

University of Adelaide
Discipline of Classics
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VENUS RESTRAINED

The Regulation of Rome's women in the
Second Punic War



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Mars dubius nec certa Venus

Mars is doubtful and Venus is not certain

Ov. *Am.* 1.9.29.

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Abstract

In war, women tend to suffer great harm, yet war also presents women with opportunities. The focus of this study is how Rome's women experienced this harm and opportunity in the Second Punic War (218 – 201 BCE), where harm was the state's regulation of elite women, and opportunity was their collaboration with that regulation to their advantage.

This study establishes that the Roman state regulated elite women between 216 – 207 BCE with eight measures that targeted their social and economic independence. It reassesses the primary evidence for these acts of regulation, with reference to the work of Pomeroy, Evans and Hänninen. The argument of this study is that this regulation occurred after Cannae (216 BCE) and persisted past 207 BCE, *pace* Bauman. It will be shown that this process of regulation was motivated by the state's desire to acquire assets and establish public order.

This study further explores the ways in which elite Roman women collaborated in this regulation via religious rites c. 215 and in 204 BCE that promoted sexual virtue. It reassesses the primary evidence for these rites, and outlines the prominence of status and sexual virtue within them. Drawing on the work of Pomeroy, Hänninen, Schultz, and Langlands, the second core argument of this study is that these rites offered elite women an opportunity for status competition, and that they functioned as protective rites. It will be demonstrated that elite women used these rites to improve their status and participate in the religious protection of the state.

Rome's women were regulated throughout the Second Punic War, and some elite women collaborated with that regulation for their own benefit. Such pragmatism during wartime has a modern descendent in the collaboration of some British suffragettes with the state in World War I. In both cases Venus (restrained) transformed harm into opportunity.

Thesis Declaration

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give consent to this copy of my thesis, when deposited in the University Library, being made available for loan and photocopying, subject to the provisions of the Copyright Act 1968.

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Amicus [...] est tamquam alter idem (Cic. *Amic.* 81).

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Texts, Abbreviations, and Notes

Texts

The primary sources listed below are quoted within this study. This study draws heavily on Livy and Plautus, and uses the Oxford Classical Texts editions of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* and Plautus' *Comoediae*.

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Abbreviations

aed. = Aedile.

AJA = American Journal of Archaeology.

AJPh = The American Journal of Philology.

ANRW = Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.

BCE = Before the Common Era.

c. = *Circa*.

CE = Common Era.

cens. = Censor.

ChHist = Church History.

CIL I² = Lommatzsch, E. & Mommsen, T. *Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem*. Berlin: F. Reimerum, 1918.

cos. = Consul.

cur. = Curule.

dict. = Dictator.

Festus p. x L = Lindsay, W. (editor) *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae*

supersunt cum Pauli epitome. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner, 1997.

ibid. = *ibidem*.

JR = The Journal of Religion.

JRH = Journal of Religious History.

ILS = Dessau, H. (editor) *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*. Berlin: Weidmann, 1892-1916, 3 vols.

MRR 1. = Broughton, T. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic: Volume 1*. Ohio: American Philological Association, 1968.

MRR 2. = Broughton, T. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic: Volume 2*. Ohio: American Philological Association, 1968.

OLD = Glare, P. (editor) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968.

pr. = Praetor.

p.max. = Pontifex Maximus.

REL = Revue des études latines.

s.a. = *sub anno*.

s.v. = *sub uerbo*.

TAPhA = Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association.

tr. pl. = Plebeian Tribune.

viz. = *uidelicet*.

Notes

1. Primary source abbreviations are taken from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.
2. For quotes in Latin, this study uses u over v.
3. References follow the Chicago Manual of Style, 15th Edition.