feminine roles, although there is some evidence that women worked as retailers within production businesses in Roman Italy. Paintings flanking the entrance to the so-called workshop of Verecundus at Pompeii (IX.7.5–7), for example, point to women in retail. On one side of the entrance, below a large image of the Venus of Pompeii, male workers are shown in the process of producing felt, while Verecundus, his name written below his feet, holds up a piece of finished cloth. On the other side, below an image of Mercury, a woman is shown sitting behind a table on which a variety of cloth goods, including felt shoes, are displayed for sale. A second table also displays goods, while to her right, a male customer is shown sitting on a bench.¹⁹ The woman is not named and no indication of her position within the business is given; she may be a hired worker, or a slave or freedwoman of the household, although given her prominence in the decorative scheme, she is generally assumed to be Verecundus' wife.²⁰ Verecundus, perhaps the same Verecundus named in a graffito elsewhere at Pompeii as a *vestiarius*,²¹ must have been involved in the manufacture, and perhaps also import, of felt and other cloth, which were then retailed to the residents of Pompeii by the woman depicted, and perhaps also by others, including Verecundus himself.

Verecundus' business may have been a more extensive enterprise, but the craftsman who retailed his own products through his workshop was a common figure in the pre-industrial world, and no doubt also in Roman Italy.²² In such cases, it may have been common for wives (and perhaps also children) to engage in the retailing side of the business. Since retailing requires little or no formal training, other than basic numeracy, and freeborn women appear to have had less access to skilled apprenticeships than men, it may be that women (and children) were particularly suited to this task. Women with at least some education were perhaps also able to assist with the management of businesses, a practice suggested by a second-century

¹⁸ See also Gardner (1986) 239.

¹⁹ For a detailed description and reproductions of the paintings, see Clarke (2003) 105–112.

²⁰ Clarke (2003) 109.

²¹ *CIL* 4, 3130.

²² Holleran (2012) 13–14.

relief of a butcher's shop, which depicts a man engaged in the butchering of meat, while a woman in rather formal attire is shown sitting to one side with wax tablets in her hand, presumably working on the accounts of the shop.²³

Marriage for women, including the freeborn, was not then necessarily incompatible with work, and nor were women confined to the domestic sphere. The separation between domestic and commercial space was, in any case, not clearly defined in the pre-industrial world. Most of the commercial units (conventionally known as *tabernae*) that lined the streets of urban centres in Roman Italy included living accommodation, located in a back room, on a mezzanine floor, or simply within the shop or workshop itself;²⁴ women (and again, children) could then simultaneously be at home and contribute to a business. Although a relief of a potter and his wife from the late first or early second century AD shows him engaged in work, glazing a cup, and the woman in her domestic role, holding a fan and some bread, this more than likely represents an ideal, rather than a general reality.²⁵ In practice, perhaps even in this particular case, a woman was more than likely expected to contribute her labour to the family business in addition to her domestic duties, either on a full-time basis, or as and when required.

The role of such women is almost certainly underreported in our sources, since it is probable that many women worked within family businesses with little formal recognition of their role.²⁶ The ideology that women were to remain in the domestic sphere had a significant impact on how they were represented in literature and in funerary commemorations.²⁷ Thus in inscriptions that name both a woman and a man, but provide an occupational title for the man only, we can at least raise the possibility that the woman concerned played an active, if unacknowledged, role within the business. Lepida, for example, is commemorated with Apollonius, a freedman;²⁸ the occupational title *faber eborarius* (ivory worker) appears to refer only to Apollonius, but Lepida may well have contributed to the family business, at least as a retailer or a manager, if not also as a producer or a labourer. Furthermore, widows may well have carried on family businesses after the

²³ Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, inv. ZV 44, D'Ambra (2007) 135–137, Fig. 78.

²⁴ For more on *tabernae* in Roman Italy, with further references, see Holleran (2012) 99–113. For *tabernae* and living accommodation, see Var. *L.* 5. 160, Cic. *Att.* 14. 9. 1, *Cat.* 4. 17; Hor. *Carm.* 1. 4. 13–14; Tac. *Hist.* 1. 86; Holleran (2012) 152–157.

²⁵ Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art, inv. 60.2; D'Ambra (2007) 24–25, Fig. 11.

²⁶ Kampen (1981) 125–126.

²⁷ For the Roman feminine ideal, see Groen-Vallinga in this volume.

²⁸ *CIL* 6, 33423.

death of a spouse. Unless such women had surviving children or remarried, there may well have been no one to commemorate them when they died, another factor that potentially contributes to the underrepresentation of working women in our sources.²⁹

Women could also work outside the home, as could children, a practice that ensured that a household was not dependent solely on the success of a single business in order to survive. Indeed, some women appear to have had roles in economic spheres entirely different from those of their husbands. Nostia Daphne, for example, a freedwoman hairdresser from the Vicus Longus is commemorated with one Marcus Nerius Quadratus, a freed goldsmith from the same street, most probably her husband.³⁰ It is not clear whether they shared the same premises or perhaps were neighbours, but certainly they were involved in very different activities; the simple model of a male craftsman and a female retailer does not apply here.³¹ Nor can we apply this model to couples who both appear to be involved in distribution rather than production; we know, for example, of a *conditarius* and *conditaria* (dealers in preserved food) who worked together in or near the *castra praetoria* in Rome.³²

Furthermore, women could be artisans or dealers in their own right. In Rome, for example, Pollecla sold vegetables on the Via Nova, and Abudia Megiste was a dealer (*negotiatrix*) in grain and pulses, based at the Middle Stairs, an otherwise unknown location.³³ We also know of a Sellia Epyre, an *auri vestrix* from the Via Sacra, who either worked with gold cloth or embroidered cloth using gold thread.³⁴ Both Abudia Megiste and Sellia Epyre were commemorated by their husbands, but there is no suggestion that they shared a trade, since in both cases the occupational title is feminine and refers to the woman only. Perhaps most famously, a female shoemaker, Septimia Stratonicē, was commemorated at Ostia by a male friend, Marcus Acilius, in return for a favour that she had done for him; she is depicted holding a shoe last, clearly indicating that she is not to be understood as a shoe

²⁹ Treggiari (1979).

³⁰ *CIL* 6, 37469. See also *CIL* 6, 9736 for one Cleopatra, an *ornatrix* (hairdresser) from the same street, possibly freed by Nostia Daphne: Treggiari (1979).

³¹ See also *CIL* 6, 5865, 9824 for couples with different occupations. Also Groen-Vallinga in this volume.

³² *CIL* 6, 9277.

³³ Pollecla: *CIL* 6, 9684. Abudia Megiste: *CIL* 6, 9683.

³⁴ *CIL* 6, 9214 = *ILS* 7692. See also *CIL* 6, 5972 for Domitia, a *margaritaria* (pearl dealer), *CIL* 6, 9892 for Thymele Marcella, a *siricaria* (silk worker), and *CIL* 6, 9715 for an *officinatrix* (woman who keeps a workshop), who died aged 30.



Fig. 1. Relief of bar counter, Isola Sacra Tomb 90 FU 5963 F, Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome.

seller, but a shoemaker.³⁵ The legal sources also include independent businesswomen; Scaevola, for example, considers that a woman's bequest to her daughter included the silver that she had for her own personal use but not the stock of her shop.³⁶

Women also made a significant contribution to retail by their work in inns, bars, and cookshops. These establishments—known in Latin primarily as *cauponae* or *popinae*—played a central role in distribution in Italian urban centres, selling hot and cold food, and wine to consume both on and off the premises; some also provided lodgings for their customers.³⁷ The evidence suggests that women were commonly found working in *cauponae* and *popinae*. A relief from Ostia depicting a bar scene, for example, shows a woman serving two male customers (Fig. 1), while a female server is also shown in paintings preserved in a rear room in the so-called 'caupona della Via di Mercurio' at Pompeii (VI.10.1).³⁸ In the *Metamorphoses*, Lucius goes to the first *caupona* that he comes to in Larissa, an establishment run by an elderly woman named Meroe, while Servius, cited by Pomponius, includes a female kitchen worker as part of the staff of a *caupona*.³⁹

³⁵ *CIL* 14, suppl. 4698, Ostia, Museo Archeologico Ostiense, inv. 1418, discussed e.g. in Kampen (1981) 63–65.

³⁶ Scaevola apud Paul. *Dig.* 34.2.32.4, Gardner (1986) 235.

³⁷ Holleran (2012) 135–149.

³⁸ Fantham (1994) 336.

³⁹ Apul. *Met.* 1.7, Pompon. *Dig.* 33.7.15.pr.

Some of these women may also have worked as prostitutes. Graffiti from Pompeii include price lists for the services of prostitutes and the sexual boasts of clientele,⁴⁰ while Ulpian closely links *caupona* with prostitution, stating that “we will say that not only does the woman who prostitutes herself in a brothel make a living openly, but also any woman in a *caupona* (a common practice) or any other woman who does not spare her sense of shame”.⁴¹ Some women ran bars and inns with their husbands, and while being married does not in itself preclude a woman from prostitution, we cannot assume that all women who worked in these establishments were prostitutes.⁴² Amemone, for example, an innkeeper from Tibur was described by her husband in her epitaph as a *popinaria nota* (a well-known cookshop keeper) and a *coniunx sancta* (sacred wife); it is doubtful that she worked as a prostitute.⁴³ The famous tombstone from Aesernia (Isernia) in Southern Italy, recording an imaginary conversation between an innkeeper and a traveller, also commemorates L. Calidius Eroticus and a woman, Fannia Voluptas, presumably his wife, with whom he ran the inn; the traveller is charged for a female prostitute, but despite the names of the proprietors (surely nicknames?), there is no suggestion that the woman herself was a prostitute.⁴⁴ There does, however, appear to have been a common association between such establishments and prostitution, and those women who worked in these places must have been subject to a certain degree of social prejudice, although this was perhaps lessened if they worked alongside their husbands.⁴⁵

Much of our evidence for working women in Italy is based on occupational inscriptions, the vast majority of which are drawn from the city of Rome.⁴⁶ This epigraphic record is dominated by men and women of slave and freed status, but as is well-known, this is a reflection of the ‘epigraphic habit’ of these people, rather than of the legal status of the working population of Rome.⁴⁷ Our evidence then is somewhat skewed, since both male

⁴⁰ McGinn (2002) 35–42, (2004) 267–290 includes a catalogue of possible brothels at Pompeii, including numerous bars that show evidence of prostitution. See also Flemming (1999) for a detailed discussion of the economics of female prostitution in the Roman empire.

⁴¹ Ulp. Dig. 23. 2. 43 pr. *Palam quaestum facere dicemus non tantum eam, quae in lupanario se prostituit, verum etiam si qua (ut adsolet) in taberna cauponia vel qua alia pudori suo non parcat.* See also Ulp. Dig. 3.2.4.2, 23.2.43.9, Just. Cod. 4.56.3, 5.5.7, Theod. Cod. 4.6.3, 9.7.1.

⁴² For husbands prostituting their wives, see Flemming (1999) 41.

⁴³ CIL 14, 3709 = ILS 7477; Lefkowitz and Fant (1992) 220, Kampen (1981) 110.

⁴⁴ CIL 9, 2689.

⁴⁵ See p. 327 for women as customers in bars and cookshops.

⁴⁶ For a study of the occupational inscriptions from Rome, see Joshel (1992).

⁴⁷ E.g. Mouritsen (2005) 46.

and female freeborn workers are underrepresented in the body of occupational inscriptions. For working women in particular, the evidence is difficult to interpret, since women of any legal status appear so seldom in the epigraphic record. Clearly inscriptions include examples of slave, freed, and possibly freeborn women engaging in production and commerce in Roman Italy, but how representative these women were of a wider phenomenon is difficult to know. Yet combined with the legal, literary, and visual material, it seems probable that these examples point to widespread female involvement in the economic life of Italian urban centres. Women might be found within a narrower range of jobs than men, but they were economically active.⁴⁸ Many married women were more than likely involved in family businesses, but some would also have worked independently; over the life cycle of a family, a woman could have adapted her working pattern to suit particular circumstances, working both within and outside of the household.⁴⁹

However, the dominance of those of slave and freed status within the domestic staff of large households, and also within production is significant, since this must have had an impact on the opportunities available to freeborn women. They appear to have had less access to formal training and apprenticeships, and were, therefore, more likely to play a role in retail, since this requires fewer skills and less training. For unskilled women who married skilled artisans, retailing the products produced by their husbands may have been the easiest way for them to contribute to the household income. Indeed, for unskilled women, retailing was probably one of the most accessible ways of earning a living in Rome, not only within the contexts already discussed, but also in a wider sense, since women could also work as market traders or street vendors, a phenomenon discussed in more detail in the following section.

Women as Market Traders and Street Vendors

As we have seen, Roman women often worked as artisans or retailers in workshops and shops, and as cooks, innkeepers, waitresses, and prostitutes in taverns. The ancient evidence indicates that women also retailed goods and services in other contexts, such as in marketplaces or simply in the streets or open spaces of Italian urban centres. The characters in Petronius'

⁴⁸ Treggiari (1979); Gardner (1986) 233.

⁴⁹ See Groen-Vallinga in this volume.

novel, for example, encounter an elderly woman selling vegetables in the street, although in this particular case, she is also drumming up business for a nearby brothel.⁵⁰ Martial also likens verse spuriously attributed to him to the shouts of a female hawker or *circulatrix*.⁵¹ The term *circulator*, and its feminine equivalent *circulatrix*, derives from the verb *circulo*, implying the formation of circles around oneself, hinting at the performative aspect of street selling. Indeed, *circulator* is also used to refer to entertainers, implying something of a crossover between performers and retailers, who must have attracted attention through their engaging sales patter.

Female sellers also appear in Roman paintings and reliefs. A woman, for example, may be included among the sellers depicted in the frieze of Pompeian forum scenes painted in the atrium of the house of Julia Felix at Pompeii (II.4).⁵² The items sold include cloth, shoes, metal vessels, and above all, food, including bread, fruit and vegetables, and hot food, sold from a large cauldron suspended over a fire. Although women appear regularly among the customers in these scenes, the sellers are almost exclusively male, but there is one potentially female vendor, selling fruit and vegetables from a small wooden table and from baskets on the ground, although the gender of even this figure is not entirely clear.⁵³

A relief of a female poultry vendor from Ostia more clearly indicates the potential involvement of women in the sale of fresh food (Fig. 2).⁵⁴ In this particular relief, dated to the second-century AD, a woman is shown behind a stall made out of cages containing live poultry and rabbits (or hares); two dead birds are seen hanging to one side of the stall, while a man holds a dead rabbit. On the stall are two bowls of fruit and a large wooden barrel with two holes. The small carving of a snail next to the barrel must be intended to indicate its contents. To the far side of the barrel are two monkeys, sitting on top of the cages and looking directly at the viewer; these must have been pets, used to attract and to entertain customers. The woman is in the centre of the scene and appears to be the dominant figure, but a man is also shown behind the counter. This position marks him out as a seller, although he is behind the woman and barely seen. A man to the side of the stall may also be

⁵⁰ Petr. *Sat.* 7.

⁵¹ Mart. 10.3.1–6. For a more detailed discussion of street trading in Rome, see Holleran (2012) 194–231.

⁵² Now in Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. See Nappo (1989), Guzzo (2005) for detailed descriptions of the panels, and good quality reproductions.

⁵³ Inv. 9065. Nappo (1989) 86, for example, describes the seller as male, while Kampen (1993) 66 argues that the seller is female. For women as customers, see pp. 325–327.

⁵⁴ For a detailed discussion, see Kampen (1981) 52–59.



Fig. 2. Relief of poultry seller, Ostia FU 2380, Fototeca Unione, American Academy in Rome.

a seller, as he has his arms open in gesticulation and looks to be engaged in a discussion with the man holding the dead rabbit. The original function of this relief is unknown; it may have been intended as a shop sign, as a place marker for a stall, or may have originally formed part of a funerary monument. The context in which this stall should be viewed is, therefore, difficult to know, but it may have been located within a market place or perhaps on a street or other open space.

A further relief from Ostia, also dated to the second-century AD, shows a vegetable seller behind a stall made up of a temporary trestle table and a series of stepped shelves on which vegetables are displayed. A basket shown underneath the stall was presumably used to store and to carry the produce. As the features are somewhat indistinct and the clothes could be worn by either a male or a female, the gender of the seller is unclear, but given the lack of beard, the seller is generally taken to be a woman.⁵⁵ The original find spot of this relief is unknown, again making it difficult to identify its original purpose, and thus the context of the stall; the basket and trestle table point to the temporary nature of the stall, while the shelves in the background may hint at something more permanent, perhaps a space within a formal marketplace. However, if this does indeed depict a woman, the relief at least serves to illustrate further the role that women in Roman Italy could play in the sale and distribution of food, not only within taverns, as we have

⁵⁵ As, for example, Kampen (1981) 59–64.

seen, but also in markets and even perhaps in less formal contexts, such as on street stalls.⁵⁶ Women also sold prepared food. Four freedwomen, for example, were granted the concession to set up a kitchen (*culina*) to prepare and sell food at a sanctuary to Venus near modern Cassino in Italy, setting up the kitchen at their own cost:⁵⁷

Flacceia A(uli) l(iberta) Lais / Orbia l(iberta) Lais / Cominia M(arci) l(iberta) Philocaris / Venturia Q(uinti) l(iberta) Thais / culinam Veneri de suo / fecerunt loco precario

Flacceia Lais, freedwoman of Aulus, Orbia Lais, freedwoman, Cominia Philocaris, freedwoman of Marcus, Venturia Thais, freedwoman of Quintus, set up a kitchen for Venus, at their own cost; place revocable.

Street vendors play a central role in contemporary informal economies around the world, selling a wide variety of consumer goods, but focusing in particular on the sale of fresh fruit, vegetables, and prepared food. Although such activities are typically classed as part of the ‘informal economy’, they are by no means marginal or peripheral; in fact, street vending has significant potential for job provision and income generation.⁵⁸ In countries where there are few cultural barriers restricting female economic activity, women typically dominate this sector, attracted by the low cost of entry, the minimal training or technical knowledge required, aside from basic numeracy, and the flexible working hours, which are compatible with childcare; children themselves can also act as sellers.⁵⁹ The same may also have been true in Roman Italy, but although the ancient evidence indicates that women participated in market trading and street vending, it is unclear whether such women were the exceptions, or whether they are representative of a wider phenomenon. Certainly overall, men dominate the evidence for market trading and street vending in Roman Italy. However, since the economic opportunities for freeborn women were often restricted by the presence of slaves and freedwomen and by their limited access to training, such retail-

⁵⁶ In a Romano-Egyptian context, see also the second-century AD papyrus from Bacchias, which records the complaint of a female greengrocer, who claims she was assaulted by a woman and her husband on two separate occasions in her own home, while her husband was away on business; she accused the female assailant of stealing the 15 drachmas that she had in the house for the price of the vegetables that she sold. *P. Berl.* 22; Lefkowitz and Fant (1992) 126.

⁵⁷ *AE* 1975, 197, *AE* 1980, 216; Gardner (1986) 255 n. 46. The kitchen is described as ‘*locus precarius*’, suggesting that the use of the kitchen could be revoked. For more on *precarium*, see *Dig.* 43.26.

⁵⁸ Becker (2004).

⁵⁹ <http://wiego.org/>.

ing may have been one of the more accessible options for women. This is especially relevant when we consider that some of the options that were commonly open to freeborn men, such as labouring in the construction industry and portering, were less open to women.⁶⁰ Economic necessity may have driven many women into petty retail, and street selling. Women may well have dipped in and out of this sector over the life cycle of a family, adding to the family income through retail as and when needed. The selling of food was probably particularly popular, since there was almost a guaranteed market for food in urban areas and to sell fresh food from a tray or a basket would require only minimal capital investment, with perishable items being purchased by necessity on a daily basis. It is worth noting that in our visual representations of female sellers, all are selling food.

The widow in Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazusae* (446–448), who survived by making and selling garlands with her five children, is perhaps illustrative of a wider phenomenon. While she is a character in a comedy and thus a literary representation, it is probable that such figures were a commonplace of ancient urban life. In Rome at least, garland sellers tended to be found near temples, and a painting from a burial chamber near S. Stefano Rotondo in the city shows hawkers carrying garlands on curved poles.⁶¹ For women who needed an income, such small-scale production and retail was an accessible option, probably saving many from destitution, while providing at least some with a decent income and a comfortable existence.

Women as Customers

As other papers in this volume demonstrate, women could take an active role in public life in Roman Italy and the provinces.⁶² Women also moved with relative freedom around urban centres, and were engaged in the retail trade as buyers as well as sellers.⁶³ Several female shoppers, for example, are shown in the frieze of forum scenes from the House of Julia Felix at Pompeii. Two male sellers separately show cloth to two women, while elsewhere women are seated on a bench examining lengths of cloth held by a male

⁶⁰ E.g. Brunt (1966), Holleran (2011) 170–172.

⁶¹ *Ov. Fast.* 6. 791–792. *Coronarii* (garland sellers): *CIL* 6, 9227, 9282, 9283, Jashemski (1979) 274–275.

⁶² See, for example, Cenerini, Cooley, Hemelrijk, Witschel.

⁶³ See, for example, Livy's description of a peaceful Tusculum (albeit set in the fourth century BC), which includes women and children going about their business unconcerned by the threat of war (*Liv.* 6.25.9).

seller; to his side, a man negotiates the sale of cloth to further women.⁶⁴ In another scene, women are shown seated on benches while a shoemaker shows them his wares.⁶⁵ Elsewhere, a woman is depicted talking to or giving money to a stooped man with a dog, presumably a beggar, while another woman is clearly shown behind a seller of cooked food, and in a further scene, a woman presents a girl to seated magistrates.⁶⁶ Since some of the paintings are damaged, the gender of all the figures depicted in the frieze is not clear, but although men feature more prominently than women, particularly as sellers, women are clearly included in many of the scenes. The frieze is an example of genre painting, intended not to reproduce or document faithfully the Pompeian forum, but to present a typical and recognisable scene to the ancient viewer.⁶⁷ The inclusion of women in this painting can, therefore, be taken as evidence that they played an active role in the economic, social, and political life of Pompeii, and were a familiar sight in the forum of the town, a situation that was surely replicated elsewhere in Roman Italy.

These visual representations of female customers are also supported by the literary evidence. For example, women apparently shopped for wigs near the Temple of Hercules and the Muses in the Circus Flaminius in Rome,⁶⁸ while they appear as active participants in the fictional marketplace described by Petronius, acting as both sellers and buyers.⁶⁹ Much of the literary evidence for women as customers, however, relates to them purchasing goods within their own homes. Ovid, for example, complains about pedlars calling unexpectedly at the house when women are in the mood to buy.⁷⁰ In this particular passage, Ovid is to be the purchaser, but the cliché that develops in literature of the pedlar as a sexual threat suggests that women also bought goods from these sellers directly.⁷¹ The predominance of pedlars in literature more than likely reflects the bias of our source material towards elite consumption, as well as the concerns of elite authors over female sex-

⁶⁴ See n. 52: inv. 9063, 9064.

⁶⁵ Inv. 9069.

⁶⁶ Woman with beggar: inv. 9059, with seller of cooked food: inv. 9065, girl and magistrate: inv. 9067.

⁶⁷ See Holleran (forthcoming).

⁶⁸ Ov. *Ars.* 3.167–168, see also Martial 9.37 for wigs and cosmetics sold in the Subura.

⁶⁹ Petr. *Sat.* 12–15.

⁷⁰ Ov. *Ars am.* 1.421–428.

⁷¹ Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.30, *Epod.* 17.20, Prop. 4.2.38, Ovid *Rem.* 305–306, Jer. *Adv. Iovinian.* 1.47. See also Plaut. *Aul.* 505–522 for creditors calling at homes to collect payment for goods and services provided; many of the items listed must have been intended for the women of the household.

ual propriety, rather than a situation in which women typically made their purchases within the confines of their own homes; this may have been an option for elite women, as it was for the men of their household, but most Roman women must have made their purchases in the streets, markets, and shops, alongside their male counterparts.

There is less direct evidence for women as customers in bars and inns. Propertius describes two women who flee the wrath of Cynthia and take refuge in the first backstreet tavern to which they come (*obscurae prima taberna viae*), with their loose dresses and dishevelled hair, but this can hardly be taken as evidence that women were regular customers in bars in Roman Italy.⁷² However, although single women in the Roman world probably travelled less than their male counterparts,⁷³ women must have travelled with their husbands and relatives, and therefore made use of the overnight accommodation available in inns, while the services provided by urban bars and cookshops were as useful to women as they were to men. The hot and cold food provided by such establishments, not to mention the availability of wine in small quantities, must have made an important contribution to the diet of both the men and the women who lived in small apartments or single rooms in a city like Rome, since they had limited access to cooking facilities or storage space. It is probable then that women in urban centres frequented bars and cookshops, at the very least to purchase food and drink to take away; whether women also socialised in these establishments, as men appear to have done, is less clear.

Conclusions

The evidence for women as retailers and customers in Roman Italy is somewhat ambiguous; it points to female participation in the retail trade, but is not extensive enough to discern quite how significant their contribution was to this sector of the urban economy. However, the fact that female retailers and customers appear without comment in our sources rather suggests that they were commonplace.⁷⁴ In fact, it is probable that women's role within the retail trade is considerably underrepresented in our sources, particularly in the epigraphic record. Women's contribution to family businesses in particular may have gone largely unrecorded; cultural conventions meant that

⁷² Prop. 4.8.61.

⁷³ But see Foubert in this volume.

⁷⁴ Compare Herodotus' comment (2.35) that the Egyptians reversed ordinary practice, with the women attending the marketplace and the men staying at home to do the weaving.

women were arguably more likely to be commemorated for their domestic role as a wife and mother than for their economic role. Moreover, the record of occupational inscriptions from Roman Italy is dominated by those of slave and freed status, making it difficult to assess accurately the economic role of the freeborn in Roman Italy; this problem is not confined solely to women, but it compounds the issue of the underrepresentation of freeborn women within our sources. Furthermore, if women were involved in retailing through street stalls or by hawking food or other goods from a tray or a basket, they are unlikely to have left much evidence of their existence. Such activities would leave little or no archaeological trace, are rarely focused on in our literary sources, other than to provide background colour in everyday scenes of urban life, and the participants were unlikely to have the money or perhaps even the desire to commemorate their trade. Again, this is as true for male as for female street traders, but it may well be that women, particularly freeborn women, dominated this sector.

Women's contribution to the retail trade was, therefore, probably more significant than the surviving evidence suggests. Certainly if we accept that many women in Roman Italy worked, and were not just supported by their husbands or male relatives, retail was more than likely one of the most accessible options open to women who wanted to earn a living, particularly those who were freeborn. Slave women of course worked, and at least some of them learnt a skill which had commercial value if and when they were manumitted or sold, but there is little evidence for freeborn women being apprenticed to artisans in their youth. Since retailing requires little formal training, this was probably one of the most popular ways for freeborn women to support themselves or contribute to a family income. They could work alongside their husbands or fathers in workshops, retailing the goods produced, in shops devoted solely to retail, in inns and cookshops, and as market traders and street vendors; the latter in particular requires only minimal capital investment and was therefore accessible to independent women with few skills and resources. Furthermore, if women were selling, they were also buying, purchasing food, clothing, shoes and other goods for themselves and their families. While retail was by no means a predominantly female activity in the Roman world, women were clearly active participants in the retail trade, heavily involved alongside their male counterparts in the buying and selling that characterised the urban centres of Italy.

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GRAIN DISTRIBUTION AND GENDER IN THE CITY OF ROME*

Coen van Galen

This paper addresses the question of whether or not women could have been regular recipients of the grain distributions of the City of Rome. Most scholars seem to regard it as a matter of fact that only adult male citizens could take part in the grain distributions.¹ Though the distribution of grain in Rome was unquestionably dominated by men, there are nevertheless a few glimpses in our sources suggesting the participation of women. I shall argue that some women were eligible for subsidized grain from the start of Gracchus' scheme in 123 BC and that this had a structuring effect on the grain distributions in Rome in later times.

Women in the Grain Distribution: Sources

Evidence for specific citizens benefiting from subsidized and later free grain is thin on the ground. The number of grain recipients reached a peak of 320,000 at two points in the first century BC, but none of these recipients in the late Republic left any epigraphic trace.² All the available inscriptions date from the first three centuries of the Empire.³ Twenty-seven are known:

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¹ In the standard account by Rickman (1980) 173, for instance, the nutritional value of 5 *modii* of grain is compared to the caloric needs of an adult man, and it is remarked that the remaining grain "would certainly have helped to feed some members of a man's family". The idea is perhaps already implicit in van Berchem's (1939) thesis that Augustus had turned the *plebs frumentaria* into a privileged order that might be compared to the senatorial and equestrian orders.

² These peaks were in 46 BC (Suet. *Iul.* 41.3) and 5 BC (*Res Gest. Div. Aug.* 15), Rickman (1980) 175–181.

³ The situation in the early Empire is complicated by the addition of other schemes providing food and/or subsidies to various groups, including soldiers and public servants and groups of children; Rickman (1980) 185, 188–189. This paper, however, is concerned solely with recipients of the *frumentationes* in the city of Rome.

thirteen related to *vigiles* or night watchmen, four to adult civilians (three men and one woman), and ten to children (eight boys and two girls).⁴ Most of the children concerned were probably participants in the new schemes for the support of minors introduced early in the second century AD.⁵ The inscriptions are a mixed batch, commemorating both freeborn citizens and freedmen, most of whom are not normally associated with grain distributions. Virlouvét sees this as an indication that mentioning the grain distribution was only deemed relevant by people on the margins of the citizen body, who used it as a proof of their citizenship.⁶

It is difficult, however, to relate this notion to *ILS* 9275, the only one of these inscriptions that refers to an adult woman. The inscription is exceptional in other respects as well: it is the only inscription that is not funerary, and also the only one not found in Rome or its surroundings. It is a votive inscription from the early Empire, dedicated to unknown goddesses, and was found in the late nineteenth century in the region of *Montanesium* in the frontier province of Moesia (Bulgaria). The text is as follows:

cum primum | veni Monta|nis et numi[n]a | vidi,
deabus | votum vovi | ut potui, pos[u]i. |
Mallia Ae|miliana do|mo Roma fr[u]mento [p]ubli[co] cum fili[o]
suo | restitui[t].

The rather poetic first sentence can be translated as: “When I came to Montana for the first time and saw the deities, I made a vow to the goddesses. This I fulfilled as [best] I could.” The second sentence, however, can have two different meanings. Either “Mallia Aemiliana from Rome, [registered] in the public grain with her son, had this restored” or “Mallia Aemiliana from Rome, [registered] in the public grain, had this restored with her son”⁷

⁴ Virlouvét (2009). *Vigiles*: *CIL* 14, 4500–4506; 4508; 4509; 4511, *CIL* 6, 220, *RMM* 2003, 2004; Adult civilians: *CIL* 6, 2584, *CIL* 6, 10223, *ILS* 9275, Panciera (1998); Children: *CIL* 6, 10220–10222; 10224b–10228, *Forma Italiae Reg.* I.10.1694, *BCAR* 53 (1926) 202. The *Vigiles* were ex-slaves, who were granted the right to acquire both Roman citizenship and *frumentum publicum* after three years in the night watch, a feat which was deemed important enough to mention on their funeral inscriptions. Furthermore, one adult civilian and two children were members of colleges of public servants (*CIL* 6, 220 and *CIL* 6, 10220–10221).

⁵ The six year old Sextia Saturnina participated in a scheme organized by Marcus Aurelius to commemorate the death of his wife Faustina Minor, *CIL* 6, 10222. Cf. SHA. *Aurel.* 7.8. On the alimentary schemes see Woolf (1990), Jongman (2002), Rawson (2003) 59–64 with further bibliography.

⁶ Virlouvét (2009) 271–272.

⁷ *ILS* 9275 (translations are my own, unless otherwise indicated). Based on the word-order, a third option, in which only her son was registered in the public grain, can be ruled out.

When the inscription was first published it caused quite a stir among scholars, since it seemed to imply that Mallia Aemiliana lived in Rome and participated in the grain distribution. A number of alternative explanations were suggested: Mallia Aemiliana might have been awarded the right to participate as a special personal favour; maybe she worked for the grain distribution; or perhaps she made use of a right that belonged to her son, her husband, or her father.⁸ Virlouvét thinks that Mallia Aemiliana participated in the distribution together with her son.⁹ This interpretation, however, is difficult to reconcile with *Digest* 31.87 pr., which presents the right to participate in the grain distribution as a strictly personal right, that cannot be divided or doubled.¹⁰ Van Berchem interpreted the words *frumento publico* as referring to Mallia Aemiliana herself. He conjectured that a separate list was maintained of widows, who may have been allowed to take part in the grain distributions on humanitarian grounds.¹¹ However, there is no indication that Mallia Aemilia belonged to a special category of recipients.¹² There is also no reason to assume that she had to prove her citizenship.¹³

A second piece of evidence for female beneficiaries of the grain distribution is provided by a sculpture known as the *largesse* relief of Marcus Aurelius, reused in the north façade of the Arch of Constantine. This shows the emperor, seated on a podium in his *sella curulis*, presiding over a distribution.¹⁴ In front of the podium is a group of recipients: three men, two of them with a child and, in between the two men with the children, an adult woman. The woman stands slightly apart from the two men and seems to be grasping her garment as if to receive and carry away her portion of the *largesse*. In depictions of *largesse* in Roman official visual art,

⁸ Poinssot (1901) 365–371; *AE* 1902, 71. Cf. Rostowzew (1910) 180, Cardinali (1922) 257.

⁹ Virlouvét (1995) 199 and (2009) 247–256.

¹⁰ *Titia Seio tesseram frumentariam comparari uoluit post diem trigesimum a morte ipsius. Quaero, cum Seius uiua testatrice tesseram frumentariam ex causa lucratiua habere coepit nec possit id quod habet petere, an ei actio competat.* (...). Titia wished a ticket for the corn dole to be bought for Seius thirty days after her death. Since Seius in the lifetime of the testatrix had acquired as the result of a gift a ticket for the corn dole and may not claim what he already had, does an action lie in his favor? (...). (translation: Watson (1985) with an adjustment for the words 'ex causa lucratiua' based on Rickman [1980] 248). This fragment implies that Seius' name was registered and only he could use this right.

¹¹ Berchem, van (1939) 42–43. Cf. Brunt (1971) 382.

¹² Virlouvét (1995) 299. The second-century alimentary schemes focused on minors, both boys and girls, Woolf (1990).

¹³ Virlouvét (1995) 249 suggests that Mallia Aemilia may have advertised her status in order to impress the provincials in Moesia, by stressing her status as a citizen of the capital.

¹⁴ Helbig (1963) 199–200, no. 3234; Kleiner (1992) 291–292.

recipients sometimes create a cradle from the folds of their drapery as if about to receive something or carry the donation away in the folds.¹⁵ This gesture is depicted on a number of reliefs and would have been recognizable to an audience familiar with monumental images like the *alimenta* relief on the Arch of Trajan in Beneventum. A variant on this gesture can also be seen on the Constantinian *largitio* relief below the largesse relief on the same façade of the Arch of Constantine. Other interpretations are, of course, possible. Virlouvét assumes that the woman plays only an indirect role in the distribution: she suggests that the man to her right is a servant, who is carrying her child who is entitled to the largesse. The woman's gesture, she suggests, does not represent her receiving largesse but merely readjusting her clothes.¹⁶ Other depictions of women receiving largesse, like the Villa Albani reliefs, are mostly attributed to the alimentary schemes of the second century AD or to depictions of goddesses.¹⁷

Finally, there is a group of sources that give the impression that the involvement of women in imperial benefactions of one kind or another was not regarded as anything exceptional. The lawyer Paul envisaged the possibility of a woman requiring in her will that a *tessera frumentaria* be purchased for one of her legatees.¹⁸ Marcus Aurelius included girls in the grain distributions, just as they had been included in earlier alimentary schemes.¹⁹ Women were also among the recipients of sporadic distributions, for example at the birthday celebrations of Emperor Hadrian in AD 119.²⁰ None of these cases prove positively that women benefited from public grain distributions, but they show there is no *a priori* reason to assume they were excluded.

¹⁵ Diddle Uzzi (2005) 34.

¹⁶ Virlouvét (1995) 298–299, *contra* Becatti (1972), Spinola (1990) 18 and Diddle Uzzi (2007) 67–68.

¹⁷ Helbig (1963) 3234, cf. *BMC* 324, 325.

¹⁸ *Dig.* 31.87 pr. (Paul). *Titia Seio tesseram frumentariam comparari voluit post diem trigesimum a morte ipsius*. Presumably the intention would have been to provide for a former dependent. Translation, see note 10.

¹⁹ SHA, *M. Aur.* 7.8: *ob hanc coniunctionem pueros et puellas novorum nominum frumentariae perceptioni adscribi praeceperunt*. In honour of this union, they gave orders that boys and girls of the newly-named orders should be assigned a share in the distribution of grain (Loeb-translation, revised). Rawson (1997) 224–226 documents visual representations of boys and girls benefiting from these schemes.

²⁰ Dio Cass. 69.8.2: *καὶ δῶρα διὰ σφαίρων καὶ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ χωρὶς μὲν τοῖς ἀνδράσι χωρὶς δὲ ταῖς γυναῖξι διέριψε*. He also distributed gifts by means of little balls, which he threw broadcast both in the theatres and in the Circus, for the men and for the women separately (Loeb translation).

*When Might Women Have Become
Recipients of Subsidized or Free Grain?*

If women did partake of the grain distributions during the empire, at what point is this most likely to have started? Our knowledge of the history of grain subsidies and distributions in the City of Rome is sketchy, but it is still possible to suggest some hypotheses.²¹ If women were not included right from the start, when Gaius Gracchus first provided for a limited amount of state-subsidized grain to be available for purchase by Roman citizens, we should look for occasions of significant change, with an emphasis on the expansion of the number of recipients. As most changes were made in an attempt to *limit* the number of recipients, this leaves only few possibilities. The most obvious of these are the introduction of free grain by Clodius in 58 BC, or the Caesarean and Augustan reforms of the institution. Another strong contender is the period during the second century in which various new schemes were set up, mostly aimed at children and in some cases evidently directed to the populations of Italian *municipia*.

The possibility that women were included in 58 BC cannot be ruled out, although there is no indication that they were. Cicero criticized the liberal admittance of citizens to the distribution in 58 BC, but he does not mention women, although he is unlikely to have missed this opportunity if Clodius had indeed included women as a new group.²² Moreover, Clodius' populist policies are often seen as aimed at winning votes, something women could not supply. The available testimonies on the changes made by Caesar and Augustus suggest consistent attempts to limit the number of recipients:²³ adding women to the list of those eligible would have gone against the grain. The second century seems a more serious possibility, given that all available evidence of women recipients is from imperial times. Girls were beneficiaries of the new imperial alimentary schemes, but there is no evidence for the involvement of adult women in any of the new schemes.²⁴ Furthermore, the number of recipients of grain in the City of Rome did not rise significantly, as far as one can tell. This argues against the addition of women as regular participants at this time.²⁵ That leaves us with the possibility that at

²¹ On the institution, see especially Berchem, van (1939), Rickman (1980) 156–197, Garnsey (1988) 195–243, Giovannini (1991), Viriouvét (1995), (2009).

²² Cic. *Dom.* 25.

²³ Viriouvét (1991).

²⁴ Viriouvét (1995) 299. For the ideology behind the alimentary schemes: Woolf (1990) 225–228, Jongman (2002).

²⁵ Rickman (1980) 181.

least some women were eligible to purchase subsidized grain from the very beginning of the scheme, and that when it was replaced with free grain they simply retained their entitlement.

The Origins of the System

State subsidies for grain in Rome began in 123 BC with the implementation of the *Lex Sempronia Frumentaria* by the tribune of the plebs Gaius Gracchus.²⁶ Although the number of sources is limited and we have to rely on later writers, there is some scholarly agreement about a few characteristics of the first grain distribution:

1. Citizenship was the main qualification. All Roman citizens, including members of the elite, were entitled to buy grain from the state at a fixed price.²⁷
2. Grain was not free in 123 BC: citizens had to pay a price of 6 1/3 asses (somewhat more than 1 1/2 sesterces) per *modius* of grain.²⁸
3. Grain was sold to the citizens in Rome once a month.²⁹
4. Citizens had to attend the monthly sale personally to buy their share of the subsidized grain.³⁰

Two further points may be added. The first is that the *Lex Sempronia* probably had no provision to limit entitlement to citizens living in Rome. This was not necessary, as citizens had to personally attend the sale in Rome, which would effectively have discouraged citizens living farther away from coming to the city for the distribution. Even if the grain was sold below market price, it seems unlikely that the price was so low that it compensated for the costs of travelling to Rome and the loss of one or more working days.³¹ The second point is that the grain distribution was not organized as a welfare scheme: as far as we know, in 123 BC there were no special provisions for the poor, or for large families.³²

It can be concluded that the administration of the first grain distribution was probably relatively simple. As no distinction had to be made between

²⁶ Plut. *C Gracch.* 5, App. *B Civ.* 1.21, Livy, *Per.* 60.

²⁷ App. *B Civ.* 1.21 and Cic. *Tusc.* 3.20.48.

²⁸ Livy, *Per.* 60, Cic. *Bob.* 2.132, 135 Stl.

²⁹ App. *B Civ.* 1.21, cf. Suet. *Aug.* 41.2.

³⁰ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.20.48 and Suet. *Aug.* 41.2.

³¹ Brunt (1971) 376–377 and Rickman (1980) 159–160.

³² The really poor were effectively excluded: five *modii* cost eight sesterces, which was almost one third of the average monthly income in the early empire, see Frier (1993).

different groups of citizens, it probably sufficed to compile one list of all eligible citizens and to devise a way to limit the possibilities of fraud.³³ To be sure, the organization of monthly sales remained a major operation. An infrastructure had to be developed for the distribution: *horrea* for the storage of grain had to be built, and locations had to be found for the recurrent sales that could accommodate tens of thousands of participants.³⁴ To complicate matters still further, it seems likely that the institution had to be set up within an increasingly hostile political environment, as Gracchus' relations with the senate deteriorated.³⁵ The time available to organize the new institution was also limited: Gaius Gracchus was still tribune during the first grain distribution, according to Cicero.³⁶ Earlier *ad hoc* grain distributions by the *aediles* to the citizens were not uncommon, but probably did not provide a very useful model, since they were in effect sporadic sales of surplus military stock.³⁷ The limited period of time available to Gracchus and his allies makes it unlikely that any new registration of citizens was conducted.³⁸ It is much more probable that they made use of the citizen lists already generated by the census.³⁹

The broad lines of the Republican census are clear. Roughly every five years, every citizen *sui iuris* had to make a declaration to the *censores*, which included a declaration of the names of all family members *in potestate*, as well as one's property.⁴⁰ The original uses of the census were to facilitate taxation and the levy and to allocate citizens to voting centuries. But the archives of the census were also the most comprehensive source of

³³ Possible forms of fraud were the participation of people without proper entitlement, the collection of grain more than once a month by the same citizen, or posing as someone else in order to collect the other citizen's grain.

³⁴ Virlovvet (1995) 27–160 (locations); Plut. *C. Gracch.* 6.3 (*horrea*).

³⁵ Stockton (1979) 169–200.

³⁶ Cic. *Tusc.* 3.20.48, Cf. Stockton (1979) 226–239.

³⁷ Erdkamp (2000) 64–65. Rickman (1980) 26–54 considers that no very great administrative burden was imposed by these distributions.

³⁸ An established institution such as the census took 1½ years to complete, although most of the declarations made were simple adjustments of the declarations made five years earlier. Mommsen (1877) 358. Cf. Livy 39.44. For Augustan registrations of the *plebs frumentaria* see Virlovvet (1991).

³⁹ On the census, see Ligt, de (2012) 79–134. No other institutions were really suitable. The thirty-five *tribus* or voting districts were all different organizations and each of them had to be willing to cooperate, Nicolet (1980) 84, Mommsen (1887) 161–198. The *comitia centuriata* also involved political risks and it had the additional problem that some of the citizens on this list were still *in potestate*, which meant that they could not own property according to Roman law. This seems to preclude them being incorporated into a law that assumed the transfer of property, see Gardner (1993) 52–84.

⁴⁰ Northwood (2008) 257–265.

information about the Roman citizens available to the magistrates.⁴¹ Easy consultation of the archives was possible, because each declaration was recorded in a similar manner and we may suppose that the original declarations were archived according to a structured system.⁴²

When it came to assessing entitlement to subsidized or later free grain, an additional advantage was that magistrates could also make use of the existing manner of fraud prevention during the census, which seems to have been based on the presence of representatives of the tribes to confirm the identity of each citizen.⁴³ One further indication that census-lists were used is provided by the development of the grain distribution from 58 BC onwards. When the census fell into disarray after 70 BC, attempts were made to reorganize the administration of the grain distribution on a different footing by organizing a recount of freedmen and finding alternative ways of assessing the citizens.⁴⁴ Equally the creation of a new basis of entitlement by Augustus, based on a *numerus clausus* of citizens whose *origo* was the city of Rome, coincides with the end of the Republican census system. The likely use of census lists to determine eligibility for the grain distribution had one further consequence for the question of female participation. For the citizens *sui iuris* who made census declarations included not only those male citizens who were entitled to vote and were subject to the levy, but also widows (*viduae*) and all other unmarried women *sui iuris*.⁴⁵

⁴¹ That all magistrates could use the declarations can be deduced from Cic. *Mil.* 73: *memoriam publicam recensionis tabulis publicis impressam* (public records of the census which was committed to the public registers). Cf. Cic. *Cael.* 78.

⁴² About the archive, see: Livy 43.16.13; 45.15.5. The *Tabula Heracleensis* 146 shows how this declaration was structured, beginning with the *nomen* of the declarant (which made an alphabetical list possible): Crawford (1996) 389. Examples from Egypt from imperial times provide a suggestion as to how the census archive may have been organized: the declarations were glued together in lists and archived in scrolls. Bagnall and Frier (1994) 19, 27–30.

⁴³ Mommsen (1877) 349.

⁴⁴ Rickman (1980) 174–179, Garnsey (1988) 213.

⁴⁵ This means that the list of grain recipients was based on the citizens who made the census declarations. This is not the same group as the citizens counted in the census figures. Most scholars assume that these were two different groups: the citizens *sui iuris* made the declarations, but at least during the Republic, only adult males were counted in the census republican figures, Ligt, de (2012) 79–134. The registration of women *sui iuris* is made clear in those cases where their number was excluded from the census figures. Livy 3.3.9: ‘... *praeter orbos orbisque*’ (census figure 459 BC), Livy, *Per.* 59: ‘... *praeter pupillos pupillas et viduas*’ (131/130 BC).

Citizens sui iuris and the familia

It is easy to imagine why the Roman state should distribute grain to adult male citizens, who had voting rights and served in the Roman army.⁴⁶ It is more difficult to assess the importance of the citizen *sui iuris*. Each citizen *sui iuris* (who was called a *pater familias* if he was male) represented a *familia*, the basic unit of Roman society. The *familia* consisted of a citizen *sui iuris*, family members *in potestate* or *manus*, and the *patrimonium*, which included property and the *sacra*.⁴⁷ Women could be *sui iuris* and have more or less the same property rights as men, but a woman had no *potestas*.⁴⁸ Throughout Roman history the *familia* remained at the core of Roman society and remained central to the family law gathered in the *Digest* in the sixth century AD.⁴⁹

In *Dig.* 50.16.195.2, Ulpian gives the following definition of *familia*:

We talk of several persons as a household (*familia*) by its own rights, if they are naturally or legally subjected to the power (*potestas*) of a single person as in the case of a head of a household (*pater familias*), the wife of a head of a household, a son-in-power, a daughter-in-power, and those who thereafter follow them in turn (...).⁵⁰

According to this definition, a *familia* comprises a male Roman citizen *sui iuris* (the *pater familias*) and all family members in his *potestas*: his wife, his natural and adoptive children, and their offspring. Ulpian's definition, however, presents an idealized and normative picture of the *familia*. *Cum manu*-marriages became rare in the late Republic and early empire, with the result that very few women were part of their husband's *familia* by Ulpian's day. Moreover, not every *familia* consisted of a *pater familias* and the offspring in his *potestas*, as Ulpian acknowledges:

⁴⁶ However, the rights of adult male citizens *in potestate* were based on the delegation of the power of the *pater familias* (*Dig.* 1.6.9). Cf. Gardner (1993) 52–84.

⁴⁷ On the difference between *familia* as a legal construction and real life, see Gardner (1995). About *sacra*: Sirks (1994).

⁴⁸ Only a male citizen *sui iuris* could have *potestas* over other citizens. This *potestas* was limited to his legal children (both natural and adoptive) and their legal descendants in the male line. *Manus* was the power of a man over his wife when she became part of his *familia*. *Manus*-marriages became rare in the late Republic, see Gardner (1986) and (1995), and Treggiari (1991).

⁴⁹ Gardner (2011) 362 and Gardner (1993) 52–83, Kaser I (1971) 50–56.

⁵⁰ The translations of the *Digesta* used in this article are by Watson (1985). Additions in brackets are my own. *Dig.* 50.16.195.2: *Iure proprio familiam dicimus plures personas, quae sunt sub unius potestate aut natura aut iure subiectae, ut puta patrem familias, matrem familias, filium familias, filiam familias quique deinceps vicem eorum sequuntur (...).*

Someone is called the head of a household (*pater familias*) if he holds sway in a house, and he is rightly called by this name even if he does not have a son; for we do not merely consider his person but also his legal status; indeed, we can even call a *pupillus* a head of a household. When the head of the household dies, all the individuals who were subjected to him begin to hold their own households (*familiae*): each of them enters into the category of head of the household.⁵¹

Ulpian defines *pater familias* as a legal status, unrelated to marital status or age. A Roman became *sui iuris* and the head of his *familia* upon the death of his *pater familias*, even if he was a bachelor or a child. In combination with the following fragment, which includes the *pater familias* as part of the *familia*,⁵² it means that according to Roman law every citizen *sui iuris* constituted a *familia*, regardless of whether or not the person in question had offspring. This included women *sui iuris*, for in Roman law “The use of a word in masculine gender is often extended to cover both sexes.”⁵³ However, although a woman *sui iuris* could own property, including slaves, she did not have *potestas* over family members. Therefore, her role as head of a family was limited: “A woman, however, is both the beginning and the end of her House (*familia*).”⁵⁴

The citizen *sui iuris* represented his *familia* to the outside world. If the Gracchi and their successors were indeed concerned with providing food for the *familiae*—which is not completely certain—it would make sense to distribute grain through those persons who made census declarations, paid taxes, and occasionally received a tax refund.⁵⁵ From the state’s point of view, the sale of subsidized grain to the citizens *sui iuris* meant that every *familia* could buy an equal share, while the sale of grain to a citizen *in potestate* would merely add to the property of his *pater familias*.⁵⁶

⁵¹ *Dig.* 50.16.195.2: *Pater autem familias appellatur, qui in domo dominium habet, recteque hoc nomine appellatur, quamvis filium non habeat: non enim solam personam eius, sed et ius demonstramus: denique et pupillum patrem familias appellamus. Et cum pater familias moritur, quotquot capita ei subiecta fuerint, singulas familias incipiunt habere: singuli enim patrum familiarum nomen subeunt (...).*

⁵² *Dig.* 50.16.196.pr. (Gaius): *Familiae appellatione et ipse princeps familiae continetur.* In the designation ‘Household’ (*familia*) the head of the household is also included.

⁵³ *Dig.* 50.16.195.pr. (Ulpian): *Pronuntiatio sermonis in sexu masculino ad utrumque sexum plerumque porrigitur.* For discussion, see Gardner (1995) and Saller (1999).

⁵⁴ *Dig.* 50.16.195.5 (Ulpian): *Mulier autem familiae suae et caput et finis est.*

⁵⁵ Northwood (2008) 265–269. *Viduae* also paid taxes, Mommsen (1887) III 256–257, Ligt, de (2012) 84.

⁵⁶ A *pater familias* could give his children *in potestate* a *peculium* to buy grain, but this was a trust which remained part of the property of the *pater familias*. From a legal point of view, sale of subsidized grain to a citizen *in potestate* would mean a double sale to the *pater familias*, cf. Kaser (1971) 341–345.

Distribution to the Citizens sui iuris

It is difficult to find explicit testimony to the effect that citizens *sui iuris* were the intended recipients of subsidized or free grain. We know from a few sources, for example, that citizens *sui iuris* made the census declarations.⁵⁷ Yet the *Tabula Heracleensis*—which contains the only attestation of the official Republican census formula—does not explicitly state that the *cives Romanei* who were to make the declaration were *sui iuris*; we can be quite certain of this, however, since they had to declare their property.⁵⁸ The answer to this puzzle is probably that although social and legal status were important for the Romans, they did not tend to write down a precise definition if the status was clear from the context.⁵⁹

Varro *may* be making a connection between citizens *sui iuris* and the grain distributions by referring to *patres familiae* in a remark he makes about the decline of Italian farming:

As therefore in these days practically all the heads of families have sneaked within the walls, abandoning the sickle and the plough, and would rather busy their hands in the theatre and in the circus than in the grain-fields and the vineyards, we hire a man to bring us from Africa and Sardinia the grain with which to fill our stomachs (...).⁶⁰

Yet other interpretations of this passage are possible: it was a trope to contrast the softness of present day urbanites with the hardness of their rustic ancestors.

Varro's remark is in fact one of a number of complaints made by ancient authors about the influx of people into the city.⁶¹ A causal link has been suggested between the provision of cheap grain and immigration to the city, which has given rise to the idea that the number of recipients spiralled out of control after Clodius made the grain free in 58 BC.⁶² Yet immigration to Rome began long before 58 BC, and the meagre information available does

⁵⁷ Livy 43.14.5, Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.15.6.

⁵⁸ *Tabula Heracleensis* 145–147, cf. Crawford (1996) 355–391.

⁵⁹ Almost half of the Romans were already *sui iuris* at the age of twenty, because of the low life expectancy, see Hin (2008) 199.

⁶⁰ Varro, *Rust.* 2 praef. 3: *Igitur quod nunc intra murum fere patres familiae correperunt relictis falce et aratro et manus movere maluerunt in theatro ac circo, quam in segetibus ac vinetis, frumentum locamus qui nobis advehat, qui saturi fiamus ex Africa et Sardinia (...)* (Loeb-translation).

⁶¹ Livy 39.3, Sall. *Cat.* 37.4–7, App. *B Civ.* 2.120, Suet. *Aug.* 42.3.

⁶² Ascon. 8(C); Cic. *Bob.* 132S.

not suggest unlimited growth in the number of recipients.⁶³ That number doubled from 150,000 recipients in 63 BC to 300,000 in 56 BC, but thereafter remained fairly constant: 320,000 in 46 B.C and the same in 5 BC, forty years later.⁶⁴ This relative stability is an argument against the idea that every adult male citizen, regardless of his legal status, could participate in the grain distribution. Had that been the case we might have expected the number of recipients to grow even further.⁶⁵ A distribution of five *modii* of grain to all adult males would have been an enormous pull factor, especially for young unmarried Romans *in potestate*, as it represented almost double the caloric needs of one adult.⁶⁶ Recipients would have been able to sell surplus grain for additional income, and Roman fathers from all over Italy would probably have sent their younger sons to Rome.⁶⁷ This situation seems unlikely. We know of no measures to check such an influx, despite the fact that we do have evidence of measures taken against another form of abuse: the manumission of slaves to make them eligible for the grain distributions.⁶⁸ One possible reason why Roman magistrates might not have been too concerned about multiple claims from the same family would be if the grain was in fact distributed only to citizens *sui iuris*. Citizens *sui iuris* normally had some property and, therefore, a vested interest in their place of residence. This made it more difficult to move to Rome to participate in the grain distributions. Some may have done so, especially when destitute, but they would have comprised a far more limited number than the sons *in potestate* mentioned above. Slaves, by contrast, became *sui iuris* as soon as they were manumitted; from then on, they were entitled to participate in the distributions. Perhaps this made it more urgent to limit their numbers. Given the state of the evidence, naturally much of this must remain speculation.

The actual management of the grain distribution in Rome remained more or less unchanged until its reorganization by Augustus in 2 BC. The grain laws implemented before this time seem to have been focused more on the

⁶³ Livy 39.3 (177 BC), Sall. *Cat.* 37.4–7 (63 BC); cf. Holleran (2011).

⁶⁴ Rickman (1980) 169–172, 46 BC: Suet. *Iul.* 41.3, 5 BC: *Res Gest.* *Div. Aug.* 15.

⁶⁵ Professor Sirks suggested to me that 320,000 may have been a practical limit: 10,000 tons of grain a month was probably the maximum the Roman supply system could handle. That would suggest that there was already some restriction imposed on the number of recipients before 2 BC. My guess is that it was politically more convenient to lower the ration for each recipient when the number grew out of hand, as Garnsey (1998) 236 suggests.

⁶⁶ Garnsey (1998) 229–230.

⁶⁷ About twenty percent of all male citizens fell into this category, Hin (2008) Table 1 and 2.

⁶⁸ Dio Cass. 39.24: in 56 BC Pompey made a register of manumitted slaves, in order to put some check on their numbers; see further Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 4.24.5, Suet. *Aug.* 42.2.

price and amount of the grain, than on the way it was distributed. Clodius' innovation of making the grain free probably did not change this, and the measures taken by Caesar had only a temporary effect.⁶⁹ In 2 BC, however, Augustus limited the number of recipients to 'just over' 200,000 by a *recensus* of the citizens in Rome and by introducing the *tessera*, a sort of voucher that in effect rationed the grain and restricted eligibility to inhabitants of the metropolis.⁷⁰ It was no longer the case that every citizen *sui iuris* could participate: the right to *frumentum publicum* became a valued possession.⁷¹ Yet unlike some other privileges it did not remain under the control of the emperors. Lawyers saw the *tesserae* not as inalienable personal rights, but as a form of property that could be bought and inherited.⁷² This again suggests that the recipients were *sui iuris*.

Women sui iuris and the Grain Distribution

Citizens *sui iuris* might be either men or women. To begin with most were men. Yet we know that *viduae* (not only widows, but all unmarried adult women) were registered in the census from an early date, although they are only explicitly mentioned when excluded from the census figures.⁷³ *Viduae sui iuris* did not have a *pater familias* to declare them at the census, yet they were legally the heads of their own *familiae* and in the early Republic were liable to pay taxes on their property. This was probably suspended, just like the *tributum*, in 167 BC.⁷⁴ However, the registration of women might still have been felt necessary for various purposes. Registration at the census, for instance, was the only real proof of citizenship until a register of births was set up during the reign of Augustus.⁷⁵ Unlike orphans *sui iuris* who were registered by their tutors, we may assume that women *sui iuris* made

⁶⁹ Rickman (1980) 161–179. Caesar lowered the number of recipients to 150,000, but shortly after his death it rose again to 250,000 (*Res Gest. Div. Aug.* 15.1).

⁷⁰ According to *Res Gest. Div. Aug.* 15, from 44 BC handouts never fell below 250,000 recipients. This number rose to 320,000 in 5 BC, before Augustus lowered it to 'a few more' than 200,000 in 2 BC. It is possible that it was lowered further to a fixed number of 150,000 recipients after 2 BC, as both the legacies of Augustus in AD 14 and of Tiberius in AD 37 were distributed to 150,000 people (*Suet. Aug.* 101, *Tac. Ann.* 1, *Dio Cass.* 57.14.2, *Suet. Tib.* 76).

⁷¹ Rickman (1980) 185, based on Fronto, *Princ. Hist.* 17 (Ad Marc. 216) and *ILS* 6045.

⁷² Buying a *tessera*: *Dig.* 5.1.52.1 (Ulpian), *Dig.* 31.49.1 (Paul), *Dig.* 31.87 (Paul); inheritance of *tesserae* is mentioned in fourth century Constantinople (*Cod. Theod.* 14.17.10, 14.17.13) and suggested in *Dig.* 31.49.1.

⁷³ Livy 3.3.9 and Livy, *Per.* 59.

⁷⁴ Mommsen (1887) III 256–257, Ligt, de (2012) 84.

⁷⁵ Schulz (1942).

their own census declarations.⁷⁶ Although they too were required to have a tutor, the role of a *tutor mulieris* was limited to giving consent to certain legal transactions concerning their property. Moreover, under the *ius trium liberorum* introduced by Augustus, freeborn women *sui iuris* with three or more children were exempt from *tutela*.⁷⁷

If women *sui iuris* were indeed among the recipients of subsidized grain in 123 BC, it is quite possible they continued to be eligible for free grain during the late Republic and early Empire. This argument applies to *viduae*, widowed or unmarried adult women *sui iuris*. It remains questionable, however, whether it also holds for another group of women *sui iuris*, which was very small in 123 BC but grew rapidly during the first century BC: women married without *manus*. Remaining in the *potestas* of their fathers even after marriage, these women became *sui iuris* upon the death of their *pater familias*. The participation of this group in the grain distributions would mean that spouses who were both *sui iuris* could each receive five *modii* of grain a month. This cannot have been the intention of the Roman state. Perhaps it could not be prevented during the tumultuous late Republic, but we would expect it not to have survived the reorganization of the grain distribution by Augustus in 2 BC.⁷⁸

Where does this leave Mallia Aemiliana, who so proudly recorded the *frumentum publicum* on her dedication? There are several possibilities. First, she may have been a *vidua*, who had become *sui iuris* upon the death of her husband, though given her date in the early Empire a marriage *cum manu* is highly unlikely. Second, if she was married *sine manu* (as is more likely), she would have become *sui iuris* on the death of her father. Many women no longer had a father by the time they had children. In that case, she would fall under the second category of women *sui iuris* mentioned above, but this category may have lost their eligibility in the Augustan reorganization. Most plausible, therefore, seems a third solution: that she either bought or inherited the *tessera* that entitled her to free grain. Of course, to be able to

⁷⁶ This assumption is based on *Tabula Heracleensis* 1–8, that requires a tutor to act on behalf of his underaged pupil in front of the magistrates. No such requirement is mentioned for the *tutor mulieris*. Crawford (1996) 355–391.

⁷⁷ Kaser (1971) 85–90 and 367–369. For *tutela muliebris* and the *ius trium liberorum*, see Gardner (1986).

⁷⁸ A large percentage of married female recipients may explain how Augustus managed to lower the number of grain recipients so drastically from 320,000 to almost 200,000 without a massive outbreak of violence in 2 BC. Augustus gave 60 *denarii* to the remaining recipients, enough to buy a year worth's of grain on the market (*Res Gest. Div. Aug.* 15); some years later he temporarily doubled the grain distribution during a famine (Dio Cass. 55.26.1).

buy, or inherit, a *tessera* she probably had to be *sui iuris*, which makes this a relevant category after all.

Conclusion

This paper began by asking whether or not women might have been regular recipients in the grain distributions of the City of Rome. The evidence is not conclusive, but their inclusion does seem possible. In trying to reconstruct how and why they may have been included, I have looked at the ways eligibility for grain was originally defined, and have suggested that those organizing the first distributions of subsidized grain in 123 BC relied on the citizen lists generated by the census. Because women who were *sui iuris* were the heads of their own *familiae*, they featured in these lists: consequently some of them, the *viduae*, may have received grain from the beginning of the Gracchan scheme. The situation is complicated by changes in Roman marriage, and by the alterations to the grain distribution that were introduced by Augustus. Much remains unclear, but I hope to have eliminated some less plausible explanations, among them the notion that the inclusion of women like Mallia Ameliana is best explained as a charitable and humane impulse on the part of the Roman censors.⁷⁹

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⁷⁹ Berchem, van (1939) 42–43.

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PART V

MOBILITY

FEMALE MOBILITY IN THE ROMAN WEST*

Greg Woolf

It used to be common to write about ‘the ancient city’ as if it were a bounded and self-sufficient social world. One reason was the model of political theory that we have inherited from Plato and Aristotle, another the tradition of legal-cum-sociological thought that may be traced back via Max Weber to Fustel de Coulanges.¹ Finding women in that sort of ancient city was first of all an investigation of the sexual division of labour, and subsequently an exploration of citizen-ideology. Whatever kind of structural or structuralist analysis was employed, women were identified primarily as fixed in particular social locations, parts of larger (and largely static) wholes. We owe a great deal to these approaches, but this chapter pursues a different tack, asking about the mobility of women between cities conceived of not as whole societies in themselves, but rather as prominent social exchanges in a dynamic human landscape, or as nodes in a set of highly agitated social networks.

Mobility is currently a topic of intense interest in ancient history. It has become clear in recent years that the civic ideologies of *autonomia* and *autarkia* characteristic of classical antiquity did not reflect reality so much as respond to high levels of human mobility. Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell are the latest to argue that a high level of mobility was a characteristic feature of the Mediterranean world from antiquity to the early modern period.² Claudia Moatti and her collaborators have revealed a recurrent preoccupation with controlling the movement of people between political territories.³ Roman demography and Roman slavery are increasingly treated as problems of human mobility.⁴ The Roman empire no longer looks like

* This paper is much improved by the comments of those who heard the original version. I am particularly indebted for advice on specific points to Elizabeth Greene, Emily Hemelrijk, Rebecca Flemming and Rens Tacoma.

¹ Finley (1977).

² Horden and Purcell (2000) foreshadowed in Purcell (1990). ‘Characteristic’ naturally does not mean constant, and levels of mobility and connectivity varied considerably from place to place and period to period. I shall return to these issues in a monograph to appear in the series *Key Themes in Ancient History*.

³ Moatti (2004), (2006) and Moatti and Kaiser (2007).

⁴ Harris (1999), Scheidel (2004) and (2005).

a multicellular organism composed of city-states and more like a complex human landscape formed by the interplay of different migratory movements, among them inward flows of slaves and provincials and the constant flow of peasants from fecund rural locations into urban zones characterized by high morbidity. Moments of colonial settlement, trade diasporas, and barbarian invasions disturbed these patterns intermittently. There was a background noise of traders, teachers, athletes, actors, pilgrims and the like circulating around the urban networks of the empire. This last kind of movement is difficult to document but must be inferred to explain the movement of low-value civic coin between civic territories in Asia Minor, and the utility of internal tariff zones like the *Quadragesima Galliarum* or the *Portorium Asiae* as a source of imperial revenue.⁵

My aim is to ask some general questions about how this mobility was gendered in the early imperial west. I shall cast my net wide, to encompass all the different varieties of human mobility mentioned above, despite their differences: after all, when we find evidence of individuals who have moved significant distances it is not always easy to tell whether they had intended to return home or had aimed to migrate in search of a new life, whether their journeys were regular ones or once-in-a-lifetime displacements, even whether they were voluntary or compelled, and if involuntary by need or by *force majeure*. Only very local movements, within a single *civitas* territory or from town to country or the reverse will not be considered. Although perhaps that mobility was by far the most common. The evidence is, of course, poor for all the usual reasons that beset social history in the western provinces. But this does not mean we can say nothing. There are a number of recent epigraphic investigations on which to draw, and also an increasing body of data from physical anthropology. I shall survey both. But I shall begin with some arguments *a priori* which enable us to establish some general parameters and probabilities. For not all kinds of mobility were equally available to men and to women. Comparative studies suggest that in many periods female mobility has been very much more restricted and limited in range than male mobility, even if today that trend is being reversed. For classical antiquity we can already present a slightly more nuanced view of the limits of mobility, of the extent of the female horizon.

⁵ On movements of civic coin see Howgego (1985). On internal tariff zones most recently France (2001) and Cottier et al. (2008).

Probabilities

Most *a priori* arguments depend on comparative evidence. At this point I should acknowledge the work of Immanuel Ness and the team producing the *Encyclopaedia of Global Human Migration*, a project of which I have been fortunate to be a part. This project draws on a great wealth of studies which have already begun to be used by archaeologists.⁶ It is conventional to note the variety of forms that mobility takes, to distinguish between short, medium and long distance mobility; between seasonal, temporary and permanent relocations; and between different degrees of compulsion and need, sometimes expressed in terms of the balance of push and pull factors. Of special importance for present purposes is the distinction between the mobility of individuals, and that of families or entire communities.

I will also make some use of the concept of 'social caging', developed by Michael Mann from some ideas of Max Weber, to express the extent to which particular configurations of social power limit or permit social and geographical mobility.⁷ So the contrast between high rates of mobility in early modern villages in England (where up to half the population might have arrived within the previous decade and as much as half would move in the next ten years) and the much lower rates of mobility in early nineteenth century Russia reflects the difference between a society with lively markets in land and labour, and a society in which serfdom remained a powerful "social cage".⁸ Our ignorance of local labour regimes across the empire as a whole is profound. But we should not rule out the possibility of equally sharp contrasts in the social caging of peasants between different provincial societies.⁹ There is perhaps some reason not to be too pessimistic about the Roman case from this point of view. Gary Runciman suggested some time ago that societies in the process of becoming more complex inevitably experience increasing levels of social mobility as new social roles appear and individuals move to fill them.¹⁰ Urbanization, agricultural intensification, the spread of manufacturing and the development of a standing army all contributed to making western societies more diversified in this respect. While social mobility does not always entail geographical mobility, the two were often closely connected in the Roman case. The most obvious examples

⁶ General accounts include Anthony (1990), Burmeister (2000) and Eckardt (2010).

⁷ Mann (1986).

⁸ Osborne (1991).

⁹ Whittaker (1980).

¹⁰ Runciman (1984).

are the recruitment of peasants to serve in the auxilia and their ultimate discharge as veterans with citizenship, after service far from home, or the geographical displacements that accompanied enslavement, being traded, and eventually (in the most fortunate cases) being freed.

What happens when we ask how these processes are gendered? In the modern world, female mobility is of growing significance: the wages earned by migrant women are in many cases of major importance to their families left at home. I suggest however that we can probably safely assume that almost all female mobility in Roman antiquity took the form either of movement with male family members or as a result of the slave trade. The reasons are as follows.

First, in every sphere we can examine, women seem to have had very little freedom from the authority of male relatives or husbands. We are all aware of the legal disabilities placed on women of the social élite, in particular through the institutions of *tutela* and *patria potestas*, even if their effect was mitigated for some women thanks to legal and social changes of the early empire.¹¹ Riet van Bremen has argued compellingly that in the eastern provinces the limits of female participation in civic life were set by the interests of their immediate families, and were probably decided by their closest male relatives.¹² The situation *was* different in the west. But that category of women who seem most independent—wealthy females *sui iuris* whose role as civic benefactresses and priestesses of the empresses has been explored by Emily Hemelrijk¹³—were drawn from the upper echelons of the propertied classes, and their property will have limited their movement. Some aristocratic women, like the mother of the Gracchi, might choose in which of a series of family villas to reside. But it is not really conceivable that a wealthy landowner in Tripolitania like Pudentilla in Apuleius' *Apology* could liquidate her assets and relocate to Italy or Gaul. Wealthy women, that is, were much more subject to social caging than their male counterparts, and had many fewer opportunities compared to those offered to their male relatives by military service, agricultural tenancy or manual labour in the larger cities.

Second, the key factors that make unaccompanied female mobility possible in the modern world, are the labour market and the capacity to send

¹¹ Garnsey and Saller (1987) 130–136 for a short account. Yet the limited emancipation introduced by Augustan legislation would not have helped the many women who did not bear three children.

¹² Bremen, van (1996).

¹³ Hemelrijk (2004), (2005), (2006a), (2006b), (2007). See also Cooley, this volume.

remittances home. That applies whether we consider Philippino maids and nurses working in Hong Kong, Singapore, Japan and the Middle East; skilled secretarial and clerical workers in South American cities; or sex-workers from west Africa and eastern Europe working in western European cities. There are analogies in recent European history, from short-term (seasonal) migrations of women to work in fish and fruit processing in eastern Scotland and England, to the wet-nurses who travelled from the Burgundian Morvan to work in nineteenth century Paris. Urban growth provided the context for many of these trends. More generally, the alienation of labour characteristic of capitalism has created spaces in both manufacturing and service industries available for women with the requisite skills to take up.

None of these scenarios are very likely to have existed in Roman antiquity. The existence of slavery, the consequently small size of the free labour market (in both manufacturing and service sectors), relatively low levels of urbanization and the limited access for women to education and training all contributed to their social caging.¹⁴ Most women (like most men) lived on the land and their labour was concentrated within the agricultural and other activities of peasant households. When females were economically productive outside the household unit, we mostly see them involved in textile production. Yet much of this work was done by female slaves, and it is likely that a large amount of textile production took place within the household, even in those towns famous for weaving.¹⁵ It is not impossible that freeborn women occasionally moved to centres of textile production in search of work. Such centres existed, and Pausanias states that the women of Patras outnumbered men two to one, and that most made their living from weaving flax.¹⁶ Yet there is little corroborative evidence. The balance of probabilities is that most female mobility was as part of family mobility or through enslavement.

What about differences of social status? Senators and their spouses make up a numerically tiny but very high profile group of migrants: Lien Foubert has recently discussed one group, the imperial women and governors' wives who are so prominent in literary accounts of the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁷ The Vindolanda tablets famously document the presence of the wives of much

¹⁴ The papers of Holleran and Flemming (this volume) discuss some of the exceptions.

¹⁵ Joshel (1992) Saller (2007). Saller found no evidence for freeborn women winning apprenticeship contracts in Roman Egypt. On major centres of textile production see Jones (1960).

¹⁶ Pausanias *Periegesis* 7.21.14.

¹⁷ Foubert (2011) and this volume.

more junior officers in camps along the northern frontier in Britain.¹⁸ Auxiliary *diplomata* sometimes show women moving with their families as units were posted to new areas.¹⁹ We shall see some evidence for women travelling with (or at least burying and buried by) husbands who were traders. At the other end of the spectrum, there is the sombre documentation of the slave trade. What is missing is any sign of female mobility from among the peasantry that made up the bulk of the population. But this group is also the most poorly documented for male migrants.

Clearly there were exceptions to these generalizations for example when entire peoples were moved across the frontiers, or perhaps during the mass colonization movement of the triumphal period. Perhaps the settlement of the Agri Decumates might be a late exception. But it is difficult to imagine there were many opportunities for migrant peasant families of the kind that presented themselves to European farmers in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Epigraphic Surveys

It is time to turn to the epigraphic documentation for migration, with the usual caveats. Some sectors of society are disproportionately represented, in particular soldiers, urban populations and local élite members. So too are those who have experienced upward social mobility, most notably ex-slaves and auxiliary veterans. A few considerations apply particularly to evidence for migration. First, the surveys I will be concerned with have adopted varying criteria for identifying migrants. Stated *origo* or local citizenship is the most secure criterion, onomastics or the choice of deity worshipped are the most perilous. I will err on the side of caution, but this may lead to a further underrepresentation of those migrants more completely assimilated. Second, measuring mobility from gravestones is a little like trying to measure coin circulation from the evidence of hoards. We are concerned predominantly with those 'dying on foreign shores' in Mark

¹⁸ Greene, this volume.

¹⁹ Greene (forthcoming). I am grateful to Elizabeth Greene for the chance to see this paper prior to publication. One well documented community of auxiliaries and their wives was that of the Syrians based at Intercisa, on which Fitz (1972). See also Eck and Pangerl (2003), (2008a), (2008b) for the inclusion in grants of citizenship of the families of auxiliaries, apparently living with them at their foreign postings, and Derks (2009) 248–250 for Batavian women accompanying their husbands on military service. For some suggestions about the implications, see Driel-Murray, van (2008).

Handley's evocative phrase:²⁰ those who made it back home have disappeared from the record. This means short term mobility—the mobility of traders, pilgrims and administrators for example, and perhaps also that of miners, potters, craftsmen and other entrepreneurs—is probably under-represented. Finally, the mobility of the poor is also under-represented because they are in general under-represented in the epigraphic material: this is serious when trying to assess the scale, nature and directions of slave mobility, and in different ways for attempts to estimate the mobility of peasants, either within the countryside or in rural-urban migration. For all these reasons, we might expect epigraphically attested mobility to be less than actual mobility.

I shall start with the Gallic provinces. Here we dispose of Krier's survey of Treveri outside their home territory, and Wierschowski's survey and catalogue of regional mobility among the Gauls.²¹ Krier's project takes into account all individuals identified as Trever, civis Trever or the like. His catalogue lists 62 individuals. Apart for three from the City of Rome, all are from north of the Alps viz. Britannia, Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Aquitania, both Germanies, Raetia, both Pannonias, both Moesias and the Dacian provinces. Of the northern provinces, only Noricum and Gallia Belgica do not figure on this list. That may partly reflect low levels of epigraphic density. Half the number attested are from Lugdunensis and Germania Superior, the rest are spread more widely. Most Treveran mobility was evidently across relatively short distances. The males are for the most part a mixture of traders and veterans. There are however a number of female Treveri included in the corpus. One *civis Trevera* dedicated a marble altar to Jupiter at St Bertrand de Comminges,²² and from Rome there is a marble statue base recording a dedication by a Treveran couple to their equestrian benefactor.²³ Otherwise we have a gravestone set up at Bordeaux to a Treveran wife who had died at the age of 20; another at Mainz set up by a father for three children *ex natione Trevere* who died at the ages of eight, three and two; a Mainz sarcophagus set up to their Treveran mother by her two daughters; and a late antique inscription from Rome commemorating a Bellicola, of Gallic nation and Treveran citizenship, most probably servile in origin.²⁴ Finally an inscription at Lyon

²⁰ Handley (2011).

²¹ Krier (1981); Wierschowski (1995), (2001). On Wierschowski's project see the reviews by John Drinkwater in *Britannia* 28 (1997) 511–512 and *Classical Review* 53.2 (2003) 439–440 and also Marie-Thérèse Raepsart-Charlier in *Gnomon* 77.1 (2005) 41–45.

²² *CIL* 13, 233.

²³ *CIL* 6, 1625a.

²⁴ *CIL* 13, 633; 11888; 7118; 6, 34676.

set up by a Treveran man commemorates a wife from Vienne.²⁵ Interestingly her *origo* clearly still mattered after 16 years of marriage, even in a city where both were foreigners. A number of other inscriptions in Krier's corpus mention women, either as commemorators or commemorated, but without stipulating their citizenship.

The example of the Treveri abroad turns out to be rather typical of the kind of mobility documented by Wierschowski. His catalogue, published some years after the thesis that was based on an earlier draft of it, includes 659 cases of mobility, a figure that represents around 5% of the total individuals epigraphically attested in the regions he covers. Unlike Krier he excludes soldiers and (mostly) veterans. Nearly 500 of his cases represent movements *within* the four Gallic and two German provinces. The remainder mostly ended up in Spain or northern Italy. A series of tables dividing the results by province shows that a great part of mobility happened within individual provinces. As we might expect larger cities like Mainz and Lyon had the greatest proportions of immigrants attested. An appendix to the thesis gathers inscriptions that mention women from *civitates* other than that in which they were found, and a short chapter discusses the mobility of women.²⁶ Of 659 migrants surveyed in the thesis some 120 (18%) were female. A few can be connected to the movement of military units, mostly as wives of soldiers or veterans, but one sister and one daughter also appear. A small proportion—nine are *flaminicae*—clearly belonged to the municipal élite. But in most cases we have only names, a large proportion of which suggest they were slaves or of slave origin.

A second series of studies has asked broadly the same questions of the epigraphy of the Spanish peninsula. Haley documents some 715 instances of individuals attested in communities to which they were not native.²⁷ Haley does not try to calculate the proportion of epigraphically known individuals who can be shown to be migrants, but in his town by town surveys no community shows a rate of over 5%. Of his 715 migrants only 150 (18%) were from outside the Spanish provinces. The majority of migrants were not only Spanish in origin but were migrating between communities in the same province. Soldiers, traders and miners make up the largest groups. Very few female migrants are mentioned in his study. When they do appear, they seem to have moved within family units: one inscription from Caesarobriga mentions an immigrant who was accompanied by his mother,

²⁵ *CIL* 13, 1988.

²⁶ Wierschowski (1995) 262–266.

²⁷ Haley (1991).

his sister, his wife, his uncle and his son.²⁸ Stanley's more detailed study of mobility in and out of Lusitania (which does include soldiers) also shows the significance of local migrations, with only 12 of a total of 143 migrants originating outside the Spanish provinces.²⁹ Women when they appear are often *flaminicae* so both of high status and probably temporary migrants. Also relevant to these questions is Mackie's survey of municipal government in the peninsula which highlighted the prominence of individuals described as *incolae*, resident aliens.³⁰ The large number of small communities in Spain clearly combined with mobility to make it worthwhile for civic authorities to identify those who might otherwise evade local taxation. Nevertheless most attested movement was not long distance, and there is little sign of women moving independently of their male relatives.

Material from other western provinces that has been gathered less systematically does not contradict this picture. The British material has been scrutinized carefully by Anthony Birley who found cases of soldiers accompanied by their wives in long distance relocations, and also many wives who were probably former slaves of their husbands.³¹ In a few cases, like the famous Palmyrene Barates attested on the Wall, it seems likely that soldiers acquired wives by purchase within the province in which they served. Rowland notes female migrants from Trier, Metz, Raetia, Sardinia and Salona, the latter accompanying a veteran also of Dalmatian origin. The recently published bill of sale for a Gaulish slave woman named Fortunata sold in London, suggests slave women were perhaps not always transported over very great distances.³² The rich epigraphy of Africa also offers much material for this sort of investigation. The overview offered by Lassère to a recent *Africa Romana* conference dedicated in part to the theme of mobility suggests very similar patterns obtained in that part of the empire,³³ but we lack a study of the kind carried out for Gaul and the Gauls by Wierschowski.

What conclusions can be drawn from this brief metasurvey?³⁴ First, it seems clear that local migration was most common, and migration within a region more common than long distance mobility. Epigraphic examples of long-distance migration catch the imagination and—like Barates the Palmyrene on the wall—are often cited. The scale of mobility in general,

²⁸ *CIL* 2, 900.

²⁹ Stanley (1990).

³⁰ Mackie (1983).

³¹ Birley (1979). For other examples see Rowland (1976).

³² Tomlin (2003).

³³ Lassère (2006).

³⁴ For another metasurvey see Eckardt et al. (2010).

however, is very difficult to estimate. The figure of 5% migrants that happens to recur in the global studies of Haley and Wierschowski (and also of Noy on migration to Rome)³⁵ is hardly a safe one: I have offered some reasons why I think we should regard these figures as minima or serious underestimates. Nor can we trust the relative balance between social statuses or occupations. We might reasonably assume rates of mobility were very low indeed among the major groups not represented in the epigraphy, but they could well be much higher than 5% among the inscribing and inscribed classes.

When we come to gender, however, there is less reason to distrust the ratios. Women appear, after all, as commemorators as well as among the deceased. Burial was in any case presumably a call on family funds, rather than on personal resources. Spickermann's study of women who made votive offerings in the north west provinces suggests that if they were numerically underrepresented they were in other respects broadly similar as a group to their male counterparts.³⁶ There is some reason then to trust the indications that repeatedly represent female migrants as outnumbered by male ones by a ratio of roughly 1:4.³⁷ As expected, there is no real reason to see that any but a tiny minority were independent travellers. Some women moved with their male partners, and a very large number moved as slaves: a few began as slaves and ended up as spouses. There is no real sign of the emergence of supra-communal aristocracies, through intermarriage between members of the elites of different cities. It was legal, since most were Roman citizens from an early date, and a little intermarriage certainly occurred among the senatorial elite. But it is effectively invisible in the provincial epigraphy of the west. What the epigraphic evidence suggests most strongly is that women escaped their social cages much less frequently than did men, and when they did travel it was as wives, sisters and mothers if they were lucky, and slaves if they were not.

Physical Anthropology

Epigraphy dominates the social analysis of the western provinces for good reasons: historical texts are few in number, and not often interested in issues such as mobility or women's experience, while legal texts are rarely

³⁵ Noy (2000), (2010).

³⁶ Spickermann (1994).

³⁷ A similar conclusion is reached in respect of the city of Rome by Noy (2000) 60–73.

geographically specific and deal in ideals rather than norms or in exceptional cases. The use of material culture as a means of tracing population mobility is currently being rehabilitated,³⁸ but it does not often allow the movement of individuals to be assessed. Physical anthropology, by contrast, deals specifically with individuals, and individuals of a broader social range of social statuses than those who commonly appear in inscriptions. Stable isotope analysis examines traces of elements deposited in the body at different stages of a person's life. Since these traces often have a clear geographical signature it is possible to state when an individual has moved a significant distance from his or her birthplace. Comparisons of skeletons from the same cemetery allow the heterogeneity of a population to be assessed. Most adult skeletons can be sexed with some confidence. Naturally these techniques too have their limitations. It is often easier to identify an isotopic-ratio as non-local than to be sure of its precise geographical origins, not all skeletal material is suitable for these studies, and the numbers of cemeteries and individuals that have been examined is small, raising questions about the legitimacy of generalization.

Other procedures exploit present-day divergences between the distribution of genetic markers in material inherited through the female line (such as maternal mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA)) and that inherited through the male line (such as Y-chromosome variations) to attempt to differentiate male and female movements.³⁹ Attempts have been made to trace the historical movements of groups including the Phoenicians,⁴⁰ the Etruscans,⁴¹ and the Celts.⁴² Eventually, we may hope that questions about the gendering of mobility may receive authoritative and precise answers from these techniques.

For the moment, the first results are merely suggestive. Oxygen stable isotope ratios obtained from the teeth of 61 individuals buried at Isola Sacra, the cemetery for the Roman port of Portus, suggested about a third had migrated to Rome in childhood.⁴³ A similar study based on the teeth from 43 individuals buried in two cemeteries in Roman York suggested at least 4

³⁸ E.g. Anthony (1990), Burmeister (2000).

³⁹ See e.g. Wilson et al. (2001) arguing that early medieval migrations from Scandinavia left a significant paternal genetic legacy in the British Isles, and that there was at least one significant episode of female mobility into Britain in the late prehistoric or Roman periods.

⁴⁰ Zalloua et al. (2008).

⁴¹ Vernesi et al. (2004), Achilli et al. (2007).

⁴² McEvoy et al. (2004).

⁴³ Prowse et al. (2007).

had originated outside Britain.⁴⁴ Neither study produced evidence for gender differentiation. Two much fuller studies have recently appeared, Hella Eckardt's collection of studies of population diversity in Roman Britain,⁴⁵ and Kristina Killgrove's doctoral thesis on migration to the City of Rome.⁴⁶ Killgrove subjected 183 skeletons from two cemeteries in the suburbs of ancient Rome to a range of osteological analyses. Strontium and Oxygen analysis of 55 skeletons suggested 20 had come to Rome from elsewhere, and dietary differences were also identified between locals and immigrants. The data were contextualized in a full account of migration to the capital and in relation to similar studies conducted on other populations. Male immigrants outnumbered female ones in each group considered, but not by a wide margin and the low numbers mean the difference is not statistically significant. The comparative analysis of Romano-British studies at the heart of Eckardt's collection was based on 155 skeletons from the province.⁴⁷ They originated in cemeteries in Catterick, York (Railway Cemetery and Trentholme Drive Cemetery), Gloucester (a mass burial and an inhumation cemetery) and Lankhills on the outskirts of Winchester, representing a range of social locales from military camps to a *colonia* and a local capital. There was considerable variation between cemeteries but between 9% and 34% were considered to have originated from outside the province, and it was also concluded that between 14 and 50% had migrated from other parts of Britain. Men generally outnumbered women, but again only by a narrow margin.

The potential of these methods is exciting, but at present the sample sizes are so small that it is difficult to overturn the impressions given by probabilistic arguments and by the epigraphic data. All these methods lead to the same general conclusion that we should envisage significant mobility in the Roman world, but perhaps the opposite view is now no longer held. On gender there is, perhaps, less agreement. Women certainly travelled with men, but how often is unclear. Physical anthropology cannot help with the question of how often they travelled independently of their male relatives or owners.

⁴⁴ Leach et al. (2009).

⁴⁵ Eckart (2010).

⁴⁶ Killgrove (2010).

⁴⁷ Eckardt et al. (2010). The study includes those discussed in Leach et al. (2009).

Conclusions

These results are perhaps unsurprising, and certainly not out of line with previous assessments.⁴⁸ Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen recently summarized the common wisdom on mobility in the ancient Greco-Roman world in terms of three points:⁴⁹

- a. men had a greater mobility than women;
- b. the elite had a greater mobility than lower social classes;
- c. military personnel had a greater mobility than civilians.

Of these three propositions he registered doubts mainly about the second, pointing out how many migrants were of a social rank a little below that of the landed aristocracy. This seems a fair assessment, especially for the western provinces of the Roman empire where the emergence of classes of middling status had been noted by John Drinkwater and others as a key component of urbanization.⁵⁰

The consequences for gender and the city in the Latin west have not always been brought out. Western cities, as is well known, were often very small and in some parts of the empire they were far apart. Lower population densities and the fact that fewer were situated in areas ravaged by malaria or leprosy, mean it is unlikely they suffered the 'urban graveyard effect' (a perpetual excess of mortality over fertility requiring constant and significant immigration to maintain population levels) to the same extent as did the metropoleis of the Mediterranean world. We should imagine relatively stable communities, then, and their experience of migration was not a flood of peasants arriving every generation so much as circulation of people, mostly at a relatively local level. But these people were predominantly men. A few women travelled with their husbands to other towns. But most will have lived and died in the communities in which they had been born. The female horizon in the Roman west was very limited, and their social cages were very small.

This is genuinely different from the experience of their male relatives. No doubt many of them stayed where they were through choice, but many others travelled. A good case has been made that in the Batavian area it was

⁴⁸ An exception is Loman (2004) which deals with female mobility in the Hellenistic period and argues that in addition to women accompanying their male relatives, a number of women travelled independently either for economic reasons or religious ones. How far this difference in emphasis reflects differences between periods and places remains unclear.

⁴⁹ Bekker-Nielsen (2003).

⁵⁰ Drinkwater (1978), (1979), (1981). See also Kneißl (1988); Schlippschuh (1987).

very common indeed for young men to serve in the Roman army for long periods and then to return to their native villages.⁵¹ Perhaps this was true in other areas too. But many men will have left and never returned. The new women who entered western cities were overwhelmingly servile in origin. It is difficult to estimate the proportion of the female population they made up, let alone the extent to which they competed with indigenous women for male partners. But the possibility of purchasing women from without, and the greater opportunities men enjoyed to travel and seek opportunities elsewhere, will have tended to empower male provincials disproportionately. We are very used to remarking that Roman imperialism strengthened the power of landowners within western societies. My argument in this paper has been that it also strengthened the position of adult men within provincial societies.⁵²

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⁵¹ Roymans (2004).

⁵² For some connected thoughts Woolf (2005).

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FEMALE NETWORKS IN MILITARY
COMMUNITIES IN THE ROMAN WEST:
A VIEW FROM THE VINDOLANDA TABLETS*

Elizabeth M. Greene

Introduction

This paper seeks to illuminate the character of the communities that surrounded military units in the Roman West by taking a close look at the Vindolanda tablets and the individuals represented in this corpus. Attention is given particularly to the women that appear in the Vindolanda community and how their presence can be reconciled with the traditional view of the Roman army. Latin literature provides an image of the Roman military that prioritizes masculine power consolidated by expertise in battle and unequalled readiness to fight. Classical authors make clear that a female presence would have been anathema to proper military function and discipline.¹ Certainly a straggling train of non-essential personnel and a large number of non-combatants would slow down an army on the march; however, it is just as certain that this did not hinder some soldiers from maintaining and creating relationships during their military career.² Numerous such individuals are mentioned from Polybius to Vegetius, who describe a variety of non-combatants following the column of soldiers, including women, children and slaves.³

* I extend special thanks to Anthony Birley, who first discussed the presence of women in the Vindolanda writing tablets with me and provided me with the initial list of occurrences of female names in the corpus, and also for reading early versions of this paper in 2010. I would also like to thank Amy Richlin for commenting on these ideas at a UCLA conference in 2010 and for her encouragement to publish this material. Much appreciated feedback was given from the editors of this volume, which improved this paper significantly. All errors remain my own.

¹ E.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3.33.1–4; Dio Cass. 56.20.2. Cf. Marshall (1975a) 110–113; Marshall (1975b) *passim*; Boatwright (2003) 259–265; Barrett (2005).

² Allason-Jones (1999; 2004); Allison (2006; 2007; 2008; 2011); Driel-Murray, van (1995; 1997; 1998); Phang (2001; 2002a; 2002b); Greene (forthcoming).

³ Grooms accompanying cavalry are discussed as early as in Polybius (6.40.7); Livy *Ab. Urb. Cond.* 43.3.1 debates the problem of camp children in reference to events of 171 BC; Dio

Tacitus' depiction of Agrippina and other women leaving the camp of the rebelling German legions provides a palpable image of families in camp: "a miserable column of women, the leader's wife as a refugee, carrying her little son at her breast, surrounded by the lamenting spouses of friends, who were being dragged off in the same way. And no less sad were those who stayed behind."⁴ This image of a large number of women leaving their military home can be attributed to literary trope;⁵ however, we know that Agrippina did indeed accompany Germanicus to the northern frontiers and that she resided with her children within the military community in the beginning of the first century CE.⁶ Dio attributes partial blame for the loss of Varus' three legions in 9 CE to the straggling train of women, children and servants that brought up the rear of the column.⁷ The practice of elite wives joining their political-military husbands in the provinces has been attributed first to the tumultuous period of the late Republic, when a trip to the provinces realistically may have been the only escape from the political tumult in Rome,⁸ but this does not explain the numerous non-combatants described by Dio, particularly non-elites. Whether literary trope or reported fact, this passage confirms that women and children were broadly considered a weakening element of a typically masculine domain, but at the same time that their presence was quite real.

Though work has been done on the archaeological and historical evidence for women and children in the military environment,⁹ it remains striking how little we know of the character of this social group as a whole. It has been common in broad examinations of the Roman army to state

Cass. 56.20.2 describes the many women, children and slaves following Varus' legions in 9 CE; Veg. *Epit.* 3.6.13 describes the best marching order including *calones* (soldier's servant); Tac. *Hist.* 3.33.1 discusses the numerous non-combatants with the Flavian army at Cremona.

⁴ Tac. *Ann.* 1.40.4: *Incedebat muliebre et miserabile agmen, profuga ducis uxor, parvulum sinu filium gerens, lamentantes circum amicorum coniuges, quae simul trahebantur; nec minus tristes qui manebant.*

⁵ The rhetorical nature of this passage has certainly not gone unnoticed by scholars. In 1.40.4 alone, Koestermann (1963) 165, has noted myriad devices used to heighten the sense of wrongdoing by the revolting soldiers, including chiasmus, rhythm, alliteration, and metaphor. "Die ganze Szene ist pathetisch aufgezogen, stilistisch mit allen rhetorischen Steigerungsmöglichkeiten versehen ..."

⁶ For Agrippina as the *Dux Femina*, see Ginsburg (2006) 112–116; cf. Kaplan (1979) 410–417, for Tacitus' characterization of women.

⁷ Dio Cass. 56.20.2.

⁸ Marshall (1975) 11, argues that this practice was then adopted by the Julio-Claudian house, hence Agrippina's extensive presence in the military environment.

⁹ See above note 2; cf. Jung (1982); Roxan (1991); Debrunner Hall (1996); Speidel (1997); Wells (1997); Wesch-Klein (1998); Palao Vicente (2000); Phang (2001; 2002a; 2002b); Maxfield (2002); Stoll (2006); Brandl (2008).

that soldiers' families lived in the extramural settlements of military forts, a population often pejoratively described as "camp followers," without further attempt to define the character of the community.¹⁰ The term "camp followers" is problematic for many reasons, but it is particularly inadequate for a consideration of the nature of the community surrounding the Roman army. The term veils the diverse composition of this group that would, in reality, have been a population with people of various social ranks and backgrounds. Many of our current assumptions about the Roman military and its surrounding community are monolithic, anecdotal or unsubstantiated. For instance, the notion that the native populations around military garrisons were the source of soldiers' relationships has been recently challenged.¹¹ Local women sometimes became soldiers' wives, but military diplomas indicate that more often women originated from the same tribe as their husband or from within the military community itself. Military "marriages" were not always the product of dalliances with locals, as is often anecdotally repeated, but were frequently lengthy relationships that may have predated military service. Reassessments of this sort will give us a better idea of the character of the military community.

This contribution uses the corpus of writing tablets from Vindolanda to examine the personal relationships found within this military environment. I contend that there existed a strong sense of social cohesion that included women and children and penetrated the otherwise military disposition of the group. The world of the Roman army is often treated as a wholly different social environment, but to some extent the relationships found in the tablets support our expectations of social connections in the civilian world. Like elsewhere in documentary sources, familial relationships are important in the Vindolanda tablets and individuals of similar status maintain social bonds. A level of patronage on the part of the highest status women on site can be detected, something that is also not unique to the military world, but is typical of various civilian social structures and most prominently recorded in an imperial setting.¹² We should

¹⁰ E.g. Breeze and Dobson (1987) 183, suggest that women and children would have lived "perhaps in some squalor". The *vicus* here is described as a 'shanty town'.

¹¹ Greene (forthcoming).

¹² A useful comparison may be found between Livia and Plancina's friendship on a much higher imperial level and the relationship seen in the Vindolanda tablets between officer's wives. I thank G. Woolf for this helpful suggestion. With a somewhat different motivation by the letter author, a valuable investigation of the female presence within a corpus of letters is found in Carlon (2009) with particular focus on prominent female relationships in the masculine political world of Pliny's letters.

not consider the military community as a monolithic group functioning in its own vacuum. A few tablets, moreover, support the notion that there was a distinct female milieu in this military community, which lay parallel to the otherwise dominant masculine structure inherent to the Roman army. The Vindolanda tablets offer a glimpse of the lives of women who traveled with the army and lived within the masculine world of a military garrison. They open a small window onto the lives of some women stationed on the northern frontier of Britain and present a picture that contradicts assumptions about the dominance of masculinity in Roman military communities.

The important role played by women in preserving continuity and normality for families that, by necessity, joined soldiers far from home for military service will be explored thoroughly. I examine the character of the military community with tablets suggesting that daughters remained within the military sphere by marrying fellow soldiers. One specific document suggests that the wife of the unit commander was a leading figure for women living in the military environment. I contend that she acted as an advocate for female concerns within a network of women living in the military community at Vindolanda. How this role may have extended to broader military landscapes is intriguing yet ultimately unknowable. The female voices preserved in the Vindolanda tablets show that there was a distinct and well-defined female world alongside the highly masculine environment of the Roman army.

The Tablets

The mounting evidence for non-combatants living in military settlements indicates that their presence was neither unusual nor rare.¹³ The evidence from Vindolanda, both the letters and other unique finds such as footwear, furthers such a conclusion. The Vindolanda writing tablets are a unique assemblage of documents that preserve the daily records of the military community at Vindolanda and elsewhere in Britain in the late-first and early-second centuries CE.¹⁴ The letters were preserved in anaerobic

¹³ This article does not address directly the question of where in a military settlement women were to be found. Lafer (2008) 78–81 introduces some of the tablets discussed here with respect to their presence in the community.

¹⁴ The letters discussed here are reproduced in the Appendix with transcriptions and translations taken from Bowman and Thomas (2003 and 1994). A small corpus of letters comes from the nearby site at Carlisle (Tomlin 1998) but is too fragmentary to compare to

archaeological conditions in the early periods of occupation at Vindolanda (ca. 85–120 CE) and represent the records of the upper classes living on the site, as well as soldiers and their dependents of ranks below the officer classes.¹⁵ For this reason they are important for even the smallest glimpse of the lives of lower social ranks, so rarely available in our sources.

A large percentage of the letters come from the records of the *praetorium* (commanding officer's residence) occupied in Period 3 (97–105 CE) when *cohors VIII Batavorum* was in garrison and commanded by Flavius Cerialis. His wife, Sulpicia Lepidina, and probably two small children were also in residence at this time, their presence made clear by their shoes and the correspondence of Lepidina.¹⁶ Many tablets, therefore, reveal a good deal about the 'first family' of the garrison at Vindolanda and the activities of the highest social class living in this auxiliary community. The letters give an unprecedented view of a family living within the fort itself, in addition to offering small yet suggestive pieces of information about other women associated with the community; however, without a comparable assemblage it is difficult to contextualize into a broader military framework. For comparative information one could turn to the papyri of Egypt and Dura-Europos, but none offer such a personal record of women living in a specific military community.¹⁷ The context of the Vindolanda letters makes it quite clear that the prefect's family lived within the most important and public central section of the fort itself, alongside the *principia* (headquarters building) and the granaries, the most important structures within the fort. Because of this spatial layout we are able to consider the social dynamic created by a family living within an area of vast importance for military function and public display.

One of the most productive results from a study of the Vindolanda tablets is the overarching sentiment that close family ties were common within the military community and that women had an active social voice within this masculine domain. When the tablets are considered all together it becomes clear that family members were part of the daily fabric of military

the Vindolanda corpus. Speidel (1996) discusses tablets from the legionary fort at Vindonissa. These show some female presence, including a female innkeeper apparently living within the fort itself, Speidel (1996) 186–187, Tab. No. 44. Cf. Trumm and Brogli (2008).

¹⁵ Particularly clear when the author addresses a letter to a *contubernalis*, a messmate, e.g. *Tab. Vindol.* 310 (App. No. 2).

¹⁶ Driel-Murray (1993) for the footwear evidence. For Lepidina's correspondence see below. Cf. Bowman and Thomas (1994) nos. 291–294.

¹⁷ Fink (1971). For the sake of space and time the papyrus evidence remains outside the scope of this article.

communities. For the intricacies of family connections—and indeed the normalcy of such an occurrence—we need only look to several of the tablets which record routine greetings among wives, children, sisters, parents and daughters. Tablet number 643 (Appendix No. 1) records a letter between Florus and Titus and finishes: “Ingenua, your daughter, sends greetings to you both.”¹⁸ Ingenua may have been the wife of Florus, the author of the letter and the one who passes along greetings to Titus, or the wife of an associate of Florus.¹⁹ The plural *uos* suggests that greetings went out to both parents of Ingenua, Titus and his wife.²⁰ The feeling of a close-knit community is prominent, one that exchanges greetings and keeps people informed about those that have moved into other settlements. The most probable inference is that these couples were typical members of the military community and that the daughters of such unions, such as Ingenua, might remain within a military setting by marrying another soldier.

A similar situation is found in Tablet 310 (App. No. 2) in which Chrauttius writes: “And I ask you, brother Virilis, to greet from me sister Thuttena. Write back to us how Velbutena is.”²¹ The terms *frater* and *soror* are commonly used in the Vindolanda tablets and elsewhere simply as terms of endearment between close friends.²² Though they may indeed denote a blood relationship, firm identification can be difficult; however, it seems possible in this tablet that a real family group is indicated on some level. The use of *soror* to describe a woman in a male-authored letter is somewhat unusual, and in this case it is only used as a descriptor for Thuttena. Though the recipient switches from Veldeius to Virilis, the argument that these individuals are a family is strengthened by the use of the word *parentes* in the first part of the letter.²³ With the address to Veldeius as brother *and* messmate (*fratri contubernali antiquo*) in the opening line, coupled with the reference to *parentes*, it could be argued that we are dealing with a true family relationship. Regardless, the strong relationships between Chrauttius and the women Thuttena and Velbutena are clear and the overarching feeling is one

¹⁸ *Tab. Vindol.* III 643. Bowman and Thomas (2003) 96–99.

¹⁹ If Florus were the husband it seems unlikely that he would need to clarify which “Ingenua” was meant in a letter to his parents-in-law.

²⁰ Bowman and Thomas (2003) 97, 99, suggest that because Titus is married he is likely to have been a civilian. This conclusion is unnecessary. In addition to its presence within a purely military context at Vindolanda, the letter also mentions a *beneficiarius*, setting it well within a military milieu.

²¹ *Tab. Vindol.* II 310. Bowman and Thomas (1994) 289–294.

²² Képartová (1986) 11–14.

²³ Bowman and Thomas (1994) 291, take *parentes* to mean “elders” within their military cohort.

of an intimate community that remains close even when one has moved into another military settlement.

Tablet 650 (App. No. 3) is interesting from a few perspectives, particularly that a soldier greets his countrymen: "Greet Verecunda and Sanctus, ..., Capito and all my fellow-countrymen and friends."²⁴ The military context is assured by the mention in line four of the *praefectus*, but the sender Ascanius is a *comes Augusti* indicating he was in a slightly higher social bracket.²⁵ A certain Verecunda is mentioned by name, presumably in residence somewhere at Vindolanda. More provocative is the inclusion *omnes cives et amecos* suggesting that Ascanius is not of Italian origin, but of some other ethnic group. Based on this assumption, the soldiers greeted by Ascanius were more likely to have been auxiliaries with non-Roman origins or perhaps veterans that remained at Vindolanda. The tablet is from Period 2, dating it to the 90s CE when the fort was occupied by the Batavians and possibly also a cohort of Tungrians.²⁶ A group of soldiers seems to have been present at the fort, as well as Verecunda, that were of the same ethnic background. The fact that Verecunda is named personally indicates a close relationship with Ascanius, perhaps even familial, or at the least there may have been a close tribal connection if she is connected with the *omnes cives* he greets. This greeting is reminiscent of the conclusions drawn from the military diplomas that many of the *de facto* wives living in the military community held the same tribal affiliation as the soldiers themselves.²⁷ The salutation to one's countrymen sounds very much like the rank and file in an ethnic unit, rather than for instance the highest ranking officials in a cohort. Verecunda is clearly an important part of this social group turning up first in a list of messmates and old friends.

Tablet 670 (App. No. 4) is also quite interesting but dates to later in the second century. A greeting goes out to, "Proculus and his family, and to your daughter."²⁸ As above, the military context is clear in the address, "to Victor, cavalryman, armourer," as well as the inclusion of greetings to a *vexillarius*. The writer sends greetings to Victor's daughter, suggesting that she lived at Vindolanda, and to Proculus and his family, confirming the presence of these individuals in the community. What we gain from the whole corpus is

²⁴ *Tab. Vindol.* III 650. Bowman and Thomas (2003) 109–111.

²⁵ Bowman and Thomas (2003) 111, argue that there is no need to presume this represents a man in the entourage of the emperor, but rather with senators or *equites*, and that Ascanius need not have been in a very high position to make this claim.

²⁶ Birley (2002) 57–76.

²⁷ Greene (forthcoming).

²⁸ *Tab. Vindol.* III 670. Bowman and Thomas (2003) 126–130.

an image most certainly not of casual connections or fleeting relationships. These are meaningful social bonds with a cohesive community within the military, in which women are a part of the daily fabric. Family life is strong and the connection between relatives is a prominent feature of the tablets, found in specific greetings to children, wives and others. It also seems that it was ordinary for daughters of soldiers such as Ingenua, and possibly sisters such as Thuttena, to remain a part of the social group of military communities. The number of greetings from settlements outside Vindolanda suggests that people, including women, moved around the military community quite often and that social ties were maintained.

Some practical information about the freedom allowed to women on the frontier can be gained from the tablets as well. The correspondence between Sulpicia Lepidina at Vindolanda and Claudia Severa, the prefect's wife at an unknown fort called Briga, includes invitations for the family to travel between forts and some of the stipulations of such trips. It seems that travel around the frontier was not a terribly difficult prospect, particularly if one would take on such a trip simply for a party (App. No. 6). L. Foubert (this volume) elucidates the many reasons women traveled around Britannia, also showing that it was not a terribly challenging prospect. More provocative are the parameters of Severa's movement around the frontier (App. No. 5): "... it was always (?) permitted to me, together with ... to come to you in whatever way I can."²⁹ This letter suggests a greater degree of freedom for women living on the frontier than one might expect. Presumably such a trip would have been undertaken with an escort, and for further evidence of this practice we may turn to a passage in Tacitus when Agrippina fled the fort of the rebelling German legions: "Illustrious women, without either a centurion or soldier for protection, nothing was present of her status as the wife of the commander or of her customary retinue."³⁰ As the wife of the general of the German armies, presumably Agrippina was accustomed to travel with attendants, partially as a reflection of status but no doubt also for protection and safety. The Vindolanda tablets show us unambiguously and without the possibility of literary exaggeration that elite women associated with the army were allowed to move around the military landscape and that they had the freedom to create a life that kept some semblance of normality with strong social bonds, parties, and family gatherings.³¹

²⁹ *Tab. Vindol.* II 292. Bowman and Thomas (1994) 259–262.

³⁰ *Tac. Ann.* 1.41.1: *feminas inlustres, non centurionem ad tutelam, non militem, nihil imperatoriae uxoris aut comitatus soliti.*

³¹ See also, L. Foubert, this volume.

The tablets take us beyond simply confirming the presence of women within the military community and begin to define a distinctive female social environment as well. One of the most famous letters is an invitation for a birthday celebration from Severa at Briga to Lepidina and her family (App. No. 6). The letter includes the opening lines explaining the details and the date of the event, written by a scribe, as was customary with most of the letters. In a second hand interpreted as the writing of Severa herself is a personal greeting to Lepidina: "I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail."³² The intimate tone of this letter is palpable and suggests a devoted relationship between these two women. It is unknown if they had been stationed in the same area previously, or if there was an existing relationship before both women found themselves in the military community on Hadrian's Wall, but it is almost certain that they are not blood relatives. Unfortunately, nothing more is known of Briga or of the unit that Severa's husband commanded, so no details can be gleaned about tribal affiliation. It is clear, however, that these women shared a very close relationship. This bond may have grown from the professional association between their husbands, who also send warm greetings to each other in the Vindolanda tablets (see App. No. 7). The letters between the two women seem to reflect a domestic social role for elite females in an auxiliary setting, stemming from their position as wife of the prefect and the mother of his children. Moreover, this relationship shows a continuation of social bonds in the military environment that would have been typical and expected in a purely civilian community. The relationship between Lepidina and Severa strengthens the bonds between individuals of the same status, suggesting that gender identity was also closely entwined with social rank. Simply being female in the hierarchy of the Roman military environment may have created a certain level of solidarity, but was surely not the only axis of one's identity. Tablets such as the birthday invitation suggest that a normal social existence continued while living on this northern frontier and perhaps a level of sophistication that would have fitted their rank outside military society.

A tablet from a woman named Paterna further elucidates the framework of a hierarchy with consideration to gender and rank. Paterna, a woman who seems to be of a lower social rank, promises something to be supplied to Lepidina in a time of need suggesting that an informal female social network may have existed (App. No. 8).³³ The use of the word *domina* might

³² *Tab. Vindol.* II 291. Bowman and Thomas (1994) 256–259.

³³ *Tab. Vindol.* II 294. Bowman and Thomas (1994) 263–265. The woman has been identified as a slave, but there are various interpretations of this tablet. Cf. Birley (2002) 145.

suggest a purely servile relationship at first glance, but it seems odd that a slave would need to address the *domina* in a formal letter from within the household. The language certainly suggests that Paterna is in a lower social position than Lepidina, as would be expected in a letter to the wife of the prefect. In this case, the intersection of both gender and status are at play; there may have been solidarity among women and an expectation of support, but clearly the role of Lepidina as the commander's wife creates a gap between these women, much as it would in a purely civilian environment.

The extent to which a female world existed within this otherwise masculine sphere can be explored with a few other tablets. A telling example is an otherwise innocuous list of supplies in a tablet found in the records of the Period 3 *praetorium*. Tablet 581 (App. No. 9) records a fragmentary reference to supplies being used for the celebration of the *matronalia* on the *kalends* of March.³⁴ The tablet is fragmentary and should be taken with some caution, but the date is clearly *K(alendis) Martis*, the known date of the festival and is followed by *matronar[]*. The last letter is difficult to read and may be a misspelling, as is common in the tablets particularly with names. Some caution should be taken since there is no evidence as of yet for the *matronalia* celebration elsewhere in military records, such as in the *Feriale Duranum*,³⁵ but the possible significance is intriguing. Several festivals in honor of female deities are known to have existed throughout the year from the *Feriale*;³⁶ however, the celebration of the *matronalia* differs quite dramatically from the rituals related to, for instance, Minerva, who was important among soldiers for her association with military strength, not because of her feminine qualities. The *matronalia*, on the other hand, celebrated Juno Lucina, protector of the fecundity of wives and their resultant motherhood. The rituals were enacted by women and men may also have participated by honoring their wives with presents.³⁷ A prerequisite of the *matronalia* is the presence of married couples and the expected fertility of these unions.³⁸

A few details are striking beyond simply the notion that a significant population of women must have been present to make the *matronalia* a viable festival in a military context. Since the list is from military archives and is an inventory of goods kept in the military stores for the unit, presumably

³⁴ *Tab. Vindol.* III 581. Bowman and Thomas (2003) 23–34.

³⁵ For the *Feriale Duranum* papyrus, Fink (1971) 422–429, No. 117. The document dates much later than the Vindolanda tablets, to 223–227 CE.

³⁶ Fink (1971) 422–429. For general discussions of the military religious calendar, see Nock (1952) *passim*; cf. Gilliam (1954) 183–196.

³⁷ Gagé (1963) 104–111; cf. Prescendi (2000) 126–127.

³⁸ Cf. Greene (2012) 107–108.

the celebration was authorized by or at least well-known to military officials. It would be impossible to determine with certainty, but as part of the official military inventory it is also possible that the celebration was funded by military resources. If we may read this tablet in such a way, it suggests there was official approval of a female ritual within the army, at least here at Vindolanda. Worship of Juno and the celebration of the *matronalia* were in direct conflict with the prevailing masculine social role of soldier.³⁹ To see both themes together in the religious life at Vindolanda is interesting, suggesting that the presence of women does not negate the efficacy of the Roman army, as is sometimes imagined.

Although the possible inclusion of the *matronalia* in the calendar at Vindolanda emphasizes the domestic role of women in the military community, it seems that at least the prefect's wife and perhaps other officers' wives would have held a public role as well. In a military camp, particularly in the central range of buildings, the private domestic sphere and the public domain would be only marginally separate.⁴⁰ The *praetorium* should be considered at the same time a space of primary importance for military business and a domestic space for the family of the prefect. The two roles cannot be separated and do not need to contradict one another. In this prominent physical and social position we should expect to find the prefect's wife taking on a leading public role, such as presiding over a public event like the *matronalia*. Tablet 629 (App. No. 10) records confirmation by the prefect's colleague that he will attend Lepidina's birthday celebration.⁴¹ It seems that an event in honor of the prefect's wife was important not only for women in the community, but also for military colleagues, indicating her role as an important part of the social structure of the community.

This role as 'first lady' of the camp is reflected particularly well in Tablet 257 as well (App. No. 11). The letter was written to Cerialis from a woman Valatta and has some official character, though its fragmentary preservation makes it difficult to assess. Valatta appeals to the prefect for a grant of something unknown: "Valatta to her Cerialis, greetings. I ask my lord, by your posterity, and through Lepidina that you grant me what I ask (?) ..." ⁴² Valatta makes her appeal *per Lepidinam*, which could be understood in various ways. At first glance it might be taken as a letter written by a member of the household staff, and Lepidina's role is one of manager of the household

³⁹ López (2007) 357–372.

⁴⁰ Cf. Greene (2012) 107.

⁴¹ *Tab. Vindol.* III 629. Bowman and Thomas (2003) 86–87.

⁴² *Tab. Vindol.* II 257. Bowman and Thomas (1994) 230–231. Cf. Birley (2002) 145.

therefore the request goes through the *domina*. But it seems a less likely scenario that an internal appeal would be written down through a scribe and delivered to Cerialis from within the household. Rather, I would like to see this as a member of the community appealing to the highest ranking official on site, as would have been appropriate within the conventions of a social hierarchy in both a military or civilian population, but as a woman she also petitions through the advocacy of his wife Lepidina, aligning herself with a female network.

There is no way to confirm this reading beyond doubt; however, when looking to a much higher imperial social context, it is clear that there were female networks that ran parallel to the otherwise masculine world of Roman politics, as well as patronage relationships between women in these networks.⁴³ Similar to for instance the elite female relationships forged between imperial and elite women within the male-dominated world of Roman politics,⁴⁴ female social links would have been vital in the Roman military sphere. This role for a leading woman of the camp begs for consideration of the imperial female title of *mater castrorum*, albeit an elusive connection. This honorary epithet was conferred upon Faustina the Younger, wife of Marcus Aurelius, and most famously held by Julia Domna in the early third century.⁴⁵ There is no indication that the title actually had an on-the-ground function and was anything more than honorary, but the idea that a female figure could be named 'mother' of a military camp, perhaps envisioned as a mother-figure to the Roman armies, suggests that there was room for a female component in military ideology.

Conclusion

The Vindolanda tablets suggest that entrenched social communities including wives, children, siblings, parents-in-law, and probably others masked in the available evidence regularly supported the Roman army. All the more striking is the presence of such a robust community in the Vindolanda material at such an early date as the last quarter of the first century CE, only

⁴³ For instance, the close relationship between Livia and Plancina, mentioned above. It should also be noted that a prominent public role for women was very poorly received in some male circles, e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 3.33, records the speech of Severus Caecina railing against the involvement of Agrippina and Plancina in military matters and the affairs of men. At the same time, the senatorial response is for the positive presence of female accompaniment.

⁴⁴ For female power at Rome, see Laurence (1997) 129–139, esp. 133.

⁴⁵ Boatwright (2003) *passim*, for Faustina the Younger. Langford (2013) for Julia Domna.

shortly after the Roman frontier was established in this area. Though some tablets are frustratingly incomplete, they offer unusual insight into the lives of women associated with the northern frontier of Britain. The evidence is especially useful to appreciate the lives of the highest ranking women living in the auxiliary military setting, but there are glimpses of ordinary women here as well. Women with various social backgrounds were dispersed throughout the military landscape, such as the daughters and sisters of soldiers of all ranks. A glance at the epigraphic evidence from the military sphere confirms that officers and foot soldiers alike were accompanied by wives and family members, giving the impression that families were a customary part of the social structure of the Roman auxiliary army. One of the only personal letters from Carlisle with enough substance to discern its context, also from the last quarter of the first century, greets family in a letter otherwise dealing with military supplies.⁴⁶

Without a comparable assemblage of letters from the Roman West, the evidence from Vindolanda must be pressed to give the broadest picture possible, but its limitations should also be kept in mind. Other axes of identity were at work than gender, such as status and rank, tribal and religious affiliations, or factors such as age.⁴⁷ Within the communities of non-citizen auxiliary soldiers social structures may have been constructed far more with respect to native customs rather than any social norm understood as "Roman". In the case of an auxiliary soldier in the Roman army it is most likely that hybrid identities were at work and diverse social situations would prioritize different aspects of identity along a spectrum of possibilities. These identities, however, may be severely blurred and ultimately unattainable for modern scholars.

Since the discovery of such letters comes mainly from Vindolanda, they provide evidence most significant for understanding the social framework of auxiliary units in northern Britain; however, they are also quite significant for the broader discourse about the role of women in the military sphere. The letters plainly support that some soldiers maintained strong ties with women and families during service and they provide useful evidence for the prominent social role of at least upper-class women living amongst the Roman army.

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⁴⁶ *Tabulae Luguvalienses* 16, Tomlin (1998) 55–63. Compare *Tab. Luguval.* 39, Tomlin (1998) 72, which closes with: "[May you fare well] with yours [...]."

⁴⁷ Konstan (2002) 11–23.

Appendix: The Vindolanda Tablets

(All transcriptions and translations are taken from Bowman and Thomas 1994 and 2003. Only the relevant parts of letters are reproduced here. Marks for uncertain letters are omitted. Please refer to Bowman and Thomas for complete letters)

1. *Tab. Vindol.* 643

i.

Floru[s] Calauiro suo
salut[e]m ... dabes
....].o benifeciario
....] signabet anulo
 Traces?

ii.

Florus Tito suo salutem
 frates ...

Back:

... Ingenua uos salu-
tat u[e]stra filia
Caelouiro dabes

Margin:

Opto bene [

b.

..ma.
qua[

"Florus to his Calavir(us), greetings. ... give to ... the *beneficiarius* which(?) he will seal with his ring. Florus to his Titus, greetings. Brother ... (Back) ... Ingenua, your daughter, sends greetings to you both. Deliver to Caelovir(us). (Margin) I pray that you are in good health."

2. *Tab. Vindol.* 310

i.

Chrauttius Veldeio suó fratri
contubernali antiquo pluri
 mam salutem
et rogo te Veldei frater miror

quod mihi tot tempus nihil
rescripti a parentibus nos-
tris si quid audieris ...

ii.

... et rogo te frater Virilis
salutes a me Thuttenam
sororem Velbutenam
rescribas nobis cum ...
se habeat *vacat*
*m*²? opt(o) sis felicissimus
uale

*m*¹ Londini
Veldedeio
equisioni co(n)
a Chrauttio
fratre

“Chrauttius to Veldeius his brother and old messmate, very many greetings. And I ask you, brother Veldeius—I am surprised that you have written nothing back to me for such a long time—whether you have heard anything from our elders, ... And I ask you, brother Virilis, to greet from me our sister Thuttena. Write back to us how Velbutena is (?). (2nd hand?) It is my wish that you enjoy the best of fortune. Farewell. (Back, 1st hand) (Deliver) at London. To Veldedeius, groom of the governor, from his brother Chrauttius.”

3. *Tab. Vindol.* 650

ii.

... saluta Verecundam
et Sanctum Lo..um Capito-
nem et omnes ciues et
amecos cum quibus opto
bene ualeas .[] *vacat*?

Back:

Mensori
Ab Ascanio comiti Aug(usti)

“... Greet Verecunda and Sanctus, ... Capito and all my fellow-countrymen and friends, with whom I pray that you are in good health. ... (Back) ..., surveyor(?), from Ascanius, *comes Augusti*.”

4. *Tab. Vindol.* 670

i.

Martius Victori fratri
Karissimo salute[m ...

ii.

... [c. 5 P]roculum
et familiam [c.4]..onidicem
filiam .[c.6] Valentinum
uexill[arium et ..]...anum

A. Address: Coris

Victori
eq(uiti) arm ...
a M]artio ..br

"Martius to Victor, his most dear brother, greetings. ... [Greet?] Proculus and (his?) family and ... your (?) daughter and Valentinus the *uexillarius* and -anus ... (Address) [Deliver] at Coria(?) to Victor, cavalryman, armourer, from Martius, clerk (?)."

5. *Tab. Vindol.* 292

i.

salutem
ego soror sicut tecum locuta fueram et promiseram
ut peterem a Brocchó et uenirem at te peti
et res[po]ndit mihi (i)ta cor.. semp[er li]citum uná

ii.

quomodocumque possim
at te peruenire sunt enim
necessariá quaedam qua[e]

iii.

rem meum epistulas meas
accipies quibus scies quid
sim actura haec tibi

v.

.ra eram et Brigae mansura
Ceriale tuum a me saluta
uacat

Back:

*m*² [val]e mi soror
karissima et anima
ma desideratissima
vacat *traces*

*m*¹ Sulpiciae Lepidi-
nae Cerialis
a Seuera B[rocchi

“... greetings. Just as I had spoken with you, sister, and promised that I would ask Brocchus and would come to you, I asked him and he gave me the following reply, that it was always readily (?) permitted to me, together with ... to come to you in whatever way I can. For there are certain essential things which ... you will receive my letters by which you will know what I am going to do ... I was ... and will remain at Briga. Greet your Cerialis from me. (Back, 2nd hand) Farewell my sister, my dearest and most longed-for soul. (1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa, wife of Brocchus (?).”

6. *Tab.Vindol.* 291

i.

Cl(audia) · Seuera Lepidinae [Suae
[sa]l[u]tem
iii Idus Septembr[e]s soror ad diem
sollemnem natalem meum rogo
libenter facias ut uenias
ad nos iucundio rem mihi

ii.

[diem] interuentu tuo factura si
[.].[c.3]s *vacat*
Cerial[em t]uum saluta Aelius meus
et filiulus salutant *vacat*
*m*² *vacat* sperabo te soror
vale soror anima
mea ita valeam
karissima et haue

*m*¹ Sulpicia Lepidinae
Cerialis
a Cl(audia) Seuera

“Claudia Severa to her Lepidina greetings. On 11 September, sister, for the day of the celebration of my birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present (?).

Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him (?) their greetings. (2nd hand) I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail. (Back, 1st hand) To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa."

7. *Tab. Vindol.* 622

i.

salutem ...

ii.

Es c[um tu]a Lepidina ueni
sicu[.....] Kalendas
apu[d nos] remane s

] Severa mea
uos [s]alutat
*m*² ua[le] mi frater
k[ari]ssime

Back:

*m*¹ Flavio C[eri]ali
prae[f(ecto) co]h(ortis)
a Broccho [

"... greetings. ... Come with your Lepidina, in this way so that you may stay with us beyond (?) the New Year. ... My Severa greets you (both). (2nd hand) Farewell, my dearest brother. (Back, 1st hand?) To Flavius Cerialis, prefect of the cohort, from Brocchus."

8. *Tab. Vindol.* 294

]a...na Lepidin[ae suae
s[alutem
ita sim salua domi[na
ut ego duas an.[
feram tibi alter[am
alteram febric.[
et ideo me tibi e[
sed quatenus m.[

"... Paterna (?) to her Lepidina, greetings. So help me god, my lady [and sister?], I shall bring (?) you two remedies (?), the one for ..., the other for fever (?) and therefore ... myself to you ... but insofar as ..."

9. *Tab.Vindol.* 581: Part of a longer account, lines 72–73

K(alendis) Martis dom[
matronar[

“1 march, for the lord(s) (?) ...
of the Matronalia (?) ...”

10. *Tab.Vindol.* 629

i.

Cl]odius Super Ceriali suo
salutem
libentissime frater sicut uoluer[as
Lepidinae tuae [...]a interf[u-
issem utique te [[*traces*]] (*m*²)..le.te ' (*m*¹)..[

ii.

reddere utique enim scis
iucundissime mihi esse quo-
ti]ens pariter sumus simi-
...].iam non putavi mit-
.....]m ne antequam u[

Back:

*m*³ ? Flavio Ceriali[li

“Clodius Super to his Cerialis greetings. Most willingly, brother, just as you had wanted, I would have been present for your Lepidina's birthday (?). At any rate ... For you surely know that it please me most whenever we are together. If(?) ... I did not think ... lest before ... (Back, 3rd hand?) To Flavius Cerialis ...”

11. *Tab.Vindol.* 257

Valatta [Ceriali suo
s[alutem
rogo domin[e per pos-
teritat[e]m tuam
et per Lepidinam quod
mihi concedas

“Valatta to her Cerialis, greetings. I ask my lord, by your posterity, and through Lepidina that you grant me what I ask (?)”

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FEMALE TRAVELLERS IN ROMAN BRITAIN: VIBIA PACATA AND JULIA LUCILLA

Lien Foubert

Though classical scholars have highlighted the central importance of mobility in the Roman world, travel itself remains an understudied subject.¹ Research on women's travels in the Roman world is almost nonexistent; only the religious travels of Christian women in Late Antiquity have attracted much scholarly attention.² Scholars have overlooked numerous examples of travelling women in the first centuries of the Roman Empire, a period in which travelling became more common. Women of various social strata commemorated their journeys in graffiti, letters, and votive objects, which constitute a fascinating collection of sources. When scholars do include women in general overviews of mobility in the Roman period, this often occurs in an anecdotal manner, or by focusing on the exceptional character of the examples selected. The present article emphasizes the importance of women's travels for a better understanding of the public image of women during the Roman imperial period. Since an exhaustive study of the subject is far beyond the scope of a short article, the focus will lie on the province of Roman Britain. On the basis of an in-depth study of two female travellers in Britannia, Vibia Pacata and Julia Lucilla, the article aims to answer the following question: what influence did travel have on the public identity of women, and to what extent did these female travellers to Britannia play an active role in shaping that identity?³

¹ Recent studies that focus on mobility in the ancient world include Horden-Purcell (2000) and Moatti (2004). The most extensive study on the practice of travel is still Casson (1974). Specific aspects of travelling or travelling in specific regions have been studied by Foertmeyer (1989); Guédon (2004); and Lomine (2005).

² On travelling women in the Roman Empire, see Frass (2006); Parker (2008); Foubert (2011). On the travels of Christian women in Late Antiquity, see, for instance, Lenski (2004) and Dietz (2005).

³ 'Travel' is understood as a voluntary or involuntary movement, of a non-permanent nature, made by an individual or a group, to a destination other than what is at the point of departure considered as home. The motives for this movement may be of a military, political, economic, legal, cultural or familial nature, or a combination of these. The journey is marked by three stages: departure, passage, and arrival. For a definition of 'identity' see below.

Motives for Travelling in Roman Britain

Sources such as funerary monuments, dedications to Roman or local deities, curse tablets, and the writing tablets of Vindolanda provide insight into the various motives that both local and foreign women had for travelling in, to, and from Britannia. Generally speaking, two types of travel can be distinguished: short-distance travel within the borders of a single province, and long-distance travel, from one province to another. Each of these types had its own set of motives that played a role to a greater or lesser degree. An extreme example of this is travelling because of exile. This necessarily prompted travellers to cross the borders of a province, while it was less likely to be a reason to travel within a province. My corpus of evidence of women's travels in the Roman Empire⁴ reveals a great many different motivations for travel, but the ancient sources attest only four for Britannia: travel for military reasons, journeys in the context of trade and commerce, travels for religious reasons, and visits to relatives or friends.⁵ In most cases, more than one reason played a part in the decision to embark on a journey. Depending on a given woman's living circumstances, being mobile was more or less a necessity. Women from rural settlements would probably have felt little requirement to leave their villages. Many of these settlements were largely self-supporting, and occasional visits to more densely populated areas on market days were probably the exception. Women from more remote estates or villas, especially members of upper-class families who lived a life of ease, were probably more inclined to travel.⁶

⁴ A systematic typology of women's travels in the Roman Empire has not yet been published. The general propositions made in this article are based on a database in which I have so far collected 300 attestations of women's travels, based on literary, papyrological, and epigraphical sources. In this database, I collect information on the attested women travellers: place of residence, travel destination, number of travels, travel companions, socio-cultural background (class, marital status), commemoration practices and motives for travelling. In the future, I plan to use this database for more research on general travel patterns (e.g. the geographical or social range of these travels) and to give insight in the practice of female travelling (e.g. transport, dress, agency, representation, etc.).

⁵ Obviously other motives, such as travel for sightseeing, for instance, may have occurred, but they are not attested in the sources.

⁶ Allason-Jones (2005) 67, without giving arguments, denotes Candiedinia Fortunata (*RIB* 632), Titia Pinta (*RIB* 720) and Cosconia Mammiola (*JRS* 47 [1957] no. 228) as upper-class ladies who divided their time between Eboracum (York) and their northern villas at Adel, Eastness, and Sutton-Under-Whitestone Cliff, where the funerary inscriptions of these women were found. I fail to see, however, what makes them estate owners or inhabitants and what links them to Eboracum. Since Candiedinia died when she was fifteen, one can wonder how much of an active traveller she really was. Of course, Allason-Jones' statement remains conceivable.

As stated, travel for military reasons is one of the motives which is clearly attested for Roman Britain. As Elizabeth M. Greene argues elsewhere in this volume, the social communities of the military camps in Britannia included wives, children, siblings, parents-in-law, and probably others. Literary sources, the tablets of Vindolanda, funerary inscriptions and dedications indicate that soldiers of various ranks were accompanied by female relatives.⁷ In some cases, these women followed their men to more than one destination in the Roman Empire. Two of these female 'globetrotters', Vibia Pacata and Julia Lucilla, will be discussed in more detail below.

Closely connected to travelling for military reasons were the journeys of women in the context of trade and commerce. As is commonly known, the Roman army attracted merchants and others who sought to profit from the military presence. Though there is no specific mention of this in the available sources in Britannia, one can assume that a small number of these 'camp-followers' were women. It is not inconceivable, for instance, by analogy with Roman Egypt, that prostitutes accompanied the legions in search of work, though no specific names are attested.⁸ Nevertheless, the majority of those who followed the army were men, but they were occasionally accompanied by female relatives. Whether they came from outside of Britannia or were locals is difficult to ascertain. As Birley pointed out, few inscriptions clearly identify individuals as *negotiatores* or *mercatores*, and the connection between foreign names or origins and a profession in trade is often based on conjecture.⁹ The Greek Flavius Heliuss and his wife Flavia Ingenua, for instance, are often classified as merchants, though their funerary inscriptions do not identify them as such.¹⁰ M. Verecundius Diogenes, on the other hand, calls himself a *moritex*, Celtic for 'seafarer', and specifies on the funerary inscriptions of himself and his wife that he was a Biturigan from Central Gaul, while his wife came from Sardinia.¹¹ Women could also have travelled

⁷ Two imperial wives are known to have spent some time in Britannia during military campaigns, namely Vibia Sabina and Julia Domna (SHA, *Hadr.* 11.2–12.1, Dio Cass. 77.16.5). Military men of higher rank who are attested to have brought their wives with them include the governor, *legatus iuridicus*, and legionary legate. The women who travelled with ordinary soldiers are more difficult to trace as they were less inclined to set up inscriptions. For examples and a general overview see Watts (2005) 26–45. See also Van Driel-Murray (2009); Greene (forthcoming).

⁸ On the mobility of prostitutes in Roman Egypt, see Cuvigny (2003) 374–394; Cuvigny (2010) 159–166.

⁹ Birley (1980) 125–128.

¹⁰ *RIB* 1, 251.

¹¹ *RIB* 1, 687; *RIB* 1, 678. The reading of *moritex* is the subject of debate. According to Birley (1966) 228, the inscription on the sarcophagus of Verecundius Diogenes reads: *M(arcus)*

to, in, and from Britannia because their profession required it. A graffito on a piece of pottery at Leicester, reading “Verecunda, actress, Lucius, gladiator”, perhaps indicates one of Britannia’s touring celebrities.¹²

A third motive that is attested with relative frequency is travel in a religious context. Shrines dedicated to a variety of local and Roman deities attracted visitors from near and far. The most famous of these was the temple complex dedicated to Sulis-Minerva in Bath, which combined a shrine with a spring with curative properties and a spa. Based on the funerary inscriptions, dedications, and curse tablets found in or around Bath, Cunliffe determined that the travellers included retired soldiers, soldiers on leave, and a constant stream of ‘tourists’ from Britain and abroad, including several women.¹³ In addition, we have at least one attestation of a priestess travelling to Britannia. At Corbridge, the priestess Diodora set up a Greek dedication to Heracles of Tyre in Syria.¹⁴ She may have travelled to the province accompanied by Pulcher, who set up a similar Greek dedication to the Syrian goddess Astarte.¹⁵ We can only guess at her reasons for the journey, and whether or not she also travelled to other cities in the province.

A final motive for women to travel in the province was of a more personal nature: to visit friends or family. The Vindolanda tablets, for instance, suggest large family networks and friendly relationships among soldiers and their relatives.¹⁶ Within these social communities, travel was sometimes undertaken for pleasant reasons. Claudia Severa, who at the time of her writing, between AD 97 and 102/3, lived at Briga, tells her friend Sulpicia Lepidina that she has asked her husband Brocchus for permission to pay Sulpicia a visit.¹⁷ Sulpicia lived in Vindolanda, where the correspondence was found, as the wife of Flavius Cerialis, the prefect of the Ninth Cohort of Batavians. Clearly, Claudia Severa needed to check with her husband, perhaps

Verecundius Diogenes sevir col(oniae) Ebor(acensis) idemq(ue) morit(ex), cives Biturix Cubus, haec sibi vivus fecit. However, in *CIL* 7, 248 the inscription is read as *M(arcus) Verec(undius) Diogenes sevir col(oniae) / Ebor(acensis) idemq(ue) Mor(inorum) cives Biturix / cubus haec sibi vivus fecit.* Nevertheless, as *moritex* appears elsewhere in or in relation to Britain, Birley’s reading seems to be correct (cf. *ILS* 7522 and, most recently, Adams [2003] 275).

¹² *CIL* 7, 1335.4.

¹³ Cunliffe (1995) 102–114.

¹⁴ *RIB* 1, 1129.

¹⁵ *RIB* 1, 1124.

¹⁶ See the contribution of Elizabeth M. Greene in this volume.

¹⁷ *Tab. Vind.* 2, 292. The location of Briga remains unknown. Since Claudia Severa explicitly states that she will be staying there, one may assume that Sulpicia Lepidina would not expect her to be there. It is quite possible, therefore, that it was not Claudia Severa’s home base. See also Bowman (1994) 74–75, 127–128.

for safety reasons, before she could travel. Unfortunately, parts of the letter, in which she seems to inform Lepidina of the companion(s) with whom she will be travelling, remain illegible, but she states that her husband answered that she was permitted to visit her friend in whatever way she could.

The difficulty with all these examples is that in most cases we have no idea whether these women were planning to stay in Britannia, or whether they wanted to return home or move on. There is, in other words, a thin line between travel and migration. Sometimes the context and motives of the trip make it clear that a return journey was part of the plan. The cases studied in detail below are examples of genuine female travellers: women who came to Britannia from abroad, spent some time on the island, and seem to have every intention of returning home or moving on to other provinces. Moreover, these women have left traces of their journeys in various media, either by their own hand or through others, in which their multicultural background can be detected.

*Women's Travels and Identity:
The Cases of Vibia Pacata and Julia Lucilla*

A study of the attestations of women's travels elucidates the contexts within which, and through which, travelling women and their relatives or subordinates constructed and negotiated their self-understanding. Self-identity or self-understanding is a fluctuating concept and is dependent on external influences. An individual is always a product of society: the person's own version of his (or her) pattern of traits (self-identity) is influenced by his perception of his appearance to others (subjective public identity), which in return is influenced by his pattern of traits as these appear to others (objective public identity).¹⁸ The examples chosen below throw light on these different identities. The case of Vibia Pacata, who erected an altar to the Silvanae and the Quadriviae at Westerwood, gives an insight into how she saw herself or, influenced by how she thought others saw her, wished to see herself. The example of Julia Lucilla, who is mentioned in a dedication erected by her freedman as well as in a funerary inscription she erected to honour her deceased husband, is an illustration of how she was seen through the eyes of a *libertus* as well as of her self-identity.

¹⁸ Theories of an individual's self-identity and public identity mainly date from the 1950s and 1960s. For a discussion of the terms 'objective public identity', 'subjective public identity', and 'self-identity', see Sherwood (1965).

Vibia Pacata

In 1963, an altar was found during ploughing at the site of the military camp at Westerwood in northern Britain.¹⁹ The monument bears the following inscription:

*Silvanis [et] | Quadru(vi)is Ca[e]lestibu(s) sacr(um) | Vibia Pacata | Fl(avi)
Verecu[nd]i (uxor) | c(enturionis) leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) | cum suis | v(otum)
s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). (RIB 3, 3504 = AE 1964, 175)*

Sacred to the heavenly goddesses of the woods and of the crossroads: Vibia Pacata, wife of Flavius Verecundus, centurion of the Sixth Legion Victrix, with her family willingly and deservedly fulfilled her vow.

Considering the find spot at the Antonine Wall, the monument can be tentatively dated between AD 138 and 158.²⁰ Several details of the inscription suggest that Vibia Pacata and Flavius Verecundus had experienced quite a journey before they arrived in Britannia. First of all, the choice to dedicate this inscription to the Silvanae and the Quadruviae is remarkable. From a recent catalogue of inscriptions mentioning the deities of the crossroads, it emerges clearly that the combination occurred only in Pannonia Superior.²¹ Vibia Pacata's dedication is the only exception. Moreover, Birley has argued that Flavius Verecundus may be identical with T. Flavius Verecundus, who is mentioned on an altar dedicated to Mithras at Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior as a centurion of Legion *XIV Gemina Martia Victrix* and the husband of Claudia Severa.²² If we are dealing with one and the same person, the inscriptions clearly date from different stages of his career. The name Pacatus or Pacata occurred in several parts of the Roman Empire, which makes it difficult to determine the origins of Verecundus' wife. It is possible, though highly speculative, that they met in Pannonia Superior, perhaps after the death of Claudia Severa, and moved on together when Verecundus was transferred to his next assignment, possibly in North Africa. What we can say for certain is that the choice of this distinctive combination of deities indicates that Vibia Pacata had Pannonian roots.

¹⁹ Wright (1964) 178–179; Wright (1967–1968). The altar measures 25.4 × 63.5 × 24.1 cm. As it was dragged to the boundary of the field and only recognized two days later, the exact location of the altar cannot be determined.

²⁰ Hodgson (1995) convincingly argues that the Antonine Wall was abandoned in AD 158 (*contra* the idea that there were two separate occupation periods). For an overview of Roman occupation at the frontier zone in Britannia, see Birley (2007).

²¹ Mattern (1998) 608, nos 53, 56–58.

²² *CIL* 3, 4416. Birley (1984) 231; Birley (1988) 154.

The epithet 'Caelestis' provides a second clue pointing to Vibia Pacata's multicultural background. As Wright indicates, even though the epithet was given to several deities besides Dea Caelestis of Carthage, the centre of the cult of Caelestis was North Africa. Though the evidence is flimsy and circumstantial, the couple may have moved from Pannonia to North Africa, after which they went on to Britannia. A recent study has shown that both epigraphical and archaeological remains indicate the presence of individuals with North African affinities at the Antonine Wall.²³ Moreover, there is strong evidence for military movement between Mauretania and Britannia after Antoninus Pius' war in AD 149–150, which is within the chronological range of the inscription of Vibia Pacata.²⁴ Verecundus may have been transferred from Mauretania to the camp at Westerwood, where he served as a commanding officer of a detachment of legion VI Victrix.²⁵

Though the inscription occasionally appears in studies of the inhabitants of Roman Britain, so far no one has raised the question of why Vibia Pacata decided to dedicate an altar to the Silvanæ and the Quadvriviae. Together with their consorts the Triviae and the Biviae, the Quadvriviae were considered protectresses of the roads and, perhaps more likely, of the crossroads. In 1998, Mattern collected 81 epigraphical references to the Quadvriviae, Triviae and Biviae, of which 55 have identified dedicants.²⁶ The majority of the dedicants were male, but ten inscriptions were erected by women on their own account, and one by a husband and wife. Most of the inscriptions can be dated to the end of the second century or the third century, and they are overwhelmingly concentrated in the western provinces. According to Mattern, the male dedicants requested divine protection while on the road, be it for military, economical, or religious reasons. Since women hardly ever travelled, however, Mattern suggests, the female dedicants were not asking for divine protection for themselves but on behalf of a male relative (who was not mentioned). Though this of course remains possible, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that women who dedicated altars or other monuments to the Quadvriviae, Triviae or Biviae travelled themselves, especially since the vocabulary of the inscriptions that were set up by men does not differ from those set up by women.²⁷ When considering the example of Vibia

²³ Swan (1999).

²⁴ For a discussion and references, see Swan (1999) 423–425.

²⁵ A similar transfer from North Africa to Britain may have been the case for several other commanding officers: e.g. Honoratus of Thuburnica (*ILS* 2655), Q. Sittius Caecilianus (*RIB* 1, 278), and perhaps also M. Julius Quadratus (*AE* 1957, 249). See Swan (1999) 438–439.

²⁶ Mattern (1998).

²⁷ I plan to return to this subject in a separate study in the near future.

Pacata, an experienced traveller who found herself close to hostile territory at the Antonine Wall, one can easily see why she decided to dedicate an altar to the *Quadriviae* and the *Silvanae*. As the female companions of *Silvanus*, god of the woodland, the *Silvanae* would protect travellers in areas where the deities of the roads perhaps could not.²⁸ A province like *Britannia*, which to a certain degree remained inhospitable, if we are to believe the ancient sources, might very well inspire foreign travellers to express their gratitude to the divine on their safe arrival.²⁹

Julia Lucilla

Julia Lucilla furnishes a second example of women travelling to and in Roman Britain. She is mentioned in two inscriptions which were both discovered in the vicinity of the Roman fort at High Rochester (ancient *Bremennium*) in northern Britain. In 1729, an altar dedicated to *Silvanus Pantheus* was discovered near the northwest corner of the fort.³⁰ The inscription reads:

Silvano | [*Pa*]ntheo | [*p*]ro sa[lute | *Ru*]fini trib(uni) et | [*L*]ucillae eius | *Eutyclus*
| lib(ertus) c(um) s(uis) | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). (CIL 7.1038 = RIB 1, 1271)

To *Silvanus Pantheus*, for the welfare of the tribune *Rufinus* and his wife *Lucilla*, the freedman *Eutyclus*, with his family, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.

Eutyclus, a *libertus*, together with his family, dedicated the altar for the welfare of his *patroni*, *Rufinus* and *Lucilla*.³¹ In 1809, a second inscription came to light in High Rochester in a field opposite the northeast corner of the fort, which may have been a cemetery.³² The first lines of the funerary inscription are severely damaged, but it appears that we are dealing with the same woman:

[---trib(uno)] coh(ortis) I Vardul(orum) [---] | [---prae]fecto] coh(ortis) I
Aug(ustae) | Lusitanor(um) item coh(ortis) I | Breucor(um) subcur(atori) viae |
Flaminiae et aliment(orum) | subcur(atori) operum publ(icorum) | Iulia Lucilla
c(larissima) f(emina) marito | b(ene) m(erenti) vix(it) an(nos) XLVIII | m(enses)
VI d(ies) XXV. (CIL 7.1054 = RIB 1, 1288 = ILS 1425)

²⁸ On *Silvanus* and the *Silvanae* and their appearances in the Roman Empire, including *Britannia*, see Dorcey (1992).

²⁹ On the perception of the inhospitable character of *Britannia*, see for instance Dio 76.12.1–5; Herodian 3.14.6–8.

³⁰ The altar is rather large: 93.3 × 34.3 cm. Salway (1965) no. 64.

³¹ *Iulia Lucilla*: *PIR*² I 675; *Rufinus*: *PIR*² R 144.

³² The tombstone measures 99.1 × 81.3 cm. Birley (1953) 130–132; Salway (1965) no. 61.

To [---] tribune of the First Cohort of Vardulli [---], prefect of the First Cohort Augusta of Lusitanians and also of the First Cohort of Breuci, subcurator of the Via Flaminia and *alimenta*, subcurator of public works. Julia Lucilla, most illustrious woman, (has set this up) for her well-deserving husband, who lived 48 years, 6 months, and 25 days.

The date of the inscription is uncertain. Lucilla's denotation as *clarissima femina* may point to a late second-century or third-century date, as the title is not epigraphically common until then.³³ The career of Lucilla's husband gives other clues about when they lived in Britannia, for the inscription starts with the office that Rufinus held at the time of his death. Since Rufinus was a commander of the *cohors I Vardullorum*, one could opt for a third-century date, as this was the period in which this cohort was the principal unit stationed at Bremenium.³⁴ The remainder of the inscription lists both the military and civic services Rufinus fulfilled prior to this date. According to Birley, Rufinus entered imperial service as prefect of the First Cohort of Lusitanians in Egypt, after which he was transferred to the command of the First Cohort of Breuci in Mauretania.³⁵ Though he would usually have continued to the military tribunate, Rufinus instead took up two civil appointments. After being subcurator of the Via Flaminia and the alimentary schemes, he became subcurator of public works. Both subcuratorships indicate Rufinus's equestrian rank, and he would probably have acted as a permanent head under the supervision of a senatorial curator.³⁶

The inscriptions do not make clear whether Julia Lucilla, like Vibia Pacata, accompanied her husband during his military campaigns before his appointment to Britannia, or whether they were indeed married during the early part of his career. Her title of *clarissima femina*, which she technically would have lost on marrying someone of equestrian rank, and Rufinus's subcuratorships seem to indicate that the couple originally came from the Italian peninsula. It is striking that Julia Lucilla chose to identify herself as a senator's daughter on the funerary inscription of her deceased husband in the province. One wonders whether she wanted to make an impression

³³ Salway (1965) 236. See also Chastagnol (1979). Note that *C F* may also be understood as *Caii filia*, though a filiation rarely occurs after the nomen gentile and the cognomen. I therefore follow the proposal put forward in *PIR*² I 675, *PIR*² R 144 and *CIL* 7, 1054. I am grateful to both Emily Hemelrijk and Werner Eck for their suggestions and remarks on this.

³⁴ Birley (1981) 14–15.

³⁵ Birley (1953) 132. Note that Birley reads the cohort on the inscription as *Cohors II Breucorum*, whereas it should be *Cohors I Breucorum*.

³⁶ Birley (1953) 131; Robinson (2005 [= 1992]) 46. According to Eck (1979) 155, Rufinus's subcuratorship *Viae Flaminiae et alimentorum* may have been an appointment by the emperor.

on her peers at Bremenium by emphasizing her social status, thus explicitly adjusting her self-image to how she wanted her social peers to see her. Whereas there is no evidence that Vibia Pacata had a retinue, Rufinus and Julia Lucilla may have been accompanied to Britannia by their freedman Eutychus, whose name suggests Greek origins, and his family. In all likelihood, their higher rank both enabled and compelled them to bring subordinates. Eutychus proved himself to be a loyal follower of the couple. Of course, we cannot be certain of the reasons for his dedication to Silvanus Pantheus, as the phrase *pro salute* could have many connotations.³⁷ But his choice of the god of the woods, combined with the location of Bremenium as an outpost of Hadrian's Wall, might suggest his concern for the safety of his patrons if they were confronted with the inhospitable territory when they were, for instance, on the road.

Conclusion

Tracing the travels of women in, to, and from Britannia is no easy task, for in many cases we get only a glimpse of the journey. Never are we informed about a woman's entire journey: departure, passage, and arrival. In many cases, the fact that a particular woman has travelled remains implicit. When we try to trace the actual reality of women's mobility in Roman Britain, it is clear that women of various social classes (and not only elite women) did travel, sometimes even undertaking long-distance journeys, contrary to what might be expected. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the clearest image of female travellers comes from women who travelled in a military context. During those travels some women were motivated, for whatever reason, to leave behind a commemoration of their presence in the foreign province. As emerges from the examples of Vibia Pacata and Julia Lucilla, female travellers did not necessarily hide their multicultural traits, which they acquired during their various periods away from home. Their public image, articulated by both themselves and others, appropriated their socio-cultural background as a means of self-representation. Status and social rank, as well as religious preferences, played an important role in the construction of these travellers' identities.

The present contribution constitutes a small introduction, by means of two case studies, to a larger research project on women travellers in the first centuries of the Roman Empire. During the past decades, scholarship has

³⁷ Dorcey (1992) *passim*.

seen a vigorous growth in the study of women in the Roman world. Yet, as stated above, although classical scholars have underscored the centrality of mobility in the Roman Empire, research on women's travels is almost non-existent. Furthermore, the texts that female travellers have left, even though they offer us a unique insight into female experiences and representation, have never been studied as a form of travel writing. So far, the focus in modern research has almost exclusively been on male travel and travel writing, even to the extent that some scholars do not acknowledge the existence of female travelling. In order to fully grasp the ideological impact of travel on the representation of women, a more systematic study is needed. The main objective of my future research, therefore, is to analyse the socio-historical and ideological framework within which women and their journeys were evaluated, praised or criticized by themselves and their societies. A more detailed study of women travellers in the Roman Empire will show that travelling was a well-established practice by the time the more famous and better studied Christian pilgrims undertook their journeys and argue that they were no pioneers with regard to female travel. As a result, archaeological finds related to women that are found in a male context (e.g. military camps), should no longer be treated as anomalies. Instead, this research project will offer a new contextual framework to interpret these artefacts. It will also advance research on wider topics such as the range and limitations of mobility in a globalising Roman world, in particular for marginalized groups, the socio-cultural position of women in the Roman world or the impact of travelling women on civic communities and urban space.

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