Elite Female Network in Late Republican Rome

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Abstract

This thesis uses social network analysis models and statistical data to answer the following key research questions:

- Were marriages mainly used to cement, and/or initiate, political alliances between powerful men and/or families?
- Were all late republican senatorial elites related? Is this evidence for an *ordo matronarum* amongst elite women?
- Was the, often great, age disparity between spouses intentional and the norm?
- How often, and under what circumstances, did an elite widow or divorcée remarry?
- Did stepmothers play an active role in the upbringing of their husband's other children?
- At what life stage was an elite Roman woman most likely to demonstrate her agency?
- Did elite fathers value daughters over sons?

11 gynocentric networks have been created, with 12 elite women of the late Roman republic as the focal actors of the networks. By visualising their multi-generational familial connections, their significance and structurally central position within their families and Roman society can be identified more easily than through traditional family trees.

An overview of social network analysis, coupled with a detailed methodology and assessment of historical network research concludes that network models offer historians new ways of interpreting, visualising and understanding past events and societies and how ancient people were connected to each other to form complex social structures.

Keywords: social network analysis, female agency, elite Roman women, late Roman republic, elite female networks, network visualisations

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The scholarly study of Roman women has a long and varied past. Their inability to hold any magisterial offices or public political roles meant that they were originally only regarded as side characters to their all-powerful male counterparts. Until the 1960s and 70s, elite Roman women were either represented in scholarly studies as dutiful wives and daughters or behind-the-scenes political schemers using their feminine wiles to manipulate weak men in power. These dichotomous depictions of elite women, female members of the senatorial and equestrian orders, in traditional scholarship stemmed from their representations in the ancient sources. The few Roman women who dared to enter the androcentric public sphere of the Forum were depicted by scholars as cunning and unfeminine in their lust for power, whilst the *matronae* who strove to enhance their menfolk's *dignitas* and *auctoritas*, by being modest and chaste, were the personification of Roman virtue and the ideal wife and/or daughter.

Thankfully, modern scholarship has moved beyond these stereotypical portrayals of elite Roman women. It is now aiming to delve into the details shared by ancient sources about their everyday lives in order to reinterpret the importance that they would have played in their family groups and society at large. Research undertaken by Judith Hallett, Susan Treggiari, Marilyn Skinner, Amy Richlin, Suzanne Dixon, Jane Gardner, Celia E. Schultz and T. Corey Brennan[1], to name just a few, has revolutionised previous misconceptions about elite Roman women's various roles in the long-term functioning of social and political life in the late republic. What is lacking, however, is visual and analytical evidence of how central elite women were in their family units and how they aided in linking male political agents together. Most traditional family trees focus primarily on male connections and patriarchal descent, often ignoring or marginalising the women that enabled these dynastic families to attain political greatness. This thesis will shift the focus to these women by creating gynocentric networks based on familial connections over several generations. Each principal

[1] Brennan (2012); Dixon (1985, 2001, 2007); Gardner (1986); Hallett (1984, 1989); Richlin (2014); Schultz (2006b, 2021); Skinner (2011); Treggiari (1991, 2007, 2019).

network will have an elite woman of the late republic as its focal actor and will use social network analysis, and its humanities side-shoot historical network research, to gain insight into the following key questions raised by the review of the literature:

- Were marriages mainly used to cement, and/or initiate, political alliances between powerful men and/or families?
- Were all late republican senatorial elites related? Is this evidence for an *ordo matronarum* amongst elite women?
- Was the, often great, age disparity between spouses intentional and the norm?
- How often, and under what circumstances, did an elite widow or divorcée remarry?
- Did stepmothers play an active role in the upbringing of their husband's other children?
- At what life stage was an elite Roman woman most likely to demonstrate her agency?
- Did elite fathers value daughters over sons?

By using the network models visualised, along with the statistical measures that are a key feature of social network theory and by discussing ancient and modern sources who reference these Roman women, new interpretations of elite women's roles in late republican society will be identified and their significance within this time period will be emphasised.

No previous work of scholarship has ever made use of social network theory for the study of Roman women, but there are copious examples of its benefits to other fields of historical investigation. Recent research carried out by Irad Malkin, Christian Rollinger, Diane Harris Cline, Giovanni Ruffini, Cristina Rosillo-López, Wim Broekaert, Tom Brughmans, Anna Collar and Fiona Coward[2] has demonstrated that the integration of social network analysis into historical research is not only possible but that it yields innovative insights into complex

[2] Broekaert (2012, 2013, 2020); Brughmans, Collar, and Coward (2016); Cline (2012, 2020); Collar (2014); Coward (2010); Malkin (2011); Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou (2009); Rollinger (2014, 2017, 2020a, 2020b); Rosillo-López (2017b, 2020); Ruffini (2008, 2020).

social and historical phenomena. This thesis will complement these previous studies by incorporating their methods of best practice when compiling and analysing the data about elite female networks in the late republic. The springboard for the data collection is the Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic[3], but this will be supplemented by scrutiny of the ancient literature, epigraphic records, along with modern scholarship. Familial ties linking the focal actors and other members of the Roman nobility will be of paramount importance, as will any historical fragments that detail female agency and/or details on elite women's lives between the mid second century to the end of the first century BCE[4].

Identifying female agency, a woman's "power and capacity to act"[5] as she chooses, will require careful reading of the sources but will position this thesis as the only study of female agency using social network visualisation and analysis as evidence for its existence. Many scholars have argued for the emancipation and increased autonomy of elite women towards the end of the Roman republic, but they have all only examined the literary and/or epigraphic data in doing so. This study will incorporate previously published research on agency demonstrated by several late republican women into its analysis of gynocentric networks to discern any patterns as to when and how these women demonstrated their agency. By collecting as much data as possible, and by integrating this historical context into the network analysis, a more holistic image of these women's lives will emerge and an argument will be made for their structural centrality within their family units and society at large.

This thesis is not endeavouring to be a pure literary and epigraphic scrutiny of late republican elite women. Instead, it is aiming to be the first piece of academic research to utilise social network analysis in answering still debated topics on the lives of elite women at the end of the republic. By applying new techniques to the study of Roman women, the

[3] http://romanrepublic.ac.uk/.

[4] All focal actors will be from the late republic, but the networks will feature individuals from the start of the first century CE, mainly members of the Imperial household.

[5] Bowden and Mummery (2009, p. 124).

main objective of this thesis is to showcase new understandings into these women's lives and demonstrate the usefulness of social network theories in reinterpreting fragmented data on marginalised aspects of Roman society. As such, the next chapter will detail the origins of social network analysis and some of its fundamental theories. This will then be followed by a discussion on historical network research and the key studies within this field that will guide this examination into elite female networks. Analysing their contributions to the field and detailing their examples of best practice will also help in attaining the best methodological framework for data collection for visualisation of the data as network models and for the analysis of these models using social network theories and statistical tools.

Before detailing the methodological approaches undertaken in this study, chapter three will discuss the general scholarship on elite women of the late Roman republic. A brief review of late republican scholarship will be followed by a thematic summary of research undertaken on elite women's lives from the second century to the end of the first century BCE. Definitions of female agency and their applications to this thesis will precede an examination of what married life entailed for an elite Roman woman. Her legal position, how she manoeuvred within such seemingly strict boundaries and what challenges she faced throughout her life cycle will be followed by a discussion on how some elite women managed to merge the private and public spheres of Roman society. Lastly, the arguments for the emergence of emancipated Roman woman will be debated by analysing the ancient sources and representative works of modern scholarship. The summary of key points from this chapter will form the groundwork for the historical network investigation and help formulate the key questions that this thesis is aiming to answer by using social network analysis.

Chapter four sets out the methodology employed in the creation of these elite female networks. The first section of this chapter discusses how to find historical female agency embedded within the ancient sources by employing methods from both historical network research and the study of Roman women. The scholarship of Amy Richlin and Suzanne Dixon will be instrumental in locating female voices and agency within the ancient literature and

epigraphic data[6]. Their work will help in shaping the research design and strategy of this thesis and provide the groundwork for scrutiny of the ancient sources. An overview of the different preliminary trials in creating gynocentric networks will detail what initial research was conducted and how these early data collection tests helped formulate a replicable methodology that could be applied to all the networks created and that could generate appropriate networking statistics to aid in analysing the networks. A section on the software used to visualise the networks and how the networks will be presented will precede a discussion of female onomastics and the methodology employed in this thesis for homonymous women and men of the late republic.

The 11 elite female networks will be showcased in chapter five. Each focal network will first be analysed using network statistical measures: betweenness, closeness and degree centrality, as well as the clustering coefficient score[7]. The individual networks created from each of the 11 focal networks will then be visualised and discussions on the marriage(s), children and life events of the central actor(s) in each of these smaller networks will take place. Any acts of female agency mentioned in ancient sources will also be reported alongside that woman's network. The networks and the statistical analysis from this chapter will then be used to answer the key questions raised from the literature review about elite women of the late republic. The discussion chapter will demonstrate how social network analysis can be used to provide new insights into historical research by evidencing the discernible patterns, commonalities and differences throughout all the networks visualised. These general trends will be further discussed in the concluding chapter, where the findings of the thesis will be summarised and an assessment of using historical network research on Roman women will be presented.

[6] Dixon (2001); Richlin (2014).

[7] For definitions of social network analysis statistical measure, see section 2.1.

Chapter 2 Social Network Analysis and Historical Network Research

2.1 Social Network Analysis

Social network analysis was initially developed in a relatively non-technical form from the research into social structures of Émile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tönnies at the end of the nineteenth century. Tönnies argued that social groups could exist as personal and direct social ties that can link individuals who share values and/or beliefs. Durkheim, on the other hand, gave a non-individualistic explanation of social phenomena, arguing that social links arise when interacting individuals constitute a reality that can no longer be accounted for in terms of the properties of individual actors[8]. Building on the research of Durkheim and Tönnies', three main traditions in networking emerged after the second world war. Jacob Moreno pioneered the systematic recording and analysis of social interaction in small groups, especially educational and work-based groups, whilst a Harvard study led by William Lloyd Warner and Elton Mayo further explored interpersonal relations at work[9]. In England, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown urged British anthropologists to embrace the concept of 'social structure'. In doing so, they began to take seriously the metaphors of the 'fabric' and 'web' of social life[10]. From these textile metaphors, aimed at understanding the 'interweaving' and 'interlocking' relations through which social actions were organised, the study of social networks came to the fore and researchers began to investigate their 'density' and 'texture'[11]. By the 1960s and 70s, a growing number of scholars were working to combine the different theories and traditions that now define social network analysis. Pioneers of this era include Charles Tilly, who focused on networks in political and community sociology and social movements; Stanley Milgram, who developed the 'six degrees of separation'

[8] Durkheim (1893); Tönnies (1887) *cf.* Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994, pp. 23-28).

[9] Mayo and Lloyd Warner (1945); Moreno (1951) *cf.* Wetherell (1998).

[10] Radcliffe-Brown (1952, pp. 61-67). This book is a culmination of his original address as President of the British Anthropology and Archaeology Society and his subsequent research.

[11] Scott (1991, p. 35).

concept; and Mark Granovetter who elaborated and popularised social network analysis with his revolutionary theory on the strength of weak ties[12].

Since then, the power and versatility of social network analysis have become apparent in its adoption by numerous research fields as a series of various methodologies for the study of social interactions and connections. Moreover, the application of formal mathematical ideologies to the analysis of social networks has encouraged some researchers to suggest that social network analysis offers new techniques to study social structures and their changes over time. James Barnes and Frank Harary, for example, argue that it is possible to advance from the use of formal concepts to the use of formal theory and that the premise of social network analysis can be realised only if researchers move beyond the use of formal concepts for purely descriptive purposes[13]. Furthermore, Barnes and Harary believe that if the formal concepts prove to be useful ways of organising relational data, then the theorems too should be applicable to those data. Therefore, the application of theorems drawn from formal mathematics, "reveals real world implications of the model that might otherwise have not been noticed or utilised by the designer of the model"[14]. In other words, social network analysis offers the researcher a different way to identify, model, represent, interpret and analyse data. It must be noted, however, that not all of its theories, methodologies and/or approaches are applicable to every study. Learning which to utilise takes time and practice, coupled with an appropriate dataset that can be analysed[15].

From a mathematical point of view, the definition of a network is quite simple. Networks are a set of nodes and the ties that unite them[16]. Nodes can represent people, places or

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[12] Granovetter (1973, 1983); Milgram (1977); Tilly (1970, 1974) *cf.* M. L. White (1992).

[13] Barnes and Harary (1983, pp. 238-240). See also Granovetter (1983) for a similar argument.

[14] Barnes and Harary (1983, p. 239).

[15] For a more detailed overview of the history and development of social network analysis theories, see Freeman (2004); Scott (1991).

[16] Bearman, Moody, and Faris (2012, p. 98).

artefacts, and ties represent the connections and relationships between nodes. The identity of nodes and the relational attribute of ties will, naturally, depend on the study and they can both be the focus of analysis[17]. Once these identities have been chosen, social network analysis offers a variety of different techniques to creating networks. The two main methods are ego-centric, or personal, networks and socio-centric, or full, networks. The latter focuses on a group of multiple agents whilst the former centres around an individual. Consequently, ego-centric networks mostly focus on the edges connected to the focal actor whilst socio-centric networks require the collection of data about each actors' ties within the entire network. Because information is collected about ties between all pairs, or dyads, full network data gives a complete picture of relationships within a set population. As a result, socio-centric networks allow for very powerful interpretation and analyses of social structures. Unfortunately, collecting all the required elements needed to create full networks can be difficult to collect, time consuming and sometimes very expensive. Obtaining data from every member of a population and having every member rank or rate the connections they have with every other member within the network can be very a challenging task in any but the smallest of groups[18]. Ego-centric networks, on the other hand, simply begin with the focal actor and all possible connections to that actor are then investigated. It is sometimes even possible to locate connections between other actors in these types of networks. However, these can only be discerned if the connection between individuals is easily identifiable or mentioned by the focal actor themselves. Ego-centric networks are great for small-scale studies where the particular connections of one individual, location or artefact is the focal point of the study[19].

Another way of creating networks is by using the snowball method. This method begins with a focal actor, or set of focal actors, and each of these is asked to name some, or all, of their ties to other actors. Then, all the actors named, who were not part of the original list, are tracked down and asked for some, or all, of their ties. The process continues until no new

[17] Broekaert (2013, p. 1).

[18] Carrington, Scott, and Wasserman (2005, pp. 113-135).

[19] See Tutic and Wiese (2015) for a more detailed discussion.

actors can be identified, or until a decision to cease the data collection has been made, usually for reasons of time and resources, or because the new actors being named are very marginal to the group originally being studied. The snowball method can be particularly helpful for tracking down unique populations, often numerically small sub-sets of people mixed in with large numbers of others. Business contact networks, community elites, marginalised sub-cultures, avid stamp collectors, kinship networks, and many other social structures can be very effectively located, described and mapped using the snowball method[20]. In many cases, such as this analysis of elite women of the late Roman republic, it is not possible to physically question all the actors within a network. An alternative approach is to begin with a focal node, or selection of focal nodes, and then identify the other actors to which they are connected to by scrutinising the documentary evidence. This ego-centric approach to the snowball method allows the researcher to focus on the links between individuals, as well as on the network as a whole. This kind of methodology can be very effective for collecting relational connectedness derived from historical texts, on which this study is focusing on, as it can also be combined with attribute-based approaches[21]. Thus, by collecting information and analysing the ties between the individuals connected to each focal actor under investigation, social networks and structures can be identified, albeit in a smaller and/or fragmented version of the real world[22]. However, it must be noted that the limitations of our ancient sources, particularly pertaining to ancient women, may significantly restrict the amount of data available to create and visualise the social networks under scrutiny. There is very little surviving evidence from the women themselves, and although inscriptions and coins do provide some insights, the mostly literary evidence that has survived provides us with details of ancient women's lives written by, mostly, elite white men, with each literary genre accompanied by different agendas that may hinder the social networking process.

[20] Wasserman and Faust (1994, pp. 84-92).

[21] Wasserman and Faust (1994, p. 96).

[22] Wasserman and Faust (1994, p. 101).

The networks created through these various methods are typically displayed and analysed in graphical forms with nodes represented as shapes and the edges between these nodes by lines that connect them[23]. These graphs can be drawn by hand or the data collected can be inputted into social networking software. The latter may involve formatting the data into spreadsheets or .cvs files, but the various software packages offer a wide array of visualisation algorithms to display the graphs in the most appropriate format to maximise the relational data collected. Once the networks are visualised, the software can also be used to highlight and feature chosen network characteristics and to tabulate statistical values[24]. The relationship between nodes is one of the most important features in a network. Sometimes the tie between nodes is reciprocal, in which case it is represented by a bidirectional arrow, other times, the relationship only flows in one direction. Occasionally, however, there is no direction at all in the connectedness between nodes. All this depends on the properties of nodes and the relationship data that is being investigated. Moreover, structural characteristics of the network, such as network density and centralisation, along with the behavioural properties of individual nodes, such as degree and rank, can also be quantified using statistical and modelling techniques[25]. The number of links connecting to a node is known as its 'degree', with the number of links feeding into a node known as the 'indegree', and the number of links leaving it known as the 'outdegree'[26]. Therefore, the higher a node degree rank, the more connected that node is. Along with node rank, network centrality is one of the most widely studied and basic tools for analysing social networks[27]. In a seminal article, Linton Freeman devised three forms of centrality[28]. 'Degree centrality' is the simplest of the three and the most intuitive way of measuring an individual actor's

[23] Newman (2010, p. 45).

[24] A wide array of social network analysis software is now available, most of which are free. For a comparison of the best and most popular software, see Jokar, Honarvar, Esfandiari, and Aghamirzadesh (2016).

[25] Moody and White (2003, pp. 65-67).

[26] Rutherford (2007, p. 26).

[27] Wasserman and Faust (1994, p. 176).

[28] Freeman (1979, pp. 217-219).

centrality according to the number of connections it has to others. The higher a degree centrality score is, the more links and connections that actor has. This can inversely also produce a measure of remoteness, or inverse proximity, which can be understood as inverse centrality, when the nodes furthest away from the focal ego are the least central and vice versa. Freeman's second form of centrality, 'betweenness', offers a more precise way of measuring an individual's centrality. The betweenness of a given node to two, or more, nodes is its capacity of standing on the paths or geodesics, paths of minimal length, that connects them[29]. The higher a betweenness centrality score is, the more important an actor is as a bridging node within a network. A bridging path in a social network can be either a 'weak' or 'strong' tie, where strength and weakness refer only to the allegiance of the connections. Weak ties have been identified as low-fidelity bridges between different clusters of nodes, representative of a long distance, or random, contact in the real world. In spite of their name, Granovetter observed that weak ties could be extremely powerful at facilitating diffusion of resources or information across a network. This is due to the fact that they often enable network distance, the number of nodes one has to pass through to reach the desired node, to be shortened, thereby allowing some nodes to directly access totally separate clusters or inversely central nodes[30]. The third of Freeman's centrality concepts is that of 'closeness'. Closeness is defined as the time or distance that it takes for information to travel from one node to the rest of the network[31]. In other words, how fast actors can reach someone else in the network. The higher the closeness centrality score is, the closer that actor is to all other nodes in the network. Greater proximity means more power. Closeness and betweenness are very similar concepts, and a good way to distinguish between the two is by keeping in mind that closeness is about distance, whereas betweenness is about bridging points.

Social network analysis is very interested in bridging points and the 'clusters' on either side of them. Clusters have been categorised as groups with a minimum of three nodes, each of

[29] Degenne and Forsé (1999, p. 132).

[30] Granovetter (1973, p. 1369).

[31] Freeman (1979, p. 225).

which is linked to all the others, with at least one of these being connected to a node in another cluster. The strength of a tie linking clusters, or any nodes, is a combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy and the reciprocal services which characterise the tie[32]. The hypothesis which enables us to connect dyadic ties within networks is that the stronger the tie between two nodes, the more likely they are to have other connections in common[33]. Hence, the ties linking clusters to the rest of the network are important. A clustering coefficient value is a measure of the proportion of connections a node has between its immediate neighbours which are actually realised when compared with the number of all possible connections. The higher a clustering coefficient score is, the more a node has the same links as its neighbours. While Granovetter and fellow social network theory pioneer, Scott Boorman, come to a similar conclusion, that weak ties are more important than strong ties for the transmission of information throughout the entirety of a network, the underlying mechanisms in their studies are very different. Granovetter's argument rests on the 'forbidden triad'[34], which has the underlying concept that all bridging ties are weak[35]. Boorman explicitly rejects this idea and, in fact, assumes that there are no closed triads. Instead, he assumes that if two nodes are connected to each other, there is no reason to believe that the third node has to be connected to both of the original nodes[36]. Consequently, Boorman's model is driven by the assumption that strong ties take more time and effort to maintain than weak ones[37].

The structure of a network, as well as the density and relationship between all nodes, is another important aspect of social network analysis. 'Embeddedness' is a term used to indicate that actors who are integrated in dense clusters, or multiplex relations of social

[32] Granovetter (1973, p. 1361).

[33] Granovetter (1973, p. 1362).

[34] The theory that three nodes have to be connected to each other node in the cluster if the bond between at least two of these nodes is a strong one. Granovetter (1973, p. 1366).

[35] Tutic and Wiese (2015, pp. 135-136).

[36] Boorman (1975, p. 22).

[37] Tutic and Wiese (2015, p. 137).

networks, face different sets of resources and constraints than those who are not embedded in such networks[38]. Moreover, 'structural cohesion' is defined as the minimum number of actors who, if removed from a group, would disconnect the group[39]. A nested concept of cohesion provides a direct link between structural cohesion and an element of social embeddedness. Granovetter further specifies his understanding of structural cohesion and embeddedness as the degree to which actors are involved in cohesive groups, "to the extent that a dyad's mutual contacts are connected to one another, there is more efficient information spread about what members of the pair are doing, and thus better ability to shape behaviour. Such cohesive groups are better not only at spreading information, but also at generating normative, symbolic, and cultural structures that affect our behaviour"[40].

This introduction into social network analysis offers a glimpse into the development of network theory and its various methodologies. The key statistical analyses which form the backbone of social network analysis have also been detailed. The reason for highlighting these particular mathematical analysis tools is that they are the ones most often used to scrutinise networks created from data obtained within an historical context. They will, therefore, be the tools used in this study's analysis of elite female networks in late republican Rome.

2.2 Historical Network Research

In the last few decades, numerous studies in the social sciences have shown that the formal methods derived from social network analysis can effectively be applied to selected bodies of historical data. These studies, however, tended to be strongly influenced by standards of data processing, and, above all, epistemological paradigms that have their roots in the social

[38] Moody and White (2003, p. 105).

[39] Moody and White (2003, p. 103).

[40] Granovetter (1995, p. 35).

sciences[41]. From the point of view of an historian, the social scientists carrying out these studies did not, in most cases, adequately take into account the limits of historical sources and their often fragmentary and contradictory nature when they used them to extract relational data. Alongside the scarcity of sources that can provide enough connectional data to be analysed, this has hampered the uptake by historians of the comprehensive and meaningful application of methods drawn from social network analysis[42]. However, in recent years, the rise in the number of historians using network theory approaches to their research has led to the development of a new sub-category of social network analysis: historical network research. This new field of historical research incorporates the various network methodologies and systematic approaches of social network analysis to the study of ancient cultures. As can be imagined from an emerging field, relatively few historical network research studies have been published thus far, with the earliest and most prolific historical network research undertaken by archaeologists who focused on material culture and ancient trade networks. Such scholars include Tom Brughmans on networks in archaeology; Carl Knappett on material culture; Cyprian Broodbank on island interactions during the Aegean Bronze Age; and Fiona Coward on ancient Near Eastern artefacts[43]. Furthermore, one of the most influential early studies in historical network research was carried out by Shawn Graham on Roman bricklayers in central Italy[44]. He studied 234 named brick manufacturers known from stamps, dating to the first through third centuries CE, who formed a network based on family ties, industrial relationships, or co-location. By using social network analysis to analyse these brick manufacturers, Graham was able to reconstruct relationships between workshops and situate them along the Tiber River. In addition, Anna Collar's study of religious networks across the Roman world also demonstrates the potential for harnessing the rich epigraphic and archaeological resources

[41] For examples see: Barkney and Rossem (1997); Brudner and White (1997) and Padgett and Ansell (1993).

[42] Grusin (2014, p. 80).

[43] Brughmans (2010); Knappett (2011); Broodbank (2000) and Coward (2010).

[44] Graham (2005).

that have survived to elucidate social relationships across maritime, and non-maritime, space[45].

Although archaeologists were among the first to notice the advantages of historical network research, a few studies concerned specifically with texts and social dynamics have also been published. The most important of these studies was by Michael Alexander and James Danowski who undertook social network analysis on Cicero's letters between 68 and 50 BCE. This first study to combine network theory and historical texts may not have been as successful as Alexander and Danowski had hoped, but it demonstrated that historical network research could be possible. If anything, it provided examples of good practice and highlighted the problems associated with historical network research for future scholars to avoid or find solutions to[46]. Nearly two decades later, Giovanni Ruffini became one of the first historical network researchers to publish an entire volume on the subject when he used social network analysis within his research into Byzantine Egypt in order to provide another early example of the potential of such documentary sources in key, data-rich periods and environments of the Mediterranean[47]. Irad Malkin followed soon after when he published his findings on the concept of a 'small world' in the ancient Mediterranean[48]. Wim Broekaert also undertook significant historical network projects around this time. His first study used epigraphic evidence to analyse the religious associations of Italian businessmen on Delos during the last centuries of the Roman republic[49]. Broekaert's second, and most significant project, was a social network analysis of the mid first century BCE financial

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[45] Collar (2014).

[46] Alexander and Danowski (1990).

[47] Ruffini (2008).

[48] Malkin has published several books on relevant and related topics, including *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* in 2011. Prior to his monograph, Malkin co-edited a volume of essays in 2009 entitled *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*, and an issue of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* in December 2007 that was devoted entirely to articles dealing with aspects of historical network research.

[49] Broekaert (2012).

records of the Sulpicii family and Caecilius Iucundus, both from the Bay of Naples region. This study used their preserved archival records to reveal that an 'international' business community existed in Puteoli based around the Sulpicii but that in Pompeii, Caecilius Iucundus operated his business more in a face-to-face capacity[50]. It is with these concepts in mind that this study aims to determine patterns of connectedness amongst elite Roman women in the late republic. It is hoped that by applying social network analysis, and its various analytical tools, previously undetected familial, socio-political connections and patterns will become apparent and new understandings of a section of republican Rome's social structure will emerge.

These examples are the most significant studies from early historical network researchers. However, as with normal social network analysis, there are advantages and disadvantages to conducting network research on historical data. From all the historical network research that has been conducted since Alexander's and Danowski's study, the most frequent comment made by historians working with network theory is that social network analysis, in and of itself, will not produce miraculous new findings. Yes, network theory will allow us to see the evidence analysed in new lights, and new or different questions may be asked of the sources and data, but visualising networks cannot be the only outcome of undertaking historical network research. For these new or different questions to be answered, social network analysis tools and statistical algorithms have to be coupled with historical analysis and comparison in order to maximise a study's results. This means that the data analysed must be appropriate for analysis, with as few lacunae as possible, and that the encoding of relational connectedness is appropriate for the study. It would be very difficult, for example, to analyse the networks of old school friends and acquaintances if the only relational attributes collected and displayed in the resultant networks were kinship relationships. In other words, choosing the right relational attributes to study, collect and display are as important as choosing the right source materials to analyse. This is particularly important when working with historical texts as the actors being studied are lifted from the pages of history rather than living beings who can readily answer questions as the needs arise.

[50] Broekaert (2013).

Therefore, making sure that you are asking the right questions of the source material, and being flexible enough to amend your questions if not enough data exist to answer your original questions, are crucial attributes for any historical network researcher. However, altering or misrepresenting your data to fit your questions is not desirable in network theory as your networks and their analyses will be inaccurate, biased and subjected to cross-examination. To safeguard this possibility, full transparency of the methodology employed in each historical network research must be included in the published study.

If historical network research is to be seen as a new robust and replicable digital tool for scholars of antiquity looking to diversify their analytical skillsets, then each study caried out must be completely transparent in its data collection, as well as its methodology. As Ruffini states, "for network analysis to thrive in ancient studies, and for further studies to build on earlier conclusions, its supporters must demystify its quantitative side"[51]. As such, Christian Rollinger points out the essential questions that need to be answered in order for an historical network research study to be fully transparent:

- "What criteria were used in the construction of the network?
- Which actors and what types of connections and relationships do the intricate (and often visually overwhelming) network graphs represent? What is their analytical value?
- What software was used in drawing them up, and what algorithms and software functions were employed to take quantitative measures?"[52]

Moreover, Rollinger argues that for complete transparency, all the datasets used in a study need to be included in the publication[53]. This is not a new issue, but one that is compounded by advancements in technological tools, ever-increasing multidisciplinary studies, and/or research incorporating large amounts of data. If the study includes a small dataset, then publishing these in an appendix is possible, but large datasets that can run for hundreds of pages would render any article or monograph untenable and prohibitively

[51] Ruffini (2012, p. 175).

[52] Rollinger (2020b, p. 26).

[53] Rollinger (2020b, p. 16).

expensive. Cloud storage of large datasets could be a solution, but this would require funds to maintain the datasets in storage for perpetuity. Maybe a better solution would be to provide contact details of the author, or to create dedicated websites for displaying multimedia and/or large datasets, should anyone wish to view information that cannot be included in physical print. Either way, it must become routine for all historical network research to become fully transparent, and this must include access to the datasets used to create the networks visualised and analysed.

Transparency is not only necessary to avoid scrutiny of a study's methodology and results, but also so that the research undertaken can be replicated by anyone with access to the same source material and networking tools. Without network transparency, "one author, given the data of another, might readily arrive at a different network and thus at different conclusions. This variability poses a real problem for historical network analysis as a scientific project. It renders almost impossible the verifiability necessary for any scientific experiment"[54]. Thankfully, Ruffini also offers some best practice guidelines for historical network research transparency. Of crucial importance is that data collection must come from a discrete and bounded source. Moreover, echoing Rollinger's views, datasets must be readily available, in both raw and tabulated form. Lastly, a study must explicitly state its methodology, particularly when it comes to the social network analysis software used[55]. These best practice guidelines may seem common sense to some, but if an historical scholar is not used to the rigorous and systematic methodologies required from scientific inquiries, it would be quite easy to forget a process, or two, and hence lose the transparency necessary to make any historical network research replicable and able to be held up to the most meticulous of examinations.

One of the most common discrete and bounded source material for historical network research has proven to be prosopography. Indeed, one could argue that prosopographies are a type of rudimentary network. In Classical historiography, it is mainly the role of

[54] Ruffini (2020, p. 335).

[55] Ruffini (2020, p. 335).

prosopographers to examine family ties and their influence on individual behaviour, without always needing to fully scrutinise how these individuals interacted within the wider social, familial and political networks they inhabited. Prosopography, therefore, narrowed its own scope by usually focusing on one person, or a close group of people, and their closer environment, whilst sometimes neglecting their individual embeddedness in a larger network context[56]. Traditional prosopographical studies are not new to historians, but their appeal has waned in the last few decades. This is due to a few factors. Firstly, not many new and significant prosopographies are left to be created as the ancient sources can only provide us with so much prosopographical detail. Secondly, the recent abundance in digital tools has almost rendered old fashioned printed prosopographies obsolete. Lastly, the one-dimensional aspect of traditional prosopographies has been superseded by the current trend to view holistic visions of the people we are studying, as opposed to just a narrow view provided by traditionally androcentric and elite focused prosopographies. This does not mean that prosopographies are not valuable research tools, for they definitely are, but rather, it means that so much more detail and scope, as well as new digital techniques, can be incorporated into historical research now[57].

In terms of historical network research, prosopographies provide a perfect starting point for data collection. Indeed, the starting point for this thesis is a prosopographical study[58]. However, as Cline states, "it should also be noted that while [social network analysis] thrives on prosopographical studies, not every such study will be suitable"[59]. Going back to the original epigraphic, literary and epistolary records may provide historical network researchers with extra details that prosopographies may have left out, simply because they

[56] For examples, see: Ruffini (2011); Sumner (1973); Nicolaou (1976) and Castner (1988).

[57] For a brief description of the developments of historical prosopography see Verboven, Carlier, and Dumolyn (2007).

[58] The Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic provided the initial data and source material for this thesis' datasets. Please see chapter 4.3, and in particular footnote 255, for more detail.

[59] Cline (2012, p. 69).

may not have been looking for this specific detail. Nevertheless, good research, like good research in prosopographical studies, must also include historical analysis in its findings. Creating networks from datasets is not enough. Without historical context, historical network research is just a selection of graphs and statistical analysis of, often, someone else's prosopographical study. Instead, historical network research should be "the logical extension of traditional prosopographical research"[60]. Their aims might be closely related, but historical network research extends naturally from prosopography by using its data to "identify and analyse the effect of overarching structural elements of society"[61]. The arrival of social network analysis has opened the possibility to take network theories into consideration when conducting historical research and, thus, reveal further insights into the motives and restrictions of individual behaviour that otherwise remained unseen[62].

When it comes to specific examples of historical network research on the Roman world, such as this study, "the potential of network theory for the examination of Roman society remains largely unrealized"[63]. Although there have been more social network analysis studies on Roman archaeological remains than on Roman societal structures, this trend is slightly shifting. In recent years, a few published papers have shown the potential of undertaking network theory on historical texts concerned with the ancient Mediterranean world[64]. However, the common issue evident from these studies is the lack of enough detail in so much of the ancient source material. One exception to this is Cicero's collection of speeches, letters and treatises. Rich in societal, political and personal detail, Cicero's oeuvre lends itself perfectly to historical network research, just as it does to prosopography. Indeed, one third of the articles in a recent edition of the Journal of Historical Network

[60] Rollinger (2020b, p. 7).

[61] Rollinger (2020b, p. 7).

[62] Düring and Stark (2011, p. 426).

[63] Woolf (2016, p. 54).

[64] For an overview of ancient Mediterranean historical network research, see Rollinger (2020b) .

Research used Cicero's letters as the original source of their datasets[65]. This should not imply that historical network research needs to have data from one single author or source for it to be successful. It is just that Cicero's works, especially his letters, offers us such a rich contemporaneous account of late republican life in Rome that it is difficult to not be tempted by its potential for social network analysis. However, as can be seen from the three articles in *The Ties that Bind*, all three studies may have used Cicero's letters, but each did so to create vastly different networks, analysis and findings. Hence proving the point that asking different questions of the same data can lead to very different network visualisations and conclusions. What must always be remembered though, especially when using an historical figure's own personal correspondence or published work, is that the author's own cultural, social, political and economic status and bias must be taken into account when compiling datasets[66].

As previously stated, social network analysis represents a powerful suite of methods to examine the connections between patterns of relatedness and complex social, political, and economic processes involving multiple actors. Furthermore, appropriate visualisations, coupled with a systematic analysis of the networks created, can provide researchers with the tools to examine organisational structure and flow, as well as connectional patterns between individuals on multiple levels[67]. This is no different for historical network research. In fact, it is probably the most impactful aspect of network theory for historical scholars. Truths that were hidden in the maelstrom of empirical data often become clearer in the light of mathematical abstraction, so that patterns and structures, such as clusters, cliques, bridges, centres, and peripheries can be discerned[68]. Moreover, the analysis of the networks visualised can determine the 'reach', or distance, between any two given nodes, as well as

[65] The fourth issue of The Journal of Historical Network Research, entitled 'The Ties that Bind. Ancient Politics and Network Analysis'. The three papers which used Cicero's letters for their datasets were: Gilles (2020); Rosillo-López (2020); Vogel (2020).

[66] Rollinger (2020b, p. 12).

[67] Munson and Macri (2009, p. 437).

[68] Newman, Barabási, and Watts (2006, p. 213).

identifying the role of different actors within the networks. If the nodes represent people from the past, then it can be implied that these nodes have centrality, betweenness or prestige or, to employ Pierre Bourdieu's term, 'social capital'[69]. In contrast, the emergence of 'structural holes', a significant gap between nodes and a lack of expected connections for particular nodes, is also important in this analysis of networks and in understanding the patterns of relatedness in social structures[70]. Any social network analysis, irrespective of the topic, will be affected by lacunae in the information available from the source material[71]. These should not be avoided, disregarded or glossed over, for it is possible to learn just as much from a complete network as from an incomplete one, or a network with 'structural holes'. Some historical network researchers even believe that we should be studying negative networks[72]. By visualising and analysing incomplete or negative networks Rosillo-López argues that this is where the most important new historical network research discoveries are to be made. Of course, this may not be possible for every network. Some datasets will be complete enough and some networks will have no apparent structural holes, but this concept is a recent addition to historical network research that needs to be taken into consideration when creating datasets from ancient sources. No matter whether a scholar is using network theories to identify patterns of relational connectedness, or whether they are analysing structural holes to find negative networks, there is no doubting that network visualisations offer historical network researchers the ability to discover possible new findings that may have been overlooked within the original source material(s).

2.3 Best Practice Examples and Lessons Learned

Since the introduction of historical network research, several key publications have presented social network scholars with examples of best practice and/or lessons to be

[69] Bourdieu (1986); Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992); Rutherford (2007, p. 27).

[70] Moody and White (2003, p. 115).

[71] Cline (2012, p. 66).

[72] Rosillo-López (2020).

learned from their methodologies, historical approaches and their use of network statistical analysis tools. The following table summarises these historical network exemplars, with a focus on those publications that used literary, epigraphic or epistolary texts, as well as prosopographies, as their datasets, similar to the datasets used for this study's creation of elite female networks in late republican Rome.

Publication	Positives	Negatives
Alexander, M. C., & Danowski, J. A. (1990). Analysis of an Ancient Network: Personal Communication and the Study of Social Structure in a Past Society. *Social Networks*, 12(4), 313-335.	- First historical network analysis to use ancient texts (Cicero's letters) as a dataset. Proved it could be done. - Good explanation of social network analysis and its application to historical texts. - Detailed methodology. - Good discussion of source limitations and methodology errors/issues. - Detailed explanation of variations made to the networks to see if they altered findings.	- Statistical analysis lacks clarity and historical context in some sections. - Only one, very confusing, network visualised at the end of the publication. - Relational attributes between nodes is too vague and discounted some connections which could be deemed valuable. This distances the networks even further from Cicero's real-life network. - No datasets published.
Rutherford, I. (2007). Network Theory and Theoric Networks. *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 22(1), 23-37.	- Discusses source bias and lacunae. - Definition of 'theoric networks' with examples. - Good definition of networking terminology. - In-text network visualisations with historical context included in analysis. - Discussion of benefits of using network theory to draw new conclusions.	- No detailed methodology. - No dataset published. - No social network software used. Networks drawn by author. - No statistical analysis.
Ruffini, G. (2008). *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.	- Interdisciplinary approach. Ruffini also uses tools and methodologies from archaeological analysis frameworks to scrutinise data.	- Lack of differentiation in relational attributes between nodes. - Assumptions made about connections between individual people and places in the source

	- Multiple objectives and separate case studies based on prosopographical and archaeological data.	materials distorts the networks created. - No datasets published.
Malkin, I. (2011). *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.	- Excellent chapter on network theory and its applications to Classics. - Multiple case studies and detailed discussions of networks in real-life scenarios. - 'Small world' findings still used today as a modelling analysis and definition tool.	- Lack of an interdisciplinary approach which is necessary for large scale studies, especially those with multiple case studies. - Giant leaps are sometimes made between the networks and their applications in the real world. More evidence needed in some network discussions, especially if archaeological evidence exists. - No datasets published.
Cline, D. (2012). Six Degrees of Alexander: Social Network Analysis as a Tool for Ancient History. *Ancient History Bulletin*, 26(1), 59-70.	- Good discussion of social network analysis terminology and methodology, as well as historical network research history. - Excellent historical context given in discussion of networks created. - Statistical analysis used is very well explained and suitable for the study and its conclusions.	- Excellent network visualisations but published at the end of the paper rather than in-text. - Lacks a clear methodology. Would not be easily replicable. - No datasets published.
Broekaert, W. (2013). Financial Experts in a Spider Web. A Social Network Analysis of the Archives of Caecilius Iucundus and the Sulpicii. *Klio*, 95, 471-510.	- Good explanation of social network analysis and statistical tools. - Describes software used and how he visualised his networks. - Good discussion of how networks were affected by the original source material. - Explains how his manipulation of the networks, by removing some individuals,	- Good incorporation of historical context but assumes that the reader knows of the financial archives used as the source material. They are not included, nor is it mentioned where they can be accessed. - Poor explanation of the statistical tables, especially for non-specialists.

	affects the network diagrams and his conclusions.	- Too much statistical information, most of it wasn't used. - More discussion on the statistical analyses than on the networks created. - Network visualisations lacked detail. Main networks lacked any nodal identifiers. - No datasets published.
Broux, Y. (2017). Trade Networks Among the Army Camps of the Eastern Desert of Roman Egypt. In H. F. T. E. H. Seland (Ed.), *Sinews of Empire. Networks in the Roman Near East and Beyond* (pp. 137-146). Oxford: Oxbow Books.	- Good description of source material (letters), including excerpts in Ancient Greek and English. - Only one network created but based on a small sample of letters. - Network included directed edges with colours to indicate different exchanged commodities.	- No dataset published. - Labels on edges were difficult to read. - No statistical analysis undertaken. - Breakdown of food exchanged given in pie chart with no proportions given.
Rollinger, C. (2020a). Networking the *res publica*: Social Network Analysis and Republican Rome. In F. Kerschbaumer, L. v. Keyserlingk-Rehbeim, M. Stark, & M. Düring (Eds.), *The Power of Networks. Prospects of Historical Network Research* (pp. 13-36). London: Routledge.	- Excellent merging of historical context and methodology. - Discussion of bias of sources and how this can be overcome. - Explains software used and visualisation tools that created the networks. - Multiple in-text networks that include nodal identifiers. - Historical context brought in again during analysis of networks. - Statistical analysis is not overwhelming and incorporated into analysis.	- No datasets provided in this publication but the networks were created from datasets published in Rollinger (2014).

To summarise, in terms of best practice exemplars, all publications provided valuable explanations of social networking theories and methodologies. Some also included definitions and examples of the statistical tools that can be used in the analysis of networks, especially the ones of most benefit for networks created from historical data. Broekaert and Alexander and Danowski also provided detailed explanations of the various alterations they performed on their networks to see if removing certain individuals would change the overall networks, for better or worse. From these publications, it is also evident that a clear and detailed methodology makes for a more impactful post-visualisation discussion. If the methodology is clear, rigorous and justifiable, the conclusions drawn from the networks and statistical analysis are more defensible. Moreover, a single network approach which is necessary for small studies, but a multidisciplinary approach to large scale research, particularly one which includes multiple case studies and objectives, is desirable, especially if archaeological artefacts are also used as part of the datasets, or as supporting evidence to the network conclusions.

In contrast, it was clearly evident that these studies' datasets needed to be published, either as appendices or accessed remotely. Being able to view the original data from which the networks were created from would have greatly aided in understanding their methodologies, visualisations and conclusions. This is not just for the sake of replication, but simply for being able to view the datasets when statistical analyses were discussed. It is very easy to manipulate statistical data, especially when the originating datasets are not accessible, and including them would have added to the validity of some of the results. These publications also highlight that it is possible to include too much statistical analysis. Finding the right balance between which statistical tools from network theory are needed for the analysis of historical networks, and which are just superfluous and/or confusing, should be assessed on a case by case basis[73]. Furthermore, not every statistical tool is necessary for every network analysis. What is also evident from these publications is the

[73] Cline (2012) and Rollinger (2020a) did this very well by incorporating their statistical analyses into the network findings and giving clear definitions for the various statistical values they were using.

low numbers of actual networks visualised, particularly for the earlier journal articles. Not including these visualisations in the text is as similarly detrimental to the readability of the publication as endnotes. Being able to see the network being analysed in-text is infinitely preferable to having to endlessly flip between the text and the visualisations published at the end of the article/volume. Finally, using appropriate relational attributes between nodes is crucial. In order for the networks to be the best representations of the connections in the real world, the relational attributes used to determine the edges linking nodes together must be appropriate and fully explained in the study's methodology. Moreover, if exceptions are made, or if some relational attributes are discarded, their exclusions must be fully detailed. If these are not done, the conclusions drawn from the resultant networks are open to scrutiny and contempt.

Chapter 3 Elite Women of Republican Rome

3.1 Review of Historical Scholarship on Roman Studies

The historical study of ancient Rome has a long and distinguished lineage. From the contemporary histories and biographies of ancient writers such as Sallust, Caesar, Appian and Plutarch, to name just a few, to the modern scholarship on historiography, demography and prosopography, fascination with the ancient Romans and their society has never wavered. What hindsight allows us to perceive is the general fluctuations and trends in Roman historical scholarship over the last several centuries. However, what many early historians concluded, with all assurances and within their temporal, political and social environs, may now be seen through the lenses of more holistic and historically impartial hindsight. Current scholars can now see that past theories and research, such as the numerous Roman political and social models reconstructed by early historians, were products of their times. As such, the scholarship can be classified into two distinct time periods and socio-political trends: traditional and democratic. The former is the antiquarian Roman scholarship identified with patriarchal rule, the study of great men, and the social structures dominated by these great men. However, from the 1950s, a more democratic view of the Roman world emerges in the scholarship and the everyday lives of the populace, as well as their roles in politics and society, began to be studied in greater detail and with ever increasing importance. It is from this new socially orientated approach, brought about by the various social reforms throughout the western world from the 1950s onwards, that the study of Roman women developed beyond the mere recounting of anecdotes about a few historically famous women. However, before reviewing this more encompassing and recent academic scholarship on Roman women of the late republic, a brief synopsis of the various trends and debates on the general study of Roman culture and history will be discussed.

A traditional view of Roman scholarship can be identified in academic research of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Continuing on from earlier work, scholars were still analysing texts to discern the influential men and the elitist characteristics of Roman political and

social history in order to understand how such a complex society managed to survive in so many different forms for over a millennium. Some of the greatest scholars of this period in Roman history include Theodor Mommsen, Matthias Gelzer, Friedrich Münzer and Ronald Syme. With his two ground-breaking monographs *Römische Geschichte*[74] and *Römisches Staatsrecht*[75], Mommsen argued that the Roman republican political system was directed by a strict legal and hierarchical structure which determined the nature of Roman society. Mommsen believed that this political system was kept in place not by familial connections in the upper classes, but by office holding instead. Moreover, he postulated that membership in this aristocracy was based on a man's election to the curule aedileship and praetorship, not just the consulship, irrespective of whether a previous member of his family had held one of these positions. However, a contrary interpretation of the Roman nobility was posited by Gelzer, one where the political governing class of the republic were connected by reciprocal obligation between familial groups of the upper class, and their clients, whose membership could only comprise of those descendant from consular families[76]. Building on this concept of personal alliances, Münzer created a detailed prosopographical studies of the Roman elite to argue that familial connections in the ruling class created long-standing political factions established by constant intermarriage between families of these various factions[77]. Continuing this emphasis on great men and the Roman elite, Howard Hays Scullard offered a history of the Roman world in various volumes that examined the political activities of the men who shaped the destinies of Rome[78]. As a result of these monumental works, Roman prosopography achieved great heights in the 1920s and 30s, including Ronald Syme's *The Roman Revolution*. Syme investigated the transition from republic to empire and employed prosopography as a tool in identifying a specific political group's impact and life course over several generations[79]. However, there was a distinction between how various

[74] Mommsen (1856).

[75] Mommsen (1887).

[76] Gelzer (1912).

[77] Münzer (1920).

[78] Scullard (1935, 1951, 1959).

[79] Syme (1939).

scholars who used this methodology approached the republican and imperial eras. While imperial prosopography was principally used to investigate high political office holders and their careers, republican prosopography was chiefly concerned with the statesman and his political and social connections. This distinction was partly due to the nature of the source materials, but also due to the nature of historical investigations undertaken by academics focussed on these two eras, as well as the publication of available data in resources such as CIL and PIR[80].

The end of the second world war, coupled with the lifting of political oppression in most parts of Europe, and the dismantling of large colonial territories, coincided with the emergence of a more socially orientated investigation of Roman politics[81]. This period sees a significant shift in Roman scholarship towards democratisation and the emergence of emancipatory history. Elitist and traditional views of Roman political and social structures were seen as outdated and representing the history of *all* Roman people, whether freeborn or not, became the primary goal of scholarship. Ernst Badian, for example, identified that special connections existed between Roman politicians and their clients in different communities throughout the empire which sometimes overshadowed, or even replaced, local governmental administration[82]. Furthermore, in *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic*, Erich Gruen posited that political institutions in mid-first century BCE Rome were actually functioning effectively and only fell into chaos and ultimate collapse due to Caesar's unprincipled nature[83]. Gruen based this argument on a reanalysis of the sources and his reconstructions of the last few decades of the republic, with emphasis on personal connections, not just between the elites, but with connections between the *equites* and plebeians as well. This new interpretation of the ancient sources influenced Claude Nicolet and Paul Veyne to independently question the accepted models of the republican political system. Nicolet's reconstruction of the Roman republic, from the angles of the equestrian

[80] Galsterer (1990, p. 10).

[81] Jehne (2006, p. 6).

[82] Badian (1958).

[83] Gruen (1974).

and non-elite citizen, identified the contrast between urban and rural citizens and enabled the reader to distinguish how their different rights and functions affected their involvement in local and state government[84]. On the other hand, Veyne investigated the various material, monetary and communicative benefactions made by the upper classes to the common people[85]. With this gradual transition away from a purely elitist view and study of Roman history, by the late 1970s Roman scholarship had produced "the 'communicative turn' under whose influence scholarship remains to this day"[86].

In the last few decades, affected by our generation's own social reforms, great advances in the social history of the ancient Romans have been made and many new arguments for, and against, the acceptance of previously acknowledged structures of the Roman political system have been put forward. Christian Meier and Peter Brunt, for example, rebuked Münzer's faction theory of politics in the late republic, with Brunt also arguing for a return to Mommsen's view that election to the curule aedileship and praetorship would have earned entry into the Roman elite, as opposed to Gelzer's view that only the consulship would have done so[87]. Moreover, Meier believed that the end of the republic was not a 'revolution', as coined by Syme, but rather a "crisis without alternative"[88]. In *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, Fergus Millar argued that Roman society during the late republic was not as strictly controlled by the upper class as previously thought by highlighting the democratic features present in Roman politics[89]. Lastly, in terms of the composition of the Roman nobility, Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp investigated its formation and contribution to Roman society whilst Keith Hopkins and Graham Burton conducted research into its

[84] Nicolet (1966, 1976).

[85] Veyne (1976).

[86] Jehne (2006, p. 13)

[87] Brunt (1988); Meier (1980).

[88] Meier (1980, pp. 149-150).

[89] Millar (1998). For opposing views on this argument, see: Hölkeskamp (2010) Jehne (1995) and Mouritsen (2017).

longevity, connectedness and the proportion of consuls who came from consular families, which was corroborated by a more detailed study undertaken by Badian[90].

Although only representing the last few centuries of scholarship, this is but a very brief summary of the general developments in Roman historical research, particularly of the late republican era. What can be identified is the shift from the study of great men and their political activities to a more socially orientated study of Roman politics and society[91]. What follows is a review of modern scholarship, brought about by the democratic reforms in Roman historical scholarship highlighted above, on the topic of this study: elite women in the late Roman republic. However, rather than outlining developments in a chronological order, the following review is assembled into the dominant themes that the scholars on this topic have discussed and argued most recurrently.

3.2 Female Agency and Roman Women of the Late Republic

'Female agency' has been used more frequently, since the feminist movement, by scholars who delve into women's or gender studies, within any field of research, as a term to demonstrate how the women they study, as well as those that identify as women, could attain power, independence, self-actualised identity, life goals or even just self-confidence, from within their oppressed circumstances. As previously stated in the introduction, female agency has been defined as a woman's "power and capacity to act as she chooses"[92]. Although there have been numerous attempts to find a single term that defines this concept, and for many 'female agency' can be synonymous with female autonomy, self-determination, emancipation and empowerment, they are not exactly reciprocal. They may

[90] Badian (1990); Hölkeskamp (1987); Hopkins and Burton (1983).

[91] For more detail and a broader overview of the period, see Beard and Crawford (1985); Crawford (1992); Hölkeskamp (2010); Masson (1973); Mouritsen (2017); Rosenstein and Morstein-Marx (2006) and Scullard (1959).

[92] Bowden and Mummery (2009, p. 124).

all suggest women's desires to have control over their bodies and lives, but agency also denotes action, as well as self-reflection, in the pursuit of cultural, political, social and individual targets, either singly or as a collective[93]. Moreover, agency indicates the exercise of free will and personal freedom but also assumes certain capacities on the part of the agent. Notably, agents not only have to be able to understand their own needs and desires, but they must also have the self-esteem to recognise that they can pursue their own needs and desires, at least within the constraints of socially authorised actions. The concept of agency is also coupled with the notion that agents are fully capable of making their own decisions without being coerced or influenced by anyone else when doing so. Furthermore, agency implies that one's desires, choices and actions are one's own, grounded in realistic self-awareness and self-direction[94]. That being said, as the majority of people, past and present, are raised within social constructs and are continually involved in social relationships, it is imperative to understand that agency must also take into account the social context in which these agents live[95]. As Abrams states, "self-definition occurs, first, by becoming aware of the way that one's self, and one's self-conception, are socially constituted"[96]. Therefore, agency can only operate within, and in, relation to this social context. Self-awareness cannot occur by disentangling oneself from social influences. Doing so would mean disregarding the social entanglement of one's self-identity from the social constructs that influenced it and would be regarded as futile and pertinacious by theorists of complex social construction[97].

In terms of elite Roman women's agency in the late republic, Judith Hallett states that, "due to the patriarchal nature of Roman society, and to the elite family's role as a major, if not the main, political unit therein, the structural centrality of female members in the upper-class Roman family would seem inextricably related to women's ascribed political

[93] Abrams (1999, p. 807); Bowden and Mummery (2009, p. 123).

[94] Bowden and Mummery (2009, p. 125).

[95] Bowden and Mummery (2009, pp. 127, 129-130).

[96] Abrams (1999, p. 825).

[97] Abrams (1999, p. 825).

significance: the elite family, its patriarchal nature notwithstanding, was able to furnish its womenfolk with what modern political scientists label a 'power base'"[98]. Such a statement would have been unthinkable until the democratic reforms of Roman scholarship in the 1950s, coupled with, or as a response to, the emergence of a wider array of historical data (archaeological, epigraphic, papyrological) about a more diverse range of people. Until then, dominated by the political and social ideologies of their times, if scholars did discuss Roman women, it was only those of note deemed important enough to be mentioned in the ancient sources. In other words, the wives and/or daughters of great political men used to cement political dynasties, parties or factions[99]. Hallett's argument, inspired by the feminist re-reading of classical texts, that a Roman woman's political significance, in such a male dominated environment, was simply a by-product of the central role that she played in her family unit deserves acknowledgement. However, it also deserves to be expanded upon, or at least reconfigured in light of more recent scholarship, so as to give these Roman women more credit for their influential scope than just as political shadows, only emerging when familial bonds required them to. In fact, it is her discussion on matriarchy and 'matriliny' that has influenced this thesis investigating networks in the late Roman republic. Hallett views matriarchy as a rule by mothers and defines the term 'matriliny' to mean, "the reckoning of ancestral descent through mothers"[100]. She further explains that the term matriarchy "has no descriptive relevance to the political, or the kinship, structure of any society in which women cannot monopolise, or significantly control, government"[101]. Likewise, the term matriliny is argued to be representative of any society which values the maternal lineage, "but not to the degree that this support devalues paternal lineage and fathers"[102]. This does not mean to say that Hallett believes the two terms to be identical, or even interchangeable, but that the latter is simply a different interpretation of lineage; one which defines social groups and hierarchies through mothers, as well as fathers. Indeed,

[98] Hallett (1984, p. 29) .

[99] See Mommsen (1856); Münzer (1920); Syme (1939, 1986) and Gelzer (1912).

[100] Hallett (1984, p. 17).

[101] Hallett (1984, p. 18).

[102] Hallett (1984, p. 18).

Hallett argues that Romans expressed "matrilineal sentiment" by sometimes placing special emphasis on "matrilineally organised family bonding patterns", especially in the elite classes[103]. Thus, to understand the complexity and uniqueness that was the late republican elite woman, how she was viewed within her social structures, and possibly how she viewed herself within these same structures, needs to be examined. This will be done by scrutinising the scholarship on Roman women and highlighting the scholarship on marriage, divorce and inheritance, as well as mortality and infant death rates, so as to discern how these life stages affected women of the late republic and led to their increase in political and social influence. Moreover, an investigation into how some women merged the private and public spheres of Roman society, the concept of 'female identity' during this time, and the case for female emancipation will be examined, to conclude the argument that elite republican women were influential in more than familial circles alone. Their emergence at the end of the republic, as a social entity that warranted recognition, not only demonstrates their social significance to the era, but their political one as well.

3.3 Married life for an Elite Late Republican Woman

Robert Knapp states that, "a [Roman] woman was a means to an end, and she probably thought of herself in this way. The end was a family unit that would provide heirs and the way to pass on property. Although there were ancillary possibilities for activity and occupation, any woman who would have, and could have, chosen one of these as her primary goal in life would be a *rara avis* indeed"[104]. Whilst there is some truth to this statement, such a narrow perspective of female agency not only seems outdated, but discriminatory as well. Rather than returning to a traditional and patriarchal interpretation of Roman history, a broader view of a Roman woman's role, one that reached beyond just women's ability to bear children, must now be examined. Whilst little is known of non-elite women, and will most likely always remain unknown to us, there is much literary and

[103] Hallett (1984, p. 329).

[104] Knapp (2013, p. 55).

epigraphic evidence for the prominence of elite women in Roman society. Indeed, republican women's political influence and social significance was not merely linked with, but virtually inseparable from, their structural centrality in the Roman upper-class family[105]. In the late republic, marriage was an institution that was crucial for continuing familial lines as well as for creating political bonds between elite families, and it is in this sphere that the social position and the most active participation of women can best be explored.

As the assortment of Roman marriage arrangements have already been well documented[106], the only points of interest for this study are how these arrangements affected female cognizance and agency. As scholarship highlights, three conditions; *conubium*, legal age and consent, must have been met for a marriage to be valid, at least between Roman citizens. If these three conditions had not been satisfied, the couple were not considered to be legally wed[107]. However, whether that consent, particularly for young first-time brides and grooms, was theirs to give freely has been a matter of contention[108]. If the girl's father was still alive, the contractual formalities of the engagement were conducted between himself and her future husband, or his father if he was not yet of age. The ancient sources indicate that the young bride-to-be had very little say in her first marriage, especially if the engagement was contracted in her infancy, as was the case in many elite families. Before the end of the republic, such formalities had vanished in favour of a looser system, by which the engagement was an informal agreement to marry, made in writing or before witnesses, and easily renounced by either party[109]. This latter arrangement

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[105] Hallett (1984, pp. 31-32).

[106] For detailed discussions on Roman marriage, see: Bradley (1991); Chrystal (2013); Corbett (1930); Dixon (1986, 2001, 2011); Fraschetti (2001); Gardner (1986); Hallett (1984); Hersch (2010); Humbert (1972); Pomeroy (1976); Raepsaet-Charlier (1981-2, 1987); B. Rawson (1991); Skinner (2011); Treggiari (1991, 2002, 2007, 2019).

[107] Gardner (1986, p. 31).

[108] See Hallett (2020) on consent and 'consensuality', where she argues that consent involved the adults arranging the marriage, and not the young couple itself.

[109] Hersch (2010, pp. 39-40).

developed out of the turbulent era of continual civil wars in the late republic when, an engagement which had appeared satisfactory at the time it was first arranged, might, because of a change in the political situation, become unnecessary or even undesirable[110]. However, if her father was no longer alive, as is estimated to have been the case with one-third to on-half of all girls about to be married in the late republic, the arrangements of engagement fell upon her tutor and/or highest ranking agnate[111]. Not until at least her second marriage could a Roman woman have had any say in her choice of husbands, nor do most of the sources indicate that her mother had any official say in the matter either. This does not mean that the latter didn't, as we see in the famous example of Terentia and Tullia working together to choose Dolabella as Tullia's next husband instead of Cicero's preferred choices[112], it is just that the ancient sources are limited in discussing a mother's involvement in her daughter's marriages[113].

Of the two types of marriage most frequently entered into, that of *manus* was, for women, "regarded as being *filiae loco*, in the situation of a daughter, in relation to the husband. His power over her was more restrictive than that over his children. Although he did not have the rights of life and death over her, nor of noxal surrender or sale, she could possess no property of her own; everything was vested in her husband or in the latter's father, while he lived, and anything accruing to her by gift or bequest, or in any other way during the marriage, was absorbed into her husband's property"[114]. Luckily for women, and one of the points that scholars have used as a case for their emancipation by the end of the first century BCE, this style of marriage fell out of favour and was superseded by a 'free' marriage, *sine manu*, where the new wife stayed under the authority of her father, *patria*

[110] Balsdon (1962, p. 178).

[111] Saller (1994, p. 208).

[112] See Treggiari (2007, pp. 83-99) for a full analysis of the events, including excerpts from Cicero's letters.

[113] Gardner (1986, p. 35); Saller (1994, p. 208).

[114] Gardner (1986, p. 11).

potestas, rather than her husband[115]. *Sine manu* marriages became more common as these unions could be easily dissolved, for there was none of the binding contracts of *manus* marriage. Another advantage of s*ine manu* marriages, and a predominant reason for its popularity, was that, apart from her dowry, a wife's property, if she had been left an inheritance, was totally separate from her husband's. The laws of this time also entitled women to inherit a substantial share of their father's wealth, aside from their dowry, giving them a scope of freedom not found before in other European agrarian societies[116]. After her father's death, an adult woman became *sui iuris*, lawfully independent, and could own property, engage in business transactions or make a will in her own right, though she was assigned a male tutor who needed to approve whatever decision or transaction she made if she was not married[117]. Tutors administered a woman's financial dealings and were ultimately responsible for safeguarding her portion of a family inheritance that would eventually be handed down to her children[118]. However, a clever, or self-assertive woman, could control the situation to some extent by getting her male relations to choose a tutor that she could manipulate and thus become truly independent and the rightful mistress of her domain. Richard Bauman argues that it was not until the early Principate that marital indiscretions and an increase in divorces were acknowledged and rectified by Augustus[119]. For most of the first century BCE, women's self-identity had steadily intensified with their increasing awareness of the influence that their position within their families and marriages could exert.

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[115] Hersch (2010, pp. 25-27); Skinner (2011, p. 37).

[116] Saller (1994, p. 224). To be sure, the Lex Voconia of 169 BCE prohibited a wealthy father from making a daughter the primary heir in his will. Yet this provision could sometimes be circumvented by avoiding registration in the census, leaving her less than half the estate, or by leaving the sum as *fideicommissum*. This law, however, did not apply on intestacy. Gardner (1986, pp. 170-178) .

[117] Beard (2016, p. 308); Skinner (2011, p. 35).

[118] Skinner (2011, p. 33).

[119] Bauman (1992, p. 91).

For the most part, first marriage of elite Romans was arranged by the *patres familiae* of the bridal pair. While usually involving members of the same, elite, class such unions could occasionally be between members of different social strata, such as the elder Cato's marriage to Salonia, the daughter of his freedman, those this was not his first marriage, only hers. However, subsequent marriages, where women might have had a choice about whom they married, were often with those of their own social status[120]. The political significance of such marriage alliances, especially within the senatorial class, served to reinforce the importance that women played in cementing power bonds and in highlighting the potential influence that they could exert on the adult males of their natal family, as well as the one they married into. Moreover, Keith Bradley believes Roman marriage to be the means by which the political dynasts of the late republic sought to control social affairs. He also argues that the frequency and ease of divorce during this period enabled women to have some measure of control over their marriages and could initiate a divorce as easily their husbands[121]. Even if the actual frequency of divorce in Rome will never be known, it is undeniable that it carried little stigma, and was a very common occurrence towards the end of the republic that any prudent woman, or father, would take the possibility of a marriage ending in divorce into account when making a dotal pact or will[122]. If a wife had a large dowry, the ease of divorce meant that she could threaten to leave, or actually leave, her husband's house in the knowledge that most of her dowry would be returned. In most cases this could maintain her for life, or at least sustain her until her next marriage[123]. For the husband, an advantage of *sine manu* marriage, especially if his wife had a large dowry, was that if they divorced, an ex-husband was not liable for maintenance. That responsibility fell upon her father if he was still alive[124]. If he wasn't alive, her *sui iuris* status enabled her to remain single, or to remarry if she chose to, as she was now free to make and act on her own decisions, depending on her tutor's level of control over her. By the late republic, for

[120] Gardner (1986, p. 43).

[121] Bradley (1991, pp. 156-176).

[122] Saller (1994, p. 220).

[123] Saller (1994, p. 223).

[124] Gardner (1986, p. 114); Skinner (2011, p. 37).

dowries to maintain a divorced woman for the rest of her life, they had to become ever more sizeable[125]. Seneca, Martial and Juvenal, when referring to such dowries, gave figures of figures between HS 400,000 and 1,000,000.[126] But as Percy Corbett, states, "in its essential character and purpose, the dowry is a contribution from the wife's side to the expenses of the household"; dowries were not primarily intended to be a safety net in case of divorce[127]. John Crook has also emphasised that the general expenses of the household were to be met by the wife's dowry[128]. Nevertheless, dowries of this size were often used for more than just the household expenses of elite families. The sources have given us copious examples of wealthy women using their money to fund extravagant lifestyles, maintaining lovers and even assembling legal teams to prosecute their enemies[129]. The increase of divorce in late republican Roman society has been interpreted by historians as evidence of a weakening conjugal bond and an increase in moral laxity. Yet, as Beryl Rawson rightly points out, "more frequent divorce could also be a positive sign, the result of higher expectations and more freedom to pursue emotional satisfaction in marriage"[130]. The sources are abundant with tales of elite divorces, from Cicero to Caesar, to Cato and Pompey, but a striking point to note is that the majority of the women in these divorces are rarely spoken of negatively. If they chose to remarry, they often did so quite easily, and thanks to the predominance of the *sine manu* marriage, coupled with *sui iuris* status, they managed to keep their wealth, independence and social status, meaning that they also didn't have to remarry if they preferred to remain *univirae*.

Of importance for the thesis, in relation to Roman marriage, is identifying the ages of the spouses on their wedding day. Multiple scholars have concluded that a first marriage in the

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[125] J. K. Evans (1991, p. 60).

[126] Saller (1994, p. 214).

[127] Corbett (1930, p. 147); Skinner (2011, p. 38).

[128] Crook (1990, pp. 160-162).

[129] Fraschetti (2001, pp. 100-118); James and Dillon (2012, pp. 354-366); Pomeroy (1976, pp. 149-189).

[130] B. Rawson (1986, p. 25).

mid-teens was not uncommon for a Roman girl[131]. Of particular note is Keith Hopkins' seminal study which collated data from funerary inscriptions that gave the age of death, as well as the length of the marriage. Hopkins argued that this conclusion was consistent with the ancient literary and legal evidence[132]. Indeed, as Roman law set the minimum age of marriage as 12 for women, 14 for men, and that it sometimes even permitted pre-pubertal marriage, Hopkins' study found that half the women mentioned on the epitaphs were married by 16. However, Hopkins also recognised that the literary and legal evidence was mainly concerned with the upper classes and it is entirely likely that these girls, from elite families, married at younger ages than the wider population. This argument is corroborated by Richard Saller and Brent Shaw's research into Roman marriage ages, where they also discovered that men seemed, on average, to have married for the first time in their mid-to-late 20s[133]. Moreover, they argued that there was a standard age gap in the first marriage of approximately ten years, and some first-time teen brides would have found themselves married to an even older man if it was his second, or subsequent, marriage[134]. In contradiction to Saller and Shaw's findings, Arnold Lelis, William Percy and Beert Verstraete found that the men in their study, based exclusively on literary evidence, were of similar age to their wives when they first married[135]. Their research concluded that the age at first marriage for females was between 12 and 16 and between 15 and 21/22 for males. Although the marriage age of women is similar in all three studies, the difference in the ages of men at their first marriage could be a result of the type of evidence used. Purely literary evidence will be inherently biased towards the upper echelon of Roman elite society and not reflective of society at large, let alone the full spectrum of elite society, which included the senatorial and the equestrian classes[136].

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[131] See Gardner (1986); Hallett (1984); Hopkins (1965); Shaw (1987); Saller (1994).

[132] Hopkins (1965).

[133] Shaw and Saller (1984).

[134] Saller (1994, pp. 26-37); Shaw and Saller (1984).

[135] Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete (2003).

[136] Especially considering that the data Lelis et al is based on only 83 males and 31 females from varying time periods, with the majority coming from the Imperial era.

In seeking an explanation for the enigma of elite Roman women's perceived increase in social significance and political influence during the republican period, Hallett postulates that women were valued in both their own families and those of their husbands'. This dual reverence, moreover, enabled them to become formidable and respected figures in their own right[137]. She further refines this point of view by coining the term 'filiafocal' to describe the various manifestations of this Roman singularity as, "affection and other indications of value accorded by Roman fathers to individual female children as well as cultural importance assigned to the role of daughter itself [by placing] emphasis on ties of blood and marriage through fathers' daughters – chiefly ties of, and through, such males as daughters' and sisters' sons, maternal grandfathers and maternal uncles"[138]. Although novel in its approach, and again deserving of acknowledgement, this line of reasoning is difficult to fully accept[139]. There is no contention that daughters played an important role in both family and society at large, but the controversial aspect of this argument lies in Hallett's contention that there were important bonds enjoyed between fathers and their daughters which were not possible with their sons. She argues that a father could accord different values to his daughters than his sons, values which became crucial to the matrilineal kinship reckoning in subsequent generations. This also meant that daughters could be valued differently, for different reasons, and could in some instances forge closer ties with their fathers than their brothers did. Hallett reasons her case for filiafocality by arguing that consanguinity could only be fully guaranteed through the female members of a family and that the importance assigned by men to bonds with women occurred in connection with general cultural emphasis on the role of daughter, mother, sister, aunt and grandmother as revealed in Roman linguistic practices, cultic behaviour, legal provisions and ideological legend[140]. A similar argument raised by Skinner, although centred on money management rather than emotional and/or relational ties, would appear more justifiable and in line with the evidence

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[137] Hallett (1984, p. 263).

[138] Hallett (1984, p. 263).

[139] For a detailed discussion and rebuttal of this argument, see Dixon (1986) and Hemelrijk (1999, p. 9).

[140] Hallett (1984, p. 264 & 328).

provided by the ancient sources. She states that "in the Roman inheritance system, property might well pass through the hands of women, but popular thinking regarded it as merely entrusted to them and not theirs to do with as they wished. Estates belonged to families and were rightly left to males in a direct line of descent. It follows that wealthy women were judged in their employment of money by their willingness to further the interests of male kin, especially natural heirs"[141]. However, what Hallett's main hypothesis unequivocally demonstrates, through her analysis of key primary sources, is that women were of pivotal importance in the Roman family and that such comprehension of their significance must have given them ever increasing awareness of the affective and/or emotional pull that they could exert on their male relations.

Although the main purpose of marriage in ancient Rome, as in all past cultures, was the production of legitimate male children, if, as Saller postulates, republican Romans had an average life expectancy at birth of 20-30 years, slightly higher for the upper classes, coupled with late male marriage, most Romans would have lost their fathers before adulthood[142]. On the other hand, Gardner argues that not enough is known about fertility and mortality "to determine the extent, if any, to which the maintenance of social and political status of upper class males was felt to be imperilled"[143]. Either way, low life expectancy and high mortality rates, of both men in the army and women during childbirth, must have greatly affected Roman society towards the end of the republic and shaped how women, as well as men, viewed themselves. The practice of adopting teenage males, for example, suggests that the maintenance of social and political status by upper class families was a concern, and a way of getting around problems caused by (in)fertility and mortality. The high child mortality rates also had implications for women's pregnancies and the size of the average Roman family[144]. Saller argues that simply to maintain a stationary population, each woman, on average, would have needed to live through her reproductive years and bear five or six

[141] Skinner (2011, pp. 50-51).

[142] Saller (1994, pp. 3 & 12-13).

[143] Gardner (1986, p. 176).

[144] Beard (2016, pp. 316-317).

children, without taking sterility and widowhood into account[145]. It is no wonder, then, that even in fertile marriages, the number of adult members in the elite family was usually very small and constantly decreasing[146].

Reproduction was a dangerous undertaking. The demographic studies undertaken by Saller and Shaw have shown that childbirth was always the biggest killer of young women in Rome, from senators' wives to slaves[147]. Evidence for thousands of such deaths have been preserved, from elite women such as Tullia and Caesar's daughter Iulia, to the ordinary women across the Roman world commemorated in the literature and on tombstones by their grieving husbands and families. Demographic statistics available from the late Roman empire suggest that at least one in 50 women was likely to die in childbirth, with the rate being even higher if they were still pubescent[148]. However, those babies that were safely delivered had an even more dangerous time than their mothers. As child exposure and infanticide were practised in Rome, Gardner suggests that there are hints in the sources for baby girls being less wanted than boys, particularly in non-elite families, as the expense of their dowries could have been too great a burden[149]. Those babies that were allowed to live also faced a hazardous childhood. "The best estimates, based largely on figures from comparable and later populations, is that half the children born would have died by the age of ten, from all kinds of sickness and infection. What this means is that, although average life expectancy at birth was probably as low as the mid-twenties, a child who survived to the age of ten could expect a lifespan not wildly at variance from our own. According to the same figures, a ten-year-old would on average have another 40 years of life left, and a fifty-year-old reckon on fifteen more"[150]. For some, it would seem that infanticide and exposure must be undeniable evidence of lack of affection from parents, but Peter Garnsey argues

[145] Saller (1994, p. 42).

[146] Münzer (1999, p. 104).

[147] Individually; Saller (1987, 1994); Shaw (1987, 2001) and together; Shaw and Saller (1984).

[148] Potter and Mattingly (1998) and Saller (1994).

[149] Gardner (1986, p. 6).

[150] Beard (2016, p. 316) with statistical information sourced from Saller (1994).

that such practices could also be interpreted as the result of "stern realism" in the face of difficult financial circumstances, where the survival of the whole family was more important than letting one extra child live[151]. In terms of Roman women's understanding their place in society, it is easy to suggest that these perilous marital obligations must have seemed harrowing for a young bride. Moreover, bearing in mind that, if Saller's statistical analyses and subsequent hypotheses are correct, many women would most likely be orphaned themselves, or at the very least fatherless[152]. If a woman did survive all these perils, and many obviously did, how did this affect the next steps in her life cycle?

3.4 The Merging of Public and Private Spheres

"Historically, women have not had access to the same range of choices as men, let alone the same range of possible actions"[153]. In terms of late republican Rome, women did not have any access to the political and military positions available to men and very few had full access to education, employment or sacerdotal public offices. The few choices that were available to them were mostly in the private domain of the family home, in being a dutiful wife, mother and daughter. However, some Roman women, mainly elite women, were able to merge the two spheres; the male dominated public sphere of the Forum and the gynocentric private sphere of the *domus*[154]. Roman women, especially *matronae*, were expected to enhance the *gravitas* and *dignitas* of their husbands, fathers, brothers and sons by remaining chaste, modest and by always upholding the decorum expected of their social status[155]. Very rarely was a young Roman woman's life path of her own choosing. Her role in

[151] Garnsey (1991, pp. 49-51).

[152] Saller (1994).

[153] Bowden and Mummery (2009, p. 125).

[154] For discussions on the dichotomy between public and private spheres in studies of women in the past, see Boatwright (2011); Helly and Reverby (1992); Landes (1998); Weintraub and Kumar (1997).

[155] Hemelrijk (1999, p. 14).

society was often dictated by her family's background and they, her male relatives, usually dictated what her choices and actions would be at various stages of her life[156]. Although an elite man's life was also limited in the range of choices and actions he could take, especially before entering the political arena, he could exercise a higher degree of agency and freedom once he became financially independent and/or started to pursue a public career. These same levels of agency were not easily available or achievable for most women, unless they were *sui iuris* and wealthy widows or divorcées. In childhood, a woman's social position and status were linked with that of her *paterfamilias* and remained so until she married. Once a wife, her social position and status were those of her husband's and intricately linked with the public magisterial office that he attained. If she became a widow or divorced, and had adult sons, her status was interconnected with that of her sons'[157]. Only if she was of extremely noble lineage, widowed or divorced, as well as independently wealthy, could a Roman woman be seen as anything other than a daughter, wife or mother. And even then, she would have had to walk a very fine line between been seen as a dignified *matrona*, such as Cornelia and Aurelia, or a lustful predator, like Clodia.

As limiting as these circumstances may appear to us now, Roman women did experience a certain degree of freedom within these socially dictated restrictions. With the expectation that they also had to manage the running of the *domus*[158], this most private of spheres would have become a very public one on a daily basis as the public spaces of the *domus*, those used to receive clients and visitors, were available to both men and women. The role of wife, and therefore mistress of the household, meant a position of authority within the *domus*. Though she, as well as her husband, would have access to private areas, she would have had full access to the *atrium*, *triclinium* and *tablinum*, the focal points of the house where the majority of public business would have been conducted by her husband[159]. She

[156] Hemelrijk (1999, p. 8).

[157] Webb (2017, p. 147).

[158] Broekaert (2012, p. 3).

[159] Hemelrijk (1999, p. 10).

would also have received her own clients or visitors in these rooms[160], organised the work of household slaves and stored her looms in the *atrium*, whether she worked them or not. Moreover, the *imagines* and *imagines pictae* of her marital, as well as her natal, ancestors would have been on display in the *atrium*, continually reminding her of her social position, both private and public[161]. Since Romans considered their *domus* to be a reflection of their social position, the stately homes of the elite would have continually entertained visitors, with the more illustrious ones enhancing the *dignitas* of its owners. As Hemelrijk states, "the houses of the wealthy cannot be called 'private' in the modern sense. Instead, there was a sliding scale between public and more private areas within the houses of the elite, indicating different gradations of publicity or intimacy"[162]. Thus, for an elite Roman woman, the social constraints of female domesticity and marital duty did not imply relegation to a solely private sphere. Not only was her house on public display on a daily basis, but she was also freely able to visit public spaces such as temples, theatres or markets and she could visit her friends and family in their own homes. Furthermore, she could frequently accompany her husband to social events, such as dinner parties or family occasions[163]. As Boatwright states, "the sources concur in eliminating women, at least ideologically, from the area, despite the fact that the Forum must have routinely seen priestesses, *matronae*, and less highly placed women such as attendants, shopkeepers, beggars, and streetwalkers"[164]. As the majority of elite republican Roman women had been as educated as their male siblings, and when taking into account that their social class would have been as much social

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[160] Patronage was often inherited or acquired through reputation. A woman could also have a retinue of clients that would require her to act on their behalf, either directly or indirectly. Hillard (1992, p. 39); Treggiari (2007, p. 46).

[161] *Imagines*, as well as *imagines pictae*, were part of a bride's belongings that were brought into her husband's house when they married. The *atrium* would thence have displayed the *imagines* of her own prestigious forefathers and the *imagines pictae* would have depicted her familial ancestors as well. Flower (1996, p. 103); Webb (2017, p. 143).

[162] Hemelrijk (2015, p. 10).

[163] Hemelrijk (2015, p. 11).

[164] Boatwright (2011, p. 108).

as it was political in nature[165], it would be safe to assume that private counsels and correspondences, with their husbands, family members or within their social gynocentric networks, would have often led them to discuss current public affairs. Tullia demonstrated her education, which Späth believes "to have been so self-evident that it goes unnoticed in Cicero's letters", by discussing political events with her father[166]. Francesca Rohr Vio believes that some women also used tears, lamentation and speeches, as well as other gestural, visual and oral communication strategies, when trying to act on their agency. She uses the ancient sources to provide several instances of women using the private spheres, in which they were normally included, to discuss, and sometimes influence, the public sphere of the law courts, Forum and the senate[167]. Two of these instances involved Terentia and Cicero. The first, Cicero's proof that L. Sergius Catilina was plotting a conspiracy during his year as Consul in 63 BCE, represents Terentia as taking an active role in negotiations between Cicero and Fulvia, the mistress of Q. Curius, who had evidence of Catiline's guilt[168]. Terentia's participation in public affairs was so well known that Cicero's year as consul and his treatment of the Catilinarian conspirators were described by the author of the *Invective against M. Tullius*[169], "as in the company of [his] wife Terentia, when judgement was passed under the *Lex Plautia de vi* at his home". Terentia's involvement in public affairs, as recounted to us by Plutarch, Cicero, Cassius Dio and Suetonius, was again evidenced the following year in regard to Publius Clodius' sacrilege at the Bona Dea[170]. According to these sources, Cicero gave evidence against Clodius so as to appease Terentia's suspicions that Cicero wanted to marry Clodius' sister Clodia Metelli[171]. Unfortunately, Cicero's testimony

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[165] Hillard (1992, p. 40).

[166] Späth (2011, pp. 151-152).

[167] Rohr Vio (2019, pp. 219-224).

[168] See Sallust, *Bellum Catilinae*, for full details.

[169] Ps-Sallust, *Invective against Marcus Tullius*, 3

[170] For details of the incident, see Cassius Dio, *Roman History* 37.45; Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I 12-16; Plutarch, *Caesar* 9-10 and *Suetonius, Divus Iulius* 6.2 and 74.2.

[171] Whether this story is true or not remains a point of contention. For a discussion on the matter, see: Treggiari (2007, pp. 49-50).

turned Clodius against him and the latter successfully managed to have Cicero exiled from Rome in 58 BCE, during which time Terentia managed his affairs and finances[172].

Another occasion where a woman managed to merge the private and public spheres, and hence demonstrate agency, was Servilia's indication that she would overturn the Senate's decrees in regard to her son, M. Iunius Brutus, and son-in-law, C. Cassius Longinus, in the aftermath of their assassination of C. Iulius Caesar. Cicero's letters to Atticus and Brutus, dated between early June 44 BCE and late July 43 BCE clearly show that Servilia played an active role in trying to secure her son's return to Rome and ameliorating his position, both political and social[173]. Moreover, Cicero's letters to Brutus in July 43 BCE indicate that Servilia was communicating with all the key members of the Senate and that she managed to get Cicero to plead for the fate of her grandchildren in the Senate[174]. These events led Syme to describe Servilia as one of the most remarkable women of "the great houses" who were of "such dominating forces behind the phrases and façade of constitutional government"[175].

It can also be argued that, for the ancient Romans, letter writing could be as public an act as it was private. Letters were frequently circulated between networks of friends and acquaintances, either unknowingly or actively encouraged, and their details were often

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[172] Treggiari (2007, pp. 49-50). Pages 56-70 also highlight the plight of Cicero's exile and the implications his absence had for Terentia's social status, as well as that of their children, and the actions she undertook on her husband' behalf during this time.

[173] See, in particular, Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XV 11, for Servilia's statement, during a counsel attended by Cicero, Brutus, Cassius and her daughter Iunia Tertia, the wife of M. Aemilius Lepidus as well Brutus' wife Porcia, that she could overturn the grain commissions issued by the Senate.

[174] Cicero, *Brutus* I 13-18; Osgood (2014, pp. 50-51).

[175] Syme (1939, p. 12).

discussed, or referred to, between regular correspondents[176]. The copious letters between Cicero and Atticus can testify to this, as well as the letters between Cicero and other members of his epistolary network. Although the letters between Atticus and Cicero were not written with publication in mind, they clearly demonstrate that some letters were passed between people and that this practice was well known and expected for politically and socially significant letters. Occasionally, a letter contained such important details that it transcended its exchange amongst social circles and became an historical anecdote. One such letter was the letter written by Cornelia to her son C. Sempronius Gracchus. Only fragments of this letter survive today[177], but both Cicero and M. Fabius Quintilian referenced Cornelia's letters when discussing the great influence that she must have had over her sons' skills at public speaking[178]. The latter goes so far as to state that, "we have heard that their mother, Cornelia, had contributed greatly to the eloquence of the Gracchi, a woman whose extremely learned speech also has been handed down to future generations"[179]. Cornelia's letter aims to highlight the great political and personal perils that might await her son, as well as the personal anguish it would cause her, if he followed in the footsteps of his brother, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, by running for the office of *Tribunus Plebis*. Although Cornelia's words did not succeed in their intended purpose, they "indicate that Livy, an admirer of the prelapsarian Roman Republic, interpreted Cornelia's letter as a model for effective female, familially focused but nonetheless politically consequential

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[176] For a detailed account of ancient Roman correspondence, including the delivery and the private or public dissemination of letters, see P. White (2010, pp. 11-29 and 92-15).

[177] Modern historians differ as to the authenticity of this letter. Hallett (2002, 2004, 2006b, 2009, 2010, 2018) believes that Cornelia's letter was used by later ancient authors when representing speeches, addressed to male relatives and making personal and political demands, by legendary and historical maternal figures. She further believes that Cornelia's letter should be viewed as a milestone of (female) Roman political oratory. Dixon (2007, p. 27), however, argues that "the surviving fragments could either be outright contemporary forgeries or significantly altered versions of what Cornelia actually wrote".

[178] Hallett (2018, p. 7).

[179] M. Fabius Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 1.1.6.

communication. These details imply as well that Cornelia's letter was known and associated with persuasive female Roman Republican oratory not long after the fall of the Roman Republic"[180].

Indeed, it can be assumed that a learned, cultured and politically astute *matrona*, such as Cornelia, would have been a role model for future generations, for men as well as women. She was praised continually by Cicero for her hand-on raising of her sons, and one can assume her daughter as well, to be model Roman citizens of the senatorial class[181]. Furthermore, her unwillingness to remarry and her determination to remain a *univira*, no matter how wealthy and regal potential suitors might be, only added to her idolisation as the perfect wife and mother by ancient historians such as Plutarch, Tacitus and Valerius Maximus[182]. Therefore, through the private communications between a loving mother and her son, we see Cornelia merging the spheres between the private and public worlds of Rome. She may not have delivered her message on the rostra, or anywhere else public, but the fragments of Cornelia's letter shows that a woman did not have to be in the public sphere to influence her male relations, social peers, or even future generations.

As with the research undertaken by Saller, Shaw and Gardner, that of Bauman was influenced by social reforms of his own day, including the feminist movements, when discussing the life of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi[183]. He even postulates a new reading of her life cycle by stating that there was a group of noble women in the Gracchan period that were centred around Cornelia. A group of women who could exert great influence in social and political circles, thanks to their "focal point"[184]. His evidence for this

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[180] Hallett (2018, p. 9).

[181] Cicero, *Brutus* 211; Treggiari (2019, p. 55).

[182] Plutarch, *C. Gracchus*; Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 28.7; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri* IX. See also Hallett (2018) and her argument for Cornelia's speech as an example of political oratory.

[183] Bauman (1992, pp. 41-44).

[184] Bauman (1992, p. 41).

is rather slim, relying only on a few sentences from Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio, but the temptation to reinterpret Cornelia not just as a mother, daughter and wife of famous men, but as a pivotal social and political figure in her own right is understandable. In addition to this, Bauman argues for the existence of another two female centred groups of the Gracchan period, one based around female lawyers and the other around the Vestal Virgins. However, these groups appear more as collections of various women in these roles than groups of women who acted together as a whole to act on their singular or collective agency[185]. For the former, he uses Valerius Maximus' examples of three different women who advocated for themselves in the law courts with varying success, as well as Cicero's mention of Laelia's expert knowledge and use of the law, which had been handed down to her by her father and subsequently passed on to her daughters[186]. Alexander's research, however, indicates that less than five percent of all public trials from 149 to 50 BCE involved women[187]. Bauman's argument for the existence of an influential group of Vestal Virgins is based on his identification of a "surge of acts of defiance" by these Vestals in the Gracchan period. Although he states that "their impact on mainstream politics in the [late republic] was quite a substantial one", his evidence is once again slender and, as previously stated, more an assortment of individuals than a distinctive group with a fixed agenda[188]. Nevertheless, this could be used as evidence that elite Roman women, particularly from the Gracchan period onwards, appeared to enjoy a great deal of *de facto* autonomy in their personal lives by managing to create a role for themselves in the public sphere.

It can, therefore, be suggested that elite Roman women's potential for influence and their increasing agency not only stemmed from their familial significance, but to also have been rooted deeply in their occupancy of certain roles within Roman society. Further to this, Sarah Pomeroy has written about the relationship between Roman women and their male

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[185] Bauman (1992, pp. 41-59).

[186] Bauman (1992, p. 47) and Cicero, *Brutus* 83, 86; Valerius Maximus, *Factorum ac dictorum memorabilium libri* V 4.6.

[187] Alexander (1990) *cf*. Boatwright (2011, pp. 112, fn 121).

[188] Bauman (1992, p. 63).

kin, expressing the truly Roman pragmatic concept that enabled elite women of the republican era to take up certain leadership roles during, and shortly after, the often long absences of their husbands and sons on military or governmental missions[189]. For example, Livy informs us that soon after the Battle of Cannae in 216 BCE, the crowd of women who assembled en masse in the Forum nearly resulted in the Senate taking action against them[190]. Rome's *matronae* had descended on the Forum in large numbers to listen to the public discussions about the ransoming of their menfolk captured by Hannibal and they were unwilling to be excluded from the debates. Their collective action could not be ignored by the Senate, especially in such a public and open space.

A further example is when the members of the second Triumvirate were unable to raise all the funds they required from their prescriptions, they decided to pass an edict demanding that the 1400 wealthiest women in Rome should pay taxes. Having never been taxed before, these women appealed to the Triumvirs' wives, as social protocol dictated, but were rebuffed by M. Antonius' wife Fulvia. As a result, Hortensia, the great orator's daughter, was chosen to appeal to the Triumvirs. Her speech, delivered in the Forum in 42 BCE, has been remembered not only as an eloquent oration, reminiscent of her famous father's style[191], but also as one of the few cases of female collective agency in the Roman republic, in the form of civil disobedience[192]. Appian recounts a significant portion of the speech, with the most poignant aspect being Hortensia's rhetorical question, "Why should we pay tax, when we have no share in magistracies, or honours, or military commands, or in public affairs at all, where your conflicts have brought us to this terrible state?[193]". And thus lay the crux of

[189] Pomeroy (1976, p. 149).

[190] Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* XXII 55-6.

[191] Valerius Maximus, V 8.3.

[192] Osgood (2014, p. 59).

[193] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 32-34. Appian's transcript of may not be a word for word retelling, but the message in Hortensia's speech, as well as its impact on the Triumvirs, must have been very similar for the events to still be significant enough to report two centuries later.

the matter. Having no direct say in the governance of Rome, why should these 1400 wealthy women pay, from their own finances, for the devastation caused by civil wars? What is also noteworthy, beyond the fact that Hortensia's words made the Triumvirs amend they taxation to only the 400 wealthiest women and all men who possessed over 100,000 denarii, is that these women who marched into the Forum did so only because it was the last resort left to them. Unable to sway the Triumvirs by following accepted social behaviours, they were left with no option but to designate one of their own as spokesperson and assemble en mass in the most public of Roman spheres, the Forum[194].

A striking note to make, in terms of female agency, is that these actions cannot have been spontaneous. Having been informed that they were going to be taxed, these women, their precise number unknown – presumably most were mostly elite women related to the Triumvirs and members of the Senate – must have gathered together to debate a plan of action. This would most likely have happened in one or more of their homes. It also raises the question of whether the wealthiest matrons of the late republic were considered as an *ordo matronarum*, as mentioned by Valerius Maximus[195], analogous to the senatorial and equestrian orders and a term used to define women of these ranks who collectively took action in the public sphere[196]. If such an order did exist, why do we have no formal records of it? If not, how did the Triumvirs know who the wealthiest 1400 women in Rome were?[197] Whether or not there was an *ordo matronarum*, what this event highlights is that some women were considered wealthy enough to be taxed, in similar fashions to their male counterparts, and that they were also sufficiently self-aware of their position in society to

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[194] The women had first approached the female relatives of the Triumvirs, as custom dictated, but when Fulvia, M. Antonius' wife, "turned them away from the door", they decided to see the magistrates in person, at the tribunal set up in the Forum. Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 32.

[195] Valerius Maximus, V 8.3.3. See also Hemelrijk (1999, pp. 12-13) for a discussion on the possible existence, or not, of such and *ordo*.

[196] Hemelrijk (1999, p. 11).

[197] Bauman (1992, p. 82); Dixon (2001, pp. 6-7); Lefkowitz and Fant (1992, pp. 149-151).

successfully demand retraction of a law imposed on them by the Triumvirs. It also signifies that there was a network of elite women who either all knew each other intimately, or at least knew each other well enough socially, to be able to gather at short notice to singly, or collectively, decide to take action to alter their own circumstances.

The so called *Laudatio Turiae*, also gives us an example of an elite women demonstrating her agency in public. Although not preserved to us as a public speech like Hortensia's, the deeds of the woman commemorated in stone by her husband after her death suggest that she was a woman who definitely embodied every element of female agency in the latter half of the first century BCE[198]. As tumultuous as her life appears to have been, though probably not as individualistic as one would expect considering the times in which she lived, it is her act of bravery in front of the Triumvir M. Aemilius Lepidus which is of great significance. As her husband wrote,

> "When thanks to the kindness and judgement of the absent Caesar Augustus I had been restored to my country as a citizen, M. Lepidus, his colleague, who was present, was confronted with your request concerning my recall, and you lay prostrate at his feet, and you were not only not raised up but were dragged away and carried off brutally like a slave. But although your body was full of bruises, your spirit was unbroken and you kept reminding him of Caesar's edict with its expression of pleasure at my reinstatement, and although you had to listen to insulting words and suffer cruel wounds, you pronounced the words of the edict in a loud voice, so that it should be known who was the cause of my deadly perils. This matter was soon to prove harmful for him….What could have been more effective than the virtue you displayed?" [199]

The wife's actions are a clear demonstration of female agency, in the form of authoritarian defiance, similar to Hortensia's speech. The wife's protestations at Lepidus' feet may not have required the same level of organised resistance as Hortensia's oration, but it still demonstrates that women of the late Roman republic could exercise some level of agency

[198] Osgood (2014, p. 3).

[199] *Laudatio Turiae* (ILS 8393. Translation by E. Wistrand) sections 11 and 19.

to change their lives, or the lives of their relatives, male and female. As Hemelrijk states, "in describing her public deeds, [the husband] attributes to his wife the 'male' qualities of courage, firmness of mind, steadfastness, and endurance: *virtus* (2.6a and 19), *firmitas animi* (2.8a and 15), *constantia* (1.25), and *patientia* (2.21). Moreover, the [whole] text bristles with words that present his wife in the active public role normally reserved for men" [200].

Similarly, to the *Laudatio Turiae*, but on a much grander and public scale, the public funerals that were held for some of the most esteemed of Rome's late republican elite women, which also often contained a *laudatio funebris* and a *pompa imaginum*, were comparable to those of their male kinsfolk[201]. The *imagines* of their illustrious male ancestors were displayed and the *laudatio* was given in the Forum, from the rostra. Such public funerals were given for Iulia, the wife of C. Marius and aunt of C. Iulius Caesar; Cornelia Minor, Caesar's wife and a past *flaminica dialis*; and Iunia Tertia, the daughter of D. Iunius Silanus and Servilia who was also the wife of C. Cassius Longinus and half-sister of M. Iunius Brutus[202]. As well as stating the deeds of the honoured woman's life in such a public way, these occasions were used by their male ancestors as an opportunity to display and recount their own ancestry and prominence. Caesar seizes this opportunity with both hands during the *laudatio* he delivers for his aunt Iulia in 69 BCE. "Her mother was a descendant of kings, namely the Marcii Reges, a family founded by the Roman King Ancus Marcius; and her father, of gods – since the Iulians reckon descent from the Goddess Venus. Thus, Iulia's stock can claim both the sanctity of kings, who reign supreme among mortals, and the revenge due to gods, who hold even kings in their power"[203]. By praising his aunt's ancestry, he also lauds his own in the most public sphere of all. These grand public funerals may not

[200] Hemelrijk (2004, p. 189).

[201] Webb (2017, p. 165).

[202] Plutarch, *Caesar* 5; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 5-6; Tacitus, *Annals* III 76. In the case of Iunia Tertia's *pompa imaginum*, however, the imagines of her husband and half-brother, Brutus, were not allowed to be displayed.

[203] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 6.

have been customary for all elite women, but they indicate, along with the inscription of the *Laudatio Turiae*, that the private lives of elite woman were celebrated publicly and that their actions and agency whilst alive could be remembered beyond their deaths.

Thus, by merging the private sphere of the *domus* and public sphere of the Forum, some elite women of the late republic were able to demonstrate agency and influence in the political and social aspects of Roman society. They could do this indirectly, by privately influencing their male relatives or acquaintances, or they could directly alter their circumstances by stepping into the Forum and challenging male authority.

3.5 The Emergence of the Emancipated Roman Woman

The first century BCE has been described by Bauman as "the age of the political matron" and he further argues that "where previous ages had thrown up a few women whose status and abilities had enabled them to influence public affairs, the last century of the republic saw the emergence of the influential woman almost as an institution"[204]. Bauman uses the growth of the *sine manu* marriage, and the fact that guardianship of fatherless or widowed women, who were *sui iuris*, was little more than nominal, to argue his case for emancipation from the legal and social constraints of previous centuries. Indeed, he further claims that by the mid first century BCE some elite republican women, like Clodia, Servilia and Fulvia were politicians in their own right as they could exert so much indirect influence that it essentially became a form of direct control. "Theoretically they were no nearer to the franchise and office than they had ever been, but their highly organised networks, which gave them access to senators and magistrates, could no longer be dismissed as near counselling or cajolery"[205]. Moreover, Bauman postulates that the period of the second Triumvirate, 43-30 BCE, sees women in new social and political roles that had not been recognised before. Mucia Tertia, M. Antonius' mother Iulia, and Octavia Minor may not have been the first

[204] Bauman (1992, p. 60).

[205] Bauman (1992, p. 4).

female diplomats, carefully trying to prolong and cement peace between the Triumvirs, and there were certainly no public orations by women before Hortensia's, but Bauman maintains that this is because our sources simply do not furnish us with previous examples, if there were any[206]. But could they have played a prominent role in the public sphere of politics if they were officially barred from holding such offices? Maybe a better way to understand these actions is by examining the agency that some elite women could exert as a direct result of their social status and the prominent positions they held within their families. None of these women held public office, but they did act on their agency by influencing political and social events from outside of the Forum.

Although Bauman views these examples of influential women, and their deeds, as proof of female emancipation in the first century BCE, John Crook counteracts this claim by suggesting that it is not possible to quantify the much asserted, or implied, independence of Roman women as "the early age for the marriage of [such] women would tell against any concept of emancipation"[207]. Thomas McGinn also notes that, "as the new social history of antiquity has grown in the last two and a half decades, this idea of the Roman woman's emancipation has received a rather emphatic rejection. This is not the essential point, however, at least in itself. If Roman women were not emancipated, that does not mean that they were enslaved. [Jens-Uwe] Krause does not state the matter quite so boldly, but it is clear that he views social status, sexual freedom, and economic power of Roman women as fatally compromised in the absence of their emancipation[208]". McGinn does, however, emphasise that while Roman republican women were not emancipated according to our current understanding and examples of the term, a complete dismissal of the notion would draw a wrong implication: that no changes occurred and that all Roman women continued in solely traditional familial roles. He, like Bauman, highlights that the actions and activities of the new Roman women were different, especially given the measure of financial and

[206] Bauman (1992, p. 78).

[207] Crook (1967, pp. 103-104).

[208] McGinn (1999, pp. 620-621). See Krause (1994, pp. 32, 109, 133, 137, 203, 250 & 253).

social freedom they gained, but McGinn does not unequivocally agree that they were emancipated to the same degree as Bauman does[209].

As the ancient sources offer us a late republican woman that appears at odds with epigraphic and epistolary depictions, we shall never know to what extent women of elite families pursued the sexually liberated lives described by the love poets of the period, nor to what extent Cicero's vilification of Clodia was accurate[210]. However, Elaine Fantham believes that, judging from the sources of the period, the more independent women of the upper class were beginning to decide for themselves what kind of social pursuits they wanted to partake in[211]. Unlike sheltered Greek wives, late republican women of wealth, rank and education, who were no longer fettered by strict legal constraints, began to find themselves, and their place in the world. They did this by contributing to the daily life of their communities; sometimes undertaking socially and religiously significant roles[212]. Indeed, Celia Schultz demonstrates that Roman women enjoyed a varied and extensive participation in religious ritual and that Roman religion was not as rigidly divided along gender lines as previously believed[213]. She further argues that, although not all rites and offices were open to them, women were especially significant in the religious lives of their families and communities. According to Schultz, the source of family power could be the woman herself, as in the case of Aemilia's golden *pocula*, or the inscriptions recording female-sponsored constructions and refurbishments of religious spaces, or in the adornment of religious statues[214].

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[209] McGinn (1999, p. 620).

[210] See Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 16. For a full analysis of Cicero's attack on Clodia's character during his *Pro Caelio*, see Skinner (2011, pp. 96-120).

[211] Fantham (1994, p. 280).

[212] Balsdon (1962, p. 55).

[213] Schultz (2006b, p. 120); Skinner (2011, pp. 108, fn 9).

[214] Schultz (2006b, pp. 148-150).

Public munificence and sacerdotal public offices were a way that women, both elite and non-elite, could gain social distinction and respect. An elite woman could have funded a whole building, such as Livia's refurbishment of the temple of the Bona Dea on the Aventine[215], or she could just have donated a small statue. Her level of benefaction, like those made by men, would have depended on her individual wealth[216]. However, for female benefactors to have financed the construction or refurbishment of whole buildings, they would have had to have been wealthy women, who either controlled their own finances or were in charge of their family's finances. This notion of female agency in Roman religion ties in with Hallett's filiafocal argument where she emphasises that female members of Rome's elite families sometimes acted on their entire family's behalf and often determined the outcomes of significant family matters. Moreover, Hallett, as previously mentioned, postulates that "their active and important role in family affairs would establish the leading Roman women as what anthropologist would call 'structurally central' family members. That is, members having some degree of control over their family's economic resources and been critically involved in its decision-making processes"[217].

Despite late republican Roman morality dictating that women should only concern themselves with domestic matters, the sources offer us many elite women who possessed forceful personalities and exerted substantial impact on their male relatives' public, as well as political, affairs[218]. Moreover, recent research on the significance of elite women in the Roman family, and the economic roles played by lower class women, implicitly corrected previous understandings of the Roman woman as more than just a spendthrift housewife, who couldn't be allowed to manage her own finances, or who was completely controlled by her father and/or husband[219]. Pivotal to this new interpretation of Roman women are the

[215] Purcell (1986, pp. 88-91) also discusses Livia's other architectural patronages.

[216] Hänninen (2019, p. 71 and 86); Purcell (1986, p. 81).

[217] Hallett (1984, p. 4).

[218] Hallett (1984, p. 6).

[219] Dixon (2001, p. 11).

previously mentioned demographic studies and findings reported by Saller and Shaw[220]. When used together with the research compiled by Gardner on women in Roman law and society[221], their conclusions enable a more holistic understanding of female agency in the late Roman republic. Saller's detailed demographic tables add further depth to the discussion of women's roles in republican Rome by showing how a woman's network of living kinsmen changed throughout her life course. Despite the self-stated limitations of Saller's microsimulation, he has enabled historians to interpret, as never before, the issues of female agency within the Roman family in terms of the complexities of the life course. Indeed, his arguments on how mortality rates affected various strata of Roman society can also be used to shed light on elite women's role within their families and society at large[222]. Likewise, Shaw's own research, when not collaborating with Saller, has explored the marriage ages of elite men and women, as well as highlighted the seasonal birthing cycles of Roman women[223]. These contributions provide us with a greater understanding of the daily lives of women in republican Rome.

In addition to this, Gardner's work on non-literary evidence, such as papyri and inscriptions, has uncovered vital information about the domestic and public lives of ordinary Roman women. Her research has unearthed that in commercial aspects, slave-women, or women who were *in potestate*, had the same legal standing as men, for Roman law was indifferent to the sex of an *institor*. In other words, a slave of either sex, or a man's son or daughter, could manage a business on behalf of the owner or their *pater*. Gardner quickly questions, however, if many elite freeborn daughters actually did take up this task. Whether they did, or not, the point remains that they were able to, surely providing a key argument for the possible emancipation of the female sex in late republican times[224].

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[220] Shaw and Saller (1984).

[221] Gardner (1986).

[222] Saller (1994, pp. 48-65).

[223] Shaw (1987, 2001).

[224] Gardner (1986, p. 233).

It is still possible to discern patterns in the recent scholarship on late republican women that emanated from the political and social trends at the time they were written, although these studies address certain topics and not others. Balsdon's *Roman Women: Their History and Habits*[225], for example, can be identified as the first major book on the topic to emerge in the new socially orientated scholarship of the 1950s, but it is still a product of its time. Balsdon does very little beyond the recounting of famous gynocentric anecdotes and discussing how elite women helped the great men of Rome achieve power through marriage alliances. This representation of women, considered outdated to modern readers, can now be seen as a bridge between the traditional political theories of Mommsen, Münzer and Gelzer at the start of the twentieth century and the more democratic research on Roman women undertaken by Saller, Hallett and Dixon, to name a few. Moving a few decades forward from Balsdon's book, the feminist movement can also be seen as an influence in that era's identification of the importance and impact of Roman women on political and social structures. Moreover, Hallett's arguments for matriarchy, matriliny and filiafocality, as well as Bauman's interpretation of the first century BCE as the age of the political matron, can be directly linked to the social reforms that took place in the 1960s and 70s.

[225] Balsdon (1962).

3.6 Summary of Key Points

- Roman women were focal agents in their family units – as wives, mothers, daughters and even sisters.
- The different stages of an elite Roman woman's life path produced different opportunities for her to demonstrate her agency. A woman's opportunities, choices and actions were different as a daughter, teenage bride, young mother, stepmother, widow and/or divorcée.
- Marriage was often used by elite families as a way of cementing, or creating, political and social alliances.
- An elite woman's first marriage was at around sixteen, whilst a man's was in his mid-twenties. A young woman had little say in her first marriage, but evidence suggests that she may have had some choice in second or subsequent marriages.
- By the late republic, women could become independently wealthy enough, through inheritance or their returned dowries after divorce or widowhood, that they didn't need to remarry.
- Some elite women did manage to move beyond their private sphere, the *domus*, and influence the most public sphere of Rome, the Forum.

Chapter 4 Methodology

The process of creating gynocentric networks was one that involved several learning challenges and, as a result, several redesigns. The following methodological approach to creating these networks is broken down into several stages. Firstly, a brief discussion of the various methodologies related to historical female agency that were employed in this study will be followed by an explanation of the research design and strategy that were derived from these approaches. The methods of data collection will then be reviewed, along with how the data analysis and visualisations were carried out. Lastly, the challenges of roman onomastics, Roman onomastics in particular, will be discussed and the nomenclature used within the networks, will be detailed.

4.1 Finding Historical Female Agency

It is an acknowledged fact that the research questions must shape the research process. However, "because humans cannot be separated from their own Being, the possibility of researcher objectivity in inquiry cannot be separated"[226]. As such, when choosing a specific research methodology, assumptions about philosophical issues investigated in the research material, are made, either consciously or unconsciously. When it comes to identifying female voices, interactions and agency in the late Roman republic such research also requires a female centred and feminist reading of the historical evidence. As Milnor states, "it is very difficult to write the 'real' history of women, slaves, working men, foreigners, and other marginalised groups, both because they often do not appear in texts, and because, when they do, they are so clearly figments of an elite male author's imagination"[227]. This hurdle requires reading texts in new ways. If different types of evidence provide different information when asked the same question, then only by asking the same question to as many different sources, and in as many different ways as possible, can the 'truth', or

[226] Clark (1998, p. 1243).

[227] Milnor (2005, pp. 40-41) *cf*. Richlin (2014, p. 6).

something very close to it, be identified[228]. Furthermore, as Suzanne Dixon highlights, the issues with identifying the historical Roman women of the late republic, from the male dominated writings of Roman literature, has preoccupied scholars since the feminist movements of the 1960s and 70s[229]. Since then, diverse approaches have been taken and many different conclusions have been drawn, but as Phyllis Culham states, "the study of women in ancient literature is the study of men's views of women and cannot become anything else"[230]. Thus, according to Dixon, what has been categorised as women's history is mostly the history of male interactions with women, predominantly of women's sexual and reproductive roles, with more emphasis on moral tales than actual reality[231]. Her principal concern, regarding Roman women, is whether, or to what extent, their everyday lives can be identified and recreated. She also questions how women can be represented in such disparaging terms in the literature, but are represented as virtuous, pious and devoted to family members on epitaphs. Dixon further argues, by citing Hallett, that these contrasting descriptions of women have resulted in the positing, by some classical scholars, of the French feminist view that "women appear in male-centred texts to define, by opposite, the masculine ideal as the norm. By this reading, both men and women are constructions of discourse rather than real observers"[232]. Moreover, Dixon extends John Henderson's argument that, "Roman satire tells us nothing about Roman women but only about cultural constructions of norms, ideals and fantasies"[233], to include all forms of Roman literature. She makes this argument by explaining that the representations of women in ancient sources are greatly influenced by the literary genre of these sources, "which determines what is included, how it is treated and what is left out. All these things need to be taken into account in sifting evidence and combining versions from disparate genres"[234].

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[228] Richlin (2014, p. 6).

[229] Dixon (2001).

[230] Culham (1987, p. 15).

[231] Dixon (2001, pp. 15-16).

[232] Hallett (1984, p. 61).

[233] Henderson (1989, p. 94).

[234] Dixon (2001, p. 19).

As such, researchers who use literary, as well as epigraphic sources, and who seek an accurate idea of what past cultures and people were like, need to scrutinise them exhaustively. They need to do so from a multitude of angles, in order to derive a semblance of what it was actually like to live in that past culture. Moreover, to understand history, one must also understand gender, and it is vitally important to be able to discern gender within male written texts. For this reason, Amy Richlin, one of the pioneers of gender and women's studies in Classics, has detailed nine ways of detecting women in historical texts[235]:

- By using a wide range of sources, from low to high.
- By thinking about how texts affected their audiences and looking for ways in which different classes and genders talked back to texts.
- By remembering that all historical texts are written about contemporary history and demonstrating this when critiquing them.
- By writing two, or more, solutions to ambiguous evidence.
- By actively searching for women writers. When they are fragmentary, read fragmentation.
- By not being limited to only one methodology when analysing sources. Sometimes old methods, as well as new ones, can be of use.
- By thinking about the co-implications of gender, class and ethnicity, as well as using the appropriate terms when discussing these people. Not using 'Romans' when implying 'Roman men' and not identifying all 'Roman women' with elite citizen women.
- By understanding that cultural systems, such as religion and medicine, included all kinds of people, including women.
- By broadening one's skill base: learning to read inscriptions, graffiti, papyri, writing tablets and learning to read texts in their original language.

With these gynocentric methodological tools in hand, it is also crucial to understand that when asking specific gender questions of historical texts, the researcher must often read between the lines and outside the parameters of the written word to decipher the role(s) that less documented individuals and social groups played in the past.

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[235] Richlin (2014, pp. 11-12).

For methodologies relating to social network analysis, Granovetter summarises it perfectly when he states that, "no part of social life can be properly analysed without seeing how it is fundamentally embedded in networks of social relations"[236]. However, network historians are presented with a multitude of challenges when dealing with the fragmentary nature of datasets comprised from ancient sources. When coupled with the inherent biases involved in the original creation of these texts, this could result in a lack of understanding of how to best adapt their networks in this light[237]. As all historical researchers make assumptions about what objects, acts and relationships mean, their methodology must include a detailed account of how they interpreted these interactions, whether by referencing modern examples or by including similar scenarios from the past[238]. Moreover, they need to explicitly evaluate what can, and what cannot, be deciphered from these interactions[239]. This also highlights the need for researchers to take extreme care when considering which network analytical tools to use during the analysis of their datasets. Using network analysis tools on historical phenomena means that these people and events cannot be studied in isolation. The researcher must assume that the people, artefacts or social phenomena they are analysing were in some way engaged in relationships that are fundamental in

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[236] Granovetter (1992, p. 15).

[237] Brughmans et al. (2016, p. 11).

[238] This project's methodology is indebted to previous historical network researchers who have published their findings, along with detailed and replicable methodologies. As well as the key examples of recent historical network analysis discussed in chapter 2.3, the following research also provided invaluable examples of best practice and advice for improving collection and analysis of data derived from historical texts: Tom Brughmans (2010, 2014; 2017; 2016), Diane Cline (2012, 2020; 2015), Karl Knappett (2011, 2013), Johannes Preiser-Kapeller (2020; 2015), Christian Rollinger (2010, 2014, 2017, 2020a, 2020b), Cristina Rosillo-López (2017a, 2017b, 2019, 2020) and Giovanni Ruffini (2007; 2008, 2011). A very useful resource is the continuously updated digital bibliography for research published on historical network analysis that can be found on the Historical Network Research website: http://historicalnetworkresearch.org/bibliography/

[239] Brughmans et al. (2016, pp. 5, 10 & 14).

understanding how they behaved in the past[240]. This concept is identical to how agency cannot be disentangled from the connections that are made between the agents being studied and the social environments in which the agents live(d)[241]. Therefore, "many of the misconceptions about the perceived incompatibilities [between historical research and social network analysis] are less to do with network methods, per se, and more with the static ways in which they have often been used"[242], and often used without incorporating social context either.

For this study, finding the right balance between scrutiny of the sources and making sure that network analysis could be carried out on the data collected was the biggest challenge. Making sure that the female voices and actions collated from the evidence were as accurate as possible, and as detailed as possible, involved selecting a research design and strategy that would guarantee this accuracy. Moreover, this had to be replicable for different types of sources and their inevitable fragmentary nature.

4.2 Research Design and Strategy

Armed with these various methodological approaches, formulating an appropriate research design and strategy would be crucial to asking the right questions of the data. Obviously, as the research concerns historical figures and phenomena, it couldn't be expected that the answers to all the questions posed by the review of the literature would be found. However. if as many of the right questions as possible were asked, to the right sources, as highlighted by Richlin [243], then the data collected would be appropriate for the social network visualisations and analysis of this project. Furthermore, by classifying the data in the right

[240] Brughmans et al. (2016, p. 7).

[241] Abrams (1999, p. 825).

[242] Knappett (2013, p. 28).

[243] Richlin (2014, pp. 6-13).

categories, the information being collated would be as detailed as possible for as many individuals as possible.

Based on the key summary points from the literature review, chapter 3.6, the following questions were used to direct the research approach and information that needed to be sourced from the literary and epigraphic evidence:

- Were marriages mainly used to cement, and/or initiate, political alliances between powerful men and/or families?
- Were all late republican senatorial elites related? Is this evidence for an *ordo matronarum* amongst elite women?
- Was the, often great, age disparity between spouses intentional and the norm?
- How often, and under what circumstances, did an elite widow or divorcée remarry?
- Did stepmothers play an active role in the upbringing of their husband's other children?
- At what life stage was an elite Roman woman most likely to demonstrate her agency?
- Did elite fathers value daughters over sons?[244]

These key questions were derived from scrutiny of the sources, but also because they comprise key elements about elite Roman women's lives that we still know relatively little about. Furthermore, these are questions that can be analysed through the use of social network analysis from the gynocentric networks created. Using networks, especially those with female central agents and those that include multiple generations of women from inter-connected families will enable a more fruitful discussion into the reasons behind certain 'political and/or financial marriages'[245]. These networks will also highlight any other marriage arrangements that may have existed between certain elite families. Moreover, by

[244] An analysis, based on the networks created, of Hallett's filiafocal arguments discussed in chapter 3.3.

[245] Marriages that have been documented by ancient and modern sources to be for a purely political and/or financial benefit, such as the marriage between Cn. Pompeius Magnus and Iulia.

examining multiple generations of marriages within connected families, age patterns between spouses, in particular the ages at which they became members of a couple, and whether/when women remarried after divorce or widowhood, can also be discussed. The role of stepmothers is another area in which gynocentric networks can be used to demonstrate their prevalence in Roman society and to discuss whether there were any patterns within elite families in regard to the role that stepmothers played in rearing children from their husbands' previous marriages. Elite female networks can also be used to provide supporting evidence for the possible existence of an *ordo matronarum*. Demonstrating the close and constant inter-connectivity among elite Roman women may shed light on whether a social, and possibly political, network existed among them in the late republic. Lastly, the networks will be used to discuss possible patterns of when, and how, women demonstrated their agency, and they will also be used to make a case for, or against, Hallett's argument of filiafocality.

Having chosen the key questions that would be the main focus of the research, the next step was to design a research strategy that would collate the necessary data from the existing historical evidence. For ease of collation, and so that the data could be inputted into social networking software, excel spreadsheets were used to tabulate the information. However, before embarking on the collection of data for all the networks that needed to be created, refinement of the research strategy was necessary. This was done by applying the examples of best practice lessons learned from previous key historical network research[246] and experimenting with various data collection methods, category definitions and their resultant networks. This would allow for a final decision on the ideal research strategy for answering the key questions, as well defining the ideal approach towards collecting the appropriate data that would work for all the networks. Producing a systematic approach to this study would not only provide more accurate data and analysis, but it would also enable this methodology to be replicated, either completely or partially, by other historians wishing to apply social network analysis to any aspect of their research. As demonstrating that historical network research can be used on ancient sources was one of the main concepts of

[246] See chapter 2.3.

this thesis, the transparency of this methodology, as well as its ease of replication, was of pivotal importance and guided by Rollinger's and Ruffini's recommendations[247].

During the first data collection trials, based on solely on the evidence available from the Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic[248], only information on women was gathered, which would then create women-only networks. This was carried out to gauge if women-only networks could be constructed and to see if they would provide enough relational connectedness data to analyse. Moreover, purely familial relationships were chosen to represent the edges between nodes. It was also decided not to assign numerical values to these connections as the weight of edges was not going to be of critical importance in the analysis of the networks. As Servilia's network would produce the largest sample size of any network to be created, simply due to the abundance of information on Servilia and her family in the sources, hers was the network chosen for initial trials. Therefore, Servilia's female-only spreadsheet, figure 4.1, includes seven categories detailing the familial relationships between Servilia's mother, sisters, daughters, aunts, nieces, first cousins and sisters-in-law.

The network derived from this data, visualised by Gephi SNA software[249], figure 4.2, clearly shows the limited range of connections that can be represented from a women-only approach. Although this proved to be a possible venture, it was quickly evident that by collating women-only data, the resultant networks were minimal and would not allow for the key questions to be answered in great detail.

[247] See chapter 2.2.

[248] See footnote 254.

[249] Discussion on social network analysis visualisation software below.

Id	Label	Mother	Sisters	Daughters	1st Cousin	Aunt	Niece	Sister in Law
n0	Servilia	Livia n1	Servilia Minor (full) n2 Porcia (half) n3	Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6		Servilia Caepionis n10	Porcia Catonis n9	Atilia n7 Marcia n8
n1	Livia			Servilia Major (1) n0 Servilia Minor (1) n2 Porcia (2) n3				Servilia Caepionis n10
n2	Servilia Minor	Livia n1	Servilia Major (full) n0 Porcia (half) n3			Servilia Caepionis n10	Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6	
n3	Porcia	Livia n1	Servilia Major (half) n0 Servilia Minor (half) n2			Servilia Caepionis n10	Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6	
n4	Junia Prima	Servilia n0	Junia Seconda n5 Junia Tertia n6		Porcia Catonis n9	Atilia n7 Marcia n8 Servilia Minor (full) n2 Porcia (half) n3		Porcia Catonis n9
n5	Junia Seconda	Servilia n0	Junia Prima n4 Junia Tertia n6		Porcia Catonis n9	Atilia n7 Marcia n8 Servilia Minor (full) n2 Porcia (half) n3		Porcia Catonis n9
n6	Junia Tertia	Servilia n0	Junia Prima n4 Junia Seconda n5		Porcia Catonis n9	Atilia n7 Marcia n8 Servilia Minor (full) n2 Porcia (half) n3		Porcia Catonis n9
n7	Atilia			Porcia Catonis n9			Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6	Servilia n0
n8	Marcia			Porcia Catonis (step) n9			Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6	Servilia n0
n9	Porcia Catonis	Atilia n7 Marcia (step) n8			Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6	Servilia Major (1) n0 Servilia Minor (1) n2 Porcia (2) n3		Junia Prima (2) n4 Junia Seconda (2) n5 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n6
n10	Servilia Caepionis						Servilia Major n0 Servilia Minor (full) n2 Porcia (half) n3	Livia n1

Figure 4.1 - Spreadsheet of Servilia's women-only network (female naming systems had not been finalised by this stage)

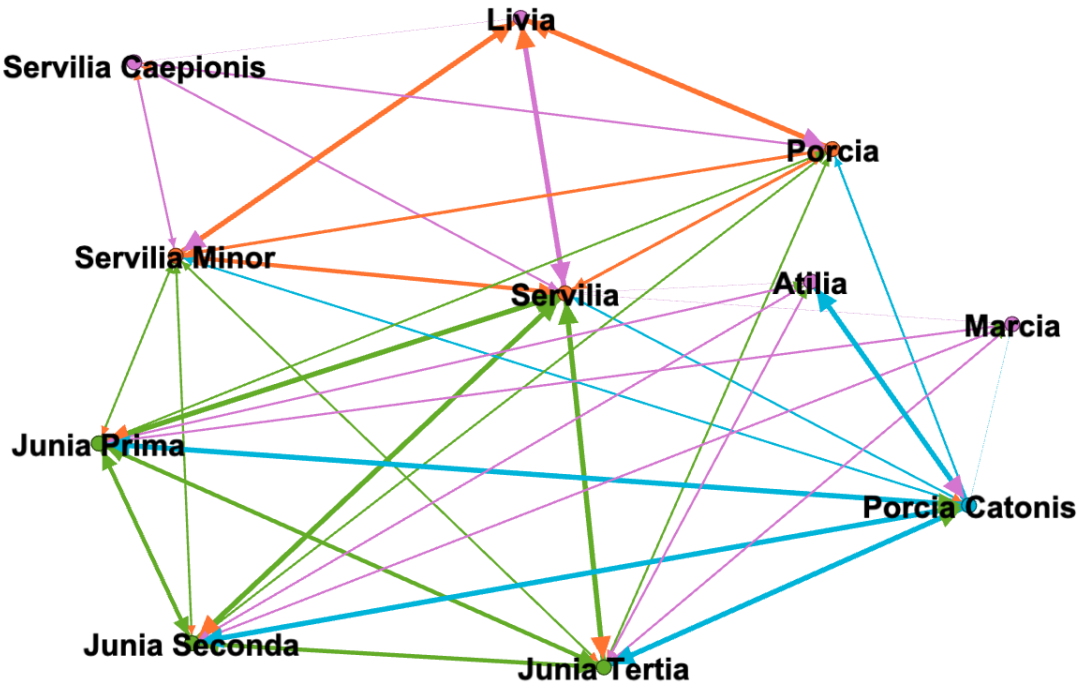

Figure 4.2 - Servilia's women-only network

If substantial analysis was to be carried out on the networks produced, they would need to be significantly larger and would also require the inclusion of male relations in these gynocentric networks. By including men, discussions on marriages, patrilineal descent and

the influence that women could exert on their male family members could take place. Thus, some of the categories in the original spreadsheet needed to be discontinued. Information on cousins, aunts, uncles and parents-in-law would no longer be collected as this would render the networks unreadable, due to the multitude of edges that would be represented by these various connections. By including men, Servilia's network grew significantly and now spanned six generations, with spouses, parents, siblings and children used as the categories recorded in the new spreadsheet, figure 4.3.

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters
n0	Servilia	Marcus Junius Brutus (1) n1 Decimus Junius Silanus (2) n2	Livia n3	Quintus Servilius Caepio n4 Marcus Porcius Cato (step) n9	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (full) n5 Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (half) n6	Servilia Minor (full) n7 Porcia (half) n8	Marcus Junius Brutus Minor (1) n10 Marcus Junius Silanus (2) n14	Junia Prima (2) n11 Junia Seconda (2) n12 Junia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n13
n1	M. Junius Brutus tr pl 83	Servilia n0					Marcus Junius Brutus Minor n10	
n2	D. Junius Silanus cos 62	Servilia n0					Marcus Junius Sinalus n14 Marcus Junius Brutus Minor (step) n10	Junia Prima n11 Junia Seconda n12 Junia Tertia n13
n3	Livia	Quintus Servilius Caepio (1) n4 Marcus Porcius Cato (2) n9		Marcus Livius Drusus n23	Marcus Livius Drusus Minor n24		Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (1) n5 Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (2) n6	Servilia Major (1) n0 Servilia Minor (1) n7 Porcia (2) n8
n4	Q. Servilius Caepio pr before 90	Livia n3				Servilia Caepionis n25	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior n5	Servilia Major n0 Servilia Minor n7
n5	Q. Servilius Caepio q 70		Livia n3	Quintus Servilius Caepio n4	Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (half) n6	Servilia Major (full) n0 Servilia Minor (full) n7 Porcia (half) n8	Marcus Junius Brutus Minor (adopted) n10	
n6	M. Porcius Cato pr 54	Atilia (1) n15 Marcia (2) n16	Livia n3	Marcus Porcius Cato n9	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (half) n5	Servilia Major (half) n0 Servilia Minor (half) n7 Porcia (full) n8	Marcus Porcius Cato Minor (1) n18	Porcia Catonis (1) n19
n7	Servilia Minor	Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20	Livia n3	Quintus Servilius Caepio n4	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (full) n5 Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (half) n6	Servilia Major (full) n0 Porcia (half) n8	Lucius Licinius Lucullus Minor n21	
n8	Porcia	Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus n17	Livia n3	Marcus Porcius Cato n9	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (half) n5 Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis (full) n6	Servilia Major (half) n0 Servilia Minor (half) n7		
n9	M.Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99	Livia n3		Marcus Porcius Salonianus n32	Lucius Porcius Cato n33		Marcus Porcius Cato Uticensis n6 Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (step) n5	Porcia n8 Servilia Major (step) n0 Porcia (step) n8
n10	M. Junius Brutus pr 44	Claudia Pulchra Major (1) n41 Porcia Catonis (2) n19	Servilia n0	Marcus Junius Brutus n1	Marcus Junius Silanus (half) n14	Junia Prima (half) n11 Junia Seconda (half) n12 Junia Tertia (half) n13	Marcus Junius Brutus III (2) n44	

Figure 4.3 - Sample of Servilia's 5 generational spreadsheet

With respect to the excel spreadsheet used to tabulate the dataset, the changes that were made between Servilia's women-only network and her five generational one was that the order of spouses was recorded, along with which marriage resulted in offspring. Moreover, stepchildren and adopted children were recorded, where possible. The details of marriages, such as dates, how it ended and what marriage number it was for each spouse, was also collated so that this information could be visualised on the networks and used in the social network analysis in order to answer some of the questions raised from the literature review.

However, the network that was created from this dataset, figure 4.4, was so large that it was almost impossible to discern individual edges, let alone analyse the various clusters that

were formed from some of these connections. Although a network of this size would produce interesting results, in terms of identifying relational patterns over multiple generations, it would not be a feasible visualisation, especially if marriage data were to be recorded within the network. In order to create a workable network, it was concluded that the inclusion of every peripheral connection[250] in a multi-generational network would not be of crucial importance in its analysis. This is due to the fact that identifying and discussing relational patterns over multiple generations could still occur within a smaller network, as the oldest and youngest generations in Servilia's six generational network only included a few individuals, most of which were only distantly related to Servilia herself.

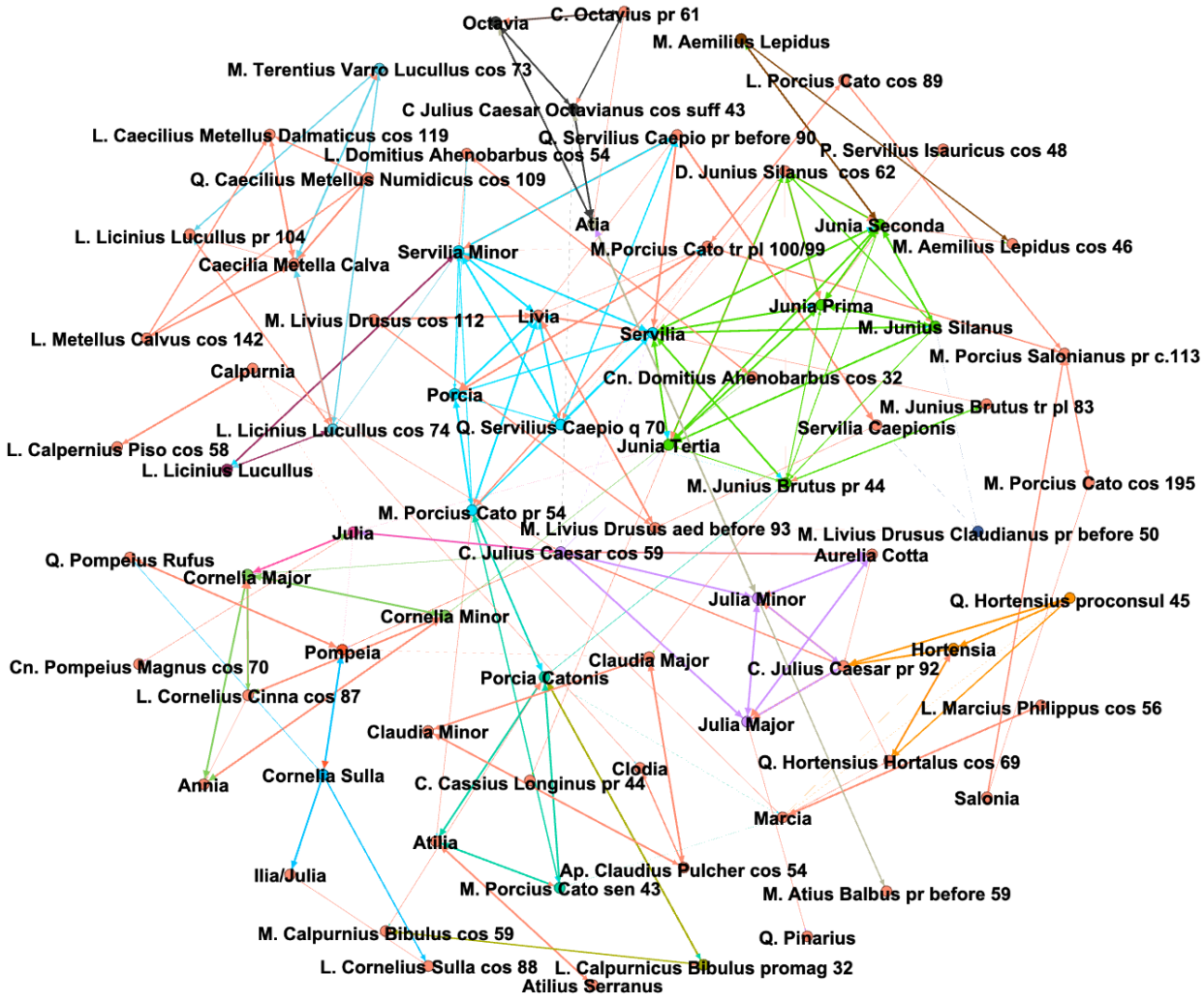

Figure 4.4 - Servilia's 5 generational network

[250] A peripheral connection is identified as an individual who is not directly connected to the focal actor and only connected to one other individual within the network.

Having thus conducted two preliminary case studies to identify the correct research design and strategy, the data collated for Servilia's six generational network provided enough detail to be able to analyse and visualise her network, as well as aid in answering the questions that form the backbone of this research. However, as such a large network proved to be visually unmanageable, coupled with the fact that often the first and last generations were fragmentary and provided little evidence which was directly connected to the focal actor and their immediate relations, the decision was made to focus on collecting data, for the rest of the networks, on only three to four generations, if the evidence was substantial enough to warrant going into a fourth generation[251]. The networks visualised and analysed in the following chapters were all created using this revised methodological approach.

4.3 Methods of Data Collection, Visualisation and Analysis

Traditional, androcentric, hierarchical family trees have long been considered too limiting in the range of connections that they can represent. They are often limited in their inclusion of women and also limited in their ability to represent the dynamic aspects of familial connections. These limitations are not important when displaying the patrilineal descent of European aristocratic and royal families, but they simply do not provide us with enough detail and opportunity to showcase the complex relationships within and among Roman families, especially those of the late republic. Some of these limitations are clearly evident when examining the Caecilius Metellus family tree, figure 4.5.

[251] All spreadsheets created can be found in Appendix I.

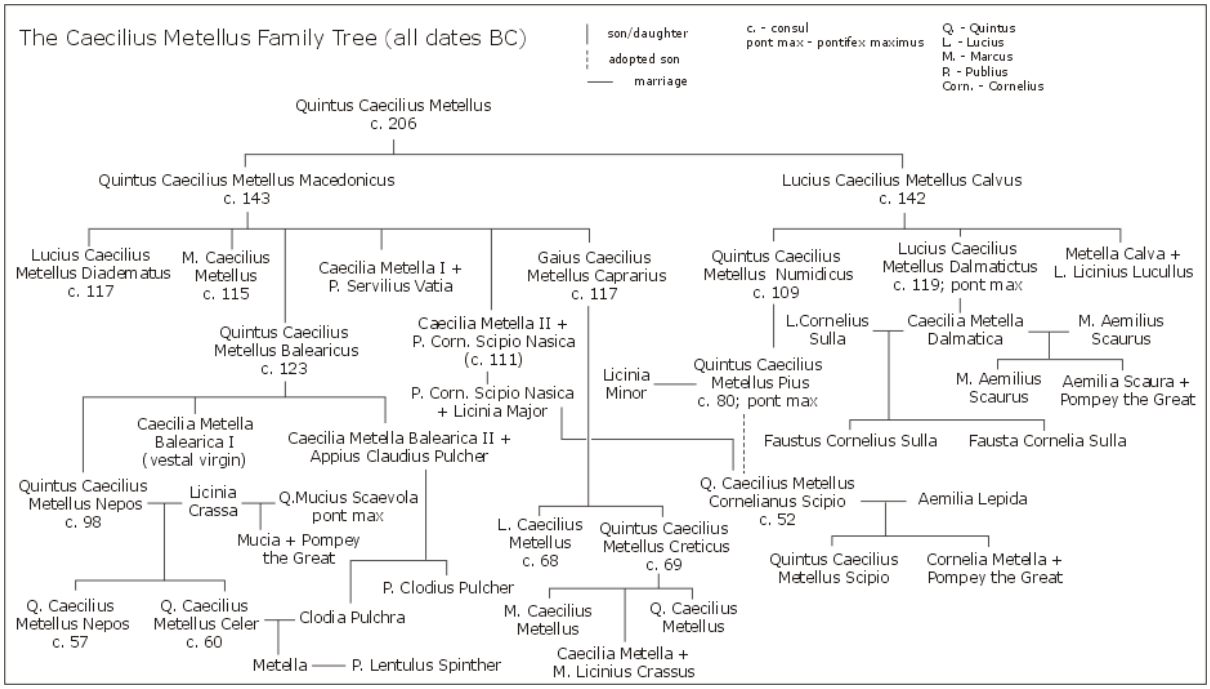

Figure 4.5 - Traditional Caecilius Metellus family tree[252]

The rigidity and formulaic approach to this type of genealogical representation means that there is a lack of available space to include information on spouses' immediate families. Nor are multiple marriages always represented, most likely for the same reason. As a result, this traditional hierarchical tree makes elite Roman families appear two-dimensional, which completely misrepresents how complex and convoluted so many of these senatorial and equestrian families were. For example, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (Pompey the Great in Figure 4.5), features three times in the Caecilius Metellus family tree; as the husband of Aemilia Scaura, Mucia [Tertia] and Cornelia Metella. However, this style of representation does not inform the reader of the order of these marriages, that Pompey married two other women, that he only fathered children with Mucia Tertia or that Mucia Tertia married M. Aemilius Scaurus, the brother of Pompey's ex-wife, after her divorce from Pompey. This is where the 'drop-down' approach to hierarchical trees fails elite Roman families. These were families that repeatedly remarried into the same *gentes*, often within two to three generations and several individuals had multiple marriages, either as a result of divorce or widowhood. Visualisations of late republican familial connections need to be able to demonstrate these patterns and repeated links. Although these traditional family trees are networks, they do

[252] Image sourced from Muriel Gottrop under a Creative Commons attribution.

not provide enough connectional complexity, such as not allowing actors to have multiple edges from one fixed location. Lacking such details makes network analysis on this type of network more challenging. Hence the aim of this project is to create and visualise a new style of familial representation. One which could contain as much information as possible and one which could visualise late republican families as more than two-dimensional, static, entities.

This is one of the reasons how, and why, social network methodology can prove to be a helpful research tool for historians. The variety and complexity of relationships that can be visualised in well researched and rendered networks far exceed those of traditional genealogical diagrams, especially when it comes to representing the dynamic relationships that existed within an elite Roman family. In order to identify female agency, and answer the key questions of this study, being able to visualise the diversity and complexity of elite women's familial connections in the late republic was of paramount importance and traditional, androcentric, family trees would not be able to facilitate this. Therefore, to maximise the data available, so as to represent the most wholistic overview of female agency in the late Roman republic, a wide variety of historical evidence was used in collating the datasets for each network. This not only allowed for more thorough datasets, but it also facilitated the search for women in the historical sources analysed, for the greater the variety of evidence, the greater the chance of finding women hidden within the male written texts[253]. However, after analysing the poetry of ancient authors, and their scrutiny by modern historians, it was decided that evidence derived solely from authors predominantly considered as elegists and poets, such as Lucan, Catullus and Sulpicia would not be included in the datasets. This decision was not made lightly but was largely impacted by the fact that the individuals and events depicted in ancient poetry can still not be conclusively affirmed and agreed upon by the modern academic community. The identity of Catullus' Lesbia, for example, cannot be completely discerned. She is believed to be Clodia Metelli, but the consensus is not unanimous. As a result, all individuals and events that were only mentioned by ancient poets have been omitted from the datasets.

[253] Richlin (2014, pp. 11-12).

My main reason for undertaking this thesis at King's College London, and under the supervision of Henrik Mouritsen, was that he was completing his Digital Prosopography of the Roman Republic (DPRR) when this thesis began in October 2016[254]. The DPRR went live in late 2017, and the data were only made available in RDF at that point. I was, however, able to use the basic DPRR database, which allows the user to find individuals, or grouped individuals, according to name, magistracies or religious titles held, and/or inclusion in certain social strata of Roman society. The lack of access to the DPRR data in RDF format when this thesis began was not a hindrance as the project aimed to create its own databases and visualised networks. The technical overview page details the background to how the DPRR was developed and includes links to the available RDFs[255]. It also details the key questions the DPRR was created to answer and lists previous digital prosopographies that it used as examples of best practice. It is tantalising that the timing did not enable me to explore the implications of the RDF for this analysis, but it is a characteristic of work in this field that every study can only provide a snapshot of research which is moving so fast. This highlights the main problems faced by those starting to use emerging technologies, the fast-moving and ever expanding/evolving scientific fields within the digital humanities means that forward-thinking researchers often find it difficult to have all the resources and guidance they require at the start of their projects. These researchers often have to make do with rudimentary tools that have to be adapted and developed according to the needs of the researcher and their project. This requires patience, adaptability, and the aptitude to also understand that some projects must wait for the technology to catch up with the needs of the researcher.

The primary goal of this study was never a straightforward prosopography of women in the late Roman republic, but rather a social network analysis on gynocentric networks created

[254] The website for this prosopography is http://romanrepublic.ac.uk/. For the purposes of this study, it was accessed on a regular basis from its live release in late 2017 to mid 2020. None of the information on the website had been altered during this time.

[255] The DPRR technical overview page can be found at: https://romanrepublic.ac.uk/technical-overview/

using data already in existence, with the DPRR used as its initial research springboard. Thus, the DPRR helped in creating the categories, the founding blocks, of the dataset by providing all the core familial connections and was an invaluable tool in creating the initial stages of each focal actor's spreadsheet. Once the data from the DPRR had been tabulated into the different categories, it had to be verified for complete accuracy, as well as to see if any further detail(s) could be added. As the DPRR includes the sources in which each relationship is mentioned, verification of each familial connection was undertaken from its original source, either an ancient text or inscription, but also by researching modern sources to ascertain if any missing links had been omitted or disproven by current scholarship. Of crucial importance in this step was the research undertaken by Broughton, along with that of Rüpke, Münzer, Syme, Canas and Tansey[256]. These texts provided valuable insights into various familial, social and political connections that existed, as well as divulging scholarly arguments as to why certain connections had been accepted by modern scholars, even if they had not been specifically detailed in the ancient sources. They were also chosen for their discussions on late republican marriages, as well as for their commentaries on the shifting patterns of social structures during the first century BCE. Finding Roman women within these modern sources, and cross-referencing them with the ancient literary, epistolary and epigraphic evidence, enabled a more accurate representation of elite Roman women to emerge and for the spreadsheets to contain as much detail on their lives, actions and connections.

One of the biggest issues, especially when it came to network size and readability, was the inclusion of individuals who were only mentioned once in the ancient sources and not, or rarely, discussed by modern authors. Such cases, although infrequent, did happen, particularly for individuals on the fringes of networks and, thus, only distantly associated with the central actor. For these peripheral connections, the source that mentioned them was the most important factor in deciding whether to include the individual in the network or to discard them due to the unreliability of the source. Historical authors writing

[256] Broughton (1952), Rüpke, Nüsslein, and Pannke (2005), Münzer (1999), Syme (1939, 1986), Canas (2019), Tansey (2016).

contemporaneously, such as Cicero, Caesar, Livy, Sallust and Varro, would obviously carry more leverage than those writing a century or two later. This is due to the possible, and often very likely, corruption of information about an individual on the periphery of social and political interaction. Each of these cases, where single-mentions have been included or excluded into a network, has been highlighted in the discussion of that network.

From all this research, the following 12 late republican elite women were chosen as focal actors in the 11 gynocentric networks to be created:

- Aurelia
- Caecilia Metella Calvi f.
- Clodia Metelli
- Cornelia Africani f.
- Fulvia and Octavia Minor[257]
- Iulia
- Marcia
- Pompeia
- Pomponia
- Servilia
- Terentia

The focal woman/women of each network were chosen for the central position each occupied within their family, whether enough evidence had been gathered to render a full network and for their documented acts of agency. Furthermore, Pomponia was chosen so that comparisons could be made between senatorial and equestrian families; Cornelia's network was created so as to contrast a gynocentric network from the middle to end of the second century BCE with the rest of the networks, which are predominantly from the mid first century BCE.

[257] Fulvia and Octavia Minor are the focal actors of one single network as their connections were so similar that to render two separate networks would have resulted in almost identical visualisations.

The next step in creating the networks involved finding the right visualisation software to represent the datasets. Whilst formulating an initial research design and strategy, Gephi had been used to visualise the trial networks, which had purely been done because of previous experience with Gephi[258]. The software is free, easy to learn and, most importantly, it allows excel spreadsheets to be uploaded to create the networks. As can be seen from figures 4.2 and 4.4 though, its visualisation algorithm, in this case the Fruchterman Reingold algorithm, places nodes anywhere within a radius of the focal node, without clustering those that might be separate from the majority of the others or grouping nodes according to characteristics they have in common. This may create an impressive-looking network, but it has its limitations when social network analysis needs to be applied. Being able to discuss patterns of connectedness, clusters and centrality are difficult when using Gephi's layout. Multiple visualisation algorithms were tried, from a limited selection, but Fruchterman Reingold provided the best layout for these initial gynocentric networks. Even though large networks, such as figure 4.4, may not be ideal for social network analysis of elite female networks, Gephi's ability to highlight individual nodes, along with their directly connected edges, was an attractive feature. Nevertheless, the clarity and readability of the actual networks was more important than some of the post-production features of Gephi. Thus, another software program was sought that could better represent the female-centred networks this thesis aimed to create.

When I was presenting at a social networking conference in late 2018, and attending the accompanying workshop run by Tom Brughmans, various new social network programs were showcased and simulations experimented with. Two in particular, Visone and Vistorian[259], stood out as possible replacements for Gephi. The main benefit of these new software packages was that they both allowed for the pre-existing excel spreadsheets to be

[258] My Masters thesis utilised social network analysis to discern political, social and familial connections during the civil war of 49-45 BCE. It has since been published: Gilles (2020).

[259] Both software programs are free to download and use. Visone can be accessed at https://visone.info/ and Vistorian at https://vistorian.net/ Both websites also include guides to help researchers use their software.

inputted, so no new databases would need to be created. Vistorian also allows time increments to be displayed throughout the networks, if dates have been included in the datasets, and Visone displays networks through individual connections rather than as radial connections to the central node, such as Gephi. Being able to play around with these software programs and learning how to use them from experts in the field, enabled conclusions to be drawn as to how best utilise these programs for the networks to be created. Therefore, after rigorously modelling, testing, adapting and retesting the visualisations, it was decided that Visone was the best software to represent the gynocentric networks from this study. Visone allows the user to upload data from an excel spreadsheet, allows numerous nodal or connectional characteristics to be displayed within the same network and, critically, the networks are displayed according to their immediate connections rather than through their connections to the focal node. Furthermore, information labels can also be displayed on the edges between nodes and similar edge characteristics can also be colour coded. Lastly, social networking statistical data can be calculated by the software from the networks created.

Once Visone had been chosen as the ideal visualisation software, uploading the individual spreadsheets created the various gynocentric networks. The layout of the networks was done by the software, but slight movement of certain nodes needed to be carried out so that their labels could be read, or so that links between nodes could be identified more clearly. This was only done to a few nodes and the network layout carried out by Visone was kept so that discussions could happen on visible patterns and the identification of bridging actors. In order to maximise the information on display, and to also highlight the various familial connections between actors in each network, it was decided that different colours would represent different familial connections, as can be seen in Figure 4.6. The different edge colours represent:

- Blue – marriage
- Fuchsia – mother
- Green – father
- Orange – sibling
- Black – half-sibling

- Red – step-parent
- Aqua (broken line edge) – legally adopted son

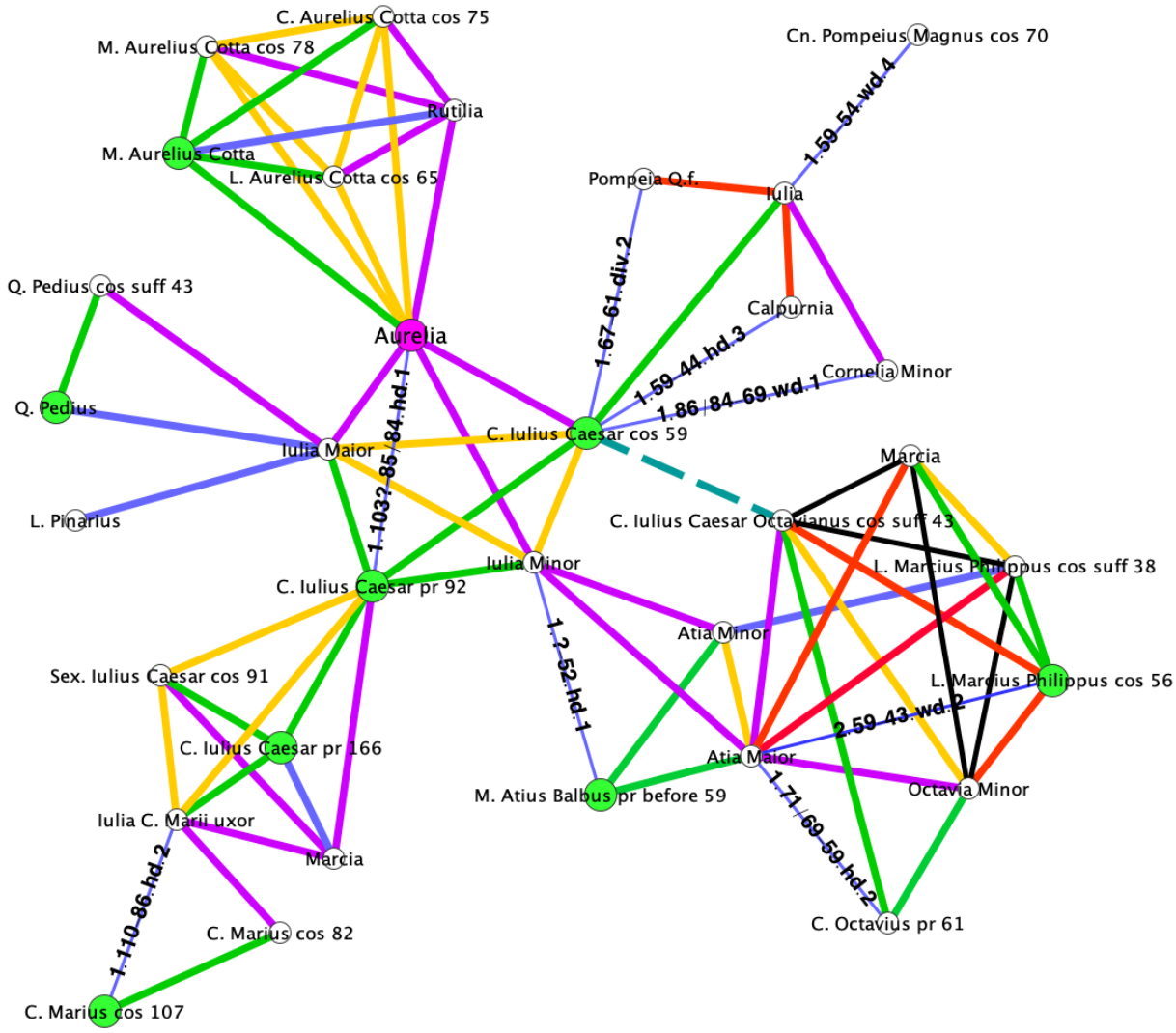

Figure 4.6 - Network of Aurelia

These edge characteristics were chosen as they were the main categories used to identify the connections between actors from the source materials. Their colours were chosen arbitrarily, but as different from each other as possible. The majority of network programs are limited in the colour palettes available, so another advantage of using Visone is its choice of visualisation colours. The thickness and length of each edge are non-representative and simply used to better display the colour of each edge and so that the names of the individuals are identifiable. However, the labels on the marriage edges, blue

edges, is used to provide detail on the marriage between the two individuals[260]. Hence, the marriage between Iulia and C. Marius is represented as **1.110-86.hd.2**, where:

- **1** = wife marriage number
- **110-86** = dates of marriage – all BCE unless stipulated
- **husband death/wife death/divorce** = how it ended – hd/wd/div
- **2** = husband marriage number
- **?** = missing information

From this label, it can be understood that the marriage was Iulia's first, that it lasted from 110-86 BCE, that it ended on the husband's death and that it was C. Marius' second marriage[261].

In terms of nodes, a fuchsia node represents the central actor, and thus the woman that was chosen as the focal starting point of each network, whereas the nodes of prominent fathers in the networks have been coloured green for ease of identification.

Each elite female network visualised in chapter 5 will be analysed as a full network first, with discussions on visual patterns and the statistical scores calculated by Visone, betweenness, closeness and degree centrality and the clustering coefficient. This will then be followed by the individual networks of significant women, and a few men, included in each focal network. These individual networks were created by choosing that person's node, locating all its neighbouring links, inverting the selection and deleting all these nodes

[260] Marriage information is included whenever the sources provided enough concrete evidence. As can be seen from Aurelia's network, and those to follow, not all marriages include this marriage label and some have information that is missing.

[261] After many different trials, it was decided that this was the best, and easiest, way to represent as much information as possible about marriages in the networks. For the reader's ease, a legend for marriages, as well as the meaning of edge colours, is given for each network.

and edges not directly linked to the chosen actor[262]. Within these sections on individual networks, discussions on marriage ages will take place, as well as the nature of those marriages if known. Contentious connections will also be highlighted and examined. Moreover, the known agency and/or actions taken by these women to influence their immediate environment, either in private or public spheres, will be detailed.

4.4 Onomastics

No research involving the identification and familial identity of Roman women, particularly from the late republic, would be complete without discussing onomastics. It has been well documented that freeborn Roman women living in the Republican period, from all social strata, typically bore only one name. There were, of course, exceptions to this rule, detailed below, but a Roman girl of this period was usually given the feminine form of her father's *nomen*, such as Iulia, Cornelia and Servilia, to name but a few[263]. Studies show that in the early history of Rome, women were given two identifying names, a *praenomen* and a *nomen*. However this practice, derived from Etruscan nomenclature, declined by the end of the republic, especially in Rome[264]. Whilst all first-born male children were automatically given their father's *nomen*, with some also receiving their *praenomen*, by the first century

[262] This is a useful feature of Visone that allows smaller networks to be created from larger ones. It is not as useful as Gephi's ability to only highlight the links of individual actors, whilst keeping the rest of the network greyed out in the background, but it is far easier than having to create new networks each time.

[263] Kajava (1994, p. 11).

[264] Although the early nomenclature of Roman women is speculative, as there is little evidence to provide for a definitive methodology, the naming system of late republican women has been attested as being comprised of only a single *nomen*, with some women also having a 'descriptive' *praenomen*, as discussed below. Kajanto (1972, p. 28); Kajava (1994, pp. 14-16).

BCE, all daughters were given the same name, a single *nomen*, which they kept for life, even after marriage[265].

Although they might have been given only one name at birth, for inscription purposes, as well as formal correspondence, Roman women were referred to by assigning them gamonymic and/or patronymic identifiers[266]. *Claudia L. Valerii uxor*, for an example of a gamonymic identifier, would refer to Claudia, the wife of Lucius Valerius. On the other hand, *Cornelia L.f.* (*Lucii filia*) would refer to the Cornelia who was the daughter of a Lucius Cornelius. Moreover, as using only one identifier could still leave readers with some ambiguity as to the woman in question, both patronymic and gamonymic identifiers could be used at the same time. One such example is the inscription on the mausoleum of Caecilia Metella, on the Via Appia, which reads, *Caeciliae Q. Cretici f. Metellae Crassi*[267]. This inscription identifies Caecilia Metella as the daughter of Q. (Caecilius Metellus) Creticus and the wife of (M. Licinius) Crassus. She is also singularly identifiable by her *cognomen* (Metella) and the inclusion of her father's *agnomen* (Creticus).

There were a few exceptions to the rule of assigning girls only one *nomen*, based on their father's *nomen*. Sometimes, as in the case of Poppaea Sabina, the daughter of T. Ollius and Poppaea Sabina, or Pompeia Magna, the daughter of L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44) and Pompeia, a child's maternal nomenclature was favoured, as was the use of a *cognomen* in the latter's instance[268]. In such occurrences, where maternal nomenclature was used, the

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[265] Nuorluoto (2017, p. 257).

[266] Salway (1994, p. 128).

[267] CIL VI, 01274.

[268] Pompeia Magna had a brother, Cn. Cornelius Magnus, whose name is also partly derived from his mother's lineage rather than solely from his father's. This could be attributed to two factors: their maternal grandfather, Cn. Pompeius Magnus, was the legendary consul and general whereas their paternal grandfather, L. Cornelius Cinna, ruled Rome as consul (87-84 BCE) and caused great unrest and turmoil during that time (Appian, *Bellum Civile* I 64-7, 69-71, 74-81).

matrilineal descent is either more prestigious, the patrilineal one is tarnished, or the children are illegitimate[269]. By the end of the first century BCE, some daughters were also given two *nomina*, such as Vipsania Iulia, or were given their father's *cognomen*, as was Caecilia Attica[270]. Furthermore, if more than one daughter was born, whilst the eldest often retained her given name, her subsequent sisters bore the *praenomina Secunda*, *Tertia*, *Quarta*, etc, which, along with her original *nomen*, primarily identified their birth order[271]. Sometimes, especially when only two daughters were born, the eldest girl was given the *praenomina Prima*, *Maior* or *Maxima*, and the second born daughter given that of *Minor*[272].

To add complexity to an already problematic naming system, when writing personal correspondence, Romans would often refer to female relatives, or women they knew personally and informally, by different, more affectionate names. The letters between M. Tullius Cicero and his acquaintances, as well as his published works, contain many such alternative names for women. There could be diminutive formations of names, such as Tulliola instead of Tullia[273] or Tertulla for Tertia[274]. Moreover, the formality, or informality, of the acquaintance could dictate the name used to refer to a woman. She could either be described using gamonymic or patronymic identifiers, or a personal nickname, such as when

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[269] Nuorluoto (2017, p. 265).

[270] Nuorluoto (2017, pp. 277, footnote 52).

[271] Although this style of *praenomina* often indicated birth order, it could also be used to identify homonymous women from the same *gens*. For example, Tertia could identify a women who was the third daughter born of the same father, as well as the third woman, who bore the same *nomen*, within the same *gens*. Kajava (1994, p. 123).
In this study, Mucia Tertia has been used instead of Tertia Mucia as Kajava (1994, p. 123) states that "as long as female *praenomina* were used in their distinguishing function, [their order] ultimately makes no difference." Thus, all *praenomina*, which reference a sequential or ordered naming system, have been placed after a woman's *nomen*.

[272] Kajava (1994, p. 122).

[273] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* XIV, 4.

[274] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XV, 11.

L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus refers to his daughter as "mea Tertia"[275], whereas Cicero uses her official name, Aemilia[276]. Due to these literary, and often familial, liberties, the reliability of the sources being scrutinised needs to be questioned. In terms of onomastics, inscriptions have been found to be far more reliable a source for female names than the literary and epistolary sources.

For this study, and according to the above mentioned conventions for Roman onomastics, the following names were attributed to homonymous women who are key actors in the networks created[277]:

- Aemilia M.f.: The daughter of M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos 115) and Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. She married Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70).
- Antonia: The daughter of M. Antonius (cos 44) and Antonia. She married Pythodorus of Tralles.
- Antonia Maior: The daughter of M. Antonius (cos 44) and Octavia Minor. She married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus.
- Antonia Minor: The daughter of M. Antonius (cos 44) and Octavia Minor. She married Claudius Drusus.
- Atia Maior: The daughter of M. Atius Balbus (pr before 59) and Iulia Minor. She married L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56).
- Atia Minor: The daughter of M. Atius Balbus (pr before 59) and Iulia Minor. She married L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38).

[275] Cicero, *De Divinatione* I 103.

[276] Cicero, *De Divinatione* II 83; Kajava (1994, p. 120).

[277] The names of homonymous women who do not feature prominently in the networks, and the resultant discussions, have been left as they were. For example, in Servilia's network, different names have not attributed to the two Porciae that were the daughters of M. Porcius Cato and Marcia, as little is known of them and they are peripheral actors in Servilia's network.

- Caecilia Metella Calvi f.[278]: The daughter of L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus (cos 142). She married L. Licinius Lucullus (pr 104).
- Caecilia Metella Cretici f.: The daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (cos 69). She married M. Licinius Crassus (q 54).
- Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.: The daughter of L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus (cos 119). She married M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos 115) and L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88).
- Caecilia Metella Balearici f.: The daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Baleáricus (cos 123).
- Claudia Maior: The daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54). She married M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44).
- Claudia Minor: The daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54). She married Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45).
- Claudia P.f.: The daughter of Publius Clodius (aed cur 56) and Fulvia.
- Claudia Marcella Maior: The daughter of C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50) and Octavia Minor. She married Iullus Antonius.
- Claudia Marcella Minor: The daughter of C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50) and Octavia Minor. She married L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (cos 34) and M. Valerius Messalla Appianus (cos 12).
- Claudia (vestal): The daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 143) and Antistia. She was a vestal virgin and sister of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79).
- Clodia Luculli[279]: The daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) and Caecilia Metella Calvi f. She married L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74).

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[278] To differentiate between all the homonymous Caecilia Metella, a patronymic identifier, derived from their fathers' *agnomina*, has been used, as the rest of their fathers' names are also identical. The same system is used for Cornelia Africani f. (mater Gracchorum).

[279] The terms Prima/Maxima and Secunda have not been assigned to the first two daughters of Ap. Claudius Pulcher and Caecilia Metella Calvi f. as much debate exists as to the order of their births. As most modern sources refer to them by using the gamonymic identifiers, Clodia Metelli and Clodia Luculli, no changes were made for these networks. Hejduk (2008, pp. 3-9); Kajava (1994, p. 205); Münzer (1999, pp. 435, note 135); Syme (1939, pp. 20-23).

- Clodia Metelli: The daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) and Caecilia Metella Calvi f. She married Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (cos 60).
- Clodia Tertia: The daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) and Caecilia Metella Calvi f. She married Q. Marcius Rex (cos 68).
- Cornelia Africani f.: The daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cos 205) and Aemilia Tertia. She was the mother of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133) and C. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 123).
- Cornelia Maior P.f.: The daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cos 205) and Aemilia Tertia. She married P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (cos 162).
- Cornelia Maior: The daughter of L. Cornelius Cinna (cos 87) and Annia. Sister of Cornelia Minor.
- Cornelia Minor: The daughter of L. Cornelius Cinna (cos 87) and Annia. She married C. Iulius Caesar (cos 54).
- Cornelia L.f.: The daughter of L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88).
- Cornelia Postuma: The daughter of L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88) and Valeria.
- Cornelia Fausta: The daughter of L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88) and Caecilia Metella Delmatici f..
- Cornelia Metella: The fifth wife of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70).
- Iulia: The daughter of C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) and Cornelia Minor.
- Iulia Maior: The daughter of C. Iulius Caesar (pr 92) and Aurelia. She married Q. Pedius and L. Pinarius.
- Iulia Minor: The daughter of C. Iulius Caesar (pr 92) and Aurelia. She married M. Atius Balbus (pr before 59).
- Iulia C. Marii uxor: The wife of C. Marius (cos 107).
- Iulia Augusta. The daughter of C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43) and Scribonia.
- Iunia Prima: The daughter of Servilia and D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62). She married P. Servilius Isauricus (cos 48).

As to Clodia Tertia, she was already known as such by the time Plutarch wrote his *Parallel Lives* (Plutarch, *Cicero* 29.5).

- Iunia Secunda: The daughter of Servilia and D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62). She married M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46).
- Iunia Tertia: The daughter of Servilia and D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62). She married C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44).
- Livia Drusilla: The third wife of C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43).
- Pompeia: The daughter of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) and Mucia Tertia.
- Pompeia Magna: The daughter of Pompeia and L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44).
- Pompeia Q.f.: The Daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus (cos 88) and Cornelia L.f. She married C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59).
- Pompeia S.f.: The daughter of Sex. Pompeius (sen 43) and Scribonia.
- Porcia M.f.: The daughter of M. Porcius Cato (pr 54) and Atilia. She married M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44).
- Porcia: The daughter of Livia and M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99). She married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 54).
- Sempronia: The daughter of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177) and Cornelia Africani f. She married P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147).
- Sempronia C.f.: The daughter of C. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 123) and Licinia.
- Servilia: The daughter of Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90). Mother of M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44).
- Servilia Minor: The daughter of Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90). Sister of Servilia and wife of L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74).
- Servilia M. Livii uxor: The wife of M. Livius Drusus (tr pl 91).
- Servilia Q.f.: The daughter of Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67) and Hortensia.

Finally, to differentiate between homonymous men, typically fathers and sons but occasionally cousins as well, the most prominent magistracy held by that individual and the year they held it has been included after their name[280]. This allows for no ambiguity as to the person discussed. The following abbreviations were used for magistracies:

[280] All magisterial identifiers are identical to those used by the DPRR and primarily originate from Broughton's (1952) research. Dates are all in BCE unless specified.

- cos – Consul
- cos suff – Consul suffectus
- pr – Praetor
- q – Quaestor
- (cur) aed – (Curule) Aedile
- tr pl – Tribunus Plebis
- sen – Senator (no magistracy held)
- promag – Promagistrate
- eq R – Eques Romanus

Chapter 5 Elite Female Networks of Late Republican Rome

This chapter details the eleven gynocentric networks that have been created from the data collection stipulated in the methodology. Each network is first presented as an entire network visualisation, with each focal woman/women being the originator of her network, followed by a discussion of the visual characteristics that define that network, as well as its statical analysis. This is then proceeded by the individual networks, derived from each entire network, of women who demonstrated agency during their lifetime. Each individual network focuses on that individual's direct familial connections and discusses marriage ages and details, her children and the recorded actions taken by that person, as related to us by the ancient sources.

5.1 Cornelia Africani f.

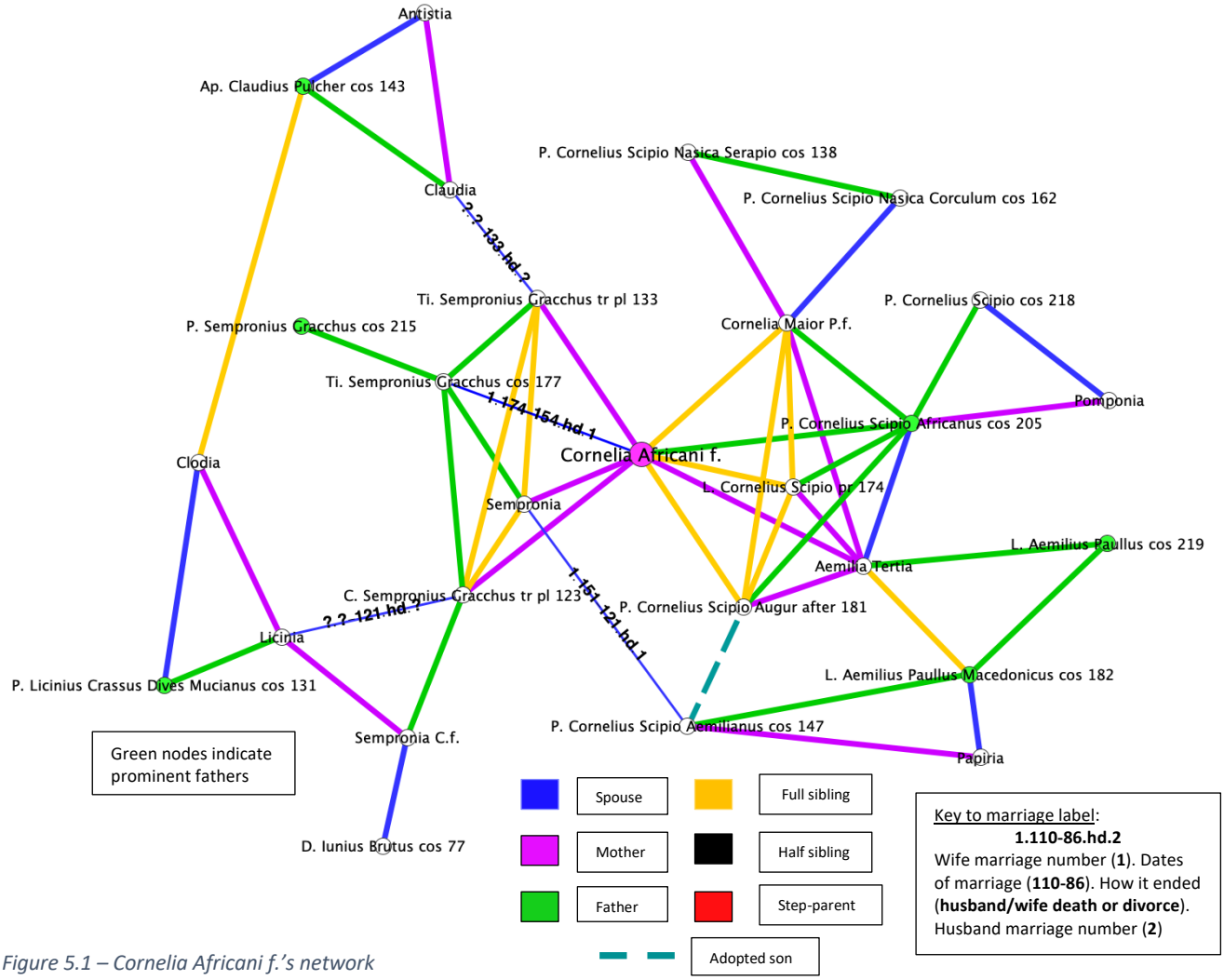

Figure 5.1 – Cornelia Africani f.'s network

The reason for including the network of Cornelia Africani f. in this study was to determine if the familial and socio-political patterns that existed in the middle of the first century BCE were already in existence in the previous century, or whether different patterns of connectedness can be identified from Cornelia's network.

The network of Cornelia Africani f. spans five generations, from her grandparents to her grandchildren. Although the general details of the majority of the marriages within this network have survived, the marriage dates of only two of these marriages can be discerned from the sources. Unfortunately, there is not enough evidence to conclusively, and in some cases even tentatively, state when the rest of the marriages started, or how and when they ended[281]. Within these five generations, there is an observably limited number of families that marry into the *gentes* Scipiones and Sempronii. Indeed, the only families that marry into Cornelia's network, in her generation or subsequent ones, are the Aemilii, Claudii, Licinii and Iunii, with the last three only having one connection each, to Cornelia's two sons and her granddaughter. The network clearly demonstrates how insular Cornelia's natal family were. Indeed, by repeatedly remarrying into the same *gentes*, her natal family almost creates a closed circuit that is only broken by a few brides, Papiria and Pomponia, from outside of the Scipiones and Aemilii. The marriage which bridges the two sides of Cornelia's network, and (re)strengthens the ties between the Sempronii, Scipiones and Aemilii, was the marriage between her daughter, Sempronia, and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147), Cornelia's cousin and adopted nephew. Without this union, the network would be a tale of two halves; the connections between Cornelia's natal family and the connections of the family she married into and created with Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177). To some extent, the network suggests that the Sempronii appeared more agreeable to marriage into different family groups, although Münzer argues that the Claudii and Licinii were politically

[281] Except for the marriages of Ti. and C. Sempronius Gracchus, which obviously ended on the day of their murders in 133 and 121, respectively.

aligned and that the brides of Cornelia's sons were actually cousins, hence a willingness for these various families to merge through marriage alliances[282].

These tight familial and marital bonds are also evident in the centrality measures calculated from Cornelia's network. Seven of the top nine betweenness values, and all of the top closeness and degree scores, are taken up by members of the *gentes* Sempronii, Scipiones and Aemilii[283]. Unsurprisingly, Cornelia is the top actor in each of these measures, meaning she plays a pivotal role in joining these three families together, as wife, daughter and mother. The only outlier in the statistical data is Claudia's betweenness score of 92. This places her in sixth place, behind Cornelia, her two sons, sister and father. However, this high value cannot be indicative of her agency in the real world. Such a high value may indicate that in the visualisation of Cornelia's network, at least, she may be a significant bridging node between her family and the rest of the network, but it would seem unlikely that this position would have been as significant in real life, even if she had been the wife of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133). The same argument could be made for Licinia's betweenness score of 78, which places her before Sempronia. That is not to say that Claudia and Licinia had no agency, but simply that it may not have been as influential as this statistical analysis suggests.

What is also noticeable in Cornelia's network is that there are no step-relationships or remarriages[284]. The only relationship that is not a direct parent-child, or spousal,

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[282] Münzer (1999, p. 252).

[283] See Appendix I 7.1 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Cornelia Africani f. (270/0.02/9/0.444), C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 (186/0.018/6/0.467), Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 (14/0.018/5/0.6), Cornelia Maior P.f. (96/0.0187/7/0.524), P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 (96/0.017/7/0.524), Licinia, (90/0.014/3/0.333), Aemilia Tertia (79.667/0.017/7/0.524), Claudia (78/0.013/3/0.333), and Sempronia (56.667/0.019/5).

[284] It must be noted, however, that the ancient sources do not discuss what becomes of the wives of the two Gracchi brothers after their deaths. They could have remarried, but it

relationship is when P. Cornelius Scipio (Augur after 181) adopts his uncle's son, presumably in his will. As Cornelia's network was created to highlight the similarities and/or differences between mid-second and mid-first century familial relationships, could its lack of step-relationships and remarriages indicate a different attitude to marriage and divorce? Or is this family unique in having women who preferred to remain *univirae*, even though most of them were young and wealthy enough to remarry and produce more children after the deaths of their husbands?

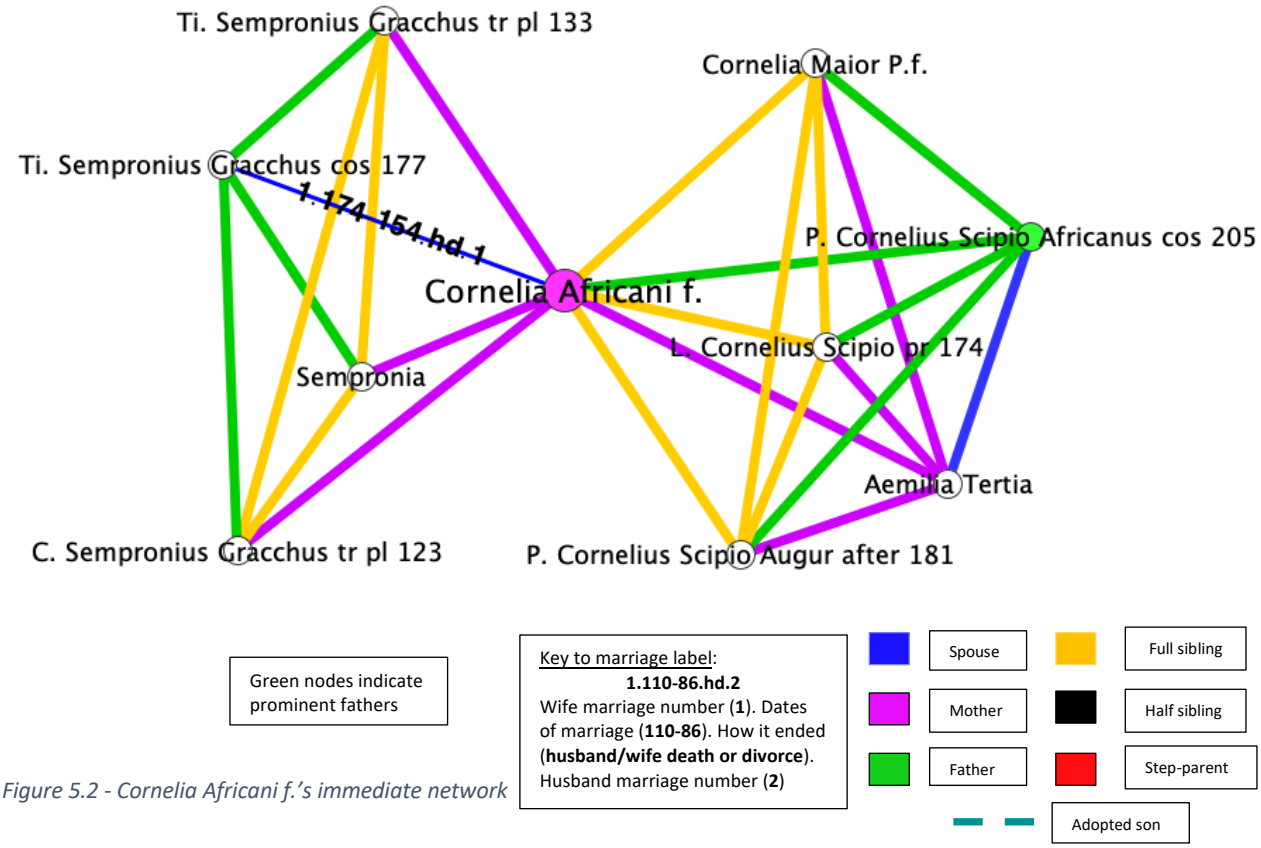

Figure 5.2 - Cornelia Africani f.'s immediate network

Cornelia's central role within her familial connections is evident in her individual network and reflected by her centrality measures. Cornelia Africani f. is clearly the focal actor who bridges the relationships between her natal and marital families. Plutarch tells us that P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cos 205) was already deceased when Ti. Sempronius Gracchus

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would be assumed that the man/men who married the wife of one of the Gracchi would have been recorded, even in passing, by at least one of the ancient historians.

(cos 77) married the very young Cornelia[285]. Livy, Polybius and Valerius Maximus also inform us of the events leading to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus' betrothal to Cornelia Africani f., including the circumstances leading to the Senate begging Scipio Africanus to betroth his youngest daughter to Tiberius [286]. The engagement was agreed to and conducted immediately[287]. So expedient was this betrothal that Scipio Africanus' wife, Aemilia Tertia, expressed resentment for not been included in the decision[288].

If the stories surrounding the betrothal were true, it would definitely account for the marriage of a mid-forty year old consular to a 14/15 year old girl, especially if they were from two families with differing political views who wanted to merge and create an alliance[289]. However, if the dates are accurate, Cornelia would only have been three years old in 187, whilst Tiberius would already have been in his mid to late thirties when the engagement was agreed upon[290]. Even Broughton's analysis, that Scipio Africanus' trial and Tiberius' tribunate occurred in 184 instead of 187[291], raises questions about the likelihood of a betrothal between an infant and an adult man. As a result, when they married around 174[292], three years after his first consulship, it was the first marriage for both of them, with

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[285] Plutarch, *Ti. and C. Gracchus* 1.2; 4.3.

[286] Livy, XXXVIII, 51-7; Livy, *Periocha* XXXVIII; Polybius, XXXI.27.1-16.

[287] Valerius Maximus, IV.2.3.

[288] Livy, XXXVIII, 57.2-8

[289] Plutarch, *Ti. and C. Gracchus* 1.2.

[290] For discussion of Cornelia and Tiberius' years of birth, see Hemelrijk (1999, pp. 259-260); Münzer (1999, pp. 100-101, 189-191); Sumner (1973, p. 38); Tansey (2016, pp. 66, fn 262).

[291] Broughton (1952).

[292] Tansey (2016, pp. 54-66) discusses, at length and in great detail, the myths surrounding their proposal and the possible date for the marriage of Cornelia and Tiberius. He concludes that it must have been before 170 and after 178. The date of 174 has been chosen, as scrutiny of his argument, and the ancient and modern sources quoted, has led to the conclusion that the marriage occurred after Tiberius returned from Sardinia at the end of 175. *cf*. Hemelrijk (1999, pp. 259-260).

Tiberius in his mid to late forties and Cornelia a very young teenage bride. However, despite the almost 30 year age gap, the marriage appears to have been a reproductively prolific one, producing 12 children in 20 years, although only three survived to adulthood[293]. Upon her husband's death in 154, Cornelia decided to remain a widow, although she was only 36, wealthy and famously proposed marriage by Ptolemy VIII[294].

As the result of her decision to remain a widow, and through her subsequent devotion to the upbringing of her children and the political lives of her two sons, Cornelia was revered by future generations as the most honourable, chaste and virtuous of *matronae*[295]. She retired to Misenum and spent the rest of her life entertaining philosophers, foreign dignitaries and occasionally intervening in the political life in Rome[296]. She was even one of the first women to be venerated with a statue. Although the original inscription in the early first century BCE read, 'Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi', it was later altered to, 'Cornelia, Daughter of Scipio Africanus' when any references to her sons were discreetly removed[297]. Her level of agency in widowhood, and after the death of her sons, is clearly evident in the ancient sources[298].

[293] Plutarch, *Ti. and C. Gracchus* 1.5-6.

[294] Plutarch, *Ti. and C. Gracchus* 1.4; Fantham (1994, p. 264); Hemelrijk (1999, pp. 262-263).

[295] Chrystal (2015, p. 30); Tansey (2016, p. 67).

[296] Orosius, V 12.9; Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 19; Hemelrijk (1999, pp. 51, 62, 64, 93, 97, 137).

[297] CIL VI.10043; Fantham (1994, p. 265).

[298] Discussed in chapter 3.

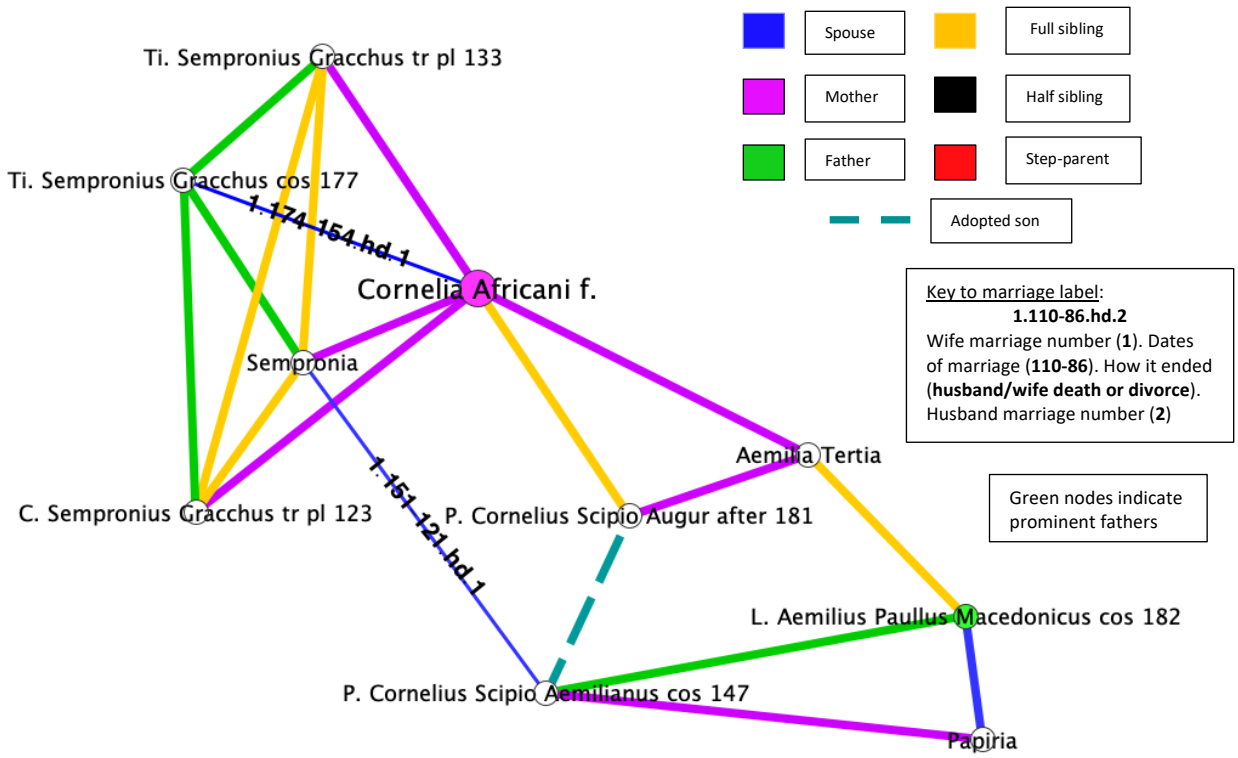

Figure 5.3 - Sempronia and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147)

Sempronia was the eldest surviving daughter of Cornelia Africani f. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177). She married P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147), who was both her maternal grandmother's nephew and the adopted son of her maternal uncle. At their wedding in 151 BCE, Sempronia would have been 18 or 19 and the groom in his mid-thirties[299].

According to the sources, the union was an unhappy one, resulting in no children. Appian even suggests that Scipio Aemilianus was "both unloved and unloving because Sempronia was deformed and childless"[300]. Whether as a result of this known marital unhappiness, both Sempronia and her mother, Cornelia Africani f., were suspects in P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus' suspicious death in 121[301]. After her husband's death, Sempronia, like her mother, decided not to remarry. Her year of death is not certain, but she was alive in

[299] Rüpke et al. (2005) give P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus' year of birth as 185. For a discussion on Sempronia's year of birth, see Tansey (2016, pp. 60, fn 238).

[300] Appian, *Bellum Civile* I 20.

[301] Appian, *Bellum Civile* I 20.

102/101 BCE when she testified in a case that a man claiming to be the illegitimate son of her brother, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133), could not possibly be her nephew[302].

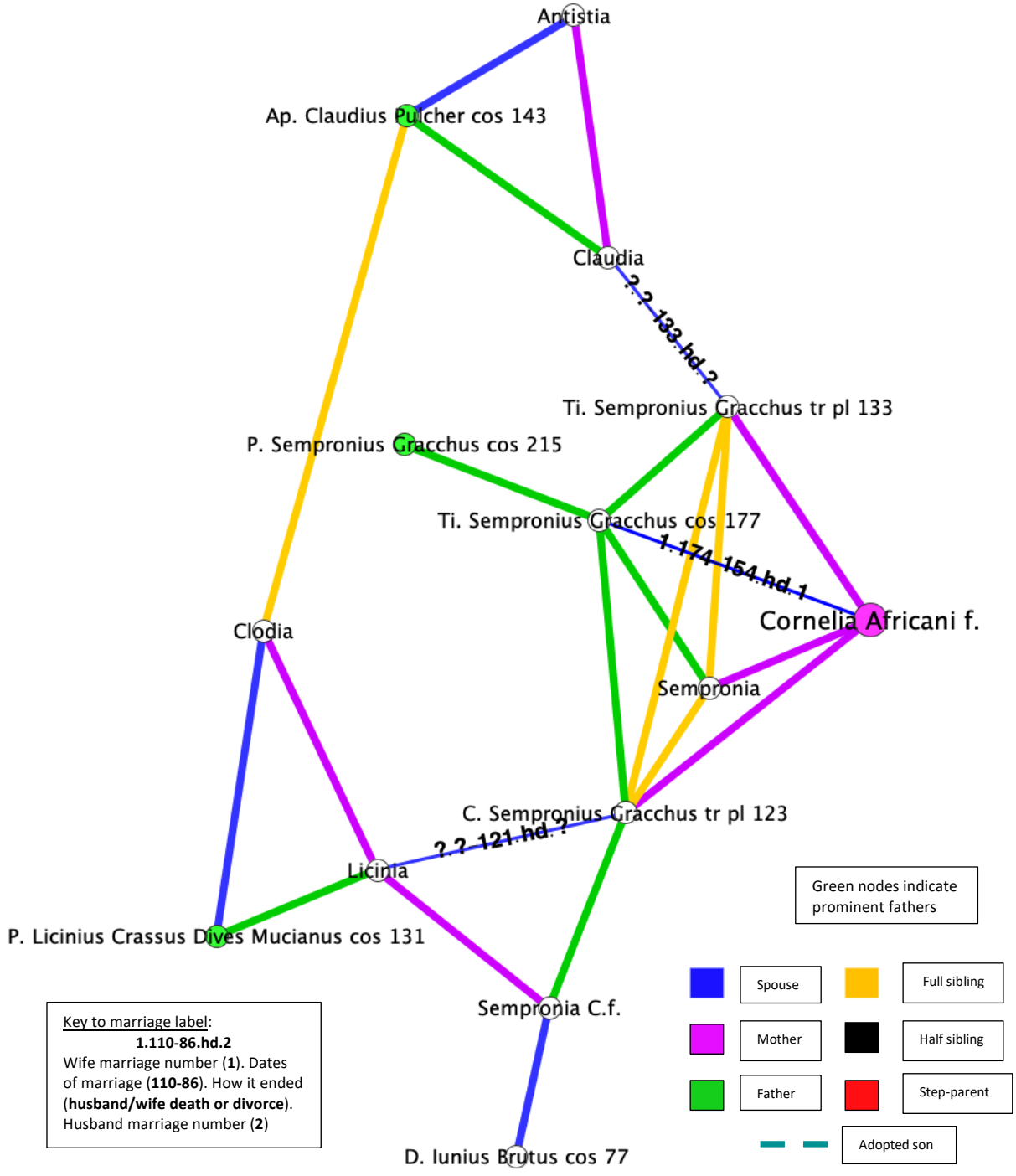

Figure 5.4 – Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133) and C. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 123)

[302] Valerius Maximus, 3.8.6.

The eldest son of Cornelia Africani f. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177), Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133) was born in 162 BCE and murdered in 133[303]. Although he died at a young age, 29, he was already married to Claudia, the daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 143). The marriage appears to have been a political one as Ap. Claudius Pulcher was a commissioner on Tiberius' land division[304]. Unfortunately, the year of marriage and the age of the spouses at the time are unknown. The union is not said to have yielded any children, but Plutarch and Cassius Dio state that Tiberius produced his two children in mourning clothes at the death of a friend[305]. The sources do not discuss his children again and thirty years after his death, his sister Sempronia was made to testify against a claimant, L. Equitius, who attested that he was the illegitimate son of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133)[306]. Sempronia vouched that he wasn't.

The second son of Cornelia Africani f. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177) to reach adulthood was born around 154 BCE and, like his brother, his actions as *Tribunus Peblis* led to his murder in 121[307]. It is not known when he married Licinia, daughter of P. Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus (cos 131), nor what age she was at marriage[308]. They had a daughter, Sempronia, but her year of birth is also unknown[309]. Plutarch gives Licinia a long impassioned and lamenting speech, directed at her husband as he is about to leave the house, on the day of his murder[310]. She pleads with Gaius to not go armed to the Forum and needs to be carried by her slaves, as she falls unconscious after he leaves. Moreover,

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[303] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[304] Livy, *Periochae*, 58.1.

[305] Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus* 13. There also a mention of Tiberius' children in mourning clothes in Cassius Dio frg 83 (8) (XXIV).

[306] Valerius Maximus, 3.8.6.

[307] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[308] Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 17.5; *Ti. Gracchus* 21.1.

[309] Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 15.2 mentions a son instead but Münzer (1999, p. 252) is adamant they had a daughter.

[310] Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 15.1-4.

Plutarch and Appian describe that after Gaius' murder, his property was looted, that Licinia was forbidden to wear mourning clothes and that her dowry was confiscated[311].

Münzer argues that the wives of the two Gracchi brothers were cousins. He states that Licinia, the wife of Caius, was the daughter of Clodia, whose brother was Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 143). Appius Claudius was, in turn, the father of Tiberius's wife Claudia[312]. No other source makes these connections, but Münzer's arguments are plausible enough for the two brothers to marry cousins, which would have been in keeping with a family that appear very keen to cement or form new marital bonds with other politically powerful families.

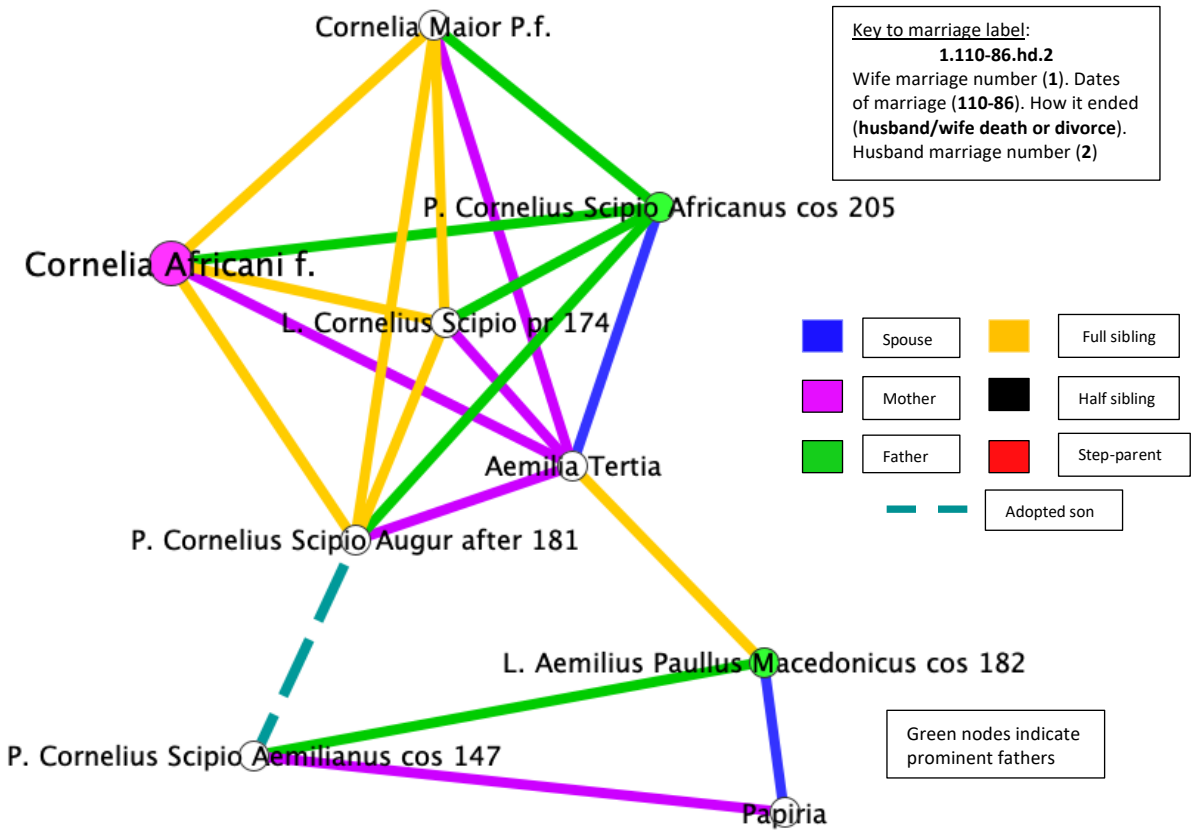

Figure 5.5 - Aemilia Tertia

[311] Plutarch, *C. Gracchus* 17.5; Appian (C.W. 1.26).

[312] Münzer (1999, p. 252).

Aemilia Tertia, Cornelia's mother, appears to have married her husband, P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cos 205) around 215 BCE, but this cannot be verified from the sources. This date would correlate to the births of their two sons, P. Cornelius Scipio (Augur after 181) and L. Cornelius Scipio (pr 174). If this marriage date is accurate, Aemilia Tertia must have been around 15/16 years of age when she married and P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus around 21[313].

Of significance, when discussing the agency that Aemilia Tertia potentially demonstrated in her lifetime, is Polybius' account of her countenance and public displays of wealth. "This lady whose name was Aemilia, used to display great magnificence whenever she left her house to take part in the ceremonies that women attend, having participated in the fortune of Scipio [Africanus] when he was at the height of his prosperity. For apart from the richness of her own dress and of the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups, and other utensils for the sacrifice were either of gold or silver and were borne in her train on all such solemn occasions, while the number of maids and men-servants in attendance was correspondingly large"[314].

Valerius Maximus also discusses Aemilia Tertia's character in the following passage, "Tertia Aemilia, wife of the elder Africanus and mother of Cornelia of the Gracchi, was so accommodating and patient that although she knew that one of her slave girls had found favour with her husband, she pretended to be ignorant of it, lest she, a woman, charge a great man, the world-conquering Africanus, with lack of self-control"[315]. However, whether this signifies wifely fidelity, or expected obedience, is a matter of contention.

Upon her death, Aemilia Tertia's nephew and adopted grandson, P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147), was made her heir and charged with dispensing the assets according to her will, which also meant he was left with the remnants of her husband's stipulations. As

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[313] For a detailed analysis of Aemilia Tertia's year of birth and death, see Dixon (1985). For P. Cornelius Scipio Africana's year of birth, see R. J. Evans and Kleijwegt (1992).

[314] Polybius, XXXI. 26.3-5.

[315] Valerius Maximus, VI.7.1.

part of Scipio Africanus' will, his two daughters were to inherit 50 talents each as part of their dowries, half payable on his death and the other half on Aemilia Tertia's death. According to Polybius, Scipio Aemilianus executed the payments according to Aemilia Tertia's will and demonstrated his generosity by paying the 25 talents in one sum as opposed to the three instalments regulated by law[316]. Polybius also informs us that Scipio Aemilianus transferred all of Aemilia Tertia's possessions to his mother, Papiria, as she had been separated from her husband and her "means were not sufficient to maintain a state suitable to her rank"[317].

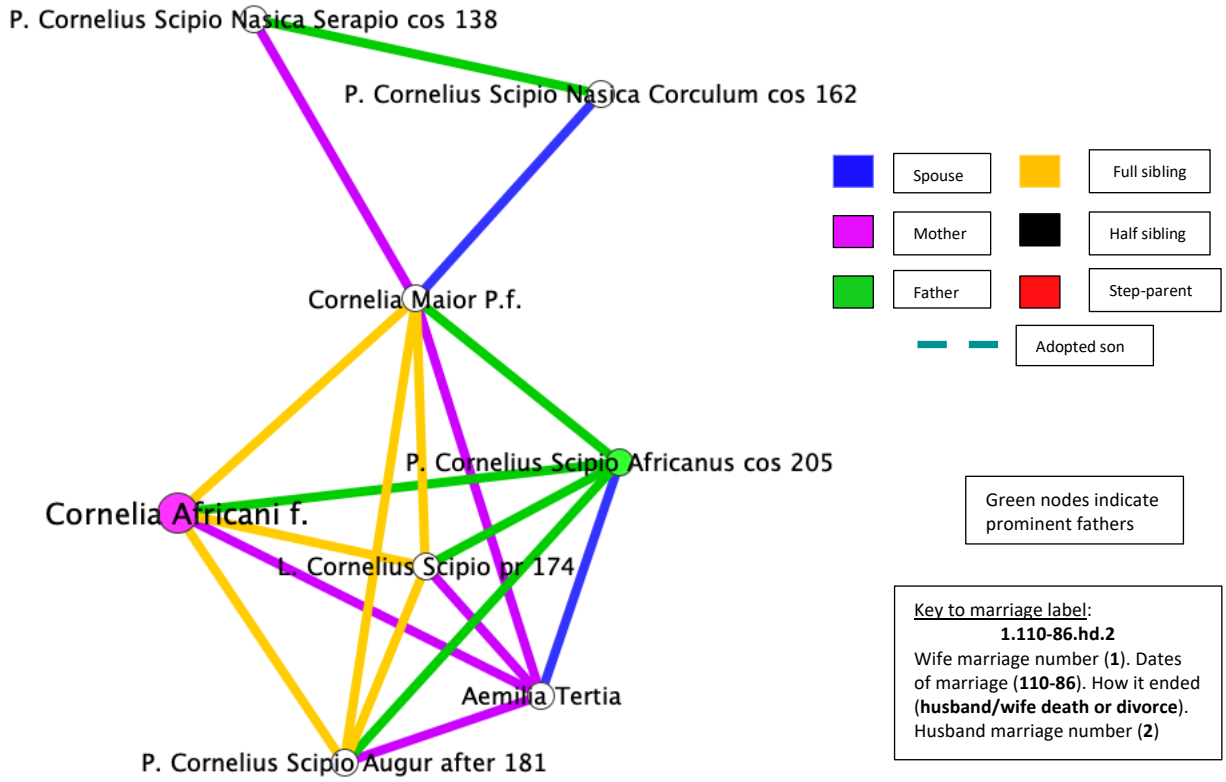

Figure 5.6 - Cornelia Maior P.f.

As Aemilia Tertia paid the first half of her daughters' dowries upon their respective marriages, as per Scipio Africanus' will stipulations, it must be concluded that Cornelia Maior P.f. and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (cos 162) were married after her father's

[316] Polybius, XXXI 26.2-3.

[317] Polybius, XXXI 26.6.

death[318]. This would place the marriage around 183/182 BCE, meaning that the bride would have been 16 or 17 and the groom 21 or 22[319]. As P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum was Consul in 162 and 155, Censor in 159 and became Pontifex Maximus in 150[320], it is highly probable that Cornelia Maior P.f. enjoyed an elevated place in late republican society and must have been able to demonstrate some level of agency and influence, either in private or in public. Unfortunately, very little survives in the sources about Cornelia Maior P.f.'s life, apart from the details of her dowry. The marriage produced a son, P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio (cos 138), who succeeded his father as Pontifex Maximum upon his death in 141 and was one of the main instigator in Tiberius Gracchus' murder in 133[321]. So, although it was hoped that the marriage between Cornelia Africani f. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177) would unite two families that may not have agreed politically, this endeavour obviously did not succeed, suggesting that political marriages may have had the best intentions, but that familial connections did not lessen the pre-existing tensions for future generations.

[318] Tansey (2016, p. 56).

[319] Rüpke et al. (2005); Sumner (1973, p. 60); Tansey (2016, p. 56).

[320] Broughton (1952).

[321] Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus* 19-21. Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133) was also P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio's cousin, the son of his maternal aunt Cornelia Africani f.

5.2 Caecilia Metella Calvi f.

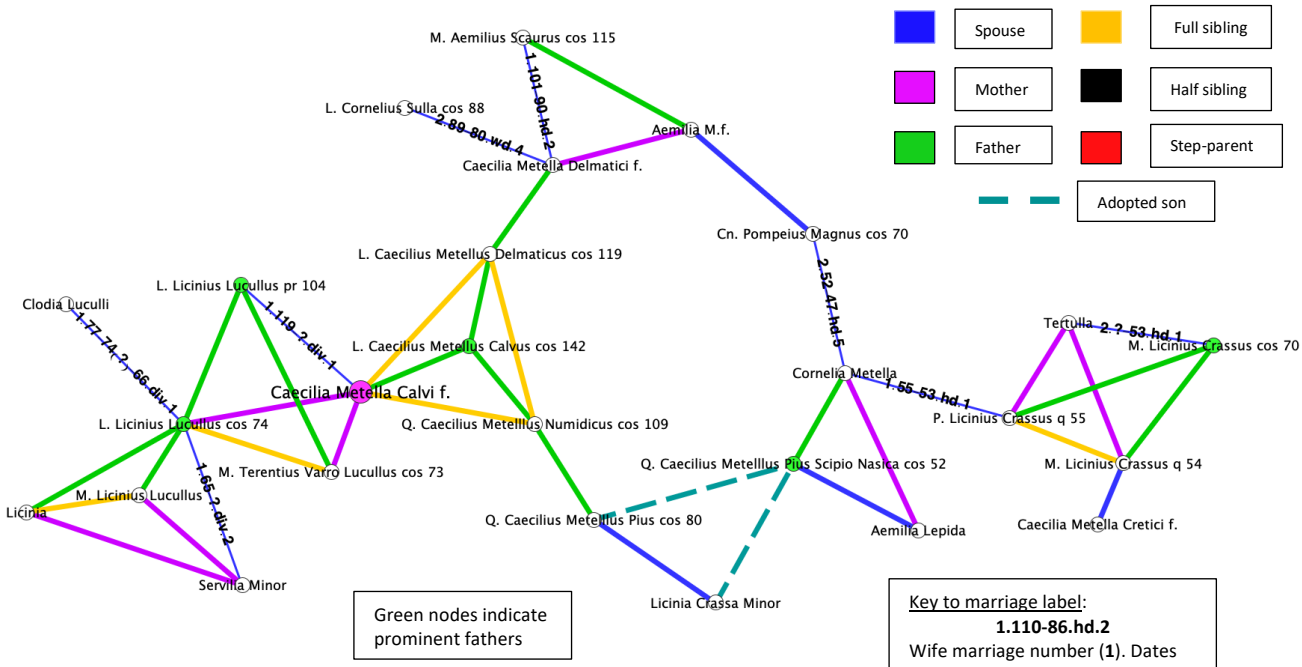

Figure 5.7 - Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s network

The network of Caecilia Metella Calvi f., like the network of Cornelia Africani f., provides an insight into the lives of Roman republican women in the late second century and early first century BCE. What is most striking from this network is the limited variety of *gentes* within Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s five generations of familial connections. Apart from her own *gens*, and that of her husband's, there are very few others included. Moreover those 'outsiders' that were allowed to marry into this familial network came from similarly august *gentes*, such as the Aemilii, Servilii, Cornelii and Claudii. This lack of marriage diversity, which was also evident in Cornelia Africani f.'s network, creates a closed loop due to the adoption by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius (cos 80) of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (cos 52), whose daughter, Cornelia Metella, married P. Licinius Crassus (q 55). The only person who is not from a prominent family is Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70), who married Aemilia M.f. when he was younger and Cornelia Metella near the end of his life, and after the death of her first husband. Pompey's marriages close the loop and circle back to the Metelli as his first wife was the daughter of Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. Even M. Licinius Crassus (q 54), married into the same *gens* as his brother when he wed Caecilia Metella Cretici f. It is often said that the Caecilius Metellus family tree is extremely difficult to follow, and this is a prime example

of how creating a social network map makes these complicated elite familial connections easier to comprehend and discuss in a scholarly fashion[322].

In terms of statistical analysis, Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s network does not offer any surprises[323]. Caecilia is definitely the focal actor of her network. She may not be located in the centre of the network, nor within the closed loop, but she has the highest closeness value and is a very close second in the total number of connections that she has, as well as in her betweenness scores. The centrality measures also reinforce the fact that certain individuals help to create the closed loop evident when the connections are visualised. Caecilia's two brothers, her nephew and niece, and their respective families, all have high betweenness scores, signifying their roles as bridging agents and as members of this closed familial loop. Beyond the interconnectedness of this network, the individual family groups are relatively small, consisting of mostly tetrads and triads, radiating from the central loop[324].

Because this network contains several women who play more significant roles in other networks, they shall not be discussed in more detail below. Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.,

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[322] See chapter 4.3 for a discussion of conventional family trees, with the Caecilius Metellus family tree used as an example.

[323] See Appendix I 7.2 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Caecilia Metella Calvi f. (252/0.013/6/0.4), Cornelia Metella (227/0.012/4/0.167), Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus cos 109 (208/0/014/4/0.5), Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius cos 80 (200/0.013/3/0.167), Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica cos 52 (185/0.013/4/0.3333), L. Licinius Lucullus cos 74 (174/0.011/7/0.286), P. Licinius Crassus q 55 (168/0.01/4/0.5), Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. (123/0.013/4/0.167) and L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus cos 119 (113/0.013/4/0.5).

[324] It must be noted, however, that the multiple marriages and children of Cn. Pompeius Magnus have not been included in Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s network, nor have the children of Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.

Aemilia M.f. and Cornelia Metella are discussed within Pompeia's network, Clodia Luculli in Clodia Metelli's network and Servilia Minor's connections are analysed within Servilia's network.

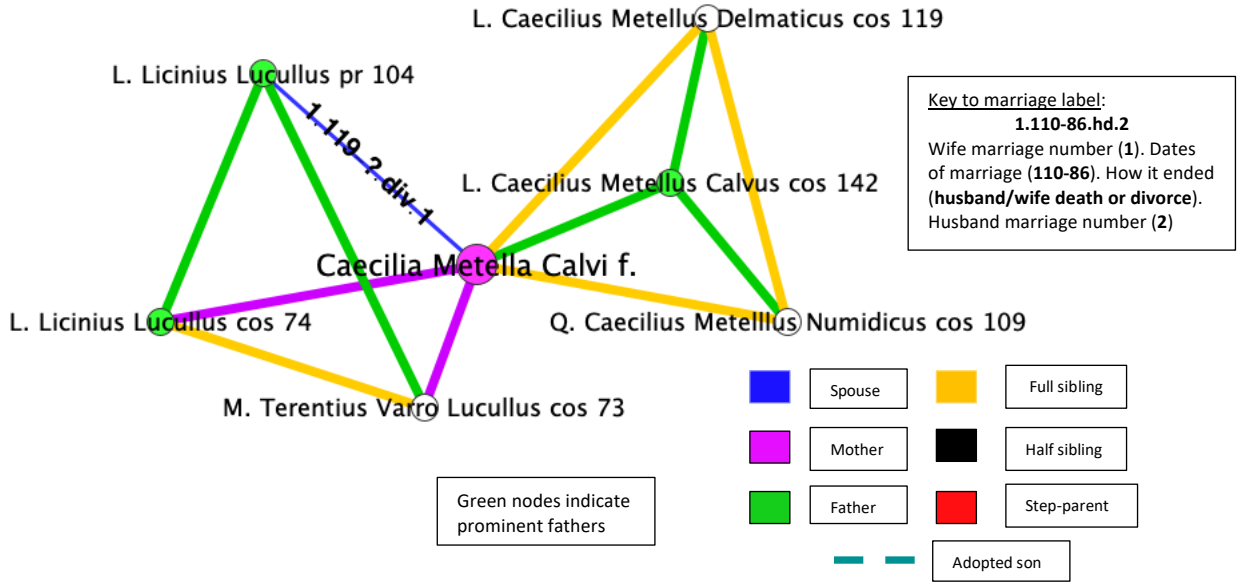

Figure 5.8 - Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s immediate network

Not much literary evidence has survived about Caecilia Metella Calvi f. Her year of birth, for example, is unknown. However, we do know that she married L. Licinius Lucullus (pr 104) around 119 BCE. If born in 144, her husband would have been 25 at the time of their marriage and it must be assumed that she was in her late teens[325]. The union produced two children, a first son, L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74), around 117 BCE and a second son, M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (cos 73), around 116 BCE[326]. The latter was born M. Licinius Lucullus but was later adopted by M. Terentius Varro[327]. After reaching the praetorship in 104, Caecilia's husband was exiled on his return from his province of Sicily in 102[328].

[325] Keaveney (1992, p. 3).

[326] Keaveney (1992); Rüpke et al. (2005); Summer (1973).

[327] Keaveney (1992, p. 8).

[328] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 1.1. L. Licinius Lucullus pr 104 was exiled in 102 BCE, but no record exists of him being pardoned or allowed to return to Rome. Kelly (2006, no 20).

Whether as the result of this marital freedom, or if it had originated before her husband's exile, Caecilia Metella Calvi f. gained a certain notoriety for her affairs[329].

On her own family's side, Caecilia Metella Calvi f. came from a formidable elite family. Her father, L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus, had been Consul in 142 and both her brothers, L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus and Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus, were also Consuls, in 119 and 109 respectively. Both brothers played significant roles in Roman politics, with the former becoming Pontifex Maximus in 114 and the latter being the chief commander in the Jugurthine War from 109 until he was replaced by C. Marius in 107[330]. The exile of her husband and brother at roughly the same time must have been a challenging time for Caecilia Metella Calvi f. and we can only speculate as to the impact this must have had on her family and the upbringing of her two sons[331].

[329] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 1.1.

[330] Broughton (1952).

[331] Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (cos 109) decided to go into voluntary exile after his expulsion from the Senate in 100 BCE. He was allowed to return to Rome in 98. Kelly (2006, no. 22).

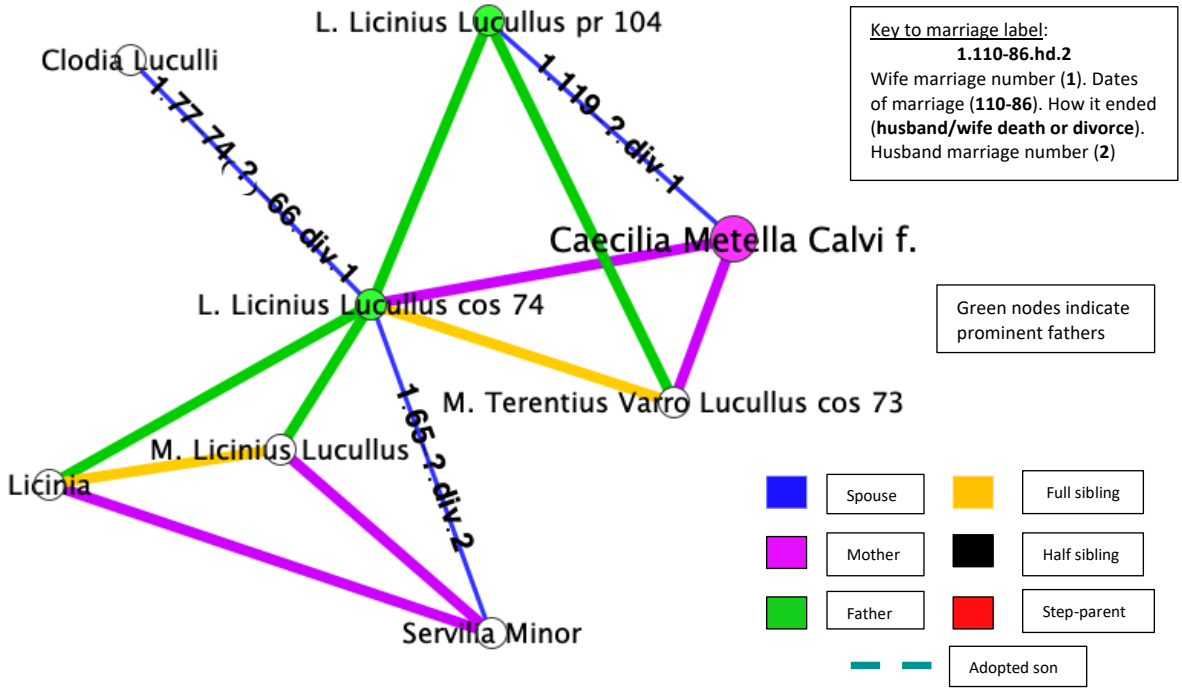

Figure 5.9 - L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74)

The eldest of Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s sons, L. Licinius Lucullus became consul in 74 BCE after many years of supporting L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88) in Asia Minor and Rome. The alliance was so strong that Sulla dedicated his memoirs to Lucullus and made him the guardian of his son Faustus, whose mother was Lucullus' cousin Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.[332]. Lucullus also had a very strong bond with his younger brother, M. Terentius Varro Lucullus (cos 73). When both brothers had reached maturity, they prosecuted Servilius the Augur, the man who had sent their father into exile, but the trial was unsuccessful[333]. Moreover, both were elected *Curule Aedile* for 79 and held splendid games which were fondly remembered for their extravagances and innovations[334].

His first marriage was to Clodia Luculli, youngest daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79)[335]. His second marriage, which took place the year after his divorce from Clodia, was

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[332] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 4.5.

[333] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 1.

[334] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 1.6; Cicero. *De Officiis* 2.57; Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 8.19.

[335] Clodia Luculli, and this marriage, is discussed in greater detail within Clodia Metelli's network.

with Servilia's sister and M. Porcius Cato's half-sister, Servilia Minor[336]. Plutarch describes these two women as licentious and immoral, asserting that Lucullus only "tolerated" them, until he divorced them, out of respect for the men to whom they were related to[337].

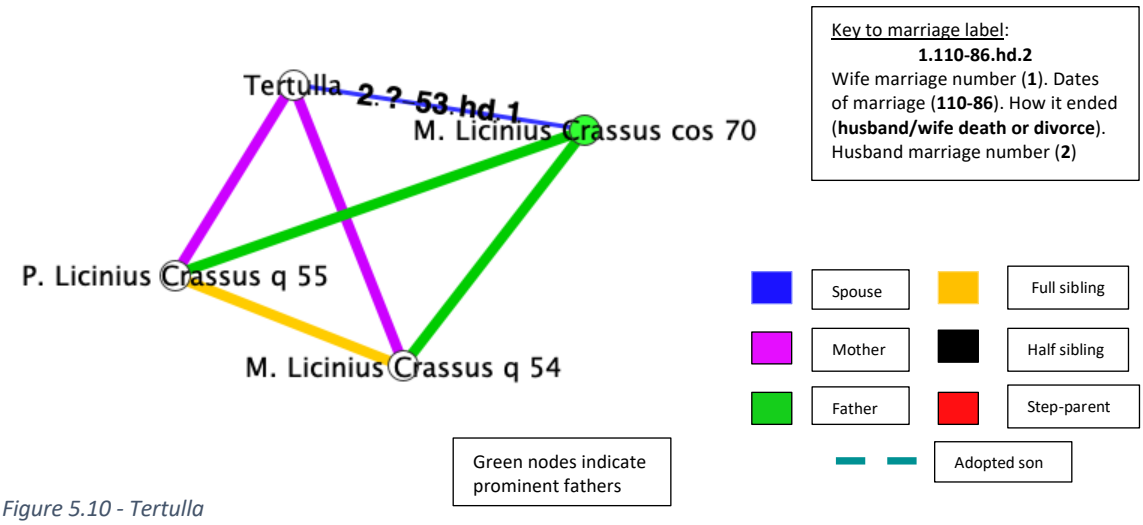

Figure 5.10 - Tertulla

Tertulla was the wife of M. Licinius Crassus (cos 70). She had previously been married to one of Crassus' brothers, but he died in 87 BCE[338]. Even though this was Tertulla's second marriage, it cannot be assumed that she was much older than in her late teens. As her first marriage did not produce any children, it can be concluded that she married young and did not spend enough time with her husband to bear children. If this is indeed the case, then Tertulla might still have been in her late teens to early twenties when she married Crassus. The precise year of their marriage is not known either, nor can it be conclusively deduced from the year of birth of their eldest son, as there is contention as to which of their two sons was born first and what year he was born in[339]. If her eldest son was born circa 90 BCE,

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[336] Servilia Minor, and this marriage, is discussed in greater detail within Servilia's network.

[337] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 38.1.

[338] Plutarch, *Crassus* 1.1. It is not known for certain which brother Tertulla was married to, but both of Crassus' brothers, along with his father died around 87 BCE. Zmeskal (2009) believes it was P. Licinius Crassus Dives, the elder brother.

[339] Roman onomastics would indicate that M. Licinius Crassus (q 54) would have been the eldest son, but this cannot be ascertained from the ancient sources. Syme (1980) and E.

then his father would have been around 25 years old, meaning he and Tertulla would have been married when they were both of similar age[340].

Tertulla and Crassus' marriage appears to have been a solid one, lasting through until Crassus' death in 53 BCE. Rumours of Tertulla's infidelity, most notably with C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), did not seem to be serious enough for them to divorce[341]. Tertulla lost her husband and younger son at the battle of Carrhae, but it is not known if she was still alive at this time.

Rawson (1982) both agree that this is the most likely scenario. Rüpke et al. (2005) hesitates a guess that he was born around 90 BCE.

[340] Marshall (1976, p. 5) attests that Crassus was born in 115 BCE.

[341] Marshall (1976, p. 5); Treggiari (2019, p. 106).

5.3 Aurelia

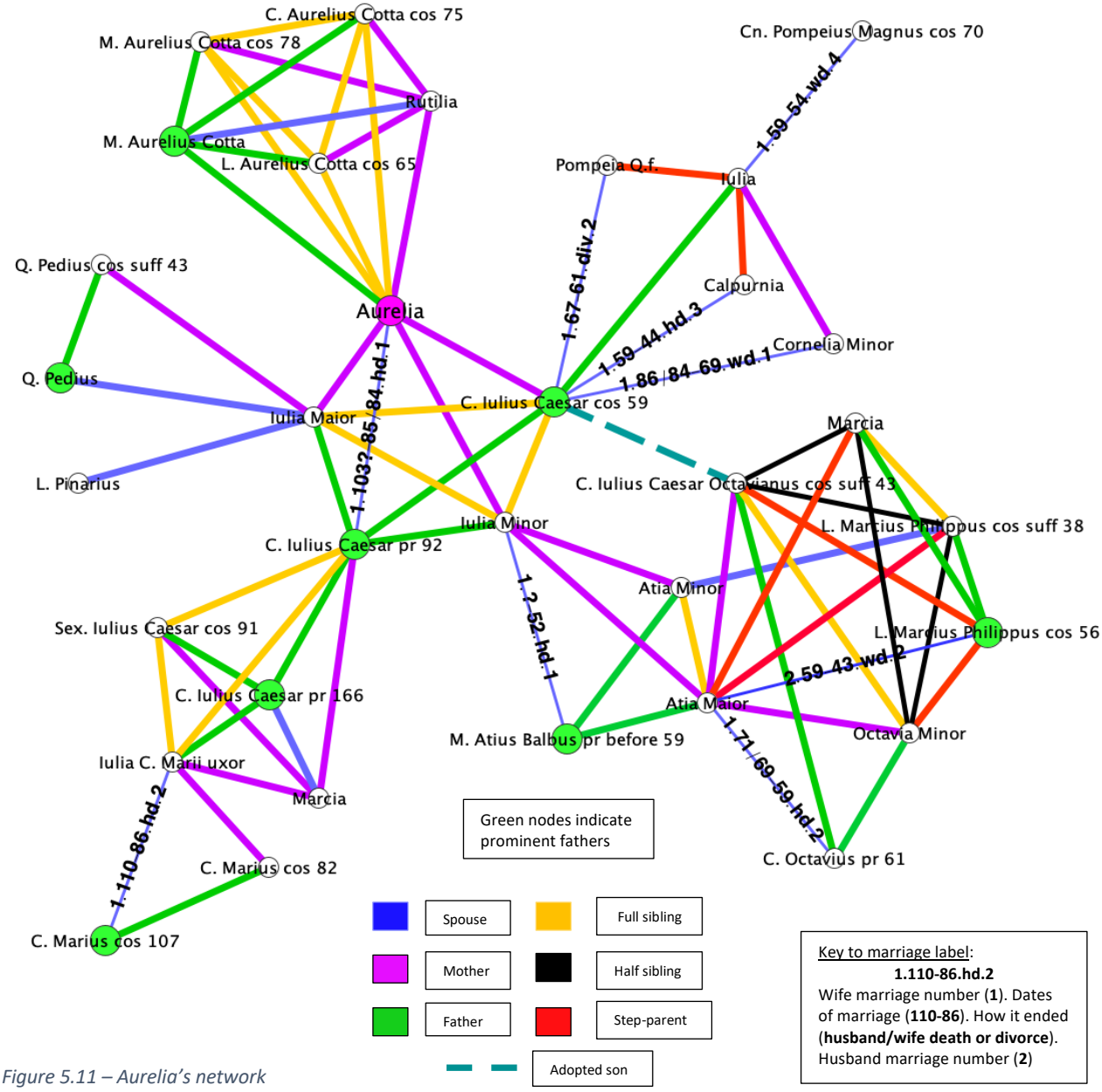

Figure 5.11 – Aurelia's network

Aurelia's network spans five generations, from her parents to her great grand-children Octavia Minor and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43). The latter two would have extended this network for several more generations, but they would have also rendered the network too large and difficult to analyse, in terms of Aurelia's main connections. Moreover, Octavia Minor's network has been created for its own analysis, as has Iulia's[342].

[342] See chapters 5.9 and 5.10 respectively. As such, they will not be discussed individually in this network.

What is readily apparent in this network visualisation is that Aurelia's husband and three children form a pentagonal central core, with all other clusters radiating out of this focal group. The largest cluster stems from Iulia Minor's marriage to M. Atius Balbus (pr before 59). This cluster also connects back to the central core with C. Iulius Caesar's posthumous adoption of his great-nephew C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus. These multiple connections are why Caesar has the highest betweenness, closeness and degree values of any actor in the network and Octavian is placed directly after the central core of actors for each centrality measure, except degree centrality, where his mother Atia Maior comes second, after Caesar and Aurelia[343]. On average, the three centrality measures reflect what is evident from Aurelia's network: Aurelia, Caesar, Octavian and Atia Maior are all significant actors that played a part in bringing other members of this network together, across multiple generations. The clustering coefficient values do not signify anything of note, except that the cluster formed by the marriages and offspring of Atia Maior and Atia Minor represents what must have been a very close family unit[344].

What is also apparent in the network is that Aurelia's own family, the Cottae, create a single cluster that does not continue beyond her parents and brothers, and that it is her marriage to C. Iulius Caesar (pr 92) that allows her network to be so populous. Of course, it can be argued that her familial connections, after her marriage, are only preserved because of her famous son and great grandchildren. However, it is slightly surprising that no marital information about Aurelia's three brothers, who were each Consuls within ten years of each other and descendants of a famous and wealthy Consular family, would not have been

[343] See Appendix I 7.3 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: C Iulius Caesar cos 59 (387.333/0.018/9/0.25), C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 (312/0.016/8/0.429), Aurelia (270/0.016/9/0.444), Iulia Minor (222.667/0.017/7/0.429), Iulia Maior (178/0.015/7/0.333), C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (147.333/0.014/7/0.571) and Atia Maior (108.333/0.013/7/0.444).

[344] See Appendix I 7.3 for all clustering coefficient values.

preserved along with Caesar and Aurelia's ancestry. As such, all members of this cluster rate near the bottom for all statistical measures, meaning that they play minor roles in Aurelia's network, although this is not indicative of the real world roles that these people must have played. In particular, it would seem improbable to suggest that Aurelia's three brothers had little interaction with or influence on their nephew's early life and political career[345].

In terms of marriages in Aurelia's network, C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), Iulia Maior and Atia Maior are the only people to have remarried after widowhood and Caesar is the only one to have divorced. This means that Iulia, Octavia Minor and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus are the only children to have step-parents, who, in turn, all become step-parents themselves[346]. None of the major *gentes* of the late republican senatorial class appear in Aurelia's network. There are no Claudii, Metelli, Aemilii, Servilii and only one of the Cornelii, Cornelia Minor[347]. Instead, the *gens* Marcii features three times in marriages: C. Iulius Caesar (pr 166) married Marcia, Atia Maior married L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56) and her sister Atia Minor married L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38). The Pompeii also feature twice: C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) married Pompeia Q.f. and his daughter Iulia married Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70). However, none of these Marcii or Pompeii are closely related to each other. This lack of marriage diversity and inclusion, at least from amongst the top echelon of Roman nobility, would indicate that Aurelia's family did not seek to marry into these *gentes*, instead possibly "seeking out emerging families that possessed wealth and influence, rather than blue blood, or that they were struggling to attract more illustrious suitors"[348]. Indeed, it has been suggested that Aurelia and her husband made poor marriage alliances for their children[349].

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[345] Münzer (1999, pp. 298-299) discusses the possible interactions and interventions taken by Caesar's maternal uncles in the early stages of his public career.

[346] See Octavia Minor's and Iulia's networks below for further details.

[347] Although it must be noted that Pompeia Q.f. is the maternal granddaughter of L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88).

[348] Tansey (2016, p. 149).

[349] Münzer (1999, p. 300); Tansey (2016, pp. 149, fn 616).

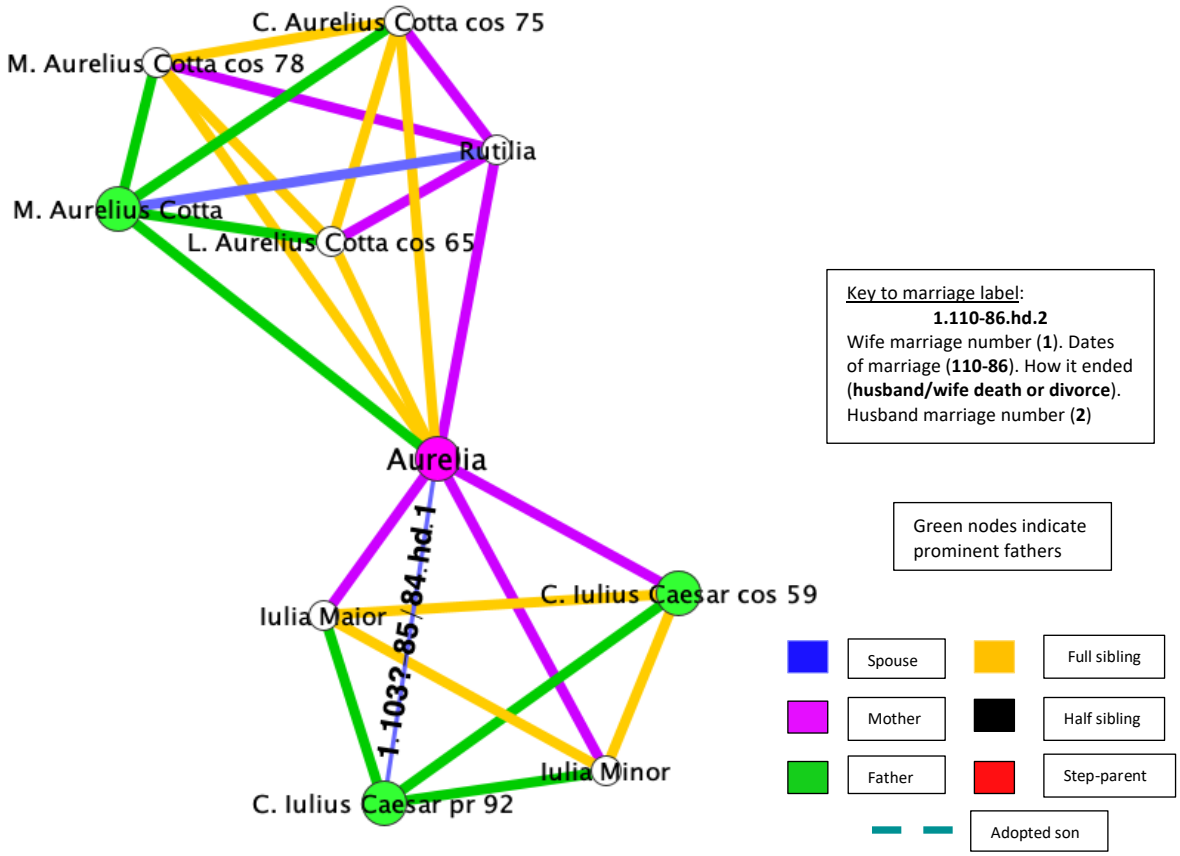

Figure 5.12 – Aurelia's immediate network

There are two points of Aurelia's immediate network that need clarification. Firstly, as stated by multiple sources, her father has been identified as M. Aurelius Cotta. There is a possibility that he could have been her uncle and that L. Aurelius Cotta (cos 119) was her father instead, but as discussed in the methodology, the prevailing literature and more numerous ancient citations were favoured[350].

Secondly, the marriage date between Aurelia and C. Iulius Caesar (pr 92) must have occurred around 103 BCE, plus or minus one year, as Aurelia was born in 120 and her third child, C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), was born in 102/100[351]. As there are no attestations that she was an unusually young bride, it must be assumed that she was around 15/16 when she married. If C. Iulius Caesar was praetor in 92 BCE, then he would have been around 26/27

[350] For Aurelia's paternity, see Smith (1844, pp. 435-436) and as per Zmeskal (2009): Cicero *Atticus* XII 20.2, 22.2; Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Helviam* 16.7

[351] Goldsworthy (2006, p. 30).

when he married Aurelia. Of particular interest about this union is the choice of C. Iulius Caesar as the husband of an Aurelia. Although he was of ancient aristocratic ancestry, there had been no Iulii as consuls for several centuries and the family were also impoverished, by senatorial standards[352]. This could not have been a direct political match, from the point of view of the Aurelii. Perhaps aligning themselves with C. Iulius Caesar's brother-in-law C. Marius' military prowess and dominance of the consulship was the attraction[353]. Aurelia did not remarry upon the death of her husband in 85/84 and died in the early years of her son's campaigns in Gaul, around 54 BCE[354].

Aurelia is rarely mentioned by the ancient sources. Cicero does not mention her at all, but Plutarch describes her as a "woman of discretion"[355]. He then recounts Aurelia's role in terminating the Bona Dea rites of 62 BCE and finding Publius Clodius, who had disguised himself as a woman to try and seduce Pompeia Q.f., Caesar's wife and the host for the evening[356]. Suetonius further indicates that Aurelia, along with one of her daughters, gave testimony at Publius Clodius' trial for sacrilege[357]. In terms of her role as mother, Tacitus indicates that Aurelia raised her son by herself, after her husband's death, and directed his education and upbringing, similar to the way that Cornelia Africani f. raised her sons[358]. It must be assumed that she took the same care in raising her two daughters, Iulia Maior and Iulia Maior. Münzer even suggests that Aurelia might have aided Caesar in choosing to divorce Pompeia Q.f. and in his choice of Calpurnia as his next wife[359]. Aurelia appears to have lived in her son's household up until his death, possibly taking care of her

[352] Goldsworthy (2006, p. 32).

[353] Münzer (1999, pp. 297-298).

[354] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 26.1.

[355] Plutarch, *Caesar* 9.3.

[356] Plutarch, *Caesar* 10.

[357] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 74.2.

[358] Tacitus, *Dialogus Oratoribus* XXVIII.4-5.

[359] Münzer (1999, p. 300).

granddaughter, Iulia, with the same attention to detail that she took in raising her own children[360].

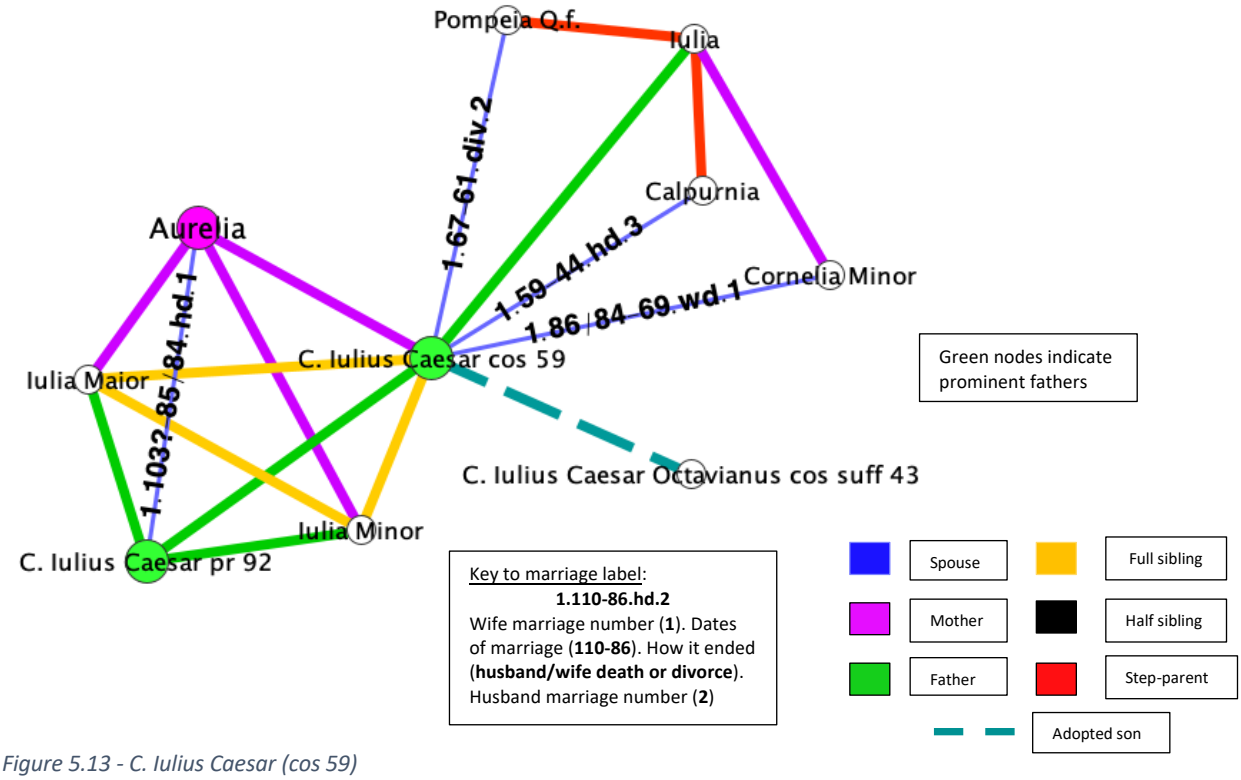

Figure 5.13 - C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59)

In relation to C. Iulius Caesar's network, the son of Aurelia and C. Iulius Caesar (pr 92), the date of his first marriage has been attributed to 84 BCE in the ancient sources, soon after the death of his father[361]. This is due to his birth in 102 or 100 and the sources informing us that he was 15/16 when first married[362]. Tansey discusses the possibility of Caesar first marrying Cossutia in 87 and divorcing her soon after to marry Cornelia Minor. However, his arguments are based on the reinterpretation of a single word in Suetonius, *dimissa*, to mean

[360] Plutarch, *Caesar* 7.2, 9.2, 10, *Cicero* 28.2; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 13.1, 74.2; Treggiari (2019, p. 68).

[361] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* LIV 7.

[362] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 1, 5, 6; Plutarch, *Caesar* 1, 5. See Tansey (2016, pp. 143-144, fn 588) for a thorough analysis of Caesar's year of birth, which he concludes to be 102 BCE. The ancient sources, although conflicting, would indicate a birth year of 100, particularly Suetonius, Appian and Plutarch,

divorce as opposed to the ending of an engagement[363]. He also quotes Plutarch as saying that Pompeia Q.f. was Caesar's third wife, meaning that he must have had another wife besides Cornelia Minor before marrying her[364]. This view is not supported by any of the major historians and so must be dismissed, no matter how compelling Tansey's case may appear[365]. Further details on each of Caesar's marriages are discussed in Cornelia Minor, Calpurnia and Pompeia Q.f.'s individual networks within Iulia's network. What must be considered is that Caesar, at 15/16, would have been too young to choose his own first wife, even if his father was no longer alive. Meaning that Aurelia, and possibly her brothers, would have played an important role in choosing Caesar's first wife[366].

[363] Tansey (2016, pp. 141-151). His argument is based on the reinterpretation of *dimissa* by Deutsch (1918, p. 505).

[364] Plutarch, *Caesar* 5.7.

[365] See Gelzer (1969, pp. 20, 336); Münzer (1999, p. 298); Syme (1939, p. 25).

[366] Plutarch, *Marius* 6.2; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 6.1; Münzer (1999, pp. 298-300); Treggiari (2019, p. 102).

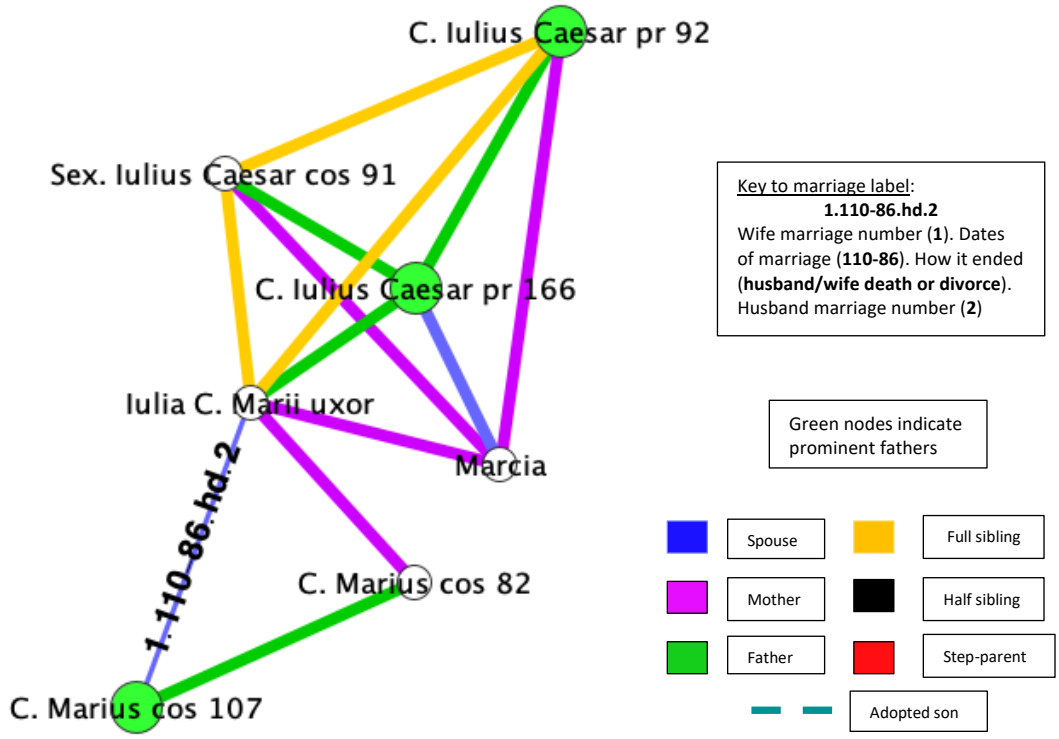

Figure 5.14 – Iulia C. Marii uxor network

It has been argued that it is Iulia's marriage to C. Marius (cos 107) in 110 BCE which changes the Iulii political and financial fortunes[367]. Due to Marius' support, Sex. Iulius Caesar (cos 91), Iulia's brother, becomes the first member of the family in several generations to progress beyond Praetor, a rank both her father and other brother C. Iulius Caesar would attain, in 166 and 92 respectively[368]. Iulia would have been around 17/18 when she married C. Marius, who would have been in his 40s, as he had already been Praetor and governed Further Spain[369]. Iulia gave birth to a son, C. Marius (cos 82), around 108 BCE but he committed suicide in 82, after his protracted battles with L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88)[370]. Iulia did not remarry after Marius' death in 86 BCE. She died in 69 and was eulogised in the Forum by her nephew C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59)[371].

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[367] Deutsch (1918, p. 505)

[368] Broughton (1952).

[369] Treggiari (2019, p. 78).

[370] Plutarch, *Marius* 46.5.

[371] Plutarch, *Caesar* 5.2. See chapter 3.4 for a discussion on this eulogy.

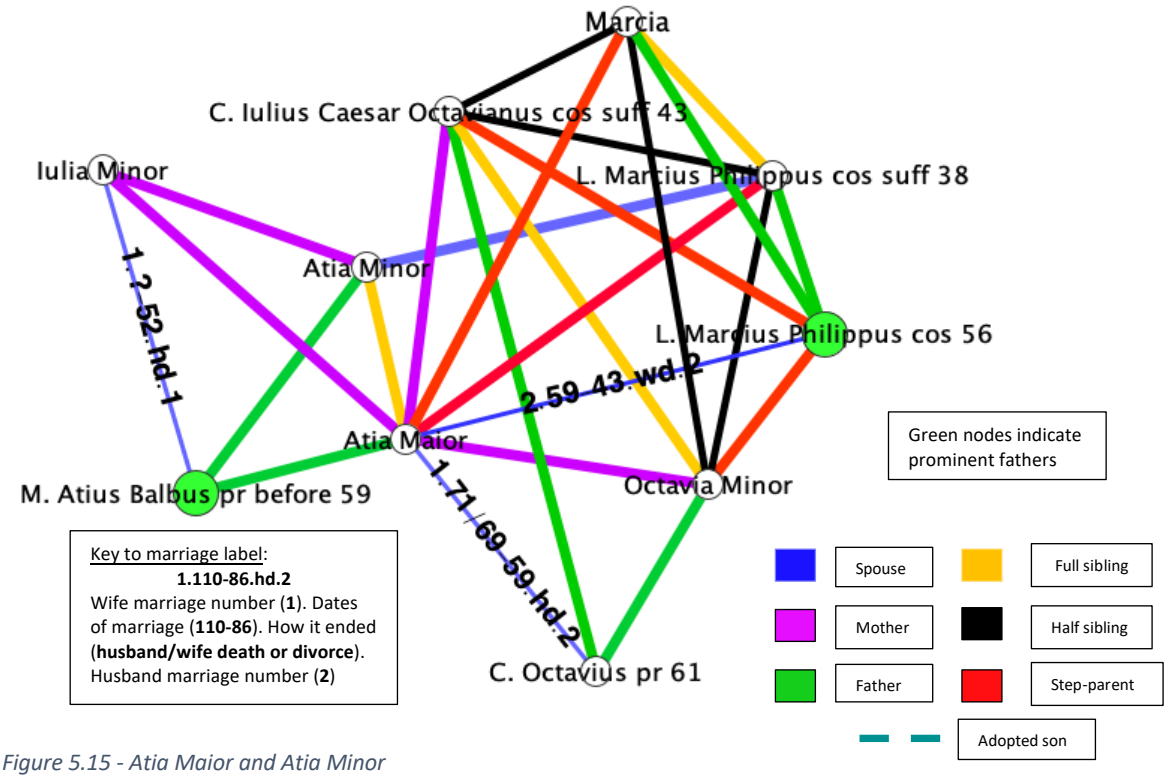

Figure 5.15 - Atia Maior and Atia Minor

Little is known about any of the life dates of Atia Maior. As a result, it is difficult to ascertain the precise date of her first marriage to C. Octavius (pr 61). However, if the practices of the Iulii were to continue, she could not have been older than 18. It is known that her first child, Octavia Minor, was born circa 69 BCE so a date of marriage between 71-69 appears most likely[372]. 71 has to be the earliest possible year, as her mother Iulia Minor was born around 101 BCE and could have married at 15 and borne Atia Maior in the same year. If Atia Maior was also married and gave birth at 15, then no earlier date than 71 BCE for her marriage to C. Octavius, who was in his early thirties, is possible. C. Octavius died suddenly in 59, before he could declare himself as a candidate for the following year's consulship[373].

Atia Maior married her second husband, L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56), in 59 BCE, in the same year as the death of her first husband. She would have been in her late twenties or early thirties for this second marriage. Philippus became consul three years after their

[372] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 31 states that Octavia was older than her brother.

[373] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 4.1.

marriage, meaning he would have been in his early to mid-forties at the time he married Atia Maior, his second wife[374]. They had no children together.

In the same light as Aurelia and Cornelia Africani f., Atia Maior is portrayed by Tacitus as a dutiful mother who took personal care in the upbringing of her son[375]. Suetonius also gives extended details about the mythical nature of her son's birth, but these must be dismissed as literary and cultural embellishments rather than fact[376].

If little is known about the life dates of Atia Maior, even less is known of her sister's, Atia Minor. All that is known is that she was the younger of the two and that her marriage, to L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38), came after her elder sister married his father in 59 BCE. If Atia Minor was only a few years younger than her sister, and her husband was born when L. Marcius Philippus (cos 59) was in his mid to late twenties, as would be the norm, than the ages of the bride and groom would have followed Roman convention. In other words, Atia Minor would have been in her mid to late teens and L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38) would have been in his mid to late twenties. It was not uncommon for dual links within families[377], but it must be noted that two sisters marrying a father and son combination is unparalleled in the late republic and must have caused quite a few eyebrows to be raised, although nothing survives in the sources, not even within Cicero's often gossip-filled letters.

[374] Broughton (1952).

[375] Tacitus, *Dialogus Oratoribus* XXVIII 4-5. It must be assumed that she took as much care in the upbringing of her daughter Octavia Minor.

[376] *Suetonius, Divus Augustus* 94.

[377] Tansey (2016, pp. 101, fn 413).

5.4 Servilia

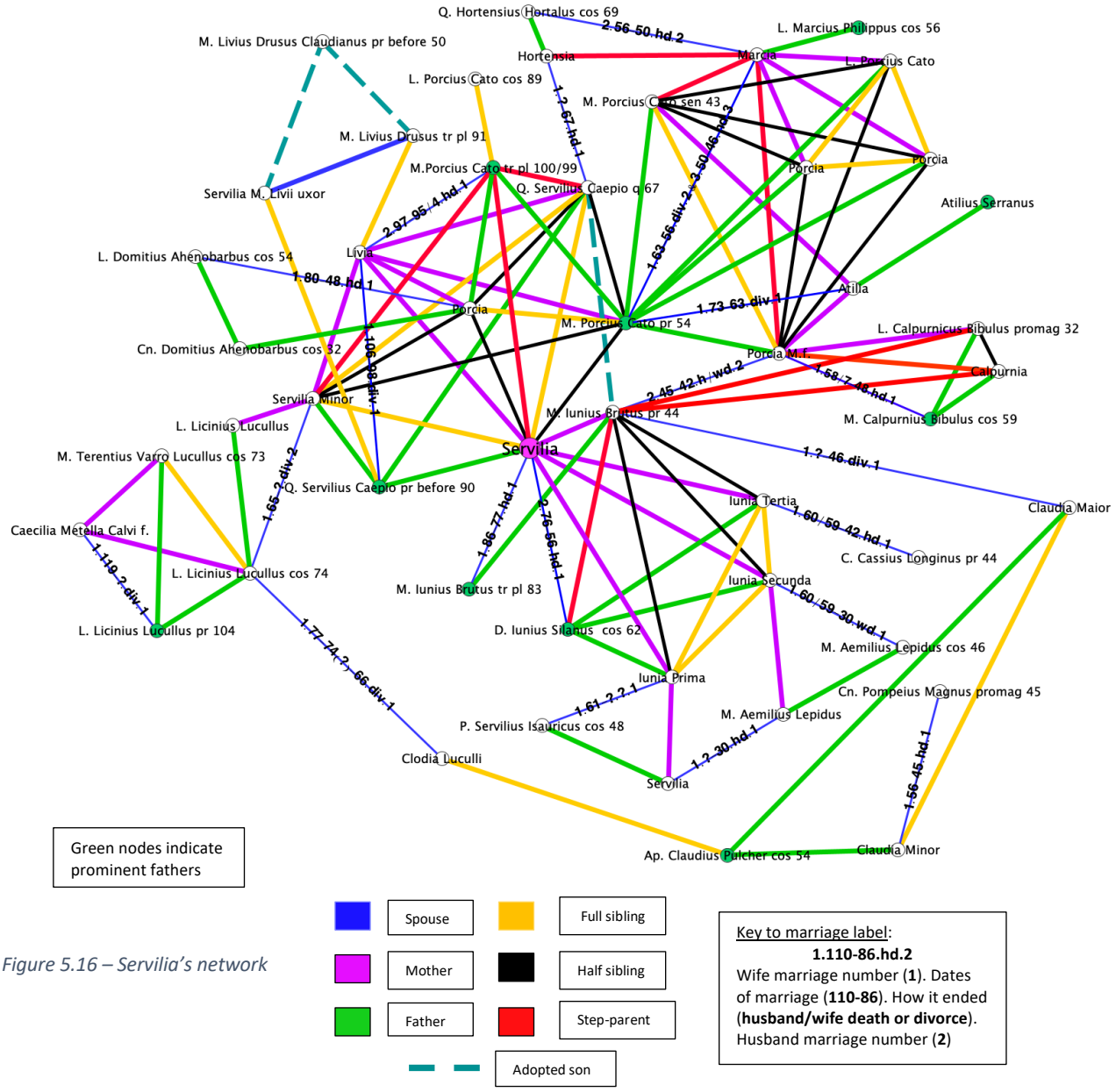

Figure 5.16 – Servilia's network

As previously mentioned, in writing chapter 4.2, when first deciding which network software to use, Servilia's network was used as a template for what would work best to visualise elite female networks of late republican Rome. Servilia was chosen as the test subject because her known connections have been so well documented, by ancient and modern sources. This network could have been much larger, if all peripheral actors had been included, but this current network represents Servilia's core familial connections. It includes four generations, with 52 actors and 113 links. The visualisation highlights the fact that Servilia was the focal actor within her network and that she was an extremely well connected

woman, with familial bonds that included the majority of the elite *gentes* of the late republic; the Aemilii, Marcii, Domitii, Licinii, Livii, Iunii and Claudii.

Servilia's immediate family are represented in the three larger clusters. The central one being her parents and siblings, the one to the right, and second densest, is the cluster that contains the family of her half-brother, M. Porcius Cato (pr 54). The smallest of the three clusters, the one to the right of her node, is comprised of Servilia's children and two husbands. Surrounding these central clusters are smaller triads and tetrads, which are connected to them by marriage links. There is also a closed loop created by two Claudii women, Clodia Luculli and her niece Claudia Maior. Surprisingly, only the latter scores highly in the centrality measures[378]. Claudia Maior has the seventh highest betweenness value, but with only 3 connections, this score indicates her importance as a bridging agent between her family and Servilia's. Understandably, Servilia Minor, M. Porcius Cato (pr 54) and M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44) all have high betweenness scores as they are the actors linking the three central clusters together. Porcia M.f. also has a high betweenness score, which highlights her role as a bridging agent, as she links her father's personal cluster back to his half-sister's when she married Brutus, her cousin and Servilia's son. Brutus has a second important link as he was posthumously adopted by his uncle Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67). Furthermore, L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74) is another important bridging agent, linking the Claudii back to the Servilii, with his two marriages, to Clodia Luculli and Servilia Minor, Servilia's sister. Even though there are only nine individuals with eight or more links, the denseness of this network is evident in the fact that all actors have closeness values between 0.005 and 0.01, with only six actors not having values between 0.006 and 0.01.

[378] See Appendix I 7.4 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: M. Iunius Brutus pr 44 (574.729/0.01/11/0.273), Servilia (565.799/0.1/13/0.385), M. Porcius Cato pr 54 (494.304/0.01/13/0.41), Servilia Minor (459.268/0.009/9/0.528), L. Licinius Lucullus cos 74 (348.667/0.07/6/0.267), Porcia M.f. (307.773/0.009/11/0.4) and Claudia Maior (242/0.007/3/0.333).

There are twenty marriages in this network and the dates of all but one of them have been identified. It is clearly evident in Servilia's network that marriages played a significant role in bridging certain family groups together, as well as reinforcing some pre-existing connections and forging new ones with politically important men. Of particular note are the marriages of Servilia's son to Claudia Maior, whose sister, Claudia Minor, was married to Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45), the son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70), around the same time. Servilia's brother, Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67), married Hortensia; Servilia's half-sister, Porcia married Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 54); and the marriages of Servilia's three daughters to prominent men all signify that Servilia and her family were focal figures in the late republic.

For such a large network, there are relatively few stepmothers. Only Marcia and Porcia M.f are stepmothers, as both their husbands had children from previous marriages. Instead, there are more stepfathers in Servilia's network. Servilia had a stepfather, M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99) and her son also has one, as well as being a stepfather himself, when she remarried after the death of her first husband.

To keep Servilia's network focused on her immediate connections, several peripheral familial clusters have been omitted. For example, the familial details of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45), Caecilia Metella Calvi f. and Clodia Luculli have not been included, nor have those of L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56), Marcia's father[379]. Each of these is included and discussed in a different network. Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45) is included in Pompeia's network and his marriage to Claudia Maior is discussed in Clodia Metelli's network. The connections of L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56) are included in Marcia's and Aurelia's networks. Clodia Luculli is discussed in Clodia Metelli's network and Caecilia Metella Calvi f. in her own network. Servilia's niece, Porcia M.f. is discussed in Marcia's network.

[379] If the latter had been included, Atia Maior would have been shown as Marcia's stepmother and Philippus would have been shown to have been stepfather to Atia's children.

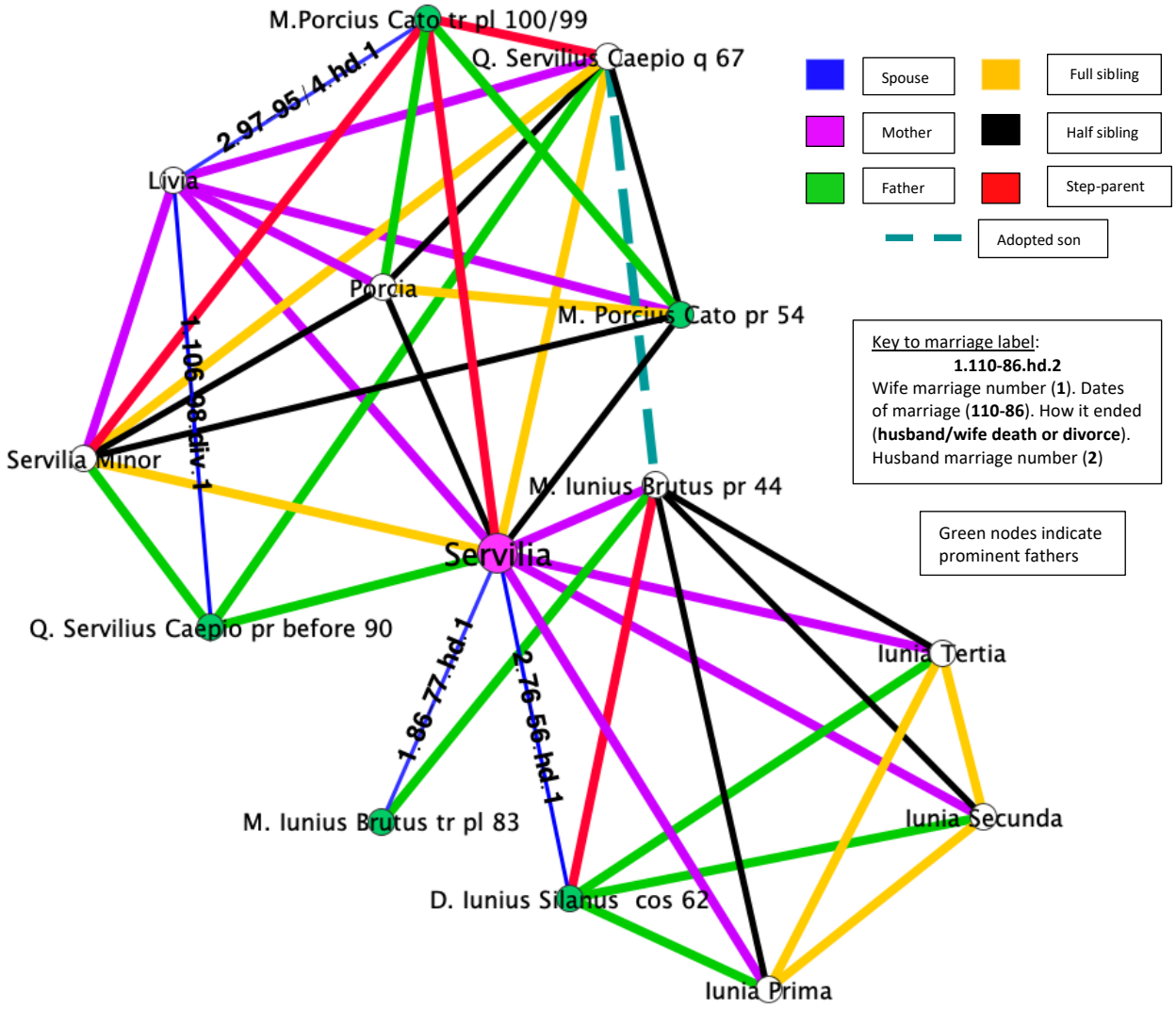

Figure 5.17 – Servilia's immediate network

Servilia was the eldest child of Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90). Both of her parents' families included several generations of consuls, although the majority of the illustrious men had died, except for her father and maternal uncle, M. Livius Drusus (tr pl 91), by the time Servilia was born circa 100 BCE[380]. She had two full siblings, Servilia Minor[381] and Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67), and two half-siblings, Porcia and M. Porcius Cato (pr 54), when her parents divorced and her mother remarried M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99).

[380] Broughton (1952); Treggiari (2019, pp. 1, 23-40).

[381] For arguments that Servilia Minor was not her sister but her niece, see Servilia Minor's personal network below.

However, by 90 BCE, her parents, stepfather and uncle had died and Servilia, and all her siblings, would have been cared for and educated under the supervision of Servilia (M. Livii uxor), her aunt and the wife of M. Livius Drusus (tr pl 91)[382].

Servilia married M. Iunius Brutus (tr pl 83) around 86 BCE, when she was 14/15 and he was 29/30[383]. The union produced one child, M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44). The marriage lasted nine years, until M. Iunius Brutus (tr pl 83) was killed by Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) after the surrender of Mutina in 77 BCE[384]. Subsequently, Servilia remarried a man of the same *gens* as her first husband, D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62), in 76 BCE[385]. By this second marriage, Servilia was around 25 years old and Silanus was 31/32[386]. From this union, Iunia Prima, Secunda and Tertia were born[387]. D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62) died in 56 BCE and Servilia did not remarry. She died sometime after 42[388].

However, it is not only Servilia's familial connections that make her a woman of significance in the late republic. Her actions and influence in politics also demonstrate that female agency, for elite women, was possible. One of the earliest anecdotes that references Servilia's ability to influence politics involves a love letter written to her lover, C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), which was handed to him in the Senate during a heated debate about the conspirators in L. Sergius Catiline's plot to overthrow the Roman government in 63 BCE[389]. Plutarch informs us that whilst Caesar and M. Porcius Cato (pr 54), who was also Servilia's

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[382] Treggiari (2019, pp. 55-57).

[383] Treggiari (2019, p. 76).

[384] Plutarch, *Pompey* 16.2-5; *Brutus* 4.1-2.

[385] Treggiari (2019, p. 88). However, Münzer (1999, p. 320) believes the marriage took place around 75, or a bit later.

[386] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[387] Suetonius, *Caesar* 50.2 and Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 30.2.

[388] See Treggiari (2019, pp. 213-216) for a possible timeline of Servilia's family after 44 BCE and conclusions regarding her death.

[389] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 24.1-2; *Brutus* 5.3-6.

half-brother, were arguing, Caesar received a note and Cato promptly accused him of receiving letters from the conspirators, thus implying that Caesar was part of Catiline's plot. Whereupon Caesar just handed Cato the note for him to see that it was a love letter from Servilia. Although not directly affecting politics, Servilia's note was able to show the men in the Senate that Cato's accusations towards Caesar were baseless and that Servilia could act without fear of the repercussions of a married woman sending a message to her lover during a Senate meeting.

Cicero, on the other hand, offers an anecdote that clearly identifies Servilia as a political influencer[390]. In his letter to Atticus on June 7th 44 BCE, Cicero discusses a meeting he had with M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44) and C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44), Servilia's son and son-in-law, about M. Antonius' offer of appointing them as grain suppliers so that they could safely exit a hostile Rome after their assassination of C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59). Servilia may not have been the only woman present[391] but Cicero's comment that "Servilia promises she will see that that appointment to the corn-supply shall be withdrawn from the senatorial decree"[392] indicates that Servilia considered herself well connected enough, as well as sufficiently influential, to overturn a senatorial decree.

As the mother and mother-in-law of two of Caesar's murderers, as well as the mother-in-law of one of Caesar's friends and co-consul in 48 BCE, P. Servilius Isauricus, and the mother-in-law of one of the Triumvirs, M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46), Servilia was not only well placed to keep abreast of current political developments, but she also exerted enough individual influence to make sure that her children and grandchildren were looked after.

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[390] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XV 11.

[391] Cicero places Porcia M.f., Brutus' wife, and Iunia Tertia, Servilia's daughter and C. Cassius Longinus' wife, at the same meeting.

[392] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XV 11.

Servilia's family was torn, in terms of political loyalties, but Servilia repeatedly made appeals to senators, especially Cicero, on behalf of her daughters and grandchildren[393].

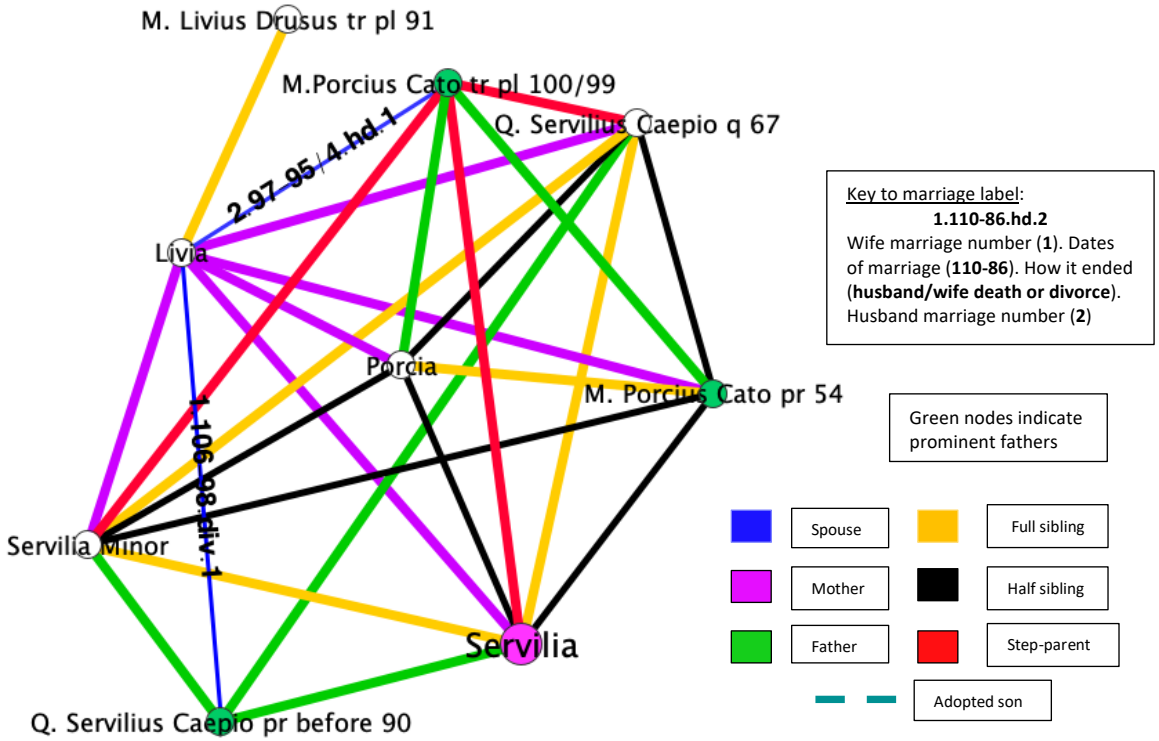

Figure 5.18 – Livia

Livia, Servilia's mother, was the sister of M. Livius Drusus (tr pl 91), and so was most likely the daughter of M. Livius Drusus (cos 122)[394]. According to Seneca, her mother was Cornelia, but no other source mentions this connection[395].

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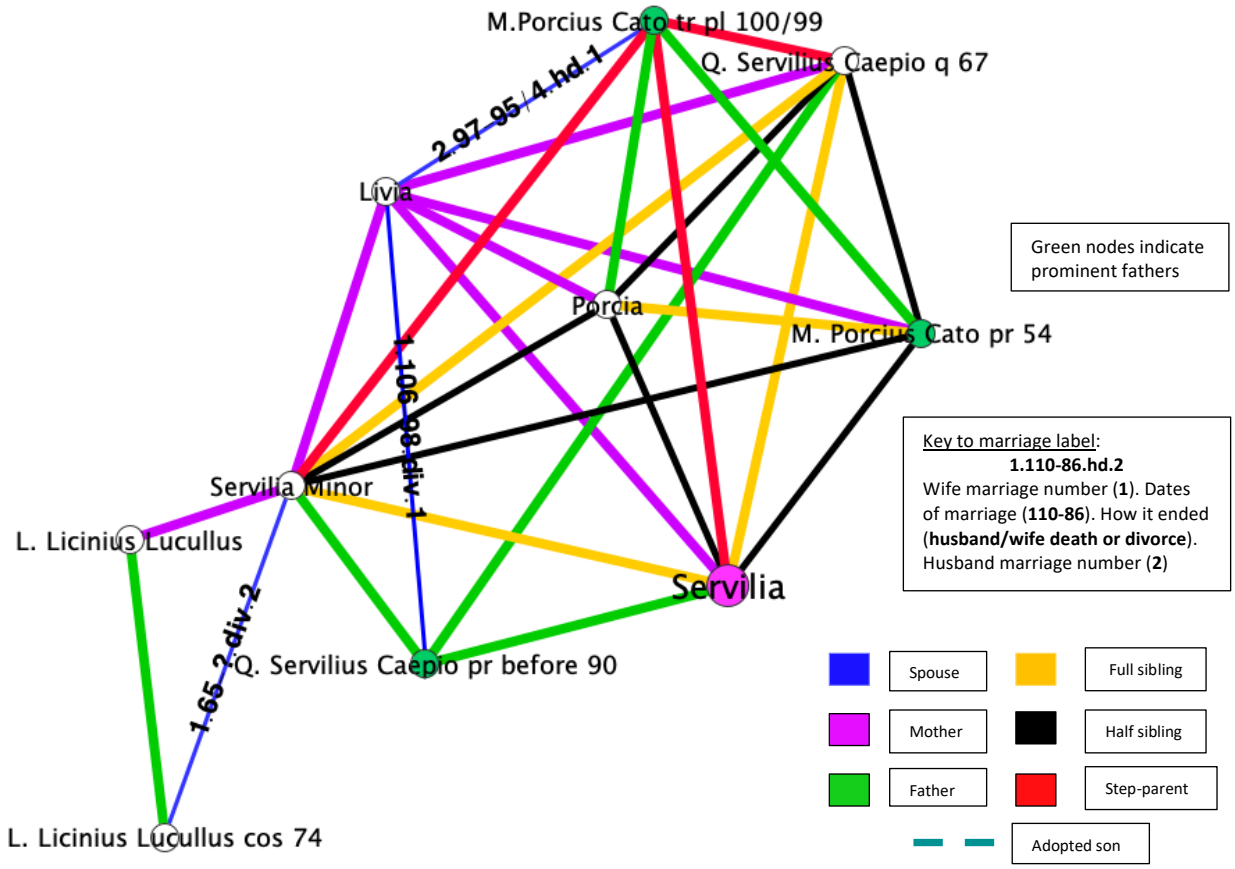
[393] Treggiari (2019, pp. 201-207). The letters from Cicero to Brutus, from 43 BCE, also detail Servilia's actions, in particular the letter from 27 July. Cicero, *Brutus* 24.

[394] Cicero, *Brutus* 222; Zmeskal (2009).

[395] Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Marciam* 16.4-5. Tansey (2016, pp. 87-93) argues that Cornelia was indeed Livia's mother and that she was the daughter of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio (cos 138). As Seneca is the only ancient source to mention Livia's mother, and as plausible as Tansey's argument may be, Cornelia has not been included in this network.

Livia married Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90) around 106 BCE, when she was 15/16 and he 10 years older[396]. The union produced three children: Servilia, Servilia Minor and Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67). In typically Roman fashion, and because the two men were friends, Livia's brother had also married the sister of Servilia's husband, Servilia (M. Livii uxor)[397]. However, Livia and her husband divorced in 97 BCE and she remarried M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99), who was 33, within the next year[398]. From this marriage were born M. Porcius Cato (pr 54) and Porcia.

Livia died in 95/94 BCE, most probably from complications during childbirth, or soon after giving to M. Porcius Cato (pr 54), her last child[399].



[396] Treggiari (2019, p. 40).

[397] Treggiari (2019, p. 41).

[398] Badian (1964, p. 42); Sumner (1973, p. R 160); Treggiari (2019, p. 47).

[399] Treggiari (2019, p. 47).

Figure 5.19 - Servilia Minor

There is much debate about the identity of this Servilia, named Servilia Minor in this project to differentiate her from Servilia, the mother of M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44). Syme follows Münzer's argument that she was the daughter of Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90)[400]. Plutarch mentions that Lucullus' second wife, Servilia, was the sister of Cato, but in Cato's life, he says that Cato only had one half-sister, Servilia, the mother of Brutus[401]. On the other hand, Treggiari believes that Servilia Minor was the daughter of Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67) and his wife Hortensia[402]. There is plausibility in Treggiari's argument, especially given her reasoning on pages 287-8, but there is too much evidence that points to Servilia Minor being Servilia's sister rather than niece[403].

As such, Servilia Minor was born not long after Servilia, between 100 and 97 BCE, to Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90). Her first recorded marriage was to L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74) in 65 BCE[404]. Servilia Minor would have been in her mid-thirties and he would have been in his mid-fifties for his second marriage[405]. Servilia Minor's age for this first marriage seems to be very advanced, especially given that the majority of the women in Servilia's family married around 15/16. However, it could be that L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74) was not Servilia Minor's first husband. Perhaps her first husband was not anyone of note and he has,

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[400] Münzer (1999, pp. 232, 270-271, 307, 315); Syme (1939, p. 21).

[401] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 38.1; *Cato Minor*, 1.1. In the latter, Plutarch labels Caepio as Cato's full brother and not his half-brother. They obviously cannot have been full brothers if they do not share the same name and neither were adopted.

[402] Treggiari (2019, pp. 47, 96-47, 287-288).

[403] The main evidence being age. If the Servilia who married Lucullus in 65 BCE was the daughter of Hortensia, then she would have been born around 80, at the latest. This is not unfeasible as Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67) was born around 97 BCE, the last child of Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio before their divorce in 98, but it would be highly unlikely that he was married and had a child before turning 20.

[404] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 38.1.

[405] Treggiari (2019, p. 96).

therefore, not being recorded in the ancient sources. This would definitely explain why Servilia Minor was the only woman in her family to not marry before the age of 20.

The marriage produced one child, L. Licinius Lucullus, who was born around 64 BCE. However, the union ended in divorce sometime between 60 and 57, after Servilia Minor had had an affair with C. Memmius (pr 58) and Lucullus had stayed with her out of respect for her half-brother M. Porcius Cato (pr 54)[406]. The last mention we have of Servilia Minor is by Plutarch, who details that Servilia Minor, after her divorce, followed her half-brother M. Porcius Cato (pr 54) on his campaign to Asia along with her young son, who had been made the child's guardian after the death of his father, L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74), in 57 BCE[407].

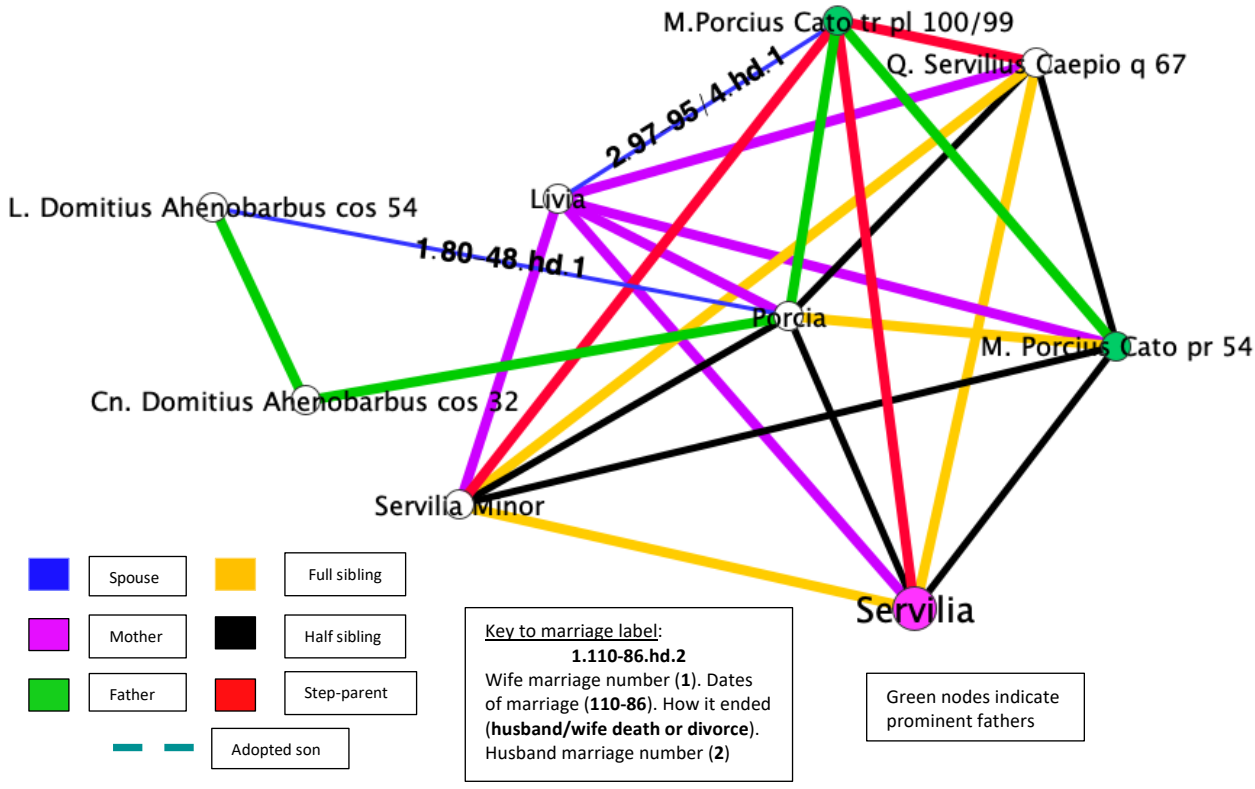

Figure 5.20 – Porcia

Porcia was the first child born from Livia's remarriage to M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99). She must have been born soon after their marriage, around 97/96 BCE, for her father died circa

[406] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 38.1; Tansey (2016, pp. 183-184); Treggiari (2019, pp. 96-97).

[407] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 54.

95/94 and her brother, M. Porcius Cato (pr 54), was born after her. Or they were born in reverse order, as Treggiari believes[408]. Either way, Porcia and her full brother were born between 97 and 95/4 BCE.

Porcia married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 54) around 80 BCE, when she would have been 16/17 and he 18[409]. They had a son, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 32), but his year of birth is difficult to ascertain. According to Broughton, his first recorded office was as *praefectus* to C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44) and M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44) in 44 BCE[410]. He then held several promagistracies and proconsulships until his consulship in 32. This could possibly mean that he was born around 74/72 BCE.

From Cicero we are informed that Porcia and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 54) were in Naples in 49 BCE when he decided to confront the marching C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) at Corfinium[411]. A brief siege followed, in which L. Domitius Ahenobarbus was pardoned by Caesar, but he decided to follow Pompey to Pharsalus and died there soon after the battle[412]. Porcia died not long after, in 46/45 BCE, and her funeral elegy was read out by Cicero, who then sent a copy to her son and brother[413].

[408] Treggiari (2019, p. 43).

[409] Sumner (1973, p. R209).

[410] Broughton (1952); Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XVI 4.4.

[411] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* IX 3.

[412] Suetonius, *Nero* 2.

[413] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIII 37, 88.

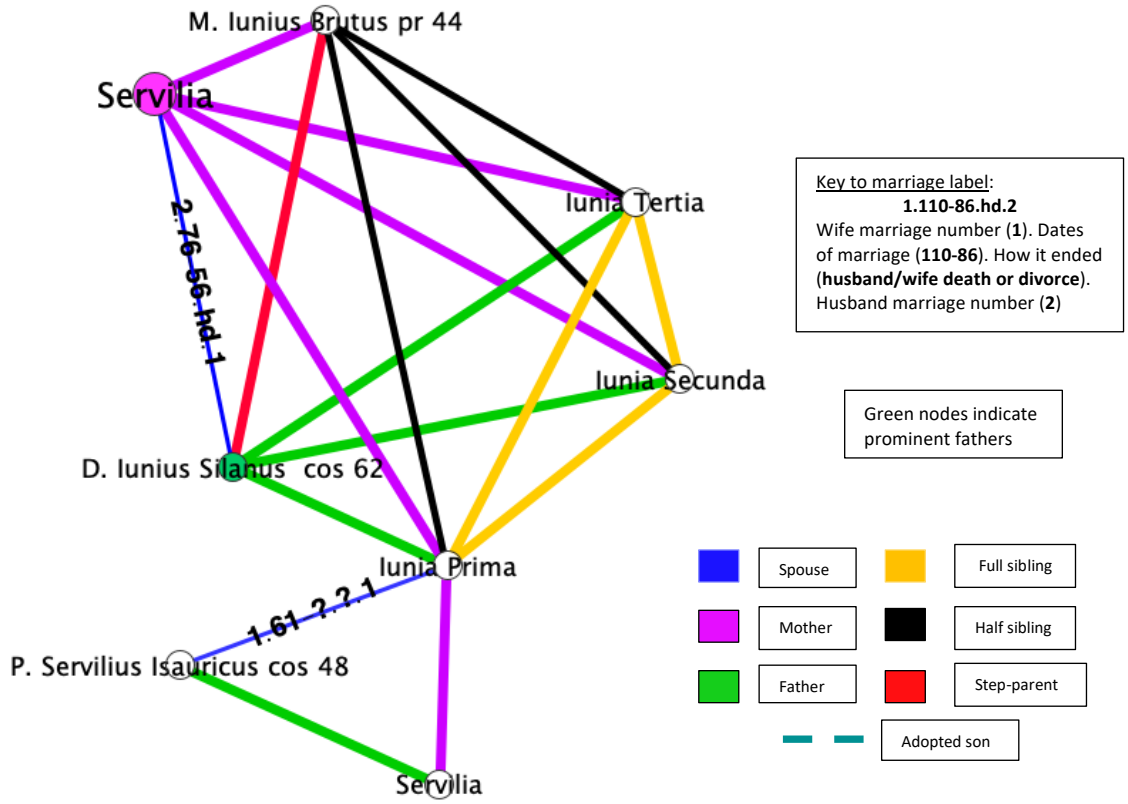

Figure 5.21 - Iunia Prima

Iunia Prima, so named because she was the oldest daughter of D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62) and Servilia, was most likely born soon after their marriage, around 76/75 BCE[414]. She married P. Servilius Isauricus (cos 48) in 61 BCE, at the age of 15/14, whilst he was 38[415]. They had a daughter, named Servilia, who married her cousin M. Aemilius Lepidus, the son of Iunia Secunda and M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46)[416].

There is no mention of how Iunia Prima or P. Servilius Isauricus (cos 48) died, nor whether their marriage was ended by one of their deaths or by divorce. The last mention of either of

[414] Harders (2007) argues that Iunia Prima was not the daughter of Servilia and D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62). Tansey (2016, pp. 234-239) rebukes this argument as there is little evidence to support Harders' view.

[415] (Rüpke et al., 2005).

[416] See her personal network below.

them in the sources is the acknowledgement that P. Servilius Isauricus (cos 48) was also the consul of 41 BCE[417].

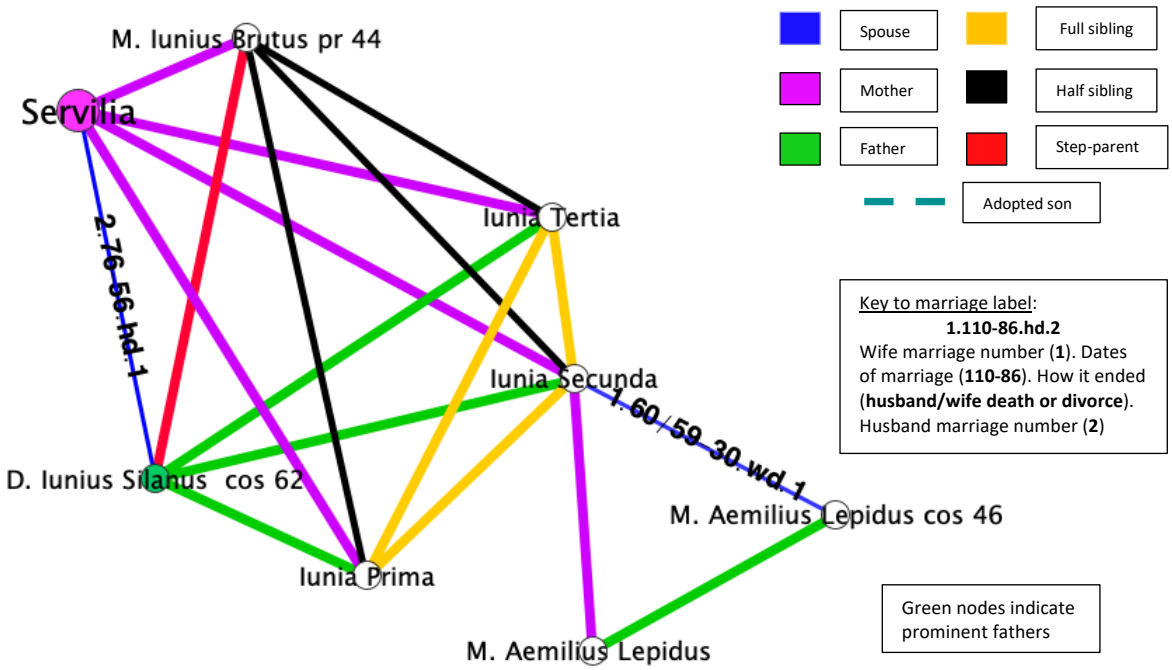

Figure 5.22 - Iunia Secunda

Iunia Secunda was married to M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46) circa 60/59 BCE, or possibly earlier, meaning she would have been born around 75. Lepidus was born in 90/89 BCE, which would have made him 30 at the time of marriage[418]. They were definitely married by 50 BCE as Cicero writes to Atticus of his surprise that Lepidus and Brutus overlooked Iunia Secunda's possible affair[419]. Cicero also describes her as "*probatissima uxor*"[420], which would be unlikely if she had been publicly outed for having had an affair. Iunia Secunda is

[417] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 5; Cassius Dio, XLVIII; Treggiari (2019, pp. 132-133).

[418] Rüpke et al. (2005); Sumner (1973).

[419] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* VI 1. In this letter Cicero mentions that Iunia Secunda's portrait was discovered, along with another four portraits, in the luggage belonging to P. Vedius. There were no definite links to an affair but such articles in a man's luggage usually hinted at an intimate connection.

[420] Cicero, *Philippicae* 13.8.

also recorded as delivering a letter from her husband, one of the only instances we have of a wife doing so[421].

Iunia Secunda and Lepidus had at least one child, M. Aemilius Lepidus. He was betrothed to Antonia, the eldest daughter of M. Antonius, but that engagement was annulled and he married his cousin Servilia instead.[422] In 30 BCE, the younger M. Aemilius Lepidus was executed by C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43) for plotting to kill him after the battle of Actium. Iunia Secunda was also suspected of being involved in the plot but was spared the same fate as her son due to her husband's, M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46), pleas to be able to grant her bail, even though his own political position had been severely weakened after Octavian had manoeuvred him out of power[423].

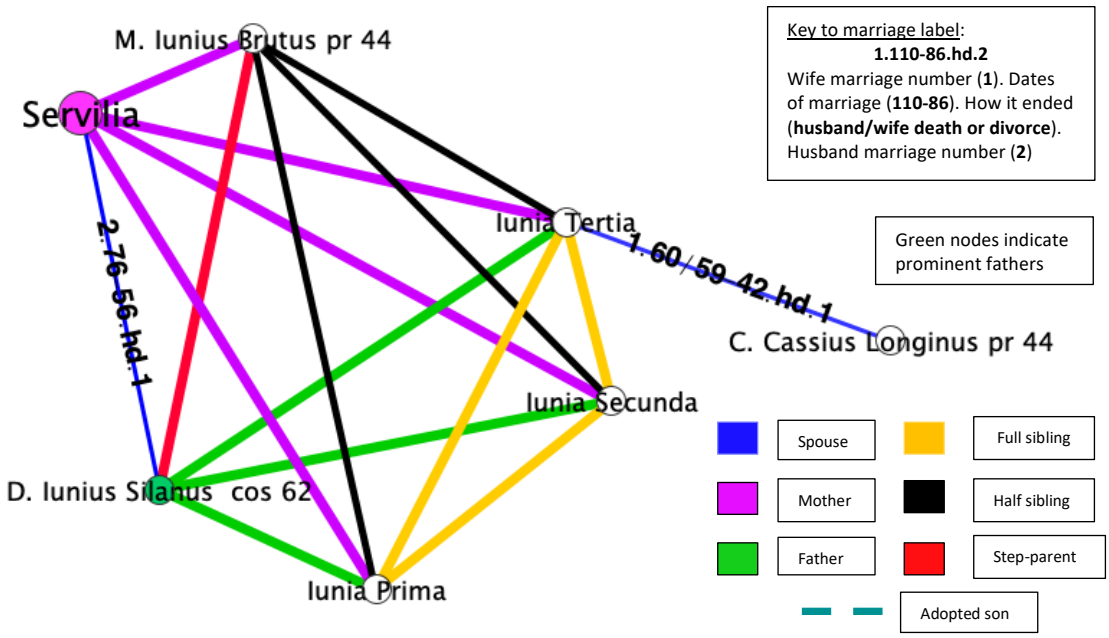

Figure 5.23 - Iunia Tertia

Iunia Tertia, the last daughter of Servilia and D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62), was born between 75 and 72 BCE. She married C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44) circa 60/59 BCE, making her age at

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[421] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIV 8. Treggiari (2019, pp. 137-138) believes Iunia Secunda was delivering the letter to her brother Brutus.

[422] For more detail, see the network of Servilia, the daughter of Iunia Prima below.

[423] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 50.

marriage between 13 and 16 and he in his early twenties[424]. The majority of first marriages for women occurred around 15/16, but as 12 was the legal age for marriage, 13 would have been possible[425]. Plutarch informs us that they had one son, whose name is unknown. He must have been born around 57 BCE, as on the day that Cassius was going to the Senate to assassinate C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), Cassius was also taking his son to the Forum to assume his *toga virilis*[426]. Cicero does mention, as well, that Iunia Tertia suffered a miscarriage in May of 44 and that he was sorry for the fact as he wanted "as many Cassii produced as Bruti"[427].

As with most elite women of the late republic, Iunia Tertia's life was not without gossip. Suetonius recounts the incident which led insinuations that she was either C. Iulius Caesar's mistress or daughter[428]. Servilia, Iunia Tertia's mother, was allowed by Caesar, her long-time lover, to purchase properties during the civil wars of 50-45 BCE. This led to comments on the low prices she was able to purchase them at and for Cicero to comment that a third (tertia) had been taken off. The comment was either a reference to Iunia Tertia being Caesar's lover or that she was in fact his daughter.

Although C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44) committed suicide after the first battle of Philippi[429], Iunia Tertia lived for another 64 years, dying in 22 CE[430]. Tacitus also informs us that in her will she left money to many of the leading Romans at the time but omitted the Emperor

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[424] Treggiari (2019, p. 139). Treggiari also posits that a first wife for Cassius might have existed, but this is completely hypothetical.

[425] A. Watson (1967, p. 39).

[426] Plutarch, *Brutus* 14.3. As Plutarch is the only source for this son, and for the fact that his name is not mentioned, he has not been added to Iunia Tertia's network.

[427] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIV 20.

[428] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 50.

[429] Broughton (1952).

[430] Tacitus, *Annales* III 76.

Tiberius[431]. Nevertheless, Tiberius, in his high regard for Iunia Tertia, still gave her a ceremonial funeral with many of her prominent ancestors being on display, except for her husband, C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44), and brother, M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44), the leading figures behind the assassination of C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59).

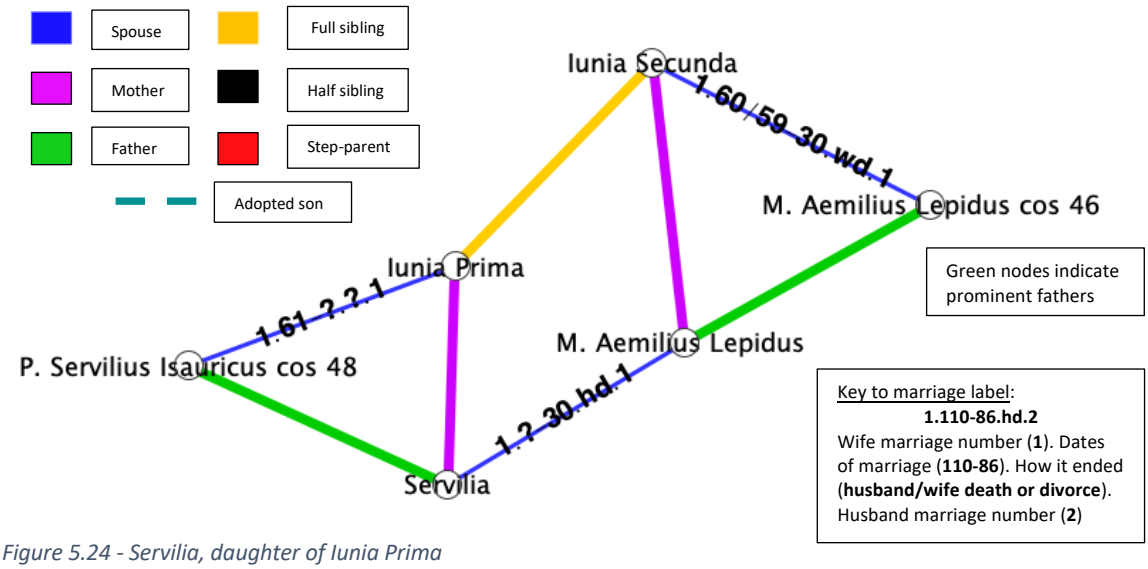

Figure 5.24 - Servilia, daughter of Iunia Prima

Servilia, the daughter of Iunia Prima and P. Servilius Isauricus (cos 48), would have been born soon after their marriage in 61 BCE. In her youth she was betrothed to C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43), but after the formation of the second triumvirate between Octavian, M. Antonius and her uncle M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46), this potential union was dissolved so that Octavian could marry Claudia P.f., the stepdaughter of M. Antonius and the daughter of Fulvia and Publius Clodius[432]. Instead, Servilia married her first cousin M. Aemilius Lepidus, the son of her aunt Iunia Secunda and M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46). The date of this marriage is not known but must have happened sometime after 44 BCE as M. Aemilius Lepidus had been betrothed to Antonia, the eldest daughter of M. Antonius, but that union was also dissolved[433].

[431] Tacitus, *Annales* III 76.

[432] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 62.1.

[433] Appian, *Bellum Civile* V93 (391); Cicero, *Ad Familiares* XII 2; Cassius Dio, XLIV 53.6.

No children from this marriage have been recorded and both husband and wife died in 30 BCE. After M. Aemilius Lepidus' execution by Octavian in 30, due to the former's plot to assassinate the latter, Servilia committed suicide by supposedly swallowing hot coals, just as Porcia M.f., the wife of her uncle M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44), had done in 42 BCE[434].

[434] Velleius, II 88.3.

5.5 Clodia Metelli

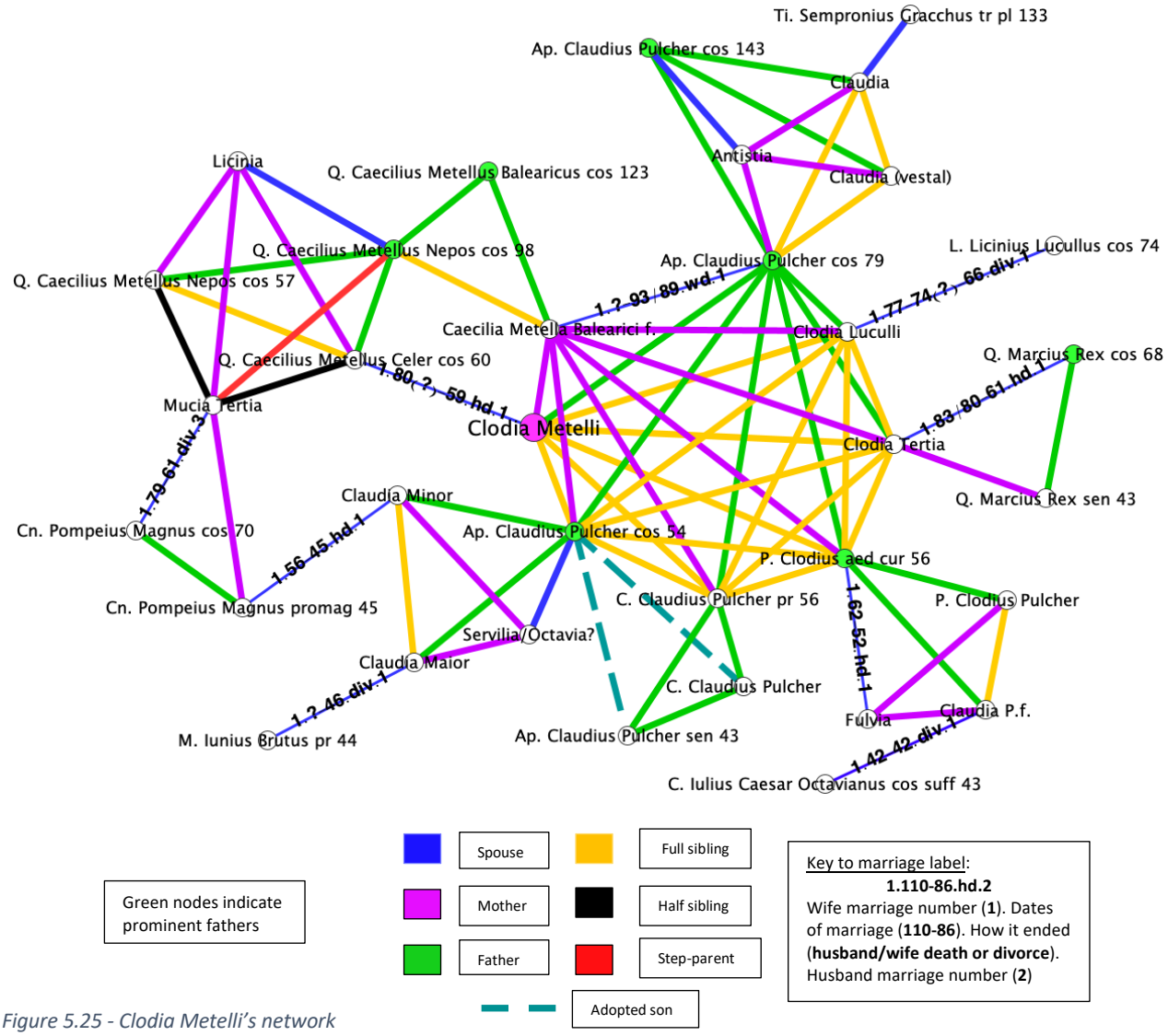

Figure 5.25 - Clodia Metelli's network

To simplify a very complicated family unit, as all six children of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) and Caecilia Metella Balearici f. feature prominently in the political and social dynamics of the late Roman republic, gamonymic identifiers have been given to two of their daughters, who would have been known as Clodia/Claudia at the time. Clodia Metelli, who is the focal actor of this network, refers to the wife of Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (cos 60), and Clodia Luculli was the wife of L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74). Clodia Tertia, who was already known by this name in Plutarch's lifetime, was married to Q. Marcius Rex (cos 68)[435]. The Claudii Pulchri were an extremely well connected aristocratic family with a highly distinguished

[435] Plutarch, *Cicero* 29.5.

lineage that included multiple generations of Consuls and several women who had demonstrated incredible agency, such as the Vestal Virgin Claudia and Quinta Claudia, who had received Cybele into Rome in 205 BCE[436]. Amongst some of the impressive connections that appear within Clodia Metelli's network, we can see that her aunt, Claudia, was married to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133)[437], and that her three nieces made very strategic marriages. Claudia Maior married Pompey's son, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45)[438], Claudia Minor married M. Junius Brutus (pr 44)[439] and Claudia P.f. was married to C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43)[440]. Clodia Metelli's family were also repeatedly connected to the Caecilii Metelli, her mother's family.

Analysing Clodia Metelli's network, this latter connection with the Caecilii Metelli is clearly identifiable by the small clusters that create a closed loop, thanks to Pompey's family. Other small clusters can also be identified within Clodia Metelli's network. Her father's, Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79), family form one such cluster, as do the marriages of her sister, Clodia Tertia, and her brother, Publius Clodius (aed cur 56). Moreover, the other cluster formed by her two brothers', Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54) and C. Claudius Pulcher (pr 56), families contain multiple bridges to the main cluster as the former, having no male heirs when he died, adopted his brother's sons in his will.

The central cluster within Clodia Metelli's network is comprised of her immediate family, her parents and five siblings. Both her parents were from *gentes maiores* and it is,

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[436] Skinner (2011, pp. 23-32).

[437] Appian, *Bellum Civile* I 13; Plutarch, *Ti. Gracchus* 4.1, *C. Gracchus,* 13.1.

[438] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* III 10.10.

[439] Cicero, *Brutus* 267.

[440] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 62. Details of this marriage are discussed in her network, within Fulvia and Octavia Minor's network analysis.

therefore, no surprise that their six children made very advantageous marriages[441]. This network only includes four generations but could have been extensively extended if the connections within the cluster of Publius Clodius and Fulvia had been included in full, as well as the full connections of Mucia Tertia, M. Junius Brutus (pr 44), Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133) and L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74)[442]. What is surprising is that Clodia Metelli's node may be located in the centre of the visualised network, but she is not the focal actor of her network, in terms of statistical measures[443]. In fact, she only places sixth and fifth in betweenness and degree scores, respectively. It is her parents and siblings who have higher centrality figures as they are the bridging actors connecting their own familial clusters to the central core. This is further indicated by the fact that they have higher degree numbers than Clodia Metelli and all have very similar closeness values, between 0.015 and 0.017. The closeness of every actor within the network can also be assessed by looking at their clustering coefficient scores. Only five actors, out of 33, have clustering coefficient values below 0.5, meaning that nearly all actors within Clodia Metelli's network have interconnected links with their immediate neighbours.

[441] Although the identity of C. Claudius Pulcher (pr 56)'s wife is unknown, it must be assumed that she was a member of an elite Roman family, in keeping with the spouses of his five siblings.

[442] Instead, these individuals have been included in other networks so as to not render Clodia Metelli's network unreadable. Publius Clodius and Fulvia are included in Octavia Minor and Fulvia's joint network, Mucia Tertia in Pompeia's, M. Junius Brutus in Servilia's and Marcia's' separate networks, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus in Cornelia Africani f.'s and L. Licinius Lucullus in Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s network.

[443] See Appendix I 7.5 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 54 (301.733/0.017/12/0.409), Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 79 (280/0.016/11/0.491), P. Clodius aed cur 56 (232/0.016/10/0.533), Caecilia Metella Balearici f. (172.6/0.016/9/0.611), Clodia Tertia (124/0.015/9/0.611) and Clodia Metelli (122.6/0.016/8/0.75).

There are no stepmothers visualised in this network as Clodia Metelli and Clodia Luculli did not remarry after their divorces, nor did Clodia Tertia after her husband's death[444]. The only step-parent is Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos 98), who is Mucia Tertia's stepfather. For such a large family, with so many options for remarriage, it is peculiar that none of the three sisters did so.

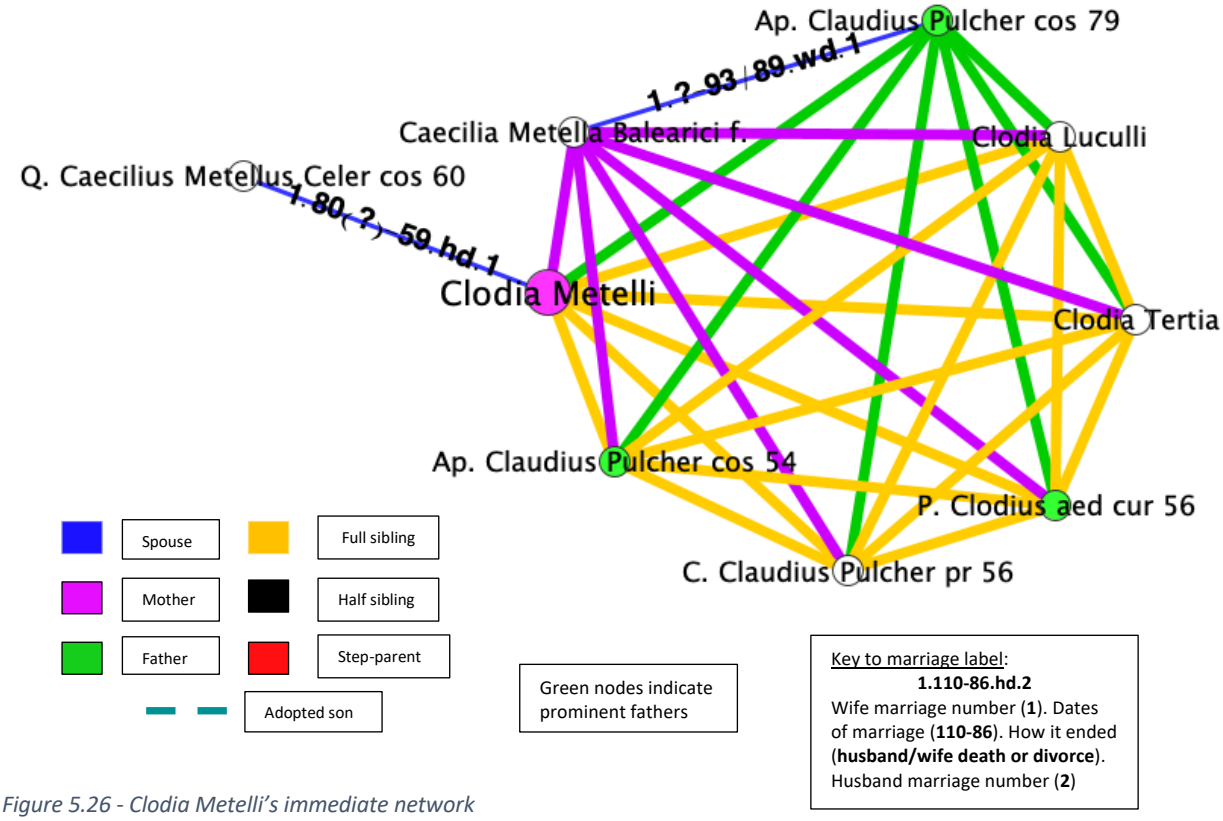

Figure 5.26 - Clodia Metelli's immediate network

Clodia Metelli was the middle daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) and his wife Caecilia Metella Balearici f. She was married to her maternal first cousin, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (cos 60), which ended the year after his consulship upon his sudden, and some say suspicious, death[445]. The year of their marriage has been dated to circa 80 BCE, meaning that Clodia was in her mid to late teens and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer would have been in

[444] It must be noted that Fulvia's connections are not fully included. If they had been, she would have been the only stepmother in this network.

[445] Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 59-60, insinuates that Clodia Metelli poisoned her husband but does not accuse her directly for lack of evidence see Hejduk (2008, pp. 96-97, n.71 and 73); Skinner (2011, pp. 87-89).

his early to mid-twenties[446]. Nothing is known about the first twenty years of their marriage and only scant details emerge about the couple in the last few years[447]. It is not currently believed that the union produced any children. However, according to Cicero, a Metella was having an affair with his son-in-law, P. Cornelius Dolabella cos (suff 44)[448]. This woman has been tentatively identified as the wife of P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and the possible daughter of Clodia Metelli and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer[449]. She has also possibly been identified as the poet Perilla[450]. However, as no other ancient sources directly mention this connection, and the Metella discussed in Cicero's letter to Atticus cannot be conclusively acknowledged as Clodia Metelli's daughter, she has not been included in this network.

Since the ancient Roman times, Clodia Metelli's agency has given her a notorious reputation. In his *Pro Caelio*, Cicero famously alludes to Clodia Metelli's promiscuity, most notably with M. Caelius Rufus, as well as her debaucherous lifestyle in Baiae, as well as in Rome, and the possible murder of her husband[451]. Cicero also alludes to the possible incestuous relationship between herself and her brother Publius Clodius[452]. In fact, it is from Cicero that we get the majority of our source information about Clodia Metelli. Apart from his slanderous characterisation of Clodia as a "Palatine Medea" in his *Pro Caelio*, his letters also inform us that he was not above communicating with Clodia so that she could persuade her husband to stop his brother, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos 57), from inciting further violence in opposition to Cicero's actions after the Catiline conspiracy[453]. Once Celer dies in

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[446] Rüpke et al. (2005) dates Celer's birth to before 99 BCE and Skinner (2011, p. 80) to 103.

[447] Skinner (2011, p. 79).

[448] Cicero *Atticus* XI 23. Skinner (2011, pp. 89-95) conclusively believes in here existence as Clodia Metelli's daughter.

[449] Treggiari (2007, p. 126).

[450] Hallett (2011).

[451] Cicero, *Pro Caelio* 31-36, 48-53, 59-69 and 75.

[452] For a detailed commentary of Cicero's treatment of Clodia Metelli in his *Pro Caelio*, see Hejduk (2008, pp. 66-106); Skinner (2011, pp. 96-115).

[453] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* V 2; Skinner (2011, pp. 83-84).

59 BCE, Clodia becomes more active politically, and she does so publicly and privately. She decides to fully support the political career of her brother, Publius Clodius, and consciously, or unconsciously, becomes Cicero's political informant, through her close friendship with T. Pomponius Atticus[454]. Moreover, Cicero and Clodia Metelli's seemingly complicated relationship concludes in 45 BCE with Cicero wanting to purchase her gardens in Rome so that he could erected a memorial to his recently deceased daughter Tullia, once again using Atticus as a mediator[455]. To add further intrigue and mystery to an already captivating woman, historians have long debated whether Clodia Metelli was Catullus' mistress and thus the Lesbia mentioned in his poems. The consensus is that she was, though there are, of course, some scholars who dispute this[456].

[454] Skinner (2011, pp. 65-73).

[455] Skinner (2011, pp. 116-120).

[456] For a survey on the historical landscape with identifies Clodia Metelli with Lesbia, see Dixon (2001, pp. 133-156), Hejduk (2008, pp. 3-9, 107-155), Skinner (2011, pp. 121-144) and Wiseman (1969, 1975, 1985).

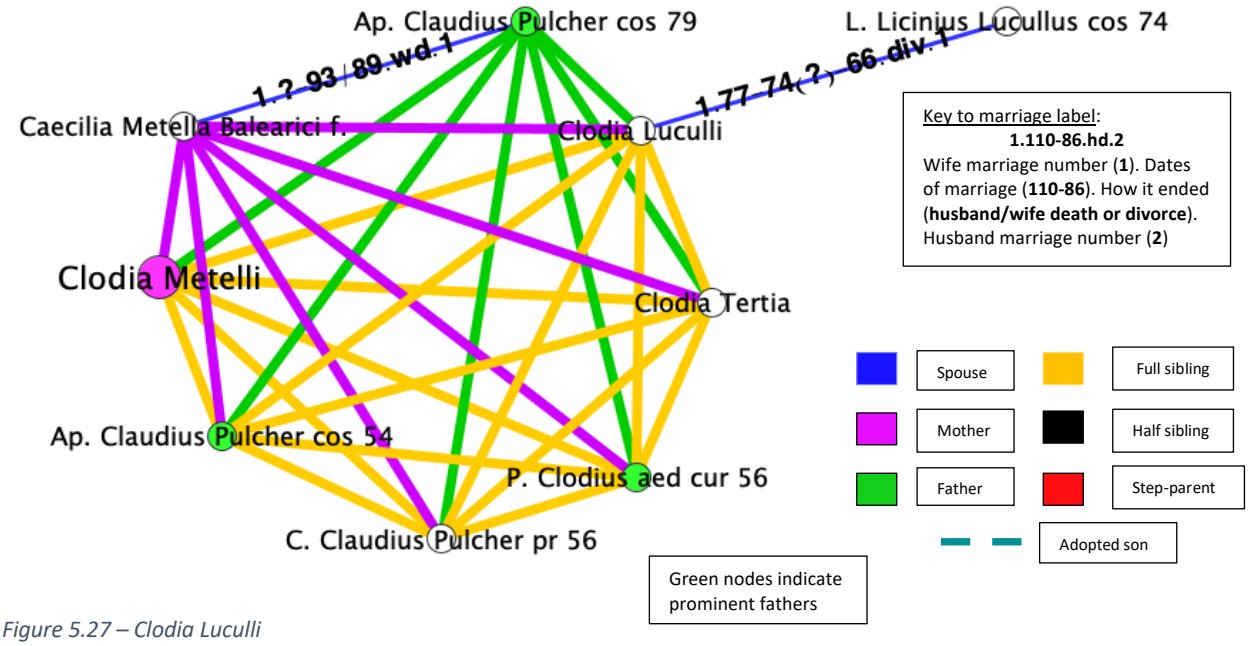

Figure 5.27 – Clodia Luculli

Unlike her sister, not much information is known about the life of Clodia Luculli. From the sources we can gather that Clodia Luculli was possibly the youngest of the three girls, if not of her five siblings[457]. She was also the first to be divorced or widowed. The date of her marriage to L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74) is not conclusively known, but the marriage must have taken place before he took up his proconsulship in Cilicia in 73 BCE. Therefore, they could have married between 77 and 74[458], when Clodia would have been around 15/16 on her wedding day. This was also Lucullus' first marriage, who would have been in his forties[459]. They divorced upon his return from campaigns in the East in 66 BCE, most likely due to Clodia's infidelities[460]. Plutarch describes her as "a licentious and base woman"[461].

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[457] Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54) was the eldest son, as his name would suggest, was born around 97 BCE. C. Claudius Pulcher (pr 56) and Publius Clodius were born before 91 BCE. Clodia Tertia was the eldest daughter to live to adulthood, Clodia Metelli was the middle daughter and Clodia Luculli was the youngest. Hejduk (2008, p. 4); Rüpke et al. (2005); Skinner (2011, pp. 56-58); Summer (1973); Syme (1939, pp. 20, fn 25).

[458] Münzer (1999, p. 235) dates the marriage to 75 BCE.

[459] Rüpke et al. (2005) dates his year of birth to be 118 or 117 BCE.

[460] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 34.1.

[461] Plutarch, *Lucullus* 38.1.

The union did not produce any children and it is not known what happened to Clodia after her divorce[462]. It is assumed that she did not remarry.

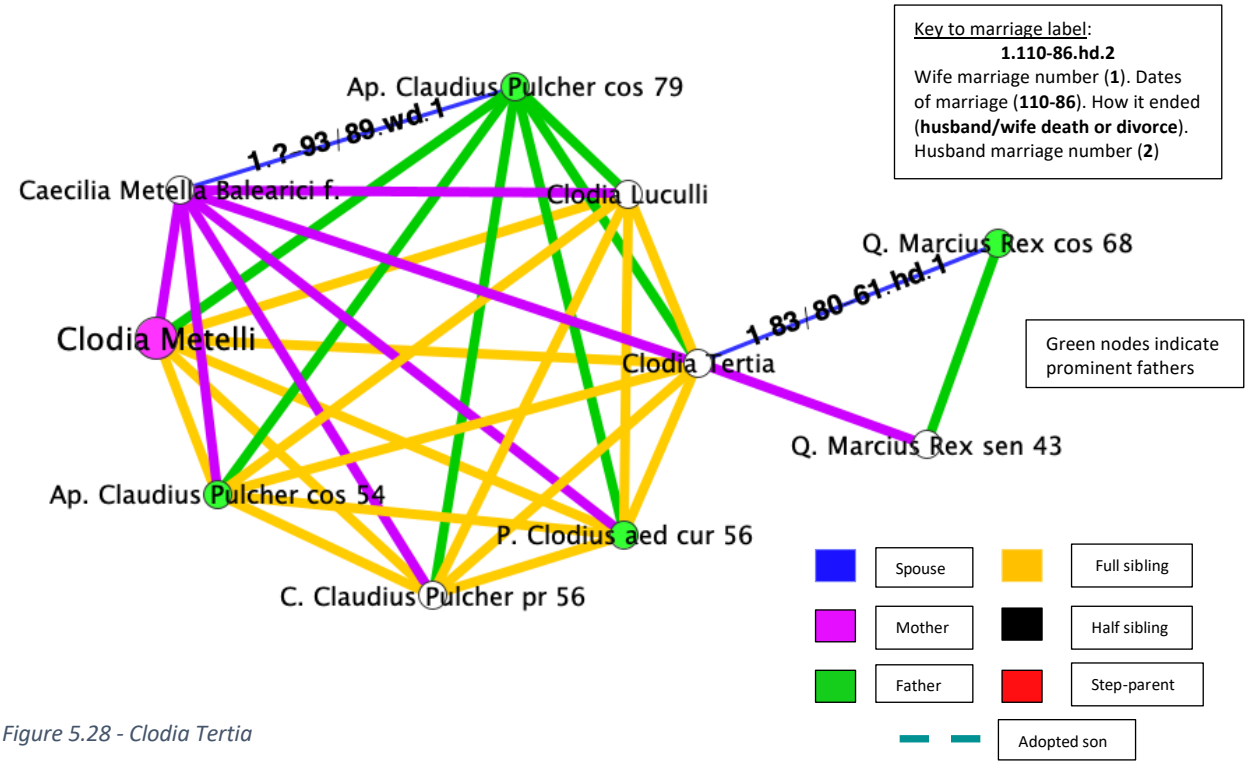

Figure 5.28 - Clodia Tertia

Although known as Clodia Tertia, she was actually not the youngest daughter, to live to adulthood, of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) and Caecilia Metella Balearici f. Again, her year of marriage to Q. Marcius Rex cos 68 is unknown, but if Clodia Tertia was born around 98 BCE, we can assume she wed between 83 and 80, when she would have been between 15 and 18. If he was consul in 68 BCE, Q. Marcius Rex would have been born around 110, making him between 27 and 30 when he married Clodia Tertia[463]. Q. Marcius Rex (cos 68) was the nephew of Marcia, the grandmother of C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59)[464], however this marriage would have occurred before the Iulii had returned to politically significance. There is no further information on the marriage between Clodia Tertia and Q. Marcius Rex, except that it produced one child, Q. Marcius Rex (sen 43), and ended with his death in 61 BCE[465]. It

[462] Skinner (2011, p. 57) discusses the existence of a daughter, but she uses the inscription on a statue base found on the Athenian Acropolis as the only evidence for this.

[463] Broughton (1952).

[464] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 6.

[465] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I 16.10.

is not known what happened to Clodia in later life, but it is assumed that she did not remarry and the "lack of evidence about her might mean that she escaped most of the notoriety inflicted upon her sisters"[466].

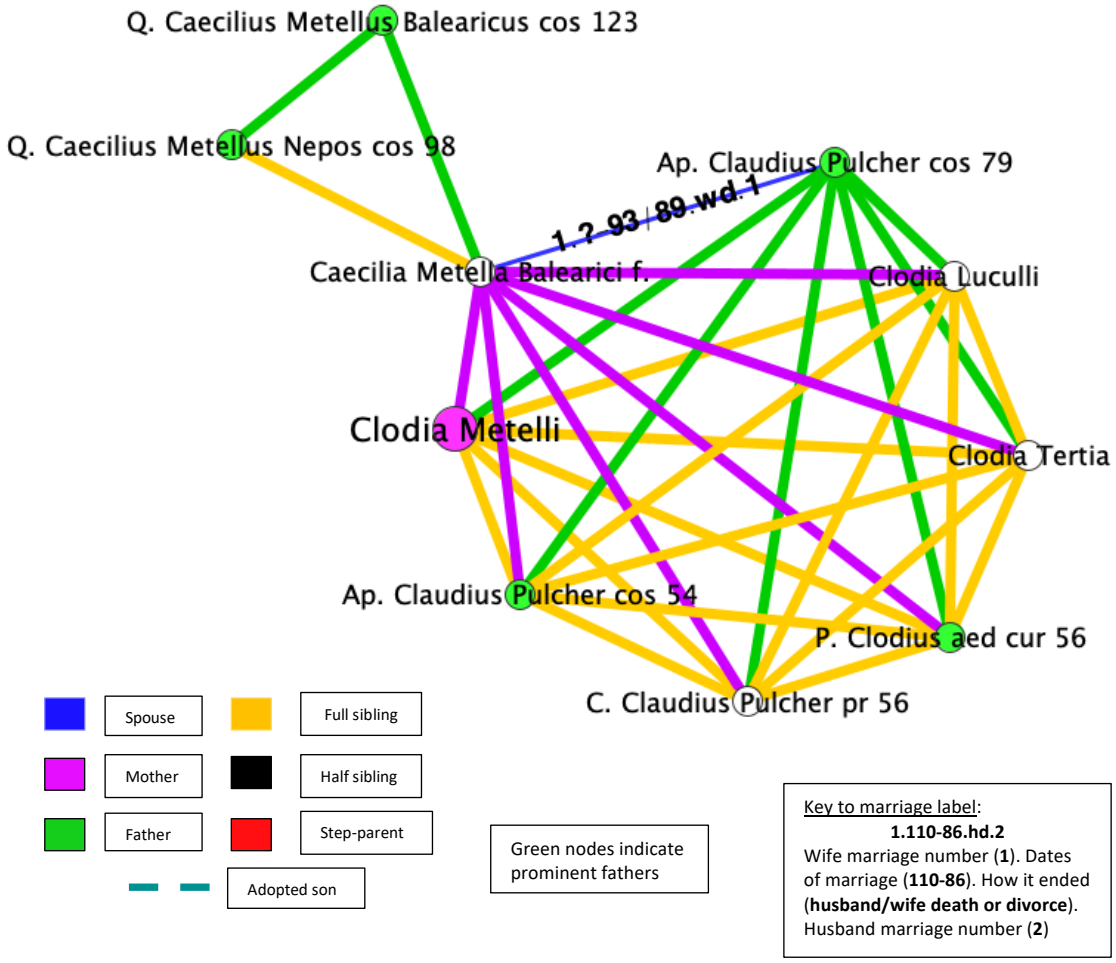

Figure 5.29 - Caecilia Metella Balearici f.

Caecilia Metella Balearici f. was the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus (cos 123). There is much contention about this parentage. Münzer, Syme and Zmeskal conclude that the wife of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) was the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus (cos 123)[467]. These conclusions have most likely been drawn from Q. Caecilius

[466] Skinner (2011, p. 57).

[467] Münzer (1999, p. 280); Syme (1939, pp. Appendix I, The Metelli family tree); Zmeskal (2009).

Metellus Nepos' (cos 98) letter to Cicero in 56 BCE[468]. This letter indicates the familial link between Nepos and Publius Clodius (cur aed 56), with Shuckburgh stating in a footnote, "The mother of Clodius, Caecilia, was a daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Baleáricus (consul B.C. 123), father of the writer of this letter"[469]. Other scholars have argued that the wife of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79) was not the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos 123)[470]. Tansey best sums up all the opposing arguments in his discussions on the various possible familial relationships between the Caecilii Metelli and the Claudii, as well as their connections to Mucia Tertia[471]. His conclusion is that "the parentage of Appius' wife cannot be established with certainty. She may have been the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Baleáricus (cos. 123), or of an otherwise unknown M. Caelius, or she may even have belonged to some other unidentifiable *gens*"[472]. For the purposes of this study, the mother of Clodia Metelli has been identified as Caecilia Metella Balearici f., as per the findings of Münzer, Syme, Zmeskal and the DPRR.

It is not known when Caecilia Metella Balearici f. was born, or when she married Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 74), but it must be assumed that she was between 15 and 18. If her eldest known child was born around 100 BCE, then the marriage must have happened around that time, or a few years earlier[473]. If Ap. Claudius Pulcher was consul in 79 BCE, he would have been born between 122 and 120, making him around twenty when he married. The couple had six children that lived to adulthood.

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[468] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* V, 3.

[469] Cicero and Shuckburgh (1904, p. letter CXII).

[470] Skinner (2011, p. 55) states that, "the identity of Clodia's mother is an unanswerable question".

[471] Tansey (2016, pp. 119-140).

[472] Tansey (2016, p. 119).

[473] Rüpke et al. (2005) estimates her eldest son's birth to be 100 BCE and Sumner (1973, p. R208) to be 97.

As the daughter and wife of two prominent men, Caecilia Metella Balearici f. would have held an esteemed position amongst elite women. This position is evident in her ability to coerce one of the consuls, L. Iulius Caesar (cos 90), to restore the temple of Iuno Sospita after Caecilia Metella Balearici f. saw "Iuno Sospita fleeing because her temple precincts had been disgustingly defiled and that she had, with some difficulty, persuaded the goddess to stay by her prayers"[474]. To be able to convince the consul to restore a temple implies that some elite women could exert enough social and political agency to influence certain members of the Senate.

Cicero also mentions that a Caecilia Metella sheltered Sex. Roscius, the son of an old friend of her father's, when he had been accused of murdering his father[475]. This Caecilia Metella, according to Cicero, looked after Sex. Roscius by taking him in and feeding and clothing him. Meanwhile, M. Valerius Messalla took care of the trial and matters belonging to the Forum. This case became Cicero's first major trial and highlighted the injustices executed by L. Cornelius Chrysogonus during L. Cornelius Sulla's (cos 88) proscriptions. This could be the same Caecilia Metella that was Clodia Metelli's mother. Cicero is quite clear that the Caecilia Metella who sheltered Sex. Roscius was the sister of Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos 98) and daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus (cos 123)[476]. No other source mentions a second woman named Caecilia Metella who was both sister to Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos 98) and daughter to Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus (cos 123) and alive in the 80s BCE[477]. It must, therefore, be concluded that the Caecilia Metella of Cicero's case is Caecilia

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[474] Julius Obsequens, *Obs*. 55; Richlin (2014, p. 226); Schultz (2006a, pp. 27-29). Schultz also gives a detailed account of modern interpretations and discussions on Caecilia Metella Balearici f.'s dream as recounted in Cicero, *De Divinatione* 1.4, 99 and Julius Obsequens' summary of Livy's accounts of 90 BCE.

[475] Cicero, *Sex. Roscius* 15, 27, 147 and 149.

[476] Cicero, *Sex. Roscius* 147.

[477] Skinner (2011, p. 55) does point out that if the Caecilia Metella who aided Sex. Roscius was the wife of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79), even though no husband is ever mentioned by

Metella Balearici f., the wife of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79). Or she was her sister, who is not mentioned in any other ancient source[478]. If the latter is the case, as has only been mentioned by one source, this second Caecilia Metella Balearici f. has not been included in Clodia Metelli's network.

Cicero in his speech, this "might have been awkward" as Appius had attained the consulship with Sulla's backing.

[478] Treggiari (2019, pp. 221-222) discusses "the elderly Caecilia Metella, sister of Nepos (cos. 98) and daughter of Balearicus (cos. 123)" sheltering Sex. Roscius but does not mention a connection to the Claudii Pulchri at all.

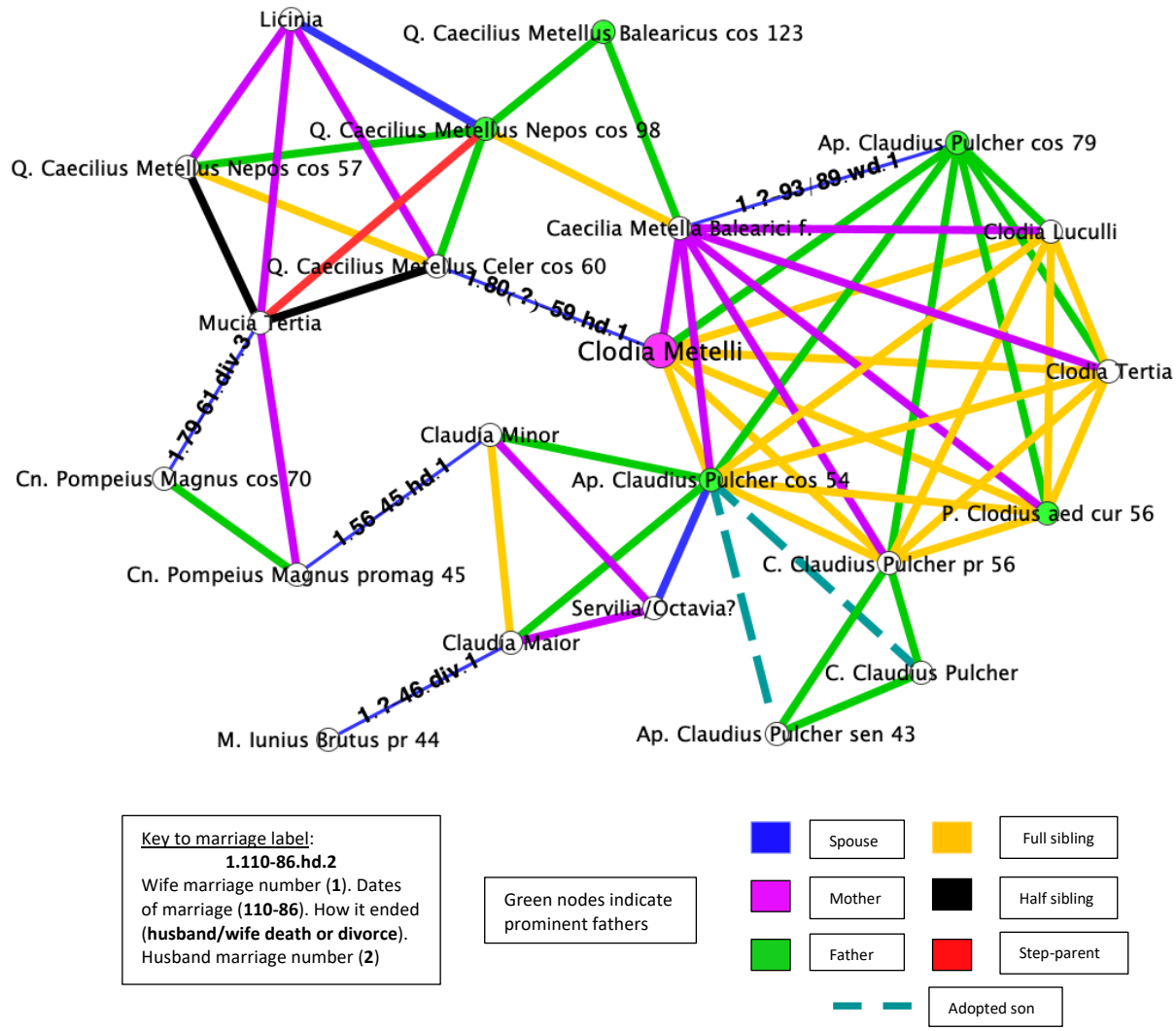

Figure 5.30 – Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54)

The personal network of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54) is included in Clodia Metelli's because of the women in his life. The details of his spouse(s) are still unclear. He was either married twice, or just once. Cicero states that Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54) was married to Servilia[479], the daughter of Cn. Servilius Caepio (q 105), whilst the CIL records states that Octavia, the possible daughter of M. Octavius (aed cur 50), was his wife[480]. As neither source can be verified by a second one, both possible options have been included as one node in this network.

[479] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XII 20.2.

[480] CIL 6.23330.

Irrespective of to whom Appius Claudius Pulcher (cos 54) was married to, the identity of his children has been accredited. He had two daughters, but no male heir. His eldest daughter, Claudia Maior, was M. Junius Brutus' (pr 44) first wife until their divorce in 46 BCE and his youngest daughter, Claudia Minor, was married to Cn Pompeius Magnus (promag 45). Claudia Minor's husband was the son of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) and Mucia Tertia, the half-sister of Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (cos 60), the husband of her aunt Clodia Metelli[481]. Although both marriages ensured that the Claudii Pulchri would continue to be politically and socially prominent, neither marriage produced any children. Lastly, as was expected of an elite Roman man who died without a male heir, in his will Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54) adopted his two nephews, Ap. Claudius Pulcher (sen 43) and C. Claudius Pulcher[482]. They were the sons of his brother, C. Claudius Pulcher (pr 56).

[481] For mention of Claudia Maior's marriage to M. Junius Brutus (pr 44), see Cicero, *Brutus* 267 and 324 and Cicero, *Ad Familiares* III 4.2. For mention of Claudia Minor's marriage to Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45), see Cicero, *Ad Familiares* III 4.2 and 10.10 and Casius Dio, XXXIX 60.3.

[482] Asconius, *Pro Milone* 34C.

5.6 Terentia

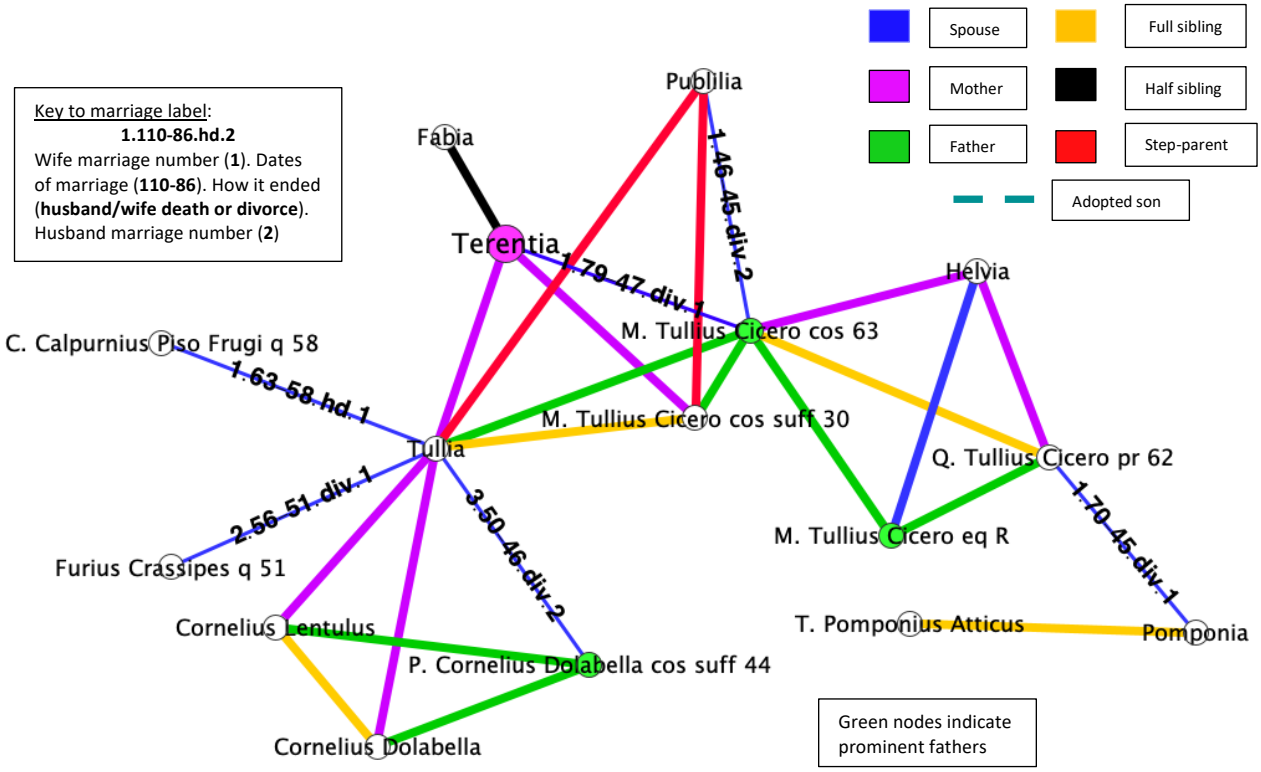

Figure 5.31 – Terentia's network

Surprisingly, Terentia's network is relatively small for such a significant woman of the late republic. In fact, when the Visone software visualises her network, she is not in the centre of it. Moreover, when the statistical measures are analysed, it is her husband, M. Tullius Cicero (cos 63), and her daughter, Tullia, who outrank her in every centrality measure[483]. Their roles as bridging agents can also be clearly identified in the network visualisation. Cicero acts as a link to his natal family and Tullia is the bridging actor linking her marriages and children to the rest of the network. Terentia, located between her husband and daughter, may be the actor that connects them, but she is not the focal actor of her own network. Presumably, just as in real life, that role is usurped by her husband.

[483] See Appendix I 7.6 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Tullia (115.333/0.042/9/0.222), M. Tullius Cicero cos 63 (101.333/0.042/7/0.381), Q. Tullius Cicero pr 62 (52/0.031/4/0.5) and Terentia (28/0.034/4/0.5).

There is only one stepmother in Terentia's network, Publilia. There are also several remarriages in this network. Tullia married three times and Cicero remarried a few years after he and Terentia divorced. There is also belief that Terentia remarried, up to two more times. Zmeskal asserts that Terentia married M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos suff 31) sometime after her divorce from Cicero in 47 BCE[484]. Jerome also believes that Terentia remarried, but that Corvinus was her third husband[485]. Syme, however, categorically contests this marriage, along with Sallust as her second husband, by pointing out, amongst other factors, the vast age difference between Terentia and Corvinus[486]. Indeed, if Corvinus was born in 64 BCE, as Rüpke attests, he was 34 years younger than Terentia, and one year younger than her son, when they married[487]. If Terentia was his second wife, as Corvinus' second son, M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messallinus, was born in 14 BCE to his third wife, Aurelia Cotta, the marriage would have occurred between the mid to late 30s and 15 BCE[488]. If this is indeed the case, Terentia would have been between 63 and 83 years old. Such a marriage would have attracted attention and would have been mentioned by contemporary historians.

As a hypothetical contrast to her real network, Terentia's marriage to Corvinus has been visualised, Figure 5.32, but only so as to examine how this supposed marriage would change her network. In terms of historical accuracy, the marriage must be dismissed, as Syme rightly argues.

If Terentia's marriage to Corvinus is added to her original network, the change is quite dramatic. Terentia is now the focal actor of her network, and the visualisation becomes a

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[484] Zmeskal (2009). He cites Seneca, *De Matrimonio* 61 frag. as evidence.

[485] Adv. Jovinianum, 1.48: "Illa [Terentia][…] nupsit Sallustio […], et tertio Messalae Corvino". This also makes a reference to Terentia marrying Sallust before marrying Corvino. No other ancient source mentions this union.

[486] Syme (1978).

[487] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[488] Syme (1986, p. 231).

tale of two halves. On the left half are the connections from her marriage to M. Tullius Cicero and the right half represents the connections from her marriage to M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. In the middle sits her half-sister Fabia, the only person from her natal family that can be attested. There are several small clusters, which all represent familial groups, with only M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus' multiple marriages and children complicating his half of the network[489].

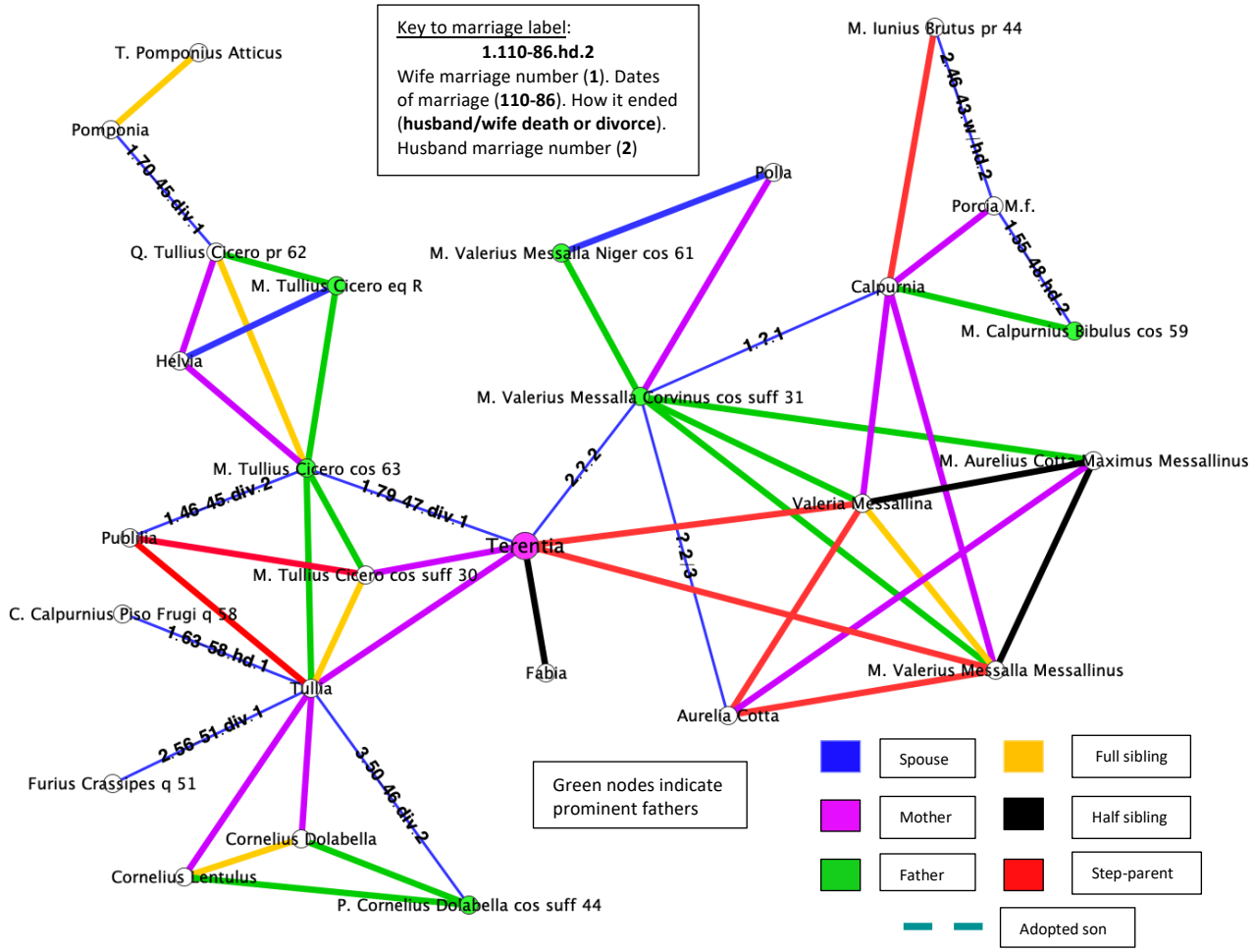

Figure 5.32 - Terentia network with her marriage to M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos suff 31)

What is most interesting, if this marriage did occur, is that there also appears to be a direct link between Cicero, M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44) and M. Calpurnius Bibulus (cos 59), all of whom were friends, with Terentia acting as the connectional bridge between them.

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[489] This marriage would also make Terentia the aunt, by marriage, of the elegist Sulpicia, who was the daughter of Corvinus' sister Valeria. See Hallett (2011) for more details.

However, this direct path through the network is deceptive. For, by the time that Terentia married Corvinus, whose first wife, Calpurnia, was Bibulus' daughter and Brutus' stepdaughter, both of C. Iulius Caesar's vehement opponents were dead, as was Cicero. Thus lies the, sometimes, duplicitous nature of familial networks. Unless the dates of certain pivotal connections are explained, and context is given, these networks can easily be misconstrued, skewed and/or manipulated to suit a researcher's needs.

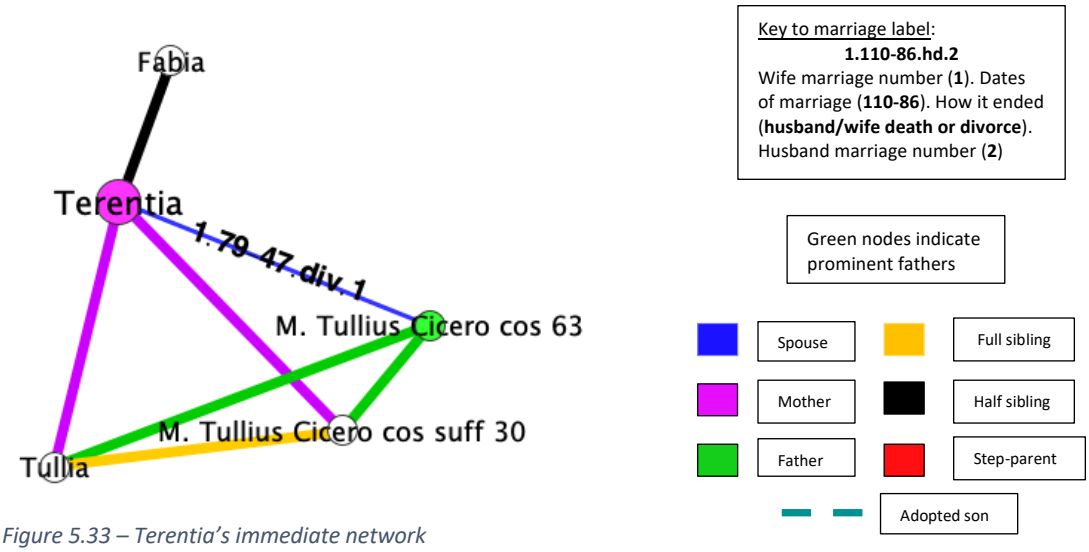

Figure 5.33 – Terentia's immediate network

Returning to Terentia's true network, visualising her immediate connections highlights just how limited her familial connections were, one husband, two children and a step-sister[490]. So much has been written by modern scholars about Terentia and her family, but for the purpose of this study, only the salient anecdotes that relate to her network, as well as her overall agency will be discussed. Unlike other late republican female evidence, the original source of information in Terentia's case is her husband's correspondences to friends and family members. These provide us with a rich, first-hand account of Terentia's actions as wife and mother[491].

[490] The identity of her parents has unfortunately not survived. See, Treggiari (2007, pp. 30-31), for a discussion of her possible family's identity.

[491] For modern biographical information, see Brennan (2012); Chrystal (2015, pp. 61-84); Treggiari (2007).

Terentia married M. Tullius Cicero around 79 BCE. This would have made her 17/18 and Cicero 25/26[492]. According to Treggiari, Cicero might have been related to the Terentii Varrones, and hence a possible distant relation of his new wife[493]. Along with a potential familial connection, Terentia came from a wealthy family and her dowry, of 400,000 sesterces would have been an added incentive for a *novus homo*, with grand aspirations, to marry her[494]. Their *sine manu* marriage meant that Terentia kept control of her financial assets, which included a sizeable annual income from properties she owned, with the help of her freedman steward Philotimus[495].

Terentia and Cicero had two children, Tullia born in 79 BCE and M. Tullius Cicero (cos suff 30) born in 65 BCE[496]. Unfortunately, very little is known about their son, apart from the scant details provided in Cicero's letters, whilst Tullia is discussed in her own network below. Of Terentia's other connections, her half-sister Fabia was a Vestal Virgin. Rüpke concludes that Fabia served as a Vestal Virgin from 73 to after 58 BCE, whilst Cicero informs us that she was accused by Publius Clodius of incest with L. Sergius Catilina in 70 BCE, with both parties acquitted[497].

Aside from the numerous accounts of Terentia managing her own financial affairs, it is also the role that she played in taking control of her household that makes Terentia such an advocate for female agency in the late republic. Cicero's exile in 58 BCE allows us to gauge the extent to which wives could act and lead their families when the occasions arose. From Cicero's letters to Terentia, we can extrapolate that she tirelessly campaigned among friends, family and political acquaintances to have Cicero returned and that she took charge of all his affairs, on top of looking after her own finances and the upbringing of their young

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[492] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[493] Treggiari (2007, p. 30).

[494] Plutarch, *Cicero* 8.2.

[495] Treggiari (2007, pp. 33-34).

[496] R. J. Evans and Kleijwegt (1992, p. 195); Zmeskal (2009).

[497] Cicero, *In Catilinam* 3.9; Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 19.2; Rüpke et al. (2005).

son[498]. All these new responsibilities and challenges cannot have been easy for Terentia, but the proficiency with which she seems to have taken care of everything during Cicero's exile clearly demonstrates a woman used to taking action, as well as a woman being able to do so. Terentia was able to take charge of Cicero's financial revenues and administer the maintenance required throughout his various villas, on top of keeping Cicero abreast of developments in Rome and his morale uplifted[499].

Terentia's agency is again evident when Cicero leaves to govern Cilicia in 51 BCE and during the civil war between C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) that rages upon his return. She is again left in charge of all family affairs, including finding a husband for Tullia. As wives of consuls and praetors would have always being left in Rome when their husbands commanded provinces or lead armies, this period in Terentia's life offers us a glimpse of the actions that similar elite women would have undertaken when in similar circumstances. Although, it must be noted that maybe not every wife was as self-possessed and capable of taking action as Terentia.

It is unclear as to the causes that led to the divorce of Terentia and Cicero in late 47 BCE. Whether the demands of managing everything took its toll on Terentia, and on Cicero for having to rely on his wife for so much, or those created by the state of Roman society and politics at the time, or whether the strains associated with the continual physical distance between them were all factors, we will never know for certain. What is clear from Cicero's final letters to his wife, however, is that they appear to be more instructions for how Terentia should manage his affairs and contain none of the endearments of their earlier letters[500].

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[498] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* XIV 1-3 in particular.

[499] Treggiari (2007, pp. 60-70).

[500] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* XIV 10, 13, 20, 22-24; Treggiari (2007, pp. 128-130).

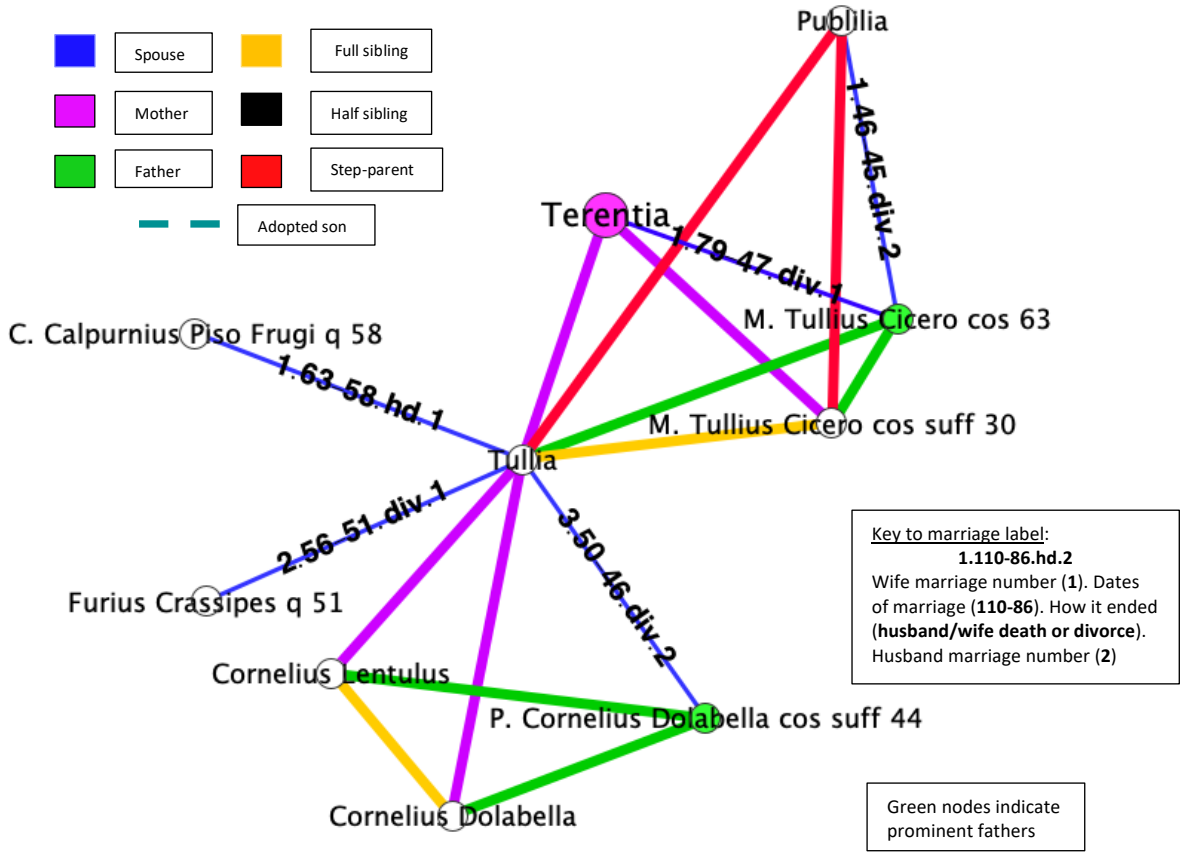

Figure 5.34 – Tullia

For a woman who only lived 33 years, 78-45 BCE, Tullia's network is a model of elite mid-first century marital patterns. She married her first husband, C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (q 58) as a 15 year old, remarried Furius Crassipes (q 51) in 56 BCE, two years after Piso Frugi's death, and married a third time in 50 BCE, to P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos suff 44), only a year after the second union ended in divorce[501]. In terms of spousal ages, Piso Frugi was 26 when he married Tullia and Crassipes' age is unknown, as his year of birth cannot be attested. 69 BCE as Dolabella's year of birth is questionable as this would have made him 19 when he married Tullia, his second wife, whilst she would have been 28 by the time of this third marriage[502]. It seems highly unlikely that a 19 year old man would already be on his second marriage and that he would choose an older wife. Dolabella was also elected as a *Tribunus*

[501] Späth (2011, pp. 157-159); Treggiari (2007, pp. 165-167).

[502] For Piso Frugi's year of birth, see Summer (1973) and for Dolabella's, see Rüpke et al. (2005). For the fact that Dolabella had already been married, see Cicero, *Ad Familiares* VIII 6 and Treggiari (2007, pp. 89, 92).

Plebis in 47, after having been adopted by a plebeian[503]. Again, his age, 22, would appear incongruous with the average age of tribunes in the late republic. Treggiari also dismisses his year of birth as 69 BCE and postulates a possible date of 74 BCE instead, which would have made Dolabella a few years younger than Tullia[504].

Tullia only bore two children, with Dolabella, but unfortunately none survived beyond a few months. Treggiari argues that Tullia and Terentia, "may not have been very fertile", as evidenced by the 13 year age difference between Tullia and her brother, as well as Tullia's loss of both her children and ultimate death as a consequence of complications after the birth her second child[505]. Her death, in 45 BCE, led to a long mourning period for her father, Cicero, and ultimately led to his divorce from his second wife, Publilia, as she showed little sympathy towards his grief or Tullia's death[506].

The main instances of agency that Tullia is best known for are her level of involvement in the choice of her third husband and the fact that she and Terentia were able to make the final decision. Cicero's letters that have been preserved from this period, when he is in Cilicia, clearly signify that his wife and daughter had been left in charge[507]. He may have made his own choices for suitors known, but in the end, Tullia's and Terentia's choice is the one that prevailed. Cicero's letters also indicate that he considered his daughter to be educated, even if she had not been as formally educated as her brother. We also know that Tullia wrote to her father and that "she also reads letters addressed to him over his shoulder, and indeed shares her assessment of the critical political situation in 49 [BCE] with

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[503] Cassius Dio, XLII 29.1.

[504] Treggiari (2007, pp. 92-92).

[505] Treggiari (2007, p. 44).

[506] Plutarch, *Cicero* 41.5.

[507] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* V 21, VI 1, 4, 6, IX 16; Späth (2011, pp. 159-165). Treggiari (2007, pp. 83-99) details, at length, on the various communications that Cicero had concerning Tullia's next husband and all possible suitors.

him"[508]. There was deep affection between father and daughter, but Cicero clearly tried to advance Tullia's marital career, in a similar way that he tried to advance his son's political career[509]. For Cicero, Tullia was "the most loving, modest and clever daughter a man had ever had"[510].

[508] Späth (2011, p. 152). None of Tullia's letters have survived but reference to them is evident in Cicero's letters to *Atticus*, in particular *Atticus* X 2.2 and X 8.1.

[509] Späth (2011, p. 169).

[510] Cicero, *Quintus* I 3.3.

5.7 Pomponia

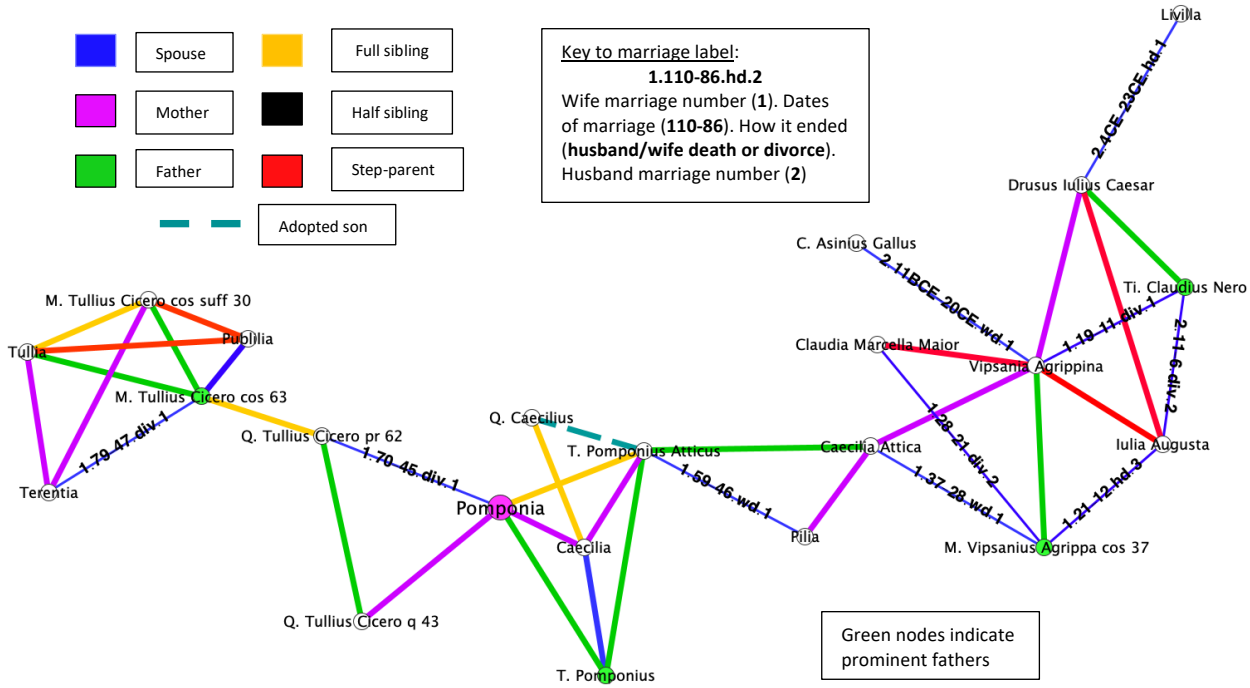

Figure 5.35 – Pomponia's network

Pomponia's network was created, much like the network of Cornelia Africani f., in order to compare and contrast between the network of an equestrian woman, Pomponia, and the elite senatorial women of the mid first century BCE which constitute the bulk data of this study.

This network incorporates four generations, although only three generations are directly related to Pomponia. The network could have been extended further if all the children of M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos 37) had been included[511]. Although her husband's family are also represented in Pomponia's network, they will not be discussed in great detail in this section[512].

Deciding to keep the focus on Pomponia and her immediate family has enabled her network visualisation to appear linear and simple, in terms of connectional relationships. This allows

[511] These have not been included as the majority of his children's lives fall outside of the temporal parameters of this study.

[512] See Terentia's network for an in-depth analysis of this family group.

familial patterns to be easily identified as small clusters, most of them triads or tetrads, which is correlated by the relatively high clustering coefficient values for the majority of individuals in this network[513]. These values are due, in part, to the uncomplicated relationships of the first three generations within Pomponia's network, as well as the lack of intermarriage between the various family groups, which is one of the main differences between Pomponia's network and most of the networks of elite senatorial women from the same period. The only centrality measure that Pomponia leads is closeness, with her brother T. Pomponius Atticus and his granddaughter Vipsania Agrippa leading the other two measures. This indicates that all three play pivotal roles as bridging agents within this network. Pomponia's marriage connects Q. Tullius Cicero's family to the rest of the network and Atticus' marriage and offspring continue Pomponia's network a further three generations. Without her brother's connections, Pomponia's network would have been very small and it is her roles as aunt and great aunt, as well as wife, that make her such a focal actor in her network, in both social network analysis and the real world. There are no surprises in the statistical analyses, although it is interesting to note that all of the top centrality actors form a central line within the network; from M. Tullius Cicero (cos 63) to Vipsania Agrippina.

What is most striking when analysing Pomponia's network, the network of an equestrian woman, is that the dates and details of nearly all of the marriages are known. This could be due to the small size of the population, but it is most likely because of the high number of politically, culturally and historically significant individuals to whom Pomponia was related to.

[513] See Appendix I 7.7 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: T. Pomponius Atticus (229/0.019/7/0.333), Caecilia Attica (208/0.018/4/0.333), Pomponia (196/0.018/5/0.4), Q. Vipsania Agrippina (162/0.016/7/0.286), Tullius Cicero pr 62 (160/0.015/3/0.333) and M. Tullius Cicero cos 63 (136.667/0.013/4/0.5).

Pomponia's network contains only two people with stepmothers. The multiple marriages of M. Vipsanius Agrippa means that Vipsania Agrippina has two stepmothers, with the third one, Iulia Augusta, also becoming the wife of her first husband. As such, Iulia Augusta also becomes the stepmother of Vipsania Agrippina's son Drusus Iulius Caesar.

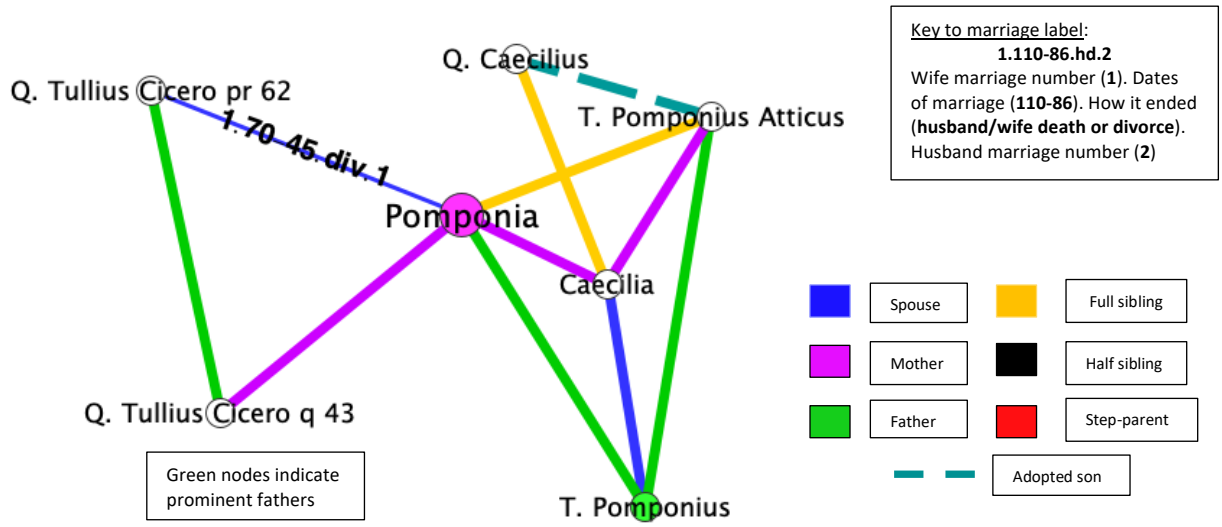

Figure 5.36 – Pomponia's immediate network

As can be seen, Pomponia's immediate network is quite small. She married only once, in 70 BCE to Q. Tullius Cicero (pr 62), the younger brother of M. Tullius Cicero (cos 63). Cornelius Nepos attests that the marriage was arranged by the bride's brother, T. Pomponius Atticus, and the groom's brother as a way of cementing, by means of a familial connection, the close friendship that they shared[514]. Pomponia's age at marriage cannot be ascertained, although Cornelius Nepos states that she was roughly the same age as her brother, meaning she would have been in her early thirties[515]. Zmeskal ascribes her husband's year of birth to 102 BCE, making him 32 on his wedding day[516]. By all accounts, their marriage was a turbulent one and they finally divorced in 45 BCE, after years of the entire family trying to keep them together. Cicero's letters to Atticus contain many accounts of the quarrels between their

[514] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus* V 3-4, XVI 2-3.

[515] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus* XVII 1.

[516] Zmeskal (2009).

siblings, as well as discussions on Pomponia's strong character[517]. The union produced one son, Q. Tullius Cicero (q 43). Pomponia's son, husband and brother-in-law were all killed in the proscriptions of 43 BCE when they were betrayed by one of M. Tullius Cicero's slaves, Philologus. As punishment for his actions, once Philologus was handed over to Pomponia, by M. Antonius, she tortured him for his betrayal by forcing him to repeatedly cut off, roast and then eat his own flesh until he died[518].

Pomponia's father, T. Pomponius, was a very wealthy and influential equestrian, as was her brother Atticus. Pomponia's mother was Caecilia, but all that is known of her is that she was the sister of a Q. Caecilius and that she died when ninety years old[519]. The details as to how an equestrian was able to marry into the Caecilii, one of Rome's most prominent *gens*, would be of great interest to this study, but alas the only other information known to us about this Q. Caecilius is that he adopted his nephew Atticus upon his death, greatly vexing his close friend L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74), who presumed that he would be adopted instead[520].

[517] In particular, Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I 17.2, I.5.8; *Quintus* II 6; Everitt (2001, p. xv); Haskell (1942, p. 83).

[518] Plutarch, *Cicero* 49.

[519] Cornelius Nepos, V 1, XVII 1.

[520] Cornelius Nepos, *Atticus* V 1; Grimal (1967, pp. 93, 171).

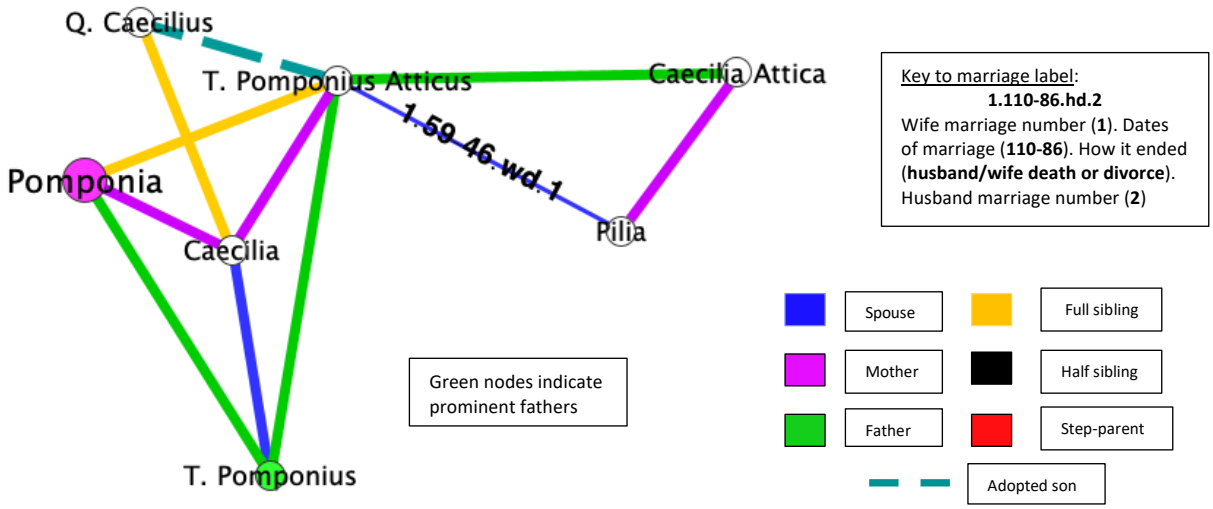

Figure 5.37 - Pilia

Not much is known about Pilia, T. Pomponius Atticus' wife. According to Cicero, she was the sister of Q. Pilius Celer, but nothing is known about him either[521]. Although Pilia's age is unknown upon her marriage to Atticus, who was himself quite advanced in age at around 50[522], the sources do indicate that they enjoyed a happy twelve years of marriage before her death in 46 BCE[523]. The union resulted in one child, Caecilia Attica.

[521] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* VIII 8.2. As this is the only mention of Q. Pilius Celer, and he is a peripheral actor in Pomponia's network, he has not been included in it.

[522] If he was a childhood friend of M. Tullius Cicero, he would have been born between 110 to 106.

[523] E. Rawson (1975, p. 141).

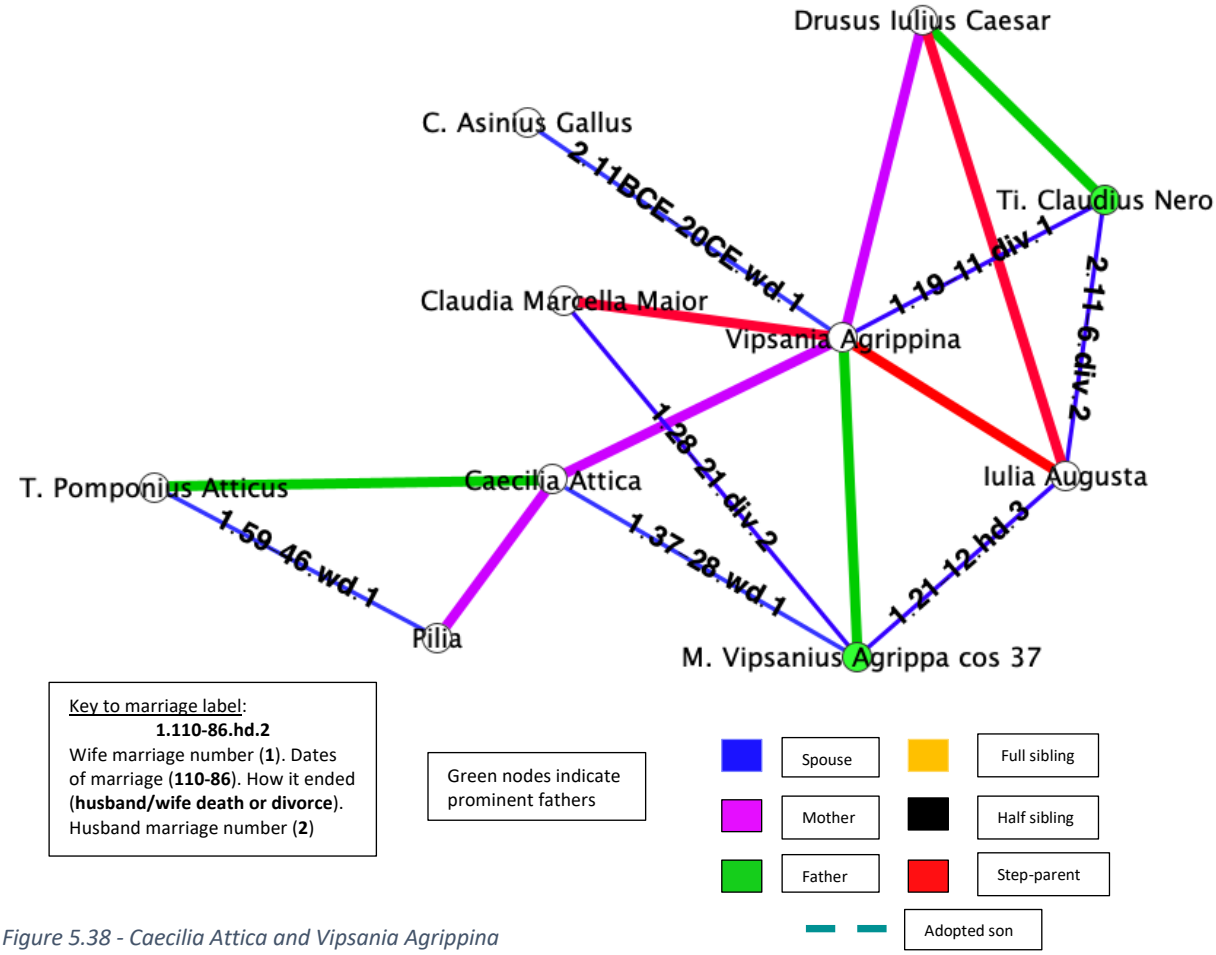

Figure 5.38 - Caecilia Attica and Vipsania Agrippina

If Zmeskal is correct in dating Caecilia Attica's year of birth to 51 BCE[524], then she was 14 when she married the 27 year old M. Vipsanius Agrippa in 37 BCE, the same year as his first consulship[525]. This was a first marriage for both of them and, in hindsight, appears to have been more beneficial on Caecilia Attica's part than Agrippa's[526]. Attica was the daughter of an equestrian, albeit a very wealthy and prominent one, whilst Agrippa was the new Consul, a successful general and Octavian's best friend. Maybe her broad education, her father's money and influence, as well as her family connections, made Caecilia Attica an attractive and sensible first bride for a *novus homo* [527].

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[524] Zmeskal (2009).

[525] Reinhold (1933, pp. 35-37).

[526] Reinhold (1933, p. 36) suggests that M. Antonius negotiated the marriage between Caecilia Pomponia Attica and M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

[527] Everitt (2001, p. 235); E. Rawson (1975, p. 197).

Vipsania Agrippina was the only offspring of this union and the death of Caecilia Attica in 28 BCE, only 9 years into the marriage and at 23 years of age, allowed her husband M. Vipsanius Agrippa to align himself more closely to Octavian's family when he married the latter's niece, Claudia Marcella Maior, in the same year[528]. Vipsania Agrippina was betrothed to Ti. Claudius Nero before her first birthday, in 35 BCE, by her father and the groom-to-be's stepfather Octavian. They finally wed in 19 BCE, when she was 16/17 years old and Tiberius was 23[529]. One child was born in 14 BCE, Drusus Iulius Caesar, and Vipsania Agrippina was pregnant with another one when her father died in 12 BCE, but the outcome of this second child is unknown. Agrippa's death prompted Augustus to demand that Tiberius and Vipsania Agrippina divorce so that the former could marry his daughter, Iulia Augusta, instead. In a complicated family dynamic, Iulia Augusta had been Agrippa's third wife, and therefore Vipsania Agrippina's stepmother, at the time of his death[530].

According to Suetonius, his stepfather's demand that he divorce Vipsania Agrippina caused Tiberius great anguish and safeguards had to be taken that they did not meet in public, especially after Vipsania Agrippina married C. Asinius Gallus[531]. Tiberius detested Gallus, as he was still in love with Vipsania Agrippina, especially as Galllus claimed that Drusus Iulius Caesar was his son rather than Tiberius'. This hatred led to Tiberius ordering the Senate, after Vipsania Agrippina's death in 20 CE, to imprison Gallus and declare him an enemy of Rome[532].

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[528] Kleiner (2005, p. 53). For more details on this particular marriage, see Claudia Marcella Maior's own network within the network analysis of Fulvia and Octavia Minor.

[529] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 5.

[530] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.

[531] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7. See also Hallett (2008) for Tiberius' emotional reaction to this forced divorce, and his possible identity as the poet Lygdamus.

[532] Cassius Dio, LVIII 3.

5.8 Marcia

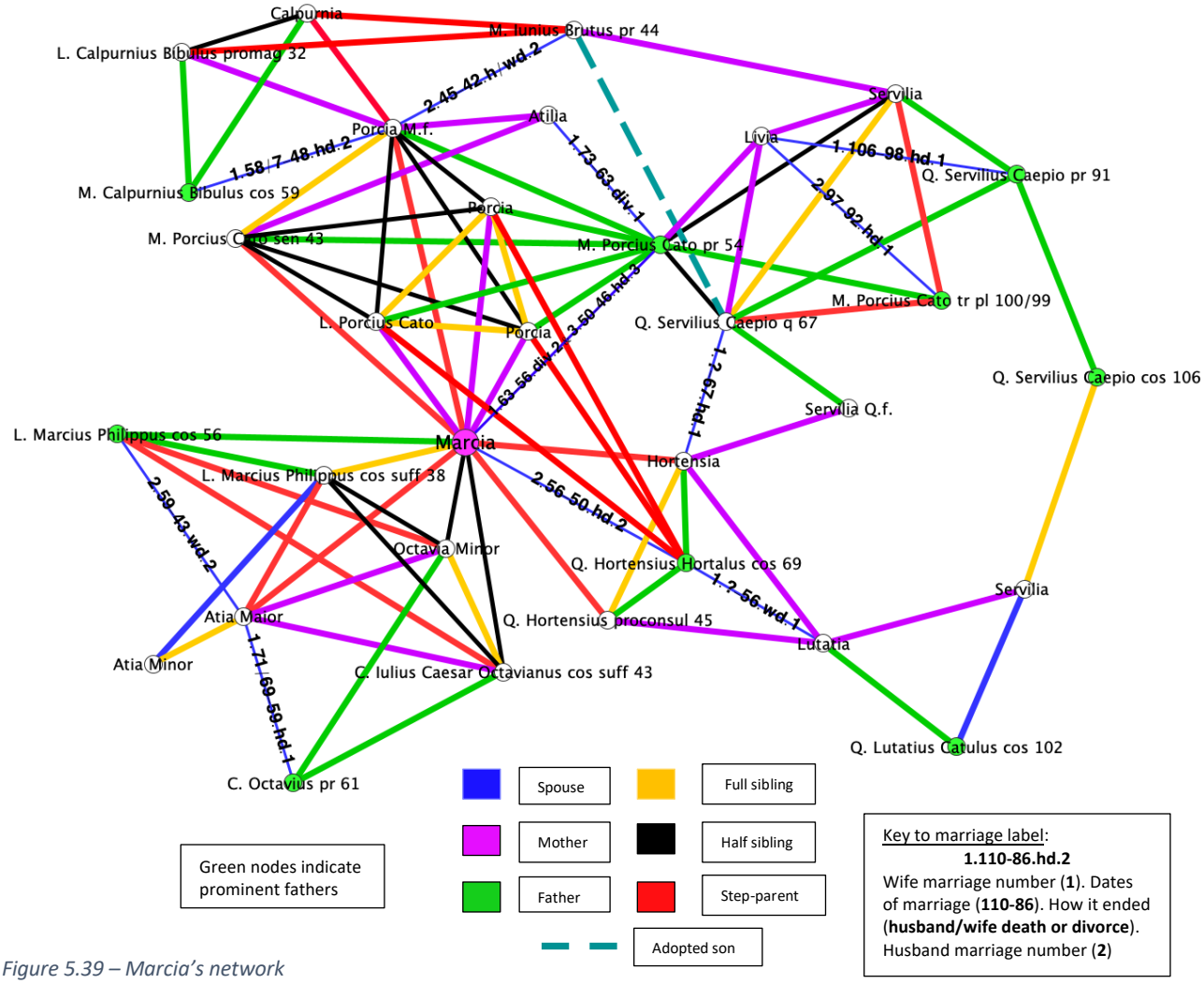

Figure 5.39 – Marcia's network

Marcia's four-generational network provides some fascinating insights into female agency in the late republic, but it also demonstrates how these women's male relations could exert their total dominance over them when they wanted to. The former is exemplified by Hortensia's impassioned speech to the Triumvirs in 42 BCE and the latter is evident in M. Porcius Cato's divorce of Marcia, so she could marry and produce heirs for his friend Q. Hortensius Hortalus (cos 69).

Marcia's network is also a perfect example of two different political families united by marriage but still staying distinctly separate. This network visualisation clearly shows two large clusters. One cluster is Marcia's own family, with her father, L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56), brother and step-siblings, including Octavian, who all supported C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59). The other larger cluster, incorporating her husbands' families, were all opposed to

Caesar's political faction. Moreover, in this larger cluster, a closed loop can also be identified as various generations of the Servilii and Hortensii remarried into each other.

The statistical measures, as well as the visualisation, indicate that Marcia is the definitive central actor in her network[533]. She dominates all the centrality measures, with her betweenness score being more than double that of the second highest person. This highlights Marcia's importance as the leading bridging actor bringing different family groups together. Other bridging actors, although on a smaller scale, include M. Porcius Cato (pr 54) and his daughter Porcia M.f., as well as Marcia's other stepdaughter Hortensia and her husband Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67), who was also Cato's stepbrother. A surprising high scoring actor in the centrality measures is Lutatia, the first wife of Q. Hortensius Hortalus. Lutatia attains her high betweenness score because she connects her marital cluster back to Cato's natal cluster as she was the aunt of his mother's first husband Q. Servilius Caepio (pr 91). As such, Lutatia was the great aunt of her daughter's husband, hence the closed loop formed by these connections.

There are a few stepmothers, as well as stepfathers, in Marcia's network. Marcia, herself, is both a stepmother and stepdaughter. Atia Maior was her stepmother and her two marriages means that she was stepmother to Porcia M.f., M. Porcius Cato (sen 43), Q. Hortensius (proconsul 45) and Hortensia. In turn, Porcia M.f. was stepmother to Calpurnia and, although they are not visualised in this network, Octavia Minor was stepmother to several children, as discussed in her own network. Several other women are analysed in greater detail in other networks. Servilia has her own network visualised, where her mother Livia is discussed, and Atia Maior and Atia Minor are discussed in Aurelia's network.

[533] See Appendix I 7.8 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Marcia (398.456/0.019/14/0.341), M. Porcius Cato pr 54 (176.673/0.017/11/0.4), Porcia M.f. (168.521/0.016/11/0.4), Lutatia (109.762/0.012/5/0.4) Hortensia (108.328/0.016/6/0.4), and Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 (106.878/0.015/8/0.357).

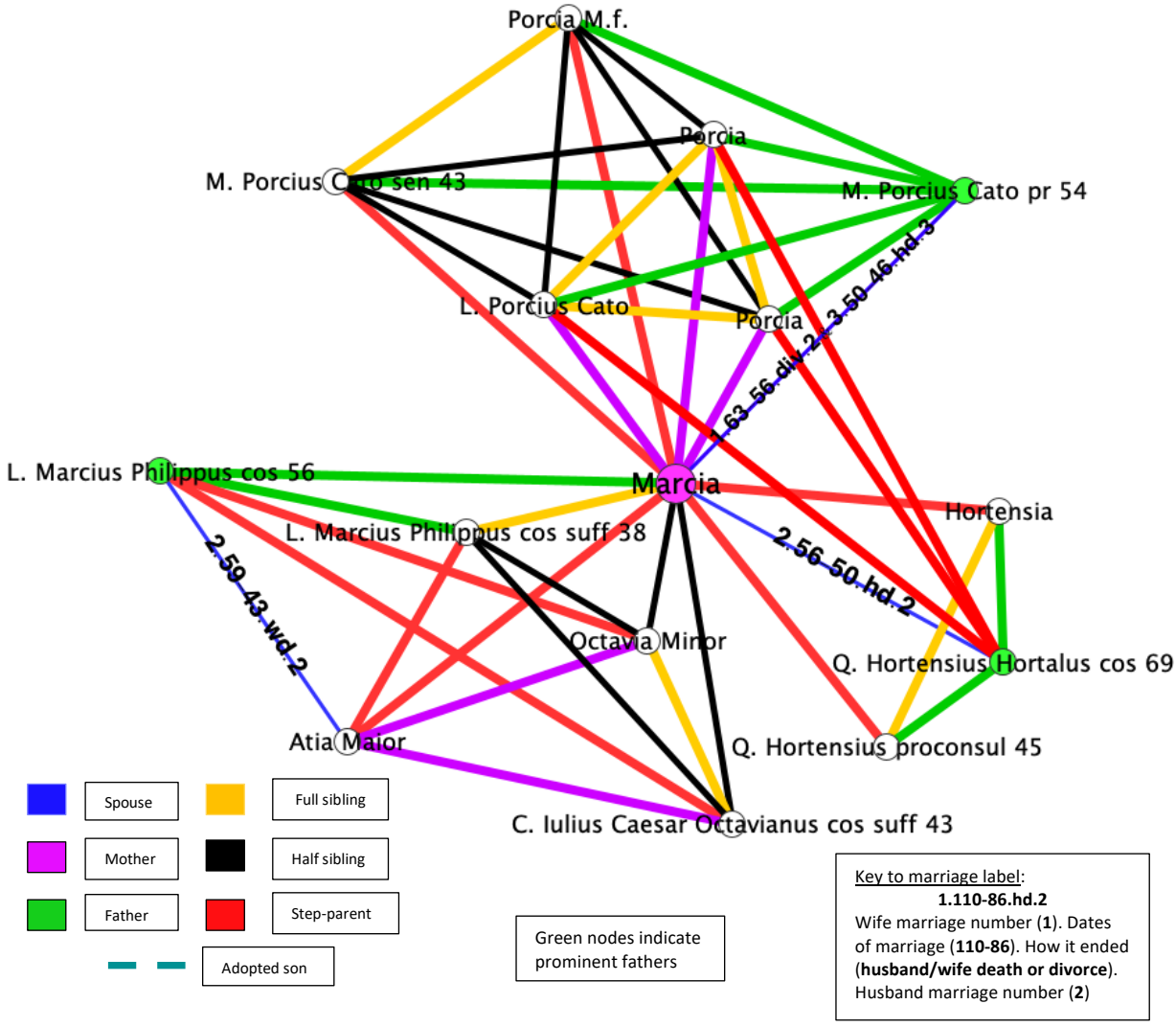

Figure 5.40 – Marcia's immediate network

Marcia, the daughter of L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56), was the step-sister of Octavian and Octavia Minor through her father's second marriage to their mother Atia Maior, one of C. Iulius Caesar's nieces. Her brother, L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38), compounded this link to the Iulii when he married Atia Minor, the sister of his father's new wife and another of Caesar's nieces.

Marcia's first marriage, in 63 BCE, was to M. Porcius Cato (pr 54). He had recently divorced his first wife, Atilia, for infidelity, although he had had two children with her, Porcia M.f. and M. Porcius Cato (sen 43)[534]. Cato was 32 at the time of this second marriage and Marcia would have been around 16/17, as Appian describes that they had been married "from her

[534] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 24.3.

girlhood"[535]. Marcia was most likely born circa 80/79 BCE. The union produced three children, L. Porcius Cato and two girls named Porcia, but nothing is known about them apart from their names. However, in 56 BCE, Cato divorced Marcia, although he had "been very fond of her"[536], in a puzzling scenario that demonstrates the complete control that men could hold over their womenfolk in the late republic.

According to Plutarch and Appian[537], Q. Hortensius Hortalus, a good friend of Cato's, wished to be united with him more closely than friendship, as their families had already been linked when Hortensia, Hortensius' daughter, had been married to Cato's half-brother Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67)[538]. He thus approached Cato asking if he could marry his daughter Porcia M.f., but she was already married to M. Calpurnius Bibulus (cos 59), and as Bibulus was another of Cato's good friends, as well as an important political ally against Caesar, Cato did not wish to divorce the couple so his daughter could marry Q. Hortensius Hortalus. Hortensius understood this reasoning but, as he really wished to bind himself to Cato's family, he offered to marry Cato's wife instead. Cato agreed to this but stipulated that Marcia's father, L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56), must also agree to this divorce and remarriage, as their marriage must have been *sine manu* and Marcia would still have been *in potestate*.

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[535] Appian, *Bellum Civile* II 99; Broughton (1952).

[536] Appian, *Bellum Civile* II 99; Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 25.

[537] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 25; Appian, *Bellum Civile* II 99.

[538] Both sources state that Q. Hortensius Hortalus had recently been widowed and left without an heir, which was the main reason for choosing a woman within Cato's household who had proven her fertility, but he had a daughter, Hortensia, who lived past 42 BCE and a son, Q. Hortensius who was proconsul in 45 and executed after the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE. Broughton (1952); Hinard (1985); Zmeskal (2009). Münzer (1999, pp. 313-318) also dedicates several pages to this problematic situation and concludes that when he married Marcia, Hortensius did have two living children but that "towards the end of his life [he] no longer wished to have anything to do with his undutiful son [by Lutatia] and considered himself childless" (p. 315). He states Valerius Maximus (5.9.2) as evidence for this conclusion.

Philippus agreed to the union and Marcia was thus divorced from Cato and married to Hortensius, who was 58 years old when they married in 56 BCE[539]. Like most Roman wives, she must have borne this fate as part of her duties, for Appian reports that she had children with Hortensius, although no information about them survives[540]. Plutarch, however, suggests that they had no children for, upon his death in 50 BCE, Hortensius made Marcia a very wealthy woman when he made her his heir[541]. Moreover, both sources testify that once Marcia was a widow, Cato welcomed her back into his household and Plutarch further states that Cato remarried her before going to join Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) in Greece[542].

As a result of this saga, Caesar, in his *AntiCato*, accused Cato of avarice and wife trafficking, using Marcia as bait to lure Hortensius into marrying a young fertile woman, so as to remarry her when she was a rich widow[543]. Irrespective of Cato's motives for divorcing the wife he supposedly loved, marrying her to a close friend so she could produce an heir and then taking her back, this anecdote demonstrates how some elite women could be treated at this time. There is no discussion, in either Plutarch or Appian, about Marcia's agreement to the plan. Nor is there any hint that she could have had a choice in the matter. Her husband and father had agreed to change her circumstances and Marcia just had to follow their decisions, whether she liked it or not. Moreover, what were her reasons for remarrying Cato? Was Marcia privy to the plan from the start, did she love Cato enough to forgive him, or did she have no option but to remarry the man that had sent her off to marry his friend who had wanted to connect himself more closely to Cato's family?

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[539] Rüpke et al. (2005)

[540] Appian, *Bellum Civile* II 99.

[541] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 52.3.

[542] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 52.3-5.

[543] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 52.4.

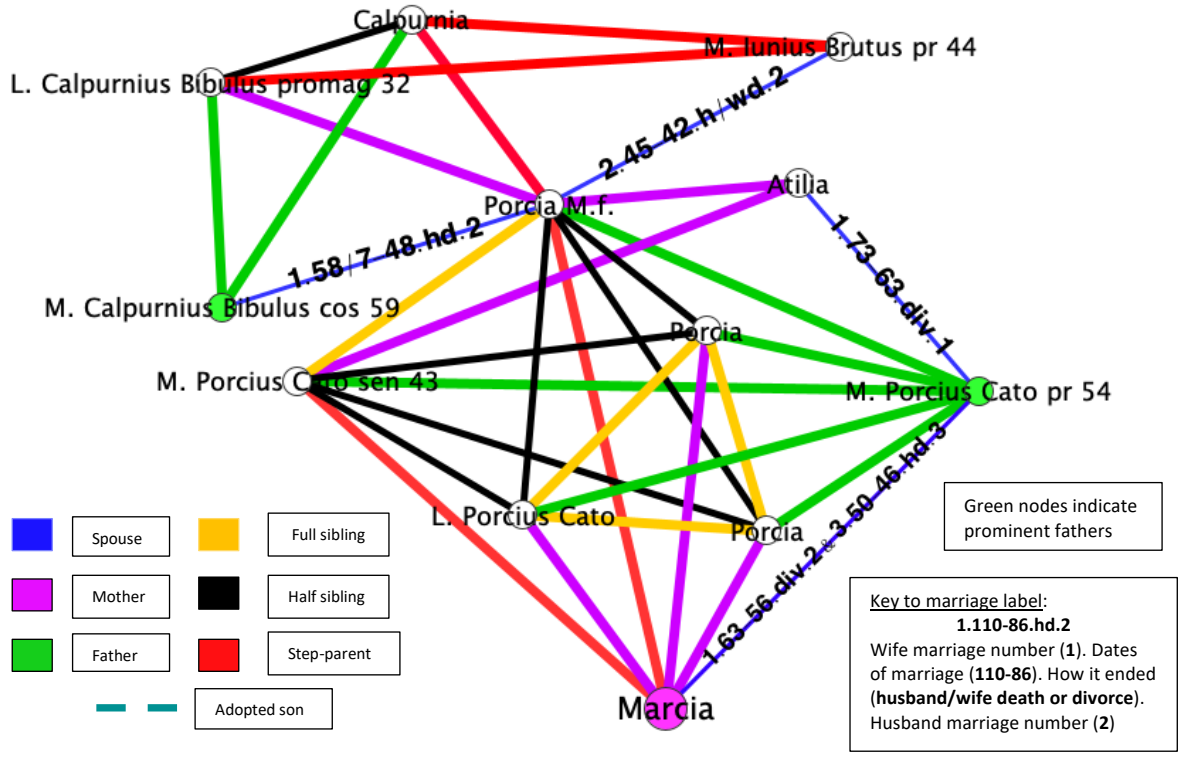

Figure 5.41 - Porcia M.f.

Porcia M.f., to distinguish her from her two half-sisters named Porcia, was the daughter of M. Porcius Cato (pr 54) from his first wife Atilia. Her parents were married between 73 and 63 BCE, which implies that she was born between these dates. As she was already married, and had produced a child, by 56 BCE when Q. Hortensius Hortalus asked Cato if he could marry her, it must be assumed that she was born closer to 73. If born in 73/72, she would have been around 15 when, in 58 or 57 BCE, when she was married to her father's close friend M. Calpurnius Bibulus (cos 59), who was 44 at the time[544]. They had at least one child together, L. Calpurnius Bibulus (promag 32) and possibly a girl as well, Calpurnia, but it is most likely that Calpurnia was Bibulus' daughter from his first marriage as she is not mentioned in the sources as a child of Porcia M.f.'s[545].

After Bibulus' death from illness in 48 BCE, and the suicide of her father in 46, Porcia M.f. Married her first cousin M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44) in late 45 BCE[546]. He was the son of her

[544] Sumner (1973).

[545] Plutarch, *Brutus* 13.2, 23.4.

[546] Plutarch, *Brutus* 2.1, 13.2, 15.1, 15.3, 53.4; *Caesar* 62.1; *Cato Minor* 73.4.

father's half-sister Servilia and had recently divorced his first wife Claudia Maior, the daughter of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54)[547]. His divorce from Claudia Maior was not received favourably, as Brutus had given no reason for it, and there was much talk about it, even amongst Brutus' friends and allies[548]. However, once married, Porcia M.f. and Brutus appeared devoted to each other, although Plutarch retells the account of Porcia M.f. inflicting harm on herself so that she could prove her loyalty and worthiness of character, as Cato's daughter, to her husband[549]. She, allegedly, did this as Brutus appeared anxious and troubled and would not confide in his wife. Once Porcia M.f. had cut her thigh and said nothing to Brutus, nor shown any signs of weakness, she went to her husband and showed him her wounds, whence Brutus, amazed at his wife's strength, prayed that he might be worthy of being her husband. Plutarch also mentions that Porcia M.f. was aware of her husband's plot to assassinate Caesar[550].

Porcia's death, in 42 BCE, is another example of her strength of will and character. Appian, Cassius Dio and Plutarch all claim that she killed herself by swallowing hot coals[551]. There is debate, however, whether she did this before hearing of Brutus' death, or after[552].

[547] Cicero, *Brutus* 267, 324.

[548] Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIII 9-10.

[549] Plutarch, *Brutus* 13.4-11.

[550] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 73.4.

[551] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 136; Cassius Dio, XLVII 49.3; Plutarch, *Brutus* 53.5.

[552] Plutarch, *Brutus* 53.6-7.

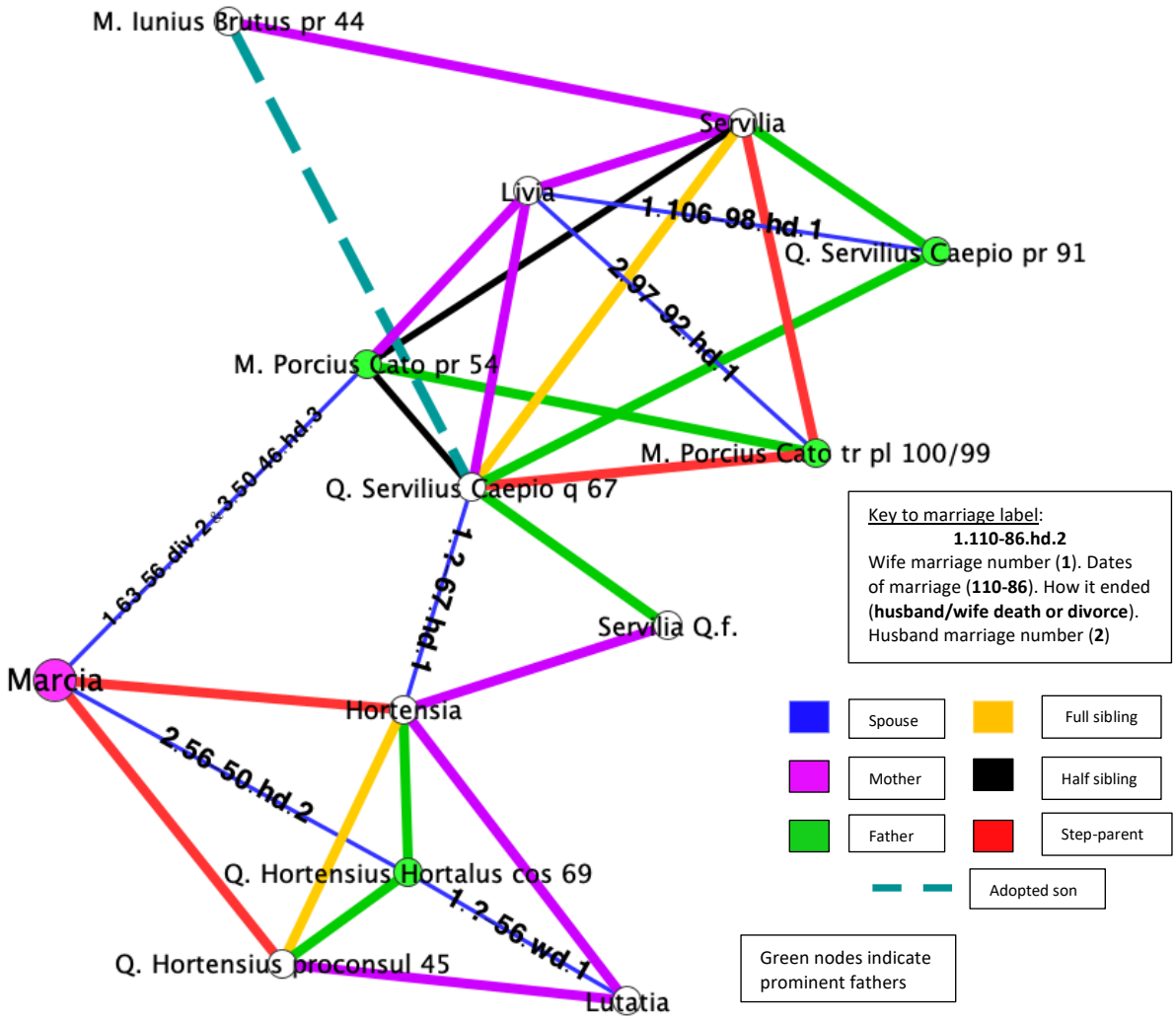

Figure 5.42 – Hortensia and Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67)

Hortensia was the daughter of Q. Hortensius Hortalus (cos 69) from his first wife Lutatia[553]. She became Marcia's stepdaughter, for six years, when Marcia married her father in 56 BCE. It is not known when Hortensia married Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67), but they had one daughter, Servilia[554]. This marriage was a compounding of several familial associations, as her maternal grandmother, Servilia, was also her husband's great-aunt. Moreover, Q. Servilius Caepio had been the half-brother of her stepmother's first husband, M. Porcius Cato (pr 44), but he had died, in 67 BCE, before Marcia's first marriage to Cato[555]. Hortensia does not seem to have remarried after the death of her husband.

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[553] Valerius Maximus, VIII 3.3.

[554] Plutarch, *Cato Minor* 11.4.

[555] Broughton (1952).

However, it is not Hortensia's complicated familial connections that makes her network of significant interest to the evidence for female agency in the late republic. It is her speech, in 42 BCE, in defiance of the Triumvirs' orders, that offers us a glimpse into the possible power and influence that some elite women could exert over their male kinsfolk. Appian writes that after the Triumvirs' proscriptions did not provide them with sufficient money for their upcoming war against Caesar's assassins, they decided to tax 1400 of the city's wealthiest women[556]. As discussed in chapter 3.4, these women first appealed to Octavia Minor, Octavian's sister, and to Iulia, M. Antonius' mother, who understood their concerns, but after Fulvia, M. Antonius' wife, turned them away, they decided to confront the Triumvirs themselves and elected Hortensia as their representative, due to her being the daughter of one of Rome's greatest orators.

Hortensia's speech, as recorded by Appian, so clearly expresses the social, political and financial position of elite women at this time that it bears quoting in full:

> "You have already deprived us of our fathers, our sons, our husbands, and our brothers, whom you accused of having wronged you; if you take away our property also, you reduce us to a condition unbecoming our birth, our manners, our sex. If we have done you wrong, as you say our husbands have, proscribe us as you do them. But if we women have not voted any of you public enemies, have not torn down your houses, destroyed your army, or led another one against you; if we have not hindered you in obtaining offices and honours, [then] why do we share the penalty when we did not share the guilt? Why should we pay taxes when we have no share in the magistracies, or honours, or military commands, or in public affairs at all, where your conflicts have brought us to this terrible state. 'Because this is a time of war,' do you say? When have there not been wars, and when have taxes ever been imposed on women, who are exempted by their sex among all humankind? Our mothers did once rise superior to their sex and made contributions when you were in danger of losing the whole empire and the city itself

[556] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 32-34.

> through the conflict with the Carthaginians. But then they contributed voluntarily, not from their landed property, their fields, their dowries, or their houses, without which life is not possible to free women, but only from their own jewellery, and even these not according to the fixed valuation, not under fear of informers or accusers, not by force and violence, but what they themselves were willing to give. What fear is there now for the empire or the country? Let war with the Gauls, or the Parthians, come and we shall not be inferior to our mothers in zeal for the common safety; but for civil wars may we never contribute, nor ever assist you against each other! Under Caesar and Pompeius we paid no taxes, nor were we forced to do so by Marius or Cinna or Sulla – and the last was a man who enjoyed absolute power over our country. Whereas you say that you are re-establishing the political order"[557].

Although this is obviously not Hortensia's speech, verbatim, as Appian wrote it over a century later, it must contain some elements of authenticity as her real words were powerful enough to convince the Roman people to show their discontent at the Triumvirs' actions. Following Hortensia's speech, the three leaders of Rome decided to amend the taxes to only 400 women, but all males with more than 100,000 denarii[558]. From Hortensia's speech we can deduce that some women could act on their agency, albeit by uniting together and speaking out about the injustices done to them by the men in charge, all of whom were their male relations.

[557] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 32-33.

[558] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 34.

5.9 Fulvia and Octavia Minor

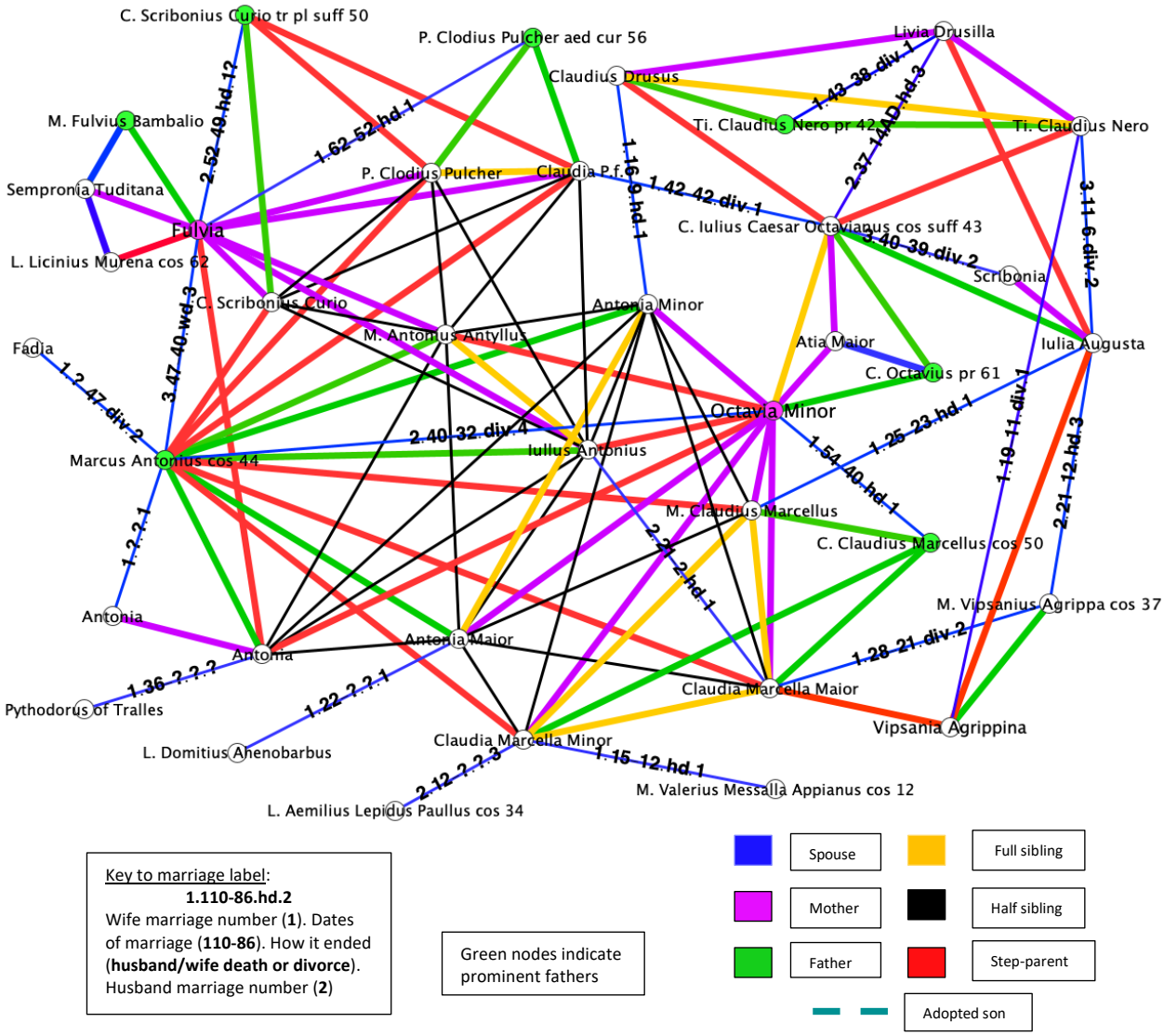

Figure 5.43 - Fulvia and Octavia Minor's joint network

This conglomerate network, which was initially separated into numerous smaller networks, has been created as a dual focal node network simply due to the fact that Octavia Minor and Fulvia shared so many connections that creating their individual networks rendered nearly identical visualisations. Combining two networks into one allows for broader patterns of connectedness and for the effects that multiple marriages and divorces had on the family units of late republican Rome to be identified. As a result of merging Fulvia and Octavia's networks, several compensations were made, so as not to make the network too dense and unreadable, and because certain individuals, and their connections with persons within this network, have already been documented in other network analyses. As such, Octavia's stepfather, L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56), his son L. Marcius Philippus (suff cos 38) and his

daughter Marcia, have been omitted from this network. Their links to Octavia's broader familial connections were not deemed of pivotal importance as this network is more focused on Octavia's marriages and children than on her stepfather's family. They are, however, discussed in detail in Marcia's network and also visualised in Aurelia's. Moreover, in order to reduce the number of overall connections, and so that the resulting network doesn't look like a 'spaghetti monster', none of Octavia or Fulvia's grandchildren, who were primarily born outside the temporal parameters of this study, are depicted in their combined network.

Octavia Minor and Fulvia's Visone network can be categorised as one central mass of multi-interconnected nodes and links, created by their children, with respective partners sitting on the periphery of this central mass. A visual analysis of Fulvia and Octavia's connections reveals just how many children these two women had, for there is a prolific number of fuchsia links in their network. Both Octavia and Fulvia had a total of five children each, with Octavia's coming from two marriages and Fulvia's from three. The network visualisation clearly highlights just how densely connected these two families became by the time Fulvia's third husband, M. Antonius, became Octavia's second husband. Furthermore, there are a few other shared spouses in this dense network. These remarriages into the network, by people who had already married into it, is what aids in creating the denseness and network loop, particularly focused around Octavian, Octavia's brother, and his daughter, Iulia Augusta.

The denseness of the visualised network and the importance that bridging actors play in creating this pattern is perfectly reflected in the statistical measures[559]. Aside from Fulvia,

[559] See Appendix I 7.9 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Marcus Antonius (274.915/0.016/15/0.419), Fulvia (232.323/0.013/11/0.379), C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus 197.166/0.014/9/0.25), Octavia Minor (178.753/0.015/13/0.436), Claudia Marcella Minor (143.849/0.014/9/0.5), Claudia P.f. (138.973/0.014/9/0.556) and Claudia Marcella Maior (115.076/0.014/9/0.511).

Octavia and their shared husband, M. Antonius, three of the top seven actors with high betweenness scores are bridging agents who connect other clusters to the central mass of connections. This is further highlighted by the repeated high clustering coefficient values. For a network that consists of 35 nodes and 102 links, the fact that the majority of actors have clustering coefficient sores higher than 0.4 indicates the dense network of connections that existed between these individuals. The degree values further reinforce this point as nearly half of the actors have eight or more connections. Moreover, the closeness values for most of the actors in Octavia and Fulvia's network are between 0.01 and 0.016, once again indicating the close relationships that individuals in this network had with each other.

In terms of stepmothers, this network contains quite a few of them. Both Fulvia and Octavia were stepmothers, of course, as were Claudia Marcella Maior, Iulia Augusta and Livia Drusilla. Each will be discussed within their own individual network.

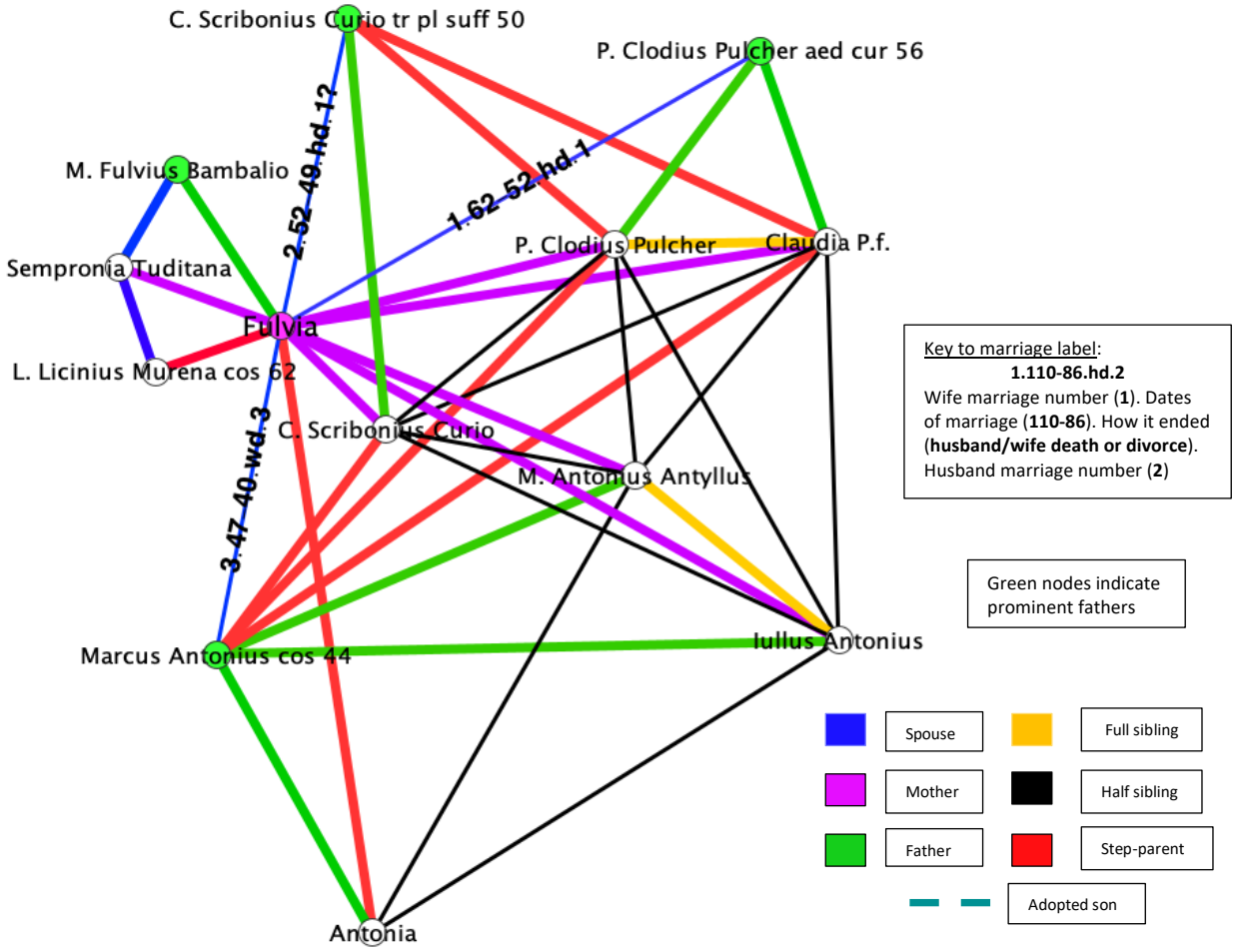

Figure 5.44 – Fulvia's immediate network

Fulvia seems to have been one of the last surviving member of both her families[560]. Both her parents, M. Fulvius Bambalio and Sempronia Tuditana, were from wealthy families and she received a large proportion of her father's wealth after his death[561]. Her paternal family had not been senatorial since at least 125 BCE, but the Fulvii and Sempronii were both old Plebeian nobility who were very well connected[562]. It is not known if Fulvia's parents divorced or if this marriage ended in widowhood, but Sempronia Tuditana remarried L. Licinius Murena, the consul of 62 BCE[563]. Fulvia's first marriage, in 62 BCE, was to Publius

[560] Schultz (2021, p. 10).

[561] Babcock (1965).

[562] Fraschetti (2001, pp. 66-67).

[563] Schultz (2021, p. 12). This union may also have produced a son, A. Terentius Varo Murena, see Babcock (1965, pp. 6-7 fn 14).

Clodius (aed cur 56), who would have been 29 at the time of marriage[564]. As Fulvia's year of birth is not conclusively known, her age at marriage can only be estimated to be in the mid to late teens. It may have been Fulvia's stepfather, L. Licinius Murena, who orchestrated the match between his stepdaughter and his political ally and close friend[565]. The marriage appears to have been a very close one, for Cicero states that they were never apart[566]. Moreover, their families' political leanings were similar, Publius Clodius was the son of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 79), and Fulvia's wealth would have been a relief for the third son of an illustrious senatorial family wanting to climb the *cursus honorum*[567]. The union produced a son, P. Clodius Pulcher[568] and a daughter, Claudia P.f.

After the murder of Publius Clodius in 52 BCE, Fulvia married his friend C. Scribonius Curio (tr pl suff 50). Both men were supporters of Caesar's political faction. Although Curio was originally publicly opposed to Caesar, he changed his mind before the Civil war[569]. Since he was descended from a family as distinguished as that of Clodius, Curio was possibly better off financially[570] and similar in temperament: both were said to be "decadent, dangerous, and skilled politicians out to destroy the system that promoted them"[571]. Unfortunately, the

[564] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[565] Schultz (2021). *cf.* Taylor (1942, pp. 396-397). See also Hallett (2021b, pp. 31-32).

[566] Cicero, *Pro Milone* 28, 35.

[567] Fraschetti (2001, pp. 67-68).

[568] The spelling of his name has been kept to reflect his father's chosen spelling. He has been attested as P. Claudius Pulcher by M. Antonius (Cicero. *Atticus* XIV 13A) and as P. Clodius Pulcher by M. Tullius Cicero (Cicero. *Atticus* XIV 13B). There is also a funerary urn attributed to him in the Louvre which has his name spelt as Claudius rather than Clodius. (CIL 6.1282) *cf*. Schultz (2021, pp. 111-112).

[569] Schultz (2021, p. 52).

[570] Fraschetti (2001, p. 69).

[571] Schultz (2021, p. 53).

marriage did not last long as Curio was murdered in 49 whilst campaigning in North Africa on Caesar's behalf[572]. The union produced one son, C. Scribonius Curio.

For her third husband, Fulvia again chose within her first husband's circle of friends. M. Antonius (cos 44) and Publius Clodius had been friends since childhood and he had also been friends with C. Scribonius Curio, with the two of them joining Caesar in Cisalpine Gaul when civil war broke out in 49 BCE[573]. At the time of their marriage, M. Antonius was *Magister Equitum*, making him the second most important political figure in Rome, after Caesar[574]. This union produced two sons, M. Antonius Antyllus and Iullus Antonius, but was overshadowed by Caesar's assassination, M. Antonius' belief that he was his rightful heir over Octavian and their ensuing civil war over who should lead Rome. It is during this time that Cicero wrote his famous *Philippicae*, from which we get our most abundant information about Fulvia, her husbands and her personal characteristics, although the context, aims and inherent bias of this source must obviously be taken into account[575].

Fulvia's agency, throughout her adult life, is most noteworthy in her actions as wife to her three husbands. After the death of Publius Clodius, it was Fulvia who "stage-managed his funeral in a manner that would be remembered and revisited in years to come"[576]. Her abilities to manipulate a crowd, most of whom were loyal supports of her husband and/or parts of his various gangs and *collegia*, meant that they carried Clodius' body into the Curia and burned it down when they set his body on a pyre[577]. Babcock also believes that Fulvia aided in setting up and managing Clodius' gangs and *collegia*[578]. These organised gangs, as

[572] Appian, *Bellum Civile* II 7.45.

[573] Fraschetti (2001, p. 70).

[574] Broughton (1952).

[575] Fraschetti (2001, p. 68).

[576] Brennan (2012, p. 357).

[577] Brennan (2012, p. 357).

[578] Babcock (1965, p. 21).

well as Fulvia's political nous and sizeable dowry, could have been the reason for why she attracted her next two husbands[579].

Fulvia's public political actions were more pronounced during her marriage to M. Antonius and after Caesar's death in 44 BCE. Cicero tells us that she accompanied her husband to military camps and that she publicly, and privately, canvassed against Cicero when he tried to declare M. Antonius an enemy of Rome[580]. Fulvia was also possibly used as the model for the face of the goddess Victory in coins minted by her husband in 43/42 BCE and his supporters possibly renamed the city of Eumenea 'Fulviana'[581]. If both honours did actually happen, they would have been the first such honours for a Roman woman. By 41 BCE, "Fulvia emerges in our sources as one of the most powerful figures in Rome"[582]. Cassius Dio informs us that "in the year P. Servilius and L. Antonius nominally became consuls [41 BCE], in reality it was M. Antonius and Fulvia instead. She, the mother-in-law of C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus and wife of M. Antonius, had no respect for M. Aemilius Lepidus because of his slothfulness, and managed affairs herself, so that neither the senate nor the people transacted any business contrary to her pleasure"[583]. Fulvia even used her political influence to gain permission for her brother-in-law, L. Antonius, to triumph, but in reality, it was Fulvia who had achieved the honour[584]. Fulvia's management of political affairs is further evidenced in the leadership role she played in civil warfare around Perusia, which she orchestrated in her husband's name. Sling bullets that have survived from these battles

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[579] Schultz (2021, p. 67).

[580] Cicero, *Philippicae* 13.18; Appian, *Bellum Civile* III 8.51. See Schultz (2021, pp. 73-103) for a thorough analysis of Fulvia's actions following Caesar's death and M. Antonius' battles against Octavian.

[581] Brennan (2012, p. 358). Schultz (2021, pp. 13-15) questions whether such honours were given to Fulvia. For a debate on the use of Fulvia's likeness on M. Antonius' coins, see Schultz and McIntyre (2021).

[582] Brennan (2012, p. 358).

[583] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 4.1.

[584] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 4.2-3.

clearly indicate that the intended recipient is Fulvia, even if she may not have been on the battlefield to receive them[585]. Again, Fulvia's involvement in the organisation and management of military battles is a first for a Roman woman. She may have been involved so as to retain M. Antonius' control over Rome, but her agency, her actions and abilities to influence events were all of her own doing. Unfortunately, she and L. Antonius were not successful at Perusia and she fled to Greece with her children, accompanied by an escort of 3000 cavalry, where she finally met up with her husband and died suddenly from an illness[586]. In the aftermath of her death, M. Antonius and Octavian reconciled their differences, and both cast blame on Fulvia for all the crimes committed in recent years[587]. After Octavian's ultimate victory over M. Antonius, two of Fulvia's sons, C. Scribonius Curio and M. Antonius Antyllus, were executed by Octavian[588].

[585] Brennan (2012, p. 358); Schultz (2021, pp. 97-100). Hallett (1977, 2006a) also details the similarities between the language used on the *Perusinae glandes* and the poem by Augustus quoted in Martial (11.20).

[586] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 15.1; Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 30.

[587] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 30; Cassius Dio, XLVIII 28.2-3.

[588] Cassius Dio, LI 2.5; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 17.5; Schultz (2021, p. 108).

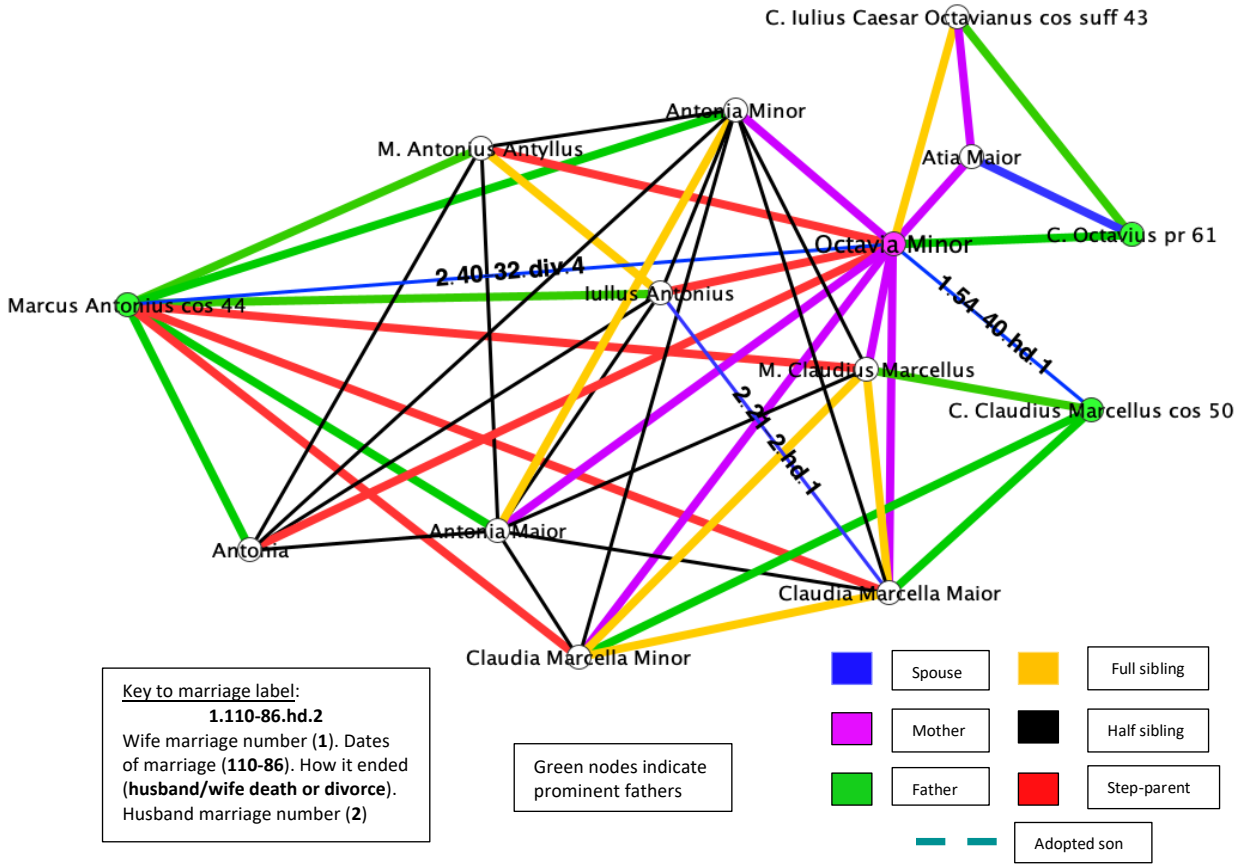

Figure 5.45 – Octavia Minor's immediate network

Octavia Minor, the elder sister of C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43), was born to C. Octavius (pr 61) and Atia Maior, C. Iulius Caesar's niece[589]. Her father died when she was ten and her mother remarried L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56) in the same year[590]. In 54 BCE, at the

[589] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 4, also mentions that Octavia Minor had an older half-sister, also named Octavia, the daughter from her father's first marriage to Aricia. She has not been included in this network as Suetonius is the only source that mentions an older half-sister and it would seem odd that C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus, considering how he constantly used his family members for his own glorification and advancement, would not utilise, or even mention, this half-sister during his life, even if she was descended from the *gens* Octavii rather than the Iulii. Perhaps she had not survived childhood, either way it would seem peculiar that only one source would mention a half-sister for Octavianus and Octavia Minor.

[590] As mentioned above, Octavia's connections to L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56) and his family have not been included in this network. See, Marcia's network, Philippus' daughter,

age of 15, she married the 38 year old C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50). Caesar, however, wanted them to divorce almost immediately so that she could marry his newly widowed son-in-law and fellow triumvir, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70)[591] . The couple refused and the union lasted until Marcellus' death in 40, having produced three children, C. Claudius Marcellus, Claudia Marcella Maior and Claudia Marcella Minor[592].

Before Octavia's period of mourning was over, her brother arranged for her to marry M. Antonius. A closer bond was needed between the pair in order to ratify the peace agreement between them, as well as their connections with M. Aemilius Lepidus. As the customary ten months since her husband's death had not elapsed, and the marriage was seen in the best interest of the state, a senatorial decree was passed to waive the time limit before Octavia and M. Antonius could marry[593]. The union was a highly unconventional one, with M. Antonius marrying Cleopatra in Egypt a few years later and having three children with her. He was still legally married to Octavia at the same time and they had two daughters together, Antonia Maior and Antonia Minor. Octavia, however, was devoted to her second husband and served as a mediator and negotiator between her husband and brother, until M. Antonius divorced her in 32[594].

Remarkably, after Cleopatra and M. Antonius' deaths in 30 BCE, Octavia accepted all of her ex-husband's non-adult children, who were still alive, into her household, including the ones he had had with Cleopatra[595]. In fact, Octavian so revered and esteemed his sister that he

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as well as Aurelia's network for full details of connections between Philippus and Octavia's family.

[591] Suetonius, *Caesar* 27.1.

[592] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.2; Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6.4; Zmeskal (2009).

[593] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 31; Appian, *Bellum Civile* V 64, 66.

[594] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 35, 57.

[595] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87. M. Antonius Antyllus and C. Scribonius Curio had been killed in Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus was not present at Octavian's triumph, so he must have died before it, and Alexander Helios is never mentioned again after the triumph in Rome,

granted her, along with his wife Livia Drusilla, several titles and honours that no women had ever held before in Rome. Amongst these was the honour of *sacrosanctitas*, only previously held by Tribunes, and the ability to manage their own finances without the need for male tutors[596]. Moreover, statues of Octavia, and Livia, were prominently displayed throughout the Roman world, the first Roman women to be so honoured since Cornelia Africani f., and the first within their lifetimes[597].

meaning he possibly died soon after. This left Iullus Antonius and Cleopatra Selene, as Claudia P.f. and P. Clodius Pulcher would have been adults by 30 BCE. Schultz (2021, pp. 108-113).

[596] Cassius Dio, XLIX 38.

[597] Cassius Dio, XLIX 38.

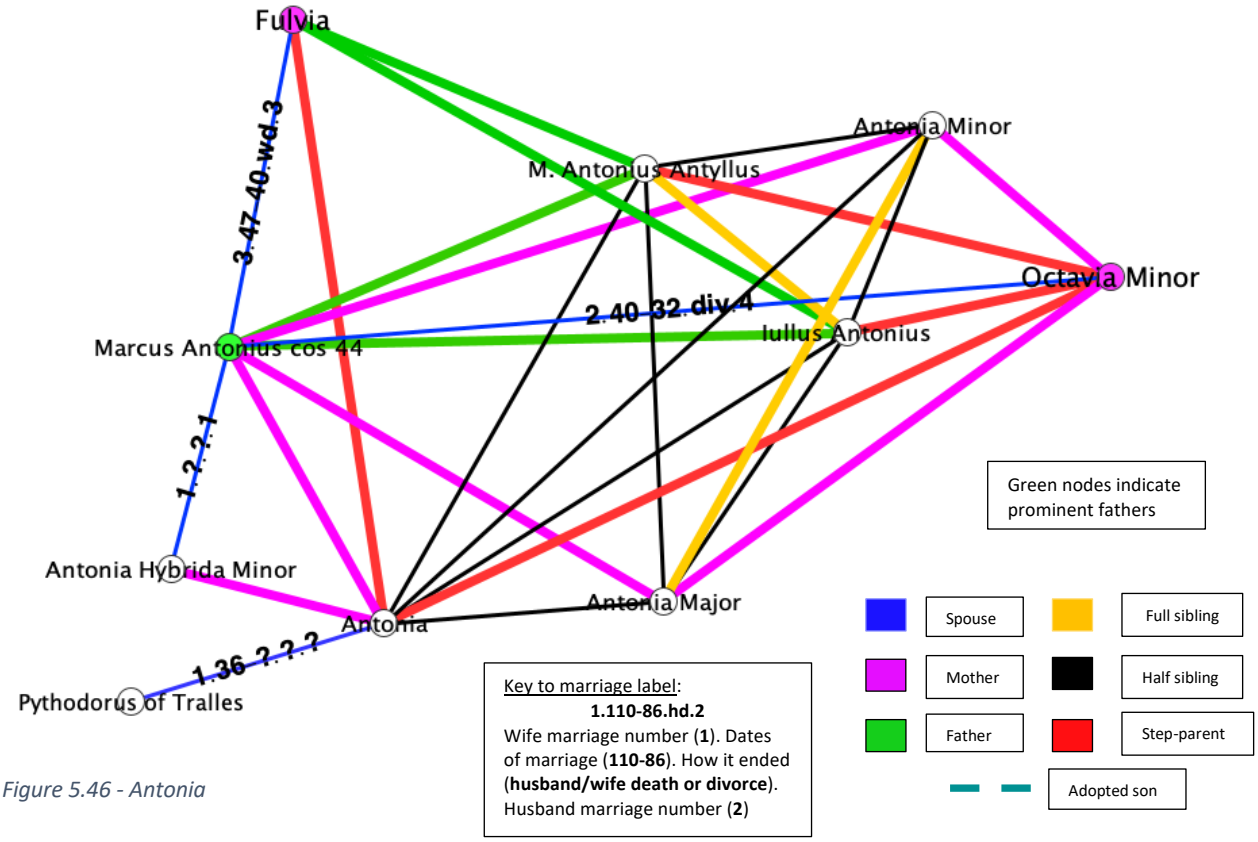

Figure 5.46 - Antonia

The eldest of M. Antonius' children, from his second marriage to his first cousin Antonia Hybrida Minor, Antonia was betrothed in 44 BCE to M. Aemilius Lepidus, the son of the Triumvir[598]. However, the engagement was disbanded in 36 BCE and Antonia, at the age of 14, was married to a man 20 years older than her, Pythodorus of Tralles[599]. Nothing is known about Antonia after her marriage.

[598] Cassius Dio, XLIV 53.6; Appian, *Bellum Civile* V 93; Cicero, *Ad Familiares* XII 2.

[599] Treggiari (2019, p. 137, fn 53).

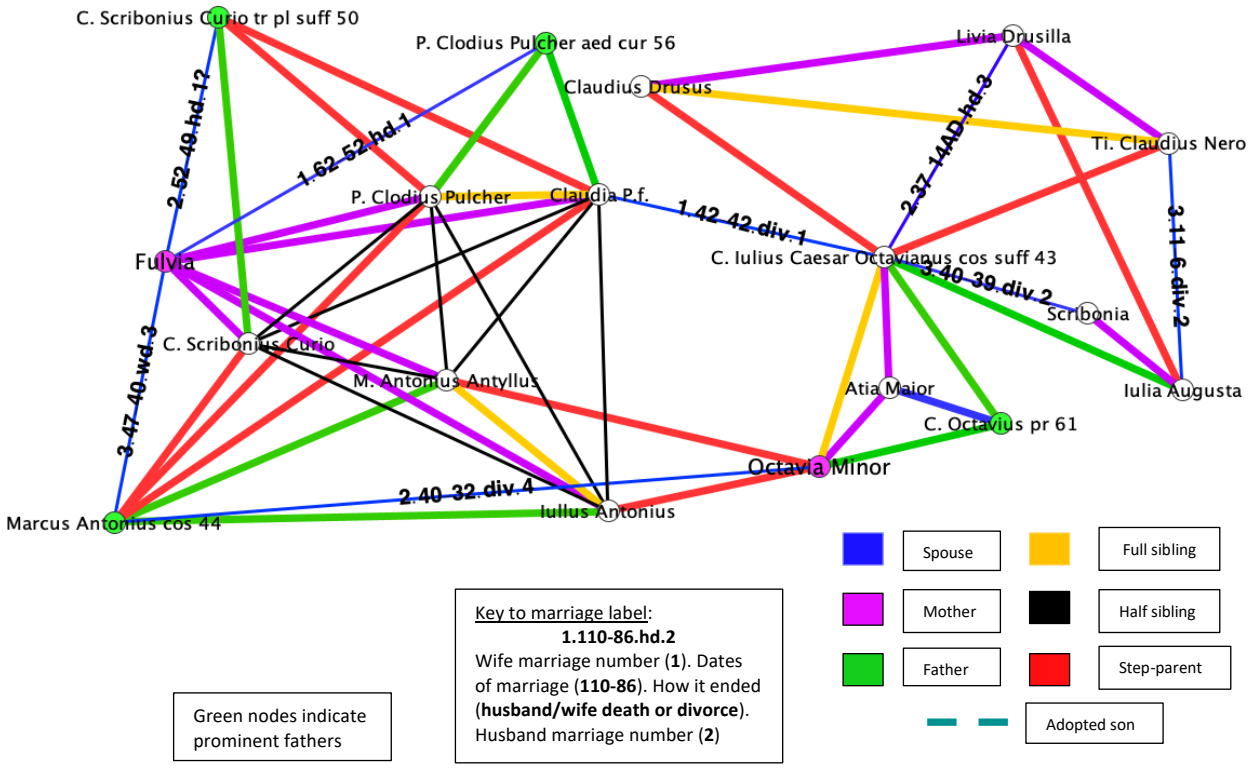

Figure 5.47 - Claudia P.f.

Claudia P.f. was Fulvia's only daughter, from her first marriage to Publius Clodius (aed cur 56). In 42 BCE, in order to cement the peace agreements between himself, M. Aemilius Lepidus and Octavian, Claudia P.f., at the age of 15, was married to Octavianus, himself only twenty years old[600]. This marks the first instance of the Triumvirs using their children to solidify political arrangements through marriages, something which would henceforth become a regular occurrence, especially for Octavian.

The union only lasted a year, during which period Octavian was continually fighting wars, and thus when the marriage ended in divorce, Claudia P.f. was returned to her mother Fulvia, with Octavian commenting that she was being returned still a virgin[601]. Claudia's divorce ended any peace that existed between Fulvia and Octavian and was used as a

[600] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 62.1.

[601] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 62; Cassius Dio, XLVIII 5.3.

catalyst for the warfare that broke out soon after[602]. It is not known what happened to Claudia P.f. after her divorce.

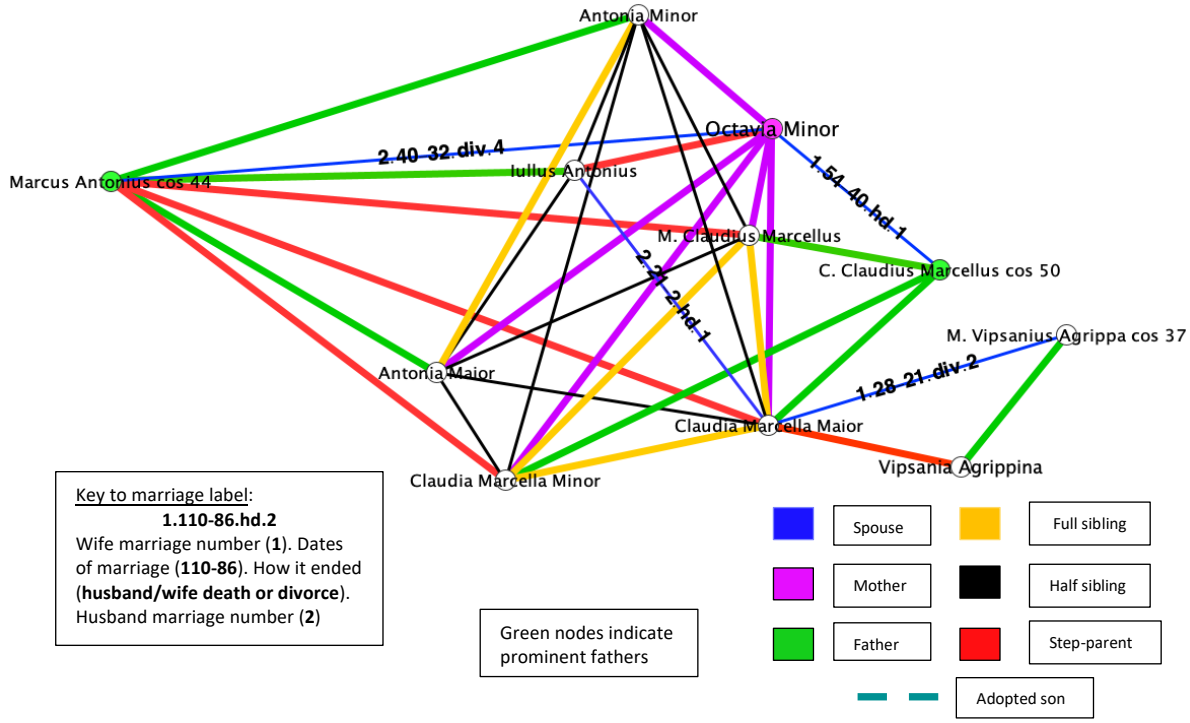

Figure 5.48 - Claudia Marcella Maior

Claudia Marcella Maior, the eldest of Octavia Minor's daughters with C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50), married her uncle's best friend and military commander, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, in 28 BCE at the age of 14, whilst he was 36 and already serving his second consulship[603]. This union was obviously a way of Octavian bringing Agrippa into his family and creating a closer bond between the two[604]. Suetonius informs us that Claudia Marcella Maior and Agrippa had children, but no other information is known beyond that, not even their names or gender[605].

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[602] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 5.4. See Hallett (1977, 2006a) for historical evidence supporting this, namely the *Perusinae glandes* and Augustus' poem quoted by Martial (11.20).

[603] Broughton (1952).

[604] Kleiner (2005, p. 53).

[605] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 63.

Octavian's need to forge a familial bond with Agrippa continued to determine Claudia Marcella Maior's lifespan when her brother, M. Claudius Marcellus, died unexpectedly in 23 BCE and left his wife, Iulia Augusta, Octavian's daughter, without a husband. Plutarch tells us that it was Octavia Minor, Claudia Marcella Maior's mother, who decided, and had to persuade all parties, that her daughter and Agrippa should divorce so that he could marry Iulia Augusta instead[606]. If this were indeed the case, then Octavia must surely have had her brother's interests above her own children's, or grandchildren's. Suetonius, on the other hand, says that it was Octavian that persuaded Octavia first[607]. Either way, Agrippa and Claudia Marcella Maior divorced in 21 and she returned to her mother's home before remarrying her step-brother Iullus Antonius in the same year[608]. This second marriage, between two individuals who were of similar ages, and who would have grown up together in the same household, lasted until Iullus Antonius' suicide in 2 BCE, as a result of his adultery with Iulia Augusta[609].

[606] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.

[607] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 63.

[608] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.

[609] Cassius Dio, LV 10.15.

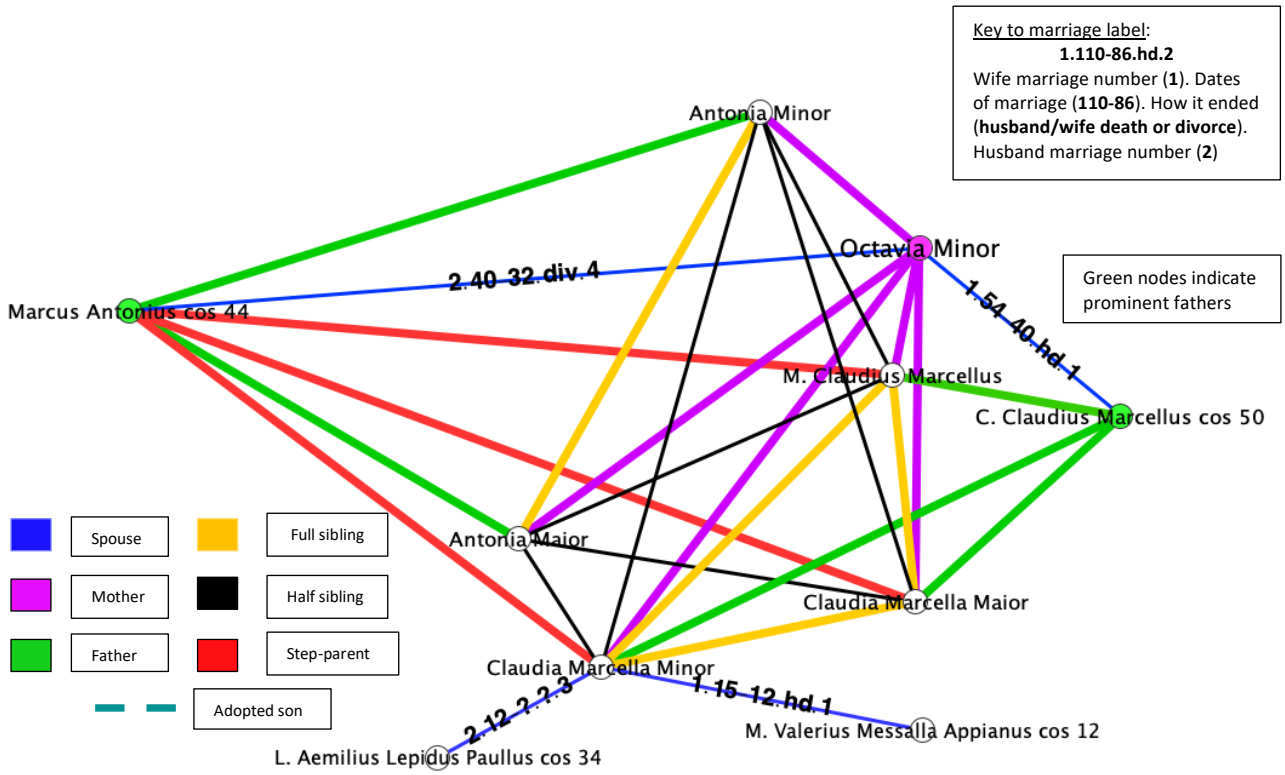

Figure 5.49 - Claudia Marcella Minor

Claudia Marcella Minor was the second daughter of Octavia Minor and C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50). She was most probably born posthumously[610]. There is much disagreement as to the number and order of her marriages. Syme devotes five whole pages to scholarly debate on whether she had two or three husbands and whether she married M. Valerius Messalla Appianus (cos 12) or L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus (cos 34) first[611]. Syme's conclusion is that Claudia Marcella Minor married Appianus, whose real father was Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 38) in 15 BCE, at the age of 25. Upon his death in 12 BCE, she remarried Lepidus Paullus, a man in his mid-fifties[612]. Syme also discusses the highly favourable possibility that Claudia Marcella Minor had been married prior to 15 BCE, as no other women of her family had stayed unmarried past the age of 15 or 16 and she would

[610] Lightman (2008, p. 205).

[611] Syme (1986, pp. 147-151).

[612] Syme (1986, p. 151).

have been around 25 in 15 BCE. He posits some possible candidates, but as these are pure speculation, they have not been included in this study[613].

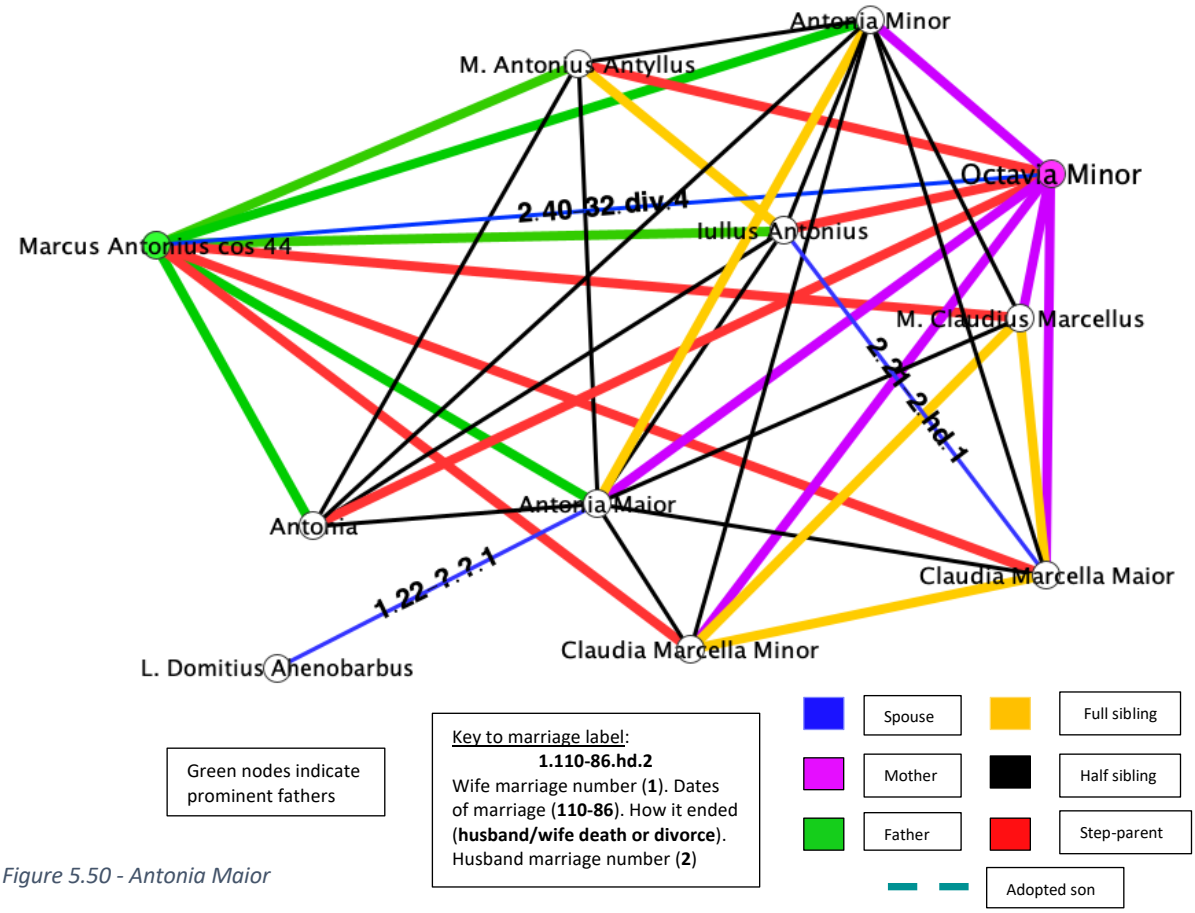

Figure 5.50 - Antonia Maior

Antonia Maior, the eldest daughter of Octavia Minor and M. Antonius, married L. Domitius Ahenobarbus in 22 BCE. He was 27 and she would have been around 15 years of age[614]. Not much is known about Antonia Maior and this marriage beyond the fact that the union produced three children. Their son, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, was the father of the Emperor Nero and their youngest daughter, Domitia Lepida, took care of Nero after his father died, choosing "a dancer and a barber to be his tutor"[615].

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[613] Syme (1986, pp. 147-151).

[614] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 54.4; Tacitus, *Annales* IV 44.

[615] Suetonius, *Nero* 5-6.

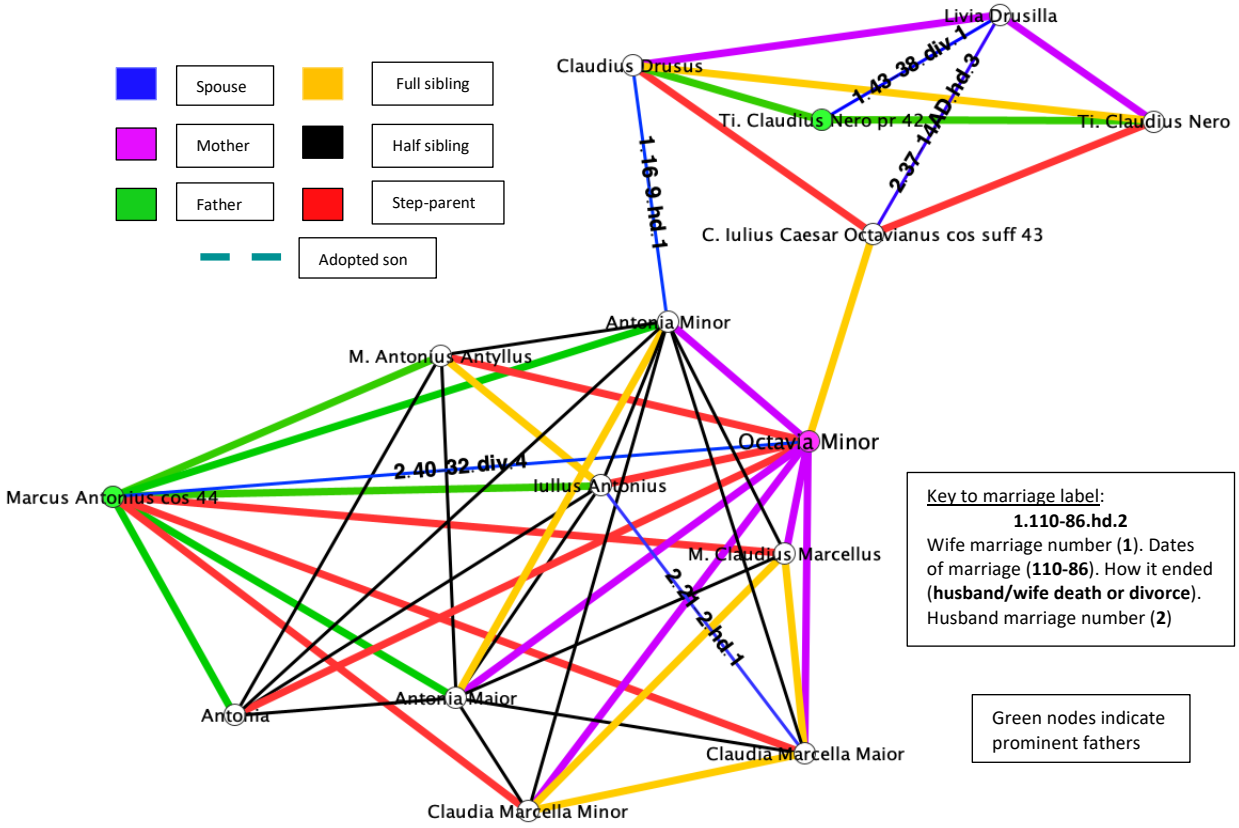

Figure 5.51 - Antonia Minor

Antonia Minor, the youngest of Octavia Minor and Marcus Antonius' daughters, married her uncle's step-son Claudius Drusus in 16 BCE[616]. Claudius Drusus was the youngest son of Livia Drusilla, Octavian's third wife, and Ti. Claudius Nero (pr 42). He was 22 when they married and she was 18[617]. The union produced Livilla, Germanicus and the future Emperor Claudius[618]. Unfortunately, neither parent was alive when he became Emperor in 41 CE, his father Claudius Drusus, having died in 9 BCE and his mother, Antonia Minor, in 37 CE[619].

[616] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.3.

[617] Broughton (1952).

[618] Suetonius, *Claudius* 1.

[619] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.3; *Claudius* 1.3; Smallwood (1967, p. 28).

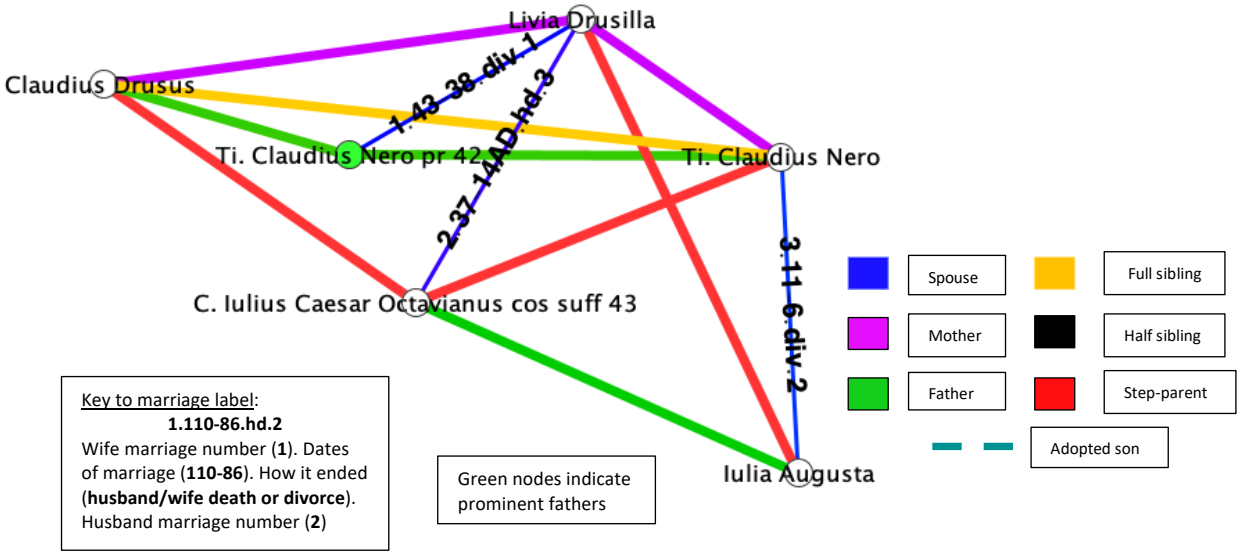

Figure 5.52 - Livia Drusilla

Born in 58 BCE[620], to Alfidia and M. Livius Drusus Claudianus, she was 15 years old when she was married to the 46 year old Ti. Claudius Nero (pr 42) in 43 BCE[621]. They had two children together: the future Emperor Tiberius, born in 42 BCE and Claudius Drusus, born in 38[622]. Her father and new husband both fought against Octavian at the Battle of Philippi, with the former committing suicide soon after[623]. Ti. Claudius Nero continued to fight against Octavian and the family escaped to Sicily, where they joined Sex. Pompeius Magnus (sen 43), and later moved to Greece[624].

Once a new peace treaty had been finalised in 39 BCE, Livia Drusilla and her family returned to Rome where she met Octavian for the first time. They supposedly fell instantly in love and were married in 38 BCE, despite the fact that Livia Drusilla was pregnant with Claudius Drusus at the time, and Scribonia, Octavian's second wife, having recently given birth to their daughter Iulia Augusta[625]. Whether Ti. Claudius Nero willingly divorced Livia Drusilla, or

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[620] Zmeskal (2009).

[621] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 3.1, *Caligula* 23.2; Rüpke et al. (2005).

[622] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 5, *Claudius* 1.1.

[623] Hinard (1985).

[624] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6; Fraschetti (2001, pp. 100-101).

[625] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 34.3.

was forced to by Octavian, Cassius Dio states that he was present at their wedding and even gave the bride away "just as a father would"[626]. Livia Drusilla was 20 when she married Octavian, whilst he was 26. They were married until his death in 14 CE but had no children together, although Iulia Augusta would have been a very young child when Livia Drusilla became her stepmother.

What sets Livia Drusilla apart from other women of her generation is the amount of personal agency she was able to demonstrate. As the wife of the *Princeps Senatus*, she enjoyed a very privileged position amongst the Roman elite and was given special titles and honours by her husband. Like Octavia Minor, Livia was allowed to manage her own finances, she was granted *sacrosanctitas* and statues of her were erected. According to the sources, she was Octavian's close confident and would regularly petition her husband on behalf of her friends and clients. As their marriage did not produce any heirs, coupled with the deaths of all of Octavian's direct male descendants, rumours abounded that Livia Drusilla was murdering her husband's adopted sons and successors so that her own sons, particularly Tiberius, would inherit Octavian's legacy[627]. Tacitus and Cassius Dio even claim that Livia poisoned Octavianus once the path was clear for Tiberius to be next in line to rule[628]. These accusations have been dismissed as rumours spread by those opposed to Livia Drusilla and Octavian[629].

Once Tiberius became Emperor, and she had been left one third of her husband's estate and been adopted in the *gens Iulii* in his will, Livia Drusilla was able to exercise considerable influence over her son. She intervened in legal matters and allowed her friends to think themselves above the law for knowing her[630]. Livia Drusilla's influence was not well received

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[626] Cassius Dio, XLVIII 44.1-3.

[627] Tacitus, *Annales* 1.3, 1.6; Cassius Dio, LIII 33.4, LV 10, 32, LVII 3.6.

[628] Tacitus, *Annales* I 5, Cassius Dio, LV 22.2, LVI 30.

[629] Barrett (2001, pp. 156-176); P. A. Watson (1995, pp. 176-192).

[630] Most notably in the cases of Urgulania and Munatia Placina. Tacitus, *Annales* II 34, III 17; Cassius Dio, LVII 12.

by her son, however. Tiberius repeatedly vetoed honours accorded to her by the Senate, during her life and after her death in 29 CE, including the fulfilment of her will[631]. Cassius Dio and Tacitus remarked that there was a "well concealed hatred" between mother and son and that Tiberius retreated to Capri to escape his mother[632]. It was not until the reign of Claudius, her grandson, that Livia Drusilla's honours were fully granted and she was deified, renamed Diva Augusta and that a statue of her was placed in the Temple of Augustus.

In terms of Livia Drusilla's temperament, Cassius Dio recorded that "when some naked men met her and were to be put to death in consequence, she saved their lives by saying that to a chaste woman such men are in no way different from statues. When someone asked her how she had obtained such a commanding influence over Augustus, she answered that it was by being scrupulously chaste herself, doing gladly whatever pleased him, not meddling with any of his affairs, and, in particular, by pretending neither to hear nor to notice the favourites of his passion"[633]. Livia Drusilla was definitely a woman allowed to exercise her personal agency. However, her actions must be viewed as exceptional, and as a direct consequence of her elevated social position, rather than as an example of the level of agency that all elite women in the late republic could demonstrate and act upon.

[631] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 51.

[632] Tacitus, *Annales* III 6, IV 57; Cassius Dio, LVII 12.

[633] Cassius Dio, LVIII 2.5.

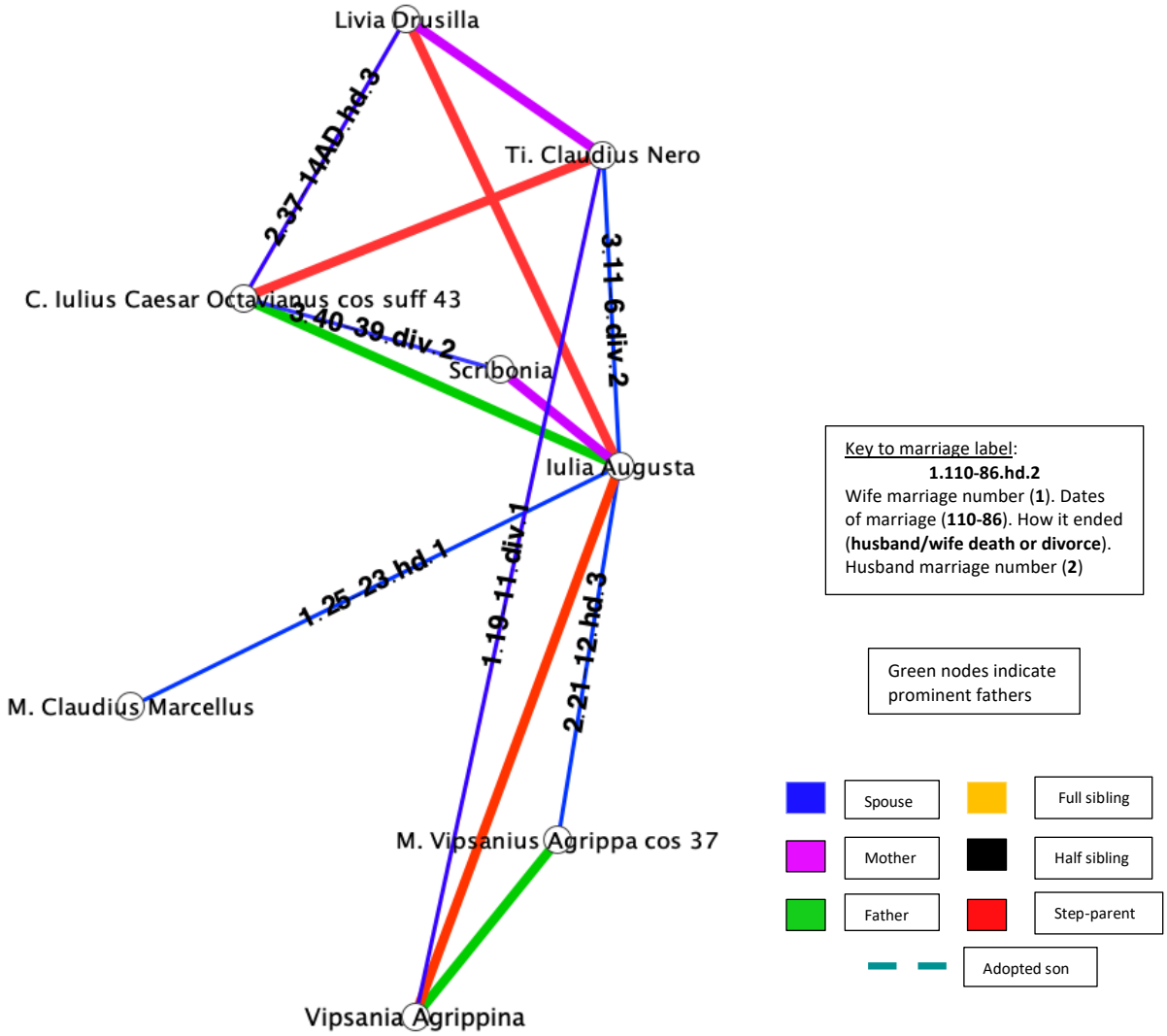

Figure 5.53 - Iulia Augusta

Iulia Augusta, Octavian's only child, from his second marriage to Scribonia, was first married, at the age of 14, to her 17 year old cousin M. Claudius Marcellus, the son of her aunt Octavia Minor[634]. Without a male heir of his own, Octavian viewed his sister's son, and new son-in-law, as a possible successor, or at the very least, hoped that the union between his daughter and nephew would produce the next in line[635]. Unfortunately, M. Claudius Marcellus died only two years into the marriage, without issue.

[634] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 63; Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.3.

[635] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 66.

As mentioned in Claudia Marcella Maior's network, Plutarch informs us that Octavia played match maker, whilst at the same time ending her daughter's marriage, when she convinced everyone involved that M. Vipsanius Agrippa should divorce her daughter, Claudia Marcella Maior, in order to marry the widowed Iulia Augusta[636]. How the parties involved actually felt about these marital changes will never be known to us, but the relationships between Octavia, her daughter and Iulia Augusta must surely have been tested, no matter how resigned to their fates they may have been. Irrespective of how the newlyweds felt towards each other, the union between the 18 year old Iulia Augusta and the 43 year old Agrippa produced several children, including Gaius and Lucius Caesar, M. Agrippa Postumus, Iulia Minor and Agrippina Maior[637].

With the death of Agrippa in 12 BCE, Iulia Augusta once again found herself widowed and once again a marriage was forced on her by her father. As a result, Ti. Claudius Nero's marriage to Vipsania Agrippina was dissolved and Tiberius, who was 31, was ordered to marry Iulia Augusta whilst she was till in mourning[638]. If her second marriage was a complication of familial connections, this third marriage was no different. Tiberius was her step-brother, a man she would have grown up with, and Vipsania Agrippina had until very recently being her step-daughter. Iulia Augusta was unhappy with the marriage and expressed this in a letter to her father, deeming her new husband, and step-brother, un unequal companion to the daughter of C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus[639]. The union was an unhappy one and the couple separated in 6 BCE, with one child having died in infancy[640].

As a direct result of her actions, Iulia Augusta was exiled in 2 BCE by her father. She had very recently been found guilty of frequent and prolonged infidelities with married men, as well

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[636] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87. Although Suetonius (*Augustus* 63) mentions that it was Octavianus who first discussed the divorce and remarriage.

[637] Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 64.

[638] Cassius Dio, LIV 31.

[639] Tacitus, *Annales* I 53.

[640] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7.3.

as treason by plotting to murder her father[641]. One of the men that she had had an affair with was Iullus Antonius, her first husband's step-brother, who committed suicide when the affair became public[642].

All in all, this generation of Octavia Minor and Fulvia's network is marked with multiple intermarriages, affairs and political manoeuvrings in order to secure heirs for Octavian's legacy, with none exemplifying this more than Iulia Augusta's personal network.

[641] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VII 149. Bauman (1992, pp. 108-119); Hallett (2006a, pp. 149, 156).

[642] Cassius Dio, LV 10.15. Hallett (2006a).

5.10 Iulia

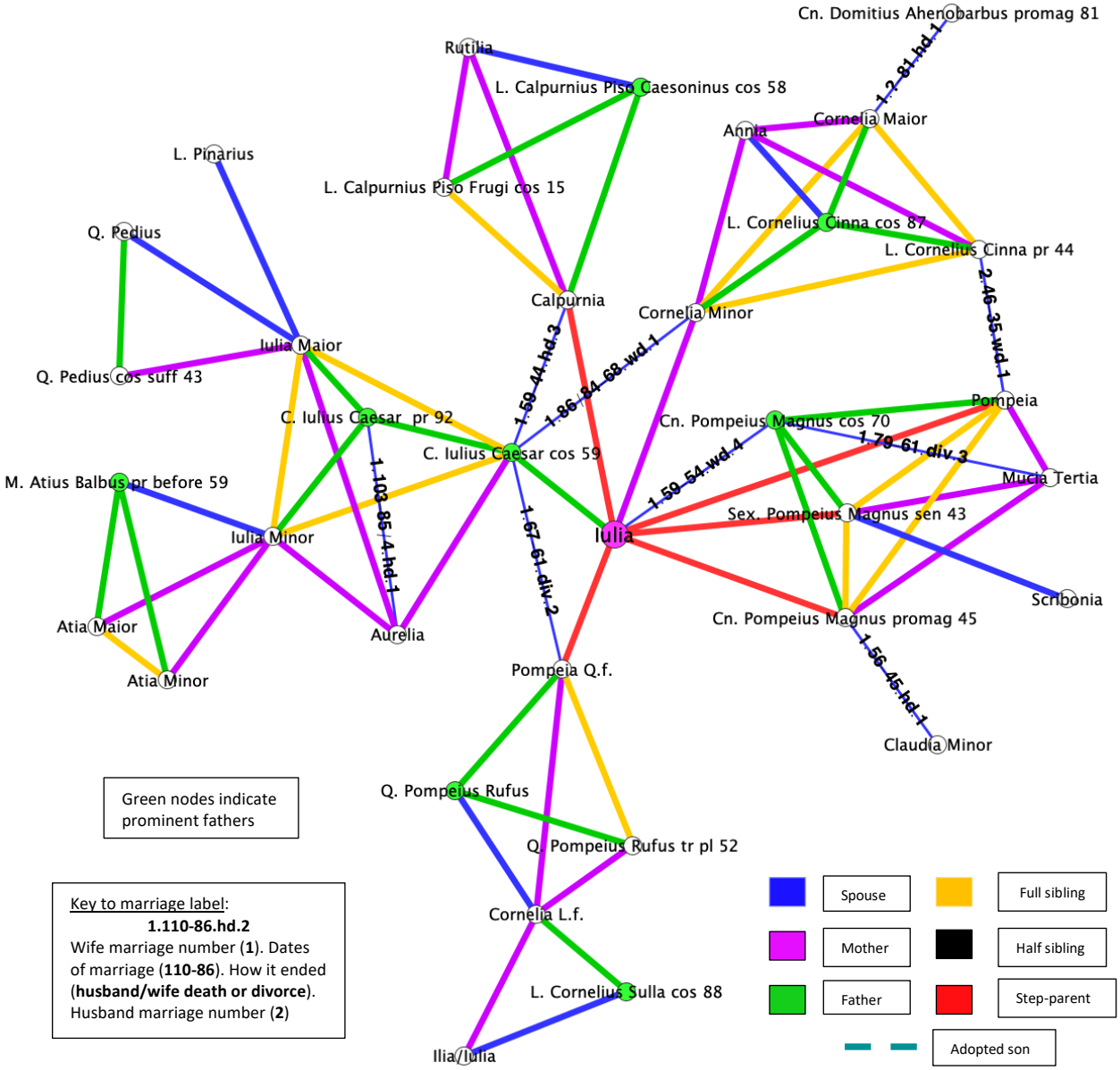

Figure 5.54 – Iulia's Network

Iulia is clearly the central node of her network, from which all other familial and marital clusters radiate. She is connected to each cluster through her parents, her father's two other marriages, and from her own marriage to Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70). As such, it is not surprising that the centrality measures indicate that Iulia and her father, C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), are the two leading bridging actors in this network, followed by Iulia's mother and

stepmothers and then her two aunts[643]. This means that seven of the top eight focal actors in Iulia's network are women. Considering that the ratio of women to men in the network is 18:17, this would signify that the women of Iulia's network were more important in bringing families together than the men were. The one link that does stand out is the marital connection that links two clusters by a weak bridge. It is a weak bridge as both actors, Iulia's stepdaughter Pompeia and her uncle L. Cornelia Cinna (pr 44), have relatively low betweenness measures, 59.467 and 37.4 respectively. This indicates that the marriage links on the periphery of Iulia's network, even ones that united clusters, were not as significant as the links connecting the more central of Iulia's familial connections.

Iulia's network was created, not because it would highlight any new significant elite Roman women, but because it showcases the multiple stepmothers that were present in the networks from the mid to late republic. For example, Iulia has two stepmothers, Pompeia Q.f. and Calpurnia, and she is also the stepmother to her husband's three children, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45), Sex. Pompeius Magnus (sen 43) and Pompeia. Whether this is a peculiarity of Iulia's network, as her father and husband both married numerous times, or if this pattern is repeated in other networks will be discussed in the following chapter when all networks visualised will be compared and contrasted to answer the key questions of this thesis.

As many of the individuals in this network overlap with other networks, only Iulia, her mother's and her stepmothers' networks will be discussed in detail. For other personal networks of prominent women present in this network, such as Aurelia, Iulia Maior and Minor, Atia Minor, Pompeia, Cornelia L.f., Mucia Tertia and Claudia Minor, please see

[643] See Appendix I 7.10 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 (560.667/0.015/8/0.321), Iulia (413.933/0.014/8/0.321), Pompeia Q.f. (290/0.012/5/0.4), Cornelia Minor (232.333/0.012/6/0.467), Iulia Maior (190/0.011/7/00333), Iulia Minor (186/0.011/7/0.429) and Calpurnia (186/0.012/5/0.4).

Aurelia's network for the first three women, Pompeia's for the next three and Clodia Metelli's network for the last one.

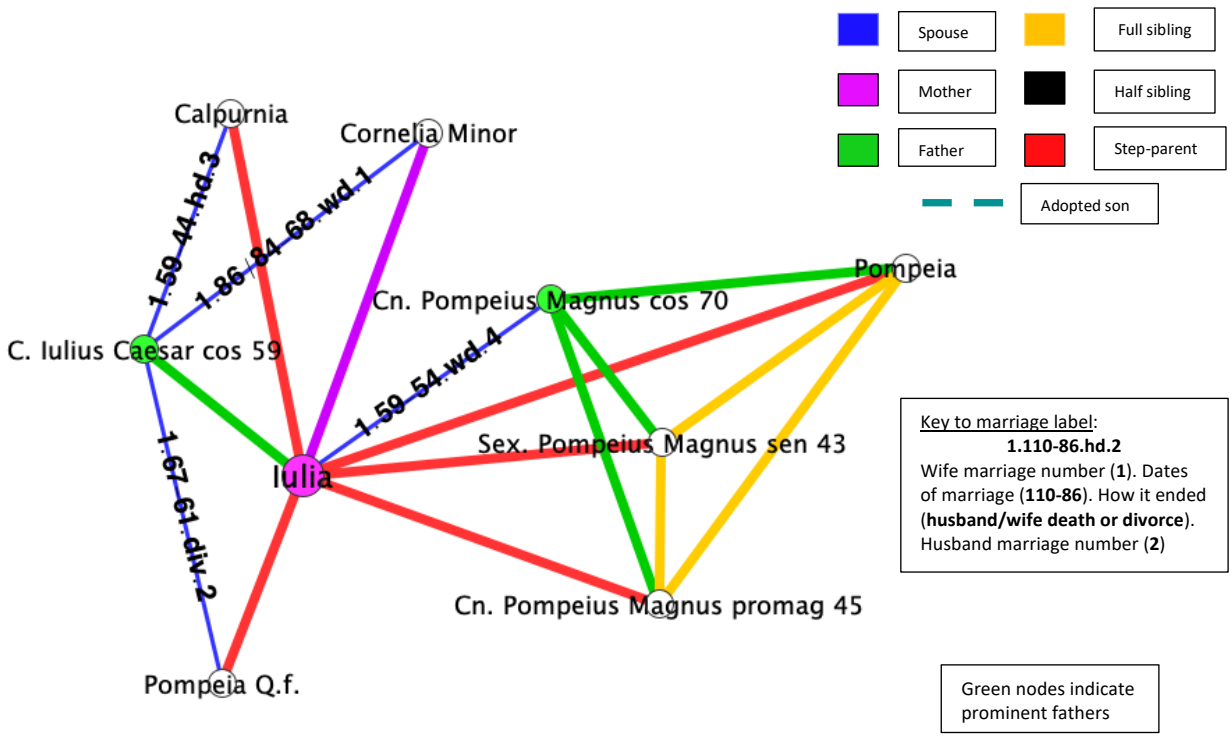

Figure 5.55 – Iulia's immediate network

Substantial information about Iulia's life cycle exists. She was born in 76 BCE to C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) and Cornelia Minor. Unfortunately, her mother died in 68 and Iulia was most likely raised by her paternal grandmother, Aurelia, as her father was frequently absent from Rome during her childhood, either on military duties or governing provinces[644]. Before Iulia came of age, she was engaged to Q. Servilius Caepio. However, the sources are not clear to which Q. Servilius Caepio she was engaged to. There are two possible candidates: either Servilia's brother, the quaestor in 67, or her son, M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44), who was posthumously adopted by his uncle. The latter appears the most likely option as Servilia's brother Q. Servilius Caepio (q 67), died in 67 BCE and Suetonius states that the Caepio Iulia was engaged to had recently been providing Caesar with support against M. Calpurnius

[644] Broughton (1952).

Bibulus (cos 59)[645]. Moreover, Plutarch mentions that Iulia's marriage to Caepio was imminent, but was cancelled so that she could marry Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70)[646].

Iulia married Pompey in 59 BCE, when she was 16/17 and he was about 46/47[647]. Although the marriage was a political arrangement between her father and her new husband, the marriage seems to have been a happy one with both spouses infatuated with each other[648]. Iulia suffered a miscarriage in 55 BCE when, seeing Pompey's blood-soaked toga returned to their house by a slave, she feared her husband to have died during riots at the aedile elections. Iulia fell pregnant again the following year but died soon after giving birth to a child who only lived for a few days[649].

Her father, Caesar, was in Britain at the time of her death, and although Pompey wanted her buried at his country estate, the Roman people, moved either by love and/or pity for Iulia, insisted that her ashes be placed on the Campus Martius[650].

Iulia had two stepmothers and was, herself, the stepmother to Pompey's three children. Iulia was nine years old when Pompeia Q.f. became her first stepmother, but it is not known to what degree Pompeia participated in the upbringing of her young stepdaughter. As Caesar married his third wife in the same year that Iulia married Pompey, it is highly unlikely that Calpurnia would have played the role of stepmother for very long, if at all, especially as the two women were of similar ages. In terms of her role as stepmother, Iulia would have

[645] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 21; Münzer (1999, pp. 310-311).

[646] Plutarch, *Pompey* 47.6.

[647] Rüpke et al. (2005) attest Pompey's year of birth to be 106 BCE.

[648] Plutarch, *Pompey* 53.

[649] Plutarch, *Pompey* 53.

[650] Plutarch, *Pompey* 53; Cassius Dio, XXXIX 39, XLVIII 53.

been younger than two of her new stepchildren and only slightly older than the third[651]. The sources do not discuss if Iulia played any active part in Sextus' upbringing, for he was most likely living with his father when Iulia and Pompey were married.

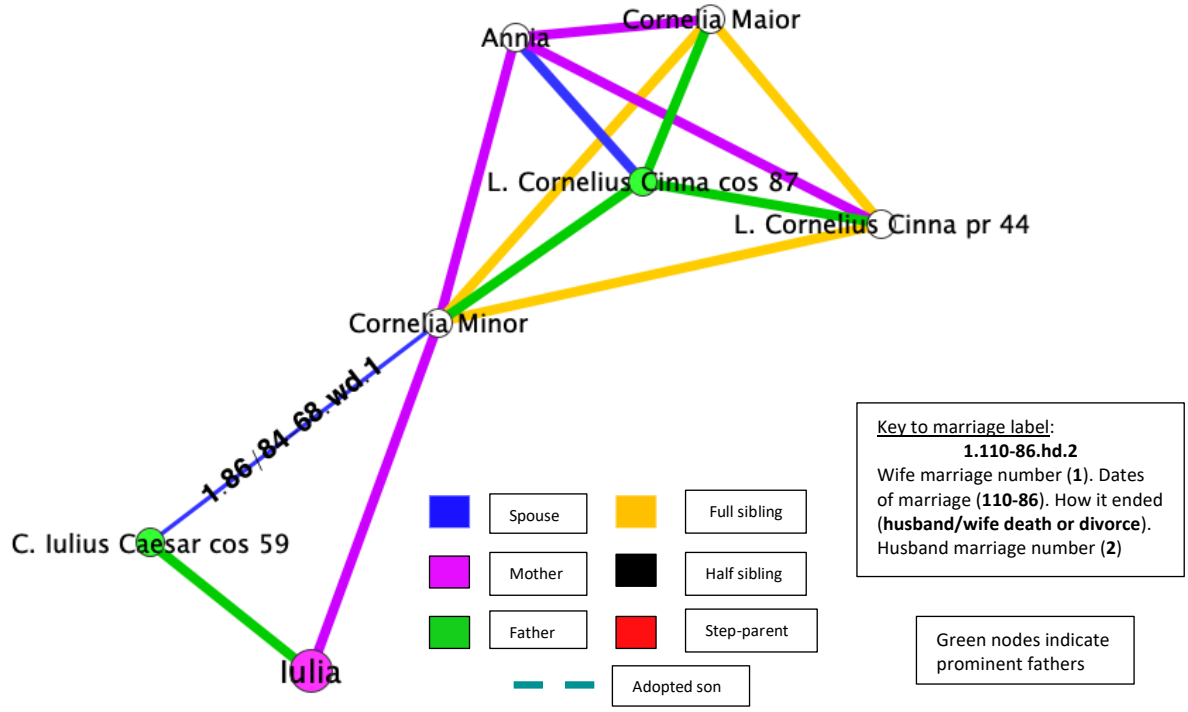

Figure 5.56 - Cornelia Minor

Cornelia Minor, daughter of the four-time consul L. Cornelius Cinna (cos 87) and his wife Annia, married C. Iulius Caesar in 86 or 84 BCE at the age of 13 while he was 16[652]. Suetonius informs us that Caesar was nominated as the new *Flamen Dialis* by the current Consuls, his uncle C. Marius (cos 107) and his new father-in-law Cinna[653]. However, upon their deaths, L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88) demanded that Caesar divorce his wife, because she was Cinna's daughter. Refusing to do so, Sulla proscribed Caesar and stripped him of his inheritance, as well as of Cornelia Minor's substantial dowry. Caesar was forced to escape Rome and was

[651] Pompeia and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45) were possibly only slightly older than Iulia and Sex. Pompeius Magnus (sen 43) was about nine years younger. Broughton (1952); Rüpke et al. (2005).

[652] The date of marriage depends on Caesar's true year of birth, 102 or 100 BCE.

[653] Suetonius, *Caesar* 1.

only spared death and allowed to return when members of his family and the Vestal Virgins intervened on his behalf.

Cornelia Minor and Caesar would have had a *confarreatio* marriage as the *Flamen and Flaminica Diales* could only be Patricians whose parents had also been married in the same manner[654]. As Caesar was released of his priesthood by 81 BCE[655], it is not known if Cornelia Minor had actively undertaken her duties yet, or whether she had been deemed too young to do so. The marriage produced only one child, Iulia, before Cornelia Minor died in 68 BCE whilst giving birth to their second child, who did not survive. She was given a funeral oration in the Forum by Caesar, only a few weeks after he had done the same for his aunt Iulia (C. Marii uxor)[656].

[654] Tacitus, *Annales* IV 16; Livy, XXVI .8.

[655] Caesar was already in Bithynia in 81, collecting a fleet from King Nicomedes. Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 2, 49; Cassius Dio, XLIII 20.3; Broughton (1952).

[656] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 1, 5; Plutarch, *Caesar* 1, 5.

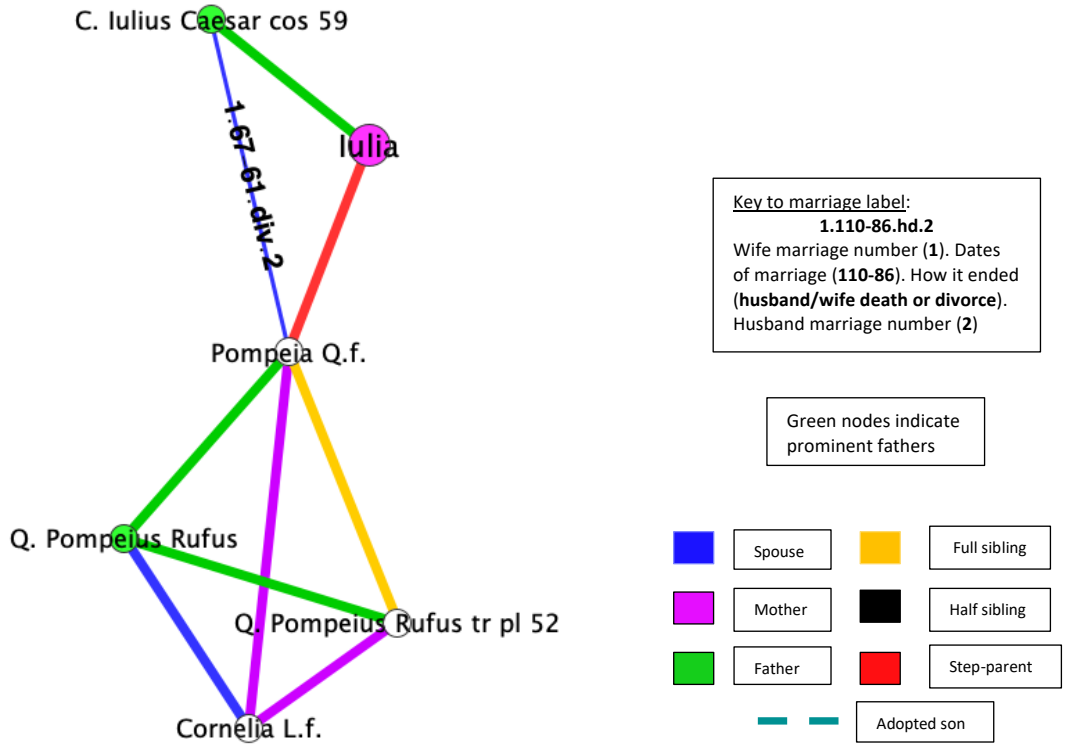

Figure 5.57 – Pompeia Q.f.

Pompeia was Caesar's second wife, whom he married in 67 BCE, upon his return as Quaestor in Spain. Pompeia was the daughter of Q. Pompeius Rufus, the son of Sulla's consular colleague of 88, and Cornelia L.f., Sulla's daughter. As her father died during the Forum riots in 88 BCE[657], Pompeia must have been, at least, around 20/21 at the time of her first marriage to the mid thirty year old Caesar.

The union did not produce any children but the circumstances surrounding their divorce have become infamous, handed down from the ancient sources[658]. Caesar was elected Pontifex Maximus in 63 BCE, and his entire family moved into the Domus Publica. As the praetor's wife in 62, Pompeia had been chosen to host the annual Bona Dea festival in the Domus Publica. This women-only event/ritual was connected to female chastity and fertility, as well as the prosperity of the Roman people. Men were forbidden to attend her festival. On this particular evening, the future tribune Publius Clodius, Fulvia's husband, disguised himself as a woman and infiltrated the festival of the Bona Dea with the intention of either

[657] Plutarch, *Sulla* 8.3.

[658] Plutarch, *Caesar* 9-10; Cassius Dio, XXXVII 45; Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 6.

continuing his affair with Pompeia, seducing her for the first time or ridiculing Caesar with the scandal. His intentions were unclear, but following the scandal Caesar divorced Pompeia, not because she was assumed guilty of an affair, but because Caesar's wife "ought not even to be under suspicion"[659].

There is no further mention of Pompeia Q.f. after her divorce from Caesar. It is unlikely that she remarried as the sources would have mentioned if the wife Caesar had divorced so publicly had remarried.

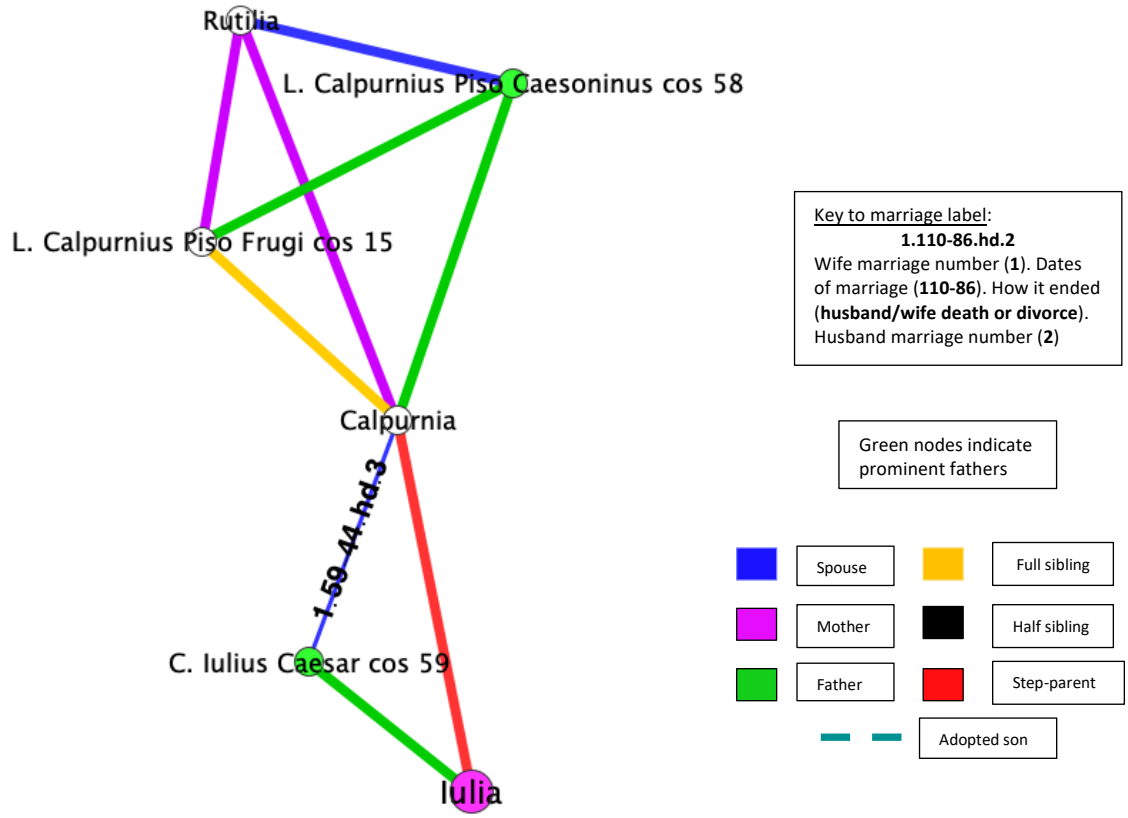

Figure 5.58 - Calpurnia

Calpurnia was Caesar's third wife. She married him in 59 BCE, during his first consulship, when she was 17 and he 43[660]. Calpurnia was roughly the same age as her new stepdaughter Iulia. Her father was L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, who was her husband's successor to the Consulship. Their 15 year marriage produced no children, but that is most

[659] Plutarch, *Caesar* 10.9.

[660] Plutarch, *Caesar* 14.8.

likely due to Caesar's decade long campaigning in Gaul for most of that time and his civil war against Pompey upon his return.

Nothing is really known about their marriage, except of Calpurnia's omens prior to her husband's death. On the eve of the Ides of March, she had dreamed that Caesar had been stabbed and that he had died in her arms. On the day of the murder, Calpurnia begged Caesar to stay home, but D. Iunius Brutus persuaded him to go to the Senate meeting[661]. Upon her husband's assassination in 44 BCE, Calpurnia delivered all of Caesar's papers and possessions, as well as his will, to M. Antonius. Her father, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, played a vital role in ensuring that all of Caesar's provisions from his will be adhered to. Moreover, he was a principal advocate for peace and mediator between M. Antonius and Octavianus, Caesar's great-nephew and posthumously adopted son and heir[662]. Like Pompeia Q.f., it is not known if Calpurnia remarried after Caesar's death, as she is never mentioned in the sources again.

[661] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 81; Plutarch, *Caesar* 63; Cassius Dio, XLIV 17; Appian, *Bellum Civile* II 115.

[662] Syme (1986, pp. 62; 169-172).

5.11 Pompeia

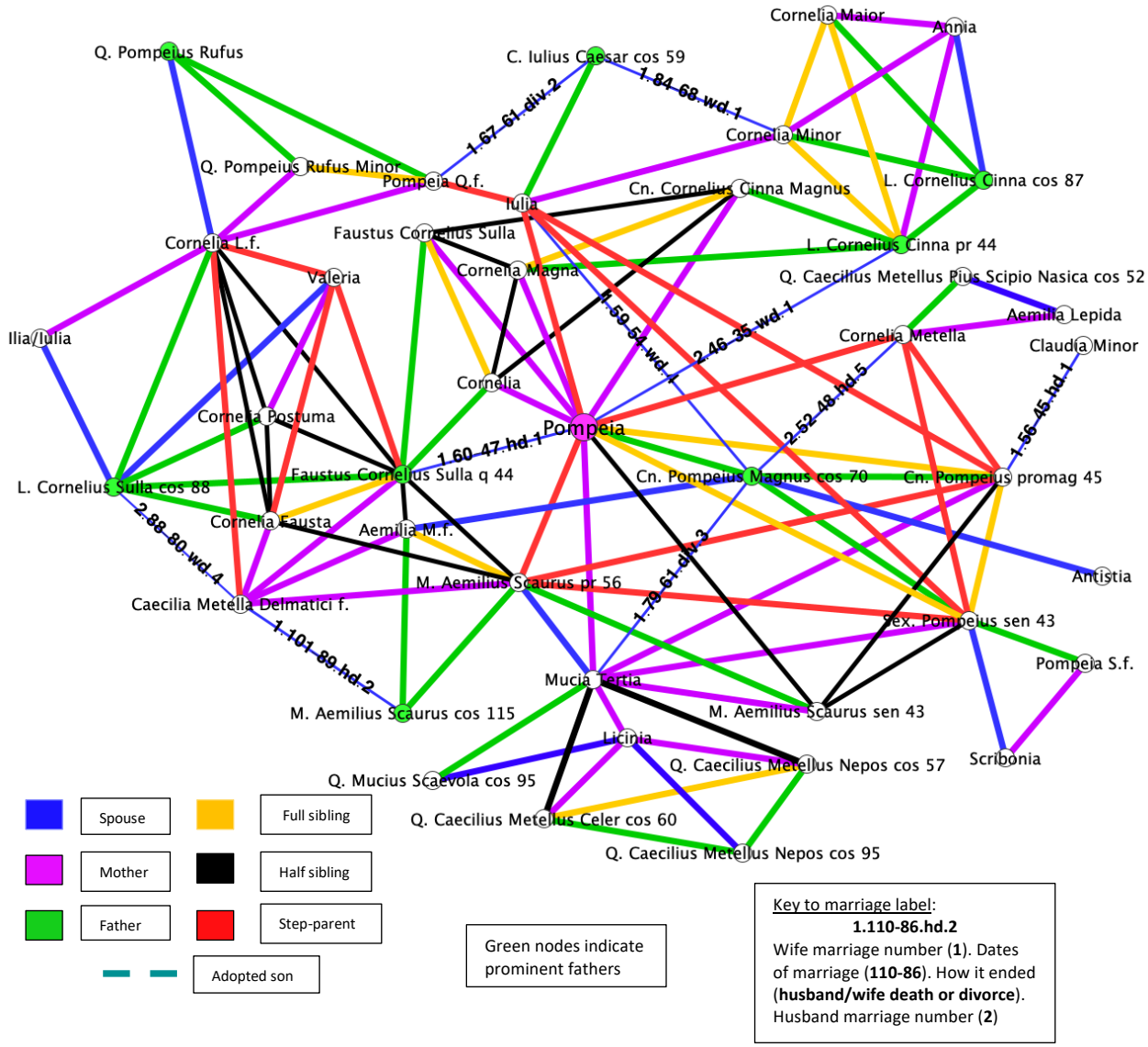

Figure 5.59 – Pompeia's network

Pompeia's network may only encompass three generations, but thanks to multiple marriages within her family these connections include some of the most prominent senatorial *gentes*: the Aemilii, Cornelii, Iulii, Metelli and Claudii[663]. Considering the numerous marriages in her immediate family, this does not represent a large variety of

[663] Pompeia's network could have been considerably extended by including all of the connections of peripheral actors, such as Claudia Minor, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. and C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59). However, as these individuals are included in other networks, and are not directly linked to Pompeia, their connections have been limited to the links that most directly affect her network.

familial connections, however. This is directly related to repeated marriages into the same families within two generations. Pompeia's father, Cn Pompeius Magnus (cos 70), married five times, her mother, Mucia Tertia, married twice, both her brothers, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45) and Sex. Pompeius (sen 43), married once, and Pompeia twice. Between these eleven marriages, only one is linked to a different *gens*, which also happens to be one of the only three isolated clusters, her brother Sextus' marriage to Scribonia. As a result, several bridging actors create closed loops between the other familial clusters in Pompeia's network.

These bridging actors are also identified by the statistical measures[664]. Although Pompeia is unarguably the centre of her own network, the centrality scores indicate that Pompeia's two husbands are also central bridging actors. As are her mother Mucia Tertia, her stepmother and the niece of her second husband, Iulia, and her first husband's half-sister Cornelia L.f. Pompeia Q.f., who was not only her first husband's niece but also Iulia's stepmother, also has a high betweenness score. The closeness values also indicate how interconnected the individuals in Pompeia's network were. Two thirds of the actors have values between 0.008 and 0.011. Moreover, over half of the actors have more than five links and more than two thirds have a clustering coefficient score above 0.5. All the statistical values from Pompeia's network reinforce the fact that her network was a complicated web of interconnected relationships that only a network map and social network analysis can aid in unpacking.

[664] See Appendix I 7.11 for full centrality statistics. The top actors for each centrality measure (Betweenness/Closeness/Degree/Clustering coefficient) are as follows: Pompeia (558.663/0.014/14/0.333), Mucia Tertia (374.3/0.011/10/0.378), Faustus Cornelius Sulla q 44 (291.265/0.011/11/0.382), M. Aemilius Scaurus sen 43 (249.979/0.011/10/0.4, Iulia (239.18/0.011/7/0.381), Sex. Pompeius sen 43 (209.744/0.012/10/0.444), L. Cornelius Cinna pr 44 (186.944/0.01/7/0.429), Cornelia Metella (160/0.01/6/0.467), Cornelia L.f. (157.01/0.009/10/0.378), Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70 (146.856/0.011/8/0.429) and Pompeia Q.f. (125.075/0.009/5/0.4).

Unsurprisingly, for a network that includes so many remarriages, there were several stepmothers in Pompeia's network. Pompeia and her two full brothers had two stepmothers, Iulia and Cornelia Metella, who were either both younger than they were or of very similar ages. Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. was stepmother to Cornelia L.f., who subsequently also had Valeria as a stepmother, as did Cornelia Fausta and Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 44). Furthermore, as discussed in her network, Iulia was both a stepmother and stepdaughter.

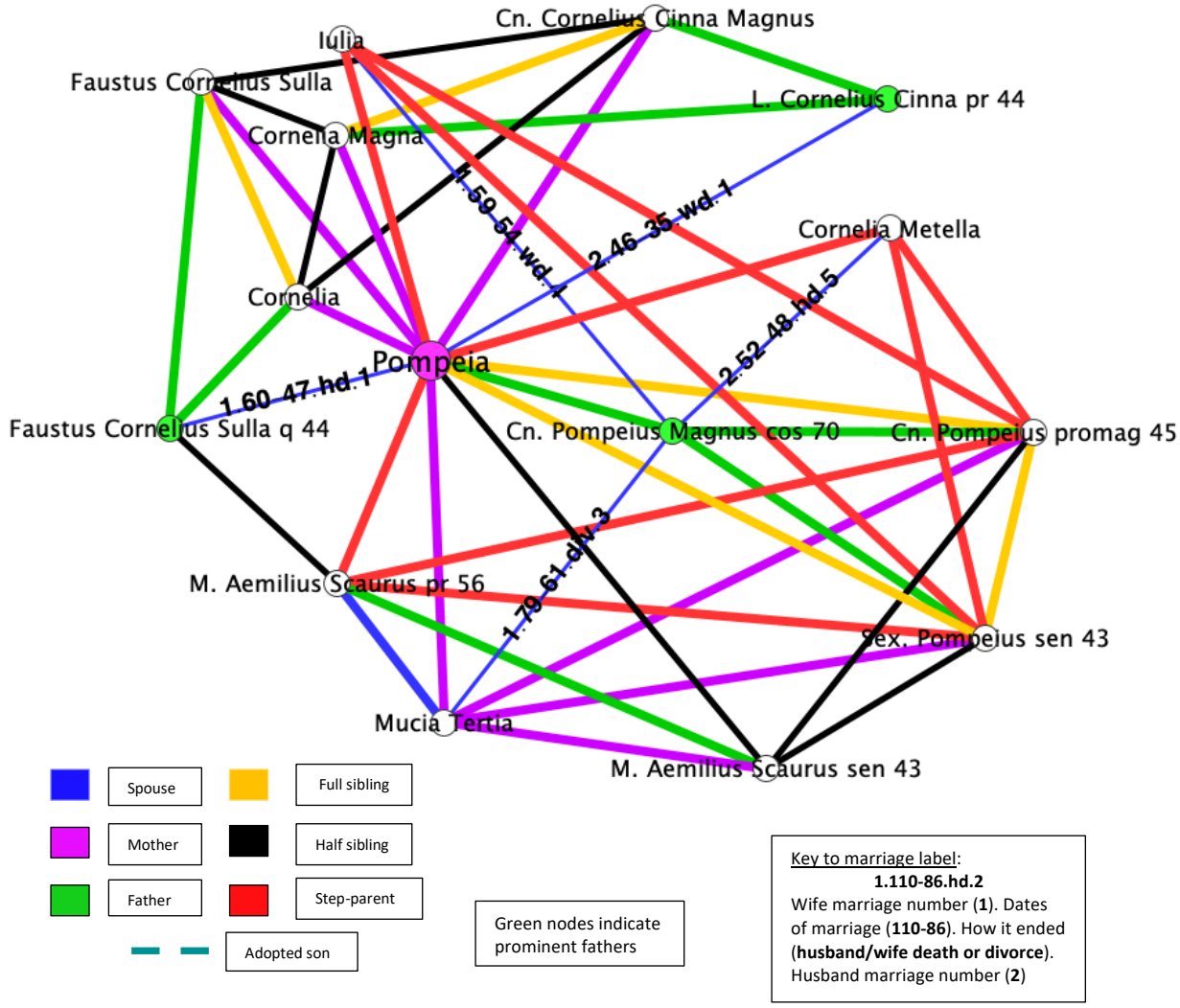

Figure 5.60 – Pompeia's immediate network

Pompeia was born between 79 and 75 BCE to Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) and his third wife Mucia Tertia. Her first marriage was to Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 44) and it produced two children, Faustus Cornelius Sulla and Cornelia. It is not known when they were married, but it must have been before 56 BCE as Faustus issued coins commemorating both his

father, L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88), and his stepfather when he was *Monetalis* in 56[665]. It must, therefore, be assumed that they married between 60, when he returned from campaigning with Pompey in Asia, and 56 BCE[666]. If she was born in 79, this would make Pompeia 18/19 years old if they married in 60 BCE, or 15 if she was born in 75 BCE. Either way, she would have been between the typical marriageable age of 15-20 for Roman girls. Faustus, if he was Quaestor at his appropriate age in 54 BCE, would have been born in 84 and thus 24 if they married in 60 BCE. Pompeia must have accompanied her husband to Africa, as Ps-Caesar mentions that C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) spared the lives of Pompeia and her children and allowed them to retain all their property after Faustus' death in 47 BCE[667].

In 46 BCE, Pompeia married L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44), whose father, L. Cornelius Cinna (cos 87), had been her ex-husband's father's political enemy. Her new husband had also been her stepmother's uncle[668]. For this second marriage, Pompeia would have been in her mid-thirties, whilst for his first marriage, Cinna would have been in his late forties to early fifties[669]. This union produced two children, Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus and Cornelia Magna. L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44) was possibly proscribed in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination[670], especially after his bitter speech against Caesar had enraged the people so

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[665] Crawford (1974, pp. 449-451).

[666] Josephus (*Jewish War*, 1.149-1.154), informs us that Faustus was the first to scale the walls of the Temple of Jerusalem during Pompey's siege in Jerusalem in 63 BCE and Cassius Dio (XXXVII, 51.4) tells us that on his return in 60, Faustus celebrated games in Rome honouring his father.

[667] Ps-Caesar, *African War* 95.

[668] Her stepmother, Iulia, had died in 54 BCE. L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44) had been Iulia's maternal uncle, and therefore Caesar's brother-in-law when he was married to Cornelia Minor.

[669] Katz (1987), informs us that L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44) joined Q. Sertorius in 77 BCE. This could not have happened unless he was over 17 and of fighting age. He must, therefore, have been born around 94, at the latest.

[670] Hinard (1985).

much that on the day of his funeral, they killed C. Helvius Cinna instead, mistaking him for Pompeia's husband[671].

Not much is known about Pompeia's life after 44 BCE, but Suetonius informs us that when the Emperor Tiberius was a child, he had escaped with his parents to Sicily and met Pompeia, who had accompanied her brother Sex. Pompeius Magnus (sen 43) during his occupation of the island[672]. Upon meeting Tiberius, Pompeia had given the young Tiberius a cloak, brooch and gold plaques. Suetonius further states that these items were being exhibited in Baiae during his lifetime, demonstrating Pompeia's, and her family's, importance in Roman history.

[671] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 85.

[672] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 6.

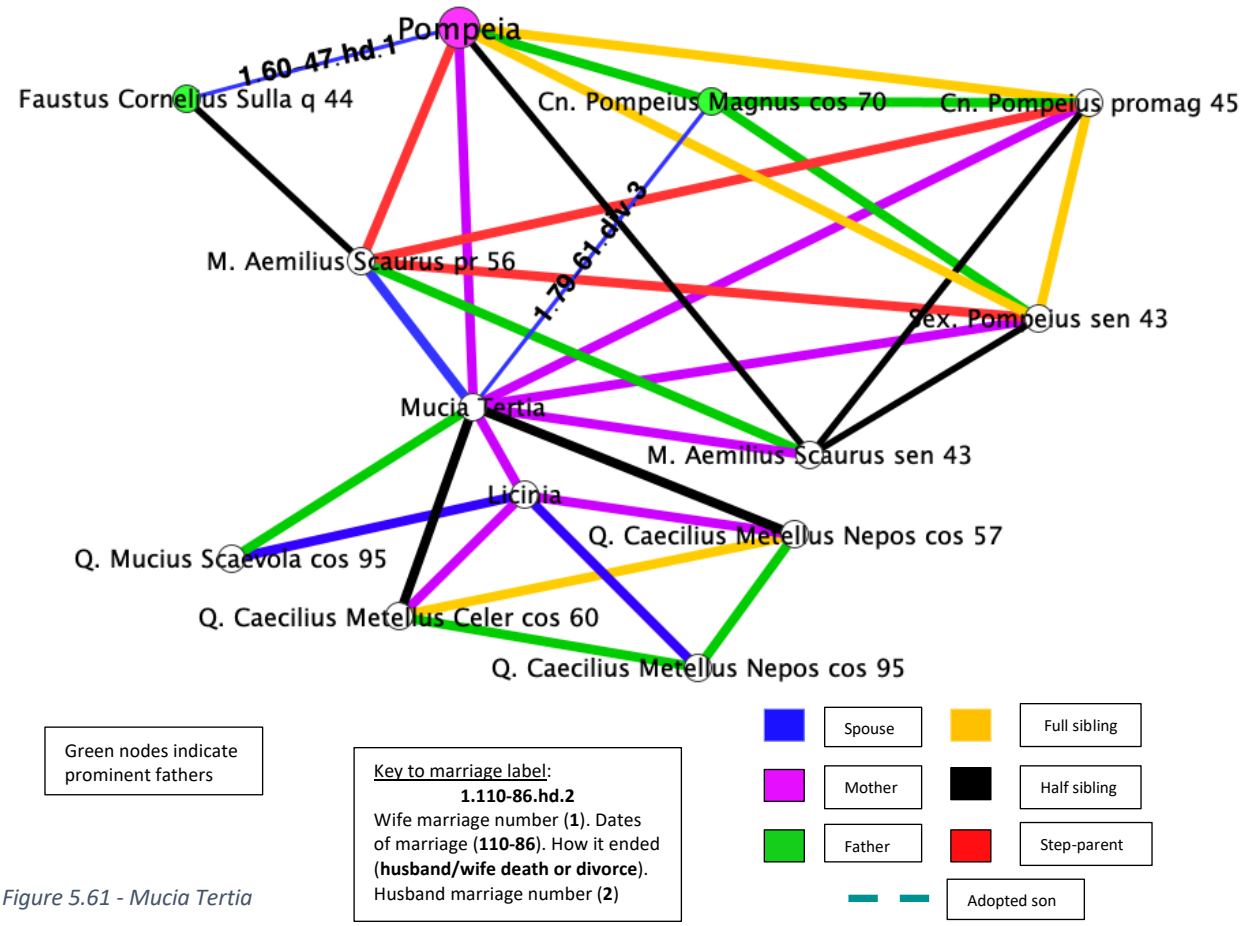

Figure 5.61 - Mucia Tertia

Mucia Tertia, Pompey's third wife and mother to all three of his children, was the daughter of Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos 95)[673]. Her mother, Licinia, had divorced her father when she was young and remarried Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (cos 95), which resulted in two half-brothers for Mucia Tertia: Q. Metellus Celer and Q. Metellus Nepos, Consuls in 60 and 57, respectively[674]. The couple married in 79 BCE, when Pompey was 27 and Mucia presumably between 15 and 20, for there is no mention of her being extremely young, or too old to be married for the first time in her twenties[675]. Pompey was away on various campaigns for most of their marriage and upon his return from Asia in 61, he sent Mucia Tertia a letter of divorce[676]. Suetonius places the blame on her affair with Caesar[677], but his later friendship

[673]Broughton (1952).

[674] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* V 2; Syme (1939, p. 32).

[675] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[676] Cassius Dio, XXXVII 49.3.

[677] Suetonius, *Divus Iulius* 50.

and political alliance with Pompey, coupled with Pompey's marriage to Caesar's daughter, would suggest otherwise.

Mucia Tertia's second marriage was to M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr 56)[678]. It is not known when Mucia Tertia and Scaurus married, but it must have been between her divorce in 61 and his exile for bribery in 52 BCE[679]. Mucia Tertia would have been in her mid-thirties and Scaurus in his early thirties[680]. The union produced one son, M. Aemilius Scaurus (sen 43). In the convoluted way that only Roman families could be, Scaurus had briefly been Pompey's brother-in-law, when Pompey had been married to his second wife Aemilia M.f., whose own half-brother, Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 54), had been Pompeia's first husband.

It is only in the latter years of her life that Mucia Tertia's agency becomes apparent. She was sent by the People to act as a mediator between her son Sextus and the Triumvirate of Octavian, M. Antonius and M. Aemilius Lepidus[681]. Furthermore, it was out of respect for his mother that M. Aemilius Scaurus (sen 43) was spared in the proscriptions of 43 BCE[682].

[678] Cassius Dio, LVI 38.2.

[679] Kelly (2006).

[680] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[681] Appian, *Bellum Civile* V 69.

[682] Seneca, *De Clementia* I 9.11; Cassius Dio, LI 2.4.

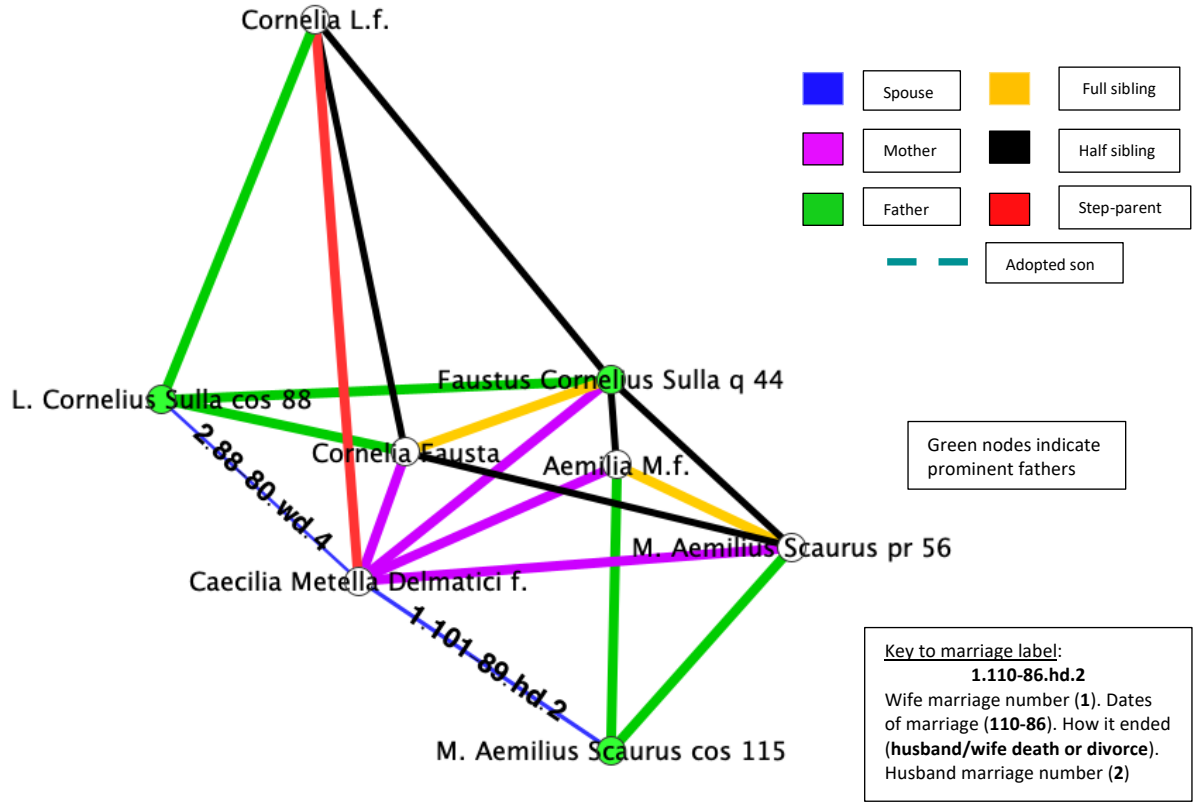

Figure 5.62 - Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.

Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. was the daughter of L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus (cos 119)[683]. Her first marriage occurred around 101 BCE, when she was 16/17, to the 60 year old Princeps Senatus M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos 115)[684]. The marriage lasted 12 years and upon his death, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f., now in her now late 20s, married the 50 year old L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88)[685].

Like most of the individuals in Pompeia's network, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. was connected to the Pompeii in more than one way. From her first marriage, she had two children, Aemilia M.f. and M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr 56). Aemilia M.f. became Pompey's second wife, and the latter was his third wife's second husband. Furthermore, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.'s second marriage also bore two children, Cornelia Fausta and Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 44). The latter was Pompeia's first husband.

[683] Zmeskal (2009).

[684] Rüpke et al. (2005).

[685] Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.10, 37.2.

Several anecdotes about Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.'s life survive. Plutarch informs us that in 85/84 BCE she managed to flee Rome, with all her full and stepchildren, during the riots instigated by L. Cornelius Cinna and Cn. Papirius Carbo, and that she managed to inform Sulla that his various houses had been burned down. She also pleaded with Sulla to "come to the aid of those who were still in Rome"[686]. However, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. had previously been applied for help from Marian supporters when Sulla had refused to restore Marian exiles[687]. In both events, she appears to have been the mediator for the people of Rome, the person most able to negotiate between her husband, his opponents and the Roman citizens caught in the middle. Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. was not liked by everyone, unfortunately. When she arrived in Athens, she was so poorly treated by the locals, who continually shouted obscene jokes about her, that Sulla treated the Athenians even more savagely than expected when he captured the city[688]. Lastly, Plutarch wrote that, once established back in Rome, when Sulla was dedicating one tenth of his wealth to Hercules, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. fell gravely ill and that priests forbade him to see her again or have her pollute his house with her illness[689]. Sulla thus divorced her and sent her away from their home. However, as an indication of his love for her, Sulla contravened his own sumptuary funerary laws and spared no expenses on her funeral.

[686] Plutarch, *Sulla* 22.1.

[687] Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.12.

[688] Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.12.

[689] Plutarch, *Sulla* 35.2-3.

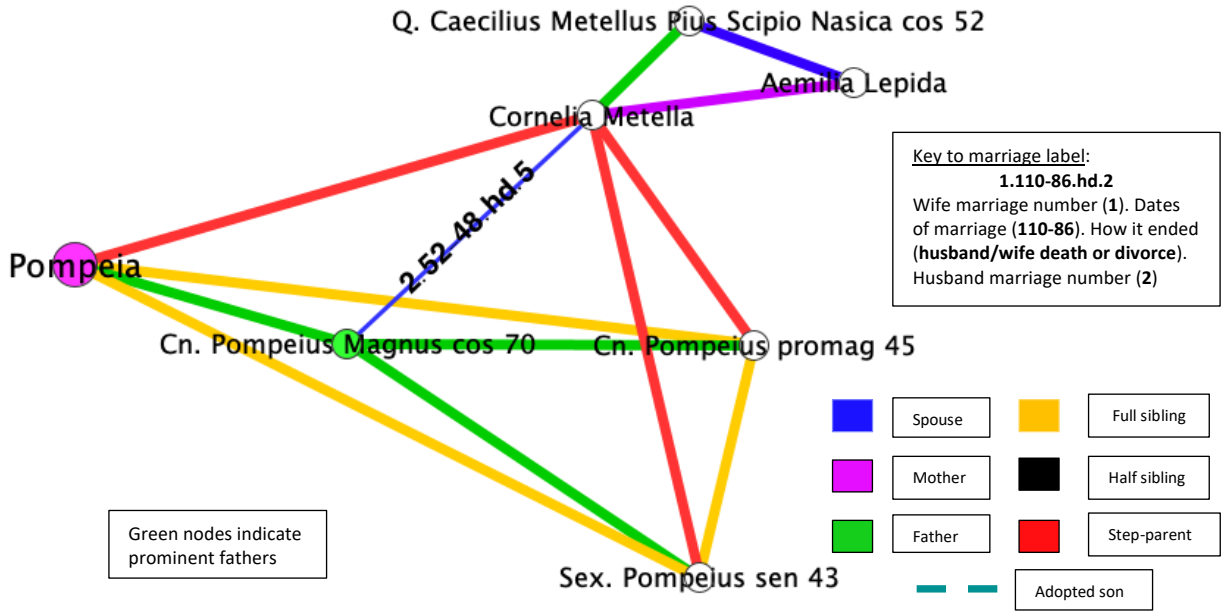

Figure 5.63 - Cornelia Metella

Cornelia Metella was Pompey's fifth, and final, wife[690]. She was the daughter of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica (cos 52) and Aemilia Lepida. Her first husband had been P. Licinius Crassus (q 55), the son of Pompey's co-Consul in 70 BCE, M. Licinius Crassus. P. Licinius Crassus (q 55) had died with his father after the Battle of Carrhae in 53 BCE[691]. She and, the now 54 year old, Pompey married in 52 BCE, when she would have been between 17 and 21 years old[692]. The marriage seems to have been a political match, with Pompey aiming to alienate himself from his previous father-in-law, C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), and aiming to carry favour with Caesar's opponents, who had managed to appoint Pompey as sole Consul[693]. Despite the political motivations for their marriage, the union appears to have been a happy one, even though Plutarch comments, after detailing all of her many qualities, that "Cornelia's youth made her a fitter match for a son of Pompey"[694]. Cornelia

[690] Plutarch, *Pompey* 55.1.

[691] Plutarch, *Crassus* 23.4-5, 25-26.

[692] Syme (1980) argues that Cornelia Metella's earliest year of birth would have been 73 BCE and her latest 69.

[693] Plutarch, *Pompey* 54.

[694] Plutarch, *Pompey* 55.2. Plutarch describes that Cornelia Metella "had many charms apart from her youthful beauty. She was well versed in literature, in playing the lyre, and in

Metella even followed her husband to Egypt after his loss at the battle of Pharsalus, where she and her stepson Sex. Pompeius Magnus (sen 43) witnessed Pompey's execution from their boat[695]. Plutarch further states that Caesar, after he had discovered what the Egyptians had done, sent Cornelia Metella Pompey's ashes, which she buried at his country estate in Alba[696]. It is not known what happened to Cornelia Metella after her return to Rome.

geometry, and had been accustomed to listen to philosophical discourses with profit. In addition to this, she had a nature which was free from that unpleasant officiousness which such accomplishments are apt to impart to young women; and her father's lineage and reputation were above reproach". Plutarch, *Pompey* 55.1-22.

[695] Plutarch, *Pompey* 79-80.

[696] Plutarch, *Pompey* 80.6.

Chapter 6 Discussion

Historical network research is not simply about creating networks and discussing their statistical measures. For the networks to have full bearing on the research being undertaken, their results also need to be compared and contrasted with historical context and the source materials used in the data collection method. This final step of historical network analysis enables the networks to be used as tools to possibly answer questions raised in the initial research process and/or to reinterpret evidence by presenting historical data in new and different ways. As a result, the elite female networks created in this study will now be used to help answer the key questions raised from the literature review of late republican women.

6.1 Were marriages mainly used to cement, and/or initiate, political alliances between powerful men and/or families?

The answer to this question lies more in the historical context than in the female networks. However, the networks can be used to identify marriage patterns in the same generations, as well as within the same family groups over multiple generations. Historically, research has argued that two main reasons existed for elite marriages in late republican Rome. Traditionalist scholars believed that a couple were either married to cement political dynasties by continuing long-standing familial traditions of marrying into the same *gentes*, as argued by Münzer, Scullard, Gelzer and Syme[697], or to forge new connections with prominent men, as Mommsen believed[698]. If the networks created are simply analysed on their own, the most recurring pattern is one centred around elite marriages being used to keep political capital and practice concentrated within a few dominant family groups. However, there were a few exceptional marriages where traditions were broken, and new familial connections were made with a select few exceptional men. Cross-referencing all the

[697] Gelzer (1912); Münzer (1999); Scullard (1935, 1951, 1959); Syme (1939, 1986).

[698] Mommsen (1856, 1887).

networks, the limited variety of *gentes* in the majority of the networks demonstrates this to be the case. There are, at most, only five different *gentes* that were married into within each focal family group, marriages that occurred within one generation of the focal actor(s), with the average only being three *gentes*. The three main family groups that appear in almost every network are the Aemilii, Claudii and Cornelii, the three *gentes maiores* identified by Münzer[699], but the Metelli and Servilii must also be added to this list, especially by the beginning of the first century BCE. These five *gentes* feature prominently in all the networks visualised. They either intermarry amongst themselves, usually skipping a generation, or are occasionally married into by powerful new political men, or their children.

In order to compare and contrast the different marriages from the networks, they have been divided into two classifications. Traditional marriages have been labelled as familial marriages and marriages that broke these traditional patterns as political and/or financial marriages.

In terms of evidence for familial marriages, the networks offer several examples of family clusters who repeatedly married into the same *gentes*. Within focal family groups, the networks provide continual examples of marriages between close familial relations. From Cornelia Africani f.'s network, Sempronia remarries into her mother's *gens* when she married her cousin P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147). The same type of union, marriage between cousins, is also evident in Clodia Metelli's marriage to Q. Caecilia Metellus Celer (cos 60), as well as in Iulia Augusta's marriage to M. Claudius Marcellus and Porcia M.f.'s marriage to M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44). Each marriage recemented familial ties formed in the previous generation(s). These marriages were often orchestrated by older family members, but sometimes against their wishes as well[700]. There are also two examples of a closer kinship between couples. Claudia Marcella Maior and Iulia Augusta both married

[699] Münzer (1999, pp. 94, 281, 292, 346).

[700] Servilia, Brutus' mother, disapproved of the match and both women were openly hostile towards each other. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIII 22.4; Treggiari (2019, pp. 176-178).

their stepbrothers, Iullus Antonius and Ti. Claudius Nero respectively. Both sets of spouses would have grown up together and both marriages were arranged for the benefit of family cohesion and producing possible heirs for C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43). In addition to these marriages between close relations, there are a few cases of siblings marrying into the same *gens*, or of parent and child marrying into the same family cluster. The two sons of M. Licinius Crassus (cos 70) married women of the *gens* Caecilia Metella, who were themselves distant cousins. P. Licinius Crassus (q 55) married Cornelia Metella and M. Licinius Crassus (q 54) married Caecilia Metella Cretici f.

Moreover, Livia and her brother M. Livius Drusus (tr pl 91) married another pair of siblings, Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90) and Servilia (M. Livii uxor). Father and son, L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56) and L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38), also married siblings, Atia Maior and Atia Minor respectively. The family of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) also repeatedly married into the same family groups. Pompey himself married two women who were daughters of Aemilii and Metelli parents, Aemilia M.f. and Cornelia Metella[701]. These familial connections were further continued when his daughter, Pompeia, married his second wife's half-brother, Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 44). Furthermore, Mucia Tertia, his third wife and Pompeia's mother, remarried into the same *gens* when she married M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr 56), the brother of Pompey's second wife and the half-brother of her daughter's husband. Father and daughter shared another familial connection as Pompey married Iulia, after his divorce from Mucia Tertia, and Pompeia married Iulia's uncle, L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44), although the latter marriage occurred after Pompey's death in 48 BCE[702]. These unions can all be used to demonstrate Pompey's changing political affiliations throughout his life and political career[703]. They also demonstrate how prevalent, and important, familial marriages were in cementing and reaffirming long-standing marital connections and political alliances in the late republic.

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[701] See Caecilia Metella Calvi f.'s network, chapter 5.2, for full relational details.

[702] See Pompeia's network, chapter 5.11, for full relational details.

[703] Syme (1939, pp. 31-32, 36, 40) refers to this as Pompey's dynastic marriages and discusses how each marriage was used to cement political alliances.

Contrary to familial marriages, some prominent elite families also aligned themselves with current powerful statesmen by arranging political and/or financial marriages. These marital connections often inserted new political, as well as financial, capital into established *gentes* who might have been in political decline. In return, new political trailblazers gained the social capital and political support offered by elite *gentes*, which cemented their arrival within the top echelon of Roman society. There may be fewer examples of this type of marriage from the networks, but their impact reverberated throughout different family groups, often altering political and social life in the late republic.

The most well-known political and/or financial marriages were that of Iulia (C. Marii uxor) and C. Marius (cos 107) and Iulia and Cn Pompeius Magnus (cos 70). Both marriages dramatically changed the fortunes of the Iulii. The former allowed the Iulii to return to the political arena, thanks to Marius' financial support for Iulia's brothers to climb the *cursus honorum*, and Iulia's ancient and noble ancestry helped alleviate some of the hurdles that blocked Marius' progress from praetor to consul[704]. Several decades later, Iulia's marriage to Pompey established a new political alliance between Pompey and C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59) that lasted until Iulia's death. Two decades later, Caecilia Attica's marriage to M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos 37) can also be viewed as a politically advantageous marriage for both families. Caecilia Attica must have come to the marriage with a sufficiently large dowry, and possibly the promise of more financial aid if required, whilst Agrippa provided Caecilia Attica's family with new political connections and a direct link to Octavian. At around the same time, the Claudii also make marital connections, from outside of their usual family groups, by marrying the youngest generation of Claudiae to young and politically promising men. The two daughters of Ap. Claudius Pulcher (cos 54), Claudia Maior and Minor, were married to M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44) and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45) respectively, whereas their cousin, Claudia P.f., the daughter of Fulvia and P. Clodius (aed cur 56), was married to Octavian. All three marriages allowed the Claudii to align themselves with the next

[704] Syme (1939, p. 25).

generation of politically prominent men and further established their place as one of the *gentes maiores* of late republican Rome.

What the historical network research allows us to do is to identify repeated patterns and/or discover new relationships that share common characteristics. By creating these gynocentric networks, and analysing the relational connections among their actors, it is evident that late republican elite daughters were most often married to men from established families who already had familial and marital ties to each other, usually within the last one or two generations. Even though these *gentes maiores* did occasionally marry their daughters to new political men, it must be asked just how 'new' these men really were. Only one could be labelled a *novus homo*, C. Marius (cos 107), whilst all the others were simply from different *gentes*.

From a chronological perspective, there is also a clear change in marriage patterns. The two networks that include most of the marriages from the mid to late second century BCE, that of Cornelia Africani f. and Caecilia Metella Calvi f., demonstrate that familial marriages appear to have been the predominant reason for marriages in that period. Although still a significant motivation for marriages by the mid first century BCE, it becomes overshadowed by marriages of a political and/or financial nature. The first major shift in marital pattern occurs when Marius married Iulia, with each subsequent generation increasing the number of political and/or financial marriages. The networks clearly illustrate this change over time, as each new network visualised in chapter 5 includes more of these types of marriages[705]. By Fulvia and Octavia Minor's network, and subsequent generations, the reasons for marriage had well and truly changed. Controlled by the men who wished to dominate political life in Rome, many of the elite women from this era were repeatedly used as bargaining chips to secure the immediate political needs of their menfolk. Octavia Minor, Fulvia, Iulia, Calpurnia, Claudia P.f., Claudia Marcella Maior, Antonia Minor, Claudia Maior and Minor, Cornelia Metella and Iulia Augusta were all married because their fathers,

[705] The networks in chapter 5 were presented in a chronological format, arranged according to the focal actors' first marriage dates.

brothers, uncles and/or husbands needed them to secure political alliances. This questions the very nature of marriages by the end of the republic. Were they now unions aimed at creating long term dynastic connections or were they simply aimed at filling current political needs? The networks would suggest that, as the republic came to an end, more marriages were here and now arrangements rather than the re-enforcement of pre-existing familial connections. The frequency and ease with which these political and/or financial marriages were terminated, often coupled with a lack of producing offspring, would also point to these marriages being more concerned with meeting immediate needs than binding elite families together for the long term.

What the networks also highlight is that women not only played a crucial role in bringing families together, but that they were also instrumental in linking male political agents through marital bonds. Elite daughters, sisters and nieces were structurally significant in connecting powerful men, and their families, together. From the statistical analyses of each network, it is women who frequently feature at the top of the centrality measures, and it is more often women who can be identified as bridging agents in the networks. These patterns, which are more easily discerned by using social networks than traditional family trees, clearly demonstrate the centrality and importance of elite women in the social and political functions of late republican Rome. Marriage patterns, from the 11 visualised gynocentric networks, indicate that elite women were primarily used to strengthen long standing familial connections and to cement new political alliances. This female centrality provides further evidence to support Hallett's argument that, "what we seem to find among the aristocratic Romans are expressions of 'matrilineal' sentiment and matrilineally organized family bonding patterns in a patriarchal and patrilineal society"[706]. However, what the networks also showcase is that only a few *gentes*, the five *gentes maiores*, were repeatedly married into, signifying the tight social circles within which the Roman elite circulated. As a consequence, it must be asked whether all members of the senatorial elite, from the mid second century to the late first century BCE, were actually related to each, even if only distantly? Irrespective, it is the women of this era who facilitated and

[706] Hallett (1984, p. 329).

maintained these familial bonds over several generations and who played crucial roles in the longevity and success of the Roman nobility.

6.2 Were all late republican Roman senatorial elites related? Is this evidence for an *ordo matronarum* amongst elite women?

To answer this question, an amalgamated network has been visualised. This amalgamated network, Figure 6.1, combines the familial connections from all 11 of the original gynocentric networks created.

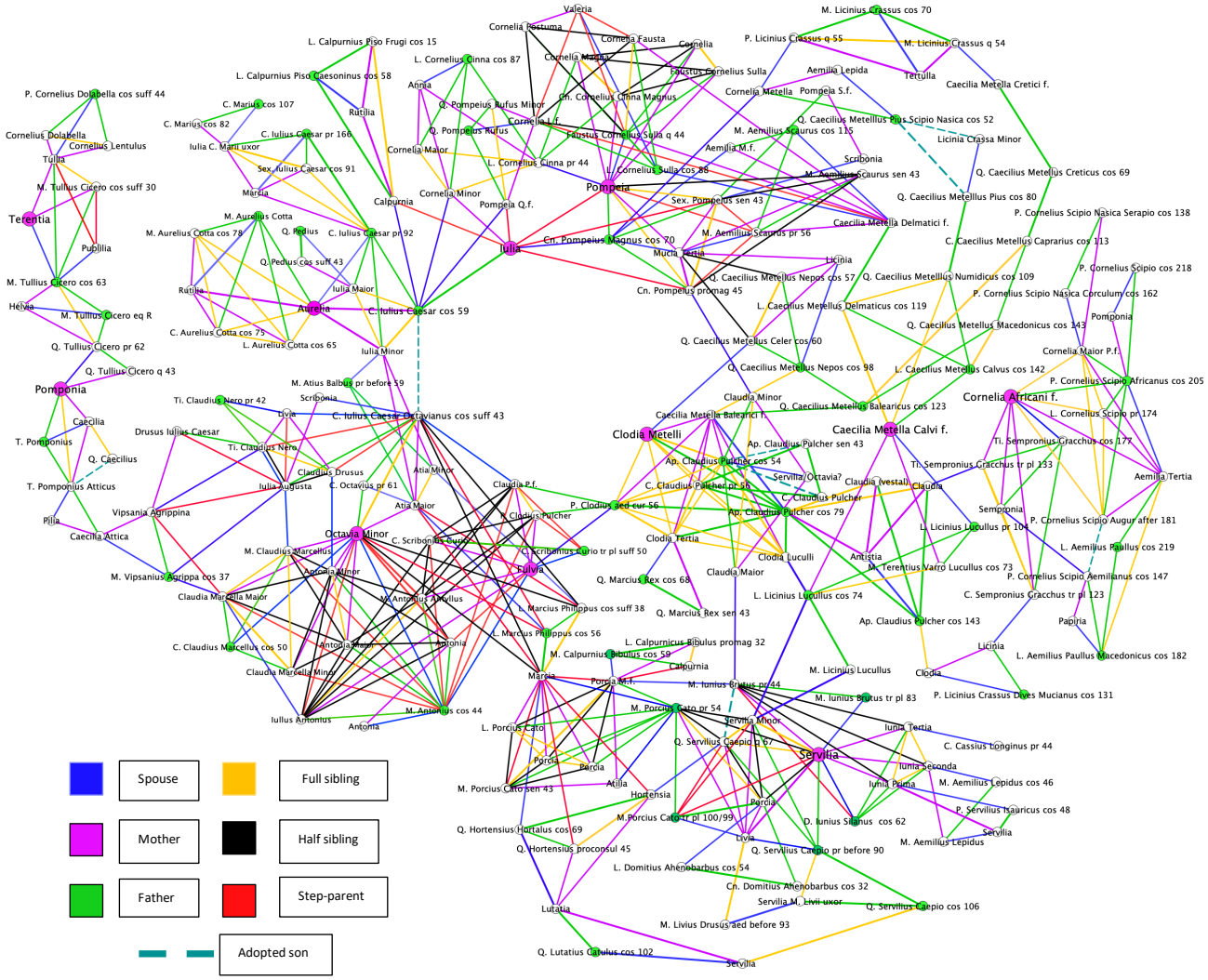

Figure 6.1 - Amalgamated network

As can be seen, the same colour coding for edges between nodes has been used and the 12 focal actors are represented by their fuchsia coloured nodes. The only connections that

have been added are the three actors, Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus (cos 69), C. Caecilius Metellus Capracius (cos 113) and Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (cos 143) along with their relational edges that link Caecilia Metella Cretici f., Caecilia Metella Balearici f. and Caecilia Metella Calvi f. together. This was done so that the familial connections among the various branches of the Metelli could be represented in this combined network, links which fell outside the scope of the individual networks. Conversely, some peripheral actors from the individual networks were not included in this amalgamated visualisation as their inclusion did not affect the overall connectivity among the rest of the actors. As with the individual networks, the Visone software algorithm initially visualised the network according to all the connections and the only changes that were made was that some nodes were moved so that their labels could be completely visible. Furthermore, all marriage details on the edges were removed, and edge thickness narrowed, so that the network could appear less cluttered and so that the various familial connections could be more clearly identified.

This amalgamated network clearly shows that all the elite members of the late republic included in this thesis are related to each other[707]. A path can be traced, from at least one familial relationship to another, between the mid second century BCE network of Cornelia Africani f. and the late first century BCE networks which include Vipsania Agrippina and Iulia Augusta. This familial path may be circuitous, but the path nevertheless exists. In some cases, there is even more than one connection between the various family groups and there are sometimes multiple avenues for connecting two individuals together. At the very centre of the network lie the innermost core of bridging actors that played a significant part in connecting the various familial clusters. Apart from the Pomponia and Terentia tail, as well as the cluster formed by Fulvia and Octavia's families, the rest of the amalgamated network is arranged in almost perfect generational concentric rings. The oldest generation is located on the edge of the network, the outermost ring, with each ring moving into the centre also

[707] There are many elite family members of the late republic who have not been included in these networks, and who can be found in the DPRR. However, they would only feature as peripheral actors with distant connections to the focal actors of the individual networks, hence why they were not included in those networks originally.

going down in generations. As it does so, it is noticeable that there are more links within family clusters, and with different family groups. This increase in links between clusters, dating to the mid first century BCE, correlates to an increase in men and women having multiple marriages. Which is itself a direct consequence of the marital pattern evident from this era: that more marriages were of a political and/or financial nature, aimed at filling immediate political needs, rather than reaffirming pre-existing familial bonds.

In remarrying, each individual actor obviously increases their number of possible links in the network, and therefore also increases their ability to unite different family groups together. It is, therefore, not unexpected that Clodia Metelli, Iulia, Mucia Tertia and three of the men who had the most marriages, C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70) and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43), complete the inner ring of the network. However, the identity of Iulia Minor, Cn. Pompeius (promag 45), Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (cos 60), P. Clodius (aed cur 56), as well as his daughter Claudia P.f. and niece Claudia Minor, as bridging actors demonstrates the power of social network visualisations. This amalgamated network showcases the pivotal bridging connections that would be difficult to infer from the sources alone. Indeed, the fact that only four *gentes* aid in connecting all other elite family groups demonstrates just what a "Small World" the late Roman republic was and the tight social circles of the Roman elite[708]. As such, one could argue that the late republic was a family based oligarchy, despite the fact that elected magistracies were officially non-hereditary. This is further reinforced by the centrality measures calculated by Visone[709], and by the multiple inner paths of connections that visually distinguish Marcia, Caecilia Metella Calvi f., Claudia Minor, Cornelia Metella, Claudia Marcella Maior, Claudia, the wife of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr pl 133), and L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88), another man with numerous marriages, as other bridging agents within the network. Moreover, one of the most important bridging agents in this amalgamated network is Caecilia Attica. Without this crucial link, the rest of

[708] Similar to findings by other historical networks researchers, in particular: Cline (2012, 2020); Collar (2014); Coward (2010); Malkin (2011).

[709] See Appendix I 7.12 for the full statistical scores of this amalgamated network.

Pomponia's network, and significantly all of Terentia's network, would fall outside of the connected loop.

This is the biggest surprise: that Terentia and M. Tullius Cicero (cos 63), who provide us with the most personal and intimate details of daily life in the late republic, do not have any direct familial connections with any of the members of Rome's elite families that were included in the individual networks. What this indicates is twofold. Firstly, that the elite *gentes* of late republican Rome were truly insular in their marriage decisions, preferring to marry into similar family groups, or with the occasional powerful political man, such as Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. Secondly, it demonstrates how a *novus homo* was never really integrated into the inner fabric of elite society. Cicero may have reached the consulship, but not one of his daughter's three marriages could be secured with one of the powerful and politically dominant families of the first century BCE, such as the Claudii, Iulii, Metelli, Aemilii or Servilii[710]. Tullia's first two husbands may have been aristocratic and her third husband, P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos suff 44), may have been a Cornelii, but his personal branch was not considered to be an eminent one. Nor were C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (q 58) and Furius Crassipes (q 51) from particularly prominent elite families. This can also be seen in the case of another *novus homo*, C. Marius (cos 107), a distant relative of Cicero's[711]. Both men were from Arpinum, and considered saviours of Rome[712], yet neither sit within the inner circle of elite familial connections. The main reason for this is that neither man had multiple marriages, nor do their children marry into one of the *gentes maiores*[713]. Although

[710] Treggiari (2007, pp. 83, 90, 92) discusses that one of the suitors as Tullia's third husband was Ti. Claudius Nero (pr 42), but this did not eventuate in marriage.

[711] Treggiari (2007, pp. 23-24).

[712] C. Marius was titled the Third Founder of Rome and Cicero *Pater Patriae*. Plutarch, *C. Marius* 27.5, *Cicero* 22.3-5.

[713] The son of Marius and Iulia, C. Marius (cos 82), did marry a Licinia, the daughter of L. Licinius Crassus (cos 95). However, this branch of the Licinii falls outside of the familial groups represented in these networks, signifying that they were not part of the prominent elite. Cicero, *Ad Atticum* XIV 8.1, *De Oratore* III 8.

Marius does marry an Iulia, he does so when this *gens* is not part of the political elite and, in fact, it is his marriage to Iulia which revives this most ancestral of Roman families and enables them to re-enter the political arena[714].

In terms of using this amalgamated network as evidence for the existence of an *ordo matronarum*, the multitude of interpersonal connections between the top echelon of Roman society in the late republic would suggest that if there was no formal recognition of an 'order of matrons', then there could at least have been an informal assembly of elite women who all knew each other. As Hemelrijk states, "closer inspection of [the sources] tells us that the term *ordo matronarum* is nearly always used to denote women of senatorial rank when acting in concert in a public role"[715]. If this is indeed the case, then there may have been a collection of *matronae* who could be organised and called upon to act on behalf of their own self-interests, as well as those of (elite) women at large. The fact that all these women were related to each other, no matter how distantly, would have aided in this group's ability to assemble at short notice and to influence their menfolk, who would also have been related to each other.

The evidence for this informal assembly of elite women who were all related to each other can be seen on multiple occasions in the late republic. Firstly, they can be distinguished by the insignia of their rank; the use of the *stola*, *vittae* and the use of the *carpentum* and *pilentum* within Rome. Secondly, they can be identified by their collective acts of agency in public spaces; their acts of defiance in trying to repeal the *Lex Oppia*[716], their coming together in the aftermath of P. Clodius' desecration of the Bona Dea rites of 62 BCE[717], and in their selection of Hortensia to speak on their behalf when the second triumvirate tried to tax the 1400 wealthiest women of Rome[718]. Only the latter two events happened within the

[714] Syme (1939, p. 25).

[715] Hemelrijk (1999, p. 11).

[716] Livy, XXXIV 1-8.

[717] Cassius Dio, XXXVII 45; Cicero, *Ad Atticum* I 12-16.

[718] Appian, *Bellum Civile* IV 32-34.

dates of this amalgamated network, but the origins of an *ordo matronarum* perhaps date to the early republic[719], possibly signifying that the repeated interconnections prevalent in the late republic between elite families were nothing new. It is these repeated interfamilial connections which would have enabled elite women to rally together and collectively act on their agency. It may not be solid, literary, proof of an *ordo matronarum*, but it is proof that a definite relational network existed between these women, one where they were the bridging actors connecting male political agents, and that they would have been able to assemble themselves into a united front if, and when, action was required.

6.3 Was the, often great, age disparity between spouses intentional and the norm?

With the inclusion of marriage details in the networks, and the discussion of spousal ages at marriage, it is possible to discern spousal age difference patterns over time and between generations. From the 42 marriages included in the analyses, where the bride was at her first marriage[720], only two brides were over the age of 20, and 21 of them were already married by the age of 16. This is consistent with Hopkins' findings that half of the women in his epigraphic study were married by the age of 16[721]. For the 40 teen-bride marriages in this study, it can be concluded that only 11 first-time brides were in their mid-teens and grooms in their mid-twenties[722]. Moreover, there were eight marriages where the groom is in his early twenties or younger[723] and only two marriages where he is in his late twenties. This means that only 18 out of the 40 marriages occur when the groom is his twenties,

[719] Hemelrijk (1999, p. 11).

[720] See Table 6.1 for a summary of these marriages.

[721] Hopkins (1965).

[722] Mid being defined as 13-17 for women and 23-27 for men. Early would be 10-12 for women and 20-22 for men. Late is therefore 18-19 for women and 28-29 for men.

[723] In this statistic, three husbands were in their mid to late teens: C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59), M. Claudius Marcellus and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 54). The other five husbands were in their twenties.

leaving 21 marriages where the husband is over the age of 30. Of these 21 marriages, ten husbands were in the thirties, seven were in their forties and four husbands were over the age of 50[724]. Therefore, for nearly half of the brides' first marriages, there is at least a 15 year difference between the spouses' ages, whilst one fifth of all first time teen-brides had husbands who were at least 30 years older than they were.

Couple	Wife's age	Husband's age	Age difference (years)	Marriage year (BCE)
Aemilia Tertia and P. Cornelius Africanus (cos 205)	15/16	21	5/6	215 (?)
Antonia and Pythodorus of Tralles	14	34 (?)	20	36
Antonia Maior and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	15	27	12	22
Antonia Minor and Claudius Drusus	18	22	4	16
Aurelia and C. Iulius Caesar (pr 92)	15/16	26/27	10-12	103
Atia Maior and C. Octavius (pr 61)	16-18 (?)	Early 30s	15	71-69 (?)
Caecilia Attica and Vipsanius Agrippa (cos 37)	14	27	13	37
Caecilia Metella Calvi f. and L. Licinius Lucullus (pr 104)	17-19	25	6-8	119
Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. and M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos 115)	16/17	60	43/44	101
Calpurnia and C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59)	17	43	26	59
Claudia Marcella Maior and M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos 37)	14	36	22	28
Claudia P.f. and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43)	15	20	5	42
Clodia Luculli and L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74)	15/16	40s	24/25	77-74 (?)
Clodia Metelli and Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (cos 60)	15-19	Early 20s (?)	Under 5	80 (?)
Clodia Tertia and Q. Marcius Rex (cos 68)	15-18	27-30	9-15	83-80 (?)
Cornelia Africani f. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177)	14/15	45-50	30-36	174
Cornelia Maior P.f. and P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum (cos 162)	16/17	21/22	4-6	183/182 (?)
Cornelia Metella and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70)	15-21	54	33-39	52
Cornelia Minor and C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59)	13	16	3	86/84
Fulvia and P. Clodius (aed cur 56)	15-19	29	10-14	62

[724] Cornelia Minor is the youngest first-time bride at 13. Pompeia Q.f. and Pomponia are the only women to be over 20 for their first marriages, with both of them marrying men in their thirties.

Iulia and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70)	16/17	46/47	30	59
Iulia Augusta and M. Claudius Marcellus	14	17	3	25
Iulia C. Marii uxor and C. Marius (cos 107)	17/18	40s	20+	110
Iunia Prima and P. Servilius Isauricus (cos 48)	14/15	38	23/24	61
Iunia Secunda and M. Aemilius Lepidus (cos 46)	15	30	15	60/59 (?)
Iunia Tertia and C. Cassius Longinus (pr 44)	13-16	Early 20s	5-10	60/59
Livia and Q. Servilius Caepio (pr before 90)	15/16	25/26	10	106
Livia Drusilla and Ti. Claudius Nero (pr 42)	15	46	31	43
Marcia and M. Porcius Cato (pr 54)	16/17	32	15/16	63
Mucia Tertia and Cn. Pompeius Magnus (cos 70)	15-20	27	7-12	79
Octavia Minor and C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50)	15	34	19	54
Pilia and T. Pomponius Atticus	?	50s	?	59
Pompeia and Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 44)	15-19	24	5-9	60
Pompeia Q.f. and C. Iulius Caesar (cos 59)	20/21	35	14/15	67
Pomponia and Q. Tullius Cicero (pr 62)	30s	32	similar	70
Porcia and L. Domitius Ahenobarbus (cos 54)	16/17	18	Under 2	80
Porcia M.f. and M. Calpurnius Bibulus (cos 59)	15	44	29	58/57
Publilia and M. Tullius Cicero (cos 63)	14/15	59/60	44-46	46
Sempronia and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147)	18/19	Mid 30s	15	151
Servilia and M. Iunius Brutus (tr pl 83)	14/15	29/30	15	86
Terentia and M. Tullius Cicero (cos 63)	17/18	25/26	7-10	79
Tullia and C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi (q 58)	15	26	11	63

Table 6.1 - Spousal age at wife's first marriage[725]

These findings differ from the research undertaken by Saller and Shaw, where they concluded that the standard age gap for first marriages was approximately ten years and that most husbands of first-time teen brides were in their mid to late twenties[726]. The findings also differ from those of Lelis, Percy and Verstraete, who argue for an age at first marriage of between 12 and 16 for women and between 15 and 21/22 for men[727]. This thesis may have had a much smaller sample size, but the marriages included in the networks

[725] Table 6.1 and 6.2 only include the marriages from the networks where spousal ages can be discerned from the sources, as discussed in the individual networks.

[726] Saller (1987, 1994); Shaw (1987); Shaw and Saller (1984).

[727] Lelis et al. (2003).

visualised represent the elite couples of the late republic about whom we have the most information available in the various sources. It can, therefore, be argued that these spousal age differences represent a sample of the wider elite population from the mid-second century BCE to the end of the Roman republic. If these marriages do suggest a pattern that almost half of teen brides were married to men more than twice their age, do these marriages happen intentionally, or are they as a result of the civic expectations placed upon young elite men?

Working chronologically, there are four marriages that occurred in the second century BCE where the first-time bride was as least half her husband's age. Two are from Cornelia Africani f.'s network: her own marriage to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos 177) and her daughter's marriage to P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos 147). As discussed in the answer to the first key question, above, the main reason for these two marriages was to unite the *gentes* Sempronii and Scipiones for political and social gains. The same reason existed for C. Marius' (cos 107) marriage to Iulia in 110 BCE. The Iulii needed money to resurrect their political clout and Marius needed the social and ancestral capital of the Iulii to further his political career[728]. As for Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.'s marriage to M. Aemilius Scaurus (cos 115), a man almost four times her age, it is plausible that this marriage was a way for Scaurus to secure heirs as his son from a previous marriage had committed suicide in 102 BCE[729]. All five marriages produced children. It can, therefore, be concluded that the marriages between first-time teen brides and men more than twice their age, in the mid to late second century BCE, were as a result of a need to gain political and/or social capital, as well as the production of children.

For the marriages in the first century BCE, with the same spousal age difference, only for five out of the 13 grooms was this his first marriage as well. Pythodorus of Tralles was in his mid-thirties when he married Antonia, T. Pomponius Atticus married Pilia when he was in his fifties, L. Licinius Lucullus (cos 74) married for the first time in his forties, P. Servilius

[728] Syme (1939, p. 25).

[729] Valerius Maximus, V 8.4.

Isauricus (cos 48) was in his late thirties and C. Claudius Marcellus (cos 50) was in his mid-thirties when he married Octavia Minor. If Pythodorus of Tralles is disregarded as a non-Roman, for purely statistical analysis, the reason for the four Roman men to marry for the first time at an advanced age could be that of civic and military duties. Lucullus served as a military tribune during the Social War and as Sulla's Quaestor in Asia until at least 80 BCE[730]. As he had not married before the start of the Social War, it is understandable that his first marriage occurs when he is in his forties and returning to Rome for the first time in a decade. For Isauricus, Münzer and Treggiari both discuss the continued civic engagements that he undertook before his marriage to Iunia Prima[731]. The only information that is known of Marcellus' early political career is that he was most probably a Curule Aedile in 56 BCE and must have been a Praetor before 52[732]. It is also highly possible that he had a previous wife and that his marriage to Octavia Minor overshadowed any need for historians to mention an earlier marriage. Lastly, it is not known why Atticus waited until his fifties to marry and produce children. As an equestrian, he would not have been detained by military and/or civic duties in finding a wife, and his vast wealth would have been a great advantage and incentive for elite fathers searching for a rich husband for their daughters.

For the other nine men, their marriage to a first-time teen bride, sometimes more than half their age, was their second or third marriage, a conclusion also reached by Saller and Shaw[733]. Therefore, it cannot be stated that the great age disparity between husband and wife is due to the husbands' military and/or civic duties. The age difference is simply due to a divorced or widowed man looking for a new wife and selecting a much younger first-time bride, often for political, financial and/or familial reasons, as discussed in the answer to the first key question. Examples of these types of unions are the marriages between Caesar and Calpurnia, M. Calpurnius Bibulus (cos 59) and Porcia M.f and M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos 37)

[730] Broughton (1952).

[731] Münzer (1999, pp. 325-326); Treggiari (2019, pp. 132-133).

[732] Broughton (1952).

[733] Saller (1994, pp. 26-37); Shaw and Saller (1984).

and Claudia Marcella Maior. The same could be argued for Pompey's last two marriages to teenage first-time brides, where he was already 30 years older than Iulia, his fourth wife.

When it comes to a woman's second or third marriage, 18 of which are included in the networks, all from the first century BCE, the spouses were closer in age than on a woman's first marriage[734]. More than half of the marriages have a spousal age difference of less than a decade, with Tullia's marriage to Furius Crassipes possibly adding another marriage to this tally. Could this signify that the norm for a woman's second or third marriage was for her to marry a man closer to her own age? Even possibly having some choice in who her next husband would be? It is well known that Tullia played a decisive role in selecting Dolabella as her third husband[735], as did Servilia in marrying D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62) as her second husband[736]. Furthermore, could Porcia M.f. have had a say in M. Iunius Brutus' decision to divorce his first wife and marry her, especially if Plutarch is correct in saying that Porcia was very fond of Brutus[737]? Likewise, could Mucia Tertia and Livia have acted on their agency in choosing their second husbands, who were both distinctly less politically prestigious than their first husbands? Was Valeria's marriage to Sulla her own choice? The sources agree that their union was based on mutual attraction[738], so could Valeria have made her interest known? On the other hand, Marcia was passed on to Q. Hortensius Hortalus (cos 69) by her first husband and Iulia Augusta's husbands were most likely chosen for her by her father Octavian, as was Octavia Minor's marriage to M. Antonius. These are questions that cannot be answered by the networks alone, but the lack of details about these marriages in the sources mean that conclusive answers are not possible. What the networks can identify is that for half of the women's second and third marriages, their husbands were less ten years older than they were, which is a stark difference from the spousal age statistics of first-time teen brides.

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[734] See Table 6.2 for a summary of these marriages.

[735] Treggiari (2007, pp. 91-94).

[736] Syme (1987, p. 326).

[737] Plutarch, *Brutus* 13.4.

[738] Plutarch, *Sulla* 35.

Couple	Wife's age	Husband's age	Age difference (years)	Marriage year (BCE)
Atia Maior and L. Marcius Philippus (cos 56)	28-30	Early-mid 40s	10-15	59
Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. L. Cornelius Sulla (cos 88)	29/30	50	20	88
Claudia Marcella Maior and Iullus Antonius	21	21-23 (?)	Under 2	21
Fulvia and S. Scribonius Curio (tr pl suff 50)	25-29	33	4-8	52
Fulvia (3) and M. Antonius (cos 44)	30-34	35	Under 5	47
Iulia Augusta and M. Vipsanius Agrippa (cos 37)	18	43	25	21
Iulia Augusta (3) and Ti. Claudius Nero	28	31	3	11
Livia and M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99)	24/25	33	8/9	97
Livia Drusilla and C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus (cos suff 43)	21	26	5	37
Marcia and Q. Hortensius Hortalus (cos 69)	23/24	58	34/35	56
Marcia (3) and M. Porcius Cato (pr 54)	29/30	45	15/16	50
Mucia Tertia and M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr 56)	33+	31+	2 (?)	After 61
Octavia Minor and M. Antonius (cos 44)	29	42	3	40
Pompeia and L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44)	29-33	Late 40/early 50s	15-20	46
Porcia M.f. and M. Iunius Brutus (pr 44)	28	40	12	45
Servilia and D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62)	24/25	31	6/7	76
Tullia and Furius Crassipes (q 51)	22	?	?	56
Tullia (3) and P. Cornelius Dolabella (cos suff 44)	28	19-24 (?)	4-9 (?)	50

Table 6.2 - Spousal age at wife's second and third (3) marriages

For the other eight marriages within this group, four of them have an age gap of between 12 and 15 years, three marriages have a gap of 20 to 25 years and the largest gap between husband and wife is the 35 years between Marcia and Hortensius. There is only one teen bride in this list, Iulia Augusta, who married Agrippa, a man more than twice her age. This was Agrippa's third marriage and orchestrated by either Octavian or Octavia Minor, depending on which sources are to be believed, so that Agrippa could have a closer familial

bond with Octavian than being married to his niece[739]. The same reason existed for the marriage between Marcia and Hortensius, the latter wanted to be closely related to Marcia's first husband M. Porcius Cato (pr 54). For other marriages with a large age gap, the specific reason(s) for Pompeia's marriage to L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44) are unknown and Sulla's marriage to Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. was seen as advantageous for Sulla but unworthy for his new wife[740].

For a few men, this was their first marriage. These men included S. Scribonius Curio (tr pl suff 50), Iullus Antonius, M. Porcius Cato (tr pl 100/99), M. Aemilius Scaurus (pr 56), L. Cornelius Cinna (pr 44), D. Iunius Silanus (cos 62) and Furius Crassipes (q 51). Why these men would not choose a teen bride as their first wife is not an easy question to answer. The fact that all of their wives were from illustrious *gentes* and/or very wealthy would certainly have been a very attractive incentive. As would their proven fertility and that they were all still young enough to bear (more) children. Does this mean that an elite widow or divorcée was as alluring a marital prospect as a first-time teen bride for an elite man looking for his first wife? The answer is, mostly likely yes, especially if she was of proven fertility and wealthy.

6.4 How often, and under what circumstances, did an elite widow or divorcée remarry?

As can be seen in Table 6.2, only 14 women from the 11 networks remarried, with four women (Tullia, Iulia Augusta, Marcia and Fulvia) also marrying a third time. Nine of the networks contain at least one remarriage, with the majority of remarriages occurring in the middle of the first century BCE. Indeed, of the 18 remarriages, only three occur before 61 BCE. Of course, it must be acknowledged that this statistic is significantly affected by the lack of detail in the sources about the lives of so many of the women included in the

[739] See the networks of Claudia Marcella Maior and Iulia Augusta for further details on this marriage, including a discussion on who possibly arranged the match.

[740] Plutarch, *Sulla* 6.10.

networks after they divorced or became widowed. Despite the apparent ease and frequency of divorce and remarriage attested by modern scholars, the networks visualised do not corroborate these arguments. Yes, there appear to be more divorces and more remarriages in the first century BCE, but only 18 remarriages by 14 women, within 11 networks, do not signify a dramatic shift in behaviour that demonstrates women acting on their agency by initiating divorces and choosing their next husband(s)[741].

Interestingly, there are two networks, that of Cornelia Africani f. and Clodia Metelli, which contain only one, or no remarriages at all, within three generations of the focal actor. For Cornelia Africani f.'s network, this is not too surprising, even if the Cornelii and Sempronii were two of the most illustrious and respected families of their generation. The second century BCE is not as renowned as the following century for women, or men, having multiple marriages and Cornelia's network supports this hypothesis. Obviously, it is not known what happened to Licinia and Claudia, respectively the wives of C. and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, after their husbands' murders. First century BCE statistics and historical patterns would indicate that they remarried, but as Cornelia Africani f. and her natal female relatives remained *univirae*, either by their own choice or as a direct order from their male relatives who didn't want/need them to remarry, it is difficult to speculate whether Licinia and Claudia decided to follow in their mother-in-law's footsteps[742]. As Cornelia's network was created to see if there were any differences between elite Roman families of the second and first centuries BCE, it would appear that the main variance lies in the lack of remarriages for widowed or divorced women. Whether this is a phenomenon particular to Cornelia Africani f.'s family, or if this was a common occurrence in elite second century BCE families, only more analysis of marriage patterns from this century can verify.

The fact that Clodia Metelli and her two sisters, Clodia Luculli and Clodia Tertia, also remained *univirae*, despite all being extremely desirable matches after their divorces and/or

[741] Which would contradict Bradley's arguments. Bradley (1991, pp. 156-176).

[742] For marriage patterns and statistical analysis in first century families, see Saller (1987, 1994); Shaw and Saller (1984).

widowhood, could suggest that some women from the *gentes maiores* did not want or need to remarry. All three sisters made advantageous first marriages, which suggests that their dowries, coupled with their ancestry, must have been substantial enough to attract these husbands in the first place. The Clodiae not remarrying, along with the women in Cornelia Africani f.'s immediate network, could demonstrate that they simply did not need to do so as their social standing, *sui iuris* status and independent wealth meant that they possibly did not need a new husband to take care of them, either financially or socially. It could also suggest that their male relatives no longer wanted, or needed, to use them for political capital. This pattern is further echoed by other women who did not remarry, even though they were still of an age to bear children. Apart from those already mentioned in Cornelia Africani f. and Clodia Metelli's networks, the following women from the networks did not remarry after their first marriages: Aurelia, Terentia[743], Iulia (C. Marii uxor), Calpurnia, Pompeia Q.f., Caecilia Metella Calvi f., Hortensia, Claudia P.f., Claudia Maior and Claudia Minor. Looking at all these women as one group, it is evident that they had some characteristics in common. All had distinguished ancestry and/or were the wives of wealthy politically and militarily important men. Moreover, their high social status, dictated by their father's or husband's status, had already been achieved, meaning that they did not need to remarry to attain it. These factors would have made such women extremely desirable to any man looking for a wife, even if they were no longer as 'young' as other potential suitors. Conversely, if these elite widows or divorcées did remarry, they would have needed to marry men of the same, or higher, social status as their previous husband, which would have reduced their choices significantly.

In terms of the 14 women who did remarry, there appears to be two possible reasons for them doing so: familial obligations and personal motivations. Under familial obligations fall the remarriages of Octavia Minor, Iulia Augusta, Claudia Marcella Maior and Marcia. For Octavia, Iulia Augusta and Claudia Marcella Maior, each remarriage was dictated by Octavian, who was respectively brother, father or uncle to each woman. For Marcia, it was

[743] As discussed in Terentia's network, chapter 5.6, her possible second marriage to M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (cos suff 31) must be dismissed as erroneous.

Cato, her current husband, who was responsible for divorcing her and handing her over to Hortensius. The sources are clear in stating that none of these women had a choice in choosing their next husbands. Each remarriage was, therefore, as a direct order of a male relative who needed these women to remarry for their own purposes, or for the good of the family. Octavian needed his sister Octavia to marry M. Antonius to secure a peace treaty between them, he also wanted his niece Claudia Marcella Maior and daughter Iulia Augusta to marry Agrippa in order to connect him more closely to Octavian' family and make Agrippa's sons his heirs. Similarly, Cato agreed to divorce his wife so that she could marry Hortensius, who desired to be connected to Cato by more than just friendship. How these women personally felt about having their lives dictated by their male relatives is not something ever mentioned in the ancient sources, but it must have been accepted, to some degree, as an unfortunate obligation of being an elite woman in the late republic, especially when you were not a woman who was *sui iuris*.

In contrast to women who remarried for familial reasons, there are several women who appear to have married for personal reasons and who could have had some choice, if not a definitive say, in their second and third husbands. The second marriages of Livia, Caecilia Metella Delmatici f., Atia Maior, Fulvia, Mucia Tertia, Porcia M.f., Livia Drusilla and Pompeia, as well as Tullia's third marriage, fall into this category. Although their specific reasons for remarrying are unknown, it must be asked if there was some level of personal choice in both the need to remarry as well as the reasons for remarrying? Analysing each woman's personal legal status, it would appear that most of these women no longer had fathers that were alive when they remarried, except for Livia, Atia Maior and Tullia, indicating that they may have been *sui iuris*[744]. Why did these women remarry, for there is no mention of familial obligations forcing them to do so, as opposed to the women from the same time period who decided to remain *univirae*? Political and/or financial motives may have been a factor for Atia Maior, and possibly Mucia Tertia as well. Personal affection seems to have

[744] Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.'s father had died by 103 BCE, Fulvia's before her first marriage in 62, Mucia Tertia's in 82, Porcia M.f.'s in 46, Livia Drusilla's in 42 and Pompeia's in 48. Broughton (1952); Hinard (1985).

been the main reason for Caecilia Metella Delmatici f., Fulvia, both Livias and Porcia M.f. Moreover, perhaps the ability to have a say in whom their next husband could be might have been the driving force to Pompeia's second marriage and Tullia's third. What the networks clearly show is that there was no distinct pattern as to why and how divorced and widowed women remarried. Instead, if the reason was not a familial one, it seems that elite women who remarried may have had their own personal reasons for doing so. Could this be viewed as acts of personal agency if their own choice of husbands was possible and/or if their choice to remarry was theirs to make? A woman's legal status could indicate this to be the case. If she was *sui iuris*, an elite late republican woman appears to have had more opportunities to make her own choices and act upon her agency. This seems to have extended beyond just financial matters and may also have included whether she wanted and/or needed to remarry. Furthermore, if she did remarry, her legally 'emancipated' status suggests that she may have had a choice in who she could marry. On the other hand, it could also indicate that her male relations, those who still had some power to control her actions, may not have needed, or wanted, her to remarry. The lack of information in the sources, about such decisions, makes any definitive conclusions about this topic impossible.

6.5 Did stepmothers play an active role in the upbringing of their husband's other children?

There are surprisingly fewer stepmothers in the networks than was expected. Although stepfathers were also represented in the networks, this connection is not being analysed as most Roman children remained with their fathers or their paternal families after their parents divorced or one of their parents died[745]. Throughout the 11 networks, only 15 women were stepmothers, with four also experiencing the dual role of being a stepmother and having a stepmother at some point in their life. Table 6.3 denotes the age at which they

[745]Dixon (1992, p. 41); Schultz (2021, p. 17). There were, of course, exceptions to this rule, but only the role of stepmothers will be analysed from the networks.

became stepmothers, the age of their stepchildren, as well as the dates that related to these step-relationships, with the reason of how the relationship ended[746].

Stepmother	Age	Stepchildren	Age	Dates (BCE) + end reason
Atia Maior	28-30	Marcia* L. Marcius Philippus (cos suff 38)	29/30 30(?)	59-43 wd
Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.	29/30	Cornelia L.f.	15-17(?)	88-80 wd
Calpurnia	17	Iulia*	16/17	59-54 cd
Claudia Marcella Maior	14	Vipsania Agrippina	8	28-21 div
Cornelia Metella	15-21	Pompeia Sex. Pompeius (sen 43) Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45)	23-27 Under 27 (?) Under 27 (?)	52-42 hd
Fulvia	30-34	Antonia	3	47-40 wd
Iulia*	16/17	Pompeia Sex. Pompeius (sen 43) Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45)	16-20 Under 20 (?) Under 20 (?)	59-54 wd
Iulia Augusta*	18 (1) 28 (2)	Vipsania Agrippina (1) Drusus Iulius Caesar (2)	15 4/5 (?)	21-12 (1) div 11-6 (2) div
Livia	21	Iulia Augusta*	2	37-14CE hd
Marcia*	16/17 (1) 23/24 (2)	Porcia M.f.* (1) M. Porcius Cato (sen 43) (1) Hortensia (2) Q. Hortensius (proconsul 45) (2)	10 10-20 (?) 20+ 20+	63-56 (1) div 56-50 (2) hd
Octavia Minor	29	Antonia Iullus Antonius M. Antonius Antyllus	10 Under 7 Under 7	40-32 div 40-32 div 40-32 div
Pompeia Q.f.	20/21	Iulia*	8/9	67-63 div
Porcia M.f.*	15	Calpurnia	?	58/57-48 hd
Publilia	14/15	Tullia M. Tullius Cicero (cos suff 30)	32 19	46-45 div
Valeria	Early/mid 20s (?)	Cornelia L.f. Cornelia Fausta Faustus Cornelius Faustus (q 44)	24-26 (?) Under 10 Under 10	79(?)-78 hd

Table 6.3 - Stepmother details (denotes women who were both stepmothers and stepdaughters)*

Obviously, what all these women have in common is that they married men who had children from their previous marriages. The first stepmothers from the networks were Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. and Valeria, two of Sulla's wives. All other marriages which produced step-relationships occurred between 67 and 11 BCE. Thus, between Pompeia Q.f.'s marriage to Caesar and Iulia Augusta's marriage to Ti. Claudius Nero. For Atia Maior,

[746] The same abbreviations are used as in the network visualisations' marriage details: wd (wife's death), hd (husband's death), div (divorce). An extra abbreviation is added for this table: cd (child's death).

Caecilia Metella Delmatici f., Fulvia, Iulia Augusta, Livia, Marcia and Octavia Minor this was also their second or third marriages. Although the majority of the networks visualised can be dated to the middle of the first century BCE, some of the marriages within them can be dated to the previous century. Therefore, the fact that all the stepmothers emerge from 88 BCE onwards could indicate that the role of the stepmother doesn't become a focal aspect of elite Roman families until that time. That is not to say that there were not stepmothers before the middle of the first century BCE, but that according to the data collected, stepmothers do not become prevalent in late republican elite society until this time period[747]. This is partly as a result of a smaller sample size of marriages from the second century BCE and that the marriages in the networks that occurred in this century either did not include information in the sources about the divorced or widowed women's remarriages, or that the women remained *univirae*.

However, this question was not about how and when stepmothers appeared in the networks, but whether they played an active role in the upbringing of their new stepchildren. In order to answer this question, the ages of the women when they became stepmothers, coupled with the ages of their stepchildren, needs to be examined. Moreover, the length of time that they were stepmothers must be considered in order to discern any patterns between step-relationships in the first century BCE.

From the networks, there are several cases where stepmothers were of a similar age to their stepchildren. In particular, there are four teen brides whose stepchildren were also in their teens or were slightly older than their new stepmothers. When Iulia married Pompey in 59 BCE, she gained stepchildren that were possibly the same age as she, or slightly older. In the same year, Iulia also gained a stepmother, Calpurnia, who was her own age. Though she most likely would not have lived under the same roof as Calpurnia, she definitely would

[747] As L. Aemilius Paullus' and the Elder Cato's second wives were not included in the networks visualised, they have also not been included in this analysis on stepmothers. These two women are proof, however, that some stepmother/stepchild relationships did exist in the second century BCE.

have interacted with her new stepmother on social occasions. The same can be said for Iulia's relationship with Pompeia, who had married Faustus Cornelius Sulla (q 44) in 60 BCE, and who would have lived with her husband rather than staying in her father's house with her new stepmother. On the other hand, Iulia's two stepsons, Cn. Pompeius Magnus (promag 45) and Sex. Pompeius (sen 43), who were both married after 59 BCE, would still have lived in their father's house when he married Iulia. Unfortunately, the ancient sources do not confirm this, neither do they give any mention of Iulia's relationship with her stepchildren, nor her own relationships with her two stepmothers. Disappointingly, all we know about Iulia's relationships is that Iulia had a charming personality and that Pompey refused to divorce her[748]. Following Iulia's death, Pompey remarried, and his children gained a new stepmother, Cornelia Metella. As he does in portraying Iulia, Plutarch only describes Cornelia Metella's character as having "many charming qualities, apart from her youth and beauty"[749]. He also mentions that Cornelia Metella was "more of an age to marry one of Pompey's sons", but that Pompey was also too preoccupied with his new marriage and "came in for some criticism for neglecting his responsibilities" as the sole Consul for that year, 52 BCE[750]. We also know that she stayed with one of Pompey's sons, most likely Sextus, during the battle of Pharsallus[751]. Beyond this anecdote, there are no mentions of Cornelia Metella's relationships with her older stepchildren in the sources. As there are no accusations of the malevolent stepmother aimed at Iulia and Cornelia Metella, nor any as an amorous stepmother either, even though both women were much closer in age to Pompey's sons than Pompey himself, both women could be described as respectable stepmothers.

[748] Plutarch, *Pompey* 49.3, 70.4.

[749] Plutarch, *Pompey* 55.1-2.

[750] Plutarch, *Pompey* 55.2-3.

[751] Plutarch, *Pompey* 74.1.

In fact, only one of the stereotypes of Roman stepmothers identified by Patricia Watson can be attached to any of the stepmothers in the visualised networks[752]. Watson points out that the literary stereotypes of Roman stepmothers often lack real world examples[753], and the stepmothers in this study would seem to reinforce this conclusion. If Tacitus' allegations of the multiple murders carried out by Livia Drusilla, in order to guarantee that her son Tiberius became her husband's main heir, are dismissed as malicious rumours and propaganda originated by Agrippina, as conclusively argued by Watson and Barrett[754], then the only stepmother from the networks who is cast in a negative light is Publilia. Plutarch tells us that Cicero divorced Publilia, soon after his daughter's death, because "his newly married wife seemed to be pleased at Tullia's death"[755]. Apart from the murderous claims falsely aimed at Livia Drusilla, this is the only negative anecdote about the relationship of any of the 15 stepmothers from the networks with their respective stepchildren. Even then, it must be asked whether Cicero's overwhelming grief, and the deep affection that he held for Tullia, did more to end his marriage to Publilia than Publilia's recorded feelings towards her stepdaughter's death?[756]

Therefore, it can be assumed that the other 14 stepmothers all enjoyed healthy relationships, to varying degrees, with their stepchildren and played some role in their upbringing if they were still children. However, the extent to which Claudia Marcella Maior, Fulvia, Iulia Augusta, Livia Drusilla, Marcia, Pompeia Q.f. and Valeria actively participated in the daily lives and upbringing of their young stepchildren can only be speculated about. The lack of negative anecdotes about these seven stepmothers would suggest, at least, the most basic of positive relationships between each stepmother and her stepchildren, with the

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[752] P. A. Watson (1995, pp. 135-175). The main stereotypes that Watson highlights are the amorous stepmother and the malevolent stepmother. With the latter also including the murderous and advantageous stepmother.

[753] P. A. Watson (1995, pp. 139, 149, 174-175).

[754] Barrett (2001, pp. 156-176); P. A. Watson (1995, pp. 176-192).

[755] Plutarch, *Cicero* 41.5.

[756] Cicero, *Ad Familiares* IV 6.2-3, *Atticus* XII 32; Treggiari (2007, p. 140).

epitome of relationships being that between Octavia Minor and her stepchildren. According to Plutarch, Octavia looked after all of M. Antonius' children after he ejected her from his house in 32 BCE, except his son, M. Antonius Antyllus, and his stepson C. Scribonius Curio, who were already old enough to be with Antonius in the East[757]. Moreover, after his death in 30, Octavia also took in his surviving daughter by Cleopatra. This means that Octavia brought up at least two children who were not her own: Iullus Antonius and Cleopatra Selene[758]. Plutarch also denotes Octavia's role in finding marriages for her ex-husband's offspring, as well as her prominent role in orchestrating the divorce between her own daughter, Claudia Marcella Maior, and Agrippa after the death of her son, M. Claudius Marcellus, who was married to her niece Iulia Augusta[759]. However, as Watson states, "with Plutarch's presentation of Octavia, by exploiting the reader's preconceptions about stepmothers, he transforms a woman who raised her stepchildren in her husband's absence into a paragon not only of stepmotherly, but also of womanly, rectitude"[760]. Plutarch's platitudes towards Octavia must, therefore, be viewed with some caution, especially in light of Seneca's singularly contrasting portrayal of Octavia as the grieving mother who, for the rest of her life, "hated all mothers, and raged against Livia [Drusilla, her sister-in-law] with especial fury, because it seemed as though the brilliant prospect once in store for her own child [M. Claudius Marcellus] was now transferred to Livia's son"[761]. Whether Octavia Minor represents the exemplary and/or exceptional stepmother, or whether she simply fulfils the (step)parental duties that were expected of her, raising the daughter that M. Antonius sired

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[757] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 57.4.

[758] One of M. Antonius' sons, Antyllus, was executed by Octavian, along with his stepbrother Curio. Of M. Antonius' other two sons with Cleopatra, Ptolemy Philadelphus and Alexander Helios, the former was not present at Octavian's triumph, so must have died before it, and the latter is never mentioned again after the triumph in Rome, meaning he possibly died soon after. Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.1; Schultz (2021, pp. 108-113).

[759] Plutarch, *M. Antonius* 87.5.

[760] P. A. Watson (1995, p. 197).

[761] Seneca, *De Consolatione ad Marciam* II 3-5. Neither Plutarch, Cassius Dio, Appian nor Suetonius mention Octavia's prolonged grief and resentment towards Livia Drusilla.

whilst he was still married to her demonstrates that Octavia pushed the boundaries of the devoted, faithful and dutiful Roman wife and/or woman.

Another aspect of the Roman stepmother's role that is not mentioned in the ancient sources, is the responsibility that she continued to take in her stepchildren's lives after she ceased to be their stepmother. In only two instances did the stepchild die before their stepmother: Iulia and M. Antonius Antyllus. For all the other cases included in this thesis, the formal relationship between stepmother and stepchild was terminated by the stepmother's death, the death of the children's father or by divorce. It is the latter two scenarios that are of most interest. Unfortunately, there is only one step-relationship for which the networks can provide an example of possible continued interaction between the stepmother and her stepchild after her marriage to the child's father had ended. This singular example is the relationship between Iulia Augusta and Vipsania Agrippina. Iulia Augusta was Vipsania Agrippina's stepmother from 21-12 BCE, when the former was married to Agrippa. However, when Agrippa died, Iulia Augusta was then married to her stepdaughter's husband, and her own stepbrother, Ti. Claudius Nero. Therefore, a formal familial connection continued as Iulia Augusta now became the stepmother of Vipsania Agrippina's young son with Tiberius, Drusus Iulius Caesar. However, as Tiberius resented his forced divorce from Vipsania Agrippina, and grew to resent his marriage to the frequently unfaithful Iulia Augusta[762], the family dynamics between the three, and the continued step-relationship between the two women, could only have grown more complicated and distant with time.

Lastly, for step-relationships where the stepchildren were adults, it must be assumed that only a social relationship existed between stepmother and stepchild. Without the need to actually 'mother' and raise her new stepchildren, it is not known to what extant stepmothers, such as Atia Maior, Iulia, Marcia, Calpurnia, Publilia, Valeria and Caecilia Metella Delmatici f., interacted with them, especially if the stepchildren were already married. Therefore, if more than half of the stepchildren, 13 of the 25, were already adults

[762] Suetonius, *Tiberius* 7. Hallett (2008).

by the time that they gained a stepmother, the common dislocation and possible disruptive child rearing that Bradley argues was so prevalent in elite families of the late republic is not supported by the evidence from the networks[763]. It must also be taken into consideration that motherhood and the upbringing of children in the late republic was vastly different from the experiences of today's mothers. All elite households would have contained slaves and wet-nurses who would have cared for and looked after a couple's children[764]. These members of the household staff would have entertained and educated them, possibly taken them to playdates with other children and moved with them to country estates or on holidays. In short, they performed all the functions of a parent, and they would have been the constant presence in these children's daily lives. That is not to say that Roman mothers and fathers had little interaction with their children, but that they would not have been as invested in the daily upbringing of their children as modern-day parents. Hence, it could be argued that the marital changes of elite couples would have had little impact on the daily lives of their children, whose nurses would have provided the relational continuity on a day-to-day basis. A new stepmother, therefore, might not have been such a scary experience for a Roman child. They may have seen and interacted with her as often as their own mother. Moreover, having multiple stepmothers as a child did happen, but not very often. Indeed, the only young child who had more than one stepmother was Antonia, who gained both Fulvia and Octavia Minor as stepmothers probably before the age of ten.

6.6 At what life stage was an elite Roman woman most likely to demonstrate her agency?

Again, this is not a question that can be answered just by analysing the networks visualised. We must turn to the various historical anecdotes about female agency. What all the women from the networks had in common is their social status as women of senatorial rank or of

[763] Bradley (1987), *c.f.* Dixon (1992, pp. 9-10).

[764] See Schultz (2021, pp. 16-18) for a possible account of a young Roman girl's childhood and the role(s) played by household slaves, wet-nurses and tutors. See also Bradley (1991); Dixon (1992); Garnsey (1991); B. Rawson (1986); Späth (2011).

the highest equestrian order. Furthermore, they were all wealthy women who did not have to work to keep themselves and their families clothed, sheltered and fed. As such, they would have had more time than the average Roman woman to reflect on their own needs and desires, to exercise their free will and personal freedoms, and to decide when and how to act on their agency, either singly or as a collective. Examining the acts of female agency discussed in the analysis of individual networks, there do not appear to be any patterns for how these women demonstrated their agency, but there is a pattern for when they appeared to do so. Unsurprisingly, no teenage woman, or teen bride, is noted as demonstrating agency. None defied their *paterfamilias* in their choices of husbands and only one, Iulia Augusta, decided to challenge the expected roles of dutiful daughter and bride that they were brought up to play. Instead, all anecdotes of late republican women demonstrating agency occurred after they had been married and/or when they had become widows or divorcées[765].

From those elite women included in the networks, there are significantly more examples of acts of agency from married women. Often, these acts of agency were carried out in order to help their husbands and families. Terentia's management of Cicero's personal and financial affairs whilst he was in exile and during his time as governor of Cilicia, would fall into this category, as would her and Tullia's orchestrations to make Dolabella Tullia's third husband when Cicero leaves them in charge of the process[766]. Porcia M.f.'s self-harm and later suicide, in order to demonstrate her strength of character to her new husband Brutus, Fulvia's public displays of grief, as well as her management of political affairs leading to, and including, the Perusine War would definitely be categorised as female acts of agency carried out with the intention of improving her husbands' public image. The same could be said of Octavia Minor's public acts of devotion to M. Antonius, staying married to him whilst he was with Cleopatra and serving as a mediator between her husband and brother, as well as

[765] See Hallett (2021a) on the women of Augustus' household who were exempt from guardianship because of the *ius trium liberorum*, and her argument that their representations as exercising agency may relate to their guardian-less status.

[766] Treggiari (2007, p. 83).

Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.'s role as negotiator between her husband Sulla and the Roman people. Moreover, when Servilia used her power in private spheres to manipulate the Roman senate in order to secure the safety of her son, son-in-law and grandchildren, and when Cornelia Africani f. refused a marriage proposal from Ptolemy VIII to lead a life dedicated to her children and diplomacy in Misenum, they all exercised a significant amount of agency for the sake of their family and its future prosperity.

Of course, not every act of female agency in the late republic was a demonstration of selfless wifely and/or familial devotion. Rebellion against the expected female norms dictated by Roman society were also evident. This is definitely the case when Hortensia passionately spoke out against taxing the wealthiest women of Rome during the second triumvirate, when Clodia Metelli acted on her personal desires and when Iulia Augusta carried out multiple affairs, over a prolonged amount of time, as a direct noncompliance to her father's conservative legislation and possible guardian-less status[767]. These rebellious acts of agency may be fewer than those in the name of their male family members, but they clearly show that some late republican women did have agency and acted upon it. Lastly, elite women who actively decided to remain *univirae* or who made the choice to remarry, if they were still of marriageable age, could be viewed as prime examples of late republican female agency. For a woman to have made her own decision, and acted on it, would have required a strong sense of self and motivation, as well as defiance, in such an androcentric and patriarchal society. These women's personal situations may have been one of privilege, wealth, education and high social status, but they would have demonstrated what was possible, and what could be achieved, to other Roman women.

6.7 Did elite fathers value daughters over sons?

To reiterate Hallett's case for 'filiafocality', she argues that as consanguinity could only be guaranteed through the female members of a family, a *paterfamilias* could favour his

[767] Hallett (2006a).

daughter, and her children, over his sons[768]. This could be shown in terms of "affection and other indications of value"[769] and could lead fathers to bypass the funding of their son's political career for that of his daughter's sons[770]. Under these definitions, there is no evidence of fathers favouring their daughters' male children, instead of his own son(s), in the sources. Nor is there direct evidence for filiafocality in the networks. The only evidence from the networks which might hint at filiafocality is that there is often more evidence for the continuation of consanguinity through female children than through male ones. This is the case for the Iulii, whose connections are continued for several generations through Iulia Minor rather than her brother Caesar, the Servilii, whose female members have far more detailed genealogies and prolonged connections than their male counterparts, and Pompey's legacy is sustained by his daughter Pompeia rather than his two sons.

The reasons for this are multiple. Firstly, there is a high mortality rate among the elite men of the late republic, particularly among those of the mid to late first century BCE. Numerous civil wars, political power struggles and proscriptions resulted in many elite men, and their young sons who had not yet married and/or sired children, to die prematurely. As a result, it was left to the women of these families to continue their bloodlines and to continue the *dignitas* and *auctoritas* of their natal illustrious forefathers. Secondly, because the daughters of important men so often married important men themselves or gave birth to sons who would become important in later years, their lives, marriages and offspring have been recorded in the ancient sources. This is definitely the case for the Metellae. Would we know of Caecilia Metella Delmatici f., Caecilia Metella Calvi f., Cornelia Metella, Caecilia Metella Balearici f. and Caecilia Metella Cretici f. if not for the deeds of their husbands and/or children? Lastly, one reason why female connections appear to last longer through generations, and appear to have more overall connections, than their male counterparts is that this thesis focused on gynocentric networks as opposed to androcentric ones. This does not mean that male connections were omitted simply because they were not female ones,

[768] Hallett (1984, p. 264 & 328).

[769] Hallett (1984, p. 263).

[770] Hallett (1984, pp. 336-338).

but that any network that uses women as its focal actors will inevitably focus more on its female actors, and their connections, than male actors. It must be noted, however, that all the visualised networks were dictated by the availability of source data instead of intentional 'bias' towards gynocentric connections. As such, the networks are as inclusive as the sources allowed them to be and there is no evidence of filiafocality within them. Instead, the networks suggest that consanguinity was sometimes prolonged through female members as a direct consequence of the political and social turmoil of the first century BCE.

Chapter 7 Conclusion

Having analysed all the networks and answered the key questions of this study, what conclusions can be drawn from elite female networks in the late republic? Most importantly, social network models have clearly demonstrated their benefits in providing new insights into the Roman nobility of the late republic. They have also shown that social network analysis can enable new interpretations of the ancient sources by presenting the historical data in innovative ways, allowing diverse questions to be asked of the literary, epigraphic and epistolary records. Moreover, visualising the familial relationships that existed between these people has highlighted that repeated connections between the same elite *gentes* were how this ruling class continued to dominate political life for centuries. This thesis has demonstrated that historical network research can assist in reconstructing social dynamics, not identifiable from scrutiny of the sources alone, and can provide evidence for marginalised and underrepresented societal groups, such as elite women in the late republic.

The 11 gynocentric networks have repeatedly demonstrated just how structurally significant elite women were in linking male political agents. By visualising the familial connections of 12 focal women in network maps, rather than traditional androcentric family trees, the centrality of elite women has come to the forefront and their crucial role in uniting senatorial and equestrian families has become more evident. Elite women may not have held political offices, or controlled much of public life, but through consanguinity they were instrumental in facilitating familial political factions during the late republic. This consanguinity, enabled by repeated intermarriage or by marrying the occasional political power broker, kept the *gentes maiores* in the highest magistracies and can be used as evidence for Hallett's argument that the Roman nobility demonstrated "matrilineal sentiment"[771]. Elite women's centrality within their family units, and within their social strata, was also reinforced by the networking statistics. In most of the networks, it was

[771] Hallett (1984, p. 329).

women who were placed at the top, or in the top three positions, of the centrality measures and who acted as bridging agents between prominent men and family groups.

The network models also highlighted the changes in marriage patterns from the mid second century to the end of the first century BCE, reflecting a change in the style of political governance in the late republic. Marriages from the second century were predominantly arranged to continue pre-existing familial connections and bolster the political and social interests of the ruling class. This corroborates Gelzer and Münzer's views of republican politics being organised along familial traditions and strategic intermarriages between ruling factions. However, by the mid first century BCE, this style of governance was superseded by political and/or financial marriages. This new reason for elite marriages arose out of the political and social circumstances of the first century, where immediate and short-term political alliances were often cemented by marriages between men in power. Daughters, sisters, and sometimes even wives, were now used as necessary pawns to secure much needed political pacts. As these immediate political needs shifted on a regular basis, so did the marriages arranged under these circumstances and women, such as Octavia Minor, Claudia Marcella Maior and Iulia Augusta, were quickly remarried to cement the next political alliance.

The repeated intermarriage between only a few *gentes* meant that the majority of late republican elites were related to each other, even if only distantly. An amalgamated network, comprised of all 12 focal women, clearly showed the tight social circles of the nobility and suggest that the Roman elite was a traditional family based oligarchy, even though top magistracies were formally elected and officially non-hereditary. By remarrying into the same family groups, usually within two generations, the ruling class solidified their political and social capital and ensured that power remained in their exclusive control. In this amalgamated network, there were familial relationships that connected all 12 women, from Cornelia Africani f.'s network of the second century BCE to the networks which included Iulia Augusta, dating to the very end of the first century BCE. These continuous familial connections could not have been possible without including all the wives, daughters, mothers and sisters of Rome's nobility and demonstrate the power of social network visualisations. The amalgamated network also highlighted that office holding was

not a direct entry into elite society. The fact that Cicero and his family had no direct connections to any other members of the Roman nobility visualised in the networks, and hence sat apart from the main cluster in the amalgamated network, indicates that he stood slightly outside of these elite family groups. Cicero may have attained the consulship, but that was apparently not enough for a *novus homo* to gain him entry into the top echelon of late republican society. Traditional hierarchical trees are not able to display the multitude and the complexity of connections that are possible with network maps, meaning that only network models can provide a fuller picture of the relationships between individuals. Furthermore, the amalgamated network visualisation also demonstrated that as the late republican nobility were so closely related to one another, an informal assembly of elite women was possible. It is not literary proof of an *ordo matronarum*, but it is proof that these women would have known each other and could have organised themselves, when and if the needs arose, to act collectively to fight a personal or communal issue.

When analysing the age at first marriage for late republican spouses, this study's findings differed from the results of Saller, Shaw, Hopkins and Lelis et al[772]. The 42 marriages of first-time brides included in the networks corroborate the same age at first marriage for women, mid to late teens, but offer contrasting findings for the ages of their husbands. Only 11 of the 40 teen brides married men in their mid-twenties, with 21 of them marrying men over the age of 30. Meaning that over half of first-time teen brides married men who were more than 15 years older than they were, with one-fifth of marriages having an age gap of 30 years or more between spouses. For the 18 second and third marriages of women in the networks, more than half of them had a spousal age difference of ten years and three-quarters had a difference of 15 years or less. Only one remarriage had an age difference of over 30 years between husband and wife. These age patterns might be from a smaller sample size than other studies, but the individuals included in this thesis represent the members of the Roman nobility for which we have the most information. Coupled with the fact that there were no discernible differences between senatorial and equestrian elites in the late republic, apart from political and financial pursuits, the same age patterns can be

[772] Hopkins (1965); Lelis et al. (2003); Saller (1987, 1994); Shaw and Saller (1984).

expected for both classes. Lower classes, however, would offer different statistics and their ages at first marriage cannot be inferred from this study.

Of the 14 women who remarried, some did so because of familial commands from their male relatives, whilst others did so for personal reasons. The former was commonplace for women in Octavian's family. Octavian regularly used his daughter, sister and niece to seal immediate political pacts, with similar actions also taken by M. Antonius and C. Iulius Caesar. For these autocrats, their female relatives were bargaining chips to be used for securing political and social capital, occasionally terminating marriages to fit immediate political needs. Whilst these political and/or financial marriages did regularly occur towards the end of the republic, they represent a skewed image of marriage patterns in the mid to late first century BCE. Because this type of marriage had such impact and effect on Roman society, they are the marriages most often discussed in the sources, but many marriages were still arranged for familial or personal reasons, including remarriages. If an elite woman remarried, scholarship dictates that she would have had to be *sui iuris* for it to possibly be her choice to make. The remarriage statistics from the networks uphold these beliefs, with five of the eight women who remarried for personal reasons no longer having fathers that were alive when the decision was made. Moreover, one of the other three women, Tullia, was given permission, along with her mother Terentia, to choose her third husband as Cicero, her father, was away governing a province when the choice was to be made. Contrary to women who remarried, the networks provide multiple examples of elite women who remained *univirae* after widowhood or divorce. When comparing the women who did not remarry, certain common characteristics in their social statuses can be discerned. All were *sui iuris*, wealthy and from the most illustrious *gentes* of the late republic. Their high social and financial capital meant that they may not have had to remarry, even if they were still of childbearing age and desirable matches as the ex-wives of politically prominent men. It may also indicate that their male relations no longer needed, or wanted, to use them for political capital.

From the 11 networks visualised, 15 women were stepmothers, with four of those also having stepmothers themselves. There was no indication that, in the late republic, most stepmothers had a negative relationship with their stepchildren. The only possible

exception was Publilia. According to Cicero, she was not distressed enough when Tullia died and he subsequently divorced her[773]. Furthermore, even though some stepmothers were closer in age to their stepsons than their husbands, there were no cases of inappropriate relationships between them. In fact, it must be questioned to what level these stepmothers were involved in the lives of their stepchildren, and how much disruption these remarriages would have had on children of the Roman elite. With wet nurses and household slaves looking after the daily needs of children, it is highly unlikely that a new stepmother would have actually caused a massive upheaval in a young child's life. Of course, some stepmothers did take an active role in the upbringing of their husband's children from other marriages, but the consensus is that Octavia Minor's level of involvement was exceptional, even for an elite woman.

When analysing the networks to discern patterns of female agency, it was evident that elite women did have agency, but only after being married. A woman's transition through her life stages allowed her more personal freedom and choice. Very few elite daughters defied their *paterfamilias*[774]*,* and no unmarried girl is ever recorded as acting on her possible agency. For those elite women who did demonstrate agency, they did so in various ways, in both private and public spheres. They may have acted on their agency by possibly choosing to remarry or remaining *univirae*, by publicly enjoying their wealth and social status and by mediating between friends, family and acquaintances and their politically prominent husbands, brother or fathers. They also organised divorces and (re)marriages, wrote letters of petition on behalf of their family members, spoke publicly in opposition to proposed political and social sanctions and influenced politics, both directly and indirectly. To say that the first century BCE was the "age of the political matron"[775] limits the range of agency shown on an almost daily basis by these women. Yes, some women did display agency in the most public of spheres, such as Fulvia, Hortensia and 'Turia', but many more women acted on their

[773] Plutarch, *Cicero* 41.5.

[774] Iulia Augusta being the most high-profile elite daughter to do so. Hallett (2006a).

[775] Bauman (1992, p. 60).

agency in much smaller and private ways, demonstrating the level of freedom and emancipation available to elite late republican women.

It is nearly 40 years since Hallett's *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society*, but her main argument that a Roman woman's ascribed political significance was due to her structural centrality within her natal and marital families still stands true and has been reinforced by the network models visualised in this thesis. In fact, the 11 gynocentric networks have demonstrated that elite women were not just structurally central in the upper-class family, but that they were structurally central to Roman society in general. They linked male political agents by reinforcing long standing familial bonds and/or facilitating immediate political alliances. Furthermore, elite women of the late republic were not afraid to act on their agency, in private and public, in order to uphold the *auctoritas* and *dignitas* of their husbands and families. They also displayed defiance towards authority, either singly or collectively. Some might question that female agency and elite women's structural centrality in Roman society are two distinctly different characteristics. However, it must be asked whether elite women would have been able to demonstrate their agency if they did not occupy such structurally significant roles within their families and social stratum? Being able to independently act on their desires could only have happened if they had felt secure enough in their personal, and social, positions to do so. The public spheres of late republican Rome may have been dominated by elite men, but elite women were not afraid to act on their agency, when they were able and willing to do so, and they were only able to do so because of the structurally central roles they played in continuing familial political factions and linking male political agents. By visualising the relational connections of elite women and showcasing the crucial roles they played in the social and political life of late republican Rome, social network analysis has demonstrated its usefulness to historical research and shown that new techniques can assist in re-interpreting the significance played by underrepresented and marginalised societal groups.

However, not every aspect of this project has been completely successful. One of the main issues with using social network analysis on historical texts is that there were only a few scholarly examples, when this thesis was started in late 2016, by which to gauge the success and viability of such an approach. There were numerous examples of it being used in

archaeology, for determining trade routes, colonial reach and evidence of cultural relationships, but apart from a few studies using epistolary data, social network analysis was a relatively new field for historians, particularly those interested in the late Roman republic. As such, designing the methodological approach and the research design and strategy of this thesis was an exercise in evaluating what could work in theory and what did work in practice. Perhaps focussing on one main avenue of investigation, rather than seven key questions, would have demonstrated the usefulness of historical network research more effectively and allowed for more in-depth analysis and scholarly comparisons to be undertaken. Furthermore, realising that women-only networks were not a feasible option was only possible once the key investigatory questions were finalised, meaning that social networking data collection cannot truly happen until the questions that need to be asked of the networks are set. Recognising that collating too much data on each type of relationship discernible from the evidence would render the networks too dense and unmanageable, was also a valuable lesson.

Moreover, understanding how to use the statistical measures was also a major challenge, where there is certainly more to be done. The examples of best practice from previous historical network research proved invaluable, as did understanding the value of such statistics and how and when each can be used as evidence to best support the network analysis. Contacts made at various network analysis conferences greatly aided in developing these skills, particularly Tom Brughmans and Christian Rollinger. More dates might perhaps have been included into the spreadsheets so that changes over time, and/or temporal slices of the networks, could have been visualised. However, the fragmentary nature of the sources, coupled with the fact that some networks were richer in evidence than others, meant that this approach could not have been applied to every network being analysed, so reducing comparability. The various social networking tools, along with the selection of social network analysis techniques used in this thesis, provide a glimpse into the potential that social network analysis can offer any historical researcher willing to incorporate this scientific approach into their work. Not every aspect of social network analysis was utilised, or even discussed, in this project, but the tools and techniques chosen were selected to provide the best forms of analysis and visualisations for elite female networks of late republican Rome.

One of the main aims of this thesis was to utilise a new scientific tool, social network analysis, on a period and demographic aspect of late republican Rome that had never before been scrutinised in such a way. What, therefore, can this contribute to our already extensive understanding of elite women's lives in the last two centuries of the Roman republic? It may be argued that the evidence used in this thesis could have been presented in numerous other ways and that social network analysis did very little apart from visualise some colourful connectional graphs and that the software computed impressive-looking statistical data. But the conclusions of this study have definitely provided new perspectives on elite Roman women's lives, as well as those of their male relations. More broadly, the analysis has demonstrated that data obtained from predominantly literary sources can be categorised, formulated, visualised and analysed using social networking methodologies and practices. If gynocentric networks from the late republic can be created and their statistical data scrutinised, all time periods and types of data from the ancient world can be analysed in such ways; different social networking tools may also be of use, depending on the questions asked and the type of data being analysed. For non-scientific specialists, social network analysis allows visual representation of patterns previously not fully discernible from written text. For visual learners, this (re)presents a unique perspective that could offer new insights. For ancient historians, social network analysis provides a methodological approach to follow and skills and techniques to use in analysis. This forensic and scientific approach to data scrutiny is unfamiliar to 'purely textual' historians, except for some who specialise in fields relating to finance, trade and/or commerce, but it can be extremely stimulating and productive.

Moreover, the almost infinite possibilities of social network visualisation and analysis allows the network historian the ability to (re)present known and unknown relationships. For ancient historians, it is becoming just as important to analyse and visualise what is known and what is unknown. Rosillo-López's work on negative networks opens the door to analysing the relationships and connections not readily discernible from the historical evidence currently available. The networks in this study might looked different if data collection had not solely originated from the ancient historical texts of predominantly elite white men, or if different visualisation tools and software had been used. For example, data

from ancient poets and elegists could have been incorporated into some of the networks to provide evidence from more diverse literary sources and different visualisation characteristics could have been highlighted to see how the original gynocentric networks looked when certain social groups, families or individuals were taken out of them. These data may serve as a starting point for further study and analysis of the networks created in this study.

The evidence utilised in this study may have already been available, but its collation, visualisation and analysis have never been scrutinised in such a way before. Could the conclusions from this study have been discerned by representing the data in different ways? Most likely. Could the networks have been visualised without social networking tools or software? Yes. Could the analyses have been carried out and presented in the way that they were without social network analysis? Most likely not. This is where social network analysis demonstrates its strength, flexibility and adaptability. Social network analysis may provide the framework and tools needed to analyse connected data, but it is the researcher who designs the questions, method of enquiry and which statistical techniques to use in analysis. That doesn't mean that data can be easily corrupted and conclusions manipulated to fit required outcomes. The full transparency of published research, including its dataset(s), will make this very difficult. Instead, it means that an historical network researcher can draw on the necessary social networking tools that best highlight their data and that allow meaningful conclusions to be reached. As such, the networks visualised and analysed in this study could be used to discern patterns of relational connectedness over several generations and the structural centrality of elite women could be attested.

In terms of publishing the findings of this thesis, it is clear that conventional academic publishers would be unable to provide a physical manuscript of the research undertaken. This is as much due to the nature of this project, as it is to the still limited capabilities and flexibility of academic publishing. For example, printing the networks in full colour would encounter astronomical costs, for both the author and reader. The networks could be printed in black and white, with links provided for online access to colour images, but then why produce a physical copy of a manuscript if the reader has to access the most important aspects of the volume somewhere else? And where, how and for what length of time do

you create a digital platform for the reader to access the networks in colour? These are all questions that need to be considered when working on projects that incorporate new techniques that render conventional publishing impractical. Moreover, if all the datasets, in both their raw and tabulated forms, are to be published alongside the research, this compounds the problems for authors, publishers and readers. As such, the most convenient form of publication for social network analysis projects, such as this one, is an online medium that facilitates the storage and accessibility of various datasets, colour images and large manuscripts. One journal for historical network research already exists[776], but more need to follow suit and academic publishers must start developing their online resources so that full volumes can be produced and disseminated in a similar fashion.

Christian Rollinger summarises historical network research effectively when he states that, "social network analysis may reveal apparent contradictions within former interpretations in the field of ancient history; it helps to frame new questions and to take a fresh look at oftentimes well-known evidence, to systematise and conceptualise it in a new and different way. Since the proof of networks is neither revolutionary nor their existence, at this point, a surprise, Historical Network Research is about what we do after. The results of social network analysis, be they network graphs, centrality measures, or even the simple re-thinking of existing presuppositions, have to be combined with, preceded, and followed by a careful interpretation of historical context, sources and source biases… Social network analysis is not and should not be *ars gratia artis*. It is not self-sufficient; in and of itself, it has little meaning. It is rather a starting point for further analysis and interpretation"[777]. This study of elite female networks in late republican Rome has provided some new insights into the life cycles and levels of agency of elite women, but it is also hoped that such conclusions will continue the research on these fascinating women who were so instrumental to the success and longevity of the Roman nobility's dominance of political and social life until the end of the first century BCE.

[776] The Journal of Historical Network Research: https://historicalnetworkresearch.org/jhnr/

[777] Rollinger (2020a, p. 13).

Appendix I

7.1 Cornelia Africani f.

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Cornelia Africani f.	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos 177 n1	Aemilia Tertia n11	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12	P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181 n17 L. Cornelius Scipio pr 174 n18	Cornelia Maior P.f. n13	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 n3 C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 n7	Sempronia n10	270	0.02	9	0.444
n1	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos 177	Cornelia Africani f. n0		P. Sempronius Gracchus cos 215 n2			Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 n3 C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 n7	Sempronia n10	50	0.017	5	0.6
n2	P. Sempronius Gracchus cos 215						Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos 177 n1		0	0.012	1	1
n3	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133	Claudia n4	Cornelia Africani f. n0	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos 177 n1	C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 n7	Sempronia n10			114	0.018	5	0.6
n4	Claudia	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 n3	Antistia n5	Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 143 n6					78	0.013	3	0.333
n5	Antistia	Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 143 n6						Claudia n4	0	0.01	2	1
n6	Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 143	Antistia n5				Clodia n26		Claudia n4	14	0.011	3	0.333
n7	C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123	Licinia n8	Cornelia Africani f. n0	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos 177 n1	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 n3	Sempronia n10		Sempronia C.f. n24	186	0.018	6	0.467
n8	Licinia	C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 n7	Clodia n26	P. Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus cos 131 n9				Sempronia C.f. n24	90	0.014	4	0.33
n9	P. Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus cos 131	Clodia n26						Licinia n8	0	0.011	2	1
n10	Sempronia	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos 147 n21	Cornelia Africani f. n0	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus cos 177 n1	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 n3 C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 n7				61.667	0.018	5	0.6
n11	Aemilia Tertia	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12		L. Aemilius Paullus cos 219 n20	L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus cos 182 n19		P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181 n17 L. Cornelius Scipio pr 174 n18	Cornelia Africani f. n0 Cornelia Maior P.f. n13	79.667	0.017	7	0.524
n12	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205	Aemilia Tertia n11	Pomponia n15	P. Cornelius Scipio cos 218 n16			P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181 n17 L. Cornelius Scipio pr 174 n18	Cornelia Africani f. n0 Cornelia Maior P.f. n13	96	0.017	7	0.524
n13	Cornelia Maior P.f.	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum cos 162 n14	Aemilia Tertia n11	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12	P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181 n17 L. Cornelius Scipio pr 174 n18	Cornelia Africani f. n0	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio cos 138 n23		96	0.017	7	0.524
n14	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum cos 162	Cornelia Maior P.f. n13					P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio cos 138 n23		0	0.012	2	1
n15	Pomponia	P. Cornelius Scipio cos 218 n16					P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12		0	0.012	2	1
n16	P. Cornelius Scipio cos 218	Pomponia n15					P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12		0	0.012	2	1
n17	P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181		Aemilia Tertia n11	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12	L. Cornelius Scipio pr 174 n18	Cornelia Africani f. n0 Cornelia Maior P.f. n13	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos 147 n21 (adopted)		0	0.012	2	1
n18	L. Cornelius Scipio pr 174		Aemilia Tertia n11	P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205 n12	P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181 n17	Cornelia Africani f. n0 Cornelia Maior P.f. n13			0	0/016	5	1
n19	L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus cos 182	Papiria n22		L. Aemilius Paullus cos 219 n20		Aemilia Tertia n11	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos 147 n21		15.667	0.013	4	0.333
n20	L. Aemilius Paullus cos 219						L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus cos 182 n19	Aemilia Tertia n11	0	0.012	2	1
n21	P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos 147	Sempronia n10	Papiria n22	P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181 n17 (adopted) L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus cos 182 n19					53.333	0.015	4	0.167
n22	Papiria	L. Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus cos 182 n19					P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos 147 n21		0	0.011	2	1
n23	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio cos 138		Cornelia Maior P.f. n13	P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum cos 162 n14					0	0.012	2	1
n24	Sempronia C.f	D. Junius Brutus cos 77 n25	Licinia n8	C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123 n7					50	0.014	3	0.333
n25	D. Junius Brutus cos 77	Sempronia C.f. n24							0	0.01	1	1
n26	Clodia	P. Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus cos 131			Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 143			Licinia n8	18	0.011	3	0.333

7.2 Caecilia Metella Calvi f.

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n7	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.	M. Aemilius Scaurus n8 (1) L. Cornelius Sulla n9 (2)		L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus n5				Aemilia M.f. n25	123	0.013	4	0.167
n8	M. Aemilius Scaurus cos 115	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. n7						Aemilia M.f. n25	0	0.011	2	1
n9	L. Cornelius Sulla cos 88	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. n7							0	0.01	1	1
n10	Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius cos 80	Licinia Crassa Minor n11		Q. Caecilius Metelllus Numidicus n6			Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius Scipio Nasica n12 (adopted)		200	0.013	3	0.333
n11	Licinia Crassa Minor	Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius n10					Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius Scipio Nasica n12 (adopted)		0	0.011	2	1
n12	Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius Scipio Nasica cos 52	Aemilia Lepida n13	Licinia Crassa Minor n11 (adopted)	Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius n10 (adopted)				Cornelia Metella n14	185	0.013	4	0.333
n13	Aemilia Lepida	Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius Scipio Nasica n12						Cornelia Metella n14	0	0.011	2	1
n14	Cornelia Metella	P. Licinius Crassus n18 (1) Cn. Pompeius Magnus n20 (2)	Aemilia Lepida n13	Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius Scipio Nasica n12					227	0.012	4	0.167
n15	Tertulla	M. Licinius Crassus n16					P. Licinius Crassus n18 M. Licinius Crassus Minor n17		0	0.008	3	1
n16	M. Licinius Crassus cos 70	Tertulla n15					P. Licinius Crassus n18 M. Licinius Crassus Minor n17		0	0.008	3	1
n17	M. Licinius Crassus q 54	Caecilia Metella Cretici f. n19	Tertulla n15	M. Licinius Crassus n16	P. Licinius Crassus n18				48	0.008	4	0.5
n18	P. Licinius Crassus q 55	Cornelia Metella n14	Tertulla n15	M. Licinius Crassus n16	M. Licinius Crassus Minor n17				168	0.01	4	0.5
n19	Caecilia Metella Cretici f.	M. Licinius Crassus Minor n17							0	0.007	1	1
n20	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70	Aemilia M.f. n25 (2) Cornelia Metella n14 (5)							72	0.011	2	0
n21	Servilia Minor	L. Licinius Lucullus Minor n2					M. Licinius Lucullus n24	Licinia n23	0	0.009	3	1
n22	Clodia Luculli	L. Licinius Lucullus Minor n2							0	0.009	1	1
n23	Licinia		Servilia Minor n21	L. Licinius Lucullus Minor n2	M. Licinius Lucullus n24				0	0.009	3	1
n24	M. Licinius Lucullus		Servilia Minor n21	L. Licinius Lucullus Minor n2		Licinia n23			0	0.009	3	1
n25	Aemilia M.f.	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n20	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. n7	M. Aemilius Scaurus n8					80	0.012	3	0.333

7.3 Aurelia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Aurelia	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1	Rutilia n25	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 114 n26	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 65 n27 C. Aurelius Cotta cos 75 n28 M. Aurelius Cotta cos 78 n29		C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2	Iulia Minor n3 Iulia Maior n4	270	0.016	9	0.444
n1	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92	Aurelia n0	Marcia n5	C. Iulius Caesar pr 166 n6	Sex. Iulius Caesar cos 91 n7	Iulia n8	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2	Iulia Minor n3 Iulia Maior n4	312	0.016	8	0.429
n2	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59	Cornelia Minor n11 (1) Pompeia Q.f. n30 (2) Calpumia n31 (3)	Aurelia n0	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1		Iulia Minor n3 Iulia Maior n4	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n23 (adopted)	Iulia n12 (1)	387.333	0.018	9	0.25
n3	Iulia Minor	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59 n17	Aurelia n0	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2	Iulia Maior n4		Atia Minor n18 Atia Maior n19	222.667	0.017	7	0.429
n4	Iulia Maior	L. Pinarius n14 Q. Pedius n15	Aurelia n0	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2	Iulia Minor n3	Q. Pedius cos suff 43 n16		178	0.015	7	0.333
n5	Marcia	C. Iulius Caesar pr 166 n6					C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1 Sex. Iulius Caesar cos 91 n7		0	0.011	4	1
n6	C. Iulius Caesar pr 166	Marcia n5					C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1 Sex. Iulius Caesar cos 91 n7	Iulia n8	0	0.011	4	1
n7	Sex. Iulius Caesar cos 91		Marcia n5	C. Iulius Caesar pr 166 n6	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1	Iulia n8			0	0.011	4	1
n8	Iulia C. Marii uxor	C. Marius cos 107 n9	Marcia n5	C. Iulius Caesar pr 166 n6	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n1 Sex. Iulius Caesar cos 91 n7		C. Marius cos 82 n10		120	0.012	6	0.467
n9	C. Marius cos 107	Iulia Iulia C. Marii n8					C. Marius cos 82 n10		0	0.009	2	1
n10	C. Marius cos 82		Iulia Iulia C. Marii n8	C. Marius cos 107 n9					0	0.009	2	1
n11	Cornelia Minor	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2						Iulia n12	0	0.012	2	1
n12	Iulia	Cn. Pompeis Magnus cos 70 n13	Cornelia Minor n11 Pompeia Q.f. n30 (step) Calpumia n31 (step)	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2					65	0.012	5	0.3
n13	Cn. Pompeis Magnus cos 70	Iulia n12							0	0.009	1	1
n14	L. Pinarius	Iulia Maior n4							0	0.01	1	1
n15	Q. Pedius	Iulia Maior n4							0	0.011	2	1
n16	Q. Pedius cos suff 43		Iulia Maior n4	Q. Pedius n15					0	0.011	2	1
n17	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59	Iulia Minor n3						Atia Minor n18 Atia Maior n19	0	0.012	3	1
n18	Atia Minor	L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38 n20	Iulia Minor n3	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59 n17		Atia Maior n19			13.333	0.012	4	0.667
n19	Atia Maior	C. Octavius pr 61 n21 (1) L. Marcius Philippus cos 56 n24 (2)	Iulia Minor n3	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59 n17		Atia Minor n18	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 (full) n23 L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38 (step) n20	Octavia Minor n22 (full) Marcia (step)	108.333	0.013	9	0.444
n20	L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38	Atia Minor n18		L. Marcius Philippus cos 56 n24	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n23 (step)	Octavia Minor n22 (step) Marcia (full)			0	0.01	5	1
n21	C. Octavius pr 61	Atia Maior n19					C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n23	Octavia Minor (full) n22	0	0.01	3	1
n22	Octavia Minor		Atia Maior n19	C. Octavius pr 61 n21 L. Marcius Philippus cos 56 n24 (step)	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n23 L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38 n20 (step)	Marcia (step)			2	0.01	6	0.08
n23	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43		Atia Maior n19	C. Octavius pr 61 n21 C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2 (adopted) L. Marcius Philippus cos 56 n24 (step)	L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38 n20 (step)	Octavia Minor n22 (full) Marcia (step)			147.333	0.014	7	0.571
n24	L. Marcius Philippus cos 56	Atia Maior n19 (2)					L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38 n20 C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n23 (step)	Marcia Octavia Minor n22 (step)	4	0.01	6	0.733
n25	Rutilia	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 114 n26					L. Aurelius Cotta cos 65 n27 C. Aurelius Cotta cos 75 n28 M. Aurelius Cotta cos 78 n29	Aurelia n0	0	0.011	5	1
n26	M. Aurelius Cotta	Rutilia n25					L. Aurelius Cotta cos 65 n27 C. Aurelius Cotta cos 75 n28 M. Aurelius Cotta cos 78 n29	Aurelia n0	0	0.011	5	1
n27	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 65		Rutilia n25	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 114 n26	C. Aurelius Cotta cos 75 n28 M. Aurelius Cotta cos 78 n29	Aurelia n0			0	0.011	5	1
n28	C. Aurelius Cotta cos 75		Rutilia n25	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 114 n26	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 65 n27 M. Aurelius Cotta cos 78 n29	Aurelia n0			0	0.011	5	1
n29	M. Aurelius Cotta cos 78		Rutilia n25	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 114 n26	L. Aurelius Cotta cos 65 n27 C. Aurelius Cotta cos 75 n28	Aurelia n0			0	0.011	5	1
n30	Pompeia Q.f.	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2						Iulia n12 (step)	0	0.012	2	1
n31	Calpumia	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n2						Iulia n12 (step)	0	0.012	2	1
n32	Marcia		Atia Maior n19 (step)	L. Marcius Philippus cos 56 n24	L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38 (full) n20 C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n23 (step)			Octavia Minor n22 (step)	0	0.01	5	1

7.4 Servilia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Servilia	M. Iunius Brutus (1) n1 Decimus Iunius Silanus (2) n2	Livia n3	Quintus Servilius Caepio n4 M. Porcius Cato (step) n9	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (full) n5 M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (half) n6	Servilia Minor (full) n7 Porcia (half) n8	M. Iunius Brutus (1) n10 M. Iunius Silanus (2) n14	Iunia Prima (2) n11 Iunia Secunda (2) n12 Iunia Tertia (2, Caesar?) n13	565.799	0.01	13	0.385
n1	M. Iunius Brutus tr pl 83	Servilia n0					M. Iunius Brutus n10		0	0.007	2	1
n2	D. Iunius Silanus cos 62	Servilia n0					M. Iunius Sinalus n14 M. Iunius Brutus (step) n10	Iunia Prima n11 Iunia Secunda n12 Iunia Tertia n13	0	0.008	5	1
n3	Livia	Quintus Servilius Caepio (1) n4 M. Porcius Cato (2) n9			M. Livius Drusus tr pl 91		Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (1) n5 M. Porcius Cato (2) n6	Servilia (1) n0 Servilia Minor (1) n7 Porcia (2) n8	168.935	0.009	8	0.643
n4	Q. Servilius Caepio pr before 90	Livia n3				Servilia M. Livii uxor n25	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior n5	Servilia n0 Servilia Minor n7	110.332	0.008	5	0.6
n5	Q. Servilius Caepio q 67	Hortensia	Livia n3	Quintus Servilius Caepio n4	M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (half) n6	Servilia (full) n0 Servilia Minor (full) n7 Porcia (half) n8	M. Iunius Brutus (adopted) n10		203.599	0.01	9	0.528
n6	M. Porcius Cato pr 54	Atilia (1) n15 Marcia (2) n16	Livia n3	M. Porcius Cato n9	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (half) n5	Servilia (half) n0 Servilia Minor (half) n7 Porcia (full) n8	M. Porcius Cato (1) n18 L. Porcius Cato (2)	Porcia M.f. (1) n19 Porcia (2) Porcia (2)	494.304	0.01	13	0.41
n7	Servilia Minor	Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20	Livia n3	Quintus Servilius Caepio n4	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (full) n5 M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (half) n6	Servilia (full) n0 Porcia (half) n8	Lucius Licinius Lucullus n21		459.268	0.009	9	0.528
n8	Porcia	Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus n17	Livia n3	M. Porcius Cato n9	Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (half) n5 M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (full) n6	Servilia (half) n0 Servilia (half) n7			184	0.009	8	0.571
n9	M.Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99	Livia n3			Lucius Porcius Cato n33		M. Porcius Cato Uticensis n6 Quintus Servilius Caepio Junior (step) n5	Porcia n8 Servilia (step) n0 Porcia (step) n8	94	0.009	7	0.714
n10	M. Iunius Brutus pr 44	Claudia Maior (1) n41 Porcia M.f. (2) n19	Servilia n0	M. Iunius Brutus n1	M. Iunius Silanus (half) n14	Iunia Prima (half) n11 Iunia Secunda (half) n12 Iunia Tertia (half) n13			574.729	0.01	11	0.273
n11	Iunia Prima	Publius Servilius Isauricus n34	Servilia n0	Decimus Iunius Silanus n2	M. Iunius Brutus (half) n10 M. Iunius Silanus (full) n14	Iunia Secunda n12 Iunia Tertia n13		Servilia n46	176	0.008	7	0.524
n12	Iunia Secunda	M. Aemilius Lepidus n35	Servilia n0	Decimus Iunius Silanus n2	M. Iunius Brutus (half) n10 M. Iunius Silanus (full) n14	Iunia Prima n11 Iunia Tertia n13	M. Aemilius Lepidus n36		176	0.008	7	0.524
n13	Iunia Tertia	Gaius Cassius Longinus n37	Servilia n0	Decimus Iunius Silanus n2	M. Iunius Brutus (half) n10 M. Iunius Silanus (full) n14	Iunia Prima n11 Iunia Secunda n12 Iulia (half?) n40			94	0.008	6	0.667
n15	Atilia	M. Porcius Cato Uticensis n6		Atilius Serranus n32			M. Porcius Cato n18	Porcia M.f. n19	94	0.007	4	0.5
n16	Marcia	M. Porcius Cato Uticensis (1 & 3) n6 Quintus Hortensius Hortalus (2) n38		Lucius Marcius Philippus n39			L. Porcius Cato M. Porcius Cato (step) n18	Porcia Porcia Porcia M.f. (step) n19 Hortensia (step)	164.667	0.008	9	0.444
n17	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus cos 54	Porcia n7							0	0.006	2	1
n18	M. Porcius Cato sen 43		Atilia n15 Marcia (step) n16	M. Porcius Cato Uticensis n6		Porcia M.f. n19			9	0.008	7	0.81
n19	Porcia M.f.	M. Calpurnius Bibulus (1) n45 M. Iunius Brutus (2) n10	Atilia n15 Marcia (step) n16	M. Porcius Cato Uticensis n6	M. Porcius Cato n18		Lucius Calpurnicus Bibulus (1) n40	Calpurnia (step)	307.773	0.009	11	0.4
n20	L. Licinius Lucullus cos 74	Clodia Luculli Luculli (1) n31 Servilia Minor (2) n7	Caecilia Metella Calvi f. n22	Lucius Licinius Lucullus Maior n23	M. Terentius Varro Lucullus n30		Lucius Licinius Lucullus (2) n21		348.667	0.007	6	0.267
n21	L. Licinius Lucullus		Servilia Minor n7	Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20					0	0.007	2	1
n22	Caecilia Metella Calvi f.	Lucius Licinius Lucullus Maior n23		Lucius Metellus Calvus n27	Lucius Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus n28 Quintus Caecilius Metellus Numidicus n29		Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20 M. Terentius Varro Lucullus n30		0	0.005	3	1
n23	L. Licinius Lucullus pr 104	Caecilia Metella Calvi f. n22					Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20 M. Terentius Varro Lucullus n30		0	0.005	3	1
n24	M. Livius Drusus tr pl 91	Servilia M. Livii uxor n25				Livia n3	M. Livius Drusus Claudia Minornus (adopted) n26		69.668	0.006	3	0.333
n25	Servilia M. Livii uxor	M. Livius Drusus tr pl 91			Quintus Servilius Caepio n4		M. Livius Drusus Claudia Minornus (adopted) n26		30.267	0.006	3	0.333
n26	M. Livius Drusus Claudia Minornus pr before 50		Servilia M. Livii uxor (adopted) n25	M. Livius Drusus (Adopted) n24					0	0.005	2	1
n30	M. Terentius Varro Lucullus cos 73		Caecilia Metella Calvi f. n22	Lucius Licinius Lucullus Maior n23	Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20				0	0.005	3	1
n31	Clodia Luculli	Lucius Licinius Lucullus n20			AP Claudies n42				49.167	0.006	2	0
n32	Atilius Serranus							Atilia n15	0	0.005	1	1
n33	L. Porcius Cato cos 89				M. Porcius Cato n9				0	0.006	1	1
n34	P. Servilius Isauricus cos 48	Iunia Prima n11						Servilia n46	0	0.006	2	1
n35	M. Aemilius Lepidus cos 46	Iunia Secunda n12					M. Aemilius Lepidus n36		0	0.006	2	1
n36	M. Aemilius Lepidus	Servilia	Iunia Secunda n12	M. Aemilius Lepidus n35					4	0.006	3	0.333
n37	C. Cassius Longinus pr 44	Iunia Tertia n13							0	0.006	1	1
n38	Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69	Marcia (2) n16						Hortensia	0	0.006	2	1
n39	L. Marcius Philippus cos 56							Marcia n16	0	0.006	1	1
n40	L. Calpurnicus Bibulus promag 32		Porcia M.f. n19	M. Calpurnius Bibulus n45		Calpurnia (half)			12.264	0.007	4	0.833
n41	Claudia Maior	M. Iunius Brutus n10				Claudia Minor n43			242	0.007	3	0.333
n42	Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 54					Clodia Luculli n31		Claudia Minor Pulchra Maior n41 Claudia Minor Pulchra n43	54.5	0.006	3	0.33
n43	Claudia Minor	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45		Appius Claudius Pulcher n42		Claudia Minor Pulchra Maior n41			94	0.006	3	0.333
n45	M. Calpurnius Bibulus cos 59	Porcia M.f. (2) n19					Lucius Calpurnicus Bibulus n40		0	0.006	3	1
n46	Servilia	M. Aemilius Lepidus	Iunia Prima	Publius Servilius Isauricus n34					4	0.006	3	0.333
n47	Porcia		Marcia	M. Porcius Cato pr 54	L. Porcius Cato M. Porcius Cato n18 (half)	Porcia Porcia M.f. (half)			0	0.008	6	1
n48	Porcia		Marcia	M. Porcius Cato pr 55	L. Porcius Cato M. Porcius Cato n18 (half)	Porcia Porcia M.f. (half)			0	0.008	6	1
n49	L. Porcius Cato		Marcia	M. Porcius Cato pr 56	M. Porcius Cato n18 (half)	Porcia Porcia Porcia M.f. (half)			0	0.008	6	1
n50	Hortensia	Q. Servilius Caepio q 67	Marcia (step)	Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69					40.8	0.007	3	0.333
n51	Calpurnia		Porcia M.f. (step) n19	M. Calpurnius Bibulus cos 59	L. Calpurnicus Bibulus promag 32 (half)				12.264	0.007	4	0.833
n52	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45	Claudia Minor							0	0.004	1	1
n53	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus cos 32		Porcia n7	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus cos 54					0	0.004	2	1

7.5 Clodia Metelli

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Clodia Metelli	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60 n1	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Luculli n12			122.6	0.016	8	0.75
n1	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60	Clodia Metelli 0	Licinia n30	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98 n10	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos Pamphilus cos 57 n2	Mucia Tertia n31 (half)			84.6	0.012	5	0.6
n2	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos Pamphilus cos 57		Licinia n30	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98 n10	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60 n1	Mucia Tertia n31 (half)			0	0.011	4	1
n3	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Antistia n5	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 143 n4		Claudia vestal n7 Claudia n6	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Luculli n12 Claudia Metelli n0	280	0.016	11	0.491
n4	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 143	Antistia n5					Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Claudia vestal n7 Claudia n6	0	0.011	4	1
n5	Antistia	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 143 n4					Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Claudia vestal n7 Claudia n6	0	0.011	4	1
n6	Claudia	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133 n8	Antistia n5	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 143 n4	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Claudia vestal n7			64	0.011	5	0.6
n7	Claudia vestal		Antistia n5	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 143 n4	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Claudia n6			0	0.011	4	1
n8	Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133	Claudia n6							0	0.008	1	1
n9	Caecilia Metella Balearici f.	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3		Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus cos 123 n11	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98 n10		Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Luculli n12 Claudia Metelli n0	172.6	0.016	9	0.611
n10	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98	Licinia n30		Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus cos 123 n11		Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60 n1 Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos Pamphilus cos 57 n2	Mucia Tertia n31 (step)	96.6	0.012	6	0.467
n11	Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus cos 123						Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98 n10	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	0	0.11	2	1
n12	Clodia Luculli	L. Liciniua Lucullus cos 74 n14	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Metelli n0			64	0.015	8	0.75
n13	Clodia Tertia	Q. Marcius Rex cos 68 n15	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Metelli n0 Clodia Luculli n12	Q. Marcius Rex sen 43 n16		124	0.015	9	0.611
n14	L. Liciniua Lucullus cos 74	Clodia Luculli n12							0	0.01	1	1
n15	Q. Marcius Rex cos 68	Claudia Tertia n13					Q. Marcius Rex sen 43 n16		0	0.01	2	1
n16	Q. Marcius Rex sen 43		Claudia Tertia n13	Q. Marcius Rex cos 68 n15					0	0.01	2	1
n17	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54	Servilia/Octavia? N18	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Luculli n12 Clodia Luculli Puchra n0	Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43 n21 (adopted) C. Claudius Pulcher n22 (adopted)	Claudia Minor n23 Claudia Maior n24	301.733	0.017	12	0.409
n18	Servilia/Octavia?	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17					Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43 n21 (adopted) C. Claudius Pulcher n22 (adopted)	Claudia Minor n23 Claudia Maior n24	0	0.012	3	1
n19	C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56		Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Luculli n12 Clodia Luculli Puchra n0	Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43 n21 C. Claudius Pulcher n22		47.6	0.015	9	0.667
n20	Publius Clodius aed cur 56	Fulvia n27	Caecilia Metella Balearici f. n9	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 79 n3	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n19	Clodia Tertia n13 Clodia Luculli n12 Clodia Luculli Puchra n0	Publius Clodius Pulcher n29	Claudia P.f. n28	232	0.016	10	0.533
n21	Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43			Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 (adopted) C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n20	C. Claudius Pulcher n22	Claudia Minor n23 (adopted) Claudia Maior n24 (adopted)			0	0.011	3	1
n22	C. Claudius Pulcher			Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17 (adopted) C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56 n20	Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43 n21	Claudia Minor n23 (adopted) Claudia Maior n24 (adopted)			0	0.011	3	1
n23	Claudia Minor	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 n26	Servilia/Octavia? N18	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17	Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43 n21 (adopted) C. Claudius Pulcher n22 (adopted)	Claudia Maior n24			82.8	0.012	4	0.5
n24	Claudia Maior	M. Iunius Brutus pr 44 n25	Servilia/Octavia? N18	Appius Claudius Pulcher cos 54 n17	Appius Claudius Pulcher sen 43 n21 (adopted) C. Claudius Pulcher n22 (adopted)	Claudia Minor n23			64	0.012	4	0.5
n25	M. Iunius Brutus pr 44	Claudia Maior n24							0	0.009	1	1
n26	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45	Claudia Minor n23	Mucia Tertia n31	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70					44.8	0.01	3	0.333
n27	Fulvia	Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20					Publius Clodius Pulcher n29	Claudia P.f. n28	0	0.011	3	1
n28	Claudia P.f.	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos sufff 43	Fulvia n27	Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20	Publius Clodius Pulcher n29				64	0.011	4	0.5
n29	Publius Clodius Pulcher		Fulvia n28	Publius Clodius aed cur 56 n20		Claudia P.f. n28			0	0.011	3	1
n30	Licinia	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98 n10					Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60 n1 Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos Pamphilus cos 57 n2	Mucia Tertia n31	0	0.009	4	1
n31	Mucia Tertia	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70	Licinia n30	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98 (step) n10	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60 n1 (half) Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos Pamphilus cos 57 n2 (half)		Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 n26		58.667	0.01	6	0.467
n32	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70	Mucia Tertia					Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 n27		0	0.008	2	1
n33	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos sufff 43	Claudia P.f. n28							0	0.008	2	1

7.6 Terentia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Terentia	M. Tullius Cicero n1 (1)				Fabia n13 (half)	M. Tullius Cicero n3	Tullia n2	28	0.034	4	0.5
n1	M. Tullius Cicero cos 63	Terentia n0 (1) Publilia n12 (2)	Helvia n10	M. Tullius Cicero Major n9	Q. Tullius Cicero n11		M. Tullius Cicero n3	Tullia n2	101.333	0.042	7	0.381
n2	Tullia	C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi n4 (1) Furius Crassipes n5 (2) P. Cornelius Dolabella n6 (3)	Terentia n0 Publilia n12 (step)	M. Tullius Cicero n1	M. Tullius Cicero Minor n3		Cornelius Dolabella n14 (3) Cornelius Lentulus n15 (3)		115.333	0.042	9	0.222
n3	M. Tullius Cicero cos suff 30		Terentia n0 Publilia n12 (step)	M. Tullius Cicero n1		Tullia n2			1.333	0.034	4	0.833
n4	C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi q 58	Tullia n2							0	0.026	1	1
n5	Furius Crassipes q51	Tullia n2							0	0.026	1	1
n6	P. Cornelius Dolabella cos suff 44	Tullia n2 (2)					Cornelius Dolabella n14 (2) Cornelius Lentulus n15 (2)		0	0.028	3	1
n7	Pomponia	Q. Tullius Cicero n11			T. Pomponius Atticus n8				28	0.023	2	0
n8	T. Pomponius Atticus					Pomponia n0			0	0.017	1	1
n9	M. Tullius Cicero eq R	Helvia n10					M. Tullius Cicero n1 Q. Tullius Cicero n11		0	0.029	3	1
n10	Helvia	M. Tullius Cicero Major n9					M. Tullius Cicero n1 Q. Tullius Cicero n11		0	0.029	3	1
n11	Q. Tullius Cicero pr 62	Pomponia n7	Helvia n10	M. Tullius Cicero Major n9	M. Tullius Cicero n1				52	0.031	4	0.5
n12	Publilia	M. Tullius Cicero n1 (1)					M. Tullius Cicero (step) n3	Tullia (step) n2	0	0.032	3	1
n13	Fabia					Terentia n0 (half)			0	0.023	1	1
n14	Cornelius Dolabella		Tullia n2	P. Cornelius Dolabella n6	Cornelius Lentulus n15				0	0.028	3	1
n15	Cornelius Lentulus		Tullia n2	P. Cornelius Dolabella n6	Cornelius Dolabella n14				0	0.028	3	1

7.7 Pomponia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Pomponia	Q. Tullius Cicero n4	Caecilia n3	T. Pomponius n2	T. Pomponius Atticus n1		Q. Tullius Cicero n5		196	0.018	5	0.4
n1	T. Pomponius Atticus	Caecilia Pilia n13	Caecilia n3	T. Pomponius n2 Q. Caecilius (adopted)		Pomponia n0		Caecilia Attica n15	229	0.019	6	0.333
n2	T. Pomponius	Caecilia n3					T. Pomponius Atticus n1	Pomponia n0	0	0.016	3	1
n3	Caecilia	T. Pomponius n2			Q. Caecilius		T. Pomponius Atticus n1	Pomponia n0	9	0.016	4	0.667
n4	Q. Tullius Cicero pr 62	Pomponia n0			M. Tullius Cicero n6		Q. Tullius Cicero n5		160	0.015	3	0.333
n5	Q. Tullius Cicero q 43		Pomponia n0	Q. Tullius Cicero n4					0	0.014	2	1
n6	M. Tullius Cicero cos 63	Terentia n7 (1) Publilia (2)			Q. Tullius Cicero n4		M. Tullius Cicero n9	Tullia n8	136.667	0.013	5	0.5
n7	Terentia	M. Tullius Cicero n6					M. Tullius Cicero n9	Tullia n8	0	0.011	3	1
n8	Tullia		Terentia n7 Publilia (step)	M. Tullius Cicero n6	M. Tullius Cicero n9				0.667	0.011	4	0.833
n9	M. Tullius Cicero cos suff 30		Terentia n7 Publilia (step)	M. Tullius Cicero n6		Tullia n8			0.667	0.011	4	0.833
n13	Caecilia Pilia	T. Pomponius Atticus n1						Caecilia Attica n15	0	0.016	2	1
n15	Caecilia Attica	M. Vipsanius Agrippa n16	Caecilia Pilia n13	T. Pomponius Atticus n1				Vipsania Agrippina n17	208	0.018	4	0.333
n16	M. Vipsanius Agrippa cos 37	Caecilia Attica n15 (1) Claudia Marcella Maior (2) Iulia Augusta (3)						Vipsania Agrippina n17	29	0.015	4	0.5
n17	Vipsania Agrippina	Ti. Claudius Nero n19 (1) C. Asinius Gallus n18 (2)	Caecilia Attica n15 Iulia Augusta (step) Claudia Marcella Maior (step)	M. Vipsanius Agrippa n16			Drusus Julius Caesar n20 (1)		162	0.016	7	0.286
n18	C. Asinius Gallus	Vipsania Agrippina n17							0	0.012	1	1
n19	Ti. Claudius Nero	Vipsania Agrippina n17 (1) Iulia Augusta (2)					Drusus Julius Caesar n20		0	0.013	3	1
n20	Drusus Julius Caesar	Livilla n21	Vipsania Agrippina n17 Iulia Augusta (step)	Ti. Claudius Nero n19					40	0.013	4	0.5
n21	Livilla	Drusus Julius Caesar n20							0	0.01	1	1
n22	Q. Caecilius					Caecilia n3	T. Pomponius Atticus (adopted) n1		0	0.014	2	1
n23	Iulia Augusta	M. Vipsanius Agrippa n16 (1) Ti. Claudius Nero (2)					Drusus Julius Caesar (step) n20	Vipsania Agrippina (step) n17	3	0.013	4	0.667
n24	Claudia Marcella Maior	M. Vipsanius Agrippa n16						Vipsania Agrippina (step) n17	0	0.011	2	1
n25	Publilia	M. Tullius Cicero n6					M. Tullius Cicero (step) n9	Tullia (step) n8	0	0.011	3	1

7.8 Marcia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Marcia	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8 (1) Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69 n18 (2)		L. Marcius Phlippus cos 56 n1	L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38 n2 C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n7 (step)	Octavia Minor n6 (step)	L. Porcius Cato (1) M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (step) (1) Q. Hortensius proconsul 45 n23 (step) (2)	Porcia (1) Porcia (1) Porcia M.f. n11 (step) (1) Hortensia n22 (step) (2)	398.456	0.019	14	0.341
n1	L. Marcius Phlippus cos 56	Atia Maior n4 (2)					L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38 n2 C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n7 (step)	Marcia n0 Octavia Minor n6 (step)	0	0.013	5	1
n2	L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38	Atia Minor n3		L. Marcius Phlippus cos 56 n1		Marcia n0			28	0.013	6	0.733
n3	Atia Minor	L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38 n2				Atia Maior n4			0	0.01	2	1
n4	Atia Maior	C. Octavius pr 61 n5 (1) L. Marcius Phlippus cos 56 n1 (2)				Atia Minor n3	L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38 n2 (step) C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n7	Marcia n0 (step) Octavia Minor n6	48	0.013	7	0.619
n5	C. Octavius pr 61	Atia Maior n4					C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n7	Octavia Minor n6	0	0.01	3	1
n6	Octavia Minor		Atia Maior n4	L. Marcius Phlippus cos 56 n1 (step) C. Octavius pr 61 n5	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43 n7 L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38 n2 (step)	Marcia n0 (Step)			18	0.013	6	0.8
n7	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43		Atia Maior n4	L. Marcius Phlippus cos 56 n1 (step) C. Octavius pr 61 n5	L. Marcius Phlippus cos suff 38 n2 (step)	Marcia n0 (step) Octavia Minor n6			18	0.013	6	0.8
n8	M. Porcius Cato pr 54	Atilia n9 (1) Marcia n0 (2)	Livia n26	M. Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99 n27	Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 n17 (half)	Servilia n12 (half)	M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (1) L. Porcius Cato (2)	Porcia M.f. n11 (1) Porcia (2) Porcia (2)	176.673	0.017	11	0.418
n9	Atilia	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8					M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (1)	Porcia M.f. n11 (1)	0	0.012	3	1
n10	M. Porcius Cato sen 43		Atilia n9	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8	L. Porcius Cato (step)	Porcia M.f. n11 (full) Porcia (step) Porcia (step)			10.975	0.015	7	0.81
n11	Porcia M.f.	M. Iunius Brutus pr 44 n13 (2) M. Calpumius Bibulus cos 59 (1)	Atilia n9	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8	M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (full) L. Porcius Cato (step)	Porcia (step) Porcia (step)	L. Calpumius Bibulus promag 32 n16 (step)	Calpumia n15 (1)	168.521	0.016	11	0.4
n12	Servilia		Livia n26	Q. Servilius Caepio pr 91 n24 M. Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99 n27 (step)	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8 (half) Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 n17		M. Iunius Brutus pr 44n13		31.732	0.014	6	0.6
n13	M. Iunius Brutus pr 44	Porcia M.f. n11 (2)	Servilia n12	Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 n17 (adopted)					40.943	0.014	5	0.4
n14	M. Calpumius Bibulus cos 59	Porcia M.f. n11 (2)					L. Calpumius Bibulus promag 32 n16 (1)	Calpumia n15 (2)	0	0.011	3	1
n15	Calpumia		Porcia M.f. n11	M. Calpumius Bibulus cos 59	L. Calpumius Bibulus promag 32 n16 (half)				2.956	0.012	4	0.833
n16	L. Calpumius Bibulus promag 32		Porcia M.f. n11 (step)	M. Calpumius Bibulus cos 59		Calpumia n15 (half)			2.956	0.012	4	0.833
n17	Q. Servilius Caepio q 67	Hortensia	Livia n26	Q. Servilius Caepio pr 91 n24 M. Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99 n27 (step)	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8 (half)	Servilia n12	M. Iunius Brutus n13 (adopted)	Servilia Q.f.	106.878	0.015	8	0.357
n18	Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69	Lutatia n19 (1) Marcia n0 (2)					Q. Hortensius proconsul 45 n23	Hortensia n22	70.838	0.015	7	0.524
n19	Lutatia	Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69	Servilia n21	Q. Lutatius Catulus cos 102 n20			Q. Hortensius proconsul 45 n23	Hortensia n22	109.762	0.012	5	0.4
n20	Q. Lutatius Catulus cos 102	Servilia n21						Lutatia n19	0	0.009	2	1
n21	Servilia	Q. Lutatius Catulus cos 102 n20			Q. Servilius Caepio cos 106 n25			Lutatia n19	22.357	0.01	3	0.333
n22	Hortensia	Hortensia	Lutatia n19 (1) Marcia n0 (step)	Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69 n18	Q. Hortensius proconsul 45 n23			Servilia Q.f.	108.328	0.016	6	0.4
n23	Q. Hortensius proconsul 45		Lutatia n19 (1) Marcia n0 (step)	Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69 n18		Hortensia n22			24.549	0.014	4	0.833
n24	Q. Servilius Caepio pr 91	Livia n26		Q. Servilius Caepio cos 106 n25			Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 n17	Servilia n12	52.238	0.011	4	0.5
n25	Q. Servilius Caepio cos 106					Servilia n21	Q. Servilius Caepio pr 91 n24		16.595	0.009	2	0
n26	Livia	M. Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99 n27 (2) Q. Servilius Caepio pr 91 n24 (1)					M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8 Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 n17	Servilia n12	17.154	0.013	5	0.8
n27	M. Porcius Cato tr pl 100/99	Livia n26					M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8 Q. Servilius Caepio q 67 n17 (step)	Servilia n12 (step)	0	0.013	4	1
n28	Servilia Q.f.		Hortensia	Hortensia					0	0.012	2	1
n29	Porcia		Marcia n0	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n8	M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (step) L. Porcius Cato (full)	Porcia M.f. n11 (step) Porcia (full)			11.363	0.016	7	0.857
n30	Porcia		Marcia n1	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n9	M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (step) L. Porcius Cato (full)	Porcia M.f. n11 (step) Porcia (full)			11.363	0.016	7	0.857
n31	L. Porcius Cato		Marcia n2	M. Porcius Cato pr 54 n10	M. Porcius Cato sen 43 n10 (step)	Porcia M.f. n11 (step) Porcia (full) Porcia (full)			11.363	0.016	7	0.857

7.9 Fulvia and Octavia Minor

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Fulvia	P. Clodius Pulcher n1 (1) C. Scribonius Curio n2 (2) Marcus Antonius n3 (3)	Sempronia Tuditana n10	M. Fulvius Bambalio n9 L. Licinius Murena (step) cos 62			P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (1) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (2)	Claudia n5 (1) Antonia n14 (step)	232.323	0.013	11	0.379
n1	P. Clodius Pulcher aed cur 56	Fulvia n0					P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4	Claudia n5	0	0.01	3	1
n2	C. Scribonius Curio tr pl 50	Fulvia n0					C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (step)	Claudia n5 (step)	0	0.01	4	1
n3	Marcus Antonius cos 44	Fadia n11 (1) Antonia n12 (2) Fulvia n0 (3) Octavia n13 (4)					M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (3) Iullus Antonius n7 (3) P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (step) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (step) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (step)	Antonia n14 (2) Antonia Maior n15 (4) Antonia Minor n16 (4) Claudia n5 (step) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (step) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (step)	274.915	0.016	15	0.419
n4	P. Clodius Pulcher		Fulvia n0	P. Clodius Pulcher n1 (full) C. Scribonius Curio n2 (step) Marcus Antonius n3 (step)	C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (half) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (half)	Claudia n5 (full) Antonia n14 (step) Antonia Maior n15 (step) Antonia Minor n16 (step)			19.883	0.013	8	0.714
n5	Claudia P.f.	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18	Fulvia n0	P. Clodius Pulcher n1 (full) C. Scribonius Curio n2 (step) Marcus Antonius n3 (step)	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (full) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (half) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (half)	Antonia n14 (step) Antonia Maior n15 (step) Antonia Minor n16 (step)			138.973	0.014	9	0.556
n6	M. Antonius Antyllus		Fulvia n0 (full) Octavia n13 (step)	Marcus Antonius n3	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (half) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (full) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (step)	Claudia n5 (half) Antonia n14 (half) Antonia Maior n15 (half) Antonia Minor n16 (half) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (step) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (step)			35.555	0.014	10	0.667
n7	Iullus Antonius	Claudia Marcella Maior	Fulvia n0 (full) Octavia n13 (step)	Marcus Antonius n3	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (half) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (half) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (full) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (step)	Claudia n5 (half) Antonia n14 (half) Antonia Maior n15 (half) Antonia Minor n16 (half) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (step) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (step)			66.967	0.015	11	0.618
n8	C. Scribonius Curio		Fulvia n0	C. Scribonius Curio n2 (full) Marcus Antonius n3 (step)	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (half) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (half)	Claudia n5 (half) Antonia n14 (step) Antonia Maior n15 (step) Antonia Minor n16 (step)			8.024	0.012	7	0.857
n9	M. Fulvius Bambalio	Sempronia Tuditana n10						Fulvia n0	0	0.009	2	1
n10	Sempronia Tuditana	M. Fulvius Bambalio (1) n9 L. Licinius Murena (2) cos 62						Fulvia n0	1	0.009	2	0.667
n11	Fadia	Marcus Antonius n3							0	0.01	1	1
n12	Antonia	Marcus Antonius n3						Antonia n14	0	0.011	2	1
n13	Octavia Minor	C. Claudius Marcellus n17 (1) Marcus Antonius n3 (2)	Atia Maior n29	C. Octavius n30	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18		C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (1) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (step) Iullus Antonius n7 (step)	Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (1) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (1) Antonia Minor n16 (2) Antonia Maior n15 (2) Antonia n14 (step)	178.753	0.015	13	0.436
n14	Antonia	Pythodorus of Tralles	Antonia n12 (full) Fulvia n0 (step) Octavia n13 (step)	Marcus Antonius n3	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (step) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (step) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (half) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (step)	Claudia n5 (step) Antonia Maior n15 (half) Antonia Minor n16 (half) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (step) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (step)			104.187	0.014	9	0.528
n15	Antonia Maior	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	Octavia n13	Marcus Antonius n3	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (step) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (step) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (half) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (half)	Claudia n5 (step) Antonia n14 (half) Antonia Minor n16 (full) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (half) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (half)			82.556	0.014	10	0.622
n16	Antonia Minor	Claudius Drusus n27	Octavia n13	Marcus Antonius n3	P. Clodius Pulcher Minor n4 (step) C. Scribonius Curio Minor n8 (step) M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (half) Iullus Antonius n7 (half) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (half)	Claudia n5 (step) Antonia n14 (half) Antonia Maior n15 (full) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (half) Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (half)			102.198	0.015	10	0.622
n17	C. Claudius Marcellus cos 50	Octavia n13					C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21	Claudia Marcella Minor n20 Claudia Marcella Maior n19	0	0.11	4	1
n18	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43	Claudia n5 (1) Scribonia n23 (2) Livia Drusilla n26 (3)	Atia Maior n29	C. Octavius n30		Octavia n13	Ti. Claudius Nero Minor n25 (step) Claudius Drusus n27 (step)	Iulia Augusta n22 (2)	197.166	0.014	9	0.25
n19	Claudia Marcella Maior	M. Vipsanius Agrippa n24 (1) Iullus Antonius n7 (2)	Octavia n13	C. Claudius Marcellus n17 (full) Marcus Antonius n3 (step)	M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (step) Iullus Antonius n7 (step) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (full)	Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (full) Antonia n14 (step) Antonia Minor n16 (half) Antonia Maior n15 (half)			115.076	0.014	9	0.511
n20	Claudia Marcella Minor	M. Valerius Messalla cos 12 L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus cos 34	Octavia n13	C. Claudius Marcellus n17 (full) Marcus Antonius n3 (step)	M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (step) Iullus Antonius n7 (step) C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (full)	Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (full) Antonia n14 (step) Antonia Minor n16 (half) Antonia Maior n15 (half)			143.849	0.014	9	0.5
n21	C. Claudius Marcellus	Iulia Augusta n22	Octavia n13	C. Claudius Marcellus n17 (full) Marcus Antonius n3 (step)	M. Antonius Antyllus n6 (step) Iullus Antonius n7 (step)	Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (full) Claudia Marcella Minor n20 (full) Antonia n14 (step) Antonia Minor n16 (half) Antonia Maior n15 (half)			58.812	0.014	8	0.643
n22	Iulia Augusta	C. Claudius Marcellus Minor n21 (1) M. Vipsanius Agrippa n24 (2) Ti. Claudius Nero Minor n25 (3)	Scribonia n23 (full) Livia Drusilla n26 (step)	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18	Ti. Claudius Nero Minor n25 (step) Claudius Drusus n27 (step)			Vipsania Agrippina (step)	53.444	0.012	6	0.286
n23	Scribonia	C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18						Iulia Augusta n22	0	0.01	2	1
n24	M. Vipsanius Agrippa cos 37	Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (2) Iulia Augusta n22 (3)						Vipsania Agrippina (1)	1.722	0.01	3	0.667
n25	Ti. Claudius Nero	Iulia Augusta n22	Livia Drusilla n26	Ti. Claudius Nero n28	Claudius Drusus n27	Iulia Augusta n22 (step)						
n26	Livia Drusilla	Ti. Claudius Nero n28 (1) C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18 (2)					Ti. Claudius Nero Minor n25 Claudius Drusus n27	Iulia Augusta n22 (step)	10.91	0.01	5	0.7
n27	Claudius Drusus	Antonia Minor n16	Livia Drusilla n26	Ti. Claudius Nero n28	Ti. Claudius Nero Minor n25	Iulia Augusta n22 (step)			63.819	0.012	5	0.5
n28	Ti. Claudius Nero	Livia Drusilla n26					Ti. Claudius Nero Minor n25 Claudius Drusus n27		21.793	0.01	5	0.533
n29	Atia Maior	C. Octavius n30					C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18	Octavia n13	0	0.11	3	1
n30	C. Octavius pr 61	Atia Maior n29					C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus n18	Octavia n13	0	0.11	3	1
n31	Pythodorus of Tralles	Antonia n14							0	0.009	1	1
n32	L. Domitius Ahenobarbus	Antonia Maior							0	0.009	1	1
n33	M. Valerius Messalla cos 12	Claudia Marcella Minor							0	0.009	1	1
n34	L. Aemilius Lepidus Paullus cos 34	Claudia Marcella Minor							0	0.009	1	1
n35	Vipsania Agrippina	Ti. Claudius Nero	Claudia Marcella Maior n19 (step) Iulia Augusta n22 (step)	M. Vipsanius Agrippa cos 37					12.075	0.011	4	0.5
n36	L. Licinius Murena cos 62	Sempronia Tuditana						Fulvia (step)	0	0.009	2	1

7.10 Iulia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Iulia	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70 n3	Cornelia Minor n2 Pompeia Q.f. n17 (step) Calpurnia n23 (step)	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1			Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 (step) n6 S. Pompeius Magnus sen43 (step) n7	Pompeia n5 (step)	413.933	0.014	8	0.321
n1	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59	Cornelia Minor n2 (1) Pompeia Q.f. n17 (2) Calpurnia n23 (3)	Aurelia n15	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n16		Iulia Minor n27 Iulia Maior n28		Iulia n0	560.667	0.015	8	0.321
n2	Cornelia Minor	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Annia n13	L. Cornelius Cinna cos 87 n14	L. Cornelius Cinna pr44 n10	Cornelia Maior n11		Iulia n0	232.333	0.012	6	0.467
n3	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70	Mucia Tertia n4 (3) Iulia n0 (4)					Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 (3) n6 S. Pompeius Magnus sen43 (3) n7	Pompeia n5 (3)	11.4	0.011	5	0.9
n4	Mucia Tertia	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70 n3					Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 (3) n6 S. Pompeius Magnus sen43 (3) n7	Pompeia n5	0	0.009	4	1
n5	Pompeia	L. Cornelius Cinna pr44 n10	Mucia Tertia n4	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70 n3	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 n6 S. Pompeius Magnus sen43 n7				59.467	0.011	6	0.6
n6	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45	Claudia Minor n8	Mucia Tertia n4	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70 n3	S. Pompeius Magnus sen43 n7	Pompeia n5			77.4	0.011	6	0.6
n7	Sex. Pompeius Magnus sen 43	Scribonia n9	Mucia Tertia n4	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70 n3	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 n6	Pompeia n5			77.4	0.011	6	0.6
n8	Claudia Minor	Cn. Pompeius Magnus promag 45 n6							0	0.008	2	1
n9	Scribonia	S. Pompeius Magnus sen43 n7							0	0.007	2	1
n10	L. Cornelius Cinna pr44	Pompeia n5	Annia n13	L. Cornelius Cinna cos 87 n14		Cornelia Minor n2 Cornelia Maior n11			37.4	0.01	5	0.6
n11	Cornelia Maior	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus promag 81 n12	Annia n13	L. Cornelius Cinna cos 87 n14	L. Cornelius Cinna pr44 n10	Cornelia Minor n2			66	0.009	5	0.6
n12	Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus promag 81	Cornelia Maior n11							0	0.007	1	1
n13	Annia	L. Cornelius Cinna cos 87 n14					L. Cornelius Cinna pr44 n10	Cornelia Minor n2 Cornelia Maior n11	0	0.009	4	1
n14	L. Cornelius Cinna cos 87	Annia n13					L. Cornelius Cinna pr44 n10	Cornelia Minor n2 Cornelia Maior n11	0	0.011	4	1
n15	Aurelia	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n16					C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Iulia Minor n27 Iulia Maior n28	0	0.011	4	1
n16	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92	Aurelia n15					C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Iulia Minor n27 Iulia Maior n28	0	0.011	4	1
n17	Pompeia Q.f.	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Cornelia L.f. n18	Q. Pompeius Rufus cos 88 n19	Q. Pompeius Rufus tr pl 52 n20			Iulia n0 (step)	290	0.012	5	0.4
n18	Cornelia L.f.	Q. Pompeius Rufus cos 88 n19	Ilia/Iulia n22	L. Cornelius Sulla cos 88 n21			Q. Pompeius Rufus tr pl 52 n20	Pompeia Q.f. n17	128	0.009	5	0.4
n19	Q. Pompeius Rufus cos 88	Cornelia L.f. n18					Q. Pompeius Rufus tr pl 52 n20	Pompeia Q.f. n17	0	0.009	3	1
n20	Q. Pompeius Rufus tr pl 52		Cornelia L.f. n18	Q. Pompeius Rufus cos 88 n19		Pompeia Q.f. n17			0	0.009	3	1
n21	L. Cornelius Sulla cos 88	Ilia/Iulia n22						Cornelia L.f. n18	0	0.007	2	1
n22	Ilia/Iulia	L. Cornelius Sulla cos 88 n21						Cornelia L.f. n18	0	0.007	2	1
n23	Calpurnia	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Rutilia n26	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus cos 58 n24	L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi cos 15 n25			Iulia n0 (step)	186	0.012	5	0.4
n24	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus cos 58	Rutilia n26					L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi cos 15 n25	Calpurnia n23	0	0.009	3	1
n25	L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi cos 15		Rutilia n26	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus cos 58 n24		Calpurnia n23			0	0.008	3	1
n26	Rutilia	L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus cos 58 n24					L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi cos 15 n25	Calpurnia n23	0	0.009	3	1
n27	Iulia Minor	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59 n29	Aurelia n15	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n16	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Iulia Maior n28		Atia Minor n33 Atia Maior n34	186	0.011	7	0.429
n28	Iulia Maior	L. Pinarius n30 Q. Pedius n31	Aurelia n15	C. Iulius Caesar pr 92 n16	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59 n1	Iulia Minor n27	Q. Pedius cos suff 43 n32		190	0.011	7	0.333
n29	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59	Iulia Minor n27						Atia Minor n33 Atia Maior n34	0	0.008	3	1
n30	L. Pinarius	Iulia Maior n28							0	0.008	1	1
n31	Q. Pedius	Iulia Maior n28					Q. Pedius cos suff 43 n32		0	0.008	2	1
n32	Q. Pedius cos suff 43		Iulia Maior n28	Q. Pedius n31					0	0.008	2	1
n33	Atia Minor		Iulia Minor n27	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59 n29					0	0.008	3	1
n34	Atia Maior		Iulia Minor n27	M. Atius Balbus pr before 59 n29					0	0.008	3	1

7.11 Pompeia

Id	Label	Husband/Wife	Mother	Father	Brothers	Sisters	Sons	Daughters	Betweenness	Closeness	Degree	Clustering coefficient
n0	Pompeia	Faustus Cornelius Sulla (1) n1 L. Cornelius Cinna (2) n2	Mucia Tertia n3	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4	Cn. Pompeius (full) n5 Sex. Pompeius (full) n6 M. Aemilius Scaurus (half) sen 43		Faustus Cornelius Sulla Minor (1) n7 Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus (2) n8	Cornelia L.f. (1) n9 Cornelia Magna (2) n10	558.663	0.014	14	0.33
n1	Faustus Cornelius Sulla q44	Pompeia n0	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. n11	L. Cornelius Sulla n12		Cornelia Fausta (full) n13 Cornelia (half) n14 Cornelia Postuma (half) n15	Faustus Cornelius Sulla Minor n7	Cornelia L.f. n9	291.265	0.011	11	0.392
n2	L. Cornelius Cinna pr 44	Pompeia n0	Annia n16	L. Cornelius Cinna Maior n17		Cornelia Maior n18 Cornelia Minor n19	Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus n8	Cornelia Magna n10	186.944	0.01	7	0.429
n3	Mucia Tertia	Cn. Pompeius Magnus (1) n4 M. Aemilius Scaurus (2) n20	Licinia	Q. Mucius Scaevola cos 95 Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (step) cos 95	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos (step) cos 57 Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer (step) cos 60		Cn. Pompeius (1) n5 Sex. Pompeius (1) n6 M. Aemilius Scaurus sen 43 (2)	Pompeia (1) n0	374.3	0.011	10	0.378
n4	Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70	Antistia (1) n21 Aemilia Scuara (2) n22 Mucia Tertia (3) n3 Iulia (4) n23 Cornelia Metella (5) n24					Cn. Pompeius (3) n5 Sex. Pompeius (3) n6	Pompeia (3) n0	146.856	0.011	8	0.429
n5	Cn. Pompeius promag 45	Claudia Minor n26	Mucia Tertia n3	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4	Sex. Pompeius (full) n6 M. Aemilius Scaurus (half) sen 43	Pompeia (full) n0			131.744	0.011	9	0.529
n6	Sex. Pompeius sen 43	Scribonia n27	Mucia Tertia n3	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4	Cn. Pompeius (full) n5 M. Aemilius Scaurus (half) sen 43	Pompeia (full) n0		Pompeia S.f.	209.744	0.012	10	0.44
n7	Faustus Cornelius Sulla		Pompeia n0	Faustus Cornelius Sulla n1	Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus (half) n8	Cornelia L.f. (full) n9 Cornelia Magna (half) n10			12.8	0.01	5	0.8
n8	Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus		Pompeia n0	L. Cornelius Cinna n2	Faustus Cornelius Sulla Minor (half) n7	Cornelia L.f. (half) n9 Cornelia Magna (full) n10			6.333	0.009	5	0.8
n9	Cornelia		Pompeia n0	Faustus Cornelius Sulla n1	Faustus Cornelius Sulla Minor (full) n7 Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus (half) n8	Cornelia Magna (half) n10			12.8	0.01	5	0.8
n10	Cornelia Magna		Pompeia n0	L. Cornelius Cinna n2	Faustus Cornelius Sulla Minor (half) n7 Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus (full) n8	Cornelia L.f. (half) n9			6.333	0.009	5	0.8
n11	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.	M. Aemilius Scaurus (1) cos 115 L. Cornelius Sulla (2) n12					Faustus Cornelius Sulla n1	Cornelia Fausta n13	52.122	0.01	7	0.571
n12	L. Cornelius Sulla cos 88	Ilia or Iulia (1) n29 Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. (4) n11 Valeria (5) n33					Faustus Cornelius Sulla (4) n1	Cornelia Fausta)4) n13 Cornelia (1) n14 Cornelia Postuma (5) n15	33.23	0.008	7	0.667
n13	Cornelia Fausta		Caecilia Metella Delmatici f. n11	L. Cornelius Sulla n12	Faustus Cornelius Sulla (full) n1	Cornelia (half) n14 Cornelia Postuma (half) n15			44.603	0.009	7	0.714
n14	Cornelia L.f.	Q. Pompeius Rufus n30	Ilia or Iulia n29	L. Cornelius Sulla n12	Faustus Cornelius Sulla (half) n1	Cornelia Fausta (half) n13 Cornelia Postuma (half) n15	Q. Pompeius Rufus Minor n32	Pompeia Q.f.	157.01	0.009	10	0.378
n15	Cornelia Postuma		Valeria n33	L. Cornelius Sulla n12	Faustus Cornelius Sulla (half) n1	Cornelia Fausta (half) n13 Cornelia (half) n14			0	0.008	5	1
n16	Annia	L. Cornelius Cinna Maior n17					L. Cornelius Cinna n2	Cornelia Maior n18 Cornelia Minor n19	0	0.007	4	1
n17	L. Cornelius Cinna cos 87	Annia n16					L. Cornelius Cinna n2	Cornelia Maior n18 Cornelia Minor n19	0	0.007	4	1
n18	Cornelia Maior	C. Iulius Caesar n34	Annia n16	L. Cornelius Cinna Maior n17	L. Cornelius Cinna n2	Cornelia Minor n19		Iulia n23	0	0.007	4	1
n19	Cornelia Minor		Annia n16	L. Cornelius Cinna Maior n17	L. Cornelius Cinna n2	Cornelia Maior n18			67.833	0.08	6	0.467
n20	M. Aemilius Scaurus pr 56	Mucia Tertia n3	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.	M. Aemilius Scaurus n25	Cn. Pompeius (half) n5 Sex. Pompeius (half) n6	Pompeia (half) n0 Aemilia M.f n22			249.979	0.011	10	0.4
n21	Antistia	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4							0	0.008	1	1
n22	Aemilia M.f	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4			M. Aemilius Scaurus n20				30.046	0.01	5	0.5
n23	Iulia	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4	Cornelia Maior n18	C. Iulius Caesar n34			Cn. Pompeius (step) n5 Sex. Pompeius (step) n6	Pompeia (step) n0	239.18	0.011	7	0.381
n24	Cornelia Metella	Cn. Pompeius Magnus n4	Aemilia Lepida	Q. Mucius Scaevola cos 95					160	0.01	6	0.467
n25	M. Aemilius Scaurus cos 115	Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.					M. Aemilius Scaurus pr 56	Aemilia M.f n22	0	0.008	3	1
n26	Claudia Minor	Cn. Pompeius n5							0	0.008	1	1
n27	Scribonia	Sex. Pompeius n6						Pompeia S.f.	0	0.008	2	1
n28	Pompeia S.f.		Scribonia n27	Sex. Pompeius n6					0	0.008	2	1
n29	Ilia/Iulia	L. Cornelius Sulla n12						Cornelia n14	0	0.007	2	1
n30	Q. Pompeius Rufus	Cornelia n14					Q. Pompeius Rufus Minor n32	Pompeia Q.f.	0	0.008	3	1
n31	Pompeia Q.f.	C. Iulius Caesar n34	Cornelia n14	Q. Pompeius Rufus n30	Q. Pompeius Rufus Minor n32				125.075	0.009	5	0.4
n32	Q. Pompeius Rufus Minor		Cornelia n14	Q. Pompeius Rufus n30		Pompeia Q.f.			0	0.008	3	1
n33	Valeria	L. Cornelius Sulla n12						Cornelia Postuma n15	0	0.008	5	1
n34	C. Iulius Caesar cos 59	Cornelia Maior (1) n18 Pompeia Q.f. (2) n31						Iulia n23	21.139	0.008	3	0.667
n35	M. Aemilius Scaurus sen 43		Mucia Tertia	M. Aemilius Scaurus (2) n25	Cn. Pompeius (half) n5 Sex. Pompeius (half) n6	Pompeia (half) n0			0	0.01	5	1
n36	Aemilia Lepida	Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Nasica cos 52						Cornelia Metella	0	0.008	2	1
n37	Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Nasica cos 52	Aemilia Lepida						Cornelia Metella	0	0.008	2	1
n38	Licinia	Q. Mucius Scaevola cos 95					Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 57 Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60	Mucia Tertia	29.333	0.008	5	0.6
n39	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 57		Licinia	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 95	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60	Mucia Tertia (step)			25.333	0.008	4	0.833
n40	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 95	Licinia					Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 57 Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60	Mucia Tertia (step)	0	0.006	3	1
n41	Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60		Licinia	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 95	Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 57	Mucia Tertia (step)			25.333	0.008	4	0.833
n42	Q. Mucius Scaevola cos 95	Licinia						Mucia Tertia	0	0.008	2	1

7.12 Amalgamated Network

Statistical scores only – arranged by decreasing betweenness values

Label	betweenness	closeness	clustering coefficient	degree
C. Iulius Caesar Octavianus cos suff 43	14,523.907	0.001	0.244	13
C. Iulius Caesar cos 59	12,198.099	0.001	0.25	9
Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 79	9,250	0.001	0.491	11
Marcia	8,100.589	0.001	0.308	14
P. Clodius aed cur 56	7,730.685	0.001	0.533	10
Caecilia Attica	6,912	0.001	0.333	4
Claudia	6,804	0.001	0.6	5
Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 133	6,460	0.001	0.6	5
T. Pomponius Atticus	6,222	0.001	0.333	6
Claudia P.f.	5,875.969	0.001	0.556	9
Iulia	5,356.137	0.001	0.321	8
Pomponia	4,752	0.001	0.4	5
Vipsania Agrippina	4,368.579	0.001	0.4	6
Cornelia Africani f.	4,134	0.001	0.444	9
Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 54	4,077.653	0.001	0.409	12
M. Iunius Brutus pr 44	4,066.431	0.001	0.333	9
L. Licinius Lucullus cos 74	4,010.878	0.001	0.267	6
Q. Tullius Cicero pr 62	4,000	0.001	0.4	5
M. Porcius Cato pr 54	3,762.197	0.001	0.41	13
Cn. Pompeius promag 45	3,410.587	0.001	0.571	8
Cn. Pompeius Magnus cos 70	3,383.014	0.001	0.429	7
Iulia Augusta	3,360.014	0.001	0.306	10
Claudia Marcella Maior	3,261.169	0.001	0.511	10
Octavia Minor	3,204.097	0.001	0.358	16
Claudia Maior	3,167.091	0.001	0.5	4
Claudia Minor	3,136.189	0.001	0.5	4
Servilia Minor	3,019.165	0.001	0.528	9
M. Vipsanius Agrippa cos 37	2,876.607	0.001	0.5	4
Pompeia	2,846.154	0.001	0.333	13
M. Tullius Cicero cos 63	2,842.667	0	0.381	7
Clodia Luculli	2,690.797	0.001	0.75	8
Cornelia Metella	2,662.832	0.001	0.167	4
Porcia M.f.	2,578.94	0.001	0.364	11
C. Iulius Caesar pr 92	2,448	0.001	0.429	8
Pompeia Q.f.	2,236.019	0.001	0.4	5
Aurelia	2,050	0.001	0.444	9
Caecilia Metella Balearici f.	1,982.473	0.001	0.611	9
Caecilia Metella Calvi f.	1,906.159	0.001	0.4	6
Ti. Claudius Nero	1,803.698	0.001	0.524	8
M. Antonius cos 44	1,796.977	0.001	0.484	14
Mucia Tertia	1,760.537	0.001	0.444	9
Servilia	1,660.995	0.001	0.385	13
Atia Maior	1,535.46	0.001	0.444	9
Clodia Metelli	1,482.275	0.001	0.75	8
Cornelia L.f.	1,475.998	0.001	0.444	9
Caecilia Metella Delmatici f.	1,424.041	0.001	0.286	8
Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer cos 60	1,395.369	0.001	0.5	5
Q. Caecilius Metellus Balearicus cos 123	1,358.844	0.001	0.333	4
Fulvia	1,273.314	0.001	0.639	9
P. Licinius Crassus q 55	1,252.569	0.001	0.5	4
Cornelia Minor	1,252.529	0.001	0.467	6
Iulia Minor	1,249.567	0.001	0.429	7
Tullia	1,242.667	0	0.381	7
Calpurnia	1,242	0.001	0.4	5
Iullus Antonius	1,234.855	0.001	0.618	11
Ap. Claudius Pulcher cos 143	1,134	0.001	0.6	5

Label	betweenness	closeness	clustering coefficient	degree
Sex. Pompeius sen 43	1,115.225	0.001	0.472	9
L. Caecilius Metellus Delmaticus cos 119	1,088.503	0.001	0.5	4
P. Clodius Pulcher	1,080.474	0.001	0.714	8
Sempronia	981.667	0.001	0.6	5
Q. Servilius Caepio pr before 90	910.855	0.001	0.467	6
Clodia Tertia	832	0.001	0.611	9
Porcia	832	0.001	0.571	8
Iulia Maior	832	0.001	0.467	6
Iulia C. Marii uxor	832	0.001	0.467	6
P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus cos 205	832	0.001	0.524	7
Cornelia Maior P.f.	832	0.001	0.524	7
Iunia Prima	824	0.001	0.524	7
Iunia Seconda	824	0.001	0.524	7
C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius cos 113	794.764	0.001	0.333	3
Q. Servilius Caepio q 67	779.702	0.001	0.528	9
Clodia	760	0.001	0.333	3
Faustus Cornelius Sulla q 44	737.356	0.001	0.444	9
Hortensia	733.553	0.001	0.5	5
Lutatia	688.126	0.001	0.4	5
M. Aemilius Scaurus pr 56	670.818	0.001	0.524	7
Q. Caecilius Metelllus Numidicus cos 109	664.757	0.001	0.5	4
Aemilia Tertia	631.667	0.001	0.524	7
P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus cos 147	605.333	0.001	0.167	4
L. Cornelius Cinna pr 44	558.583	0.001	0.429	7
Livia	539.093	0.001	0.643	8
Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius Scipio Nasica co...	535.634	0.001	0.333	4
Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus cos 69	447.531	0.001	0	2
Q. Caecilius Metelllus Pius cos 80	443.967	0.001	0.333	3
Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 98	434.511	0.001	0.4	5
Iunia Tertia	418	0.001	0.667	6
L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus cos 142	350.895	0.001	0.5	4
Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus cos 143	299.513	0.001	0.333	3
Q. Hortensius Hortalus cos 69	291.191	0.001	0.833	4
Q. Hortensius proconsul 45	291.191	0.001	0.833	4
M. Licinius Crassus q 54	276.712	0.001	0.5	4
C. Claudius Pulcher pr 56	250.2	0.001	0.667	9
Caecilia Metella Cretici f.	237.243	0.001	0	2
Q. Servilius Caepio cos 106	213.555	0.001	0.333	3
Claudius Drusus	210.146	0.001	0.533	6
Antonia	179.288	0.001	0.679	8
M. Antonius Antyllus	169.206	0.001	0.667	10
L. Marcius Philippus cos suff 38	137.467	0.001	0.733	6
Aemilia M.f.	118.675	0.001	0.333	3
Servilia	117.609	0.001	0.333	3
Livia	115.657	0.001	0.8	5
C. Sempronius Gracchus tr pl 123	102	0.001	0.6	5
Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos cos 57	98.132	0.001	0.833	4
Licinia	98.132	0.001	0.833	4
Antonia Minor	75.796	0.001	0.622	10
M. Porcius Cato sen 43	73.305	0.001	0.81	7
Licinia	72	0.001	0.333	3
M. Claudius Marcellus	57.1	0.001	0.643	8
M. Livius Drusus aed before 93	33.019	0.001	0	2
L. Cornelius Sulla cos 88	27.876	0.001	0.867	6
Cornelia Fausta	27.876	0.001	0.867	6
P. Cornelius Scipio Augur after 181	23.667	0.001	0.667	6

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