

Matthew Roller

## ***Volgei nescia*: On the Paradox of Praising Women’s Invisibility\***

A funerary plaque of travertine marble, originally from a tomb on the Via Nomentana outside of Rome and dating to the middle of the first century BCE, commemorates the butcher Lucius Aurelius Hermia, freedman of Lucius, and his wife Aurelia Philematio, likewise a freedman of Lucius. The rectangular plaque is divided into three panels of roughly equal width. The center panel bears a relief sculpture depicting a man and woman who stand and face one another; the woman raises the man’s right hand to her mouth and kisses it. The leftmost panel, adjacent to the male figure, is inscribed with a metrical text of two elegiac couplets. It represents the husband Aurelius’ words about his wife, who has predeceased him and is commemorated here. The rightmost panel, adjacent to the female figure, is likewise inscribed with a metrical text of three and one half elegiac couplets. It represents the wife Aurelia’s words: she speaks of her life and virtues in the past tense, as though from beyond the grave.<sup>1</sup> The figures depicted in relief presumably represent the married individuals who are named and speak in the inscribed texts; the woman’s hand-kissing gesture seems to confirm this, as it represents a visual pun on the cognomen *Philematio/Philematium*, “little kiss.”<sup>2</sup>

This relief, now in the British Museum, is well known and has received extensive scholarly discussion.<sup>3</sup> Here, I wish to focus on a single phrase in the text Aurelia is represented as speaking. Enumerating her virtues in the second verse, she describes herself as *casta pudens volgei nescia feida viro* – “chaste, modest, not knowing the crowd, faithful to my husband.” My interest is specifically in the phrase *volgei nescia*, “not knowing the crowd.”<sup>4</sup> The other virtue terms are fairly conventional: women’s funerary inscriptions commonly praise “domestic” virtues like *castitas*, *pudicitia*, and *modestia*, along with *obsequium* and *fides* (presumably to her husband, when not

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\* This contribution is offered in modest tribute to Alan Shapiro’s pathbreaking work on women in antiquity and on their iconography. His warmth and generosity as a friend and colleague has transformed my scholarship, along with my view of the field of Classics. The piece presented here would never have come into existence but for the new horizons he has opened for me over the years. It develops an idea I first explored, briefly, in Roller 2001, 24 n. 16.

1 *CIL* 6.9499 = *ILS* 7472; also in many other corpora. Chioffi 1999, 15 provides an up-to-date text.

2 So Koortbojian 2006, 92, correctly.

3 Most recently Koortbojian 2006 and Chioffi 1999, 14–17, both with extensive epigraphic and iconographical discussion and further bibliography.

4 The adjective *nescius*, in its active sense of “not knowing, ignorant of,” commonly takes an objective genitive (OLD, s.v. *nescius* 1b and 2). *Volgei* is genitive singular, with *-ei* standing, as often in Republican inscriptions, for the long *i* of Classical Latin (this orthography is seen elsewhere in this inscription in the words *feida*, *conleibertus*, *eidem*, and *veixsit*).

specified), and valorize domestic activities like woolworking (*lanificium*, *lanam facere*, etc.) and “staying at home” (*domum servare*, *domiseda*, etc.).<sup>5</sup> Nor are these virtues and activities lauded only in the non-elite social stratum, from which most of these funerary inscriptions come. The emperor Augustus himself supposedly saw to it that his daughter Julia, as well as her own daughters, were accustomed to woolworking, and that even they, princesses though they were, should not consort with people outside the household.<sup>6</sup> The phrase *volgei nescia*, seen in the context of this cluster of domestic virtues, may perhaps be regarded as equivalent to “staying at home”: to do the latter rigorously would mean that one has no exposure to persons beyond the house’s walls. Now, these professed domestic ideals probably had little to do with the reality of many women’s lives. Augustus’ womenfolk were by no means invisible or inaccessible to the larger world; and in non-elite social strata many women worked.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, this very inscription gives us grounds for suspecting that Aurelia actively labored or in some way assisted her husband in his work.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, many women of means functioned as civic benefactors and priestesses in cities and towns throughout the empire; for these activities they were honored with statues and inscriptions. Thus, their exclusion from the official arenas of governmental activity patently did not preclude other forms of visible, public (even civic) activity.<sup>9</sup> So to the extent that predicates like *domiseda* or *volgei nescia* were thought to indicate women’s virtues, they were probably seldom enacted in any strict way. But even if we take these professed domestic virtues on their own terms as representing aspects of an idealized value system, the phrase *volgei nescia* poses a paradox. For the plaque commemorat-

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5 See, e.g., ILS 8393.30 (*Laudatio Turiae*), 8394 (*Laudatio Murdiae* = CIL 6.10230), 8402–8404 (= CIL 6.11602/34045, 15346, 11357), CIL 6.37965.12–15 (epitaph of Allia Potestas: see below). For detailed discussion of women’s domestic virtues and the relationships they articulate between the civic and domestic or public and private spheres, see Milnor 2005, 27–34; brief observations by Forbis 1990, 493–494.

6 Suetonius, *Aug.* 64.4: *filiam et neptes ita instituit ut etiam lanificio assuefacerent ... extraneorum quidem coetu ... prohibuit*; also 73.1.

7 Kampen 1981 remains the landmark study of working women, though focusing on Ostia.

8 Aurelius, in the last verse of his text, declares that “she never held back from her duty out of greed” (*nulla in avaritie cessit ab officio*), and Aurelia concludes her own text by asserting that “he prospered in every respect thanks to my unremitting dutifulness” (*ille meo officio adsiduo florebat ad o[mn]is*). Precisely what *officium* she so diligently discharged is not made explicit. But its linkage in both occurrences with terms referring to material acquisition (*avaritia*, *floreo*) may imply that it involved supporting her husband’s work.

9 Forbis 1990 contrasts the conventional cluster of domestic virtues, as described above, with the quite different cluster of virtues ascribed to women who are honored as benefactors in Italian towns: these women are praised for their *munificentia*, *liberalitas*, *beneficia*, and *merita* – the same qualities ascribed to male benefactors. On the public discourse associated with female benefactors elsewhere in the empire, see MacMullen 1980. Davies 2008 argues that the iconography of honorific public statues of Roman women makes visible the tension between idealized domestic virtues and the real public activities that occasioned these statues.

ing Aurelia was mounted on a funerary monument for all passersby on the Via Nomentana to see; Aurelia is thus being lauded before the eyes of an indiscriminate public for the virtue of not having been exposed to that public. In other words, supposing that the predicate *volgei nescia* does indeed represent a virtue in an idealized system of values that could be applied to Roman women, and supposing that Aurelia indeed never set foot outside the house and so “really was” *volgei nescia* (or if we are to believe that of her), is this virtue not abnegated by the very fact of being celebrated in this way? Does praising a woman for her lack of public exposure not defeat itself by destroying that virtue in the very act of praising it? In short, how is such praise possible?

To grapple further with this paradox, we turn to the (in)famous passage on women's virtues from Perikles' funeral oration, as related by Thucydides (2.45). In his “brief exhortation” to the bereaved women of Athens, Perikles declares that good opinion attaches to those women who do not fall short of their proper nature, and also to the woman about whom there is the least celebrity for virtue or reproach among males (τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χεῖροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη ἢ δόξα καὶ ἤς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾗ).<sup>10</sup> Here, the same kind of domestic virtue is patently being valorized as in the cluster of values discussed above for Roman women. While Athenian women were generally excluded from the quintessentially civic arenas of the assembly, lawcourts, gymnasium, and magistracies, nevertheless many Athenian women of non-elite status, like their Roman counterparts, worked outside the home and hence were not exempt from the critical, judging gaze and speech of men. Nor were elite women necessarily invisible or exempt from that judging gaze: Perikles' own wife, Aspasia, is hardly a shining example of a woman about whom there is no celebrity among males for virtue or reproach. But let us, again, take the professed values on their own terms, as signaling an idealized vision of female domesticity and an associated moral discourse. Even within this discourse, and according to its own logic, how is the high opinion of any given woman to come into being, if there is no report whatsoever about her? Supposing that a positive evaluation among males is based upon their knowing the sheer fact of her existence and nothing else whatsoever about her, how is even that basic information to be acquired in the absence of any report regarding her? Some scholars have attempted to resolve this paradox by focusing on particular contexts in which the words ἀρετή (virtue) and ψόγος (reproach) could take on specific references, thereby narrowing their scope in order to avoid contradiction. Walter Lacey, for example, focuses on the funerary context of the speech: he argues that ἀρετή and ψόγος refer specifically to how rituals of mourning are discharged, concluding that it

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**10** “celebrity ... among males” is the literal yet elegant rendition of Rusten 1989, 175 (slightly adapted). Note that “virtue” (ἀρετή) and “reproach” (ψόγος) are not quite parallel: the former would be the *topic* of men's speech in the praise mode, and the latter would be the *mode* of their speech on the topic of vices.

is only women's mourning practices that Perikles thinks should not be the object of male conversation.<sup>11</sup> Also, David Schaps considers how women are spoken of and named (or not named) by the Attic orators in the context of private lawsuits.<sup>12</sup> On the other hand, Jeffrey Rusten rejects such hermeneutic moves and emphasizes the statement's paradoxical quality, and so appears to embrace a broad interpretation of Perikles' assertion.<sup>13</sup> *Mutatis mutandis*, then, this Greek text presents us with the same interpretive conundrum as the Roman funerary plaque discussed earlier.

When we return to Roman material, a second inscription – the famous epitaph of Allia Potestas – exposes even more sharply the paradoxical quality of this kind of praise for public invisibility. This text, executed in imperfect hexameters, is highly distinctive in content and language; it has been dated anywhere from the Julio-Claudian period to the fourth century CE. Its findspot has been variously reported, but it assuredly emerged from one of the necropoleis outside the city walls of Rome shortly before its first publication in 1912.<sup>14</sup> As a funerary monument, it was intended – like that of Aurelia Philematio – to be visible to and read by passersby. It too, as we shall see, illustrates the tensions between the purported female virtue of public invisibility and the striving for publicity that is characteristic of funerary monuments. The dedicator, who lends his voice to the text and is generally taken to be its author, is Aulus Allius, Allia's *patronus* and presumably one of her two sexual partners discussed in vv. 28–32. He deems the traditional cluster of domestic virtues important enough to trot out: he pronounces her “brave, pure, steadfast, without guilt, and an utterly trustworthy guardian” (*fortis sancta tenax insons fidissima custos*, v. 8).<sup>15</sup> He subsequently asserts that “she was [or remained] uncriticized because there was little speech [sc. about her]” (*exiguo sermone inreprehensa manebat*, v. 11)<sup>16</sup> – apparently a version of the Thucydidean scenario in which any sort of speech about a woman, regardless whether praise or blame, is in and of itself a reason to condemn her. Allius

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11 Lacey 1964.

12 Schaps 1977.

13 Rusten 1989, 176: “[T]he paradoxical definition of a great δόξα in terms of the least possible κλέος implies that a good reputation for women is virtually a contradiction in terms”; 177: “a deliberate oxymoron” (see also his comments on the whole passage, 175–178). The other major commentaries do not remark on the questions of how there can be δόξα without κλέος, and whether ἀρετή and ψόγος should be understood broadly or should be applied to some specific context.

14 *CIL* 6.37965. On date and findspot, see Horsfall 1985, 252–253.

15 On this list of virtues, see Engster 2003, 149–150, 155. *Fortis* and *tenax* are not in the usual roster of predicates signifying female domestic virtue. However, they can be salvaged by taking *fortis* to mean “strong” and *tenax* as “frugal” (both of which are possible): Kroll 1914, 280; Horsfall 1985, 259.

16 Several times in this inscription *manere* stands for *esse*: Horsfall 1985, 260, and n. 18 below. *Exiguo sermone* might be interpreted as referring to speech *by* her, i.e., that *she* spoke little, and therefore escaped criticism (sc. which might be directed against a talkative woman). But there is little evidence for silence being accounted a woman's virtue (Horsfall *ad loc*). It therefore seems preferable to understand the phrase as referring to speech *about* her.

then goes on to say (vv. 12–15) that she was the first to rise and the last to bed, once her tasks were completed; that wool never left her hands without reason; and that no one surpassed her in *obsequium* or healthy morals. Still later, he declares that “she had no enthusiasm for knowing [sc. anyone], (for?) she considered herself self-sufficient” (*nosse fuit nullum studium, sibi se satis esse putabat*, v. 26),<sup>17</sup> and that “she was [or remained] without reputation, because she had never done anything wrong” (*mansit et infamis quia nil admiserat umquam*, v. 27).<sup>18</sup> Allia’s domestic virtues, then, again appear to go hand in hand with a low public profile: not knowing strangers; little spoken of.<sup>19</sup>

But this is not the whole story. In verse 9, Allia is said to be “neat at home, very neat outside of the home, and very well known to the crowd” (*munda domi, sat munda foras, notissima volgo*). Presumably this public celebrity results from her being *munda foras*, where her neatness could be observed by outsiders. So notwithstanding his assertions elsewhere that she was reluctant to meet outsiders and was not the subject of talk, here Allius suggests that she went out and displayed her *munditia* in a way that attracted public attention (though he pointedly notes that she displayed this quality at home too: a domestic virtue, then, that “bleeds out” into the public sphere).<sup>20</sup> Finally, at the end of the text, he describes her as “this woman (who is) renowned because of this inscription” (*haec titulo insignis*). He thereby expressly acknowledges that the inscription seeks to publicize Allia’s virtues – including the

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**17** A heptameter. *Nosse* is ambiguous in this absolute usage (“no zeal for knowing ...” what?). But in several places this poet explains an ambiguous statement in the sequel; here, the self-sufficiency ascribed to Allia in the second half of the verse suggests that *nosse* requires “other people” as its implied object (so, e.g., Kroll 1914, 283; Horsfall 1985, 265).

**18** *Manere* again for *esse*. As many commentators have seen, *infamis* here must mean “having no reputation” (or at least, “having no bad reputation”), and not “having a bad reputation”; likewise, *admitto* used absolutely probably carries the sense of “do wrong”: see discussion by Kroll 1914, 284; Horsfall 1985, 265.

**19** In discussing vv. 26–27 of this inscription, Kroll 1914, 283–284 adduces Cato, *Agr.* 143.1 as a parallel. There Cato advises that the *vilica* be confined to the property and that she not invite strangers in: *vicinas aliasque mulieres quam minimum utatur neve domum neve ad sese recipiat: ad cenam ne quo eat neve ambulatrix siet*. But Cato does not thereby distinguish her from the *vilicus*, for whom he makes a similar recommendation: *vilicus ne sit ambulator ... ad cenam nequo eat* (*Agr.* 5.2). In my view, Cato is not advocating that the *vilica* display idealized female domestic virtues, but rather is seeking to ensure that both *vilica* and *vilicus* maintain their oversight roles constantly, without distraction (or relief).

**20** Horsfall 1985, 260–261 writes, “No incompatibility need be suspected” between this verse and verse 11 (*exiguo sermone inreprehensa manebat*), because “Allia’s virtues were widely known and she was uncensured because there was little *sermo* about her.” But Horsfall underscores the paradox in his very attempt to resolve it. For it is unclear how her virtues became widely known, if there was little *sermo* about her: little *sermo* means little praise as well as little blame/lack of censure. It seems preferable to understand *exiguo sermone inreprehensa* as meaning that she escaped censure by the very fact of there being little *sermo* of any sort, positive or negative – the Thucydidean scenario, as noted above, and incompatible with her virtues being widely known.

virtues of being little spoken about and being reluctant to make acquaintances. Again, the tension between the ideal of women's public invisibility (as part of the package of women's domestic virtues), and the impulse of the funerary monument to enumerate and praise virtues to an indiscriminate public, can be strongly felt. And once again, the monument's praise seems to undo the virtue of public invisibility in the very act of proclaiming it.

A final example of the paradox under discussion, from Seneca's *Consolatio ad Helviam matrem*, takes us out of the funerary realm, and suggests that our paradox is deeper-seated. Seneca audaciously addresses this consolatory treatise to his own mother Helvia on the occasion of his banishment from Rome. Enumerating the sources of comfort by which his mother may assuage her grief at her son's absence, Seneca expatiates in section 19 upon the virtues of a woman he describes as his mother's sister (*soror*) – a woman who, he says, has long been close to Helvia, to Seneca himself, and to other members of their family (19.1–2).<sup>21</sup> Not only will she continue in her accustomed role as supporter, confidante, and consoler (§3), but she can even model appropriate deportment for Helvia in the latter's current bereavement: for she herself can provide an example of brave endurance and fortitude in the face of a grievous familial loss (*exemplum tibi suum ... narrabit*, §4). This loss, we learn, was the sudden death of her own husband (whom Seneca calls “my uncle,” *avunculus meus*) aboard a ship, as the two sailed from Egypt to Rome at the conclusion of his sixteen-year term as Prefect of Egypt (§§4–6).<sup>22</sup> Now, Seneca's portrait of his aunt presents her as possessing at least a few of the standard domestic virtues discussed earlier. In the description of her extraordinary service to the family (*Helv.* 19.2), we hear of her *pietas*, *verecundia*, *indulgentia*, and *modestia*. Seneca later mentions (§4) that she married her husband as a *virgo*, with the implication that she was a *univira* – that idealized woman who marries only once, and *ipso facto* possesses the sexual virtues of *pudicitia* and *castitas*. Fittingly for such a woman, we learn that, upon her husband's death at sea, she rode out a storm at great personal risk in order to stay with his body, bring it to shore, and bury it properly (§5) – *pietas* embodied, one might say. And, along with this package of domestic virtues comes, inevitably, a self-effacing quality: Seneca declares that she

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21 Seneca never names this woman, and she is otherwise unattested. Prosopographical studies conventionally call her “Helvia” (e.g., *PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 79) as if she were another daughter of Seneca's maternal grandfather. But this name is doubtful, as Seneca elsewhere suggests (*Helv.* 18.9) that his mother was her father's only child. Helvia's father probably married several times (Helvia's own mother died while giving birth to Helvia: *Helv.* 2.4), and this “sister” is possibly one of these wives' daughters by a previous marriage. She would therefore bear the *gentilicum* of her birth father, unless Seneca's grandfather adopted her into the *gens Helvia*. For the range of possibilities, see *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) col. 429–430, s.v. Helvia (23) (K. Abel), refining the argument of Cantarelli 1904, 15–19.

22 This “uncle,” whom Seneca also does not name, was plausibly identified by Cantarelli (1904, 19–22) as C. Galerius, the only attested *praefectus Aegypti* of the early first century CE to whom a sixteen-year term can be assigned (16–31 CE). Subsequent scholars have accepted this identification (e.g., *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 25); overview in *RE Suppl.* 12 (1970) col. 430–431, s.v. Helvia (23) (K. Abel).

was so shy that she could not give a confident greeting (presumably to outsiders), or hold a conversation.<sup>23</sup> This text, then, though not a funerary monument – indeed, it speaks of a living woman – nevertheless presents us with the same paradox: her domestic virtues, including her low public profile, are being lauded to an indiscriminate audience of readers (Helvia, the explicit addressee, is by no means the only intended reader of the work); yet these readers are precisely the kind of unrelated, unaffiliated people whom she is (virtuously) too reserved to address, and who, according to the logic of this value system, should themselves think ill of her if they hear anything whatsoever about her, even praise, such as Seneca here bestows.

Yet there is more to his aunt's self-effacement. For in Egypt, as the wife of the prefect, she enacted this virtue more rigorously than ever. Seneca writes,

post hoc nemo miretur quod per sedecim annos quibus Aegyptum maritus eius optinuit numquam in publico conspicua est, neminem provincialem domum suam admisit, nihil a viro petit, nihil a se peti passa est. itaque loquax et in contumelias praefectorum ingeniosa provincia ... velut unicum sanctitatis exemplum suspexit et ... omnem verborum licentiam continuit et hodie similem illi, quamvis numquam speret, semper optat. multum erat, si per sedecim annos illam provincia probasset: plus est quod ignoravit. (*Helv.* 19.6)

After this let no one be surprised that, through the sixteen years in which her husband was prefect of Egypt, she was never seen in public, never admitted a provincial into her house, never petitioned her husband, and never allowed petitions to be presented to herself. Consequently the province, though gossipy and skilled at insulting its prefects, ... looked up to her as an unparalleled *exemplum* of probity, ... entirely restrained the boldness of its words, and today is always hoping, but never expects, to see her like. It was a great achievement if, for sixteen years, the province had approved of her: it is an even greater achievement that it was unaware of her.

This passage is extraordinary. Seneca tells us that his aunt, in virtuously refusing to presume upon her influence with her husband, or to intervene in any way in his performance of his duties, was invisible to the provincials for the sixteen years the couple spent in Egypt. Such was her self-effacement that the province was unaware of her (*illam provincia ... ignoravit*).<sup>24</sup> Consequently, the provincials regarded her as an

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**23** *Helv.* 19.2: *illa pro quaestura mea gratiam suam extendit et, quae ne sermonis quidem aut clarae salutationis sustinuit audaciam, pro me vicit indulgentia verecundiam* (i.e., she overcame her shyness to support Seneca's canvass). For this retiring quality compare *nosse fuit nullum studium* (regarding Allia), and *nescia volgei* (regarding Aurelia).

**24** Scholars have observed that this figuration of the prefect's wife responds rather precisely to the arguments of Caecina Severus in his famous speech of 21 CE (at least in the version Tacitus puts in Severus' mouth, *Ann.* 3.33). In this speech Severus contended that wives should be barred from accompanying governors to their provinces – an argument to which Plancina's activities during her husband Cn. Piso's governorship of Syria in 18–19 CE forms an important background. But if Plancina is the negative exemplum of the meddlesome wife who interferes with her husband's duties, then Seneca's aunt forms the corresponding positive exemplum. On Early Imperial governors and their wives, see Raepsaet-Charlier 1982; also Pflaum 1950, 302.

*exemplum* of probity without parallel (*unicum sanctitatis exemplum*), the like of which they never expect to see again, and refrained from insulting her.<sup>25</sup> Thus, she is renowned throughout the province for being unknown, and as such she is held up as an exemplary standard against which the self-effacement of future prefects' wives is to be measured. The paradoxes noted previously – how a judgment is to be formed about someone about whom there is no report whatsoever, including whether she exists at all; and how the virtue of being unknown can survive being publicly acknowledged – are even more glaringly on display in this text than in the texts discussed above.

I do not believe these paradoxes can be resolved, and suspect that efforts to do so are wrong-headed. The root cause of such paradoxes can, however, be explained. In the Roman texts presented above, they arise from a clash between two value discourses that are mutually inconsistent. One of these, as the Senecan passage makes explicit, is the discourse of exemplarity: that discursive loop whereby actions performed in the public eye are observed and judged by an audience of spectators; are commemorated as “good” or “bad” via monuments that take textual, iconographical, or other form; are made known far and wide thanks to these monuments; and are held up as models for imitation by subsequent actors, or as standards by which future performances may be judged.<sup>26</sup> Funerary inscriptions are prominent among these commemorative devices, but literary texts like Seneca's *Consolatio ad Helviam matrem* are fully capable of serving the same end. The other value discourse, as described above, is the one concerning the domestic virtue of women, which defines an arena of performance within the family and household and holds the civic sphere to be off limits in the normal course of events. Clearly this discourse encourages a low public profile for women and, in the most extreme (i.e., virtuous) cases, could be imagined to result in women's total invisibility outside the household. The clash, or inconsistency, arises from the impulse within exemplary discourse to monumentalize virtuous performances and expose them to the public gaze as models for imitation or standards of judgment; yet, within the moral discourse of female domesticity, virtuous conduct by definition takes place out of the public eye, and indeed the public eye vitiates any action performed. Thus, when exemplary discourse seizes upon women's domestic virtue, places it in the public eye, and offers it up for praise, it paradoxically abrogates

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<sup>25</sup> Note that Seneca does not say explicitly that the provincials praised her (though this is implicit in their invoking her as a positive exemplum), but only that they refrained from insulting her: *omnem verborum licentiam continuit*. The epitaph of Allia Potestas inflects the idea similarly: the benefit of being little spoken of (*exiguo sermone*) is to be uncriticized (*inreprehensa*). Thus, “avoiding blame” seems to loom larger in the discourse of domestic virtue than “gaining praise.” Thucydides, however, phrases the idea positively: minimal renown (κλέος ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον) yields maximal good opinion (δόξα μεγάλη).

<sup>26</sup> On the Roman discourse of exemplarity, see Roller 2009, 216–217 (and *passim*), with further bibliography.



that virtue, as articulated within the logic of the discourse of domesticity, in the very act of commemorating and praising it. A similar clash of value discourses may underpin the Thucydidean passage as well: certainly the terms in which the paradox there is framed resembles the Roman formulations. The public praise of Aurelia Philematio on her funerary monument for being *volgei nescia* – the phrase we sought to explicate at the beginning – compactly embodies this clash of value discourses, and so exposes efficiently the paradox of praising women's invisibility.

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