

MORE THAN MISTRESSES, LESS THAN WIVES: THE ROLE OF ROMAN CONCUBINAE IN LIGHT OF THEIR FUNERARY MONUMENTS

by Tatjana Sandon and Luca Scalco

This article focuses on the role of concubinae in the Roman world, through analysis of inscriptions and reliefs on funerary monuments involving these women and their relatives. It investigates why concubinatus was chosen in preference to legal marriage, and how the concubina was perceived as a member of her partner's family. The results bring to light how this type of quasi-marital union was an appealing option for men of social standing, and that the role of concubinae accepted by their partners was not so dissimilar to that of legal wives. The article considers funerary monuments from Roman Italy, dating from the first century BC to the early third century AD. It deals with the role of Roman concubinae by analysing tombstones from both an archaeological and historical point of view; the aim of this analysis is to reconstruct a social pattern of concubinatus and of the individuals involved in this type of quasi-marital relationship, with the aid of two different types of ancient sources.

Attraverso l'analisi delle iscrizioni e delle immagini sui monumenti funerari, l'articolo affronta alcuni temi inerenti al concubinato in epoca romana: da un lato le possibili ragioni che portavano due persone a scegliere tale tipo di unione, dall'altro le modalità con cui veniva percepito il ruolo della concubina nella famiglia del compagno. Nel complesso, i monumenti funerari suggeriscono che questo tipo di legame era una scelta prediletta da uomini socialmente in vista o fieri dei propri successi personali, e che il rapporto instaurato con le concubine non differiva eccessivamente da quello che si intratteneva con le mogli, almeno nella commemorazione funebre. L'analisi si basa sui monumenti provenienti dalla penisola italiana, compresi tra il I sec. a.C. e il III secolo d.C., nella loro dimensione storico-archeologica: il contesto sociale del concubinato e delle persone coinvolte è infatti delineato dai monumenti funerari attraverso l'integrazione di entrambi i tipi di fonti, epigrafiche ed iconografiche.

1. INTRODUCTION

Among quasi-marital relationships, *concubinatus* appears as an alternative to marriage for the Romans.¹ This type of union was thought to legitimize a relationship that was made up of people of different legal and social statuses

¹ On Roman *concubinatus*, see generally Tramunto, 2009: 11–36 (and 51–9 for discussion of the term *concubina* in literary sources). We consistently use the Latin *concubina* (rather than the English ‘concubine’, and an understanding as ‘mistress’) to highlight the Roman (legal) definition of concubinage.

without discrediting either of the partners involved (Treggiari, 1981b: 72; Evans-Grubbs, 2002: 148–54).² This article offers a fresh elaboration of two crucial aspects of this Roman quasi-marital relationship: firstly, the act of choosing to enter a *concubinatus* by ordinary Romans; and, secondly, the role of the *concubina* within the *familia*.³ While it is impossible to know the reasons why every single couple *in concubinatu* opted for this kind of relationship, it is, however, possible to study the identity of the individuals involved (i.e. the *concubina* and her partner) especially in regard to their role in the *familia* — which is the task of the first part of this article. The second part of the analysis aims to provide an enhanced image of the *concubina*, and of the esteem in which *concubinae* were held by the Romans, with particular attention to *concubinae* of libertine status. Further to this, the article will consider whether legal status may, or may not, have been a discriminant in the perception of these women as *concubinae*. In order to achieve these goals, two types of evidence will be considered: Latin inscriptions, and reliefs on funerary monuments. As will be seen, both the inscriptions and the reliefs were arranged by men and women who belonged to a social group of middling status, i.e. what we may anachronistically call a ‘middle class’ (Mayer, 2012: 2–3); the voices of these people tell us how *concubinae* were perceived by their partners and how these couples wanted society to see their unions. For reasons that will become clearer by the end of this study, this analysis intentionally distances itself from the words of Latin authors, moving closer, in deliberate contradistinction, to the words and visual representations of those ordinary Roman men who lived with a *concubina* and to the women who accepted this role.⁴

2. CONCUBINATUS IN THE EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE

In this section, we offer a detailed analysis of the epigraphic evidence for *concubinatus*. As noted above, *concubinatus* is understood as a type of union that was used ‘to fill the gap’ between a man of distinction and a woman of lower status or condition, who were involved in a personal relationship with one another. Moreover, although Augustus promoted the creation of legal unions between *ingenui* and *libertae*, later lawmakers still considered

² *Concubinatus* was advantageous as a man could choose to have a woman of lower status by his side without succumbing to a potentially prejudicial marriage; conversely, a *concubina* was considered a man’s official partner and could not be accused of promiscuity and immorality (*stuprum*).

³ On the *familia* see generally Saller, 1984; Dixon, 1992: 11–40; Fayer, 1994: 19–102; Martin, 1996: 49–59.

⁴ Besides men calling their partners *concubinae*, some women referred to themselves as *concubinae*, proving that some *concubinae* had formally accepted, at least epigraphically, both title and type of quasi-marital relationship.

concubinatus with a freedwoman to be a more honourable relationship for a freeborn man in place of a *matrimonium iustum* (Tramunto, 2009: 64; *Dig.* 25.7.1).⁵ Tramunto (2009: 143) has therefore suggested that unions formed of an *ingenuus* and a freed *concubina* must have been common in Roman times, especially during the (late) Republic. Taking all this into account, we should expect to find a large number of inscriptions attesting the presence of *concubinae*, especially those of freed status. However, the epigraphic evidence shows a very different picture. Fewer than 200 cases of women being described as *concubinae* in inscriptions exist,⁶ most of which come from Rome and other parts of Italy.⁷ If we look at the legal statuses of these women, we see a large majority of *libertae* (67),⁸ followed by *incertae* (64) and then *ingenuae* (3) (see Table 1).⁹

Even considering the problems connected to dating inscriptions, it is possible to note, in general terms, that the evidence in this dataset comes from the period of the first century BC until the second century AD, with a high concentration of inscriptions dated to the first century AD (Fig. 1).¹⁰ The distribution is similar for both *libertae* and *incertae*, with minimal variations that may be due to the sample size or specific epigraphic habits.

⁵ Below the senatorial level, marriage choices were widely characterized by a considerable level of freedom: Treggiari, 1991: 89; McGinn, 2002: 74; Weiler, 2003: 258–60. For abbreviations of ancient sources, see *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow (Oxford University Press, 4th edition, 2012 and online).

⁶ In her monograph on *concubinae* and *concubini* in Roman Italy, Tramunto, 2009, has gathered a much bigger sample, as she included couples where *concubinatus* may have occurred for social reasons, for example when one of the partners was a slave. Most of these partners are described in their epitaphs as *coniuges* and *contubernales*, rather than *concubinaeli*. Tramunto includes, then, situations in which, for various reasons, partners had to accept a quasi-marital union, rather than focus on those who opted for *concubinatus* despite their legal capability of having a *matrimonium iustum*. As will be shown in this article, the role of *concubina* was fully accepted by the women, their partners and their families, which defined the social location of the *concubina*, as well as rights and limitations arising from and pertaining to her role. In this sense, the fact that a woman is specifically described as a man's *concubina* identifies a social position, within the partner's family and wider society.

⁷ Excluded due to the small sample size are eight texts from the provinces, as well as several other inscriptions due to the very bad state of the text preventing meaningful interpretation.

⁸ When considering *libertae* we have included only those women who are clearly reported as such in the epitaphs, e.g. through presenting libertination, being called *collibertae*, referring to patrons. Epigraphically attested freeborn *concubinae* are AE 1976, 213; CIL V 1298 and 4153.

⁹ Galeria Lysistrates (CIL VI 8972, Rome), freedwoman and *concubina* of the emperor Antoninus Pius, has not been considered given our focus on the figure of the *concubina* among 'ordinary' Romans: Treggiari, 1981a: 60–1.

¹⁰ Eighteen inscriptions are not datable; in some cases, the monument is no longer known. Following Epigraphic Database Roma (EDR), 39 texts are dated to the first century AD. The graph represents the sum of the years in the whole chronological interval (e.g. AD 1–50, first century AD) for every single inscription.

Table 1. Legal statuses and geographical distribution of the inscriptions recording a *concupina* in Roman Italy.

	Rome	Italy
<i>Libertae</i>	26	41
<i>Incertae</i>	23	41
<i>Ingenuae</i>	0	3

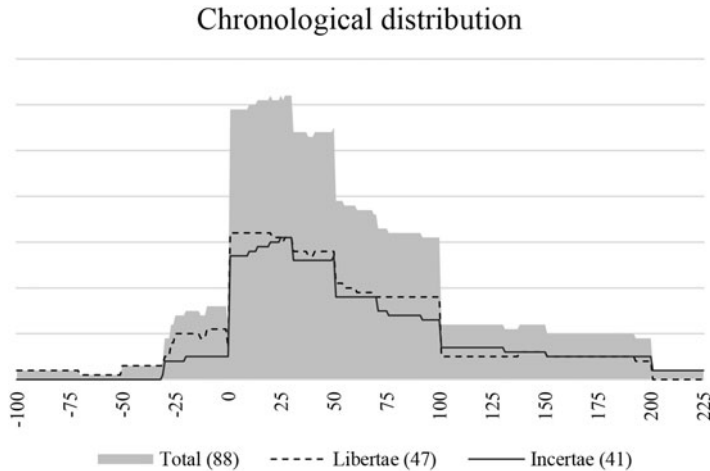


Fig. 1. General chronological distribution of inscriptions mentioning *concupinae*, with the number of monuments in parentheses.

CONCUBINATUS AND LEGAL STATUS: THE IDENTITY OF PARTNERS

Regarding the identity of the partners of freed *concupinae*, modern scholars commonly assume that concubinage could be chosen by a patron in order to have a formal and socially accepted union with one of his freedwomen, without accepting her as a legal wife (Treggiari, 1981a: 72–3; Perry, 2014: 92–3). However, the epigraphic evidence (Figs 2 and 3) shows that most of the freedwomen’s partners were *liberti* (68.2 per cent), followed by *ingenui* (21.2 per cent) and then *incerti* (10.6 per cent). In the case of *incertae*, almost half of the partners are *incerti* themselves (45.5 per cent), almost one-third (32.7 per cent) are *liberti*, while less than one-fifth (18.2 per cent) are *ingenui*. In two cases, they are slaves. The two freeborn *concupinae* whose partners’ identities are known share the same legal status as their partners, i.e. that of *ingenui*. Considering these data, the widespread modern assumption that *ingenui* would have found in one of their own freedwomen the best match for a *concupina* is clearly weakened, as the most common (epigraphically attested) combination was made up of a freedman and a freedwoman from another *familia*. A peculiar situation is presented in an inscription from Rome, where Aemilia Prima, whom we classify as *incerta*, is reported as the *concupina* and heir of the

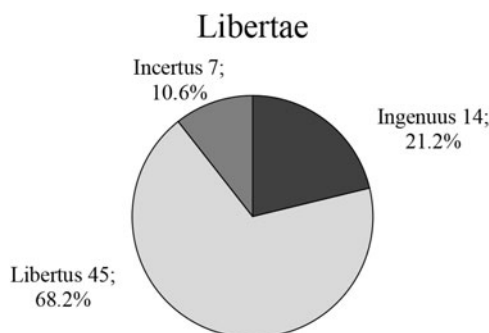


Fig. 2. Distribution of the *concupinae*'s partners according to their legal status: *libertae* (number of cases followed by percentage value).

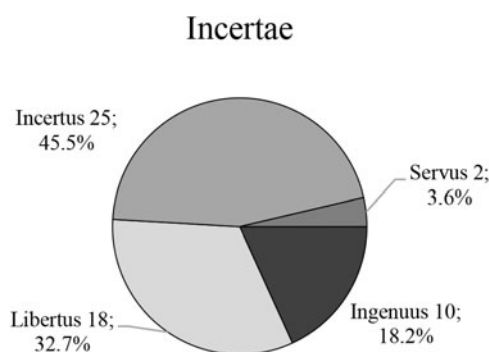


Fig. 3. Distribution of the *concupinae*'s partners according to their legal status: *incertae* (number of cases followed by percentage value).

public slave Bithus;¹¹ here we face the unusual situation in which an individual of servile status seems to be involved *in concubinatu*, despite the fact that this type of quasi-marital relationship was created for people of free status.

Furthermore, by analysing the relationship between *concupinatus* and the *familia* (that is, the diffusion of endogamic and exogamic *concupinatus*), it becomes obvious that patron–freedwoman unions existed but were far from being the majority: the data at our disposal show a predominance of partners belonging to a *familia* that is external to that of the *concupina* (Figs 4 and 5).

Both samples of *libertae* and *incertae* show a predominance of exogamic unions over endogamic unions: 74.2 per cent (46 cases) and 73.5 per cent (25 cases) respectively. For two of the *concupinae ingenuae* the union was exogamic, while the fragmentary state of the third inscription does not allow us

¹¹ CIL VI 2354: *Bithi publici / Paulliani fecit / Aemilia Prima / concubina eius et heres*; see also n. 18. This text also raises questions regarding the legal capacity of Roman (public) slaves.

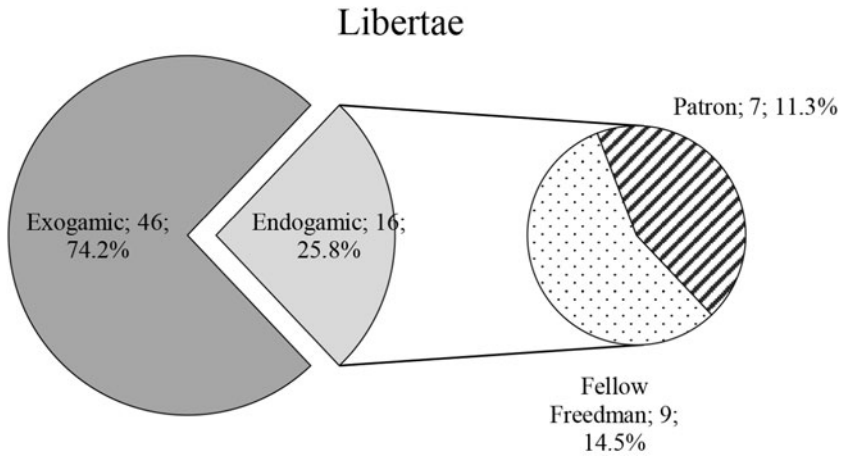


Fig. 4. Distribution of endogamic and exogamic unions for *concubinae libertae* (number of cases followed by percentage value).

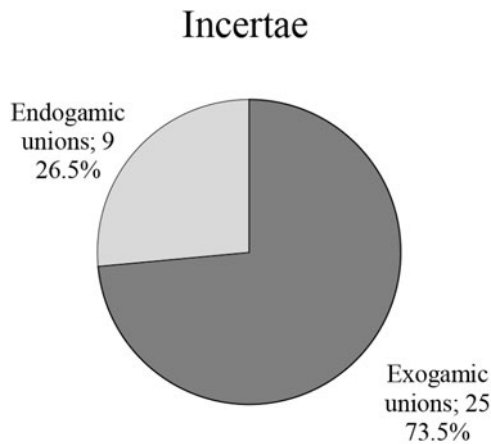


Fig. 5. Distribution of endogamic and exogamic unions for *concubinae incertae* (number of cases followed by percentage value).

to understand the nature of the third *concubinatus*.¹² Only seven cases (11.3 per cent) attest the existence of a *concubinatus* between a freedwoman and her patron;¹³ in some of these cases, we can state that the personal bond had started before the *concubinatus*, when the woman was still a *serva* and the man

¹² In several other relevant texts, the lack of data (e.g. in the absence of a *nomen*) or the incomplete state of the monument (and, hence, text) does not allow a full analysis of the nature of the *concubinatus*.

¹³ Similarly Treggiari, 1981a: 64, 67, regarding only two certain cases of patron–freedwoman concubinage attested in Rome and none elsewhere in Italy.

her *dominus*. In one inscription from Bergomum we can see the complete process that the *concupina* went through: Septimia is described as *concupina sive serva sive liberta* ('*concupina* either slave or freedwoman').¹⁴ Even if the formal role of Septimia as *concupina* of her patron Septimius Fortunatus had started only after her manumission, i.e. when Septimia's new legal status properly enabled her to be engaged in this form of union, we may reasonably assume that the relationship began when she was still his slave. Indeed, the very reason behind her manumission may have been Fortunatus' desire to have Septimia as his formal *concupina* in a situation similar to that of *manumissio matrimonii causa*.¹⁵ Interestingly, an inscription of a *concupina incerta* reports the woman describing her partner as *dominus*.¹⁶ Considering the legal nature of *concupinatus*, we would assume that both partners were free people;¹⁷ however, as already seen in the case of Bithus, it is also possible that either or both partners could be slaves¹⁸ and the term *concupina* was used to elevate their status.¹⁹ In the latter scenario, the decision to describe the male partner as *dominus* would refer to his actual or previous role as the woman's master. Thus, Publius Coelius Abascantianus, a free man, may have been master — or former master — of Lucilla (*CIL* VI 21607), while Theseus, *servus ordinarius*, was, evidently, the 'owner' of Praxitelia(?), his *serva vicaria*.²⁰

¹⁴ *CIL* V 5172: *D(is) M(anibus) / [-?] Septimio C(ai) f(ilio) Fortunato / et Septimiae concubinae / sive servae sive libertae*. The correct order is *serva sive liberta sive concubina*.

¹⁵ Perry, 2014: 40, proposed that a *concupinatus* may have started while the woman was still enslaved, and that the sexual relationship between master and slave enhanced the woman's esteem, increasing her manumission chances.

¹⁶ Väänänen, 1973: 81: *[D(is)] M(anibus) Thesei / agitatori [[F]] gregis / [p]rasini vixit / [ann(os) - - -]X hic osti(o) / [miss(us) est - - -]XXXIII / [vi]cit XXV / ad honore(m) / [veni]t LXXXVIII / [Pra]xitelia(?) / [co]ncubina / [d]omino suo / bene mere(nte) feci(t)*, (from Rome).

¹⁷ One name only was given, either for brevity's sake, as Treggiari, 1981a: 65, assumes, or because no additional information was required on tombstones, as is widespread in familial contexts.

¹⁸ Onomastically, servile status cannot be excluded: both women present just a *cognomen*. In *CIL* VI 21607, the *nomen* could have been present in the text, but the stone is damaged just before the woman's *cognomen*. In Väänänen, 1973: 81, the *concupina* carries just one name; however, this situation is not unusual in the familial contexts illustrated by funerary monuments. Other inscriptions indicate the familiarity of visitors with the funerary monument and, consequently, with the identity of those buried; in these texts, just the names and role of the *concupinae* are reported. While, from our modern perspective, it is impossible to guess the identity of the partners, this information must have been well known to ancient visitors. See, for instance, *CIL* VI 20929, and *CIL* IX 1935.

¹⁹ An 'improvement of status' has already been found by Dixon, 1992: 95. The private nature of funerary monuments meant that the commissioners were free to describe themselves and their relationships as they wished, without taking into consideration otherwise relevant legal limitations (Tramunto, 2009: 73).

²⁰ Here, the relationship was a *contubernium* rather than a *concupinatus*. See, e.g., *CIL* X 7588 for *servi vicarii* referring to their *ordinarius* as *dominus*.

Concubinatus within the *familia* involved also fellow freedpersons, with even more cases attested (9 = 14.5 per cent), as can be illustrated by the following texts: Plautia Rufa and Lartidia Philema are both described as *colliberta et concubina* of their respective partners Aulus Plautius Apella and Marcus Lartidius Hilarus.²¹ Nine further cases show couples consisting of fellow freedpersons in *concubinatus*, but the double connection is not expressed as strongly as in the other two cases just discussed; usually, it can be assumed from the fact that both the partners present the same libertination. The very fact that these texts show proof of pre-existing relations between the *concubina* and her partner is evidence of the decision made by those involved to show that they belonged to the same *familia* long before the beginning of the *concubinatus*, in a definition of the roles that goes beyond the *concubinatus* itself. More generally, *concubinae* seems to have a specific place within the *familia*, highlighted by the use of a different terminology in two inscriptions. One text from Aquinum reports the names of Marcus Lucius Theodorus and Lucia Lais, defined as *conliberta sua*, and Lucia Prima, defined as *concubina sua*.²² While Theodorus and Lais highlight their legal status and stress their bond as fellow freedpersons, Prima, who was very likely a freedwoman herself, is remembered only for her role of *concubina*, leaving her legal status and general role within the *familia* unknown.

The connection between a *concubina* and her partner is evident also in those inscriptions in which we are aware of the identity of her partner; not because he was actually buried with the *concubina*, or because he was the commissioner or the dedicatee of the funerary monument, but rather because the freedwoman's name is followed by the term *concubina* and the man's name in the genitive, as found in five inscriptions from Rome.²³ In two of these cases the partner's name is complete, allowing for a formal identification of the men: Arria Hospita was the *concubina* of Lucius Lurius Favitus, freedman of Lucius and a woman,²⁴ while Mevia Clara was *concubina* of Gnaeus Licinius Philomusus, freedman of Gnaeus.²⁵ In the other two texts, the partner's name is

²¹ CIL X 6114 (Formiae, Latium): *A(ulus) Plautius Theodori l(ibertus) Apella / magister Augustalis / Plautiae A(uli) l(ibertae) Rufae conlibert(ae) concubin(ae) piae / Plautiae A(uli) et / ((mulieris)) l(ibertae) Faustae libert(ae) / C(aio) Vibio Eutycho*; CIL XI 6234 (Fanum Fortunae, Umbria): *M(arcus) Lartidius M(arci) l(ibertus) Hilarus / sexvir sib[i] et / Lartidiae Phile[m]ae / conlibertae et / concubinae [s]uae et / Cleopatrae liber[t](ae) vivos fecit*.

²² CIL X 5491: *M(arcus) Lucius Theodorus / sibi et Luciae Laimi / conlib(ertae) suae et / Luciae Primae c[o]nc(ubinae) / suae et su[e]is / in a(gro) p(edes) XII*.

²³ CIL VI 17170 (Rome) and CIL XIV 3777 (Tibur) present cases of *concubinae incertae*; the partners are identified by *nomen* and *cognomen*.

²⁴ CIL VI 7976: *Arria / (mulieris) l(iberta) Hospita / concubina L(uci) Lu[ri] L(uci) et / (mulieris) l(iberti) Faviti*.

²⁵ CIL VI 21821: *Mevia T(iti) et Q(uinti) et / (mulieris) l(iberta) Clara / Cn(aei) Licini Cn(aei) l(iberti) / Philomusi concub(ina)*.

given only through his *cognomen*,²⁶ or through his role as ‘someone’s freedman’ respectively: Marcia Coragio is named as *concubina* of Rufio,²⁷ and Iulia Charis as freedwoman and *concubina* of Hymnus, freedman of King Ptolemaeus.²⁸ These five texts all come from *columbaria* contexts; it is therefore not surprising to find the women buried alone. Once again, the familial environment did not promote the inclusion of the complete name of the deceased or their relatives, as it was not needed for their identification in this context.²⁹ It is notable, however, that these women were reported specifically as ‘someone’s’ *concubina*, which may indicate that the partner was somehow well known, i.e. worthy of note, in the community.

CONCUBINATUS AS A SPECIFIC CHOICE? THE SOCIAL ROLE OF PARTNERS AND THE ABSENCE OF CHILDREN

The idea that a *concubinatus* may have been a highly attractive option for a man of means and with a public role is supported by the job titles of the *concubinae*’s partners: for 32 *libertae* and 14 *incertae* the partner’s profession and public role is clearly expressed in the funerary monument (Table 2). This incidence is very high compared with that usually seen in Roman epitaphs (Huttunen, 1974; Joshel, 1992). These men were involved in a wide range of professional as well as public sectors, from politics to the army, from religion to manufacture and trade (Treggiari, 1981a: 68). An inscription from Cingulum (Picenum) describes Cernitia Nimphe as the *concubina* of the *ingenuus* Marcus Cernitius Pollio, likely her patron.³⁰ The monument was set up by Phiale, another freedwoman of Pollio, who did not forget to remember the career of her patron: Pollio was elected *duovir* twice, as well as being an *Augustalis*. These offices document the distinction achieved by Pollio in both the political and religious contexts of his town. *Seviri* and *Augustales* are more generally present in large numbers among the partners of freed *concubinae*, as are other local officials; there is also a noticeable number of professionals. The freedwoman Hostilia Quinta was *concubina* of the freed architect Marcus Aetrius Protus.³¹ In Rome we have evidence of the *concubinatus* between Attia Philumina

²⁶ The presence of just one name need not be interpreted as evidence of slave status; the *cognomen* may have been used alone for brevity’s sake: Treggiari, 1981a: 65. See also nn. 17 and 18 above.

²⁷ CIL VI 22125: *Marcia M(arci) l(iberta) Coragio / concubina Rufionis*.

²⁸ CIL VI 20409: *Iuliae Hymni / regis Ptolemaei / l(iberti) l(ibertae) Charidi / concub(inae)*. It is possible that Iulia Charis was merely the freedwoman of Hymnus, not his *concubina*; the absence of any other name referring to her partner, however, makes the double role of Iulia Charis likely.

²⁹ As Hasegawa, 2005: 2, 54, points out, *columbaria* were burial structures shared by people with a common background: ‘in many cases the slaves and freedmen staff of a noble family’; this familiar environment is the reason why the group of *incerti*, i.e. people that do not present a legal status in the inscription, is so high as the legal status of the deceased was well known by the visitors. For *columbaria* in Rome, see also Heinzlmann, 2001: 181–7; Borbonus, 2014.

³⁰ CIL IX 5686: *M(arco) Cernitio / M(arci) f(ilio) Vel(ina) Pollioni / Iivir(o) bis August(tali) / et Cernitiae M(arci) l(ibertae) / Nymphini conc(ubinae) / eius Phiale l(iberta) / d(e) s(ua) f(ecit)*.

³¹ Brandizzi Vitucci, 1981: 209 (Rome): *M(arcus) Aetrius M(arci) l(ibertus) Protus / architectus / arbitratu / Hostiliae N(umeri) l(ibertae) Quintae / concubinae*.

Table 2. List of the professions and public roles given for the partners of *concupinae*.

Partner's occupational/ public title	<i>Concupinae libertae</i>	<i>Concupinae incertae</i>
<i>aedilis</i>		CIL IX 2346 (also <i>duovir</i> and <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i>); CIL XI 4662 (also <i>quaestor</i> and <i>duovir iure dicundo</i>)
<i>agitator</i>		Väänänen, 1973: 81 (<i>factionis? gregis Prasini</i>)
<i>Apollinaris</i>	CIL XI 849	
<i>architectus</i>	Brandizzi Vitucci, 1981: 209	
<i>aurifex</i>	AE 1939, 154; CIL I 3005	
<i>centurio cohortis urbanae</i>		CIL VI 32734
<i>duovir</i>	CIL IX 5686 (also <i>Augustalis</i>)	CIL IX 2346 (also <i>aedilis</i> and <i>praefectus iure dicundo</i>); CIL XI 4662 (<i>duovir iure dicundo</i> ; also <i>aedilis</i> and <i>quaestor</i>) CIL VI 9375
<i>eborarius</i>		
<i>glutinarium</i>	CIL VI 9443	
<i>haruspex</i>	CIL IX 5447 (also <i>octavir</i>)	
<i>lector</i>	CIL VI 1906	
<i>legionarius</i>	CIL IX 1460; CIL IX 1502	AE 2002, 386 (<i>miles legionis</i>)
<i>librarius</i>	CIL I 2527a	
<i>medicus</i>	CIL X 4918	
<i>ministrator a Hercule Primigenio</i>	CIL VI 9645	
<i>nomenclator</i>		CIL VI 9692
<i>octavir</i>	CIL IX 5447 (also <i>haruspex</i>)	
<i>paenularius</i>	CIL IX 3444	
<i>praeco</i>	AE 1991, 119 (<i>praeco consularis</i>); AE 2009, 202	
<i>praefectus iure dicundo</i>		CIL IX 2346 (also <i>aedilis</i> and <i>duovir</i>)
<i>quaestor</i>		CIL XI 4662 (also <i>aedilis</i> and <i>duovir iure dicundo</i>)
<i>quattuorvir sevir/Augustalis</i>	AE 1996, 600; <i>Supp. It.</i> XV 29 AE 1968, 127; CIL V 2853, 7562; CIL IX, 1194 (<i>Augustalis Beneventi</i>), 2245, 2681, 5231, 5686 (also <i>duovir</i>), 5753; CIL X 4908, 6114 (<i>magister Augustalis</i>); CIL XI 6234; RIGI 1924, 148a	AE 1982, 362; AE 1996, 480; AE 2005, 553; CIL IX, 2255, 2368 (<i>Augustalis et quaestor Augustalium Allifis</i>); CIL X, 1267; CIL XI, 6176
<i>vestiarius</i>	CIL XI 963	
<i>veteranus legionis</i>	CIL V 936 (<i>ensor frumenti</i>)	

and Marcus Caedicius Eros, a freedman and goldsmith (*aurifex*), who worked in a business located in the *Sacra Via*.³² However, we can see that simple soldiers and veterans chose *concupinatus* too: Gaius Valerius Arsaces, a soldier from the Fifth Legion, Alaudae, took the freedwoman Valeria Urbana as his *concupina*,³³ as did Lucius Titius, a veteran of the Seventh Legion Augusta, with his *liberta* Titia Fusca.³⁴

Despite the variety of jobs and public roles, what these men, and thus their families, had in common was owning some sort of wealth; this can be deduced not only from the fact that these families were able to afford a funerary monument,³⁵ as well as to own and manumit slaves, but also from their capacity to run businesses and take up public offices. If viewed in this light, the sample here discussed may be regarded, as noted above, as a kind of ‘middle class’ — that is, as a group made up of people of varied means but which, nevertheless, is representative of a social status that existed between the lower and the upper echelons.³⁶ As this evidence shows, partners of *concupinae* were proud of their social standing and their public role; they were ‘someone’ in the communities in which they lived, so much so as to decide to have their professions and roles regularly reported on their funerary monuments. Seen from this angle, the choice of taking a woman as a *concupina* is telling: concubinage could be seen as a good compromise by wealthy and relatively powerful men, as their union could be formally accepted without challenging the boundaries and legal implications of a *matrimonium iustum* (McGinn, 1991: 338–9). Furthermore, the high volume of exogamic *concupinatus* may strengthen the assumption that entering a personal liaison with a woman from another *familia*, even if just a *liberta*, could provide an advantage for the two families and their members in both social and economic terms.³⁷

³² CIL I 3005: *M(arcus) Caedicius / M(arci) l(ibertus) Eros // aurifex / de sacra v(ia) // et / Attia Q(uinti) l(iberta) Philumina / concupina et M(arcus) / Caedicius M(arci) l(ibertus) Timollt(heus) / et M(arcus) Caedic(ius) M(arci) l(ibertus) Hector.*

³³ CIL IX 1460 (Ligures Baebiani, Samnium): *C(aius) Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Aem(ilia) Arsaces / legione V Alaudae / sibi et / Valeriae C(ai) l(ibertae) Urbanae / concupinae suae ex / testamento fieri iussit.*

³⁴ CIL V 936 (Aquileia, Venetia): *L(ucius) Titius / L(uci) f(ilius) Vot(uria) / veteranus / leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) / stipendiorum / XXV mensor / frumenti v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et / Titiae Fuscae l(ibertae) / concupinae / Vitali f(ilio) / Ingenuae f(iliae) / Veneriae / delicatae / et lib(ertis) lib(ertabus)q(ue) suis / et eorum natis / nascentibus.*

³⁵ The monuments considered in this article demonstrate significant variety in their styles, sizes and materials, which cannot be explained solely on the basis of the commissioners’ economic standing, but arises also from locational and chronological fashions. A full investigation of the monuments is, however, not possible as part of the present exercise. Furthermore, such an analysis should be inserted into a much wider study of funerary monuments in Roman Italy and the rest of the Empire that takes fully into account both spatial and temporal differences.

³⁶ Mayer, 2012: 2–3, considers members of the Roman ‘middle class’ as individuals standing ‘somewhere between the rich and poor’, a definition that clashes with the modern concept.

³⁷ *Affinitas* can be interpreted as the capacity to create new bonds (or reinforce old ones) between *familiae* through an advantageous marriage. This criterion, listed by Treggiari, 1991: 107–19, among her eight criteria for choosing a spouse, assumes high importance in Italy’s urban environments, especially for men who pursued a political career and who therefore sought to create or reinforce bonds with other *gentes*.

We also need, however, to consider the idea that concubinage may have been the best option for these men in regard to a specific woman, and that the *concupinatus* was not so much a general behavioural pattern, but a matter of a *particular* personal choice; in other words, a woman could be taken by a man as his *concupina* either after he had entered into a legally acknowledged marriage, or before doing so. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to establish the chronological order of the unions, not least because the name of a (former) legal wife could be placed in a higher position on the stone compared with that of a (later) freed *concupina*, in order to highlight the social importance of the former over the latter, rather than following the ‘correct’ order of events. In one monument from Rome, Marcus Servilius Rufus lists three partners without giving any clear indication of ‘order’, as follows: his *uxor* Petia Prima, his *concupina* Marcia Felix and his *uxor* Servilia Apate.³⁸ All three women are *libertae*, and the *concupina* is described as *obita*, being already deceased when Servilius Rufus set up the monument: the difficulty of establishing a secure chronological order of the three unions is self-evident. Similar situations can be seen for two *incertae*, where two *seviri Augustales* list their *uxores* and *concupinae* in their family epitaphs.³⁹ Given this kind of evidence, it has been suggested that concubinage and marriage could coexist: i.e. that a man could have an *uxor* and a *concupina* at the same time.⁴⁰ There are other epigraphic texts that show men and women remembering multiple partners,⁴¹ providing further evidence that people could be involved in new relationships after a divorce or the partner’s death. The formula *uxoribus concupinisque*, which appears in four inscriptions, also documents the possibility that a man might have different partners during his life; this formula, however, cannot be read as a proof that men could have multiple legally or formally acknowledged partners, wives and *concupinae* at the same time. Given the difficulty, as shown, of establishing certainty on the ‘correct’ order of many inscribed relationships, it

³⁸ CIL VI 1906: *M(arcus) Servilius M(arci) l(ibertus) Rufus / lictor se vivo fecit sibi et / Petiae C(ai) l(ibertae) Primae uxori et / Marciae C(ai) l(ibertae) Felici concub(inae) obitae / Serviliae M(arci) l(ibertae) Apat(a)e ux(s)ori suae*. Other similar cases from Rome are ILLRP-S, 42; CIL I 2527a and CIL VI 23210.

³⁹ CIL IX 2255 (Telesia); CIL X 1267 (Nola).

⁴⁰ Tramunto, 2009: 66, argues that a Roman man could simultaneously have a wife and a *concupina*. Similarly, also Cristaldi, 2014: 161–3, referring to Plautus (*Miles* 338) and Cicero (*De oratore* 1.40.183). Cristaldi reaches the conclusion that the term *concupina* in the late Republic could either refer to a woman in a relationship with an unmarried man (which is the definition adopted in this article) or a woman in a relationship with a married man. In this latter situation, the woman is described as *paelex*. Roman laws (Paul. *Fest.* p. 222), however, seem to prohibit any form of ‘bigamy’ (contra Treggiari, 1981a: 77–8).

⁴¹ For twenty inscriptions from Rome involving women with at least two living husbands, Treggiari, 1981c: 271, has suggested that most of these multiple relationships did not happen simultaneously; rather, there would have been a ‘friendly separation’, a ‘*bona gratia* divorce’ between the two halves of the former couple.

would, in our view, be rash to interpret the kind of texts just discussed as being evidence for simultaneous unions, rather than for consecutive ones.⁴²

The fact that a *concupinatus* may have been chosen as a true alternative to traditional Roman marriage can be assumed from the very low presence of children:⁴³ with the exception of just five inscriptions, the texts do not mention any children born from the *concupinatus*. Four of the exceptional cases document *concupinae incertae*.⁴⁴ In two instances, the *concupina* is clearly the mother of the children as they share the same *nomen*. The two families in question are those of Aquillius Rufus (*ingenuus*) and Maria Stacte, and their children Gaius Aquillius Florus and Maria Pieris (both *incerti*),⁴⁵ and of Gnaeus Numidus Berullus (*incertus*) and Allia Nysa, and their son Lucius Allius Quartinus (*ingenuus*).⁴⁶ One inscription from Rome tells us that the *ingenuus* Marcus Cornelius Favor, who was named after his father, was the son of Cestia Amabilis, as he is described as *filius ex concubina*.⁴⁷

The only funerary monument reporting the presence of children born from a freed *concupina* and her partner is a stela from Aquileia, dated to the mid-first century AD (Fig. 6); the gravestone is divided into two parts, each of which contains the epitaph of a nuclear family.

*L(ucius) Titius / L(uci) f(ilius) Vot
(uria) / veteranus / leg(ionis) VIII
Aug(ustae) / stipendiorum / XXV
mensor / frumenti v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi
et / Titiae Fuscae l(ibertae) /
concupinae / Vitali f(ilio) / Ingenuae
f(iliae) / Veneriae / delicatae / et lib
(ertis) lib(ertabus)q(ue) suis / et
eorum natis / nascentibus*

*Q(uintus) Titius / L(uci) f(ilius) Vot
(uria) / veteranus / leg(ionis) VIII Au
[g(ustae)] / imaginife[r] / stipendioru
[m] / XXV t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)
sibi [et] / Paciliae T(iti) l(ibertae)
Severae / coniugi et / Q(uinto) Titio Q
(uinti) f(ilio) Severo f(ilio) / Venustae /
et lib(ertis) lib(ertabus)q(ue) suis / et
eorum natis / nascentibus*

L(ocus) m(onumentum) in fr(onte) p(edes) XVI in agr(o) p(edes) X

⁴² AE 2013, 488 (Forum Sempronii); CIL XI 894 (Mutina), 6136 (Forum Sempronii) and 6257 (Fanum Fortunae). The geographically limited provenance of the texts may suggest a local usage, presenting moreover a notable similarity with the formula '*libertis libertabusque*' which follows '*uxoris concubinisque*' in two of the inscriptions; this may suggest an attempt to include all the partners of a *paterfamilias* through using a (single) formula, in the same way that a man could do with his freedpersons.

⁴³ Children of *concupinae* were illegitimate, thus excluded from familial inheritance and other related rights. See Nowak, 2014, for an analysis of the papyri regarding the inheritance rights of extramarital children in Graeco-Roman Egypt.

⁴⁴ CIL VI 14706; CIL IX 2346; CIL X 4246; Mancini, 1914: 390 n. 43.

⁴⁵ CIL IX 2346 (Allifae): [--- A]quillius L(uci) f(ilius) Ter(etina) / Rufus / [a]ed(ilis) Iivir praef(ectus) i(ure) d(icundo) sibi / et C(aio) Aquillio Floro f(ilio) et / Mariae Pieridi f(iliae) et / Mariae Stacte concub(inae) / arbitratu eius / testamento. Note that the son shares his *nomen* with his father.

⁴⁶ CIL X 4246 (Casilinum): Ex testamento Cn(aei) Numidi Berulli / L(ucio) Allio L(uci) f(ilio) Quartino filio suo / vixit annis VII et menses(!) V et / Alliae Nysae concupinae suae et sibi et / Primogeni l(iberto) et libertis suis / et C(aio) Valerio Melantae / et C(aio) Rufelleio Chiloni / h(oc) m(onumentum) s(ive) s(epulcrum) e(xterum) h(eredem) n(on) s(equetur).

⁴⁷ CIL VI 14706: Cestia Amabilis an(norum) XXV / M(arcus) Cornelius M(arci) f(ilius) Favor an(norum) V / concu(bina) et f(ilius) ex concub(ina) m(onumentum) f(ecit) Fav(or) / ex m(ilibus) HS C.



Fig. 6. Stela from Aquileia, recording children of a freed *concupina* and her partner (CIL V 936) (Aquileia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale inv. 54; su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Polo Museale del Friuli Venezia Giulia. No reproduction allowed).

The two families are connected by the fact that the two men were brothers, as well as being fellow veterans from the Eighth Legion Augusta (*CIL* V 936–7). Before or after being discharged, Lucius Titius and Quintus Titius started relationships with two freedwomen, a *liberta sua* for Lucius and a *liberta aliena* for Quintus. Titia Fusca is described as a *concupina*, Pacilia Severa as a *coniux*.⁴⁸ Both women gave birth to children: Lucius and Fusca's children are reported as *Vitalis filius*, *Ingenua filia* and *Veneria delicata*, while *Quintus Titius Quinti filius Severus filius* is the description given to Quintus and Severa's son. The differences in the description of these children are fairly obvious: in the second case the boy has his full name and filiation, while in the first case the children are reported only with their *cognomina*, followed by the word *filius/a*. Furthermore, Veneria is described as *delicata*; this means that she may have been Lucius and Fusca's daughter, but there is also the possibility that she was simply an enslaved girl owned by the family.⁴⁹ In sum, it is evident that the two nuclear families, even if they were formed of members with similar characteristics, were perceived in different ways. Two aspects need to be considered: first, the woman who was chosen as a *concupina* is a *liberta sua*; second, the legal status of the children. The promotion of unions between an *ingenuus* and his *liberta* by Augustus has of course been seen by modern scholarship as a disparagement of exogamic unions formed of an *ingenuus* and a *liberta aliena* (McGinn, 1991: 346, 353–4; Mouritsen, 2011: 43). However, the gravestone under discussion shows the opposite situation: the *liberta aliena* is 'granted' the most honourable title of legitimate wife, while the *liberta sua* has to accept the lower 'grade' of *concupina*. This lack of 'equality' between the two freedwomen had consequences for the epigraphic representation of their respective children: the wife's child is clearly reported as a son and an *ingenuus* on the monument, while the *concupina*'s children are simply children and need to be classified as *incerti*. The fact that one brother decided to use the complete filiation while the other simply underlined the blood connection may reflect the role played by the children in the two families. Quintus and Severa's child was not just an *ingenuus*: he was, most importantly, a legitimate son and potential heir. In comparison, Lucius and Fusca's children did not have this legal standing in the family, underlined by the absence of filiation, even if there is no evidence that they were not born free. We can present a further explanation, this time related to Roman citizenship. Thus, at the time when the two brothers were serving in the army, Roman law prohibited soldiers from having *iusta matrimonia*; additionally, children born from informal unions were not legitimate and, hence, could not be considered as Roman citizens. Once soldiers were discharged, they could legally acknowledge their unions and children (Campbell, 1978; Phang, 2001: 13–133). In this specific case, we can assume

⁴⁸ Note also that Pacilia Severa is reported with full libertination (*Titi liberta*), while Titia Fusca is given as *liberta*, implying that she had been manumitted by Lucius Titius (while omitting the full libertination).

⁴⁹ On *pueri delicati*, see Laes, 2003.

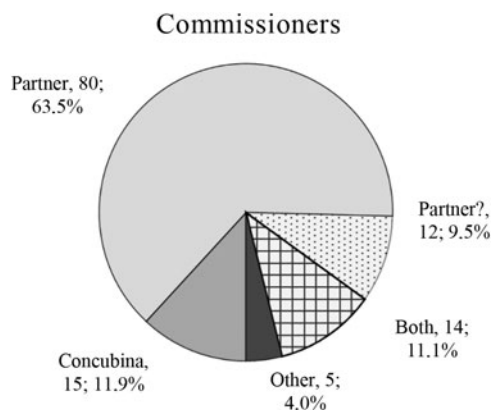


Fig. 7. Distribution of commissioners of funerary monuments involving a *concubina*.

either that Quintus married Severa when he was already a veteran, and their son was born a free, legitimate Roman citizen, or that he, unlike his brother, decided ‘to put things right’ after he ended his service in the army. The status of these two nuclear families, then, made the children different not just within the families themselves, but also in the eyes of society: the tombstone documents more broadly that seemingly simple epitaphs can offer information that withstands any monochrome modern explanation of ancient social practices.

3. *CONCUBINA AMANTISSIMA*: EXPECTATIONS AND FAMILY ROLE OF *CONCUBINAE*

Treggiari (1981a: 60–4) describes the role of *concubinae* with these words: ‘They are expected to have the virtues of a wife, but not her pretensions’ (cf. Tramunto, 2009: 52–3); the *concubina*, then, was supposed to fulfil all those tasks which were expected from a legal wife, without benefiting from the esteem and status of a wife. This lesser ‘placement’ may suggest a lesser form of recognition given to these women in the family, or a lack of satisfaction with their role. However, as this second part of the epigraphic analysis shows, being a *concubina* was a role accepted by these women, as well as one that was cherished by their partners and relatives; these women were full members of the partner’s family, and the terms of endearment that follow their names show that, in terms of the affection, gratitude and devotion shown to them, *concubinae* had no reason to envy legal wives. It is unsurprising, then, that *concubinae* enjoyed the right of burial in their partners’ family tombs; these, in some cases, were arranged by the *concubinae* themselves.

The acceptance of the role played by these women within the family and the *familia* is supported by the data relating to the analysis of the commemorators’ identities, i.e. the people in charge of setting up the funerary monuments and choosing the text (Fig. 7). These were the people who identified the

freedwoman as a *concubina*; the majority of them are represented by the partners of the freed *concubinae* (in at least 63.5 per cent = 80 cases), but we also find the *concubina* (11.9 per cent = 15 cases), as well as the *concubina* and her partner together (11.1 per cent = 14 cases). A last category is represented by others close to the couple; for instance, a freedperson jointly manumitted. These, however, constitute only 4 per cent of the cases (5 cases). These data show that the partners of the *concubinae* cared enough to commemorate these women, much like they would a legal wife, and that these women were fully represented on the funerary monument as a ‘family member’.

Two further aspects strengthen the assumption that *concubinae* had an important and recognized role within their partners’ families: the terms of endearment that accompany the names of the *concubinae* in some inscriptions and the fact that some of these women appear as commissioners of family tombs, as well as in the capacity of the *heredes* of their partners. Terms of endearment are common in Roman epitaphs, especially as mutual manifestations of personal virtues and marital *concordia* between husband and wife; it is not surprising, then, to find adjectives and other formulas that praise the *concubina*’s own persona as well as her role as partner. In two texts, the *concubina* is described as *amantissima* (‘most loved’) (CIL VI 22293, 24441: Rome), and in another as *pia* (‘devoted’) (CIL X 6114: Formiae, Latium). A tombstone from Rome was arranged by Sempronia Apate for her partner and herself; the text mentions his worth (*pro meritis*) and her devotion to him (*quae dilexit eum*).⁵⁰ Four inscriptions present terms of endearment associated with freed *concubinae* (CIL VI 6873, 22293, 24441; CIL X 6114) and six with *incertae* (CIL V 5678; CIL VI 9375, 21607, 24857, 24953, 25014); the formulas used are the same that can be found in many other epitaphs describing freeborn and freed women as devoted and virtuous wives (Von Hesberg-Tonn, 1983).

More numerous are the texts that reveal an active role played by freed *concubinae* in connection with the setting-up of the funerary monuments, and as heirs of their partners. Five monuments attest that the *libertae concubinae* set up the funerary monument (*fecit*) and paid for it (*ex suo*) for themselves and their relatives (*sibi et suis*);⁵¹ *incertae* are commissioners in four cases, in all of which we find the verb *fecit*.⁵² Two texts reveal that the funerary monuments of the partners had been set up at the discretion (*arbitratu*) of their respective *concubinae* (CIL XI 3751; Brandizzi Vitucci, 1981: 209). Finally, a gravestone found in Rome attests to Avillia Sote being the *heres* of Gaius Marius

⁵⁰ CIL VI 6873: [Q(uintus) F]abius Maximi l(ibertus) Ipitus hic situs est / [S]empronia L(uci) l(iberta) Apate concubina eius / pro meritis quae dilexit eum / [te lapis] otestor leviter super ossa residat n<e> dolor / [---] qua requies homini est / [---] suis posterisq(ue) eorum.

⁵¹ CIL VI 13937 (*fecit sibi et suis*); CIL VI 26556 (*fecit*); CIL IX 4823 (*fecit ex suo*); CIL IX 5137 (nominative followed by *sibi et suis*); CIL X 4918 (*fecit*).

⁵² CIL VI 2354 (the *concubina* is also the heir), 9692; Väänänen, 1973: 81; CIL X 4451.

Isochrysis, even if we cannot know the extent of the inheritance rights.⁵³ These cases prove that *concupinae* could be considered full members of their partners' families and that their role was acknowledged and accepted on both 'sides'.

The role of *concupinae* was also accepted by the other members of the family, including children born to the *concupinae*'s partners' former legitimate wives. This last scenario can be seen on a family tomb from Rome: the monument contains the names of eleven people, almost all of whom are members of the *Occia gens*.⁵⁴ The commissioner is the freedman Decimus Occius Eros, who describes (in order): Roscia Stratego as his *concupina*, Roscia Pupa as his *coniux*, and Eros as his and Pupa's freed son. We cannot say which woman came first as a partner in Eros' life, but both are included in the family tomb. Moreover, Stratego's name is carved in a higher position compared with that of Roscia Pupa, even though Stratego was 'just' a *concupina*.⁵⁵ While it can be argued that Roscia Pupa and her son could have already been deceased when the monument was set up, i.e. that they had no say in the choice of the people that could be buried in the family tomb, two other inscriptions show that the *concupina* held full standing within the partner's family. A gravestone from Mutina includes the names of a family of *ingenui* made up of Lucius Graecinius Rufus, his parents, sister and his freed *concupina* Rubria Thygater.⁵⁶ Another funerary stela from Mutina presents an even more extended family: Marcus Pupius Rufus set up the monument when he was still alive, for himself, his mother and cousin (all *ingenui*); the name of the freed *concupina* Allena Heuronome closes the list of family members.⁵⁷ Even if the former stela from Mutina places Thygater's and Heuronome's names in the last position, the two women are nonetheless included in the family monuments, despite their role and former legal status as slaves.

Similar situations can be observed among *incertae* (AE 2002, 386; CIL V 2627; CIL IX 2255). A text from Formiae presents the freedwoman Refria Nice

⁵³ CIL VI 7214: C(ai) Mari / (mulieris) l(iberti) Isochrysi et / Avilliae M(arci) l(ibertae) Sotini conc(ubinae) mea(e) he[re]s. Further bibliography on the capacity of *concupinae* to inherit is in McGinn, 1991: 346 n. 52.

⁵⁴ CIL VI 23210: D(ecimus) Occius D(ecimi) l(ibertus) Eros fecit sibi et suis / (obito) D(ecimo) Occio D(ecimi) f(ilio) patrono / Rosciae / (mulieris) l(ibertae) Strategini / concubinae suae / Rosciae / (mulieris) l(ibertae) Pupae / coniugi suae / Domestico l(iberto) Pupae f(iliae) // Felici l(iberto) / Aeschino l(iberto) / Thini l(iberto) / M(arco) Helvio Felici l(iberto) / Antigonae l(ibertae) / Crateroni l(iberto) / Doxae l(ibertae) // hoc monumentum Rosciae Thaidis est.

⁵⁵ Treggiari, 1981a: 70, assumes that Pupa had been Eros' *contubernalis*, becoming his legal wife after manumission; after her death, Eros took Stratego — perhaps Pupa's freedwoman — as his *concupina*.

⁵⁶ AE 1973, 236: L(ucius) Graecinius C(ai) f(ilius) Pol(lia) Rufus / sibi et C(aio) Graecinio C(ai) f(ilio) Pol(lia) patri / Metellae C(ai) f(iliae) Tertiae matri / Graecinae C(ai) f(iliae) Gallae sorori / Rubriae / (mulieris) l(ibertae) Thygater concu[binae].

⁵⁷ AE 1978, 337: V(ivus) f(ecit) / s(ibi) e(t) s(uis) / M(arcus) Pupius M(arci) f(ilius) Rufus / Catienae Sp(uri) f(iliae) Secundae matr(i) / Catieno Sp(uri) f(ilio) Obsequenti consob(rino) / Allena / (mulieris) l(ibertae) Heuronomae conc(ubinae) / fili(i)s filiabus lib(ertis) libert(abus) / in fro(n)te p(edes) XII in agr(o) p(edes) XII.

and Refria Lychore as *mater Felicis* and *concupina Felicis*, respectively; apparently, Felix set up the monument for the two women but did not include himself, although he made the connection between the three of them clear.⁵⁸ The freeborn centurion Titus Tillius Sabinus was buried with his *concupina* Caninia Musa and Postumia Phyllis, the wife of his brother; it is not clear who the commissioner is, but we may assume that he could be either Sabinus, after his brother's death, or the brother himself.⁵⁹ Not only did the *concupina* become a member of the partner's family, but even her mother could, as in the case of the monument set up in Aquileia by Marcus Metelius Felix, a local *sevir*, made for himself, his *concupina* Arria Vitalis(?) and his *socrus* Arria Ianuaria(?).⁶⁰

4. SOCIAL REPRESENTATION AND FAMILY ROLE: DECORATIONS ON MONUMENTS MENTIONING *CONCUBINAE*

Both the personal and the social dimension of concubinage emerge also when moving our attention to funerary iconography. Several recent studies have focused on sepulchral images of families, frequently basing their arguments not only on portraits, gestures, *habitus* or other iconographical elements, but also on the reading of the inscriptions linked to the images, with very good results (George, 2005; Larsson Lovén, 2010; Mander, 2013). In the same vein, this part of this article, therefore, analyses the funerary representation of concubinage, connecting it to the epigraphic evidence: only monuments with the term *concupina* in the inscription and with iconographical elements are considered here, in order to explore the points discussed in the previous sections more fully. The aim is to establish whether there were specific visual solutions related to *concupinae*, and to better understand to what extent such images contributed to the social definition of *concupinatus*.

Portraits will be treated as the main evidence in this section, but (other) visual references to professions and status will also be considered.⁶¹ Going by the available evidence at hand, text and image are joined together on only a few monuments, about 6 per cent of the whole sample considered in this article.⁶² They date from the first century BC to the second century AD, with the

⁵⁸ CIL X 6177: *Refriae C(ai) l(ibertae) Nice matri Felicis / Refria Lychoris concub(ina) Felicis.*

⁵⁹ CIL VI 32734 (Rome): *T(itus) Tillius T(iti) f(ilius) Pa[l(atina)] / Sabinus / (centurio) coh(ortis) XII urb(anae) II[---] / Postumia / Phyllis / fratris uxor / Caninia Musa / concupina Sabini.*

⁶⁰ AE 2005, 553: *M(arcus) Metelius [---] / Felix / IIIIIvir v(ivus) f(ecit) sib[i] et] / Arriae Vit[---] / concubinae [---] / et Arriae Ianu[---] / socru(i) su[ae].* Both women's *cognomina* are incomplete and, hence, uncertain.

⁶¹ We exclude generic elements (such as flowers, garlands or animals), as these are recurring symbolic features that do not speak to the shaping of any one specific social status. Examples of these elements can be seen in *concupinae*'s monuments: CIL IX, 2255; Cavuoto, 1968: 140–2 n. 10.

⁶² Three freedwomen, six *incertae*.

majority of monuments produced in the first half of the first century AD, the period of maximum diffusion of tombstones with portraits in Italy (Pflug, 1989: 1). The material comes from different geographical areas, covering both the northern and southern territories of the Italian peninsula: Rome and *Regiones I, IV, VI and X*.

At first glance, the images on monuments mentioning *concupinae* can be divided into two main groups: images with elements concerning the professional achievements of the *concupinae*'s partners, and portraits or gestures that describe the status or the familial role of the women.

MEN, SOCIAL STATUS AND *CONCUBINAE*

Reference to the jobs or the social standing of the men is a clear theme in *concupinae*'s funerary commemoration, not only in the inscriptions but also in the reliefs, since five out of the nine monuments collected allude to professions in different ways. This can already be seen in one of the very first documented pieces of sepulchral evidence of *concupinatus*: the facade of a funerary chamber from the beginning of the first century BC, in Rome, displays two shields carved next to the inscribed text, recalling a freed *librarius* and, among others, his *concupina* of slave-birth and from the same family.⁶³

As some scholars have recently pointed out, the link between the iconographical elements and the inscribed text is not always clear or immediate: professional, sculpted elements may directly describe the job of a man, but they may also have a more extended and connotative meaning, as a symbol of social achievement as well as an allusion to moral virtues (Zimmer, 1982; Buonopane, 2013). Thus, although the images on this early relief from Rome do not directly fit with the job recorded by the inscription, it can still be included in this group, as it speaks to the man's social status. This is perhaps also the case of an altar from the environs of Aquileia, where a *sevir* is mentioned with his *concupina*: the *fascēs* sculpted on one of the short sides recall his social standing, while the knives carved on the other one can be understood as an allusion to a previous job or to ritual actions and *pietas* (AE 2005, 553; Magnani et al., 2005: 120).

In two other cases, the profession is not mentioned in the text and is simply defined by the insertion of explicit iconographical elements. In a fragmentary relief from Pula, dated to the first half of the first century AD, some glass vessels are carved in low relief above the inscription; this is probably a reference to the partner's profession as a master glazier (Fig. 8) (CIL V 215; Starac, 2006: 99–101 n. 61). Similar intent characterizes a plaque from Pompeii, which

⁶³ CIL I 2527a: *P(ublius) Quinctius T(iti) l(ibertus) libr(arius) / Quinctia T(iti) l(iberta) ux[s]or / Quinctia P(ubli) l(iberta) Agatea liberta / concupina / sepulcr(um) heredes / ne sequatur*; Von Hesberg, 2005: 67; Di Giacomo, 2010: 9–12.



Fig. 8. The relief with glass vessels from Pula (Starac, 2006: 101, fig. 61, with permission of the Arheološki muzej Istre).



Fig. 9. The plaque with *groma* and tools from Pompeii (Antiquarium di Boscoreale inv. 11737; su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Parco Archeologico di Pompei. No reproduction allowed).

may be from an earlier date, where the public role of the partner, as a *gromaticus* or a *mentor*, is recalled by the sole *groma* and tools (Fig. 9).⁶⁴

Despite this variety in the visual commemoration of the men's profession, which might have depended also on the commissioner's personal taste, it is possible to note that besides the inscriptions these iconic elements were a powerful tool with which to articulate the male partner's social standing and to focus the attention of the onlooker on his personal success. The same can be

⁶⁴ The chronology is unclear: Sampaolo, 1981: 206–7, proposes the early first century AD; for an earlier dating see D'Ambrosio and De Caro, 1983: sch. 17abOS (De Caro).

detected, in a far clearer way, on a monumental tombstone from Suasa, in Umbria, dated to the Julio-Claudian period, and perhaps, more precisely, to the Neronian age (Fig. 10).⁶⁵ The lower part of the front is carved with low-reliefs of *lictors*, a *sella curulis* and a laurel crown,⁶⁶ while the short sides are decorated with mythological themes and representations of *munera*, all elements that directly alluded to the role and the activities of the freed *sevir* who set up the tomb.

CONCUBINAE IN FAMILY PORTRAITURE AND THE SOCIAL DIMENSION OF SEPULCHRAL IMAGERY

The tombstone just discussed also offers a good synthesis for the articulation of social dimensions in sepulchral imagery. Thus, while some of its elements show the same attention to professional and public aspects as the other monuments just considered, an important difference is seen in the presence of the portraits of the people mentioned in the inscriptions. The upper part of the front side is occupied by a rectangular niche, with four half-figures: as seen from the spectator's perspective, the old *sevir* stands in the centre, in a pre-eminent position; on his right stands the *concubina*, while on his left his *liberta* is portrayed holding her patron's *delicium* in her arms. The two women are dressed in the same way, with a mantle over the tunic, but possess different attributes: while the freedwoman grasps a fruit with her right hand, the *concubina* displays rings, probably on her left ring-finger.⁶⁷ In order to make the object visible, and to better define the woman as a *matrona*, the sculptor consciously adopted a specular inversion of the feminine statuary model stemming from the Small Herculaneum Women: thus, the woman raises her left hand and not the right one to hold the *palla*, so that the presence of the ring can more easily be detected.⁶⁸ In addition to this, the commissioner chose to place this woman, and not the ex-slave, on the right side of the old dedicator, as seen by the spectator: this disposition of portraits is often referred to as husband and wife on monuments of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian period from *Regio VI* itself, from Rome and the nearby *Regiones V* and *VIII*.⁶⁹

A stela from Bovianum, in *Regio IV*, also seems to put concubinage and de facto unions on the same level, while at the same time celebrating the social

⁶⁵ *CIL* XI 6176; De Marinis, 2005: 246 n. 131 (A. Santucci); cf. the different interpretation in Carroll, 2018: 234–5.

⁶⁶ A similar decoration has been seen on a now-lost monument from Isernia (*CIL* IX 2681; Buonocore, 2003: 110–11 n. 72), dedicated by a freed *sevir* to his *concubina*.

⁶⁷ Stout, 2001: 78; Hersch, 2010: 41–2 for the ring in female portraits.

⁶⁸ The Small Herculaneum Woman and its variants were widely diffused in funerary reliefs with the common right-handed type (Pflug, 1989: 152–3 n. 7; Kockel, 1993: 109–10 n. D3). In reliefs of the late first century BC, the left-handed pose can be seen, with the mantle over the woman's left shoulder only (Kockel, 1993: 27–8, e.g. 149–50 n. I1; 158 n. J3).

⁶⁹ Pflug, 1989: 164 n. 31; 180–1 n. 59; Kockel, 1993: 220 n. O25; Catani, 2004: 45–53 n. 3; De Marinis, 2005: 236 (M. Luni); Berti, 2006: 9.



Fig. 10. Front side of the tombstone from Suasa (Museo Archeologico delle Marche inv. 73, SABAP Marche©; su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo — SABAP Marche).



Fig. 11. Tombstone with *dextrarum iunctio* from Bovianum (Rossa, D-DAIROM-75.2720).

achievements of the male partner.⁷⁰ Here the portraits are not present but, above some objects and tools placed on the base of the tombstone, two clasping right hands are carved: they are likely attributable to the commissioner and the *concupina sua*, both of whom are recorded in the inscription (Fig. 11).⁷¹ Although the *dextrarum iunctio* should not automatically be referred to as marriage — even if it sometimes seems very likely — its representation on monuments can be read as a demonstration of a strong interpersonal bond, worth being sculpted and remembered together with working tools (Davies, 1985; Hersch, 2010: 201–5; Larsson-Lovén, 2010).

⁷⁰ Cf. *CIL* IX 2527; *CIL* IX 3339; Buonocore, 1984: 228.

⁷¹ *AE* 1996, 479; Diebner, 1991: 240, fig. 13; De Benedittis, 1995: 39–40 n. 15. Further discussion of the *dextrarum iunctio* that shows the hands only is in Menozzi, 1995.



Fig. 12. Tombstone from Concordia (Portogruaro, Museo Nazionale Concordiese© inv. 134; su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo, Polo Museale del Veneto).

Furthermore, in the iconographical record *concupinae* are also present on monuments depicting a more complex domestic situation. A fragmentary example from Iulia Concordia, dated to the early decades of the first century AD, shows the commissioner's portrait flanked by two feminine busts on either side (Fig. 12): all three individuals are represented nude;⁷² the portrait of the woman on the left, wearing a necklace, should be interpreted as the *uxor*, while the one on the right should be seen as the *concupina* recorded in the inscription.⁷³ By reading the relief in this way, the wife occupies the correct position according to the regional iconographical norms — with the woman on the left, from the spectator's point of view, in the opposite position compared to the Suasa tombstone (Scalco, 2016), while the de facto union is differentiated and collocated in a less canonical, or maybe less important, place.⁷⁴

The status of the *concupina* is not defined here. Her name, formed solely of the *cognomen*, may indicate a slave or, more probably, a freedwoman who shares the

⁷² On this monument, the portrait form does not clearly contribute to the 'glorification' of the deceased. On nude portraiture Bonfante, 1989; Pflug, 1989: 86–7; D'Ambra, 1995: 668; Fejfer, 2008: 127, 200–6, 342.

⁷³ CIL V 1918: *P(ublius) Cervonius P(ubli) f(ilius) Marinus / testamento fieri iussit / sibi et Cinciai Sex(ti) f(iliae) Secundai/ uxori Cilai concubinai*; Pflug, 1989: 198 n. 102; Di Filippo Balestrazzi, 2012: 102–3 n. 84.

⁷⁴ E.g. Pflug, 1989: 188–9 n. 81 (Trieste); 190–1 n. 87 (Aquileia); 200 n. 107 (Concordia); 232 n. 192 (Padua).

same *nomen* as her patron; this *nomen* is, for this reason, omitted in the text.⁷⁵ In such cases, it is possible that the woman was actually in a stable relationship with her own patron; that is, they were in an endogamic quasi-marital union. This interpretation may also be extended to the plaque from Pompeii, the tombstone of Bovianum, and the funerary chamber from Rome mentioned above; in all three, the partners share the same name without clear indication of social status. It does not apply, however, to the monuments from Suasa and Aquileia, where the women are *incertae* but come from different *familiae*.

It seems possible that the ‘marital’ pattern of the women did not heavily influence the use of specific iconic features and, at the same time, that the different social standing of the women did not automatically imply different artistic outcomes. It is very difficult to detect a specific attribute, dress or pose that makes it possible, independently and in a replicable way, to distinguish *concupinae* according to their social status, but also to distinguish them from other matrons, wives or ‘simple’ freedwomen. Reading images of *concupinae* is, and probably was, a fluid matter; however, it is also self-evident that the collected sample is too scant and too diverse in terms of typology, chronology and geographical distribution to allow generalization regarding the association between social status and iconographic features: thus, while we can establish that the few portraits recorded pertain to *incertae*, it would be rash to suggest that *imagines* were completely denied to freedwomen. As noted in the discussion on epigraphic elements and as pointed out by the analysis of the disposition of the portraits, the documented features were embedded in broader contexts: both images and inscriptions, as well as the monuments’ material and locational dimensions, stood in active dialogue with and responded to a much larger setting of funerary commemorative behaviours and practices.

Even so, it is worth noting that iconographical elements connected to these women are quite scarce, and are, in practice, limited to the portrait; overall, then, the main feminine descriptor is found in the term *concupina*. As a consequence, it seems to be, above all, an indicator of a relationship between at least two people — the *concupina* and her partner, sometimes his other relatives — and not so much a descriptor for the women themselves, who tended to have a subordinate role. In fact, they typically appear on monuments together with their partners; images referring only to a *concupina* are very rare on funerary monuments and may even be limited to a particular tombstone from Rome (*CIL* VI 17343; Solin, 2012: 223–4). In comparison, iconographic features of the partners are almost always present; they could flank the female images and, in many cases, could be the sole visual reference sculpted on the monuments.

As this discussion has shown, the visual analysis of the monuments under consideration here adds to the arguments and conclusions advanced on the

⁷⁵ Treggiari, 1981a: 70; Pflug, 1989: 129 and *passim*; Tramunto, 2009: n. 527; Di Filippo Balestrazzi, 2012: 103 n. 84. George, 2005: 58, discusses individuals’ social statuses on funerary portraits from Cisalpinia.

basis of the epigraphic analysis that has dominated the earlier sections of this article; the epigraphy must moreover be acknowledged as an important interpretative signpost for understanding these monuments given the small number of visual representations for study. In sum, then, the main focus of the sepulchral decorations on monuments that mention *concubinae* is on the male partners; the women seem to contribute to the men's social and personal representation. It is therefore not surprising that men were the clear majority of the dedicators — perhaps due to their greater economic capacity, compared with that of their *concubinae* — and thus they heavily influenced the construction of the sepulchral imagery. Picturing personal success seems to have been a major issue in the funerary monuments considered here; even if portraits and gestures describe a personal and even 'affective' bond, they are often inserted in a broader iconographical strategy that highlights the achievement of the male partner as a professional, a magistrate or a *paterfamilias*.⁷⁶ In this sense, the *concubinae* came literally — or rather visually — second.

5. CONCLUSION

Although different, the epigraphic and the iconographic sources allow for complementary conclusions to be drawn concerning the role of concubinage among members of the Roman 'middle class'. As ancient historians and jurists have pointed out, *concubinatus* was specifically chosen in situations where a legally valid marriage would have been considered unattractive; on the one hand, this relationship defines the limitations of the rights of the partners, while on the other concubinage saves them from the shame of *stuprum*.

The evidence available to us from the inscriptions leads to the same conclusions: the samples not only make it clear that *concubinatus* was specifically chosen for particular legal reasons, but also that it was perceived in a very particular way by the people that set up and visited the funerary monuments that showed the *concubinae* and their families. It is indicative that, despite the wide diffusion concubinage may have experienced in Roman times, the cases attested in the epigraphic evidence are not very numerous. Yet, the scarcity of inscriptions containing the word *concubina* does not prove a scarcity of *concubinatus*; rather, it highlights how some men and women expressly decided to define their personal unions in these specific terms on (typically) publicly visible monuments. While we cannot argue about the multiple reasons why such a choice could, or could not, be made by the partners, it is clear from the epigraphic evidence that the term *concubina* seems to reflect a particular

⁷⁶ We do not seek to deny here access to wealth and standing for women as a result of their profession, as is documented in many funerary monuments of professionally active females. But it is widely recognized that the Romans' gendered social perspective included 'the world of work', which also impacts on the arts. The bibliography on the topic is vast; contributions of particular relevance to the present study include Kampen, 1982; Kleiner & Matheson, 1996, 2000.

social and familial role. Its importance is marked by the fact that the women's partners were not the only commemorators who remembered it on the epitaphs: other family members, people external to the family and even the *concubinae* themselves celebrated it through epigraphic texts. This situation unveils the double significance of the *concubina*: a partner identified by legal and social rules, which define her rights and limits, and a companion who does not differ much from other relatives in the familial and personal sphere. It may be argued that such a role was forced upon these women by their male partners, and documented in the androcentric trait of the surviving evidence (Dixon, 2001: 3–63, 87): although the analysis has outlined the potential for involvement on the part of a *concubina*, it is her partner who played a very important part in the construction of this social image, as the high rate of partners as commissioners in the epigraphic and iconographic evidence suggests.

Ancient laws document that notable men could choose *concubinatus* in order to avoid falling into the shame of 'marrying down', as well as to provide the woman with a respectable social standing (Fayer, 2005: 13). While it is difficult to estimate how frequent concubinage was among elite families (Treggiari, 1981a: 60–3; Fayer, 2005: 12), it is very likely that elite members created a model — if not a status symbol — that could also be 'acquired' and replicated by members of lower social strata. Freedmen are frequently involved in concubinage, especially those who present themselves as successful men. The high frequency of the appearance of job titles and political roles on funerary monuments, the architectural structure of many of them (with the tools or the status symbols carved on the stone),⁷⁷ show how these men sought to highlight their role within the community and to be remembered for their personal achievements. Both the inscriptions and the reliefs illustrate in consequence an important aspect of *concubinatus*: while the *concubina* is mainly portrayed in the sphere of personal relations, her partner moves within a public and social environment, in which the *concubina* constitutes (merely) a further element — but not the only one — defining the man's social and public role.

The *concubinae* chosen by these men would have become worthy of the same respectability as *matronae*, even if, at least in principle, they were not extraordinary *exempla* of maternal virtues, as noted by Treggiari. Although freeborn *concubinae* are very few, and probably were not of high rank, legal status seems not to have been a strong discriminant, at least when we consider *libertae* and *incertae*, who share analogous patterns of funerary commemoration.⁷⁸ Ancient laws seem to exclude slaves from concubinage, and the epigraphic evidence tends to confirm this (Fayer, 2005: 12); exceptions are very scant: one such includes the above-mentioned funerary plaque from Rome on which an *incerta* describes herself as a *concubina* of a public slave (*CIL* VI

⁷⁷ See, e.g., another monument from Bovianum which reuses a block decorated by a Doric frieze: De Benedittis, 1995: 41–2 n. 16.

⁷⁸ For 'concubinage' with an (enslaved) individual with a *cognomen* only, see Rawson, 1974: 278–82, 289, 293; Treggiari, 1981a: 64–6; Friedl, 1996: 80–4; Fayer, 2005: 12.

2354; Eder, 1980: 112–13).⁷⁹ Such evidence may strengthen the assumption that the term *concupina* had a social value that was also shared by women; it also denotes the importance of concubinage as being a definition of a stable relationship which directly recalls marriage.

Concupinatus' first structural similarity with legal unions can be found in exogamy; as noted in the epigraphic analysis, the high frequency of *libertae alienae* as *concupinae* could suggest that *concupinatus* was viewed as creating a possible new social and economic link or *affinitas* among *familiae*, even if probably weaker compared to those of a *matrimonium iustum*; it might have been chosen not only by men, but also by women who wanted a less binding relationship. Alternatively, it might have been chosen by patrons for their freedwomen in order to create advantageous bonds with other *familiae*.

It could be assumed that a strong distinction may have existed between a de facto union and a valid marriage;⁸⁰ but, if we look at everyday life, the distinction was not so sharp. The use of the *dextrarum iunctio* and conjugal iconographical schemes leads to a marital-like visual interpretation of such unions, just as formulas and adjectives commonly used for wives were employed also for the commemoration of *concupinae*. This situation reflects the need to portray *concupinae* as 'official', loving and caring partners, as well as respectable *matronae*. An inscription from Rome summarizes the multifaceted family role of these women: the man dedicated the tomb to his *concupina*, his sister and likely his freedmen. Furthermore, he inserts an epigram in Greek in which he declares his grief over the violent death in a fire of the beloved *concupina*, who lived with him under a single roof (Lissi Caronna & Moretti, 1970: 362–3).

As has been seen, *concupinae* were considered full members of the partner's family: they appear listed in epitaphs and they share monuments with relatives and often freedpersons of their partners, who regularly occupy a less important role in the family, as the position of names and portraits on tombstones suggests.⁸¹ When legitimate wives and *concupinae* appear in the same text, they are both described in positive terms, even if differences are present. On the one hand, a chronological relationship between the two (or more) unions has to be taken into account (Rawson, 1974: 293; Treggiari, 1981b: 70; Fayer, 2005: 13); on the other, the role of the wives was likely more important, as the tombstone from Concordia suggests, not only because of the implications derived from the *matrimonia iusta* but also because of the possibility that they might give birth to *filiifamilias*. The studied evidence seems to suggest that attention to the complexities of a family's composition was a typical characteristic of the male dedicator. When the *concupinae* are commissioners,

⁷⁹ On *servi publici*, see Weiss, 2004; Schumacher, 2007.

⁸⁰ While concubinage was assumed to be a long-lasting relationship, the Roman jurist Paul concludes that the negation of the *maritalis* affection must be a result of personal decisions, requiring clear expression; Paul. *Dig.* 25, 7, 4; Paul. *Sent.* 2, 20, 1; also Marcianus *Dig.* 25, 7, 3, 1.

⁸¹ This is also seen in the provinces, as a Dalmatian tombstone shows, discussed in Rinaldi Tufi, 1987.

the attention is focused on the couple only: this may be accidental, or due to financial limitations — inscribed tombstones had their costs — or may be connected to the fact that *concupinae* had no duty towards the partner's family. Furthermore, given that any possible child was illegitimate, there was no formal link between the *concupina* and her partner's family after the man's death, nor was there any intention to build a 'natural' genealogy; the evidence supporting the existence of children is very poor, limited to inscriptions and often referring to illegitimate offspring from previous unions.⁸²

The picture we get from the epigraphic and iconographic sources reveals some peculiarities relating to *concupinae*: while they were not legitimate wives, they were neither mere slave partners nor mistresses. Additionally, in the case of freedwomen, the *concupinatus* enhanced their social position. The use of the term *concupina* carries a strong social definition, a tool that could be used by men to improve their social standing in the funerary sphere. Thus, women benefited from this title; through it, they also became members of the most intimate group within the *domus* or the *familia*. To be sure, these results arise from quantitatively limited analysis, especially with regard to the visual evidence. But as stated at the beginning of this article, the aim of this study is to highlight the views of those involved in *concupinatus* themselves, and not those of the authors of elite literary or legal texts — which regularly display a less charming image of concubinage and especially the women involved in it than what has been foregrounded here (Strong, 2016).⁸³ Thus, we can say that, although concubinage differs from marriage for various — and, nowadays, inexplicable — reasons (including aspects such as age, status, financial capabilities, complexity of the *familia*, and legal issues) (Dixon, 1992: 93), Roman *concupinae* who have left funerary evidence behind were seen as respectable partners, worthy of affection, even though not suitable for *maritalis*.

Addresses for correspondence:

Dr Tatjana Sandon

School of History, Classics and Archaeology, University of Edinburgh,
4 Teviot Place, Edinburgh EH8 9AG, UK

tatjana.sandon@ed.ac.uk

Dr Luca Scalco

Università degli Studi di Padova, Dipartimento dei Beni Culturali,
Piazza Capitaniato 7, 35139,
Padua, Italy

luca.scalco@unipd.it

⁸² In some cases, the wife is not recorded and the children's mother is not identified: *CIL* VI 14076; *AE* 1982, 362 (with freeborn sons); Mancini, 1914: 390 n. 43 (*filiae* with only *cognomen*); *CIL* V 4153 (freeborn *concupina* with the *filia* of the dedicator, sharing the *nomen* with the father, but without filiation).

⁸³ A comparison of epigraphic, literary and legal texts pertaining to *concupinae* and *concupinatus* is the subject of a separate study, in which we aim to highlight both the distinctions and the convergences between the various 'realities', i.e. that found in literature and law on the one hand, and that found in epigraphic attestations on the other.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

Authorial responsibility for sections as follows: Introduction, T.S. and L.S.; Sections 2 and 3, T.S.; Section 4, L.S.; Conclusion, T.S. and L.S.

REFERENCES

Abbreviations

AE *L'Année épigraphique*

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*

EDR Epigraphic Database Roma (<http://www.edr-edr.it/>)

RIGI *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di Filologia, Lingua, Antichità*

Works cited

- Berti, F. (2006) Le stele dei Fadieni. In F. Berti (ed.), *Mors immatura. I Fadieni e il loro sepolcreto* (*Quaderni di Archeologia dell'Emilia Romagna* 16): 9–19.
- Bonfante, L. (1989) Nudity as a costume in Classical art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 93: 543–70.
- Borbonus, D. (2014) *Columbarium Tombs and Collective Identity in Augustan Rome*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Brandizzi Vitucci, P. (1981) *La collezione archeologica del Casale di Roma Vecchia*. Rome, Comitato per l'archeologia laziale.
- Buonocore, M. (1984) Varia epigraphica abruzzesi. In *Miscellanea greca e romana* 9. Rome: 227–72.
- Buonocore, M. (2003) *Aesernia. Le iscrizioni*. Campobasso, Palladino.
- Buonopane, A. (2013) Le raffigurazioni di utensili nelle iscrizioni funerarie: da immagini parlanti a simbolo. *Sylloge Epigraphica Barcinonesis* 11: 73–82.
- Campbell, B. (1978) The marriage of soldiers under the Empire. *Journal of Roman Studies* 68: 153–66.
- Carroll, M. (2018) *Infancy and Earliest Childhood in the Roman World. 'A Fragment of Time'*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Catani, E. (2004) *Studi e ricerche sul Castellum Firmanorum*. Tivoli, Tipigraf.
- Cavuoto, P. (1968) Iscrizioni inedite di Benevento. *Epigraphica* 30: 126–55.
- Cristaldi, S.A. (2014) Unioni non matrimoniali a Roma. In F. Romeo (ed.), *Le relazioni affettive non matrimoniali*: 143–200. Assago, UTET.
- D'Ambra E. (1995) Mourning and the making of ancestors in the Testamentum Relief. *American Journal of Archaeology* 99: 667–81.
- D'Ambrosio, A. and De Caro, E. (1983) *Un impegno per Pompei. Fotopiano e documentazione della necropoli di Porta Nocera*. Milan, Touring Club Italiano.
- Davies, G. (1985) The significance of the handshake motif in Classical funerary art. *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 627–40.
- De Benedittis, G. (1995) *Bovianum Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine* 1. Campobasso, Lampo.
- De Marinis, G. (2005) (ed.) *Arte romana nei musei delle Marche*. Rome, Libreria dello Stato.
- Di Filippo Balestrazzi, E. (2012) *Sculture romane del Museo Nazionale Concordiese di Portogruaro*. Rome, Giorgio Bretschneider.

- Di Giacomo, G. (2010) Ancora sul corredo epigrafico dei sepolcri repubblicani di Via Statilia. *Roma. Una città, un impero* 1: 4–29.
- Diebner, S. (1991) Testimonianze di arte funeraria: il Sannio nel contesto delle altre regioni dell'Italia centrale. In *La Romanisation du Samnium aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J-C*: 230–43. Naples, Centre Jean Bérard.
- Dixon, S. (1992) *The Roman Family*. Baltimore (MD), Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dixon, S. (2001) *Reading Roman Women*. London, Bristol Classical Press.
- Eder, W. (1980) *Servitus Publica. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung, Entwicklung und Funktion der öffentlichen Sklaverei in Rom*. Wiesbaden, F. Steiner.
- Evans-Grubbs, J. (2002) *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire. A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*. London, Routledge.
- Fayer, C. (1994) *La familia romana. Aspetti giuridici e antiquari I*. Rome, “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Fayer, C. (2005) *La familia romana. Aspetti giuridici e antiquari III. Concubinato, Divorzio, Adulterio*. Rome, “L’Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Fejfer, J. (2008) *Roman Portraits in Context*. Berlin, De Gruyter.
- Friedl, R. (1996) *Der Konkubinat im kaiserzeitlichen Rom von Augustus bis Septimius Severus*. Stuttgart, Steiner.
- George, M. (2005) Family imagery and family values in Roman Italy. In M. George (ed.), *The Roman Family in the Empire. Rome, Italy, and Beyond*: 37–66. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Hasegawa, K. (2005) *The Familia Urbana during the Early Empire. A Study of Columbaria Inscriptions*. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Heinzelmann, M. (2001) Grabarchitektur, Bestattungsbrauch und Sozialstruktur: Zur Rolle der *familia*. In M. Heinzelmann, J. Ortalli, P. Fasold and M. Witteyer (eds), *Römischer Bestattungsbrauch und Beigaben-sitte in Rom, Norditalien und den Nordwestprovinzen von der späten Republik bis in die Kaiserzeit*: 179–91. Wiesbaden, L. Reichert.
- Hersch, K. (2010) *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Huttunen, P. (1974) *The Social Strata of the Imperial City of Rome. A Quantitative Study of the Social Representation in the Epitaphs Published in the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum Volumen VI*. Oulu, University of Oulu.
- Joshel, S.R. (1992) *Work, Identity, and Legal Status at Rome. A Study of the Occupational Inscriptions*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press.
- Kampen, N.B. (1982) Social status and gender in Roman art: the case of the saleswoman. In N. Broude and M.D. Garrard (eds), *Feminism and Art History: Questioning the Litany*: 63–77. Oxford, Harper & Row.
- Kleiner, D.E.E. and Matheson, S. (1996) (eds) *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome I*. Austin (TX), Yale University Art Gallery.
- Kleiner, D.E.E. and Matheson, S. (2000) (eds) *I Claudia: Women in Ancient Rome II*. Austin (TX), Yale University Art Gallery.
- Kockel, V. (1993) *Porträtreliefs stadtrömischer Grabbauten*. Mainz, von Zabern.
- Laes, C. (2003) Desperately different? *Delicia* children in the Roman household. In D. Balch and C. Osiek (eds), *Early Christian Families in Context. An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*: 298–326. Grand Rapids (MI), W.B. Eerdmans Pub. Co.
- Larsson-Lovén, L. (2010). Coniugal *concordia*: marriage and marital ideals on Roman funerary monuments. In L. Larsson Lovén and A. Strömberg (eds), *Ancient Marriage in Myth and Reality*: 204–20. Cambridge, Cambridge Scholars.
- Lissi Caronna, E. and Moretti, G. (1970) Roma — Resti di sepolcri e di alcune strutture romane nel parco della villa Doria-Pamphili al Gianicolo. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1970: 345–61.

- Magnani, S., Banchig, P. and Ventura, P. (2005) Il ponte romano alla Mainizza e la via Aquileia-Emona. *Aquileia Nostra* 76: 81–136.
- Mancini, G. (1914) Roma. Nuove scoperte in città e nel suburbio. *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* 1914: 376–99.
- Mander, J. (2013) *Portraits of Children on Roman Funerary Monuments*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Martin, D.B. (1996) The construction of the ancient family: methodological consideration. *Journal of Roman Studies* 86: 40–60.
- Mayer, E. (2012) *The Ancient Middle Classes. Urban Life and Aesthetics in the Roman Empire, 100 BCE–250 CE*. Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press.
- McGinn, T.A.J. (1991) Concubinage and the *Lex Iulia* on adultery. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 121: 335–75.
- McGinn, T.A.J. (2002) The Augustan marriage legislation and social practice: elite endogamy versus male “marrying down”. In J.J. Aubert and B. Sirks (eds), *Speculum Iuris: Roman Law as a Reflection of Social and Economic Life in Antiquity*: 46–93. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.
- Menozi, O. (1995) Una stele funeraria decorata rinvenuta ad Atri. *Quaderni dell’Istituto di Archeologia e Storia Antica, Università di Chieti* 5: 169–84.
- Mouritsen, H. (2011) *The Freedman in the Roman World*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Nowak, M. (2014) The hereditary rights of the extramarital children in light of the law of papyri. In B. Casey and S.R. Huebner (eds), *Inheritance, Law and Religion in the Ancient and Mediaeval Worlds*: 11–24. Paris, Peeters.
- Perry, M.J. (2014) *Gender, Manumission, and the Roman Freedwoman*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Pflug, H. (1989) *Römische Porträtstelen in Oberitalien: Untersuchungen zur Chronologie, Typologie und Ikonographie*. Mainz, Zabern.
- Phang, S.E. (2001) *The Marriage of Roman Soldiers (13 B.C.–A.D. 235): Law and Family in the Imperial Army*. Leiden, Brill.
- Rawson, B. (1974) Roman concubinage and other “de facto” marriages. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 104: 279–305.
- Rinaldi Tufi, S. (1987) Stele di un navigatore dalmata. In *Studi per Laura Breglia III. Archeologia e storia*: 97–100. Rome, Istituto poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato.
- Saller, R.P. (1984) *Familia, domus, and the Roman conception of the family*. *Phoenix* 38: 336–55.
- Sampaolo, V. (1981) Gli oggetti. In *Pompei 1748–1980. I tempi della documentazione*: 201–7. Rome, Multigrafica.
- Scalco, L. (2016) Donne di casa: ritratti di liberte e patroni sui monumenti funerari romani. *Anales de Arqueología Cordobesa* 27: 215–38.
- Schumacher, L. (2007) Archäologische Zeugnisse zum römischen Sklavenrecht: *servi togati* und *SC Claudianvm*. In M. Mayer i Olivé, G. Baratta and A. Guzmán, *Provinciae Imperii Romani inscriptionibus descriptae: Barcelona, 3–8 septembris 2002 II*: 1331–6. Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans.
- Solin, H. (2012) *Analecta Epigraphica CCLXXII–CCLXXXV. Arctos* 46: 193–238.
- Starac, A. (2006) *Reliefni prikazi na rimskimnadgrobnim spomenicima. Depictions in Relief on Roman Funerary Monuments at the Archaeological Museum of Istria at Pula*. Pula.
- Stout, A.M. (2001) Jewelry as a symbol of status in the Roman Empire. In L. Bonfante and J.L. Sebesta (eds), *The World of Roman Costume* (second edition): 77–100. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.
- Strong A.K. (2016) *Prostitutes and Matrons in the Roman World*. New York, Cambridge University Press.
- Tramunto, M. (2009) *Concubini e concubine nell’Italia romana*. Fabriano, Fabriano Edizioni.

- Treggiari, S. (1981a) *Concubinae*. *Papers of the British School at Rome* 49: 59–81.
- Treggiari, S. (1981b) *Contubernales* in *CIL* 6. *Phoenix* 35: 42–69.
- Treggiari, S. (1981c) Women with two living husbands in *CIL* 6. *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 6: 269–72.
- Treggiari, S. (1991) *Roman Marriage: 'Iusti Coniuges' from the Time of Cicero to the Time of Ulpian*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Väänänen, V. (1973) *Le iscrizioni della necropoli dell'Autoparco Vaticano*. Rome, Aziende Tipografiche Eredi dott. G. Bardi.
- Von Hesberg, H. (2005) Il recinto nelle necropoli di Roma in età repubblicana: origine e diffusione. In G. Cresci Marrone (ed.), *Terminavit sepulcrum: i recinti funerari delle necropoli di Altino: Atti del convegno, Venezia, 3–4 dicembre 2003*: 59–77. Rome, Quasar.
- Von Hesberg-Tonn, B. (1983) *Coniunx carissima. Untersuchungen zum Normcharakter im Erscheinungsbild der römischen Frau*. Stuttgart, Historisches Institut der Universität Stuttgart.
- Weiler, I. (2003) *Die Beendigung des Sklavenstatus im Altertum. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Sozialgeschichte*. Stuttgart, Steiner.
- Weiss, A. (2004) *Sklave der Stadt. Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Sklaverei in den Städten des römischen Reiches*. Stuttgart, Steiner.
- Zimmer, G. (1982) *Römische Berufsdarstellungen*. Berlin, Gebr. Mann.