

Women and Gender in the Forum Romanum*

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SUMMARY: This article explores the evidence for women and gender in the Forum Romanum, investigating (primarily through literary sources) women's use of this space, and (primarily archaeologically) historical women's signification there by images and structures. The illustrated analysis proceeds chronologically from the Republic to the early third century C.E. Authors report women's presence in the civic Forum as abnormal, even transgressive through the Julio-Claudian period. The paucity of women's depictions and patronage here until the second century C.E. echoes constructs of Livy, Seneca the Younger, Tacitus, and others. The mid-imperial Forum, however, marks changes in Roman ideology as well as topography.

INTRODUCTION

THE FORUM ROMANUM, THE HEART OF ANCIENT ROME (see figures 1 and 2) has rightly been the object of intense scrutiny.¹ Since Rome's topography—the

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¹ The Forum Romanum proper is the central, lower-lying area demarcated from the area around it in part by the Aedes Vestae, Regia, and shrines of Saturn and Concordia (Purcell 1995: 325–26; but see also Purcell 1989: 158–62). For overviews of the Forum

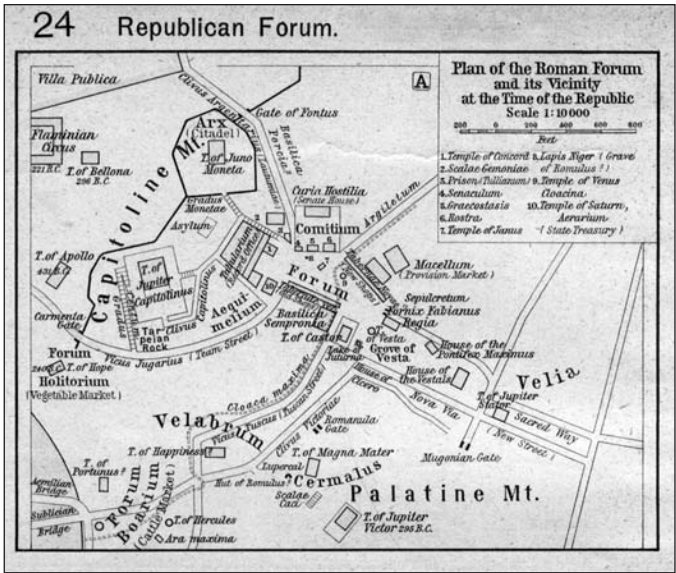


Figure 1. Plan of the Republican Forum Romanum.
From William R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, New York 1921, Fig. 24. Compare, e.g., http://www.emersonkent.com/map_archive/forum_romanum.htm.

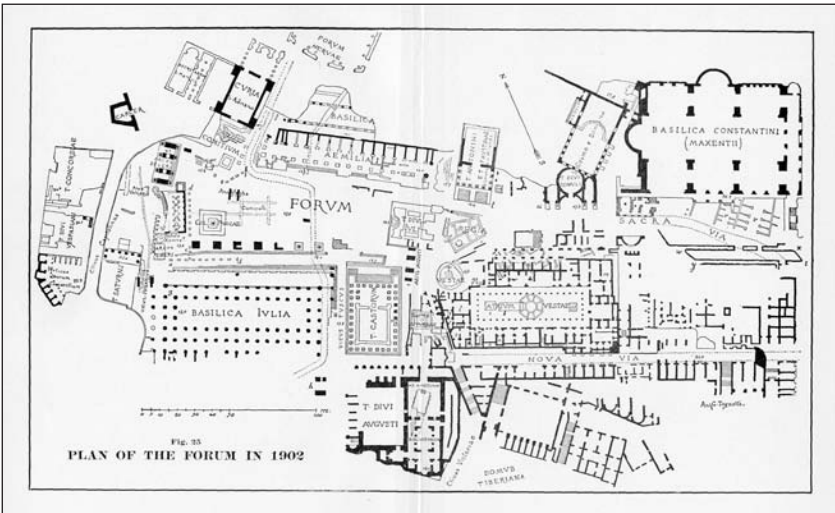


Figure 2. Plan of the Forum Romanum during the imperial period, as excavated in 1902.
From Samuel B. Platner, *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, 1st ed., Boston 1904, Fig. 25. Another plan, which does not depict as much of the eastern part of the Forum, can be found at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Platner-forum-republic-96_reconstructed_color.jpg.

physical and functional relationships of Rome's spaces and built structure—is now recognized as fundamental to Roman history,² the Forum itself figures largely in discussions of religious, social, political, and/or cultural issues such as the extent of Roman democracy during the Republic (see, e.g., Millar 1998: 125). Some philologists and cultural historians have discussed individual monuments, and/or episodes, that feature women in the Forum as these matters are presented by Livy or other authors (see below). But to my knowledge no one has yet investigated the topic of women and gender in the Forum in general and over time.³ The lack of attention may be due to an unthinking assumption that women figured regularly in the Forum Romanum, as well as to the difficulty of the investigation itself.

Literary evidence for women in the Forum is scant and frequently tenuous, and must be carefully evaluated. Furthermore, women's use of the Forum pertains to the larger question of gendered space in Rome, that is to say, space ordered and conceptualized by what Romans predominantly held to be proper and characteristic of each gender.⁴ The examination of space and its use encompasses material culture as well as literary evidence. Although we cannot now study a diagnostic assemblage of small finds, floral and faunal data, painting, and other ephemeral material remains of daily life in the Roman Forum,⁵ it is possible to collect and analyze epigraphic, sculptural, numismatic, and other information for images of women that once embellished this area and its structures, and for the Forum's buildings that were supported by and/or closely associated with women. The two top-

(most focusing on the periods I examine in this article), see Platner and Ashby 1929: 230–36, s.v. “Forum (Romanum s. Magnum)”; Zanker 1972; Coarelli 1986; Giuliani and Verduchi 1987; Patterson 1992: 190–94; Richardson 1992: 170–74, s.v. “Forum (Romanum or Magnum)”; Purcell 1995; Claridge 1998: 61–118 (including the Upper Sacra Via); Millar 1998: 38–44; Coarelli 2007: 43–101. Latin quotations in this paper are from Oxford editions, unless otherwise noted; translations are the author's.

² See, e.g., Purcell 1995: 326, noting the influence of Filippo Coarelli.

³ Purcell 1995, despite attention to the plebeian and aristocratic aspects of the Forum (327–31), and Patterson 1992: 190–94 do not use gender in their analyses; Purcell 1989: 157–58 similarly omits gender. Even more theoretical discussions of images—e.g., Stewart 2003; Gregory 1994—also neglect questions of gender. Sehlmeier 1999 discusses individual statues associated with women only in passing (see below) despite stressing the Forum as a location for honorary statues (e.g., p. 12). See also Stemmer 1995: 332–34, noting baldly “women did not linger in public as much as did men” (349n7).

⁴ See, e.g., Rendell, Penner, and Borden, eds. 2000 for the concept of “gendered space.”

⁵ See, e.g., Allison 2001: 181–82 and Allison 2006, on gender and domestic space.

ics—women’s activities in the Forum Romanum and women’s signification here by images, inscriptions, and other objects—are closely intertwined.⁶ Literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources for the Republic and first century of the Principate reveal that women’s appearance in the civic life of the Forum—even as depictions—was problematic. The occasional literary reports of women in the Republican and early imperial Forum repeatedly comment explicitly on a concomitant disruption of normal order. Moreover, through the first century C.E. very few representations of women are known from the Forum, and women are not associated with inscriptions, buildings, or renovations here. Thus the sources concur in eliminating women at least ideologically from the area, despite the fact that the Forum must have routinely seen priestesses, *matronae*, and less highly placed women such as attendants, shopkeepers, beggars, and streetwalkers.⁷

The maleness of the Forum was traditional: this central meeting spot for the Romans first and foremost served men in their rights, duties, and privileges as Roman citizens. As Dionysius of Halicarnassus puts it, the Forum Romanum was where the Romans passed justice, voted, and performed all other political activity (3.67.3). Among Festus’s definitions of *forum* is “a place where lawsuits are tried, public assemblies held, and speeches delivered” (74L): proceedings dominated by men. In this context Ulpian’s statement, that “women are separated from all civic and public functions” (*feminae ab omnibus officiis civilibus vel publicis remotae sunt*, Dig. 50.17.2),⁸ adds point to the investigation of women in the Forum. The binary opposites of public-male vs. domestic-female are too crude to use here,⁹ since the Forum embodied for the Romans public *civic* life, not just public life, and Roman women could be seen at entertainment buildings and public shrines elsewhere in Rome. But during the Republic the Forum reinforced a masculine public civic identity by excluding women visually and ideologically, and through the

⁶ Much interesting work on gender and Roman topography (e.g., Woodhull 2003) unfortunately does not consider the activities that took place in the site(s) under discussion.

⁷ For Roman women in public, see Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 208, and below.

⁸ See also (e.g.) Dig. 5.1.12.2, 3.3.54, and Raepsaet-Charlier 2005. Ulpian’s statement, from the early third century C.E., is echoed in the remarks Livy puts into the mouth of L. Valerius during the debate on the repeal of the Oppian Law (for which see below): “No offices, no priesthoods, no triumphs, no decorations, no rewards or spoils of war can fall to [women]” (34.7.8; cf. Val. Max. 9.1.3 and Hortensia’s complaint in App. *B Civ.* 4.33).

⁹ See Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 208, noting that the presence and action of Roman women were required at numerous moments of official, public life, especially religious ones, and that Roman wives were celebrated by public honors and statuary in the provinces.

Julio-Claudian period, if not beyond, the physical appearance of women in it remained contested. The one exception is in the sphere of religion: as we see below, just as the shrine of Vesta was one of the oldest sacred spots in the Forum, Vestal Virgins and other women engaged in religious activities there and nearby seem to have passed mostly unremarked.

A brief overview of the Forum in the Republican period precedes my investigation of women's appearance there, in person or evoked by some object, in the Republic. I then discuss women's physical and represented presence in the Roman Forum during the Augustan Principate and much of the first century C.E. In my last section the contrast of the mid-imperial Roman Forum—in which women were much more visible as signified by statues, patronage and the like, as well as in person—helps to bring previous findings into greater relief. Throughout I attend not only to the ancient authors and their constructions of the Forum and its use, but also to the documentary and visual evidence for representations and patronage of women there. My combination of these two approaches gives, I believe, a more balanced and accurate understanding of women and gender in this vital area of ancient Rome. I am keenly aware that we may not end up closer to comprehending Roman women's actual presence in the Forum at any one moment or over time. With its various emphases and omissions, the literary evidence tends to tell us more about what authors thought was "right" for the Forum than about what actually happened there: Livy, Seneca, and others may be prescribing or suggesting ideal conditions rather than describing real ones, and in any case Roman authors tended not to identify women (see Asc. 10C, on Cic. *Pis.* 24). And arguments from archaeological evidence, especially from a site as continuously used as the Roman Forum, can always be challenged as circumstantial.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the compilation and assessment of available evidence pertaining to women in the Roman Forum should shed new light on the Forum's topography, images, and use, and on wider aspects of Roman history, culture, and life during the Republic and the first two centuries of the Empire.

I. THE REPUBLICAN FORUM ROMANUM

The Forum Romanum (see Figure 1) housed Rome's first meeting ground for the People's voting and legislation—the Comitium—as well as the original meeting hall of the senate, the Curia Hostilia. The triumphal route and the procession for the *Ludi Romani* passed through it. Some of Rome's earliest

¹⁰ Although, as Purcell 1989: 166 points out, the fame of the Forum gives its structures and notices thereof "a greater than average chance of survival."

and most venerable shrines, including the Temple of Saturn, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Regia, the Aedes Vestae, and the sacred spot later identified as the Lapis Niger, helped to demarcate its edges. Over time additional structures serving commerce, law, and other functions of Rome's *res publica* contributed to visually defining the space. The Forum's physical outlines are fairly familiar, thanks to archaeology, literary references, and documentary sources. Less is known about the many statues once there, since most of these have perished.¹¹ Even more unclear is the routine traffic and use of the august area, for this kind of social history is rarely noted and difficult to tease out from our sources.

At least through the Republic, for functions other than religious ones the Forum Romanum was primarily a masculine space, and it helped construct changing concepts of Roman masculinity.¹² Buildings were sponsored and dedicated by the Senate and the People of Rome, or by generals, censors, and other high-ranking men (see, e.g., Orlin 1997). Many large areas and nearby buildings—the Comitium, the space in front of the Temple of Castor and Pollux, and the Curia and its associated structures—were for deliberative and legislative assemblies of male Roman citizens, and the Republic's trials, held out of doors in the Forum, featured men (see also below).¹³ The basilicas were primarily for male business such as diplomacy, high-stakes commercial and financial functions, and the administration of justice.¹⁴ At the Forum's northeastern edge the Fornix Fabianus, erected in 121 B.C.E. as the Forum's first triumphal arch, prototypically celebrated the military victory of men in the service of Rome.¹⁵

¹¹ See Sehlmeier 1999; Lahusen 1983; Stewart 2003: 87. Højte 2005: 113 lists only eight statue bases in or close to the Forum for the period from Augustus to Commodus (Augustus nos. 1 and 5; Tiberius no. 7; Titus no. 2; Trajan no. 9; Hadrian nos. 7 and 12; Antoninus Pius no. 7)

¹² Recent deliberations on what constituted Roman masculinity include McDonnell 2006; Gunderson 2000; Williams 1999; Edwards 1993: 1–62.

¹³ Women could represent their own interests but not those of others: Crook 1967: 277; Robinson 1995: 63, 89; Gardner 1986, esp. 261–65.

¹⁴ Ertel and Freyberger 2007: 137–39, noting, e.g., an inscription from Oropos (73 B.C.E.; Dittenberger, *Syll.*³ 747) showing use of the Basilica Porcia by consuls deliberating foreign affairs, the use of the Basilica Aemilia for financial judgments (Vitr. *De arch.* 5.1.8), and the (later) use of the Basilica Julia for the centumviral court (Quint. *Inst.* 12.5.6). By 310 B.C.E. money-changing shops (*tabernae argentariae*) had replaced butcher stalls (*tabernae lanienae*) in the Forum, adding to the Forum's dignity (*forensis dignitas*: Varro *ap. Non.* 853L). See also Welch 2003 and Patterson 1992: 192–93.

¹⁵ This arch, commemorating victories of Q. Fabius Maximus in 121 over the Allobroges, included *elogia* of three other (male) members of the gens: *LTUR* 2.264, s.v. “Fornix

Religion in the Forum, however, involved women as well as men. The Vestal Virgins and the buildings they used asserted the importance of Roman women for the protection and longevity of the state, even though the Aedes Vestae was largely inaccessible to men, and the six Vestals had exceptional status as women.¹⁶ Amongst the temples in the Forum for male deities, such as Saturn and Castor and Pollux, were also sanctuaries associated with female deities or abstractions, such as the shrine of Concord on the northwest margin of the Forum and the small shrines of Venus Cloacina and the Fons Juturnae.¹⁷ Both male and female cult personnel and worshippers visited shrines associated with male and female deities alike (Schultz 2006: 3–6). For religious purposes women in various groups and individually must have frequently appeared in the Republican Forum Romanum, although our literary sources tend to overlook such doings almost completely.¹⁸

Despite the rarity of identified priestesses (e.g., Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 171–81), Schultz has recently argued convincingly for broad albeit nuanced participation of women in Republican Rome's religious activities (Schultz 2006: 151–52 and *passim*). Some of this clearly took place in the Forum. In the Regia the *regina sacrorum* (the wife of the *rex sacrorum*), for example, undertook the sacrifice to Juno of a sow or a lamb on the Kalends (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.15.19). Highly placed priestesses and *matronae*, subordinate female religious personnel such as *magistrae* and *ministrae*, and simple female slave and free attendants must have regularly entered or moved through the Republican Forum for ritual activity, including in a range of religious processions (see, e.g., Polyb. 31.26.2–8, although without reference to a locale). The Vestals' numer-

Fabianus" (L. Chioffi). The nominative used in all three suggests images were displayed. Even if these were bust-portraits in niches rather than statues (Chioffi), the arch underscores the pervasiveness of men's images and commemoration in the Forum.

¹⁶ See Beard 1980 and 1995.

¹⁷ The early history of the cult building first vowed to Concord in 367 B.C.E. is controversial, and an imposing temple may not have been built until 121 B.C.E.: Richardson 1992: 98–99, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes (2)"; *LTUR* 1.316–20, s.v. "Concordia, Aedes" (A. M. Ferroni). For Venus Cloacina, with two female statues, see Coarelli 1986: 184–89; for the Shrine of Juturna, with statues of the Dioscuri, see *LTUR* 3.168–70, s.v. "Lacus Iuturnae" (E. M. Steinby). Public cults of Acca Larentia (no statue is mentioned) and perhaps of two other archaic female deities (Larunda, Angerona) were in the Velabrum at the Forum's southern edge (*LTUR* 1.13–14, s.v. "Acca Larentia" [J. Aronen]). An image of Stata Mater, worshipped somewhere in the Republican Forum (Festus 416L), was perhaps destroyed or moved to the Caelian in the Sullan period (Richardson 1992: 368, s.v. "Stata Mater, simulacrum"; *LTUR* 5.191, s.v. "Vicus Statae" [C. Buzzetti]).

¹⁸ Cf. Hölscher 2007: 128. Millar 1998: 43 notes how infrequently the shrine and atrium of Vesta and the Regia are mentioned in oratory of the end of the Republic.

ous duties included partaking in annual festivals, such as the one on 1 January that celebrated the investiture of the year's consuls on the Capitoline, the purification on 1 March of the Aedes Vestae, or the ceremony of the *Argei* held 15 May at the Pons Sublicius (Mekacher 2006: 63–67; Wildfang 2006: 22–33). These and other cultic events, like the infrequent *lustratio urbis* (Mekacher 2006: 67–70), ensured that the Vestals often went in and out of their shrine and the Atrium Vestae. Furthermore, their sanctity and rites drew others to their home in the Forum. Terentia fled to the Vestals during Cicero's exile when his house on the Palatine was burnt by the mob in 58 B.C.E. (Cic. *Fam.* 14.2.2; Treggiari 2007: 31, 61), and men as well as women seem to have visited the Atrium Vestae even in the Republic.¹⁹ Perhaps because religious activity was an accepted aspect of women's lives, and public rituals were undertaken for the benefit of the entire state, women's presence in the Forum for ritual and cult generally does not attract favorable or unfavorable comment.

But women's involvement in political and social matters within and around the buildings of the Republican Forum is another matter.²⁰ Most remarkable events here—at least those remarked upon by our sources—were male and “masculine,” involving men almost exclusively and constitutive of what being a Roman man was when not at war. Trials, elections, and legislation normally featured men as active participants, for only male Roman citizens could vote or serve as magistrates or jurors. Less than 5% of all public trials from 149 to 50 B.C.E. compiled by Alexander 1990 involved women,²¹ and I know of

¹⁹ *LTUR* 1.138–42, s.v. “Atrium Vestae” (R. T. Scott). Women could freely enter the Aedes Vestae from 7 to 15 June: Wildfang 2001: 241–46.

²⁰ The incident of the Sabine women comes from the earliest days of Rome's monarchy. Although in Livy's version (1.12–13) the women have great agency as they run into the Roman Forum to stop warfare between their Roman husbands and their Sabine families, Livy specifies that their “womanly pusillanimity had been overwhelmed by the evils [around them]” (*victo malis muliebri pavore*, 1.13.1). Plutarch (*Rom.* 19) locates the women's intervention in the Forum, but without Livy's comment. In Dionysius of Halicarnassus's rendition the Forum is built only afterwards (2.50.2), and the women's intervention between Romans and Sabines not located. See also Cic. *Rep.* 2.7.12–13, 2.8.14; Kampen 1991b: 451.

²¹ Alexander 1990, trials nos. 26, 38–42 (clustered in 114/113 B.C.E. around the scandal of the Vestal Virgins, with two cases each involving the same woman; the scandal also resulted in two further cases involving men alone), 76, 132, 133, 151, 156, 167–68 (two Vestal Virgins tried around 73 for *incestum* with L. Sergius Catilina and M. Licinius Crassus), 236 (unusually, women served as witnesses in this *quaestio extraordinaria* investigating the Bona Dea sacrilege), 306, 309, 384, and 391. I owe the reference to Alexander 1990 to one of the anonymous readers for *TAPA*, although my interpretation differs.

only five other trials in which women figured, including two instances of mass convictions for *stuprum* or *probrum* (“criminal sexual activity/shameful lewdness”: Livy 10.31.9, 295 B.C.E.; 25.2.9, 213 B.C.E., both involving *aliquot matronae*, “several matrons”).²² Public trials were held in the Forum. But men usually advocated for the women who appeared as plaintiffs or defendants. Valerius Maximus, whose *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* of the early Empire includes a rubric *Quae mulieres apud magistratus pro se aut pro aliis causas egerunt* (“Which women pled cases in front of magistrates on behalf either of themselves or of others,” 8.3), reveals that women could legally represent themselves at Roman civil and criminal trials but that such speaking was a contravention of social convention (Marshall 1990a). When Maesia of Sentinum in Umbria defended herself in a criminal trial so ably that she was acquitted (c. 100–50 B.C.E.), “they called her Androgyne, because in the semblance of a woman she bore a male spirit” (*quam, quia sub specie feminae virilem animum gerebat, Androgynen appellabant*, Val. Max. 8.3.1).²³ Thus, although women did occasionally appear in the Republican Forum as participants in trials, this was atypical. Moreover, men almost always represented the woman or women, who spoke little or not at all. We will see this exemplified below in the case of Verginia.

Similarly, the few known instances of women’s presence at assemblies and tribunals in the Forum are also specified as extraordinary. Valerius Maximus includes in a chapter *De constantia* (“On steadfastness”) the example of Sempronia, sister of the Gracchi and wife of Scipio Aemilianus, who appeared before a popular assembly in 100 B.C.E. Leading off the chapter with “What have women to do with public meetings? If ancestral custom is hewed to, nothing whatsoever,” Valerius continues immediately to say that sedition, violence, and civil unrest can overturn ancestral custom and a woman’s proper restraint.²⁴ He then shows Sempronia resolute on a speaker’s platform as the

²² Marshall 1990a: 53n24 also refers to Livy 40.37.5–7, the trial of Quarta Hostilia in 180 B.C.E. for poisoning, and Val. Max. 5.4.7, the case of a free-born woman condemned for a capital crime in a praetor’s court. The consuls oversaw the trial of women associated with the “Bacchanalian” conspiracy of 186 B.C.E., but most women were executed at home (Val. Max. 6.3.7; see Livy 39.18.6).

²³ Among other points, Marshall 1990a: 47n3 notes that Ulp. Dig. 3.1.1.5 “stigmatizes court-room appearance by women as *contra pudicitiam sexui congruentem*.” See also Dixon 1984, and below.

²⁴ *Quid feminae cum contione? si patrius mos servetur, nihil: sed ubi domestica quies seditionum agitata fluctibus est, praeae consuetudinis auctoritas convellitur, plusque valet quod violentia cogit quam quod suadet et praecipit verecundia.* He adduces Sempronia “not as though she were thrusting herself among men’s most serious matters,” but because she

“whole forum” (*totum forum*) howled in vain for her to kiss Equitius and thereby recognize this pretender as the son of her brother Tiberius (3.8.6). During Cicero’s exile Terentia may have been forced to leave her asylum with the Vestals to be interviewed by Clodius near the Basilica Porcia, an incident Cicero describes in shock (Cic. *Fam.* 14.2.2; see Treggiari 2007: 64–66). Similarly turbulent civil unrest surrounded the appearance of Hortensia in the Forum in 42 B.C.E. (see below).²⁵

Authors present the Forum Romanum as predominantly male in its more obviously social functions, at least until the late Republic. Women must always have participated in the great aristocratic obsequies that included a funeral laudation from the Rostra (see Polyb. 6.53; Suet. *Iul.* 84).²⁶ But the first recorded instance of a woman who received the honor of a funeral eulogy and procession is Popilia, probably in 102 B.C.E. (Cic. *De or.* 2.11.44),²⁷ and Julius Caesar seems to have expanded for women this extraordinary mark of distinction.²⁸ More importantly for my theme, in Cicero’s *De oratore*, our

kept her ancestral dignity even when dragged out by a plebeian tribune in front of the people (*non ut absurde <te> gravissimis virorum operibus inserentem, maligna relatione comprehendam, sed quia ab tribuno plebei producta ad populum in maxima confusione nihil a tuorum amplitudine degenerasti, honorata memoria prosequar*). He similarly introduces his account of other women who spoke in the Forum and civil trials (*in foro et iudiciis*), Amasia (see above), Afrania (or Carfania), and Hortensia (for whom see Quint. *Inst.* 1.1.6; App. *B Civ.* 4.5.32–34; and below), by remarking that they were acting contrary to “womanly nature and the dignity accruing to a Roman matron” (*condicio naturae et verecundia stolae*, 8.3). See Marshall 1989: 45–47; cf. Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 184–85.

²⁵ Marshall 1990a: 57–58 suggests that repercussions of the Social War caused Maesia to defend herself. Marshall 1990b: 338n10 notes also Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.93–94 when speaking of “the convention that *pudor* should inhibit public appearance by women.” We do not know where the anonymous woman of *Laudatio Turiae* publicly begged Lepidus about her husband’s recall (Dessau, *ILS* 8393 2.11–28).

²⁶ See Flower 1996: 122 n142: “[w]omen regularly contributed *imagines* to funerals in their husband’s families.”

²⁷ Hillard 2001, esp. 45–55. Women were granted the right to public funeral laudations much earlier, when some contributed their gold ornaments for the ransom paid the Gauls (Livy 5.50.7; cf. Plut. *Cam.* 8, *Mor.* 242F). Flower 1996: 122–27 stresses honoring women by public funerals within the late Republican context of competing aristocratic families.

²⁸ His eulogy in the Forum in 69 B.C.E. for his aunt Julia was accompanied by a striking display of images of Julia’s husband Marius and Marius’s supporters, and the public funeral he orchestrated soon thereafter for his first wife Cornelia was noted as the first instance of a younger woman’s receiving such honors (Plut. *Caes.* 5.2–4). Caesar’s daughter Julia (Pompey’s wife) was also eulogized in the Forum in 54 (Cass. Dio 39.64), and Caesar later honored her with funeral and gladiatorial games, a public banquet, and naval battles

source for the public funeral of Junia in 92/91 B.C.E., the honor and the “old woman” (*illa anus*) are used to shame her relative Brutus. As the funeral is presented as passing by in the Forum, Crassus reviles Brutus for squandering his talents rather than engaging in politics, law, oratory, or the military (Cic. *De or.* 2.55.225–26). Junia’s funeral in the Forum functions in Cicero’s text as a gender role reversal (cf. Seneca on Cloelia, below).

Although a few women are named at gladiatorial spectacles in late Republican Rome (Plut. *Sull.* 35 and *Mar.* 17.2; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 44.2), and the Forum housed gladiatorial games (or *munera*) from the third century B.C.E. on (e.g., Livy 23.30, 216 B.C.E.), no author specifically locates a woman at a *munus* held in the Republican Forum.²⁹ Conceivably, women heard speeches (*contiones*), trials, and the taking of oaths by officeholders, or witnessed *transvectiones equitum* when these mounted processions of select equestrians were held in the Forum for some years after 304 B.C.E. Women may have watched *ludi* (ritual games)³⁰ and triumphal processions³¹ in the Forum as elsewhere in the city; and they were undoubtedly participants—willing or otherwise—in Rome’s riots and popular violence, including notorious episodes in the Forum like the funeral of Clodius in 52 B.C.E.³² But even if women regularly

(Suet. *Iul.* 26.2, Plut. *Caes.* 55.2; I find it dubious that she was honored by a statue set up in the Campus Martius, as suggested by Cozza 1983: 111–15). *Matronae* contributed their *ornamenta* (“finery”) to the fire of Caesar’s cremation in the Forum (Suet. *Iul.* 84). During Caesar’s lifetime, in the late 50s, Octavian gave a funeral laudation for his grandmother Julia (Julius Caesar’s sister; see Suet. *Aug.* 8.1); in 43 B.C.E., soon after Caesar’s death, Octavian staged a public funeral for his mother Atia (Caesar’s niece; Cass. Dio 47.17.6).

²⁹ In the *Pro Murena* (e.g., 72) Cicero emphasizes the Forum as a venue for gladiatorial games that were to influence voters, underscoring the male audience even though he also notes that Vestals could attend (*Mur.* 73). Only with Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria* (1.163–70), published in 1 B.C.E., are women said to attend such spectacles in the Forum.

³⁰ The *ludi Romani* were probably performed in the Forum from Plautus’s time to 7 B.C.E., and the accompanying procession went through the Forum to the Circus Maximus: Moore 1991: 358–59; Purcell 1995: 331.

³¹ Flory 1998 assembles the meager evidence for women’s involvement with triumphs (other than simply as spectators, for which see, e.g., Ov. *Ars am.* 1.217–22). Women had slightly more active roles in imperial triumphs starting with Germanicus’s triumph of 17 C.E., and Messalina followed Claudius’s triumphal chariot in 44 in a special *carpentum*. But women seem not to have been on the triumphal chariot until Julia Domna: Flory 1998: 492–93; Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 187–88. Of course non-Roman women could figure in the triumph as captives: see, e.g., Beard 2007: 116, 125 and her Fig. 21.

³² For Clodius’s funeral, see Millar 1998: 181–82. Women do not appear in Millar’s “classic instances” of political conflicts being “played out in public in the Forum” in 62 B.C.E. and thereafter (*ibid.* 113–23). Lintott 1999 never notes women in his thorough dis-

used the Forum, our sources rarely note their presence at peaceful or at violent events there during the Republic. When they do remark on women in the Republican Forum, they treat the woman or women as extraordinary and often disturbing, especially when the women were in a crowd or were socially prominent individuals.

Livy tells us that in the immediate aftermath of the Battle of Cannae in 216 B.C.E., for example, the throng of women in the Forum almost precluded the state taking action: because of their lamentations the two praetors in the Curia Hostilia could barely advance proceedings with the senate and thus ruled that "Rome's matrons be kept out of public and within their own houses" (22.55.6).³³ But the women returned to the Forum to hear public discussion about ransoming the many Romans captured by Hannibal (22.60.2).³⁴ Cato refers to this irruption when, in Livy's later description of the repeal of the Lex Oppia in 195, the orator claims that women "have run into public, and can scarcely keep from the Forum and assemblies," as though they were about to ransom their male relatives from Hannibal (34.3.6–7).³⁵ In the tumult of 195 Livy also notes women in Rome's streets and blocking the approaches to the Forum (34.1.5). According to Milnor (2005: 158–85), Livy's presentation of Cato's arguments against the sumptuary law's repeal reflects increased tensions about women in law and public life that were brought to the fore in the Augustan age. Milnor also notes the prominence of the Forum in both Livy's description and Cato's address, despite the supposed location on the Capitoline for the meeting and speeches (Milnor 2005: 163–65; see Livy 34.1.4, 34.2.2).

cussion of violence in Republican Rome. But *matronae* are said to have been at Caesar's cremation (see n28 above), which went out of control.

³³ *Obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum ... matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant*. Was the appearance of massed women in the Forum something new? They are not reported in the crowded Forum after the Roman defeat of 217 B.C.E. at Lake Trasimene (see Polyb. 3.85.7–10), although Livy (22.7.6–7) speaks of an onslaught of the people into the Forum (*concursum in forum populi est factus*) and *matronae* wandering the streets in search for information (*matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades allata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios percontantur*). Livy also notes that almost more women than men waited at the gates of Rome for news (22.7.11).

³⁴ *Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro [ac] turbae virorum immiscuerat*. The women were removed as soon as debate began in the senate.

³⁵ *Volo tamen audire quid sit propter quod matronae consternatae procucurrerint in publicum ac vix foro se et contione abstineant? ut captivi ab Hannibale redimantur parentes, viri, liberi, fratres earum?* Cf. 34.2.1–2.

Authors from other periods echo the ideal segregation of women from the real “business” of the Republican Forum that Livy’s Cato asserts. For instance, when in 80 B.C.E. Cicero spoke of the support furnished Sextus Roscius by his client’s patrons, he remarked, “the things that should be done at home, those have been done by Caecilia [Metella]; M. Messalla took up the planning for the forum and the court” (*Rosc. Am.* 149).³⁶ In (the second-century C.E.) Appian’s famous rendition of Hortensia’s speech before the triumvirs, in which she deprecated in 42 B.C.E. a proposed tax on 1,400 women, Hortensia notes that she and other women came to the Forum only after being turned away by Fulvia, when they had been stymied while pursuing traditional ways of influencing men through their wives or relatives at home (*B Civ.* 4.32).³⁷

In spite of the literary segregation of women from the Forum, the public civic center of Republican Rome, a few texts have suggested that the mundane life of this space included women as well as men. In Livy’s stirring but fanciful story of the downfall of the decemvirs in mid-fifth century B.C.E. (3.44–49), the virtuous young woman Verginia, accompanied by her nurse, enters the Forum one morning to attend school (3.44.6).³⁸ There she is seized on a trumped-up charge so that the lustful decemvir Appius Claudius can gain possession of her. She is pulled before Claudius’s tribunal in the Forum, to be made the subject of a legal dispute. When she returns for adjudication the next day she is accompanied by a number of women whose “silent weeping was more moving than any words.”³⁹ Livy’s pitiful account ends in Verginia’s death, when her father kills her with a knife he snatched up at the butcher

³⁶ *Quae domi gerenda sunt, ea per Caeciliam transiguntur; fori iudicii rationem <M.> Messala ... suscepit.* In this chapter Cicero also plays with *mulier* and *virtus* (cf. McDonnell 2006: 162–63). See also Treggiari 2007: 18. Cicero elsewhere treats as disgraceful women’s involvement in Roman courts (Chelidon in *Verr.* 2.2.39 and 2.5.34); Hillard 1992: 42–45.

³⁷ See Hemelrijk 1987: 224, cf. Sumi 2005: 191–92. App. *B Civ.* 4.34 specifies that the triumvirs “were angry that women should dare to hold a public meeting when the men were silent.” For Valerius Maximus’s condemnation of women at assemblies, see n24 above.

³⁸ Ogilvie 1965: 478 on 3.44–49; Feldherr 1998: 204 remarks that “the issue of the illegitimate use of the forms of public authority for the pursuit of private ends structures the entire narrative and manifests itself in the spatial opposition between *domus* and *forum*.”

³⁹ *Comitantibus aliquot matronis ... comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat* (Livy 3.47.1, 3). Livy’s nurse also returns, to emphasize Verginia’s youthful innocence and to play a role in Livy’s plot at 3.48.4–5.

shops near the shrine of Cloacina (3.48.5).⁴⁰ Livy provides more topographical detail than do other versions of the incident.⁴¹ In many ways his dramatic tale is anachronistic: it is clear, for instance, that there were no schools in the Forum at this early date, much less ones that females would attend.⁴² His tale may imply that his audience assumed women had long entered the Forum for ordinary purposes such as shopping.⁴³ On the other hand, by providing emphatic detail for Verginia's presence in the Forum, a traditionally male area, Livy underscores the revolutionary importance of the episode. As both Joshel 1992 and Joplin 1990 have pointed out, in his early books Livy frequently features women as catalysts and markers of change.

Another text that is often used to argue for women's presence in the Republican Forum is Plautus's well-known description of the Forum and its habitués in the *Curculio* (466–82; late third/early second century B.C.E.).⁴⁴ But

⁴⁰ *Prope Cloacinae ad tabernas, quibus nunc Novis est nomen*. Feldherr 1998: 210–12 discusses the specificity of Livy's location (see also Ogilvie 1965: 487), remarking that it overcomes temporal distance and “throws into relief the anomalous and transgressive nature of the episode.”

⁴¹ Locating the incident *in foro* (“in the Forum,” *Rep.* 2.37.63), Cicero names not Verginia but Decimus Verginius (the father of a “virgin daughter,” *virginem filiam*), emphasizing his role as catalyst for the decemvirs' removal. Diodorus Siculus (12.24) does not specify the Forum or any other location, though he notes the proximity of a butcher's shop.

⁴² Ogilvie 1965: 480–81 points out that the first known school at Rome was opened much later by a freedman of Sp. Carvilius (*cos.* 234 B.C.E.).

⁴³ Purcell 1995: 333–34 emphasizes the economic functions of the early Forum, but notes that by the end of the Republic common retail seems to have been considered unsuitable for the political heart of the city. See also n14 above.

⁴⁴ Plaut. *Curc.* 466–82:

sed dum hic egreditur foras, / commonstrabo quo in quemque hominem facile inveniat
loco, / ne nimio opere sumat operam si quem conventum velit, / vel vitiosum vel sine vitio,
vel probum vel improbum. / qui peiurum convenire volt hominem ito in comitium; / qui
mendacem et gloriosum, apud Cloacinae sacrum, / ditis, damnosos maritos sub basilica
quaerito. / ibidem erunt scorta exoleta quique stipulari solent, / symbolarum conlatores apud
forum piscarium. / in foro infumo boni homines atque dites ambulant; / in medio propter
canalem, ibi ostentatores meri; / confidentes garrulique et malivoli supra lacum, / qui alteri
de nihilo audacter dicunt contumeliam / et qui ipsi sat habent quod in se possit vere dicier.
/ sub veteribus, ibi sunt qui dant quique accipiunt faenore. / pone aedem Castoris, ibi sunt
subito quibus credas male. / in Tusco vico, ibi sunt homines qui ipsi sese venditant. (“But
until he comes outdoors, I will show you in what place you might find every type of man,
lest anyone might work too hard if he wants to meet up with someone either full of vice or
without a fault, either upright or debauched. He who wants to meet a perjured man, let him
go into the Comitium; he who wants a deceitful and boastful fellow, to the shrine of Cloacina;
let him [who wants this type] seek rich wastrel husbands at the Basilica. And in that very spot
will also be depilated fancy boys for sale, and those who wrangle for them. Contributors to
eating clubs are at the Fish Market. In the lowest part of the Forum good and wealthy men
stroll about; in the middle part, next to the canal, are the mere poseurs; above the Lacus

this is probably not the inference we should draw from the passage. Plautus's phrase *scorta exoleta* (473), translated (e.g.) in the Loeb edition as "harlots, well-ripened ones,"⁴⁵ may suggest female sex workers in the Republican Forum. Throughout this section Plautus uses the masculine singular and plural, and time after time he specifies *homo* or *homines* ("man" or "men": see 467, 470, 475, 483). The use of the masculine adjectives and/or past participles, and of *homo* may be gender neutral (see *OLD* s.v. *homo*). But the various types Plautus lists are obviously male in his text, including husbands (*maritos*, 472); *scortum* has an indeterminate neuter gender,⁴⁶ and the 1st-declension adjective *exoletus* is associated with pederasty. With Moore (1991, esp. 349 and 354), I conclude that the *scorta exoleta* near the Forum's basilicas were "young male prostitutes," and that Plautus's passage, mocking various types of men, is aimed at Roman men.⁴⁷ To return to Verginia, to my mind her lack of agency throughout Livy's tale—she never speaks, and neither do her weeping female companions—reflects the maleness of the Republican Forum. This was a place of *men's* political, judicial, and other civic decisions, actions, and reactions. When not in the Republican Forum for religious purposes, women there were acknowledged as something extraordinary, transgressive, and anomalous.⁴⁸

Furthermore, men, not women, were commemorated and portrayed in the Roman Forum.⁴⁹ During the Republic the Senate and the People of Rome controlled both the occasion and the location of public honorific statues (e.g., Lahusen 1983: 97–111; Tanner 2000: 25), and women did not usually participate in the types of activities that garnered public recognition and

[Curtius] are those who slip you the news, the big talkers, the malicious, who boldly insult another for no cause and who themselves have plenty that could truthfully be said against them. Near the Old Shops are those who give and receive on interest. Next to the Temple of Castor are those to whom you unwisely give instant credit. In the Vicus Tuscus are the men who sell themselves.")

⁴⁵ Translation from Nixon 1917: 239. No one has repeated Lugli's identification (1947: 147–50 and 1957: 1.311, 587) as a *lupanar* ("brothel") of the row of subterranean rooms (70–40 B.C.E.) found by G. Boni between the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina and the "Temple of Romulus" on the Sacra Via. Boni identified the rooms as a prison, and others deem them the slave quarters of a wealthy house: Platner and Ashby 1929: 100n1, s.v. "Carcer."

⁴⁶ *OLD* s.v. *scortum* uses this passage of Plautus to support a definition of male prostitute. Cicero calls Antony a *volgare scortum* (*Phil.* 2.44).

⁴⁷ The very ones Plautus implies are the (male) spectators of *ludi* in the Forum.

⁴⁸ The most transgressive woman in the Republican Forum is Antony's wife Fulvia, who in 43 abused Cicero's head after it had been nailed to the Rostra (Cass. Dio 47.8.4).

⁴⁹ For honorific statuary in the Forum, see, e.g., Sehlmeier 1999; Smith 1985: 209–12.

honor.⁵⁰ The earliest statue of a woman associated with the Forum, long the only permanent tribute to a woman there, was of the legendary Cloelia (in alternative versions identified as Valeria).⁵¹ The Roman maiden Cloelia was a hostage in the war against Porsenna at the very beginning of the Republic, but heroically escaped.⁵² The equestrian statue publicly honoring her,⁵³ which probably dates originally to the fourth century B.C.E. (Flory 1993: 289; *LTUR* 2.226; Sehlmeier 1999: 100), was at the height of the busy Sacra Via on the northeast side of the Clivus Palatinus, at the eastern edge of the Forum.⁵⁴ After destruction by fire in the late Republic it was re-installed, probably during the Augustan period,⁵⁵ to survive until Servius saw it in the fourth century C.E.

Besides its gender and its location at the Forum,⁵⁶ Cloelia's statue is most unusual in its equestrian form and supposed antiquity, confounding its identification. More than one scholar has proposed that the statue was of a female deity rather than a mortal woman (references in Flory 1993: 289;

⁵⁰ Flory 1993: 288–90: since statues were associated with service to the state (Plin. *Pan.* 55.6), authors note the exceptional circumstances leading to statues for Gaia Taracia and Cloelia. Pliny notes the award of a statue to Taracia because she gave the Campus Martius to the Roman people in the early monarchy; her choice of the statue's (unspecified) location was "as great a compliment as the fact that a statue was decreed in honor of a woman" (*HN* 34.25). For Cloelia and her *virtus* (Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 16.2), see below.

⁵¹ Sehlmeier 1999: 98–101 gives the complicated double evidence for this statue, including Serv. on *Aen.* 8.646 and Livy 2.13.6–11. See also *LTUR* 2.226, s.v. "Equus: Cloelia" (E. Papi); Richardson 1992: 369–70, s.v. "Statua Cloeliae." For identification as Valeria, one of the saved hostages, see Plut. *Publ.* 19; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.35.

⁵² Allen 2006: 194–97 uses Cloelia as an example when discussing the gender implications of hostage-taking and -giving, and of resisting being a hostage.

⁵³ Sources differ on who originally erected the statue: the state (Livy 2.13.11; Plin. *HN* 34.28–29), the hostages themselves (Piso, quoted in Plin. *HN* 34.29), the fathers of the hostages (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 5.35.2), or Porsenna (Serv. on *Aen.* 8.646).

⁵⁴ Its prominent and crowded location (*celeberrimo loco*, Sen. *Cons. ad Marc.* 16.2) is roughly opposite the Temple of Jupiter Stator: Sehlmeier 1999: 98–101; Richardson 1992: 369–70, s.v. "Statua Cloeliae."

⁵⁵ Sehlmeier 1999: 100–1 convincingly refutes the suggested date of 30 B.C.E.

⁵⁶ Doubting the authenticity of this statue as an honorary one for a real woman, Sehlmeier 1999: 98–100 remarks that there are few honorary or memorial statues known from the high eastern part of the Sacra Via, and posits that that the Augustan reinstallation was closer to the central Forum. He does not remark on the uniqueness of a woman's statue near the Forum. The few other statues of Roman women said to be in Republican Rome cannot be located (Gaia Taracia) or were elsewhere in the city: Gaia Caecilia's was supposed to be in the Temple of Semo Sanctus on the Quirinal; Claudia Quinta's in the vestibule of the Temple of the Magna Mater; Cornelia's in the Porticus of Metellus (see n64 below).

Sehlmeyer 1999: 100). But Servius and Seneca the Younger, who both claim to have seen the equestrian statue and who identify it as of the young Roman woman Cloelia,⁵⁷ make a point of her gender. Servius notes that the honor—an equestrian statue for a woman—was “something manly” (*aliquid virile*, Serv. on *Aen.* 8.646).⁵⁸ Seneca introduces gender even more explicitly when he mentions the statue in his *Consolation to Marcia* (c. 50 C.E.). Adducing Cloelia to exemplify the virtues of women (16.1),⁵⁹ he uses her and her public honor at the Forum to shame the dissolute youth of his own age: “Seated on an equestrian statue on the Sacra Via, in a most congested spot, Cloelia reproaches those young men of ours—mounted on a cushion—that they thus are entering the city in which we have given even women an honorary horse!” (16.2).⁶⁰ Seneca emphasizes Cloelia’s gender role reversal to spur males to their appropriate civic duties.

Cloelia’s lone statue on the edge of the Forum contrasts with the great number of public statues to men in the Republican Forum, not to mention elsewhere in the city of Rome. Literary references and historical events argue that from the fourth century B.C.E. the Forum Romanum was the site of public honorific statues for men,⁶¹ a phenomenon investigated by Tanner 2000: 28–29, Sehlmeyer 1999: 45–109, and others. Literary sources emphasize the practice, with Pliny noting that by 158 B.C.E. so many honorific statues had been installed that the censors removed from the Forum all those of magistrates “excepting those which had been set up by a resolution of the People or the Senate” (Plin. *HN* 34.30).⁶² Although Pliny’s remarks indicate that the Forum

⁵⁷ Plut. *Publ.* 19.5, who offers both identifications (Cloelia and Valeria), locates it on the Via Sacra as one goes to the Palatine. Sehlmeyer 1999: 100n332 doubts Plutarch’s claim to have seen the statue.

⁵⁸ Richardson 1992: 369–70 tenders that *virile* indicates Cloelia “was shown mounted astride, like an Amazon, rather than riding side-saddle.”

⁵⁹ For the incongruity of *virtus* and women during the Republic, see McDonnell 2006: 161–65, who argues that most cited instances of feminine *virtus* refer to courageous actions.

⁶⁰ *Equestri insidens statuae in sacra via, celeberrimo loco, Cloelia exprobrat iuvenibus nostris pulvinum escendentibus in ea illos urbe sic ingredi in qua etiam feminas equo donavimus.*

⁶¹ See, e.g., Lahusen 1983: 18–22. Purcell 1995: 330 stresses the importance of the fourth century B.C.E. for the Roman Forum, including for public statuary there. The proposal by Smith 1988: 125–28, that public honorific portraiture developed in Rome only after 158 B.C.E., has been rebutted by Stewart 2003, Tanner 2000, and others. But Fejfer 2008: 20–21 argues that public honorific portraits even of men were rare until the time of Sulla.

⁶² Sehlmeyer 1999: 152–63; Smith 1985: 210; Lahusen 1983: 18–19. Augustus later removed to the Campus Martius all the statues on the Capitoline (Suet. *Calig.* 34).

also housed privately-erected statues, the specification that the images under dispute were of magistrates buttresses my argument for the male aspect of the Republican Forum.⁶³ Even greater confirmation comes in Pliny's remarks that immediately follow (*HN* 34.31): "There still are extant strident protests of Cato, made during his censorship [184 B.C.E.] against statues being erected to Roman women in the provinces; nonetheless, he could not prevent statues also being raised to women in Rome, such as to Cornelia ... To her has been placed a famous seated [statue] in the Porticus of Metellus."⁶⁴ But in fact merely four Republican statues of Roman women can now be named, and only that of Cloelia was anywhere near the Forum.⁶⁵ This strikingly contrasts with the many male statues from the Republican Forum (and elsewhere in Rome) that scholars have compiled. Not only were women separated from the Republican Forum by literary constructs; even their depictions were largely absent in the space.⁶⁶

⁶³ Sehlmeier 1999: 153; only magistrates (and legendary heroes) are known to have had statues in the Republican Forum; privately installed statues have left no trace. Even if Fejfer 2008: 21 is right to doubt a great quantity of men's public honorific statues in the Forum, the fact that the literary evidence insists on this abundance reinforces my point of the gendering of the Republican Forum Romanum.

⁶⁴ Plin. *HN* 34.31: *exstant Catonis in censura vociferationes mulieribus statuas Romanis in provinciis poni; nec tamen potuit inhibere, quo minus Romae quoque ponerentur, sicuti Corneliae ... sedens huic posita ... insignis in Metelli publica porticu* (Teubner edition). Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, was publicly honored by a bronze seated statue (erected c. 100 B.C.E.?) in the Porticus of Metellus near the Circus Flaminius; the base, now in the Capitoline Museums (*CIL* 6.10043), was probably recut in the Augustan period: Coarelli 1996; Kajava 1989; Flory 1993: 292; Sehlmeier 1999: 187–89; *LTUR* 4.357–59, s.v. "Statua: Cornelia" (L. Chioffi).

⁶⁵ For the statues of Gaia Taracia (also known as Fufetia and associated with Acca Larentia, for whom see n17 above) and of Gaia Caecilia, a wife of Tarquinius Priscus, see Sehlmeier 1999: 36–38 and 82, who persuasively doubts their authenticity; see also n50 and n56 above. The statue of Quinta Claudia, the savior of Rome in 204 B.C.E., was in the vestibule of the Temple of the Magna Mater: Val. Max. 1.8.11; Tac. *Ann.* 4.64; Sehlmeier 1999: 126–28 (with doubts). For the statue of Cornelia, see n64 above. There may also have been a statue of Tarpeia in the Temple of Jupiter in the Porticus Metelli (Festus 496L; Richardson 1992: 221, s.v. "Iuppiter Metelli [or Metellina], Aedes"). A statue of (the non-Roman) Cleopatra was in the Temple of Venus Genetrix (App. *B Civ.* 2.102; Cass. Dio 51.22.3); Flory 1993: 295–96. Evans 2009, esp. 135–41, stressing the novelty of women's images in Republican Rome, discusses the decorative program of the Portico of Pompey, which included statues of Greek women poets and comedic and tragic heroines.

⁶⁶ B. Bergmann has kindly brought to my attention the portrait of the famously beautiful courtesan Flora, once Pompey's mistress, which Pompey's legate Q. Caecilius Metellus

II. THE FORUM IN THE AUGUSTAN AND EARLY IMPERIAL PERIOD

Augustus's establishment of the Principate brought public prominence to Livia, Octavia, and other imperial women, and set in motion innumerable political and social changes ultimately affecting all Roman women. But the topic of women in this noble space remained controversial, as the previous discussion of Livy's treatment of women in the Republican Forum makes clear. Moreover, the Augustan Forum Romanum (see Figure 2) does not seem to have reflected in more numerous depictions of females the Principate's transformations.⁶⁷ One key but confounding issue for visual imagery in the Forum Romanum is the responsibility for public statuary during the imperial period. Duties of the *curatores operum publicorum*, a new senatorial board established by Augustus to supervise public works, apparently included overseeing the installation of public statues in the imperial city.⁶⁸ But for the erection of honorific statues to imperial women the emperor's permission may have been required, as it seems to have been for public statues of the emperor.⁶⁹ In any case, statue bases found in the first-century C.E. Roman Forum are all for men, and the dedicators are overwhelmingly the Senate and the People of Rome.⁷⁰

Nepos put into the Forum's Temple of Castor and Pollux along with other statues and paintings (Plut. *Pomp.* 2.2–4; incident dated around 60 B.C.E. by *LTUR* 1.243, s.v. "Castor, Aedes, Templum" [I. Nielsen]). Pliny the Elder condemns paintings by Arellius of courtesans and other female sex workers, a fad he dates to the late Republic (*HN* 35.119). I await Bergmann's article on paintings of women in Rome.

⁶⁷ But other changes were felt: e.g., by a contrast to Cato's austerity, Pliny decries the furnishing of shady awnings to the Forum by Augustus's nephew Marcellus (*HN* 19.24).

⁶⁸ Robinson 1992: 54–55, 79, with Suet. *Aug.* 37, on the supervision of statuary. Under Constantine a (senatorial) *curator statuarum* ("supervisor of statues") reported to the Urban Prefect: Dessau, *ILS* 1222.

⁶⁹ See Pekáry 1985: 4–12. For the interaction of emperor and senate about statues see L. Volusius Saturninus in 56 (see below) and Suet. *Galba* 23.1: after Galba's assassination the senate decreed a statue of him on a rostrate column in the part of the Forum where he had been killed, but Vespasian later rescinded the decree.

⁷⁰ See, e.g., Højte 2005: 168 (focusing on imperial men), although pointing out (with references) that a few statues in Rome were dedicated by the senate alone, by the *plebs urbana*, or, as one for Augustus, by the *Plebs [omnis XXXV tribuum]*: *CIL* 6.3747, 31291, 36896, 40310 = Højte 2005: 230 (Augustus no. 5). Some other Forum statues of emperors are mentioned below. Although we know of honorific statues installed in the Forum for non-imperial men (see on Volusius Saturninus below), I know of no such bases found there.

The earliest known public statues for imperial women confuse the matter. Cassius Dio reports both that Octavian granted Octavia and Livia public statues in 35 B.C.E. (49.38.1) and that the senate voted Livia the honor of public statues in 9 B.C.E. after the death of her son Drusus (55.2.5). Regardless of whether princeps or senate was ultimately responsible for public statues of women, Flory 1993 and Severy 2003: 232–34 have argued that the images of Livia and Octavia referred to by Cassius Dio were exceptional and certainly not the beginning of a trend.⁷¹ Furthermore, no evidence points to the Forum Romanum as the location of the statues Cassius Dio reports.⁷² The Forum has not revealed any inscription documenting an image of these prototypical imperial women,⁷³ despite its decisive shift during the Augustan period toward Augustus and his family.⁷⁴

To my knowledge, in the Forum there were only a few images of women—historical or legendary—during the Augustan period and the succeeding century.⁷⁵ The interior of the Basilica Aemilia, as reconstructed in the years after 14 B.C.E., had reliefs referring to the foundation of Rome and featuring women. One scene is the punishment of the evil Tarpeia (who in legend betrayed Rome to the Sabines); another, the Rape of the Sabine women; and

⁷¹ Bartman 1999: 62 and 70n68 downplays the “extraordinary innovation” of public portrait statuary for Livia and Octavia.

⁷² Flory 1993: 295 and Kleiner 1996: 37 suggest that the statues were set up in the Temple of Venus Genetrix, next to that of Cleopatra (see n65 above).

⁷³ Alexandridis 2004: 32 notes that 21 of the 115 portraits of imperial women from Livia to Julia Domna with identifiable find spots come from a forum or agora (18.3%, freestanding or from a building). But no image listed in her Table 2 is from the Roman Forum. Wood 1999: 27–29 (with Rose 1997) suggests that portraits of Octavia were never plentiful.

⁷⁴ See Zanker 1972; Purcell 1995: 336–39 (noting the role of Julius Caesar in the transformation).

⁷⁵ Purcell 1995: 332 notes that from at least c. 100–50 B.C.E., ornamental statues were (temporarily?) installed in the Forum and basilicas as embellishment for spectacles. They were probably mythological females: Pliny (*HN* 34.22) notes three Sibyl statues near the Rostra. A painting of the personification of Nemea (the Nemean forest where Hercules killed the Nemean lion) by Nicias of Athens (c. 75 B.C.E.) was put by Augustus in the Curia Julia (Plin. *HN* 35.27 and 131; I thank B. Bergmann for this reference). Such mythological females, goddesses, and/or personifications are not the same as historical, mortal women: see Kampen 1991a. Hölscher 2007 argues for a proliferation of female images in Rome in Augustan monuments and private houses, but these (mostly relief) are found elsewhere than the Roman Forum (e.g., at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine and the Forum Augustum) and are of anonymous, ideal females, often in Greek dress. Hölscher argues that they were used to emphasize the piety of Augustus’s Principate.

a third might have represented the Sabine women's intercession to end the later war between Romans and Sabines (Kränzle 1994). Kampen has stressed (1988: 15–16 and 1991b: 450–51) that these scenes reinforced traditional gender roles even while expressing anxiety about women in public; Kränzle 1994: 99–100 that they combine mythic and historical elements to present timeless “patriotic” lessons.⁷⁶ Two generations later, after the death in 38 C.E. of Caligula's sister and alleged lover Drusilla, the emperor held a public funeral for her; when she was deified by the senate, a golden effigy of her was set up in the senate house and another in the Temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Iulium (Cass. Dio 59.11.1–3). These statues, which Cassius Dio mentions while discussing Caligula's most reprehensible acts (59.10.1), were undoubtedly destroyed after Caligula's assassination.⁷⁷ Only in the 40s C.E., when Claudius had placed in the Temple of the deified Augustus a seated statue of Livia,⁷⁸ was a real woman represented in the Forum more than ephemerally.

Women clearly were important for Augustan and Julio-Claudian prominence and self-fashioning, as we know from the many sculptural assemblages of Julio-Claudian portraits and statues documented epigraphically, in literature, and through finds.⁷⁹ Yet the Roman Forum was not the chosen site for portrait groups and buildings featuring or associated with women. Rather, Livia, Octavia, and other imperial women, to a lesser extent, were linked with porticoes, temples, shrines, and other installations found in the Campus Martius, on the Esquiline, and elsewhere. References to these women were made through their images, architectural patronage, and involvement in ritual and

⁷⁶ Ertel and Freymeyer 2007: 118–29 convincingly relocate the reliefs on the walls of the main nave and redate them to the Augustan period, although accepting other conclusions of Kränzle 1994. See also Ertel and Freymeyer 2007: 128.

⁷⁷ See Wood 1995: 460 and *passim* and Wood 1999: 238–48 for the iconography and use of images of Caligula's sister Drusilla, Agrippina II, and Livilla II.

⁷⁸ At Claudius's urging in 41 the senate had deified Livia: Cass. Dio 60.5.2; Suet. *Claud.* 11.2 (mentioning divine honors only); *CIL* 6.4222 = Dessau, *ILS* 4995 (the temple became known as the “Templum Divi Aug(usti) et Divae Augustae”); Hänlein-Schäfer 1985: 87, 114 no. 6, 126–27. Although there is no consensus, I believe that the Templum divi Augusti was in the southeastern part of the Forum, between the *vicus Tuscus* and *vicus Iugarius* near the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the Basilica Julia, and the structures at Santa Maria Antiqua, at the edge of the Palatine, roughly where my Figure 2 places it. See *LTUR* 1.145–46, s.v. “Augustus, Divus, Templum (Novum); Aedes” (M. Torelli); Hurst 2007: 85n19 and 95n48. There is no information for the location or longevity of the shrine raised to Poppaea, “the goddess Venus,” after her death in 65 C.E. (Cass. Dio 63.26.4; cf. *Tac. Ann.* 16.21.2; *CIL* 11.1331; Davies 2000: 103–4).

⁷⁹ See Rose 1997; Wood 1999; Bartman 1999; Winkes 1995. See also below.

ceremony.⁸⁰ The Ara Pacis, for example, was dedicated by the senate on Livia's birthday in 9 B.C.E., and its south and north historical friezes depict Livia and other imperial women alongside men and children in a formal procession. But the altar was built in the Campus Martius—a newly refashioned area of Rome bearing the imprint of Augustus and far from the traditional Forum.⁸¹ Some who note the scarcity in Rome of imperial women's images during the Augustan period have explained it as avoidance of “too open a declaration of dynastic intentions” (Wood 1999: 28)⁸² or because “[t]he role of the women of the imperial family in public was unclear and under negotiation during Augustus's lifetime” (Severy 2003: 232–34; cf. Milnor 2005: 179). But the Roman Forum's ideological role in such negotiations has not been sufficiently stressed.

Images of women remained rare in the Forum Romanum throughout the first century, even while the Republican functions of this space became obsolete.⁸³ Meanwhile the Forum saw ever more images of the emperors, both free-standing and in association with buildings, to judge from bases found in and near the Forum,⁸⁴ from other documentary evidence, and from liter-

⁸⁰ For Livia's architectural patronage, see (e.g.) Kleiner 1996; Flory 1984; and Purcell 1986: 88–91. Some have assumed that Livia gave to the Temple of Concord a sardonix once belonging to Polycrates of Samos (e.g., *LTUR* 1.319 [Ferroni]), but Pliny the Elder's text is imprecise at best: both “Augustae” and “Augusti” are transmitted in *HN* 37.4. For Octavia, see Woodhull 2003. No venue is stated for the official banquets organized by Julia and Livia, then by Livia alone, to celebrate the military successes of Tiberius in 9 and 7 B.C.E.; Tiberius's sponsored banquets for the Senate and the People of Rome at that time are located on the Capitoline: Cass. Dio 55.2.4, 55.8.2. Livia was selected priestess of the imperial cult in 14 C.E., but the *Templum divi Augusti* on the Forum was not dedicated until 37 C.E. (Cass. Dio 59.7.1; Suet. *Calig.* 21). We have no epigraphic attestation for her priesthood (Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 177–78). See also Kampen 1991a: 219, 243–44 for the strong gender symbolism in Augustan and Julio-Claudian historical relief.

⁸¹ Rehak 2006: 132–33 reckons women as only 15% of the participants in the procession of the southern and northern friezes. But we should note that women appear in only one particular group, the imperial family. Oddly, the Vestal Virgins appear only at a much smaller scale and on the altar's interior. Rehak canvasses the various suggested identifications of the main procession (133).

⁸² Flory 1996 sees this changing in 15 C.E. with the statuary group commemorating Tiberius, Livia, Germanicus, and Drusus the Younger and installed near the marble arch for Germanicus in the Circus Flaminius. The arch itself, erected in 19 C.E., included among its twelve statues ones of Germanicus's mother, sister, wife, and three daughters: Flory 1996: 300 and Rose 1997: 26, 108–10 (Cat. 36); Severy 2003: 323–25.

⁸³ Purcell 1995: 340: the Forum Iulium, Augustum, and Traianeum became the sites for “*forensis dignitas*,” official functions and honors for magistrates and generals.

⁸⁴ Højte 2005: 113: four statue bases have been found in or close to the Forum for the period from Augustus to Titus (two for Augustus, his nos. 1, 5; one for Tiberius, his no. 7; one for Titus, his no. 2).

ary testimony such as that for the equestrian statue of Domitian (*Stat. Silv.* 1.1).⁸⁵ The numerous statues of Augustus included one of gold set up in 36 B.C.E., and statues of Gaius and Lucius were found in the *porticus* named for them.⁸⁶ Non-imperial men were also honored by statuary in the early imperial Forum. The remarkable inscription for L. Volusius Saturninus (*cos.* 3 C.E.) reveals that this *privatus* (“non-imperial man”), who died in 56 while serving as city prefect, received nine honorific statues in Rome on Nero’s proposal and by decree of the senate. Five of these were in the Roman Forum: two marble statues in the Temple of the deified Augustus, a consular one in the Temple of the deified Julius, an augural one in the Regia, and an equestrian one next to the Rostra (*AE* 1972, 174; Eck 1996: 127).

In contrast, women’s statues remained notably rare in the Forum. One of our infrequent examples from the first century is reported in the turmoil surrounding Nero’s divorce of Octavia in 62. According to Tacitus, the Roman populace “overturned public images of Poppaea and celebrated statues of Octavia instead, decorating them with flowers, carrying them on their shoulders, and setting them up in the Forum and in temples” (*Ann.* 14.61.1).⁸⁷ In light of the earlier dearth of women’s images in the Forum, this was a striking claim on the people’s part for Octavia’s rightful place in the imperial family and center of power, as well as an impressive assertion of their own authority.⁸⁸ But the people’s demonstration of support for Octavia was futile and her statues surely overthrown (cf. *Tac. Hist.* 1.78). To my knowledge the Forum did not receive new permanent images of women until the second century,⁸⁹ and I know of no statue of a *privata* (“non-imperial woman”) ever in the Forum.

⁸⁵ *LTUR* 2.228–29, s.v. “Equus: Domitianus” (C. F. Giuliani); Richardson 1992: 144–45, s.v. “Equus Domitiani.”

⁸⁶ See Pekáry 1985: 45–46; Lahusen 1983: 20–21.

⁸⁷ See also [Sen.] *Octavia* 780–850; Pekáry 1985: 141. Wood 1999: 271 remarks that these images could not have been of marble but were something lighter, perhaps hollow-cast bronze busts or statues or painted panels. In 29 C.E. the populace demonstrated support for the family of Germanicus by displaying images of Agrippina (the Elder) and her son Nero around the Curia, but they do not seem to have tried to erect any statues (*Tac. Ann.* 5.4.2). See also Gregory 1994 and Stewart 2003: 262, 286–87.

⁸⁸ Purcell 1986: 101n53 remarks on “the way in which the *plebs* takes the side of ... women.” Purcell 1995: 327–29 elsewhere links the Forum Romanum and “a distinctive plebeian social consciousness.”

⁸⁹ None of the portraits (or portrait bases) associated with Julia (daughter of Titus), Domitia, or another member of the Flavian dynasty have find spots from the Forum: see Varner 1995; Alexandridis 2004: 173–77 (Cat. nos. 146–50, 154–55, 160–61). For the golden statue of Drusilla in the Curia, see n77 above. Fejfer 2008: 344–50 discusses “a

Similarly, the presence of living women in the Forum Romanum is attested but scantily for the Augustan period and the first century of the Principate, and prominent women there still seem to have caused discomfort.⁹⁰ Public funerals for women continued, often including funeral laudations spoken from the Rostra or some other prominent spot in the Forum. But perhaps in keeping with Augustus's general reluctance to publicize the women of his family, after his sister Octavia died in 11 B.C.E. her body was shielded from public view by a curtain as it lay in state in the Temple of the Deified Caesar.⁹¹ A more notorious example of a woman in the early imperial Forum is Julia, Augustus's daughter. Various ancient authors emphasize her alleged promiscuity, which resulted in her exile for adultery in 2 B.C.E., by setting it in the Forum. Seneca the Younger and Cassius Dio locate her *stupra* ("lewd acts") on the Rostra itself, with Seneca stressing the Forum and Rostra as the very place from which her father had carried his law about adultery (Sen. *Ben.* 6.32.1; cf. Cass. Dio 55.10.12).⁹² Pliny exemplifies her "shamelessness" (*licentia*) by her crowning the Forum's statue of Marsyas with flowers (*HN* 21.9).⁹³ Although it seems most unlikely that an individual could repeatedly have sex on any monument in this most public of spaces, the authors' choice of the Forum as the site of Julia's allegedly uncontrolled sexuality underscores her transgressions.

clear intention to differentiate strongly between the 'real' Roman woman and statuary representations of those few who held outstanding positions in the city" (344).

⁹⁰ As in the Republic, religious and ceremonial occasions must have seen females, but notices are rare: *puellae* and *pueri* extolled Caligula's virtues (Suet. *Calig.* 16.4), and Ovid remarks that he ran into a *matrona* on the Nova Via above the Forum as both were returning from rites (*Fast.* 6.395–416). Women of the imperial family are not noted at the *tirocinia fori* of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, or that of Nero, when the boys ceremoniously assumed their *toga virilis* in a procession that apparently went through the Forum (Suet. *Aug.* 26 and *Ner.* 7.2; cf. Plin. *Ep.* 1.9, Suet. *Tib.* 54).

⁹¹ Cass. Dio 54.35.4–5, cf. *Consol. ad Liviam* 442. Augustus delivered a funeral oration for Octavia from the Temple of the deified Julius, while her son-in-law Drusus the Elder gave another from the Forum. Cassius Dio remarks, "not all the honors voted for her were accepted by Augustus" (54.35.5; contrast Suet. *Aug.* 61.2, with *PIR* O 66). Junia's obsequies in 22 C.E. (Tac. *Ann.* 3.76) included a public laudation at the Rostra in the Forum (*pro rostris*) and a (public) funeral.

⁹² *Forum ipsum ac rostra, ex quibus pater legem de adulteriis tulerat, filiae in stupra placuisse* (Teubner text). Wood 1999: 36–40 discusses allegations of Julia's conspiracy, and notes the emphasis by the authors on Julia's "nocturnal prowlings ... [in] places where a woman had no business to be."

⁹³ The statue was long a symbol of freedom (*LTUR* 4.364–65, s.v. "Statua: Marsyas" [F. Coarelli]; if Julia did in fact consort with innumerable men there (Sen. *Ben.* 6.32.1 adds this), moderns might see the location as symbolic for sexual liberation.

Disquiet about women in the Forum is evinced by other accounts for the early Principate. When discussing Tiberius's general inhibition of his mother's public standing and his reprimands that she not involve herself in matters greater than befit a woman, Suetonius notes that the emperor was particularly irked when Livia rushed to a fire near the Temple of Vesta and urged nearby people and soldiers to help out (*Tib.* 50.2–3; see also Cass. Dio 58.2.3 and 6; Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.2).⁹⁴ The Forum's location may have made her intercession especially galling. In a senatorial discussion of 21 C.E. about the misuse of imperial images for asylum, C. Cestius resentfully protested that "laws were abolished and completely overturned" when he was insulted and threatened by Annia Rufilla "in the Forum, on the very doorstep of the Curia" but could not respond because she was clutching an image of the emperor (Tac. *Ann.* 3.36.2–4).⁹⁵ Tacitus's report of this incident verifies women's presence in the imperial Forum Romanum,⁹⁶ even as it alludes to the innovation in the early Principate of having women appear before the senate as a court for adultery, *maiestas*, murder, and other serious charges.⁹⁷ But it seems to me significant that two chapters earlier Tacitus had presented the long and emotional debate over the proposal that wives of governors be forbidden from joining their husbands in the provinces (*Ann.* 3.33–34).⁹⁸ Annia Rufilla's insolent irruption

⁹⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 50.3: *sed et frequenter admonuit, maioribus nec feminae convenientibus negotiis abstinere, praecipue ut animadvertit incendio iuxta aedem Vestae et ipsam intervenisse populumque et milites, quo enixius opem ferrent, adhortatam, sicut sub marito solita esset*. I thank E. Keitel for bringing this passage to my attention, although she may not agree with my interpretation.

⁹⁵ *Abolitas leges et funditus versas, ubi in foro, in limine curiae ab Annia Rufilla*. She was protesting a conviction of *fraus*. See Woodman and Martin 1996: 311–14 on Tacitus's report of the senatorial discussion, which he peppers with such words as *licentia*, *probra*, *invidia*, and *flagitia*.

⁹⁶ Since Annia Rufilla was no longer a defendant she could not enter the Curia itself: Talbert 1984: 154, 161.

⁹⁷ For the importance of this change, which broke "[t]he previous long-standing taboo on the presence of women at senate meetings," see especially Marshall 1990b: 335 and *passim*. He collects 46 such cases, dating from 17 to 100 C.E., although noting that we often do not know where the trials were actually held. Many were presumably heard in the Curia by senators, although Tacitus shows the notorious Aemilia Lepida during her trial in 20 C.E. only in Pompey's theater in a break during the proceedings: *Ann.* 3.23.1. See also Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 184–85; Talbert 1984: 157 (with Ulp. *Reg.* 13.2 and Suet. *Claud.* 40).

⁹⁸ For the debate on women and provincial commands, see Ginsburg 1993; Woodman and Martin 1996: 283–309. Milnor 2005: 180–85 points to Livy's *lex Oppia* debate as influential on Tacitus's presentation.

into the Forum thus seems the logical conclusion of opening to women more possibilities for political influence.⁹⁹

Elsewhere Tacitus notes that Sejanus's schemes to bring down Agrippina the Elder in 27 included anonymous advice for her to go to the most frequented part of the Forum, clasp a statue of the divine Augustus, and call upon the Senate and Roman People (*Ann.* 4.67.4).¹⁰⁰ If elite male sensibilities continued to be hostile to women in the Forum in this period, as I am arguing, Sejanus was thus encouraging Agrippina to a lethal display. These episodes, and the tone of their authors' remarks, imply that the presence of politically important women in the early imperial Forum was still contested.¹⁰¹ Tacitus seems particularly disposed to the suggestion of transgression, previously expressed in Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and other Republican and Augustan works (Ginsburg 1993: 86–93; Milnor 2005: 182).

During the Augustan period and following, the Roman Forum retained its traditional associations, and perhaps also its appearance, of being a male civic space. We should not be surprised at this throwback at the foundation of the Principate. Long-established political roles of men changed fundamentally with Augustus's consolidation of power and the subsequent Julio-Claudian inheritance and modification of his authority. Despite, or perhaps because of, the essential role of women in the early imperial court, conventional gender roles were insisted on for topographical Rome's traditional heart, the Forum Romanum.

III. THE ROMAN FORUM DURING THE MIDDLE EMPIRE

From the end of the first century at the latest, however, the Roman Forum lost its male exclusivity in one change among others (see Figure 2.) The great fires of Rome in 64, 80, and 192 C.E., and the almost continuous rebuilding of the eastern edges of the Forum in and after the Neronian period, attended the development of the Forum Romanum into a low-level administrative center. This alteration is almost imperceptible in the archaeological record, which privileges more celebrated buildings.¹⁰² But scrappy remains do attest to the Horrea Piperataria beyond the Atrium Vestae at the eastern edges of

⁹⁹ Marshall 1990b: 357 notes how frequently Tacitus uses senatorial trials involving women “for the portrayal of victims of tyranny or object lessons of moral decadence.”

¹⁰⁰ Without referring to Agrippina in the Forum, Suet. *Tib.* 53.2 holds that these charges were falsely brought against her on the occasion of her banishment to Pandateria in 29.

¹⁰¹ Purcell 1995: 339 does not consider gender when he suggests that such incidents were political protests against the new autocracy.

¹⁰² Purcell 1995: 340, beginning this development in the Tiberian period.

the Forum, a sprawling utilitarian building dating to Domitian's reign.¹⁰³ Further, from the last decades of the first century C.E. minor Roman officials had meeting rooms (often called *scholae*) in the Forum.¹⁰⁴ One such *schola* has been identified in the humble barrel-vaulted rectangular room, c. 2.50m wide and 4.10m deep, built around the time of the Temple of Vespasian and sandwiched between it and the Temple of Concord at the back of a long narrow space between the two.¹⁰⁵ Not appearing on most published plans of the Forum, the unprepossessing structure has been called the Aedicula Faustinae because nineteenth-century excavations nearby found a small statue base dedicated after 176 to Faustina the Younger (more below). Its dedicators are the *viatores* ("runners" or minor officials) of the supervising quaestor of the nearby public treasury at the Temple of Saturn. But the small, plain room, which antedates the base by about a century, almost certainly was not a shrine to Faustina or even a meeting hall for the *viatores*.¹⁰⁶ Whatever its function, it is typical of the more shabby untidiness of the Roman Forum obvious by the late first century C.E.

The mid-imperial Forum Romanum seems also to have housed meeting rooms of towns and cities (often called *stationes*), which are attested by epigraphy as well as by literature dating at least some of them to the Neronian

¹⁰³ *LTUR* 3.45–46, s.v. "Horrea Piperataria" (M. Piranomonte); see also *LTUR* 3.49–50, s.v. "Horrea Vespasiani" (E. Papi).

¹⁰⁴ Richardson 1992: 345, s.v. "Schola." *Scholae* epigraphically suggested for the Forum include the Schola Kalatorum Pontificum (Richardson 1992: 346, s.v.) and Schola Xanthi (346–47, s.v.). See also *LTUR* 4.243–44, s.v. "Schola: Kalatores Pontificum et Flaminum" (R. T. Scott, suggesting that this group of assistants to the *pontifices* was located in the Atrium Vestae from the time of Trajan) and *LTUR* 4.257–58, s.v. "Schola: scribae librarii et praecones aedilium curulium ('Schola Xanthi')" (L. Chioffi). For the controversial suggestion of a headquarters at the Lacus Iuturnae for those in charge of Rome's water supply, see *LTUR* 3.170, s.v. "Lacus Iuturnae" (E. M. Steinby); *LTUR* 4.346–49, s.v. "Statio aquarum" (P. Burgers).

¹⁰⁵ It backed up against the Tabularium. *LTUR* 2.243, s.v. "Faustina, Diva, Aedicula" (D. Palombi); Nash 1968: 1.395–96, s.v. "Faustinae aedicula"; Platner and Ashby 1929: 206; Richardson 1992: 148–49, s.v. "Faustina, Aedicula." De Angeli 1992: 72–73 cites a brick stamp of c. 80 C.E.: *CIL* 15.384 = Supp. 96. The reported width of the chamber differs in *LTUR* (2.20m) and Richardson (2.50m).

¹⁰⁶ *CIL* 6.1019 = Dessau, *ILS* 382 (a *parvus cippus*, "small base"): *Divae Piae | Faustinae | viator(es) q(uaestoris) | ab aer(ar)io Sat(urni)* ("The agents of the quaestor of the Treasury of Saturn, to the Deified, Pious Faustina"). Hülsen 1893: 284–85 proposed that the small room was the *schola* of the *viatores*. But as Bollmann 1997: 210 makes clear, *scholae* generally had a courtyard or large room for reunions, and a central room or at least an apse that served as a cult center.

period (Plin. *HN* 16.236).¹⁰⁷ Brick structures on the south side of the Sacra Via between the Atrium Vestae and the crossroads with the Clivus Palatinus have been identified as “stationes exterarum civitatum”; their inscriptions, other than one or two from the mid-second century, date to or after the Severan period, corresponding to the brickwork that postdates the fire of 192. The simple single or double rooms identified as *stationes* may have served commercial or administrative purposes as well as religious ones.¹⁰⁸ They and the many *tabernae* (“shops”) clustering around the Atrium Vestae and along the Nova Via attest to the diminishing of the Forum’s awesome magnificence as a monumental center after the Julio-Claudian period.¹⁰⁹

The Forum Romanum of the second and early third centuries C.E. witnessed an increasing number of depictions of women, even while statues of the emperors continued to be raised. The Forum’s more numerous images of imperial women fit wider patterns of Roman portraiture: about three times as many portraits are extant for imperial women from the reign of Trajan through that of Alexander Severus as for imperial women from Augustus to Trajan (Smith 1985: 212). As with new statues for the emperors, those dedicating statues to imperial women now include, besides the Senate and the Roman People or the emperor, private individuals, *collegia* (group organizations), magistrates, municipalities, and political groups in Rome and the provinces.¹¹⁰ Statues of imperial women featured in imperial ensembles such as the Forum of Trajan and (presumably) the Temple of Matidia in the Campus Martius,¹¹¹ and in-

¹⁰⁷ *LTUR* 4.349–50, s.v. “Stationes exterarum civitatum” (E. Papi) and *LTUR* 4.350–52, s.v. “Stationes municipiorum” (C. Lega). The location of the *stationes municipiorum* is debated, with some holding for the Forum of Caesar (and a more administrative function for the gathering halls) and others for the area near the later Arch of Septimius Severus.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. *LTUR* 4.349–50, s.v. “Stationes exterarum civitatum” and *LTUR* 4.350–52, s.v. “Stationes municipiorum.”

¹⁰⁹ For the Atrium Vestae, see *LTUR* 1.141. Hurst 2007: 82 suggests that the Hadrianic *tabernae* (“shops”) now fronting the Nova Via had precedents in building after 64 C.E.

¹¹⁰ See Alexandridis 2004. Presumable statues raised in the Forum include one to Trajan from the *kalatores pontificum* [et] *flaminum*, near the Regia and Basilica Julia (*CIL* 6.32445 = 2184a-b, 101/102 C.E.); one to Hadrian from the colonia Uthina in Africa, near the Fons Juturnae (*CIL* 6.31302 = Højte 2005: 406, Hadrian no. 12, 134–136 C.E.); a second to Hadrian from the Senate and the People of Rome from the Via Sacra near the Temple of Romulus (*CIL* 6.40515, *CIL* 6.36915 = Højte 2005: 405, Hadrian no. 7, 119–138 C.E.); one to Antoninus Pius (*CIL* 6.40533 = Højte 2005: 467, Antoninus Pius no. 7). Only three statue bases prior to Hadrian attest cities’ dedications of statues of emperors in Rome: Højte 2005: 169 (cf. his entire chapter on dedicators of imperial statues, 167–87).

¹¹¹ For women in the Forum of Trajan, see Boatwright 2000: 61–64; for the Temple of Matidia, see Boatwright 1987: 58–62; Davies 2000: 104.

dividual dedications went up in earlier sites. For example, the city of Catana (Sicily) erected statues of Sabina and Hadrian, and perhaps of Matidia the Younger as well, in the Porticus ad Nationes at Pompey's Theater (*AE* 1992, 175).¹¹² Yet the former segregation of women from the Roman Forum makes especially noteworthy the number of women's images and buildings there in the second century C.E. and following.

To judge from the *plutei Traianeï*, by the Hadrianic period the northwestern part of the Forum was embellished by an "*alimenta* statuary group," which featured a woman carrying a child and standing in front of a seated emperor (Trajan).¹¹³ At the other end of the Forum the practice of placing large-scale portraits of the Vestal Virgins and of imperial women in the Atrium Vestae may have begun in the Trajanic period, although the statues and bases excavated there have been dated to the later third and fourth centuries.¹¹⁴ One of the "*stationes exterarum civitatum*" in the Forum, that of Tralles (Asia), was built "from its foundations, with all its decoration, and from private funds" by a woman, ...lia Galene, probably during the rule of Caracalla (*IGUR* 1.84). The *statio* of Tiberias and Claudiopolis (Syria Palestina) may have been personified as a woman, to judge from its fragmentary small female statue inscribed in the late second or early third century (*IGUR* 1.83). As mentioned above, Faustina the Younger was honored after her death in 176 by a small statue dedicated by the *viatores quaestoris ab aerario Saturni* near the Temple of Concord and the Temple of the deified Vespasian.¹¹⁵

Much more spectacular were other signs of imperial women. The Temple of the deified Faustina, which towered over the Regia and the Aedes Vestae, emphasized a colossal statue of Faustina I. The temple, including its massive statue, was decreed by the senate after Faustina the Elder's death in 141.¹¹⁶ When in the later 150s Antoninus Pius rebuilt the Forum's Temple of the deified Augustus, the restored shrine included a statue of Livia next to that of Augustus, to judge from coins (see *LTUR* 1.146 and Fig. 79). Once Antoninus's

¹¹² Alföldy 1992: 147–54; Højte 2005: 405–6, Hadrian no. 10, found in the Area Sacra di Largo Argentina.

¹¹³ *LTUR* 4.95–96, s.v. "Plutei Traianeï (Anaglypha Traiani)" (M. Torelli); Boatwright 1987: 182–90.

¹¹⁴ I owe the suggestion of Trajanic dating to personal communication 11/2006 with M. Lindner, who is finishing a monograph on the statues of the Vestals (Diss. University of Michigan 1996). For the later date of bases and statues, see Scott in *LTUR* 1.141.

¹¹⁵ *CIL* 6.1019 = Dessau, *ILS* 382; see n106 above.

¹¹⁶ *CIL* 6.1005; the statue is emphasized on coins, as *RIC* 3.162 no. 1115. See *LTUR* 1.46–47, s.v. "Antoninus, Divus et Faustina, Diva, Aedes, Templum" (A. Cassatella).

own cult was added to the Temple of Faustina in 161, the two temples, possibly facing each other, similarly displayed parallel cults for imperial husband and wife.¹¹⁷ The senate decreed silver images for Faustina the Younger and Marcus at the Temple of Venus and Roma on the Forum's eastern limits, where also rose an altar on which all the brides and grooms married in the city were to offer sacrifice (Cass. Dio 72.31.1).¹¹⁸ At least two statues of Julia Domna, documented by their bases, are also known from the Forum.¹¹⁹

Despite the meagerness of the literary evidence—we do not have a Tacitus or Suetonius for this period, and Cassius Dio is fragmentary—it seems that women used the mid-imperial Forum Romanum more frequently as well as had greater representation there by statues and buildings. More revealing is that the few references to women in the Forum in this period are matter-of-fact. Even before the end of the first century C.E. Pliny the Younger describes the galleries of the Basilica Iulia as lined with men and women intent on the events transpiring in the centumviral court below, an “evil stepmother” case (*Ep.* 6.33).¹²⁰ In the *Panegyricus* he notes men, women, and children of all ranks cheering as Trajan's ceremonial entrance into Rome advanced up the Capitoline (*Pan.* 22–23): some were surely in the Forum. From the time of Trajan the eastern end of the Atrium Vestae accommodated visitors, apparently men and women alike.¹²¹ Given the Roman Forum's admission of women and its more banal character, may we not assume that wealthy *matronae* as well as speculators and antique dealers were in the crowd when Marcus Aurelius auctioned palace heirlooms and his wife Faustina's ornaments in the Forum

¹¹⁷ See n78 above for the probable location of the Templum divi Augusti.

¹¹⁸ Cecamore 1999: 334 cautions that Cassius Dio's excerpted text does not explicitly place the altar in the Temple of Venus and Roma. We cannot locate presumable statues commemorating the alimentary programs for the *puellae Faustinae* (*BM Coins, Rom. Emp.* 4.48, no. 235, pl. 8.3–5) and the maternal roles of the Elder and Younger Faustinae.

¹¹⁹ One base (*CIL* 6.36932), apparently dedicated by the *kalatores pontificum et flaminum* (see Scott in *LTUR* 4.244), was found at the church of S. Adriano (text in De Ruggiero 1913: 485); Lahusen 1983: 21 attributes to it five statue fragments, made of porphyry and discovered in the Forum. The other, found near the later Basilica of Maxentius, hails Julia Domna as *mater castrorum* and *mater augustorum* (“mother of the camps” and “mother of the emperors,” *CIL* 6.36934; Fejfer 1985: 130 Cat. no. 7).

¹²⁰ For the circumstances of the undated letter, see Sherwin-White 1966: 398–400. He, not Pliny, remarks, “Women are unexpected in a place of state business” (400 on *Ep.* 6.33.4).

¹²¹ Scott in *LTUR* 1.141 points out the number and variety of dedications to Vesta, the Vestals, and the emperors made by relatively humble individuals. See also Raepsaet-Charlier 2005: 173–74.

in the 170s (Cass. Dio 72, fr.1)? And wives are known to have joined their husbands at the funeral of Pertinax arranged by Septimius Severus, with the women in the Forum's porticoes and the men under the open sky (Cass. Dio 75.4.4).

CONCLUSIONS

My conclusions regarding women's presence in the Forum admittedly rest on mostly elusive evidence, and at times I even argue *ex silentio*. I may have missed one or more examples of a woman or women in the Republican and early imperial Forum. But that some women are known to have been there—as when Junia received a public funeral in 92/91 B.C.E. that passed through this area—does not disprove the importance of gender in Rome's traditional power hierarchies, or the mapping of ideological boundaries onto Rome's physical space. The assembled literary evidence strongly suggests that during the Republic and early Empire women's presence in the Forum for other than religious purposes, especially if the women were in a crowd or a woman was particularly prominent, was considered anomalous, perhaps even transgressive. I doubt that women were physically barred from the area—the praetors' prohibition of women in public in Rome after the Battle of Cannae (Livy 22.55.6; see above) was surely extraordinary—but at least during the Republic and the beginning of the Empire they may have been made uncomfortable and to feel out of place if there without a religious purpose.

Given the previous dearth of images and buildings associated with historical women, women's images in the second- and early third-century C.E. Forum Romanum manifest a radical change in the heart of Rome. Statues and buildings honoring women in this space symbolically asserted that women were as crucial for Rome's longevity and strength as were military victory and lawful government, more conventional ideals that continued to be extolled by images and buildings of the emperors and senate such as the Arch of Septimius Severus.¹²² The mid-imperial Forum's images of women permanently symbolized the emphasis of the "High Empire" on marital harmony and family, on domesticity and paternal and maternal benevolence.¹²³

¹²² See the statue bases listed in n110 above. Many other statues are attested in literature (e.g., a golden statue of Marcus Aurelius in the Curia, Cass. Dio 72.34.1) or by visual evidence (e.g., the statue of Hadrian on the Rostra in a relief now on the Arch of Constantine: Boatwright 1987: 104–5).

¹²³ See Noreña 2007; Boatwright 2010. Although Milnor 2005: 3 holds that "[i]n the Augustan vision of the new Roman Republic, the family (especially the emperor's own) and domestic life constituted the central space around which the rest of civic life might be built," this is not reflected physically in the Roman Forum until the Antonine period.

These values were expressed elsewhere in Rome and its lands through coins, literature, sarcophagi, and other media (Noreña 2007). But the investigation of women in the Forum Romanum lets us see just how novel it was to exhibit women's images here in Rome's traditional heart.

Questions remain. How indicative is the Forum Romanum for wider urban use and topography in Rome? The evidence I have adduced for the late advent of women's statues and buildings in the Forum suggests that this long-established arena for Rome's civic life was distinct in the capital city. But one could fruitfully investigate the Campus Martius, the Forum of Caesar and that of Augustus, or other parts of Rome in the two-fold fashion I have employed here. Another important question this study raises is that of the distinctiveness of Rome itself. How does the Republican Forum Romanum compare to the fora of Rome's colonies during the Republic? Or to the fora of Italian communities?¹²⁴ These and similar subjects await exploration. In the meantime, however, the literary, documentary, and visual evidence analyzed here emphasizes both the changing dynamism of the Forum Romanum over time, and the importance of women and gender to Roman identity.

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¹²⁴ Fejfer 2008: 24, 333, and passim argues that the "practices in Rome were distinct from those of the rest of the Empire" (even in the late Republic). One could also contrast the Augustan Forum Romanum with the forum of Augustan Pompeii, which saw two buildings patronized by priestesses. In Herculaneum the reconstruction of the basilica after 62 C.E. by M. Nonius Balbus included at least four female statues: those of his mother Viciria, his wife Volasennia, and his two daughters (Wood 1995: 481).

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