

THE INCLUSION AND NEGOTIATION OF THE APPROPRIATE FEMALE PRESENCE  
IN PUBLIC: THAMUGADI AND CUICUL

Katelin McCullough

A thesis submitted to the faculty at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Classics.

Chapel Hill  
2015

Approved by:

Jennifer Gates-Foster

Kenneth Sams

Donald Haggis

© 2015  
Katelin McCullough  
ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

## **ABSTRACT**

Katelin McCullough: The Inclusion and Negotiation of the Appropriate Female Presence in  
Public: Thamugadi and Cuicul  
(Under the direction of Jennifer Gates-Foster)

This treatment begins to re-contextualize some of the epigraphic material from the Roman African cities of Thamugadi and Cuicul by taking into account associated statuary and probable locations for these monuments within the town centers. In order to go beyond simply noting that women were part of the urban fabric of Roman communities in the West, this discussion considers the specific economic context of the North African region and its impact on how women chose to present themselves both as a part of the public fabric of the community and in a manner that would have been acceptable in a male-dominated, Roman society. Evidence from North Africa demonstrates that Roman influence did not translate into consistent honorific practices and that the ways in which women were included in public space display distinct local patterns even within the same province or across cities with similar social structures.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Overview of Previous Scholarship.....	3
CHAPTER 2: PATRONAGE AND THE ECONOMY IN NORTH AFRICA .....	7
CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF THAMUGADI AND CUICUL....	14
Thamugadi: Civic Monuments.....	17
Cuicul: Civic Monuments.....	26
CHAPTER 4: STATUARY.....	31
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS.....	36
APPENDIX 1: SHORT EPIGRAPHIC CATALOGUE FOR THAMUGADI.....	38
FIGURES.....	46
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	54

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map showing locations of Cuicul and Thamugadi.....	46
Figure 2: Thamugadi: plan showing the original <i>colonia</i> .....	47
Figure 3: Cuicul: plan of the forum and its associated structures.....	48
Figure 4: Inscription recording Annia Tranquilla and Annia Cara at Thamugadi.....	49
Figure 5: Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia.....	50
Figure 6: Faustina Maior from the theater at Thamugadi.....	51
Figure 7: Faustina Minor from the theater at Thamugadi.....	52
Figure. 8 Hip-swathe honorific statue from Thamugadi.....	53

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE	<i>L'Année Epigraphique</i> (Paris, 1888- ).
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , ed. H. Temporini and W. Haase (Berlin, 1972-).
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> I-XVI (Berlin, 1863-).
ILAlg	S. Gsell, E. Albertini, J. Zeiller, H.-G. Pflaum, and L. Leschi (ed.) <i>Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie</i> I-III (Paris, 1922-2003).
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , ed. H. Dessau I-III (2 <sup>nd</sup> ed.) (Berlin, 1954).
PIR <sup>2</sup>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i> , ed. E. Groag, A. Stein, and L. Peterson. I-VI (Berlin and Leipzig, 1933-).

## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This paper examines the monumental presence of women in the public spaces of Thamugadi (Timgad) and Cuicul (Djémila) in the Roman province of Numidia. The presence of women is evaluated through an analysis of their representation in inscriptions and portrait statues and with consideration of where those monuments were located within the town centers of these colonies. In order to move beyond simply noting that women were part of the urban fabric of Roman communities in the West, this discussion considers the specific economic context of North Africa and its impact on the “interesting problem of why and how it became acceptable and even important to include women as an integral part of a city’s public identity.”<sup>1</sup> This paper explores evidence from North Africa to demonstrate that Roman influence did not translate into uniform honorific practices and that the ways in which women were included in public space display distinct local patterns even in cities in the same region or province with similar social structures.

In particular, this investigation hopes to demonstrate that there was a phenomenon during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE in North Africa whereby women were increasingly brought into the cycle of euergetism when the financial need was strong enough. This inclusion in the public life of the town of Thamugadi resulted in those women with a connection to a specific civic and religious role – that of *flaminica* – being honored in the urban center of the community. This local method of including women in this reciprocal relationship with the community

---

<sup>1</sup>Van Bremen 1996, 4.

will then briefly be compared with that of the Numidian town of Cuicul (Djemila). This town reacted to third century financial stress by also including women in their public spaces but while some were *flaminicae*, Cuicul supplies less evidence for the pattern of honoring women for their financial contributions through that specific office. Instead, in Cuicul women were occasionally honored for their connection to a wealthy family but were more often able to contribute to the urban equipment of the public places of their town (and simultaneously to demonstrate their own access to financial resources) by dedicating monuments for others. For city notables and benefactors, these public monuments were the “highest denomination in the currency of euergetic politics.”<sup>2</sup> However, they were also complex and articulate images that embody and express the social ideals of similar but distinct North African cities under the control of the Roman Empire.

Furthermore, this paper addresses the problem of how these civic monuments were designed in order to make them appropriate for communal viewing in a society that had long hesitated to accept the appearance of women in public.<sup>3</sup> The phrasing of the inscriptions that mention such women, the appearance of a few extant portrait statues, and their original location (when known) are discussed. While many of the inscriptions and the few statues that survive from these towns might fit well in relation to an overarching narrative of Roman honorific methods, they should also be seen as appropriate to the specific time and place in which they were erected.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, this treatment looks at broader regional influences and,

---

<sup>2</sup>Smith 1998, 63.

<sup>3</sup>This will be expanded upon below, but see Davies (2008 and 2013) for comprehensive discussions of this concept when considering the statue body and Dillon (2010) for a discussion of how this affects the statue head.

<sup>4</sup>See Smith (2006, 7) for a parallel for case-study at Aphrodisias.



in keeping with R.R.R Smith's belief that the "local aspect is important," on their specific manifestation within Thamugadi and Cuicul.<sup>5</sup>

### **Overview of Previous Scholarship**

Past investigations in the former province of Numidia have examined the epigraphy associated with honorific monuments found within the two cities of Thamugadi (Timgad) and Cuicul (Djémila). Gerhard Zimmer's analysis of the honorific monuments in the *fora* of these two cities provided local and regional evidence for what he claimed were distinctly masculine spaces.<sup>6</sup> However, Christian Witschel has more recently argued for the prominence of civic inscriptions set up for or by women in these communities, although extant statues of women securely connected to these towns remain rare.<sup>7</sup> His work has provided some insight into the number of women active in public life and has provided a foundation for understanding their familial connections.<sup>8</sup> Witschel focused a great deal of attention on the fact that most monuments honoring elite women in these towns also mention their male relatives and generally dismissed local factors that might also have had a hand in their inclusion on the public commemoration of women.

While familial connections are certainly important for understanding the overall context in which these inscriptions were erected, Witschel's readings of the inscriptions from these sites rely heavily on explanations similar to those of Riet van Bremen's interpretation

---

<sup>5</sup>See Smith 2006, 4.

<sup>6</sup>See Zimmer (1989) and Trimble's (2011, 216 and 271) comments on Zimmer's work.

<sup>7</sup>Witschel 2013.

<sup>8</sup>Witschel (2013) is in the form of a prosopographical catalogue. He examines the totality of the epigraphic evidence for Thamugadi and concentrates on the honorific equipment of the large public spaces in Cuicul. See Raepsaet-Charlier (1987) for a complete discussion of genealogies and families in North Africa known from both literary and epigraphic sources.

of honorific monuments for women in the Roman East.<sup>9</sup> Riet van Bremen has argued that the prominence of women, such as priestesses, was tied to that of male counterparts and was a form of entrapment that limited the participation of women to “the role of the virtuous wife” in emulation of the public role performed by the empress.<sup>10</sup> In following van Bremen’s argument for the Roman East in these two North African cities, Witschel excludes the possibility of regional or local variation in patterns for including women in public space within the Roman Empire. In contrast to Witschel, this paper will examine these monuments with the intent of contextualizing them within a regional framework. This perspective allows for more localized factors, such as economic developments that are particular to one time and place and the societal changes that may have accompanied them, to come into focus.

Regional studies for women in North Africa have been done but have focused on women of specific roles and titles and have not taken into consideration their situation within a specific town.<sup>11</sup> For example, Sarah Bond has persuasively argued that one of the primary factors behind the phenomenon of awarding honors through inscriptions and statues to women – specifically civic *patronae* – in the region of North Africa as a whole was economic.<sup>12</sup> However, while she gives an overview of all eighteen recorded female patrons in the Roman world, she does not examine them within the corpus of inscriptions for other

---

<sup>9</sup>Witschel 2013, 104.

<sup>10</sup>Van Bremen 1996, 115-20, 298-302; Friesen (2003, 145) summarizes these claims. See Pomeroy (1998, 491) for a critique of van Bremen’s argument. See Friesen (2003, 146-147) for an overview of her evidence and critique of it that finds only 52% of her evidence, at least for priestesses, supports her claim.

<sup>11</sup>Ladjimi Sebaï 1990.

<sup>12</sup>For a presentation of her thesis, see Bond (2007, 1-4).

women within the towns where they were located.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, while no civic *patronae* are recorded at Thamugadi or Cuicul, her overall approach of examining the financial role of women in civic life matches well with some of the evidence that appears in these two Numidian towns. While this paper will expand upon her approach of looking at economic factors as a major motivation in the process of awarding and recording public honors for women, it does not select a single woman, a *patrona*, in one city and hope to compare each such honorand to other very temporally and spatially scattered individuals with the same titulature. Instead, this paper examines several women in both towns and considers individuals as part of a larger assemblage of women who were honored in these two cities with the hope that this may demonstrate intra and inter-city patterns concerning which females were honored and how they were represented.

In Thamugadi, the city that is the main focus of this treatment, women reacted to the specific economic, social, and political context within which they found themselves. Here, I argue that economic stagnation led to a rather sudden inclusion of women in spaces traditionally considered to be a part of a male-gendered landscape. In the early third century CE, monuments were erected to publicly commemorate a specific demographic within Thamugadi's female population: the priestesses of the imperial cult (*flaminicae*). These women were suitable benefactors because, as part of the flamine, they paid higher *summa honoraria* than other civic offices. A sudden increase in civic monuments recording these women within the most prestigious area of Thamugadi, suggests that their wealth may have been an apt solution to the problem of how to fund a city during a difficult economic situation. While this phenomenon can easily be seen in Thamugadi, in Cuicul the change

---

<sup>13</sup>Bond's (2007) work focuses on those few women who were formally adopted by a community as a *patrona* and who were recorded in association with this specific terminology.

from a more fruitful economic situation to a less desirable one results in a different pattern. Here, a tradition of women being honored as part of family groups, especially for those of senatorial families, began in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE.<sup>14</sup> However, as that century was coming to a close and the 3<sup>rd</sup> century was beginning, women began to promote their own economic status by providing statuary honors for others while their own names were featured prominently in the dedicatory inscription. While a few of these women were connected to the flaminiate, they were not honored in Cuicul with the same exclusivity as is visible in the evidence from Thamugadi.

The benefit of comparing the town of Cuicul to Thamugadi is that it allows for a consideration of how different local traditions (a pre-existing tradition of honoring women in public spaces, but under different circumstances) can result in distinct patterns of civic participation even under similar regional influences. In order to examine women's inclusion within the public space of these two towns, the next section briefly discusses the overall economic situation within North Africa during the second and third centuries and how females with access to monetary resources could participate in local benefactions.

---

<sup>14</sup>Witschel 2013, 97-103.

## CHAPTER 2: PATRONAGE AND THE ECONOMY IN NORTH AFRICA

This chapter considers first what the financial situation in North Africa may have been during the transition from the second to the third centuries CE and second what access women had to wealth and what evidence there is to demonstrate female financial assistance in exchange for commemoration within the communities of Roman North Africa. Bond cites economic stagnation and an increased burden on municipal *decurions* in the late second and third centuries as the impetus for local councils to seek out women for economic support in North Africa.<sup>15</sup> This may explain the sudden appearance of monuments for women in this time period in Thamugadi and Cuicul.

The economic stagnation cited by Bond is often seen as the result of a combination of factors, including, but not limited to: warfare, uprisings, plague, the debasement of coinage, and political instability.<sup>16</sup> Debates based on a variety of sources (archaeological, literary, and epigraphic) over the last 50 years of scholarship in particular have weighed the possibility of a significant economic recession in the region of North Africa.<sup>17</sup> The steep decline in building activities, accompanied by a decrease in inscriptions that commemorate such projects, in North Africa as a whole during the third century CE is frequently seen as a sign

---

<sup>15</sup>Warmington (1954, 51) comments that “prosperity was damaged by the financial disorders which accompanied the civil wars,” for economic stagnation and corruption in North Africa in the third century, see Macmullen (1988, 28-35).

<sup>16</sup>See Alföldy (1974) for a summary of the various aspects of this crisis; see De Blois (2002) for an expansion of his summary and a discussion of more recent scholarship on the topic.

<sup>17</sup>De Blois 2002, 204.

of economic troubles as cities struggled to replicate the spending of earlier times.<sup>18</sup> While assessing the state of the discussion about the ‘Third Century Crisis,’ Lukas de Blois notes that while for the most part towns continued to be lived in, their most expensive acts, like constructing new buildings and erecting inscriptions, were becoming increasingly rare and that this trend increased dramatically under the reign of Alexander Severus.<sup>19</sup>

However, not all cities were effected in the same way.<sup>20</sup> In light of the poor excavation methods which were used at Thamugadi, the types of evidence that are understood well enough to discuss this issue may, at this time, be limited to a consideration of the architectural remains and the epigraphic sources. During the second century, many new projects had been undertaken in Thamugadi, especially towards the improvement of the city’s infrastructure, and as a result, the municipal area was nearly doubled and building inscriptions were regularly put up to commemorate those who contributed.<sup>21</sup> These building projects, described below, had largely been financed by public money.<sup>22</sup>

Beginning in the third century, while public buildings were still repaired and restored across North Africa as a whole, new constructions were rare.<sup>23</sup> For example, Gareth Sears notes that Sabratha’s economy began to struggle during this time.<sup>24</sup> He cites a lack of new

---

<sup>18</sup>Gilhaus 2013, 21; De Blois 2002, 215.

<sup>19</sup>De Blois, 2002, 215; also discussed in Sears (2011, 98-114), who notes that there were reductions to the amount of building and restoration work that was being undertaken during the third century compared to the Severan period and a decline in new building inscriptions in North Africa.

<sup>20</sup>Sears 2011, 110.

<sup>21</sup>Gilhaus 2013, 25.

<sup>22</sup>Gilhaus 2013, 25.

<sup>23</sup>Gilhaus 2013, 21.

<sup>24</sup>Sears 2011, 113.

building work in the later second and third centuries and the abandonment of building work that had already begun in the city's East Forum Temple as evidence for a reduction in the size of the community's economy.<sup>25</sup> Sabratha's inability to continue building new, large public buildings from the later second century onwards leads Sears to hypothesize that the city had a small agricultural base and that this small financial base had been unable to sustain the city after its second century building campaigns.<sup>26</sup>

In contrast with the decrease in new construction projects in much of North Africa, there were still new building projects in Thamugadi. In this city, where a *macellum* and possibly a *capitolium* were built at this time (see below), the number of buildings funded by private money exceeded those paid for at public expense for the first time.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, as will be discussed, it may be significant that the most prominent buildings constructed at the beginning of the third century in Thamugadi, the *macellum* and the *capitolium*, were dedicated partially by a woman. This switch to largely private funding for building projects may signal a certain degree of financial instability in the city or, at the very least, a significant change in the way in which the community handled its funds. While parts of North Africa were unable to persist in an expansion of their urban fabric, Thamugadi endured during the beginning of the third century, possibly because they were able to tap previously unutilized or under-utilized sources of funds: those belonging to women.

In regards to what material resources women may have been able to muster, it is thought that, especially by the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, the Roman practice of partible inheritance, in which male and female children inherit a portion of the father's wealth, left many elite

---

<sup>25</sup>Sears (2011, 113) follows Dore (1988, 74, 84) in this.

<sup>26</sup>Sears 2011, 113.

<sup>27</sup>Gilhaus 2013, 25.

women with “large fortunes and the discretion to dispose of them as they pleased.”<sup>28</sup> The practice of tutelage, which had placed guardians over un-married women and their assets, was restricted due to laws such as the *Lex Iulia Papia-Poppaea*.<sup>29</sup> By allowing women with more than 5 children (3 in Rome) to be excused from requiring the services of a tutor or a curator, women who could meet this requirement had increased control over their own wealth.<sup>30</sup> Päivi Setälä has argued that the combination of a woman’s inherited property and dowry made it possible for some women to act independently, and her work shows increasing economic activity by women throughout the Imperial period.<sup>31</sup> Women who controlled their own property were able to exert influence, not only in the private, but also in the public sphere.<sup>32</sup> As some women were able to command their own material resources, Thamugadi and Cuicul incorporated them into their cycles of benefactions and honorific monuments.

As is discussed below, at the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century the women in Thamugadi who were recorded on these monuments were, by and large, priestesses of the imperial cult known as the *flaminicae*. Emily Hemelrijk argues that such priestesses must have been persons of a high degree of wealth based on the number and amount of fees they had to pay upon assuming the religious office.<sup>33</sup> In other areas of North Africa, *flaminicae* seem to have

---

<sup>28</sup>Saller 1996, 883.

<sup>29</sup>Ulp. 11.1, 18, 25, 27; Suet. *Aug.* 34-5; Additionally, Claudius’ extension of the *ius quattuor liberorum* whereby he extended this right to encourage female grain importers to increase commercial trade reflects women’s increased involvement in economic affairs both in Rome and in the provinces (Suet. *Claud.* 19).

<sup>30</sup>Inst. 1 25; Dig.27 1.

<sup>31</sup>See Setälä (1999) for an overview of her work. In particular, her studies of brick stamps have demonstrated that the economic activity of women, particularly of the senatorial and equestrian classes, lasted at the very least from the first century BCE until sometime in the third century CE.

<sup>32</sup>Setälä 1999, vii-xi.

<sup>33</sup>Hemelrijk 2006, 88.



been expected to enrich their cities with benefactions and to have paid a *summa honoraria*, just as *decurions* paid the *summa honoraria* for their civic offices.<sup>34</sup> For example, in Thugga, also a city in the Roman province of Numidia, Botria Fortunata, a *flaminica perpetua* (a priestess for life), gifted a temple *sua pecunia* (with her own money) for Tellus in 261 CE to her city *ob summam honoris flaminatus* (on account of the sum of the flamine honor).<sup>35</sup> Additionally, priestesses had to pay a fixed *summa honoraria*, the amount of which, in the African provinces, was usually higher than the *summa honoraria* for most civic magistrates, such as the duumvirate or the aedileship, within a single town.<sup>36</sup> For Hemelrijk, this indicates the high level of prestige associated with the religious post.

Dedications to these women often establish a connection between euergetism and the honorary offices they received. Women were recognized sources of money and benefaction within North African municipalities, and they paid for priesthoods that were largely tied to their socio-economic position. In the late third century, Annia Aelia Restituta received five statues for a theater she had promised (costing 400,000 sesterces) to Calama in Numidia after becoming a *flaminica perpetua*. Two dedications comment on her actions. The first dedication notes that the statues were on account of the *liberalitas* of her promise, the

---

<sup>34</sup>Duncan-Jones (1974, 86) notes that in African cities, the *summae honorariae* appear to have been originally intended as direct cash-payments to the city, but that they were sometimes put towards monuments built by the magistrate for the adornment of the city.

<sup>35</sup>*CIL* 8, 26558: Pro salute Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) P(ubli) Licini Egnati Gallieni Germanici Pii Fel(icis) Aug(usti) pont(ificis) max(imi) Germanici [maximi tribunicia po]te`st(ate) X co(n)s(ulis) IIII p(atris) p(atriciae) proco(n)s(ulis) et Corneliae Salo[ninae Aug(ustae)] totiusque divinae domus eorum Botria Fortunata Victoris filia flam[inica] perpetua templum Tellu[ris] ob summam honoris flaminatus sua pecunia a s[ol]o extruxit excoluit et [d]edicavit sport[ulis] d[atis] decurionibus et e[pul]is universo popul[o]; Summary: She built a temple of Tellus for the well-being of the emperor Gallienus, his wife Salonina and the entire *domus divina*; to celebrate the dedications she offered *sportulae* to the *decurions* and *epula* to the people.

<sup>36</sup>Hemelrijk 2006, 88. R. Duncan-Jones (1974, 82-88) describes payments varying from HS 5,000 to 10,000 for a flaminica in the towns of northern Africa, a much higher figure than the sum of HS 2,000 to 4,000 which was a common *summa honoraria* for a duumvirate in the same region. If we take the height of the *summa honoraria* to be paid for an office as an indication of its importance, this priesthood was one of the most important offices in the African towns.

erection of the theater, and her *merita*; the second emphasizes that the benefactions were from her own money, for the adorning of her homeland (*pecunia sua exornanda[epat]riae*).<sup>37</sup> These inscriptions exemplify the expectation of benefaction in return for public office.

North African cities counted on the *summae honorariae* derived from *decurions* and the benefactions of wealthy equestrians to sustain the city, and avoidance of the *summa honoraria* and the traditional civic *munera* undermined the economic base of cities.<sup>38</sup> The large personal wealth of North African elite women helped municipalities to establish a wider economic base that could then be perpetuated among a wider group of individuals than before. Perhaps due in part to the willingness of North African communities to honor elite women, Thamugadi continued to expand its urban fabric well into the third century.<sup>39</sup> North African sources of benefaction for such generosity may have been affected by economic stagnation, but the strong African focus on civic benefaction allowed cities such as Thamugadi to make it acceptable for women to become new benefactors.<sup>40</sup> However, as we shall see, the monuments that they received in return may have been qualified in certain ways that made it more acceptable to display them on a more frequent basis than before.

---

<sup>37</sup>(1) CIL VIII 5365 = CIL VIII 17495 = ILAlg. I 286: Anniae Aeliae Restitutae / flam(inicae) perp(etuae) ob in/signem liberalita/tem pollicitatio/nis eius HS CCCC(milium) n(ummum) /at theatrum faci/endum cui cum or/do ob eam causam sta/tuas quinque de pu/blico pon[i]censuis/set etiam ob merita / L(uci) Anni Aeli Clemen/tis flam(inis) Aug(usti) p(er)p(etui) patris / eius cui aere conla/to universi cives sta/tuam posuissent / [--] unive[rsus(?)--] / [---] d(ecreto) d(ecurionum); (2) CIL VIII 5366 = ILAlg 1.287: Anniae Aeli/ae L(uci) fil(iae) Restit[u]/[t]ae flam(inicae) Augg(ustorum) [p(er)]/p(etuae) ob egregiam in / [s]uos cives libera/[l]itatem theatro / pecunia sua exor/nanda[e pat]riae / s[p]onte p[rom]isso / ad referendam gr[a]tiam ordo univer/sus statua[s] n(umero) quinq(ue) de pu[bl(ico)] faciend[as] / decrevit.

<sup>38</sup>See Duncan-Jones (1985, 29) concerning the use of *summa honorariae* for public buildings.

<sup>39</sup>Bond 2007, 52.

<sup>40</sup>Lepelley (2001, 89) comments that the focus on building and the financial data involved “is evidence too of a resolute determination to preserve the material fabric of the classical city, at whatever cost.”

Despite the need to honor women with a statue for their contributions to the city, a longstanding unease with their display in public (a male dominated space) that seems to have been present in contemporary literature meant that certain characteristics were emphasized and others downplayed on monuments that dealt with women.<sup>41</sup> The public image of women as represented in these portrait statues and portrait heads was shaped by this interplay between the conflicting needs of feminine modesty and conspicuous (generally) elite visibility. So while women were technically able to participate in the practice of providing a service to the community in exchange for a statue in their honor, a woman needed to appear to be acting within the range of “proper” female behavior. In these situations, the sculptor and engraver identified the gestures and characteristics which those walking around the public spaces of Thamugadi and Cuicul would recognize as being appropriately feminine and imitated them to create an image and text suitable for displaying a woman in public.<sup>42</sup> In many ways similar to the purpose of wearing the veil in public or using a generic female portrait face, defensive and subordinate gestures found in female statue body types were a visual strategy designed to mitigate the cultural offense of appearing in public and, as is discussed below, phrasing civic inscriptions in specific ways may have been part of this overall design.<sup>43</sup>

---

<sup>41</sup>Davies 2008, 210-220.

<sup>42</sup>Davies 1997, 103.

<sup>43</sup>See Dillon (2010, 133) for a discussion of the idealized portrait face and see Davies (1997, 2008 and 2013) for discussions on feminine ideals represented in body formats for statuary representing women in public.

### CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF THAMUGADI AND CUICUL

This broader North African economic context influenced the practices of erecting civic dedications at Thamugadi and Cuicul (see Fig. 1 for a map showing these sites). These sites are advantageous in that they both have extensive epigraphic material and are also thought to have similar historical origins.<sup>44</sup> Thamugadi was founded as a veteran colony in 100 CE, and Cuicul, although its date has occasionally been disputed, was also established as a colonial community most likely during the late first century CE.<sup>45</sup> In addition, while both sites were rather roughly “excavated” by French archaeologists in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there remains good evidence for the city plans and, thus, for how the epigraphic evidence was connected to the public spaces within those layouts.<sup>46</sup>

The principal focus of this paper is on Thamugadi (Fig. 2), and it is worth taking a moment to orient the discussion within the town’s forum – one of the primary locations chosen for the display of honorific monuments within the community. A rigid street plan,

---

<sup>44</sup>Witschel (2013, 85) notes that each town can be associated with about 600 inscriptions; Witschel (1992) brought together most of the epigraphic material of Thamugadi in his MA thesis, but there is no modern holistic collection of the inscriptions. The inscriptions of Cuicul have fared much better in this respect as they were completely re-edited only a few years ago in *ILAlg* 2.3.

<sup>45</sup>Thamugadi is given an exact date by two founding inscriptions which were once attached to the gates of the town: *CIL* 8, 2355 = 17842 = *ILS* 6841 and *CIL* 8, 17843; Cuicul lacks such confident sources, but Kleinwächter (2001, 65-72) finds this date most likely.

<sup>46</sup>Witschel 2013, 86.

probably conceived originally by military architects, lacked most of the important civic structures during the first few years of the *colonia*'s history. However, despite the non-stratigraphic excavation of this architecturally complicated city center, the development of the town's urban fabric can be traced through the building dedications which testify that these projects were financed, at least partially, by money connected to the assumption of municipal magistracies.<sup>47</sup> The forum was constructed during the life of Trajan and enlarged during the reigns of his successors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.<sup>48</sup> On the western edge stood municipal structures, which included a *curia*. During the second century this side of the forum in particular was subjected to a series of developments that disrupted the courtyard and portico.<sup>49</sup> A rostrum for public speaking was constructed in front of the portico. Behind this rostrum, and connected to it by a flight of stairs, was a small, tetrastyle temple (cella of 4.3 x 6.8 m.) that has usually been thought of as the 'Temple of Victory.'<sup>50</sup> Probably in the reign of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius an *aedicule* (small shrine) of Fortuna Augusta, which was set up by one two of the women discussed below, was established next to the temple.<sup>51</sup> The few large construction projects of the third century, a *macellum* and a *capitolium*, were built by a husband and wife, a *flaminica perpetua*.<sup>52</sup> The forum of Thamugadi was primarily a location

---

<sup>47</sup>See Saastamoinen (2010) for a full catalog of known building inscriptions.

<sup>48</sup>Laurence et al. 2011, 190. Ballu (1897, 129-132) describes the initial complex as having been constructed with a paved area of around 50x42 m. and having been surrounded by porticoes. To north and south a series of spaces, some sealed with metal grilles, may have been used as shops or meeting-places.

<sup>49</sup>Laurence et al. (2011, 190) describes the eastern side of the forum as where the basilica and its dependent buildings were located.

<sup>50</sup>Ballu 1897, 147-8; Jouffroy 1986, 215.

<sup>51</sup>Laurence et al. 2011, 191.

<sup>52</sup>The public life of the latter will be examined at length below (see Appendix T3).

for public business associated with the *curia* and the basilica as well as being a place for the display of loyalty to Rome and for honoring the city's rich and powerful.<sup>53</sup>

As another city provided with large monuments and expansions over the course of the second century, Cuicul is often held in comparison with Thamugadi.<sup>54</sup> This town had a forum by the reign of Hadrian (Fig. 3).<sup>55</sup> It gained a *capitolium* by the middle of the second century, a market under Antoninus Pius, a basilica sometime after 169 CE and a *curia* under the Antonines.<sup>56</sup> However, this forum may have been unable to provide for all of the population's needs. During the late years of the second century CE, a new, but irregular porticoed space was created immediately outside the city walls (known as the Severan Forum or South Forum even though it is unknown whether it was officially conceived of as a forum).<sup>57</sup> This space did not appropriate all the functions of the old forum, but considerable work was done here that included the addition of paving and the erection of porticoes. In effect this became a transitional space between the old, walled, town and the expanding urban area along the city's spur to the south and the area of the theatre to the east.<sup>58</sup> Increasingly it also became an area for the display of the elite and the provision of facilities for the city's population.

Into all of these spaces were placed the statues of magistrates, the elite, and the benefactors of the city who had held office, managed its affairs and even enhanced its urban

---

<sup>53</sup>Laurence et al. 2011, 192.

<sup>54</sup>Sears 2011, 68-70; Zimmer 1989.

<sup>55</sup>Février 1982, 353.

<sup>56</sup>Février 1982, 353; Février 1968, 40.

<sup>57</sup>Février 1964, 10-11.

<sup>58</sup>Laurence et al. 2011, 195.

life by holding banquets and games or constructing new buildings.<sup>59</sup> Additionally, these public spaces acted as venues for showcasing Thamugadi and Cuicul's connection to the Roman emperor and through his imagery, the state. Statues of the emperors comprised up to 60% of all those known from the fora at Cuicul and 39% of the statuary from the forum at Thamugadi.<sup>60</sup> It is within these settings, where Roman civic identity was displayed, that most discussions of the honorific monuments take place.

### **Thamugadi: Civic Monuments**

During the early years of Thamugadi's existence, the population is thought to have consisted primarily of veterans of the *legio III Augusta* and their families, although this is difficult to prove definitively since epigraphic sources cannot be securely dated to this early period.<sup>61</sup> However, during the second century, the social structure of the town became more hierarchical and a more stable municipal aristocracy was established.<sup>62</sup> Leading figures of the town seem to have been incorporated into the ranks of the Roman equestrians and even the senatorial order. Office holding and euergetism, commemorated through inscriptions and honorific statuary, became very competitive as members of this new elite tried to increase their prestige.<sup>63</sup> These honorific monuments were among the most important ways in which benefactors and notable members of the community could be recognized for their contributions to the community.

---

<sup>59</sup>Laurence et al. 2011, 192.

<sup>60</sup>See Zimmer's (1989) appendix for a full breakdown.

<sup>61</sup>Witchel 2013, 86.

<sup>62</sup>See Witchel 1992, 1995, 2009 and Briand-Ponsart 2003 and Gilhaus 2013 for more thorough discussions of the social history of Thamugadi.

<sup>63</sup>Zimmer 1989, 9-12.

Witschel's prosopographical catalogue contains twelve instances in which civic inscriptions were set up for or by women in the public spaces of Thamugadi.<sup>64</sup> These twelve women, whose inscriptions are in the Appendix of this paper, represent a very small portion of the already small attested population for the city, but are among the municipal elite and two are even *clarissimae feminae*.<sup>65</sup> These women are studied as a group as they were the only women to be commemorated in public inscriptions which were important for the "communication and commemoration of social values and prestige."<sup>66</sup> Despite this small sample size, some revealing patterns can be noted. For example, all but four of these women are mentioned on monuments dating to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century or later. These four women were commemorated publically at a time – during the second century – when, as we saw above, major additions to Thamugadi's forum and public spaces took place. As Zimmer has noted, these spaces were full of dedicatory and honorific monuments set up for and by men.<sup>67</sup> Elite men had contributed to the cycle of euergetism in the city and supported its continual growth during the first century of its existence.<sup>68</sup> This vanguard of women during the second century represents a significant numeric minority in these communal spaces.<sup>69</sup> This small group shares some striking characteristics that may represent how women were incorporated into

---

<sup>64</sup>See my short Appendix below containing the main inscriptions for each of these 12 individuals. Witschel (2013, 89) states that among the 622 total persons who are known as citizens of Thamugadi, 182 (29%) are known as women. These women represent a small number of these women. This Appendix only includes the inscriptions mentioned from Thamugadi and not the ones from Cuicul which are available in the ILAlg 2003.

<sup>65</sup>Witschel 2013, 89.

<sup>66</sup>Witschel 2013, 89.

<sup>67</sup>Zimmer 1989, 38-48.

<sup>68</sup>Witschel 2013, 88-89.

<sup>69</sup>Witschel (2013) notes that these twelve women were named in honorific inscriptions (18 times) and in building inscriptions (3 times). He also notes that there are 208 inscriptions that were intended for "the commemoration of social values and prestige" and that of these 21 inscriptions (less than 10%) are the only ones to mention women.



the Roman practice of civic commemoration as it occurred at Thamugadi. This early tendency provided a pattern to follow once it became desirable for women who had access to financial assets, ample enough to supplement the city's economic resources, to be incorporated into public life during the third century CE.

Two of these women, Annia Cara and Annia Traquilla, were sisters, and the former was recorded as a *flaminica* (Fig. 4).<sup>70</sup> These women were not honored with statues but assisted in the erection of a statue of Fortuna Augusta on the forum, the most prestigious public place for a civic inscription, which had been bequeathed as an act of *munificentia* (munificence) by a *collibertus* (a fellow freedman) of their father who himself had given money for this purpose (Figure 4). The two sisters added an *aedicula* (small structure or shrine) worth HS 4400 and also sponsored an *epulum* (public feast) with their own money. Notably, Cara and Tranquilla were the daughters of a *libertus* (freedman). Witschel notes that it is unusual and unclear how Cara, the daughter of a *libertus*, could reach the “prestigious position” of a *flaminica* and theorizes that she may have been married to a *flamen perpetuus*.<sup>71</sup> Witschel views this as closely aligning with van Bremen's view of female priestesses in the Roman East in which women acquired the title of *flaminica* by virtue of their husband holding the male priesthood of that type.<sup>72</sup> However, there is no evidence to support this for Cara, and it is quite possible that she managed to have been chosen for this role on her own as the daughter of a freedman who nonetheless possessed enough wealth to pay the *summa honoraria*, as Hemelrijk has noted.<sup>73</sup> In Thamugadi, therefore, it appears that

---

<sup>70</sup>See Appendix below, T6 and T7; both are on the monument identified as *CIL* 8, 17831. Figure 4.

<sup>71</sup>Witschel 2013, 92.

<sup>72</sup>Van Bremen 1996, 115-20, 298-302.

<sup>73</sup>Hemelrijk 2005, 159-160 and 2006, 85-88.

Cara was able to reach the position of *flaminica* despite her lack of high status, suggesting that one of the determining factors in being selected for such a role was wealth.

The other two women recorded in public space during the second century CE were also connected to the imperial cult and, like Cara and Tranquilla, were related. Flavia Procilla, *flaminica perpetua*, and her daughter, Marcia Caelia Procilla, were both commemorated in a public place.<sup>74</sup> Flavia was honored with a statue by her brother, Monimus. Since it was reused in the Byzantine fortress, the inscription recording this act has an unknown original location. However, the formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* finishes this inscription and indicates that it was originally erected in a place sanctioned by the local *ordo*.<sup>75</sup> Flavia is also known to have dedicated a statue for her brother in the forum, and the two may have originally been located near each other.<sup>76</sup> Flavia's presence, not only in the inscriptions, but also in her non-extant portrait statue, demonstrates that the overall messages for these monuments could be complex. While the monument celebrated her presence in public, it also included the man who dedicated the monument to her, her brother, and thus framed her honor in a very public space within the acceptable realm of women – the family. Furthermore, not only was it a male relative that dedicated the statue for her, but Flavia's brother was a man of high rank (an *eques Romanus* or Equestrian) and a *flamen perpetuus* in addition. This addition of high social status by virtue of her family may have legitimized Flavia's claim to displaying her image and name in a very male dominated public space.

---

<sup>74</sup>See Appendix below, T4 (*AE* 1941, 45) and T8 (*CIL* 8, 2404).

<sup>75</sup>*Decreto decurionum* = “by decree of the *decurions*,” indicates that the monument had their permission to be set up in a public place.

<sup>76</sup>*CIL* 8, 2403 = *ILS* 6122.

Flavia's daughter, Marcia, was also honored with a statue by the *liberti* of the family, most likely in the forum as is deduced from the formula used to end the inscription: *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*.<sup>77</sup> The fact that she is the daughter of a *flaminica perpetua* is explicitly mentioned (*flaminis perpetui filiae*). In contrast with her mother, Marcia is not named in relation to a male member of her family but in relation to her mother, who was recorded not by name but by her religious role. This suggests, perhaps, that Marcia did not feel the need to shore up her claim to public honors through the link to a male relative and, instead, that her mother's position and previous honors were enough to make her daughter's in a public arena appropriate by association.

To summarize, before the third century begins, women were recorded in civic inscriptions when they dedicated monuments for (male) family members or when they were being honored by family members or their own freedmen. Interestingly, the status of *flaminica* is given prominence even when the person being honored does not possess that title themselves, suggesting that even before the third century, the socially acceptable role of priestess was something that may have made the presentation of women more suitable for public viewing. If this were thought insufficient, for example, for a first generation *flaminica* like Flavia, additional levels of propriety came through association with male members of society. Annia Cara and Annia Tranquilla's dedication from their own money suggests that the right to be recorded in such public places (although not necessarily to be honored with a public statue) or even to become a *flaminica* was associated with wealth. The wealth of these

---

<sup>77</sup>See Appendix below T8: *CIL* 8, 2404.

women allowed them to be able to contribute to the adornment of the city despite lacking traditional access to elevated status by birth.

While gaps in the epigraphic and statuary record for the second century for females commemorated in public may contribute to this small corpus, it still seems significant that in the third century there is a sudden increase in the number of women being recorded in civic inscriptions. Witschel has collected evidence of eight women from the third century who were commemorated in a bath complex, in the theater, in a macellum, and even in the forum.<sup>78</sup> One woman was even honored by the whole community of Thamugadi.<sup>79</sup> Such an increase requires some examination. Most of these women were members of families which belonged to the highest strata of society. Important connections to the religious post of a *flaminica* continue to be highlighted, as well as connections to family members, but the variety of places in which these women were commemorated and their increased inclusion in “public places” – often possibly the forum – suggest that it was more acceptable to commemorate women in monumental ways. One such *flaminica perpetua*, Virria Flavia Sevreiana Petroniana, was honored with a statue by two *amici* (friends) of her father during the third century CE.<sup>80</sup> While the exact, original location of the base is unknown, the statue was set up *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* or at a place having been given by the decree of the *decurions*, most likely the forum.

Witschel is certainly correct in noting that these women became much more visually present in the public arenas of Thamugadi, but this leaves the problem of why these women

---

<sup>78</sup>See Appendix below, T1-3, T5, T9-12.

<sup>79</sup>*CIL* 8, 17905, Tucciana, discussed below.

<sup>80</sup>See Appendix below, T8: *CIL* 8, 2404.

were increasingly being included in such inscriptions in the first place and what made it acceptable for statues of women to be included in higher numbers than before.

It is possible that the same economic stress that Bond associates with the rise of the awarding of the title of civic *patrona* for female benefactors who were incorporated into the cycle of civic euergetism is also causing this increase in women recorded in such a public manner. The funds under their control would have supplemented those that could be mustered from the *decurions* in order to continue to build the urban fabric of Thamugadi's community.<sup>81</sup> No civic *patronae* are attested for either Thamugadi or Cuicul, and at Thamugadi this may have been due to this small but pre-existing tradition of sanctioning the commemoration of women associated with the flaminiate (with or without the legitimizing role of a male relative) in public places from the second century CE, as is discussed above. The high amount of money associated with assuming that office in North African cities may have made them the more logical choice for towns experiencing financial stress. As supplements to regular male benefactors, female *flaminicae* would have expected the money paid as part of their *summa honoraria* to have been reciprocally honored in a way similar to how the men had been honored – with a statue.<sup>82</sup>

Of the women commemorated in the third century epigraphic record of Thamugadi, Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia, is possibly the most impressive.<sup>83</sup> Tucciana was a *flaminica perpetua* and had perhaps gained her title earlier than (and thus independently from) her husband, the wealthy *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus*, M. Plotius Faustus s.

---

<sup>81</sup>Sears, 2011.

<sup>82</sup>Bond 2007, 60.

<sup>83</sup>See Appendix below, T3.

Sertius.<sup>84</sup> She is mentioned on more epigraphic documents than all the other women at Thamugadi; there are nine inscriptions in which Tucciana is named. Three of them relate to building projects in which Tucciana was involved including a *macellum* donated with her husband. Two of which are listed in the Appendix below.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, it seems that the Sertii family was also responsible for the construction or restoration of another important building – perhaps even the *capitolium* of the town – and that they commemorated this act in a monumental building inscription.<sup>86</sup>

Tucciana was honored with five statues (known only by their bases) in the public sphere. Four of these were erected by relatives and clients in the *macellum* which the Sertii had built.<sup>87</sup> Two statues were put up by her husband Faustus, who explicitly mentioned their relationship in the inscriptions engraved on the statue bases.<sup>88</sup> Another statue was given by the foster-son of the couple, M. Pompeius Quintianus s. Optantius, himself an *eques Romanus* and *flamen perpetuus*.<sup>89</sup> The fourth statue of Tucciana in the *macellum* was dedicated by two *alumni* (foster children) of the family, calling her a *patrona benignissima*

---

<sup>84</sup>This is claimed by Bassignano (2005, 427) who argues that in some inscriptions (e.g. in *CIL* 8, 2396 = 17823) that Tucciana is mentioned as *flaminica perpetua* whereas Faustus lacks this title. Fig. 5.

<sup>85</sup>For the inscription commemorating the construction of the *macellum*, see *BCTH* 1893, 159. No. 57 = *BCTH* 1894, 361 no. 74 = *ILS* 5579: Sertii/ macellum/ et aream / eius / patriae / suae / fecerunt; for the location of the statue bases mentioned in the following footnotes see Zimmer (1992, 312 fig. 207), see Appendix below T3.1.

<sup>86</sup>*AE* 1980, 956: [M(arcus)] Plotius [Fa]ustus sa[cer]dos ur[bis---] et Cornelia Valen[tina] Tucciana [---uxor] eius flamines p(er)p(etui) [---] patriae suae fecerunt. Some of the panels on which this inscription was written were reused in the courtyard of the capitolium during a restoration of the building in the 4<sup>th</sup> century. Bassignano (2005, 417) believes that the inscription originally also belonged to this monument, see Appendix below T3.2.

<sup>87</sup>See Appendix below, T3.

<sup>88</sup>See *CIL* 8, 2397 = *ILS* 2752 is on a statue base; found in the inner courtyard of the *macellum*; and *CIL* 8, 2398 is on a statue base found at the main entrance of the *macellum* on the inner side: ...*Faustae maritus posuit*.

<sup>89</sup>*CIL* 8, 17905 is on a statue base found in the inner courtyard of the *macellum*. In this inscription, Tucciana is called a *honestae memoriae femina*, but it is also explicitly stated that she was *coniux M(arci) Ploti Fausti a militiis fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui)*.

(kindest patron).<sup>90</sup> Most importantly, Tucciana, by decree of the local council, had a statue dedicated to her by the whole city.<sup>91</sup> This is followed by a statement which gives the motivation for the erection of the statue: *ob merita in civis patriamque et munificentiam eius* (on account of her merit toward the citizens and her homeland and her munificence). The wording seems to indicate that not only did Tucciana have an elevated position within local society, but it seems likely that this was based to a large degree on her own merits.<sup>92</sup> Tucciana was certainly one of the wealthiest women of her time at Thamugadi and was highly visible in the public sphere of the town through the inscribed monuments referring to her. However, in most cases this was combined with an explicit reference to the career and deeds of her husband.<sup>93</sup>

This example is given not with the intention of claiming that references to male relatives or a husband within the honorary inscriptions are detrimental to the honor being received by the person being given deference, since referencing one's place within a familial structure was often important for male honorands, too.<sup>94</sup> Nor is this inclusion of male relatives in any way out of the ordinary for female honorands who were often listed alongside a husband or other male relative in the context of the wider Mediterranean. However, I would argue that in certain situations, such as the one presented at Thamugadi

---

<sup>90</sup>*CIL* 8, 2396 = 17823 (Statue base found at the main entrance of the *macellum* on the outside): [Se]r[tiae] / [Cor]neliae Vale[n] / [ti]nae Tuccianae / fl(aminicae) p(er)p(etuae) et Plotius / Thallus pater / eius alumni / patronae / benignissimae.

<sup>91</sup>*AE* 1987, 1072 = *AE* 1992, 1833: The statue base was found at Oued Taga about 14 km east of Timgad, but it seems most likely that it was brought there from one of the public places of the urban center in later times.

<sup>92</sup>See *BCTH* 1896, 285 no. 251.

<sup>93</sup>Bassignano (2005 418, 428) even assumes that Tucciana may have been richer than her husband, but there is not proof for that.

<sup>94</sup>Bassignano 2005, 426.

(known for the predominantly male character of its public spaces), that using such a technique may have acted as one way in which the offense of a woman appearing and being honored in public could be mitigated.<sup>95</sup> By associating the woman receiving an honor with a male figure, usually a relative or husband, the impact of her public presence is not overshadowed, but merely deflected slightly. Despite the fact that most of these inscriptions were dedicated by male family members, they were sanctioned for erection in a public place by the local *ordo*, an act suggesting that these women were clearly deserving enough of honor that they were allowed a monument in public. However, the continued reliance on, in all but Tucciana's special case, a male relative or friend to act as dedicator could hint at a continued belief that even though it was now acceptable for women to be honored in public, they still had to behave in ways considered proper for Roman matrons.

### **Cuicul: Civic Monuments**

Witschel notes that Cuicul's social structures seem to have developed along more or less the same lines as at Thamugadi, however there are some stark differences in how this town reacted to the less desirable economic situation brought about by the third century CE.<sup>96</sup> In Cuicul, during the second century women were occasionally honored for their connection to a wealthy family or were honored for an unknown reason, without an associated position like that of the *flaminica* to suggest a financial motive on the behalf of the dedicant.<sup>97</sup> However, with the beginning of the third century CE, women were more often able to

---

<sup>95</sup>See Berg (2002) for a discussion of how women balanced this need to balance the conspicuous consumption of wealth with the demand to remain invisible in public in the context of their personal appearances.

<sup>96</sup>Witschel 2013, 97. For the society of Cuicul, see the remarks by Jacques 1984, 549-553 and Briand-Ponsart 2008.

<sup>97</sup>See *ILAlg* 2.3 for the complete corpus of epigraphic material.



contribute to the urban equipment of the public places of their town (and simultaneously to promote their own access to financial resources) by dedicating monuments for others.

In Cuicul, I will briefly examine those monuments connected with women that were erected in the two main public places of the town: the “North Forum” (Figure 3) in the old city center and the “South” or “Severan Forum” located south of the original town center (see above for a more thorough description).<sup>98</sup> A large number of statue bases and other inscribed monuments are known from both places, and this enables us to have a fairly clear picture of who would have normally received an honorific portrait in one of these places and what the role of women was within that context, both as persons that were honored with a statue and as dedicators of such monuments. Women were named in the inscriptions on the bases of the statues, making their commitment to the town and its inhabitants highly visible in the public sphere. However, they do not seem to have made this contribution simply through the *summa honoraria* associated with assuming the office of *flaminica*. Instead, women began to promote their own economic status by providing statuary honors (sometimes explicitly with their own money) for others while their own names were featured prominently in the dedicatory inscription.<sup>99</sup> While some of these women were connected to the flamine, they were not honored in Cuicul with the same selectivity as is visible in the evidence from Thamugadi.

When compared with the Roman honorific practices at Thamugadi, trends in Cuicul demonstrate both striking differences and some interesting similarities. For example, during the late 2<sup>nd</sup> CE, at least nine women were honored with statues by the city or in the name of

---

<sup>98</sup>Zimmer 1989, 17-37; Kleinwächter 2001, Beilagen 6-8.

<sup>99</sup>Additional examples not discussed below of women recorded as dedicants: *ILAlg* 2.3 7689, *ILAlg* 2.3 7956, *ILAlg* 2.3 7678.

the local *ordo*.<sup>100</sup> In comparison, only one woman is known to have received an honorific monument from the community at Thamugadi.<sup>101</sup> For many of these women, no specific reason is given for why honors were awarded, and there seems to have been less direct connection to the position of *flaminica* other than through marriage or relation to a male with that title when the women who received honorific monuments are examined.<sup>102</sup> However, during the early years of the third century, there were a fair number of women, often *flaminicae*, who are recorded as having acted quite independently in using their financial resources to dedicate monuments for other individuals. In Cuicul's North Forum, four women are recorded as dedicators of statues for other individuals (out of fifteen total) and five women are recorded as dedicators of statues for gods out of 26 such statues.<sup>103</sup> In Cuicul's South Forum, out of 26 total statue bases with inscriptions, 2 were dedicated by women.<sup>104</sup>

There do not seem to have been any women like Annia Cara (see above) in Cuicul. In contrast the financial resources associated with those who could afford the position of a flamine were accompanied by high social status. For example, Didia Cornelia Ingenua, a *flaminica perpetua*, and her sister Didia Cornelia, a *clarissima femina*, both belonged to one of the leading families of Cuicul and they and the inscriptions which mention them are thought to have been dated to the end of the second century or the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup>Iulia Pisonina *ILAlg* 2.3 7909; Tiberia Claudia Sabatiana Aquilina and Tiberia Claudia Digna Subatia Saturnina *ILAlg* 2.3 7898; Claudia Saturna and Titinia Clodia Satura *ILAlg* 2.3 7899; Gargilia Marciana *ILAlg* 2.3 7944.

<sup>101</sup>*AE* 1987, 1072 = *AE* 1992, 1833.

<sup>102</sup>*ILAlg* 2.3 7689, *ILAlg* 2.3 7956, *ILAlg* 2.3 7678.

<sup>103</sup>Witschel 2013, 101.

<sup>104</sup>Witschel 2013, 101.

century.<sup>105</sup> However, they are not remarkable for the honors they received; instead, they initiated the installation of three statuary monuments: two for their father and one for their brother (both of them *equites Romani*) in the North Forum.<sup>106</sup> Nonetheless, it appears that these women were able to command significant amounts of capital and were willing to use it to dedicate monuments (with their own name featured on the accompanying inscription) that added to the urban landscape of the community. This is perhaps best exemplified by one woman not included in Witschel's catalog: Claudia.<sup>107</sup> As a *flaminica*, she consecrated a statue to an unknown deity, probably to the genius of the city, from her own money (*sua pecunia*) in an inscription dating to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.<sup>108</sup> The inscription is made on a simple, oblong stone, but she is listed as the sole dedicator, without the help of a male family member or *liberti*.

Furthermore, those in the role of *flaminica* could be called on to complete religious dedications, demonstrating not only their ability to command monetary resources but also their assumed willingness to participate in projects that would benefit the community as a whole. For example, an inscription on the base for a statue of Mars Augustus Genius Coloniae found on the "South Forum" declares that a member of the local aristocracy, Q. Gargilius Quietus (who was *omnibus honoribus functus* – performing all honors – and *flamen*

---

<sup>105</sup>Witschel 2013, 101-102.

<sup>106</sup>Statue bases for the father: *ILAlg* 2.3 7948 = *AE* 1923, 21 = Kleinwächter 2001, 126 no. 23; *ILAlg* 2.3 7947 = *AE* 1920, 115 = Kleinwächter 2001, 126-127 no. 24 Statue base for the brother: *ILAlg* 2.3 7942 = *AE* 1916, 13 = Kleinwächter 2001, no. 25.

<sup>107</sup>*BCTH* 1915, 134, n.27: [Mar(?)]ti A[ug(usto) (?)] / Sac(rum) / Claudia Ti(beri) fil(ia) / flaminica / s(ua) p(ecunia) p(osuit). Name of the deity in the dative case, defined by the epithet Augustus also sacrum is common. Dedication to the gods and to the emperor.

<sup>108</sup>Ladjimi Sebaï 1990, 679.

*perpetuus*), had ordered in his testament that the statue should be put up by his wife (*uxor*), who was also a *flaminica perpetua*.<sup>109</sup>

While *flaminicae* in particular were not honored with the same exclusivity as those in Thamugadi during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, in Cuicul the few *flaminicae* recorded in civic inscriptions are invested in directly contributing to the urban fabric through dedications of statuary for others. In Cuicul, honoring women from families of high social status during the second century seems to have established *clarissimae feminae* as the main group for whom honors were awarded, and it is this factor that seems to make them appropriate for public display. However, a second group of women – those making dedications for others – while still often of high status, did not necessarily merit honors, but instead their status often revolved around their position as *flaminicae* – suggesting that this title sanctioned an appropriate appearance in a this type of civic inscription. It seems that the earlier dependence on social status carried over into the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. *Flaminicae* were not the only women honored and even those who were, were often of a very high status. This brief look at Cuicul shows similarities, but also striking differences with the practices of establishing honorific monuments in Thamugadi despite the two places having similar regional and historical backgrounds. Both cities' civic inscriptions seem to attest to very distinct and specific tendencies with regard to incorporating women into public life in ways considered appropriate for each town.

---

<sup>109</sup>*ILAlg* 2.3 7678: Marti Aug(usto) / Genio col(oniae) / sacr(um) / statuam quam / Q(uintus) Gargilius Q(uinti) fil(ius) Pap(iria) / Quietus omnib(us) honorib(us) / functus fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) testamen/[to s]uo a Domitia Honorata / fl(aminica) p(er)p(etua) uxore sua poni iusse/rat.

## CHAPTER 4: STATUARY

The honorific statuary displays in the fora of Timgad suggest that these spaces were treated as predominantly male, more so than was the case in the Roman east.<sup>110</sup> Trimble uses this as a possible explanation for the lower number of North African versions of the Large Herculaneum statue type in comparison to the number found in the Roman east and Italy. Another factor that Trimble notes is regional preferences for different forms. She cites a preference for the “Ceres” statue type for female portraits in North Africa.<sup>111</sup> In the two towns examined in this paper, it is difficult to discuss a “preference” for one type of statuary body and how that correlates to evidence provided in the inscriptions due to a lack of statues in general, much less ones paired with an accompanying base.<sup>112</sup> In fact, there are only four known female statues with a provenance in the city of Thamugadi that survive and only one from the town of Cuicul.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup>Trimble 2011, 233.

<sup>111</sup>Trimble 2011, 233.

<sup>112</sup>See Alexandridis (2004) App. 1 and 2 for her collection of imperial and non-imperial female statues from the Roman Empire. Other North African towns have more extensive evidence for this, and to truly examine the relationship between text, location, statue body format, and portrait head, different locations (such as Bulla Regia) would be better choices for such an investigation. In the case of Thamugadi, the construction of the Byzantine Fortress at the site is perhaps one of the largest contributors to the survival of statues.

<sup>113</sup>This information comes from the comprehensive Appendix 2 of Alexandridis’ (2004) catalogue of female statues.

From Thamugadi, two of these are depictions of imperial women, both in the Ceres type pose.<sup>114</sup> The arms of this statue, while they stay close to the sides of the body, do not cross the chest. Statues of this type lift a fold of their mantle on their forward left thigh, emphasizing the strong forward motion of the legs. The Ceres type was not used during the late Republic or early Augustan periods, when public statues were only beginning to become a popular way to honor women. Once the practice of honoring women with a statue in civic areas became more frequent, there were more contexts in which the more open and active pose of this statue type would be appropriate. Both statues, one representing Faustina Minor (Fig. 6) and the other representing Faustina Major (Fig. 7) were discovered in the theater at Timgad, a very prominent area, and were thought to have been displayed in the *scaenae frons* there.<sup>115</sup> The body formats of these statues had long been associated with public display, and this does match the context with which they are thought to belong.<sup>116</sup>

Two non-imperial statues from Thamugadi have also been identified: one as a modified Hip-swathe body format (Fig. 8) and the other as a Large Heruclaneum woman.<sup>117</sup> The Hip-swathe statue type is an “open” pose where the arms are held away from the body, and strong diagonal lines that begin around the right knee or foot call attention to the motion present in this type. The type known as the Large Herculaneum Woman uses a closed pose, with the arms and drapery forming a barrier between the woman and the viewer. This statue composition appears to be wearing a thin tunic under a light wool mantle that is draped so as

---

<sup>114</sup>Alexandridis 2004, Kat.-Nr. 209 and Kat.-Nr. 197.

<sup>115</sup>Alexandridis 2004, Kat.-Nr. 209 and Kat.-Nr. 197.

<sup>116</sup>Davies 2013, 185.

<sup>117</sup>Alexandridis 2004, App. 2.2.14 Bb<sub>5</sub> = (modified) Hip-swathe type. Alexandridis 2004 App. 2.2.12 A<sub>151</sub> = Large Herculaneum type. For the non-imperial statue examples, the only image available was that for the Hip-swathe from Thamugadi. Both statues are difficult to place within a specific date range but late second-early third has been proposed by Alexandridis.

to completely cover the upper half of the body.<sup>118</sup> While the two imperial statues that are mentioned above might fit with Trimble's observation of a preference for the Ceres type in North Africa, despite the extremely small sample size of extant statues, the ones chosen to represent private women at Thamugadi present a much more varied picture at the local level. Interestingly, the statue of a woman presented in the Hip-swathe format was found in the *Frigidarium* of the large South-Bath complex at Thamugadi. If there were a larger sample size with which to work, it might be significant that the more open composition type that we have is found not in the forum, but in the baths. A full exploration of the entire sculptural assemblage for the bath complex would have to be undertaken, but from preliminary examinations, it seems that this area was less strictly dominated by representations of male figures.<sup>119</sup> Perhaps, the more assertive, open, Hip-swathe pose could be considered appropriate in such a setting. Unfortunately, no find spot was recorded for the Large Herculaneum type statue from Thamugadi.

In Cuicul, there is only one portrait statue of a woman that survives and can be successfully connected to the town.<sup>120</sup> This image of a non-imperial woman is also in the Hip-swathe format. While this once again shows more variation in statue types for North Africa than Trimble is able to capture with the wide scope of her book, it may be possible to see a parallel between the choice of a Hip-swathe statue format in both Cuicul and Thamugadi. While *flaminicae* were present in the public spaces of both cities, just as the epigraphic material in Cuicul features women as dedicators rather than as honorands (in contrast with Thamugadi), the statuary accompanying these monuments may also have

---

<sup>118</sup>Dillon 2010, 82.

<sup>119</sup>Manderscheid 1981.

<sup>120</sup>Alexandridis 2004, App. 2.2.14 A<sub>151</sub> for this Hip-swathe statue.

demonstrated this contrast. The statuary accompanying Cuicul's monuments may have been more likely to represent the person being honored (most often a male) and thus large-scale female statuary of any body type may have been less appropriate overall.

Unfortunately, with surviving examples of statuary in such low numbers, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions other than to note that out of the five examples from both cities, four are in what are considered to be open style formats that have been thought of as displaying a certain amount of confidence. That these open poses were chosen for the empresses is of less surprise since they could depend on their extraordinarily high social status to legitimize an assured and confident appearance when appearing in public contexts. However, it may be interesting to examine the occurrence of both the Ceres and Hip-swathe type with their longstanding reputation as types utilized by priestesses.<sup>121</sup> Perhaps the civic activity of priestesses, such as the *flaminicae*, in Thamugadi and Cuicul led to an increased confidence in using certain types that had long been associated with a religious role instead of adopting the trend of the Herculaneum woman that Trimble notes for most of the Mediterranean during this time. Moreover, the Ceres and Hip-swathe types may have been more relevant representations or more recognizable images of women in the public spheres of North African towns where the appointment of *flaminica* may have emphasized a position of importance that exceeded this role in other regions. If so, hypothetical monuments for women at Thamugadi in particular could have been placed in a range of public locations with inscriptions that referenced male relatives as a method of contextualizing the identity of the woman within that of the family but could have simultaneously represented the individual as

---

<sup>121</sup>See Moltesen and Nielsen (2007) for a discussion of how both of these types have been associated both with how the imperial women presented themselves in their roles as priestesses (for example, the Hipswathe type since Livia became the *flaminica* for Augustus was used frequently in contexts meant to bring to mind this connotation); see Dillon (2010) for hellenistic portraits which also used these formats to represent priestesses.



contributing to the economic well-being of her city and presented her in statuary in ways that would instantly remind passersby of her public role as a priestess.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The economic stagnation that Bond cited as a reason for civic *patronae* to be publically honored in exchange for their contributions to their cities during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE seems to also have had an impact on the cities of Thamugadi and Cuicul. However, an examination of the publicly placed monuments in both towns has shown that while both may have been influenced by the similar regional economic forces, each city had pre-existing local tendencies that led to distinct methods for incorporating women into the cycle of euergetism. While there are some similarities between Roman North Africa and the Roman East, Witschel's adoption of van Bremen's argument for why women were suddenly able to become prominent in public life does not seem to take into account these regional economic factors.

While there is not enough statuary evidence at Thamugadi and Cuicul to discuss how the whole monument (base, statue body, and portrait) worked together to communicate a specific identity for women who were honored in public, there may be some significance to the fact that the Ceres and Hip-swathe compositions were the most common extant types. These two statue formats have been associated with an appropriate method of representing priestesses. Similar examinations of both the epigraphic and sculptural record should be undertaken in cities with statues that can be securely attached to specific bases and accompanying inscriptions to determine if there were other North African towns that also incorporated *flaminicae* into the cycle of euergetism as a response to the third century financial stagnation. There may be a more secure connection between the amount of women

recorded in civic inscriptions at Thamugadi and Cuicul in association with the flaminiate and the choice to represent themselves in these specific statue formats with priestess connotations. Perhaps, this statue type was considered a more accurate representation of the woman being honored as compared to those women represented by the large or small Herculaneum types. This paper has attempted to show that uniform treatments of honorific habits under the Roman Empire may exclude regional influences and mask local trends responding to those influences. Honorific monuments are extremely complex, and their use patterns cannot always be generalized across provinces. Lastly, more comparative work is necessary to pinpoint local differences to try and account for why and how women were made prominent in public life with reasons that are specific and relevant to distinct times and places.

## APPENDIX 1: SHORT EPIGRAPHIC CATALOGUE FOR THAMUGADI

**T1:** Arminia Paullina (Pflaum 1960, 545 inscription no. 2): *clarissima femina*; daughter of a *flamen perpetuus*; she was honored with a statue by a ‘friend and fellow citizen’ of her husband (*amicus et municeps mariti eius*);

**Date:** early third century CE

**Findspot:** nearby Byzantine fortress; its original location is therefore unknown

**Concordances:** PIR<sup>2</sup> A 1066; Pflaum 1960, 545-548 no. 202; Le Glay 1982, 772; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 106-107 no. 91; cf. Zimmer 1989, 70-71.

Arminiae  
Paulliae c(larissima)  
f(emina)  
sacrum  
fl(aminicae) p(erp)p(etuae)  
amicus et municeps mariti eius posuit

**T2:** Manlia Pudentilla (AE 2008, 1697): *flaminica; clarissima femina*; known through a votive offering of a *dens* (an elephant tusk) to the *Genius patriae suae* initiated by her (*viva praevoberat*) with her husband.

**Date:** early third century CE

**Findspot:** text on a hexagonal base/altar for the *dens* which stood in the central temple of the vast sanctuary to the south of the old city that was enlarged in the Severan period. The temple was dedicated to the *dea patria* identified as *dea Africa*: Le Glay 1991.

**Concordances:** Le Glay 1982, 772; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 438-439 no. 519; Bassignano 2005, 418 no. 56.

Dentem votum quem  
Manlia Pudentilla c(larissima) f(emina)  
eademque fl(aminica) cum L(ucio) Val  
lerio Maximo marito  
suo viva praevoberat  
P(ublius) Fl(avius) Pudens c(larissimus) v(ir) fil(ius) et L(ucius) Val(erius)  
Maximus l(centurio) leg(ionis) et dec(urio) col(oniae) Tha(mugadensium)  
et L(ucia) Val(eria) Maximilla fil(ia) alumna  
patriae Genio patriae suae pro memori pietate posuerunt

**T3.1-7:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: *flaminica perpetua*; together with her husband she donated the *macellum* of the town and also another building, and she further erected a statue of Hygieia Augusta in her private house. She was honored with five statues – twice by her husband, twice by alumni, once by her foster-son, and once by the city. The first four statues stood in the *macellum* and the last one in a “public place.”

**T3.1** Inscription commemorating the construction of the *macellum* donated by the Sertii to the city of Thamugadi (BCTH 1893, 159 no. 57 = BCTH 1894, 361 no. 74 = ILS 5579).

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:**

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

Sertii  
Macellum  
et aream  
eius  
patriae  
suae  
fecerunt

**T3.2:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: commemoration of a building, possibly the *capitolium* (*AE*, 1980, 956).

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:** Some of the panels on which this monumental inscription was written were re-used in the courtyard of the *Capitolium*, during a restoration of the building in the fourth century CE.

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

[M(arcus)] Plotius [Fa]ustus sa[cer]dos Vr[bis...] et Cornelia Valen[tina] Tucciana [...uxor] eius, flamines p(er)p(etui) [...] patriae suae fecerunt

**T3.3:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: first of two statues erected for Tucciana by her husband Faustus (*CIL* 8, 2397).

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:** statue base found in the inner courtyard of the *macellum*.

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

Sertiae  
Corneliae  
Valentinae  
Tuccianae  
fl(aminicae) p(er)p(etuae)  
M(arcus) Plotius  
Faustus  
a milit(iis) fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)  
coniugi  
desideran  
tissimae

**T3.4:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: second of two statues erected for Tucciana by her husband Faustus (*CIL* 8, 2398).

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:** statue base found at the main entrance of the *macellum* on the inner side.

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

Corneliae  
Valentinae  
Tuccianae  
fl(aminicae) p(er)p(etuae) bonae  
memoriae  
feminae ad  
exornatio  
nem operis  
macelli quod  
patriae su  
ae fecerunt  
Faustus mari  
tus posuit

**T3.5:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: Statue given by her foster-son, M. Pompeius Quintianus s. Optantius, an *eques Romanus* (CIL 8, 17905).

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:** Statue base found in the inner courtyard of the *macellum*

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

Sertiae  
Corneliae Valen  
tinae Tuccia/nae coniugi  
M(arci) Ploti Fausti  
a militiis fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui)  
honestae memoriae feminae  
M(arcus) Pompeius Quin  
tianus eq(ues) R(omanus) fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)  
parenti optimae  
optantius

**T3.6:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: fourth statue erected for Tucciana in the *macellum* was dedicated by two *alumni* of the family, calling her a *patrona benignissima* (CIL 8,2396 = 17823). See Fig. 5.

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:** statue base was found at the main entrance of the *macellum* on the outside

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

[Se]r[tiae]  
[Cor]neliae Vale[n]  
[ti]nae Tuccianae  
fl(aminicae) p(er)p(etuae) coniugi

M(arci) Ploti Fausti  
a militiis ho  
nestae memo  
riae feminae  
[P]loti[a Fa]ustia  
na et Plotius  
Thallus pater  
eius alumni  
patronae  
benignissimae

**T3.7:** Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: statue decreed by for Tucciana by the local *ordo*, the only known statuary monument for a woman at Thamugadi that was initiated by the whole community (*AE* 1987, 1072 = *AE* 1992, 1833).

**Date:** 200-225 CE

**Findspot:** the statue base was found at Oued Taga about 14 km east of Thamugadi, but it is probable that it was brought there from one of the public places of the urban center in later times.

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 298 no. 4; Wesch-Klein 1990, 331-332 no. 10; Bassignano 2005, 417-418 no. 55.

Corneliae  
Valentinae  
Tuccianae  
fl(aminicae) p(er)p(etuae),  
coniugi  
M(arcii) Ploti(i) Faus  
ti a militia (i)s,  
fl(aminii) p(er)p(etui)  
ob merita in  
civis (sic) patri  
amque et mu  
ni ficenti  
am eius,  
resp(ublica)  
col(oniae) Thamug(adensium)  
d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

**T4:** Flavia T.F Procilla: *flaminica perpetua*; She was honored with a statue by her (half) brother Monimus, and she erected a statue of this man, probably on the forum (*AE* 1941, 45).

**Date:** mid-second century CE.

**Findspot:** later reused in the Byzantine fortress, original location unknown, but probably a public place due to the formula d(ecreto) d(ecurionum).

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 294 no. 4; Bassignano 2005, 416-417 no. 53.

Flaviae T(iti)  
filiae Pro

cillae fla  
 minic(ae) perp(etuae)  
 M(arci) Caeli Sa  
 turnini fl(aminis) p(erpetui)  
 coniugi  
 T(itus) Flavius  
 Monimu[s]  
 equo p(ublico) ex[or(natus)]  
 cognat[ae]  
 rariss[imae]  
 femina[e]  
 posuit d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

**T5:** Virria Flavia Severiana Petroniana s. Valubis: *flaminica*; She was honored with a statue on a public place by two *amici* of her father (*AE* 1909, 156).

**Date:** second third of the third century CE.

**Findspot:** found in Byzantine fortress, but the closing formula *l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* shows that the statue once stood on a public place.

**Concordances:** Pavis d'Escurac 1980, 184 with n. c); *BCTH* 1932-1933, 197.

Valubi  
 Virriae  
 Flaviae  
 Severian(a)e Fl(aviae)  
 Petronianae  
 M(arci) Virri Fl(avi) Iu  
 gurthae eq(uitis) R(omani)  
 fl(aminis) p(er)p(etui) filiae Pompeii Fus  
 cus et Felix  
 fidem pater  
 nae amicitiae  
 ista memo  
 riae perpe  
 tuitate tes  
 tantes l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

**T6:** Annia M.F. Cara: *flaminica*; daughter of a *libertus*; together with her sister, Annia Tranquilla (see below), erected a statue of Fortuna Augusta on the forum which had been bequeathed as an act of *munificentia* by a *collibertus* of their father who himself had also given money for this purpose; the women added an *aedicula*, paying HS 4400 *de suo* and also sponsoring an *epulum* (*CIL* 8, 17831 = *ILS* 5400 = Zimmer 1989, 75-76 no. T15 (see also *CIL* 8, 17832 = *AE* 1946, 73).

**Date:** second century CE.

**Findspot:** Thamugadi's forum

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 294 no. 5; Wesch-Klein 1990, 326 no.1; Bassignano 2005, 417 no. 54.



Fortunae Aug(ustae)  
Anniae Marci filiae Cara flaminica et Tranquilla stauam quam  
testament suo Annius Protus ex (sestertium) XXII (milibus nummum) legave  
rat pecunia Proti et Anni Hilari patris sui  
comparatam posuerunt et adiecta de suo ae  
de ex (sestertium) IIIICCCC (milibus nummum) dedicaver(unt) epulo curiar(um dato) d(ecreto)  
d(ecurionum)

**T7:** Annia M.F. Tranquilla: no explicit indication of social status. For her family connections and munificence, see above (*CIL* 8, 17831 = *ILS* 5400 = Zimmer 1989, 75-76 no. T15 (see also *CIL* 8, 17832 = *AE* 1946, 73).

**Date:** second century CE.

**Findspot:** Thamugadi's forum.

**Concordances:** Bassignano 1974, 294 no. 5; Wesch-Klein 1990, 326 no.1; Bassignano 2005, 417 no. 54.

Fortunae Aug(ustae)  
Anniae Marci filiae Cara flaminica et Tranquilla stauam quam  
testament suo Annius Protus ex (sestertium) XXII (milibus nummum) legave  
rat pecunia Proti et Anni Hilari patris sui  
comparatam posuerunt et adiecta de suo ae  
de ex (sestertium) IIIICCCC (milibus nummum) dedicaver(unt) epulo curiar(um dato) d(ecreto)  
d(ecurionum)

**T8:** Marcia Caelia Procilla (*CIL* 8, 2404): daughter of a *flaminica* (Flavia Procilla, see above); she was honored with a statue by the *liberti* of the family (perhaps on the forum).

**Date:** second third of the second century CE.

**Findspot:** The statue base was found east of the forum; the formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* should indicate that it once stood on a public place, possibly the forum.

**Concordances:** PIR<sup>2</sup> C146 and M 262; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 160-161 no. 165.

Marciae  
Caeliae  
Procil  
lae  
M(arci) Caeli  
Saturni  
ni flami  
nis per  
petui fi  
liae li  
bert[i p]o  
suer(unt) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

**T9:** Considia Felicula s. Thuracius: honored with a statue on a public place by her son (*AE* 1946, 65)

**Date:** early third century CE.

**Findspot:** later reused in the Byzantine fortress, but again the formula l.d.d.d. hints at an original location on a public place.

**Concordance:** *AE* 1946, 65.

Consi  
diae  
Felicu  
lae  
M(arcus) Pom  
peius  
Quin  
tianus  
eq(ues) R(omanus) fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus)  
matri  
pi(i)ssi  
mae  
l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

**T10:** Iulia Vic(...) (CIL 8, 17908): *flaminica*; nothing is known about her family connections. She was honored with a statue in the theater.

**Date:** unknown

**Findspot:** Theater

**Concordance:** Bassignano 2005, 418 no.57.

] Iul(iae?) [3]  
[3] Vic[3]  
[3] fla  
Min  
[i]cae [

**T11:** Serenia Latina (*AE* 1980, 958): honored with a statue by her son in one of the baths of Thamugadi.

**Date:** Early third century CE.

**Findspot:** found in the “Thermes des Philadelphes”

**Concordance:** Pavis d’Ecurac 1980, 193 n. 9, 199-200.

Sereniae  
Latinae  
Matri  
Carissimae  
Latinius  
filius

**T12:** L(ucia) Valeria Maximilla (*AE* 2008, 1697): *alumna patriae* (an honorific title; daughter of a *clarissima femina* and *flaminica* (Manlia Pudentilla, see above); she took part in the votive offering of a dens to the *Genius Patriae*.

**Date:** early third century CE.

**Findspot:** text on a hexagonal base/altar for the dens which stood in the central temple of the vast sanctuary to the south of the old city that was enlarged in the Severan period. The temple was dedicated to the *dea patria* identified as *dea Africa*: Le Glay 1991.

**Concordance:** Le Glay 1982, 772; Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 438-439 no. 519; Bassignano 2005, 418 no. 56.

Dentem votum quem

Manlia Pudentilla c(larissima) f(emina)

eademque fl(aminica) cum L(ucio) Va

lerio Maximo marito

suo viva praevoerat

P(ublius) Fl(avius) Pudens c(larissimus) v(ir) fil(ius) et L(ucius) Val(erius)

Maximus l(centurio) leg(ionis) et dec(urio) col(oniae) Tha(mugadensium)

et L(ucia) Val(eria) Maximilla fil(ia) alumna

patriae Genio patriae suae pro memori pietate posuerunt

## FIGURES



Figure 1. Map showing locations of Cuicul and Thamugadi, in J. B. Rives 1995, xvi: Map 3.

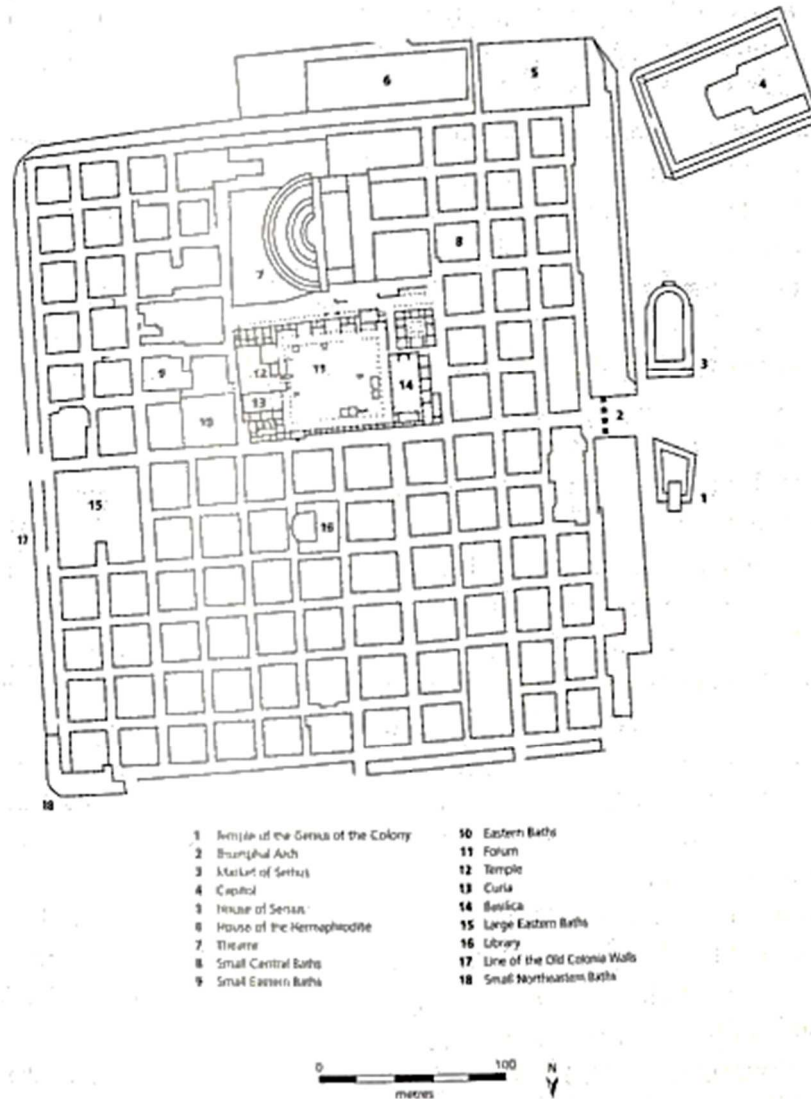


Figure 2. Thamugadi: plan showing the original *colonia* with the forum presented in more detail. Note the small size of the temple; the *capitolium* was built just outside the original *colonia* after Laurence et al. 2011, 191.

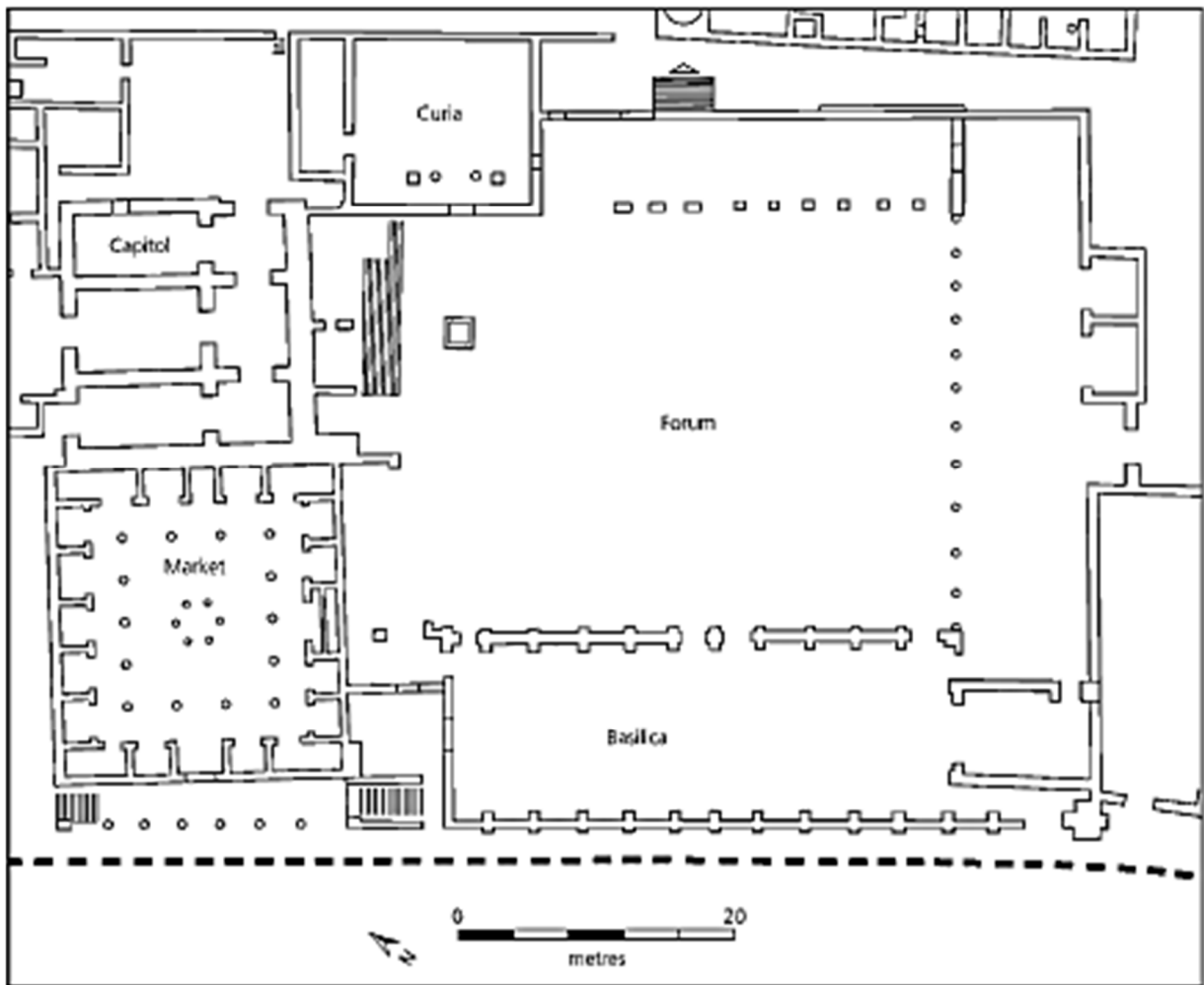


Figure 3. Cuicul: plan of the forum and its associated structures. The laying out of the forum, the construction of the *capitolium*, and the ‘market of Cosinius’ are all mid-second century, the *basilica Iulia* was built prior to 169 CE. After Laurence et al. 2011, 196.



Figure 4. Inscription recording Annia Tranquilla and Annia Cara at Thamugadi (*CIL* VIII, 17831).





Figure 5. : Cornelia Valentina Tucciana s. Sertia: Statue given by her foster-son, M. Pompeius Quintianus s. Optantius, an *eques Romanus* (CIL 8, 17905).



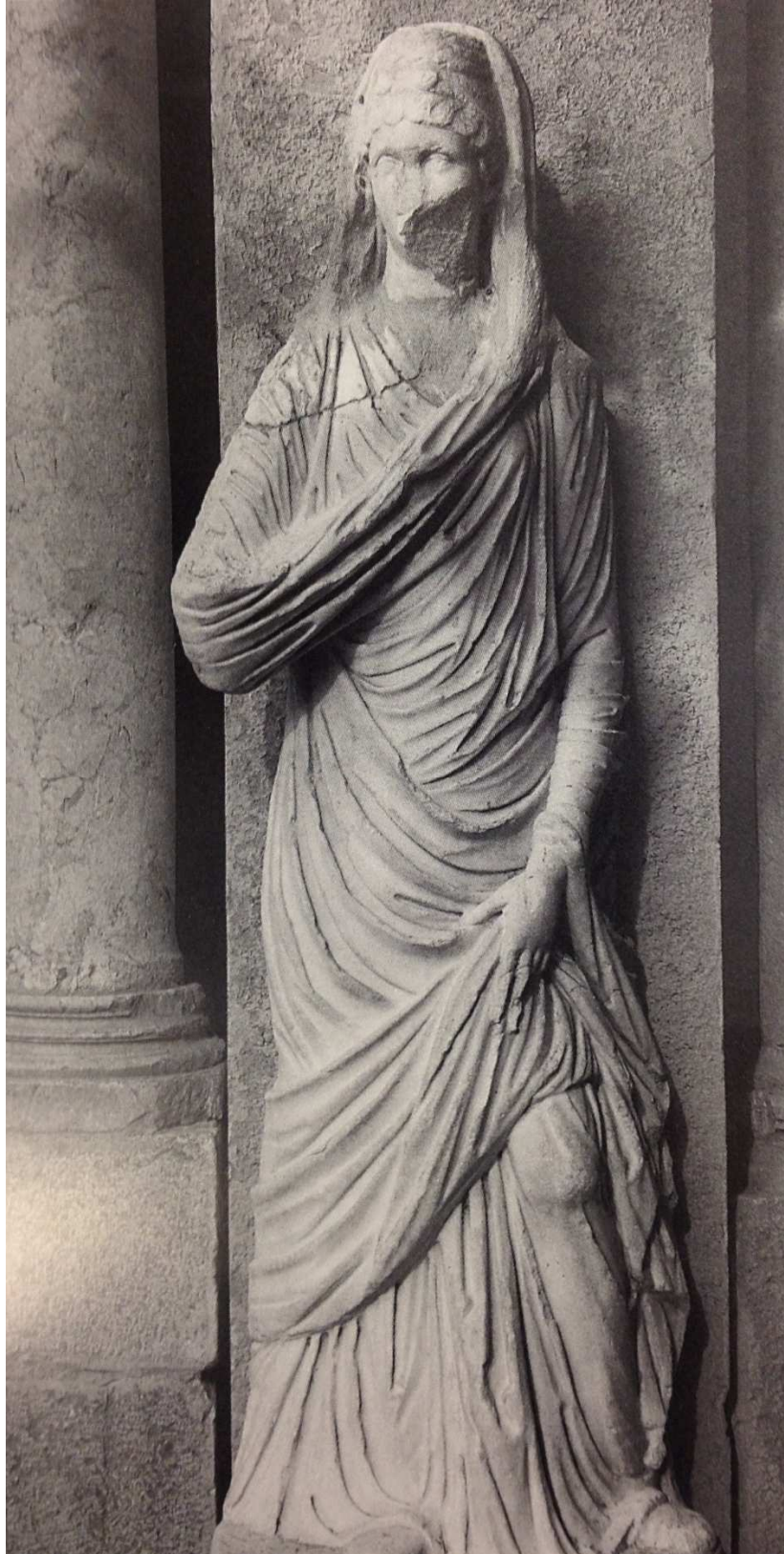


Figure 6. Faustina Maior from the theater at Thamugadi, after Alexandridis 2004, Kat.-Nr.197.



Figure 7. Faustina Minor from the theater at Thamugadi, after Alexandridis 2004, Kat.-Nr.209.





Figure. 8 Hip-swathe honorific statue from Thamugadi (Alexandridis 2004, App. 2.2.14 Bb<sub>5</sub>)  
after Manderscheid 1981, 122 Nr. 478 Taf. 48.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alföldy, G. 1974. "The Crisis of the Third Century as Seen by Contemporaries," in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 15: 98-103.
- Alexandridis, A. 2004. *Die Frauen Des Römischen Kaiserhauses: Eine Untersuchung Ihrer Bildlichen Darstellung Von Livia Bis Iulia Domna*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Ballu, A. 1897. *Les ruines de Timgad*. Paris: Leroux.
- Bassignano, M.S. 2005. "Le flaminiche in Africa," in *Donna et vita cittadina nella documentazione epigrafica. Atti del II Seminario sulla condizione femminile nella documentazione epigrafica*, edited by A. Buonopane and F. Cenerini, 399-429. Faenza.
- Bond, S. 2007. "Ob Merita: the epigraphic rise and fall of the civic patrona in Roman North Africa." M.A., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Briand-Ponsart, C. 2003. "Thugga et Thamugadi: exemples de cités africaines, in *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, edited by M. Cebeillac-Gervasoni and L. Lamoine, 241-255. Rome.
- Davies, G. 1997. "Gender and body language in Roman Art." In *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy*, edited by T. Cornell and K. Lomas, 97-108. London: Accordia Research Institute.
- . 2008. "Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society." In *Role Models in the Roman World: identity and assimilation*, edited by S. Bell and I. L. Hansen, 207-220. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- . 2013. "Honorific vs. Funerary Statues of Women: Essentially the Same or Fundamentally Different?" In *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*, edited by Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf, 171-200. Leiden: Brill.
- De Blois, L. 2002. "The Crisis of the Third Century A.D. in the Roman Empire: A Modern Myth?," in *The Transformation of Economic Life Under the Roman Empire : Proceedings of the Second Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire (Roman Empire, C. 200 B.C. - A.D. 476), Nottingham, July 4-7, 2001*, edited by Lukas de Blois and John Rich, 204-217. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- Dillon, S. 2010. *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dore, J. 1988. "Pottery and the history of Roman Tripolitania: evidence from Sabratha and the UNESCO Libyan Valleys Survey," *LS* 19: 61-85.

- Duncan-Jones, R. 1974. *The economy of the Roman empire: quantitative studies*. Cambridge: University Press.
- . 1985. "Who paid for public buildings in Roman cities?" in *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire* edd. F. Grew and B. Hobley. London.
- Février, P.-A. 1982. "Urbanisation et urbanisme de l'Afrique romaine," *ANRW* II, 2, Berlin 1982, 321-97.
- Friesen, S. 2003. "High Priestesses of Asia and Emancipatory Interpretation." In *Walk in the Ways of Wisdom: Essays in Honor of Elisabeth Schussler Fiorenza*, edited by, Shelly Matthews, Cynthia Briggs Kittredge and Melanie Johnson-DeBaufre, 136-50. New York: Trinity Press International.
- Gilhaus, L. 2013. 'Equites, senators and changes in elite self-representation (2<sup>nd</sup>-late 3<sup>rd</sup> century). Case Studies from North Africa,' in *Proceedings of the 22<sup>nd</sup> Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, 21-36. Oxford.
- Hemelrijk, E. 2005. "Priestesses of the imperial cult in the Latin West: titles and function," *AC* 74: 137-170.
- . 2006. "Priestesses of the imperial cult in the Latin West: benefactions and public honour." *AC* 75: 85-117.
- . 2013. "Female Munificence in the Cities of the Latin West." In *Women and the Roman City in the Latin West*, edited by E. Hemelrijk and G. Woolf, 65-84. Leiden: Brill.
- Jouffroy, H. 1986. *La construction publique en Italie et dans l'Afrique romaine*. Strasbourg.
- Kleinwächter, C. 2001. *Platzanlagen nordafrikanischer Städte. Untersuchungen zum sogenannten Polyzentrismus in der Urbanistik der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Mainz.
- Ladjimi Sebaï, L. 1990. "À propos du flaminat féminin dans les provinces africaines." *MEFRA* 102: 651-686.
- Laurence, R., A. Esmonde Cleary, and G. Sears. 2011. *The city in the Roman West, c. 250 BC-c. AD 250*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lepelley, C. 2001. *Aspects de l'Afrique romaine: les cités, la vie rurale, le Christianisme*. Bari: Edipuglia.
- MacMullen, R. 1988. *Corruption and the Decline of Rome*. New Haven and London.
- Manderscheid, H. 1981. *Die Skulpturenausstattung der kaiserzeitlichen Thermenanlagen*. Berlin: Mann.
- Moltesen, M. and Nielsen, A. 2007. "Agrippina Minor in the Mortemartini: the statue type"

- in *Agrippina Minor : life and afterlife = liv og eftermæle, Meddelelser fra Ny Carlsberg glyptotek*. Copenhagen: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.
- Pavis d'Escurac, H. 1980. "Flaminat et société dans la colonie de Timgad." *AntAfr* 15: 183-200.
- Pomeroy, S. 1998. Review of *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, by R. van Bremen. *The American Historical Review* 103 2: 491.
- Rives, J. B. 1995. *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York : Oxford University Press.
- Saller, R.P. 1996. "Status and Patronage" in *CAH* 2 XI: 28: 830-9.
- Setälä, P. 1999. "Economic Opportunities for Women in the Roman Empire," in *Female networks and the public sphere in Roman society*, edited by Päivi Setälä and Liisa Savunen, vii-xi. Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae.
- Smith, R.R.R. 1998. "Cultural Choice and Political Identity in Honorific Statues in the Greek East in the 2nd century AD" *Journal of Roman Studies* 88: 56-93.
- . 2006. *Roman portrait statuary from Aphrodisias*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern.
- Trimble, J. 2011. *Women and Visual Replication in Roman Imperial Art and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van Bremen, R. 1996. *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben.
- Warmington, B. 1954. "The Municipal Patrons of Roman North Africa." *Papers of the British School at Rome (New Series Volume 9)* 22: 39--55.
- Witschel, C. 1992. *Die Gesellschaft der römischen Kleinstadt Thamugadi vom 2. Bis 4. Jh. Anhand der Inschriften*, unpublished MA-Thesis, Free University of Berlin.
- . 1995a. "Die Entwicklung der Gesellschaft von Timgad im 2.bis 4. Jh. N. Chr." *Klio* 77: 266-331.
- . 1995b. "Statuen auf römischen Platzanlagen unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Timgad (Algerien)." In *Standorte - Kontext und Funktion antiker Skulptur. Ausstellungskatalog*, edited by, K. Stemmer, 332-358. Berlin.
- . 2009. 'La société de Timgad (Thamugadi),' *Aouras* 5: 189-203.
- . 2013. "Public Presence of Women in the cities of Roman North Africa." In *Women in the*

*Roman City in the Latin West*, edited by, Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf, 85- 106. Leiden; Boston: Brill.

Zimmer, G., and G. Wesch-Klein. 1989. *Locus datus decreto decurionum*. München: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

---. 1992. "Statuenaufstellung auf Forumsanlagen des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr." In *Die Römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.: der Funktionswandel des öffentlichen Raumes: Kolloquium in Xanten vom 2. bis 4. Mai 1990.*, edited by, Hans-Joachim Schalles, Henner von Hesberg and Paul Zanker, 301-313. Köln: Rheinland-Verlag.