BETWEEN OIKOS AND POLIS: THE LIFE OF WOMEN IN ISTROS, TOMIS, AND CALLATIS (6TH CENTURY BC–4TH CENTURY AD)[1]

Pázsint Annamária-Izabella[2]

Abstract: *The present paper has as its goal to scrutinise women's life in Istros, Tomis and Callatis (6th century BC–4th century AD), an approach based chiefly on the epigraphic evidence, but also on the corresponding iconography. The paper will provide an insight into the private, public and "cosmopolitan" life of women (mostly from the middle and upper social stratum), by presenting aspects of their lives both within the oikos and within the polis.*

Keywords: *Western pontic cities, gender, social history.*

A considerable number of studies has already been written on women in ancient times,[3] focusing on different aspects of their lives, but far less has been written on the women from the Pontic cities.[4] For the aforementioned geographical area the data is comprised of: epigraphic, iconographic and archaeological sources, but the present paper will take into account mostly the epigraphic evidence and some of the iconographic ones. In this respect, the paper aims at drawing the profile of local women as reflected by the information available.

The reason behind choosing these three *poleis* dwells on two aspects: first of all because these are the most important *poleis* from the Western coast of the Black Sea, which provide an evolutionary record over several centuries; and second because most of the evidence regarding this subject comes from these cities.[5] The time frame envisaged corresponds to the existing evidence, making its choice self understood.

First of all, even before reviewing all of the 214 inscriptions,[6] one may state that their majority bring into focus women from the middle and upper social *stratum*, a fact which will have an echo on this paper.

Statistically, most inscriptions which concern women are funerary, and they usually commemorate them. This aspect reveals the fact that they were mostly brought into focus when

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Assistant Professor Ligia Ruscu for her comments and suggestions. This paper is a result of a doctoral research made possible by the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007-2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project POSDRU/187/1.5/S/155383-"Quality, excellence, transnational mobility in doctoral research" and through a grant of the Romanian National Authority for Scientific Research, CNCS-UEFISCDI, project number PNII-RU-TE-2014-4-0488.

[2] PhD student, „Babeş-Bolyai" University, Cluj-Napoca; str. M. Kogălniceanu 1, 400084; Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County, RO; email: a.i.pazsint@gmail.com.

[3] For a bibliographic list of works published up to 1973, see POMEROY 1973. More recent works include CONNELLY 2007, VIVANTE 2007, JAMES 2012, BAIN 2014, KENNEDY 2014, etc.

[4] DANA 2007, DANA 2014, CURCĂ 2013.

[5] From a statistic point of view the number of inscriptions are as follows: Tomis (135), Istros (68), Callatis (35).

[6] Which record a total of 248 girls and women.

they were "gone"; it is usually at this point that some of their life details come to light (if they do). Both the honorific inscriptions dedicated to women and the inscriptions dedicated by women are much lesser in number, a fact which reveals directly the limits of women's participation. However, there were some women responsible for elevating monuments for their husbands and relatives, which they did out of their own resources,[7] and some other women were recorded as being heiresses of their fathers,[8] and husbands.[9]

Most women are listed, not surprisingly, only as "wife of", and/or "daughter of", followed by the corresponding patronymic, which stresses the role of women as protectors of the household, and that of a loving spouse and mother, a version of Penelope.[10] The sparseness of details regarding their lives could be the result of a social pattern; maybe these individuals wanted only to commemorate their beloved ones, and not to advertise more about their personal, religious and professional background. However, this is not a general epigraphic habit, because other individuals, instead, expressed their sorrow resulted from their loss in an elaborate manner.[11]

Not many are the cases in which women are represented on monuments,[12] situation which is not surprising either. The iconographic representations of women provide a generic outlook on them, reinforcing their status as daughters, wives, mothers and slaves, more precisely that of a woman who had a *kyrios* or a *patronus*.

Besides providing data regarding the social status of women, the epigraphic and iconographic evidence provides us with a fairly vague sketch of the age at death of girls[13] and wives,[14] some of the latter leaving behind various children. A discussion regarding the age structure is difficult considering that from the 251 girls/women attested in the three *poleis*, only 30 (11.95 %) provide information concerning their age; which may be either an indicator of the fact that their relatives were not as keen to record these life details, or maybe their age was simply unknown.[15] A fact is sure: women's age was not as exactly recorded as men's.[16] There are some cases in which age rounding with the digit 0, or 5 applies, but the overall number is relatively low (11 out of 30), however, one must keep in mind that the age of women is much more prone to rounding than men's;[17] only three inscriptions provide a vague age at death, by using expressions such as: "at a young age",[18] "married at a certain age",[19] "after × years of marriage".[20] Despite this deficit, we know precisely at what age

[7] ISM I 276, ISM II 37, ISM II 266, ISM III 237.

[8] ISM II 215.

[9] ISM I 276, ISM I 292, ISM I 277, ISM II 169.

[10] VÉRILHAC 1985, 86.

[11] ISM I 231, ISM I 291, ISM II 189, ISM II 197, ISM II 365, ISM II 375, ISM II 377, ISM II 380, ISM II 384, ISM III 148.

[12] Among these rare situations, we find the case of Antigone Aulosanis (depicted together with her husband Seuthes) (ISM II 165); Claudia Iulia and Valeria Germana relatives (wife and daughter) of T. Valerius Germanus, Marcia and Kalliste relatives (wife and daughter) of Kallistos, the son of Midas (ISM II 187); Ziles, Valeria and Sabeina, the relatives (wife and daughters) of Saturninus, the son of Bithus (ISM II 303); Aurelia Dusia (depicted together with her husband Aurelius Herculanus) (ISM I 337).

[13] ISM I 231, ISM II 173, ISM II 208, ISM II 326, ISM II 351, ISM II 365, ISM II 377, ISM II 465, ISM III 148.

[14] ISM I 291, ISM I 373, ISM II 195, ISM II 197, ISM II 203, ISM II 290, ISM II 338, ISM II 365, ISM II 367.

[15] In this respect, some inscriptions do mention that the girl died at a young age (ISM III 131, ISM III 132) or before marriage (ISM I 231), which leaves room for interpretation. Some other inscriptions provide instead the number of years of their marrige (ISM II 185, ISM II 201, ISM II 238). MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA/CURCĂ 2010, 145.

[16] PIFTOR 2013, 109.

[17] DUNCAN-JONES 1977, 343.

[18] ISM II 131, 132.

[19] ISM II 197.

[20] ISM II 185, 238.

died Aurelia Sambatis, wife of Victorinus (25 years, 5 months and 12 days[21]), and Ulpia Aurelia Valeria (3 years, 9 months and 17 days[22]), daughter of Aurelius Herculanus. We cannot conclude that the exact mention of one's age is a characteristic of the Greek/Roman elite, since we have both Greek and Latin names and written inscription, and both individuals from the upper and lower *stratum*.

The marriage age is difficult to determin based on the existing evidence, which offers only three precise marriage ages: 13,[23] 24,[24] and 25.[25] The change of status from "daughter" to "wife", seen in the commemorations dedicated to women, could contribute to knowing which is the approximate marriage age of women. Unfortunately, this data is not representative, and no conclusions can be drawn because the age of death of girls commemorated by parents is quite low, between 2 and 14 years, which could not always stand for a marriage age. For the western Roman Empire, girls were usually married in their late teens,[26] but the pattern cannot be transferred to the eastern part, without further research. Yet, considering that the marriage age for the entire province of Moesia Inferior was probably low,[27] one can assume the context was the same in the three cities.

Life expectancy for women in Moesia Inferior was established at 32–33 year old,[28] while life expectancy at childbirth was calculated at around 35.248 years.[29] When it comes to the individuals involved in commemorating these girls/women, the epigraphic evidence points to their close relatives: either the spouse, or the parents. Among those whose age of death is known, we find mostly Greek girls/women, but also Romanized Greeks, Romans and Thracians. The inscriptions mentioning the age of the deceased are both in Greek (20) and Latin (10), most of them coming from the 2nd and 3rd century AD.

The epigraphic evidence is mostly silent regarding the girls/women's cause of death, but this silence is characteristic for Moesia Inferior.[30] The reasons behind their death are therefore for the most part unknown, except in four cases: Pontiane, a child of the age of 3 years, died, as her brother Pontianus, because of a serious illness.[31] (1) Caecilia Artemisia,[32] wife of Perinthos, son of Caecilius Priscus; (2) Zosime, wife of Abaskantos, son of Sokrates;[33] and (3) Hedeia,[34] all died in childbirth. The cause of Zosime's death is illustrated on her funerary monument, which is an uncommon artistic feature bearing in mind the fact that, statistically, most scenes represent the funerary banquet, not scenes from daily lives.[35]

When it comes to slave women, one can observe that they were not explicitly mentioned by the epigraphic evidence; they are attested under a different social status, respectively as freedwomen.[36] However, the iconography makes reference to them:[37] most slave women are depicted

[21] ISM II 367.
[22] ISM II 465.
[23] ISM II 197, 365.
[24] ISM II 201.
[25] ISM II 286.
[26] HARKNESS 1896, 50; SHAW 1987, 39.
[27] MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA/CURCĂ 2010, 150.
[28] PIFTOR 2007–2008, 139.
[29] MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA/PIFTOR 2011, 385.
[30] MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA/CURCĂ 2010, 149.
[31] ISM II 377.
[32] ISM II 365.
[33] ISM II 294.
[34] IKyzikos 510.
[35] BORDENACHE 1964, BORDENACHE 1965.
[36] ISM I 292, ISM I 307, ISM II 177, ISM II 208, ISM II 295.
[37] ISM II 165, ISM II 187, SEG 54,670, STOIAN 1962, 208.

on the funerary monuments of their masters', being recognizable due to their position, size and manner of representation.

The private lives of women do not provide us with a detailed image of what exactly it meant to be a woman at that time, and in the aforementioned geographical area. Instead, it gives us an insight on some specific aspects of their lives.

The information on the public life of women is much richer in content than their private lives, even though the evidence is scanty due to the fact that not many were able, as a consequence of their social status, to take a stand, or even to make a reputation for themselves in the public life of the *polis*. Belonging to a well-off family was mainly the key to religious and public renown and participation. Besides playing a religious role, women became involved in the more active aspects of the city's life, the ones which were previously the attribute of men. This involvement was due to their wealth,[38] and to a more flexible euergetic system.[39] However, outside their family circle, women are usually remembered due to their religious positions, and only in some exceptional cases due to their public benefactions, or to other actions.

When it comes to public offices, only one woman, Apollonis of Istros, daughter of Diogenes, wife of Euainetos (or Poluainetos[40]), son of Athenades,[41] is described as *arxasa*; this is a remarkable case for the 3rd or 2nd century BC, given the fact that not many archons[42] are mentioned by the inscriptions, and also since in that period there are not many examples of women who evidenced themselves as holders of this position. In this context, Apollonis could have been an exception in Istrian society, holding the executive office as a consequence, for example, of possible financial difficulties that the city could have faced.[43] There is no reference regarding the social involvement of her father or husband, but one cannot rule out the possibility of them being also prominent members of the society. However, the *arche* (authority, leadership) implied by the term could make reference to a religious rather than an executive office (magistracy). Since she was able to hold this office, she must have been a citizen, as well as a member of a respected and financially competitive family, no matter what was the exact nature of her office.

Religious offices were much more commonly held by women, be they public priestly offices, or private offices among associations (most of them). The religious role was nonetheless reinforced by the financial one, especially beginning with the Hellenistic period. At that time, the financial side was gaining value, priestesses being in charge of banquets, liturgies, maintenance of sacred buildings[44] etc. Between the 2nd century BC and the 3rd century AD, the role of elite women in the public sphere was significant,[45] situation which is also visible in this case.

The range of positions in the three *poleis* differed, from (a) *archiereia*,[46] within the Imperial cult, (b) *hiereia* within public and private cults, (c) and to several other positions within

[38] van BREMEN 1983, 225.

[39] van BREMEN 1983, 237.

[40] The name Euainetos does not appear in other Istrian inscriptions, but the name Poluainetos is recorded in four other inscriptions (ISM I 46, 191, 193, 200), one coming from roughly the same period (ISM I 46). This context could be in favour of the second version of the name.

[41] ISM I 120.

[42] NAWOTKA 1997, 137.

[43] BIELMAN 2002, records the evidence for Hellenistic women of Asia Minor.

[44] BIELMAN 2002, 61.

[45] van BREMEN 1983, 224.

[46] ISM II 96, ISM II 97, ISM II 369. This position was held at Tomis by the Romanized elite, represented by Ulpia Matrona and Iulia Apolauste, close relatives. It is noteworthy to mention the fact that their husbands, Aurelius Priscius Isidorus, and Aelius Priscius Annianus, were both pontarchs, position which usually implied being archiereus as well. In this context, their wives were automatically granted the title of archiereia. Besides them, there

private cults, such as *archirabdouchissa*,[47] *meter dendrophoron*[48] (within an association consecrated to Attis and Cybele), *mater Romanorum*[49] (Thracian Horseman), *mater dumi*[50] (within an association worshipping the Iranian goddess Anaitis/Anahita), and *Sacerdos Tomitanorum*[51] (a position on which our evidence does not reveal much).

Most women who held offices were in that position due to their social status, and most of them came from Tomis (10 out of 15). The office holders coming from Histria had Greek (1) and Romanized cognomina (1), while those coming from Kallatis had Greek cognomina (3). Among the office holders from Tomis we find Romanized Orientals (5), Greeks (2), an Oriental (1), a Romanized Greek (1), and an unreadable case (1). These figures show an openness towards women's background, especially at Tomis, where the foreign input is much more prone to sustain it.

When it comes to religious offices held abroad, the evidence points out to only one woman, namely Bakchis Kallatiane, daughter of Philtos.[52] A *titulum honorarium* from 3rd century BC Athens is dedicated to her, and records the fact that she held the administrative position of *epimeletria*, but also the religious office of *hiereia* for the goddess Agathe Thea.[53] She was honoured through a *decretum thiasotarum* which stipulates the fact that she was charged with this position by the Assembly, the priest, and the president of the association. Her duties included: the preparation of the goddess' throne, of the offerings' table, and the lighting of the torch. There is no evidence of her past or future before and after this reference, neither at Athens, nor at Callatis. Her name is theophoric, a name which was common not only for slaves, but also for freedwomen and free women.[54] The case of Bakchis shows the fact that women were able to hold different positions, even abroad, if well socially placed, respectively if they had a certain financial power (but not citizenship).

Even though the majority of women manifested their goodwill in the religious sphere, some also engaged in the public sphere, becoming benefactresses of their community, some of them together with their spouses, as a joint officeholding venture. Their euergetism leads to a discussion on the local elite.

Not many women acted in this sphere of public life; the evidence makes reference to only six cases at Istros, where all women had Greek cognomina (Moschion, daughter of Diogenes,[55] Aba, daughter of Hekataios, son of Euxenides, wife of Herakon, son of Aristomachos,[56] Ana, daughter of Demetrios, Hediste, daughter of Papias, *ignota*, daughter of Chairemon, *ignota*, daughter of Diogenes[57]). Tomis nonetheless provides three noteworthy examples of priestesses (Sossia Africana, wife of [---]us Quietus, daughter of C. Iulius Africanus,[58] Ulpia Matrona,[59] and Iulia, wife of Dionysodoros[60]) who acted in an euergetic manner, two of them being honoured

is also Iulia, wife of Dionysodoros, the pontarch. KEARSLEY 1986, 187; HERZ 1992, 101; MAURER 2014, 150–153.

47 ISM II 83.
48 ISM II 83.
49 ISM II 129.
50 ISM II 160.
51 ISM II 295.
52 PPEE 2163.
53 SEG 56,203.
54 SOLIN 2003, 333.
55 ISM I 29 (2nd century BC).
56 ISM I 57 (1st century BC/ 1st century AD).
57 ISM I 191 (1st century BC/ 1st century AD).
58 ISM II 72 (2nd century AD).
59 ISM II 96 (2nd century AD).
60 ISM II 369 (3rd century AD).

together with their husbands by the Council and People of Tomis. These examples from Tomis show the climbing of foreigners on the local social ladder, and their absorbtion in the local elite structures. The activity of these women is to be perceived in terms of a wider family generosity,[61] which paved them the way in the world of euergetism.

One of the Istrian inscriptions regarding benefactresses is fragmentary, therefore the information is limited. We know only the name of Moschion's father and the fact that she was a benefactress.

The second points out to four benefactresses of the Boreis tribe, who acted in the 1st century AD,[62] together with 101 men, in order to provide assistance to the city. They were all Greek citizens, none had Latin names, and the women acted alone, respectively, they subscribed personally, not through their fathers or husbands.[63] The support provided by the group might have been intended for the reconstruction of the precinct, or of the public monuments.[64] Of certain peculiarity is the absence of the amount gathered by the contributors, "financial silence" which might indicate an equal share from every one of the 105 persons honoured.

The information on Aba is abundant; she was not only a rich and generous benefactress, but also a priestess. Her case is meaningful because it marks first of all a high point in women's participation in public life, second its limits, and third the role they had in their family and community. The text of the inscription reads that Aba "does not avoid any noble honour or service", which implies the fact that in the 2nd century AD, these honours and services to the city and its people were conceded to women as well, they were no longer a privilege of men. Aba took charges which were previously taken only by men, which she was "eager to imitate" for "her good reputation". Therefore Aba belonged to the category of women who were wealthy enough to act, and acted not because they were required to, but because they were willing to do so (*analabousa*), especially since she came from a distinguished family.

Aba acted with generosity,[65] not only in the public and religious affairs (restoration of the priesthood of the Mother of Gods), she extended her benevolence also on different officials (the Council, Gerusia), professional categories (craftsmen, physicians), social categories (children, foreigners), and on private associations (Taurists, Herakleists, hymn-singers). Therefore, she addressed a wide sector of the population.

The inscription states that she came from a remarkable family, which integrated euergetism into the family tradition, a feature common in the Greek world.[66] But in the case of Aba one might discern a certain interest for her to obtain her own glory, by surpassing both her family members and her female/male counterparts. Both her father Hekataios, son of Euxenides,[67] and her husband, Herakon, son of Aristomachos,[68] were active in the religious life of the *polis*, they were priests of Dionysos Karpophoros, but no other detail concerning their social involvement has yet come to light.

The role of Aba might be explained in two ways: first as a strategy on the part of her family to continue its promotion in the public and private life of Istros, being therefore a "familial character of female generosity" just like in Asia Minor,[69] and second as a personal

[61] DMITRIEV 2005, 55.
[62] PIPPIDI 1968, 232.
[63] MIGEOTTE 1992, 99.
[64] PIPPIDI 1983, 329.
[65] van NIJF 1997, 150.
[66] As stated by VEYNE 1976, 288, euergetism was for some family a hereditary act, which built upon its renown.
[67] SEG 50,683 B. Her father occupied this position during the reign of emperor Hadrian, before the honorific decree of Aba was dedicated to her.
[68] ISM I 198; POPESCU 1960, 277; AVRAM/ MARCU 1999, 76.
[69] DMITRIEV 2005, 54.

strategy to acquire glory on her own. In this respect, several questions arise due to the lack of other inscriptions related to her family: were her father and husband still alive at that time? Was Aba the only heir of the family fortune, and the only one who could continue the policy of her family, but in a more generous (and maybe egocentric) way? These of course lead to other questions related to the juridical and financial aspects of women's life in the 2nd century AD. For the moment these questions remain unanswered. A possible explanation might imply the death of her father,[70] corroborated with the lack of a male heir in her family, and a less illustrious background of her husband. However, the proud notes of the inscription would lead one to believe that the action was also a personal strategy. In the Hellenistic and Roman Greek East, due to their social status, more precisely to their belonging to a family, it was common for women to hold offices.[71]

In the neighbouring city of Tomis, in the 2nd century AD, (Iulia) Sossia Africana, daughter of C. Iulius Africanus,[72] and wife of [---]us Quietus,[73] was also honoured by the Council and the People of Tomis due to her priestly charges,[74] in which she surpassed her predecessors. Quietus, a *centurio secundus hastatus prior* of the Legio I Italica,[75] was instead honoured by the Council and the People of Tomis for holding the modest local office of *agoranomos*,[76] and for surpassing his predecessors. The *cognomen Africanus* may reveal in this case the *origo*[77] of the family, but Sossia may have been born in Pontic land, where her father served as a military, and where she later probably got married. Not much is known about Sossia Africana and her spouse, but it is noteworthy to stress the military background of this Romanized family, which established and imposed itself among the local elite structures at Tomis.[78] In this direction we see that despite her father worshipping Apollo and Diana, Sossia Africana was, just like Aba, priestess of the Mother of Gods, a goddess associated with the elite and the rulers.[79] At Tomis the cult of the Goddess was indeed one of the most popular, but not at Istros.[80]

Three *archiereia* are recorded at Tomis, all of them being wives of pontarchs. Ulpia Matrona and Iulia Apolauste, are honoured by the Council and the People of Tomis, together with their husbands, Aurelius Priscius Isidorus,[81] and Aelius Priscius Annianus.[82] Both Aurelius Priscius Isidorus, and Aelius Priscius Annianus, who could be father and son, had leading positions at Flavia Neapolis (and Antipatris, Syria), from where they probably came, and at Tomis. One of the two individuals is probably commemorated in another inscription from Tomis,[83] which mentions, in a more poetic manner, his positions and deeds. The third *archiereia* was Iulia, wife of Dionysodoros the pontarch,[84] mentioned in a funerary inscription dedicated to their children. These three families, of Roman citizens, permeated into the local elite structure; due to their fortune, they acted as benefactors, and were honoured by the City and the People of the Tomis.

---

[70] DANA 2007, 193.

[71] DMITRIEV 2005, 183.

[72] AÉ 1985, 751. He was *centurio legionis XI Claudiae*, and he made in *Montana* a dedication to Apollo and Diana for the health of Lower Moesia's governor: T. Vitrasius Pollio.

[73] AÉ 1993, 1364. SARNOWSKI 1993, 208.

[74] She was the priestess of Cybele.

[75] MATEI-POPESCU 2010, 307.

[76] ISM II 71, 72.

[77] MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, 157.

[78] RUSCU 2014a, 475–476.

[79] BØGH 2012, 59.

[80] RUSCU 2014b, 147.

[81] ISM II 96.

[82] ISM II 97.

[83] ISM II 188. ROBERT 1940, 102–103.

[84] ISM II 369. He is not recorded as *archiereus*. MAURER 2014, 141–188.

It is noteworthy to stress that four[85] of the honorific inscriptions attributed to women were decreed by the Council and the People of the City which is not only a great honour for women, but an official way of recognizing their public involvement; women were no longer expected to have no renown, as mentioned by Thucydides.[86] They were granted, as a result of their social status and generosity, public recognition. This openness was probably due to the fact that the city was in need of certain resources which could not be supported only by men, but also because the community allowed, expected or even required women to contribute to the well being of its people. More precisely, the benefactions, which were in the classical period the attribute of men,[87] became an attribute of financially capable women as well. These women were "able, willing or required to part some of the wealth"[88] with the city. However, one must not forget the fact that in two of the four cases, women were worshipped together with their husbands, being in this case brought forward in society due to them, as Ulpia Matrona and Iulia Apolauste.

Regarding these honorific inscriptions, one may also observe a certain epigraphic pattern: except for the inscription of Ulpia Matrona and her husband Aurelius Priscius Isidorus, the inscriptions of the other three benefactresses mention the fact that they exceeded (*huperballo)* in generosity the previous office holders. This quantification could be both a manner of handling the ego of the benefactresses, and of stimulating a competition between office holders.

Even if these women were officially honoured, they did not have the benefit of funerary honours, from the local authorities,[89] as Archippe of Kyme, Iunia Theodora, Apollonis of Kyzikos.[90]

When it comes to the professional life, the epigraphic evidence is much lighter for the moment. More precisely, there are only two professionals attested, in the medical and industrial field.

The medical field was more open towards accepting women among its members, being the only science where women have been attested.[91] However, this professional path was undertaken mostly by men,[92] and when it was undertaken by women, it was mostly due to a family tradition.[93]

A fragmentary inscription mentions the position of *iatreine* of an unknown deceased woman from Tomis.[94] Unfortunately professional terms such as *techne iatrike*, *empeiria*, *episteme*, *epitedeuma*,[95] which denote the skills of a medical professional, do not occur in the present inscription, which is both fragmentary and laconic[96]. Another possible practician was a woman from 2nd century Callatis. In her sarcophagus, different characteristic containers were found,[97] which might infer her working environment.

A surprising professional aspect comes from Tomis, where a stamp on a lamp attests the involvement of a woman in this field; the text reads „*Amia epoiei*".[98] It is a lamp of Loeschcke

[85] ISM I 29, ISM I 57, ISM II 72, ISM II 96.
[86] THUCYDIDES 2.45.2.
[87] GAUTHIER 1985, 74.
[88] van BREMEN 1996, 34.
[89] BIELMAN-STOLBA 1999, 170.
[90] BIELMAN-STOLBA 1998, 9–12.
[91] DANA 2014, 21.
[92] SAMAMA 2003, 15; APARASCHIVEI 2012, 63; DANA 2014, 40.
[93] DANA 2014, 29.
[94] ISM II 333.
[95] DANA 2007, 200. At Byzantion, an inscription testifies the existence of an *iatreine*, Mousa being iconographically represented with a papyrus-roll in her hands.
[96] Based on the number of lines it has.
[97] RĂDULESCU ET ALII 1973, 259; DANA 2011, 187.
[98] SEG 31,689,4.

VIII = Iconomu XX type,[99] from the 2nd century AD, and has two deities on it. The lamp was found among four others in an inhumation burial, but no additional information on its exact finding spot is available. The other three lamps have the stamp of a well known potter, Euktemon.[100] The last known storage place of the aforementioned lamp was in the museum collection from Vânători-Neamţ, a collection set into place by C. Bordeianu.[101] The lamp was made of clay (L = 8.1 cm, D = 6.5 cm), and the divinities depicted were suggested to be identified with one of the following pairs: Dionysos and Pluton, Poseidon and Amphitrite, Pluton and Proserpina, or Demeter and Proserpina.[102] Besides this item, there are two more lamps[103] which have the same shape, and one of them has the same representation,[104] both coming from Tomis, but lacking the stamp.

Amia is a Greek female name which is rather uncommon,[105] and the absence of a patronym does not necessarily lead to a conclusion on her social status. The name on the lamp could mark the name of the eponymous officer from the city where the item came from; the name of the owner/ producer of the workshop; or the name of the item's content producer.[106] Most probably Amia was the owner of the workshop, a fact which is not surprising considering that other Greek cities, like Athens, provide evidence of women-owners. There, in the 5th century AD, two important workshops owned by two women (Chione and Soteria) were active; additionally there were three other workshops of a lesser importance owned as well by women.[107] The singular find from Tomis could most probably suggest that the workshop of Amia was a small one, which did not compete with the ones of Markos, or Euktemon.

Besides these professionals, in the 3rd century AD rural territory of Istros, we have a Roman citizen, Messia Pudentilla,[108] in the stance of a landowning lady. Boundry stones were set to establish her estate, following a conflict with the local population (*vicani Buteridavenses*), conflict settled down in her favour by the governor Ovinius Tertullus (AD 198–202), through the fleet-commander, M. Vindius Verianus. The two inscriptions bearing this text lead to the identification of *vicus Buteridavensis* as situated in the Histrian territory, more precisely in the nowadays Mihai Viteazu commune.[109]

Owning a quite significant rural property meant of course having certain power[110] and position, yet we do not know an essential part, respectively what was her legal status, more precisely what were the relations to her male family members, if there were any male family members alive. Nonetheless, it seems that she was allowed to own and manage her estate, an activity usually attributed to men. Due probably to the *nomen gentile*, Pippidi thought that a possible sibiling of hers could be Messius Cornelius from Istros,[111] who appears to be a member of a religious association in roughly the same period.[112] Without further proof, the blood kinship cannot be taken for granted.

---

[99] RUSU-BOLINDEŢ 2011, 407.

[100] For a detailed discussion on this potter, see ICONOMU 2013, 89–104.

[101] ICONOMU/BORDEIANU 1981, 269.

[102] ICONOMU/BORDEIANU 1981, 275.

[103] ICONOMU 1967, 72, nr. 250–251, fig. 110–111.

[104] ICONOMU 1967, 72, nr. 250, fig. 110.

[105] LGPN IV 2005, 20; LGPN VA 2010, 24.

[106] BIELMAN 2002, 199.

[107] KARIVERI 1996, 56.

[108] ISM I 359, 360.

[109] SUCEVEANU 1971, 155–166 with the corresponding bibliography.

[110] The name and the profile resonate well (on a local, lower lever) with Apuleius' Aemilia Pudentilla, who according to GUTSFLED 252–254, owned 8.800 *iugera* of land and at least 600 slaves.

[111] ISM I 360 (commentary). PIPPIDI 1965, 304.

[112] ISM I 196, 201.

Geographical mobility and education are two facets of the "cosmopolitan life" which can be traced in this area and time. This last part will take into account those women who changed their residence (temporarily or permanently), and who are mentioned in various inscriptions from abroad; but this part will also bring focus on the educated women. These details will help complete the outlook on women's live at Istros, Tomis and Callatis.

The status of foreigner can be inferred based on at least three criteria: the specific mention of the *origo*, onomastics, and sometimes even religion.[113] In our case, only the first criterion will apply, due to the fact that the other criteria are less accurate.

During the Hellenistic and Roman period, mobility, including that of women, was more frequent than before, and Pontic women benefited from it. Around 2000 individuals from the Greek cities of the Black Sea appear in inscriptions from abroad,[114] both in the Pontic area, and in the Mediterranean,[115] among which women. Their precise reasons for relocation rest unknown, but they were probably based on personal choices (family-related, economic). Statistically, most relocated women were from Callatis (8[116]), then from Istros (5[117]), and lastly from Tomis (1[118]); while the adoptive homes were also predominantly Greek lands. Most of the inscriptions are funerary (10), one is honorific and one is votive. Based on the epigraphic evidence we can assume long term relocation for 13 of the 14 women, but unfortunately the precise reasons for choosing those cities is clear only in one case. The sole Latin inscription refers to Aurelia Stratocleia, a Roman citizen, who certainly relocated to Abrittus due to the fact that her husband, Flavius Maximinus, was a *beneficiarius consularis* there.[119] Even though they do not specify the reasons for relocating, two more inscriptions provide details regarding the women they mention. The first one is the inscription of Bakchis Kallatiane,[120] and the second is the one of Hedeia.[121] The latter was the daughter of Glykea Kallatiane (possibly a *nothos* since she bears no patronymic, and the only family member named is her mother), and she relocated at a young age to Kyzikos, together with her mother. There she married and died in childbirth. The other 9 inscriptions provide only the name of women, their patronymic, and sometimes the name of the family member who dedicated the inscription.

The overall number of relocated women being low, not many conclusions can be drawn, and no preference for a specific area can be pointed out.

On the other way round, due to their *origo*, [122] one may identify various foreign women who established in these three *poleis*. Among them, we mention: Zmyrne of Nicomedia (Pontus et Bithynia),[123] Menia Iuliane of Tyana (Cappadocia),[124] Ampliata Gennaidos of Sidon (Syria).[125]

Evidence for educated women is rather poor,[126] and this is probably because women were not expected to be scholars,[127] or to have such a male virtue as wisdom.[128] In spite of the

[113] CURCĂ/ZUGRAVU 2005, 316; MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009, *passim*.
[114] AVRAM 2014, 99.
[115] AVRAM 2014, 107.
[116] Delos (PPEE 2202), Athens (PPEE 2161, PPEE 2163, PPEE 2170), Smyrna (PPEE 2212), Kyzicos (PPEE 2214), Attica (PPEE 2169), Karystos (PPEE 2208).
[117] Kos (PATON/HICKS 232, nr. 364), Alexandria (PPEE 2158), Athens (PPEE 2115).
[118] Abrittus (PPEE 3137).
[119] PPEE 3137.
[120] PPEE 2163.
[121] IKyzikos 510.
[122] CURCĂ/ZUGRAVU 2005, 329.
[123] ISM II 328.
[124] ISM II 129.
[125] ISM II 290.
[126] DANA 2007, 192.
[127] DANA 2011, 151.
[128] BIELMAN 2003, 103.

scarcity of information, some privileged women were educated, or at least were considered as wise. In this respect, Tomis provides explicit evidence for four women, but probably their number was higher and it certainly included members of the elite.

Epiphania, wife of Hermogenes, was from continental Greece, her father being from Hermione, and her mother from Athens.[129] Both her father and her second husband were *naukleroi*, which implied geographical mobility for her. Her name and the reference to the Muses, leads one to believe she was and educated individual.[130] She rejoiced the virtue of wisdom, just like Moschion, wife of Kestianon.[131] The latter was depicted holding a papyrus roll in her hand, posture not uncommon, but less common on the western shore of the Black Sea.[132] Less common for the area (but also for the Greek world, in general[133]) is also her name, which occurs only once at Istros.[134] The text does not refer to her intellectual abilities, but the iconography does: the papyrus roll is a symbol of *sophia*, intellectual prowess.[135] In this funerary banquet scene, she is depicted together with her husband, both posing in the stance of intellectuals.[136]

The evidence for the third woman is scantier, the text is laconic, mentioning only the name of the deceased, Matrona, and two epithets: "sober and wise".[137] These may, however, reveal her conduct both in the private and public life. Her name does not reveal much, occurring two more times at Tomis.[138]

The last case is the one of Kyrille, who was described by her husband as wise, both in marriage and in life,[139] description which is similar to the previous case.

Probably women from the upper social *stratum* were given basic education, which implied reading, and writing, but in some cases, they could also be professionally trained, as the reference to an *iatreine* suggests.[140]

No examples have come up of women musicians, a stance which is rather common when depicting women in inscription, a much more common position than that of educated beings.[141]

Even though most inscriptions depict women as mothers, dutiful wives, or daughters, some of them were more than this, proving the fact that their lives could have been much more intense from a social and professional perspective. Yet, life in the three cities was not similar to the one in Olbia,[142] where domestic and commercial responsabilities could be shared between partners.

When it comes to the epithets used to describe women, the variety and number is not impressive; only 31 out of the 214 inscriptions contain epithets, and these fall into three categories: epithets which relate to women in the role of Aphrodite (*dulcissmia*, *glukutate*, *kale*, *teimiotate*), the Muses (*semne-sophe*) and Penelope (*amemptos*, *bene merenti*, *carissima*, *dextrata*,

---

[129] ISM II 375.

[130] DANA 2011, 152.

[131] ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 1977, 150; ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 1985, 63; CONRAD 2004, 162, nr. 137, pl. 45/3.

[132] DANA 2007, 208.

[133] LGPN I, II, IIIA, IV, VA, VB.

[134] ISM I 29; LGPN IV.

[135] BIELMAN 2003, 101; BIELMAN 2008, 180–186; DANA 2011, 169; VÉRILHAC 1985, 87.

[136] Kestianon holds in his right arm a wreath, and on his left arm a *stilus*. DANA 2011, 166.

[137] ISM II 461.

[138] ISM II 372, ISM II 377. LGPN IV.

[139] ISM II 380.

[140] ISM II 333.

[141] VÉRILHAC 1985, 89.

[142] OLLER 2015, 61.

eusebeia, *nobilissima*, *optima*, *pientissima*, *poluainete*, *semne, stolata femina*), pattern which corresponds to the one established by A.-M. Vérilhac.[143] These virtues should nonetheless be perceived as a standard description and representation of women, bound to the domestic sphere, virtues summeriezed by CIL 6.10230:[144] *For these reasons praise for all good women is simple and similar, since their native goodness and the trust they have maintained do not require a diversity of words. Sufficient is the fact that they have all done the same good deeds with the fine reputation they deserved, and since it is hard to find new forms of praise for a woman, since their lives fluctuate with less diversity, by necessity we pay tribute to values they hold in common, so that nothing may be lost from fair precepts and harm what remains.* This stance was characteristic for funerary inscriptions, and not for honorific inscriptions;[145] in the latter, women's public image differed due to the financial support offered to their city.

From a linguistic perspective, Greek language prevails in inscriptions: 150 vs 62 in Latin and only 1 inscription is bilingual.[146] In all of the three *poleis* the inscriptions written in Greek are predominant, Callatis having the least number of Latin inscriptions (3), this being maybe an echo of the *civitas foederata* status it had. This shows a Greek speaking population (of both locals and foreigners), or at least one that preferred Greek language over Latin, even in the Roman period. Latin inscriptions are frequent in the 2nd and 3rd centuries in all of the three *poleis*. The choice of the Greek language over Latin is characteristic both for official inscriptions, and for funerary inscriptions, which imply a more personal choice. This may indicate nonetheless the fact that women were subordinated to the local linguistic pattern, where Greek overcomes Latin.[147]

From an onomastic point of view, Tomis has a much more diverse background, we find more Thracian *cognomina*, as well as Roman and Romanized names. At Istros and Callatis we find mostly Greek *cognomina*, followed by Roman and Romanized names, and some Thracian *cognomina* as well. At Tomis women who distinguished themselves were from the Roman and Romanized elite, while at Istros and Callatis we find mostly women of Greek origin, coming both from the upper and middle class.

The present paper tried to point out the fact that the universe of women involved opportunities outside the domestic sphere. One may say that social status allowed women to make themselves known over the centuries. Unfortunately, in what concerns the public involvement, a specific evolution cannot be traced due to the scarcity of inscriptions. However, one can notice an increase in the number of women publicly involved, and honoured by the community. The religious sphere remains, all along the centuries, "typical" for women, which indicates a more "traditional" *status-quo*.

Just like in the other parts of the Greek East and Roman West, at Istros, Tomis and Callatis, women were active members of their society, but they continued to live in a male dominated society, where the offices held were not of administrative significance, and where funerary inscription overturn the honorific inscriptions dedicated to them, just as the domestic sphere dominated their lives.

[143] VÉRILHAC 1985, 86.
[144] Apud FORBIS 1990, 493.
[145] As for example in Italy: FORBIS 1990, 494.
[146] ISM II 199. The 2nd century AD monument denotes a better knowledge of the Greek language than of Latin.
[147] RIZAKIS 1995, 388.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

AÉ
Année Épigraphique 1983, 1985.
IKYZIKOS I
E. SCHWERTHEIM, Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung (Bonn 1980).
ISM I
D. M. PIPPIDI, Inscripţiile din Scythia Minor I. Histria şi împrejurimile (Bucureşti 1983).
ISM II
I. STOIAN, Incripţiile din Scythia Minor II. Tomis şi teritoriul său (Bucureşti 1987).
ISM III
Al. AVRAM, Inscriptions de Scythie Mineure III. Callatis et son territoire (Bucarest, Paris 1999).
LGPN IV
P. M. FRASER/E. MATTHEWS/R. W. V. CATLING (eds.), A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names IV. Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea (Oxford 2005).
SEG
Supplementum epigraphicum graecum 2000, 2006.

ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 1977
M. ALEXANDRESCU VIANU, Le banquet funéraire sur les stèles de la Mésie Inférieure: schémas et modèles, Dacia N.S. 21, 139–166.
ALEXANDRESCU VIANU 1985
M. ALEXANDRESCU VIANU, Les stèles funéraires de la Mésie inférieure, Dacia N.S. 29, 57–79.
APARASCHIVEI 2012
D. APARASCHIVEI, Healthcare and Medicine in Moesia Inferior (Iaşi 2012).
AVRAM 2007
Al. AVRAM, Le corpus des inscriptions d'Istros revisité, Dacia N.S. 51, 2007.
AVRAM 2013
Al. AVRAM, Prosopographia Ponti Euxini externa (Leuven 2013).
AVRAM 2014A
Al. AVRAM, La mer Noire et la Méditerranée: quelques aspects concernant la mobilité des personnes. In Victor Cojocaru *et al.* (eds.), Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Cluj-Napoca 2014), 99–132.
AVRAM 2014B
Al. AVRAM, Notes épigraphiques (IV), Pontica XLVII, 2014, 451–463.
AVRAM/MARCU 1999
Al. AVRAM/M. MARCU, Monument epigrafic inedit de la Histria, SCIV(A) 50, 1999, 1–2, 71–77.
BAIN 2014
K. BAIN, Women's socioeconomic status and religious leadership in Asia Minor in the first two centuries C.E. (Minneapolis 2014).
BATTEN 2007
A. BATTEN, The Moral World of Greco-Roman Associations, SRSR 36(1) 2007, 135- 151.
BIELMAN/FREI-STOLBA 1998
A. BIELMAN/R. FREI-STOLBA, Femmes et funérailles publiques dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine. In A. Bielman, R. Frei-Stolba (ed.), Femmes et vie publique dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine (Lausanne 1998), 5–31.
BIELMAN/FREI-STOLBA 1999
A. BIELMAN/R. FREI-STOLBA, Honneurs aux défuntes. Études de documents d'époque hellénistique et impériale concédant des honneurs funèbres à des femmes. In S. Panciera *et al.* (eds.), Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafica Greca e Latina, Roma 18–24 settembre 1997, (Roma 1999), 163–170.

BIELMAN 2002
A. BIELMAN, Femmes en public dans le monde hellénistique: IVe-Ier s. av. J.-C. (Paris 2002).
BIELMAN 2003
A. BIELMAN, Une vertu en rouleau ou comment la sagesse vint aux Grecques. In Frei- Stolba *et al*. (eds.), Les femmes antiques entre sphère privée et sphère publique (Berne 2003), 77–107.
BIELMAN 2008
A. BIELMAN, L'éternité des femmes actives. Réflexions sur quelques monuments funéraires féminins de la Grèce hellénistique et impériale. In F. Bertholet *et al.* (eds.), Égypte-Grèce-Rome. Les différents visages des femmes antiques (Berne 2008), 147- 194.
BORDENACHE 1964
G. BORDENACHE, Temi i motivi della plastica funeraria d'età romana nella Moesia Inferior. I, Dacia N.S. 8, 1964, 161–176.
BORDENACHE 1965
G. BORDENACHE, Temi i motivi della plastica funeraria d'età romana nella Moesia Inferior. II, Dacia N.S. 9, 1965, 253–283.
BØGH 2012
B. BØGH, Mother of the Gods: Goddess of Power and Protector of Cities, Numen 59, 2012, 32–67.
van BREMEN 1983
R. van BREMEN, Women and Wealth. In Averil Cameron/Amélie Kuhrt (eds.), Images of Women in Antiquity (London 1983), 223–242.
van BREMEN 1996
R. van BREMEN, The Limits of Participation. Women and Civic Life in the Greek East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Amsterdam 1996).
COJOCARU 1996
V. COJOCARU, Ὀνομαστικόν. Aspects démographiques dans les villes ouest- pontiques de la province Moesia Inferior, AMold XIX, 1996, 135–149.
COJOCARU 2004
V. COJOCARU, Populaţia zonei nordice şi nord-vestice a Pontului Euxin în secolele VI-I a. Chr. pe baza izvoarelor epigrafice (Iaşi 2004).
COJOCARU 2007
V. COJOCARU, L'histoire par les noms dans les villes Grecques de Scythie et de Scythie Mineure aux VI^{e}-I^{er} Siècles av. J.-C. In Dimitrios V. Grammenos/Elias K. Petropoulos (eds.), Ancient Greek Colonies in the Black Sea 2. Volume I (Oxford 2007), 383–434.
CONNELLY 2007
J.B. CONNELLY, Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece (Princeton 2007).
CONRAD 2004
S. CONRAD, Die Grabstelen aus Moesia Inferior (Leipzig 2004).
CURCĂ/ ZUGRAVU 2005
R. CURCĂ/N. Zugravu, « Orientaux » dans la Dobrudja romaine. Une approche onomastique. In V. Cojocaru (ed.), Ethnic Contacts and Cultural Exchanges North and West of the Black Sea Coast from the Greek Colonization to the Ottoman Empire (Iaşi 2005), 313–329.
CURCĂ 2013
R. CURCĂ, La prosopographie des femmes en Mésie Inférieure. Une approche préliminaire, Classica et Christiana 8.1, 2013, 73–81.
DANA 2007
M. DANA, Éducation et culture à Istros, nouvelles considerations, Dacia N.S. 51, 2007, 185–209.
DANA 2011
M. DANA, Culture et mobilité dans le Pont-Euxin (Bordeaux 2011).
DANA 2014
M. DANA, Femmes et savoir médical dans les mondes antiques. In A. Gargam (éd.), Femmes de sciences de l'Antiquité au XIXe siècle. Réalités et représentations (Dijon 2014), 21–41.

DMITRIEV 2005
S. DMITRIEV, City Government in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor (Oxford 2005).
DUNCAN-JONES 1977
R. P. DUNCAN-JONES, Age Rounding, Illiteracy and Social Differentiation in the Roman Empire, Chiron 7, 1977, 333–353.
FELDNER 2002
A. FELDNER, Women's exclusion from *officium*, Forum Historiae Iuris, 2002, 1–15.
FORBIS 1990
E. P. FORBIS, Women's Public Image in Italian Honorary Inscriptions, AJPh 111, 1990, 493–512.
GAUTHIER 1985
P. GAUTHIER, Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs (Athènes, Paris 1985).
GUTSFELD 1992
A. GUTSFELD, Zur Wirtschaftsmentalität nichtsenatorischer provinzialer Oberschichten: Aemilia Pudentilla und ihre Verwandten, Klio 74, 1992, 250–268.
HARKNESS 1896
A. G. HARKNESS, Age at Marriage and Death in the Roman Empire, TransactAmPhilAss XXVII, 1896, 35–72.
HERZ 1992
P. HERZ, Asiarchen und Archiereis: zum Provinzialkult der Provinz Asia, Tyche 7, 1992, 93–115.
ICONOMU 1967
C. ICONOMU, Opaiţe greco-romane (Constanţa 1967).
ICONOMU 2013
C. ICONOMU, Euctemon-un producător de Lucerne la Tomis (I), AMold XXXVI, 2013, 89–104.
ICONOMU/BORDEIANU 1981
C. ICONOMU/C. BORDEIANU, O nouă descoperire de lucerne la Constanţa, Pontica XV, 1981, 269–276.
JAMES-DILLON 2012
S.L. JAMES/S. DILLON, A Companion to Women in the Ancient World (Oxford 2012).
KARIVERI 1996
A. KARIVERI, The Athenian Lamp Industry in Late Antiquity (Helsinki 1996).
KEARSLEY 1986
R.A. KEARSLEY, Asiarchs, Archiereis, and Archiereiai of Asia, GRBS 27, 1986, 183–192.
KENNEDY 2014
R.F. KENNEDY, Immigrant Women in Athens. Gender, Ethnicity, and Citizenship in the Classical City (New York 2014).
LEFKOWITZ 1983
M. R. LEFKOWITZ, Influential Women. In Averil Cameron, Amélie Kuhrt (eds.), Images of Women in Antiquity (London 1983), 49–65.
MACMULLEN 1980
R. MACMULLEN, Women in Public in the Roman Empire, Historia XXIX, 1980, 208- 218.
MAURER 2014
K. MAURER, Der Pontarch des westpontischen Koinons, Dacia N.S. 58, 2014, 141- 188.
MIGEOTTE 1992
L. MIGEOTTE, Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques (Genève 1992).
MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009
L. MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Speranţa de viaţă, mortalitatea, structura de vârstă şi fertilitatea în Scythia Minor (sfârşitul secolului al III-lea, secolul al VI-lea). In Lucreţiu Ion Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (ed.), *Structuri etno-demografice la Dunărea de Jos (sec. I-VII p. Chr.)* (Iaşi 2009), 101–123.
MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2009
L. MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Străinii în Moesia Inferior. Posibilităţi de identificare. In Lucreţiu

Mihăilescu-Bîrliba (ed.), Structuri etno-demografice la Dunărea de Jos (sec. 1–7 p. Chr.) (Iaşi 2009), 153–160.

MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA/CURCĂ 2010
L. MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA/R. CURCĂ, New perspectives on the demography of Roman province Moesia Inferior, Man. Q. 51, 2010, 139–153.

MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2012
L. MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA, Les "Romains" dans la cité d'Istros sous le Haut-Empire, Dacia 56, 2012, 91–98.

MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2013
L. MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA, La mobilité interne en Mésie Inférieure selon les sources épigraphiques. In Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Sümer Atasoy, Alexandru Avram, Şevket Dönmez, James Hargrave (eds.), *The Bosporus: Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st Millenium BC–5th Century AD)* (Oxford 2013), 185–195.

NAWOTKA 1997
K. D. NAWOTKA, The Western Pontic Cities: History and Political Organization (Amsterdam 1997).

van NIJF 1997
O. van NIJF, The Civic World of Professional Associations in the Roman East (Leiden 1997).

OLLER 2015
M. OLLER, Femmes et pouvoir chez les peoples des steppes eurasiatiques. In Gocha R. Tsetskhladze, Alexandru Avram, James Hargrave (Eds.), *The Danubian Land Between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC–10th Century AD)* (Oxford 2015), 59–62.

PÂRVAN 1923
V. PÂRVAN, Histria VII. Inscripţii găsite în 1916, 1921 şi 1922 (Bucureşti 1923).

PIFTOR 2007−2008
V. PIFTOR, L'ésperance de vie et la structure d'âge de la population féminine en Mésie Inférieure (Ier-IIIe s. ap. J.-C.), SAA XIII-XIV, 2007–2008, 135–145.

PIFTOR 2013
V. PIFTOR, Age Rounding and Social Status in Moesia Inferior, SAA XIX, 2013, 87–114.

PIPPIDI 1965
D. M. PIPPIDI, Spicuiri epigrafice, StCl VII, 1965, p. 297–310.

PIPPIDI 1966
D. M. PIPPIDI, Note de lectură, StCl VIII, 1966, p. 87–96.

PIPPIDI 1968
D. M. PIPPIDI, La seconde fondation d'Istros à la lumière d'un document inédit, BCH 92.1, 1968, 226–240.

PIPPIDI 1998
D. M. PIPPIDI, Studii de istorie a religiilor antice[2] (Bucureşti 1998).

POMEROY 1973
S. B. POMEROY, Selected Bibliography on Women in Antiquity, Arethusa 6.1, 1973, 125–159.

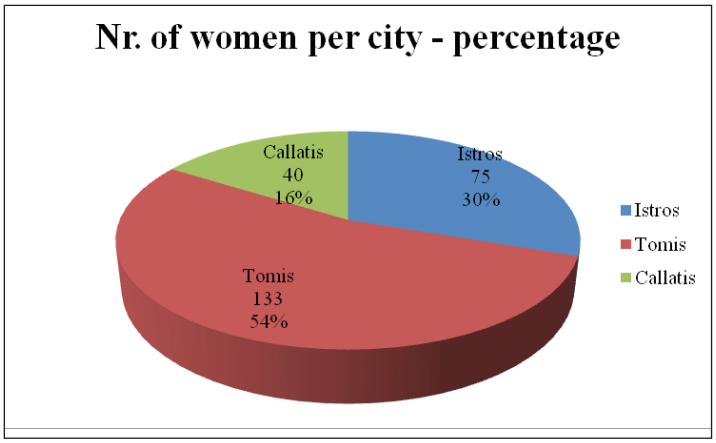
POPESCU 1960
E. POPESCU, The Histrian Decree for Aba (2nd Century of our Era), Dacia N.S. 4, 1960, 273–296.

RĂDULESCU/COMAN/STAVRU 1973
A.V. RĂDULESCU, El. COMAN, C. STAVRU, Un sarcofago di età romana scoperto nella necropoli tumulare di Callatis, Pontica 6, 1973, 247–265.

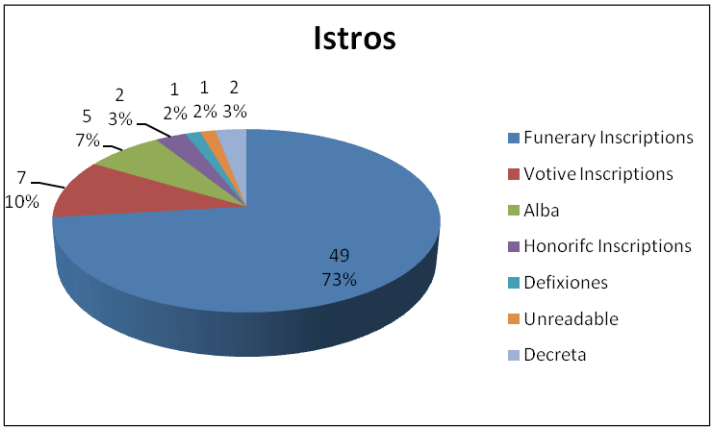
RIZAKIS 1995
A. RIZAKIS, Le grec face au latin. Le paysage linguistic dans la peninsule balkanique sous l'empire. In Heikki Solin/Olli Salomies/Uta-Maria Liertz (eds.), *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini* (Helsinki 1995), 373–391.

RIZAKIS 1996
A. RIZAKIS, Anthroponymie et société. Les noms romains dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire. In A.D. Rizakis (ed.), *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects* (Athens 1996), 11–29.

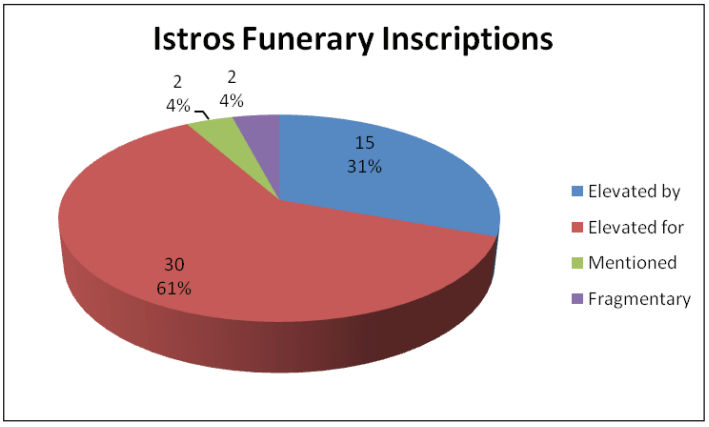
ROBERT 1940
L. ROBERT, Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec (Paris 1940).
RUSCU 1996
L. RUSCU, Die wechselseitigen Aussenbeziehungen zwischen Einzelpersonen und Staaten in Bezug auf die Griechenstädte der rumänischen Schwarzmeerküste, EphemNapoc 6, 1996, 11–42.
RUSCU 2004
L. RUSCU, Families at Histria, Tomis and Callatis: Two Prosopographical Notes. In Cr. Găzdac/Cr. Roman (eds.), *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (Cluj 2004), 907–911.
RUSCU 2010
L. RUSCU, Pergamenisches an der westpontischen Küste. In M. V. Angelescu, I. Achim/A. Bâltâc/V. Rusu-Bolindeţ/V. Bottez (eds.), *Antiquitas istro-pontica. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Alexandru Suceveanu* (Cluj- Napoca 2010), 51–58.
RUSCU 2012
L. RUSCU, "Römer" in den trajanischen Poleisgründungen in Niedermösien un Thrakien. In L. Mihăilescu-Bîrliba/O. Bounegru (eds.), *Migration und Akkulturation im Osten des Mittelmeerraumes in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 2012), 63–76.
RUSCU 2014A
L. RUSCU, Becoming Roman? Shifting Identities in the Western Pontic Greek Cities. In Victor Cojocaru *et al.* (eds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (Cluj-Napoca 2014), 473–488.
RUSCU 2014B
L. Ruscu, On Cult Associations at Istros and Tomis, EphemNapoca XXIV, 2014, 139- 153.
RUSU-BOLINDEŢ 2011
V. RUSU-BOLINDEŢ, Lămpi de perioadă romană timpurie de la Histria. Aspecte legate de activitatea atelierelor care produc lămpi din Dobrogea romană, Pontica XLIV, 2011, 269–292.
SAMAMA 2003
É. SAMAMA, Les médecins dans le monde grec: sources épigraphiques sur la naissance d'un corpus médical (Genève 2003).
SANTIAGO/OLLER 2011
R.A. SANTIAGO, M. OLLER, Relaciones con el exterior en el mundo griego antigo: tempranos ejemplos de active participación de la mujer, Minerva 24, 2011, 99–112.
SARNOWSKI 1993
T. SARNOWSKI, Primi ordines et centuriones legionis I Italicae und eine Dedikation an Septimius Severus aus Novae in Niedermoesien, ZPE 95, 1993, 205–219.
SHAW 1987
B. D. SHAW, The Age of Roman Girls at Marriage: Some Reconsiderations, JRS 77, 1987, 30–46.
SOLIN 2003
H. SOLIN, Die Griechischen Personnamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch, I, II, III. (Berlin/New York 2003).
SUCEVEANU
A. SUCEVEANU, Din nou despre CIL III 14 447, Peuce II, 1971, 155–166.
TACHEVA-HITOVA 1980
M. TACHEVA-HITOVA, Population et onomastique d'Asie Mineure en Mésie Inférieure, Pulpudeva 2, 1980, 81–88.
THUCYDIDES
THUCYDIDES, The Peloponnesian War. Translated by Martin Hammond, with an introduction and notes by P. J. Rhodes (New York 2009).
VÉRILHAC 1985
A.-M. VÉRILHAC, L'image de la femme dans les épigrammes funéraires grecques. La femme dans le monde méditerranéen. I. Antiquité, TMO 10.1, 1985, 85–112.
VIVANTE 2007
B. VIVANTE, Daughters of Gaia: Women in the Ancient Mediterranean World (London 2007).



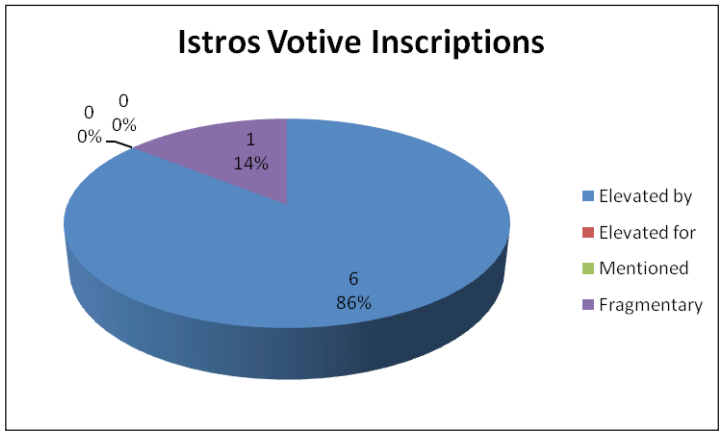
Graphic 1. Percentage of inscriptions mentioning women/ city.



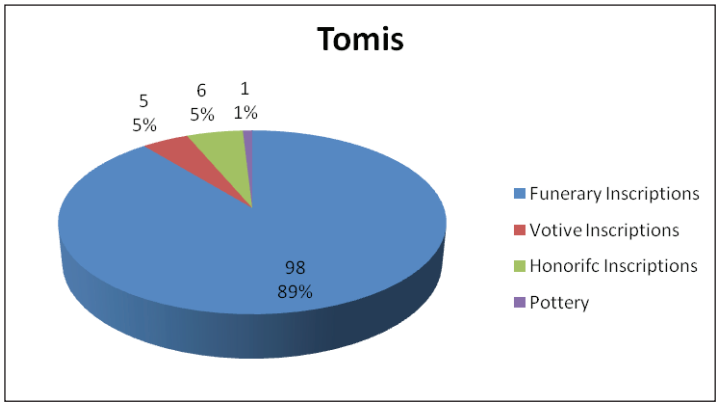
Graphic 2. Percentage of inscription's type. Istros.



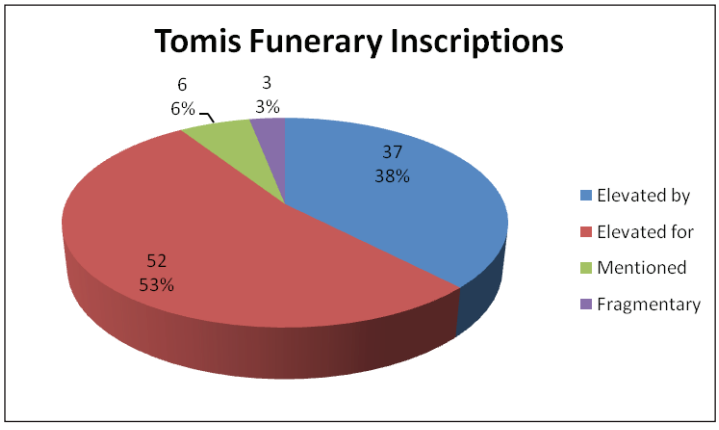
Graphic 3. Percentage of funerary inscriptions. Istros.



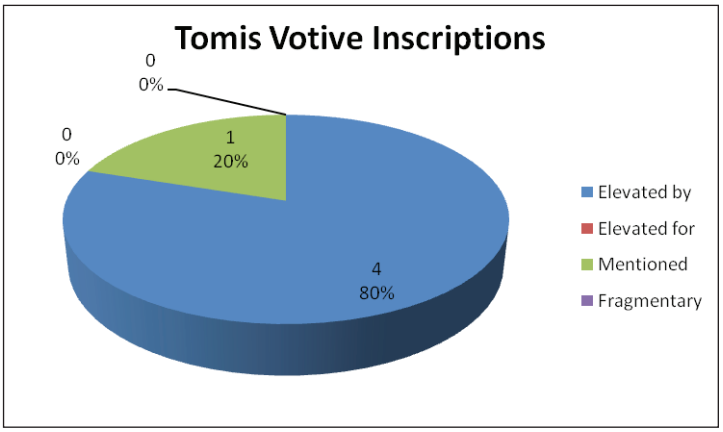
Graphic 4. Percentage of votive inscriptions. Istros.



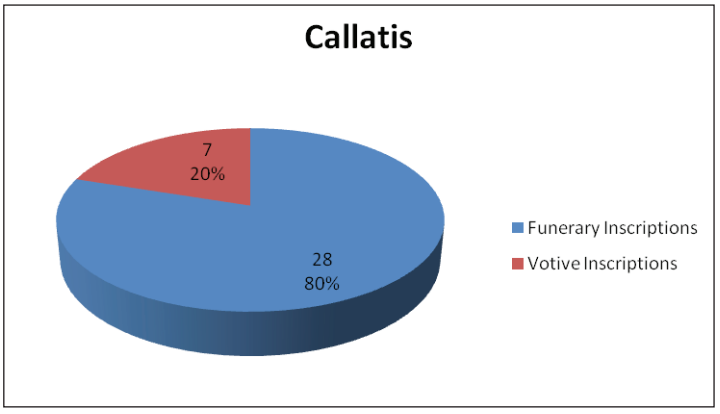
Graphic 5. Percentage of inscription's type. Tomis.



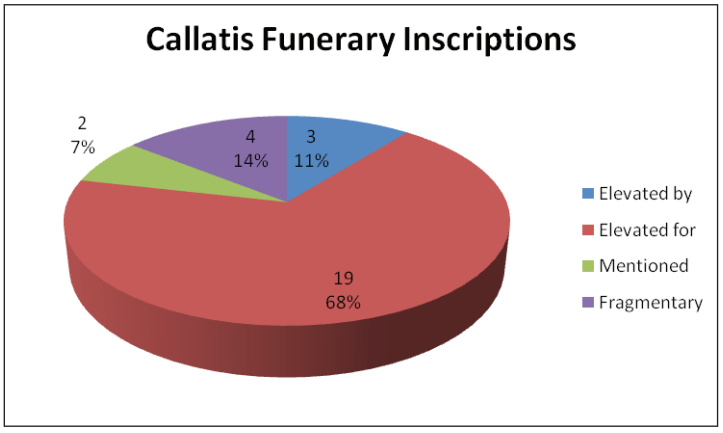
Graphic 6. Percentage of funerary inscriptions. Tomis.



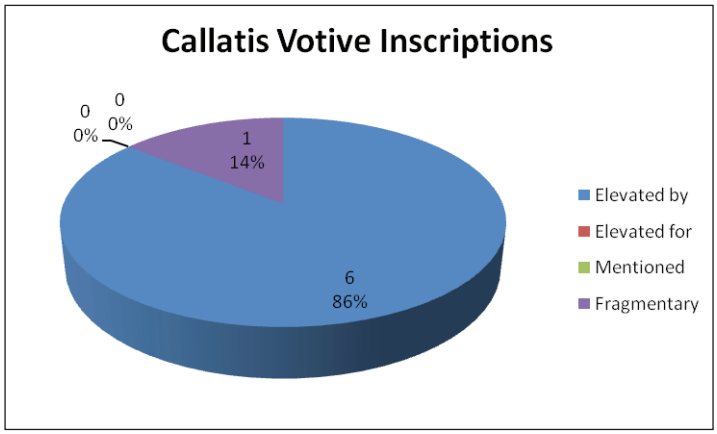
Graphic 7. Percentage of votive inscriptions. Tomis.



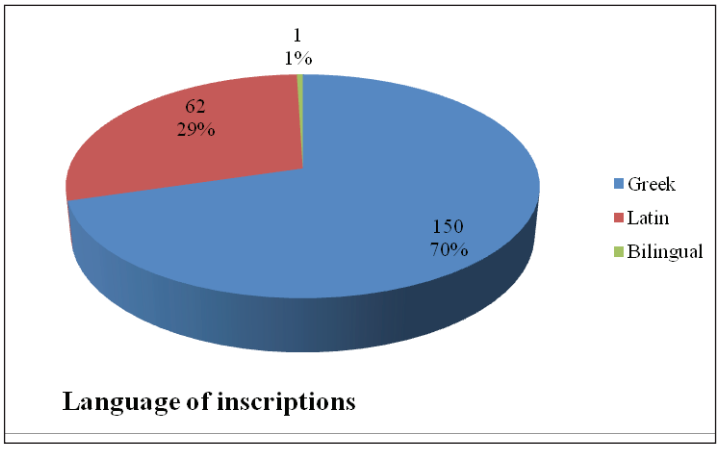
Graphic 8. Percentage of inscription's type. Callatis.



Graphic 9. Percentage of funerary inscriptions. Callatis.



Graphic 10. Percentage of votive inscriptions. Callatis.



Graphic 11. Percentage of the language used in inscriptions mentioning women.