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STUDIES AND ARTICLES

DECIPHERING LATIN INSCRIPTIONS OF VALCAMONICA: A GLIMPSE OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN AN ALPINE VALLEY IN THE ROMAN AGE

*Monica Pavese Rubins**

Abstract

The article explores the condition of the woman and children in the society of Camunni. The importance of the patronymic, the low number of female names and the lack of daughters names in the family lists on Latin funerary inscriptions of Valcamonica suggest a patriarchal society. When a woman becomes eventually a wife, a mother or a grandmother, she deserves a place on a funerary inscription. Meanwhile, women of Valcamonica appear alone on sacred and honorary inscriptions, when they can pay out of their own pockets for an inscription.

Key words: *Valcamonica, Camunni, Latin inscriptions, woman, children, society*

Background and context

Valcamonica is a valley in the middle of the Alps and extends from Iseo Lake to the Tonale Pass in Lombardy, North of Italy. The valley has a long history that runs from the last Ice Age through the Roman Empire, to present times. During the first century BC, the Romans arrived in Valcamonica, which was then inhabited by the Camunni, people with a specific local culture and strong Celtic character.

The valley stands in the middle of an area occupied by several ethnic groups (Etruscans, *Raeti*, *Euganei*, Celts Cenomans). The origins of the language of Camunni has different interpretations, according to some scholars it's Rhaetic (Battisti, 1959: 227), to others North-Etruscan (Mancini, 1982: 223-231), instead to some others that's a separate original language, the Camunian (Morandi, 1982: 208-209; Tibiletti Bruno, 1978: 89). From the V century BC the analysis of grave goods show the presence of Celtic style brooches (*fibulae*) and swords (Ardovino 2002; Rossi 2004), but slowly they left the place to weapons, brooches, pottery and objects that show a strong Roman influence.

Under Augustus, Rome started to rule the valley, which was slowly integrated into the Roman Empire until it became a fully Roman administrative and economic centre. Almost two hundred Latin inscriptions offer a perspective on the daily life of Valcamonica in Roman times, as the official Latin written sources mention Valcamonica sparingly (Plinius, *Nat. Hist.*, III, 133-139; Strabo, *Geogr.*, IV, 6, 8; Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.*, LIV, 20, 1), the *Camunni* who became Roman citizens strongly continue to quote proudly their Camunian origins (*origo*) in Latin Inscriptions up to the II century AD¹.

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¹ About identity and integration in the alpine valleys, particularly about the Anauni, see Buonopane, 2011: 141-150.

Valcamonica was characterized by some small villages scattered throughout the territory outside the two main centres (Pavese Rubins 2014: 47-89), one political-administrative in Cividate Camuno (*Civitas Camunnorum*) (Mariotti 2004), the other one, in Breno, religious with a sacred area dedicated to a female Goddess, perhaps Minerva (Rossi 2010). The voting unit for the Camunni, as Roman citizens who have right to vote in Valcamonica, was the tribe *Quirina*, different from Brescia and Valtrompia (*Fabia*), Bergamo (*Voturia*), Trento and Bolzano (*Papiria*).

A few inscriptions are dated back to the first part of the I century AD, but mostly are dated to the second half of the I century AD and the first half of the II century AD. The epigraphic production diminished drastically during the III century AD, probably because of a hard political, economic and social situation, combined with a broader diffusion of new funeral rituals. It's indeed during the III century that the first barbaric invasions passed through the Alps and an economic recession spread all around the Roman Empire (Rossi, 2010: 433; Zerbini, 1999: 32).

The society of Camunni: a strong patriarchy

An analysis of the society of Camunni under Roman rule offers certainly an interesting glimpse of the alpine families outside the official Roman history. Valcamonica shares strong analogies with the territory of Trento for its morphology (mountains, river, valleys midway toward Central Europe) and the Swiss Valais for the same cultural alpine substratum¹.

Latin inscriptions let us understand something more about the local society. A limit is that just a few people had the money to pay for an inscription, so it cannot indeed offer a whole picture of the valley. The analysis of grave goods and coins in the necropolis shows that the local people were generally not very wealthy². Furthermore, about one third of the Latin inscriptions cannot unfortunately support any demographic data as they don't report names or contain unbridgeable lacunae. The presence of boundaries in all the necropolis of Cividate Camuno and Borno makes us also suppose that some stones didn't bear inscriptions or specific signs as the space belonged to a whole family³.

The corpus of inscriptions of Valcamonica counts so far about 170 names, if we consider also the names on the pottery marks (Pavese Rubins, 2014: 390-412). The names on the inscriptions can be a good starting point to assemble the pieces of the puzzle of the local society, together with the information we receive from other Roman material sources. First of all the personal names tell us a lot about the origins

¹ About Trentino under Rome, see Zerbini, 1999: 32; about the Roman Valais, see Paunier, 1991: 147-149 and Wibl , 2001: 79-93.

² Two exceptions are in Lovere, near Iseo Lake, where a tomb has been found with a whole trousseau in silver, and in the necropolis associated to the main political-administrative centre, Cividate Camuno, where just an *obolus* of Charon has been found on a gravestone of a cremation burial under Claudius (Fortunati, 1986: 114, 116).

³ Nearby in the territory of Tridentum, funerary inscriptions with just the initials or the first part of the family name seem to indicate that they refer to the same family and there was no need to repeat it inside the same common funerary space in the same necropolis (Zerbini, 1999: 27-29).

of the families¹. The local names confirm that the indigenous elites have been gradually assimilated into the Roman culture and have progressively Latinized their Camunian names². The local society shows a strong bond with the father and the ancestors. As other scholar in other contexts have pointed out well, in small societies of hunters-gatherers the social legitimation was built according to two main lines, the first one following a same tradition and the second one following common social and family relations bound together by the same religion and habits (Giddens, 1995: 4-5; Creighton, 2006: 81). The names of Roman Valcamonica show a strong patriarchal society and a considerable attachment to traditions. The patronymic indicates own identity, as a unique line of succession from the forefathers³. On a sacred inscription in a remote mountaintop close to Pescarzo, even a centurion prefers to write his name in the short form associated to the name of his father, (*Cerialis* son of *Plada*), as willing to follow a local tradition and identification⁴. A bilingual inscription in Sale Marasino (CIL V 8896; Gregori, 1990: 258 D032, D085, D0898; Pavese, 2006: n.133; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 304-305) and the several Latin inscriptions engraved above the Prehistoric graffiti on the rocks (Pavese Rubins, 2014: 308-315) are evidences of the attachment to the pre-roman Camunian customs.

The importance of the patronymic and the low number of female names on funerary inscriptions suggest a patriarchal society⁵, where the women started to have a role in society just as a wife, afterwards as a mother and grandmother. In Rome, many inscriptions show a quite higher consideration for women, if they have the traditional attributes of the ideal Roman matron, which are modesty, chastity, purity, good

¹ Some are local (*Fenestellii*, *Lessi*, *Saeconii*, *Sasii*, *Pladicii*, *Teudicii*), with names without comparisons outside the valley, others are common in other areas of the Empire (*Antistii*, *Antonii*, *Apronii*, *Claudii*, *Decii*, *Domitii*, *Gavii*, *Laronii*, *Lucretii*, *Munatii*, *Purpurarii*, *Statii*, *Valerii*), a few others are ascribable to immigrated manpower and artisans (*Appii*, *Laetili*, *Petronii*, *Vettii*). Some are freedmen with personal names of Greek origins (for example *Stephon* and *Elpis*), and a few others are soldiers with Roman citizenship (*Statii*, *Valerii*). About the society of Valcamonica under Rome, in general, see Pavese Rubins, 2014: 121-184.

² The indigenous *Plada* is the forefather of the *Pladicii* family, as well as *Lea* gives the name to the *Lessi*, *Teudus* to the *Teudicii*, *Secus* to the *Saeconii*, *Sassus* to the *Sasii*.

³ The same use of indigenous patronymic for Roman citizens can be found in some Latin Inscriptions of Roman Britain (Creighton, 2006: 81).

⁴ As a matter of fact, the centurion *Cerialis* chooses the short form of his name, even if he was certainly a Roman citizen with the *tria nomina* (CIL V 4951; Inscr.It. X, V 1195; Forni, 1992: 186; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 288-289 n.9: *Cerialis Pladae f(ilius) / cent(urio) cob(ortis) Alpinae / aram refecit libens merito*). In Valcamonica the Pre-roman name of the father is very often mentioned in a full name of a Roman citizen, as it appears on the inscription of C. Claudius, son of Sassius/Sassus, priest of Augustus and a member of the Quirina tribe, dated to the first half of I century AD and found in Cividate Camuno (CIL V 4960; Inscr It. X V 1199; Abelli Condina, 2012: 29 n.24; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 291-292 n.11: *C(aius) Claudius / Sassi f(ilius) Quir(ina) / sacerdos Aug(usti) / d(e) p(ecunia) s(ua) / res p(ublica) tribunal / fecit et columnam / mutavit*).

⁵ In Roman civil law, the patriarchal family had a specific legal character and identity; it was a corporation perpetuating itself intergenerationally as a single unit identifiable through patronymic and gentile nomenclature (Mantena, 2010: 77).

housekeeping, beauty, industriousness (Paoli, 2006: 102; Giorcelli Bersani, 2004: 207-213). Among the Celtic societies, women seem not to have been treated as equals, although compared especially with their Greek equivalents, noblewomen enjoyed considerable freedom of action and even power (James 2005: 66). Meanwhile, according to Caesar, despite sharing money and gains, Celtic men had the power over their wives' life and death (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 6, 19).

The patriarchal society has recently been an interesting object of research while focusing on gender differences in matrilineal and patriarchal societies. Among the Maasai tribe of Tanzania, the men are strongly dominating and «wives are said to be less important to a man than his cattle. For example, daughters are not counted in response to static fixtures handed down from pre-history» (Gneezy, Leonard, & List, 2009: 1639-1640)¹. According to Hogson, Maasai men's control of livestock gave them control of women (1999: 41-65). From the Neolithic, the subsistence of the inhabitants of Valcamonica was mainly based on pastoralism, agriculture and hunting (Anati, 1982a: 288; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 255-256)². Archaeological excavations outside a house from the I century BC in Pescarzo, confirm local pastoralism, as sheep and goat remains have been found near the house (Ardevino, 2002: 14-16).

Female gender in Roman Valcamonica

Almost 80% of people quoted on inscriptions of Valcamonica are males. The numbers correspond to the ones in *Tridentum* with 23% (Zerbini 1999: 42), but not in Brescia where female names were a bit more (30%) (Gregori, 2000: 194). We can suppose that the lack of female names indicate a less social consideration. We cannot have precise data about the social organisation and the gender relations, as a specific literature and anthropological studies about the necropolis of Valcamonica don't exist, but we can suppose that women were buried inside the funerary fencing of a family together with children and the rest of the family, often without their recorded names. A possible gender imbalance has been also claimed about the Valcamonica rock carvings during Later Prehistory, as only four per cent of human figures were recognisable as a female (Anati, 1982: 240). According to Anati, this imbalance shows a low social status for the women in the Prehistoric society of *Camunni* (1964: 240)³, similarly to what could be assumed by the analysis of inscriptions in Roman times. The north of Italy has indeed produced several Gravettian burials in the Prehistory, mostly male adolescents and adults, with a strong underrepresentation of children and

¹ About the role of women among Maasai, see Spencer, 2004 and Mitzlaff, 1994.

² In general, about the economy of alpine valleys from the Neolithic, see Paunier, 1991:151; Frei Stolba, 1988: 143-159.

³ Bevan strongly disagrees with Anati's position as she perceives the Iron Age women's roles equally important to those of men, both in term of economic survival and the social transmission of culture and that "a lower visibility on rock art might potentially mean the opposite – that the under-represented sex was simply too special or important to depict" (2006: 77, 61). Despite Bevan's interesting argumentations about the important contribution of women in agriculture and home-based work in Pre-roman society, I cannot see a high social consideration of women in the Latin inscriptions of Valcamonica, as women are clearly underrepresented as previously in the rock art of Iron Age.

females (Mussi, 2002; Milisauskas, 2012: 82). In the site of Balzi Rossi on the Ligurian coastline between Ventimiglia and Menton, as well, the number of grave for women is openly inferior to that of graves for men, because of their marginal importance in the local Palaeolithic society (Gamble, 1999: 409).

Many inscriptions of Roman Valcamonica list just male names, without mentioning any woman. Furthermore, the woman usually appears in second or third position in the list of deceased, after the husband and the sons. In just one case in Ossimo, the *duovir L. Sasius Secundus* dedicates a funerary inscription to the wife *Rufia Tertia*, which appears in first position¹. Another inscription from Esine shows a woman (*Sextia Secunda*) who receives a special treatment as her name is listed immediately after her husband, the *sevir flavialis P. Valerius Crispinus* and before her son *P. Valerius Numisius*². In the territory of *Tridentum*, the same tendency has been claimed as the women's names are placed after all other members of the family (Zerbini, 1999: 42), instead in Brescia the woman seems to enjoy higher visibility as her name is always before her sons and other relatives, but after her husband (Gregori, 2000: 194). In Valcamonica, an unknown man lists even his mother before his wife in Cividate Camuno³.

Women from Valcamonica are never commemorated as well-deserving (*bene merentes*), which in Rome – and in other smaller realities as Venosa – was very common as epithet to a deceased wife during the II century AD (42% of total) (Nielsen, 1999: 179-185; Pani, 1999: 23.)⁴. Just in one case a husband, the *duovir L. Sasius Secundus*, shows his appreciation to the departed wife *Rufia Tertia* with the adjective *incomparabilis* (incomparable)⁵. Just in another case, a woman is said *pientissima mater* by his son *Pontius Bubalus*⁶.

In the funerary inscriptions of couples (wife and husband) too, the women are always in second position, even if they commissioned the inscription themselves. This

¹ CIL V 4967; Inscr. It. X V 1206; Suppl.It. n.s. 8, 186 (1206); Pavese Rubins, 2014: 299-300 n.17: *Rufiaes / Te[r]tiaes / L(ucius) Sasius Quir(ina) / Secundus Iivir / i(ure) d(icundo) / uxori / incomparabil(i) / et sibi et suis v(ivus) f(ecit)*.

² CIL V 4968; IB 804; Inscr.It. X V 1207; Albertini, 1975: 210; Abelli Condina, 1986: 38 n.42; Suppl. It. N.s.8, 186 (1207); Gregori, 1990: 172 n.A266, 001, 185 n.A295, 022, 011, 049; Gregori, 2000: 24, 69, 156, 162-163; Pavese, 2006: n.89; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 144-145, 400, 407: *P(ublius) Valerius / Crispinus / (sex)vir Flavia(lis) / sibi et / Sextiae Sexti fil(iae) / Secundae uxori et / P(ublio) Valerio Numisio f(ilio)*.

³ AE 2002: 576; Mariotti, 2004: 181 n.2; Pavese, 2006: n.40; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 160: *---/ sibi et Cluviae / Laeci f(iliae) matri et / Mennicae Fausti f(iliae) / uxori / et suis*.

⁴ According to Nielsen (1999: 181) the epithet *bene merens* occurs so frequently that it can be mainly applied as a formula and not as a meaningful epithet.

⁵ CIL V 4967; Inscr. It. X, V 1206; Bertolini Panazza, 1980, I: 199; Abelli Condina, 1986: 44 n.65c; Suppl. It. 8: 186, n.1206; Gregori, 1990: 162, n.A238, 002 and 167 n.A252, 004; Gregori, 2000: 77, 153, 242; Pavese, 2006: n.77; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 299-301 n.17: *Rufiaes Te[r]tiaes / L(ucius) Sasius Quir(ina) / Secundus (duo)vir / i(ure) d(icundo) uxori/ incomparabil(i) / et sibi et suis v(ivus) f(ecit)*.

⁶ Epigraphica XVII, p.84 n.2; Inscr. It. X V 1220; Abelli Condina, 1986: 57 (19, 2); Suppl. It. N.s.8: 186 (1220); Gregori, 1990: 145 n.A222, 001; Pavese, 2006: n.42; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 319 n.37: *[---P]ontiu[s---] / [---Bu]balus matr[i] / [---pie]ntissimae*.

confirms the leading position of the *pater familias* in the Camunian society. The mother, the grandmother and the mother-in-law are always after their husbands. In the very last position we find the aunts and the sisters¹. It's not easy to understand the link between the members of a family, like in the inscription of the *Purpurarii*, a group of freedmen who trade in textiles in Ossimo, whose portraits above the epigraph depict a couple without *conubium*².

Another interesting aspect is women's social mobility. Sometimes we see the union of a Roman citizen and an indigenous woman, perhaps in the first time of Romanization of the valley, as the case of the aedile *L. Decius Primus* and his wife *Lessa Cloesa* of Losine, who has a local indigenous name and who is listed after both their sons, the decurions *L. Decius Reburus* and *Sextus Decius Primus*³.

Some parallels recur with the Etruscan society. While all men list their own personal achievements and public honours, all women list the names of their relatives (husband, children, parents, parents-in-law) with their public duties or achievements as part of their own female curriculum (Rallo, 1989: 132, 137). In Valcamonica, an emblematic case is that of the wife of *Rutumanna*, a gladiator of Capo di Ponte, who is so proud of her husband who has died without being defeated twenty-three times, that she forgets to mention her own name and indicates just her social position as a wife.⁴ Another woman, whose name is lost due to a fracture of the stone, dedicates a long inscription to herself and to her *Laronii* family, composed by the husband, parents-in-law and sons, the first one listed as an *Equus Publicus*⁵.

¹ A sister – *Medussa Graeci f.* – to the sister *Cussa Graeci f.* and his husband *Ponticus Germani f.*, where the name of the brother-in-law is indeed in first position (CIL V 8896; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 304-305 n.21). Among a group of public slaves, *Publicia Melitines* receives an inscription from the brother *Publicinus Valentinus* and the sister *Publicia Valentina* (AE 1991, 859 = AE 1999: 740; Valvo, 2010: 312 n.125; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 395). A son dedicates an inscription to the father *Sega*, the mother *Lea*, to the son *Clevius* and to the aunt *Segessa* (CIL V 4717; Inscr.It. X V 527; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 306-307 n. 22).

² Inscr.It. X V III: 675; Abelli Condina, 2012: 9 n.4; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 302-303 n.19: *Ti/berio Purpurar(io) Saturn(ino) / Purpurariae Ti(berii) l(ibertae) / Arbusc(n)lae / Purpurariae Ti(berii) l(ibertae) / Eclog(a)e / Ti(berius) Purpurarius Cerast(es) / V(ivus) f(ecit) i(n) f(ron)te p(edes) XII i(n) a(grum) p(edes) XIII.*

³ CIL V 4963; Inscr. It. X, V, 1201; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 298-299 n.16: *V(ivus) f(ecit) / L(ucius) Decius Quir(ina) / Primus aed(ilis) sibi / et L(ucio) Decio Reburro / et Sex(to) Decio Prim[o] / filiis decurion(ibus) / et Lessae C(h)loesa[e] / uxori et [e] / ---.*

⁴ Gregori, 1990: 151 n.C195a; AE 1991: 224, n.851; Gregori, 1991: 45-52; Gregori, 2000: 261; Morretta, 2004: 129-130; Pavese, 2006: n.121; Valvo, 2010: 313-314 n.126; Gregori, 2011: 147-152; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 303-304 n.20: *D(is) M(anibus) / Rutumanne (!) / ret(iario) ppugnarum / XXIII invicto / uxor bene merent(i).*

⁵ Inscr.It. X, V 1204; Abelli Condina, 1986: 74 n.10; Suppl. It. N.s.8, n.1204: 186; Gregori, 1990: 107 n.A136, 001 and 003-005, 136 n.198, 005; Gregori, 2000: 127, 134; Pavese, 2006: n.25; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 393: *[sibi] / [et T(ito) Laronio – filio] / Qui(ina) Primo / [---]rito optimo / [et Laro]nio T(iti) filio Quir(ina) / [---]iano equo public(o) / [et – La]ronio T(iti) filio Quir(ina) Rufino / [filii]s pius(s)imis / [et -]Laronio Hilarioni / [et Oct/Fl]aviae T(iti) filiae Secundae / soceris.*

The daughters are never included in the family lists, while the sons can be one, two or even three per inscriptions¹. The only exception has been found in Bienno and belongs to the young *Elpis* who has a Greek name and her portrait is dated back to Hadrian's time². Her family's origins are clearly not Camunian, and probably they are freedmen coming from abroad, and not originally locals. Children don't seem, by the way, to be generally of interest to the local community. As in the territory of Tridentum³ and Brescia⁴, the analysis of all known Latin tombstones of Valcamonica reveals clearly the lack of children. Meanwhile, we cannot really say with confidence if a child could be one of the listed people on a gravestone, as the biometric data are missing. Just two inscriptions from Valcamonica can certainly be referred to two children. The first is the one with the portrait of *Elpis*, as already mentioned, the second one is an Early Medieval Christian inscription (V-VII century AD) which was engraved on a stone near *S. Siro* parish church and which is also a unique case in Valcamonica for the biometric indications of the deceased⁵. That's a memory of *Iustus*, who died at the age of eight⁶. We also don't know if in Valcamonica there was the

¹ Three brothers on a funerary inscription in Borno: *Tresus / Endubronis f(ilius) / Tiro / arbitrat(u) / Endubronis patris / et Silonis et / Secundi fratrum / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit)* (CIL V 4958; Inscr. It. X V 1226; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 127-128).

² CIL V 4971; IB 808; Inscr.It. X V 1213; ABELLI CONDINA 1986b, p.33: Suppl. It. N.s.8, 1213 p.186; Gregori, 1990: 226 n.C097a, 225 n. C087 and 245 n.287; Gregori, 2000: 36, 38, 40-41, 51, 57, 79, 92; Pavese, 2006: n.83; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 401: *Elpidi / Fronto e[st] / par[entes] / Pho+[est]*.

³ Just two children are known (1% of total) in the Latin inscriptions of the territory of *Tridentum* under Roman rule (Zerbini, 1999: 36).

⁴ Children in Latin inscriptions from Brescia are very uncommon (Gregori, 2000: 193-195).

⁵ The only Camunians who quote their age of death are the ones died outside Valcamonica. 1. a woman Ursic(i)na [est] va in Bedriacum (Calvatone, Cremona) at 51 years old (Epigraphica 1980, XLII: 187-190; AE 1984: 431; Gregori, 1990: 185 n. A142, 004; AE 1996: 234 n.724; Sartori, 1996: 81-84; Durando, 1997: 108 n.40; Gregori, 2000: 327-328; Pavese, 2006: n.134; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 409: *[est] Ja et Ursic(i)na / [est] civis Camunna / [quae] vixit annos LI / [est] in coniugio / secu[n]do / vixit annos X [est]*). 2. a soldier Sextus Apronius Valens in Carnuntum (Pannonia) at 35 years old (AE 1978, 631; Ö.Jh 1935, 29, c.305 n.189; Abelli Condina, 1983: 84 n.32; Gregori, 1990: 43 n.A024, 001; Forni, 1992: 194 n.111; Gregori, 2000: 175 n.14; Pavese, 2006: n.137; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 153, 390: *Sex(tus) Apro[n]ius Sex(ti) f(ilius) / Quir(ina) Valens / Camun(nus) mil(es) / leg(ionis) XIII G(eminae) M(artiae) / V(ictricis) an(norum) XXXV / stip(endiorum) XI b(ic) s(itus) e(st) / t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. 3. an unknown soldier in Ravenna 49 years old (CIL XI 42; Forni, 1975: 227 n.8; Gregori, 1990: 270 n.E009; Pavese, 2006: n.135; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 151: *[est] / nat(ione) Camunn(us) / milit(avit) ann(os) XXVIII / vixit ann(is) XXXXIX / hunc titulum / fec(erunt) Cale et Saturnina libert/ae sibi et patron(o) / de se / bene merenti/ interveniente Bae/bio Sero vet(e)ran(o) h(erede)*; 4. a scribe-soldier C.Valerius Valens in Kranion, Achaia (Greece) at 35 years old (AE 1978, 777; Gregori, 1990: 191 n.A295, 074; Pavese, 2006: n.136; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 307-308 n.23: *C.Valerius C(ai) f(ilius) Quir(ina) tribu) Valens Cam(unnus) / mil(es) leg(ionis) VIII Aug(ustae) (centuria Senuci(onis) vix(it) a[n]nos] / XXXV mil(itavit) an(nos) XIII her(es) ex testamento*).

⁶ AE 1991: 224 n.852; Valvo, 1992: 67-71 n.11; Pavese, 2006: n.123; Valvo, 2010: 314 n.127; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 402: *Iustus vix(it) a(nnos) IIIIX (in) D(e)o semper / (in) C(h)ris(to) Sentius vix(it) [est] / Iustus vix(it) a(nnos) IIX (in) D(e)o S(emper) Segundinus (fecit)*.

same use of interring the children near their own house as in Paleovenetian settlements (Brogiolo, 1999: 32).

Between the V and the VI century AD, a group of eighteen children (78%) and a few adults (22%) have been intentionally buried in the area of the theatre and amphitheatre of Civitate Camuno, where it seems distinctly intentional the aim to inter together stillborn babies and children in the same location (Mariotti, 2004: 78; Ravedoni & Di Martino, 2004: 323-327). During the Republic in Rome, as well, children and young people were disproportionately less in the necropolis, as they were indeed socially less important, instead the interments of children became a current trend in Rome from the I century AD, when children became socially more important as they were seen as the continuation of a family (Rallo, 1989: 134-135). At present we can just suppose that the lack of inscriptions clearly referred to children can indicate a low social position of children who didn't deserve a special memory, as well as women. Similarly, in the society of Etruria, the most common social structure is based on patrilineal kinship, with women admitted in the tombs just as wives or mothers (Rallo, 1989: 141).

If the woman seems undervalued in the funerary inscriptions, female wealth and benefaction are shown by their honorary and sacred inscriptions which are witnesses of their successful participation in the civic life due to their status, money or esteem. Women appear alone in all sacred and honorary epigraphs that show a certain economic independence and the possibility to pay a commission autonomously. In Valcamonica, in any case, women with a recognised social status are scarce (about 0,5%). There is just one wealthy woman *Clodia Av(---)* who leaves in her last will an amount of money to the Republic of Camunni to build an unknown monument¹. Outside Valcamonica, the overwhelming majority of the inscriptions for women's civic roles comes from the most densely urbanized and romanized regions, as central Italy (46%) and Proconsular Africa with Numidia (25%), but in the alpine province and Gaul the percentage falls to 3-5% (Hemelrijk, 2015: 18).

In conclusion, women in Valcamonica seems to have a marginal role before marriage. When they become eventually wives, then mothers and grandmothers, they are allowed a place in a funerary inscription.

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¹ CIL V 4964; IB 800; Inscr.It. X V 1202; Gregori, 1990: 72 n.A082, 0023; Gregori, 2000: 151, 196, 222, 263; Pavese, 2006: n.31; Pavese Rubins, 2014: 391: [---] / Clodia [---] / Av[---] / a re [publica] / Camunn[orum] / cui in h[oc] / pecuniam le[gavit] / t(estamento) p(oni) i(ussit).