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READING GENDER AND SOCIAL LIFE IN MILITARY SPACES*

(PLS. 173–175)

“castra” quasi casta,
vel quod illic castraretur libido:
nam numquam bis intererat mulier
[Servius, Aen. 3.519]

The issue of women and children in military forts has been a topic of debate for the past twenty years.¹ It is risky at best to interpret social life in Roman army camps and forts based on archaeological sources alone. Finds of this kind should be evaluated in the broader context of civilians of both sexes in a military environment, both *intra* and *extra muros*.

1. Camp settlements and their social structure

Provision of gastronomic services was the primary function of civilian communities accompanying the legions. The term *canabae*, which may refer to huts, tents or wine or food booths, expresses this very well.² For the auxiliary forts, settlements of this kind were called *vici* (rows of houses, villages).³ The settlements accompanying

legionary camps have been investigated much less extensively than those accompanying forts of auxiliary units.⁴ However, it is known that these settlements were subordinated to the unit commander who determined their location as well as status.⁵

The population included families of soldiers and providers of services, e.g. innkeepers, traders and artisans. We are also informed about a specific group referred to as *lixae*⁶ and slaves, both public and private, as well as servants of individual soldiers (*servitia castris*).⁷ Soldiers with their dependants and camp-followers formed a specific civil and army community based on close family ties.⁸ The nature and extent of the relations between this group and the local civilian population were very dynamic and differed depending on the province.

2. The presence of women in army bases

Rightful marriages (*matrimonia iusta*) for soldiers during their period in service appear to have been impossible from the time of Augustus.⁹ They formed informal ties

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¹ See: B. RUDAN, U. BRANDL, ‘...intrare castra feminis non licet’ – *Tatsache oder literarische Fiktion? Ein kritischer Literaturüberblick*, (in:) U. Brandl (ed.), *Frauen und römisches Militär: Beiträge eines rundes Tisches in Xanten vom 7. bis 9. Juli 2005*, B.A.R. International Series 1759, Oxford 2008, 1–19 with further references.

² TLL, vol. III/1, 222–223; etymological analysis in TH. MOMMSEN, *Die römischen Lagerstädte*, “Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie” 7, 1873, 303–305 with footnotes. The term appears in inscriptions referring to legionary camps from the reign of Hadrian; see D.J.P. MASON, *The Canabae Legionis*, “Britannia” 18, 1987, 143.

³ OLD, 1988. Parts of *canabae* were also called *vici*; see D.J.P. MASON, *The Canabae Legionis*..., 143.

⁴ N. HANEL, *Military Camps, Canabae, and Vici. The Archaeological Evidence*, (in:) P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford 2007, 413.

⁵ B. CAMPBELL, *The Roman Army 31 BC – AD 337. A Sourcebook*, London-New York 1994, 141.

⁶ R. McMULLEN, *The Legion as a Society*, “Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte” 33/4, 1984, 445; H. VON PETRIKOVITS, *Lixae*, (in:) W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies 1979. Papers Presented to the 12th International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, part I*, B.A.R. International Series 71(i), Oxford 1980, 1027–1034. According to R. Feig Vishnia, *lixae* were engaged in catching and binding captives (R. FEIG VISHNIA, *The Shadow Army: The Lixae and the Roman Legions*, “Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik” 139, 2002, 265–272). Y. Le Bohec describes them rather as “licensed purveyors” (Y. LE BOHEC, *The Roman Imperial Army*, London-New York 2000, 226).

⁷ S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service. Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Republic and Early Principate*, Cambridge 2008, 234–237; J. ROTH, *The Logistics of the Roman Army at War (264 B.C. – A.D. 235)*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition XXIII, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1999, 9–110; R. McMULLEN, *The Legion*..., 444.

⁸ S. JAMES, *Soldiers and civilians: identity and interaction in Roman Britain*, (in:) S. James, M. Millett (eds.), *Britons and Romans: advancing an archaeological agenda*, Council for British Archaeology Research Reports 125, York 2001, 80.

⁹ B. CAMPBELL, *The Marriage of Soldiers under the Empire*, “Journal of Roman Studies” 68, 1978, 153–166; R. FRIEDL, *Der Konkubinat im kaiserzeitlichen Rom*, Historia Einzelschriften 98, Stuttgart 1996, 229.

instead, having children with slave women.¹⁰ According to Herodian, in 197, Septimius Severus granted soldiers permission to live with their wives.¹¹ This formula has been interpreted as a concession to cohabitation outside the walls, or even the right to legitimate marriage.¹²

The issue at hand is not the actual existence of ties between soldiers and women, but the nature of these relations and the existence of shared households in a military environment. It is also worth investigating whether and when officers' wives could stay inside the army forts. The written sources leave no doubt as to a standing opinion that female presence had a detrimental impact on military discipline,¹³ and in literature women following the army were primarily considered as shameful.¹⁴ The explanation given for the origin of *castra* seems at first glance to be an instance of popular etymology – “as if it [*castra*] were ‘chaste’ (*castus*), or because there sexual desire would be castrated (*castrare*) – for a woman never entered a camp”.¹⁵ However, the term may well have been derived from the same root as the verb *castrare*, thereby meaning “place of separation”.¹⁶

Scholars have rejected the idea of cohabitation of soldiers and their families in military barracks before the

edict of Septimius Severus, and some have even considered it impossible for women to have passed through the military gates.¹⁷ Calculations indicate that the percentage of soldiers entering into regular relations with women was small, possibly 20% after the *ius conubii* had been introduced.¹⁸ However, researchers agree that families of officers and apparently even of centurions were present on the grounds occupied by army units, but certainly not during the reign of Augustus.¹⁹ Centurions may have been granted permission to marry after a certain period of service. Calculations made by S.E. Phang based on epigraphic evidence have demonstrated that soldiers entered into relationships in their late 30s, which could indicate lack of acceptance for the relationships of younger soldiers.²⁰

It has been suggested that army families living together was a natural phenomenon²¹ and that both female family members and female slaves were present in the camps. This supposition is based on finds of personal adornment, shoes, spindles and toiletries. Such finds have been unearthed on military sites, but only recently have received attention thanks to the efforts of P. Allison.²² Her studies have been concentrated on three sites, which had served

¹⁰ S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage of Roman soldiers (13 BC – AD 235). Law and family in the imperial army*, Leiden-Boston-Cologne 2001, 235; R. FRIEDL, *Der Konkubinat...*, 237–269.

¹¹ HERODIAN, III.8.4–5: “[...] τοῖς τε στρατιώταις ἐπέδωκε χρήματα πλείστα, ἀλλὰ τε πολλὰ συνεχώρησεν ἃ μὴ πρότερον εἶχον· καὶ γὰρ τὸ σιτηρέσιον πρῶτος ἠὔρησεν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δακτυλίοις χρυσοῖς χρήσασθαι ἐπέτρεψε γυναῖξί τε συνοικεῖν, ἅπερ ἅπαντα σωφροσύνης στρατιωτικῆς καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐτοιμοῦ τε καὶ εὐσταλοῦς ἀλλότρια ἐνομιζέτο.” *The soldiers too were given a very substantial sum of money and with this many other privileges that they had not had before, such as an increase in pay (which Severus was the first to give), permission to wear a gold ring and the right to live at home with their wives. All these things are usually considered to be inimical to military discipline and to a state of prompt readiness for action.* (Herodian (Whittaker), 306–309).

¹² S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 18; B. CAMPBELL, *The Marriage...*, 160.

¹³ B. CAMPBELL, *The Marriage...*, 160; O. STOLL, ‘Incedere inter milites, habere ad manum centuriones ... iam et exercitus rege-rent!’ *Frauen und römisches Militär – eine schwierige Beziehung?*, (in:) U. Brandl (ed.), *Frauen und römisches Militär...*, 28.

¹⁴ Serv., Aen., VIII, 688. This, however, cannot refer to officers' wives, at least from the end of the 1st c. B.C.

¹⁵ Serv., Aen., III, 519: „*castra*” quasi *casta*, vel quod illic *castrare-tur libido: nam numquam his intererat mulier*. Similar Isidor of Seville, Etym., IX, III, 44: *Castra sunt ubi miles steterit. Dicta autem castra, quasi casta eo quod ibi castraretur libido. Nam numquam his intererat mulier*.

¹⁶ ERNOUT-MEILLET, 104; WALDE-HOFMANN, 180.

¹⁷ B. CAMPBELL, *War and Society in Imperial Rome 31 BC – AD 284*, London-New York 2002, 97; S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*,

18–20, 124, 389–392.

¹⁸ S. JAMES, *Engendering Change In Our Understanding of the Structure of Roman Military Communities*, “Archaeological Dialogues” 13/1, 2006, 32; W. SCHEIDEL, *Marriage, Families, and Survival: Demographic Aspects*, (in:) *A Companion...*, 419–423; S.E. PHANG, *The Timing of Marriage in the Roman Army*, (in:) P. Freeman, J. Bennett, Z.T. Fiema, B. Hoffmann (eds.), *Limes XVIII. Proceedings of the XVIIIth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held in Amman, Jordan (September 2000)*, vol. II, B.A.R. International Series 1084, Oxford 2002, 873–878.

¹⁹ B. HOFFMANN, *The Quarters of Legionary Centurions of the Principate*, “Britannia” 26, 1995, 110–111; M. HASSAL, *Homes for Heroes: Married Quarters for Soldiers and Veterans*, (in:) A. Goldsworthy, I. Haynes (eds.), *The Roman Army as A Community*, Portsmouth 1999, 35; M. REUTER, *Frauen in römischen Militärlagern? Eine archäologische Spurensuche*, (in:) U. Brandl (ed.), *Frauen und römisches Militär...*, 92; S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 130–131, argues that perhaps centurions were allowed to marry after 25 years of service. J.H. JUNG, *Das Eherecht der römischen Soldaten*, ANRW II/14, Berlin-New York 1982, 345, concludes that all soldiers, including officers and auxiliaries were under the ban.

²⁰ S.E. PHANG, *The Timing...*, 875.

²¹ C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, *A Question of Gender in Military Context*, “Helinium” XXXIV/2, 1994, 359–360.

²² P. ALLISON, *Mapping for Gender. Interpreting Artefact Distribution inside 1st- and 2nd-century A.D. Forts in Roman Germany*, “Archaeological Dialogues” 13/1, 2006, 1–20; eadem, *Artifact Distribution within the Auxiliary Fort at Ellingen: evidence for building use and for the presence of women and children*, “Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission” 87, 2006, 387–452.

as the military bases within the first two centuries AD. Permanent female presence inside army posts appears to be confirmed by finds from the *Vindolanda* fort situated back of the Hadrian Wall, where a cohort of the Batavians was stationed, a small fort at Ellingen (*Sablonetum*) in Raetia which was manned most probably by a *numerus*,²³ and the legionary fortress at *Vindonissa*.

The presence of the commander's wife and son in *Vindolanda* is based both on the text of the famous tablet,²⁴ as well as shoes found in the *praetorium*.²⁵ The army barracks in *Vindolanda* yielded shoes, the size and form of which were at best suggestive of female or children's feet.²⁶ While the shoes could have belonged to adolescent boys or been brought from outside during preparations for marching out,²⁷ the author of the publication admits to considering this as evidence of the presence of soldiers' families in the barracks.²⁸ Children's shoes as proof of family life in camp²⁹ are only one of the possible theories, however, since we know of transactions in which soldiers purchased female and male slaves, including a boy.³⁰ Spinning items are related to typically female chores and considered among women's belongings. But spindle whorls, which are a fairly frequent find, could have doubled as game counters, while loom-weights could not. The few finds of loom-weights from military bases dated to the time of the Principate do not carry substantial weight as evidence. One from *Vetera* bore a *graffito* with the name of *Lucius Petronius*; another found in the fleet fort of Köln-Alteburg (*Germania inferior*) could have been used in a sail-making workshop³¹ where spinning and weaving could have been done by male

slaves. Much stronger arguments in favor of a long-term presence of women *intra muros* are provided by perinatal or infant burials and bones identified in Ellingen³² and *Vindonissa*.³³

Assuming that *milites* or female partners of soldiers lived in the army posts alongside regular officers' wives, then the number of artifacts they could have left behind should be relatively substantial. It is then essential to estimate the number of women that these finds reflect and to judge whether they were the families of officers alone or perhaps also regular partners of ordinary soldiers. According to P. Allison, 5–15% of women could have been regularly present in the fort at Ellingen;³⁴ this is a fairly large percentage. But are these finds definitely "female-related"? And do they testify the permanent presence of women?

3. Understanding gender in Roman society

In antiquity femaleness and effeminacy were marked by similar attributes. Activities not worthy of a freeborn man (*vir*) were done by women and people lower in the social hierarchy. It is very likely that objects connected with typically female chores could have belonged to people of lower social rank, regardless of sex.³⁵ This also applies to the function and use of traditionally female-related items in the provincial milieu: in Britain bone hairpins were discovered in burials that are biologically identified as male.³⁶

A re-analysis of the finds from the cemetery of the fort near Brougham in Cumbria (Great Britain) has thrown

²³ Although the inscription found in the fort mentions *pedites singulares* of the III Italic legion, it is more likely that a *numerus* was stationed at Ellingen; see: P. SOUTHERN, *The Numeri of the Roman Imperial Army*, "Britannia" 20, 1989, 123 and cf. TH. BECKER, *Women in Roman Forts – Lack of Knowledge or a Social Claim?*, "Archaeological Dialogues" 13/1, 2006, 38.

²⁴ A. BOWMAN, D. THOMAS, *Vindolanda: the Latin writing tablets*, London 1983, 11–13, 379–388.

²⁵ C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, *A Question of Gender...*, 349–350.

²⁶ C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, *A Question of Gender...* Children's shoes were also discovered in a fort at Saalburg and in *Vindonissa*, but in neither case is the context suggestive of permanent residence *intra muros* of soldiers' families. See: M. REUTER, *Frauen in römischen Militärlagern...*, 95; J. TRUMM, R. FELLMANN BROGLI, *Mitten im Lager geboren – Kinder und Frauen im römischen Legionslager Vindonissa*, (in:) U. Brandl (ed.), *Frauen und römisches Militär...*, 103–105.

²⁷ Cf. S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 128 and C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, *A Question of Gender...*, 349, 360.

²⁸ C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, *A Question of Gender...*, 360; cf. eadem, *Vindolanda and the Dating of Roman Footwear*, "Britannia" 32, 2001, 194.

²⁹ S. JAMES, *Engendering...*, 34.

³⁰ B. CAMPBELL, *The Roman Army...*, 169, No. 280; IDR, 36, 37 and 38; P. VARON, *Emptio ancillae/mulieris by Roman army soldiers*, (in:) E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East*, Kraków 1994, 189–195.

³¹ M. REUTER, *Frauen in römischen Militärlagern...*, 95–96.

³² P. ALLISON, *Mapping for Gender...*, 14; eadem, *Artifact Distribution...*, 22–26; eadem, *The Women and Children inside 1st and 2nd-century Forts: Comparing the Archaeological Evidence*, (in:) U. Brandl (ed.), *Frauen und römisches Militär...*, 123.

³³ Burials of children have been found on other sites, but in these cases the context was either misinterpreted or late; see: J. TRUMM, R. FELLMANN BROGLI, *Mitten im Lager geboren...*, 107–119.

³⁴ P. ALLISON, *The Women and Children...*, 126.

³⁵ D. MONTERRAT, *Reading gender in the Roman World*, (in:) J. Huskinson (ed.), *Experiencing Rome. Culture, Identity and Power in the Roman Empire*, London 2000, 167, 179.

³⁶ G. CARR, 'Romanisation' and the body, (in:) G. Davies, A. Gardner, K. Lockyear (eds.), *TRAC 2000. Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference held at the Institute of Archaeology, University College London, 6th–7th April 2000*, Oxford 2000, 112–113.

unexpected light on the nature of the female presence in camps.³⁷ The size of the nearby fort, the small finds and two inscriptions found in the neighborhood have demonstrated that the *numerus* stationed there was formed in Pannonia and somewhere in the trans-Danubian region.³⁸ Two cremation burials from the 3rd–4th centuries AD containing weapons and the skeleton of a horse yielded human remains determined by anthropologists as belonging to women. The discovery ignited a discussion about the possibility of women having actually served in the Roman army, even though historical sources are adamantly in opposition to this idea.³⁹

4. Defining the “sex” of objects

Defining small finds as typically female or typically male is the first difficult issue.⁴⁰ What ring diameter can be considered as truly female? Even greater difficulties are posed by the need to determine whether given “female” objects found in specific areas were actually used by women in these rooms, dropped during an occasional visit or brought there by the woman’s partner. The reasons and scope for such presence must remain hypothetical to some degree. For instance, it is easy to conceive of female captives (and their children) being held (even for an extended time) inside an army camp, especially during war when sexual violence is condoned.⁴¹

5. The case of *Novae*

The first legion to be epigraphically attested to at *Novae* is the *legio VIII Augusta*.⁴² It was sent to the region

around AD 44/45 to put down a Thracian rebellion. The earliest earth-and-timber camp was abandoned before AD 69/70 when the newly formed *legio I Italica* replaced the Eighth legion. The soldiers stayed on in *Novae* at least until the 430s as this date is indicated by a series of inscriptions mentioning the unit.⁴³ Excavations carried out on the site by Polish and Bulgarian archeologists since the 1960s have been published regularly and profusely in the form of reports and individual articles.⁴⁴ The *canabae* has not been explored comprehensively except for a large villa, a temple to Oriental deities and some elements of the infrastructure.⁴⁵

A few categories of small finds associated or possibly-associated with women have been found in *Novae* (Table I–III). The objects have been mapped on four plans (Fig. 1: A–D). The first three refer to the chronological phases of the existence of the army camp: first period pre-Flavian and Flavian (earth and timber and timber-stone phase), second from Trajan until the first quarter of the 3rd century (stone phase), third covering the other three quarters of the 3rd and the first quarter of the 4th century, when the civilian population was probably allowed to live within the walls of the fortress, and the fourth, when *Novae* certainly was a civilian city, from the 30s of the 5th to the 6th century.⁴⁶

Unguentaria have been generally excluded from the female-related category.⁴⁷ This is due to the fact that this category of vessels could have been used for medicaments and *Novae* had a large army hospital. The same refers to separate finds of melon beads, which might be an ornament and decoration of weaponry, as well as gaming counters.⁴⁸ Both these categories should be taken into consideration

³⁷ The cemetery was excavated in the 1960s, but the material (including human remains) discovered then was re-analyzed in 2000; H.E.M. COOL, *The Roman Cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria: Excavations 1966 and 1967*, Britannia Monograph 21, London 2004.

³⁸ H.E.M. COOL, *The Roman Cemetery...*, 437–467.

³⁹ The female warrior ethos appears in reference to barbarian peoples conquered by the Romans; see: O. STOLL, ‘Incedere inter milites...’, 25–29.

⁴⁰ L. ALLASON-JONES, ‘Sexing’ *Small Finds*, (in:) P. Rush (ed.), *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference. Proceedings of the 2nd Conference, Avebury 1992, Avebury 1995*, 22–32; eadem, *The Small Finds*, (in:) A. Rushworth, J. Crow, Ch. Daniels (eds.), *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station: Excavation and Survey, 1954–95*, vol. 2: *The Material Assemblages*, Oxford 2002, 430; M. REUTER, *Frauen in römischen Militärlagern...*, 92–101.

⁴¹ S.E. PHANG, *Intimate Conquests: Roman Soldiers’ Slave Women and Freedwomen*, “The Ancient World” 35/2, 2004, 211f.

⁴² L. PRESS, T. SARNOWSKI, *Novae. Römisches Legionslager und frühbyzantinische Stadt an der unteren Donau*, „Antike Welt“ 21, 1990, 225–243; T. SARNOWSKI, *Novae Italiae im 1 Jh. n. Chr.*, “Etudes et Travaux” 15, 1991, 348–355.

⁴³ T. SARNOWSKI, *Drei spätkaiserzeitliche Statuenbasen aus Novae*

in Niedermoosien, (in:) M. Mirković (ed.), *Römische Städte und Festungen an der Donau*, Beograd 2005, 223–230.

⁴⁴ For a recent list see: J. KOLENDO, *Novae – Bibliography 1726–2008*, (in:) T. Derda, P. Dyczek, J. Kolendo (eds.), *Novae. Legionary Fortress and Late Antique Town*, vol. I: *A Companion to the Study of Novae*, Warsaw 2008, 301–368.

⁴⁵ A. TOMAS, *Municipium Novensium? Report on the Field Survey at Ostrite Mogili, Veliko Turnovo District*, “Światowit” VI (XLVII)/A (2004–2005), 2006, 115.

⁴⁶ Prof. Tadeusz Sarnowski and Prof. Piotr Dyczek of the University of Warsaw kindly made the documentation from his excavations available to the author and generously consulted the results of the research carried out in his sector of the site. The author is also grateful to Dr. M. Żmudziński for assistance in helping to make the best use of the documentation from research carried out by the University of Wrocław. The plans of *Novae* presented here were based mainly on the current publications.

⁴⁷ P. ALLISON, *The Women and Children...*, 121–122 takes into account small melon beads and *unguentaria* with long neck.

⁴⁸ See: L. ALLASON-JONES, *The Small Finds...*, 431. Necklaces or amulets from such beads in a partly Romanized environment are not necessarily typically female or children’s ornaments; cf. G. CARR, ‘Romanisation...’, 121–122.

when they appear in assemblages. In this analysis assemblages were considered only if they contained at least two female-related objects. The only exception is a marble fragment of a vessel which probably belonged to a woman, but

did not come from a specific archaeological context (Fig. 2:8). It is decorated with the image of a bathing woman (?) that finds no parallels in the region, either in form or possible (hygienic?) function.

Tables I–III. *Novae*: Small finds associated or possibly-associated with women

TABLE I: PERIOD I				
Potential female-related items	Localization	Context	Publication	Fig.
Bracelet, bronze, fragment, diam. 5 cm	<i>principia</i> (back side)	Fill of sewer, associated with fragments of local pottery	Unpublished	2:2
Hairpin (?), bronze, fragment, l. 4.5 cm, w. 0.2–0.4 cm	Western defences	Above culturally sterile (?) soil	GACUTA 1987: 138, nr 159, pl. XV:3	2:3
Bone comb with ornamental edge	Palaestra of the Flavian baths	The rubble layer between the threshold and later hospital floor	VLADKOVA 2005: 52, No. 1; cf. DYCZEK 1996: 53	–
A set of 43 melon beads and a terracotta lamp decorated with a woman spinning	<i>principia</i>	Pit containing amphorae	Unpublished	2:7
<i>Unguentarium</i> , glass, and melon bead, glass, h. 1.4, diam. 1.6–1.8 cm	<i>pretentura sinistra</i> Building in area of the <i>scamna tribunorum</i>	Pit (I) containing animal bones, imported table- and kitchen ware, local pots, amphorae, terracotta lamps and metal objects. Pre-Flavian	GENČEVA 2002: 96, pls. LI:3, LII:1	–
<i>Unguentaria</i> of glass, four, and glass melon beads, five, diam. 1–1.5 cm	<i>pretentura sinistra</i> Building in area of the <i>scamna tribunorum</i>	Pit (II), contents as above. Pre-Flavian	GENČEVA 2002: 96–97, pls. LI:1,2,4–6, LII:2–6	–

TABLE II: PERIOD II				
Female-related items	Localization	Context	Publication	Fig.
Spindle	Western <i>intervallum</i>	Unknown	GACUTA 1993: 181, No. 11, pl. VI:63.	–
Bead, light green glass, dims. 0.6×0.4 cm	Northern <i>intervallum</i> , behind the rampart	Layer dated to the reign of Trajan or soon after	Unpublished	2:4
Bead, blue glass paste h. 2 cm, diam. 0.8 cm	<i>principia</i>	Among stones of a sewer by the headquarters	Unpublished	2:5
Vessel, marble, decorated with the image of a naked woman washing her private parts, dims. 9.1×6.2 cm	The area behind <i>principia</i>	Surface layer; quality suggests not later than mid 3 rd c.	Unpublished	2:8
Hairpin of bone	Military hospital (<i>valetudinarium</i>)	Associated with medical instruments and glass vessel (dated not later than the end of the 2 nd c. by a coin find)	VLADKOVA 2005: 59, No. 34	–
EPIGRAPHY				
Funerary monument to <i>Fla(uia) Longina</i> , Daughter of a soldier from the <i>ala I Asturum</i> . Granted citizenship by the Flavians, although her father's name (Tiberius Bassus) does not indicate such a date [IGLNov, p. 115]. She may not have been recognised by her father. Dating: AD 90–120.			IGLNov 78	–
Funerary monument to <i>Marcia Marcella</i> . A veteran's wife. Tomb covered 576 sq. m in area, demonstrating the soldier's affluence [IGLNov, p. 125]. Dating: AD 151–200.			IGLNov 89	–
Funerary monument to <i>Iulia C(ai) lib(erta)</i> . Found together with an identical funeral monument of her patron and partner, a veteran who lived to be a hundred years old. Dating: mid 2 nd century.			IGLNov 99	–

TABLE III: PERIOD III				
Female-related items	Localization	Context	Publication	Fig.
Bracelet, bronze, diam. 5.5 cm, thick. 0.2 cm	Barracks in <i>pretentura sinistra</i>	Room of the barracks; layer dated by a coin of Maximianus (AD 292–295)	Unpublished	2:6
Hairpin, bronze, head with hand holding orb, l. 9.3 cm	Barracks in <i>pretentura sinistra</i>	Pit in late building (4 th c.), associated with coin from mid 3 rd c.	Unpublished	2:9
Hairpins, two, bronze and bone	Barracks in NW corner of the camp	Associated with coin of Gordian III (238–244)	Unpublished	–
Spindles, three	Western <i>intervallum</i>	Mixed layer containing coin of Galerius and heavily worn coin of Tiberius, also jug from first half of 3 rd c.	OKRZESIK 1993: 181, Nos. 3–5, pl. VI.55–57	–
Bracelet and hairpin of bone, ring of horn, bone and glass beads	Western <i>intervallum</i>	Associated with coin of Antoninus Pius, but layer from mid 3 rd c.	ZIOMECKI 1981: 131–132	–
Hairpin, horn	Western <i>intervallum</i>	Associated with coin of Hadrian, but layer from mid 3 rd c.	ZIOMECKI 1981: 131–132	–
Loom weight, terracotta, dims. 9.2×4×4.3 cm	Cavalry (?) barracks in <i>retentura dextra</i>	Layer containing collapsed roof with evidence of fire, dated to mid (?) 3 rd c.	Unpublished	2:10
Hairpins of bone, four	Ruins of <i>valetudinarium</i> or <i>villa</i>	Scattered around in layer overlying the army hospital remains; dated to first half of 3 rd c.	VLADKOVA 2005: Nos. 29, 30, 43, 50	–
EPIGRAPHY				
Funerary monument to Vibia Marcia. A veteran's partner and mother of a deceased boy, recognised by his father. Dating: AD 180–250.			IGLNov 80	–
Funerary monument to <i>[S]urian(a)</i> . Partner of a veteran, who had had two relationships. The other woman is not mentioned, but her existence may be deduced from the children's names. Dating: AD 201–250.			IGLNov 99	–

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5.1. Period I (Table I, Fig. 1:A)

Of greatest interest was the content of three of ca. ten refuse pits and the rubbish dump discovered in pre-Flavian structures and in the area of the barracks, the officers' house (*scamna tribunorum*),⁴⁹ and fourpits in the headquarters building and headquarters' portico on the *via principalis*.⁵⁰ The pits and the dump contained imported table- and kitchen ware, glass vessels (*pyxides*, *unguentaria*, jugs and cups), amphorae, lamp and metal objects, a gaming counter as well as 43 melon beads (Fig. 2:7). None of these potentially female-related objects were of a domestic nature; there were no spinning accouterments, for instance. Neither were there any hairpins. The luxurious nature of some items suggests that they could have belonged to the officers and their families.

A figure of a nymph (Fig. 2:1), reused in the army hospital, may have come from the decoration of the Flavian military baths or other building.⁵¹ Obviously, the sculpture of a half-naked female is hardly an indication of women being present inside the camp. However, such decoration put on display in an army bath is quite astonishing, considering that a place governed by severe military regulations (*disciplina militaris*) should be clear of female nudity.⁵²

The end of the 1st century and the beginning of the 2nd century saw much military activity in the region as a result of Domitian's and Trajan's Dacian wars. The *canabae* were certainly in existence at this time, as was another settlement situated about 2 km east of the fortress.⁵³

5.2. Period II (Table II, Fig. 1:B)

The period of overall prosperity and regional development in the 2nd century,⁵⁴ tended to favor long-term

relations, as evidenced by the content of diplomas issued after 120.⁵⁵ This phenomenon does not seem to have been paralleled by an explosion of objects which could have belonged to women inside the camp.

It should be kept in mind, that barbarian raids on Lower Moesia, including the neighborhood of *Novae*, during the reign of Antoninus Pius⁵⁶ and Marcus Aurelius,⁵⁷ would have caused civilians to seek refuge inside the camp walls. So far, this was not attested by the presence of female-related items. There does not seem to be any sudden appearance of female-related objects traced archaeologically after the lifting of the ban on wedlock in the end of the 2nd century.

5.3. Period III (Table III, Fig. 1:C)

Barbarian raiding in the Danubian provinces in 238 and then in 250/51 devastated the farmlands around *Novae*, although it apparently did not touch the camp itself.⁵⁸ An annex with an additional line of defenses was added at this time to the eastern side of the camp. The function of this annex remains uncertain, but it stands to reason that following successive raids the remaining civil survivors would have moved nearer to the fortress and may have even found refuge inside the walls. Of interest in the presented set are the items found in the western *intervalum*.⁵⁹ It proved impossible to determine the function of the features discovered in this area, although the localization would favor an interpretation that sees in these structures a legionary workshop (*fabrica*). The disturbed stratigraphy in this sector (pits from the last quarter of the 3rd century) advises caution in their interpretation. Based on

⁴⁹ E. GENČEVA, *Párvijat voenen lager v Novae, provinciã Miziã (Severna Bãlgariã)*. *Pierwszy obóz wojskowy w Novae, prowincja Mezja (północna Bułgaria) (First military camp in Novae, province Moesia (northern Bulgaria))*, Sofia-Warszawa 2002, 96–99, fig. 14.

⁵⁰ Unpublished finds discovered during the excavations in 2010 and 2011.

⁵¹ P. DYCZEK, *Novae – Western Sector, 1992–1995. Preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Warsaw University Archaeological Expedition*, "Archeologia" (Warsaw) XLVII, 1996, 59; cf. P. DYCZEK, *Marble Sculptures from the Valetudinarium at Novae (Moesia inferior)*, (in:) B. Djurić, I. Lazar (eds.), *Akten des 4. Internationalen Kolloquiums über Probleme des provinziäl-römischen Kunstschaffens, Celje, 8.–12. Mai 1995*, Situla 36, Ljubljana 1997, 87–93.

⁵² Although the Roman attitude to public nudity was unlike the modern one (G.G. FAGAN, *Bathing in Public in the Roman World*, Michigan 2002, 214), female nudity in a military environment could not have been well seen; see: S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 95. The figure of a nymph in army baths is also unusual, as it was Fortuna who was worshiped in such places due to games and gambling; see G. WEBSTER, *The Roman Imperial Army of the First and Second Centuries*, London 1985³, 204.

⁵³ A. TOMAS, *Municipium Novensium...*

⁵⁴ A. TOMAS, *Inter Moesos et Thracas. A Contribution to the Studies on the Rural Hinterland of Novae in Lower Moesia*, "Archeologia" (Warsaw) LVIII (2007), 2009, 39; the publication summarizes my unpublished dissertation on Roman and Late Roman settlement in the region.

⁵⁵ M. ROXAN, *The Distribution of Roman Military Diplomas*, "Epigraphic Studies" 12, 1981, 265–286.

⁵⁶ V.D. VÄRBANOV, *Barbarian Invasions in the Provinces of Moesia inferior and Thracia between A.D. 138–192 (according to the numismatic data)*, (in:) L. Vagalinski (ed.), *The Lower Danube in Antiquity (VI c. BC – VI c. AD): International Archaeological Conference, Bulgaria–Tutrakan 6–7.10.2005*, Sofia 2007, 153–170.

⁵⁷ W. SCHEIDEL, *Probleme der Datierung des Costoboceneinfalls im Balkanraum unter Marcus Aurelius*, "Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte" 39, 1990, 493–498.

⁵⁸ J. KOLENDO, *Novae during the Goth Raid of AD 250/1 (Iordanes, Getica 101–103)*, (in:) T. Derda, P. Dyczek, J. Kolendo (eds.), *Novae. Legionary Fortress...* I, 125.

⁵⁹ J. ZIOMECKI, *Odcinek II*, (in:) K. Majewski (ed.), *Novae – Sektor Zachodni 1979. Sprawozdanie tymczasowe z wykopalisk Ekspedycji Archeologicznej UW*, "Archeologia" (Warsaw) XXXII, 1981, 85–163.

the recorded material from *Novae*, it can be said that objects such as hairpins and loom-weights (Figs. 2:6,9,10), safely said to be female-related, showed up for the first time after the middle of the 3rd century.

5.4. Period IV (Fig. 1:D)

New civil structures, including a private villa with glass workshop, were erected inside the fortress in this period.⁶⁰ Female-related items were exceedingly numerous. The villa that was built on the ruins of the army hospital yielded 75% of all the spindle whorls discovered so far in *Novae*;⁶¹ the same can be said of jewelry (beads, finger rings, bracelets) and female-related objects of everyday use (mirrors, combs). Objects of this kind were also found in other places, in the area by the walls and the command headquarters where excavations have yielded spindle whorls, mirrors, and hairpins.

5.5. *Novae*: its character and interpretative limitations

Material potentially related to women in *Novae* seems to be quite modest and concentrated along the streets and in the officers' accommodations.

The excavations carried out at *Novae* from 1960 through the 1980s were concentrated mainly on the Late Roman phases and have explored comprehensively only a few of the camp buildings (hospital, command headquarters, officers' house); other features have been uncovered in part or merely tested (fortifications, baths, barracks). The picture set by female-related artifacts from the periods I–II is fairly modest compared to the mapping of finds from the Late Roman city (Fig. 1). Without excavating the crucial area of the camp barracks, which is still to be done, the present study cannot be treated as more than just a test of the issue.

Comparable data from cemeteries and settlements around the fort are insufficient. Graves were uncovered

mostly accidentally and documented in the course of salvage work without anthropological examination.⁶² To date, only one brooch of the A.97 type, believed to be a typically female adornment from the Middle Danubian region, has been found, unfortunately in unstratified context.⁶³ The difficult process of defining typically female and male objects is made even more complex in the case of a site like *Novae*, which was a crucible of merging cultures and migration of people of low social status. To judge by the epigraphic finds, the local population of the associated civic settlement comprised largely of arrivals from the east. Regardless of the caution that is required in evaluating names which could have been slave names given secondarily by the traders,⁶⁴ the names of the children of some of the veterans point to Eastern and local roots.⁶⁵ Freedmen constituted more than 40% of the civilian population confirmed in the inscriptions.⁶⁶ Of the women whose tombstones have been found, around 50% were of slave origin.

6. The nature of civilian presence inside army posts

Reports from the times of the Republic referred directly to camp followers staying inside the army posts.⁶⁷ The reforms of Marius between 107 and 102 BC attempted to redress this situation, introducing characteristic equipment to limit the slave transport and baggage trains used until then. But the first probably to take decisive measures to curb civilian presence in the army was Augustus who reinstated the military discipline.⁶⁸ We still do not know whether certain categories of non-soldiers were permitted to live inside the unit camps. The number of followers was big for sure when the Romans were routed at the Teutoburg Forest⁶⁹ as well as later, during the war in Judea.⁷⁰

⁶⁰ P. DYCZEK, *Novae...*, 51–64.

⁶¹ J. OKRZESIK, *Prześliki z Novae odkryte przez ekspedycję archeologiczną UW (Spindles from Novae discovered by the archaeological expedition of the University of Warsaw)*, "Novensia" 5, 1993, 179–196.

⁶² For example V. VÁLOV, *Antični nekropoli v Svišovsko*, "Arheologija" VII/1, 1965, 27–34.

⁶³ E. GENČEVA, *Zapinki rzymskie i późnoantyczne z Novae (Roman and Late Antique Brooches from Novae)*, "Novensia" 11, 1998, 43–44, pl. VIII.11.

⁶⁴ S.E. PHANG, *Intimate Conquests...*, 223.

⁶⁵ L. MROZEWICZ, *Einige Bemerkungen zur demographischen Struktur von Novae (Moesia Inferior)*, "Eos" 68, 1980, 249–254.

⁶⁶ J. KOLENDO, *Inskrypcje wyzwolenców i niewolników z Novae (Inscriptions of freedmen and slaves from Novae)*, "Novensia" 6, 1993, 138.

⁶⁷ R. McMULLEN, *The Legion...*, 444–445; J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 90–96 with references to ancient sources.

⁶⁸ Suet. Aug. 24; S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 352f. There are some forts where no extramural settlements have been traced, and they are dated to the 1st century AD; see: S. SOMMER, *The Inner and Outer Relation of the Military Vicus to its Fort*, B.A.R. International Series 129, Oxford 1984, 24. Either the camp-followers were allowed to stay inside or they were not allowed to follow the unit at all.

⁶⁹ Cass. Dio 56.22: [...] they were discovered, for the women and children, by reason of their fatigue and fear as well as on account of the darkness and cold, kept calling to the warriors to come back.

⁷⁰ Fl. Ioseph., B. Iud. 3.125: *Behind the infantry the servants attached to each legion followed in a body [...] and at the end of the column, came the crowd of mercenaries [...].*

6.1. Servants and slaves

Under the Roman Republic some of these civilians fulfilled military functions, if required, and even received food rations. The paramilitary function of this group increased during the Principate.⁷¹ Once a professional army was established, servants were incorporated into it, perhaps even serving in an ala or a cohort.⁷² Their presence as a group in the army environment is irrefutable, but the character of this group and its place of residence have not been fully identified. Apart from “military” servants and slaves, gladiator troupes owned (?) by the army are attested epigraphically.⁷³

In a number of forts excavations have revealed characteristically planned buildings comprising a row of small rooms around a small courtyard (so-called *Sonderunterkünfte*).⁷⁴ These are interpreted usually as additional barracks for the numeri, administrative buildings, sanitary units, a prison (carcer) or quarters for the commanding officer’s servants. It is not to be excluded that in this case the structures served as accommodations for servants and slaves.

Women were also among the soldier-owned slaves. Female and children bought by soldiers as slaves are known from the documentary evidence.⁷⁵ It should be taken into consideration that brothels existed in the neighborhood of military bases, as in Dura,⁷⁶ or even in military quarters, if we are to believe written sources.⁷⁷ The permanent residence *intra muros* of kitchen maids (*focariae*) or female slaves (*ancillae, servae*)⁷⁸ is more controversial. But these categories

of women could hardly be refused female adornments, or even domestic chores, so the artifacts left by them during their occasional presence in the camp, would have been the same as those left by concubines.

6.2. Army baths and hospitals

There is no certainty as to whether army baths or hospitals were open to civilians or manned by slaves. It is probable that these establishments were attended by the officers’ families. At least temporary presence of women should be expected there and is confirmed by finds of a milk tooth and women’s accouterments in a bath inside the legionary camp at Carleon (*Isca*).⁷⁹

6.3. Tabernae

Civilian baths often encompassed rooms intended as *tabernae*, that is, small shops frequently offering food and beverages.⁸⁰ Hot bathing and cooked food were believed detrimental to strict military discipline.⁸¹ But just like baths were allowed inside army camps, so permission was given for establishments like *tabernae* offering light wine.⁸² Buildings of this kind must have existed at *Vetera*, *Novesium*, *Inchtuthill* and *Novae*.⁸³ One of the possible interpretations of the controversial Building C in Ellingen is that it was a commander’s residence,⁸⁴ but one cannot exclude, basing on the presence of a broad spectrum of finds including a heating system, that it was actually a kind of modest army camp bath combined with a *taberna*. But the most

⁷¹ M. SPEIDEL, *The Soldiers’ Servants*, “Ancient Society” 20, 1989, 242f.; J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 93–94, 106–110.

⁷² J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 110.

⁷³ CIL XIII, 8831 (Germania inferior): *Marti Vict(ori) / gladiatores / c(lassis) G(ermanicae) P(iae) F(idelis)*.

⁷⁴ H. VON PETRIKOVITS, *Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit*, Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 56, Opladen 1975, 43–50; A. JOHNSON, *Römische Kastelle des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr. in Britannien und in den germanischen Provinzen des Römerreiches*, Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt 37, Mainz am Rhein 1987, 212–213.

⁷⁵ B. CAMPBELL, *The Roman Army...*, 169, No. 280; IDR, 36, 37 and 38; P. VARON, *Empitio ancillae/mulieris...*, 189–195.

⁷⁶ One of the houses in *Dura* was interpreted as a brothel where a troupe of prostitutes and dancers controlled by the army were lodged; see: M. I. ROSTOVITZEFF (ed.), *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of 1st – 9th season of work*, vol. 9/1, New Haven 1952, 166–167; N. POLLARD, *Soldiers, cities, and civilians in Roman Syria*, Michigan 2003, 53–54; S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 248–249.

⁷⁷ SHA, *Pesc. Niger*, 3.10.

⁷⁸ Kitchen maids (*focariae*) and female slaves could have found themselves in intimate relationships with soldiers not withstanding the bound with their *de facto* wives (*concubinae*); see: S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 128, 204–251 and see AE 1971, 420; cf. polygamy of soldiers in: R. FRIEDL, *Der Konkubinat...*, 256–257.

⁷⁹ G.G. FAGAN, *Bathing...*, 6.

⁸⁰ G.G. FAGAN, *Bathing...*, 32–33 and note 51.

⁸¹ G.G. FAGAN, *Bathing...*, 214; S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 251–252, and compare with SHA, *Pesc. Niger*, 3.10.

⁸² H. VON PETRIKOVITS, *Die Innenbauten...*, 96. Drinking wine in antiquity was a common practice, as well as the attitude to drinking was different than nowadays. See: S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 259–264 cites sources indicating that consuming alcohol on duty was not punished severely.

⁸³ *Vetera*: P. ALLISON, *The Women and Children...*, 123–124; *Novae*: P. DYCZEK, *Novae...*, 53 (at the Flavian baths); E. GENČEVA, T. SARNOWSKI, P. DYCZEK, A. BIERNACKI, *Rimski voenen lager i ranovizantijski grad Nove*, (in:) *Arheološki Otkrića i Razkopki prez 2011 g.*, Sofiã 2011, 278. See also: G. WEBSTER, *The Roman Imperial Army...*, 206–207.

⁸⁴ P. ALLISON, *Artifact Distribution...*, 56.

famous example from *Vindonissa*, where a tablet was found inscribed with the female name of a possible owner (sic!) of such a facility,⁸⁵ is not as certain as it would appear. The text is actually an invitation to a possibly private party.

6.4. Workshops

Civilians, including possibly women and children, were most probably employed in the army workshops (*fabricae*).⁸⁶ It has been being repeatedly pointed out that soldiers' families following their only breadwinner could not have leached so completely on the army, but that they could and probably did serve the army in a variety of useful occupations.⁸⁷

6.5. Travelers on the frontier and army units

One of the functions of the Roman borderline was controlling civilian traffic.⁸⁸ The roads along the borders cut through most of the forts as their *via principalis*, but by-pass loops were also provided for long-distance traffic.⁸⁹ The volume of traffic on these roads was so intensive that it caused problems for people living near to such a road.⁹⁰ On the other hand, soldiers were not permitted to leave their units under the penalty of death according to the legal code.⁹¹ The image supplied by the evidence is that of a continuous stream of travelers passing through the army forts and camps, which the soldiers stationed there could not leave without permission. Therefore, limited freedom in contacts with the civil population⁹² should be understood rather as a ban imposed on being away from the unit without permission.

Yet one can hardly imagine travelers entering the army camps and wandering about freely. The gates would have been guarded and the passage through a camp or fort controlled.⁹³ Traffic checks on the road were instituted by *stationarii* and *beneficiarii*, but at the gates of the army camp there were special guards *ad portam*⁹⁴, and they would have probably been closed for the night or in special circumstances.⁹⁵ Surely there were women and children among the travelers, as was the case of a certain mother with two children crossing, presumably by bribery, a *stationarii* checkpoint not far from the mines at *Mons Claudianus* in the Egyptian Eastern Desert.⁹⁶

6.6. Trading and supplies in the army units

The partly individual supply system in force in the Roman army is attested by certain documents concerning soldiers' contracts, both as buyers and as those responsible for business dealings,⁹⁷ very possibly with the aid of servants and camp followers.⁹⁸ Since soldiers were prohibited from leaving camp without permission and their outings were presumably under control, all current affairs requiring their going outside the walls, including trivial shopping, required go-betweens, presumably servants and slaves.

The markets of settlements accompanying the army camps were a natural place for commercial exchange. Could places like that be found inside the army units? Polybius and Joseph Flavius mention a market-place (*ἀγορά*) in the camp, on the *via quintana* across from the *praetorium*.⁹⁹ One of the papyri mentions the guards by the *macellum*.¹⁰⁰ Livy mentioned a *forum* called *quintana* as

⁸⁵ AE 1996, 1133a, b; M. SPEIDEL, *Die römischen Schreiftafeln von Vindonissa*, Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft pro Vindonissa XII, Brugg 1996 (n.v.).

⁸⁶ G. WEBSTER, *The Roman Imperial Army...*, 210–211.

⁸⁷ S. JAMES, *Soldiers and Civilians...*, 80.

⁸⁸ B. ISAAC, *The Limits of Empire. The Romans in the East*, Oxford 2003, 103; C. VAN TILBURG, *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*, London-New York 2007, 104.

⁸⁹ SH. S. FRERE, *Britannia: a history of Roman Britain*, London-New York 1987, 129.

⁹⁰ B. CAMPBELL, *The Roman Army...*, 180, No 301.

⁹¹ Modestinus describes punishment for escaping across the walls and ditches, hence exiting the camp gates must have been under strict control; see Digesta 49.16.3.4–5: *Is, qui exploratione emanet hostibus insistentibus aut qui a fossato recedit, capite puniendus est (He who leaves the army for the purpose of scouting in the presence of the enemy, or who goes beyond the ditch surrounding the camp, shall be punished with death)*. Also see Digesta 49.16.3.17–19: *Nec non et si uallum quis transcendat aut per murum castra ingrediatur, capite punitur (When anyone crosses the entrenchments of the camp, or returns to it by the wall, he is punished with death)*. Translation after Digesta (Scott), 190.

⁹² Cf. S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 69 and 92–93.

⁹³ As in cities; see: C. VAN TILBURG, *Gates, Suburbs and Traffic in the Roman Empire*, "BABESCH" 83, 2008, 144.

⁹⁴ R.O. FINK, *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*, Cleveland (Ohio) 1971, guard rosters nos. 13, 15, 17 and morning report (?) no. 51. Guards are also mentioned in different places within the camp.

⁹⁵ Digesta 49.16.12.2: *Officium tribunorum est vel eorum, qui exercitui praesunt, milites in castris continere, ad exercitationem producere, claves portarum suscipere (It is the duty of the tribunes, or of those who command the army, to confine the soldiers in camps [...]; to keep the keys of the gates)*.

⁹⁶ B. CAMPBELL, *The Roman Army...*, 174 (about the ostrakon from *Mons Claudianus*).

⁹⁷ J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 99; B. CAMPBELL, *War and Society...*, 100.

⁹⁸ S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 176–177.

⁹⁹ Polyb. VI.30–31; Fl. Joseph., B.Iud. 3.83.

¹⁰⁰ R.O. FINK, *Roman Military Records...*, 200, No. 51, II, 13. R.W. Davies suggests also: *for pro quintanesio [in No. 9, 23] perhaps better an (outpost) duty (procubitu?) lasting five days or supervising the camp market (quintana)*; see: idem, *Review of Roman Military Records on Papyrus by Robert O. Fink*, "Journal of Roman Studies" 62, 1972, 191.

a place where the enemy could find abundant supplies.¹⁰¹ On these grounds it is believed that such places existed at least in the times of the Republic.¹⁰² Nevertheless, J. Roth has suggested, correctly in my opinion, that the word *ἀγορά* used by Polybius could have referred to a “supply distribution point” or “military supplies”.¹⁰³ It is possible that traders were allowed to enter the camp and sell their products, but it was believed that such activities weakened military discipline and were a source of chaos in the fort,¹⁰⁴ especially during military campaigns. In times of peace, traders were possibly more welcome. It is probable that visits of this kind were described in a letter written in AD 107 by a soldier of *legio III Cyrenaica*, who wrote that “merchants come to us every day”.¹⁰⁵ It is more important that the supplies for the army were often realized by civilians.¹⁰⁶ These supplies must have been transported to some place inside the camp or even directly to the granaries and storehouses.

7. Conclusions

Civilians, including women, have left proof of their presence inside army posts in a broad gamut of circumstances. It has been argued above that artifacts attributed to females and children, and found inside Roman army posts,

hardly need to be proof of the actual presence of families in the barracks. Neither should traces of youngsters be considered as testimony of immoral practices.¹⁰⁷

Upon considering where such artifacts or testimonies have appeared, we find that attention is concentrated on the auxiliary forts. Perhaps then we should consider these intriguing finds in the context of the units stationed there.¹⁰⁸ In the case of irregular units like the *numeri*, which could have been comprised of the barbarian allies of Rome,¹⁰⁹ the presence of women *intra muros* would be proof of a lack of Roman army discipline,¹¹⁰ or else conscious acquiescence. During the Hellenistic period mercenaries were allowed the company of families, contrary to the Greek soldiers.¹¹¹ Moreover, it is not entirely clear whether rules of discipline regarding relations with women, introduced at one point by Augustus, concerned the whole army or just the legionaries.¹¹² The suggestion that soldiers from auxiliary units in the 1st century AD were permitted to marry legally has been rejected,¹¹³ but perhaps another look at the issue verifying the stated reasons is in order.¹¹⁴ There is a significant difference between the legal regulations concerning the marriage law, and the informal permission for cohabitation.¹¹⁵ In situations of rising threat a departure from the standards of army discipline could have had the force of

¹⁰¹ Livy 41.2.11. Suetonius uses the word *quintana* with reference to a place of auction at the imperial palace (Suet., *Nero*, 26). The etymology of the term *canteen* (Fr. *cantine*, It. *cantina*) in the meaning of *cuisine et lieu de distribution des vivres d'une troupe en campagne* is often derived from the word *quintana*, though it is not obvious and put in doubt by some scholars; see *Cantine*, (in:) *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (Littré) after Amédée Tardieu's printed edition, *Le Trésor de la langue française informatisé* (<http://atilf.atilf.fr/>); *Cantina*, (in:) O. Pianigiani, *Vocabolario Etimologico della Lingua Italiana*, 1907 (<http://www.etimo.it/>); cf. *Castra*, (in:) DGRA, 249.

¹⁰² OLD, 1557.

¹⁰³ J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 100.

¹⁰⁴ J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 99–100.

¹⁰⁵ B. CAMPBELL, *The Roman Army...*, 30–31, No. 36 (papyrus from Karanis; translation by B. Campbell).

¹⁰⁶ J. ROTH, *The Logistics...*, 110–111; R. ALSTON, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt. A Social History*, London-New York 1998, 111.

¹⁰⁷ Only such extreme cases are considered by C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY (*A Question of Gender...*, 360).

¹⁰⁸ TH. BECKER, *Women in Roman Forts...*, 38.

¹⁰⁹ P. SOUTHERN, *The Numeri...*, 81–83.

¹¹⁰ Cf. S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 4.

¹¹¹ P. LOMAN, *Mercenaries, Their Women, and Colonisation*, “Klio” 87/2, 2005, 349–350.

¹¹² Cf. Suet., *Aug.* 24. *Disciplina militaris* was a Roman, “ethnized” virtue, opposite to “barbarian” qualities; see: S.E. PHANG, *Roman Military Service...*, 4; eadem, *The Marriage...*, 352; cf. M.M. ROXAN, *Women on the Frontiers*, (in:) V.A. Maxfield, M.J. Dobson (eds.), *Proceedings of the XVth International Conference of Roman Frontier Studies 1989*, Exeter 1992, 462–467.

¹¹³ M. MIRKOVIĆ, *Die Entwicklung und Bedeutung der Verleihung des Conubium*, (in:) W. Eck, H. Wolff (eds.), *Heer und Integrationspolitik. Die römischen Militärdiplome als historische Quelle*, Passauer Historische Forschungen 2, Köln 1986, 167–186; R. CAGNAT, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs*, vol. I, Paris 1912, 383–385; cf. J.H. JUNG, *Das Eherecht...*, 307–308, 313–314, 338, and S.E. PHANG, *The Marriage...*, 75–76, who state that auxiliaries were under the same ban as legionaries.

¹¹⁴ See a very important paper by C. VAN DRIEL-MURRAY, *Ethnic Recruitment and Military Mobility*, (in:) Á. Morillo, N. Hanel, E. Martín (eds.), *Limes XX, XX Congreso Internacional de Estudios Sobre la Frontera Romana / XXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies, León (España), Septiembre, 2006*, Madrid 2009, 813–822, esp. 815.

¹¹⁵ The epigraphic evidence confirms the existence of regular unions between auxiliaries and women, the same as between legionaries and their informal wives; M.M. ROXAN, *Women on the Frontiers...* But this is not an indication whether women were allowed or not to live inside the forts.

attracting volunteers. The only legionary fortress where evidence of female presence is undoubted is *Vindonissa*. This case should be examined by scholars in particular.

In other legionary camps (*Vetera* and *Novae*), differently than in auxiliary forts, female-related objects appear to be concentrated around the gates, main streets and officers' accommodations. They also do not seem to be related in any way to long-term domestic activities; for example, no loom-weights have been found together with other female-related artifacts. The above mentioned possibilities of civilian presence inside the camps refer to peacetime. But the occurrence of female-related items may coincide with periods of military threat as evidence of families taking refuge in the forts or of captive women with children.¹¹⁶ Their disappearance may be connected with restored discipline, in wartime¹¹⁷ as well as in peacetime situations when the camps were being cleared of amenities.¹¹⁸ Such phenomena, however, are difficult to trace in the archaeological record.

Regardless of the controversial idea that soldiers lived together with their female partners in the barracks,¹¹⁹ we should certainly revise the current perspective evaluating relations between soldiers and civilians to include more than just the interactions between two separate social groups. Army units should be evaluated on an individual basis as separate and highly complex military and civil structures (soldiers, their families, servants, slaves). And the various kinds of units (legions and auxiliary units, especially native ones) should be treated perhaps as formations with different social standards.

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¹¹⁶ M. REUTER, *Frauen in römischen Militärlagern...*, 97.

¹¹⁷ O. STOLL, 'Incedere inter milites...', 41; cf. Tac., Hist. IV, 20.2: *Three thousand legionaries [...], as well as a band of peasants and foragers, unwarlike but bold before they met actual danger, burst out of all the gates [...]*.

¹¹⁸ Hadrian cleared the camps of banqueting-rooms, porticoes, grot-

tos, and bowers [...]. SHA, *Hadr.*, X.4: *triclinia de castris et porticus et cryptas et topia dirueret, vestem humillimam frequenter acciperet, sine auro balteum sumeret, sine gemmis fibula stringeret, capulo vix eburneo spatham clauderet [...]*.

¹¹⁹ On the controversies, see: S. JAMES, *Soldiers and civilians...*, 83; idem, *Engendering...*; TH. BECKER, *Women in Roman Forts...*

Abbreviations of ancient sources and cited editions

- Cass. Dio *Dio's Roman History, with an English translation by Earnest Cary, Ph.D., on the basis of the version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, Ph.D., in nine volumes, vol. VII, London-New York 1955.*
- Digesta *Digesta Iustiniani. Augusti, recognovit adsumptio in operis societatem Paulo Kruegero T. Mommsen, vol. II, Berlin 1870.*
- Digesta (Scott) *The Civil Law Including the Twelve Tables, The Institutes of Gaius, The Rules of Ulpian, The Opinions of Paulus, The Enactments of Justinian, and the Constitutions of Leo: Translated from the original Latin, edited, and compared with all accessible systems of jurisprudence ancient and modern. By S.P. Scott, vols. 1–2, New Jersey 2006.*
- Etym. *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum Sive Originum Libri XX, recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit W.M. Lindsay, tomus I, libros I–X continens, Oxford 1911.*
- Etym. (Barney et al.) *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville, translated with introduction and notes by S.A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach and O. Berghof, New York 2006.*
- Fl. Ioseph., B. Iud. *Josephus, with an English translation by H.St.J. Thackeray, M.A. in nine volumes, vol. II: The Jewish War, Books I–III, London-Cambridge (Mass.) 1956.*
- Herodian (Whittaker) *Herodian (History of the Empire), in two volumes, with an English translation by C.R. Whittaker, vol. I: Books I–IV, London-Cambridge (Mass.) 1969.*
- Livy *Livy, (From the Founding of the City), with an English translation in fourteen volumes, vol. XIII: Books XL–XLV, translated by Alfred C. Schlesinger, Ph.D., London-Cambridge (Mass.) 1950.*
- Polyb. *Polybius, The Histories, with an English translation by W.R. Paton, in six volumes, vol. III, London-Cambridge (Mass.) 1979.*
- Serv. Aen. [Maurus Servius Honoratus] *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii, recensurunt Georgius Thilo et Hermannus Hagen, vols. I–II, Leipzig 1881, 1884.*
- SHA *The Scriptorum Historiae Augustae, with an English translation by David Magie, vol. I, Cambridge (Mass.)-London 1921 (repr. 1991).*
- Suet. *Suetonius, (The Lives of the Caesars), with an English translation by J.C. Rolfe, in two volumes, vol. I, Cambridge (Mass.)-London 1913–14.*
- Tac., Hist. *Tacitus, The Histories, with an English translation by C.H. Moore. The Annals, with an English translation by J. Jackson, in three volumes, vol. II: The Histories, Books IV–V, The Annals, Books I–III, London-New York 1931.*

Abbreviations

- AE L'Année Épigraphique
- ANRW Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt, Berlin-New York 1972–.
- BABESCH Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology
- B.A.R. British Archaeological Reports
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- DGRA *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, W. Smith (ed.), London 1875.
- Ernout-Meillet A. Ernout, A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire de mots*, Paris 2001 (1932¹).
- IGLNov *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Novae (Mésie inférieure)*, J. Kolendo, V. Božilova (eds.), Ausonius Mémoires 1, Bordeaux 1997.
- IDR D.M. Pippidi, I.I. Russu, *Inscriptiile Daciei Romane*, vol. I. *Adunate însoțite comentarii și indice, trad. în românește de Ioan I. Russu*, București 1975.
- OLD *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, A. Souter et al. (eds.), Oxford 1968.
- TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
- Walde-Hofmann *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch, von A. Walde, 3. neubearbeitete Auflage von J.B. Hofmann, erster Band A–L*, Heidelberg 1938.

ODCZYTYWANIE PŁCI I ŻYCIA SPOŁECZNEGO W PRZESTRZENI WOJSKOWEJ

Problem obecności kobiet i dzieci w rzymskich obozach i fortach wojskowych, będący od dwudziestu lat przedmiotem debaty, oparty jest w zasadzie na źródłach archeologicznych, co czyni każdą interpretację ryzykowną. Znaleźiska tego rodzaju winny być zatem rozpatrywane w szerszym kontekście życia społecznego armii rzymskiej i obecności cywilów w jednostkach wojskowych.

Osiedla przyobozowe (*canabae*) są niedostatecznie rozpoznane wykopaliskowo. Niewiele wiemy także o ich mieszkańcach. Wiadomo, że podlegały dowódcy wojskowemu, a ich mieszkańcami były rodziny żołnierzy, usługodawcy oraz służba i niewolnicy, lecz nie znamy dokładnych relacji tej ludności z wojskiem. Od czasów Augusta, aż do roku 197, pełnoprawne małżeństwa czynnych żołnierzy nie były możliwe; związki małżeńskie mogli zawierać jedynie oficerowie oraz ewentualnie centurionowie. Jednakże, żołnierze zawierali związki nieformalne. Zasadniczym pytaniem jest kwestia, czy kobiety te mogły przebywać wewnątrz jednostek. Źródła archeologiczne i pisane wydają się być w pewnej sprzeczności. Zarówno ludowa, jak i naukowa etymologia słowa *castra* określa obóz jako miejsce odosobnienia. Także źródła epigraficzne wskazują na to, że zaledwie 20% czynnych żołnierzy zawierało stałe związki. Interpretacja znalezisk z niektórych fortów w prowincjach zachodnich wydaje się wskazywać na niemal powszechną obecność kobiet i dzieci w obrębie murów. W wielu przypadkach są to jednak teorie będące tylko jedną z możliwych interpretacji. Znaczący jest tu fakt, że na żadnym z tych stanowisk nie znaleziono dotąd przedmiotów bezspornie świadczących o stałej obecności kobiet, np. zestawu ciężarków tkackich. Rzadko poddaje się pod rozwagę hierarchię społeczną Rzymian, gdzie niewolnik – bez względu na płeć – mógł wykonywać czynności „niegodne” męża (*vir*), a co za tym idzie, posługiwać się przedmiotami „kobięcymi”. W takiej sytuacji bardzo kontrowersyjna jest sprawa definiowania przynależności przedmiotów do danej płci.

Nieliczne znaleziska z *Novae* zostały umieszczone na czterech planach, odpowiadających czterem okresom istnienia obozu i miasta. Właściwa interpretacja tych znalezisk została oparta o szerszą analizę charakteru lokalnej społeczności. W przypadku *Novae*, mamy do czynienia z ludnością składającą się w dużej mierze z wyzwolenców (40%). W odróżnieniu od fortów oddziałów pomocniczych, rozmieszczenie „kobięcych” przedmiotów koncentruje się wzdłuż głównych ulic, bram i domów oficerskich, podobnie jak w obozie legionowym *Vetera/Xanten*.

Obecność wewnątrz murów obronnych przedmiotów potencjalnie związanych z kobietami nie musi być interpretowana wyłącznie jako ślad rodzin żołnierzy. Ludność towarzysząca armii bywała zakwaterowana w obozach marszowych. Dotyczy to niewolników czy służby, którzy być może zamieszkiwali dodatkowe baraki, znane z badań wykopaliskowych. Nie wiemy także, czy łaźnie i szpitale wojskowe mogły być udostępniane cywilom. Istnienie sklepików (*tabernae*) na terenie obozów wydaje się możliwe, a zatem powinniśmy wziąć pod uwagę fakt, że ich obsługa mogła być cywilna. To samo dotyczy warsztatów wojskowych. Ludność cywilna poruszająca się po drogach przygranicznych musiała przekraczać bramy obozów i fortów, podczas gdy żołnierzom nie wolno było opuszczać jednostek bez zezwolenia. Zarówno dostawy dla armii, jak i indywidualne zakupy musiały być realizowane przez ludzi z zewnątrz.

Gama okoliczności, podczas których przedmioty należące do ludności cywilnej dostawały się w obręb murów jednostek wojskowych, jest naprawdę szeroka. Znaleźiska, które frapują szczególnie (szkielety noworodków i płodów), zostały znalezione w fortach oddziałów pomocniczych, w tym nieregularnych oddziałów *numeri*. Być może należy brać pod uwagę ewentualne różnice w mentalności, życiu społecznym, a nawet możliwość oficjalnego przyzwolenia na zachowanie innego modelu dyscypliny tych oddziałów.

Fig. 1:A. Legionary fortress and late Roman city of *Novae*. Findspots of items associated and possibly-associated with women (by A. Tomas). Period I. 1 – headquarters; 2 – barracks in *praetentura sinistra*; 3 – Flavian baths; 4 – barracks; 5 – officers' house.

Ryc. 1:A. Obóz legionowy i późnoantyczne miasto *Novae*. Miejsca znalezienia przedmiotów związanych z kobietami i przedmiotów prawdopodobnie związanych z kobietami. Okres I. 1 – komendantura; 2 – baraki w *praetentura sinistra*; 3 – łaźnie flawijskie; 4 – baraki; 5 – dom oficerów.

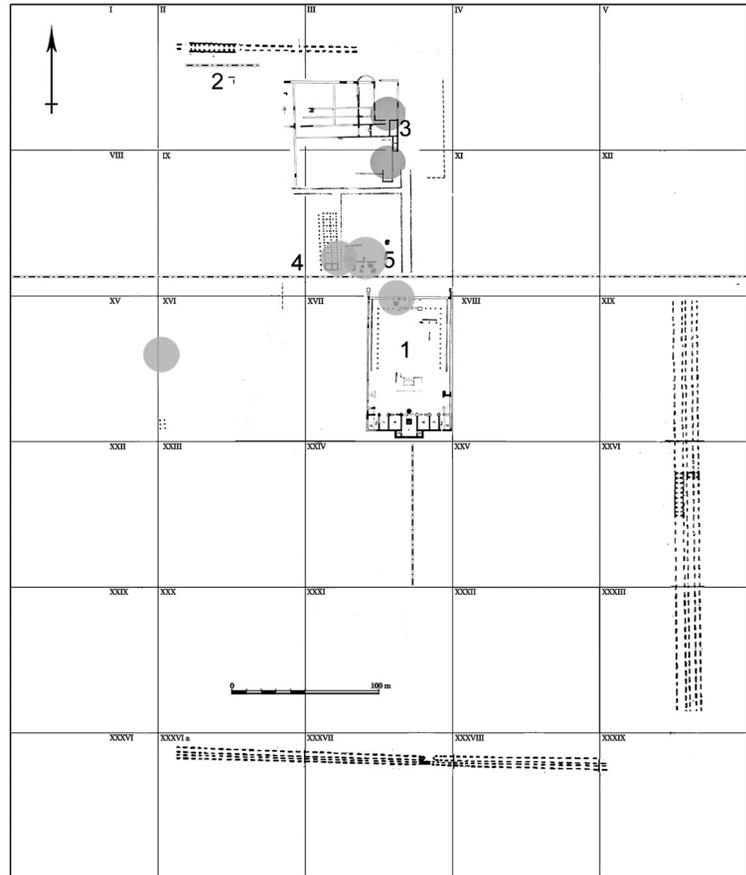


Fig. 1:B. Legionary fortress and late Roman city of *Novae*. Findspots of items associated and possibly-associated with women (by A. Tomas). Period II. 1 – headquarters; 2 – western *intervallum*; 3 – military hospital; 4 – officers' house; 5 – military baths; 6 – northern *intervallum*; 7 – the area behind *principia* (undetermined buildings).

Ryc. 1:B. Obóz legionowy i późnoantyczne miasto *Novae*. Miejsca znalezienia przedmiotów związanych z kobietami i przedmiotów prawdopodobnie związanych z kobietami. Okres II. 1 – komendantura; 2 – zachodnie *intervallum*; 3 – szpital legionowy; 4 – dom oficerów; 5 – łaźnie legionowe; 6 – północne *intervallum*; 7 – teren na tyłach *principia* (nieokreślone zabudowania).

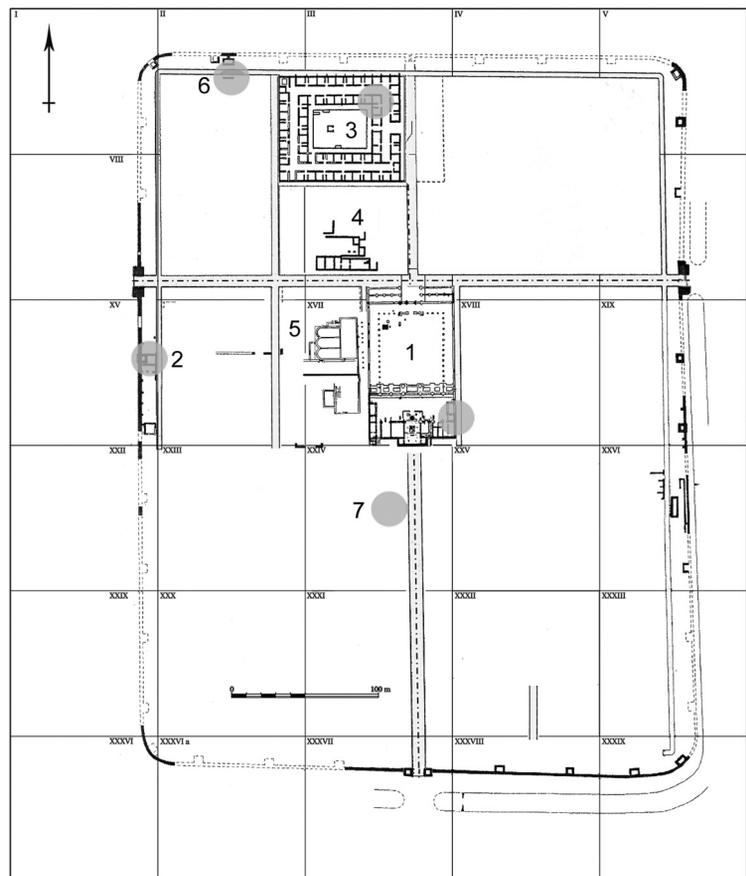


PLATE 174

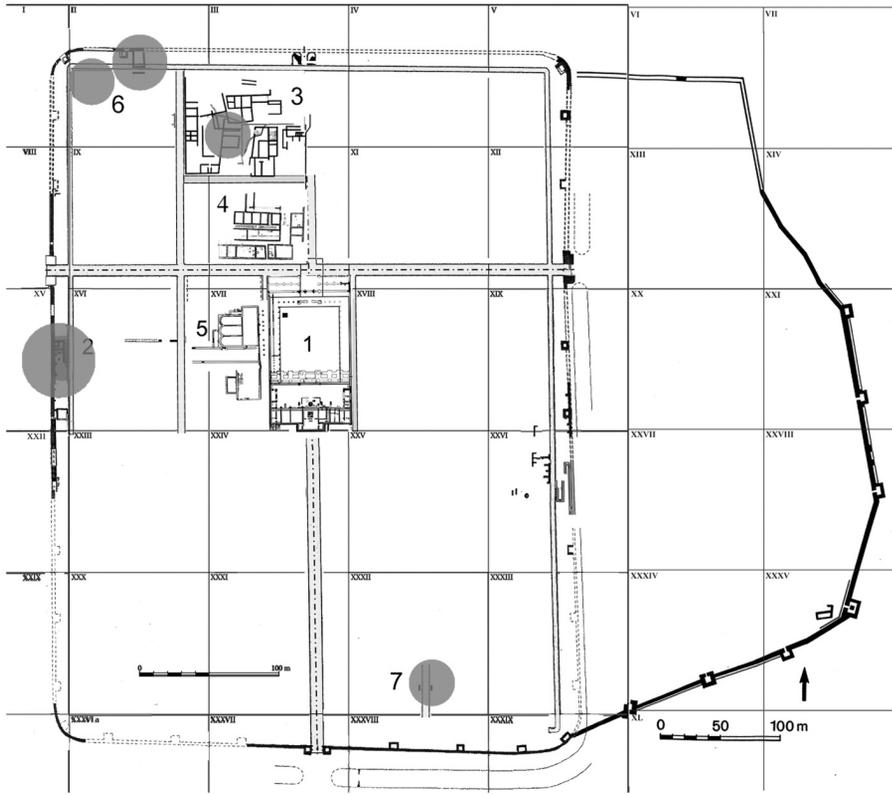


Fig. 1:C. Legionary fortress and late Roman city of *Novae*. Find-spots of items associated and possibly-associated with women (by A. Tomas). Period III. 1 – headquarters; 2 – western *intervallum*; 3 – urban villa and attached house; 4 – urban houses; 5 – baths; 6 – barracks (?) in the N-W corner; 7 – cavalry (?) barracks

Ryc. 1:C. Obóz legionowy i późnoantyczne miasto *Novae*. Miejsca znalezienia przedmiotów związanych z kobietami i przedmiotów prawdopodobnie związanych z kobietami. Okres III. 1 – komendantura; 2 – zachodnie *intervallum*; 3 – willa miejska i przyległe zabudowania; 4 – domy miejskie; 5 – łaźnie; 6 – baraki (?) w półn.-zach. narożniku; 7 – baraki jazdy (?).

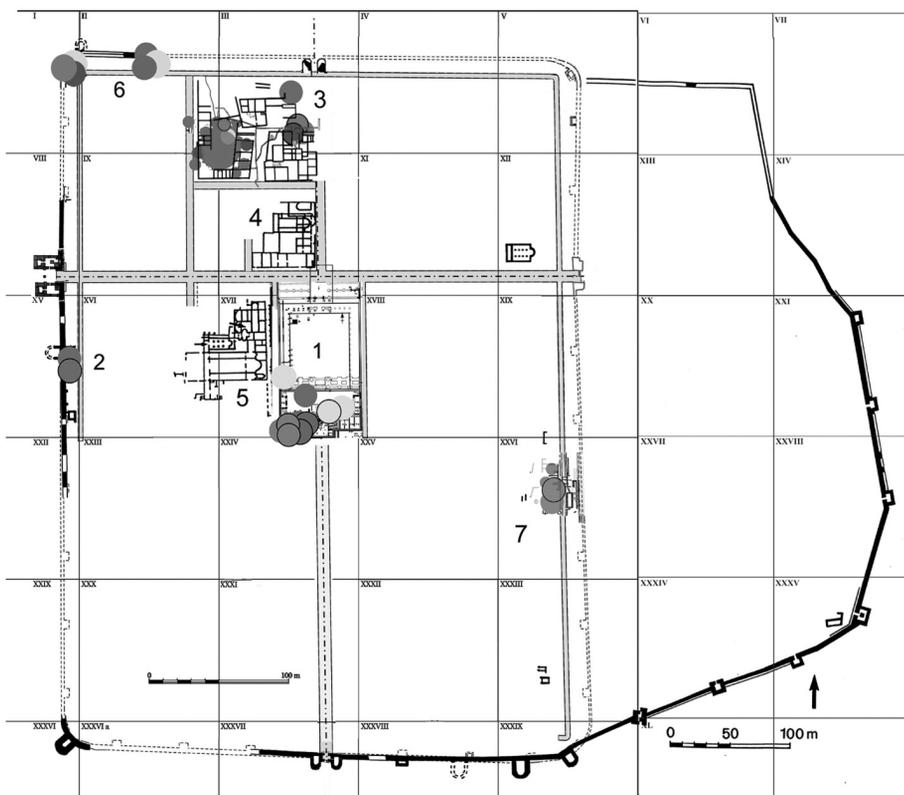


Fig. 1:D. Legionary fortress and late Roman city of *Novae*. Find-spots of items associated and possibly-associated with women (by A. Tomas). Period IV. 1 – headquarters; 2 – building near western walls; 3 – urban villa and attached buildings; 4 – urban houses; 5 – cathedral and bishop's residence; 6 – building near northern wall and northwestern corner; 7 – late building.

Ryc. 1:D. Obóz legionowy i późnoantyczne miasto *Novae*. Miejsca znalezienia przedmiotów związanych z kobietami i przedmiotów prawdopodobnie związanych z kobietami. Okres IV. 1 – komendantura; 2 – budynek przy murze zachodnim; 3 – willa miejska i przyległe zabudowania; 4 – domy miejskie; 5 – katedra i rezydencja biskupia; 6 – budynek przy północnym murze i półn.-zach. narożniku; 7 – późne zabudowania.

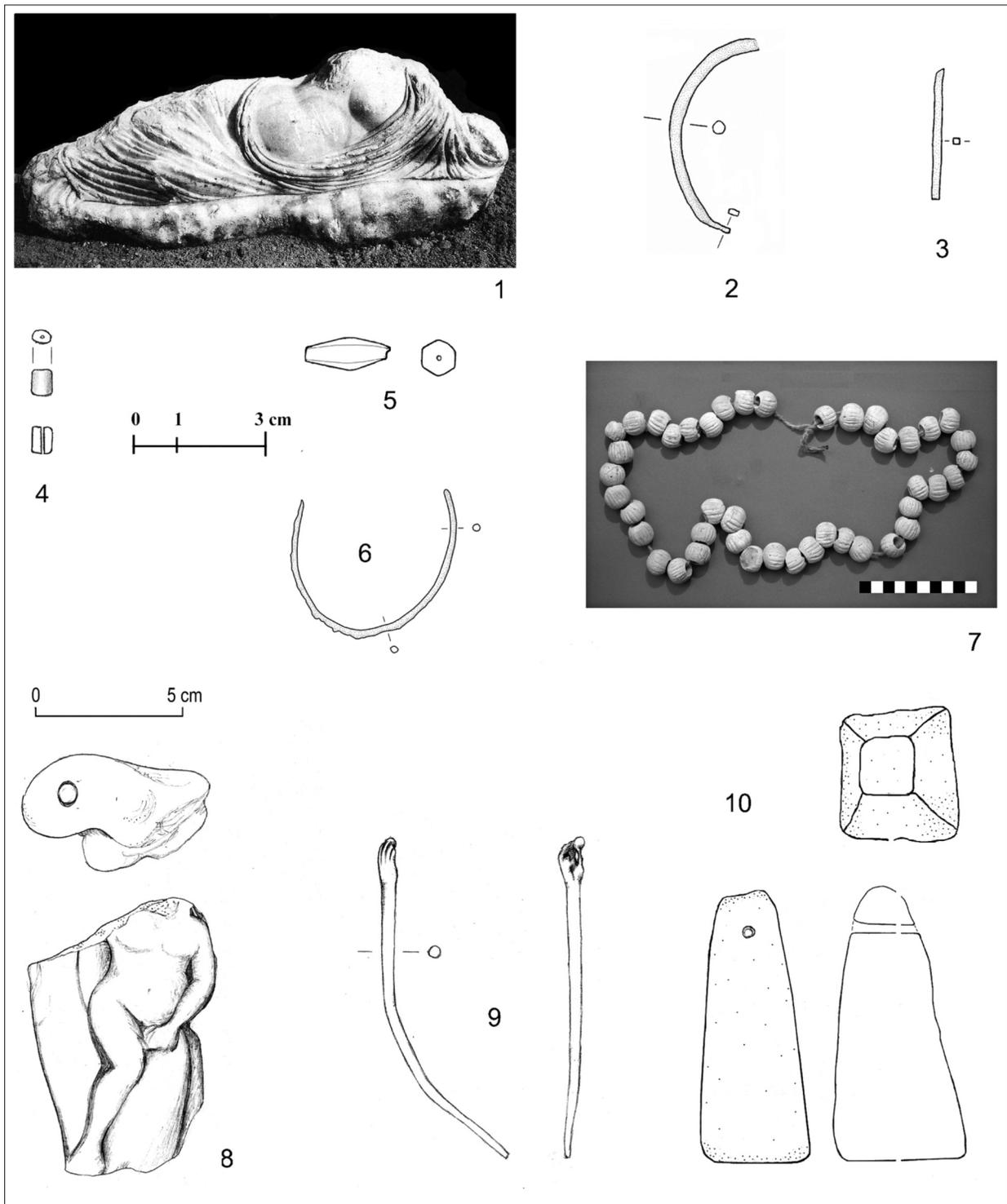


Fig. 2. *Novae*. Selected items associated and possibly-associated with women from periods I and II (see attached tables). 1 – marble figure of a nymph (after DYCZEK 1997); 2 – bracelet of bronze; 3 – bronze hairpin (?) (after GACUTA 1987); 4, 5 – glass beads; 6 – bronze bracelet; 7 – a set of melon beads; 8 – fragment of a marble vessel; 9 – bronze hairpin; 10 – loom weight made of re-used brick (by A. Tomas. Picture of the nymph courtesy of the Antiquity of Southeastern Europe Research Centre, University of Warsaw).

Ryc. 2. *Novae*. Wybrane przedmioty związane z kobietami i prawdopodobnie związane z kobietami okresu I i II (zob. załączone tabele). 1 – marmurowa figura nimfy (DYCZEK 1997); 2 – bransoleta z brązu; 3 – brązowa szpila do włosów (?) (GACUTA 1987); 4, 5 – paciorki szklane; 6 – brązowa bransoleta; 7 – zestaw paciorków melonowatych; 8 – fragment marmurowego naczynia; 9 – brązowa szpila do włosów; 10 – ciężarek tkacki zrobiony z wtórnie użytej cegły.