

*Roman Freedwomen:
Their Occupations and Identity*

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ABSTRACT

Lindsay M. Holman: *Roman Freedwomen: Their Occupations and Identity*
(Under the direction of Richard Talbert)

This study examines seventy-one occupational epitaphs of urban freedwomen from the western half of the Roman Empire between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. An evaluation of the occupational epitaphs of freedwomen preserved in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL) reveals the breadth of jobs freedwomen held in the urban Roman economy. The choice of commemorating these women's occupations also suggests that pride was taken in their work. A study of the epitaphs in which freedwomen were commemorated with men (just over half of the corpus) suggests that it is the occupation of the freedwomen rather than any social relationship that carries force which conveys their identity. These occupational epitaphs demonstrate that one avenue of commemoration which freedwomen or their relatives elected to employ was memorializing their work as a symbol of the pride in their change of status from slave to freedwoman.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AE *L'Année épigraphique*

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

HD Heidelberg Epigraphic Database

ILLRP *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*

ILS *Inscriptiones Latinae Selecta*

Introduction

This study is primarily concerned with urban freedwomen in the Latin West, their work, and the motivations behind commemorating it upon their epitaphs as a way to construct their identity. From this examination of freedwomen's epitaphs, it is evident that one avenue of commemorating freedwomen was to memorialize their economic contributions as a means of emphasizing their productive efforts in Roman society and deemphasizing their former slave status. The corpus analyzed consists of seventy-one epitaphs in which the economic contributions of freedwomen can be reconstructed. A majority of these inscriptions are occupational epitaphs from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (CIL), in which the occupational title of the deceased is emphasized.¹ The epitaphs of imperial freedwomen are a significant portion of the corpus.² The identity of those who erect the monuments is often unclear. Presumably, the family members or peers of freedwomen commemorated their work upon these epitaphs. In some instances, the freedwoman herself erected the monument for another person and commemorated her work upon the epitaph. The epitaphs that can be dated range from the 1st century B.C. to the third century A.D. The heart of the study focuses on freedwomen who are commemorated for their work as manufacturers or vendors of goods in the urban market. Personal attendants and educated professionals will also be considered. To show that freedwomen, like freedmen, are commemorated for their work as a means of constructing

¹ Beginning with the list of women's occupations generated by Susan Treggiari, see her article "Jobs for Women," *American Journal of Ancient History* 1: 76-104 (1976), I searched the CIL volumes for instances in which freedwomen were commemorated in these occupations.

² Sixteen of the seventy-nine epitaphs (approximately 23% of the corpus) commemorate imperial freedwomen. See Table 1 numbers 1, 2, 11, 21, 22, 30, 32, 35, 36, 39-43, 60, and 61.

their identity, epitaphs that commemorate the work of both freedmen and freedwomen will be considered; there are thirty-nine such epitaphs in this corpus.

The Roman literary tradition is written by elites and is thus disparaging to non-elites, particularly freedmen and freedwomen. Freedmen are portrayed as avaricious and infringing upon the domain of Roman elite males, while freedwomen in Roman satires are often described as *meretrices*, or prostitutes. Scholars have therefore utilized occupational epitaphs as a tool for understanding the ways in which non-elites themselves constructed their identity. Yet there is a division in the approach to the utility of occupational epitaphs. Some scholars utilize them as a means of investigating the lower classes of Roman society.³ In particular, Sandra Joshel analyzed all occupational epitaphs from the city of Rome preserved in the *CIL VI*. From her study she concluded that due to the way in which freedpeople were marginalized in Roman society, "occupational title has a particular force. It shifts attention from birth and honor to productive activities and relations. From this perspective the freedman with occupational title no longer appears at the edges of Roman Society."⁴ Even so, freedwomen are not treated separately in Joshel's discussion of occupational epitaphs of freedpeople. She focuses only on the legal status and the identity conferred through the work attested upon inscriptions.

From the 1940s, scholars have studied the occupational epitaphs of women to evaluate the scope of work attributed to them in Rome.⁵ During the 1970s and 1980s, beginning with

³ See Pertti Huttunen, *The Social Strata in the Imperial City of Rome: A Quantitative Study of the Social Representation in the Epitaphs Published in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Volumen VI* (1974), and Sandra Joshel, *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome: A Study of Occupational Inscriptions* (1992).

⁴ Joshel 1992: 60.

⁵ The first studies of women's work attested in occupational epitaphs concerned how these epitaphs reinforced the concept of a gendered division of labor within the Roman world. See Jérôme Carcopino, *La vie quotidienne à Rome à l'apogée de l'empire* (1940), 180-181, and Joël Le Gall, "Métiers des femmes au Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum," *REL* 47: 123-130 (1969).

Susan Treggiari, scholars wishing to look beyond the city of Rome studied women's occupational epitaphs from the Latin West.⁶ Treggiari's first article investigating occupational epitaphs was an attempt to expand LeGall's list of occupational titles attributed to women. Her second study focused solely on the work of lower class women in the Latin West. Here she discussed the responsibilities of each profession (so far as could be gleaned from the evidence), as well as the proportion of occupations available to men compared to women, and she drew attention to the prevalence of the women's names appearing with names of men on the epitaphs. She concluded that lower class women typically held a narrower range of occupations, mostly jobs in the "service" sector of food and clothing production, where we might expect to find them.⁷ However, no study has examined both issues of gender and class as they pertain to the economic contributions of a lower class group and the impetus for commemorating its work. As recently as 2012, Marc Kleijwegt asserted that a study of freedwomen's "economic activities" is a desideratum for the field.⁸ He himself only provides a sample of freedwomen's work by examining a few exceptional inscriptions; thus, his study is not comprehensive.

Most recently, Matthew Perry has examined the ways in which freedwomen would transition from their former status as slaves to freedpersons in Roman society. By examining epitaphs, some of which are occupational, he concludes that the former patron is the galvanizing

⁶ See Treggiari 1976; ead., "Lower Class Women in the Roman Economy," *Florilegium* 1: 65-86 (1979); Natalie Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (1981); Rosmarie Günther, *Frauenarbeit-FrauenBindung: Untersuchungen zu unfreien und freigelassenen Frauen in den stadtrömischen Inschriften* (1987); and Suzanne Dixon, *Reading Roman Women* (2001).

⁷ Treggiari 1979: 78-79.

⁸ He rightly notes that more attention is being given to the economic contributions of women of the lower classes: see Marc Kleijwegt, "Deciphering Freedwomen in the Roman Empire," in Sinclair Bell and Teresa Ramsby (eds.), *Free at Last! The Impact of Freed Slaves on the Roman Empire* (2012), 118.

relationship by which a freedwoman can shed her former "slavish" tinge.⁹ Little attention is paid here, however, to freedwomen's economic contributions except to define what legal obligations a freedwoman had to her former master after manumission in the form of *obsequium* (general respect paid to the former master) and *operae* (labor and services owed to the former master).¹⁰ In his evaluation of epigraphic evidence of the freedwoman-patron relationship, Perry does note instances where a freedwoman initiates the commemoration of her patron upon his or her death. However, in focusing upon the social obligations a freedwoman had to her patron this analysis of freedwomen commissioning epitaphs only demonstrates that there were wealthy freedwomen with enough capital to commemorate their patrons. Perry rarely considers occupational epitaphs, focusing instead on more descriptive ones. His treatment reinforces the hierarchical social paradigm of patron and freed slave, and thereby ignores the ways in which freedwomen and their family members or peers chose to memorialize these women and their contributions. Additionally, Perry views the sexual availability of female slaves as necessitating reliance upon their patrons to effect their transition from their "slavish" former status to the status of a respectable Roman citizen.

The analysis of freedwomen's occupational epitaphs, in light of the occupational epitaphs of men, is essential when attempting to determine what relationships were central in the construction of freedwomen's post-manumission identities. Perry's assertions are rooted in a corpus that reinforces the hierarchy of the patron-freedwoman paradigm. My analysis of these occupational epitaphs illustrates that relatives and peers of freedwomen, or even freedwomen themselves before their deaths, commemorated the productive efforts of the deceased upon their epitaphs to mitigate the stigma of their servile origins.

⁹ See Matthew Perry, *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman* (2014), 158.

¹⁰ See Perry 2014: 73-83.

Background

Roman epitaphs are a medium by which individuals could convey the aspects of character which they thought would contribute to the *fama* of the individual being commemorated. The epitaph could be erected by the deceased themselves before they died, a family member, or a member of the household, such as a freedperson. Yet in this corpus the commemorator is not always noted upon the epitaph. Among those epitaphs in which the commemorator specifically mentions himself or herself, there are examples of a relative, a co-worker, a patron, and sometimes a freedwoman herself erecting the monument. The information included in these epitaphs is obviously at the discretion of the commemorator. Thus, while the language of the inscriptions can be formulaic, there is no standardization in what is commemorated. Typically, but not always, an epitaph includes the name of the deceased and the person who erected the monument. Sometimes the age of the deceased at death is inscribed too. Romans often include in epitaphs such elements as formulaic descriptions of a person's character that highlight the ways they upheld traditional Roman morals, or a description of an individual's accomplishments, or mention of a person's occupation.

While epitaphs are limited in their scope, they are the best means for us to analyze aspects of the lives and identities of freedpersons from the perspective of their families. In literature, Roman elite authors portray freedmen and freedwomen quite disparagingly as greedy and opportunistic. Hence, occupational inscriptions provide an important contrasting lens for investigating how freedpersons themselves and their families chose to commemorate the deceased and their productive efforts in Roman society. Moreover, in Rome, freedmen and

freedwomen represent approximately 29% of all those who are commemorated for their occupations upon their epitaphs.¹¹ Thus, despite the sparse information preserved in some instances, these epitaphs remain a vital source of evidence for analyzing the ways in which freedpersons and their families elected to commemorate them.

While Perry is right to discuss 'libertination'-- the process by which freedpersons identify themselves as freedpersons of their patron -- among freedmen and freedwomen, this is the most obvious way in which freedpersons would commemorate their status.¹² But the tendency to commemorate their status as freedpersons can hardly be interpreted as a mechanism for acknowledging their patron. Freedmen and freedwomen would not have the option to inscribe filiation-- the process by which a child acknowledges their parent -- upon their epitaph. For the status of a freedperson to be acknowledged, the patron of the freedperson would be named. This process of filiation was reflective of the practices of freeborn citizens. Therefore, 'libertination' replaced filiation for freedpersons. Freedpersons' manumissions from their patrons would signal that through their productive efforts their patron elected to free them as a reward for their service. Thus, if a freedperson wanted to commemorate their status as a freedperson to signify their change in status, the method for doing this was to announce that they were a *libertus* or *liberta* of their patron. Despite the characterizations of freedmen and freedwomen as avaricious, slothful, and sexually available, it would appear that those who attested their status epigraphically did so to emphasize pride in their status. They chose to commemorate aspects of their identity that upheld Roman morals in order to combat prevailing sentiments among the

¹¹ Joshel 1992: 46.

¹² See Perry 2014: 106-128 for further discussion of the relationship between patron and freedwomen in the epigraphic record.

elite, and to be remembered particularly for the ways in which they had integrated into Roman society.

Freedwomen and their Occupational Epitaphs

The narrow occupational range preserved within the literary record differs starkly from what is recorded in the epigraphic and legal traditions. In the epigraphic record freedwomen are commemorated as sellers of particular goods, manufacturers of jewelry and clothing, as well as educated professionals. Several jurists' rulings included in Justinian's *Digest* show that, while freedwomen still maintained an economic obligation to their patrons in the form of *obsequium* and *operae*, they were allowed to continue the trade in which they were trained as slaves even against their former masters' wishes.¹³ From studies of Latin epigraphy it appears that in fact former slaves often continued in the occupation in which they were trained or the profession which their former master pursued.¹⁴

Often freedwomen are commemorated with men in their epitaphs. Sometimes the relationship freedwomen had to the men with whom they are commemorated is unclear. Frequently, these men are freedmen who perform the same occupation as the freedwomen. It is likely that some were the husbands of the freedwomen, but that relationship is rarely emphasized in the occupational epitaphs.

The occupations attested for freedwomen are varied. Most have occupations traditionally held by Roman women, such as needle-working, clothing production, and washing clothes. Freedwomen are also mentioned in both the trade in and manufacture of luxury and bulk commodities. Some working freedwomen were successful enough to dedicate epitaphs to their

¹³ *Dig.* 37.15.11 (Papinian) and 38.1.26 (Alfenus Varus).

¹⁴ Sandra Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World* (2010), 213.

families and, in some instances, to their own freedmen and freedwomen. For those epitaphs in which the commemorators do not acknowledge themselves, I assume that they were family members or fellow freedpersons. There are several examples in which patrons commemorated their freedwomen and their occupations. No matter who commemorated them, what is common in their occupational epitaphs is that their productive efforts and subsequent economic affluence are the focal point to signal their change in legal and social status.

As might be expected, freedwomen held occupations as attendants of other women and of children. Such positions most frequently attested are *ornatrices* (hairdressers) and *nutrices* (nurses), with a high percentage of these women being in the employment of the imperial family (approximately 36%).¹⁵

Four of the ten freedwomen *ornatrices* were freedwomen of Livia, wife of Augustus and mother of Tiberius (39-41, 43).¹⁶ One non-imperial *ornatrix* worked outside of Rome (38). The *ornatrix* Clodia Prisca, from Brixia, is commemorated by a man, Ascula Publicus.¹⁷ His relationship to Clodia Prisca is unclear. The epitaph merely commemorates her and her occupation as an *ornatrix*. The other epitaphs of non-imperial *ornatrices* commemorate both working freedwomen and freedmen, yet they had different patrons and they are examples of women working as hairdressers in an urban setting. Pollia Urbana erects a monument in which she puts up two *ollae*, one for herself and one for Marcus Calidius Apolonius.¹⁸ Both worked as

¹⁵ Figures based on the eight imperial inscriptions out of the twenty-two epitaphs which record these occupations.

¹⁶ See Table 1 for transcriptions of the epitaphs commemorating freedwomen's work. All epitaphs are referred to by the identification number in this Table.

¹⁷ *Ascula Publicus posuit.*

¹⁸ See Fig. 2.

hairdressers in the Aemilian region of Rome (46). The indication of a location might suggest that they ran an establishment together.¹⁹ Nostia Daphne is commemorated with a freedman *aurifex* (goldsmith), Marcus Nerus Quadratus, of a different patron. She appears to be a commercial hairdresser. Both she and Quadratus are commemorated for their work on the *Vicus Longus* (47). This epitaph represents a rare example in which a freedwoman in one occupation is commemorated with a freedman in another. Linked with the epitaphs of Nostia Daphne and Marcus Nerus Quadratus is the epitaph of Nostia Cleopatra, a freedwoman of a Daphne (Nostia Daphne?), an *ornatrix* who also works on the *Vicus Longus* (45).²⁰ If Nostia Cleopatra is the freedwoman of Nostia Daphne, we may imagine a degree of affluence achieved by Nostia Daphne after she was freed to run an urban barber shop; subsequently she could own and then free her own slave. It is evident therefore that freedwomen *ornatrices* worked not only in domestic settings (particularly among the imperial household), but also in urban shops.

Of the twelve freedwomen *nutrices*, only three served children of the imperial family. Prima was a freedwoman of the emperor and his wife, and the nurse of Julia, daughter of Germanicus (21). Philaenis served Livia, and Iulia Iucunda worked for Drusus, the son of Germanicus, and for his sister, Drusilla (30, 22). Among non-imperial *nutrices*, four freedwomen are commemorated alone or with other freedwomen (24, 27, 29, 31). In their epitaphs, it is clear that the work these women did is the emphasis of the inscription. However, in the remaining five epitaphs which commemorate non-imperial *nutrices*, the relationships among those mentioned are explicit. Publana Elpidia erected a monument for her "sweetest and most loved patron"

¹⁹ Treggiari 1979: 75.

²⁰ See Fig. 3.

(20).²¹ Arruntius Dicaeus, freedman of Lucius, is described as the *conlacteus* or "foster brother" of the *nutrix* Arruntia Cleopatra, freedwoman of Lucius (23). However, no other details about Arruntius Dicaeus are noted upon the epitaph. It is only the work of Arruntia Cleopatra which is emphasized, and then their relationship is inscribed in the last line. Flavius Gamus' grandfather, father and *nutrix*, Flavia Nais, erected a monument for him (28). The closeness of the relationship between nurse and child most likely facilitated Flavia Nais' participation in the dedication of Flavius Gamus' monument. Her occupation is the only one attested here, for it defines the relationship she had to Flavius Gamus. Marcus Antonius Tyrannus erected an epitaph for himself, Antonia Arete his *contubernalis* (associate), and Marcus Antonius Florus, the child they nursed (26). The intimacy of the relationship between a nurse and child would be an impetus for explicit commemoration upon an epitaph, more so than in the case of other personal attendants, like *ornatrices*. The epitaphs in which the relationship between those commemorated is explicitly defined only serve to reinforce the work of the freedwomen, because they are linked to the individuals who are also commemorated through their work.

Freedwomen worked not only as personal attendants, but also as skilled professionals. Eleven epitaphs of freedwomen attesting their work in the medical field have been identified. All worked in Italy, with nine of the eleven epitaphs recovered in Rome. These freedwomen appear to be of the highest status among working freedpersons, due to the nature of their occupation.

Freedwomen are attested as *medicae*, or general medical practitioners. Among the five inscriptions recording *medicae*, no imperial freedwomen are found. Two freedwomen *medicae*, Minucia Asste and Venuleia Sosis, are commemorated for their work as *medicae* independently, with only their names, their status as freedwomen, and their occupations noted upon their

²¹ *patronae dulcissime et amantissimae*.

epitaphs (15, 17). The remaining three inscriptions mention both men and women, yet it is only the work of the freedwomen which is mentioned. In all of the cases, the men, and in one instance a man and a woman, commemorate freedwomen *medicae*. In one of these inscriptions, Quintus Iulius Atimetus erects a monument for his wife and freedwoman Iulia Sabina, although he only emphasizes her as his wife and as a *medica* (18). He provides no further details about himself and does not specifically call himself her patron. Another inscription, also erected by a freeborn man, commemorates himself and his *contubernalis* (14). Thus, it is the working relationship between the partners that is emphasized. No other details about their relationship are provided. Finally, Mussius Antiochus and Mussia Dionysia commemorate the freedwomen *medicae* Terentia Nice and Terentia Prima (16). While these three examples necessarily would emphasize the work of the freedwomen rather than the commemorators, the language used to define the relationships between the commemorators and the commemorated serves to emphasize the productive efforts of the *medicae* commemorated.

Freedwomen are also commemorated as *obstetrices* (midwives). Female obstetricians would have been preferred by Roman women. While the duties of *obstetrices* are much narrower than those of *medicae*, this does not mean that *obstetrices* were of a lower status or less valued than *medicae*.²² Three imperial freedwomen are commemorated for their work as *obstetrices* (32, 35, 36). Two epitaphs commemorate freedwomen's work as *obstetrices* on epitaphs with freedmen whose work is not mentioned. The inscription for one commemorates a freedman and a freedwoman of the same patron; thus it is likely that they are married, but this is not stated on their epitaph (34). The other inscription commemorates Quintus Sallustius Dioges, freedman of Dioges, and Sallustia Athenais, freedwoman of Artemeodorus (33). The relationship between the

²² See Ulpian's recommendation to governors: *Sed et obstetricem audiant, quae utique medicinam exhibere videtur* (Dig. 50.13.1.2).

two is unclear. Nevertheless, again only the occupation of the women is attested upon these epitaphs, suggesting the high standing of *obstetrices* in Roman society. The high status of this occupation perhaps reflected well on male relatives, and thereby dissuaded the commemorator from recording the work of the freedman, electing instead to focus on the work of the *obstetrix*. The remaining freedwoman *obstetrix* is commemorated alone (37). The exclusion of any commemoration of the men's occupations among these epitaphs of freedwomen *obstetrices* could suggest that this skill gained recognition by elites, motivating the women to take pride in their work and their relations to commemorate it epigraphically.

Skilled professional freedwomen are also commemorated as educators and as educated assistants. All five of the inscriptions were found in Rome. One freedwoman of the four is a freedwoman of Augustus: a *libraria* (copyist)²³ (11). Sulpicia Ammia and Sulpicius Venustus, both freedpersons of Gaius, are commemorated as *paedagogi* by their female students, to two or more women named Sulpicia Galbilla, daughters of Gaius (49). Of the other educated professional freedwomen commemorated, there is one *libraria* (12) and one *paedagoga* (48). Neither of these freedwomen is commemorated alongside men, suggesting that if women were able to obtain an education they could work as instructors of young women and as copyists independently of men. The status conveyed by these educated occupations is thus apparent in how these women and their occupations are commemorated.

While educated freedwomen are attested to as educators or assistants, most likely in a domestic setting, skilled freedwomen are attested in other sectors of the economy. Several

²³ George W. Houston, *Inside Roman Libraries: Book Collections and Their Management in Antiquity* (2014), 14-15.

female jewelers are attested in Rome. These women fulfilled some of the delicate tasks of these crafts, including setting pearls (13). Fulvia Melema is commemorated with a freedman of Gaius. Gaius Fulcinius Hermeros is commemorated as a *brattarius* (a worker of gold-leaf jewelry), while Fulvia Melema, having lived 48 years, is described as *brattaria* (3). Another inscription from Rome commemorates the freedman and freedwoman of Aulus who worked as jewelers: *A(ulus) Septicius A(uli) l(ibertus) Apollonius brattiarum Septicia A(uli) l(iberta) Rufa brattaria, Ollas II* (4). Susan Treggiari, contrary to Joël LeGall, argues that these women are not just sellers of gold-leaf jewelry, but also craftswomen, who could perform the delicate work of jewelry production, "perhaps leaving the heavy hammering work for the men."²⁴ The freedwoman Babbia Asia is included in a commemoration with four freedmen, all five being called *gemari de sacra viam* (jewelers on the Sacred Way, 14). One of the freedmen has the same patron as Babbia Asia, while the other three freedmen were manumitted by Quintus. It would seem likely that their owners had these five freedpersons trained in the craft of jeweler, and upon manumission they began to work together along the *Sacra Via*. Moreover, since these freedwomen were themselves commemorated for their work alongside freedmen performing the same job, female handicraft workers were no doubt responsible for all aspects of the profession, not just the sale of the jewelry.

In other regions of Italy, freedwomen are commemorated for their work in handicrafts. At Turin, Cornelia Venusta, a freedwoman of Lucius, erects a monument for herself and her freeborn husband. She commemorated herself as a *clavaria*, or maker of nails, and commemorated Publius Aebutius as a *clavarius* (5). While some scholars have thought that

²⁴ Treggiari (1979): 67; See Le Gall (1969): 123-130.

Cornelia Venusta was the seller of nails and Publius Aebutius was the manufacturer,²⁵ the equivalent occupational titles and their meaning (*clavarius/a* refers to the action of producing rather than the selling), would suggest that both partners produced nails.²⁶ Not only did Cornelia Venusta perform the same work as her husband, but they seem to have prospered in their business as Cornelia also commemorated their freedwoman, Crescenti, and their slave, Muronos. The only imperial skilled craftswoman commemorated by herself is an *aurifex*. Upon the monument of Marcella, daughter of Octavia, a Pompeia Helena, freedwoman of Gnaeus, is commemorated as an *aurifex* of the Caesars (2). Two of six craftswomen in this corpus are commemorated by themselves in handicraft occupations that were typically considered men's work (2 and 13). Among those epitaphs in which both men and women are commemorated, the use of the feminine form of the occupation used to identify their male counterparts would suggest that these freedwomen performed the same work, rather than being the sellers of the goods produced by freedmen.

Freedwomen are also known to serve in a traditional occupation of Roman women, that of manufacturing clothing. The epigraphic record shows that freedwomen were involved in every stage of clothing production as needle-workers (*sarcinatrices*) who mended and perhaps produced garments, and as women who actually made the clothing (*vestiariae*). A freedwoman, Matia Prima, worked as a needle-worker by the Six Altars in Rome. She was commemorated by her husband Titus Thoranius Salvius, freedman of Titus: *Matiae C. l(ibertae) Prime coniugi suae sarcinatr ab Sex Aris* (63). This epitaph is a uniquely clear instance of an urban needle-worker.

²⁵ LeGall (1969): 125-126.

²⁶ Jane Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (1986), 239; Claire Holleran, "Women and Retail in Roman Italy," in Emily Hemelrijk and Greg Woolf (eds.), *Women in the Roman City in the Latin West* (2013), 315-316.

However, the limited evidence of *sarcinatrices* working in the urban manufacturing centers could be due to the low reputation associated with that occupation. Working as a *sarcinatrix* was considered a "vulgar craft," and the *peculium* of a female slave or *filiafamilia* was noted by the jurist Gaius as liable for damages if she was a weaver or *sarcinatrix*.²⁷ Nevertheless, several imperial freedwomen who worked as *sarcinatrices* are commemorated for this work, such as Fausta: *Fausta Liviae l(iberta) sarcinatr* (61). *Sarcinatrices* would have worked on cloth brought to them by their clients. *Vestiariae*, on the other hand, would have produced garments from material they purchased. One freedwoman is named among a group of five *libertini* commemorated as *vestiarii de Cermalo minusculo*, the "smaller" Germalus region on the Palatine hill. They dedicate the monument to their freedman patron (69). While the evidence is limited, unsurprisingly there are references to freedwomen working in an urban setting to produce clothing. Literary evidence attests to women often performing these duties for their own household, but it is expected to find freedwomen also performing these activities in an urban context.

Freedwomen are also mentioned in epitaphs with male *fullones*-- washers of clothes -- suggesting that some women may have been working in *fullonicae*. Yet, no inscription attests that freedwomen worked as *fullonae*. One inscription commemorates the *fullo* Lucius Autronius Stephanus, freedman of Lucius; it is erected by a freedwoman of Lucius, Autronia Tychene (6). Although she is not called a *fullona*, their shared master and epitaph suggest that they could have become acquainted in the same occupation.²⁸ One freedwoman, Cestilia Chreste, is

²⁷ *Dig.* 15.1.27.

²⁸ Argued by Miko Flohr, *The World of the Fullo: Work, Economy and Society in Roman Italy* (2013), 266.

commemorated as a *vestipica* -- a woman who cares for and inspects clothes (71).²⁹ While Cestilia Chreste most likely worked in a domestic context, it is plausible that *vestipicae* worked in *fullonicae*. An epitaph dedicated to one *fullo*, Amphio, also recognizes a *vestipica*, Euterpe and her three year old daughter, Musa.³⁰ They are commemorated by people who identify themselves as *mater* and *frater*. In Flohr's view, because the responsibilities of *vestipicae* were associated with the last stages of the fulling process, Euterpe possibly could have worked alongside Amphio in the *fullonica*.³¹ So while there is no direct evidence for freedwomen working as *fullonae*, these epitaphs hint at the possibility of women working in *fullonicae*.

Freedwomen are attested to have performed traditional female tasks within the urban economy as vendors or as managers of institutions. They sold both luxury and bulk commodities, and are commemorated even as managers of lower-class facilities. Critonia Philema, freedwoman of Quintus, is commemorated as *popa de insula*, a proprietor of a *popina* (a lower-class restaurant) located in one of the apartment buildings of Rome (52). She is memorialized on an epitaph with her patron, a freedman himself, Quintus Critonius Dassus, who was a sculptor. Thus, the epitaph of Critonia Philema and Quintus Critonius Dassus is an unusual example of a freedman and freedwoman commemorated in distinct occupations. While Quintus Critonius Dassus became affluent enough to own his own slave after his own manumission, his status as patron is not emphasized, but the work of both himself and Critonia Philema is central. Moreover, despite the low status of *popa*, Critonia Philema is commemorated for this work first,

²⁹ See Varro, *Ling.* 7.2.12: *vestispica, quae vestem spiceret, id est videret vestem ac tueretur*.

³⁰ AE 1985.173: *V(ivit) Casos/ o(biit) Amphio fullo ann(is) LII/ o(biit) Euterpe vestipica ann(is) XXVI/ o(biit) Musa filia eius ann(is) III/ v(ivit) Callipoleis mater/ v(ivit) Nicomedes frater/ v(ivit) Lesbios mulio*.

³¹ Flohr 2013: 266.

then Quintus Critonius Dassus is commemorated for his work as a sculptor. Freedwomen are also commemorated as vendors of foodstuffs. The freedwoman of Gaius, Aurelia Nais, is called a *piscatrix de horreis Galbae*, a fish-seller located in the warehouses of Galba (51). And the patron and husband of Abudia Megiste remembers her as *negotiatrici frumentariae et legumenaria ab Scala Mediana*, a seller of fruits and vegetables from the "middle stairs" in Rome (19).

Two freedwomen are commemorated for their work as bakers. One epitaph found in Reate, Italy, commemorates two freedwomen, but only one of these women is commemorated for her work. Fonteia Fausta is called a *furnaria*, or baker (8). The work of the other freedwoman, Fonteia Gnome, is not recorded, only that she had a female patron. In Carthage, three freedpersons (two still living) are commemorated: "Lucius Atilius Hiero, freedman of Lucius, a baker, Valeria Euterpe, freedwoman, a baker, lives, Gaius Valerius Dionisius, freedman of Gaius, a *triarius* (soldier) lives" (7, Fig. 4).³² All three are freedpersons of different patrons, and the relationship among them is not explicitly defined. What is apparent is that Valeria Euterpe and Gaius Valerius Dionisius erected the monument for Lucius Atilius Hiero (and probably themselves), and chose only to commemorate their status as freedpersons and their work. Thus, as would be expected since women were responsible for food preparation in the home, freedwomen were involved in the trade and preparation of food within the urban economy.

However, freedwomen are not only attested as vendors of foodstuffs, but also as traders of luxury goods. One freedwoman *unguentaria* (seller of perfumes) is attested in Puteoli (68). Freedwomen incense dealers (*thurariae*) are also attested in Rome. Trebonia Irena and Trebonia

³² *L Atilius L l Hiero furnari/ Valeria l Euterpe furnaria/ vivit/ C Valerius C l Dionisius triari vivit.*

Mamia are the last persons of seven listed on a monument there dedicated to *thurareis et liberteis* (65). These freedmen and freedwomen are commemorated by three men of the Trebonii family. Another inscription memorializes the freedman, Sextus Trebonius, and the freedwoman of Sextus, Tribonia Hilara, as *turareis*, an alternative spelling for *thurariis* (66). Freedwomen *purpurariae* (sellers of purple dye) are also attested. This includes a series of freedwomen (their names are not completely preserved due to the fragmented nature of the monument) who are all freedwomen of Aulus, with the abbreviated title *purpurar* applying to one if not all of the freedwomen (53). In another epitaph, a freedwoman her fellow freedman erects a monument for themselves, their patron, and their fellow freedmen. In their epitaph they identify themselves as *purpurariae* of the Marian district of Rome (54). In four of the six inscriptions (54, 55, 65, 66) freedwomen engaged in luxury trade are commemorated with a man who is also a merchant of luxury commodities.

While occupations related to prostitution were undoubtedly held by slaves and former slaves, these positions are not often attested epigraphically. The low status of this type of work deterred relatives of freedwomen from memorializing this occupation upon their epitaphs. The few freedwomen who commemorate this type of work refer to it obliquely. In Beneventum, Italy, one Vibia Chresta, a freedwoman herself, erected a funerary monument for herself, her family, and her own freedwoman, Vibia Calybe, whom she characterizes as a *lena*, or brothel-manager. Thus, Vibia Calybe herself does not commemorate her work as a *lena*, but her former owner memorializes the work that she did. Scholars have also speculated that Vibia Calybe worked as a prostitute before earning her freedom and then returned to the establishment as the manager

(10).³³ Since freedpersons upon their manumission often continued to hold the occupation in which they were trained while they worked as slaves, this suggestion is plausible. Vibia Chresta does not say how she amassed her wealth, she merely proclaims that she gained her estate and erected the tombstone entirely from her own assets "without defrauding anyone" (*suo sine fraude aliorum*). Yet, Vibia Calybe and Vibia Chresta do not identify themselves as *meretrices*. Instead, these women chose to emphasize the wealth which they accumulated and the work they did upon their manumission.

Like *meretrices*, actresses and performers held very low standing in Roman society, as they were considered sexually available, and in the Roman literary tradition had a reputation for being promiscuous. This is perhaps why few freedwomen would commemorate their work in professions where they were performers. In an epitaph erected in Rome and dated to the first century B.C., a father commemorates his young daughter who was a dancer in plays:

Eucharis, freedwoman of Licinia, an unmarried girl who was educated and learned in every skill. She lived 14 years. Ah, as you look with wandering eye at the house of death, stay your foot and read what is inscribed here. This is what a father's love gave his daughter, where the remains of her body lie gathered. "Just as my life with its young skills and growing years brought me fame, the sad hour of death rushed on me and forbade me to draw another breath in life. I was educated and taught as if by the Muses' hands. I adorned the nobility's festivals with my dancing, and first appeared before the common people in a Greek play. But now here in this tomb my enemies the Fates have placed my body's ashes. The patrons of learning -- devotion, passion, praise, honor -- are silenced by my burnt corpse and by my death. His child, I left lamentation to my father, though born after him, I preceded him in the day of my death. Now I observe my fourteenth birthday here among the shadows in Death's ageless home. I beg you when you leave, ask that the earth lie light upon me" (50).³⁴

³³ See Robert Knapp, *Invisible Romans* (2011), 243.

³⁴ *ILLRP* 803=*ILS* 5213=*CIL* I².1214; trans. Mary Lefkowitz and Maureen Fant, *Women's Life in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook in Translation* (2005), 16.

The father of Eucharis mentions her skills, fame, and work, before emphasizing the loss of his daughter. In this way he can articulate the severity of her loss for society, first through relating how she performed in public festivals, particularly noting that these celebrations were for the nobility; then he relates his personal loss, thus attempting to elevate the status of his late daughter. No doubt the epitaphs of those women who held positions in society perceived of as denoting sexual availability would instead have monuments that focused on the non-sexual aspects of their work.

Altogether, freedwomen are commemorated in a variety of occupations in their epitaphs. They held not only traditionally gendered female jobs as producers of clothing and sellers of foodstuffs, but they were also manufacturers of luxury goods in the urban economy as well as educated professionals. In over half of the inscriptions, these freedwomen are commemorated for their work by themselves or with other freedwomen. It seems that, as in the case of freedmen, economic productivity was a point of pride among those who erected monuments for working freedwomen, and that this productivity was an avenue to minimize the freedwomen's marginalized status as former slaves within Roman society. Moreover, when freedwomen are commemorated with men, the work which they did is the focus of commemoration rather than other characteristics or relationships.

Commemoration of Men and Freedwomen

Of the seventy-one inscriptions commemorating the work of freedwomen, thirty-eight mention men alongside freedwomen.³⁵ In over half of the inscriptions in which both men and freedwomen are commemorated, the exact relationship between the freedwomen and the men with whom they are commemorated is uncertain. In those epitaphs for which the relationship between freedwomen and men is explicitly defined, in only three cases is the freedwoman commemorated by her patron (18, 33, 51); in two epitaphs the patron attests that he married the woman whom he freed (18, 33); and three inscriptions commemorate freedwomen and their husbands (5, 42, 63). There are four examples of freedwomen erecting epitaphs for themselves and their family members (5, 7, 10, 70). In three of these epitaphs the freedwomen commemorate their own freedpersons (5, 10, 70). And in one epitaph a freedwoman and her fellow freedmen erect a monument for themselves, their patron, and their *conlibertus* (54).

Among those epitaphs in which the relationship between freedwomen and men who are remembered is not explicit, the majority attest freedmen and freedwomen working in the same occupation (3-4, 6, 9, 14, 26, 45-47, 49, 59, 65, 66). In each of these cases, the feminine form of the occupation attested for freedmen is attested for the freedwomen, suggesting that they performed the same functions. The language used in the epitaphs, while ambiguous, does not allude to a division of labor between "feminine" and "masculine" tasks. The formula for commemorating the work is the same for both the freedmen and freedwomen. In some cases, men and women held different occupations (43, 52). Even so, both were freedpersons, which

³⁵ See Table 2 for descriptions of these epitaphs.

suggests that they were married and held different occupations. Rather than representing their relationship to the other person, both freedwoman and freedman emphasize their occupations. Moreover, in several instances in which a freedwoman's work is commemorated, the man with whom she is commemorated has no occupation attested (23, 33, 34, 38). Two of these women are *obstetrices* and one is an imperial *nutrix*, and the men associated with them are also former slaves. Therefore, the prestige of these occupations may have encouraged the commemorators of the monuments to emphasize the occupations of these freedwomen for the reputation it brought to those affiliated with her.

In seventeen cases out of thirty-nine occupational epitaphs, relationships between men and freedwomen are explicitly recorded (5, 10, 14, 16, 28, 19, 23, 24, 26, 28, 42, 43, 52, 54, 60, 63, 68). The fact that the relationships of the deceased are not always recorded may be a product of the formulaic nature of occupational epitaphs. Nevertheless, this style of epitaph alludes to the purpose of commemorating work: productive efforts more than relationships convey elevated status after manumission for freedmen and freedwomen. Moreover, freedwomen in these epitaphs are not singled out as performing different duties than men in the same occupation. Additionally, the freedwoman's occupation is the sole work commemorated in a handful of epitaphs commemorating freedmen and freedwomen, suggesting that the prestige associated with these occupations was not diminished because it was a freedwoman holding the position; this work was valued so highly in society that it conveyed a higher status, thereby being worthy of sole commemoration.

Conclusion

The Roman literary tradition, written by elite men, is unsurprisingly disparaging towards freedpeople. For Roman elites, freedmen and freedwomen were base, due to their servile origins, and presented a threat to elite economic and political power, as some freedpeople grew rich from their work in the urban economy. Roman satirists characterize working freedwomen as *meretrices* (prostitutes), a vulgar or low occupation not held by respectable Roman women. In Petronius' *Satyricon*, the freedman Trimalchio buys his wife Fortunata, characterized as a *meretrix* and *ambubaia* (singing girl). Trimalchio claims to have made her equal to any other person (*hominem inter homines*).³⁶ In the rare instances when Roman authors note a different occupation, they merely say what it was, without further description. By contrast, an examination of the occupational epitaphs of freedwomen suggests that freedwomen, like freedmen, were commemorated for their economic efforts to alleviate the stigma of their former servile status.

Therefore, Joshel's study of occupational epitaphs and the ways in which they convey status provides a more suitable framework for analyzing the epitaphs of freedwomen than Perry's paradigm. It would seem that among the family members and peers of these freedwomen there was an urge to commemorate productive enterprises rather than connections to their former slave status. Perry does demonstrate that some freedwomen and their patrons would commemorate one another and emphasize this relationship. However, this is a framework that reinforces the hierarchy of status in Roman society. Occupational epitaphs, in which the commemorator is most often not mentioned but who is most likely a family member or peer of the deceased,

³⁶ Petron. *Sat.* 74.13.

demonstrate an avenue by which persons of lower status commemorated their freedwomen associates.

Those freedwomen who are identified as such upon their epitaphs would necessarily have had to acknowledge their patron. Unlike freeborn women, freedwomen would not have had the option of filiation. In epitaphs in which both men and women are memorialized, rarely is the relationship between the two or more people emphasized, or made explicit. Moreover in epitaphs in which both freedmen and freedwomen are commemorated, the pattern of the epitaph is the same for the freedman as it is for the freedwoman. The only difference in the epitaph is the use of the feminine version of the occupational title for a freedwoman; hence it would seem that freedwomen and freedmen were performing the same functions in these occupations.

So evidently, freedwomen in both their work and their commemorative practices did not differ greatly from their male counterparts. Moreover, superimposing the Roman elite perceptions of a strict division of labor ignores the practical realities of the labor force in the urban sector of the Roman economy. Legal decisions uphold a former slave's right to continue to work in the same occupation in which they were trained. While non-epigraphic evidence is scarce, it appears that women could be trained in the skilled crafts which were typically gendered male. Therefore, while occupational epitaphs are limited in nature, these inscriptions are vital to understanding the practical experiences of the freedperson labor force and the ways in which they utilized their work to convey a change in their status for *memoria*.

Table 1. Freedwomen's Occupational Epitaphs. Epitaphs listed are from *CIL* unless otherwise stated. The epitaphs were recovered in Rome unless otherwise noted.

ID #	Inscription	Occupation	Text
1	VI.5184	Argentaria	Helena Artemae/ Augustae l argent/ cui is dedit ollam I M
2	VI.4430	Aurifex	Pompeia Cn l Helena/ auruficis Caesaris
3	VI.9211	Brattiararia	C Fulcinius C l/ Hermeros/ brattiararius/ Fulvia Melema/ vixit annis XXXXVIII/ brattiararia
4	VI.6939	Brattiararia	A Septicius A l/ Apollonius/ brattiararius/ Septicia A l/ Rufa brattia/ ollas II
5	V. 7023 (Turin)	Clavaria	V F/ Cornelia L l/ Venusta/ clavaria sibi et/ P Aebutio M f Stel/ clavarario Aug vir/ et Crescenti libertae et/ Muroi delicatae
6	VI.9429	Fullona?	L Autronius L l Stephanus/ fullo et Autronia/ L liberta Tychene fec/ ollar XVI
7	VIII.24678; AE 1896.83; HD023231; Fig. 4 (Carthage, a family tomb at Domus Auguste)	Furnaria	L Atilius L l Hiero furnari/ Valeria O l Euterpe furnaria/ vivit/ C Valerius C l Dionisius triari vivit
8	IX.4721/1. L (Reate; Imperial)	Furnaria	Fonteia O l/ Gnome/ Fonteia O l/ Fausta/ furnaria/ in fr p XII
9	VI.9435	Gemaria	V Babbia O l Asia/ V C Babbius O l Regillus/Θ Q Plotius Q l Nicepor/ V Q Plotius Q l Anteros/ V Q Plotius Q l Felix/ gemari de Sacra Viam
10	IX.2029 (Beneventum)	Lena	Vibia L l Chresta mon/ fecit sibi et suis et C Rusti[o]/ C l Thalasso filio e[t] Vibiae/ O l Calybeni libertae lenae/ ab asse quaesitum lucro suo sine/ fraude aliorum H M H N S
11	VI.8882	Libraria/Aug l libraria/ con suo piissim/ et benemer et sibi
12	VI.37802	Libraria	Vergilia C l/ Euphrisyne/ libraria

13	VI.5972	Margaritaria	Domitia Cn [I]...../ margari[taria]/ MUS/ v a
14	V.3461 (Verona)	Medica	C Cornelius/ Meliboeus/ sibi et/ Sentiai Elidi medicai/ contuber/ Sentiai Aste
15	VI.9615	Medica	Minucia/ O I Asste/ medica
16	VI.9616	Medica	D M/ Terentiae/ Niceni Terentiae/ Primaes medicas li/bertae fecerunt/ Mussius Antiochus/ et Mussia Dionysia/ fil(ii) m(atri) B M
17	VI.9617	Medica	Venuleia/ O I Sosis/ medica
18	IX.5861 (Auximum)	Medica	Deis Manib/ Iuliae Q I/ Sabinae/ medicae/ Q Iulius Atimetus/ coniugi/ bene merenti
19	VI.9683	Negotiatrix	Diis Manibus/ Abudiae M lib/ Megiste piissimae fec/ M Abudius Luminaris/ patronus idemque/ coniux bene merenti/ negotiatrici frumentariae/ et legumenaria ab scala/ mediana sibi et libertis/ libertabusque posterisq/et M Abudio Saturnino/ filio trib esq seniorum/ vixit annis VIII
20	VI.1516	Nutrix	L Septimiae Pata/binane Balbil/le Tyriae/ Nepotille Odae/nathianae c(larissimae) p(uellae)/ Aur(elia) Publina/ Elpidia nutrix/ patronae dulcis/sime et amantissi/mae feliciter
21	VI.4352	Nutrix	Prima Augusti/ et Augustae I/ nutrix Iuliae Germa/[nici] filiae
22	VI.5201	Nutrix	C Papius Asclepiades/ Papia Erotis I/ Iulia Iucunda nutrix/ Drusi et Drusillae
23	VI.5939	Nutrix	Arruntia/ L I Cleopatra/ nutrix/ L Arruntius L I/ Dicaeus conlacteus
24	VI.7355	Nutrix	Volusiae Ru[fae]/ Volusia Philete/ nutrix bene merenti
25	VI.7393	Nutrix	Volusiae Stratonice/ L Volusi L f Saturnini/ pontif nutrici L

			Volusius/ Zosimus f matris suae piissi/mae fecit et L Volusio Zosi/mo L Volusi patryi col/lactio Tampia Priscilla/ coniugi suo piissimo et san[c]/tissimo fecit et sibi
26	VI.12023	Nutrix	M Antonius Tyran[nus]/ sibi et/ Antoniae Arete/ contubernali suae/ nutricii/ M Antoni Flori
27	VI.14558	Nutrix	Cassia L l Zmyrna/ nutrix/ v a XXIX
28	VI.18073	Nutrix	Dis Manibus/ Flavio Gamo vix/ ann XIII fecer/ T Flavius/ Abascantus/ a[v]us et/ M Cocceius/ Philetus pater et/ Flavia Nais nutrix
29	VI.21661	Nutrix	Lucretia C l/ Lais nutrix/ vix an XXX
30	VI.24073	Nutrix	Philaenis/ l Livi nutrix
31	VI.29497	Nutrix	D M/ Volumniae/ Dynamidi/ Volumnia/ C f Procla/ nutrici/ assae et/ lib v a CV
32	VI.4458	Obstetrix	Hygia/ Marcellae l/ obstetrix
33	VI.8192	Obstetrix	Q Sallustius/ Diogae l/ Dioges R: Sallustia/ Artemeodori l/ Athen[ais]/ opstetrix
34	VI.8207	Obstetrix	Sallustia Q l Imerita opstetrix/ Q Sallustius Q l Artimideor[us]/ P
35	VI.8947	Obstetrix	Antoniae Aug l/ Thallusae/ opstetric
36	VI.8949	Obstetrix	[Iul]iae [diva]e Aug l/ ...siae [obs]tetrici
37	VI.9723	Obstetrix	Poblicia O l Aphe/ opstetrix ossa tibi/ bene quiescant/ vixit annos XXI
38	V.4194 (Brixia)	Ornatrice	Clodiae L l/ Prisciae ornat/ Ascula Publicu[s]/ posuit
39	VI.3993	Ornatrice	Aucta/ Liviae l/ ornatrice
40	VI.3994	Ornatrice	Gemina l Augustae/ ornatrice/ Irene l suae dat olla
41	VI.4717	Ornatrice	Livia/ Calliste/ Liviae Nicenis/ ornatricis l
42	VI.8957	Ornatrice	Dis Manibus/ Claudia Aug l/ Parata ornat[r]/ix v a XXVII/

			Ti Iulius Romanus/ Ti Claudius Priscus/ Nedimus Aug ser/ coiuges eius de suo
43	VI.8958	Ornatix	Iunoni/ Dordacis/ Iuliae Augustae I/ vernae Caprensis / ornatricis/ Lycastus conlibertus/ rogator coniugi/ carissimae sibi
44	VI.9462a4	Ornatix	Prima I ornat
45	VI.9736; Fig. 3	Ornatix	Nostia/ Daphnidis I/ Cleopatra/ ornatix de Vico/ Longo
46	VI.37811; AE 1908.40; HD020384; Fig. 2	Ornatix	Pollia C I/ Urbana ornat de/ Aemilianis ollas II/ M Calidius M I tosor/ Apoloni de Aemilianis
47	VI.37469; AE 1910.52; HD029613; Fig. 3	Ornatix	Nostia O I/ Daphne/ ornatix de vico longo/ M Nerius M [I]/ Quadratu[s] aurifex d[e] Vico Longo
48	VI.6331	Paedagoga	[St]atilia T I Tyranis/ paedagoga/ Statiliaes
49	VI.9754	Paedagoga	C Sulpicius C I/ Venustus/ Sulpicia C I Ammia/ Sulpiciae C f Galbillae/ paedagogis suis
50	I ² .1214; <i>ILLRP</i> 803; <i>ILS</i> 5213	Performer	Eucharis Licini[ae] I/ docta erodita omnes artes virgo vix[it an XIII]/ heus oculo errante quei aspicias leti domu[s]/ morare gressum et titulum nostrum perlege/ amor parenteis quem dedit natae suae/ ubei se reliquiae conlocarent corporis/ heic viridis aetas cum floreret artibus/ crescente et aevo gloriam conscenderet/ properavit hora tristis fatalis mea/ et denegavit ultra veitae spiritum/ docta erodita paene musarum manu/ quae modo nobilium ludos decoravi choro/ et graeca in scaena prima populo apparui/ en hoc in tumulo cinerem nostri corporis/ infistae parcae

			deposierunt carmine/ studium patronae cura amor laudes decus/ silent ambusto copore et leto tacent/ reliqui fletum nata genitori meo/ et antecessi genita post leti diem/ bis hic septeni mecum natales dies/ tenebris tenentur ditis aeterna dom[u]/ rogo ut discedens terram mihi dic[as levem]
51	VI.9801	Piscatrix	Aurelia C I Nais/ piscatrix de horreis Galbae/ C Aurelius C I Phileros/ patronus/ I Valerius-- L I Secundus
52	VI.9824	Popa	Critonia Q I Philema/ popa de insula/ Q Critoni O I Dassi/ sculptoris v(as)culari(i)/ sibi suisque poster/eor
53	VI.9846	Purpuraria	N N L A/ Viciria A I ../ Viciria A I T.../ Viciria A I NICE.../ Viciria A I Creste/ purpurar
54	VI.37820; AE 1908.102; HD 0205019	Purpuraria	V D Veturius D I Diog/ Ø D..... D I Nicepor/ V Veturia D I Fedra/ de sua pecunia faciund coir/ sibi et patrono et conlibert/ et liberto/ Nicepor conlibertus/ vixit mecum annos xx/ purpuraria Marianeis/ viv/ D Veturius D O I Philarcus
55	XIV.2433 (Ager Albanus)	Purpuraria	L Plutio L I Eroti/ purpurario de Vico Tusco/ Plutia L I Auge/ fecit sibi et/ Veturiae C C I Atticae
56	VI.9855	Resinaria (could be freedwoman) commemorated by a freedwoman	Iuliae Agele resinariae/ quae vix an LXXX/ D Iulia Irene patronae M/ B M F et sibi et suis/ posterisq eorum
57	II.07.339; HD003253; AE 1981.502; Fig. 1 (Corduba, Spain; 30BC- AD30)	Sarcinatrix	M Latinus M []/ I Afinius L I Ata []/Latinia M I T[]/ Demetrius fi[]/ Latinia M I Da[]/sarcinatrix []
58	V.2542 (Este)	Sarcinatrix	Sac Dis Man/ Lucretiae M I Placidiae/ sarcinatrici
59	V.2881(Patavii)	Sarcinatrix	L Crimili Hila/ L Annus L I/ Crimilia L[I] Cri/ Crimili[a]

			[L] l Phile/ Ravenas Philenaa/ sarcis Nav Lemmo/ C R Aureli
60	VI.4467	Sarcinatrix	Tychius Marcell/ dec quaestor bis/ Irena Marcellae l sarcin
61	VI.9038	Sarcinatrix	Fausta Liviae l/ sarcinatr
62	VI.9881	Sarcinatrix	Lais/ l Coponi/ sarcinatrix
63	VI. 9884	Sarcinatrix	Matiae o l Prime/ coniugi suae/ sarcinatr ab Sex/ Aris vix an XLVI
64	XI.5437 (Asisium)	Sarcinatrix	Mimisia C l Dionysia/ sarcinatrix
65	VI.9933	Thuraria	C P P Treb[oni]orum P P C [f]/ thurarie[is] et liberteis/ P Trebonius /// l Nicostratus/ M.... C P l Malchio/ D.... C l Olopantus/ M.... C P l Macedo/ A.... C P l Alexander/ Trebonia C P l Irena/ Trebonia C P l Ammia
66	VI.9934	Thuraria	[Trebonia]/ Sex l Hilara/ Sex Treboni/us Sex l/ Truphotura/reis in agro/ P XX in fr p XXIX
67	VI.9941	Tonstrix	Galloniae/ o l/ Paschusae/ tostrici
68	X.1965 (Puteoli)	Unguentaria	D M/ Liciniae Primigeniae/ unguentariae/ Lic(inius) Amomus F matri B M/ vix a LXXI
69	VI.33920	Vestiaria	P Auillio P l Menandro patrono/ post mortem liberti fecerunt et/ sibi qui infra scripti sunt/ o Auillia P l Philusa/ P Auillius P l Hilarus/ P Auillius P l Anteros/ P Auillius P l Felix/ veste///ri de Cermalo minusculo a///s obe//
70	VI.37826	Vestiaria	[Carmer]ia L l Iarine Fecit/ [l. Cam]erio L l Thrasoni patrono/ [et] L Camerio L l Alexandro/ patrono eius et / [l. C]amerio Onesimo lib et/ [vi]ro suo posterisque omnibus/ [vest]iariis tenuariis de Vico Tusc
71	VI.33393	Vestipica	Cestilia o l Chreste/ vestipica

			Pini lib
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Table 2: Freedwomen Commemorated with Men (referred to by the numbers given in Table 1).

Inscriptions Mentioning Male counterpart	Occupations and Relationship
3	One freedman <i>brattarius</i> and one possible freedwoman <i>brattaria</i> are commemorated and their relationship is unclear.
4	A <i>brattarius</i> and a <i>brattaria</i> , both freedpersons of Aulus, are commemorated.
5	<i>Clavaria</i> Cornelia Venusta erects an epitaph for herself and her husband, Publius Aebutius, a <i>clavarius</i> .
6	A freedwoman Autronia Tychene is commemorated with the freedman <i>fullo</i> Lucius Autronius Stephanus. Perhaps she is a <i>fullona</i> .
7; Fig. 4; VIII.24678 (Carthage)	<i>Furnaria</i> Valeria Euterpe and <i>triarius</i> Gaius Valerius Dionisius commemorate themselves while they are still alive and the freedman <i>furnarius</i> Lucius Atilius Hiero.
9	Babbia Asia is commemorated with four freedmen called <i>gemari de Sacra Via</i> .
10	Vibia Chresta erects a monument for herself, her family, her freedmen and her freedwoman <i>lena</i> .
14	A <i>medica</i> is commemorated with her

	<i>contubernalis</i> .
16	Terentia Nice and Terentia Prima, <i>medicae</i> , are commemorated by their patrons Mussius Antiochus and Mussia Dionysia.
18	A freedwoman <i>medica</i> is commemorated with her husband and former owner.
19	Abudia Megiste, a <i>negotiatrix</i> , is commemorated by her husband and patron Marcus Abudius Luminaris.
22	Imperial <i>nutrix</i> , Julia Jucunda, is commemorated with Gaius Papius Asclepiades and Papia Erotis. The relationship among these people is unclear.
23	<i>Nutrix</i> Arruntia Cleopatra is commemorated with her foster brother Lucius Arruntius Dicaeus.
25	<i>Nutricii</i> are commemorated with those they nursed.
26	<i>Nutrix</i> Antonia Arete is commemorated with her <i>contubernalis</i> Marcus Antonius Tyrannus.
28	<i>Nutrix</i> Flavia Nais commemorates the child she nursed with the child's uncle and father.
33	<i>Obstetrix</i> Sallustia Athenais is commemorated

	with Quintus Sallustius Dioges. They are freedpersons of different patrons.
34	<i>Obstetrix</i> Sallustia Imerita is commemorated with Sallustius Artimidiorus, both are freedpersons of Quintus.
38	<i>Ornatric</i> Clodia Prisca is commemorated by Asculus Publicus.
42	Imperial <i>ornatrix</i> Claudia Parata, who worked for Tiberius Julius Romanus and Tiberius Claudius Priscus, is commemorated by her slave husband Nedimus.
43	An imperial <i>ornatrix</i> is commemorated by her <i>conlibertus</i> and husband, who is a <i>rogator</i> .
44	<i>Ornatric</i> Prima is commemorated on a sepulcher with other freedmen, whose work is also commemorated.
46 (Fig. 2)	<i>Ornatric</i> Pollia Urbana is commemorated with <i>tonsor</i> Marcus Calidius Apolonius. Both worked in the Aemilian region of Rome.
47 (Fig. 3)	<i>Ornatric</i> Nostia Daphne is commemorated with an <i>aurifex</i> Marcus Nerius Quadratus. They are freedpersons of different people, but they both work on the <i>Vicus Longus</i> .

49	Sulpicia Galbilla commemorates her male and female <i>Paedagogi</i> .
51	Aurelia Nais, <i>piscatrix</i> , is commemorated with her patron.
52	Critonia Philema is a <i>popa</i> , commemorated with her freedman husband, a sculptor.
54	<i>Purpuraria</i> Veturia Fedra erects a monument with two other freedmen for their patron and <i>conlibertus</i> . They all worked as <i>purpuraria</i> .
55	<i>Purpuraria</i> Plutia Auge is commemorated with her <i>conlibertus</i> Lucius Plutius Erotus.
57	<i>Sarcinatrix</i> Latinia is commemorated with three men and one woman. The relationships between the commemorated are hard to reconstruct because the inscription is fragmentary.
59	<i>Sarcinatrices</i> of the same patron are commemorated.
60	<i>Sarcinatrix</i> Irena is commemorated with Tychius Marcellus, her patron, a <i>quaestor</i> .
63	Matia Prima, <i>sarcinatrix</i> , is commemorated by her husband.
66	Trebonia Irena and Tribonia Ammia, <i>thurarii</i> ,

	commemorated with five freedman of the same family of patrons.
65	Trebonia Hilara is commemorated with another freedman of the same patron, Sextus Trebonius Trupho, as <i>thurarii</i> .
68	<i>Unguentaria</i> Licinia Primigenia is commemorated by her son.
69	<i>Vestiaria</i> Auillia Philusa is commemorated with freedmen <i>vestiarii</i> of the same patron.
70	Iarine erects an epitaph for her patron, and fellow freedmen, including her freedman husband, who are called <i>vestiarii tenuiarii</i> .

Figures



Fig. 1. Epitaph of the late 1st century BC or early 1st century AD from Corduba, Spain, of the *sarcinatrix* Latinia (Table 1.57, CIL II (2. Aufl.) 07.339; HD003253).

http://www2.uah.es/imagenes_cilii/fotos_cilii/7/CILII7.0339.jpg



Fig. 2. Epitaph from Rome for the *ornatrix* Pollia Urbana (Table 1.46, CIL VI.37811; HD020384). http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=114849

Epigraphic Database Roma

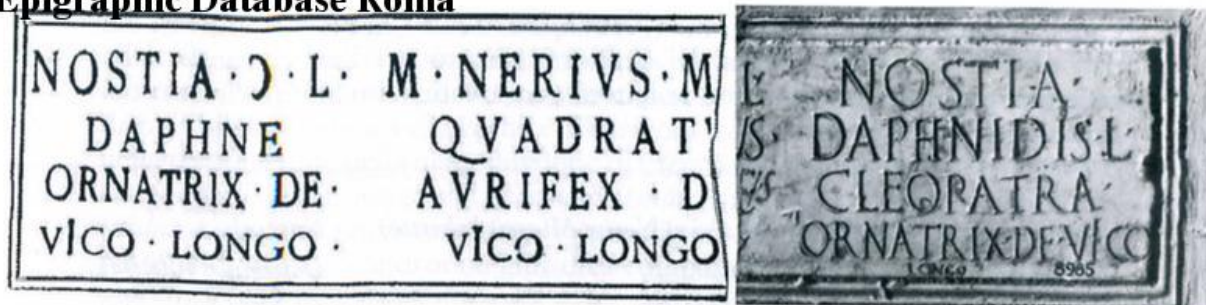


Fig. 3. Reconstruction and photograph of an epitaph in two parts commemorating the *ornatrices* Nostia Daphne and Nostia Cleopatra (Table 1.45 and 1.47, CIL VI.9736, 37469; HD029613).

http://www.edr-edr.it/edr_programmi/view_img.php?id_nr=072354



Fig. 4. Epitaph commemorating the *furnaria* Valeria Euterpe with the *furnarius* Lucius Atilius Hiero from Carthage (Table 1.7, CIL VIII.24678; AE 1896.83; HD023231).

<http://cil.bbaw.de/test06/bilder/datenbank/PH0000344.jpg>

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