

**Bangor University**

## **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

Indigenous women in Gaul, Britannia, Germania and Celtic Hispania, 400 BC – AD 235

Hammersen, Lauren

*Award date:*  
2017

*Awarding institution:*  
Bangor University

[Link to publication](#)

### **General rights**

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the public portal ?

### **Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

Download date: 20. Dec. 2024

**INDIGENOUS WOMEN IN GAUL, BRITANNIA, GERMANIA,  
AND CELTIC HISPANIA, 400 BC – AD 235**

By

**LAUREN ALEXANDRA MICHELLE HAMMERSEN**

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty of  
Bangor University, in fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctorate of  
Philosophy

**HISTORY**

Bangor, Wales

May 1, 2017

## **DEDICATION**

I would like to dedicate this doctoral dissertation to my family and friends, who have supported me tirelessly. Their support and belief in me has kept me on track and helped me complete this work.

I would like to also dedicate this dissertation to the academics who founded and furthered the field of gender studies in antiquity and furthered our understanding of it, including but not limited to, Sarah B. Pomeroy, Miranda Aldhouse-Green, Dorothy Watts, and Lindsay Allason-Jones. This work would not have come to fruition had it not been for their efforts.

## ABSTRACT

HAMMERSEN, LAUREN ALEXANDRA MICHELLE. *Indigenous Women in Gaul, Britannia, Germania, and Celtic Hispania, 400 BC – AD 235*. (Under the direction of Professor Raimund Karl.)

The study of Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women is an area of gender and historical focus that has only recently been addressed by academic scholars – and then only to a limited degree. The fractured understanding of this area of history is, in part, due to a shortage of relevant primary written sources and archaeological material. In part, it is also due to a language barrier, since research into this field has the potential to include more than a dozen modern and ancient European languages, as well as several regional dialects.

This work probed primary historical sources (classical Greek and Roman), secondary sources (analysis by academics in various fields), archaeological, and epigraphic materials to extract pertinent information. An examination of individual women was presented. This was then combined with broader knowledge of peoples in and from these regions to create an understanding of women in Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian cultures during the eight centuries under consideration. Finally, this was compared and contrasted across the various regions.

Research and critical analysis of this material dispelled some long-held generalizations (such as the view that Celtic women routinely participated actively in war) and revealed some little-discussed facts (such as that classical sources indicated that Celtiberian women held the most unusual roles of the women examined). Other aspects of women's lives became clear, including ways in which they were part of trade and industry including, but not limited to, the manufacture of textiles, agriculture, mining, and medicine. This led to a discussion on the concept of identity.

It became clear that Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women during the period of 400 BC– AD 235 occupied both traditional and nontraditional roles, that these were recorded (at least to some degree) in Greek and Roman classical sources, and that much of this can be confirmed from what has been learned from archaeological and epigraphic material.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
DEDICATION	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
DECLARATION AND CONSENT	iv
LIST OF TABLES	xiii
LIST OF APPENDICIES	xiv
LIST OF MAPS	xv
LIST OF FIGURES	xvi
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	xxiii
AUTHOR'S NOTE	xxiv
INTRODUCTION	1
IDENTITY: A MULTIFACETED CONSTRUCT	15
GENDER	16
ROMANIZATION AND HELLENIZATION	17
NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY	17
1. A DISCUSSION OF PRIMARY SOURCES	20
1.1 CLASSICAL WRITTEN SOURCES	21
SURVIING LATIN AND GREEK TEXTS	22
CLASSICAL TEXTS THAT HAVE NOT SURVIVED	22
SOURCES FROM EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN WESTERN	
EUROPE	25
CELTIC, CELTIBERIAN, HISPANO CELTIC AND GERMANIC	
SOURCES	25
1.2 WEIGHING MERITS AND PARDONING OFFENSES: AN	
EXAMINATION OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS	31
ROLE OF THE AUTHOR	31

VIEWS OF CELTIC, GERMANIC, AND CELTIBERIAN WOMEN	34
THE TRUTH REGARDING “CLASSICAL” SOURCES	36
LATIN LINGUISTICS: THE INTENT OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS AND THE ERRORS IN TRANSLATION	48
1.3 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES	49
1.4 CLASSICAL SOURCES AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES COMBINED	54
1.5 EPIGRAPHIC MATERIAL	55
1.6 GENETIC EVIDENCE	55
2. SECONDARY SOURCES AND WOMEN IN ANTIQUITY	62
2.1 BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARIES OF WOMEN	64
2.2 GENERALIZED HISTORIES	65
2.3 CASE STUDIES	66
2.4 STUDIES ON EVERYDAY AND PRIVATE LIFE	67
2.5 STUDIES ON RELIGION	77
2.6 THE ROLE OF IDENTITY AND CULTURE IN HISTORICAL DEBATE	78
3. FEMALE POSITIONS OF POWER AMONG THE CELTS, GERMANS, AND CELTIBERIANS: QUEENS, RULING WOMEN, PRIESTESSES, PROPHETESSES, AND DEACONESSES	82
3.1 CELTIC QUEENS	83
ONOMARIS	83
TEUTA AND TRITEUTA	85
BOUDICA	87
CARTIMANDUA	92
UNKNOWN FEMALE LEADER	98
3.2 GERMANIC QUEENS	104
3.3 CELTIBERIAN QUEENS	105
LUPERIA	105
HIMILCE	107
3.4 CONSIDERATION OF SOURCES	107
3.5 POSITIONS OF POWER IN RELIGION	113

PRIESTESSES	113
DRUIDS AND PROHPETESSES	114
PROPHECY AND WOMEN	115
CULTS AND ORDERS OF PRIESTESSES	117
DEACONESSES	120
4. MARRIAGE AND THE CUSTOMS OF WIVES AND MOTHERS:	
WOMEN IN PRIVATE LIFE	123
4.1 SOURCES OF INFORMATION	123
4.2 BRITAINNIA	124
4.3 GAUL	129
4.5 NORICUM	135
4.6 CELTIBERIA AND HISPANO CELTIC SPAIN	136
ANCIENT POLYGAMY: A POSSIBILITY IN CELTIBERIA'S	
PAST	145
4.7 GERMANIA	146
4.8 VIRGINITY	163
5. PUBLIC LIFE, WOMEN'S INDUSTRY AND TRADE	165
5.1 WOMEN AND THE LEGAL SYSTEM	166
5.2 WOMEN AS PATRONESSES	172
5.3 INDUSTRY AND TRADE	172
5.4 WOMEN IN TRADES	174
5.5 TEXTILE MANUFACTURING	180
5.6 METAL WORKING	183
5.7 WOMEN IN OTHER SETTINGS	184
5.8 WOMEN AS HEALERS	184
5.9 WOMEN AS LABORERS	186
5.10 WOMEN AS SLAVES	190
6. LEARNED WOMEN: EVIDENCE FOR EDUCATED WOMEN IN THE CELTIC	
AND GERMANIC WORLD	196
6.1 THE VINDOLANDA TABLETS	202
6.2 CURSE TABLETS	204

6.3	WOMEN AS TEACHERS	207
7.	WOMEN, RELIGION, AND FUNERARY MONUMENTS	209
7.1	VOTIVES AND SHRINES: PRIESTESSES, PATRONESSES, AND SUPPLICANTS	209
7.2	FUNERARY MONUMENTS AND RITUALS	212
8.	APPEARANCE: WHAT ART, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CLASSICAL SOURCES COMBINE TO ILLUSTRATE	227
8.1	CELTIBERIA AND THE HISPANO CELTS	229
8.2	GAUL	233
8.3	GERMANIA	237
8.4	PANNONIA AND NORICUM	240
8.5	BRITAINNIA	245
8.6	CONQUERED AND CLAIMED: THE ROLE, NATURE, AND EVOLUTION OF CAPTIVE ICONOGRAPHY IN HOW THE ROMAN EMPIRE DISPLAYED ITS ENEMIES AND PROVINCES	250
	CAPTIVE ART	246
	TRIUMPHAL MONUMENTS	250
	PRESENTATIONAL OBJECTS	255
	COINAGE	257
	TRIUMPHS	261
	POLITICAL TO PERSONAL – CAPTIVE ART AND ICONOGRAPHY IN OTHER SETTINGS	261
8.7	CONQUEST ART	268
8.8	ALL-BUT-LOST: HIDDEN DEPTHS TO POLITICAL ART REVEALED THROUGH MODERN TECHNOLOGY	271
8.9	COLOR IN EVERYDAY LIFE	274
8.10	DECORATION AND EMBROIDERY	277
	TABLET WEAVING	278
	SILK EMBROIDERY	279
	GOLD AND SILVER, AND THEIR PLACE IN TEXTILE FINDS	280
	WOOL AND LINEN	280
8.11	TORCS	283



9. GENDER, IDENTITY, AND FUNERAL ARCHAEOLOGY	286
9.1 GENDER THEORY	286
9.2 CITIZENSHIP AND IDENTITY	289
9.3 THE ROLE OF PRIDE, HONOR, AND CLASSICAL VIRTUES IN IDENTITY	290
THE BLAMELESS DEAD	297
9.4 FUNERARY MONUMENTS – WHAT THEY CAN TEACH US ABOUT THE IDENTITY OF THE DEAD	298
9.5 ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE DEAD	311
9.6 ASPECTS OF IDENTITY AND THE ROLE OF GENDER	315
10. CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION	319
10.1 BRITANNIA	321
10.2 GAUL AND NORICUM	323
10.3 GERMANIA	324
10.4 HISPANIA	326
10.5 CROSS-CULTURAL SIMILARITIES	328
10.6 IDENTITY: WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?	330
10.7 THE CHALLENGES OF AVAILABLE SOURCES	334
APPENDICES	
I. CATALOGUE OF NAMED AND UNNAMED CELTIC, GERMANIC, AND CELTIBERIAN WOMEN FROM CLASSICAL SOURCES	337
II. CATALOGUE OF EARLY FEMALE SAINTS AND RELIGIOUS WOMEN OF WESTERN EUROPE	344
III. CANONS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH CONCERNING DEACONESSES IN THE WEST	346
BIBLIOGRAPHY	348
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN BIBLIOGRAPHY	348
PRIMARY SOURCES	348
PRIMARY SOURCES: CHURCH LAW	358

BOOKS AND ARTICLES	359
IMAGES COURTESY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM	390
MAPS	391
COIN IMAGES (IN ORDER OF APPEARANCE IN THE TEXT)	392

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
1. A DISCUSSION OF SOURCES	
Table 1. Haplogroup R1*(xR1a,R1b3f)-M173 is the major haplogroup of the Basques and the British population.	58
4. MARRIAGE AND THE CUSTOMS OF WIVES AND MOTHERS: WOMEN IN PRIVATE LIFE	
Table 2. The development of Celtiberian Culture (according to Lorrio, 2005).	137
5. PUBLIC LIFE, WOMEN'S INDUSTRY AND TRADE	
Table 3. List of items exported from Britain, Gaul, Celtiberia, and Germania.	173
9. IDENTITY IN THEIR OWN WORDS	
Table 4. Roman and Greek Virtues and Their Meanings.	295

## LIST OF APPENDICIES

	Page
I. CATALOGUE OF NAMED AND UNNAMED CELTIC, GERMANIC, AND CELTIBERIAN WOMEN FROM CLASSICAL SOURCES	337
II. CATALOGUE OF EARLY FEMALE SAINTS AND RELIGIOUS WOMEN OF WESTERN EUROPE	344
III. CANONS OF THE EARLY CHRISTIAN CHURCH CONCERNING DEACONESSES IN THE WEST	346

## LIST OF MAPS

	Page
1. INTRODUCTION	
Map 1. Gaul at the time of the Roman conquest.	4
Map 2. Early Roman Gaul (also showing portions of Germania).	5
Map 3. Incursions into the Roman Empire by Germanic and other peoples, ca. 200-475 AD.	6
Map 4. (Left) Major tribes of first century AD Britain.	7
Map 5. (Right) Likely form of the successive reorganization of the provinces of Britannia down to the fourth century AD.	7
Map 6. Germanic tribes in the first century AD.	8
Map 7. Pre-Roman peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.	10
Map 8. Celtic populations in Iberia.  (Map A shows Hispano-Celtic ethnic groups and Celtiberians; Map B shows the basic division between Indo-European and Iberian linguistic areas in the Iberian peninsula, with Late Iron Age-Roman epigraphic evidences for different indigenous languages.)	11
Map 9. The Roman Empire and its enemies in the mid-third century.	13
9. IDENTITY IN THEIR OWN WORDS	
Map 10. Western France: The Late Iron Age.	292
Map 11. Western France: Gallo-Roman Civitates.	293
Map 12. Showing Funerary Monuments Discussed in Chapter 9 and the known tribal affiliations of the deceased.	311

## LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
1. A DISCUSSION OF SOURCES	
Figure 1. Botorrita I bronze plaque.	27
Figure 2. Larzac lead tablet, face 1a.	29
4. MARRIAGE AND THE CUSTOMS OF WIVES AND MOTHERS: WOMEN IN PRIVATE LIFE	
Figure 3. Gaulish woman, Hellenistic representation, 200-101 BC.	132
Figure 4. Ceramic figurine of a Mother Goddess, sitting in a basketwork chair and suckling a baby.	149
Figure 5. Statue of a Barbarian prisoner, Marble, Roman artwork of the period of Trajan or Hadrian (second century AD) with modern restorations.	155
5. PUBLIC LIFE, WOMEN'S INDUSTRY AND TRADE	
Figure 6. Possible husband and wife wine merchants.	175
Figure 7. Possible husband and wife merchants with a scale.	176
Figure 8. Stele depicting a female butcher.	177
Figure 9. Stele depicting a female wine merchant and female owner of a delicatessen.	178
Figure 10. Stele depicting a female wool merchant and her assistant.	179
Figure 11. Woman depositing olives into an amphora.	182
Figure 12. Woman carrying a basket of grapes.	187
Figure 13. Mosaic rustic calendar panel depicting a woman with a blindfolded donkey, threshing grain.	187
Figure 14. Tombstone of Regina, wife of Barates.	192
Figure 15. 'The Girl in Question': stylus writing-tablet from 1 Poultry, London (1:1). (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin).	193

6.	LEARNED WOMEN: EVIDENCE FOR EDUCATED WOMEN IN THE CELTIC AND GERMANIC WORLD	
	Figure 16. Writing-tablet with a letter inviting Sulpicia Lepidina, the commander's wife, to a birthday party. Note the postscript written by a different hand than the main text.	203
	Figure 17. Partial image of curse tablet - Transliterated Celtic.	206
7.	WOMEN, RELIGION, AND FUNERARY MONUMENTS	
	Figure 18. Close-up of the Altar to the <i>Matronae Aufaniae</i> , dedicated by a Quaestor of Köln: Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.	210
	Figure 19. Three mother goddesses from Vertault, Musée de Châtillon-sur-Seine.	211
	Figure 20. <i>Matres</i> relief from Circencester, UK, Corinium Museum.	211
	Figure 21. Family Tombstone from Nickenich AD 60/70, Rhineisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.	213
	Figure 22. Funerary Stele of Blussus and Menimane, first century AD, Mainz, Germany.	215
	Figure 23. Female figure from the cemetery at Autun. The right hand holds a beaker, the left hand a distaff and its spindle.	216
	Figure 24. Close up of the funerary monument of Segillius and Abua Tapponis.	217
	Figure 25. Stele of An(n)ia Buturra, Navarre, Spain.	219
	Figure 26. Umma Tabiconis, AD 80-150.	220
	Figure 27. Segillus and Abua Tapponis, c. AD 100-120.	220
	Figure 28. Tombstone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus.	221
	Figure 29. Funerary Monument of Flavia Usiau c. AD 130.	222
	Figure 30. Drawing of the <i>Certosa</i> Situla showing all of the figures.	225
8.	APPEARANCE: WHAT ART, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND CLASSICAL SOURCES COMBINE TO ILLUSTRATE	
	Figure 31. Auletris, figure from funerary monument, <i>Osuna</i> , third to second century BC. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.	231
	Figure 32. Female statue from the oppidum of Briteiros. After González-Ruibal (2003a).	232
	Figure 33. Cordoba Treasure, c. 100 BC Molino de Marrubial, Córdoba,	

Andalucia, Spain, Courtesy of the British Museum.	233
Figure 34. Close up of a silver statuette of a goddess from the Gallo-Roman Lyon-Vaise Hoard, third century AD.	235
Figure 35. Left: Gundestrup cauldron woman from an exterior panel (first century AD) Right: Female figure on a panel from the Letnitsa Treasure (fourth century BC).	236
Figure 36. Reconstruction of the Thorsberg Mantle.	238
Figure 37. Surviving Fragments of the Thorsberg Mantle.	239
Figure 38. Medallion Portrait of a Woman, AD 100-125.	241
Figure 39. Painted panel from Brunn am Gebirge, (date unknown).	242
Figure 40. Ipswich Torcs, Courtesy of the British Museum.	245
Figure 41. Narmer Palette, 3100 BC.	246
Figure 42. One of the figures on the Mainz Pedestals which stood in front of the Roman fortress headquarters. Here depicting <i>Germania Capta</i> .	248
Figure 43. Column of Marcus Aurelius, Scene XCVII showing both women being dragged off by Roman soldiers and a Roman stabbing a falling barbarian woman.	252
Figure 44. Triumphal Arch at Orange (eastern side) most likely constructed during the reign of Augustus and altered under Tiberius in AD 27.	253
Figure 45. Trophy group from <i>Lugdunum Covenarum</i> , Gauls are represented on the far left and Spaniards on the far right.	254
Figure 46. Germania from the sheath of the Sword of Tiberius.	255
Figure 47. <i>Gemma Augustea</i> .	256
Figure 48. <i>The Great Cameo of France</i> .	256
Figure 49. <i>Capta</i> coins (left to right) Gallia, Germania, and Britannia.	257
Figure 50. Roman imperial coins (left to right): Gallia, Germania, and Britannia.	258
Figure 51. Three coins depicting Hispania (left to right): Roman republican era coin 81 BC, Roman republican era coin 46 BC, imperial coin AD 134.	259
Figure 52. Roman imperial coins (left to right): Hispania, Germania, and Britannia.	260
Figure 53. An alternate style of imperial coin showing the bust of a female personification of a province with weaponry (two spears and a shield)	



- and plants. Both coins were struck under the reign of the Emperor Galba. Gallia (left) and Hispania (right). 260
- Figure 54. Left: Left corner female figure from the Portonaccio sarcophagus.  
Right: Right corner female figure from the Portonaccio sarcophagus. 263
- Figure 55. The Portonaccio Sarcophagus, late second century AD. 264
- Figure 56. Sarcophagus in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, depicting Battle of Romans and Barbarians, second century or third century AD. There is a pair of male and female prisoners at each corner of the sarcophagus. 265
- Figure 57. Sarcophagus in Palermo, Museo Nazionale, depicting Battle of Romans and Barbarians, second century or third century AD. There is a pair of male and female prisoners at each corner of the sarcophagus. 266
- Figure 58. Four sarcophagi panels from the latter half of the second century AD. Top to bottom: 1) Sarcophagus AD 160-170 2) Sarcophagus AD 170 3) Eastern Mediterranean Biographical Sarcophagus AD 170-180 4) Sarcophagus in Florence AD 180. 267
- Figure 59. The Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife. 270
- Figure 60. Later Roman marble copies of figures from the Gaul Monument of Attalus I, originally located at the Acropolis in Athens. 271
- Figure 61. Left, restored Gallia in polychrome, on display at the Glyptothek. Right, Gallia from the cuirass on a statue of Augustus at the villa of Livia in Rome. 272
- Figure 62. Alexander Sarcophagus, fourth century BC, depicting the Battle of Gaza, 312 BC. 274
- Figure 63. Hallstatt; Salt Mines, Iron Age; multiple structures and patterns. 276
- Figure 64. Textile fragment Dürrenberg salt-mine. 277
- Figure 65. Example of Hallstatt tablet weaving fragment. 279
- Figure 66. Right: Peplos-style gown from Huldremose, east Jutland, Denmark Left: Ensemble from Huldremose, east Jutland, Denmark, containing a woolen skirt, skin vest, sheepskin cape, and a woolen scarf. 282
- Figure 67. Bronze figure of a Gaulish woman wearing a torc and bracelets, second century AD. 284

## 9. IDENTITY IN THEIR OWN WORLDS

- Figure 68. Left, funerary monument of Regina, from *Arbeia*.  
Right, funerary monument of [Ba]rates the Palmyrene from  
*Corstopitum*. Possibly husband and wife. 300
- Figure 69. Fragment of a funeral monument to Procula Batava, from Tibiscum. 301
- Figure 70. Funerary monument of Apana, daughter of Ambollus. 303
- Figure 71. Figure Grave Stele of Bella. Circa AD 20. Cologne, Germany. 307
- Figure 72. Left, Funerary monument of Accepta, citizen of the *Mediomatrici*.  
The monument has been restored from the hip up.  
Right, Funerary monument of Accepta's husband Ammonius  
Mogetius. This monument has been partially reconstructed. 309
- Figure 73. Female inhumation from Pit 180. 312

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I wish to express my gratitude to all those who helped me complete my thesis. I would like to thank Professor Raimund Karl for giving me support and guidance in all stages of my dissertation construction over the last several years.

**Author's Note:**

In footnotes, the rare occurrence of “p.” in front of a number (i.e., “p. 142”) refers to a page number found in book and is separate from a primary source identification. In footnotes pertaining to classical sources, the annotation “8.5.19-21” refers to “Book . Chapter . Lines.” Any words in italics, such as “8.37 *Lampsace*” refers to “Book . Chapter/Subsection *Title of Chapter/Subsection.*”

*However, even at this late day, though we have not done so before, let us, my countrymen and friends and kinsmen, - for I consider you all kinsmen, seeing that you inhabit a single island and are called by one common name, - let us, I say, do our duty while we still remember what freedom is, that we may leave to our children not only its appellation but also its reality. For, if we utterly forget the happy state in which we were born and bred, what, pray, will they do reared in bondage.*

~ Speech attributed to Boudica by Dio Cassius

*Epitome of Roman History, Book 62.4.3*

## Introduction

The role of women in Celtic, Hispano Celtic, Celtiberian, and Germanic societies is little known, not only to the general public, but even to many historians. Classical accounts by Greek and Roman writers paid scant attention to the women among their barbarian neighbors, and the accounts which do survive are flawed for many reasons. Modern authors too often settle for reiterations of a few famous passages that make mention of women, with little examination of the material – if they make any mention at all of women in these societies. Notwithstanding the growing body of material on women in Roman, Greek, Etruscan, and Egyptian societies during classical times and Late Antiquity, there are virtually no scholarly works focused on women in Celtic or Germanic societies during the same period, and those few that do exist focus on specific individuals, such as Boudica and Cartimandua, or specific regions, such as Gaul or Roman Britain. There are few modern scholarly studies (and fewer still in English) of women in these societies – their roles as leaders, in public and private life, in industry, trade and religion (pagan and Christian), in acquiring knowledge, or even in addressing how they looked and what they wore. This study is an attempt to fill that gap by examining the role of women in Celtic and Germanic societies in western Europe during the period from 400 BC to AD 235.

For much of written history, especially in classical societies, women have been relegated to being faceless figures, names without meaning, or funerary monuments without important cultural context. The goal of this work is to answer some fundamental questions that the academic community has not yet addressed. Who were the women of the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians? How did women identify themselves, and how did their societies identify them? What did their lives entail? What roles could they hold, and how did they fulfill those roles? How can primary sources and archaeological material inform our understanding of these women?

Most women in Celtic and Germanic societies lived quiet lives devoted to their families or faiths and were rarely mentioned in period texts. Few rose to a position of such prominence that it would have attracted the attention of classical authors, and when they did, they are often faceless groups of “women” or “wives.” Thus, it is not surprising that these sources make far more frequent reference to men than to women. However, the actual amount of primary material from which some knowledge about women’s roles in these societies can be gleaned is significantly larger than generally realized. Virtually everyone,

layman or professional historian, knows of Boudica or Cartimandua – but classical and early Christian sources provide the names of more than seventy other Celtic, Hispano Celtic, Celtiberian, or Germanic women (and hundreds of additional names survive on physical artifacts, such as funerary monuments and curse tablets). Most classical accounts that mention women or archaeological finds that identify a woman do so in the specific context of a particular tribe or region or location – but this is also true of the men of these societies. While the overall amount of available primary source information about these women is far smaller than that available about their fathers, husbands, brothers, or sons, there is enough to make it possible to weave a tapestry far more detailed and vibrant than has been done so far.

The original concept for this work was to examine women's role (or lack thereof) in trade, both prior to and after contact with the Roman Empire. To say it has expanded beyond this original focus is an understatement; that topic is now just a portion of Chapter 5. In the course of my research, it became clear that there was far more information scattered through primary source texts on Celtic and Germanic women than had ever been mentioned in the course of my education, research, and study of academic literature concerning ancient history. My focus evolved from one narrow aspect of the lives of women to a broader study of women in those societies in general. It was unintended and unexpected; however, the material deserved the academic attention that had, so far, been missing. This is an historical study based on classical sources, augmented by archaeological material, including human remains, epigraphy, art, and other archaeological finds – rather than an archaeological study augmented by historical sources.

My study explores the role of women in Celtic, Hispano Celtic, Celtiberian, and Germanic societies during the period from 400 BC to AD 235. That simple statement is loaded with academic debate and needs elaboration. Words like *Celt* – as an identifier of ancient people – have become heavily debated terms. The debate ranges from it being unfitting as the name of an ancient people, as they did not use that term to identify themselves,<sup>1</sup> to political social identity inferred on the past.<sup>2</sup> While this debate, and the major

---

<sup>1</sup> This debate was put forward by academics such as Barry Cunliffe, John Collis, and Simon James. Barry Cunliffe, *The Celts: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); John Collis, "Los Celtas en Europa," *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa*, eds. Martín Almagro-Gorbea and Gonzalo Ruiz Zapagtero, *Actas de El Escorial 4* (Madrid: Actas, 1993), 63-76; John Collis, *The Celts: Origins, Myths & Inventions* (Port Stroud, UK: Tempus Publishing, Ltd., 2003); Simon James, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* (Avalon, UK: The Bath Press, 1999). See also Kristian Kristiansen, *Europe Before History* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 342-343.

<sup>2</sup> For example: James, *The Atlantic Celts*, 19.

historians and archaeologist who participate in it, will be addressed in Chapter 2, I am going to provide my own definitions and explanations below regarding supra-ethnic identities.

During the period covered in this study, *Celts* were a group of people defined geographically by common linguistics,<sup>3</sup> specific styles of art,<sup>4</sup> and references found in classical sources.<sup>5</sup> The term *Celt* is used as a broad term that can be applied to multiple groups of people over an extended period of time. Throughout this study, the focus becomes more narrowed, moving from the generic term *Celt* to the inhabitants of different regions, such as Britain, and even down to the tribal level, such as the Iceni. For the purposes of this study, and based mainly on the use of the term from classical sources, Celt or Celtic refers to the inhabitants of modern France (ancient Gaul); the Benelux (ancient Germania Inferior); western Switzerland, Alsace and southwest Germany (ancient Germania Superior); portions of Austria (ancient Noricum); England, Wales, Cornwall and Scotland (ancient Britannia); and a region of modern day Anatolia (ancient Galatia). (Galatian Celts are not focused on in this work, but they are addressed in passing and in terms of conquest art, as they are supposed to be migrants from Gaul.) As the focus of this work is on western Europe, that is the area being addressed in this definition. During the period covered in this study, the *Celts* were scattered across other portions of western and central Europe not addressed here (including the regions known in ancient times as Dacia, Pannonia, and Germania). Borders cannot be precisely fixed, as they were fluid and changed over time.

If we start to look at maps of these regions, we quickly realize that there were numerous tribes across western Europe, and that, over time, people moved and relocated. Our maps are amalgamations of historic artifacts that tell us about locations, as well as historical accounts. Very few ancient maps survived into modern times, and some of the historic geographers and authors, upon whose accounts modern maps are based, focused on areas they never visited.

Gaul at the time of the invasion of Caesar, for instance, did not look like Gaul during the crisis of the mid-third century, because, by this point, Gaul had been a province for more than two hundred years. The conquest of western Europe by the Romans, beginning during

---

<sup>3</sup> Bernhard Maier, "Celts," *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, trans. Cyril Edwards (Suffolk, UK: The Boydell Press, 1997), 67-68; Maier, "languages, Celtic," *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, 165.

<sup>4</sup> Maier, "Celts," *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, 67-68; Maier, "La Tène," *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, 166.

<sup>5</sup> Maier, "Celts," *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, 67-68; Maier, "Celts, depictions of," *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*, 68.

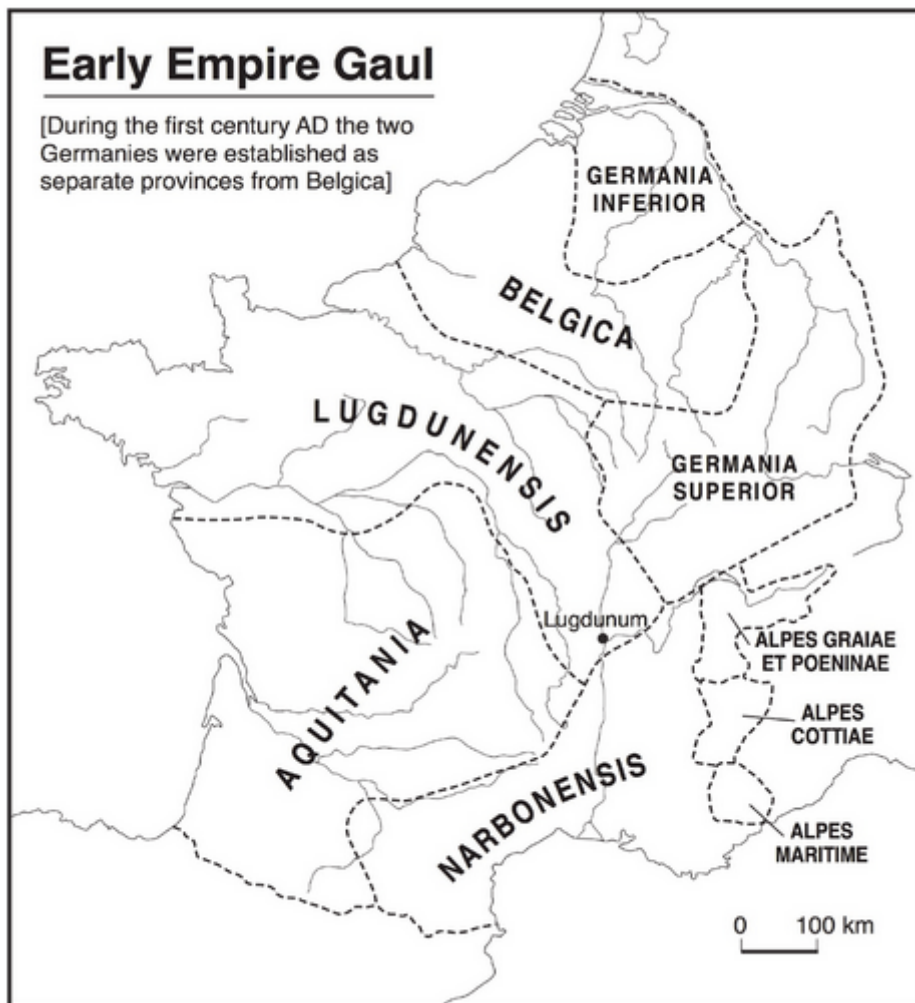


the Republic and extending into the period of Roman Empire, had a massive impact on the cultural landscape. By examining maps of populations and cities before and after Roman occupation, this difference becomes clear.



Map 1. Gaul at the time of the Roman conquest.

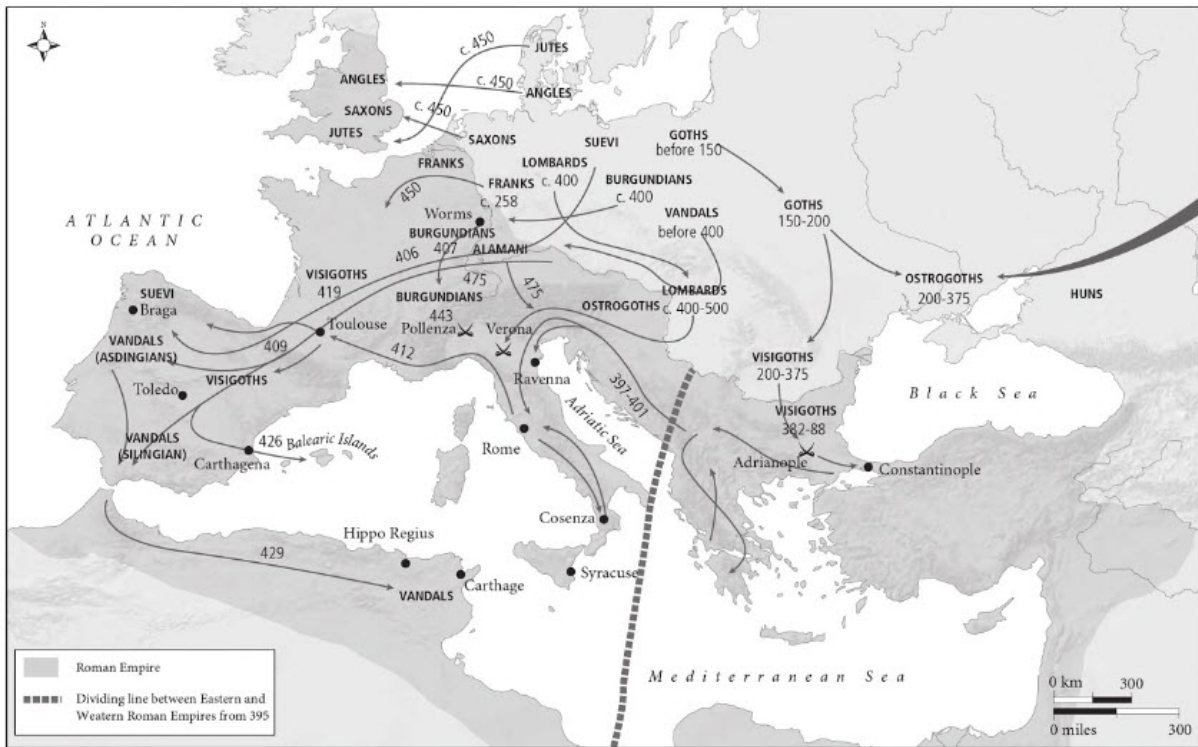
Source: Xavier de Planhol and Paul Claval. *An historical geography of France*. trans. Janet Lloyd, (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), Figure 3.



**Map 2. Early Roman Gaul (also showing portions of Germania).**

*Source:* James Bromwich. *The Roman remains of Brittany, Normandy and the Loire Valley: a guide book.* (Peterborough, England : Lucina Books, 2014), 21.

By examining maps of different regions and varying centuries, one thing becomes very clear – the map of Europe never stopped changing, as we can see in Map 3. Even though it goes well beyond the end date of AD 235, and shows an area greater than Roman Gaul, it most importantly illustrates that while some people stayed in their ‘ancestral homes,’ others continued to move throughout the centuries. The later centuries of the Roman Empire frequently involved dealing with the movement of peoples, many of whom were seen as a threat, such as the Goths, the Vandals, and the Huns.



**Map 3. Incursions into the Roman Empire by Germanic and other peoples, ca. 200-475 AD.**

Source: Wayne E. Lee. *Waging War: Conflict, Culture, and Innovation in World History*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), Map 5.1

In maps reconstructing Britain / Britannia, the island starts as a series of predominant tribes and slowly evolves into a compartmented Roman province.



Map 4. (Left) Major tribes of first century AD Britain.



Map 5. (Right) Likely form of the successive reorganization of the provinces of Britannia down to the fourth century AD.

Source: Peter Salway. *A History of Roman Britain*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 36, 230.

*Germans*, during the period covered in this study, were a group of people that occupied a large region of north central Europe, generally to the north and east of the *Celts*. As with the *Celts*, they are defined by common linguistics (though Celtic and Germanic languages are all a part of the Indo-European language group)<sup>6</sup> and descriptions found in classical sources.<sup>7</sup> The term *Germans* or *Germanic* in this work is applied to the peoples who lived in modern Denmark, the Netherlands east of the Rhine, Germany and portions of Central Europe

<sup>6</sup> Malcom Todd, *The Early Germans*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 11-14. Germanic language study was complex, and historical authors such as Suetonius noted the difference in Celtic and Germanic languages. Mario Pei, *The Story of Language*. (Philadelphia: J.P. Lippencott Co., 1949), 26-28. Frederick Bodmer, *The Loom of Language*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1972), 186-188. Nicholas Ostler, *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World*. (New York: Harper, 2005), 272-278, 281-295, 304-309.

<sup>7</sup> Including Suetonius, Diodorus Siculus, and Tacitus.

(ancient Magna Germania), as well as portions of modern Austria and Switzerland (ancient Raetia and Noricum).

Our primary source of information on Germany and its inhabitants in the first century is the Roman author Tacitus who, along with his works, will be discussed extensively in later chapters. If we look at Germany in this period, we see numerous tribes that later moved and occupied other regions of western Europe, including the Goths, the Burgundians, and the Lombards.



**Map 6. Germanic tribes in the first century AD.**

*Source:* Patrick Karl O'Brien. *Atlas of world history.* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007) 56.

*Hispano Celts* and *Celtiberians* are largely defined by art, language, and classical sources.<sup>8</sup> Celtiberians comprise a specific group of tribes that occupied the mountainous region in the central northeastern part of the Iberian Peninsula. Hispano Celts included those Celtic inhabitants of Spain and Portugal who were not Celtiberians. Unfortunately, even in classical times, authors were not entirely sure of the boundaries of *Celtiberia* and areas of occupation by other ethnic groups. Today, it is easiest to place *Celtiberia* in central northeastern Spain and *Hispano Celts* in northern Spain and a small portion Portugal. Territorial boundaries were flexible, rather than fixed. Modern scholars are not even sure if some of the tribes the Romans discussed were Celtic. They shifted over time as people migrated.

Unlike central Europe – with its transition from the early Iron Age Hallstatt to the late Iron Age La Tène culture – the Celtic population in the Iberian Peninsula seems to have roots stretching back into the Bronze Age. As more people migrated into Iberia, the cultures in the peninsula evolved into a unique cultural tradition. The Celtic material culture that emerged in Iberia appears different from the Celtic material culture found in other parts of Europe and is less distinguishable or solidly identifiable as La Tène.<sup>9</sup>

What is actually known about the Iberian Peninsula in the pre-Roman period is that it was multicultural, with Iberians, Phoenicians, Celts, and amalgamations of these groups coexisting in different regions (see Map 7).

---

<sup>8</sup> Alberto J. Lorrio. “The Celtic Peoples,” in *Iberia: protohistory of the Far West of Europe: from neolithic to Roman conquest*, ed. International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014), 217-250. Classical authors include authors such as Strabo, Appian, and Sallust.

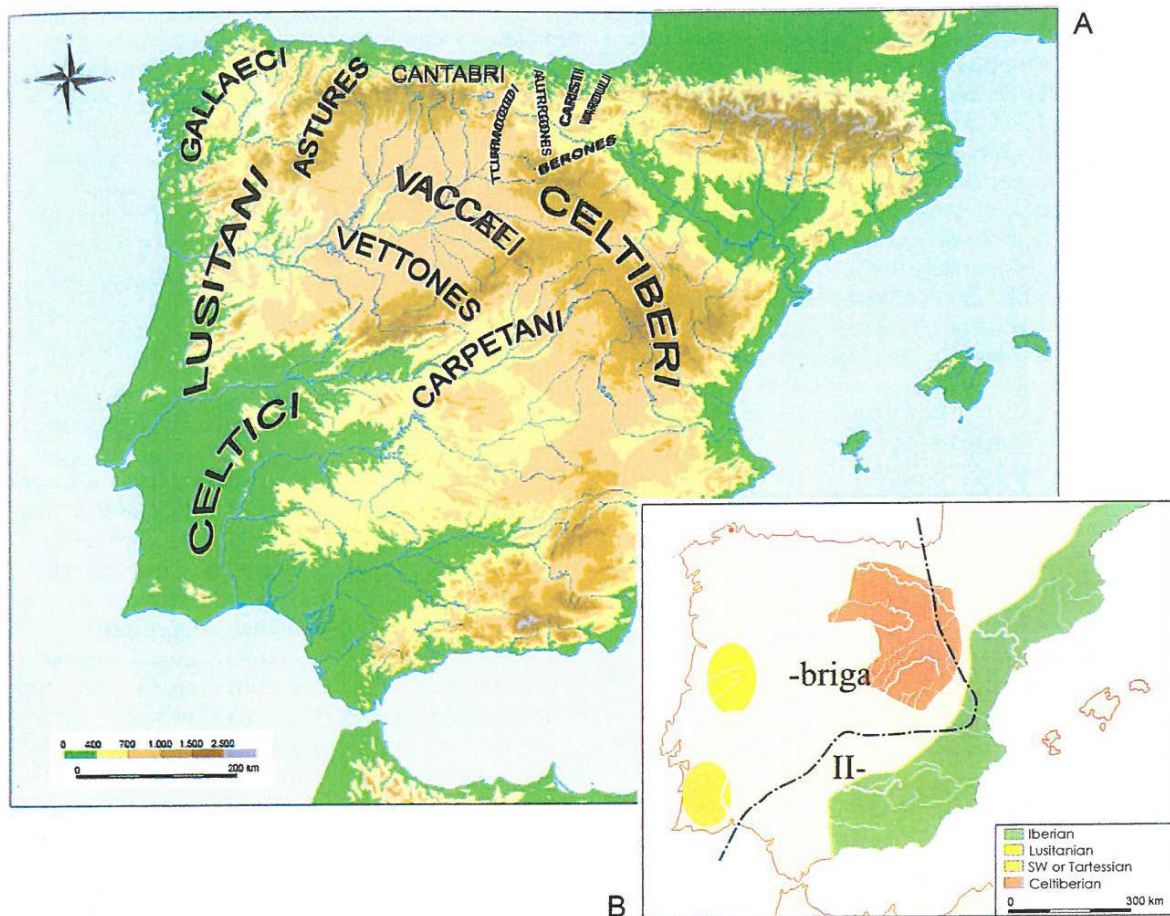
<sup>9</sup> Lorrio. “The Celtic Peoples.” *Iberia: protohistory of the Far West of Europe*, 218-220.



**Map 7. Pre-Roman peoples of the Iberian Peninsula.**

Source: Martin Almagro-Gorbea. "Mediterranean Iberia: The Iberian Peoples," in *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From neolithic to Roman conquest*, ed. International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014), 285.

This study is specifically interested in the Celtic populations of this region. Hispano Celts, Celtic migrants, and Celtiberians were concentrated in the northern and central portions of the peninsula (see Map 8).



Map 8. Celtic populations in Iberia.

(Map A shows Hispano-Celtic ethnic groups and Celtiberians; Map B shows the basic division between Indo-European and Iberian linguistic areas in the Iberian Peninsula, with Late Iron Age-Roman epigraphic evidences for different indigenous languages.)

Source: Alberto J. Lorrio. "The Celtic Peoples," in *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From neolithic to Roman conquest*, ed. International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014), 219.

The knowledge we have about these populations is well rounded and yet very fragmentary. Ironically, our only Celtic language without a doubt in Iberia is Celtiberian, and yet the term Celtiberian is largely used by original classical authors to describe what they encountered as foreigners, not what local inhabitants were talking about.<sup>10</sup> The boundaries of migratory Celtic cultures in the Iberian Peninsula and the Celtiberian culture are incredibly difficult to determine. With both groups of people occupying the same region, the difference between cultural influence and regional traditions becomes too vague to distinguish.

<sup>10</sup>Lorrio. "The Celtic Peoples," in *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe*, 220.



If we start looking at other Celtic peoples in the region (or ones that seem to be Celtic in some way) the picture becomes still more confusing. Lusitanians are a people along the western edge of Hispano Celtic Iberia. There is some debate over their cultural and linguistic origins. This debate includes the assertion that Lusitanian is an archaic Celtic language, or that Celtic and Lusitanian are two Indo-European sister languages. There seems to have been a Lusitanian Bronze Age culture that was impacted by Celtic and Celtiberian culture as it spread across Iberia. By the time they fall into the time period of this paper, the Lusitanians have Celtic associations.<sup>11</sup>

These terms – *Celt*, *German*, *Hispano Celt*, and *Celtiberian* – do not just refer to tribes and regions, but to people. Over time and with the expansion of the Roman Empire, people moved – both as the result of migrations and due to being forcibly relocated as slaves. Those individuals who stand out as historical figures represent both members of their native communities and those living as foreigners in other lands.

The six and a half centuries from 400 BC to AD 235 constitute an extensive period of time, especially when it is applied to most of western Europe. The fifth century BC was selected as a starting point for a number of reasons. First, the unique La Tène style of art for which the Iron Age Celts are famous begins roughly in the fifth century BC.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, classical sources that discuss the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians do not really emerge until roughly the fifth century BC – starting with authors such as Herodotus and Hecataeus of Miletus.<sup>13</sup> By starting with the earliest classical sources and moving forward through time, not only can the attitude of the classical scholars towards the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians be observed, but they can be seen well before the cultural influence of the Romans. Examining the period from the fifth century BC into the mid-third century AD allows one to trace how Europe changed as Rome expanded, first under the Republic and then the Empire (as well as the Carthaginians in Spain) and observe the changes brought about as people migrated, both east and west, as well as the beginning of a rise in monotheistic Christianity. By examining this broad swath of time, it is possible to glimpse the role of women in all

---

<sup>11</sup> Martín Almagro-Gorbea, “The Lusitanians,” in *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From neolithic to Roman conquest*, ed. International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Burgos : Universidad de Burgos : Fundación Atapuerca, 2014), 189-190

<sup>12</sup> La Tène appears in the fifth century BC for continental Europe and largely the fourth century BC for Britain. Ruth and Vincent Megaw, *Early Celtic Art in Britain and Ireland*, Shire Archaeology Series 38 (Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire Publications Ltd., 2005), 7, 15.

<sup>13</sup> These authors made minor references that often referred to places, rather than note aspects of culture.

aspects of life in those cultures. AD 235 is a slightly arbitrary termination point, and it is a flexible date. Some of the women in this study were already adults and recorded figures by that time. AD 235 was chosen because the crisis of the mid-third century, during which shifts in Imperial power, crises in the provinces, decline in the Roman economy, debasement of currency, raiding on the frontier, plague, and a change of power between East and West occurred.<sup>14</sup> In order to get a better idea of the threat the Roman Empire was facing during the crisis of the mid-third century, it helps to look at a map of their enemies. This external threat was compounded by problems within the Empire.



**Map 9. The Roman Empire and its enemies in the mid-third century.**

Source: Charles Matson Odahl. *Constantine and the Christian Empire*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Abingdon, NY: Routledge, 2010), Map 1.

To examine all of these people and this great expanse of time, this study follows a plan to deconstruct a world and build up a new picture based on what can be discovered about women. This is done in nine chapters. The first is an analysis of primary sources

<sup>14</sup> Charles Matson Odahl. "Chapter III The Imperial Crisis and the Illyrian Emperors." *Constantine and the Christian Empire*. 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Abingdon, NY: Routledge, 2010) 15-41.

and archaeological materials to summarize what exists and the problems modern scholars face regarding these sources. The next chapter examines secondary source material and the evolution of the study of gender in classical history, and addresses its advantages and problems. How the academic community has chosen to see women and document their role in the past provides a useful insight regarding previous and current biases towards history and highlights changes in our own society – which is just as useful as understanding the biases that exist in the primary sources from which modern scholars draw. A specific discussion of the role of women in these societies, the main focus of the work, makes up chapters three through five. Chapter 3 addresses the role of women in power, such as queens, regents, and war-leaders, as well as positions of power in religion, such as priestesses and early Christian leaders. The day-to-day lives of women are broken up into two categories: private life, including marriage, motherhood, and traditions (Chapter 4) and public life, including industry and trade (Chapter 5). Chapter 6 examines the role of the learned women and the literary and archaeological evidence for those women. Chapter 7 looks at the importance of archaeological and epigraphical evidence – such as votive offerings, art, and funerary monuments – to understanding women in the period of this study. Chapter 8 examines what can be visualized about women in the past using art, archaeology, and classical accounts as primary source material. Understanding how people were portrayed in their own lifetimes and cultures, as well as by their neighboring cultures, can inform us about cultural perception. Chapter 9 explores how the identities of Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women might be reconstructed through the use of additional layers of information in classical sources, gender studies and gender theory, and archaeological finds. In the course of my work, well-known historical figures – such as Boudica, Cartimandua, and Thusnelda – are discussed. In addition, those classical sources provided the names of many more women from Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian backgrounds than I had ever imagined and, while I could never catalogue all of the names of women that appear on funerary monuments and inscriptions throughout western Europe, it was possible to catalogue those women named in classical sources. Appendix I is a listing of all of the named and unnamed women, by region and tribe, discovered in the course of this research.<sup>15</sup> In addition to the more than seventy women known in primary classical sources, it was also possible to examine and list early female Christian saints and holy women in the same regions up through the third century AD.

---

<sup>15</sup> Not included in this catalogue are the names of women from funerary monuments, curse tablets, or other epigraphic inscriptions. The only exceptions to this were Julia Pacata (due to her connection to classical sources), the women named in the Larzac inscription, and the (possible) prophetess Walburg.

Most know about saints and their historical status, but do not stop to think about the information they can provide to historians. At the same time, saints pose a challenge to researchers; some never existed and some were not local to the areas with which they are commonly associated. Appendix II lists early European female saints derived from careful examination of every female saint of the period AD 1 to 235 contained in various dictionaries of saints.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Identity: a multifaceted construct***

Toward the end of my research on this topic, the question was asked, ‘had I been able to determine what it meant to *be* a woman in the past?’ Could research really determine how the ethnic identity of women was constructed two millennia ago? What would constitute the ethnic identity of a tribe or a supra-ethnic identity (such as Celt or German or Hispano Celt or Celtiberian), and how would it have been viewed from the cultural point of view of the Romans or Greeks? How might contact with the Romans and Greeks change a woman’s ethnic identity? Had modern historians even looked at the identity of these women?

Identity, in the most literally sense, is who a person is (e.g., their name). As will be show, this concept of identity existed in the Greek and Roman world and has continued for thousands of years. A more modern approach to identity is found in a broader and more multilayered definition which states that identity is what makes a person different from others by means of qualities and beliefs.<sup>17</sup> Social and cultural anthropology, both relatively modern fields, expanded that definition in the twentieth century, noting that identity exists as a combination of traits which separate us as individuals or as groups, both in how we relate to and how we differ from each other. This has an anthropological impact, as it can create both individual and collective identities, such as family, nation, and ethnicity.<sup>18</sup>

Is it possible to use the modern definition to determine someone’s identity and ethnicity in the classical or Celtic world? Such an undertaking would require a multifaceted

---

<sup>16</sup> David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), was the main source, though dozens of sources on the lives of saints were consulted in an attempt to build the most complete record of saints who could be Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* provided the most comprehensive list of these individuals, which was why it was selected as the main source for Appendix II.

<sup>17</sup> “Identity,” Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity> [Accessed April 2014].

<sup>18</sup> Mike Morris, *Concise Dictionary of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 127.

construct. We have to attempt to examine people by everything that surrounded them including, but by no means limited to, culture, language, tribe, kinship group, patron and client relations, social ranking, marriage status, and religion. There are sub-levels when we divide by gender. When dealing with women, specific facets emerge, including social linkages such as unmarried daughter, marriageable maiden, wife, mother, and widow. Cultural status also has to be considered, both from the cultural point of view of the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians, and from the outsider's viewpoint of the Romans, Greeks, or Carthaginians (the source of much of our information about these peoples): slave, freedwoman, or citizen; high or low born; at home or working in a specific occupation; being an arbiter; or fighting in battle. Religion is also a concern: pagan, Christian, priestess, prophetess, or ascetic? Observable, feature-based identities could have revolved around someone's job or occupation: medic, midwife, weaver, bone-worker, farmer, blacksmith, or seer (to list a few known occupations of women). Linguistic-based identities were also observable: women who spoke only the dialect of their tribe, women who could speak some foreign language (such as the arbiters mentioned by Plutarch), or a woman like the Claudia from Britain (made famous by Martial) who was fluent in Latin and Greek. How can their identities be recreated? How do we see what the people around them saw? How did they see themselves? This task is complex; in fact it goes so far as to make Indra's Net seem an apt metaphor.<sup>19</sup> In an attempt to find clarity on the concept of identity in the ancient world, multiple facets have been addressed in this work.

## Gender

The study of gender as a topic, within the historical and archaeological community, has been a growing trend for decades. What is gender? The dictionary defines gender as: "either the male or female division of a species, especially as differentiated by social and cultural roles and behavior."<sup>20</sup> If we go a bit deeper in to the etymology of the word, its origins are in the middle ages. From old French circa 1300:

"kind, species; character; gender" (12c., Modern French *genre*), from stem of Latin *genus* (genitive *generis*) "race, stock, family; kind, rank, order; species," also "(male or female) sex,"... The "male-or-female sex" sense is attested in English from early 15c. As *sex* (n.) took on erotic qualities in 20c., *gender* came to be the usual English

---

<sup>19</sup> A Hindu metaphor in which a net of the Vedic deity, Indra, shows the interconnectedness of the universe – at each vertex of the net is a multifaceted jewel, and each jewel reflects all of the others.

<sup>20</sup> "Gender." Dictionary.com. *The American Heritage® New Dictionary of Cultural Literacy, Third Edition*. (Houghton Mifflin Company, 2005). <http://www.dictionary.com/browse/gender> [Accessed: May 2017].

word for "sex of a human being," in which use it was at first regarded as colloquial or humorous. Later often in feminist writing with reference to social attributes as much as biological qualities; this sense first attested 1963.<sup>21</sup>

It was not until the 1960s that the term gender, for the first time, took on the connotations academic research is giving it today.

Throughout this research, the word gender will be used to look at the biological sex of individuals, as well as the social attributes and functions societies have given to people identified in gender as female (whether or not this pertains to their biological sex). How gender theory has changed in academia and how its impact on historical analysis and interpretation will also be examined. The concept of gender as it relates to Celtic, Germanic, Celtiberian and Hispano Celtic societies will be addressed in Chapter 9.

### **Romanization and Hellenization**

When discussing the impact of the Greek and Roman world on western Europe, it is incredibly tempting to use the term Romanization, Romanized, Hellenized, and Hellenization. The reader instantly knows you are talking about the Romans or Greeks having an impact on another environment and that you have the force of another culture or government in a different region. To not use these words is extremely difficult, because these words come with assumptions and ongoing academic debate, which will be addressed in future chapters. There is an intrinsic connection to these words. For instance, that regions taken into Roman control either during the Republic or Empire would have resisted acculturation, the might of Rome against whoever they are interested in controlling. This, however, may not be the case at all. People may have moved away, or adapted, or even sought out opportunities with the Greeks and Romans. One must keep this in mind whether the issue is a description, a process, or a result in order to have such words remain useful.

### **New developments in history and archaeology**

Even as this project is being completed, new developments in history, archaeology, genetics, epigraphy, and other fields are ongoing. These projects are designed to look at people and their movements in relation to their environments. *Die Macht der Toga: Dress Code im römischen Weltreich* is a wonderful multi-person project looking at strontium isotope

---

<sup>21</sup> "Gender," Douglas Harper. *Online Etymological Dictionary*. (2007-2017). <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=gender> [Accessed: May 2017].

analysis, epigraphy, archaeology, and iconography in the Roman world.<sup>22</sup> Research into trade and textiles across the Roman world is being discussed at conferences and some of it is being published, such as *Production and trade of textiles and dyes in the Roman Empire and neighbouring regions: Actas del IV Symposium Internacional sobre Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en el mundo antiguo (Valencia, 5 al 6 de noviembre, 2010)*.<sup>23</sup> Archaeological interpretation of cemeteries continues to teach us about communities in a way we do not see in primary classical sources. A new book by Rebecca Redfern is coming out later this year, *Injury and trauma in bioarchaeology: Interpreting violence in past lives*.<sup>24</sup> Women across the ancient world are increasingly becoming the focus of more and more papers and projects, as seen in *Women in antiquity: Real women across the ancient world*.<sup>25</sup> New research is also being produced at the graduate level and coming out of archaeological digs, though that material is harder to access than major academic publications in the forms of books and journals. All of these will be discussed in Chapter 2.

\* \* \* \* \*

It is impossible to gain an understanding of any region of the ancient world if one ignores half the population. Yet that is the situation facing readers of most of the histories that have been written about the Celtic, Hispano Celtic, Celtiberian, and Germanic people who lived during the period between 400 BC and AD 235. Little has been written about the women who made up half of those societies.

This topic – these individuals and geographic regions – was chosen because there are gaps in the academic work that have yet to be filled. Some have tried to address specific areas of this topic, including dedicated academics such as Dorothy Watts, Miranda Aldhouse-Green, and Lindsay Allason-Jones. In the course of writing this study, I began to see the subject of women’s history as a weaving – a tapestry of figures starting from the earliest periods and moving forward through time, telling a story as it goes. This tapestry is endless,

---

<sup>22</sup> Michael Tellenbach, ed. *Die Macht der Toga : DressCode im römischen Weltreich*. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013).

<sup>23</sup> Carmen Alfaró Giner, Michael Tellenbach, and Jónatan Ortiz García. *Production and trade of textiles and dyes in the Roman Empire and neighbouring regions: Actas del IV Symposium Internacional sobre Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en el mundo antiguo (Valencia, 5 al 6 de noviembre, 2010)*. (Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2014.)

<sup>24</sup> Rebecca C. Redfern. *Injury and Trauma in Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Violence in Past Lives*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

<sup>25</sup> Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh Turfa, eds. *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*. (New York: Routledge, 2016.)

and I am only examining a portion of this great work. This weaving, while full of detail, beauty, and character, has come down to us in damaged condition. Some threads are broken, it has been singed in several places, and more than once the moths have gotten at it. Threads have been rewoven and patches have been sewn on, some with great skill and some, I am sorry to say, that are laughable attempts. Many hands made this cloth over time; some were women, but most were men. A rare few individuals lived the stories; many more simply conveyed them. Historians must not only figure out who the weavers were, but also what each person wanted to convey because of their motivations. It would be presumptuous to suggest that I have managed to patch and reweave all the holes in this cloth, but I hope in some small measure to have started that process – stopping fraying threads, sewing new-found pieces in, and trying my hand at mending – and that other historians and archaeologists, through future work, will help the historical community find ways to further fill in what has been lost for so long and, in so doing, hopefully provide a connection to those who are long dead and forgotten by most of the world.

With definitions and a timeframe firmly in hand, it is possible to begin building this tapestry thread by thread, creating the best weaving possible, all the while realizing that there will inevitably be gaps. Starting with a warp and weft built on analysis of primary and secondary literature, epigraphy, genetic evidence, and archaeology, combined with good research and analysis, what emerges is a clearer answer to the questions that are the focus of this study: who were these women, how did they identify themselves, how were they identified by others both inside and outside their societies, what did their lives entail, and what roles did they fulfill?



## Chapter 1: A Discussion of Primary Sources

This chapter provides an overview of the surviving classical texts, archaeological sources, epigraphic material, and genetic evidence used in this study. When dealing with sources that span a period from the fifth century BC to the mid-third century AD, most of the surviving written sources and archaeological discoveries will be seen to be in concert with each other, but some will be in conflict.<sup>26</sup> With few exceptions, classical authors seldom based their writings of Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians on first-hand, personal observations. Nonetheless, numerous authors were often writing about events that were contemporaneous or near contemporaneous to when they lived, thereby giving voice to the past and conveying the identity, role in society, and gender of an individual within a social context. But it must be kept in mind that all the surviving accounts, which were written by Greek and Roman authors rather than by the Celts, Celtiberians, Hispano Celts, or Germans themselves, present the views of the Romans or the Greeks, based on their own social context and cultural norms. As such, they consistently emphasize what is *different* in the Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic, and Germanic culture – and ignore or minimize what might be similar. Epigraphy, on the other hand, can more accurately convey the identity, role in society, and gender of an individual within the context of their own social context. Epigraphy – particularly from Romanized areas – also provides a window on how contact with the Romans and Greeks changed a woman’s ethnic identity. Taken together, classical texts and epigraphy can begin to lay the groundwork for understanding how the identity of these women was understood – both within their own society and by the Romans and Greeks. Likewise, it is important to consider both classical texts and archaeological finds in tandem for several reasons. Since surviving texts by Greek and Roman authors that mention Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic or Celtiberian women were seldom based on the author’s first-hand, personal observations, it is important to compare what was written to the archaeological record. Such comparisons of classical sources with archaeological finds allow us to judge the plausibility of the written descriptions of women. If it can be confirmed that the depiction of women’s attire or jewelry in a source matches what is found in the archaeological record, then that source’s description of other observable aspects related to women (which cannot necessarily be depicted in an archaeological context) may also be accurate. However, the archaeological record can neither confirm nor disprove such things as

---

<sup>26</sup> As an example, conflicting accounts occur regarding the siege of Numantia, discussed in Chapter 4.

marriage customs or women's roles in society. At the same time, archaeological finds can often be more accurately interpreted when set in the context of historical texts. It is also true that, in some circumstances, archaeological finds can refute or at least cast doubt on the accuracy of historical sources.

### *Classical Written Sources*

The relatively few surviving classical Greek and Roman sources which include descriptions of the women north and west of the boundaries of their ancient empires tend to make distinctions between the Celts of Gaul, Celts in Iberia, and Britons (all of whom are considered under the general category of "Celtic" today<sup>27</sup>) and the various Germanic tribes. Extant sources only infrequently identify Celtic or Germanic women by name<sup>28</sup> – though several unnamed women are described as being of noble birth.<sup>29</sup> More often, the sources made reference to the material, style, and color of women's garments, their ornamentation and jewelry, marriage customs, and the role of women in their society.<sup>30</sup> In other cases, the physical appearance of women was described.<sup>31</sup> There are also references to the punishment imposed (on women as well as men) for various crimes.<sup>32</sup>

Andreas Hofeneder, in his multi-volume and multi-article project on Celtic religion, provides admonitions and cautions which bear on our consideration of what we can know about women in these societies. With regard to what he calls "ancient literary testimonies" by the Greeks and Romans, Hofeneder cautions that many "ancient writers were describing the Celts ... from a hostile and malevolent point of view," and therefore "are often

---

<sup>27</sup> Celt as defined in the introduction.

<sup>28</sup> See references in Chapter 3 to specific women who are named, all of whom are noted in classical sources as being of high birth.

<sup>29</sup> For example, the Celtiberian woman described by Livy. Livy, *History of Rome*, trans. Frank Gardner Moore (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926), vol. 4, 26.50; references to other women can be found in Chapter 4.

<sup>30</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. C. H. Oldfather, vol. 2 (containing Books 2.35-4.58) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 5.27.3-4, 5.33.2; Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, trans. H.J. Edwards (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 1.3, 1.18; Tacitus, *Germania*, trans. M. Hutton (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1970), 28 17.3; Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, vol. 2 (consisting of Books 3-5) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), 3.3.7, 3.4.17, 4.4.5.

<sup>31</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.28.1, 5.32.2, 5.32.7; Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2; Strabo, *Geography*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, vol. 3 (consisting of Books 6-7) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 7.1.2.

<sup>32</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 19.1-2; Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.19.

untrustworthy and by no means representative.”<sup>33</sup> At the same time, he acknowledges that without classical sources, we would have far less information. Hofeneder ascribes much greater importance to archaeological finds from both pre-Roman and Roman times, with the caveat that there is debate as to whether archaeological finds from the Roman period primarily represent a Roman influence on the earlier cultures. Indigenous texts, written in any of the Celtic languages, or more frequently in Latin and Greek, date mostly to Roman Imperial times, during which Rome had an impact on these regions and their inhabitants. Of the very few surviving texts in any of the Celtic languages which pertain to women, the Larzac Inscription, which is described later in this chapter, provides the most information.

### *Surviving Latin and Greek Texts*

Among the surviving classical Greek works are: Strabo’s *Geography* (which described the tribes of Iberia, Gaul, Britain, and Germany – at least in part based on his travels with Caesar); Diodorus Siculus’ *Library of History* (which referenced the travels of others and described the inhabitants of Gaul, Iberia, and Britain); and Plutarch’s *On the Bravery of Women* (which included a section on Celtic women, as well as individual women of virtue).

Among the surviving classical Roman sources are: Caesar’s *The Gallic War* (which described the tribes of Gaul and Britain); Tacitus’ *Agricola* (which described Caledonia), *Germania* (which described Germany), *Histories* (which included comments on Celtic and Germanic women outside Britain), and his *Annals* (which described women in Britain); and Pliny’s *Natural History* (which, though it infrequently described women, discussed items of clothing and export goods in Celtic societies, as well as the industries in which women could have worked). Most existing works by classical authors did not provide first-hand accounts, but rather second-hand versions based on what was reported by others – which calls into question the accuracy of their accounts. Critiques of surviving Classical sources will be presented later in this chapter.

### *Classical Texts That Have Not Survived*

In the relatively few works that survive, classical authors make reference to a vast body of literature by their contemporaries (or predecessors) which has since been lost. The numbers of known books on Europe north and west of the boundaries of the early Roman Empire that have been lost far outnumber those that have survived. Among the lost works

---

<sup>33</sup> Andreas Hofeneder, “Vestiges of sun worship among the Celts.” In *Pandanus ’10 Special issue: Sun Worship in the Civilisations of the World*. Adalbert J. Gail (Ed). Vol. 4/2 (2010), 87.

are Agatharchides of Cnidus' forty-nine volume *Affairs of Europe*,<sup>34</sup> the Emperor Claudius' eight-volume history of Carthage (which may have discussed that portion of Iberia controlled by Carthage),<sup>35</sup> Pliny the Elder's twenty books of the *History of the German Wars*<sup>36</sup> and his thirty-one volume *History of His Times*,<sup>37</sup> Gaius Asinius Pollio's *History*,<sup>38</sup> the missing volumes of Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*,<sup>39</sup> Strabo's *History*,<sup>40</sup> the underlying volumes that survive only in the fragments of Posidonius,<sup>41</sup> Sulpicius Alexander's history of the Germanic tribes,<sup>42</sup> the eleven missing volumes of Artemidorus of Ephesus' *Geography* (especially the portion about Iberia referenced by Strabo),<sup>43</sup> the thirteen missing volumes of Ammianus Marcellinus' *History*,<sup>44</sup> the one hundred and fourteen volumes of Nicolaus of Damascus' *Universal History*,<sup>45</sup> and the account of the voyage of Pytheas.<sup>46</sup> (Future technical innovations may eventually permit some of these texts to be found and recovered

---

<sup>34</sup> William Smith, "Agatharchides," *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, vol. 1 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1867), 61.

<sup>35</sup> Michael Grant, *The Twelve Caesars* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975), 131.

<sup>36</sup> William Smith, "C. Plinius Secundus," *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, vol. 3 (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1867), 414, 416.

<sup>37</sup> Description of *History of His Times* by Pliny the Elder in the *Continuation of the History of Aufidius Bassus*, Pliny the Younger, *Letters and Panegyricus: Letters*, trans. Betty Radice, vol. 1 (containing Books 1-7) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3.5.5-6.

<sup>38</sup> "Gaius Asinius Pollio," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2010, Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/468037/Gaius-Asinius-Pollio> [Accessed August 2010].

<sup>39</sup> "Diodorus Siculus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2010, Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/164108/Diodorus-Siculus> [Accessed August 2010].

<sup>40</sup> "Strabo," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2010, Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/567832/Strabo> [Accessed August 2010].

<sup>41</sup> I. G. Kidd, *Posidonius, Volume III The Translation of the Fragments*, The Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries, no. 36 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 35-38, 134.

<sup>42</sup> "Sulpicius Alexander," *Alexanders: Webster's Quotations, Facts and Phrases* (n.p.: Icon Group International, Inc., 2008), 480.

<sup>43</sup> Margarethe Billerbeck, "Artemidorus' *Geographoumena* in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium: Source and Transmission," in *Images and Texts on the "Artemidorus Papyrus": Working Papers on P.Artemid.* (St. John's College, Oxford), eds. Kai Brodersen and Jás Elsner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009), 65.

<sup>44</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "Ammianus Marcellinus," in *Text and Transmission: A Survey of Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 6.

<sup>45</sup> "Nicholas of Damascus," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2010, Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/414161/Nicholas-of-Damascus> [Accessed August 2010].

<sup>46</sup> Barry Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003).

from the Villa of the Papyri, which was destroyed in the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79.<sup>47</sup> Other archaeological sites that exhibit extreme conditions, wet or dry, also may yield new finds in the future. For instance, in 2013, a location in London dubbed the ‘Pompeii of the north’ was the site of the discovery of more than one hundred writing tablet fragments.<sup>48</sup>)

Fragments of these works survive – often embedded in the writings of other authors. Posidonius, for example, wrote about his travels in Greece, Iberia, Africa, Italy, Sicily, Dalmatia, Gaul, Liguria, and on the eastern shores of the Adriatic. Fragments survive in Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, and Caesar made reference to his writings.<sup>49</sup> Pytheas wrote about his travels through Gaul, Britain, and Thule – but only the barest references to his works survive in Strabo and others.<sup>50</sup> A growing number of publications are emerging which are attempting to translate fragmentary works which may greatly expand our knowledge of lesser known texts. Most recently, Thomas Banchich’s new book, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian*, was published in 2015.<sup>51</sup> Unfortunately, the publication did not include the original primary source language for any fragmentary passages that were translated into English. Other fragmentary books that have been published include Sallust’s *Histories*, translated by Patric McGushin,

---

<sup>47</sup> The Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum, discovered in 1750, contains over a 1,000 scrolls – many in Greek and some in Latin. Several wax tablets were also discovered. See Mario Pagano, *Herculaneum: A Reasoned Archaeological Itinerary*, trans. Angelo Pesce (Torre del Greco, Italy: T & M srl, 2000), 97-98; Amedeo Maiuri, *Herculaneum (A plan, 10 illustrations in the text and 74 plates)*, trans. V. Priestley, 6<sup>th</sup> ed.; “Itineraries of the Museums, Galleries and Monuments in Italy,” no. 53 (Rome, Italy: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1962), 74-80; “The Philodemus Project,” UCLA Departments of Classics, The Regents of the University of California, 2009, <http://www.classics.ucla.edu/index.php/philodemus> [Accessed August 2010]; “The Books from Herculaneum: A Guide to Editions and Translations of the Principal Works Discovered at Herculaneum and Related Texts,” The Friends of Herculaneum Society, The Ioannou Center for Classical and Byzantine Studies, Unknown, <http://www.herculaneum.ox.ac.uk/books.html> [Accessed August 2010]; “The Herculaneum Papyri,” P. Herc., Image Database, The Imaging Papyri Project, University of Oxford, Unknown, <http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=PHerc&ct=0&l=en&w=utf-8> [Accessed August 2010].

<sup>48</sup> ‘Entire streets’ of Roman London uncovered in the City,” April 10, 2013, BBC, 2014, [www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-22084384](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-22084384) [Accessed March 2014]; “Pompeii of the North,” Museum of London Archaeology, April 9, 2013, [www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk/NewsProjects/Current-News/Pompeii+of+the+north.htm](http://www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk/NewsProjects/Current-News/Pompeii+of+the+north.htm) [Accessed March 2014].

<sup>49</sup> Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. 3, 35-38, 134.

<sup>50</sup> Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*.

<sup>51</sup> Peter the Patrician and Thomas Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2015).

and R.C. Blockley's, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*.<sup>52</sup>

#### *Sources from Early Christianity in Western Europe*

Detailed Christian sources on women in the West before the third century are rare. Some of the historical martyrologies of the early Christian Church depict of female saints in Iberia, Gaul, Caledonia, and Britain.<sup>53</sup> (It must be remembered that saints from Celtic regions may not have been Celtic, as in the case of St. Patrick, the patron saint of Ireland, who was the son of Romano-British gentry.<sup>54</sup>) During the period between Late Antiquity and into the early Middle Ages, many written works were lost or destroyed.<sup>55</sup> As a result, early writings on women in the Church may simply be lost to time. After the collapse of the western Roman Empire, Ireland became a repository for information. The early monasteries and churches collected and preserved texts and historical information.<sup>56</sup> Ireland possesses the oldest records of Celtic laws in existence, though they pertain to the inhabitants of Ireland and were only written down well after the fifth century.<sup>57</sup>

#### *Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic, and Germanic Sources*

Glaring by its absence in the previous paragraphs is any mention of primary sources written in the ancient languages of the Celts, Celtiberians, Hispano Celts, or Germans. Whatever material might have once existed, virtually none of it has survived. Celtic and Germanic are described as two branches of the Indo-European family of languages.<sup>58</sup> But relatively few examples exist of ancient Celtic writings (P-Celtic, including Gaulish and

---

<sup>52</sup> Sallust, *Histories*, translated by Patric McGushin, Vol. 1 & 2, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981).

<sup>53</sup> Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

<sup>54</sup> Peter Salway, *A History of Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 345.

<sup>55</sup> Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, Book 1, Preface.

<sup>56</sup> Thomas Cahill, *How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 181-196; Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966); Joseph Paul Fuhrmann, "Irish Medieval Monasteries on the Continent," (PhD. diss., Catholic University of America, 1927), 5.

<sup>57</sup> For an extensive discussion, see Fergus Kelly, *A Guide to Early Irish Law*, vol. 3 of the Early Irish Law series (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988), and Rudolf Thurneysen ed., *Studies in Early Irish Law* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1936); This work will not include an examination of these later texts, as we have no lists of types of sexual unions from the Celtic world with which to compare them.

<sup>58</sup> Henry Hitchings, *The Secret Life of Words: How English Became English* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008), 8; Bodmer, *The Loom of Language*, 186; Pei, *The Story of Language*, 27-29, 344.

Brythonic, and Q-Celtic, including Goidelic and Celtiberian), and virtually none exist in ancient Germanic.

This should not be construed to mean that such written texts never existed. For example, while writing to his friend Priscus in the preface to Book 12 of his *Epigrams*, Martial warned him not to “judge of my trifles without scrupulous regard to elegance, lest, if you are too exacting, I send you to Rome a book not merely written in Spain, but in Spanish” [“*de nugis nostris iudices nitore seposito, ne Romam, si ita decreveris, non Hispaniensem librum mittamus, sed Hispanum*”].<sup>59</sup> Martial, who was originally from Bilbilis, repeatedly touched on the fact that he was Celtiberian,<sup>60</sup> and it would not be surprising that he could write in his own native tongue. However, Martial does not indicate in this preface that he would send Priscus one of his own works written in “*Hispanum*,” but that he would send him a book in that language, which implies that such books existed at that time. If such books did once exist, none have yet been discovered. Celtiberian inscriptions found to date were written either in the alphabet of their non-Indo-European neighbors, the Iberians, or using Latin letters.<sup>61</sup> Most surviving examples of Celtiberian writing are very short, such as coins, or hospitality tokens, or funerary monuments. The longest preserved texts, known as the Botorrita plaques and dating to the first century BC, were discovered near Meseta at the Contrebia Belaisca. One of the four (Botorrita II) was written in Latin, and the other three were in Iberian script. The Botorrita I plaque (below) is the longest inscription extant in that language, and is only eleven lines of text on the front, with names listed on the back. Attempts have been made at translation,<sup>62</sup> but since the surviving corpus of material is extremely sparse, it is difficult to do so with any certainty.

The Celts used existing alphabets in a number of instances to express their own language in writing. Funerary monuments in Gaul and Iberia survive bearing hybrid linguistic samples. In Gaul, at least fifteen Gallo-Latin inscriptions in stone survive, along

---

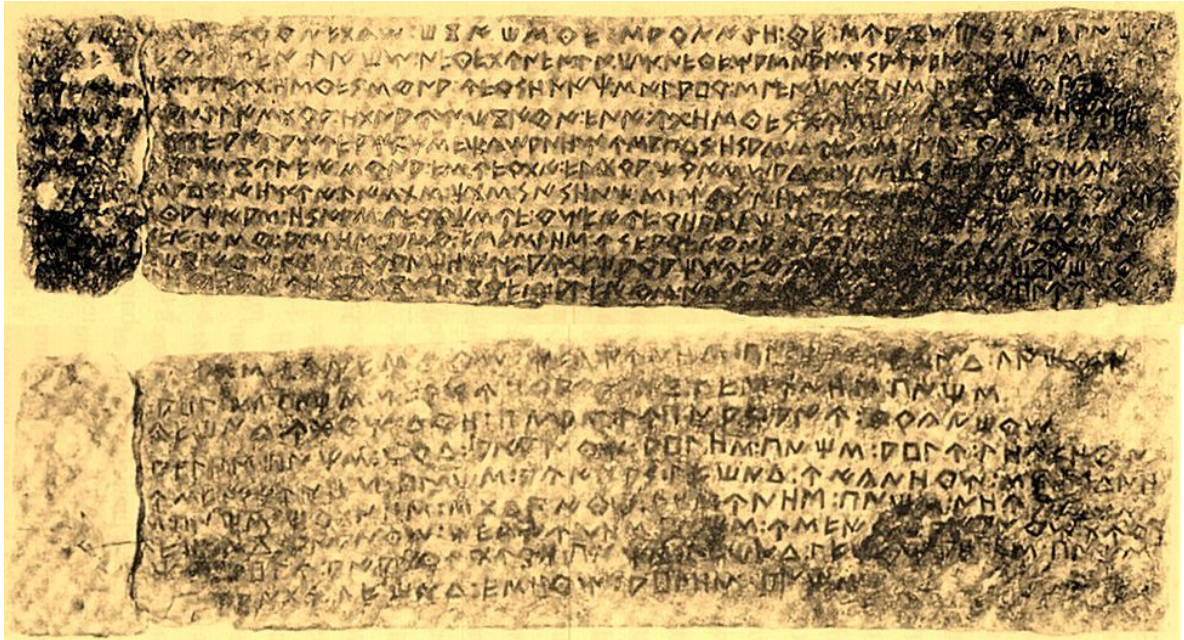
<sup>59</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 12.Preface, Bohn’s Classical Library (1897) digitized by the Tertullian Project, [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/martial\\_epigrams\\_book12.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/martial_epigrams_book12.htm) [Accessed March 2010].

<sup>60</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 4.55, 7.52, 10.22, 12.18.

<sup>61</sup> Leonard A. Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain* (London: Routledge, 2004), 194.

<sup>62</sup> Wolfgang Meid, *Celtiberian Inscription* (Budapest: Archaeological Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994), 17 translated the first phrase in the Botorrita I plaque as reading, “Regarding the hilly land of the gods Sarnicios and Tokoit-, the following was decreed as not permitted.” Joseph F. Eska, *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita* (Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1989), 16 translated the same passage as follows, “[regarding the] ... boundary structure, thus the senators of [the towns] \*Tocoitom and \*Sarnicios (have agreed/decided): (it is) not permitted ...”

with other types of texts, including graffiti.<sup>63</sup> Predating the Gallo-Latin were Gallo-Greek inscriptions, which date at least as far back as the third century BC. Many of these survive as graffiti on pottery sherds.<sup>64</sup> It appears, based on limited chronology, that these Gallo-Greek inscriptions gave way to Latin script.



**Figure 1. Botorrita I bronze plaque.**

Source: “El bronce de Botorrita,” *Los diccionarios y las enciclopedias sobre el Académico*, Academic, 2010, <http://www.esacademic.com/dic.nsf/eswiki/1048729> [Accessed March 2011].

There are no examples of surviving ancient Germanic texts, though there are examples of words written in runic script from Slovenia in the first century AD.<sup>65</sup> Malcom Todd’s *The Early Germans* goes so far as to write that “the early Germans left no written records,” with the earliest substantial surviving examples being sixth century manuscripts of the Bible that had been translated into Gothic in the fourth century by Bishop Ulfila.<sup>66</sup> The earliest surviving literary texts in any Germanic language (Gothic) date to the fourth century, while those in other Germanic languages (Old English and Old High German) are even more

---

<sup>63</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 94-95.

<sup>64</sup> Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 92-93.

<sup>65</sup> Ostler, *Empires of the Word*, 227-278.

<sup>66</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans*, 11.



recent.<sup>67</sup> Earlier Runic inscriptions, found in Scandinavia and dating to the first century BC, consist mainly of personal names, often found on weapons, decorative items like brooches and combs, or as epithets.<sup>68</sup> This paucity of written primary sources for the Germans may have to do with what types of material Germanic languages were written on and their chances of survival in the archaeological records.

However, Bernard Mees in his work on *Celtic Curses*, records a number of curse tablets locations in modern Germany and Austria, places like Mainz, Bad Kreuznach, Bregenz, Wilten, and Maar.<sup>69</sup> None of the tablets found in this region have Germanic runic inscriptions. The only inscriptions that have been recovered are written using Celtic or Latin words. That could mean that either curse tablets in Germanic runic languages simply do not survive in the archaeological record, or that the people doing the cursing, whether educated individuals or hired literate peoples, were doing so in languages other than early German.

Unlike the paucity of ancient Germanic inscriptions, archaeologists have discovered a number of Gaulish fragments, the longest of which is the Larzac lead tablet (though this consists of only 160 words). This tablet was excavated from a grave in France in 1983. In the tomb was a funerary urn. In addition, vases were discovered, one bearing the name Gemma. This tomb dates between the late first century and the early second century AD. In the foyer of the tomb, on top of the funerary urn, was where the Larzac lead tablet was found. It had broken into two parts, with writing on both sides. It may have had nothing to do with the tomb of the individual in which it was found; rather, it may have been a connection to the underworld.<sup>70</sup> There is still no firm consensus on how to translate the inscription. Varying theories exist, including the belief that it may, in fact, be a litigation spell.<sup>71</sup>

The Larzac tablet, unlike most of the other very brief inscriptions mentioned above, appears to be about two groups of women casting magical spells at one another (the names of all the women mentioned are listed in the catalogue which can be found in Appendix I). On this tablet are found the Gaulish words for both mother (*matir*) and daughter (*duxtir*), as shown by the pairing of names such as *iaia duxtir adiegias* (Aia daughter of Adiegea)

---

<sup>67</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans*, 12.

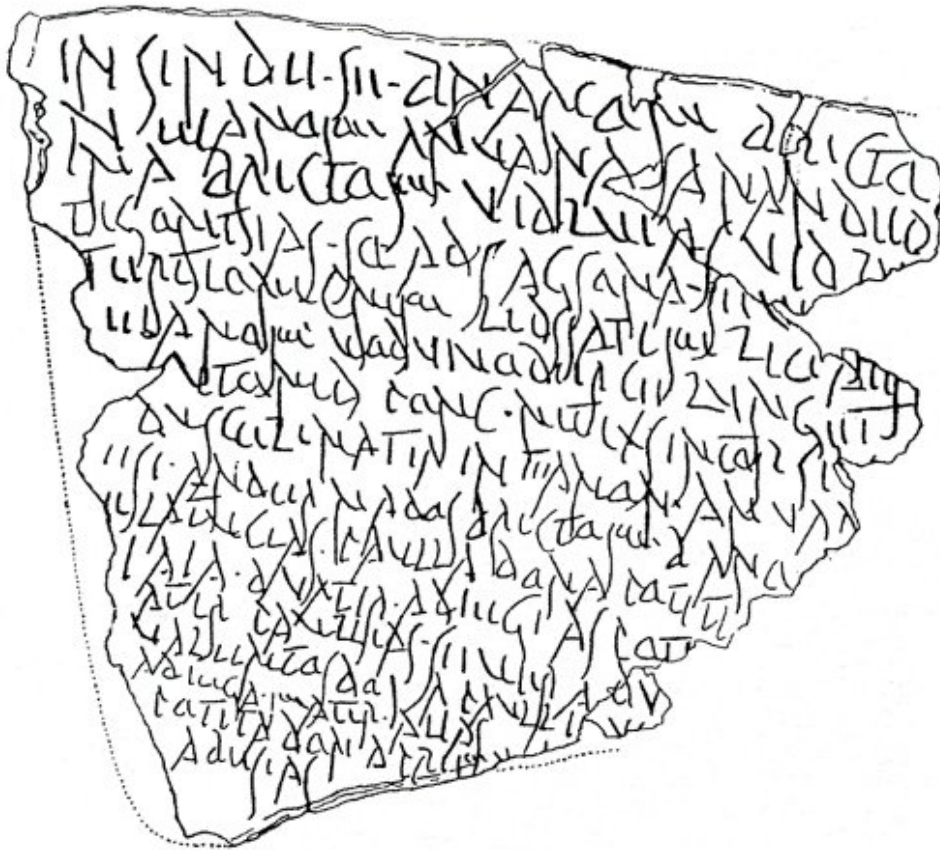
<sup>68</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans*, 11, 14.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard Mees, *Celtic Curses* (Suffolk, UK : Rochester : Boydell Press, 2009), Mainz 45, Bad Kreuznach 69, 101, Bregenz 88-91, Wilten 23, and Maar 79, 109-110.

<sup>70</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curse*, 52

<sup>71</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curse*, 64-69.

immediately above *adiega matir aiias* (Adiega mother of Aiaa) on face 1a. Unlike ancient German, sufficient fragments of Gaulish survive to warrant a dictionary of the language. Yet the surviving material is so fragmentary that it does little to expand our knowledge of the role of women in Celtic or Germanic societies during the period between 400 BC and AD 235.



**Figure 2. Larzac lead tablet, face 1a.**

Source: Lambert, *La langue gauloise*, 162.

The surviving fragments of many of the Celtic dialects (such as Rhaetic or Ligurian) are so few as to be undecipherable.<sup>72</sup> And the oldest surviving fragments of Ogham runic inscriptions in Ireland only date to the fifth century AD.<sup>73</sup> With regard to the Tartessian language of southwestern Spain and southern Portugal, there is a dispute as to whether it should be classified as Celtic, or Indo-European, or something else.<sup>74</sup> (In any event, Strabo

<sup>72</sup> Pei, *The Story of Language*, 34.

<sup>73</sup> Bodmer, *The Loom of Language*, 421.

<sup>74</sup> As part of the research initiative, “Ancient Britain and the Atlantic Zone,” Professor John T. Koch postulated that Tartessian was a Hispano-Celtic language (see John T. Koch, *Tartessian: Celtic in the South-West at the Dawn of History* (Oakville, CT: David Brown Books, 2009)). A contrary point of view was voiced by Jesús Rodríguez Ramos, “Las inscripciones sudlucitano-tartessianas: su función, lengua y contexto

wrote that by about the seventh century BC – that is, prior to the date range covered in this study – the Tartessians had “completely changed over to the Roman mode of life, not even remembering their own language any more.”<sup>75</sup>)

One reason that so little written material survives in these languages that is of any value to this study of the role of women in Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian societies is because written texts as they are thought of today, whether literature or history, did not exist in those cultures two millennia ago. These people had a strong tradition of transmitting knowledge using oral rather than written forms. When Julius Caesar addressed the customs and practices of the Gauls in *The Gallic War*, he provided evidence of a culture where both oral history and oral tradition took precedence over writing, and also noted that what little writing was done used the Greek alphabet instead of a native one.

[14] ... *Tantis excitati praemiis et sua sponte multi in disciplinam conveniunt et a parentibus propinquisque mittuntur. Magnum ibi numerum versuum ediscere dicuntur. Itaque annos nonnulli vicens in disciplina permanent. Neque fas esse existimant ea litteris mandare, cum in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus Graecis litteris utantur. Id mihi duabus de causis instituisse videntur, quod neque in vulgum disciplinam efferri velint neque eos, qui discunt, litteris confisos minus memoriae studere: quod fere plerisque accidit, ut praesidio litterarum diligentiam in perdiscendo ac memoriam remittant.*

Tempted by these great rewards, many young men assemble of their own motion to receive their training; many are sent by parents and relatives. Report says that in the schools of the Druids they learn by heart a great number of verses, and therefore some persons remain twenty years under training. And they do not think it proper to commit these utterances to writing, although in almost all other matters, and in their public and private accounts, they make use of Greek letters. I believe that they have adopted the practice for two reasons – that they do not wish the rule to become common property, nor those who learn the rule to rely on writing and so neglect the cultivation of the memory; and, in fact, it does usually happen that the assistance of writing tends to relax the diligence of the student and the action of the memory.<sup>76</sup>

---

socioeconómico,” *Complutum* 13 (2002): 85–95, who disputes a Celtic, or even Indo-European, identity for the Tartessian language.

<sup>75</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3. 2.15

<sup>76</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.14.

## *Weighing Merits and Pardoning Offenses: An Examination of Classical Authors*

When considering primary sources written by classical authors, several things must be weighed when determining their credibility. One is how the authors viewed their role in transmitting information to their readers, as well as their proximity to the subjects or regions about which they were writing, and their views of foreigners in general. Another is their view of Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women. A third is the challenge associated with the transmission of these texts over the centuries. Finally, there is the issue of errors which crept in as the documents were translated from the language in which they were originally written. Each will be addressed in turn.

### *Role of the Author*

The concept that objectivity is an essential aspect of historical writing, and that writers should attempt to avoid allowing their biases to influence their writing<sup>77</sup> is relatively recent, nor did the field of anthropology as it is currently practiced exist in antiquity.<sup>78</sup> In classical times, authors had different views of their role. For example, Dio Cassius wrote about two principals which guided his writings. “One [was that] ... the sense of the dignity and true value of history demanded that mere details and personal anecdotes should give place to the larger aspects and significance of events.” The other principal was that, “...the historian was never to forget that he was at the same time a rhetorician; if the bare facts were lacking in effectiveness, they could be adorned, modified, or variously combined in the interest of a more dramatic presentation.”<sup>79</sup>

In considering the veracity of the observations of the classical authors upon whom we draw so heavily, it is also important to determine whether they could have witnessed the

---

<sup>77</sup> See, among others, Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozicki, ed. *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978); Norman F. Cantor and Richard I. Schneider, *How to Study History*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967); James W. Davidson and Mark H. Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1982); J. H. Hexter, *Doing History* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971); Homer C. Hockett, *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955); Sherman Kent, *Writing History* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941); Savoie Lottinville, *The Rhetoric of History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); and Paul Veyne, *Writing History*. Trans. Mina Moore-Rivoluceri. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1984).

<sup>78</sup> See, among others, Thomas H. Eriksen and Finn S. Nielsen, *A History of Anthropology* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.) (London: Pluto Press, 2013); Robert Launey (ed.), *Foundations of Anthropological Theory: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*. (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010).

<sup>79</sup> Dio Cassius, “Introduction” Roman History, xiii-xiv.

events and peoples about which they wrote. This is a rather complex issue, and one that is often overlooked in assessments of primary historical documents.

For example, Tacitus recounted a speech by Calgacus, the Caledonian chief, to his army in the summer of AD 84.<sup>80</sup> Tacitus must have invented this speech, as no Roman would have been present to hear it. Yet Tacitus had no problem putting words in the Caledonian leader's mouth that clearly implied that he (and therefore Tacitus, as well) knew of a woman who had led a neighboring tribe in fighting against the Romans, that she had enjoyed some success, and that success had "lapsed into inactivity."

As noted earlier, the fact that Julius Caesar was writing his commentaries on the Gallic War as reports for the consumption of the Roman people, with the purpose of justifying his actions and enhancing his reputation at home rather than to provide an unbiased, historical account, must be kept in mind.<sup>81</sup> That does not mean, however, that there is no useful information to be discovered in the text.

Likewise, one should not leap to the conclusion that classical authors simply made up their accounts from whole cloth. Some authors, such as Pytheas,<sup>82</sup> Posidonius,<sup>83</sup> and Artemidorus,<sup>84</sup> are known to have actually travelled. Unfortunately, their surviving works are fragmentary at best. Yet some – such as Posidonius – were highly regarded for centuries after they had written.

Others authors – both Greek and Roman – travelled along with the Roman army. Strabo was with Julius Caesar. Polybius accompanied Scipio.<sup>85</sup> Tacitus most likely wrote his

---

<sup>80</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31.4; the dating of the speech to the summer of AD 84 is found in the Introduction, p. 13. The Latin text reads, "*Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in scordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere.*" The word *colonia* means a farm or estate, as well as a colony. *Exurere* means to burn out. The word *castra* normally referred to a temporary camp (whereas *castrum* meant an established fort). The word *expugnare* means to take by storm, capture, overcome, subdue or gain by force. An alternative translation could be that the Brigantes had burned a Roman estate or farm, and stormed (but not captured) an encampment (perhaps when the Romans had ceased the campaigning for that season).

<sup>81</sup> M. Winterbottom, "Caesar," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 35-36.

<sup>82</sup> Cunliffe, *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*.

<sup>83</sup> Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. 3, 35-38, 134.

<sup>84</sup> Margarethe Billerbeck, "Artemidorus' *Geographoumena* in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium: Source and Transmission," in *Images and Texts on the "Artemidorus Papyrus": Working Papers on P.Artemid.* (*St. John's College, Oxford*), eds. Kai Brodersen and Jás Elsner (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009), 65.

<sup>85</sup> Donald Walter Baronowski, *Polybius and Roman Imperialism* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011), 1-3.

*Germania* while serving in the provinces for four years (the location is unsure, but speculation strongly points to Gaul).<sup>86</sup> Pliny fought in *Germania Inferior* and *Superior*,<sup>87</sup> while Polybius fought against the Gauls in *Asia Minor*<sup>88</sup> and Frontius served in Germany and was the governor of Britain.<sup>89</sup> Being with the military on the margins of the Empire could be very beneficial to an author, in that he would have had the opportunity to observe non-Romans first hand, either as active or defeated enemies or as people who were being absorbed into the Roman Empire. At the same time, serving with a conquering or occupying army biased their observations to the detriment of those that Rome considered barbarians. In words attributed to Winston Churchill, "History is written by the victors." This places these men in a unique position of having encountered Germanic and Celtic peoples, in their own territories, both during times of war and peace.

In addition to Roman and Greek authors who may have traveled to the provinces or fought in the wars against the barbarians along their borders, other classical authors actually were natives of those regions. Lucan, Columella, Martial, and Pomponius Mela were all born in Hispania. Martial and Justin were both Celts, the former being Celtiberian and the latter being Gaulish.

However, other well-known classical writers apparently never travelled; instead, they used the works of others to create their own accounts. Diodorus Siculus was famous for his library and criticized by his peers for over-using it to write his *Library of History*.<sup>90</sup> The famous *Geography* of Ptolemy, which was at the time the greatest compilation of the known world, was created by someone believed by scholars to have never left Alexandria, the city of his birth.<sup>91</sup> Timaeus, a Greek historian from the late fourth and early third centuries BC, was

---

<sup>86</sup> While we do not know this from Tacitus himself, he did note in the *Agricola* that he spent three or four years away from Rome serving as a *praetor* in the provinces. Tacitus, *Agricola*, trans. M. Hutton (London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1970), 45.

<sup>87</sup> Pliny, "Introduction," *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, vol. 1. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1949), vii-xx.

<sup>88</sup> Polybius, "Introduction," *The Histories*, trans. H. J. Edwards, vol 1. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922).

<sup>89</sup> Frontius, "Introduction," *The Strategemata*, trans. Charles Bennett, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), xi – xxv.

<sup>90</sup> Diodorus Siculus, "Introduction," *Library of History*, trans. C.H. Oldfather, vol. 1. (containing Books 1-2.34) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), vii-xxv.

<sup>91</sup> G. J. Toomer, "Ptolemy (or Claudius Ptolemaeus)." *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, www.Encyclopedia.com, 2008, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Ptolemy.aspx> [Accessed May 2014].

heavily criticized by historians such as Polybius.<sup>92</sup> Whether or not they traveled outside their own homeland, it is important to keep in mind that classical Greek and Roman authors viewed foreigners as barbarians, and many tended to ascribe to them negative traits.<sup>93</sup>

#### *Views of Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian Women*

Can we determine what classical authors intended, especially as it pertains to the study of gender in the ancient world?<sup>94</sup> In 1992, Francesca Santoro L’Hoir published *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms: ‘Man’, ‘Woman’, and the Portrayal of Characters in Latin Prose*. In this work, she examined Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Velleius Paterculus, Tacitus, and several others authors. Santoro L’Hoir rightly and importantly noted that today we attach adjectives to words like *man* and *woman* to give them character (a good man, a noble woman, etc.). In classical Latin, while those nouns could be used on their own, they were commonly used in prose as part of epithets. Gender terms in Latin were used to insinuate and delineate character. The two main words for a woman in Latin were *mulier* and *femina*. While all women can be termed *mulier*, the word *femina* was oriented towards the upper classes.<sup>95</sup> *Femina* became associated with virtues tied to loyalty and service to the republic, “especially patriotism, frugality, generosity, and defense of the Senate and the conservative State religion. The nouns, therefore, could be and were employed as terms of praise.”<sup>96</sup> *Mulier*, on the other hand, became associated with the lower classes, including freedwomen, slaves, and foreigners. It “came to connote foreign vices, avariciousness, luxury, association with the mob, conspiracy, or participation in an innovative peregrine cult.” For men, the words *homo* and *vir* exist, *homo* being on the same level as *mulier* and *vir* on the level with *femina*.

How is this useful to the study of women? The manner in which these words were used can reveal the bias and intent of the author. Santoro L’Hoir provided useful insight into three classical authors (Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus), which can be utilized in examining what

---

<sup>92</sup> Kenneth Sacks, *Polybius on the Writing of History*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 65-66; Baronowski, *Polybius and Roman Imperialism*, 150; (See: Polybius, *Histories*, Book 12).

<sup>93</sup> For a discussion of the evolution of Greek and Roman views toward the ‘barbarians’ beyond their frontiers, see F. W. Walbank, “Nationality as a Factor in Roman History.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 76 (1972):145-168.

<sup>94</sup> Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis," *Diogenes*, vol. 57, no. 225 (2010): 7-14.

<sup>95</sup> Francesca Santoro L’Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms: ‘Man’, ‘Woman’, and the Portrayal of Character in Latin Prose* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1-2.

<sup>96</sup> Santoro L’Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 1-2.

they wrote about Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women. All of these authors' works will be examined in subsequent chapters, but understanding in advance the significance of the terminology used in the primary sources helps us better understand their points of view.

Sallust wrote many works that survive. However, the most useful for the study of Celtic and Celtiberian women, *The Histories*, exist only in fragmentary form. There was commentary on Celtiberia and one comment on Gaulish women during the revolt of Spartacus. In each instance, the word chosen by the author was *mulier*.<sup>97</sup>

In Livy's *Roman History*, in the rare instances we see women as more than props,<sup>98</sup> he used the word *mulier* to describe foreigners. In his work, foreigners served as moral lessons to their Roman counterparts. The rare instance in which he used the term *femina* to describe these women was when they are being slaughtered or fighting nobly.<sup>99</sup>

Unlike Livy and Sallust, Tacitus consistently used *feminae* to describe Germanic and Celtic women.<sup>100</sup> In his *Germania*, he praised German *feminae*, granting them traditional Roman characteristics that were virtuous, moral, and ideal (especially when contrasted with Roman women). The one time *mulier* is used was in the context of the discussion of marriage, and there it was more interchangeable with *uxor* (wife).<sup>101</sup> Tacitus' ideal *femina* was supportive of her *vir*, but passive – dominating in the home, but not on the battlefield. However, supporting the efforts of her *vir* was encouraged.<sup>102</sup> In regards to the power held by women (Boudica, Cartimandua, and Veleda), Tacitus, while calling them *feminae* (because they were high-born noble women), then augmented that term with words that indicated he disapproved of how these women had usurped power that rightly belonged to men.<sup>103</sup>

Santoro L'Hoir's work is an excellent start to what may be a new approach to the study of classical sources. Hopefully, future publications will emerge from classicists who

---

<sup>97</sup> Santoro L'Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 61-62.

<sup>98</sup> Livy has removed descriptions and names of women who are known to us from other sources and substituted words such as wife of, daughter of, or sister of [some man] rather than flesh them out.

<sup>99</sup> Santoro L'Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 85-86.

<sup>100</sup> Santoro L'Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 124-132.

<sup>101</sup> Santoro L'Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 124

<sup>102</sup> Santoro L'Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 128-129.

<sup>103</sup> Santoro L'Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 131-133.



will examine gender words in later periods and in other languages. Such work needs to be conducted by language specialists who can provide better insight into the evolution of gender words and their societal context over time. Granularity in the study of the use of laudatory versus derogatory words (both of which are translated into English as ‘woman’) in classical texts over time may provide better information on the evolution of gender and identity, as well as a clearer understanding of Roman and Greek bias.

### *The Truth Regarding “Classical” Sources*

There is another side to classical sources that, outside of academia (and sometimes inside academia) is little addressed. The classical sources upon which historians and archaeologists rely so heavily to interpret the past are almost never documents which have actually survived from classical times; rather every extant classical source used in this study is actually a copy that was written in medieval times. In almost every case, the oldest surviving copies of the classical works referenced in this study date from eighth century AD or later. For example, the earliest surviving copies of the texts quoted in this study – written by Ausonius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Julius Caesar, Florus, Sextus Julius Frontius, Aulus Gellius, Martial, Valerius Maximus, Pomponius Mela, Seutonius, Statius, and Tacitus, as well as the oldest copy of the *Apocolocyntosis* – all date from the eighth century or later. Most ancient copies of classical texts are lost. Historians and scholars have to draw from these later editions, which frequently suffer from the transcription and transmission errors that crept in over the centuries. Varying copies written in different centuries have to be compared in order to extract what appears to be the best information and, in some circumstances, “family trees” of sorts are created to show how one copy spawned later versions of the text. Historians and academics create the best possible version of classical work by weighing the merits and pardoning the offenses of the surviving versions of the text. This must be considered when examining the text, along with what are believed to be the biases of the period in which it was written, as well as those of the original authors.

The fact that “classical sources” are actually documents written in the Middle Ages or even during the Renaissance is seldom discussed.<sup>104</sup> At the same time, scholars criticize

---

<sup>104</sup> My statement above about the medieval date of surviving classical sources not being “discussed” refers to casual discussion in history classrooms, as well as to how this material was presented to students at the undergraduate level in their texts. There are several books that have been devoted to this topic, See, for example, L.D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983) and L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991). However, most textbooks that mention Caesar’s *The Gallic*

medieval manuscripts that provide information about the classical period and judge such information to be false because no underlying “classical” source has yet been discovered (see, for example, the discussion of Luperia in Chapter 3). To better understand the classical accounts used in this study and arrive at an assessment of the validity of that material, an analysis of the text and what is known of the author in question will be addressed, together with the *stemma*<sup>105</sup> of these manuscripts and how the transmission of the text in question occurred. For each primary source that was used in a direct fashion in this study, the history of the oldest surviving text is discussed to demonstrate the problems academics face in dealing with transmission errors.<sup>106</sup> These texts are presented in alphabetical order, to easily permit the reader to return to this section as necessary while considering the use of these sources later in this study.

Tacitus is an extremely important author when looking at northern Europe in the first century AD. He wrote three works used in this study: the *Agricola*, the *Annals*, and the *Histories*. Not all of these works are intact. The *Agricola* was written by Tacitus in the first century AD. It appeared to have been available to Cassiodorus in the sixth century, and copies existed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The ninth century *Codex Aesinas Latinus 8* (also known as the Jesi MS) contained the *Agricola*. The *Agricola* made sporadic appearances in the notations of others again in 1425, 1431, and 1455. There are also copies from the fifteenth century in existence.<sup>107</sup> This work has a political slant, as it was written after the death of Domitian praising Agricola, Tacitus’ father-in-law. The survival of Tacitus’ *Annals* can be broken up into two sections. *Annals* 1-6 survive in a single manuscript (known as *Mediceus*) that was copied in Germany in approximately AD 850. It is the manuscript from which later sixteenth centuries versions were copied. *Annals* 11-16 are preserved in one manuscript dating to the eleventh century, which was known as *Laurentianus 68.2*.<sup>108</sup>

---

*War* or other classical sources simply do not let the reader know that the earliest extant copy was transcribed nine centuries after the original was written.

<sup>105</sup> *Stemma* is a term defined as: “a tree showing the relationships of the manuscripts of a literary work.”

“Stemma,” Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2010, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/stemma> [Accessed May 2012].

<sup>106</sup> Please note that in some instances only specific books will be mentioned rather than documenting the transmission of non-applicable books.

<sup>107</sup> M. Winterbottom, “Tacitus *Minor Works*,” in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 410-411; Tacitus, *Agricola*, ix-xv.

<sup>108</sup> R.J. Tarrant, “Tacitus *Annales*, 1-6 *Annales*, 11-16, *Historiae*,” in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 406-409.

Tacitus' *Histories* are preserved in one manuscript, dating to the eleventh century, known as *Laurentianus 68.2*. This is the same manuscript as that in which the *Annals* 11-16 are preserved.<sup>109</sup>

Josephus is both a controversial and fascinating author, who led an unusual life. He wrote *The Wars of the Jews* very shortly after the war ended, during the time of Vespasian, and it is thought that the work may have been officially encouraged. Josephus was born to a wealthy Jewish family in Jerusalem. He was a general against Rome in the Jewish-Roman War. He narrowly survived a lengthy siege during that war and prophesized that then-General Vespasian would become the Emperor.<sup>110</sup> The *Antiquity of the Jews* was written in approximately AD 93. The earliest surviving manuscript that contains the *Antiquity of the Jews*, known as *Ambrosianus 370*, dates to the eleventh century (leaving a gap of transmission of nearly ten centuries).<sup>111</sup> Josephus' other work, *The Wars of the Jews* (sometimes referred to as *The Jewish Wars*), was written in the first century AD, but only survives in the manuscript *Vaticanus Graecus 148*, which also dates to the eleventh century.<sup>112</sup>

The *Apocolocyntosis* may have been written by Seneca the Younger in the first century AD; however, the oldest copies date to two manuscripts from the ninth century, leaving a transmission gap of eight centuries. Additional copies survive from the twelfth, thirteenth, and sixteenth centuries.<sup>113</sup> It is a poem satirizing the Emperor Claudius after his death and describing his trip into the afterlife. Emperors were deified upon death, so to speak so negatively about an Emperor after death would have been viewed as extremely harsh.

The *Aeneid* was written in the first century BC by Virgil. The oldest manuscript containing the *Aeneid* and other works of Virgil is the *Codex Mediceus* (Florence, *Laurentian*

---

<sup>109</sup> Tarrant, "Annales, 11-16, *Historiae*," *Texts and Transmission*, 407-409.

<sup>110</sup> Josephus, *The Jewish War, Books I-III*, trans. H. St. J. Thackeray, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), vii-xxxii.

<sup>111</sup> Clare K. Rothschild, "Echo of a Whisper: The Uncertain Authenticity of Josephus' Witness to John the Baptist," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, eds. David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Ayvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 2011), 273-274; Josephus, "The Antiquities of the Jews," *Josephus: The Complete Works*, trans. William Whiston (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), 30 fn. 3.

<sup>112</sup> Clare K. Rothschild, "Echo of a Whisper: The Uncertain Authenticity of Josephus' Witness to John the Baptist," in *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, eds. David Hellholm et. al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 2011), 273-274.

<sup>113</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "The Younger Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 361-362.

*Library 39.1 + Vatican lat. 3225*), which was written in Italy in the fifth century AD.<sup>114</sup> Though his exact origins are unclear, Virgil may have been born in Cisalpine Gaul. He attended various schools in Italy and became a poet. Ill health seems to have plagued him all of his life.<sup>115</sup>

Knowledge of the life of Aulus Gellius survives only in his own writings. Probably born in the provinces, he did live in Rome and travelled to places such as Greece. He penned *Attic Nights* in the latter half of the second century. The oldest copy is a fragmentary palimpsest (Books 1-2 and portions of 3, 4, 17, and 18), dating to the fourth century (Vatican Pal. Lat. 24.). At some point in the subsequent centuries, the work was split up and portions were largely lost (parts of Book 8, the *lemmata* to Book 19, and portions of 20). There was evidence for Books 1-7 in the ninth century in France. However, Books 1-7 survive predominately in four manuscripts dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Books 9-20 survive in earlier texts – the earliest one written in Fulda in 836 (*Leeuwarden 55*). There are seven additional early versions of Books 9-20, ranging from the ninth through fifteenth century. The *lemmata* of Book 8 and the end of Book 20 were added to collections in the fifteenth century by and from an unknown source.<sup>116</sup>

Athenaeus of Naucratis lived in the second century/third century AD. His work, *The Deipnosophists*, survives in fifteen books, though some are epitomes of the original books. There is evidence from authors who encountered the work that the original was longer than what survives today. The earliest surviving manuscript is a parchment, most likely dating to the tenth century. In *The Deipnosophists*, Athenaeus references numerous authors and works addressing the topics of banqueting, food and cookery from numerous cultures, including the Celts. One of those individuals was Aristotle, who lived and wrote in the fourth century BC. The *Constitution of Massaliotes* has been attributed to Aristotle, but whether or not he was the actual author is unclear.<sup>117</sup>

---

<sup>114</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "Virgil," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 433-436; Junius S. Morgan, Kenneth McKenzie, and Charles G. Osgood, *The Tradition of Virgil: Three Papers on the History of Influence of the Poet* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1930), 1-4.

<sup>115</sup> Virgil, "Life of Virgil," *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, Vol I, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), ix-xi.

<sup>116</sup> P. K. Marshall, "Aulus Gellius," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 176-180.

<sup>117</sup> Athenaeus, "Introduction," *The Deipnosophists*, trans. Charles Burton Gulick (London: W. Heinemann, 1927), vii-xix.

Pomponius Mela, a Roman geographer, was born in southern Spain during the time of Emperor Claudius. We have little to no information about his life. He wrote his work, *De chorographia*, in the first century AD. This work survives in *Vatican lat. 4929*, dating to the ninth century, and was derived from a (now lost) sixth century manuscript. This surviving ninth century manuscript eventually generated a large number of fifteenth century copies.<sup>118</sup>

*De Re Rustica* was written by the Roman author Columella. Though written in the first century, the earliest surviving copies date to the ninth century AD.<sup>119</sup> Columella was likely born in Hispania and, after serving in the military, he took up farming. He is the foremost surviving authority on agriculture, and an intact and complete copy of *De Re Rustica* exists in the form of a copy dating to 1418.<sup>120</sup>

Martial was a Celtiberian from Bilbilis in Hispania Tarraconensis, known for his satirical writings and commentary on his contemporaries. Little is known about his personal life. He lived in Rome for thirty-five years, where he published all but one of his books. Book III of Martial's *Epigrams* was written in Cisalpine Gaul.<sup>121</sup> Martial lived and wrote his *Epigrams* in the first century AD. The oldest surviving copy of Martial, which includes the epigram that pertains to Claudia, is either eighth or ninth century and is known as *Vienna 227*.<sup>122</sup>

Florus (whose full name is a subject of debate) was born in the first century in Africa. He travelled to Rome and later to places in the East, such as Armenia, Scily, Crete, Rhodes, and Egypt. He eventually opened up a school in *Hispania Tarraconensis* and taught literature. It is thought that was where he began to work on his *Epitome* before returning to Rome to live under the Emperor Hadrian.<sup>123</sup> The transmission of Florus' *Epitome* is not well

---

<sup>118</sup> R.H. Rouse, "Julius Paris, *Epitome of Valerius Maximus*, Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*, Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus*," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 290-292

<sup>119</sup> M.D. Reeve, "Columella," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 146-147

<sup>120</sup> William Shepherd. *The life of Poggio Bracciolini*. (London: T. Cadell, Jun., & W. Davies, 1801), iv, 487.

<sup>121</sup> Martial, *Complete Works of Martial*. Delphi Classics. (Hastings, UK: Delphi Publishing Ltd, 2014), 260-267.

<sup>122</sup> M.D. Reeve, "Martial," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 239-244.

<sup>123</sup> Florus, "Introduction," *Epitome of Roman History*. trans. E. S. Forster, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929), viii-xiii.

known. Though originally written sometime during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian in the early second century (AD 117-138), surviving library catalogues inform us that copies existed in various places in the ninth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Large sections of the *Epitome* were also incorporated into Jordanes' work, *De summa temporum vel origine actibusque gentis Romanorum*, in the sixth century. Florus also drew heavily on Livy's *History of Rome* to write the *Epitome*, which has helped in the reconstructions of his work. There is one ninth century copy of the text; however, the best version of the *Epitome* survives in a tenth century text which was discovered in the early nineteenth century.<sup>124</sup>

Gnaeus Pompeius Trogus was a historian who lived in the first century BC, and was made a Roman citizen sometime during the time of Gnaeus Pompey Magnus. He was of the Vocontii, a Celtic tribe living in Gaul. Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, written in the third century AD, is all that survives of Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae*. That history, while devoted to the study of the Macedonian monarchy, also examined the history of the world at large.<sup>125</sup> The original forty-four books that made up this history were greatly reduced in Justin's *Epitome*, which was well known in Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Though the earliest fragment dates to the eighth century, more than 200 manuscripts survive from various centuries. The earliest complete texts date to the ninth century. We can only speculate on whether the fact that he was a Celt of a Gaulish tribe might have had any bearing on his original work.<sup>126</sup>

Julius Caesar's *The Gallic War* commentaries were known to exist by AD 46, when Cicero praised them, and the implication is that they had been in circulation even earlier. Yet the earliest surviving version dates to the ninth century AD, and over seventy-five additional copies exist which were written later than that.<sup>127</sup> The result is approximately nine centuries for errors in transmission to have occurred from when these commentaries were originally written.

---

<sup>124</sup> P.K. Marshall, "Florus," *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 164-166.

<sup>125</sup> ("Notice of the Life and Writings of Justin," *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius*, trans. Rev. John Selby Watson (London: George Bell and Sons, 1886), v-viii. digitized by the Tertullian Project, transcribed by Roger Pearse, Ipswich, UK, 2003, [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/justinus\\_02\\_intro.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/justinus_02_intro.htm) [Accessed June 2012].

<sup>126</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "Justinus," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 197-199.

<sup>127</sup> M. Winterbottom, "Caesar," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 35-36.

Strabo lived into his eighties, from 64-63 BC to about AD 24, and was well travelled for his time. Born into an affluent family in Pontus in Anatolia, he travelled to Greece, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Italy. Travel in the latter portion of his life is uncertain. Strabo was also well read, and made references to many other authors (whose works have been lost over time) in his own work. There is some debate about when his *Geography* was written (dates of 7 BC and AD 18 have been put forward). The *Geography* was not popular in antiquity, and therefore uncommon, and there was evidence that all surviving manuscripts descend from a lost archetype. Today's version of Strabo is based on a handful of manuscripts from varying periods, the earliest of which dates to the tenth century.<sup>128</sup>

Sallust was a politician, historian, and Roman citizen, born in Italy in the first century BC. His *Histories* are a very fragmented work, and large portions of it have been lost altogether. There are several fragmentary papyri from Egypt dating to the second/third century AD, as well as a fourth century fragment thought to have been imported from Italy. A fifth century copy of the *Histories* was dismantled in the seventh or eighth century and repurposed, and only eight leaves of this original work survive. Finally, some additional excerpts from the *Histories* consisting of letters and speeches survive in a number of other texts.<sup>129</sup>

*Historical Miscellany* or *Varia Historia* was written by Aelian, a Roman author of the late second/early third century, who preferred to write in Greek. This particular work has an interesting *stemma*. The oldest manuscript that still survives is *Codex Parisinus graecus supplementi* 358. It was first noted in the sixteenth century, but its construction and materials indicate it may date to the thirteenth century. The only other known copy, referred to as *Codex x* (and which also seems to date to the thirteenth or fourteenth century), disappeared from the Vatican sometime after 1522 (possibly in the sack of Rome in 1527). All other manuscript copies derive from these two manuscripts.<sup>130</sup> Very little is known about his life.

Livy was born in northern Italy and grew up during the time of the Roman expansion into Gaul by Caesar. Nothing is known of his family. He did spend time in Rome, but never

---

<sup>128</sup> Strabo, "Introduction," *The Geography of Strabo*, trans. Horace Leonard Jones, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960), xi-xliii.

<sup>129</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "Sallust, *Historiae*," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 347-349.

<sup>130</sup> Mervin R. Dilts, "The Manuscript Tradition of Aelian's *Varia Historia* and Heraclides' *Politia*," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* vol. 96 (1965): 57-72.

seems to have held a public office, instead devoting himself to literature. His linguistic attitude towards women was mentioned earlier in this chapter. He is described by academics as having “gloried” in the history of Republic.<sup>131</sup> Livy’s *History of Rome* was written (based on the information contained in his work) sometime between 27 and 20 BC, and was originally 142 books. Today, only 35 survive, plus a few fragments of another. The transmission of Livy’s work was complicated, due to the fact that it was broken up because of its size. No surviving manuscript predates the fifth century (with the exception that fragments of *Vatican lat. 10696* may date to the fourth century AD).<sup>132</sup>

Born to a well-to-do political family in Arcadia in approximately 208 BC, Polybius may have spent time fighting the Gauls in Asia Minor. It is important to note that he emphasized the supremacy of Rome over that of his native Greece, and argued that Greece should accept this. He travelled widely and wrote about many things, including the Numantine War in Spain, at which he may have been present.<sup>133</sup> Polybius wrote his *Histories* in the second century BC. The earliest and main manuscript from which Books 1-5 of the *Histories* are derived can be found in the manuscript *Vaticanus Graecus 124*, which was produced by a monk named Ephraem (or Ephraim) in approximately AD 947, meaning a transmission gap of approximately 1,000 years.<sup>134</sup>

Diodorus Siculus lived and wrote his *Library of History* in the first century BC. He did not travel to create his history of the world, but utilized numerous other works and the accounts of other authors. While admired for his library and book collection, Diodorus was criticized by his contemporaries for over using it.<sup>135</sup> The oldest manuscript containing

---

<sup>131</sup> Livy, “Introduction” *History of Rome Books I-II*, trans. B.O. Foster, (containing Books 1-2). (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), ix-xxxvi

<sup>132</sup> L.D. Reynolds, “Livy,” in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 205-214.

<sup>133</sup> Polybius, “Introduction,” *The Histories*, trans. H. J. Edwards, vol 1. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922); F. W. Walbank. *A historical commentary on Polybius*. (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>134</sup> Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 66-67; J.M. Moore, “Polybius 1.2.7-8 and 1.3.3,” *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, vol. 16, no. 2 (1966): 243-247.)

<sup>135</sup> Diodorus Siculus, “Introduction,” *Library of History*, trans. C.H. Oldfather, vol. 1. (containing Books 1-2.34) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933), vii-xxv.



Diodorus' *Library of History* is the *Codex Vindobonensis*, which dates to the eleventh century, leaving a transmission gap of nearly a millennia.<sup>136</sup>

Valerius Maximus wrote during the reign of the Emperor Tiberius (AD 14-37), though little is known of his life. His work, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, survives in its earliest form in two manuscripts dating from the ninth century.<sup>137</sup>

Plutarch was born in a central region of Greece known as Boeotia in the first century AD of a well-to-do family and was educated in Athens. He later became a Roman citizen.<sup>138</sup> He spent time travelling around the eastern Mediterranean, while conducting various diplomatic and political activities. He is recorded as not becoming fluent in Latin during his life. He later retired to Greece, where he wrote the *Moralia*.<sup>139</sup> The oldest available copies of his *Moralia* dates from between the tenth and fifteenth centuries, and those manuscripts are found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This leaves a gap in transmission of at least 900 years.

Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* consists of an impressive thirty-seven books, all of which were written in the first century AD. Unfortunately, due to the large nature of the work, it is hard to date its earliest survival because it was recorded in numerous other works as fragments. These fragments of Pliny's work date to varying centuries, the earliest being the fifth century AD. Many of the better manuscripts date to the ninth century or later.<sup>140</sup> Pliny served in the Roman military. He served in Germania Inferior and is known to have written a (now lost) *History of the German Wars*. His writing spanned decades. Pliny was a naturalist and had a great fascination with the natural world. He was killed during the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79.

The *Pharsalia* that Lucan wrote in the first century AD survives in fragmentary form in texts dating from the fourth, seventh, and eighth centuries. It is important to note that there are complete versions dating to the ninth century (five manuscripts date to this period,

---

<sup>136</sup> Diodorus Siculus, "Introduction," *Library of History*, trans. C.H. Oldfather, vol. 1. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 19 ),vii-xxv.

<sup>137</sup> P. K. Marshall, "Valerius Maximus," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 428-430

<sup>138</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, trans. Frank Cole Babbitt, vol. 1, 1927, xx

<sup>139</sup> Plutarch, "Introduction" *The Parallel Lives*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin, vol 1. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914), xi - xix.

<sup>140</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "The Elder Pliny," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 307-316.)

together with a fragmentary sixth text), and that collectively there are more than 400 complete and partial copies in existence.<sup>141</sup> Born in Spain, he was the grandson of Seneca the Elder. Lucan being born into a wealthy family and was well educated. Initially friends with the Emperor Nero, and at one point a consul, he had a falling out with the Emperor and eventually was implicated in a conspiracy. In AD 65, Lucan was forced to committed suicide.<sup>142</sup>

Silius Italicus' *Punica* was written in the first century AD, and it is hard to trace its transmission in the centuries following its authorship. Though there are a few mentions of his *Punica* in the documents of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, the earliest copy was discovered in 1417 during the *Council of Constance* (though this may have been the same volume described in the tenth century). Other copies dating to the fifteenth century are known.<sup>143</sup> Silius Italicus was a Latin epic poet, and his only surviving work is the *Punica*. Known as an orator and politician, he spent some time in Asia. Most of the *Punica* seems to have been written in his retirement. He survived both Nero and Domitian. He grew ill later in life and chose to commit suicide by starving himself to death in AD 103. His work is the longest piece of Latin epic poetry to survive.<sup>144</sup>

Appian wrote several works, one of which, his *Roman History*, was used in this study. A native of Alexandria, Egypt, he lived and wrote in the second century AD. He is described as coming from an equestrian ranked family. According to Photius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who lived in the ninth century, there were in that period at least twenty-four of Appian's works in existence. (These were noted by Photius in his *Myriobiblon*, an encyclopedia of literature.) Unfortunately, only eleven of Appian's works have come down to us in varying condition. The earliest fragments of Appian's work date to the tenth century. The first modern editions of Appian to be published date to 1452 and 1551 (in Latin and in

---

<sup>141</sup> (R.J. Tarrant, "Lucan," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 215-218.)

<sup>142</sup> Lucan, "Introduction," *The Civil War: Books I-X Pharsalia*, trans. J. D. Duff, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), ix-xv.

<sup>143</sup> (M.D. Reeve, "Silius Italicus," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 389-391

<sup>144</sup> Antony, Augoustakis, "Silius Italicus, A Flavian Poet," In *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus*, ed. Antony Augoustakis, (Lieden: Brill, 2010), 3-26.

Greek, respectively). Appian served in Rome before becoming a procurator in Egypt. It was while he was in Egypt that he wrote his *Roman History*.<sup>145</sup>

Dio Cassius wrote his *Roman History* over a number of years, between AD 200 and 222. Born to a wealthy family, he was a native of Bithynia. He became a senator and spent time in part of Anatolia when his father was a governor there. He served as a praetor under the Emperor Septimius Severus, later becoming a writer. Under later Emperors, he travelled and continued to serve in positions of power in various provinces.<sup>146</sup> The main manuscripts of Dio's *Roman History* date to the eleventh century and contain large sections of his work. Some of the gaps in the eleventh century manuscripts are filled by fifteenth century manuscripts. However, the earliest fragments of Dio actually date to the fifth or sixth century, in *Vaticanus Graecus 1288*. Book 62 of Dio Cassius' *Roman History* – comes to us from a ninth century abridgement done by Xiphilinus, a monk of Constantinople.<sup>147</sup>

Zonaras lived in the twelfth century and was a secretary for the Emperor Alexis I. Comnenus. He was a theologian and a chronicler who spent the last portion of his life living in a monastery and writing. In his retirement, he wrote an eighteen-book history of the world known as *Extracts of History*. For his section on Roman history, his primary source was Dio Cassius and, as such, this section was viewed to be an epitome of Dio.<sup>148</sup>

Stattius' *Silvae* was composed between AD 89-96, though the earliest surviving version of dates to the early ninth century AD and the next oldest to the fifteenth century.<sup>149</sup> Stattius spent much of his life in Naples writing poetry, but also spent time in Rome. Most of what we know of him comes from his own works.<sup>150</sup>

Polyaenus was a second century AD Macedonian author who wrote the *Stratagems of War*. We know he dedicated the *Stratagems* to Marcus Aurelius and Verus during the

---

<sup>145</sup> Appian, "Introduction," *Roman History*, vii-xii.

<sup>146</sup> Dio Cassius, "Introduction," *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, (containing Books 1-11) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), vii-xxvi.

<sup>147</sup> Jeffrey Henderson, ed., *Dio Cassius – Roman History*, "Introduction" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), vol. 1, xxii.

<sup>148</sup> Dio Cassius, "Introduction," *Roman History*, vol. 1, xvii-xxvi.

<sup>149</sup> M.D. Reeve, "Stattius: *Silvae*," in *Texts and Transmissions: A Survey of Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 397-399.

<sup>150</sup> Stattius, "Introduction," *Silvae, Thebaid I-IV, Vol I*, trans. J. H. Mozley, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), vii-xxxii.

Parthian War. The earliest manuscript of Polyaeus' *Stratagems* dates to the fifteenth century.<sup>151</sup>

Sextus Julius Frontius' work, *Stratagems*, written in the first century AD, partially survived in the *Historia Romana* of Paul the Deacon, a work which dates to the eighth century. However, the earliest complete version is found in a manuscript dating to the second quarter of the ninth century. Numerous other copies of varying qualities from later centuries also survive. This leaves us with roughly a gap in transmission of at least 600 years.<sup>152</sup> Frontius was a Roman senator in the first century AD. He served in the Rhineland and was a governor of Britain (he was followed by Agricola). While there, he campaigned against several tribes. He continued to have a successful career in Roman after his time in the provinces.<sup>153</sup>

A complete copy of *The Twelve Caesars* by Suetonius is known to have survived as late as the sixth century AD, and was a complete manuscript until the ninth century, at which time portions of the text (the *Prologue* and the *Divine Julius*) went missing. The oldest surviving (though incomplete) copy dates to approximately AD 820 and is known as *Paris lat. 6115*.<sup>154</sup> Suetonius was born in Africa in the first century AD, and seems to have travelled to Rome to be educated during the reign of Domitian. While in Rome, he became friends with Pliny the Younger. He eventually became secretary to Emperor Hadrian before he was subsequently dismissed.<sup>155</sup>

The *Tractatus de Mulieribus Claris in Bello* was written by an unknown author at an uncertain date, but survives in the *Laurentianus Graecus 56.1*. The three subsequent copies of this text that exist are all descendants of this older manuscript. The earliest of these dates

---

<sup>151</sup> Deborah Levine Gera, *Warrior Women: the Anonymous Tractatus de Mulieribus*, from the Mnemosyne Series Bibliotheca Classica Batava, 162 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997), 36-39.

<sup>152</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "Frontius *Strategemata*," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 171-172.

<sup>153</sup> Frontius, "Introduction," *The Strategemata*, trans. Charles Bennett, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), xi - xxv

<sup>154</sup> S.J. Tibbetts, "Suetonius *De vita Caesarum*," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 399-404.

<sup>155</sup> Suetonius, "Introduction," *Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1913).

to approximately AD 1295.<sup>156</sup> With little known about the origins of this work, the intentions of the author or authors cannot be known.

The *Vita Sancti Ambrosii* was written by Paulinus, the secretary to the Archbishop Ambrose, sometime between AD 412 and 422. The oldest surviving copy of the *Vita* dates to the eighth or ninth century, though it suffers from numerous interlinear corrections and omissions. There are also two copies dating to the tenth century. However, the only translation into English of the text was based upon an edition from the seventeenth century.<sup>157</sup> Written to be the hagiography of a saint, we can assume that Paulinus was biased towards Ambrose, who was deceased when he wrote his life history.

### *Latin Linguistics: The Intent of Classical Authors and the Errors in Translation*

English is a very large language.<sup>158</sup> A number of the words in the English language are archaic, and some have modern meanings that are very different from the original use. English is not the only language that has evolved over time and borrowed from its neighbors. Even though Latin is a dead language, excluding its usage by the Catholic Church, the language has evolved so words from classical times are different from words in Medieval Latin. Though largely overlooked, these differences can have a dramatic impact on how works are interpreted and translated in modern times.

A famous example of how a shift in the interpretation of a classical work can have a dramatic and lasting impact on history can be found in the labelling of Mary Magdalene as a prostitute or repentant sinner. The view of Mary Magdalene as a repentant sinner has early roots going back to certain theologians as early as the fourth century AD. However, when Pope Gregory I gave a homily, in AD 591, he fundamentally altered the view of Mary in the Western Church.<sup>159</sup> In a series of sermons on Mary, he linked her to an unnamed female sinner and to Mary of Bethany, described in the *Gospel of Luke*. This opinion of the church

---

<sup>156</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 5-6; Everett Wheeler, "Polyaenus: *Scriptor Militaris*," In *Polyainos: neue Studien [Polyaenus: new studies]*. Ed. Kai Brodersen (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2010): 32.

<sup>157</sup> Paulinus. *Vita Sancti Ambrosii, Mediolanensis Episcopi, a Paulino Eius Notario Ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta: A Revised Text, and Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation*. trans. Mary Simplicita Kaniecka. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1928) "Introduction," 6-9.

<sup>158</sup> Jesse Sheidlower, "Word Count: Are there really 988,968 words in the English language?" *The Good Word: Language and How We Use It*, April 10, 2006, The Slate Group, 2004, [http://www.slate.com/articles/life/the\\_good\\_word/2006/04/word\\_count.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/life/the_good_word/2006/04/word_count.html) [Accessed May 2014].

<sup>159</sup> Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh, eds. *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles* (New York: Routledge, 2014), xvi.

did not change until 1969, during the time of Paul VI, when the papacy separated the Marys.<sup>160</sup> That is 1,378 years of tradition created because a particularly influential figure interpreted a series of classical texts.

### *Archaeological Sources*

Archaeological sources include, among others, epigraphical finds, human remains, textile remains, artifacts, religious sites, contextual finds, and settlement patterns. In and of themselves, they can lead to hypotheses about past societies, their cultures and rituals – such as cult worship of female goddesses. Such theories can sometimes benefit from the use of historical sources, which can validate, refute, or alter the basic archaeological theorems.

As an archaeologist, one learns that only a very small fraction of ancient bodies survive, so it is not surprising that, when compared to the population estimates of different Celtic and Germanic tribes reported by classical sources, very few Middle to Late Iron Age human remains have been discovered in northern and western Europe, and fewer still are clearly identifiable as women. Some that are known to be women are bog bodies, which have been found in sites scattered across northern Europe (with the largest numbers being in Denmark and the Netherlands). One of the best examples is the fully clothed body of a woman, who lived c. 130 BC - AD 70, found at Huldremose, Denmark.<sup>161</sup> It is often difficult to determine the sex of bog bodies, given varying degrees of preservation and the century in which the bodies were discovered. For those bodies that have survived and are in relatively good condition, even DNA tests are frequently inconclusive due to the chemical interaction of the bog with the preserved tissue. In addition, these bodies frequently have been mutilated (either in the past or during peat cutting) – and in some cases only portions of the body have survived. Finally, bog bodies are often found with no accompanying artifacts that would indicate whether they were male or female. In some instances, further analysis of bog bodies has resulted in the realization that the initial determination of the sex was inaccurate (as, for example, the body found at Elling, Denmark, and initially thought to be a man is now known

---

<sup>160</sup> Larissa Juliet Taylor, "Apostle to the Apostles: The Complexity of Medieval Preaching about Mary Magdalene," in *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles*, eds. Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh (New York: Routledge, 2014), 47.

<sup>161</sup> David Jenkins, ed., *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles: Volume I* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 64; "New Prehistory exhibition at The National Museum in Copenhagen," *Viking Today*, April 15, 2008, <http://www.vikingtoday.com/articles/2008/20080415.htm> [Accessed November 2008]; P. V. Glob, *The Bog People*, trans. Rupert Bruce-Mitford (London: Faber and Faber, 1969), 79-80.

to be a woman).<sup>162</sup> New research into strontium isotope testing of these remains and the remains of their clothing is giving vast insight into the bodies in a way that never existed previously. Such research is allowing archaeologists to discover not only where humans grew up and where they moved, but also where the sheep originated that produced the wool from which their clothes were made.<sup>163</sup>

Traditional burials can also offer important and different information about individuals and, at times, can identify women in the archaeological record. Inhumations and cremations are frequently found with grave goods in the Late Iron Age, and these items can help determine the gender of the remains, the possible status of the individual, and what kind of access they might have had to trade goods. For instance, skeletal remains have been discovered in context with textiles and artifacts that clearly point to the individual as female, as in the case of a young girl's skeleton found at Lønne Hede in Denmark (first century AD).<sup>164</sup> At times, the sex of skeletal remains can be hard to determine, depending on their condition. Grave goods can occasionally confuse interpretation even further. Iron Age mirrors are commonly associated with female burials;<sup>165</sup> however, on Bryher in the Isles of Scilly, a cist burial, found in 1999, contained a sword, portions of a shield, and a bronze mirror. This mix of male and female grave goods in a single burial has raised questions about gender interpretation.<sup>166</sup> Bone survival was very poor in this burial, which has been dated to the first century BC (both stylistically and with radio carbon dating), and sex could not be determined through DNA tests. This grave and others like it may change our interpretation of gendering grave goods.<sup>167</sup> Another instance that shows how important it is not to judge a grave by its finds are the human remains from grave D at Les Martres-de-Veyre, France,

---

<sup>162</sup> Glob, *Bog People*, 97,118.

<sup>163</sup> Christine Dell'Amore, "Who Were the Ancient Bog Mummies? Surprising New Clues," National Geographic, July 18, 2014, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/07/18/140718-bog-bodies-denmark-archaeology-science-iron-age/> [Accessed June 2016].

<sup>164</sup> Jenkins, *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 94.

<sup>165</sup> Shelly Hales, "Tricks with Mirrors: Remembering the Death of Noricum," in *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, eds. Shelly Hales and Tamar Hodos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 227-251; Vladimir D. Mihajlović, "Adultery in the Mirror: Roman Mirror from Viminacium, Myth, Moral and Rite(s) of Passage" (in English), in *Antiquity and Modern World, Vol. 5: Antiquity and Modern World: Religion and Culture*, 178-193 (Belgrade: Scientific Publications of the Serbian Society for Ancient Studies, 2011).

<sup>166</sup> Judith P. Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, (London: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>167</sup> Charles Johns, "An Iron Age sword and mirror cist burial from Bryher, Isles of Scilly," *Cornish Archaeology* 41-2 (2002-3): 18, 20, 70-71.

where a woman's remains were found with a full set of clothing consisting of a tunic, sash, hose, and boots. The clothing is not inherently indicative of a female burial.<sup>168</sup> In England, at a cemetery near the site of the Roman settlement at Catterick, the body of a man was found with massive quantities of jewelry, including a necklace, an anklet, and two bracelets, some of which was made from jet. The jewelry found in this grave initially led to its interpretation that the remains were those of a woman.<sup>169</sup> This grave is now thought to be the grave of a man who may have been a transvestite priest of Cybele.<sup>170</sup> The so-called "Harper Road woman" died in London around AD 50-70 and was buried in a coffin with a torc, hand mirror, and pottery – items frequently associated with burials of women.<sup>171</sup> The results of a recent DNA test showed that, based on chromosomes, this individual was male.<sup>172</sup> A new elite tomb, excavated at Lavau in France in 2015, contains the remains of what was thought to be a woman. The site, only 40 miles from the Vix tomb, contained no weapons, but instead elaborate jewelry. DNA testing has just confirmed it is, in fact, a male grave.<sup>173</sup>

DNA may be the best way to determine the sex of an individual, but it is clear that gender could be socially constructed and distinct from the sex of the individual in these ancient cultures, just as it is in modern societies. As historians, we cannot allow ourselves to make assumptions about artifacts. If they are hastily engendered or assigned functions, there is a risk of losing the ability to understand what the archaeological record can reveal.<sup>174</sup>

---

<sup>168</sup> W. Nowik, S. Desrosiers, I. Surowieic and M. Trojanowicz, "The Analysis of Dyestuffs from First-to-Second-Century Textile Artefacts Found in the Martres-de-Veyre (France) Excavations," *Archaeometry* 47, no. 4 (2005): 835-837; A. Audollent, *Les Tombes gallo-romaines à inhumation des Martres-de-Veyre (Puy-de-Dôme)*, Paris: Klincksieck (Extrait des Mém. prés. par div. sav. à l'Acad. des Inscr., T. XIII), 1923.

<sup>169</sup> Lindsay Allason-Jones, "Women in Roman Britain," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 473-474.

<sup>170</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids: Story of an Ancient Priesthood* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 229.

<sup>171</sup> "Roman bronze neck-collar or torc: 1st century," Roman Gallery, Museum of London, <http://www.museumoflondonprints.com/image/60958/unknown-roman-bronze-neck-collar-or-torc-1st-century> [Accessed November 2015].

<sup>172</sup> Pallab Ghosh, "DNA study finds London was ethnically diverse from the start," BBC News: Science & Environment, 23 November 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-34809804> [Accessed November 23, 2015]. Additional information courtesy of the Museum of London, 2015; aDNA publication is forthcoming - Laura Jackson, Press office of the Museum of London, e-mail message to Lauren Hammersen, November 24, 2015.

<sup>173</sup> Jason Urbanus, "Eternal Banquets of the Early Celts," *Archaeology*, November/December, 2015:45-49; Jason Urbanus, e-mail message to Lauren Hammersen, November 25, 2015.

<sup>174</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.



In addition to bodies, the bogs of northern Europe also preserved remnants of textiles. The body of the woman at Elling was found together with two fur capes, a woolen belt, and a leather halter.<sup>175</sup> Graves can also yield textiles, as at Lønne Hede, where sufficient textile remnants of a blue and red gown were discovered that it has been reconstructed.<sup>176</sup> Textiles are not always found in the context of a body. Fragments of a three-tone, woad-dyed mantle, dating from about AD 200, were found in Thorsberg (or Thorsbjerg), Germany – though not in conjunction with a body.<sup>177</sup> At Huldremose, Denmark, a peplos-style dress from the Iron Age (dating to the fourth century BC) was found – again not in conjunction with a body.<sup>178</sup>

Artifacts such as religious altars or votive figures sometimes depict Celtic or Germanic women. On other occasions, artifacts include items that were used by women, such as brooches, mirrors, and weaving implements (though all of these objects have been found on women's funerary monuments, their presence does not automatically indicate that their owner was a woman, as noted above).<sup>179</sup> Some examples of artifacts depicting women are the *Dama Oferente*, found in the region of Celtiberia, which show women making offerings.<sup>180</sup> Other statues from Spain include the *Dama Sedente*, which are sculptures of women from the fourth and third centuries BC, depicting elaborate hairstyles, clothing and jewelry.<sup>181</sup> An example from Denmark is the Gundestrup cauldron, dating to the first half of the first century BC. This silver cauldron has panels depicting gods, goddesses, attendants (including a female attendant) and beasts.<sup>182</sup> This artifact is enigmatic, in that it depicts many aspects of Celtic life, but was found in a Germanic region. It was made in a Mediterranean style

---

<sup>175</sup> “The Tollund Man - A Face from Prehistoric Denmark, Elling Woman,” Silkeborg Public Library, Silkeborg Museum and Amtscener for Undervisning, Aarhus Amt, 2005, <http://www.tolundmanden.dk/ellingkvinden.asp> [Accessed November 2008].

<sup>176</sup> Jenkins, *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 94; J. Harris, ed., *5000 Years of Textiles*, (London: British Museum Press, 1995), 67; Reconstruction of Lønne Hede gown, Lejre Research Centre, [www.lejre-center.dk/FARVNING-AF-GARN.616.0.html](http://www.lejre-center.dk/FARVNING-AF-GARN.616.0.html) [Accessed December 2008].

<sup>177</sup> Harris, *5000 Years of Textiles*, 67; Jenkins, *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 94; Todd, *The Early Germans*, 131.

<sup>178</sup> Jenkins, *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*, 62-65.

<sup>179</sup> As mentioned earlier the grave at Bryher on the Isles of Scilly included multigendered objects including a mirror, shield fragment and a sword. Weavers and textile workers of both sexes will be addressed in Chapter 5. Brooches were a universal item in antiquity and were used to fasten clothing and for ornamental purposes; Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*.

<sup>180</sup> Paul Baur, “Pre-Roman Antiquities of Spain,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 11, no. 2(April-June, 1907): 191.

<sup>181</sup> *Dama Sedente*, Cerro de los Santos, Albacete, Spain, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

<sup>182</sup> Venceslas Kruta, *The Celts* (London: Hachette Illustrated, 2004), 224-225.

(perhaps in Thrace), but depicts animals not found in Europe – such as elephants.<sup>183</sup> As will be shown in Chapters 4, 5, 7 and 8, there are also Roman statues that depict Celtic and Germanic women. We can be less sure of Roman depictions than we can be of those either created or commissioned by the Celts or Germans themselves, and we must keep in mind that the Romans are depicting conquered peoples.

The Celts seem to have had deep religious associations with bodies of water and votive springs, though the specifics of that association are not clear. One of the more famous is the association of Sul or Sulis with the hot springs of Bath, where she was worshipped by the Romano-British as Sulis Minerva. Votive objects and inscribed lead tablets suggest that she was conceived of as both a nourishing, life-giving mother goddess and an effective agent of curses wished by her votaries.<sup>184</sup> Sacred springs, rivers, and pools are found among both the Celts and Germans. These sites can have unique and detailed votive figurines left as offerings to a deity, like Sequana, goddess of the river Seine.<sup>185</sup> One such votive figurine is a wooden sculpture of a woman (possibly a priestess or goddess), wearing a torque, found in a votive spring at Source des Roches at Chamalières, France.<sup>186</sup> Though the clothing and style of the statue appears to be from after the Roman expansion into Gaul, the fact that she is wearing a torque may indicate she was a Celt. It is one of roughly 5,000 votive figures found at this spring; these finds dating from the first century BC to the first century AD.<sup>187</sup> In Germany, at a site at Oberdorla, Thuringia, thirty wooden figurines were found which had been made as cult offerings between 500 BC and AD 500. Figurines are not limited to small

---

<sup>183</sup> Ruth and Vincent Megaw, *Celtic Art: From its Beginnings to the Book of Kells* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1996), 174-177; T. G. E. Powell, *The Celts* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1980), 193-194; Miranda Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art* (London: Routledge, 1989), 7-8.

<sup>184</sup> A.D. Lee, '6.13 'Whether pagan or Christian': Tab Sulis 98,' *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 131; H.H. Scullard, *Roman Britain: Outpost of the Empire* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979), 90, 158.

<sup>185</sup> Miranda J. Green, "The Gods and the Supernatural," in *The Celtic World*, ed. Miranda J. Green (New York: Routledge, 1996), 470, 485.

<sup>186</sup> Helmut Birkhan, *Kelten – Celts: Images of Their Culture* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), 288;

Her status as a priestess rather than a goddess has been suggested due to the veil she wears on her head. (Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids*, 225-226).

<sup>187</sup> W.H. Manning, "Iron Working in the Celtic World," in *The Celtic World*, ed. Miranda J. Green (New York: Routledge, 1996), 322; Green, "The Gods and the Supernatural," *The Celtic World*, 470.

statues, for in Braak, Holstein, a male figure measuring 2.75 meters in height and a slightly shorter female figure were found at the edge of a bog.<sup>188</sup>

Religious shrines and statues also play an important role in understanding women. They normally portray goddesses, but sometimes the individuals making offerings to them. There are many regional goddesses among the Celts and Germans and a handful of pan-Celtic and pan-Germanic goddesses and concepts.

Throughout the Celtic and Germanic regions, there was a mother goddess cult, the *deae matres*, which is represented by three goddesses. There are numerous examples in Iberia, Gaul, along the Rhine, and Britain of dedicated statuary depicting three women, frequently seated. This does not appear to be a cult found before the Roman expansion and occupation of these regions. Rather, it represents a later, seemingly pan-Celtic and pan-Germanic, idea. These goddesses are also regional deities known by dozens of names in different areas. Some of these names include the Aufaniae, the Austriahenae, and the Vacallinehae.<sup>189</sup> Each region, while following a similar format in depicting goddesses, adds cultural details to each shrine, thus providing information on clothing, hair styles and jewelry worn by Celtic and Germanic women in those areas. Another pan-Celtic goddess was Epona, the horse goddess, who appears with horses or on a horse and is a very easily identified goddess whose shrines and statues are found throughout Celtic Europe.<sup>190</sup>

There are dozens of smaller, more regional goddesses to whom shrines and statues were created, such as Damona, Sirona, Sequana, and Bricta. These statues can provide more regionally detailed information on pan-European goddesses,<sup>191</sup> but shed little light on the women of the societies in which they were worshipped.

### ***Classical Sources and Archaeological Sources Combined***

There are a few types of finds that straddle the boundary between an archaeological source and a classical source. One type that is particularly valuable includes the letters and

---

<sup>188</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans*, 106, 108.

<sup>189</sup> Green, "The Gods and the Supernatural," *The Celtic World*, 474-476; Todd, *The Early Germans*, 105.

<sup>190</sup> Gaul - Miranda J. Green, *Celtic Goddesses: Warriors, Virgins and Mothers* (New York: George Braziller, 1995), 184-187; Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 16-24; Germany - Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 184-187; Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 16-24; Britain - Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 184-187; Celtiberia - Leonard A. Curchin, *Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation*, New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1991, 157; Silvia Alfayé Villa, "La Iconografía Divina en Celtiberia: Una Revisión Crítica," *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 76 (2003): 82-86.

<sup>191</sup> Green, "The Gods and the Supernatural," 474, 478.

writing tablets that survive in the archaeological record. The tablets from Vindolanda, the Roman fort near Hadrian's Wall, are an example of something that is both an archaeological find and a classical source. (These letters and tablets will feature throughout the following chapters, with the Vindolanda tablets being specifically addressed in Chapter 6.)

### ***Epigraphic Material***

Relevant epigraphic finds include inscriptions on metal or stone, such as tablets, funerary monuments, religious artifacts, inscribed pottery sherds (used as scrap writing material), intact pots, and other grave goods that mention Celtic or Germanic women. An example is the Larzac inscription found in Millau. This inscription, on a lead tablet dating from c. AD 90, includes a list in Gaulish (not yet undisputedly translated) of the names of many women and their family relations.<sup>192</sup> Another example is the gravestone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, procurator of Britain, erected by his wife, Julia Pacata, daughter of Julius Indus, a nobleman of the Treveri of eastern Gaul.<sup>193</sup> A small sample of Gallo-Greek artifacts survive in the archaeological record in France, dating as far back as the third century BC, giving way to a small number of Gallo-Latin funerary monuments which decline throughout the region, giving way to Latin epigraphy.<sup>194</sup> A rather significant cache of potential information can be found in Romano-British curse tablets, many still uncatalogued, which depict women with Celtic names such as Senebellena, Gunsula, and Alauna, found in Bath, Uley and in other locations across the United Kingdom.<sup>195</sup> (Epigraphic material will largely be addressed in Chapters 6 and 7.)

### ***Genetic Evidence***

In addition to primary literature, archaeological finds, and epigraphic material, the recent efforts at genetic mapping offer a new source of scientific information about ancient societies. Bryan Sykes, professor of human genetics at the Institute of Molecular Medicine at Oxford University, has been engaged in an extensive project to map the male and female

---

<sup>192</sup> Lambert, *La Langue Gauloise*, 162-174; Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 52-72.

<sup>193</sup> T.W. Potter, *Roman Britain*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London, The British Museum Press, 1997) - Tombstone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, British Museum, Found at [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/t/tombstone\\_of\\_classicianus.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/t/tombstone_of_classicianus.aspx) [Accessed December 2008].

<sup>194</sup> Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 92-95.

<sup>195</sup> 'Curse Tablets from Roman Britain: Uley 33,' In *Curse Tablets from Roman Britain*, <http://curses.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets.shtml> [Accessed January 2009]; A.D. Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*, 131.

descendants of Europe, with specific focus on the British Isles.<sup>196</sup> The results of a similar endeavor have been published by Stephen Oppenheimer.<sup>197</sup> There are twelve mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) haplogroups (indicating descent through maternal lines) and eight Y-DNA haplogroups (indicating descent through paternal lines) in Europe, with several subgroups.

By analyzing the mtDNA found throughout what he terms “the Isles” (England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland), Sykes concluded that the maternal lineage of the overwhelming majority of people living throughout the entire region could be traced back 10,000 years to the earliest Paleolithic and Mesolithic settlers (millennia before the arrival of the earliest immigrants from northern Europe). In addition, the mtDNA evidence demonstrates that the route of migration was primarily along the Atlantic seaboard (determined due to the presence of haplogroup J), moving north from the Iberian Peninsula<sup>198</sup> – and that the mtDNA matches to continental Europe were much poorer.<sup>199</sup> In fact, Sykes writes,

I can see no evidence at all of a large-scale immigration from central Europe to Ireland and the west of the Isles generally, such as has been used to explain the presence there of the main body of ‘Gaels’ or ‘Celts.’ The ‘Celts’ of Ireland and the Western Isles are not, as far as I can see from the genetic evidence, related to the Celts who spread south and east to Italy, Greece and Turkey from the heartlands of Hallstadt [sic] and La Tene in the shadows of the Alps during the first millennium BC. The people of the Isles who now feel themselves to be Celts have far deeper roots in the Isles than that and, as far as I can see, their ancestors have been here for several thousand years.<sup>200</sup>

---

<sup>196</sup> His Oxford Genetic Atlas Project has collected 50,000 genetic samples from across Europe. The results were published in *The Seven Daughters of Eve: The Science that Reveals our Genetic Ancestry*, New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2001. He has collected 10,000 genetic samples from the British Isles, and published the results of 6,000 of these in Bryan Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006) [UK title *Blood of the Isles: Exploring the Genetic Roots of our Tribal History*].

<sup>197</sup> Oppenheimer used the study data of Weale and Cappelli, as well as that of Rosser *et al.*, and published his conclusions in *Origins of the British: A Genetic Detective Story (the Surprising Roots of the English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh)* (New York: Carroll and Graff, 2006) [UK title *Origins of the British: A New Prehistory of Britain and Ireland from Ice Age Hunter Gatherers to the Vikings As Revealed by DNA Analysis*].

<sup>198</sup> Throughout Europe (including the British Isles) the largest of the mtDNA haplogroups was H (46% in England, 45% in Scotland, 46% in Wales, no percentage given for Ireland – Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, pp. 289-90). In the British Isles, mtDNA haplogroup J was the second largest (12% in England, 13% in Scotland, 9% in Wales, no percentage given for Ireland – Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, pp. 289-90). The mutations of the mtDNA haplogroup J for those who followed the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts were at positions 069, 126, 145, 172, 222, and 261, whereas the mutations for the mtDNA haplogroup J who crossed Europe overland were at positions 069, 126, 145, 231 and 261 (Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, p.212).

<sup>199</sup> Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, 278-280.

<sup>200</sup> Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, 281; see also 211-213.

The survival of such a strong mtDNA link indicated to Sykes that it was a family-based settlement, rather than a male-led invasion.<sup>201</sup>

Oppenheimer has also concluded that the genetic origin of the (modern) Celts was in southwestern Europe, including France south of the Seine, Spain and Portugal, rather than in central Europe north of the Alps, and that Celtic languages (along with agriculture) had been spread by a wave of settlers coming from Anatolia along the northern coast of the Mediterranean beginning about 7,000 years ago. This migration along the Atlantic coast eventually reached the British Isles.<sup>202</sup>

The Y-DNA haplogroups of paternal lines is similar to the mtDNA evidence of maternal lines – indicating settlement patterns along the Atlantic seaboard coming north from the Iberian Peninsula (primarily Y-DNA haplogroup R1b<sup>203</sup>). As was the case for women, Sykes writes, “I can find no evidence at all of a large-scale arrival from the heartland of the Celts of central Europe among the paternal genetic ancestry of the Isles, just as there was none on the maternal side.”<sup>204</sup> Oppenheimer comes to the same conclusion, writing, “By far the majority of male gene types in the British Isles derive from Iberia (Spain and Portugal)....”<sup>205</sup>

---

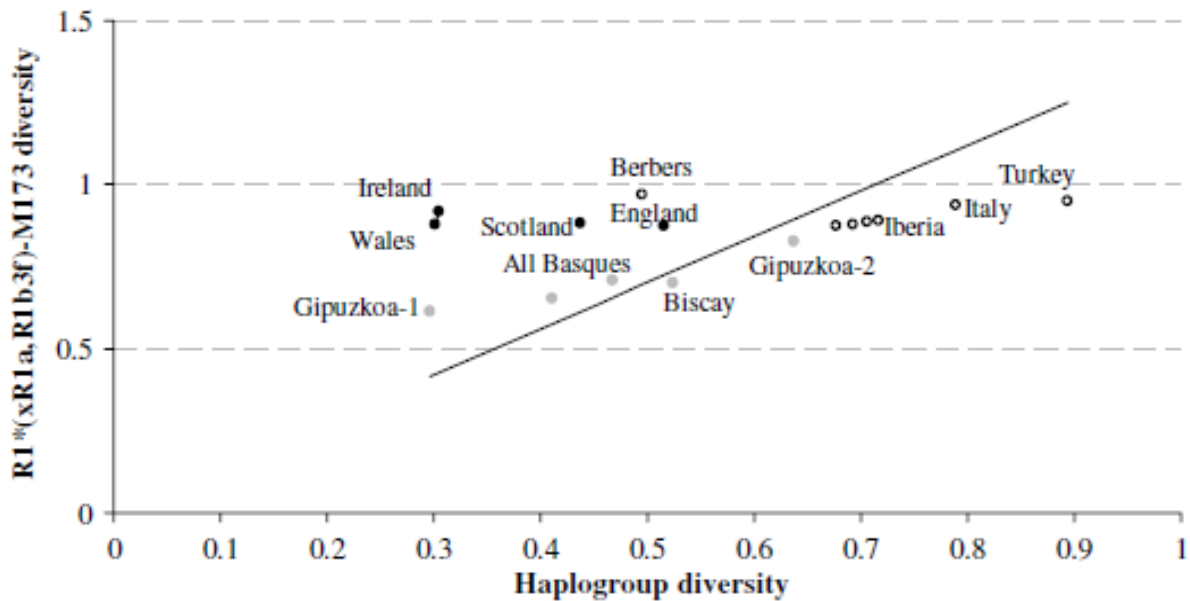
<sup>201</sup> Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, 281.

<sup>202</sup> Stephen Oppenheimer, “Myths of British Ancestry,” *Prospect* 127 (21 Oct 2006), found at <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/mythsofbritishancestry/> [Accessed March 2009]; Stephen Oppenheimer, “Myths of British Ancestry Revisited,” *Prospect* 135 (30 June 2007), found at <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/mythsofbritishancestryrevisited/> [Accessed March 2009].

<sup>203</sup> 64% in England, 75% in Scotland, 86% in Wales, and 90% in Ireland (Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts* p.290). The closest comparative percentages of Y-DNA haplogroup R1b are among the Basque, which are at 90%.

<sup>204</sup> Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, 284.

<sup>205</sup> Oppenheimer, *Origins of the British*, 375.



**Table 1. Haplogroup R1\*(xR1a,R1b3f)-M173 is the major haplogroup of the Basques and the British population.**

Source: Santos Alonso *et. al.*, “The place of the Basques in the European Y-chromosome diversity landscape,” *European Journal of Human Genetics* 13 (2005): 13, Table 4. Black dots are from the British Isles, gray are Basques.

In most of the British Isles, the diversity of Y-DNA haplogroups is quite limited. Sykes concludes this is the result of two factors: men remained where they had been raised (while women moved to marry), and the descent of many men from a few very “genetically successful ancestors” (termed the ‘Genghis effect’ because powerful chieftains monopolized the women and had more children).<sup>206</sup> However, this pattern does not hold true within the genetic evidence found in northeastern Scotland (the region Sykes calls “Pictland”), where the Y-DNA haplogroup similarity score is similar to the score for mtDNA. Sykes contends that this indicates the existence in ancient times of a society in which inheritance and succession were matrilineal – preventing any particular Y-DNA haplogroup from being linked to wealth and power for many generations.<sup>207</sup>

To date, no similar in-depth study has been conducted into the pattern of either Y-DNA or mtDNA haplogroups in Iberia,<sup>208</sup> though Hay has recently published information based on a relatively small number of DNA samples from Spain and Portugal.<sup>209</sup> There was great

<sup>206</sup> Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, 284-285; see also 216-217.

<sup>207</sup> Sykes, *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts*, 216. Sykes notes (210) that “we can confidently conclude that the Picts and the Celts have the same underlying genetic origins.” The term “Pictland” was used to designate the region of northeast Scotland.

<sup>208</sup> E-mail from Dr. Sykes to the author, 16 August 2010.

<sup>209</sup> Maciamo Hay. *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal: A look into the genes of Spanish and Portuguese people using Y-chromosomal, mitochondrial and autosomal DNA*. (Eupedia, October 2014; updated

similarity between the findings of Sykes and Oppenheimer regarding the dominant DNA haplogroups in the British Isles and the Hay's findings regarding haplogroups in Iberia. As in the British Isles, the largest mtDNA haplogroup in Iberia was H, and the percentages were similar to that found in England, Scotland and Wales (e.g., 44.1% in Spain and 43.9% in Portugal). As in the British Isles, the second largest mtDNA haplogroup in Iberia was J, though the percentages were only half those found in England, Scotland and Wales (e.g., only 6.8% in Portugal and 6.6% in Spain). Like in the British Isles, the largest Y-DNA haplogroup was R1b, though the percentages were slightly lower than in England, Scotland and Wales (e.g., 69% in Spain and 56% in Portugal).<sup>210</sup>

Contrary to Syke's and Oppenheimer's assertions that there was no maternal or paternal DNA evidence of a large-scale arrival of Celts from central Europe, Hay concluded that the southern R1b branch advanced from the Hungarian plain, through Bohemia and Germany to the Atlantic coast of Europe, and then moved south across the Pyrenees into Iberia by about 1800 BC. He described these as "Proto-Celts" and reported that their R1b Y-DNA haplogroup appears in over half the male population of Spain and Portugal.<sup>211</sup> He argued that these "Proto-Celts" were relatively small in number, possessing bronze weapons which allowed easy conquest of the indigenous Iberian populations, but that they failed to impose their language anywhere in Iberia. Hay asserted that "there is no conclusive evidence that Celtic was spoken in Iberia before the Iron Age, with the La Tène expansion of the Celts to Northeast Iberia" 1300 years later, and noted that Iberian languages were still spoken when the Romans arrived 400 years after that.<sup>212</sup> Hay asserted that the reason for the failure of these "Proto-Celts" to impose their language was because children learn the language of the people who raise them (in this case, from their indigenous Iberian mothers rather than from their "Proto-Celtic" fathers, who likely took several wives and had many children, and so spent far less time with small children than did their mothers).<sup>213</sup>

---

June 2015), found at [https://www.academia.edu/8937422/Genetic\\_history\\_of\\_Spain\\_and\\_Portugal](https://www.academia.edu/8937422/Genetic_history_of_Spain_and_Portugal) [Accessed April 2017]. The sample size used in the study of mtDNA was only 2506 individuals for all of Spain, and 1448 individuals for all of Portugal; for Y-DNA the sample size was only 1798 individuals for all of Spain and 1458 individuals for all of Portugal – roughly one-fifth the size of the population sampled by Sykes.

<sup>210</sup> Hay, *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal*, 9-10.

<sup>211</sup> Hay, *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal*, 4.

<sup>212</sup> Hay, *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal*, 4.

<sup>213</sup> Macimo Hay, "How did the Basques become R1b?" (Eupedia, October 2014.; updated June 2015), found at [http://www.eupedia.com/europe/Haplogroup\\_R1b\\_Y-DNA.shtml](http://www.eupedia.com/europe/Haplogroup_R1b_Y-DNA.shtml) [Accessed April 2017].



Hay noted that – from a genetic standpoint – the last Celtic migration to Iberia (and the one with the greatest cultural impact) occurred around 500 BC, when central European Celts from the Hallstadt culture – including not only male warriors but also entire family groups – colonized all of central and northwestern Iberia. These settlers possessed the R1b-U152 Y-DNA haplogroup, as well as G2a3b1 and J2b2 lineages. The Y-DNA haplogroups from the “Proto-Celtic” and Hallstadt Celtic incursions occur in well over half of the populations of Spain and Portugal, while only 15-30% of the mtDNA lineages can be traced to Celtic roots. Hay noted this was not surprising, considering that invading Celts would have taken local wives and concubines, resulting in a much slower declining gradient for indigenous maternal DNA haplogroups than would be the case for paternal DNA.<sup>214</sup>

The small size of the mtDNA and Y-DNA haplogroup samples from Cantabria (less than 250 individuals for either the maternal or paternal DNA) cannot confirm the accounts of Strabo and Sallust about the society among the Celtiberians in Cantabria that may have had matriarchal traditions.<sup>215</sup> Likewise, while the study of genetic material is important to understanding migrations and populations, it must be noted that genetics has little impact on culture.

\* \* \* \* \*

This chapter provided the first critical analysis of all primary sources that mention Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic and Celtiberian women, including both well-known classical authors and others who are little known, even among historians. Primary sources and epigraphic materials have revealed information about the existence of more than seventy individual Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic and Germanic women (as shown in the catalogue at Appendix I), with more than thirty additional women being named as early Christian saints in western Europe and Galatia (as shown in the catalogue at Appendix II). These numbers are distressingly small when placed in context. Less than 200 named women in classical primary source material are the only representation of half of society in several different cultures over the course of more than half a millenia. The body of information that is available from which the modern scholar can draw fact-based conclusions about any one of these individuals, much less generalize about women within a particular culture at a specific time, is a hodgepodge of classical and ecclesiastical works, religious shrines, sacred sites,

---

<sup>214</sup> Hays, *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal*, 4-5.

<sup>215</sup> Hays, *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal*, 9-10.

votive offerings, human remains and grave goods, epigraphical texts of funerary monuments, inscribed artifacts, pagan incantations, and genetic research. Nonetheless, with careful sifting and a clear understanding of what has survived and what is lacking, both in written texts and the diverse, but thinly spread amount of material contained in the archaeological record, an image of what life was like among the women of the Celts, Hispano Celts, Celtiberians, and Germans will emerge in the following chapters.

## Chapter 2: Secondary Sources and Women in Antiquity

Secondary source literature on women in the ancient world has, for more than a century, made up a relatively small percentage of historical academic research. It is not that women did not have a place in secondary literature, but that they were normally background figures. In the last fifty years, this attitude has begun to change within the field of history as a whole. No longer solely in the background, they can be found occupying a larger place in academic literature in general histories, religious histories, and even specific case studies that are focused on notable women.

In large measure, this can be traced to the growth of gender studies in history. These emerged in the 1960s, and grew as more women entered academia. With roots in anthropology and sociology, among other fields, gender studies have slowly gained a position in history and archaeology. While women academics could be found in the fields of history and (at a later date) archaeology in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a great shift occurred after World War II. Combined with the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, this led to a change in the role and number of women in academia and the way women examined the past. This change in archaeology and other fields is now studied in its own right; books like *Women in Archaeology*; *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future*; *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology*; and articles such as "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis," have appeared to document this change.<sup>216</sup> It is apparent that the modern shift towards gender equality is beginning to change how we view women who lived in earlier times. Secondary sources written in the 1800s and early 1900s tended to make minimal references to ancient women or reference them in the context of Christian morality, and did not consider their identity as a specific topic of study. More recent secondary sources provide a more fulsome discussion, at least of selected women (such as Boudica), yet discussion of the identity of women in Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian cultures is still missing. The paucity of secondary sources on these women is immediately apparent from a review of the two-volume work from 1985/1990 on women in the Mediterranean world during antiquity (*La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen I: Antiquité* and *La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen*

---

<sup>216</sup> Cheryl Claassen, ed., *Women in Archaeology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Cynthia Eller, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory: Why an Invented Past Won't Give Women a Future* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2000); Margarita Díaz-Andreu García and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen, eds., *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1998). Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis," *Diogenes*, vol. 57, no. 225 (2010): 7-14.

*II: La Femme Grecque et Romaine*). Notwithstanding the fact that Celtic, Hispano Celtic and Celtiberian societies existed along the northern shore of the Mediterranean Sea, there is virtually no mention of any women from those groups in the 3,300 books and articles listed in these two volumes. In fact, of the named women shown in Appendix I, the only two mentioned in this bibliography are Boudica and Cartimandua – both of whom lived in Britannia, rather than along the shores of the Mediterranean.<sup>217</sup> Krause’s 1992 bibliography of Roman social history provides another example of how few secondary sources exist about these women. Of the 1,026 books and articles listed in the sections on women and mothers, scarcely a dozen have direct relevance to women in Celtic, Germanic, Celto Hispanic, or Celtiberian societies (and only one of those was published prior to 1960).<sup>218</sup>

The relatively recent increase in the study of ancient women is a positive step toward acknowledging that they comprised half the population of these societies, that their stories are worthy of research, and that they are important to our understanding of the larger society in which they lived. At the same time, historians and archaeologists should always keep their own biases in mind, and attempt to overcome those biases in an effort to be as accurate as possible. Otherwise, those authors run the risk of misinterpreting data and inadvertently changing the identity of the very women they seek to examine to fit modern concepts regarding gender.

There are now several types of secondary source academic literature pertaining to women in the classical world and Late Antiquity. These include biographical dictionaries, generalized histories, case studies on specific individuals of historical significance (such as Boudica<sup>219</sup> or Cleopatra VII<sup>220</sup>), studies on every day and private life, and studies on religions

---

<sup>217</sup> Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. *La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen I: Antiquité*. Anne-Marie Verilhac, Claude Vial, L. Darmezín (eds). Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient 10. (Lyon, France: Maison de l’Orient, 1985).

Maison de l’Orient méditerranéen. *La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen II: La Femme Grecque et Romaine*. Anne-Marie Verilhac, Claude Vial, and L. Darmezín (eds). Travaux de la Maison de l’Orient 19. (Lyon, France: Maison de l’Orient, 1990). Of the 3,300 sources in this bibliography, there is no notation in the index for “Celt,” “Celtic,” “Celtiberian,” or “Hispano Celt.” Of the named women shown in the appendix, there are references in this bibliography to only two: Boudicca (9 references, of which only two are earlier than 1960) and Cartimandua (only 1 reference).

<sup>218</sup> Jens-Uwe Krause, *Die Familie und weitere anthropologischen Grundlangen*. (Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992). The sources listed discuss predominantly Roman and Greek women and, to a lesser extent, Egyptian, Merovingian, Frankish, Visigothic, and Jewish women.

<sup>219</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia: Rebel, war-leader and Queen* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2006); Richard Hingley and Christina Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen* (New York: Hambledon and London, 2005); Plantagenet Somerset Fry, *Rebellion against Rome: Boudica's Uprising against the Roman Occupation Forces in A.D. 61* (Lavenham, Suffolk: T. Dalton, 1982); Antonia Fraser, *The*

of the day – both pagan and Christian.<sup>221</sup> Important academic work and notable scholars will be examined to show where secondary source literature stands with regard to the study of women in the classical world and Late Antiquity in general. In most cases, these works do not address women in Celtic or Germanic societies or do so only tangentially. Where this is not the case, this chapter will provide a careful analysis of what academic literature is available for other historians, scholars, students, and the general public. While this paper is not a series of book reviews of recent publications, the chapter will illuminate gaps in academic writing, as well as pitfalls that encumber writing in this relatively new field.

### ***Biographical Dictionaries of Women***

Some of the oldest secondary sources written about classical women in both academic and non-academic accounts are biographical dictionaries. The oldest book of this nature that was located in the course of my research dates to 1852, and is entitled, *Woman's record, or Sketches of all distinguished women from "the beginning" till A.D. 1850: Arranged in four eras: With selections from female writers of every age*, by Mrs. Hale.<sup>222</sup> This work included women from the entire ancient world (Greek, Roman, Persian, Jewish, etc.) and repeatedly reappeared in revised and expanded editions. It is not surprising, given the century in which Mrs. Hale wrote, that there were few citations in the individual entries on women. In most instances, the only sources mentioned were parenthetical references to classical authors who

---

*Warrior Queens* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998), 43-106; Graham Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60* (London: Routledge, 1999); Vanessa Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen* (Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 2006); Paul R. Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt against Rome*, A Shire Archaeology Book (Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, Ltd., 1997).

<sup>220</sup> Susan Walker and Sally-Ann Ashton, *Cleopatra Reassessed* (London: British Museum Press, 2003); Duane W. Roller, *Cleopatra: A Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Stanley Mayer Burstein, *The Reign of Cleopatra* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004); Susan Walker and Peter Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 2001); Michel Chauveau, *Cleopatra: Beyond the Myth* (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002); Prudence J. Jones, *Cleopatra: A Sourcebook* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

<sup>221</sup> Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007); Nikos E. Kaltsas and H. A. Shapiro, *Worshipping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens* (New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (USA) in collaboration with the National Archaeological Museum, Athens, 2008); Daniel Ogden, *Magic, Witchcraft, and Ghosts in the Greek and Roman Worlds: A Sourcebook* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); Nicola Frances Denzey, *The Bone Gatherers: The Lost Worlds of Early Christian Women* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2007); Christine Trevett, *Christian Women and the Time of the Apostolic Fathers (AD C. 80-160): Corinth, Rome and Asia Minor* (Cardiff, UK: University of Wales Press, 2006); Carolyn A. Osiek, Margaret Y. MacDonald, and Janet H. Tulloch, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006).

<sup>222</sup> Sarah Josepha Buell Hale, *Woman's record, or Sketches of all distinguished women from "the beginning" till A.D. 1850: Arranged in four eras: With selections from female writers of every age* (New York: Harper, 1874).

recorded information on specific individuals. A modern example of a biographical dictionary is the *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Greek and Roman Women: Notable Women from Sappho to Helena*.<sup>223</sup> These dictionaries are usually just condensed summaries tied to short bibliographies of crucial primary accounts pertaining to each individual. However, they represent the oldest and longest existing style of work specifically dedicated to noteworthy women of antiquity.

### ***Generalized Histories***

Few generalized histories have had a specific emphasis on women. One generalized history, produced in 1955 by Charles Theodore Seltman, is entitled *Women in Antiquity*. This book examined women of Mediterranean civilizations from the Paleolithic era through the Council of Nicaea. It had strong emphasis on the Greek and Roman world, touched on women of other areas including Egypt, and even made a handful of references to the Celts, but Seltman directly noted that “The net would have been flung altogether too widely had [he] taken in the life of women among the Northern barbarians and the outer Provincials of the Roman Empire or Eastern peoples like Persians and Parthians.”<sup>224</sup>

Another historian and early writer in this field is Sarah B. Pomeroy. She has written one of the definitive books in the field, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*, which examined the role of women from the Greek Bronze Age through the Roman Empire. Her in-depth study of primary source material laid the groundwork for subsequent research, and her book has been republished four times and translated into several languages since its initial appearance in 1975.<sup>225</sup>

The most recent contribution to the category of “generalized history” to be released, *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*,<sup>226</sup> was published in 2012, and was a compilation of noted authors in the field of women’s history. This remarkable work covered women from

---

<sup>223</sup> Marjorie and Benjamin Lightman, *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Greek and Roman Women: Notable Women from Sappho to Helena* (New York: Checkmark Books, 2000). It is worth noting that my 1874 version of Mrs. Hale’s *Woman’s Record* contains a more comprehensive and more detailed listing of Greek and Roman women than the modern biographical dictionary published in 2000.

<sup>224</sup> Charles Theodore Seltman, *Women in Antiquity* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1955), 15.

<sup>225</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity* (New York: Schocken Books, 1995).

<sup>226</sup> This work is more than a standardized general history due to the quality of the work provided by the contributors; Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon, eds., *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. (Malden, MA: Wiley- Blackwell, 2012).

Mesopotamia and Ancient Egypt, various periods of Greek history, the Roman Republic and Empire. This book also included numerous articles that looked at women in the Christian period of the Roman Empire. Women of western Europe outside of the context of the Roman Empire were barely touched on, with the exception of Lindsay Allason-Jones' "Women in Roman Britain" and Emily A. Hemelrijk's "Public Roles for Women in the Cities of the Latin West."<sup>227</sup> Taken as a whole however, this book is the largest and most extensive examination of women in the ancient world to date which utilizes primary sources, imagery, and archaeological finds to portray women.

### *Case Studies*

Extensive and scholarly case studies on women from the time of the Roman Empire (other than those figures who are well known to history, such as Cleopatra VII<sup>228</sup> and Boudica<sup>229</sup>) remain relatively rare. One notable exception is Pomeroy's specific case study of a woman named Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caucidia Tertulla. *The Murder of Regilla: A Case of Domestic Violence in Antiquity* is a unique case study in that it examined the life and death of this woman and the resulting murder trial – significantly expanding on academic knowledge of women in the second century in Roman Greece. It succeeds in reconstructing the life a woman who had been largely forgotten by history.<sup>230</sup>

Andreas Hofeneder began a three-volume project on Celtic religion, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen*, and worked on this project for more than a decade. He began by translating Greek and Latin accounts of Celtic religion from their original languages. Then he conducted an in-depth analysis about each passage, examining the nature of the author, problems with the text, modern literature, and the relation of the

---

<sup>227</sup> Allason-Jones, "Women in Roman Britain," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, 467-477; Emily A. Hemelrijk, "Public Roles for Women in the Cities of the Latin West," in *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, eds. Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 478-490.

<sup>228</sup> Walker and Ashton, *Cleopatra Reassessed*; Roller, *Cleopatra: A Biography*; Burstein, *The Reign of Cleopatra*; Walker and Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt: From History to Myth*; Chauveau, *Cleopatra: Beyond the Myth*; Jones, *Cleopatra: A Sourcebook*.

<sup>229</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*; Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*; Fry, *Rebellion against Rome: Boudica's Uprising against the Roman Occupation Forces in A.D. 61*; Fraser, *The Warrior Queens*, 43-106; Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*; Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*; Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt against Rome*.

<sup>230</sup> Sarah B. Pomeroy, *The Murder of Regilla: A Case of Domestic Violence in Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

classical source to other sources examined. In the end, he used more than 600 passages by more than 100 authors.<sup>231</sup>

### *Studies on Everyday and Private Life*

An example of how accessible the study of Roman women has become is the very recent addition to the field that can be found in the Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization, simply entitled *Roman Women*. It attempted to summarize the world of the Roman woman. Its author, Eve D'Ambra, noted in her acknowledgement that “the subject of Roman women seems rather more familiar, if not completely exhausted.”<sup>232</sup> For a historian to make such a statement about what is a relatively new historical field speaks to how dramatically academic focus has changed in the last fifty years. This book, which sought to go above and beyond textbook-like accounts of Roman history, combined art, primary sources, and careful analysis in an effort to engage both students and laymen. The fact that such a book not only exists, but is published for the enjoyment and education of people outside of academia, is a testament to a societal shift in how history is viewed and how interest in the role of women has increased.

Works focused on Roman and, to a lesser extent, Greek women make up the overwhelming majority of academic literature in the field of study of women in antiquity. Books such as *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*; *The Roman Family*; *The Roman Mother*; *Women in Roman Law and Society*; *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*; *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia*; *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*; *Female Networks and the Public Sphere in Roman Society*, and *Running the Roman Home* show the diversity in material in this specific subset of the study of women in classical times.<sup>233</sup>

---

<sup>231</sup> Andreas Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen, Band I*. (Wein: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008); Andreas Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen, Band II*. (Wein: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011); Andreas Hofeneder, *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen, Band III* (Wein: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2011).

<sup>232</sup> Eve D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), xvii.

<sup>233</sup> Van R. Bremen, *The Limits of Participation: Women and Civic Life in the Greek and East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Amsterdam: J.G. Gieben, 1996); S. Dixon, *The Roman Family* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988); J. F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law and Society* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1986); J.P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton



There are also some works that study Etruscan and Egyptian women. Investigation into the lives and roles of Etruscan women is a growing field. One of the main authors is Larissa Bonfante. Her book and articles on Etruscan life, sexuality, dress, and women has enhanced the field of study.<sup>234</sup> Ellen Macnamara's work, *Everyday Life of the Etruscans*, briefly discussed the world of the Etruscans and peripherally dealt with the world of the Etruscan woman.<sup>235</sup> The Etruscan women were, by all accounts, different from women in Greek and Roman societies and drew criticism from the authors of the day because of those differences.<sup>236</sup> Notwithstanding the excellent work by these two authors, there is still significantly less academic scholarship in this field than in the examination of Greek or Roman women, which in part is due to our inability to fully translate Etruscan texts (which in and of itself comprise a relatively small collection of material). The Etruscans were powerful people in the Mediterranean for centuries and rivals with the Greeks in trading. Their towns, laws and customs also had an impact on the development of the Romans. Hopefully, more academic scholarship will be focused on Etruscan women in the future, as the few available primary sources of the day indicate how different they were – in both rights and cultural practices – from the Romans and Greeks.

Academic literature on Egyptian women is a field somewhat separate from the study of Roman, Greek, and Etruscan women. Notable literature has been produced on Egyptian queens for years;<sup>237</sup> however, there is now a greater trend to focus on everyday life and the

---

University Press, 1984); N.B. Kampen, *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia* (Berlin: Mann, 1981); *Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*, ed. J. Rowlandson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); *Female Networks and the Public Sphere in Roman Society*, eds. P. Setälä and L. Savunen (Rome: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 1999); Alexandra Croom, *Running the Roman Home* (Stroud: History Press, 2011).

<sup>234</sup> Larissa Bonfante, "Etruscan Couples and Their Aristocratic Society," in *Women in Antiquity*, *Women's Studies* 8 (1981): 157-187; Larissa Bonfante, "Etruscan Women," in *Women in the Classical World*, eds. E. Fantham, H.P. Foley, N.B. Kampen, S.B. Pomeroy, and H.A. Shapiro (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 243-259; Larissa Bonfante, "Etruscan Sexuality and Funerary Art," in *Sexuality in Ancient Art: Near East, Egypt, Greece, and Italy*, eds. Natalie Kampen and Bettina Anne Bergen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 155-169; Larissa Bonfante ed., *Etruscan Life and Afterlife, A Handbook of Etruscan Studies* (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1986).

<sup>235</sup> Ellen Macnamara, *Everyday Life of the Etruscans* (New York: Dorset Press, 1973).

<sup>236</sup> Lauren Hammersen, "Etruscan Noblewomen: Rare Freedoms in the Classical World," NC State University (under the direction of Dr. Thomas S. Parker), December 2006.

<sup>237</sup> Wolfram Grajetzki, *Ancient Egyptian Queens* (London: Golden House Publications, 2005); Joyce A. Tyldesley, *Nefertiti: Egypt's Sun Queen* (New York, NY: Viking, 1998); Maðmud Mahir òTaha, *Queen Nefertari: The Most Beautiful of Them* (Egypt: Ministry of culture, Foreign Information Department, 2001); Richard H. Wilkinson, *Tausert: Female Pharaoh of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

role of women.<sup>238</sup> *Women in Ancient Egypt; Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*; and *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt* are some examples of this literature.<sup>239</sup>

However, even after fifty years of an increasing number of studies about women in Late Antiquity and the classical world, there are still notable gaps in the areas of coverage. Despite the growing body of material on women in Roman, Greek, Etruscan, and Egyptian societies during classical times and Late Antiquity, there remain few scholarly works focused on Celtic women during the same period,<sup>240</sup> with the notable exception of the only two named Iron Age queens within the British Isles – Boudica and Cartimandua – both of whom have been the subject of many works.<sup>241</sup> Likewise, there appears to be no single work in English focused on Germanic women. Though there are one-off references to individuals in other literature (for instance, Miranda Aldhouse-Green mentioned one Germanic prophetess and Germanic archaeological evidence in her work, *Boudica Britannia*; Norma Goodrich's work *Priestesses* also touched on Germanic women; and Malcolm Todd's *The Early Germans*

---

<sup>238</sup> The women discussed here refer to Egyptian, not Ptolemaic women. Women of the Ptolemaic dynasties, including Cleopatra VII, represent a unique period in Egypt that should be examined in the light of Greek conquest and later Roman rule.

<sup>239</sup> Gay Robins, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); Anne K. Capel, Catharine Hershey Roehrig, and Richard A. Fazzini, *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996); Barbara Watterson, *Women in Ancient Egypt* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994); Joyce A. Tyldesley, *Daughters of Isis: Women of Ancient Egypt* (London: Penguin, 1995).

<sup>240</sup> This excludes works pertaining to the role of Celtic women in Ireland, especially to their role as depicted in mythology. There have also been numerous studies conducted on the role of women in Irish law. For example, see: Jack George Thompson, *Women in Celtic Law and Culture*, Women's Studies vol. 12 (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1996). As far as I have been able to tell, Gothic women are utterly absent from any focused modern academic scholarship, with the exception of a handful of footnotes in Herwig Wolfram's *History of the Goths* (1989).

<sup>241</sup> A whole host of literature has been written on Boudica and a fair amount of work touches on Cartimandua. The scholarship on these two individuals will be examined later in this chapter, as well as in the chapter on Celtic and Germanic Queens and Ruling Women (Chapter 3).

Books about Boudica include, among others:

Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*; Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*; Fry, *Rebellion against Rome: Boudica's Uprising against the Roman Occupation Forces in A.D. 61*; Fraser, *The Warrior Queens*, 43-106; Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*; Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*; Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt against Rome*.

Articles and a book about Cartimandua include:

Ian Richmond, "Queen Cartimandua," *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954): 43-52; David Braund, "Observations on Cartimandua," *Britannia* 15 (1984): 1-6; W.S. Hanson and D. B. Campbell, "The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest," *Britannia* 17 (1986): 73-89; Nicki Howarth, *Cartimandua: Queen of the Brigantes* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008); Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*.

briefly referred to a Marcomannic queen), the most information contained in any secondary source that my research has uncovered can be found within a single chapter of Margaret Ehrenberg's *Women in Prehistory*, which looked at what was contained in Tacitus' *Germania*.<sup>242</sup> Even extensive works, such as *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples* by Herwig Wolfram, which spans Germanic history from the Marcomannic Wars (second century AD) through the seventh century, do not touch on the topic of women.<sup>243</sup>

Given the growth in both the volume and range of material on women in the classical world that has emerged since the 1970s, it is not surprising that the quality of these works varies (as does their intended audience). Some authors have produced works intended for general audiences, but which include academic scholarship. Examples include *Women: From the Greeks to the French Revolution* (a relatively mainstream publication); *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers* (a series of academic papers published in the mainstream); *A History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium* (intended for a more general audience); *Roman People*; and *Weaving Truth: Essays on Language and the Female in Greek Thought* (a much more academic publication).<sup>244</sup> Works such as these represent a balancing of academic scholarship in an effort to understand the female half of the population in order to better understand the society as a whole. Purely academic publications on the study of women are still infrequent. However, with time and the contemporary cultural willingness to examine gender, such works will become more common.

There is also a range of quality among the limited number of works that address women in the Celtic world. Three attempts have been made in English to document Celtic women in some form: Norma Lore Goodrich's *Priestesses*; Peter Berresford Ellis' *Celtic Women: Women in Celtic Society and Literature*; and Jean Markale's *Women of the Celts*. While

---

<sup>242</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 100-111; Norma Lore Goodrich, *Priestesses* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1989), 345-360; Todd, *The Early Germans*, 118-119; Margaret Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory*, Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture, vol. 4 (Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1989), 151-164.

<sup>243</sup> Herwig Wolfram, *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997).

<sup>244</sup> Susan Groag Bell, ed., *Women: From the Greeks to the French Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1973); John Peradotto and J.P. Sullivan, eds., *Women in the Ancient World: The Arethusa Papers* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984); Paul Veyne, ed., *A History of Private Life: I – From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1987); Robert B. Kebrick, *Roman People*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Mountain View, CA: Mayfield Publishing Company, 2001); Ann Bergren, *Weaving Truth: Essays on Language and the Female in Greek Thought*, Hellenic Studies 19 (Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 2008).

notable for their efforts, there are problems with each work. None of these three would be considered scholarly texts on Celtic women; all were written for the general public.

Goodrich, whose degrees were in philology, was an Arthurian scholar who published a number of books on other subjects. Her work, *Priestesses*, focused on several types of ancient priestesses (not just Celtic or Germanic women). Among other shortcomings, it suffers from poor citation and an utter lack of footnotes or endnotes discussing her sources. She also brought in aspects of medieval Arthurian legends and even later sources. As another reviewer noted, “She has a strong tendency to draw on a speculation as if it were fact, using it to validate all later points of her narrative.”<sup>245</sup> If one can see past these problems, her book is notable for its diversity of primary source passages in two short chapters. However, they can be truly utilized only by scholars who are so familiar with the classical accounts that they can recognize the source of a quotation without needing to see a footnote.<sup>246</sup>

Peter Berresford Ellis has published many works on topics other than just the Celts; he is also a novelist and literary biographer. He holds an MA in Celtic Studies from what is now the University of East London. His work, *Celtic Women: Women in Celtic Society and Literature*, was intended for a more general audience.<sup>247</sup> Though it is probably the best piece of academic literature currently on the subject, it also suffers from a lack of endnotes or footnotes.

Jean Markale has authored numerous works on the Celts, as well as Arthurian legends. He wrote the earliest book dedicated to Celtic women that was discovered in the course my research.<sup>248</sup> *Women of the Celts* was first published in 1972; unfortunately, it suffers from many flaws. A few comments about the author must be noted. His name is actually Jacques Bertrand and he holds no degrees in any field pertaining to Celtic history.<sup>249</sup> He was not a

---

<sup>245</sup> “Goodrich, Norma Lorre Goodrich,” review in Celtic Twilight, Legends of Camelot, <http://www.celtic-twilight.com/camelot/infopedia/g/goodrich.htm> [Accessed March 2010].

<sup>246</sup> Goodrich, *Priestesses*, 324-381.

<sup>247</sup> Peter Berresford Ellis, *Celtic Women: Women in Celtic Society and Literature* (London: Constable, 1995).

<sup>248</sup> Jacques Bertrand [Jean Markale], *Women of the Celts* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 1972).

<sup>249</sup> I would stress that I do not think an advanced degree in a field is a prerequisite for conducting good historical research that can be of value to others. The idea that only someone with a doctorate can be an expert in a field of history or archaeology is relatively new, and it seems that this viewpoint can be rather limiting.

trained historian, but rather a high school teacher in France. His work drew heavily on mythology. His publications have been criticized by academics for years.<sup>250</sup>

A handful of academic works exist which address women in Celtic areas that were controlled by the Roman Empire. Most of these works focus on the Roman province Britain (or *Britannia*). Works such as *Women in Roman Britain* by Lindsay Allason-Jones and *Boudicca's Heirs* by Dorothy Watts are prime examples.<sup>251</sup> Both of these works do an excellent job of looking at Roman Britain in different periods and different ways utilizing classical sources, archaeological finds, funerary monuments, and epigraphy. However, Dorothy Watts wrote in a more traditional archaeological fashion with a great deal of attention towards statistics as they pertain to archaeological finds. In fact, insular archaeology and history of the Celts is very well established – specifically texts examining Romano-British culture, as well as pre-Roman Britain.

An important contemporary Celtic historian is Miranda Aldhouse-Green. She has written a number of books and articles which provide a great deal of information dealing with Celtic women, both directly and indirectly. Her two books on Celtic religion (*Celtic Goddesses: Warriors, Virgins and Mothers* and *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*) examined both the female image as well as the role of priestesses in Celtic society.<sup>252</sup> Both of these books did an excellent job of examining different aspects of Celtic religion using a variety of sources. Miranda Aldhouse-Green also produced a book about Boudica for the general public. *Boudica Britannia: Rebel, war-leader and Queen* examined Britain, both before the Roman invasion and afterwards, with a large portion of the book focused on Boudica and what led to her revolt.<sup>253</sup> She also examined the other famous British queen, Cartimandua. In an effort to make it of interest to a general audience, this book utilized a large number of modern analogies that detracted from the focus of the book. For example, the author compared the Romans at Colchester to the Israelis in Gaza and the West Bank.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>250</sup> Bernard Nail, "Disparition de Jacques Bertrand, plus connu sous le pseudonyme de Jean," Agence Bretagne Presse, November 23, 2008, <http://www.agencebretagnepresse.com/fetch.php?id=13054&title=Disparition%20de%20Jacques%20Bertrand,%20plus%20connu%20sous%20le%20pseudonyme%20de%20Jean%20Markale#> [Accessed August 2010].

<sup>251</sup> Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain* (Bootham, York: Council for British Archaeology, 2005); Dorothy Watts, *Boudicca's Heirs: Women in Early Britain*. (New York: Routledge, 2005).

<sup>252</sup> Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 1989; Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 1995.

<sup>253</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*.

<sup>254</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 173.

She devoted a single chapter to “Other Boudicas: ‘big women’ in Iron Age Europe,” where she addressed both archaeological finds and historical figures. However, these individuals range from the fifth century BC Haraldskær bog body found in Denmark, through the Germanic prophetess Veleda in the first century AD, to the references to Gauls by Ammianus Marcellinus in the fourth century AD.<sup>255</sup> While important and interesting in their own right, these references to other women presented little information relevant to the period and culture that produced Boudica.

A lesser-known work that addressed Celtic women is Margaret Ehrenberg’s *Women in Prehistory*, which devoted a chapter to “The Celtic Iron Age.” Here she briefly discussed primary sources, secondary sources, archaeology of domestic settlements, notable female graves, priestesses, inheritance and marriage, warfare and leadership. For such a short section, it provided a very revealing glance at a wide swath of time and extremely varied cultural material.<sup>256</sup>

Two relatively unknown works written in French addressed Gaulish women in antiquity:<sup>257</sup> Andrée Lehmann’s *Le rôle de la femme dans l’histoire de la Gaule*<sup>258</sup> and André Pelletier’s *La femme dans la société gallo-romaine*.<sup>259</sup> The first, published in 1944, was a remarkable early work focused on Celtic women, specifically in Gaul, though the author drew on British, Celtiberian, and Germanic examples to support his arguments. He examined the women of Gaul and Roman Gaul, looking at them from the standpoints of myth, politics and arbitration, war, religion, work, the intellectual life, and family. Lehmann utilized classical sources, secondary sources, and touched on surviving monuments. Pelletier’s work, published in 1984, deals with Roman law, the home, the family, work, society, entertainment, religion, famous women, and art. While Pelletier used classical and secondary sources, he drew heavily on archaeology and the great corpus of epigraphical material that exists in Gaul. He noted in his conclusion that, in many ways, women were the equal of men (with the

---

<sup>255</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 93-119.

<sup>256</sup> Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory*, 142-171.

<sup>257</sup> One additional work on the women in Roman Gaul was published in 1970 and was referenced by André Pelletier in his *La femme dans la société gallo-romaine*. This work was listed by Pelletier as: M.C. Piaget, *La femme dans la Gaule romaine*, mémoire de maîtrise de l’Université Lyon II, 1970, but I was unable to obtain a copy of this master’s thesis and it has never been published.

<sup>258</sup> Andrée Lehmann, *Le rôle de la femme dans l’histoire de la Gaule* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1944).

<sup>259</sup> André Pelletier, *La femme dans la société gallo-romain* (Paris: Picard, 1984).

exception of their treatment under Roman law). Equality in ancient societies between different genders appears to be difficult to ascertain. Pelletier successfully showed that men and women did many of the same activities and could have similar social standing, excluding Roman law. However, equality in gender seems too modern a concept to apply to the ancient world. It would seem more logical to try to determine the boundaries societies placed on gender and why they occurred, rather than to look for or disprove equality.

A much more modern look at this same region is the 2009 book by Bernard Rémy, Nicolas Mathieu, and Monique Dondin-Payre, entitled *Les femmes en Gaule romaine: I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C. – V<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.*<sup>260</sup> In a number of ways, this work is a continuation of Pelletier's argument that women held a strong place in Roman Gaul, and that they should not be viewed as shadowy, unknown figures. The argument in this book is based on archaeological sources, epigraphical sources, and iconography from Roman Gaul. This book examined the available sources, the Latinization of the Gauls, the status of women in relation to the law, the family, work, the appearance of women, women in religion, women in the city, and women in death.

Other Celtic historians, such as Barry Cunliffe and Simon James, do not ignore women, but the information contained in their books and articles tends to be focused on reiterations of famous passages with little examination of the material. For example, Cunliffe's well-known book, *The Ancient Celts*, has 274 pages of text (not counting notes, bibliography and index). Of that total, only six pages were devoted to women, and four of those dealt with graves.<sup>261</sup> The main body of material was incorporated in five paragraphs and mentioned by name Caesar, Ammianus Marcellinus, Diodorus Siculus, Posidonius, and, indirectly, Tacitus and Dio Cassius.<sup>262</sup> In addition, this section only pertained to the women of Gaul and Britain. The book has a chapter on Celtiberians, but that chapter did not even mention women. The absence of any mention of Celtiberian women was surprising and disheartening, given the fact that there are multiple relevant classical sources, including Sallust, Strabo, and Appian.<sup>263</sup> Simon James' *The World of the Celts*, a book specifically intended for a general

---

<sup>260</sup> Bernard Rémy, Nicolas Mathieu, and Monique Dondin-Payre, *Les femmes en Gaule romaine: I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C. – V<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.* (Paris: Errance, 2009).

<sup>261</sup> This does not include the discussions of specific individuals, like Boudica and Cartimandua. Barry Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts* (London: Penguin Books, 1997).

<sup>262</sup> Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, 109-110.

<sup>263</sup> Cunliffe, *The Ancient Celts*, 133-144.

audience, offered a cursory glance at Celtic women. The brief section in the book looked at famous primary source accounts and notable archaeological finds but, like Cunliffe, only mentioned Gaul and Britain. It has at least one glaring error when James stated that, “The modern notion of the sword-wielding Celtic Amazons is more difficult to substantiate: although women were often present on the battlefield, there seem to be no evidence of them bearing arms – except in Dio’s description of Boudica...”<sup>264</sup> This statement completely ignored Appian’s description of Celtiberian women fighting in battle during the Spanish Wars and mischaracterized the primary sources which described Boudica, none of which made any reference to her fighting with the men of her army. It was frustrating to find errors and gaps in material coming from such important scholars, especially when it appears in the only books likely to be read by the general public. These errors and omissions further confuse the subject of the role of women in Celtic society.

The discussion of Celtiberia and Hispano Celts, culturally and geographically, is somewhat muddled, both in academic literature and primary sources (especially when it comes to geographical definitions).<sup>265</sup> For example, the word “Spanish” is used in several books, without further definition, which can leave readers unclear as to the origin of the individual or group being discussed (i.e., were they Celtiberian, Hispano Celts, or Iberian, or members of groups that occupied Iberia and subsequently became established communities, including the Greeks, Romans, and Carthaginians).

This has been clarified to a degree by recent articles, such as Eugenio R. Luján’s “Celtic and Celtiberian in the Iberian Peninsula,” in which the author noted that Greek and Roman sources employed specific words to describe different Celtic peoples in Hispania (including *celtae*, *celticus*, and *celtiber*). The adjective *celtae* was used only in reference to the Celtiberians when writing about people in the Iberian Peninsula. The most common word used to describe other Celtic peoples – primarily in northwestern Iberia – was the derived adjective *celticus* (or *celtici*). The author noted that it is as yet unclear whether *celticus* was a descriptor or an indigenous ethonym adapted by Greek and Latin authors. Use of the term *celtiber*, on the other hand, occurred throughout Iberia.<sup>266</sup> In an earlier article by the same author (“The Language(s) of the Callaeci”), he noted that “some of the migrations of the

---

<sup>264</sup> Simon James, *The World of the Celts* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993), 67.

<sup>265</sup> Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 23-26.

<sup>266</sup> Eugenio R. Luján, "Celtic and Celtiberian in the Iberian Peninsula." *Iberia e Sardegna. Legami linguistici, archeologici e genetici dal Mesolitico all'Età del Bronzo*, Florencia (2013):97-112.



Celtic peoples to this area [Gallicia] must have been so close in time to our sources that they were known to Classical writers like Strabo,” which also meant “that the peoples in the area were still aware of the differences between Celtic and non-Celtic peoples.”<sup>267</sup> Javier de Hoz actually created the term “Hispanic-Celts” in 1988.<sup>268</sup>

There are few modern English-language academic texts that focus on Celtiberia, Hispano Celts, and other Celtic peoples in Spain. The best book on the inhabitants of Iberia in English currently available is a group work: *Iberia. Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From Neolithic to the Roman Conquest*, published in 2014.<sup>269</sup> Examining existing literature about Roman Spain, the books written by Leonard A. Curchin are excellent. A specialist in the social history and epigraphy of Spain, his scholarship is detailed and informative. Two of his books, *The Romanization of Central Spain: Complexity, Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland* and *Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation*,<sup>270</sup> addressed the role of women in Spain, though that was not the focus of the text. The first has a greater archaeological focus and the second a greater focus on information contained in primary sources. More endnotes would be useful to a scholar trying to use *Roman Spain*; even though he gave numerous useful examples, his sources were unclear at times. In addition, while he rightly and importantly noted the period accounts of Strabo and Silius Italicus, he left out certain important passages of Sallust and Appian.<sup>271</sup> His knowledge of epigraphy was evident in his works, and it was useful in broadening our view of Celtiberian women.<sup>272</sup> Like Insular history and archaeology, Iberian history and archaeology is a very self-contained field, though this is beginning to change and more texts and articles are becoming available. Useful articles, such as “El modelo de mujer romana en Hispania,”

---

<sup>267</sup> Eugenio R. Luján-Martínez, "The Language (s) of the Callaeci," *e-Keltoi: Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6 (2006):2. Other works in this field include: J. de Hoz, "The Celts of the Iberian Peninsula," *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 45(1992):1-37; J. de Hoz, *Lingua e etnicidade na Galicia antiga. In Galicia fai dous mil anos. O feito diferencial Galego*, Vol I. (Santiago de Compostela: Museo do Pobo Galego, 1997), 101-140; and F.J. González García, *Los célticos de Gallaecia: apuntes sobre etnicidad y territorialidad en la Edad del Hierro del Noroeste de la Península Ibérica*, in "Complutum" 22 (2011): 117-132.

<sup>268</sup> Francisco Burillo Mozota. "Celtiberians: Problems and debates." *The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula, e-Keltoi* 6 (2005): 411-480.

<sup>269</sup> Martín Almagro-Gorbea, eds. *Iberia. Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: from Neolithic to Roman Conquest*, (Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014).

<sup>270</sup> Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*; Curchin, *Roman Spain*.

<sup>271</sup> Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 4, 85-86. Descriptions and analysis of the passages from Appian and Sallust can be found in the section on Celtiberian women in Chapter 4.

<sup>272</sup> Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 158; Curchin, *Roman Spain*, 184-185.

appear in *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina. 1, De la Prehistoria a la Edad Media*.<sup>273</sup> Even material at the graduate level which will be immensely useful is being produced, such as Sofia Andrés Hernando, “La actividad textil y vestimenta femenina en el mundo ibérico,” written in 2016, which looks at the feminine clothing and textile production in the fourth century AD.<sup>274</sup> Increasingly, publications are coming out on Iberian culture, such as Lourdes Prados Torreira, “Women in Iberian culture: sixth-first centuries BCE,” in the 2016 publication *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*.<sup>275</sup> This recent book was the combined effort of numerous historians, who wrote a total of 74 articles, only one of which talked about Celtic women. That article was primarily a rehashing of Miranda Aldhouse-Green’s earlier publications on Celtic women.<sup>276</sup> Regretably, many publications are still available exclusively in Spanish or Portuguese. Hopefully, more academic research on the Celtic in habitants of Spain and Portugal will become available in the future to English-speaking audiences.<sup>277</sup>

### ***Studies on Religion***

Works on religion, including both Christianity and paganism, can be sources of information about women in Celtic and Germanic regions, even when they are not the primary focus of those works. More and more is being published on Celtic religion and priestesses, with a great deal of the information that makes up the basis for this literature deriving from epigraphical sources such as votive offerings and funerary monuments.<sup>278</sup> As mentioned earlier, Miranda Aldhouse-Green’s work on *Celtic Goddesses* examined the role

---

<sup>273</sup> Elisa Garrido, “El modelo de mujer romana en Hispania,” *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina. 1, De la Prehistoria a la Edad Media*. (Madrid: Ed. Cátedra, 2005), 221-240.

<sup>274</sup> Andrés Hernando, Sofía. "La actividad textil y vestimenta femenina en el mundo ibérico." 2016. Romero Carnicero, Fernando, dir, Universidad de Valladolid. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Thesis / Dissertation ETD. <http://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/22322> [Accessed March 2017].

<sup>275</sup> Lourdes Prados Torreira, “Women in Iberian culture: sixth-first centuries BCE,” in *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*, eds. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh Turfa (New York: Routledge, 2016), 986-1007.

<sup>276</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, "Viragos and virgins: women in the Celtic World," in *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*, eds. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh Turfa (New York: Routledge, 2016), 1008-1026.

<sup>277</sup>The bulk of this material remains out of reach to those who do not read Spanish and Portuguese; the sheer volume available only in those languages makes translation unaffordable. Other academics and native speakers have helped me to search for specific material, which has been included in this paper.

<sup>278</sup> Examples include such works as Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*; Anne Ross, “Ritual and the Druids;” Jane Webster, “Sanctuaries and Sacred Places;” Miranda J. Green, “The Gods and the Supernatural;” and Gerald A. Wait, “Burials and the other World” in Miranda Green (ed.), *The Celtic World* (London: Routledge, 1995); Goodrich, *Priestesses*, 324-381.

of priestesses (as well as female human sacrifice, witchcraft, and prophetesses).<sup>279</sup> The role of women in the early Christian Church has become a growing field of academic literature. Studies are also being published on Christian deaconesses, though there is very little primary source information on this subject. One book that compiled many of these pieces of law and texts is *No Women in Holy Orders? The Women Deacons of the Early Church* by John Wijngaards. It has an impressive section of primary source transcriptions, as well as analysis of the material, though the focus of his book was much more on women in the eastern Roman Empire, as opposed to the women of Gaul, Spain, or Britain.<sup>280</sup> Gillian Clark's *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Lifestyles* also devoted time to women and their role in religions.<sup>281</sup>

### ***The Role of Identity and Culture in Historical Debate***

As mentioned in the Introduction, there have been (and continue to be) debates over the role of identity and culture in terms of how historians identify historical ethnic and supra-ethnic groups, how classical authors saw their subjects, and possible ways that these ethnic groups viewed (and portrayed) themselves in antiquity. The next few pages will deconstruct the current arguments and identify leading figures in each field. This author's own views on culture and identity, while being addressed in each chapter, will be the focus of Chapter 9.

One of the largest debates in the field of Celtic history, historiography, and archeology is over whether – and, if so, how – to use the term Celtic as an identifier. Simon James, in *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention*, argued that the people who inhabited Britain in the Iron Age were not Celts because they did not identify themselves using this term. He argued further that archaeological material does not indicate a cultural invasion of the British Isles from the continent. James, therefore, suggested that these people should simply be known as the Iron Age peoples of Britain and Ireland. He also noted that the term Celtic was not used as an identifier prior to the eighteenth century.<sup>282</sup> Vincent Megaw and other contributors to the book *Settlement and Society* discussed Celtic migrations. Megaw asserted that there were serious problems using art discovered among

---

<sup>279</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 138-159.

<sup>280</sup> John Wijngaards, *No Women in Holy Orders? The Women Deacons of the Early Church* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 2002).

<sup>281</sup> Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity*.

<sup>282</sup> Simon James, *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999).

archaeological artifacts as a method to map Celtic migrations.<sup>283</sup> Large portions of the book focused on the difficulties inherent in using textual and archaeological information to recreate and interpret Celtic socioeconomic institutions.<sup>284</sup> John Collis, in his book *The Celts: Origins, Myths, and Invention*, proposed that the idea of a Celtic culture was a product of modern political and social development in Europe.<sup>285</sup> Recently, Barry Cunliffe and John Koch, in the conference publication *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language and Literature*, explored the word Celtic and the origins of the Celts. Their book addressed linguistic origins, diffusion of Celtic culture from the east versus the west, archaeological finds, and genetics.<sup>286</sup> Notable papers in this publication included Barry Cunliffe's argument that the Celts had their roots in the Iberian Neolithic.<sup>287</sup> John Koch argued that the Tartessian language from Iberia was a Celtic language, rather than a non-Indo-European language, and therefore predated all other known Celtic languages.<sup>288</sup> Finally, Raimund Karl noted that the debate regarding the identity of the Celts was hindering academic research, and that the lack of a specific definition, together with the difficulty in determining such a definition, should lead to the creation of a discipline-specific definition: "a Celt is someone who either speaks a Celtic language or produces or uses Celtic art or material culture or has been referred to as one in historical records or has identified himself or been identified by other as such."<sup>289</sup>

In addition to the debate over the use of the term Celt, the last thirty-five years has seen a dramatic shift in the interpretation of the role of Romanization and Hellenization and

---

<sup>283</sup> J. V. S. Megaw, "Meditations a Celtic hobby-horse: notes towards a social archaeology of Iron Age art," in *Settlement and Society: aspects of West European prehistory in the first millennium BC*, eds. T. C. Champion and J. V. S. Megaw, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985), 161-191.

<sup>284</sup> T. C. Champion and J. V. S. Megaw, eds. *Settlement and Society: aspects of West European prehistory in the first millennium BC*, (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985).

<sup>285</sup> John Collis, *The Celts: Origins, Myths & Inventions*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2003).

<sup>286</sup> Barry W. Cunliffe and John T. Koch, eds., *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language, and Literature*, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).

<sup>287</sup> Barry W. Cunliffe, "Celticization from the West: The Contribution of Archaeology," in *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language, and Literature*, eds., Barry W. Cunliffe and John T. Koch, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 13-38.

<sup>288</sup> John T. Koch, "Paradigm Shift? Interpreting Tartessian as Celtic," in *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language, and Literature*, eds., Barry W. Cunliffe and John T. Koch, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 169-184.

<sup>289</sup> Raimund Karl, "The Celts from Everywhere and Nowhere: A re-evaluation of the Origins of the Celts and the Emergence of Celtic Cultures," in *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language, and Literature*, eds., Barry W. Cunliffe and John T. Koch, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 47.

its impact on ethnic identities. Previously, there had been a longstanding interpretation that the provincial regions generally resisted acculturation. In that model, Rome was a dominating force applying pressure to the indigenous populations. This viewpoint has been evolving. Whether the terms Romanization and Hellenization<sup>290</sup> are valid descriptors has been challenged by works such as Greg Woolf's two books,<sup>291</sup> *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul* and *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*, along with Ramsay MacMullen's *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*.<sup>292</sup> These debates, in turn, have altered our interpretations of surviving evidence. This shift shows that in regions like Gaul, locals were not pushed into Romanization so much as that aspects of Roman and Greek culture were adopted by certain individuals who either recognized the benefits or were offered incentives.<sup>293</sup> Other work which examines Gaul from this new perspective on Romanization has been presented by Lothar Wierschowski in a series on the mobility of people in Gaul during the Imperial period, entitled *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches* and his book, *Fremde in Gallien - "Gallier" in der Fremde: die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.: Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentare*.<sup>294</sup>

Over the last thirty to forty years, the debate over how to best identify these ancient cultures and interpret classical sources and archaeological material has grown and morphed,

---

<sup>290</sup> Hellenization and Romanization are faulted for both being the description, the process, and the result.

<sup>291</sup> See also articles by Greg Woolf including: "The unity and diversity of Romanisation," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 5 (1992) 349-352; "Urbanization and its discontents in early Roman Gaul," in *Romanization and the City: Creation, Transformations, and Failures: Papers of a conference held at the American Academy in Rome, 14-16 May, 1998*, ed. Elizabeth Fentress, (Portsmouth, RI: *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 2000), 115-132; "The Roman Cultural Revolution in Gaul," in *Italy and the West. Comparative Issues in Romanization*, (Oxford: Oxbow, 2001), 173-186;

<sup>292</sup> Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*, (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Greg Woolf, *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011); Ramsay MacMullen, *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

<sup>293</sup> Woolf noted that not all regions of the Empire reacted like Gaul; the West seems to have responded better than the East.

<sup>294</sup> Lothar Wierschowski, *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995); Lothar Wierschowski, *Fremde in Gallien - "Gallier" in der Fremde: die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.: Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentare*. (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001).

creating new theories and broadening our understanding of history, archaeology, and historiography.

\* \* \* \* \*

Having examined the resources available on gender studies, it becomes evident that there is a well-established group of scholars who have produced a growing body of literature focused on women in classical antiquity, as well as women in ancient Egypt. This chapter provided the first critical analysis of the far more limited number of scholarly studies of women in societies that were peripheral to Rome and Greece, such as the Etruscans, Celts, Celtiberians, and Germans. As research and study about women in the ancient world continues, more will be published about religion, funerary customs, daily life, art, mythology, and archaeological finds. These will continue to fill the gaps in our understanding of women in the ancient world – not only within the Roman, Greek, and Egyptian empires that surrounded the Mediterranean, but also in other ancient cultures that shared the European continent. In doing so, they will provide us with a greater, more enriched tapestry of the history of the role of women as women, as well as their roles within their own societies, including how they were interlinked and related to women of other cultures, both near and far. Such works will help restore this missing segment of history, thereby giving even greater voice to that half of the population which is less well known in the existing historical studies of these societies.

### Chapter 3: Female Positions of Power among the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians: Queens, Ruling Women, Priestesses, Prophetesses, and Deaconesses

Identity is influenced by kinship group, patron and client relations, social ranking, marriage status, and religion. All of these can come into play when considering women who held positions of power among the Celts, Celtiberians, Hispano Celts, and Germans. As was the case with their male counterparts, most women in antiquity were not born into positions of power, nor did they ever acquire an elevated station in their lifetime. A few women did attain powerful positions, but the upper echelons in most societies – male or female – comprised an extremely small subset of the society as a whole. Within this, the even smaller group of women who occupied the highest social, political, or religious levels in society would have had a distinctly different type of identity from that held by the majority of women, which will be addressed below.

The concept of Celtic queens and female rulers is a controversial, though popular, topic in history and modern culture (less is written about Germanic queens).<sup>295</sup> Classical sources tell us of a number of chieftain's wives who clearly were important and played a significant enough role to be recorded by classical historians. Were they queens, regents, or just powerful women? Were they holding unique positions in society that essentially made them men? What did Greek and Roman authors mean when they used the term “queen” (Greek – *βασιλεύουσα*; Latin – *regina*) to describe a woman's role in a foreign society?<sup>296</sup> Should all women labeled queens by the Romans be looked at as though they were equals of Cleopatra VII, arguably one of the most famous Roman client-queens? Should Tacitus' statement, when he describes “the old and long-received principle of Roman policy, which employs kings as tools of enslavement [of their own peoples]”<sup>297</sup> be taken as applying equally to queens? What of other positions of power for women? What of roles in religion? What place did women have as priestess, prophetess, or deaconess? For the purposes of this chapter, only women who were described as a queen, the wife of a tetrarch or regent, or a

---

<sup>295</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*; Frasier, *Warrior Queens*.

<sup>296</sup> *Βασιλεύουσα* was taken from Dio Cassius' description of Boudica (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 8 (containing Books 61-70), (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 62.6); *reginae* was taken from Tacitus' description of Cartimandua (Tacitus, *Histories*, trans. Clifford H. Moore (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 3.45) and Pliny's description of Teuta (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, H. Rackham, trans., vol. 9 (containing Books 33-35) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 34.11).

<sup>297</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 14.1.

military leader of their tribe, or as priestess, prophetess, druidess, or deaconess will be discussed. No doubt, there were many other women who were the wives of kings and chieftains, but never accorded the title of queen by any classical writer in a source that survives to the present time. Due to the absence of information, these women will remain little more than footnotes in any historical study.<sup>298</sup> This chapter will first review the primary sources regarding these women, as well as whatever secondary source analysis exists, and then examine the question of whether those sources should be trusted and what can be discovered about these women.

## *Celtic Queens*

### *Onomaris*

The first Celtic female ruler mentioned by the Greeks is Onomaris. She is described as βασιλευσεν,<sup>299</sup> which can be translated as someone ruling over an area as queen. All that is known of her comes from a single paragraph. She is described in the *Tractatus de Mulieribus Claris in Bello* as a Galatian who won her place as ruler after defeating other tribes. It has been hypothesized that she was of the Scordisi.<sup>300</sup> It is noteworthy that she is the only woman known to have ruled in the absence of any reference to a spouse. She probably dates from the fourth or third century BC, based on the other individuals in the text.<sup>301</sup> The author of this text is unknown. The stemma of this particular text was discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>302</sup>

There is little secondary source analysis of Onomaris. D. Ellis Evans, Deborah Gera, and Phillip Freeman wrote about her.<sup>303</sup> She made a brief appearance in *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia* by John T. Koch, which analyzed her name, her origins, and where she fits into history.<sup>304</sup> Onomaris is also mentioned in *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary*

---

<sup>298</sup> Such as Thusnelda or the unnamed wife of Argentocoxus.

<sup>299</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 10-11.

<sup>300</sup> It has also been proposed that she was a Celtio-Illyrian queen. Gera, *Warrior Women*, 10-11.

<sup>301</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 219-222. (Contained within her work is the entire text of the *Tractatus de Mulieribus*; passage 14 is the depiction of Onomaris.)

<sup>302</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 5-6; Everett Wheeler, "Polyaenus: *Scriptor Militaris*," In *Polyainos: neue Studien [Polyaenus: new studies]*. Ed. Kai Brodersen (Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2010): 32.

<sup>303</sup> D. Ellis Evans, "Onomaris: Name of a Story and History?" in *Ildánach Ildírech: Festschrift Proinsias Mac Cana*, eds. John Carey, John T. Koch, and Pierre-Yves Lambert (Andover: Celtic Studies Publication, 1999), 27-37; Phillip Freeman, *The Philosopher and the Druids: A Journey among the Ancient Celts*, (New York, Simon & Schuster, 2006), 115-116; Gera, *Warrior Women*, 10-11, 219-224.

<sup>304</sup> John T. Koch, *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (New York: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 1396.



*Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe & Early Ireland & Wales*, by John T. Koch and John Carey. This book, unfortunately, only provided readers with the name of the text, translation of the passage, and a date of the individual. There was no context for understanding the passage, no explanation of the date, and only a footnote indicating that a portion of the text is missing.<sup>305</sup> Koch's *Celtic Culture* passage was more detailed than the information contained in his sourcebook. However, Phillip Freeman's reference to her in *The Philosopher and the Druids: A Journey among the Ancient Celts* inferred a lot from a translation of roughly three sentences. Statements like, "In the end, because of the courage of this singular Celtic leader, her tribe arrived in a peaceful and prosperous land, where she ruled with strength and wisdom" showed Freeman's personal bias, since the translation itself said only that, "She crossed the Ister and, after defeating the local inhabitants in battle, ruled over the land."<sup>306</sup> Deborah Gera's section on Onomaris was more analytical, examining her name, potential status, references to the sharing of goods, and a look at the text itself in context with other portions of the *Tractatus de Mulieribus*.<sup>307</sup> Evans devoted an entire short chapter to her and gave a chronology of the history of the publishing of the passage pertaining to her as it appeared over the last few centuries. Most of his text examined her name and its meanings. He noted that Gera's work is the most detailed information on Onomaris to date.<sup>308</sup>

Ὀνόμαρις, μία τῶν ἐν ἀξιόματι  
Γαλατῶν, καταπονουμένων ὑπ' ἀφρ-  
ίας τῶν ὁμοφύλων καὶ ζητούντων  
φυγεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. παραδιδόντων δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἐν ὑποταγῇ τῷ θέλοντι ἀφηγ-  
εῖσθαι, μηδενὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν θέλοντος  
τὴν τε οὐσίαν πᾶσαν εἰς μέσον ἔθηκε  
καὶ τῆς ἀποικίας ἀφηγήσατο, πολλῶν  
ὄντων ὡς εἰς . . . διαβᾶσά τε τὸν  
Ἴστρον καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μάχη  
Νικήσασα τῆς χώρας ἐβασίλευσεν.<sup>309</sup>

Onomaris, one of the distinguished Galatians. Her fellow tribesmen were oppressed by scarcity and sought to flee their land. They offered to obey whoever wanted to lead them, and when none of the men was willing, Onomaris placed all their property in common and led the emigration, with many people, approximately.... [damaged text] She crossed the Ister and, after defeating the local inhabitants in battle, ruled over the land.<sup>310</sup>

<sup>305</sup> John T. Koch and John Carey, eds., *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe & Early Ireland & Wales* (Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003), 42.

<sup>306</sup> Freeman, *The Philosopher and the Druids*, 116; Gera, *Warrior Women*, 11.

<sup>307</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 219-224.

<sup>308</sup> Evans, "Onomaris," *Ildánach Ildírech*, 27-37.

<sup>309</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 10-11.

<sup>310</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 10-11.

Since Onomaris may have been ruling without a spouse, and she was ruling when no other man wished to, was she acting as a man? It is an intriguing possibility. Her situation is unique from other women who will be discussed in this chapter. Unfortunately, her position and social identity cannot be determined based on the scant surviving information.

### *Teuta and Triteuta*

These two queens, with names that seem to be Celtic,<sup>311</sup> were both married to an Illyrian king named Agron.<sup>312</sup> They both lived around the middle of the third century BC. Triteuta was married to Agron first and bore him a son named Pinnes; he apparently divorced her to marry Teuta. Agron died, leaving Teuta the regent of Pinnes and ruler of the Ardiaens. After Teuta abdicated the throne due to conflict with the Roman Republic, Triteuta once again became the regent queen by marrying Pinnes' guardian, Demetrius.<sup>313</sup>

Teuta is a rather well-described wife of a king (since the accounts describe her actions after Agron's death, she is referred to as his widow) and regent: *ἐπιτροπέω*.<sup>314</sup> Pliny the Elder referred to her as Queen of the Illyrians (*teuta illyriorum regina*).<sup>315</sup> Her story was told by Dio Cassius and Zonaras, as well as by Polybius and Appian (though in Appian's account, she was not named directly).<sup>316</sup> She was judged very harshly for being a woman and, therefore, an inept ruler. As Pinnes' regent, she became a ruler at the time that the Ardiaeans (her people) were engaged in diplomatic talks because their ships had harassed those of the neighboring Issaeans. She seemed to have handled the situation badly, killing some of the ambassadors and imprisoning the others. Her actions caused the Romans, allies of the Issaeans, to vote for war. Teuta made multiple decisions which at first appease, then provoke the Romans. Her actions finally forced her to make the choice to abdicate rather than fight

---

<sup>311</sup> The Celtic word *teuta* meant people or tribe; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire*, 294-295. It is interesting to note that Triteuta's name was not examined in Delmarre's *Dictionnaire*, though it might have the same root.

<sup>312</sup> Delamarre, *Dictionnaire*, 294-5, 300-301.

<sup>313</sup> Dio Cassius, *Dio's Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 2 (containing Books 12-35), (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 12.53.

<sup>314</sup> Appian, "The Illyrian Wars," *Roman History*, trans. Horace White, vol. 2 (containing Books 8-12) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912), 10.2.7.

<sup>315</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.11.

<sup>316</sup> Polybius, *Histories*, trans. W. R. Paton, eds. Rev. F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht, vol. 1 (containing Books 1-2) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 2.4-2.12; Appian, "The Illyrian Wars," *Roman History*, vol. 2, 10.2.7-8.

both the Romans and some of her own people (who had switched allegiances).<sup>317</sup> None of the ancient authors (Dio Cassius, Pliny the Elder, Polybius, Appian, or Zonaras) offered any particular details about Teuta's reign as regent or queen. Triteuta exists as little more than a named regent, with no detail about her being supplied to us from classical sources.

There are not many secondary sources that discuss these two queens. Two that do more than just reiterate what is in primary sources are Erich S. Gruen's *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* and John Wilkes' *The Illyrians*.<sup>318</sup> Though both of these books mainly dealt with Teuta, Triteuta was lightly referenced. Wilkes went so far as to indicate that Illyrians were polygamous, using Triteuta and Teuta as an example.<sup>319</sup> Wilkes is not alone in adopting this stance. Arthur M. Eckstein, in his book, *Rome Enters the Greek East: From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230-170 BC*, referred to Teuta as King Agron's "senior wife," implying there were others, but never elaborating on this choice of words.<sup>320</sup> This seems counterfactual, since Dio Cassius clearly indicated that Agron was first married to Triteuta, divorced her, and then married Teuta, even though his first wife had borne him a male heir. If there are other references of polygamy among the Illyrians, Wilkes did not reference them. Wilkes suggested an Illyrian meaning for the name Teuta, derived from the Illyrian word *teutana*, meaning queen, rather than the Celtic word *teuta*, meaning people or tribe.<sup>321</sup> These texts examined her actions as a queen and Polybius' clear bias against her both as an Illyrian and as a female ruler.<sup>322</sup> What the texts did not really address was the possibility that both women were Celts (if their names derived from the Celtic word *teuta*) who married an Illyrian king or, alternatively, that they were Celto-Illyrians.

---

<sup>317</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, vol. 2, 12.49; Zonaras, *Extracts of History*, 8.19.33-39 (found in the same volume of Dio Cassius).

<sup>318</sup> Erich S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vol. 1, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); John Wilkes, *The Illyrians, The People of Europe* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 1995).

<sup>319</sup> Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, 167.

<sup>320</sup> Arthur M. Eckstein, *Rome Enters the Greek East: From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230-170 BC*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2008), 41.

Eckstein acknowledged that Agron had a child with another wife, but then never discussed polygamy.

<sup>321</sup> Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, 72; Delamarre, *Dictionnaire*, 294-295. Triteuta's name was not examined in either Delmarre's *Dictionnaire* or Wilkes' *The Illyrians*. She seems to be rather overlooked.

<sup>322</sup> Gruen, *The Hellenistic World*, 291, 360-368; Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, 72, 158-162, 167.

## *Boudica*

If the name of any one Celtic queen has survived in the common vernacular, it is that of Boudica. This queen of the Iceni has been written about and analyzed by many people, and they have addressed her story in far greater depth than can be covered in just a few paragraphs.<sup>323</sup> However, this study will briefly outline the history of her life and rule.

Boudica is one of only two named Celtic queens written about by the Romans during their conquest of northern Europe. She was a member of a British tribe called the Iceni. Little is known of her youth, other than that she was reportedly of royal birth and very intelligent.<sup>324</sup> In the *Agricola*, Tacitus describes her as a woman of royal descent: *generis regii femina*.<sup>325</sup> Dio Cassius refers to her as a queen: βασιλεύουσα.<sup>326</sup> She was the wife of Prasutagus, a king who was favored by the Romans. Upon his death, Tacitus reported that the king, in his will, attempted to ensure his people's continued favor by dividing his kingdom between his daughters and the Roman Emperor Nero.<sup>327</sup>

All the chaos, destruction, and killing which followed Prasutagus' death probably could have been avoided had it not been for Roman officials who confiscated all of his property, demanded the return of the Roman money given to the tribe, flogged his widow, Boudica, and raped his daughters.<sup>328</sup>

In AD 60/61, Boudica rallied not only the Iceni, but also other tribes across southeastern Britain to avenge the injustices the Romans had committed, and succeeded in killing thousands, leveling three major Roman towns (Camulodunum, Londinium, and Verulamium), and destroying about 2,000 legionaries of the *VIII Hispana*<sup>329</sup> before her army was defeated by Gaius Suetonius Paulinus in a battle at a still-undiscovered location somewhere in the West Midlands along the Roman road now known as Watling Street. Her

---

<sup>323</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*; Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*; Fry, *Rebellion against Rome: Boudica's Uprising against the Roman Occupation Forces in A.D. 61*; Fraser, *The Warrior Queens*, 43-106; Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*; Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*; Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt against Rome*.

<sup>324</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.2.

<sup>325</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 16.

<sup>326</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.6.

<sup>327</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, trans. John Jackson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937), 14.31.

<sup>328</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.31.

<sup>329</sup> Mark Hassall, "Pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions in Britain," in *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions*, ed. Richard J. Brewer (London: Societies of Antiquaries, 2000), 56; Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.32.

army, if sources are to be believed, was over 200,000 strong, yet it was destroyed in this final battle with two Roman legions. Accounts conflict on Boudica's death: Tacitus tells us she took poison, while Dio Cassius said she fell ill and died.<sup>330</sup>

From the sources, it is known that she was a regent queen, as her daughters were young at the time of their father's death. According to Dio Cassius, she seems to have had the ability to assemble and address a Roman style tribunal.<sup>331</sup> She also led the army, though there is no mention of her participating in any of the pillaging or battles.<sup>332</sup>

Unlike the first four women mentioned, secondary source literature on Boudica is vast and written by a whole range of scholars, from notable Celtic and Roman historians such as Miranda Aldhouse-Green, Graham Webster, and Simon James, to non-historians such as Antonia Frasier.<sup>333</sup> Boudica appears in many generic works on Celtic history and Roman Britain. She is a crucial figure to understanding the Roman conquest and control of Britain and has been the subject of many publications, both good and bad. As an example of some of the errors that creep into what is written about her (as mentioned in Chapter 2), Simon James incorrectly noted that, "The modern notion of the sword-wielding Celtic Amazons is more difficult to substantiate: although women were often present on the battlefield, there seem to be no evidence of them bearing arms – except in Dio's description of Boudica...."<sup>334</sup> In fact, while there are multiple references in classical sources to Celtic women actually using weapons in battle (which will be discussed in Chapter 4), Dio's description of Boudica does not say that she bore arms on the battlefield, but rather than she held a spear while addressing the Britons:

[2] ... Ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σῶμα μεγίστη καὶ  
τὸ εἶδος βλοσυρωτάτη τὸ τε βλέμμα  
δριμυτάτη, καὶ τὸ φθέγμα τραχὺ εἶχε,  
τὴν τε κόμην πλείστην τε καὶ  
ξανθοτάτην οὔσαν μέχρι τῶν γλουτῶν  
καθεῖτο, καὶ στρεπτὸν μέγαν χρυσοῦν  
ἐφόρει, χιτῶνά τε παμποίκιλον  
ἐνεκεκόλπωτο, καὶ χλαμύδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ

... In stature [Boudica] was very tall, in appearance most terrifying, in the glance of her eye most fierce, and her voice was harsh; a great mass of the tawniest hair fell to her hips; around her neck was a large golden necklace; and she wore a tunic of divers colours over which a thick mantle was fastened with a brooch. This

---

<sup>330</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.32-37; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.12.

<sup>331</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.2.

<sup>332</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.2-12.

<sup>333</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*; Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*; James, *The World of the Celts*; Fraser, *The Warrior Queens*, 43-106.

<sup>334</sup> Simon James, *The World of the Celts*, 67.

παχεῖαν ἐνεπεπόρητο. Οὕτω μὲν ἀεὶ ἐνεσκευάζετο· τότε δὲ καὶ λόγχην λαβοῦσα, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τούτου πάντας ἐκπλήττειν, ἔλεξεν ᾧδε.

was her invariable attire. She now grasped a spear to aid her in terrifying all beholders and spoke as follows ....<sup>335</sup>

Dio Cassius goes on to describe how she led her army, providing very graphic depictions of the slaughter and destruction that ensued, but made no mention of Boudica having borne arms herself in any of the battles during the campaign against the Romans:

[7] Τοιαῦτ' ἄττα ἡ Βουδουῖκα δημηγορήσασα ἐπῆγε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τὴν στρατιάν· ἔτυχον γὰρ ἀναρχοὶ ὄντες διὰ τὸ Παυλῖνον τὸν ἡγεμόνα σφῶν εἰς νῆσόν τινα Μῶνναν ἀγχοῦ τῆς Βρεττανίας κεμένην ἐπιστρατεῦσαι. Διὰ τοῦτο πόλεις τε δύο Ῥωμαϊκὰς ἐξεπόρθησε καὶ διήρπασε, καὶ φόνον ἀμύθητον, ὡς ἔφην, εἰργάσατο· τοῖς τε ἀλικομένοις ἀνθρώποις ὑπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν τῶν δεινότητων ἔστιν ὃ τι οὐκ ἐγίνετο. Καὶ ὁ δὴ δεινότατον καὶ θηριωδέστατον ἔπραξαν· τὰς γὰρ γυναῖκας τὰς εὐγενεστάτας καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτας γυμνὰς ἐκρέμασαν, καὶ τοὺς τε μαστοὺς αὐτῶν περιέτεμον καὶ τοῖς στόμασί σφῶν προσέρραπτον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ ἐσθίουσαι αὐτοὺς ὀρῶντο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο πασσάλοις ὀξέσι διὰ παντὸς τοῦ σώματος κατὰ μῆκος ἀνέπειραν. Καὶ ταῦτα πάντα, θύοντές τε ἅμα καὶ ἐστιώμενοι καὶ ὑβρίζοντες, ἐν τε τοῖς ἄλλοις σφῶν ἱεροῖς καὶ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀνδάτης μάλιστα ἄλσει ἐποίουν. Οὕτω τε γὰρ τὴν Νίκην ὀνόμαζον, καὶ ἔσεβον αὐτὴν περιττότατα.

Having finished an appeal to her people of this general tenor, Buduica [sic] led her army against the Romans; for these chanced to be without a leader, inasmuch as Paulinus, their commander, had gone on an expedition to Mona, an island near Britain. This enabled her to sack and plunder two Roman cities, and, as I have said, to wreak indescribable slaughter. Those who were taken captive by the Britons were subjected to every known form of outrage. The worst and most bestial atrocity committed by their captors was the following. They hung up naked the noblest and most distinguished women and then cut off their breasts and sewed them to their mouths, in order to make the victims appear to be eating them; afterwards they impaled the women on sharp skewers run lengthwise through the entire body. All this they did to the accompaniment of sacrifices, banquets, and wanton behaviour, not only in all their other sacred places, but particularly in the grove of Andate. This was their name for Victory, and they regarded her with most exceptional reverence.<sup>336</sup>

Likewise, Tacitus does not recount Boudica bearing arms, either in the final battle or in any of the fights with the Romans prior to the final engagement:

Boudicca curru filias prae se vehens, ut quamque nationem accesserat,

Boudicca, mounted in a chariot with her daughters before her, rode up to

<sup>335</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.2.

<sup>336</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.7.

*solitum quidem Britannis feminarum ductu bellare testabatur, sed tunc non ut tantis maioribus ortam regnum et opes, verum ut unam e vulgo libertatem amissam, confectum verberibus corpus, contrectatam filiarum pudicitiam ulcisci. eo provectas Romanorum cupidines, ut non corpora, ne senectam quidem aut virginitatem impollutam relinquunt. adesse tamen deos iustae vindictae; cecidisse legionem, quae proelium ausa sit; ceteros castris occultari aut fugam circumspicere. ne strepitum quidem clamorem tot milium, nedum impetus et manus perlaturus. si copias armatorum, si causas belli secum expenderent, vincendum illa acie vel cadendum esse. id mulieri destinatum: viverent viri et servirent.*

clan after clan and delivered her protest: It was customary, she knew, with Britons to fight under female captaincy; but now she was avenging, not, as a queen of glorious ancestry, her ravished realm and power, but, as a woman of the people, her liberty lost, her body tortured by the lash, the tarnished honour of her daughters. Roman cupidity had progressed so far that not their very persons, not age itself, nor maidenhood, were left unpolluted. Yet Heaven was on the side of their just revenge: one legion, which ventured battle, had perished; the rest were skulking in their camps, or looking around them for a way of escape. They would never face even the din and roar of those many thousands, far less their onslaught and their swords! — If they considered in their own hearts the forces under arms and the motives of the war, on that field they must conquer or fall. Such was the settled purpose of a woman — the men might live and be slaves!<sup>337</sup>

Graham Webster authored a very well-written piece of scholarship on Boudica and the revolt in his *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*. This account starts in 54 BC, and carries up through the end of the Boudican revolt. It provides readers with an understanding of Roman Britain in terms of the Roman invasions, the Roman military, political tensions, and conflict. It also examines archaeological information supporting the Boudican revolt. It provides readers with an in-depth look at the how and why of what happened, and focuses less on Boudica as an individual ruler, identifying her as the individual who was at the right place and the right time to ignite tensions between the Romans and Britons.<sup>338</sup>

The secondary literature on Boudica continues to grow in areas other than historical academic publications. Aside from her role in popular media, she occupies a growing place in gender studies as well as historiography. There are also books, articles and sections on Boudica that do not quite fall into a particular category, such as *The British Chronicles* by

---

<sup>337</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.35.

<sup>338</sup> Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*, 88.

David Hughes. This author, without identifying sources other than a generic bibliography for the entire chapter, asserted that he has information about Boudica's life and family, including such "facts" as the existence of a "royal British mint" under her control, that she had been installed by the Romans as Queen of East Anglia in AD 55, that she was besieged in her "castle" between her defeat by Suetonius Paulinus and her death, and the names of the men to whom her daughters were married.<sup>339</sup> While Hughes put forward intriguing (but unsupported) speculations, much of what he suggested is not what is traditionally accepted by the academic community.<sup>340</sup> Vanessa Collingridge, a geographer, also wrote a book, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, that not only examined Boudica's history, but her place in British culture. She devoted a large portion of the book to Boudica's role as an icon and folk hero.<sup>341</sup> (She also devoted time to Cartimandua – discussed below – and Agrippina.) Collingridge's work was well researched and thought out, and has a distinctly different viewpoint and focus than many other works on Boudica.<sup>342</sup>

---

<sup>339</sup> David Hughes, *The British Chronicles*, vol. 1 (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 89-92.

<sup>340</sup> Hughes, *The British Chronicle*, vol. 1, xiii. Hughes' nontraditional view of source material can best be understood through the introductory paragraph in his Author's Note.

The chapters Two through Six restore British Mythology to its place as the record of British History before written history begins, which was once the generally accepted view of history before modern skepticism stripped the history-books of everything that could not be documented by surviving written records. The restoration of mythology as the record of pre-written history in chapters Two through Six is justified by the premise that all legends are based on historical fact, and since the discovery of Homer's Troy in the late nineteenth century by Heinrich Schliemann this view has generally been conceded by modern scholarship. To quote Edmund Spencer: "there is a kernel of truth in all legends." Therefore, since legends have their origin in history, then, chapters Two through Six thus historicize certain British legends and incorporate them into the narrative of British History which periods of time these chapters cover. This is done in the context of new information derived from recent studies by scholars which has not yet made its way into main-stream history-books. Here is given alternative theories, other possible interpretations of the evidence, and new commentary on old topics.

<sup>341</sup> Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, 3. The author describes the purpose of her book as follows:

Instead of a single biography of Boudica, this book explores the search for the *biographies* of Boudica – who created them, and why. The story that emerges is much more than a tale of a woman who led her people against a foreign army: it's about our culture and ourselves, and how we shape our heroes to serve specific purposes, regardless of whether or not othe [*sic*] facts actually fit the story at all. The story of Boudica is therefore both the exemplar and the allegory for how we make our histories.

<sup>342</sup> Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, 139-140.



## *Cartimandua*

The only other British queen mentioned by Tacitus was Cartimandua, the ruler of the Brigantes. Unlike Boudica, she was a Roman client-queen. She is only mentioned in Tacitus' works, and he simply refers to her as a queen: *regina*.<sup>343</sup> It seems that while she was married, her husband – Venutius – was more of a consort than a king or co-ruler. She is most famous for the capture of the British rebel, Caratacus, who she turned over to the Romans after he had sought refuge with the Brigantes following his defeat.<sup>344</sup> For this act, she is often labeled as treacherous, though she was richly rewarded for this service to Rome. Her actions with the Romans and her decision to separate from her husband and take his family as hostages led to conflict. Her later decision to replace Venutius with his own armor bearer, Velloctatus, both in a physical relationship and in terms of elevating his position, led to a civil war, with the opposition being led by Venutius.<sup>345</sup> (It should be noted that Tacitus did describe her separation from her husband as a divorce.<sup>346</sup>) Cartimandua called on the Romans for aid and she was rescued by the Romans, but ended up giving up her throne to her former husband.<sup>347</sup>

There are few dedicated scholarly, historical secondary sources that discuss Cartimandua. Most of the material that does exist can be found in short articles,<sup>348</sup> such as Richmond's "Queen Cartimandua" in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1954; Braund's "Observations on Cartimandua" in *Britannia*, 1984; and Hanson and Campbell's "The

---

<sup>343</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.45.

<sup>344</sup> An alternative point of view was advanced by Graham Webster, who speculated that Caratacus had approached Cartimandua in an effort to persuade her to join him against Rome. Being a realist and understanding her power depended on Rome, and that Caratacus would be the principle leader and her own status would be diminished, she saw nothing to gain from such a move. Thus, Webster proposed that Cartimandua made a careful political decision to reject Caratacus' proposal, rather than that she betrayed someone who had sought refuge with her. (Graham Webster, *Rome Against Caratacus: The Roman Campaigns in Britain, AD 48-58*, (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. 1981), 32). In order to reach this conclusion, Webster took some liberties with his translation of Tacitus. He argued that the phrase in Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.36, *cum fidem Cartimanduae reginae Brigantum petivisset*, should be read to mean that Caratacus, "...tried to persuade the queen to join him..." rather than the more accepted translation that Caratacus was "seeking the protection of the Brigantian queen Cartimandua..." (Loeb translation, Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.36)

<sup>345</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.45; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.36, 12.40.

<sup>346</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.40.

<sup>347</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.45.

<sup>348</sup> She also appears in Fraser's, *The Warrior Queens*, 53-55.

Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest” in *Britannia*, 1986.<sup>349</sup> Recently, Niki Howarth has authored a book entitled *Cartimandua: Queen of the Brigantes*.<sup>350</sup>

Most of the secondary sources cover the same material; they summarize the passages in Tacitus, examine the political situation in Roman Britain, and attempt to identify where Cartimandua’s capital was located (this is still unknown, though there are several archaeological sites that are strong candidates).<sup>351</sup> Ian Richmond’s “Queen Cartimandua” noted that there was evidence that Cartimandua produced coinage. A single coin from a hoard found at Honley (near Huddersfield) in 1893, bears the inscription *Volisois and Carti – Ve*. This silver coin was one of five British coins (one of which bears the names of Volisois together with Dumnovellaunos; a second has the names of Volisois and Dumnocoveros<sup>352</sup>), together with Roman coins (eighteen silver *denarii* and three *sestertii*). Unfortunately, the dates on the Roman coins spanned a period from 209 BC to AD 73.<sup>353</sup> Ian Richmond noted that we might be able to see a predecessor for Cartimandua in the name Volisois, and that it appeared Cartimandua did not mint a great deal of coinage.<sup>354</sup> However, a more recent gold stater was discovered in North Yorkshire in 1999, which had the names Volisos and Cartivellaunos on it. Evidence indicated that these coins were not, in fact, Brigantian, but minted by the Corieltavian and referenced an otherwise unattested leader named Cartivellaunos. (Two other gold staters bearing the name Cartivellaunos were discovered, one before 2007 and the other in 2016).<sup>355</sup> At present, there is no archaeological evidence for Brigantian coins minted during the reign of Cartimandua.

Hanson and Campbell’s article, “The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest,” rightly noted that the exact nature of the relationship between the Romans and Cartimandua is unknown. Today, she is frequently referred to as the client-queen, though nothing is known

---

<sup>349</sup> Richmond, “Queen Cartimandua,” 43-52; Braund, “Observations on Cartimandua,” 1-6; Hanson and Campbell, “The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest,” 73-89.

<sup>350</sup> Howarth, *Cartimandua*.

<sup>351</sup> Suggested sites for Cartimandua’s capital include: Stanwick, Aldborough, and York.

<sup>352</sup> Richmond, “Queen Cartimandua,” 45-46.

<sup>353</sup> G.F. Hill, “Cartimandua,” *Numismatic Chronicle* 17 (1897): 293-301.

<sup>354</sup> Richmond, “Queen Cartimandua,” 46-47.

<sup>355</sup> Chris Rudd, “How a strong pony became a strong ruler,” *Coin News* (January 2017), 39-40. Found at <http://www.celticcoins.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Cartivellaunos.pdf>

of how she came to power or how she allied herself with the Romans.<sup>356</sup> Like so many female leaders noted by classical scholars, she is mentioned by only one author – in this instance, Tacitus. His accounts of her occur in his *Annals* 12.40 and *Histories* 3.45. His portrayal of her is valuable to historians, because the span of years it covers gives us an idea of the length of part of her reign. Cartimandua must have ruled for at least eighteen years, from not later than the time of the capture of Caratacus in AD 51 until the revolt led by her ex-husband Venutius, which led to her subsequent removal from power in AD 69. There is some debate, however, whether the incidents described as taking place between Cartimandua and her husband took place at two distinctly separate dates (approximately AD 57 and AD 69), or over a period of several years, or at a single point in AD 69. This topic is discussed by Hanson and Campbell, who suggested that Tacitus’ references to conflict in the *Annals* are there only because that portion deals with the section that discusses Caratacus and that, in truth, both her separation from Venutius and the subsequent military conflict would have occurred in AD 69.<sup>357</sup> This may seem more logical than having a divorce, conflict, reconciliation, a gap of roughly twelve years and then another conflict leading ultimately to her being deposed. However, Tacitus clearly stated in the *Annals* that the events recounted covered several years and were condensed so as not to confuse the readers.<sup>358</sup> “The Brigantes” article also mentioned that a later date made sense, and that Venutius, who was left in power, must have carried on some sort of hostilities against the Romans.<sup>359</sup> If this happened in AD 69, it could explain why the Roman governor, Petilius Cerialis, sent Agricola and the *XX Valeria Victrix* legion to fight against the Brigantes during the period between AD 71-74 (Cerialis himself led the *VIII Hispana* legion against the Brigantes, while the *II Adiutrix* legion remained in garrison at Lincoln at this time).<sup>360</sup> But if Venutius, who is explicitly mentioned elsewhere in Tacitus, was leading the Brigantes against the Romans in

---

<sup>356</sup> Hanson and Campbell, “The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest,” 73.

<sup>357</sup> Hanson and Campbell, “The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest,” 77-80.

<sup>358</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.40.

[40] *Haec, quamquam a duobus pro praetoribus pluris per annos gesta, coniunctim ne divisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent: ad temporum ordinem redeo.*

These operations, though conducted by two proprietors over a period of years, I have related consecutively, lest, if treated separately, they should leave an inadequate impression on the memory. I return to the chronological order.

<sup>359</sup> Hanson and Campbell, “The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest,” 80.

<sup>360</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, p.7-8; Salway, *A History of Roman Britain*, 97-99.

AD 71-74, why was he not mentioned in passages describing that conflict? Tacitus described him as the best fighter in Britain after Caratacus. It seems improbable that, had he been the leader of the Brigantes in AD 71-74, there would be no mention of him in the *Agricola*, since he would have been as worthy an opponent of Agricola as was Calgacus, a Caledonian chieftain who is mentioned by name.<sup>361</sup> There is missing material on Venutius (Tacitus indicated he wrote about him in the *Annals*, but that material no longer survives),<sup>362</sup> so it may be that he was described as leading the Brigantes against Agricola in the missing portions of that text. Alternatively, it may be that Venutius was no longer in power by that point.

Braund's article, "Observations on Cartimandua," argued against Hanson's and Campbell's viewpoint, noting that there is a listing of different Roman officials of known dates, that there are two different outcomes to engagements between the Romans and Venutius (his initial defeat and, later, his taking over the Brigantian throne), and different types of troops that the Romans sent into battle against Venutius. Braund believed these three factors argued against events happening solely in the year AD 69.<sup>363</sup> One interesting factor in this article was the reference to the *Apocolocyntosis*, possibly written by Seneca, which satirized the reign of Claudius. Braund noted that this mock funeral dirge to Claudius discussed the Brigantes and may be referring to Claudius' inability to control them, either during the revolt that occurred in AD 48 or during the first conflict started in the 50s by Venutius.<sup>364</sup> He wisely noted that other individuals could be referenced indirectly here, including Caratacus.<sup>365</sup> The *Apocolocyntosis* is not a primary source one sees frequently referenced in discussions of Cartimandua. Below is the relevant portion of the *Apocolocyntosis* 12.13-18.

*Ille (sc. Claudius) Britannos  
ultra noti litora ponti  
et caeruleos scuta Brigantas  
dare Romuleis colla catenis  
iussit et ipsum nova Romanae*

And the Britons beyond in their  
unknown seas,  
Blue-shielded Brigantians too, all these  
He chained by the neck as the Romans'  
slaves. He spoke, and the Ocean with

---

<sup>361</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, p.7-8; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.40.

<sup>362</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.40.

<sup>363</sup> Braund, "Observations on Cartimandua," 1-6.

<sup>364</sup> L.D. Reynolds, "The Younger Seneca, Apocolocyntosis," in *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L.D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 361-362; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.32; this passage refers to a small uprising in AD 48 by the Brigantes.

<sup>365</sup> Braund, "Observations on Cartimandua," 4-5.

Nicki Howarth's *Cartimandua: Queen of the Brigantes* is a much more popular look at this queen; unfortunately, some of that author's assumptions are illogical and contradictory. She carried the clear impression in her work that Cartimandua ruled from at least AD 43 until AD 69.<sup>368</sup> However, there is no specific evidence for such an early start to her reign. Howarth's writing favored the belief that the events described in Tacitus spanned the period from the mid-50s to AD 69. In and of itself, this poses no problem, and she provided information to readers on the nature of the debate.<sup>369</sup> Howarth has a website with Heritage Key which is dedicated to material on Cartimandua, but it actually conflicts with her book. For instance, on her website, "10 Things You Probably Didn't Know About Cartimandua, Britain's Forgotten Queen," she noted that Cartimandua was referred to as an adulterer by sources, even though she argued that Cartimandua had been separated for twelve years from Venutius.<sup>370</sup> On this point, she contradicted herself. It is not Cartimandua, but Velloctatus who Tacitus referred to as an adulterer (which she noted in the book, but not the website)<sup>371</sup> and, only in one of his works (*Histories*); there are no other sources for this.<sup>372</sup> Though she has made a notable attempt to address a lesser-known woman ruler, Howarth's use – in both her book and website – of so many modern pop culture references, together with her unsupported assumptions, fails to strike a balance with readers in her attempt to try to modernize the traditional method of writing scholarly material that is seen frequently in other publications on this topic.

Vanessa Collingridge's book, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, devotes a chapter to Cartimandua and Agrippina. This chapter, entitled "Hyenas in

---

<sup>366</sup> Braund, "Observations on Cartimandua," 5; Paul Roth, *Seneca Apocolocyntosis*, Bryn Mawr Latin Commentaries, Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr Commentaries, 1988, 11.

<sup>367</sup> Petronius and Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Satyricon / Apocolocyntosis*, trans. Michael Heseltine and W. H. D. Rouse, ed. Eric H. Warmington (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press, 1997), 12.13-18.

<sup>368</sup> Howarth, *Cartimandua*, 106-110.

<sup>369</sup> Howarth, *Cartimandua*, 106-110.

<sup>370</sup> Nicki Howarth, "10 Things You Probably Didn't Know About Cartimandua, Britain's Forgotten Queen," Heritage Key: Unlock the Wonders, July 01, 2007, <http://heritage-key.com/blogs/nicki-howarth-pollard/10-things-you-probably-didnt-know-about-cartimandua-britains-forgotten-q> [Accessed August 2010]. This blog is currently at <http://backtothecelts.blogspot.com/p/10-things-you-probably-didnt-know-about.html>

<sup>371</sup> Howarth, *Cartimandua*, 126.

<sup>372</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.45; "pro martio studia civitatis, pro adultero libido reginae et saevitia."

Petticoats,” is well written, covering much of the material that all other secondary sources address.<sup>373</sup> It examines Tacitus and his literary attitude towards the Brigantian queen. She goes so far as to indirectly mention the *Apocolocyntosis* as a source, without actually naming it.<sup>374</sup> Then she, as many other authors have done before, outlines the reign of Cartimandua. Collingridge’s chapter does something no one else does. She stated, as though accepted historical fact, that after Cartimandua was deposed in AD 69, Venutius waged war on the Romans until he was defeated by Cerealis sometime around AD 72.<sup>375</sup> There is no proof of this in classical sources or archaeology. The *Agricola* informs us that Cerealis fought against the Brigantes, but nothing more than that.<sup>376</sup> She then hypothesizes on an oral history tradition that could possibly be connected to Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Guinevere, found in his *History of the Kings of Britain*.<sup>377</sup>

Hughes’ *Chronicles of Britain* also references Cartimandua, drawing on works such as the *Chronicles of Scotland* and the Welsh Triads, the *Trioedd Ynys Prydian*. He purported to be able to present a much more detailed view of Cartimandua, including the name of her father, the men she married (he lists six husbands – including Cunobelinus and Caligula), that Venutius was the King of Mercia, as well as the names of her predecessors and successors. Due to her previous marriage to Cunobelinus, Hughes wrote, without any caveat, that Caratacus was Cartimandua’s son-in-law by marriage.<sup>378</sup> Hughes’ summary of her history is so much “richer” in apparent detail than other secondary sources because it made indiscriminate use of many much later, less accepted sources.<sup>379</sup> While it would be rash to discount all of his sources straight away, it is no exaggeration to say that there is no caution

---

<sup>373</sup> Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, 136-151.

<sup>374</sup> Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, 144-145.

<sup>375</sup> Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, 148-149.

<sup>376</sup> If she had simply speculated that after Cartimandua was deposed, Venutius had managed to maintain the throne, I would have no problem with what is contained in this chapter.

<sup>377</sup> Collingridge, *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*, 149-151. She does this with extreme caution, arguing for the growing academic acknowledgement of oral histories and less traditional academic sources.

<sup>378</sup> Hughes, *The British Chronicles*, vol. 1, 78-79, 83.

<sup>379</sup> Hughes, *The British Chronicles*, vol. 2 (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2007), 643-645. In writing about British rulers during the late Iron Age and during the Roman occupation of the islands, in addition to the *Chronicles of Scotland* and the Welsh Triads, Hughes included medieval sources, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regnum Britanniae*, together with the British Israelite school that asserts the British were the “lost Tribe of Israel” – with no apparent reservation or distinction between those and recognized classical texts or modern scholarly works.

in Hughes' writing. His concept of British history relies on myths (which certainly have some place), but he gave them equal weight with classical sources, which led him to make such unsubstantiated assertions as Atlantis being the "mother-country" of the people of Britain,<sup>380</sup> or that an Etruscan prince of Trojan descent established a colony in Britain.<sup>381</sup>

### *Unknown Female Leader*

One other female leader, little known and little discussed, appears only in Tacitus' *Agricola*. Shortly after the death of his father-in-law, Tacitus wrote that book as a tribute to the former general and governor of Britannia. There are three specific references to conversations Tacitus had with Agricola about his service in Britain, and it is believed that Agricola, himself, was Tacitus' primary source of information for the work.<sup>382</sup> Tacitus noted that Agricola served in the Roman province of Britannia on three occasions: from before the Boudican revolt until AD 60 or 61, from AD 70 to 74, and from AD 78 to 85.<sup>383</sup> Sometime between the Boudican revolt and Agricola's campaign against the Caledonians in 85, Tacitus recounted that a woman led the Brigantes in battle against the Romans.

*Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos  
natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per  
dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur;  
coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem  
libidinem effugerunt, nomine amicorum  
atque hospitum polluuntur. Bona  
fortunaque in tributum, ager atque  
annus in frumentum, corpora ipsa ac  
manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis  
inter verbera et contumelias  
conteruntur. Nata servituti mancipia  
semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis  
aluntur: Britannia servitutum suam  
cotidie emit, cotidie pascit. Ac sicut in  
familia recentissimus quisque servorum  
etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc  
orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos*

31. "Children and kin are by the law of nature each man's dearest possessions; they are swept away from us by conscription to be slaves in other lands: our wives and sisters, even when they escape a soldier's lust, are debauched by self-styled friends and guests: our goods and chattels go for tribute; our lands and harvests in requisitions of grain; life and limb themselves are worn out in making roads through marsh and forest to the accompaniment of gibes and blows. Slaves born to slavery are sold once for all and are fed by their masters free of cost; but Britain pays a daily price for her own enslavement, and feeds the slavers; and as in the slave-gang the new-comer is

---

<sup>380</sup> "Ampher led his tribe, the proto-Picts, to Britain from Atlantis, which, if we are to believe the record of mythology, was Britain's "mother country," and became Britain's first king (4500/3000BC)." Hughes, *The British Chronicles*, vol. 1, ix.

<sup>381</sup> "...Brutus, an Etruscan prince of Trojan ancestry descended from ancient Minoan royalty, ... came to Britain as the leader of a colony of the Albanese, usually identified as the Britanni (Brigantes)..." Hughes, *The British Chronicles*, vol. 1, x.

<sup>382</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 4.3, 24.3, and 44.5 are those in which Tacitus refers to speaking with his father-in-law. M. Hutton indicates in the Introduction (p. 16) that Agricola was likely the primary source of the material.

<sup>383</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 5.1, 6.1, 7.3, 9.6, 40.3-40.4.

*et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis reservemur. virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. Ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in paenitentiam [bel]laturi; primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.*

a mockery even to his fellow-slaves, so in this world-wide, age-old slave-gang, we, the new hands, worth least, are marked out to be made away with: we have no lands or mines or harbours for the working of which we might be set aside. “Further, courage and high spirit in their subjects displease our masters: our very distance and seclusion, in proportion as they save us, make us more suspected: therefore abandon all hope of pardon, and even at this late hour take courage, whether safety or glory be most prized. A woman could lead the Brigantes to burn a colony, to storm a camp; and had not their success lapsed into inactivity they might have thrown off the yoke; but *we* shall fight as men unscathed and untamed, men who have (been trained) for freedom, not for regrets: let us show them at the very first encounter what manner of men Caledonia has kept in reserve for her cause.”<sup>384</sup>

Tacitus recounted this speech by Calgacus, the Caledonian chief, to his army in the summer of AD 84.<sup>385</sup> The distinction is that while the Caledonians sent their women away from battle,<sup>386</sup> the Brigantes had been led in a fight by a woman at some earlier time. Given the time frame, this cannot have been Cartimandua, who was a Roman client-queen and loyal enough to Rome that they sent part of their army to rescue her.

---

<sup>384</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31; The Loeb translation also suggests that Tacitus may have been referring to a leader of the Trinobantes who had fought with Boudica; Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31, fn. 1.

An alternative translation of this same section reads, “The Trinobantes, even under a female leader had force enough to burn a colony, to storm camps, and if success had not damped their vigor, would have been able entirely to throw off the yoke...”

(Tacitus, *The Germany and the Agricola of Tacitus*, Project Gutenberg, 31 [<http://www.archive.org/stream/thegermanyandthe07524gut/8aggr10.txt> ].)

<sup>385</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31.4; the dating of the speech to the summer of AD 84 is found in the Introduction, p. 13. The Latin text reads, “*Brigantes femina duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere.*” The word *colonia* means a farm or estate, as well as a colony. *Exurere* means to burn out. The word *castra* normally referred to a temporary camp (whereas *castrum* meant an established fort). The word *expugnare* means to take by storm, capture, overcome, subdue or gain by force. An alternative translation could be that the Brigantes had burned a Roman estate or farm, and stormed (but not captured) an encampment (perhaps when the Romans had ceased the campaigning for that season).

<sup>386</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 27.2.



Tacitus must have invented this speech, as no Roman would have been present to hear it. Yet Tacitus had no problem putting words in the Caledonian leader’s mouth that clearly implied that he (and therefore Tacitus, as well) knew of a woman who had led a neighboring tribe in fighting against the Romans, that she had enjoyed some success, and that success had “lapsed into inactivity.” While the text indicated neither when that happened, nor the name of the woman, some logical deductions can be made from what is known.

Agricola, as commander of the *XX Valeria Victrix* legion during the rule of governor Petilius Cerialis, had fought against the Brigantes sometime during the period between AD 71 and 74.<sup>387</sup> The Roman army would have established both marching camps during the summer campaign season, and encampments to shelter the troops during the winter months.<sup>388</sup> However, the very brief passage in Tacitus addressing this campaign made no mention of the establishment of any Roman civil settlements such as a *vicus* or *colonia*. It is possible that the Brigantes could have burned a Roman farm or estate and stormed an encampment during that time – and this is what was “remembered” by Calgacus a decade later. This implies that either Tacitus, as the actual author of the speech, was very attentive to events in Britain (perhaps due to his father-in-law’s involvement there), or this was a well-known event.

In AD 74, Agricola became the governor of Aquitania.<sup>389</sup> From AD 75 to 78, during his absence from Britain, the Roman army under governor Sextinus Julius Frontinus turned its attention to finishing the subjugation of the inhabitants of what is now Wales.<sup>390</sup> It may be that the Brigantes took advantage of this relocation of the legions to rise up against the small number of Roman troops or auxiliaries left in their region. This possibility is strengthened by the statement in *Agricola* (concerning the general’s presence in Britain after AD 78), which claims that,

*Tertius expeditionum annus novas  
gentis aperuit, vastatis usque ad  
Tanaum (aestuario nomen est)  
nationibus. Qua formidine territi*

The third year of campaigning opened up new nations, for the territories of tribes as far as the estuary named the Taus was ravaged. Although our army

---

<sup>387</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>388</sup> Graham Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969), 166-220 (for a detailed discussion of camps and forts in the First and Second Centuries), 55 (for a discussion of the establishment of winter encampments).

<sup>389</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 9.1.

<sup>390</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, p. 8.

*hostes quamquam conflictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacescere non ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit. Adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates locorum sapientius legisse. Nullum ab Agricola positum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione ac fuga desertum; nam adversus moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. Ita intrepida ibi hiems, crebrae eruptiones et sibi quisque praesidio, inritis hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate atque hieme iuxta pellebantur.*

was severely buffeted by furious storms, the enemy were now too terrified to molest it. There was even time to spare for constructing forts. It is observed by experts that no general has ever shown a better eye for suitable sites than Agricola. No fort of his was ever stormed or ever abandoned through surrender or flight. In fact, the men made frequent sallies, for they were protected against long siege by supplies to last a year. Thus winter in these forts was free from fear, and each could take care of itself. The enemy were baffled and near despair; they had been used to making good the losses of the summer by the gains of the winter, but were now hard pressed in both seasons alike.<sup>391</sup>

This leaves open the possibility that the Brigantes' success was not against the forces that had been led by Agricola in AD 71-74 (or any fort he had established), but rather took place during the three years of his absence, and that this is what Calgacus is supposedly recalling.

In AD 78, Agricola returned as the governor of Britain, concluded the campaign against the inhabitants of the area today known as Wales, and moved north the following summer with three legions and *auxilia* to renew the conquest of Scotland.<sup>392</sup> He started the process of Roman acculturation in the region during the winter of AD 79-80, assisting communities to erect temples, marketplaces and houses. In AD 80, he established garrisons and forts in newly acquired districts, including the territory of the Brigantes.<sup>393</sup> It is possible that one of these newly established garrisons and the surrounding settlement may have fallen to the Brigantes.

---

<sup>391</sup> Tacitus, "Agricola," *Agricola and Germania*, trans. Harold Mattingly (London: Penguin Books, Ltd, 2009), 22. This passage is located in the section addressing the campaigns in the north in AD 80-81, but may have a more general meaning that those posts established by Agricola had never been overrun. Of course, it is also possible that Tacitus was exaggerating in an attempt to praise his father-in-law.

<sup>392</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, pp. 13-14.

<sup>393</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 20.1-20.3; 21.1-21.2.

During Agricola's governorship, permanent fortresses were constructed to accommodate the army of occupation at sites that included Bainbridge near Hawes, Elslack near Skipton, Ilkley, Bowes, Newton Kyme near Tadcaster, Castleford and Catterick.... During the course of their long occupation, the Romans built some forty forts in Yorkshire, mainly in the west, though few survive today.

(Richard Muir, *The Yorkshire Countryside: A Landscape History* (Edinburgh: Keele Univ. Press, 1997), 75.)

This would have been only a few years before Calgacus' speech is supposed to have occurred. However, this would be contrary to Tacitus' claim that none of the forts planted by Agricola were ever "carried by storm by the enemy."

Since Tacitus was not present to hear the Caledonian leader speak, nor were any of the Romans from whom Tacitus might have gotten information about Britain, it is impossible to know what Calgacus actually said. Tacitus must have composed the words to comport with his understanding of what had happened in Britain. It is clear that Tacitus felt no compunction about including a statement that the Brigantes, led by a woman, had stormed a camp [*castra*] and burned some sort of settlement [*colonia*].

Tacitus would have known that some of the tribes in Britain had female rulers (including the Iceni under Boudica and the Brigantes under Cartimandua). He writes,

*His atque talibus in vicem instincti,  
Boudicca generis regii femina duce  
(neque enim sexum in imperiis  
discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum;  
ac sparsos per castella milites  
consecrati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam  
coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis,  
nec ullum in barbaris [ingeniis]  
saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria.*

Rousing each other by this and like language, under the leadership of Boudicea, a woman of kingly descent (for they admit no distinction of sex in their royal successions), they all rose in arms. They fell upon our troops, which were scattered on garrison duty, stormed the forts, and burst into the colony itself, the headquarters, as they thought, of tyranny. In their rage and their triumph, they spared no variety of a barbarian's cruelty.<sup>394</sup>

This implied that there were other female leaders. He also knew that women had actually led military forces (as was the case with Boudica, though as mentioned before, no record exists of her actually engaging in battle). While it should not be presumed that this was done frequently, in quoting Boudica's address to British tribes prior to battle with Suetonius, Tacitus has her acknowledge that, "it was customary, she knew, with Britons to fight under female captaincy,"<sup>395</sup> thus implying that hers was not the only instance of such action.

The only references to the loss of any *colonia* in Britain in any classical sources are to those that were sacked and burned by Boudica in AD 60 or 61. However, her revolt certainly did not lapse into "inactivity." In addition, Tacitus specifically mentions Boudica as the

---

<sup>394</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 16.1.

<sup>395</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.35.

leader of the Iceni much earlier in the *Agricola* <sup>396</sup> (one of the few explicit references to her in classical texts), which makes it unlikely that he is misidentifying her in this later passage of the same work as a leader of the Brigantes.

Lindsay Allason-Jones, in her book *Women in Roman Britain*, took note of the unidentified woman mentioned in the *Agricola*, suggesting that she might have been an Iron Age general between AD 71 and 83. She noted that if Tacitus was not confused about incidents in Britain at that time, that this cannot have been Cartimandua, but may have been a successor.<sup>397</sup> Francesca Santoro L’Hoir, in her book *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, assumed that this unknown female leader was Boudica, commenting that the speech of Calgacus implied how undesirable female leadership was compared to that of men.<sup>398</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, in her book *Boudica Britannia*, also noted the reference to this unknown female leader in the *Agricola*. However, she argued that Tacitus has merely confused “the Brigantes with the Iceni, and Cartimandua with Boudica, for it was the Iceni who burned Colchester and nearly put paid to Britannia as a Roman province.”<sup>399</sup> In fact, secondary sources have been marking this passage as an error on the part of Tacitus as far back as 1897.<sup>400</sup> However, such an argument seems flawed for the following reasons: Tacitus’ source was most likely *Agricola* himself (who had served in Britain both during the time of the Boudican revolt, as well as the campaigns against the Brigantes and in Caledonia). Tacitus may have had access to military documents of this period in Britain; the unknown female leader described in this passage is mentioned in the context of the fighting during *Agricola*’s campaign against Caledonia in an area that bordered the territory of the Brigantes (whereas the Iceni were far to the south and would have been much further removed from the personal experience of the Caledonians). The Brigantes were known to follow female leaders (such as Cartimandua); and Tacitus explicitly mentions Boudica much earlier in his writing of the *Agricola*.<sup>401</sup> Margaret Ehrenberg also touches on this leader in her work, *Women in*

---

<sup>396</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 16.1-16.2.

<sup>397</sup> Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 9.

<sup>398</sup> Santoro L’Hoir, *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms*, 131.

<sup>399</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 130.

<sup>400</sup> Hill, “Cartimandua,” 301.

<sup>401</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 130.

*Prehistory.* Like Allason-Jones, she proposes the same range of dates and notes that our lack of knowledge about the Brigantes in this century may explain this passage.<sup>402</sup>

One possibility not mentioned by Allason-Jones, Aldhouse-Green, or Ehrenberg is that this passage may suffer from transmission errors or might have been a later addition by another copyist. The problems with the transmission of this particular text were addressed in Chapter 1. It is possible that somewhere between the first century AD and the earliest surviving copy from the ninth century, any number of transmission errors could have occurred.

However, absent such an error by a copyist, it seems most likely that the unknown female leader that appears in the speech attributed to Calgacus is neither an invention of Tacitus nor a misrepresentation of either Boudica (who led the Iceni far to the south and twenty-five years before the purported speech) or Cartimandua (who had been a Roman client-queen). In fact, if these events did occur, the Caledonian leader Calgacus would certainly have known of the Brigantes, whose territory was close at hand, and that they had been led by a woman in the past. Tacitus was very clear in his wording about this unknown woman in the speech he created (his knowledge of her likely was taken from discussions with his father-in-law, based on his repeated service in the province). The most probable time for a successful attack by the Brigantes against a Roman military camp and nearby settlement appears to be during the period AD 74-78, when the bulk of the Roman forces were busy trying to subdue the Celts of modern-day Wales. This obviates any conflict with Tacitus' claim that the enemy never carried by storm any fort established by Agricola (since he was out of the province at the time), though it is possible that this statement about Agricola's forts may have been an attempt by Tacitus to portray his father-in-law in the best possible light. In addition, a battle that took place between AD 74-78 would have occurred within a decade or less of the speech attributed to Calgacus. Future archaeological work may uncover evidence to indicate whether there is a Roman camp within the territory of the Brigantes and near a burned estate that can be dated to the latter half of the first century.

### ***Germanic Queens***

In fact, there are no named German queens described in classical accounts dating before AD 235. Only one named queen dates after AD 235, a Marcomannic Queen named

---

<sup>402</sup> Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory*, 167-168. She states that the Brigantes were a divided tribe that the Romans had difficulty controlling, and postulates this woman may have led one of tribal elements.

Fritigilia, referred to by Paulinus, the secretary to Archbishop Ambrose, as *regina Marcomannorum*.<sup>403</sup>

We do know of one Suebian king who had two wives. One was a Norican woman, the sister of king Voccio. She was married to the Suebian king known as Ariovistus. Ariovistus was most fully described in Caesar's *The Gallic War*, but he was mentioned by other classical authors (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 38.34-35; Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, 19). He came from Germany with a Suebian wife and, once in Gaul, married the sister of the Norican king.<sup>404</sup> This implied that the second marriage was with this unnamed Norican noblewoman. She and Ariovistus' other wife died after fleeing from a battle against Caesar.

### ***Hispano Celtic / Celtiberian Queens***

There are no references, either in classical or secondary sources, identifying Hispano Celtic women who were queens, the wives of a tetrarch or regent, or a military leader of their tribe. Two Celtiberian women do fall into that category.

#### *Luperia*

The only source describing what may have been a female Celtiberian ruler is a twelfth century text from Spain called the *Codex Calixtinus*, which describes the arrival of St. James' body in Spain, and the attempt by his disciples to obtain permission from a queen (or wealthy lady) named Luperia to bury him there.<sup>405</sup> Luperia is described as a pagan and respectable widow (meaning she has never remarried after the death of her first husband). She tried on three occasions to get St. James' apostles killed but, of course, their faith saved them. After witnessing this, she converted to Christianity, removed the pagan temples from her land, and created a tomb for the body of St. James.<sup>406</sup>

---

<sup>403</sup> Paulinus, *Vita Sancti Ambrosii*, 78.

<sup>404</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.53.

<sup>405</sup> She was also called Loba and Lupa in various translations. There was an old oral tradition that St. James preached in Spain to the Gentiles before returning to Jerusalem, where he was executed. In fact, this story makes up the first part of the *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*. (*Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, trans. Abelardo Moralejo Lasso, Casimiro Torres Rodríguez, and Julio Feo García (Santiago de Compostela: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Padre Sarmiento, de Estudios Gallegos, 1951), 3. 1, pp.386-387. (translated from Spanish to English by Celia Peña Martínez).) James' death was documented in *Acts of the Apostles* 12:1-3. He was executed by Herod Agrippa, whose death was also described in the *Acts of the Apostles* 12:18-23. This description of Herod's death corresponds to the account of Josephus' *Antiquity of the Jews* 19.8.2, which indicates Herod Agrippa died after Passover in AD 44. Given how *Acts* 12 was written, it is most likely that James was executed in late AD 43 or, more likely, early AD 44.

<sup>406</sup> Lasso, et. al., *Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*, 386-392.

Luperia first appears in medieval literature; there is no mention of her in any surviving classical sources, just as there is no mention in any classical sources of St. James preaching in Spain. So far, no reference to her has emerged from any classical or Celtic secondary source analysis. Not surprisingly, she is discussed in works which cover Christianity and pilgrims in the Middle Ages. One of the strangest works in which she appears is a book called *The Ron House* by an unknown author (thought to be Antonio de Ron), possibly from the 1930s. This book, which is a genealogy, purports that a woman named Claudia Lupa was the daughter of Gaius Julius Caesar and his wife Cornelia, that she was left in Spain, and that she later went on to marry Lobo Lobesio. The author proceeded to trace Claudia Lupa's family tree down the ages through events.<sup>407</sup> A more archaeologically-based examination of Luperia can be found in *La Tumba del Apóstol Santiago*, by Manuel Vidal Rodríguez, which looked at a site known today as Castro Lupario (in Spanish) and its historic association with Luperia.<sup>408</sup>

The absence of a classical source for Luperia does not necessarily mean that the story is a medieval creation, since virtually all of the "classical" sources available to modern scholars survive only in much later medieval copies. For instance, as noted above, the oldest surviving copy of Tacitus' *Agricola* is from the ninth century (the Jesi MS),<sup>409</sup> and this is one of only two classical texts that mention Boudica by name. The other – Book 62 of Dio Cassius' *Roman History* – comes to us from a ninth century abridgement done by Xiphilinus, a monk of Constantinople.<sup>410</sup> While the conversion story of Luperia is not untypical of those found among the accounts of the lives of saints and certainly nothing like the copy of an ancient source by a medieval monk, the surviving account of this queen may stem from an ancient story that was incorporated into a new work sometime during the twelfth century.

It is important to note that Rodríguez mentions that Mercedarian Father Juan de Azcona wrote in the margins of the *Codex Calixtinus* in 1535, noting that a tower at Castro Luperio was the dwelling of Queen Luperia. When Rodríguez visited Castro with members of the Pontifical University of Compostela in the 1920s, he inquired of the nearby townsfolk what they knew of the site, and they responded that it was supposed to have been the home of

---

<sup>407</sup> Anonymous, *The Ron House*, trans. A. E. Ron (n.p.: n.p., 1998).

<sup>408</sup> Manuel Vidal Rodríguez, *La Tumba del Apóstol Santiago* (Santiago: Tipografía del Seminario C. Central, 1924), 33-36.

<sup>409</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.40; Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.45; Tacitus, *Agricola*, 16.

<sup>410</sup> Jeffrey Henderson, ed., *Dio Cassius – Roman History*, "Introduction" (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), vol. 1, xxii.

Queen Luperia who had helped bury the body of St. James.<sup>411</sup> The implication in the Spanish is that these scholars were speaking with working class rural individuals, who were probably not literate.<sup>412</sup> Even had they been able to read the local dialect, it is unlikely that any of the “peasant” families would have been able to read a manuscript written in Medieval Latin. This implies that the story of Luperia had survived in the local oral tradition from at least the time the *Codex Calixtinus* was written in the twelfth century through to the first half of the twentieth century. Its survival in oral tradition for the last eight centuries lends credence to the idea that the original account of Queen Luperia could have stemmed from a (now missing) document or story that predated the twelfth century by hundreds of years, just as the oral history of the presence of St. James in Spain has persisted for centuries.

### *Himilce*

While not a queen, Himilce is described as being a powerful woman (and by secondary sources as a princess or the daughter of a chieftain) living in Castulo. Himilce (or Imilce) was the wife of the Carthaginian general Hannibal. Theirs seems to have been a simple marriage intended to form a political alliance. Almost nothing is known about her except for a passage in Livy and one other mention in Silius Italicus’ *Punica*.<sup>413</sup> So little is known about Himilce that no analytical secondary source material has been discovered that goes beyond merely mentioning her name, based on the passages found in primary sources.

Hasdrubal, the brother-in-law of Hannibal Barca, also took a wife while campaigning in Iberia, the daughter of a local king (she may have been Celtiberian, though her name is no longer known). If she was a Hispano Celt or Celtiberian, she would be another powerful woman. At this time, her only identifier is that she was from Iberia.<sup>414</sup>

### *Consideration of Sources*

So far, this chapter has addressed queens, regents, military commanders, and wives. They are just names and stories. What lends them validity? Why should the classical sources

---

<sup>411</sup> Vidal Rodríguez, *La Tumba del Apóstol Santiago*, 35-36.

<sup>412</sup> This is based on a translation and consultation with Celia Peña Martínez on the use of *campesinos* and *campesinas* in Rodríguez’s article. The words translate as “peasants” (male and female).

<sup>413</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 24.41.7; Silius Italicus, *Punica*, trans. J. D. Duff, vol. 1 (containing Books 1-8) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1934), 3.97-127.

<sup>414</sup> H.H. Scullard, “The Carthaginians in Spain,” In *The Cambridge ancient history: Vol VIII Rome and the Mediterranean to 133BC*. Eds. A.E. Astin, F.W. Walbank, M.W. Frederiksen, R.M Ogilvie. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 42.



be trusted? With each individual, there are different types of evidence to consider. In the following paragraphs, the validity of each woman addressed earlier will be examined: Onomaris, Triteuta and Teuta, Boudica, Cartimandua, the unknown Brigantian leader, Luperia, and Himilce. When examining classical accounts of “historic” individuals – whether a Celtic queen or a Roman official or a major war leader<sup>415</sup> – it is important to remember that much of the available information is based on only a very few sources.

Onomaris is supported by the known existence of other individuals named in the *Tractatus de Mulieribus*. Not only does the *Tractatus* often list a classical source that describes these women, but in every case (except Onomaris) the women are known from another historical work, such as Herodotus, Timaeus, and Ctesias.<sup>416</sup> These are known historical authors, who are frequently deemed reliable sources of information.<sup>417</sup> The fact that there are sources for thirteen of the fourteen names, none of which are mythological figures, and that the last, Onomaris, is in the last, damaged portion of the text (and the source for this passage may have been lost), lends credence to the fact that Onomaris was probably a real individual. It is likely that the absence of the reference to the source material for her in the *Tractatus* (in contrast to the other women listed) is due to the fragmentary nature of this portion of the surviving text.<sup>418</sup> She is the only woman considered in this chapter who may have ruled as a man or completely independently of any men or male relatives.

Teuta was an enemy of the Roman Republic who, from the point of view of authors of her time, caused nothing but trouble. The passages describing her rise to power, political

---

<sup>415</sup> As an example, Catus Decianus was the procurator of Roman Britain who provoked the rebellion by Boudica in AD 61. His name appears in only two classical sources – Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.32 wrote that “he had goaded [the province] into war by his rapacity,” that he subsequently fled to Gaul, and (in 14.38) that Julius Classicianus was his successor as procurator; Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 62.2 mentioned that he confiscated sums of money which had been given by Emperor Claudius to British tribal chiefs. Despite the fact that these are the only references in classical sources, historians do not doubt the existence of Catus Decianus as an historical figure.

Another example was the Catuvellaunian war leader, Caractacus, who led the resistance by the Silures and Ordovices against Plautius’ legions for nearly eight years before being defeated and eventually turned over to the Romans by Cartimandua. His name also appears in only two classical sources – Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 60.19-22 described the invasion and subsequent guerilla warfare by Caractacus; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.33-38 described his defeat, escape to the Brigantes, his betrayal by Cartimandua, and his speech before the Emperor in Rome. Once again, notwithstanding the fact that these are the only references in classical sources, there is no doubt that Caractacus existed as an historical figure.

<sup>416</sup> The other women of the *Tractatus de Mulieribus* include Semiramis, Zarinaea, Nitocris (Egyptian), Nitocris (Babylonian), Argeia, Dido, Atossa, Rhodogyne, Lyde, Pheretime, Thargelia, Tomyris, and Artemisia; Gera, *Warrior Women*, 28-29.

<sup>417</sup> Though they most assuredly have their own flaws and errors.

<sup>418</sup> Gera, *Warrior Women*, 28-29.

decisions and downfall are detailed enough that she seems to be a creditable historical figure. *Triteuta*, as well, seems to be an historical figure, for there is no reason to invent her and add her to an already complex story. Roman authors, such as Pliny the Elder, Dio Cassius, Zonaras, Polybius, and Appian, while at times elaborating on the negative aspects of their enemies, were not known to have created entirely fictional opponents (according to current scholarly consensus).

In addition to the textual evidence for Boudica in Dio Cassius and Tacitus, and indirectly in Suetonius, there is archeological evidence which was left behind in the wake of her revolt. This comprises extensive physical evidence of how destructive the revolt of AD 60/61 was in Britain – including layers showing burning and destruction found at Camulodunum, Londinium, and Verulamium.<sup>419</sup> The aftermath of the revolt also has a unique bit of archaeological and literary evidence of its own. Colchester, or Camulodunum, was rebuilt and renamed, *Colonia Victricensis*, “the colony of the victorious.” The city walls, dated by ceramics from c. AD 65-80, have a foundation a meter deep, and the surviving walls are up to four meters high in places. At Verulamium, evidence shows that reconstruction and activity in the city only began fifteen to twenty years after the revolt.<sup>420</sup>

Cartimandua, the Brigantian client-queen was almost certainly an historical figure. While she is only mentioned in one source that survives into modern times, her existence is supported by Tacitus’ disdain. It may seem strange to talk about a classical author’s disdain as a positive note. Tacitus, by all accounts, does not tend to invent groups of people to elaborate his histories, and the sheer amount of space devoted to this ruler, combined with historical details, indicates that there was a real queen of the Brigantes who worked with the Romans.

The unknown female leader of the Brigantes mentioned by Tacitus in the *Agricola* is probably the most controversial figure included in this chapter. The argument presented above indicated that, though the speech attributed to Calgacus was actually invented by Tacitus, in all probability the unknown female Brigantian was a real, singular individual, not to be confused with either Cartimandua or Boudica.

---

<sup>419</sup> Webster, *Boudica: The British Revolt against Rome AD 60*, 113-128; Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt Against Rome*, 22-37.

<sup>420</sup> Sealey, *The Boudican Revolt Against Rome*, 52-57; Peter Marsden, *Roman London* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1980), 31-37.

Luperia is a figure little discussed in academic literature. She was possibly a Celtiberian ruler of the first century AD who has survived in some unusual fashion in a medieval hagiography. There is archaeological material of the right age with which she was associated, however Spain had been under Roman control since the Punic Wars, and it is plausible that a local client-queen was in place sometime before AD 50.

Himilce is one of the most plausible individuals, though there is virtually no proof of her existence. The daughter of a Celtiberian leader from the documented Andalusian town of Castulo,<sup>421</sup> she is purported to be the wife of Hannibal. Political marriages were common in the ancient world. For Hannibal to have married the daughter of a powerful local Celtiberian ruler is not only possible, but quite probable. However, there is no evidence to either disprove or prove her existence.

Overarching all of this information, it must be remembered that in large measure all of these sources are derived from copies which consist of manuscripts dating to sometime during or after the ninth century AD. (This, of course, excludes the archaeological data of the Boudican revolt.)

While the names of some ancient queens that ruled over a few Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian tribes are known, little is understood about their function in those societies. Their jobs, duties and tasks are never described by the Greek or Roman authors. Because of the shortfall in primary source descriptions of these topics, it is not surprising that one finds so little actual analysis of their roles in secondary source material. Most of that literature (other than what is found in novels and written for the popular press) is limited to mentioning their function as it is described in key primary source passages – that is, a possible military leader, or a Roman ally, without looking at their role as a ruler or their duties as a queen. One can only presume that the term “queen,” when used by these classical authors, implies that these women were filling roles similar to others who served as client-queens elsewhere in the Roman Empire.

Defining what it meant to be a Celtic client-queen (or king) in the Julio-Claudian period is virtually impossible.<sup>422</sup> How policy regarding client-queens changed from one Roman

---

<sup>421</sup> Castulo was the site of the battle where Hasdrubal Barca and Mago Barca (Hannibal’s brothers) defeated the Romans under Publius Scipio during the Second Punic War.

<sup>422</sup> As Barrett points out in his lengthy analysis of the British client-king, Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnis, beyond their names and the fact that they were client-kings of the Romans, any effort to reconstruct their careers “will inevitably be speculative, and is hampered by our imperfect understanding of the legal status of client-kings during the Julio-Claudian period, if indeed, their status had any legal basis.” He goes on to state, “our

ruler to another is unknown, as are the differences that might have existed between eastern and western rulers. In this chapter, two possible client-queens were examined: Cartimandua (at least from AD 51 to 69) and Luperia (AD 44/45). These women fall in the Claudian and Neronian period. Two of the most famous examples of client-queens predate these women. Even though they are Hellenistic queens, perhaps they can offer insight into how these western women ruled.<sup>423</sup>

Dynamis Philorhomaeus of Bosphorus and Pythodoris of Pontus were two Roman client-queens who ruled in the East during the time of Augustus and Tiberius. Dynamis Philorhomaeus (which means “Dynamis, friend of the Romans”) was the daughter of Pharnaces and granddaughter of Mithridates. She ruled over the Bosphorus with at least three husbands, as well as (it seems) independently. Her first marriage was to Asandros (who died in 27 BC at the age of ninety-three – her age at this time is unknown).<sup>424</sup> Dynamis is noted by Dio Cassius as being a regent sometime after Asandros’ death, and she issued her own coinage in 17-16 BC.<sup>425</sup> Sometime later, she then briefly married Scribonius, and lastly she had a marriage arranged by Agrippa to Polemon, the King of Pontus, in 14 BC.<sup>426</sup> Polemon was murdered in 8 BC, by which time he had three children with Pythodoris. Sometime between 12 and 13 BC, Dynamis was acting as an independent ruler.<sup>427</sup> Rostovtzeff made a sound argument that Dynamis actually lived and ruled over the Bosphorus until AD 7, based on textual, epigraphical, and numismatic evidence.<sup>428</sup> What is known about her as an independent ruler? She seems to have maintained her kingdom and issued coinage successfully. Her independence as a queen and yet as a friend of the Romans is confirmed by three inscriptions. Two of them were set up by Dynamis in Phanagoria, and one was erected

---

ignorance of the general nature of that important institution [of client-kings],” together with the fragmentary historical and archaeological evidence (in this case, one sentence in Tacitus and one marble marker) makes the study of Cogidubnus very difficult. Anthony A. Barrett, “The Career of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus,” *Britannia* 10 (1979): 229. The same is true of a British client-queen, such as Cartimandua.

<sup>423</sup> Cleopatra VII and Zenobia are both famous client queens from the ancient East; because they vary widely in date and come from a non-Europoan system of rule, they are being excluded as comparables.

<sup>424</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 7 (containing Books 56-60) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 54.24.4-5; Lucian, *Macrobii*, 17.

<sup>425</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 54.24.4-7.

<sup>426</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 54.24.4-7.

<sup>427</sup> This was based upon the supposition that Polemon had at least four years to contract a marriage to Pythodoris and beget three children with her before his death in 8 BC.

<sup>428</sup> M. Rostovtzeff, “Queen Dynamis of Bosphorus,” *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39 (1919): 88-109.

to her by the city of Phanagoria. These clearly indicated her allegiance to Rome, as well as her situation as a singular ruler.

*CIRB 1046:*

*Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν  
Σεβαστὸν τὸν <π>άσης γῆς καὶ  
[πάσης] θαλάσσης ἄ[ρχ]οντα,  
τὸν ἑαυτῆς σωτ[ῆ]ρα καὶ εὐ[εργέτη]ν  
βασιλίσσα Δύν[αμις φιλορῶ]μαιος.<sup>429</sup>*

*CIRB 1046:*

Imperator Caesar Augustus, son of a god, the ruler of land and all sea her own savior and benefactor; Queen Dynamis Philorhomaeus.<sup>430</sup>

*CIRB 979:*

*[β]ασίλισσαν Δύναμιν φιλορῶμ[αιον],  
[τῆ]ν ἐκ βασιλέω[ς μ]εγάλου Φα[ρνάκου]  
[το]ῦ ἐκ βασιλέω[ς βασιλέω]ν Μιθ[ραδά]-  
[το]ν Εὐπάτορος [Διο]νύσ[ο]ν,  
[τῆ]ν ἑαυτῶν σω[τήριαν] καὶ εὐε[ργέ]-  
[τι]ν [ὁ] δῆμ[ος ὁ Ἀγριπ]πέω[ν].*

*CIRB 979:*

Queen Dynamis, Philorhomaeus, daughter of the great king Parnach, son of the king of kings Mithridates Eupator Dionysius, seen as the rescuer and benefactress by the people of Phanagoria.<sup>431</sup>

*CIRB 978:*

*[Λιουί]α[ν] τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναῖκ[α]  
[β]α[σί]λισσα Δύναμις, φιλορῶμαιος  
[τῆ]ν ἑαυ[τῆ]ς εὐεργέτιν.*

*CIRB 978:*

Livia, the wife of Augustus; Queen Dynamis Philorhomaeus honored her benefactress.<sup>432</sup>

Pythodoris was initially the wife of Polemon, King of Pontus (and his co-ruler) and later the wife of Archelaüs, ruler of Cappadocia (both were Roman client-kings).<sup>433</sup> She had three children by her first husband and later had the help of one of her sons in the administration of her lands.<sup>434</sup> She was described by Strabo as ruling a vast area as a widowed queen (not a regent), including Pharnacia, Colchis and Trapezus. The Romans turned Cappadocia into a Roman province after the death of Archelaüs, and one of her sons

<sup>429</sup> *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani (CIRB 978, 979, 1046)*

<sup>430</sup> Daniela Dueck, Hugh Lindsay, and Sarah Pothecary, *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2005), 226; David Braund, *Augustus to Nero: A Source Book on Roman History 31 BC-AD 68* (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 230; Rostovtzeff, "Queen Dynamis of Bosporus," 100.

<sup>431</sup> Dueck, et al., *Strabo's Cultural Geography*, 226; Braund, *Augustus to Nero*, 230; Rostovtzeff, "Queen Dynamis of Bosporus," 100.

<sup>432</sup> V. V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae* (Petropoli: Iussu et Impensis Societatis Archaeologicae Imperii Russici, 1916), 183 (translation from Russian into English by Eric Hammersen); Rostovtzeff, "Queen Dynamis of Bosporus," 100.

<sup>433</sup> Polemon died 8 BC and Archelaüs died in AD 17.

<sup>434</sup> Strabo, *Geography* trans. Horace Leonard Jones, vol. 5 (consisting of Books 10-12) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928), 12.3.29.

ruled Greater Armenia.<sup>435</sup> Strabo spoke fondly of her, and she seems to have lived and ruled for a number of years after the death of her second husband, Archelaüs.<sup>436</sup>

Dynamis of Bosphorus and Pythodoris of Pontus were queens in their own right. Although they made a series of political marriages influenced by Roman Imperial control, they acted as monarchs ruling independently of men for extensive periods in the first centuries BC and AD.

### ***Positions of Power in Religion***

Another area in which women held power was in the role of religion in pagan beliefs, as well as the early Christian church. This can be seen in the role of priestess, druidess, prophetess, and deaconess and is documented in both classical and epigraphical sources across western Europe.

#### *Priestesses*

Priestesses play an elusive role in the classical accounts. Some Celtic and Germanic women were priestesses, and they obtained a great deal of status through these positions. The Galatian woman, Camma, was described by Plutarch and Polyaeus as being a priestess of Artemis (whether it was at the temple of the Greek goddess or a Celtic counterpart is unclear), but in the passages below, it is evident just how important a priestess was in Galatia. This, in turn, may indicate culturally inherited positions from Gaul. It is also our only indication of a hereditary position for a priestess in what is possibly a Celtic religion.<sup>437</sup> This may speak to either her importance as a woman or the importance of her family.<sup>438</sup>

... καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἰέρειαν εἶναι,  
ἣν μάλιστα Γαλάται σέβουσι, περὶ τε  
πομπὰς ἀεὶ καὶ θυσίας κεκοσμημένην  
ὀρᾶσθαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς.

... she [Camma] was the priestess of Artemis, whom the Galatians especially reverence, and was seen magnificently attired always in connection with the processions and sacrifices.<sup>439</sup>

---

<sup>435</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 12.2.13, 11.2.18.

<sup>436</sup> If she was sixteen and she married in 12 BC, she would have only been forty-five years old at the death of Archelaüs.

<sup>437</sup>Plutarch's other version of this tale, in the *Amatorius* or *Dialogues on Love*, was slightly different. It noted that Camma was a hereditary priestess: *ἱερωσύνῃ πατρῶος Ἀρτέμιδος*. *πατρῶος* implies inheritance down the male line from a father or ancestor, rather than from a mother or the female line. This may be because there is no Greek word for inheritance down the female line (I have yet to find one). Another possibility is that this was a role held by women in this one family following the father's line.

<sup>438</sup> Plutarch, "Dialogues on Love," *Moralia*, trans. W. C. Hembold, vol 9 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961), 768 B-D.

<sup>439</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, vol. 3, "Bravery of Women," 20 *Camma*.

...καὶ γὰρ ἦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρεια, ἣν  
μάλιστα Γαλάται σέβουσι,...

... she [Camma] was priestess of Artemis,  
which is an office of the highest rank that  
a woman can hold in Galatia.<sup>440</sup>

Boudica, according to Dio Cassius, divined the future by releasing a hare from her clothing during a speech to her people. He also credited her (together with her followers) with performing sacrifices and banquets at various sacred locations as they pillaged their way across Britain.<sup>441</sup> The hare was released while invoking the war goddess Andraste. It is unknown if she was a priestess or just performed rituals and rites as a function of her royal status. Miranda Green suggested that while the true meaning of the hare is unknown, "It may represent the hunt, the hare acting as a symbol of the Romans pursued by the victorious Britons. With its nocturnal foraging habits, the hare could also have represented darkness and thus death and destruction."<sup>442</sup> Green also went on to note that the violence against women written about by Dio Cassius may refer to specific rites and sacrifices to the war goddess Andraste.<sup>443</sup> More and more epigraphical analysis of monuments is going on which shows the extensive role of women in the Latin west in pagan religions and Imperial cults.<sup>444</sup>

### *Druids and Prophetesses*

The most popular and well-know aspect of pre-Christian "Celtic" religion is the mysterious and historically hazy religious figures known as Druids. More has been written about Druids today than was ever contained in classical sources.<sup>445</sup> Priests, elite oral historians, councilors to Celtic rulers – the debate about the function of Druids continues.

---

<sup>440</sup> Polyaeus, *Stratagems* 8.39 *Camma*.

<sup>441</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.6-7.

<sup>442</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddess*, 32.

<sup>443</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddess*, 33; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.7.

<sup>444</sup> Emily A. Hemelrijk. "Priestesses of the imperial cult in the Latin West: titles and function." *L'Antiquité classique* (2005): 137-170; Wolfgang Spickermann. "Priesterinnen im römischen Gallien, Germanien und den Alpenprovinzen (1.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* (1994): 189-240.

<sup>445</sup> Barry Cunliffe, *Druids: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids*; Ronald Hutton, *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Phillip Freeman, *The Philosopher and the Druids*; Phillip Freeman, *War, Women, and Druids: Eyewitness Reports and Early Accounts of the Ancient Celts* (Austin, University of Texas Press, 2002); Peter Berresford Ellis, *The Druids* (London: Robinson, 2002); Stuart Piggott, *The Druids* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1975); D. Ellis Evans, *Druids as Fact and Symbol* (Gloucester: Gloucester Antiquity Publications, 1969).

What is known is that the Romans clearly had no love for these individuals in either Gaul or Britain. Suetonius tells us clearly that the Emperor Claudius

*Druidarum religionem apud Gallos dirae immanitatis et tantum civibus sub Augusto interdictam penitus abolevit...*

“... utterly abolished the cruel and inhuman religion of the druids among the Gauls, which under Augustus had merely been prohibited to Roman citizens....”<sup>446</sup>

The Romans followed this up by wiping out the important Druidic center on the island known at that time as Mona (located in what is today Anglesey, Wales).

### *Prophecy and Women*

The Germans, according to classical authors, had a long tradition of female prophetesses. Caesar noted in *The Gallic War* that German matrons would declare, by divination and through lots, whether fighting should be undertaken at a particular time.<sup>447</sup> According to Tacitus, simply being female was linked to the gift of prophecy and, to go one step further, some female prophetesses were deified.<sup>448</sup> The most famous German prophetess was Veleda, a beloved member of the Bructeri tribe. She lived her whole life in a tower, isolated from everyone but her family; there she gave out prophecies. After the suppression of the revolt of the Batavi and Treveri, she was taken captive. How her life ended is unclear.<sup>449</sup> Another prophetess, Ganna, supposedly visited the Emperor Domitian.<sup>450</sup> Malcom Todd, in *The Early Germans*, proposes that among Germans not only was divination important, but those who divined were honored, including women such as Veleda and Ganna.<sup>451</sup> Miranda Green noted that there were similarities between Veleda and Mediterranean prophetesses, such as the Pythia at Delphi, women removed from the world whose prophecies are conveyed by men.<sup>452</sup> Green went on to note that Tacitus' description of

---

<sup>446</sup>Suetonius, "The Deified Claudius," *The Lives of the Caesars*, trans. J.C. Rolfe, vol. 2 (containing Books 5-8) (London: William Heinemann, 1914), 25.

<sup>447</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.50.

<sup>448</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 8.

<sup>449</sup> Statius, *Silvae*, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 1.4.90; Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.61 & 65.

<sup>450</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.50; Tacitus, *Germania*, 8; Tacitus, *Annals*, 55.

<sup>451</sup> Todd, *The Early Germans*, 117.

<sup>452</sup> Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 109-111.



Veleda as a prophetess and spiritual leader was indicative of a woman of great power on a level similar to that of Boudica.<sup>453</sup>

According to Suetonius' *Life of Galba*, in Spain just prior to Galba's brief reign as Emperor (AD 68-69), when he was the governor of *Hispania Tarraconensis*, he based his decision to break with the Emperor Nero on omens and the prophecies of two maidens.<sup>454</sup> One of these women was from Clunia, a Celtiberian town which eventually became a *colonia* and an important town in the Roman Empire. Her prophecy was found by a priest at the temple of Jupiter at Clunia and had been written two hundred years earlier. The other maiden was a contemporary of Galba and may have been from New Carthage where Galba was holding assizes.

*Carthagine nova conventum agens  
tumultuari Gallias comperit legato  
Aquitaniae auxilia implorante;  
supervenerunt et Vindicis litterae  
hortantis, ut humano generi assertorem  
ducemque se accommodaret. Nec diu  
cunctatus condicionem partim metu  
partim spe recepit; nam et mandata  
Neronis de nece sua ad procuratores clam  
missa deprenderat et confirmabatur cum  
secundissimis auspiciis et omnibus  
virginis honestae vaticinatione, tanto  
magis quod eadem illa carmina sacerdos  
Iovis Cluniae ex penetrali somnio monitus  
eruerat ante ducentos annos similiter  
a fatidica puella pronuntiata. Quorum  
carminum sententia erat oriturum  
quandoque ex Hispania principem  
dominumque rerum.*

As he was holding the assizes at New Carthage, he learned of the rebellion of the Gallic provinces through an urgent appeal for help from the governor of Aquitania; then came letters from Vindex, calling upon him to make himself the liberator and leader of mankind. So without much hesitation he accepted the proposal, led by fear as well as by hope. For he had intercepted despatches ordering his own death, which had been secretly sent by Nero to his agents. He was encouraged too, in addition to most favourable auspices and omens, by the prediction of a young girl of high birth, and the more so because the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, directed by a dream, had found in the inner shrine of his temple the very same prediction, likewise spoken by an inspired girl two hundred years before. And the purport of the verses was that one day there would come forth from Spain the ruler and lord of the world.<sup>455</sup>

---

<sup>453</sup> Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 111.

<sup>454</sup> Suetonius, "Galba," *The Lives of the Caesars*, trans. J.C. Rolfe, vol. 2 (containing Books 5-8), 9.2.

It has been noted that these examples of divine prophecy in classical sources may have been an attempt at imperial legitimization by Emperors or their biographers. (Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids*, 221-222.)

<sup>455</sup> Suetonius, "Galba," *The Twelve Caesars*, 9.2.

In classical accounts that mention local religions across Western Europe, women were often described as having had the gift of prophecy. Perhaps this was a Roman and Greek stereotype of these barbarian women. Miranda Green proposed that this continued reference in classical sources indicated that, “prophecy was an important function of religious officials in the pagan Celtic world.”<sup>456</sup> When Caesar fought the Germans in Gaul, their matrons prophesied the future.<sup>457</sup> The community of priestesses off the coast of Gaul, on the isle of Sena, was recorded as having the gift of prophecy, as well as other powers.<sup>458</sup> Miranda Green’s *Celtic Goddesses* noted that the isolation of the priestesses from the world on that island, combined with their virgin life, may have represented their purity when dealing with the divine or their potency. She also went on to question whether the number named by Pomponius Mela as nine had anything to do with the religious significance associated with multiples of three in Celtic tradition.<sup>459</sup>

In terms of archaeological evidence, while the act of prophecy itself cannot be seen, divination tools did exist. A woman’s grave at La Chaussée-sur-Marne, dating to the third century BC, contained what are thought to be tools for divination – a bag containing a bowl and two spoons. Whether she was a professional ritualist is unknown.<sup>460</sup>

### *Cults and Orders of Priestesses*

Unlike the stone temples of Greece and Rome, there is little remaining material evidence that tells us about Celtic and Germanic temples, and the cults that might have used them.<sup>461</sup> There is, however, one account showing what seems to be an order or group of priestesses who worked together for a religious purpose in Gaul. The passage below describes one of the more famous Celtic cults, and it tells us not only about their traditions, but also about their temple.

ἔν δὲ τῷ ὠκεανῷ φησὶν εἶναι νῆσον      In the ocean, he [Poseidonius] says,

---

<sup>456</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 147-148.

<sup>457</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.50.

<sup>458</sup> F.E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela’s Description of the World* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 3.48 (Islands); Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*, [actually 3.40 in Latin version] [from The Latin Library. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pomponius3.html>] [Accessed June 2009]].

<sup>459</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 141-142.

<sup>460</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar’s Druids*, 227-228.

<sup>461</sup> Numerous Celtic sites seem to have been made of perishable materials; for instance, the roof described on the temple in the passage from Strabo may have been made of something like thatch as they replaced it every year.

μικρὰν οὐ πάνυ πελαγίαν,  
 προκειμένην τῆς ἐκβολῆς τοῦ Λίγηρος  
 ποταμοῦ: οἰκεῖν δὲ ταύτην τὰς τῶν  
 Σαμνιτῶν γυναῖκας, Διονύσῳ  
 κατεχομένας καὶ ἰλασκομένας τὸν  
 θεὸν τοῦτον τελεταῖς τε καὶ ἄλλαις  
 ἱεροποιαῖς ἐξηλλαγμέναις. οὐκ  
 ἐπιβαίνειν δὲ ἄνδρα τῆς νήσου, τὰς δὲ  
 γυναῖκας αὐτὰς πλεούσας κοινωνεῖν  
 τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ πάλιν ἐπανιέναι. ἔθος  
 δ' εἶναι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαξ τὸ ἱερὸν  
 ἀποστεγάζεσθαι καὶ στεγάζεσθαι  
 πάλιν αὐθημερὸν πρὸ δύσεως,  
 ἐκάστης φορτίον ἐπιφερούσης: ἥς δ'  
 ἂν ἐκπέσῃ τὸ φορτίον, διασπᾶσθαι  
 ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων: φερούσας δὲ  
 τὰ μέρη περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν μετ' εὐασμοῦ μὴ  
 παύεσθαι πρότερον, πρὶν παύσωνται  
 τῆς λύττης: ἀεὶ δὲ συμβαίνειν ὥστε  
 τινὰ ἐμπίπτειν τὴν τοῦτο πεισομένην.

there is a small island, not very far out to sea, situated off the outlet of the Liger [Loire] River; and the island is inhabited by women of the Samnitae [Namnetes ? (Pliny IV.107)], and they are possessed by Dionysus and make this god propitious by appeasing him with mystic initiations as well as other sacred performances; and no man sets foot on the island, although the women themselves, sailing from it, have intercourse with the men and then return again. And, he says, it is a custom of theirs once a year to unroof the temple and roof it again on the same day before sunset, each woman bringing her load to add to the roof; but the woman whose load falls out of her arms is rent to pieces by the rest, and they carry the pieces round the temple with the cry of "Ev-ah," and do not cease until their frenzy ceases; and it is always the case, he says, that someone jostles the woman who is to suffer this fate.<sup>462</sup>

Here one not only sees the evidence of an order of priestesses, but ones that do not confine themselves to chastity. There was also a cultic center which was described as having at least an annual tradition of human sacrifice and temple reconstruction.

Unlike Strabo's account, Pomponius Mela described an order of priestesses who were virgins. Another cult with prophetic powers and a specific site was described below.

*Sena in Britannico mari Ossismicis adversa litoribus, Gallici numinis oraculo insignis est, cuius antistites perpetua virginitate sanctae numero novem esse traduntur: Gallizenas vocant, putantque ingeniis singularibus praeditas maria ac ventos concitare carminibus, seque in quae velint animalia vertere, sanare quae apud alios insanabilia sunt, scire ventura et praedicare, sed non nisi dedita navigantibus, et in id tantum, ut se consulerent profectis.*

In the Britannic sea, opposite the coast of the Ossismi [of Brittany], the isle of Sena [the river Sein] belongs to a Gallic divinity and is famous for its oracle, whose priestesses, sanctified by their perpetual virginity, are reportedly nine in number. They call the priestesses Gallizenaes and think that because they have been endowed with unique powers, they stir up the seas and the winds by their magic charms, that they turn into whatever animals they want, that they know and predict the future, but that it is

<sup>462</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.6.

not revealed except to sea-voyagers and then only to those traveling to consult them.<sup>463</sup>

The Roman Imperial Cult is another instance in which Celtic women found a place. There are forty-three known Gaulish female priests.<sup>464</sup> If the Roman pantheon was anything, it was accommodating, and there were only a handful of religions that the Romans flatly rejected (among them Christianity,<sup>465</sup> Druidism,<sup>466</sup> and Manichaeism<sup>467</sup>). Roman citizens, at different points, were banned from participating in cults, including Magna Mater<sup>468</sup> and Druidism.<sup>469</sup> Christianity, unlike Druidism and Manichaeism, gained acceptance in the Empire with the Edict of Milan, issued by the Emperor Constantine in AD 313.<sup>470</sup> With the expansion of the Roman Empire and the Romanization of the people in these new provinces, it is not surprising that the women of Gaul sought a place in the Roman Imperial Cult.

We know a little about certain Germanic cults and their priestesses and functions.

ἔθος δέ τι τῶν Κίμβρων διηγοῦνται τοιοῦτον, ὅτι ταῖς γυναιξίν αὐτῶν συστρατευούσαις παρηκολούθουν προμάντιες ἰέρειαι πολιότριχες, λευχείμονες, καρπασίνας ἐφαπτίδας ἐπιτεπορπημένοι, ζῶσμα χαλκοῦν ἔχουσαι, γυμνόποδες: τοῖς οὖν αἰχμαλώτοις διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου συνήντων ξιφήρεις, καταστέψασαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἤγον ἐπὶ κρατῆρα χαλκοῦν ὅσον ἀμφορέων εἴκοσιν: εἶχον δὲ ἀναβάθραν, ἣν ἀναβᾶσα . . . ὑπερπετῆς τοῦ λέβητος ἐλαιμοτόμει ἕκαστον

Writers report a custom of the Cimbri to this effect: Their wives, who would accompany them on their expeditions, were attended by priestesses who were seers; these were grey-haired, clad in white, with flaxen cloaks fastened on with clasps, girt with girdles of bronze, and bare-footed; now sword in hand these priestesses would meet with the prisoners of war throughout the camp, and having first crowned them with wreaths would lead them to a brazen vessel of about twenty amphorae; and they had a raised platform which the

---

<sup>463</sup> Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, 3.48 (Islands); Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*, [actually 3.40 in the Latin version] [from The Latin Library. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pomponius3.html>] [Accessed June 2009].

<sup>464</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 145.

<sup>465</sup> Pliny, *Letters*, Book 10.96-97, contained within, *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings. Volume II, The Empire*, eds. Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 550-553.

<sup>466</sup> Suetonius, "The Deified Claudius," *The Lives of the Caesars*, 25.5.

<sup>467</sup> *Theodosian Code* 16.5.3 (issued AD 372) & *Theodosian Code* 16.5.18, contained within, Lee, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*, 182-183; *Comparison of Mosaic ad Roman Law* xv.3, contained within, *Roman Civilization: Volume II*, 548-550.

<sup>468</sup> Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, vol. 2, 547.

<sup>469</sup> Suetonius, "The Deified Claudius," *The Lives of the Caesars*, 25.5.

<sup>470</sup> Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, vol. 2, 572-573.

μετεωρισθέντα: ἐκ δὲ τοῦ προχεομένου αἵματος εἰς τὸν κρατῆρα μαντεῖαν τινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλαι δὲ διασχίσασαι ἐσπλάγγνευον ἀναφθεγγόμεναι νίκην τοῖς οἰκείοις. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἔτυπτον τὰς βύρσας τὰς περιτεταμένας τοῖς γέρροις τῶν ἀρμαμαξῶν, ὥστ' ἀποτελεῖσθαι ψόφον ἐξαισίον.

priestess would mount, and then, bending over the kettle, would cut the throat of each prisoner after he had been lifted up; and from the blood that poured forth into the vessel some of the priestesses would draw a prophecy, while still others would split open the body and from an inspection of the entrails would utter a prophecy of victory for their own people; and during the battles they would beat on the hides that were stretched over the wicker-bodies of the wagons and in this way produce an unearthly noise.<sup>471</sup>

The reference to the white-robed priestesses is intriguing, as it had parallels in Roman religious orders. The *Pontifex Maximus* (high priest of the Roman college of pontiffs) engaged in sacrifices while wearing white robes, and it would mar the sacrifice if his robes were sullied by the blood of the animals. The Vestal Virgins also wore specific clothing and, when performing rituals, they wore a white *suffibulum* (a woolen veil) edged in purple.<sup>472</sup> According to Pliny the Elder, the Druids of Gaul also wore white robes and cloaks when performing rituals of sacrifice.<sup>473</sup>

#### *Deaconesses*

Just as there were priestesses and druidesses among the Celts and Germans in their pagan polytheistic religions, there was a place for women in the early church as deaconesses and nuns.<sup>474</sup> It is not entirely clear what role deaconesses played in the early church. Some seem to have performed baptisms, while others spent time with female parishioners. I have yet to find a named deaconess from northwestern Europe that falls within the time frame of this study (though they existed in the eastern part of the Roman Empire). There is one reference to a deaconess in western Europe from a slightly later period. Theodora, a

---

<sup>471</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 7.2.3.

<sup>472</sup> Robin Lorsch Wildfang, *Rome's Vestal Virgins: A study of Rome's Vestal priestesses in the late Republic and early Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 13-16.

Sextus Pompeius Festus, in his *De verborum significatu quae supersunt com Pauli epitome*, wrote about the *suffibulum*.

<sup>473</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, H. Rackham, trans., vol. 5 (containing Books 17-19) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952), 17.251.

<sup>474</sup> Alternatives to marriage, including becoming a nun is addressed in Chapter 4.

deaconess whose tombstone was found in St. Trinitais, Gaul, died in AD 539 at the age of forty-eight.<sup>475</sup>

After Christianity became the dominant religion of the empire in the fourth century AD, and with the movement towards creating what would eventually become a single, omnipresent Catholic church, restrictions on the role of women in any official capacity in the church actually increased.<sup>476</sup> Notwithstanding the lack of surviving documentary evidence from the first, second, or third centuries on their role, the quantity of Canon Law about deaconesses that emerged from the Synods of Gaul speaks volumes – demonstrating that this had become a “problem” in previous years, and it was a problem over which the church had been unable to gain control.

\* \* \* \* \*

This chapter provided the first critical analysis of all available primary and secondary sources regarding women who held positions of power in these societies. The primary source descriptions of the Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian female leaders portray these women fulfilling three roles: an outright ruler (in the cases of Onomaris and Cartimandua), the wife of a king, tetrarch or other ruler (as in the cases of Boudica, Fritigilia, Luperia, and Himilca), or the acting regent of a local kingdom (as in the case of Teuta and Triteuta). Though many of them are connected in some manner with controlling an army of some sort (Onomaris, Teuta, Boudica, Cartimandua, and the unknown female Brigantine leader), and there are several passages on their character as women (Boudica, Cartimandua, Teuta and Triteuta, and Luperia), a huge gap remains regarding what it meant to be a queen in a Celtic or Germanic tribe, and how (or if) that differed from being a queen in other locations and at other times in the ancient world. That same gap in our knowledge exists regarding the role of client kings.

Positions of power for Celtic and Germanic women in religion depicted in primary sources portray these women as fulfilling four roles: priestess, druidess, prophetess (as in the case of Veleda or Ganna), or as a deaconess. Only snippets of information about the nature

---

<sup>475</sup> Ute E. Eisen, *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000), 184. (In 649, Hild of Streonshalh was appointed by Bishop Aiden as abbess of a double monastery at Herutea, where she hosted the *Council of Whitby* in 664. Other abbesses also existed before, during and after this period, such as Ethelburga, abbess of Lyming (d. 647); Melangell, abbess of Llangynog in Wales (c. 590-641); Brigid, abbess of Kildare in Ireland (c. 451-525); and Ita, abbess of Killeedy in Ireland (c. 475-570), indicating the continued importance of women in the Celtic Christian church.)

<sup>476</sup> See 1<sup>st</sup> Timothy 2:11-12: “11. Let a woman learn quietly with all submissiveness. 12. I do not permit a woman to teach or to exercise authority over a man; rather, she is to remain quiet.”

of these religious positions held by women can be discerned. All of them are described from the point of view of a male author – and an outsider in the case of pagan religions. In terms of Christianity, women are shown serving in a position and manner that was unacceptable to their male counterparts (based on the Canon Law that was developed to solve what was clearly perceived as a problem). As a result, there is a huge gap regarding what it meant to be a priestess, prophetess, or deaconess in a Celtic or Germanic tribe, and how (or if) that differed from being in a similar position in other locations and at other times in the ancient world.

As was the case with women in positions of power, the names of some of the women who served in a variety of religious roles in these societies are known, and their mention is sufficiently frequent that there is no question that women held religious positions. However, little is known of how they functioned in those roles. As with women in positions of power, the paucity of primary sources, together with the very limited descriptive information in those sources which have survived, together with the fact that these were universally written by men looking at the societies from the outside (in the case of pagan religions) or men who objected to the role played by women (in the case of Christianity), makes it unsurprising that there is little on this subject in secondary source material – where such women are described more often in accounts of druids in the popular press than in scholarly analysis of the functions of a Galatian priestess or a German prophetess or a deaconess in the early Christian church in Britain or Gaul.

The positions these women held, either as political or religious figures (or in some instances as both), would have occupied an important cultural place in their respective societies. These positions were unique enough that classical authors recognized that they were different. Many would have been a type of public figure (though their level of social interaction with others is unclear). Whatever base or core identity they held as women within their families, tribe, and culture would have been interwoven with their social status and the public roles they occupied.

## **Chapter 4: Marriage and the Customs of Wives and Mothers: Women in Private Life**

Social identity evolves over the course of an individual's life – with their age and the role they are playing in society at a given moment being among the determining factors. Such roles link women to other women and to larger family and tribal networks. Girl, niece, sister, unmarried daughter, marriageable maiden, wife, sister-in-law, mother, aunt (paternal and maternal), mother-in-law, spinster, matron, and widow are all words in English that help us identify a woman's place and role in society at various points in her life, as well as her connection to men and other women.<sup>477</sup> At the same time, these words tell us about the identity society gives to the women it so labels. Such concepts also impact the self-identity of a woman at a given point in her life. There is a great difference between being a maiden or a spinster, or between being a daughter or a mother, or between being a wife or a widow. Marriage is one of the most universal unions that diverse cultures, across different times, share with each other. This includes all the events that lead toward and follow after marriage. These often play important roles in women's lives, though each society has different rules for how a marriage is formed, conducted, and the responsibilities of those involved.<sup>478</sup> By looking at the role women played in marriage (as a universal concept) in various Celtic (Britain and Gaul), Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian tribes, one can discover what may have been unique to some tribes and what may have regional or cultural trends.<sup>479</sup> It also allows us to better understand how these women's identity evolved during their lives.

### ***Sources of Information***

Information on the role women played in marriage is fragmented and appears in only a handful of primary sources. The Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians, left virtually no written works, and no ancient work by a Roman or Greek author exists on the role of marriage within these societies; instead details must be teased out of memoirs, histories, and poetry written by external observers (who often had their own agendas). Some

---

<sup>477</sup> There are also word in Latin and Greek which indicate a womans cultural position in relation to marriage. However, all of our translations into English use our own cultural words, and with them we bring the weight of our own culture to such translations if we are incautious.

<sup>478</sup> George P Murdock, "The Common Denominator of Cultures," in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, ed. R. Linton (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), 124.

<sup>479</sup> This chapter focuses on the social aspects of private life. The role of a woman in housework and the home will be addressed in Chapter 5, which covers public life, including industry and trade.



evidence also comes from funerary monuments and inscriptions. The main authors that provide useful information on marriage are Tacitus, Julius Caesar, Strabo, and Plutarch.

Upon examining these sources, a scattering of facts (all very useful) emerge, but they range across hundreds of years and wide geographical regions. In order to tackle this problem, this chapter will focus on an examination of the following regions: Britain, Gaul, Noricum, Hispania, and Germania (including Raetia). Each section will discuss, whenever possible, the role a woman might have played as bride, wife, and mother in that region. By examining the responsibilities of being a wife, it is possible to begin to understand the social and anthropological aspects of marriage, its role in politics, whether societies were patriarchal or matriarchal, rules of inheritance, the role of wives in combat and warfare, the price of marriage, motherhood and its duties, religion, the role of punishment, and to see if regional or cultural trends emerge.

### ***Britain***

Britain is one of the areas about which there is very little information on the role of a wife in the 800 year span covered in this study. This is partially due to the fact that less evidence survives in the form of funerary monuments. There are fewer funerary monuments from Britain than in many other areas of the Roman Empire. In turn, a surprising percentage of the monuments that do survive pertain to men and foreigners.<sup>480</sup> While there are no clear political marriages known among the British tribes, there is no reason not to assume they occurred, especially as the tribes that lived in southern Britain had kinship ties with Gaul.<sup>481</sup> Only one instance of divorce is noted in Britain – that between Cartimandua and Venutius.<sup>482</sup> Whether this was an option available to all British women, or something unique to Cartimandua as a queen, is unknown. Notwithstanding that fact, the largest majority of secondary source books on Celtic women pertain to those of Britain.

The most famous and controversial statement about the role of the wife in Britain has to do with how many partners she may have had. Caesar recounts that:

---

<sup>480</sup> Valerie M. Hope, "Words and Pictures: The Interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones," *Britannia* 28 (1997):245-247, noted that there are almost as many surviving Roman-era funerary monuments in Mainz alone as have been discovered in all of Britain.

An exception was the *totenmahl* or funerary banquet design in Britain. Hope notes (p. 254) that where the sex of the portrait has been established, 70% of those represented were female.

<sup>481</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 2.4.

<sup>482</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.40.

*Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed qui sunt ex his nati, eorum habentur liberi, quo primum virgo quaeque deducta est.*

“Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children; but if there be any issue by these wives, they are reputed to be the children of those by whom respectively each was first espoused when a virgin.”<sup>483</sup>

Dorothy Watts rightly noted that the phrase was “wives in common” rather than women selecting various partners.<sup>484</sup> A passage that has been largely ignored by secondary source authors is the comment found in Dio Cassius’ *Roman History* about the inhabitants of northern Britain (the Caledonians and Maeatae found around and north of Hadrian’s Wall and the Antonine Wall<sup>485</sup>). While the passage comes across in a very derogatory manner, it nonetheless noted that,

[12] Δύο δὲ γένη τῶν Βρεττανῶν μέγιστα εἰσι, Καληδόσιοι καὶ Μαιάται· καὶ ἐξ αὐτὰ καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων προσήματα ὡς εἰπεῖν συγκεχώρηκεν. Οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὁ τὴν νῆσον δίχῃ τέμνει, Καληδόσιοι δὲ μετ’ ἐκείνους, καὶ νέμονται ἐκάτεροι ὄρη ἄγρια καὶ ἄνυδρα καὶ πεδία ἔρημα καὶ ἐλώδη, μήτε τείχη μήτε πόλεις μήτε γεωργίας ἔχοντες, ἀλλ’ ἕκ τε νομῆς καὶ θήρας ἀκροδρῶν τέ τινων ζῶντες· τῶν γὰρ ἰχθύων ἀπείρων καὶ ἀπλέτων ὄντων οὐ γεύονται. Διαιτῶνται δὲ ἐν σκηναῖς γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπικοινωνοῦντες χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα κοινῶς ἐκτρέφοντες. Δημοκρατοῦνται τε ὡς πλήθει, καὶ ληστεύουσιν ἡδιστα. Καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἄρχοντας τοὺς θραυστάτους αἰροῦνται.

There are two principal races of the Britons, the Caledonians and the Maeatae, and the names of the others have been merged in these two. The Maeatae live next to the cross-wall which cuts the island in half, and the Caledonians are beyond them. Both tribes inhabit wild and waterless mountains and desolate and swampy plains, and possess neither walls, cities, nor tilled fields, but live on their flocks, wild game, and certain fruits; for they do not touch the fish which are there found in immense and inexhaustible quantities. They dwell in tents, naked and unshod, possess their women in common, and in common rear all the offspring. Their form of rule is democratic for the most part, and they are very fond of plundering; consequently they choose their boldest men as rulers.<sup>486</sup>

This may be viewed as a disparaging remark made against the less “sophisticated” barbarians, however, there is further evidence of polygamy in Britain based on a comment made

---

<sup>483</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 5.14.

<sup>484</sup> Watts, *Boudicca’s Heirs*, 14.

<sup>485</sup> C.R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 83.

<sup>486</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, trans. Earnest Cary, vol. 9 (containing Books 71-80) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006), 77.12.2.

sometime shortly after AD 208. Dio Cassius relates a humorous anecdote that took place between a Caledonian chieftain's wife and the Empress Julia Domna.

[16] Καίτοι δὲ πᾶμπλειστα δαπανήσας, ὅμως οὐκ εὐαριθμήτους τινὰς μυριάδας δραχμῶν καταλέλοιπεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πολλὰς. Καὶ ἐνεκάλει μὲν τοῖς μὴ σωφρονοῦσιν, ὡς καὶ περὶ τῆς μοιχείας νομοθετῆσαί τινα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γραφαὶ αὐτῆς ὅσαι πλεῖσται ἐγένοντο (τρισχιλίας γοῶν ὑπατεύων εὗρον ἐν τῷ πίνακι ἐγγεγραμμένας)· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγοι πάνυ αὐταῖς ἐπέξησαν, οὐκέτι οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἐπολυπραγμόνει. Ὅθεν καὶ μάλα ἀστείως Ἀργεντοκόξου τινὸς γυνῆ Καληδονίου πρὸς τὴν Ἰουλίαν τὴν Αὐγουσταν, ἀποσκώπτουσάν τι πρὸς αὐτὴν μετὰ τὰς σπονδὰς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνέδην σφῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄρρενας συνουσία, εἰπεῖν λέγεται ὅτι "πολλῶ ἄμεινον ἡμεῖς τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκαῖα ἀποπληροῦμεν ὑμῶν τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν· ἡμεῖς γὰρ φανερώς τοῖς ἀρίστοις ὀμιλοῦμεν, ὑμεῖς δὲ λάθρα ὑπὸ τῶν κακίστων μοιχεύεσθε". Τοῦτο μὲν ἡ Βρεττανίς εἶπεν.

Again, [Severus] rebuked such persons as were not chaste, even going so far as to enact some laws in regard to adultery. In consequence, there were ever so many indictments for that offence (for example, when consul, I found three thousand entered on the docket); but, inasmuch as very few persons prosecuted these cases, he, too, ceased to trouble himself about them. In this connexion, a very witty remark is reported to have been made by the wife of Argentocoxus, a Caledonian, to Julia Augusta. When the empress was jesting with her, after the treaty, about the free intercourse of her sex with men in Britain, she replied: "We fulfill the demands of nature in a much better way than do you Roman women; for we consort openly with the best men, whereas you let yourselves be debauched in secret by the vilest." Such was the retort of the British woman.<sup>487</sup>

This comment most likely would have been made to the Empress Julia while she was in Britain (sometime between AD 208 and 211) with her husband, Emperor Septimius Severus, so her statements may be based on things the Empress Julia saw firsthand.<sup>488</sup> She was in Britain, probably with her son Geta, who was left behind by Septimius Severus to act as an imperial administrator (possibly in York) in AD 209.<sup>489</sup> How Dio Cassius came to learn of this comment is unknown.

From this statement, which was made after a treaty between the Caledonians and Romans was brokered, it is clear that the wife of a chieftain could plausibly be present at political dealings and meet with other powerful women and, possibly, men.

---

<sup>487</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 77.16.

<sup>488</sup> Ralph Merrifield, *London: City of the Romans* (London: Batsford, 1983), 170-171.

<sup>489</sup> Barbara Levick, *Julia Domna, Syrian Empress* (Taylor & Francis, 2007), 85; Herodian, *History of the Roman Empire*, trans. C.R. Whittaker, vol. 1 (containing Books 1-4) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 3.14.9-10, 3.15.6-8.

The role a British wife played in battle has been much argued and variously depicted by different authors. It is known that during the Boudican Revolt, women were a part of the baggage trains that accompanied the army of Britons. However, the way this in which Tacitus wrote about this makes it seem to have been an unusual circumstance.

[34] *Igitur legionarius frequens ordinibus, levis circum armatura, conglobatus pro cornibus eques astitit. At Britannorum copiae passim per catervas et turmas exultabant, quanta non alias multitudo, et animo adeo fero[ci], ut coniuges quoque testes victoriae secum traherent plaustrisque imponerent, quae super extremum ambitum campi posuerant.*<sup>490</sup>

His legions were in close array; round them, the light-armed troops, and the cavalry in dense array on the wings. On the other side, the army of the Britons, with its masses of infantry and cavalry, was confidently exulting, a vaster host than ever had assembled, and so fierce in spirit that they [the Britons] actually brought with them, to witness the victory, their wives riding in wagons, which they had placed on the extreme border of the plain.<sup>491</sup>

The idea that this seems to be an uncommon occurrence among British tribes may be supported by the report of Tacitus that during Agricola's Caledonian campaign, local wives and children were sent away from any potential fighting.<sup>492</sup> Whoever Tacitus' source was (and it seems most likely to have been Julius Agricola, who served in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus during the revolt), he is able to provide descriptions of what appear to be eyewitness accounts of events.<sup>493</sup>

Because motherhood is such a universal concept, one would only expect to find classical authors writing about instances that stood out as being dramatically different from what they were used to seeing as normal in Rome or Greece. The most extreme example is Boudica – the case of a mother defending her children, as well as herself. If the sources are correct, she was flogged and her daughters raped by order of the Roman procurator. The age of the girls at the time will never be known, but they were not old enough to inherit after Prasutagus' death. Boudica avenged her own honor and that of her daughters in a very thorough fashion. Before leaving this story, it should be examined from a different angle. Prasutagus was a Roman-friendly client king and may have been granted Roman citizenship

---

<sup>490</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.34 [from The Latin Library, <http://thelatinlibrary.com/tacitus/tac.ann14.shtml#34> [Accessed June 2009]].

<sup>491</sup> Tacitus, *The Annals of Tacitus*, trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodrick (Center, PA: Franklin Library, 1982), p.309. [Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.34.]

<sup>492</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 27.2.

<sup>493</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 5.

by the Emperor Claudius sometime after the invasion of Britain.<sup>494</sup> Romanized coinage with Latin inscriptions and that fact that Prasutagus drew up a will which named the Emperor Nero have been viewed as signs that he was a Roman citizen.<sup>495</sup> If Prasutagus was granted Roman citizenship, then his wife, Boudica, may have been a Roman citizen as well. Such abuse of a citizen would have been outrageous and illegal.<sup>496</sup> (An example of the illegality of this act can be found in sources like the New Testament *Acts of the Apostles*, when Paul of Tarsus protested – as a Roman citizen – that he was to be flogged and imprisoned).<sup>497</sup>

The Boudican Revolt may provide information about the right of a wife to defend her honor and, possibly, the honor of her children. Boudica is depicted by Tacitus as a woman seeking justice for herself and for her daughters (though the justice she sought was at an extreme level).<sup>498</sup> Although these appear to be the only examples recorded of women defending their honor after a physical assault, it is interesting to note the difference between their reactions and those of the famous virtuous Roman woman, Lucretia, who, after she has been assaulted, sought out her relatives to avenge her and, having protested her innocence, took her own life rather than the life of her attacker.<sup>499</sup>

Claudia Rufina was another mother from Britain who was an elusive historical figure. Living in Rome and married to a Roman in the first century AD, this British woman was admired by the poet Martial. Martial devotes an epigram to Claudia:

*Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis  
edita, quam Latiae pectora gentis habet!  
Quale decus formae! Romanam credere  
matres Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.  
Di bene quod sancto peperit fecunda  
marito, quod sperat generos quodque  
puella nurus. Sic placeat superis, ut  
conjuge gaudeat uno et semper natis*

Although born among the woad-stained Britons, how fully has Claudia Rufina the intelligence of the Roman people! What beauty is hers! The matrons of Italy might take her for a Roman; those of Attica for an Athenian. The gods have kindly ordered that she proves fruitful to her revered husband, and that, while yet young, she may hope for sons-in-law and daughters-

---

<sup>494</sup> Hingley and Unwin, *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*, 38-39.

<sup>495</sup> Braund, *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, Queens, Governors and Emperors from Julius Caesar to Agricola* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 133-135.

<sup>496</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudica Britannia*, 221-222.

<sup>497</sup> *Acts* 16:35-39. "They gave us a public flogging, though we are Roman citizens and have not been found guilty.....The magistrates were alarmed to hear that they were Roman citizens, and came and apologized to them."

<sup>498</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.29-39.

<sup>499</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, trans. B.O. Foster, vol. 1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 1.57-60.

*gaudeat illa tribus.*

in-law! May heaven grant her ever to rejoice in one single husband, and to exult in being the mother of three children.<sup>500</sup>

Many of Martial's epigrams are sarcastic, scathing and at times downright crass rather than kind. Claudia must have been an extraordinary woman to have earned such praise.

These few facts sum up what is currently known about the role of a wife in Britain: there is a distinct possibility of polygamy (though it may have been something common only among the tribes of the north), high-status wives may have been involved to a degree in political dealings, there may have been a tendency to send wives away from battle, and women defended their personal honor. The small number of named women all appear to be intelligent individuals. Overall, this dearth of information about women leaves much still to be discovered.<sup>501</sup>

### ***Gaul***

A fair amount of information exists on marriage customs in Gaul; not surprisingly it almost all comes from one of the most famous sources on Gaul, Caesar's *The Gallic War*. This expansive source of information is also potentially one of the most biased works a scholar could have, as these were Caesar's memoirs, written to justify his actions and enhance his reputation at home.

The earliest account pertaining to marriage far predates Caesar's encounters with the Gauls. It comes from Aristotle's *Constitution of Massaliotes*, which describes the founding (c. 600 BC) of the city today known as Marseilles in southern Gaul. In his tale, the Greeks encountered a local king, Nannus, who was celebrating the nuptials of his daughter. When the woman, Petta, came out to choose her husband by serving him wine, she chose a Greek named Euxenus. The king allowed the marriage, and the daughter adopted a Greek name.<sup>502</sup> All-in-all, this account is surprising: the daughter of a local ruler appeared to be picking her own spouse, though in truth this may have described a ritual where traditionally a bride-to-be would pick the man her father wanted. This source was contradictory yet fascinating; it was written in the fourth century BC, describing an event in the seventh century BC, and was

---

<sup>500</sup> Martial, *Epigrammata*, 11.53.

<sup>501</sup> Note: Aside from their role in a marriage, the possibility for women to act as a ruler either in times of peace or times of war has already been addressed in Chapter 3.

<sup>502</sup> Aristotle, "Constitution of Massilia," in *Athenaeus, the Learned Banqueters*, S. Douglas Olson, ed. and trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010), 13, "Concerning Women," 576.

preserved in the work of Athenaeus of Naucratis in the second century AD. Fortunately, it is supported by another version of this story in Justin's *Epitome* (though there are slight differences. Justin ascribed to the couple the names Gyptis and Protis).<sup>503</sup>

A great many of the cities of the Mediterranean established by Greek colonists had foundation myths. The founder or founders of the cities were referred to as the *oikist*. Irad Malkin, in his book *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, did an excellent job of describing an *oikist* concisely. The *oikist* could come from any number of backgrounds (merchant, son of a tyrant, or fugitive), was sanctioned by an oracle before setting out for a journey to found the new *polis*,<sup>504</sup> functioned "as the link between the mother-city, the settlers, the prospective site of the colony and the god,"<sup>505</sup> and acted as the settlers' "leader, supreme organizer, and military commander."<sup>506</sup>

The story of Petta and Euxenus (or Gyptis and Protis) as a foundation story has similarities to at least one other foundation legend, that of Lampsakos (in Anatolia).<sup>507</sup> That city drew its name from a woman named Lampsake, a barbarian and the daughter of a king, who ended up saving the Greeks from destruction. After her death, the inhabitants named the city after her (Plutarch notes that they deified her).<sup>508</sup> Sue Blundell's and Margaret Williamson's *The Sacred and Feminine in Ancient Greece* put forward an interesting idea, namely that, as a non-Greek, Lampsake "is an appropriate patron for a city of mixed racial composition, it is interesting that the figure thus expressing the city's special identity is female, and prompts comparisons with the Amazon founders of other Asian cities."<sup>509</sup>

When Massilia was founded, it probably would have had both Greek and Gaulish inhabitants, and the legendary founding couple of the city is exactly that – a Greek and a

---

<sup>503</sup> Marcus Junianus Justin, *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*, trans. John Selby Watson (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853), 43.3, Found at <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/index.html> [Accessed January 2010].

<sup>504</sup> There was an additional story concerning the founding of Massalia documented by Strabo in which the Greek colonists pick up a woman in Ephesus, this oracle receives a vision from the goddess Artemis. (Strabo, *Geography*, 4.179; Irad Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987), 69-72.)

<sup>505</sup> Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, 5.

<sup>506</sup> Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, 3.

<sup>507</sup> Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*, 70.

<sup>508</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, Virtues of Women, 255; Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 8.37 *Lampsace*.

<sup>509</sup> Sue Blundell and Margaret Williamson, eds., *The Sacred and Feminine in Ancient Greece* (London: Routledge, 1998), 82.

Gaul. If Petta was, in fact, a mythical woman and not a real one, perhaps she is there to represent the diversity of the community.<sup>510</sup>

We know from Lucan that when Caesar took the city during the Civil Wars, he felled what might today be called a Celtic sacred grove outside the city. Lucan notes that when it was destroyed,

*Gemuere uidentes Gallorum populi,  
muris sed clausa iuuentus exultat;  
quis enim laesos inpune putaret esse  
deos? Seruat multos fortuna nocentis  
et tantum miseris irasci numina  
possunt.*<sup>511</sup>

Every Gaul present shuddered at the sight, but the defenders of Marseilles were delighted: they could not believe that such an insult to the gods would remain unpunished. Nonetheless, it often happens that Fortune continues to smile upon the guilty and allows the Gods to visit their anger only on the unfortunate; as happened in this case.<sup>512</sup>

This seems to be a clear indication of a long-standing mixed population in the area surrounding the city, both ethnically and possibly in terms of religion, as Lucan described the grove as being ancient.<sup>513</sup>

---

<sup>510</sup> The story of Gyptis and Protis has had a lasting impact on the cultural identity of Marseille, as seen in the city's continued proud use of the figures as a link to their past and how it holds a place in their future. Medallions were given out by the city of Marseille from 1924 to the present day depicting Gyptis offering the cup to Protis. ("Medals of Marseille," Dominique Chaine - Graveur, [www.gravure-marseille.com/en/medals.html](http://www.gravure-marseille.com/en/medals.html) [Accessed November 2015]; "Fondation de Marseille," Elysées Numismatique - Districteur Officiel De La Monnaie De Paris, 2014, [elyseesnumismatique.com/produit/medaille-bronze-fondation-de-marseille/](http://elyseesnumismatique.com/produit/medaille-bronze-fondation-de-marseille/) [Accessed November 2015].)

<sup>511</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia*, III. 445-452 [from The Latin Library <http://thelatinlibrary.com/lucan/lucan3.shtml> [Accessed March 2010]].

<sup>512</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia: Dramatic Episodes of the Civil Wars*, trans. Robert Graves (Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1957), 78-79.

<sup>513</sup> Lucan, *Pharsalia*, III. 399-402 described the ancient, sacred grove. Some details about the laws in Massilia are known. The question remains as to whether these laws applied to Greek, Celtic, or even later Roman inhabitants. If the city was seen as having had a mixed population (as suggested by the founding legend and the observations of Lucan in his *Pharsalia*), then when Aelian tells us that women in Massilia should drink water at all ages and not touch wine, he may be referring to laws applying to a mixed population. (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, trans. Nigel Guy Wilson (Harvard University Press, 1997), 2.38.)

*Nemetons*, or sacred oak groves are common across Celtic Europe and are recorded by various authors. Research is still going on in this topic today. Andreas Hofeneder, in his article "Späte Zeugnisse zum keltischen Eichenkult," investigated Celtic Oak cult worship by examining the accounts of individuals such as Maximus of Tyre. (Andreas Hofeneder. "Späte Zeugnisse zum keltische Eichen kult." In *Celtic Religion across Space and Time, IX Workshop FERCAN*, [Fontes Epigraphici Religionum Celticarum Antiquarum], Molina de Aragón, 17.-20. September 2008), ed. Jesús Alberto Arenas Esteban, (Toledo, Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010), 282-300.



In any case, if classical sources are to be believed, it seems that at one point in Gaulish history, a woman may have been able to choose her spouse, though this trend seems not to have survived the centuries.<sup>514</sup>

Evidence for intensive Gaulish contact with Greece and Greek influence in Gaul, can be seen in places like Vix in Burgundy, France. The tombs and settlement at Vix indicate deep connections with the Mediterranean. The tomb of the “Princess” of Vix, found in 1953, contained what are most likely the remains of a woman in her mid-30s. She had a cart burial and a great number of grave goods (including the largest *krater* ever found in Northern Europe and vast amounts of wealth in the form of jewelry). This tomb dates to c. 500 BC.<sup>515</sup>



**Figure 3. Gaulish woman, Hellenistic representation, 200-101 BC.**

Source: AN403166 © Trustees of the British Museum<sup>516</sup>

---

<sup>514</sup> Watts, *Boudicca's Heirs*, 14.

<sup>515</sup> More recently, survey and excavation work between 2004-2006 on the settlement at Mont Lassois and its structures revealed a building which has similar characteristics with a Greek *Megaron*. If this is confirmed, it would indicate a heretofore unprecedented degree of contact between Greece and Gaul in an early period.

<sup>516</sup> Fragment of a marble relief with the upper part of a Gaulish woman turning to her left. She wears a torc on her arm and around her neck and has a cloak secured by a fibula. Her breast is pronounced, confirming

The next written example of marriage occurred in the first century BC, during Caesar's conquest of Gaul. He described repeatedly, if not in detail, marriages organized by chieftains or male members within a chieftain's family, which were almost entirely designed to strengthen political or social relationships. Caesar clearly described a political arrangement between Orgetorix of the Helvetii, in which he married his daughter off to Dumnorix of the Aedui.<sup>517</sup> The tribes of the Belgae were described as having close relationships through intermarriage.<sup>518</sup> Caesar described the brother of an Aedui chieftain, Dumnorix – a chieftain in his own right, as marrying off many female relations, including his mother and half-sisters.<sup>519</sup>

Prior to the consummation of a marriage, many cultures require that either the groom pay a bride price or the bride's family provide a dowry. In Gaul, Caesar wrote that a husband would match a bride's dowry, and this money was tracked for the rest of their lives; whoever survived the marriage would receive it later in life.<sup>520</sup> Strabo wrote that Massilia had bridal sumptuary laws limiting a dowry to 100 pieces of gold, and that a woman's dress and ornaments were allowed to cost five gold pieces each.<sup>521</sup>

Unlike the paucity of information about Celtic women in Britain, more is known of what happened to a Gaulish woman in terms of their status after marriage. For the first time in the Celtic cultures, the role of potential punishment for a wife is mentioned. Caesar clearly described that men had the power of life and death over wives and children.<sup>522</sup> This statement seems a bit strange in the face of the fact that women and men both brought things together for a marriage, and both could inherit the totality of the dowry and bride price if they survived the death of their spouse.<sup>523</sup> It may have been that, in fact, Caesar was applying the

---

her identification as a woman. It has been suggested that this may be an image of a man due to the shortness of the hair and the dress of the individual. However, I side with the British Museum's interpretation that the artifact is, indeed, the image of a woman.

<sup>517</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.3.

<sup>518</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 2.4.

<sup>519</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.18.

<sup>520</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.19.

<sup>521</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.1.5.

<sup>522</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.19.

<sup>523</sup> Watts, *Boudicca's Heirs*, 16.

Roman concept of *patria potestas* to a Gaulish marriage.<sup>524</sup> In Roman culture, depending on the type of marriage, the control of the head of the family was absolute.<sup>525</sup> Caesar's description also added that if a man died under unusual circumstances, "an inquisition of his wives" could occur, and they could be put to death by his family, either through torture or fire, if found guilty of having a hand in their husband's death.<sup>526</sup> This same passage is one of the few references to polygamy occurring among the Gauls, which tells historians nothing about how common or rare such a practice might have been.<sup>527</sup>

The most interesting section about Gaulish wives pertained to their actions in warfare. Here, perhaps, Caesar's accounts can be trusted because he had been engaged in conflict almost continuously during the Gallic wars, and would frequently have witnessed the actions of wives and children during those conflicts. Caesar repeatedly recounted instances where women of various tribes were sent away from battles. Those who could not fight – wives, children, and the elderly – of the Nervii, Atrebates and the Viromandui were sent to a marshland that could not be approached by an enemy army. After the battle was lost, it was these people who sued for peace with the Romans.<sup>528</sup> The Treveri, under the command of Indutiomarus, began to prepare for combat only after sending those who could not fight into the Forest of the Ardennes.<sup>529</sup>

While more information is available on Gaulish wives than their Celtic cousins in Britain, what is known still paints a blurry picture. Women clearly were under the control of their husbands and male relatives, and were frequently married off for political purposes.<sup>530</sup> That said, Caesar reported that the dowry brought to a marriage was matched by the groom,

---

<sup>524</sup> *Patria potestas* literally was defined, in Roman Law, as the power vested in the *paterfamilias* or head of the Roman family with respect to his wife, natural or adopted children, and agnatic descendants: title to family property was vested exclusively in the *paterfamilias*. Property acquired by a family member becomes family property, and no family member can enter into a transaction in his or her own right. (*Patria Potestas*, Dictionary.com, Dictionary.com Unabridged, Random House, Inc., [http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/patria\\_potestas](http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/patria_potestas) [Accessed January 2011].)

<sup>525</sup> Watts, *Boudicca's Heirs*, 51.

<sup>526</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.19.

<sup>527</sup> The other reference is found in *The Gallic War*, where Caesar describes Ariovistus' second wife as Norican.

<sup>528</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 2.16.

<sup>529</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 5.3.

<sup>530</sup> The mother cults that have been found in places such as Britain and Gaul will be discussed in Chapter 7, which focuses on religious shrines, votive offerings, and funerary monuments.

and that sum was set aside for use by whoever survived the marriage the longest, indicating some legal status for women in the marriage. Polygamy seemed to have been practiced in at least some cases. Combat seemed to have been for men, while women, children and the elderly were sent out of harm's way. Nothing was mentioned about motherhood, which might indicate that the concept was sufficiently close to what was done in Rome that it did not warrant any special mention.<sup>531</sup>

### *Noricum*

Little information about Noricum can be gleaned from classical sources. The Romans engaged in a small war with the Noricans and other Alpine tribes, starting in 16 BC. The one passage that described this war is in Florus' *Epitome of Roman History*. He wrote,

*Quae fuerit Alpinarum gentium feritas,  
facile est vel per mulieres ostendere, quae  
deficientibus telis infantes suos adflictos  
humi in ora militum adversa miserunt.*

How savage these Alpine peoples were is proved by the action of their women, who, when missiles failed, dashed out the brains of their own children against the ground and hurled them in the faces of the soldiers.<sup>532</sup>

This may be an example of the Celtic people's refusal to suffer slavery; it could also be an attempt to portray Rome's enemies as barbarians.

Ursula Rothe, in her article *Das norische Frauengewand*, described the transition into the control of the Roman Empire as relatively non-violent. Her work focused on the clothing depicted on many surviving female grave markers, some of which will be addressed in Chapter 7. She made an interesting argument that native culture may have continued to thrive under the Romans, and this can be observed in things like clothing on funerary monuments. This continuation of native culture may have been a way to differentiate themselves from the Romans. At the same time, she noted that a peaceful conquest (if such a thing is possible) and a thriving region meant that surviving (or perhaps thriving) Norican cultural traditions should not be viewed as a form of cultural resistance to the Romans.<sup>533</sup>

---

<sup>531</sup> I have chosen not to touch on the statements by Strabo that Gallic women were prolific child bearers and good nurses to infants. It does not speak to women being mothers, other than that women nursed their children, and Strabo did not indicate whether it was all or some Gallic tribes that did this. (Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.3.)

<sup>532</sup> Lucius A. Florus and Cornelius Nepos, *Lucius Annaeus Florus: Epitome of Roman History*. Cornelius Nepo, trans. E S. Forster and John C. Rolfe. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966), 2.22 *The Norican War*.

<sup>533</sup> Ursula Rothe. "Das norische Frauengewand." *Die Macht der Toga : DressCode im römischen Weltreich*. ed. Michael Tellenbach. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013) 189.

We do know of one Norican woman, the sister of king Voccio. She was married to the Suebian king known as Ariovistus. Ariovistus was most fully described in Caesar's *The Gallic War*, but he was mentioned by other classical authors (Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 38.34-35; Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, 19). He came from Germany with a Suebian wife and, once in Gaul, married the sister of the Norican king.<sup>534</sup> This implied that the second marriage was with this unnamed Norican noblewoman. She and Ariovistus' other wife died after fleeing from a battle against Caesar. Ariovistus had two daughters (though it is unknown which wife bore them), and one of these daughters was killed at the same time, while the second daughter was captured.<sup>535</sup> The only other reference to marriage among the Germans is in Tacitus' *Germania*, where he indicated that single marriage was the standard arrangement, but that at times Germans of high birth engaged in polygamous marriage.<sup>536</sup>

### ***Celtiberia and Hispano Celtic Spain***

As was the case with Britain and Gaul, information can be gleaned from a wide range of sources, including Strabo, Livy, Appian, and the poet Silius Italicus. However, each source provides only specific slivers of information, rather than a complete picture.

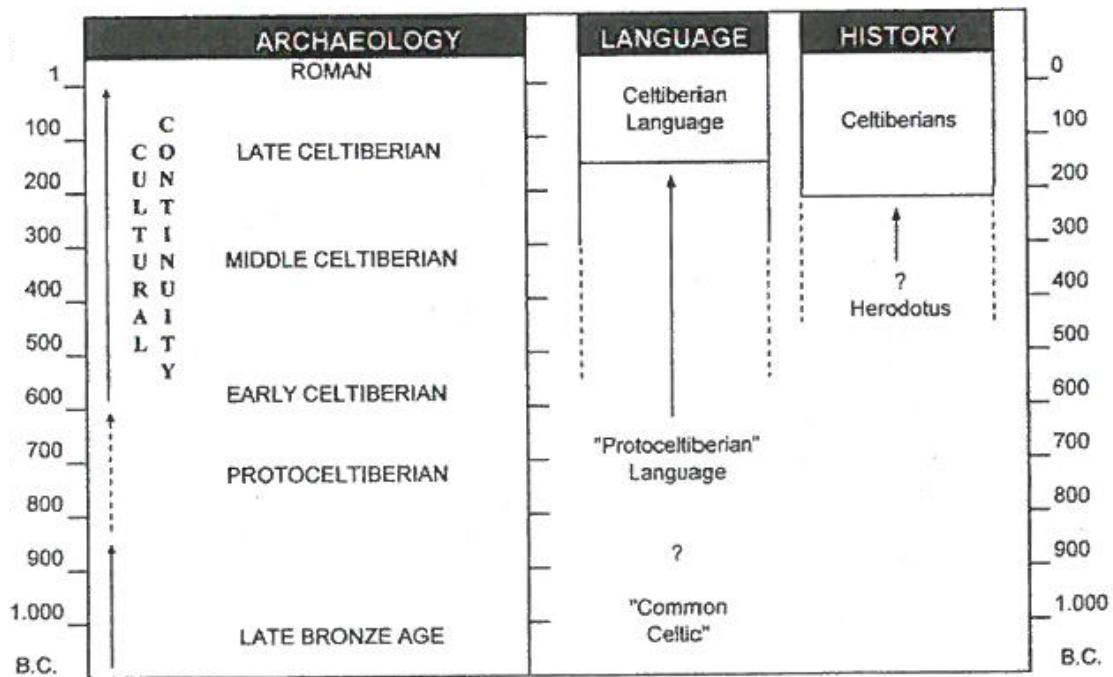
When we look at Celtiberian culture, we have three types of evidence about society: archaeology, language, and written texts. However, when this information is depicted graphically, it is apparent how little written information there is regarding the Celtiberian culture.

---

<sup>534</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.53.

<sup>535</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.53.

<sup>536</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 18.1.



**Table 2. The development of Celtiberian culture (according to Lorrio, 2005).**

Source: Alberto J. Lorrio. "The Celtic Peoples." *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From neolithic to Roman conquest*. International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea (Burgos : Universidad de Burgos : Fundación Atapuerca, 2014), 219.

There are several instances of what appear to be political marriages. Himilce (Imilce) of Castulo married Hannibal Barca.<sup>537</sup> Hasdrubal, the brother-in-law of Hannibal Barca, also took an Iberian wife, the daughter of a local king (she may have been Celtiberian, though her name is no longer known).<sup>538</sup> Both of these marriages seem to be political in nature (especially since Hasdrubal had already been married at the time), though little is known about them.<sup>539</sup>

Another political move involving a woman who was to be married can be found in many texts pertaining to Spain, where Scipio Africanus, after the destruction of New Carthage in 209 BC, captured a young woman who was betrothed to a Celtiberian prince, and secured the prince's loyalty by preserving her virtue and returning her to her family and her betrothed unharmed. He also turned her ransom into a dowry. This is an exceptionally well-

<sup>537</sup> Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 4.763-822; Livy, *History of Rome*, 24.41.7.

<sup>538</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. C.H. Oldfather, vol. 11. (fragments of Books 21-32) (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 25.12.

<sup>539</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 25.10.3.

described event found in multiple classical sources,<sup>540</sup> which increases the probability that it actually occurred.<sup>541</sup>

Celtiberia provides modern scholars a glimpse of the existence of what may have been a Celtic matriarchal society. Strabo noted that the Cantabrians lived under *γυναικοκρατιαν* (“women’s rule”).<sup>542</sup> He also wrote that husbands gave dowries, daughters were heirs, and sisters married off brothers. Descriptions of matriarchal societies at any time in history are rare, and the Cantabrians are the only ones clearly described as such in classical accounts pertaining to Celts or Celtiberians.<sup>543</sup> There is no clear evidence whether polyandry occurred among the Cantabrians. Another source, Sallust in the fragmented *Histories*, informed us in a section that seems to have addressed the culture and customs of Celtiberia that, “maidens [were not] handed over in marriage by their parents; instead, they themselves used to select the most active in war.”<sup>544</sup> This provides a second source that women seemed to have had some control of their lives in this particular Celtiberian society.<sup>545</sup> To date, there is virtually no secondary source material published in English on the Cantabrian “women’s rule,” a topic that one would think would draw academic attention.<sup>546</sup>

---

<sup>540</sup>Livy, *History of Rome*, 26. 50, Valerius Maximus, *Doings and Sayings*, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, vol. 1 (containing Books 1-5) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000), 4.3.1; Aulus Gellius. *Attic Nights*, trans. John C. Rolfe, vol. 2 (containing Books 6-13) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927), 7.8; Polybius, *Histories*, trans. W. R. Paton, vol. 4 (containing Books 9-15) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925), 10.19; Frontius, *Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome*, trans. Charles E. Bennett, ed. Mary B. McElwain (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 2.11.5; Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 25, 268.

<sup>541</sup> There is a risk of bias regarding Polybius, who traveled with and was a friend of Scipio and his family.

<sup>542</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.18.

<sup>543</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.18.

<sup>544</sup> Sallust, *Histories*, trans. Patric McGushin, Vol. 2, Fragment 2.74, in (Arusianus Messius, *Exempla Elocutionum*, 503.3).

<sup>545</sup> The question remains, should Strabo be trusted on this topic? Strabo drew on over 300 sources for his *Geography*, both named and unnamed in his work, which was a phenomenal amount of research. He seems to put stock in this description of the Cantabrian’s “women’s rule,” as he does not count it as being one of the “reports...narrated with fictitious additions about all the Iberian tribes in common, but especially the northerners.” (Jan P. Stronk, review of *Die Thraker südlich vom Balkan in den Geographika Strabos. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen. Palingenesia*, 81, by Konstantin Boshnakov, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review*, July 12, 2004, <http://bmc.brynmawr.edu/2004/2004-07-12.html> [Accessed December 2010]; Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.17.)

<sup>546</sup> One notable exception is an article that actually examined *couvades* in Cantabrian society, but also touches on whether or not “women’s rule” was indicative of a matriarchal society: Inmaculada García García and Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto, “Cantabrian Women's Labour in the Work of Strabo,” *Index de Enfermería* [Index Enferm] (digital edition), 2010, 19(1), <http://www.index-f.com/index-enfermeria/v19n1/7178e.php> [Accessed December 2010]. [They cite at least two other Spanish authors – Yanguas J Santos (fn. 16) and de

In a manner similar to what is noted for the Gauls and Germans, when faced with captivity, some Celtiberian women reportedly took their own lives and the lives of their children. Strabo recorded this tradition, though he regarded these accounts of “bestial insensibility” as “fictitious additions” to true accounts.<sup>547</sup>

καὶ γὰρ τέκνα μητέρες ἔκτειναν πρὶν  
ἀλῶναι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐν  
Καντάβροις, καὶ παιδίον δὲ  
δεδεμένον αἰχμαλώτων τῶν γονέων  
καὶ ἀδελφῶν ἔκτεινε πάντας  
κελεύσαντος τοῦ πατρὸς σιδήρου  
κυριεῦσαν, γυνὴ δὲ τοὺς  
συναλόντας. κληθεῖς δὲ τις εἰς  
μεθυσκομένους ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν εἰς  
πυρᾶν. κοινὰ δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὰ  
Κελτικὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰ Θράκια καὶ  
Σκυθικά, κοινὰ δὲ καὶ [τὰ] πρὸς  
ἀνδρείαν τὴν τε τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὴν  
τῶν γυναικῶν.

For instance, at the time of the Cantabrian War mothers killed their children before being taken captive; and even a small boy, whose parents and brothers were in fetters as captives of war, gained possession of a sword and, at the command of his father, killed them all; and a woman killed all her fellow captives; and a certain Cantabrian, upon being summoned into the presence of drunken men, threw himself upon a pyre. But these traits too are shared in common by them with the Celtic as also with the Thracian and Scythian tribes; and in common also the traits relating to courage — I mean the courage of women as well as of men.<sup>548</sup>

Throughout this chapter, various instances of individuals taking their own lives and the lives of their children have been touched upon. Suicide in the ancient world – in Roman, Celtiberian, Celtic, and Germanic cultures – seems far removed from the modern understanding of the word. Numerous figures in Roman history, both men and women, took their lives for many reasons, including preserving their honor and preventing captivity.<sup>549</sup> The Jews besieged at Masada chose a self-inflicted death rather than capture by the Roman forces; if numbers from the account are accurate, 960 people were killed.<sup>550</sup> Sieges leading to mass suicide happened in Iberia during

---

Frías M Salinas (fn. 17) - who have written on the topic, and concluded that Strabo was not talking about a matriarchal society in Cantabria.]

<sup>547</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.17.

<sup>548</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.17.

<sup>549</sup> Individuals such as Mark Antony, Cato the Younger, Lucretia, and the Empress Julia Domna all committed suicide; Plutarch, “Antony,” *Plutarch The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, trans. John Dryden, ed. Arthur Hugh Clough (New York: Random House, Inc., n.d.), 1147-1148; Plutarch, “Cato the Younger,” *Plutarch*, 958; Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.57-60; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 79.23.

<sup>550</sup> Josephus, “The Wars of the Jews,” *Josephus: The Complete Works*, trans. William Whiston (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2008), 7.9.1-2.



the Second Punic War at Astapa and Saguntum.<sup>551</sup> The recorded accounts of suicide and infanticide among the Celts, Celtiberians, and Germans are almost always in the face of captivity and enslavement by the Romans. The question remains as to why they chose death over life. Mass suicide was associated with the choice between shame and honor in the ancient world. Arthur M. Eckstein summarized the ancient view well when he noted that, "...once their battle – and hence their liberty – has been lost, a choice still remains...honor can be obtained only by a voluntary death, which cheats the victor (and/or the situation) of the opportunity to impose shame."<sup>552</sup> The Romans were not known for their beneficence to enemies. Caesar recounts that the Gallic wars produced thousands of slaves,<sup>553</sup> so it is clear that not every Gaul chose suicide. Perhaps it was the idea of what would happen once they were enslaved to the Romans that drove some people to take their lives and those of their loved ones.<sup>554</sup>

Numantia, a well-documented Celtiberian city and surviving archaeological site in central Spain, has an established history with the Roman Army. During the Numantine War (153 - 133 BC),<sup>555</sup> the city was engaged in multiple conflicts with the Romans.<sup>556</sup> This ultimately ended with a thirteen-month siege of the city by Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus, more commonly known as

---

<sup>551</sup> Arthur M. Eckstein, *Moral Vision in the Histories of Polybius*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 48-50.

<sup>552</sup> Eckstein, *Moral Vision in the Histories of Polybius*, 48.

<sup>553</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 2.33; Ramon L. Jiménez, *Caesar Against the Celts* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1996), 75.

<sup>554</sup> Fear of what will happen once captured by an enemy has caused people to commit large-scale suicide even in modern times. At the end of World War II, the Western Allies forcibly repatriated Russian soldiers who had been captured by the Germans, as well as those Russians and Cossacks who had fought with the Germans (including their families) to the Soviet Union. The torture, privation, and death these individuals faced in Stalin's prison camps caused many of them to not only commit suicide, but also prompted women to kill their children in manners not so different from some of the dramatic deaths described by ancient historians, including self-immolation, hanging, and slitting the throats of their children. (See Nikolai Tolstoy, *The Secret Betrayal 1944-1947* (New York: Charles Scribner's & Sons, 1977), 209-213.) During the Battle for Okinawa in 1945, thousands of civilians killed family members and then committed suicide, having been told by the Japanese Army that the men would be killed and the women raped if they were captured by the Americans. (See James Brooke, "1945 Suicide Order Still a Trauma on Okinawa," *New York Times*, 21 June 2005; David Allen and Chiyomi Sumida, "Defiant Soldier Saved Lives of Hundreds of Civilians in Battle of Okinawa," *Stars and Stripes*, 1 April 2005.)

<sup>555</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," *Roman History*, trans. Horace White, vol. 1 (containing Books 1-8) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1912), 6.9.45, 6.9.50.

<sup>556</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," 6.13.76-83, 6.14.84-89.

Scipio Africanus the Younger.<sup>557</sup> Appian, who recorded these events, wrote that after having suffered the protracted siege, the starving inhabitants of Numantia eventually were reduced to cannibalism. Finally, they approached Scipio seeking to surrender. He offered terms (leave the city, surrender their arms), but these were not agreed upon by all of the inhabitants. Appian went on to say that a portion of the population chose suicide within the city, while another group came out and surrendered. Of those who surrendered, most were sold into slavery, with only fifty being set aside to be displayed in a triumph. Having conquered Numantia, Scipio burnt what remained (133 BC).<sup>558</sup>

At least thirty-one classical authors wrote about Numantia.<sup>559</sup> The authors of four of the accounts of Numantia were eyewitnesses who were with Scipio. Thirty-one accounts is a staggering number of ancient texts to mention a single event. It shows how strongly this impacted the Roman consciousness. Unfortunately, only two of the five works written by those four eyewitnesses survive, and those exist only in fragmented form.<sup>560</sup> The charge of cannibalism of the Numantine's children is a popular theme. However, the most graphic account comes from Petronius Arbiter's *Satyricon*, written in the first century AD. "And when Numantia was stormed by Scipio, some women were found with the half-eaten bodies of their children hidden in their bosoms." *Cum esset Numantia a Scipione capta, inventae sunt matres, quae liberorum suorum tenerent semesa in sinu corpora.*<sup>561</sup> Livy's *Periochae*, dating to the first century BC, made a statement that is much more consistent with practices attributed to the Celts in classical history; that the inhabitants of the city, once besieged, massacred their children and wives, then took their own lives, the implication being the extraordinary steps that would be taken to avoid capture or

---

<sup>557</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," 6.15.90-98.

<sup>558</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," 6.15.96-98.

<sup>559</sup>Nicholas F. Russell, "The Story of Numantia during Antiquity and the Middle Ages," MA thesis, Tufts University, 2009, 16-17, Table 1: Relevant Author of High Antiquity.

<sup>560</sup> Polybius' *Roman History* and Lucilius' *Satires* exist in fragmented form. Polybius' *The Numantine War*, Sempronius' *Rerum Gestarum Libri*, and Rutilius Rufus' *History of Rome* are all lost. (Russell, "The Story of Numantia during Antiquity and the Middle Ages," 16.

<sup>561</sup> Petronius, *Satyricon*, 141, in Arbiter Petronius, Michael Heseltine, W. H. D. Rouse, and Lucius Annaeus Seneca, *Petronius: with an English translation by Michael Heseltine ; Apocolocyntosis, Seneca, with an English translation by W.H.D. Rouse* (London: W. Heinemann, 1913), 325; Petronius, *Satiricon Liber*, 141, [from The Latin Library [www.thelatinlibrary.com/petronius1.html](http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/petronius1.html)] [Accessed May 2014]

surrender.<sup>562</sup> Florus' *Epitome of Roman History*, a text dating to the second century AD, agreed with Livy—citing mass death, through poison, and fire as an end to the city, with the result that there were no survivors.<sup>563</sup> Clearly it was a terrible siege. Of the thirty-one surviving (though somewhat fragmentary) accounts spanning more than 500 years, only three mentioned the women in Numantia. The only role ascribed to them was that of wife or mother.<sup>564</sup>

Unlike Gaul or Britain, the few accounts depicting Celtiberian women around combat indicated they fought alongside the men. During the Spanish Wars described by Appian, there were two specific instances of Celtiberian women fighting. Both were attacks on towns by Roman military in retaliation for earlier raids by the Celtiberians. The first account depicted Sextus Junius Brutus attacking towns for raiding Lusitania, and noted that the Celtiberian women fought with the men, never crying out in battle when they saw horrible things.<sup>565</sup> Later, Sextus Brutus attacked the Bracari, and again their women fought, never fleeing or crying out. Of those who were captured, many committed suicide and killed their children.<sup>566</sup> The Romans attacked many other settlements, yet these are the only instances where women were explicitly noted to have fought alongside the men – this clearly was something worthy of note by Appian, because it was so far outside what the Romans would have expected to encounter.

Accounts of Celtiberian women taking up arms can be found in two other sources. Polyaeus, in his *Stratagems*, wrote that,

Ἄννιβας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ πόλιν μεγάλην  
Σαλματίδα ἐπολιόρκει· καὶ δὴ συνθήκας  
ἐποιήσατο, λαβὼν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα  
τριακόσια καὶ τριακοσίους ὁμήρους  
ἀνεῖναι τὴν πολιορκίαν. τῶν δὲ  
Σαλματαίων οὐκ ἀποδιδόντων τὰ  
συγκείμενα Ἄννιβας ἐπιστρέψας  
ἐπαφῆκε τοὺς στρατιώτας ὥς

When Hannibal was besieging Salmatis, a great and wealthy city in Spain, he agreed with the inhabitants to raise the siege, on payment of three hundred talents of silver, and the delivery of three hundred hostages. The inhabitants of Salmatis afterwards refused to carry out the terms of their agreement. As a result,

---

<sup>562</sup> Livy, *Periochae*, 57.7, in Titus Livius Patavinus and Paul Jal, *Histoire romaine / "Periochae" transmises par les manuscrits : (Periochae 1-69) / texte établi et trad. par Paul Jal. T. 34, 1, T. 34, 1.* (Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1984); The *Periochae* was an abridgement of Livy's larger work *Ab urbe condita libri*, what survives is a glorified list of contents. Livy uses an alternate name for the inhabitants: Vaccaeans.

<sup>563</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 1.34.18

<sup>564</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," 6.15.95; Petronius Arbiter, *Satyricon*, 141; Livy, *Periochae*, 57.7.

<sup>565</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," 6.15.71.

<sup>566</sup> Appian, "The Wars in Spain," 6.15.72.

διαρπασομένους τὴν πόλιν. ἵκετεύουσιν οἱ βάρβαροι συγχωρῆσαι αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἱματίῳ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐξελθεῖν, ὄπλα δὲ καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καταλιπεῖν. αἱ γυναῖκες ἐν τοῖς κόλποις κρύπτουσαι ξίφη τοῖς ἀνδράσι συνεξήλθον. οἱ μὲν δὴ τοῦ Ἀννίβου στρατιῶται τὴν πόλιν διήρπαζον, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐμβοήσασαι τοῖς ἀνδράσι τὰ ξίφη παρέδωκαν· ἔνιαι δὲ καὶ αὐταὶ σπαδάμεναι μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπέθεντο τοῖς διαρπάσασαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν κατέβαλον, τοὺς δὲ ἐτρέψαντο καὶ ἀθρόοι διεξέπαισαντο. Ἀννίβας τὴν ἀνδρείαν τῶν γυναικῶν θαυμάσας ἀπέδωκε δι' αὐτὰς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν αὐτῶν τὴν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὰ χρήματα

Hannibal detached a body of troops to plunder the town. The barbarians then begged him for permission to leave the city with their wives, and only the clothes which they wore; they promised to leave behind their slaves, weapons, and other belongings. The women accordingly marched out with their husbands, each carrying a dagger concealed in her bosom. The soldiers immediately entered the town, and started plundering it. Then the women gave the daggers to their husbands, who re-entered the city and attacked the plunderers, while some of the women accompanied them with drawn swords. They captured some of the enemy, and drove the rest out of the city. Out of respect for the bravery of the women, Hannibal restored to them their hostages, their country, and their property.<sup>567</sup>

In his *Moralia*, Plutarch also repeated this story of a Celtic city that drove out the Punic soldiers of Hannibal. This city, while described as Salmatis, was actually the ancient city of Salmantica (Roman name), also known as Salamanca.<sup>568</sup>

Another source which described women in Celtiberia taking up arms was Sallust's *Histories*,<sup>569</sup> in the passage pertaining to the customs of the Celtiberians. This portion of the *Histories* survives in the *Fleury Manuscript* (dating from the fifth century AD).<sup>570</sup>

*A matribus parentum facinora militaria viris memorabantur in bellum [aut ad] latrocinia pergentibus, [ubi] illorum fortia facta canebant. Eo postquam Pompeius infenso exercitu adventare*

The mothers used to remind the menfolk setting out to war or brigandage of the warlike exploits of their fathers when they celebrated in song the brave deeds of these heroes. When it was discovered

<sup>567</sup> Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 7.48 *Women of Salmatis*.

<sup>568</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 10 *Women of Salmantica*; "Salamanca," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2010, Encyclopædia Britannica Online, <<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/518891/Salamanca>> [Accessed December 2010]; José Maria Peña Ramírez, "Salamanca," Universidad de la Experiencia, Universidad de Salamanca, 2011, <http://unex.usal.es/wp-content/uploads/2009/09/Trabajos/JoseM.P.R/Salamanca.pdf> [Accessed January 2011] (pp.3-4).

José Maria Peña Ramírez's article, "Salamanca," did a good job of examining the many names of Salamanca, including Hermandica and Helmantida.

<sup>569</sup> This is worthy of note, as this manuscript actually dates to the late Roman period and may perhaps suffer from fewer transcription errors than other, later manuscripts.

*compertus est, maioribus natu p[acem] et iussa uti facerent [sua]dentibus, ubi nihil abnuendo proficiunt, se[para]tae a viris arma cepere [et] occupato prope Meo[rigam] quam tutissimo loco [ill]os testabantur inopes patriae parientumque [et] libertatis, eoque ubera, partus et cetera mul[ierum] munia viris manere. Quis rebus accensa iuventus decreta senior[um] aspernata] . . .<sup>571</sup>*

that Pompeius [Gaius Pompey Magnus] was approaching with hostile intent the older men were trying to persuade them to make peace and obey his orders. The women's objections fell on deaf ears, so they separated from the men, armed themselves, and took up a secure position as they could near Meo <riga?>. They called upon the men to witness that they were deprived of country, of those who could give birth, and of freedom; as a result, the tasks of giving suck, of giving birth and other duties of women remained with the men. This roused the young men, and scorning the decisions of the elders...[passage breaks off here]<sup>572</sup>

While this passage does not seem to be indicative of a matriarchal society, it shows clearly the influence women had in the community, both as oral historians of famous deeds and as an independent element within the larger society. It is truly unfortunate that the name of the city, which in the text is actually "Meo.....," is fragmentary (the "...riga" is a hypothetical ending for the name of the city), for it could have allowed us to associate this information with a specific tribe. Sallust, who wrote in the first century BC, was describing events of his lifetime (approximately 77 BC). Sallust seemed to have spent a great deal of time on the Celtiberian culture, and he was a highly respected historian in his day, being compared with Thucydides by Quintilian.<sup>573</sup> Only fragments of his work on Celtiberia survive.

In the central region of Spain, one finds a rather unique description of wives. In at least the northwest portion of the Celtiberian area, women were described as having lived in what could be a matriarchal society; in other areas of Celtiberia, they were used as political pawns; and in at least three instances, they were fighting side-by-side with men. Compared to their Celtic counterparts in Britain and Gaul, some of the Celtiberian women seemed to have a great deal of independence to take up arms, have a choice in marriage and act independently

---

<sup>571</sup> Original Latin taken from *Historiarum Fragmenta*, at Attalus.org, Found in Gaius Sallustius Crispus, *Historiarum Reliquiae. 2, Fragmenta : argumentis commentarius apparatu critico instructa. Accedunt indices.* trans. Bertold Maurenbrecher (Lipsiae: Teubner, 1893). <http://www.attalus.org/latin/sallust2.html#75> [Accessed March 2011].

<sup>572</sup> Sallust, *Histories*, Fragments 2.75, in the Fleury MS col. 11(A).

<sup>573</sup> Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, ed. and trans. Donald A. Russell, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 10.1.101.

of men. While there is no way to truly judge how different Celtiberians were from their counterparts in Gaul and Britain, at least some of the Celtiberian tribes seemed to have differed from other described tribes in both their actions and available choices. In the previously mentioned passage from Sallust, it was clear that the care of infants was a woman's job, as were other (unspecified) women's duties. Perhaps this lack of a detailed description of what women did in the home and in their tribe might again indicate that what was observed among the Celtiberian tribes was sufficiently close to what was done in Rome that it did not warrant any special description.

Hispano Celts are found through out the northwest, central west, and scattered across the peninsula as a whole. As we have seen in the research discussed in Chapter 2, there is no discernable difference between Celtic and Celtiberian as a language in the period being studied, which makes looking a separation in areas difficult. Some individual women stand out because their funerary monuments survived, thereby providing glimpses as to how these women were depicted. Such monuments will be discussed in Chapter 9.

#### *Ancient Polygamy: A possibility in Celtiberia's past*

There is only one possible reference to polygamy among Hispano Celts. During the wedding feast of Viratus,<sup>574</sup> a Lusitanian war leader of great renown who caused the Romans great difficulty in the second century BC, he recounted a "fable" to teach a lesson to a city that switched sides repeatedly between the Romans and Celtic inhabitants during the ongoing Lusitanian War.

*ἔφη γάρ τινα μέσον ἤδη τὴν ἡλικίαν  
ὄντα γαμῆσαι δύο γυναῖκας, καὶ τὴν  
μὲν νεωτέραν ἔξομοιοῦν ἑαυτῇ  
φιλοτιμουμένην τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκ τῆς  
κεφαλῆς τὰς πολιὰς ἐκτίλλειν αὐτοῦ,  
τὴν δὲ γραῦν τὰς μελαίνας, καὶ πέρας  
ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων αὐτὸν ἐκτιλλόμενον  
ταχὺ γενέσθαι φαλακρόν. τὸ  
παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ τοῖς τὴν Τύκκην  
οἰκοῦσιν ἔσεσθαι· τῶν μὲν γὰρ  
Ῥωμαίων ἀποκτεινόντων τοὺς  
ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντας, τῶν δὲ  
Λυσιτανῶν ἀναιρούντων τοὺς αὐτῶν  
ἐχθρούς, ταχὺ τὴν πόλιν*

reciting a fable: "A middle-aged man took two wives, of which the younger, wanting her husband to be the same age as her, pulled out his grey hair, while the older one pulled out his black hair, and finally thanks these two women pulling at it, his head became completely bald. A similar fate awaits the people of Tucca: the Romans kill their enemies, the Lusitanians kill theirs, so that your city will soon be deserted."<sup>576</sup>

---

<sup>574</sup> An event supposedly occurring in 144 BC. His name also appears as Viriatus.

*ἐρημωθήσεσθαι.* <sup>575</sup>

This could possibly speak to a tradition of polygamous marriage that had died out in the region (or specifically Lusitania). However, it could have been Viratus was simply making a point. Diodorus Siculus procured his information from other sources, not first-hand experience. The source in this particular instance is not known.

There appears to be no universally applicable role for a Celtic woman in marriage. Gaul and Britain have greater cultural affinity with each other than either has with Hispano Celts or Celtiberians. It seems that in Gaul and Britain, wives tended to be removed from combat zones. They seemed to be under the command of their husbands, and polygamous marriages seem to have occurred. In Celtiberia, women fought in battle, and there is some evidence of women having a large and more documented role in aspects of life (and possibly evidence for at least one matriarchal society).

### ***Germania***

Germanic culture differed in certain ways from Celtic culture and will therefore be looked at separately. Identifying the differences between Germans and Celts is difficult, because classical sources tended to distinguish people through geographical boundaries rather than cultural affinities (though a notable exception to this was Julius Caesar). For example, Strabo described those north of the Alps and East of the Rhine as Germans, those west of the Rhine and north of the Pyrenees as Gauls, and those from the Pyrenees to the middle of the Iberian Peninsula as Celtiberians.<sup>577</sup> Other reasons to be cautious in looking for differences include various accounts of cultural origins – for instance, Gaulish tribes, such as the Treveri and Nervii, claimed Germanic origins, preferring to associate themselves with Germany rather than with Gaul, even though linguistically they seem Celtic.<sup>578</sup> Tacitus argued that they were eager to do so, “thinking that the glory of this descent distinguishes them from the uniform level of Gallic effeminacy.”<sup>579</sup> Germans and Celts had different linguistic backgrounds and were described by classical authors as having different physical

---

<sup>576</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 33.6.

<sup>575</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, trans. Francis R. Walton, vol. 12 (fragments of Books 33-40) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), 33.6.

<sup>577</sup> Strabo, *Geography* (Celtiberia) 3.1.3; (Gaul which Strabo called Celtica) 4.1.1; (Britain) 4.5.1; (Germany) 4.4.2.

<sup>578</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 28.

<sup>579</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 28.

appearances. (Many books have examined the languages that existed in Northern Europe, a number of which are extinct today. For a concise summary of the differences between Celtic languages – such as Lepontic, Gaulish, and Celtiberian – and various Germanic dialects, see Glanville Price’s *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe*.<sup>580</sup>) They were different enough in appearance and language that when Caligula wanted to hold a triumph, he took captive Gauls, forced them to dye their hair red and grow it long, made them learn the German language, and “take barbarian names.”<sup>581</sup> This was all done so they could be made to look like Germans. These few examples highlight some of the perceived differences between two adjacent cultures.

The greatest source of classical information on Germanic culture is Tacitus’ *Germania*, which combined what appears to be first-hand information with details of the lost *Belli Germania* of Pliny the Elder. It systematically described life and customs among the Germans and is the closest thing, in my opinion, to a contemporary anthropological treatise about another culture that any Roman historian ever wrote. Unfortunately, we do not know how rhetorical it was. Other sources include Julius Caesar, Dio Cassius, Lucius Annaeus Florus, Valerius Maximus, Paulus Orosius, and Plutarch. By studying classical depictions of the Germans, may be gained glimpses of a married woman’s life and responsibilities as they pertain to marriage duties and customs, children, slavery, abductions, combat and warfare, hostage taking and punishment.

Marriage was very clearly addressed by Tacitus, who stated that men took only one wife and that women would, at times and in a particular tribes, make a pact to take only one man. Tacitus clearly wrote that polygamous marriage only occurred among those of high birth (with possible implications of its use in political alignments).<sup>582</sup> Caesar corroborated Tacitus’ description by noting that Ariovistus, a Suebi king, had a Suebi wife as well as a wife who was the sister of the king of Noricum, and that both wives perished while fleeing with their children during Caesar’s campaign.<sup>583</sup>

---

<sup>580</sup> Glanville Price, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Languages of Europe* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 82-84, 88, 98-99, 206-208.

<sup>581</sup> Suetonius, "Gaius Caligula," *The Lives of the Caesars*, trans. J.C. Rolfe, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1914), 47.

<sup>582</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 18.1, 19.3-5.

<sup>583</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.53.



An example of a type of unusual political marriage was noted during the Roman war against Arminius. The German leader sent a messenger to the camp of the Romans he was fighting, offering German wives, lands and a daily wage of 100 sesterces to all those Romans who gave up the fight for the duration of the war. (It is unclear if any Romans attempted to take him up on his offer).<sup>584</sup>

Tacitus also mentioned a handful of other marriage customs and traditions, such as dowry and bride price. The groom brought a gift to the bride's family and the bride brought a piece of armor to the groom.<sup>585</sup> Tacitus suggested that it was impressed upon women that their "fate" was tied to that of their husbands, and that they had a deep responsibility to future generations in terms of the physical possessions they bring to the family.<sup>586</sup> Nonetheless, Tacitus clearly indicated that Germanic culture was patriarchal in nature.<sup>587</sup>

Interestingly, and different in nature than other traditions of the Roman world, Tacitus noted that the Germans did not rush either the young men or women into marriage,

*Sera iuvenum venus, eoque inexhausta  
pubertas. Nec virgins festinantur;  
eadem iuventa, similis proceritas:  
pares validaeque miscentur, ac robora  
parentum liberi referent.*

Late comes love to the young men, and their first manhood is not enfeebled; nor for the girls is there any hot-house forcing; they pass their youth in the same way as the boys: their stature is as tall; they are equals in age and strength when they are mated, and the children reproduce the vigour of the parents.<sup>588</sup>

Children, according to Tacitus, were desirable without limit to the number produced. He made a specific and clear indication that German women nursed their children without giving them over to nurses and slaves.<sup>589</sup> In the Roman world, well-to-do women frequently

---

<sup>584</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.13.

<sup>585</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 18.1-3.

<sup>586</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 18.4.

<sup>587</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 20.5.

<sup>588</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 20. (Though it may not have to do with marriage Julius Caesar noted that it was shameful to have relations with women before the age of twenty. Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 8.21.)

<sup>589</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 19-20. This passage is noted in secondary sources, such as Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 28; it should be noted, however, that in her article ("The Actress and the Bishop: Evidence for Working Women in Roman Britain," in *Women in Industry and Technology*, 69) she stated that "Tacitus ... was firmly of the belief that Roman women should follow the Celtic practice of suckling their own children." While it may be true that Tacitus would have approved of such a practice by Celtic women, the footnote for that observation only cited Tacitus, *Germania*, 20, which was clearly referring to the practices of Germanic women, not Celtic women.

employed a wet nurse, Greek women being the most sought after to care for a newborn child through infancy.<sup>590</sup>



**Figure 4. Ceramic figurine of a Mother Goddess, sitting in a basketwork chair and suckling a baby.**

Source: AN599279001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Suzanne Fonay Wemple noted that an examination of Germanic cultures and their laws (including Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians) by nineteenth century scholars identified that three types of marriage existed: marriage by capture (*Raubehe*), marriage by purchase (*Kaufehe*), and marriage by mutual consent (*Friedelehe*).<sup>591</sup> Twentieth century scholars argued that these types of marriage had different implications and impacts on the social

---

<sup>590</sup> Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 12.1; Soranus, *Gynecology*, trans. Owsei Temkin, et. al., vol. 2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 2.19; D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 107.

<sup>591</sup> Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 12.

environment.<sup>592</sup> It has been suggested that *Friedelehe* marriages would have been between equal parties, and bride gifts and pride prices may not have been involved. This type of marriage may have strong kinship advantages. By contrast, in marriages by purchase, a woman belonged to the man. Marriage by capture may indicate that a union similar to Roman *raptus* occurred (either with or without the consent of the bride).<sup>593</sup> Unfortunately, we can never be certain how valid and applicable early Germanic Law is to understanding the classical period.

It would seem that perhaps in Tacitus' time, German women could not own slaves independently, for he stated that the wives of slave owners could discharge duties to the slave.<sup>594</sup> By contrast, Romans and Romanized men and women could have slaves.<sup>595</sup>

Given the extent of recruitment into the Roman army among certain tribes of Germania Inferior during the first and second centuries AD, Carol van Driel-Murray argued that “almost every family must have had one or more members in the army and the entire society was structured around military service and military identities.”<sup>596</sup> She postulated that in order to maintain the ethnic recruitment into units such as these, the Roman army must have allowed those soldiers a form of family life, including marriage. The legal ban on marriage by soldiers applied only to Roman citizens, and van Driel-Murray stated that soldiers in the *auxilia* would have been married in accordance with the customs of their own tribes, and would have done so before enlisting between the ages of twenty to twenty-two.<sup>597</sup> While

---

<sup>592</sup> Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society*, 13-15.

<sup>593</sup> *Raptus* will be discussed in greater detail in the following pages.

<sup>594</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 25.3.

<sup>595</sup> Martial, *Epigrammata*, 2.33 To Ponticus, 2.34 To Galla.

<sup>596</sup> Carol van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home: the effect of recruitment on women in the Lower Rhine area,” in *Frauen und Roemisches Militaer: Beitrage eines Runden Tisches in Xanten vom 7. Bis 9. Juli 2005*, ed. Ulrich Brandl, BAR International Series 1759 (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2008), 83-84. She cites J.E.H. Spaul and Conrad Cichorius, *ALA2: The Auxiliary Cavalry Units of the Pre-Diocletianic Imperial Roman Army* (Andover: Nectoreca Press, 1994); J.E.H. Spaul, *Cohors 2: The Evidence for and a Short History of the Auxiliary Infantry Units of the Imperial Roman Army* (Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2000); W.J.H. Willems, *Romans and Batavians: A Regional Study in the Dutch Eastern River Area* ([S.l.]: [s.n.], 1986); and J.H.F. Bloemers (*Rijkswijk (Z.H.)*, ‘*De Bult*’. *Eine Siedlung der Cananefaten* (Amersfoort: Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek, 1978), for information that the Batavians provided one *ala* and at least eight cohorts to the Roman Army in the first century, while the Cananefates supplied one *ala* and possibly one cohort.

<sup>597</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 84-86. It should be noted that the supposed ban on marriage by Roman soldiers was controversial. See Sara Elise Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C. - A.D. 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army* (Leiden [u.a.]: Brill, 2001); Michael Grant, *The Army of the Caesars* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974), 258; D'Ambr, *Roman Women*, 131-132; and Lindsay Allason-Jones, “Chapter 2 – Women and the Army,” in *Women in Roman Britain*, 42-60.

some wives accompanied their soldier-husbands to postings abroad,<sup>598</sup> she noted that many wives would have remained at home during the twenty-five year period of military service of their husbands, managing the household and farm in his absence.<sup>599</sup> Auxiliary units with specific ethnic compositions were recruited not just in Germania Inferior, but throughout the Empire, especially in northern and central Spain, and northern and central Gaul.<sup>600</sup> Similar situations regarding marriage by long-serving auxiliary soldiers in accordance with the customs of their own tribes would have been the case in those other regions, as well.<sup>601</sup>

In addition, Roman soldiers serving in the legions stationed in the provinces were known to have formed unions with local women<sup>602</sup> (with the exception of senatorial and equestrian officers, who were explicitly forbidden to marry women from the province in which they served).<sup>603</sup> However, these unions could put the provincial women who had become “wives” of Roman legionaries in a difficult position, since the unions were not recognized, the “wives” were not citizens, and any children of the union were illegitimate and not able to gain the franchise or inherit from their fathers, except when special dispensation was granted.<sup>604</sup> An exception was made for praetorians, who were not only permitted to

---

<sup>598</sup> Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 54; D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 131; Adrain Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army* (London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd, 2003), 103. Goldworthy noted that while “it has been conventional to assume that the women and children [of soldiers] dwelt in the *canabae* around a fort ... there is some evidence, chiefly consisting of finds of artifacts and clothing associated with women or children inside excavated barracks blocks, which may mean that wives and children lived inside the fort with their husbands.” Allason-Jones (*Women in Roman Britain*, 52-53) noted that individual buildings replaced barracks blocks in many forts in the third century (after the ban on marriage had been removed), and that these were identified in the 1980s as separate married quarters, though this has since been discounted.

<sup>599</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 86. There is epigraphic evidence of the presence of the wives of Celtic and Germanic soldiers in Dacia, Pannonia, and Britain.

<sup>600</sup> Grant, *Army of the Caesars*, 56-57, 76. Grant noted that, over time, as auxiliary units were no longer stationed near their place of origin, soldiers were recruited from the province in which the unit was stationed, which would lead to units with mixed ethnicity. See also Goldsworthy, *The Complete Roman Army*, 80.

<sup>601</sup> Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 54 made reference to a German auxiliary, Lurio, who lost both his wife Julia, son Canio, and sister Ursa, all of whom apparently accompanied the soldier to his post at Chesters (“*D M VRSE SORORI IVLIE CONIVGI CANIONI FILIO LVRIO GERM*”; “To the spirits of the departed (and) to his sister Ursa, his wife Julia, and his son Canio, Lurio the German [set this up].” *RIB*, I, 1483).

<sup>602</sup> Grant, *Army of the Caesars*, 78; Goldsworthy, *Complete Roman Army*, 103. Goldworthy stated that some estimates are that as many as 50% of Roman soldiers “married” and started families while still in military service.

<sup>603</sup> Goldsworthy, *Complete Roman Army*, 103.

<sup>604</sup> Grant, *Army of the Caesars*, 78; Goldsworthy, *Complete Roman Army*, 102-103, which provides examples of attempts by widows of Roman citizens who were soldiers (sometimes successfully and sometimes not) to recover money from the late husband’s estate or by soldiers attempting to gain the franchise for their sons born to provincial wives. He also addresses the concessions granted over time by various emperors to allow Roman legionnaires to make wills, make bequests to non-citizens, and to allow the soldier’s children to

contract a legally valid marriage with a foreign woman after they were demobilized, but also to legalize such informal unions as had already been established while they were in military service. This meant that children who had been born to praetorians as a result of an informal “marriage” while they were in the army became Roman citizens, as attested in the *diplomatas* that were granted to these individuals.<sup>605</sup>

In contrast to the legionaries (who were already Roman citizens), auxiliary soldiers were not granted Roman citizenship until the completion of their military service. The *diplomata* that an auxiliary soldier received also granted citizenship to his current wife (or wives), as well as a future wife (if he had not married beforehand), and to his children.<sup>606</sup> It should be noted that the wording on the *diplomata* recognized the fact that auxiliary soldiers might have multiple wives by the time citizenship was granted at the end of their military service, and all those wives were entitled to citizenship at that point. However, if the auxiliary soldier had not yet married by the end of his service, the *diplomata* only conferred citizenship on a single (future) wife.<sup>607</sup>

---

make claims on his property if the soldier died without a will. The only certain way for the sons born to legionnaires and their provincial ‘wives’ to gain citizenship was by enlisting in the military – which resulted in a hereditary character to legionary service (Grant, 78).

<sup>605</sup> Grant, *Army of the Caesars*, 92-93, referencing, for example ILS, 1993.

More information on the Roman marriage and how it pertains to the military can be found in: Sara Elise Phang, *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C. - A.D. 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army*, (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

<sup>606</sup> Goldsworthy, *Complete Roman Army*, 102-104. By the middle of the second century, during the reign of Antonius, the wording on the *diplomata* for auxiliaries had changed, and children who had been born while the soldier was in military service were no longer granted citizenship; like the children born of legionaries and their provincial “wives,” the only means for them to become citizens was to join the military (Grant, *Army of the Caesars*, 242).

<sup>607</sup> The text of the surviving *diplomata* issued by the Emperor Trajan to Reburus, son of Severus, from Spain, decurion of *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana*, commanded by Gaius Valerius, which

A rare bit of information on German culture and marriage was given when Tacitus noted that *raptus*, if not common, occurred among the Germans. *Raptus* is a Latin word which describes an abduction, which could result in a marriage. A young woman was stolen, occasionally by force, from her family and in some instances, to save some honor and dignity, married her captor. *Raptus* did not appear to be written about in the first century in Roman law, however it was extensively written about in the later Roman Empire, and there were many complex laws issued by emperors (such as Justinian) in an effort to stop instances of abduction by leveling heavy fines on all parties. While the abduction was by “force,” in the later Roman Empire it was also a way for a woman to circumvent her father’s control and choose her own husband.<sup>608</sup>

An instance of *raptus* occurred in the marriage of the German chieftain Arminius, who abducted Thusnelda, the daughter of another chieftain named Segestes. After her abduction, Thusnelda married Arminius, even though she was supposed to wed another man of her father’s choosing. Tacitus very clearly described Segestes as having been forced into allowing this marriage to Arminius. During the subsequent uprising of Arminius against the

---

*... qui militant in alis quattuor et cohortibus decem et una, quae appellantur (1) I Thracum et (2) I Pannoniorum Tampiana et (j) Gallorum Sebosiana et (4) Hispanorum Vettonum c(ivium) R(omanorum); et (1) I Hispanorum et (2) I Vangionum milliaria et (3) I Alpinorum et (4) I Morinorum et (5) I Cugernorum et (6) I Baetasiurum et (7) I Tungrorum milliaria et (8) II Thracum et (g) III Bracaraugustanorum et (10) III Lingonum et (11) III Delmatarum, et sunt in Britannia sub L. Neratio Marcello, qui quina et vicena plurave stipendia meruerunt, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, ipsis liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent cum est civitas iis data, aut, siqui caelibes essent, cum iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli singulas.*

... granted to the cavalrymen and infantrymen who are serving in four alae and eleven cohorts called: (1) I Thracum and (2) I Pannoniorum Tampiana and (3) Gallorum Sebosiana and (4) Hispanorum Vettonum, Roman citizens; and (1) I Hispanorum and (2) I Vangionum, a thousand strong, and (3) I Alpinorum and (4) I Morinorum and (5) I Cugernorum and (6) I Baetasiurum and (7) I Tungrorum, a thousand strong, and (8) II Thracum and (9) III Bracaraugustanorum and (10) III Lingonum and (11) III Delmatarum, and are stationed in Britain under Lucius Neratius Marcellus, who have served twenty-five or more years, whose names are written below, citizenship for themselves, their children and descendants, and the right of legal marriage with the wives they had when citizenship was granted to them, or, if any were unmarried, with those they later marry, but only a single one each.

"Military Diploma," The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=810658&partid=1&output=People%2F!!%2FOR%2F!!%2F25008%2F!!%2F25008-1-8%2F!!%2FNamed+in+inscription+Trajan%2F!!%2F%2F!!%2F&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch\\_the\\_collection\\_database%2Fadvanced\\_search.aspx&currentPage=1&numpages=10](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=810658&partid=1&output=People%2F!!%2FOR%2F!!%2F25008%2F!!%2F25008-1-8%2F!!%2FNamed+in+inscription+Trajan%2F!!%2F%2F!!%2F&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database%2Fadvanced_search.aspx&currentPage=1&numpages=10) [Accessed July 2012]

<sup>608</sup> Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity*, 36-37.

Romans, Thusnelda was living with her father's family, and Segestes described himself as still owning his daughter. This may be similar to the Roman concept of a marriage without giving *manus*, in which the male head of the household retained control over the daughter even after she no longer was living in or a part of his household.<sup>609</sup>

Perhaps one of the clearest depictions of anger over an instance of *raptus* was in the description that Arminius made of himself as “the hated son-in-law of a hostile father, and a relationship which [normally] cements the affection of friends now stimulated the fury of enemies...”<sup>610</sup> Segestes later gave the pregnant Thusnelda over to the Romans fighting against Arminius, who took her as a prisoner along with other members of her family. Strabo, who seemed to have been an eyewitness to the event, recounted that Thusnelda and her two-year-old son, Thumelicus, were displayed in the Triumph of Germanicus on May 26<sup>th</sup>, AD 17. He described the captives in great detail.<sup>611</sup> What happened to Thusnelda is unknown; her son was raised in Ravenna and seems to have died while young (the details of his life and death may have been contained in one of the missing books of Tacitus' *Annals*).

The scene of Thusnelda before Emperor Tiberius has been portrayed many times in art, with historical liberties being taken. However, one statue from the second century AD – commonly identified as Thusnelda since 1841<sup>612</sup> – still survives in Rome. Though dating from more than a century after the event, the clothing is consistent with descriptions of Germanic clothing and, therefore, this figure may be the closest depiction that survives showing what she looked like. This statue, like many other images of captive art from the Roman world, served a purpose as political art. The role of political art will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 8. This statute of a barbarian captive was rediscovered in the sixteenth century, and may have influenced the artistic depictions of Thusnelda in later centuries.

---

<sup>609</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.55; 1.57.

<sup>610</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 1.55.

<sup>611</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 7.1.4.

<sup>612</sup> Ilaria Ferraris, *The Statues of the Loggia Della Signoria in Florence Masterpieces Restored* (Firenze: Giunti, 2002), 28.



**Figure 5. Statue of a Barbarian prisoner, “Thusnelda,” Marble, Roman artwork of the period of Trajan or Hadrian (second century AD) with modern restorations.**

*Source:* © Marie-Lan Nguyen / Wikimedia Commons.

In combat and warfare, Germanic women seem to have held a very different role than Celtic or Celtiberian women. While Gaulish women seem to have been sent away from the battlefield and Celtiberian women sometimes fought beside their men (at least in defensive



battles in settlements), Germanic women were both present at engagements and at times would take up arms themselves.<sup>613</sup>

According to Caesar, the Germans would consult matrons who cast lots and divined when battle should occur.<sup>614</sup> Tacitus and Caesar repeatedly wrote that families accompanied baggage trains – encouraging, entreating and berating the men on to victory and, when that was unsuccessful, taking up arms themselves against their enemies.<sup>615</sup>

In some instances, when a people faced a struggle that will result in survival or destruction, all members of society could be called upon to participate in the fighting – men and women, young and old. In several Germanic tribes facing utter destruction at the hands of the Romans, there were instances of women taking up arms. When the tide of battle turned against them and all seemed lost, the women often chose suicide and infanticide rather than life as slaves. This was the case with the Roman war against the Teutons and the Cimbri, and such actions were described at the battle of Aquae Sextiae in 102 BC and battle of Vercellae in 101 BC.<sup>616</sup> At the end of the second century BC, the Romans, under Marius, were engaged in fighting Germanic tribes which were attempting to migrate into Italy (as the Gauls had done in earlier centuries). These tribes were defeated and many were killed. Women seem to have engaged in the fighting as the battles turned against the Germanic tribes. Reports conflict with each other as to which tribe did what, however Plutarch, Florus, and Valerius Maximus all indicated that the Germanic women sacrificed themselves and their children, rather than be taken as slaves.<sup>617</sup>

---

<sup>613</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 7.3; Florus, *Epitome*, 38.16 *The War with the Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini*; Strabo, *Geography*, 7.2.3.

<sup>614</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.50.

<sup>615</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.18; Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.51.

<sup>616</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 19, 26, 27; Florus, *Epitome*, 38.16 *The War with the Cimbri, Teutones and Tigurini*; Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings & Sayings*, 6.1.ext 3; St. Jerome, “To Ageruchia,” in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, Second Series, vol. 6 (“Jerome: Letters and Select Works”), trans. J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896), <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.i.html> [Accessed January 2010]; Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, trans. Roy J. Deferrai, in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 50 (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1964), 5.16.

<sup>617</sup> The three earliest sources on the wars with the Cimbri and Teutons disagree with each other not in the general information, but on the details of which tribe committed the acts in question. The reports tell us that the women of one tribe, when their men fell back, attacked the fleeing men, and then turned and fought the Romans themselves. The accounts also tell us that some of the tribe’s women, when they were defeated, approached Marius asking for protection by becoming Vestal Virgins; having been denied this, they took their lives and the lives of their children. The information these sources contain and their varying statements were included in the works of later authors, including Jerome and Paulus Orosius.

In Plutarch's *Life of Marius*, there is this description of the battle of Aquae Sextiae against the Teutons:

[6] καὶ πλεῖστοι μὲν αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ  
ῥεῖθρον ὠθούμενοι κατ' ἀλλήλων  
ἐπαίοντο καὶ κατεπίμπλασαν φόνου καὶ  
νεκρῶν τὸν ποταμόν, τοὺς δὲ διαβάντες  
οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὴ τολμῶντας ἀναστρέφειν  
ἔκτεινον ἄχρι τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῶν  
ἀμαξῶν φεύγοντας,

[7] ἐνταῦθα δὲ αἱ γυναῖκες  
ἀπαντῶσαι μετὰ ξιφῶν καὶ  
πελέκεων δεινὸν τετριγυῖαι καὶ  
περίθυμον ἡμύνοντο τοὺς  
φεύγοντας ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς  
διώκοντας, τοὺς μὲν ὡς  
προδότας, τοὺς δὲ ὡς πολεμίους,  
ἀναπεφυρμέναι μαχομένοις καὶ  
χερσὶ γυμναῖς τοὺς τε θυρεοὺς  
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀποσπῶσαι καὶ  
τῶν ξιφῶν ἐπιλαμβάνόμεναι, καὶ  
τραύματα καὶ διακοπὰς σωμάτων  
ὑπομένουσαι, μέχρι τελευτῆς  
ἀήττητοι τοῖς θυμοῖς.

Most of the Ambrones were cut down there in the stream where they were all crowded together, and the river was filled with their blood and their dead bodies; the rest, after the Romans had crossed, did not dare to face about, and the Romans kept slaying them until they came in their flight to their camp and wagons.

Here the women met them, swords and axes in their hands, and with hideous shrieks of rage tried to drive back fugitives and pursuers alike, the fugitives as traitors, and the pursuers as foes; they mixed themselves up with the combatants, with bare hands tore way the shields of the Romans or grasped their swords, and endured wounds and mutilations, their fierce spirits unvanquished to the end.<sup>618</sup>

Later in the same work, describing the battle against the Cimbri, Plutarch wrote:

[1] τὸ μὲν οὖν πλεῖστον μέρος καὶ  
μαχιμώτατον τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῦ  
κατεκόπη: καὶ γὰρ ἦσαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ  
διασπᾶσθαι τὴν τάξιν οἱ πρόμαχοι  
μακρᾶς ἀλύσεισι πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
συνεχόμενοι διὰ τῶν ζωστήρων  
ἀναδεδεμέναις: τοὺς δὲ φεύγοντας  
ὄσαντες πρὸς τὸ χαράκωμα  
τραγικωτάτοις ἐνετύγχανον πάθεισιν.

[2] αἱ γὰρ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ τῶν ἀμαξῶν  
μελανεῖμονες ἐφροσῶσαι τοὺς τε  
φεύγοντας ἔκτεινον, αἱ μὲν ἄνδρας, αἱ  
δὲ ἀδελφούς, αἱ δὲ πατέρας, καὶ τὰ  
νήπια τῶν τέκνων ἀπάγχουσαι ταῖς  
χερσὶν ἐρρίπτουν ὑπὸ τοὺς τροχοὺς καὶ  
τοὺς πόδας τῶν ὑποζυγίων, αὐτὰς δὲ  
ἀπέσφαττον. μίαν δὲ φασιν ἐξ ἄκρου  
ῥυμοῦ κρεμαμένην τὰ παιδία τῶν αὐτῆς

The greatest number and the best fighters of the enemy were cut to pieces on the spot; for to prevent their ranks from being broken, those who fought in front were bound fast to one another with long chains which were passed through their belts. The fugitives, however, were driven back to their entrenchments, where the Romans beheld a most tragic spectacle. The women, in black garments, stood at the wagons and slew the fugitives — their husbands or brothers or fathers, then strangled their little children and cast them beneath the wheels of the wagons or the feet of the cattle, and then cut their own throats. It is said that one woman hung dangling from the tip of a wagon-pole, with her children tied to either ankle; while the men, for lack of trees, fastened themselves by the neck to the

<sup>618</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 19.6-7.

σφυρῶν ἀφημμένα βρόχοις ἐκατέρωθεν ἤρτησθαι:

[3] τοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἀπορία δένδρων τοῖς κέρασι τῶν βοῶν, τοὺς δὲ τοῖς σκέλεσι προσδεῖν τοὺς αὐτῶν τραχήλους, εἶτα κέντρα προσφέροντας ἐξαλλομένων τῶν βοῶν ἐφελκομένους καὶ πατουμένους ἀπόλλυσθαι. πλὴν καίπερ οὕτως αὐτῶν διαφθαρέντων, ἐάλωσαν ὑπὲρ ἑξ μυριάδας: αἱ δὲ τῶν πεσόντων ἐλέγοντο δις τοσαῦται γενέσθαι.

In his *Epitome*, describing the battle Marius fought against the Cimbri after the defeat of the Tetons, Florus wrote:

*Nec minor cum uxoribus eorum pugna quam cum ipsis fuit; cum obiectis undique plaustris atque carpentis altae desuper quasi e turribus lanceis contisque pugnarent. Perinde speciosa mors earum fuit quam pugna. Nam cum missa ad Marium legatione libertatem ac sacerdotium non impetrassent—nec fas erat—suffocatis elisisque passim infantibus suis aut mutuis concidere volneribus aut vinculo e crinibus suis facto ab arboribus iugisque plaustrorum pependerunt.*

horns of the cattle, or to their legs, then plied the goad, and were dragged or trampled to death as the cattle dashed away. Nevertheless, in spite of such self-destruction, more than sixty thousand were taken prisoners; and those who fell were said to have been twice that number.<sup>619</sup>

There was quite as severe a struggle with the women-folk of the barbarians as with the men; for they had formed a barricade of their wagons and carts and, mounting on the top of it, fought with axes and pikes. Their death was as honorable as their resistance; for when, after sending a delegation to Marius, they had failed to secure their liberty and to be made priestesses – a request which could not lawfully be granted – they strangled all their infants or dashed them to pieces, and themselves either fell by wounds inflicted by one another, or else, making ropes of their own hair, hanged themselves on trees or the yokes of their wagons.<sup>620</sup>

And in *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, Valerius Maximus wrote the following:

*Teutonorum uero coniuges Marium uictorem orarunt ut ab eo uirginibus Vestalibus dono mitterentur, adfirmantes aequae se atque illas uirilis concubitus expertes futuras, eaque re non impetrata laqueis sibi nocte proxima spiritum eripuerunt. di melius, quod hunc animum uiris earum in acie non dederunt: nam si mulierum suarum uirtutem imitari uoluissent, incerta Teutonicae uictoriae tropaea reddidissent.*

The wives of the Teutons begged the victorious Marius to send them as a gift to the vestal virgins, and they declared that they intended to avoid sleeping with men just like those virgins. When Marius did not grant this request they took their own lives the following night by hanging themselves. The gods were good to us in not giving this spirit to their husbands on the battlefield, because if those men had wished to imitate the courage of their

<sup>619</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Marius*, 27.1-3.

<sup>620</sup> Florus, *Epitome*, 1.38.

wives, they would have made the trophies of our Teutonic victory unlikely.”<sup>621</sup>

German women also seem to have fought side by side with men in offensive as well as defensive combat. During the Marcomannic Wars against Marcus Aurelius (c. AD 170), the Romans found the bodies of women in armor when they walked the battlefields after the fighting.<sup>622</sup> This may indicate that in some of the Germanic tribes, women specifically trained to fight. Armor was costly and this specific reference to it is important to note.

There are three different accounts of captured Germanic women (possibly the Alamanni, a Germanic group identified by Dio Cassius as then living outside of modern Mainz) fighting against the actions of Roman troops under Caracalla in AD 213. Dio Cassius, Peter the Patrician,<sup>623</sup> and Xiphilinus offered slightly different version of what happened to the women of the Alamanni after they were captured. These three passages can be viewed side by side in Thomas Banchich’s new book, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian*. Below are Banchich’s translations of Dio, Peter and Xiphilinus.<sup>624</sup>

Dio wrote:

The women of the Chatti and indeed, as many of the Alambanni [sic] who fell into their hands did not, in truth, submit at all passively, but when Antoninus asked whether they wished to be sold at some time or be slain, they choose the latter. Then on the one hand when they had been sold all of them killed themselves, and there were those who even killed their children.<sup>625</sup>

---

<sup>621</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings & Sayings*: 6.1.ext 3.

<sup>622</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 72.3.2.

<sup>623</sup> Peter the Patrician lived in the sixth century AD. He studied law, was a gifted speaker (almost assuredly multilingual), and a Christian. Born in Greece, he became a diplomat for Emperor Justinian and was an envoy to the Ostrogothic court in Italy (and was actually imprisoned there for a time). He became a patrician, held the honorary consulship, and he was an author. Justinian awarded Peter’s service by making him *magister officiorum*. His *History* survived in fragments of the later work, the *Excerpta Histotrica* (dating to the tenth century). That work originally contained fifty-three volumes. Peter’s work survived in just four of these – *On Plots*, *On Virtues and Vices*, *On Maxims*, and *On Embassies*. Peter’s *History* also survived in fragments and excerpts in other works, which date to centuries after his lifetime. (Peter and Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*, pp. 1-16.)

<sup>624</sup> Peter and Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*, Fragment 157, pp. 103-104.

I have used Banchich’s translations in order to highlight differences.

<sup>625</sup> Peter and Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*, Fragment 157, pp. 103-104.

Please note that Banchich’s book wrongly cites this as Dio LXXVII.14.1-2. It is in fact LXXVIII.14.1-2.

For contrast the Loeb edition has a different translation:

Peter wrote:

Antoninus, when he had campaigned against the Albanni [sic], purchased his apparent victory with money. And he also took women prisoners, among whom the women were marveled at. For when he had asked whether they wished to be sold or to be slain, they replied, “To be slain.” And since they were sold, the majority cut their own throats.<sup>626</sup>

Xiphilinus wrote:

But, however, even these, when they had sold the name of defeat for much money, conceded to him safe passage to Germany. Their women after they had been captured by the Romans, when Antoninus asked them whether they wished to be sold or slain, chose the latter. Then, when they had been sold, all, on the one hand, killed themselves, and there were those who even killed their children.<sup>627</sup>

Dio Cassius and Xiphilinus are incredibly similar (which is not surprising given he made abridgements of Dio Cassius’ work), but Peter’s fragmentary account from the *Excerpta de Sententiis* (*On Maxims*) is different. Though several attempts have been made to acquire the fragmentary portions of Peter in the original Greek, none have been successful. Peter omitted the killing of the children mentioned by Xiphilinus and Dio Cassius. He also wrote that their actions were “marveled at;” this phrasing is very different from the other two sources. Banchich suggested, without clear context,<sup>628</sup> that the women who were marveled at must refer “narrowly to the wives among the captive women,” and therefore to the women who killed their own children, without specific mention.<sup>629</sup> To me, this is uncertain, as we have seen on numerous occasions (addressed throughout the chapter) that the act of suicide rather than capture and enslavement was noted repeatedly as something remarkable and at times worthy of admiration by the Romans. Since the sources do not agree as to which

---

He waged war also against the Cenni, a Germanic tribe. These warriors are said to have assailed the Romans with the utmost fierceness, even using their teeth to pull from their flesh the missiles with which the Osroëni wounded them, so that they might have their hands free for slaying their foes without interruption. Nevertheless, even they accepted a defeat in name in return for a large sum of money and allowed him to make his escape back into the provinces of Germany. Some of their women who were captured by the Romans, upon being asked by Antoninus whether they wished to be sold or slain, chose the latter fate; then upon being sold, they all killed themselves and some slew their children as well.

Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 78.14.1-2

<sup>626</sup> Peter and Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*, Fragment 157, pp. 103-104.

<sup>627</sup> Peter and Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*, Fragment 157, pp. 103-104.

<sup>628</sup> Which may be derived from an examination of the text in its original language.

<sup>629</sup> Peter and Banchich, *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician*, pp. 104.

particular tribe was involved (though all agree they were Germans) and the wording between Peter and the other sources differed. Only Peter assigned speech to these nameless women, even if only briefly. Therefore, I am not convinced that Dio Cassius was Peter's sole source of information. We know that other classical authors wrote about the Germans, and it is unclear which texts survived into the sixth century when Peter was alive and writing.

This chapter has documented the self-inflicted death of hundreds if not thousands of individuals. While this was a public act usually at an incredibly stressful time in their lives, it was ultimately a deeply private and personal choice that both free and conquered men and women made again and again across centuries and cultures to avoid capture, enslavement, and to ultimately control their own fate and, in some cases, that of their children. Their choices are a part of their cultural identity and can be in some ways very difficult to understand based on contemporary cultural concepts of Western societies. Was the decision to kill one's children the ultimate act of a protective mother? Or was it a way of controlling one's destiny when all other choices were taken by circumstances beyond one's control? Slaves in the ancient world could have terrible lives, above and beyond the challenges of everyday survival. However, at least some Roman slaves lived quite well. Others became freedmen and freedwomen, and were able to rise to respectable positions in Roman society. The choice of suicide rather than slavery (or even killing one's own children rather than condemning them to servitude or to a death that was beyond your control) possesses a certain logic. However, it is difficult to imagine the anguish such an alternative would evoke in a mother. Based on what we know of instances of suicide by Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women, it seems that these decisions were situational, and made only in desperation.

Wives and mothers also had another specific role pertaining to combat. They cared for the wounded. While this is not surprising, Tacitus indicated that warriors returned showing their wounds with pride to their female relations and that the women demanded to see them. Their presence and relation to those engaged in combat was stressed as almost a sacred tradition or duty.<sup>630</sup>

One way to ensure peace and good relations in the ancient world was to exchange hostages. These hostages were usually the children of nobles or a ruling family and were a form of insurance, because hostages could be executed if hostilities erupted. In addition to the exchanges of hostages to ensure peace, from time to time hostages could be captured on

---

<sup>630</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 7.

raids.<sup>631</sup> In one Roman raid on the Chatti, the wife and daughter of a chieftain named Arpus were captured.<sup>632</sup> Hostages could also be educated by their keepers and raised to think differently. The Romans took hostages from the Germans, Gauls, and Britons. However, it is clear in Tacitus that hostages were also exchanged among German tribes.

*Nec in longum quies militia data.  
orabant auxilium Agrippinenses  
offerebantque uxorem ac sororem  
Civilis et filiam Classicus, relicta sibi  
pignora societatis*

The people of Cologne begged for aid and offered to give up the wife and sister of Civilis [German] and the daughter of Classicus [Gaul], who had been left as pledges of fidelity to the alliance.<sup>633</sup>

One of the last bits of information that can be gleaned about German women from the sources is the punishments they might face if they did something wrong. Tacitus only indicated one punishment specifically applied to women, and that was for the crime of adultery. These women were punished by their husband by having their hair shorn off, being stripped naked, driven from their home, and chased around the village.<sup>634</sup> Other punishments that existed, but may not have been applied to women, included being hung (for being a traitor) or being drowned in bog-like settings (for unnatural perversions). Lesser crimes entailed fines of property, such as livestock, which was divided between those who had been slighted and the local ruler.<sup>635</sup>

From the point of view of classical authors, German women seem to have been defined by their role as wife and mother. Women had specific and clear responsibilities to their husbands, their children and future generations. Polygamous marriages were uncommon, existing perhaps only for political reasons. Unlike the Celtic women in Gaul and Britain, Germanic women had specific duties in times of conflict, offering support and encouragement on and off the battlefield (and sometimes even participating in combat). The only specific punishment known to be applied to women was for adultery. All-in-all, surviving descriptions of German women provide greater detail than those which describe their Celtic neighbors to the west when it came to their role in marriage; the question remains whether this greater level of detail is indicative of greater differences in the cultures between

---

<sup>631</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.79; *Annals*, 2.7.

<sup>632</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.7.

<sup>633</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.79.

<sup>634</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 19.1-2.

<sup>635</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 12.

the Germans and the Roman writers, or simply more information that has survived to modern times. Additional differences will be further examined in the chapters about industry, trade, and religion.

### ***Virginity***

The small body of classical writings that mentioned priestesses among the Germans and Celts makes it impossible to generalize about what restrictions existed for these women. This is because available classical sources indicated both that women who were priestesses could be married or have relations with men (among the Celts of Gaul), while in other areas there were groups of priestess where virginity was a requirement. From Pomponius Mela, we know that the Gallic priestesses known as the Gallizenae were a cult of virgins.<sup>636</sup> Additionally, among the Germans, the few surviving accounts all depicted priestess as virgins or at least unwed. Veleda lived her life in a tower; the wives of the Cimbri were accompanied by priestesses (implying they were unwed); and Tacitus' *Germania* stressed the value the Germans placed on virginity and chastity on all members of society.<sup>637</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

This chapter has critically analyzed what little primary source information is available on the topic of marriage among Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian cultures. The paucity of primary sources and the fact that archaeology provides few clues contributes to the challenge of understanding the world in which married women lived, and what they faced as mothers, wives, and in times of war. It also concluded that the relatively few comments found in primary sources could indicate that the concepts of marriage and motherhood in these societies must have seemed relatively familiar to classical authors, and thus not worthy of mention. Actions of women in war seem to have differed from place to place. Yet in the face of slavery and defeat, the option of suicide appeared throughout Britain, Gaul, Noricum, Celtiberia, and Germany. The aspects of child rearing, much less the interaction of mothers with their children, was little addressed in period sources. One exception were the

---

<sup>636</sup> Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, 3.48 (Islands).

<sup>637</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 19; Strabo, *Geography*, 7.2.3.

Though the focus of this work ends in AD 235, Christian sources continued to address the topic of women in the west. As the Christian church evolved from the third through the sixth centuries, there were increasing examples of Canon Law directed at the women who had dedicated themselves to Christianity. This extended even to women who adopted the celibate life of nuns.



observations that the Caledonians raised their children in common, which might indicate that elsewhere it was generally quite similar to what was considered 'normal' by classical Roman and Greek observers. Ultimately, a woman's private life seems largely to have been governed by her status as a woman to be married, a married woman, or a widow. It is clear that most women are described through their connection to a man, whether as daughters, wives, or in some other relationship, thereby circumscribing their status in those societies. An exception can be found in relation to some religious orders where women stepped away from marriage. Through an examination of the status and role of women in relation to marriage and family, we have explored the identity those societies gave most women – with the principal focus on their private life in the home with their family.

## Chapter 5: Public Life, Women's Industry, and Trade

Having examined what life was like among high-born women and women in positions of power, as well as marriage and the life of married women, this chapter will turn to a discussion of public life, women's industry, and trade which, when combined, paint a picture of women's environment outside the home. Identity can revolve around an individual's job or occupation, and it plays a strong enough role that it was used as an identifier in funerary monuments. What could Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic and Germanic women do in the public arena? Could they run a business, have any role in legal disputes, engage in trade, or act as merchants or traders themselves? Were they equal to men as merchants and traders, or were they always women first? Did a role in the public sphere come before or after a gendered identity? All of these questions and others will be addressed using archaeological and literary evidence to discover what women could do in these societies.

Very little is known from classical sources about the role of female artisans, merchants, and professionals in Celtic and Germanic societies. This is probably because the Romans and Greeks who wrote about them (when they mentioned women at all) saw them engaging in roles that were not so strange that they were worthy of special mention. As was seen in the section on women in the setting of their families, classical writers tended to focus on situations that were novel, rather than those that were the norm in their own society. One example of a period author noting differences can be found in Strabo's *Geography*, where he observed the following about the Gauls:

τὸ δὲ περὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὰς  
γυναῖκας, τὸ διηλλάχθαι τὰ ἔργα  
ὑπεναντίως τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν, κοινὸν καὶ  
πρὸς ἄλλους συχνοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων  
ἐστὶ.

But as for their custom relating to the men and the women (I mean the fact that *their tasks have been exchanged, in a manner opposite to what obtains among us*), it is one which they share in common with many other barbarian peoples.<sup>638</sup>

What seems agonizingly vague today may have made perfect sense to readers of the time. If taken literally, it may mean that women were performing tasks normally done by men in Roman and Greek societies, though what those jobs were in this specific instance is a mystery.

---

<sup>638</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.3. Emphasis added.

To understand what classical writers would have seen as normal roles for women, and thus not worthy of any special note, it is necessary to mention the professions of slave, freed, and freeborn women in the Greek and Roman societies. Freed women and slaves engaged in many types of professions. Occupations could include hairdresser, personal attendant, cosmetologist, shop keeper, midwife, teacher, textile worker, mosaic worker, perfumer, prostitute, and actress – though some of these professions (such as actress and prostitute) were less socially acceptable than others.<sup>639</sup> (The extent to which freeborn women engaged in trades and professions is less clear, though it appears to have been less frequently than slaves.)<sup>640</sup> Classical authors would have felt little reason to spend much time discussing Celtic or Germanic women pursuing such lines of endeavor, because they would have been seen as “normal” by their Roman and Greek readers. However, occupations outside of these areas were much less common in Roman or Greek society and would likely have attracted greater attention from classical authors when observed in “barbarian” societies.

### ***Women and the Legal System***

The place of women in the legal system is directly connected to their place in public life. Though references to women’s place in the legal system have been touched on in preceding chapters, this deserves a dedicated section as it relates to how women were viewed outside the home. In answer to the question of where to begin with such limited textual evidence, it would be with the legal system of the period that is best known to historians – that of the Romans. The legal rights of women in Roman society and Greek society varied significantly over time. However, women did not play a significant role in the legal system itself.<sup>641</sup> Classical writers would have found societies in which the legal system had a

---

<sup>639</sup> D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 87, 94-140. Among the illustrations are the following: relief of a woman having her hair dressed from La Marsa (mid-second century AD) p 123; relief of greengrocer from Ostia (late second century AD) p138; relief of female poultry vendor from Ostia (late second century AD) p139; relief from the tomb of Scribonia Attice, midwife, from Ostia (mid-second century AD), p 87; funerary stele of wet nurse Severina, from Cologne (late third century AD) p108; mummy of Hermione a *Grammatike* (mid-first century AD) p136; Slaves were known to have specific household tasks in Roman homes and sometimes multiple jobs. Tacitus, *Germania*, 25. Women who held specific tasks as slaves may have engaged in those trades as freedwomen; what is known about what women did – either freeborn, slave, or freedwoman – often comes from Latin inscriptions. The more a woman was in the public eye, the less positive the view of Roman men was towards them. D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 137-140.

<sup>640</sup> D’Ambra, *Roman Women*, 137.

<sup>641</sup> Numerous books discuss the Roman legal system, which varied over the centuries depending on the emperor. These sources describe the legal rights of women over time. For example: Jane F. Gardner, *Women in Roman Law & Society* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986); Antti Arjava, *Women and Law in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); Ralph W. Mathisen, *Law, Society, and Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001); Judith Evans Grubbs, *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood* (London: Routledge, 2002).

specific, active role for women unusual; therefore, if the Celtic and Germanic systems were dramatically different in this respect, this would likely be reflected in classical literature. Archaeological material cannot further the discussion of the roles of women in the legal system. Therefore, while it is risky to take classical sources at face value, they are the only material available to scholars on this topic.

There is one unusual plaque from Roman Spain, dating to AD 193, *CIL II 4.125* (this stone inscription is now lost). It was fragmentary and contained the ruling of a Roman governor over a land case. In this instance, Valeria Faventina, a female landowner from Tarragona in southern Spain, was in a dispute with what can best be translated as a community of peasants.<sup>642</sup> She won the legal case and was awarded all of the rights to the land being disputed.<sup>643</sup> This provided a rare instance both of a woman involved in a legal case (though how she was represented we do not know) and as a legal land owner. Two other female land owners during the second and third century AD are attested in Roman Spain, such as Aurelia Iuventiana near Clunia and C. Plancia Romana near Almería. The terms used to describe the land they owned, *latifundio* and *praedia*, indicate that large estates and smaller farms were under the control of women.<sup>644</sup>

One distinct role for women that appeared in both Celtiberian and Germanic cultures is that of the arbiter or arbitrator.<sup>645</sup> Among the Bructeri tribe in Germania, Valeda, the prophetess, was an arbiter.<sup>646</sup> (This does not seem to be a uniquely female role, since Julius Civilis was an arbiter working along with Valeda.) In delegations between the Tencteri and the people of Cologne,

*Agrippinenses sumpto consultandi spatio, quando neque subire condiciones metus*      The people of Cologne first took some time to consider the matter, and then,

---

<sup>642</sup> While there is no indication that she was Celtic, based either on her location and name, this case sets the precedent for women as land owners in Roman Hispania.

<sup>643</sup> Jordi Pons. "Propiedad privada de la tierra y comunidades campesinas pirenaicas: Análisis de una sentencia judicial del año 193." *Memorias de historia antigua* 3 (1979): 111-112.

<sup>644</sup> Pons, "Propiedad privada de la tierra y comunidades campesinas pirenaicas" *Memorias de historia Antigua*, 123.

<sup>645</sup> An arbiter is defined as a person who has the power to decide a dispute. An arbitrator is defined simply as one that arbitrates or an arbiter. Definitions are taken from the digital online 2010 edition of the Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. "Arbiter," Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2010, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arbiter> [Accessed December 2010]; "Arbitrator," Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2010, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arbitrator> [Accessed December 2010].

<sup>646</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.65.

*futuri neque palam aspernari condicio praesens sinebat, in hunc modum respondent: 'quae prima libertatis facultas data est, avidius quam cautius sumpsimus, ut vobis ceterisque Germanis, consanguineis nostris, iungeremur. muros civitatis, congregantibus se cum maxime Romanorum exercitibus, augere nobis quam diruere tutius est. si qui ex Italia aut provinciis alienigenae in finibus nostris fuerant, eos bellum absumpsit vel in suas quisque sedis refugerunt. deductis olim et nobiscum per conubium sociatis quique mox provenerunt haec patria est; nec vos adeo iniquos existimamus ut interfici a nobis parentes fratres liberos nostros velitis. vectigal et onera commerciorum resolvimus: sint transitus incustoditi sed diurni et inermes, donec nova et recentia iura vetustate in consuetudinem vertuntur. Arbitrum habebimus Civilem et Veledam, apud quos pacta sancientur.' Sic lenitis Tencteris legati ad Civilem ac Veledam missi cum donis cuncta ex voluntate Agrippinensium perpetravere; sed coram adire adloquique Veledam negatum: arcebantur aspectu quo venerationis plus inesset. ipsa edita in turre; delectus e propinquis consulta responsaque ut internuntius numinis portabat.*

since fear for the future did not allow them to submit to the terms proposed and present circumstances made it impossible for them to reject them openly, they made the following reply: 'The first opportunity of freedom we seized with more eagerness than caution that we might join ourselves with you and the other Germans who are of our own blood. But it is safer to build the walls of the town higher rather than to pull them down at the moment when the Roman armies are concentrating. All the foreigners of Italian or provincial origin within our lands have been destroyed by war or have fled each to his own home. The first settlers, established here long ago, have become allied with us by marriage, and to them as well as to their children this is their native city; nor can we think that you are so unjust as to wish us to kill our own parents, brothers, and children. We now suppress the duties and all charges that are burdened on trade: let there be free intercourse between us, but by day and without arms until by lapse of time we shall become accustomed to our new and unfamiliar rights. We will have as arbiters Civilis and Veleda, before whom all our agreements shall be ratified.' With these proposals they first calmed the Tencteri and then sent a delegation to Civilis and Veleda with gifts which obtained from them everything that the people of Cologne desired; yet the embassy was not allowed to approach Veleda herself and address her directly: they were kept from seeing her to inspire them with more respect. She herself lived in a high tower; one of her relatives, chosen for the purpose, carried to her the questions and brought back her answers, as if he were the messenger of a god."<sup>647</sup>

---

<sup>647</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.65.

Two instances of women acting as arbitrators are found within a single description of Celtic women by Plutarch (written in the latter half of the first century AD).

*Κελτοῖς, πρὶν ὑπερβαλεῖν Ἄλπεις καὶ, κατοικῆσαι τῆς Ἰταλίας ἦν νῶν νέμονται χώραν, στάσις ἐμπεσοῦσα δεινὴ καὶ δυσκατάπαυστος εἰς πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον προῆλθεν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ὄπλων γενόμεναι καὶ παραλαβοῦσαι τὰ νείκη διήτησαν οὕτως ἀμέμπτως καὶ διέκριναν, ὥστε φιλίαν πᾶσι θαυμαστὴν καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ κατ' οἴκους γενέσθαι πρὸς πάντας. ἐκ τούτου διετέλουν περὶ τε πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης βουλευόμενοι μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀμφίβολα δι' ἐκείνων βραβεύοντες. ἐν γοῦν ταῖς πρὸς Ἀννίβαν συνθήκαις ἐγράψαντο, Κελτῶν μὲν ἐγκαλούντων Καρχηδονίοις, τοὺς ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ Καρχηδονίων ἐπάρχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἶναι δικαστὰς ἂν δὲ Καρχηδόνιοι Κελτοῖς ἐγκαλῶσι, τὰς Κελτῶν γυναῖκας.*

Before the Celts crossed over the Alps and settled in that part of Italy which is now their home [<390 BC], a dire and persistent factional discord broke out among them which went on and on to the point of civil war. The women, however, put themselves between the armed forces, and, taking up the controversies, arbitrated and decided them with such irreproachable fairness that a wondrous friendship of all towards all was brought about between both States and families. As the result of this they continued to consult with the women in regard to war and peace, and to decide through them any disputed matters in their relations with their allies. At all events, in their treaty with Hannibal [<200 BC] they wrote the provision that, if the Celts complained against the Carthaginians, the governors and generals of the Carthaginians in Spain should be the judges; and if the Carthaginians complained against the Celts, the judges should be the Celtic women.<sup>648</sup>

This implied that female arbitration was a long-standing tradition among Celtic societies, at least in northern Italy and Iberia. What happened to the treaty drawn up with Hannibal can only be imagined, as this document no longer survives. The position of female arbitrator seems to have a sense of respect tied to it, possibly due to the arbitrators being female.

Whether or not this was perhaps in connotation with other aspects (such as Veleda's position as a virginal prophetess) is unknown. Perhaps, by being arbitrators, they occupied a third position outside of gendered roles. We read that Julius Civilis worked as an arbiter with Veleda, and in Celtiberia the local population recognized the role of "judge" in the governors and generals of the Carthaginians. This meant it was not exclusively a gendered role, but it does not exclude the fact that perhaps the role was without gender. Clearly, men and women met and discussed these important issues; perhaps they stepped outside of their gender to do so on an equal footing, solely representing the issues of their respective peoples.

---

<sup>648</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, "Bravery of Women," 4 *Celtic Women*.

In terms of the legal rights of women in Celtic and Germanic societies, only glimpses are possible. Germany and Gaul seem to have had patriarchal societies with more traditional places for women under the control of the head of the household. In such societies, only men could inherit property from other men, and brides gave dowries to their husbands.<sup>649</sup> Caesar noted that in Gaul, men matched their bride's dowries and that,

*[19] Viri, quantas pecunias ab uxoribus dotis nomine acceperunt, tantas ex suis bonis aestimatione facta cum dotibus communicant. Huius omnis pecuniae coniunctim ratio habetur fructusque servantur: uter eorum vita superarit, ad eum pars utriusque cum fructibus superiorum temporum pervenit. Viri in uxores, sicuti in liberos, vitae necisque habent potestatem; et cum paterfamiliae illustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conveniunt et, de morte si res in suspicionem venit, de uxoribus in servilem modum quaestionem habent et, si compertum est, igni atque omnibus tormentis excruciatas interficiunt. Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum magna et sumptuosa; omniaque quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes, quos ab eis dilectos esse constabat, iustis funeribus confectis una cremabantur.*

Whatever sums of money the husbands have received in the name of dowry from their wives, making an estimate of it, they add the same amount out of their own estates. An account is kept of all this money conjointly, and the profits are laid by: whichever of them shall have survived [the other], to that one the portion of both reverts together with the profits of the previous time. Husbands have power of life and death over their wives as well as over their children: and when the father of a family, born in a more than commonly distinguished rank, has died, his relations assemble, and, if the circumstances of his death are suspicious, hold an investigation upon the wives in the manner adopted toward slaves; and, if proof be obtained, put them to severe torture, and kill them. Their funerals, considering the state of civilization among the Gauls, are magnificent and costly; and they cast into the fire all things, including living creatures, which they suppose to have been dear to them when alive; and, a little before this period, slaves and dependents, who were ascertained to have been beloved by them, were, after the regular funeral rites were completed, burnt together with them.<sup>650</sup>

The dowry system described by Caesar sounds more like a marriage custom rather than a matter of legal inheritance, especially since in the very next sentence, he stated that husbands have the power of life and death over their wives (not surprising in a patriarchal society). Somewhat more surprising is Caesar's claim in the same sentence that the family of a Gaulish nobleman would gather upon his death and, if they suspected he had died under

<sup>649</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 18.3-4, 20.5.

<sup>650</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.19.

suspicious circumstances, interrogate his wives and – if they were found guilty – torture or even kill them. (This might be an indication that noblemen consummated dynastic unions with women from other tribes – perhaps to cement peace between former adversaries – and that such marriages did not always end well.) Apparently, such rights to investigate and punish either did not extend to families of commoners (or to the families of noblewomen who died under suspicious circumstances while married), or such rights were unknown to Caesar.

On the other hand, Strabo described what may have been a matriarchal society in Celtiberia. As mentioned in the chapter on marriage, that author stated that women arranged marriages for men, inherited property, and received dowries (*προίκα*) from their husbands.<sup>651</sup> This is an example of a classical author who wrote about a foreign custom that was completely out of the norm for his own culture. It is unclear whether he witnessed this himself or learned of second hand. Strabo may have read about this group in the work of Artemidorus, the first century BC Greek geographer (now mostly lost).

The legal status of women in Britain is unclear. In the case of the death of Prasutagus, a local ruler attempted to divide his estate between his two daughters (perhaps reflecting a Celtic custom that women could inherit property, especially in the case of tribal leaders who had no male heirs) and the Emperor Nero (mimicking what was done by Romans seeking to avoid challenges to a will).<sup>652</sup> While it may be that Prasutagus' actions indicated that the Celts in that portion of Britain under Roman occupation blended their native concepts with those of the Romans, there is not enough information elsewhere in the historical record to allow us to draw any general conclusions beyond that one instance.

Likewise, the Celts seem to have provided some kind of recourse for assault on women. After the physical abuse of Boudica and the rape of her daughters at the direction of the Roman administrator, Boudica apparently had no difficulty obtaining the support of the people when she sought justice (and vengeance).<sup>653</sup>

---

<sup>651</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.18; Billerbeck, "Artemidorus' *Geographoumena* in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium: Source and Transmission," in *Images and Texts on the "Artemidorus Papyrus": Working Papers on P.Artemid.* (St. John's College, Oxford), 65.

<sup>652</sup> Paul Veyne, ed., *A History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*, 152-153.

<sup>653</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.31.



## ***Women as Patronesses***

One established role for women in the public sphere of the Roman world was that of the patroness. Both private and group patronage existed. The role of patronage in religion, a form of group patronage, is addressed in detail in Chapter 7. In individual or private patronage, the role of patron and client was informal rather than legal; it was a relationship between those who had power and position and those who did not, and was entered into voluntarily with specific social implications. Carolyn Osiek and Margaret MacDonald described these complex relationships, noting they “bring with them a strong sense of interpersonal obligation that is intricately connected with concepts of honor and shame.”<sup>654</sup> Women who could afford to be a patroness had to be wealthy, well connected, or both. Patronage was a reciprocal relationship. A patroness would give things to her client, such as money, access to connections, land, etc.; in return, the client gave loyalty and publically appreciated the patronage (which had the negative effect of publically noting the client was of a lower social standing).

All female rulers and chieftains in the Celtic and Germanic world probably performed some of the roles that Roman patronesses performed, offering help and money in return for support. As the Roman Empire expanded and a wealthy upper class emerged among acculturated indigenous populations of the provinces, women from the local societies probably engaged in the role of patroness, in a manner similar to their Roman counterparts. Among the Romans, there were two categories of women patronesses: those who had attained legal independence from a male relative, and women who engaged in client relationships due to the wealth and power of their husband.<sup>655</sup>

## ***Industry and Trade***

Today, we have a number of ideas of what is common women’s work, both in modern times and in the distant past. This is partially because the Industrial Revolution changed how work and the family unit operated, both within and outside the home. In particular, when it comes to work in the home, we are unknowingly influenced by taxes that occurred in the eighteenth century.<sup>656</sup> In 1777, a tax was levied on those male servants in Britain who

---

<sup>654</sup> Carolyn Osiek, Margaret Y. MacDonald, and Janet H. Tulloch, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity*, (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006), 196-219.

<sup>655</sup> Osiek, et al., *A Woman's Place*, 199-203.

<sup>656</sup> Alexandra Croom, *Running the Roman Home*, (Stroud: History Press, 2011), 8

performed luxury tasks.<sup>657</sup> This tax was in place in Great Britain until 1885.<sup>658</sup> As a result, many men lost their employment (as servants) to women, because they could perform those household tasks without incurring a tax for their master.

As these domestic tasks became affiliated with women, the work lost status, while the few remaining male servants became elevated in status. A tax was placed on women in 1785, but repealed in 1792 due to protest.<sup>659</sup> This same tax had existed in Holland (there it included women) and was the inspiration for the tax law in England.<sup>660</sup> A similar tax was proposed in France in 1759.<sup>661</sup> In the late eighteenth century, during and after the American Revolution, the British and Dutch controlled massive empires that spanned large portions of the globe – the result being that these taxes had a widespread impact on the perception of what constituted women’s work.

Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic and Germanic women were engaged in a variety of industries and trades. To better understand in which trades they might have been involved, it is helpful to understand what goods were exported from Gaul, Britannia,

<i>Britannia</i>	<i>Gaul</i>	<i>Hispania</i>	<i>Galatia</i>	<i>Germania</i>
Tin	Soap	Tin	Dye- Red	Soap
Lead	Amber	Lead	Amethyst	Amber
Textiles	Linen Sailcloth	Linen	Wool	Linen
Slaves	Slaves	Horses	Wine	Slaves
Gold	Coral	Gold		Dye (for hair)
Farm Animals	Hides	Foals – Donkeys		Cattle
Silver	Ivory Chains and Necklaces	Silver		Grain
Copper	Pigments	Copper		Pottery
Grains	Textiles	Grains		Fur
Pearls	Stone	Oil		
Dogs	Glass Vessels	Wine		
Iron		Wool		
Hides				

**Table 3. List of items exported from Britain,<sup>662</sup> Gaul,<sup>663</sup> Celtiberia,<sup>664</sup> Galatia,<sup>665</sup> and Germania<sup>666</sup>**

<sup>657</sup> Stephen Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England: Volumes 1-4* (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 169-170, 215

<sup>658</sup> Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 215-223; It was repealed in Ireland in 1823.

<sup>659</sup> Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 223.

<sup>660</sup> Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 190, 215.

<sup>661</sup> Dowell, *History of Taxation and Taxes in England*, 215.

<sup>662</sup> Tin - Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5. 22; Copper, Lead, and Silver - J.W. Barnes, “The First Metal Workings and their Geological Settings,” *Subterranean Britain: Aspects of Underground Archaeology*,

Celtiberia, and Roman Hispania, and Germania to the Mediterranean world. (Though Galatia is not focused on in this study, it was thought by Greeks and Romans to be a Celtic area, so known trade goods from that region are included.) By using both classical sources and archaeological finds, it is possible to determine what each region was noted for having or produced as trade goods. Within the universe of these industries, the areas in which women had an identifiable role will be discussed.

### ***Women in Trades***

From among the thousands of bas reliefs and statues depicted and described in Emil Espérandieu's multi-volume *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs de la Gaule Romaine*, Pelletier provided examples of Gallo-Roman women engaged in a wide variety of skilled trades. Among these were running a plumbing enterprise, being a blacksmith, being a merchant, running a food shop, selling wine, and being a wet nurse.<sup>667</sup>

Staia Saturnina ran one of the fifty plumbing enterprises in Vienne, a town twenty miles south of Lyon (which Pelletier called "one of the great Gallic centers"). Pelletier believed her name indicated she was probably a Gaul who enjoyed Roman citizenship. In addition to lead pipes, her shop produced a lead sarcophagus and trays. One, recovered from the Rhône River in 1950, was inscribed on the base "Stania Saturnina am VF," which

---

ed. Harriet Crawford, London: John Baker, 1979, 57, 67-8; Textiles - J.P. Wild, "Soft-Finished Textiles in Roman Britain," *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series 17, no. 1 (May, 1967): 133-135; Farm Animals and Grains - Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2; Pearls - Suetonius, "The Deified Julius," *The Lives of the Caesars*, 47; Slaves - Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2; Marcus Tullius Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, trans. Evelyn Shuckburgh, To Atticus Abroad From Rome, 1 October 54 BC, 4.17; Dogs, Iron, and Hides - Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.

<sup>663</sup> Coral - Pliny 8; Ivory, Amber, and Glass - Strabo 4.5.3.259; Soap - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8; Textiles - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 3.8.74. Hides - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 9.5.14; Linen sailcloth - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2; Stone - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 37.76.

<sup>664</sup> Tin - Strabo *Geography*, 3.2.9 45-47; Foals - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 3.8.67; Linen - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2; Grains, oil, wine, horses and metals - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 37.77; Wool-Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8.191; Wool - Martial, *Epigrammata*, 1.96.

<sup>665</sup> Wool - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8; Amethysts - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 10.37.38; Red Dye - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 9.65.141; Wine - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 14.11.80.

<sup>666</sup> Soap - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 7; Amber - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 37.11; Linen - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 4.96-99 & 19.2; Slaves - Ausonius, "Bissula," *Ausonius*, trans. Hugh G. Evelyn White, vol. 1, London: William Heineman, 1919, 9.3; Dye (for hair) - Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 28.191; Martial, *Epigrammata*, 8.33 and 14.26; Cattle, Olwen Brogan, "Trade between the Romans Empire and the Free Germans," *The Journal of Roman Studies* vol. 26, no. 2(1936): 219; Grain - <sup>666</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 17.10; Pottery - Brogan, "Trade between the Romans Empire and the Free Germans," 219; Fur - Tacitus, *Germania*, 17; Brogan, "Trade between the Romans Empire and the Free Germans," 221.

<sup>667</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 60-64.

signified that it was manufactured by her factory.<sup>668</sup> Female plumbers were not unheard of in Rome, with the names of female manufacturers having been found on a number of pipes.<sup>669</sup>

Plumbing was not the only form of metal working women engaging in. A surviving relief on a stele in Narbonne depicts two working blacksmiths; the one on the left is a woman wearing a long tunic.<sup>670</sup>

Pelletier also described depictions of women who, sometimes alone and sometimes in partnership with their husbands, ran small businesses. One relief found in a stream near Trier depicted two merchants, perhaps selling wine. The man stands behind the counter in front of which are two clients. The woman stands on the other side of a wall, filling a container.<sup>671</sup>



**Figure 6. Possible husband and wife wine merchants.**

Source: Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil*, 5243.

---

<sup>668</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 60-61.

<sup>669</sup> J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Rome in 1885* (Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885), 464. Known examples include Julia Cleopatra and Flavia Glycera. It has been suggested that these are the names of business owners who ran a business using slaves, lending their names and not their labor to the manufacture of plumbing pipes.

<sup>670</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 62, citing image 705 in Émile Espérandieu, *Alpes Maritimes, Alpes Cottiennes, Corse, Narbonnais*, vol. 1 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907).

<sup>671</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 62, citing image 5243 in Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1915).



**Figure 7. Possible husband and wife merchants with a scale.**

*Source:* Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil*, 4846.

A second couple is depicted on a stele from Soulosse, in the Vosges. The man and woman were depicted inside a niche, separated by a counter. The man carries on his right arm a scale with two trays. In the other hand, he holds an elongated object. The woman holds in her right hand a purse on top of a box on the counter.

On a stele in Alléan, near Bourges, is the representation of a woman who ran a delicatessen. She is shown with a pointed tool in one hand (which Pelletier described as probably being a knife). The other hand holds an elongated object (Pelletier speculates this may be a sausage). The name on the stele is Lupal(a).<sup>672</sup>

---

<sup>672</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 62, citing image 1524 in Espérandieu, *Aquitaine*, vol. 2 in *Recueil général des bas-reliefs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908).



**Figure 8. Stele depicting a female butcher.**

*Source: Espérandieu, Aquitaine, vol. 2 of Recueil, 1524.*

A monument of Til-Chatel (Cote-d'Or) represents two occupations side by side, a wine merchant on the left and the owner of a delicatessen on the right.<sup>673</sup>



**Figure 9. Stele depicting a female wine merchant and female owner of a delicatessen.**

Source: Espérandieu, *Lyonnaise – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 4 of *Recueil*, 3608.

The wool merchant, Antistia Rufina, appeared with her partner and their daughter, Flora, on an epitaph in Auch.<sup>674</sup> The “laboratory assistant” was depicted on a stele from Grand. She was holding something in her hands, over a tub. Inside her shop can be seen a furnace, a boiler, other tubs, and two balls on a shelf. She is in the background. In the foreground is a female figure who may be a divinity.<sup>675</sup>

Pelletier’s conclusion was that women were frequently employed in the small business sector of Romanized Gaul.<sup>676</sup> In addition to skilled trades in the retail sector, Pelletier mentioned the service of domestic workers. Among the large families of the Gallo-Roman aristocracy, women were in service to the wife and children. Though some undoubtedly were slaves, Pelletier argued that some free women performed specialized roles.

---

<sup>673</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 62, citing image 3608 in Espérandieu, *Lyonnaise – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 4 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911).

<sup>674</sup> *CIL*, XIII, 447

<sup>675</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 63, citing image 4892 in Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil*.

<sup>676</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 63.

Among these was being the nursemaid to very young children. There are multiple inscriptions mentioning a *nutrix* (nursemaid or nanny) – often describing the love between that nanny and the child.<sup>677</sup> There are seven instances of female nursemaids in Roman Hispania, though the cultural and ethnic affiliations are not known for all of them. They all date to the second and third centuries AD.<sup>678</sup>



**Figure 10. Stele depicting a female wool merchant and her assistant.**

*Source:* Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil*, 4892.

---

<sup>677</sup> Pelletier, *La Femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 63-64. See also Anna Sparreboom, “Wet Nursing in the Roman Empire: Indifference, Efficiency and Affection,” (Master’s Thesis, Vrei University of Amsterdam, 2009). She lists more than thirty wet nurses named in inscriptions found in Gallia Narbonensis, Gallia Lugudunensis, Belgica, Baetica, Lusitania, Hispania Citerior, Germania Superior and Inferior (pp. 90-95).

<sup>678</sup> Carmen Alfaro Giner, “la mujer y el trabajo en la Hispania prerromana y romana, Actividades domésticas y profesionales” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*. Nouvelle série, 40 (2), 2010, pp. 18-19.



Unlike the wealth of information that survives in monuments in Gaul, as catalogued in the eleven volumes of figural art produced in the twentieth century by Émile Espérandieu, there is virtually no evidence for working women in Roman Britain. Notwithstanding that absence, Lindsay Allason-Jones rightly noted that,

The complete silence from the female workforce may give an erroneous impression of town life [in Roman Britain]. The number of craftsmen who have left their names is minute compared with the thousands who must have existed, so the lack of inscriptions for female workers may not be so surprising; after all, only ten per cent of all inscriptions from Roman Britain refer to women at all.<sup>679</sup>

For instance, there is evidence that bone working was going on in Roman Britain, based on the discovery and excavation of sites like the bone workshop (or the workshop of a joiner that also did some bone work) in Colchester, dating to the fourth century.<sup>680</sup> Nina Crummy has suggested that evidence for bone working in the archaeological record is androgynous; therefore, bone working may have been done by both men and women.<sup>681</sup>

We know from a particular region of Roman Hispania, Baetica, which had some Celtic influence and inhabitants, that 30 of the 270 known Baetic oil merchants were women.<sup>682</sup> At least one of these women inherited her profession from her mother, not her father. Her name was Coelia Mascellina and she lived in the second century AD.<sup>683</sup>

### ***Textile Manufacturing***

A very traditional area in which women have been engaged for millennia is the production, manufacture, and trade of textiles.<sup>684</sup> Archaeological evidence and literary

---

<sup>679</sup> Lindsay Allason-Jones, "The Actress and the Bishop: Evidence for Working Women in Roman Britain," in *Women in Industry and Technology from Prehistory to the Present Day: Current Research and the Museum Experience: Proceedings from the 1994 WHAM Conference*, eds. Amanda Devonshire and Barbara Wood (London: Museum of London, 1996), 71-72.

<sup>680</sup> Nina Crummy, "Bone-working at Colchester," *Britannia* vol. 12 (1981): 277-285.

<sup>681</sup> Nina Crummy, "Granny's Old Bones: Women Boneworkers in Roman Britain," in *Women in Industry and Technology from Prehistory to the Present Day: Current Research and the Museum Experience: Proceedings from the 1994 WHAM Conference*, eds. Amanda Devonshire and Barbara Wood (London: Museum of London, 1996), 77-83.

<sup>682</sup> Evan W. Haley, *Baetica felix: people and prosperity in southern Spain from Caesar to Septimius Severus*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003), 162-163.

<sup>683</sup> *AE* 1973, 0071.

<sup>684</sup> Specifically the art of spinning and weaving are defined as women's work. (Not to say that men did not engage in textile working, of which there is documented evidence during the Roman Empire.) Bergren, *Weaving Truth: Essays on Language and the Female in Greek Thought*, vii, 1-9; D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, 95-

sources tell us that Gaul, Britain, Germany, and Celtiberia were known for their textiles and fibers.<sup>685</sup> Britain and Northern Gaul were especially well-known for their wool products. Iberia was known for its rich fleeces.<sup>686</sup> Spinning and weaving had long been accepted and respectable practices for women in Greek and Roman culture. Some of the most famous examples of female weavers and spinners included Penelope, the wife of Odysseus, and Lucretia, the wife of Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.<sup>687</sup> Evidence of women working with textiles in the Celtic and Germanic world can be found both in archaeological material and classical tradition. For example, numerous funerary monuments throughout Germany and Austria depicted women holding spindles and distaffs.<sup>688</sup>

Were Celtic and Germanic women selling and trading textiles? As mentioned earlier, because women in the Roman Empire were textile workers and shop keepers, this would have been viewed by classical authors as normal, and therefore would not have attracted any particular attention. One possible example of an explicit mention of women in the textile trade occurred in the later Eastern Roman Empire, when John of Ephesus wrote of Maria of Amida and her mother, Euphemia (an early nun), who supported themselves through a small weaving business in the sixth century.<sup>689</sup>

From Pliny the Elder, it is known that women were working with linen in Germany, and that they manufactured it in caves.<sup>690</sup> This may have been because part of the process to turn flax into linen requires its “bark” be broken and soaked in pools of water to free the

---

100; Curchin's, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, notes that though while textile working was thought of as women's work there is evidence that in Italy and the Roman provinces that men did most of the commercial weaving. He does not have a source for this statement, while it is entirely plausible that commercial weaving was conducted by men, no sources to support or disprove such a broad statement have been located. Even if men did occupy the dominant position in the Roman provinces for commercial weaving that would still not exclude women from participating. Curchin, *The Romanization of Central Spain*, 158.

<sup>685</sup> For literary footnotes on this see footnotes 642-646 attached to the table above.

<sup>686</sup> Martial, *Epigrammata*, 1.96; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8.191; Andrew T. Fear, “The Golden Sheep of Roman Andalusia,” *The Agricultural History Review* 40, no. 2 (1992): 151-155.

<sup>687</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 1. 57; Homer, *Odyssey: The Story of Odysseus*, trans. W. H. D. Rouse (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1937), 2.4.

<sup>688</sup> A sampling of funerary monuments showing distaffs and spindles include the following (all of which are taken from the site Ubi Erat Lupa): Portrait Stele of Matta; Portrait Stele of Suadru; Portrait Stele of Veriuga; Portrait Stele of Basia. All of these monuments are from Hungary, Austria, and Germany and depict women using these fiber tools.

<sup>689</sup> John of Ephesus, *Lives of Eastern Saints*, ed. and trans. E. W. Brooks (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923), 12, Mary and Euphemia.

<sup>690</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2.

fibers,<sup>691</sup> and undisturbed pools of water may have been more readily available in caves. Tacitus also mentioned that linen was the preferred material for the manufacture of women's clothing among the Germans.<sup>692</sup> Pliny the Elder noted that among the enemies of Rome who dwelt beyond the Rhine, their women considered linen to be the most beautiful fabric.<sup>693</sup> Linen unfortunately, does not survive well in the archaeological record. Many of the best archaeological finds come from the bogs of Northern Europe, and Walter von Stoker estimated that even under ideal conditions, flax would be destroyed in bog environments in only 200 years (whereas wool would take 1,800 years to dissolve).<sup>694</sup> As a result, linen is rarely found. One example of a partially surviving linen gown is associated with a bog body known as Zweeloo woman (Drents, Netherlands), and it appears to match the description of a peplos-style gown mentioned in Tacitus.<sup>695</sup> The body of Huldremose woman from Denmark also wore linen underwear, a wool skirt, two leather capes, and a wool and flax scarf. Strontium isotope analysis can now tell us even more about people through not only an analysis of human remains, but of the textile remnants as well. Research has shown that the sheep that produced the wool in Huldremose woman's clothes more likely came from more northern areas, such as Norway or Sweden, than from locally in Denmark.<sup>696</sup>

What is lacking is an understanding of the scale of the involvement of women in this industry. After the Roman Empire was fully established in Gaul and Britain, textile factories were set up for the production of wool (*gynaecia*) and linen (*linyphia*). Dye-houses (*baphia*) were also established.<sup>697</sup> These factories were initially manned by state slaves and, in later

---

<sup>691</sup> John Peter Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 27-28.

<sup>692</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.3.

<sup>693</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2.

<sup>694</sup> Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*, 41.

<sup>695</sup> This gown has been reconstructed. Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.

<sup>696</sup> Dell'Amore, "Who Were the Ancient Bog Mummies? Surprising New Clues," *National Geographic*, July 18, 2014, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/07/18/140718-bog-bodies-denmar-archaeology-science-iron-age/> [Accessed June 2016].

<sup>697</sup> In Gaul, *gynaecia* were located at Lugdunum, Remi, Tornacum, Treviri, Augustodunum. *Linyphia* in Gaul were found at Ravenna and Vienna. There were also two known dyeing centers, *baphia*, in Gaul at Telo and Narbo. In Britain a *gynaecia* was located at Venta. Andrew Hugh Martin Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic, and Administrative Survey*, vol. 2 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964), 836.

centuries, by enslaved Christians during the Great Persecution.<sup>698</sup> Some of the workers may have been women.

In the first century AD, Columella wrote that on large estates, the bailiff's wife took over any wool working that had, in earlier times, been performed by the mistress of the house.<sup>699</sup> Columella went on to add that it would be good if this woman, through spinning and weaving, were to produce the cloth for herself, the overseers, and high ranking slaves, so the master of the estate could save money because he would not have to purchase cloth.<sup>700</sup>

By the late Roman Empire, it is known for a fact that some women were selling cloth.<sup>701</sup> Since Celtic and Germanic women were clearly involved in the production of cloth (carding, spinning and weaving wool, and manufacturing linen), it is as likely they were also just as involved in marketing those products as these other women. This becomes even more probable if they were the ones producing wool and linen, and making clothing from those materials.<sup>702</sup> Evidence for textile tools among the pre-Roman Celtiberian population of Hispania exists, and some of these objects bear names of their owners.<sup>703</sup> Carmen Alfaro Giner argued that because of the existence of these objects in the pre- and post- Roman period, they are external aspects of femininity based upon their representations with women in sculpture and art.<sup>704</sup> How small-scale production of cloth in Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Celtiberia really worked will probably never be known, nor will the precise role of women in that field.

### ***Metal Working***

There is only one instance in classical sources describing Hispano Celtic women participating in the extraction of metals (and none describing Celtic or Germanic women doing so). In his *Geography*, Strabo noted:

---

<sup>698</sup>Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602*, vol. 2, 836.

<sup>699</sup> Columella, *De Re Rustica*, trans. E. S. Forrester and Edward H. Heffner, vol. 3 (containing Books 10-12 and *De Arboribus*) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), 12.Preface.9-10.

<sup>700</sup> Columella, *De Re Rustica*, 12.3.6-7.

<sup>701</sup> For example the Christian women Maria and her mother Euphemia. Maria wove cloth and her mother sold it to support themselves and others. Clark, *Women in Late Antiquity*, 104.

<sup>702</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.3; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2.

<sup>703</sup> Alfaro Giner, "la mujer ye el trabajo en la Hispania prerromana y romana," 25.

<sup>704</sup> Alfaro Giner, "la mujer ye el trabajo en la Hispania prerromana y romana," 25.

[9]...Ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ἀρτάβροις, οἱ τῆς Λυσιτανίας ὕστατοι πρὸς ἄρκτον καὶ δύσιν εἰσὶν, ἐξανθεῖν φησὶν τὴν γῆν ἀργύρῳ, καπτιτέρῳ, χρυσῷ λευκῷ (ἀργυρομιγῆς γὰρ ἐστὶ), τὴν δὲ γῆν ταύτην φέρειν τοὺς ποταμούς: τὴν δὲ σκαλίσι τὰς γυναῖκας διαμώσας πλύνειν ἐν ἡθητηρίοις πλεκτοῖς εἰς κίστην. Οὗτος μὲν περὶ τῶν μετάλλων τοιαῦτ' εἶρηκε.

... Amongst the Artabri, who are the last of the Lusitanians towards the north and west, [Posidonius] tells us that the earth is powdered with silver, tin, and white gold, that is, mixed with silver, the earth having been brought down by the rivers: this the women scrape up with spades, and wash in sieves, woven after the fashion of baskets. Such is the substance of what [Posidonius] tells us concerning the mines [of Iberia].<sup>705</sup>

Alluvial mining and panning may also have been common in other provinces. If so, it most likely was done in mineral rich regions, such as coastal Gaul (especially in places like Amoric, Cornwall, and Iberia). However, there would be no archaeological evidence pointing to a role played by women in such work, and classical sources remain silent on the topic (other than the single reference by Strabo). Posidonius was Strabo's source and it is known that as a part of his travels, Posidonius spent time in Iberia and may very well have been documenting something he saw firsthand.<sup>706</sup>

### ***Women in Other Settings***

Women among the Celts, Celtiberians, Hispano Celts and Germans must have been employed doing various tasks for which there are no surviving records. One area that was outside the norm in classical sources is the reference in the *Historia Augusta* to a Gallic Druidess who also was working in a tavern in the land of the Tungri (modern Belgium). We do not know if she owned the establishment mentioned, but she clearly was working there in some fashion for the passage noted that Diocletian (as a young man) paid what he owed the establishment to her.<sup>707</sup>

### ***Women as Healers***

Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women were likely to have been healers. Midwives were not uncommon in the Roman Empire,<sup>708</sup> so this would not have attracted particular

<sup>705</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.2.9.

<sup>706</sup> Kidd, *Posidonius*, vol. 3, 35-38, 134.

<sup>707</sup> Vopiscus, "Carus, Carinus, and Numerian," *Historia Augusta*, 14.2-3.

<sup>708</sup> Tomb of Scribonia Attice, mid-second century AD, Ostia. D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, 87, Figure 38.

notice by classical writers. Healing goddesses like Sequana, Sirona, and Sulis existed in the provinces of Gaul and Britain.<sup>709</sup>

Archaeological evidence exists for female doctors in the form of tombstones. One such tombstone, found in eastern Gaul (Metz, Germany), contained the damaged inscription, “[?]INI FIL[ia] MEDICA,” and depicted the full figure of a woman.<sup>710</sup> It is dated to the second or third century AD.<sup>711</sup>

Four additional female doctors are known from stone monuments: one from Iberia, two from Gaul, and one from Germany.<sup>712</sup> Their ethnicity is unclear, but they deserve mention nonetheless. A tombstone to Julia Saturnina in Emerita, Spain, referred to her as “the best doctor” (*medicae optimae*), and she was shown holding an infant. This monument dates to the second century AD.<sup>713</sup> In Lyons, a monument commemorated Melitia Donata, a doctor whose name was inscribed on a block saying she erected it using her own finances. The date is unknown.<sup>714</sup> In Nîmes, a Flavia Hedone was recorded as *medicae*.<sup>715</sup> This dated to sometime during the latter portion of the first century AD; this interpretation is based on the use of the name Flavia.<sup>716</sup> The last inscription is of a woman named Sarmanna; this appeared on a funerary monument in Gondorf, Germany, which was erected by her son and daughter-in-law. Her son described her as a doctor (*Hic iacet Sarmanna medica. Vixit pl(us) m(inus)*)

---

<sup>709</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 89-104. It should be noted that the first two lines before this statement are lost. It is the only portion in this description of his aunt that is missing.

<sup>710</sup> *CIL* XIII. 4334; Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 23, 90.

<sup>711</sup> Holt T. Parker, "Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire," (Chapter 7), in *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*, ed. Lilian R. Furst (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 143.

<sup>712</sup> John K. Evans, *War, Women, and Children in Ancient Rome*, (London: Routledge, 1991), 157; Parker, "Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire," 142-144.

<sup>713</sup> Parker, "Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire," 143; *CIL* II. 497.

<sup>714</sup> Parker, "Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire," 144; *CIL* XIII. 2019.

<sup>715</sup> *CIL* XII. 3343.

<sup>716</sup> Bernard Remy, "Les inscriptions de médecins en Gaule," *Gallia* 42 no.1(1984): 115-152, Online: Persée, Scientific Journals, 2014, found at: [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/galia\\_0016-4119\\_1984\\_num\\_42\\_1\\_1913](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/galia_0016-4119_1984_num_42_1_1913) [Accessed July 2014].

*an(nos) LXX. Pientius, Pientius fili(i) et honorata Norus titolum posuerun(t). In pace.)*<sup>717</sup>

This may date to the early Christian period, though the date is unknown.<sup>718</sup>

### ***Women as Laborers***

Women in both Iberia and Gaul engaged in hard labor. Strabo described the women of the Celtic and Celtiberian peoples as tilling fields. He also related that, according to Posidonius, women and men in Liguria were hired by a Massilian named Charomoleon to dig ditches.<sup>719</sup> In this commentary, he noted that the local women would continue to work in the fields while pregnant. Charomoleon had mentioned that one of the women he had hired, “upon being seized with the pangs of childbirth, went aside from her work to a place near by, and, after having given birth to her child, came back to her work at once in order not to lose her pay,” and that when he discovered what had happened, he sent her away with her wages, whereupon the new mother “carried the infant out to a little spring, bathed it, swaddled it with what she had, and brought it safely home.”<sup>720</sup>

In Gaul, there is also evidence of women working in agriculture. Pelletier noted that a relief from Narbonne survived; it depicted a woman holding a basket of olives that she was pouring into a large amphora.<sup>721</sup> On a funerary monument at the museum in Trier, a young woman is depicted carrying a basket of grapes.<sup>722</sup> And on one of the mosaics that comprise a rustic calendar at Saint-Romain-en-Gal, on the bank of the Rhône River thirty miles south of Lyon, a woman was shown with a blindfolded donkey, which was turning a wheel in a shed, thereby threshing grain. Other panels of this calendar showed a monthly schedule of farm work – plowing and sowing in October, burning off the stubble in December, cutting willows in February, transplanting trees in March, harvesting in August and September (all activities being performed by men). The woman with the donkey is the only female figure in the

---

<sup>717</sup> Christian Schulze, *Medizin und Christentum in Spätantik und frühem Mittelalter christliche Ärzte und ihr Wirken* (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 94.

<sup>718</sup> Parker, “Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire,” 144.

<sup>719</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.17.

<sup>720</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.17.

<sup>721</sup> Pelletier, *La femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 65-66, citing figure 621 in Espérandieu, *Alpes Maritimes, Alpes Cottiennes, Corse, Narbonnais*, vol. 1 of *Recueil*. The image in Espérandieu describes the figure as being of a woman in a short skirt.

<sup>722</sup> Pelletier, *La femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 65-66, citing figure 5086 in Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil*.



**Figure 11. Woman depositing olives into an amphora.**

*Source:* Espérandieu, *Alpes Maritimes, Alpes Cottiennes, Corse, Narbonnais*, vol. 1 of *Recueil*, 621.



**Figure 12. Woman carrying a basket of grapes.**

*Source:* Espérandieu, *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*, vol. 6 of *Recueil*, 5086.



**Figure 13. Mosaic rustic calendar panel depicting a woman with a blindfolded donkey, threshing grain.**

*Source:* La Meule, *Mosaïque du calendrier agricole* (début du III<sup>ème</sup> siècle, musée de St Germain-en-Laye), Image © Jean-Francois Bradu, 2001, found at <http://jfbradu.free.fr/celtes/mosaïque-st-rom-gal/st-rom-gal.php3> [Accessed July 2012].



mosaic. Pelletier concluded that in Gaul, “working the land was often the work of women,” so one of the occupations of women should include that of being farmers.<sup>723</sup>

In her chapter on the effects on the women of the Lower Rhine area of the practice of the Batavians and Cananefates supplying large numbers of recruits for the Roman army, Carol van Driel-Murray made several points regarding the role of Germanic women in agriculture.<sup>724</sup> The first was to acknowledge that the Germanic tribes would have already had internal structures in place within their agricultural system to account for the periodic absence of warriors, but that the Roman demands for recruits, which she estimated resulted in almost every family having had one or more men in the army and absent from the community for 20-25 years of military service (rather than for a short campaign), and the fact that this demand continued for nearly two centuries, would have led to women becoming responsible for both household and agricultural decision making, to include controlling remittances sent home by the soldiers.<sup>725</sup> While most archaeological evidence of subsistence-level agriculture is androcentric, she believed that the archaeological record did provide evidence that structural measures were put in place to compensate for the lengthy absence of so many men. An example was the use of small, intensively-cultivated plots of land which were manageable by women and children using hand-held instruments, rather than larger fields which would have had to be plowed.<sup>726</sup> Evidence of such small, hand-cultivated plots has been found at Katwijk (at the mouth of the Rhine River), Wijster (which lay just beyond the northern boundary of Germania Inferior), and De Horden (near Utrecht).<sup>727</sup> In addition, she contended women traditionally controlled other activities, including production of cheese, butter, chickens, eggs, and beer, and that this permitted women to participate in the market – normally through barter.<sup>728</sup> In addition to the small gardens, van Driel-Murray postulated that the women who

---

<sup>723</sup> Pelletier, *La femme dans la société gallo-romaine*, 66.

<sup>724</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 87-90.

<sup>725</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 83-84, 87.

<sup>726</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 87-88. Citing Esther Boserup’s 1970 work, *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, van Driel-Murray stated that a horticultural mode of production using such intensively-cultivated small plots to gain high yields of food was “characteristic for female dominated agriculture.” She further argued that “it was typical of the male dominated discourse that the agricultural hoes in the deposits of tools and weapons at Kessel-Lith are interpreted as ‘axes,’ while the evidence of other agricultural tools was ignored completely to justify the martial, warrior nature of the complex” (pp.88).

<sup>727</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 88.

<sup>728</sup> van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 88. While the author did not cite any period sources or archaeological evidence for her assertion, this is consistent with modern studies of the role of women in economies that are based on subsistence farming in various parts of the world. This includes widespread

were left to manage the family farm while their husband was away on military service would have pooled their resources, such as remittances sent by the soldiers, to pay for a single plowman to till larger fields. She stated that female-headed households would have followed a strategy of using the small coins they received as remittances from their husbands to ensure family survival by paying for things they could not otherwise obtain (such as plowing) or converting any surplus to silver for emergencies. She asserted that “women tend to spend remittances and earnings on family support, additional food and education, while men retain a large proportion of their earnings for status enhancement and luxury purchases.”<sup>729</sup> Van Driel-Murray’s argument is logical and supported by the limited amount of archaeological evidence that survives. Women and children left behind would have had to adapt to survive without their men. It makes sense that they would have utilized whatever resources were available to them.

Van Driel-Murray was correct when she noted that “women’s agriculture is invisible, and plays no role in archaeological theory.”<sup>730</sup> She argued that the *absence* of evidence of Romanization in the Lower Rhine may be a direct reflection of female-controlled agriculture, because these women would have invested in basic subsistence rather than luxury items, and that “society in Germania Inferior was dominated by women, children and the elderly.”<sup>731</sup>

---

examples in such societies of the procurement of food through food-for-food barter -- carbohydrates like potatoes being traded for proteins like beans or vitamins and minerals like vegetables and fruits. (See, for example, Gigi Manicad, “Women’s Role in the Food Systems,” Oxfam Novib, 25 February 2011, discussing women bartering the produce grown in subsistence farming in Peru, Laos and Zimbabwe , <http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/?id=GUID-DCA56D54DB4A4D7C94CF689018062C3D> [Accessed July 2012]; Mika Ueyama, “Women’s role in agriculture and its effect on child health in Sub-Saharan Africa through intrahousehold resource allocation” comparing women’s roles the subsistence farming societies in Malawi and South Africa; and Melissa Walker, *All We Know Was to Farm: Rural Women in the Upcountry South, 1919-1941*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000, examining the small-scale sales or bartering by women engaged in subsistence farming in the foothills and mountains of southwestern West Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and northwestern South Carolina.)

<sup>729</sup>van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 89-90, citing Rae Lesser Blumberg, “Poverty versus ‘purse power,’ in *Where did all the men go? Female headed/female supported households in a cross-cultural perspective*, San Francisco: 1993, 27-30. She did not cite any classical sources or archaeological evidence for her assertion, but rather pointed to the actions of women in modern subsistence societies. She did note that there was a “high proportion of silver on rural sites” and disagreed with the assessment of J.G. Arts (*Coins or Money? Exploring the monetization and functions of Roman coinage in Belgic Gaul and Lower Germany 50B.C. – A.D. 450*, 59-60) that this was invariably ritual in nature – arguing that Aarts “overlooks the primary function of silver in a migration-affected household: to provide a buffer in times of need” (p.89).

<sup>730</sup>van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 89.

<sup>731</sup>van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 87, 90.

Such an assertion cannot be proven (or disproven), but the fact remains that women make up 43% of the agricultural labor force in developing countries today,<sup>732</sup> and it is logical that they would have played a major role in farming in Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic and Celtiberian societies – notwithstanding the silence on this topic in classical sources and its “invisibility” in the archaeological record. The subsistence lifestyle of the Celtic and Germanic tribes would indicate that heavy manual labor was likely shared among the entire community, including women.

It makes sense that agricultural roles for women would have included dealing with livestock, and this can be seen in a curse tablet found in a well at Les Grands Jardins, Châteubleau, France. In this instance, a female cattle owner (Papissona, who lived sometime in the late second century AD) was being cursed in regards to a bulling contract with an unknown individual.<sup>733</sup> In addition to simply dealing with farm animals on a day-to-day basis as would be expected in an agrarian society, Papissona was clearly managing to negotiate a contract in order to breed cattle.

### ***Women as Slaves***

Britannia, Gaul, Roman Hispania, and Germania were all sources of slaves for the Roman Empire. Strabo noted that slaves were exported from Britain.<sup>734</sup> Thousands of Gauls were sold into slavery after Caesar’s conquest of that province.<sup>735</sup> Without doubt, slavery occurred – not only within the Roman Empire, but also within Germanic society.<sup>736</sup> It is unknown whether female slaves were common in Celtic and Germanic society.<sup>737</sup>

---

<sup>732</sup> Marna P. Anning, *Anchoring Food Security Amongst Rural Women Subsistence Farmers*. Supplemental Report to Human Rights Advocates’ Written Statement for the 56<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, December 2011, 1.

In William Bernstein’s work, *The Birth of Plenty*, the author noted that at the height of the Greek and Roman periods 99% of Europe’s population was engaged in subsistence agriculture. (William J. Bernstein, *The Birth of Plenty: How the Prosperity of the Modern World was Created* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004), 21.)

<sup>733</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 81-87

<sup>734</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.

<sup>735</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 3.16; 2:14; 1.11.

<sup>736</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 24.4; Tacitus noted that gambling can lead to voluntary slavery amongst Germans to pay off debts.

<sup>737</sup> Slavery within Germanic society was reported by the following authors. Tacitus, *Germania*, 25.3; Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 5.27.

Slavery was a crucial part of Roman society, both in the Republic and the early Roman Empire. Slaves were everywhere in the classical world. Some wealthy estates had vast quantities of slaves to perform tasks. Urban Prefect Pedanius Secundus had 400 slaves.<sup>738</sup> Some poorer families had few slaves, who probably would have performed a wide range of duties, perhaps alongside their masters. Titus Maccius Plautus' comedy, *The Merchant*, noted "we stand in need of no female servant but one who can weave, grind, chop wood, make yarn, sweep out the house, stand a beating, and who can have every day's victuals cooked for the household."<sup>739</sup> (*Nihil opust nobis ancilla nisi quae texat, quae molat, lignum caedat, pensum faciat, aedis verrat, vapulet, quae habeat cottidianum familiae coctum cibum*).<sup>740</sup> Plautus wrote from the latter half of the third century BC into the early second century BC. Though he was writing here for comic effect, he tells us a great deal about what female slaves might be expected to do.

Two slaves who are known, and who came from Britain and Gaul, are documented in archaeological artifacts. The first – from Britain – is known to us as Regina, wife of Barates. What is known of her survives on her funerary monument (*RIB* 1065) from South Shields, a Roman Fort (Arbeia) along Hadrian's Wall constructed around AD 160.<sup>741</sup> Her funerary monument, though both short in its inscription and damaged, tells us a fair bit about her life. The Latin inscription on the monument reads: *D[is] M[anibus] REGINA LIBERTA ET CONIVGE BARATES PALMYRENVS NATIONE CATVALLAVNA AN[norum] XXX .* " *To the spirits of the departed (and to) Regina, his freedwoman and wife, a Catuvellaunian by tribe, aged 30, Barates of Palmyra (set this up).* " Beneath this inscription was an additional one in Palmyrene which read, "Regina, freedwoman of Barate, alas."<sup>742</sup> Here was a native

---

<sup>738</sup> Croom, *Running the Roman Home*, 10.

<sup>739</sup> Titus Maccius Plautus and Henry T. Riley, "The Merchant," *The Comedies of Plautus* (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1912), Act II. Scene 3. 396-398.

<sup>740</sup> Plautus, *Mercator*, Act II. Scene 3. 396-398, [from The Latin Library]. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/plautus/mercator.shtml> [Accessed May 2014].

<sup>741</sup> CA, "AD 350 - Arbeia Roman fort at South Shields," *Current Archaeology*, May 24, 3007, <http://www.archaeology.co.uk/specials/the-timeline-of-britain/arbeia-roman-fort-at-south-shields.htm> [Accessed May 2012].

<sup>742</sup> *RIB* 1065; Anna R. Raia and Judith Lynn Sebesta, "Funerary Inscription for Regina *RIB* 1065," *The World of Class*, May 2010, Online Companion to *The Worlds of Roman Women*, The College of New Rochelle, <http://www2.cnr.edu/home/araia/regina.html> [Accessed June 2012].

Translation from the British Museum: "Tombstone/Copy." Collection Online. The British Museum. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1362203&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362203&partId=1) [Accessed March 2017].

woman of the Catuvellauni of southern Britain, living as a freedwoman along Hadrian's Wall. This surprisingly short inscription indicated that she may have been trilingual, speaking her own language, Latin, and possibly Palmyrene (the language of her husband).



**Figure 14. Tombstone of Regina, wife of Barates.**

Source: Image courtesy of VRoma's Project Image Archive, [http://www.vroma.org/images/raia\\_images/tomb\\_regina.jpg](http://www.vroma.org/images/raia_images/tomb_regina.jpg) [Accessed June 2012].

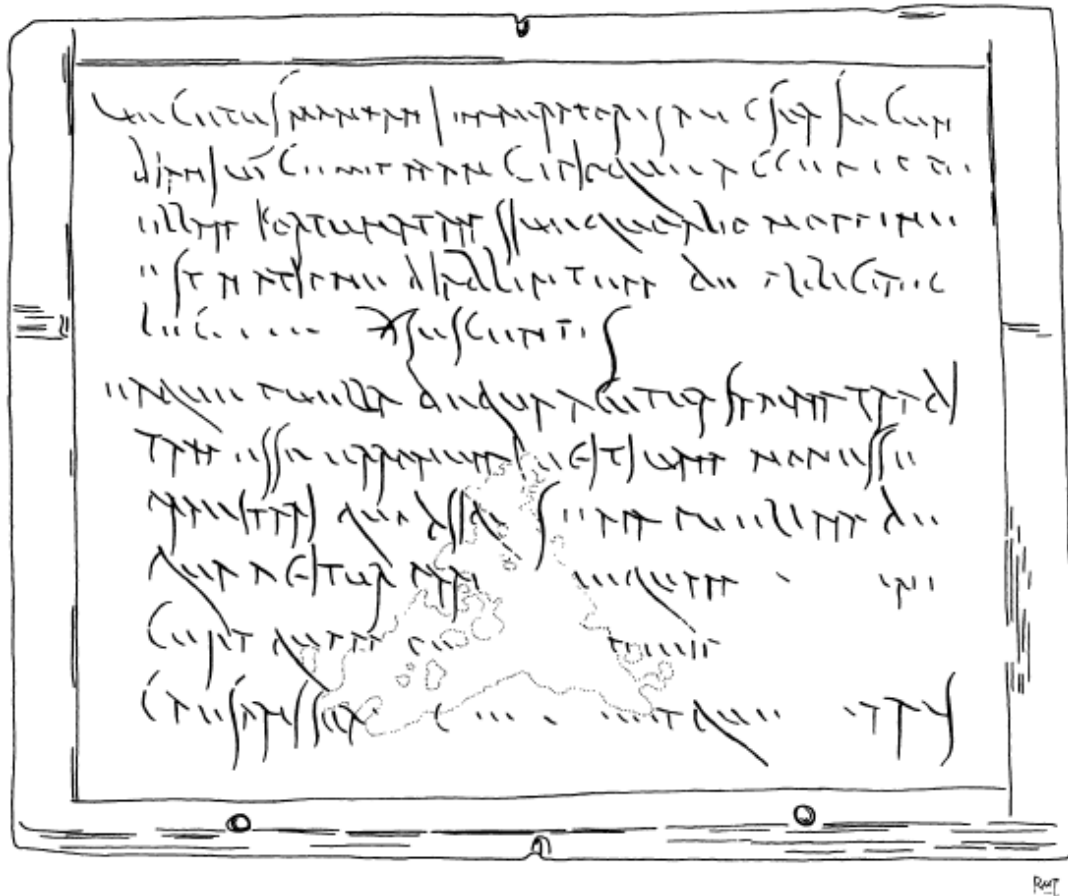
The second known female Gaulish slave is Fortunata; her information survived in the page of a tablet found in London in 1994.<sup>743</sup> This tablet dated to approximately AD 75-125,<sup>744</sup> and made up the first page of what would have been a triptych. This document represented a standard deed of sale of slave. The actual location and date of the sale would have been recorded on the (now-lost) second page. Fortunata was purchased by Vegetus for 600 denarii (not a small amount of money). Nothing else is known about her. However, this

---

<sup>743</sup> R.S.O. Tomlin. "The Girl in Question": A New Text from Roman London." *Britannia* 34 (2003): 41-51.

<sup>744</sup> This date is based on various things that occur throughout the text and the context of the find.; Tomlin, "The Girl in Question," *Britannia* 34 (2003): 46-49.

document is unique, as it is the first-ever Roman deed of sale of a slave found in Britain. How this deed ended up in Britain, and whether Fortunata also ended up in Britain are also unknown to us.



**Figure 15.** 'The Girl in Question': stilus writing-tablet from 1 Poultry, London (1:1). (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin).

Source: Tomlin, "The Girl in Question," *Britannia* 34 (2003): 43.

*Vegetus Montani imperatoris Aug(usti) ser(vi)  
Iucundiani vic(arius) emit mancipioque  
accepit puellam Fortunatam sive quo alio  
nomine  
est natione Diablintem de Albiciano LEG[...]  
(denariis) sescentis ea(m)que puella(m)que de  
qua agitur sanam traditam esse erronem  
fugitivam non esse praestari quod si qu[i]s  
eam puellam de qua agitur par[tem]ve quam  
[evicerit] cera quam pe[r geni]um  
[imperatoris] Caesaris scr[ipsit iura]vitque  
[...]*ARIS

Vegetus, assistant slave of Montanus the slave of the August Emperor and sometime assistant slave of Iucundus, has bought and received by *mancipium* the girl Fortunata, or by whatever name she is known, by nationality a Diablintian, from Albicianus [...] for six hundred denarii. And that the girl in question is transferred in good health, that she is warranted not to be liable to wander or run away, but that if anyone lays claim to the girl in question or to any share in her, [...] in the wax tablet which he has written and sworn by the

Little is known about the lives of individual female slaves, but some were educated and trained to perform specific skills. <sup>746</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

This chapter provided the first critical analysis of all available primary sources, epigraphical finds, and archeological evidence regarding the roles played by Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women in public life, industry, and trade – a discussion that is conspicuous by its absence in most academic studies, especially in English language works. Notwithstanding all of the archaeological sites and the known locations of markets throughout the Western Roman Empire, archaeological evidence will never reveal the full extent to which Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women were involved in trade and professional occupations, nor will it tell us whether a role in public life superseded a person’s status as a woman in Celtic and Germanic society. For that, historians must utilize historical sources and epigraphical finds to supplement the rare archaeological find that portray industry. On top of this, it must be remembered that in pre-industrial societies, non-agricultural-related occupations, regardless of gender, are extremely atypical. Even the famous dictator, Cincinnatus, was a farmer as well as a patrician. <sup>747</sup> From multiple sources, it is known that women in these cultures were engaged in a diverse group of professions, including, among others, the manufacture of textiles, mining, farming, running small businesses, domestic service, healing, agriculture, and animal husbandry. In at least parts of the Celtic world, women also had a legal status that was distinctly different from their Roman or Greek counterparts, and in Celtiberia and Germany, they even served as arbiters. Since classical writers tended to note what was novel, rather than what was normal from their own experience, it is unlikely they would have noted women working in industries that were commonly occupied by women in their own cultures. Since Roman women are known to have run businesses and acted as merchants or traders, there is a distinct possibility that if Celtic or Germanic women did the same things, it would not have been noted as sufficiently unusual to merit comment in classical sources. Furthermore, since such occupations were normal for Roman women, then classical authors likely would have made

---

<sup>745</sup> Tomlin, "The Girl in Question," *Britannia* 34 (2003): 45.

<sup>746</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 25.

<sup>747</sup> Livy, *Ab urbe condita*, 3.26-29.

note of the fact if Celtic and Germanic women did not engage in those pursuits. Baring the unexpected discovery of an ancient text that describes the role of women outside the home, it is unlikely that the full extent of the role of women in trade and industry in Celtic and Germanic societies will ever be proven. At best, it can be logically concluded that they likely engaged in the same occupations that were common for women in Roman and Greek societies (such as midwife, hairdresser, shop keeper, teacher, textile worker, etc.) and also in some that were uncommon for women in Roman society (from working in alluvial mining to serving as arbiters). What we know about the efforts of women throughout Celtic, Hispano Celtic, Celtiberian, and Germanic societies to contribute to their welfare and that of their families by engaging in trades is derived from a few scattered ancient writings (literary sources, epigraphy, papyrology, and iconography) and archaeology. Classical writers appeared to underappreciate these women and what they did, much less the economic position they occupied in their own societies. This is why so many examples of women in trades come from personal or familial epigraphy. While it is highly doubtful that women could ever completely escape their gender, it is clear from surviving funerary monuments and other epigraphy (more of which will be addressed in later chapters) that women who held occupations were frequently portrayed, both in images and in words, within their professions, such as a blacksmith, a wool merchant, a nursemaid, a butcher, or running a food shop.



## Chapter 6: Learned Women: Evidence for Educated Women in the Celtic and Germanic World

In previous chapters, the role of women as leaders and in positions of power has been examined. Women's lives in both private spaces, such as the home, and in public places, including those who engaged in trades, were also discussed. There is another aspect of women's lives that would have influenced their self-identity – the role of the learned woman. References to these women are found in funerary monuments and inscriptions, as well as in the accounts of Romans and Greeks. This was seen in the Celtiberian women who acted as arbiters, and it was referenced in inscriptions, such as the curse tablets from Uley and elsewhere, as well as the Larzac inscription. It was also present in the examination of the professions of women as seen in the references to female doctors in funerary monuments. It was seen in the repeated references to deaconesses in the Canons of the early Christian Church referenced in Appendix III. Hints of these women survived in a variety of sources, places, and times. Specific examples of learned women have been selected from across Britain, Germany, Gaul, and among the Celts in Iberia over several centuries to indicate that they did hold a place among all these societies.

Many of the women known from antiquity are faceless individuals – names recorded in books and on funerary monuments, but about whom little or nothing is known. A handful of women stood out from this group for various reasons, including religious positions and social status. Another group of notable women were those that appear to be learned individuals.<sup>748</sup> Just as was the case with the women seen in Chapter 3 who occupied unique positions of power in their society, so too was the case with learned individuals. In some cases, the two situations may have overlapped. It may be tempting to assume that these were educated women, but education – as the word is used today – is a loaded word. In contemporary usage, the word “education” is associated with a degree of formal or standardized learning.<sup>749</sup>

---

<sup>748</sup> Some new books have come out in the last few decades on educated women including: Emily Ann Hemelrijk, *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna* (London: Routledge, 1999); Laurie J. Churchill, *Women Writing Latin: Vol 1. Women Writing in Latin Roman Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Early Christian era* (New York: Routledge, 2002); Sharon L. James, *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion: Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); and Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>749</sup> “Education,” Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, 2012, <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/education> [Accessed March 2012] gives two primary meanings: *1a*: the action or process of educating or of being educated; *also* : a stage of such a process *b* : the knowledge and development resulting from an educational process; *2*: the field of study that deals mainly with methods of teaching and learning in schools.

The word “education” did not come into existence until the mid-fifteenth century, when it was originally associated with rearing children.<sup>750</sup> Just within the last three hundred years, what it meant to be an educated woman has changed drastically. The word “learned” dates to the fourteenth century and originally was defined as “having knowledge gained by study.”<sup>751</sup> However, there is a much older concept of a learned girl, from the Roman period, known as *docta puella*.<sup>752</sup> *Docta* meant to be “taught,” however it also meant to be “sexually initiated.”<sup>753</sup> Jane Stevenson, in her book *Women Latin Poets*, rightly noted that, “*docta puella* can [thus] be acknowledgement of learning and achievement, or a sly innuendo, depending on context; it is thus very difficult, perhaps impossible, entirely to remove a faintly ironic overtone (in the same way an old mistress can never be exactly the same thing as an old master).”<sup>754</sup> She also noted “The complexities of *docta* bedevil women's attempts to become educated from the Augustan period onwards....”<sup>755</sup> In her discussion of wordplay, we see how society was impacting the identity of women who wished to become learned. This social impact on women extends to those occupying the Celtic and Germanic world because it would have been a concept held by the Roman authors who wrote about them.

It is also important to note that education is not indicative of intelligence. This leaves the question: How can one determine if an individual was learned? Possessing the ability to read and write quickly springs to mind. The written word has association with power and memory. During the Roman period, writing was used to glorify conquerors, vilify political opponents, remember loved ones, honor deities, and curse enemies. The written word also had a much more mundane side and a place in everyday life in business advertisements, graffiti, coinage, mile markers, business transactions, accounting books, and personal correspondence. Even if people could not read and write, they would have been exposed to the written word, especially in large communities and cities. There have been many famous

---

<sup>750</sup> This is directly tied to the meaning of the Latin root. See: “Educate,” *Online Etymological Dictionary*, ed. Douglas Harper, 2012, [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=educate&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=educate&allowed_in_frame=0) [Accessed March 2012].

<sup>751</sup> “Learned,” *Online Etymological Dictionary*, ed. Douglas Harper, 2012, [http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=learned&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=learned&allowed_in_frame=0) [Accessed March 2012].

<sup>752</sup> Ovid, *Amores*, 2.4.17; Ovid, *Heroides*, “Cydippe Acontio,” XXI. 182; Catullus, *Carmen* 35.16-17; Propertius, *Elegies*, 1.7.11 & 2.13.7-14.

<sup>753</sup> For an extensive examination, see: James, *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion*.

<sup>754</sup> Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*, 24.

<sup>755</sup> Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*, 24.

figures throughout history that did not possess the ability to read (for example, the Holy Roman Emperor Charlemagne was illiterate, though he attempted to change this).<sup>756</sup> In modern, postindustrial societies, multilingualism is often seen as a sign of someone who is learned, but at the height of the Roman Empire an individual practicing a trade, especially in or between major cities, may have found that proficiency in more than one language was a necessity of life.<sup>757</sup>

There are phrases in the study of ancient literacy, such as “functional literacy” and “name literacy,” which have been used to describe the types of literacy people held.<sup>758</sup> “Functional literacy” is a tempting phrase to use, but in order to do so, one would have to constantly redefine what it meant by place, date, people, and need. Even if agreement could be reached on a satisfactory definition for functional literacy, the extent to which it existed among the Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian populations – and especially among the women in these societies – would be impossible to determine. Carol van Driel-Murray contended that it was far more extensive, and existed at a far lower level in society, than is generally acknowledged. As an example, she cited the wide distribution of metal seal boxes across rural areas in the Lower Rhine area, contending that they had contained letters home from Batavian and Cananefates men who had been recruited to serve in one of the auxiliary cohorts or ala of the Roman army. She further argued that literacy would not have been confined simply to soldiers (and retired veterans), but that the wives who had been left

---

<sup>756</sup> Charlemagne’s attempt to educate himself and the education of his sons and daughters is well documented by his biographer and contemporary Einhard. Charlemagne brought in individuals to teach him the liberal arts. He was noted to have spoken three languages and studied grammar, astronomy, rhetoric, and dialectics. He tried to learn to read and write, but it was noted by Einhard that he did not meet with much success. Charlemagne also had his sons and daughters educated in the liberal arts. Einhard noted (see 19. Private Life) that the daughters of Charlemagne also were, as with the custom of the Franks, taught to “familiarize themselves with cloth-making, and to handle distaff and spindle, that they might not grow indolent through idleness.” Einhard, *Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne*, trans. Samuel Epes Turner (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880), 19: Private Life (continued) [Charles and the Education of His Children] & 25: Studies, Medieval Sourcebook, Fordham University, 1996, <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/einhard.asp#THE%20LIFE%20OF%20THE%20EMPEROR%20CHARLES>, [Accessed March 2012].

Einhard’s *The Life of Charlemagne* or *Vita Karoli* was written sometime in the early ninth century (though the exact date is not known). His work survived in a number of ninth and tenth century manuscripts. (Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 29-30.)

<sup>757</sup> Lindsay Allason-Jones, *Daily Life in Roman Britain* (Oxford: Greenwood World Publishing, 2008), 20-23.

<sup>758</sup> Rosalind Thomas, “Writing, Reading, and Public and Private ‘Literacies’: Functional Literacy and Democratic Literacy in Greece,” in *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Ancient Greece and Rome*, eds. William A Johnson and Holt N. Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 16, 18-19, 42.

at home would have sought education in order to communicate with their husbands, manage any remittances they received, and conduct the business of running their household and farm.<sup>759</sup>

“Name literacy,” or the ability to recognize one’s own written name, makes far more sense as less memorization would have been required than needed for full functional literacy. Names have been found throughout Europe as marks of ownership on various personal items, such as pottery.<sup>760</sup> There is also evidence for Celtic female names as indicators of ownership, names like Senna<sup>761</sup> and Matugena.<sup>762</sup> It is also known that scribes, freedmen, and educated slaves were used throughout the Roman Empire by those who could afford them (though this does not necessarily mean that the individuals who did use them were not also literate themselves).<sup>763</sup>

It is hard to fathom how much written documentation has been lost since Antiquity. The Roman Empire (not including private individuals) produced millions of documents. For instance, it is estimated that, from the reign of Augustus to Diocletian, there were at least 225,000,000 military pay records produced to document the three payments each soldier

---

<sup>759</sup> Van Driel-Murray, “Those who wait at home,” 85-86, citing Ton Derks and Nico Roymans, “Seal-boxes and the spread of Latin literacy in the Rhine Delta,” *Becoming Roman, writing Latin? Literacy and epigraphy in the Roman West*. ed. Alison A. Cooley (*Journal of Roman Archaeology* Supplementary Series 48. (Portsmouth, RI: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2002), 87-134. The author made no mention of the fact that how seal-boxes were used is still unclear. In his article, “Roman Seal Boxes,” Colin J. Andrews wrote, “no ancient evidence has been found which tells us how these objects were used, the only clues lie in the objects themselves and their archaeological context, and none have as yet been found in secure association with a wooden writing tablet. ...one could easily be forgiven for believing that the question of what seal boxes were used for had been comprehensively answered, but this is far from the case.” <http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/pages/roman-seal-boxes.html> [ Accessed July 2012]

<sup>760</sup> Marilynne E. Raybould, "Table P2: Evidence of Celtic names as ownership graffiti on pottery fragments from Roman Britain," *A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain: An Inquiry into Some Aspects of Literacy in Romano-British Society* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999), 127.

<sup>761</sup> *RIB* II 2503.411; Raybould, “Table P2: Evidence of Celtic names as ownership graffiti on pottery fragments from Roman Britain,” *A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain*, 127; Senna, Celtic Personal Names of Roman Britain (CPNRB), Paul Russell and Alex Mullen, University of Cambridge, <http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/details.php?name=409> [Accessed July 2012].

<sup>762</sup> *RIB* II 2503.335; Raybould, “Table P2: Evidence of Celtic names as ownership graffiti on pottery fragments from Roman Britain,” *A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain*, 127; Matugena, Celtic Personal Names of Roman Britain (CPNRB), Paul Russell and Alex Mullen, University of Cambridge, <http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/details.php?name=325> [Accessed July 2012].

<sup>763</sup> The Emperor Claudius is a famous example of an educated individual who promoted freedmen to high positions close to the Emperor, including Polybius (literary advisor), Pallas (treasurer), and Narcissus (secretary); Suetonius, “The Deified Claudius,” *The Lives of the Caesars*, 28.

Also remember the Imperial slave mentioned in Chapter 5 who purchased a Gallic slave girl, and that this purchase survives in a triptych found in London. Tomlin, “The Girl in Question,” *Britannia* (2003): 41-51.

received a year in the Roman army; only ten of these are known to exist. The estimates for Britain alone are that more than 20,000,000 such pay records were created; none of them survive.<sup>764</sup> There would have also been land records, tax records, as well as more personal documents such as wills, personal letters, and documents of ownership (one of which was already seen in Chapter 5<sup>765</sup>).

What is known about whether Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women were learned in this period derives from a very small sampling of those women.

From Britain, historical records provide a few examples of learned women. Martial made three references in his epigrams to a woman named Claudia. He wrote that a Claudia *Peregrina* (“Claudia the Foreigner”) was about to be married to his friend, Pudens,<sup>766</sup> and later mentioned a Claudia *Rufina*, referring to her as “*Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis edita ...*” (“Though Claudia Rufina has sprung from the woad-stained Britons ...”).<sup>767</sup> The third reference in an epigram was to Claudia’s height, but it was not associated with the name Rufus or Pudens.<sup>768</sup> Whether each epigram referred to the same woman is uncertain. Below is the longest reference to Claudia in one of Martial’s Epigrams, and it is tempting to think she may have been trilingual, since Martial indicates that she could have passed for a Roman and a Greek:

*Claudia caeruleis cum sit Rufina  
Britannis edita, quam Latiae pectora  
gentis habet! Quale decus formae!  
Romanam credere matres Italides possunt,  
Athides esse suam. Di bene quod sancto  
peperit fecunda marito, quod sperat  
generos quodque puella nurus. Sic placeat  
superis, ut conjuge gaudeat uno et semper  
natis gaudeat illa tribus.*<sup>769</sup>

Although born among the woad-stained Britons, how fully has Claudia Rufina the intelligence of the Roman people! What beauty is hers! The matrons of Italy might take her for a Roman; those of Attica for an Athenian. The gods have kindly ordered that she proves fruitful to her revered husband, and that, while yet young, she may hope for sons-in-law and

---

<sup>764</sup> R. S. O. Tomlin, “Writing and Communication,” in *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 142-143.

<sup>765</sup> R. S. O. Tomlin, “Writing and Communication,” 150-151.

<sup>766</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 4.13.

<sup>767</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, Walter C. A. Ker, trans., vol. 1 (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1930), 11.53. Others have translated *caeruleis* as “blue-eyed” (1890 trans. Henry George Bohn).

<sup>768</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 8.30.

<sup>769</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 11.53; John Williams (*Claudia and Pudens: An Attempt to Show that Claudia, Mentioned in St. Paul’s Second Epistle to Timothy, was a British Princess* (London: William Rees, 1848), 35-38), believed the name Claudia Rufina indicated she had been adopted or quasi-adopted into a *gens* with the cognomen Rufus.

daughters-in-law! May heaven grant her ever to rejoice in one single husband, and to exult in being the mother of three children.<sup>770</sup>

Though this is the extent of any mention of Claudia in classical Roman sources, in several later secondary sources, she was recorded as an author. However, starting in the sixteenth century,<sup>771</sup> at least three individuals (the French jurist André Tiraqueau, the Swiss scholar Conrad Gesner, and the English Bishop John Bale) commented on various ancient texts that mentioned her status as an author. Tiraqueau's 1513 work, *De Legibus Connubialibus*, described Claudia as having written *Epigrammata* and *Elegiam in Mariti Obitum*.<sup>772</sup> In the 1540s, Gesner wrote the first catalogue of first century authors, sorted by Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, known as *Bibliotheca Universalis*.<sup>773</sup> In this work, he referred to Claudia Rufina as multilingual and an author of two works, *Epigrammata* and *Elegiam in Mariti Obitum*. Bale referred to Claudia Rufina in his 1557 work, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae Quam Nunc Angliam & Scotiam Vocant Cataolus*, stating without qualification that she married Aulus, "who one may clearly see was Rufus" and whose cognomen was Pudētem, an *equite* who had served as a senator under Claudius. In addition to recounting that she was mentioned in the works of Martial, Bale commented on Claudia's command of Latin and Greek, and indicated that three of her works survived to his time, namely: *Epigrammata*, *Elegiam in Mariti Obitum*, and *Diverse Generis Carmina*.<sup>774</sup>

It may never be known why she was believed to have been an author. Perhaps she was an author, and the two or three books she wrote still existed up into the Middle Ages or Renaissance. If that was the case, none of them have survived into modern times. If she did write these books, she would be the earliest known British female author.

---

<sup>770</sup> Martial, *Epigrammata*, 11.53.

<sup>771</sup> Perhaps earlier, but no earlier references have been found.

<sup>772</sup> André Tiraqueau, Nikolaus Episcopius, and Hieronymus Froben, *Andreae Tiraquelli regii in curia Parisiensi senatoris Ex commentariis in Pictonum consuetudines sectio de legibus connubialibus et jure maritali* (Basileae: apud Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1561), 296.

<sup>773</sup> Conrad Gessner, Konrad Lykosthenes, and Josias Simmler, *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri: conscripta primum à Conrado Lycosthene Rubeaquensi: nunc denuo recognita & plus quàm bis mille authorum accessione (qui omnes asterisco signati sunt) locupletata: per Iosiam Simlervm Tigvrinvm. Habes hic ... catalogum locupletissimum omnium ferè scriptorum, à mundi initio ad hunc usq[ue] diem, extantium & non extantium, publicatorum & passim in bibliothecis latitantium* (Tigvri: Apvd Christophorvm Froschovervm, mense martio, 1555), 34.

<sup>774</sup> John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae Quam Nunc Angliam & Scotiam Vocant Cataolus*, 2 vols. in 1 (Basel, 1557), 20-21.

Another example of a potentially trilingual woman was the previously-mentioned Regina, whose tombstone was found in Arbeia on Hadrian's Wall. She was described as being of the Catuvellauni, a tribe in southern Britain. However, her funerary monument, erected by her husband, was inscribed in both Latin and Palmyrene (a dialect of Aramaic spoken in central Syria). It is possible that she spoke all these languages to some degree.<sup>775</sup>

How well did languages survive after the Roman conquest of large areas, such as Gaul or Iberia? Based on a small amount of rather ambiguous accounts, even though Latin became the dominant script for writing in Gaul, there is evidence that the pre-Roman languages continued and survived in spoken form into the fourth or fifth centuries AD.<sup>776</sup> In Spain, at least as late as the first century AD, we know from Martial that books in "Spanish" existed or could be created.<sup>777</sup>

### ***The Vindolanda Tablets***

One of the earliest examples of a woman writing in Latin survives in the Vindolanda Tablets.<sup>778</sup> The Roman fort of *Vindolanda*, near Hadrian's Wall, is known for its remarkable preservation of a wide variety of materials and numerous texts. Two letters, *Tab. Vindol. II* 291 and 292, were the correspondence of Claudia Severa to Sulpicia Lepidina. These letters were penned sometime between AD 94 and 107, during the time that Vindolanda was home to the *Cohors VIII Batavorum* (also known as Period 3). The prefect of this cohort (and husband of Sulpicia Lepidina) was Flavius Cerialis (a large portion of his correspondence survives). In these two letters from his wife, which in large measure appeared to have been written by a scribe, a second hand was used to write a personal farewell. These closing remarks are thought by scholars to be written in the hand of Claudia Severa herself.<sup>779</sup> (*Tab.*

---

<sup>775</sup> Allason-Jones, "Women in Roman Britain," *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, 471; J.N. Adams, "Two Notes on RIB," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 123 (1998), Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn, 235–236 <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/zpe/downloads/1998/123pdf/123235.pdf> [Accessed 2012].

<sup>776</sup> Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 93.

<sup>777</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 12.Preface

<sup>778</sup> Brian Dobson and Valerie A. Maxfield, *Inscriptions of Roman Britain* (London: London Association of Classical Teachers, 1995), 144.

<sup>779</sup> In both letters, the farewells were intimate. *Tab. Vindol. II* 291, "I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail." *Tab. Vindol. II* 292, "Farewell my sister, my dearest and most longed-for soul."

Alan K. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and Its People* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 127-128.

*Vindol.* II 293 and *Tab. Vindol.* III 635 are also letters from Claudia Severa to Sulpicia Lepidina, but only fragments of them survive.) *Tab. Vindol.* II 291 is unique because it was a (largely intact) invitation to a birthday party. *Tab. Vindol.* III 622 was another invitation to Flavius Cerialis and his wife, Sulpicia Lepidina, from Aelius Brocchus, the husband of Claudia Severa. The existence of three additional letters between the two women implied a somewhat regular correspondence. One additional letter, sent to Sulpicia Lepidina by an unknown woman (not Claudia Severa), is known.<sup>780</sup>



**Figure 16. Writing-tablet with a letter inviting Sulpicia Lepidina, the commander's wife, to a birthday party. Note the postscript written by a different hand than the main text.**

*Source:* Wooden writing-tablet from Vindolanda, P&EE 1986 10-1 64, AN33854001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

In addition to the letters they wrote and received, both women were mentioned in the correspondence of other individuals. Six letters mentioned Sulpicia Lepidina, and two letters mentioned Claudia Severa.<sup>781</sup> Claudia Severa and her husband, Aelius Brocchus, were not stationed at *Vindolanda*, so only a few pieces of her outgoing correspondence exist, though more of her husband's outgoing correspondence survived. Based on the letters she sent and those sent by her husband, she may have lived at either *Briga* (precise location unknown) or

---

*Tab. Vindol.* II 293 was written in the same hand as *Tab. Vindol.* II 291 and 292 and maybe from Claudia Severa to Sulpicia Lepidina. "*Tab. Vindol.* II 293," *Vindolanda Tablets Online*, © Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, The British Museum <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-293> [Accessed May 2012].

<sup>780</sup> This is based on specific fragments of *Tab. Vindol.* II 294.

<sup>781</sup> Respectively *Tab. Vindol.* II 247, 257, 274 & *Tab. Vindol.* III 622, 627, 629. *Tab. Vindol.* III 622, 626. Possibly *Tab. Vindol.* II 288.



*Coria* (possibly modern Corbridge to the east of *Vindolanda*), but there is no certainty about either location.<sup>782</sup>

Even with all of this information, there is no definitive way to identify from where these two learned women came. The *gentilica* that are seen, Flavius, Claudia, and Sulpicia, suggested that they were Romanized families.<sup>783</sup> However, it is not clear how many generations had passed between the granting of citizenship and the time of these women, since their ages are unknown. Other women were attested to in letters from soldiers in the Vindolanda Tablets. Their names may speak to their origins: Velbutena<sup>784</sup> (a Celtic name) and Thuttena (a Germanic name).<sup>785</sup>

### ***Curse Tablets***

Curse tablets and, in particular Celtic curse tablets, have been found throughout Western Europe. While relatively few pertain to women, and even fewer to women of the cultures we are examining, the relevant ones which did survive are another indication that some Celtic women apparently were literate. Bernard Mees wrote an entire book on Celtic curses, covering the period from the ancient world to the middle ages. He identified finds of Celtic curse tablets in Britain (Bath) and Gaul (Rom, Chamalières, Lezoux, Le Mans-Marcou, L'Hospitalet, and Eyguieres), and related finds at other sites throughout Britain (Leicester, Lydney, Uley, and Hamble), Gaul (Baudectet, Maar, Paris, Chartres, Le Mans, Deneuvre,

---

<sup>782</sup> The association comes with a letter from Claudia herself, in which she mentioned Briga, *Tab. Vindol.* II 292. The fragmentary nature of *Tab. Vindol.* II 292, has led to the speculation that one of the damaged words might have been the name *Coria*, a fort, and therefore possibly the place that Brocchus and Severa might have been stationed.

Alan K. Bowman and J. David Thomas, *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses III)* (London: British Museum Press, 2003), Appendix 292.4 .

<sup>783</sup> Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier*, 56-57.

Some more recently receiving citizenship than others. The names of the individuals suggest that for Cerialis, citizenship was granted to his family under reign of Emperor Titus Flavius Vespasian (AD 69-79), and under the reign of Emperor Servius Sulpicius Galba (AD 68-69) Sulpicia Lepidina's family may have been granted citizenship, and Claudia Severa's family may have received citizenship under Emperor Claudius (AD 41-54).

<sup>784</sup> Originally attested as Velbuteius by Bowman, now thought to be Velbutena.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 310; Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier*, 132-133; David Benjamin Cuff, "The *auxilia* in Roman Britain and the Two Germanies from Augustus to Caracalla: Family, Religion, and 'Romanization'," (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010), 171-172, [http://www.legioxxirapax.com/zasoby/Cuff\\_David\\_B\\_201006\\_PhD\\_thesis.pdf](http://www.legioxxirapax.com/zasoby/Cuff_David_B_201006_PhD_thesis.pdf) [Accessed July 2010].

<sup>785</sup> *Tab. Vindol.* II 310; Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier*, 132-133; Cuff, "The *auxilia* in Roman Britain and the Two Germanies from Augustus to Caracalla: Family, Religion, and 'Romanization'," 171-172, [http://www.legioxxirapax.com/zasoby/Cuff\\_David\\_B\\_201006\\_PhD\\_thesis.pdf](http://www.legioxxirapax.com/zasoby/Cuff_David_B_201006_PhD_thesis.pdf) [Accessed July 2010].

Alise-Ste-Reine, Seraucourt, Poitiers, Chagnon, Le Martres-des-Veyres, Dax, La Granede, Amelie-les-Baines, Montfo, and Hyeres), Germany (Mainz, Bad Kreuznach, Mautern), and Iberia (Merida and Italica).

The curse tablets from Uley were previously discussed in Chapter 1. Examples from Bath included inscriptions in Latin, as well as transliterated Celtic<sup>786</sup> and pseudo-inscriptions.<sup>787</sup> While many of the texts were formulaic in nature, one can learn about the lives of the individuals who commissioned them. For instance, the information found on these tablets has expanded our knowledge of Celtic names.<sup>788</sup> They also provided a degree of information about family structure. Curse Tablet 601 from Bath indicated that Veloriga was the head of her family (“*Velorigam et family[am]*”).<sup>789</sup> Both men and women offered up tablets. At Bath, women such as Enica,<sup>790</sup> Arminia,<sup>791</sup> and Lovernisca<sup>792</sup> were supplicants. In addition to the sites listed by Mees, curse tablets have been documented at sites such as Brean Down, Pagans Hill, Caerleon, Chesterton, and Leintwardine, though not all of the finds from these sites have been processed, and future research may reveal the names and roles of more women.<sup>793</sup>

---

<sup>786</sup> Inv. no. RBS 80 CS 3; R.S.O. Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath: Vol 2 The Finds from the Sacred Spring*, ed. Barry Cunliffe (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), 128-129.

<sup>787</sup> Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 247.

<sup>788</sup> Inv. no. 20,011; Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 133; Inv. no. 622; Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 232-234.

<sup>789</sup> Inv. no. 601; Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 180-181.

<sup>790</sup> Enica is a Celtic name attested in Cisalpine Gaul, see *CIL* V. 7641; Inv. no. 596; Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 190.

<sup>791</sup> Arminia is the feminine form of a well attested Latin *nomen*; Inv. no. 20,004; Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 182-184.

<sup>792</sup> Lovernisca seems to be a Celtic name; Inv. no. 644; Tomlin, “The Curse tablets,” *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 192.

<sup>793</sup> See, for example, Mees, *Celtic Curses*.



**Figure 17. Partial image of curse tablet - Transliterated Celtic.**

Source: Celtic Curse - BATRM1983.13.b.118, "Beyond the Baths," The Roman Baths - Bath, 2011 [http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-6Y7clkJCLCg/TeX06VO2znI/AAAAAAAAAN0/SOT\\_xun4d-Y/s320/Helen+007+-+6+Celtic+curse+BATRM+1983.13.b.118.jpg](http://4.bp.blogspot.com/-6Y7clkJCLCg/TeX06VO2znI/AAAAAAAAAN0/SOT_xun4d-Y/s320/Helen+007+-+6+Celtic+curse+BATRM+1983.13.b.118.jpg) [Accessed May 2012].

Two Austrian curse tablets have been discovered bearing the names of women. A fragmentary curse tablet from Bregenz cursed a woman whose name was only indicated by the letters AMC. In it, this unknown woman was cursed never to marry and handed over to infernal powers, perhaps by another woman or rival. This text was written in Latin and dates to the first century AD, but it invoked a little-known Celtic deity, Ogmios (along with more well know deities such as Dis Pater and Eracura).<sup>794</sup> The second tablet was from Wilten, dating to approximately the late first century AD. It was written in Latin and was commissioned by a woman named Secundina because of the theft of two necklaces. In it, a Celtic deity named Moltinus was invoked. However, given its location, the woman's Latin name, and the fact that it was written in Latin, it may be that she was neither a Celt or German, but perhaps a non-native transplant to the region.<sup>795</sup>

There is a surviving amatory charm that was found at Le Mas-Marcou in France which dates approximately to the first century AD. In it we see Celtic deities invoked (Bregissa and

---

<sup>794</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 88-91.

<sup>795</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 23.

Branderix) in a mixture of Latin and Celtic words as an attempt by an unknown individual to ward off an unwanted rival suitor from a woman named Termina.<sup>796</sup> Could Termina have been Gaulish? The text is fragmentary, so we may never know.

Interestingly, there are a fair number of pseudo-inscriptions. With extraordinary clarity, R. S. O. Tomlin summed up these tablets and what they might mean.

The next five texts all seem to have been intended to *look* like inscribed tablets: they contain repeated or implausible letter-forms which are best interpreted as an illiterate person's attempt at a *defixio*. The author will have seen others inscribing tablets and throwing them into the sacred spring; for him the mysterious act of writing would have been part of the magic....By 'writing' his own tablet, an illiterate author may have wished to save the expense of a scribe, or to keep his petition secret. On the other hand the great variety of hands among the tablets... casts doubt on the idea that there 'must' have been professional scribes available; perhaps Sulis required her petitioners to write their own letters, using more or less standard formulae; and if one could not write, one did one's best with a stilus. After all, the goddess would be able to read it.<sup>797</sup>

### ***Women as Teachers***

Throughout this and preceding chapters, evidence has been presented that women and girls could be educated in the Roman period. There is some evidence that women were also acting as teachers or tutors. Though there is no evidence for Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic or Celtiberian female tutors in classical sources, there is evidence for a female teachers in later periods,<sup>798</sup> and other regions, such as Roman Egypt, where the mummified remains of Hermoine identified her as the *Grammatike* (the teacher of Greek grammar).<sup>799</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

Throughout the last five chapters, there has been evidence of learned women. The focus has not been on them, but it has been an ever-present thread running through the evidence of Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women. This chapter presented a critical analysis of the available evidence of learned women in these societies: inscriptions and funerary monuments, as well as the first-hand accounts of

---

<sup>796</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 106-108.

<sup>797</sup> Tomlin, "The Curse tablets," *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 247.

<sup>798</sup> St. Jerome Letter 133 To Ctesiphon, in A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church, (see fn. 3821), found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.CXXXIII.html> [Accessed January 2010]

<sup>799</sup> Her remains and mummy portrait inscribed in Greek date to the mid first century AD. D'Ambra, *Roman Women*, 135-136.

Romans, Greeks, Romanized Gauls, and Celts in Iberia. It also critically analyzed the references to women throughout the western half of the Roman Empire who pursued ways of learning. Women have been depicted as utilizing educated individuals such as scribes and using their own hands to pen letters (and potentially curse tablets). More of this evidence will be presented and analyzed in the next chapter, which examines votive offerings and funerary monuments.

As has been shown from the sources cited above, learned women existed among the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, Celtiberians, Romans, and Greeks. How common they were cannot be determined, though it is probable that they were more often found among well-born women (who would have had both the time and money to devote to learning) than among the population at large. Most of the evidence about these women is connected to their ability to write or utilize the written word, and most of the surviving references are to queens, noble women, the foreign wives of Romans (Claudia Rufina and Regina), or wives of officers in auxiliary units (Claudia Severa and Sulpicia Lepidina). The status of women who acknowledged the value of written language, whether by educating themselves or using the services of others who were literate, cannot be determined. However, in their use of language, whether to engage friends socially or communicate with the divine, we learn more about their daily lives. While, societally speaking, women comprised approximately half the population, surviving evidence does not support the idea that half the population of literate individuals was female. If the female population of literate individuals was significantly limited, the body of information whereby women can tell us about themselves and about their identity (such as curse tablets, epigraphy, or letters to friends) becomes drastically narrowed. In addition, because the overwhelming majority of surviving written materials comes from men (and most of that from Roman or Greek men), then that information could be deemed biased in favor of their culture, gender, and position in society.

## Chapter 7: Women, Religion, and Funerary Monuments

Many aspects of the religions of antiquity have been lost. There are shrines to deities of whom nothing is known. There are fragments of classical sources that described rituals, sacred objects, and ceremonial dress. In large measure, some of the greatest resources on Celtic religion are physical monuments, shrines, temple sites, votive offerings, and funeral monuments – physical aspects of religion and death. They provide us with first-hand information about individuals who frequently never made it into the few ancient written accounts that survived. Monuments not only can provide glimpses into whether an individual was a Christian or a pagan, but also speak to us about wealth, education, clothing, status, social movement, and the growth of communities – many of which are aspects of individual identity. While women had little direct voice in classical accounts, many were recorded in the votives and funerary monuments discovered throughout Northwest Europe. This gives us a very intimate look into public side of their personal identity. Ironic as that may seem, we are able to view what women wanted to have the world see of themselves in societies where much of what we know about women comes to us through the men to whom they were connected. This is particularly important because it supplements the fragmentary nature and limited scope of surviving accounts from classical authors that made mention of women.

### *Votives and Shrines: Priestesses, Patronesses, and Supplicants*

One of the greatest archaeological sources of information about women in religion can be found in religious epigraphy. This has already been addressed to a degree in the examination of curse tablets in Chapter 6, where an individual asked that a god or goddess grant their petition. When a supplicant to a god or goddess received a favorable outcome to their plea or petition, they frequently set up an altar or dedicated something which they had promised to that deity. Hundreds of altars of various sizes have been found throughout Western Europe.

In Cologne, there is a second century AD altar dedicated by Dossonia Patera to the Boudunneihae (Germanic goddesses).<sup>800</sup> Julia Belismicus, a woman with a seemingly Celtic name, set up an altar with her husband, Cornelius Castus, at Caerleon, to the Roman gods Fortuna and Bonus Eventus.<sup>801</sup>

---

<sup>800</sup> Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 198.

<sup>801</sup> *RIB* 318; Watts, *Boudicca's Heirs*, 40.

Votive offerings and shrines depicted gods and goddesses, regardless of whether they were set up by a man or a woman. These monuments at times portrayed goddesses or female attendants. Such monuments illustrated regional dress and traditions. For instance, the cult of the Matres or Mothers was found in Gaul, Germania, Britain, and Hispania.<sup>802</sup> The surviving reliefs illustrate distinctive dress for the female figures depicted in votive offerings. In Germany, the distinctive clothing of the Mothers is an example of how votive offerings to Germanic mother goddesses were unique in style and form compared to those of the Mothers from Gaul and Britain.<sup>803</sup> (See Figures 18, 19, and 20)



**Figure 18. Close-up of the Altar to the Matronae Aufaniae, dedicated by a Quaestor of Köln: Bonn, Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn.**

Source: Photograph courtesy of Joanna Mitchell © 2009.

---

<sup>802</sup> Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 194-198.

Notwithstanding numerous references to Celtiberian Mother dedications, no figural reliefs to compare with other reliefs from Gaul, Germania, and Britain have been found. For instance, see *CIL* II. 2776, from Duratón, Segovia (in north-central Spain) an inscription was dedicated to *Matribus termegiste v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*, 'To the Three Almighty Mothers (the dedicator) paid his vow willingly and deservedly.'

(Noéme Beck, "Goddesses in Celtic Religion Cult and mythology: A Comparative Study of Ancient Ireland, Britain and Gaul," Chapter V, "Triplism: a mark of Celtic tradition?" PhD Thesis, University of Lyon and University College of Dublin 2009, [http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/getpart.php?id=lyon2.2009.beck\\_n&part=159105](http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/getpart.php?id=lyon2.2009.beck_n&part=159105) [Accessed July 2012].)

<sup>803</sup> Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 189-205.



**Figure 19. Three mother goddesses from Vertault, Musée de Châtillon-sur-Seine.**

*Source:* Noémie Beck, “Goddesses in Celtic Religion Cult and mythology: A Comparative Study of Ancient Ireland, Britain and Gaul,” Chapter IV, Part B, “The Nursing Mothers or Nutrices,” PhD Thesis, University of Lyon and University College of Dublin 2009, [http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/getpart.php?id=lyon2.2009.beck\\_n&part=159104](http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/getpart.php?id=lyon2.2009.beck_n&part=159104) [Accessed July 2012]).



**Figure 20. Matres relief from Cirencester, UK, Corinium Museum.**

*Source:* Photographed by FlickrDelusions, Howard Stanbury © 2009.



In addition to the role of supplicant, women also acted as patronesses in religion. This was separate from the role that women could play in the patron/client system that existed in Roman world. In fact, there are no surviving dedications from Celtic Christian women who may have acted as patronesses of the early Church throughout the geographic area covered in this study. However, the role of patroness, specifically in terms of supporting religion, existed long before the third century AD in Western Europe.<sup>804</sup> An unusual dedication was an entire temple to the goddess Solimava by a Gaulish woman named Firmana, the daughter of Obricius.<sup>805</sup> One can only imagine what she was so thankful to that goddess for, but from the size of her gift, she must have been very wealthy. This tradition of patroness may automatically be the right or role of women in positions of power. Luperia, the first century Celtiberian queen, also reportedly converted to Christianity and therefore may have been a patroness of the early Church.

### ***Funerary Monuments and Rituals***

The Roman Empire produced many kinds of funerary monuments, from Palmyra in the east to Scotland at the far distant northern edges of the Empire. These take the form of tombstones, funerary stelai, sarcophagi, and cinerary urns. At times, they bear depictions of people and objects, as well as inscriptions and their placement, all of which provides information about the communities. Monuments pertaining to Celtic and Germanic women can be found in many places throughout western Europe. Ruth and Vincent Megaw went so far as to suggest that Romanized funerary monuments, through artistic depictions of people and objects as well as inscriptions, show evidence of the survival of aspects of Celtic society in Romanized areas.<sup>806</sup>

One of the unusual factors in examining funerary monuments is that they went in and out of fashion in the ancient world. In Gaul, the first funerary monuments to be erected by the Gauls, inscribed in Latin, appeared around 20 BC, more than a generation after Caesar's conquest.<sup>807</sup> The use of monuments and the languages of the inscriptions varied, due to access to carvers and material, varying local traditions, cost of manufacture, religious preference and burial habits, and popularity of types of monuments. Though there were

---

<sup>804</sup> Ross Shepard Kraemer *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 106, 119-121, 174-175.

<sup>805</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 145.

<sup>806</sup> Megaw, *Celtic Art*, 270.

<sup>807</sup> Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 94.

regional variances, the overall peak in the production of funeral stelai throughout the Roman world occurred in the later second century.<sup>808</sup> Greg Woolf noted that in Gaul in particular, epigraphy started during the reign of Augustus, peaked in the second century and fell into a rapid decline in the early third century.<sup>809</sup> This does not mean that later monuments did not survive, but that the surviving quantity diminished. There was however, at the same time, an increase in the production of inscribed votive offerings to deities.<sup>810</sup>



**Figure 21. Family Tombstone from Nickenich AD 60/70, Rhineisches Landsmuseum, Bonn.**

*Source:* Photograph courtesy of Joanna Mitchell © 2009.

As an example of the amount of information a family tombstone can provide to historians, the following is a translation of the caption attached to the image of the family tombstone from Nickenich, shown in Figure 21 above.

This tomb probably once stood before a round grave monument, which carried the Celtic-Roman names of two of the four deceased: Contuinda - the mother -

---

<sup>808</sup> Hope, "Words and Pictures," 248-249.

<sup>809</sup> Woolf, *Becoming Roman*, 96.

<sup>810</sup> Hope, "Words and Pictures," p249.

and Silvanus Ategnissa - their son. The deceased were [R]omanized Celts. Mother and son occupy the central niche. The necklace, finger rings and bracelets of the woman witness to the wealth of the family. The scroll refers to [the] education of boys. The deceased on the left wears a material-rich toga, the garb of a Roman citizen; [the one] on the right is [in] a coat. The left narrow side shows a man with two prisoners - perhaps the family owes its wealth to the slave trade.<sup>811</sup>

Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic, and Germanic tombstones can inform scholars of physical aspects, such as women's clothing, jewelry, wealth, status, and activities. Multiple examples of such depictions will be shown and described in the pages below. One of the most important aspects of a funerary monument is that it provides archaeologists, historians, and the general public the opportunity to learn more about individuals throughout Europe. Names can be catalogued and examined. Understanding how different societies depicted themselves and the afterlife are important clues in understanding cultures. Such monuments also provide information for the study of linguistics and provide an intimate connection to the past. These monuments represented people, their lives and families, history and status, how they treated death, and their desire to be remembered.<sup>812</sup>

The funeral stele of Blussus and Menimane depicted a couple with Celtic names and wearing native dress. Menimane (who may have been Gallic, though her ethnic origins cannot be proven) survived her husband's death and subsequently commissioned this monument. She depicted herself finely dressed and holding a ball of wool, a spindle and a distaff. Behind the couple appeared their young son, Primus.<sup>813</sup> The fact that she could afford such a funerary stele indicated she was a woman of substance. She apparently commissioned it, though it was erected by her son after her death). The inscription reads,

Front: BLVSSVS ATVS[IRI  
F(I)LIVS), NAVTA] | AN(NORVM)  
LXXV H(IC) S(ITVS) E(ST)  
ME[NIMANE BRIGIO] | NIS  
F(ILIA) AN(NORVM) (VACAT)  
VXSO[R VIVA SIBI FECITI] |  
SATTO VERN[AN --- H(IC)

Blussus, the son of Atusirus, a sailor, aged seventy-five years, is buried here. Menimane, his wife, the daughter of Brigio, aged [blank], surviving him, erected this monument for themselves. Primus, their son, in

---

<sup>811</sup> Passage translated by the author from the plaque, which was photographed courtesy of Joanna Mitchell © 2009.

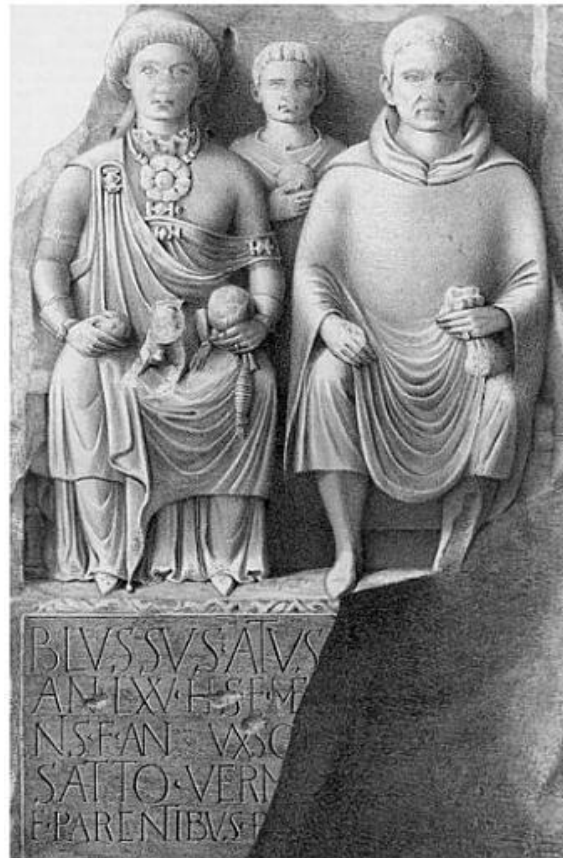
<sup>812</sup> For example, the eleven volumes of Émile Espérandieu's *Recueil Général des Bas-Reliefs*, published between 1907-1938, included more than 8,300 depictions and descriptions of bas-reliefs from Roman Gaul.

<sup>813</sup> *CIL XIII. 7067*; Maureen Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*, Oxford studies in ancient documents (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 119, 122, 254.

S(ITVS) E(ST) PRIMVS] | F(ILIVS)  
PARENTIBVS P[RO PIETATE POS(V)IT]

filial piety placed the stone.<sup>814</sup>

In this instance, a woman chose how she would be remembered (the fact that her age at the time of her death was missing indicated that the stele was probably carved while she was still alive). If that was the case, she selected how she would be depicted, including her clothing, jewelry, and several objects that would show domestic life.



**Figure 22. Funerary Stele of Blussus and Menimane, first century AD, Mainz, Germany.**

Source: Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 122, Fig. 44.

Other funerary monuments have been found depicting women with spindles, distaffs, and spindle whorls – among them the stele of Segillus and Abua Tapponis (Figure 24) and the stele of Flavia Usaiu (Figure 29),<sup>815</sup> found in Germany and Hungary, respectively. As in

---

<sup>814</sup> Charles Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua: etchings and notices of ancient remains, ill. of the habits, customs, and history of past ages*, vol. 2 (London: Smith, 1852), 124. (Latin text can be completed because it was repeated on the reverse.)

<sup>815</sup> *Porträtstele des Segillus*, Römische Steindenkmäler, Ubi Erat Lupa, [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy\\_abfrage.shtml](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy_abfrage.shtml) [Accessed November 2010]; *Porträtstele der Flavia Usaiu*, Römische Steindenkmäler, Ubi Erat Lupa, [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy\\_abfrage.shtml](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy_abfrage.shtml) [Accessed November 2010].

Greece and the Roman Republic and Empire, spinning and wool working apparently were traditional activities for the women of the house in both Germany and parts of Gaul.

Regina's funerary monument, set up by Barates as seen in Chapter 5, depicted Regina with a spindle and distaff.<sup>816</sup> A Gallo-Roman stele from Autun was discovered depicting a woman holding a spindle and distaff and a beaker in 2004. It was one of 200 stelae at that site. This cemetery was in use from the first century BC to the third century AD.<sup>817</sup>



**Figure 23. Female figure from the cemetery at Autun. The right hand holds a beaker, the left hand a distaff and its spindle.**

Source: Image © L. de Cargouët, Inrap, [http://www.inrap.fr/userdata/c\\_bloc\\_album/1/1511/670x510\\_1511\\_vignette\\_12.jpg](http://www.inrap.fr/userdata/c_bloc_album/1/1511/670x510_1511_vignette_12.jpg) [Accessed July 2012].

---

<sup>816</sup> H. E. M. Cool, "Funerary contexts," in *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 309-310.

<sup>817</sup> "Aedui stelae from the Autun cemetery," Inrap 2002-2012 Dix and de découvertes archéologiques, September 15, 2009, <http://www.inrap.fr/preventive-archaeology/Events/Last-discoveries/p-2328-lg1-Aedui-stelae-from-the-Autun-cemetery.htm> [Accessed July 2012].



**Figure 24. Close up of the funerary monument of Segillus and Abua Tapponis.**

Source: O. Harl, *Steindenkmäl*: 632 | Bild: 2 von 3 | | Ansicht: Detail | Bild-ID: F0632\_B1 ,Römische Steindenkmäl, Ubi Erat Lupa, 1999, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/image.asp?nr=632&pix=F0632%5FG1%2Ejpg%3BF0632%5FB1%2Ejpg%3BF0632%5FI1%2Ejpg&bildna=1%3B1%3B1&bildnadet=1999%3B1999%3B1999&bildnu=1> [Accessed November 2010].

An example of women in Gaul being associated with spinning and the instruments of spinning can be seen in the *Parentalia* of Ausonius, a Gallo-Roman poet and rhetorician. Even though he dates to the fourth century, he was describing a custom that predated him. He described both his mother and sister as good, upstanding women who spun wool and used the distaff:

*II. – Aemilia Aeoniam Mater*

*Proxima te, genitrix Aeoniam, sanguine mixto  
 Tarbellae matris patris et Haeduici.  
 Morigerae uxoris virtus cui contigit omnis,  
fama pudicitiae lanifcaeque manus  
 coniugiique fides et natos cura regendi  
 et gravitas comis laetaque serietas.  
 Aeternum placidos manes complexa mariti,  
 viva torum quondam, functa fove  
 tumulum.*

II.- Aemilia Aeoniam, My Mother

Next will I sing of you Aeoniam, who gave me birth, in whom was mingled the blood of a mother from Tarbellae and of an Aeduan father. In you was found every virtue of a dutiful wife, chastity renewed, hands busy spinning wool, truth to your bridal vows, pains to bring up your children: sedate were you yet friendly, sober yet bright. Now that forever you embrace your husband's peaceful shade still cheer in death his tomb, as once in life you cheered his

## XII. – Iulia Dryadia Soror

*Si qua fuit virtus, cuperet quam femina prudens  
esse suam, soror hae Dryadia haud caruit.  
Quin etiam multas habuit, quas sexus habere  
fortiori optaret nobilitasque virum.  
Docta satis vitamques colu famamque tueri,  
docta bonos mores ipsa suosque docens.  
*Et verum vita cui carus unique cura  
nosse decum et fratrem diligere ante alios.  
Coniuge adhuc iuvenis caruit, sed seria vitans  
moribus austeras aequiperavit anus  
produxitque hilarem per sena decennia  
vitam,  
inque domo ac tecto, quo pater, oppetiit.**

## XII. – Julia Dryadia, my Sister

If there is any virtue which a discreet woman could desire to possess, Dryadia, my sister, lacked it not. Nay more, she had many which the stronger sex and the nobler heart of men would gladly have. Well trained with her distaff's aid to maintain her life and her good name, and trained in all good habits, she trained her household too. To her truth was dearer than life, and her one thought was to know God and to love her brother.<sup>819</sup>

Different cultural influences are depicted on funerary monuments found in Hispania. The boundaries between Celtic, Celtiberian, Iberian, Hispano-Celtic, and other cultures that had an impact like the Phoenicians, are hard to clearly demarcate at times. Below (Figure 25) is a Roman-period stele from Navarre. It shows religious motifs and speaks to Roman acculturation, as the inscription is in Latin. Knowing all of these cultures and that they had an impact on the Iberian Peninsula provides insight into cultural interaction and change over time.

---

<sup>818</sup> Ausonius, "Parentalia," *Ausonius*, 4.2.61.

<sup>819</sup> Ausonius, "Parentalia," *Ausonius*, 4.12.75.



**Figure 25. Stele of An(n)ia Buturra, Navarre, Spain.**

*Source:* Stele of An(n)ia Buturra, Museum of Navarra, <http://www.cfnavarra.es/cultura/museo/eng/textos/cont3.html> [Accessed October 2010].

On the funerary monuments of Umma Tabiconis and that of Segillus and Abua Tapponis (Figures 26 and 27, below), discovered in what is today Austria, a unique style of hats is depicted. These hats, though clearly depicted as existing on these archaeological finds, are nowhere described (or even mentioned) in classical sources. These appear to have been fur hats, and they are depicted on multiple monuments.<sup>820</sup>

---

<sup>820</sup> 18 Stelai with this kind of clothing style have been catalogued by Ubi Erat Lupa; all found in Austria.

The term fur hat comes from the German *Pelzhut*. This was one of several styles of hats attributed to women in Pannonia and Noricum. Another style of headdress from this region was the *Modius* hat, which can be seen in Figure 38. In German, this is known as a *Modiusmütze*.

Thomas Fischer, *Noricum* (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2002), 55; Jochen Garbsch, *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*, (München: Beck, 1965), 23.





**Figure 26. Umma Tabiconis, c.AD 80-150.**

Source: Stele of Umma Tabiconis, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=45> [Accessed 2010].



**Figure 27. Segillus and Abua Tapponis, c. AD 100-120.**

Source: Stele of Segillus, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=632> [Accessed 2010].

Occasionally, the funerary monuments can be connected directly to what is recounted in classical sources about specific individuals. An example is the tombstone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, a Gallo-Roman noble and *procurator* of Britain after the Boudican revolt. It was set up in AD 65 in London by his wife, Julia Pacata Indiana, the daughter of Indus.<sup>821</sup> Tacitus mentioned her father, Julius Indus, a Gaulish nobleman of the Treveri tribe, who ended up putting down a rebellion for the Romans in Gaul.<sup>822</sup> Indus apparently commanded an auxiliary cavalry unit, the *Ala Gallorum Indiana*, which is known from a

<sup>821</sup>Tombstone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe/prb/t/tombstone\\_of\\_classicianus.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe/prb/t/tombstone_of_classicianus.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].

<sup>822</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.42.

tombstone in Cirencester, Britain, c. AD 70.<sup>823</sup> This provides a rare description of a woman's family, how she moved geographically over time, her marriage, and her wealth.



**Figure 28. Tombstone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, husband of Julia Pacata Indiana.**

Source: AN33585001© Trustees of the British Museum.

Lastly, there are funerary monuments that provide information about the women they commemorated. Below is the monument of Flavia Usaiu, set up by her son. It revealed that she was a Celt – a member of the Eravisca tribe – who were located around Budapest. Her wealth was represented in her traditional jewelry of a heavy torc and bracelets. She seemed to have lived well and long, since she died at the age of eighty. Aspects of religion were also present in the decoration; an altar framed her portrait and the cart below.<sup>824</sup> Maureen Carroll in her article, *Die Kleidung der Eravisca und Azali an der Donau in römischer Zeit*, noted

<sup>823</sup> RIB 108, Tombstone of Dannicus, which reads as follows:

DANNICVS EQES ALAE INDIAN TVR  
ALBANI  
STIP XVI CIVES RAVR CVR FVLVIVS  
NATALIS IT FLAVIVS BITVCVS EX  
TESTAME  
H S E

Dannicus, trooper of the Indian Wing in the *turma* of Albanus, with 16 years service, a citizen of the *Raurici*. Fulvius Natalis and Flavius Bitucus organised [this memorial] as stipulated in his will. He lies here.

<sup>824</sup> Megaw, *Celtic Art*, 270.

Flavia's monument depicted her wealth based on her dress, proclaimed her heritage and indicated in the language of the monument her father was not a Roman citizen, but that her son was Roman. Further, that while she clearly wore native dress, she was depicting Roman cult and burial practices in her monument.<sup>825</sup> Her evaluation of clothing and customs amongst the Eravisca and Azali led her to believe that in regions which were amalgamated into the Roman Empire, there emerged an ethnically rooted collective identity.<sup>826</sup>



**Figure 29. Funerary Monument of Flavia Usiau c. AD 130.**

Source: Stele of Flavia Usiau, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=632> [Accessed November 2010].

<sup>825</sup> Maureen Carroll. "Die Kleidung der Eravisca und Azali an der Donau in römischer Zeit." *Die Macht der Toga: DressCode im römischen Weltreich*. ed. Michael Tellenbach. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013) 194-195.

<sup>826</sup> Carroll, "Die Kleidung der Eravisca und Azali an der Donau in römischer Zeit," *Die Macht der Toga*, 194.

Chapter 5 addressed how much can be learned about an individual's professions from funerary monuments. As was discussed, most evidence of female healers, plumbers, shopkeepers, and wool workers, came from such monuments.

These tombstones and funerary monuments, which are found across Europe, are important clues to the past. On rare occasions, they also provide direct support to classical texts, as in the case mentioned above of Julia Pacata Indiana (the daughter of the Gaulish nobleman Julius Indus, mentioned by Tacitus). Most often, however, they provide graphic depictions of professions, art, jewelry, literacy, wealth, linguistics, and the movement of people – including women who have otherwise been lost in history. Such information was seldom described in classical sources. For this reason, funerary monuments cannot be overlooked.

Prior to the third century BC, a number of women were interred in elaborate settings throughout northwestern Europe. One of these burials, at Vix, was discussed in Chapter 4. Another elaborate high-status burial was a female chariot or cart burial discovered at Wetwang in the UK and dated to the middle/late Iron Age (c. 300 BC).<sup>827</sup> It contained large quantities of valuable coral. The rich female burial from Waldalgesheim, containing a torc and gold ornaments, was dated to the fourth century BC.<sup>828</sup> The lady of Reinheim, also dated to the fourth century BC, was interred in a cart with silk, other fabrics, and gold jewelry.<sup>829</sup> Though these burials occurred early in the period addressed in this study, they speak to several centuries of high-status female interments throughout Celtic Europe, which represent a different kind of funerary monument.

The funerary rituals and traditions within Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian culture will never be fully understood. There are few accounts of these customs by classical scholars. Archaeology provides some information about the rituals and customs of burying the dead; however, there are a relatively small sample of surviving graves (either

---

<sup>827</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Caesar's Druids*, 228.

New revised dating of this particular find will be discussed in forthcoming publications. Miranda Aldhouse-Green and Colin Haselgrove e-mail messages with Lauren Hammersen March 2015.

<sup>828</sup> Aldhouse-Green, *Boudicca Britannia*, 98-100.

<sup>829</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, "Women and Goddesses in the Celtic World," in *Religion: Empirical Studies. A collection to mark the 50th anniversary of the British Association for the Study of Religions*, ed. Steven Sutcliffe (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 149.

as inhumations, cremations, or partial cremations) compared to the population estimates by classical sources regarding the number of individuals living in ancient times.<sup>830</sup>

In first century BC Gaul, Julius Caesar wrote that funerals of Gauls (and the sentence implies men) are lavish and costly. He goes on to add that,

*Funera sunt pro cultu Gallorum  
magnifica et sumptuosa; omniaque  
quae vivis cordi fuisse arbitrantur in  
ignem inferunt, etiam animalia, ac  
paulo supra anc memoriam servi et  
clientes, quos ab eis dilectos esse  
constabat, iustis funeribus confectis  
una cremabantur.*

Their funerals, considering the civilization of Gaul, are magnificent and expensive. They cast into the fire everything, even living creatures, which they believe to have been dear to the departed during life, and but a short time before the present age, only a generation since, slaves and dependents known to have been beloved by their lords used to be burnt with them at the conclusion of the funeral formalities.<sup>831</sup>

This passage depicted a tradition of cremation. Women may have been involved in the gathering of items to be immolated, and almost certainly had been among the victims of this funerary tradition in earlier times, if Caesar was correct in his account.

In addition to Caesar, a first century AD account from Britain comes from Dio Cassius. In his description of Boudica's death, he noted that the population mourned for her and gave her remains an expensive burial.<sup>832</sup> While it can be assumed that women were a part of this funeral rite as well, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence for it.

One piece of archaeological evidence thought to show a funerary procession is a *situla*, a sheet-bronze bucket embossed with figures, from Certosa (modern Bologna). This object dates from sometime around the sixth or fifth centuries BC. The *situla* in question showed, among other images, a line of men and women in a procession. The women carried items on their heads. The interpretation that this is a funerary procession was articulated by J. Kastelic in *Situla Art*, as cited by Ehrenberg.<sup>833</sup>

---

<sup>830</sup> Estimates of losses on both sides frequently appear in accounts of battles and casualties. For instance, see Plutarch's *Life of Marius*, Julius Caesar's *The Gallic War*, and Tacitus' *Agricola*.

<sup>831</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.19

<sup>832</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.12.

<sup>833</sup> Ehrenberg, *Women in Prehistory*, 149-151.



**Figure 30. Drawing of the Certosa Situla showing all of the figures.**

*Source:* Nick Sekunda and Simon Northwood, *Early Roman Armies* (London: Osprey, 1995), 34.

In the ancient Mediterranean world, women performed various roles in funerary rituals and rites.<sup>834</sup> In the traditional three acts of funerary traditions, you have the preparing and laying out of the body, the procession of the body to the grave site, and the burial or deposition of the body.<sup>835</sup> An example of how women engaged in this act is that many cultures had women participate as a ritual mourner. In ancient Egypt, for example, women could perform the role of hired professional mourners.<sup>836</sup> In Greece, the act of lamentation and mourning had specific terms when it came to the role of women; these included *thrēnos* (a dirge sung by professional mourners), *góos* (spontaneous weeping by kinswomen) and *kommós* (a tragic lament).<sup>837</sup> In Etruria and the Roman Republic, professional mourners

---

<sup>834</sup> In Greece alone, the traditions of women in the funerary rituals and rites vary throughout the centuries – from what women could attend to how their behavior in procession and at the grave was to be conducted. This has been examined in detail in *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* by Margaret Alexiou, Dimitrios Yatromanolakis, and Panagiotis Roilos. (see full citation at fn. 761)

<sup>835</sup> In Greek the first step was known as *prothesis*, and the second step was known as *ekphora*. Nigel Spivey, *Panorama of the Classical World* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), 20-21.

<sup>836</sup> Capel, et. al. *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven*, 93-94.

<sup>837</sup> Margaret Alexiou, Dimitrios Yatromanolakis, and Panagiotis Roilos, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002), 102-103.

known as *ploratores* could be hired.<sup>838</sup> Tacitus notes in his *Germania* concerning burials that, “Lamentation becomes women...”<sup>839</sup>

Primary sources alone – written or archaeological – will never reveal the role women played in funerary customs and rituals among the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians, but they may well have been involved in preparation of the body, dressing the body in clothing, and the placement of grave goods (especially the preparation of female graves).

\* \* \* \* \*

This chapter has critically examined what survives in the archaeological record regarding funerary customs. This analysis showed that much can be learned from religious shrines, votives, and funerary monuments, even though there limits to the information they provide. These limitations are reflected in both the number of surviving monuments and how many of those include identifying information about women from these regions and this time period, with regard to local religions and funerary customs. A careful analysis of these monuments and shrines provided information about status, wealth, social movement, education, clothing and fashion, and, above all, how women factored into them. As more shrines, stelai, sarcophagi, monuments, and cinerary urns are unearthed in excavations, historians and archaeologists will continue to learn about women’s role in the religious and funerary contexts of these societies. What we choose to leave publically to the world is an important part of our identity. Funerary monuments, erected in antiquity to be seen, were both a way of honoring the dead and also celebrating their lives and accomplishments. People spent time and money erecting them and then continuing to honor the family member after their death. Religious shrines were often affirmations of promises to deities, erected in the form of altars (though occasional grander offerings occurred). These were also an aspect of public identity, as they showed faith and fidelity. The Gaulish Firmana, who erected an entire temple to the goddess Solimava is perhaps one of the most grandiose acts we see.

---

<sup>838</sup> Spivey, *Panorama of the Classical World*, 20.

<sup>839</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 27. “*feminis lugere honestum est...*”

## Chapter 8: Appearance: What Art, Archaeology, and Classical Sources Combine to Illustrate

If one were to ask a person on the street what a Celtic or Germanic woman looked like, you would probably be confronted with either a blank look or some of the depictions that can be found in modern films. Edmondson's and Keith's *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture* rightly noted that "Female barbarians tend to be less clearly differentiated [than men] by dress [in classical art], and not always easily distinguished in art from female personifications of regions or peoples: they wear long, often trailing dresses which sometimes reveal their arms and shoulders."<sup>840</sup> Such depictions of women have been briefly seen and referenced in Chapter 4 in the discussion of figures such as Thusnelda. In Chapter 7, numerous depictions of the female form in religious art and funerary monuments were described. By combining what can be learned from those physical monuments that depicted women with archaeological finds, it is possible to compare them with the descriptive passages in classical sources to determine the validity of those descriptions, which in turn can lend credence to the descriptions of other observable aspects of the Celtic and Germanic world in those same classical sources. How we dress ourselves and how others note our dress can speak to our cultural identity, our place in society, as well as wealth and status. What people chose to earmark as their visual culture is important in understanding them. It is also important to know what classical authors saw as important or unique in order to better understand their viewpoints and biases regarding a foreign culture.

It is hard to envision the people of the past in detail. To create a more rounded visual image and understanding of the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts and Celtiberians, classical sources, archaeological finds, and art will be used to show how at least some of the women of these regions looked and were attired.<sup>841</sup> It is important to note, when looking at Greek and Roman art, that clothing was not gendered as much by type and shape of different garments. More distinction can be found by looking at such things as patterns, colors and fabrics; as well as how items such as jewelry, hairstyles, and shoes were combined, as will be seen

---

<sup>840</sup> "Barbarians," *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*, ed. Jonathan Edmondson and Alison Keith (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 16.

<sup>841</sup> Individual terms for clothing and hair styles will be described in substantive footnotes rather than in a separate glossary.



through regional examination in this chapter. For instance, trousers were a characteristic of barbarians, rather than of masculinity.<sup>842</sup>

In dealing with the appearance of the indigenous populations of northwest Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, the simple fact is that there are not as many sculptures and painted arts as are associated with the Mediterranean. There are thousands of Greek and Roman statues made from bronze and marble, hundreds of frescoes showing daily life, numerous Etruscan cinerary urns, and dozens of Graeco-Roman mummy portraits – but only a relative handful of clothing and figurative depictions of Celtic and Germanic women made by native craftsmen or their Greek and Roman counterparts. Given the vast forests that extended across Britain, Gaul, Iberia, and Germany,<sup>843</sup> it seems quite plausible that Celts and Germans may have used wood as a medium to depict art, including images of men and women, and this is perhaps why so few human depictions survive.<sup>844</sup> Places like the Source des Roches at Chamalières, which revealed thousands of wooden carvings, depicted men and women, among other things.<sup>845</sup> The Gundestrup cauldron of Denmark depicted clothing on a woman, but the significance and complex heritage of that item make the importance of the images unclear.<sup>846</sup> Samples of depicted art seem skewed, especially since the majority of Celtic and Germanic images that depicted women came from after the Roman expansion into Gaul, Britain, Iberia, and Germany during the first century BC, and may have been done either by the conquering Romans, Romanized Celts, Romanized Iberians, or Romanized Germans.

To some, it may be surprising that over 1,000 textile fragments survive from both the Iron Age and the Roman occupation in Iberia, Gaul, Germany, and Britain. The unfortunate reality is that most of these fragments cannot be attributed to any specific garment or other

---

<sup>842</sup> "Gender Distinctions," *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*, eds. Liza Cleland, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones (London: Routledge, 2007), 79.

<sup>843</sup> "The Status of Protected and Natural Forests - Europe" estimated that forests originally covered 80-90% of Europe. <http://www.saveamericasforests.org/europages/history&geography.htm> [Accessed July 2012].

<sup>844</sup> Wood was used to a degree to depict objects that were offerings, including anthropomorphic figures. Several sites with such wooden objects have been found in Germany, including Oberdola (Thuringia); Possendorf (Weimar); and Braak (Holstein). Todd, *The Early Germans*, 105-109.

<sup>845</sup> A.M. Romeuf and M. Dumontet, *Les ex-voto gallo-romains en bois de la source des Roches à Chamalières*, Collection Département d'archéologie, Musée Bargoin, Ville de Clermont Ferrand, <http://www.clermont-ferrand.fr/Collection,167.html> [Accessed February 2009].

<sup>846</sup> The Gundestrup cauldron will be addressed later in this section. Discussion of this item in Chapter 1 was in a different context.

cloth item. However, what does survive allows for a greater understanding of different types of weaves and fabrics that would have been worn in these regions.<sup>847</sup>

### *Celtiberia and the Hispano Celts*

The physical appearance of Celtiberians is little discussed in period sources. While classical authors writing about the Gauls, Britons, and Germans frequently discussed the coloring of those peoples (because they were so different from the Romans and Greeks), there was little mention of the appearance of Celtiberians. Martial, the Celtiberian poet, described himself as being quite hairy, and the young girl, Erotion, mentioned in three of his poems, was noted as having auburn hair.<sup>848</sup> The dearth of physical descriptions could lead to an assumption that the Celtiberians looked like other Mediterranean peoples, with dark hair and olive skin. As noted earlier, classical authors pointed to differences between those barbarians and what they would have seen as “normal” in Roman or Greek societies, rather than to similarities.

Celtiberia is also an area about which there is little information with regard to clothing, hairstyles, and accessories. Most of what is known of the native clothing comes from Strabo. He wrote that among Celtiberian “Mountaineers,” women went about in brightly colored gowns and long mantles.<sup>849</sup> Diodorus Siculus noted that they wore cloaks made of black wool.<sup>850</sup> From archaeological sources, it is known that most of the surviving Iron Age textiles came from the far south and coastal regions of modern Spain, rather than from areas associated with Celtiberians, who inhabited central and northern Iberia.<sup>851</sup> Shoes were made of a variety of materials, including leather. There are surviving samples from Albuñol and Murcia of sandals woven from some sort of grass or reed. These were found in cave and

---

<sup>847</sup> J. P. Wild, “Textiles,” (Chapter 13), in *Roman Crafts*, eds. Donald Strong and David Brown (New York: New York University Press, 1976), 173.

<sup>848</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.65; 5.37; Albert A. Bell, Jr., “Martial’s Daughter,” *The Classical World* 78, no. 1 (1984): 22-24. Bell theorized that Erotion was Martial’s daughter. If this is true, the ethnicity of her mother and how that might have impacted her physical appearance remains unknown.

<sup>849</sup> For Strabo, the term Mountaineers referred to specific tribes: the Callaicans, Asturians and Cantabrians, all of which are Celtiberian. The question remains whether or not the descriptions of these tribes was a Celtiberian norm or tribe-specific aspect. Strabo, *Geography*, 3.3.7.

<sup>850</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.33.2.

<sup>851</sup> No in-depth material on “Celtiberian” or Iron Age textile finds from modern Portugal has been located while researching this topic.

mine environments and date to the Neolithic.<sup>852</sup> Sandals have been in existence since that time.

Aside from clothing, there were also a few brief descriptions of hairstyles and accessories. Strabo wrote that the “Mountaineers,” in this instance seeming to refer to both men and women, wore their hair down.<sup>853</sup> However, in the most extensive description of hairstyles and ornamentation of the Celtiberians, Strabo quoted from the largely lost *Geography* of Artemidorus of Ephesus. The passage itself was so descriptive that it is directly quoted below so that nothing might be lost in paraphrasing.

τῆς δὲ βαρβαρικῆς ιδέας καὶ τὸν τῶν  
γυναικῶν ἐνίων κόσμον θεῖη τις ἄν, ὃν  
εἶρηκεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος: ὅπου μὲν γὰρ  
περιτραχήλια σιδηρᾶ φορεῖν αὐτάς  
φησιν ἔχοντα κόρακας καμπτομένους  
ὑπὲρ κορυφῆς καὶ προλίπτοντας πρὸ  
τοῦ μετώπου πολὺ, κατὰ τούτων δὲ  
τῶν κοράκων, ὅτε βούλονται,  
κατασπᾶν τὸ κάλυμμα ὥστε  
ἐμπετασθὲν σκιάδιον τῷ προσώπῳ  
παρέχειν, καὶ νομίζειν κόσμον: ὅπου  
δὲ τυμπάνιον περικεῖσθαι πρὸς μὲν τῷ  
ἰνίῳ περιφερὲς καὶ σφίγγον τὴν  
κεφαλὴν μέχρι τῶν παρωτίδων, εἰς  
ὑψος δὲ καὶ πλάτος ἐξυπτιασμένον  
κατ’ ὀλίγον: ἄλλας δὲ τὰ προκόμια  
ψιλοῦν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστ’ ἀποστίλβειν  
τοῦ μετώπου μᾶλλον: τὰς δ’ ὅσον  
ποδιαῖον τὸ ὑψος ἐπιθεμένας  
στυλίσκον περιπλέκειν αὐτῷ τὴν  
χαίτην, εἶτα καλύπτρα μελαίνην  
περιστέλλειν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἀηθείᾳ τῆ  
τοιαύτη πολλὰ καὶ ἐώραται καὶ  
μεμύθευται περὶ πάντων κοινῇ τῶν  
Ἰβηρικῶν ἐθνῶν, διαφερόντως δὲ τῶν  
προσβόρρων, οὐ μόνον τὰ πρὸς  
ἀνδρείαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὀμότητα  
καὶ ἀπόνοιαν θηριώδη.

One might also class as barbaric in character the ornaments of some of the women, of which Artemidorus has told us. In some places, he says, they wear round their necks iron collars which have curved rods that bend overhead and project far in front of their foreheads; and at will they draw their veil down over these curved rods, so that the veil, thus spread out, furnishes a sunshade for the face; and all this they consider an ornament. In other places, he says, the women wear round their heads a "tympanium," rounded to the back of the head, and, as far as the ear-lobes, binding the head tightly, but gradually turned back at the top and sides; and other women keep the hair stripped from the forepart of the head so closely that it glistens more than the forehead does; and still other women put a rod about a foot high on the head, twist the hair round the rod, and then drape it with a black veil. And besides the true reports of this sort, many other things have not only been seen but also narrated with fictitious additions about all the Iberian tribes in common, but especially the northerners – I mean not only the stories relating to their courage

---

<sup>852</sup> Carmen Alfaro Giner, *Tejido y Cestería en la Península Ibérica: Historia de su Técnica e Industrias desde la Prehistoria hasta la Romanización*, Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana, vol. 21 (Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Prehistoria, 1984), Plates 19-23.

<sup>853</sup> It is important to note (and it is not terribly surprising) that Strabo often made comparisons between the Greeks and Celtiberians. For instance he wrote that the Mountaineers wore their hair down in the manner of women...and that they married like Greeks. Strabo, *Geography*, 3.3.7.

but also those relating to their ferocity and bestial insensibility.<sup>854</sup>

There was such a mix of cultures in Iberia throughout its history that it can be hard to determine what is Celtiberian or Hispano Celtic, and whether it was influenced by the Iberians, Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, or Romans. Some of our best art comes from figures found on funerary monuments (though they are not necessarily the focus of the funeral). Osuna (modern Sevilla) has several surviving descriptions of female Celtiberians. Below is a female figure that made up a corner of a funerary relief. Known as the double flute player, the *Auletris*, she dates from the third to second century BC.<sup>855</sup> She has elaborately styled hair and wears jewelry and decorated clothing.



**Figure 31. Auletris, figure from funerary monument, Osuna, third to second century BC Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.**

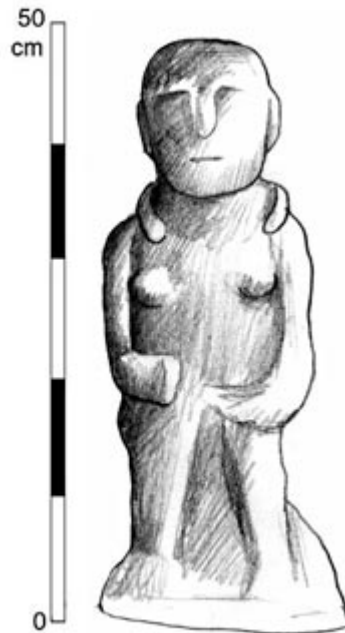
*Source:* Photograph courtesy of Alejandro González Caballero © 2014. Edited by Lauren Hammersen.

---

<sup>854</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.4.17.

<sup>855</sup> Ignacio M. Prieto, “Auletris de Osuna,” *Tesoro a Tesoro: Descúbrelos*, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Protohistoria, May 2009, [www.man.es/man/dms/man/actividades/pieza-del-mes/historico/2009/2009-Tesoro-a-Tesoro-II/5-Mayo--1-/MAN-2009-Pieza-Mes-5-Auletris.pdf](http://www.man.es/man/dms/man/actividades/pieza-del-mes/historico/2009/2009-Tesoro-a-Tesoro-II/5-Mayo--1-/MAN-2009-Pieza-Mes-5-Auletris.pdf) [Accessed May 2014].

In terms of other jewelry, there is at least one female statue, perhaps of a goddess, that wore a torc. This statue was found in the northwestern part of modern Portugal at the *oppidum* of Briteiros, in the Hispano Celtic portion of the Iberian Peninsula.<sup>856</sup>



**Figure 32. Female statue from the oppidum of Briteiros. After González-Ruibal (2003a).**

*Source:* González-Ruibal, "Artistic Expression and Material Culture in Celtic Gallaecia," Figure 9, 2003.

Over one hundred torcs have been found in Galicia alone, some at sites like Xanceda and Vilas Boas, many of which are made from gold.<sup>857</sup> This region also belonged to the Hispano Celts. Other gold ornaments that have been discovered included thin strips of metal that would have either been identified as diadems or pieces from belts.<sup>858</sup> An example of silver jewelry (see Figure 51 below) is the Cordoba Treasure, buried around 100 BC. This treasure consisted of eight armlets, a brooch head, a torc, rough lumps of silver, and coins.<sup>859</sup>

---

<sup>856</sup> Alfredo González-Ruibal, "Artistic Expression and Material Culture in Celtic Gallaecia," *Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6 (2008): 113-166, [http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6\\_3/gonzalez\\_ruibal\\_6\\_3.html](http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6_3/gonzalez_ruibal_6_3.html) [Accessed November 2010].

<sup>857</sup> González-Ruibal, "Artistic Expression and Material Culture in Celtic Gallaecia," 113-166.

<sup>858</sup> González-Ruibal, "Artistic Expression and Material Culture in Celtic Gallaecia," 113-166.

<sup>859</sup> Cordoba Treasure, Explore/Highlights, The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/c/cordoba\\_treasure.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/c/cordoba_treasure.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].

The coins and rough pieces of silver were found in a bowl with the other objects around them. Everything was made locally, including 82 of the coins, which came from local tribes; 222 of the coins are Roman



**Figure 33. Cordoba Treasure, c. 100 BC. Molino de Marrubial, Córdoba, Andalucía, Spain, Courtesy of the British Museum.**

*Source:* AN32711001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

### ***Gaul***

Gauls were frequently described as tall, blonde, and white skinned. Diodorus added that they were well muscled.<sup>860</sup> Strabo described them as being blonder and shorter than the Britons.<sup>861</sup> Virgil, in the *Aeneid*, noted that Gauls had milk-white skin and golden hair.<sup>862</sup>

Gauls, and Celts in general, were well known for wearing clothing with bold patterns and bright colors. Diodorus Siculus discussed these types of clothes but, as he was not

---

<sup>860</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.28.

<sup>861</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.

<sup>862</sup> Virgil, “The *Aeneid* of Virgil,” *The Works of P. Virgilius Maro*, trans. Levi Hart and V.R. Osborn, Philadelphia: Cowperthwait, Desilver, & Butlery, 1855, 8.658-660.

gender specific, it is unclear if he was referring to the fact that both genders wore these garments. He described what they wore as follows:

Ἔσθῃσι δὲ χρώνται καταπληκτικαῖς,  
χιτῶσι μὲν βαπτοῖς χρώμασι  
παντοδαποῖς διηνηθισμένοις καὶ  
ἀναξυρίσιν, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι βράκας  
προσαγορεύου σιν· ἐπιπορποῦνται δὲ  
σάγους ῥαβδωτοὺς ἐν μὲν τοῖς χειμῶσι  
δασεῖς, κατὰ δὲ τὸ θέρος ψιλούς,  
πλινθίοις πυκνοῖς καὶ πολυανθέσι  
διειλημμένους.

The clothing they wear is striking — shirts which have been dyed and embroidered in varied colors, and breeches, which they call in their tongue bracaе; and they wear striped coats, fastened by a buckle on the shoulder, heavy for winter wear and light for summer, in which are set checks, close together and of varied hues.<sup>863</sup>

Virgil noted that the Gauls went about in golden dress and variegated cloaks.<sup>864</sup>

Accessories and ornamentation were described as including bracelets, torcs, rings, and corselets (whether they were referring to a woman’s girdle or a man’s breast plate is unclear).<sup>865</sup> Belts plated with silver and gold were also described by Diodorus Siculus.<sup>866</sup> Strabo put it quite simply by stating that Gauls liked gold ornamentation (including chains and bracelets). Strabo noted that dignitaries sprinkled gold on dyed garments, which created a rich image.<sup>867</sup>

Some of the most common surviving iconography is religious in nature (for example, statues of dieties). The problem with these pieces of art is that we do not see these patterns and colors described in classical Greek and Roman sources. Additionally, the later in time the image, the more Romanized or Hellenized the figure can appear. Examine, for instance, the Gallo-Roman goddess statuette on the next page. The image presented is a very classical figure depicting a traditional Greek and Roman stance, clothing, and hairstyle. In contrast, the clothing in Figure 36 and the representations of local women in regional dress in Figure 38 and 39 are very different.

---

<sup>863</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.30.

<sup>864</sup> Virgil, “The *Aeneid* of Virgil,” 8.658-660.

<sup>865</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.27; Virgil, “The *Aeneid* of Virgil,” 8.658-660.

<sup>866</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.30.

<sup>867</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.5.



**Figure 34. Close up of a silver statuette of a goddess from the Gallo-Roman Lyon-Vaise Hoard, third century AD.**

*Source:* Silver Statue of Abundance, Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon, Image © Indus Brenni filius.

Between the discussion of Gaul and Germany is probably the best place to examine the female figures on the Gundestrup cauldron.<sup>868</sup> Seemingly Thracian in manufacture, it shows Celtic images and was buried in Germania (what is today Denmark). This silver vessel was decorated with numerous figures, and several of the individuals depicted are clearly women.

---

<sup>868</sup> Kruta, *The Celts*, 224-225.



Numerous female figures that appear on the cauldron wear torcs. The only clearly (non-divine) female figure shown wearing clothing can be found on an exterior plate<sup>869</sup> – and she is wearing a long-sleeved, ankle-length dress, with a v-neck. The material is tight fitting and seems to be woven. This figure wears a torc around her neck and her hair may be braided. This woman, while appearing in an object showing Celtic motifs, may not be wearing clothing that depicts what was worn by Celtic women in that region. Similar clothing is seen on Thracian figures, such as the depiction of a goddess from the fourth century BC from Letnitsa, Bulgaria.<sup>870</sup>



**Figure 35. Left: Gundestrup cauldron woman from an exterior panel (first century AD). Right: Female figure on a panel from the Letnitsa Treasure (fourth century BC).**

Source: Gundestrup Cauldron Figure, <http://www.flickr.com/photos/28433765@N07/3224344359> ; Letnitsa Treasure Panel: *Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians Treasures from the Republic of Bulgaria*, ed. Ivan Marazov, 162.

<sup>869</sup> The other female figures appear to be goddesses; they are depicted as nude torsos.

<sup>870</sup> Megaw, *Celtic Art*, 174-177; Powell, *The Celts*, 193-4; Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 7-8; *Letnitsa Treasure: Gold of the Thracian Horsemen: Treasures from Bulgaria*, Montreal: Les Éditions de L'Homme, 1987, 197-203; *Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria* (New Delhi: National Museum, n.d.), Figs. 263-283; *Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians Treasures from the Republic of Bulgaria*, ed. Ivan Marazov (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. in association with the Trust for Museum Exhibitions, in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bulgaria, 1998), 160-171.

## Germania

Physical descriptions of the Germans vary in classical texts. They are described as being tall and either redheads or blondes. Martial noted that the Germans were redheads and blondes, while (as previously noted) Suetonius, wrote that the emperor took the tallest of his captives and of the deserting Gauls and forced them, among other things, to dye their hair red and grow it long so they could be paraded as German captives.<sup>871</sup> Strabo noted:

εὐθὺς τοίνυν τὰ πέραν τοῦ Ρήνου  
μετὰ τοὺς Κελτοὺς πρὸς τὴν ἑὼ  
κεκλιμένα Γερμανοὶ νέμονται,  
μικρὸν ἐξαλλάττοντες τοῦ  
Κελτικοῦ φύλου τῷ τε πλεονασμῷ  
τῆς ἀγριότητος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους  
καὶ τῆς ξανθότητος, τᾶλλα δὲ  
παραπλήσιοι καὶ μορφαῖς καὶ  
ἥθεσι καὶ βίοις ὄντες, οἴους  
εἰρήκαμεν τοὺς Κελτούς.

Now the parts beyond the Rhenus, immediately after the country of the Celti, slope towards the east and are occupied by the Germans, who, though they vary slightly from the Celtic stock in that they are wilder, taller, and have yellower hair, are in all other respects similar, for in build, habits, and modes of life they are such as I have said the Celti are.<sup>872</sup>

Tacitus noted that they had blue eyes, red hair, and were tall.<sup>873</sup> Classical examinations of the Gauls and Germans are frequently vague on differences, for, in the mind of the Romans, the geographical boundary that separated Germania from Gaul was the Rhine River, which was neither a terribly challenging physical barrier, nor one that separated the two cultures.

Strabo provided a fairly clear depiction of how a Cimbri priestess would have dressed. He was very specific when he said that, “priestesses who were seers; these were grey-haired, clad in white, with flaxen cloaks fastened on with clasps, girt with girdles of bronze, and bare-footed...”<sup>874</sup> Tacitus’ *Germania* stated that women supposedly went about in trailing linen garments stripped with purple, gathered at the shoulders, with no sleeves.<sup>875</sup>

Archaeologically, there are a numerous textile finds ranging from the bogs of Denmark to various locations within Germany, some of which support the description of this type of garment. A peplos-style gown was found in the bogs of Denmark. Known as the Huldremose gown, it dated from the fourth century BC (see Figure 66). One of the most

---

<sup>871</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 14.26; Martial, *Epigrams*, 6.60; Suetonius, "Gaius Caligula," *The Lives of the Caesars*, 47.

<sup>872</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 7.1.2.

<sup>873</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 4.1.

<sup>874</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 7.2.3.

<sup>875</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.3. This was a peplos style garment.

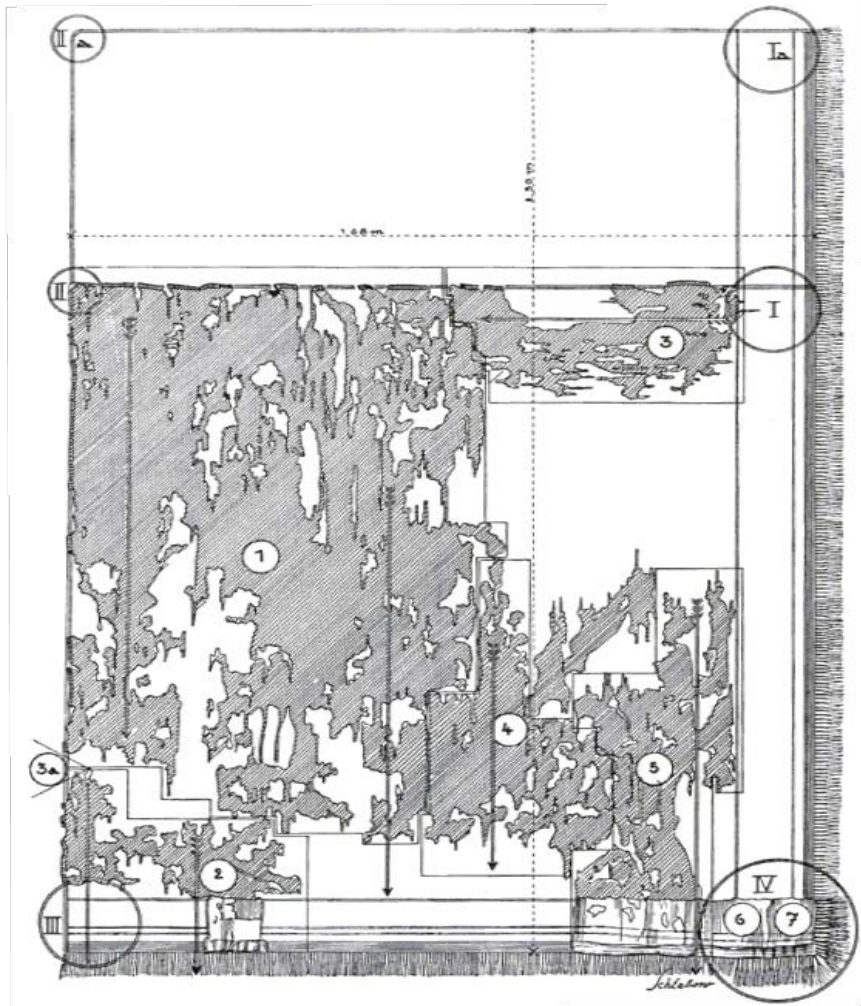
famous finds is the colorful Thorsberg mantle, whose reconstruction can be seen below (see Figure 37). Dated to the second century AD, it is a genderless article of clothing.



**Figure 36. Reconstruction of the Thorsberg mantle.**

*Source:* Harris, *5000 years of Textiles*, 1995, 67, Figure 67.

(Below is a figure showing the vast amount of material from the Thorsberg mantle which survived, thereby allowing such a detailed reconstruction).



**Figure 37. Surviving Fragments of the Thorsberg Mantle. Translation of the original German caption: “The original remainders of the Thorsberger splendor coat, I/II fabric initial edge, II-III narrow side edge, I-IV broad side edge, III-IV fabric conclusion edge, Size of the coat 2,36 x of 1,68 meter. Spin turn of chain and conclusion: Warp threads Z-turn, weft threads S-turn, 1-7 sections of the original fabric.”**

Source: Karl Schlabow, *Der Thorsberger Prachtmantel: Schlüssel zum altergermanischen Webstuhl* (Neumünster, Germany: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1965), Figure 1, p. 8.

Other surviving textile finds from Germany include the Vehnemoor mantle, which has also been reconstructed, as well as additional mantles from Hunteberg (associated with a male burial) and Vaalemoor. These mantle finds tie nicely into Tacitus’ description, in his *Germania*, that both German men and women wore cloaks.<sup>876</sup>

Ornamentation and accessories were discussed less often than clothing in classical sources about Germania. The only reference to any Germanic hairstyle was the so-called Suebian knot (and there was even a surviving example of such a knot on the decapitated head of a bog body found at Osterby in Seemoor<sup>877</sup>). While Tacitus noted that Swabian knots were

<sup>876</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.1.

<sup>877</sup> Glob, *Bog People*, 116-118, Figure 41.

worn by men,<sup>878</sup> it cannot be concluded that this means they were not also worn by women. Additionally, Tacitus mentioned that the punishment for German women who committed adultery could be that their hair was close-cropped – implying that they did not normally wear their hair cut very short.<sup>879</sup> In addition, evidence of Germanic accessories may be found by examining funerary monuments from Pannonia and Noricum.

### *Pannonia and Noricum*

In Germany and Austria, there have been numerous finds of carved funerary monuments. A number of these depicted women in what was described as native dress (instead of Roman attire). However, many of the stones were damaged – which means that frequently there were neither names nor ways to indicate cultural affiliation.

The stones however, did reveal a great deal of information about local dress in these regions. Tunics and under tunics were commonly seen on women. Fur hats were depicted on stones from Pannonia (an example of such a hat can be seen in Figures 38).<sup>880</sup> Jewelry consisted of fibulas, neck rings, torcs, necklaces, and finger rings. Hairstyles are often hard to determine, but hair seemed to be pulled back and away from the face. A large catalog of these stones can be found in the collection of *Römische Steindenkmäler*, on the Ubi Erat Lupa website. This type of catalogue is exceptionally valuable to historians and archaeologists, as it allows for a closer examination of the appearance of individuals from the past, as well as those articles of clothing and ornamentation that were considered so important as to be depicted on funerary monuments.<sup>881</sup>

For example, through examination of these surviving monuments, a great deal of information about women can be discovered by the way they either choose to be shown or how others decided to show them in statues and funerary monuments. Ursula Rothe has argued, based on her research into female funerary grave markers, that Norican women must

---

<sup>878</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 38.1.

<sup>879</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 19.2.

<sup>880</sup> As previously mentioned, the term fur hat comes from the German *Pelzhut*. This was one of several styles of hats attributed to women in Pannonia and Noricum. Another style of headdress from this region was the *Modius* hat, which can be seen in Figure 54, in German this is known as a *Modiusmütze*.

Fischer, *Noricum*, 55; Garbsch, *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*, 23.

<sup>881</sup> *Römische Steindenkmäler*, Ubi Erat Lupa, [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy\\_abfrage.shtml](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy_abfrage.shtml) [Accessed November 2010].

have played a central role in cultural preservation.<sup>882</sup> Below is a sampling of three monuments that show native women, one from Noricum, another from Pannonia.

The first, the portrait grave medallion of an unknown woman found at Lendorf, Austria (Noricum, which was predominantly Celtic), was incredibly rich in detail, even though it has been broken and worn over time. She wore a “peck” hat (*Modiushaube*<sup>883</sup>), veil, multiple rings, bracelets, and elaborate necklaces with pendants. Her hair was worn back and away from her face. She appeared to be an older woman, though that may be due to erosion.<sup>884</sup> This was a depiction of a woman (though there is no surviving indication of her name or people) who seemed to have been wealthy (in personal items and in having a stone erected). She appeared proud of her possessions, given the detail in which they have been portrayed.



**Figure 38. Medallion Portrait of a Woman, AD 100-125.**

Source: Porträtmedaillon einer Frau, Römische Steindenkmäler, Ubi Erat Lupa <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=851> [Accessed November 2010]; Image: D0851\_B1© O. und F. Harl, Foto O. Harl.

---

<sup>882</sup>Rothe, “Das norische Frauengewand.” *Die Macht der Toga*, 189.

<sup>883</sup> *Modius* is the Latin word for the dry measure of grain equivalent to one-third of an *amphora* or *quadrantal* (the Latin word for a bushel of grain). One Roman *modius* was equivalent to a modern English “peck.” Seth W. Stevenson, C. Roach Smith and Frederic W. Madden, *Dictionary of Roman Coins*, s.v. “Modius” (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), 559. <http://www.forumancientcoins.com/numiswiki/view.asp?key=Modius> [Accessed April 2011]. Roman coins often depicted a *modius*, which was normally a tapered cylinder – similar in shape to the style of bonnet worn on this medallion portrait. Bronze and terracotta examples of *modium* have been discovered. See [http://www.roman-britain.org/places/magnis\\_carvetiorum.htm](http://www.roman-britain.org/places/magnis_carvetiorum.htm) for a description of the Carvoran *Modius* found outside the Carvoran fort on Hadrian’s Wall and now located in the Chester museum, and <http://www.archaeological-center.com/en/auctions/42-383> for an image of a terracotta *modius*.

<sup>884</sup> Porträtmedaillon einer Frau, Römische Steindenkmäler, Ubi Erat Lupa <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=851> [Accessed November 2010].

Another example of a woman portrayed on a stone monument is the painted monument from Brunn am Gebirge, Austria (Pannonia, which had numerous Celtic inhabitants).<sup>885</sup> This monument is exceptional because it was a color image of a woman painted on a sandstone block. Though damaged and faded by time, it affords an opportunity to see an individual. This woman wore a hood, upper and lower garments, a mantle, a girdle or belt, and shoes. She was not dressed in either Roman or Greek clothing, but apparently in the clothing of a woman native to Pannonia. Due to the location where the monument was found and the fact that she was depicted wearing a torc, there is a good possibility that this was a Celtic woman. Throughout this study, the challenge of being able to see a snapshot into what Celtic or Germanic women looked like and how they dressed has been addressed. Here is the all-too-infrequent opportunity to do precisely that, and to see it in color.



**Figure 39. Painted panel from Brunn am Gebirge, (date unknown).**

*Source:* Bemalte Platte, Römische Steindenkmäler, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=4411> [Accessed November 2010]; Image: D4411\_G1© O. und F. Harl, Foto O. Harl 1999.

---

<sup>885</sup> Bemalte Platte, Römische Steindenkmäler, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=4411> [Accessed November 2010].

A similar artifact to the panel from Brunn am Gebirge was found at Source des Roches at Chamalières, France. As already mentioned, numerous votive finds have been recovered from various sacred springs and water sights. An interesting and unusual wooden votive plaque was discovered at Source des Roches. It depicted the silhouette of a woman on a beige background. She was depicted in blue.<sup>886</sup> Though described by Mees, it is unclear whether this wooden votive still survives, and no images of it have been discovered; in fact, the panel from Brunn am Gebirge is one of the relatively few paintings of women that exist.

### ***Britannia***

Unlike the numerous comments in classical accounts about the Gauls and Germans, the physical appearance of the British was little discussed. Strabo indicated that the inhabitants of Britain were less fair and shorter in height than the continental Celts, such as those in Gaul.<sup>887</sup> The most famous description of a British woman of the classical period was, of course, Boudica, with her tawny hair, massive gold necklace, and diverse tunic and mantel held in place with a brooch. In this outfit, described by Dio Cassius,<sup>888</sup> Boudica created a striking image which has been reproduced in various artistic mediums for centuries.

Hairstyles for women in Britain were something about which little is known from classical sources. Dio Cassius noted that when Boudica addressed her army, she wore her hair long and loose to her hips.<sup>889</sup> After Britain became a province of the Empire, funerary monuments and sculptures indicated that a wide variety of styles were worn by women. False hair, hairpins, and bonnets were all represented on sculptures in Britain, with hairpins and artificial hair discovered at archaeological sites.<sup>890</sup> Hair was frequently worn back to some degree, pulled away from the face and ears. Braids and elaborate hairstyles came in and went out of fashion in the Roman Empire and can be seen in Britain in several monuments, such as a head from Bath<sup>891</sup> and a head from Richborough<sup>892</sup> Examples of long hair worn down, covering the ears, were also noted in Britain and were depicted in the images

---

<sup>886</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 11.

<sup>887</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2.

<sup>888</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.2.

<sup>889</sup> Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 62.2.

<sup>890</sup> Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 109, 129-135.

<sup>891</sup> *CSIR* I.2, no. 94 (sculpture).

<sup>892</sup> Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 130.



of women such as Decima, from York,<sup>893</sup> and Vedica,<sup>894</sup> a woman of the Cornovii.<sup>895</sup> These are just some of the many hairstyles that have been displayed on stone monuments in Britain; some appeared to be local, while others apparently were imported.

Notwithstanding the number of accounts written about Britain by Greek and Roman authors (Caesar, Strabo, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, and Diodorus Siculus, among others), few mentioned the inhabitants' dress and ornamentation. The interpretation of British dress must be largely based on archaeological finds. Linen, silk, wool (of varying types), leather, and gold and silver threads have been discovered in Britain in the context of Roman-era finds.<sup>896</sup> Numerous textiles survived in Britain at both pre-Roman and Roman sites. One of the sites with the most prolific quantities of textiles is Vindolanda, a Roman fort at Hadrian's Wall, where over 600 textile fragments have been found.<sup>897</sup>

A large amount of what is known about British jewelry comes from archaeological finds. Many silver and gold torcs have been found in hoards in Britain. These British finds included the Winchester hoard (75-25 BC), the Snettisham hoards and the Ipswich torcs (both dating to approximately 75 BC).<sup>898</sup> Finds from these sites comprised bracelets, brooches, and torcs, made from materials like electrum, silver, and gold. Other were also used for jewelry –

---

<sup>893</sup> *RIB* 692; *CSIR* I.3, no. 45 (tombstone).

<sup>894</sup> *RIB* 635; *CSIR* I.3, no. 98 (tombstone).

<sup>895</sup> Allason-Jones, *Women in Roman Britain*, 132.

<sup>896</sup> Wild, "Textiles," in *Roman Crafts*, 167-169; J.W. Waterer, "Leatherwork," in *Roman Crafts*, eds. Donald Strong and David Brown (New York, New York University Press, 1976), 179-193. Applebaum stated that flax (from which linen was made – the word 'linen' being derived from the Latin and Greek words for the flax plant – *linum* and *linon*, respectively) was introduced into Britain by the Romans – see Shimon Applebaum, "Agriculture in Roman Britain," *The Agricultural History Review* 6, no. 2 (1958): 70.

<sup>897</sup> John Peter Wild, "Vindolanda 1985-1989: First Thoughts on News Finds," *Archaeological Textiles in Northern Europe: Report from the 4<sup>th</sup> NESAT Symposium 1-5 May 1990 Copenhagen*, eds. Lise Bender Jørgensen and Elisabeth Munksgaard (Copenhagen: Konservatorskolen, Det Kongelige danske kunstakademi, 1992), 66.

<sup>898</sup> "The Winchester Hoard," Explore/Highlights, The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/t/the\\_winchester\\_hoard.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/t/the_winchester_hoard.aspx) [Accessed November 2010]; "The Snettisham Hoard," Explore/Highlights, The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/t/the\\_snettisham\\_hoard.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/t/the_snettisham_hoard.aspx) [Accessed November 2010]; "Gold torcs from the Ipswich Hoard," Explore/Highlights, The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/g/ipswich\\_hoard\\_gold\\_torcs.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/g/ipswich_hoard_gold_torcs.aspx) [Accessed November 18, 2010].

for instance the brass torc found at Lochar Moss, Dumfriesshire, in Scotland (approximately AD 50 – 200).<sup>899</sup>

Strabo mentioned that imports from Gaul to Britain included “ivory chains and necklaces, and amber-gems” (*Ἐλεφάντινα ψάλια καὶ περιαιχένια καὶ λυγγούρια*).<sup>900</sup> Amber has been found in limited quantities at several archaeological finds in throughout Britain.<sup>901</sup>



**Figure 40. Ipswich Torcs, Courtesy of the British Museum.**

Source: AN33442001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

***Conquered and Claimed: The role, nature, and evolution of captive iconography in how the Roman Empire displayed its enemies and provinces***

Thus far in this study, we have glimpsed women at the highest and lowest levels, from queens to slaves, and from prophetesses to poor alluvial miners. We have seen descriptions or depictions of them in Greek and Roman primary sources, archaeological

---

<sup>899</sup> "Brass torc," Explore/Highlights, The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/b/brass\\_torc.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/brass_torc.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].

<sup>900</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.3. He refers to Gaul as Celtica.

<sup>901</sup> An amber ring was found in the Queen's Barrow at Arras. John Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (London, Methuen & Co., 1904), 64; Amber has been documented in excavations at Danebury and Glastonbury. Barry Cunliffe, *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire Vol 2 The Excavations 1969- 1978: The Finds*, CBA Research Report, no. 52 (1984): 396, <http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/library/cba/rr52b.cfm?CFID=573996&CFTOKEN=39545028> [Accessed December 2010].

finds, and funerary monuments. The average woman, neither slave nor high born, or even wealthy enough to afford a funerary monument, is largely missing from our views and understanding. One unusual place where we find a glimpse of them is through the lenses of other cultures – in the form of political art and propaganda. The Romans, both during the Republic and throughout the history of the Empire, were masters of political art. This included victory columns and arches, presentational objects, coinage and medallions, and triumphs.<sup>902</sup> It also encompassed personal and private art, such as sarcophagi. One particularly relevant area to this study of indigenous women is how the Romans displayed captive peoples, both literally as prisoners and also as broader cultural concepts.

### *Captive Art*

The role of captives as political art predated the Romans by thousands of years, going back at least as far as 3100 BC in Egypt (instances of captives can be seen in finds such as the Narmer and Battlefield Palettes) and in parallel cultures such as the Neo-Assyrian rulers of Mesopotamia in the eighth century BC (in the palace reliefs of kings, such as Tiglath-Pileser III and Ashurbanipal).



**Figure 41. Narmer Palette, 3100 BC.**

*Source:* AN987945001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

---

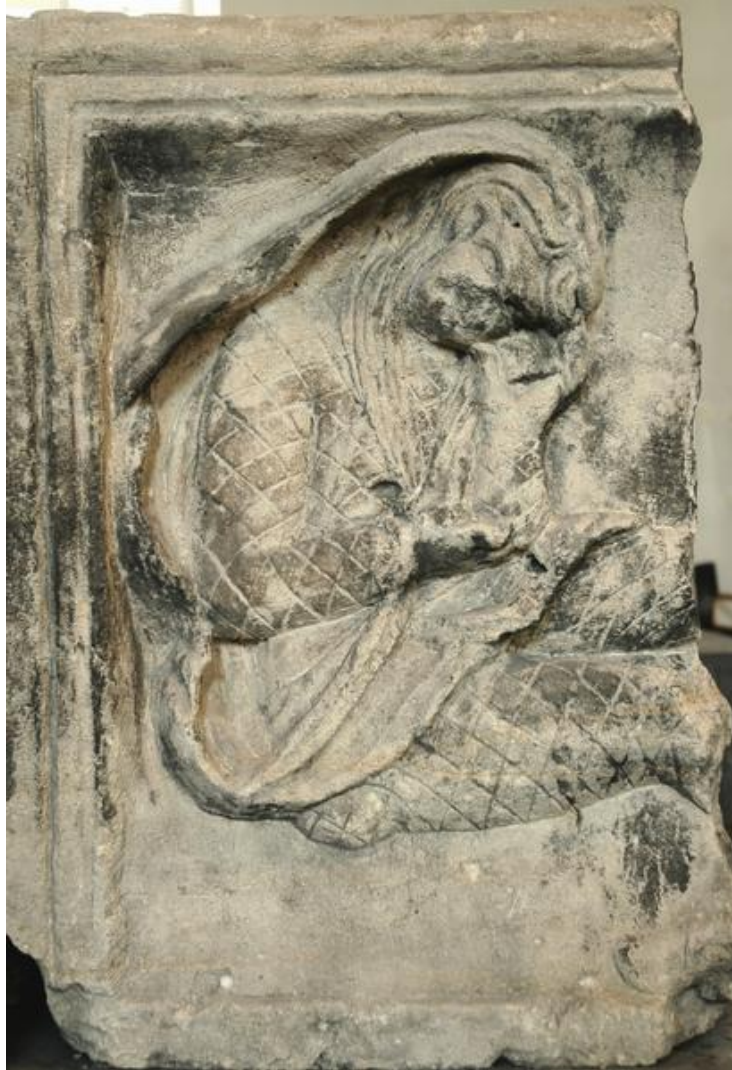
<sup>902</sup> It is worth noting at this time that there was a medallionic nature to Roman coinage as a whole as it frequently commemorated an event or idea; Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*. Numismatic Studies No. 5 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1986), 15.

The form of captive art seen by the greatest number of people in the Roman world would have been coinage. Victory columns and arches were frequently near larger communities,<sup>903</sup> and Roman triumphs occurred infrequently in the capital (and the area surrounding Rome). Captives appeared on coinage beginning in the latter stages of the Roman Republic. Depictions of captives from the Celts, Celtiberians and Germans as political art would have existed for centuries prior to the first known *capta* coinage. This can be asserted because at least 42 triumphs and 8 ovations in Rome dealt with the people of Germany, Spain, and Gaul (and Celtic tribes in other locations such as Illyria and Briton) between 367 BC and AD 93.<sup>904</sup> As we have no detailed images of these triumphs, the historical record is missing over 400 years of art depicting captives.

---

<sup>903</sup> Though there were notable exceptions like the monumental trophy at Urkulu in the Pyrennes. María Ángeles Mezquíriz, and J.-L. Tobie,, “La torre-trofeo de Urkulu,” *Príncipe de Viana*, no.14 (1992): 251-58 (Ejemplar dedicado a: Conferencias y comunicaciones sobre Prehistoria, Historia Antigua e Historia Medieval).

<sup>904</sup> A triumph was a massive event involving the army, the senate, animals for sacrifice, and spoils of war. Important moments of the wars that were fought were depicted on portable billboard-like displays. Slaves and captives in their native clothes were also displayed. An ovation was a celebratory event on a much smaller scale, usually awarded for defeating a smaller foe or when war between nations had not been declared. (The list and items contained within a triumph was compiled by examining the following works: Attilio Degrassi, *Fasti Capitolini* (Torino: G.B. Paravia, 1954); Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); and Robert Payne, *Rome Triumphant: How the Empire Celebrated Its Victories*. (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1993).



**Figure 42. One of the figures on the Mainz Pedestals which stood in front of the Roman fortress headquarters. Here depicting *Germania Capta*.**

*Source:* “Germania Capta,” Mainz Pedestals, Steinhalle in the Landes Museum, Mainz, Photograph Marco Prins, Jona Lendering, “Mogontiacum (Mainz),” Livius.org, 2008, [http://www.livius.org/mo-mt/mogontiacum/mainz\\_pedestals.html](http://www.livius.org/mo-mt/mogontiacum/mainz_pedestals.html) [Accessed March 2014].

This discussion pertains to women because, from triumphal monuments and coins, historians know that women were portrayed not only as captives, but also as the personifications of conquered people and as representations of the provinces.<sup>905</sup> Hispania, Gallia, Germania, and Britannia were all represented as female figures in coins of the Roman Republic and Empire. There were also several instances of statuary depicting women as representing Germans and Celts. In fact, an argument was put forward in two publications during the mid-1920’s by Lehman that art on coins was a copy of a relevant

---

<sup>905</sup> Ann L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The case of the Boscoreale Cups* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 84-85.

piece of imperial political art from the same period in which the coin was struck.<sup>906</sup> If true, it shows us the importance Romans placed on political art, which was widespread and also changed frequently (e.g., multiple coins could be issued throughout the reign of a single emperor).

For art to be figural and representative, it must be recognizable (at least to some degree) to its intended audience. Art (especially political art with a purpose) has the ability to reach people who cannot read, and to inform them of changes in society and conflicts within the Roman world. As noted earlier, Caligula dressed Gauls up to portray Germans for his triumph in AD 40 – but unless there was a publically shared, recognizable image of Germans, there would have been no reason to do that.<sup>907</sup> If there were recognizable depictions of various conquered peoples, we have the opportunity to learn from captive art not only how the Romans saw the northern barbarians, but possibly something about how their appearance was portrayed. Henner von Hesberg argued specifically that this recognition did not extend to the tribal level, especially as it pertained to women. He opined that this was done to “avoid offending their [tribes] respective feelings” when the Romans inflicted violence on female figures in art.<sup>908</sup> As a concept, Henner von Hesberg’s argument is logical – though difficult to prove. If you are going to administer provincial regions while being surrounded by the conquered people, there may be a distinction between demonstrating Rome’s victories while not unnecessarily antagonizing the local population. But von Hesberg may not go far enough. As can be seen from the art in these chapters, there were numerous and varied depictions of Germanic, Hispano Celtic, Celtiberian, and Celtic women, indicating recognition of differentiated and distinctive styles of dress among these larger communities (as opposed to a generic form of dress for all northern barbarians). It is less clear that distinctive attire at the tribal level was recognized – whether for women or for men. Neither the short descriptive passages that remain in primary sources nor the

---

<sup>906</sup>Annalina Caló Levi, *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture*, Numismatic Notes and Monographs No. 123 (New York: American Numismatic Society, 1952), 2.

<sup>907</sup>This concept of a distinctly recognizable Germanic appearance continued for almost four centuries, as demonstrated by Theophanes’ *Chronographia (Chronicle)* 14.10.4 - which corresponds to December 12, AD 416. It recorded that just prior to Constantius’ marriage to Placidia in AD 417, the wearing of German dress was banned in Rome. Unless Germanic dress was recognizably distinct from other forms of dress, how could it have been banned? R. C. Blockley, “Olympiodorus of Thebes,” in *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire* (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1981), 46.

<sup>908</sup>Henner von Hesberg, “The Image of the Family on Sepulchral Monuments in the Norwest Provinces,” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes*, vol. 7, Role Models in the Roman World. Identity and Assimilation (2008): 261.

surviving works of art (whether by Romans, Greeks, as well as the Celts and Germans themselves) described distinctive styles of clothing that could be associated with a particular tribe. Regional distinctions in dress by tribes clearly did exist, as indicated by the earlier notation that Strabo described the dress for what he termed the Mountaineers of Celtiberia (meaning the Callaican, Asturian and Cantabrian tribes). But we lack the imagery (visual and verbal) and archaeology to fully recreate these distinctions.

Women were neither attractive nor appealing captives in Roman art. They frequently looked down-trodden, adopted postures of mourning and, to add more insult and injury to the figure, many were partially disrobed (most likely as a form of humiliation and degradation). We can see this in the statue of the barbarian captive already discussed in Chapter 4, Figure 16, known since 1841 as “Thusnelda.”

### *Triumphal Monuments*

Roman triumphal art existed in many different forms including arches, columns, and temples. Triumphal art played a multifaceted role. It celebrated Roman victory over the “other,” or non-Roman, however it also acted as a perpetual reminder to the defeated that they not only lost, but that they could be conquered again. One of the most famous surviving pieces of triumphal art that pertained to the area focused on in this study was the Column of Marcus Aurelius, completed between AD176 and AD 193.<sup>909</sup> It celebrated the Emperor’s victory in the Marcomannic Wars. Excluding restorations of unknown accuracy and one scene that may depict the empress, there are fourteen scenes of women (one of which, scene LXIX, has been tentatively identified as Celts, not Germans, due to the presences of torcs).<sup>910</sup> This column showed direct violence towards women, depicting them being dragged, assaulted, captured, or relocated. In one exceptionally unusual scene, we see a woman being stabbed to death. This intense level of violence towards women was unseen on any other surviving piece of Roman imperial art. Even on Trajan’s Column, Dacian women were less abused and less emotional. Sheila Dillon argued that this violence did occur (which was corroborated, to a degree, by accounts in primary sources),

---

<sup>909</sup> Filippo Coarelli and Helen L. Patterson, *La colonna di Marco Aurelio* (Roma: Colombo, 2008), 32-34; Per Gustaf Hamberg, *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*, (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1968), 149.

<sup>910</sup> Scenes of “German” women: XVII, XX, XLIII, XLVI, XCVII, LVI, LVII, LXI, LXXIII, LXXXV, CII, CIV, CXV. Scene of “Celtic” women: LXIX; Coarelli and Patterson, *La colonna di Marco Aurelio*.

but this was just one of the few times we saw it.<sup>911</sup> She specifically argued, regarding the appearance of women in Trajan's Column, "that wartime violence against women has been deliberately erased from the war stories represented in the reliefs. There is no compelling historical reason to think that Roman soldiers treated Dacian women any better..." than those appearing on the Column of Marcus Aurelius.<sup>912</sup> Dillon rightly pointed out that violence towards women in other wars occurred, even though it was not present in surviving Roman art. Nonetheless, the paucity of examples of violence against the women of conquered barbarian peoples in Roman art is surprising. There are many surviving depictions of barbarian men being assaulted or killed. The violence towards helpless women and children on the Column of Marcus Aurelius was not something radical or new when compared to accounts of Roman violence in primary sources. The depiction in political art of such violence would seem to be a powerful message of defeat and subjugation of an enemy to the Roman people, and a powerful reminder to the defeated.

---

<sup>911</sup> Martin Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius: The Genesis & Meaning of a Roman Imperial Monument* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 194; Sheila Dillon, "Women on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the Visual Language of Roman Victory," in *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, eds. Sheila Dillon and Katherine E. Welch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 257-260.

<sup>912</sup> Dillon, "Women on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the Visual Language of Roman Victory," 260.





**Figure 43. Column of Marcus Aurelius, Scene XCVII showing both women being dragged off by Roman soldiers and a Roman stabbing a falling barbarian woman.**

*Source:* Beckmann, *The Column of Marcus Aurelius*, 195, Figure 9.1.

Many triumphal monuments have been lost or damaged over time. One such severely eroded arch was at Orange, France, most likely built during the reign of Augustus to celebrate an unknown victory over the Gauls (and Augustus' victory at Actium). The Arch of Orange detailed not only armor, weapons, and naval aspects, but bound prisoners on either side of *tropaea* (though seriously worn, these appear to depict both male and female prisoners).<sup>913</sup> The monument was modified under Tiberius in AD 27 to commemorate Germanicus' victories over the Germans.

---

<sup>913</sup> In earlier times, this was known as the Arch of Marius. Historical opinion regarding for whom the arch was erected has changed over time. James Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Southern France: A Guidebook* (London: Routledge, 1993), 183–186; Henry Cleere, *Southern France: An Oxford Archaeological Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 122–123; Pierre Gros, "Pour une chronologie des arcs de triomphe de Gaule narbonnaise," *Gallia* 37(1979):55-83; and Ina Caro, "The Arch of Orange," in *Traveler's Tales France: True Stories*, eds. Larry Habegger and James O'Reilly. *101 Places to Go Before You Die* (San Francisco, CA: Travelers' Tales, 2001), 99-107.



**Figure 44. Triumphal Arch at Orange (eastern side) most likely constructed during the reign of Augustus and altered under Tiberius in AD 27.**

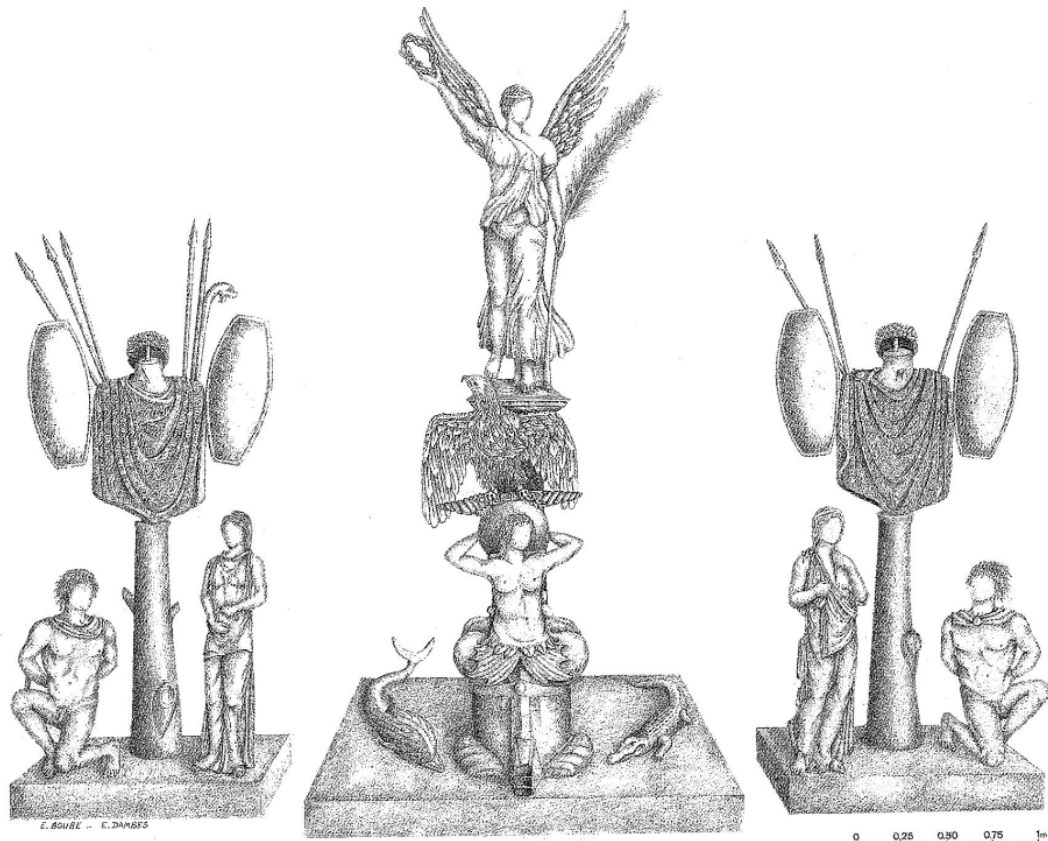
*Source:* Photography courtesy of Marianne Casamance © 2013.

A number of other triumphal monuments depicted Gauls, Germans, and Spaniards. The Arch at Glanum, France, showed a native man and woman in chains. The Arch of Carpentras, France, also included bound barbarians being subjugated.<sup>914</sup> Two plaques in half relief from Augustus' Trophy of the Alps, La Turbie, France, from the first century BC, depicted male and female barbarians bound in chains. Last but not least, the trophy group from *Lugdunum Covenarum* (now Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France) showed male and female barbarians of Spain and Gaul.<sup>915</sup> Figure 67, is a theoretical reconstruction using the 135 surviving pieces.

---

<sup>914</sup> Gilbert Picard, "L'arc de Carpentras," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, vol. 104, no. 1(1960): 13-16; Robert Turcan, "L'arc de Carpentras : problèmes de datation et d'histoire," *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, eds. Lucien Lerat and Hélène Walter (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1984), 809-820; and Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus*, 84.

<sup>915</sup> Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus*, 84.



**Figure 45. Trophy group from Lugdunum Covenarum, Gauls are represented on the far left and Spaniards on the far right.**

*Source:* Emmanuelle Boube, and Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, *Collections du Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. 4, 4 Le Trophée augustéen* (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Le Musée, 1996), 25, Figure 6 b.

Some figures representing the conquered or captive have been found far outside the provinces in which the conquest occurred. In Aphrodisias, Asia Minor, there was a frieze which showed the Roman conquest of Britannia. In it, a stylized figure of the Emperor Claudius was assualting a female figure of Britannia.<sup>916</sup>

Careful study of other monuments from the Roman Empire (even those pertaining to different conflicts, such as Trajan’s Column, celebrating his victory over the Dacians) can potentially shed light on how the Romans saw and treated barbarians and enemies because they provide us with a greater supply of political art for comparison.

<sup>916</sup> Julia Watts Belser, “Sex in the Shadow of Rome: Sexual Violence and Theological Lament in Talmudic Disaster Tales,” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 30, no. 1 (2014): 9-10; Kenan T. Erim, “A New Relief Showing Claudius and Britannia from Aphrodisias,” *Britannia* 13 (1982): 277

*Presentational Objects*

Presentational objects have also displayed female personifications of cultures. The sword of Tiberius (from 15 BC) in the British Museum has a sheath displaying Germania. A cuirass depicted on a statue of Augustus of Prima Porta from Livia's villa dating to the first half of the first century AD shows a female personification of Gallia bearing a torch and seated with a boar (see Figure 81).



**Figure 46. Germania from the sheath of the Sword of Tiberius.**

*Source:* AN257501001 © Trustees of the British Museum; 15 BC.

Several surviving elaborate presentational cameos from the Roman Empire depicted captives. The *Gemma Augustea* and the *Great Cameo of France*, produced in the early first

century AD, are both attributed to Dioscurides, a gem cutter favored by Augustus, or some of his craftsmen.<sup>917</sup>



**Figure 47.** *Gemma Augustea.*

*Source:* Photograph courtesy of James Steakley © 2013.



**Figure 48.** *The Great Cameo of France.*

*Source:* Photograph courtesy of Marie-Lan Nguyen © 2008.

---

<sup>917</sup> Larry J. Kreitzer, *Striking New Images: Roman Imperial Coinage and New Testament World* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 77; Fred S. Kleiner, *A History of Roman Art* (Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010), 107-108.

## Coinage

Political art in the Roman world was most widely displayed through the circulation of coinage. One particular area that gives us insight towards women is how they were depicted on *capta* coins. While, *capta* coins have been found representing Armenia, Dacia, Parthia, Egypt, Judea, and other peoples,<sup>918</sup> this section will only focus on those that pertain to the Celtic and Germanic world.<sup>919</sup> The coins below are examples of different ‘conquered’ females representing Gallia, Germania, and Britannia.<sup>920</sup> That these coins played a role in both politics in Rome and the provinces was argued by Toynbee, who noted, “The issue of a Germania *capta* [sic] type by Domitian on silver medallions of 85 hints at an effort



**Figure 49. *Capta* coins (left to right) Gallia, Germania, and Britannia.**

*Sources:* (Left) Reverse: Trophy with helmet, cuirass, two spears, oval and oblong shields, and two *cornucopias* (trumpets); on left, a naked, bearded Gaul kneeling left on one knee, looking upward; on right, Gallia seated right; ID #74000541, Silver Denarius, Julius Caesar, BC 46-45, Mint: Spain, (Coin References: Crawford 468/2; CRI 59; Sydenham 1015; Kestner 3644; BMCRR Spain 86), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009 [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=251380](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=251380) [Accessed April 2014].

(Center) Reverse: Germania seated right on shield; below, broken spear, ID# Alex169, Silver Denarius, Domitian, AD 85, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0341), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=295408](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=295408) [Accessed April 2014].

(Right) Reverse: Britannia seated left on rock, propping head on hand and other hand on rock, in attitude of mourning; shield and eagle-tipped scepter to left, ID# 841958, Bronze As, Antoninus Pius, AD 154-155, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 9340), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=241734](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=241734) [Accessed April 2014].

---

<sup>919</sup> The most discussed *capta* coins are the *Judea capta* coins. The academic literature on other *capta* coins is slim at best.

<sup>920</sup> Though it goes beyond the scope of this study in date, female representations in coinage continued into later periods and depicted “barbarian” regions including Alamannia and Francia. (See: Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 186-187).

Please note there are coins from Gaul that predate the Roman occupation which also showed naked women brandishing weapons with loose hair, though these may be religious figures of goddesses and not personifications of Gaul or any other real female. Green, *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*, 37.

to convince sceptical [sic] aristocratic circles in Rome of the permanent results to be expected from the German campaigns.”<sup>921</sup> Because the Romans used coinage as political art, it is not surprising that as these provinces become Romanized, the female imagery changed to reflect their new status as part of the Empire. On numerous occasions, the Emperor was depicted as engaging with the female figure, showing a dramatic change in how she, as a representative figure of her province, was viewed.<sup>922</sup>



**Figure 50. Roman imperial coins (left to right): Gallia, Germania, and Britannia.**

*Sources:* (Left) Reverse: Hadrian holding up his right hand on left facing Gallia holding *patera* over lit decorated alter, animal behind, RI\_0001\_Kernos, Bronze Sestertius, Hadrian, AD 125-128/132-134, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0884), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=47566](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=47566) [Accessed April 2014].

(Center) Reverse: Germania standing facing, head left, holding spear and shield set on ground, ID# 761904, Silver Denarius, Hadrian, AD 134-138, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 303, RSC 802, BMCRE 840) Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [http://coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=241622](http://coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=241622) [Accessed April 2014].

(Right) Reverse: Constantius standing right, raising Britannia, left, from her knees; Victory standing, right, behind emperor, crowning him with a wreath, ID# 1928,0208.2, 5 Aureus, Constantius I Chlorus, AD 297, Mint: Trier, (Coin References: RIC 6 32 ), AN106551001 © Trustees of the British Museum.<sup>923</sup>

Interestingly, even though there were a number of conflicts in Spain, Hispania does not show up as a defeated *capta* female figure in coinage going back to the start of the first century BC in the Roman Republic. There are two possible reasons that Hispania was depicted only as a clothed figure who was not conquered. Firstly, *capta* coins for Spain simply may not survive in the archaeological record. Secondly, portions of Spain may have been viewed by Rome as civilized due to contact with Greek and Phoenician traders and settlements and later Carthaginian occupation and control for several centuries, and therefore

<sup>921</sup> Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 195.

<sup>922</sup> Personification of various regions was discussed in Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, 144-146,163-164,185-189.

<sup>923</sup> Though it goes beyond the scope of this study in date, female representations in coinage continued into later periods and it seemed important to show that this was the case for Britannia.

it did not need to be portrayed as a conquered people (just as there are no *capta* coins for Greece<sup>924</sup>).<sup>925</sup> This is an interesting possibility, because Rome invaded Spain in 218 BC and fought through 19 BC (to the reign of Augustus) to conquer Spain. However, two Spanish provinces, Nearer and Further Spain, were created as early as 197 BC. One statue of a defeated and partially disrobed *Hispania capta*, dating to the first century BC, survived from the Pyrenees. She was a free-standing marble figure from the trophy group from *Lugdunum Covenarum* (now Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, France).<sup>926</sup> This was the only statue of this nature of Hispania that has been discovered in the course of researching this study.



**Figure 51. Three coins depicting Hispania (left to right): Roman republican era coin 81 BC, Roman republican era coin 46 BC, imperial coin AD 134.**

Sources: (Left) Boube, et al., *Collections du Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. 4, 4 Le Trophée augustéen*, 126.

(Center) Reverse: togate figure standing left, raising right hand; legionary eagle to left, fasces with axe to right, ID # 04\_04, Silver AR Serratus Denarius, A. Postumius A.f. Sp.n. Albinus, 81 BC, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: Crawford 372/2, RSC Postumia 8, Syd 746), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [http://www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=5338](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=5338) [Accessed April 2014].

(Right) Reverse: Hispania standing right, shield slung on back, holding two spears, presenting long palm frond to Pompeian soldier standing left on large prow, armed with sword ID # 79001012, Silver Denarius, M. Publicius and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, BC 46-45, Mint: Corduba, (Coin References: Crawford 469/1d, RSC 1 (Pompey the Great), Syd 1035, CRI 48), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=265192](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=265192) [Accessed April 2014].

<sup>924</sup> If they exist, my research has not uncovered them.

<sup>925</sup> The Republican Senate had allies in Hispania. In fact, the event that triggered the Second Punic War was the siege of a city with a mixed population, known as Saguntum (originally a Celtiberian city, Arse). When the city was besieged by Hannibal and his army in 219 BC, the Romans failed to help their allies; when the city fell, Livy described the Senate as distressed and shamed. P. P. Ripollés Alegre, and Ma. del Mar Llorens, *Arse-Saguntum: historia monetaria de la ciudad y su territorio*, (Sagunto: Fundación Bancaja, 2002); Livy, *History of Rome*, 21.16; Antonio Carlos Ledo Caballero, *La calzada Arse/Saguntum - Celtiberia: estudio histórico-arqueológico*, (Alboraya: Real Acad. de Cultura Valenciana, 2005).

<sup>926</sup> Emmanuelle Boube, and Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges, *Collections du Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. 4, 4 Le Trophée augustéen* (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Le Musée, 1996), 25, Figure 6 b.



Even more surprisingly, the Romanized provinces of Hispania, Germania, and Britannia also appeared as females proudly bearing shields, helmets, and spears.<sup>927</sup>



**Figure 52. Roman imperial coins (left to right): Hispania, Germania, and Britannia.**

*Sources:* (Left) Reverse: Hispania, draped, advancing left, holding poppy and corn-ears with right hand and round shield and two transverse spears with her left, ID # 25-397, Silver Denarius, Galba, AD July 68-January 69, Mint: Unknown, (Coin References: RIC 155, BMC 015, C 82), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [http://www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=294205](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=294205) [Accessed April 2014].

(Center) Reverse: Germania standing left, holding spear and shield, ID # 732960, Silver Denarius, Hadrian, AD 134-38, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0303, BMCRE 0842, RSC 0804), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=241347](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=241347) [Accessed April 2014].

(Right) Reverse: Britannia seated left on heap of rocks, holding military standard in right hand and cradling spear in left arm, leaning on round shield set on helmet, ID # 711473, Bronze Sestertius, Antoninus Pius, AD 143-144, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 745, Strack 926, Banti 48, BMCRE P. 264), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=276112](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=276112) [Accessed April 2014].

There were a number of coins depicting the provinces from the reign of Galba, who was supported by both Gaul and Hispania in his revolt. In a few instances, the female



**Figure 53. An alternate style of imperial coin showing the bust of a female personification of a province with weaponry (two spears and a shield) and plants. Both coins were struck under the reign of the Emperor Galba. Gallia (left) and Hispania (right).**

*Sources:* (Left) AN633336001 © Trustees of the British Museum; An imperial coin showing the bust of a female personification of the province Gallia with weaponry (two spears and a shield) and plants. The coin was struck under the reign of the Emperor Galba, circa AD 68.

(Right) Reverse: Hispania laureate and draped bust right, two javelins behind, round shield below, two grain ears in front, ID # 1540165, Silver Denarius, Galba, AD April - June 68, Mint: Tarraco, (Coin References: RIC 002, BMCRE 162-3, RSC 077, BN 003), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=225661](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=225661) [Accessed April 2014].

<sup>927</sup> To date, I have been unable to locate a similar coin from Gaul.

## *Triumphs*

personifications of the provinces of Gaul and Hispania appeared, armed and together, on the same coin clasping hands.<sup>928</sup>

As mentioned earlier, there were over 40 triumphs in Rome which dealt with the people of Germany, Spain, and Gaul (and Celtic tribes of other areas) between 367 BC and AD 93. Triumphs literally portrayed people as captives and, in the larger triumphs, rebel or enemy leaders and, at times, their families were put on display. Newly enslaved peoples were paraded in the triumphs. However, specifically pertaining to art, key battle scenes and moments in the history of wars were illustrated on portable “billboards” so the crowds could see what happened. None of these works of art survived, but they clearly would have displayed the military and the enemy they were fighting. At times, unusual “triumphs” occurred. When the British chieftain Caratacus was captured, he was brought to Rome with his family in a triumph that took place outside of the city, rather than within.<sup>929</sup>

Political art in the Roman world not only celebrated the power of Rome, but acted as a constant reminder of Rome’s dominance and military might through provincial art (frequently displayed in and around veteran colonies, which were another reminder of Rome’s presence). As stated earlier, political art would have been useful only if it could be understood by its audience. Thus, we can use such political art to understand how the Romans viewed other peoples, evolving from the status of captive territories to thriving provinces, and from conquered and subjugated enemies to eventual Roman citizens. This art evolved over time, from initial depictions of those who had been defeated to full-fledged participants of the Empire. Through art, we can gain a sense of this shift as it was documented in the form of familiar such as weapons, clothes, hairstyles, posture, and the day-to-day life events that were depicted.

### *Political to Personal Captive Art and Iconography in Sarcophagi*

Captive art and iconography of men and women was not limited to political art. It also existed in personal art in the form of sarcophagi.

One personal object from the Roman Empire, which appeared to depict two German women, was the Portonaccio sarcophagus (see Figures 54 and 55). Housed in the Palazzo

---

<sup>928</sup> Jocelyn M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art* (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1934), 83.

<sup>929</sup> Payne, *Rome Triumphant*, 163; Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.36-37.

Massimo Alle Terme in Rome, and dating to the end of the second century, this sarcophagus may depict a battle against Germans. There are similarities in appearance with descriptions of the Germans given by classical authors. Archaeological evidence has also revealed similar weapons (shown in miniature, as a form of ornamentation). The stonemasons who carved the sarcophagus went to great lengths to accurately depict those weapons, as well as the armor of the Roman soldiers. It is reasonable to expect that similar care was used in depicting the appearance of the barbarians.

The two women in Figure 54 illustrated two different styles of clothing.<sup>898</sup> The woman on the left wore a long-sleeved gown that appeared to be both belted and girdled. There was excess fabric draped over her left arm and beneath her right shoulder, which may be evidence of an over dress (a peplos over a long-sleeved under tunic, though the carving is unclear). About her shoulders was a cloak with an elaborate trim along the right-hand hem, which was fastened with a cloak pin. On her feet were sandals (rarely seen in surviving art). She wore a head band in her short hair (perhaps it was a diadem). The woman on the right was dressed in a similar fashion to the sculpture of Thusnelda from Chapter 4 (see Figure 16). She wore a sleeveless gown, perhaps a peplos with a wrap (similar to a palla) draped over her right shoulder and looped over her left wrist. This woman had several accessories. On her left upper arm was an arm band, around her neck and right wrist was either a cloth or metal piece of jewelry, and around her waist she wore a decorated belt. Like the woman depicted in the left-hand corner, she wore sandals, as well as a head band (or circlet), though her hair is worn long.

The Portonaccio sarcophagus was one of several sarcophagi from the second and third century AD which portrayed barbarian female captives and battles in a similar style. The sarcophagus in the Galleria Borghese, in Rome (Figure 56), depicting a battle of Romans and barbarians, had a pair of male and female barbarians—one stationed at each corner of the sarcophagus. Another sarcophagus with the same format was in the Museo Nazionale in Palermo (Figure 57). It is interesting to note the similar body language and placement, yet the differences in clothing. The Palermo and Portonaccio sarcophagus both had partially disrobed females, while the Galleria Borghese sarcophagus had two fully clothed figures (including cloaks).

It has been speculated that these sarcophagi were commissioned by or for Roman generals. This is a dangerous assumption, as sarcophagi are not necessarily biographical in

nature, but could be chosen with numerous styles of decoration.<sup>930</sup> What can be said is that the owners of the sarcophagi probably valued valor and clemency, as both were featured on the sarcophagi.<sup>931</sup> What is interesting is that captive art was not exclusive to the Roman political machine. It clearly played a part in the lives of individuals. It is well documented that Roman officers and soldiers came home from the wars with slaves. It might be possible that the prominent male and female figures represent captives who later became slaves of the owners of these sarcophagi. However, it is equally probable that these are examples of a standard style of victory art depicting some unrelated, significant event in the life of the owner of the sarcophagi.



**Figure 54. Left: Left corner female figure from the Portonaccio sarcophagus. Right: Right corner female figure from the Portonaccio sarcophagus.**

Source: Photos © Ugo Troccoli.

---

<sup>930</sup> Harry Sidebottom, *Ancient Warfare: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 31-34.

<sup>931</sup> Sidebottom, *Ancient Warfare*, 34.



**Figure 55. The Portonaccio Sarcophagus, late second century AD.**

*Source:* Photography © Sebastià Giralt.



**Figure 56. Sarcophagus in the Galleria Borghese, Rome, depicting Battle of Romans and Barbarians, second century or third century AD. There is a pair of male and female prisoners at each corner of the sarcophagus.**

*Source: Hamberg, Studies in Roman Imperial Art, Pl. 41*



**Figure 57. Sarcophagus in Palermo, Museo Nazionale, depicting Battle of Romans and Barbarians, second century or third century AD. There is a pair of male and female prisoners at each corner of the sarcophagus.**

*Source: Hamberg, Studies in Roman Imperial Art, Pl. 39.*



1 Poggio a Caiano



2 Mantua, Palazzo Ducale



3 Los Angeles



4 Florenz, Galleria degli Uffizi

**Figure 58. Four sarcophagi panels from the latter half of the second century AD. Top to bottom: 1) Sarcophagus AD 160-170 2) Sarcophagus AD 170 3) Eastern Mediterranean Biographical Sarcophagus AD 170-180 4) Sarcophagus in Florence AD 180.**

*Source:* Carola Reinsberg, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. 3. Teil, 3. Teil. Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2006), 210, 202, 200-201, 194-195, and Tafel 1.



Above are four sarcophagi that are biographical in nature. Each depicted the exact same series of images, carved with minor stylistic differences. All fall between AD 160 and 190. They showed marriage, acts of sacrifice, and *clementia* toward a barbarian woman and child.<sup>932</sup> While these may all have belonged to Roman generals, they demonstrated that standardization existed, whether in ideals or in funerary monuments.

One of the great shortcomings of our primary sources is that they were written by the elites of society. Those elites largely regarded the world as they knew it, and shaded their accounts as a result of their values, prejudices, and predispositions. We tend to see the extremes in primary sources, from the lives of emperors, to the revolts of slaves, and the massacres of barbarian foes. With a few exceptions, the vast majority of societies (both Roman and foreign) remain invisible to us in many ways.<sup>933</sup> However, in captive and political art, we glimpse the undiscussed women that made up so much of the ancient world. Millions of women lived and died in Gaul, Germany, Britain, and Iberia in the more than 600 years covered by this study. The names of less than 150 of them survived in ancient primary sources covering the time period 400 BC – AD 400. In contrast to the written literature, captive and political art portrayed a message that could be understood by everyone throughout the empires of the ancient world. Political art only functions when it can be correctly interpreted by the intended audience. This art, though biased, depicted unnamed women who were used by the Romans and others as personifications of these foreign cultures.

### ***Conquest Art***

Self-inflicted death rather than captivity or slavery has limited depictions when it comes to women. Victory columns already show us evidence of physical violence in women in Roman art. However, there is evidence of the practice of self-inflicted or self-chosen death as well. One famous group of statues where such depictions survived is of those Gauls who became the Galatians, the famous group of figures commissioned by Attalus I to celebrate his victories over them (233 BC and 228-223 BC) prior to their settlement and recruitment as mercenaries. Surviving monuments denoting victories over the Gauls were erected by Attalus at Athens and Pergamon (additional monuments were once located at Delos, though they may not be connected

---

<sup>932</sup>Reinsberg, *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben*, 194-195, 200-201, 202, 210.

<sup>933</sup>For example: Columella, *De Re Rustica*.

to Attalus; none of the figures from the Delos monuments survived.)<sup>934</sup> Historians have long known of these monuments and their figures, but in truth, the sculptors, quantity of figures, types of figures, and how they were arranged at each location remained unknown. Over time, the statues that have existed (and been lost), together with the later copies which still survive, have been known by a variety of names.

The most famous group of figures is from Pergamon (constructed between 230-220 BC<sup>935</sup>). These originally were made of bronze, but are no longer in existence. What survived were later marble copies. The inscription on the monument at Pergamon noted that the King erected his monument to Athena. This group of figures was thought to have been life-sized or larger than life.<sup>936</sup> At least one figure of a woman appears to have been a part of each of the monuments at Pergamon and Athens. On the monument from the acropolis at Pergamon, the only woman in the group seemed to have been a part of the central figure – sometimes referred to as The Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife (known also as the Ludovisi Gaul, the Suicidal Gaul, or the Gaul and His Wife; the figures are now located in Rome).<sup>937</sup> (Figure 59) The famous and well-known figure, entitled The Dying Gaul (once known as the Dying Gladiator, the Capitoline Gaul, and in the past possibly the figure referred to by Pliny the Elder as the Trumpeter; now located in Rome), also seems to have been a part of this monument.<sup>938</sup> A pedestal reconstruction of the monument has been suggested, with The Gaul Killing His Wife at the center. Ridgeway's argument – that the larger statue and the Dying Gaul were designed to be seen at eye level (especially the base of the Dying Gaul which depicted the trumpet and weapons) – makes greater sense than a monument that would have prevented a clear view of the statues.<sup>939</sup>

---

<sup>934</sup> Jerome Jordan Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge, 1986), 95.

<sup>935</sup> Brunilde Sismondo Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, Wisconsin Studies in Classics (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 284.

<sup>936</sup> Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 289.

<sup>937</sup> Pausanias and James George Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1898), 324.

<sup>938</sup> Pausanias and Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 324; Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 95.

<sup>939</sup> Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 291.



**Figure 59. The Gaul Killing Himself and His Wife.**

*Source:* Hellenistic Art, State University of New York, College at Oneonta, [http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/ARTH/Images/109images/4thc\\_hellenistic/perg\\_ludovisi\\_gaul.jpg](http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/ARTH/Images/109images/4thc_hellenistic/perg_ludovisi_gaul.jpg) [Accessed December 2010].

At the Acropolis in Athens, a smaller group of figures apparently was erected by Attalus I<sup>940</sup> at a later date -- around 200 BC.<sup>941</sup> (Figure 60) Numerous figures put up by Attalus I survived (as later marble copies), but their identification is now unclear. The female figure from this group – the Dead Gaul Woman (formerly known as the Dead Amazon, and now located in Naples) – can be seen below in the lower right side of Figure 60.<sup>942</sup> Up until at least 1541, this figure had an infant clinging to her exposed breast.<sup>943</sup> This figure may have been originally designed by the same person who sculpted *The Dying Gaul* (Epigonos), as both these statues were described by Pliny the Elder.<sup>944</sup> Another figure that may have been on this monument is known as the

---

<sup>940</sup> Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 290.

<sup>941</sup> Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 285.

<sup>942</sup> Pollitt, *Art in the Hellenistic Age*, 85.

<sup>943</sup> Pausanias and Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 324.

<sup>944</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.88.

Kneeling Youthful Gaul (now in the Louvre).<sup>945</sup> The three male figures seen in Figure 60 may also be representations of Gauls (in the past they have been attributed to different ethnicities, as indicated by their alternative names); they have gone by numerous names, such as Dying Gaul (bottom left, sometimes known as the Dead Persian), Wounded Gaul (upper left) and the Bearded Gaul (upper right, also referred to as the Dead Giant). Two additional figures, include the Gaul Falling Backwards and a Dead Gaul, are now located in Venice.<sup>946</sup>



**Figure 60. Later Roman marble copies of figures from the Gaul Monument of Attalus I, originally located at the Acropolis in Athens.**

Source: Hellenistic Art, State University of New York, College at Oneonta, [http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/ARTH/Images/109images/4thc\\_hellenistic/perg\\_vict\\_small.jpg](http://employees.oneonta.edu/farberas/ARTH/Images/109images/4thc_hellenistic/perg_vict_small.jpg) [Accessed December 2010].

### ***All-but-lost: Hidden depths to political art revealed through modern technology***

Having argued that Roman political art and even some forms of personal *capta* art had to be recognizable to its audience to truly serve its purpose, we are still missing a vital layer of interpretation, which is color. The ancient world of the Greeks, Romans, Germans, Celts, and Iberians was vibrant and bold. Most of the art and many of the buildings in the ancient world seem to have been painted; they were not intended to be viewed as natural stone. The look of pure marble and aged bronze as an ideal view of the classical world emerged in the Renaissance and carried through to the nineteenth century.<sup>947</sup> Humans depicted in living color would have

---

<sup>945</sup> Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 291.

<sup>946</sup> Ridgeway, *Hellenistic Sculpture*, 290-291.

<sup>947</sup> Matthew Gurewitsch, "True Colors: Archaeologist Vinzenz Brinkmann insists his eye-popping reproductions of ancient Greek sculptures are right on target," in *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 2008, [www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/true-colors-17888/?all](http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/true-colors-17888/?all) [Accessed July 2014].

made a great difference in the interpretation of who was being represented. This is especially true when we know that, at different points, there were stereotypes about appearance in the classical world regarding foreigners and their appearance.<sup>948</sup>

The restoration of the Augustus of Prima Porta (below left) by Vinzenz Brinkmann,<sup>949</sup> who has become a specialist at interpreting and reconstructing polychrome traces in ancient monuments, clearly illustrated how artists used color to highlight details of clothing, which is not



**Figure 61. Left, restored Gallia in polychrome, on display at the Glyptothek. Right, Gallia from the cuirass on a statue of Augustus at the villa of Livia in Rome**

*Sources: (Left) Exhibit: Bunte Götter – Die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur, Glyptothek, 2003. Image courtesy Benno Kuppler, ©2004. (Image edited for size.)*

*(Right) Kuttner, Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus, Figure 64.*

---

<sup>948</sup> For instance, a verbal description of Gauls is found in the following works: Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.28; Strabo, *Geography*, 4.5.2; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 15.1; Virgil, “The *Æneid* of Virgil,” 8.658-660.

<sup>949</sup> Vinzenz Brinkmann and Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann are just two of many archaeologists who have been working to discover polychrome traces in ancient piece of art and monuments and restore them to plaster copies.

discernable when looking at the statue as it appears today, because the original pigmentation has been worn away to the point that it is invisible to the naked eye (below right).<sup>950</sup>

Another example which clearly depicts how color was used on the original to distinguish individuals is found on a restored scene from the fourth century BC Alexander Sarcophagus. Originally discovered in Sidon, Lebanon, in the late nineteenth century, it depicted a number of scenes from the life and times of Alexander the Great. This included an image of the Battle of Gaza (312 BC) on what may be the tomb of Abdalonymus (who was made a king of Sidon by Alexander, and who died during that battle).<sup>951</sup> One can clearly see not only how different the opponents look from the Greeks in the colors that would have been seen on the original sarcophagus, but how the artists used color to differentiate between individual figures. On the marble panel as it is seen today (with the original color worn off), the figures on the far left and far right appear to wear similar tunics and leggings, whereas when traces of the original colors are restored, those tunics and leggings are distinctly different.

---

<sup>950</sup> Vinzenz Brinkmann, Wilhelm Hornbostel, and Raimund Wünsche, *Bunte Götter: die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur*, (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2007); Vinzenz Brinkmann, Oliver Primavesi, and Max Hollein. *Circumlitio: The Polychromy of Antique and Mediaeval Sculpture*, (Frankfurt a.M.: Schriftenreihe der Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, 2010).

<sup>951</sup> Ada Cohen, *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great: Paradigms of Manhood and Their Cultural Traditions*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119-122.



**Figure 62. Alexander Sarcophagus, fourth century BC, depicting the Battle of Gaza, 312 BC.**

*Source: Alexander Sarcophagus, fight against the Persians, narrow side. Color reconstruction of the original Greek marble executed ca. 320 B.C. (2006–2007 Vinzenz Brinkmann & Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann, Heinrich Piening) Stiftung Archäologie, Munich. Photograph: Stiftung Archäologie, Vinzenz Brinkmann*

### ***Color in Everyday Life***

Everyday life for women among the Celts and Germans apparently was colorful. Many classical accounts described the Germans, Celtiberians, and Celts as wearing colorful clothing.<sup>952</sup> Bright colors, stripes, and checkered patterns appeared to be common in clothing from these regions. In addition to producing cloth, women may have been engaged in the dying of that cloth and the cultivation of plants from which the dyes were made. Dying is a complicated practice, requiring the knowledge of plants, minerals, and chemicals to achieve the desired results. If women were dying fabric to produce the cloth for which the Celts and Germans were known, they may also have been involved in the trade of dyes and chemicals used in that

<sup>952</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.3.7; Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8.74.196; Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5. 30.1-2.

process. What is known about colorful clothing comes from a handful of accounts. Among the Germans, Tacitus wrote of women wearing gowns striped with purple.<sup>953</sup> Strabo wrote that the Gauls wore dyed garments.<sup>954</sup> Celtiberian women preferred bright colors; according to Strabo, “the women always go clad in long mantles and gay-colored gowns” (μελανεῖμονες ἅπαντες τὸ πλεον ἐν σάγοις, ἐν οἷσπερ καὶ στιβαδοκοιτοῦσι, αἱ γυναῖκες δ’ ἐν ἐνδύμασι καὶ ἀνθίναις ἐσθήσεσι διάγουσιν).<sup>955</sup> Pliny the Elder wrote that the Gauls wove checked patterns.<sup>956</sup> Lastly, Diodorus Siculus wrote that among the Gauls, shirts were brightly colored and embroidered. He also noted that cloaks were striped and checked.<sup>957</sup> Along with the brightly-colored garments, simple garments in white and black are described. These may represent natural, undyed textiles.

Archaeological evidence, consisting of textile finds and some rare art, has offered confirmation of these bright colors, as well as striped and checkered material. Some famous examples of colored garments and textiles included finds at Hallstatt (1200 BC – 400 BC), as well as the Thorsberg and Vehnemoor mantle from Germany (AD 200 and second century AD respectively). There were also the blue and red Lønne Hede gown from Denmark (first century AD); the blue pigment having been derived from woad (the source of the red pigment has not been identified).<sup>958</sup> There are so many fragments of textiles from places like Hallstatt that they cannot be addressed in detail. They frequently comprise such small fragments that it was not possible to determine the sort of garments or objects from which they came. However, in an attempt to show the diversity, the following images have been included. (Though some of the illustrated fragments predate the focus of this study, similar styles continued to be used in this area for a long period of time.<sup>959</sup>)

---

<sup>953</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.3.

<sup>954</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 4.4.5.

<sup>955</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 3.3.7.

<sup>956</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8.74.196.

<sup>957</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.30.1-2.

<sup>958</sup> Ida Demant, "The Poor People from Lønne Hede. Presentation of first century-graves with preserved textiles," *Nesat IX, Archäologische textilfunde - archaeological textiles Braunwald, 18-21 Mai, 2005*, eds. A. Rast-Eicher and R. Windler, Ennenda: ArcheoTex (2007): 86.

<sup>959</sup> Mag. Dr. Karina Grömer and Ing. Peter Grömer-Mrazek "Clothing and Identities" (DressID) New Perspective on Textiles in the Roman Empire, Textiles from Hallstatt, 2008, [http://dressid.nhm-wien.ac.at/textile\\_e.html](http://dressid.nhm-wien.ac.at/textile_e.html) [Accessed October 2010].





**Figure 63. Hallstatt; Salt Mines, Iron Age; multiple structures and patterns.**

*Source:* © Museum of Natural History Vienna; Mag. Dr. Karina Grömer and Ing. Peter Grömer-Mrazek, Project: "Clothing and Identities" (DressID) New Perspective on Textiles in the Roman Empire, Textiles from Hallstatt, 2008, [http://dressid.nhm-wien.ac.at/textile\\_e.html](http://dressid.nhm-wien.ac.at/textile_e.html) [Accessed October 2010].



**Figure 64. Textile fragment Dürrnberg salt-mine.**

*Source: Peter Bichler, ed., Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles ; [This Volume Grew Out of the Papers, Posters and Discussions at the Conference on "Hallstatt Textiles" Held from 4th to 6th June 2004 at Hallstatt/Austria] BAR, 1351 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), Plate 19.*

### ***Decoration and Embroidery***

If Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women were manufacturing cloth and turning it into garments, perhaps they were also embellishing them with decoration and embroidery, in addition to making colorful patterns and fabrics. Tablet weaving, silk embroidery, and gold and silver threads are present in the archaeological record. Some of these items, such as silk, were expensive trade items, and the gold and silver thread took incredible

skill to make. These forms of embellishment and the evidence for them will be examined in the following pages.

### *Tablet Weaving*

Tablet weaving has a fairly well documented archaeological presence. Fragments of tablet weaving and its instruments have been found in numerous places, such as Hallstatt and Murcia. The tablets that were used to create decorative bands are surprisingly rare, and have been found made of varying materials including antler, bone, horn, and bronze. The finds, though rare, were geographically widespread across Europe.<sup>960</sup> The locations of tablet finds indicated that this method of weaving was established during the Iron Age across much of northwestern Europe. Wooden tablets have been found dating to the fourth century BC in El Cigarralejo, Spain (four or five made of beech wood), a location known for its textile finds; two tablets from the first or second century BC were found with a cart burial from Dejbjerg Bog, Denmark; and there was another tablet find dating to sometime between the first to fourth century AD from Denmark. There were numerous bone tablets found in Roman Britain, as well as blank tablets, which ranged in date from the first to the fourth century AD. There was also evidence in Britain for tablets made of bronze, though these dated to a much later period of the fourth through the seventh centuries AD (and they have been identified as coming from the Anglo-Saxon village of West Stow).<sup>961</sup>

Another method of small-scale weaving done in this period used rigid heddles. The first dateable rigid heddle was made of bone and came from South Shields in Britain.<sup>962</sup> This heddle dated from sometime between the second and fourth centuries AD.<sup>963</sup>

Documentation in the classical sources for tablet weaving is rare. One exception was a passage by Pliny the Elder, in Book 8 of his *Natural History*, where he noted that, “Alexandria introduced the weaving with many heddles, but Gaul began to divide, with small shields.”

---

<sup>960</sup> Nancy Spies, ““Alexandria Introduced the Weaving with Many Small Heddles, but Gaul Began to Divide with Small Shields”: historical tablet looms,” *Ars Textrina* 28 (1997): 149-153.

<sup>961</sup> Spies, “Weaving,” 151-152.

<sup>962</sup> John P. Wild, *Textiles in Archaeology* (Princes Risborough, UK: Shire Publication, Ltd., 1988), 38-39; Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*, 74-75.

<sup>963</sup> D. J. Smith. *Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle Upon Tyne: An Illustrated Introduction* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Dept. of Archaeology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974), 43.

Nancy Spies fully believed this to be a reference to tablet weaving, with the “shields” referring to the tablets involved in the weaving.<sup>964</sup>

Numerous fragments of tablet-woven borders have been found, including several from Hallstatt (see Figure 65 for one example), which have a broadly dated range of 800 to 400 BC, together with finds from the sixth century BC grave at Hohmichele, Germany, and another from a grave at Apremont in France. Tablet-woven borders were also found in a grave at Cigarralejo, Spain. The second century AD German Thorsberg mantel had tablet-woven borders.<sup>965</sup>



**Figure 65. Example of Hallstatt tablet weaving fragment.**

*Source:* K. Grömer, “Tablet-woven Ribbons from the Prehistoric Saltmines Hallstatt,” in *Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles; [This Volume Grew Out of the Papers, Posters and Discussions at the Conference on “Hallstatt Textiles” Held from 4th to 6th June 2004 at Hallstatt/Austria]*, ed. Peter Bichler, BAR, 1351 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), Plate 15.

### *Silk Embroidery*

There is early evidence for silk thread amongst finds in northwestern European. Silk has been found which dates as early as the sixth century BC. However, it seemed to have been by no means common in this part of Europe – rather, it was an item used in embroidery, not in the construction of textiles. Silk has been reported in finds from the Hohmichele, as well as a barrow at Hochdorf.<sup>966</sup> The lady of Reinheim’s burial, dating to the fourth century BC, contained silk.<sup>967</sup> Silk was an imported good, as silk worms did not exist in Europe. Exactly

---

<sup>964</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 8.74.199-200 ; Spies, “Weaving,” 154.

<sup>965</sup> E. J. W. Barber, *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), 119.

<sup>966</sup> John Peter Wild, “Some Early Silk Finds in Northwest Europe,” *Textile Museum Journal* 23 (1984): 17.

<sup>967</sup> Aldhouse-Green, “Women and Goddesses in the Celtic World,” 149.

how the earliest quantities of silk were imported into these northern regions is unclear, though J. P. Wild suggested that, in the earliest periods, it might have been transported north from Massilia through trade with the Greeks and Phocaeans.<sup>968</sup>

The first evidence of silk in Britain was a damask fragment from Holborough in Kent, dating to approximately AD 250; these fragments were found in the burial of a child in a lead coffin.<sup>969</sup> Silk in Celtic Europe appeared to be a mixed material, in that it seemed to have been imported as both finished items and as yarn to be used in the decoration of other, locally made items.

#### *Gold and Silver, and Their Place in Textile Finds*

Gold and silver threads were used in clothing construction in Northwest Europe, though there are few finds that have these delicate materials. Silver threads were less documented in the archaeological record than gold, which may be due to decomposition of the metal or a lack of popularity in Roman times. Gold ribbon thread was also found at Lexden near Colchester. This tumulus, according to John Peter Wild, may have been the tomb of Cunobelinus or a contemporary of his.<sup>970</sup>

#### *Wool and Linen*

Linen and wool were the two dominant materials used in textile manufacture in Gaul, Britain, Iberia, and Germany.<sup>971</sup> Pomponius Mela, in a very derogatory passage on the Germans, wrote that the men wore clothing made from wool and the bark of trees.<sup>972</sup> Pliny the Elder noted about those enemies of Rome who dwelt beyond the Rhine that linen was the most beautiful fabric to their women.<sup>973</sup> From this source, we also know that women not only valued

---

<sup>968</sup> Wild, "Some Early Silk Finds in Northwest Europe," 17-19.

<sup>969</sup> Wild, *Textiles in Archaeology*, 23; Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*, 52, 101.

<sup>970</sup> Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*, 40.

<sup>971</sup> Leather and hides were also common. Rarer materials in these regions include silk, cotton, and animal hairs (like rabbit and goat); Wild, *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*, 4-21.

<sup>972</sup> Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*, Germany: 3.26; There was a chance he could have been referring to flax, which has a very woody bark.

<sup>973</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2.

linen, but were working to create linen in Germany.<sup>974</sup> Tacitus reinforced Pliny by noting that linen was the preferred material for the manufacture of women's clothing among the Germans.<sup>975</sup>

Wool garments were much more common artifacts. For instance, in wet preservation contexts, the discovery of wool mantles, scarves, gowns and skirts, together with descriptions in classical accounts, indicated that wool clothing was common among Celts and Germans.

Some of the bog finds were fragmentary; others were whole. From textile fragments, it is possible to see how cloth was made and dyed. These fragments also provided evidence that helps demonstrate the validity of several descriptions in classical sources of what Celts and Germans wore. A surprisingly large number of fragments of Iron Age textiles have been found from Denmark to Austria, and from Germany to Britain. Two sets of remarkably intact clothing – stunning finds from the Iron Age – survived from Huldremose in Denmark.<sup>976</sup> Some descriptions appear validated, such as the description of a peplos style gown among the Germans (Huldremose gown and Zweeloo woman's gown).<sup>977</sup>

---

<sup>974</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 19.2.

<sup>975</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 17.3.

<sup>976</sup> The beautiful surviving Huldremose gown or peplos was a tubular or circularly woven garment. J.P. Wild, "The Clothing of Britannia, Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior," in *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II*, vol. 12, no. 3, ed. Hildegard Temporini (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985), 393-394.

<sup>977</sup> While Zweeloo woman's gown was dated to the fifth century AD, it is a linen peplos gown. Comis, "Prehistoric Garments from the Netherlands," *Textilien aus Archäologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Klaus Tidow*, 199-202.



**Figure 66. Right, Peplos-style gown from Huldremose, east Jutland, Denmark.  
Left, Ensemble from Huldremose, east Jutland, Denmark, containing a woolen skirt, skin vest, sheepskin  
cape and a woolen scarf.**

*Source: Glob, *The Bog People*, 45.*

Martial described sending a Gallic cloak to a friend.<sup>978</sup> Other descriptions addressed the dress for Celts and Germans (along with many of the other peoples that made up the Roman Empire), such as the works of Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny the Elder.

### ***Torcs***

Torcs, which have been identified in this chapter as occurring in Britain, Gaul, Celtiberia, and Pannonia,<sup>979</sup> were a type of ornamental neck-ring. These neck-rings were often made out of precious metals such as gold and silver, but other metals such as brass and iron were also used.<sup>980</sup> Though associated with the Celts, the word torc or torque came from the Latin word *torquis* (this in turn came from the word *torque*, meaning to twist).<sup>981</sup> While more classical accounts that mention torcs ascribed them to men than to women,<sup>982</sup> Catherine Johns suggested that torcs of “pre-Roman Celtic Gaul (5<sup>th</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century BC are typically found in *female* [sic] graves, demonstrating that the solid metal neck-ring was not the sole preserve of the male warrior, but evidently also the mark of the adult woman.”<sup>983</sup>

---

<sup>978</sup> Martial, *Epigrammata*, 4.19, On a Cloak.

<sup>979</sup> The Gundestrup cauldron which was found in Germany, but seems to depict Celtic figures, also shows male and female figures wearing torcs.

<sup>980</sup> "Brass torc," Explore/Highlights, The British Museum, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/b/brass\\_torc.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/brass_torc.aspx) [Accessed November 18, 2010]; Koch, *Celtic Culture*, 1681-1683.

<sup>981</sup> Catherine Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical Traditions* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1996), 27

<sup>982</sup> Polybius, *Histories*, 2.29 and 2.31; Livy, *History of Rome*, trans. Frank Gardner Moore, vol. 3 (containing Books 5-7) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 7.9-10.

<sup>983</sup> Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain*, 27. [Emphasis in the original]





**Figure 67. Bronze figure of a Gaulish woman wearing a torc and bracelets, second century AD.**

*Source:* AN384316001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Several famous torcs from female graves were noted at sites like Vix (see Chapter 4), the female burial at Bucy-le-Long (Aisne), and the female grave from the fourth century BC at Waldalgesheim, Germany.<sup>984</sup> These expensive and sometimes elaborate neck-rings appeared to have been symbols of status to both genders and, given their appearance in votive offerings (finds at Source des Roches at Chamalières) and divine art (such as the Gundestrup cauldron), may have also had a religious aspect.

\* \* \* \* \*

A critical examination and analysis – by region – of what is known of statuary, art, archaeological finds, and the descriptions of these people in classical sources resulted in a far more detailed depiction, not only of how scholars and historians of the period viewed the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians, but how they chose to portray themselves and clothe themselves – whether by depictions in figural art on funerary monuments or in the clothes and ornamentation of everyday life that have survived. This analysis also revealed that each of these regions utilized a wide variety of materials, some local to the region (such as wool and linen), others exotic (such as silk). It also confirmed that, in addition to many cross cultural similarities, there were distinct regional differences in the dress and appearance of women. We cannot see down to the tribal level of dress in surviving art, archaeology, or classical depictions, though such distinctions probably existed. We can see evidence of varied uses of ornamentation, dyes, fabrics, weaving techniques, patterns, and colors. We even have accounts of different hairstyles, which are also visible on surviving pieces of art. Individual as well as group identity existed and in surviving art, archaeology, and accounts, we learn more about subtleties in different regions and within smaller groups.

---

<sup>984</sup> Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain*, 27; Aldhouse-Green, *Boudicca Britannia*, 98-100.

## Chapter 9: Gender, Identity, and Funerary Archaeology

*“There is no doubt that it is around the family and the home that all the greatest virtues, the most dominating virtues of human society, are created, strengthened and maintained.”*

~ Winston Churchill<sup>985</sup>

### *Gender Theory*

The evolution of the field of gender study has impacted how historians, archaeologists, and linguists have interpreted the information from the ancient past. There is always a risk that we are imposing our understanding of gender roles and the division of labor on the past, rather than trying to see what was present in those societies at that time. As already noted in Chapter 5, the roles played by women in domestic service in 18<sup>th</sup> century Europe have influenced our modern perception of the tasks that women performed. Gender roles and gender theory have to be continuously reexamined, because gender roles are often generalized and, despite existing overlap, there often remains the idea that some tasks are exclusive to one, and only one, gender.

Sex and gender can differ in terms of mortuary context. For instance, sex is based on the physical human remains that are discovered (if there is enough to identify, or if the remains are in good enough physical condition to be tested). Gender is more cultural and can be established based on the arrangement of objects and human remains in a grave, the goods themselves, other factors relating to burial, and those who buried the individual.<sup>986</sup> An example is the priest of Cybele, mentioned in Chapter 1.

Over the last century, there have been several “waves” of gender theory in academic research by women and men.<sup>987</sup> Each wave has had both strong points and criticisms, and they

---

<sup>985</sup> “The Birth of Prince Charles, November 16, 1948, House of Commons, Speech 7742,” Winston Churchill, and Richard M. Langworth, *Churchill by Himself: The Definitive Collection of Quotations*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 517.

<sup>986</sup> Alexis Jordan. “I Am No Man: A Study of Warrior Women in the Archaeological Record.” *Field Notes: A Journal of Collegiate Anthropology* 1 (1), (2009):99-100 94-111

<sup>987</sup> Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, “Feminist theory and gender research in historical archaeology,” in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (New York: Altamira Press, 2006), 59-104; Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, “Feminist gender research in classical archaeology,” in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (New York: Altamira Press, 2006), 295-332; Kathryn Weedman, “Gender and Ethnoarchaeology,” in *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, ed. Sarah Milledge Nelson (New York: Altamira Press, 2007), 217-264; Liv Helga Dommasnes and Nancy L. Wicker,

have differing levels of usefulness to the study of women in ancient societies, largely depending on the amount of primary source material available to create data which can be interpreted.

Different authors writing on the topic of gender have created new terms and terminology as a set of categories regarding gender designation, acknowledging the complexity of the subject of gender. *Gender identity* is a self-chosen identity, regardless of an individual's sex at birth or genetics. *Gender roles* are those activities performed by both sexes in regards to their cultural settings, activities, and relations. *Gender attribution* is the way in which a social group identifies an individual's gender, whether that is cultural, biological, or inferred. Lastly, *gender ideology* defines gender and its social behaviors for both male and female roles in society and the interactions between them.<sup>988</sup>

Much of the gender theory research in these areas is based on archaeological remains which date from after the fifteenth century, making some of it hard to apply to the ancient Celtic and Germanic world. The amount of documentation which survived about post-Renaissance people and their societies is far greater than what has survived regarding the Celts, Germans, and Celtic inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula. We simply do not have the surviving level of documentation to make complete correlations to modern gender theory, or as that theory has been interpreted for societies during and after the Renaissance. Notwithstanding those realities, the academic literature and theories need to be examined to determine their value for Celtic and Germanic societies in the ancient world.

Regarding the roles of women in power in patriarchal society, gender studies provide us with two paths for women. One is that of the honorary male syndrome, and the other is the appendage syndrome. These two can overlap, as is evident in figures that adopted male "physical" traits in order to perform their duties. Boudica conforms to the appendage syndrome, but does not represent an honorary male, as she was chosen to lead in her own right, rather than as the successor to her husband. Appendage syndrome occurs when a woman's rule is seen as the prolongation of the role of a powerful man.<sup>989</sup> There is also evidence of Celtic women acting

---

"Situating Gender in European Archaeologies: Introduction," in *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, ed. Liv Helga Dommasnes et al. (Budapest: Archaeolingua Foundation, 2010), 11-22.

<sup>988</sup> Bettina Arnold. "'Honorary Males' or Women of Substance? Gender, Status, and Power in Iron-Age Europe." *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (1995): 153-168.

<sup>989</sup> Fraser, *Warrior Women*, 107; Jordan, "I am no man." 98.

outside either of these two paths, as in the case of Cartimandua in Britain and Luperia in Spain. Neither were honorary males, nor prolongations of the role of a powerful man.

Bettina Arnold argued that if Celtic society had honorary males, then we should expect to see archaeological evidence of this unique gender role in burials, and that high ranking burials should contain female items, as well as male items of status. However, she stated that the assumption that female graves should, therefore, have male weapons as a symbol of status may be wrong, as early elite La Tène graves (of females) do not have weapons. She argued there may be a distinct set of gendered grave goods that are separate or at least secondary to being status symbols. For example, while a weapon might not be a high-status item, gold torcs were, and these are found in elite graves of both men and women during the early La Tène period.<sup>990</sup>

Regardless of where one stands with regard to modern interpretations of ancient women, we are still describing our agency over their actions and their bodies from a cultural viewpoint that is different from what would have been their own. It is also different from that of many of the original primary authors which we now use to create our understanding.

It has been suggested that, at the end of the Hallstatt period and in the early La Tène period, sometime around when the tomb of the Princess of Vix was created, there may have been a gender shift in Celtic culture. This may be documented by an increase in elite tombs of women, which had not previously existed. Bettina Arnold argued that there is evidence in Celtic culture of multiple migrations in this period, starting with just adult males and later followed by cultural movement which had an impact on women, especially elite women in the Celtic world.<sup>991</sup>

It is interesting to consider whether, if Celtic society did evolve in the La Tène period to have new gender ideology, that evolution was able to last through interactions with the Greeks and Etruscans, and then the expansion of the Roman Republic and the Roman Empire. Such contact, especially during the centuries of occupation of large areas of the Celtic world by imperial Rome, certainly touched (and may have altered) whatever view of gender existed in Celtic society. Elite burials declined during the time when the Celts in Gaul had contact with the

---

<sup>990</sup> Arnold, "Honorary Males or Women of Substance," 159-161.

<sup>991</sup> Arnold, "Honorary Males or Women of Substance," 159-161.

Greeks, but well before the expansion of Rome into Gaul in the first century BC. However, the lack of primary source material written by the Celts or the Romans and the scattered nature of the archaeological evidence means that the reason for this change cannot be determined.

Having already discussed the academic debates tied to the term identity, whether in historiography, archaeology, anthropology, or the much broader concept of social sciences, one has to ultimately realize that our opinions of the past and how we label it are somewhat futile. Just as they are components of identity today, concepts such as gender, ethnicity or culture, and citizenship were all interlocking issues in the past. Everyone who could correct us or redirect our discussion of these topics to reflect the actual understanding within these ancient societies is long dead. With this caution in mind, how might one resurrect the identity of the dead? One way is to use the words of the dead to better understand how they viewed their own identity, though even that can be subject to the bias of the author. The words of the dead that do survive can reveal aspects of identity through such concepts as pride, honor, and the classical virtues.

Identity, as conceived in modern English, is a concept that was created after 1930. It does not occur in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* until 1968, being absent in the 1930 edition.<sup>992</sup> In Latin, there were six words that can mean identity, four of which were directly related to legally proving you were who you said you were. In Greek, there were ten words for identity, eight of which were tied (as in Latin) to legally certifying or presenting one's identity – whether as a slave, freedman or woman, or freeborn. Given the legal and social systems in the classical world, being able to prove who you were was very important.

### ***Citizenship and Identity***

For the span of history being examined, citizenship must encompass more than just Roman citizenship. As discussed previously, the Celts and Germans were members of tribes and even, at times, confederations of tribes before they encountered the Romans or were incorporated into the Empire as provinces. Pre-Roman identity, in terms of one's association with a larger group than just the immediate family, was tied in some way towards these affiliations. When tribal affiliation changed (as when a woman married into a tribe other than the one into which she had been born, or was captured by another tribe), that aspect of her identity would have

---

<sup>992</sup> Philip Gleason, "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History," *The Journal of American History*, vol. 69, no. 4 (March 1983):910.

evolved – though her original tribal identity may not have been lost. This can be seen in funerary monuments discussed in this chapter.

From historical documentation and archaeology, we know that the Celts were living in territories that included one or more *oppida*. When the Romans came into these regions, they had an impact on both the social environment and the landscape. New boundaries appeared, and within these, *civitates* emerged. These new Roman municipalities were responsible for much of the Roman administration at the local level. People were not just Roman citizens but they were citizens of their cities too.

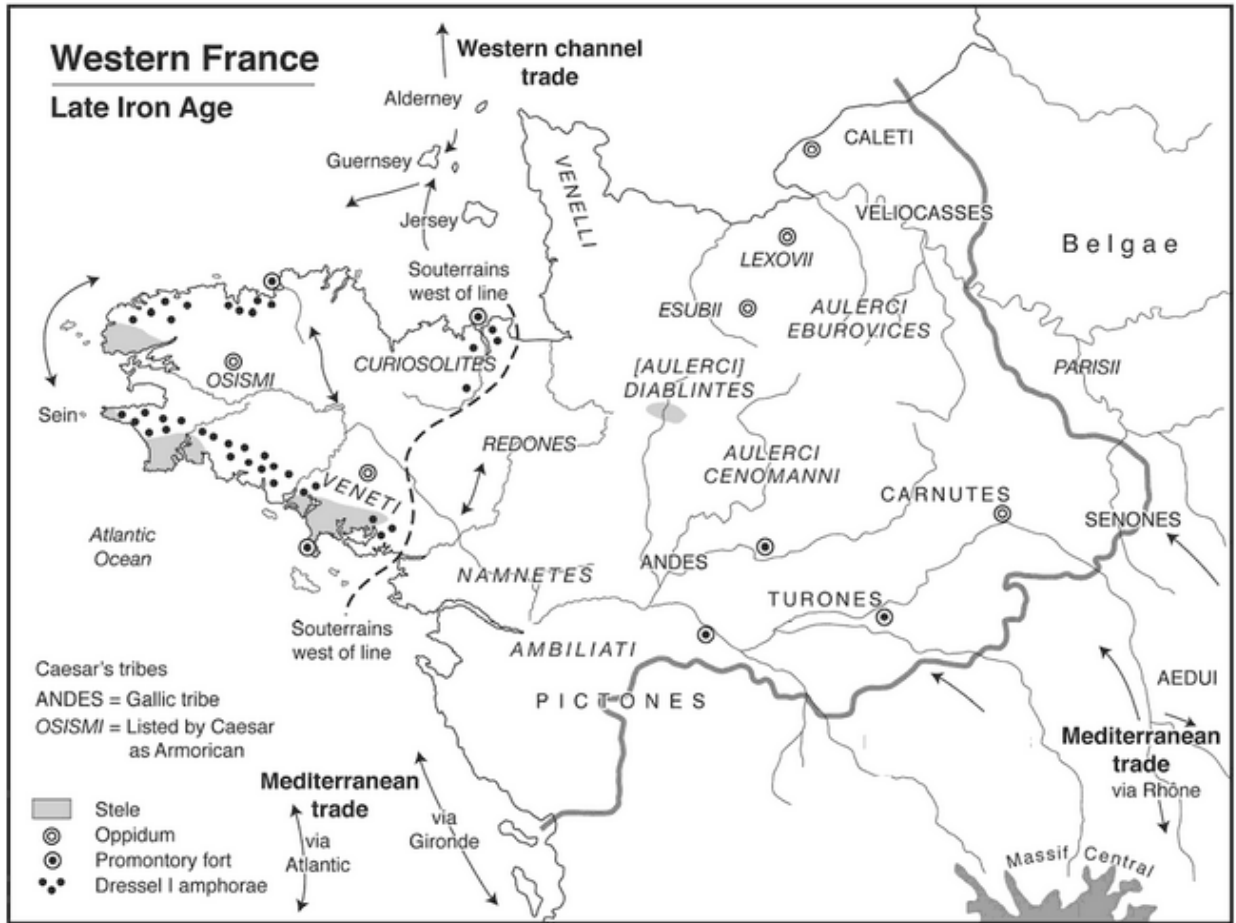
In the first few centuries of the Roman Empire, there was an elite legal status which was denoted by Roman citizenship. With it, under the law, there were certain rights, duties, and privileges. Foreigners or non-citizens, on the other hand, might have been connected to the legal system of the region where they lived when it was annexed by the Roman Empire.<sup>993</sup> It has been suggested that during the Augustan period of the Roman Empire, the shift from tiny communities to more unified states was part of the effort to increase urbanism and concentrate elites, perhaps restricting the path to citizenship. Regardless, there were paths to citizenship and, since rights could be inherited, the number of citizens from the provinces increased over time.<sup>994</sup>

Maps 10 and 11 below depict western France in the Late Iron Age and western Gallo Roman *civitates*. Though it is the same geographic region, both the cultural boundaries and the communities within it have evolved. The inhabitants evolved to some degree.

---

<sup>993</sup> Ralph W. Mathisen. "Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani: Concepts of Citizenship and Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire." *American Historical Review*, Oct (2006):1013.

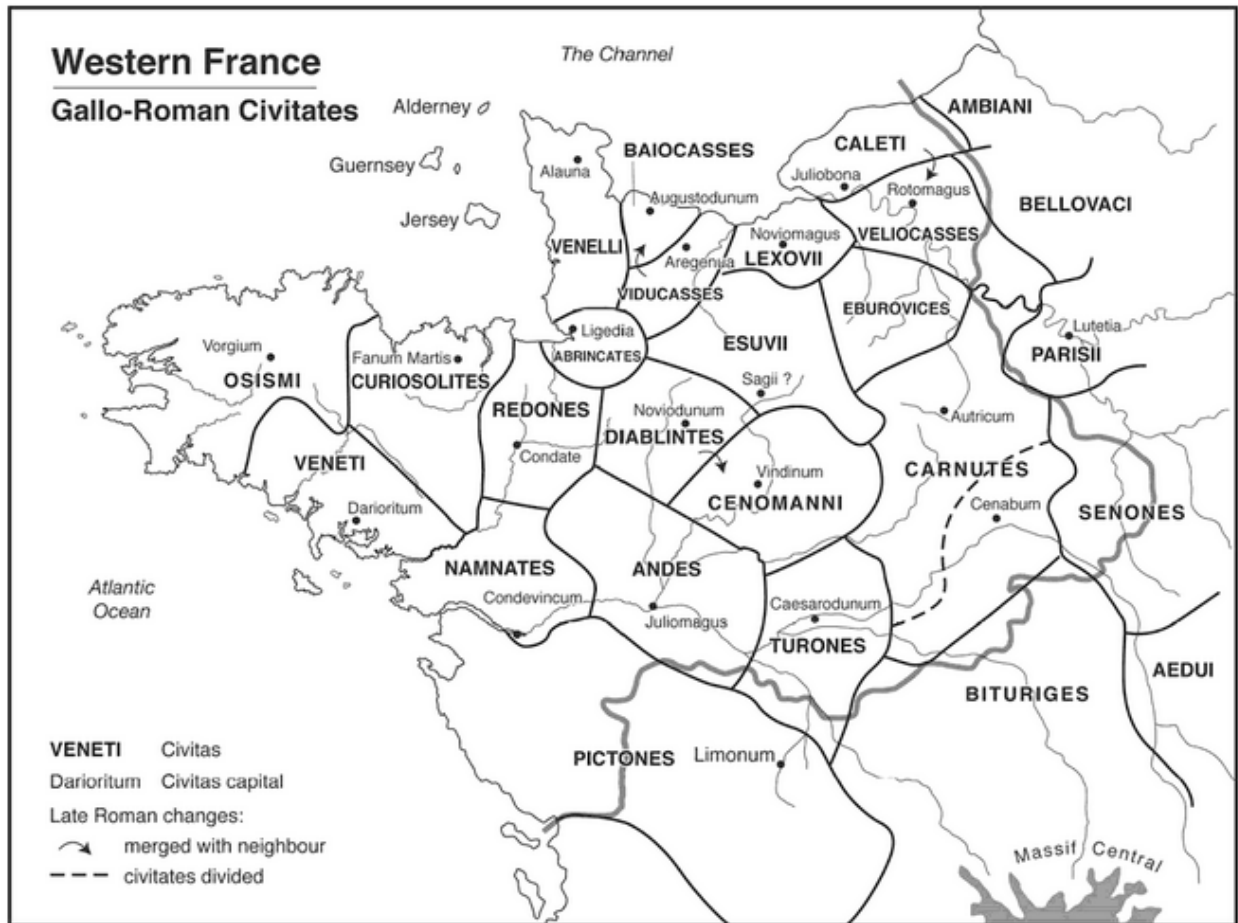
<sup>994</sup> C. Goudineau. "Gaul." In *The Cambridge Ancient History. X The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C. - A.D. 69*. ed. Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 475.



**Map 10. Western France: Late Iron Age.**

Source: James Bromwich. *The Roman remains of Brittany, Normandy and the Loire Valley: a guide book.* (Peterborough, England : Lucina Books, 2014), 18.





**Map 11. Western France: Gallo-Roman Civitates.**

Source: James Bromwich. *The Roman remains of Brittany, Normandy and the Loire Valley: a guide book.* (Peterborough, England : Lucina Books, 2014), 22.

This process of becoming a Roman citizen became less of a special status and finally, in AD 212, Emperor Caracalla issued an edict which gave Roman citizenship to almost all remaining free non-citizens. Academic scholarship on this topic is described by Ralph Mathisen, “Even though the literature is replete with discussions of ‘identity’ in the late and post-Roman worlds, with abundant attention devoted to gender, religious, cultural, and, in particular, ethnic history, a continued sense of personal identity based on citizenship status (Roman or otherwise) and the legal rights associated with it is not thought to have persisted.”<sup>995</sup> Mathisen argued this must be a wrong interpretation, because legal identity had to continue to have existed, and that would have affected the way people perceived themselves. He asserted that identity would have

<sup>995</sup> Mathisen, “Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani,” *American Historical Review*, 1014-1015.

encompassed the way in which citizenship was manifested – including provincial, civic, ethnic, and religious – and that these manifestations could result in different identities (both legal and personal) and affect the way in which people interacted.<sup>996</sup>

The argument has been made that, regardless of either pre-Roman or Imperial province ‘citizenship’ – whether to tribe, *oppidum*, *civitates*, or the empire itself – there was both a legal and cultural impact.<sup>997</sup> The identity as a foreigner or *peregrine* was also important, as such people were constantly entering the Roman Empire and they had a legal status of their own.<sup>998</sup> As an example, Emperor Tiberias moved 40,000 captives from Germany and settled them in the Gaulish Rhineland.<sup>999</sup>

### *The Role of Pride, Honor, and Classical Virtues in Identity*

Pride, honor, and the classical virtues at first might seem an unusual method of determining identity in the ancient world. However, the things of which people are proud (or ashamed) can tell us a great deal about them. People who were proud of their status, their family origins, or changes in their circumstances often managed to leave markers of these feelings.

Honor, especially familial honor in the classical world, was very important to society, and it often led to the erection of funerary monuments. Inscriptions on funerary monuments frequently ended with a phrase indicating which family member “set this up” (a husband for his wife, a wife for her husband, children for their parents, or parents for their young children); thereby indicating they were fulfilling a familial duty by honoring the dead and fulfilling their obligations to them.

Classical virtues encompassed the ideals and obligations of society in the ancient world. Historians and scholars have identified what these were for the Romans and Greeks. However,

---

<sup>996</sup> Mathisen, “Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani,” *American Historical Review*, 1014-1020.

<sup>997</sup> F. W. Walbank. “Nationality as a Factor in Roman History.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 76 (1972):145-168.

<sup>998</sup> Tatiana Ivlena. “Peasants into Soldiers: Recruitment and Military Mobility in the Early Roman Empire.” In *Migration and mobility in the early Roman Empire*. Ed. Lig, L. de, and Laurens E. Tacoma. (Leiden : Brill, 2016), 158-175. ;Tatiana Ivleva. "British Emigrants in the Roman Empire: Complexities and Symbols of Ethnic Identities"." In *TRAC 2010: Proceedings of the 20th Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Oxford*, (2010):132-53.

<sup>999</sup> Eutropius and John Selby Watson. *Abridgement of Roman History*. (Gloucester, England: Dodo Press, 2010), 7.9.

our understanding of virtues in the Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian world comes to us only through the lens of classical authors, with all the challenges posed by trying to interpret one culture through writings about them by others throughout a lengthy period of acculturation within the Roman Empire. We can, however, use our understanding of these Greek and Roman classical virtues to our advantage. Classical authors judged the “barbarians” about whom they wrote using the standards of their own (Greek or Roman) society, either ascribing them virtues or damning them for the lack thereof. The use of these virtues can later be extended to those foreigners who became Romanized or Hellenized, even though, as we have already mentioned, those words are fraught because they describe both a process and a result. In addition, the result was judged by those living within the founding cultures (e.g., Romans judged the Romanization of tribes in Gaul). Table 4 below provides a list of common virtues and ideals in the classical world (and their meanings in English). We shall explore how these were both ascribed to foreign women and the converse, that foreign women failed to live up to these virtues.

In Chapter 1, it was noted that Roman authors used different words (*femina* versus *mulier*) to describe foreign women, depending on what characteristics they were attempting to portray. The first term, *femina*, raised women up and ascribed to them noble characteristics; the second, *mulier*, did the opposite, lumping them together as being common. If we look closely at classical sources, it is possible to associate these virtues to known women. In looking at descriptions of figures such as Cartimandua, Boudica, or Veleda, classical historians either described these women in terms of classical virtues or disparaged the women for their absence.

Roman Virtues and Their Meanings	
<i>Aequitas</i>	justice, equity, fairness, impartiality; symmetry, conformity; evenness;
<i>Auctoritas</i>	authority, influence; responsibility; prestige, reputation; opinion, judgment
<i>Clementia</i>	mercy/clemency; compassion; indulgence/forbearance; gentleness, mildness, calm
<i>Comitas</i>	politeness, courtesy; kindness, generosity, friendliness; good taste, elegance
<i>Dignitas</i>	worth; dignity, position, rank; authority, office; self-respect, grace
<i>Firmitas</i>	firmness, strength
<i>Gravitas</i>	weight; dignity; gravity; importances
<i>Humanitas</i>	human nature/character/feeling; kindness/courtesy; culture/civilization
<i>Hospitium</i>	hospitable/harboring, affording hospitality; received as guest
<i>Iustitia</i>	justice; what is fair/equitable/right/due/proper
<i>Liberalitas</i>	courtesy, kindness, nobleness; generosity
<i>Nobilitas</i>	nobility/noble class
<i>Otium</i>	leisure; spare time; holiday; ease/rest/peace/quiet; tranquility/calm; lull
<i>Pietas</i>	responsibility, sense of duty; loyalty; tenderness, goodness; pity; piety
<i>Pudicitia</i>	chaste, modest; virtuous; pure
<i>Prudentia</i>	discretion; good sense, wisdom; prudence; foresight
<i>Temperantia</i>	self-control; moderation
<i>Veritas</i>	truth, honesty
<i>Virtus</i>	strength/power; courage/bravery; worth/manliness/virtue/character/excellence; an exclusively masculine trait
Greek Virtues	
ἀρετή	goodness, excellence

**Table 4. Roman and Greek Virtues and Their Meanings.**

Sources: (*Roman Virtues*) William Whitaker's Words, William Whitaker, 2010, University of Notre Dame, <http://archives.nd.edu/words.html> [Accessed June 2014].

(*Greek Virtues*) "ἀρετή," Greek Word Study Tool" Perseus Digital Library, Ed. Gregory R. Crane, Perseus 4.0, 2007 [www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=a%20reth%20%26%20la=greek%26prior=h](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=a%20reth%20%26%20la=greek%26prior=h) [Accessed June 2014].

Boudica and Cartimandua, due to their status and rank in society, were both referred to by classical authors using the term *femina*. However, Tacitus and Dio Cassius took this one step further; both women possessed the classical virtues *nobilitas* (by rank) and *auctoritas* (by their ability to command). Whether Roman men believed that women should possess those virtues was a different story. Both women took on characteristics of *virtus*, which was undesirable for women in Roman culture. Depending on how Tacitus' description of Cartimandua is viewed, she may also have violated the virtue of *hospitium*. The divine right of the guest to be protected by their host was very important in the ancient world. If Caratacus was her guest when he was

handed over to the Romans, and she violated this obligation, it would have been a very black mark against her character.

On the other hand, Veleda and a number of priestesses in the ancient world, such as the Gallic priestesses on the isle of Sena, were symbols of chastity and purity, displaying the virtues of *pudicitia* and *prudencia*. Caesar wrote that, among the Germans, “those who remain longest in chastity win greatest praise among their kindred.”<sup>1000</sup> Tacitus and Strabo also stressed the value Germans placed on virginity and chastity by all members of society.<sup>1001</sup> Taken together, this suggests that there was some pan-cultural and supra-ethnic positive quality regarding those who chose to remain pure and chaste. The Romans, Greeks, Celts, and Germans all had powerful female archetypes that were pure women, usually gifted with the power of foresight or ties to religion.<sup>1002</sup> As discussed earlier, Miranda Green noted there may have been a connection between the purity of women, and their link to divinity.<sup>1003</sup>

In his *Epigrams*, Martial often praised or condemned people, in just a few short lines, for their character or character flaws, using Roman virtues as a guideline. He praised the British woman of his acquaintance, Claudia Rufina, on more than one occasion. Martial ascribed to her such virtues such as *comitas*, *prudencia* and *liberalitas*.

It was no easier in ancient societies than it is today for an observer to separate their personal values (based on their society, rank, class, upbringing, religion, etc.) from their views of others, especially foreigners. At times, classical writers ascribed to foreigners idealistic values, in order to stand as an example, using them as a twisted mirror to highlight the flaws within the writer’s own culture. Yet even in these instances, such idealized values were based on their understanding of Roman virtues, not upon an actual understanding of the values of the barbarians to whom they were ascribed. The customs and virtues of Romans and Greeks, like many other traits and cultural aspects, impacted the foreigners with whom they came into contact. This can be demonstrated by an examination of funerary monuments from the provinces.

---

<sup>1000</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.21.

<sup>1001</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 19; Strabo, *Geography*, 7.2.3

<sup>1002</sup> Known examples include the Pythia at Delphi, the Vestal Virgins in Rome, the Gallic priestesses on the isle of Sena, and Veleda.

<sup>1003</sup> Green, *Celtic Goddesses*, 141-142.

## *The Blameless Dead*

It might seem unusual to use the word blameless to describe the dead, but *innocentissimae* was a term often used by men to describe women. It literally means most innocent, most virtuous, most blameless, and most upright.<sup>1004</sup> Not speaking ill of the dead was a long standing, ancient custom practiced throughout the Greek and Roman world. People did not spend time and money erecting monuments to criticize the dead, but to praise them for their positive qualities in life. An example is the funerary monument to a young woman named Blandinia Martiola, which survives from Lyon.<sup>1005</sup> Based on what we know of the monument, she was probably married when she was thirteen and died at the age of eighteen. Her husband seemed genuinely saddened by her death.<sup>1006</sup>

To the spirits of the departed. To the eternal memory of Blandinia Martiola, most blameless girl, who lived 18 years, 9 months, 5 days, Pompeius Catussa, Sequanian, plasterer, to his wife incomparable and most kind to him, who lived with me 5 years, 6 months, 18 days without any kind of fault, erected this in his lifetime for himself and his wife, and consecrated it while under construction. You who read this, go bathe in the baths of Apollo, as I used to do with my wife - I wish I still could.<sup>1007</sup>

In her death, she was described as “most blameless,” “incomparable,” “most kind,” and “without any kind of fault.” While praise and epitaphs were often formulaic in nature, this monument is unusual in the effusiveness with which her positive attributes were described.<sup>1008</sup> It is also an example of how a Romanized Gaul adopted Roman funerary customs, while still displaying

---

<sup>1004</sup> “*Innocentissimae*,” William Whitaker's Words, William Whitaker, 2010, University of Notre Dame, <http://www.archives.nd.edu/cgi-bin/wordz.pl?keyword=innocentissimae> [Accessed June 2014].

<sup>1005</sup> *CIL* XIII. 1983.

<sup>1006</sup> Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 197.

<sup>1007</sup> Lewis and Reinhold, *Roman Civilization*, vol. 2, 196.

*D(is) et M(anibus) memoriae aetern(ae) Blandinae Martiolae puellae innocentissimae quae uixit ann. XVIII m. VIII d. V. Pompeius Catussa Ciues Sequanus Tec tor coniugi incomparabili et sibi benignissime, quae me cum uixitan V m VI d XVIII sine ula criminis sorde. uius sibi et coniugi poneudum eu raut et sub ascia dedicauit tu, qui legis, uade in Apolinis lauri quod ego cum coniu ge feci uellem, si adhuc possem.*

<sup>1008</sup> Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 196.

regional customs local to the area around Lyon (addressed below). Yet although Blandinia bore a Celtic name,<sup>1009</sup> we know nothing from the monument of her tribe or family.

Funerary monuments do more than educate on how classical virtues were integrated as a standard of behavior in society. The words, art, location, and intention of funerary monuments can inform us of the regional customs of people, how they changed over time, how people identified themselves, and how families viewed the deceased.

### ***Funerary monuments – what they can teach us about the identity of the dead***

Funerary monuments are akin to the personal billboards of antiquity, either planned in advance by the deceased or erected after death by someone who knew them. They were erected out of love, duty, family honor, or a similar feeling. Whoever commissioned the memorial was paying for every word and image etched into the stones that made up these monuments, so these words are some of our most valuable sources for determining what was important to them as an identifier. Tribe and people, age, marital status, familial status, motherhood, and religion – all these can be revealed in funerary monuments. Like a billboard, their downside is that they are presenting the ideal version of a person to posterity, not necessarily the historical reality. Funerary monuments reach out to the living (both family and casual passersby), asking them not only to acknowledge the dead, but to remember them. The significance of the messages in these monuments is heightened by the fact that, even after 2,000 years of cultural and linguistic distance, their words still convey a reflection of their lives that is understandable.

Funerary monuments speak to us as readers and observers on two levels, explicitly and implicitly.<sup>1010</sup> We learn explicitly by reading the words and viewing the image inscribed on the stone, seeing what the owner wanted us to see. We learn implicit information from the location of the monument, the material from which it was made, the art that decorated it, and the symbolism it contained. Time can take this information from us. Stones get repurposed in construction or broken and worn over the centuries. However, as Valerie Hope wrote, even

---

<sup>1009</sup> María Lourdes Albertos Firmat, *La onomástica personal primitiva de Hispania Tarraconense y Bética*, (Salamanca: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Inst. "Antonio de Nebrija", Colegio trilingüe de la univ, 1966), 55.

<sup>1010</sup> Scott de Brestian, "Interrogating the Dead: Funerary inscriptions in Northern Iberia," in *Romanisation et épigraphie. Études interdisciplinaires sur l'acculturation et l'identité dans l'Empire romain*, Archéologie et Histoire Romaine 17, eds. Ralph Häussler and Delphine Acolat, (Montagnac: Monique Mergoïl, 2008), 267-268.

when the tombstone has been disassociated from its original context, “its removal may mute the impact of the message but if the stone remains un-shattered and un-concealed it is not easily silenced.”<sup>1011</sup> Karina Grömer, in her article *Vorrömische Kleidung in Mitteleuropa*, wisely noted that we do not know the extent to which the costume of the living and the dead matched up, or even whether what we are seeing is festive clothing, everyday clothing, funeral attire, or a mixture of these things.<sup>1012</sup>

We have already seen examples of how funeral stelai depicted the blending of local and Roman cultures.<sup>1013</sup> One was that of Blussus and Menimane, discovered outside *Mogontiacum* (Roman Mainz). As noted in Chapter 7, Menimane’s name may have been Celtic, and her dress is that of the local area, yet she chose to list no tribal affiliation when she created the funerary stele for herself and her husband, which was later erected by her son. She would have selected not only the clothing that was depicted on her image, but also the words for the monument. The blending of cultures is discernable in the fact that while she was wearing local clothing, her son bore a Latin name, and her monument was written in Latin.

Regina, wife of Barates (discussed in Chapter 5), shows both the movement of a person in life and the potential impact such movement had on her identity. All we know of her is from her funerary monument, erected in *Arbeia*, the easternmost garrison fort near Hadrian’s Wall. Regina was of the Catuvellauni tribe, which were in the southernmost region of Britannia, far from Hadrian’s Wall. At some point, she became the slave of a Palmyrene soldier named Barates, who served on Hadrian’s Wall. She was freed by her owner, who she later married. At the time of her death, she was 30. As proposed in Chapter 6, she may have been trilingual, as she would have known the local dialect spoken by the Catuvellauni, Latin, and possibly the Palmyrene language of her husband.<sup>1014</sup> Judith Weingarten, of the British School at Athens, observed that whoever sculpted Regina’s funerary monument was more fluent in Palmyrene than Latin and may have come from Syria (as did Regina’s husband). She noted that the monument

---

<sup>1011</sup> Hope, “Words and Pictures,” 245.

<sup>1012</sup> Karina Grömer. “Vorrömische Kleidung in Mitteleuropa.” *Die Macht der Toga : DressCode im römischen Weltreich*. ed. Michael Tellenbach. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013) 199.

<sup>1013</sup>Rothe, “Das noriche Frauengewand.” *Die Macht der Toga*, 189-193.

<sup>1014</sup> *RIB* 1065.



used a typical Palmyrene formula for the dead (name + descent or description + lament). Further, Weingarten observed that her name was the Latin for queen (written in Latin, but as if it were Semitic: RGYN'), rather than using the Palmyran word for queen (MLKT').<sup>1015</sup> Regina clearly lived in a multi-ethnic environment, but her image does not indicate she adopted the jewelry or costume commonly seen on funerary monuments of Palmyrene women. Instead, she is portrayed as an upper-class Roman matron, wearing a single necklace of large beads and seated on a high-backed wicker chair with a spindle and distaff in her hand, a basket of wool at her feet on her left, and a strongbox at her feet on her right. She is wearing tasteful, but subdued, clothing and jewelry (unlike the more flamboyant Palmyrene customs of depicting women wearing a large amount of jewelry).



**Figure 68. Left, funerary monument of Regina, from *Arbeia*. Right, funerary monument of [Ba]rates the Palmyrene from *Corstopitum*. Possibly husband and wife.**

Sources: (Left) Mullen, *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, Frontispiece; (Right) Corbridge Funerary Monument Courtesy of Mike Bishop ©2012.

<sup>1015</sup> Judith Weingarten, "The Little Queen at Hadrian's Wall," *Zenobia: Empress of the East, Exploring Zenobia's World. The Incredible Rise and Fall of the City of Palmyra*, entry posted August 14, 2011, <http://judithweingarten.blogspot.com/2011/08/little-queen-at-hadrians-wall.html> [Accessed March 2017].

Her husband may have been the same Barates who died at the age of 68 after having served in the army as a *vexillarius*, and was buried at *Corstopitum* (Corbridge), some 50 kilometers away from *Arbeia* (South Shields).<sup>1016</sup> The connection is tenuous, as the only link between the two monuments is his name and the proximity of the two stelae.

Another example of the wife of a Roman auxiliary soldier whose life ended far from her ancestral home was Procula Batava. While her praenomen is Roman, her other name identified her as Batavian. She died at the age of 26, and was buried in Dacia. All that is known about her comes from a small corner of her tombstone (Figure 69), which was likely erected by her husband. He was probably a Batavian soldier stationed at the nearby *castellum* at Tibiscum (possibly with the *cohors I Vindelicorum*, which had been stationed in Germania Inferior during the Flavian period).<sup>1017</sup>



**Figure 69. Fragment of a funeral monument to Procula Batava, from *Tibiscum*.**

Source. Muzeul Național al Banatului, “IDR III/1, 168,” <http://muzeulnationalalbanatului.ro/lapidarium-3d/idr-iii-1-168/> [Accessed February 2017]

---

<sup>1016</sup> *RIB* I. 1171; Alex Mullen, “Introduction: Multiple languages, multiple identities,” in *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman Worlds*, eds. Alex Mullen and Patrick James, (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-4.

<sup>1017</sup> Tom Derks, “Ethnic identities in the Roman frontier. The epigraphy of Batavian and other Lower Rhine Tribes,” in Tom Derks and Nico Roymans, ed. *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), 239-276.; Rada Varga, “The peregrine Names from Dacia,” in *Acta Musei Napocensis 43-44/I* (Cluj-Napoca: Ministerul Culturii si Cultelor, Muzeul National de Istorie a Transilvaniei, 2008), 233-246.

Umma Tabiconis, mentioned in Chapter 7 for her distinctive native dress (see Figure 26), provides another example of the merging of cultures. Her monument tells us just the barest snippet of her life. “Umma, daughter of Tabico, who lived 45 years, is buried here. Illo, the son of Itedo, her spouse, has set the stone at his own expense.”<sup>1018</sup> Her monument was erected a little south of the city of *Carnuntum*. Founded in AD 15, it became the capital of Upper Pannonia,<sup>1019</sup> and would have been a busy and successful city during Umma’s lifetime, with modern Roman luxuries.<sup>1020</sup> She is depicted in an *aedicula*, wearing native clothing distinctive to Pannonia, and her inscription is in Latin.

There are several known and documented funerary monuments to Hispano Celtic women. Three of them list the Celtici Supertamarica as the tribe to which their fathers belonged. The women’s names are Eburia,<sup>1021</sup> Fusca,<sup>1022</sup> and Apana.<sup>1023</sup> They were from three different communities in northwestern Spain: Eburia was from Lubri, Fusca was from Blaniobrensi, and Apana was from Miobri. Figure 70 is the monument of Apana, who lived to be twenty five. Her father was Ambollius of the Celtici Supertamarica. Her brother, Apanus, erected the monument. The monument depicts a fourth individual, not mentioned in the inscription. It dates to the first century AD and is in the Provincial Museum of Lugo.

---

<sup>1018</sup> Richard Pittioni, *Vom Faustkeil zum Eisenschwert; eine kleine Einführung in die Urgeschichte Niederösterreichs*, (Horn: F. Berger, 1964), 116. (Translated by Lauren Hammersen, 2014).

*Umma Tabiconis / f(ilia) an(norum) XLV h(ic) s(ita) e(st) / Illo Itedonis f(ilius) / coniugi d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) p(osuit).*

Umma Tabiconis, EDH HD027454, Epigraphic Database Heidelberg, Heildeberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/inschrift/HD004074> [Accessed June 2014]; Stele of Umma Tabiconis, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=45> [Accessed 2010].

<sup>1019</sup> Andrew Beattie, *The Danube: A Cultural History*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 109-112.

<sup>1020</sup> Paula S. Fichtner, *Historical Dictionary of Austria*, (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 54-55.

<sup>1021</sup> *AE* 1997, 873.

<sup>1022</sup> *CIL* II. 2902.

<sup>1023</sup> *AE* 1997, 863.



**Figure 70. Funerary monument of Apana, daughter of Ambollus.**

*Source:* "Aquí xace Apana, filla de Ambollus, dos Celtici Supertamarici." Bajo la Atmósfera de Urano. [bajolaatmosferadeurano.blogspot.com/2014/05/aqui-xace-apanafilla-de-ambollus-dos.html](http://bajolaatmosferadeurano.blogspot.com/2014/05/aqui-xace-apanafilla-de-ambollus-dos.html) [Accessed April 2017].

Another funerary monument that appears to be an amalgamation of traditions belonged to the family of a Veliocassian girl from Lyon named Dafniola.<sup>1024</sup> Her monument survives, having been erected as a family tomb constructed “under the hammer.”<sup>1025</sup> The family included her young deceased brother and her surviving parents. The tomb was situated in the Roman town known as *Colonia Copia Claudia Augusta Lugdunum*, in the opposite part of the country from the tribal homeland of the Veliocasses.<sup>1026</sup> Lyon was a thriving city during her lifetime (approximately late second or early third century AD).<sup>1027</sup> She was young, just over the age of seventeen, at the time of her death. Her family noted that she was married for one year, though no context regarding her husband was added. She is not described as a widow or mother. Her name, as well as that of her brother and father, was all tied to the Greek name Daphne, while the mother bore a Roman name.<sup>1028</sup> Here we see a Celtic girl who lived in a thriving Roman city, died young, was a wife at some point, but more dominantly was depicted in her funeral monument as a sister and a daughter to parents with Greek and Roman names (and no explanation for the Celtic origins), and buried with her nuclear family. The monument was

---

<sup>1024</sup> To the spirits of the departed. To the eternal memory of Dafniola, daughter of Dafneianus, citizen of the tribe the Veliocasses, lived 17 years, 1 month, 12 days. She was married 1 year, 2 months, 1 day. Vincentius, also named Dafnius, the brother of the same Dafniola who lived 3 years, 8 months, 2 days. Dafneianus with his wife Proculeia, the extremely unhappy parents who are living, dedicated this under the hammer for when all four of them are deceased. (Translated by Lauren Hammersen, 2014)

*D(is) M(anibus) / et memoriae aeternae / Dafniolae Dafneiiani(!) / filiae civi Veliocassini/ae quae vixit(!) annis / XVII m(ense) I d(iebus) XII maritata / anno I m(ensibus) II d(ie) I et Vin/centio sive Dafnio / fratri eiusdem Dan/fiolae(!) qui vixit(!) annis / III m(ensibus) VIII d(iebus) II Dafneiia/nus(!) cum Proculeia(!) / coniugi parentes / infelicissimi / vivis sibi / defunctis IIII / hoc / [m]onimentum sub / ascia / [d]edicaverunt*

(Lothar Wierschowski, *Fremde in Gallien - "Gallier" in der Fremde: die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr.: Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentare*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001), 18-19.)

Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 223.

<sup>1025</sup> A number of funerary monuments from Lyon bear the inscription *sub ascia dedicavit*, which may have had to do with securing the burial location and rendering it under divine protection prior to internment. (See: Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 81.)

<sup>1026</sup> Pierre Grimal, *Roman Cities*, trans. and ed. Michael Woloch (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 176-177; Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France*, 388-391.

<sup>1027</sup> Grimal, *Roman Cities*, 177; Bromwich, *The Roman Remains of Northern and Eastern France*, 388.

<sup>1028</sup> Wierschowski, *Fremde in Gallien - "Gallier" in der Fremde*, 19.

entirely dedicated to the family, leaving no indication of what they did for a living. However, they must have had sufficient funds to hire a mason.<sup>1029</sup>

Dafniola gives us some hidden insight into Gaulish girls through the use of a less common style of funerary monument.<sup>1030</sup> Her stone indicated not only her age in years, but also in months and days. By examining her date of death in relation to her length of marriage, she must have married shortly before her sixteenth birthday. By contrast, the earliest age at which a marriage was recognizable for girls in the Roman world was twelve,<sup>1031</sup> so her grave is an indication her tribe may have had marriage customs that encouraged young women to marry somewhat later in life.

Dafniola's monument can be contrasted to that of Blandinia, mentioned earlier. Both young women lived in Lyon and were married at a young age. Their monuments described their lives in a similar fashion down to the day, month, and year of significant events, such as marriage or death. Blandinia's monument depicted her life with her husband, entirely excluding whatever family connection she may have had or valued. Dafniola's epitaph did the opposite, honoring her role in her family and excluding all traces of her husband, his people, profession, and role.

Funerary monuments also show us that identity is not necessarily tied to location and can highlight the movement of people in the ancient world. Lothar Wierschowski, in his massive work, *Die Regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, catalogued over one hundred twenty women with fifty-nine different regional or tribal affiliations who originated in one location and died in another. All of this information was derived from funerary monuments.<sup>1032</sup> An example was Vegetinia Romana, who lived and died

---

<sup>1029</sup> No image or verbal description of this monument has been found.

<sup>1030</sup> Whipple's Index has shown a surprisingly high percentage of cemeteries in the Roman world that engaged in the practice of rounding the age of the deceased up or down to the nearest five years, and that evidence for this tends to be found in non-elites rather than elites. (de Brestian, "Interrogating the Dead," 276.) By contrast, Dafniola's tomb and at least three other monuments from Lyon also use this pattern of years, months, and days to record the age of the person who had died. (*AE* 1961, 0068; *CIL* XIII. 2034; *AE* 1912, 0046; *CIL* XIII.2173.)

<sup>1031</sup> Rodney Stark, *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*, (Princeton, NJ Princeton University Press, 1996), 106-107.

<sup>1032</sup> Lothar Wierschowski, *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995), Anhang 2 Die Mobilität von Frauen, 324-329.

in the third century AD.<sup>1033</sup> Her identity, based on her monument, was tied to that of her husband, Memmius Rusticus, a soldier in the VI *Victrix* legion. Her funerary monument was erected by her husband in Chalon-sur-Saône, France. Originally mounted in the walls of the city and later removed and transported to Paris in the seventeenth century, only to be “lost” after 1838, her monument clearly said she died in a strange or foreign place, “*loco peregrino*.”<sup>1034</sup> Her place of origin has been suggested as Britannia, since her husband’s legion had been stationed in Britain since the early second century AD.<sup>1035</sup> Alternatively, Andreas Kakoschke suggested she may have been from Germania Inferior or possibly from *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, modern Cologne, which was the capital of the province.<sup>1036</sup>

More examples of identities of women who were tied to the military are found in Britain around the legionary bases of Chester and York, where women became prominent in the funerary record in the second and early third centuries AD. While soldiers in the Roman army were not allowed to legally marry from the reign of Augustus to that of Septimius Severus, unofficial relationships between soldiers and local women occurred.<sup>1037</sup> Elaborate memorials set up to these women, “may have been a final means of legitimizing in death a relationship which was not legally recognized in life.”<sup>1038</sup>

---

<sup>1033</sup> *CIL* XIII. 2616.

*Dis Manibus et memoriae aeternae Vegetinias Romanae; Memmius Rusticus, miles legionis VI victricis Antoniniana, conjugii innocentissimae, loco peregrino defunctae ponendum curavit et sub ascia dedicavit.*

To the spirits of the departed. To the eternal memory of Vegetinia Romana, blameless wife of Memmius Rusticus, a soldier of the VI Legion Victrix Antoninus, she died in a foreign place, this monument was dedicated under the hammer. (Translated by Lauren Hammersen, 2014)

<sup>1034</sup> *CIL* XIII. 2616. For information about the stone itself, see *Revue Épigraphique du Midi de la France*, No. 70 (Avril, mai, juin 1893), pp. 227-228.

<sup>1035</sup> Wierschowksi, *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, 324.

<sup>1036</sup> Andreas Kakoschke, “Germanen” in *der Fremde: eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität aus den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2004), 144; Auguste Allmer, *Revue épigraphique du Midi de la France*, (Vienne: Savigné, 1878), 228-229.

<sup>1037</sup> H.M.D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*, (New York: Dorset Press, 1992), 237-245.

<sup>1038</sup> Hope, “Words and Pictures,” 256.

The funerary monument of Bella (Figure 71) is another striking monument that speaks to the identity of its owner. This monument depicted a woman holding an infant, but has few words. Bella was identified as being Remi, a Gaulish tribe located very near the Velioresses to which Dafniola belonged. She died even further from her homeland, with her monument being in *Ara Ubiorum* (Cologne).<sup>1039</sup> In a relatively rare occurrence, her remains were found inhumed



**Figure 71. Figure Grave Stele of Bella. Circa AD 20. Cologne, Germany.**

*Source:* Rheinisches Bildarchiv Köln, Aufnahme-Nr. RBA 110 431; Microfiche-Scan mi01380a05; Köln, Norbertstraße, Grabstele der Bella um 20 Grabstein, Grabskulptur Kalkstein Köln, Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Inventar-Nr. 62,274. <http://www.bildindex.de/obj05725230.html#home>

---

<sup>1039</sup> The city had a number of names throughout its history. *Ara Ubiorum* would have been its name at the time Bella lived.



with her monument. This is even more impressive as the Remi practiced cremation (as did the Romans), not inhumation.<sup>1040</sup> Her husband, Longinus, erected her monument.<sup>1041</sup> She was depicted holding an infant, though in body language and appearance she was disassociated and the inscription bore no mention of children.

“To the Spirits of the Departed, Accepta, daughter of Sabinus – citizen of the Mediomatrici, lived 25 years, wife of Ammonius Mogetius.”<sup>1042</sup> Though her monument is in Heidelberg, Germany, Accepta’s origins were closer to Metz, France, where the Mediomatrici city of *Divodurum* stood. Archaeological evidence indicates some sort of Roman occupation in Heidelberg from the middle of the first century AD to the middle of the third century AD. However, the closest named settlement was *Lopodunum*, approximately ten kilometers away.<sup>1043</sup> Though there was a fort in Heidelberg, civilians were also buried in the region, as both military and civilian monuments have been found. The monument of Accepta’s husband, Ammonius Mogetius, was in the same cemetery.<sup>1044</sup> His may be a Celtic name, as there is another monument in the Heidelberg area to Mogetius, son of Medillus, of the Mediomatrici.<sup>1045</sup>

---

<sup>1040</sup> Carroll, *Spirits of the Dead*, 6-7.

<sup>1041</sup> BELLAE . VON /UCI. F(*iliae*) . REMAE / LONGINUS / VIR . ILLAEIUS / FECIT . PIE

(Transcription of the monument taken from: Andreas Kakoschke, *Ortsfremde in den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität in den germanischen Provinzen anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.*, (Möhnesee: Bibliopolis, 2001), 36.)

<sup>1042</sup> Dis Man(ibus) / Acceptae / Sabini f(*iliae*) civ(i) M[e(diomaticae)?] / an(norum) XXV Ammon[ius] / Mogetius coniu[x] (Translation by Lauren Hammersen, 2014).

<sup>1043</sup> Elizabeth Godfrey, *Heidelberg; Its Princes and Its Palaces*, (London: Richards, 1906), 5-6.

<sup>1044</sup> Ralf Baumeister, Britta Rabold, and Martin Kempa Heidelberg, Mannheim und der Rhein-Neckar-Raum, (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999), 83-84; Dieter Planck, *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg: Römerstätten und Museen von Aalen bis Zwiefalten*, (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2005), 115; Renate Ludwig, *Kelten, Kastelle, Kurfürsten: Archäologie am unteren Neckar*, (Stuttgart: Theiss, 1997), 99-101.

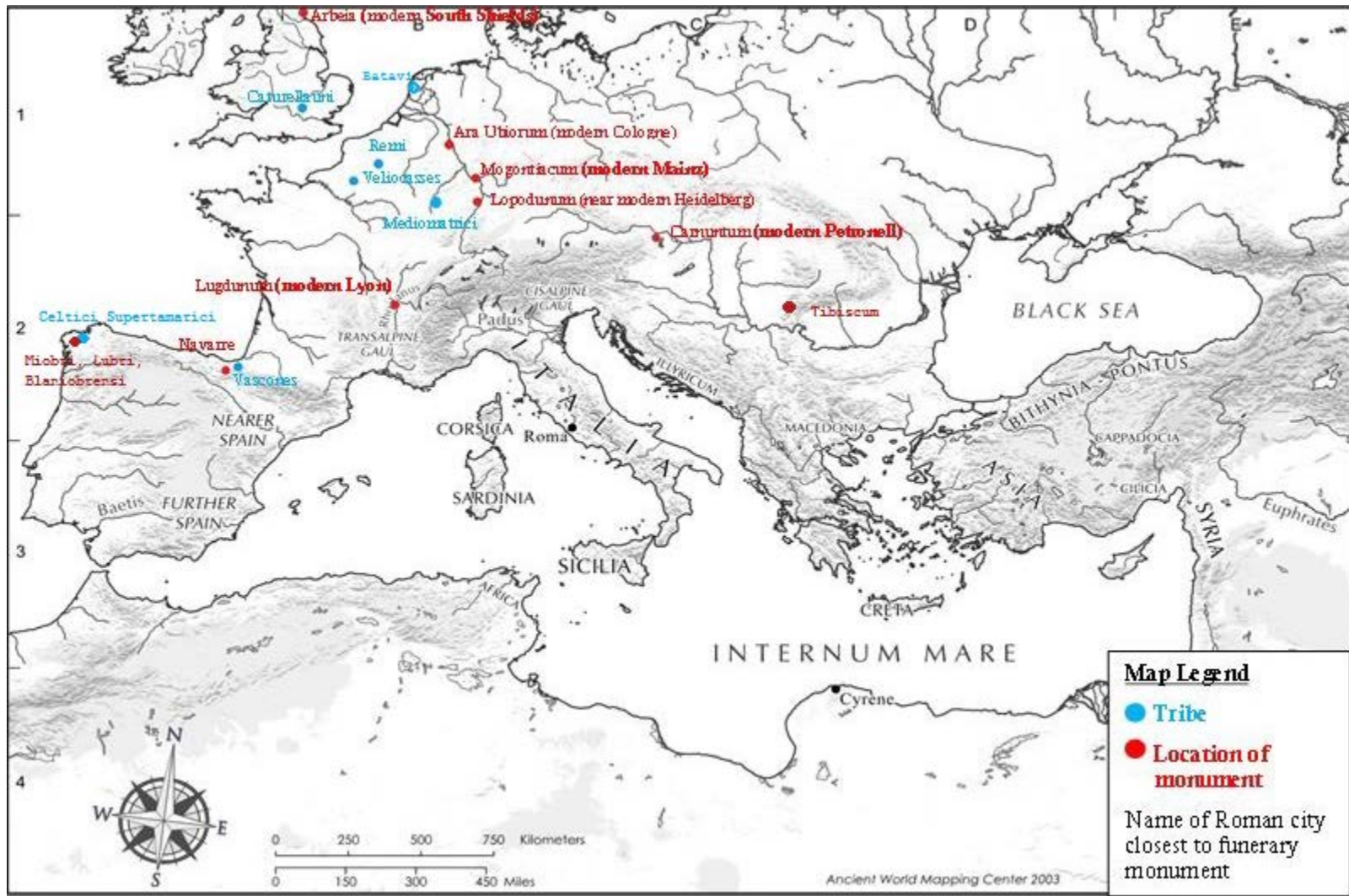
<sup>1045</sup> Grave stele of Mogetius, Ubi Erat Lupa, <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/monument.php?id=8531> [Accessed July 2014]; *CIL* XIII.6394.



**Figure 72. Left, Funerary monument of Accepta, citizen of the Mediomatrici (restored from the hip up). Right, Funerary monument of Accepta's husband Ammonius Mogetius (monument partially reconstructed).**

Source: (Left) EDH, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/foto/F012417> @ Kurpfälzisches Museum Heidelberg Film 24 (Ajtai) [Accessed July 2014].

(Right) EDH, <http://edh-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/edh/foto/F012419> @ Kurpfälzisches Museum Heidelberg Film 24 (Ajtai) [Accessed July 2014].



**Map 12. Showing Funerary Monuments Discussed in Chapter 9 and the known tribal affiliations of the deceased.**

*Sources:* Data and Key created by Lauren Hammersen, 2014. Underlying map: Rachel Barckhaus, Mary T. Boatwright, Tom Elliott, Daniel Gargola, Andrew Hull and Richard Talbert, "Rome's Empire in 60 B.C." Copyright 2004, Ancient World Mapping Center, [http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/rve\\_08\\_1.pdf](http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/rve_08_1.pdf) [Accessed July 2014].

## *Archaeological Analysis of the Dead*

Archaeological analysis of human remains continues to inform historians and academics in new ways about remains that have been known and studied for more than 100 years. Archaeology continuously adds information to our understanding of women and gender in these communities. One striking example can be found in Denmark where, in 1879, Huldremose woman's body was accidentally discovered by Danish peat cutters. This woman's remains survived with clothing intact, as shown in Figure 66. Many theories have been proposed over the last 138 years about how this woman's body ended up in a bog. New analysis, undertaken in the last 10 years, has had a dramatic impact. Researchers studying bog bodies at the National Museum of Denmark discovered through microscopic analysis that the woman had originally worn linen underwear, which had long since decayed. Further tests on strontium isotopes determined both that the woman had travelled, and that her clothing had originated outside of Denmark.<sup>1046</sup> Previous tests from 2009 had indicated her clothing was dyed blue and red, and that she may have worn jewelry.<sup>1047</sup> This may indicate that the original interpretation that she might have been a witch or a criminal condemned to the bog might be incorrect; instead, she may have been an expensively dressed woman who was a foreigner. Her body was not the only one to be tested and found to have come from somewhere else.<sup>1048</sup>

A second example indicates how archaeology can occasionally capture evidence for rare circumstances, such as people who may have been unique to their communities. In 1996, archaeological excavation unearthed an Iron Age site at Great Houghton, Northampton, UK, dating to approximately 400 BC. In Pit 180, a female body was excavated. The body was in poor health and seen to have had a deformity in her wrist. She was 30-40 years old, and was about 5' 2" tall. She was found buried face down and apparently bound hand and foot. She wore a lead alloy torc rather than one made of gold, silver, or bronze, and the torc was

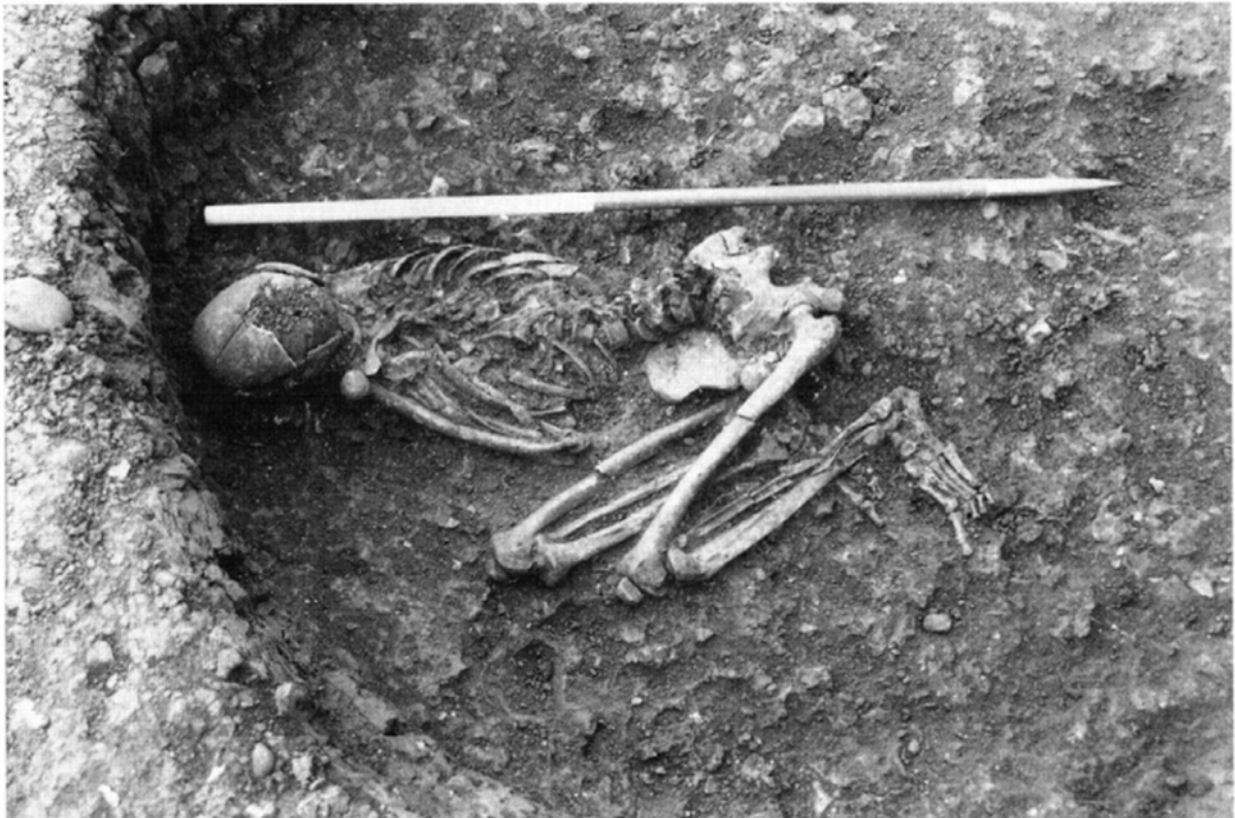
---

<sup>1046</sup> Karin Margarita Frei, Irene Skals, Margarita Gleba, and Henriette Lyngstrøm. "The Huldremose Iron Age Textiles, Denmark: an Attempt to Define Their Provenance Applying the Strontium Isotope System," *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 36, no. 9: (September 2009):1965-1971.

<sup>1047</sup> Ulla Mannering, Margarita Gleba, and Ina Vanden Berghe, "Towards the Identification of Dyestuffs in Early Iron Age Scandinavian Peat Bog Textiles." *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 36, no. 9 (September 2009): 1910-1921.

<sup>1048</sup> Christine Dell'Amore, "Who Were the Ancient Bog Mummies? Surprising New Clues," *National Geographic*, July 18, 2014, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/07/18/140718-bog-bodies-denmark-archaeology-science-iron-age/> [Accessed June 2016]

reversed, closing at the nape of her neck.<sup>1049</sup> She was buried in a 1.5 meter wide pit with no other grave goods. The unusual circumstance of the body has led Miranda Aldhouse-Green to suggest that this woman might have held a special place in her society (whether positive or negative), and that there may have been a social need to bind her in the afterlife. She goes so far as to later use the term “the Great Houghton ‘witch,’” a term fraught with many modern connotations.<sup>1050</sup>



**Figure 73. Female inhumation from Pit 180.**

*Source:* Andy Chapman. "Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement and a Middle Saxon Cemetery at Great Houghton, Northampton." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 29(2000-2001): 11.

A third example of the role archaeology plays in informing us about Celtic women is demonstrated by examining the funeral stele of An(n)ia Buturra (Chapter 7, and depicted in Figure 25). Her name has been theorized as Aurelia<sup>1051</sup> or Antonia,<sup>1052</sup> which might have

---

<sup>1049</sup> Andy Chapman. "Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement and a Middle Saxon Cemetery at Great Houghton, Northampton." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 29(2000-2001): 1-41.

<sup>1050</sup> Miranda Aldhouse-Green, "Viragos and virgins," in *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World (Rewriting Antiquity)*, ed. Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh Turfa, 1008-1026. (London: Routledge, 2016), 1016.

<sup>1051</sup> Alfred Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*. 3, 3, (Graz: Akad. Dr.- und Verl.-Anst, 1962), Virī-atō-s, 378.

been Basque or proto-Basque, perhaps related to a tribe called the Vascones who occupied Navarre, the same region in which her tombstone is located.<sup>1053</sup> Her monument read simply, “To the Spirits of the Departed, An(n)ia Buturra, daughter of Viriatus, age 30 years, is placed here.”<sup>1054</sup> This very simple inscription was written in Latin, yet her monument had very regional, ethnic decoration, including a whole host of objects such as a garland of grape vines, a cow, and a portrait medallion (whose features have been lost). What is less discussed in sources is that her father shared a variation of a name that may have been Celtic in origin. Viriatus is a variant of the name Viriato, used by the Lusitanian war leader from the second century BC. Here we had a middle-aged woman, not described as married or widowed, who may have a Roman first name. Her father’s name may be Celtic in origin, and therefore have had some connection to Celtic peoples to the north in Gaul, or to the Hispano Celtis or Celtiberian populations in southern or western Iberia. Her monument had strong iconography and funerary decorations which have been labelled Basque.

Regarding the study of inhumations and what we can learn about gender roles and women from them, Rebecca Redfern has been analyzing archaeological remains in the UK. Most recently, she has been looking at the evidence for violence in Iron Age communities. By examining Iron Age remains, from the fourth century BC to the first century AD, that indicated violence in southwestern England and then comparing those results to “national and international attritional and catastrophic samples and clinical data for domestic violence,” she drew several conclusions.<sup>1055</sup> The most relevant was the finding that amongst human remains in Dorset, females were engaged in or experienced inter-personal violence such as fist fighting. This conclusion was drawn after examining contemporaneous female remains from other regions.

Carol van Driel-Murray put forward an interesting hypothesis about Roman influence on Germanic society (or the lack thereof in some areas). She argued that “aspects of life controlled by women remain unchanged, [whereas] those associated with male prestige

---

<sup>1052</sup>B. y. Taracena and L. Vázquez de Parga, “Excavaciones en Navarra V: La Romanización,” *Principe de Viana*, 24 (1946), 429.

<sup>1053</sup> Nicholas Ostler, *Ad Infinitum: A Biography of Latin*, (New York: Walker & Co, 2007), 8.

<sup>1054</sup> Translated by Lauren Hammersen, 2014.

<sup>1055</sup> Rebecca Redfern, "A bioarchaeological analysis of violence in Iron Age females: a perspective from Dorset, England (fourth century BC to the first century AD)." In *Changing perspectives on the first millennium BC: Proceedings of the Iron Age Research Student Seminar 2006*, ed. Oliver Davis, Niall M Sharples, and Kate Waddington. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008), 139-60.

displays are strongly influenced by Roman technology and ideas.”<sup>1056</sup> She argued that the study of women involved more than just examining Classical literature, and that our understanding of women should also include more than just excavated archaeological finds showing that women were in the archaeological record. In looking for women in and around Roman forts, she made a statement that,

The marginalisation [*sic*] of women and their exclusion from the archaeological record is all the more worrying when the literary and epigraphic source are reviewed. Usually the written record takes precedence over archaeology, but when women are concerned, it seems that preconceptions take over and the texts, papyri, tombstones and diplomae – with their quite specific information – are studiously ignored or misinterpreted.<sup>1057</sup>

She further argued that, Roman law aside, women had to have been a very significant presence in native tribes, such as the Batavians, from which a high percentage of males spent 25 years (possibly their entire adult lives) as auxilia in service with the Roman military. She examined shoe finds from forts like Vindolanda to show proof of the presence of women and children inside the barracks, and that the presence of children shoes alone indicated women must have been there. She hypothesized that the lack of women in the archaeological record inside of forts may indicate that many of their daily activities occurred outside the walls of the fort, in possibly regulated spaces.<sup>1058</sup>

Though limited in the number that survived, another archaeological source are the diplomas issued to soldiers at the end of their service in the Roman army. One, from AD 113 (RMD-02, 00086) was issued to Marcus Ulpius “Peronis,” a soldier who had spent his career in *cohors I Batavorum*. The diploma mentioned his wife, Mattua Silvani, who was also identified as Batavian. That cohort served in Pannonia, a long distance from the couple’s Batavian homeland. The fact that they had three daughters by the time he retired indicated that his wife accompanied him during his military career.<sup>1059</sup> A second diploma mentions the

---

<sup>1056</sup> Carol van Driel-Murray. “Women in forts,” *Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa* (1997): 55-61.

<sup>1057</sup> van Driel-Murray. “Women in forts,” 55.

<sup>1058</sup> van Driel-Murray. “Women in forts,” 57-61.

<sup>1059</sup> Elizabeth M. Greene, “Women and Families in the Auxiliary Military Communities of the Roman West in the First and Second Centuries AD” (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011), 223; Margaret M. Roxan, “The distribution of Roman military diplomas,” *Epigraphische Studien* 12, 1981, 280; Margaret M. Roxan, *Roman Military Diplomas 1978–1984* (London: University of London, Institute of Archaeology, 1985), 149. A transcription of the Latin text of the Roman military diploma issued in December 113 by the consul of the Batavian cohort, Titus Sempronius Rufus to MARCUS ULPIUS “PERONIS” (RMD-002, 00086, discovered at *Castra Regina*) is at <http://www.romanarmy.net/pdf/Herald%20002.pdf> It is unusual

(unnamed) Batavian wife of a Frisian cavalryman who, with her family, remained in Raetia after her husband was discharged from the *Ala I Hispanorum Aurina*.<sup>1060</sup>

Rebecca Redfern may have best summed up the importance of archaeology when she wrote that, “unless human remains are integrated in to the interpretation of these [Iron Age] communities, our understanding of their organisation [*sic*], life course, gender roles, and culture will remain incomplete.”<sup>1061</sup>

### ***Aspects of Identity and the Role of Gender***

Identity can be thought of as responses to several questions: *who am I?* (referring to the individual), *who are we?* (referring to an inclusive collective or group to which the individual belongs), and *who are they?* (referring to some other group that is different or exclusive, and to which the individual does not belong). So far in this review, we have seen instances of all three aspects of identity.

At the individual self-defined level (*who am I?*), the answers may indicate how the individual differs from those around her. For example, I am a daughter (not a son), or a wife (not a husband), or a mother (not a father), or a queen or noblewoman (not a commoner), or free born (not a slave). At the inclusive collective level (*who are we?*), the answers often indicate how the individual is like others in that group. For example, I am a member of a family (and share the characteristics of that family), or a member of a tribe (and share the characteristics of that tribe), or a member of a profession (and share the characteristics of that profession). At the exclusive collective level (*who are they?*), the answers often indicate how the object of comparison is different from the members of their own group. This level of identity is defined from the perspective of an outsider. For example, *they* are barbarians (not civilized Romans like us), or *they* are Romans (invaders, not part of my tribe or group of tribes).

Identity exists on multiple levels simultaneously – at an individual self-defined level (I am a woman, and a wife, and a mother), as a member of an inclusive collective (I am a member of this family and this tribe), and not as a member of some exclusive collective (they

---

in that this Batavian soldier adopted the prenomen (Marcus Ulpius) of Trajan, who was the emperor at the time. The three daughters (Vagatra, Sueria, and Sata) were also Batavian by birth. See also Derks, “Ethnic identities in the Roman frontier.”

<sup>1060</sup> Derks, “Ethnic identities in the Roman frontier. 249.

<sup>1061</sup> Redfern, Rebecca. “A bioarchaeological analysis of violence in Iron Age females.” In *Changing perspectives on the first millennium BC*, 54.



are Romans or Greeks, I am not). In addition, identity is not static, but rather evolves and may be imposed by external forces (enslavement), social expectations (marriage), or personal choices (profession), changing an individual's situation during their lifetime.

Roman and Greek writers would have had little interest in how foreign women might have identified themselves. Some classical sources grouped barbarian tribes together, presenting them primarily as being different than the Greeks or the Romans. Other classical writers were somewhat more discriminating in identifying individual tribes. Chinnock wrote, "The classical writers have three names to denote this race: Celts, Galatians, and Gauls. These names were originally given to all the people of the North and West of Europe; and it was not till Caesar's time that the Romans made any distinction between Celts and Germans. The name of Celts was then confined to the people north of the Pyrenees and west of the Rhine."<sup>1062</sup> He emphasizes that the names of the individual tribes mentioned in the *Anabasis of Alexander* (the Quadi, Marcomanni, etc.) were names known to Arrian, writing in the second century AD, not names used in the time of Alexander. Alexander the Great referred to the Celts, not to individual tribes. Caesar began his Gallic War by writing, "Gaul is a whole divided into three parts, one of which is inhabited by the Belgae, another by the Aquitani, and a third by a people called in their own tongue Celtae, in the Latin Galli. All these are different one from another in language, institutions, and laws."<sup>1063</sup> Yet he clearly indicated that individual tribes (such as the Helvetii) and sub-tribes (such as the Verbigeni and Tigurini) existed within these three larger groups. Tacitus divided the Germans into three large tribes: "from whose names the tribes nearest the Ocean are to be known as Ingaevones, the central tribes as Herminones, and the rest as Istaevones" but the name Germans, originally "a tribal, not a national, name – prevailed, until the whole people were called by the artificial name of 'Germans.'"<sup>1064</sup> Tacitus similarly divided the inhabitants of Britain into three groups using an observable, feature-based identity context: "the red hair and the large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia proclaim their German origin; the swarthy faces of the Silures, the curly quality, in general, of their hair, and the position of Spain opposite their shores, attests the passage of Iberians in old days and the occupation by them of these districts; those peoples, again, who adjoin Gaul are also like Gauls, whether because

---

<sup>1062</sup> E. J. Chinnock, *The Anabasis of Alexander, or the History of the Wars and Conquests of Alexander the Great, Literally Translated, with a Commentary, from the Greek of Arrian the Nicodemian*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884), 14.

<sup>1063</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1

<sup>1064</sup> Tacitus, *Germania*, 2

the influence of heredity persists, or because when two lands project in opposite directions till they face each other the climatic condition stamps a certain physique on the human body.”<sup>1065</sup> As has been noted, Gauls were even dressed up to look like Germans during a triumph. The trophy group from *Lugdunum Covenarum* shows generic male and female barbarians of Spain and Gaul, not distinguishing specific tribes, much less depicting individuals.

This does not mean that classical sources are not useful in determining the identities of Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, or Celtiberian women – but we must keep in mind that those writers’ primary focus would have been on the world seen through Roman (or Greek) eyes, rather than the world as seen through the eyes of a Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, or Celtiberian man or woman. However accurate or astute their records may have been, their writings remain observations by outsiders about peoples with whom they were unfamiliar, whose customs were interpreted through the lens of the author’s own culture and, perhaps most significantly, the writings of men about foreign women – judging them against the standards and values of Roman (or Greek) culture. To that end, as previously noted, much of what was remarked by these writers focused on what differed from or was unusual in comparison to that found in the Mediterranean cultures with which they were most familiar. Thus, they noted the existence of such distinctly un-Roman identities for women as leaders (in peace and war) or arbiters, and even hint at matriarchal societies. Such identities clearly existed, though they were reserved for a small handful of women. Roman and Greek writers were less likely to address those aspects of the identity of a Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, or Celtiberian woman that comported with what was familiar regarding women in the Mediterranean cultures – such as taking care of their family and household, gathering firewood or water, farming, preparing food, or making clothing.<sup>1066</sup>

The vast majority of Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic, or Germanic women in the period from 400 BC to AD 235 spent their lives within their close family groups, and did not identify themselves with those supra-ethnic groups – in part because they probably had never met anyone who was not from their own (or a neighboring) tribe. They saw themselves more narrowly – as women from their own family or tribe. This would have applied even to most women of high status. For example, Veleda likely considered herself to be a Bructerian seeress, rather than a German seeress; Boudica likely considered herself an Icenic queen,

---

<sup>1065</sup> Tacitus, *Agricola*, 1.11.

<sup>1066</sup> For a discussion of how much time was required by Roman women to manage the daily tasks of the household, see Croom, *Running the Roman Home*.

rather than a Celtic queen; and Fritigilia probably considered herself a Marcomannic queen (or perhaps another tribe, since she may well have married into the Marcomanni), rather than as a Germanic queen. This viewpoint may have fluctuated over time, as tribes migrated, though such migrations may actually have helped solidify tribal identities (as when tribes banded together against invaders). An exception would occur when women were given in arranged marriages across tribal boundaries, as mentioned, for example, by Caesar.<sup>1067</sup>

Within individual tribes, the identities of most women would have evolved during their lives as they matured and as their circumstances changed. A young girl's initial identity would be as a member of her immediate and extended family (though among Germans, Tacitus reported that children were raised collectively by the village). As she grew up, she would identify herself as a member of her own village and learn about other villages in the local area. When she married, she would identify herself as a wife and later, if she had children, as a mother. If the marriage was to someone from a neighboring tribe, she might become identified as being an outsider (from a different tribe). If she were to be captured by the Romans, she would quickly identify herself as a slave, and might discover that she had become identified more generally as a Gaul, or as a German, or as a Briton, or as an Iberian. This study has critically analyzed a variety of surviving relics to demonstrate how those identities were represented. Examples include the identity of a daughter (such as Dafniola), wife (such as Bella, Vegetinia, and Blandinia), and mother (like Menimane).

In addition to their family and tribal identity, some women were able to pursue occupations that involved an identity different from that of daughter, wife, or mother. Analysis of surviving funerary monuments and classical sources showed that some women clearly identified themselves based on their occupation. Examples included gravestones showing women as merchants or identifying themselves as doctors, reliefs depicting women in a wide variety of professions, and accounts of women who were seers or prophetesses.

---

<sup>1067</sup> Caesar wrote that Orgetorix of the Helvetii gave his daughter in marriage to Dumnorix, an Aeduan, to seal a political agreement; Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 3.

## Chapter 10: Critical Analysis and Conclusion

A tapestry is a complex thing. Anyone who has spent time around one – whether ancient, medieval, renaissance, or modern – knows you cannot take in everything at a single glance. The more you look at the tapestry, and the more closely you look at individual panels, the more you see. Having spent more than 300 pages examining what is known from ancient sources, secondary sources, genetics, and archaeological finds with regard to Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic and Germanic women in the more than six centuries from 400 BC to AD 235, the reader will have discovered that, as with a large tapestry, our greatest understanding of the women of the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts and Celtiberians is found by looking closely at individual panels of the tapestry to discern snapshot-like images. When one steps back from individual panels, any ancient tapestry which has survived into modern times can be seen to have flaws that have developed over the centuries – wear spots, holes where threads or entire pieces of the fabric are missing or damaged, and problems in the construction of those pieces that have survived. These complicate the task of anyone who is trying to make generalized statements about the tapestry as a whole – and similar issues complicate the task of making generalized statements about these Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian women in classical times. Who were the women of these cultures during this long period? What did their lives entail?

In this study, the results of my research into these and other questions about the role of these women – a topic that has been largely absent from modern scholarly literature – has been presented. That research began with an examination of all the primary sources that had mentioned women in those societies, together with an evaluation of those sources. In addition, archaeological evidence and the results of recent genetic research were reviewed. Secondary sources – scholarly and popular – were assessed to determine what they could provide to create a more complete understanding of these questions. The fundamental truth mentioned at the beginning of the study remains – there is not a great deal of primary evidence regarding Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic and Germanic women in the classical period, and the evidence that exists varies in breadth, depth, and reliability depending on the region being studied. Nonetheless, when examined *in toto* and studied carefully, there is far more information than has generally been acknowledged, and that information does permit us to draw certain conclusions – moving from what specific authors wrote about individual women at particular points in time, to more general observations about women in certain

regions, and then to an overview of Celtic, Celtiberian, Hispano Celtic and Germanic women in general.

One of the questions asked at the start of this study can be answered: How can primary sources, secondary sources, and archaeological material create an understanding about these women? To this end, Chapters 1 and 2 offered a diligent and careful reading of surviving primary sources, secondary sources, and relevant archaeological material, together with knowledge of other times, places, and cultures. This provided the threads that underline our basic knowledge of these cultures and people. Rather than just a broad multicultural overview, the careful and specific examination of certain times and places can create windows that explore the lives of some individual women, and from that one can begin to better understand the story as a whole. Chapters 3 through 9 delved more deeply into those sources to determine what they revealed about specific aspects of the women in these societies – their roles as queens and rulers; their place in public and private life; how they participated in industry, trade and religion; whether they were learned; their appearance; how they might have seen themselves; and how this shaped their identity.

It bears repeating that we are looking for half of the population of these regions of Europe during this period. By this I mean not just in terms of statistical numbers, but rather in terms of understanding a large portion of these societies as they evolved over a period of almost six and half centuries. To that end, this study presented the first comprehensive work covering the period 400 BC to AD 235 which not only examines specific figures in history, but also addresses the overall topic of women in Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic and Celtiberian societies. It includes not only an exhaustive critical review of every known primary historical source regarding these women, together with every modern scholarly work on the women in these regions, but also an examination of how archaeological findings support or refute those texts, how recent genetic research can inform our understanding, and the role of modern gender theory in the interpretation of historic and archaeological material. This fills a gap in the academic record of both the study of this period and the study of women. It contains a unique and comprehensive catalogue of named Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women from classical sources (together with unnamed women who are mentioned by classical authors), as well as a comprehensive catalogue of early female saints from these regions. This work presents a multifaceted view of women in the world of the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, and Celtiberians before and after contact with the Greeks and Romans, and during later acculturation (to a degree) into their societies.

It provides the academic community new insights by addressing areas that have long been neglected in existing histories of this period. Among these are the role of “learned women,” the public lives of these women (including occupations they pursued), their private lives (including marriage, family, and the concept of polygamy in these cultures), women in positions of power, the role women played in combat (and how that varied among the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts and Celtiberians), women in the context of pagan and Christian religions, and their identities (including the individual self-defined level, inclusive collective level, and exclusive collective level). It is somewhat illuminating to realize that over a period covering more than six centuries and spanning more than half the continent of Europe, primary source documents provide the names of fewer than 75 women. Excluding names found only in archaeological and funerary finds and even when adding in the references in primary sources to the ‘unnamed’ wife, daughter, or sister of someone, the overall number of women who are identified rises only to a few hundred out of the millions who lived in these societies. Nonetheless, the information that does survive allows us a glimpse into the lives of women.

This chapter will begin with a review of patterns that can be discerned regarding specific regions. Then, those patterns will be compared across northwestern Europe and the Iberian Peninsula as a whole to facilitate a cross-cultural analysis, as well as my conclusions.

### ***Britannia***

This island was one of the few places that the Roman Empire controlled, yet never fully conquered. First invaded by Julius Caesar in 55 BC (unsuccessfully) during the Roman Republic, the province of Britannia was finally abandoned shortly before the collapse of the Western Roman Empire in AD 410. During those four centuries, the Romans tried to extend their control over the island and its peoples. As a result, numerous classical sources exist which addressed not only the Romans and their presence on the island, but also the native inhabitants. Classical scholars such as Julius Caesar, Dio Cassius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Tacitus all wrote about the island. Archaeology in Britain, more than any other region addressed in this study, has examined women during the time of the Roman Empire.

Britain is different in several ways from the other areas addressed in this study. It is the only place where women are seen who ruled as a queen with a consort (Cartimandua),<sup>1068</sup> as

---

<sup>1068</sup> While Onomaris lead without any evidence of a male counterpart, there is no evidence that this was a position she was born into; rather, she seems to have volunteered to lead her people.

opposed to a women being a queen beside a ruling king. If Tacitus is to be believed, Britain had a history of women having served in positions of military authority. While in other areas examined, women are described as leading, ruling, and fighting, Britain seems to be the only region where accounts survive that depicted women who were involved in strategic military planning. Interestingly, and also in contrast with other regions, there is a lack of evidence for women actually participating in combat. Classical sources specifically stated that the Caledonians sent women away from battles, and the campfollowers of Boudica's army seem to have been just that – campfollowers – who were caught and crushed when the tide of battle turned against the Britons.

The daily lives of women in Celtic Britain are largely unknown. Women are seen to have been engaged in religious activities, both as pagans and Christians, but the place of the average woman in society remains unknown, as does their role in commerce or legal matters.

Though both archaeological and historical information that survives is widespread, the image of British women remains fragmentary. The women described in classical accounts participated in activities that were normal in the classical world, but also were depicted in other ways very much frowned upon by the Romans. The depiction of women on funerary monuments was often as wives or the unofficial spouses of soldiers; while not viewed positively by the Romans, this was by no means outside the norm. The information that seems to have shocked and dismayed the Romans was that British women led men in battle, and that this seemed to have been a long-standing custom. Though British women did not necessarily participate in combat, the Romans viewed female battle leaders as having usurped the power traditionally reserved for men. The classical authors also derided British women for supposedly engaging in polyamorous unions. There appeared to be some cultural difference between the area that became Scotland (north of Hadrian's Wall) and the area that now makes up England, Wales and Cornwall. In the south, classical authors recounted female who were rulers, females leading men in battle, and women who were associated with the Druid centers in Mona. Archaeological evidence from the major centers of commerce and military garrisons (all located south of the wall) provide the best surviving evidence in the form of stelae, curse tablets, and letters. What we know of those living north of the wall comes almost exclusively from Tacitus and Dio Cassius, who wrote of women among the Caledonians engaging in polyamory and being sent away from battle. Likewise, economic centers and towns did not emerge north of the wall in the way they did to the south, so archaeological evidence regarding women in that region is slim.

## *Gaul and Noricum*

The Gauls, some of Rome's oldest enemies (having invaded and sacked that city long before Caesar invaded Gaul – something the Romans never forgot), were eventually incorporated into the Empire. Julius Caesar and Strabo both wrote about the Gauls and witnessed their conquest from first-hand points of view. Diodorus Siculus also wrote about the Gauls. Noricum appeared only in short passages of texts, as it seemed to have had a much less violent path to inclusion in the Empire. Thus, it is not surprising to discover funerary monuments depicting women representing a thriving and surviving ethnic culture.

Some accounts provided a more detailed description of the women of Gaul than what was written in the primary sources that discussed the inhabitants of Britain. From these, we know that women were married off by male kinsmen for the sake of creating or strengthening an alliance. Marriage customs included a traditional dowry. In Gaul (at least during the campaigns of Julius Caesar), women were sent from the battlefield, together with the children and the elderly, when possible. Such a removal of the noncombatants was similar to what was recorded about Caledonia, but inconsistent from what was noted about the other regions discussed in this study.

Women in Gaul held the role of priestess in pagan religions in several locations. As Christianity was established throughout the province, women stepped forward and embraced the new religion. As a consequence of refusing to renounce their faith, numerous women were martyred.

Despite their clear leadership roles in religious matters, classical sources made no mention of women in Gaul serving as queens or regents. In this respect, women in Gaul were different from their counterparts in Britain, Hispania, and Germania. Ariovistus took a Norican wife, but she was not described as being a queen. Notwithstanding the absence of any such references in classical literature, it would be surprising if no woman had ever served in such a role anywhere within Gaul. This is especially true in light of the elite La Tène graves that have been discovered, including instances of women who were clearly treated as being among those elite in the centuries before at the very start of the period of this study.

Though they were also Celtic and lived in close proximity to Gaul, virtually nothing is known from classical sources about Norican women. Caesar seemed to indicate that, at least on occasion, a woman might have been married for the sake of political alliance. As was the



case with the women of Britain, the place of women in Norican society remains unknown, together with the role they may have played in commercial or legal matters.

Archaeology pertaining to Gaulish and Norican women is also fragmentary. There have been a number of textile finds in Gaul, as well as depictions of clothing, and the equipment used in the manufacture of textiles has also been discovered. However, the existence of these items cannot confirm the gender of the individuals who used them. While fragmentary, the surviving funerary monuments, bas reliefs and sculptures depicting Gaulish (and Gallo-Roman) women is very extensive and well documented, and provides considerable insight into the occupations performed by these women, as well as their appearance.

The term Gauls is one of the most common methods classical writers used to link cultural and ethnic groups that could more broadly be labeled Celtic. The Noricans were tied to Gaul in classical accounts. Some of the most in-depth surviving information about Celtic culture came from Gaul as a result of Roman conquest and expansion. Classical authors recounted information about marriage and dowry, religion (pagan and Christian), women's roles in relation to battle, families, and migration. In terms of archaeological artifacts, many epigraphical monuments survived, as did a great deal of archaeological material which informs us of marriage customs, personal identity, professions, and industry. As a result, we know more about various occupations pursued by women in Gaul than anywhere else in the Celtic world. These objects and sites help to enrich and at times balance out material in primary written sources. Yet some strong regional differences emerge. Like their British counterparts, and unlike the Celtiberian women, the women in Gaul did not fight. They stayed away from the battlefield and were known to sue for peace afterwards. In contrast to Celtiberia and Britainia, there are no known women in ruling positions mentioned in surviving texts or monuments. Gaul had very strong Celtic La Tène artistic traditions, and significant distinctively Celtic metalwork and jewelry has been discovered in Gaul and Noricum.

### ***Germania***

In classical times, the region known to the Romans as Germania extended well beyond the boundaries of modern Germany. It included the area of modern Denmark, the Netherlands, and Austria. This vast territory encompassed many peoples and was subject to frequent Roman attempts at occupation. However, other than the outer fringes, Germania

east of the Rhine remained independent from the Empire, and only a few areas were every fully under the control of the Romans.

Most of what is known of Germanic women from classical scholars is found in Tacitus' *Germania*. Most other descriptions of interactions with the Germanic tribes came from encounters and conflict between them and the Romans. Such episodes are recorded by several notable classical writers, including Julius Caesar, Plutarch, and Dio Cassius.

Tacitus provided modern historians with the closest thing to a contemporaneous ethnographic study of the Germanic peoples. In it, one can discern a great many aspects of the daily life of women – from textile manufacture, to the treatment of injured men, to the role of women in religion. In contrast to the accounts of classical sources about the Britons and Gauls, Dio Cassius wrote that women wearing armor actually fought against the Romans, which greatly shocked the ancient writers.

Women of the Bructeri also seem to have held high positions as prophetesses. The names of at least two women were known: Veleda, who also acted as an arbitrator in Germany, and Ganna, a prophetess that lived in a later period and actually visited with the Emperor Domitian.

In terms of textile evidence from Germany, some beautiful, intact gowns have been discovered in bogs, which allow us to understand women's clothing. This is supported by what was written in classical sources, as well as art and sculpture describing or depicting Germanic women. Religious iconography and funerary monuments, though fewer in number than what has been documented in Gaul, illustrated the more human aspects of women (such as how they chose to depict themselves on stelai, and their transition to becoming Roman citizens).

Not surprisingly, the Germans were different from the Celts; this point has been addressed in a number of ways throughout this study, but is worth reiterating. Our understanding of the Germans is constrained by the fact that several classical accounts that once existed have not survived, limiting us to a handful of texts. Two types of Germans emerged during the Roman period: those in the Roman provinces of Germania Superior and Germania Inferior, and those that lived beyond the borders of the Empire. This latter group is less well understood due to several factors. In the first place, the Germans did not establish the sort of large population centers found among the Celts in Gaul and Britainia even before the arrival of the Romans, nor were Roman cities and *colonia* ever established in that area. In

the regions controlled by Rome, some of the Germanic tribes preferred to present themselves as Celts, rather than as Germans.

There are accounts both of Germanic women who participated in combat (to include wearing armor and being found among the dead on the battlefield), and also of Germanic women being withdrawn from the fighting. This may indicate different customs among various Germanic tribes. The Germans clearly valued women for their wisdom and foresight, and numerous accounts referred to women being consulted for a wide variety of reason, from when to fight to divination on the battlefield.

### *Hispania*

Celtiberia probably has the most fragmentary surviving primary sources of any of the regions covered in this study. Artemidorus, Posidonius, and Sallust all wrote about the inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula, but only fragmentary portions of their original texts have survived. Some of the works by Appian and Strabo survive, but the detail in the texts leaves much to be desired. There probably were Carthaginian works on the history and people of Iberia, but they are lost.

Notwithstanding their fragmentary nature, those sources that have survived provide a wealth of information about women in Hispano Celtic and Celtiberian society. The most notable aspect of these women mentioned by classical authors was that, on numerous occasions, they stepped out of what Greek and Roman writers would have seen as proper, traditional female roles and performed the actions normally associated with men in Mediterranean societies. Appian wrote of women taking up arms and fighting alongside men against the Romans. Sallust noted that women, fed up with the actions of their men, abandoned them and assumed their duties. Strabo commented on the marriage customs of the women, and intimated at what may have been matriarchal traditions. Posidonius described women engaged in alluvial mining. Artemidorus, through his surviving fragments in Strabo, provided significant details about the appearance and attire of women.

Classical sources also described Celtiberian women as arbiters. During the reign of the Carthaginians, women would settle disputes between Celtiberians and Carthaginians (serving on a par with the Carthaginian judges). In this respect, such Celtiberian women were one of only two groups identified in this study that were so described by classical sources. (The other example was the prophetess from Germany, Veleda, who acted as an arbitrator during

the uprising under Julius Civilis.) There is evidence for at least one unnamed Celtiberian woman acting as a prophetess.<sup>1069</sup>

Spain provides modern scholars with evidence that women in Roman Hispania were large land owners of estates and even involved in legal disputes. This aspect of the role women played in society is not present in the surviving record of the other provinces.

Archaeology pertaining to women in Hispania is also fragmentary. There have been numerous archaeological finds of textiles along the southeast coast of Spain, and the equipment used in the manufacture of textiles has also been discovered. However, the existence of these items cannot confirm the gender of the individual who used them. As was the case in Gaul, there are numerous funerary monuments from Spain which provide the best insight into women. In some instances, modern observers can actually “see” the ancient women (or at least representations of them) and learn their names. Inscriptions also indicated professions, including one that indicated there was a female doctor who was both a wife and mother. (While her status as Celtiberian cannot be confirmed, that is certainly a possibility, given that she lived in the Celtic portion of southwestern Spain, near the border with modern Portugal.) This is illustrative of the challenge posed by the scattered nature of Celtic peoples in Spain, which makes identifying women of particular regions and ethnic backgrounds more difficult.

Based on the information available, the Celtiberian women described in classical accounts, while performing traditional female roles, also engaged in what would have been seen by those authors as masculine acts, including fighting, arranging marriages and receiving dowries, as well as acting as the officials who settled disputes. From funerary monuments and classical descriptions, women were depicted as wearing elaborate accessories and intricate jewelry (though such ornaments were most surely status dependent). Unique traits and characteristics of Hispano Celtic women are more difficult to identify. Though nothing is known about women in the pagan religions of Hispania, early Christian female saints were martyred in Spain, which indicated that women did not shrink from taking on roles in the religious sphere of life. It is apparent that the women of Hispania did not conform to the traditional roles of either Greek or Roman societies, but instead engaged in a much broader spectrum of activities based on the values of their society, or tradition, or some other unknown cultural aspects that resulted from the mix of peoples in the Iberian Peninsula

---

<sup>1069</sup> The second one mentioned by Suetonius may have been Celtiberian or Iberian.

### *Cross-cultural Similarities*

The preceding summary of what is known about women in each region demonstrates that, when dealing with more than six century timeframe across the whole of northwest Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, the role of women varied – both over time and by region – but this does not mean that there were no similarities. Across broad regional and tribal lines, some facts about Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic and Celtiberian women seem to have been widespread. In Britain, Gaul, Germania, and Hispania, women participated in pagan religions, whether it be as priestesses in Gaul and Germania, or prophetesses in Hispania and Germania, or everyday women performing rites (as seen in the Larzac Inscription found in Gaul, which Bernard Mees described as a litigation spell<sup>1070</sup>) or incantations, or practicing the art of divination (as when Boudica divined with a hare).

With the advent of Christianity in western Europe, women continued to perform various religious roles. Women in Britain, Gaul, and Hispania acted as patronesses supporting Christianity. Many women also died as martyrs of the early church for their beliefs,<sup>1071</sup> before that religion's eventual acceptance and later dominance as the main religion of the Roman Empire. One question that we unfortunately cannot answer is how widespread the early church was, notwithstanding the fact that women from so many regions were involved. Though there are no references to Germanic women who were martyred saints in the early church, this may be because of the lack of Roman control over all but the fringes of Germania.

It is not surprising that adultery was frowned upon in virtually every region, at least when it pertained to women. Cartimandua's second husband was called an adulterer, and her relationship with him was described in a disparaging light. Tacitus informed us that in Germany, women who committed adultery were publicly shamed and had their heads shaved.

One heroic, but tragic, commonality seen in women across Britain, Gaul, Germany, and Celtiberia involved the decision to commit suicide when faced with capture and possible slavery. Not only did women in classical accounts seem willing to take their own lives, but also the lives of their children. Evidence of this was found in historical records for sites such as Numantia (Celtiberia), the Teutones (after the conflict with the Roman general Marius), in

---

<sup>1070</sup> Mees, *Celtic Curses*, 64-69.

<sup>1071</sup>This period was also full of different kinds of religious persecutions, including Christians persecuting pagans, and various Christian sects and "heresies" persecuting each other. The Vandals persecuted Catholics. Non-Christians, like Hypatia, were killed by Christians.

Noricum (during descriptions of Roman efforts to seize the region), and in Britain (if Tacitus' account of the death of Boudica and her daughters through the use of poison in order to prevent capture was accurate).

Another area of commonality among Britain, Germania, and Gaul was the exchange of hostages to ensure positive relations. During Julius Caesar's poorly executed invasion of Britain, he took hostages, at least some of whom were women. Julius Civilis' wife and sister and the daughter of Classicus were given as hostages to secure alliances during the rebellions in Germania. The wife and daughter of the Chatti chieftain Arpus were taken by the Romans as hostages in the first century AD.<sup>1072</sup>

While there are areas of similarity across these distinct regions, there are also areas of silence when it comes to topics which, either for their mundane nature or lack of knowledge, were never addressed by classical authors. Motherhood is one of the areas that sources barely mentioned. Some information on the mothers of infants exists, however the care and raising of children to adulthood is not addressed.

The legal options of women are also largely unaddressed. Little is known of the sorts of punishment that could be imposed on women for crimes, nor what legal recourse women could take if they found themselves either the victim of a crime, or the person accused of committing a crime.

The Romans also created cross-cultural similarities of their own for these people. Slavery was a fact of life in the Roman Empire. Whether sold from an estate or taken as spoils of war, the Empire was made up of slaves from across what is now known as Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. (Slavery in the Greek and Roman world is, in and of itself, an entire subfield.<sup>1073</sup>) When Caesar conquered Gaul and expanded the control of the Roman Republic, he had thousands of Gauls – both men and women – sold into slavery as spoils of war.<sup>1074</sup> The estimates for the casualties of this expansion by Rome are massive,

---

<sup>1072</sup> Tacitus, *Annals*, 2.7.

<sup>1073</sup> Sandra R. Joshel, *Slavery in the Roman World*, Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); F. H. Thompson, *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Slavery*, *Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, no. 66 (London: Duckworth, 2003); *Classical Slavery*, ed. Moses I. Finley (London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1987); Moses I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*, (New York: Viking Press, 1980); Moses I. Finley, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies* (Cambridge, UK: W. Heffer, 1960).

<sup>1074</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 3.16; 2.14; 1.11.

ranging from the thousands to a million.<sup>1075</sup> Despite these large numbers, slaves are largely unmentioned in ancient literature unless they had some exceptional quality. Slaves were seen as property. In legal matters, they could be tortured to provide evidence. Large slave holdings were symbols of status.<sup>1076</sup> To complicate matters even further, slaves and their place in Roman society changed during the centuries covered by this study.<sup>1077</sup> However, slaves were sometimes able to adapt and thrive in the households of wealthy Romans. Martial clearly had a great fondness for a young slave girl he owned.<sup>1078</sup> However, for most women who were slaves, life was certainly not so pleasant.

### ***Gender and Identity: What have we learned?***

Having explored hundreds of years of history regarding “barbarian” women, some aspects of the *supra-ethnic identity* of Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, and Celtiberian women, as well as the *ethnic* identities of some tribes (as seen from the perspective of outsiders, such as the Roman or Greek authors in classical times), have surfaced. The same cannot be claimed regarding the *self-identity* of these women. The concept of identity among the women of the ancient world was seldom even addressed in books published in the last 150 years. During this same century and a half, the definition for identity continued to grow and expand. Facets of that identity are touched on, such as social status or marital status, but the attempt to fathom the identity of women in these societies as a concept was absent. There is a growing trend by historians to create a composite look of women in ancient history, with the most noticeable up-tick in publications occurring in the twenty-first century.<sup>1079</sup> Reconstructing the identity of a woman, when one is two millenia removed from the time in which she lived, is extremely difficult. Though we will never be able to fully understand her thoughts and self-identity, we can make some assertions and assumptions from the information that survives.

---

<sup>1075</sup> William Linn Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955), 63.

<sup>1076</sup> Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 80-81, 82, 67-68.

<sup>1077</sup> Westermann, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*, 63-118.

<sup>1078</sup> Bell, “Martial’s Daughter,” 22-24.

<sup>1079</sup> I surveyed over 50 books on women in the ancient world, ranging in publication dates from 1874 to 2012, charting which aspects of identity, or the concept of identity as a whole, had used when examining women.

We largely encounter these women through the outsider-defined lens of Greek and Roman culture and society, rather than through their own internally-defined lens. Even when we know of women through funerary monuments they have commissioned, the monument itself is almost always a product of contact with and influence of the Romans and Greeks. Everywhere the Roman Empire went, the interaction of the Romans with the natives living in the provinces and borderlands created new definitions of what it meant to be “indigenous,” down to the tribal level (e.g., tribes that were still enemies, tribes that were conquered, tribes that had become client kingdoms, and lastly tribes that became *civitates* and citizens), as well as what it meant to be “Roman” in that part of the Empire. The Hellenization and Romanization of indigenous people was not a passive process, and the results, whether positive or negative, were addressed by classical authors who were, by definition, biased outside observers or reporters.<sup>1080</sup>

Classical authors’ opinions are interwoven into every account we have. Regardless of tribe, place, or situation, the authors were never without opinion, though it may not have been overtly expressed, and may only be able to be inferred. As we have seen, a significant portion of classical opinion is rooted in word choice, and there are risks and loss of understanding in transcriptions and translations that have taken place over intervening centuries. Language is a living, breathing thing. Latin and Greek evolved over the 635 year period this study examines,<sup>1081</sup> not to mention the centuries through which the original texts have been transmitted to modern scholars.

Stepping away from classical authors and their opinions and towards the “purer” source of epigraphy, we have a better chance of seeing more women than are ever named in those written accounts. Thousands of women are known from surviving funerary monuments from the provinces, as examined in this study, though not all of them can be associated with the cultures and people we are trying to see. Funerary monuments and other forms of epigraphy are important sources of information, which is shared explicitly through the literal words inscribed and intentions of the object, and implicitly through art, location, word choice, and

---

<sup>1080</sup> Writers such as the Celtiberian, Martial, and the Gallo-Roman, Ausonius, are exclusions to the normal Classical writers. However, at the same time they are also a product of the process we know as Romanization.

<sup>1081</sup> Nikolaos Gonis, “Abbreviations and Symbols,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. Roger S. Bagnall, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 170-178.

The oldest form of shorthand goes back to fourth century BC a marble stone from the mid fourth century at the Parthenon bears shorthand. Lisa Gitelman, *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999), 42.



symbolism. Unfortunately, they represent a minute portion of the overall population, one that was both wealthy enough to purchase the stone and hire the carver, influenced enough by Greek and Roman tradition to adopt this practice, and lived in a period when the erecting of monuments was in fashion.

What do we see when we examining a figure from the ancient world? We can use Veleda as an example. She is an interesting figure that survives in Roman sources because she did something unusual (from the perspective of the classical authors) – she was a foreign woman who had an encounter with the Emperor. If we try to compile her identity, what do we find? From the perspective of the outsiders who noted her existence, she was labeled as a Germanic woman who was a member of the Bructeri tribe. Her social status was that of an unmarried woman (described as a virgin), removed from society (she lived in a tower), who served as a prophetess. As such, she reportedly enjoyed a high status and was venerated as a skilled negotiator and arbiter. She appears to have been multi-lingual. She may have been a rebel, or to have been held as a hostage or prisoner by the Romans. She had an encounter with the Emperor. Does that tell us her identity or how she viewed herself? Is it possible to “know” how she saw her own identity from these bits of information? No – these are all descriptions of her by foreign observers who noted her existence only because she was *different* from the Roman (or Greek) women that they knew. Those authors would have had no interest in how she identified herself. Their descriptions provide a better understanding of how she was seen and identified by others, not how she might have seen herself.

There are no surviving accounts in which Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, or Celtiberian women discussed their own lives, and the situations that would have bounded their self-identity are precisely those that were so “ordinary” as to escape mention by Roman or Greek authors. The lives – and identities – of the overwhelming majority of these women would have revolved around their extended multi-generational family groups – evolving over time in a regular pattern to encompass being a daughter, maiden, wife, mother, and widow. As shown by funerary inscriptions and other graphic representations, some of these women also self-identified with a craft or a profession. Most women would not have self-identified as a member of a supra-ethnic grouping (like Celts or Germans), but rather with their own ethnic tribal grouping (such as Icenii or Bructeri). This would have been especially true for those high-born women who were married to cement alliances (such as the sister of the king of Noricum marrying the Suebian king Ariovistus). In their new homes, they would have learned to identify themselves not only in the traditional roles of being a high-born woman

who was a wife and mother, but also as foreigners who were identified as having come from their own tribe and who were now living in another tribe. The same would have been true of the wives of soldiers recruited to serve in the auxiliary units of the Roman army who traveled to foreign lands when their husband's unit was transferred. They would have identified themselves not only as wives and mothers, but also would have seen themselves as foreigners in their dealings with Romans, the natives of the land in which they found themselves, and auxiliary soldiers from other parts of the Empire. A handful of women would have identified themselves as leaders of their tribe – queens, consorts, regents, or in some other position of power (though it is worth noting that in Tacitus' depiction of Boudica's rallying call to the tribes before the final battle with the Romans, she did not identify herself either at the supra-ethnic level as a leader of the British tribes or even at the ethnic level as the regent queen of the Iceni seeking revenge for the fact that her realm had been ravished, but rather as a woman and the mother of two daughters who had been raped). In the case of the reported conversation between the Caledonian wife of Argentocoxus and Empress Julia Domna about how much better it was to freely have sex with the best British men, rather than debasing oneself by having sex with the worst Roman men, the discussion of supra-ethnic identity must be understood as reflecting the views of the Romans rather than those of the Caledonian queen. In fact, in Dio Cassius' account of this meeting, it is Empress Julia Domna who uses the term *British* men, not the wife of the Caledonian chieftain -- who simply refers to consorting with the *best* men without distinguishing whether they are the best men of her own tribe or the best men of some larger supra-ethnic group. One exception to the rule that women would not normally have self-identified as members of a supra-ethnic group would have been the many women who were captured and enslaved. They would have lost most of the individual self-identity that had previously defined their lives, such as her affiliation with her family or tribe – morphing into a generic *German female slave*, or *British female slave*, or simply *barbarian female slave* in their interactions with those around them. As this discussion demonstrates, the self-identity of Celtic, Germanic, Hispano Celtic, or Celtiberian women was multifaceted and changed over time, both in a regular pattern due to the evolving circumstances of her life (marriage, childbirth, learning a craft, death of a husband) and in irregular or extraordinary ways (marrying someone from another tribe to cement an alliance, marrying a soldier and moving to a foreign land, or being captured and enslaved).

Having made this journey across 635 years of history and most of northwest Europe and the Iberian Peninsula, a better, more well-rounded concept of the history of the women

who lived in that area during that time has emerged. We have gained a clearer picture of the some members of the missing half of the population that have been marginalized or ignored for so long. Even if only a few women have been mentioned (however briefly) by classical authors, it is possible to look more clearly into their world, note what was recorded, and discern what is missing from the record.

### *The Challenges of Available Sources*

Primary sources, the largest body of material that exists on these women, are flawed for several reasons. One of the main problems is that none of the primary sources of the period under discussion were written by the Celts, Germans, Hispano Celts, or Celtiberians themselves. Only a few hundred inscriptions exist in Goidelic, Ogham, Runic, or Futhark (and most of those date to the fourth and fifth centuries), and there are no Germanic texts that predate the Gothic invasions of the fourth century. A second problem is the bias of the classical authors whose works survive – be they those who came as conquerors and wrote with a particular agenda (like Caesar), or those who explored the strange edges of the known world (like Posidonius and Herodotus), or those who never actually visited the lands about which they wrote but merely repeated stories told by others (like Diodorus Siculus). None of these writers were what would today be considered historical scholars or anthropologists; rather, they were storytellers or apologists for a particular event or series of events. More importantly, the surviving texts were all written by Roman and Greek men who reflected the views of the proper role of women in their own societies. Even the two Celtic authors whose works survived – Martial and Justin - are thoroughly Roman. What was “normal” to them often went unremarked in their writings about those they considered uncivilized barbarians. And the things they found to be strange or unfamiliar were often misunderstood or distorted in the telling. Another challenge in using primary sources is that virtually none actually are from the period when they were written; most of the earliest extant versions are medieval copies of earlier texts, with all the possibilities of errors of transmission and omission. In addition, the surviving examples of primary sources represent but a fraction of what was written in the ancient world – the rest of that larger corpus of works simply no longer exists.

Linguistic understanding of many of the Celtic languages used across northwest Europe and the Iberian Peninsula is limited by the very small available pool of inscriptions and texts in these dead languages. In addition, none of the surviving fragments of these languages would be considered to be literature, but rather names, boundary markers, or short inscriptions on pieces of jewelry. Surviving examples are clustered in only a few locations,

including Ireland, south Wales, and the Isle of Mann (with similar markings having been discovered in Spain and Portugal). As mentioned above, virtually no Germanic inscriptions survive that predate the Gothic invasions of the Roman Empire.

Archaeological material is limited by conditions, site interpretation, and survival of artifacts after they are excavated, and these finds account for far less than 10% of the total amount of material that existed in ancient times.<sup>1082</sup> The discovery of sites like Glauberg, Hochdorf, or Numantia are the exception – the vast majority of archaeological finds are far more mundane. In addition, it is difficult to discern with any certainty whether the vast majority of archaeological material is gender specific (e.g., the presence of a sword does not always indicate the burial of a man, and the presence of a mirror does not always indicate the burial of a woman). The richest surviving archaeological evidence pertaining to women in large measure comes from wealthy, well off, or high status figures. The average woman would not have been able to afford funerary monuments in stone or elaborate burials. While a few everyday objects, such as hairpins, can be firmly identified as female, many items which survive in the archaeological record can be ascribed to either gender. These items relay information about the lives of everyday people, though they do not necessarily provide more insight about women. Many of the artifacts that survive represent everyday life – broken pottery, animal remains, fragments of metal, and coins – but these are genderless.

Finally scholars must contend with politics, political correctness, and trends. The publishing of finds and new material can be tied to politics. The academic community is currently debating the very words used to describe these people. The study of gender as a topic within the historical community is on an upward trend. This field has been greatly expanded over the last century but, as with all trends, things ebb and flow. Gender as a field may decline if academic interest is not sustained. An interest and continued look at gender in the interpretation of archaeological material is, in my opinion, incredibly important; however, as long as post-fifteenth century interpretation of gender in societies is being used to look backwards at early pre-Christian cultures, I am not sure how useful it will actually be.

In the end, the fact remains that our knowledge of the history of the women who lived in these classical societies is – and will remain – limited, fragmented and compartmentalized.

---

<sup>1082</sup> “ISAS Researchers Study Perishable Materials,” ISAS in the News, November 15, 2011, Illinois State Archaeological Survey: Prairie Research Institute, [www.isas.illinois.edu/news/mercyhurst.shtml](http://www.isas.illinois.edu/news/mercyhurst.shtml) [Accessed December 2012]; J. M. Adovasio and D. C. Hyland, “The Need to Weave: First Americans Used More Fiber Than Flint,” *Discovering Archaeology* 2, no. 1(2000): 36-37.

Unless great caches of lost primary sources are discovered or significant new archaeological sites are unearthed, modern scholars must use those sources that survive to draw conclusions. The women about whom the most is known, the ones with whom it is easiest to connect based on primary and archaeological sources, are the wealthy, well-born, and famous (or infamous). The average woman in Celtic Britain, Gaul, Germania, or Roman Hispania lived a quiet life with her family and never drew the attention of a Roman or Greek writer. They remain an obscure mystery in a great many ways. However, that does not mean that their lives had no significance, nor that there is insufficient evidence from which to draw conclusions. Aspects of daily life are gleaned from archaeological finds and casual comments by period authors. Archaeological excavation into the homes and cemeteries of communities offer us the most direct path to gain more information about these women. This research need to do more than just show women were present. It must also try to determine what they were doing in those communities. The number of references to women by classical writers – when taken altogether – is larger than many would imagine. Science and technology have even given faces back to the dead through facial reconstruction. In order to answer the question – “Who were these women?” – it is necessary to embrace all that is known, no matter how fragmentary. By combining the knowledge from different academic disciplines, it becomes possible to reassemble the fragments of their lives and gain a better understanding of the world in which they lived. It is immensely frustrating that with all of the material available – primary sources, archaeological and epigraphic material, genetics, linguistics and the combined knowledge of countless scholars – the details of the day-to-day lives of millions of these women will forever remain shrouded. Women who once were fully-fleshed figures are now shadows – vague and hard to discern. These women were so often “captured by posterity....and discarded by history.”<sup>1083</sup> Yet even though many of them will forever remain faceless, this study has made clear that it is possible to discern the outlines of their lives.

---

<sup>1083</sup> Charlie Connelly, *And Did Those Feet: Walking Through 2000 Year of Irish and British History* (Bath: Windsor, 2009), 157.

## APPENDIX I

### Catalogue of Named and Unnamed Celtic, Germanic, and Celtiberian Women from Classical Sources<sup>1084</sup>

All dates mentioned are obtained from primary sources or historical events contained with the texts

#### *Dacia, Illyria, & Greece*

##### Celto-Illyrian Women

- Teuta, wife of Agron, regent queen, (231-228 BC; dead by 219 BC) Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 6. Frag. 47 & 51
- Triteuta, wife of Demetrius of Pharius (219 BC) Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 6. Frag. 51

##### Scordisci

- Onomaris, (unclear origins, 4<sup>th</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) Anonymous, *Tractatus De Mulieribus Claris in Bello*, 14

#### *Britannia*

##### Brigantes

- Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, (AD 43-69) Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.36 & 40

##### Caledonian

- \_\_\_\_\_, unnamed wife of Argentocoxus, (AD 209) Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 77.16

##### Catuvellauni

- \_\_\_\_\_, unnamed wife of Caratacus, ruler of the Catuvellauni, her tribe is unknown, possibly Catuvellauni. Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.35-36; Peter the Patrician, *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Fragment 47
- \_\_\_\_\_, unnamed daughter of Caratacus, ruler of the Catuvellauni Tacitus, *Annals*, 12.35-36; Peter the Patrician, *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Fragment 47  
*RIB* 1065

- Regina, wife of Barates of Palmyra, freedwoman, lived to the age of 30. (She lived sometime after AD160 which is when the fort Arbeia where

---

<sup>1084</sup> All dates mentioned are obtained from primary sources or historical events contained with the texts.

her tombstone resides was constructed).

### **Iceni**

Boudica, regent queen of the Iceni, (1<sup>st</sup> century AD)

Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.31-37

### **Unknown**

Claudia Rufina, wife of Aulus Rufus Pudens, (AD 100)

M. Valerius Martialis, *Epigrammata*, 11.53; *Epigrammata*, 6.13

### **Trinobantes/Brigantes**

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed female leader in battle (AD 60-85)

Tacitus, *Agricola*, 31

### **Unknown**

Velbutena, unknown woman mentioned in a Vindolanda Tablet. The name is Celtic though she may not have been from Britain.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 310

## *Gaul*

### **Diablintes**

Fortunata, a slave girl, who dwelt for some period in Britain. Her information survives in a bill of sale from London (AD 75- 125).

R.S.O. Tomlin. "The Girl in Question: A New Text from Roman London." *Britannia* 34 (2003): 41-51.

### **Helvetii**

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed wife (61 BC) of Dumnorix (Aedui, brother of chieftain Diviciacus), daughter of Orgetorix (Helvetii), (1<sup>st</sup> century BC)

Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 1.3. 7; 1.9. 15

### **Lingones**

Eponina (Epponina),<sup>1085</sup> wife of Julius Sabinus, (AD 79)

Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.67; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, 65.16, 1-2; Plutarch, *Moralia, Amatorius*, 770-771 D-C

---

<sup>1085</sup> Dio Cassius names her Peponila (Πεπονίλα), this is interesting because Plutarch said her Gaulish name was Empona implying she may have had more than one name.

**Larzac Inscription, AD 90, Millau,  
Larzac**

Larzac Inscription (translation's  
accuracy disputed)

Seuera, daughter of Ualentos, wife of  
Paullius

Banona, daughter of Flatucias

Flatucias, mother of Banona

Paulla, wife of Potitius

Iaia, daughter of Adiegias

Adiegias, mother of Iaia

Potita, mother of Paullias

Adiega, mother of Aiías

Aiías, daughter of Adiega

Potita, wife of Primos

Abesa

**Treveri**

Julia Pacata Indiana, wife of M. Gaius,  
Julius Alpinus Classicanus (Procurator  
of Britain AD 61-5), daughter of Julius  
Indus (1<sup>st</sup> century AD)

Funerary Monument of Julius  
Classicanus, Britain<sup>1086</sup>

***Gallo-Roman***

**Female family members of Ageruchia described in (AD 409) and three  
other women named by St Jerome**

Ageruchia (AD 409)

Metronia, grandmother of Ageruchia

Benigna, mother of Ageruchia

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed aunt of Ageruchia

Letter 123 of St. Jerome, To  
Ageruchia (AD 409)

Algasia (AD 406)

Letter 121 of St. Jerome, To  
Algasia (AD 406)

Hedibia (AD 406-7)

Letter 120 of St. Jerome, To  
Hedibia (AD 406-7)

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed mother & daughter (AD

Letter 117 of St. Jerome, To a Mother

---

<sup>1086</sup> She was the daughter of Julius Indus, a Treveri nobleman mentioned in Tacitus, *Annals*, 3.42.



405)	and Daughter Living in Gaul (AD 405)
Euchrotia/Euchrocia, (AD 385) wife of Delphidius, mother of Procula, beheaded at Treves in AD 386, Priscillianist	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronicle</i> , 2.48 & 51; Drepanius Pacatus, <i>Panygeric of Theodosius</i> , 29
Procula, daughter of Delphidius and Euchrotia/Euchrocia, Priscillianist	Sulpicius Severus, <i>Chronicle</i> , 2.48 & 51
Urbica, Priscillianist stoned to death in Bordeaux (c. AD 385)	Prospero Tiro, <i>Chronicle</i> 1187 an. 385

**Female Family members of Ausonius (fourth century AD)**

Aemilia Aeonina, mother of Ausonius, Aedui father named Arborius, mother from Tarballae	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 2
Aemilia Corinthia Maura, wife of Arborius	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 5
Aemilia Hilaria, aunt of Ausonius (mother's side), vowed virgin, professional healer	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 6
Julia Dryadia, sister of Ausonius	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 13
Megentria, niece of Ausonius, daughter of Dryadia	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 23
Dryadia, great niece of Ausonius, daughter of Megentria	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 23
Aemilia Dryadia, aunt of Ausonius	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 25
Aemilia Melania, sister of Ausonius	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 29
_____, unnamed daughter of Ausonius (perhaps Ausonia)	Ausonius, <i>Parentalia</i> , 23 & 30

***Germania***

**Bructeri**

Veleda, famous prophetess, (AD 60s-96)	Tacitus, <i>Germania</i> , 8; Tacitus, <i>Histories</i> , 4.61 & 65; Statius, <i>Silvae</i> , 1.4.90
--	--

**Chatti**

Rhamis, wife of Sesithacus (chieftain of the Cherusci) daughter of Ucromirus	Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> , 7.1.4
--	------------------------------------

(chieftain of the Chatti and Deudorix), (AD 17)	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> , 2.7
_____, Unnamed wife of Arpus (chieftain of the Chatti), (AD 16)	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> , 2.7
<b><u>Cherusci</u></b>	
Thusnelda, wife of Arminius, daughter of Segestes, (10 BC- AD 17)	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> , 1.55 & 58; Strabo, <i>Geographica</i> , 7.1.4
<b><u>Marcomanni</u></b>	
Fritigil (Fritigilia), queen of the Marcomanni, influential figure, (AD 396)	Paulinus, <i>Vita Sancti Ambrosii</i> , 8.36
Pipara (Pipa), daughter of a chieftain of the of the Marcomanni, Attalus, concubine of the Emperor Galleinus (AD mid- third century)	Sextus Aurelius Victor, <i>Liber De Caesaribus</i> , 33.6; Unknown, Two Gallieni: Saloninus Gallienus; <i>Historia Augusta</i> , 21.3; Unknown, <i>Epitome de Caesaribus</i> , 33.1
<b><u>Ubi</u></b>	
Claudia Sacrata, (AD 70)	Tacitus, <i>Histories</i> , 5.22
<b><u>Suebi</u></b>	
_____, unnamed wife of Ariovistus, (Suebian) king of the Germans, (died in Roman battle in 58 BC)	Caesar, <i>The Gallic War</i> , 1.53.85
_____, unnamed daughter of Ariovistus, unknown mother, (died in Roman battle in 58 BC)	Caesar, <i>The Gallic War</i> , 1.53. 85
_____, unnamed daughter of Ariovistus, unknown mother, (captured in Roman battle in 58 BC)	Caesar, <i>The Gallic War</i> , 1.53. 85
Bissula, freed slave of Ausonius, seems to have run his household (c. AD 380's)	Ausonius, <i>Bissula</i> , 1-6
<b><u>Unknown</u></b>	
Ganna, prophetess, recorded during the reign of Domitian, probably German, (AD 81-96)	Dio Cassius, <i>Roman History</i> , 67.5
_____, (2 <sup>nd</sup> ) wife of Ariovistus, (Suebian) king of the Germans, (died in a Roman	Caesar, <i>The Gallic War</i> , 1.53. 85

battle in 58 BC), sister of Voccio, king of Noricum

Thuttena, unknown woman mentioned in a Vindolanda Tablet. *Tab. Vindol. II 310*

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed daughter of Flavius Magnus Magnentius, Roman usurper. Her father was of German descent. She was of marriageable age in AD 350. Peter the Patrician, *de Legationibus, Gentium ad Romanos*, Fragment 213

### ***The Iberian Peninsula***

Tamaris, princess of Tarraco, supported Hannibal Barca, (220 BC) Referenced in Hale, *Biography of Distinguished Women*, 60.

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed Iberian princess, wife of Hasdrubal Barca, (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 25.12.

Egeria, early travelling ascetic, described as Spanish. (4<sup>th</sup> century AD) Valerius Bergidensis, "Lettre de Valérius du Bierzo sur la bienheureuse Égérie"; *Codex Aretinus*

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed wife of Lusitanian war leader Viratus, daughter of Astolpas, married 144 BC, (2<sup>nd</sup> century BC) Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 33. 1-7.

Himilce (Imilce), possible daughter of chieftain, from Castulo, wife of Hannibal Barca, (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC) Silius Italicus, *Punica*, LIB 4.763-822; Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita*, 24.41.7

Luperia (Loba), Celtiberian Queen, early Christian convert *Codex Calixtinus*, Liber Sancti Jacobi, III

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed bride of Allucius (or Indibilus) a Celtiberian prince, taken prisoner in the siege of New Carthage by Scipio Livy, *Ab Urbe condita*, 26. 50; Valerius Maximus, *Doings and Sayings*, 4.3. 1; Frontius, *Stratagems*, 2.11.5; Aulus Gellius, *Attic Night*, 7.8 Silius Italicus, *Punica*, 25, 26

\_\_\_\_\_, unnamed daughter of Martial Theodora, wife of Lucinius, of Baetica, both Christians, (late 4<sup>th</sup> century AD) Martial, *Epigrammata* 10. 65  
Letter 71 of St. Jerome, To Lucinius (AD 398); Letter 75 of St. Jerome, To Theodora (AD399)

### ***Women Of Uncertain Origins***

Walburg, prophetess (?), recorded on an ostracon from Egypt, possibly German, Egyptian ostracon

(3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)

- Pompeia Paulina, 2<sup>nd</sup> wife of Seneca the Elder, possible Celtic origins, (AD 62-5) Tacitus, *Annals*, 15.63-4
- Claudia Severa, wife of Aelius Brocchus, possibly a Batavian woman (late first/early second century AD) *Tab. Vindol.* III 622, 626. Possibly *Tab. Vindol.* II 288.
- Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Flavius Cerialis, possibly a Batavian woman (late first/early second century AD) *Tab. Vindol.* II 247, 257, 274 & *Tab. Vindol.* III 622, 627, 629.
- Artemia, wife of Rusticus, Christians, (mentions barbarian invasions in approximately AD 408) Letter 122 of St. Jerome, To Rusticus (AD 408)
- \_\_\_\_\_, unnamed wife of Flavius Magnus Magnentius, Roman usurper. Her husband was of German descent. She may also have been from this region. She is not mentioned in AD 350, when Magnentius offers to take Constantia, the Emperor's sister, as a wife. Peter the Patrician, *de Legationibus, Gentium ad Romanos*, Fragment 213

## APPENDIX II

### Catalogue of Early Female Saints and Religious Women of Western Europe<sup>1087</sup>

#### *Saints of Gaul*

St. Alban of Poitiers (daughter of St. Hiliary)	342- 360
St. Alberta ( <i>martyred</i> at Agen with St. Faith)	d. ~ 286
St. Blandina of Lyon (Christian slave, <i>martyr</i> )	d. 177
St. Bolonia (15 years of age)	d. 326
St. Eustelle ( <i>martyr</i> )	d. 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
St Faith of Agen ( <i>martyr</i> )	d. 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
Galla ( <i>martyr</i> , nun, and wife to (Gallo-Roman) St. Eucherius)	d. 450
St. Julia of Troyes ( <i>martyred</i> under Aurelian)	d. after 272
St. Macra of Rheims ( <i>martyred</i> at Fismes by Roman Governor Rictovarus)	d. 287
St. Maura & St. Britta ( <i>martyrs</i> whose remains were known in fifth century by the predecessor of Gregory of Tours)	d. 4 <sup>th</sup> century
St. Menna of Lorraine	d. 395
St. Regina (Rayne/Reine) of Autun ( <i>martyr</i> )	d. 3 <sup>rd</sup> century
St. Solina of Gascony (beheaded at Chartres, <i>martyr</i> )	d. 290
St. Veneranda of Gaul ( <i>martyred</i> under Governor Aselepiades) <sup>1088</sup>	d. ??
Wife of St. Castor of Apt (nun)	4 <sup>th</sup> Century

#### *Saints of the Iberian Peninsula*

St. Beata ( <i>martyred</i> in Sens)	d. 273
St. Centolla & St. Helen ( <i>martyred</i> near Burgos)	d. ? 304
St. Columba of Sens ( <i>martyred</i> near Meaux)	d. 273
St. Encratia (Engratia) of Braga (Bracara Augusta) ( <i>martyred</i> at Saragossa)	d. ? 303/304
St. Eulalia of Barcelona / Merdia ( <i>martyr</i> )	d. 304
St. Julia of Merdia ( <i>martyred</i> with St Eulalia)	d. 304
St. Justa (Justus ?) & St Rufina of Seville (sisters and <i>martyrs</i> )	d. 287
St. Leocadia of Toledo ( <i>martyr</i> )	d. 303
St. Lucretia ( <i>martyred</i> at Merdia)	d. 306
St. Victoria of Cordoba (sister of St. Acisllus, both were <i>martyrs</i> )	d. 304
St. Patientia ( <i>martyred</i> with [male] St. Drentius in N. Argon / Loret)	d. ~ 240
St. Sabina, St. Christeta & St. Vincent of Avila (brothers & sisters, <i>martyrs</i> )	d. 303
Therasia (wife of (Gallo-Roman) St. Paulinus of Nola)	(late 4 <sup>th</sup> century)

---

<sup>1087</sup> Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

<sup>1088</sup> This is one of those few examples where historians have come to know Veneranda did not exist. In fact, she was a deity who has transitioned into Christianity as a saint. She was known by several names: Shënepremte or Prende (Albanian) and Paraskevi (Greek). For a more detailed examination of Veneranda and more information see: Robert Elsie, "The Christian Saints of Albania," *Balkanistica* 13 (2000): 43-44.

### ***Saints of Scotland***

- St. Brigid & St. Maura (early saints *martyred* in Picardy while traveling to Rome; possibly the same as St. Britta & St. Maura of France) (4<sup>th</sup> century ?)
- St. Kennera (recluse and *martyr*) 4<sup>th</sup> century
- St. Triduna (Trallen or Tredwall) (shrine at Restalrig – Gaulish or Scottish) 4<sup>th</sup> century

### ***Saints of England, Wales & Cornwall***

- St. Claudia (possibly Claudia, wife of Aulus Pudens, recorded by Martial) 1<sup>st</sup> century
- St. Marchell (Welsh) (mythical figure?, daughter of King Tewdrig, wife of King Anlach, mother of King Brychan) 3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century

### APPENDIX III

## Canons of the Early Christian Church Concerning Deaconesses in the West

Synod of Nimes AD 394 or 396 <sup>1089</sup>

**Canon 2.** *Illud etiam a quibusdam suggestum est, ut contra postolicam disciplinam, incognito usque in hoc tempus in ministerium feminae nescio quo loco, leviticum videantur adsumptae; quod quidem, quia indecens est, non admittit ecclesiastica disciplina, et contra rationem facia talis ordination destruat: providendum, ne quis sibi hoc ultra praesumat.*

**Canon 2.**...it has been made known to us that — a thing unheard of until now —, against the apostolic discipline [...], women raised to the office of deacons had been seen; this is not acceptable to ecclesiastical discipline because it is indecent.

Synod of Orange (1<sup>st</sup>) AD 441 <sup>1090</sup>

**Canon 26.** *Diaconae omnimodis non ordinandae: si quae jam sunt, benediction quae populo impenditur capita submittant.*

**Canon 26.** Altogether no women deacons are to be ordained. If some already exist, let them bend their heads to the blessing given to the (lay) people.

Synod of Epaon AD 517 <sup>1091</sup>

**Canon 21.** *Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocitant, ab omni regione nostra penitus abrogamus, sola eis poenitentiae benediction, si converti ambient, imponenda.*

**Canon 21.** We abrogate the consecration of widows whom they call ‘deaconesses’ completely from our region. If they wish to convert, no more than the blessing of penance should be imposed on them.

---

<sup>1089</sup> “Concile de Nîmes en 394,” *Histoire des Conciles d’après les Documents Originaux*, ed. Charles Joseph Hefele (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908), 91-97.

<sup>1090</sup> “Concilium Arausicanum I.,” *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua praeter ea quae Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.*, ed. Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi], vol. 6 (“*Ab Anno CCCXXLI ad annum CCCCLI, inclusive*”) (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1761), 433-452.

<sup>1091</sup> “Concilium Epaonense,” *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua praeter ea quae Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.*, ed. Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi], vol. 8 (“*Ab Anno CCCXCII ad annum DXXXVI, inclusive*”) (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1762), 556-568.

Synod of Orleans (2<sup>nd</sup>) AD 533 <sup>1092</sup>

**Canon 17.** *Fæminæ quæ benedictionem diaconatus hactenus contra interdicta canonum acceperunt, si ad conjugium probantur iterum devolutæ, a communion pellantur. Quod si hujusmodi contubernium admonitæ ab episcopo cognito errore dissolverint, in communionis gratiam acta poenitentia revertantur.*

**Canon 18.** *Placuit etiam, ut nulli postmodum fæminæ diaconalis benediction pro conditionis hujus fragilitate credatur.*

Synod of Tours (2<sup>nd</sup>) AD 567 <sup>1093</sup>

**Canon 20.** *Illud vero quod aliqui dicunt: vidua quæ benedicta non fuit, quare non debet maritum accipere? cum omnes sciant quod nunquam in canonicis libris legitur benedictio vidualis: quia solum propositum illi sufficere debet. Sicut in Epaonensibus canonibus a papa Avito vel omnibus episcopis conscriptum est: Viduarum consecrationem, quas diaconas vocitant, ab omni regione nostra penitus abrogamus.*

**Canon 17.** Let the women who have received the blessing of diaconate up to the present day, despite the canonical prohibition, be excommunicated, if it is proven that they have gone back to married life.

**Canon 18.** It has pleased us to decree that from now on the diaconate blessing should not be imparted to any woman, because of the weakness of her condition.

**Canon 20.** [...] everyone knows that a particular blessing for widows is not to be found in the canonical books, because their personal decision is enough [...] as it is stated by the canons of Epaon, Pope Avitus and all the bishops: ‘We totally abrogate in all our ecclesiastical discipline the consecration of widows called deaconesses’.

---

<sup>1092</sup> “Concilium Aurelianense II.,” *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.*, ed. Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi], vol. 8 (“Ab Anno CCCCXCII ad annum DXXXVI, inclusive”) (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1762), 835-840.

<sup>1093</sup> “Concilium Turonense II.,” *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.*, ed. Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi], vol. 9 (“Ab Anno DXXXVI usque ad annum DXC, inclusive”) (Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1762), 789-807.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Containing Works Cited and Consulted

#### Abbreviations used in Bibliography

*AE* – *L'Année Épigraphique*, 1888-Present. (Paris)

*CIL* - *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1863-2006. (Berlin)

*CIRB* - *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani*. (St. Petersburg)

*CSIR* - *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*. (London)

*RIB* - Collingwood, R.G. and Wright R.P. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*. 1965-2011. (Oxford)

*Tab. Vindol.* - *Tabulae Vindolandenses*. The Vindolanda Tablets. 1983-2003. (Oxford)

#### Primary Sources

“Acts of the Apostles,” *Early Christian Writings*, Peter Kirby, 2012,  
<http://earlychristianwritings.com/acts.html> [Accessed June 2012]. AE 1961, 0068.

AE 1912, 0046.

AE 1973, 0071.

AE 1997, 0863.

AE 1997, 0873

Aelian. *Historical Miscellany*. Translated by Nigel Guy Wilson. Harvard University Press, 1997.

Aelius Lampridius. “Severus Alexander.” *Historia Augusta*. Translated by David Magie. Vol. 2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

Appian. *Roman History*. Translated by Horace White. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-8). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1912.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Translated by Horace White. Vol. 2 (containing Books 8-12). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. 1912.

Apollinaris, Sidonius. *Poems and Letters: With an English Translation, Introduction, and Notes by W. B. Anderson*. Translated by W. B. Anderson. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936.

Athenaeus. *The Deipnosophists*. Translated by Charles Burton Gulick. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-3.106e). London: W. Heinemann, 1927.

Aristotle. "Constitution of Massilia." Found in *Athenaeus The Learned Banqueters*. Edited and translated by S. Douglas Olson. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Ausonius. "Parentalia." *Ausonius*. Translated by Hugh G. Evelyn White. Vol. 1. London: William Heineman, 1919.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Bissula." *Ausonius*. Translated by Hugh G. Evelyn White. Vol. 1. London: William Heineman, 1919.

Caesar, Julius. *The Gallic War*. Translated by H. J. Edwards. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Cassius, Dio. *Dio's Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-11). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 2 (containing Books 12-35). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 7 (containing Books 56-60). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 8 (containing Books 61-70). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 9 (containing Books 71-80). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

*CIL* II. 497.

*CIL* II. 2776.

*CIL* II. 2902.

*CIL* V. 7641.

*CIL* XII. 3343

*CIL* XIII. 447.

*CIL* XIII. 1983.

*CIL* XIII. 2019.

*CIL* XIII. 2034.

*CIL* XIII. 2173.

*CIL* XIII. 2616.

*CIL* XIII. 4334.

*CIL* XIII. 6394.

*CIL* XIII. 7067.

- Cicero, Marcus Tullius. *The Letters of Cicero: The Whole Extant Correspondence in Chronological Order*. Translated by Evelyn Shuckburgh. Vol. 1 (BC 68-53). London: George Hell and Sons, 1908.
- CIRB 978.
- CIRB 979.
- CIRB 1046.
- Columella. *De Re Rustica*. Translated by E. S. Forrester and Edward H. Heffner. Vol. 3 (containing Books 10-12 and *De Arboribus*). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- CSIR I.2, no. 94 (sculpture).
- CSIR I.3, no. 45 (tombstone).
- CSIR I.3, no. 98 (tombstone).
- Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, Translated by Earnest Cary, (containing Books 1-11) Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-11). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Roman History*. Edited by Jeffrey Henderson. Vol 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History*. Translated by C.H. Oldfather. Vol. 1. (containing Books 1-2.34) . Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Library of History*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. Vol. 2 (containing Books 2.35-4.58). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Library of History*. Translated by C. H. Oldfather. Vol. 11 (fragments of Books 21- 32). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Library of History*. Translated by Francis R. Walton. Vol. 12 (fragments of Books 33-40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967.
- Edelstein, L. and I.G. Kidd, ed., *Posidonius Volume I: The Fragments*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Einhard. *Einhard: The Life of Charlemagne*. Translated by Samuel Epes Turner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880. - Medieval Sourcebook. Fordham University, 1996. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/einhard.asp#THE%20LIFE%20OF%20THE%20EMPEROR%20CHARLES>, [Accessed March 2012].
- Eusebius. *Ecclesiastical History*. Translated by J.E.L. Oulton. Vol. 2 (containing Books 6-10). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- Eutropius and John Selby Watson. *Abridgement of Roman History*. Gloucester, England: Dodo Press, 2010.
- Florus. "Introduction," *Epitome of Roman History*. Translated by E. S. Forster. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1929.

- Florus, Lucius A. and Cornelius Nepos, *Lucius Annaeus Florus: Epitome of Roman History. Cornelius Nepo*. Translated by E S. Forster and John C. Rolfe. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Frontius, Sextus Julius. *Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome*. Translated by Charles E. Bennett. Edited by Mary B. McElwain. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Strategemata*. Translated by Charles Bennett. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Gellius, Aulus. *Attic Nights*. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Vol. 2 (containing Books 6-13). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- Gera, Deborah Levine. *Warrior women: the Anonymous Tractatus de Mulieribus*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, 162. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997.
- Gregory of Tours. *History of the Franks*. Translated by Ernest Brehaut. New York: Octagon Books, 1965.
- Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Translated by Lewis Thorpe. London: Penguin Books, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *History of the Kings of Britain*. London: Everyman's Library, 1963.
- Herodian. *History of the Roman Empire*. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-4). Translated by C.R. Whittaker. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Homer. *Odyssey: The Story of Odysseus*. Edited and translated by W. H. D. Rouse, New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1937.
- Jerome. "To Ageruchia." Found In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 6 ("Jerome: Letters and Select Works"). Translated by J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.i.html> [Accessed January 2010]
- \_\_\_\_\_. "To Ctesiphon." Found In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 6 ("Jerome: Letters and Select Works"). Translated by J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.CXXXIII.html> [Accessed January 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "To Lucinius." In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series, Vol. 6 ("Jerome: Letters and Select Works"), translated by J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.LXXI.html> [Accessed June 2012].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "To a Mother and Daughter." In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 6 ("Jerome: Letters and Select Works"). Translated by J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.CXVII.html> [Accessed January 2010].

- \_\_\_\_\_. “To Rusticus,” Found In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 6 (“Jerome: Letters and Select Works”). Translated by J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.CXXII.html> [Accessed January 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “To Theodora.” In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 6 (“Jerome: Letters and Select Works”). Translated by J. W. Freemantle, G. Lewis and W. G. Martley. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf206.v.LXXV.html> [Accessed June 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Les Erreurs De Pelage. Epistola CXXXIII. Ad Ctesiphontem. Adversus Pelagium.” *Oeuvres de St Jérôme*. Edited by Benoît Matougues. Paris: A. Desrez, 1838, Digitized, Unknown. <http://remacle.org/bloodwolf/eglise/jerome/pelage.htm> [Accessed June 2012].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae*. Edited by Isidorus Hilberg. Vol. 3. New York: Johnson, 1970. Found at *Epistolae, Medieval Women's Latin Letter*. Columbia Center for New Media Teaching and Learning, Columbia University. <http://epistolae.ccnmtl.columbia.edu/letter/1031.html> [Accessed April 2011].
- John of Ephesus. *Lives of Eastern Saints*. Edited and translated by E. W. Brooks. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1923.
- Josephus. “The Antiquities of the Jews.” *Josephus: The Complete Works*. Translated by William Whiston. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Jewish War, Books I-III*. Translated by H. St. J. Thackeray. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Wars of the Jews.” *Josephus: The Complete Works*. Translated by William Whiston. Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2008.
- Justin, Marcus Junianus. *Epitome of the Philippic History of Pompeius Trogus*. Translated by John Selby Watson. London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853. Found at <http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/justin/english/index.html> [Accessed January 2010].
- Kidd, I.G. *Posidonius Volume II: The Commentary (i) Testimonia and Fragments 1-149*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Posidonius Volume II: The Commentary (ii) Fragments 150-293*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Posidonius Volume III: The Translation of the Fragments*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- “Law of the Couple” [*Cáin Lánamna*]. Translated by Donnchadh Ó Corráin. CELT: Corpus of Electronic Texts: a project of University College, Cork, College Road, Cork, Ireland, 2005. Found at <http://www.ucc.ie/celt>. [Accessed February 2009].
- Lampridius, Aelius. “Severus Alexander.” In *Historia Augusta*. Vol. 2, translated by David Magie. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.

- Liber Sancti Jacobi Codex Calixtinus*. Translated by Abelardo Moralejo Lasso, Casimiro Torres Rodríguez, and Julio Feo. Santiago de Compostela: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Padre Sarmiento, de Estudios Gallegos, 1951. (Translated from Spanish to English by Celia Peña Martínez.)
- Livy. *History of Rome*. Translated by B.O. Foster. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-2). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *History of Rome*. Translated by Frank Gardner Moore. Vol. 3 (containing Books 5-7). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *History of Rome*. Translated by Frank Gardner Moore. Vol. 4 (containing Books 8-10). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and Paul Jal. *Histoire romaine / "Periochae" transmises par les manuscrits : (Periochae 1-69) / texte établi et trad. par Paul Jal. T. 34, 1, T. 34, 1*. Paris: Les Belles-Lettres, 1984.
- Lucan. "Introduction" *The Civil War: Books I-X Pharsalia*. Translated by J. D. Duff. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pharsalia: Dramatic Episodes of the Civil Wars*. Translated by Robert Graves. Baltimore, MD: Penguin Books, 1957.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Pharsalia*. III.445-452. Found at The Latin Library. <http://thelatinlibrary.com/lucan/lucan3.shtml> [Accessed March 2010].
- Marcellinus, Ammianus. *History*. Translated by John C. Rolfe. Vol. 1 (containing Books 14-19). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Martial. *Complete Works of Martial*. Delphi Classics. Hastings, UK: Delphi Publishing Ltd, 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Epigrams*. Bohn's Classical Library (1897). Digitized by the Tertullian Project. [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/martial\\_epigrams\\_book12.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/martial_epigrams_book12.htm) [Accessed March 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Epigrams*. Translated by Walter C. A. Ker. Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Epigrams*. Translated by D. R. Shackelton Bailey. Vol. 1 (Books 1-5). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993.
- Mela, Pomponius. *De chorographia*. 3.40. Found at The Latin Library. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/pomponius3.html> [Accessed June 2009].
- Orosius, Paulus. *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*. Translated by Roy J. Deferrai. In *The Fathers of the Church*. Vol. 50. Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1964.
- Paulinus. *Vita Sancti Ambrosii, Mediolanensis Episcopi, a Paulino Eius Notario Ad Beatum Augustinum Conscripta: A Revised Text, and Commentary, with an Introduction and Translation*. Translated by Mary Simplicia Kaniecka. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1928.

- Pausanias and James George Frazer. *Pausanias's Description of Greece*. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1898.
- Peter the Patrician, and Thomas Banchich. *The Lost History of Peter the Patrician: An Account of Rome's Imperial Past from the Age of Justinian*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2015.
- Petronius, Arbiter. *Satiricon Liber*, 141. From The Latin Library [www.thelatinlibrary.com/petronius1.html](http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/petronius1.html) [Accessed May 2014].
- \_\_\_\_\_. Michael Heseltine, W. H. D. Rouse, and Lucius Annaeus Seneca. *Petronius: with an English translation by Michael Heseltine; Apocolocyntosis, Seneca, with an English translation by W.H.D. Rouse*. London: W. Heinemann, 1913.
- Plautus, Titus Maccius, and Henry T. Riley. "The Merchant." *The Comedies of Plautus*. London: G. Bell & Sons, 1912.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mercator*, Act II. Scene 3. 396-398. Found at The Latin Library. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/plautus/mercator.shtml> [Accessed May 2014].
- Pliny the Elder. *Natural History*. Translated by H. Rackham. Vol. 2 (containing Books 3-7). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Natural History*. Translated by H. Rackham. Vol. 5 (containing Books 17-19). Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Natural History*. Translated by H. Rackham. Vol. 9 (containing Books 33-35). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952.
- Pliny the Younger. *Letters and Panegyricus: Letters*. Translated by Betty Radice. Vol. 19 (containing Books 1-7). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Plutarch. *Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. Vol. 9 (*Demetrius and Antony. Pyrrhus and Gaius Marius*). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Bravery of Women." *Moralia*. Vol. 3. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Dialogues on Love." *Moralia*. Translated by W. C. Hembold. Vol 9. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Moralia*. Translated by Frank Cole Babbitt. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1927.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Parallel Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin, Vol 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
- Polyaenus. *Stratagems of War*. Translated by Richard Shepherd. Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1974.
- Polybius. "Introduction," *The Histories*. Translated by H. J. Edwards. Vol 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1922
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Histories*. Translated by W. R. Paton. Revised by F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-2). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Histories*. Translated by W. R. Paton. Vol. 3 (containing Books 5-8). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Histories*. Translated by W. R. Paton. Vol. 4 (containing Books 9-15). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1925.
- Prosperi Tironis [Prosper of Aquitaine, Tiro]. *Epitoma chronicon. Edita primum a[nno] CCCCXXXIII continuata ad a[nno] CCCCLV*. Edited by Theodor Mommsen. Berlin: Weidmanns, 1892.
- Quintilian. *The Orator's Education*. Edited and translated by Donald A. Russell. Vol 4. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- RIB 108. Tombstone of Dannicus.
- RIB 318.
- RIB 635.
- RIB 692.
- RIB 1065.
- RIB I 1171.
- RIB I 1483.
- RIB II 2503.411.
- RIB II 2503.335.
- Romer, F.E. *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998.
- Sallust. *Histories*. Translated by Patric McGushin. Vol. 2. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994. (Fragment 2.74 in Arusianus Messius, *Exempla Elocutionum*, 503.3.)
- The Scriptorum Historia Augusta*. Translated by David Magie. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1921.
- Severus, Sulpitius. *Chronica*. II.48. Found at The Latin Library. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sulpiciusseveruschron2.html> [Accessed March 2011].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Chronica*. II.51. Found at The Latin Library. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/sulpiciusseveruschron2.html> [Accessed March 2011].
- Severus, Sulpitius. *The Works of Sulpitius Severus: The Sacred History of Sulpitius Severus*, II.48. Found In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 11. ("Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian"). Translated by Rev. Alexander Roberts. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf211.ii.vi.ii.xlviii.html> [Accessed January 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Works of Sulpitius Severus: The Sacred History of Sulpitius Severus*, II.51. Found In *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Vol 11. ("Sulpitius Severus, Vincent of Lerins, John Cassian"). Translated by Rev. Alexander Roberts. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry



Wace. Grand Rapids, MI: Wm B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1896. Found at <http://www.ccel.org/ccel/schaff/npnf211.ii.vi.ii.li.html> [Accessed January 2010].

Silius Italicus. *Punica*. Translated by J. D. Duff. Vol. 1. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983.

Soranus. *Gynecology*. Translated by Owsei Temkin et. al. Vol. 2. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.

Statius. *Silvae*. Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Statius. "Introduction," *The Geography of Strabo*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Vol. 1 (consisting of Books 1-2). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Geography*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Vol. 2 (consisting of Books 3-5). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Geography*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Vol. 3 (consisting of Books 6-7). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Geography*. Translated by Horace Leonard Jones. Vol. 5 (consisting of Books 10-12). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1928.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Introduction," *Silvae, Thebaid I-IV*. Translated by J. H. Mozley. Vol I. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982.

Suetonius. *The Lives of the Caesars*. Translated by J.C. Rolfe. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-4). London: William Heinemann, 1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Lives of the Caesars*. Translated by J.C. Rolfe. Vol. 2 (containing Books 5-8). London: William Heinemann, 1914.

\_\_\_\_\_. *The Twelve Caesars*. Translated by Robert Graves. London: Penguin Books, 1957.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 247.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 257.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 274.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 288.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 291.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 292.

*Tab. Vindol.* II 293.

*Tab. Vindol.* III 310.

*Tab. Vindol.* III 622.

*Tab. Vindol.* III 626.

*Tab. Vindol.* III 627.

*Tab. Vindol.* III 629.

- “*Tab. Vindol. II 293.*” Vindolanda Tablets Online. © Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents. The British Museum. <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/TVII-293> [Accessed May 2012].
- Tacitus, Gaius Cornelius. *Agricola*. Translated by M. Hutton. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Agricola.” *Agricola and Germania*. Translated by Harold Mattingly. London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Annals*. 14.34. Found at The Latin Library. <http://thelatinlibrary.com/tacitus/tac.ann14.shtml#34> [Accessed June 2009].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Annals of Tacitus*. Translated by Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodrick. Center, PA: Franklin Library, 1982.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Annals*. Translated by John Jackson. Vol. 3 (containing Books 1-3). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Annals*. Translated by John Jackson. Vol. 4 (containing Books 4-6, 11-12). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1951.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Annals*. Translated by John Jackson. Vol. 5 (containing Books 13-16). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Histories*. Translated by Clifford H. Moore. Vol. 2 (containing Books 1-3). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Histories*. Translated by Clifford H. Moore. Vol. 3 (containing Books 4-5). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Germania*. Translated by M. Hutton. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1970.
- Unknown, *Epitome de Caesaribus: A Booklet About the Style of Life and the Manners of the Emperors, Sometimes Attributed to Sextus Aurelius Victor*. Translated by Thomas M Banchich. 2nd ed. Canisius College Translated Texts, no. 1. Buffalo, NY: Canisius College, 2009. <http://www.roman-emperors.org/epitome.htm> [Accessed March 2011].
- Valerius Bergidensis. "Lettre de Valérius du Bierzo sur la bienheureuse Égérie." Translated by MC Díaz and Díaz. *Égérie, Journal de voyage*. Edited by P. Maraval. Sources chrétiennes 296. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1982. Found at “Laus Egeriae,” Bibliotheca Augustana. [http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost07/Valerius/val\\_laus.html](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost07/Valerius/val_laus.html) [Accessed January 2010].
- Valerius Maximus. *Memorable Doings & Sayings*. Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Vol. 1 (containing Books 1-5). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Memorable Doings & Sayings*. Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey. Vol. 2 (containing Books 6-9). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Victor, Sextus Aurelius. *Liber De Caesaribus*. Translated by H. W. Bird. *Translated texts for historians*, Vol. 17. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1994.

- Virgil. "The *Æneid* of Virgil." *The Works of P. Virgilius Maro*. Translated by Levi Hart and V.R. Osborn. Philadelphia: Cowperthwait, Desilver, & Butlery, 1855.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Life of Virgil," *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*. Vol I. Translated by H. Rushton Fairclough. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Vopiscus, Flavius. "The Deified Aurelian." *Historia Augusta*. Translated by David Magie. Vol. 3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Carus, Carinus, and Numerian." *Historia Augusta*. Translated by David Magie. Vol. 3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Historia Augusta*. Translated by David Magie. Vol. 3. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.
- Zonaras. *Extracts of History*. Contained in *Dio's Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 2 (containing Books 12-35). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Extracts of History*. Contained in *Dio's Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 8 (containing Books 61-70). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Extracts of History*. Contained in *Dio's Roman History*. Translated by Earnest Cary. Vol. 9 (containing Books 71-80). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2006.

Primary Sources: Church Law

- "Amplissima Collectio Incipit Constitutio et Fides Nicæni Concilii." *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.* Edited by Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi]. Vol. 2 ("Ab Anno CCCV ad annum CCCXLVI"). Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1759.
- "Concile de Nîmes en 394." *Histoire des Conciles d'après les Documents Originaux*. Edited by Charles Joseph Hefele. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1908.
- "Concilium Arausicanum." *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.* Edited by Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi]. Vol. 6 ("Ab Anno CCCXLI ad annum CCCCLI, inclusive"). Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1761.
- "Concilium Aurelianense II." *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.* Edited by Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi]. Vol. 8 ("Ab Anno CCCXCII ad annum DXXXVI, inclusive"). Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1762.
- "Concilium Cæsaraugustanum Duodecim Episcoporum." *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.* Edited by Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi]. Vol. 3 ("Ab Anno CCCXLVII ad annum CCCXCIX"). Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1759.

“Concilium Epaonese.” *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.* Edited by Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi]. Vol. 8 (“*Ab Anno CCCXCII ad annum DXXXVI, inclusive*”). Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1762.

“Concilium Turonense II.” *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova, et Amplissima Collectio, in qua præter ea quæ Phil. Labbeus et Gabr. Cossartius S. J.* Edited by Johannes Domanicus Mansi [Giovanni Dominico Mansi]. Vol. 9 (“*Ab Anno DXXXVI usque ad annum DXC, inclusive*”). Florence: Expensis Antonii Zatta Veneti, 1762.

### Books and Articles

Adams, J.N. “Two Notes on RIB.” *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 123 (1998): 235–236. <http://www.uni-koeln.de/phil-fak/ifa/zpe/downloads/1998/123pdf/123235.pdf> [Accessed 2012].

Adovasio, J. M. and D. C. Hyland. "The Need to Weave: First Americans Used More Fiber Than Flint," *Discovering Archaeology* 2, no. 1(2000): 36-37.

Aldhouse-Green, Miranda. *Boudica Britannia, War-Leader and Queen*. Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Caesar's Druids: Story of an Ancient Priesthood*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Viragos and virgins." In *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World (Rewriting Antiquity)*, Edited by Stephanie Lynn Budin and Jean Macintosh, 1008-1026. Turfa. London: Routledge, 2016.

\_\_\_\_\_. “Women and Goddesses in the Celtic World.” In *Religion: Empirical Studies. A collection to mark the 50th anniversary of the British Association for the Study of Religions*, edited by Steven Sutcliffe, 149-164. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004.

Alexiou, Margaret, Dimitrios Yatromanolakis, and Panagiotis Roilos. *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002.

Alfaro Giner, Carmen. *Tejido y Cestería en la Península Ibérica: Historia de su Técnica e Industrias desde la Prehistoria hasta la Romanización*. Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana, Vol. 21. Madrid, Spain: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Español de Prehistoria, 1984.

\_\_\_\_\_, “la mujer y el trabajo en la Hispania prerromana y romana, Actividades domésticas y profesionales” *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*. Nouvelle série, 40 (2), 2010, pp. 15-38.

\_\_\_\_\_, Michael Tellenbach, and Jónatan Ortiz García. *Production and trade of textiles and dyes in the Roman Empire and neighbouring regions: Actas del IV Symposium Internacional sobre Textiles y Tintes del Mediterráneo en el mundo antiguo (Valencia, 5 al 6 de noviembre, 2010)*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 2014.

Alfayé Villa, Silvia. “La Iconografía Divina en Celtiberia: Una Revisión Crítica.” *Archivo Español de Arqueología* 76 (2003): 77-96.

- Allason-Jones, Lindsay. "The Actress and the Bishop: Evidence for Working Women in Roman Britain." In *Women in Industry and Technology from Prehistory to the Present Day: Current Research and the Museum Experience: Proceedings from the 1994 WHAM Conference*, edited by Amanda Devonshire and Barbara Wood, 67-75. London: Museum of London, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Life in Roman Britain*. Oxford: Greenwood World Publishing, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women in Roman Britain." In *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon, 467-477. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Women in Roman Britain*. Bootham, York: Council for British Archaeology, 2005.
- Allen, John Romilly. *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*. London: Methuen & Co., 1904.
- Allmer, Auguste. *Revue épigraphique du Midi de la France*, Vienne: Savigné, 1878.
- Almagro-Gorbea, Martin. "The Celtic Peoples." In *Iberia: protohistory of the Far West of Europe: from neolithic to Roman conquest*, edited by International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, 219-220. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Lusitanians." *Iberia: protohistory of the Far West of Europe: from neolithic to Roman conquest*, edited by International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, 183-194. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Mediterranean Iberia: The Iberian Peoples." In *Iberia: protohistory of the Far West of Europe: from neolithic to Roman conquest*, edited by International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, 285-318. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014.
- Alonso, Santos, et. al. "The place of the Basques in the European Y-chromosome diversity landscape." *European Journal of Human Genetics* 13 (2005):1293-1302.
- Ancient Gold: The Wealth of the Thracians Treasures from the Republic of Bulgaria*. Edited by Ivan Marazov. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. in association with the Trust for Museum Exhibitions, in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Bulgaria, 1998.
- Andrés Hernando, Sofía. "La actividad textil y vestimenta femenina en el mundo ibérico." 2016. Romero Carnicero, Fernando, dir, Universidad de Valladolid. Facultad de Filosofía y Letras. Thesis / Dissertation ETD.  
<http://uvadoc.uva.es/handle/10324/22322> [Accessed March 2017].
- Anning, Marna P. *Anchoring Food Security Amongst Rural Women Subsistence Farmers*. Supplemental Report to Human Rights Advocates' Written Statement for the 56<sup>th</sup> Session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, December 2011.

- Anonymous. *The Ron House*. Translated by A. E. Ron. n.p.: n.p., 1998.
- Applebaum, Shimon. "Agriculture in Roman Britain." *The Agricultural History Review* 6, no. 2 (1958): 1-14.
- "ἄρετή," Greek Word Study Tool." Perseus Digital Library. Edited by Gregory R. Crane, Perseus 4.0, 2007. [www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=a\)reth\&la=greek&prior=h](http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/morph?l=a)reth\&la=greek&prior=h) [Accessed June 2014].
- "Aquí xace Apana, filla de Ambollus, dos Celtici Supertamarici." Bajo la Atmósfera de Urano. [bajolaatmosferadeurano.blogspot.com/2014/05/aqui-xace-apan-filla-de-ambollus-dos.html](http://bajolaatmosferadeurano.blogspot.com/2014/05/aqui-xace-apan-filla-de-ambollus-dos.html) [Accessed April 2017].
- "Arbiter." Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2010. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arbiter> [Accessed December 2010].
- "Arbitrator." Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2010. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/arbitrator> [Accessed December 2010].
- Arnoldm Bettina. "'Honorary Males' or Women of Substance? Gender, Status, and Power in Iron-Age Europe." *Journal of European Archaeology* 3, no. 2 (1995):153-168.
- Audollent, A. *Les Tombes gallo-romaines à inhumation des Martres- de-Veyre (Puy-de-Dôme)*. Paris: Klincksieck (Extrait des Mém. prés, par div. sav. à l'Acad. des Inscr., T. XIII), 1923.
- Augoustakis, Antony. "Silius Italicus, A Flavian Poet." In *Brill's Companion to Silius Italicus*, edited by Antony Augoustakis. Lieden: Brill, 2010.
- Bale, John. *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytanniae Quam Nunc Angliam & Scotiam Vocant Cataolcus*. 2 Vols. in 1: Basel, 1557.
- Barber, E. J. W. *Prehistoric Textiles: The Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages with Special Reference to the Aegean*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Barnes, J.W. "The First Metal Workings and their Geological Settings." In *Subterranean Britain: Aspects of Underground Archaeology*, edited by Harriet Crawford, 44-84. London: John Baker, 1979.
- Baronowski, Donald Walter. *Polybius and Roman Imperialism*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011.
- Barrett, Anthony A. "The Career of Tiberius Claudius Cogidubnus." *Britannia* 10 (1979): 227-242.
- Batcheller, Jane. "A Roman Textile Bracelet from Dorchester, Dorset." *Archaeological Textile Newsletter*, no. 20 (1995): 5-8.
- Baumeister, Ralf, Britta Rabold, and Martin Kempa Heidelberg, *Mannheim und der Rhein-Neckar-Raum*. Stuttgart: Theiss, 1999.
- Baur, Paul. "Pre-Roman Antiquities of Spain." *American Journal of Archaeology* 11, no. 2 (April-June 1907): 182-193.

- Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.
- Beattie, Andrew. *The Danube: A Cultural History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Beck, Noéme. “Goddesses in Celtic Religion Cult and mythology: A Comparative Study of Ancient Ireland, Britain and Gaul.” PhD Thesis. University of Lyon and University College of Dublin 2009. [http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/lyon2/2009/beck\\_n](http://theses.univ-lyon2.fr/documents/lyon2/2009/beck_n) [Accessed July 2012].
- Beckmann, Martin. *The Column of Marcus Aurelius: The Genesis & Meaning of a Roman Imperial Monument*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011.
- Bell, Jr., Albert A. “Martial’s Daughter.” *The Classical World* 78, no. 1 (1984): 21-24.
- Belser, Julia Watts. “Sex in the Shadow of Rome: Sexual Violence and Theological Lament in Talmudic Disaster Tales.” *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 30, no. 1 (2014): 5-24.
- Bemalte Platte. Römische Steindenkmäler. Ubi Erat Lupa. <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=4411> [Accessed November 2010].
- Bergren, Ann. *Weaving Truth: Essays on Language and the Female in Greek Thought*. Hellenic Studies 19. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Trustees for Harvard University, 2008.
- Berstein, William J. *The Birth of Plenty: How the Prosperity of the Modern World was Created*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2004.
- Bertrand, Jacques [Markale, Jean]. *Women of the Celts*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 1986.
- Bichler, Peter, ed. *Hallstatt Textiles: Technical Analysis, Scientific Investigation and Experiment on Iron Age Textiles [This Volume Grew Out of the Papers, Posters and Discussions at the Conference on "Hallstatt Textiles" Held from 4th to 6th June 2004 at Hallstatt/Austria]*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005.
- Billerbeck, Margarethe. “Artemidorus’ *Geographoumena* in the *Ethnika* of Stephanus of Byzantium: Source and Transmission.” In *Images and Texts on the “Artemidorus Papyrus”*: Working Papers on P.Artemid. (St. John’s College, Oxford), edited by Kai Brodersen and Jás Elsner, 65-88. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009.
- Binchy, Daniel A. “The legal capacity of women in regard to contracts.” In *Studies in Early Irish Law*, edited by Rudolf Thurneysen, 207-234. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 1936,
- Birkhan, Helmut. *Kelten – Celts: Images of Their Culture*. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999.
- Blundell, Sue and Margaret Williamson, eds. *The Sacred and Feminine in Ancient Greece*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Bodmer, Frederick. *The Loom of Language*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1972.
- “The Books from Herculaneum: A Guide to Editions and Translations of the Principal Works Discovered at Herculaneum and Related Texts.” The Friends of Herculaneum

- Society. The Ioannou Center for Classical and Byzantine Studies. Unknown. <http://www.herculaneum.ox.ac.uk/books.html> [Accessed August 2010].
- Boube, Emmanuelle and Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges *Collections du Musée archéologique départemental de Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges. 4, 4 Le Trophée augustéen*. Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: Le Musée, 1996.
- Bowman, Alan K. *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and Its People*. New \_\_\_\_\_, and J. David Thomas. *The Vindolanda Writing-Tablets (Tabulae Vindolandenses III)*. London: British Museum Press, 2003.
- “Brass torc.” Explore/Highlights. The British Museum. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/b/brass\\_to\\_rc.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/brass_to_rc.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].
- Braund, David. *Augustus to Nero: A Source Book on Roman History 31 BC-AD 68*. London: Croom Helm, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Observations on Cartimandua.” *Britannia* 15 (1984): 1-6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ruling Roman Britain: Kings, Queens, Governors and Emperors from Julius Caesar to Agricola*. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Bray, John Jefferson. *Gallienus: A Study in Reformist and Sexual Politics*. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 1997.
- Brewer, Richard J., ed., *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions*. London: Societies of Antiquaries, 2000.
- Brinkmann, Vinzenz, Wilhelm Hornbostel, and Raimund Wünsche, *Bunte Götter: die Farbigekeit antiker Skulptur*. Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Oliver Primavesi, and Max Hollein. *Circumlitio: The Polychromy of Antique and Mediaeval Sculpture*. Frankfurt a.M.: Schriftenreihe der Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, 2010.
- Brodersen, Kai and Jas Elsner, eds., *Images and Texts on the "Artemidorus Papyrus: Working Papers on P. Artemid."* Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2009.
- Brogan, Olwen. “Trade between the Romans Empire and the Free Germans,” *The Journal of Roman Studies* Vol. 26, no. 2(1936): 195-222.
- Bromwich, James. *The Roman Remains of Southern France: A Guidebook*. London: Routledge, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Roman Remains of Brittany, Normandy and the Loire Valley: A Guidebook*. Peterborough, England: Lucina Books, 2014.
- Budin, Stephanie Lynn and Jean Macintosh Turfa, eds. *Women in Antiquity: Real Women across the Ancient World*. New York : Routledge, 2016.
- Burillo Mozota, Francisco. “Celtiberians: Problems and debates.” *The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula, e-Keltoi* 6 (2005): 411-480.



- Burrus, Virginia. *The Making of a Heretic Gender, Authority, and the Priscillianist Controversy*. The Transformation of the Classical Heritage, 24. Berkeley: University of California, 1995.
- Butler, Judith P. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. London: Routledge, 1990.
- Cahill, Thomas. *How the Irish Saved Civilization: The Untold Story of Ireland's Heroic Role from the Fall of Rome to the Rise of Medieval Europe*. New York: Doubleday, 1995.
- Cain, Andrew. "Jerome's *Epistula CXVII* on the *Subintroductae*: Satire, Apology, and Ascetic Propaganda in Gaul," *Augustinianum*, Vol. 48, no. 1 (June 2009): 119-143.
- Cameron, Alan. "Three Notes on the *Historia Augusta*," *The Classical Review*, Vol. 18, no. 1 (March 1968): 17-20.
- Canary, Robert H. and Henry Kozicki, eds. *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- Cantor, Norman F. and Richard I. Schneider. *How to Study History*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1967.
- Capel, Anne K., Catharine Hershey Roehrig, and Richard A. Fazzini. *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996
- Caro, Ina. "The Arch of Orange." In *Traveler's Tales France: True Stories*, edited by Larry Habegger and James O'Reilly, 99-107. *101 Places to Go Before You Die*. San Francisco, CA: Travelers' Tales, 2001.
- Carroll, Maureen. *Spirits of the Dead: Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*. Oxford studies in ancient documents. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Kleidung der Eravisci und Azali an der Donau in römischer Zeit." In *Die Macht der Toga*, edited by Michael Tellenbach, 194-198. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013.
- Catholic Encyclopedia: An International Work of Reference on the Constitution, Doctrine, Discipline, and History of the Catholic Church*. Edited by Charles G. Herbermann et. al. Vol. 9. New York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1910.
- Chapman, Andy. "Excavation of an Iron Age Settlement and a Middle Saxon Cemetery at Great Houghton, Northampton." *Northamptonshire Archaeology* 29(2000-2001):1-41.
- Charles-Edwards, T.M. "Nau Kynywedi Teithiauc." In *The Welsh Law of Women*, edited by D. Jenkins and M.E. Owen, 23-39. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1980.
- Chinnock, E. J. *The Anabasis of Alexander, or the History of the Wars and Conquests of Alexander the Great, Literally Translated, with a Commentary, from the Greek of Arrian the Nicodemian*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1884.
- Churchill, Laurie J. *Women Writing Latin: Vol 1. Women Writing in Latin Roman Antiquity, Late Antiquity, and the Early Christian era*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Churchill, Winston, and Richard M. Langworth. *Churchill by Himself: The Definitive Collection of Quotations*. New York: Public Affairs, 2008.

- Clark, Gillian. *Women in Late Antiquity: Pagan and Christian Life-Styles*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- Cleere, Henry. *Southern France: An Oxford Archaeological Guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Cleland, Liza, Glenys Davies, and Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, eds. *Greek and Roman Dress from A to Z*. London: Routledge, 2007.
- Coarelli, Filippo, and Helen L. Patterson. *La colonna di Marco Aurelio*. Roma: Colombo, 2008.
- “Coffin reveals secrets of a Roman lady.” Sci/Tech. BBC News. Thursday, April 15, 1999. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/319833.stm> [Accessed November 2007].
- Cohen, Ada. *Art in the Era of Alexander the Great: Paradigms of Manhood and Their Cultural Traditions*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Collingridge, Vanessa. *Boudica: The Life of Britain's Legendary Warrior Queen*. Woodstock, NY: Overlook Press, 2005.
- Collingwood, R. G. and R. P. Wright. *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain: Vol I. Inscriptions on Stone (RIB)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Collis, John. “Los Celtas en Europa.” *Los Celtas: Hispania y Europa*. Edited by Martín Almagro-Gorbea and Gonzalo Ruiz Zapagtero. Actas de El Escorial 4. Madrid: Actas, 1993, 63-76.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Celts: Origins, Myths & Inventions*. Port Stroud, UK: Tempus Publishing, Ltd., 2003.
- Comis, Sandra. “Prehistoric Garments from the Netherlands.” In *Textilien aus Archäologie und Geschichte: Festschrift für Klaus Tidow*, edited by Lise Bender Jørgensen Johanna Banck-Burgess, and Antoinette Rast-Eicher, 193-204. Neumünster: Wachholtz, 2003.
- Connelly, Charlie. *And Did Those Feet: Walking Through 2000 Year of Irish and British History*. Bath: Windsor, 2009.
- Cool, H.E.M. “Funerary contexts.” In *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, edited by Lindsay Allason-Jones, 293-313. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Cordoba Treasure. Explore/Highlights. The British Museum. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/c/cordoba\\_treasure.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/c/cordoba_treasure.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].
- Crawford, Harriet, ed. *Subterranean Britain: Aspects of Underground Archaeology*. London: John Baker Publishers, Ltd., 1979.
- Croom, Alexandra. *Running the Roman Home*. Stroud: History Press, 2011.
- Crummy, Nina. “Bone-working at Colchester.” *Britannia* vol. 12 (1981): 277-285.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Granny’s Old Bones: Women Boneworkers in Roman Britain.” In *Women in Industry and Technology from Prehistory to the Present Day: Current Research and*

- the Museum Experience: Proceedings from the 1994 WHAM Conference*, edited by Amanda Devonshire and Barbara Wood, 77-83. London: Museum of London, 1996.
- Cuff, David Benjamin. "The *auxilia* in Roman Britain and the Two Germanies from Augustus to Caracalla: Family, Religion, and 'Romanization'." PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2010.  
[http://www.legioxxirapax.com/zasoby/Cuff\\_David\\_B\\_201006\\_PhD\\_thesis.pdf](http://www.legioxxirapax.com/zasoby/Cuff_David_B_201006_PhD_thesis.pdf)  
 [Accessed July 2010].
- Cunliffe, Barry. *The Ancient Celts*. London: Penguin Books, 1997.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Celtic World*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Celts: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Danebury: An Iron Age Hillfort in Hampshire Vol 2 The Excavations 1969- 1978: The Finds*. CBA Research Report, no. 52 (1984)  
<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/library/cba/rr52b.cfm?CFID=573996&CFTOKEN=39545028> [Accessed December 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Druids: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Extraordinary Voyage of Pytheas the Greek*. New York: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Curchin, Leonard A. *Roman Spain: Conquest and Assimilation*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Romanization of Central Spain: Complexity, Diversity and Change in a Provincial Hinterland*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- "Curse Tablets from Roman Britain: Uley 2." In *Curse Tablets from Roman Britain*. Found at <http://curses.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets.shtml> [Accessed January 2009].
- "Curse Tablets from Roman Britain: Uley 33." In *Curse Tablets from Roman Britain*. Found at <http://curses.csad.ox.ac.uk/tablets.shtml> [Accessed January 2009].
- D'Ambra, Eve. *Roman Women*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Davidson, James W. and Mark H. Lytle. *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1982.
- de Brestian, Scott, "Interrogating the Dead: Funerary inscriptions in Northern Iberia." In *Romanisation et épigraphie. Études interdisciplinaires sur l'acculturation et l'identité dans l'Empire romain, Archéologie et Histoire Romaine 1.*, edited by Ralph Häussler and Delphine Acolat, 267-277. Montagnac: Monique Mergoïl, 2008.
- de Planhol, Xavier and Paul Claval. *An historical geography of France*. Translated by Janet Lloyd, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994.
- Degrassi, Attilio. *Fasti Capitolini*. Torino: G.B. Paravia, 1954.
- Delamarre, Xavier. *Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise: Une approche linguistique du vieux-celtique continental*. Paris, Editions Errance, 2003.

- Dell'Amore, Christine. "Who Were the Ancient Bog Mummies? Surprising New Clues," National Geographic, July 18, 2014, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/07/18/140718-bog-bodies-denmar-archaeology-science-iron-age/> [Accessed June 2016].
- Demant, Ida. "The Poor People from Lønne Hede. Presentation of first century-graves with preserved textiles." In *Nesat IX, Archäologische textilfunde - archaeological textiles Braunwald, 18-21 Mai, 2005*, edited by A. Rast-Eicher and R. Windler, 86-91. Ennenda: ArcheoTex (2007).
- Derks, Tom. "Ethnic identities in the Roman frontier. The epigraphy of Batavian and other Lower Rhine Tribes." In *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity: The Role of Power and Tradition*, edited by Tom Derks and Nico Royman, 239-276. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009.
- Díaz-Andreu, Margarita and Trinidad Tortosa. "Gender, Symbolism and Power in Iberian Societies." In *Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge*, edited by Pedro Paulo Abreu Funari, Martin Hall, and S. Jones, 99-116. *One World Archaeology* 31. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Dietz, Maribel. *Wandering Monks, Virgins, and Pilgrims: Ascetic Travel in the Mediterranean World, A.D. 300/800*. University Park, Penn: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005.
- Dillon, Sheila and Katherine E. Welch, eds. *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women on the Columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius and the Visual Language of Roman Victory." In *Representations of War in Ancient Rome*, edited by Sheila Dillon and Katherine E. Welch, 257-260. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Dilts, Mervin R. "The Manuscript Tradition of Aelian's *Varia Historia* and Heraclides' *Politiae*." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 96 (1965):57-72.
- "Diodorus Siculus." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/164108/Diodorus-Siculus> [Accessed August 2010].
- Dixon, S. *The Roman Family*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Roman Mother*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988.
- Dobson, Brian and Valerie A. Maxfield. *Inscriptions of Roman Britain*. London: London Association of Classical Teachers, 1995.
- Dominique Chaine – Graveur. "Medals of Marseille." [www.gravure-marseille.com/en/medals.html](http://www.gravure-marseille.com/en/medals.html) [Accessed November 2015].
- Dommasnes, Liv Helga and Nancy L. Wicker. "Situating Gender in European Archaeologies: Introduction." In *Situating Gender in European Archaeologies*, Edited by Liv Helga Dommasnes et al., 11-22. Budapest: Archaeolingua Foundation, 2010.

- Dowell, Stephen. *History of Taxation and Taxes in England: Volumes 1-4*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2013.
- Eckstein, Arthur M. *Moral Vision in the Histories of Polybius*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Rome Enters the Greek East: From Anarchy to Hierarchy in the Hellenistic Mediterranean, 230-170 BC*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub, 2008.
- Edmondson, Jonathan and Alison Keith, eds. *Roman Dress and the Fabrics of Roman Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- “Educate.” *Online Etymological Dictionary*. Edited by Douglas Harper. 2012.  
[http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=educate&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=educate&allowed_in_frame=0)  
 [Accessed March 2012].
- “Education.” Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2012.  
<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/education> [Accessed March 2012].
- Ehrenberg, Margaret. *Women in Prehistory*. Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture, vol. 4. Norman, OK: Oklahoma University Press, 1989.
- Eisen, Ute E. *Women Officeholders in Early Christianity: Epigraphical and Literary Studies*. Colledgeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000.
- “Elche.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2011. Encyclopædia Britannica Online.  
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/182182/Elche> [Accessed April 2011].
- Ellis, Peter Berresford. *Celtic Women: Women in Celtic Society and Literature*. London: Constable, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Druids*. London: Robinson, 2002.
- Elsie, Robert . “The Christian Saints of Albania.” *Balkanistica* 13 (2000): 35-57.
- Elysées Numismatique - Distriguteur Officiel De La Monnaie De Paris. “Fondation de Marseille.” 2014. [elyseesnumismatique.com/produit/medaille-bronze-fondation-de-marseille/](http://elyseesnumismatique.com/produit/medaille-bronze-fondation-de-marseille/) [Accessed November 2015].
- 'Entire streets' of Roman London uncovered in the City." April 10, 2013. BBC, 2014.  
[www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-22084384](http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-london-22084384) [Accessed March 2014].
- Eriksen, Thomas H. and Finn S. Nielsen. *A History of Anthropology*. 2nd ed. London: Pluto Press, 2013.
- Erim, Kenan T. “A New Relief Showing Claudius and Britannia from Aphrodisias.” *Britannia* 13 (1982): 277-281.
- Eska, Joseph F. *Towards an Interpretation of the Hispano-Celtic Inscription of Botorrita*. Innsbruck: Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft, 1989.
- Espérandieu, Émile. *Alpes Maritimes, Alpes Cottiennes, Corse, Narbonnai*. Vol. 1 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1907.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Aquitaine*. Vol. 2 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lyonnais – Première Partie*. Vol. 3 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Lyonnais – Deuxième Partie*. Vol. 4 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1911.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Belgique – Première Partie*. Vol. 5 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1913.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Belgique – Deuxième Partie*. Vol. 6 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1915.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Gaule Germanique – I. Germanie Supérieure*. Vol. 7 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1918.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Gaule Germanique (Deuxième Partie)*. Vol. 8 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Gaule Germanique (Troisième Partie) et Supplément*. Vol. 9 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1922.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Supplément (Suite) et Tables Générales du Recueil*. Vol. 10 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1928.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Supplément (Suite)*. Vol. 10 of *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine*. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1938.
- Evans, D. Ellis. *Druids as Fact and Symbol*. Gloucester: Gloucester Antiquity Publications, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “*Onomaris: Name of Story and History?*” In *Ildanach Ildirech: A Festschrift for Proinsias Mac Cana*, edited by John Carrey, John T. Koch and Pierre-Yves Lambert, 27-37. Andover: Celtic Studies Publication, Inc., 1999.
- Evans, John K. *War, Women, and Children in Ancient Rome*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Farmer, David Hugh. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Fear, Andrew T. “The Golden Sheep of Roman Andalusia.” *The Agricultural History Review* 40, no. 2 (1992): 151-155.
- Female Networks and the Public Sphere in Roman Society*. Edited by P. Setälä and L. Savunen. Rome: Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae, 1999.
- Ferraris, Ilaria. *The Statues of the Loggia Della Signoria in Florence Masterpieces Restored*. Firenze: Giunti, 2002.
- Fichtner, Paula S. *Historical Dictionary of Austria*. Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2009.
- Finley, Moses I. *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology*. New York: Viking Press, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Classical Slavery*. London: Frank Cass Publishers, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Slavery in Classical Antiquity: Views and Controversies*. Cambridge, UK: W. Heffer, 1960.

- Fischer, Thomas. *Noricum*. Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 2002.
- Frasier, Antonia. *Warrior Queens: The Legends and Lives of Women Who Led Their Nations in War*. New York: Knopf, 1989.
- Freeman, Phillip. *The Philosopher and the Druids: A Journey among the Ancient Celts*. New York, Simon & Schuster, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *War, Women, and Druids: Eyewitness Reports and Early Accounts of the Ancient Celts*. Austin, University of Texas Press, 2002.
- Frei, Karin Margarita, Irene Skals, Margarita Gleba, and Henriette Lyngstrøm. "The Huldremose Iron Age Textiles, Denmark: an Attempt to Define Their Provenance Applying the Strontium Isotope System," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 36, no. 9: (September 2009):1965-1971.
- Fry, Plantagenet Somerset. *Rebellion against Rome: Boudica's Uprising against the Roman Occupation Forces in A.D. 61*. Lavenham, Suffolk: T. Dalton, 1982.
- Fuhrmann, Joseph Paul. "Irish Medieval Monasteries on the Continent." PhD. diss., Catholic University of America, 1927.
- "Gaius Asinius Pollio." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/468037/Gaius-Asinius-Pollio> [Accessed August 2010].
- Garbsch, Jochen. *Die norisch-pannonische Frauentracht im 1. und 2. Jahrhundert*. München: Beck, 1965.
- García García, Inmaculada and Enrique Gozalbes Cravioto. "Cantabrian women's labour in the work of Strabo." *Index de Enfermería [Index Enferm]* (digital edition), 2010; 19(1). <http://www.index-f.com/index-enfermeria/v19n1/7178e.php> [Accessed December 2010].
- Gardner, F. *Women in Roman Law and Society*. Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Garrido, Elisa. "El modelo de mujer romana en Hispania." In *Historia de las mujeres en España y América Latina. 1, De la Prehistoria a la Edad Media*, 221-239. Madrid: Ed. Cátedra, 2005.
- Gehrts, Johannes. *Armin verabschiedet sich von Thusnelda*. Detmold: Lippisches Landesmuseum, 1884. Found at <http://www.lippische-wochenschau.de> [Accessed April 2009].
- "Gender," Douglas Harper. *Online Etymological Dictionary*. (2007-2017). <http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=gender> [Accessed: May 2017].
- "Germania Capta." Mainz Pedestals. Steinhalle in the Landes Museum, Mainz. Photograph by Marco Prins. Jona Lendering, "Mogontiacum (Mainz)," *Livius.org*, 2008, [http://www.livius.org/mo-mt/mogontiacum/mainz\\_pedestals.html](http://www.livius.org/mo-mt/mogontiacum/mainz_pedestals.html) [Accessed March 2014].
- Gessner, Conrad, Konrad Lykosthenes, and Josias Simmler. *Epitome bibliothecae Conradi Gesneri: conscripta primum à Conrado Lycosthene Rubeaquensi: nunc denuo*

*recognita & plus quàm bis mille authorum accessione (qui omnes asterisco signati sunt) locupletata: per Iosiam Simlervm Tigvrinvm. Habes hic ... catalogum locupletissimum omnium ferè scriptorum, à mundi initio ad hunc usq[ue] diem, extantium & non extantium, publicatorum & passim in bibliothecis latitantium.*  
Tigvri: Apvd Christophorvm Froschovervm, mense martio, 1555.

- Ghosh, Paul. "DNA study finds London was ethnically diverse from the start." *BBC News: Science & Environment*, November 23, 2015. <http://www.bbc.com/news/science-environment-34809804> [Accessed November 23, 2015].
- Gitelman, Lisa. *Scripts, Grooves, and Writing Machines: Representing Technology in the Edison Era*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 1999.
- Gleason, Philip. "Identifying Identity: A Semantic History." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 69, no. 4 (March 1983): 910-931.
- Glob, P. V. *The Bog People*. Translated by Rupert Bruce-Mitford. London: Faber and Faber, 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Bog People: Iron-Age Man Preserved*. New York: New York Review Books, 2004.
- Godfrey, Elizabeth. *Heidelberg; Its Princes and Its Palaces*. London: Richards, 1906.
- "Gold torcs from the Ipswich Hoard." Explore/Highlights. The British Museum. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/g/ipswich\\_hoard\\_gold\\_torcs.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/g/ipswich_hoard_gold_torcs.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].
- Goldsworthy, Adrain. *The Complete Roman Army*. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd, 2003.
- Gonis, Nikolaos. "Abbreviations and Symbols," In *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, edited by Roger S. Bagnall. 170-178. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- González-Ruibal, Alfredo. "Artistic Expression and Material Culture in Celtic Gallaecia." *Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6 (2008): 113-166. [http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6\\_3/gonzalez\\_ruibal\\_6\\_3.html](http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6_3/gonzalez_ruibal_6_3.html) [Accessed November 2010].
- Goodrich, Norma Lorre. *Priestesses*. New York: Franklin Watts, 1989.
- "Goodrich, Norma Lorre." Celtic Twilight. Legends of Camelot. Found at <http://www.celtic-twilight.com/camelot/infopedia/g/goodrich.htm> [Accessed March 2010].
- Goudineau, C. "Gaul." In *The Cambridge Ancient History. X The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C. - A.D. 69*, edited by Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin, and Andrew Lintott, 464-502. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grant, Michael. *The Army of the Caesars*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Twelve Caesars*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1975.
- Green, Miranda J. *Celtic Goddesses: Warriors, Virgins and Mothers*. New York: George Braziller, 1995.



- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Gods and the Supernatural." In *The Celtic World*, edited by Miranda J. Green, 465-488. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Symbol & Image in Celtic Religious Art*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- Greene, Elizabeth M. "Women and Families in the Auxiliary Military Communities of the Roman West in the First and Second Centuries AD." PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2011.
- Grimal, Pierre. *Roman Cities*. Edited and translated by Michael Woloch. Madison, WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- Grömer Karina and Peter Grömer-Mrazek "Clothing and Identities." (DressID) New Perspective on Textiles in the Roman Empire. Textiles from Hallstatt, 2008. [http://dressid.nhm-wien.ac.at/textile\\_e.html](http://dressid.nhm-wien.ac.at/textile_e.html) [Accessed October 2010].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Vorrömische Kleidung in Mitteleuropa." In *Die Macht der Toga: DressCode im römischen Weltreich*, edited by Michael Tellenbach, 199-203. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013.
- Gros, Pierre. "Pour une chronologie des arcs de triomphe de Gaule narbonnaise", *Gallia* 37 (1979):55-83.
- Gurewitsch, Matthew. "True Colors: Archaeologist Vinzenz Brinkmann insists his eye-popping reproductions of ancient Greek sculptures are right on target," In *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 2008. [www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/true-colors-17888/?all](http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/true-colors-17888/?all) [Accessed July 2014].
- Hale, Sarah Josepha Buell. *Woman's Record: Or, Sketches of All Distinguished Women, from the Creation to A.D. 1868. Arranged in Four Eras, with Selections from Authoresses of Each Era*. New York: Harper, 1874.
- Hales, Shelly. "Tricks with Mirrors: Remembering the Death of Noricum." In *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*, edited by Shelly Hales and Tamar Hodos, 227-251. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Haley, Evan W. *Baetica felix: people and prosperity in southern Spain from Caesar to Septimius Severus*. University of Texas Press, 2003.
- Hallett, J.P. *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.
- Hamberg, Per Gustaf. *Studies in Roman Imperial Art*. Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1968.
- Hanson, W.S. and D. B. Campbell. "The Brigantes: From Clientage to Conquest." *Britannia* 17 (1986): 73-89.
- Harris, J., ed. *5000 Years of Textiles*. London: British Museum Press, 1995.
- Hassall, Mark. "Pre-Hadrianic legionary dispositions in Britain." In *Roman Fortresses and Their Legions*, edited by Richard J. Brewer, 51-68, London: Societies of Antiquaries, 2000.
- Hassall, M.W.C. and R.S.O Tomlin. "Roman Britain in 1994." *Britannia* 26 (1995): 371-379.

- Hay, Maciamo. *Genetic History of Spain and Portugal: A look into the genes of Spanish and Portuguese people using Y-chromosomal, mitochondrial and autosomal DNA*. Eupedia, October 2014; updated June 2015.  
[https://www.academia.edu/8937422/Genetic\\_history\\_of\\_Spain\\_and\\_Portugal](https://www.academia.edu/8937422/Genetic_history_of_Spain_and_Portugal)  
 [Accessed April 2017].
- \_\_\_\_\_. “How did the Basques become R1b?” (Eupedia, October 2014.; updated June 2015), found at [http://www.eupedia.com/europe/Haplogroup\\_R1b\\_Y-DNA.shtml](http://www.eupedia.com/europe/Haplogroup_R1b_Y-DNA.shtml)  
 [Accessed April 2017].
- “Herculaneum Papyri, The.” P. Herc., Image Database. The Imaging Papyri Project. University of Oxford. Unknown. <http://163.1.169.40/cgi-bin/library?site=localhost&a=p&p=about&c=PHerc&ct=0&l=en&w=utf-8> [Accessed August 2010].
- Hemelrijk, Emily A. “Priestesses of the imperial cult in the Latin West: titles and function.” *L'Antiquité classique* (2005): 137-170.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Public Roles for Women in the Cities of the Latin West.” In *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon, 478-490. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Matrona Docta: Educated Women in the Roman Élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Hexter, J.H. *Doing History*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1971.
- Hingley, Richard and Christina Unwin. *Boudica: Iron Age Warrior Queen*. New York: Hambledon and London, 2005.
- Hitchings, Henry. *The Secret Life of Words: How English Became English*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2008.
- Hockett, Homer C. *The Critical Method in Historical Research and Writing*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1955.
- Hofeneder, Andreas. *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen. Band I. Von den Anfängen bis Caesar*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen. Band II. Von Arrianos bis zum Ausklang der Antike*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Die Religion der Kelten in den antiken literarischen Zeugnissen, Band III. Von Arrianos bis zum Ausklang der Antike*. Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2011.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Späte Zeugnisse zum keltische Eichen kult.” In *Celtic Religion across Space and Time, IX Workshop FERCAN*, [Fontes Epigraphici Religionum Celticarum Antiquarum], *Molina de Aragón*, 17-20 September 2008, edited by Jesús Alberto Arenas Esteban, 282-300. Toledo: Junta de Comunidades de Castilla-La Mancha, 2010.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Vestiges of sun worship among the Celts." In Sun worship in the civilisations of the world Pandanus '10, edited by Adalbert J. Gail. *Pandanus: Nature in Literature, Art, Myth and Ritual*. vol. 4/2, (2010):85–107.
- Holder, Alfred. *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*. 3, 3. Graz: Akad. Dr.- und Verl.-Anst, 1962.
- Hope, Valerie M. "Words and Pictures: The Interpretation of Romano-British Tombstones." *Britannia* 28 (1997): 245-258.
- Horovitz, P. "Essai sur la date de la publication et le but de l'Histoire Auguste." In *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire offerts à André Piganiol*, edited by André Piganiol and Raymond Chevallier, 1743-8. Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1966.
- Howarth, Nicki. *Cartimandua: Queen of the Brigantes*. Stroud: The History Press, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "10 Things You Probably Didn't Know About Cartimandua, Britain's Forgotten Queen." Heritage Key: Unlock the Wonders. July 01, 2007. <http://heritage-key.com/blogs/nicki-howarth-pollard/10-things-you-probably-didnt-know-about-cartimandua-britains-forgotten-q> [Accessed August 2010].
- Hughes, Kathleen. *The Church in Early Irish Society*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966.
- Hutton, Ronald. *Blood and Mistletoe: The History of the Druids in Britain*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- "Identity." Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2014. <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity> [Accessed April 2014].
- "Innocentissimae," William Whitaker's Words, William Whitaker, 2010, University of Notre Dame, <http://www.archives.nd.edu/cgi-bin/wordz.pl?keyword=innocentissimae> [Accessed June 2014].
- "ISAS Researchers Study Perishable Materials." ISAS in the News, November 15, 2011. Illinois State Archaeological Survey: Prairie Research Institute. [www.isas.illinois.edu/news/mercyhurst.shtml](http://www.isas.illinois.edu/news/mercyhurst.shtml) [Accessed December 2012].
- Ivleva, Tatiana. "British Emigrants in the Roman Empire: Complexities and Symbols of Ethnic Identities." In *TRAC 2010: Proceedings of the 20th Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference, Oxford*, (2010):132-53.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Peasants into Soldiers: Recruitment and Military Mobility in the Early Roman Empire." In *Migration and mobility in the early Roman Empire*, edited by L. de Ligt and Laurens E. Tacoma, 158-175. Leiden: Brill, 2016.
- James, Sharon L. and Sheila Dillon, eds. *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion: Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- James, Simon. *The World of the Celts*. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Atlantic Celts: Ancient People or Modern Invention?* Avalon, UK: The Bath Press, 1999.

- Jenkins, David, ed. *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Cambridge History of Western Textiles*. Vol. 2. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Jiménez, Ramon L. *Caesar Against The Celts*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1996.
- Johns, Catherine. *The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical Traditions*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1996.
- Johns, Charles. "An Iron Age sword and mirror cist burial from Bryher, Isles of Scilly." *Cornish Archaeology* 41-2 (2002-3): 8-86.
- Jones, Arnold Hugh Martin. *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602: A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*. Vol. 2. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1964.
- Jordan, Alexis. "I Am No Man: A Study of Warrior Women in the Archaeological Record." *Field Notes: A Journal of Collegiate Anthropology* 1(1), (2009):99-100, 94-111.
- Joshel, Sandra R. *Slavery in the Roman World*. Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Kakoschke, Andreas, "*Germanen*" in der Fremde: eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität aus den römischen Provinzen *Germania inferior* und *Germania superior* anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. Möhnese: Bibliopolis, 2004.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ortsfremde in den römischen Provinzen Germania inferior und Germania superior eine Untersuchung zur Mobilität in den germanischen Provinzen anhand der Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Möhnese: Bibliopolis, 2001.
- Kampen, N.B. *Image and Status: Roman Working Women in Ostia*. Berlin: Mann, 1981.
- Karl, Raimund. "The Celts from Everywhere and Nowhere: A re-evaluation of the Origins of the Celts and the Emergence of Celtic Cultures." In *Celtic from the West: Alternative Perspectives from Archaeology, Genetics, Language, and Literature*, edited by Barry W. Cunliffe and John T. Koch, 39-67. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010.
- Kelly, Fergus. *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. Vol. 3 of the Early Irish Law series. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1988.
- Kent, Sherman. *Writing History*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1941).
- Kleiner, Fred S. *A History of Roman Art*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2010.
- Koch, John T. *Celtic Culture: A Historical Encyclopedia*. Vol. 4. New York: ABC-CLIO, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and John Cary, eds. *The Celtic Heroic Age: Literary Sources for Ancient Celtic Europe & Early Ireland & Wales*. Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publications, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tartessian: Celtic in the South-West at the Dawn of History*. Oakville, CT: David Brown Books, 2009.

- Kraemer, Ross Shepard. *Her Share of the Blessings: Women's Religions Among Pagans, Jews, and Christians in the Greco-Roman World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Krause, Jens-Uwe. *Die Familie und weitere anthropologischen Grundlagen*. Stuttgart, Germany: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992.
- Kreitzer, Larry J. *Striking New Images: Roman Imperial Coinage and New Testament World*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996.
- Kristiansen, Kristian. *Europe Before History*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Kruta, Venceslas. *The Celts*. London: Hachette Illustrated, 2004.
- Kuttner, Ann L. *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: The case of the Boscoreale Cups*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Lambert, Pierre-Yves. *La Langue Gauloise*. 2nd ed. Paris: Editions Errance, 2003.
- Launey, Robert (ed.). *Foundations of Anthropological Theory: From Classical Antiquity to Early Modern Europe*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010.
- “Learned.” *Online Etymological Dictionary*. Edited by Douglas Harper. 2012.  
[http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=learned&allowed\\_in\\_frame=0](http://www.etymonline.com/index.php?term=learned&allowed_in_frame=0)  
 [Accessed March 2012].
- Ledo Caballero, Antonio Carlos. *La calzada Arse/Saguntum - Celtiberia: estudio histórico-arqueológico*. Alboraya: Real Acad. de Cultura Valenciana, 2005.
- Lee, A.D. *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity: A Sourcebook*. New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Lee, Wayne E. *Waging War: Conflict, Culture, and Innovation in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Lehmann, Andrée. *Le rôle de la femme dans l'histoire de la Gaule*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1944.
- Letnitsa Treasure: Gold of the Thracian Horsemen: Treasures from Bulgaria*. Montreal: Les Éditions de L'Homme, 1987.
- Levi, Annalina Caló. *Barbarians on Roman Imperial Coins and Sculpture*. Numistic Notes and Monographs No. 123. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1952.
- Levick, Barbara. *Juila Domna, Syrian Empress*. Taylor & Francis, 2007.
- Lewis, Naphtali and Meyer Reinhold. *Roman Civilization: Selected Readings. Volume II, The Empire*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1990.
- Lightman, Marjorie and Benjamin. *Biographical Dictionary of Ancient Greek and Roman Women: Notable Women from Sappho to Helena*. New York: Checkmark Books, 2000.
- Loewen, Peter, and Robin Waugh, Editors. *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles*. New York: Routledge, 2014.

- Lorrio, Alberto J. and Gonzalo Ruiz Zapatero. "The Celts in Iberia: An Overview." *e-Keltoi Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies*, Vol. 6, at [http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6\\_4/images/fig25\\_350.jpg](http://www4.uwm.edu/celtic/ekeltoi/volumes/vol6/6_4/images/fig25_350.jpg) [Accessed April 2011].
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Celtic Peoples." In *Iberia: protohistory of the Far West of Europe: from neolithic to Roman conquest*, edited by International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences and Antonio Almagro Gorbea, 217-250. Burgos : Universidad de Burgos : Fundación Atapuerca, 2014.
- Lottinville, Savoie. *The Rhetoric of History*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976.
- Ludwig, Renate. *Kelten, Kastelle, Kurfürsten: Archäologie am unteren Neckar*. Stuttgart: Theiss, 1997.
- Luján, Eugenio R. "Celtic and Celtiberian in the Iberian Peninsula." *Iberia e Sardegna. Legami linguistici, archeologici e genetici dal Mesolitico all'Età del Bronzo*, Florencia (2013):97-112.
- Luján-Martínez, Eugenio R. "The Language (s) of the Callaeci," *e-Keltoi: Journal of Interdisciplinary Celtic Studies* 6 (2006):2.
- "Magnentius." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2015. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Magnentius> [Accessed November 2015].
- Maier, Bernhard. *Dictionary of Celtic Religion and Culture*. Translated by Cyril Edwards. Suffolk, UK: The Boydwell Press, 1997.
- Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen. *La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen I: Antiquité*. Edited by Anne-Marie Verilhac, Claude Vial, and L. Darmezín. Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 10. Lyon, France: Maison de l'Orient, 1985.
- Maison de l'Orient méditerranéen. *La Femme dans le monde méditerranéen II: La Femme Grecque et Romaine*. Edited by Anne-Marie Verilhac, Claude Vial, and L. Darmezín. Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 19. Lyon, France: Maison de l'Orient, 1990.
- Maiuri, Amedeo. *Herculaneum (A plan, 10 illustrations in the text and 74 plates)*. Translated by V. Priestley. 6th ed. "Itineraries of the Museums, Galleries and Monuments in Italy." no. 53. Rome, Italy: Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato, 1962.
- Malkin, Irad. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1987.
- Mannering, Ulla, Margarit Gleba, and Ina Vanden Berghe. "Towards the Identification of Dyestuffs in Early Iron Age Scandinavian Peat Bog Textiles." *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 36, no. 9 (September 2009): 1910-1921.
- Manning, W.H. "Iron Working in the Celtic World." In *The Celtic World*, edited by Miranda J. Green, 310-320. New York: Routledge, 1996.
- Markale, Jean [Bertrand, Jacques]. *Women of the Celts*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions International, 1986.
- Marshall, P.K. "Aulus Gellius." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 176-180. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Florus," In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 164-166. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Valerius Maximus." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 428-430. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Mathisen, Ralph W. "Peregrini, Barbari, and Cives Romani: Concepts of Citizenship and Legal Identity of Barbarians in the Later Roman Empire." *American Historical Review*, Oct (2006):1011-1040.
- Matugena. Celtic Personal Names of Roman Britain (CPNRB). Paul Russell and Alex Mullen. University of Cambridge.  
<http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/details.php?name=325> [Accessed July 2012].
- McKitterick, Rosamond. *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Mees, Bernard. *Celtic Curses*. Suffolk, UK: Rochester, 2009.
- Megaw, Ruth and Vincent. *Celtic Art: From the beginnings to the Book of Celts*. London: Thames & Hudson, 2001.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Early Celtic Art in Britain and Ireland*. Shire Archaeology Series 38. Buckinghamshire, UK: Shire Publications Ltd., 2005.
- Meid, Wolfgang. *Celtiberian Inscriptions*. Budapest: Archaeological Institute, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1994.
- Merrifield, Ralph. *London: City of the Romans*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983.
- Mezquíriz, María Ángeles, and Tobie, J.-L., "La torre-trofeo de Urkulu," *Príncipe de Viana*, no. 14(1992): 251-258. (Ejemplar dedicado a: Conferencias y comunicaciones sobre Prehistoria, Historia Antigua e Historia Medieval).
- Middleton, J. H. *Ancient Rome in 1885*. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black, 1885.
- Mihajlović, Vladimir D. "Adultery in the Mirror: Roman Mirror from Viminacium, Myth, Moral and Rite(s) of Passage" (in English), in *Antiquity and Modern World*, Vol. 5: *Antiquity and Modern World: Religion and Culture*, 178-193. Belgrade: Scientific Publications of the Serbian Society for Ancient Studies, 2011.
- "Military Diploma," The British Museum,  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search\\_the\\_collection\\_database/search\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectid=810658&partid=1&output=People%2F!!%2FOR%2F!!%2F25008%2F!!%2F25008-1-8%2F!!%2FNamed+in+inscription+Trajan%2F!!%2F%2F!!%2F%2F!!%2F&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch\\_the\\_collection\\_database%2Fadvanced\\_search.aspx&currentPage=1&numpages=10](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database/search_object_details.aspx?objectid=810658&partid=1&output=People%2F!!%2FOR%2F!!%2F25008%2F!!%2F25008-1-8%2F!!%2FNamed+in+inscription+Trajan%2F!!%2F%2F!!%2F%2F!!%2F&orig=%2Fresearch%2Fsearch_the_collection_database%2Fadvanced_search.aspx&currentPage=1&numpages=10) [Accessed July 2012].
- Moore, J.M. "Polybius 1.2.7-8 and 1.3.3." *The Classical Quarterly*. New Series, vol. 16, no. 2 (1966): 243-247.

- Morgan, Junius S., Kenneth McKenzie, and Charles G. Osgood. *The Tradition of Virgil: Three Papers on the History of Influence of the Poet*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1930.
- Morris, Mike. *Concise Dictionary of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012.
- Mozota, Francisco Burillo. "Celtiberians: Problems and debates." *The Celts in the Iberian Peninsula, e-Keltoi* 6 (2005): 411-480.
- Muir, Richard. *The Yorkshire Countryside: A Landscape History*. Edinburgh: Keele Univ. Press, 1997.
- Mullen, Alex. "Introduction: Multiple languages, multiple identities." In *Multilingualism in the Graeco-Roman worlds*, edited by Alex Mullen and Patrick James, 1-35. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Murdock, George P. "The Common Denominator of Cultures." In *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, edited by R. Linton, 123-143. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.
- Muzeul Național al Banatului. "IDR III/1, 168." <http://muzeulnationalalbanatului.ro/lapidarium-3d/idr-iii1-168/> [Accessed February 2017]
- Nail, Bernard. "Disparition de Jacques Bertrand, plus connu sous le pseudonyme de Jean Markale." Agence Bretagne Presse, November 23, 2008. <http://www.agencebretagnepresse.com/fetch.php?id=13054&title=Disparition%20de%20Jacques%20Bertrand,%20plus%20connu%20sous%20le%20pseudonyme%20de%20Jean%20Markale#> [Accessed August 2010].
- "New Prehistory exhibition at The National Museum in Copenhagen." *Viking Today*. April 15, 2008. <http://www.vikingtoday.com/articles/2008/20080415.htm> [Accessed November 2008].
- "Nicholas of Damascus." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/414161/Nicholas-of-Damascus> [Accessed August 2010].
- Nowik, W., S. Desrosiers, I. Surowiec and M. Trojanowicz. "The Analysis of Dyestuffs from First-to-Second-Century Textile Artefacts Found in the Martres-de-Veyre (France) Excavations." *Archaeometry* 47, no. 4 (2005): 835-848.
- O'Brien, Patrick Karl. *Atlas of world history*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Odahl, Charles Matson. *Constantine and the Christian empire*. 2nd ed. Abingdon, NY: Routledge, 2010.
- Oppenheimer, Stephen. "Myths of British Ancestry." *Prospect Magazine* 127 (21 Oct 2006). Found at <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/mythsofbritishancestry/> [Accessed March 2009]
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Myths of British Ancestry Revisited." *Prospect Magazine* 135 (30 June 2007). Found at <http://www.prospectmagazine.co.uk/magazine/mythsofbritishancestryrevisited/> [Accessed March 2009]



- \_\_\_\_\_. *Origins of the British: A Genetic Detective Story (the Surprising Roots of the English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh)*. New York: Carroll and Graff, 2006.
- Osiek, Carolyn, Margaret Y. MacDonald, and Janet H. Tulloch, *A Woman's Place: House Churches in Earliest Christianity*. Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2006.
- Ostler, Nicholas. *Ad Infinitum: A Biography of Latin*. New York: Walker & Co, 2007.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World*. New York: Harper, 2005.
- Pacov. La Dama de Elche: La escultura ibérica más famosa. August 08, 2009. <http://damaelche.blogspot.com/2007/07/la-policroma.html> [Accessed November 2008].
- Pagano, Mario. *Herculaneum: A Reasoned Archaeological Itinerary*. Translated by Angelo Pesce. Torre del Greco, Italy: T& M srl, 2000.
- Parker, H.M.D. *The Roman Legions*. New York: Dorset Press, 1992.
- Parker, Holt T. "Women Doctors in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine Empire." In *Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill*, edited by Lilian R. Furst, 131-150. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1997.
- Payne, Robert. *Rome Triumphant: How the Empire Celebrated Its Victories*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1993.
- Pearse, Roger. "Notice of the Life and Writings of Justin." In *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius*. Translated by Rev. John Selby Watson. London: George Bell and Sons, 1886, v-viii. digitized by the Tertullian Project, transcribed by Roger Pearse. Ipswich, UK, 2003. [http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/justinus\\_02\\_intro.htm](http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/justinus_02_intro.htm) [Accessed June 2012].
- Pei, Mario. *The Story of Language*. Philadelphia, PA: J. B. Lippincott Co, 1949.
- Pelletier, André. *La femme dans la société gallo-romain*. Paris: Picard, 1984.
- "Philodemus Project, The." UCLA Departments of Classics. The Regents of the University of California, 2009. <http://www.classics.ucla.edu/index.php/philodemus> [Accessed August 2010].
- Picard, Gilbert. "L'arc de Carpentras," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, Vol. 104, no. 1(1960): 13-16.
- Piggott, Stuart. *The Druids*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1975.
- Pittioni, Richard. *Vom Faustkeil zum Eisenschwert; eine kleine Einführung in die Urgeschichte Niederösterreichs*. Horn: F. Berger, 1964.
- Planck, Dieter. *Die Römer in Baden-Württemberg: Römerstätten und Museen von Aalen bis Zwiefalten*. Stuttgart: Theiss, 2005.
- Pollitt, Jerome Jordan. *Art in the Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: The University of Cambridge, 1986.
- Pomeroy, Sarah B., *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Schocken Books, 1995.

- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Murder of Regilla: A Case of Domestic Violence in Antiquity*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.
- "Pompeii of the north." Museum of London, Archaeology, April 9, 2013. [www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk/NewsProjects/Current-News/Pompeii+of+the+north.htm](http://www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk/NewsProjects/Current-News/Pompeii+of+the+north.htm) [Accessed March 2014].
- Pons, Jordi. "Propiedad privada de la tierra y comunidades campesinas pirenaicas: Análisis de una sentencia judicial del año 193." *Memorias de historia antigua* 3 (1979): 111-124.
- Porträtstele der Flavia Usaiu. Römische Steindenkmäler. Ubi Erat Lupa. [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy\\_abfrage.shtml](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy_abfrage.shtml) [Accessed November 2010].
- Porträtstele des Segillus. Römische Steindenkmäler. Ubi Erat Lupa. [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy\\_abfrage.shtml](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menue/dummy_abfrage.shtml) [Accessed November 2010].
- Porträtmedaillon einer Frau. Römische Steindenkmäler. Ubi Erat Lupa. <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/datenblatt/datenblatt.asp?Nr=851> [Accessed November 2010].
- Potter, T.W. *Roman Britain*. 2nd ed. London: The British Museum Press, 1997. - Tombstone of Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus. British Museum. Found at [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/tombstone\\_of\\_classicianus.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/tombstone_of_classicianus.aspx). [Accessed December 2008].
- Powell, T.G.E. *The Celts*. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1980.
- Prieto, Ignacio M. "Auletris de Osuna." Tesoro a Tesoro: Descúbrelos. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Protohistoria, May 2009. [www.man.es/man/dms/man/actividades/pieza-del-mes/historico/2009/2009-Tesoro-a-Tesoro-II/5-Mayo--1-/MAN-2009-Pieza-Mes-5-Auletrix.pdf](http://www.man.es/man/dms/man/actividades/pieza-del-mes/historico/2009/2009-Tesoro-a-Tesoro-II/5-Mayo--1-/MAN-2009-Pieza-Mes-5-Auletrix.pdf) [Accessed May 2014].
- Raia, Anna R. and Judith Lynn Sebesta. "Funerary Inscription for Regina RIB 1065." *The World of Class*. May 2010. Online Companion to *The Worlds of Roman Women*. The College of New Rochelle. <http://www2.cnr.edu/home/araia/regina.html> [Accessed June 2012].
- Ramsay, William M. *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*. Edited by Mark Wilson. Grand Rapids, MI: Kregel Publications, 1997.
- Rawson, Beryl. *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell Pub., 2011.
- Raybould, Marilynne E. *A Study of Inscribed Material from Roman Britain: An Inquiry into Some Aspects of Literacy in Romano-British Society*. Oxford: Archaeopress, 1999.
- Reconstruction of Lønne Hede gown. Lejre Research Centre. Found at [www.lejre-center.dk/FARVNING-AF-GARN.616.0.html](http://www.lejre-center.dk/FARVNING-AF-GARN.616.0.html) [Accessed December 2008].
- Redfern, Rebecca. "A bioarchaeological analysis of violence in Iron Age females: a perspective from Dorset, England (fourth century BC to the first century AD)." In *Changing perspectives on the first millennium BC: Proceedings of the Iron Age*

- Research Student Seminar 2006*, Edited by Oliver Davis, Niall M Sharples, and Kate Waddington, 139-160. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Injury and Trauma in Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Violence in Past Lives*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.
- Reeve, M.D. "Ausonius." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 26-28. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Columella." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 146-147. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Martial." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 239-244. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Silius Italicus." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 389-391. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Statius: *Silvae*." In *Texts and Transmissions: A Survey of Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 397-399. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Reinsberg, Carola. *Die Sarkophage mit Darstellungen aus dem Menschenleben. 3. Teil, 3. Teil*. Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 2006.
- Rémy, Bernard, Nicolas Mathieu, and Monique Dondin-Payre. *Les femmes en Gaule romaine: 1er siècle avant J.-C. - 5e siècle après J.-C.* Paris: Errance, 2009.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Les inscriptions de médecins en Gaule." *Gallia* 42 no.1(1984): 115-152, Online: Persée, Scientific Journals, 2014. Found at: [http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/galia\\_0016-4119\\_1984\\_num\\_42\\_1\\_1913](http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/galia_0016-4119_1984_num_42_1_1913) [Accessed July 2014].
- Reuling, Hanneke. "Pious Intrepidity: Egeria and the Ascetic Ideal." In *Saints and Role Models in Judaism and Christianity*, edited by Marcel Poorthuis and Joshua Schwartz, 243-260. (Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series, 1388-2074; v.7.) Boston: Brill, 2004.
- Reynolds, L. D. "Ammianus Marcellinus." In *Texts and Transmission A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 6-8. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Justinus." In *Texts and Transmission A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 197-199. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Elder Pliny." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 307-316. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Frontius: *Strategemata*." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 171-172. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Livy." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 205-214. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sallust, *Historiae*." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 347-349. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

- \_\_\_\_\_, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Virgil.” In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 433-436. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “The Younger Seneca, *Apocolocyntosis*.” In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 361-362. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and N. G. Wilson. *Scribes & Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature*. 3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Reynolds, L. D. and N. G. Wilson/ *Scribes & Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek & Latin Literature*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- Richmond, Ian. “Queen Cartimandua.” *Journal of Roman Studies* 44 (1954): 43-52.
- Ridgeway, Brunilde Sismondo. *Hellenistic Sculpture*. Wisconsin Studies in Classics. Madison, WS: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.
- Ripollés Alegre, P. P., and Ma. del Mar Llorens. *Arse-Saguntum: historia monetaria de la ciudad y su territorio*. Sagunto: Fundación Bancaja, 2002.
- Rodríguez Ramos, Jesús. “Las inscripciones sudlucitano-tartésias: su función, lengua y contexto socioeconómico.” *Complutum* 13 (2002): 85–95.
- “Roman bronze neck-collar or torc: 1st century.” Roman Gallery. Museum of London. <http://www.museumoflondonprints.com/image/60958/unknown-roman-bronze-neck-collar-or-torc-1st-century> [Accessed November 2015].
- “Roman VIP's face reconstructed.” BBC News. Monday, January 10, 2000. [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk\\_news/597762.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/597762.stm) [Accessed November 2007].
- “Roman VIP was young woman.” Sci/Tech. BBC News. Thursday, April 15, 1999. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/science/nature/319783.stm> [Accessed November 2007].
- Romeuf, A. M. and M. Dumontet. *Les ex-voto gallo-romains en bois de la source des Roches à Chamalières*. Collection Département d'archéologie, Musée Bargoin. Ville de Clermont Ferrand. <http://www.clermont-ferrand.fr/Collection,167.html> [Accessed February 2009].
- Römische Steindenkmäler. Ubi Erat Lupa. [http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menu/dummy\\_abfrage.shtml](http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/site/index.asp?show=menu/dummy_abfrage.shtml) [Accessed November 2010].
- Rosalind, Thomas. “Writing, Reading, and Public and Private ‘Literacies’: Functional Literacy and Democratic Literacy in Greece.” In *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Ancient Greece and Rome*, edited by William A Johnson and Holt N. Parker, 13-45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Rothe, Ursula. “Das norische Frauengewand.” In *Die Macht der Toga: DressCode im römischen Weltreich*, edited by Michael Tellenbach. 189-193. Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2013.

- Rothschild, Clare K. "'Echo of a Whisper:' The Uncertain Authenticity of Josephus' Witness to John the Baptist." In *Ablution, Initiation, and Baptism: Late Antiquity, Early Judaism, and Early Christianity*, edited by David Hellholm, Tor Vegge, Øyvind Norderval, and Christer Hellholm, 255-290. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, 2011.
- Rouse, R.H. "Julius Paris, *Epitome of Valerius Maximus*, Pomponius Mela, *De chorographia*, Vibius Sequester, *De fluminibus*." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 290-292. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Roxan, Margaret M. "The distribution of Roman military diplomas." *Epigraphische Studien* 12. Cologne, Germany: Rheinland, 1981
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Roman Military Diplomas 1978–1984*. London: University of London, Institute of Archaeology, 1985.
- Rudd, Chris. "How a strong pony became a strong ruler," *Coin News* (January 2017), 39-40. <http://www.celticcoins.com/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Cartivellaunos.pdf>
- Russell, Nicholas F. "The Story of Numantia during Antiquity and the Middle Ages." MA thesis. Tufts University, 2009.
- Sacks, Kenneth. *Polybius on the Writing of History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- "Salamanca." *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/518891/Salamanca> [Accessed December 2010].
- Salway, Peter. *History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Santoro L'Hoir, Francesca. *The Rhetoric of Gender Terms: 'Man', 'Woman', and the Portrayal of Character in Latin Prose*. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- Schlabow, Karl. *Der Throsberger Prachtmantel: Schlüssel zum altergermanischen Webstuhl*. Neumünster, Germany: Karl Wachholtz Verlag, 1965.
- Schulze, Christian. *Medizin und Christentum in Spätantik und frühem Mittelalter christliche Ärzte und ihr Wirken*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005.
- Schuster, John. *Haunting Museums: The Strange and Uncanny Stories Behind the Most Mysterious Exhibits*. New York: Forge, 2009.
- Scott, Joan Wallach. "Gender: Still a Useful Category of Analysis," *Diogenes*, Vol. 57, no. 225 (2010): 7-14.
- Scullard, H.H. *Roman Britain: Outpost of the Empire*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Carthaginians in Spain," In *The Cambridge ancient history: Vol VIII Rome and the Mediterranean to 133BC*, edited by A.E. Astin, F.W. Walbank, M.W. Frederiksen and R.M Ogilvie, 17-43. London: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Sealey, Paul R. *The Boudican Revolt against Rome*. A Shire Archaeology Book. Buckinghamshire: Shire Publications, Ltd., 1997.

- Sekunda, Nick and Simon Northwood. *Early Roman Armies*. London: Osprey, 1995.
- Seltman, Charles Theodore. *Women in Antiquity*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1955.
- Senna. Celtic Personal Names of Roman Britain (CPNRB). Paul Russell and Alex Mullen. University of Cambridge.  
<http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/personalnames/details.php?name=409> [Accessed July 2012].
- Sheidlower, Jesse. "Word Count: Are there really 988,968 words in the English language?" *The Good Word: Language and How We Use It*, April 10, 2006. The Slate Group, 2004. [www.slate.com/articles/life/the\\_good\\_word/2006/04/word\\_count.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/life/the_good_word/2006/04/word_count.html) [Accessed May 2014].
- Shepherd, William. *The Life of Poggio Bracciolini*. London: T. Cadell, Jun., & W. Davies, 1801.
- Sidebottom, Harry. *Ancient Warfare: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Smith, Charles Roach. *Collectanea Antiqua: etchings and notices of ancient remains, ill. of the habits, customs, and history of past ages*. Vol. 2. London: Smith, 1852.
- Smith, D.J. *Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle Upon Tyne: An Illustrated Introduction*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Dept. of Archaeology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1974.
- Smith, William. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Vol. 1. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1867.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Vol. 3. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1867.
- "Snettisham Hoard, The." Explore/Highlights. The British Museum.  
[http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe/prb/t/the\\_snettisham\\_hoard.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe/prb/t/the_snettisham_hoard.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].
- Sparreboom, Anna. "Wet Nursing in the Roman Empire: Indifference, Efficiency and Affection." Master's Thesis. Vrei University of Amsterdam, 2009.
- Speidel, Michael. *Ancient Germanic Warriors: Warrior Styles from Trajan's Column to Icelandic Sagas*. New York: Routledge, 2004.
- Spencer-Wood, Suzanne M. "Feminist gender research in classical archaeology." In *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, Edited by Sarah Milledge Nelson, 295-332. New York: Altamira Press, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Feminist theory and gender research in historical archaeology." In *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*, Edited by Sarah Milledge Nelson, 59-104. New York: Altamira Press, 2006.
- Spickermann, Wolfgang. "Priesterinnen im römischen Gallien, Germanien und den Alpenprovinzen (1.-3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.)." *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* (1994): 189-240.

- Spies, Nancy. “‘Alexandria Introduced the Weaving with Many Small Heddles, but Gaul Began to Divide with Small Shields’: historical tablet looms.” *Ars Textrina* 28 (1997): 149-173.
- “Spitalfields’ Roman Woman.” Roman Gallery. Museum of London.  
<http://www.museumoflondon.org.uk/English/EventsExhibitions/Permanent/roman/spt.htm> [Accessed November 2010].
- Spivey, Nigel. *Panorama of the Classical World*. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011.
- Stark, Rodney. *The Rise of Christianity: A Sociologist Reconsiders History*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996.
- “Stemma.” Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. Merriam-Webster, Incorporated, 2010.  
<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/stemma> [Accessed May 2012].
- Stevenson, Jane. *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Stevenson, Seth W., C. Roach Smith and Frederic W. Madden. *Dictionary of Roman Coins*. s.v. “Modius.” London: George Bell and Sons, 1889, 559.  
<http://www.forumancientcoins.com/numiswiki/view.asp?key=Modius> [Accessed April 2011].
- “Strabo.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. 2010. Encyclopædia Britannica Online.  
<http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/567832/Strabo> [Accessed August 2010].
- “Sulpicius Alexander.” *Alexanders: Webster's Quotations, Facts and Phrases*. N.p.: Icon Group International, Inc., 2008.
- Sykes, Bryan. *Saxons, Vikings, and Celts: The Genetic Roots of Britain and Ireland*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2006.
- Syme, Ronald. *Ammianus and the Historia Augusta*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Taracena, B. y Vázquez de Parga, L., “Excavaciones en Navarra V: la romanización,” *Principe de Viana* 24 (1946): 413-439.
- Tarrant, R.J. “Lucan.” In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 404-406. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Tacitus *Annales*, 1-6 *Annales*, 11-16, *Historiae*.” In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 406-409. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Taylor, Larissa Juliet. “Apostle to the Apostles: The Complexity of Medieval Preaching about Mary Magdalene.” In *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles*, edited by Peter Loewen and Robin Waugh, 33-50. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- \_\_\_\_\_. “Lucan.” In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 215-218. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Thomas, Rosalind. “Writing, Reading, and Public and Private ‘Literacies’: Functional Literacy and Democratic Literacy in Greece.” In *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of*

- Reading in Ancient Greece and Rome*, edited by William A Johnson and Holt N. Parker, 13-45. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Thompson, F.H. *The Archaeology of Greek and Roman Slavery, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, no. 66. London: Duckworth, 2003.
- Thompson, Jack George. *Women in Celtic Law and Culture*. Lampeter, Wales: Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd., 1996.
- Tibbetts, S.J. "Suetonius *De vita Caesarum*." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 399-404. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Tiraqueau, André, Nikolaus Episcopus, and Hieronymus Froben. *Andreae Tiraquelli regii in curia Parisiensi senatoris Ex commentariis in Pictonum consuetudines sectio de legibus connubialibus et jure maritali*. Basileae: apud Hieronymum Frobenium et Nicolaum Episcopium, 1561.
- Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria*. New Delhi: National Museum, Unknown.
- Todd, Malcom. *The Early Germans*. 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Todd, Richard A. "Constantine and the Christian Empire." In *The History of Christianity: A Lion Handbook*, edited by Tim Dowley and John H.Y. Briggs, 139-151. Oxford: Lion Publishing, 1990.
- Tolhurst, Fiona. *Geoffrey of Monmouth and the Translation of Female Kingship*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- "Tollund Man, The – A Face from Prehistoric Denmark." Elling Woman. Silkeborg Public Library. Silkeborg Museum and Amtcenter for Undervisning. Aarhus Amt, 2005. Found at <http://www.tolundmanden.dk/ellingkvinden.asp> [Accessed November 2008].
- "Tombstone/Copy." Collection Online. The British Museum. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1362203&partId=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1362203&partId=1) [Accessed March 2017].
- Tomlin, R.S.O. "1993 Votive objects: the inscribed lead tablets." In *The Uley Shrines. Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire, 1977-79*, edited by A. Woodward and P. Leach, 113-130. London: English Heritage, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Curse tablets." In *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath: Vol 2 The Finds from the Sacred Spring*, edited by Barry Cunliffe, 59-280. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "'The Girl in Question': A New Text from Roman London." *Britannia* 34 (2003): 41-51.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Writing and Communication." In *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, edited by Lindsay Allason-Jones, 133-152. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Toomer, G. J. "Ptolemy (or Claudius Ptolemaeus)." *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*. www.Encyclopedia.com, 2008. <http://www.encyclopedia.com/topic/Ptolemy.aspx> [Accessed May 2014].



- Toynbee, Jocelyn M. C. *Roman Medallions*. Numismatic Studies No. 5. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1986.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Hadrianic School, A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*. Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1934.
- Turcan, Robert. "L'arc de Carpentras: problèmes de datation et d'histoire." In *Hommages à Lucien Lerat*, edited by Lucien Lerat and Hélène Walter, 809-820. Paris: Les Belles lettres, 1984.
- Urbanus, Jason. "Eternal Banquets of the Early Celts." *Archaeology*, November/December, 2015.
- van Driel-Murray, Carol. "Those who wait at home: the effect of recruitment on women in the Lower Rhine area." In *Frauen und Roemisches Militaer: Beitrage eines Runden Tisches in Xanten vom 7. Bis 9. Juli 2005*, edited by Ulrich Brandl, BAR International Series 1759, 81-91. Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Women in forts." *Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft Pro Vindonissa* (1997):55-61.
- Varga, Rada. "The peregrine Names from Dacia." In *Acta Mvsei Napocensis 43-44/I*, 233-246. Cluj-Napoca: Ministerul Culturii si Cultelor, Muzeul National de Istorie a Transilvaniei, 2008.
- Venning, Timothy and J. F. Drinkwater. *A Chronology of the Roman Empire*. London: Continuum, 2011.
- Veyne, Paul, ed. *History of Private Life: From Pagan Rome to Byzantium*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Writing History*. Translated by Mina Moore-Rivoluceri. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1984.
- Vidal Rodríguez, Manuel. *La Tumba del Apóstol Santiago*. Santiago: Tipografía del Seminario C. Central, 1924.
- von Hesberg, Henner. "The Image of the Family on Sepulchral Monuments in the Norwest Provinces." In *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volume. 7, 2008. Role Models in the Roman World. Identity and Assimilation*, edited by Sinclair Bell and Inge Lyse Hansen, 257-272. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2008.
- Walbank, F.W. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Nationality as a Factor in Roman History." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, vol. 76 (1972):145-168.
- Waldman, Carl, and Catherine Mason. *Encyclopedia of European Peoples*. Vol. 1. New York: Facts on File, 2006.
- Waltz, Robert B. "New Testament Manuscripts: Uncials," *Encyclopedia of New Testament Textual Criticism*,

<http://www.skypoint.com/members/waltzmn/ManuscriptsUncials.html#uAleph>  
[Accessed June 2012].

- Waterer, J.W. "Leatherwork." In *Roman Crafts*, edited by Donald Strong and David Brown, 179-193. New York: New York University Press, 1976.
- Watts, Dorothy. *Boudicca's Heirs: Women in Early Britain*. New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Webster, Graham. *Boudica: The British Revolt Against Rome AD 60*. London: Routledge, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Rome Against Caratacus: The Roman Campaigns in Britain, AD 48-58*. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd. 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Roman Imperial Army*. New York: Barnes & Noble, 1969.
- Weedman, Kathryn. "Gender and Ethnoarchaeology" In *Women in Antiquity: Theoretical Approaches to Gender and Archaeology*, Edited by Sarah Milledge Nelson, 217-264. New York: Altamira Press, 2007.
- Weingarten, Judith. "The Little Queen at Hadrian's Wall," Zenobia: Empress of the East, Exploring Zenobia's World. The Incredible Rise and Fall of the City of Palmyra, entry posted August 14, 2011, <http://judithweingarten.blogspot.com/2011/08/little-queen-at-hadrians-wall.html> [Accessed March 2017].
- Wemple, Suzanne Fonay. *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981
- Westermann, William Linn. *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1955.
- Wheeler, Everett. "Polyaenus: *Scriptor Militaris*." In *Polyainos: neue Studien*, edited by Kai Brodersen, 7-54. Berlin: Verlag Antike, 2010.
- White, Hugh G. Evelyn. *Ausonius, with an English Translation*. Vol. 1. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1919.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ausonius, with an English Translation (with the Eucharisticus of Paulinus Pellaeus)*. Vol. 2. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1921.
- Wierschowski, Lothar. *Die regionale Mobilität in Gallien nach den Inschriften des 1. bis 3. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.: quantitative Studien zur Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der westlichen Provinzen des Römischen Reiches*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Fremde in Gallien - "Gallier" in der Fremde: die epigraphisch bezeugte Mobilität in, von und nach Gallien vom 1. bis 3. Jh. n. Chr. : Texte, Übersetzungen, Kommentare*. Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001.
- Wijngaards, John. *No Women in Holy Orders? The Women Deacons of the Early Church*. Norwich, UK: Canterbury Press, 2002.
- Wild, John P. "Soft-Finished Textiles in Roman Britain." *The Classical Quarterly*. New Series 17, no. 1 (May, 1967).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Textile Manufacture in the Northern Roman Provinces*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Textiles." In *Roman Crafts*, edited by Donald Strong and David Brown, 167-178. New York, New York University Press, 1976.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Early Silk Finds in Northwest Europe." *Textile Museum Journal* 23 (1984): 17-23.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Clothing of Britannia, Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior." In *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II*. Vol. 12, no. 3, edited by Hildegard Temporini, 362-422. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1985.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Textiles in Archaeology*. Princes Risborough, UK: Shire Publication, Ltd., 1988.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Vindolanda 1985-1989: First Thoughts on News Finds." In *Archaeological Textiles in Northern Europe: Report from the 4<sup>th</sup> NESAT Symposium 1-5 May 1990 Copenhagen*, edited by Lise Bender Jørgensen and Elisabeth Munksgaard, 66-74. Copenhagen: Konservatorskolen, Det Kongelige danske kunstakademi, 1992.
- Wildfang, Robin Lorsch. *Rome's Vestal Virgins: A study of Rome's Vestal priestesses in the late Republic and early Empire*. New York: Routledge, 2006.
- "William Whitaker's Words." William Whitaker, 2010, University of Notre Dame. <http://archives.nd.edu/words.html> [Accessed June 2014].
- Williams, John. *Claudia and Pudens: An Attempt to Show That Claudia, mentioned in St Paul's Second Epistle to Timothy, was a British Princess*. Llandoverly: William Rees, 1848.
- "Winchester Hoard, The." Explore/Highlights. The British Museum. [http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight\\_objects/pe\\_prb/t/the\\_winchester\\_hoard.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/t/the_winchester_hoard.aspx) [Accessed November 2010].
- Winterbottom, M. "Caesar." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 35-36. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Tacitus *Minor Works*." In *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, edited by L.D. Reynolds, 410-411. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.
- Wolfram, Herwig. *The Roman Empire and Its Germanic Peoples*. Translated by Thomas Dunlap. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1997.
- Women and Society in Greek and Roman Egypt: A Sourcebook*. Edited by J. Rowlandson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

*Images Courtesy of the British Museum*

AN403166 © Trustees of the British Museum.

AN32711001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

AN33442001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

AN33585001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN33854001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN106551001 © Trustees of the British Museum  
AN178389001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN257272001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN257501001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN248047001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN384316001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN599279001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN633336001 © Trustees of the British Museum.  
AN987945001 © Trustees of the British Museum.

### Maps

- Almagro-Gorbea, Martin. "Mediterranean Iberia: The Iberian Peoples." In *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From neolithic to Roman conquest*, edited by International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014.
- Barckhaus, Rachel, Mary T. Boatwright, Tom Elliott, Daniel Gargola, Andrew Hull and Richard Talbert, "Rome's Empire in 60 B.C." Copyright 2004, Ancient World Mapping Center, [http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/rve\\_08\\_1.pdf](http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/rve_08_1.pdf) [Accessed July 2014].
- Bromwich, James. *The Roman remains of Brittany, Normandy and the Loire Valley: a guide book*. Peterborough, England : Lucina Books, 2014.
- Lee, Wayne E.. *Waging War: Conflict, Culture, and Innovation in World History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Lorrio, Alberto J. "The Celtic Peoples." In *Iberia: Protohistory of the Far West of Europe: From neolithic to Roman conquest*, edited by International Union of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences, and Antonio Almagro Gorbea. Burgos: Universidad de Burgos: Fundación Atapuerca, 2014.
- O'Brien, Patrick Karl. *Atlas of world history*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Odahl, Charles Matson. *Constantine and the Christian Empire*. 2nd ed. Abingdon, NY: Routledge, 2010.
- Planhol, Xavier de and Paul Claval. *An historical geography of France*. Translated by Janet Lloyd. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994.
- Salway, Peter. *A History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Coin Images (In order of appearance in the text)

Reverse: Trophy with helmet, cuirass, two spears, oval and oblong shields, and two *carnyces* (trumpets); on left, a naked, bearded Gaul kneeling left on one knee, looking upward; on right, Gallia seated right; ID #74000541, Silver Denarius, Julius Caesar, BC 46-45, Mint: Spain, (Coin References: Crawford 468/2; CRI 59; Sydenham 1015; Kestner 3644; BMCRR Spain 86), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009 [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=251380](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=251380) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Germania seated right on shield; below, broken spear, ID# Alex169, Silver Denarius, Domitian, AD 85, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0341), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=295408](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=295408) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Britannia seated left on rock, propping head on hand and other hand on rock, in attitude of mourning; shield and eagle-tipped scepter to left, ID# 841958, Bronze As, Antoninus Pius, AD 154-155, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 9340), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=241734](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=241734) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Hadrian holding up right hand on left facing Gallia holding *patera* over lit decorated altar, animal behind, RI\_0001\_Kernos, Bronze Sestertius, Hadrian, AD 125-128/132-134, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0884), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=47566](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=47566) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Germania standing facing, head left, holding spear and shield set on ground, ID# 761904, Silver Denarius, Hadrian, AD 134-138, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 303, RSC 802, BMCRE 840) Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [http://coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=241622](http://coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=241622) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Constantius standing right, raising Britannia, left, from her knees; Victory standing, right, behind emperor, crowning him with a wreath, ID# 1928,0208.2, 5 Aureus, Constantius I Chlorus, AD 297, Mint: Trier, (Coin References: RIC 6 32 ) AN106551 © Trustees of the British Museum.

Reverse: togate figure standing left, raising right hand; legionary eagle to left, fasces with axe to right, ID # 04\_04, Silver AR Serratus Denarius, A. Postumius A.f. Sp.n. Albinus, 81 BC, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: Crawford 372/2, RSC Postumia 8, Syd 746), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [http://www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=5338](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=5338) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Hispania standing right, shield slung on back, holding two spears, presenting long palm frond to Pompeian soldier standing left on large prow, armed with sword ID # 79001012, Silver Denarius, M. Pobliscus and Cn. Pompeius Magnus, BC 46-45, Mint: Corduba, (Coin References: Crawford 469/1d, RSC 1 (Pompey the Great), Syd 1035, CRI 48), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=265192](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=265192) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Hadrian stg. left, hldg. roll, raising kneeling Hispania hldg. branch right, rabbit between, ID # 95, Orichalcum Sestertius, Hadrian, AD134-138, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0952c), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=251654](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=251654) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Hispania, draped, advancing left, holding poppy and corn-ears with right hand and round shield and two transverse spears with her left, ID # 25-397, Silver Denarius, Galba, AD July 68-January 69, Mint: Unknown, (Coin References: RIC 155, BMC 015, C 82), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [http://www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=294205](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=294205) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Germania standing left, holding spear and shield, ID # 732960, Silver Denarius, Hadrian, AD134-38, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 0303, BMCRE 0842, RSC 0804), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=241347](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=241347) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Britannia seated left on heap of rocks, holding military standard in right hand and cradling spear in left arm, leaning on round shield set on helmet, ID # 711473, Bronze Sestertius, Antoninus Pius, AD143-144, Mint: Rome, (Coin References: RIC 745, Strack 926, Banti 48, BMCRE P. 264), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=276112](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=276112) [Accessed April 2014].

Reverse: Hispania laureate and draped bust right, two javelins behind, round shield below, two grain ears in front, ID # 1540165, Silver Denarius, Galba, AD April - June 68, Mint: Tarraco, (Coin References: RIC 002, BMCRE 162-3, RSC 077, BN 003), Alfredo De La Fe, CoinProject.com, 2009, [www.coinproject.com/coin\\_detail.php?coin=225661](http://www.coinproject.com/coin_detail.php?coin=225661) [Accessed April 2014].