WOMEN'S HISTORY AND ANCIENT HISTORY

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34. For the attributions of the Ravenna relief see, most recently, John Pollini, "Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and the Ravenna Relief," *RömMitt* 88.1 (1981): 117–40, as well as, among others, Donata Baraldi Sandri, "Problemi del rilievo di Augusto conservato nel Museo Nazionale di Ravenna," *Felix Ravenna*, ser. 4, fasc. 5–6 (1973): 11–52.

35. For the maternal iconography of the coins of Julia Domna see Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, e.g., 5.1:27, no. 46, pl. 6.11 (Fecunditas reverse); 5.1:28, no. 55, pl. 6.16 (Venus Genetrix reverse); 5.1:157, no. 3, pl. 27.1 (reverse with busts of Geta and Caracalla and label *Aeternitas Imperii*); 5.1:164, no. 56, pl. 28.8 (reverse with Julia Domna sacrificing and label *Matri Castrorum*); 5.1:203, no. 255, pl. 33.6 (obverse with Septimius Severus, reverse bust of Julia Domna between Caracalla and Geta and label *Felicitas Saeculi*); 5.1:432, no. 11, pl. 67.12 (reverse with Julia Domna and label *Mat. Augg. Mat. Sen. M. Patr.*). On the Arch of the Argentarii see Massimo Pallottino, *L'Arco degli Argentari* (Rome: Danesi Editore, 1946).

36. For Septimius Severus' fictive relationship to the Antonines see Dio Cassius 76.7.4; *Historia Augusta* Severus 10.3–6, 12.2–4; Herodian 2.14.3.

37. Lise Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

38. Vogel, *The Column of Antoninus Pius*, 66–67.

39. For an example of this process see Walter Trillmich, *Familienpropaganda der Kaiser Caligula und Claudius: Agrippina Major und Antonia Augusta auf Münzen* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1978). For the connection between erection of official portraits of Julia Domna and dynastic events, for example, nominations of Caracalla and Geta, see Jane Fejfer, "The Portraits of the Severan Empress Julia Domna: A New Approach," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 14 (1985): 131, 133–34.

40. Herodian 3.8.5.

MARY TALIAFERRO BOATWRIGHT

Plancia Magna of Perge: Women's Roles and Status in Roman Asia Minor

This essay examines Plancia Magna, an eminent woman of the city of Perge in Roman Pamphylia (in modern southwest Turkey), to illuminate both her life and the contemporary mores and institutions impinging on elite women's roles and status in Roman Asia Minor. Complementing Kampen's essay in this volume, which centers on the official representation of an imperial woman, my object is to show the range of possibilities and restrictions affecting the lives of elite provincial women. Plancia Magna has been chosen as a case study. Despite more abundant documentation for her[1] than for other nonimperial women, she shares one central enigma of her life with most of her peers in the Roman world: her financial status. Like other provincial women known to us, Plancia Magna was commemorated because of her magnificent largesse and social and political standing. Yet such largesse and standing are at odds with the gender ideology of the time, which relegated women to the private sphere and roles of dependence on men. This ideology lay behind the laws and customs restricting women's rights to inherit and to dispose of property, making all the more puzzling the munificence of Plancia Magna and other Roman benefactresses. The benefactions and position of Plancia Magna of Perge thus bring to prominence the larger question of women in public life in the Roman world, to be discussed at the end of this essay.

Like so many Roman women, Plancia Magna is known solely from documentary evidence: inscriptions inform us of her official positions in Perge, her family, and her wealth and benefactions. Two similarly inscribed statue bases are dedicated to her respectively by Perge's council and assembly (*boulē* and *dēmos*) and by Perge's (council of) elders (*geraioi*).[2] On these Plancia Magna is identified as the daughter of M. Plancius Varus

and as "daughter of the city." She is also identified as *demiourgos* (the annual eponymous magistrate of the city, whose name was used for dating purposes); the priestess of Artemis (Pergaia), the most important deity of Perge; the first and only priestess of the Mother of the Gods, for life; and pious and loving of her city. A fragmentary unpublished inscription from Plancia Magna's tomb similarly gives her patronymic and calls her "daughter of the city."[3] Two unpublished inscriptions mentioned in a report of 1974 add the information that Plancia Magna was a high priestess of the imperial cult.[4] Apparently erected for the installation or donation of something, another lacunose inscription on a fragmentary architrave from Perge commemorates Plancia Magna, the "daughter of the city," together with Coccaeia Ti . . . , a *demiourgos* and gymnasiarch (or director of the gymnasium, the physical and intellectual school for young men and producer of gymnastic festivals).[5] And as yet unedited inscriptions, only recently disclosed, witness that Plancia Magna was the wife of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus and the mother of C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus.[6]

A different set of inscriptions establishes that Plancia Magna was responsible for one of Perge's most impressive public buildings during the Empire, its main southern city gate.[7] At the beginning of the second century C.E. a complete renovation was undertaken on this Hellenistic city gate and its two round towers. The exterior, southern entrance was narrowed by the addition of rectangular piers between the towers, focusing attention on what was immediately inside.[8] Here the walls of an interior oval courtyard, originally higher than the 11 meters still standing, were decorated internally by two levels of seven niches, making a total of twenty-eight niches.[9] They and the walls were revetted with marble, and in front of them a new marble two-storied Corinthian columnar façade created the impression of a *scaenae frons* (the elaborate façade of a Roman stage building).[10] The courtyard was visually closed toward the city by a new monumental triple arch. What the arch replaced, if anything, is unknown.[11]

The whole constituted an opulent entry into the city, made programmatic by the choice of statues for the niches and arch. The statue bases establish Plancia Magna as the donor of the renovation. The lower niches of the courtyard held greater-than-life-sized statues of the gods, including the Dioscuri, Aphrodite, and five other Olympian deities.[12] In the upper niches bases inscribed in Greek once carried statues of the city's mythological founders and more historical benefactors, equally called "city-founders" (*ktistai*, sing. *ktistēs*).[13] The bases held statues of, among others, Mopsos the Delphian, son of Apollo; Kalchas the Argive, son of Thestor; and Rixos the Athenian, son of Lykos, identified in turn as the son of Pandeion.[14] Also in the upper tier of niches stood the statues of M. Plancius Varus and C. Plancius Varus, with the inscriptions "City-founder, M. Plancius Varus, the Pergaean, father of Plancia Magna," and "City-founder, C. Plancius Varus, the Pergaean, brother of Plancia Magna."[15] The inclusion of these two and their unusual identification by means of Plancia, rather than the traditional identification of Plancia Magna and C. Plancius Varus by their father, indicate that Plancia Magna played an important role in the embellishment of the courtyard. This is supported by evidence from the nearby arch.

The arch, probably two-storied originally, rises from the paved courtyard on four steps, and the steps, its platform, and the arch itself were made of costly imported marble and the local limestone.[16] Numerous ornamental columnar and pilastered tabernacles and niches decorated the piers. In front of the middle piers were columns on freestanding pedestals, an unusual arrangement, but one that is paralleled in the contemporary Arch of Hadrian in neighboring Attaleia.[17] Both primary faces of Perge's arch reportedly once carried honorary inscriptions on the upper levels, one in Latin and the other in Greek, although neither has been published. These proclaimed that Plancia Magna dedicated the arch to her city[18] and complement inscribed statue bases found near the arch. On the bases simple yet elegantly carved bilingual inscriptions commemorate Plancia Magna's dedication of statues to Diana Pergensis and to the tutelary spirit (in Greek, *tyche*; Latin, *genius*) of the city, as well as to members of the imperial house: Divus Nerva, Divus Traianus, Hadrian, Plotina, Diva Marciana (Trajan's sister and the mother of Matidia), Diva Matidia (Marciana's daughter, Sabina's mother, and the mother-in-law of Hadrian), and Sabina Augusta. In the Greek part of the inscriptions Plancia Magna is identified only by her name; in the Latin, she has the simple patronymic M. f.[19] Hadrian's statue base is dated to 121 by the number of his years with tribunician power listed on it, and the nomenclature of Plotina and Matidia indicates a date from 119 to 122.[20]

We should assume a date early in the Hadrianic period for this comprehensive and expensive renovation of Perge's southern gate. The installation is not unique in the second century C.E. in impressively combining

architecture and sculpture. In his monograph on the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus in Olympia (149–53 C.E.) R. Bol cites other second-century examples of opulent architectural installations by private individuals that display in a *scaenae frons* schema or by some similar means deities, the imperial house, and the family of the donor, including female members. In addition to the nymphaeum of Herodes Atticus and Plancia Magna's gate, Bol's list includes the Antonine renovation of the main gate of Side, about 50 kilometers east of Perge; the Library of Celsus in Ephesus and the "Marmorsaal" of the Baths of the Vedii there; and dedications in the Temple of Apollo at Bulla Regia.[21] The widespread phenomenon of public benefactions (or evergetism) throughout the Roman world, to be discussed below, and the concentration of wealth in the hands of the municipal landowning elite help explain such costly donations, and there must have been many other examples whose components have now been dispersed through spoliation.

It is hard to discern which elements of the lavish and programmatic installations that do remain are conventional and which unusual, but some aspects of Plancia Magna's gate seem especially memorable. One is that her renovated gateway as a whole, with its juxtaposition of Perge's Olympian gods, civic tutelary deities, city-founders, family members, and imperial personages, epitomizes the Greek cities in Pamphylia and other provinces of Asia Minor, which were tenacious of their Greek heritage, proud of their local cults and traditions, boastful of their notables, and loyal to the imperial house. Another is that the triple arch displays more statues of female members of the imperial house than it does of males. Although the second century witnessed a rise in the number of women prominent in the imperial house and therefore in official and private manifestations of loyalty to them,[22] the predominance of females on Plancia Magna's arch is noteworthy in that Plancia Magna was herself a woman.

This last point, the gender of Plancia Magna, has not been sufficiently remarked in discussions of her donation, although it raises important questions. One concerns the resources and motives of Plancia Magna. In turn this relates to an apparent contradiction: this entrance to Perge, so emblematic of the political and social hierarchy of the time, is due to a person who, as a woman, came from a marginalized segment of Roman society.

The means and the background for Plancia Magna's largesse are inseparable from her family and connections. Plancia Magna was from one of the most notable and wealthy families of the Greek cities of Roman Asia Minor in the first and second centuries C.E., the Plancii.[23] The Plancii apparently came as traders to Perge on the southwest Anatolian coast from Latium (in central Italy) at the end of the Republic. They were effective enough for a descendant, M. Plancius Varus, to rise successfully in Rome's imperial service from the 60s to the end of the first century C.E., reaching praetorian rank and the positions of legate and governor in Achaea, Asia, and Bithynia.[24] We now know that this man's daughter, Plancia Magna, married the even more successful Pergaean C. Iulius P. f. Hor. Cornutus Tertullus. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus' ancestry is peregrine (non-Roman) rather than Italian, to judge from his *nomen* Iulius, but his family was prominent in Perge by the Neronian period at the latest, when members apparently donated a gymnasium in Nero's honor.[25] Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, born probably in 43 or 44, was only slightly younger than M. Plancius Varus, but he was more eminent, reaching a suffect consulship for part of the year 100 with Pliny the Younger as his colleague. His official positions continued until 117, in Italy, Aquitania, Bithynia, and Africa.[26] Both Plancius and Iulius Cornutus Tertullus possessed lands and splendid connections far afield of Perge: some inscriptions reveal their presence in Tavium in eastern Galatia and in Apollonia in southern Galatia and suggest that they had marriage alliances with the royal family of Galatia and Pergamum.[27]

The two families prospered through Plancia Magna's generation. M. Plancius Varus' grandson C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus, who we now know was the son of Plancia Magna and C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, is honored at Perge as patron, benefactor, and victor in all the contests of the "Varian games," which seem to have been eight-yearly games established by M. Plancius Varus.[28] Closer to Rome, Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus dedicated a monument in Tusculum to C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus (*CIL* XIV:2925, 2925a = *ILS* 1024), now identifiable as his father. Either Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus or Plancia's brother C. Plancius Varus rose to become a governor of Cilicia and consul under Hadrian.[29] In the next generation, the last documented in positions of authority, a Varus of Perge gained fame for his rhetoric, and a possible relative, a Celsus Plancianus, was consul suffectus (a consul for only part of the year) in 166 C.E.[30] The Cornuti drop from the historical record more quickly than the Plancii. Their last known possible representative in imperial service is Plancius

Varus Cornutus, though in Perge a C. Iulius Cornutus Bryoninus was a priest of the imperial cult as well as the producer and judge (*agōnothetēs*) at an unknown date of Perge's games for the imperial cult.[31]

In background and behavior the Plancii and Cornuti exemplify the elite of Roman Asia Minor. One family arrived probably as traders from Italy toward the end of the Republic, to make its fortune in the province then called Lycia-Pamphylia in southern Asia Minor; the other, originally indigenous and peregrine in Roman law, took advantage of the new political situation, were made Roman citizens, and similarly achieved prominence during the same span in the provincial city and in imperial service. By the late first century the wealth of the Plancii and the Cornuti was based in land and they could boast high connections, thus bolstering their prestige and financial means for political careers. These families, like their peers in Pamphylia and the rest of the Roman world, manifested their riches and eminence in the phenomenon known as evergetism.

Evergetism is a close nexus of power, wealth, and status, whose importance in Hellenistic Greek and Roman civilization has been explored by P. Veyne and others. In this social, economic, and political phenomenon the wealthy citizens of a city or region donated time, expertise, and money to a community, on the occasion of holding a magistracy or priesthood, fulfilling a liturgy (a compulsory and expensive public service), or simply spontaneously. In return their political and social eminence was reinforced and vociferously celebrated.[32] For example, as proconsul of Bithynia in the early Flavian period Plancia Magna's father, M. Plancius Varus, dedicated a city gate of Nicaea to both the imperial house and Nicaea and was publicly called the patron of that city.[33] Earlier, the dedication of a gymnasium at Perge to Nero by a husband and wife of the Cornuti family was commemorated publicly by at least four inscriptions.[34]

Plancia Magna's ostentatious largesse at first seems conventional enough against the background of evergetism sketched above. Yet it is remarkable both in her singularity in her benefaction to her city and in her status as a woman: women were traditionally excluded from power, particularly when acting apart from men. This traditional relegation of women to the domestic sphere makes all the more striking Plancia Magna's magistracy as *demiourgos*: her name, as that of the eponymous magistrate of the city, would be used to date all public documents for the year of her magistracy.

The inscriptions attesting Plancia Magna as donor of the gateway and

arch make it clear that she was spending her own money, and in her own name. Her father and brother are identified unusually by their relationship with her. Her husband and her son do not appear at all on the remains of the monument, and this apparent silence concerning the Cornuti suggests that Plancia Magna had no connections with that family when she donated the gateway between 119 and 122. When published, the newly disclosed inscriptions establishing Plancia Magna as the wife and mother, respectively, of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus and C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus may establish some connection of the two to Plancia Magna's gate. More importantly, such publication may clear up the details of her relationship with these two individuals and enlarge our understanding of her financial status and independence. Nevertheless, until then some speculation about the date of Plancia's marriage to C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus is in order, on the basis of the few known dates in the second-century history of the two families and on the apparent absence of Plancia Magna's husband and son from her gate.

The probable existence of a Plancius Varus as consul and governor of Cilicia during Hadrian's reign means that either her brother, the city-founder of her courtyard, or her son, the victor of the Varian games who also dedicated a monument in Tusculum to his father, C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus, was in his twenties to his forties during that period. If the consular Plancius Varus was her brother, both he and Plancia Magna could have been born around the end of the first century, at the conclusion of M. Plancius Varus' career. Plancia Magna thus would have been in her late teens at the time of her donation, marrying only subsequently the much older Iulius Cornutus after his retirement from public life. The age differential here is rather startling: at their marriage after 122 her husband would have been around eighty years old, she around twenty.

If the consular Plancius Varus was Plancia Magna's son, however, her husband, Iulius Cornutus, would probably have been in his sixties at the most when they wed ca. 100–110, a slightly more acceptable figure.[35] This, however, leaves unexplained the absence of her husband and, more particularly, of her son from her courtyard.[36] Even if her husband were dead by 119–122, her son, Iulius Plancius Cornutus Tertullus, would have been either embarked, or just about to embark, on his political career, and one would expect mention of him in his mother's spectacular public benefaction. His ties to the maternal branch of his family seem to have been salient when he won the Varian games established by his grandfather.[37]

In any case the absence of her husband and son from the courtyard, and the spare but unusual way in which her relationships to her brother and father are cited, emphasize Plancia Magna's initiative and individuality in her benefaction to her city. At the moment we cannot explain her generosity as designed to help the male members of her family into positions of power.[38] Her donation seems more personally expedient, and the other inscriptions attesting her reflect the glory and power she acquired for herself in Perge. But her liberality and her public positions must be set in their legal and societal context.

Plancia Magna was a Roman citizen, subject to the Roman laws regulating Roman women's rights to inherit, to receive legacies and gifts, and to dispose of property. These laws are somewhat convoluted but show a slight lessening of restrictions during the imperial period. The Voconian law of 169 B.C.E. had forbidden instituting as heirs women of the highest census class, an elite group to which Plancia Magna belonged. Yet the law may have ceased to be applicable once the census itself became obsolete in Italy in the Flavian period; it also regulated only cases where wills were made, and not intestacy.[39] Augustan legislation limited the ability of the unmarried and childless to receive under a will but did not apply to bequests from relatives.[40] Gifts between husbands and wives were severely limited under the law, but widows and widowers could apparently inherit from a deceased spouse, with widows under the restrictions of the Voconian law.[41] Given the gate's silence regarding the Cornuti, Plancia Magna's wealth appears to have come primarily from her father, probably by bequest, less likely as dowry, which normally passed to the husband at least for "safekeeping."[42] Plancia Magna seems to have received from her father almost as much, if not as much, as did her brother, who presumably needed the wealth for the traditional male political career.[43]

M. Plancius Varus's evenhandedness with his daughter and son may have gone further, for Plancia Magna's apparent autonomy suggests that he emancipated her, establishing her as *sui iuris,* theoretically mistress of her own fate and not under the tutelage or power of a male guardian. The legal position of Roman women in Plancia Magna's time, especially prominent women, is ambiguous.[44] By law and tradition, even if a Roman woman were emancipated, she was to have a *tutor* (guardian) for important property transactions. Yet this principle had been breached by Augustan legislation establishing the *ius liberorum* (right of children), whereby freeborn women with three legitimate children, and freedwomen with four, were exempted from guardianship. Subsequent legislation, including some in Hadrian's reign, further weakened the principle of guardianship.[45] Just after Plancia's lifetime the jurisconsult Gaius revealed the legal ambivalence concerning guardianship of women. Although he states that former generations wished women, even of the age of maturity, to be in guardianship because of the "innate weakness of their sex," he later allows that there is no longer any really cogent reason for the practice (*Inst.* 1.144, 1.190). Gaius implies elsewhere that most guardians could be compelled to give their consent even to women's actions that might diminish the property.[46] The scattered evidence from the Greek East during this period indicates that in general Greek women were legally required to have a *kyrios* (guardian), but it gives no real information as to their relationship with these guardians,[47] which probably varied considerably in different regions.

We should conclude that Plancia Magna controlled her own wealth. But we must ask the related questions of how normal it was for a woman to act in the public sphere and to spend her money there, and why a woman might choose to do so. Plancia Magna's position as *demiourgos,* annual eponymous magistrate of her city, and her accumulation of Perge's most important priesthoods, ranging from the civic cult to the imperial one, far surpass the traditional roles of Greek women as priestesses.[48] Her public visibility appears anomalous in light of legal and literary evidence, both Roman and Greek. Focusing on notions of women's innate weakness, in the early third century C.E. the jurisconsult Paulus reported that women did not hold civil offices and could not give testimony (*Dig.* 5.1.12.2). Ulpianus similarly holds that "the modesty befitting women's sex" caused women to be banned from bringing suit on behalf of others, from involving themselves in others' cases, and from undertaking the functions of men (*Dig.* 3.1.1.5, cf. 50.17.2).[49] In the Greek East, the prevalent images were provided by the famous relegation of Athenian women to the domestic sphere, except for sacral functions, and by their lack of control over property.[50] At the end of the first and the beginning of the second centuries C.E. the domestic roles of women had been reformulated and emphasized anew by Stoic philosophers and other intellectuals who, although valorizing women as conscious participants in harmonious marriages, focused almost exclusively on women within a familial, domestic context.[51] The veiling of some women in the imperial Greek East and in North Africa corresponds to the legal, literary, and philosophical preoccupation

among the elite with the virtuous, modest wife, the pious and silent woman whose main task was to care for her husband and children.[52]

Contradicting the picture provided by the literary evidence, however, are hundreds of inscriptions and coins from Hellenistic and Roman Greece and Asia Minor that attest women such as Plancia Magna, unnoticed in the literary sources. These women were priestesses, gymnasiarchs, theatrical game producers, and the like, as well as magistrates, although the last group is attested only in the Roman imperial period. Many of the inscriptions record women's benefactions, such as those of Plancia Magna: some benefactresses are identified as liturgy payers or officeholders, others not. This epigraphic and numismatic evidence, at such odds with the legal and literary documentation advocating silent and submissive women, to my knowledge has not been studied as a whole since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[53] Since then additional inscriptions and coins have surfaced, raising the total above the count at that time of more than 160.[54] The plethora of this type of inscription demonstrates that Plancia Magna is not an isolated instance of a powerful and generous woman: there were many others, especially from the first through third centuries of our era. Perhaps a half of these benefactresses, priestesses, and female officeholders are commemorated alone, without mention of any male relative or guardian.[55] These publicly visible women belie the stated attitudes and "norms" of the time.

Various interpretations of women's public visibility have been offered, of political, economic, and social natures. One school is exemplified by P. Paris, the pioneer in this field who published his monograph in 1891.[56] Arguing in part from Athenian precedent, Paris could not conceive of women actually exercising civil power or participating, even as producers, in gymnastic or theatrical festivals. He points to the instances of women and their husbands in related magistracies as evidence that women held at most priestly power and that they were most often dependent on men even when they did ostensibly hold power.[57] Paris combines his view of women as incompetent and unfit for public business with a theory that political life in the Greek East under Roman rule degenerated, from power politics to the simple display of wealth and the trappings of power in festivals and games, and to elections of strictly local magistrates, priests, and priestesses.[58] Paris holds as symptomatic of this decline cities' admission of women to positions of apparent public authority. Since magistracies, priesthoods, and liturgies entailed vast expenditures by their

holders for the city, the cities turned to women as potential donors. As women exercised no real power, their appointment to various positions was a painless way for cities to gain money and glitter.[59]

Paris's basic theses, the incapacity of women for positions of civil authority and the political decay of the Greek East, have often been repeated.[60] Yet his specific arguments and analysis of the inscriptions were rebutted almost immediately by O. Braunstein, who in 1911 undertook a more rigorous, but equally subjective, study.[61] Braunstein disallowed Paris's examples from outside Asia Minor and focused on women's secular positions: liturgies and magistracies. Contending that all of the known women in such positions in the Greek East come from Lycia and Pamphylia, southwest Asia Minor (Plancia Magna's region), he explained the phenomenon by the survival here of *Mutterrecht*, matriarchy, from the pre-Greek period.[62] Nevertheless he too stressed that the majority of women's positions were priestly or only nominal.[63] Since his day, however, J. J. Bachofen's theory of *Mutterrecht* has lost much of its sway;[64] furthermore, as mentioned above, other examples of women as civic officials and benefactors have come to light elsewhere in Asia Minor and Greece.

Equally to be discounted are the explanations that the appearance of women in public is a sign of the economic and/or political decay of the Greek East. On the contrary, most of the inscriptions fall precisely in the period when the cities of Asia Minor were most thriving and prosperous, in the first through third centuries of our era.[65] Other scholars link the phenomenon of women in the public sphere in the Greek world, especially the Greek East, to the increased economic and legal power that Greek women had from the Hellenistic period on.[66] This is certainly valid. Yet we must note that recent work indicates that there was not a gradual "empowerment" of these women: rather, the size of the fortunes controlled here by women, and by men, grew dramatically.[67] Analogously, although elite Roman women in the imperial period do seem to have had a certain degree of autonomy in personal and financial matters, many of these freedoms had already been conferred upon them early in Roman history.[68]

What was different now, in both East and West, was the willingness of elite women to play a public role, and the public reception of these roles.[69] Without new evidence we can never know if the female magistrates personally administered their civic duties, giving orders to others who would

almost certainly be men. Yet at least as important as such routine administration is the obvious influence these women, and priestesses, benefactresses, and female liturgy payers, commanded simply by being in positions of public respect.[70]

The shift of at least some women from the private sphere to the public one is not simple to explain, as many different factors play a part. Many explanations admittedly do not clarify the enigmatic restriction to the Greek East of women as civil magistrates and liturgy holders,[71] to which we shall turn at the end of this discussion. Yet the following interpretations, some old and some new, do allow us to make sense of the public visibility of women in the Roman empire, so clear in the epigraphic and numismatic evidence and yet so much at odds with the picture presented by the literature.

Two scholars have recently offered insightful analysis, though neither addresses specifically the peculiar situation in the Greek East. R. Van Bremen ties the public visibility of women to growing wealth and the increasing sway of evergetism in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods.[72] Her sophisticated thesis accounts for the apparent contradiction of the documentary evidence with the literature idealizing women's domesticity, for she stresses that the epigraphic language of public benefactions and gratitude often expresses familial attitudes for both men and women. Just as Plancia Magna is called "daughter of the city," munificent men are termed "father of the city" or "son of the city": the phenomenon of evergetism blurred the traditional distinctions between public and private.[73] This conflation of public and private, so obvious when women are made prominent in traditional male spheres, is illustrated also in Kampen's essay in the present volume. W. Eck has recently added another interpretation of the public roles of senatorial Roman women in cities throughout the Roman empire: less needed in Rome than their husbands, fathers, or brothers, these women undertook public roles in their municipalities and provided strong links for the senators to the cities from which they originally came.[74]

Other factors can be discerned in women's choosing public roles. I propose that one must be the example of the women of the imperial court, who were particularly prominent and autonomous in the Julio-Claudian, Antonine, and Severan periods.[75] Imperial women often traveled with the emperors: we know, for instance, that Trajan's wife, Plotina, and his niece Matidia the Elder were with him when he died in 117 in Cilicia.[76] The imperial women could be and were approached directly for favors

and influence with their consorts, as Livia was by the Samians and, allegedly, Plotina by the Alexandrian Jews in Plancia Magna's lifetime.[77] Seemingly paradoxically, however, they had a much more conventional public image. They were shown as Pudicitia and other traditional female virtues associated with harmonious families, as Kampen notes for Julia Domna's numismatic representations, or as Ceres and other goddesses strongly associated with women. In her essay Kampen underscores the use of the empresses "to express the programmatic concerns of the state and the emperor," reinforcing the traditional gender ideology.

The influence exerted by imperial women on the phenomenon of women's public visibility was thus ambivalent, justifying both political power and a retiring persona.[78] The political power wielded by imperial women furnished a model to elite women for behavior and aspirations, much as their "exemplary" iconography was to be mimicked.[79] Plancia Magna's gate, depicting more female than male members of the imperial house, may signify the importance of the imperial women for women's assuming public roles.

Even more accessible to elite municipal women were the Roman women who accompanied their husbands and relatives on provincial tasks. M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier has established that this must have been a fairly common occurrence, and she notes that wives, daughters, and other relatives of Roman governors and legates are found equally in all the provinces.[80] Her epigraphic evidence shows that these "governors' ladies" gave donations and were publicly honored.[81] They were quite obviously in the public sphere, and despite denunciations by Roman moralists of their "influence peddling" and susceptibility to flattery, actual incidents of malfeasance are documented only rarely.[82] Thus elite women in Italy and the provinces could see, at political functions and more informal gatherings, highly placed Roman women who were respected in their public roles. In the competitive society of the imperial elite, this must have encouraged emulation, a point brought out by A. J. Marshall.[83]

A related explanation may be true for the more singular phenomenon of female magistrates and liturgy payers in Roman Asia Minor. This must be tied to the fierce and famous intercity rivalry in the region. Literary sources such as Pliny the Younger, Dio Chrysostom, and Aelius Aristides attest to the intense civic emulation in first- through third-century Asia Minor, as do the splendid ruins of the cities themselves and their inscriptions and coins.[84]

It is more than coincidental, or simply due to the hold of regional

architecture and workshops, that one of the closest architectural parallels for Plancia Magna's gate comes from her neighboring city Attaleia. The Attaleian gate is dated by its mutilated inscription to after 129.[85] A distinguished woman of Attaleia, Iulia Sancta, refurbished with her own funds at least one of the towers flanking the gate, and she is known to have dedicated a statue to Domitia Paulina, Hadrian's sister.[86] It looks as though Iulia Sancta followed her neighbor Plancia's example on a slightly less lavish scale. Likewise evincing the competitiveness of neighboring cities in the Greek East, the main Hellenistic city gate of Side was refurbished in the Antonine period as an opulent entry court quite similar to that of Plancia Magna in Perge, only some 50 kilometers to the east.[87]

Similarly, the election of a noble and wealthy woman to be eponymous magistrate or some other civic official in one city could provide a model for a neighboring city. In nearby Sillyum, roughly from Plancia Magna's day, a Greek Menodora was priestess of all the gods; of Demeter; of the ancestral gods of her city, perpetually; and chief priestess of the imperial cult. She also was gymnasiarch, *demiourgos*, and *dekaprōtos* (a financial magistrate).[88] The appearance of women in positions of civil authority, once admitted, would be imitated in this close-knit and wealthy area. It may be that there was some characteristic of Pamphylia and Asia Minor that encouraged women to assume this traditionally "masculine" role, as Braunstein postulated. Although such a trait has not yet been discovered, recognition of the restriction to the Greek East of female magistrates and liturgy payers reminds us of the strength of regionalism in the Roman empire, one element apparent in the program of Plancia Magna's gateway. More important for this discussion, the gathered evidence lets us appreciate the activities and choices of a woman such as Plancia Magna, albeit providing little insight into her personal motives.

It is clear that the vast subject of women in the public sphere throughout the Roman world deserves more intensive study. The compilation of case studies, like this one of Plancia Magna, will provide data for analysis, and the discussion above may help us discern the questions we can profitably ask. We should examine Plancia Magna and her peers not simply in male frameworks such as family politics and prosopography, for these women were individuals in their own right. We may never be able to restore to them a voice, as men, not women, created the literature, philosophy, law, art and architecture, and material artifacts now remaining from the Roman period. But an increasing body of epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological evidence does enable us to see elite women's lives in more detail, and the contradictions these lives pose to the hegemonic paradigm. Plancia Magna and a significant number of other elite women crossed over into traditionally male roles, public ones, and achieved status and prominence equal to that of many men.

Notes

A version of this paper was read in February 1989 for the North Carolina Society of the Archaeological Institute of America (Chapel Hill), and I thank the audience for many interesting and pertinent suggestions. Thanks are also due to K. J. Rigsby and an anonymous reviewer for many comments that improved the paper.

1. Many of Plancia Magna's positions and benefactions are referred to by M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (Ier–IIer siècles)* (Louvain: Peeters, 1987), no. 609, pp. 494–95; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979), no. 31, pp. 128–29; and, briefly, W. Eck, *RE*, suppl. 14 (1974): col. 386, s.v. Plancia Magna. The inscriptions of Perge, including most of the inscriptions mentioning Plancia Magna, have just been surveyed by R. Merkelbach and S. Şahin, "Die publizierten Inschriften von Perge," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 11 (1988): 97–170 (cited below as M&S). Other bibliography is mentioned below. Plancia Magna has also received mention in works on women, as in R. Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1983), 235. Unless specially indicated, abbreviations used below are the standard ones found in *L'année philologique* and the second edition of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

2. M&S no. 36, pp. 122–23 = *AE* (1958): no. 78 = *AE* (1965): no. 209; M&S no. 37, p. 123, correcting *BSA* 17 (1910–11): no. 31, pp. 245–46; cf. C. P. Jones, "The Plancii of Perge and Diana Planciana," *HSCP* 80 (1976): 233. For the honorary appellation "daughter of the city" see L. Robert, in *Laodicée du Lycos: le Nymphée; campagnes 1961–63* (Quebec and Paris: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1969), 317–27.

3. A. M. Mansel, "Bericht über Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in Pamphylien in den Jahren 1946–1955," *Arch. Anz.* 71 (1956): 120 n. 87 (not in M&S).

4. J. Inan, "Neue Porträtstatuen aus Perge," in *Mélanges Mansel* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Hurumu Basimevi, 1974), 2:648–49 (not in M&S), commenting on a statue of Plancia Magna (illustrated). The two inscriptions naming Plancia Magna as high priestess of the imperial cult were found in excavations of 1968–69 in the area south of Plancia Magna's gate, helping to identify as Plancia Magna the statue found there that has a stylistic date in the Hadrianic period (it closely resembles a

statue of Sabina found earlier in Perge) and a priestly diadem adorned with four imperial busts (marking the wearer as a priestess of the imperial cult).

5. M&S no. 35, p. 122 = *IGR* III:794. The edition by Merkelbach and Şahin puts *demiourgos kai gymnasiarchos* in apposition to Plancia Magna rather than to Coccaeia Ti . . . , as had earlier editions. This is an unlikely restoration of the fragments, however, as Plancia's supposed gymnasiarchy occurs on no other of her honorary inscriptions.

6. Her marriage to Cornutus Tertullus is mentioned in the commentary on M&S no. 18, p. 114; her parentage of Plancius Varus Cornutus at M&S nos. 28 and 57, pp. 120 and 133; see also M&S no. 29, p. 120. Unfortunately these brief notices give no particulars such as dates, so that (for example) we have as yet no way of knowing if she was a widow at the time of her donations to Perge. Some link between the Plancii and Cornuti has long been presumed, most commonly that M. Plancius Varus, Plancia Magna's father, was the adoptive son of C. Iulius Cornutus Tertullus: see, for example, *CIL* XIV:2925, note ad loc.; S. Jameson, "Cornutus Tertullus and the Plancii of Perge," *JRS* 55 (1965): 54; S. Mitchell, "The Plancii in Asia Minor," *JRS* 64 (1974): 27.

7. Mansel, "Bericht," 99–120. The major excavation was in the 1950s, with subsequent work resulting in (among other finds) the statue of Plancia Magna mentioned in note 4 above. See S. Jameson, *RE* suppl. 14 (1974): cols. 375–83, s.v. Perge.

8. Mansel, "Bericht," 104: after the addition of the piers, which were not bonded with the towers, the entrance measured 5.5 meters wide, 3.7 meters deep.

9. Mansel, "Bericht," 104–5, gives the dimensions of the courtyard as 20.35 meters deep, 17.80 meters in exterior width.

10. In what J. B. Ward-Perkins calls the "marble style": see his *Roman Imperial Architecture* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 300–302. Mansel, "Bericht," 105–6, describes the courtyard in detail.

11. Mansel, "Bericht," 111–17: overall dimensions, 20 meters long, 9.10 meters wide; middle fornix 3.40 meters wide, side ones 2.50. Marble cassetts decorated the vaults.

12. Hermes, Apollo, Pan, and Heracles, and an unidentified young male deity: Mansel, "Bericht," 106–9, ills. 56–59. No statue bases were found for these statues.

13. For the meanings of *ktistēs*, an honorary appellation bestowed on eminent individuals for having brought to a city imperial favor or other far-reaching benefits, see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 4 (Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, 1948), 116.

14. Others identified by their bases are the Lapith Leonteus, son of Koronos; Machaon the Thessalian, son of Asklepios; Minyas, from Orchomenos, son of Ialmenos son of Ares; Labos the Delphian, son of Dae[. . .]: Mansel, "Bericht," 109; M&S nos. 24–27, pp. 117–19. Many more heroes are commemorated here than Herodotus and Strabo record as participating in Perge's foundation (Amphilochos, Kalchas, and Mopsos, Hdt. 7.91; and Strab. 668, citing Herodotus and Callinus). One founder mentioned in both accounts, Amphilochos, is not yet documented in the courtyard. Some of these heroes in Plancia Magna's courtyard, unknown otherwise, had ancient cults in the city: the Rixos inscription mentions a foot of Rixos that seems to have been a reliquary (M&S no. 27a, p. 119; Mansel, "Bericht," 109–10 n. 79).

15. M&S no. 28a–b, pp. 119–20; no. 28b incorrectly gives *adephos* for *adelphos*; cf. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* 6 (1956), pl. VI, fig. 20; Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 56.

16. Marble revetted the exterior: Mansel, "Bericht," 112. Pamphylia began to import marble in quantity only after Trajan's reign; see Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 299–300.

17. Mansel, "Bericht," 112: on the front sides there was a high pluteum with *aediculae*, and half-round and rectangular niches decorated the short sides. For the gate at Attaleia see note 85 below.

18. Mansel, "Bericht," 117–18: the inscriptions were in bronze letters within *tabulae ansatae*. Mansel points out the rarity of Plancia Magna's dedication of the arch to her city rather than to an emperor. Merkelbach and Şahin do not mention the inscriptions.

19. M&S nos. 29–34, pp. 120–22 (with earlier references): Diana Pergensis/ Artemis Pergaia, Genius civitatis/Tyche poleos, Divus Traianus, Diva Marciana, Diva Matidia, Sabina Augusta. Merkelbach and Şahin mention in their commentary to no. 34 (p. 122, with earlier references) unedited statue bases to (?Divus) Augustus, Divus Nerva, Plotina Augusta, and Hadrianus Augustus. I have encountered no other reference to the purported inscription to (?Divus) Augustus. Unfortunately the bases cannot be matched with fragmentary cuirassed and draped statues also found in the general proximity: see H. J. Kruse, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen des 2. Jhs. n. Chr.* (Göttingen: Bönecke Druck, 1975), 281–83.

20. Although it had been assumed from Sabina's epithet "Augusta" that Sabina's statue was erected not before 128, when she received that title officially (e.g., Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 56), W. Eck has now established that she was called Augusta earlier, probably after 119, when Matidia died, or perhaps after 123, when Plotina died: see "Hadrian als *pater patriae* und die Verleihung des Augustatitels an Sabina," in *Romanitas-Christianitas*, ed. G. Wirth et al. (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1982), 226–28. Since "Diva"/"Thea" is absent as an epithet for Plotina, her statue must predate her death and apotheosis in 123.

21. R. Bol, *Das Statuenprogramm des Herodes-Atticus-Nymphäums* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1984), 83–95, 108; for the date of Herodes Atticus' nymphaeum, 98–100.

22. See, for example, the numerous dedications to Plotina, Marciana, Matidia the Elder, and other imperial women, even including (Aelia) Domitia Paulina (Hadrian's sister), at Lyttos, Crete (*IGR* I:992–99, 1004). In Lyttos, however, as in

almost all other such installations, the dedications are made publicly, and representations of imperial men outnumber those of imperial women. See T. Pékary, *Das römische Kaiserbildnis in Staat, Kult und Gesellschaft, dargestellt anhand der Schriftquellen* (Berlin: Mann Verlag, 1985), 90–96, 101–5. I treat the topic of the imperial women of the early second century in an article forthcoming in *AJP* 112, no. 3 (1991).

23. For the Plancii see esp. Jones, "Plancii of Perge," 231–37; Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 54–58.

24. Halfmann, *Senatoren*, no. 8, pp. 104–5; add C. P. Jones, *Gnomon* 45 (1973): 691, and Mitchell, "Plancii," 27–29; *AE* (1971): no. 463; W. Eck, *RE* suppl. 14 (1974): cols. 385–86, s.v. M. Plancius Varus; idem, "Jahres- und Provinzialfasten der senatorischen Statthalter von 69/70 bis 138/139, II," *Chiron* 13 (1983): 202 n. 571, clarifying more controversial points of his career. For the background of traders (*negotiatores*) in the eastern Mediterranean see B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 56–58.

25. Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 54 n. 4. For the gymnasium see below and note 34.

26. Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 54; M. Corbier, *L'"aerarium Saturni" et l'"aerarium militare"* (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1974), no. 31, pp. 119–31; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, no. 22, p. 117, with earlier bibliography.

27. Mitchell, "Plancii," 27–39, esp. 31–38, with some other possible landholdings elsewhere in Asia Minor, perhaps as early as the mid-first century C.E. The connection with the royal family would have been through the Iulii Severi of Galatia.

28. M&S no. 57, pp. 132–33 = *AE* (1965): no. 208; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, no. 31, p. 128. Like most scholars working before the discovery of the new inscription marking C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus as Plancia Magna's son, Halfmann identifies this man with C. Plancius Varus; see *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* 2 (1982): 608, 642. See also *PIR*[2] I:470; Jones, "Plancii of Perge," 232–33; and Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 56.

29. For the governorship of Cilicia by a Plancius Varus see R. Syme, "Legates of Cilicia under Trajan," *Historia* 18 (1969): 365–66, referring to *Ephemeris epigraphica* IX:473, no. 900 = *Insc. It.* IV.1:132a–c; he and others infer a consular Plancius from the Hadrianic *senatus consultum Plancianum* (*Dig.* 25.3.3.1). C. Plancius Varus is unequivocally attested only by M&S no. 28b, pp. 119–120 = *AE* (1965): no. 212 = *SEG* XXXIV:1305B, the inscription from Plancia Magna's courtyard discussed above. See also W. Eck, *RE*, suppl. 14 (1974): col. 386, s.v. C. Plancius Varus; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, no. 31, p. 128.

30. The sophist Varus flourished in Perge in the mid-second century C.E.: Philostr. *VS* 2.6; see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 22 n. 5, 84. For (———) Celsus Plancianus, consul (suffectus)

with C. Avidius Cassius and perhaps a member of the Plancii family, see G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (Bonn: Habelt, 1977), 181–82.

31. For Bryoninus see *IGR* III:798 = M&S no. 49, p. 128, with new supplements of Bryoninus instead of Bryonianus, and imperial games instead of Varian games. In light of the new information concerning Plancia Magna's marriage, Iulia Tertulla, who married L. Iulius Marinus Caecilius Simplex (cos. suff. 101), is more likely to have been the sister of Cornutus Tertullus than his daughter. See Corbier, *Aerarium Saturni*, 129; Halfmann, *Senatoren*, nos. 22 and 23, pp. 117–18; Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 54 n. 5; Jones, "Plancii of Perge," 233. A mid-third-century Roman equestrian from Ancyra, Tertullus Varus, whose children and grandchildren entered the Senate, is probably also connected with the two families: see Mitchell, "Plancii," 36.

32. P. Veyne, *Le pain et le cirque* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1976), who does not specifically investigate the question of women in this context. For that topic see Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 223–42. For evergetism in the Hellenistic period in Asia Minor and Greece see P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (IVe-Ier siècle avant J.-C): contribution à l'histoire des institutions* (Paris and Athens: Diffusion de Boccard and Ecole Française d'Athènes, 1985). More briefly for Roman evergetism: P. Garnsey and R. Saller, *The Roman Empire: Economy, Society and Culture* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987), 33–34, 38, 101–2, 198.

33. S. Şahin, *Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museums von Iznik (Nikaia)*, vol. 1, Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 9 (Bonn: Habelt, 1979), nos. 25–28, 51–52; another inscription from Nicaea mentioning M. Plancius Varus is to be published by E. Bowie (see Mitchell, "Plancii," 28 n. 5).

34. The children of C. Iulius Cornutus and his unidentified wife may also have been cited as donors on the now fragmentary inscriptions: M&S nos. 18–21, pp. 113–15 = *IGR* III:792, *CIL* III:6734, *IGR* III:789. C. Iulius P. f. Hor. Cornutus Tertullus, the future husband of Plancia Magna, was probably the adopted son of this C. Iulius Cornutus (Corbier, *Aerarium Saturni*, 129; Jameson, "Tertullus and the Plancii," 54).

35. R. P. Saller, "Men's Age at Marriage and Its Consequence in the Roman Family," *CP* 82 (1987): 29–30, arguing from epigraphic and comparative evidence, contends plausibly that in the senatorial order men typically made their first marriages before age twenty-five. B. Shaw, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage: Some Reconsiderations," *JRS* 77 (1987): 30–46, shows that the typical age of women's first marriage for the population outside Rome and its environs was the late teens or early twenties, although aristocratic women may have been married in their early or mid-teens. See also K. Hopkins, "The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage," *Population Studies* 18 (1965): 326.

36. Sarah B. Pomeroy, "The Relationship of the Married Woman to Her Blood Relatives in Rome," *Ancient Society* 7 (1976): 215–27, investigates the institutions dealing with women's often competing allegiances to kin and marital relatives.

37. The rarity of "athletic consulars," reflecting the traditional scorn of the political elite for such exhibitionism (cf. Jones, "Plancii of Perge," 232 n. 16), may be further reason to suppose that the Hadrianic consular is Plancia Magna's brother, C. Plancius Varus, rather than her athletic son. On the other hand, honorary considerations often played an important role in athletic contests in the Greek East, so that the "victories" of C. Iulius Plancius Varus Cornutus may simply reflect the fact that he was the leading descendant of the founder's family.

38. As one might expect from the literary evidence discussed below, which in general stresses women's total devotion and dedication to men.

39. J. F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), 170–78, noting the loophole attested by Cicero that persons not registered (deliberately or not) in the census were not liable to the law. See also S. Dixon, "Breaking the Law to Do the Right Thing: The Gradual Erosion of the Voconian Law in Ancient Rome," *Adelaide Law Review* 9 (1985): 519–34.

40. Gardner, *Women in Law*, 178–79.

41. Gardner, *Women in Law*, 68–71 (with evidence of jurists' cautions regarding legacies to widows), 74–75, 170–78.

42. Gardner, *Women in Law*, 97–116.

43. R. P. Saller, "Roman Dowry and the Devolution of Property in the Principate," *CQ*, n.s. 34 (1984): esp. 196–202, and J. A. Crook, "Women in Roman Succession," in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. B. Rawson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 58–82, discuss the increasing size of fortunes bequeathed or legated to women during the Empire, which reached proportions similar to those left to men.

44. Gardner, *Women in Law*, 19–22.

45. Gardner, *Women in Law*, 14–22, esp. 19–22; S. Dixon, "*Infirmitas sexus*: Womanly Weakness in Roman Law," *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* 52 (1984): 343–71; J. A. Crook, "Feminine Inadequacy and the *Senatus Consultum Velleianum*," in *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, ed. B. Rawson (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 83–92.

46. Gai. *Inst.* 2.122, cf. 1.190, 3.44; see Gardner, *Women in Law*, 21; Crook, "Feminine Inadequacy," 85. For "womanly weakness," see especially Dixon, "*Infirmitas sexus*," 356–71.

47. Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 231–33.

48. For women as priestesses see Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 75–77, 125, 214–16, 223; P. Paris, *Quatenus feminae res publicas in Asia minore, Romanis imperantibus, attigerent* (Paris: E. Thorin, 1891), 17, 120–21; R. S. Kraemer, "Women in the Religions of the Greco-Roman World," *Religious Studies Review* 9 (1983): 131–32. The appearance of women as priestesses is much more frequent in Greek society than in Roman, where, other than vestal virgins, it occurs regularly only in the imperial period. The independence and actual performance of duties of the *archiereiai* of Asia (high priestesses of the imperial cult) have been established by R. A. Kearsley, "Asiarchs, *Archiereis*, and the *Archiereiai* of Asia," *GRBS* 27 (1986): 183–92. But of course this may be only a regional idiosyncracy; we see, for example, that in the mid-third century B.C.E. the priestess of Aglauros at Athens was represented by her son even when she received honors: see G. S. Dontas, "The True Aglaurion," *Hesperia* 52 (1983): 51–55. See also J. Turner, "Hiereiai: Acquisition of Feminine Priesthoods in Ancient Greece" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara, 1983).

49. On these and similar texts see Dixon, "*Infirmitas sexus*," 356–71; Crook, "Feminine Inadequacy," 85–92. A. J. Marshall, "Ladies at Law: The Role of Women in the Roman Civil Courts," in *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History*, ed. C. Deroux (Brussels: Latomus, 1989), 35–54, reinvestigates the topic of women's relation to the law in Roman society, to conclude persuasively that both men and women expected and accepted women's legal restrictions in bringing suits and appearing in court on behalf of themselves and others, but that women did attend actively to their legal affairs within the prescribed social limits (for example, by presenting *libelli* to authorities).

50. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, 57–119; J. Gould, "Law, Custom and Myth: Aspects of the Social Position of Women in Classical Athens," *JHS* 100 (1980): 38–59. D. M. Schaps, *The Economic Rights of Women in Ancient Greece* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1979), modifies somewhat the conventional economic picture.

51. For example, in Plancia Magna's day Plutarch wrote that "the speech [of a virtuous woman] ought not to be for the public, and she ought to be modest and guarded about saying anything in the hearing of outsiders . . . ," even as he stressed that wives are to be their husbands' active helpmeets throughout life (*Moralia* 138C; 139D, F; 140A, D–F; 141A; 142C–D; 145A). See M. Foucault, *The Care of the Self* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 147–85, who treats the evidence from a different perspective than the present one.

52. Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 234. Specifically for women's "modest" attire in Perge and the East, which sometimes included veiling from head to toe except the eyes and nose, see Robert, *Hellenica* 5:66–69.

53. The most extensive treatments are those of Paris, *Feminae*, and O. Braunstein, *Die politische Wirksamkeit der griechischen Frau: eine Nachwirkung vorgriechischen Mutterrechtes* (dissertation, Leipzig, 1911). R. MacMullen, "Women in Public in the Roman Empire," *Historia* 29 (1980): 208–18, provides a briefer and more modern treatment.

54. Some of the newly found inscriptions, together with older ones, appear in

the collection of H. W. Pleket, "The Social Position of Women in the Greco-Roman World," in *Epigraphica II: Texts on the Social History of the Greek World* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), 10–41; see also W. Eck, "Die Präsenz senatorischer Familien in den Städten des Imperium Romanum bis zum späten 3. Jahrhundert," in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift F. Vittinghoff*, ed. W. Eck, H. Galsterer, and H. Wolff (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 1980), tables I.c.19, 27, 28, 37–39, 51 (pp. 292–94); D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 1518–19 n. 50. The figures are derived from Braunstein, *Politische Wirksamkeit*, and R. Münsterberg, *Die Beamtennamen auf den griechischen Münzen* (Vienna, 1911–1927; reprinted New York and Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1973), 256.

55. Figures derived from Paris, *Feminae*, 41–77. MacMullen, "Women in Public," 213, notes that although such eminent women are numerous, they still constitute a relatively small proportion (10 to 12 percent) of the municipal and imperial elite known to us. See also below, note 69.

56. Paris, *Feminae*.

57. Paris, *Feminae*, e.g., 30–31, 57–58, 84–86. But Kearsley, "Asiarchs, *Archiereis*, and *Archiereiai*," 183–92, now argues convincingly that at least the female high priestesses of the imperial cult in Asia were independent of their husbands in their positions.

58. Paris, *Feminae*, 121–32.

59. Paris, *Feminae*, 124–29.

60. See A. J. Marshall, "Roman Women and the Provinces," *Ancient Society* 6 (1975): 124–25; V. Chapot, *La province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie* (Paris, 1904; reprinted Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1967), 158–63; Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, 649–50, 1507 n. 34, 1518–19 n. 50. For emphasis on the "political decline" of the Greek East under Roman rule see G. E. M. de Ste Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981), 518–37.

61. Braunstein, *Politische Wirksamkeit*.

62. Braunstein, *Politische Wirksamkeit*, 64–88.

63. Braunstein, *Politische Wirksamkeit*, 89.

64. For a critique of Bachofen see, for example, S. Pembroke, "Last of the Matriarchs: A Study in the Inscriptions of Lycia," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 8 (1965): 217–47; E. Fee, "The Sexual Politics of Victorian Social Anthropology," *Feminist Studies* 1 (1973): 23–39; J. Bamberger, "The Myth of Matriarchy: Why Men Rule in Primitive Society," in *Women, Culture and Society*, ed. M. Z. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 263–80.

65. Pointed out by Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 223, 226–33.

66. For example, Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*, 126, crediting this to (unspecified) legal and economic changes. Veyne, *Pain et cirque*, 215–16, remarks only on the wealth of women as important for their elevation as magistrates and priestesses.

67. Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 226–33.

68. Gardner, *Women in Law*, esp. 263–65.

69. There were as many benefactresses in the West as in the East: see J. C. Rockwell, *Private Baustiftungen für die Stadtgemeinde auf Inschriften der Kaiserzeit im Westen des römischen Reiches* (dissertation, Jena, 1909), esp. 88. Overall, the donations of women do not differ from those of men: we do not find, for example, that when a woman paid for a public banquet, only women were invited (see also Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 227–30). Female donors may have constituted about a tenth of all attested donors in the Greek East, to judge from the figures of B. Laum, *Stiftungen in der griechischen und römischen Antike: ein Beitrag zur antiken Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1914; reprinted Stuttgart: Scientia Verlag, 1964), 23.

70. Cf. Marshall, "Roman Women and the Provinces," 125, and MacMullen, "Women in Public," 215–16, who notes, however, that women are rarely found in roles requiring their speaking in public.

71. There may be an example of a female magistrate from North Africa, if the Messia Castula *duumvira* of *CIL* VIII:9407 was a woman who held the position of duumvir (thus Marshall, "Roman Women and the Provinces," 125 n. 74), rather than the wife of a duumvir (as G. Wilmanns ad loc., *CIL* VIII: p. 808).

72. Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 223–42.

73. Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 233–37.

74. Eck, "Präsenz senatorischer Familien," 312, with lists including known senatorial women functioning as municipal magistrates and priestesses (pp. 286–309).

75. For a somewhat sensationalist discussion of the ancient evidence for the imperial women in these periods see J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* (New York: J. Day, 1963; reprinted New York: Barnes & Noble, 1983), 68–130, 140–64.

76. *HA* Hadr. 5.9; cf. H. Temporini, *Die Frauen am Hofe Trajans* (Berlin and New York: W. de Gruyter, 1978), 171.

77. For Livia and the Samians see J. M. Reynolds, *Aphrodisias and Rome* (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1982), document 13, and Dio 54.9.7; for the circumstances of the grant see G. W. Bowersock, *Gnomon* 56 (1984): 52, and M. Toher, *GRBS* 26 (1985): 201–2. For Plotina and the Jews see *P. Oxy.* 1242 = E. M. Smallwood, *Documents Illustrating the Principates of Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), no. 516; with Temporini, *Frauen am Hofe Trajans*, 90–100.

78. The retiring role is particularly marked in the first part of the second century C.E.: see my forthcoming article "The Imperial Women of the Early Second Century," *AJP* 112 (1991). MacMullen apparently downplays the influence of the imperial women on Greek women ("Women in Public," 217–18).

79. For the iconography see, for example, note 4 above.

80. M.-T. Raepsaet-Charlier, "Epouses et familles de magistrats dans les provinces romaines aux deux premiers siècles de l'Empire," *Historia* 31 (1982): 58–59; see also Marshall, "Roman Women and the Provinces," 109–27.
81. Raepsaet-Charlier, "Epouses et familles," 58 and passim.
82. Marshall, "Roman Women and the Provinces," esp. 122–27; Raepsaet-Charlier, "Epouses et familles," 64.
83. Marshall, "Roman Women and the Provinces," 122–23.
84. L. Robert, "La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie: la gloire et la haine," *HSCP* 81 (1977): 1–39, provides a good illustration of this rivalry, with evidence from coins, inscriptions, archaeology, and literature.
85. See Mansel, "Bericht," 112–18; Ward-Perkins, *Roman Imperial Architecture*, 485 n. 48.
86. *IGR* III:773. For Iulia Sancta see Halfmann, *Senatoren*, no. 134, p. 200.
87. For the gate at Side see A. Mansel, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1963), 36–37, ills. 20, 22; for its dating to the Antonine age see J. Inan, *Roman Sculpture in Side* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, 1975), p. 83, nos. 17, 18, 27, 39, 71, 78.
88. For Menodora see, for example, Van Bremen, "Women and Wealth," 223–24; the most pertinent inscriptions are conveniently located in *IGR* III:800–802 and *BCH* 13 (1889): 486–87.

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Menstruants and the Sacred in Judaism and Christianity

In numerous cultures menstruants and parturients (women who have just given birth) are distanced from sacred places, actions, or objects and are isolated from society. The women are regarded as impure or "polluted." Menstrual taboos have been a favorite topic of study for anthropologists and, in recent years, for feminists from various disciplines, but much work remains to be done.[1] Two large and important topics that remain virtually unexplored are the histories of menstrual taboos in Judaism and in Christianity. The regulations governing the impurity and purification of the menstruant were, and for many Jews still are, an essential part of Jewish piety, but aside from two recent articles (in Hebrew) by Yedidyah Dinari, I have not found a single historical study of the subject.[2] Menstrual taboos occupy a much smaller place, of course, in Christianity than in Judaism, but they do have a place, especially in eastern Christianity, even if they have not yet attracted scholarly attention.

This essay is an initial attempt to fill the lacuna. A full treatment of the topic would require an analysis of the purity systems of ancient Judaism; the Jewish attitudes towards sex, sexuality, the body, and bodily functions; the place of women in Jewish law and society; the parallels and contrasts between Jewish and non-Jewish practices; and the Christian analogues to all these matters. The topic also demands of its interpreter expertise in legal history, social history, comparative religion, social anthropology, folklore, and a host of other disciplines. Even if I were competent in all these areas, and I am not, I could not cover the entire topic in the space allotted. Instead I restrict my discussion here to legal history. I first present the biblical material on menstrual impurity and then describe