## THE ENTRANCE FEE IN VIPASCA BATHS: WOMEN - 1 AS; MEN - HALF AN AS\*

by

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The third chapter of the legal inscription of one of the bronze plates from Vipasca, which is usually know as Vipasca I or as the first Vipasca law, is dedicated to the running of the bathing resort<sup>1</sup> – Map 1.

Let us turn our attention to the third line of this article (**Fig. 1**). It says: "The contractor will charge men half an *as* each and women one *as* each". That is, in order to be admitted inside the Vipasca (or Vipascum) Baths and enjoy a minimum of services, women had to pay exactly twice as much as men. This curious situation surely did not occur only for sexist reasons; it rather includes a large number of situations which will lead us on a long journey. We can, therefore, start by asking ourselves whether the entrance fee for women was expensive or not. Pompeii will give us this valuable information through the picture of the domestic accountancy of someone living there in the first century AD.

By studying the inscriptions in Pompeii<sup>3</sup>, we know that a lamp or a plate cost as much as entering Vipasca Baths, that is, one *as*; but, for example, a drinking glass would cost two *asses*. The cost of having a tunic washed is even more interesting: one denarius, i.e. four sesterces, that is sixteen *asses*. And if this information is not enough, we may resort to another valuable text, also from Pompeii. It is a kind of an accountancy book, which tells us in some detail the expenses of someone over nine consecutive days<sup>4</sup> (we understood it as being a

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This Bronze plate was found in 1876, amid copper slag brought from the Algares (Aljustrel) mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Encarnação, 1984.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Etienne, 1992; CIL, IV, 5380.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> CIL, IV, 4227.

family that owned a slave). The daily amount of money spent on bread can be estimated as between eight and two *asses*, the latter figure being only the slave's portion. This man had a daily expense of twenty-five *asses*, which curiously did not include any money spent on the city baths. Therefore, and bearing in mind that the entrance fee to Rome's public baths was four times lower than in Vipasca, the entrance fee for women from this village to the public baths would not represent a very high expense in the daily family budget. Anyway, perhaps women did not visit the baths daily – it is more certain that men were the main customers there especially if we think about Vipasca's main occupation. To reinforce this idea Domergue<sup>5</sup> gives us the example of another mining enclave, Alburnus Maior, in Asia Minor, where a miner daily earned two or three sesterces, that is eight to twelve *asses*. We take for granted that the miner from Alburnus Maior could not bear the expenses of a Pompeiian family, but the act of going to the baths was seen as a duty and as a need.

The entrance fee is expensive, when compared to Rome, but we should also emphasise that neither the freed, nor imperial slaves, nor children nor the garrison soldiers in Vipasca paid it (1.4), which, clearly reduces the revenue.

We can, therefore, approach the subject from another point of view: we must then put ourselves in the bath resort *conductor's* shoes, i.e., the person who rents it so that it can be utilised. In other words, how much could the *conductor* earn from this business and what were the maintenance costs? We shall begin with the raw materials. In order for the baths to function, two things are essential: water and wood.

About the first, we know only that the bath resort renter had to maintain a certain water level and that the liquid had to be in huge quantities. But wood is a more difficult problem. In a mining settlement, wood is extremely important, even indispensable, so that if the *conductor* sold it "illegally", he would be fined (1.10)<sup>6</sup>. Wood is one of the constant expenses that the *conductor* had to support, and its price could not have been very low, as the fine applied to a hypothetical parallel trade is quite high. In fact, wood is, in some cases, the object of public offers, the *summa honoraria*, as in the case of Pliny the Younger. He gave away, besides the 300,000 sesterces destined for the decoration of his home city (Comum) baths, another 200,000 sesterces for its maintenance – this is, undoubtedly, a fine example of private generosity. But, if wood was expensive, water would also be a source of expenses for our *conductor*, as well as the plumbing maintenance, the covering of the pool and any damage caused by the use of the building.

This means that the fee the customers paid to be admitted to the baths was not enough to cover all the expenses, and so there was no profit at all. However,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Domergue, 1983.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The fine was 100 sesterces.

in public baths (such as the ones mentioned on the bronze plate in Vipasca) there were other services which could make the business profitable: massage, depilation, unction and sale of perfumed oils, rental of towels and tunics, in short, all sorts of services not included in the entrance fee.

If we are to consider that the baths were multifunctional complexes and that all aspects of urban social life were enclosed therein, we may resort to examples such as the ones shown by the Pompeii Baths (the Central Baths) or by the Neptune Baths in Ostia. The latter constitute a canonical building: the south, turned towards the *decumanus*, was occupied by a number of *tabernae* facing the street and the internal part of the *palestra*. This is certainly another example of baths granted by means of contract, as in Vipasca, and the *tabernae* rental would be the true source of profit for the owner, in order to counterbalance the "political price" of the entrance fee. And if we bear in mind the late timetable of the men, we cannot disregard the possibility of food and wine sales.

We can, therefore, conclude that the reasons that led to the promulgation of higher fees for women were not strictly economic – perhaps it was a question of balance. The social role of women in Roman society does not justify this variation. Woman is, in some cases, a *civis romana*. However, we should remember that a Roman mining settlement would probably have a rather different social composition from a standard town. Another reason might be attributed to the timetable: in fact, women's timetable was longer.

In the case of Vipasca Baths, as was the common practice throughout the Empire, there were different timetables for men and women: the morning was reserved for women, and the afternoon for men. With this method, the division between both sexes was guaranteed. Separate units are exceptional cases in the Empire, the Stabian Baths in Pompeii being one of the most quoted examples. This care in dividing spaces is linked with moral factors, as proved by Hadrian's law about it in the second century AD, which was later confirmed by Marc Aurelius<sup>7</sup>. The fact is that women who went with men to the public baths did not have a good reputation. This happened, for example, in Caracalla Baths (Rome), where a part of the baths was common to both sexes – the *Frigidarium* pools. In this case, the majority of women would rather use other places where their reputation would not be harmed.

Returning to Vipasca, we are confronted, therefore, with the explicit stipulation of these timetables, according to the orders of the mine procurator. Women (1.1) were admitted from dawn – 6:00 or 8:00 – until the seventh hour – around 12:00; men were admitted between the eighth hour – 13:00 – and the second hour of the night.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> "Lavrcra pro sexibus separavit" (SHA, Adriano, 18,10 and SHA, Marcus Aurelius, 3,8). This law was abolished by Heliogabalus (SHA, Heliogabalus, 31, 7).

From 6:00 to 7:00 and between 12:00 and 13:00 the building was closed to the public, probably for cleaning. This means that women had the right to use the baths for six to eight hours and men could only use it for five hours. We should note that the inscription spoke of the Summer timetable, as generally the eighth hour corresponds to that period of the year, while in Winter it was the ninth hour.

Anyway, different timetables do not justify different entrance fees, as – even supposing that more wood is needed to heat up the baths in the morning, since they would have to work for one or two more hours – the men's time would have to have artificial lighting, at least during the later hours (and that would be another expense for the *conductor*).

To conclude, we may say that the public baths in Vipasca set a different entrance fee depending on sex mainly due to a question of balance in the *conductor*'s profits. But the price is still symbolic: after all, it is a public good and a symbol of Romanization. There is not, in my opinion, an intention of "overloading" female expenses. Moreover, the knowledge we have about the population in Vipasca, or more precisely, of these baths, is only provided by the inscription, as we do not have archaeological proof of the existence of this building, nor of its plan or dimension.

Nevertheless, we should not overlook another question. There certainly were other baths, and perhaps this was only public one. We may assume there would have been private baths, the *balnea*, belonging to the wealthiest families, where a certain number of women could enjoy the pleasures of bathing without paying an *as*.

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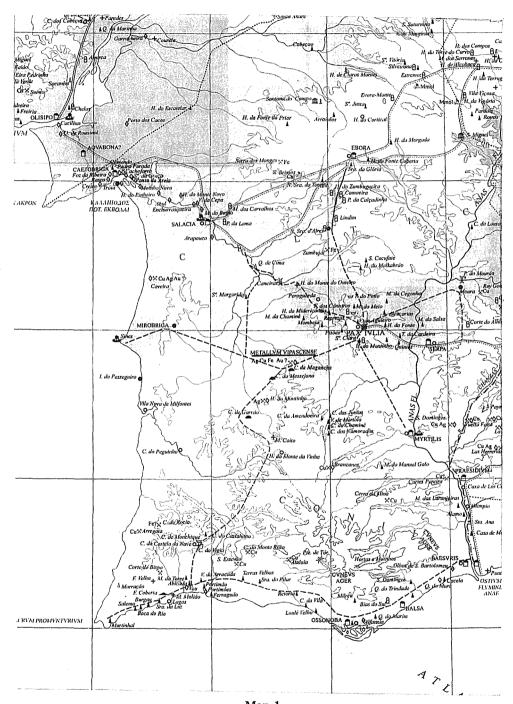
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CENTESIMAE ARGENTARIAE STIPVLATIONIS CONDVCTOR EAL NEM . INTRA FINES METALLI VIPASCENSIS IMENT EXCEPTIS IIS . QVAS . PROC . METALLORVII RE ACCIPITO CONDUCTOR EX - PRETIO PUTEORUM - QUOS PROC - METALLORUM VENDET - CEN S! INSTITUTA AUCTIONE UNIVERSALITER OMNIA ADDICTA EVERINT . NIHILO MINUS VENDITOR - CL RIVE EIVS . PRAESTARE . DEBETO CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS . SI VOLET STIPVLARI AN SOCIVS ACTORVE EIVS QUOQUE SYMMAE QUAE EXCEPTA IN AVCTIONE ERIT CENTESIMAM EXIGITO HABVERIT SI - EAS NON ADDIXERIT ET - INTRA DIES DECEM QVAM - SVB PRAECONE FVERINT - DE CONDICI QVOD EX HOC CAPITE LEGIS CONDUCT DVCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS . CENTESIMAM . D . D . NISI IN TRIDVO PROXIMO QVAMA DEBERE COEPTVM ERIT DATVM SOLVTVM SATISVE FACTVM ERIT - D 10 SCRIPTVRAE PRAECONII OVI PRAECONIVM · CONDVXERIT · PRAECONEM INTRA FINES PRAEB K L . MINOREMVE FECERIT . CENTESIMAS DVAS AB EO QVI MAIOREM X C . FECERIT . CENTESIMAM EXIC DEDERIT . SI QVINQVE MINOREMVE NYMERYM VENDIDERIT . CAPITYLARIYM IN SINGVLA CAPITA . > DERIT - IN SINGULA CAPITA - X III - CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS - DARE DEBETO DET LOCABITVE . ILS REBVS CONDUCTOR SOCIUS ACTORVE EIVS . PRAECONEM PRAESTARE DEBETO DAE NOMINE PROPOSVERIT . CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS . X I . D D PVTEORVM QUO. PTOR CENTESIMAM . D D . QVOD SI IN TRIDVO NON DEDERIT . DVPLVM . D . D CONDVCTORE SOC QVI MVLOS MVLAS ASINOS ASINAS · CABALLOS · EQVAS SVB PRAECONE VENDIDERIT · IN F · I · X III · D D · C PRAECONEM SUBJECTRIT . ET INTRA DIES . XXX . DE CONDICIONE VENDIDERIT . CONDUCTORI SOCIO BALINEI FRVENDI CONDUCTOR BALINEI SOCIUSVE EIVS OMNIA SVA INPENSA BALINEVA PR · K · IVL · PRIMAS OMNIBVS DIEBVS · CALFACERE ET FRAESTARE DEBETO · A PRÎMA LVCE ÎN HORAM · SEPTIM IN HORAM SECVIDAM NOCTIS VIRIS ARBITRATY PROC QVI METALLIS PRAEERIT AQVAM IN CAVSTIS ET IN LABRUM TAM MULIERIBUS . QUAM VIRIS . PROFLUENTEM . RECTE . PRAESTARE DEBET AERIS SEMISSES ET A MYLILLRIBYS SINGVLIS AERIS ASSES EXIGITO . EXCIPIVNTYR . LIBERTI ET SERVI COMMODA PERCIPIENT ITEM . INPUBERES . ET MILITES CONDUCTOR SOCIUS · ACTORVE EIVS EI · ADSIGNATA ERVNT · INTEGRA CONDUCTIONE PERACTA REDDERE DEBETO NISI SIQVA VETVSTATE C VTETVA · LAVARE TERGERE YNGVEREQVE ADIPE E RECENTI TRICENSIMA QVAQVE DIE · RECTE DEBETO ERIT QVO MINVS . LAVARE RECTE POSSIT EIVS TEMPORIS PRO RATA PENSIONEM . CONDYCTOR REPVTARE DEB ALIVT . EIVSDEM BALINEI EXERCENDI CAVSA . FECERIT . REPUTARE NIHIL . DEBEBIT BVS RAMORYM - QVAE OSTILI - IDONEA NON ERVNT NE LICETO - SI ADVERSVS HOC QVID FECERIT - IN SING" SI ID BALINEYM . RECTE PRAEBITYM NON ERIT . TVM PROC . METALLORVM . MYLTAM CONDVCTOR! . QVO AD HS CC - DICERE LICETO LIGNYM CONDUCTOR - REPOSITYM - ONNI TEMPORE - NABETO - QUO SVTRINI QVI CALCIAMENTORYM QVID LORAMENTORYMVE QVAE SYTORES TRACTARE SC REM FIXERIT . VENDITAVERITVE SIVE QVID ALIVY QVOD SYTORES VENDERE DEBENT VENDIDIS CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS - DVPLVM - D D CONDUCTOR . CLAVOM EX LEGE FERRARIAR ACTORIVE EIVS + PIGNVS CAPERE LICETO REFICERE CALCIAMENTA . NVLLI LICEBIT . NISI CI CONDUCTOR OMNE GENVS · CALCIAMENTORYM PRAESTARE DEBETO NI ITA FECER TONSTRINI CONDUCTOR FRUI DEBETO . ITA NE ALIVS INT TERRITORIS . EIVS . TONSTRINUM QUAESTUS CAUSA FACIAT QVI ITA TONSTRINUM FECERIT IN SIN CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS · D · D · ET EA FERRAMENTA · COMMISSA CONDUCTORI SUNTO DOMINOS AVT CONSERVOS . SVOS.CVRAVERINT CIRCITORIBVS - QYOS CONDUCTOR DYCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS PIGNORIS CAPTIO ESTO . QVI PIGNYS CAPIENTEM PROHIBVERIT CONDUCTOR . VNVM PLURESVE ARTIFICES . IDONEOS IN PORTIONEM RECIPITO TABERNARVM . FVLLONIARVM VESTIMENTA RVDIA VEL RECVRATA NEMINI CIVS · ACTORVE EIVS LOCAVERIT PERMISERITVE LICETO · QVI CONVICTVS FVERIT · ADVERSVS EA QVI X III . CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORÎVE EIVS . D D PIGNYS CONDVCTORI . SOCIO ACTORIN SCRIPTVRAE SCAVRARIORVM ET TESTARIORVM QVI IN FINIBVS . MET AS ARGENTARIAS . AERARIAS PULVEREMVE . EX SCAVREIS . RVTRAMINA . AD MESVRAM PONDY DIRE FRANCERE CERNERE . LAVARE VOLET . QVIVE LAPICAEDINIS . OPVS . QVO QVO MODO FACIEN SERVOS MERCENNARIOSQUE . MITTENT . IN TRIDVO PROXIMO PROFITEANTVR . ET SOLVAN INTRA PR . K QVASQVE NI ITA FECERINT . DVPLVM . D D QVI EX . ALÎS LOCIS VBERTVMBISAE FINES . METALLORYM . INFERET . IN . P . C . X 1 . CONDUCTOR! SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS . D D . ov CTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS DEBEBITVR . NEQVE EA DIE QVA DEBERI COEPTVM ERIT . SOLV CONDUCTORI SOCIO ACTORIVE EIVS + PIGNUS CAPERE LICETO FT QUOD EIVS SCAVRIAE PV



Map 1 From *Tabula Imperii Romani*, hoja J-29: Lisboa.