

Clodia, Fulvia, Livia, Messalina:
what can we really learn about
the elite women of Rome?

'A dissertation submitted to the
University of Wales Trinity Saint David
in fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts'

29001652
Jacqueline Margaret Meredith
2014

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

Declaration Form.

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Name: J M Meredith

Date: 21 March 2014

2. This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Name: J M Meredith

Date: 21 March 2014

3. This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

A bibliography is appended.

Name: J M Meredith

Date: 21 March 2014

4. I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying, inter-library loan, and for deposit in the University's digital repository.

Name: J M Meredith

Date: 21 March 2014

Supervisor's Declaration.

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the student's own efforts.

Name:

Date:

Contents

Abstract	5
Introduction and literature review	6
Women in the Late Republic	10
Introduction	10
Clodia	14
<i>Cicero</i>	14
<i>Catullus</i>	19
<i>Assessment</i>	20
Fulvia	22
<i>Cicero</i>	23
<i>Martial</i>	26
<i>Later sources</i>	27
<i>Visual sources</i>	30
<i>Assessment</i>	31
Women in the Early Empire	33
Livia.....	36
<i>Tacitus</i>	37
<i>Suetonius</i>	40
<i>Dio Cassius</i>	41
<i>Ovid</i>	44
<i>Inscriptions</i>	45
<i>Visual sources</i>	46
<i>The Ara Pacis</i>	46
<i>Statuary and Portraiture</i>	47
<i>Coins</i>	49
<i>Buildings</i>	50
<i>Assessment</i>	51
Messalina.....	52
<i>Tacitus</i>	53
<i>Suetonius</i>	55
<i>Dio Cassius</i>	55
<i>Juvenal</i>	57
<i>Art</i>	58
<i>Assessment</i>	59

Conclusion.....	62
Bibliography	65
Ancient sources	65
Modern literature	67

Abstract

How much can we really know about the lives of elite women in the Late Republic and Early Empire? If we are to take the written sources at face value then we might assume that women in the public eye were generally oversexed, overly assertive and ‘unnatural’ in their masculine behaviour: Cicero’s Clodia is an excessive monster and Fulvia is an aggressive and manipulative woman who dominates her husband. Rome of the Late Republic has a reputation for moral decline characterised by increasing emancipation for women. The foundation of the Principate sees Augustan moral legislation attempting to address this, combined with the establishment of an unprecedented female role: that of First Lady. Livia of the sources is virtuous and loyal, but she is also manipulative and a poisoner. Messalina’s vilification by historians as a self-seeking nymphomaniac is a culmination in the portrayal of female cunning and excess. However, these portrayals do not tend to include information from material evidence. Through analysis of both literary and artistic evidence this dissertation seeks to establish whether it is really possible to see the real women behind the sources and to determine their role and status with any true historical accuracy. In doing so it considers the importance of the nature of those sources: some are blatant propaganda, others conform to their literary genre and others reflect political bias.

Introduction and literature review

‘The extent of privileges to women is the general principle of all social progress.’

Charles Fournier

The power of the media in modern society has promoted the lives and behaviour of both the famous and the infamous. We are now privy to the intimate details of the personal business of anyone who is involved in the public sphere. There is a mawkish focus on the personal demise of those in the limelight, involving detailed and lurid accounts of marriage breakdown, anti-social behaviour, financial loss and moral decline. However, the exposure of scandal, be it fiction or fact, is not a new concept. The magazines and newspapers of today may wish to promote their sales or to destroy reputations for political reasons, but some of this was happening in the ancient world. If we are to address the presentation of women in the extant sources then this bias is essential to our understanding.

Accessing information about women in the ancient world is fraught with difficulties. Firstly the surviving written evidence is invariably from male authors: the authentic female voice is almost never heard.¹ In itself this must tell us something about the subordination of the female role. We have only the male perspective, however realistic it may sound. The women who are presented to us are usually from the upper echelons of society or notorious in some way, for example as prostitutes, or as the vague constructs of elegiac poetry. There is little information about women from the lower classes. More recently the study of inscriptions and tombstones has given us more insight into their lives: for example, from studies at Ostia we now know that many women were engaged in commerce, running small businesses and bars.² The nature of these sources, being records of facts, make them generally more reliable than written sources tainted with the writer’s perspective.

¹ The poet, Sulpicia, writing under Augustus is the only known female author of the period under discussion (see Keith, 2002, for a debate on the authorship of poems attributed to her)

² See Kampen 1981; for Roman women and work in general see Joshel 1992b, pp141ff

This dissertation focusses on the elite women of the Late Republic and Early Empire. They are the women who are more commonly and specifically referred to in the evidence. However their relationships to influential men have muddied the accounts and to what extent this has distorted reality and whether we can really assess it is the subject of my discussion. Their portrayal in relation to our knowledge of women's activities and rights of their time is addressed and non-literary sources are also discussed where possible. During the Principate these become much more prolific with the need to promote the role of the Emperor and his family across the Empire.

The first section looks at the status and role of women in the late Republic and then focusses in particular on two elite women, Clodia and Fulvia. It is worth bearing in mind that there is controversy over whether the Clodia of Cicero's *Pro Caelio*, Catullus' Lesbia and the Clodia of Cicero's letters are the same individual. If she is then we have more information about her than any other women of the period.³ Unfortunately visual sources are very limited for these two women: there is nothing for Clodia. Fulvia's image on coinage is debatable, but other than this and some obscene propaganda on sling bullets, there is little else. The second section assesses Augustan legislation and the implication for elite women of the establishment of an imperial family, followed by analyses of the evidence for Livia and Messalina. Due to a sudden increase in iconography and building projects, it is possible to compare the material evidence with the literary much more successfully.

The conclusion draws together these women and assesses the changes in women's status over the periods discussed. Is it possible to see Clodia and Fulvia paving the way for the prominence of the imperial women and do elite women's lives change significantly in the Early Empire or do they fundamentally remain the same: focussed on the family and dependent on men?

Generally until the 1970s women appeared as incidental to history and usually in relation to men. Balsdon's *Roman Women* (1962), despite a rather paternalistic approach and a determination concerning women's emancipation, provides a good backdrop to the subsequent explosion of interest in ancient women which was to follow with the development of the Women's movement in the 1970s. After a

³ Skinner 2011:4; Hejduk 2008:8

number of isolated specialist journals, the publication of the special issue of *Arethusa*, *Women in Antiquity* (1973), followed by another in 1978 and then reprinted in 1984, marked a turning point along with Sarah Pomeroy's *Goddesses, whores, wives and slaves* (1975), which was the first book to be written about Greek and Roman women from a feminist perspective. These publications address women in the sources and place women firmly at the heart of study. Responding to the new focus on source analysis came Lefkowitz and Fant's comprehensive sourcebook, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome*, with its third edition released in 2005.

The feminist approach has been embraced by Suzanne Dixon in a succession of landmark publications. *The Roman Mother* (1988) and *The Roman Family* (1992), in particular, contain excellent surveys of scholarship. Dixon's feminist viewpoint does tend to encourage a reading of substantial freedom in some of her analyses. A good example is Sempronia, who was vilified by Sallust for her independence, but who might be regarded by modern female readers as an icon of emancipated Roman womanhood.⁴ Dixon's 2001 volume, *Reading Roman Women*, is particularly enlightening for its methodology. She is well aware of the 'prejudices and preferences' which different generations of historians have brought to this study and focusses on reading the sources, carefully considering their genre, and extrapolating what we can: an absolute truth is impossible.⁵

During the 1980s there was a trend towards exploring the possibility of finding the 'real women' of the sources, particularly in love poetry. It was generally agreed that these women could not be identified as real, but were products of a type of literature.⁶ From this developed the notion in the 1990s of women as stereotypes and constructions.⁷ For example, Joshel's discussion on the use of women by Livy demonstrates the way in which types of women were used for moral reflection.⁸

The modern focus on women themselves has led to a number of detailed studies on their place within the law. Treggiari (1991) and Gardner (1998) argue against the earlier idea of progressive emancipation towards an *ad hoc* process of gaining

⁴ Dixon 2001:18

⁵ Dixon 2001:18

⁶ Wyke 2002; Richlin 1992

⁷ Joshel 1992a; for genre see Dixon 2001

⁸ Joshel 1992b

legal status. In 2002 Grubbs published a comprehensive sourcebook, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire*. There has also been a move from simply discussing the female role in relation to the male, which has tended to accept the male role as the norm.⁹ The 1990s and 2000s have now seen more emphasis on the significance of gender on society rather than just the male/female divide.

The 1980s also saw a development from the separate study of literary and non-literary sources to the recognition of the importance of material culture combined with literary sources for a more balanced assessment of women: Zanker (1988) highlights the significance of iconography.¹⁰ Kleiner and Matheson's *I, Claudia* (1996), a catalogue of an exhibition given by Yale University Art Gallery, is the first comprehensive study of Roman women in relation to art. This was followed in 2000 by *I Claudia II*, a collection of essays on women by experts in various fields of visual evidence: particularly of note is Kleiner's discussion on women as patrons of buildings and art.¹¹

The past decade has seen a move from general approaches to women such as Dixon's, towards specific biographies. Barrett's monograph on Livia (2002) and Skinner's recent *Clodia Metelli* (2011), published as part of the *Women in Antiquity* series, study these women within the context of the political and cultural background. Barrett's biography is the first to be published in English and sets out to recover Livia's reputation, also assessing her position and the manipulation of her public image.

⁹ cf Hallett 1984 and 1989

¹⁰ Kampen 1981, Dixon 1988, Gardner 1986

¹¹ Kleiner 1996:28–41

Women in the Late Republic

Introduction

domum servavit, lanam fecit: she kept the house, she worked in wool.

(*ILS* 8403=CIL 1²1211, translation Lattimore)

The second century BC epitaph of Claudia, culminating in these words, epitomises the requirements of the ideal Roman wife. In the early days of the Republic, while Rome was a small, rural community, these characteristics would have been both practical and necessary.¹² However, by the Late Republic, the lives of elite women had become very different: from the East came wealth and slaves, releasing them from many domestic duties. However, the ideal of Claudia was retained, even into the Empire, and became a yardstick with which to assess women for many male writers.

Moral decline was the focus of many of the sources for the late Republic. The wealth which entered Rome following the defeat of the Carthaginians and the capture of Greece triggered greed, debauchery and selfishness. Tacitus describes how ‘things holy were desecrated, there was adultery in high places’ (*Tac.His.*1.2). This created nostalgia for the modesty and frugality of the ‘old days’ when people were committed to the state rather than to themselves (*Livy* 39.6.7, *Val.Max.*4.4.9). Sallust, Cicero and Horace all share this view in highlighting the immorality of the age and looking back to a ‘better’ time. Sallust, for example, portrays Sempronia, a prominent member of the Catiline conspiracy, as beautiful and well-educated but lacking *pudicitia* (*Sal.Cat.*25). Edwards believes we should read these women ‘as standing for the corruption of Roman morals’.¹³ A major way in which this decline is depicted is in the condemnation of the perceived increasing freedom of women: they are a marker for moral and political breakdown.¹⁴

¹² Fischler 1994:116

¹³ Edwards 1993:43

¹⁴ Wyke 1992:111; Joshel 1995

The deaths of sons and intestate men in the Punic Wars led to the acquisition of property by many daughters (Polybius 31.fr.26).¹⁵ This resulted in the *Lex Oppia* of 205BC, which restricted women's finery in public and forbade them to ride in carriages. In 193BC women protested in support of repealing the law and Livy attributes a speech criticising them to Cato the Elder:

‘Our ancestors permitted no woman to conduct even personal business without a guardian to intervene on her behalf; they wished them to be under the control of fathers, brothers, husbands; we (Heaven help us!) allow them now even to interfere in public affairs, yes, and to visit the Forum and our informal and formal sessions.’

(Liv. 34.2.11, translation E.T.Sage)

This not only highlights the conservative ideals of a patriarchal society which continued into the Late Republic but also shows that women were beginning to operate outside of the domestic sphere. The *Lex Voconia* of 109BC addressed this concern preventing women from the highest property class from inheriting. Although the law prevailed, various loopholes were used to circumvent it, including *fideicommissa* which allowed male heirs to pass property on to designated females.

By the first century BC the Civil Wars saw the removal, through death or exile, of many men, particularly noble men, leaving their wives and widows in charge at home.¹⁶ However, women had no political rights and could not play any part in the law.¹⁷ During the early Republic they could not participate in the *contiones* or attend meetings or assemblies.¹⁸ At some point after the time of the Gracchi it became acceptable for them to speak at *contiones*. All too often the sources criticise them for this. Valerius Maximus tells the story of Gaia Afrania who brought her own lawsuits (Val.Max.8.3). Through participation in public life she became a symbol for any woman with loose morals.¹⁹ Two exceptions were Hortensia, and Turia. Hortensia was daughter of the lawyer Quintus Hortensius, who, in 42BC, defended 1400 of the wealthiest women before the triumvirs against a special tax (Dio 83.8, Val.Max.8.3, App.4.32–4). She was admired

¹⁵ Wilkinson 1979:71

¹⁶ cf Caecilia Metella and Terentia

¹⁷ Gardner 1993:87–9

¹⁸ Savunen 1995:204,n.10

¹⁹ Lefkowitz 1993:59

because she focussed on what women had done for their country and on their traditional role.²⁰ Turia gained fame by pleading her husband's cause before the triumvirs after the battle of Pharsalus in 48BC, showing herself the archetypal loyal wife (*Laudatio Turia* 11).

Marriage, with its primary purposes of producing children and ensuring the transmission of land between connected families, was traditionally performed *cum manu*. This entailed a woman leaving her father's protection and coming under the guardianship of her husband. By the Late Republic, legal marriages were commonly entered into *sine manu*, leaving her in the *potestas* of her father: she could live separately from her guardian (her father) but her husband had no hold on her inheritance.²¹ This is well illustrated by Cicero's wife Terentia, who was able to sell her house: Cicero could merely advise (*Cic.Fam.*14.1). By the 1st century BC some wealthy women owned and controlled their property. If a woman's father was dead then she could become independent or *sui iuris*.²² Saller argues that this was common as 50 percent of women would have lost their fathers by their late teens.²³ However she would still need a *tutor* to deal with legal matters, such as selling her property.²⁴ Skinner notes these 'mixed messages' concerning women: the 12 tables had stipulated that sons and daughters should inherit equally and therefore women could own property but they were not able to manage it (*Inst. Iust.*2.13.5).²⁵ This stemmed from a long held belief that women were inherently weak and incapable: Cicero himself talks of the 'inferiority of their understanding' (*Cic.Mur.* 27).

This freedom was limited. Hallett argues that alterations in the law were made to suit men: marriage *sine manu*, may have loosened her tie to her husband, but it also deprived her of his estates and enabled her family to keep control of her property. Easy divorce meant that men could manipulate marriage to their own ends more easily.²⁶ Women were frequently used as political pawns: Julius Caesar broke his own daughter's engagement so that she could marry Pompey and cement an alliance (*Suet.Iul.*21, *Plut.Vit.Caes.*14.7). In reality a woman could only

²⁰ Lefkowitz 1993:60; Snyder 1989:126

²¹ Pomeroy 1975:155

²² Dixon 1992:74

²³ Saller 1986:15

²⁴ Grubbs 2002:26

²⁵ Skinner 2011:34

²⁶ Hallett 1973:245

divorce if she had her father's economic support and she would probably lose her children to her husband's family.²⁷

Stories of adultery escalated during the second century. By the first century BC adultery was becoming common. Relationships were frequently broken through widowhood and remarriage. Indeed Rawson argues that elegiac love poetry was written at the end of this period when affairs were rife and lovers were separated.²⁸ Aemilianus, for instance, divorced Appuleia in 77BC for adultery when he was in Sardinia.²⁹ However, adultery was 'essentially a woman's crime'.³⁰ Double standards reigned: men could have sexual relations with any woman if she was a slave, concubine or unmarried. Legally a woman could not prosecute her husband until the late Empire.³¹ For an adulteress it was different. Cato the Elder tells us that a husband could kill his wife if he found her in the act of adultery although there is little evidence to show it ever happened and this seems to have been a marital obligation rather than a legal matter during the Late Republic (Gell.NA.10.23).³²

Much of the law surrounding women only affected the upper classes. Inheritance was only relevant for those from propertied families. The women whose lives we do know about are those whose status enabled them to be in the public sphere. Treggiari notes how difficult it is to know about the wives of even well-known men.³³ We are left to the sources written by men to draw our conclusions.

²⁷ Clark 1981:205

²⁸ Rawson 1986:29

²⁹ Brennan 2012:359–60

³⁰ Richlin 1983:217

³¹ Richlin 1983:217

³² Richlin 1983:215; Treggiari 1991a:268–75

³³ Treggiari 1991a:122

Clodia

Claudia, the youngest of three daughters of Appius Claudius Pulcher and Caecilia Metella Belearica, was born sometime before 95BC into the Claudii, a wealthy patrician family. Little is known of her upbringing, but at some point her name was changed to Clodia to support the ‘demagogic ambitions’ of her brother, Clodius.³⁴ In 63BC she married Metellus Celer, consul in 60BC, who died in 59BC. What might have become the story of a *univira*, dedicated to her family, became the story of a licentious and self-serving woman who tried to corrupt those around her.

Cicero

Our main source for Clodia is Cicero, particularly the *Pro Caelio*. For fair assessment it is imperative to understand the circumstances surrounding the case and Cicero’s perception of the breakdown of morality in the Late Republic. In his advice to Caesar in 46BC, Cicero says:

‘Licentiousness must be held in check, the increase in population must be encouraged, everything which is now in a state of collapse and disintegration must be bound together by vigorous legislation.’

(*Cic.Marcell.23*)

In 56BC Caelius was charged with public violence and of the five counts Clodia features in two: allegedly she lent Caelius gold to support the murder of Dio of Alexander and Caelius obtained poison with which to murder her.³⁵ Cicero suggests this is a personal vendetta by Clodia against Caelius for ending an affair with her but Cicero is our only source for this (*Cael.31*).³⁶ Caelius was intending to prosecute Bestia, father of Caelius’ prosecutor, Atratinus, for corruption when Bestia was standing for the praetorship: silencing Caelius may have been a pretext for the case.³⁷ Clodia was a known associate of Bestia. Bauman even suggests that an *amicitia* had been forged between the two of them which involved her as the chief instigator of the case.³⁸ This would have been a highly unusual role for a

³⁴Treggiari 1996:123

³⁵Bauman 1992:70

³⁶Dorey 1958:175

³⁷Gardner 1998:400–1

³⁸Bauman 1992:72

woman. As Gruen argues, it is more likely that her clan were involved but Cicero wants the focus to be on her.³⁹

Cicero may have had his own reasons for discrediting Clodia for he tells us that she had been involved in plundering his house when he was in exile (Cic.*Dom.*62). Furthermore, Plutarch suggests that Cicero's wife, Terentia, was suspicious of a relationship between her husband and Clodia (Plut.*Cic.*29.2.). However, Skinner reminds us that we should be wary of later accounts into which 'falsehoods, many of them slanderous' can creep.⁴⁰ She believes there is no truth in this story as Clodia would have nothing to gain from the relationship with a man who was her social inferior.⁴¹

Cicero's Clodia is the antithesis of the traditional Roman matron, a 'social inversion'.⁴² A *matrona* would focus on her children, husband and home whereas Clodia is sexually promiscuous, cavorts openly with younger men and engages in public affairs.⁴³ This contrast is poignantly shown by comparison with her ancestress, Quinta Claudia, whose 'domestic virtue and womanly glory' was an outstanding example of a *gloria muliebris* (Cic.*Cael.*14). Quinta Claudia proved her virtue and purity by hauling the statue of Cybele into Rome when it arrived from Asia Minor in 204BC (Livy 29.14.8). By Cicero's time she seems to have become conflated with the Vestal Virgin Claudia, another paragon of virtue. Cicero enhances this by imagining her own ancestor, Appius Claudius Caecus, censor, consul and great military commander, chiding her for not emulating Claudia's behaviour. Inherent here is the accusation of disrespect for one's ancestors. By the Late Republic, *atria* of wealthy homes would have displayed ancestral busts and the values of the past were expected to be recalled and continued. Clodia's crimes, in Cicero's eyes, undermine the traditions of the Roman state. Skinner refers to the 'hereditary arrogance' of the Claudian family, which presumably would have been a notion publically known.⁴⁴ Wiseman

³⁹ Gruen 1974:308

⁴⁰ Skinner 2011:9

⁴¹ Skinner 2011:9

⁴² McCoy 2006:182

⁴³ cf *Cael.*35,37

⁴⁴ Skinner 2011:28

suggests that this explains Clodia's apparent lack of concern for her reputation, although this does not take into account Cicero's manipulation of her behaviour.⁴⁵

There are several other points worthy of note. Cicero uses the term *meretrix* early on in the speech (Cic.*Cael.*1). This is highly insulting and an unprecedented use of such an accusation in a criminal trial.⁴⁶ There may not have been a stigma attached to men visiting prostitutes but for a woman to actually be one was reprehensible.⁴⁷ Rather than assuming the role of the virtuous widow or remarrying she chooses sexual promiscuity. Private and public life are confused: she receives male guests into her *domus*, and conducts herself as a man outside. Leen argues that, by referring to the *domus* 27 times, Cicero deliberately presents her as corrupting the domestic space.⁴⁸ She is a threat to social order.

Cicero uses Greek mythology to convey a 'type'. In Livy's *Histories* virtuous women are epitomised in the legendary behaviour of women such as Lucretia and Verginia. Valerius Maximus later juxtaposed the two stories as examples of *pudicitia* (Val.Max.6.1.2). Lucretia became fabled for her modesty and industry and stoically died to prevent tainting her family through her defilement. (Livy 1.57). Verginia is killed by her father as an act of defiance to save her chastity from a lustful magistrate who happened to be Appius Claudius Caecus (Livy 3.44). Roman history provides us with visions of a conservative ideal of how things once were and could still be.⁴⁹ Saller states that the Romans 'traditionally perpetuated their moral values through retelling of such exempla'.⁵⁰ It is the women of Greek mythology who are used to promote negative images and Cicero does this, albeit briefly, but to great effect. He calls Clodia '*Palatinam Medeam*' (Cic.*Cael.*18). After her husband's death, Clodia was still living in his house on the Palatine and Cicero regrets the fact that Caelius decided to rent one nearby, attributing his misfortune to this proximity (*Cael.*18).⁵¹ Medea ruins her house and the men around her: Cicero is already setting up a destructive image.⁵² Medea is a witch and manipulates men who seek to control her, both through her actions

⁴⁵ Wiseman 1985:15–53

⁴⁶ McCoy 2006:177

⁴⁷ McCoy 2006:177,182

⁴⁸ Leen 2000:142

⁴⁹ cf Cato: Aul.Gall.1.6.2

⁵⁰ Saller 1994:109

⁵¹ Wiseman 1985:25

⁵² Ige 2003:51

and, in Euripides' play (no doubt a well-known version of the myth by this time), through the speeches assigned to her. In this respect her behaviour is masculine. Respectable Athenian women of Euripides' day remained indoors and were not expected to be heard.⁵³ Like Medea, Clodia is attempting to destroy a public figure and, if she was spurned by Caelius, then she is also acting out of vengeance for sexual abandonment.⁵⁴ Medea represents the darker side of the female: the capacity for uncontrollable behaviour. In one phrase Cicero conjures up a terrifying image. This portrayal is also enhanced by phrases such as *mulier potens* and *imperatrix* (*Cael.*62, 67). She binds her lovers to her through her wealth and social position. Quintilian adds the phrase *Quadrantaria Clytemnestra*, 'bargain basement Clytemnestra', which he claims was used by Caelius (*Quint.Inst.viii.6.53*).⁵⁵ Clytemnestra also operates in the men's sphere and harbours jealousy.

Geffcken explores the links with comic theatre, showing how Cicero reduces Clodia to the stereotypical prostitute of the common stage.⁵⁶ The trial was held during the *Ludi Megalenses* and Cicero probably spoke on the first day.⁵⁷ He suggests that Clodia's desire for revenge has interrupted religious and civic observances. Salzman claims the audience would have immediately recalled Clodius' disgrace at the *Bona Dea* in 62BC, thus cleverly highlighting the family's sacrilegious behaviour.⁵⁸ Quinta Claudia's actions at the arrival of Cybele to Rome were commemorated annually in the *Ludi Megalenses* making the link even more relevant.⁵⁹

Cicero refers to Clodia in a number of his letters which give us a better indication of her involvement in public affairs, according to Skinner: personal correspondence does not have the same agenda as legal speeches and does 'not contain deliberate falsehoods, although they may reflect negative bias'.⁶⁰ In *Fam.5.2*, he shows her interceding with Celer to heal a breach between Cicero and

⁵³ Pericles' funeral speech 'the greatest glory of a woman is to be least talked about by men, whether they are praising you or criticising you' (*Thuc.His.2.46*) – the antithesis of Clodia

⁵⁴ Ige 2003:51

⁵⁵ Bauman 1992:69;

⁵⁶ Geffcken 1973:27–43

⁵⁷ Austin 1960:151–2

⁵⁸ Salzman 1982:300; Plutarch, *Cic.*29

⁵⁹ Salzman 1982:301

⁶⁰ Skinner 2011:5

Metellus Nepos, which ‘attests to her reliability and diplomatic skills’.⁶¹ Clearly Cicero felt she had some influence and even though her intercession failed, it reveals her involvement in affairs before her husband’s death.

Clodia supports Clodius in his bid for the tribuneship in 59BC: in *Att.*2.12 Cicero refers to her ‘warcries’ on his behalf. In *Att.*2.1, he says ‘I detest the woman – so unworthy of a consul: a shrew she is and with her husband jars’. The Latin suggests she is literally waging war with him (*cum viro bellum gerit*). The decision to support her brother, Clodius, over her husband reflects the importance of male blood relatives. Skinner suggests that this would have encouraged her to have a sexual relationship with him and may account for charges of incest.⁶² I think this is unlikely. It is more likely that Cicero may have exploited this closeness to taint her reputation even more.

Five times in his letters to Atticus, Cicero gives Clodia the nickname, *boupidos*, ‘ox-eyes’ (*Att.*29.1, 30.2, 34.1, 42.5 43.3). No doubt she had large, dark eyes for this epithet to work: he talks of her ‘flaming eyes’ in *Cael.*49.⁶³ This is the only reference we have to her appearance and it is a loaded description. Firstly there is a sexual undertone to the phrase. Secondly, Homer describes Hera as ‘ox-eyes’: not only is she a powerful female but she is also in a relationship with her brother.⁶⁴ Elsewhere, Cicero hints at incest between Clodia and Clodius, excelling at inference: ‘if I did not have cause for ill-feeling toward that woman’s lover – I am sorry; I meant to say “brother.” I am always making that slip’ (*Cael.*32).⁶⁵ However, he also suggests that she is acting as an informant of her brother’s movements to Atticus (*Att.*2.9, 2.14). This would seem to suggest she is not in thrall to her brother; indeed, Skinner argues that he is merely a ‘docile tool’ to her own independent ambition.⁶⁶ Whatever her motives, she seems to be an autonomous woman with influence among the men.

After Caelius’ acquittal, Clodia fades into the background. There is no mention of her at Clodius’ funeral in 52BC.⁶⁷ The last we hear of her is a reference in 45BC in *Att.*12.42.2, where Cicero tells us that she refused to sell him her house,

⁶¹ Skinner 1983:278

⁶² Skinner 1983:280

⁶³ Griffith 1996:382

⁶⁴ Shackleton-Bailey 1971:52

⁶⁵ cf *Cael.*36; *Dom* 25, 83

⁶⁶ Skinner 1983:282

⁶⁷ Wiseman 1985:53

followed by the briefest of mentions in 44BC in *Att.* 14.8.1. However she seems to be still operating independently and is personally involved in selling property.

With her family background Clodia was part of the Roman elite, a ‘celebrity’ of the Late Republic. The image Cicero creates through rhetoric is of a brash and promiscuous woman, with no regard for her ancestors, who manipulates men according to her passions. There is little doubt that Cicero was a clever and persuasive speaker. His speeches are still studied for their rhetorical genius. Quintilian tells us that he could carry the jury with him even against its better judgement (*Quint.Inst.x.1.110*). Considering that he won this case too, it is not surprising that we have such a negative view of Clodia from him.

Catullus

Despite an acceptance by many scholars based on Apuleius, *Apology* 10, which was written later in AD158, that Catullus’ Lesbia was Clodia, there has been controversy over whether she was Clodia Metelli or one of her two sisters.⁶⁸ Various references suggest this was our Clodia: poems 58 and 77 are addressed to ‘Caelius’ and ‘Rufus’ to whom Lesbia has transferred her affection. McCoy believes this is Rufus Caelius of Cicero’s *Pro Caelio*, although, as Skinner argues, Rufus was a common name and this Caelius seems to come from Verona.⁶⁹ However, Skinner also draws attention to several linguistic twists which link our Rufus to the one of the poems.⁷⁰

If we accept Lesbia as our Clodia then poem 51, which describes Catullus’ infatuation with her, is often seen as the beginning of Catullus’ references to his affair and poem 11 brings it to an end.⁷¹ Poem 11 is bitter and resentful and Catullus crudely complains that she is busy exhausting many lovers at any one time. Is Lesbia/Clodia sexually promiscuous then? For those such as Bauman who equate the two, here is a link.⁷² After all, Cicero implies the same promiscuity when he has Clodia riding along the Appian Way with other people’s husbands (*Cic.Cael.34*). However, the bitterness Catullus shows at the end of his affair is

⁶⁸ Wiseman 1969:50–52, traces this back further to Hyginus, librarian of the Palatine library around 47BC, who would probably have known Catullus’ circle of friends

⁶⁹ McCoy 2006:181; Skinner 2011:135

⁷⁰ Skinner 2011:135; see Skinner 2011:132–135 for a discussion on the chronology

⁷¹ Wray 2001:89

⁷² Bauman 1992:69

also consummate with the passionate nature of a lover thwarted. Catullus is a clever poet: it is possible that he is exploring the range of emotions which love can bring. After all, Love Elegy embraces the *topos* of the unobtainable female and the heartbroken poet. Love turns to hate and the two emotions are mixed as he himself tells us in poem 85. Hate in turn brings vicious tales and exaggerations.

To see the *puella* of Catullus' poems as the 'spurned older woman' of Cicero's speech seems to stretch logic somewhat.⁷³ However, if Lesbia is not specifically Clodia, she is probably based on her. Catullus would have been familiar with Cicero's *Pro Caelio* and the name of Clodia would no doubt still have been well known. She would have made a good model for the *type* of woman Lesbia was to be.⁷⁴ If she was based on Cicero's version, then rather than finding the real Clodia in Lesbia, we actually see *Cicero's* Clodia. There are even clear linguistic links between the two works: Catullus uses the term *foedus amicitiae* of their relationship in poem 109; Cicero has Caecus describe Clodia's liaisons as *amorum turpissimum...foedera* (*Cael.*34). The term *foedus* implies an obligation as a result of an agreement (that of a prostitute?) rather than a romantic pact.⁷⁵ Neither Clodia nor Lesbia are referred to as *femina* but as *mulier*, 'woman', a more pejorative term.⁷⁶

Assessment

Are we any nearer to the real Clodia by reading the sources? Earlier scholars saw her as typical of an elite woman of her period. Balsdon describes her as a 'woman of wealth, birth, charm and talent, unfettered by any moral restraint, hungry for animal pleasure or hungry for power-hungry, perhaps, for both'.⁷⁷ However literary sources show us a woman heavily influenced by their purpose in writing. Unlike the virtuous models of Livy's silent heroines, Clodia is portrayed as brazen and notorious: she is an anti-Lucretia, and mirrors the passionate, uncontrollable women of the Greek stage. Cicero's Clodia is a product of his rhetoric; Catullus' Lesbia/Clodia is a product of elegy. Richlin reminds us that each written source

⁷³ Dixon 2001:145

⁷⁴ Skinner 1983:275; Recent scholarship on Catullus has tended towards this view of a 'type' of woman: see Dixon 2001 ch.9

⁷⁵ Skinner 2011:142

⁷⁶ Santoro L'Hoir 1992:29–46

⁷⁷ Balsdon 1962:53–33; cf. Syme 1958; Finley 1965

remains faithful to its own genre.⁷⁸ As Skinner argues, it is most likely that we see the real Clodia in Cicero's letters. Although the references are brief and her personality is clearly tainted with Cicero's bias, there seems no reason to doubt her independence in administering her affairs: she owned several properties which she herself managed and probably 'entertained distinguished houseguests'.⁷⁹ It is Cicero's treatment that makes them scandalous. Indeed, there is evidence that this was not uncommon behaviour amongst women of her class: through several of his letters to Atticus dated 46–44BC we know that Cicero himself had an association with a wealthy widow called Caerellia who was a decade older than him.⁸⁰ Caerellia managed her own money and even lent a substantial sum to Cicero (*Cic.Att.* 12.51). This rather jars with his unseemly portrayal of Clodia intimately lending gold to Caelius (*Cic.Cael.* 33). It is worth noting that whereas Caecillia uses her money to help out a client in trouble, Clodia uses hers to indulge herself and to support devious activity: it is her *use* of her funds which Cicero criticises. Skinner links this to a general acceptance that women could inherit as long as their expenses showed a 'willingness to further the interests of male kin'.⁸¹

Clearly Clodia was no shrinking violet. There are facts about her life which we can establish: she had influential status as Clodius' sister, managed her own wealth and enjoyed an active and public social life. The freedom she enjoyed with regards to her wealth was not unusual for a woman of her class at this time: it was perhaps the addition of her support for her brother, a man despised by Rome's ablest orator, which accounted for her reputation. For this she paid a heavy price through her literary treatment and the real person of Clodia we can never actually know.

⁷⁸ Richlin 1981

⁷⁹ Skinner 2011:10

⁸⁰ Skinner 2011:15

⁸¹ Skinner 2011:51

Fulvia

Fulvia Bambula was probably born towards the end of the 80s BC.⁸² She was the last surviving member of the Fulvii and Sempronii Tuditani, old plebeian families whose lines were dwindling.⁸³ Her father was M. Fulvius Bambalio, a ‘non-entity’, and her grandfather was the ‘eccentric’ C. Sempronius Tuditanus, who would scatter coins from the rostra, dressed in tragic costume (*Cic.Phil.3.16*).⁸⁴ She married three prominent tribunes: Clodius in 60BC, Curio in 52BC and Marc Antony in 49 BC.⁸⁵ The following year Antony commanded Caesar’s left wing at Pharsalus. With her marital history there were inevitably contemporary references to her: her high profile is invariably linked to her husbands’ careers. Pomeroy claims that Republican women’s influence was limited to their relationship with male relatives and this was particularly true of Fulvia.⁸⁶

We first see her in public after the murder of Clodius by Milo on 18th January 52BC (*Asc.Mil.35C*, *App.2.3.21*). Cicero then defended Milo and his only mention of Fulvia is that on the fated day Clodius was ‘without his wife, which was scarcely ever the case’ (*Cic.Mil.28*). He suggests that she is not a retiring wife. Babcock concludes from this that she was always with him, exerting political influence, although it would be just as fair to argue that their marriage was merely a close one.⁸⁷ There is no other evidence of this in her first marriage and it is dangerous to make assumptions based on this speech: Cicero is defending the man who was responsible for her husband’s death and the barb is that Clodius could not operate without a woman near him. Asconius, commenting in the first century AD, tells us that a large crowd gathered around the corpse and ‘Fulvia, the wife of Clodius, added to the appalling nature of the deed, when she kept pointing out his wounds, while pouring out her grief’ (*Asc.Mil.32C*). We must beware that he is the only source to note this; not even Appian, who discusses Clodius’ death, makes mention of Fulvia’s actions here (*App.2.3.21–13*). Asconius also tells us that both she and her mother had given evidence at the trial of Milo (*Asc.Mil.40C*). This could arguably be the action of a loyal and distraught wife,

⁸² Weir 2007:2

⁸³ Babcock 1965:3,5

⁸⁴ Bauman 1992:83

⁸⁵ Delia 1991:197

⁸⁶ Pomeroy 1975:150

⁸⁷ Babcock 1965:12

anxious to safeguard her own and her children's prospects: Dixon suggests that women often attended trials.⁸⁸ Welch argues that to attend the trial was one thing but to actually give evidence at it showed a forcefulness of character at this early stage.⁸⁹ It is significant that her evidence was given last which heightened its impact. Cicero lost his defence of Milo, largely due to bribery, but it is possible that he never forgave Fulvia.⁹⁰

It would seem that even in her first marriage, Fulvia was not prepared to be a completely passive wife although Babcock may go too far in suggesting that she is already wielding significant power: there is no evidence that she was politically involved in Clodius' career.⁹¹ However it is clear that she was not averse to showing her support for her husband in public. Whether or not this was an active attempt to promote her own career, as Welch suggests, is impossible to assess at this stage.⁹²

Cicero

One of our main sources for Fulvia is Cicero. Tatum notes the concept of 'Ciceronian amplification', highlighting again the importance of bearing in mind the strength and success of Cicero as an orator.⁹³ Fulvia becomes particularly significant in the Philippics, fourteen pieces of invective against Marc Antony delivered after Caesar's death. Delia claims that Fulvia's political activity only really started after Caesar's death in 44BC.⁹⁴ Some scholars believe Fulvia was involved in her own marriage arrangements: Babcock's image of a politically cognisant woman extends to her decision-making over choice of husband and Huzar suggests Fulvia may have drawn Antony's attention to her usefulness as his wife.⁹⁵ Welch sees her previous marriages as vital to her appeal to Antony: by this time she was an 'important widow' with money, political talents and a coterie of clientele.⁹⁶

⁸⁸ Delia 1991:199; Fulvia had a son and daughter by Clodius and two sons by Antony; Dixon 1992:101

⁸⁹ Welch 1995:188

⁹⁰ Bauman 1992:84

⁹¹ Babcock 1965:12; Virioutet 2001:68

⁹² Welch 1995:186

⁹³ Tatum 1999:81

⁹⁴ Delia 1991:199

⁹⁵ Babcock 1965:31; Huzar 1986:99

⁹⁶ Welch 1995:189

One strategy would be to attack Antony through his wife: vilifying her would damage his reputation. With Clodia he had already shown how he could use public condemnation to prove a point; with Fulvia, though, he had to be careful as she had behaved as a loyal widow and mother to a son and daughter after Clodius' death which may have given her a certain status and popularity. In the early Philippics Cicero is careful not to attack Fulvia directly. He never actually uses her name. In the second Philippic he diplomatically says 'In truth, that wife of yours, who is so far removed from covetousness, and whom I mention without intending any slight to her, has been too long owing her third payment to the state' (*Phil.*2.113): he uses her marital history to suggest that her third husband's death would also be appreciated by the state. In *Phil.*2.11 he goes as far as to state 'and his (Clodius') fate indeed awaits you, as it also awaited Caius Curio; since that is now in your house which was fatal to each of them'. I would argue that this is not a suggestion that she has been responsible or will be for her husbands' deaths, but rather a hope that Antony will not survive long.

Cicero suggests that men had married Fulvia for her money, calling her 'a good woman, at all events a rich one', no doubt sarcastically as in the same sentence he goes on to deride her father's lowly status (*Phil.*3.16). Babcock maintains that Antony needed to pay off debt and wished to maintain an expensive lifestyle (cf. *Phil.* 2.45).⁹⁷ Delia rejects this.⁹⁸ The reality may have been different: if she had been married *cum manu* she would have been emancipated at Clodius' death and unable to exchange funds with other husbands, although it is probable that in practice spouses did and the legal position would only have been taken if it were challenged; if married *sine manu* then her dowry would have reverted to the control of her father, were he still alive, or she would have kept it. The idea of Antony being beholden to her money is therefore unlikely, although a wealthy woman would have been an attractive prospect and he was short of funds. Cicero's comments do allow him to focus on Antony's supposed greed and it is striking that he is the only source who mentions her wealth.

Cicero intimates that Fulvia was not chaste and may have had an affair with Antony when still married to Clodius by vaguely stating 'he (Antony) was very intimate with Clodius at the time of his tribuneship ... and even in his house he

⁹⁷ Babcock 1965:11

⁹⁸ Delia 1991:198

attempted something' (*Phil.*2.48). I believe this a deliberate ambiguity as it also holds the suggestion that Antony may have been having a relationship with Clodius himself. Tatum discusses the deliberate linking of Antony with Clodius whom Cicero hated.⁹⁹ If this reference is to a relationship with Fulvia, then it contrasts well with a later accusation when he says 'you accused a most chaste woman of misconduct' referring to Antony's allegation that his wife, Antonia, was having an affair with Dolabella, husband of Cicero's daughter, Tullia (*Phil.*2.99). Babcock and Welch even suggest that Fulvia was behind Antony's divorce from Antonia, although there is no evidence for this.¹⁰⁰

There are two significant areas where Cicero is particularly critical of Fulvia's activities. Cicero makes a number of references to her conducting business within the house. He talks about a bond being drawn up 'in the women's apartment (where many things have been sold, and are still being sold)' and that 'gold was constantly being weighed out in the spinning room' (*Phil.*2.95, 3.10). He refers directly to Fulvia when he states:

'In the interior of his house there was going on a brisk market of the whole republic. His wife, more fortunate for herself than for her husband, was holding an auction of kingdoms and provinces.'

(*Phil.*5.11, translation Yonge)

These are particularly damning accusations which suggest that Antony cannot control his wife. Ramsey remarks on the use of the Greek word *gynaecion* for 'women's apartment': there is an inference here that he could not even be controlled by Greek women, who were particularly restricted.¹⁰¹ But we know from his correspondence to Atticus that he found it acceptable for other women to control affairs: Caesar's mistress Servilia appears a number of times, including her involvement with his daughter Tullia's marriage (cf *Att.*5.4, 6.1).

Many of the references to Fulvia relate to Antony's passiveness and weaknesses. In the sixth Philippic Cicero is particularly damning:

'He has always been under the dominion of two very dissimilar classes of men, pimps and robbers; he is so fond of domestic

⁹⁹ Tatum 1999:299

¹⁰⁰ Babcock 1965:13; Welch 1995:19

¹⁰¹ Ramsey 2003:299

adulteries and forensic murders, that he would rather obey a most covetous woman than the senate and people of Rome.’

(*Phil.*6.4, translation Yonge)

It also marks a change of tone towards Fulvia: in *Phil.*2.113 he had commented on her lack of covetousness. This change is clearly for the purpose of argument and yet Fulvia’s actions could be seen as those of a loyal wife.¹⁰² At this stage she is still operating within the home environment. It is even possible to see a precedent for the imperial women of the next century: if Anthony was setting himself as a tyrant then Fulvia was playing the role of tyrant’s wife, working behind the scenes as Livia did later.

The second significant area of attack is Fulvia’s involvement in military matters. When describing the punishment of mutinous soldiers in Brindisium in 44BC he talks of Antony ‘whose wife’s face was notoriously besprinkled with the blood of men dying at his and her feet’ which suggests some of the blame for the atrocity should be attributed to her (*Phil.*3.4).¹⁰³ Later in *Phil.*13.18 he states that Antony ‘massacred the chosen centurions of the Martial legion in the lap of his wife, who was not only most avaricious but also most cruel’. It is interesting to note that Appian refers to the incident but does not mention Fulvia (*App.*3.8). This does not necessarily mean that she was not there: Appian’s source was Asinius Pollio, Antony’s friend.¹⁰⁴ However it does suggest that her role was maybe not as great as Cicero suggests.¹⁰⁵ Cicero is chiding Antony for allowing his wife to accompany him: it is not until the Empire that this became more normal. Livia travelled with Augustus on a few occasions and Agrippina the Elder accompanied Germanicus on campaign (*Tac. Ann.*3.34; 2.54). Again we see Fulvia foreshadowing a role to be played by imperial women later.

Martial

In 41BC Octavian launched a vicious propaganda war against Fulvia. Martial attributes epigram 11.20 to Octavian. By this time Octavian is married to Fulvia’s daughter, Clodia, and lines 3–4 of the epigram suggests that Fulvia is now

¹⁰² Fischer 1999:57

¹⁰³ Delia 1991:200

¹⁰⁴ Virlouvvet 2001:73

¹⁰⁵ Virlouvvet 2001:73

sexually attracted to her son-in-law.¹⁰⁶ In line 8, he goes on to suggest that Fulvia asks Octavian to either have sex with her or to fight her – to which he agrees to fight. Bardon notes the bawdy language to be akin to soldiers’ taunts and suggests that lines 3–8 were written by a contemporary of Fulvia’s and were then adapted into the epigram by Martial.¹⁰⁷ If this was Octavian’s work, then the propaganda purpose is clear: to attack Antony via his headstrong wife. Bauman suggests that it does not really matter if it wasn’t Octavian as the main point is that she was significant enough a figure to attract such hatred¹⁰⁸

Sexually crude inscriptions with Fulvia’s name on have been found on sling bullets unearthed at Perugia. Fulvia’s involvement must have been well known and Hallett argues that she was probably highly regarded by the soldiers of Antony’s brother, Lucius, as these insults were meant to taunt them.¹⁰⁹ Certainly they show her as a woman of significance.¹¹⁰ Whether there is any truth in their message is impossible to tell.

Later sources

Plutarch, in his *Life of Antony*, describes Fulvia as ‘a woman who took no interest in spinning or managing a household, nor could she be content to rule a husband who had no ambition for public life’ and as a ‘headstrong woman who enjoyed meddling in politics’ (Plut.*Ant.* 10.3, 30.2). There is similarity here to the way in which Cicero describes Clodia. Fulvia neglects the honourable duties of the *matrona* and is too interested in the masculine world of politics: there is an unnatural reversal of roles between her and her husband. Indeed, Velleius Paterculus says ‘she had nothing of the woman in her except her sex’ (Vell.Pat.74.2).

Cicero’s coverage of Fulvia ends in 43BC but she continued to be involved in public life as a result of the Proscriptions which followed Caesar’s death and then the Perusine war, 41–40BC, which followed the battle of Phillipi. Our two main sources, Appian (AD95–147) and Dio Cassius (AD150–235), are writing a good deal later. Their accounts must have been based on previous references to Fulvia

¹⁰⁶ Bauman 1992:87

¹⁰⁷ Bardon 1968:18

¹⁰⁸ Bauman 1992:241, n.27

¹⁰⁹ Hallett 1977:154

¹¹⁰ Welch 1995:193

which would have included Cicero and Octavian. Indeed, both actually refer to their use of Augustus' memoirs, which would inevitably have been anti-Antony (App.5.6.45, Dio.44.35.3). Gowing notes the extensive use of the memoirs by both authors but concludes that Dio takes the narrower Augustan line.¹¹¹

Cornelius Nepos, writing under Augustus after the settlement of 27BC, and recorded by Aulus Gellius, is unusual in his more positive appraisal of Fulvia.¹¹² In his *Life of Atticus* he describes the difficulties she faced in 43BC after being forced from Italy as a public enemy, when his opponents in Rome 'sought to deprive his wife Fulvia of all her property and endeavoured even to get his children put to death' (Gell.*NA*.9.2). She cultivated her friendship with Atticus who secured an interest free loan on a property for her to protect her from debtors, for she was 'distracted by lawsuits and tormented by great fears' (*NA*.9.4-5). There is no mention of her greed or ambition in his account. Horsfall remarks how no other source parallels this sympathy although Appian does show her visiting her friends' houses in distress, looking for support.¹¹³ Geiger's opinion that Nepos favoured Antony over Octavian may explain some of this more sympathetic portrayal.¹¹⁴ Weir argues that as a friend of Atticus he may have even met Fulvia which would make his account more reliable (Cic.*Att*.16.5.5).¹¹⁵ Appian's depiction does reveal the methods which women would use to gain support: to appeal to the women of influential men. Hortensia has tried to gain Fulvia's support in 43BC in order to use her influence over Antony regarding taxes but to no avail (Val.*Max*.8.3).

In these accounts, it is possible to see her acting out of desperation to protect her family. Indeed, this proved successful as the motion to declare him a public enemy was dropped (App.3.8.61). If we can believe the description of her open lamentation over Clodius' body then her open displays of emotion are not surprising, and, indeed, as a grieving widow, they would have been expected (cf *Asc.Mil*.28). Brennan describes this episode as 'stage-managed' but I would argue that it was both strategic and genuinely desperate.¹¹⁶ Experience and demanding

¹¹¹ Gowing 1992:40ff

¹¹² Weir 2007:5

¹¹³ Horsfall 1989:76; App.*CB* 3.51

¹¹⁴ Geiger 1980:11

¹¹⁵ Weir 2007:66

¹¹⁶ Brennan 2012:357

times may have developed the tough survival instinct she displays in her final years.

Both Dio and Appian describe her involvement in the proscriptions, which followed Caesar's death in 44BC, in highly unsavoury terms. It is notable that at a time when the sources describe some heroic and loyal activities by women on behalf of their men, the stories surrounding Fulvia are highly negative.¹¹⁷ Appian has her attaching Rufus' head to the front of his house rather than the rostra after he had been proscribed for apparently failing to sell his house to her (App.4.4.29). Valerius Maximus confirms part of this story, where the head is brought to Antony who fails to recognise it (Val.Max.9.5.4). Dio gives us an even more gruesome account of her triumphing over the body of the dead Cicero:

‘Fulvia took the head into her hands before it was removed, and after abusing it spitefully and spitting upon it, set it on her knees, opened the mouth, and pulled out the tongue, which she pierced with the pins that she used for her hair, at the same time uttering many brutal jests.’

(Dio 47.8.4, translation Cary)

How should such descriptions be seen? Augustus' memoirs, written in the 20s BC, are lost to us but the memory of the civil wars would have been very fresh and he would have been keen to tarnish the memory of Antony's supporters. Fulvia had also actively defied him in the Perusine war.

The war had been prompted by Octavian's wish to distribute land to his veterans in Italy after Philippi in 42BC. Fulvia, along with the procurator, Manius, and Antony's brother, Lucius, tried to delay this as they wished Antony, who was still abroad, to be included (App.5.2.14, Dio 48.6.2). The extent of Antony's involvement is uncertain.¹¹⁸ Appian tells us that Fulvia paraded their children in front of the troops to encourage them to remember him (App.5.14). Considering her difficult situation, this was surely a noble and strategically astute action. Appian goes on to tell us that eventually she encouraged Lucius to war 'moved by a woman's jealousy', although he also says that she was exploited by Lucius who wanted to overthrow the triumvirate (App.5.3.19, 5.54). She held out at Praeneste with senators and knights, issuing orders and passwords to soldiers, and was even

¹¹⁷ Bauman 1992:88

¹¹⁸ Syme 1939:208.

armed with a sword according to Dio (Dio 10.3.4). Bauman observes that she was setting a precedent which Agrippina the Elder was to follow in the Early Republic.¹¹⁹ In the sources, every time we meet her in the Perusine war, she is either battling to retain Antony's status and affection or taking on manly duties.

Both Appian and Dio tell us that Fulvia, finally abandoned by Antony, died in Sicyon (App.5.6.55–59, Dio 48.28. 2–3). Both see her jealousy of Cleopatra and her rejection by Antony as major factors. Her death was followed by a reconciliation between Octavian and Antony, either because she was no longer a problem or because they could use her death as an excuse (Dio 48.28.3). Bauman, granting her significant influence, suggests reconciliation actually took place but because the only force that could outmanoeuvre Octavian had gone.¹²⁰

The links to Cleopatra are worthy of comment as they highlight a major accusation used to discredit women: sexual jealousy. Appian claims it was jealousy of Cleopatra which drove Fulvia to incite Lucius, claiming that Manius had told her that Antony would come home from Cleopatra if she started a war (5.13.19). For Appian she is the 'unsavoury avenger'.¹²¹ Plutarch blames Fulvia for the outset of a war just as he does Cleopatra (*Ant.*30.4; 53.5). Fulvia uses war to bring Antony back to her from Cleopatra and Cleopatra provokes war to draw Antony away from Octavia.¹²² Yet, there is an important difference between the two women: Fulvia is supporting her husband and is concerned for the future of her legitimate children, whereas Cleopatra is having an adulterous relationship at the expense of Octavia, Antony's legitimate wife, and children. After his comments on Fulvia's domestic role reversal Plutarch suggests that Cleopatra will benefit from her behaviour as Fulvia is already 'nurturing' Antony for subordination to Cleopatra (*Ant.*10.3).

Visual sources

There is some debate as to whether coins minted under Antony, displaying Victory, are actually portraying Fulvia. Culham believes that her political predominance is shown by her appearance on coins minted even before those

¹¹⁹ Bauman 1992:88

¹²⁰ Bauman 1992:89

¹²¹ Delia 1991:205

¹²² Pelling 1988:199

depicting the triumvirs.¹²³ Huzar unquestioningly states they are and Bauman accepts this, citing Munzer and Grueber.¹²⁴ If this is correct then these are the first portrait coins of historical Roman women.¹²⁵ However, consensus now is that these are probably not her image: Delia claims that the characteristics are too vague and Virioutvet suggests they are too stereotypical.¹²⁶ Wood's suggestion that there are probably standard images produced by die cutters seems very likely. Yet in Phrygia, the city of Eumenia had been renamed Fulviana by Antony's supporters in 41/40BC and there would have been some logic in them also sharing their coinage with her.¹²⁷ Certainly there is no definite evidence of Fulvia being portrayed with her husband in the manner that Octavia was later to be seen with Antony, posing as a royal couple, on coins minted in the Greek cities.¹²⁸

Assessment

The Civil War and Proscriptions saw some unusual examples of loyal behaviour by wives towards their husbands. Appian cites several cases, including that of Lentulus' wife who, when he had escaped to Sicily and was appointed praetor there by Pompey, travelled with a group of slaves, disguised as one of them. He also tells the remarkable tale of Rheginus' wife who hid him in a sewer until she could lead him to his escape, dressed as a charcoal seller (App.4.39–40). If these stories are to be believed then during this period it was not unusual for women to undertake dangerous journeys or tasks in order to support their husbands. Fulvia's actions of support can be reread in this context: in fact this sort of behaviour is more akin to the loyalty of traditional women. Fulvia is widowed twice and abandoned by her third husband and the evidence does not suggest she was an adulteress. Her involvement in business at home could be regarded as an extension of her duty. Cicero himself is hardly in a position to cast aspersions upon this: his own wife, Terentia, had taken control of family matters when he was abroad in exile, including arranging their daughter Tullia's marriage (Cic.*Fam.*3.12.2, *Att.*6.1.10, 6.6.1).¹²⁹ Dixon argues that Fulvia had been heavily involved in the marriage of her daughter, Clodia, to Octavian as an act of

¹²³ Delia 1991:212 n38

¹²⁴ Huzar 1986:102; Bauman 1992:89; Munzer 1910:284; Grueber 1910: 1.570, 575, 2.499; Plate LVI 1,10

¹²⁵ Brennan 2012:357

¹²⁶ Delia 1991:202; Virioutvet, 2001:67–8

¹²⁷ Brennan 2012:357

¹²⁸ Wood 1999:41

¹²⁹ Treggiari 1991a:127; Dixon 1992:64

reconciliation in 44BC, although there is no evidence for it.¹³⁰ During the Civil War, in the absence of men, women often took affairs into their own hands: indeed elite women were automatically expected to represent absent husbands.¹³¹

Fulvia was clearly a headstrong woman – one can argue that there is no smoke without fire.¹³² Plutarch comments on Antony's attempts to make her more lighthearted suggest she had a serious and determined nature (*Ant.*10.4). Unlike Clodia, the accusations against Fulvia are connected to her manipulation of men for her own personal gain rather than her immoral behaviour. The only references to promiscuity are in the obscene graffiti on the slingshots and the comments in Martial's epigram 11.20.¹³³ Both sources are blatant propaganda and should be dismissed as such.

Scholars are divided as to whether she was proactive in her activities. Welch is convinced that she was politically motivated from the outset.¹³⁴ It seems far more likely that she found herself in situations which demanded self-promotion for survival and she was the kind of woman who had the resources to cope with the challenge. Her portrayal in the sources is very much affected by Cicero's portrayal. Huzar states that 'Fulvia's reputation is still grimy from the mud thrown so effectively by Cicero'.¹³⁵ Later writers were clearly influenced by Augustan propaganda. Brennan notes how the sources, particularly Plutarch, make her 'practically a case study in how elite women should not behave'.¹³⁶ However, she was clearly determined to fight her husband's corner and the tragedy is that he was probably undeserving of such loyalty.

¹³⁰ Dixon 1983:107

¹³¹ Brennan 2012:359

¹³² Babcock 1965:23

¹³³ Welch 1995:193

¹³⁴ Welch 1995:188

¹³⁵ Huzar 1986:101

¹³⁶ Brennan 2012:358

Women in the Early Empire

Octavian's success at Actium in 31BC introduced a new era. By 27BC a settlement was struck and Octavian took the name Augustus. To preserve this success he needed to prove that he was the right man for the job. A propaganda war was waged against his previous opponents but Augustus also understood the need to look ahead. Vergil was commissioned to write an epic which had Rome and her values at the centre and Augustus as saviour of the city. This incorporated *pietas* in all its forms, including marriage as a foundation of the state. Aeneas weds Lavinia to cement his acceptance by the Italians, although we learn nothing of Lavinia herself. As an aristocratic woman, her role involves loyalty, acceptance and silence, much as Livy's virtuous women.

There followed the Augustan programme of consolidation. The most significant legislation for the purpose of this paper were the laws regarding marriage and adultery. In 18BC, using his tribunician powers, Augustus passed the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* and the *lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis* which were later modified by the *lex Papia Poppaea* of AD9 (RG 6.2). Women aged 20–15 and men aged 25–60 were expected to be married. Widows were expected to remarry after two years (three, according to Suetonius) and a divorcee within 18 months (Suet. *Aug.*34). Those who were unmarried could not inherit beyond six degrees of relationship. This hit the elite hard who commonly received legacies as a result of *amicitia* between families.¹³⁷ There was an element of conflict here: for centuries the concept of *univira* had been predominant. The most virtuous Roman women, such as Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, remained loyal to their first husbands and shifted their attention to the upbringing of their sons. Epitaphs reveal that this attitude still prevailed into the Empire.¹³⁸ Even Propertius' Cornelia celebrates being *uni nupta* (Prop.4.11.16). However economic interests and the prevalence of divorce for political reasons often meant that women did remarry.

Augustus placed a legal focus on the production of legitimate children. The childless could only receive half legacies and only one-tenth of each other's

¹³⁷ Wallace-Hadrill 1981

¹³⁸ Humbert 1972:59–75; Rawson 1986:31

property. By the *ius trium liberorum*, couples who produced three (or four for freedwomen) children could leave more than one-tenth of their property to each other. Moreover, men were given priority over government appointments while women were no longer required to be under the supervision of a *tutor*. This was profoundly significant as it meant that the law now allowed women independent control: Gardner says that Augustan legislation ‘drove a coach and horses through the concept of *tutela*’.¹³⁹ However childbirth was a dangerous condition so, in reality, achieving this status must not have been easy.

Adultery became a criminal offence for first time.¹⁴⁰ The *lex Julia de adulteriis* abolished a husband’s traditional right to kill an adulterous wife but reaffirmed her father’s right, as long as she was caught in the act.¹⁴¹ However the law now required a cuckolded husband to prosecute an adulterous wife or he could be accused of *lenocinium* or ‘pimping’, although professional pimps were legal.¹⁴² A man committing adultery, or *stuprum*, with a married woman or unmarried woman of respectable status, could be prosecuted but otherwise he was unrestricted. Suetonius tells us that Augustus himself frequently committed adultery (Tac.*Aug.*69). If a woman wanted to prosecute her husband then she had to find a male relative to act for her and could only do so if his mistress was married.¹⁴³

Both Tacitus and Suetonius tell the story of Vistilia, the wife of Titidius Labeo, who registered with the aedile as a prostitute to circumvent the law (Tac.*Ann.*2.85, Suet.*Tib.* 35.2). The 18BC law had excluded prostitutes from prosecution and this loophole was being used by some elite women. It was becoming enough of an occurrence for a *senatus consultum* to be passed, preventing a woman whose father, grandfather or husband was a knight, from becoming a prostitute (Tac.*Ann.*2.84).¹⁴⁴ This suggests a contradiction between what was expected of women and the reality.

¹³⁹ Gardner 1986:20

¹⁴⁰ Gardner 1986:127

¹⁴¹ Cohen 1993:110

¹⁴² Gardner 1998:131

¹⁴³ Gardner 1986:127

¹⁴⁴ Cohen 1993:109

Adultery laws ensured that chastity in marriage was protected and children were legitimate which kept racial contact with the ancestors.¹⁴⁵ Augustus had a very strong sense of *mos maiorum*, which linked back to the conservative traditions of the Republic.¹⁴⁶ Suetonius tells us that he regularly read pieces of literature to the Senate, including Quintus Metellus' speech of 131BC, *On the Need for Larger Families*, which suggests that Rome would be better off without women (Suet.*Aug.* 89).¹⁴⁷

The laws have also been seen as a reaction to the corruption and immorality at the end of the Republic which included the disintegration of the family.¹⁴⁸ Norr sees them as a form of state planning.¹⁴⁹ The family unit as represented by the Imperial household was to become a vital part of Augustus' rule. Cohen is right to call the programme a social policy rather than a moral one: after all, Augustus himself had a number of adulterous affairs and his house was rocked by the scandal of his own daughter.¹⁵⁰ However we hear little of prosecution in the literature: satirical works in particular suggests adultery remained rife (cf. *Juv.*6).¹⁵¹

Under Claudius, the movement towards greater freedom for women in the face of the law continued.¹⁵² The *lex Claudia* abolished agnate *tutela*, releasing women from the guardianship of their male relatives (*Gai.Inst.*1.192). Under Augustus, women with three children had been freed, leaving them sometimes as potential creditors for their husbands. The *lex Claudia* would have created a much larger group of women exposed to this, so Claudius introduced a law which forbade women offering surety on behalf of a debtor.¹⁵³ This also protected the interests of her own family. Only former owners and fathers were left as legal guardians.¹⁵⁴ Dixon argues that in reality this did not mean much other than an honour for many women.¹⁵⁵ Freeborn women by this time were not impeded by their guardians

¹⁴⁵ Gardner 1986:128

¹⁴⁶ Richlin 1981:385

¹⁴⁷ Galinsky 1996:131

¹⁴⁸ Pal Csillag 1976:54

¹⁴⁹ Norr 1977

¹⁵⁰ Cohen 1993:124

¹⁵¹ Richlin 1981:397

¹⁵² Levick 1990:123

¹⁵³ Gardner 1986:75ff; Crook 1986b

¹⁵⁴ Gardner 1986:14; Crook 1986b:89–91

¹⁵⁵ Dixon 1988:89

anyway and freedwomen, for whom it would have made a difference, would have found it difficult to produce three children after manumission.¹⁵⁶

The beginning of the Empire marked a shift in the position of elite women which was to radically affect the way in which they were portrayed. In reality Rome now had a monarch in whom power was ultimately invested despite Augustus' policy of republican continuity. His wife was in an unprecedented position and his female relatives were now members of the imperial family. Fulvia was the wife of a very powerful man in Rome: Livia was the wife of the Emperor himself. Would women's involvement in politics and society increase further and the sources' attitudes to powerful women improve? As well as numerous references in literature, the Principate also gave rise to a rapid surge in visual images of the Imperial family, largely for propaganda and commemorative reasons.

Livia

Livia was born on 30th January, 58BC, the daughter of Marcus Livius Claudinus and Alfidia, herself the daughter of Marcus Alfidius, 'a man of municipal origins rather than senatorial'.¹⁵⁷ She was a member of the Claudian family, characterised by its arrogance, according to Tacitus and Livy, and a succession of strong-minded women, including Clodia Metelli herself who would have been in her forties during Livia's youth (Tac.*Ann.* 1.4., Livy 2.56.7).¹⁵⁸ In 42BC she married her cousin, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and produced two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Both her father and her husband opposed Caesar's cause and, as his heir, Octavian drove Livia and her young family out of Italy, at the same time as Fulvia fled Praeneste (Dio 48.15.1–4). Livia, Nero and baby Tiberius travelled as fugitives through Greece until returning under a truce (Suet.*Tib* 3.6). In a startling twist to the story and, surprisingly even in a period when divorce was common, Livia divorced Nero while still pregnant and married Octavian. In accordance with tradition, her two sons were brought up by Nero until he died. Treggiari believes this was an amicable agreement between the three of them involved.¹⁵⁹ Maybe

¹⁵⁶ Brunt 1971:563

¹⁵⁷ Barrett 2002:6

¹⁵⁸ Barrett 2002:5–6

¹⁵⁹ Treggiari 1996:124

this was a love match but it also brought together the senate and Octavian.¹⁶⁰ Certainly, despite the couple's failure to produce children together, the marriage survived, which may also have had much to do with Livia's careful handling of her situation.

When Livy wrote his History of Rome, Livia forced him to skip the years from 44BC to Actium, resulting in him leaving out 43 books.¹⁶¹ Her marriage to Nero was therefore omitted and her first appearance is as wife of the conqueror of Antony. She begins to all intents and purposes as a *univira*, a role which she pursues to her death in AD27.

Tacitus

Tacitus, writing in the second half of the first century, is the earliest historical source for Augustus' reign, although he focusses on events after Augustus' death.¹⁶² Tacitus' political leanings were republican: as a senator he would have felt constrained by the power of the Emperor. However, paradoxically, as a provincial, he also owed his positions to him.¹⁶³ Like Livy, he is keen to draw moral lessons from history.¹⁶⁴ He is critical of Augustus from the outset, claiming that, as Octavian, he was led by a 'lust for power' (*Ann.* 1.10). Inevitably Livia is criticised by association.

As Rutland notes, in Tacitus' account 'Livia's entire life was spent in trickery and crime, her aim being the elevation of Tiberius to the throne and retention of the imperial dignity by his branch of the family'.¹⁶⁵ She subverts the traditional female role and is a usurper of male authority.¹⁶⁶ Tacitus reveals his conservative stance in an illuminating speech in the *Germania* where he praises the Germans for treating their wives as partners but also for protecting their women so they 'live uncorrupted by the temptations of public shows or excitements of banquets. Adultery is extremely rare' and 'a wife is summarily punished by her husband' (*Germ.* 18-19).

¹⁶⁰ Purcell 1986:94; Fraschetti 2001:117

¹⁶¹ Fantham 1996:142

¹⁶² Grant 1996:20

¹⁶³ Syme 1958:59-74; Joshel 1995:53

¹⁶⁴ Grant 1996:15

¹⁶⁵ Rutland 1978:20

¹⁶⁶ see Santoro L'Hoir 1994, for extended debate on women's usurpation of power in Tacitus

Despite remarkably brief references, Tacitus manages to paint a picture of a woman who was both a schemer and a murderess. She is a ‘feminine bully’ who acts with ‘stepmotherly malevolence’ over the death of Postumus, which Tacitus suggests she encouraged (*Ann.* 1.4, 1.6). He even mentions suspected foul play over the death of Augustus (*Ann.* 1.5.). It is worth noting that Tacitus himself is writing under the autocratic years of Domitian’s rule, the origins of which he sees in Tiberius’ reign.¹⁶⁷

Tacitus does give us some information about the public role taken on by Livia. In Augustus’ will of 3 April AD13 she was adopted into the Julian family as his daughter, linking the Julians and Claudians.¹⁶⁸ She was also granted the title *Augusta* (*Ann.* 1.8.1; cf *Suet. Aug.* 101.2, *Dio* 56.46.1, *Vell. Pat.* 2.75.3). Augustus’ motives have been much debated: had he intended joint rule, was it a sign of respect or did he wish to make Tiberius’ life more difficult?¹⁶⁹ Scholars have ranged from the early view of Achbach in 1864 that it gave her power above Tiberius, to less radical views that it gave her some real political power: mid twentieth century scholars such as Ehrenburg and Grant saw it as a purely honorary title.¹⁷⁰ It is more likely that it gave Livia some constitutional role as well as honour. Augustus knew how capable and necessary her involvement had been: Barrett argues that the female equivalent of *Augustus* must have had some real significance.¹⁷¹ The recognition of a public role was important and marked a shift from the private role traditionally expected of women. Clodia and Fulvia had set precedents for this and with Livia we see a further blurring of the two roles, sometimes endorsed by official honours.

However, Tacitus tells us that Tiberius was to refuse the other titles of *parens* and *mater patriae* which the Senate wished to bestow on Livia. Tacitus gives reasons of jealousy and nervousness and a disapproval of women in public life (*Ann.* 1.14.3). As a son, no doubt aware that he owed his position to her, he must have felt the strength of her presence: Tacitus shows her manoeuvring him into position as Augustus’ heir (*Ann.* 1.3). Augustus had made sure that he restricted her influence: he had not always allowed her favours, for example refusing her

¹⁶⁷ Grant 1996:18

¹⁶⁸ Bauman, 1992:131; Barrett, 2002:148–7 comments on how this actually received little attention in the sources

¹⁶⁹ Dennison 2011:242

¹⁷⁰ Ehrenburg 1946:205; Grant 1950:126–8

¹⁷¹ Barrett 2002:153

request for the freedom of the people of Samos, and no doubt Tiberius wished to do the same.¹⁷² Suetonius later lays the blame for this refusal on the senate who passed a decree adding ‘son of Livia’ to his title alongside ‘son of Augustus’ (*Tib.*50). Dennison sees this as the root of the discord between them.¹⁷³

Tacitus gives us the first indications that Livia may have been a murderess. Under Tiberius he suggests her involvement in the death of Germanicus in Syria, highlighting her extreme antipathy towards Germanicus’ wife Agrippina (*Ann.*1.33, 1.43). The contrast between the two women is illuminating. He admits that Agrippina is a ‘determined and excitable’ woman but is willing to accept that she ‘turned this to good account by her devoted faithfulness to her husband’ (*Ann.*1.33). He calls her a ‘great-hearted woman’ who ‘acted as a commander’ and aided Germanicus in maintaining the loyalty of his soldiers, notably the same activity for which Fulvia had been condemned (*Ann.*1.69, Dio 10.3.4). Tacitus’ admiration for Agrippina should be considered in the context of his presentation of Germanicus as the son of Drusus, who, according to Tacitus, ‘would have brought back the free Republic’ (*Ann.*1.33). He suggests that Germanicus was killed as he planned ‘to give Romans back their freedom, with equal rights for everyone’. As a republican himself, Tacitus presents Germanicus as the antithesis of Tiberius: he is likeable, popular and unassuming compared to the arrogant, awkward and two-faced Emperor (*Ann.*1.33). He reinforces this through contrasting the two women: Agrippina is the supportive and popular wife and Livia is the scheming and controlling mother. Whereas Agrippina, utterly grief-ridden, brings her husband’s ashes dutifully and publically back to Rome, Livia, along with her son, does not even attend the event (*Ann.*3.1, 3.3). Tacitus gives them no slack here: he suggests the only possible reasons were either it being beneath their dignity or to avoid displaying insincerity (*Ann.*3.3).

One episode in Tacitus’ account gives us an indication of Livia’s own perception of her status. Through *amicitia* with Livia, a certain Urgulania believed she had been placed above the law and attempts to use this when accused by Piso (*Ann.*2.34). Use of *amicitia* puts Livia on a par with powerful men who would use their connections to help each other. Tacitus also tells us that Livia felt that her own dignity had been ‘violated and diminished’ by this episode, language usually

¹⁷² Dennison 2011:243

¹⁷³ Dennison 2011:253

linked to abuse against the *maiestas* of the Emperor: she had moved from the ‘self-effacing’ consort of Augustus’ reign to a far more indignant and self-assertive role under her son (*Ann.*2.34).¹⁷⁴

In reviewing Livia’s life after her death in AD29 Tacitus surprisingly states that ‘her private life was of traditional strictness’ and that her ‘graciousness exceeded old-fashioned standards’ (*Ann.*5.1).¹⁷⁵ I would argue that his true motive at this point is the criticism of Tiberius’ excessiveness: by presenting her as a ‘moderating influence’ he can now contrast the evilness of the Emperor’s final years (*Ann.*5.3).

Suetonius

Suetonius, writing on the lives of the Caesars in the second century, is the first Latin biographer whose work survives.¹⁷⁶ His approach is ‘Caesar-orientated, palace-centred’ and his presentation of Augustus is much more positive.¹⁷⁷ As a secretary at the Imperial court he would have had access to useful material. His sources included the *Res Gestae* and he briefly mentions Cordus (d.AD4) and Pollio (d.AD25), both contemporaries of Augustus, but chose not to cite beyond these.¹⁷⁸ Again, Livia does not feature greatly under Augustus but he does present their marriage as a love match where the weight of rule was shared to some extent. (*Aug.*63). Augustus consulted Livia and would write down information before conversing with her (*Aug.*94). Bauman even believes this came close to giving her the status of *amicus principis*.¹⁷⁹ Her influence with him was also understood: Suetonius tells us Livia was once approached by a Gaul, requesting citizenship from Augustus and, although the Emperor refused in this instance, the episode does suggest that it was not unusual for people to ask for her help (*Aug.*40).

Suetonius also gives us more information about Augustus’ will. Not only is she given the title *Augusta*, but she also received a third of his estate (*Aug.*101).¹⁸⁰ His comments on Tiberius’ attitude to women reflect those of Tacitus: he does not

¹⁷⁴ Bauman 1992:99; Fischler 1994; Barrett 2002:166

¹⁷⁵ Purcell 1986:93

¹⁷⁶ apart from the Cornelius Nepos, d.24BC; Grant 1979:viii

¹⁷⁷ Grant 1979: x

¹⁷⁸ Grant 1979: ix

¹⁷⁹ Bauman 1992:126; cf. Dio 55.14–21

¹⁸⁰ Dio 56.32 later claims this was more than the law usually allowed

think they should be involved in state politics, although he did sometimes use her advice (*Tib.50*; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 1.14). This was highlighted by Livia's involvement in dealing with a fire near the Temple of Vesta. Suetonius comments that she was behaving 'as though Augustus was still alive' (*Tib.50*). Suetonius documents the most serious clash between the two, when, in a rage as a result of feeling thwarted over the granting of a citizenship, she pulled out and read some of Augustus' letters which contained his views on Tiberius' sour and difficult personality (*Tib.51*). Tiberius seems to have found Livia's interference intolerable: Suetonius goes on to say that her behaviour led him to retreat to Capri and when she died he did not even attend her funeral and also annulled her will (*Tib.51*).

Livia surfaces again in Suetonius' life of Gaius Caligula where he tells us that the Emperor had referred to his great grandmother as *Ulixem stolatum*, which Robert Graves in his 1957 translation chooses to translate as 'Ulysses in petticoats' (*Calig.23.2*).¹⁸¹ Ulysses is wily, cunning but also an heroic and courageous leader of men: dressed in female garb, the implication is that Livia is his female equivalent. It is worth linking this mythological reference with the description of Clodia as Clytemnestra Palatinae. Both characters suggest manipulation and cunning. Although Caligula's comment is certainly more complimentary than Cicero's, it still hints at an unnaturalness of behaviour in woman. However the *stolatus* is a more forceful word than 'petticoats' suggests and Barrett prefers to translate the phrase as 'Ulysses in a *stola*'. The *stola* represented the respectability and purity of the Roman *matrona* and had renewed status in the Augustan period.¹⁸² The phrase implies Livia was respected and acknowledges the status she held within the imperial household.

Dio Cassius

Dio wrote his history in Greek in the early 3rd century. Unfortunately he tends not to name his sources but it would seem that he knew Suetonius, Tacitus and Seneca as well as Cordus and Augustus' memoirs.¹⁸³ Much of the Augustan material is original, including the speeches.¹⁸⁴ His presentation of Augustus is generally favourable: the backdrop to his writing was Caracalla's reign, a particularly cruel

¹⁸¹ Rolfe (1914) had used the same phrase in the Loeb translation

¹⁸² Barrett 2002:121; Wood 1999:87

¹⁸³ Carter 1987:21

¹⁸⁴ Carter 1987:22

emperor. He does attempt to assess the information about Livia, although he appears a little disconcerted by her behaviour under Augustus which he reads as a sign of her ambitious nature.¹⁸⁵ Dio was writing during the Severan dynasty when there had been a resurgence of strong, imperial women, notably Julia Domna, which may have influenced his presentation of Livia. It has also been suggested that Agrippina the Younger would have been a well-known model for the excessive desire for power of women in the Early Republic and that Dio worked back to Livia's role with Agrippina in mind.¹⁸⁶

Dio gives us much more information on Livia's role under Augustus and begins his account with a portent seen in 37BC which, he says, foreshadowed Livia's domination of Augustus and thereby sets the tone of her role. Certain privileges were granted to her: Dio is our only source for the granting of *sacrosanctitas* in 35BC, similar to that given to tribunes, to both Livia and Augustus' sister, Octavia, along with statues and the right to administer their own affairs (Dio 49.38.1). The exact form of this is unclear, but it is the first time that such a status, which 'lay at the very heart of the Roman system', had been granted to women.¹⁸⁷ The freedom from guardianship was the most practical honour. The right was to be given to women bearing three children in Augustus' later legislation and is a concrete indicator of the increasing independence of women to manage their own property.¹⁸⁸ Dio later tells us of honours granted to her after the death of Drusus: statues were voted and she was added to the list of women who had born three children (55.2). In the same year the *Ara Pacis* was dedicated on her birthday and this combination of events, including the marriage of Tiberius to Julia, Augustus' daughter, seem to mark her progression into a more public role.¹⁸⁹

Perhaps the most enlightening episode in Dio's account is his presentation of a dialogue between Livia and Augustus concerning the punishment of Cinna Magnus after the revelation of a conspiracy against the Emperor (55.14–21). Livia says:

¹⁸⁵ Barrett 2002:237; Purcell 1986:90

¹⁸⁶ Goodyear 1972:190

¹⁸⁷ Barrett 2002:136

¹⁸⁸ Barrett 2002:138

¹⁸⁹ Flory 1993:299

‘If you are willing to receive it, and will not censure me because I, though a woman, dare suggest to you something which no one else, even of your most intimate friends, would venture to suggest.’

(Dio 55.16, translation by Cary).

Augustus proceeds to listen to a very pragmatic, thoughtful and diplomatic plan by Livia for granting Cinna clemency. The debate portrays Livia as a highly capable and articulate female whose advice Augustus is willing to hear. Indeed, Dio has her claim to take part in reigning (55.16). However Dio is anxious to display his own skills and this may well be ‘one of those boring rhetorical exercises’.¹⁹⁰ Fischler reminds us of the danger of verifying discussions held in private and the extent of the debate is no doubt a product of Dio’s imagination and his own construct of Livia.¹⁹¹

Livia’s devotion to her husband is made clear by her reaction at his death. After Augustus’ cremation Dio tells us that Livia stayed at the same spot for days before she gathered up his bones and places them in his mausoleum (56.42). She became a priestess of the cult of Divus Augustus which entitled her to a lictor (56.46). This was an unprecedented role for a woman and placed her emphatically at the heart of the state. Barrett suggests that it was the ‘one concession Tiberius was willing to make in recognising her right to a public role’.¹⁹² It would have been a difficult entitlement for Tiberius to refuse: she had been at Augustus’ side for over 40 years and this represented the culmination of that support.¹⁹³ It was certainly significant: Ovid describes her as ‘wife and priestess’ and Velleius Paterculus calls her ‘priestess and daughter of Augustus’ (*Ov. Trist.* 4.2.11, *Pont.* 4.9.107, *Vell. Pat.* 2.75.3).

As for the relationship between Livia and Tiberius, Dio claims that she was hated by him and he resented the fact that she had helped him to power (Dio 57.3.3). He goes on to claim that Livia held unprecedented power. Tiberius’ letters bore her name and senators would visit her at home. Barrett describes the *salutatio* as a

¹⁹⁰ Bauman 1992:127

¹⁹¹ Fischler 1994:121

¹⁹² Barrett 2002:160

¹⁹³ Purcell 1986:90

‘formal, institutionalised role’ which exalted her status all the more: she had exercised real power under Augustus and she now sought to rule Tiberius.¹⁹⁴

Hints of Livia’s murderous tendencies cross all of the main sources. Dio adds her involvement in the deaths of Gaius and Lucius (55.10). He also notes rumours that she had put Agrippa to death and adds to the suggestion that she had a hand in Augustus’ death, by adding the detail of poisoned figs (57.3.6, 56.30.1–2).

Certainly Tiberius could not have succeeded without a ‘series of fortuitous deaths’, but there is no actual evidence and there is no mention of them under Augustus. The accusations come later, with the benefit of hindsight and the reliance of sources on other sources, compounding the idea.¹⁹⁵ Poisoning was the obvious crime: it was the method of women of myth and demanded cunning and deceit. Women were the carers and had access to food and its preparation. Livia is thus portrayed as the antithesis of the caring wife and mother. Purcell notes this contrast, suggesting that she acquired this negative persona simply because she was so successful: it is the opposite image of the one which Augustus wished to create.¹⁹⁶

When she died in AD29 at the age of 86, despite the fact that Tiberius forbade her deification, the Senate took the unprecedented action of dedicating an arch to her ‘because she had saved the lives of not a few of them, had reared the children of many, and had helped many to pay their daughters’ dowries, in consequence of which some were calling her Mother of her Country’ (58.2.3) Barrett sees this as the Senate finally showing themselves loyal to Augustus’ intentions to elevate her.¹⁹⁷

Ovid

In the *Fasti*, Ovid gives us information about Livia’s religious role. Livia reconsecrated the temple cult of Bona Dea on 1 May (*Fast.5.148–58*). Her Claudian ancestry linked her to the goddess and her role as wife of the Pontifex Maximus (a position Augustus had assumed in 13BC) would have brought honour to her husband and ‘renewed dignity’ to the cult, especially after the sacrilege

¹⁹⁴ Barrett 2002:164; Boatwright 1991:514; Bauman 1992:130

¹⁹⁵ Bauman 1999:104

¹⁹⁶ Purcell 1986:94

¹⁹⁷ Barrett 2002:173

committed by her ancestor Clodius.¹⁹⁸ It would also be regarded as religious support for the *matronae* of the city, reinforcing the traditional values of the family and the role of women.¹⁹⁹ Ovid also records Livia's dedication of a shrine to Concordia which also honours her husband (*Fast.* 6.637–48). The dedication took place on the same day as the *Matralia* and the festival of Fortuna, linking her actions again to the preservation of marriage and the traditional role of women.²⁰⁰ However these references to Livia during Augustus' reign do present her 'in a manner which merely does honour to the male potentate'.²⁰¹

She is further revered by Ovid in several of his poems from exile, calling her a 'model wife' and deserving of Augustus alone (*Trist.* 1.6.26, 2.161–4). In his letters from the Black Sea he describes her as equal to the Emperor and venerates her chastity, claiming she possesses Venus' beauty and Juno's character. Her deification is prophesied and only she is considered worthy to share Jupiter's bed (*Fast.* 1.536, 1.640, 1.649, *Pont.* 2.8.29, 3.1.114–118). It must be remembered that Ovid wants to secure a return from exile from Augustus and is anxious to win her over as the mother of Augustus' heir. Ovid notes that Livia dedicated a shrine to Concordia in the portico in order to honour Augustus (*Fast.* 6.637). The shrine was to celebrate marital harmony and most probably was set up to reflect and support Augustus' marriage laws to show that 'the political unity of the state emanated from the domestic harmony of the imperial household'.²⁰²

Inscriptions

Many inscriptions in Rome and the provinces refer to Livia (or Julia in the earlier years and Julia Augusta after Augustus' death), attesting to the respect she commanded throughout the Empire.²⁰³ The *Fasti*, calendars of official and religious events, refer to her frequently as do the records of the Arval Brotherhood whose fragmental remains contain invaluable information about the imperial family.²⁰⁴ Barrett notes the existence of many tomb inscriptions for slaves,

¹⁹⁸ Herbert-Brown 1994:144

¹⁹⁹ Herbert-Brown 1994:145

²⁰⁰ Herbert-Brown 1994:146; Barrett 2002:47; Flory 1984:313–14

²⁰¹ Herbert-Brown 1994:159

²⁰² Flory 1984:324

²⁰³ Barrett 2002:265

²⁰⁴ Barrett 2002:263–293 provides a comprehensive catalogue

freedmen and freed women who had taken Livia's name or mention her as their mistress.²⁰⁵

Visual sources

In Augustan Rome, the unprecedented importance of the women of the imperial household led to an explosion of female representation in art and to the commissioning of art by some women.²⁰⁶ As a product of the moment it could be argued that art is likely to reflect a more positive image of its subjects: of Livia, Wood notes that the 'evidence the visual arts offer of her popularity stands in contrast to her harsh portrayal in the written histories, especially in the *Annals* of Tacitus'.²⁰⁷ However, there is still an agenda to visual representation.²⁰⁸

The Ara Pacis

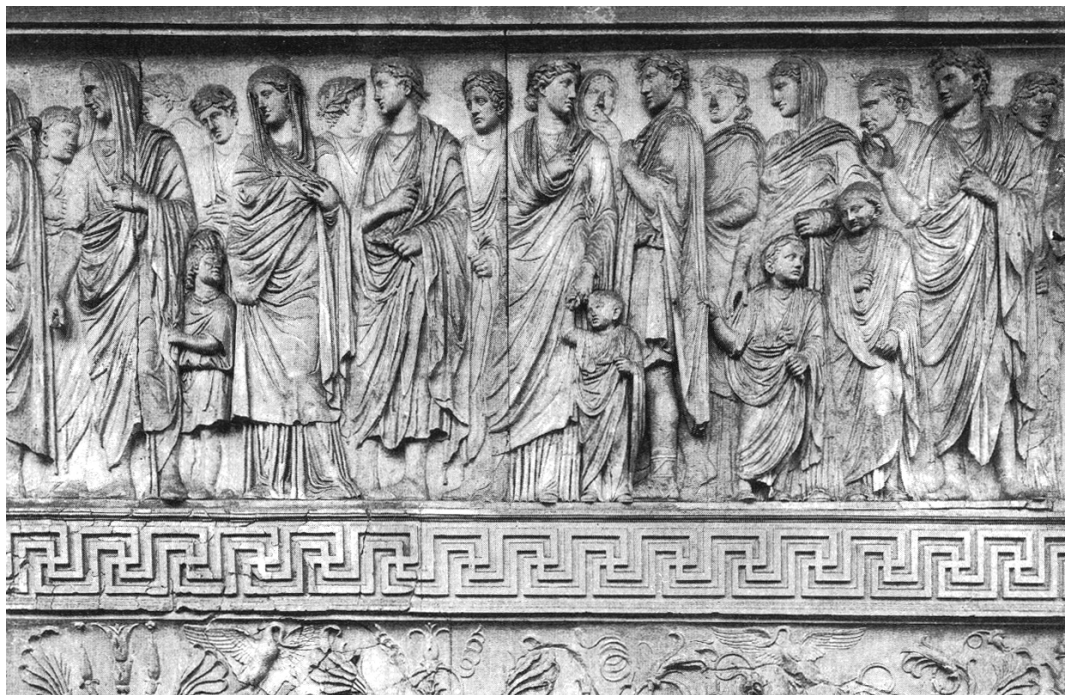


Figure 1: Ara Pacis Augustae, south frieze, showing members of the imperial family including Livia (second draped figure from left). 13–9BC, Rome, marble relief (Wood 1999: fig.53).

Augustus' moral legislation set traditional values and the family at its heart. Nowhere could this be seen more clearly than in the carvings on the *Ara Pacis*, commissioned by the senate in 13BC to commemorate Augustus' return from Spain and Gaul (*RG* 8.5, 12.2). It was dedicated on 9 January 9BC. Both sides of

²⁰⁵ Barrett 2002:265

²⁰⁶ Kleiner 1996:29

²⁰⁷ Wood 1999:75

²⁰⁸ Bartman 2012:416 discusses this in more detail

the altar show the Princeps' family following a sacrificial procession: significantly the women and children are portrayed for the first time, highlighting the importance of family and childrearing (fig.1).²⁰⁹ Unlike in other portraits, Livia has flowing hair in the Classical style, albeit it veiled, linking her to the goddess on the opposing side (fig.2).²¹⁰ This is a matronly figure, most commonly identified as *Tellus*, Mother Earth, who sits supporting two children. As such she represents fecundity, so important to the new regime, with the children either being her two sons or merely representative of family.²¹¹ Ironically, Livia and Augustus were never to have children together.

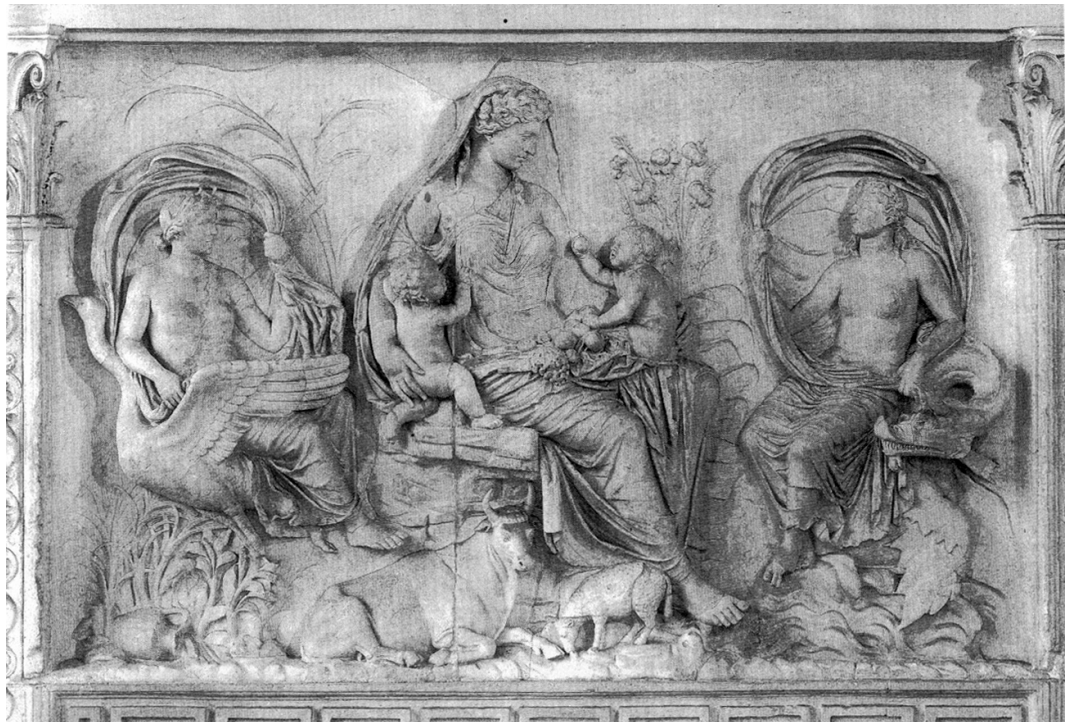


Figure 2: Ara Pacis Augustae, east frieze, goddess or Pax Romana? 13–9BC, Rome, marble relief (Wood 1999: fig.31).

Statuary and Portraiture

Flory notes how the statues of Livia and Octavia, granted in 35BC, were probably positioned next to the golden statue of Cleopatra in the Temple of Venus Genetrix, contrasting their traditional values with her brazen behaviour, and linking them to a deity with powerful associations with the Julian family (Dio 49.38.1).²¹² Sculptural depictions of Livia portray a more controlled and

²⁰⁹ Kleiner 1996:753–85

²¹⁰ Bartman 2012:416

²¹¹ Wood 1999:100; Galinsky 1992:458–463; Kleiner 1996:38

²¹² Flory 1993:295

inscrutable individual, and this statue, though lost, most probably showed her in a *stola*, with the traditional, simple *nodus* hairstyle (figs.3a and 3b).²¹³

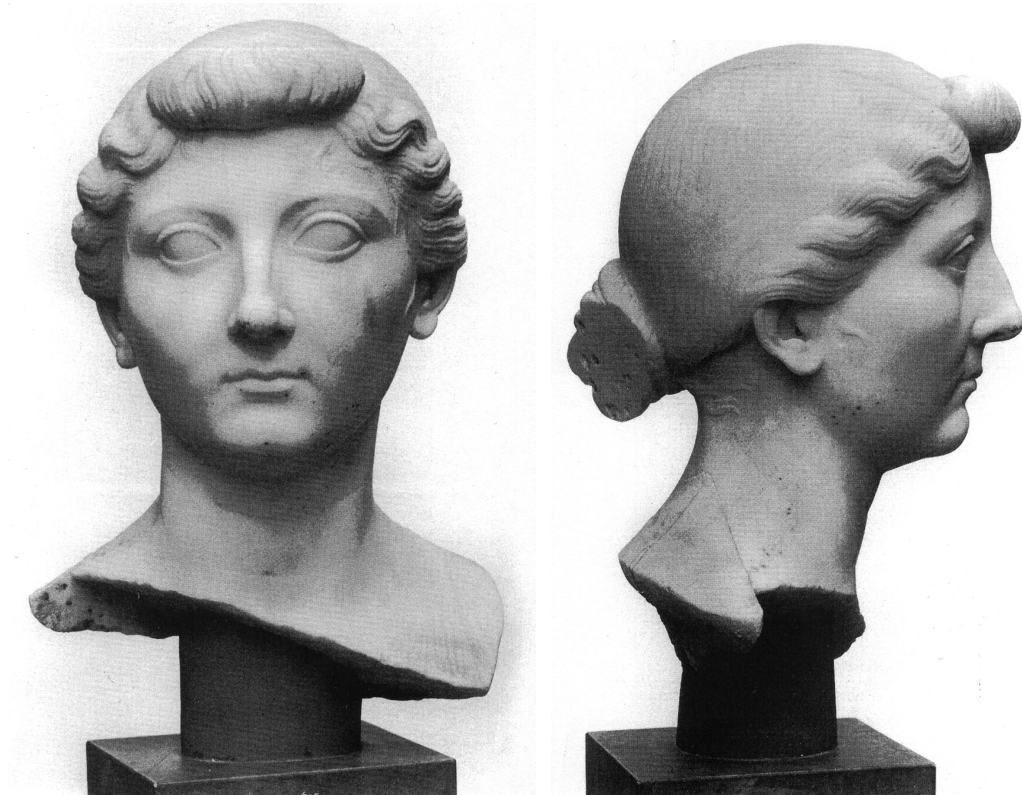


Figure 3a and 3b: Livia with *nodus* hairstyle, ca. AD4–14, from Arsinoe, Egypt, marble, Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, cat.615 (Wood 1999: figs.22, 23).

Kleiner notes how portraits of Livia show her as ‘beautiful, idealised and virtuous’; many pieces show her with an oval face displaying the likeness of a classical deity, perhaps referring to the ideal of eternal youth and fecundity.²¹⁴ Bartman also notes the absence of jewellery from sculpted images of Livia, which she states is ‘bordering on the ascetic’ (fig.4).²¹⁵ Maybe Livia herself wanted to be depicted as devoid of extravagance, but the sacrifice of luxury items to the state was also a traditional image of loyal women.²¹⁶

Among other sculptures worthy of note is a colossal head of AD23 found at Leptis Magna from the Temple of Augustus and Rome. Wood sees the size as significant as it demonstrates that Livia and Tiberius were more important here than other member of the imperial family.²¹⁷ This marks a change in her image and status: she retains the *nodus* hairstyle but the added devices of rippling hair and huge

²¹³ Wood 1999:97; Bartman 2012:416

²¹⁴ Kleiner 1996:37

²¹⁵ Bartman 1999:44

²¹⁶ Barrett 2002:106

²¹⁷ Barrett 2002:163; Wood 1998:110

upturned eyes, Wood believes, is reminiscent of the Hellenistic sculptors presenting a more authoritative and divine figure. Significant too is a cameo of AD14 from Vienna, identifying Livia with the goddesses Cybele and Ceres.²¹⁸



Figure 4: Livia, AD23, from Leptis Magna, marble, Tripoli Museum (Wood 1999: fig.35).

Coins

References to Livia on coinage are very discreet.²¹⁹ The only coin minted with her name in her lifetime was the *Salus Augusta* coin, a *dupondius* produced in AD22/23 just after Livia had recovered from a serious illness (fig.5).²²⁰ It would seem that Augustus had a reluctance to portray her on state coinage: Barrett believes this would have given her an official recognition which would have

²¹⁸ Bartman 2012:416; Kampen 2009:pl.3

²¹⁹ Wood 1999:88; Winkler 1995:40–41,48–49

²²⁰ Barrett 2002:93

placed her too far into the public arena.²²¹ However in the provinces many coins depicting her were in circulation, many giving her titles disallowed by Tiberius.



Figure 5: *Dupondius* of Tiberius, A.D.22/23, Rome, reverse of *Salus Augusta* with portrait of Livia. New York, American Numismatic Society (Wood 1999: fig.34).

Extensive coins have been found throughout Egypt and in Spain a coin appeared, inscribed with *Iulia Augusta Genetrix Orbis*, recognising Livia as Mother of the World.²²² Livia was finally deified under Claudius and only then was she overtly portrayed on the *dupondii* of his reign.²²³

Buildings

The granting of *sacrosanctitas* in 35BC brought with it the ability to manage her own ‘substantial holdings’ and to use her wealth for benefices and the construction of buildings.²²⁴ The *Porticus Liviae* was set up by Augustus as part of his moral message: it was built for the people to use on the site of buildings constructed for rich aristocrats. The *Res Gestae* tells us that Augustus restored 82 temples. However a number of smaller temples were restored by Livia, all except one celebrating women’s lives. These included temples to Fortuna Muliebris, Pudicitia Patricia and Pudicitia Plebeia and Bona Dea (cf. *Ov.Fast.*5.148–58). Livia’s activities made her a role model for other women: Eumachia, a business woman and public priestess of Venus Pompeiana in Pompeii, commissioned a portico on the eastern side of the forum based on the Porticus Liviae and dedicated it to Concordia and Pietas, possibly as thanks for Livia’s recovery in AD22.²²⁵

²²¹ Barrett 2002:141

²²² R. Winkes, 1988, has produced a valuable corpus of all surviving portraits of Livia

²²³ Wood 1999:89

²²⁴ Kleiner 1996:28

²²⁵ Kleiner 1996:33

Livia owned a house on the Palatine which she probably lived in after Augustus' death. Amongst the art work it sported superb paintings and fine representations of myths. She also owned a house at Prima Porta where she had commissioned the prestigious landscape painter, Studius. Here her support for her husband's propaganda can be seen as Studius' images displayed flourishing, idealistic scenes, typical of some sort of golden age.²²⁶

Assessment

Livia was the first 'first lady' of Rome, married to man who aimed to restore the traditions and values of the Republic but who also needed to assert his own authority and produce a dynastic line. As a wife this required her to be a model *matrona*, an expectation clearly articulated by an *eques* in 9BC, in his *Consolatio ad Liviam*, written just after her son Drusus' death:

‘Stay upright, rise above your woes, keep your spirit unbroken – in so far as you can. Our search for models of virtue certainly will be better when you take on the role of first lady.’

(*Con.ad L.* 355–356, translation Purcell)

In the aftermath of his death her stoicism no doubt enhanced her status.²²⁷ Indeed, Seneca tells us she sought help for her grief from the philosopher Areus Didymus who told her that she had repressed her feelings too much.²²⁸ She assumed a modest demeanour, choosing the simple *nodus* hairstyle, borrowed from the virtuous Octavia, over fancier styles such as the ‘elaborated sectioned hair of Cleopatra’.²²⁹ According to Suetonius she even made Augustus' clothes (Suet.*Aug.* 73). Within the family she took the role of *mater*, giving Julia refuge, looking after Claudius' interests and watching over foreign children (Joseph. *AJ.* 17.10).

The public face of this were honours given to the *ordo matronarum* through public banquets as well as the dedication of temples and shrines connected with motherhood.²³⁰ This was not just lip service from an Emperor keen to promote family values: Livia herself funded projects. Indeed Kleiner claims ‘art

²²⁶ Gabriel 1955

²²⁷ Fraschetti, 2001:110

²²⁸ Barrett 2002:108; Purcell 1986:78

²²⁹ Dennison 2011:266; Kleiner 1996:37; Barrett 2002:105; Wood 1999:93–100; Winkes 1995

²³⁰ Purcell 1986:87

commissioned by an elite Roman woman was as imbued with political and social content as that made at the behest of her husband'.²³¹

It would be a mistake to see her solely in terms of Augustus during his reign: she clearly had a capable and formidable personality and she was well-educated which, according to Philo, 'gave virility to her reasoning power'.²³² Both Tacitus and Dio also refer to her actions at Augustus' death when she showed great presence of mind and delayed the announcement to prevent a coup (*Ann.*1.5.5–6, Dio 56.31.1).²³³ Under Tiberius she began to exert far more authority and the title of *Augusta* added to her own perception of her status. Indeed the sources tell us that she was always ready to remind him that she was responsible for his position (*Ann.*4.57.5, Dio 57.33).²³⁴ Despite formal recognition, it could be argued that *de facto* she did actually become *mater patriae*.

Messalina

Valeria Messalina became the third wife of Claudius in AD38 or 39, just before Claudius became Emperor in AD41.²³⁵ She was the daughter of Valerius Messala Barbatus, Claudius' cousin, and Domitia Lepida, a great granddaughter of Augustus' sister, Octavia (Suet.*Claud.*26). Although both she and Claudius were descended from Mark Antony, only Messalina was a Julian and therefore she 'embodied both the past of the Julian-Claudian dynasty and Claudius' hope for its continuation'.²³⁶ Her aunt, Claudia Pulchra, and her cousin, Quinctilius Varus, were persecuted under Tiberius for their friendship with Caligula's mother, Agrippina, which gave Claudius a sound political association with his predecessor (Tac.*Ann.*4.52).²³⁷ Being a first marriage, she was probably 14–15.²³⁸ Claudius was 50 and in failing health (Suet.*Claud.*10). Levick suggests her youth as a reason for her 'desperate profligacy'.²³⁹ Her marriage and immediate production of a daughter, Octavia, and then, in AD41, a son, Britannicus, put her in a strong

²³¹ Kleiner 1996:35

²³² Hemelrijk 2004:63

²³³ See Bauman 1994

²³⁴ Bauman 1992:132

²³⁵ Levick 1990:55 says 38; Bauman 1992:168 suggests 39

²³⁶ Bauman 1992:168; Levick 1990:55; Wood 1999:25

²³⁷ Levick: 1990:55

²³⁸ Bauman 1992:169, an older Messalina might better explain her use of sexual politics.

²³⁹ Levick: 1990:55; Bauman 1992:168

position: an ambitious woman might continue the role Livia had carved. However her short period as Claudius' wife, described by Syme as the 'epoch of Valeria Messalina', enabled the sources to present her as 'one of the great nymphomaniacs of history'.²⁴⁰ Within a decade she was portrayed as responsible for the demise of a number of influential characters and as an unbridled prostitute. Alexandre Dumas added her to his list of all-time great courtesans.²⁴¹ Finding the real Messalina, if that is even possible, means reading through sources where her chief features are 'unbridled sexuality, violence and ferocity'.²⁴²

Tacitus

Tacitus writes within the 'senatorial tradition that depicted Claudius as a fool and a pedant, either ignorant of the machinations of his freedmen and wives or else subservient to their wishes'.²⁴³ Unfortunately his account of the years preceding AD47 are lost and what remains focusses on two major incidents. Tacitus begins with the downfall of the 'provincial plutocrat', Valerius Asiaticus, instigated by Messalina's jealousy: not only did she covet the gardens of Lucullus, which he had obtained, but she also believed he was having an affair with Poppaea Sabina, her own rival for the affections of the actor Mnester (*Tac. Ann.* 11.1–2).²⁴⁴ Ostensibly he was accused by Suillius and Sosbius, her son's tutor, of posing too much of a threat to the Emperor through his own power (*Ann.* 11.1.2–3). Levick describes his downfall as the greatest death ascribed to Messalina and believes his conviction marks a turning point in public opinion.²⁴⁵ Tacitus describes the case as one of the growing *intra cubacula* trials which were becoming a feature of Claudius' reign, implying that Messalina herself was present (*Ann.* 11.2).²⁴⁶ Just when it seems that Claudius may acquit Asiaticus she persuades another senator, Vitellius, to ensure his conviction (*Ann.* 11.2–3). Here is a woman who ruins powerful men as a result of jealousy (cf Fulvia's alleged treatment of Rufus after he refused to sell her his house, *App.* 4.4.29). What is particularly significant, and arguably the purpose of Tacitus' account, is Claudius' role: Messalina's strength of character outwits Claudius. Tacitus tells us he knows nothing of the

²⁴⁰ Syme 1986:174; Bauman 1992:167

²⁴¹ Wyke 2002:324 n.3

²⁴² Joshel 1995:51

²⁴³ Joshel 1995:53

²⁴⁴ Friesenbruch 2011:131

²⁴⁵ Levick 1990:64

²⁴⁶ For *intra cubacula* trials see Levick 1990:117–8

machinations behind the trial, presenting him as weak, incapable and controlled by his wife (*Ann.* 11.2; cf. *Suet. Claud.* 29).²⁴⁷ Bauman believes the whole incident was actually planned by her as there was a very real threat of a coup, and that she ‘rendered an important service to the regime’.²⁴⁸

Tacitus’ climax is Messalina’s marriage to Silius. Tacitus is aware of the incredible nature of the event and substantiates his account by reference to his sources (*Ann.* 11.27). Messalina initiates this ‘almost maniacal’ affair: apparently Silius was initially reluctant and only acquiesced as he felt he had no choice. Messalina not only forces him to divorce his wife but openly visits him at home, showering him with ‘wealth and distinction’ (*Ann.* 11.12). Messalina ‘was drifting towards untried debaucheries’ and the following wedding is extraordinary (*Ann.* 11.26). A sacrifice is performed and the usual observances for marriage are celebrated. For the imperial household this is too much as her behaviour now threatens the Emperor’s life (*Ann.* 11.28).

Tacitus, along with Dio presents the freedmen Pallas, Callistus, and Narcissus as manipulating Claudius and stage managing the incident, which no doubt would have invoked disgust from his readers (*Ann.* 11.29, *Dio* 60.17–16, 31).²⁴⁹ Tacitus’ description is overly dramatic but wonderfully characterised; there is ‘the wavering Claudius, the increasingly panicked Messalina, the austere Vibidia’, all directed by Narcissus.²⁵⁰ Even the children make an entrance for emotional effect (*Ann.* 11.32). The ultimate humiliation for Messalina is her final attempt to gain sympathy by driving around in a cart usually used for transporting garden rubbish (*Ann.* 11.32.9). Claudius’ heirlooms are found on display in Silius’ house as well as bust of the elder Silius which had been banned by a senatorial decree (*Ann.* 11.35). She has disrupted the values of family and therefore of the state.²⁵¹ Claudius’ inconsistency is again highlighted by the immediate tribunal set up in the praetorian camp, resulting in summary executions, encouraged by the

²⁴⁷ Joshel 1995:56; Scramuzza 1940:89, 95;

²⁴⁸ Bauman 1992:175

²⁴⁹ Fagan 2002:567–8; *Claud.* 29 mentions the freedmen in passing

²⁵⁰ Vibidia was the eldest Vestal Virgin who unsuccessfully petitioned Claudius on Messalina’s behalf; Fagan 2002:567–8

²⁵¹ Edwards 1993:43; for the importance of ancestors on display see Joshel 1995:59–60

freedmen against a wavering Claudius.²⁵² Messalina is dispatched without trial by Narcissus, despite Claudius' change of heart (*Ann.* 11.35-37).

Suetonius

Suetonius' references to Messalina are much briefer: she 'was not only guilty of other disgraceful crimes but had gone so far as to commit bigamy with Gaius Silius, for which she was executed' (*Suet.Claud.*26). He concentrates on Claudius' inadequacies as an Emperor and Messalina is used to display his ineptitude and susceptibility to manipulation (*Claud.*29). The most detailed incident he describes is the death of Appius Silanus, a story built upon by Dio (Dio 60.14.3-4). Narcissus claimed that he dreamed of an attack on the Emperor by Appius; Messalina was then to claim the same. Apparently Claudius accepted this and Appius was condemned (*Suet.Claud.*37). The story highlights Claudius' gullibility as much as her character. The final reference to Messalina is under Nero where Suetonius claims that two assassins, sent to kill Nero during his siesta, were killed by a snake hidden under his pillow (*Suet.Nero* 6). True or not, this suggests that Messalina took Agrippina and her son as a serious threat.

Dio Cassius

By the time of Dio's writing, Messalina's reputation was firmly established and he accuses her, as 'the most abandoned and lustful of women', of wishing to marry all her lovers (Dio 60.31, 60.14). He portrays Claudius as initially being a fair and moderate man who did not want to assume the title of *imperator*. After Britannicus' birth he refused the title of *Augustus* for the baby and *Augusta* for Messalina (60.12.5). This may have left her feeling insecure: the title had been given to Livia after Augustus' death and offered to his mother, Antonia, who, although she had refused, was granted it posthumously. Livia had also just been deified (*Suet.Claud.*11).²⁵³ Claudius himself was not secure: his inauguration was unexpected and these refusals may have been to mollify the Senate.²⁵⁴ Juvenal satirised this later, calling her the *meretrix Augusta*, probably using Propertius'

²⁵² Bauman 1992:177; 1974:185; Levick 1990:117-8; cf Seneca *apocol.* 11

²⁵³ Wood 1999

²⁵⁴ Freisenbruch 2011:127

description of *meretrix regina* for Cleopatra, thus ‘perverting the empire’s most honorific title for a woman’ (Juv.6.117, Prop.3.11.39).²⁵⁵

Through the influence of Messalina and the imperial freedmen, Claudius becomes more ruthless (Dio 60.14.1–2). He is terrorised into a series of executions and uses Scribonianus’ plot to become emperor as an excuse for vengeance, creating a culture of informers (60.15.2). Many women were even put to death (60.16.1). Dio then pads out the episode involving Silanus, who was recalled from Spain to marry Messalina’s mother. When he refuses to sleep with Messalina, she instigates his downfall (60.14.3–4, 15.1). She is in league with the freedmen, who accept bribes from the guilty and sell honour and commands (60.15.5–6, 16.2, 17.8). It is this co-operation which some scholars see as the development of a faction. Bauman talks of her creating a coterie of husbands: if they agree to their wives committing adultery in the palace then they receive honours; if they refuse she could accuse them of *lenocinium*.²⁵⁶ So manipulative is Dio’s Messalina that she gives Claudius maids to sleep with to distract him from her activities (60.18). Dio claims that her ultimate fall is a result of her losing the freedmen’s goodwill following false accusations against the freedman Polybius; they now feared her (61.31.2).

Perhaps the most significant of the banishments attributed to Messalina is that of Julia Livilla, Caligula’s sister. Having returned from exile imposed on her by Caligula in AD39, she was again exiled to Pandateria on a trumped up charge of adultery as ‘she neither paid her (Messalina) honour nor flattered her; and she was also jealous because the girl was extremely beautiful and was often alone with Claudius’ (60.8.5).²⁵⁷ However, Livilla was a formidable woman. Under Caligula she, along with her sisters Agrippina and Drusilla, had received high honours including the rights of the Vestal Virgins, the use of their names in all oaths and depiction on coinage (Suet.*Calig.*15).²⁵⁸ According to Suetonius she had also been involved in the debauchery at Caligula’s court (*Calig.*24). It is not surprising that Messalina felt insecure with her. Levick believes it was understandable to want to

²⁵⁵ Freisenbruch 2011:127; Wyke 2002:325 n.6

²⁵⁶ Bauman 1992:168; Augustan moral legislation made husbands’ acceptance of adultery a crime

²⁵⁷ Charges of sexual misconduct were a conventional way of removing opponents, Freisenbruch 2011:129

²⁵⁸ Barrett 2002:52–53

secure the disgrace of attractive women at court.²⁵⁹ In AD33 Livilla married the ambitious Lucius Vinicius who was later involved in the assassination of Caligula; for a brief time he even tried to succeed to the throne (Joseph. *AJ*.19.102.251). The political implications for Messalina and Claudius are clear: there was a potential threat.

Imperial insecurity may explain Asiaticus' fall. Dio's account differs from Tacitus': he makes no mention of adultery but focuses on Asiaticus' plotting (Dio 61.29.5). Claudius is duped into disposing of Asiaticus by the scheming of Vitellius 'as a favour to Messalina' (61.29.6). Both accounts highlight Vitellius' condemnation without trial and Messalina's involvement. Asiaticus was an influential and wealthy man who had risen quickly to the rank of consul.²⁶⁰ Messalina's involvement adds to Dio's portrayal of her as a schemer, but Claudius may himself have had reason to fear him.

Juvenal

Juvenal refers to Messalina in two of his satires of the second century. Satire 6 illustrates female behaviour within marriage and the 'discomforts and humiliations men suffer as a consequence of the 'modern' woman's failure to live up to the obligations imposed on her by the married state'.²⁶¹ He speaks of the virtuous woman of early Rome, highlighting their dedication and industry (these are Livy's Lucretia and Verginia) and contrasting this with the sexual appetite of 'modern' women. In lines 120–32 he describes the activities of Messalina, who is identified only by her assumed name of *Lycisca* or 'she wolf'. She brazenly frequents brothels and is the last to leave. In satire 10.329–33, Juvenal refers directly to Messalina's marriage to Silius who is sympathetically portrayed as her pawn. However, the nature of satire renders it unreliable as a source. Perhaps we can accept her adultery and liaisons with Silius but the true circumstances remain unknown. For Juvenal she provides a good source of material to illustrate a lurid attack on modern values and represents the 'corruption and decadence' of imperial Rome.²⁶²

²⁵⁹ Levick 1990:56

²⁶⁰ Levick 1990:62–63

²⁶¹ Barr 1992:xxi

²⁶² Joshel 1995:77

Art

Finding Messalina visually is difficult: she was never shown on coins minted in Rome and many public portraits suffered from *damnatio memoriae*, noted by Tacitus and leaving us with gaps in inscriptions and no sculptural portraits (Tac. *Ann.* 11.38.3).²⁶³ In South West Turkey her name was even chiselled from coin faces.²⁶⁴ Varner cites a statue in the basilica at Velleia where her head was replaced with Agrippina's.²⁶⁵ Messalina does appear on some provincial coinage: silver *didrachmi* minted in Cappadocia show her portrait profile with Claudius' three children (fig.6).²⁶⁶



Figure 6: Silver *didrachm*, A.D.41–48, from Cappadocia with obverse portrait of Messalina, and reverse type of Claudius' three children: Claudia Octavia, Britannicus and Claudia Antonia. London, British Museum, Messalina and Claudius 242 (Wood 1999: fig.120).

Facial features on coins are certainly not reliable: Wood argues that the same 'bland prettiness' is common to Julio Claudian portraits and that die cutters from earlier imperial women were probably regularly used.²⁶⁷ However her perceived status can be seen: bronze coins from Cappadocia show her profile on one side and Antonia's on the other. She is clearly subordinate to Antonia who is entitled *Augusta*, but her positioning also shows her status as Antonia's successor.²⁶⁸ Wood has also identified three marble portraits, a statue in the Louvre, a marble head in Dresden, which was split into four after defacement, and a head in the

²⁶³ Wood 1999:274; Freisenbruch 2011:130

²⁶⁴ Flower 2006:185; Rose 1997:41; Varner 2004:95–97 give more examples

²⁶⁵ Varner 2004:96, cat.3.4

²⁶⁶ Wood 1999:275

²⁶⁷ Wood 1992:222, 230

²⁶⁸ Wood 1999:275

Vatican as being Messalina.²⁶⁹ If correct, their feminine and youthful portrayal is designed to show virtuous respectability and fertility rather than a true likeness.²⁷⁰

Assessment

Despite being refused the title of *Augusta*, Messalina did receive honours: her birthday, like Livia's, was celebrated officially, she was granted statues in public places, front seats at the theatre after the campaign in Britain in AD43 and the right to ride in a *carpentum* on special occasions (Tac.*Ann.*12.8.3). As a new mother she was celebrated. However once accused of adultery, scandalous stories escalated to such an extent that she was represented as turning the palace into a brothel.²⁷¹ Clearly she had a good deal of freedom which enabled her to consort with high ranking men.

The blatant sexuality and jealousy attributed to Messalina were never linked to Livia. Livia was married to a man who was militarily strong and had established peace. Claudius, however, was physically weak and acquired power unexpectedly. There were also others with better claims.²⁷² For the sources, Messalina's role was 'to reinforce the tradition that Claudius was the inept fool who followed the dictates of his wife'.²⁷³ The most effective way to do this was to establish her as a lustful adulteress: extra-marital sex brings about her downfall. Augustus wished to promote the family to underpin his new regime and the imperial *domus* had therefore come to represent the state. Adultery by a *matrona* threatened the security of the *domus*: adultery by an Emperor's wife threatened the state itself.²⁷⁴

The culmination of Messalina's behaviour is her 'marriage' to Silius. But what is true? Fagan makes the point that there was little, if any, documentation of the events, especially considering the speed and nature of them.²⁷⁵ One account probably became the basis of the rest. Narcissus went on to be instrumental in Claudius' marriage to Agrippina and received quaestorian honours, making him eligible for the senate: he had reason to blacken Messalina's name and she had no

²⁶⁹ Wood 1999:277–280; Varner 2004:96

²⁷⁰ Wood 1999:279–80

²⁷¹ Dixon 2001:149

²⁷² Freisenbruch 2011:128; Agrippina Minor, Julia Livilla

²⁷³ Barrett 2002:82

²⁷⁴ Fagan 2002:576

²⁷⁵ Fagan 2002:570

way to respond (*Ann.*11.38).²⁷⁶ The immediate aftermath would therefore not have been a positive place for accounts of Messalina's actions and Tacitus himself tells us that he uses Agrippina the Younger's memoirs as a source (*Ann.*4.53).²⁷⁷ For Claudius, wanting to forget the scandals of his previous marriage, a new start was underlined by granting Agrippina high honours.²⁷⁸

As a plot to replace Claudius with Silius with Britannicus as his heir, the marriage makes little sense: she was the Emperor's wife and her son was legitimately his. The idea of Silius being able to use Messalina and her son to put himself in power seems unlikely in the light of her strong literary character.²⁷⁹ Colin's argument that the freedmen themselves, led by Narcissus, planned the event with the purpose of overthrowing Messalina, is heavily based on Tacitus' account and prejudices, although Narcissus does well after her death.²⁸⁰ Levick sees Messalina as creating her own posse of aristocratic men to counter the strength of Claudius' freedmen and suggests she believed Claudius' death was imminent. The most likely proposition is Bauman and Barrett's assertion that Agrippina and Nero were now a viable threat to her.²⁸¹ Nero's own popularity over Britannicus had been proven at the Secular Games of AD47, when he had been cheered more than his stepbrother, and Agrippina, being a very wealthy woman, was now free to marry after the death of her husband, Crispus, in AD46–47 (*Ann.*11.11.5).²⁸² However it was a huge risk: Messalina had a good deal to lose. Some scholars such as Colin and Koestermann have therefore seen it as a fiction produced after the event.²⁸³ Yet all the sources mention the story and it is pivotal to the course of events that follow so there is surely some truth in it, even if it were a highly exaggerated version of an affair which finally went too far. Ultimately we can only really conclude that her demise was swift and violent.²⁸⁴

Amidst this tangle of information it is difficult to assess the real woman. It is likely that there is some truth in the actions described and that this behaviour

²⁷⁶ Barrett 2002:79

²⁷⁷ Bauman 1992:177

²⁷⁸ Freisenbruch 2011:137

²⁷⁹ Meise 1969:148–61; Ehrhardt 1978:68; Mehl 1974:60–3

²⁸⁰ Colin 1956

²⁸¹ Barrett 1996:94; Bauman 1992:178–9

²⁸² Meise 1969:162–66

²⁸³ Colin 1956:128–22, sees it as a fantasy of a Bacchic ritual; Koestermann 1963:3.88; compare to Meise 1969:128–32 who believes it did take place

²⁸⁴ Freisenbruch 2011:133

ultimately became a threat to the state itself and to the Emperor. Fagan sees the main issue as the political dimension associated with adultery and the public nature of her behaviour.²⁸⁵ It is worth remembering that she was only in her twenties when she died: her motives may have been no more than jealousy and a desire for sexual relations beyond those with her aged, handicapped and inattentive husband; that we will never know.

²⁸⁵ Fagan 2002:579

Conclusion

In his commentary on Tacitus, Syme states ‘the last age of the Free State knew its political ladies – avid unscrupulous and unbridled’.²⁸⁶ No doubt Cato and Cicero would have agreed with him but this conclusion takes the literary sources at face value. The late Republic combined conservative attitudes towards women with a growing independence both legally and sexually. As women like Clodia and Fulvia became involved in business and politics, they were criticised for being masculine and the men with whom they were associated were condemned for effeminacy. Fulvia, in particular, upset the sources with her involvement in the military sphere.²⁸⁷ Genre of evidence is also vital to our appreciation of these portrayals.²⁸⁸ Cicero’s main aim in the *Pro Caelio* is to acquit Caelius and his attack ‘slyly reinforces patriarchal values’.²⁸⁹ However, his own wife, Terentia, was handling property when he was in exile (*Cic.Fam.* 14.1.5).

Taking a public role was clearly possible, given the right status and circumstances, but it came at a price: their reputation. Pomeroy claims ‘the antagonism she (Fulvia) aroused is a measure of the real political power that women like her wielded, whether through wealth or influence or hatred of the men to whom they were attached’.²⁹⁰ Clodia’s power came via her wealth, but also her connections to her brother; Fulvia’s came via Antony. In some ways, far from being independent of traditional values, these women were actually upholding them. Fulvia acted to protect her children and her husband’s cause; Clodia’s priority was to support her brother’s and her family’s interests. Indeed, she is representative of many elite women whose loyalty lay with siblings rather than husbands.²⁹¹

The establishment of the Principate changed the political layout of Rome. Although Augustus claimed to be restoring the Republic, it soon became clear that supreme power rested in one man and, inevitably, this meant a unique position for

²⁸⁶ Syme 1958:2.534

²⁸⁷ Bauman 1992:89

²⁸⁸ Dixon 2001:19

²⁸⁹ Skinner 1983:283

²⁹⁰ Pomeroy 1975:185

²⁹¹ Arthur 1987 argues that Republican women participated in society to defend family interests

his wife and the development of an imperial family. Indeed, Treggiari describes the Age of Augustus as ‘a golden age for aristocratic women’.²⁹² It is clear that Livia exercised unprecedented influence: she advised Augustus, travelled with him and was free to spend her wealth on patronage. Tacitus describes her after Augustus’ death as a *mater impotens* and Dio gives us her popular title of *mater patriae*, but she never held any office (Tac. *Ann.* 5.1.3, Dio 58.2.3).²⁹³ The only official title she received was that of *Augusta* after Augustus’ death. Livia’s position was a direct result of her significance as wife to Augustus and she maintained it through her familial role, loyalty to Augustus and her pious patronage. Augustan propaganda enhanced this: Augustus had a ‘highly specific elaboration of using nuptial conduct as the major standard for higher morality’.²⁹⁴ In many ways Livia epitomised the traditional *univira*. Treggiari notes how, despite her circumstances being very different to those of other Roman women, her relationship with the men around her was probably not.²⁹⁵ Messalina’s situation was more precarious. She gained her status through a man whose position was not secure. Much of the detail from the sources, who are writing later, can be dismissed. Fischler suggests that her portrayal represents what people thought *might* happen if Empresses obtained too much power.²⁹⁶ She epitomises the type of woman men feared in antiquity: uncontrollable, manipulative and sexually excessive. However, she could also be seen as a protective mother and unfulfilled young wife, who felt threatened by other imperial women and Claudius’ unstable position.

In many ways Clodia and Fulvia paved the way for the elite women of the early Principate, although they never held the power and honours which would give imperial women ‘access to central authority’.²⁹⁷ Whatever the reactions of the authors, the conditions of the Republic led to a surge in the public activities of women.²⁹⁸ This could also be seen in the development of visual representations of women. Fulvia may well have been depicted on coinage: Antony’s second wife,

²⁹² Treggiari 1996:12

²⁹³ Wood 1999:80; Barrett 2002:154–155

²⁹⁴ Galinsky 1996:135

²⁹⁵ Treggiari 1996:124

²⁹⁶ Fischler 1994:126

²⁹⁷ Fischler 1994:122

²⁹⁸ Treggiari 1996:125

Octavia, certainly was. In the early Principate there followed an explosion, not to be seen again, of visual portrayals, ranging from coinage to statuary.²⁹⁹

There is little doubt that the range of women's activities increased in the late years of the Republic and into the Empire. Many women were now involved in business and were capable of running their own lives, despite the requirement of *tutela mulierum*. However they were not emancipated in the face of the law. Hallett believes there was little change in reality and that, despite some modification to suit themselves, 'they remained remarkably faithful to the spirit, if not the letter, of earlier laws reducing women to chattel status'.³⁰⁰ Indeed, the effectiveness of the *ius trium liberorum* is surely debatable: in reality how liberating for women was it to have so many children?³⁰¹

So can we find the real women? Understanding the motivation of the authors and the genre and nature of the evidence are essential: these presentations are so bound up in politics and societal expectations that we barely have more than a glimpse of them. Much of the discussion on women involves implicit comparison with the virtuous women from Roman History.³⁰² Much also revolves around sex: Clodia and Messalina's promiscuity, Fulvia's sexual jealousy and the focus on Livia's chastity. They are all manipulative and there are tensions between what is required of them and what they actually want. All share a sense of loyalty to family, and yet Clodia and Messalina, are defined purely by their 'transgressive behaviour'.³⁰³

To conclude, despite changes in their public profile during these two periods, the female role was still firmly rooted within the control of men who ran the state and the reputations of women were inextricably tied up with the success and popularity of those men.

²⁹⁹ Kleiner 1996:89

³⁰⁰ Hallett 1973:241

³⁰¹ Gardner 1998:20

³⁰² Ige 2003:47

³⁰³ Dixon 2001:151

Bibliography

Ancient sources

Author abbreviations in the text follow the style of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*

Appian, *Bella civilia*. Horace White (trans.). 1899.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0232%3Abook%3D1%3Achapter%3D0%3Asection%3D1>

Asconius, Commentary on Cicero, *Pro Milone*. John Paul Adams (trans.). 1996.

<http://www.csun.edu/~hcfl1004/asconius.htm>

Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*. J. C. Rolfe (trans.). 1927.

<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Gellius/home.html>

Catullus, *The Poems of Catullus*. Guy Lee (trans.). 2008. Oxford: Oxford Paperbacks

Cicero, *Ad Familiares*. Evelyn Shuckburgh (trans.). 1909.

<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21200/21200-h/21200-h.htm>

Domus. C. D. Yonge (trans.). 1891.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0020&redirect=true>

Epistulae ad Atticum. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh (trans.). 1899.

http://www.gutenberg.org/files/21200/21200-h/21200-h.htm#XXVI_A_II_1

Orationes Philippicae. C. D. Yonge (trans.). 1903.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0011%3Atext%3DPhil.%3Aspeech%3D1%3Asection%3D1>

Pro Caelio. C. D. Yonge (trans.). 1891.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0020:text%3DCael>

Pro Marcello. C. D. Yonge (trans.). 1891.

<http://perseus.uchicago.edu/perseus-cgi/citequery3.pl?dbname=PerseusLatinTexts&query=Cic.+Marc.&getid=1>

Pro Milone. C. D. Yonge (trans.). 1891.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Cic.+Mil.+28&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0020>

Pro Murena. C. D. Yonge (trans.). 1856.

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Cic.+Mur.+27&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0019>

Corpus Inscriptinum Latinarum, 1863–. Berlin: Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

- Dio Cassius, *Roman History*. Earnest Cary (trans.). 1914–25.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Cassius_Dio/home.html
- Gaius, *Institutes*. Francis de Zulueta (trans.). 1946.
<http://faculty.cua.edu/Pennington/Law508/Roman%20Law/GaiusInstitutesEnglish.htm>
- Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*. William Whiston (trans.). 1895.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2848/2848-h/2848-h.htm>
- Justinian, *Institutes*. n.d.
<http://faculty.cua.edu/Pennington/Law508/InstitutesofJustinian.htm>
- Juvenal, *The Satires*. Niall Rudd (trans.). 1991. Oxford: OUP
- Laudatio Turia*. E. Wishand (trans.) in Lefkowitz and Fant (eds.). 2005. *Women's Life in Greece and Rome. A Source Book in Translation. Third Edition*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 135–139
- Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita libri*.
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.02.0026>
- Martial, *Epigram 11.20*. Nigel Kay (trans.)
<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~afutrell/404b/web%20rdgs/martial.html>
- Nepos, *Life of Atticus*. Rev. J.S.Watson (trans.). 1853.
<http://www.attalus.org/translate/atticus.html>
- Ovid *Epistulae ex Ponto*. Peter Green (trans.). 1994. London: Penguin
Fasti. A.J.Boyle and R.D.Woodward (trans.). 2000. London: Penguin
Tristia. Peter Green (trans.). 1994. London: Penguin
- Plutarch, *Life of Antony*. Bernadotte Perrin (trans.). 1920
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:2008.01.0007>
Life of Caesar. Bernadotte Perrin (trans.). 1919.
<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.01.0244>
Life of Cicero. Bernadotte Perrin (trans.). 1919.
<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Cicero>
- Propertius, *The Poems*. W.G. Shepherd (trans.). 1985. London: Penguin
- Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*. H. E. Butler (trans.). 1920–22.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Quintilian/Institutio_Oratoria/home
- Res Gestae Divi Augusti*. P.A. Brunt and J.M.Moore (eds.). 1967. Oxford: OUP
- Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*. J.C.Rolfe (trans.). 1920
<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Sallust/home.html>
- Seneca the Younger, *Apocolocyntosis*. W.H.D. Rouse (trans.). 1969.
<http://www.gutenberg.org/files/10001/10001-h/10001-h.htm>
- Suetonius, *Divus Iulius. The Twelve Caesars*. Robert Graves (trans.). 1957.
 London: Penguin

- Divus Augustus. The Twelve Caesars.* Robert Graves (trans.). 1957. London: Penguin
- Divus Claudius. The Twelve Caesars.* Robert Graves (trans.). 1957. London: Penguin
- Gaius Caligula. The Twelve Caesars.* Robert Graves (trans.). 1957. London: Penguin
- Nero. The Twelve Caesars.* Robert Graves (trans.). 1957. London: Penguin
- Tiberius. The Twelve Caesars.* Robert Graves (trans.). 1957. London: Penguin
- Tacitus, *Annales.* M. Grant (trans.). 1956. London: Penguin
- Historiae.* K. Wellesley (trans.). 1964. London: Penguin
- Germania.* H. Mattingley (trans.), revised trans. by S.A. Handford. 1948, 1970. London: Penguin
- Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War.* R. Warner (trans.). 1954. London: Penguin
- Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings: A Thousand Tales from Ancient Rome.* H.J. Walker (trans.). 2004. Cambridge, Mass.: Hackett
- Velleius Paterculus, *The Roman History.* Frederick W. Shipley (trans.). 1924. http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Velleius_Paterculus/home.html

Modern literature

- Arthur, M. 1987. 'From Medea to Cleopatra: women in the Ancient World' in R. Bridenthal, C. Koonz and S. Stuard (eds.), *Becoming Visible: Women in European History.* Houghton Mifflin (Academic), 2nd ed., 79–106
- Ash, R. 2012. 'Women in Imperial Literature' in S. L. James and S. Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World,* Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 442–452
- Austin, R.G. 1960. *Cicero: Pro M. Caelio Oratio.* Oxford, 3rd ed.
- Babcock, C.L. 1965. 'The Early Career of Fulvia', *AJPh* 86, 1–32.
- Balsdon, J.P.V.D 1962. *Roman women: their history and habits.* London: Bodley Head
- Bardon, H. 1968. *Les Empereurs et Les Lettres Latines d'Auguste à Hadrien.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres
- Barr, W. 1992. Introduction to *Juvenal: Satires.* Oxford: Oxford World Classics, ix-xxviii
- Barrett, A. 2002. *Livia: first lady of Imperial Rome.* New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press
2005. *Agrippina: sex, power, and politics in the early Empire.* London: Routledge

- Bartman, E. 1999. *Portraits of Livia: imaging the imperial woman in Augustan Rome*. Cambridge: CUP
2012. 'Early Imperial Female Portraiture', in S. L. James and S. Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 414–422
- Bauman, R.A. 1974. *Impietas in Principem: a study of Treason against the Roman Emperor with special reference to the first century AD*. Munich
1992. *Women and politics in ancient Rome*. London: Routledge
1994. 'Tanaquil-Livia and the Death of Augustus', *Historia* 43.2, 177–188
- Bielman, A. 2012. 'Female patronage in the Greek Hellenistic and Roman Republican Periods', in Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 238–248
- Boatwright, M.T 1991. 'The Imperial Women of the Early Second Century A.C.', *The American Journal of Philology* 112.4, 513–540
- Brennan, T.C. 2012. 'Perceptions of women's power in the Late Republic: Terentia, Fulvia and the Generation of 63 BCE', in S. L. James and S. Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 355–366
- Brunt, P.A. 1971. *Italian manpower 225 BC–AD 14*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Carter, J. 1987. Introduction to *Cassius Dio, The Roman History: The Life of Augustus*. Penguin: London, 1–29
- Clark, G. 1981. 'Roman Women', *Greece & Rome* 28.2, 193–212
- Coarelli, F. 1978. *Il Campo Marzio: dalle origini alla fine della Repubblica*. Roma: Quasar
- Cohen, D. 1993. 'The Augustan Law on Adultery: the Social and Cultural Context', in D. I. Kertzer and R. P. Saller (eds.), *The Family in Italy from Antiquity to the Present*. Yale: Yale University Press, 109–126
- Colin, J. 1956. 'Les vendages dionysiasques e la legende de Messalina', *LEC* 24, 23–39
- Corbier, M. 1991. 'Family Behaviour of the Roman Aristocracy, Second Century BC – Third Century AD', in S.B.Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History*. University of North Carolina Press, 173–196
- Cornell, T.J. 1986. 'The Value of the Literary Tradition concerning Archaic Rome', in K.A.Raafaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 52–76
- Crook, J. 1967. *The Law and Life of Rome*. London: Thames and Hudson
- Crook, J. 1986a. 'Women in Roman Succession', in B.Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 58–82

- 1986b. 'Feminine inadequacy and the *senatusconsultum Velleianum*', in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 83–92
- Culham, P. 1987. '10 Years after Pomeroy', in M. Skinner (ed.), *Rescuing Creusa: new methodological approaches to women in antiquity. Helios* (special issue), New Series 13.2. Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 9–30
- Delia, D. 1991. 'Fulvia reconsidered' in S.B.Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History*. University of North Carolina Press, 197–217
- Dennison, M. 2011. *Empress of Rome: The Life of Livia*. Quercus
- Dixon, S. 1983. 'A Family Business: women's role in patronage and politics at Rome 80–44BC', *Classica et Mediaevalia* 34, 91–112
1986. 'Family Finances: Terentia and Tullia' in B.Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*. London: Routledge,
1988. *The Roman Mother*. London: Croom Helm
1992. *The Roman Family*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
2001. *Reading Roman Women*. London: Duckworth
- Dorey, T.A. 1958. 'Cicero, Clodia and the *pro Caelio*', *Greece & Rome* 5, 175–180
- Edwards, C. 1993. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: CUP
- Ehrenberg, V. 1946. *Aspects of the Ancient World:Essays and Reviews*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell
- Ehrhardt, C. 1978. 'Messalina and the succession to Claudius', *Antichthon* 12, 51–71
- Fagan, G.G. 2002. 'Messalina's Folly', *The Classical Quarterly* 52, n.2
- Fantham, E. 1996. *Roman Literary Culture: from Cicero to Apuleius*. Baltimore, London: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Fischer, R.A. 1999. *Fulvia Und Octavia: Die Beiden Ehefrauen Des Marcus Antonius in Den Politischen Kämpfen Der Umbruchszeit Zwischen Republik Und Principat*. Berlin: Logos
- Fischler, S. 1994. 'Social Stereotypes and Historical Analysis: The case of Imperial Women at Rome', in L. J. Archer, S. Fischler & M. Wyke (eds.), *Women in Ancient Societies: an illusion of the night*. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 115–133

- Flory, M.B. 1984. 'Sic Exempla Parantur: Livia's Shrine to Concordia and the Porticus Liviae', *Historia* 83.3, 309–330
- Flory, M.B. 1988. 'Abducta Neroni uxor: The Historiographical Tradition on the Marriage of Octavian and Livia', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118, 343–359
1993. 'Livia and the History of Public Honorific Statues for Women in Rome', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 123, 287–308
- Flower, H.I. 2006. *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman political Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press
- Foxhall, L. 2013. *Studying Gender in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge: CUP
- Fraschetti, A. 2001. 'Livia the Politician', in A. Fraschetti (ed.) and Linda Lappin (trans.) *Roman Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 100–117
- Friesenbruch, A. 2011. *The First Ladies of Rome: the Women behind the Caesars*. London: Vintage books
- Gabriel, M.M. 1955. *Livia's Garden Room at Prima Porta*. New York: New York University Press
- Galinsky, K. 1992. 'Venus, Polysemy and the *Ara Pacis Augustae*', *AJA* 96, 457–75
1996. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Gardner, J.F. 1986. *Women in Roman Law and Society*. London: Croom Helm
1993. *Being a Roman Citizen*, London. London: Routledge
1998. *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Geffcken, K.A. 1973. 'Comedy in the Pro Caelio', *Mnesomyne, Supp.* 30. Brill
- Geiger, J. 1980. 'An overlooked item in the war of propaganda between Octavian and Antony', *Historia* 20, 112–114
- Goodyear, F.R.D. 1972. *The Annals of Tacitus: Volume 1*. Cambridge
- Gowing, A.M. 1992. *The Triumviral Narratives of Appian and Cassius Dio*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press
- Grant, M. 1950. *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius: Historical Comments on the Colonial Issued Outside Spain*. New York
1957. Foreword to Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*. Penguin: London, 7–11
1996. *Tacitus Annals*. London: Penguin
- Griffith, R.D. 1996. 'The Eyes of Clodia Metella', *Latomus* 55, 381–3
- Grubbs, J.E. 2002. *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: a sourcebook on marriage, divorce and widowhood*. London: Routledge
- Grueber, H.A. 1910. *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum. vol. 1. Aes rude, aes signatum, aes grave, and coinage of Rome from BC 268*. London (reprinted 1970)

- Gruen, E. 1974. *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press
- Hallett, J.P. 1973. 'The Role of Women in Roman Elegy', reprinted in J. Peradotto and J.P. Sullivan (eds.), *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers*. 1984. Albany: State University of New York Press, 241-262
1977. 'Perusinae Glandes and the Changing Image of Augustus', *AJAH* 2, 151-171.
1984. *Fathers and daughters in Roman society: women and the elite family*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
1989. 'Women as "same" and "other" in the Classical Roman Elite', *Helios* 16.1, 59-78
2002. 'The eleven elegies of the Augustan Poet Sulpicia', in L.J. Churchill, P.R. Brown and J.E. Jeffrey (eds.), *Women writing Latin: From Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe vol.1*. London: Routledge, 5-65
2012. 'Women in Augustan Rome' in S. L. James and S. Dillon (eds.), *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 372-384
- Hanson, A.E. 1987. 'The Eight Month Child and the Etiquette of Birth: Obsit Omen!', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 61, 589-602
- Hejduk, J. D. 2008. *Clodia: a sourcebook*. University of Oklahoma Press
- Hemelrijk, E.A. 2004. *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*. London: Routledge Classical Monographs
- Herbert-Brown, G. 1994. *Ovid and the Fasti: an historical study*. Oxford: Clarendon
- Hopkins, K. 1965. 'The age of Roman girls at marriage', *Population Studies* 20, 245-64
- Horsfall, N. 1989. *Cornelius Nepos: A selection, including the lives of Cato and Atticus*. Oxford: OUP
- Humbert, M. 1972. *Le Remariage a Rome: Etude d'histoire juridique et sociale*. Milan: Giuffre
- Huzar, E.G. 1986. 'Mark Antony: Marriages vs. Careers', *The Classical Journal* 81.2, 97-111
- Ige, S. 2003. 'Rhetoric and the feminine character: Cicero's portrayal of Sassia, Clodia and Fulvia', *Akroterion* 48, 45-57
- Irigaray, L. 1995. 'The question of the Other', *Yale French Studies* 87, 7-19
- Joshel, S.R. 1992a. 'The Body Female and the Body Politic', in A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome*. Oxford: OUP, 112-129
- 1992b. *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome : a study of the occupational inscriptions*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press

1995. 'Female Desire and the Discourse of Empire: Tacitus's Messalina', *Chicago Journals* 21.1, 50–82
- Kampen, N.B. 1981. *Image and status: Roman working women in Ostia*. Berlin: Mann
1986. 'Reliefs of the Basilica Aemilia: A Redating', paper delivered at Brown University conference: 'Roman Women: Critical Approaches'
1991. 'Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art', in S.B.Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History*. University of North Carolina Press, 197–217
2009. *Family Fictions in Roman Art: Essays on the Representation of Powerful People*. Cambridge University Press
- Keith, A. 2006. 'Critical trends in Interpreting Sulpicia', *The Classical World* 100.1, 3–10
- Kleiner, D.E.E. 1978. 'The Great Friezes of the *Ara Pacis Augustae*', *MEFRA* 90, 735–85
1996. 'Imperial women as patrons of the arts in the early Empire', in D.E.E. Kleiner (ed.), *I, Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 28–41
2000. 'Family ties: Mothers and Sons in Elite and Non-Elite Roman Art', in D.E.E. Kleiner and S.B. Matheson (eds.), *I, Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 43–60
- Koestermann, E. 1963. *Annalen* 1–4. Heidelberg: C. Winter
- Leen, A. 2000. 'Clodia Oppugnatrix: The Domus Motif in Cicero's "Pro Caelio"', *The Classical Journal* 96.2, 141–162
- Lefkowitz M,R.1981. *Heroines and Hysterics*. London Duckworth
1993. 'Influential Women' in A.Cameron and A,Kuhrt (eds), *Images of Women in Antiquity*. London: Routledge, 49–65
- Lefkowitz, M.R and Fant, M.B. 2005. *Women's Life in Greece and Rome. A Source Book in Translation. Third Edition*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press
- Levick, B. 1990. *Claudius*. London: Batsford
- Martin, R. 1981. *Tacitus*. London: Batsford
- Marshall B.A. (ed.) 1985 *An Historical Commentary on Asconius*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press
- McCoy, M. 2006. 'The Politics of Prostitution: Clodia, Cicero and social order in the late Roman Republic', in C. Faraone and L. McClure (eds.), *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press
- Mehl, A. 1974. *Tacitus uber Kaiser Claudius*. Munich
- Meise, E. 1969. 'Untersuchungun zur Geschichte der Julisch-Claudischen Dynastie', *Vestigia* 10. Munich

- Munzer, F. 1910. 'Fulvia 113 in A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (eds.), *Real Encyclopaëdie* 7. Stuttgart: Druckenmueller, 281–284
- Norr, D. 1977. 'Planung in der Antiche: Über die Ehegesetze des Augustus' in *Freiheit und Sachswang: Beiträge zu Ehren Helmut Schelskys*. Olanden, 309–34
- Pal Csillag 1976. *The Augustan laws on family relations*. Akademiai Kiado
- Pelling, C.B.R. (ed.) 1988. *Life of Antony / Plutarch*. Cambridge: CUP
- Pomeroy, S. 1975. *Goddesses, whores, wives and slaves: women in classical antiquity*. New York: Schocken
- Purcell, N. 1986. 'Livia and the womanhood of Rome', *PCPS* 32, 78–105
- Raaflaub, K.A and Samons, J.L. 1990. 'Opposition to Augustus' in K.A. Raaflaub and H. Toher (eds), *Between Republic and Empire: interpretations of Augustus and his Principate*. Berkeley, Oxford: University of California Press, 428–31
- Ramsey, J.T. 2003. *Cicero: Philippics 1–2*. Cambridge: CUP
- Rawson, B. 1986. 'The Roman Family' in B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*. London: Routledge, 1–57
- Richlin, A. 1981. 'Approaches to Sources of Adultery at Rome', in H.P. Foley (ed.), *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*. New York: Gordon and Breach, 379–404
1983. *The garden of Priapus: sexuality and aggression in Roman humour*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press
1992. Introduction to A. Richlin (ed.) *Pornography and representation in Greece and Rome*. New York, Oxford: OUP, xi – xxxiii
- Rose, C.B. 1997. *Dynastic commemoration and imperial portraiture in the Julio-Claudian period*. Cambridge: CUP
- Rutland, L.W. 1978. 'Women as Makers of Kings in Tacitus' Annals', *The Classical World* 72.1, 15–29
- Saller, R.P. 1980. 'Anecdotes as historical evidence for the Principate', *Greece and Rome* 27, 69–83
1982. 'Familia, domus, and the Roman Conception of the family', *Phoenix* 38, 336–55
1984. 'Roman Dowry and the Devolution of Property in the Principate', *Classical Quarterly* 34, 195–205
1986. 'Patria potestas and the stereotype of the Roman family', *Continuity and Change* 1,1 (May 1986). CUP, 7–22
1987. 'Men's age at marriage and its Consequences in the Roman Family', *Class. Phil.* 82, 21–34.
1992. *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms: 'Man', 'Woman', and the Portrayal of Character in Latin Prose*. Brill

1994. *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*. Cambridge: CUP
1999. 'Pater Familias, Mater Familias, and the Gendered Semantics of the Household', *Class. Phil.* 94, 182–97
- Salzman, M.R. 1982. 'Cicero, the Megalenses and the Defense of Caelius', *The American Journal of Philology* 107.3, 299–304
- Santoro L'Hoir, F. 1994. 'Tacitus and Women's Usurpation of Power', *The Classical World* 88.1, 5–25
- Savunen, L. 1995. 'Women and Elections in Pompeii', in R. Hawley & B. Levick (eds), *Women in Antiquity: New Assessments*. London: Routledge
- Schulz, F. 1951. *Classical Roman Law*. Oxford
- Scramuzza, V.M. 1940. *The Emperor Claudius*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford
- Shackleton Bailey, D.R. 1960. 'Sex. Clodius – Sex. Cloelius', *CQ* 10, 41–42
1971. *Cicero*. London: Duckworth
- Sirago, V.A. 1983. *Femminismo a Roma nel Primo Impero*. Catanzano
- Skinner, M. 1983. 'Clodia Metelli', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113, 273–287
2011. *Clodia Metelli: the Tribune's sister*. Oxford: OUP
- Snyder, J.M. 1991. *The Woman and the Lyre: Women writers in Classical Greece and Rome*. Southern Illinois University Press
- Syme, R. 1939. *The Roman Revolution*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
1958. *Tacitus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
1986. *The Augustan Aristocracy*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Tatum, W.J. 1999. *The patrician tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*. The University of North Carolina Press
- Treggiari, S.M. 1976. 'Jobs in the Household of Livia', *BSR*, 48–77
- 1991a. *Roman Marriage: Iusti Coniuges from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- 1991b. 'Divorce Roman Style: How easy and how frequent was it?' in Rawson, B. (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 31–46.
1996. 'Women in Roman Society', in D.E.E. Kleiner and S.B. Matheson (eds.), *I, Claudia: women in Ancient Rome*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 116–125
2005. 'Women in the Time of Augustus', in K. Galinsky (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 130–147
- van Bremen, R. 1996. *The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben

- Varner, E.R. 2004. *Mutilation and Transformation: damnatio memoriae and Roman Imperial Portraiture*. Brill
- Virilouvet, C. 2001. 'Fulvia the Woman of Passion', in A. Fraschetti (ed), *Roman Women*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 66–81
- Wallace-Hadrill, A. 1981. 'Family and Inheritance in Augustan Marriage Laws', *PCPS* 207, 58–80
- Weir, A.J. 2007. 'A study of Fulvia', Classics Graduate Thesis, published by Queen's University
- Welch, K.E. 1995. 'Antony, Fulvia, and the Ghost of Clodius in 47 B.C.', *Greece and Rome*, 42.2
- Wieand, H.E. 1917. 'The Position of Women in the Late Republic. Part II', *The Classical Journal* 12.7, 423–437
- Williams, G. 1958. 'Some aspects of Roman marriage ceremonies and ideals', *JRS* 48, 16–29
1996. 'Representations of Roman Women in Literature', in D.E.E. Kleiner and S.B. Matheson (eds.), *I, Claudia: women in Ancient Rome*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Art Gallery, 126–138
- Wilkinson, L.P. 1979. *Classical attitudes to modern issues: population and family planning, women's liberation, nudism in deed and word, homosexuality*. London: Kimber
- Winkes, R. 1988. 'Bildnistypen der Livia Ritratto ufficiale e ritratto privato', *Atti della II Conferenza Internazionale sul Ritratto Romano*. Roma: Consiglio Nazionale delle Recherche, 555–561
1995. *Livia, Octavia, Julia*. Louvain and Providence
2000. 'Livia. Portrait and Propaganda', in D.E.E Kleiner and S.B. Matheson (eds.), *I, Claudia II: Women in Roman Art and Society*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 29–42
- Winkler, L. 1995. 'Salus: vom Staatskult zur politischen Idee; eine archaologische Untersuchung', *Archaeologie und Geschichte* 4. Heidelberg: Verlag Archaeologie und Geschichte
- Wiseman, T.P. 1969. *Catullan Questions*. Leicester: Leicester University Press
1985. *Catullus and his world: a reappraisal*. Cambridge: CUP
- Wood, S.E. 1999. *Imperial women: a study in public images 40BC–AD68*. Leiden: Brill
- Wray, D. 2001. *Catullus and the poetics of Roman manhood*. Cambridge: CUP
- Wyke, M. 1992. 'Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority', in A. Powell (ed.), *Roman poetry and propaganda in the age of Augustus*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 98–140
2002. *The Roman mistress: ancient and modern representations*. Oxford: OUP

Zanker, P. 1988. *The power of images in the age of Augustus*, translated by Alan Shapiro. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press