ARACHNE IX

ROME 8-10 NOVEMBER 2023

Gender, Identities, and Social Structures in Greco-Roman Antiquity

ABSTRACTS

GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET

ISTITUTO SVEDESE DI STUDI CLASSICI A ROMA

Tampereen yliopisto
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INSTITUTUM ROMANUM FINLANDIAE

WEDNESDAY 8 NOVEMBER
SWEDISH INSTITUTE, VIA OMERO 14

Key note I: Glenys Davies

Women on Trajan's Column

This paper examines the (very few) scenes on Trajan's Column that include women, focusing on scenes 81-91 at the beginning of the 2nd Dacian war which show the emperor's journey through a series of provincial towns before reaching the theatre of war. These show him being greeted by different elements in the local society (including women) and presiding over a sacrifice again attended by a range of local inhabitants of varied class, gender, age and ethnicity. These scenes, it is argued, perform a dual purpose: they record an idealised picture (as perceived in contemporary imperial ideology) not only of Roman provincial society but also of the process of 'becoming Roman'.

My analysis of these scenes questions when and why women are represented as present in some scenes (but are absent in others), and, looking especially at costume, body language and context, who these women are and their role in the societies represented. Previous authors have focused on women as the victims of war and have therefore found richer material on the column of Marcus Aurelius: such images do exist on Trajan's column, but they are much fewer and less violent. Trajan's column is more concerned with the presentation of a positive (idealised) picture of the provincial society that awaits Dacians post-conquest, though this society, it seems, will benefit their children (boys and girls) more that the women themselves, who remain marginalised though not invisible.

15.10 -16.00
Session I – Library
Aspects of Masculinity in Classical and Post-Classical Athens

Noah Wellington:

The City's Sons: Elite Athenian Manhood in the Late Fifth Century BCE

Aristophanes' Thesmophoriazusae, a play about subversive women, opens with the performance of a subversive man. This is Agathon, a young maverick poet singing in women's clothing. He is most familiar to the modern audience as the host of Plato's symposium, and less familiar as an influential dramatist whose work does not survive. Singing in his peplos, Agathon stands at a junction of classed and gendered identities – elite and male – that in late fifth-century Athens was increasingly problematised. In the fraught environment of this Athens, certain elite men – typically young – began to negotiate a new masculine identity contradictory to the prevailing democratic ethos, setting them at odds with the democratic wartime Athenian state and with the older Athenian generations.

Characterised in comedies such as the Thesmophoriazusae and Nephelai as feminine, indolent, anti-democratic, and at times violent, they threatened the ideally stable foundations of Athenian democratic manhood. In 409, Sophocles' Philoctetes resumed the call made by Aristophanes' Nephelai and its dismissal of new discursive forms, and urged the young men of Athens to deck themselves with the flagging heroic mantle of traditional Greek manhood in response to this crisis. Guided by rhetorical and poetic discourses concerned with the gendered performances and behaviour of elite men – with a particular focus on the younger generations of Athenians –

in historical and dramatic texts of this period, this paper focuses its inquiry on the fraying intersection of Athenian elite and male identities in the late fifth century BCE.

Suvi Kuokkanen:

Ideals of Manliness in the Description of Post-Pericelan Politicans in Athens

Although they were living under democratic regime, the fifth-century BCE Athenians adhered to strict social hierarchy. A person's social status was constituted by a combination of several intersecting factors such as birth, wealth, and age. However, statuses were in a constant state of flux. Social roles were constructed in social interaction, and the individual's standing in social hierarchy was continuously negotiated in the interplay between one's social performance and its acceptability in the public gaze. One's status therefore depended on one's recognition and esteem in the eyes of the others. Esteem depended on the person's reputation which, in turn, was established and conferred in public discourse. Hence, public discourse also disclosed the borderlines of acceptable social performance in given historical circumstances. In my presentation, I will inspect the belittling and offensive depictions of post-Periclean politicians in Athenian public discourse in late fifth century. Specifically, I will analyse the techniques of denigrating the "demagogues" or "new" politicians such as Cleon and Hyperbolus. These politicians were repeatedly mocked and discredited on public arenas (e.g., in Aristophanes' comedy plays) because of their low birth and suspicious source of livelihood. In other words, they were allegedly not members of the traditional land-owning elite which was often associated with leisure time and noble ancestors.

In my presentation, I will discuss the possible changes in the fifth-century Athenians' views on their political leaders' moral status, authority, and responsibility. I will assess how and why the descriptions of the moral and political status and authority of post-Periclean political actors diverged from those of the pre-Periclean politicians – and of Pericles himself. I will also compare the descriptions of Cleon and Hyperbolus to the depiction of another influential political of the time, Alcibiades. I will pay special attention to the topic of (un)manliness in the sources. I will suggest that the disparaging discourse uncovered by, for example, historians and comedy writers both reflected moral indignation experienced by the Athenians and incited collective hostility toward the targets. At the same time, the discourse reflected the ideals of manliness that were harnessed to engender indignation in the audience. I will also propose that moral indignation aroused by unmanly performance could sometimes entail exclusion from the community and that this was the case when the Athenians decided to ostracize Hyperbolus in ca. 415 BCE. In this regard, my presentation will contribute to the scholarly discussion on the interplay between one's moral and masculine status, on the one hand, and one's status as a citizen, on the other hand. It will also show that discrediting discourse had long-term consequences both for the hostile community and for its targets.

16.20-17. 30
Session II - Library
Roman men and women; age, power and gender

Karen K. Hersch:

Tanaquil Rex? Rome's First Queen

Tanaquil— Etruscan immigrant, seer, and wife of the fifth king of Rome— is perhaps the most awe-inspiring individual to emerge from the writings of the ancient world. Yet, while all modern scholars agree Tanaquil was a successful kingmaker (e.g. Boëls-Janssen 2006), arguments formulated about ancient views of her political interventions are widely divergent. Some declare that accounts of Tanaquil's success in regime change are wholly positive (Glinister 1997). Others argue that Tanaquil's contributions can be viewed as "questionable" (Stevenson 2011), and that Tanaquil and her descendant Tullia may be evaluated together as a single *exemplum* of "improper sharers in power" (Schultze 2019). Yet the nature of Tanaquil's own sovereignty has been left an unanswered question.

In this paper I ask: was Tanaquil the first queen of Rome, or was she a co-ruling king with her husband? The answer may lie, hidden in plain sight, in the writings of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who left the only extended descriptions of her reign. Livy may consider her the only queen of the Regal period, for Tanaquil alone is named *regina* in Book One (1.39); moreover Livy dubs Tanaquil and Lucumo kings (*reges,* 1.39) as they observe Servius miraculously aflame. Relating the same legend, Dionysius calls them kings also (*βασιλεῖς*, *AR* 4.2.1). Significantly, Livy assigns to Tanaquil a verb of commanding otherwise applied only to men (*iubet,* 1.34, 1.41). I argue that these historians' careful application of these terms steers readers to the conclusion that, in fact, Queen Tanaquil ruled.

Christian Laes:

When the Emperor Gets Old: Old Age and Authority in Imperial Rome

With the exception of Diocletian, no Roman emperor ever abdicated. Despite the demographic and statistical approach by Scheidel (1999) and a brand new thematic overview of Roman emperorship by Hekster (2022), little or no attention has been paid to the issue of an emperor getting older. In this paper, I focus on the biographies of both Suetonius and the Historia Augusta, with special attention to these emperors who had reached an age of 60+. My observations will touch on important issues as the intersection of power and authority with gender, health and age – as well as on the still potentially rich field of old age within the study of human life course in Antiquity.

O. Hekster, Caesar Rules The Emperor in the Changing Roman World (c. 50 BC – AD 565). Cambridge, 2022.

W. Scheidel, 'Emperors, Aristocrats, and the Grim Reaper: Towards a Demographic Profile of the Roman Elite', The Classical Quarterly 49/1, 1999, 254–281.

Pia Mustonen:

The afterlife of Livia, Diva Augusta

As the wife of emperor Augustus, mother of emperor Tiberius, and grandmother of emperor Claudius, Livia Drusilla (58 BCE – 29 CE) held a unique position in the early Roman principate. In my presentation, I will examine how after her death and divinisation Livia was turned into an icon and a symbolic model, both in her own right and as a part of a divine couple together with divus Augustus. I will not only consider what the surviving sources can tell us about the continuity of the cult of diva Livia, but also the different ways in which her figure and memory were used in various contexts.

Livia's image as the symbolic genetrix of the Julio-Claudian dynasty had powerful propaganda effect that was utilised especially after her consecration by Claudius in 42 CE. This was not limited only to the emperors who were factually Livia's relatives, but also Galba honoured her in several series of coins, representing Livia both in her divinised and mortal aspects (Diva Augusta / Augusta). The association of the cult of Livia with that of Augustus caused it to endure longer than the cults of many other divae, and her birthday was still being observed well into the second century CE. Even after the cult of Livia had lapsed, her memory seems to have been esteemed among Roman populace, as references to her in both pagan and Christian writers of the Late Antiquity demonstrate.

17.45-18.30
Session III: Poster presentations – Library

Ludivine Capra:

Tools and Gender. Study of Women's Craft Practices in Gaul 1st-3rd cent. A.D.

When Trita is represented holding a distaff on her funerary stele (Autun, France), can we deduce that she practiced spinning professionally? This communication proposes a study of the craft practices of Roman women from the 1st to the 3rd century from iconographic and epigraphic sources. This implies, first of all, to think about the very definition of craftsmanship and the framework of this type of activity. After presenting the sources studied and the applied method, we will focus on the results.

Three categories of practices have been identified. In the first category, women are represented or named alongside a male craftsman. In this context, they were able to be assistants in the man's activity or to be craftswomen themselves. The second category comprises women who are represented alone with a tool in hand or whose name is directly associated with a craft activity. Their practice is then professional, domestic or symbolic. Finally, in the last category we find women who are the heads of workshops. Their names were found signed on the objects produced. To finish, we will take the time to compare the results to studies on men's craft practices to ask whether gender is a determining criterion for these practices, or not, and if so to what extent.

Eva Astyrakaki:

Dionysius Halicarnassus' Roman Archaeology: the Roman origin revised

In ancient times the boundaries between myth and history were often tangled. This is of particular interest in times when authority could employ myths as carriers of a specific message. Such a period was the first century B.C. in Rome. Even in the absence of an organized and systematic propaganda mechanism in favour of Octavian, we can observe tangible signs of the construction of the imperial myth, to which the visual language of the era also contributed significantly. Therefore, the view of a Greek-speaking historian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, is of paramount interest.

The first book of Roman Antiquitiesis of great interest because Dionysius focuses on the origins of the Romans and concludes that they were descended from Greeks, by using not only the testimonies of past chronographers and historians, but, mainly, Greek myths (i.e.the myths of Oenotrus, Evander, and Dardanus).

In this paper Iwill examine how Dionysius involved myths in order to prove the Romans' Greek origins and what purpose this served. Whether Dionysius was a fervent supporter of Octavian or not is a rather controversial subject. However, his historical work, Roman Antiquities, exhibits enough evidence that indicates, sometimes explicitly and sometimes implicitly, his admiration for the grandeur of Rome and his gratitude for what he had been offered. Moreover, Dionysius tried in his way to contribute to the projection of a unified picture of Roman history, with a strong link to the Greek element. The new state had to find legitimacy in the past, preferably an idealized past. The perception of the glorious present through the light of a well-settled past is also an asset for the future.

Ella Sahivirta:

Women behind the scenes of Church Politics: The Influence of the Aventine Community in Early Catholic Chirch of the Late 4th Century

My presentation proposal is on the religious and political influence of the so-called 'Aventine community', a circle of ascetic aristocratic widows and consecrated virgin relatives who gathered at the home of Marcella from gens Caeionia. Through patronage of clerics and through their senatorial networks this community, active around 360–410, had a significant impact on the development of the early Catholic church in two ways:

1. Marcella and her group of friends used their networks and social influence as members of the senatorial aristocracy to campaign for Nicean Christianity. Marcella's home served as a type of head quarters for a coalition of aristocrats and clerics who sought to have the teachings of Areius declared heretical.

2. Through acting as patrons to specific clerical friends, mainly Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo and Jerome, the group promoted the idea of holy virginity: consecrated virgins served as actual Brides of Christ, women with an exceptional claim to holiness as family members of God Himself. This suggested that consecrated virgins were almost like mediators between Rome and God.

I will introduce the wide network of this group, centered around Marcella, and why I suggest this group had a far more significant impact on the development of Christian Rome than scholarship has given them credit for. Marcella and her friends are an example of how much Roman women actually influenced the Church (both it's doctrinal development and it's inner politics), even while being denied the opportunity to join the clergy.

Iida Huitula:

Diversity of Identities: Understanding Jewish Polytheism

Once upon a time around 2nd century CE in Brixia, Northern Italy, there was Annia. She was Roman, apparently Latin speaking, a freedwoman of one Lucius and wealthy enough to get a stele. She had made a vow to Iunones, local deities. She was also a Jew. Around the same time in Rome a handful of Jews had DM-graves, and in Leontopolis, Northern Egypt, they wanted to have Hades, sometimes also Persephone and Moira, mentioned in their metrical grave inscriptions – what better way to understand and process one's death? They were Romans, Greeks and Jews, and they lived their religion. Their identities did not exclude each other even though intolerant monolatry was already somewhat widespread in Judaism. Were they a minority of a minority or was this a common Judaism of the time? Were they others – and to whom?

There was a thing that a Jew, no matter how Roman, could never do. That was worshipping a Roman emperor. Honouring them and wishing for their health seems to have been avoided but tolerated. Even so, for Greek or Egyptian Jews worshipping Ptolemies as gods was apparently fine. What else a Jew could or could not do? Are there points where being Greek or Roman and being a Jew were felt to conflict and which identities dominated in those situations? Who was a Jew, anyways?

THURSDAY 9 NOVEMBER
MORNING: SWEDISH INSTITUTE, VIA OMERO 14

09.15-11.00 Session IV - Library
Work, social status and professional roles

Birgitta Leppänen Sjöberg:

Spatial coercion: the unfree female workforce of the Greek oikos

This paper will concentrate on the construction of power relations within the ancient Greek household, the oikos, with specific focus on the unfree female subject, seldom paid attention in the materiality of past societies, so also the ancient Greek society. The female household workers, as represented in ancient literary and iconographical sources covering a period ca 800-300 BCE, will be approached with the purpose to situate them as social identities in the private setting of the ancient society. What challenges were they disposed to due to their social identity and by whom in their lived spatial context? The correspondence between domestic violence, conducted due to their socially disadvantaged situation and exposedness as unfree female workforce, and construction of coercion in private space will be explored.

Giulia Cappucci:

Through the lens of epigraphy: servae owned by women in the epitaphs from early Imperial Rome (late I century BCE-ealy III century CE)

Over the last decades, scholarly interest has increasingly focused on slaves and women in the slavery and patriarchal society of ancient Rome. They constituted marginalized categories that experienced different degrees of exclusion from active participation in political and socio-economic life. However, scholarly analyses have paid limited attention to female slaveowners and their female slaves, who lived at the intersections of these categories, and to their power relations, which contributed to shaping their roles in society and the household hierarchy.

My paper presents the preliminary results of a study on domestic servae belonging to women based on their mention in epitaphs from early imperial Rome. Drawing on some of these inscriptions as case studies, the paper explores the contribution of funerary epigraphy to reconstructing domestic female slaves' professions and relations as they or their relatives wanted to portray and commemorate them.

Despite the problems posed by the epigraphic conventions and the texts' brevity, this paper argues that information from inscriptions is essential to complete, confirm or clarify the picture of female slavery and mastery provided by other male-authored and often partial sources. These details reveal a more nuanced reality beyond the simple exploitation and violence, representing

slave women as proud professionals and members of a community "below stairs" who aimed to leave a trace of themselves. Epitaphs also hint at the existence of relationships of confidence and trust between mistresses and their female slaves, deriving from everyday intimacy, despite the insurmountable status distinction.

Joonas Vanhala:

Occupational Hazards: Professional Stereotypes in Martial and Pompeian Graffiti

Certain occupations have traditionally had an increased risk of becoming the target of negative stereotypes and prejudice. In ancient Rome, this was particularly true of professions involving manual labor, using one's own body for profit, or getting into contact with polluting substances such as tanners, public criers, gladiators, prostitutes, and gravediggers. These professions carried a social stigma and some of them incurred a status of legal disrepute, infamia, which limited their civic rights and influence in the Roman society. In many cases, however, Roman sources reflect conflicting and ambiguous attitudes toward many professions. Some supposedly neutral professions such as physicians were disparaged in Roman satire, while the disreputable fullers presented themselves proudly in the cityscape of Pompeii, and gladiators and stage actors, who suffered legal infamia, could become popular and admired by the people. This avenue of research remains relatively unexplored, especially when it comes to non-literary sources such as graffiti.

In this paper I will explore the representations of certain professions and attitudes towards them in the poems of Martial and Pompeian graffiti. These source groups were roughly contemporary yet produced in different circumstances and influenced by their genre-specific conventions, which is why they lend themselves well for a comparative analysis. I will examine how the poems of Martial and Pompeian graffiti portray professions in terms of popular stereotypes. Do these two source groups reveal shared or conflicting attitudes? What explains the possible differences? Should we assume that these portrayals accurately reflect a popular opinion of their times?

M. Angeles Alonso Alonso:

Women and medical occupations in ancient Rome.
Problems of identification and recognition

The first female physician we know in the ancient world is Phanostrate, recorded in her epitaph as μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς (midwife and physician) in 4th century BCE Athens. Before that we only know women recorded as midwives; it's just from the 2nd century BCE that we found the term ἰατρίνη (feminine form of the male ἰατρὸς). A similar terminological dualism occurs in the Roman world, where the word *obstetrix* appeared before the title *medica*. Even if there are two different titles, it has been asserted that both were used to refer to the same kind of professional: a woman mainly devoted to female disorders and childbirth. But the recent discovery of the epitaph of a *medica idem opstetrix* seems to indicate that each designation was intended to refer different tasks. Moreover, the scarce literary and archaeological sources referring to women involved in the field of health point in the same direction.

The aim of this paper is to reflect about the role that women had in the medical field in ancient Rome. By looking at a large ensemble of sources (epigraphical, iconographical, archaeological, legal, and literary ones), we will try to delineate the tasks carried out by *medicae* and to determine what was the position of women in the practice of medicine. We will give special attention to the titles *medica*

philologa and *iatromea*, which still today lack a solid clarification. In doing so, we hope to transcend traditional gender structures and give a more accurate view about the subject.

09.15 -11.00 Session V - Auditorium
Gender, body language and bodily boundaries

Ria Berg:

The Chair: Seats as Gender-bound status markers in Roman Antiquity.

This paper examines performing gender and the representation of social status of women in the Roman culture though one material object and one bodily posture: that of chairs and of being seated. Chairs and thrones were a objects highly charged with status symbolism in Greek and Roman antiquity. In the Roman world their official political symbolism in is quite well known (bisellium, sella curulis). The symbolism of women's chair of honour, the cathedra, is less articulated and studied. In this study, the role of images of women seated in armchairs – queens, mothers, wives – in Roman iconography are analysed in parallel with archaeological evidence on domestic spaces where womens' seats may have been set.

John Starks:

The Voice of Experience:
Female Singers and Gendered Power in Hellenic Performance Culture

Isidore expresses the heavily gendered and reductive stereotype that women make inferior singers because they have high-pitched, thin-toned voices from insufficient breath support (Etym.3.19.11; +Hall (2002)). Yet, significant, contrary opinions point to robust interest in women's song and the countercultural voices they might attain with commanding performances superior to men's (LucianImagines10-15, cf.Power (2010), Goldhill (2005); CIL3.10501).

The homosocial symposium was filled with female song that captivated an enthralled male gaze/ear (Kleodoxa—Beazley 213487; Glauke: Ath.4.176c-d; Polemon's psaltria - LucianBisAccusatus 16). Dramatic singers Athenion (AP5.137) and Aristo (AP9.429) enflame their audience with skilled songs of the all-too-persuasive Trojan Horse and Nauplios' beacon-fire, a potently gendered "Siren song" more directly invoked for female singers in a Roman imperial bath mosaic (Musco (2006)) and an ornate epitaph (IGUR3.1305).

Syrian epigrammatists Antipater and Philodemos observe female performers that exert transformative power to change them and society: Antipater constructs a mesmerizing actress (lysiode) in a cross-dress conceit of soothing tones to pacify belligerent Romans (AP9.567,+Ath.5.211a-c); Philodemos develops his own Socratic alter-ego life cycle of epigrams with Xanthippe, a singer/instrumentalist whose inspirational voice molds their lifelong relationship into a mature Epicurean bond of mutual support (Sider1997).

Even the barb that the Syracusan dynast-in-exile Dionysios II "wasted his time teaching female performers in singing, eagerly competing with/challenging them over stage songs and the harmonics of their tunes" is backhanded acknowledgement that their artistry and skill shape their audiences(Plut.Tim.14.3). Skilled female singers are recognized and rewarded with honors as "multi-talented (polyidris)" (Theoc.15.96-146), like Sappho the "Tenth Muse" (Agathias AP7.612), essential leaders for civic success (Polygnota, choropsaltria—FD3.249) and as

popular favorites (Kyrilla—EKMBeroia399) in performance festivals across the ancient Greek-speaking world.

Elina Pyy:

Boundaries of the Body:
Sexual and Non-Sexual Violence against Women in Roman Society and Culture

In Annales 5.9, Tacitus describes the gruesome fate of Sejanus' son and daughter after their father fell from imperial grace. The children were executed by strangulation; notably, the girl was first raped by the executioner, to avoid killing a virgin. While this story is a rather isolated incident in Roman historiography,1 it is not the only narrative where rape and death are intimately connected. In the famous story about Verginia, death functions as an instrument of preventing sexual violence, whereas in the tale of Lucretia, it is used to mitigate for rape after-the-fact.

Drawing from imperial historiography and legal writing, my paper discusses the dynamics between sexual and non-sexual forms of violence against women in ancient Rome. I am particularly interested in examining whether David Fredrick's influential argument – according to which sexual and non-sexual intrusions of the free man's body were viewed as structurally equivalent in the Roman culture2 – is applicable to women. Did experiencing one form of violence make the woman more vulnerable to the other? How did the particular qualities associated with the female body (such as patientia and pudicitia) blur the line between sexual and non-sexual forms of violence? I will suggest that the ambiguous position of free women within the Roman 'hierarchy of vulnerability' calls for further interdisciplinary discussion, from the viewpoint of Roman law, social history, and cultural mentalities.

Andrea Nyholm:

Leda and the Swan in Roman Wall-Painting:
Eroticism and Power in the Cubicula

Leda and the Swan is a well-known Greco-Roman myth, prevalent in art from antiquity until today. In modernity, the encounter of Leda and Zeus/Jupiter is almost exclusively labelled a rape, which is clearly reflected in modern depictions of the myth. Surviving examples from antiquity show us a different picture — the encounter was usually depicted quite gently. Indeed, ancient writers maintain Leda was deceived by Zeus in the guise of a swan, but do not describe this as a violent act. The subject matter seems to have been especially fascinating to the Roman viewer, if the number of wall-paintings found in the area around the Bay of Naples are any indication. Ten examples have been identified in Pompeii, another two in Herculaneum and one in Stabiae. About half of these have been found in rooms that could be labelled cubicula. The cubiculum is a complicated space, often translated as bedroom, yet, we know, often used as a reception room. It has been discussed that the luxurious Roman villa shows how the wealthy used iconography to paint themselves in the light which they preferred. In this vein, I will show how the prevalence of depictions of Leda and the Swan in the complicated space of the cubiculum, indicates the scene's usage both as a means to emphasise the intimacy and eroticism of the bedroom, and as a means for the dominus to highlight his superiority over the visitor.

11.30-13.15 Session VI:
Religion, magic, and dreams in the Greco-Roman World

Irene Salvo:

Auntie, Where are Thou?
Unearthing Female Kin Bonding in Greek Religion

Mothers, fathers, grandparents, or uncles in ancient Greek mythology and culture are documented from various sources and have been studied since decades. Aunts, however, seem more difficult to track down. What happened to female relatives and their roles within a family and a civic community? This paper aims first to identify what kind of sources can testify to the influence of aunts in children's lives, and, secondly, which ritual contexts can be imagined as involving close female relatives both from the mother's and father's side. Anthropology and emotion studies will provide the framework against which to interpret images of kinship in Greek culture.

Historical evidence is rare. The analysis of Greek myths can contribute to form a picture of Greek aunts. The myth of Agave and Dionysos is indubitably one of the most prominent, although it shows conflictual relationships rather than bonding. Interactions between Hera and Persephone might be worth investigating in the space of sanctuaries.

Attempts to get a glimpse of non-mythical figures can remain similarly limited or opaque. The Brauronian inventory lists seem not contain references to aunts or nieces. Most of the epigraphical evidence identifies women according to their sexual and marital status, while ties between women of different age groups are most often maternal ties. Notwithstanding the silence from sources, this paper will try to show the contexts in which we can expect aunts holding a significant place in the family and state governance. Rituals and festivals following an individual from the cradle to the grave did involve female relatives. The paper will analyse occasions such as birth ceremonies, weddings, cult association meetings, and funerals. It will argue that, beyond the maternal template, aunts could have acted as caregivers: the Greek system of care can be imagined as open so that feelings of attachment may have fostered extended kin bonding among women, girls, and boys.

Dina Gillham:

A Comparision of Vestal Virgins and Christian Consecrated Virgins in Rome:
Exploration of Social Status, Limitations and Benefits

Vestal virgins and Christian consecrated virgins coexisted and inhabited Rome for most of the fourth century C.E., facing similar social and cultural expectations aside from one fact; Vestal virgins were in decline while Christian virgins were in the ascendency. Primary sources such as Tacitus, Annales II and Ambrose, De Virginibus reveal that in most cases both types of virgins belonged to the upper class of Roman society and therefore, we could assume that they experienced similar socially constructed norms. As Christianity was gaining in popularity over the Greco-Roman pagan religion in the context of the religious sphere, this paper compares Vestal virgins and Christian consecrated virgins by focusing on three themes: social status, limitations, and benefits. I draw upon arguments from Elizabeth A. Clark and Sissel Undheim that in the fourth century, there was a pluralist religious environment in which Christian writers were debating between 'their virgins' and 'our virgins' thus constructing and shaping Christian

asceticism and the institutionalized formation of Christian consecrated virgins as a women's role in the church. This topic is often overlooked in academia since it is assumed that Christian consecrated virgins were part of a long tradition. I argue that only by comparing Vestal virgins to Christian consecrated virgins as a social role in contemporaneous society do we have a greater chance of truly understanding the synthetic relationship between the pagan and Christian religions which led to the formation of a new role in the church of "consecrated virgins".

Arja Karivieri:

The magical power of hair in the Roman world

This paper aims at presenting various aspects connected to hair and its symbolic power in antiquity. Archaeological evidence and literary sources reveal interesting traditions and beliefs in everyday culture of the Romans, specifically the use of hair in Roman magic. Hair could also be offered as sacrifice, and bone combs have been found as grave equipment. Ovid in his part emphasized in Ars Amatoria that hair and beard should be dressed by a skilled hand. According to Historia Augusta, Emperor Lucius Verus took such pride in his blonde hair that he used to decorate his hair with gold dust to make it more yellow. There are several ancient authors who comment on hair colours and the use of wigs or extensions.

Hair was interpreted as powerful symbol in erotic love and thus also used in ancient magic, especially in erotic binding-spells. Sometimes strands of hair from the love spell's target have been found inside the folded curse tablets, showing the importance of hair as a medium to create the connection to the target; one of the examples comes from the Athenian Agora and has been dated to the 3rd century CE.

Jamie Vestrinen*:*

Women's dreams in Greco-Roman historiographical, biographical and geographical literature

There are several hundred dream reports in ancient Greco-Roman historiographical, biographical, and geographical literature from the Classical to the late Imperial era. A significant minority of these are reports of dreams seen by women. This paper investigates how reports of women's dreams reflect their social roles and how they are used to present both idealized as well as negative ideas of femininity and womanhood.

Women's dreams are related especially to the following spheres of life: birth and the future career of a child; death; and religious life. The narrower scope of women's dreams compared to men's dreams reflects women's more restricted participation in public life.

Some of the authors express negative attitudes towards excessive, "womanish" belief in dreams, and fearful premonition felt by women due to their dreams tended to be disregarded by men. In certain situations, women's dreams were regarded as important – especially the dreams of priestesses and mothers of future rulers. The regard or disregard given to women's dreams seems to have depended on their social roles and the contexts of the dreams more strictly than in the case of men's dreams.

In the religious sphere, women of high social status could make independent choices inspired by dreams. Women could also be granted the status of priestess in consequence of a dream, but we do not read of women making independent career choices based on their dreams as some men are told to have done. In the Imperial era, reports of women's dreams could serve as

exempla to illustrate the admirable and exemplary as well negative qualities associated with women.

11.30-13.15 Session VII - Auditorium
Gender, ethnic and social identities

Maureen Carroll:

Women's dress, gender, and identity
in southern Italy in the fourth century B.C.

This paper focuses on a new research project on funerary portraits in elite painted tombs in Campania and Lucania at a time when Rome was extending its control in the region in the fourth century B.C. The evidence captured in such images allows us to explore the interconnected relationship between ethnic identity, social status, and gendered dress behaviour. Men and women appear in roles that reflect indigenous, pre-Roman social norms, and their clothing is a valuable tool for exploring identities and self-presentation. Men typically are portrayed as armour-wearing warriors, while women, who are clothed in elaborate, multi-layered garments and headdresses, oversee a variety of household and family duties. Female clothing types are particularly distinctive, and they act as a distinguishing identity marker from community to community in the region. At the end of the fourth century, an alteration of elite male dress behaviour is apparent when men begin to communicate their changing cultural and political status by wearing the Roman toga. In contrast, women and girls of the same social status at this time still are shown in conventional indigenous clothing. These funerary portraits, therefore, enable us to understand how women, whose activities were rooted in the domestic and familial sphere, played a significant role in preserving gendered and ethnic identities displayed through traditional dress.

Ellen Siljedahl:

Cooking and preparing food – examining gender and ethnicity
through everyday practices in pre-Roman societies

Food and customs surrounding eating and cooking are among the most powerful media for expressing and negotiating identity such as gender and ethnicity.1 Studies of foodways in pre-Roman Italy have examined consumption of food and drink, almost exclusively at religious festivals, symposiums, or banquets. The expressions of gender roles and the presence of women at such venues have been highlighted in some of these studies.

This paper will by contrast focus on the various activities related to preparation and cooking of food and drink, shifting away from consumption and feasting, examining expressions and negotiations of gender roles in relation to other social identities in pre-Roman societies (ca. 650–450 BC). Recent archaeological research has demonstrated how studies of food preparation can bring forward the experience of marginalised groups and provide information about social structures 'beyond the kitchen'.

This study is geographically confined to central Italy and the archaeological remains of the various ethnic groups in the area. The paper will examine gender roles in relation to ethnic identities, social status, and the agency of those preparing and cooking food, based on my ongoing PhD-project. The study combines material from older excavation such as those

conducted by the Nordic institutes at San Giovenale, Acquarossa and Ficana with data made available by recent studies of archeobotanical and faunal remains.

Judit Pasztokai-Szeöke:

Roman Imperialism, Wardrobe Studies and Changing Pannonian Identities

As human skin covering the body from outside is seen as the physical boundary of the individual, gestures, various formations or modifications of the corporeal body and clothing together can be interpreted as its social skin. This constitutes a malleable surface, which is not only shaped by personal preferencies, social consent and expectations, but communicates personal and social identities as well. Both the type of dress and how it is treated are important parts of such a cultural medium.

Expansion of an empire and the integration of the newly conquered communities into its administrative and cultural systems do result in a well-documented hybrid material culture, which can be dug up in the archaeological excavations. The materiality of this contact between different cultures always creates an exciting multi-faceted problem for interpretative archaeology, especially if the understanding of local identities (including age, gender, status, ethnicity etc.) are in its research focus.

Present paper aims to grasp some aspects of the sartorial consequences of the Roman military conquest of the Transdanubian region: how this emerging asymmetrical power situation influenced the lives of the locals, especially how their changing Pannonian identities could be expressed through their wardrobes.

Jesper Carlsen:

Gender, Identities and Social Structures among Imperial Slaves and Freedmen in Roman Carthage

The point of departure of this paper is two burial grounds excavated by A.-L. Delattre near the amphitheatre at Carthage in the late 19th century. In total, he found more than 900 funerary inscriptions mentioning almost 1300 individuals. The two necropoleis can be dated from the end of first century to the early third century CE, when there was no space for further burials in the second burial ground. They are also known in French as 'cimetières des officiales' as most of those buried were members of the familia Caesaris at Carthage. The imperial burial grounds have been ignored by modern scholarship or studied in isolation without their social and archaeological context. This is regrettable since this deathscape of a well-defined group of imperial slaves and freedmen and their families is an excellent point of departure to discuss gender, identities and social structures among a non-elite group in a Roman harbour city.

THURSDAY ATERNOON: THE FINNISH INSTITUTE VIA GARIBALDI 31

Key-note II: Marjatta Nielsen

Etruscan Women and their Social Networks

Instead of giving an overall presentation of the state of studies on Etruscan women, the contribution will present some alternative approaches to aspects, which are totally absent in written sources. Abundant archaeological and epigraphical evidence from the last four centuries

BC invite to a large-scale statistical approach to late Etruscan burials, revealing local and chronological differences. Furthermore, an examination of hundreds of chamber-tomb contexts gives insight into the question, who was buried with whom. The prevailing pattern of burying family members together follows male lineages, but there are several exceptions, which shed light on women's alternative social networks, also beyond their family relations.

FRIDAY 10 NOVEMBER
SWEDISH INSTITUTE, VIA OMERO 14

09.30-12.30 Session VIII - Library
Greek and Roman masculininty and femininty in religion, philosophy and literature

Eleni Papadogiannaki:

"στένω βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ": the Phrygian slave in Euripides

Classical Athens was a multi-cultural community, where people of different status and ethnicity could co-exist. Citizens, metics, slaves, women, Greeks from other cities, along with barbarians could live together, despite the fact that they had totally different status in the city. As it is widely known, according to the law, civil rights had only the citizens, who took decisions in the ecclesia for all the rest. Moreover, they had many other advantages (for example, they could defend themselves at court), while the other groups needed a "patron" to represent them to their public cases. Yet, Athens was a very "open" society, willing to accept people from everywhere. During the 5th century B.C. Athens attracted a lot of philosophers, artists, poets, who chose to go there because of its democratic government. So, everybody could go and live there, but without political rights and other conveniences.

This paper will focus on a barbarian and his identity, the Phrygian slave in Euripides' Orestes. This scene is unique in tragedy due to several parameters that will be discussed. He behaves and he speaks in a very peculiar way, related with his ethnicity, but he differs from the Asians as presented in other tragedies. He is a foreign house-slave (Athenian households had many Phrygian slaves), whose role is presented by Euripides quite unconventional. Analyzing his extant song, his identity, the dramatic role and the social role of the Phrygian slave will be explored.

Johan Vekselius:

Self-control on and beyond Plutarch's Lives

This contribution explores the significance of self-control in Plutarch's Parallel Lives using gender, ethnicity and social group as analytical categories. In Lives, Plutarch pairs Greek and Roman heroes from the time of "historical myth to the Roman Late Republic. Self-control, while a "modern" concept, was of considerable concern for the ancients; expressed through virtues as a theme in ancient discourses on philosophy, power and politics; present in literature from Homer to Christian writers. Lives actualises these discourses in biographical-historical case studies with self-control as a significant theme. Self-control is problematised in adversity and death but also success and excess. More abstractly, it concerns the individual's self in relation to society: it should neither over- nor underextend. Theoretically, the contribution draws on Bourdieu and Elias, who associates self-control with elite status, distinction, masculinity and

societal complexity. Self-control needed to be negotiated; too much was anti-social, and left the statesman out of touch, and too little was unbecoming, suggesting a man unfit to rule. Elite women faced contradictive expectations: being women for emotionality and being elite self-control. The contribution studies how these negotiations differed between protagonists, periods and cultural contexts. The ideals and norms of Plutarch's cultural horizon, his philosophical and literary preferences and tendencies, and his intended audience also affected how self-control was described and evaluated in the Lives. However, Plutarch's understanding of self-control says something about the individual biography's time and place and the ancient man's lived experience, allowing cultural and diachronic comparisons.

Jussi Rantala:

Fighting the enemy and lacking masculinity in Roman historical narrative

Military dominance, violence, and power were an essential part of ideal Roman masculinity. Many ancient authors confirm this in their records. However, it can be argued that masculinity had another side as well in Roman historical narrative: discussion, debate, shared political participation. If violence was one cornerstone of Roman masculinity, ability to co-operate for the benefit of the community was another.

My paper takes a closer look to battlefield descriptions of Roman historians, particularly Livy, and argues that many such records combine these two aspects. They do this by defining the martial virtues of Romans in war, but also by noticing the occasional non-masculine behavior of Roman soldiers, particularly their lack of traits central for political construction of Roman masculinity, such as moderatio or patientia, which in fact signifies certain effeminacy in their behavior. It even appears that some practices of Roman soldiers can also be connected to (rare) appearance of women in battlefields, which usually included unorganized and uncontrollable chaos.

Jaakkojuhani Peltonen:

Views of effiminacy and gendered ideology of war in Roman literature

Since in ancient cultures war was a playground for men, we may easily get the impression that male aggressiveness and violent conduct were somehow an integral, intrinsic, or even a genetic part of masculinity. However, in my study I do not approach martial masculinity as an inevitable or natural aspect of Roman society but as a socially constructed phenomenon. Because masculine values and behaviour are results of a learning process and institutionalized discourse, I analyze the ways gendered and emotionally motivated expressions, literary presentations of effeminate and “womanish” promoted ideology of war. If a soldier/legionnaire commander flees from the battlefield, it shows he cannot bear pain and the distress that combat brings, and is thus labelled “womanish” and loses his status as “man”. My sources contain those Greek and Latin texts written between Marcus Tullius Cicero and Ammianus Marcellinus dealing with mechanisms for promoting martial masculinity. In my paper it comes clear that fear of being labelled womanish/effeminate was integral part of the Roman shame culture which maintained the idea of war and aggression as desirable expression of manhood.

Antonios Pontoropoulos:

Letters and representations of female voices in late antique rewritings of the Alexander Romance

The Alexander Romance is a fictionalised biography of Alexander the Great. There are around thirty-five fictional letters that are part of the Alexander narrative. These letters are constantly rewritten and reordered across different rewritings of the text. Here, I focus on the so-called β recension (5th century C.E.), as opposed to the older A recension. Some of these letters were written from and to women associated with Alexander the Great. These female letter writers are presented as rhetorical, speaking subjects offering the reader with their perspective of this male-dominated narrative (e.g. the Persian women, Olympias, Queen Kandake, Amazons). I wish to argue that theme of epistolary communication and the use of specific literary and/or epistolary motifs (e.g. foreignness or gifts) structure a wider (Greek) gendered and cultural identity discourse. Greek and barbarian/foreigner letter writers are often contrasted, emphasizing the superiority of Greek cultural and gendered discourses over other ethnicities. For instance, queen Kandake of Meroe writes to Alexander summarizing Greek stereotypes about her people. The correspondence between Alexander and the Amazons presents the former as a champion of a monotheistic faith, and the latter as women that insist on their old pagan mores. This paper therefore makes an important contribution in the study of ancient fictional epistolography and the structuring of Hellenistic discourses of gender and cultural identities.

Maria Jokela:

Procopius and the women of the Anecdota

The Anecdota is perhaps the most well-known of Procopius' works due to its controversial character. In it, Procopius portrays the two power couples of the era, emperor Justinian and empress Theodora, along with general Belisarius and his wife Antonina, in a very harsh way. Many of his observations have to do with how these individuals fulfilled their role as a virtuous man or a woman. Especially Theodora and Antonina are judged for their actions that go against the classical Roman and Christian ideals. Generally, gender plays a crucial role in Procopius' writing and way of perceiving the society of the time, as Stewart and others have already noted.

In this paper, I examine the ways Procopius presents Roman women of the imperial court in the Anecdota. I will analyze to the two ways he describes Roman women: they are either power-hungry schemers or pious, invisible and sometimes even anonymous. The most significant Roman women for Procopius' narrative fall into the first category and the second type is only mentioned as a comparison when the bad deeds of the women of the first group are to be emphasized. Procopius gives women, more specifically Theodora and Antonina, the blame for the depravity of the Roman Empire. Interestingly, the so-called West will later regard the whole Eastern Roman Empire as a kingdom of effeminate schemers. I will compare how Procopius' writings share features with what the West would later use to describe the Eastern Roman Empire, Byzantium.

09.30-12.30 Session IX - Auditorium
Gender, agency and Roman social identities

Marja-Leena Hänninen:

The agency of non-élite women in urban society of Ostia in the early Imperial period

In the Pricipate, Roman women enjoyed considerable economical freedom, and women had quite a strong position in marriage. However, realities of women's everyday life depended to a great extent on the social group in which they were born. Ostia, the harbour city of ancient Rome, provides us with a fascinating example of the flexibility of the Roman society during the first centuries of the Principate. In particular, during the second century AD the economy of Ostia was primarily managed by freedmen, and a major part of the population was born elsewhere in Italy or other parts of the Roman empire. Women belonging to these new social groups are also discernible in the abundant epigraphic evidence of Ostia. My paper focuses on agency of non-elite women in the urban community of Ostia during its greatest heyday in the second century and the first part of the third century AD. The agency of women in other roles than family roles, in such as professional or religious roles, will be discussed with a couple of epigraphic examples. It will also be asked if this picture is very different from the one we have of the local elite of Ostia and if women eventually could have a role independent from their family background.

Kaius Tuori:

Female agency in the legal sphere:
Spatial analysis of the Roman Republican evidence

Roman legal sources, dating from the early third century onwards, are strict in their denial of female agency in the law, arguing that women should not appear in court and that they should be represented by a male guardian. However, as Cantarella and others have pointed out, several historical narratives demonstrate the opposite, mentioning women who not only brought cases to court but also represented themselves in court. The purpose of this paper is to examine these narratives and analyse strategies of empowerment within the spatial configuration of the public courts, arguing that the nature of the Republican public sphere enabled and encouraged participation without censure, although later jurists frowned upon such actions.

Tuomo Nuorluoto:

Names as social markers for women in ancient Rome

The proposed paper investigates some of the ways, in which names could reflect Roman women's status in the late republican and, in particular, the early imperial period. Compared to the nomenclature of men, there seems to have been a certain sense of licentia in how women's names could be chosen and presented in our sources. This relative freedom, in turn, can be seen, inter alia, as an indirect consequence of women's relatively restricted role in public life and their ambiguous status in regards Roman citizenship. A more liberal approach is evident in at least the following two aspects of female nomenclature, on which I will focus:

- The filiation: There are many cases, in which the filiation in a freeborn woman's nomenclature (i.e. the patronymic formula) does not strictly follow the "official" pattern of using the father's praenomen, typically attested for men (e.g. *M. f.*) but instead the father's cognomen is employed.
- The use of maternal nomenclature: Women, as I have argued elsewhere, could in some cases bear names from the maternal side of the family and none from the paternal side, even when they had been born in a legal marital union.

Alessandra Valentini:

Agrippina the Elder, caelesti sanguni ora

This paper focus on a particular aspect of the portrait of Agrippina the Elder as remember in the ancient tradition: the explicit affirmation of her direct descent from the Divus Augustus. This theme has been used on several occasions by the matron with the aim of legitimizing the aspirations for the succession of her children by virtue of the dynastic link with her grandfather Augustus and in order to seek the support of the troops, addressing, in particular, those elements of the urban plebs present to the legions stationed in Germany in the two period of 14-16 AD. This theme was then used by the matron and her supporters with increasing frequency in later stages, especially immediately after the death of her husband Germanicus. Some elements present in the ancient tradition suggest that the instrumental use of this theme, combined with the construction of a portrait of Agrippina that enhances the elements of the matron's model according to the tradition, was used by Augustus with the aim of enhance the construction of his succession: the theme of the blood bond with Augustus, founder of the dynasty, becomes therefore an immaterial sign of the status for the matron that can be used because of its strong symbolic value.

Katariina Mustakallio:

Domestic space, time and gender in Varro's De Agricultura

During the second century BCE the Roman rural society became dominated by large estates owned by the wealthy upper-class families utilizing mostly slave labor. In these farms the most important actors were the patron, the overseer of the farm (vilicus) and his wife (vilica). Nevertheless, people believed that the farm consisted of several other actors and powers, not only the human beings. There were the spirits of the ancestors and other numina strongly connected to the wellbeing of the farm, deities of the household, like Lar, Mars, Silvanus, Jupiter, Vesta, Ceres, Ianus, Juno, and then the unknown deities (si deus si dea).

In my paper I will discuss gender and role of the different actors, members of the family and their functions in the farm, according to Marcus Porcius Cato (234-149 BCE) and his de agricultura; Cato was an important figure in the political life of Rome in the first half of the Second Century BCE. He was a Homo Novus, from the first generation of political figures in his family, and served in the Second Punic War, winning special glory for his contribution at the battle of the Metaurus in 207. In his political speeches and writings, he emphasized traditional Roman virtues and looked suspiciously of the adoption of astrology, and luxury connected to Greek culture.

Positive contacts with the benevolent spirits were crucial for the wellbeing of the whole household. Cato advised how and where to approach different deities during the agricultural

year beginning from the late December and ending to the Autumnal winter. The space, both the territorial space and the time scale, as well as the agency of the different members of the household in performing the rites, were in focus in de Agricultura. In writing about religious matters gender and status were also of great importance, gender of the actor, as well as of the object.

In this occasion I will pay special attention to the gender of the people acting in religious sphere, as well as the space, and the occasion when they were acting.

Lewis Webb:

Cives Romanae embodied:
Ordo matronarum and female citizenship in Republican Rome

The literary evidence is clear. Roman women were considered citizens of the Republic. This presentation will examine how a matronal corporate body, the ordo matronarum (order of married women), contributed to the civic identity of married citizen women and enabled them to perform their civic duties. I will argue that there is substantial literary evidence of this ordo from at least the third century BCE, and that matronal privileges and status symbols, matronal meetings, and epigraphic evidence of female corporate bodies in Republican Italy offer further corroborating support for Rome as well as other individual civitates. The ordo matronarum and its practices offer a compelling vision of the performance of female citizenship in Republican Rome.