

WOMEN, WEALTH, AND POWER IN THE ROMAN REPUBLIC CONFERENCE
(UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, MAY 24TH–27TH 2021)

Contested Memories: Women of the Gracchan Era

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... rerum memoria propria est oratoris (Cic. *de oratore* 2.359)

Item 1: The *titulus* of [P]aulla Cornelia Cn(aei) f(ilia) Hispalli



AVLLA·CORNELIA·CN·F·HISPALI·LI

CIL 1, 16; 6, 1294 [= *ILLRP* 317 [p. 325]; Dessau, *ILS* 10; EDCS 17800199; EDR109047] (Città del Vaticano, Musei Vaticani, Sala dell'Apoxyomenos, inv. 1150) Photograph (copied for study purposes only) from the Arthur E. Gordon and Joyce S. Gordon Collection, Center for Epigraphical and Palaeographical Studies, The Ohio State University <https://drc.ohiolink.edu/handle/2374.OX/186926>

For discussions, see Filippo Coarelli, 'Il sepolcro degli Scipioni', *DArch* 6 (1972), 36–106 [= *Revixit ars. Arte e ideologia a Roma dai modelli ellenistici alla tradizione repubblicana* (Roma, Quasar, 1996), 179–238, at 186; 194; 195; 196–97; 199]; Harriet Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1996), 176; 179; Paul Etcheto, *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir a Rome a l'époque républicaine* (Ausonius Éditions. Scripta Antiqua 45, Paris, De Boccard, 2012), 258–59.

Item 2: Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 20:

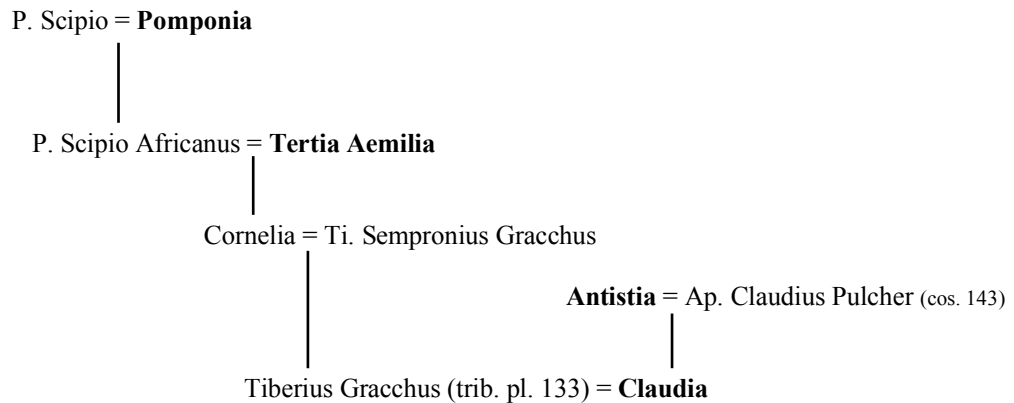
He married a wife who was more of good birth (more highly bred) than she was rich (γυναῖκα μὲν εὐγενεστέραν ἢ πλουσιωτέραν ἔγημεν), thinking that, although the rich and the high-born may be alike a burden and given to pride (βάρος καὶ φρόνημα), still, women of high birth (ταῖς δὲ γενναίας) have such a horror of what is disgraceful that they are more obedient to their husbands in all that is honourable.

Item 3: A Pessimist's Declaration

Amy Richlin, 'The Ethnographer's Dilemma and the Dream of a Lost Golden Age', in Nancy Sorkin Rabinowitz and Amy Richlin (eds), *Feminist Theory and the Classics* (New York, Routledge, 1993) 272–303 = *Arguments with Silence. Writing the History of Roman Women* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2014), 289–317; 353–55:

“So I write in anger, and I write so that oppression is not forgotten or passed over in silence. Yet I know that this is not the only way to write.” (293)

Item 4: indignatio muliebris (Livy 38.57; Plutarch, *TG* 4.1–3)



Item 5: Aemilia's Considerable Wealth and Visibility

Polybius 31.26.3–5; cf. Diod. Sic. 31.27.4:

Whenever Aemilia had left her house to take part in women's processions, it had been her habit to appear in great magnificence, as befitted a woman having shared the life and fortune of Africanus when at the height of his success. Apart from the magnificence of her personal dress and of the decorations of her carriage, all the baskets, cups and sacrificial utensils, either of gold or of silver, were carried in her train on such ceremonial occasions, while the retinue of slave-girls and household-staff who accompanied her was correspondingly large.

On this aspect of Aemilia's life, see, e.g. Alessandra Valentini, *Matronae tra novitas e mos maiorum: Spazi e modalità dell'azione pubblica femminile nella Roma medio repubblicana* (Memorie. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti 138, Venice, Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti, 2012), 206–222; Lewis Webb, 'Mihi es aemula: Elite Female Status Competition in Mid-Republican Rome and the Example of Tertia Aemilia', in Cynthia Damon and Christoph Pieper (eds), *Eris vs. Aemulatio* (Leiden and Boston, 2019), 251–280, esp. 266–273; 'Spectatissima femina: Female hyper-visibility in urban spaces in Republican Rome', *Spatial Turn in Roman Studies Conference*, Durham University (Online), December 2–3, 2020; and, of course, the paper which Webb will have presented at this conference: 'Speculum iuris redux: Regulations affecting women's property rights and female visibility in Republican Rome.'

On the handling of her wealth (including the dowries of her daughters) and its distribution after her death, on both her financial agency and the constrictions within which she worked, the bibliography is considerable. Much of this will have been introduced and discussed in the paper by Bronwyn Hopwood, 'A Series of Unfortunate Events: "Polybius on Roman Women and Property" Revisited'

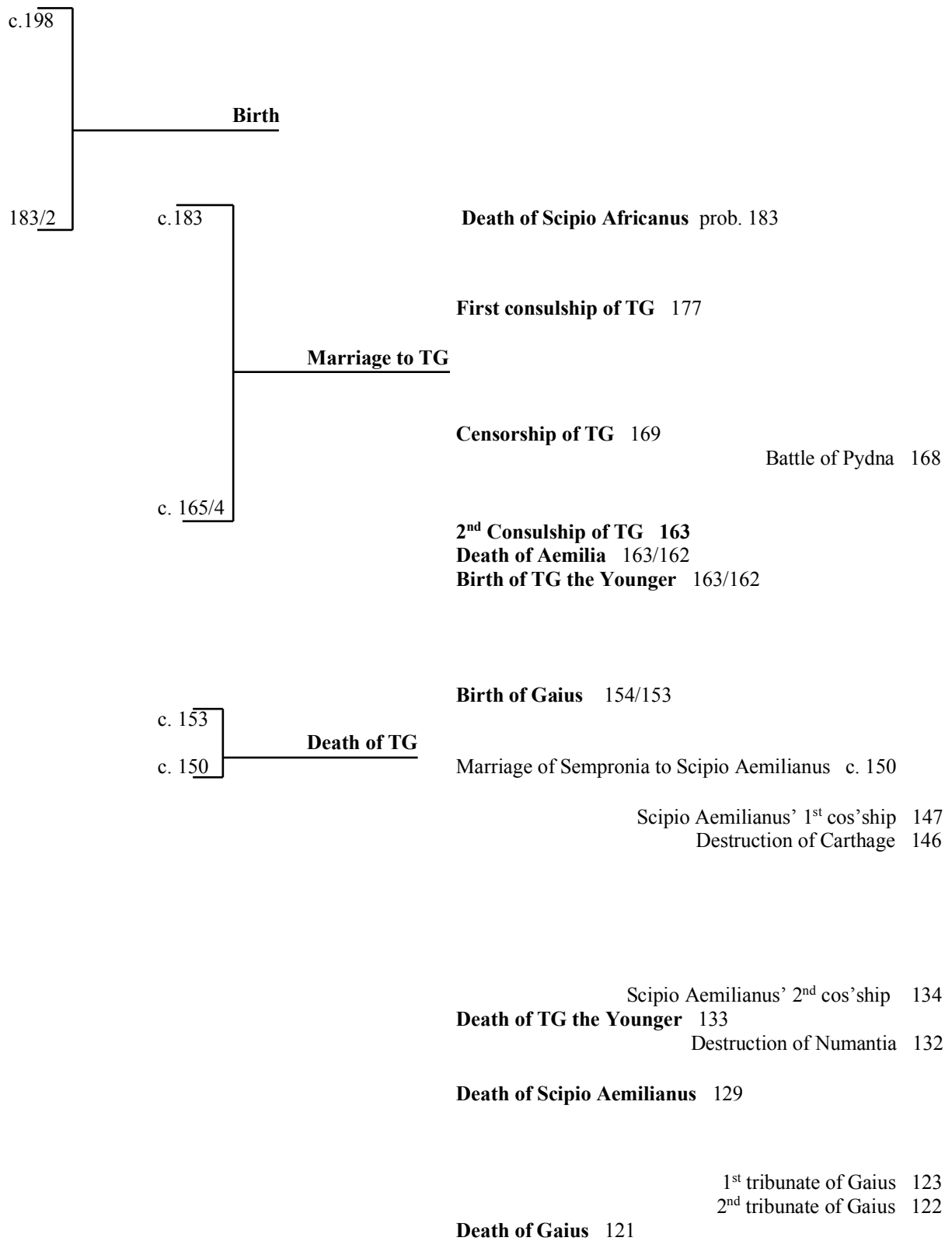
Item 6: Aemilia's patientia and uxoria fides

Valerius Maximus 6.7 (*De Fide Uxorum Erga Viros*).1 (Shackleton Bailey trans.):

To touch also upon wifely fidelity (*uxoriam fidem*), Tertia Aemilia, wife of the elder Africanus and mother of Cornelia of the Gracchi, was so accommodating and patient (*tantae fuit comitatis et patientiae*) that although she knew that one of her slave girls (*ancillula*) had found favour with her husband, she pretended to be ignorant of it, lest she, a woman, charge a great man, world-conquering Africanus, with lack of self-control. And she was so far from any thought of revenge that after Africanus' death she freed the girl (*ancilla*) and gave her in marriage to one of her freedmen.

CORNELIA'S LIFE

Battle of Zama 202



**Cornelia passes away sometime after this.
Sempronia survives until at least 102/101.**

Item 7: Cornelia as a paragon:

Plutarch *Moralia* 145F [= *Advice to the Bride and Groom* 48] (trans. Warner):

And I want you, Eurydice, to try especially to live in the company of the sayings of the wise and good (τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν), and always to have at the tip of your tongue all those things which you used to listen to with such pleasure when you were a girl and staying with us. In this way you will make your husband happy and you will be admired by other women for your adornments, which although they cost nothing will be altogether remarkable and splendid. You cannot own or wear this rich woman's pearls or that foreign woman's silks without paying a great deal for them; but you can, without paying anything, wear the finery of Theano; Cleobulina; Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas; Timocleia, the sister of Theagenes; Claudia of the old days; **Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio**; and of all the other women who have become admired and famous (καὶ ὅσαι ἐγένοντο θαυμάσται καὶ περιβόητοι). And with these adornments you will live a life of honour and of happiness (ἐνδόξως ἅμα βιοῦν καὶ μακαρίως).

Jerome *Letter* 54 (*ad Furiam de viduitate servanda* — “To Furia on the duties of Remaining a Widow).4:

Cornelia vestra, pudicitiae simul et fecunditatis exemplar

“Your Cornelia, the model, at one and the same time, of chastity and fecundity”

Cf. Jerome, *ad Iovin.* 1.4.9; and Plutarch *Moralia* 145F [= *Advice to the Bride and Groom* 48]

Cf. Val. Max. 7.1.1, on the wife of Q. Metellus Macedonicus (trans. Shackleton Bailey):

Let us see then by how many stages of benefaction (*quot gradibus beneficiorum*) [the goddess Fortuna] led Q. Metellus from his first day of birth to his last day of death in never ceasing indulgence to the highest consummation of a happy life ... [She] furnished him with a wife conspicuous for her modesty and fecundity (*uxorem pudicitia et fecunditate conspicuam conciliavit*).

Item 8: Cornelia: The Clash of Images

Plut. *CG* 4.3–4 (Loeb trans.):

There are on record also many things which Caius said about [his mother] in the coarse style of forensic speech, when he was attacking one of his enemies: “**What,**” said he, “**dost thou abuse Cornelia, who gave birth to Tiberius?**” And since the one who had uttered the abuse was charged with effeminate practices, “With what effrontery,” said Caius, “**canst thou compare thyself with Cornelia?** Hast thou borne such children as she did? And verily all Rome knows that she refrained from commerce with men longer than thou hast, though thou art a man.” Such was the bitterness of his language, and many similar examples can be taken from his writings.

Item 9: The omens at birth

Pliny *Natural History* 7.69:

quasdam concreto genitali gigni infausto omine Cornelia Gracchorum mater indicio est.

Iulius Solinus, *Polyhistor* 1.67:

feminis perinde est infausta nativitas, si concretum virginal fuerit, quo pacto genitalia fuere Corneliae, quae editis Gracchis ostentum hoc piavit sinistro exitu liberorum.

Equally, it is an unlucky birth for women, if the vagina is fused together, as were the compacted genitals of Cornelia, who—by giving birth to the Gracchi—atoned for this portent by the disastrous ends of (her) children.

Cicero, *De inventione* 1.91:

A ‘remote argument’ is one derived from circumstances far distant, as in:

Quodsi non P. Scipio Corneliam filiam Ti. Graccho collocasset atque ex ea duos Gracchos procreasset, tantae seditiones natae non essent; quare hoc incommodum Scipioni ascribendum videtur.

“If Publius Scipio had not given his daughter Cornelia in marriage to Tiberius Gracchus, and if he had not by her procreated the two Gracchi, such great civil strife would not have been born.” Thus this disastrous sedition seems attributable to Scipio.

For a fuller discussion, J.L. Beness and T. Hillard, ‘Insulting Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi’, in P.J. Burton (ed.), *Culture, Identity and Politics in the Ancient Mediterranean World. Papers from a Conference in Honour of Erich Gruen* (a special issue of *Antichthon* 47 [2013]), 61–79.

Item 10: The Influence of Cornelia

Plut. *TG* 8.5 (on the inspiration of the Gracchan laws):

... some put part of the blame upon Cornelia the mother of Tiberius, who often reproached her sons because the Romans still called her the mother-in-law of Scipio (sc. Aemilianus), but not yet the mother of the Gracchi.

Plut *CG* 4.2–3 (Loeb trans.)

[Gaius proposed laws targeting the enemies of Tiberius. One of those] had the direct effect of branding with infamy Marcus Octavius, who had been deposed from the tribunate by Tiberius ... [this] law was withdrawn by Caius himself, who said that he spared Octavius at the request of his mother Cornelia. The people were pleased at this and gave their consent, honouring Cornelia no less on account of her sons than because of her father.

Item 11: Did Cornelia Back the Programs of her sons, or Was She a Critic?

Plut. *CG* 13.2 (Loeb trans.. modified):

... we are told that his mother also took active part in his seditious measures; for to this matter there are said to have been obscure allusions in her letters to her son. Others, however, say that Cornelia was very much displeased with these activities of her son.

Item 12: Tiberius’ Gracchus’ Final Pitch to the People

(How visible were Tiberius’ womenfolk during his last day[s]?)

(a) **The oldest account** (Sempronius Asellio frag. 7 Peter [= Aul. Gell. *NA* 2.13.5]):

[Tiberius] began to beg that they would at least defend him and his child/children (*liberi*); and then he ordered that the one male child which he had at that time should be brought out, and almost in tears commended him to the protection of the people (with Gellius explaining that the oldest orators and historians, *antiqui oratores historiaeque*, would use the plural *liberi* even if referring to only one son or daughter).

(b) Appian *Civil Wars* 1.14.62

In complete despair now, [Tiberius] put on black clothes, although still in office, and spent the rest of the day leading his son around the Forum (ἐν ἀγορᾷ τὸν υἱὸν ἐπάγων),

introducing him to everyone and entrusting him to their care, as if he himself was soon to die at the hands of his enemies.

(c) Plut. *TG* 13.5 (Loeb trans.) (an anonymous reference to Claudia, the mother of his children?):

... Tiberius, that he might exasperate the multitude (τοὺς πολλοὺς) still more, put on a garb of mourning, brought his **children** before the assembly, and begged the people to care for them and their mother (καὶ τοὺς παῖδας προαγαγὼν ἐδεῖτο τοῦ δήμου τούτων κηδεσθαι καὶ τῆς μητρός), saying that he despaired of his own life.

(d) Cassius Dio, according to the Byzantine excerptor [*Excerpta Constantiniana, de virtutibus et vitiis* 72], 24, frag. 83.8 (Loeb trans.) (a reference to Cornelia coming before the people?):

Often, too, he put on mourning and brought his mother and children into the presence of the populace (τὴν τε μητέρα καὶ τὰ παιδιά ἐς τὸ πλῆθος) to join their entreaties to his.

For a discussion of the divergence between the accounts of Plutarch and Dio, see John Briscoe, 'Supporters and Opponents of Tiberius Gracchus' *JRS* 64 (1974) 125–135, at 126; L. Gamberale, 'Un probabile errore di latini in Plutarco, Tib. Gracch., 13, 6', *RFIC* 123 (1998), 433–440; Gianpaolo Urso, *Cassio Dione e i sovversivi. La crisi della repubblica nei frammenti della "Storia romana" (XXI–XXX)* (Milano, 2013), 108–111.

Item 13: Sempronia's Courage

Valerius Maximus 3.8 (*de constantia*).6 (trans. Shackleton Bailey):

Quid feminae cum contione? si patrius mos servetur, nihil.

What business has a woman with a public meeting? If ancestral custom be observed, none. But when domestic quiet is stirred by the waves of sedition, the authority of ancient usage is subverted and compulsion of violence has greater force than persuasion and precept of restraint. So, Sempronia, sister of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, wife of Scipio Aemilianus, it will not be my aim to comprise you in a malicious narrative, thrusting you incongruously into the serious performances of men; but since you were brought before the people by a Tribune of the Plebs at a time of great confusion and did nothing unworthy of the greatness of your family (*nihil a tuorum amplitudine degenerasti*), I shall attend you with an honourable memorial (*honorata memoria*). You were forced to stand in a place where leaders of the community (*principes civitatis*) were apt to present a troubled front, a mighty power (*amplissima potestas*) bore down on you, grim of visage, pouring out threats, the ignorant crowd clamoured at you, the whole Forum strove forcefully to make you kiss Equitius, for whom they falsely sought a membership of the Sempronian clan, as the son of your brother Tiberius. But you repulsed him, that monster dredged from I know not what dark corner, who was advancing with execrable audacity to claim a kinship not his.

For an overly long elaboration of this passage and for a highly speculative interpretation of its possible context, see J.L. Beness and T.W. Hillard, 'Wronging Sempronia', *Antichthon* 50 (2016 [2017]), 80–106.

Item 14: Sempronia in the 'Livian' Tradition

[Liv.] *Per.* 59 (Loeb trans.)

Civil disturbances (*seditiones*) were incited by the board of three (inc. C. Gracchus) ... elected to divide the land. After Publius Scipio Africanus had appeared in opposition, and had returned home that day in vigorous good health, he was found next day dead

in his bedchamber. His **wife Sempronia** was suspected of having poisoned him, chiefly on the ground that she was the sister of the Gracchi with whom Scipio had been quarrelling. However, no judicial investigation of his death was held.

Orosius 5.10.9–10 (trans. Fear, modified):

In the consulate of C. Sempronius Tuditanus and M. Acilius, Publius Scipio Africanus who had told a public meeting that he was in danger of his life because he had discovered that he, while striving for the fatherland would be denounced by wicked, ungrateful men (*ab improbis et ingratis*), was discovered dead in his bedroom (*in cubiculo*) the following morning. It is not thoughtlessly that I would number this among the greatest of the Romans' misfortunes, especially since Scipio's reputation for dynamism and personal modesty was so strong in the city that it was easily believed that while he lived there could be neither a war with Rome's allies nor civil war. **It is said (*ferunt*) that he was treacherously killed by his wife, Sempronia**, who was the sister of the Gracchi, so that this criminal, as I believe, family (*scelerata, ut credo, familia*), born for the destruction of their own country, should, amid the impious sedition of its own menfolk (*inter impias seditiones virorum*), become all the more detestable through **the criminal deeds of its women (*facinoribus mulierum*)**.

Item 15: Licinia in crisis

Plut. *CG* 14.4–15.4 (Loeb trans.):

... Caius [Gracchus], as he left the forum, stopped in front of his father's statue, gazed at it for a long time without uttering a word, then burst into tears, and with a groan departed. Many of those who saw this were moved to pity (him); they reproached themselves for abandoning and betraying him, and went to his house, and spent the night at his door, though not in the same manner as those who were guarding Fulvius. For these passed the whole time in noise and shouting, drinking, and boasting of what they would do, Fulvius himself being the first to get drunk, and saying and doing much that was unseemly for a man of his years ...

(XV.) When day came, Fulvius was with difficulty roused from his drunken sleep by his partisans, who armed themselves with the spoils of war about his house, which he had taken after a victory over the Gauls during his consulship ... Caius, on the other hand, was unwilling to arm himself, but went forth in his toga, as though on his way to the forum, with only a short dagger on his person. As he was going out at the door, **his wife** threw herself in his way, and with one arm round her husband and the other round their little son, said: "Not to the rostra, O Caius, do I now send thee forth, as formerly, to serve as tribune and law-giver, nor yet to a glorious war, where, shouldst thou die (and all men must die), thou wouldst at all events leave me an honoured sorrow; but thou art exposing thyself to the murderers of Tiberius, and thou doest well to go unarmed, that thou mayest suffer rather than inflict wrong; but thy death will do the state no good. The worst has at last prevailed; by violence and the sword men's controversies are now decided. If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce; but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?" **While Licinia was thus lamenting**, Caius gently freed himself from her embrace and went away without a word, accompanied by his friends. Licinia eagerly sought to clutch his robe, but sank to the ground and lay there a long time speechless, until her servants lifted her up unconscious and carried her away to the house of her brother Crassus.

For a discussion that puts Licinia (literally) on the stage, see Karl Meiser, *Ueber historische Dramen der Römer* (München, 1887), 23–36; T. Peter Wiseman, ‘The Tragedy of Gaius Gracchus’, in *Roman Drama and Roman History* (Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 1998), 52–59.

Item 16: Pierre-Nicolas Brisset, *Caius Gracchus* (oil on canvas), 1840, Paris, Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, now in the Musée D’Orsay (RF MO P 2015 15)



from Wikimedia Commons, the free media repository

Item 17: On the Embroidery of the Past

Francis Cornford, *Thucydides Mythistoricus* (London, 1907), 130–131 (as highlighted by Wiseman [see the reference above]):

It suggests the transformation which begins to steal over all events from the moment of their occurrence, unless they are arrested and pinned down in writing by an alert and trained observer ... The facts *work loose*; they are detached from their roots in time and space and shaped into a story. The story is moulded and remoulded by imagination, by passion and prejudice, by religious preconception or aesthetic instinct, by the delight in the marvellous, by the itch for a moral, by the love of a good story; and the thing becomes a legend.

Item 18: A Pessimist’s View of the Source Material

Amy Richlin, ‘Julia’s Jokes, Galla Placidia, and the Use of Women as Political icons’, in Barbara Garlick, Susanne Dixon and Pauline Allen (eds), *Stereotypes of Women and Power. Historical Perspectives and Revisionist Views* (New York, Westport and London, Greenwood Press, 1992), 6591 [= *Arguments with Silence. Writing the History of Roman Women* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2014), 81–109; 330–333]:

“When we look at texts and objects to discover reality, it is as if we looked at a scene through a screen on a window; as we become interested in the screen and its properties, we suddenly notice that the scene is in fact painted on the screen itself. What lies beyond is unknown. Perhaps there are principles that determine the projection and interpretation of reality onto the screen; if so, the study of ideology serves in the search for them.” (85 [=108–9])

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**SAMPLE ENTRIES EXTRACTED FROM OUR ROUGH DRAFTS FOR
THE MACQUARIE DICTIONARY OF ROMAN SOCIAL AND
POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY**

PRELIMINARY VOLUME (168–111 BCE)

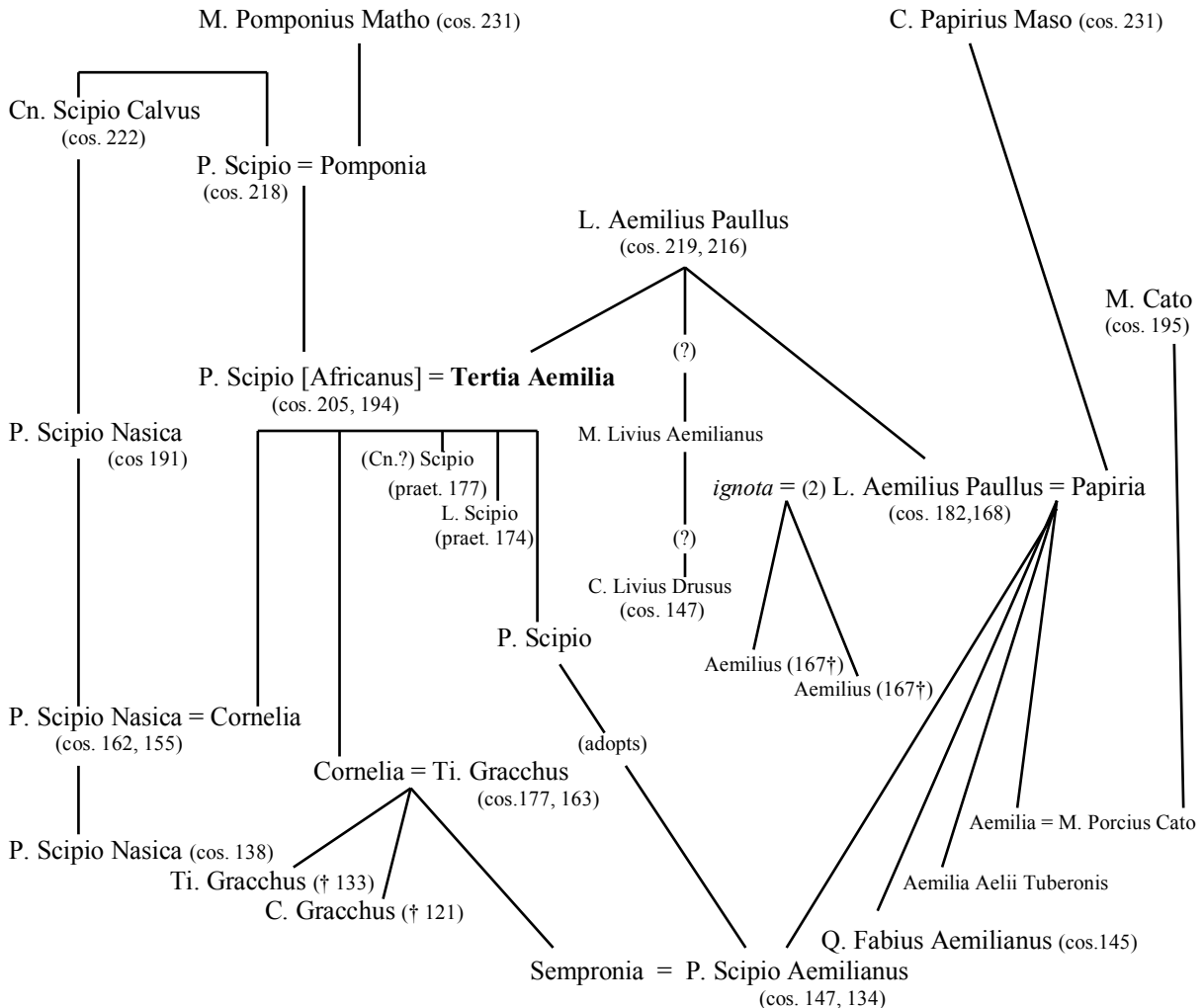
Aemilia Tertia L. Paulli f. Africani [uxor]

RE 179; Smith Aemilia 2; Zmeskal TS 3 TG 13/14; Etcheto '12

Patrician

Matrona ca 230–163/162

The daughter of L. Aemilius Paullus (RE 118) (cos. I 219; cos. II 216 [†]); sister of L. Aemilius Paullus (RE 114) (cos I 182; II 168) and perhaps M. Livius Aemilianus; wife of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (RE 336) (cos. 205, 194); mother of L. Cornelius Scipio (RE 325) (praet. 174), P. Cornelius Scipio (Augur 180), perhaps one (or two) other sons and two daughters, Cornelia *Nasicae* (uxor) and Cornelia *Gracchi* (uxor); the aunt and the grandmother (by adoption) of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (Polyb. 31.26; Liv. 38.57.6; Val. Max. 6.7.1; Plut. *Aem.* 2.5). She was also the aunt of Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (cos. 145), Aemilia *Catonis* (uxor), Aemilia *Tuberonis* (uxor); and grandmother to P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio (cos. 138), Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (trib. pl. 133), C. Sempronius Gracchus (trib. pl. 123–122) and Sempronia Ti.f. Aemiliani (uxor).



Her name is given as *Tertia Aemilia* by Valerius Maximus (6.7.1). That distinctive personal name, which Varro, speaking in general terms, refers to as a *praenomen* (*de LL* 9. 60), has led to confusion even in authoritative modern scholarship (e.g., Münzer). Insufficient evidence survives to assert that such a label carried a clear numerical significance in terms of the order of female births within a given family. It may signify the third-born child, irrespective of gender (Kajava; cf. Kajanto). The datum contributes, however, to the modern debate

regarding the extent to, and the means by, which the Romans individuated their girls' names in the second century (see also Tertia Aemilia L. Paulli f. Catonis [*uxor*]).

It had been speculated that she was around the same age as her brother Lucius and estimated that she was born *ca* 225 (Münzer *RA* 166 [= *RAPF* 154]) — and that she married P. Cornelius Scipio (later Africanus) “before 210”, when the groom would have been around twenty-five and she would have been about fifteen years old (Münzer *RA* 166 [= *RAPF* 154]). From 210, her husband will have been absent in Hispania combatting the Carthaginian forces there until 206 when he returned to Rome and was rewarded with one of the consulships of 205. Revised speculation has suggested a birthdate *ca* **231–230** (Moir, Etcheto).

Marriage and Childbearing

The date of her marriage to P. Cornelius Scipio is not known. The revised speculation (above) has put the birth of her first son back to 216–214 (Sumner, Moir, Etcheto, arguing that the nuptials might well have taken place in the period 217/216), which would require placing her own birth around half a decade earlier, *ca* 231 (Moir, speculating *ca* 230). The latter speculation has thrown up the scenario that the betrothal having been contracted by the heads of the two households in 217 when Aemilia was the daughter of the consul-designate, the marriage was solemnified on the eve of her husband's and her father's departure to war in 216.

In August 216, Aemilia lost her father at the battle of Cannae (Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 2.3–5), though her husband, in the wake of defeat, earned a degree of applause for his behaviour in adversity (albeit that the latter's presence at Cannae has been questioned [Ridley]). From her father, it has been argued, Aemilia may have inherited some of her wealth (Shatzman) — though, in view of the fact that her brother died in straitened circumstances (a *pauper*, according to *de vir. ill.* 56; cf. Polyb. 18.35.5–6; Liv. *Per.* 46; Plut. *Aem. Paull.* 4.5; Dio 20.67.1), it is alternatively supposed that her wealth came from her marriage (Shatzman [stressing the relativity or exaggeration of Paullus' 'poverty'], Walbank).

In the dark days of the Second Punic war, her husband's career proceeded apace. In 213 (or 212) he was elected curule aedile, despite initial tribunician opposition on the grounds of his youth (Liv. 25.2.6–7: “If all citizens wish to make me aedile, I have sufficient years.”) (A parallel story, told by Polybius 10.4.1–5.7, plays up the canvassing role of Aemilia's mother-in-law, Scipio's mother; s.v. Pomponia.) In 205, Scipio, at the age of 30 or 31, became consul, and in 202, his victory over Hannibal at the battle of Zama enshrined his status in Roman community of his day and in Roman history. He would be elected censor for 199, hailed *princeps senatus* on a regular basis from that date forward and hold a second consulship in 194, though political opposition dogged him in this latter part of his life.

Apart from P. Cornelius Scipio (*RE* 331), Aemilia, almost certainly bore to Scipio at least one other son, the ill-reputed L (Cn.?) Scipio (*RE* 325), who, if the praetor of 174, cannot have been born after 213. The birth of the second son has been questioned on the grounds that the marriage of Aemilia and Scipio could have been effected so early (Botteri) and on the ground that a decadent son of Africanus does not square with the general tradition (Shackleton Bailey). These doubts have not won consensus (Etcheto). For the possible sons of Aemilia, see the stemma above and the individual entries under those names.

Aemilia also bore to Scipio two daughters, Cornelia (*RE* 406) and Cornelia (*RE* 407). These daughters were both born later in Aemilia's marriage, the elder in the early 190s and the younger sometime between 198 and 183 (when Scipio died).

Varying, though in no way self-contradicting, images are transmitted regarding Aemilia's married life. Valerius Maximus (6.7.1) cites Aemilia as an *exemplum* of wifely forbearance: *uxoria fides* (faithfulness, conscientiousness and loyalty; cf. Treggiari) — as well as of great *comitas* (courteousness) and *patientia* (endurance). Knowing of her husband's liaison with one of her young slave girls (an *ancillula*), she preferred to dissimulate, deeming it unfitting that a woman should tax “a world conqueror and great man with female impatience.” Her utter lack of vindictiveness in this matter was also pedestaled (see below). At the same time, Aemilia was famous for her ostentatious display of personal wealth on the occasion of public ceremonies in which women partook (Polyb. 31.26.3–5; cf. Diod. Sic. 31.27.4). Of particular note were the magnificence of her carriage, the richness of her accoutrements and appurtenances, and the size of her retinue. The attention paid to this aspect of her life, to which it is clear no explicit censure attached, is a reminder both of the high visibility of Roman elite women on occasions of public moment and, since this epideictic exhibition was in stark contrast to the austerity of life-style affected by her brother, of the complementary role played by the womenfolk of Rome's leading household in establishing the social standing of their families (Valentini; Webb, ‘Elite Female Status Competition’).

Cornelia Africani f. Gracchi [uxor]

RE 407 [*DKP* Cornelius 92 (Gundel); *DNP* Cornelia I 1 (Stegmann and Eck)]; Smith Cornelia 5; *OCD*¹ Cornelia 1 (McDonald); *OCD*² Cornelia 1 (Astin); *OCD*³ Cornelia 1 (Astin; Badian); *OCD*⁴ Cornelia 1 (Astin; Badian); *LAW* Cornelia 1 (Gottlieb); Cugusi *ELM* CXXIV; Kroh 146–147; *OCCL*² Cornelia; Kytzler *Frauen* Cornelia 1; Zmeskal TS 19 TG 14/15; Etcheto 25; *EAH* 4.1790–91 (Hersch)

Patrician

Matrona ca 198 and 183/2 – after 121 and before 102/101

Known Property: an estate at Misenum (Plut. *CG* 19.1)

The estimated dates for Cornelia's birth range between ca. 198 and 183/2 BCE (see, e.g., Mommsen, Carcopino, Moir, Flower, Beness and Hillard, Etcheto, Tansey). It is commonly placed more specifically ca. 190 BCE (e.g., Etcheto). According to Pliny (*NH* 7.69; Solin. 1.67) she was born with fused genitalia, a datum which may reflect anti-*popularis* propaganda and has been doubted on those grounds (Burckhardt and von Ungern-Sternberg) but which may have been the genuine report of post-natal inspection (Beness and Hillard). Cornelia was the younger of the two daughters of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cos. 205, 194; cens. 199) and Aemilia Tertia L.f. Africani (*uxor*) (Liv. 38.57.2). She was wife of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177, 163; cens. 169) and bore twelve children to him, only three of whom survived into adulthood: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (tr. pl. 133), C. Sempronius Gracchus (tr. pl. 123–122) and Sempronia Ti. f. Aemiliani (*uxor*). Through the latter, she was the mother-in-law of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (cos. 147, 134; cens. 142). Cornelia is scarcely mentioned in the ancient source tradition without reference to her famous father, husband or sons.

Betrothal and Dowry Arrangements

Livy (38.57.2–8), while aware of a disputed tradition, preferred to relate a story that Scipio Africanus himself betrothed his daughter to Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (*tribunus plebis* in 187 or 184, and later cos. 177, 163) as part of a dramatic reconciliation with his former 'enemy' during a senatorial banquet on the Capitol. It has been argued that the story, although transmitted by multiple sources (Cic. *de Invent.* 1.91, Val. Max. 4.2.3, elder Seneca, *Contr.* 5.2.3, Aul. Gell. *NA* 12.8.1–4, Dio 19, frag. 65.1), is likely to be unhistorical because Plutarch (*TG* 4.4) transmits a passage from Polybius (now lost) that a family council selected the younger Cornelia's husband after Scipio's death (e.g., Konrad, Dixon *Cornelia*). For the important anecdote attaching to this incident, see under '(Tertia) Aemilia'. That story which was known to Plutarch has been doubted (since a doublet concerning the betrothal of Cornelia's son, Ti. Gracchus, and Claudia Ap. f. circulated), and it was believed that ...

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Aemilia († 163/162)

Nobilis femina

In the context of events *ca* 163/162, a fragment of Granius Licinianus (28.16 p. 7 Flemisch; 28, 14–16 Scardigli) records an extraordinary event:

it was announced amongst other prodigies (*alia mirabilia* — with Granius using the word *mirabilia* here in the sense of *miracula*) that when a *nobilis femina* Aemilia ... was already placed on the pyre, with her (kinsfolk) weeping (or ‘in loud lamentation’), she was miraculously recalled to life by the music of the trumpeters (*tubicinum concertu*).

Whether the woman survived this marvel is not recorded; this is the only attestation of the episode. The event is not registered in Pliny's list of three (male) individuals who revived on their funeral pyre, only one of whom survived the experience (*NH* 7.173; cf. Beagon for a brief discussion of those parallel cases).

The chronological coincidence leads to a tempting identification of this individual with Tertia Aemilia Paulli f. Scipionis (*uxor*) (q.v.) who passed away at this time (Scardigli, Hillard, Etcheto).

The item might be taken to indicate that women (at least, women of great social status) were accorded public funerals in this period, though the evidence does not affirm this.

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