



Women in Roman Life and Letters

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WOMEN IN ROMAN LIFE AND LETTERS¹

By f. e. adcock

THE infant community of Rome grew up with neighbours who I conceded a fairly high place to women. Etruscan sepulchral art suggests as much; the tomb paintings of early Campania show the womenfolk spruce, dignified, and house-proud; the authoritarian rule of the Sabine mother was traditional.² Granted that in certain places and at certain times women were taboo, in a sense 'infectious', to use Warde Fowler's word, yet in the home the Roman wife had never been banished to a gynaeceum. The Atrium, the heart of the Roman house, was the wife's territory as much as the husband's. Though every Roman household was a monarchy with the paterfamilias as king, the womenfolk were no more, if no less, his subjects than the sons. When the Roman husband carried his wife into the Atrium, and she spoke the sacramental words 'ubi tu Gaius ibi ego Gaia', she made a claim that, in its due sphere, was admitted. In this sphere the Roman husband was more at home than the Greek, who hated not to be out of doors in the daytime. In a speech which Tacitus writes for Valerius Messalinus³ there is the truly Roman phrase 'revertentibus post laborem quod honestius quam uxorium levamentum?'—'the relief of a wife's society' —a society, that is, to quote another phrase from the same passage, 'consortium rerum secundarum adversarumque'. When Lucretius writes:

> iam iam non domus accipiet te laeta, neque uxor optima nec dulces occurrent oscula nati praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent⁴

the adjectives carry a weight of feeling. We shall not go far wrong in supposing that, whatever her legal position, the Roman wife of the Republic enjoyed the regard that comes from domesticity.

The law, indeed, which was truly Roman in its instinct for the concentration of responsibility and its logical absolutism in authority, was slow to give legal rights to women. It was to take three centuries for

¹ This is a shortened version of a paper read to the Classical Association on 13 April, 1944.

² Horace, Od. iii. 6. 38-40.

³ Ann. iii. 34; see xii. 5. 5.

the law to redress the inequality between the husband's rights against a peccant wife and those of a wife against a peccant husband which the elder Cato pointed out in his uncompromising way. I Legislation to extend the powers of women in matters of property was slow and hesitating, as it has been in communities other than Rome. In public law within the military and strictly political structure of the State women had, to begin with, no place. But, apparently from very early times, there was a sphere in which women had a settled function, honoured and safeguarded by formal right—the sphere of the State religion. This was parallel to, or derived from, the position of the women in the home. When the paterfamilias made his offerings to his household gods, the *materfamilias* had her appointed share, as had the daughters of the house no less than the sons. In the State worship the flaminica has no less a place than the flamen. The Vestal Virgins are, as it were, the daughters of the State before the altar. Many of the older priests were assisted by their wives in their sacred office. From the participation in some cults women were excluded, but there was also elsewhere a parallel exclusion of men. Women had an authorized and accepted religious life of their own, as well as a share in the State's efforts to secure and maintain the pax deorum.

Nor was the highest honour that attended a Roman funeral, at least among the aristocracy, denied to the Roman matron. When a noble died there was the public announcement of his virtues and achievements, and this must have gone back to the beginnings of the conscious community. And it would be rash to deny antiquity to the practice whereby the funeral cortège of a noble lady halted in the Forum while her praises were said. When Caesar spoke his famous eulogy of his aunt Julia he was making no innovation—'quaestor Iuliam amitam uxoremque Corneliam defunctas laudavit *e more* pro rostris'.²

The heroines of the early Roman tradition, however legendary or timeless they may be, would not have had their place, did they not fit into the frame of what the Middle Republic regarded as appropriate.

Thus when we pass to the earliest contemporary pictures of women in Roman comedy, in which we must eliminate the characters which the palliata took over from its Greek originals, we need not doubt that the picture of the Roman matron in these plays was true to Roman life, that the Alcumena in the Amphitryo was not unlike a Roman grande dame of the period. A more doubtful case is that of the shrewish wife—the domineering high-spirited cantankerous lady that appears, for instance, as the Matrona in the Menaechmi, for the parallel picture of a shrew in

¹ Malcovati, Orat. Rom. Frag. i, p. 213.

² Suetonius, Div. Iul. 6.

the fragments of Caecilius is quoted by Gellius as a close imitation of Menander. We would be better able to judge had more survived of the more purely Roman form the togata. There in the Gemina of Titinius,2 the ladies discuss the ways they cope with their husbands, and in the Suspecta of Afranius there is the phrase—possibly mocking, but significant—'tuam maiestatem et nominis matronae sanctitudinem'.3 We would find there, perhaps, a truer picture of the authoritarian Roman household. Donatus makes the interesting remark that in the palliata the comic poets are allowed to represent slaves as cleverer than their masters, but that in the togata this is not usually allowed. It is to be remembered that the togata is concerned with Italian life, not Roman life only, and in what may be a prototype of the togata, the Tarentilla of Naevius, the famous picture of the flirt is likely to be the picture of something not Roman—the girl from Tarentum. But in the bourgeois drama of the late second and early first century it is worth observing how very many of the titles that have survived are descriptive of women, from the Stepdaughter of Titinius to the Mother-in-law of Atta. with. between them, the Sisters and the Aunts of Afranius.

Not all Roman women under the Middle Republic were, after all, fine ladies, and the homely virtues which Cato⁴ in the *de agri cultura* demands of the *Villica* may also have been demanded of the Roman housewife:

she must be neat herself and keep the farmstead neat and clean. She must clean and tidy the hearth every night before she goes to bed. On the Kalends, Ides, and Nones, and whenever a holy day comes, she must hang a garland over the hearth, and on these days pray to the household gods as opportunity occurs. She must keep a supply of cooked food on hand for you and the servants. She must keep many hens and have plenty of eggs.

We may now turn to the Roman notion of the faults that particularly belonged to women under the Middle and later Republic. There are a few references indicating a belief that women might be prone to drunkenness, and a few references to sobriety as a virtue worth noting, references which imply the possibility of its absence. The early case of a woman put to death by her family for stealing the keys of the wine cellar suggests that some precautions were taken against this,⁵ and the elder Cato in his *de dote* referred to wine-bibbing as a ground of divorce.⁶ There was a readiness to believe that women were more inclined to use

¹ N.A. ii. 23.

³ L. 326 Ribbeck.

⁵ Fabius Pictor ap. Pliny, N.H. xiv. 89.

⁶ Malcovati, op. cit. i, p. 213.

² Lls. 42-7 Ribbeck.

⁴ de agri cultura 143.

poison in a Medea-like way than was perhaps probable. Salomon Reinach has an interesting paper on the proneness of the Romans to attribute what were really epidemics to such activities (*fraus muliebris*) and to subject women to an ordeal by poison at times of popular excitement in the fourth century. The famous scandal of the Bacchanal conspiracy in 186 B.C. reflects a willingness to suppose that women were especially addicted not merely to secret cults but to misbehaviour under cover of them or excited by them—'notumque furens quid femina posset'. But the epigraphic evidence for the accuracy of Livy's account of what was the official action in that matter should not too readily induce us to believe that the Senate was not swept by panic into much injustice, or to doubt that very many innocent women were falsely accused by informers.

To leave these more serious matters, there are traces of a readiness for display, if, for example, the practice of Roman women mentioned by the elder Cato² of dyeing their hair red can be called display. Plautus' description of the toilet devices of ladies may be true for Rome, and there were some early sumptuary laws. But the Romans admitted the appropriateness of the pomp and splendour of a great lady like the public magnificence of Aemilia, the wife of Scipio Africanus,³ whose carriage and pair were a treasured bequest to the mother of the younger Scipio. The religious festivals at which the women went abroad in state were great events with the bourgeois, as they were in Greek life. The good housewife in Varro's gerontodidascalos⁴ who spent her time spinning wool, with one eye on the porridge to see it did not burn, did go driving abroad once or twice in the year.

Even before the Gracchi women had begun to take an interest in affairs of State. Though the figure of the mother of the Gracchi in Plutarch is coloured by the idealizing of the tribunes that is characteristic of his main source, the fragments of a letter to Gaius Gracchus found at the end of the manuscript of Cornelius Nepos have all the marks of genuineness.

You will say it is a fine thing to punish your enemies. I, as anyone else, think nothing could be greater or finer, but only if it can be done leaving the State unharmed. So far as that cannot be secured, it is far better that your enemies should live than that the State be cast down to destruction.

This does not mean that at Rome in the second century there was what John Knox would have called 'a regiment of women', or that Cato's paradox 'All men rule over women, we rule over all men, and our wives

^{&#}x27;Une ordalie par le poison à Rome' in Cultes, mythes et religions, iii, pp. 254 ff.

² Origines, frag. 114, Peter.

³ Polybius, xxxii. 12.

⁴ Frags. 3 and 4, Riese, p. 140.

rule over us' was meant to be taken seriously. It was in the last century of the Republic that women play an increasing role in politics.

By the time of Cicero and of Augustan writers the effects of various social changes had worked themselves out. From the middle of the second century the wealth of Rome had drawn to it an expensive demimonde, often highly cultivated and accomplished, and Roman matrons undauntedly fought their rivals with their own weapons good or bad—on the one hand, Maecenas' wife Terentia, if it is she who is described under the name of Licymnia in Horace,

quam nec ferre pedem dedecuit choris nec certare ioco nec dare bracchia ludentem nitidis virginibus sacro Dianae celebris die—²

on the other hand, that Clodia whose dispraise fills the *pro Caelio* of Cicero. Gaston Boissier³ has well observed that Clodia was the female counterpart of her brother Publius Clodius, a formidable dabbler in matters political. Such another was that Praecia whom the proud and rigid Lucullus stooped to flatter to win for himself the command against Mithridates.⁴

Political influence was paralleled by a degree of economic enfranchisement. The comparative disuse of the marriage cum manu, with its result that the husband's control of the wife's property became rare,5 had given point to quips about the dotata uxor-from the Asinaria 'argentum accepi, dote imperium vendidi'6 to Horace on the Scythians where 'nec dotata regit virum coniunx',7 a passage which may be compared with the like criticism by contrast in the Germania⁸ of Tacitus. With this greater economic freedom went a greater frequency of divorce. The practice of mariage de convenance and betrothal of children helped to make unions based on real affection rarer, at least between the more well-to-do. Among the aristocracy connubial alliances were almost dynastic, and in the kaleidoscope of Roman politics political marriages were increasingly matched by political divorces. The education of girls became less an affair of the home. When Scipio Aemilianus returned from Numantia he was horrified by what he was told and by what he saw of a dancing school in which, if he may be trusted, co-education passed beyond the bounds of propriety.9

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<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, Cato Major 8.
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³ Cicéron et ses amis, p. 175.

⁵ Malcovati, op. cit. i, p. 190.

⁷ Od. iii. 24. 19-20.

⁹ Malcovati, op. cit. i, pp. 240 f.

² Od. ii. 12. 17-20.

⁴ Plutarch, Lucullus, 6.

⁶ L. 87.

⁸ 18.

The very vigour of the drastic Italian character produced in a few women a masterful criminality, if we may accept Sallust's account of that Sempronia who adhered to the conspiracy of Catiline, or Cicero's account of Sassia in the pro Cluentio. Yet if Sempronia or Sassia fell far short of the ideal of the Roman matron, it is fair to reflect how often that ideal was reached or approached, how often greater culture, more intellectual interests, more elegant accomplishments were matched with tenderness and fidelity as in Pompey's wife Cornelia, 'who', says Plutarch,2 doubtless going back to contemporary writings, 'was well educated, played the lyre, knew geometry, and could talk to advantage about philosophy, avoiding exaggeration and pedantry', and who plainly regarded her marriage, in the crisis of Pompey's fate, as the 'consortium rerum secundarum adversarumque'. The women of Cicero's closer circle, who did not belong to the very cream of society, are perhaps a good cross-section. Cicero's wife Terentia had her faults, but it should not be forgotten that for nearly thirty years she lived pretty happily with a man of moods. But the orator's heart was far closer to his daughter Tullia, whose untimely death left him a broken man. His brother's wife, Pomponia, had a temper unsuitable in Atticus' sister. In a letter from Cicero to Atticus³ will be found a scene—'the sort of thing', said Quintus Cicero, 'that I have to put up with every day'. More truly akin to the good-natured, if unenthusiastic, Atticus than his sister Pomponia was his wife, who was devoted to him and to Cicero.

The general effect of the post-Gracchan and Ciceronian period was undoubtedly a greater freedom of Roman women for good or evil, and less for good than for evil in aristocratic society. But the evidence for the Roman middle and lower classes is far less at our command. All one can say is that there are no discoverable reasons why these classes should not have in the main continued to possess and practise homely virtues.

One result of the Civil Wars was to produce in Roman society the kind of spirit that marked the period of the Directory after the French Revolution, yet during that very period there lived the subject of the famous *Laudatio Turiae*. Apart from the heroism that underlies that document, the catalogue of the wife's virtues is significant.

'You were', the husband writes, 'a faithful wife to me and an obedient one: you were kind and gracious, sociable and friendly: you were assiduous at your spinning: you followed the religious rites of your family and the State and admitted no foreign cults or degraded magic: you did not dress conspicuously, nor seek to make a display in your household arrangements. Your dutifulness to our whole household was exemplary: you tended my mother as carefully

as if she had been your own. You had innumerable other excellences, in common with all other worthy matrons, but these I have mentioned were peculiarly yours.'

With the Laudatio Turiae we have reached the Augustan Age, and it is time to say something about the literary portraiture of women. The Roman heroines in Livy—Lucretia, Cloelia, Volumnia, Virginia, and so on (with Tanaquil if she may be borrowed from her native Etruria)—are literary creations of the first order. In the Aeneid Virgil has pictures full of Roman, and perhaps still more Italian, feeling. Juno—

ast ego, quae divom incedo regina, Iovisque et soror et coniunx—²

has the air of a Roman great lady. Venus, no golden Aphrodite, has a Roman tenacity of purpose. More Italian romantic is Camilla at the gathering of the Italian clans³—much more than the epic picture of an Amazon. And there is one more picture in which Virgil, to say it is midnight, sketches what you might see by the flickering firelight in some homestead anywhere between Rome and Mantua:

Inde ubi prima quies medio iam Noctis abactae curriculo expulerat somnum, cum femina primum, cui tolerare colo vitam tenuique Minerva impositum, cinerem et sopitos suscitat ignes noctem addens operi, famulasque ad lumina longo exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile coniugis et possit parvos educere natos.⁴

The Augustan reforms with their aim of producing a sound and prolific Italian stock attempted, probably not wholly without success, to revive older manners. Livia, Ulysses in petticoats as the emperor Gaius called her, was a suitable consort to Augustus, the old poacher turned gamekeeper. But she was also the first of a series of princesses whose resolution for good or evil reminds one of the series of Macedonian queens. Agrippina, the wife of Germanicus, was a virtuous virago: the younger Agrippina, Nero's mother, added to most of the vices of a woman some of the virtues of a man. These great ladies of the Principate provided Tacitus with a field for literary portraiture which he cultivated diligently. How elaborate this could be may be seen from the sketch of Poppaea Sabina, with which should be compared Sallust's account of Sempronia, a passage which Tacitus had plainly not forgotten. Where Tacitus' own

¹ Paraphrase by W. Warde Fowler, Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero, pp. 166 f. ² Aen. i. 46–7. ³ Aen. vii. 803 ff. ⁴ Aen. viii. 407 ff. ⁵ Suetonius, Calig. 23. ⁶ Ann. xiii. 45.

feelings had been evoked there is a simpler note—in the description of Agricola's wife: 'Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit: idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit, vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo . . . '1 And there are the living figures of the heroic Antistia Pollitta, Paulina, and the elder and younger Arria.

To the satirist like Iuvenal there is something bizarre about the woman who has literary fortes and foibles unexceptionable in a man. The unreality, or at least the unbalancedness, of the world of the satirist has often been stressed. Juvenal, in fact, weighs the faults and crimes of men, and still more of women, in such savage haste that they all come out the same weight. We may contrast his onslaught on the bluestocking² with the conclusion of the kindly Musonius Rufus that all the qualities of a good wife will be found in one who studies philosophy.³ It may be suspected that most Roman women of the upper classes were accomplished rather than educated. The enlightenment of philosophy, the ancient way of training the mind, was in general not theirs to command.

But their accomplishments were not all showy and for show. The female grammarian of Juvenal was probably rarer than the woman who had learnt to write with grace. 'He reads me', writes the younger Pliny, 'some letters saying they are from his wife. I thought I was listening to Plautus and Terence in prose—Plautum vel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi.'4 The wife, however, must remember that the husband comes first. Jane Austen herself might not have disdained what follows -Pliny writing of his third wife to her aunt:

You will be very glad to learn that Calpurnia is turning out worthy of her father and yourself and of her grandfather. She has admirable sense and is an excellent housekeeper. She is fond of me, which speaks well for her character. Through her affection for me she has also developed a taste for literature. She possesses my books and is always reading them, she even learns them by heart. When I am to make a speech in Court she is all anxiety; when I have made it she is all joy. She arranges a string of messengers to let her know what effect I produce, what applause I win, and what result I have obtained. If I give a reading she sits in the next room behind a curtain and listens greedily to the compliments paid to me. She even sets my verses to music and sings them to the harp with no professional to teach her but only love, who is the best of masters. I have therefore every reason to hope that our harmony will not only last but grow greater every day.'5

To this may be added the perfect husband letter, the one-hundred

¹ Agric. 6. 1. ³ See M. P. Charlesworth, Five Men, p. 42. ⁵ Ep. iv. 19. 1-5. ¹ Agric. 6. 1. ² Sat. vi. 434 ff.

and fourth of Seneca: 'This is what I told my wife Paulina, who urges me to take care of my health. For as I know that her life's breath hangs on mine, I am beginning to consider my health out of consideration for her.' From this interesting revelation of affection we may turn to the cooler eulogy of an epitaph 'quae cum eo vixit sine litibus et iurgiis' or the curt phrase 'sine verbo scabro', without a rough word.²

The mariage de convenance prevailed: solid folks believed in solid folks. Witness Pliny's recipe for a husband.

'You ask me', writes Pliny³ to Junius Mauricus, 'to look for a husband for your niece. . . . There is no need to look far, for I know a man who might seem to have been provided for the purpose. His name is Minicius. He is well-connected and comes from Brescia which you know to be a good old-fashioned place, retaining the simple and modest manners of the country. He is a man of active energy and has held high public office. In appearance he is a gentleman, well-built and with a wholesome ruddy complexion. His father has ample means, and though your family is not perhaps much concerned on that point we have to remember that a man's income is one of the first considerations in the eyes not only of our social system but of the law.'

Throughout the Empire divorce remained common. This is not merely a deduction from the instances in high society—for these may be exceptional—or from the strictures of moralists—as Seneca's 'exeunt matrimonii causa nubunt repudii'4—but from the fact that so many epitaphs think it worth while to place on record that a woman had only been married once. The economic independence of women became even more marked; dowries ran high, as did extravagance, not always without vulgarity, from Fortunata in the *Cena Trimalchionis*, who pulls off her bracelets to show them while Trimalchio calls for a balance to prove their weight, to Lollia Paulina, once wife of the Emperor Gaius, whom the elder Pliny saw covered from head to foot in pearls and emeralds, ready to produce the receipts to attest what they had cost her.6

Under the Empire, too, women began to make for themselves professional careers. This was particularly so in medicine, as was not unnatural. Eminent physicians taught women students, and the right to practise was admitted before the Code of Justinian which refers to physicians of either sex. But as most doctors in Rome were of Greek origin, so, to judge from inscriptions, were their female colleagues. The medical writer Soranus, who practised at Rome under Trajan and Hadrian, begins his *Gynaeceia* with a catalogue of the qualities of the midwife which include the capacity to study the theory of her art.

^I C.I.L. v. 2. 7066.

³ Paraphrased from Ep. i. 14.

⁵ Petronius, Sat. 67.

² C.I.L. vi. 3. 15696.

⁴ de benef. iii. 16. 2.

⁶ Pliny, N.H. ix. 117.

There is a special warning against superstition, which may reflect the fact that women used something like faith-healing, to judge from an inscription found near Rome, in which a certain Felix declares that 'having been given up by his physicians his sight had been restored through the kindness of the goddess Bona Dea and the medical treatment of her priestess Cannia Fortunata'. The grammar and orthography of the inscription suggest that Felix was less educated than grateful, and he may have misinterpreted what had happened to him. The most eminent of Roman professions, that of the law, was apparently not always closed to women. Valerius Maximus,² that useful gossip, gives instances of women pleading their own cases, and that this had occurred may be deduced *e contrario* from a passage of Ulpian³ forbidding women to appear as advocates in the cases of others.

Dressmaking and weaving are trades often mentioned in the inscriptions about women,⁴ and the peculiar alliance of fish and wives was common in antiquity. A superficial view of the epigraphic evidence might suggest that women of high rank especially concerned themselves with the making of bricks, for their names constantly occur in the stamps which were the trademarks of Roman bricks, but the names are probably the names merely of the owners of the estates in which the brick fields lay. From the time of Livius Andronicus Roman women of rank had taken part in certain State performances of music, but these were of a religious character. With the first century B.C. women appear on the Roman stage, but their names are almost wholly Greek and there was no Roman actress of note.

Much as Latin literature owes to the Lesbia of Catullus, the Cynthia of Propertius, and the Delia of Tibullus, it would be hard to say that it owed much to the works of women writers. A word of praise may fairly be given to the elegies of Sulpicia if not to the lamentable hexameters assigned to a namesake; had the memoirs of the younger Agrippina survived some reputations would have perished, and that lady who could outface Burrus and Seneca⁵ may well have possessed a vigorous turn of phrase.

After the death of Domitian there was a period during which the Imperial House set a model of correctness. The influence of the princesses was at times directed to the fostering of literature and philosophy. There was, it seems—the evidence is slight—a hierarchical ordering of Roman feminine society. The reluctance of the Roman State to approve associations was relaxed to allow associations of women at Lanuvium

¹ Dessau I.L.S. 3513. ² viii. 3. ³ Dig. iii. 1. 5.

⁴ See on all this F. F. Abbott, Society and Politics in Ancient Rome, pp. 77 ff.

⁵ Tacitus, Ann. xiii. 21.

and Naples; and on the Quirinal and possibly in the Forum of Trajan there were curiae for women to meet in. The story in the Augustan History¹ that Elagabalus created a Senate of Women is highly suspect and is hardly confirmed by the statement from the same source that Aurelian restored it.² But there is no doubt that the position of women in State affairs became more and more admitted. The title mater castrorum³ granted to Julia Domna is perhaps the most significant sign when one remembers Tacitus' phrase about Agrippina—'novum sane et moribus veterum insolitum, feminam signis Romanis praesidere'.⁴ There is increasing evidence of the power and influence which highly placed women could wield, and not only in the Palace, as did Julia Domna and her daughter, but throughout the whole range of Roman official life. The patronage exerted by the Vestal Campia Severina in the third century extended to the army on the one hand and the Imperial Library on the other, and was gratefully acknowledged by its beneficiaries.⁵

The legal rights of women in matters of bequests were assimilated to those of men before the end of the second century. Power and wealth could both be theirs. But what mattered more and what we know far less about is the quiet advance of women in the sphere of religion. To discuss their share in the spread of Christianity would take one too far afield. More relevant to this immediate topic would be more information than we possess about the domestic happiness of humble folk, whose homes, shielded by the pax Romana, shared their joys and sorrows beyond the sight of the satirist and the moralist with mutual respect and affection. Only here and there is this revealed, and it is an act of faith and of justifiable faith to believe that this was the rule to which we have so often only the exceptions. Despite vagaries and external changes of manners and fortune, the truest epitaph of the Roman woman may after all be the best known, which may serve as a peroration to these discursive remarks:

Hospes, quod deico paullum est; asta et pellege. heic est sepulcrum hau pulcrum pulcrai feminae; nomen parentes nominerunt Claudiam. Souom mareitum corde dilexit souo: gnatos duos creauit: horunc alterum in terra linquit, alium sub terra locat. Sermone lepido, tum autem incessu commodo. domum seruauit. lanam fecit. dixi. abei.⁶

¹ Ant. Hel. 4. 3-4.
² Ibid. Aur. 49. 6.
³ Dessau, I.L.S. 442-4, and possibly 2438.
⁴ Ann. xii. 37. 6.
⁵ Dessau, I.L.S. 4928-9.
⁶ C.I.L. vi. 3. 15346.