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Marko SINOBAD

STAROSNA DOB ŽENA U VRIJEME UDAJE: PRIMJER ANTIČKE SALONE

AGES OF WOMEN AT THE TIME OF MARRIAGE: THE EXAMPLE OF ANCIENT SALONA

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U epigrafskome materijalu antičke Salone postoji mala grupa nadgrobničkih spomenika koji bilježe starosnu dob žena u vrijeme smrti i trajanje braka. Oni su izvrstan izvor podataka o braku, kvaliteti življenja žena i općenito društvenim prilikama u salonitanskome društvu. Ljudi zabilježeni na ovim epitafima pripadali su uglavnom srednje imućnu društvenom staležu koji se razvio u urbanim središtima Rimskoga Carstva. Među njima se pojavljuju oslobođenici/oslobođenice, slobodni građani/građanke, ali i robovi/ropkinje. Nadgrobni spomenici tog karaktera nisu bili česta pojava u Rimskome Carstvu. Najvećim dijelom evidentirani su u gradovima antičke Italije, dok ih je jedan manji broj pronađen u provincijskim središtima Afrike, Dalmacije i Panonije.

Ključne riječi: Salona, nadgrobni spomenici, društvena povijest, rimsko pravo, brak

Among the epigraphic records from Roman-era Salona, there is a small group of grave monuments that record the age of women at the time of their death and the duration of their marriage. These are an outstanding source of data on marriage, the quality of life of women, and overall social circumstances in Salona. The people commemorated in these epigraphs generally belonged to the well-to-do middle class that emerged in urban centres of the Roman Empire. Among them there were freedmen/women, free citizens of both sexes, but also slaves. Grave monuments of this character were not common in the Roman Empire. They were mostly documented in the cities of ancient Italy, while only a smaller number has been found in the provincial centres of Africa, Dalmatia and Pannonia.

Key words: Salona, grave monuments, social history, Roman law, marriage

Znanstveni radovi koji osvjetljavaju društveni položaj žena u vrijeme Rimskoga Carstva potakli su nas da ovoj temi dodamo skroman prilog iz antičke provincije Dalmacije. Studije o antičkim ženama, od njihove učestale pojave u klasičnim znanostima početkom sedamdesetih godina prošloga stoljeća,

Scholarly works that shed some light on the social position of women in the Roman Empire have prompted this author to make a contribution from the Roman Province of Dalmatia. Consideration of women during this era, increasingly frequent in the study of Classical Antiquity since the beginning of

postale su jedan od glavnih pravaca istraživačkoga rada (Clark 1981: 193).¹ Osnovna je karakteristika tih studija prepoznavanje roda kao temeljnog analitičkog alata u humanističkim znanostima (Zemon Davis 1976: 90; Keller 1982: 592, 593; 1988: 235). Rod, kao društveno uobličena definicija muškarca, žene i odnosa među njima, ima važnu ulogu u strukturiranju društva (Scott 1986: 1053, 1054). On se izgrađuje procesom socijalizacije, učenjem ponašanja i zauzimanja stavova društveno prihvatljivih za određeni spol. S obzirom na to da se rodna socijalizacija provodi kroz razne društvene institucije, prije svega obitelj, integriranje rodne analize u povijesne studije nameće se kao imperativ (Hughes 1994: 417). Analiziranje strukture obitelji i društvenog uređenja te raspodjele vlasništva temelji su za razumijevanje uloge muškarca ili žene u svakom proučavanom društvu (Kleinbaum 1979: 505).

Za istraživanja u ovome smijeru, kad je u pitanju period Rimskoga Carstva, nadgrobni spomenici pružaju obilje vrijednih podataka. Ovdje ćemo se ograničiti na detaljniju analizu samo nekoliko nadgrobnih spomenika žena pronađenih na području antičke Salone koji spominju njihovu starosnu dob u vrijeme smrti i vjenčanja. Na području rimske države ukupno je poznato oko četiri stotine natpisa tog tipa (Shaw 1987: 34). Više od devedeset posto njih potječe iz Rima i Italije, dok ostali pripadaju baštini romanizirane Dalmacije, Panonije i Afrike (*ibid.*: 34, 44, T. I). Njihova rasprostranjenost podudara se s najurbaniziranim regijama Carstva. Ovomu tipu nadgrobnih spomenika u drugim provincijama Carstva nema pouzdanih tragova (*ibid.*: 34). Njihova vrijednost leži u tome što omogućuju približavanje određenim aspektima braka, položaju žena u društvu i općenito kulturnim navikama koje su u vrijeme Rimskoga Carstva postojale među rimskim i romaniziranim stanovništvom.

Prije nego se upustimo u interpretaciju nadgrobnih spomenika, osvrnut ćemo se na druge sačuvane antičke izvore koji nam kazuju o starosnoj dobi žena prilikom udaje. Na prvom mjestu spomenimo da je Augustovim zakonodavstvom određeni zakonski minimum dobi za vjenčanje za žene iznosio dvanaest, a za muškarce četrnaest godina (*Digest.*, XXIII, 1, 2; Cass. Dio., LIIII, 16, 7). Ta zakonska odredba vjerojatno je nasljeđe iz kasnorepublikanskoga vremena (*Digest.*, XII, 4, 8; Clark 1981: 200; Treggiari 1991: 41). Čini se da zakonski minimum od dvanaest godina za žene nije postavljen zato što se smatralo da bi one u toj dobi bile spremne za brak, već se njime željela spriječiti praksa udavanja još mladih djevojči-

the 1970s, has become one of the main fields of research (Clark 1981: 193).¹ The basic characteristic of this research is that gender is recognised as the fundamental analytical tool in the liberal arts (Zemon Davis 1976: 90; Keller 1982: 592, 593; 1988: 235). Gender, as a socially-constructed definition of men, women and their mutual relations, plays a vital role in the structuring of societies (Scott 1986: 1053, 1054). Gender is moulded by socialisation, learning behaviour and assumption of attitudes on what is socially-acceptable for a specific sex. Since gender socialisation proceeds through various social institutions, but primarily through the family, integration of gender analysis into the study of history becomes imperative (Hughes 1994: 417). Analysis of family structures and social orders and distribution of ownership are the foundations for understanding the role of men and women in any society being examined (Kleinbaum 1979: 505).

Grave monuments offer a wealth of valuable data for research in this field when the Roman Empire is in question. Here, a more detailed analysis will be limited to just a few grave monuments dedicated to women found in the territory of ancient Salona, which mention their age at the time of death and marriage. There are approximately four hundred known inscriptions of this type in the territory of the former Roman state (Shaw 1987: 34). Over ninety percent are from Rome itself and Italy, while the rest are a part of artefacts from Romanised Dalmatia, Pannonia and Africa (*ibid.*: 34, 44, T. I). Their distribution corresponds to the Empire's most urbanised regions. There are no reliable traces of this type of grave monument in other provinces of the Empire (*ibid.*: 34). Their value lies in the fact that they make possible an acquaintance with certain aspects of marriage, the status of women in society and the general cultural customs that existed in the Roman Empire between the Roman and Romanised populations.

Before turning to interpretation of grave monuments, I will briefly review some other preserved ancient sources that tell us about the age of women at the time of marriage. First, according to legislation enacted in the Augustan era, the legal minimum age for marriage was twelve for women and fourteen for men (*Digest.*, XXIII, 1, 2; Cass. Dio., LIIII, 16, 7). This legal provision is probably the legacy of the Late Republic (*Digest.*, XII, 4, 8; Clark 1981: 200; Treggiari 1991: 41). It would appear that the legal minimum of twelve for women was not set because

¹ Pregled radova o ovoj temi donosi Pomeroy 1991: 263, n. 2.

¹ An overview of works on this topic is provided by Pomeroy, 1991: 263, n. 2.

ca te ograničiti trajanje zaruka (Hopkins 1965: 313). Prema mišljenjima antičkih liječnika Sorana, Celija Aurelijana, Vindicijana i Rufa prva se menstruacija u djevojaka javljala u četrnaestoj godini života (Hopkins 1965: 314, 315; Lefkowitz & Fant 1992: 251, 252). Međutim ta se brojka ne može uzeti kao prosječna jer je starosna dob u kojoj se dobivala prva menstruacija ovisila o veličini obitelji i društvenom staležu kojem su djevojke pripadale. Djevojke iz višega društvenog staleža živjele su pretežno u malim obiteljima i imale raznovrsniju prehranu, pa su stoga u pubertet obično ulazile prije djevojaka koje su pripadale nižemu društvenom staležu (Hopkins 1965: 312). Stoga se prosječnih trinaest i više godina koje spominju antički liječnici može odnositi samo na djevojke iz višega društvenog staleža jer su pretežno upravo one bile pacijentice spomenutih liječnika (*ibid.*). Soran (*Gynaecia* I, 25, 33–34) savjetuje da se defloracija iz zdravstvenih razloga ne prakticira prije prve menstruacije, što pokazuje da je praksa znala biti i suprotna (Lefkowitz & Fant 1992: 251). Zaruke su se mogle zaključiti i u prepubertetsko doba (Paul., *Sentent.*, II, 19, 1). Augustovim zakonodavstvom bile su ograničene na trajanje od maksimalno dvije godine, što znači da je bilo dopušteno zaručiti djevojčicu već od deset godina starosti (Cass. Dio., LIII, 16, 7). Ozakonjeni položaj zaručnice (*sponsa*) stjecao se službenom zarukom (*Digest.*, XXIV, 1, 32, 27). Zaručnici je bilo dopušteno prekinuti zaruke i vjenčati se s drugom osobom (Justinian., *Cod.*, V, 1, 1). Ako bi s mužem nastavila živjeti i nakon napunjene dvanaeste godine, postajala je njihovom zakonskom suprugom (*Digest.*, XXIII, 2, 4).

Epiktet (*Enchirid.*, 40) bilježi kako su djevojke laskanje muškaraca tumačile kao dio svoje predodređenosti za zadovoljavanje muškaraca, pa su otuda sve polagale na svoj izgled. Ovidije (*Metamorph.*, XI, 302) dob od četrnaest godina također smatra primjerenom braku.

Razlozi za zaručivanje i udavanje djevojčica u ranoj dobi dobrim su dijelom ovisili o društvenome staležu kojem su pripadale one i njihove obitelji. Razlozi su prije svega zadani voljom njihovih roditelja, tako da je djevojčicama sloboda izbora najčešće bila uskraćena (Crook 1967: 100). Brak nije mogao postati legitiman bez očeva pristanka (*Digest.*, XXIII, 2, 22). Očev izbor zaručnika djevojke su mogle ne prihvatiti samo ako je ovaj bio loših osobina i karakteru (*Digest.*, XXIII, 1, 12).

U vladarskim i ostalim aristokratskim obiteljima razlozi za udaju često su bili političke prirode (Mullens 1942: 59–67). Antički izvori spominju vjenčanja mnogih osoba, međutim tek iznimno spominju starosnu dob djevojaka u vrijeme udaje (Hopkins 1965: 317). Indirektno se ipak zna za nekoliko primjera

they were deemed ready for marriage at that age, rather it was an attempt to prevent the marriage of even younger girls and limit the duration of engagement (Hopkins 1965: 313). According to the views of Roman-era physicians Soran, Celius Aurelianus, Vindician and Rufus, girls usually experienced their first menstruation at that age of fourteen (Hopkins 1965: 314, 315; Lefkowitz & Fant 1992: 251, 252). This figure, however, cannot be taken as an average, because the age of first menstruation depended on the size of the family and the social class to which the girls belonged. Girls from higher social classes usually lived in smaller families and had a balanced diet, so they generally reached puberty before girls who belonged to lower social classes (Hopkins 1965: 312). Thus the average age of thirteen or older mentioned by Roman physicians can only refer to girls from higher social classes because they were usually patients of these same physicians (*ibid.*). Soran (*Gynaecia* I, 25, 33–34) advised that defloration should not occur prior to the first menstruation on health grounds, which indicates that there were, in fact, practices that differed from this recommendation (Lefkowitz & Fant 1992: 251). Engagements could be arranged at pre-pubescent ages (Paul., *Sentent.*, II, 19, 1). Under Augustan laws, the latter were limited to a maximum of two years, which means that girls could already be engaged at the age of ten (Cass. Dio., LIII, 16, 7). The legal status of fiancé (*sponsa*) was acquired after formal engagement (*Digest.*, XXIV, 1, 32, 27). Fiancés were permitted to terminate the engagement and marry others (Justinian., *Cod.*, V, 1, 1). If a girl continued living with her husband even after reaching the age of twelve, she became his lawful spouse (*Digest.*, XXIII, 2, 4).

Epictetus (*Enchirid.*, 40) states that men would occasionally address girls at the age of fourteen as *curia* which is usually reserved for adult women. They interpreted the flattery of men as a component of their predisposition to please men, so they thus directed all their efforts to improve their appearance. Ovid (*Metamorph.*, XI, 302) also deemed fourteen a suitable age for marriage.

The reasons for engagement and marriage of girls at an early age largely depended on the social class to which they and their families belonged. The reasons are primarily determined by the will of the parents, so that the freedom of choice of the girls was most often denied (Crook 1967: 100). Marriage could not be legitimate without the father's consent (*Digest.*, XXIII, 2, 22). A father's choice of a girl's suitor could only be rejected if such a suitor exhibited poor qualities and character (*Digest.*, XXIII, 1, 12).

In families belonging to the ruling class or aristocracy, the reasons for marriage were often political

udaje u ranoj dobi. Julija, Augustova kći, u vrijeme vjenčanja s Marcelom imala je četrnaest godina (Cass. Dio., LIII, 27, 5; Avery 1935: 171). Car Tiberije udao je svoje unuke, Germanikove kćeri, Juliju Druzilu za Lucija Kasija Longina u dobi od šesnaest ili sedamnaest godina i Juliju Livilu za Marka Viničija u dobi od petnaest godina (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 15, 1; Syme 1982: 63, n. 4). Oktavija, kći cara Klaudija, bila je udana za Nerona s jedanaest godina (Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 58; XIV, 64; Geer 1931: 66, 67). Plinije Mlađi (*Epist.*, V, 16, 6), komentirajući smrt Minicije Marcele, kćeri svoga prijatelja Minicija Fundana umrle s nenapunjenih trinaest godina, spominje kako je tada već bila vjerena i kako je bio određen dan njezina vjenčanja (Bodel 1995: 453).

Podaci koje nam osiguravaju antički pisci najčešće se odnose na prilike među rimskom aristokracijom, tako da antičko društvo u cjelini predstavljaju veoma fragmentarnom slikom. Zbog te disproporcije o životu jedne vrlo uske društvene skupine imamo obilje podataka dok, s druge strane, o nižem društvenomu staležu, kojemu je pripadala većina antičkoga stanovništva, znamo veoma malo. Antički pisci pripadnike/pripadnice nižega društvenog staleža – prije svega robove/ropkinje, većinu oslobođenika/oslobođenica i siromašno slobodno građanstvo – spominju tek sporadično, tako da nadgrobni spomenici pružaju osnovni, često i jedini izvor spoznaje o njima (Rawson 1966: 72).

Uzroci pojave iznimno rana udavanja ženske djece među nižim društvenim staležima izmiču jasnom uvidu, no među obiteljima slobodnih ljudi i oslobođenika ipak se dijelom mogu pretpostaviti razlozi materijalne prirode. Brakovi između pripadnika i pripadnica različitih društvenih staleža bili su česta pojava u Rimskome Carstvu i svakako jedan od činilaca društvene pokretljivosti (Rawson 1966: 72). Zakonski i društveni položaj jednog utjecao je na položaj drugoga supružnika (Weaver 1967: 7). Punopravni rimski brak mogao se sklopiti samo između rimskoga građanina i građanke ili rimskoga građanina/građanke i peregrina/peregrinke koji su posjedovali *conubium* – pravo na brak dopušten rimskim zakonom (*Tit. Ulp.*, V, 3, 4; Rawson 1974: 282). U svjetlu rimskih zakona zajednica roba i ropkinja te zajednica između robova/ropkinja i slobodnih ljudi nazivala se *contubernium* i nije bila smatrana legitimnim brakom (Paul., *Sentent.*, II, 19, 6). Osim ovih postojao je još jedan oblik zajednice, nazivan *concubinatus*, a podrazumijevao je zajednicu dvoje ljudi u kojoj se brak nije očekivao i koja nije bila uređena zakonom, nego međusobnim dogovorom (Treggiari 1981: 59). Obično su imućniji muškarci pronalazili sebi konkubine iz nižega društvenog staleža u vrijeme dok još nisu bili stupili u brak ili pak

in nature (Mullens 1942: 59–67). Classical sources mention the marriage of many persons; however, the age of the women at the time of marriage is only exceptionally noted (Hopkins 1965: 317). There are nonetheless indirect examples of marriage at an early age. Julia, the daughter of Augustus, was fourteen at the time of her marriage to Marcellus (Cass. Dio., LIII, 27, 5; Avery 1935: 171). Emperor Tiberius married off his granddaughters, the daughters of Germanicus, Julia Drusilla (to Lucius Cassius Longinus) and Julia Livilla (to Marcus Vinicius), at the ages of sixteen (or seventeen) and fifteen, respectively (Tac., *Ann.*, VI, 15, 1; Syme 1982: 63, n. 4). Octavia, the daughter of Emperor Claudius, was married to Nero at the age of eleven (Tac., *Ann.*, XII, 58; XIV, 64; Geer 1931: 66, 67). Pliny the Younger (*Epist.*, V, 16, 6), commenting on the death of Minicia Marcella, the daughter of his friend Minicius Fundanus, who died just under the age of thirteen, mentions that she was already engaged at that time and that the date of her marriage had been set (Bodel 1995: 453).

The date left to us by ancient writers most often refer to relations among members of the Roman aristocracy, so that there is only a very fragmentary picture of Roman society as a whole. Due to this imbalance, we have a wealth of data on a very narrow social group while, on the other hand, we know next to nothing about the lower social classes, to which most of the population belonged. Classical writers only mention the members of the lower social orders—above all male and female slaves, most freed slaves or poor free citizens—sporadically, so that grave monuments offer a basic, and sometimes the sole source of records on them (Rawson 1966: 72).

The reasons for the exceptionally early marriage of female children among the lower social classes elude a clear explanation, while among families of free citizens and freed slaves, material considerations can be at least partially assumed. Marriages between members of different social classes were a common phenomenon in the Roman Empire, and it was certainly a factor in social mobility (Rawson 1966: 72). The legal and social status of one spouse influenced the status of the other (Weaver 1967: 7). A legal Roman marriage could be concluded only between Roman citizens or between a Roman citizen and a non-Roman citizen (*peregrinus*) who were entitled to *conubium* – the right to marriage permitted under Roman law (*Tit. Ulp.*, V, 3, 4; Rawson 1974: 282). In the light of Roman law, a union between slaves or between a slave and a free citizen was called *contubernium* and it was not deemed a legitimate marriage (Paul., *Sentent.*, II, 19, 6). Besides this, there was another form of union, called

poslije braka (Treggiari 1991: 52). Suprugu i konku-binu nije bilo dopušteno imati istovremeno (Paul., *Sentent.*, II, 20, 1). Obje kvazibračne zajednice, *contubernium* i *concubinatus*, mogle su uslijed promjene društvenoga statusa supružnika ili promjene odnosa među njima s vremenom postati zakonskim brakom (Treggiari 1991: 53).

Gore spomenuta grupa nadgrobnih spomenika koja sadrži podatke o starosnoj dobi žena u vrijeme udaje u antičkoj Saloni pojavljuje se s više primjeraka. Ovih spomenika, u manjem broju, ima i u drugim antičkim gradovima na hrvatskome području. Jedan spomenik pronađen je u Puli (CIL V: 69), jedan u Sisku (CIL III: 3989) i jedan u Čitluku kod Sinja (CIL III: 2741). Treba naglasiti da je na hrvatskome području, poslije Rima i Italije, koncentracija ovih spomenika najveća (Shaw 1987: 44, T. I). Svi oni potječu s područja urbanih antičkih središta gdje je proces romanizacije bio jako intenzivan.

Kad je u pitanju starosna dob salonitanskih žena u vrijeme udaje, na prvom ćemo se mjestu osvrnuti na jedan drastičan primjer. Riječ je o nadgrobnome spomeniku koji svjedoči o udaji djevojčice u dobi od svega deset godina (kat. br. 1). Udaja u toj dobi čini se da nije bila učestala u zapadnome dijelu Rimskog Carstva jer je poznata u svega nekoliko slučajeva (Harkness 1896: 40). Ovaj salonitanski nadgrobni spomenik izniman je i zbog izostanka imena pokojnice. Poznato je tek to da ga je podigao njezin suprug, Gaj Klodije Popilijan. Pokojnica je umrla nakon dvanaest godina braka u dvadeset i drugoj godini života.

Gaj Klodije Popilijan, ako se prva riječ u drugome redu natpisa može restituirati u *cursor*, obnašao je dužnost kurira. Njegovo ime, iako ispisano formulom *tria nomina*, čini se da odaje pripadnost oslobođeničkomu staležu. Mnoštvo je epitafa oslobođenika na kojima njihov status nije posebno naznačen kraticama *lib.* ili *l.*, stoga imenska formula *tria nomina* nije pouzdani pokazatelj rimskoga građanstva (Frank 1916: 691, n. 3). Čini se da se naglašavanje libertinskoga statusa postupno svelo samo na slučaj kad su osobe bile carski oslobođenici/oslobođenice (Ross Taylor 1961: 121). Izostanak filijacije iz njegova imena izostanak je sigurnoga dokaza slobodnoga rođenja (Gordon 1931: 69; Ross Taylor 1961: 123; Rawson 1966: 82). S druge strane, među članovima/članicama obitelji *Clodii* u Saloni, kojoj je pripadao i Popilijan, posvjedočen je velik broj oslobođenika/oslobođenica (Wilkes 1969: 300).

Ova obitelj pojavljuje se u Dalmaciji na nekoliko mjesta, ali najvećim je svojim dijelom bila nastanjena u Saloni i mnogi su njezini oslobođenici imali istaknute uloge u municipalnom životu (*ibid.*: 300, 301). Najranije doseljeni *Clodii* u provinciji Dalmaciji bili

the *concubinatus*, and it implied a union between two people of whom marriage was neither expected nor regulated by law, rather only by mutual agreement (Treggiari 1981: 59). Normally wealthier men found concubines for themselves from among the lower classes before they married or even after the end of a marriage (Treggiari 1991: 52). A man could not have a spouse and a concubine at the same time (Paul., *Sentent.*, II, 20, 1). Both quasi-marital unions, *contubernium* and *concubinatus*, could become a legal marriage after a change in the social status of the spouses or a change in the nature of the relationship between the two (Treggiari 1991: 53).

There are several examples in the aforementioned group of grave monuments that contain data on the age of women at the time of marriage in Roman Salona. These monuments also exist in other Roman-era cities in Croatia's territory, albeit in smaller numbers. One monument was found in Pula (CIL V: 69), one in Sisak (CIL III: 3989) and one in Čitluk, near Sinj (CIL III: 2741). It should be noted that after Rome and Italy, the concentration of these monuments is highest in Croatia's territory (Shaw 1987: 44, T. I). All of them come from the territory of Roman-era urban cores, where the process of Romanisation was the most intense.

In examining the age of Salona women at the time of marriage, attention will first be dedicated to a drastic example. This is a grave monument which testifies to the marriage of a girl at the age of only ten (cat. no. 1). It would appear that marriage at this age was not common in the western half of the Roman Empire, because only a few cases are known (Harkness 1896: 40). This grave monument in Salona is also exceptional in that the name of the deceased is omitted. All that is known is that it was erected by her spouse, Gaius Clodius Popilianus. The deceased died after twelve years of marriage at the age of twenty-two.

Gaius Clodius Popilianus, if the first word in the second row of the inscription can be restored as *cursor*, held the post of courier. His name, although written according to the *tria nomina* formula, appears to indicate belonging to the freed class. There are many epitaphs of freed persons in which their status is not specially designated by the abbreviations *lib.* or *l.*, so the *tria nomina* formula is not a reliable indicator of Roman citizenship (Frank 1916: 691, n. 3). It seems that emphasis on libertine status was gradually limited to only those cases when persons were imperial freedmen/women (Ross Taylor 1961: 121). The lack of filiation in his name is a lack of certain proof of his birth as a freeman (Gordon 1931: 69; Ross Taylor 1961: 123; Rawson 1966: 82). On the other hand, among members of the *Clodii* fam-

su italskoga podrijetla, dok su kasnije među njima potvrđeni i provincijalci iz raz-nih dijelova Carstva (Alföldy 1969: 76).

O razlozima zbog kojih je ime pokojnice kojoj je spomenik podignut izostavljeno možemo sa pretpostavljati. To je možda bilo učinjeno s namjerom da bude skriveno njezino, ali i njegovo podrijetlo, kao i prethodni društveni status, jer su epitafi, pored sjećanja na umrle, ujedno bili i pokazatelji društvenoga statusa pokojnika i njihovih rođaka (Meyer 1990: 83). Gaj Klodije Popilijan, ako u obitelji Klodija nije adoptiran iz obitelji Popilija (koja je također potvrđena među italskim obiteljima u Saloni), slobodu je stekao od Klodija te je ime svoje supruge mogao izostaviti zbog povezanosti s robovskim staležom. Ime koje je nosio od ulaska u ovu utjecajnu salonitansku obitelj moglo se ispisati klasičnom rimskom imenskom formulom pa ga je stoga bilo poželjnije istaknuti. Robovski parovi nakon oslobođenja jednoga partnera mogli su nastaviti živjeti zajedno i drugome je partneru bilo omogućeno naknadno stjecanje slobode (Treggiari 1991: 53). Međutim postoje i primjeri gdje se to, možda kao u ovome slučaju, nije ostvarilo (Rawson 1966: 76).

Antička Salona poznaje i primjere djevojaka udanih u dobi od dvanaest godina. Julije Urso podigao je nadgrobni spomenik supruzi Rosuli, kojom se bio oženio kad je imala dvanaest i s kojom je živio četrnaest godina (kat. br. 2). Supružnici su vjerojatno pripadali različitim društvenim staležima. Čini se da je pokojnica bila ropkinja, a njezin muž oslobođenik. Sljedeći natpis je nadgrobni spomenik Julije Silvije, žene koja je umrla u dvadeset i četvrtoj godini života, nakon dvanaest godina braka (kat. br. 3). Spomenik joj je podigao suprug Pompej (ili Pomponije) Afenodor. Imenska nomenklatura ovoga bračnog para nagovještava njihovo robovsko podrijetlo i naknadno stečenu slobodu. Grčki kognomen često je naznaka oslobođeničkoga statusa ili naznaka potomstva oslobođenikâ. Mnoštvo takvih kognomena u latinskim natpisima tumači se kao posljedica učestala oslobađanja robova/ropkinja (Ross Taylor 1961: 127). S obzirom na to da je organizirana trgovina robovima/ropkinjama na zapad tekla uglavnom iz istočnih dijelova Carstva, grčki je jezik bio glavni jezik trgovine, što se odrazilo i u robovskoj nomenklaturi (Gordon 1924: 105). Međutim novija istraživanja pokazala su da robovi nose grčka imena i kad nisu orijentalnoga podrijetla, već su grčki oblici postali svojstveni robovskom staležu općenito.

U svim trima navedenim slučajevima djevojke su bile stupile u brak u pretpubertetsko doba i umrle već u trećem desetljeću života. Supruga Gaja Klodija Popilijana umrla je u dvadeset i drugoj godini, Julija Silvija, supruga Pompeja Afenodora, u dvadeset

ily in Salona, to which Popilianus belonged, there are records of a large number of freedmen/women (Wilkes 1969: 300).

This family in Dalmatia appears in several places, but its members mostly resided in Salona, and many of its freed members played distinguished roles in the life of the municipium (*ibid.*: 300, 301). The earliest *Clodii* who settled in the Province of Dalmatia were of Italic origin, while later there were people of provincial origin from various parts of the Empire among its ranks (Alföldy 1969: 76).

We can only conjecture as to the reason why the name of the deceased woman was omitted from the monument. This may have been done to conceal her, and also his, origins and prior social status, because epitaphs, besides commemorating the deceased, also indicated the social status of the deceased and their relatives (Meyer 1990: 83). Gaius Clodius Popilianus, if he was not adopted into the *Clodii* from the Popilianus family (which has also been confirmed among the Italic families in Salona), acquired his freedom from Clodius and he may have omitted the name of his wife due to links with the enslaved class. The name which he bore upon joining this influential Salona family could be written in the classical Roman name formula, so it was thus more desirable to emphasise. Slave couples could continue living together after one of them was freed and the other partner was allowed to acquire freedom subsequently (Treggiari 1991: 53). However, there are examples in which this did not occur, and this may be one such case (Rawson 1966: 76).

Roman Salona also saw examples of girls married at the age of twelve. Julius Ursus raised a monument to his wife Rosula, to whom he was married when she was twelve and with whom he lived fourteen years (cat. no. 2). These spouses probably belonged to different social classes. It would appear that the deceased was a slave, while her husband was a freedman. The next inscription is from the grave monument of Julia Silvia, a woman who died at the age of twenty-four, after twelve years of marriage (cat. no. 3). The monument was erected by her husband Pompeius (or Pomponius) Afenodorus. The nomenclature of this married couple indicates their slave origins and subsequently-acquired freedom. A Greek cognomen is often the sign of libertine status or descent from freed slaves. A multitude of such cognomens in Latin inscriptions are interpreted as a consequence of frequent liberation of slaves (Ross Taylor 1961: 127). Since the organised slave trade generally proceeded from the eastern sections of the Empire, Greek was the primary language of trade, and this was reflected in slave nomenclature (Gordon 1924: 105). However, newer studies indi-

i četvrtoj, a Rosula, supruga Julija Ursa, u dvadeset i šestoj godini života. Prosječnu starosnu dob žena u vrijeme smrti, dobivenu analizom sačuvanih nadgrobničkih spomenika, nije doživjela nijedna od njih (Hopkins 1966: 260). Čini se da su sve tri rođene kao ropkinje, a slobodu je naknadno stekla samo Julija Silvija.

Prepubertetski brakovi bili su ipak relativno rijetka pojava u zapadnome dijelu Rimskoga Carstva. Od ukupnoga broja poznatih natpisa spomenutoga tipa oko osam posto djevojaka udano je prije napunjene dvanaeste godine (Hopkins 1965: 315). Međutim do petnaeste godine udano je oko polovice djevojaka posvjedočenih ovim epitafima (*ibid.*: 319).

Jedna alternativna metoda analiziranja prosječne starosne dobi antičkih žena u vrijeme udaje, koja nije ograničena samo na ovu skupinu nadgrobničkih spomenika, nego obuhvaća i epitafe koji ne sadrže oba podatka (starosnu dob u vrijeme udaje i smrti), nagoviješta ipak nešto viši prosjek (Shaw 1987: 36–46). S obzirom na to da su se kulturne prilike razlikovale od jedne do druge provincije Carstva, dosezi općeg uprosječivanja ograničeni su. Običaji stupanja u brak i odnos prema bračnoj zajednici u različitim krajevima Carstva nikako se ne mogu svesti na univerzalno primjenljiv obrazac.

Epitafi djevojaka u rimskim provincijama Dalmaciji i Panoniji pokazuju da se muževi kao posvetitelji njihovih nadgrobničkih spomenika počinju pojavljivati u slučaju žena starijih od dvadeset godina, a dominiraju u slučaju žena starijih od dvadeset i pet godina (Shaw 1987: 38). Proporcionalno povećavanju broja posveta muževa smanjuje se broj posveta roditelja djevojaka, pa se stoga kasne tinejdžerske godine čine prosječnim godinama za udaju u ovim provincijama. Slične prilike odražavaju se i u epigrafskome materijalu španjolskih provincija (*ibid.*: 38).

Salonitanski epitafi iz kojih saznajemo starosnu dob u vrijeme udaje i smrti djevojaka također idu u prilog rezultatima ove analize. Nadgrobni spomenik Sosije Taminije (kat. br. 4) kazuje da je ta žena umrla u trideset i petoj godini života, nakon najmanje deset godina braka. Spomenik joj je podigao suprug Gaj Mesije Alip. Gentilna imena toga bračnog para upućuju na italsko podrijetlo salonitanskih obitelji kojima su supružnici pripadali (Alföldy 1969: 99, 121). Kognomen pokojnice jedinstven je slučaj izveden iz gentilnog imena i kao takav nedovoljno je indikativan za određivanje njezina društvenog statusa (*ibid.*: 305). S druge strane kognomen njezina supruga italskoga je podrijetla, a u Saloni je potvrđen i kod oslobođenika (*ibid.*: 146). Možemo međutim samo pretpostavljati jesu li Sosija Taminija i Gaj Mesije Alip bili oslobođenici ili su slobodni rođeni.

cate that slaves bore Greek names even when they were not of Oriental origin, rather the Greek forms became characteristic of the slave class in general.

In all three cases the girls married at a pre-pubescent age and already died early in the third decade of their lives. The wife of Gaius Clodius Popilianus died at the age of twenty-two, Julia Silvia, the wife of Pompeius Anfendorus, died at twenty-four, and Rosula, the wife of Julius Ursus, died at twenty-six. Not one of them lived to the average age of women at the time of death, as obtained by analysing preserved grave monuments (Hopkins 1966: 260). It seems that all three were born as slaves, and only Julia Silvia was subsequently freed.

Pre-pubescent marriages were nonetheless relatively rare in the western half of the Roman Empire. Out of the total number of known inscriptions, only about eight percent of the girls were married before reaching the age of twelve (Hopkins 1965: 315). However, roughly half of the women recorded in these epitaphs were married by the age of fifteen (*ibid.*: 319).

An alternative method for analysing the average age of Roman-era women at the time of marriage—which is not solely restricted to this group of grave monuments, for it also encompasses epitaphs that do not include both pieces of data (age at marriage and at death)—indicates a somewhat higher average (Shaw 1987: 36–46). Since cultural circumstances differed from one province of the Empire to another, the uses of formulating this general average are limited. Customs surrounding commencement of marriage and attitudes toward marital unions in various regions of the Empire cannot be reduced to a universally applicable formula.

Epitaphs to young women in the Roman provinces of Dalmatia and Pannonia indicate that the husbands as the dedicants of their grave monuments begin to appear in cases of women over the age of twenty, while they predominate in cases of women over the age of twenty-five (Shaw 1987: 38). The number of dedications from parents of girls declines in proportion to increasing number of dedications by husbands, so that the late teenage years are the average years for marriage in these provinces. Similar circumstances are reflected in the epigraphic material of the Spanish provinces (*ibid.*: 38).

The Salona epitaphs from which we learn the age of women at the time of marriage and death uphold the results of this analysis. The grave monument to Sossia Taminia (cat. no. 4) states that this woman died at the age of thirty-five, after at least ten years of marriage. The monument was raised by her spouse, Gaius Messius Alypus. The gentile names

Drugi primjer je Atija Gracila, koja je umrla u dobi od oko četrdeset godina, nakon devetnaest godina braka s Julijem Timotejem (kat. br. 5). Na ovom i na sljedećim dvama natpisima (kat. br. 6 i 7) stvarne godine života pokojnica izmiču našoj spoznaji s obzirom na to da su određene aproksimativno formulom plus-minus, ali stoga pomažu u dataciji spomenika jer se ta formula na nadgrobnim spomenicima ne pojavljuje prije kraja 1. st. (Bodel 1992: 89). *Attii* su u provinciji Dalmaciji najčešće bili italskoga podrijetla (Alföldy 1969: 63). Međutim kognomeni ovoga bračnog para daju naznaku pripadnosti oslobođeničkom staležu. Posebno je indikativan kognomen *Timotheus*. Velik broj robova/ropkinja imao je grčka imena, a poznato je da su oslobođenici/oslobođenice svoje robovsko ime često zadržavali kao kognomen (Ross Taylor 1961: 125).

Starosnu dob u vrijeme smrti i trajanje braka bilježi i nadgrobni spomenik ropkinje Kandidate (kat. br. 6). Ta žena umrla je u dobi od oko trideset godina, nakon sedam godina suživota s robom koji se zvao Just. Njezin epitaf bilježi da je umrla za vrijeme porođaja, ne uspjevši se poroditi nakon četiri dana porođajnih muka.

Slučaj Elije Maksimile kazuje da je umrla u dobi od oko trideset i pet godina života, nakon pet godina braka (kat. br. 7). Njezin spomenik podigao je suprug Aurelije Viktorin. Kad je s njim stupila u brak, imala je oko trideset godina, što možda govori da joj to nije bio prvi brak. Prethodni brakovi na epitafima se u pravilu ne spominju (Hopkins 1965: 324). Što se društvenoga položaja ovih supružnika tiče, njihova carska gentilna imena, iako nemaju ilirski kognomen, čini se da odražavaju ilirsko podrijetlo. Veliki dio lokalnog ilirskog stanovništva u provinciji Dalmaciji građanska je prava počeo ostvarivati tek od vremena cara Hadrijana (Rendić-Miočević 1948: 47). Otuda su ovdje u epigrafskome materijalu česta pojava Elije i Aureliji.

Sljedeći je primjer Agrije Januarije, koja je u vrijeme smrti imala najmanje četrdeset i jednu godinu i dvadeset i šest godina braka (kat. br. 8). Njezin spomenik podigao je suprug Marko Julije Feliks. Imena ovih supružnika naslućuju pripadnost oslobođeničkomu staležu i karakteristična su za vrijeme kasnoga principata i ranoga dominata (Alföldy 1969: 364, 378, 379). Obitelj *Agrius* bila je italskoga podrijetla, a među njima se u Saloni pojavljuju i oslobođenici/oslobođenice (*ibid.*: 56). Što se Marka Julija Feliksa tiče, njegov kognomen možda je trag prethodnoga robovskog imena. To ime nosio je velik broj robova, pa se otuda često javlja i kao kognomen među oslobođenicima (*ibid.*: 202).

U ovoj grupi salonitanskih epitafa jedan je pouzdano ranokršćanski. Riječ je o Flaviji Talasiji, koja je

of this married couple indicate the Italic origin of the family to which they belonged (Alföldy 1969: 99, 121). The cognomen of the deceased is a unique case derived from a gentile name and as such it is insufficient to determine her social status (*ibid.*: 305). On the other hand, the cognomen of the husband is of Italic origin, and confirmed in Salona as also belonging to a freedman (*ibid.*: 146). However, we can only speculate as to whether Sossia Taminia and Gaius Messius Alypus were libertine or born free.

Another example is Attia Gratilla, who died at the age of forty, after twelve years of marriage to Julius Timotheus (cat. no. 5). On this and the next two inscriptions (cat. no. 6 and 7), the actual age of the deceased are beyond our knowledge since they are determined by the approximative plus/minus formula, although they do aid in dating the monuments, because this formula does not appear on grave monuments prior to the end of the first century (Bodel 1992: 89). *Attii* in the Province of Dalmatia were most often of Italic origin (Alföldy 1969: 63). However, the cognomens of this married couple provide some indication that they belonged to the freed class. Particularly indicative is the cognomen *Timotheus*. A large number of slaves (both male and female) had Greek names, and it is known that freedmen/women often held their slave name as a cognomen (Ross Taylor 1961: 125).

Age at the time of death and duration of marriage are also recorded on the grave monument to the slave Candida (cat. no. 6). This woman died at the age of about thirty, after seven years of living together with a slave named Justus. Her epitaph states that she died during childbirth, unable to deliver after four days of labour pains.

Aelia Maximilla died at about the age of thirty-five, after five years of marriage (cat. no. 7). Her monument was raised by her spouse Aurelius Victorinus. She was thirty when she married him, which means that this may not have been her first marriage. Previous marriages were not, as a rule, mentioned in epitaphs (Hopkins 1965: 324). As to the social status of this couple, their imperial gentile names, even though they have no Illyrian cognomens, seem to nonetheless reflect an Illyrian origin. A large portion of the local Illyrian population in the Province of Dalmatia began to exercise its civil rights only during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (Rendić-Miočević 1948: 47). Hence the frequent appearance of Aelius and Aurelius in epigraphic materials.

The next example features Agria Januarina, who was at least forty-one years old and married for twenty-six years (cat. no. 8). Her monument was raised by her husband Marcus Julius Felix. The names of

umrla u trideset i drugoj godini života, a bila je udana s osamnaest godina (kat. br. 9). Spomenik joj je podigao suprug Flavije Terencije. Posebno je zanimljiva zabilješka da je Flavija Talasija umrla u godini kada je Valens bio konzul po šesti, a Valentinijan konzul po drugi put, što spomenik i vrijeme njezine smrti datira u 378. godinu (Jones 1964: 83).

Iz spomenutih salonitanskih epitafa pokazuje se sljedeći profil starosne dobi u vrijeme udaje: Flavija Talasija imala je osamnaest, Atija Gracila oko dvadeset i jednu, Kandida oko dvadeset i tri, a Elija Maksimila oko trideset godina. U slučaju Sosije Taminije i Agrije Januarije broj se godina zbog oštećenja natpisa ne može odrediti s većom točnosti, ali znamo da je Sosija Taminija u vrijeme udaje imala najmanje dvadeset i pet, a Agrija Januarija između petnaest i osamnaest godina.

Od ovih žena peto desetljeće života doživjela je samo Agrija Januarija. Analiza starosne dobi žena u vrijeme smrti pokazuje da se najkritičnije razdoblje u kojem je smrt mogla nastupiti kod njih podudara s razdobljem najučestalije reprodukcije (Burn 1953: 12). Porođaj kao uzrok smrti bilježi epitaforopkinje Kandidate, a moguće je da su zbog porođaja umrle i neke druge spomenute Salonitanke.

Za razliku od žena muškarci su u brak stupali kasnije. Nadgrobni spomenici muškaraca u latinskome govornom području Carstva pokazuju da im se sve do sredine trećega desetljeća života kao posvetitelji javljaju roditelji, a tek poslije žene i djeca. Stoga se ova dob uzima kao prosječna dob u vrijeme ženidbe (Saller 1987: 25).

Zbog starosne dobi od oko trideset godina jedino se u slučaju Elije Maksimile može s većim opravdanjem pretpostaviti da na epitaflu zabilježeni brak nije bio prvi po redu. Bez obzira na razloge čini se da preudaje nisu bile društveno sankcionirane sve do omasovljenja kršćanstva u kasnoj antici (Hopkins 1965: 326). U slučaju muževe smrti prema starom rimskom običaju žena se mogla preudati nakon deset mjeseci, koliko je iznosio period žaljenja (Plut., *Numa*, 12, 2). Preudati se bilo je dopušteno i prije određenoga roka, ali u tom slučaju, prema Numinim zakonima, žena je bila dužna žrtvovati kravu s teletom (Plut., *Numa*, 12, 2). S druge strane muškarci nisu bili obvezni žalovati za suprugama (Šterbenc Erker 2002: 105). Iz nešto mlađe prakse poznati su primjeri kad su muževu smrt matrone oplakivale godinu dana (*Dio Halicarn.*, V, 48, 4; VIII, 62, 2; *Liv.*, II, 7; II, 16). Sa sve naglašenijom ulogom vojskovođa u društvu kasnorepublikanskoga doba žaljenje za njihovom smrti postupno je izašlo iz privatne sfere, a s pojavom imperijalnoga kulta obilježavanje smrti nekog iz vladajuće obitelji postalo je sastavnim dijelom javnoga života (Šterbenc Erker 2002: 196, 197).

these spouses allude to their belonging to the freed class, and they are characteristic of the late Principate and early Dominate period (Alföldy 1969: 364, 378, 379). The *Agrius* family was of Italic origin, and freedmen/women appeared among them in Salona (*ibid.*: 56). As for Marcus Julius Felix, his cognomen may bear the vestiges of a prior slave name. This name was held by a large number of slaves, and it thus often appeared as a cognomen among freedmen (*ibid.*: 202).

In this group of Salona epitaphs, one is certainly Early Christian. It is dedicated to Flavia Talasia, who died at the age of thirty-two, and she was married at the age of eighteen (cat. no. 9). Her monument was erected by her husband Flavius Terentius. Particularly interesting is remark that Flavia Talasia died in the year when Valens was consul for the sixth time, while Valentinian was consul the second time, which dates this monument and the places the year of her death at 378 (Jones 1964: 83).

The following profile of marriage ages can be derived from these Salona epitaphs: Flavia Talasia was eighteen, Attia Gratilla was about twenty-one, Candida about twenty-three, and Aelia Maximilla was about thirty. In the case of Sossia Taminia and Agria Januararia the numbers cannot be discerned with certainty due to excessive damage, but we know that Sossia Taminia was not less than twenty-five at the time of her marriage, while Agria Januararia was between fifteen and eighteen years old.

Among these women, only Agria Januararia lived into her forties. An analysis of the age of women at the time of death shows that the most critical period in which death could occur corresponds to the period of most frequent reproduction (Burn 1953: 12). Childbirth as a cause of death is recorded in the epitaph of the slave Candida, and it is possible that some of these other Salona women may have also died due to complications at childbirth.

As opposed to women, men married at later age. The grave monuments of men in the Latin-speaking territory of the Empire show that until their mid-twenties, the dedicants are the parents, and only later wives and children. So this age is generally taken as the average age of marriage (Saller 1987: 25).

Judging by her age of about thirty, it is only in the case of Aelia Maximilla that one can conclude with some justification that the marriage recorded on the epitaph was not her first. Regardless of the reasons, it would appear that remarriage was not subject to social sanctions until the more massive spread of Christianity in the period of Late Antiquity (Hopkins 1965: 326). In case of the husband's death, according to the old Roman custom a wom-

Od analiziranih nadgrobnih spomenika samo je Flavije Terencije, suprug Flavije Talasije, svoj pogreb predvidio na istom mjestu, dok je u svim ostalim slučajevima riječ o osobnim grobnicama pokojnica. Osobnoga karaktera u carsko vrijeme bila je većina grobnica, a kao posvetitelji, navlastito u provincijama, najčešće se javljaju članovi/članice najuže obitelji (Saller & Shaw 1984: 125, 132). Ovdje su posvetitelji redom muževi, dok djecu ne spominje nijedan od obrađenih natpisa. Ovi nadgrobnii natpisi svjedoče da je oslobođenički stalež u Saloni, kao i drugdje u Carstvu, bio široko rasprostranjen i da je karakter njihovih posveta vjerojatno odraz života u obiteljima s malo članova/članica (Gardner 1989: 244, 245). Kod oslobođeničkih parova postojala je velika mogućnost da izgube djecu rođenu prije njihova oslobođenja (*ibid.*: 245).

U svim gore spomenutim primjerima salonitanskoga braka muževi su svoje supruge oslovili s *coniunx*. U rimskome pravu, kako je već naglašeno, *coniunx* je mogla biti samo žena koja je s muškarcem živjela u zakonitom braku. Međutim epigrafski materijal diljem Carstva pokazuje brojne slučajeve gdje se supružnici nazivaju *coniuges* iako su, prema rimskomu zakonodavstvu, mogli biti samo *contubernales* (Treggiari 1981a: 59). Više je primjera gdje se termini *coniunx* i *contubernalis* nalaze jedan uz drugi na istom epitafu. U kontekstu kontubernija supružnici višega društvenog statusa sebe su ponekad nazivali *contubernalis*, a svoje partnere oslovljavali terminom *coniunx* (*ibid.*). U slučaju Salone dvije su žene – Rosula, supruga Julija Ursa i, vjerojatno, supruga Gaja Klodija Popilijana – nazvane *coniuges* iako su, premda to nije naznačeno, živjele u kontuberniju. Posvetitelj jednog epitafa svoju je suprugu oslovio s *coniunx*, a sebe s *patronus* i *contubernalis*, što kazuje da se oženio svojom ropkinjom, kojoj je naknadno osigurao slobodu (Olcott 1906: 154, n. 1). S druge strane bilo je slučajeva kada su slobodni muškarci svoje ropkinje oslobađali prije vjenčanja s njima (Evans-Grubbs 1993: 127). Oslobođenica koja bi se bila razvela od svojega patrona bez njegova pristanka nije više mogla stupiti u zakonski brak (*Digest.*, XXIII, 2, 45, 5).

Uporaba termina *coniunx* u zajednicama koje po rimskome pravu nisu mogle biti zakonite pokazuje da zakoni kakve poznajemo u raspravama antičkih pravnika nisu bili univerzalno primjenljivi niti su se odnosili na čitavo Carstvo. Ciceron (*Balb.*, 20) spominje da autonomne zajednice na području rimske države nisu bile obavezne usvojiti sve rimske zakone. One su ih mogle prihvatiti, ali i odbiti. Stoga je u zakonodavstvu određenih lokalnih zajednica brak između rimskih i nerimskih građanina mogao biti zakonit (Cherry 1990: 254).

an could remarry after ten months, which was the duration of the mourning period (Plut., *Numa*, 12, 2). Remarriage was permitted even before this specified period, but in this case according to the laws of Numa, a woman was required to sacrifice a cow with a calf (Plut., *Numa*, 12, 2). One the other hand, men were not required to mourn for their wives (Šterbenc Erker 2002: 105). Some examples are known from somewhat later practice, whereby matrons mourned the death of their husbands for a year (*Dio Halicarn.*, V, 48, 4; VIII, 62, 2; *Liv.*, II, 7; II, 16). The increasingly marked role of military leaders in society during the Late Republic era meant that their mourning their deaths gradually surpassed the private sphere, and the appearance of the Imperial cult meant that marking the death of anyone in the ruling family became a public ritual (Šterbenc Erker 2002: 196, 197).

Among the grave monuments analysed, only Flavius Terentius, the husband of Flavia Talasia, foresaw his own interment in the same place, while the rest are individual tombs for the deceased. The individual character in the Imperial era held for most tombs, while the dedicants, especially in the provinces, were most often members of the immediate family (Saller & Shaw 1984: 125, 132). Here the dedicants are all husbands, while no children are mentioned in any of the inscriptions. These grave inscriptions testify to the fact that the freed class in Salona, as elsewhere in the Empire, was widely distributed and that the character of their dedications was probably a reflection of life in families with few members (Gardner 1989: 244, 245). In the case of freed couples, there is a great possibility that they lost children born prior to their liberation (*ibid.*: 245).

In all of these examples of Salona marriages, the husbands address their wives with *coniunx*. In Roman law, as specified above, a *coniunx* could only be a wife who lived with her husband in a legal marriage. However, epigraphs throughout the Empire show numerous cases in which the spouses are called *coniuges* even though, according to Roman law, they could only be *contubernales* (Treggiari 1981a: 59). There are numerous examples in which the terms *coniunx* and *contubernalis* are found next to each other in the same epitaph. In the context of contubernal unions, spouses of higher social status sometimes referred to themselves as *contubernalis*, while they referred to their partners as *coniunx* (*ibid.*). In the case of Salona, two women, Rosula, the wife of Julius Ursus and, probably, the wife of Gaius Clodius Popilianus, are called *coniuges* even though—although not designated—they lived in contubernal unions. The dedicant of one epitaph calls his wife *coniunx*, and himself *patronus* and *contubernalis*,

O prilikama koje su vladale u antičkoj Saloni možemo samo pretpostavljati. Ako su posvetitelji nadgrobni spomenika svoje supruge nazivali *coniuges* – ne iz razloga što su tim statusom one bile počašćene, nego stoga što im je on po salonitanskome zakonodavstvu pripadao – onda su brakovi između rimskog i nerimskog stanovništva u Saloni bili zakoniti. Međutim epigrafski materijal pokazuje da ovdje, a i drugdje u Carstvu, upotreba riječi *coniunx* nije bila ograničavana zakonskim odredbama te ne samo da ne određuje razliku između *coniuges* i *contubernalis* nego uključuje i robovske zajednice. To jasno pokazuje primjer ropkinje Kandidate koju je Just, njezin *conservus* i posvetitelj spomenika, oslovio s *coniunx*.

Obradom ove male skupine salonitanskih nadgrobni spomenika vidimo da su posrijedi bili ljudi koji su pripadali najrazličitijim društvenim stratimima; spominju se slobodno rođeni/rođene, oslobođenici/oslobođenice i robovi/ropkinje. Ono što ih je zbližavalo jest dostatna materijalna mogućnost da se podigne nadgrobni spomenik. Svi su oni bili ili su naknadno postali dio srednje imućna staleža koji se razlikovao od elite s jedne i potpuno siromašna stanovništva s druge strane (Burn 1953: 7). Materijalna sredstva koja su posjedovali više su određivala kvalitetu njihova života nego pripadajući društveni status. U Rimskome Carstvu rob ili oslobođenik mogli su biti imućniji od pojedinoga slobodnog građanina. Određen broj ovdje spomenutih udaja, posebno one u dobi od deset i dvanaest godina, gdje je samovolja djevojaka mogla manje doći do izražaja, ugovoren je vjerojatno da bi se udovoljilo muškim partnerima ili s namjerom da se unaprijedi kvaliteta življenja udanih djevojaka. Stoga se, što pokazuje više antičkih primjera, pred ovima i zahtjevima muškaraca koji su sebi tražili supruge, starosnoj dobi žena često nije pridavala velika važnost.

KATALOG

1. Nadgrobni natpis supruge Gaja Klodija

Natpis:

G(iaus) Clo(dius) Popilianus qui / cu[r]sor coniugi dulcis/sim(a)e qu(a)e vixit con co(n)iuge / suo annos XII defunct(ae) / annorum XXII beneme/rent(i) posuit.

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 9002; BD VIII/1885, 14, br. 22

2. Nadgrobni natpis Rosule, supruge Julija Urusa

Natpis:

Iulius Ur/sus Rosu/l(a)e co(n)iugi qu(a)em / duxi(t) an(n)orum / XII vixit me/cum an(norum) XIII b(e)ne(m)erenti / p(osuit).

which indicates that he married his slave, who was then freed (Olcott 1906: 154, n. 1). On the other hand, there were cases in which free men freed their female slaves prior to marrying them (Evans-Grubbs 1993: 127). A freed woman who wished to divorce her patron without his consent could no longer legally marry (*Digest.*, XXIII, 2, 45, 5).

Use of the term *coniunx* in unions which could not be legal under Roman law show that the laws as we know them from the deliberations of Roman-era jurists were not universally applicable nor did they pertain to the entire Empire. Cicero (*Balb.*, 20) mentions that autonomous communities in the territory of the Roman state were not obliged to assume all Roman laws. They could accept or reject them. Therefore, under the legislation of certain local communities, marriages between Roman and non-Roman citizens may have been legal (Cherry 1990: 254).

We can only speculate as to the circumstances that reigned in Roman-era Salona. If the dedicants of grave monuments referred to their wives as *coniuges*—not because they were honoured with this status, but because they were entitled to it under Salona law—then marriages between Roman and non-Roman populations in Salona were legal. However, the epigraphic records show that here, as elsewhere in the Empire, the use of the term *coniunx* was not restricted to legal provisions, and not only was no difference made between *coniuges* and *contubernalis*, but it also encompassed slave unions. This is clearly shown by the example of the slave Candida whom Justus, her *conservus* and monument dedicant, referred to as *coniunx*.

Analysis of this small group of Salona grave monuments shows that the people involved belonged to the most diverse social classes: there are free-born, freedmen/women and slaves. What brings them together is sufficient means to raise grave monuments. All of them were or subsequently became a part of the middle, wealthier class that differed from the elite, with an entirely impoverished population on the other side (Burn 1953: 7). The material assets that they possessed actually determined the quality of their lives more than the corresponding social status. In the Roman Empire, a slave or freed person could be wealthier than an individual free citizen. A certain number of the marriages mentioned here, especially when the girls were ten to twelve years old—when their free will was certainly limited—were probably arranged to please the male partners or to improve the quality of life of the married girls. Therefore—and this is demonstrated by numerous examples from this era—the age of the women held no great significance before such demands and the requirements of the men.

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 2382

3. Nadgrobni natpis Julije Silvije, supruge Pompeja Afenodora

Natpis:

D(is) M(anibus) //// Iul(iae) Silviae / ann(or)um XXIII / coniugi / sanctissimae / quae vixit viro / suo annos XII / Pomp(eius?) Afenodorus / coniugi karissimae.

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 9178; BD I/1878, 131, br. 53

4. Nadgrobni natpis Sosije Taminije, supruge Gaja Mesija Alipa

Natpis:

Sossiae Taminiae / def(un)ctae ann(or)um XXXV C(aius) Mess[us] / Alypus coniugi cari[ssimae] / qu<e>m in matrimo[nio] / habuit ann(os) X[- -].

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 9346; BD I/1878, 146, br. 57

5. Nadgrobni natpis Atije Gracile, supruge Julija Timoteja

Natpis:

D(is) M(anibus) / Attiae Gr(atillae) co(n)iugi incomp(arabili) / q(uon)d(am) p(lus) m(inus) XL / Iul(ius) Timothe(us) / marit(us) cum quo (vixit) / ann(os) XVIII b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) .

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 2199

6. Nadgrobni natpis ropkinje Kandidate

Natpis:

D(is) M(anibus) / Candidae coniugi beneme/renti ann(or)um p(lus) m(inus) XXX qu(a)e me/cum vixit ann(os) p(lus) m(inus) VII / qu(a)e est cruciata ut pari/ret diebus IIII et non pe/perit et est ita vita fu/ncta Iustus conser(vus) p(osuit).

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 2267

7. Nadgrobni natpis Elije Maksimile, supruge Aurelija Viktorina

Natpis:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Victorinus / Ael(iae) Maximill(a)e car(a)e coniugi posuit titulum memoriens / qui convixit mecu/m annus quinqu/e et [d]ies viginti qui/nque et moritur / plus minus annoro(m) / n(u)m(ero) XXXV.

Datacija: druga polovica 2. st.–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 2225

8. Nadgrobni natpis Agrije Januarije, supruge Marka Julija Feliksa

CATALOGUE

1. Grave inscription for the wife of Gaius Clodius

Inscription:

G(iaus) Clo(dius) Popilianus qui / cu[r]sor coniugi dulcis/sim(a)e qu(a)e vixit con co(n)iuge / suo annos XII defunct(ae) / annorum XXII beneme/rent(i) posuit.

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 9002; BD VIII/1885, 14, no. 22

2. Grave inscription for Rosula, the wife of Julius Ursus

Inscription:

Iulius Ur/sus Rosu/l(a)e co(n)iugi qu(a)em / duxi(t) an(n)orum / XII vixit me/cum an(norum) XIII b(ene)m(erenti) / p(osuit).

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 2382

3. Grave inscription for Julia Silvia, wife of Pompeius Afenodorus

Inscription:

D(is) M(anibus) //// Iul(iae) Silviae / ann(or)um XXIII / coniugi / sanctissimae / quae vixit viro / suo annos XII / Pomp(eius?) Afenodorus / coniugi karissimae.

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 9178; BD I/1878, 131, no. 53

4. Grave inscription for Sossia Taminia, wife of Gaius Messius Alypus

Inscription:

Sossiae Taminiae / def(un)ctae ann(or)um XXXV C(aius) Mess[us] / Alypus coniugi cari[ssimae] / qu<e>m in matrimo[nio] / habuit ann(os) X[- -].

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 9346; BD I/1878, 146, br. 57

5. Grave inscription for Atia Gratilla, wife of Julius Timotheus

Inscription:

D(is) M(anibus) / Attiae Gr(atillae) co(n)iugi incomp(arabili) / q(uon)d(am) p(lus) m(inus) XL / Iul(ius) Timothe(us) / marit(us) cum quo (vixit) / ann(os) XVIII b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) .

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 2199

6. Grave inscription for the slave Candida

Inscription:

D(is) M(anibus) / Candidae coniugi beneme/renti ann(or)um p(lus) m(inus) XXX qu(a)e me/cum vixit ann(os) p(lus) m(inus) VII / qu(a)e est cruciata ut pari/ret diebus IIII et non pe/perit et est ita vita fu/ncta Iustus conser(vus) p(osuit).

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Natpis:

Agriae Ianuariae def(unctae) annis / XXXXI[- -] verginiae et coniugi / incomparabili cum qua(e) concordi/ter egit sine querela per annos XXVI / M(arcus) Iul(ius) Felix ab ratione fisci / vivus posuit . Vivas qui dixeris vivit Elysiis.

Datacija: 2–3. st.

Literatura: CIL III 1992

9. Nadgrobní natpis Flavije Talasije, supruge Flavija Terencija

Natpis:

Fl(avius) Terentius Fl(aviae) Talasiae ob meritis et fidelitatem / totiusque sanctitatem arcam posuit coniugi / carissimae et sibi quam a parentibus ipsius suscepi / annos XVIII q(u)i aequae inlibatae mecum vixit annos XXXII / Tradita sepulturae die nonarum Septembres d(ominis) n(ostris) / Valente VI et Valentiniano iterum Aug(ustis) cons(ulibus) / Si quis vero super duo corpora nostra aliut / corpus voluerit ordinare dabit fisci viribus / argenti pondo quindecim.

Datacija: 378. g.

Literatura: CIL III 9507; BD VIII/1885, 87, br. 141

Reference: CIL III 2267

7. Grave inscription for Aelia Maximilla, wife of Aurelius Victorinus

Inscription:

D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elius) Victorinus / Ael(iae) Maximill(a)e car(a)e coniugi posuit titulum memoriens / qui convixxit mecu/m annus quinqu/e et [d]ies viginti qui/nque et moritur / plus minus annoro(m) / n(u)m(ero) XXXV.

Dating: second half of 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 2225

8. Grave inscription for Agria Ianuaria, wife of Marcus Julius Felix

Inscription:

Agriae Ianuariae def(unctae) annis / XXXXI[- -] verginiae et coniugi / incomparabili cum qua(e) concordi/ter egit sine querela per annos XXVI / M(arcus) Iul(ius) Felix ab ratione fisci / vivus posuit. Vivas qui dixeris vivit Elysiis.

Dating: 2nd–3rd cent.

Reference: CIL III 1992

9. Grave inscription for Flavia Talasia, wife of Flavius Terentius

Inscription:

Fl(avius) Terentius Fl(aviae) Talasiae ob meritis et fidelitatem / totiusque sanctitatem arcam posuit coniugi / carissimae et sibi quam a parentibus ipsius suscepi / annos XVIII q(u)i aequae inlibatae mecum vixit annos XXXII / Tradita sepulturae die nonarum Septembres d(ominis) n(ostris) / Valente VI et Valentiniano iterum Aug(ustis) cons(ulibus) / Si quis vero super duo corpora nostra aliut / corpus voluerit ordinare dabit fisci viribus / argenti pondo quindecim.

Dating: 378 AD

Reference: CIL III 9507; BD VIII/1885, 87, no. 141

KRATICE / ABBREVIATIONS

BD	<i>Bulletino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata</i> , Split.
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin.
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> , The Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, London.

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