

Pathways to Power: Wealth vs. Influence in Republican Women's Social Networks

<b>1. Valerius Maximus 4.4.init</b>	
<p>Maxima ornamenta esse matronis liberos, apud Pomponium Rufum collectorum libro... sic inuenimus: Cornelia Gracchorum mater, cum Campana matrona apud illam hospita ornamenta sua pulcherrima illius saeculi ostenderet, traxit eam sermone, &lt;donec&gt; e schola redirent liberi, et 'haec' inquit 'ornamenta sunt mea'.</p>	<p>The greatest ornament of a mother is her children, according to a book of the collection of Pomponium Rufus, we find thus: Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi brothers, when a Campanian matron, a guest of hers, was displaying her ornaments as the most beautiful of that age, she [Cornelia] exposed her with this speech, when her children returned from school, and she said 'these and my ornaments.'</p>
<b>2. Livy 34.1</b>	
<p>M. Fundanius et L. Ualerius tribuni plebi ad plebem tulerunt de Oppia lege abroganda. tulerat eam C. Oppius tribunus plebis Q. Fabio Ti. Sempronio consulibus in medio ardore Punici belli, ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu uestimento uersicolori uteretur neu iuncto uehiculo in urbe oppidouae aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa ueheretur. M. et P. Iunii Bruti tribuni plebis legem Oppiam tuebantur nec eam se abrogari passuros aiebant; ad suadendum dissuadendumque multi nobiles prodibant; Capitolium turba hominum fauentium aduersantiumque legi complebatur. Matronae nulla nec auctoritate nec uerecundia nec imperio uirorum contineri limine poterant, omnes uias urbis aditusque in forum obsidebant, uiros descendentes ad forum orantes ut florente re publica, crescente in dies priuata omnium fortuna matronis quoque pristinum ornatum reddi paterentur. Augebatur haec frequentia mulierum in dies; nam etiam ex oppidis conciliabulisque conueniebant.</p>	<p>Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, tribunes of the plebs, had proposed the repeal of the Lex Oppia to the community. Gaius Oppius, tribune of the plebs, had proposed during the consulship of Quintus Fabio and Tiberius Sempronius, at the height of the Punic wars, that no woman should have more than a half oz. of gold, nor should she wear a multicolored [purple] garment, nor should she drive a yoked carriage in the city, a town, or nearer than 1,000 paces unless for the sake of public religious festivals. Marcus and Publius Junius Brutus, tribunes of the plebs, were supporting the Lex Oppia and they were promising that they would not allow it to be repealed; many celebrated men were coming out to argue for and to argue against it; a crowd of men, both in favor of and in opposed to the law, were filling up the Capitoline. The matrons could be limited to their own threshold by neither advice nor shame nor the control of their husbands, they were blocking all the roads of the city and the passageways into the forum, begging the men descending into the Forum that, with the state flourishing and the private fortune of all increasing every day, they support the return of the former ornamentation of matrons also. This multitude of women was augmented daily; for they were coming even from the outlying towns and regional capitals.</p>

<b>3. Livy 34.7.8-9</b>	
non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphum nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt; munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri.	No civil office, nor sacred offices, nor triumphs, nor emblems of rank, nor gifts, nor spoils of war are able to come to them; these are women's emblems of rank, they rejoice and take pride in these, our ancestors called this the womanly sphere.
<b>4. Valerius Maximus 5.2.1</b>	
Atque ut a publicis actis ordiar, Marcium patriae... conantem admotoque portis urbis ingenti Volscorum exercitu funus ac tenebras Romano imperio minantem Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor nefarium opus exequi precibus suis passae non sunt, in quarum honorem senatus matronarum ordinem benignissimis decretis adornavit: sanxit namque ut feminis semita viri cederent, confessus plus salutis rei publicae in stola quam in armis fuisse, vetustisque aurum insignibus novum vittae discrimen adiecit. permisit quoque his purpurea veste et aureis uti segmentis.	Let me begin with public deeds, when Marcus [Coriolanus] was undertaking the destruction of his country having led a huge Volscan army to the gates of the city, and was driving darkness to Roman rule, his mother Veturia and wife Volumnia were not allowing with their entreaties that he carry out the infamous deed, in whose honor the Senate decorated the order of matrons with beneficent decrees: it made them sacrosanct, that men should yield a pathway to women, it having been acknowledged that there was more safety for the Republic in a stola than in arms, it set a distinction of a fillet to the ancient golden emblems. The Senate also allowed [them] to wear purple clothing and gold trimmings at the hem.
<b>5. Livy 34.4.16</b>	
quae de suo poterit, parabit: quae non poterit, uirum rogabit	That woman who can [purchase adornments] for herself will purchase [them], she who cannot, she will ask her husband.
<b>6. Polybius 31.26.3-5</b>	
συνέβαινε δὲ τὴν Αἰμιλίαν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῇ προειρημένην γυναίκεν, μεγαλομερῆ τὴν περίστασιν ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς γυναικείαις ἐξόδοις, ἅτε συνηκμακυῖαν τῷ βίῳ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ τῆς Σκιπίωνος: χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν ἀπήνην κόσμου καὶ τὰ κανᾶ καὶ τὰ ποτήρια καὶ ἄλλα τὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ποτὲ μὲν ἀργυρᾶ, ποτὲ δὲ χρυσᾶ, πάντα συνεξηκολούθει κατὰ τὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξόδους αὐτῆς, τό τε τῶν παιδισκῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν τῶν παρεπομένων πλῆθος ἀκόλουθον ἦν τούτοις.	It came to pass that Aemilia, whose name was among the first of women, went to the woman's business magnificent in her accoutrements, since she had taken part in the life and success of Scipio: apart from the adornment of her own person and carriage, baskets, and wine cups and other implements of sacrifice, some of silver, some gold, all attended her everywhere, and a multitude of youths, slaves, and attendants with them following in a shining parade.

<b>7. Livy 34.8.1-2</b>	
... aliquanto maior frequentia mulierum postero die sese in publicum effudit unoque agmine omnes Brutorum ianuas obsederunt, qui collegarum rogationi intercedebant, nec ante abstiterunt quam remissa intercessio ab tribunis est.	... the next day an even greater multitude of women poured themselves out into public space, and they all as a single force blockaded the doors of the Bruti, who were interfering in their colleagues' proposal, nor did they stand down until the veto by the tribunes was withdrawn.
<b>8. Gaius Institutes 2.226</b>	
<b>Ideo postea lata est lex Voconia, qua cautum est, ne cui plus legatorum nomine mortis causa capere liceret, quam heredes caperent. ex qua lege plane quidem aliquid utique heredes habere uidebantur;</b> sed tamen fere uitium simile nascebatur. nam in multas legatariorum personas distributo patrimonio poterat testator adeo heredi minimum relinquere, ut non expediret heredi huius lucri gratia totius hereditatis onera sustinere.	<b>Later, on this account the Lex Voconia was passed, through which it was guarded lest it be allowed for anyone from being named a legatee or because of a death to inherit more than the Heirs inherit. From which law, to be sure, the Heirs were seen in the end to have the residue;</b> but, however, it is said that a flaw was born at the same time. For the Testator was able to give up the least amount to the Heir by distributing the inheritance among many legatees, so that the benefit of the inherited wealth to the Heir might not free him to take up the burdens of the whole inheritance.
<b>9. Livy 41 Periocha</b>	
Q. Voconius Saxa tribunus plebis legem tulit, ne quis mulierem heredem institueret. suasit legem M. Cato. exstat oratio eius.	Quintus Voconius Saxa, tribune of the Plebs, made a law, that no one might select a woman as his heir. Marcus Cato advocated for the law. His oration is extant.
<b>10. Plutarch <i>The Life of Gaius Gracchus</i> 4.1-2</b>	
... δύο νόμους εισέφερε, τὸν μὲν, εἴ τινας ἄρχοντας ἀφηρῆτο τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ δῆμος, οὐκ ἔῶντα τούτῳ δευτέρας ἀρχῆς μετουσίαν εἶναι: τὸν δ', εἴ τις ἄρχων ἄκριτον ἐκκεκηρύχοι πολίτην, κατ' αὐτοῦ διδόντα κρίσιν τῷ δήμῳ. τούτων τῶν νόμων ἄντικρυς ὁ μὲν Μάρκον Ὀκτάβιον ἡτίμου τὸν ὑπὸ Τιβερίου τῆς δημαρχίας ἐκπεσόντα, τῷ δ' ἐνείχεται Ποπίλλιος: οὗτος γὰρ στρατηγῶν τοὺς τοῦ Τιβερίου φίλους ἐξεκέρυξε. καὶ Ποπίλλιος μὲν οὐχ ὑποστάς τὴν κρίσιν ἔφυγεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας: τὸν δὲ ἕτερον νόμον Γάιος αὐτὸς ἐπανείλετο, φήσας τῇ μητρὶ Κορνηλία δεηθεῖσθαι χαρίζεσθαι τὸν Ὀκτάβιον.	...he introduced two laws, one, the if the people were taking away any government official's office, that one might not run for a second office in government: the other, if any of the officials banished a citizen without trial, then he gives himself up to a trial by the people. Of these laws, one was openly entangling Marcus Octavius with dishonor, who had been removed from the tribunate by Tiberius, and Popillius was entangled by the other, for he banished the friends of Tiberius while serving as a general. Popillius, not submitting to trial, fled from Italy; <b>but Gaius himself withdrew the other law, saying that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia.</b>

11. Plutarch <i>The Life of Tiberius Gracchus</i> 8.2, 5	
<p>ἀρξαμένων δὲ τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς ἀποφορὰς καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἐξελαινόντων, ἐγράφη νόμος οὐκ ἔῶν πλέθρα γῆς ἔχειν πλείονα τῶν πεντακοσίων. ... ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ Κορνηλίαν συνεπαιτιῶνται τὴν μητέρα πολλακίς τοὺς υἱοὺς ὀνειδίζουσιν ὅτι Ῥωμαῖοι Σκηπίωνος αὐτὴν ἔτι πενθεράν, οὐπω δὲ μητέρα Γράγχων προσαγορεύουσιν.</p>	<p>When the rich began to surpass the suitable charge [for rent] and were driving out the poor, a new law was written [by Tiberius] that one person could not hold more than 500 measures of land. ... Some accuse Cornelia [of inspiring Tiberius to enact the law] for often she reproached her sons that the Romans were still addressing her as the mother-in-law of Scipio [Aemilianus], not yet the mother of the Gracchi.</p>

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