

Women and Society in the Roman World

By their social and material context as markers of graves, dedications and public signs of honour, inscriptions offer a distinct perspective on the social lives, occupations, family belonging, mobility, ethnicity, religious affiliations, public honour and legal status of Roman women ranging from slaves and freedwomen to women of the elite and the imperial family, both in Rome and in Italian and provincial towns. They thus shed light on women who are largely overlooked by the literary sources. The wide range of inscriptions and graffiti included in this book show women participating not only in their families and households but also in the social and professional life of their cities. Moreover, they offer us a glimpse of women's own voices. Marital ideals and problems, love and hate, friendship, birth and bereavement, joy and hardship all figure in inscriptions, revealing some of the richness and variety of life in the ancient world.

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Women and Society *in the* Roman World

A Sourcebook of Inscriptions from the Roman West

EMILY A. HEMELRIJK

Universiteit van Amsterdam



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Preface

This sourcebook aims to present a selection of the rich epigraphic evidence (inscriptions and graffiti) for the lives of women in the Roman world to a non-specialist audience. Apart from providing translations, the book offers brief introductions to the various themes, and to each individual inscription, explaining its social and material context. Select bibliographical references are intended for readers interested in a specific topic. To enhance its usefulness for teaching, the book is complemented by a PDF with the texts of the inscriptions on the website of Cambridge University Press (www.cambridge.org/9781107142459). The book differs from the much-used sourcebook on ancient women by Mary Lefkowitz and Maureen Fant (*Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Source Book in Translation*) in focusing on the Roman West from the last century BC to the late third AD and using only inscriptions. Where there is an occasional overlap with inscriptions translated by Lefkowitz and Fant, this book offers original introductions and fresh translations. I hope that the range of topics included in this book will prove useful for the study of Roman women in university courses, for specialists both inside and outside the field of classics and for general readers interested in the history of women.

Special thanks are due to several people. Kit Morrell went through the entire book offering numerous helpful suggestions. For the selection, translation and transcription of the Greek inscriptions, the epigraphic expertise of Rolf Tybout was invaluable. I also thank Anique Hamelink for her inspiring discussions on issues of Roman and local dress, and the anonymous readers of CUP for their helpful comments. Obviously, all faults remain my own. Josiah Osgood and Alan Bowman kindly allowed me to reproduce a selection from their translations of the *Laudatio Turiae* and the *Vindolanda Tablets*. Ortoff Harl generously provided photos from the database *Ubi Erat Lupa* (lupa.at), Stefan Vranka of Oxford University Press kindly allowed reuse of the two maps from E. A. Hemelrijk (2015). *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, and Vincent Hunink and Gerrit van Oord of Apeiron generously gave permission to reproduce two graffiti from V. Hunink (2014). *Oh Happy Place! Pompeii in 1000 Graffiti, Sant' Oreste*: Apeiron. Michael Sharp's cheerful support during the process of publication was invaluable. My cordial thanks to all. Finally, I dedicate this book to Sjoerd for his unfailing love and support.

Glossary

<i>agnomen</i>	additional name that was occasionally given as an honour or to distinguish a person from others with the same name.
<i>ascia (sub ascia)</i>	‘under the axe’. This formula – often accompanied by a depiction of an axe (or adze) – is used almost exclusively in Gaul and northern Italy in the second and early third centuries AD. The meaning is debated. Dedicating a tomb while still under the axe may have signified that the grave marker was a <i>locus religiosus</i> , thus placing it under divine protection. A less likely interpretation is that the <i>ascia</i> was meant to bar outsiders from using the tomb.
<i>Augustales</i>	order of wealthy freedmen (including some freeborn men) involved in the imperial cult. It counted as an honour to be elected into this civic body.
<i>bisellium</i>	seat of honour at public occasions, for instance in the theatre (literally: double seat). It was awarded by the city council to (freed)men of special merit.
<i>bulla</i>	amulet worn by freeborn boys before they reached manhood (symbolised by the <i>toga virilis</i>).
<i>Cara Cognatio</i>	annual festival (22 February) celebrating the family.
<i>castitas</i>	chastity, sexual purity (not virginity or celibacy).
<i>cognomen</i>	third name for male Roman citizens (alongside <i>praenomen</i> and <i>gentilicium</i>) and, in the imperial period, second name for female citizens (after the <i>gentilicium</i>). It distinguishes individuals or branches of families within a clan (<i>gens</i>) and is therefore the name that was used most in informal contexts.
<i>collegium</i>	voluntary association (professional, religious and social).
<i>colonia</i>	Roman colony. Under the principate, a provincial city of privileged status enjoying full Roman citizenship.
<i>columbarium</i>	communal tomb with underground chambers containing niches for urns.

<i>columella</i>	headstone, a stele in the form of a stylised human head and shoulders, which was a common grave marker in Pompeii and some other cities in Campania.
<i>coniunx</i>	spouse married under Roman law.
<i>contubernalis</i>	partner, used for slaves and others unable to marry under Roman law.
<i>contubernium</i>	de facto marriage between slaves or persons without Roman citizenship.
<i>cooptatio</i>	co-optation, i.e. official appointment of a patron or patroness of a city or association.
<i>decuriones</i>	decurions, i.e. members of the council of a city or association.
<i>denarius</i>	1 <i>denarius</i> = 4 sesterces (<i>sestertii</i>) = 16 <i>asses</i> .
<i>dextrarum iunctio</i>	the clasping of right hands symbolising a legitimate Roman marriage.
<i>dipinto</i>	text painted on walls or objects (e.g. on pottery).
Dis	Pluto, deity of the Underworld.
<i>duoviri/duumviri</i>	chief magistrates of Roman cities or associations.
<i>fullonica</i>	fullery, workshop of cloth-fullers.
<i>genius</i>	divine guardian spirit (female equivalent: <i>Iuno</i>).
<i>gentilicium</i>	family name.
<i>HMHNS</i>	<i>h(oc) m(onumentum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur)</i> : this tomb will not pass to the heir (or: extraneous heir). Formula to prevent the tomb falling outside the family group (see Introduction).
Ides	thirteenth or fifteenth day of a month.
<i>infamia</i>	legal disgrace. Persons who were <i>infames</i> were subject to various legal disabilities.
<i>infula</i>	knotted priestly band; also used on sacrificial animals as a sign of religious consecration.
<i>ius liberorum</i>	the right of children; a set of privileges bestowed by Augustus on parents of three (or, for freedwomen, four) children.
Kalends	first day of a month.
<i>loculus</i>	burial-niche in a communal tomb or catacomb.
Manes	divine spirits of the departed.
<i>manus</i>	power (literally: hand) of a husband over his wife and children. If a woman married without <i>manus</i> (<i>sine manu</i>), she remained under the <i>potestas</i> (legal power) of her father.
<i>matrona</i>	respectable married Roman citizen woman.

<i>medimnos</i>	Greek unit of volume (approximately 51 litres, but subject to regional variation).
<i>municipium</i>	Roman city (in the provinces, the city elite enjoyed full Roman citizenship).
Nones	fifth or seventh day of a month (the ninth day before the Ides).
<i>palla</i>	mantle.
<i>Parcae</i>	three goddesses of Fate, who spun, measured and cut the thread of life.
<i>patera</i>	libation bowl.
<i>peculium</i>	small savings of money or property that a master allowed a slave to keep or use for business on his behalf.
<i>pietas</i>	loyalty and devotion to one's family and to the gods.
<i>pronaos</i>	vestibule, or ante-temple, in front of a temple.
<i>pudicitia</i>	sexual purity; not virginity or celibacy (see Introduction).
<i>quinquennalis</i>	chief town magistrate elected every five years as a censor.
Roman foot	unit of measurement: almost 30 centimetres.
Roman pound	unit of volume: almost 330 grams.
<i>schola</i>	clubhouse, meeting place.
<i>schola (tomb)</i>	high-backed semi-circular bench with carved lions' paws or griffin feet.
<i>seviri Augustales</i>	chief magistrates of the <i>Augustales</i> .
<i>signum</i>	unofficial name or nickname.
<i>sistrum</i>	rattle used in the cult of Isis.
<i>stadion</i>	Greek unit of length measuring 600 feet, which varies between 185 and 192 metres.
<i>stele</i>	rectangular stone slab set up as a funerary or votive monument.
<i>stola</i>	ceremonial dress traditionally worn between the <i>tunica</i> and the <i>palla</i> symbolising the virtues of the Roman <i>matrona</i> (lawfully married Roman citizen woman).
<i>sui iuris</i>	in their own right. A woman became <i>sui iuris</i> after the death of her father or other male ascendant (when married <i>sine manu</i>) or husband (when married <i>cum manu</i>).
<i>tabula ansata</i>	rectangular inscription panel with triangular handles.
<i>tabula patronatus</i>	bronze tablet commemorating the co-optation of a patron or patroness of a city or association.

testamentary foundation	perpetual fund bequeathed by will to a city or <i>collegium</i> .
<i>thermopolium</i>	cook-shop.
<i>toga praetexta</i>	purple bordered toga worn by Roman citizen children until puberty.
<i>torques</i>	Gallic twisted neck ring of precious metal.
<i>tumulus</i>	burial mound.
<i>tunica</i>	tunic (short for men and long for women).

Abbreviations

Ancient authors and their works are abbreviated according to the standard practice used in Liddell–Scott–Jones’ *A Greek–English Lexicon*, Lewis and Short’s *A Latin Dictionary* and the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Abbreviations of periodicals are those of *L’Année philologique*. Additional abbreviations used in this book are listed below. For the sake of clarity, only the titles of epigraphic corpora and journals are recorded; for full details, see the website of EDCS: <http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/hinweise/abkuerz.html>.

AE	<i>L’Année épigraphique</i> (Paris 1888–).
Arachne	Arachne photo archive: www.arachne.uni-koeln.de .
CapriAnt	<i>Capri Antica: dalla preistoria alla fine dell’età Romana</i> (Capri 1998).
CBI	<i>Der römische Weihebezirk von Osterburken I: Corpus der griechischen und lateinischen Beneficiarier-Inschriften des Römischen Reiches</i> (Stuttgart 1990).
CCCA	<i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque</i> (Leiden 1977–89).
CCID	<i>Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> (Leiden 1987).
CEACelio	<i>La collezione epigrafica dell’Antiquarium comunale del Celio</i> (Rome 2001).
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Berlin 1828–77).
CIJ	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum</i> (Rome 1936–52).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (Berlin 1863–).
CILA	<i>Corpus de Inscripciones Latinas de Andalucía</i> , 7 vols. (Sevilla 1989–2002).
CLE	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> (Leipzig 1930).
CLEAfrigue	<i>Vie, mort et poésie dans l’Afrique romaine d’après un choix de Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> (Brussels 2011).
Conimbri	<i>Fouilles de Conimbriga II: épigraphie et sculpture</i> (Paris 1976).
CSIR D	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani: Deutschland</i> (Bonn 1973–2005).
CSIR GB	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani: Great Britain</i> (Oxford 1994).
CSIR Oe	<i>Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani: Österreich</i> (Vienna 1967–).

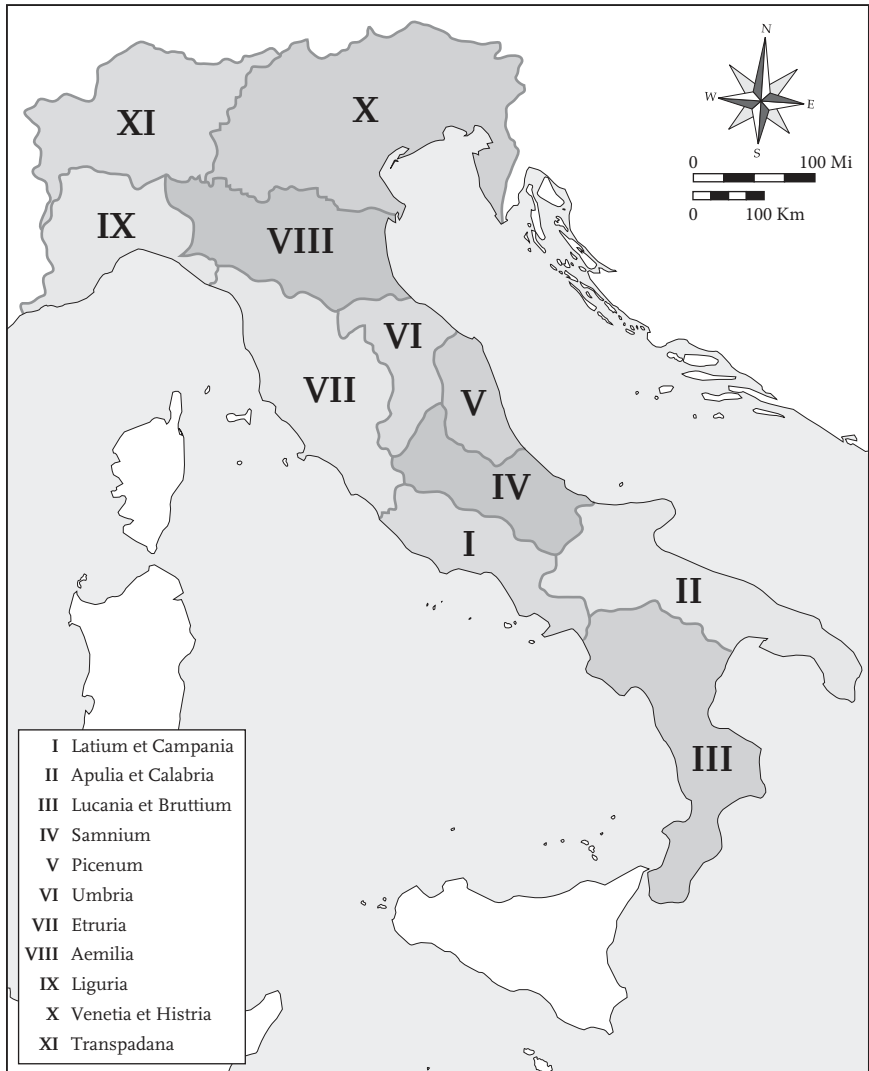
<i>DefTab</i>	<i>Defixionum tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in Graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis partibus praeter Atticas in CIA editas</i> (Paris 1904).
<i>Dougga</i>	<i>Dougga, fragments d'histoire: choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées</i> (Bordeaux and Tunis 2000).
<i>EAOR</i>	<i>Epigrafia Anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano</i> (Rome 1988–).
<i>EDCS</i>	Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby: www.manfredclauss.de
<i>EDH</i>	Epigraphic Database Heidelberg: www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de
<i>EDR</i>	Epigraphic Database Rome: www.edr-edr.it
<i>ERBeturi</i>	<i>Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia céltica</i> (Madrid 1997).
<i>ERPLeon</i>	<i>Epigrafía Romana de la Provincia de León: revisión y actualización</i> (León 2001).
<i>HAE</i>	<i>Hispania Antiqua Epigraphica</i> (Madrid 1950–69).
<i>IAM</i>	<i>Inscriptions Antiques du Maroc 2: Inscriptions latines</i> (Paris 1982).
<i>IBR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Baivariae Romanae, sive inscriptiones provinciae Raetiae adiectis Noricis Italicisve</i> (Munich 1915).
<i>ICUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae: Nova series</i> (Rome 1922–).
<i>IDR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> (Bucharest 1975–).
<i>IEAquil</i>	<i>Itinerari Epigrafici Aquileiesi</i> (Trieste 2003).
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–).
<i>IGRRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (Paris 1906/1927).
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (Rome 1968–90).
<i>IIFDR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Intra Fines Dacoromaniae Repertae Graecae et Latinae anno CCLXXXIV recentiores</i> (Bucharest 1976).
<i>IKoeln</i>	<i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> (Mainz 2010; second impression of RSK).
<i>ILA</i> <i>Bordeaux</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux</i> (Bordeaux 2010).
<i>IL Afr</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines d'Afrique (Tripolitaine, Tunisie, Maroc)</i> (Paris 1923).
<i>IL Alg</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines d'Algérie</i> (Paris 1922–).
<i>IL CV</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres</i> (Berlin 1925–67).
<i>IL GN</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines de Gaule Narbonnaise</i> (Paris 1929).
<i>IL Jug</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia . . . repertae et editae sunt</i> (Ljubljana 1963–86).
<i>ILLRP</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> (Florence 1965).
<i>IL N</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines de Narbonnaise</i> (Paris 1985–2012).
<i>IL Paestum</i>	<i>Le Iscrizioni Latine di Paestum</i> (Naples 1968–9).
<i>IL P Bardo</i>	<i>Catalogue des Inscriptions Latines Paiennes du musée du Bardo</i> (Rome 1986).

xviii List of Abbreviations

<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols. (Berlin 1892–1916).
<i>ILSicilia</i>	Iscrizioni Latine nuove e vecchie della Sicilia, <i>Epigraphica</i> 51 (1989): 161–209.
<i>ILTG</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines des Trois Gaules</i> (Paris 1963).
<i>ILTun</i>	<i>Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie</i> (Paris 1944).
<i>IMCCatania</i>	<i>Le iscrizioni del museo civico di Catania</i> (Tammissaari 2004).
<i>ImpPomp</i>	<i>Un impegno per Pompei</i> (Milan 1983).
<i>IMS</i>	<i>Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure</i> (Belgrade 1976–).
<i>I Napoli</i>	<i>Iscrizioni greche d'Italia: Napoli</i> , 2 vols. (Rome 1990–5).
<i>InscrAqu</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Aquileiae</i> , 3 vols. (Udine 1991–3).
<i>InscrIt</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> (Rome 1931–).
<i>IPOstie</i>	<i>Inscriptions du port d'Ostie</i> (Lund 1952).
<i>IRAlmeria</i>	<i>Inscripciones Romanas de Almería</i> (Almería 1980).
<i>IRC</i>	<i>Inscriptions Romaines de Catalogne</i> , 4 vols. (Paris 1985–97).
<i>IRCPacen</i>	<i>Inscricoes Romanas do Conventus Pacensis</i> (Coimbra 1984).
<i>IRPCadiz</i>	<i>Inscripciones Romanas de la Provincia de Cádiz</i> (Cadiz 1982).
<i>IRSAT</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Romanes de Saguntum y el seu Territori</i> (Valencia 2002).
<i>IRT</i>	<i>Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> (enhanced electronic reissue 2009).
<i>IScM 2</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris Graecae et Latinae 2</i> (Bucharest 1980–).
<i>ISIS</i>	<i>Le Iscrizioni Sepolcrali latine nell' Isola Sacra</i> (Rome 2007).
<i>JIWE</i>	<i>Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe</i> (Cambridge 1993–).
<i>Legio XXX</i>	<i>Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix: ihre Geschichte, ihre Soldaten, ihre Denkmäler</i> (Darmstadt 2012).
<i>LICS</i>	<i>Latin Inscriptions from Central Spain</i> (Berkeley 1992).
<i>LIKelsey</i>	<i>Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum: The Dennison and De Criscio Collections</i> (Ann Arbor 2005).
<i>Lupa.at</i>	F. and O. Harl, <i>Ubi Erat Lupa</i> (Bilddatenbank zu antiken Steindenkmälern) http://lupa.at .
<i>MAD</i>	<i>Mourir à Dougga: recueil des inscriptions funéraires</i> (Bordeaux and Tunis 2002).
<i>MNR</i>	<i>Museo Nazionale Romano</i> .
<i>PCV</i>	<i>Praeteritae Carmina Vitae: pietre e parole di Numidia</i> (Rome 2011).
<i>Pisaurum</i>	<i>Pisaurum 1: le iscrizioni della colonia</i> (Pisa 1984).
<i>RECapua</i>	<i>Museo provinciale Campano di Capua: la raccolta epigrafica</i> (Capua 2005).
<i>RIB</i>	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (Oxford 1990–2009).
<i>RICIS</i>	<i>Receuil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> (Paris 2005).
<i>RIS</i>	<i>Die römischerzeitlichen Inschriften der Steiermark</i> (Graz 1969).

<i>RIT</i>	<i>Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco</i> (Berlin 1975).
<i>RIU</i>	<i>Die römischen Inschriften Ungarns</i> (Budapest 1972–).
<i>RSK</i>	<i>Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln</i> (Cologne 1975; for second impression: <i>IKoeln</i>).
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> (Leiden 1923–).
<i>SupIt</i>	<i>Supplementa Italica</i> (Rome 1981–).
<i>Tab. Vindol.</i>	<i>The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets</i> (London 1994).
<i>TH</i>	<i>Tabulae Herculanaenses</i> (Rome 2016–).
<i>TitAq</i>	<i>Tituli Aquincenses</i> (Budapest 2009–).
<i>TPN</i>	<i>Neue Rechtsurkunden aus Pompeji: Tabulae Pompeianae Novae. Lateinisch und Deutsch</i> (Darmstadt 2010).
<i>TPSulp</i>	<i>Tabulae Pompeianae Sulpiciorum: edizione critica dell'archivio puteolano dei Sulpicii</i> (Rome 1999).

Maps



Map 1 Italy and the Augustan regions, from E. A. Hemelrijk (2015). *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: Women and Civic Life in the Roman West*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Map 2 Roman Italy, from the Ancient World Mapping Centre <http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/free-maps/>



Map 3 Provinces of the Roman Empire (AD 211), from E. A. Hemelrijk (2015). *Hidden Lives, Public Personae: West*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.