THE COMMEMORATION OF CHILDREN
IN ROME AND ITALY IN THE EARLY EMPIRE

BY

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This thesis, entitled, *The Commemoration of Children in Rome and Italy in the Early Empire*, is a product of my own work, and all sources used have been acknowledged.

Janette McWilliam  
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FOR MY PARENTS

JOHN & LUCY MCWILLIAM
Research for this thesis was made possible by a scholarship from the Australian National University, and I wish to thank this institution for its support. I would like to thank Professor B. M. Rawson, my supervisor, for her inspiration, guidance and advice during the preparation of this thesis. Many thanks are also due to John McWilliam for his assistance with my appendices, Lucy McWilliam, and Marie and Ray Morgan for proof reading, Ian McWilliam for his technical support, Julie and Peter Londey, Edyth Binkowski, Zeta Hall and the staff of the A.N.U. Classics Department. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the unfailing support, encouragement and assistance of my parents and Richard Durand.
### CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Inscriptions</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maps</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphs</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tables</td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Search for Roman Children: Aims, Sources &amp; Research Trends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 1 The Inscriptions of Rome &amp; Italy: Selection Criteria &amp; Dating</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 2 The Children of Rome &amp; Italy: Age, Sex &amp; Status</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 3 Commemorative Patterns</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 Dedicators &amp; Children</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 Iconography and Decoration on the Monuments of Children</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 The Participation of Children in the Adult World: The Importance of Office Holding &amp; Occupations in the Adult World</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 The Children of Rome &amp; Italy: Cultural Context, Geographical Location &amp; Important Inscriptional Characteristics</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A Regio I: Geographical Setting</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.1 Rome: Geographical &amp; Physical Setting</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.2 Rome: The Children of the Vatican Cemetery</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.3 Rome: The Children of the Columbaria</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.4</td>
<td>Ostia: Geographical &amp; Physical Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.5</td>
<td>Ostia: The Children of the Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.6</td>
<td>Regio I East of Ostia: Geographical Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 A.7</td>
<td>Regio I East of Ostia: The Children of the Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 B.1</td>
<td>Regio II: Geographical Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 B.2</td>
<td>Regio II: The Children of the Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 C.1</td>
<td>Regio VII: Geographical Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 C.2</td>
<td>Regio VII: The Children of the Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 D.1</td>
<td>Regio VIII: Geographical Setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7 D.2</td>
<td>Regio VIII: The Children of the Inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8</td>
<td>Italian Towns, Alimenta &amp; the Digest of Roman Law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 9</td>
<td>Children Among the Dead: The Influence of the Physical &amp; Cultural Features of Urban Settings on the Commemoration of Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 10</td>
<td>The Literature of the Roman Empire: Children, Childhood, Philosophy &amp; the Upper Class Ideal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inscriptions for each area analysed

- MAPS -

Map 1 *Italia*

Map 2 *Italia: Fines regionum Italiae ab Augusto imp. constitutarum*

Map 3 *Regio I: Roma et Ostia*

Map 4 *Regio I: Inter Romam, Ostiam, Lavinium et Praeneste*

Map 5 *Regio II*

Map 6 *Regio VII et Regio VII prope Romam*

Map 7 *Regio VIII*

- GRAPHS -

Figure 1 Commemorative Patterns

Figure 2 Child/Age/Dedicators

Figure 3 Child/Age

Figure 4 Child/Dedicator(s)/Age

Figure 5 Group-Child Focus

Figure 6 Dedicator(s)/Child/Age

Figure 7 Group-Child Non-Focus

Figure 8 Commemorative Patterns used by Dedicators

Figure 9 Relationship of Dedicators to Children
- TABLES -

Table A1  Summary of Dedication Types

Table A  Comparison of Commemorative Patterns

Table B  Distribution of Status Found for each Commemorative Pattern

Table C  Distribution of *Alumni* by Commemorative Pattern

Table D  Distribution of *Vernae* by Commemorative Pattern

Table E  *Regio* I: Rome (*Columbaria*) Distribution of Inscriptions

Table F  *Regio* I East of Ostia. Distribution of Inscriptions

Table G  *Regio* II: Distribution of Inscriptions

Table H  *Regio* VII: Distribution of Inscriptions

Table I  *Regio* VIII: Distribution of Inscriptions

Table J  Towns which received Imperial Alimentary Schemes

Table 1  Distribution of Inscriptions, Percentages, Totals & Sex Ratios by *Regio*

Table 2  Distribution of Children by Area, *Regio*, Age & Sex

Table 3  Sex Ratios by Age Range

Table 4  Status Distribution by Area & *Regio*

Table 5  *Columbaria*: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex

Table 6  Ostia *IPO*: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex
Table 7  Ostia CIL 14: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex  Appendix 3 214
Table 8  Regio I East of Ostia: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex  Appendix 3 215
Table 9  Regio II: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex  Appendix 3 216
Table 10  Regio VII: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex  Appendix 3 217
Table 11  Regio VIII: Distribution of Children by Age & Sex  Appendix 3 218
- ABBREVIATIONS -


CIL      Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin 1862-. Apud Georgium Remerum.


Daremberg-Saglio Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines, Daremberg, Ch., & Saglio, E., Paris, 1877-1919. Librairie Hachette Et CIE.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
What would life have been like for a child growing up in Rome or in any part of Italy during the first three centuries AD? The answer to such a question is not straightforward. How does one determine that someone was a 'child'? Was this child male or female? To what social class did this child belong? What position did his or her parents hold in the community? Were his or her parents alive? A series of equally complex questions must therefore be addressed before the first, seemingly simple question can be approached. The reconstruction of Roman childhood can be an arduous task because, although it is known that children were very visible in both public and private life, the remaining material that records the existence of children during this time was often not created with children in mind. Nor was it produced for the purpose of describing the characteristics of Roman childhood. There is no material in existence created by children themselves such as diaries, poems, stories, letters or paintings that give any indications of how children themselves perceived their world. Children appear in literary texts, papyri, art, funerary inscriptions and the law code. This type of evidence was created by adults, not for children, but for themselves and hence also reflects adult preoccupations and concerns.

This study will focus primarily upon the commemoration of children in death in several areas throughout Italy during the first three centuries AD. Attention has also been placed on the physical and geographical settings of these areas in an attempt to establish rural and urban influences in these commemoration patterns. Evidence will be drawn mainly from funerary inscriptions, supplemented where possible by selected literary texts and the law code. Unfortunately, these sources, if used in isolation, can give a distorted picture of Roman life. Children, for example, tended to appear in literary texts only incidentally or as part of the social backdrop. Roman literature, whether written as history, philosophy, *epistulae*, poetry or oratory, was largely the prerogative of male
citizens. These men were educated in a manner which prepared them specifically for a public life that was not only steeped heavily in tradition, but which was also concerned largely with politics and warfare. Roman authors were not concerned with broad social history, but instead wished to foster age old beliefs and traditions. These authors often hoped that their writings would ensure their fame and immortality. For the writing of history, according to the younger Pliny, *illi omnia recondita splendida excelsa conveniunt.* This type of material is limiting but still highly valuable in the study of children as we do receive glimpses of children (though admittedly, this picture is mainly of upper class children) in different environments. The line between theory and practice is sometimes unclear in the literary evidence, as it is also in the law code. Why children are portrayed in certain modes of behaviour will be examined in the course of this thesis.

The Roman law code, as it exists today, is primarily a compendium of technical detail concerning the working of Roman law. Roman society was governed by an expectation that certain codes of behaviour in private life would be followed, at least for the upper classes, and the Romans had set up courts and tribunals to ensure such rules were observed. Also preserved amidst this law code is a great deal of information on the values and beliefs current in Roman society. The *Digest* of Roman law collated by Justinian in the 6th century AD is particularly valuable because it records specific cases where jurists and Emperors interpreted particular rules for these cases. However, not all precedents discussed pertained to real situations, and the line between theory and practise is sometimes not clear. Nevertheless, the *Digest* is a valuable source of information upon children because it reveals something of the attitude of the state towards children. It also gives further insight into the complex network of persons and property who were associated with children.

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1. Pliny *Epistulae* 5.8.
2. Pliny *Epistulae* 5.8 esp sections 1-4.
4. All of whom can be placed in time, at the very least, to within a century.
Funerary commemorations make up approximately three quarters of the entire corpus of Latin inscriptions. They are also one of the most copious sources for children that have survived throughout history. The Roman custom of commemorating the dead with an inscribed epitaph became a characteristic feature of urban burial, particularly in the Western areas of the Empire influenced by Roman civilisation. To date, many demographic studies have been carried out with this type of evidence. Unfortunately, it has been shown by several studies that the 'biases inherent in the data' produce distortions that prevent life expectancy, mortality rates and sex ratios from being calculated accurately. However, funerary inscriptions are highly valuable, not only because they are one of the few sources which included children, but also because they provide evidence for familial structures, population composition and social mobility. They also give some indication of the sentiment shared between family members in life and death. The very act of erecting an epitaph, building a tomb, or even making the decision to mark a death in some way reflects a cultural practice integral to, but often vastly different amongst varying communities of people. Funerary memorials are highly valuable historical records because they record something of the lives of people from the middle to lower echelons of society who might otherwise not appear in our sources. They need to be examined in the context of the society and area in which they were found, and in conjunction with the rituals and beliefs which dictated their very existence.

The aim of this study is to evaluate the place of children in Roman society through the process of their commemoration in death. By concentrating upon the portrayal of children on funerary memorials, in certain literary works, and in the law code, attitudes

6. Hopkins (1965); Bush (1982); Huttunen (1974); Weaver (1967); (1972).
towards children of different groups responsible for the creation of the above sources (for example parents, relatives, other adults of varying relationships, upper class authors, jurists and the state) will be analysed. Issues addressed will include how the opinions and behaviour of parents and other adults associated with these children can be seen in relation to the cultural and socio-economic context of their society, the particular social values which determined the types of attitudes portrayed in these sources, and the extent to which these attitudes were influenced by tradition. Is the view now received more than one and a half thousand years later more motivated by theory and tradition than practice? It has been noticed recently that the 'cultural context' of much of this evidence tends to get short shrift in the history of childhood.\(^1\)

Although this study is limited because of time and space, it will give some indication of the directions that can be followed in the study of Roman children and childhood.

The study of the ancient family has occupied historians for a century and a half, but it is only in the last twenty or thirty years that the relevant evidence has begun to be assessed in context and not simply presented as sweeping superficial generalizations made on the basis of formal legal principles, inheritance laws and the power of the *paterfamilias*.\(^2\) However, old views, particularly if they dealt with a world which by modern standards was supposed to be cold and harsh, die hard. For example, 1994 has been declared by the United Nations as the 'International Year of the Family', and in their press release of September 1993 it was written that:\(^3\)

> In ancient Rome, the family was also patriarchal, but polygamy was not practised and women enjoyed a better status [than women in the male dominated families of the Old Testament], although they were still not allowed to manage their own affairs. The Roman family was an extended one, and the patriarch had the authority even to kill his sons.

Unfortunately the author(s) of this document did not turn to the more recent studies available on the Roman family, but have

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2. Crook (1967) attacked the concept of the joint agnatic household and the wide ranging powers of the *paterfamilias* and established that the literary evidence actually proved this type of family to be atypical.
recorded views on the 'patriarchal and extended family' that have now been largely overturned. The study of the family in many other periods of history has also accelerated in recent years, and the interdisciplinary approach now taken in the study of this central institution is allowing a history of continuity and change to be mapped for many different cultures.1

The study and perception of ancient childhood has also increased over the past few decades. Many of the early findings supported by Ariès and those influenced by him2 tended to paint a picture of childhood as only a recent phenomenon of post industrial populations. The world of children before this time was characterised by cruel and indifferent treatment. It was perceived by historians as a world where parents could not afford to make much emotional investment in their children because of high mortality rates.3 This view began to be overturned by the studies of Lambert, Macfarlane and Pollock,4 when the types of evidence and the distinction which could be drawn between attitudes and behaviour were reassessed. Despite this change in perception, comparatively little research has centred upon children themselves. Children have been dealt with incidentally in studies upon legal aspects of Roman society,5 parent-child and other adult-child relationships,6 marriage,7 demographic studies,8 and the alimentary system.9 They have received more focussed attention in the areas

2. For example, Ariès (1962); Hunt (1972); De Mause (1974); Shorter (1977) and Stone (1977).
3. Cf the recent research in the area of the demography of the Roman world, Parkin (1992).
5. For example, Gardner (1986); Buckland (1963); Crook (1967); Schultz (1942-3).
6. For example, Dixon (1988); Hallet (1984); Bradley (1986); Bradley (1991a); (1991c); Lacey (1986); Crook (1967a); Rawson (1991a); Saller (1991); Eyben (1991).
7. For example, Hopkins (1965); Shaw (1987); Weaver (1986); Corbier (1991); Treggiari (1991); Bradley (1991d); (1991e); Dixon (1991).
8. For example, Parkin (1992); Saller & Shaw (1984); Hopkins (1966); Burn (1953); Dyson (1992a).
9. Bourne (1960); Duncan-Jones (1964); Garnsey (1968); Woolf (1990).
of exposure and infanticide,¹ child rearing,² puberty and the stages of life.³ While more specialized works have appeared on slave and freed children,⁴ verna, and alumni,⁵ there is scope for much more research to be done in this area.⁶

The following chapters will examine commemorations of children from several different regions throughout Italy. Many recent studies have mentioned the importance of the 'cultural variations' that are evident from an analysis of funerary inscriptions from different areas of the Roman Empire. These studies are based mainly upon age distribution as recorded upon tombstones, measured by means of emphasis shifts over time.² I wish to examine examples of the Italian evidence and offer a detailed analysis of the similarities and differences in the commemorations set up to children under the age of fourteen years.

The findings from this analysis will then be evaluated. Are there any cultural/regionl variations evident from the samples? How and why do these commemorations differ, if at all? The act of commemorating children in death by means of funerary inscriptions will also be taken into consideration. For the motives behind the decision to memorialise children or adults in this manner are, I believe, inextricably linked to the concept of socialisation and its associated rituals in Roman society.

Funerary inscriptions for children from regions¹ (Latium,² including Ostia,³ the Vatican cemetery,⁴ and some of the columbaria in Rome⁵). II (Apulia),⁶ VII (Etruria),⁷ and VIII (Apulia)⁵ have been studied extensively. The particular areas examined were chosen because of either the dateability of the inscriptions pertaining to these areas or their geographical location. Datable

4. Rawson (1966); Weaver (1972); (1990); (1991); Flory (1978).
6. More recently for the Greek world, Golden (1988); (1990). For an overview of children in the Roman family see Dixon (1992) pp98-132; Néraudau (1984); cf Wiedemann (1989) who treats the theme of 'change' in the attitudes expressed towards Roman children during the first four centuries AD (p3). While this work contains much valuable material, more in depth research of particular issues and periods is needed.
The following chapters will examine commemorations of children from several different regions throughout Italy. Many recent studies have mentioned the importance of the 'cultural variations' that are evident from an analysis of funerary inscriptions from different areas of the Roman Empire. These studies are based mainly upon age distribution as recorded upon tombstones, measured by means of emphasis shifts over time. I wish to examine examples of the Italian evidence and offer a detailed analysis of the similarities and differences in the commemorations set up to children under the age of fourteen years.

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References:
1. All inscriptions used in this study appear in Appendix 1.
3. Approximately 800 inscriptions from CIL 14 excluding Ostia.
6. Also all from Regio I.
7. CIL 9.
8. CIL 11.
9. CIL 11.
collections such as the Vatican Cemetery study published by Toynbee and Ward Perkins, the *columbaria* found in CIL 6 from Rome, and Thylander's *Inscriptions du port d'Ostie* were used.\(^1\) The Toynbee and Ward Perkins' study covers the pagan Roman cemetery found under St Peter's in Rome. The general dating carried out of this area has suggested that burials occurred there from 125 AD\(^2\) to the late second or early third century AD.\(^3\) Several of the *columbaria* from Rome found in CIL 6 also contain dateable material from particularly the first and second centuries AD, especially those *columbaria* belonging to members of the Imperial family.\(^4\) Inscriptions from the *IPO* collection\(^5\) of material from the Isola Sacra\(^6\) and Portus\(^7\) in Ostia were on the whole dated by Thylander to the second century AD. None of the *IPO* material was found to be earlier than the reign of Trajan. 53% of the epitaphs set up for children in the Thylander collection, were dated.\(^8\) Four of these inscriptions were erected during either the reign of Trajan or Hadrian,\(^9\) and ten were from the time of Hadrian alone.\(^10\) A further six were erected during either the rules of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius,\(^11\) but only one under Antoninus Pius himself.\(^12\) Two inscriptions could be narrowed no further than the second century.\(^13\) Another was believed to have been erected towards the end of the second century AD,\(^14\) while the fifty year period between 150-200 AD was given as a possible date for the last of the dated Isola Sacra inscriptions.\(^15\)

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6. Thylander (1952) Section A.
7. Thylander (1952) Section B.
8. Twenty-seven of the fifty-one stones. Twenty-six of these were useable and will be considered later in this study.
9. *IPO* A35; A65; A81; A239.
10. *IPO* A15; A130; A145; A150?; A184; A187; A200; A214; A221; A223; A234.
11. *IPO* A76; A102; A129; A 198; A218; A237?; A263.
13. *IPO* A137; A166.
15. *IPO* A279.
Dating inscriptions is, on the whole, a very difficult process and the type of funerary inscription dealt with here, often being brief and of stereotyped formulae, is the most difficult of all to date. From an historical perspective it is important to be able to determine chronological indicators that, at least, establish the general period from which the inscriptions came. Methods of verifying the presence of dateable external criteria entails an examination of the setting of an inscription and its archaeological construction. Substantiation of date by internal probative methods involves an investigation of both palaeographic and epigraphic features. Unlike sepulchral monuments, official and honorific inscriptions contain internal historical or prosopographical evidence that usually offers a reasonably secure, often specific date. The inscriptions set up for the slaves and freedmen of the Familia Caesaris, while not as effectual in terms of absolute dating as official documents, do sometimes provide material that is more easily dated than the majority of funerary inscriptions. Only rarely can funerary inscriptions be dated precisely.

Other types of inscriptions such as official or quasi official documents are the easiest to date and can often be attributed to a particular year. This category of inscription frequently contained record of the consular year, the current consuls or other known people who held consular authority. Such names and dates are able to be matched with either the Capitoline Fasti or with one of the modern compilations of consular lists. Unfortunately it was not

1. Gordon (1983) p40; Thylander (1952) pp9-15. That is, they do not make reference to a consular date, person or event of unequivocal standing. Keppie (1991) p28 does state that occasionally a soldier mentioned either a particular war in which he had fought or the name of his unit. Wars are fairly easily dated and military postings have been pinpointed fairly accurately for much of the Empire.
2. Thylander (1952) p15-38. For example, the type of stone of inscription or materials used in construction of tomb or monument, typology of monument, artwork, construction levels, sizes of bricks and mortar.
3. For example, linguistic forms, epigraphic features, set expressions or phrases (HSE or DM)
7. The Capitoline Fasti listed the consuls down to AD 13.
common to include the consular date in pagan funerary inscriptions. Keppie indicates that this practice became popular only in third and fourth centuries AD, when the date and year of death began to be included upon tombstones. Unfortunately this period is beyond the range of this study. The type of evidence that contained reference to consuls or to the consular year were pipes, monuments and other constructions bearing brick or quarry marks. These structures were often inscribed with the name of the consuls or other magistrates involved in their creation. Occasionally a funerary inscription, even one to a child, recorded that it was erected by order of a noteworthy body such as the decurionate, and in many other cases the burial space was donated by a friend or patron. However, these were often common people of little consequence and such information is seldom helpful in dating personal memorials.

It is possible to compute dates if the inscription included a reference to the particular emperor under whom it was constructed. Such documents comprise fasti of various kinds, municipal honours, inscriptions associated with collegia, quarry marks, brick stamps and military diplomas. A more exact dating can be established if the specific titles or powers held by an emperor were also recorded. The tribunicia potestas, which was conferred on an annual basis, is a particularly useful dating tool, as

1. Thylander (1952) p3 lists the few examples found of consular references in funerary inscriptions found in CIL and ILS. For example, the only two examples from Ostia are CIL 14.308 & 14.348. He also states that Christian inscriptions did often include consular references.
2. Keppie (1991) p107; Limentani (1973) p172 states that the appearance of the expression post consulatum followed by the name of the consul in the genitive is indicative of a fourth century date, while the expression consulatu followed by the name of the consul in the ablative represents an even later date.
3. Keppie (1991) p27 & n3 gives the example of a text from Chester in Roman Britain, AD 79 which contains the name of Julius Agricola; Thylander (1952) p2 gives examples of dating achieved in inscriptions at Ostia containing consuls IPO B.303; 319; 322; 324; 337 [338]; 346.
4. CIL 6.6222, the epitaph was erected for thirteen-year-old M Iunius Veientus Ex D(ecreto) D(ecurionum).
5. For example, Vatican Cemetery Tomb H [XIV] p119 n2; IPO A 198; A 237; B93; CIL 6.3966/7; 4153; 11.3852; 14.749; 1140; 1383; 1799.
6. Thylander (1952) pp4-5.
9. Keppie (1991) p26 mentions that for most emperors of the first century AD the tribunician power was renewed annually on the date of
is reference to the number of consulships held. Inscriptions found on buildings sometimes alluded not only to the emperor, but also to the magistrate under whom construction took place. Often the term of office for such magistrates can be established, providing a specific date for the structure. However, if the stone merely listed the emperor and provided no extra dating tools, the only date that can be suggested is one that is within his reign. This could point to a time span of twenty years or more. The use of divus or damnatio memoriae in a title provides only a terminus post quem. Pagan funerary inscriptions as a rule do not contain this type of reference to emperors.

Official or honorific documents often contain traceable prosopographical or historical allusions that permit fairly accurate dating. References to known people are able to be traced to confined periods of time, but must always be checked with other dateable criteria, internal or external, to ensure that the inscription was erected at the time of death. An epitaph did not always immediately follow the death of the deceased and may even be a later copy or version. There might even be more than one person with the same name, and often there is no way of

accession. From the first century onwards most Emperors had their power renewed on December 10, the traditional day on which the Tribunes of the Republic came into office. Thylander (1952) p4 provides examples, including I PO B310 set up in AD 46 when Claudius was in the sixth year of his tribunician power, and B11 set up when Trajan was also in the sixth year of his tribunician power.

1. Keppie (1991) p26; Thylander (1952) pp4-5 gives examples of the types of limits established by this method with examples such as I PO B314 containing a reference to the sixth consulship of Trajan.

2. Keppie (1991) p27-8 provides the example of Hadrian's Wall which included the name of A Platorius Nepos who held office in Britain between 122 & 124 AD.


6. Wilkinson (1961) pp19-21. One example discussed is that of CIL 6.16631 and 16632 which contain commemorations to the daughter and wife of C Minicius Felix, cos 107 AD. In this case the corroborative evidence is provided by the Epistulae of the Younger Pliny (5.16).

7. Discussed below.


9. Gordon (1983) p40; Limentani (1973) p177-8 and inscription 128 p383 (CIL 4.1781); Gordon (1983) p124 No 48 gives the example of the Elogium of Gaius Duilius from Rome, an inscription probably erected during the reign of Claudius (but not after 77 AD). This was set up in the Roman Forum in honour of Duilius, Cos 260 BC, a hero of the First Punic War.
distinguishing between the two individuals. Nor is it clear how soon after the death of an adult or child an epitaph was erected. For example, commemorations set up for several members of the same family or for more than one child of the same family may have been erected several years after the death of one or several people. In some cases alteration is quite marked, and there are also cases where the obverse side of the stone was used for a new memorial commemorating the newly deceased members of the family. A reasonable estimation of date can often be made if the inscription mentioned a military posting, a war or law. Similarly, allusions to various construction projects can provide a terminus post or ante quem, such as the creation of the port of Claudius and the Port of Trajan near Ostia. Again, with the exception of epitaphs erected for soldiers, tombstones seldom mention any of this material.

The majority of funerary inscriptions, as mentioned above, do not contain the advantageous historical or prosopographical evidence discussed so far. Various scholars over the last century have attempted to devise chronological dating schemes from the internal and external evidence associated with the majority of these inscriptions. Unfortunately the process is long and involved, and there is no simple formula that can be applied to every inscription. Few of the criteria established for the dating of undated inscriptions can do more than suggest a terminus post or ante

1. Gordon (1983) p40 gives the examples pp99-100 of CIL 6.1274 which involves the debate of prosopographers over the identity of the Crassus on the inscription who was the husband of the deceased; Thylander (1952) p6 discusses the possible methods of identifying persons of the same name.
2. For example CIL 6.4848; 4849; 5487; 5826; 6477; 7135; 7371; 7430; IPO A15.
3. For example CIL 6.5954; 7589; 7749; 8038; 8198; 14.519.
4. In CIL 6.3945, for example, the name of the child on the bottom of the inscription is in the nominative whereas the names of the other two dedicatees are in the dative.
5. For example, in CIL 6.7863 the name and age of death of the verna Credo has been squeezed in, though this could well have been done at the time of construction.
6. CIL 6.6800. It is impossible to tell how many new memorials may have been constructed from old or new stones.
Neither can parallels be drawn between different geographical areas. Even within the one region a variety of inscription types belonging to the same period can be found. Similarly, neither beauty or ugliness, nor good or inferior workmanship, are grounds for establishing a system of dating. Examples of all standards can be found in all periods. Quite different styles of writing are often discovered in inscriptions of exactly the same date, even on two sides of the same monument. Likewise the very brief and simple inscriptions are not necessarily the oldest. Gordon and Gordon also point out that the distinction between official and other inscriptions is not valid in dating. The chief reason why official inscriptions are easier to date is not due purely to their inscriptional qualities, but to their historical and proposographical details. Thus a rich freedman or slave could purchase the same quality of workmanship for an inscription as could a person of senatorial standing or even a member of the Imperial family including the emperor himself.

The establishment of a system of dating by external criteria involves an examination of the architectural features of the inscription and structure to which it is attached. The type of stone

2. Limentani (1973) p173.
5. Gordon & Gordon (1958) p3. For example, the lares Augusti altar of 2 BC no33 pl20 a-b. Thylander (1952) pp44-5 mentions three different handwriting styles found in tombs of similar date, and at the Isola Sacra (p 47), a case of two different handwritings in the same inscription.
6. Limentani (1973) p175-176 cf the suggestion that verbal prolixity does indicate a later date, possibly the 4th or 5th centuries AD.
7. Gordon & Gordon (1958) p3 and plates 26 a-b, 27a, 36a 51b, 66b.
8. Amongst the inscriptions examined for children under fourteen some interesting examples of elaborate inscriptions to children of varying status were found. One freeborn child had copies of his funerary memorial, compete with iconography set up in two different places (CIL 11.3257 set up in Sutrium in Regio VII = 11.3615 set up at Caere, also in Regio VII). An Imperial verna who held the position of adiutor a rationibus erected a large memorial to his eleven month old sister on her death (CIL 6.5305), an inscription which was on much the same scale as that to the slave and trainee calculator, thirteen-year-old Melior (CIL 14.472) or to the multi titled twelve year old freeborn child M Cornelius Valerianus Epagathianus (CIL 14.341. Compare also CIL 6.5578; 6182; 9.1779; 1816; 11.135; 207; 1764; 2611; 14.1731; IPO A187).
9. Limentani (1973) p174 lists as the stone used for inscriptions: tufa and peperino for the early Republican and archaic inscriptions, travertine from the second century BC, and after the era of Caesar, luna marble.
and materials used in the construction process, including such aspects as the size and type of bricks and mortar, the particular pattern of construction, the various construction levels of buildings, paths and other monuments, and the associated art works need to be taken into consideration. The typology of monuments as a whole is also of great importance, especially if it can be matched to already established models. However, such information is seldom available due to the fact that only a small percentage of inscriptions are found still in situ. Extra caution must be taken with this approach to ensure that conclusions have not been drawn on inadequate evidence. When all the necessary elements are available a dating chronology for inscriptions and the area from which they came can be established, as Thylander has illustrated with his study of the inscriptions of Ostia found at Portus and the Isola Sacra. However, as Weaver points out, the external dating methods for sepulchral inscriptions achieved by Thylander could not have been successful if he had to rely purely on the external evidence. Many of his external dating criteria were confirmed by internal evidence and vice versa. Unfortunately only a small portion of the inscriptive body I have assembled can be dated this way and in using such dating I can only accept the dates offered by the experts as being correct.

Susini (1973) p23 says that in Rome, at least down to the time of the Gracchi, tuff (peperino) was used exclusively. Travertine was used during the Republic due to the invention of the chisel, and luna marble with increasing frequency from the beginning of the Principate. According to Degrassi (1957) praefatio vii-viii, tufa was the oldest type of stone used, and travertine became popular from the end of the second century BC. Marble, however, did not come into common use until Augustus' reign.

5. Thylander (1952) p15-38. For example the level of the Tiber changed with the construction of the two new ports at Ostia, affecting existing tomb levels. Older tombs were therefore those at the lowest level. It is also possible to determine which tombs were built onto others by a matching of reticular patterning in construction (p16-17). Brick marks dated to the reign of Trajan are also found (p17-19) and tufa paving stones along tombs no longer lining a path, as new path was constructed.
The study of palaeographical features as dating apparatus has produced conjectural dating systems which have permitted inscriptions to be placed within certain centuries. Some of these techniques, when taken in conjunction with linguistic formulae and epigraphical features, may be used to date inscriptions more accurately. Evidence that has been analysed in this field includes the common script, letter shading, module and letter form, horizontal strokes, serifs, and apices. Word arrangement and the use of COS, guidelines, ligatures, line heights, numerals, punctuation, small or short letters, the use of a tall or other tall letters, and words divided at end lines have also been studied thoroughly. Claudius' new letter types that had a fairly short life, substitutes for Greek letters, archaisms, spelling, and word endings have also all been investigated and have proved to be of some

2. Gordon & Gordon (1957) p208 point out that it is a mistake to believe that any deviation from Augustan and first century capitals, or that any appearance of forms from common script or cursive, are indications of later dates. By the end of the first century BC both common script, or cursive, and capital script were in general use for writing, the former for everyday, common usage, the latter for displays of luxury.
3. Gordon & Gordon (1957) p208-9 point out that shading first appears in Latin stone inscriptions in Rome by about 44 BC and became one of the major innovations of Roman lettering that coincided approximately with the end of the Republic and the beginning of the Principate. After this date there are no trends that can be specified as definite aids in chronology. Noticeably attenuated verticals in N are not usual in guide, (where mechanical aids have been used to construct the lettering) first century AD, lettering in Rome and its neighbourhood, nor frequent in the second century. The simple cutting over, without modification, of painted letters showing strong horizontals seems not to be found in letters of size on monuments of any pretension until the second century.
4. Gordon & Gordon (1957) p209. Module is the relative configuration of the letters in terms of varying heights and breadth (p89).
6. Gordon & Gordon (1957) p212-13. Susini (1973) pp 21-29 has done further work on the development of tools and the type of stone used in inscriptions as a means of formulating chronology. He takes into consideration the availability of stone and the change of technique achieved through, for example, the development of the chisel.
value for dating. It is believed that Latin inscriptions can be broken down into four main phases of carving, though these phases have yet to be defined to the point where they can be used as a scheme for dating beyond wide limits, that is, more precisely than between one or several centuries. It is possible to distinguish by an analysis of writing an archaic inscription from one from the Empire, and an inscription from the Augustan age has characteristics quite different from one from the third or fourth centuries AD. However, it is not always easy to differentiate between inscriptions of the late Republic and those of the Augustan age. Contra-differentiation between inscriptions of the middle to late Empire is especially difficult if texts are from different areas.

The value of palaeographical dating has met with many differing opinions over the years. The Gordons' extensive work in this field has highlighted the many dangers in relying solely on only one aspect of the palaeographical system to establish a date for an inscription. They recommend that all evidence should be checked for possible conformation, modification or refutation by the evidence of additional dated or datable inscriptions. All evidence should be studied regionally, because features developed in Rome or elsewhere may have taken many years to reach other locations. Few palaeographical criteria are sufficient by themselves to do more than suggest a terminus post or ante quem. Thus, all

7. Gordon & Gordon (1957) p217 show the problems of palaeographical dating not done thoroughly. They point out that CIL contains many conjectured dates based on the writings found in inscriptions without reference at all to contents. These are often labelled as conjectures but seldom, if ever, are the precise points of the palaeographical argument given. They conclude that most estimates must therefore be the result of general impressions, of comparisons with other (unstated and very possibly not individualised) inscriptions of known or presumed date. They do concede that the datings given are probably well founded, but cannot be confirmed as no methodology is given. They also point out that datings cannot be carried out from the CIL texts themselves, especially as so few of the texts are properly illustrated, Gordon & Gordon (1958) p2.
methods of dating, not only palaeography, should be confirmed by as many other sources of dating as possible. Palaeographical dating has not been employed here because it is a specialised skill and access was not available to the stones (or even very good casts of them) nor to photographs.

Chronological indicators can also be suggested on the basis of linguistic formulae. HSE (Hic Situs Est) on tombstones, for example, usually indicates a date before the end of the first century AD, and was particularly common during the first centuries BC and AD. Inscriptions from Regio II used both DM and HS, or DM and HSE, suggesting a terminus ante quem of mid first century AD. DM (Dis Manibus) in full or abbreviated form is found very rarely in inscriptions of Republican date, and probably did not appear before the middle of the first century AD. The earliest reported example of Dis Manibus in full was found in an inscription of the mid first century BC. The earliest extant example of DM followed by S(acrum) is dated to AD 58/9. The use of Dis Manibus is not frequently found after the first century AD, but abbreviated forms remain common in the second, third and fourth centuries AD, and

2. Keppie (1991) p107; 21 inscriptions from Regio II and two inscriptions form the Columbaria collection contained variations of HSE. Inscriptions inscribed with HSE include CIL 9.71; 264; those with HS include 9.87; 92; HSS, CIL 9.147; 178 and HIC SIT, CIL 9.86.
3. CIL 9.88; 92; 96.
5. Gordon (1983) p41; Keppie (1991) p28; 107; Limentani (1973) p176. 83% of the Vatican Cemetery (5/6 inscriptions; 38% of the Columbaria inscriptions (125/326 inscriptions); 68.5% of the Ostia IPO inscriptions (35/51 inscriptions); 78.5% of the Ostia CIL (173/220 inscriptions); 53% of the Regio I East of Ostia (25/47 inscriptions); 37.5% of the Regio II (39/104 inscriptions); 40% of the Regio VII (25/63 inscriptions); 52.5% of the Regio VIII (21/40 inscriptions) used the abbreviation DM, or other forms of this abbreviation.
6. Gordon (1983) p41 cites CIL 12.761 = ILS 880 = Degrassi 391. Dis Manibus in full form was found in 4% of the Columbaria inscriptions (13/326 epitaphs); 4% of the Ostia IPO inscriptions (2/51 epitaphs); 2% of the Ostia CIL inscriptions (4/220 epitaphs); 1% if the inscriptions from Regio II (1 epitaph); 3% of the inscriptions from Regio VII (2/63 epitaphs).
7. Gordon (1983) p41; CIL 6.7303 = ILS 7868 = Album 1.104f, n.o.108. In full form this was found only in 1% of the Columbaria inscriptions (2 epitaphs) and in abbreviated form 1% (2 epitaphs); 1% of the Ostia IPO inscriptions and 5% of the Ostia CIL inscriptions (1 epitaph); 2% of the Regio I East of Ostia inscriptions (1 epitaph) and 7% of the Regio II inscriptions (7 epitaphs).
occurs occasionally in early Christian epitaphs.\textsuperscript{1} \textit{DM et M(emoriae)} is thought to have been in use at the end of the second century,\textsuperscript{2} while the use of \textit{vixit annos} or \textit{vixitannis} became more common in the second century AD.\textsuperscript{3} Representation of the name of the deceased in the dative is attributed to the first century AD, and \textit{Memoriae, quieti aeternae} is believed to be characteristic of third century AD inscriptions.\textsuperscript{4} Age of death was more precisely indicated in years, months and days from the third century AD.\textsuperscript{5} General dating parameters can be established on the basis of linguistic formulae, though patterns can differ from region to region.

Studies of the chronological significance of the development of the Roman name\textsuperscript{6} have shown that generally names without \textit{cognomina} appear only up to the mid first century AD (to the time of Nero's reign), with a few examples still found during the reign of Vespasian. The tribe does not usually occur in the names of the lower classes after the beginning of the second century,\textsuperscript{7} and an epitaph containing a freedman who possessed a \textit{praenomen} different to that of his patron belonged to Republican or perhaps very early Imperial times.\textsuperscript{8} Fathers and sons commonly possessed the same \textit{praenomen} in the first two centuries AD. Inscriptions of this form that were headed by \textit{DM} probably belonged to the late

\textsuperscript{1} Limentani (1973) p176
\textsuperscript{2} Keppie (1991) p107.
\textsuperscript{3} Gordon (1983) p40.
\textsuperscript{4} Limentani (1973) p176.
\textsuperscript{5} Keppie (1991) p107. \textit{Memoriae} alone was present in two inscriptions from Ostia, \textit{CIL} 14,341; 1197; and in one inscription from Regio VII, \textit{CIL} 11.3823. \textit{Vixit Annos} appeared in 20\% of the Vatican Cemetery inscriptions (1/5 epitaphs); 2\% of the \textit{Columbaria} inscriptions (7/326 epitaphs); Ostia \textit{IPO} 2\% (1/51) inscriptions; Ostia \textit{CIL} .5\% (1/220) inscriptions; Regio II 3\% (3/104) inscriptions; Regio VII 1.5\% (1/63) inscriptions; Regio VIII 2.5\% (1/40) inscriptions; \textit{Vixit Annis} appeared in 9\% (29/326) of the \textit{Columbaria} inscriptions; Ostia \textit{IPO} 2\% (1/5) inscriptions; Ostia \textit{CIL} 7\% (15/220) inscriptions; Regio I East of Ostia 8.5\% (4/47) inscriptions; Regio II 10.5\% (11/104) inscriptions; Regio VII 9.5\% (6/63) inscriptions; Regio VIII 12.5\% (5/40) inscriptions.
\textsuperscript{6} See Thylander (1952) pp54-133 for a more complete analysis of the evolution of the Roman name.
\textsuperscript{7} Keppie (1991) p28.
\textsuperscript{8} Wilkinson (1961) pp16-17 based on Degrassi L'\textit{Epigrafia latina in Italica nell'ultimo ventennio e i criteri del nuovo insegnamento}. 


\textsuperscript{1} Limentani (1973) p176 dates the use of \textit{DM} from the time of the Flavii and especially throughout the second century.
first or early second centuries AD.\textsuperscript{1} Use of the \textit{praenomen} began to disappear from the beginning of the second century AD and is generally absent from the inscriptions of the lower classes by the middle of the third century.\textsuperscript{2}

The name of the dedicator(s) or deceased may also offer some form of intimation for dating. For example, someone known as T Flavius could belong to a family who was given citizenship by Vespasian, or one of his sons, in the late first century AD. Such evidence would provide a \textit{terminus post quem} for the dedication.\textsuperscript{3}

The \textit{nomen} Ulpius was almost unknown before the accession of Trajan in 98 AD.\textsuperscript{4} A name of the form P. Aelius or T. Aelius is usually Hadrianic.\textsuperscript{5} Many citizens of the third century AD and beyond have names beginning M. Aurelius. Some of these are from the period of Marcus Aurelius, but most date to around the time of Caracalla who was officially Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, and who granted citizenship to the great majority of free people in 212 AD.\textsuperscript{6} Freedmen, with the exception of the \textit{Augusti liberti}, from the mid first century AD increasingly omitted their status indication.\textsuperscript{7}

The nomenclature of the \textit{Familia Caesaris} contains formulaic elements that have proven useful in establishing reference points for dating.\textsuperscript{8} Weaver\textsuperscript{9} discusses examples of slaves and freedmen from the \textit{Familia Caesaris} whose epitaphs can be ascribed to either a period under several emperors, a single reign,\textsuperscript{10} or, in rare cases, to a particular year. The criteria established for dating on the basis of nomenclature include the presence in the inscription of a slave or freedman of the \textit{nomen} of an emperor,\textsuperscript{11} the \textit{nomina} of the

\begin{enumerate}
\item Wilkinson (1961) p17.
\item Wilkinson (1961) p17; cf Thylander (1952) pp131-3.
\item Taylor (1961) p119.
\item Keppie (1991) p28. Hadrian was P. Aelius Hadrianus or T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus after adoption.
\item Weaver (1972) p42; Taylor (1961); p120.
\item Thylander (1952) pp12-13; Chantraine (1967); Weaver (1972).
\item Weaver (1972) p21. Inscriptions able to be dated to a particular reign include those found on, for example, \textit{fistulae plumbeae} and include the name of Emperor, the title of procurator-freedman up until the time of Trajan, and the \textit{officinato}r responsible for its construction.
\item Weaver (1972) p25f.
\end{enumerate}
Augustae\(^1\) or other members of the Imperial family.\(^2\) Also useful are irregular\(^3\) and abbreviated *nomina*\(^4\) or omission of the *nomen* altogether.\(^5\) Status indications on the inscriptions of members of the *Familia Caesaris* are of similar value for dating,\(^6\) as are different forms of the *cognomina*\(^7\) and *agnomina*.\(^8\) As Weaver shows, few of these inscriptions can be accurately dated to a specific time. Often the chronological tolerance is twenty years or more, and many inscriptions overlap reigns of two or in some cases up to four emperors.\(^9\) Again the evidence is only specific enough to provide a *terminus post* or *ante quem* date, and much of the dating relies on, for example, the establishment of limits of survival for slaves and freedmen after the death of their patrons and masters.\(^10\)

The dating of inscriptions is often not an easy task, and requires the employment of specialised skills. The majority of funerary inscriptions can only be dated to within certain centuries or to within the reigns of particular emperors. In many cases, dating criteria cannot be checked from the presentation of evidence in the available collections of inscriptions and one must rely on the expertise of the editors of these collections. It is the recommendation of the majority of people who have studied the dating of Latin inscriptions that all attempts to date undated inscriptions must be confirmed by as many sources as possible. That is, only by an examination of internal and external criteria, in conjunction with dated inscriptions from the same area, can one begin to formulate tentative dates for, in particular, funerary

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6. Weaver (1972) has considered status in conjunction with extended form of nomenclature pp43-8; with the terms *Caesaris* and *Augusti*, pp48-54; with the term *nostri*, pp54-57; Imperial slaves and freedmen whose name indicated more than one *Augustus/Caesar*, pp58-72; abbreviations of the status indications, pp72-76; position of the status indication; pp76-78; and regional variation in status indication, pp78-83.
10. Weaver (1972) pp30-32; Thylander (1952) p12. Cases have been found of slaves and freedmen living thirty to forty years after the death of their patrons and masters, though the average is probably more realistically fifteen to twenty at maximum.
inscriptions. The majority of the inscriptions collected for this study belong to the first two to three centuries AD and cannot be dated precisely. Although the expanse of two centuries is a considerable period of time in any historical time frame, the nature of this type of epigraphical evidence does not permit more defined parameters than this. Therefore certain inscriptions from the IPO and CIL 6 columbaria collection may be drawn on for comparison and comment, but on the whole the body of inscriptions for children under fourteen years of age will be treated as a unified group because the number of inscriptions dateable even to the reign of a single emperor is relatively small. Unfortunately the number of inscriptions able to be dated fairly precisely for children even from the IPO and the Vatican Cemetery collections was found to be extremely small, thus making a comparison of areas by dateable inscriptions untenable.

Inscriptions from different geographical locations throughout Italy were selected to test urban/rural and cultural differentiation throughout Italy. Regions VII and VIII\(^1\) were both in the northern-half of Italy but also shared a common border (Appendix 2 Map 2). Many areas in Region VII had a long history of early Etruscan occupation, while Region VIII was Romanised later than the rest of Italy and was once the domain of the Gauls. Region II was located towards the heel of Southern Italy on the East coast facing the mare Adriaticum. It shared common borders with Regiones I, III and IV and contained the important site of Brundisium, the launching point for many journeys abroad. Latium, the northerly portion of Region I shared common borders with Regions VII and IV and contained the important settlements of Rome and Ostia. Rome and Ostia were the largest urban centres in Italy, and the commemorative patterns of these urban domains can be usefully compared with the more rural areas in Northern and Southern Italy. It was not possible in this study to include material from supplementary collections, nor to examine other areas throughout Italy. Where possible, the

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\(^1\) These two regions were chosen partly because I am aiming at complementarity with the Rawson-Weaver-Gallivan project hosted by the Australian National University and the University of Tasmania. This project aims to computerise and analyse Roman families in Italy, especially on the basis of their nomenclature. Once this data base is completed I hope to test my sample and findings against a much larger body of inscriptions.
geography of the sites where inscriptions were found has also been included in an attempt to determine the influences of culture and location on the commemoration of the death of children. This has not proved to be an easy task, and in some cases the sparse nature of the information available has inhibited the attainment of positive conclusions. Further studies of this nature should focus more on geographical location and regionality than has been possible here, for despite the Augustan concept of tota Italia, many areas were isolated and communities were distinct entities within themselves.

This sample, of several areas out of the whole of Italy, has been drawn from amongst inscriptions that included an age at death. The addition of an age at death on a funerary inscription was not universal. Therefore the decision to include the particular number was a deliberate act on the part of the commemorator. In the case of children, the dedicators wanted the deceased to be remembered in association with their young age. Many other inscriptions simply commemorated people as, for example, filii or filiae and gave no age at death. It is not possible to determine in these cases the age at which the child, adolescent or adult died. Hence this group contains too many undetermined variables to be of use in an analysis of children alone. This study will focus upon children who were considered impubes, that is, children under the age of fourteen years. Unfortunately the Romans did not use a specific vocabulary that correlates with the modern subgroups of newborns, infants, toddlers, young children and adolescents. Manson, for example, has shown the ambiguity that exists in the literary usage of infans (literally one who does not speak properly) or infantia. Either of these variants could be employed to describe children up to the age of seven or even adults, while the terms puer/puella could be applied to an even wider age span. Latin funerary inscriptions seldom employed these terms, and tended not to utilise the diminutives of size or quality commonly found in literature (for

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1. The history of a site may also play an important role. Unfortunately this aspect could not be treated fully here.

2. Gaius Institutiones 1.196-7, in accordance with the general age for puberty for boys. Twelve was considered the age of puberty for girls. However, for convenience they have been included up to the age of fourteen. The majority of girls in Roman society outside the upper classes did not marry until their late teens. Shaw (1987) pp43-44.


example, *parvulus*, *parvus*, or *pupa/us* for a baby, and *puerulus/puellula* for small children).\(^1\) If an individual was to be regarded as a child of any age on a funerary inscription, this was generally made specific by the use of a number. The age parameters I have chosen are largely legal ones.\(^2\) However, from this age, children could marry\(^3\) and have their own families. Individuals of fourteen years or more are consequently beyond the bounds of the present study.

The greatest number of commemorations to children that included an age at death were found in *Regio I* at Ostia\(^6\) comprising 34.8% of the IPO collection and 44.5% of the CIL collection. Over half of the IPO inscriptions\(^1\) were dated to early-mid second century AD. Like Ostia, 42% of the Vatican cemetery inscriptions commemorated children. However, with only twelve inscriptions giving an age at death (five of these dedicated to children), the

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2. See p22 n2 above. It should also be noted that the defining terms of *pubes/impubes* are rarely found on epitaphs. My parameters are based on the ages associated with these terms.
3. See Shaw (1987) and Saller and Shaw (1984) for the general age patterns of marriage for various sections of the community.
THE CHILDREN OF ROME AND ITaly:
AGE, SEX AND STATUS

The following study is based upon 13,587 pagan inscriptions from the areas listed in Appendix 3 Table 1. Of these, 2747 were commemorations to individuals that included an age at death. Over a fifth of those stating age at death were found in Regio I, particularly in Rome and Ostia.1 20% of the finds were from Regio II.2 By contrast, only 16%3 of epitaphs from Regio I East of Ostia and 15% each from Regiones VIII4 and VII,5 included an age at death. 856 of the 2747 individuals commemorated with an age at death were children under the age of fourteen years. Three quarters of these children were commemorated in Regio I (Vatican Cemetery, columbaria, Ostia and the area East of Ostia).7 12% of the memorials to children were discovered in Regio II, 7% in Regio VII and only 5% in Regio VIII.8

The greatest number of commemorations to children that included an age at death were found in Regio I at Ostia;9 comprising 34%10 of the IPO collection, and 44%11 of the CIL collection. Over half of the IPO inscriptions12 were dated to early-mid second century AD. Like Ostia, 42% of the Vatican cemetery inscriptions commemorated children. However, with only twelve inscriptions giving an age at death (five of these dedicated to children), the

1. 1773/7726 (23%) inscriptions. Appendix 3 Table 1, Vatican Cemetery 46 (26%); Columbaria 974/4200 (23%); Ostia IPO 150/625 (24%); Ostia CIL 503/2039 (25%); Area East of Ostia 134/816 (16%).
2. 407/2064 (20%) inscriptions.
3. 134/816 (16%) inscriptions.
4. 186/1245 (15%) inscriptions.
5. 381/2552 (15%) inscriptions.
6. Of this number 782 are of a usable nature and will be the sample group under analysis after these initial statistics have been established.
7. 649/856 children (76%). Appendix 3 Table 1; Vatican Cemetery 42%; Columbaria 33%; IPO 34%; CIL 44%; Area East of Ostia 35%.
8. 207/856 children (24%). Appendix 3 Table 1; Regio II 104/856 children; Regio VII 63/856 children; Regio VIII 40/856 children (5%).
9. Appendix 3 Table 1. 271/653 children (42%).
10. Appendix 3 Table 1. 51/150 children (34%).
11. Appendix 3 Table 1. 220/503 children (44%).
12. 27/51 inscriptions. See above p8. All were from the Isola Sacra.
Vatican Cemetery sample space is comparatively small. From the columbaria in Rome, 33% of inscriptions with age at death included were dedicated to children. Together, the two collections from Rome had the third largest proportion of dedications to children (33.5%), falling just behind the area East of Ostia and Ostia itself (each 35%). In Regio II only 26% of the inscriptions with age at death were to children, while in Regio VIII the percentage was slightly lower (22%). The smallest proportion of commemorations to children were found in Regio VII (17%). Although only a small section of Regio I was analysed (approximately 1300 km², with nineteen sites - including those at Ostia and a small section of Rome), over two thirds of the children honoured with a permanent monument with an age at death included, were found in this area. In contrast, Regiones II, VII and VIII were each between sixty to one hundred times larger in area, but yielded a much smaller representation of this type of dedication. Regio II, to the south east of Regio I, (fifty-one sites, with 25% commemorations to children) had almost the same proportion of commemorations as Regio VIII (twenty-three sites, with 22% commemorations to children), yet Regio II contained twice the number of sites of Regio VIII. Regio VII with a similar number of towns to Regio II (forty-eight sites, with 17% commemorations to children) had a commemoration rate for children 8% lower than Regio II. Although it is difficult to formulate significant demographic statistics from inscriptionsal evidence because of problems associated with commemorative patterns and the survival rate of inscriptions, the variations between regiones, even from an outdated source like CIL, are significant.

Urbanisation and proximity to Rome seem to bear some influence on the decision to commemorate the death of a child under fourteen

1. 326/974 children (33%). Appendix 3 Table 1.
2. 47/134 children (35%).
3. 104/407 children (26%).
4. 40/186 children.
5. 63/381 children.
6. See Appendix 2 Map 2 and Map 4.
7. Cf Appendix 2 Maps 5, 6, 7.
9. Duncan-Jones (1982) pp160-2 sets the survival rate for inscriptions at less than 5%.
years of age, although Regio VIII with approximately half the number of towns as Regio VII had a 5% higher proportion of children commemorated with an age at death. A similar regional variation was discovered by Bellemore and Rawson in their analysis of alumni throughout Italy. Such groups were commemorated more in urban centres and centres with greater prosperity such as Regio VIII where, despite lower number of towns, high percentages of alumni were commemorated.1 Shaw has shown in a much larger study that urban centres throughout the Empire as a whole tended to emphasize children and infants more than did rural areas.2 However his findings also show that the populations of the larger urban centres of Northern Italy tended to emphasize children and infants more than did those of the cities of Southern Italy.3 The analysis of inscriptions from the CIL collection for Regiones II, VII and VIII in this study shows that Southern Italy had a higher preponderance of recorded children. Any attempt to make a direct comparison with Shaw's study is impeded by methodological problems. Shaw was basing his analysis on children under ten years of age4 whereas this survey concentrates on children under fourteen years. Nor does Shaw specify which areas of Northern Italy he classed as 'urban'. Shaw also created his data base from several collections and not merely CIL. That children were commemorated more in urban centres and in and around Rome is borne out by other studies.5 What has not been addressed, however, is why this phenomenon occurred. Before tackling this question, a detailed examination of the intrinsic nature of the evidence will be carried out to determine whether there are other similarities and differences in the commemorations erected to children in these areas.

Of the 856 useable examples of commemorations to children, 500 were set up for male children and 282 for female children (Appendix 3 Table 1. Sex Ratio 177).6 Male children therefore had a

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6. 1.8 males to 1 female. The sex ratio is based on the number of males per hundred females. A sex ratio of 100 would imply equal numbers of males and females.
chance approximately 1.8 times greater than females of being commemorated with an age at death. This pattern is fairly similar for each region. Regio VII produced the lowest sex ratio of 111 while the *columbaria* inscriptions had the highest at 198. Ostia was slightly lower than the *columbaria*. In Ostia, boys were recorded 1.8 times more frequently than females. When the two collections from Ostia were analysed separately, the *IPO* inscriptions were found to have a preferred female ratio of 95, while amongst the *CIL* group, males had twice as much chance as females of being commemorated with an age at death. These last two figures in particular highlight one of the major problems of using this type of evidence for demographic statistics. If only one or other of the collections had been analysed for sex ratios, a significant difference between male and female preference would have shown up. Similarly the Vatican Cemetery collection in Rome acknowledged no commemorations to female children at all. In these two cases perhaps problems associated with the survival rate of evidence may be important, as there is no obvious reason why the groups that used the Isola Sacra and the burial site near the canal of Trajan would choose to commemorate female children more than people who used other burial sites in Ostia. A similar explanation can be put forward for the male-dominated inscriptions from the Vatican Cemetery.

When male versus female preference was studied in relation to age, it was found that in all age groups bar the thirteen to fourteen-year-olds (sex ratio 88), males were commemorated with a permanent memorial more often than females. In seven age categories the ratio varied between 1.8 to 3.1 males to every female. Five of the seven age categories were for groups below the age of seven. In only two other age groups was the number of males to females commemorated almost on par. The sex ratio for three to four-year-old children was calculated at 118, and that of the seven to eight-year-olds at 117 (Appendix 3 Table 2).

1. One simple memorial was inscribed on top of a coffin. The child was not named, nor were the names of his or her dedicators included.
2. Appendix 3 Table 2.
3. 0-1 years; 2-3 years; 4-5 years; 5-6 years; 6-7 years; 10-11 years; 12-13 years.
Sex ratios were also calculated for wider bands (under one year, one to four years, five to nine and ten to fourteen years. Appendix 3 Table 3) so that results of this study could be compared with other investigations of a similar nature. It was discovered that at nearly any age under fourteen years a strong preference for the commemoration of male children was found. Only in the under one year band in Rome (sex ratio 67) and in Regio I East of Ostia (sex ratio 50), the one to four year band in Regio II (87.5) and the ten to fourteen year group in Regio VII (sex ratio 71) were more inscriptions to females found. Girls between the ages of five and fourteen in Regio VII seem to have had the best chance of commemoration on a permanent memorial. Male and female children between the ages of one and four in Regio I East of Ostia and children between the ages of ten to fourteen in Regio VIII, appear to have had an even chance of commemoration (sex ratio 100). These figures vary fairly significantly from Hopkins' findings for Rome done on a much larger scale (Appendix 3 Table 3), and from Bellemore and Rawson's study of Italian alumni. Such variations are demographically impossible as studies of modern populations have shown. Normally, at birth, as a general rule, the sex ratio for any normal population is around 105; that is, slightly more males are born than females, but this slight imbalance tends to have balanced out by the end of early childhood. However, it is also important to note that even in the modern world a perfect sex ratio is never achieved due to sex differences in mortality and migration. From larger samples of ancient evidence it has been found that on average over all age groups, three males were commemorated for every two females, but when differences in sex ratios were analysed by age groups instead of a single unit, sex ratios could vary from 104 to 172. These variations are larger than would be expected in any modern society. Similar methodological problems with sex ratios are found by studies attempting to sex skeletons, particularly those of children. Such variations have long been recognised as products of cultural variations in

1. 5-9 years sex ratio 100; 10-14 years sex ratio 73.
commemorative patterns. The skewing effect so far from expected norms is problematical only for the re-construction of life tables from this type of evidence. The question of why such variation in commemorative patternings occurs is integral to this study.

The age range that was found to deviate the most from the norm was under one year category. Children who died before their first year were less likely than children who died later to be commemorated with a permanent memorial.\(^1\) This is particularly noticeable for females (Appendix 3 Table 2). Only seven inscriptions to females were found compared to seventeen for males. Male children under one year of age were 2.4 times more likely to be commemorated than female children in this age group (Appendix 3 Table 3). The statistics for each specific area are even more precarious. In *Regio I* East of Ostia the sex ratio was 50 while in Ostia itself an amazing sex ratio of 550 was recorded (The sex ratio for the *CIL* collection was 800 and for the *IPO* evidence 300).

As shown elsewhere, the Ostian evidence is probably distorted because of survival of evidence, rather than due to practices such as infanticide or exposure,\(^2\) but on comparison with statistics established by Hopkins for both ancient and modern Rome,\(^3\) the figures produced by the evidence of the current samples is exceedingly skewed. The abnormal patterning obtained for children under one year of age was probably due to the paucity of evidence for commemorations to such young children.\(^4\) An important observation, however, can be made concerning the commemoration of *infantes* under one year of age. Such young children appear to have been commemorated more often in and around Rome and Ostia. Of the twenty-five *infantes* under one year from the entire sample, twenty-two were from this area whereas only one child was from *Regio VII* and two from *Regio VIII*.\(^5\)

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3. Appendix 3 Table 3 & Hopkins (1966).
5. I have included the child from the Vatican Cemetery whose age at death of six months and ten days was inscribed on a sarcophagus of Greek marble. However, no name or indication of sex survives (Vatican Cemetery p89).
On the whole, male and female children below five years of age appear to have been commemorated with an age at death more often in the larger urban centres of Rome and Ostia (Appendix 3 Table 2). Of the three hundred and forty-nine children discovered under the age of five years, 75% were from these two centres. A further 7% of inscriptions were from the area East of Ostia in Regio I.2 Regiones II, VII and VIII accounted for only 19% of the commemorations collectively.3 In the five to nine age group, 70% of commemorations to children were again from Rome and Ostia,4 and a further 4% from the area in Regio I East of Ostia.5 While collectively the three remaining regiones contained only 26% of the commemorations,6 Regio II was significantly higher than either Regio VII or VIII. The same trend occurred again in the ten to fourteen years age group. Approximately 64% of inscriptions were from Rome and Ostia,7 while the area East of Ostia in Regio I was around the same level at 5%.8 169% of the finds were from Regio II, 7.5% from Regio VII,10 and 7.5% from Regio VIII.11 From the available evidence it is clear that children were more likely to be commemorated on a permanent monument that included their age at death in the urban centres of Rome and Ostia. In the other regiones, children from all age brackets had a fairly even chance of representation in death, with the exception of Regio II. Here, children over the age of five years appear to have had almost twice as much chance of being commemorated in death as children below this age.

Explanations of the above patterns are by no means conclusive or even easy to establish. However, social and economic status,
geographical location and physical setting all undoubtedly played a role in their formation.

The majority of children from the combined sample group who were commemorated with a permanent memorial on which was recorded their age at death were of undifferentiated free status (*ambigui*),¹ that is, they were not *servi*² at the time of death but could have been either freed (*liberti*),³ or freeborn (*ingenui*)⁴ (Appendix 3 Table 4).⁵ This type of inscription usually recorded the *nomen* of the child but lacked distinguishing status indicators. Such children appeared on approximately 53.5% of the inscriptions.⁶ Children who were of servile (9%), or likely servile origin (15%), accounted for a total of 24% of the commemorations,⁷ while those who were either *liberti* (7%)⁸ or possible *liberti* (1%)⁹ appeared on

¹. I have chosen to use the term *ambigui* rather than the conventional *incerti* for children of undifferentiated free status, as I feel that this word better describes the ambiguous nature of their status. That they are not slaves is certain. Whether they were entitled to full or partial citizen rights was uncertain (See the status key at the bottom of Appendix 3 Table 4 for all the status categories and numbers of children used). Some of these children may have been freeborn, but this cannot be established from the existing evidence and so they nevertheless must be categorised as *ambigui*.

². *Servi* are children born of slave parents and whose status was recorded on their epitaph by one of the following methods; the use of the term *servus/a* or *delicatus/a*, use of the possessive genitive or the term *verna*, home-born slave. Children who were only named with a *cognomen* are classed as probable slaves, *servi*?

³. Children classed as *liberti* were commemorated upon their epitaphs as being the *libertus/a* of a particular patron or were simply referred to as *libertus/a*. Children who are classed as *liberti*? are those who were commemorated along with their parents or their father and clearly have different *nomen*. Parents and fathers may also have been *servi*.

⁴. Freeborn children were those commemorated with filiation and or tribe or who were peregrine. Freeborn illegitimate children, *spurii*, were sometimes commemorated with sp.f in place of the normal filiation marker.

⁵. A significant proportion of these children may also have been Junian Latins, Weaver (1990).

⁶. 418/782 children. This group comprises *ambigui* (395 children, 252 males and 143 females), *alumni ambigui* (22 children, 16 males and 6 females).

⁷. 190/782 children. 190 children. *Servi* (39 children, 28 males and 11 females); *servus alumnus* 1 male child; *vernae* (32 children, 25 males and 7 females); Imperial *verna* 1 female child. Children likely to have been slaves 117 children, *servi*? 109 children; 74 males, 35 females; 8 *alumni servi*? (5 boys, 3 girls).

⁸. *Liberti* 40 children, 24 males and 16 females, *vernae* with more than *cognomen* 11 children (7 males and 4 females); 1 male Imperial freedman.

⁹. *Liberti*? 7 children (1 males and 6 females).
8%¹ of the stones. 3.8% of the children may have been freeborn (ingenui?).² A further 10.5% were freeborn,³ including three children who were commemorated as spurii, that is, they were freeborn but illegitimate.⁴ A fairly wide cross section of the Italian community chose to commemorate their children with an inscribed memorial on their death. Only one child was clearly designated as being of equestrian status⁵ and no child was marked as being of senatorial lineage, although several children were listed as holding honorific decurionates or religious offices.⁶ Wealth rather than status was therefore a major determining factor behind whether many people were able, if they had the desire, to erect a funerary commemoration for their child or children. Other studies have shown that the freed strata of the population in Italy appear to have actively participated in this form of commemoration to advertise their new freed status.⁷ Such a finding is significant because it allows access to a copious section of society largely neglected by literary evidence.

The majority of free (ambigui) children were not clearly defined as either liberti or ingenui. With the exception of the Familia Caesaris who were members of a privileged group in Roman society,⁸ citizenship (or at least free status) rather than the ability to claim freeborn status was important for a large section of society. 42% of the children from the columbaria inscriptions were of ambigui status.⁹ In Ostia the percentage rose to 66%¹⁰ with Regio I East of Ostia slightly lower at 64%.¹¹ Regio VIII recorded a figure around the 56% mark,¹² while Regio II rose to 61% and VII

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¹ 59/782 children.
² 30/782 children (14 males and 16 females). Ingenui? are children of two parents of different nomina who bore the nomen of their father.
³ 82/782 children. Ingenui (78 children, 47 males including one alumnus and 31 females); 4 peregrine children (2 males and 2 females).
⁴ Spurii 3 males.
⁵ Ostia CIL 14.341.
⁶ CIL 9.8; 24; 223; 307; 4.306; 341; 432; 2170.
⁸ Weaver (1972) esp ppl-2.
⁹ 126/301 children (82 males including one alumnus, 46 females including one alumna).
¹⁰ IPO 67% (16 males, 13 females including one alumna); CIL 66% (90 males, including 12 alumni, 45 females including 5 alumnae).
¹¹ 27 children (17 males including one alumnus, 10 females).
¹² Regio VIII 20/36 (14 males including one alumnus, 6 females).
dropped to 31%. Rome was comparatively lower because a higher proportion of children was attested as servi, vernae, and liberti, while in Regio VII a higher number of ingenui were discovered. Despite the general fluidity of movement between the social classes of the Roman Empire, there were various restrictions imposed amongst the senatorial and equestrian orders, primarily to prevent any downward movement that could possibly taint the dignitas of the upper classes. For example, this not only included restrictions that prohibited senators and their families from appearing as gladiators on stage, or senatorial women cohabiting with slaves, but restricted unsuitable people from rising too far above their accepted social level. Thus Augustus restricted the senate to six hundred. Tiberius defined clearly who did or did not have the right to wear rings and set the requirements for equestrian status at three generations of free birth, with a property qualification of four hundred thousand sesterces. Claudius also stipulated that the estates of freedmen should be confiscated if they attempted to pass themselves off as Roman knights. However, no corresponding control was placed on the lower classes restricting how they expressed their status upon burial memorials, and they were allowed to advertise their marital unions freely.

Only 9% of children in the total group were commemorated as slaves. 88% of these children came from either Rome or Ostia, though over half came from the columbaria alone. 3% of children were from the area in Regio I East of Ostia and less than 10% of children commemorated as slaves came from Regiones II, VII and VIII. This suggests that it was more common for slave children to be commemorated in the large urban centres of Rome and Ostia, possibly because slaves had more opportunity of acquiring wealth.

1. Regio II 59/96 (36 males including one alumnus, 21 females); Regio VII 17/55 (8 males and 9 females).
3. Tacitus Annales 12.53.
4. Augustus Res Gestae 8.2; Dio Cassius 52.42; 54.13; 54.26.3; 54.35.1-3.
5. Pliny Historia Naturalis 33.8 (32-34).
7. 73/782 children; servi (39 children); Verna (32 children); Imperial Verna (1 child); Alumni S (1 child).
8. Columbaria (45 children 62%); Ostia (19 children 26%); Regio I (2 child 3%); Regio II (5 children 7%); Regio VII (1 children 1%); Regio VIII (1 child 1%).
there, but also because it may have been more acceptable for this section of society to commemorate children in this way. A significant proportion of children were, however, likely to have been of servile status at the time of death. Such children were recorded with only a *cognomen* or a name form typical of that of slaves. This group of children had no clear status indicators attached to their epitaphs and collectively represented 15% of all commemorations. Half of this number again belonged to children from the *columbaria* area. 16% of dedications from Ostia featured children of the same status. The percentage for the other *Regiones* falls significantly. Only 8% of this group came from *Regio* I East of Ostia. Regio II recorded a find of 8%, Regio VII 8.5% and Regio VIII only 3%. Thus a high proportion of dedicators did not deem it necessary to proclaim openly the servile status of the child. 24% of inscriptions were to children of definite or probable slave status - half of these came from the *columbaria* inscriptions alone. Rome and Ostia collectively account for approximately Three quarters of all dedications to children of definite or possible servile status.

Children who were either definitely *liberti* or possibly *liberti* at death represented 8% of dedications for the total group of children. Those who were unquestionably commemorated as *liberti* made up 88% of this number (7% of the total), including one Imperial freedman from Rome. Again the majority of these children may have been freedmen (in memory of their parents). The largest group of such

1. This group comprises *Servi? & Alumni S?*
2. For example, *CIL* 6.7415 was set up for nine year old Fidus; 6.7713 for five year old Glyseros; 6.7736 for one year old Romulus erected by his father Pergamis; two children at Ostia (*CIL* 14.1008; 1009) were named Felicissimus and honoured by their patron and father respectively.
3. 117/782 children.
4. 57/117 children, 49% (42 males, including 1 *alumnus* and 15 females).
5. 19 inscriptions.
6. 9/117 children (5 males; including 2 *alumni* and 4 females including 2 *alumnae*).
7. 15/177 children (10 males including one *alumnus*, 5 females).
8. 10/117 children (5 males and 5 females including one *alumna*).
9. 4/117 children (2 males, and 2 females).
10. 190 children.
11. 75%, *Columbaria* 102/190 children, Ostia 41/190 children.
12. 59/782 children; *Liberti* (4 children); *Aug. Lib.* (1 child); *Liberti?* (7 children); *Vernae* (11 children).
13. 52/59 children.
came from the *columbaria* inscriptions at Rome (64%). The high percentage of slave and freed children from the *columbaria* inscriptions is in some ways not a surprising discovery. The individuals buried in the *columbaria* were largely the dependants of big, wealthy households who were able to utilise this type of burial site. What is significant is the high proportion of children found here. Only thirteen inscriptions for *liberti* were discovered amongst the two Ostian collections (22%). The number of *liberti* found in *Regio II* accounted for 8% of the inscriptions. *Regio VII* produced only three inscriptions to *liberti* (5%) and none were found amongst the corpus of *Regio VIII*. As the normal age for manumission for a slave was thirty years, it is not remarkable that children of freed status make up the smallest percentage of dedications. Special manumission for young children outside Rome, may have been less frequent because of the difficulty of obtaining the necessary magistrates, and young children may not have been thought worth the effort of a lengthy journey because of factors such as the possibility of an early death. Perhaps there was also more profit to be gained in terms of handouts and other benefits that accompanied freed status in Rome, and therefore parents and patrons may have been more willing to secure early manumission for children under these circumstances.

Under 4% of children commemorated without a status indicator may have been freeborn (*ingenui?*). The largest group of such

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3. 5/59 children *Liberti* (1 male and 2 female); *Lib?* (2 female children).

4. Gaius *Institutiones* 1.36-47.

5. Pliny *Epistulae* 7.16 illustrates the difficulty of obtaining magistrates in some areas of the Empire. In some cases people above the age of thirty could be manumitted if a *Praetor* or *Proconsul* was intercepted on the way to the baths or theatre, Gaius *Institutiones* 1.20.


7. Although on the basis of nomenclature these children were probably freeborn, they have been grouped after this point with *ambigui* children because their status cannot be positively confirmed from the inscriptions alone.
children were found in Regio VIII (19%).1 7% of children from Regio I East of Ostia were also probably freeborn.2 In all other areas this status group appeared on under 5% of all commemorations, and were less than the number of clearly defined freeborn children.3

The number of freeborn children found was relatively small. Only 11%4 of children were commemorated along with clear freeborn status indicators such as filiation and/or tribe. 31%5 of these freeborn children came from the columbaria, 26% from Ostia,6 12% from Regio II,7 26% from Regio VII8 and 5% from Regio VIII.9 Only one male child (1%) was discovered in Regio I East of Ostia. The percentage of freeborn children found in Regio VII was surprisingly high in comparison to the other Regiones. It is noticeable, however, that no burials of children of the senatorial order were discovered in the epitaphs collected for this study, and that only a few commemorations to children of the local nobility were found. Perhaps the upper classes preferred to use tombs on estates away from the nucleus of towns to bury their dead. The distinguished Verginius Rufus, for example, was buried on his estate near Alsum in Etruria,10 and it is believed that at Ostia it was more fashionable for senators and high level local magistrates to build tombs further out of town,11 or on their private estates.

1. 7/36 children (4 males and 3 females).
2. 3/42 children (all female).
3. Columbaria 2% (7/301 children, 3 males and 4 females); Ostia 3% (8/248 children; Ostia IPO 7% (3/43 children all female); Ostia CIL 2% (5/205 children (4 males and 1 female)); Regio II 3% (3/96 children, 2 males and 1 female); Regio VII 3.5% (2/55 children, 1 male and 1 female).
4. 85/782 children Ingenii (78 children: 47 males including 1 alumnus, 31 females); Spurii (3 male children); peregrine (4 children: 2 males and 2 females).
5. 26 children. Ingenii (10 males and 9 females); Spurii (3 male children); peregrine (2 males and 2 females).
6. 22 children. Ingenii (14 males and 8 females).
7. 10 children. Ingenii (7 males and 3 females).
8. 22 children. Ingenii (13 males and 9 females).
9. 4 children. Ingenii (2 males including one alumnus and 2 females).
10. Pliny Epistulae 6.10. Pliny here laments the fact that nine years after Rufus' death the tomb was still unfinished and no inscription accompanied his ashes:
When an epitaph was erected for a child under the age of fourteen years, what type of commemorative pattern was used? Did this pattern vary from class to class or area to area? Was the reason this type of memorial was set up manifold for different groups of people? The Roman world was very structured. We as historians have applied labels to try to quantify the position people held in this society. Did this social structure have any influence on the way epitaphs were constructed? A great majority of sources, mostly created by the upper classes, tell us what 'Roman society' believed to be the norm about death, social structure and social custom. The product for the modern historian has been a set of presuppositions about Roman society, its structure and expected responses to certain situations. For example, according to Plutarch writing around AD 100:\(^1\)

\[
\text{We neither bring offerings of food or drink to those who die in infancy nor do we do for them the things which it is customary to do for the dead; for they had no part in this world or in the things of this world; nor are we devoted to their graves and monuments, nor to the laying out of their bodies, nor do we sit by their bodies; for the law does not allow us to mourn those of such an age.}
\]

Plutarch was a Greek living under Roman rule. While he may not have been specifically writing about Roman children, this is the attitude, as will be seen in the following chapters, which also prevailed amongst Roman writers. Yet was this 'assumption' the impetus that determined the behaviour of other members of Roman society? As has already been established some children, even the very young, were commemorated in Roman society with relatively expensive, permanent monuments. Yet can a single set of overall meanings be assigned to explain why people erected epitaphs to these children?

The death of a child did not necessarily evoke the same reasons for commemoration as did the death of adults. For example, it cannot be argued that the erection of an inscribed monument was a

\(^1\) Plutarch *Moralia* 612 A (Consolation to his Wife).
reaction by the heir whose responsibility it was to perform this duty in fulfilment of a will,\(^1\) unless the father of the child had made this requirement in his will for the tutor to fulfil if the child died.\(^2\)

The parents of the child could choose whatever form of commemoration they wished, provided that they had the means to do so. Many of the children commemorated on the surviving epitaphs analysed may not have been under the legal jurisdiction of a guardian for the transmission of their property because they were not from wealthy backgrounds, and none of the inscriptions analysed refers to children as pupilli, or to their commemorators as tutores. Slave children, many of whom were commemorated on permanent memorials, could not have a tutor legally appointed.\(^3\)

Funerary inscriptions were set up for adults and children alike from all strata of society. These epitaphs could contain one or more of several key elements including:\(^4\)

a) an opening address (usually a full or abbreviated form of Dis Manibus Sacrum, or another term such as Memoriae, Have or a form of HSE);

b) the name(s) of the deceased (sometimes with nomenclature that included filiation or status or tribe);

c) age at death;

d) name(s) and or relationship(s) of dedicators;

e) occupations of the deceased and or dedicator(s);

f) epithet(s) praising the character of the deceased and or illustrating the viewpoint of the dedicator(s);

g) a closing formula (perhaps a full or abbreviated form of Hic Situs Est or Vale).

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1. Cf Meyer (1990) who argues that heirship, not family was the primary basis for the erection of inscriptions to adults.

2. Crook (1967) pp113-114. According to Gaius Institutiones 2.112-113 boys below the age of fourteen could not make a will even with the auctoritas of their tutores. From the time of Hadrian on, permission was given to women to make wills without coemptio, provided that they were not below the age of twelve. Those not exempted from tutela still had to make a will under the auctoritas of their tutor.

3. For example, children reduced to servitude were no longer protected by tutelage, Ulpian Digest 26.1.14.1.

The order of the above components could also change. For example, the dedicatee did not always appear at the top of an inscription, before the name(s) of the dedicators. The position of relationship markers (usually nouns or adjectives) could vary, as could the position and type of epithet used. Some inscriptions contained extra information such as the name of the person(s) who donated the burial space, extended relationships, or membership of the Imperial familia. The following analysis aims to determine the type of ordered commemoration that was most commonly established for children under the age of fourteen years, whether this pattern differed from region to region, and whether there is any uniformity in elements such as status.

From the inscriptions studied, five main types of commemorative patterns were found. This division, in the first instance, is based solely on the three elements of the position of the name of the child, the position of the age at death of the child, and the position of the name of the dedicator(s). The first type of commemorative pattern discovered (Type I) listed the child first upon the inscription, followed by the age at death of the child. The name(s) of the dedicator(s) was the final major element on the inscription.

1. For example CIL 9.1948 Beneventum: Regio II
M • • V T I L I M
SERVERIANI
Q VI • VIXIT
ANN • • M • IIII
D I E B • X VIII
HERENNIA • O
NESIME • MAT • FIL
DVLC • INFEL • B • M • F

2. For example CIL 11.687 Claternae: Regio VIII
D • M
CLAVDIAE-P • FILIAE • IVStae
QVAE VIXIT ANN • XI MENS • III • D • I
P • CLAVDIVS ZOSIMVS ET
PERCENIA LVCIFERA
PARENTES POSVERVNT
IN FRONT • P • VIII IN AGRO P VIII
40% of all the inscriptions analysed were set up according to this formula. The majority of these children were commemorated by a single dedicator only.

The next most frequently found pattern (Type II) was the very simple inscription containing only the name of the child and his or her age at death. 19% of the total body of inscriptions followed this model. No indication of the name or relationship of the dedicator was given on the inscription itself.

19% of children were commemorated on a stone designed for more than one dedicatee (Type III). This form of commemoration included epitaphs honouring several members of the same familia, or more than one child under the age of fourteen years. Sometimes the relationship between people commemorated together on a group epitaph was not clear. The position of the child and dedicator(s) could vary. Twenty-six inscriptions contained

1. 313/783 children.
2. 190/313 children (61%). The remaining 123 children (39%) were commemorated by two or more dedicators.
3. For example CIL 6.5279 Columbaria: Regio I

D · M
PERSEO
V·A·I·D·XXVI

4. 147/783 children.
5. 147/783 children.
6. For example CIL 6.7430 Columbaria: Regio I

P · C A E C I L I V S
FELIX · V · A · III
CAECILIA·P·ET·L
NAIS·V·ANN·XXV

7. For example CIL 14.1623 Ostia: Regio I

D · M A N · S A C
SEXTIAE · T · FIL · LVPERCAE
VIX · ANN · X · DIE · X
T · SEXTIO · T · FIL · MAGNO
V I X · A N N · V I I I
T · SEXTIVS · ADRASTVS · PATER
F E C
commemorations to two children each, accounting for a total of sixty-four children. Two inscriptions were erected to commemorate the death of three children, each from the same family.\footnote{CIL 6.3950; IPO A145.}

11%\footnote{84/783 children.} of the insessional body listed the dedicator first upon the inscription, followed by the name of the child and then his or her age at death (Type IV).\footnote{For example IPO A102 Ostia: \textit{Regio I}} The majority of children appearing on epitaphs of this pattern were commemorated by only one dedicator.\footnote{65/84 children (77%). 19/84 children (23%) were commemorated by two or more dedicators.}

The last major commemorative type, used in 10%\footnote{82/783 children.} of the inscriptions, listed the child at the top of the inscription, the dedicator(s) and then the age at death of the child (Type V).\footnote{For example \textit{CIL}14.2319 Ager Albanus: \textit{Regio I}} Again, the majority of children commemorated on inscriptions utilising the above form were honoured by only one dedicator.\footnote{52/82 children (63%). 30/82 children (37%) were commemorated by two or more dedicators.}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Summary of Dedication Types}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
Type & Dedicators & Children \\
\hline
IV & 1 & 84/783 \\
V & 1 & 82/783 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
Table A1: Summary of Dedication Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type I</th>
<th>Type II</th>
<th>Type III</th>
<th>Type IV</th>
<th>Type V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(Appendix 4</td>
<td>(Appendix 4</td>
<td>(Appendix 4</td>
<td>(Appendix 4</td>
<td>(Appendix 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Figure 2)</td>
<td>Figure 3)</td>
<td>Figure 5)</td>
<td>Figure 6)</td>
<td>Figure 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td>Dedicator(s)</td>
<td>Child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age at Death</td>
<td>Age at death</td>
<td></td>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Age at death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedicator(s)</td>
<td>Dedicator(s)</td>
<td>Age at death</td>
<td>Dedicator(s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1% of the inscriptions were unique and did not fit into any of the categories mentioned above. The majority of these inscriptions were found at Rome and Ostia, while only one inscription came from Regio II. The first inscription from Rome was from a sepulchre found in the Vatican Cemetery collection. The decoration around the sarcophagus suggests that the dedicators were the child's parents, yet the only inscription read mensibus VI, diebus X. Three inscriptions of unique design were discovered amongst the Columbaria collection. The first epitaph was erected for an unnamed ten month old slave child and followed the structure: age at death of the child/ name of the dedicator, A Sergius Meliton/ followed by the relationship between dedicator and child. On the second epitaph, Stertinia Maxima was commemorated by both her natural parents Acrat{i}(s) and Molpes and by her tata Narcissus. However, the structure of the inscription was Child/ Dedicators (parents)/ Age at death of child/ Dedicator (tata). The third epitaph stated that a burial memorial was erected for Sextus Pompeius Iucundus by Pompeia Doris, but the burial space, in this case two funerary urns, was donated by M Iunius Dexter. The structure of this memorial featured the donator of the ollae at the head of the

1. 10/783 inscriptions.
2. See Appendix I for these inscriptions; Vatican Cemetery p89 sepulchre; CIL 6.4153; 5621; 6703; IPO A198; B54; CIL 14.664; 903; 1374.
3. CIL 9.700.
4. Vatican Cemetery p89 sepulchre.
5. See below p84.
7. CIL 6.4153; 5621; 6703.
8. CIL 6.5621.
10. CIL 6.4153.
stone, followed by the name of the Child/ the Dedicator/ and finally the Age at death of the child.

Five of the final six inscriptions in this special group came from Ostia, two from the *IPO* collection\(^1\) and three from the *CIL* 14 collection.\(^2\) From the *IPO* collection Plautius Mascellio, who died at the age of three years, was commemorated by his parents A Plautius Primitibus and Iulia Hieronis, heirs of Iulius Prosdocimus, in a double burial space donated by Ti Iulius Zoticus and Aetetus.\(^3\) The order of commemoration was Dedicators/ Burial space donators/ The name of the person to whom donators were heirs/ Child/ Age at death of the child. The second *IPO* inscription commemorated the death of ten months old Curtia Felicia and was erected by both her owner, M Curtius Sotericus and her *mamma*, Livia Acte.\(^4\) Dedicators were placed top and bottom on the inscription, with M Curtius Sotericus first and the child and her age at death in the middle. On the bottom section of the stone there was inscribed another memorial by Pompeia Nomas for her *mater* Pompeia Chrysis.

The first unusual example from the *CIL* 14 collection was erected by M Aurelius Marianus and Iulia Crescentina for their eight year old son Aurelius Cretianus.\(^5\) The commemorative pattern took the format of Dedicators/ Age at death of the child/ Name of the child. On another stone two year old Decimia Eytaxia was also commemorated by her parents, Decimius Maron and Aurelia Afias.\(^6\) In this case, however, the order of commemoration was Deducator (father)/ Child/ Dedicator (mother)/ Age at death of the child/ Burial space donator. The final inscription from the Ostia *CIL* collection appears to have had a line added naming the dedicator.\(^7\) Mol(licius) Eutychianus had his name inserted into the inscription using a smaller size of lettering that split the *cognomen* of his daughter. However, the unusual patterning may only be due to the stonemaster's accidently omitting Eutychianus' name in the original.

\(^{1}\) *IPO* A198; B54.
\(^{2}\) *CIL* 14.664; 903; 1374.
\(^{3}\) *IPO* A198. This epitaph is discussed below p137.
\(^{4}\) *IPO* 54.
\(^{5}\) *CIL* 14.664.
\(^{6}\) *CIL* 14.903.
\(^{7}\) *CIL* 14.1374.
carving. The sole inscription from Regio II was set up for two year old Vinius Etruscus, son of P Vinius Arbula and Rufinia Merope. The structure of the inscription was relationship of Dedicators/ Age at death of child/ Dedicators/ Child.

All children honoured in these inscriptions of unusual patterning were either servi or of undifferentiated free status. None of the dedicators included status indicators in their names, although in five cases the children possessed the same nomen as their father. Only one dedicator did not include her relationship to the child on the inscription, although both shared the same nomen. In three cases the burial spaces used were donated by a person other than the dedicator. One child was commemorated by her natural parents and her tata and another by her owner and mamma. The majority of these inscriptions appear to be connected with dedicators of servile origin.

Although this group was not large in comparison to all other commemorative types found, any deviation from the norm is interesting and deserves some analysis. As seen above, more children of slave and freed status were commemorated in these more 'urbanised' areas where it was more acceptable for people of such status to proclaim publicly their position in the community. This is also where 90% of these unusual inscriptions were found. Therefore it seems that there was also more room for individuality in places like Rome and Ostia, and the inhabitants of these areas perhaps had a greater purpose in striving to erect such a memorial if one was financially able. Is it possible to affirm this pattern any further?

What similarities and differences can be ascertained between areas if these commemorative patterns are examined in detail? The

1. CIL 9.700.
2. CIL 6.5621; IFO B54 (this child is possibly a liberta).
3. Vatican Cemetery p89 sepulchre; CIL 6.4153; 6703; IFO A198; CIL 14.664; 903; 1374; CIL 9.700.
4. IFO A198; CIL 14.664; 903; 1374; CIL 9.700.
5. CIL 6.4153.
6. CIL 6.4153; IFO A198; CIL 14.903.
7. CIL 6.6703.
8. IFO B54.
9. See above, pp33-35.
Child/ Age/ Dedicator(s) pattern listed above (Type I) as the most popular commemorative pattern amongst the areas analysed, was also the most popular form used in each area individually (Appendix 4 Figure 1). In Rome, Ostia CIL, Regio II and Regio VII, the percentage of children with only a single dedicator was higher than the number of children with more than one dedicator. In the Ostia IPO collection and Regio I East of Ostia equal numbers of single and multiple dedicators were found on this type of inscription. Only in Regio VIII did the number of multiple dedicators outnumber inscriptions erected by a single dedicator only.

The category of inscription that featured only the child and his or her age at death (Type II), was more popular in Regio VII than in other regiones. One quarter of inscriptions in Regio VII were inscribed according to this format. Similar numbers of these inscriptions were found in Rome, and in Regio II. However, only

1. In Regio VIII 64% (23/36 children) of all dedications to children under the age of fourteen took this format. This pattern was also common in Regio I East of Ostia where 57% (24/42 children) of inscriptions were erected using this style. Regio II and Ostia CIL also favoured this type of dedication, recording finds of 48% (46/96 children) and 47% (96/205 children) respectively. Ostia IPO 33% (14/43 children) and Rome 30% (91/306 children; Vatican Cemetery; 3/5 children 60%; Columbaria 88/301 children 29%). In Regio I, approximately one third of the inscriptions constructed according to this style.

2. Rome 19%, 57/306 children with a single dedicator (Vatican Cemetery 40% 2/5; Columbaria 18% 55/301); more than one dedicator 11%, 33/306 children (Vatican Cemetery 20% 1/5; Columbaria 11% 33/301); Ostia CIL 31%, 64/205 children with a single dedicator, 16% 32/205 children with more than one dedicator; Regio II 29%, 28/96 children with a single dedicator, 19% 18/96 children with more than one dedicator; Regio VII 22% 12/55 children with a single dedicator, 13% 7/55 children with more than one dedicator.

3. Ostia IPO 16% 7/43 children were commemorated by a single dedicator, and the same number were commemorated by more than one dedicator; Regio I East of Ostia 29% 12/42 children were commemorated by a single dedicator and the same number were commemorated by multiple dedicators.

4. Regio VIII only 28% 10/36 children were commemorated by a single dedicator, while 36% 13/36 children were commemorated by multiple dedicators.

5. See above p40.
6. Appendix 4 Figure I.
7. 29%, 16/55 children.
8. 27%, 82/301 children all from the Columbaria, none from the Vatican Cemetery.
9. 21%, 20/96 children.
one tenth of the inscriptions from both Ostia collections listed only the name and age at death of the child upon the epitaph. This type of inscription was not found amongst the Vatican Cemetery inscriptions, the inscriptions in Regio I East of Ostia or in Regio VIII.

The least common type of inscription found in Rome was the Child/ Deducator(s)/ Age form (Type V). Only 8% of inscriptions followed this basic arrangement. It was also the least common pattern in Regiones II, VII, and VIII. By contrast, this was the second most common type of inscription erected in Ostia to children under the age of fourteen. In four areas, Rome, Ostia IPO and CIL and Regio III, more children were commemorated by a single dedicator only, while in Regio VII the same number of children were commemorated by multiple dedicators as single dedicators. Again in Regio VIII more children were commemorated by multiple dedicators than single dedicators.

In only one of two groups was the child dedicatee not placed in prominent position at the top of the inscription (the Dedicator(s)/ Child/ Age at death, Type IV subset). Instead the dedicator(s) responsible for the erection of the epitaphs chose to place their name(s) at the top of the memorials. This was the least common type of inscription found in Ostia in both collections. 15% of the

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1. 12%, IPO 5/43 children; 12%, CIL 24/205 children.
2. 11% of the total body, Appendix 4 Figure I.
3. 23/301 inscriptions.
4. 4%, 4/96 children.
5. 7%, 4/55 children.
7. Ostia IPO 19%, 8/43 children; Ostia CIL 15%, 31/205 children.
8. 5% 15/301 children were commemorated by a single dedicator whereas 3% 8/301 children were commemorated by more than one dedicator.
9. 12% 5/43 children were commemorated by a single dedicator whereas 7% 3/43 children were commemorated by more than one dedicator.
10. 10% 21/205 children were commemorated by a single dedicator whereas 5% 10/205 children were commemorated by more than one dedicator.
11. 4% 4/96 children were commemorated by a single dedicator. No children were commemorated by multiple dedicators.
12. 4% 2/55 children were commemorated by a single dedicator and the same number were commemorated by more than one dedicator.
13. 6%, 2/36 children with single dedicators, 8%, 3/36 children with multiple dedicators.
14. 10% of the total group, Appendix 4 Figure I.
15. IPO 16%, 7/43 children; 10%, CIL 20/205 children.
inscriptions in Rome took this format.\(^1\) In \textit{Regio} I East of Ostia\(^2\) and in \textit{Regio} II\(^3\) 10% or fewer of the inscriptions were of this style. No inscriptions of this type were found in \textit{Regiones} VII or VIII. In all areas where this form of inscription was found, more single dedicators erected inscriptions than multiple dedicators.\(^4\)

Group dedications (Type III) were not the most popular form used for commemorating children under the age of fourteen,\(^5\) but in all areas surveyed they accounted for at least 15% of the inscriptive body. The lowest numbers were found in Ostia\(^6\) and \textit{Regio} I East of Ostia,\(^7\) while in Rome,\(^8\) \textit{Regiones} II\(^9\) and VIII\(^10\) children appeared in group dedications at least 20% of the inscriptions. \textit{Regio} VII produced the highest percentage at 29%.\(^11\)

Fifty-six children\(^12\) were commemorated on inscriptions where more than one child was listed with an age at death. In some cases, children from the same family may have died at approximately the same time. In other cases, a memorial may not have been erected until more than one child had died. Thus a number of years may have elapsed between the death of one or more children and the erection of the epitaph. Unfortunately the time frames involved cannot be determined. In only two inscriptions was the time of death between two individuals listed upon their epitaphs.\(^13\)

\(^1\) 47/306 children; \textit{Columbaria}; 16% 41/301 children; \textit{Vatican Cemetery} 20% 1/5 children.
\(^2\) 10%, 4/42 children.
\(^3\) 6%, 6/96 children.
\(^4\) \textit{Vatican Cemetery} 20% 1/5; \textit{Columbaria} 11% 33/301; combined Rome 11% 34/306 children; Rome \textit{Columbaria} 4% 13/301 children; Ostia \textit{IPO} 14% 6/43 children with a single dedicator, 2% 1/43 children with multiple dedicators; Ostia \textit{CIL} 8% 17/205 children with a single dedicator, 1% 3/205 children with multiple dedicators; \textit{Regio} I East of Ostia 10% 4/42 children, no children with multiple dedicators; \textit{Regio} II 4% 4/96 children with a single dedicator, 2% 2/96 children with multiple dedicators.
\(^5\) 19% of the total body. Appendix 4 Figure I.
\(^6\) Ostia \textit{IPO}, 16%, 7/43 children; Ostia \textit{CIL} 15%, 31/205 children.
\(^7\) 17%, 7/42 inscriptions.
\(^8\) 20%, 59/301 inscriptions \textit{Columbaria} only.
\(^9\) 20%, 19/96 children.
\(^10\) 22%, 8/36 children.
\(^11\) 16/55 children.
\(^12\) 38%, 56/147 children on a total of twenty seven inscriptions.
\(^13\) \textit{CIL} 14.838 commemorates three year old \textit{gemellae} and the ages at death indicate that one child died five days after the other.
Amongst the *Columbaria* collection, 36% of group inscriptions recorded the death of more than one child. Nine inscriptions commemorated the death of two children,\(^1\) and one inscription the death of three children.\(^2\) Six of these inscriptions (thirteen children) were set up to honour children of the same family group,\(^3\) while the remainder shared similar *nomen* to each other or to others on the inscription and may have been from the same *familia*.\(^4\) Approximately 45%\(^5\) of the group inscriptions in Ostia contained commemorations to more than one child under the age of fourteen years. From the *IPO* collection one father erected an inscription for his *coniunx* and his three children who died at the ages of thirteen, nine and seven.\(^6\) From the *CIL* 14 collection seven inscriptions commemorated two children each.\(^7\) Here three groups of children were commemorated by one or both parents,\(^8\) three groups shared similar nomenclature and may have been from the same *familia*,\(^9\) and one group had no discernible link between the children commemorated.\(^10\) In *Regio* I East of Ostia the number of multiple children commemorated on the same inscription was 57%.\(^11\) In both cases, two children were commemorated on a family memorial.\(^12\) In *Regio* II, two children were commemorated on two inscriptions,\(^13\) and were commemorated in nuclear\(^14\) or extended family settings.\(^15\) Four of the sixteen group inscriptions in *Regio* VII honoured the deaths of two children apiece under the age of fourteen years. Three memorials were erected for nuclear\(^16\) or extended\(^17\) family members, and the final two children, listed alone

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1. *CIL* 6.4618; 4848; 5163; 5954; 6035; 7589; 7749; 8038; 8198.
3. *CIL* 6.3950; 4848; 5954; 7749; 7589; 8198.
4. *CIL* 6.4618; 5163; 6035; 8038.
5. 17/38 children (*IPO* 3/7 children 43%; *CIL* 14/31 children 45%).
7. *CIL* 14.519; 838; 1111; 1284; 1529; 1623; 1674.
8. *CIL* 14.1284; 1623; 1674.
11. 4/7 children on two inscriptions.
upon their inscription, shared a common nomen.1 Only one inscription in Regio VIII2 contained a dedication to more than one child.3 This child was commemorated with members of his family, including his grandfather.

Only a relatively few children were commemorated upon inscriptions also set up for other children under the age of fourteen years. Demographically it is known that many more children per family group must have died at young ages.4 What was the incentive behind the decision to commemorate more than one child on an inscription, or, alternatively, deciding to commemorate the death of only one child? The erection of a permanent funerary memorial for some members of the community would have been an economic impossibility. For others ante-mortem memorials set up for themselves and members of their families while still alive ensured that they would receive the type of memorial they desired.5 Similarly, it is not possible to determine whether the members of family groups commemorated together died around the same time, or how long after the death of any particular member the memorial was erected. Only 30% of the inscriptions that honoured more than two children under the age of fourteen did not include the name or relationship of the dedicator(s) to the deceased.6 All these children were of slave, freed or undifferentiated free status, and all but one inscription (two children) came from either Rome or Ostia.7 The bulk of these inscriptions commemorated at the very least the mother-children father-children group and in some instances the mother-father-children triad, although a few inscriptions appear to commemorate members of the same familia. Only two inscriptions were erected for individuals of freeborn status,8 and one of these was primarily

1. CIL 11.1811.
2. 25%. Only one inscription with two children, 2/8 children found on group inscriptions.
3. CIL 11.836.
5. For example CIL 6.4618.
6. 8/27 inscriptions CIL 6.5613; 6035; 8038; CIL 14.519; 838; 1111; 1529; CIL 11.1811.
7. CIL 11.1811 was from Regio VII.
8. CIL 11.2914a.
erected for freeborn but illegitimate individuals. It was therefore important for such individuals, particularly those of servile status, to illustrate how many children they had had if they were financially able to commemorate them. Inscriptions that did not include the names of the dedicators may have been chosen because larger monuments were not affordable, or perhaps because the dedicators were confident that people viewing the monument would be aware of the relationship between dedicator(s) and children.

Of the children commemorated upon group inscriptions, 74% were listed on inscriptions where they alone, despite the presence of other dedicators, were given an age at death on the memorial. Regiones I East of Ostia (86%), VII (93%), Ostia (79%), and Rome (77%) also all exhibited this trend. Only half the children on group inscriptions in Regiones II and VIII were the only dedicators commemorated with an age at death. Thus it was more important in these areas on group inscriptions to have everyone, not just children, marked with an age at death. Why were not all dedicators on the same inscription commemorated with an age at death? The marking of the age of an individual, especially that of a child, was done by deliberate choice. Those responsible for the erection of the monument wanted the child to be singled out on the memorial as being of a particular age. In the remaining 26% of inscriptions where other dedicators (including the child) were commemorated with an age at death, the distinction between adult and child was still made, often between the ages at death of children, even adult children, or between the age of the mother or of the father and the age of the child. These were not exclusive categories and often it is not clear why the choice to include age was or was not made. However, what is striking is that on the whole children were singled out, especially in the urban areas.

1. CIL 6.5163.
2. 6/7 children.
3. 14/15 children.
4. 30/38 children (IPO 5/7 children (71%); Ostia CIL 25/31 children 81%).
5. 44/57 children.
6. 47% 9/19 children.
7. 50% 4/8 children.
Another striking feature which emerges from the above analysis is that 78% of the children commemorated with an age of death less than fourteen years were given prime position at the top of their inscription. This total is made up of children commemorated on stones set up in all categories except the Deducator/Child/Age category (Type IV), where they were not the focus of the inscription, and several of the group (Type III) and unusual inscriptions. When each area was assessed individually, at least 74% of the inscriptions set up for children listed the child's name first. If children were commemorated in a group situation in Rome or Ostia there was a fairly even chance of being commemorated first upon an inscription. Elsewhere, approximately one quarter to one third of children were given top billing on the inscription. Although there were fewer styles of commemorative patterns found in Regiones VII and VIII and fewer children commemorated in Regiones II, VII and VIII than in the more 'urbanized' areas of Rome and Ostia, when children were commemorated as dedicatees they had a very high chance of being named first upon the inscription. When children were commemorated overall in Regiones II, VII and VIII they were the main focus of the inscription in at least 80% of the epitaphs.

The inscribed memorials set up for children did, on the whole, follow fairly conservative and conventional patterns as indicated by

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1. 607/783 children.
2. Child/ Age /Dedicator 313 children; Child/ Age 147 children; Child/ Deducator/ Age 82 children; group inscriptions with children in prime position 62/147 children; inscriptions of unusual patterns 3/10 children in prime position.
3. Rome (Vatican Cemetery 3/5 Columbaria 224/301) combined total 227/306 74%; Ostia (IPO 28/43 65%; CIL 167/205 81%) combined total 195/248 79%; Regio I East of Ostia 33/42 children 79%; Regio II 77/96 children 80%; Regio VII 44/55 children 80%; Regio VIII 30/36 children 83%).
4. Rome Columbaria 51% 30/59 children listed first on a group inscription; Ostia IPO 14% 1/7 children listed first on a group inscription; Ostia CIL 48% 15/31 children listed first on a group inscription (combined 43% 16/37 children).
5. Just over one third for Regio II.
6. Regio I East of Ostia 29% 2/7 children; Regio II 37% 7/19 children; Regio VII 31% 5/16 children; Regio VIII 27% 2/7 children.
7. Regio II 80%; Regio VII 80%; Regio VIII 83%.
the five main types of epitaph found throughout Italy. Yet the majority of inscriptions found to children under the age of fourteen commemorated the child dedicatee as the focus of the inscription. Therefore in death these children do not seem to have been marginal members of the community.

What other form of social hierarchy had an impact on the types of commemorative patterns used? Other studies have shown that when a husband and wife jointly commemorated the death of a child on an epitaph, the husband's name normally came first in the shared dedication, a custom reflecting the husband's position as head of his family and the man's more important role in Roman society. In their study of alumni of all ages, Bellemore and Rawson discovered that of the 83% of Italian alumni found in their survey who were dedicatees on inscriptions, only 57% had their names inscribed first. They also found that an alumnus was never listed first on an inscription when not a dedicatee, corroborating the

1. A randomly selected group of inscriptions (150 epitaphs) with an age at death for dedicatees who were not children was taken from the Ostian inscriptions in CIL 14. On the whole a similar distribution pattern was found (Table A below). The only significant differences were that more Type I style of dedications (Child/ Age at death/ Dedicator(s) = Dedicatee/ Age at Death/ Dedicator(s)) were found, and less Type III (Group) inscriptions were found. Thus a group inscription featuring an age at death was more likely to be erected if the commemoration of a child was involved.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Commemorative Pattern</th>
<th>Children Overall Total</th>
<th>Children Ostia</th>
<th>Control Group Ostia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Child/Age/Dedicator or Dedicatee/Age/Dedicator</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>54%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child/Age or Dedicatee/Age</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Group</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child/Dedicator/Age or Dedicatee/Dedicator/Age</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>16%</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dedicator/Child/Age or Dedicatee/Dedicator/Age</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unusual</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table A: Comparison of Commemorative Patterns

2. Cf Wiedemann (1989) pp5-43 where he shows children to be marginal members of the community.
picture of *alumni* as a socially inferior group. Did the status of the child have any impact on the commemorative patterns discovered above?

63% of the children commemorated with the Child/ Age at death/ Dedicator(s) pattern (Type I) were of undifferentiated free status (*ambigui*). The next largest group (20%) comprised children who were most likely or definitely slaves when they died. 10% of the children in this group were recorded as freeborn on their epitaphs, while a further 7% were acknowledged as, or were probably *liberti*. On the whole, a similar pattern was found for each region (Appendix 4 Figure 2). In all cases, the majority of children commemorated on an inscription set up according to this formula were of undifferentiated free status. Interestingly the *Columbaria* (Rome) and Regio VII recorded figures at least 10% lower than the other areas. The *Columbaria* inscriptions commemorated significantly more slave children than the other areas, whereas in Regio VII were found a greater number of freeborn children. There were also almost twice as many *liberti* commemorated in the *Columbaria* in Rome as in any other region where *liberti* were

---

2. 198/313 children including 16 *alumni* (124 children with a single dedicator and 74 with multiple dedicators).
3. 61/313 children; *Servi* and *vernae* (7%) 22/313 children; *Servi? and servi alumni?* (12%) 39/313 children.
4. 32/313 children.
5. 22/313 children; *Liberti* (3%) 10/313 children; *liberti verna* (2%) 6/313 children; Imperial *liberti* 1 child/313; *liberti?* (2%) 5/313 children.
6. Vatican Cemetery (60%) 3/5 children; *Columbaria* (51%) 45/88 children; Ostia IPO (79%) 11/14 children including one *alumnus*; Ostia CIL (65%) 62/96 children including thirteen *alumni*; Regio I East of Ostia (83%) 20/24 children including one *alumnus*; Regio II (80%) 32/40 children; Regio VII (47%) 9/19 children; Regio VIII (70%) 16/23 children including one *alumnus*.
7. *Columbaria* (28%) 25/88 children including six *vernae* and one *alumnus*; Ostia IPO (21%) 3/14 children including one *verna*; Ostia CIL (18%) 17/96 children including seven *vernae* and one Imperial *verna*; Regio I East of Ostia (17%) 4/24 children; Regio II (13%) 6/46 children including one *alumnus*; Regio VII (16%) 3/19; Regio VIII (13%) 3/23 children.
8. Regio VII (33%) 6/19 children; *Columbaria* (8%) 7/88 children; Ostia CIL (10%) 10/96 children; Regio II (11%) 5/46 children; Regio VIII (17%) 4/23 children. Ostia IPO and Regio I East of Ostia had no freeborn children recorded on this style of commemoration.
found on an inscription erected according to the Child /Age at death
/Dedicator pattern.1

The most prominent social group amongst inscriptions listing only
the name of the child and his or her age at death (Type 2) was
again those of undifferentiated free status (Appendix 4 Figure 3).2
Children of definite or probable servile origin were also well
represented3 as were freeborn children.4 *Liberti*, however, were
found on only 11% of the epitaphs.5 No children from the *Vatican
Cemetery, Regio* I East of Ostia or *Regio* VIII were commemorated
on this style of inscription. For all other *Regiones* bar VII the
majority of children commemorated were of undifferentiated free
status, though there were fewer children in the *Columbaria*
inscriptions than in Ostia or *Regio* II.6 Only 19% of the children
were of undifferentiated free status in *Regio* VII,7 whereas 69%8
were freeborn.9 The highest percentage of slave children
commemorated upon this simple style of inscription was discovered
amongst the *Columbaria* inscriptions.10 It was also popular for slave
children commemorated in *Regio* II,11 but not for slave children
from Ostia12 or *Regio* VII.13

Just over half the children memorialised on epitaphs of the
structure Child/ Dedicator(s)/ Age at death (Type V) were again of

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1. *Columbaria* (13%) 11/88 children; Ostia *CIL* (7%) 7/96 children; *Regio*
   II (6.5%) 3/46 children; *Regio* VII (5%) 1/19 children.
2. 49%, 72/147 children.
3. 22%, 33/147 children; *servi*? (12%) 17/147 children; *servi* (11%) 16/147
   children.
4. 17%, *Ingenui* (16%) 24/147 children including two peregrine children;
   sp.f (1%) 1/147 children.
5. *Liberti* (11%) 16/147 children; *liberti*? (.5%) 1/147 children.
6. *Columbaria* (38%) 31/82 children; Ostia (83%) 24/29 children (*IPO* 60%
   3/5 children; *CIL* 88% 21/24 children); *Regio* II (70%) 14/20 children.
7. 3/16 children.
8. 11/16 children.
9. *Columbaria* (12%) 10/82 children (including one sp.f and two peregrine
   children); Ostia (10%) 3/29 children (*IPO* 20% 1/5 children; *CIL* 8%
   2/24 children); *Regio* II 5% 1/20 children.
10. 33%, 27/82 children; *servi* (16% 13/82 children including one *verna*
    and one *alumnus*); *servi*? (17%) 14/82 children.
11. 20%, 4/20 children; *servi* (5%) 1/20 children; *servi*? (15%) 3/20
    children.
12. 4%, 1 *verna* *CIL* only.
13. 6%, 1 *verna*. 

undifferentiated free status. 1 33\% were servi, 5\% ingenui and only 5\% liberti (Appendix 4 Figure 4). 4 Freeborn children were only found at Ostia and liberti at Rome and Ostia. 6 Higher numbers of children of undifferentiated free status were found at Ostia and in Region VIII than in the other areas surveyed. 7 In Rome and Regio II the same number of servi as ambigu i children were commemorated. In both Regiones I East of Ostia and in Region VIII a higher number of slave children were commemorated on inscriptions of the Child/ Dedicator(s) /Age format. In these areas if people were going to commemorate slave children they put their own names quite high up on the inscription. This format of inscription was used less frequently for liberti or freeborn children in most areas.

In group inscriptions (Type III) where the child was the focus of the inscription, 12 the most prevalent status of the children from the collected corpus was again those children of undifferentiated free status (56\%). 13 One quarter of the children were servi, 13\% freeborn and only 7\% liberti. 16 In all areas the majority of children

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1. 56\%, 46/82 children.
2. 27/82 children.
3. 4/82 children.
4. 4/82 children.
7. Ostia (69\%) 27/39 children (IPO 75\% 6/8 children; CIL 68\% 21/31 children including two alumni); Regio VIII (60\%) 3/5 children; Rome (43\%) 10/23 children; Regio I East of Ostia (43\%) 3/7 children; Regio II (50\%) 2/4 children; Regio VII (25\%) 1/4 children.
8. Servi 43\% 10/23 children (servi (22\%) 5/23 children, including two verna; servi? (22\%) 5/23 children); ambigu i 43\% 10/23 children.
10. 57\%, 4/7 children; verna 1 child; alumni servi 3/7 children.
11. 75\%, 3/4 children; all servi? including one alumna.
12. That is, the child was in position one on the inscription despite the presence of other dedicatoes.
13. 35/62 children.
15. 8/62 children including two illegitimate children and one peregrine child.
16. 4/62 children.
commemorated as the focus of a group inscription were *ambi* gui.* 1  
No other children were found commemorated in this manner at Ostia in the *IPO* collection, in *Regio I* East of Ostia, or in *Regio VIII*. Comparable levels of servi who were commemorated with an age at death under the age of fourteen were found in Rome, 2 Ostia 3 and *Regio II*. 4 Freeborn children were also only found in these three areas, accounting for approximately 15% 5 of the finds respectively. Liberti were only memorialised on this type of inscription at Rome 6 and in Regio II. 7 

Does the general pattern discovered above alter in any way if the child was not the central focus of the epitaph? 8 The most prevalent status group on the inscriptions that listed the dedicator first, followed by the name of the child and then his or her age at death (Type IV), was again the undifferentiated free category of children (52%). 9 The number of freeborn children commemorated on this style of inscription was very low (Appendix 4 Figure 6). 10 Just over one third of the children were servi, 11 though few were liberti. 12 No children were commemorated on this type of inscription in *Regiones VII* or VIII. In all other areas bar Rome, children of undifferentiated free status were commemorated on the bulk of dedicator headed inscriptions. 13 By contrast, the majority of

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1. Appendix 4 Figure 5. Columbaria (43%) 13/30 children; Ostia CIL (60%) 9/15 children; Regio II (57%) 4/7 children; Regio VII (80%) 4/5 children. 
2. 30%, Columbaria 9/30 children. 
3. 27%, CIL 4/15 children. 
4. 28.5%, 2/7 children. 
5. Columbaria 17%, 5/30 children (including two freeborn illegitimate children, and one peregrine child); Ostia 13%, 2/15 children; Regio II, 14%, 1/7 children. 
6. 10%, 3/30 children. 
7. 20%, 1/5 children. 
8. That is, inscriptions where children were not commemorated in first position on an epitaph. 
9. 44/84 children. 
10. 1%. One freeborn child only was found amongst the Columbaria inscriptions. 
11. 38%. Servi 13% (11/84) children including eight verna; servi? (25%) 21/84 children. 
12. 7%, 6/84 children including three verna. 
13. Rome 44% (Vatican Cemetery 1 child, 20/46 children from the Columbaria including one alumna); Ostia (67%) 18/27 children (IPO 71% 5/7 children; CIL (65%) 13/20 children including one alumna); Regio I East of Ostia (75%) 3/4 children; Regio II (50%) 3/6 children including one alumna.
children from the *Columbaria* inscriptions were *servi*.1 *Liberti* were only found at Rome,2 Ostia,3 and *Regio* II.4 Roughly the same breakdown of children occurred in the group inscriptions (Type III) where children were not the primary focus of the inscription (Appendix 4 Figure 7).5 The major difference between these inscriptions and the (Type IV) inscriptions was that many more freeborn children were included in the group inscriptions.6 Although in the overall statistical analysis children of undifferentiated free status were the most prominent status group amongst children commemorated with an age at death under fourteen years of age (52%),7 *Regiones* I East of Ostia and VII both deviated. More *servi* were commemorated upon this form of group inscription in *Regio* I East of Ostia,8 and more *ingenui* in *Regio* VII.9 Both these areas respectively exhibited the highest percentage for these status groups when compared with the other *Regiones*.10

*Regio* VIII was in many ways the most conservative region analysed. Although 83% of the children commemorated in *Regio* VIII were the primary focus of their inscriptions, only three of the five main types of commemorative patterns were used here (Types I, III and IV), and no inscriptions of unusual format were discovered at all. It was also more common for a child to be commemorated in *Regio* VIII if there was more than one dedicator willing to erect a memorial. In all cases the relationship of the dedicator(s) to the child was stated on the stone. Freeborn children

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1. Rome *Columbaria* (48%) 22/46 children (*servi* (15%) 7/46 children including six *vernae*; *servi*? (33%) 15/46 children; Ostia (30%) 7/27 children (*IPO* 28.5% 27 children, *vernae*; *CIL* (25%) 5/20 children *servi* (10%) 2/20; *servi*? (15%) 3/20 children.
2. 7%, 3/46 children.
3. 10%, *CIL* 2/20 children, both *vernae*.
4. 17%, 1/6 children.
5. *Ambigui* (54%) 46/85 children including one *alumnus*; *servi* (24%) 20/85 children including three *vernae*; *liberti* (6%) 5/85 children.
6. 16%, 14/85 children including one *peregrine* child.
7. They were found also on the majority of inscriptions in Rome (*Columbaria* (52%) 15/29 children; Ostia (73%) 16/22 inscriptions (*IPO* (83%) 5/6 children; *CIL* (69%) 11/16 children; *Regio* II (42%) 5/12 children; *Regio* VIII (100%) 2/2 children.
8. 40%, 2/5 children including one *alumnus*.
9. 45%, 5/11 children.
10. *Servi*, Rome *Columbaria* (27.5%) 8/29 children; Ostia *CIL* (12.5%) 2/16 children; *Regio* II (33%) 4/12 children; *Regio* VII (36%) 4/11 children. *Ingenui* (Rome *Columbaria* (10%) 3/29 children; Ostia *CIL* 2/16 children; *Regio* I East of Ostia (20%) 1/5 children; *Regio* II (25%) 3/12 children.
in *Regio VII* were only found on three types of inscription, I, II and III, and were never in anything less than first position.

On the whole, there seems to be no correlation between status and the position on an inscription where a child was commemorated. However, children of free birth were rarely found in anything but first position, unless they were commemorated on a group inscription. They were also found relatively infrequently on inscriptions that listed the name of the dedicator after that of the child. At least 49% of children on any of the styles of epitaph found were commemorated without any status indicators (*ambigui*). Though *liberti* were a minority group, they were found on all types of inscriptions, although most frequently on the Child/ Age epitaph. 74% of *liberti* were commemorated as the focus of the inscription. *Servi* were found on one fifth to one third of each style of inscription, though most prominently on the Dedicator(s)/ Child/ Age at death epitaph. 27% of *servi* were not commemorated first on the funerary inscription set up to mark their death. Only 15% of *alumni* were not listed first upon their inscription. Nor were *alumni* commemorated in first position on any of the group inscriptions found. *Alumni* were commemorated on all other types of inscriptions, but were found most commonly (63%) on the Child/ Age at death/ Dedicator(s) epitaph, and were rarely commemorated without a dedicator. 27% of *vernae* were not the

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1. See Table B. Only one inscription was found to a freeborn child set up in the Dedicator/ Child/ Age at death format.
2. The Child/ Dedicator(s) /Age at death style of epitaph. Only 6% of this style of epitaph was erected to freeborn children.
3. Including freed *vernae*.
4. 37/50 children. Only 13/50 children were not the focus (12%) 6/50 children were commemorated on the Dedicator/ Child/ Age epitaphs and 7/50 children on the group inscriptions where the children were not commemorated in first position.
5. 50/187 children.
6. 4/27 children. Thus 85% of *alumni* under the age of fourteen years were listed first upon their inscription, cf Bellemore and Rawson (1990) p10 and Table C who found that *alumni* of all ages were only commemorated in first position in 57% of inscriptions.
7. Table C.
8. Table C. Only one child was commemorated upon a Child/ Age inscription.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>CAD</th>
<th>CA</th>
<th>CDA</th>
<th>DCA</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>GNF</th>
<th>U</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>19%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
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<td>5%</td>
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<td>6%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>49%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>80%</td>
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<td>17%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
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<td>16%</td>
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Table B: Distribution of Status found for each Commemorative Pattern

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<th>DCA</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>GNF</th>
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</thead>
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<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
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<td>(number found)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambigui</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(number found)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingenui</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(number found)</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total group</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>11%</td>
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<td>4%</td>
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</table>

Table C: Distribution of Alumni by Commemorative Pattern

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<th>DCA</th>
<th>GF</th>
<th>GNF</th>
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<td>Vernae</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Liberti</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(number found)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total group</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table D: Distribution of Vernae by Commemorative Pattern

**Key**
- Servi* = servi; servi?; vernae; servi alumni and servi alumni?
- Liberti* = liberti; liberti?; liberti vernae
- Ambigui* = ambigui; ambigui alumni
- Ingenui* = ingenui; peregrine; sp.f
- CAD = Child/ Age/ Dedicator(s) Commemorative Pattern: Type I
- CA = Child/ Age Commemorative Pattern: Type II
- CDA = Child/ Dedicator(s)/ Age Commemorative Pattern: Type V
- DCA = Dedicator(s)/ Child/ Age Commemorative Pattern: Type IV
- GF = Group inscription on which the child was the focus: Type III
- GNF = Group inscription on which the child was not the focus: Type III
- Unusual = Inscriptions with a unique pattern of construction
focus of their tombstones\textsuperscript{1} and similarly were not commemorated in first position on group inscriptions.\textsuperscript{2} They were commemorated on all other types of inscriptions, most often again (44\%) on the Child/ Age at death/ Dedicator(s) epitaph.

On the whole, commemorative patterns for children were fairly conservative and followed one of five main patterns. Inscriptions in \textit{Regio} VIII, however, only used three of these styles, and \textit{Regiones} VII and I East of Ostia four. These patterns were used universally irrespective of age or status. Despite the general attitude expressed by writers like Plutarch that children generally did not warrant mourning or the offerings normally accorded to the dead,\textsuperscript{3} it has been determined above that children were often made the focus of permanent burial monuments. Thus children were not marginal members of the community of the dead. Their dedicators erected memorials which highlighted that these children had lived important lives in the community, however short.

\textsuperscript{1} 9/33 children (18\%) \textsuperscript{2} 6/33 children were commemorated on the Dedicator/ Child/ Age epitaphs and (9\%) \textsuperscript{3} 3/33 children on the group inscriptions where the children were not commemorated in first position.

\textsuperscript{2} Table D.

\textsuperscript{3} See above p37 and below Chapters 9 & 10.
Children under the age of fourteen had no legal avenue of ensuring proper burial for themselves without the intervention of adults (for example a parent or guardian). This chapter will examine the relationship between dedicators and children as recorded upon the seven hundred and eighty-two inscriptions that form the basis of this study.

In three quarters of inscriptions some form of direct recognition of the dedicator(s) responsible for the creation of the burial memorial was found (For all of this chapter see Appendix 4 Figures 8 and 9). Dedicators were either named or their relationship to the child was recorded on the memorial. Both elements were found upon many inscriptions. In the majority of cases, the relationship between dedicator and deceased was clearly indicated upon the burial memorial. 81% of inscriptions that included the relationship between dedicator and child were set up by one or both natural parents. This finding is similar to that established by Saller and Shaw who found that 75-90% of inscriptions in civilian populations throughout the Empire influenced by Roman culture were set up by members of the nuclear family. This is perhaps not surprising as in many cases the children of this study died at young ages, and there would have been a reasonable chance that at least one parent was alive to commemorate their death. However, for slave children and

1. 75%, 586/782 commemorations. Only 25% of inscriptions did not feature the dedicator upon the epitaph.
2. Of the 25% without dedicators 147/195 (75%) were children commemorated upon Type II inscriptions; 48/195 (25%) were commemorated upon group inscriptions (Type III inscriptions).
3. A relationship may be expressed, for example, by use of terms such as pater and mater.
4. 70%, 547/782 commemorations. 39/586 commemorations did not include the relationship between dedicator and deceased. Dedicators were named only.
5. Two inscriptions, one from the Columbaria and one from Regio I East of Ostia were damaged and the relationship rendered unclear.
7. Saller & Shaw (1984) pp134-6. This study took in all ages and also inscriptions which did not include an age at death.
perhaps even some of the freeborn poor, dislocation of this nuclear family group did occur. Slave children belonged to their owners rather than their parents, and other children may have been fostered out or apprenticed because of the poor economic circumstances of the family. Parents utilised all types of commemorative patterns, but most noticeably the Type I (Child/Age/ Dedicator(s) type of inscription.1 Roughly equal percentages of Type III, IV and V inscriptions were used by these dedicators.2 No trend was found amongst the status of children commemorated by their parents or the status of the dedicking parents themselves. All status groups from servi to ingenui amongst both dedicators and dedicatees were represented, although in the majority of cases no status indicators were included.

Only one inscription was discovered which had been set up by a stepmother. At Ostia Albia Urbica dedicated an inscription to her filiaster M Octabius Aerius who died at the age of ten years.3 The inscription followed a Type IV (Dedicator/ Child/ Age) pattern. Both dedicator and dedicatee were of undifferentiated free (ambigui) status. Spouses were only listed as commemorators in two cases (0.4%). Again, this result is not surprising given that this study deals predominantly with children who were impubes, and that it was on the whole upper class girls who married at young ages,4 a class not represented often in this type of funerary inscription. Both commemorations, one from Regia VII and the other from Regia VIII were inscribed on Type V (Child/ Dedicator/ Age) memorials,5 and status indicators were only included for one dedicatee and none of the dedicators. This child may have been of senatorial lineage, though no filiation indicators were included.6 The other dedicatee and both dedicators were of undifferentiated free status.

1. 55%, 244/445 inscriptions.
2. Type III 17% 75/445 (24 children who were the focus of their inscriptions and 51 children who were not the focus of their inscriptions); Type V (Child/ Dedicator(s)/ Age) 14% 62/445 children; Type IV (Dedicator(s)/ Child/ Age) 13% 57/445 children.
3. IP0 A10.
4. See above p22 n2 & below pp88-89.
5. CIL 11.832; 3475.
6. CIL 11.832 and see below, p88.
Several children had more than one type of dedicator, although, in all but one case, at least one of these dedicators was either the mother or father of the child. For example, two inscriptions from the Columbaria collection were commemorated by the respective mothers plus two males of unspecified relationship to the children. Thus nine year old Mentye was commemorated by Ti. Claudius Dionysius, P. Cosconius Chius and his mater Eulpia, while eight year old Q Lucretius Proclus was commemorated by his mater Lucretia Didyme, an Imperial freedman Ti. Claudius Onesimus, and M Antonius Epaphrus. In both cases the dedicators were listed upon the inscription before the children, but only in the second example where the mother was not a serva was she listed first before the male dedicators. Perhaps in each case the dedicators all contributed monetarily to the memorials, and in the absence of the child’s natural father through death or other dislocation, had played some part in the upbringing of the children. Another inscription from Ostia was erected by the owner of a delicum and her mamma, while at Rome eleven year old Pompeia Thallia was honoured on her death by her mother, father and nutrix. A three-year-old child from Rome was commemorated by her natural parents Acratus and Molpes, and by her tata Narcissus. Another two inscriptions were set up jointly by the parents and grandparents of the deceased children. At Ager Albanus a one year old girl received joint commemoration from her mater and avia, while in Regio VIII two male children were commemorated by both their mother Aurelia Maxima, and grandfather Aurelius Tzinio. This inscription was also set up for M. Aurelius Maximus, husband of Aurelia Maxima. One inscription from Ostia was set up for a freeborn eleven year old girl by her par(entes) and frater.

1. 2%, 13/548.
2. CIL 6.4742; 5654.
3. CIL 6.4742.
4. CIL 6.5654.
5. Ipo B54. There is some inconsistency in the grammar of the inscription and Livia Acte could be a dedicatee and mamma of M Curtius Sotericus. This option has not been taken because Acte’s name is in the nominative.
6. CIL 6.7741.
7. CIL 6.6703.
8. CIL 14.2347.
10. CIL 14.1638.
The remaining five inscriptions that featured a combination of
dedicators were to *alumni*. A group (Type III) inscription from
Ager Albanus set up by the *coniunx* and *filius* of Aelius Marcellus
also included a four year old *alumnus* named Valerius.\(^1\) Thus the
foster mother and brother of Valerius commemorated his death. In
four of the five cases the natural and foster parent(s) jointly
commemorated the children. At Ostia, for example, A. Egrilius
Helius set up an epitaph for his *alumnus* together with A Egrilius
Philadespotus and Egrilia Philete, the natural parents of the twelve
year old boy.\(^2\) At Tuscania in *Regio* VII one year old [L]acena
received an epitaph from her foster mother Baebia [...]this and
natural father Ti. Claudius Hermes.\(^3\) At Rome an inscription was
found for a one year old child M. Ulpius Artemisius.\(^4\) The memorial
was consecrated for the child by M. Ulpius Mysticus and Ulpia
Samothraces, natural parents of Artemisius, and M Ulpius Lysanias
and Ulpia Cerealis his foster parents. Freeborn C Publicius
Ampliatus who died during his sixth year was the *alumnus* of C.
Publicius Proculeianus, and the son of Publicius Dionysius and
Aurelia Tyche.\(^5\) The inscription on the bottom of the epitaph has
the child instructing his parents not to grieve over his death as
death held fewer hardships than life.\(^6\) It is interesting that, even at
young ages, children were designated as *alumni*. Perhaps the
natural parents hoped that their child would have a better chance
of survival if placed in the care of others. These children, or at least
the children found above, did have a good chance of receiving a
permanent memorial from their multiple dedicators. In several of
these inscriptions the natural and foster parent(s) shared the same
*nomen* and may have been members of the same *familia*. Just as
burial clubs became a mechanism for ensuring proper burial, a
system in certain *familiae* may have functioned whereby those able
to financially support a child assisted those not so well off,
especially if they had no children themselves. In return they would
have an heir, or, in the event of his or her death, a chance for
recognition within their immediate community on the memorial set
up for the child. In the examples above where parents and

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\(^1\) *CIL* 14.2269.
\(^2\) *CIL* 14.932.
\(^3\) *CIL* 11.2981.
\(^4\) *CIL* 6.5528.
\(^5\) *CIL* 11.207 (Ravenna).
\(^6\) See below, pp189-90.
members of their extended family or friends also commemorated the child the same reasoning may have occurred.

Inscriptions to children that were set up by dedicators of differing relationships were found on a range of epitaphs, though over 50% appeared on Type I (Child/ Age/ Deducator(s)), and Type III (Group, child not in first position) inscriptions. Children ranged in status from probable servi and liberti to freeborn, although the majority of dedicators were of undifferentiated free or probable slave status.

Less than 1% of children were commemorated by individuals who expressed their relationship as either tata or mamma. Only one example of mamma was found. In the inscription for the slave child from Ostia discussed above, a mamma was recorded as joint dedicator for a slave girl. The other inscriptions were all dedicated by men calling themselves tata. The first example from the Columbaria inscriptions was to Faustillus Daphnis who died at the age of seven years. The stone was dedicated by the child’s unnamed tata. Also in Rome, Stertinia Maxima, discussed above, was commemorated by her parents and her tata Narcissus. The remaining three examples were all from Ostia. Three year old Cosidia Inbenta was commemorated on an inscription erected by her tata Cosidius Mercurius, while two year old Threptus and one year old Lucunda were commemorated upon a group inscription set up by their tata P. Crispius Vitalis. The memorial was also dedicated to Lucunda, who was probably the mater of the children. None of the dedicators or dedicatees included any form of status

1. Type V (Child/ Deducator(s)/ Age) 2/13 children (15%); Regio I East of Ostia 1/2 children (50%); Regio VII 1/1 child; Type IV (Deducator(s)/ Child/ Age) 2/13 children (15%); Rome Columbaria 2/5 children (40%); and 2 inscriptions, one from Rome Columbaria and the other from Ostia IPO of unusual pattern.
2. 4/13 inscriptions (31%), Rome Columbaria 2/5 children (40%); Ostia CIL 1/1 children; Regio VIII 1/3 children (33%).
3. 3/13 inscriptions (23%), Regio I East of Ostia 1/2 children (50%); Regio VIII 2/3 children (67%).
4. 6/548 children, 5 of these dedicators were tatae.
5. IPO B54, see above p63.
6. CIL 6.6443; 6703; 14.892; 1674 (two children).
7. CIL 6.6443.
8. CIL 6.6703.
10. CIL 14.1674.
indicators in their nomenclature. Studies have shown that tata and mamma did not necessarily correspond to mother and father, but could also be applied to nurses, and quasi-parental but biologically unrelated individuals. These were people who played a significant role in the lives of certain children, sometimes along with the natural parents. The lower classes, often because of socio-economic influences, shared the upbringing of their children with a close social network, and some children may have been under the care of several 'parental' figures. They were more integral than child minders to the lives of these children, and had formed a sentimental rather than formal attachment. Only one nutrix was recorded as a dedicator amongst the entire corpus of inscriptions analysed in this study. From the Columbaria collection was an inscription, described above, set up for an eleven year old girl by her parents and nutrix Botrys. Too few children were commemorated by their mammae or tatae to establish any general commemorative pattern preference. Types of inscriptions on which they were found included Type I, Type III, Type V. Only one child was a serva and two others were probably of a similar status. All three children were commemorated by dedicators of undifferentiated free status. The remaining three children were of undifferentiated free status. One dedicator was unnamed, another pair probably servi and the last ambigu.

Sibling and extended family commemorations to children under

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6. See above, p63.
7. CIL 6.7741.
9. Group with child as focus of the inscription, 2/6 children, CIL 14.1674 set up for 2 children.
11. IPO B54.
12. CIL 14.1674.
15. CIL 14.892.
fourteen year of age were found in only 3% of all burial memorials. Brothers and sisters were only dedicators in half of these cases (1.5%), and extended family (grandparents and one uncle) accounted for roughly the same number (1.6%). This finding is lower than that of the much larger study done by Saller and Shaw. They found that throughout the Empire sibling dedications usually comprised 6-8% of inscriptions, but never more than 11%. They also found that grandparents, uncles, cousins were dedicators in less than 5% of epitaphs. In only one inscription in this study was a sibling made dedicator with his parents. As this frater was still alive at the time of his sister's death he was not recorded with an age, and it is not clear whether he was older and hence financially able to contribute to the memorial, or whether he was just included by the parents as one of the family group. The majority of sibling inscriptions found were either from Rome or Ostia. Only one inscription was found at Beneventum in Regio II. This epitaph was erected by freeborn L. Staius Rutilius Manilius for his nine year old brother L. Staius Herodotus. At Ostia Myron dedicated a memorial to his nine year old brother C. Marius Iulianus, and at Rome the Imperial verna Hilarus set up a large memorial for his sister Ampliata, who died at eleven months. Two sisters were commemorated together at Rome by their brother Q. Sallustius Hilarus. The girls died at the ages of nine and one. Two inscriptions, one from Rome and one from Ostia, commemorated the death of a soror. Vipsania Iucunda who died at the age of twelve years was honoured by her sister Fructa, while at Ostia freeborn Octacilia Alexandria commemorated her nine year old freeborn sister of the same name. Only one acknowledged uncle from Ostia was found to have dedicated an inscription to a child. L

1. 17/548 inscriptions.
2. 8/17 inscriptions.
3. 9/17 inscriptions.
8. CIL 14.1329.
10. CIL 6.8198.
11. CIL 6.6053.
13. IPO A223.
Senpronius *(sic)* Quintianus set up a memorial for eight month old L Sempronius Fortunatus.

Grandparents were responsible for the majority of dedications erected by extended family members. M. Valerius Euphemus, who died at the age of one year, was commemorated by his unnamed *avia*.1 Six year old Abascantus was the grandson of Valia Veneria,2 and Abia, the grandmother of three year old Baebia Amanda also ensured that her granddaughter received a permanent burial memorial.3 Similarly L. Titius Euzelus ensured the burial of his *nepos* Q Plotius Euzelus,4 and Aurelius Crysomallus that of his six year old *nepos* Aurelius Domitianus.5 The final inscription erected by a grandparent6 was found in Ostia amongst the IPO inscriptions. Nine year old Cluentia Successa was commemorated by her grandfather Ti. Claudius Felix.7

The majority of sibling inscriptions found were from Rome and Ostia.8 Only one inscription set up by a freeborn male for his brother was found in Regio II on a Type I inscription.9 62.5% of sibling inscriptions took the Type I commemorative pattern.10 The remaining inscriptions were Type III11 and Type IV memorials.12 No uniformity between dedicators or their dedicatees was found in

1. **CIL** 6.4829.
2. **CIL** 6.6889.
3. **CIL** 6.6156.
4. **CIL** 14.1475.
5. **CIL** 14.2378 (Ager Albanus).
6. Although the numbers of extended family members who erected permanent memorials amongst the wealthier section of the middle and lower classes were small, Roman literature of the upper classes contains frequent examples of these people taking charge of children. For example, Pliny the Younger was placed in the care of his uncle on the death of his father, and his young wife Calpurnia was brought up by her aunt Calpurnia Hispulla, Pliny Epistulae 2.1; 4.19; 8.18.4. Cicero, while his brother was alive, was involved in helping oversee the education of his nephew Quintus as well as that of his own son, Cicero Ad Quintum 2.14.2; 3.1.7; Ad Atticum 8.4.1; Partitiones Oratoriae 1.1-2.
7. **IPO** A81.
8. 7/8 inscriptions, 4 from Rome and 3 from Ostia (including the combination dedication mentioned above, p63, **CIL** 14.1638).
10. 5/8 inscriptions, Rome **CIL** 6.6053; Ostia **CIL** 14.1329; 1438; 1638; Regio II **CIL** 14.1971.
12. Dedicator(s)/ Child/ Age, 12.5%, 1/8 inscriptions Rome **CIL** 6.5305.
terms of status. People from all groups in Roman society chose to honour their siblings in death, though not as frequently as parents. Again most of the extended family dedications were found in Regio I. Only one other inscription was found amongst the collection for Regio VII. All bar one inscription used the Type I commemorative pattern. No one status group dominated this type of inscription, although in one third of the inscriptions the grandparent(s) dedicating was unnamed and the child dedicatees were commemorated without status indicators.

6% of children were commemorated by their dedicators as alumni. Five of these children received memorials set up by a combination of dedicators, while the remaining children were commemorated by men and women who had taken on the role of foster parents. Foster mothers dedicated inscriptions to foster daughters in 9% of cases, and to foster sons in 21% of memorials. Foster fathers were responsible for 30% of inscriptions to alumni; 18% were set up for foster daughters and 12% for foster sons. Foster parents erected 21% of memorials, 15% to sons, and 6% to daughters. One inscription from Ostia was set up for an alumnus Q. Iulius Hermaiscus by his two foster fathers Q. Iulius Elpideforus and Q. Iulius Telesphorus. These dedicators appear to have adopted the role of parents, perhaps because, as seen in the case of children commemorated by their natural and foster parents, an

2. One of the combination dedications discussed above, CIL 11.836, was from Regio VIII. The other was from Regio I East of Ostia, CIL 14.2347.
3. Child/ Age/ Deducator. CIL 14.2378 from Regio I East of Ostia was a Type III (Group where the child was not the focus of the memorial).
4. 3/9 inscriptions; CIL 6.4229; 6156; 14.905.
6. 33/548 children.
7. See above, p63.
9. 7/33 children 1 from IPO B169 and 7 from CIL.
10. 6/33 children Rome 1 child 6.4859, Ostia CIL, 3 children and Regio I, 2 children.
11. 4/33 children. Rome CIL 6.5423; Ostia CIL 2, Regio II, 1 child.
12. 5/33 children 2 from CIL and 1 each from Regiones I, II and VIII.
13. 2/33 children IPO, 1 child A279 and CIL, 1 child, 14.1203.
14. CIL 14.1152.
inability of the biological parents to cope financially with bringing up their child. The biological parents may also have met an early death or have been separated from their children. For example, slave children may have been taken away from their parents and placed in the care of other members of the *familia*. Whatever the circumstances, clearly the relationship between *alumni* and their dedicators was worth highlighting upon permanent memorials.

The most popular commemorative pattern for *alumni* was the Type I (Child/ Age/ Dedicator) inscription. 67% of *alumni* were commemorated on this type of inscription.¹ It was also the most popular pattern in Ostia.² An *alumnus/a* was never found in first position on a group inscription,³ nor were they ever commemorated without a dedicator. 15% of inscriptions followed the Type V (Child/ Dedicator/ Age) commemorative pattern,⁴ and 12% the Type IV (Dedicator/ Child/ Age).⁵ Only one *alumnus* was commemorated with status indication.⁶ The remainder were of possible slave or *ambiguous* (undifferentiated free status). The majority of dedicators were also of undifferentiated free status, though one pair from Regio II may also have been slaves.⁷

7% of children were commemorated as *vernae*.⁸ Just under half of these children were commemorated by female dedicators,⁹ and one third by male dedicators.¹⁰ Five *vernae* were commemorated by male and female dedicators, including the unnamed *parentes* of eleven year old Cornelius Vitalion.¹¹ Although the term *parentes*

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¹ 22/33 children. Rome 2/4 children; Ostia *IPO* 2/3 children; *CIL* 13/17 children; Regio I East of Ostia 2/4 children; Regio II 1/2 children; Regio VIII 2/2 children.
² 13/17 inscriptions (76%).
³ Only two *alumni* were found commemorated in Type III inscriptions, *CIL* 14.816; 14.2269. Neither of these children was listed on the top of their inscription.
⁴ 5/33 inscriptions. Ostia *CIL* 2/17 children; Regio I East of Ostia 2/4 children; Regio VII 1/1 child.
⁵ 4/33 inscriptions. Rome 2/4 children; Ostia *CIL* 1/17 children; Regio II 1/2 children.
⁶ *CIL* 11.207 freeborn male *alumnus*, see above p64 & below pp189-90.
⁷ *CIL* 11 9.2101.
⁸ 38/548.
⁹ 49%, 18/38 children.
¹⁰ 35%, 14/38.
¹¹ *CIL* 6.4853.
was commonly used to indicate the biological parents of a child, it also could denote step-parents and other relatives. The term could be used by patrons for servi who perhaps had been raised along with their own children, or for those liberti towards whom patrons felt they had a special obligation to provide proper burial for. Cornelius Vitalion, despite the absence of status indication, was probably a libertus, as he possessed a nomen and cognomen. Thus his dedicators were showing that, not only were they his patrons, but that the child had played an important role in their lives beyond the master/servant bond. Similarly Philotechnus and Eutychus recorded upon the epitaph of one year old Stratonice, an Imperial verna, that they were her parentes. One of the men may have been the natural father of the child, or they may both have agreed to take responsibility for the raising of the child within their branch of the Imperial familia. They nevertheless ensured that the child received a proper burial. Only one example of the use of parentes for a freeborn child was found in a parallel context. At Rome one year old Claudia Procula, freeborn daughter of Tiberius, was honoured by Claudius Proclus, probably her biological father, and another man named Ambrosius. Perhaps the child's mother had died or was a slave or freedwoman forced to be separated from her husband and child, and in her absence a friend or relative of the father had assumed responsibility for the child.

55% of vernae were commemorated upon Type I (Child/ Age/ Dedicator(s)) inscriptions. All bar one of these vernae, including five children who had obtained their freedom, were commemorated by dedicators of undifferentiated free (ambigui) status. One child from Ostia was an Imperial verna and was commemorated by male and female servi. 26% of children were commemorated upon Type IV (Dedicator/ Child/ Age) inscriptions. This pattern was particularly popular amongst the Columbaria and

5. CIL 6.5387.
6. 21/38 children; Columbaria 8/19 children (42%); Ostia IPO 1/4 children (25%); Ostia CIL 11/14 children (79%); Regio I East of Ostia 1/1 child.
7. CIL 6.5313; 5385; 14.943; 945; 1411.
8. CIL 14.1642.
9. 10/38 children.
the Ostia *IPO* inscriptions. Half the dedicators who placed themselves at the top of the inscription in Rome were *liberti*, while in Ostia they were Imperial Slaves. In all cases the children were still *vernae*. One dedicator and dedicatee in Ostia were both *liberti*, and the remaining dedicators were of undifferentiated free status. Thus dedicators to *vernae* who used Type IV commemorative patterns had achieved freed status or were members of the prestigious Imperial *familia*. They wished to advertise, not only their new status, but also that they had become wealthy enough to have a home born slave. The remaining *vernae* were commemorated upon Type V (Child/Dedicator(s)/ Age) epitaphs (13%) and Type III (Group child not in first position) memorials. With the exception of one memorial from Ostia that was erected by an Imperial *servus*, all dedicators for Type V and III inscriptions were of undifferentiated free status. Dedicators to *vernae* often did include their status upon memorials they dedicated for their home born slaves. These children, despite their low status, were found upon the same type of inscription as freeborn children, although they could be placed below first position on an epitaph.

Only 1% of dedicators erected epitaphs to their *servi*, while .5% performed the same service for their *liberti*. Only one case of a *libertus* dedicating a memorial to his patron was found. L. Octavius Primigenius, *libertus* of nine-year-old L. Octavius Hermes, honoured his young master on his death. Although the numbers of *servi* and *liberti* commemorated by their masters was small, approximately 44% were Type I (Child/ Age/ Dedicator(s)) memorials. In these inscriptions the dedicators were either

1. *Columbaria* 6/19 children (32%); Ostia *IPO* 2/4 children (50%); Ostia *CIL* 2/14 children (14%).
2. *Columbaria* *CIL* 6.5245; 5693; 7700.
5. 5/38 children Rome *Columbaria* 4/19 children (21%); Ostia *CIL* 1/14 children (7%).
6. 2/38 children (5%). Rome *Columbaria* 1/19 children (5%); Ostia *IPO* 1/4 children (25%).
9. 4/9 inscriptions.
possible servi or of undifferentiated free status. The remaining children were commemorated upon Type III (Group child non focus), and Type IV (Dedicator/Child/Age) inscriptions. The last child in this group was commemorated upon a unique style of epitaph. In all cases the dedicators did not acknowledge their status (ambigui).

Only 5\% of inscriptions that included dedicator(s) did not specify the relationship between dedicator and child dedicatee. Over half of these inscriptions were found amongst the Columbaria collection, with smaller numbers coming from Ostia, Regio I East of Ostia and Regiones II, VII and VIII. Thus when children under the age of fourteen were commemorated with a permanent memorial in Regiones II, VII and VIII the relationship between dedicator and child was generally recorded. There were no corresponding trends found between dedicators or dedicatees in terms of status. The majority of inscriptions without specific relationship for all areas were of either the Type I pattern, the Type IV or the Group (Type III) inscription where the child was not in first position on the

2. 2/9 children (22\%); CIL 6.7135 (serva); CIL 14.1771 (libertus).
3. 1/9 children CIL 6.5643 (liberta).
4. CIL 6.5621 (servus).
5. 38/782.
6. CIL 9.586 Venusia: Regio II

TITIAE · C · L · AVCTAE
AN · VIII
B IV EL LI A · C LO E
POSVIT

7. 60\%, 23/38 inscriptions.
8. 13\%, 5/38 inscriptions.
9. 11\%, 4/38 inscriptions.
10. One example only found in the Type I (Child/ Age/ Dedicator(s) pattern) CIL 9.586, undifferentiated free woman to a nine year old liberta, and one only in the Type III (Group child not in first position) pattern, CIL 9.240, undifferentiated free male to male servus.
11. 2 children found in the Type III (Group child not in first position) pattern CIL 11.3257=3615 female liberta to two year old freeborn male. The inscription was presumably set up for the child’s father.
12. 5\%, 2/38 inscriptions respectively. Two inscriptions only found in the Type I (Child/ Age/ Dedicators) pattern CIL 11.220 female ambigua to child ambig 13 yrs; 11.673 female ambigua to male ingenuus.
13. Type I, 12/38 inscriptions (32\%); Type IV, 11/38 inscriptions (29\%).
memorial. Amongst the *Columbaria* and Ostian collections inscriptions not recording relationships were found in all commemorative patterns that included dedicators. Again, no correlation was discovered between the status of dedicators or dedicatees, and all groups, whether *servi, liberti* or *ingenui*, sometimes commemorated children without including the relationship between dedicator and dedicatee on the stone itself.

All major groups of dedicators to children commemorated with an age of death under fourteen years favoured the Type I (Child/ Age/ Dedicator) commemorative pattern (See Appendix 4 Figure 8). Over half the inscriptions set up by biological and foster parents, extended family members and siblings, and owners and patrons of *servi, vernae* and *liberti* were of the Type I style. Owners and patrons were more likely to commemorate children on Type IV inscriptions with themselves in first position on the memorial. However the Type III (Group) inscription was not favoured as much by this group of dedicators. Combination dedicators used all types of commemorative patterns, but favoured the Type I and Type III (Group with child not in first position) inscriptions. Dedicators who chose not to specify their relationships do not appear to have been influenced by the type of commemorative pattern used. For example, approximately 30% of inscriptions with this category were found for Type I, Type III, and Type IV inscriptions, although if a child was listed first on a

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1. 8/38 inscriptions (21%). Type V inscriptions (Child/ Dedicator(s)/ Age) 3/38 inscriptions (8%); Type III (Group with child in first position) 4/38 inscriptions (10%).

2. The group labelled 'other' in Appendix 4 Figure 8, comprising *nutricii, tatae, mammae, liberti* and stepmothers, did record a higher percentage of Type V inscriptions. However, this is a very small group of diverse dedicators are grouped arbitrarily and may not be a good representation of the type of inscription used by these dedicators.

3. 55%, 244/445 inscriptions.
4. 67%, 22/33 inscriptions.
5. 76%, 13/17 inscriptions.
6. 53%, 25/47 inscriptions.
7. 23%, 11/47 inscriptions.
8. 6%, 3/47 inscriptions.
9. 31%, 4/13 inscriptions.
10. 23%, 3/13 inscriptions.
11. 32%, 12/38 inscriptions.
12. 32%, 12/38 inscriptions.
13. 29%, 11/38 inscriptions.
Type III (Group) inscription there was a better chance that the dedicator(s) would include their relationship.¹

Thus in the majority of cases natural parents, even those of slave children, were predominantly responsible for the erection of epitaphs to children under the age of fourteen. The ability to establish a close family connection upon a tombstone was important for a large section of Roman society who were still living at the time of their child's death. However, with the exception of some foster parents and extended family members where the biological parents helped erect a memorial, no acknowledgment was made of the biological parents by other dedicators. Thus it seems that it was important to the dedicators who were alive and present within the community where the child was raised, even for only a few months, to be associated with the dead child rather than his or her parents if they were no longer present. In the inscriptions of the upper classes it is this family name and tradition of achievement and participation at the top end of the social order that was of importance. In the communities within Rome and Ostia, and even in other parts of Italy to a lesser extent, it appears that a memorial set up to a child was as much an expression of the dedicator's place within the social network as it was a recognition of the child and his or her place in society. In the cases where no dedicator was included, or where a relationship was not specified, economic factors may have been enough of a concern not to warrant the inclusion of this information. However, it may also be that within these communities public participation in the rituals surrounding death or in associated social activities may have been enough to establish the link between dedicator and child. To those outside the immediate community, even those who resided in the same town, such information would have been of little importance or relevance.

¹ Group with child at the focus of the inscription accounted for 7.5% (4/38 inscriptions and Group with child not in first position 21% (8/38) inscriptions).
CHAPTER FIVE

ICONOGRAPHY AND DECORATION ON THE BURIAL MONUMENTS OF CHILDREN

In Roman funerary art, because of the strength of convention among artisans, it is rare that a monument is produced which does not utilise a standard formula or motif. This is true in both of the traditions produced in Rome, "plebeian" and "court".¹

Does this view also hold for the decoration and funerary sculpture that sometimes accompanied the burial monuments of children? For the less financial members of society, burial vessels ranged from cheap earthenware and glass receptacles to plain lead canisters. More opulent members of society, however, tended to favour marble and alabaster urns, carved ash chests and funerary altars.² The same range was found for inhumation burials. At the lower end of the scale wooden, stone, lead lined and terracotta coffins were chosen, while at the upper end of the spectrum marble, stone and lead sarcophagi adorned with decoration of varying levels of artistry and elaboration were popular.³ Approximately 7% of the inscriptions analysed in this study were recorded with an accompanying description of decoration or funerary sculpture. However, it is not clear how many other inscriptions may also have once been decorated with similar artistic features. Many epitaphs were no longer found in situ, while others were not published with any details of decoration at all. The descriptions of decoration that are available for these epitaphs, particularly in the relevant volumes of CIL, are often brief, giving no more information than the name of the object or sex and rough age generation of the portraits. To perform an in-depth analysis of the decoration and funerary sculpture of the inscriptions analysed in this study is unfortunately beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the study of iconographical representations of children from funerary monuments is a task that demands to be treated fully in the near future. The following chapter brings together the examples of

² Toynbee (1971) p270.
³ Toynbee (1971) p270.
decoration found on several of the inscriptions from the eight areas analysed and will determine whether individualised or stereotyped designs and images were used for these children.

Sixty-two inscriptions from the Vatican Cemetery and CIL collections for Ostia and Regio I East of Ostia, Regio II, Regio VII and Regio VIII were found with descriptions of decoration or iconographical features. Nine of these inscriptions included a libation jug on the left hand side of the inscription and a libation dish on the right. Three epitaphs were inscribed with a libation dish alone, and one stone contained only a carving of a libation jug. Inscriptions incised with libation dishes and jugs also contained other decorative elements such as Stella or protome, usually placed at the top of the stone. Garlands were the most common form of decoration, often found at the head of inscriptions or used in conjunction with other decorations such as os loculi or corona in fastigium. A memorial set up for a three year old boy included a garland at the top of the inscription as well as an infans bulla ornatus avem tenens. Other inscriptions were decorated with various vessels, flowers, palms, or instrumenta. Such apparently non specific imagery as garlands, bucrania, sacrificial instruments, torches and branches are believed to be expressions of

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1. Vatican Cemetery Tomb H p101 n60; Toynbee & Ward Perkins (1956) p88; Also included below is an example of the sarcophagus of a young girl that was found without its accompanying inscription but has been included for comparison and contrast, Toynbee & Ward Perkins (1956) p92.
2. CIL 6.6620; 7778; 8071; 14.945; 2522; 2543; 9.1816; 11.2969; 435.
4. CIL 11.1025.
5. CIL 14.2677.
6. CIL 11.3955.
7. It is thought that 'swags', pictorial representations of garlands in combination with fruit, plants and other sacrificial instruments, represented the actual objects offered to the dead on the day of burial and on anniversaries. They were also used in conjunction with fertility symbols and representations of the after life, Toynbee (1965) p100.
8. CIL 6.5527; 5528; 7521; 7536; 7769; 8080; 14.1418; 2710; 9.749; 11.3971.
10. CIL 6.6714.
11. CIL 6.5557.
12. CIL 6.4950, three vasa; CIL 14.2551 a vasculum.
13. CIL 11.2055.
14. CIL 6.5305; 14.656; 710; 1780.
15. CIL 6.5980.
pietas, influenced initially in the Imperial period, by the visual impact of the Augustan revival of religion which translated into the private sphere through such forms of burial decoration. One inscription found at Ostia set up for a five year old verna had two dolphins carved at the bottom of the inscription, while another had a pes humanus placed on the right hand side of the stone.

Inscriptions could be accompanied by more elaborate designs or iconographic sculptures. Found in Tomb H in the Vatican Cemetery (constructed by Gaius Valerius Herma for himself, his wife Flavia Olympias, his daughter Valeria Maxima, his son Gaius Valerius Olympianus and their descendants) was a statue of a young boy, possibly Gaius Valerius Olympianus, who died at the age of four years. Dating to the second century AD, the head featured an Isiac curl, implying that the boy, and members of his family, were followers of Isis. The tomb was built for both inhumation and cremation, and contained many large white stucco figures which ranged in height from 1.08 m to 1.45 m. The design and decoration of the tomb suggest that this family, possibly once of slave origin, had become quite wealthy and exhibited a taste for literary and artistic culture. An inscription from Florentia in Regio VII set up for a two year old girl by her pater was flanked on both sides by a tragic mask. At the base of the inscription was a garland surrounded by four birds. Memorials also included heads or torsos of boys and girls. Sometimes, although accompanying the epitaphs

1. Zanker (1988) p276. Zanker believes that earlier urns often imitated temple forms, while funerary altars initially imitated Augustan sacrificial altars, like those of the lares.
2. CIL 14.1705. According to Toynbee (1965) p99 marine personages and creatures alluded to the deceased’s voyage across the ocean to the Blessed Isles.
3. CIL 2316.
5. Vatican Cemetery Tomb H p101 n60; Also Toynbee and Ward Perkins (1956) p 92 describes decoration around the sarcophagus of a young girl. Although there appears to be no accompanying inscription this example has been included below.
6. Unfortunately only the head of the statue remains.
9. CIL 11.1636.
10. CIL 6.4849 (caput pueri inter duas); 6.5176; (protome mulieris); 6.5323; 9.2115 (protome puellae); 14.943 (protome adulescentis); 14.1190; 11.66; 3955 (protome); 11.38; (protome pueri, manus manus); 11.135 (protome pueri).
of young children, these representations reflected adult features such as the *protome mulieris* on the epitaph of three year old Iulia Luciane,\(^1\) or the *protome. adulescentis* on the stone of the *verna* and *libertus* A Egrilius Masculinus, who died at the age of nine years.\(^2\) This type of sculpture may have been mass produced rather than made personally for the dedicators. It may also have been intended to represent the figure the dedicators had hoped the child would have become had death not intervened. Three of the children commemorated with marble portraits came from the *Columbaria* in Rome,\(^3\) where members of *familia* or burial clubs could place ashes housed in a container of some form as well as marble portraits, if desired, in standardised niches.\(^4\) Some of these portraits, especially in the *Columbaria* of Imperial *familia*, imitated hairstyles\(^5\) and physiognomies of the Imperial household.\(^6\) Comparisons of such features were not able to be made here because of a lack of precise detail given by the editors of *CIL*.

Other memorials erected to children were accompanied by quite elaborate reliefs. One damaged inscription from Rome depicted a woman reclining on a couch, leaning on her right hand and holding a lyre in her left hand; beside her stood a boy, probably her *libertus*, who was the seven year old recipient of the epitaph.\(^7\) Other studies have shown that funerary reliefs also depicted children performing tasks such as wool winding,\(^8\) attending vendors,\(^9\) and making furniture.\(^10\) None of these memorials, however, were set up for the children pictured on them. Two inscriptions from Regio VIII were also accompanied by elaborate iconography. On a marble sarcophagus from Ravenna set up for a six year old boy was a series of relief sculptures.\(^11\) The central

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3. *CIL* 6.4849; 5176; 5323.
sculpture was a protome pueri, but on the far left hand side was a genius alatus seated, holding a garland, who perhaps had once a torch hanging from his left shoulder. On the inner left and right hand sides of the stone were placed a genius sertum sustinens, and on the far right hand side, a picture of a clothed woman seated resting on a bed with her right hand stretched out holding a butterfly above a pointed column. The second epitaph, also from Ravenna, was to eleven year old Iulia Primia, set up by her father Gaius Iulius Crescens. On the left hand side of the stone, there was carved a veiled woman, standing with her right hand to her breast. On the left hand side was another woman with something uncertain in her right hand and perhaps a lyre on a tripod in her left. Tripods in the Imperial period were thought to represent personal pietas and a wealthy, religiously correct, burial.

Several inscriptions, two from Regio VII and one from the Columbaria in Rome, set up for freeborn children contained sculptures that clearly highlighted the bulla, the amulet worn by freeborn boys until they underwent their coming of age ceremonies. Some freeborn boys wore their amulet in a case of gold, while others (poorer freeborn children and the sons of freedmen) wore the bulla scortea, a leather amulet hung from the nodus. A three year old child from Rome was commemorated on a memorial that featured an infans wearing a bulla and holding a bird. Two year old Egnatius Rufus received recognition, along with his father, on two similar epitaphs found in different areas in Regio VII. On the bottom both inscriptions a bulla was fashioned hanging from a lightly engraved neck chain below a sculpture of a bowl, vines and bunches of grapes. The bulla was worn by all free boys until they put on the toga virilis, a ceremony that marked the transition into manhood.

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1. CIL 11.138.
3. CIL 11.1764; 3257; 3615.
6. CIL 6.5557 cf p77 n11.
7. CIL 11.3257=3615.
8. Pliny Epistulae 1.9.2 mentions attending one of these ceremonies where a puer assumed the stripeless toga pura in place of the toga praetexta on reaching puberty. The occasion marked his coming of age, the end of tutela, and the acquisition of civil rights and duties....The ceremonies
The second freeborn child wearing a *bulla* from *Regio* VII was commemorated by his father with a different but still quite elaborate tombstone. Heading the inscription was the relief of two boys holding a writing tablet with handles. On the left hand side of the epitaph two playful young ‘Erotes’ stood before an altar where their hands were touching a theatrical mask positioned there. On the other side the one surviving Eros contemplated his right hand. The other Eros which has worn away would probably have been in a similar pose. Also found in the *Regio* VII collection was an epitaph erected for A Caecina Selica who died at the age of twelve years. No dedicators were listed for the child, but the *nomen* Caecina, usually used as a *cognomen*, had Etruscan connotations. On the top of the inscription was a dressed figure covered with a blanket. The figure was also holding an object that was indiscernible to the editors of *CIL* 11. Below the name of the child and his age a biographical type of scene was depicted on an urn. A man and woman preceded a four-wheeled carriage drawn by two horses carrying a young child. The carriage was followed by a man and older boy. The scene delineated the life of the child to the point of his death, and included the role his parents played in his upbringing. Perhaps a more individual example of this theme was found by Whitehead in her study of biography and formula in funerary sarcophagi. In this case the chronological scenes of anecdotes reflected the birth of the child, his development in learning to walk and play, and his death. On the facade of the marble sarcophagus from left to right were the scenes of:

2. *CIL* 11.1764.
4. *CIL* 1 pt 1 p328.
5. For variations of this theme seen on adult tombs see Whitehead (1984) p266.
6. Some parents and other relatives had statues or portraits made of young children, for example, Suetonius *Gaius* 7; Martial 9.74; 9.76.
7. Whitehead (1984) p52; pp264-273. Another example mentioned by Whitehead (p271) was found on the couch sculptured onto a child's sarcophagus found outside Rome. *The sequence begins with the infant being bathed at his mother's knee and follows with a scene of the child pushing a scooter-like toy towards his mother's open arms.*
and child in an open carriage, the child playing with a scooter-like toy, the child with a pet goose, the child and parents in an open carriage guided by a winged amorino. Torches marked the corners of the relief, and a laurel tree stood in the centre of the composition. Although the child's face was sculptured to resemble his father in every episode, the scenes were personalised. The three figures may have been portraits, and the child was delineated in every scene rather than being omitted. Unfortunately the exact features of Caecina and his parents were not recorded in the CIL collection and a fair comparison with Whitehead's example cannot be made.

Literary representations of children in different life scenes or playing with favourite objects also exist. Babies, including vernulae, were given rattles to shake to distract them from crying, and the spinning top also appears to have been a popular toy. The hoop or trochus was a favourite toy of young boys, and could be made from an iron ring or a carriage wheel. These hoops could have rings strung around their orbits, producing an unmistakable sound. Riding sticks and miniature carts, suggestive of the scenes on the epitaphs mentioned above, are also alluded to in literary works. Children also built sand castles, played ball games, tag, and skimmed stones. Board games that involved ambushing glass

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5. Persius 3.51; Tibullus 1.5.3-4; Virgil Aeneid 7.378-383; Marcus Aurelius Meditationes 5.36.
7. Martial 14.169. Martial writes that these noisy rings were put onto hoops to warn crowds to give way to boys playing. Interestingly, the Lex Aquilia addressed the issue of injury and death caused by irresponsible people playing ball games in the street, Ulpian Digest 9.2.11; Alfenus Digest 9.2.52.4.
8. Galen De Sanitate Tuenda 1.8; Horace Satirae 2.3.247-248.
9. Seneca De Constantia Sapientis 12.2; Horace Satirae 2.3.251-252.
10. Martial 14.47 (ball games in general also found in Martial 7.32; 7.72; 12.82; 14.45-48); Ovid Tristia 2.485-486.
11. Horace Epistulae 1.1.59.
12. Minucius Felix Octavius 3.5-6.
pieces,\textsuperscript{1} the throwing of double sixes,\textsuperscript{2} games of heads or tails,\textsuperscript{3} odds and evens,\textsuperscript{4} and gambling games with \textit{nucies} (knucklebones)\textsuperscript{5} are also known. Martial described \textit{pueri} engaging in a mock fight while sitting on the back of a bull, the apparent objective being to dislodge the group from the animal’s back.\textsuperscript{6} Role playing games where children pretended to be magistrates,\textsuperscript{7} or where young girls also insisted that their dolls be fed at their nurse’s breast, are recorded by ancient authors.\textsuperscript{8} Girls do not appear frequently in the descriptions of children playing, though evidence for the use of dolls seems to have been widespread,\textsuperscript{9} and girls seem to have dedicated their dolls to Venus when they came of age.\textsuperscript{10}

Other designs may have been semi-biographical, at least for the dedicators of the epitaph. An inscription from \textit{Regio VII} set up to honour the wife and son of a \textit{servus} named Crescens was headed by a picture of an open writing tablet.\textsuperscript{11} Perhaps the writing tablet symbolised the interests or occupations of Crescens and his wife, and perhaps also the future they had intended for their child. Found in Tomb R of the \textit{Vatican Cemetery} was a small marble sarcophagus set up for a young girl.\textsuperscript{12} There was, however, no accompanying inscription. Carved onto panels of the sarcophagus were two different scenes of the girl seated with an attendant standing next to her. The girl on the right was depicted sitting on a thickly cushioned chair, with a sundial base beside her, though the object she once held in her hand is no longer visible. Her attendant held a scroll. The girl in the picture on the left sat on a high backed basket chair, grasping a plectrum, ready to strike the lyre, partly

\begin{footnotes}
\item Martial 14.17; 14.20.
\item Martial 14.17. See also Seneca \textit{De Constantia Sapientis} 12.2; Martial 14.185; Persius 3.44-52.
\item Macrobius \textit{Saturnalia} 1.7.22.
\item Horace \textit{Satirae} 2.3.248. This was a game where one player held a certain number of coins in his or her hand and the other had to guess whether the number was odd or even.
\item Martial 14.14; 14.18.
\item Martial 5.31.
\item Seneca \textit{De Constantia Sapientis} 12.2; SHA \textit{Severus} 1.4; Plutarch \textit{Cato Minor} 2.5.
\item Plutarch \textit{Moria}a 608D (Consolation to his Wife).
\item Persius 2.68-70.
\item CIL 11.1564.
\item \textit{Vatican Cemetery} (1956) p92.
\end{footnotes}
supported by a little figure beside her. The commemorators of the child wished to highlight her talents for study and music. The status of the girl is unclear and her dedicators were not included in the surviving decoration, though she was probably freeborn and wealthy as she was to be educated and taught music.

Another child from the Vatican Cemetery was of uncertain sex and was commemorated by his or her parents with an inscription on a sarcophagus that read only \textit{mensibus VI, diebus X}. This phrase was inscribed on the upper edge of the front of the sarcophagus along with a trio of cupids shouldering two great garlands of fruit. The sarcophagus was constructed from Greek marble in the reign of Hadrian, and inside was carved a head rest for the infant. Represented on the short sides of the coffin were two adults, probably the parents of the child. On the left was depicted the father wearing a tunic and soft leather shoes. He was seated on a straight legged stool with his chin in his hand and a pensive, almost dazed look on his face. On the right hand side was the child's mother, pictured weeping into her right hand, her head covered with a thick mantle. Unfortunately the excavators were not sure to which tomb the sarcophagus originally belonged. It had been moved by Constantine builders, and was found standing in the street against the north wall of Tomb \textit{Ψ}. The lid and bones were not found. Toynbee and Ward Perkins reported that the design on the front of the coffin was a stock one, but that the lateral figures appeared to be \textit{ad hoc} portraits. Unlike other iconographical scenes where the attributes or potential of the child might be described, here it was the grief and sense of loss felt by the parents over the death of their child which was being emphasised. Several other inscriptions from Rome and \textit{Regiones} II, VII and VIII included a picture of an \textit{ascia}, the trowel of the mason. The symbolism of the \textit{ascia} on children's burial spaces was most likely funerary in

1. Vatican Cemetery (1956) p92 (The authors believe that it is the same girl in both scenes).
2. Vatican Cemetery (1956) p88. The sculpture around the sarcophagus suggests that the child's parents were the dedicators.
5. Vatican Cemetery (1956) p89.
7. CIL 6.7958; 9.517 (ascia inversa); 11.1780; 38; 1080.
nature, and may have been carved to illustrate that the monument had been consecrated while still under construction, possibly to protect the empty sepulchre. Alternatively, the dedicating fathers in each of these inscriptions may have been masons. Chisels, hammers, axes and levels were similarly used upon mason's tombs. However, in the four examples here the inscriptions were set up primarily to commemorate the deaths of children with the possible masons only dedicators.

The majority of decoration and portraiture found on memorials to children was on the whole stereotyped and largely non individualistic. The simple common designs of funeral garlands, sacrificial instruments and vegetation were frequently found on burial monuments to many adults as well. Many of the busts were mass produced and often reflected adult features. This may have been because the death of a child would have been unexpected and perhaps the extra cost of individual portraiture was not an attainable expense for many. Even in the 'biographical' type inscriptions it is rarely the attributes of the child that are represented but more often the interests of the parents, such as seen above, in their role in the child's life, in their grief after the death of the child, or in the pursuits in which their children excelled or would have excelled had they survived. The emphasis on status and ceremony through the inclusion of the bulla on memorials for children who probably would not have reached the coming of age ceremony were again probably more symbolic for the parents rather than the child. Other typical themes found on the memorials to children include scenes of children learning to read, children performing the declamatio, boys driving carts driven by rams or goats, and the first bath of a child bathed by a nurse at the mother's knee.

2. Lewis and Short p171.
5. Whitehead (1984) p264; 266; 268-72; 394. Whitehead feels these were usually erected for boys.
6. Whitehead (1984) p268 feels that the use of rams in place of horses was reserved for the sarcophagi of children.
Decoration was used as an accompaniment on inscriptions to young children of all status groups. No significant trend was found according to status, except that 60% of epitaphs decorated with a corona were to servi. The high proportion of slave children commemorated with a funerary garland may be explicable because the majority of the epitaphs were found in the Columbaria collection. A higher percentage of slave children were commemorated in the Columbaria than in other areas, and the nature of this type of burial monument was one where the influence of Imperial imagery may have been most acutely employed. Freeborn children tended to be given the more elaborate and ornate type of relief sculpture, although many of these children may have had parents of original slave birth. On the whole, designs and motifs found on the funerary inscriptions of children were stereotyped, though some children were honoured with quite striking memorials. However, seen above, decorations in some instances may have been chosen according to position of the dedicators within their respective communities.

1. 70%; Columbaria 10/18 inscriptions; Ostia CIL 1/13 inscriptions (7.5%); Regio I East of Ostia 1/13 inscriptions (7.5%); Regio II 1/13 inscriptions (7.5%); Regio VII 1/13 inscriptions (7.5%).
2. Zanker (1988) p276 points out the imitation that first occurred of the corona civitas. The corona therefore may have been a later development of this image in personalised funerary art.
3. For example, the tragic masks, garlands and birds of CIL 11.1636 and the life story epitaph from Volaterrae, CIL 11.1764.
- CHAPTER SIX -

THE PARTICIPATION OF CHILDREN IN THE ADULT WORLD: THE IMPORTANCE OF OFFICE HOLDING AND OCCUPATIONS IN THE MEMORIALS OF CHILDREN

The preparation for adulthood in the Roman world for most children, slave or free, began at an early age. However, the process of socialization was achieved by vastly different processes. For sons of the elite, the education and instruction that were received both formally and from family and family friends were geared towards participation in civic life. Upper class girls also received some education, but again were trained by example to fulfil the role of dutiful wives and to bear heirs to continue the family line. Most children, however, did not enjoy the benefits of wealth and/or status, and their lives would have encompassed perhaps a small degree of education before some form of apprenticeship or labour was expected. The Roman Empire from the late Republic possessed a remarkably well developed slavery system that was characterised by an intense degree of job specialisation. Slave children were expected to become productive adults and were often separated from their mothers at early ages to serve in other

1. For example, Plutarch Cato Maior 20.4-7; Suetonius Augustus 64.
2. Bradley (1991b) pp103-106; Bonner (1977). According to Juvenal, Roman fathers were quite willing to invest in the education of their sons (Satirae 7.186-8 cf 7.215-227 where parents did not seem to like paying the small fee of a grammatical teacher, a fee that was reduced even further when other slaves accompanying the child took their share. In this passage, however, it was probably the person rather than the services of grammarians in general which is the object of Juvenal's wrath.) It was of prime importance that a teacher imposed strict discipline upon children, and that they themselves exhibited perfect grammar, have a sound historical knowledge, be extremely well read and be able to answer questions without hesitation (Juvenal Satirae 7.228-243). See also Pliny Epistulae 4.13; 7.4; 7.24; Aulus Gellius Noctes Atticae pr23.
3. For example, Suetonius Augustus 64; Pliny Epistulae 4.19; 5.16; 6.26; 6.32.
4. Some children did receive a basic education. Martial complained of loss of sleep because of the early hour at which the school near his home began (9.68) and in another epigram a baker was mentioned selling boys their breakfast at dawn (14.223). Teachers of shorthand (notarii) and arithmetic (calculatores) are known (9.68), and corporal punishment was an accepted disciplinary tool in school establishments (10.62; 14.80); Juvenal Satirae 1.15.
Occasionally recorded on the epitaphs of children who were commemorated with an age at death below fourteen were the occupational positions that they held or were being trained to fulfil. This chapter examines the type of occupations or positions that children supposedly held, and investigates why dedicators may have wished these facts recorded.

Found amongst the inscriptions analysed in this study were memorials set up for two thirteen year old girls. In both cases the dedicators responsible for these epitaphs were their husbands. Female children were not commemorated in conjunction with occupations as frequently as male children, perhaps because daughters in artisan and upper class families may not normally have been trained for work other than the traditional, domestic sort, but were instead prepared only for marriage and child bearing in the seclusive manner typical of women's life in antiquity as a whole. This theory is supported by literary evidence for the upper classes, and by perhaps one of the two examples found here. For example, an inscription from Regio VIII was set up to Pedueca Iuliane by her maritus. Although no status indicators were included on the epitaph, Iuliane was commemorated as a clarrisima femina, a term which from the second century AD may have indicated that she was of senatorial lineage, either by birth or marriage. Iuliane lived for thirteen years and forty-seven days and was married for five months and twenty days. The second inscription, found in Regio VII, was erected for Sabina, the coniunx of Antigonus, who lived for only thirteen years and ten months. No status indicators appeared in either the name of the dedicator or the dedicatee, and no length of marriage was recorded on the memorial. From the given information it is not possible to confirm what class of society Sabina belonged to. It is now believed that on the whole Roman girls generally married in their late teens. Upper class girls, however, tended to have significantly lower marriage

2. Regio VII CIL 11.3475; Regio VIII CIL 11.832.
4. For example Pliny Epistulae 5.16.
5. CIL 11.832.
7. CIL 11.3475.
ages,\(^1\) with marital alliances for political and economic reasons reducing this age to between twelve and fifteen years.\(^2\) Documented examples of early marriages from the pagan and Christian eras, as seen in these two inscriptions from *Regiones* VII and VIII, are known from other sources.\(^3\) What is interesting in these two cases is that the girls were commemorated by their husbands rather than by their parents, suggesting a lower age of entry into the adult world than is seen for males, whose coming of age ceremonies tended to take place around the ages of fifteen to sixteen.\(^4\)

Only two of the one hundred and ninety children (1%) who were most likely of slave status when they died,\(^5\) even amongst the *Columbaria* records, were commemorated with an occupation on their tombstones.\(^6\) Children, whether slave or freeborn, because of the circumstances of their birth or upbringing, were sent into the work force at an early age. They could be handed over to a master craftsman for a specific interval of time to learn a trade,\(^7\) and were often apprenticed around the ages of twelve to fourteen. This age range, for both males and females, represented only 11% of all the children found in this study.\(^8\) Only one of these children who was commemorated with an age at death between thirteen and fourteen years was also associated with an occupation.\(^9\) Thirteen year old Melior was the *verna* and apprentice *calculator* of the *praecceptor* Sextus Augustius Agreus.\(^10\) The dedication erected for the child by his *praecceptor* claimed that Melior had acquired great expertise despite his young age, and was highly laudatory of the ability and aptitude of the child who died before his full potential was reached. According to the *Digest*, *impubes* were apprenticed as scribes, *nomenclatores*, *calculatores*, *actors*,\(^11\) launderers\(^12\) and shop

\(^1\) Shaw (1987) esp pp43-44 and Pliny *Epistulae* 5.16; 8.11.
\(^2\) Dyson (1992) pp185-86.
\(^3\) Shaw (1987).
\(^5\) Appendix 3 Table 1.
\(^6\) *CIL* 6.6852 (*Columbaria*); *CIL* 14.472 (*Ostia*).
\(^7\) Bradley (1991b) p106.
\(^8\) 51/500 males (10%) and 34/282 females (12%).
\(^9\) The other child with an occupation (*CIL* 6.6852) was only 4 years of age.
\(^10\) *CIL* 14.472.
\(^11\) Ulpian *Digest* 38.1.7.5.
\(^12\) Ulpian *Digest* 14.3.5.10.
managers. One boy named Pantagathus, described by Martial as a *raptus puerilibus annis*, had become skilled in the cutting of hair and the trimming of beards.

Other inscriptive evidence commemorating children who had acquired great skill or who were being trained for intricate tasks have been discovered in Rome and other parts of the Empire. For example, a twelve year old *servus* from Rome named Pagus was commemorated by his parents as a skilled jeweller, while C. Vettius Capitolinus, also from Rome, was honoured as a painter (*pictor*) at the age of thirteen. A silver engraver from Spain was recorded with an age at death of eleven years, while a *doctus puer* was honoured at Volusinii for his intellectual achievements that were well known both within his own community and further afield. Commemorations for young female apprentices seem not to have been common. A nine year old gold worker named Viccentia was found at Rome, and three young girls, also from Rome, were commemorated as *ornatrices* (dressers aged thirteen, twelve and nine). Literary evidence suggests that such *puellae* were also responsible for assisting their mistresses with their hairstyles. Juvenal wrote of young slave children who were taught to carve objects from various materials. He described his own young slave boy as only a novice carver. The boy, having just arrived from the

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3. CIL 6.9437.
4. CIL 6.6182.
5. CIL 2.2243. Adult painters and engravers were commissioned by the wealthy to create impromptu portraits and other studies at the circus, Juvenal Satirae 9.145-6.
6. A prominent physician was described by Martial (5.9) in the company of one hundred apprentices, all of whom are said to have examined the patient. These apprentices were not specifically described as children, and the number was undoubtedly exaggerated (Martial himself was the patient and he blamed the extra examinations performed by the cold hands of the apprentices for making his ailment worse) but on the basis of this inscription, it is possible that older children were taken on as medical apprentices.
7. CIL 11.2839.
8. CIL 6.9213.
9. CIL 6.9728; 9726; 9731.
10. For other examples of occupations for which children were trained all over the Roman Empire see Bradley (1991b) esp pp107-116; Crook (1967) pp200-202.
11. Martial 2.66.
country, had not been trained professionally on wooden models of exotic animals.¹ Cato the Elder was known to have lent money to his slaves so that they could buy slaves themselves, train them in a trade, and then sell them for profit.²

According to the Digest, children could be put to work at the age of five,³ but *infantes* were incapable of productive work.⁴ One epitaph found in the Columbaria collection listed the occupation of the four year old *libertus* L. Ancius Felix as that of *vestarius tenuarius*, a maker of light clothing.⁵ Yet a child this young was probably of very little use as a maker of clothes, unless he performed simple carrying tasks or perhaps was responsible for picking up scraps of material from workbenches and the floor. Children around the age of five may have been used for performing relatively simple tasks of this nature. If they were members of rural households their duties possibly included the general maintenance of donkeys,⁶ the gathering of feed for livestock,⁷ the tending of poultry, the trimming and pruning of vineyards, and the cutting of ferns.⁸ Slave children were often trained within the households of their masters, though those not born in Italy may have received some education in their homeland.⁹ Slaves of unspecified age appear in literature and art⁰ performing a range of household duties. They acted as couriers¹¹ and general fetchers and

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1. Juvenal *Satirae* 11.136-44.
3. Ulpian *Digest* 7.7.6.1. *If a slave is under five years of age or infirm or is one who is unable to do any work for his owner, no estimation of the value of his services will be made: Si minor annis quinque vel debilis servus sit vel quis alius, cuius, nulla opera esse apud dominum pituit, nulla aestimatio fiet.* cf *Code of Justinian* 6.43.3.1 that indicates that slaves were often fulfilling work roles by the age of ten. Columella *De Re Rustica* 1.8.1-2 states that a good choice for a *vilicius* (bailiff) should be a man accustomed to hard work since childhood.
4. Ulpian *Digest* 7.1.12.3.
5. CIL 6.6852. The child received manumission quite early, perhaps on his death. No dedicator was included on the memorial itself.
6. Varro *De Re Rustica* 2.10.1; 3.17.6.
8. Columella *De Re Rustica* 2.2.13; 4.27.6; 11.2.44.
11. Martial 4.10; 7.53.
carriers, cleaned and polished household objects, announced visitors and kept track of time. Pueri were found at public baths helping men oil and cleanse their bodies and tending to their masters. Martian wrote of a bow-legged vernula who carried towels for his master at the baths while another five comati served him wine. Other children who were commemorated with occupations at relatively young ages include gymnici (acrobats), and entertainers. Of this last group of children, three were aged five and one of the gymnici seventeen months. Surely the vestarius Felix, mentioned above, and perhaps these other children whose occupations required a fair amount of training and coordination, had been designated to these specialist areas, possibly at birth, and would begin intensive training at slightly older ages. The purpose, therefore, in recording the occupations that they would have fulfilled had they not died prematurely, like many of the iconographical features added to the memorials of children seen above, may have been to bring kudos to the dedicators.

A few children were commemorated along with the occupation of their dedicators or occasionally, if they were servi, their owners. The majority of these dedicators were slaves or freedmen or members of the armed forces. For example, Protogenes, who commemorated the death of his three sons, was an Imperial aurifex (goldsmith). Faustus, father of C. Iulius Eutyches, was an a manu of Livia. Another member of the Imperial familia was the verna and adiutor a rationibus Hilarus, who set up an epitaph for his

4. Martial 12.70. Slaves are also seen mixing drinks in Martial 14.118.
5. CIL 6.10158 Three brothers from Rome aged five and seventeen months. According to Juvenal (Satirae 4.121-122) young boys were also used in spectacles, especially on a wooden structure known as a pegma. The pegma was often elaborately decorated, was mounted on wheels and had upper stories that could be raised or lowered by a system of weights.
7. A puer tight rope walker is mentioned in SHA Marcus Antoninus 12.12.
8. See above, Chapter 5.
11. CIL 6.4448. An a manu was a secretary skilled in taking dictation.
sister who died at the age of eleven months. An Imperial marble worker (marmorarius) was the owner of a girl who died at the age of seven years, while a courier (tabellarius) and Imperial freedman from Ostia set up a memorial for his eight year old alumna. The slave father of nine year old Calenus listed his position as that of armidoctor, an instructor in arms. Other dedicators held the prestigious positions of tabularii and dispensatores. The libertus Q. Opimius Celadus proudly displayed his position of Augustalis at Beneventum upon a memorial set up for his freeborn son, his wife, father and mother. Found around the Tusculum area was an inscription erected by L. Sextilius Satyr, a lictor curiatius, perhaps of one of the local town councils, who erected an epitaph for his wife and two sons. All these positions were quite respectable in the work hierarchy among slaves, especially those of the Imperial familia, and worthy for public acknowledgment and record. A number of children were commemorated as vicarii: in other words they belonged to the peculium of another slave.

Dedicators with military backgrounds also tended to display their titles upon the memorials they set up for children and other adults. In only one inscription was it clear that the child was probably born before their father's discharge, but in all cases the dedicator placed himself and his prestigious career title at the head of the inscription. So too did the majority of freedmen, described above, who included their occupations on the memorials set up for

1. CIL 6.5305.
2. CIL 6.5866.
3. IPO A279.
4. CIL 6.5945.
5. CIL 6.5204 A tabularius was an intermediate clerk in charge of financial records and accounts, Weaver (1972) pp241-43; Treggiari (1975a) p50.
6. CIL 6.6276; 14.202. A dispensator was either an important official in the Imperial financial administration or the chief steward of a household. Weaver (1972) p202; Treggiari (1975a) pp49-50.
7. CIL 9.1697.
8. CIL 14.2522. A lictor curiatius was an attendant of the assembly. See below p147.
11. For example CIL 9.1049; 2115; 11.352; 14.2269; 2274; 2289.
12. CIL 14.2274.
their children. There are also a number of inscriptions where the owners or patrons of servi and liberti were listed on the memorials without acting in the role of dedicators. Why were the owners of slave children who were not dedicating the memorial also included with their occupations on the memorials? These inscriptions illustrate the importance of burial and commemoration in Roman society, especially for groups below the aristocracy where there was a sense of position and hierarchy amongst the immediate community in which they lived and worked. For such groups, the ability to claim that a child was the possession of either a well-known person of status, or a person with a respectable position within that community, was fitting material for a memorial that in many cases was a public record. Perhaps these associations also suggested that the child would have been in the position to better him or herself had death not intervened. This type of inscription highlights important social values inherent in certain groups who may have had a twofold motive in setting up an inscription: that is, the act of commemorating an inscription was done not only to mark the death of a child, but also to make their dedicators important and functional community members.

Feminae ab omnibus officiis civilibus vel publicis remotae sunt et ideo nec iudices esse possunt nec magistratum gerere nec postulare nec pro alio intervenire nec procuratores existere. Item impubes omnibus officiis civilibus debet abstinere. This was once the ruling of Roman Law on the place of male children under the age of puberty, and probably by implication those not formally introduced into public life through, at the very least, their coming of age ceremony. However, there is a group of children, all from Regiones I and II, whose memorials suggest that

1. CIL 14.2522 L?; 9.1697 cf IPO A279 where the alumna of the Imperial freedman was listed first on the inscription and his fellow dedicator Aelia Herios was also listed before him on the stone.
2. See below, p121.
3. Ulpian Digest 50.17.2: Women are debarred from all civic and public functions and therefore cannot be judges or hold a magistracy or bring a lawsuit or intervene on behalf of anyone else or act as procurators. Likewise, impubes ought/should/must abstain from all public offices/civic functions.
they held prominent positions within the community at very young ages.¹

Four inscriptions in Regio II, three from settlements on the heel of Italy itself,² were set up for children who were purported to have held public office.³ D Vibullius Fuscus, freeborn son of Decimus and member of the Fabia tribe, died at the age of nine years, eleven months and sixteen days.⁴ He was commemorated by his mother both as her filius and a decurio. Similarly, twelve year old P. Tutorius Hermatianus, freeborn son of Publius, was commemorated as a decurion at the age of twelve years.⁵ The parents of freeborn L. Clodius Pius Marinus recorded that their eight year old son was praefectus fabrum.⁶ The final inscription was set up for freeborn Petilia Secundina, priestess of Minerva, who died at the age of nine years, seven months and eighteen days.⁷ She was commemorated by her unhappy mother Messia Dorcas.

Three children from Ostia and one from Regio I East of Ostia were commemorated under similar circumstances.⁸ The epitaph of twelve year old M. Cornelius Valerius Epagathinianus stated that he was an equestrian, a decurion of the Ostian council, second praetor of the cult of Vulcan, patron of the lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii, and officer of the Vicus Augustanorum.⁹ One would normally expect to find this particular range of achievements associated with a wealthy freeborn citizen who was aspiring to position and influence through public office and benefaction in his local town, rather than to a boy of twelve years of age. A four year old child named L Aurelius Fortunatianus, freeborn son of Lucius and member of the Palatina tribe, was honoured on his death as praetor primus of the sacra Volkiani.¹⁰ In another epitaph from Ostia, the Augustalis P. Fraenganius commemorated his nine-year-old son of the same

¹ CIL 14.306; 341; 1067; 2170 CIL 9.8; 24; 223; 307.
² CIL 9.8 Callipolis; CIL 9.24 Lupiae/Rudiae; CIL 9.223 Vria.
³ CIL 9.307 Ora a Bario ad Aufidi ostia.
⁴ CIL 9.8.
⁵ CIL 9.24.
⁶ CIL 9.223.
⁸ CIL 14.306; 341; 1607.
⁹ CIL 14.341.
¹⁰ CIL 14.306.
name as a fellow Augustalis. The final child in this prestigious group came from Aricia in Regio I East of Ostia. Twelve year old Iulius Marcus was not only named as a decurion upon his epitaph by his parents Aurelius Iucca and Iulia Hermtone, but is said to have performed every service possible for Aricia.2

Were these positions honorific, or did children actually hold public office and participate in religious cults? Children of the upper classes were recognised parts of religious cults, the most famous probably being that of the Vestal Virgins in Rome. Vestals were usually chosen before the age of ten, and held office for a minimum of thirty years.3 There were six Vestals under the power of the Pontifex Maximus who assumed the position of paterfamilias, and the head Vestal was known as the Vestalis maxima.4 Petilia Secunda was commemorated as a priestess of Minervae who died at the age of nine years.5 Minerva was an Italian goddess of handicrafts and arts, and was a patroness of doctors.6 She was worshipped on the Capitol in a temple dedicated to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva,8 she had her own temple on the Aventine and a shrine dedicated by Pompey, perhaps on the north-eastern part of the Campus Martius.10 Minerva was honoured at both quinquatrus festivals on March and June 19,11 and on September 13 along with Jupiter and Juno.12 In rustic calendars, the goddess was honoured in the month of September with a feast.13 Temples to Minerva are also known from Regiones I (Aedes Minerva), V (Minerva Medici), VIII (Templum Castrorum et Minervae) and IX (Minerva Chalcidia).14 No temples or cult areas to Minerva seem to have been found as yet in Regio II, and only two other inscriptions from this

1. CIL 14.1067.
2. CIL 14.2170.
3. Daremberg-Saglio p752; Tacitus Annales 2.86; Pliny Epistulae 7.19.
4. Daremberg-Saglio p752ff; Aulus Gellius Noctes Atticae 1.12; Tacitus Annales 11.32.
area containing any references to Minerva were collected in CIL 9.  
The child may have been part of a local cult or may have been a priestess in Rome but buried in her home town. The child was clearly the focus of this inscription and must have earned herself and her mother great respect in the local community. Non traditional religious cults are known to have had strong influences throughout Italy, and the worship of Isis, Mithras, Magna Mater and other deities was widespread. The organisation of such cults would have centred on a particular town or area and often may have included children, either as participants or officials. For example, one of the iconographical elements of a burial monument for a child in Rome was his statue featuring the Isiac curl.

Lucius Aurelius Fortunatianus, at the age of four, was praetor primus of the sacra Volkiani in Ostia. The main festival of Vulcan was held on August 23, although he was also honoured at the Tibulustrium on May 23 and the Maia on May 1. The Volcanalia was held on August 23, and the rustic calendars recorded that the month of September was under the protection of Vulcan. There are other examples of all three grades of praetor for the cult of Vulcan who were well below the standard age for office bearing. Vulcan was the patron deity of Ostia, and until the late Empire the cult maintained the religious organisation of the town. The position of Pontifex Volcani marked the climax of a public career and was the most prestigious that an Ostian could hold. It was parallel in importance to that of the Pontifex Maximus in Rome. One of the responsibilities of the aediles of the cult of Vulcan was the allaying of the god's anger when lightning had struck. Some of these aediles were also of a very young age. Children, therefore, were very

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1. CIL 9.418 (Bantia); 9.1101 (Aeclanum).
3. See above, p78.
5. Scullard (1967) p123.
9. CIL 14.306; 341; 432.
12. Meiggs (1973) p338 cites a small marble tablet found in the Via della Fullonica with the inscription fulgar divum and others found in a
much a part of religious cults while still *impubes*, and were honoured for their services if they died at very young ages.

Can the same be said for children who held positions normally reserved for adult males outside the religious communities? Although other cases can be documented where minors held similar offices, the position of M. Cornelius Epagathinianus upon the town council of Ostia was highly irregular. However, the child was credited with substantial benefactions. He was, for example, named as a patron of the boatman's guild (*lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii*), the most important of the five guilds of Ostia. Epagathinianus' prestigious position on the town council may therefore have been an honorary position given as reward for the services his family had rendered to the community. Another eight year old boy was found to be patron of the same guild. However there is no record of his having held any office or priesthood before his death. Epagathinianus was also a *quattuorvir* of the *vicus Augustanorum*, a small village outside Ostia. While there is extant evidence of fathers making benefactions in the names of their sons, and that certain offices could be achieved through monetary donations from friends, the permitting of children to hold even a minor post was highly irregular. It was probably the family's wish to have their son 'known', so that in future years he could aspire to a local municipal career or higher. The position on the town council in these circumstances was surely only honorific until the child was of an acceptable age. It would have meant however, automatic entry to this and other positions if the child had survived.

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1. *CIL* 14.2; 321, namely that of a twelve year old and another who held a post on the same council before his death at the age of eighteen.
5. Another such patron was L. Arruntius Vitalianus, *CIL* 14.301.
8. Pliny *Epistulae* 10.9 & 10.80 which refer to Bithynia indicate that although the age limit for minor offices had been lowered to twenty-two, anyone under this age would have achieved his position under circumstances that deviated from the norm.
The memorial erected to the twelve year old Iulius Marcus from Aricia who held a position on the decurionate does contain the phrase *Aricinorum omni muneri*, which Wiedemann translates to mean that the child had held every office before he died. However, it could imply that the child (or rather his parents in his name) had donated money for every public project and festival in the town and, as a reward, was given an honorary position as a decurion, perhaps even on his death as an accolade for his parents. Similar circumstances undoubtedly surrounded the other two *decuriones* found in *Regio II*, nine year old D. Vibillius Fuscus and twelve year old P. Tutorius Hermatianus. *Decuriones* in local communities were members of the town council. They played a role in creating and maintaining public buildings and providing other benefactions from both public and private funds, and were responsible for the settlement of minor disputes. Most *decuriones* were twenty-five or older. Moreover, the lawcode does stipulate that while *decuriones* who were below the age of twenty-five did receive *sportulae*, they were not entitled to vote. Thus members below twenty-five did not hold full participatory rights in all areas. Geographical location and the acceptance of the immediate community may have influenced the manner in which the socio-political structure of a town functioned. Aricia, for example, named its highest magistrate a *dictator* even in the time of the Empire and had two quaestors, two aediles and an *ordo decurionum* called the *senatus*. It may have been quite acceptable within this community to honour a child as a *decurio* or with a similar title given that many of its other local governmental offices went under a system of nomenclature that differed from the norm. It is noteworthy that the phenomenon of children in public office was found only in *Regiones* I and II.

Wiedemann argues that a striking feature of the principate was the gradual abandonment of age grades for the holding of public office, and that the Imperial household was very influential in

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2. *CIL* 9.8:24. Another example collected by Wiedemann (1989) p137 was that of a fourteen year old boy from Barcelona who had been awarded the status of *duumvir*.
4. Papinian *Digest* 50.2.6.
5. Papinian *Digest* 50.2.6.1.
promoting this phenomenon by gradually appointing children to important posts and priesthoods, and finally (by the year 192/3 AD) to the position of joint emperor.\(^1\) By the time covered by the *Theodosian Code* (around 331 AD), this may have been true for children outside the Imperial family, where minors, children who would normally have been under the guidance of *tutores*, were summoned to be members of municipal councils.\(^2\) Cases are also known where children were appointed to quaestorships without their knowledge (around 320 and 329 AD),\(^3\) but even here the age limit was reinforced at minimum of eighteen and sixteen years respectively. In all these cases it was the money of the children concerned rather than their political or administrative skills that were in demand, and thus it could be argued that their appointments were still honorary. The members of the Imperial family were governed by rules that could be moulded and changed according to circumstance, and any unconstitutional acts always legitimised very quickly and quietly. Abandonment of age grades during the first three centuries AD would not have included the children represented upon inscriptions found in this study. Even when in the fourth century minors were commemorated or honoured for their roles as quaestors or praetors in providing games, they were undoubtedly the figureheads whose resources provided the finance for these costly public benefactions.\(^4\)

The commemoration of nine year old P. Fraenganius as an *Augustalis* by his father\(^5\) was probably very similar in nature to the children discussed above. No freeborn status indicators accompanied the child and he, like his father, may have been a *libertus*. The child's father, also named P. Fraenganius, was himself an *Augustalis*. Perhaps Fraenganius senior was honouring his son with the title of the position he hoped his son would one day achieved. Alternatively, the *Augustales* may have been recognising

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4. Wiedemann (1989) pp134-35. Wiedemann gives examples of parents spending money in the name of their children and these children often being honoured with magistracies pp136-37 & 132. However his sweeping time-frame seems to blur the distinction between honorary and active positions for children and the true abandonment of age grades for public office.
the services and achievements of Fraenganius senior by allowing his son to be buried as an *Augustalis*. The *Augustales* were a religious order of priestly colleges, and members were recruited almost exclusively from the cream of the freedmen in local communities.¹ The magnitude of a college depended on the size of the community and the wealth of their freedmen. The formal public duties of *Augustales* were focussed upon the ceremonies of the Imperial Cult. However, they were also responsible for contributing to the community through public benefactions such as the provision of public buildings and entertainments. In return these men received public recognition within their communities, including special seating at the theatre.² It is therefore conceivable that a child of nine could have been involved in the ceremonial duties of the priesthood, as were the children discussed above who were members of the cults of Minerva and Vulcan.³ Alternatively, the family of Fraenganius may have included the child in many of their public benefactions and the child, like those above honoured with decurionates and other offices, was commemorated on his death with the prestigious title of *Augustalis*.

On an inscription from *Regio II*, eight year old L. Clodius Pius Marinus was heralded as a *praefectus fabrum*.⁴ The office of *praefectus fabrum* was found in three forms. It was either a personal appointment of an assistant to a magistrate with *imperium*, a coveted position always held by an *ingenuus*, and which merited special seating in the theatre,⁵ or was an office used as an instrument of patronage, *an honorific appointment made personally by a magistrate or senatorial governor that might lead to a civilian or military career*.⁶ It could also be a position held by those men who pursued very simple secretarial careers.⁷ Again, this was a very unusual position with which to associate an eight year old boy, although perhaps the boy was awarded the honorific title by a local magistrate to honour his family either before or after his death.

¹ Dyson (1992) p100.
³ Above, pp95-96.
⁴ CIL 9.223.
⁵ Purcell (1983) p156.
Epitaphs which honoured children in office or as members of the work force are truly social records that reflect the importance of some positions to particular sections of the community. The same emphasis was placed on those inscriptions which associated children with particular individuals and sometimes also their occupations or positions. In this way children in death became participants in the community because they, and hence their dedicators, would be honoured at the festivals of the dead because of the unique quality of their memorials.
As seen above, children of all status groups were commemorated more frequently in Regio I, and especially in Rome and Ostia. What influence, therefore, can be seen in the geographical location and physical setting of a particular site? Although more than four hundred towns are known to have existed during the Empire, only a relatively small percentage of the total population lived in towns or in the larger urbanised areas of Rome and Ostia. On the whole, Roman society was rurally based; many people lived in the vicinity of much smaller villages and road stations scattered throughout Italy. These settlements were of varying size and complexity and despite the Augustan concept of tota Italia, ‘urbanization’ spread very unevenly throughout Italy: In some favoured areas towns flourished everywhere, while in others they were few and far between, and were comparatively modest affairs. Although larger settlements could boast slightly different landscapes, histories and social and economic structures, all shared certain political, social and economic institutions, physical structures and rituals of daily life. For many, life was centred on a small piece of farmland, a neighbourhood, and a central place that fulfilled most political, social and economic needs. Municipal status was won by Italy from Rome after the Social War of 91-88 BC; in the reorganisation of Italy that subsequently took place these local, largely autonomous socio-political units of different size and complexity, were responsible for the smooth functioning of government in Italy. During the reign of Augustus, Italy was divided into eleven regions (Appendix 2 Map 2) because the new government demanded a more highly developed and organised

1. See above pp24-6.
administrative system than had been used in the Republic. What was not altered, however, was the local governmental structures. These were fostered by the central government at Rome and allowed to remain fairly independent and autonomous.

Despite the apparent uniformity of such institutions, throughout Italy even today much regional variation is apparent in the geographical composition of Italy itself (Appendix 2 Map 1). Italy was principally made up of two mountain ranges, the Alps and the Apennines. The Alps swept right across the north of Italy and had over one hundred peaks exceeding 3048 metres. A large plain lay at the foot of these Alps. The Apennines began in the far northwest and ran down the centre of Italy for a distance of nearly one thousand kilometres. Few peaks of the Apennines were higher than 2438.5 metres, while in width they varied between 50 to 100 metres. On either side of these mountains were smaller lowlands and subsidiary hill masses. Areas of both mountain ranges were inhabited although some mountain communities were quite isolated, and only occasionally did larger towns emerge in the scattered pockets of flatter land in areas where the mountains stretched almost to the sea. High mountain pastures were used for summer grazing only as growth and flowering were limited to the summer months. Many of these areas merged into either marshy ground or into rocky outcrops. Below these high mountain zones were upland areas suitable for grazing, although much of the mountain area was not suitable for arable cultivation. Perennially green pastures were practically absent in Italy below the high mountain zone. Low lying pastures were used in both winter and spring for grazing and often were covered in bare patches of ground housing drought resistant plants. These areas were once thought to have housed the large latifundia. However, recent research has shown that communities were commonly made up of

many smaller sized holdings, and that the estates of the wealthy comprised scattered properties of moderate size rather than large estates.¹ Both Romans and modern Italians had until recently favoured the extension of grazing grounds at the expense of agricultural land and forests, especially in the lowland and hill zones.²

The climate of Italy was equally variegated as the latitude of the country diverged in some areas by 10°.³ On the whole winters were mild, yet the upland and northern regions could encounter extreme cold and heavy falls of snow. Summers were often hot, inducing severe drought in June and July, while the bulk of rain fell in autumn, winter and spring.⁴ Travel and communication were often difficult, as the Apennines were not easy to negotiate and could not be bypassed by following either coastline.⁵ There were relatively traversable sections to the north and centre of the ranges, but these, as Hannibal discovered in 218/17 BC,⁶ could become impassable when covered with deep winter snow.⁷ To make travelling easier, the Romans developed embanked, engineered and paved highways 2.5 to 4.5 metres wide. These were built on foundations of up to four layers of rough stone and gravel.⁸ However, there were many kilometres worth of simple beaten tracks and roads surfaced only with loose gravel, and travel for a large percentage of the community must have been slow, expensive and difficult. Many areas of Italy also had vastly different heritages, and towns in the same area could be of different standing such as *colonia* or *municipium*.⁹ Although by the time of Augustus much Romanization was achieved by the establishment of veteran colonies, there still seems to have been a fair amount of regional variation.

9. A *colonia* was a community of Roman citizens established with a standard form of constitution modelled on that of Rome. A *municipium*, on the other hand, in theory possessed greater freedom than a *colonia* because it used its own laws and magistrates, Garnsey & Saller (1987) p27.
The urban versus rural aspect of the ancient world to date has been little explored. Although some attempt has been made below to address this question, these differences cannot be treated properly here because of the limitations imposed by the nature of this thesis. The study of rural Italy is also an area fraught with difficulties. Little evidence of an epigraphic nature has survived from rural areas. Moreover, some sites have not been properly excavated while others, especially those with a history of continuous habitation, have little surviving ancient evidence.

Recent studies have stressed that more older people were to be found in the countryside than in the cities, because the better sanitary conditions and more accessible sources of food lowered the mortality rates in rural areas. Hence the concentration of funerary memorials was not as imposing or necessary in the country. As more sophisticated land surveying techniques are developed which allow ancient boundaries, geographical features and demographic settlements to be determined, and more focus is placed upon regional history by scholars, a clearer picture of Roman urban-rural differentiation will be established. To date much of this evidence has not been correlated well with epigraphic material.

This study hopes to begin to establish at the very least regional differentiation.

Did the location of a particular settlement have any influence in the way or manner in which an inscription was erected, or on the type of information recorded on the burial memorials of children? This section firstly sets out to explore the history and physical setting of each Region and the areas where inscriptions to children have been found, and secondly, examines the general and unusual characteristics of the inscriptions found in each of these Regiones.

7. The history of each site could not be treated properly here. Some historical information has therefore been supplied in footnotes although at this stage no analysis was able to be performed. Moreover, little seems to be known about some sites.
SECTION A

REGIO I

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

Although only nineteen sites, including Ostia and a small section of Rome, were analysed in Latium, over two thirds of the children discovered were from this relatively small area (Appendix 2 Map 4).\textsuperscript{1} *Regio* I was made up of the areas labelled today Latium and Campania. Latium was the more northerly section, and was the homeland of the Latin tribes who were forced into alliance with Rome at an early stage of their history.\textsuperscript{2} Many of the more prominent cities lay in the country of the Alban Hills, the volcanic belt that overlooks the wide, drab coastal plain bordering the Tyrrhenian sea.\textsuperscript{3} Latium, according to Strabo, was *entirely fortunate and productive of all plants, except for a few marshy and unhealthy places along the coast and such parts as are mountainous and rocky*.\textsuperscript{4} At its south eastern end the valley of Liris broadened into a fertile alluvial basin; at the north western edge of the mountains and the valleys in the lower Tiber and Anio, the volcanic dust settled in prehistoric times from Mt Alba formed a rich topsoil.\textsuperscript{5} This soil was protected, perhaps from Etruscan times, by a drainage system of *cuniculi* that prevented winter wash outs of the soil.\textsuperscript{6} The vineyards of the volcanic zone gained high reputation in the Early Empire\textsuperscript{7} and continued to be productive for many years.\textsuperscript{8} However, the mountainous and rocky sections were much greater than Strabo described, and extend over a considerable amount of central and southern Latium. The seaboard was not only swampy, but was also devoid of good harbours.\textsuperscript{9} The coastline sat just above sea level, and

\begin{enumerate}
\item See above, p25. This area was approximately 1300 km\textsuperscript{2} compared to the finds of *Regiones* II, VII and VIII which contained an area sixty to one hundred times larger than this small section of *Regio* I (Compare Appendix 2 Map 2) and collectively contained 122 sites.
\item Potter (1987) p22.
\item Potter (1987) p22.
\item Strabo 5.3.5.
\item Cary (1949) p128.
\item Cary (1949) p128.
\item Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 14.5 (48-52).
\item Cary (1949) p129.
\item Cary (1949) p128.
\end{enumerate}
although some attempts were made to improve drainage in the area, the Pomptine marshes were well known throughout Rome's history. Apart from Fregellae in the Liris valley, and Rome to the North on the Tiber, the principal towns of Latium were situated at the north western edge of the upland zone on spurs of high ground overlooking the Roman plain. Praeneste stood on a ledge of 106.7 metres and was in turn dominated by a citadel rising to 762 metres. Tusculum was set in woodland overlooking the Tiber Valley. Two natural lines of communication extended from one end of Latium to the other. The lower route from Rome, which was eventually made into the Via Appia, ran straight across the coastal plain, traversing the foothills of the Alban mount, to Terracina, then onto Campania; the upper route ascended from Rome into the Tiber valley, to the low col of Mons Algidus and followed the easy reverse slope to the basin of the Liris. This became the Via Latina, the earliest Roman military highway and rose well above inundation level.

For example, the canal from Rome to Terracina Cary believes may have been for drainage as well as transport, Horace *Satirae* I.5.11ff; Strabo 5.3.6.

2. Cary (1949) p129.
Rome
Geographical and Physical Setting

Aelius Aristides’ address on Rome composed for Antoninus Pius in 143 AD stressed adamantly that if something could not be found at Rome, it must not exist, for all types of trade, shipping, agriculture, metallurgy, arts and crafts from all over the world came to the Emporium of Rome. Rome was situated on the Tiber, the largest river of central Italy 20 km inward from its mouth, and was at the centre of several communication routes, both sea and land. Trunk roads ran across the peninsula, up the Tiber valley, through the Umbrian and Marsic gaps of the Apennines, down the river Liris, and along the Latin coast, linking Rome with communication routes that extended all over Italy.

Pliny the Elder wrote in 73 AD that no city existed in the world comparable in size to Rome, and this remained true of all the cities in Europe until the industrial Revolution. Rome in the early Empire was home to between 750,000 to 1,000,000 people. In the reign of Augustus, approximately 250,000 people received the grain dole, and this figure had increased in the fourth century to almost half a

2. There was no other crossing place for many kilometres upstream. An island in the Tiber provided the easiest place to cross between Rome and the sea, and command of this crossing point allowed Rome to control the main line of communications along the western and more populous sides of the peninsula, Cary (1949) p132. The left bank opposite the island became the natural port of call for overland traffic from north to south of the Italian peninsula as well as for the salt trade route which came from the salt marshes north of the mouth of the Tiber, Classical Sites p763.
3. Appendix 2 Map 3 and Map 4; Chevallier (1976) p133 fig 27. Rome was also the focal point of several roads which radiated out to different parts of Italy, including the Via Clodia, the Via Cassia, the Via Tiburtina, the Via Labiciana, the Via Tusculana, the Via Valeria, the Via Latina, the Via Appia, the Via Ardeatina and the Via Laurentina.
7. Parkin (1992) p5; Robinson (1992) p8. The city was at its largest in the mid second century, and may have boasted a population in excess of one million until the third century.
mile. Buildings, contained mostly within an area of approximately 18 km², were constructed by either private or Imperial patronage, and provided the inhabitants of the city with defence, religion and public amenities. According to Vitruvius, structures that were built for public convenience included forums, porticoes, baths, theatres, colonnades and open spaces, and other areas used for similar public functions, while on another occasion Strabo highlighted sewers, fountains, aqueducts, and the Campus Martius as being amongst the many beautiful structures erected by the renowned figures of Pompey, Caesar, Augustus and Marcus Agrippa. In the 1st century BC approximately one hundred and seventy bath buildings were known in Rome. By the 4th century AD this number was in the vicinity of one thousand. Hundreds of shrines and temples scattered all over Rome fulfilled the religious needs of the city population. Augustus alone restored the prominent temple of Jupiter Feretrius on the Capitol, the Temples of Minerva, of Juno the Queen, and Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, the Temple of Di Penates on the Velia, the Temple of Youth and the Temple of the Great mother on the Palatine as well as another eighty-two unnamed temples. He built the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the Temple of the deified Julius, and the Temple of Quirinus. Ancient authors paint a picture of a bustling, crowded city in which buildings were constantly erected and repaired to cater for Rome's expanding population. Other emperors such as Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus

1. Packer (1967) pp82-3; p87.
2. Pliny Historia Naturalis 3.5 (66) mentions the walls of Rome which measured approximately 21.2 km in circumference.
3. Vitruvius 1.3.1.
4. The Campus Martius made provision for chariot races and other equestrian events, ball and hoop activities, wrestling, sacred precincts, theatres and temples.
5. Strabo Geography 5.3.8.
9. Vespasian restored the Capitol after fire and replaced three hundred bronze tablets recording senatorial decrees (Suetonius Vespasian 8), build a new stage for the theatre of Marcellus (Suetonius Vespasian 19) and built the Temple of Peace, the Temple to Claudius the god on the Caelian Hill, and began the Flavian Amphitheatre in the centre of the city (Suetonius Vespasian 9).
10. Domitian, for example, converted his birthplace into the Temple of the Flavians, Suetonius Domitian 1, and he also restored the Capitolium, and constructed a new Temple to Jupiter Custos on the Capitoline Hill, the
Aurelius\(^1\) all boasted new buildings and many restorations as part of the achievements of their reigns. A perusal of the site plan of Imperial Rome gives a feeling of the physical characteristics and layout of the city.\(^2\)

The picture of Rome painted by Juvenal in his *Third Satire* gives an insight into the Rome of the everyday person. Rome was a noisy, crowded city, characterized by high rents, shabby ill-lit tenement buildings shored up with stays and props, the imminent threat of fire, and danger created by falling objects.\(^3\) Also evident was the great disparity in wealth, status and living standards of the rich and poor.\(^4\) Seneca, writing before the rebuilding of Rome after the fire of 64 AD,\(^5\) mentions similar living conditions to those recorded later by both Juvenal\(^6\) and Martial,\(^7\) and in the second century serious fires still ravaged Rome.\(^8\) The majority of people in Rome lived in large blocks of *insulae*,\(^9\) multiple-storeyed apartment

---

1. Marcus Aurelius is reported to have maintained the streets of Rome and the surrounding highways with utmost care, *SHA Marcus Antoninus* 11, and on his death a Temple was built for him with priests appointed to the service of the Antonines, *SHA Marcus Antoninus* 18.

2. See the plan of the city of Rome entitled 'Rome in the Imperial Period' in Robinson (1992).

3. Juvenal *Satirae* 3.6f; 28f; 166f; 195f; 228f; 249f; 268f; 302f.

4. Juvenal *Satirae* 3.5f; 41f; 81f; 126f; 147f; 164f; 212f; 232f; 249f.

5. Tacitus *Annales* 15.38-44; Suetonius *Nero* 16. This fire wiped out ten of the fourteen districts of Rome.

6. Juvenal *Satirae* 3.6f; 166; 190-202; 223-5; 235; 268-77; 11.12-13.


8. Ulpian *Digest* 9.2.27.8. These fires often affected the less affluent residential areas, Aulus Gellius *Noctes Atticae* 15.1. The upper stories of *insulae* in the third century were still made partially of wood, and in the fourth century AD an apartment house reputedly collapsed into the Forum of Trajan, Packer (1967) p82.

blocks lining the irregular streets of Rome. These dwellings were at least four storeys in height, and sometimes were built on top of shops. The majority insulae were probably no more than small one or two-roomed apartments. Baths and latrines were usually public, and it appears that the majority of people must have lived entirely outside their lodgings in the streets, shops, arcades, arenas and baths of the city. The average Roman domicile must have served only as a place to sleep and store possessions. On the outskirts of the city, many roads were lined with tombs, catacombs and cemeteries that housed the Roman dead. These cemeteries contained networks of regular streets along which continuous rows of tumuli or blocks of chamber tombs were aligned. However, there appears to have been no public control of planning or growth. Several of these cemeteries, that found under the Vatican Cemetery carpark, and the Columbaria to the north and east, were analysed in the course of this study.

1. Packer (1967) p81. Studies have shown that there were probably between 45,000 - 46,000 insulae, Packer (1967) p83.
2. Trajan imposed a limit of 60 Roman feet on all housing establishments in Rome, Aurelius Victor Epitome de Caesaribus 13.3.
5. These cities of the dead, according to Roman Law, had to be situated outside the formal boundaries of the city, Cicero De Legibus 2.23 (58) hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito neve urito.
8. Appendix 2 Map 3.
In the Early Empire, the Vatican Cemetery burial site\(^1\) was probably located on the Via Cornelia (Appendix 2 Maps 3 & 4),\(^2\) bordering the transtibertine region, the last of the fourteen administrative districts organised by Augustus.\(^3\) One hundred and six individuals were honoured upon forty-two inscriptions.\(^4\) Twelve of this number were commemorated with an age at death, 42\%\(^5\) of whom were children under fourteen years of age.\(^6\)

Four of the five children commemorated with an age at death under fourteen years were male. Titus Iulius Priscianus was of undifferentiated free status (\textit{ambigus}). He was commemorated by his father M. M. Onesimus,\(^7\) who was probably a \textit{libertus} as his son did not take his \textit{nomen}.\(^8\) The child died at the age of thirteen years and nine months. Four year old Gaius Valerius Olympianus was commemorated by his father Gaius Valerius Herma.\(^9\) Both father and child were not recorded with filiation and hence were also of undifferentiated free status. A third child, Marcus Aurelius Hieron who died at six years of age, shared the same \textit{tria nomina} with his dedicator and father, although his father did possess the extra

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1. All surviving tombs from the \textit{Vatican Cemetery} were rectangular in shape and ranged in size from approximately 2 x 1.7m (Tomb M) to 10 x 6m (Tomb H). The majority of mausolea were single enclosed chambers, although a couple also featured open forecourts or courtyards Toynbee & Ward Perkins (1956) p63.
4. Appendix 3 Table 1, 67 males, 38 females and 1 uncertain. Toynbee and Ward Perkins do not include in their estimate the unnamed child mentioned in \textit{Vatican Cemetery} p88.
5. 5 children.
6. Appendix 3 Table 1.
7. It is uncertain whether the MM before Onesimus represents \textit{praenomen} and \textit{nomen} (perhaps Marcus Manilius) or some other abbreviation. M would be an abnormal abbreviation of a \textit{nomen}. There are no known examples of a \textit{nomen} with a supralinear abbreviation, \textit{Vatican Cemetery} p119 n5.
8. \textit{Vatican Cemetery} Tomb D (vi).
9. \textit{Vatican Cemetery} Tomb H p101 n60.
cognomen Evokatus.\textsuperscript{1} Again in the absence of filiation or other information, both must be classified as being of undifferentiated free status. The final male child was the son of Iulia Palatina and Maximus who died at the age of one year.\textsuperscript{2} Although the child bore the nomen of his mother, his status is ambigus because it is not clear whether she had obtained her freedom (if indeed she was originally a serva) before or after the birth of her son. The status of Maximus is also uncertain as only his cognomen was recorded upon the epitaph. The last child was of uncertain sex, and was commemorated by his or her parents with an inscription that read only mensibus VI, diebus X.\textsuperscript{3} This was inscribed on the upper edge of the front of the sarcophagus along with a trio of cupids shouldering two great garlands of fruit. Other features of this coffin have been discussed above.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Vatican Cemetery p46 Tomb F.
\textsuperscript{2} Vatican Cemetery p98 n23 Tomb M.
\textsuperscript{3} Vatican Cemetery p88. The sculpture around the sarcophagus suggests that the child's parents were the dedicators.
\textsuperscript{4} See above, p84.
Rome
The Children of the Columbaria

The second group of inscriptions from Rome was taken from twenty-six *columbaria* situated on and around the Via Appia, the Via Latina, the Via Praeneste and the Via Salaria.\(^1\) (Appendix 2 Map 4 & Table E). Four thousand two hundred inscriptions were found from the *CIL 6* collection containing material pertaining to these monuments. Nine hundred and seventy-four individuals were commemorated with an age at death. 34% of these memorials were to children.\(^2\) Five of the twenty-six *columbaria* contained no dedications to children and had very low finds, if any, of inscriptions that included an age at death for any age group.\(^3\) There does not, however, appear to be any correlation between the size of monument and number of adults and children commemorated with an age at death. For example, the *Monumentum libertorum et servorum Liviae Augustae* contained approximately three hundred and ninety-eight commemorations, and was the largest of the *columbaria* analysed.\(^4\) However, only 4% of the memorials listed an age at death,\(^5\) and just under half this number were to children under fourteen years of age.\(^6\) On the other hand the smallest number of epitaphs came from the *columbaria* of the Brutti.\(^7\) 50% of the inscriptions contained an age at death,\(^8\) and half of this number were to children under fourteen years of age.

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1. Table E. Individual *columbaria* in Table E have also been given a letter of the alphabet from A to Z, then AA, BB, CC, DD, EE, FF for reference purposes.
2. Appendix 3 Table 1. 329/974 children. 301 epitaphs were found in a useable state.
3. Table E. P: *Monumentum effossum ad viam Latinam*; Q:*Monumentum aliud extra portam Latinam*; AA: *Monumentum libertorum L Caninii Galli effossum in vinea del Cinque ad viam Salariam*; BB: *Monumentum erudatum in villa Amici extra portam Salariam prope cemeterium S Pricillae*; FF:*Monumentum libertorum Q Sallusti*.
4. Cf p124 n2 below where it is estimated that this burial site contained approximately 3000 niches for ashes.
5. 16 inscriptions.
6. 7 inscriptions. Table E(a): Monument A.
7. Table E (c): Monument W.
8. 4/8 inscriptions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Monumentum libertorum et servorum Liviae Augusti. pars prior (monumentum ipsum) pars posterior (monumenti vestibulum)</td>
<td>CIL 6.3926-4326</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>I. Monumentum quod videtur fuisse familiae liberorum Neronis Drusi.</td>
<td>CIL 6.4327-4413</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>II. Monumentum familiae Marcellae effossum a. 1847 in vinea Codiniorum.</td>
<td>CIL 6.4414-4880</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>III. Monumentum effossum in vinea Codiniorum a. 1840</td>
<td>CIL 6.4881-5178</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>IV. Monumentum erudatum in vinea Codiniorum a. 1852 Tituli adfixi eius monumenti parietibus exterioribus Tituli prope id monumentum reperti</td>
<td>CIL 6.5179-5338</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>V. Monumentum a. 1831 ad portam Latinam erudatum Tituli adfixi eius monumenti parietibus exterioribus Tituli prope id monumentum reperti</td>
<td>CIL 6.5539-5678</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table E (a): Regio I Rome (Columbaria) Distribution of Inscriptions**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Monumenta effossa in vinea Belardiorum prope portam Praenestimam:</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>II Monumentum libertorum et familie L. Arrunti</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>III Sepulcra effossa a. 1871 (formae A-G)</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>IV Tituli reperti a. 1875 in sepulcris formae I. K. L. M aut prope ea</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>V Monumentum Statiliorum</td>
<td>429</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>VI Sepulcrum prope monumentum Statiliorum sita</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>VII Monumentum eruderatum extra portam Praenestimam sub solo viae Labicanae novae</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Monumenta eruderata in vinea Aquariorum ad viam Latinam</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Monumentum effossum ad viam Latinam a. fere 1848</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Monumentum aliud extra portam Latinam</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Monumentum repertum in vinea Cremaschiorum</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Tituli monumenti Passienorum reperti a. 1703 et 1704 in vinea Moroni iuxta viam Appiam</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table E (b): Regio I Rome (Columbaria) Distribution of Inscriptions
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>I Monumentum Volusiorum</td>
<td>CIL 6.7281-7393</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>II Monumentum familiae C. Anni Pollionis</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>III Monumenta in vinea Amendolae eruderata inter annos 1817 et 1822</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A. Monumentum Caeciliorum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B. Reliqui tituli a. 1820-1822 in vinea Amendolae effossi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C. Tituli a. 1817-1818 in vinea Amendolae reperti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tituli a. 1820 in vinea Amendolae reperti</td>
<td>CIL 6.7430-7581a</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Monumentum Bruttiorum</td>
<td>CIL 6.7582-7589</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>A Monumentum Carviliorum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Monumentum Iuniorum Silanorum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C Tituli qui non constat in quibus monumentis reperti sint</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL 6.7590-7783</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Monumenta effossa ad viam Aureliam in villa Corsiniorum, quae nunc pars est villae Pamfiliae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL 6.7784-7813</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Monumentum eruderatum annis 1733-1735 in vinea Naria ad viam Salariam:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A Tituli sepulcri Vigelliorum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B Tabulae et tassellae effossae in sepulcro Octaviorum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C Tituli effossi vel sepulcris Vigelliorum et Octaviorum vel prope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D Tituli quos Giorgius dicit repertos in monumento versus viam Pincianam sito</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>E Tituli effossi mense Novembri anni 1735 aut paullo post ante diem 12 Ianuarii 1736</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CIL 6.7845-7986</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
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**Table E (c): Regio I Rome (Columbaria) Distribution of Inscriptions**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ref</th>
<th>Monument</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A A</td>
<td>Monumentum libertorum L. Caninii Galli effossum in vinea del Cinque ad viam Salariam</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB</td>
<td>Monumentum eruderatum in villa Amici extra portam Salariam prope cemeterium S. Princillae</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>Monumentum ad dextram viae Nomentanae paullo ultra aedem divae Agnetis in vinea Rufiniorum effossum a. 1822</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DD</td>
<td>Monumenta effossa ad viam Nomentanam a. 1604</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EE</td>
<td>Monumentum familiae Abucciorum</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FF</td>
<td>Monumentum libertorum Q. Sallustii</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>4200</strong></td>
<td><strong>972</strong></td>
<td><strong>326</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table E (d): *Regio I* Rome (Columbaria) Distribution of Inscriptions
Of the three hundred and twenty-six children, the inscriptions of three hundred and one were found in a useable state.1 Two hundred male children and one hundred and one female children made up this number (sex ratio 198). Hence almost twice as many male children as female children were commemorated upon a permanent monument containing an age at death. Inscriptions were set up for children, both male and female, of all age groups, although in all bar the thirteen to fourteen year category the dedications to male children outweighed those to female children.2 In both cases the majority of children were commemorated with an age at death under six years.3 Unfortunately, apart from noting that children were commemorated at young ages, and that some evidence of the practice is attested for children under one year of age in Rome,4 little else can be done with this type of age at death statistics.

Several of the columbaria, especially those associated with familiae of members of the Imperial Family, have been generally dated to the first century AD.5 These nine monuments housed the commemorations of 54% of the children found from the twenty-six monuments analysed.6 No significant trends or distinguishing features were found amongst this group of inscriptions when compared with the remainder of the finds from the columbaria. For

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1. Appendix 3 Table 5.
2. Appendix 3 Table 5.
3. Male children 56% (112/200 children); female children 52% (53/101 children).
4. See above Chapter 2, pp22f.
5. (A) Monumentum Liviae. Domini represented include Livia; Augustus; Tiberius Antonia Drusi; Iulia Germanici f (one of the three daughters); Agrippina; Drusus And Gaius (Germanici ff); Iulia Drusi f; Claudius; Nero.
6. (B) Monumentum familiae liberorum Neronis Drusi (of Tiberian Date; domini include Livia; Tiberius; Antonia Drusi; Germanicus and his family; Claudius and Livilla.
7. (C) Monumentum Marcellae. Domini include Augustus, Octavia, both Marcellae, both Antoniae, Livia, Tiberius, Germanicus and Claudius
8. (D-G)Monumenta inter Appiam et Latinam. Tiberian to Claudian; imperial domini represented are Tiberius, Claudius and Nero.
10. (T) Monumentum Volusiorum (from L Volusius Saturninus cos AD3 to end of the first century AD
11. All from Treggiari (1975a) p65.
12. 167/301 children.
example, the same numbers of inscriptions were discovered amongst the five main types of commemorative patterns found earlier in this study.1

In 27% of inscriptions from the *Columbaria* collection the main features recorded upon epitaphs were only the name of the deceased child and his or her age at death (Type II commemorative patterns).2 However, just under half3 of these children were commemorated with some form of status indicator, and in some cases the children may have been associated with their owners rather than their dedicators.4 For example, although twelve year old Tauriscus had no listed dedicator upon his inscription, he was commemorated as the slave of Sostenis and the *libertus* of Germanicus Caesar.5 Similarly, five year old Nireus was commemorated as the slave of a cook and the *libertus* of Philerotis.6 The epitaph of C. Iulius Eutyches recorded that he was son of a slave of Julia Augusta named Festus.7 A significant proportion of children commemorated without a dedicator were listed as the *servi* or *liberti* of named individuals. For example, four year old Servandus was the slave of L. Plotius Felix,8 nine year old Felicula was the *delicium* of Julia Fausta,9 and twelve year old Statilia Phoebe was the *liberta* of Posidippus.10 One quarter of the Type II inscriptions from the *columbaria* gave extra information of this calibre without actually naming a dedicator.11 This feature was not as prominent amongst the same style of inscriptions in other areas.12

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1. See above, Chapter 3. Type I (Dated, 54/88 inscriptions (61%); Type II (Dated, 41/82 inscriptions (50%); Type III (Dated 31/59 inscriptions (52.5%); Type IV (Dated 12/23 inscriptions (52%); Type V (Dated 23/46 inscriptions (50%); Unusual (Dated 3/3 inscriptions (100%).
2. See above, p45.
3. 43% (35/82 children).
4. See also above, pp92-93.
5. CIL 6.4401.
6. CIL 6.6248.
7. CIL 6.4448.
8. CIL 4809.
9. CIL 5236.
10. CIL 6.6574.
11. 20/82 inscriptions.
12. Ostia *IPO* 0/5 inscriptions; Ostia *CIL* 4% (1/24 inscriptions); *Regio* II 5% (1/20 inscriptions); *Regio* VII 12.5% (2/16 inscriptions); the other areas did not have this style of dedication.
Although people commemorating children in both Rome and Ostia were the least conservative in terms of the styles of epitaphs used in relation to other areas,¹ there was some uniformity found within particular columbaria. 21% of the Type II² inscriptions were from the Monumentum Statiliorum,³ while over half the children commemorated with an age at death in the Monumentum Statiliorum were given this style of memorial.⁴ 45% of inscriptions from the Monumenta eruderata in vinea Aquariorum ad viam Latinam, were also of this style.⁵ The use of the Type I formula⁶ was fairly widespread throughout all the columbaria, although 18% were from the Monumentum eruderatum in vinea Codiniorum a 1852.⁷ 62% of inscriptions set up for children from the Monumentum a. 1831 ad portam Latinam eruderatum⁸ utilized the Type I style. However, one third of the Type I epitaphs came from either the Monumentum effossum in vinea Codiniorum a 1840 (17.5%),⁹ a monument found between the Via Appia and Via Latina, or the Monumenta eruderata in vinea Aquariorum ad viam Latinam (17%),¹⁰ found prope portam Praenestinam. 15% of the Type V inscriptions¹¹ were found in Monumentum eruderatum annis 1733-1735 in vinea Naria ad viam Salaria,¹² while 20% of the Type III (group) inscriptions found were housed in the Monumentum familiae Marcellae.¹³

¹. See above Chapter 3, esp p44.
². Child/ Age at death inscriptions.
³. Monument L. 17/82 children, CIL 6.6248; 6276; 6402; 6421; 6426; 6427; 6439; 6449; 6470; 6494; 6496; 6503; 6504; 6541; 6574; 6635; 6638.
⁴. 17/32 children.
⁵. Monument O 9/20 children (11% of the children on Child/ age at death inscriptions), CIL 6.6842; 6852; 6938; 7039; 7062; 7097; 7104; 7161; 7170.
⁶. Child/ Age at death/ Dedicator(s) pattern.
⁷. Monument E 16/88 children; (44% of the memorials in this monument were of this style.
⁹. Monument D 4/23 inscriptions, 17% of the memorials to children found here.
¹⁰. Monument O. 4/23 inscriptions 20% of the memorials found here.
¹¹. Dedicator/ Child/ Age at death inscriptions.
¹². Monument Z 7/46 inscriptions 28% of the memorials to children found here.
¹³. Monument C 12/59 inscriptions, 40% of the total number of inscriptions erected to children in this burial chamber.
The majority of children (45%) in the Columbaria inscriptions were of undifferentiated free status. A high proportion (34%) of the children were probably of servile status, and over half of this group were definitely servi or vernae when they died. The highest number of liberti under the age of fourteen (12.5%) were discovered amongst the Columbaria inscriptions, while 8% of the children were ingenui. Of this last group, three children were commemorated as spurii, individuals who were freeborn but illegitimate. A further four children, two males and two females, appear to have been peregrini, children of free birth who were not Roman citizens. These last two categories were not found amongst the inscriptions of the other regions studied. Although a large number of children were ambigu and were not commemorated with any form of status indication, a larger range of status indicators were used for the children amongst the Columbaria inscriptions than in the other areas analysed. A total of 35% of all children from the Columbaria inscriptions were commemorated with a definite status indicator. The high proportion of servi and liberti children found may be due to the nature of the burial site. For within these communities in Rome, burial and commemoration was actively encouraged.

Columbaria were collective burial chambers built either by the familia of a wealthy family (including the Imperial family, as mentioned above) or co-operative burial clubs. Some burial clubs centred on work associations, while others were organizations of people who had bought a share in a project to erect a tomb in which they were allocated a space. Other people chose to purchase burial areas in tombs already constructed in which there was unfilled space. This was an affordable alternative for a large group of people.

### Appendix 3 Table 4

- 135 children, 85 males (including 1 alumnus and 1 Ingenuus?); 50 female children (including 1 alumna and 4 Ingenuae?).
- 102 children, 77 males and 25 females.
- 58%. 45/77 children, 35 males and 10 females.
- Servi 26 children, 19 males and 7 females; vernae 18 children, 15 males and 3 females; alumnus S 1 male. Servi? 57 children 42 males (including 1 alumnus S?) and 15 females (including 1 alumna?).
- 34 children 22 males (including one Imperial libertus and two liberti vernaes) and 12 females (including 2 liberta vernaes); Liberti? 4 children, 1 male and 3 females.
- 35 children, 15 males and 11 females.
- 105/301 children, 72 males and 33 females.
who normally might not have been able to afford burial in Rome where land prices were high.¹ Men, women and children, slave, freed and free were buried side by side in structures housing up to 3000 people.² Hopkins feels that burial clubs were symptomatic of an urban society in which many people needed to rely on fellow club members, unrelated by blood or marriage, for help in performing traditional funeral rites.³ They were also social clubs which held regular meetings and activities, and they met on holidays associated with the rites of the dead.⁴ This in effect created a series of miniature societies whose social values and ambitions were often reflected in these burial monuments. Thus for some, the inclusion of status, even subtle distinctions amongst servi and liberti, may have been a mark of achievement or prestige, where for others it may not. To be able to claim free but illegitimate or foreign birth in such a setting may also have been a sign of respectability in certain circles. Children, even dead children, may in fact have provided a means of full participation in a highly structured public society.

Several other interesting inscriptions were found in Rome. Thirty children from the Columbaria inscriptions were designated as liberti despite the law that stipulated that formal manumission required a slave to be over thirty years of age, the Quiritary property of his master, and that he also be set free by iusta ac legitima manumissione.⁵ As mentioned above, it may have been easier to obtain manumission in Rome than in other areas in Italy.⁶ However, only one of these children was an Imperial freedman. Five year old Aurelius Felix was the only Imperial libertus under the age of fourteen found here or in any other area surveyed.⁷ His father was of the same status. Why would the emperor grant manumission to a child of such a young age? Unfortunately the epitaph itself does not give any clues. It may have been as a special

² Hopkins (1983) p216 mentions one burial chamber 10 x 6 m and 7m high from Rome belonging largely to the familia of Livia which is estimated to have held 3000 burial urns, and other excavated columbaria found to contain 600-700 urns.
⁵ Gaius Institutiones 1.17 Gaius Institutiones 1.36-47.
⁶ See above, p35.
⁷ CIL 6.7778.
reward to the child's father, but there is no way to confirm or deny this possibility. There are other instances of children belonging to the Imperial household being manumitted before the age of thirty. However, manumission under the age of eleven years was very rare, and all cases found seem to be exceptions rather than examples of childhood manumission in the Imperial familia. The rarity of such honours for very young children in the Imperial familia suggests that perhaps the high number of children freed outside this privileged body were either cases of 'pathetic' manumission, where the child was freed on his or her death bed, or that they were freed informally. The peculium of the children manumitted at an early age would have been insignificant and, as Weaver points out, the gesture was probably just a simple expression of affection.

An unusual inscription was erected for a four year old child named Atticus by an unnamed dedicator. Atticus was recorded as the son of the nurse Statce and also as the fellow nursling of the son of Sisenna. This rather cryptic history of Atticus must have given the dedicator of the inscription some standing in the Monumentum Statiliorum where the inscription was placed. In another inscription from a monument on the Via Salaria, nine year old L. Octavius Hermes was commemorated as the patron of the libertus L. Octavius Primigenius. It was not uncommon for slaves and freedmen to honour their patrons, although this was often done in conjunction with the parent(s) of the child. In this case only the libertus of the child was responsible for the erection of the memorial. Perhaps Primigenius had been given his freedom on the death of the child's father and was made responsible for the

1. Weaver (1972) p100 found that 42/173 (24%) people commemorated with an age at death were manumitted before the age of thirty.
3. Weaver (1972) p101 n2 points out that the status indication given to Aurelius Felix may have been inserted in error.
6. CIL 6.6324.
7. For T. Statilius Sisenna and his son who appears to have died in adolescence see PIR S 615.
8. Monument Z, Monumentum eruderatum annis 1733-1735 in vinea Naria ad viam Salaria.
10. CIL 6.5759.
provision of the child's burial should he die. In another inscription the slave Xystus erected an epitaph for his *dominus* C Iulius Sceptus and a one year old child who was probably the son of Sceptus. Young children were sometimes patrons of guilds and other organisations if they were from wealthy families, as was seen at Ostia. However, in these instances it appears that the loyal family *libertus* and *servus* fulfilled burial responsibilities even to children when their parents had already died.

The commemoration of children in Rome was therefore important to many members of the city, in this case, most notably amongst those individuals who chose to bury their children in the setting of the *columbaria*. Commemoration of children was a feature of urban life, and the impact of the physical features of Rome itself will be discussed below.

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1. See above p95 & p98, eg CIL 14.341. M. Cornelius Valerius Epagathinianus was patron of the *lenuncularii tabularii auxiliarii*.
2. See below, Chapter 9.
Ostia

Geographical and Physical Setting

Ostia was situated on the west coast of Italy at the mouth of the Tiber 25 km south west of Rome (Appendix 2 Maps 1, 2 & 3).1 Ostia was originally a military castrum, just over two hectares in extent, which was located in the central part of the later town.2 Ostia began to be expanded during the second century BC,3 and the colony increased in importance when Rome began to need imports from overseas as the port at Ostia served as Rome's harbour.4 By the early first century BC the small settlement had become a substantial town5 of some 63 hectares.6 Little attention was paid to Ostia in the Late Republic, but under the Augustan expansion of trade it became clear that the river harbour was too restricted for the shipping needed to maintain Rome. In particular larger ships could not negotiate the sandbar at the river mouth.7 In AD 42 Claudius began to construct a new artificial harbour 4 km to the north west,8 and two canals were dug linking the new harbour with Ostia and Rome.9 Trajan improved on the new harbour which provided little shelter for ships except near the moles.10 This new commercial centre soon became the focus of warehouses and domestic buildings and was eventually known as Portus. Portus gradually increased in importance,11 eclipsing the old city's commercial role by the fourth century.12 Although the new

2. Talbert (1985) p112; The earliest settlement at Ostia has been dated to 350 BC, Classical Sites p658; cf Meiggs (1973) pp16-20 for evidence of an earlier settlement not on the site of the later city, and pp20-27 for the fourth century colony he dates to somewhere between 400-340 BC.
6. At this time walls were also built under Sulla, Talbert (1985) p112; Meiggs (1973) pp34-41.
harbours were directly linked with Rome, they brought increased prosperity to Ostia for a hundred years. The area was under the jurisdiction of Ostian officials, though Imperial representatives were responsible for the harbours themselves.¹

During the first half of the second century Ostia was transformed. The population effectively doubled and her housing and public buildings were upgraded.² The population in the second century is thought to have been between 50,000 to 60,000 with several thousand people living in the Portus region by the Severan period.³ The level of prosperity attained by the mid second century⁴ is indicated by its wealth of public monuments. Ostia possessed a very long forum with temples at either end. The Piazzale delle Corporazioni housed sixty-one offices which boasted mosaic floors with representations of local and overseas traders. Huge warehouses for the storage of grain, wine and oil and other goods were constructed. Eighteen sets of baths were found to serve the population (Pompeii, for example, had only three).⁵ Hadrian was the Emperor who directed most energy into Ostia,⁶ and his building program included the construction of a large warehouse to the north of the Forum, the remodelling of the Cardo between the forum and the river, and the creation of a new Capitolium. Other projects included the building of the barracks of the vigiles, and a large set of public baths.⁷ An aqueduct was also constructed during the early Empire which brought water to public fountains and allowed the expansion of bath complexes.⁸ Housing was also increased to cater for the expanding population,⁹ and in this period began to move away from the Pompeian style of houses based on

¹. Meiggs (1973) pp78-85. The importance of Portus was finally confirmed in an edict of 314 AD when Ostia was stripped of municipal rights and began slowly to be abandoned, Talbert (1985) p114.
². Classical Sites p658.
⁴. Meiggs (1973) p78.
⁶. For expansion under other Emperors, especially the Flavians, Trajan and Hadrian, Meiggs (1973) pp64-78.
⁸. Classical Sites p659.
⁹. Dwellings were apparently built using materials based on the new regulations for building imposed after the extensive fires at Rome in the reign of Nero Classical Sites pp685-9; Meiggs (1973) pp62-64.
the design of a series of rooms set around an *atrium* and sometimes including a peristyle.\(^1\) The alternative for such a large population became the *insulae*, apartment block style of housing which may have been as high as five stories.\(^2\) Some were purely residential, others combined shops on the ground floor. There were still gradations of accommodation, with the dwellings of the poor smaller and less well planned. At Ostia, the population was concentrated in enormous, centrally located structures like the buildings flanking the end of the *Cardo Maximus*, or like those around the central court of the Baths of Neptune. Again, the population of Ostia, like those of Rome, inhabited small one and two roomed apartments, but must have spent most of their time outside in the public buildings and spaces which characterised the city.\(^3\) Ostia's primary importance lay in relation to Rome. However, a considerable number of people were also employed in the maintenance of Ostia itself. There were over eight hundred shops in Ostia, though the two biggest industries were probably the shipbuilding and building industries.\(^4\) Many of the main trades of Ostia formed guilds with their own centres and officials. They were primarily social institutions and ranged in size and wealth.\(^5\)

Tombs and cemeteries at Ostia were built along more than seven miles of road.\(^6\) Along the Via Ostiensis they reached eastward past Acilia, while to the south they lined long stretches of the five roads that crossed the Pina Bella. At Portus, the two main cemeteries were situated on the roads that led to Rome and to Ostia.\(^7\) The first area that will be analysed is that of the Isola Sacra, located along the road that linked the Imperial harbours with Ostia. The burials found here have been dated by Thylander to the second century AD with the earliest Tomb belonging to the reign of Trajan.\(^8\) Other

\(^1\) *Classical Sites* p659; Meiggs (1973) p37.

\(^2\) *Classical Sites* p659.

\(^3\) Packer (1967) p87. See also the grid plan of Ostia in Talbert (1985) p113.

\(^4\) *Classical Sites* p660.

\(^5\) *Classical Sites* p660.

\(^6\) Appendix 2 Map 3; Meiggs (1973) p455.

\(^7\) Meiggs (1973) p455.

\(^8\) Thylander (1952) Section A, cf Meiggs (1973) p161 n3 which mentions that Degrassi, *Gnomon* 26 (1954), suggests an earlier date for *IPO* A60. Meiggs also suggests that several of the small scattered tombs were also
inscriptions analysed come from the Via Ostiensis outside the Porta Urbis Romae or Porta Romana. These inscriptions contain finds from the first four centuries AD, although it is only the pagan commemorations to children which will be dealt with in this study. The Isola Sacra cemetery was used primarily by small traders and craftsmen. No tombs of magistrates or councillors have been found in this area to date. The tombs outside the Porta Romana appear to depict a higher social level, and include the burials of some *equites* and magistrates. However, no members of the senatorial class or the more important local magistrates were buried in these cemeteries. Meiggs believes that it was more fashionable for this class of people to build tombs further out of town, or on their private estates.

The second collection of inscriptions analysed was from Volume 14 of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*. Finds from this section were from the Via Ostiensis outside the Porta Urbis Romae or Porta Romana. From the two thousand and thirty nine inscriptions contained in this volume, 44% of the individuals commemorated with an age at death were children. If the two hundred and forty inscriptions for Ostia were collated, 42% of the joint corpus of 14.

earlier than the reign of Trajan, but that the first large tombs do date from this time.

1. Thylander (1952) Section B; *CIL* 14.
2. Meiggs (1972) p455. The majority of inscriptions dealt with here were from the mid first to third centuries AD.
Six hundred and twenty five pagan inscriptions were found in the Thylander (IPO) corpus.1 This collection of inscriptions from the Portus area came from the burial grounds located to the left (Isola Sacra) and to the right of the canal of Trajan.2 Just over half of the epitaphs in the Thylander collection set up for children under the age of fourteen were dated.3 Again, no significant or distinguishing trends were found amongst these dateable inscriptions when compared to the others found in the IPO collection.

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1. Sections A and B. One hundred and fifty inscriptions (24%) included the age at death of one or more individuals.
3. 51 children. Of this number eight were commemorated upon fragmentary inscriptions and will not be used in the following analysis Appendix 3 Table 6, IPO A33; A33; A130; A286; B62; B115; B194; B209.
4. As mentioned above p8, 53% (27/51 memorials). Four of these inscriptions were from the period covered by the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian (IPO A35; A65; A81; A239), and ten were from the time of Hadrian alone (IPO A15; A130; A145; A150; A184; A187; A200; A214; A221; A223; A234). A further six were either erected during the rules of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius (IPO A76; A102; A129; A198; A218; A237; A263), but only one under Antoninus Pius himself (IPO A10). Two inscriptions could be narrowed no further than the second century (IPO A137; A166). Another was believed to have been erected towards the end of the second century AD (IPO A230), while the fifty year period between 150-200 AD was given as a possible date for the last of the dated Isola Sacra inscriptions (IPO A230). (If only the useable inscriptions were taken into account, 65% (28/43) of the inscriptions were dated.
5. 503 people were commemorated with an age at death, 220 were children. Appendix 3 Table 1.
inscriptions were to children commemorated with an age at death under fourteen years.¹

The ratio of male to female children on the surviving epitaphs for children under fourteen in the IPO collection was fairly even. Of the forty three children, twenty one were male and twenty two female (sex ratio 95).² This is the only area studied where there was no general preferential treatment found of males over females.³ By contrast, of two hundred and twenty children commemorated with an age at death under fourteen years of age in the CIL 14 corpus, one hundred and thirty eight were males, and sixty seven were females (sex ratio 206).⁴ Here a definite male preference was discovered. If the two sets of inscriptions were to be joined together, the resulting sex ratio would appear as 179.⁵ As suggested above, the disparity in figures may be explicable because of the tenuous survival rate of this type of evidence.⁶ When the dateable inscriptions alone from the Isola Sacra were analysed, the sex ratio was found to be 108 for inscriptions mostly clustered around the years AD 98-161.⁷ Unfortunately the sample group is too small for any firm deductions to be offered, though it could be suggested that at the height of prosperity in the second century AD when the Portus area was becoming firmly established, there appears to be little discrimination against the commemoration of young girls.

84%⁸ of the children in the IPO collection were given an age at death under ten years. The heaviest concentration of inscriptions was found for children commemorated between the ages of one and five years (51%).⁹ By contrast, only 16% of the inscriptions discovered honoured children who died between the ages of ten

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¹ See above pp24-25.
² Appendix 3 Table 6 & Appendix 3 Table 1.
³ Interestingly, a private alimentary scheme set up at Ostia aided girls only, CIL 14.4450. It must be noted, however, that this inscription was not part of the IPO corpus.
⁴ Appendix 3 Table 1. Fifteen inscriptions were fragmentary, Appendix 3 Table 7, making the useable total two hundred and five inscriptions.
⁵ 159 males and 89 females.
⁶ See above p28.
⁷ 13 males and 12 females (IPO A130 is fragmentary and has not been included).
⁸ 36 children, 18 males and 18 females.
⁹ 19 children, 8 males and 11 females.
and fourteen. 1 9% of children were below the age of one. 2 The age of death most frequently represented was that of the two to three year olds who collectively made up 14% of the inscriptive body. 3

51% male children from the Ostia CIL 14 corpus were commemorated between the ages of birth and five years. 4 6% of the male children commemorated in the CIL collection were aged under one year at death. 5 This is the largest group of such young children found of all the areas surveyed. There was only one female child found under one year of age, accounting for only 1% of the inscriptions erected to female children. 42% of female children were commemorated between birth and five years, 6 though 75% were commemorated under nine years of age. 7 The greatest bulk of female children were commemorated between the ages of three and nine years (58%). 8 These inscriptions show that there was a greater tendency to commemorate boys rather than girls, especially very young girls.

9% of the IPO collection of inscriptions were to children under the age of one year, and 4% of the CIL collection were to children of this same age. 9 From the available evidence, it appears that children who died before their first year were commemorated more often in and around Rome and Ostia. Of the twenty five infantes under one year from the entire sample, twenty two were from this area whereas only one child was from Regio VII and two from Regio VIII. 10 Thirteen of these children (52%) were commemorated in Ostia. Only two of these children were commemorated by more than one dedicator, 11 and these same children were the only individuals

1. 8 children, 4 males and 4 females.
2. 4 children, 3 males and 1 female.
3. 6 children, 2 males and 4 females.
4. 69/136 children Appendix 3 Table 7. 80% were under nine years of age (109 males).
5. 8 males Appendix 3 Table 7.
6. 28 children.
7. 50 children.
8. 39 girls Appendix 3 Table 7.
9. IPO 3 males and 1 female, CIL 8 males and 1 female.
10. I have included the child from the Vatican Cemetery whose age at death of six months and ten days was inscribed on a sarcophagus of Greek marble. However, no name or indication of sex survives (Vatican Cemetery p89).
11. IPO B54; CIL 14.1204.
also commemorated with status indication. One child was a slave and the other freeborn. Two children may possibly have been slaves, as were probably their dedicators, while the remaining children were all of undifferentiated free status. In only three cases was the dedicator not included upon the inscription, and in only one inscription was the relationship between child and dedicator not stated. 54% of the inscriptions were set up by either the mother or father of the child, and only one child was commemorated by a member of his extended family, in this case an uncle. Thus association with a very young child through commemoration in death for some members of the Ostian community was felt to be important. Such young children, especially young male children, had a much better chance of being commemorated if one of their biological parents was able to set up a permanent memorial.

The majority of children from the Ostia IPO inscriptions were of undifferentiated free status. Only 18.5% of children were commemorated with clear status indication. This figure comprised freeborn children, verna, liberti, and servi. Thus most children were not commemorated with definite status indication in the Isola Sacra and Portus area when commemorated with a permanent burial marker. Only two dedicators from the Isola sacra who erected memorials to children also included their occupation or position within their communities. The first was Firmus, an

1. IPO B54 A ten month old child was commemorated by her owner and mamma.
2. CIL 14.1204; D Iunius Attianus Agrippinus who died at the age of four months and fifteen days was commemorated by his parents as being freeborn for at least three generations.
3. IPO A218, eight month old Satyrus was commemorated by his father Iason; CIL 14.1490, seven month old Synegdemus was commemorated by a female Sancta.
4. CIL 14.520; 810; 1197.
5. CIL 14.1490.
6. IPO A218; B15; CIL 14.656; 944; 1039; 1204; 1490.
7. IPO A223.
8. Appendix 3 Table 4. 74.5% (32/43 children, 16 male children and 15 female children including 3 ingenuae? and 1 alumna.).
9. 1 male child, IPO A184; and 1 female child, IPO A150.
10. Appendix 3 Table 4: 2 males and 1 female; IPO A102; A214; A221.
11. Both male, IPO B78; B101 (originally a verna).
12. One ten month old girl was commemorated as a slave IPO B54. A further three children were probably servi but were commemorated without status indication, IPO A218; A279 (alumnus); B140.
Imperial servus who commemorated the death of his two year old verna Iusnus,¹ and the second was Maternus, an Imperial freedman who set up an inscription with a woman named Aelia Herois for their alumna.²

68% of the children from the Ostian CIL collection were of undifferentiated free status.³ 10% of the children were freeborn,⁴ while 7% of the children were servi.⁵ A further 9% were also likely to have been slaves at the time of death.⁶ Only 5% of children were recorded as having gained their freedom before their deaths,⁷ and one other child may have also been of this status.⁸ Thus 22% of the total corpus of children who were commemorated with an age at death had clear status markings, a slightly higher figure than that obtained above for the IPO collection (18.5%).⁹

7.5% of children from the combined Ostian corpus were commemorated as alumni.¹⁰ Only two of these children were from the IPO collection.¹¹ Four year old C Vipsanius Saturninus was accorded a permanent burial monument on his death by his foster mother Vipsania Primilla. The other inscription was from the Isola Sacra itself and commemorated an eight year old alumna. The memorial was set up by her foster parents Aelia Herois and Maternus, an Imperial freedman and tabularius.¹² 89% of the alumni discovered in Ostia were from the CIL collection.¹³ All the

¹. IPO A102.
². IPO A279.
³. Appendix 3 Table 4. 140 children, 94 males (including 4 ingenui? and 12 alumni) and 46 females (including 1 ingenua? and 5 alumnae).
⁴. Appendix 3 Table 4. 13 males and 7 females.
⁵. Appendix 3 Table 4. 15/205. 4 male slaves, 7 male vernae, 1 male slave and 3 female vernae (including 1 Imperial verna).
⁶. 19 children, 14 males and 5 females.
⁷. 10/205 children, 6 males (including 4 vernae) and 4 females (including 2 vernae).
⁸. One female child.
⁹. 45/205 children.
¹⁰. 19/248 children.
¹¹. IPO B169.
¹². IPO A279.
¹³. 17/19 children, 8% of the total CIL collection for children under fourteen years CIL 14.327; 747; 806; 816; 830; 930; 932; 1101; 1152; 1154; 1203; 1255; 1276; 1428; 1429; 1549; 1781. One other child from Ostia was commemorated as an alumnum, CIL 14.1481. However, the inscription is fragmentary and the child not included in the useable inscriptions total.
*alumni* and their dedicators in the *CIL* collection were of undifferentiated free status. The majority of dedicators and children also shared similar *nomen*, and may have been members of the same *familia*, especially where there were two dedicators also of the same *nomen*. Only three children were commemorated by dedicator(s) of different *nomina*. Eight year old C. Modestius Thesius was commemorated by P. Claudius Abascantus, *libertus* of the three Gauls. Cicinia Marcella, who lived for twelve years and eight months was honoured on her death by her foster mother Sabidia Eutychia, and Convarisia Victorina set up a memorial for her six year old *alumnus* L. Ostiensis Hilarus Samannarion. One child, twelve year old A. Egrilius Epitynchanus was commemorated both by his foster father A. Egrilius Helus and his biological parents A. Egrilius Philadespotus and Egrilia Phelete. All dedicators appear to be from the same *familia*, but for some reason the biological parents seem not to have been able to care for their son themselves. The reasons why this may have arisen have been discussed below concerning a similar inscription erected for an *alumnus* in *Regio* VIII. The higher number of *alumni* found amongst the *CIL* inscriptions may indicate that individuals with more wealth tended to utilize these prominent burial areas outside the Ostian gate. Perhaps the people who lived in Ostia itself felt the social pressures more than those living in the less crowded Portus area. In many cases *alumni* appear to belong to the same *familiae* as their fosterers. Thus it appears that some communities did make provision for the care and maintenance of children if the biological parents were unable to fulfil the role themselves.

The only inscription set up for a *filiaster* by his stepmother was found amongst the Isola Sacra (*IPO*) Inscriptions at Ostia. Dated tentatively to the reign of Antoninus Pius, the memorial honoured ten year old M Octabius Aerius. The memorial makes no reference

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1. *CIL* 14.930; 932; 1152; 1203; 1428.
6. See below p189.
7. Appendix 2 Map 3.
8. See above for where housing was located in Ostia and population figures cf Portus.
at all to the biological parents of Octabius, and it is possible that both died before their son. Similarly, the only inscription set up by an uncle or aunt also came from the Isola Sacra. Thought to have been erected sometime during the reign of Hadrian by L. Sempronius Quintianus for the filius dulcissimus of his fr(ater), the inscription honoured the death of eight month old L. Sempronius Fortunatus. The fact that the child was the son of Quintianus' brother is acknowledged on the tombstone but no other information about the biological parents of the child was supplied.

By the reign of Hadrian, inhumation burials began to appear in tombs in Ostia and slowly became the preferred style of burial over cremation. While no specific reason can be pinpointed for this change, by the third century no provision seems to have been made within tombs for cremation at all. The change in custom affected the design of tombs, and recesses were added to walls at floor level for these burials. The latest Isola Sacra tombs on the West side of the road were designed exclusively for burials, and niches occupied the whole of the wall rather than only those at floor level. It was necessary to use all of the floor, and often the floor was divided by brick walls into a series of graves. When they were filled, another row was built on top. One inscription from the Isola Sacra set up for a three year old boy by his parents explains this practice:

A. Plautius Primitibus and Iunia Hieronis, having bought the ground from the two Tiberii Iulii, Zoticus and Aetetus, heirs of Julius Prosodocimus, have made two burial places, one above the other, for themselves and for Plautius Mascellio their sweetest son, who lived 3 years 4 months and 20 days.

A large range of inscription types and sizes was found at Ostia amongst particularly the CIL collection, ranging from the very simple Type II inscription which recorded only the name and age at

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2. For example, the influence of Christianity has been discounted because this change is too early, elaborate decoration found on the sarcophagi of the rich was still achieved in cremation monuments, and no association with the preservation of the body for the afterlife seems to have been made, Meiggs (1972) pp464-5.
5. IPO A198. See above p43.
6. See above, Chapter 3.
death of the children upon their epitaphs,\textsuperscript{1} to the large descriptive memorials set up for the minority of children. The epitaphs erected for freeborn children, for example, did vary considerably. No children of senatorial lineage were discovered, and only one child was commemorated as an equestrian.\textsuperscript{2} This large and lengthy inscription\textsuperscript{3} was erected by the child's father who was also freeborn and a \textit{decurio} of Ostia. The nine lines of text describe the position of distinction the child had apparently attained by the age of twelve. By contrast, the epitaph for four year old freeborn L. Aurelius Fortunatianus who had been an office bearer in the cult of Vulcan\textsuperscript{4} was more modest, and although he was described as a \textit{filius dulcissimus}, his dedicators were not included upon the inscription. Another inscription, again of relatively modest size, recorded not only that the child was an \textit{ingenuus}, but also the child's relationship to his great grandfather, indicating that the family was freeborn for at least three generations.\textsuperscript{5} Other unpretentious, but less informative inscriptions for freeborn children gave the name of the child, filiation and/or tribe, and perhaps the name(s) of the dedicators.\textsuperscript{6} Inscriptions of \textit{ingenui} children from the Isola Sacra were of this very simple form. For example, twelve year old Iulia Dionysia, daughter of Tiberius, appeared alone on her inscription\textsuperscript{7} while freeborn Iulia Procla honoured her six year old son T. Munatius Proclus with an epitaph which included both his filiation and tribe.\textsuperscript{8} Lacking from this site in Ostia were epitaphs of freeborn children which strove to include other marks of designation such as family lineage or position within the community.

Other elaborate inscriptions found amongst the \textit{CIL} Ostian collection included an epitaph erected for a thirteen year old \textit{calculator} named Melior.\textsuperscript{9} Melior was the \textit{verna} of his \textit{praeeceptor} S. Aufistius Agreus, and his memorial offers high praise for especially extraordinary memory and the ability to learn of the child who

\textsuperscript{1} For example, \textit{CIL} 14.520; 764; 1244; 1605; 1776.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{CIL} 14.341.
\textsuperscript{3} See above p126.
\textsuperscript{4} \textit{CIL} 14.306. see above p95 \& 97.
\textsuperscript{5} \textit{CIL} 14.1204.
\textsuperscript{6} For example, \textit{CIL} 14.913; 1159; 1776.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{IPO} A150.
\textsuperscript{8} \textit{IPO} A184.
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{CIL} 14.472.
died before his full potential was reached. Another epitaph was set up by Antius Successus for his wife and eight year old daughter who died one year and forty days apart.\(^1\) The epitaph describes the delightful qualities of the child who died when her life was far from completed. The child shared the *nomen* of her father, but neither the child nor her mother and father were mentioned in conjunction with status indicators.

The Ostian evidence, like that of the *columbaria* in Rome, was characterised by burials of children and adults with the same *nomen*. The majority of these inscriptions did not include status indicators, and it is possible that they were members of large *familiae*. For example, from a group of thirty nine inscriptions with the *nomen* Egrilius,\(^2\) at least ten inscriptions commemorated children under the age of fourteen.\(^3\) Similarly, three children with the *nomen* Flavius\(^4\) were found amongst a group of inscriptions where Flavius was the dominant *nomen*.\(^5\) Fourteen children shared the *nomen* Iulius,\(^6\) and four children the *nomen* Livius.\(^7\) Several other groups of children also shared this characteristic. This suggests that a large proportion of relatively wealthy freedmen and freeborn Romans who were associated with particular *familiae* used permanent memorials to honour their dead.

The epitaphs from Ostia not only recorded the highest percentage of inscriptions which included an age at death,\(^8\) but also produced the highest finds of children for any area studied.\(^9\) The greatest number of *alumni* were also found here, and children from all status groups were commemorated in death with permanent memorials. As has been established, the commemoration of children

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3. *CIL* 14.928; 930; 932; 942; 943; 944; 945; 950; 953; 962.
4. *CIL* 14.1037; 1039; 1053.
6. *CIL* 14.1133; 1140; 1142; 1144; 1152; 1154; 1155; 1159; 1161; 1165; 1181; 1190; 1197; 1203 from *CIL* 14.1132-1203.
9. See above pp24-25 and Appendix 3 Table 1. Ostia 42% (*IPO* 34%; *CIL* 42%); Rome 33.5% (*Vatican Cemetery* 42%; *Columbaria* 33%); *Regio* I East 35%; *Regio* II 25.5%; *Regio* VII 16.5%; *Regio* VIII 21.5%).
was a phenomenon associated particularly with urban centres, although what is surprising is that Ostia recorded higher levels of commemorations of children and foster children than did Rome itself. The wealth enjoyed by a large section of Ostian society may have been partly responsible. As has been pointed out in other studies,⁠¹ Ostia had a large 'middle class' engaged in mercantile pursuits, and was the recipient of, particularly during the second century, Imperial largesse. There were not the extremes of wealth and poverty experienced in Rome, and therefore a larger range of people was able to become participants in the society in which they lived⁠² through the commemoration of children. There was a large number of *collegia* in Ostia,⁠³ and these groups tended to promote a sense of community in which the ordinary Ostian could participate.⁠⁴ It has been estimated that 20,000 people in Ostia may have been involved in guilds⁠⁵ which ranged in size from around twenty four members to three hundred and fifty members.⁶ Thus commemoration of children in Ostia, as in Rome, may have provided many people with another channel of community participation and self pride which made such acts important.

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3. Epigraphic evidence has been found for sixty guilds, Hermansen (1982) p55f; Meiggs (1973) p312.
REGIO I EAST OF OSTIA

**Geographical Setting**

A further seventeen sites in *Regio I* which lay between Rome to the North, Ostia to the West, Praeneste to the East and Lavinium to the south were analysed. Of the eight hundred and sixteen pagan inscriptions, one hundred and thirty four contained an age at death. 35% of these inscriptions were to children under the age of fourteen years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regio I Site</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Laurentes Vico Augustanum</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcigliano</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavinium</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanuvium</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aricia</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemus Dianae</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mons Albanus</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ager Albanus</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bovillae</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Bovillas &amp; Castrimoenium</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castrimoenium</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ager Tusculanus</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter Tusculum &amp; M. Albanum</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tusculum</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labici</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabii</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ager Praenestinus</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table F: *Regio I* East of Ostia. Distribution of Inscriptions by Town

1. Appendix 2 Map 4 & Table F.
2. Table F.
Five of the seventeen sites, including Lavinium, Nemus Dianae, Mons Albanus, Inter Bovillas & Castrimoenium and Gabii contained no surviving dedications to children. Lavinium was located 28 km south of Rome, and was linked to Rome by the Via Laurentina. It was situated on lightly rolling hills four km from the sea.\(^1\) It is thought that Lavinium, with a long history of contact with the Greek world, helped transmit Greek influences to Rome.\(^2\) No inscriptions commemorating the deceased with an age at death were found in this area. The other two sites of Laurentes Vico Augustano and Porciglione north east of Lavinium produced only one inscription apiece to children.\(^3\) Little is known about these two settlements which were set approximately eight and five km away from the Via Laurentia.\(^4\) Pliny the Younger did have a villa near Vico Augustano, and mentions that there were three baths for hire there, although he obtained most of his supplies from Ostia.\(^5\) From his initial description of the journey from Rome to his estate, Pliny seems to describe an area of woods and open fields,\(^6\) a district not perhaps as inhabited as the area further east between the Via Appia and Via Latina. Further inland but on the west side of the Via Appia were Bovillae and Lanuvium which also only registered a find of one child each.\(^7\) Lanuvium was situated on a southern extremity of the Alban Hills approximately 30 km south east of Rome. Little is known about the site of Bovillae.\(^8\)

No children were found at Gabii, and only one at Praeneste, the two settlements surveyed to the east of Rome. Gabii was situated on

\(^1\) Inside the settlement were discovered remains from archaic, Republican and Imperial settlements. Tradition held that the town had been founded by Aeneas and named for his wife Lavinia Classical Sites p493.

\(^2\) Classical Sites p491.

\(^3\) Table F.

\(^4\) Laurentes Vico Augustano is currently being excavated, Dyson (1992) p126.


\(^6\) Pliny Epistulae 2.17.1-3.

\(^7\) Table F.

\(^8\) Lanuvium was an independent member of the Latin League and a participant in the foedus Cassium of 493 BC, Classical Sites p481. After 340 BC Lanuvium received Roman citizenship and Rome received a share in the city's cult of Juno Sospita, Livy 8.14. It flourished as a municipium during the Empire until sacked by barbarians, and was revived in 11th century as Civita Lavinia through confusion with ancient Lavinium. The modern city is built over the ancient one except for the arx (the hill of S. Lorenzo) Classical Sites p481.
the eastern shores of Lago di Castiglione, a small, shallow crater lake, which was probably drained in antiquity as it is today. Gabii lay on the Via Praenestina at the twelfth mile, about half way from Rome to Praeneste.\(^1\) From its flourishing state in the early period, Gabii declined in the course of time, and Cicero and the Augustan poets use it as an example of a city whose glory was only a memory. However, it still survived as a municiopium as late as Elagabalus.\(^2\) Praeneste was located the Via Praenestina, the inland highway from Etruria to Poseidonia approximately 36 km east of Rome. It was set on top of a steep slope of Monte Ginestro, an outcrop of the Apennines commanding the entrance to the Hernican valley.\(^3\) The site had evidence of burials from the 4th century BC down to Hadrianic ruins.\(^4\)

The majority of children were found in the area around Mons Albanus bordered by the Via Latina and the Via Appia.\(^5\) This area contained the settlement of Aricia, Albanus, Castrimoenum and Nemus Dianae. Tusculum and Labicii were both to the east of the Via Latina but were still in this same vicinity. They also produced finds of children, although Labicii, situated further inland, only produced one inscription to a child featuring an age at death. Likewise, Nemus Dianae was located to the south, on the fringe of this main settlement area and no commemorations to children were discovered here. Little information is available today about either Labicii or Nemus Dianae.

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1. Gabii was an ancient Latin city founded, according to tradition, by Alba Longa, Varro *De Lingua Latina* 5.33. Is said to have had close ties with Rome from the time of the Tarquins.
2. Around the site of Gabii were extensive quarries of lapis gabinus, the handsome grey tufa of the Tabularium and Forum of Augustus in Rome, prized in antiquity for its resistance to fire, *Classical Sites* p340.
3. It was one of the original members of the Latin league. Praeneste formed an alliance with Rome around 499 BC. However, after the invasion of the Gauls it revolted from Rome and was at war with Rome down to the final dissolution of the Latin league in 338 BC. Thereafter it kept its independence and rights of asylum and coinage and was governed by four magistrates, two praetors and two aediles responsible to its senate. It furnished Rome with a military contingent, when needed, the cohors Praenestina, commanded by one of the praetors, *Classical Sites* p735; Livy 23.19.17-18.
5. Appendix 2 Map 4.
Aricia was originally founded as an ancient Latin town on the Via Appia at the 16th milestone. It lay on a spur at the juncture of the outer slopes of the craters of Lago d'Albano and Lago di Nemi facing South west over Valle Aricia, the remains of a lesser crater. The highest magistrate of Aricia was called the dictator even in the time of the Empire and it also had two quaestors, two aediles and an ordo decurionum called senatus. According to Cicero, Aricia was the birthplace of P Clodius and Atia, the mother of Augustus, as well as many Roman magistrates. The remains of the old town itself spread either side of the Via Appia. Three periods of construction in the remains of fortifications have been distinguished, and the Via Appia seems to have been the main street. Its remains include an Imperial theatre and perhaps baths.

The largest group of children found in Regio I East of Ostia were from the region around Ager Albanus, approximately 24 km South East of Rome. Remains of villas dateable to the late Republic and Imperial periods, including the villa of Domitian, were discovered here. Three children were located at Castromoenum, a municipium on the northern slope of the crater that encloses Lago d'Albano. It flourished from the time of Augustus to that of Marcus Aurelius but is mentioned only by Pliny the Elder and the Liber coloniarum (223). Finds in the vicinity range from a prehistoric necropolis to a number of fine Roman villas. Below the site were great quarries of peperino (lapis albanus) both ancient and modern.

Tusculum was built on the acropolis of the Tusculan hill which rose to a height of 670m, and was located approximately 23km from a very early period it was one of the most important and most powerful Latin towns, and led the war against Rome. Classical Sites p92; Livy 1.50-51. It was finally subdued in the Latin war of 338 BC, thereafter enjoying civitas sine suffragio, Livy 8.13. It was later given full citizenship and inscribed in the tribus Horatia, Classical Sites p92.

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5. Classical Sites p33; Pliny Panegyricus 81-82.
7. Classical Sites p207.
south east of Rome. By the end of the Republic Tusculum had become the country seat of many of the leading Roman families, and the villas of Cicero, Asinius Pollio, Passienus Crispus, Matidia Augusta and Tiberius were around this area. Remains of Imperial period were discovered along the southern slope of the hill, on the far western boundary, and outside the circuit of the walls. Also found was a theatre built in the Greek fashion dated to the first century BC and the so-called villa of Tiberius of a slightly later date. Fourteen children (including one from Labicii) were found with inscriptions which included an age at death under fourteen years.

Many of the sites in Regio I, including Lanuvium, received citizenship during the third century BC and municipal status during the Empire, while other sites such as Gabii, once the Ancient Latin city of Alba Longa, had declined by the late Republic. Praeneste, on the other hand, was involved in the upheaval caused by the Social War. A Sullan colony was settled there resulting in the emergence of a new ruling group composed of Sullan veterans and members of the older families that had not held office under the previous oligarchy. Some settlements may also have suffered during the turmoil of the second triumvirate. However, the new stability of the Augustan era and the longstanding links of many of the communities in this area with Rome may have allowed influences from the capital to be accepted more readily, especially in the area around Ager Albanus and Tusculum where most of the inscriptions were found. Interestingly, some towns close to Rome may have kept some of their independent heritage while importing selective trends from Rome. Aricia, for example received full citizenship yet was allowed to have its own political structure, and it was here that

2. Classical Sites p942. During Roman times Tusculum was divided into two parts; the acropolis where, according to literary sources, stood the temple of the Dioscuri and of Juppiter Maius although no trace of these temples is to be found today, and the city proper, which expanded along the ridge of the hill. The main street lead through the forum area where it branched off on either side and then continued to the acropolis.
4. Table F.
5. See above p142.
a child was commemorated as a decurion at the age of twelve.\textsuperscript{1} Perhaps in this community such honours were often accorded to children. Lavinium, on the other hand, seems to have had much contact with the Greek world and transmitted some of these influences to Rome. No inscriptions to children were found here, perhaps reflecting the Greek trend of not commemorating children as often as the Romans.\textsuperscript{2} However, to come to any conclusive point on the influence of historical backgrounds requires much further investigation.

The geographical trend in this area of \textit{Regio} \textit{I} places most of the finds for children in the area between Lanuvium and Bovillae to the west of the Via Appia, and the area around Tusculum and Mons Albanus to the East.\textsuperscript{3} This territory was close to Rome and fed by two main arteries, the Via Appia and the Via Latina, and was an area where many leading Romans chose to live on the outskirts of Rome. This was also a richly fertile district, and a few prime marble quarries were also operated in the area. The influence of notable families with connections in Rome may have had great influence, more so than in other \textit{Regiones} where the villas of the rich and famous were more scattered and isolated. This area was second only to Ostia (42%) in the percentage of children commemorated with an age at death (35%), and only slightly higher than the \textit{Columbaria} at Rome (33%).\textsuperscript{4} Proximity to Rome and a heritage rich in the influence of the upper classes and their \textit{familiae} may have had some effect on the commemorative trends found here.

1. See above p99.
3. Appendix 2 Map 4.
4. See above p25 and Appendix 3 Table 1. Ostia 42\% (\textit{IPO} 34\%; \textit{CIL} 42\%); Rome 33.5\% (Vatican Cemetery 42\%; \textit{Columbaria} 33\%); \textit{Regio} \textit{I East} 35\%; \textit{Regio} \textit{II} 25.5\%; \textit{Regio} \textit{VII} 16.5\%; \textit{Regio} \textit{VIII} 21.5\%).
The number of inscriptions found in Regio I East of Ostia was much lower than either Rome, Ostia or Regio II, but was comparable to Regiones VII and VIII. However, as mentioned above, a third of the inscriptions set up in this area were to children, and the sex ratio recorded was lower than either Rome or Ostia (147). Male children were fairly well represented from under one year to fourteen years. Females, on the other hand, were heavily represented from under one to seven years, especially in the one to two year bracket. Three children were under one year of age when they died. Although the results obtained from this area were based on a much smaller amount of evidence, the phenomenon of the commemoration of young children recorded in Rome and Ostia was also seen in the area to the south and east just outside Rome itself.

The majority of children (72%) in this section of Regio I were of undifferentiated free status. One quarter of the children were probably of servile status. Only one child from Regio I East of Ostia was commemorated as a child of free birth. L. Sextius Proculus, son of Lucius, who died at the age of seven years, was commemorated by his father L. Sextius Satyr(us) lictor curiatius, who also dedicated the memorial to his uxoria Sextilia Agele and his other son L. Sextius Saturninus. Saturninus was commemorated without filiation. Lictores and other apparitores had to be of free status, but

1. See above p24. Ostia 24.5% (IPO 24%; CIL 25%); Rome 22.5% (Vatican Cemetery 26%, Columbaria 23%; Regio I East 16%; Regio II 20%; Regiones VII and VIII 15 respectively.
2. Appendix 3 Tables 1 and 8.
3. Appendix 3 Table 8.
4. Appendix 3 Table 8.
5. 30/42 children, 17 male children, including one alumnus; 13 female children.
6. 26%. Males 1 verna; servi? 4/42 children (10%), including 2 alumni; Female servi? 4/42 children (10%) including 2 alumnae.
8. This was considered a position of distinction amongst apparitores. Purcell (1983) p149.
they did not have to be of free birth. Satyrus does not record his own name with filiation, and may have been a libertus as may his wife and son Saturninus. Only one other child was commemorated with definite status indication. Four year old Primus was recorded as the verna of Licinia Bassilla.

The second largest group of alumni under fourteen years were found in this area of Regio I East of Ostia. Protagenia, for example, was the alumna sua carissima of M. Aurelius Thelephanes who died at the age of two years. Five year old Asclepontus was the alumnus of Albanus and Soteris, while one year old Italia was the alumna of Felicio. Two alumni were commemorated at Tusculum; twelve year old Fanius Primitibus, commemorated by Fanius and Corintus, and eleven year old Romania, whose epitaph was erected by Romanius Crescentilianus. Studies done on alumni and alimenta schemes shows that Regio I was the recipient of the highest number of alimenta schemes throughout Italy, and also had the highest number of alumni of any age. On another memorial Cn. Pompeius Ianuarius and Pompeia recorded that they had set up an inscription for five year old C. Iulius Beronicianus qui dolorem reliquisti nutitoribus tuis. The child, however, was not recorded as an alumnus, nor did the dedicators specify if they were parents, friends, relatives, or patrons of the child.

Four inscriptions from Ager Albanus included dedicators or dedicatees who possessed military titles. One four year old child named Valerius was the alumnus of Claudia Firmina. Claudia records that she herself was the coniunx et heres of the soldier Aelius Marcellus, the main recipient of the epitaph. Aelius Firmus,
the son of Aelius Marcellus, was also responsible for the erection of the memorial. In another inscription, five year old Victorina was commemorated by her father, also a member of the army.\(^1\) This child was probably born while her father was still on active service, and hence would be his illegitimate daughter. Four year old Aurelia Primula was also commemorated by her father, the \textit{veteranus} Aurelius Frunitus.\(^2\) The child may have been born after her father had finished his term of service, or may have been born beforehand and subsequently freed. The last child in this group was three year old Septimius Licinianus, who, like Aurelia Primula, may either have been born after his father was discharged from the army, or before and later freed.\(^3\) Neither child was commemorated with filiation.

As discussed above,\(^4\) one child from Aricia was commemorated as decurion of Aricia at the age of twelve years. Although this position was most likely an honorary one in return for monetary services to the community, it is perhaps indicative of the types of influences seen in this area. On the whole, it was important to commemorate children with an age at death as recognition of place in the life of the dedicator and hence the community these children held. Again this may be because of the acclamation these dedicators could receive for themselves within the immediate community. Status distinction was not important, possibly because status and wealth were displayed so much by the Roman notables who owned villas in the area, and for the particular level of society using epitaphs as a form of expression, the act of setting up an epitaph for a child was much more meaningful than the declaration of status.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{CIL} 14.2274.
\item \textit{CIL} 14.2285.
\item \textit{CIL} 14.2289.
\item See above, pp145-6.
\end{enumerate}
Regio II
Geographical Setting

Regio II (Apulia) comprised originally the areas of Calabria, Apulia and Hirpini, and stretched from Cape Garganus to the heel of Italy. This district suffered from the lowest rainfall of the whole of Italy, and the ground was covered by a dry top layer of limestone. The poet Horace in his Epodes described the terrain of Apulia as parched (sicitulosa), while Strabo said of the area that the countryside appeared rough but once ploughed, despite its dryness, was good for pasturage and trees. The northern section had almost a surfeit of water due to the abundance of springs which the underbed of stiff clay cast up to the surface. Apulia was the principal area for breeding horses in Italy due to the rich rank grass found in some areas, and Apulian sheep flocks formed an essential element in the local economy. Apulia was a land of topographical contrasts. After the long stretch of the Apennine mountains, the contours of the landscape gradually became softer and more rounded, and this area boasted some of the most extensive plains of peninsular Italy. A short distance from the foothills to the north was a huge, flat treeless plain known as the 'Tavoliere', which has provided evidence of a highly organised Roman landscape containing many farms, field boundaries, and pits and trenches once used for olive trees and rows of vines.

1. Thomsen (1966) pp85-103. There has been much debate over what this regio actually encompassed. Pliny Historia Naturalis 3.11(99) thought that the area was a district created from the former towns of Hirpino, Calabria, Apulia, and Sallentino.
2. Cary (1949) p140; Appendix 2 Maps 2 & 5.
4. Horace Epodes 3.16.
5. Strabo 6.3.5.
8. Potter (1987) p24. Potter reports that the limestone crust was seamed by fissures which drained away the water with little benefit to the soil, thus the landscape better adaptable to grazing than arable cultivation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CALABRIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leuca</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Callipolis</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Porto Cesareo</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lupiae/Rudiae</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brundisium</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mesagne</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uria</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tarentum</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calabriae Incertae</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>255</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>28 (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APULIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genusia</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gnathia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ager inter Gnathium et Barium</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caelia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barium</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ora a Bario ad Aufidi ostia</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rubi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaee</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>85</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Aceruntia/Bantia</td>
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</tr>
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<td>230</td>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>24</td>
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<td>Herdoniae</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sipontum</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyria in monte Gargano?</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teanum / Apulum</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpi</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Volturara</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeciae</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vibinum</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>648</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>27 (26%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HIRPINI</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aquilonia</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compsa</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ager inter Compsam Abelium / Aeclanum</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeclanum</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trevicum</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aeolum Tuticum s. Magnum</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>7</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ligures Baebiani</td>
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<td>Pagus Veianus</td>
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<td>94</td>
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</tr>
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<td>18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saticula?</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caudium</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1160</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>49 (47%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the fifty one settlement areas in Regio II covered by CIL 9, approximately two thousand and sixty four pagan inscriptions were found. 1 25.5% of the inscriptions with an age at death were to children. 2 At nine sites in Regio II no commemorations were found which recorded ages at death for any individual. 3 These sites were scattered throughout Regio II. On the whole, the numbers of inscriptions found at these sites were small. While this could be due to a poor survival rate of evidence, such finding may also reflect variations in commemorative practices within this region. By contrast, in Regio I East of Ostia only one site did not produce inscriptions which included ages at death. 4 Collectively, Regio II produced the third highest number of inscriptions which included the age at death of the dedicatee, surpassed only by Rome and Ostia. However, it ranked fourth in the percentage of children commemorated, 5 producing higher numbers than only Regiones VII and VIII. 6

Communication routes throughout Regio II began with the Via Latina which came down from Rome and joined the Via Appia approximately 20 km to the west of Beneventum (Appendix 2 Map 5). Trajan built another road to Brundisium between 98-117AD which ran through Aequum Tuticum (the Via Traiana). This road replaced the Via Appia as the main highway to the east. 7 Beneventum in the Imperial period was a large town and a key centre of communication in southern Italy with roads leading north to Aesernia, south to Salernum, east to Brundisium and west via Capua to Rome. Beneventum lay between the rivers Calore and Sabato 65 km east north east of Naples. 8

1. Appendix 3 Table 1. Of this number, 407 inscriptions recorded the age at death of the deceased. 104 of these were to children under fourteen years of age.
2. Appendix 3 Table 9.
3. Table G. Leuca; Hydruntum; Gaudiano; Aceruntia/Bantia; Arpi; Vibinum; Aquilonia; Compasa.
4. See Table F.
5. See above p24. Ostia 24.5% (IPO 24%; CIL 25%); Rome 22.5% (Vatican Cemetery 26%, Columbaria 23%); Regio I East 16%; Regio II 20%; Regiones VII and VIII 15 respectively.
6. See above p25 and Appendix 3 Table 1. Ostia 42% (IPO 34%; CIL 42%); Rome 33.5% (Vatican Cemetery 42%; Columbaria 33%); Regio I East 35%; Regio II 25.5%; Regio VII 16.5%; Regio VIII 21.5%.
7. Classical Sites p149.
8. Beneventum was made a Latin colony around 268 BC. It became a municipium in 90 BC and a colonia in 42 BC. The principal surviving
inscriptions to children in Hirpini were focussed around Beneventum. Smaller groups of epitaphs were found at the surrounding sites of Aeclanum and Trecicum to the east, Pagus Veianus and Aequum Tuticum to the north and Caudium to the west. No children were found amongst the extant inscriptions from Ligures Baebiani, Vitoano, Saticula or Compsa. These sites appear to have been well removed from main thoroughfares. Thus the distribution of commemorations to children in this sector of Regio II seem to be centred around Beneventum and the main travel routes which crossed this area, the Via Appia, the Via Latina and the Via Traiana. The trend of commemorating children in the populated areas between the Via Appia and Via Latina seen in Regio I East of Ostia appears to be continued in the north westerly corner of Regio II.

Apulia comprised the central sector of Regio II, bounded by Larinum in the north east down to the stretch of land between Genucia and Gnathia to the south east. Commemorations to children appear in pockets spread over this large area made up of twenty eight sights. The largest finds of children were at Venusia on the monument from Beneventum is the Porta Aurea, the triumphal arch erected by Trajan dedicated in 114 AD after Trajan passed through it on his way to the Parthian War, Classical Sites p149.

1. Beneventum and Ager Beneventanus 37/48 children (77%).
2. Aeclanum was a road centre and market town on the Via Appia, 24km east of Beneventum near Mirabella Eclano, at the point where the Via Aeclanensis left the Via Appia to join the Via Traiana. The town was located on an irregular promontory overlooking the river Calore. The site had a long history of pre Roman settlement and the remains include a bath building thought to be Augustan with later modifications. It was made a municipium in the Late Republic and then a colonia, Classical Sites p11.
3. Aeclanum and Ager inter Compam Abellinum et Aeclanum 7/48 children (14.5%); Trecicum 1/48 children (1.5%).
4. Pagus Veianus 2/48 children (4%); Aequum Tuticum 1/48 children (1.5%).
5. 1/48 children (1.5%).
6. Ligures Baebiani (CIL 9.1455) was the recipient of an imperial alimenta scheme established in 101 AD. Although the number of beneficiaries is not stated, Duncan-Jones (1982) p289 & 341-2 believes that the scheme probably supported 110-120 children. However, no inscriptions to children were found from this site from a body of 42 inscriptions (Table H). While this may reflect a poor survival rate of evidence, the same trend is found with Veleia, also the recipient of an imperial alimenta scheme, which is discussed below, Chapter 10.
7. See Above p146.
Via Appia in central Apulia, Luceria joined by road to Aecae and Sipontum, Larinum at the very top of Regio II, and Barium and Gnathia on the east coast. These again were key sites on main communication routes, which brought traffic to central Italy from the East and other overseas destinations.

Smaller finds of inscriptions to children were located in the territory surrounding the sites of Lavello, Melfi and Rapolla lying either side of the Via Appia in an area approximately 60km². Canusium in mid Apulia on the Via Traiana and Cannae further

1. 5/27 children (18.5%). Venusia was originally Samnite but was colonised by the Romans in 291 BC. Excavations have found a bath complex of the Hadrianic period and an amphitheatre, *Classical Sites* p966.

2. The first historical mention of the town was in 326BC and was involved in the second Samnite war and the second Punic War where she aided the Romans, *Classical Sites* p531. It was considered one of the most important cities of Apulia in the late Republic and played a role in the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Augustus established a colony here sometime during his reign, and an amphitheatre has been restored on the site, *Classical Sites* p532.

3. 4/27 children (14.5%). Luceria, according to legend dated back to Diomedes, who carried the Palladion to the site, Strabo 6.1.14.

4. Little known about Larinum. It was situated above the valley of the Biferno river and the most notable remains are the amphitheatre, baths and some polychrome mosaics, one which represents the festival of the Lupercal, *Classical Sites* p484.

5. 3/27 children (11%).

6. Barium and Ora a Bario ad Aufisti ostia 3/27 children (11%) Barium was situated at the junction of the Via Traiana and the coast road and was recognised as one of the most important ports on the southern section of the east coast of Italy as early as 180 BC. It was a municipal, Strabo 6.3.8; Livy 40.18.

7. Gnathia was on the Via Traiana between Barium and Brundisium and has remains as early as the Bronze age. In the Roman period, especially during the Empire, it prospered because of its location on the principal transit route to the orient. Remains of the port and forum and other public buildings have been found, *Classical Sites* pp357-8.

8. Gnathia 3/27 children (11%).

9. Lavello was a centre on the right bank of the Ofanto river 12.8km from Melfi which was inhabited from the Iron Age, *Classical Sites* p490. Lavello began to decline from the 3rd century BC and it is believed that its inhabitants scattered to the large farms and villages of the Gaudiano and Boreano, *Classical Sites* p491.

10. 2/27 children (7%) Little is known about Melfi or Rapolla, although there have been archaic tombs found on at Melfi, *Classical Sites* p568.

11. 2/27 children (7%). Canusium was one of the most important cities of ancient Apulia located on the right bank of the Orfanto river. According to legend the city was founded by Diomedes and named for his hunting dogs, Strabo 6.3.9. The town became a Roman municipal after 89 BC and the *colonia Aurelia Augusta Pia Canusia* was established there by Antoninus Pius and the city was enlarged by Herodes Atticus.
towards the east coast, Hyria\(^1\) on the spur of the heel of Italy and
Teanum Apulum\(^2\) at the base of the spur also recorded small finds
of children commemorated with an age at death under fourteen
years.

Fifteen sites in Apulia (Genusia, *ager inter Gnathiam et Barium*,
Caelia, Rubi, Gaudiano, Aceruntia/Bantia, Asculum,\(^3\) Cirignola,
who provided the town with an aqueduct. Remains date back to the
Neolithic and bronze ages and fortifications of a Roman road and bath
have been found on the site, *Classical Sites* pp192-3.

1. 1/27 children (4%). Cannae was also located on the right bank of the
Orfanto and remains date back to the neolithic and bronze ages. The
remains discovered of the Roman town suggest that the town may have
served for an emporium for Canusium through to the time of Julian,
*Classical Sites* p192.

2. 2/27 children (7%). Little is known about Hyria in monte Gargano but it
is believed to have been located on the north side of the Gargano
promontory, *Classical Sites* p948. Gargano was a great limestone
promontory 1000m or more in height, and stood overlooking the north­
east part of the Tavoliere. Still densely wooded, it formed the distinctive
spur on Italy’s eastern seaboard. The area is still difficult to access
today. Teanum Apulum was 18 Roman miles from Larinum and was a
*municipium* at the time of Cicero, Cicero *Pro Cluentio* 9(27); *Classical
Sites* p888. Remains of a Roman wall, aqueduct and temple have been
discovered, *Classical Sites* p888.

3. Asculum was an ancient indigenous centre the seems to have enjoyed a
certain amount of autonomy in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Its
territories were seized and distributed both by Gaius Gracchus and
Julius Caesar. Asculum probably did not obtain the rights of a colony or
the status of a *municipium* during the Empire. The modern city was
built over the ancient site and frequent remains of ancient buildings
have been found, *Classical Sites* p99.
Herdoniae, Sipontum, Arpi, Volturara, Aecae, and Vibinum) had no surviving commemorations to children. The majority of these sites formed a belt down the centre of Apulia, located either inland from or around the Via Traiana. Vibinum and Volturara to the north east and Genusia to the south appear to be more isolated and set away from communication routes. Caelia was situated on the Via Traiana 8km south of Barium. Little is known about Barium, Rubi, Gaudiano, Aceruntia/Bantia, Cirignola, Volturara and Vibinum. Herdonia was located on the Apulian plain on the south bank of the river Carapelle, and Strabo describes it as a station on the road from Brundisium to Beneventum. Many of these areas may have been administrative centres rather than towns with the majority of the population living in the surrounding countryside.

The third section of Regio II was once known as Calabria and comprised the area at the very heel of Italy. Twenty eight children were discovered from the ten sites surveyed. 71% of these children came from Brundisium. Brundisium was the termination

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1. Sipontum was founded, according to legend, by Diomedes (Strabo 6.3.9) and was a strategic area and harbour for Arpi. The Romans occupied the town and made it a colonia in 194BC. It seems not to have prospered because of unfavourable air, but later did receive a new influx of Greek colonists and became an important link in the grain trade. Under the empire the town had municipal magistrates. The site has remains dating back to the 7th and 6th centuries BC, Classical Sites pp842-3.

2. Arpi was supposedly founded by the Argive king Diomedes. It was located 20km east of Luceria and 30km from Sipontum, its outlet to the sea. During the period of the city's greatest expansion, Sipontum was included in its territory, Livy 34.45, and the city played an important role in the struggle between Greeks and Italics and between the Oscans and Latins for supremacy in Italy. In order to save its territory from the Sabelli during the second Samnite war, it concluded a treaty of alliance with Rome in 326BC. This contributed to a flourishing period in the city's history, largely dateable to the 3rd century BC exhibiting much Greek influence. The area lost its prominence when the Romans built the colony of Sipontum and the site had lost all prominence by the Imperial Age, Classical Sites p91.

3. Aecae was situated on the Via Traiana. In the Imperial period the town was called the Colonia Augusta Apula. The ruins lie under the modern day town, but stelai, Daunian tombs and Roman inscriptions have been found in the surrounding necropolis, Classical Sites p11.

4. Table G & Appendix 2 Map 5.


6. It appears to have received the status of a municipium in the Republic, Classical Sites p388.

7. Strabo 6.3.7.

8. Table G.

9. Originally a Messapian town, Brundisium became a Latin colony in 246BC, Classical Sites p170. Despite its location and good soil for both
point for the Via Appia, the Via Traiana and the coast road from Barium (Appendix 2 Map 5). It was an important port and embarkation point for the East, particularly for journeys to Corcyra and western Greece. Tarentum and Uria were on the area of the Via Appia that crossed the heel of Italy between the two coastlines. Both sites recorded small finds of children. Tarentum in the time of Horace was apparently a small, quiet town suitable for weary businessmen. Uria was located midway between Brundisium and Tarentum on the Via Appia.

crops and grazing, Brundisium never received a permanent Greek settlement and remained in a seeming state of neglect until the coming of the Romans, Cary (1949) p141. Its strategic importance were recognised by both Caesar who took the area in 49 BC, and Antony who took the same action 40 BC before the Treaty of Brundisium was undertaken by the second triumvirate. Modern Brundisium lies over the top of the ancient site and excavation has been difficult, but remains of a large Roman reservoir, baths, a Claudian aqueduct and the forum have been located, Classical Sites p170.

2. Tarentum was inhabited as early as Neolithic times. According to legend the city was founded by the Parthenians, the illegitimate children of Spartan women who lived with the helots while their husbands were fighting in Messenia, Strabo 6.3.1-2; Pausanias 10.10.6-8 cf Classical Sites p879. Tarentum was built on a triangular tongue of land which interposed like an isthmus between an outer bay and an inner basin, eleven miles in circumference, with a narrow entrance which was spanned by a bridge and dominated by a citadel rock. Its harbour was one of the safest and most capacious along the entire coast of Italy. The harbour was well stocked with fish and it contained one of the richest purple beds in Mediterranean waters. The hinterland produced a wool clip which, in conjunction with the purple fisheries of the harbour, made Tarentum the chief seat of the finer textile industry in Italy, Cary (1949) p141. First contact with the Romans occurred around 282 BC and the Romans finally secured control of the area in 275BC. In 122BC Gaius Gracchus attempted to establish a colony there, Classical Sites p879. The eventual decline of Tarentum may have been partly due to the increase of open sea navigation in the Hellenistic age, which would diminish its value as a port of call; but it was mainly brought about by the Romans, who not only sacked the city during the Hannibalic war, but inflicted more permanent injury upon it by diverting part of its traffic to Brundisium, Cary (1949) p141.

3. 2/28 children (7%) each.
4. Horace Odes 3.5.53-6.
5. Vria was thought by Herodotus to be one of the most ancient of all Messapic cities, founded by colonists from Crete on their return from Sicily, Herodotus 7.170. Found on the site were archaic burial chambers of the 4th to 3rd centuries BC with Greek ceramic ware, Classical Sites p948.
Small finds of inscriptions to children were also discovered at Callipolis,¹ Neretum² and in the area between Rudiae and Lupiae.³ Lupiae was located on the Via Traiana 40 km south of Brundisium and approximately 12 km from the sea.⁴ Rudiae was 2 km south of Lupiae.⁵ Callipolis was on the western side of the heel of Italy approximately 70 km from Rudiae, and Neretum was approximately 25 km north of Callipolis. Little is known about these areas.

No children were found at Mesagne, Hydruntum or Leuca. Mesagne was located midway between Uria and Brundisium on the Via Appia, Hydruntum on the north eastern tip of the heel of Italy and Leuca on the most southerly protrusion. Little information is available on these three sites, though Hydruntum and Leuca were quite isolated. Thus the majority of children in Calabria were commemorated at the major towns along the Via Appia and Via Traiana, although overwhelmingly children were commemorated with an age at death at Brundisium.

From the thirteen sites in Hirpini, almost twice as many children were found (47%) compared to either Calabria (27% from ten sites) or Apulia (26% from twenty eight sites).⁶ Hirpini was situated more to the north west and closer to Rome than the other two areas, with its focal point the town of Beneventum.⁷ Both this area, and the towns which lined the routes between Brundisium and the main arterial roads to Rome seem to have produced higher finds of children than other areas in Regio II. Many of the towns surveyed in this region may have been focal points for business,

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1. 2/28 children (7%).
2. 1/28 children (3.5%).
3. 1/28 children (3.5%).
4. The Romans are thought to have founded Lupiae after the capture of Brundisium in 267 BC. The city was raised to the status of a municipium at an unknown date and under the Antonines it had the status of a colony. The harbour may have been constructed by Hadrian. Finds of Greek origin in the area date back to the 5th century BC, and the Roman theatre, amphitheatre and some public and private buildings have been found, Classical Sites p534.
5. Tombs, walls and Messapic inscriptions were discovered in the necropolis. The town was a municipium in the Imperial period and remains include public buildings, paved streets and an amphitheatre. Classical Sites p774.
6. Appendix 3 Table 9; Hirpini 49/104 children; Calabria 28/104 children; Apulia 27/104 children.
7. Appendix 2 Map 5.
administration and pleasure for a large percentage of the population, but the majority of inhabitants may have lived and worked in the surrounding countryside and perhaps only a small majority utilized burial sites on the outskirts of the towns.

The Children of the Inscriptions

Of the eighty-six dedications to children in Regio II, sixty dedications were to male children and thirty-six to female children (see Table 167). Male children were well-represented in all age groups in Regio II, although 47% of boys were commemorated with an average age of death which fell between the ages of five and ten years. By contrast, the majority of female children were commemorated with lower ages at death, 44.5% received an average age between one and five years. No dedications were found to children under the age of one.

The majority of children in Regio II were of undifferentiated free status (65.5%). One fifth of the children were likely to have been of servile origin. Just under half of these children came from either Brenditum or Beneventum. 85% of children were probably liberis at the time of their death, while only 15% of the children from Regio II were ingeniarii. 20% of inscriptions from this region included some form of status indication, a level comparable to Ostaniana.

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1 Appendix 3, Table 8
2 Appendix 3, Table 8: 1-4 years 1586: boys (21.9%), 5-9 years 2560 boys (33.9%), 10-14 years 1044: boys (30.6%)
3 Appendix 3, Table 8: 1-4 years 1036: girls (44.5%), 5-9 years 1306 girls (60.0%), 10-14 years 736: girls (18.2%)
4 Of 6166 children: 59 male children, including 1 male slave and 2 ingeniarii; 22 female children including 1 ingeniarius.
5 Of 1978: 7 males, 2 females, 1-10 children (14.3%); 257 males, 2 females (13.6%)
7 29; serviri 5-7 years CIL 8.1799, serviri 9-10 years CIL 8.1179, serviri CIL 8.1799, serviri: CIL 13.1213, CIL 9.2191
8 Liberiarii, 31 (16%) liberarii: 1 male 7-10 years CIL 9.1802, 3 females 6-9 years CIL 9.856, 9-10 years CIL 9.578, 13-15 years CIL 9.790 (16)
9 3 males and 3 females.
10 Of Roma, Columbario 319: Oxas 170, Oxas CIL 728, Regio I East of Oxas 79; Regio VII 470; Regio VIII 149
Regio II
The Children of the Inscriptions

Of the ninety six dedications to children in Regio II, sixty dedications were to male children and thirty six to female children (sex ratio 167). Male children were well represented in all age groups in Regio II, although 47% of boys were commemorated with an age at death which fell between the ages of five and ten years. By contrast, the majority of female children were commemorated with lower ages at death, 44.5% received an age between one and five years. No dedications were found to children under one year of age.

The majority of children in Regio II were of undifferentiated free status (65.5%). One fifth of the children were likely to have been of servile origin. Just under half of these children came from either Brundisium, or Beneventum. 5% of children were probably liberti at the time of their death, while only 10% of the children from Regio II were ingenui. 20% of inscriptions from this region included some form of status indication, a level comparable to Ostia.

1. Appendix 3 Table 9.
2. Appendix 3 Table 9. 1-4 years 14/60 boys (23%); 5-9 years 28/60 boys (47%); 10-14 years 19/60 boys (30%).
3. Appendix 3 Table 9. 1-4 years 16/36 girls (44.5%); 5-9 years 13/36 girls (36%); 10-14 years 7/36 girls (19.5%).
4. 5196 children; 39 male children, including 1 male alumnus and 2 ingenui; 22 female children including 1 ingenua?
5. Servi? 7 male, 5 females, 1 S? alumnus (13.5%); Servi 3 male; 2 female (5%).
8. Libertae? 1 (1%); libertus 1 male 7-8 years CIL 9.1802; 3 female 4-5 years CIL 9.87; 9-10 years CIL 9.586; 12-13 years CIL 9.704 (4%).
9. 7 males and 3 females.
10. Cf Rome, Columbaria 35%; Ostia IPO 18.5%; Ostia CIL 22%; Regio I East of Ostia 7%; Regio VII 47%; Regio VIII 14%.
Three inscriptions from Regio II, two from Brundisium and one from Beneventum contained relatively unusual elements of nomenclature. The inscriptions recorded the name of the child followed by an alternative name by which each child was also known. Three year old Eutychia was also known as Buttin, and one year old Sergia Secunda was also known as Hermias. The status of Sergia Secunda is unclear, but she may have been freed and the alternative name of Hermias her slave name. Eutychia was commemorated by her father and was probably of servile origin. Buttin may have been the name given to her by her father and was probably of servile origin. Eutychia the name chosen by her owner or vice versa. Perhaps these names were pet or nicknames. At Beneventum an inscription was erected for six year old Beneventanus who was also known as Aquita. Again this child appears to have been a servus and he was commemorated by his unnamed but most unhappy mother. Two inscriptions from Ostia contained this same element. Gaius Iulius Ingenuus was also known as Mininnus, and thirteen year old Marcus Claudius Summarchus was also known as Nonnus. Further, the dedicator of an inscription from Ostia who set up a memorial to an eight year old alumnus recorded his name as Ti. Claudius, also known as M. Valerius Claudianus. It appears that this person was adopted and perhaps this was the name used for official purposes while his original name, Ti. Claudius, was the one by which he was generally known. It is interesting to note that not only were young children given nicknames but that slave parents claimed their child by choosing their own special name. Another inscription from Ostia possessed a different but equally distinctive element of nomenclature. On this memorial an eight year old boy was given the cognomen Ingenuus. In everyday usage ingenuus meant freeborn, or born of free parents. Perhaps the term was incorporated into the familia by earlier generations who may have once been liberti of the Julian household.

1. CIL 9.147; 184.
2. CIL 9.1766.
3. CIL 9.147.
4. CIL 9.147.
5. CIL 9.1766.
7. CIL 14.832.
8. CIL 14.816.
Two inscriptions, one from Hyria\(^1\) and the other from Teanum Apulum\(^2\) appear to be copies of the same inscription set up for a thirteen year old girl by her mother. There are slight differences in the inscriptions, suggesting that one version may be have been a revised duplicate. The inscription from Hyria was headed with an address to the departed spirits \textit{DI.M.S}, the second one was not. The Hyria inscription also used different spellings for the names of both the dedicator and dedicatee. At Hyria the thirteen year old child was recorded as Revidia Tilia, while at Teanum Apulum she was Revidia Titula. Similarly her mother at Hyria was recorded as Sextia Protha and at Teanum Apulum as Sestilia Protila. Both these settlements were situated on the spur of Italy.\(^3\) Perhaps the \textit{familia} had connections, or were patrons of both areas. The differences found in the spellings may have been due to a stonecutter's error at one of the sites. This same phenomenon was also found in \textit{Regio VII}.\(^4\)

As discussed above,\(^5\) several children from \textit{Regio II} were commemorated as full participants of the adult community. Twelve year old P. Tutorius Hermatianus was honoured with the title of \textit{decurio} on his death,\(^6\) eight year old L. Clodius Mari[a]nus a \textit{praefectus fabrum}\(^7\) and Petilia Secunda a priestess of Minerva.\(^8\) Several other dedicators or fellow dedicatees also recorded their occupations upon epitaphs which were also set up to honour children. For example, commemorated alongside freeborn C. Lusius Anicetus who died at the age of eight was the \textit{libertus medicus} P. Vedius Carpo.\(^9\) The dedicator of an inscription set up for a \textit{coniunx} and \textit{filius} was Gaius Seppius Curva, a freeborn \textit{duovir iuri dicundi}.\(^10\) Similarly the dedicator of the inscription to twelve year old Curtia Polla and her mother Curtia was a freeborn man who recorded that

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.701.
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.713.
  \item Appendix 2 Map 5.
  \item See below pp179-80.
  \item See above pp95f.
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.24.
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.223.
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.307.
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.827.
  \item \textit{CIL} 9.1049.
\end{itemize}
he was a member of legion XXX. Of similar distinction for a different class of people, predominantly *liberti*, was the office of *Augustalis*. Two dedicators proudly record that they held this position. The second of these inscriptions honoured not only the freeborn son of the *libertus Augustalis* but also his *vxor, pater* and *mater*. The final dedicator to display his position in society on the epitaph set up for his child was Cn. Marcius Rustius Rufin(us) who was *tribunus cohortis* VI of *vigiles*. Although this father was probably a *libertus* he does not include any status indication in his name, unlike the two *Augustales*. Inscriptions thus were memorials for the living as much as for the dead as both dedicators and dedicatees could record, if they chose, information which brought them distinction within their own community.

1. CIL 9.2115.
2. CIL 9.704; 1697.
3. CIL 9.1697.
4. CIL 9.1583.
Regio VII
Geographical Setting

*Regio* VII (Etruria) was located on the west coast of Italy. Its boundaries lay between the territories surrounding Fregenae in the south and Luna in the north (Appendix 2 Maps 2 & 6). *Regio* VII shared inland boundaries with *Regio* VIII and VI and included the towns of Arretium and Perusia. The Roman conquest of Southern Etruria during the fourth and third centuries BC gradually brought about the Romanization of the area and the erosion of Etruscan life.\(^1\) Surface surveys have shown that there was a very high density of rural settlement supporting a very large farming population during particularly the late Republican and Imperial periods.\(^2\) A number of villages grew up around the important crossroads, and towns flourished as administrative and service centres.\(^3\) Etruria had the most varied natural resources of all the regions of peninsular Italy.\(^4\) Although Etruria did not possess wide plains like some areas in the North of Italy, it had undulating hill country which was mostly cultivable, and its southern tip, falling within the volcanic zone, was highly fertile.\(^5\) The majority of mineral wealth of Italy was found in Etruria,\(^6\) including tufo, basalt,\(^7\) and clay for bricks, tiles and pottery.\(^8\) Cereals, vines and olives were grown in the volcanically rich soil and it appears that the raising of sheep, goats, cattle and pigs was very important for the local economy.\(^9\) Yet the Arno Valley area in the northernmost sector of *Regio* VII was liable to extensive waterlogging after the spring floods of the Arno river itself.\(^10\) According to Livy, Hannibal’s planned short

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cut across this area in 217 BC turned into a four day nightmare.\(^1\) Thus the chief cities of this area, Luca, Pistoriae and Faesulae were situated away from the river at the base of the Apennines.\(^2\) Of the valley towns, Pisa was little more than a station on the coastal road. Florentia was potentially more important because of its position near the entrance to the three Apennine passes, of which two lead to Bononia and one farther south to Faventia, yet it occupied an area of only sixty acres.\(^3\) Most favoured areas in Etruria from Etruscan times on were the seaboard district around Tarquinii and Caere.\(^4\) There were copper mines near Populonium and Volaterrae and Iron fields on the opposite island of Elba.\(^5\) The other important district of Etruria was the eastern border, containing the basins of the Tiber and of its tributary the Clanis. This area had a problem with dehydration because the watershed between the Clanis and the Arno was almost completely level, and both streams emptied their flood water over it.\(^6\) Waterlogging, however, is unlikely to have been extensive because the Romans did not bypass the upper valley of the Clanis in building their main road to Arretium, the Via Cassia.\(^7\)

From approximately two thousand five hundred and fifty two inscriptions from forty eight areas in Regio VII,\(^8\) 16.5% of inscriptions which included an age at death were to children. Seven settlements in this region did not produce inscriptions which included ages at death.\(^9\) Four of these sites were roughly in the same area. Castrum Novum, Pyrgi, Alsium, and Fregenae were consecutive settlements on the Via Aurelia, while Careia was more inland between the Via Clodia and Via Cornelia. Perhaps again this is a reflection of variations found within regions in commemorative practice, though again the samples are relatively small. No children were found at 50% of the sites in

\(^1\) Livy 22.2.
\(^2\) Appendix 2 Map 6; Cary (1949) p123.
\(^3\) The foundation date of Florentia is not known, Cary (1949) p123.
\(^4\) Cary (1949) p123.
\(^5\) Cary (1949) p125.
\(^6\) Cary (1949) p125.
\(^7\) Cary (1949) p125.
\(^8\) Appendix 3 Table 1.
\(^9\) Table H. Pistoriae, Poggi Alti; Suana; Castrum Novum; Pyrgi; Alsium; Fregenae; Lorium; Careiae.
Regio VII. Ten of these sites were situated in the northern sector of Etruria, from approximately Colonia Saturnia to Luna. Portus Pisanus, the area *inter Pisas et Florentiam*, and Pistoriae all bordered on the Arno valley area which, as mentioned above, was prone to waterlogging. Although no children were discovered at Portus Pisanus, one child was found at the town itself. The town was only a small station on the Via Aurelia, though it was centrally placed in the Arno delta between the rivers Arno and Serchio. Pisae had rich quarries and abundant timber for shipbuilding. The surrounding areas were fertile with wonderful springs and produced good grain and grapes. Lucius and Gaius Caesar were patrons of the town and two inscriptions, dateable to 2 and 4 AD lament the deaths of these two young members of the Imperial family. Public building under Augustus saw Pisae acquire a *capitolium*, a theatre, an amphitheatre and an *Augusteum*. The town was connected to the Portus Pisanus by a road, and some Augustan and Imperial traces remain here also. This town, like many others throughout Italy, has substantial remains which reflect a considerable interest in the Imperial Cult, especially in its younger members. However this community does not appear to have been overly interested in the commemoration of their own children. Perhaps this came about because the majority of the population lived on small farms with their own burial plots.

1. 24/48 sites, Table H.
3. See above p163.
4. *CIL* 11.1495. The settlement at Pisae originally dated back to the bronze age, *Classical Sites* p713 (cf Dennis (1968) pp77-8 who believes that Pisae was colonised by the Romans at the request of its citizens). The prosperous Etruscan settlement flourished until Rome occupied the site as an outpost against the Ligurians around 225BC. At this time its territories included Luna to the north and Castiglioncello to the south. After the Ligurians were subdued (177BC) Luna was made a citizen colony and the importance of Pisa diminished (Livy 40.43. Pisae is a settlement of debated origin and could either be Greek, Ligurian or Etruscan, but became a flourishing Etruscan town by the 5th century BC, *Classical Sites* p713) though later an Augustan colony was settled on the site, *Classical Sites* p713.
6. The greater part of the delta had been drained and used for cultivation in the Late Republic, Keppie (1983) p173.
7. Strabo 5.2.5; Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 18.20 (85-88).
8. *CIL* 11.1420; 1421.
10. *Classical Sites* p713.
outside the town. For these communities greater *kudos* may have been achieved through participation in the festivals of the Imperial Cult where the population from surrounding areas would have been brought together in the public facilities of the town. In these more rural settings festivals of the dead, unlike the celebrations at Rome and Ostia, would have taken place in small groups on one's own piece of land.¹

In this northernmost section of *Regio VII*, only one child was commemorated with an inscription which included his or her age at death at each of the settlements at Luna,² Luca³ and Faesulae.⁴ Luna was a coastal city with a port which lay on the Via Aurelia. It was the most northerly city of Etruria and it stood on the left bank of the Macra which formed the north west boundary of Etruria.⁵ Luna reputedly had the best wine in Etruria,⁶ and was well known for its cheese which bore the symbols of the moon and Etruscan Diana.⁷ However, it was most famous for both its white marble⁸ which could be cut with a saw,⁹ and its mottled bluish-grey variety. Both types were used for superior quality artworks.¹⁰ By 27 AD the quarries had become Imperial

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¹ An analysis of the relationship between preference for the celebration of the Imperial Cult and the commemoration of children throughout Italy may provide some useful information. Unfortunately it cannot be undertaken here.

² *CIL* 11.1344a. Luca and Luna had both belonged to the territory of Cisalpine Gaul before the Augustan reorganisation of Italy, Thomsen (1966) p124. Luna was originally an Etruscan city, and Scullard (1967) p96 says that the site shows evidence of occupation from the Bronze Age to the Middle Ages. It became a citizen *colonia* in 177 BC when 2000 Romans were settled there, Livy 41.13; Bruun et al (1975) p452; Harris (1971) p149; *Classical Sites* p532.

³ *CIL* 11.1534.

⁴ *CIL* 11.1564.

⁵ Strabo 5.2.5; Dennis (1968) p71. It is believed that the area was largely uninhabited during the Civil War of the 40's BC, Dennis (1968) p74, but was re-colonised by the Triumvirate after the death of Caesar, Dennis (1968) p75 cf Harris (1971) p303.


⁷ Martial 13.30.

⁸ Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 36.4 (14).

⁹ *Classical Sites* p533.

¹⁰ Strabo 5.2.5.
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| Total                         | 2552            | 381                    | 63             |

Table H: Regio VII. Distribution of Inscriptions by Town
property. Strabo commented that the settlement of Luna itself was not sizeable, but that it had a large and beautiful harbour which made it easy to export the marble to Rome and other areas. Luca was situated inland on the Via Clodia approximately 25 km south of Luna. It lay on a large elongated island which was formed by the bifurcation of the Serchio as it emerged from the Garfaganana into the broad expanses of the Arno valley. Strabo says that although people lived only in villages in this area, it was well populated and provided a good source of manpower for the army and senate. Luca's importance from the Republic onward derived from its location at the crossroads connecting it with Placentia, Luna, Pisa, Florentia and Rome (on the Via Cassia). It is not certain whether the Via Flaminia, which went from Arretium to Florentia, continued to Faesulae. Faesulae was believed to have been at its height under Augustus and stratigraphic tests have indicated that the area once boasted a theatre, baths and perhaps saw its Etruscan temple rebuilt.

2. Strabo 5.2.5.
4. Strabo 5.1.11.
5. Luca became a municipium by the Lex Julia municipalis of 90 BC. It became a colonia shortly before the battle of Actium, Classical Sites p527, and received veterans under Octavian's settlement plan, Keppie (1983) pp174-5. Land was distributed to veterans before 27 BC and probably in the period after Philippi, Harris (1971) p308. Luca was probably most famous for the conference held there by Pompey, Caesar and Crassus in 56 BC, Suetonius Iulius 24, but seems to rate little mention in the literature of the Empire, Classical Sites p527. Under Augustus a theatre was constructed for the town, Keppie (1983) p133, and remains of an amphitheatre and gates have been found, Classical Sites p527.
9. Faesulae had supported Rome in the second Punic War. It was made a Roman municipium around 90 BC and Sulla settled veterans there after the war of 82 BC, Strabo 5.2.9; Bruun et al (1975) p411; Harris (1971) p261. Landowners who subsequently lost their land are known to have joined Catiline in the Catilinarian Conspiracy, Sallust Bellum Catilinae 59.3; 60.6.
10. It was inhabited in the iron age and there are Etruscan remains from the 5th and 3rd centuries BC, Classical Sites p322.
Florentia\textsuperscript{1} was the only settlement in this northern area to produce more than one child.\textsuperscript{2} Florentia stood on the north bank of the Arno near its junction with the Mugnone which was an important river crossing.\textsuperscript{3} The town was able to develop more fully after the water-logged plain of Golfolina, fed by the Arno, was drained, a project which was possibly completed under Julius Caesar.\textsuperscript{4} The site became an important road centre located on the Flaminia Minor, a spur off the Via Flaminia.\textsuperscript{5} The town flourished particularly under Hadrian.\textsuperscript{6}

The mid section of Regio VII, sometimes called the seashore area,\textsuperscript{7} contained the settlements of Volaterrae, Saena, Arretium, Cortona, Perusia, Clusium, Montaclino, Poggi Alti, Populonium, Colonia Rusellana, Suana and Colonia Saturnia. Only Populonium was situated immediately on the coast.\textsuperscript{8} Of this group, no children were found at Arretium, Cortona, Montaclino, Colonia Rusellana, Poggi Alti or Suana. Arretium\textsuperscript{9} was located at the junction of the Via Flaminia minor and the Via Cassia. According to Pliny, Arretium possessed a branch of Sullan colonists called \textit{Fidentiores} who maintained their individuality into the Augustan period,\textsuperscript{10} although after Actium the settlement itself was

\textsuperscript{1} It is known that Florentia was a \textit{colonia} although its foundation date is uncertain, Keppie (1983) p175. \textit{Classical Sites} p331 believes the date was somewhere around the middle of the first century BC. Its formal status of \textit{colonia} could have been conferred by Sulla, Julius Caesar or Octavian. Although it receives no mention in the literary sources before the Empire, Florus claims that its land was sold up by Sulla, Keppie (1983) pp175-6. The area was devastated during the period of the Catilinarian conspiracy and its aftermath, and was reinforced by new colonists under the 'first triumvirate', \textit{Classical Sites} p331.

\textsuperscript{2} 3 children, \textit{CIL} 11.1626; 1636; 1643.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Classical Sites} p331.

\textsuperscript{4} Keppie (1983) p175.

\textsuperscript{5} \textit{Classical Sites} p331.

\textsuperscript{6} Cornell & Matthews (1987) p38.

\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Classical Sites} p331.

\textsuperscript{8} Cary (1949) p125.

\textsuperscript{9} Cary (1949) pp124-5.

\textsuperscript{9} Arretium was originally an Etruscan settlement though it is not certain when it came under Roman rule. In the third century BC it was an important base for Roman military operations. It became a \textit{municipium} in the second century BC and its citizens included were included in the Pomptina tribe before the social war. It was then made a \textit{colonia} under Sulla, Harris (1971) pp261-70; 292-4, and again under Caesar or the triumvirs, Harris (1971) pp298-306.

\textsuperscript{10} Keppie (1983) p167.
probably quite small.\textsuperscript{1} In Augustan times Arretium was famous for its plain and moulded red surface pottery which superimposed themes and techniques from the Hellenistic east.\textsuperscript{2} Cortona\textsuperscript{3} was situated 29 km south of Arretium but was not on any of the main thoroughfares.\textsuperscript{4} Colonia Rusellana\textsuperscript{5} was inland approximately 100 km from Populonium and was also linked to Colonia Saturnia. It occupied a large hilltop site overlooking the Lacus Prilius which covered a considerable proportion of the Grosseto plain.\textsuperscript{6} Montaclino et Vicinia, Poggi Alti, and Suana were all situated away from main thoroughfares,\textsuperscript{7} and few inscriptions of any type have survived from these areas.\textsuperscript{8}

Small numbers of children were found in settlements of the seaboard district, namely at Saena (three children),\textsuperscript{9} Perusia (three children),\textsuperscript{10} Clusium (three children),\textsuperscript{11} Populonium (one child)\textsuperscript{12} and Colonia Saturnia (two children).\textsuperscript{13} Saena\textsuperscript{14} appears to

\begin{enumerate}
\item Classical Sites p96.
\item Cortona was an Etruscan city situated on a high hill with walls dating back to the sixth or fifth centuries BC, Scullard (1967) pp156-57; Classical Sites p245. Its impregnable position saved it from Hannibal in 217 BC, Scullard (1967) p157. According to Livy, Cortona, with Perusia and Arretium, was one of the leading cities of Etruria, Livy 9.37, who made a treaty with Rome around 311 BC, Harris (1971) p96. Before the social war Cortona was included in the Stellatina tribe, Harris (1971) p248. Little is recorded of its history in Roman or Etruscan times, Scullard (1967) p157.
\item Sitwell (1981) p118.
\item Originally founded in the seventh or sixth century BC, the settlement was highly prosperous from the third/second century BC until the Empire, Keppie (1983) p172. During the Augustan period construction work saw the erection of a new theatre, forum, basilica and portico, Keppie (1983) p133.
\item Keppie (1983) p172.
\item Sitwell (1981) p118.
\item Table H.
\item CIL 11.1811; 1811; 2056 (Fragmentary).
\item CIL 11.1983; 2055; 2737 (Fragmentary).
\item CIL 11.2365; 2534; 2540.
\item CIL 11.2611.
\item CIL 11.2656; 2669.
\item Saena was known as a colonia Iulia, Pliny Historia Naturalis 3.5 (51-2); Tacitus Historiae 4.45, and may have been established by either Julius Caesar, the later Triumvirates or Augustus, Dennis (1968) p121 Julius Caesar or Triumvirate; Bruun et al (1975) p81 Triumvirate or Augustus; cf Keppie (1983) p173.
\end{enumerate}
have been only a modest settlement under the Empire.\(^1\) The settlement was inland and linked by road to both Populonium and Volaterrae. Perusia\(^2\) was situated on the irregular top of a hill overlooking the plain of Umbria\(^3\) and the valley of the Tiber\(^4\) on one of the roads leading to Rome via Falerii. Clusium had been one of the chief cities of Etruria 130 km north of Rome.\(^5\) It was located in the hill country between lake Trasimene on the north east and the extinct volcanoes of M Amiata and Radicofani on the south west. It was linked to the coastal cities by two routes. The first route went up the Fiora around the north end of lake Bolsena crossing the Paglia at Acqapendente. The other route went down the Orica to the Ombrone.\(^6\) Clusium\(^7\) also lay on the Via Cassia strategically located near the Clanis river. The region was famous for its fertility and hot springs, and was rich in iron and copper.\(^8\) The site was occupied continuously into the Empire, though it seems to have been only a small quiet country town.\(^9\)

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1. Nor does it appear to have been amongst the ‘great’ cities of the Etruscans, and Keppie (1983) p173.
2. Perusia was one of the earliest Etruscan cities in Etruria, Dennis (1968) p400. In 308 the consul Q Fabius is said to have left a Roman Garrison at Perusia having defeated the Etruscans in the surrounding area, Harris (1971) p309. Perusia had submitted to Rome around 295-4 BC and was forced to supply the Roman Army with a cohort, and in 205 BC Perusia provided grain and wool for Scipio's African expedition, Brunn et al (1975) p57-8. Many of the wealthy Perusians had been put to death by Octavian for sheltering L Antonius in 41 BC, and those who survived were forbidden to own land more than seven and a half stades from the town, Harris (1971) p309. The land beyond that range was distributed by Octavian, and the settlement was eventually renamed Augusta Perusia, Harris (1971) p309. There was no known *colonia* at Perusia until around 251 AD when the Perusine Emperor Vibius Trebonianus Gallus attained power, Harris (1971) p309. Evidence dates the site of Perusia back to the latter half of the 6th century BC and it was a flourishing and populous centre particularly from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, *Classical Sites* p693.
5. Strabo 5.2.9.
7. Clusium was probably a Sullan colony, Harris (1971) p263; *Classical Sites* p229, though there is some evidence that, like at Pompeii, a *municipium* and *colonia* existed concurrently, Harris (1971) p270. The establishment of the veteran colony, as also seen at Arretium, produced a two tiered society made up of *veteres* and *novi*, Keppie (1983) p102.
According to Strabo, Populonium was set on a high promontory that made an abrupt descent into the sea forming a peninsula.\(^1\) Strabo visited Populonium early in the first century AD and reported that all that remained of the town was a few temples and dwellings, but that the port town at the base of the mountain was better populated.\(^2\) Populonium was positioned on the Via Aurelia approximately 200 km north of Cosa. Saturnia was a small settlement in the Albegna valley on the banks of the Elsa, a tributary of the Albegna.\(^3\) The Via Clodia is thought to have gone as far as Saturnia.\(^4\) Little is known about the settlement under the Empire.

Volaterrae\(^5\) possessed the second largest group of inscriptions to children under the age of fourteen years in Regio VII and had the largest group of inscriptions to children of the towns in the mid section of this Regio.\(^6\) The area became quickly Romanized soon after Augustus’ plan for the unification of Italy was begun, and very few Etruscan traditions survived after this point.\(^7\) Volaterrae was situated inland on the summit of a hill

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1. Its position enabled it to withstand a siege during the period of the Sullan proscriptions, Strabo 5.2.6.
2. Strabo 5.2.6. The first settlement was once on the hill but moved down as the iron industry at Populonium developed, Scullard (1967) p141. The site was inhabited from the bronze age, Classical Sites p729, but little is known of the town in Etruscan or Roman times.
3. Scullard (1967) p125. The settlement died out suddenly in the sixth century and remained largely unpopulated until Rome founded a colony on the site in 183 BC, Scullard (1967) p125 & p277; Livy 39.55.9. It may have been a praefectura prior to this time and it is not clear why the small settlement there was made a colonia at all. One theory put forward is that it was made a colonia to raise the financial status of Roman citizens who settled there, and perhaps to increase the Romanization of the area, Harris (1971) pp150-158,
5. Volaterrae was once an important Etruscan town and was the defensive fortress of North Etruria, and evidence dates settlement back to the Iron Age, Classical Sites p987. Volaterrae was possibly a municipium before the Social War, Bruun et al (1975) p480, but was deprived of full franchise and was probably reduced to Latin status by Sulla in 80 BC for its support of Marius, Bruun et al (1975) p480;483. Sulla deemed the whole area public land, but the planned colony was never founded, Bruun et al (1975) p480. Land was allotted to veterans there under Caesar, and a military colony was established later by the Triumvirate in the 40's BC Keppie (1983) p92.
6. Table H. A total of 8 children survive from a body of 60 inscriptions which represented 13% of all children found in Regio VII; CIL 11.1755; 1764; 1768; 1775; 1776; 1780; 1780; 1784. 8/63 children.
overlooking a precipitous ravine on all sides and was above the Caecina river valley to the west and the Era river valley to the east. The production of copper and agricultural practices were important for the prosperity of the general area. The Caecina family owned vast tracts of land, clay pits, kilns and salt beds and dedicated the theatre at Vallebona north of the settlement in the Late Republic, and the importance of the site continued into the middle ages.

The majority of children were found in the eastern border area of Etruria from roughly Volsinii, the most northerly town in this sector, down to the boundary of Regio VII and Regio I. 58% of the children found in Regio VII came from this area. Sixteen of the twenty eight sites however, failed to produce evidence of children who died before their fourteenth year. Such sites included Cosa, Balneum Regis, Volcii, Ager Viterbiensis, Polmartium, Horta, Nepet, Vicarello, Forum Clodi, Forum Cassi, Centum Cellae, Castrum Novum, Prygi, Alsium, Fregenae and Lorium. Little is known about the majority of these sites. Fregenae, Alsium, Pyrgi, Castrum Novum, Centum Cellae, Lorium and Cosa were all located on the Tyrrhenian coast along the Via Aurelia. Also located in this area was Volcii, set midway between the Via Clodia and the Via Aurelia vetus. Cosa was situated on a rocky promontory 113m above the sea 139km north west of Rome. Centum Cellae was founded to support Trajan's port built there around 106 AD and began to flourish after this time due to its excellent harbour. Trajan also had a Villa there during the construction of the port, and was during the second and third centuries a base for a detachment of the Imperial Fleet. Remains date to the eras of Trajan and Hadrian.

2. Scullard (1967) p149.
4. 37 of the 64 children.
5. Table H.
6. Cosa was founded in 273 BC on territory taken from Etruscan Vulci. After the wars of the 3rd century BC it prospered until 60 BC when it was sacked, burnt and depopulated. It was partially rebuilt under Augustus and survived as a local religious and festival centre until the second quarter of the third century AD, Classical Sites pp 245-46.
The second pocket of sites were located east of the Via Cassia and west of the Via Flaminia and comprised Nepet, Horta, Polmartium and Balneum Regis. Nepet was the closest site to Rome, approximately 100 km to the north. The last two sites to record no finds of children were situated along the Via Clodia and the Via Cassia. Both were fora, small roadside settlements that were founded as administrative and market centres throughout Italy. *Fora* were often found along major Roman roads throughout Italy often 16-19 km from the nearest *municipium*, *colonia* or other settlement. As will be seen below, several *fora* were also located in *Regio VIII*. Nothing is known of Forum Cassi except that it was probably named after the Via Cassia on which it was located. The Forum Clodii was not on the Via Clodia itself, but on the hillside high above the road on the West side of Lake Bracciano and was the seat of a *praefectura* in the Augustan period, and later a *municipium*.

Sites in the eastern border area of Etruria where memorials to children were found include Volsinii, Tuscania, Tarquinii, Capena, Caere, Visentium, Blera, Sutrium, Veii, Careiae, Saxa Rubra, Ager Viterbiensis and Falerii. Tarquinii produced the largest finds of children in the whole of

6. 4 children.
7. 4 children.
8. 10 children.
9. 5 children.
10. 3 children.
11. 2 children.
12. 1 child.
13. 2 children.
14. 1 child.
15. 1 child.
16. 1 child.
17. 1 child.
18. 2 children.
Regio VII (16%). Tarquinii was located 5km from the sea on the left bank of the Marta, the emissary of Lake Bolsena whose tributaries drain Tarquinii's territory. Under the Empire the town was the centre of a semi-official Roman priesthood of 60 haruspices. Little else is known about the site. Further down the Via Aurelia was Caere, 8km from the sea and isolated from the surrounding plain by two small rivers. By the early Imperial period it was no more than a village. Tuscania was located in the valley of the river Marta, half way between Tarquinii and the Lake of Bolsena. Tuscania is believed to have begun to decline during the Imperial period. However 6% of inscriptions for children were discovered here. Again little information is available about the other sites in this sector of Regio VII.

Two sites, Blera and Visentium, located on and around the Via Clodia produced finds of children. Visentium was located midway between the Via Clodia and Lake Bolsena. Nothing more seems to be known of either site in Imperial times. Blera was a station set on a curving plateau. A small collection of inscriptions, including one to a child, was discovered here.

Along the Via Cassia were the towns of Volsinii, Viterbiensis Sutrium and Veii. Volsinii was on the north eastern side of Lake Bolsena midway between Clusium and Viterbiensis. Sutrium was further south. Little is known about any of these sites. Veii was

1. Tarquinii was thought to be the oldest city of the Etruscans in Italy and the earliest settlement of the Villanovans who came to Italy as early as the Iron age, Classical Sites p881.
2. Tarquinii was often at war with Rome during her early history, but formed a lasting peace around 308 BC. As an ally of Rome, Tarquinii furnished sails for Scipio's fleet in 205 BC, Classical Sites p881.
3. Caere was once a major Etruscan town In spite of a sudden change of alliance with Tarquinii in 353BC, the town received civitas sine suffragio from Rome for help against the Gauls, but between 293-273 BC it revolted and lost its independence and half its territory where the Romans founded the colonies of Fregenae, Alsium, Pyrgi and Castrum Novum. Caere's decline dates from this time, Strabo 5.2.3; Classical Sites p180.
4. Bronze age habitation has been attested and the area appears to have flourished from the 7th to 5th centuries BC because of its position on commercial routes, Classical Sites p941.
5. Table H.
7. Table H.
once an Etruscan city but became a Roman market town. It was located beside the river Cremura 16 km north west of Rome.\textsuperscript{1} Falerii was located approximately 30km north of Veii on a long narrow tongue where several tributaries of the Treia unite to flow north to the Tiber.\textsuperscript{2} The Falerii were eventually forced to leave this site and move to a more accessible one 4.8 km west of the old site. Evidence on the site ranges from the 3rd century BC to the early empire.\textsuperscript{3} 

No clear geographical pattern was able to be established for the commemoration of children in \textit{Regio VII}, except that the majority of children were found in towns located either on the main thoroughfares or in the eastern seaboard area, the section of \textit{Regio VII} closest to Rome. The effect that an Etruscan based heritage may have had on the development of these sites under the Empire is an area that may also have influenced commemorative patterns.

\textsuperscript{1} The site has bronze age and Villanovan remains and once controlled a large expanse of territory as far as Falerii (including Capena) to the north, down to the coastal and salt marshes and extending north north west to Lake Bracciano, possibly including Nepet and Sutrium, \textit{Classical Sites} p958. Veii clashed with Rome around 396 BC and the town destroyed and its territories annexed. It was the centre of a rich agricultural area, and the town was soon reoccupied but was never again politically important. From this period Veii went into slow decline, but was made a \textit{municipium} under Augustus and continued until the fourth century AD, \textit{Classical Sites} p958.

\textsuperscript{2} It was the chief city of the Falerians who considered themselves Etruscan, but whose language was closer to Latin. They were allied with Veii and Tuscania for much of the early fighting against Rome and when they rebelled against Rome in 241 had both Roman consuls sent against them, \textit{Classical Sites} pp323-24.

\textsuperscript{3} \textit{Classical Sites} p324.
Regio VII
The Children of the Inscriptions

Regiones VII and VIII produced the smallest numbers of inscriptions which included the ages of the deceased. Regio VII itself also produced the lowest number of children. However, Regio VII produced the lowest overall sex ratio of any of the areas studied. Of the fifty five inscriptions, twenty nine were to boys and twenty six to girls (sex ratio 112). Female children in Regio VII therefore had a better chance of commemoration than in the other areas analysed in this study. The majority of male children were commemorated below the age of ten years. 41.5% of male children were commemorated in both the categories of under one to four years, and five to ten years respectively. Only one child was commemorated with an age at death under one year. The majority of female children (46%) were commemorated with an age at death between five and ten years, while equal numbers of children (27%) were found between the age ranges of under one to four years, and ten to fourteen years.

The majority of children commemorated in Regio VII were of either freeborn status (40%) or undifferentiated free status (35%). Regio VII had by far the highest percentage of freeborn

1. See above p24. Ostia 24.5% (IPO 24%; CIL 25%); Rome 22.5% (Vatican Cemetery 26%, Columbaria 23%); Regio I East 16%; Regio II 20%; Regiones VII and VIII 15 respectively.
2. See above p25 and Appendix 3 Table 1. Ostia 42% (IPO 34%; CIL 42%); Rome 33.5% (Vatican Cemetery 42% Columbaria 33%); Regio I East 35%; Regio II 25.5%; Regio VII 16.5%; Regio VIII 21.5%.
3. Appendix 3 Table 1.
4. Table H. 8 inscriptions were fragmentary.
5. Appendix 3 Table 1.
6. Appendix 3 Table 10.
7. 12/29 children in each category.
8. 1 male child, CIL 11.2914a.
9. 12/26 children.
10. 22 inscriptions, 13 males and 9 females.
11. Ambigui 19 inscriptions, 9 males and 10 females.
children who were commemorated with status indicators. The majority of freeborn children came from the seaboard district of Regio VII, the area of *Regio VII* which yielded the largest number of children. The towns of Tarquinii and Volaterrae collectively produced the largest number of epitaphs. In both cases at least 60% of the children commemorated in each town were *ingenui*. Perhaps the influences of notable families in these two sizeable towns still powerful, and thus the ability to claim freeborn status was a mark of standing within these communities. For example, two children from Volaterrae were commemorated with the name Caecina, the *nomen* of an influential family of at least the late Republican period. One child in *Regio VII* was of definite servile origin. The boy was a *verna* who died at the age of ten years, and although no dedicatory was listed, the name of his owner was included on the epitaph. 618% of the memorials from *Regio VII* were to children who were probably also *servi*. The remainder of children (5%) were *liberti*. 47% of children in *Regio VII* were commemorated with a form of status indication, the highest percentage of any area studied. The most noticeable trend amongst status groups in this area of Italy was the high number of freeborn children commemorated with status indication.

Only one *alumnus* under the age of fourteen was found in *Regio VII*. Lacena, who died at the age of one year was honoured on her death by her foster mother Baebia [...] this and her natural father Ti. Claudius Hermes.

1. See above p36. Rome 9%; Ostia 9%; *Regio I* west of Ostia 2%; *Regio II* 10%; *Regio VIII* 11%.
2. *Visentium* 2 children; *Tuscania* 1 child; *Sutrium* 2 children; *Tarquinii* 6 children; *Caere* 1 child; *Careiae* 1 child; *Veii* 1 child *Capena* 2 children. Freeborn children were only found at Volaterrae (5 children and *Perusia* 1 child) outside this area.
3. Five of the eight children from Volaterrae were *ingenui*; *CIL 11.1755*; 1764; 1768; 1776; 1784 and six of the ten at Tarquinii were also *ingenui*; *CIL 11.3410*; 3428; 3455; 3457; 3474; 3497.
4. *CIL 11.1764*; 1768
5. See above p174.
7. *Servi?* 9 inscriptions (5 male, 4 female); *Alumna S?* one female.
8. 1 male and 2 female children.
Several children from Regio VII were jointly commemorated with adults of prominent standing within their communities. Eight year old Fabia Fortunata shared her memorial with an Augustalis named M. Antonius Neantus. However, no relationship was expressed between these two individuals, and it may be that their dedicators commemorated them together to reduce burial expenses. On another memorial freeborn T Egnatius Rufus was commemorated on an epitaph along with a two year old boy who may have been his son. Editors have reconstructed this title as q(uaestor), aed(ilis) dict(ator) Etrur(iae), dec(emvir), aed(ilis), et T Rufo in mil Coh VI Pr 7 P Clodi. Two copies of the inscription were set up, one at Sutrium and the other at Caere, reflecting Rufus' prominent position within these two towns, perhaps as patron and/or 'favourite son'. The child on the bottom of the inscription was also honoured by way of the iconography adorning his stone. On the bottom of both inscriptions was the carving of a bulla hanging from neck chain with a bowl, vines and bunches of grapes below. The style of inscription and the fact that two copies were made suggest that Egnatius was quite wealthy. This stone was erected by Egnatia, the liberta of Rufus. She is not named as the wife of Rufus nor as the mother of the child. The only other person to hold a title of any form in Regio VII was freeborn L. Caesius Cestius, father of L. Caesius Balbinus who erected the inscription. Cestius was honoured as a II ViR. This man was commemorated in first position also set up for the dedicator's brother, sister, grandmother and two sons who died at the ages of one year and three months respectively.

One inscription from Colonia Saturnia which was set up to honour seven year old Secunda Publicia and two other adults also exhibited some interesting characteristics. The child Secunda was honoured by her parents Tertius and Publicia Fortunata. Tertius also honoured on the bottom of the inscription his coniunx and filius who were probably from a first marriage and who had probably died before Secunda Publicia. Tertius and

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1. CIL 11.1344a +b.
2. CIL 11.3257=3615.
3. CIL 11 pt 1 p493.
4. See above p80.
5. CIL 11.2914a.
6. CIL 11.2656.
his son Primitivus have the abbreviation \textit{C(oloniae) S(aturniae)}
added to their names, suggesting perhaps that they were natives of the settlement.

\textit{Regio VIII}

\textbf{Geographical Setting}

Aemilia, Region VIII, was a part of Cisalpine Gaul until 42 BC when the province was incorporated into Italy.\footnote{\textit{Parker} (1987) p.18} It was the last district of the Italian mainland to be included not only because of its distance from Rome, but also because of certain geographical features which inhibited its development.\footnote{\textit{Parker} (1980) p.10} The area suffered from high rainfall and excess water from melted snow which formed on the Alps and Apennines.\footnote{\textit{Cary} (1949) p.13} Much of the area was swamp, including the Po basin which was permanently flooded until drained by Roman engineers.\footnote{\textit{Cary} (1949) pp.113-3.} Similarly, before Roman occupation considerable areas of Cisalpine Gaul were also covered with dense forest and humid soil.\footnote{\textit{Parker} (1987) p.20} Most settlements in Aemilia were situated along a ridge of higher ground at the base of the Apennines (Appendix 2, Map 7).\footnote{\textit{Cary} (1949) p.15} Much of the Po plain, with its host of new Roman towns and its flat terrain, was divided up into irregular parcels of land.\footnote{\textit{Cary} (1949) pp.120.} The Romans developed a timber industry and used the area to breed herds of spelt-fed pigs for the Roman market. They also cultivated a greater part of the plain and revealed its abundant fertility. The reclaimed polder land consisted of fat alluvial soil which received a new increment of plant food by sedimentation after each spring flood, and in the rare event of a summer drought it could easily be refreshed by irrigation from the numerous drainage canals.\footnote{\textit{Breeze} (1927) p.107.} Towns in this area were often strategically located. For example, Bononia was founded after 400 BC in a plain at the base of the Apennines to serve as a road centre.\footnote{\textit{Cary} (1949) p.115.} Ariminum was placed at the tip of the...
Aemilia, Region VIII, was a part of Cisalpine Gaul until 42 BC\(^1\) when the province was incorporated into Italy.\(^2\) It was the last district of the Italian mainland to be included not only because of its distance from Rome, but also because of certain geographical features which inhibited its development.\(^3\) The area suffered from high rainfall and excess water from melted snow which formed on the Alps and Apennines.\(^4\) Much of the area was swamp, including the Po basin which was permanently flooded until drained by Roman engineers.\(^5\) Similarly, before Roman occupation considerable areas of Cisalpine Gaul were also covered with dense forest and humid soil.\(^6\) Most settlements in Aemilia were situated along a ledge of higher ground at the base of the Apennines (Appendix 2 Map 7).\(^7\) Much of the Po plain, with its host of new Roman towns and its flat terrain, was divided up into regular parcels of land.\(^8\) The Romans developed a timber industry and used the area to breed herds of mast-fed pigs for the Roman market. They also cultivated a greater part of the plain and revealed its abundant fertility. The reclaimed plodder land consisted of fat alluvial soil which received a new increment of plant food by sedimentation after each spring flood, and in the rare event of a summer drought it could easily be refreshed by irrigation from the numerous drainage canals.\(^9\) Towns in this area were often strategically located. For example, Bononia was founded after 400 BC in a plain at the base of the Apennines to serve as a road centre.\(^10\) Ariminum was placed at the tip of the

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2. Other regions in this area were XI (Transpadana), X (Venetia north of the Po), and IX (Liguria), Chilver (1941) p1.
7. Cary (1949) p120.
Aemilian plain where the Via Flaminia entered Northern Italy and became the Via Aemilia. The Via Aemilia linked a chain of Roman colonies extending along the Apennine foothills and led to the Po bridgehead at Placentia. The intermediate stations of Parma and Mutina became two of Italy's chief clothing centres.  

Approximately one thousand two hundred and forty five pagan inscriptions from Regio VIII survive from twenty three sites. Five of these sites did not produce any inscriptions which included ages at death. With the exception of Florentia which was located in the southern section of Regio VIII, all these sites were in the Northern section of the region to the left of the Via Aemilia. Perhaps the use of ages at death upon inscriptions in this area was not popular. 21.5% of inscriptions which included the age at death of the deceased in Regio VII were to children under the age of fourteen. Regio VIII, along with Regio VII produced the lowest number of inscriptions which included an age at death. Regio VIII, however, yielded more children than Regio VII alone.

No inscriptions commemorating children were found at nine of the twenty three sites, including Caesena, Florentia, Regium Lepidum, Corregio, Tannetum, Fidentia, Veleia, Forum Novum or...

2. Appendix 3 Table I.
3. Appendix 3 Table I & Appendix 2 Map 7. Forum Novum; Fidentia; Florentia; Veleia; Sacrarium Minervae prope Travi.
4. Appendix 3 Table 1.
5. See above p24. Ostia 24.5% (IPO 24%; CIL 25%); Rome 22.5% (Vatican Cemetery 26%, Columbaria 23%); Regio I East 16%; Regio II 20%; Regiones VII and VIII 15 respectively.
6. See above p25 and Appendix 3 Table 1. Ostia 42% (IPO 34%; CIL 42%); Rome 33.5% (Vatican Cemetery 42% Columbaria 33%); Regio I East 35%; Regio II 25.5%; Regio VII 16.5%; Regio VIII 21.5%.
7. Veleia and Placentia were the westernmost municipalities in Regio VIII. Veleia was located 30km south of Placentia on the road from the Po Valley to Luna, and is believed to have prospered from the first to third centuries AD. It became a Roman colony in 89 BC and in 49 obtained full Roman citizenship as part of the Tribus Galeria. Its forum contained a series of marble statues of the Julio Claudian family. The area had the same centuriation pattern as Ariminum and some Republican and Imperial evidence survives, though little is known about the site. Veleia's alimentary Table, CIL 11.1147, was recorded on a bronze plaque recording a deposit by Trajan of 1,116,000 sesterces to promote agricultural development in Veleia with the 5% interest from it to provide food for 300 poor children of the town, Classical Sites p960.
the *Sacrarium Minervae prope Travi*. Tannetum was positioned off the Via Aemilia on a subsidiary road between the two towns of Brixellum and Parma. Only one child was found at Brixellum itself. Corregio was located to the North east of Mutina off all main roads while the remaining settlements were situated inland amongst the lower Apeninnes. Only Caesena,¹ Regium Lepidum² and Fidentia³

<table>
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<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>No of Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>No of Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>Ravenna</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ariminum</td>
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<td>19</td>
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<td>0</td>
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<td>Forum Popili</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forum Livi</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faventia</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forum Corneli</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claternae</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bononia</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutina</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regium Lepidum</td>
<td>54</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correggio et viciniae</td>
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<td>Tannetum</td>
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<td>Forum Novum</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Placentia</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Table I: *Regio VIII*. Distribution of Inscriptions finds by Town.

1. The settlement of Caesena was located along the Via Aemilia near the Rubicon approximately 20km North of Ariminium. Caesena produced the best wine of all the wine producing towns along the Via Aemilia. It held municipal rights, *Classical Sites* p183.

2. Regium Lepidum was located on the Via Aemilia between Modena and Parma, and was founded in 187 or 175 BC by M. Aemilius Lepidus. The town was a *municipium* and was particularly prosperous in the 1st century AD, *Classical Sites* p752.

3. Fidentia probably began its independent existence after the beginning of the principate as it apparently lost its independence at some time and had the *tribus* Pollia common to many Aemilian towns which received citizenship in 89 BC. It was called an oppidium by Pliny but during the Antonine period was called only a *vicus*, Chilver (1941) pp64-5.
were on the Via Aemilia. On the southern section of the Via Aemilia the sites of Claternae and Faventia were positioned between Bononia and Ariminum. These also recorded very small finds of children.

Ravenna and its surrounding territory yielded the largest body of inscriptions (20% of the total body). Ravenna was one of the main coastal towns on the Adriatic in Regio VIII. It attained citizenship as a municipium in 49 BC, and was made a base for the Adriatic fleet by Augustus. A new harbour was established at Classis 4km south of Ravenna which in the second century AD housed two hundred and fifty ships, and a canal was constructed to carry waters from a small branch of the Po through the city to the new harbour. The old town was enlarged and included the area Caesarea which lay between the old town and the new harbour. The city consequently became a flourishing centre of seaborne trade supported by shipbuilding, linen, fish, wine and asparagus. It was also largely a naval arsenal and station rather than a commercial town and port. The majority of commemorative inscriptions honour members of the fleet, but the dedications to children differ from a similar naval base such as Misenum.

1. According to Pliny the Elder, Faventia was renown for the manufacture of shining white linen made from flax, Pliny Historia Naturalis 19.2 (9). Columella also lists Faventia as an important centre for the production of wine, Columella De Re Rustica 3.3.2 cf Varro De Re Rustica 1.2.7; Pliny Historia Naturalis 14.(67).
2. At Claternae only 1 child was found, while only 2 were discovered at Faventia.
3. 15 children. It also had the highest percentage of inscriptions which included the age at death of the deceased (39%).
5. Dio Cassius 55.33.3.
9. Misenum was the chief naval station of Rome on the Tyrrhenic Coast. Dedications to thirteen children from CIL 10.3334-3681 have survived. Ten of these children were commemorated by or along with individuals who possessed a military title (for example 13.3496; 3502; 3505; 3547). As will be seen below, the Ravennan evidence does not follow the same pattern despite the presence of the fleet.
The other sizeable towns in Regio VIII located along the Via Aemilia of Ariminum, Mutina, Parma, Bononia and Placentia produced much smaller finds of children. Ariminum was located on the Adriatic coast between the Ariminus and Aprusa rivers and was approximately 30 km up from the junction at Fanum of the Via Aemilia and the Via Flaminia (one of the three main roads leading from Rome). It was an important link on the Via Aemilia which stretched back to the western Alps. Mutina was located, on the Via Aemilia between Bononia and Rhegium Lepidum 100 km in from Ariminum. Parma was located on the Via Aemilia south of Padus. The site was refounded by Augustus, and became known as the colonia Iulia Augusta Parma. Parma, along with Mutina, became one of Italy’s chief clothing centres. Bononia was first founded as a Roman colony in 268 BC, Chilver (1941) p6, and probably held the status of a municipium, Chilver (1941) p18. In the Imperial period it became a colonia Augusta, CIL11.408:414. Chilver points out that the dedications made frequently by vicani vicorum VII jointly with the vici suggest that they had some special standing in the community in association with the Emperor, very much like those found in the regiones of Rome, Chilver (1941) p18, CIL 11.377; 379; 404; 417-19; 421. Chilver also gives evidence for a similar situation at the Augustan colony at Pisidian Antioch and indicates that two names of the vici (Velabrus and Cermalus) are common to both Pisidian Antioch and Ariminium CIL 3.6810-12; 6814; 6835-7. Ariminum had been the temporary headquarters for Augustus during the Illyrian wars and remains of an arch of Augustus, a bridge of Tiberius and an amphitheatre have been found, Classical Sites p93.

1. 4 children.
2. 4 children.
3. 2 children.
4. 3 children.
5. 2 children.
6. It was first founded as a Roman colony in 268 BC, Chilver (1941) p6, and probably held the status of a municipium, Chilver (1941) p18. In the Imperial period it became a colonia Augusta, CIL11.408:414. Chilver points out that the dedications made frequently by vicani vicorum VII jointly with the vici suggest that they had some special standing in the community in association with the Emperor, very much like those found in the regiones of Rome, Chilver (1941) p18, CIL 11.377; 379; 404; 417-19; 421. Chilver also gives evidence for a similar situation at the Augustan colony at Pisidian Antioch and indicates that two names of the vici (Velabrus and Cermalus) are common to both Pisidian Antioch and Ariminium CIL 3.6810-12; 6814; 6835-7. Ariminum had been the temporary headquarters for Augustus during the Illyrian wars and remains of an arch of Augustus, a bridge of Tiberius and an amphitheatre have been found, Classical Sites p93.
7. Classical Sites p93.
8. Livy 39.2
9. It was first mentioned as a Roman stronghold in 218 BC and Rome apparently held Mutina from this point on without interruption despite an unsuccessful sacking by the Ligurians in 177 BC. It was made citizen colony in 183 and gained great notoriety for its successful resistance against Pompey in 78 BC and Antony in 43 BC, Livy 39.55; 41.16; Chilver (1941) p6.
11. Parma was first recorded as a Roman colony in 183 BC, Chilver (1941) p6; Classical Sites p233. It was sacked by Mark Antony in 43 BC and a large number of its leading citizens were also executed, Cicero Ad Familiares 10.33; Orationes Philippicae 14.3.8.
12. Chilver (1941) p18
14. A Latin colony was established at Bononia in 189 BC, Chilver (1941) p6. It became a municipium in 89 BC and a colonia under the Empire. Chilver (1941) p17 Pliny Historia Naturalis 3.115; Tacitus Annales 12.58; CIL
strategically located at the crossroads of the Via Aemilia and the Via Cassia (which ran over the Apennines south west to Florentia and Aquileia,¹ and to the north east to Hostilia and Verona).² Bononia was damaged by fire during the reign of Claudius and was given a grant of 100,000 sesterces by the senate after Nero had pleaded on its behalf.³ Placentia was a northern Italian town near the confluence of Trebia and Padus situated on the Western terminus of the Via Aemilia.⁴

Several fora, small roadside settlements that were founded as administrative and market centres throughout Italy, were situated along the Via Aemilia serving the settlements in the Po Valley. They included Forum Corneli,⁵ Forum Livi,⁶ and Forum Popili⁷ and Forum Novum, mentioned above. Forum Novum was a municipium located south west of Parma off all main thoroughfares at the base of the Apennines where no children were found.⁸ Forum Popili, was located 5 km north along the Via Aemilia from Caesena, and produced evidence for the commemoration of only one child.⁹ Similarly, at Forum Livii, approximately 5km north of Forum Popili, only one child was found.¹⁰ Only two children were discovered at Forum Corneli which was located 10 km north of Faventia along

11.701; 702; 711; 716. Although allowed to remain neutral, Bononia was drawn into in the civil wars when it was occupied on several occasions during the Mutina campaign. It received colonists initially from both Mark Antony and then from Octavian who wished to claim the colony for himself. The colony was later supported again by Octavian as Augustus and then by Gaius, Chilver (1941) p17.

1. Chilver (1941) p33.
2. Chilver (1941) p58.
3. Chilver (1941) p227; Tacitus Annales 12.58; Suetonius Nero 7.2.
4. It was established as a Latin colony despite Boian opposition 219 BC, and was famous for having harboured the Romans after the battle of Trebia, resisting Hasdrubal, and surviving the Gallic and Ligurian devastations all between 200-190 BC. Placentia also felt the effects of the Civil Wars in the late Republic, Polybius 3.40.66; Livy 27.39.43; 31.10.21; 34.22.56; 37.46f; Suetonius Otho 9.2; SHA Marcus Aurelius 21; Tacitus Historiae 2.19. OCD (1971) p837. Placentia became a municipium in 89 BC and probably a Roman colony under Augustus, but is seldom mentioned in the literary sources and has left very little archaeological record, Chilver (1941) p18 & 58.

6. The establishment of Forum Livi was sometimes associated with C Livius Salinator in 188 BC, Ruoff-Väänänen (1987) p36-37.
8. Chilver (1941) p68.
9. CIL 11.584.
10. Approximately 13 of this number are severely damaged.
the Via Aemilia. On the whole, fora have produced a dearth of burial evidence suggesting that unless people lived in close proximity to these small, administrative centres, they may have utilized burial plots closer to their places of residence.

Thus the larger towns along the Via Aemilia, while producing more inscriptive finds for the commemoration of children than the smaller settlements along the same road, and more than those sites located off the main thoroughfares, did not produce a great deal of evidence for the commemoration of children with permanent memorials. Ravenna, due to the presence of the fleet, may have been more influenced by practices followed in Rome and Ostia than were other settlements in this area. Perhaps the number of fora found in this Regio are indicative of the type of settlement patterns favoured. Again, the majority of the population may have worked and lived outside the smaller towns and fora and used such establishments for necessary administrative purposes and religious festivals only.

72% of epitaphs to children in Regio VIII were of undifferentiated free status.¹ Four children (11%) were definitely freeborn.² Two of the four freeborn children were from Ravenna³ including the alumnus Publicius Valentinus who died at the age of six years.⁴ The remaining freeborn children were discovered at Forum Corneli,⁵ and Claternae.⁶ 3% of inscriptions were to servi⁷ while the remaining 11% were to children who were possibly of servile status. Only 14% of children in this area were commemorated with status indication, a figure higher than only Regio I East of Ostia.

Only two children commemorated as alumni were found in Regio VIII.⁸ Both inscriptions came from Ravenna. The memorial of freeborn Gaius Publicius Ampliatus was erected by both his foster father Gaius Publicius Procleianus and his natural parents Publicius Dionysius and Aurelia Tyche.⁹ If the child’s natural parents were liberti, they must have gained their freedom before the birth of their son in order for the child to be recorded with filiation. Even if the parents were freeborn, why would they find it necessary to foster out their child? The lament recorded on the inscription attributed to the child instructs the parents to put aside their grief and lamentations as death has brought respite from all of the burdens of life.¹⁰ Perhaps economically the natural parents were unable to care for the child. Epictetus wrote of the plight of the libertus who, despite finally achieving the freedom he had desired

¹ Appendix 3 Table 4. Ambigui 27/36 children (18 males, including one alumnus and 4 ingenui?; 9 females including 3 ingenuae?).
² CIL 11.162; 207; 687; 1076.
³ CIL 11.162.
⁴ CIL 11.207.
⁵ CIL 11.673.
⁶ CIL 11.706.
⁷ CIL 11.435. The child was commemorated by his owner Aemilius Entellus of undifferentiated free status.
⁸ CIL 11.207; 208.
⁹ CIL 11.207.
¹⁰ Tempera iam genitor lacrimis tuque optima mater desine iam flere poenam non sentio mortis poena fuit vita requies mihi morte parata est.
for so long, was more inhibited than when he was a slave because he had to find the means to provide the necessities of life such as food, clothing and medical care. 1 Italy was undoubtedly populated by many freeborn poor and perhaps, if this was the lot of Publicius Dionysius and Aurelia Tyche, they fostered the child with someone better able to provide at least the basics, and perhaps even training for the future. The foster father who erected the inscription was on good enough terms with the natural parents to record them on the memorial, and the child's lament suggests that the natural parents did keep in contact with their son. The second *alumnus* received a much simpler memorial when he died at the age of twelve. 2

Publicius Valentinus was commemorated by his foster parents Publicius Basilides and Romania Valentina. Studies have shown that in general *Regio* VIII possessed the highest number of commemorations to *alumni* of all ages after *Regio* I, 3 though only two of these were children under the age of fourteen in the *CIL* collection.

Eight inscriptions, six from Ravenna and Ager Ravennas, 4 one from Bononia, 5 and one from Mutina 6 share similar characteristics of construction. In all cases an abbreviation was included after the name of the male dedicator, expressing either occupation or nationality. P. Aelius Maximus was a ship captain or *tr(ierarcha)*, 7 while Gaius Didius Celer 8 and Gaius Iulius Crescens were sailors or *n(aute)*. 9 Iulius Germanus recorded that he was *armorum cust(os)*. 10 Marcus Aurelius Theodotus on the other hand included *n(atione) a[cl]tius nicop(olitanus)* after his name to explicate his place of origin. 11 Titus Gaius Eminens *v(eteranus) cl(assis) pr(aetoriae) r(avennatis) n(atione) syr(us)* erected an epitaph for

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4. *CIL* 11.25; 38; 66; 135; 138; 352.
6. *CIL* 11.836. Two men listed on the inscription, one dedicator and one dedicatee are named as veterans.
9. *CIL* 11.138. The father of Iulia Prima, Gaius Iulius Crescens also uses this abbreviation.
10. *CIL* 11.66. Paul *Digest* 49.16.14.1 implies that a person holding this position was responsible for supplying arms to soldiers.
himself, his wife Cassia Martina n(atione) Syr(a) and their five year old son.\(^1\) Many people in Ravenna proudly displayed their birth places\(^2\) or even their Italian heritage.\(^3\) Two inscriptions from Bononia\(^4\) also feature dedicators and dedicatees who had served in the Roman armed forces.

From Ravenna an inscription set up to a three year old boy named Manfridonius used a peculiar form of nomenclature. The initial of the *praenomen* of the father in the filiation title, Marcus, does not match the *praenomen* initial when his full name is listed (C. Terentius Erastus).\(^5\) There are several possible theories which may be put forward to explain this phenomenon. Perhaps the filiation was taken from the grandfather of the child on the mother’s side. The father could also have been one of two sons and had been given an alternative *praenomen* to distinguish between the two brothers; he went by this unofficial name though legally he was a Marcus. may also have been the step father of the child. The inscription was set up to Erastus’ *filio dulcissimo* but this does not rule out the possibility that he was not the natural father of the child.

Only one inscription from this region recorded on the memorial itself that the burial space was provided by a person other than the dedicators.\(^6\) Six year old T. Gaius Iulius who died at the age of six years was buried by his father T. Gaius Eminens, veteran of the Ravennan navy and native of Syria, and his mother Cassia Martina, also a native of Syria. The actual burial space was provided by M Sempronius Graptus, friend of the family. The epitaph was also set up to honour Graptus himself, and the inscription contains instructions to the effect that people found guilty of violating the tomb were liable to pay a monetary penalty to the *municipium* of Ravenna.\(^7\) The child bore the same *nomen* as his father was Gaius, a name usually used as a *praenomen*. Both this inscription and the

\(^1\) *CIL* 11.352.
\(^2\) For example, see *CIL* 11.29; 37; 43; 59; 61; 70; 98; 103.
\(^3\) *CIL* 11.83.
\(^4\) *CIL* 11.836.
\(^5\) *CIL* 11.227.
\(^6\) *CIL* 11.352.
\(^7\) *Si quis* h(anc) a(rcam) p(ost) e(xcessum) s(upra) s(criptorum) a(peruerit), dab(it) in r(em) p(ublicam) m(unicipii) R(avernatis) HS [...milia nummum]).
one to the *alumnus* above show that there were people who desired to erect permanent memorials to their children, but who perhaps would not have been able to do this without the assistance of others outside the nuclear family.

The geographical location and physical setting of towns and villages throughout Italy does seem to bear some relation to the commemorative patterns found for children. On the whole the contents of the inscriptions were similar for each area analysed, though, as highlighted above, each area did have some unique features. Before the physical setting and location question is addressed more conclusively, the towns that received Imperial alimentary grants in the Early Empire which were located the areas covered by this study will be examined. Can any further influences be determined in these areas which may have affected the manner in which certain groups chose to honour children in death?
Eleven towns surveyed in this study were the recipients of imperial alimentary schemes. At the end of the 1st century AD the Roman government created a system designed to feed selected Italian children by loaning Italian landowners large sums of money against the security of their land. The interest on these loans was given to selected children who lived in these municipalities in the form of a subsistence allowance. Evidence for the alimenta system has been found in approximately fifty Italian towns. Unfortunately the uneven survival rate of epigraphic evidence and the difficulty in interpreting some of the extant inscriptions makes the process of determining the exact number of towns that received such aid impossible. To date, the Veleian alimentary scheme is the best documented, although why Trajan chose to set up such a scheme in Veleia is still unknown. Trajan, who ruled between AD 98-117, put forward 1,116,000 sesterces towards an alimentary project in Veleia. The 5% interest from this investment was to provide food for three hundred children. Each month two hundred and forty five


2. Dio Cassius 68.5.4 mentions that Trajan gave Italian cities money to feed their children and in the fourth century it was recorded by an anonymous author that Nerva had ordered girls and boys born of needy parents in the towns of Italy to be fed at public expense (Aurelius Victor *Epitome de Caesaribus* 12.4). This may also be a reference to the Imperial alimenta schemes. Hadrian reputedly increased the amount of money that Trajan had given to children in the form of alimenta, *SHA Hadrian* 7.8; Antoninus Pius established an alimenta fund for girls in honour of his wife Faustina, *SHA Antoninus Pius* 8.1, and Marcus Aurelius set up another branch of the Faustinian alimentariae, *SHA, Marcus Antoninus* 26.4-9.

5. See above p153 for information on Ligures Baebiani.
6. Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 3.49; *CIL* 11.1147.
legitimate males were to receive 16 sesterces each, forty seven legitimate females 12 sesterces each, one illegitimate male child 12 sesterces and one illegitimate female child 10 sesterces. However, from the study of the funerary inscriptions in this area, none were found to commemorate children with an age at death.\(^1\) Can any theories be put forward to explain this apparent anomaly?

The debate over the purpose the imperial alimentary schemes and the section of Italian society at which it was aimed is still a matter of vigorous debate.\(^2\) Unfortunately, the *Digest* of Roman Law is largely unhelpful in matters concerning such grants of *alimenta*. The usage of *alimenta* in the *Digest* covers a wide range of topics and status groups. In most cases *alimenta* was equated with the concept of maintenance; that is, the provision of food, clothing and other necessities determined by one’s wealth and status.\(^3\) It was an important enough matter to warrant a ruling by Marcus Aurelius that the praetor could be approached at any time, even on a holiday, a day on which public business was not normally transacted, that is, if a case of *alimenta constituuntur*.\(^4\)

It encompassed issues concerning property belonging to married couples,\(^5\) the maintenance of people or property (including freedmen and slaves)\(^6\) transmitted by will or inheritance,\(^7\)

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1. Tables H & J: 101 inscriptions, 0 with ages.
2. Woolf (1990) summarises the different viewpoints and adds his own.
3. Ulpian *Digest* 2.15.8 (passim); Neratius *Digest* 38.1.50.1 *But not only the freedmen, but anyone else engaged in performing services, is to be provided with food, or be allowed sufficient time to earn the price of his food, and all are to be left time to take necessary care of themselves; Ulpian* *Digest* 42.3.6; *assessment of assets of someone who comes into money or other usufructs or legacies after being declared bankrupt, it is ruled by Ulpian that there should be no renewed sale of his assets from which he derives no more than his basic maintenance.*
4. Ulpian *Digest* 2.12.2; *The deified Marcus, in a speech delivered to the senate, provided that in some matters the praetor might be approached even on holidays, for example, that tutors or curators may be appointed, so that those failing to carry out their duties may be warned, that excuses may be brought forward, alimenta constituantur; that ages may be investigated; that a missio in possessionem may be granted on account of unborn children, the keeping of property safe, legacies or fideicommissa or threatened danger...*
5. *Digest* 23.4.22.
6. *Digest* 25.3.5.18; 25.3.6; 31.1.88.11; 31.1.13.1; 33.1.16; 34.1.10; 34.5.29; 35.1.84; 38.1.18; 38.4.11; 40.10.1; 41.7.8; 42.8.23.
7. *Digest* 5.1.50.1; 10.2.39; 12.6.23.2; 22.1.3.4; 24.1.28.1; 28.8.9; 33.1.19; 34.1 (passim); 34.8.3; 35.3.3.4; 37.14.24.
legacies and gifts, and the provision of care or maintenance for the insane, children, grandchildren, parents and patrons. The concerns and rulings reflected in the Roman lawcode were not applied universally to the whole of Roman society, but only to that portion who possessed property and wealth, or to slaves, freedmen and other heirs who had inherited property or wealth. For example, around the close of the third century AD the question arose as to whether it was possible for alimenta to be voted to decurions who had lost their fortune, especially if this occurred as a result of performing public benefactions. Maintenance was sought, not for all who were impoverished or who had lost property through bankruptcy or other means, but only for that section of the local elite who had been involved in public offices which demanded large amounts of personal wealth to be spent on behalf of the community. In the third century alimenta was subject to both the Lex Falcidia and a government tax.

Children who were considered impubes were frequently mentioned in the Digest in conjunction with alimenta. Most of the examples or laws concerning such children dealt with the obligation of adults responsible for both their well being and the management of their property. For example, it was believed that children should be supported by their fathers, mothers, grandfathers and any other relative capable of providing alimenta if the need arose. Fathers therefore had certain obligations of maintenance towards their children, even if these children were no longer in power. Similarly, mothers were responsible for their illegitimate children, and heirs and relatives had to prove that they had good reasons for not ensuring that a

1. Digest 2.15.8.21; 7.1.7.2; 10.2.38; 31.1.77.1; 36.2.20; 36.2.26; 50.4.18.11.
2. Digest 24.3.22.8.
3. Digest 27.10.16.1-16.2; 34.1.10.1-10.2; 34.1.14-14.1; 34.1.20 (passim); 35.2.95 (passim) 35.2.89.
4. Digest 25.3.5.15; 25.3.5.16; 27.3.1.2f; 28.7.9.
5. Digest 25.3.5.19; 25.3.5.20; 25.3.5.21; 25.3.5.22; 25.3.5.23; 25.3.5.24; 25.3.5.25; 25.3.5.26; 25.3.9; 28.7.9; 38.1.41.
6. Hermogenian Digest 5.2.8.
7. Passed in 40 BC, the Lex Falcidia decreed that one quarter of a person's assets had to be left to his or her heirs. Any legacies that exceeded three quarters of the estate had to be cut down pro rata, Crook (1967) p124.
8. Aemilius Macer Digest 35.2.68.
child received *alimenta*. However, if it was shown that, for example, a son (presumably an older son who had possibly been emancipated) could provide *alimenta* for himself, judges were not bound to compel the provision of maintenance. Heirs were prevented from bringing cases of unauthorised administration against relatives who had provided maintenance for children from their own rather than the child’s estate, as maintenance provided in such cases was done out of a sense of obligation to a family member. *Alimenta* was also provided for certain children who were *servi* or *alumni* if such provisions had been left as a form of inheritance or legacy in a will.

Issues concerning the *alimenta* of *pupilli* were also dealt with under Roman Law, and a section of Book 27 of the *Digest* was devoted to matters concerning the provision of *alimenta* for such children. Provision for the maintenance of *pupilli* was to be ensured at all times by their *tutores* or *curatores*. Such administrators could be prosecuted for neglect if the affairs of their charges were found to have been mismanaged or if they had failed to appoint someone to oversee affairs in their absence. In some cases they could be deprived of their own property. A tutor who did not use his own means to provide *alimenta* for his *pupillus* was also considered untrustworthy. The praetor or other suitable magistrates were responsible for setting the level of provision to protect the property of *pupilli*. The duties of someone appointed as a *tutor* extended not only to the management of property and the provision of food and clothing for a *pupillus*, but they were also responsible for ensuring that education in respect to the status of the family was received. In cases where legal action was taken against an *impubes* or *pupillus* which resulted in their assets being frozen,

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1. Ulpian *Digest* 25.3.5 (passim).
2. Ulpian *Digest* 25.3.5.7.
3. Paul *Digest* 3.5.33.
5. Scaevola *Digest* 34.1.15; Scaevola *Digest* 36.1.80.12.
7. Tryphoninus *Digest* 27.2.6.
8. Ulpian *Digest* 26.10.7-7.3.
10. *Digest* 27.2.2-6.
11. Paul *Digest* 26.7.12.3; 37.10.6.5.
maintenance was to be provided from the estate in question until the matter could be resolved.¹ Creditors were also responsible for providing maintenance for a *pupillus* until puberty if no defence was presented on behalf of the child.² In another case legacies were left to *pupilli*, but up until their fourteenth year a monthly living and yearly clothing allowance was provided by a man who had gone surety for their *tutor*.³

Other cases in the *Digest* concerning *alimenta* only mentioned children incidentally in the course of determining specific legal principles. For example, Ulpian stated that in determining the amount of money for a *transactio* in relation to *alimenta*, the distinction as to whether an arrangement was made with a *puer a iuvenis* or a *senex* was important because *constat alimenta cum vita finiri*.⁴ In cases where the paternity of a child was in question but a ruling had been passed that the supposed father had to provide maintenance (*alimenta*) for the child, it did not follow that the child was necessarily the man's natural son.⁵ A separate ruling would be needed to determine paternity. An unborn child was to be supported through maintenance provided to his or her mother by either a *curator*⁶ or the heirs of her husband. If a child was born an inquiry would be held into the paternity of the child, and if the child was legitimate, the heirs were not entitled to recover any of the costs of maintenance that were incurred.⁷ Similarly, if a woman claimed to be married but her so-called husband denied the allegation and asserted that the woman was only a slave, he must still provide her children with *alimenta* until the matter was resolved. Again, the fact that maintenance was provided would not compromise the

¹ Ulpian *Digest* 5.23.3; 37.10.5 (passim).
² Paul *Digest* 42.5.39.
³ Scaevola *Digest* 34.3.28.
⁴ Ulpian *Digest* 2.15.8.10.
⁵ Ulpian *Digest* 1.6.10; Ulpian *Digest* 25.3.14.
⁶ Gaius *Digest* 37.9.5 *alimenta* was to be provided to the mother of an unborn child regardless of whether she had a dowry of her own from which she could be maintained or not; Ulpian *Digest* 37.9.6 if a stranger to the family was instituted as heir, the unborn child was to be put in possession and maintained from the estate if she could not be maintained from any other source in case the child was *bonorum possessor*; Ulpian *Digest* 37.9.9 also stated that if an unborn child had been placed in possession, what had been spent from the estate on its *alimenta* was subtracted as a debt.
⁷ Ulpian *Digest* 25.6.1.7.
defendant's position. In another case discussed by Ulpian, it was ruled that the actions of a minor who had given away an *infans* but at a later date attempted to claim it back by *vindicatio* were fraudulent, unless he repaid the cost of *alimenta* and met any other expenses similarly incurred in the maintenance of the slave. In all these cases, the provision of *alimenta* was determined largely by the need to ensure the protection and transmission of property. This is supported most forcefully in Ulpian's ruling that an unborn child, even one who had been disinherited, should be granted *bonorum possessio* contrary to the terms of a will and thus counted as one of the *sui heredes*:

\[\text{aequius enim vel frustra nonnumquam impednia fieri quam denegari aliquando alimenta ei, qui dominus bonorum aliquo casu futurus est.}\]

Similarly, the *tutor* of a *pupillus* who was poor was not required to provide for him from his own resources. Imperial *alimenta* may have differed from these cases involving children, and even private *alimenta* offered by men of wealth to their local communities (discussed below) may have been based on criteria other than the possession and transmission of property.

A few references in the *Digest* do deal with issues concerning *alimenta* at the civic level. For example, a person was deemed guilty of embezzlement under the *Lex Julia* if he kept in his possession public moneys from a lease, a purchase, the provision of *alimentaria* or public money used for some similar purpose.

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1. Modestinus *Digest* 25.3.7.
2. Ulpian *Digest* 44.4.4.9.
3. Ulpian *Digest* 37.9.1.3f.
4. Ulpian *Digest* 37.9.1-1.2 *For it is more just that expense should even sometimes be incurred in vain than that the maintenance should ever be refused him that is in a position to be owner of the property in some event.*
5. Ulpian *Digest* 27.2.3.6.
6. Marcian *Digest* 48.13.5-5.1. *Lege Iulia de residuis tenetur is, apud quem ex locatione, emptione, alimentaria ratione, ex pecunia quam acceptit aliae qua causa pecunia publica resedit. Sed et qui publicam pecuniam in usu aliquo acceptam retinuerit nec erogauerit, hac lege tenetur.*
In the early third century it was ruled that any private legacy left to the civitates,

\textit{sive in distributionem relinquatur sive in opus sive in alimenta vel in eruditionem puerorum sive quid aliud}

was to be held as a valid gift to the community.\footnote{Marcian \textit{Digest} 30.1.117. If anything is to be left to the civitates, it is all valid, whether it be for distributions or for public works or for the maintenance and education of boys or anything else.} In another passage Paul defined the types of legacies normally bequeathed to the state, and listed those which could be considered conducive to the honour or ornament of the \textit{civitas}.\footnote{Paul \textit{Digest} 30.1.122.} Legacies for ornament included the building of a forum, theatre or stadium, while those for honour included providing gladiatorial spectacles, wild beast shows, theatrical performances, chariot races, banquets and the distribution of largesse amongst individual citizens. He also states in this same passage that:

\begin{center}
\textit{hoc amplius quod in alimenta infirmae aetatis, puta senioribus vel pueris pellissique, relictum fuerit ad honorem civitatis pertinere respondetur.}\footnote{Paul \textit{Digest} 30.1.122.}
\end{center}

This type of private \textit{alimenta} offered for children during the reign of Hadrian, if not specified by the testator himself, was given to selected boys until the age of eighteen and selected girls up to the age of fourteen years.\footnote{Ulpian \textit{Digest} 34.1.14.1.} Pliny the Younger provided both ornamental and honorific legacies in his home town of Comum in \textit{Regio XI}.\footnote{Pliny states in \textit{Epistulae} 5.7 that he had already donated 1,600,000 sesterces to various projects in Comum. Pliny also restored a temple of Ceres on his property at Tifernum for the use of people who lived in that area \textit{Epistulae} 9.39.} He left by will funds for the construction, furnishing and maintenance of public baths, money to provide an annual public banquet and substantial funds for the support of one hundred of his freedmen.\footnote{CIL 5.5262.} While he was alive, Pliny not only paid one third of the cost of providing teachers for the children of the wealthy at Comum,\footnote{Pliny \textit{Epistulae} 4.13.3-9.} but also donated funds for the construction of a library and contributed a further 100,000 sesterces towards its upkeep.\footnote{Pliny \textit{Epistulae} 1.8.2; CIL 5.5262.} He set up a private \textit{alimenta}
scheme at Comum for *ingenui* children in lieu of providing funds for public games or gladiatorial shows.\(^1\) He explained to his friend Caninius Rufus that although he had promised a capital sum of half a million sesterces to provide an allowance for these children, he had in the end transferred some of his land which was worth much more than this amount to the *publicus manceps* and rented it back for an annual fee of 30,000 sesterces per annum.\(^2\)

Unfortunately, these literary and legal references do not shed light on the eleven alimentary towns found in this study. However, the inscriptional evidence from these sites do add to the picture of regional variation established in preceding chapters. For example, the evidence from Capena, Falerii and Ariminum suggests that there was a larger percentage of the population in these areas who resided in or very near the towns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>Regio</th>
<th>Map</th>
<th>Total Inscriptions</th>
<th>Inscriptions with Ages</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ostia</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>Map 3</td>
<td>2664</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ligures Baebiani</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Map 5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trevicum</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Map 5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compsa</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>Map 5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capena</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Map 6</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falerii</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Map 6</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forum Clodii</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Map 6</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepet</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Map 6</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonia Saturnia</td>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Map 6</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariminum</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Map 7</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Veleia</td>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>Map 7</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table J: Towns which received Imperial Alimentary Schemes

1. Pliny *Epistulae* 1.8.10; *CIL* 5.5262.
2. Pliny *Epistulae* 7.18.2-5 cf *CIL* 5.5262.
itself, and who utilized the cemeteries found outside the town boundaries (See Table J and corresponding Map references). Epitaphs commemorating children with an age at death were not found at five of the eleven sites surveyed in this study where Imperial *alimenta* schemes were known to have existed. The remaining six sites did produce some inscriptions for children, but only at Ostia was the number substantial. Moreover, at Veleia and Compsa no inscriptions were found which included an age at death for any member of the community. Interestingly, with the exception of Forum Clodii and Nepet in Regio VII, the sites that produced no finds to children were all located inland off main thoroughfares. As mentioned above, Forum Clodii was a small roadside settlement that functioned as an administrative and market centre for the surrounding rural district rather than as a populated town, and the cemeteries associated with such sites have been found to be small. Perhaps children were not buried in cemeteries associated with these types of small towns. The other sites, although situated on or near main thoroughfares, may have served populations that lived primarily outside the town, and it may be possible that their burial areas were small and scattered. Thus the geographical layout of many of these areas that received Imperial *alimenta* assistance may not have promoted the use of common burial grounds located on the outskirts of the towns that served as administrative centres for the surrounding countryside. In this case the influence of the *alimenta* system may not have materialised in the commemoration of large numbers of children because there was not the same concentration of people and physical influences as that existed in urban centres like Rome and Ostia.

It is possible that Imperial *alimenta* schemes were aimed at bolstering the livelihoods of the children of poor, just as they may have been designed to promote economic growth in certain

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1. Table J, Regio II, Ligures Baebiani & Compsa; Regio VII, Forum Clodii & Nepet; Regio VIII, Veleia.
2. See above p175.
3. Table J, Trevicum, Capena, Falerii, Colonia Saturnia and Ariminum.
4. This concept is discussed below Chapter 9.
areas within Italy.\(^1\) *Alimenta* may also have been granted to children of varying status levels who had been chosen at random. On the other hand, another theory suggests that these payments went to children of relatively high social status.\(^2\) While the specific aim of the Imperial *alimenta* system is still unclear, perhaps the dearth of permanent burial memorials to children in areas which received such benefits sheds light on another cultural phenomenon of rural towns in Italy. These communities may not have been as concerned with gaining *kudos* through commemoration of the dead or of children in large public cemeteries on the outskirts of towns, as was common in the larger centres of Italy. Perhaps participation in the Imperial cult and the ability to claim that one resided in an area that was the recipient of an *alimenta* scheme or some other type of public or private benefaction brought its own sense of community honour and participation to a population that spent the majority of its time working on the land.\(^3\)

3. Cf above p167 n1. More research is needed dealing with the relationship of towns, their surrounding settlement patterns, burials and institutions such as the Imperial cult. Unfortunately, this thesis cannot deal with such issues in much detail.
CHAPTER NINE

CHILDREN AMONG THE DEAD:
THE INFLUENCE OF THE PHYSICAL AND CULTURAL FEATURES OF URBAN SETTINGS ON THE COMMEMORATION OF CHILDREN

From the study of several differing regions of Italy, one quite striking similarity emerges. People who resided in the larger urban centres tended to commemorate children and infants more frequently than did people in more rural based communities. This finding is supported by the much larger studies undertaken by Shaw,¹ and Saller and Shaw.² Although we can never be sure of what proportion³ of the infant and child population we are examining simply because not all children were commemorated with a funerary inscription,⁴ what needs to be examined in detail, as Wiedemann once highlighted but failed to answer clearly, is for what reason some parents chose to honour some children this way (that is, with a funerary inscription that included an age at death).⁵

More recent studies have endeavoured to answer this question, and have postulated some theories that should be considered.⁶ However, another important hypothesis lies deeply interwoven in the very physical and highly public fabric of Roman society. The city of Rome and other major urban centres were subject to a high degree of ritual and custom, often influenced by the upper classes, but which affected the society as a whole. The inhabitants of these centres were also more influenced by the presence of death within their community than were people in more isolated rural areas. This chapter will examine this theory in relation to the commemoration of children in urban as opposed to rural centres,

¹ Shaw (1991) pp73f.
⁴ Also, not all children who were commemorated with a permanent memorial had an age at death recorded. Parkin (1992) p6f outlines some of these problems in more detail.
⁶ Shaw (1991) p77, examines the reason for a shift in the commemorations of children from communities who placed relatively little emphasis on children, to those who made a substantial effort to commemorate them. The factors he finds most important are urbanism and ideology.
and will try to address the problem of death in conjunction with the socialisation of children in these communities.

The surviving evidence on attitudes towards infants and children in the ancient world, is often contradictory. The analysis of such evidence to date has been problematic. Admittedly there has been a shift away from the Ariès/Stone view that parents and Roman society in general were wholly indifferent to children, particularly the very young, and hence the employment of the practices of infanticide and exposure, the use of wet nurses, and the preferential raising of male children over females. Although it is clear that both infanticide and exposure were practised, and that males were reared and commemorated more often than females, it is not possible to estimate the proportion of children affected. It is also important to understand the economic and social pressures of the time that dictated such behaviour, rather than allow modern judgements, often based on Christian morals and ethics, to colour any analysis of the evidence. On the other hand, the Manson theory that the value and warmth shown by the literature of the first century AD must have been due to a perceptual change towards children, also has its problems. According to Manson, children who were not recognised in former periods were now regarded with a certain warmth and fondness. However, as Bradley has pointed out, a balanced literary comparison is not possible because the earlier evidence does not exist. Despite the enigmatic nature of the evidence concerning attitudes towards children in ancient society, certain behavioural patterns can be established if the evidence is viewed in relation to the whole of the society in which it is found, and if some account is taken of the nature and inherent biases of the particular sources.

2. The same is true for Greek history, Patterson (1985); Boswell (1988) pp46-85.
4. Bradley (1991d) p140. See also Néraudau (1984) pp206-7 who sees the change of attitude towards children in the Early Empire as a result of fathers losing political power in the change from Republic to Empire. These men, according to Néraudau, found solace in their family. Cf Garnsey (1991) p77 who points out that this supposed lack of political power touched so few that it does not qualify as a serious explanation for a phenomenon that, after all, affected most urban-centred populations of the western Empire.
There are many examples of limitations invoked by Roman law concerning periods of mourning.1 It is recorded that Numa Pompilius had strictly rationed the mourning of infants in archaic Rome.2 Roman law also recommended that infants under twelve months were not to be mourned at all, while only a limited amount of mourning be accorded to children between the ages of one and three.3 The writings of the upper classes in both the late Republic and Early Empire are filled with directives against excessive grieving,4 particularly over the loss of young children. In the writings of Seneca, strictures are issued to people who take the deaths of their young children molliter, indulging excessively in their grief.5 According to Seneca, mourning should be reserved for intimate friends, rather than children of unknown promise.6 The loss of one's children, if used to develop one's character through control of personal grief, could be considered an experience of true worth.7 Pliny commented on the reaction of his friend C. Minicius Fundanus to the death of his daughter Minicia Marcella,8 despite his wisdom and learning, ut qui se ab ineunte aetate altioribus studiis artibusque dederit.9 Pliny also commented upon the excessive mourning of Regulus over the death of his son,10 though in much

1. According to the law of the Twelve Tables, women were prohibited from tearing their cheeks with their nails at funerals (10.4); Seneca Ad Helviam 16.1-7 mentions a public ordinance set by his ancestors that limited the period of mourning for a husband to 10 months. Seneca also points out the faults of women who have never laid aside their mourning clothes.
2. Plutarch Numa 12 cf FIRA 1:12.
3. Frag. vat. 321. (Ulpian) = FIRA 2:536; Plutarch Moralia 612 A-B (Consolation to his Wife). Plutarch reports, that according to Greek law and custom infants were not given the same libations, funeral rites or mourning as adults because they had not taken part in earthly things; Néraudau (1984) pp195-6.
4. See for example, Seneca Ad Marciam and Ad Helviam.
7. Seneca De Providentia 1.4.4-6. See also Marcus Aurelius Meditations 12.26 where it is advised that the philosophical man should pray that he has no fear of losing his child rather than praying that his sick child will not die.
8. Pliny Epistulae 5.16.1 cf ILS 1310.
10. Pliny Epistulae 4.2. See also Lucian Dialogi Mortuorum 12-15. Lucian's vivid description of a funeral is a parody of excessive grief shown mainly by the parents at the funeral of their son.
less favourable terms than that of Fundanus. Tacitus is extremely scathing over not only the fact that Nero deified his baby who was less than four months old, but also of his excessive and immoderate mourning for the child. According to Cicero, those people who were able to accept untimely death as a universal occurrence were more equipped to bear the loss of a small child. These people did not even mourn babies. In fact, Cicero's comment on the premature birth of his own grandson reflects concern only for his daughter Tullia. Although the sex of the baby is acknowledged, Cicero expresses no sentiment or attachment: *quod quidem est natum perimbecillum est.*

Similar discrepancies surround the burial of young children. Infantes less than forty days, especially in Early Rome, are thought to have been buried in the niches of walls, and were apparently not cremated if they had yet to develop teeth. It is also believed that children were buried at night accompanied by torches either to abate their fears or to dispel pollution. Until children were named on the *dies lustricus* (eight or nine days after birth for boys and girls respectively), they were considered impure and not members of the household. A child who had not been through this ceremony was more comparable to a plant than a human, even if the *paterfamilias* had raised up the child (tollere) as a newborn to indicate his willingness to raise it. If the child died after this point

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1. Pliny states of Fundanus *Ignosces, laudabis etiam, si cogitaveris quid amiserit* (Pliny *Epistulae* 5.16.9) although he is extravagantly buying incense, ointments and spices with the money he had intended for clothing, pearls and jewels (*Epistulae* 5.16.7). Regulus on the other hand slaughtered his son's pets around the funeral pyre, and set up numerous statues of his son in his gardens. Despite the intense dislike of Pliny for Regulus, Pliny is, along with the concept of excessive mourning, criticising Regulus' methods of attracting popular attention.
2. Tacitus *Annales* 15.23.
3. Cicero *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.93
6. Juvenal *Satirae* 15.139-140; Pliny *Historia Naturalis* 7.16.72.
7. Seneca *Hercules Furens* 849-874.
9. cf Aristotle *Historia Animalium* 588a, 7th day.
11. Plutarch *Quaestiones Romanae* 102 (Moralia 288 C).
there was still no guarantee that it would be accorded proper burial rites.\(^1\) Children, especially those under twelve months, were under-represented in funerary monuments.\(^2\) Studies have shown, however, that the absence of a permanent memorial did not necessarily mean that a proper burial had not taken place.\(^3\) As Morris stresses, all aspects of a burial need to be examined where possible, including the relationship of the number of graves and ages of the bodies to the number of commemorative markers.\(^4\) Unfortunately, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this work.

On the opposing side of the argument are the examples of fondness and affection shown towards children.\(^5\) Infants were often described smiling at their fathers,\(^6\) playing with toys, and becoming dizzy after spinning themselves around.\(^7\) Erotion, a favourite *vernula* of Martial who died before her sixth birthday,\(^8\) was buried in Martial’s little field somewhere on his property.\(^9\) Martial stipulated in his poem that any future owners of his property were to ensure that the proper annual respects were paid to Erotion at her grave.\(^10\) Martial spoke with great affection of her childish prattle and playfulness.\(^11\) Suetonius claimed that Livia dedicated a statue disguised as Cupid in the temple of Capitoline Venus to one

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1. Plutarch *Moralia* 612 A-B (*Consolation to his Wife*).
4. Morris (1992) p173 cf. p156 where he points out that this is not always possible because tombstones are only rarely found in direct association with the burials for which they were built.
7. Lucretius 1.936-942; 4.11-17 (physicians put honey on the cups of children to lessen the taste of bitter medicine); 3.894-896 (sweet children who run to their father to be picked up and to kiss him); 4.400-403 (becoming dizzy); Horace *Satirae* 1.3.133-136 (boys plucking at beards); 2.3.246-254 (building toy houses, harnessing mice to small carts, playing at odds and evens, & riding a long stick); *Epistulae* 1.1.62-3 (children’s rhymes); 2.2.141-142 (leaving boys to activities fit for their ages); *Ars Poetica* 158-160 (children playing); Manson (1978) & (1983).
8. See also the poems of consolation written by Statius *Silvae* 2.1, a consolation written to Atedius Melior on the death of his *alumnus*; *Silvae* 2.6 a consolation written to Flavius Ursus on the death of his favourite young slave; *Silvae* 5.5 a lament written on the death of his adopted *infans*. All these children were considered as sons despite not being biological children, see esp *Silvae* 5.5.79f.
11. Martial 5.34.7-8.
of Germanicus' children who died *unus iam puerascens insigni festivitate*, while Augustus had another placed in his bed chamber and used to kiss it fondly whenever he entered the room.\(^1\) The letters of Pliny,\(^2\) Cicero\(^3\) and those between Fronto\(^4\) and Marcus Aurelius all contain affectionate references to children. There are also varying degrees of affection towards children displayed upon epitaphs, though in many cases they were fairly formulaic.\(^5\) However, such rhetorical formulae held meaning for those who chose this manner of commemoration.\(^6\) Why does the evidence exhibit such differing opinions? Children, especially the very young, did not generally qualify as candidates for full mourning or perhaps even burial. Yet there are ample instances of such children being accorded these rites, and of the feeling of deprivation and distress over the loss of children. Some schools of thought believe that this whole area must remain speculative because of the nature of the evidence, while others agree that failure to mark the death of a child was probably more bound up in socio-economic factors than in lack of feeling for a child.\(^7\) However, the explanation can be taken a step further.

Children, particularly *infantes*, were generally considered non members of the community\(^8\) until they had undergone a series of *rites de passage*. To be counted amongst community members was largely a cultural phenomenon, and the level and age of entry were governed by socio-economic circumstances and geographical location rather than by law or even by what appears as 'universal'

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2. Pliny *Epistulae* 3.7; 3.16; 4.19; 5.16; 5.18; 6.26; 8.11.
3. Cicero *Ad Atticum* 1.10.6; 7.2.4; 12.6a.2.
4. Ad Marcum Caesarem 5.42 (57); Ad Amicos 1.12.
5. Terms such as *dulcissimus/a* (for example, *CIL* 6.5780; 9.1973; 11.25; 14.1181); *pientissimus/a* or its variant *piissimus/a* (for example, *CIL* 6.7937; 11.2540; 2611; 14.1329); *bene merenti* (for example, *CIL* 6.4859; 9.1240; 11.2534; 14.870); *carissimus/a* or its later variant *karissimus/a* (for example, *CIL* 6.5313; 11.2055; 14.932; *IPO* A279) or combinations of the above and other terms (for example *CIL* 6.7778; 9.1240; 9.1948; 11.655; 14.1009) were frequently found upon inscriptions, cf the more elaborate epitaphs (for example, *CIL* 6.5305; 9.1973; 11.207; 14.472; 1731).
custom in the literary sources. Therefore, what also needs to be considered in order to understand the commemoration patterns of children are the factors that governed varying social and cultural behaviour. Studies of many differing civilisations have shown that people often established social roles and modes of behaviour through ritual action. In Roman society death was not only very much a reality of life, but was dominant in the physical setting, particularly of the larger urban centres. This is evident not only from the many cemeteries and tombs that lined the roads outside these urban centres, but also in the ritual behaviour that accompanied the death of a person. If these factors are taken into consideration, it is possible to understand the apparently contradictory representations of children in the sources. It is also possible to explain the emotional investment given to some children, particularly in death, in urban centres like Rome and Ostia over those in other areas.

Experiar quid concedatur in illos, quorum Flaminia tegitur cintis atque Latina.

This passing reference in Juvenal would have had great visual impact, especially in the first and second centuries AD, conjuring up images of the masses of funerary monuments and tombs that lined the roads leading into Rome. Such a sight was typical outside many of the towns throughout Italy. However, as Rome and Ostia were the largest urban centres in Italy, the monuments to the dead that

1. I use the term community as a collective rather than focussing merely upon the citizen community because I wish to encompass slaves and freed children in my analysis.

2. Morris (1992) esp Ch 1 p1f examines social structure through death and burial; p2 n2 Morris on the basis of Geertz that we interpret ritual as a model for the world through the prism of our own experiences, and we interpret our own experiences through the prism of ritual as a model for the world. It was through ceremonies such as funerals that the Greeks and Romans constructed and debated the meanings of their worlds. On Lewis (1980) The Day of Shining Red, Cambridge, Morris (1992) p9 n10 writes that ritual action is not a code or defective language, but produces its own kind of symbolic knowledge. Social structure, as a set of internalised but constantly renegotiated roles and rules, is an artefact of this knowledge.

3. The position of children in the literary sources is discussed below, Chapter 10.

4. Juvenal Satirae 1.170-171. Then I will try what I may say of those worthies whose ashes lie under the Flaminian and Latin roads. In this passage Juvenal was discussing possible themes for writing.

lined their roads were impressive from the point of sheer quantity alone. These permanent monuments made of non-perishable materials represented a wide spectrum of social classes, from the majesty of Augustus' mausoleum, through to the *columbaria* that housed the remains of slaves and free alike. Rich Romans spent vast amounts of money, relative to the wealth available in their society, on burial and the creation of this type of lasting memorial. Similarly, those further down the social scale, even those who could not claim full citizen status such as slaves and freedmen, took particular care when economically possible to provide for their burial. The evidence indicates that, with the possible exception of Christian communities that lie outside the time frame of this study, the children of slaves and freedmen in the larger urban centres, tended to commemorate their children more in death with a permanent memorial than did other sections of the population. These trends were affected by a combination of physical characteristics that dominated urban centres. The sheer quantity of people that inhabited Rome and Ostia caused much overcrowding. Living conditions were on the whole cramped and the physical presence of death must have been noticeable to a large proportion of the population. Many of the rituals associated with death were also influential in the commemorative process, and in some instances were translated into the commemoration of children as an act of social recognition.

Juvenal's *Third Satire* gives an impression of a crowded, noisy city with a cosmopolitan population. It was also a city where there was great danger from collapsing buildings and fire. Although our evidence is scant for the very poor, it is believed that the majority of people lived in *insulae*, multi-storeyed dwellings sharing communal areas, and providing living space for a range of social

5. See esp Juvenal *Satirae* 3.13-16; 3.58-83 (foreigners); noise and crowding 3.212-45; Martial 5.22; 12.57; Horace *Epistulae* 2.2.65-86.
groups. There was a varied range of housing available if one could afford it, from the large houses and apartments of the upper classes down to the small insulae just mentioned. Death on the streets in a city the size of Rome was very visible, whether it be from someone dying because a load of Ligurian marble had spilled onto the crowd on the street, or because a funeral procession was seen heading to the outskirts of the city to bury the dead. Warnings and edicts were inscribed in stone forbidding the dumping of corpses or the burning of bodies within the city limits, and apart from the exceptions granted to selected persons and emperors, by law all burials had to take place outside the city. As Juvenal poignantly illustrates, the crowded nature of the city of Rome made it possible that one could die alone and anonymously without even the most basic of burial rites:

Nonne vides quanto celebretur sportula fumo?
centum convivae, sequitur sua quemque culina.
Corbulo vix ferret tot vasa ingentia, tot res
inpositas capiti, quas recto vertice portat
servulus infelix et cursu ventilat ignem.
scinduntur tunicae sartaes modo, longa coruscat
serraco venientur abies, atque altera pinum
plaustra vehunt; nutant alte populoque minantur.
nam si proceduit qui saxa Ligustica portat
axis et eversum fudit super agmina montem,
quid superest de corporibus? quis membra, quis ossa
inventi? obtritum vulgi perit omne cadaver
more animae. domus interea secura patellas
iam lavat et bucca foculum excitat et sonat unctis
striglibus et pleno componit lintea gutu.
haec inter pueros varie properantur, at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea; nec sperat caenosii gurgitis alnum
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

1. Ulpian Digest 9.3.5.1-2 makes reference to patrons, clients and slaves in the one dwelling. See also Hermansen (1982) on common areas in the insulae of Ostia.
5. Servius Ad Aeneid 6.224; Varro de Lingua Latina 5.166 (funeral couches); Persius 3.103-118; Martial 8.75.
7. Cicero De Legibus 2.23.(58); Trajan, whose ashes were placed in the base of his column, in the centre of Rome, Dio Cassius 68.16.3; 69.2.3.
8. Cicero De Legibus 2.23 (58).
9. Juvenal Satirae 3.249-267. See now the smoke rising from that crowd which hurries as if to a dole; there are a hundred guests, each followed by a kitchener of his own. Corbulo himself could scarce bear the weight.
It became important to commemorate one's death, even the death of a child if it was economically viable, to escape such anonymity.

Perhaps another important influence was generated by type of burial areas characterised by the *puticuli* of the Esquiline Hill. *Puticuli* are thought to have been used for the casual disposal of the poor without cremation in the late Republic, and archaeological excavations in the 19th century still suffered from the smell of these large pits that were found to have housed a conglomerate of human corpses, dead animals and ordure. Early in the first century BC the senate had the area buried under tons of rubble. A site was then used next to it for the same purpose until the whole area was turned into a garden by Maecenas in 35 BC. It is thought that similar informal inhumation cemeteries existed outside of many Italian towns in the second and first centuries BC, and were replaced by mass cremation in the first century AD. There is evidence from Rome and Ostia that during the Empire a number of very simple burial plots were squeezed in amongst the larger tombs. Some were buried in large wine *amphorae*, split in half to cover the corpse, or had their ashes placed in a smaller container whose necks projected above the ground to mark the grave. Perhaps such graves that lacked a permanent memorial were labelled at one time with a marker of painted wood. Although such

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of all the big vessels and other gear which the poor little slave is carrying with his head erect, fanning the flame as he runs along. Newly patched tunics are torn in two; up comes a huge pine log swaying on a wagon; and then the second wagon carrying a whole pine tree. They tower aloft and threaten the people. For if that axel breaks with its load of Ligurian marble breaks down and pours an overturned mountain on to the crowd, what is left of their bodies? Who can identify the limbs, who the bones? The poor man's crushed corpse wholly disappears, just like his soul. At home meanwhile the folk, unwittingly are washing the dishes, blowing up the fire with distended cheek, clattering over the greasy flesh-scrappers, filling the oil flasks and laying out the towels. And while each of them is busy over his own task, their master is already sitting, a new arrival, upon the bank, and shuddering at the grim ferryman; he has no copper in his mouth to tender for his fare, and no hope of a passage over the murky flood, poor wretch.

3. Morris (1992) feels that this area could be the boneyard mentioned by Horace in *Satirae* 1.8.
graves were a far cry from the permanent tombs with their funerary reliefs and inscribed epitaphs, they were more individual than these other mass graves could ever have been. They also would have allowed relatively poor people participation in ceremonies surrounding the dead. The same sense of community participation and pride would not have been experienced at the site of a mass grave without any of the proper burial rites. The growth of *columbaria* and burial clubs also reflects this same desire for community participation and recognition. The pattern that seems to emerge is that whether one came from a distinguished background or not, it was socially important to be able to mark one's death to rise above anonymity even if this only applied within a very small subculture of a much larger city.

Many of the rituals surrounding Roman public life also had a great influence in determining the involvement of a large section of the population in the whole burial process. The ability to participate in all facets of the death ritual above and beyond burying or cremating a body properly became a mark of social prestige. Although no complete description of a Roman funeral exists today, many literary references allude to the treatment of the dead by the upper classes, particularly the Imperial family. In many cases these lavish funerals must have made their mark on the inhabitants of Italy, particularly in Rome itself. For example, the impact of the deaths of Drusus and Germanicus who died out of Rome was felt by people all over the Empire, especially those who saw their bodies being taken back to Rome. Funerary processions of the elite often included ancestral *imagines* as well as living relatives and many other mourners. Funeral eulogies were often given by young children, and the overwhelming emphasis of the

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1. A *funus publicum* could also be awarded to a benefactor of the state, male or female, to which all citizens were invited and which involved much pomp and ceremony. Augustus is also known to have given public funeral to his freedman and tutor Sphaerus, and in AD 32 the senate decreed one to Lucius Piso, Toynbee (1971) pp55-56.
3. Drusus, Tacitus *Annales* 3.5; Suetonius *Tiberius* 7.3; Dio Cassius 55.27; Germanicus Tacitus *Annales* 3.4; 2.82-83.
whole display was on family lineage and achievement. Although it is not entirely clear how children perceived death, they did take part in funerals and other religious functions. This, coupled with the promotion of children, the family, religion and traditional morals, through visual vocabulary created initially by Augustus, strongly influenced the art of the private and funerary sphere of a large section of society. This is borne out most strongly in the evidence associated with liberti over other social groups. Influence may also have come from the festivals associated with the dead that were in effect public holidays, where the law courts were closed and no public business was transacted. The Parentalia was the main festival of the dead held from February 13 to 21. The last day of the festival was reserved for public ceremonies, while the remaining were primarily private celebrations held by the family.

1. For example, twelve years old Augustus delivered an eulogy at the funeral of his aunt Julia, Suetonius Augustus 8.1; Tiberius, at the age of eight performed a similar role at the funeral of his father, Suetonius Tiberius 6.4; and Gaius the funeral speech at the funeral of Livia in AD 29, two years before assuming the toga virilis, Suetonius Gaius 10.1; Tacitus Annales 5.1. Claudius eulogy, composed by Seneca, was given by Nero, Suetonius Nero 8; Tacitus, Annales 13.3.

2. Sons are known to have walked in funeral processions with their heads covered, and daughters with their faces veiled (Servius Ad Aeneid. 3.407; Plutarch Quaestiones Romanae 14 (Moralia 267 A). Women, even very young girls were dressed mourning colours, black during the Republic and white in Imperial times, Daremberg-Saglio Volume I part 2 p1391. Children of the upper classes sang a funeral dirge at the funeral of Augustus, Suetonius Augustus 100. For other examples of upper class children singing at public occasions (for example, the Ludi Saeculares) and of the ceremony of the Lusus Troiae where groups of boys engaged in mock battles on horseback, apparently instituted by Augustus, Wiedemann (1989) pp182-3. Nero apparently took part in these games at a fairly young age, Suetonius Nero 7.

3. For example the children depicted on the Ara Pacis, Kleiner (1978) with figures 3; 4; 5; 6; 8. Juvenal also provides evidence for the participation of children in household religious rituals. Pueri were apparently in charge of placing garlands and soft turf on shrines to Jupiter and Lares (Satirae 12.83-92). Juvenal also refers to a rural festival where a baby, still at its mother's breast, was present (Satirae 3.176). Thus children probably accompanied their parents or other friends and relatives to festivals and other public activities from a very early age. See also above pp96-7.


6. Occasions throughout the year where the dead were commemorated by funerary meals eaten at their tombs by their relatives and friends included their birthdays and the Parentalia and Lemuria, the two annual festivals of the dead. Provision could also be made for the lighting of lamps at graves on the Kalends, Ides and Nones of each month, Toynbee (1971) p51 & 63.

7. Toynbee (1971) p64.
However, this particular festival was also a time when relatives and friends would bring gifts to the graves. At these occasions economic distinctions would have been paramount.

Therefore, while funerals and burial were an integrated set of rituals by which the living dealt with the dead, for some they were also a source of social standing and individuality. To be able to perform the necessary ceremonies at the particular festivals associated with the dead before a permanent epitaph, regardless of whether this epitaph belonged to a family member, friend or young child, would have been perceived as a mark of social standing. Columbaria, for example, show evidence of the provision of areas where people could celebrate the rituals held on these festival days. Tombstones, therefore, were not only memorials for the dead but were also for the living. Often the dedicators of these monuments would also include their own names and relationships to the deceased, and in many cases also used sibi upon the inscription to commemorate themselves while still alive. For a considerable section of the population in urban centres, particularly those of Rome and Ostia, the decision to commemorate death with a tombstone was a cultural act influenced by many physical elements of their surroundings. It was also a social act not governed by law or status, but economic means. Individuality and community status

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2. Morris (1992) p1 has argued very successfully that funerals in the ancient world are part of a set of rituals by which the living deal with the dead. He illustrates how funerals can be broken down into stages or a series of rites de passage (pp9-10) which allowed people to become in death what they had often not been in life (pp9-30).
3. See above, Chapter 4.
4. For example, CIL 6.4742; 4950; 6644; 7700; 7284; 7493; 7974; 8075; 9.1401; 1697; 11.169; 220; 1025; 3166; 3273; 3615; 3852; 14.596; 734; 808; 918; 1725; 1731; 1799; 2522.
could be achieved amongst the multitude of a crowded city. A child in these circumstances could be granted entry into the community through commemoration in death, even if the true benefit was gained only by those who erected the memorial.

Only 24% of the children commemorated with a permanent memorial were found amongst the smaller town sites surveyed in Regiones II, VII and VIII. While this finding may vary if more material was available for analysis, perhaps the geographical settings mentioned above and the rural lifestyle of the majority of Italian inhabitants did have a major part to play in the formulation of this pattern. Only a relatively small percentage of the total municipal population lived in towns or in the larger urbanised areas of Rome and Ostia. Many rural areas did have an urbs that provided economic, administrative, social and cultural services. However, small communities were often quite isolated unless situated on one of the main thoroughfares, and their inhabitants were often forced to travel great distances over difficult terrain to utilise markets and to celebrate the major festivals in towns. Each district had its own calendar of festival days, and in some isolated areas the local elite did attempt to provide centres for worship and administration, as was the aim of Pliny the Younger when he restored the Temple of Ceres that stood on his estate. Rural burials

1. Distinction between the elite and masses, however, was always maintained, as illustrated by Tacitus' comment in Annales 16.16 *Just as the nobly born are distinguished in the mode of their burial from the vulgar dead, so, when history records their end, each shall receive and keep his special mention*. It was not the wider community encompassing the elite that many people wished to become a part, but the community of their peers and associates where they could make a meaningful mark. Initial influence for the middle and lower classes may have been received from the elite burial practices. For example, the upper classes began erecting lavish tombs from about 100 BC, but from 30 BC onwards, perhaps as a reaction to the beginning of the construction of the extravagant tombs of the nouveaux riches, began to use much simpler family tombs organised around modest family altars on family estates rather than in Rome, Morris (1992) p43. While this factor may have had some influence, it was probably a combination of the factors discussed above which created the most impact amongst the other sectors of urban society.

2. Appendix 3 Table 1, 207/856 children.


may not have been contained in cemeteries located on the outskirts of towns. Recent surveys have suggested that every estate or farmstead may in fact have had its own burial plot. Therefore much of the evidence for the burial of children and adults may not have existed in the types of cemeteries that were analysed in this study. Unfortunately, evidence from rural areas located away from towns or major thoroughfares has not been well documented, and in general has not been considered fully in this type of context.

Burials of the rural poor may have been marked with perishable materials only. Epitaphs and grave goods, therefore, may have been made of painted wood or perhaps cloth. These communities did not experience the same intensity of population crowding and images of death that were so prevalent in Rome and Ostia. Nor was the influence of the wealthy and the upper classes as strong in these areas. Pliny, for example, comments that his estate in Tuscany had no neighbours near enough to make him feel compelled to wear a formal toga. There were pockets of influential villas and estates, but these tended to be found in Regio I, for example, around Tusculum, Tibur and Praeneste within easy travelling distance from Rome. In the absence of any system of primogeniture, estates of the landowning nobility passed from one family to another, as the letters of the younger Pliny illustrate. Therefore people in rural areas that were near an estate of a noble are unlikely to have seen family tombs of successive generations. Although a burial place did, by law, become a locus religiosus, and despite the fact that provision may have been made in a will for a tomb to be maintained, tombs located on the estates of the upper classes often fell into disrepair, as happened to that of the once influential

1. Dyson (1992) p145 points out that a survey around the town of Asculum revealed sixty-seven distinct burial sites as compared with fifty-four villae rusticae and fifty casae rusticae.
4. The poor are also thought to have lived in houses made of non permanent materials.
5. Statius Silvae 1 pr. and Silvae 1.3 writes of the villa of Manlius Vopiscus, in the vicinity of the town of Tibur.
6. Pliny Epistulae 5.6.45.
8. Pliny Epistulae 1.24; 2.15; 3.19; 6.3; 7.11.
9. Gaius Institutiones 2.3; 2.6; 2.9.
Verginius Rufus. Cicero also wrote that he was very concerned about the fate of the shrine he erected for his daughter Tullia once the ownership of the property passed out of the hands of the family. Many rurally based families would not have ventured into town to celebrate the festivals associated with the dead, but instead would have gathered at small burial plots located on their own properties. There would not, therefore, have been the same need to seem part of the community by attending the burial of a child, for example, as there may have been for people in Rome or Ostia who were often brought together in structures like the Columbaria. Tenant farmers in the countryside suffered from economic hardships, and the cost of erecting permanent memorials may have been beyond the reach of the majority. It has also been suggested that poorer rural farmers without access to private tutors or schools had the highest illiteracy rates throughout Italy. Such rural areas, and even those towns who did not have organisations such as Augustales and the influence of the Imperial cult, probably lacked the impetus for the honouring of certain bodies, including children. Evidence also suggests that rather than being caught up by tradition and the influence of the upper classes, 'rustics' tended to join the newer cults that developed in Italy.

The commemoration of children was more common in urban settings than it was in the smaller towns and rural areas of Italy. It was also a practice influenced by the physical setting in which people in urban centres lived, and by the social pressures and expectations of their immediate community. Writers such as Seneca, Cicero and Plutarch who recommended, for example, that young children should not be mourned or accorded proper burial rites, and who promoted archaic forms of Roman law, were writing for a particular audience who demanded a very conservative and

1. Pliny Epistulae 6.10. Statius, who owned an estate at Alba towards the end of the first century AD (Silvae 3.1.61f) had his father buried on the property when he died (Silvae 5.3.35-40).
2. Cicero Ad Atticum 12.12.1; 12.36.1; De Legibus 2.1.(3).
3. For example, the tenants of Pliny who had trouble with the upkeep of their equipment and of paying rent, Epistulae 3.19; 6.3; 7.30; 8.2; 8.15; 9.15; 9.16; 9.20; 9.37.
5. Dyson (1992) pp208-9 gives examples of smaller urban centres where women were honoured.
traditional content in their material. Their writings were expected to illustrate particularly stringent principles and codes of behaviour, even if they were written to a wife, a parent or friend. These upper class authors did not set out to construct a true reflection of everyday events and attitudes, but instead based their arguments and examples on philosophical perspectives and philosophical expectations. Theirs was a society very heavily influenced by custom and tradition. Unfortunately, their models of an ideal world and their belief in the decay of morals, do not give insight into the actual behaviour and practices of their day.¹

¹ For further discussion of these themes particularly regarding perspectives on children see below, Chapter 10.
THE LITERATURE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE:
CHILDREN, CHILDHOOD, PHILOSOPHY
AND THE UPPER CLASS IDEAL

On the whole, young children were of little interest to the Roman literary class. Authors did not set out to explore the world of children as might be attempted today in studies concentrating on, for example, intellectual and motor development, on educational processes and needs, or on the interactions between parents and children. As seen above, occasionally references are made to the types of toys and games children enjoyed, or on the value of children to certain familial members. However, much of this evidence reflects the preoccupations and attitudes of adults rather than children. Some styles of writing cloud this picture even further. In the writings of Seneca, for example, children usually appear as pawns in philosophical arguments. They provided models of behaviour that did not suit the world of the politically oriented adult male citizen. Thus children were used as examples of persons who lack the necessary repertoire of skills coveted by Seneca's adult world. Children, because they possessed fear and lacked physical strength, and because they were unable to employ philosophical reasoning or to make sound political and moral judgements, were useful tools of comparison to support the polemic in Seneca's Stoic debates. References to children and childhood therefore appear either in the form of anecdotal stories, or as conventional literary generalisations that could be dated back to the time of Homer, and which were also applied to women and slaves. This chapter examines the use of children in the philosophical arguments and anecdotal stories of selected Roman authors, particularly those found in the writings of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.

Many of the philosophical arguments constructed by ancient authors involved the use of exemplar, that is, they created stories with characters often set in apparently lifelike situations. Children

1. See above, pp82-3.
were often used in these constructions; though more often than not, it was adult preoccupations and attitudes that were reflected in the situations discussed. For instance, Seneca wrote that contrary to expectation it was possible that one's wife and children could prove disappointments. Yet men took large risks and continued to marry and rear children. Seneca's aim in constructing this particular point was to explain firstly, why benefits should be gifts rather than investments, and secondly, that a man who gave something away should harbour no thought of repayment. While the example serves Seneca's purpose, a purpose that was to express the concept that bad experiences were only hurdles that had to be dealt with and passed over, the evidence is not complete enough to help us ascertain why and how wives and children disappointed the hopes of their husbands and fathers. Similarly, included in the benefits one could confer on a man, even an ungrateful man, was the restoration of his children perhaps lost through shipwreck or fire. Again nothing concrete was revealed about the plight of the children themselves or the impact of their separation in such circumstances. A person unable to control his capacity for anger was capable of expressing the wrong type of feelings towards slaves and freedmen, parents and children, acquaintances and strangers. Again, no explanation of the types of actions that were implied was given, and no assessment was offered as to why they might be potentially harmful. On another occasion Seneca stated that parents leaned with more affection towards those offspring for whom they felt pity just as Virtue, like good parents, sometimes offered more care to those of her works that she felt were in trouble, or carrying heavy burdens. A modern reader wishing to know why parents would feel pity towards their children is left quite uninformed. All these examples are important because they provide the basis of the hypothetical example that was employed to give credence to a point of philosophical importance. As indicators of the position of children in Roman society, they are all but useless.

1. Seneca De Beneficiis 1.1.9-12.
2. Seneca De Beneficiis 1.10.4-5.
3. Seneca De Beneficiis 1.5.4-5.
4. Seneca De Ira 3.28.1.
5. Seneca Epistulae 66.27. Virtus quoque opera sua, quae videt adfici et premi, non magis amat, sed parentium honorum more magis conplectitur ac fovet.
Children, according to a number of literary sources, represented a state of moral, intellectual and physical development that was deficient by the standards of an adult male citizen of repute. Man, it was thought, was not able to function properly until his reason (ratio), the ability to utilize one's mind properly, had been perfected. Thus when Seneca or Marcus Aurelius wished to emphasize a situation, where someone was considered indigent in the qualities and characteristics expected of their age and standing, children were used to provide the contrast. An unphilosophical person whose primary concern was in attaining honour and status, for example, was believed to be no better than fighting puppies or quarrelling children unable to rationalise their emotions, children who were in tears one moment and laughing the next. Moreover, each age (infantia, puer, adulescentia, iuventus, senectus) was considered to have its own constitution that was adapted to the inadequate constitution possessed by a child. It was felt that only by the age of puberty had reason begun to develop. A child in the stages of infancy or boyhood did not have the capacity to develop the skill of reason, and most young men failed to reach the level

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1. For example, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Persius and Quintilian.
2. Seneca Epistulae 124.7-8 cf Quintilian 1.1.15-20. According to Marcus Aurelius Meditationes 5.11, an irrational soul was one possessed by a child, a youth, a woman, a tyrant or a beast of burden. Similarly, someone with a dark nature could possess an unmanly, obstinate, inhuman, bestial, childish, stupid, false, cringing, mercenary or tyrannical nature, Meditationes 4.28.
3. For example, Meditationes 4.46; 5.33. See also Cicero Tusculanae Disputationes 3.1.1-3.
5. Seneca Epistulae 121.11-16. According to Manilius Astronomica 2.841-51 the cardinal points dispersed along the quadrants of the universe possessed the power to determine various stages of life, and the horoscope of a child was set at birth by the third cardinal Astronomica 3.203-274. The third cardinal was also responsible for the type of education and character formation a man would receive, and determined what social station he would be born to and the profession he would follow Astronomica 4.387-443. The occident, amongst other things, was responsible for the closing years of life, Astronomica 2.826-840.
that should have been expected by this later stage. In none of these examples were the processes by which children developed the ability to reason discussed. Even in works where the learning process was debated, children were only of interest because they were potential adults. In general, children were praised for their adult-like qualities and virtues.

According to Stoic philosophy, only those who had pursued an intense course of study could attain the ability of true reasoning by old age. Children were therefore presented as a group who, because of a lack of capacity for understanding and analysis, were afraid of the dark, ugly masks, disfigured appearances, and the

1. Quintilian 1.1.1-2 says that there is no foundation in the claim that only a few men have the ability to take in knowledge that is imparted to them, and that the majority are so slow of understanding that education is a waste of time and labour. On the contrary most are quick to reason and willing to learn. Reasoning comes naturally to man as flying to birds, speed to horses and ferocity to birds of prey; our minds are endowed by nature with such activity and sagacity that the soul is believed to proceed from heaven. Those who are dull and unteachable are abnormal as prodigious births and monstrosities, and are but few in number. A proof of what I say is to be found in the fact that boys commonly show promise of many accomplishments, and when such promise dies away as they grow up, this is plainly due not to the failure of natural gifts, but to the lack of requisite care; In discussing the memory of one's teachers and why one tends to forget them, Seneca, De Beneficiis 3.3.4 makes the interesting observation that every person aware of only the particular moment that is passing, only occasionally do men turn their thoughts back to the past. So it happens, that the memory of our teachers and of their benefits to us vanishes, because we have left boyhood wholly behind. So too, it happens that the benefits conferred upon us in youth are lost because youth itself is never relived. No one regards what has been as something that has passed, but as something that has perished and so the memory of those who are intent upon a future benefit is weak; cf Marcus Aurelius Meditationes 4.50 & 9.33 who pointed out that the only life an unphilosophical man was really in danger of losing was that which he was presently living, for that which had gone before or was to come was inconsequential and hence there was no difference between a child that had lived three days and a Nestor who had lived three centuries.

2. For example, Tacitus Dialogus de Oratoribus 28; Quintilian 1.1.15-20.
3. For example, Pliny Epistulae 5.16; Quintilian 1 pr 6-20.
4. Seneca Epistulae 124.7-10; cf Quintilian 1.1.1-2.
5. Seneca Epistulae 110.6-7. Like boys who cower frightened in the dark so adults in the light of day feel fear. What then? Are we any more foolish than any child, we who in the light of day feel fear? But you were wrong, Lucretius: we are not afraid in the daylight, we have turned everything into a state of darkness; cf Seneca De Constantia 5.1-7; De Ira 2.11.6.
6. Seneca De Constantia 5.1-7; Seneca De Ira 2.11.1-3. Anger is only repulsive in itself and is by no means to be dreaded, yet most people fear it just as children fear a repulsive mask... (2-3) Sic ira per se deformis est
Children were not born with an ability to perform tasks like reading, and therefore new experiences and unfamiliar objects drew their attention easily. To desire or pursue the same objects and concerns that one did as a puer was behaviour frowned upon and discouraged. Seneca often employed comments that stressed that something was childish or childlike. Certain experiences and objects, for example, in the eyes of virtue could be considered ill-founded pleasures. These included extravagant joy springing from very childish causes: delicias fluentis et ex minimis ac puerilibus causis exsultationem. Writing styles that were flowery and lacking in substance were described as, amongst other things, childish (pueriles). Ovid, although considered a great poet by Seneca, was accused of reducing his work on the power and magnitude of the sea, to a state of childhood silliness, by the inclusion of a few unsuitable lines. Incompetent adults, those who lacked the powers of discrimination and reason and thus wasted their lives believing they possessed foresight did not notice the

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1. Marcus Aurelius Meditationes 11.23. These were ghoulish creatures found in stories that often scared children.
2. Seneca De Tranquillitate Animi 9.4-5 discusses those people who possessed books, not for the sake of learning, but merely for show, people who often lacked even a child's knowledge of letters.
3. Seneca Epistulae 104.13-14. Non iudicium dedit, non discussit errorem, sed ut puerum ignota mirantem ad breve tempus rerum aliqua novitate detinuit; Manilius Astronomica 2.755-763 provides a very interesting breakdown of how children were taught to read: Children who have not yet begun their lessons are first shown the shape and the name of a letter, and then its value is explained: then a syllable is formed by the linking of letters; next comes the building up of a word by reading its component syllables; afterwards the meaning of expressions and the rules of grammar are taught, and then verses come into being and rise up on feet of their own. To reach the final goal it is important to have mastered each of the earlier steps, for unless these are firmly based upon underlying principles, instruction, as teachers too hurriedly expound their precepts out of order, will be ill-arranged and prove labour vainly spent. Manilius included this description in a discussion of how he was going to explain the function of the dodecatemomy. Manilius considered the dodecatemomy something that was extremely difficult for most people to comprehend. According to Manilius it was important to teach new principles by demonstrating their uses so that, when one had confidence in their knowledge of the basic elements, more details and the whole concept could then be understood. This would be achieved only if a similar system to that which was used to teach children to read was employed, Astronomica 2.738-754.
5. Seneca De Vita Beata 10.2-3.
6. Seneca Epistulae 114.16.
7. Seneca Quaestiones Naturales 3.27.12-14.
approach of old age. Such individuals were described as children in all respects bar the size and shape of their bodies. The physical development of children was used in a like fashion. The Stoics believed, amongst other things, that a child adapted its constitution to the age in which it found itself. Thus an infant was born without teeth. Only when his teeth grew was he a part of the new constitution in which new developments could take place.

Children, because of their age and inability to reason, were also seen to lack qualities such as wisdom and cognition. Thus it was believed that children did not have the capacity to produce and use true anger, but possessed only a form of pseudo anger. Seneca illustrates his point with the example that children who fell down often demanded that the earth be beaten for causing their injuries even though they may have suffered no injury at all. Such irrational behaviour could therefore be satisfied through mere illusion; for not only was their anger easily pacified through comfort and attention, but they were deceived when someone pretended to fulfil their wish of beating the earth with imaginary blows. Such responses were unacceptable in the world of the philosophical and wise. Women and children were also considered to contain more moisture than men. They could only build up heat gradually and therefore did not possess the competence to express serious anger. It was recommended that wine be forbidden to pueri as it was thought to encourage the production of heat. True anger was that which had the capacity to wipe out, amongst several other things, whole households, wives and children. Consequently,

1. Seneca De Brevitate Vitae 9.3-4. Quorum puerilis adhuc animos senectus opprimit, ad quam imparati inermesque perveniunt, nihil enim provisum est.
3. Seneca Epistulæae 121.15.
4. Seneca De Ira 1.12.4-5 gives the example that children shed more tears over lost toys than lost parents; De Ira 2.26.4-6. (6) Atqui ut his irasci stultum est, ita pueris et non multum a puerorum prudentia distantibus; omnia enim ista peccata apud aequum iudicem pro innocentia habent imprudentiam (But it is foolish to be angry with these as it is to be angry with children and all who are not much different from children in point of wisdom; for in the eyes of a just judge all such mistakes can plead ignorance as the equivalent of innocence).
5. Seneca De Ira 1.2.4-5.
6. Seneca De Ira 2.19.4-5.
7. Seneca De Ira 2.20.2-3.
it was thought that children who misbehaved should be treated according to the capacity of their age as they often did not understand their own actions. Thus if a child struck his parent in the face, if an infant fell and in doing so took with him a handful of his mother's hair, if he pulled at clothing and revealed bodily parts normally clothed, or used bad language, affront should not be taken by adults as the child who performed these actions was considered incapable of being contemptuous. Similarly, if a child forgot to fulfil certain duties and instead watched the games and trivial sports of their playmates, it would be as foolish, wrote Seneca, to become angry with them as it would be to grow angry with those who were weary and tired as a consequence of old age. These examples all indicate an acute perception of some childhood characteristics, but again they were only used to contrast the Stoic philosopher with the lesser forms of human existence.

There are also mentioned on several occasions throughout the writings of Seneca unwritten philosophical laws or precepts involving children. Yet again they shed little light on children or childhood at all. In one case Seneca recorded that if a man had equipped himself with a complete understanding of precepts for the whole of life, he would not need to seek the answer to questions concerning how he should live with his wife and son from anywhere else. Another precept dictated the duty an individual was required to show towards his father, his children and his friends that should not, under normal circumstances, be sacrificed to fear. When writing on the value of advice and those precepts

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1. Seneca De Ira 3.24.2-3. Puerum aetas excuset, feminam sexus, extraneum libertas, domesticum familiaritas. (Let a child be excused by his age, a woman by her sex, a stranger by his independence, a servant by the bond of intercourse...).
4. Seneca De Ira 2.10.1-2. Quid, si pueris, quod neglecto dispectu officiorum ad lusus et ineptos aequalium iocos spectent?
5. Seneca Epistulae 94.3.
that were available individually (those precepts which Seneca rejected on the ground that they could not be learnt in isolation) Seneca mentioned the laws that were created to give advice to a husband on how he should conduct himself towards his wife, how he should bring up his children, and how a master should rule his slaves.\(^1\) Just as there was no written law against wrongful gain, there was no written law that bade people to love their parents or indulge their children.\(^2\) Unfortunately none of these precepts is expanded further, and children appear merely as markers in the various philosophical debates.

The Romans favoured a writing and teaching style that was modelled on past precedents, customs and laws. Typical themes for the declamation practice of schoolboys, for example, included Hannibal and his elephants, the slaying of cruel tyrants, and Sulla's retirement from public life.\(^3\) The material used by authors of various styles of writing was often based on anecdotal stories involving the childhood of historical and mythological figures.\(^4\) According to Seneca, it was generally believed that the blueprint of one's life was set before birth. Thus Oedipus in the Phoenissae expressed the view that even when he was in the womb, it had been already predetermined that he would die.\(^5\) Alexander the Great, unlike Hercules, was from his boyhood (pueritia) a robber and a plunderer of nations, a scourge alike to his friends and to his foes, and one who found his greatest happiness in terrorising all

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1. Seneca Epistulae 94.1.
4. The Romans also exhibited an artistic taste for the children of Greek mythology, and replicas of Greek statues of young boys were especially favoured. The statue mentioned most frequently by Martial was especially admired by Brutus, the assassin of Caesar (Martial 2.77; 9.50; 14.171). Another of Martial's epigrams described the statuette of the puer Argynus running. This boy, according to tradition, had been the favourite of Agamemnon (Martial 7.15. This statuette stood beside a fountain, and was possibly in a private garden cf 6.47). Another statuette depicted the puer Apollo, made from Corinthian bronze, with an arrow in hand watching a lizard (Martial 14.172). Other pictures favoured were those of Hyacinth, the puer killed by Apollo while playing quoits, (Martial 14.164; 14.173 cf Pliny Historia Naturalis 35.40), and that of the infans Hercules throttling the two serpents sent by Hera to kill him in his cradle.
Hannibal was named as having been born to a childhood of bloodshed and cruelty, hence his preponderance to such behaviour later in life. Livius Drusus (tribune 91 BC) is said to have tried to justify his actions as an adult based on his experiences from early childhood. In these particular cases Seneca wished to highlight only the principle that just as one's destiny was set at birth, so too was one's character.

Other stories included examples of children being killed brutally or served up to their fathers for dinner. Manilius in his *Astronomica* used such stories to enumerate the themes often chosen by other poets, and at the beginning of Book Three took pains to stress that this type of subject matter was not the substance of his work. One of the anecdotes described by Manilius included the children of Oedipus and the sons of Thyestes who were killed by Atreus and served up to him at a banquet:

> *germanosve patris referam matrisque nepotes, natorumve epulas conversaque sidera retro ereptumque diem, nec Persica bella profundo indicta et magna pontum sub classe latentem immossumque fretum terris, iter aequoris undis.*

In the writings of Seneca, such stories involving the brutal and senseless killing of children were designed to stress particular philosophical points with acts considered heinous in nature. Such anecdotes included the story of Darius, the first ruler of the Persians in the East, who refused the offer of the service of two out of three sons from a certain family. The father concerned had wished one son to remain with him as his only comfort. Instead of accepting the offer, Darius killed all three children. Similarly, when Pythius asked the Persian Xerxes for exemption from service for one of his five sons, Xerxes tore the chosen son in half, placed parts of his body on both sides of the road, and offered them as

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2. Seneca *De Ira* 2.5.4.
4. Martial used similar types of stories in his *Epigrammaton Libri*. For example, one boy was reputedly killed by a viper that lay in the mouth of a statue of a bronze bear (Martial 3.19) while another boy died after being hit in the throat by a strip of ice falling from an archway (Martial 4.18).
sacrifice. A man named Harpagus was served the flesh of his children, and after he had eaten, their heads were brought in and set before him; when asked what he thought of the entertainment, he replied that at the king’s table any food was delightful. Through this form of flattery he avoided having to consume what was left of his children. The Emperor Gaius executed a father’s son then forced the father to dine with him. The father did so and willingly received the presents offered to him because he had another son whom he wanted to protect. Again, these examples tell us very little about children and childhood, though they did reinforce the principle that the loss of one’s children under such circumstances was particularly shocking.

Another series of anecdotes, also containing children as peripheral players, illustrate the manner in which philosophical principles were issued. Firstly, in an explanation of how anger could be routed by precepts, Seneca asked a series of rhetorical questions: how often was it that people grew angry with Clodius for banishing Cicero, and with Antony for killing him; who was not roused against the arms which Marius took up and against the proscriptions which Sulla used; and who was not incensed against Theodotis and Achillas, and the child himself who dared an unchildish crime? From the example of Sulla’s cruelty, wrote Seneca, came the lesson that no anger should be felt towards the children of personal and political enemies, for there was no greater injustice than to make a person the inheritor of hatred held for his father. This last anecdote involved the story of a Spartan boy taken captive while young. He committed suicide by dashing his brains out against a wall, refusing to be a slave to anyone. Seneca then asked whether one would not rather have his son die in a similar manner than to have him reach old age through weak submission? The whole point of these stories was to stress the need to act courageously in the face of adversity at any age, especially

1. Seneca De Ira 3.16.3-4.
2. Seneca De Ira 3.15.1-4.
3. Seneca De Ira 2.33.2-5.
4. Seneca De Ira 2.2.1-6. Quis non Theodoto et Achillae et ipsi puero non puerile auso facinus infestus est?
5. Seneca De Ira 2.34.3-5. Ne irascamur inimicorum et hostium liberais, inter Sullanae crudelitatis exempla est, quod ab re publica liberos proscriptorum submovit. Nihil est iniquius quam aliquem heredem paterni odii fieri.
when one was of more mature years.\textsuperscript{1} In choosing this style of setting, Seneca and other writers were exhibiting both their historical and mythological knowledge, and their literary talents in being able to combine old exemplars in new mediums.

Children were important to the upper class members of society primarily because they continued the family line, and would receive property and inheritances that would be used to keep the social standing of the family intact. For example, in a consolation written to Helvia, Seneca complimented his mother not only for the joy which she herself had brought her own father as his child, but also on her many children whom she loved dearly, and the many grandchildren and great grandchildren she had also brought forth for the perpetuation of the family line.\textsuperscript{2} Another wish often expressed was that children would outlive their parents,\textsuperscript{3} not because they were valued individuals, but because they were potential heirs. For the same reasons, children were ranked first amongst the objects held dear by reason of kinship, blood and experience,\textsuperscript{4} and their loss was considered more serious than the loss of one's own life.\textsuperscript{5} Normally a father was concerned with the good health, the happiness and the inheritance of his son.\textsuperscript{6} A father generally valued the life of his son above his own, and the heaviest of all blows for a father to face was the death of his son.\textsuperscript{7} According to Marcus Aurelius, the behaviour of adults towards children was to be guided by strict philosophical principles. He pointed out that the average unphilosophical person would pray that his sick child would not die or that they be spared the trauma of such a loss. However, the correct code of behaviour was to pray that one would have no fear of losing a child, even in the face of illness.\textsuperscript{8} Amongst a list of things that created the feeling of joy (\textit{gaudia}) was the birth

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{1} Seneca \textit{Epistulae} 77.14-15.
\item\textsuperscript{2} Seneca \textit{Ad Marciam} 1.2.
\item\textsuperscript{3} Seneca \textit{Ad Marciam} 10.3; \textit{De Beneficiis} 5.5.2-3.
\item\textsuperscript{4} Seneca \textit{De Beneficiis} 1.11.2-4 cf Cicero \textit{De Officiis} 1.17 (53-55).
\item\textsuperscript{5} Seneca \textit{De Beneficiis} 1.11.4. \textit{Post haec habebimus coniunctione ac sanguine usque et consuetudine longa cara, ut liberos, coniuges, penates, cetera, quae usque eo animus sibi applicuit, ut ab illis quam vita divelli gravius existimet; De Beneficiis} 5.19.6.
\item\textsuperscript{6} See Hallett (1984) esp pp76-149 for the role of daughters in upper class families, in light of the bias of this type of material.
\item\textsuperscript{7} Seneca \textit{De Beneficiis} 5.19.2-7.
\item\textsuperscript{8} Marcus Aurelius \textit{Meditationes} 12.26; 8.49; 9.40; 10.34-5.
\end{itemize}
of a friend's child; *ex illius consulatu aut nuptiis aut ex partu uxoris percepisse.* However, these events could also mark the beginning of great sorrow because all events could be tainted by grief. For true *gaudia* could only be attained by the wise. Just as reason, according to the Stoic code, concerned itself with victory, good children, and the welfare of one's country: *Ceterum bona quaedam prima existimat, ad quae ex proposito venit, tamquam victoriam, bonos liberos, salutem patriae,* parents could also derive joy from the dutiful behaviour of their children. Unfortunately Seneca does not elaborate upon the criteria by which children were classed as *boni liberi.* The underpinning precept in all these cases was that personal feelings and expectations were to be viewed in terms of the principles of lineage and inheritance only. These in turn provided the parameters for the expected behaviour and duty required between parents and children.

The inherent biases found, for example, in the writings of men like Seneca, Quintilian and Marcus Aurelius, when analysed fully, do shed light on the very mixed view of Roman children and childhood that can be gained from the literary sources. These writers and their works also provide a cultural context for many of the literary examples used in above chapters that do not seem to reflect the commemoration and mourning practices of a large section of Roman society below the elite. This does not imply that these sources should not be used for the study of children. On the contrary, this type of evidence needs to be analysed in conjunction with many of the physical and epigraphical sources, in order for Roman childhood and Roman society in general to be understood more fully.

1. Seneca *Epistulae* 59.2.
2. Seneca *Epistulae* 59, esp 59.2.
4. Seneca *Epistulae* 66.37. *Duo illa bona superiora diversa sunt. Prima enim secundum naturam sunt: gaudere liberorum pietate, patriae incoluitate* (The two kinds of goods which are of a higher order are different; the primary are according to nature, such as deriving joy from the dutiful behaviour of one's children and from the well-being of one's country).
Throughout Italy, some uniformity was found in both the types of memorials used to commemorate children and the information contained upon them - although Rome and Ostia tended to be slightly less conservative than, for example, Regio VIII. The preponderance of dedicators was either one or both biological parents; other adults who had assumed partial or full parental roles, as well as family friends or other members of the familia, were also responsible for setting up memorials to children. The majority of decorative styles and relief sculpture found on these memorials were stereotyped and largely non individualistic. In the more elaborate inscriptions the decoration often reflected adult views and preoccupations, and the picture obtained is largely an idealised portrait of what these dedicators had hoped their children would have become, but for their premature deaths. A definite male preference was also found in all areas bar Regio VII, where more freeborn children were commemorated than in any other area. Children from all classes of society were honoured with permanent burial memorials, with servi and liberti having a better chance of commemoration in Rome or Ostia, as did very young children. Moreover, any member of the community who was financially able could erect an epitaph to a child. They were not inhibited by status or the law.

The distribution pattern of the memorials to children under fourteen years of age was found to differ substantially throughout Italy. For a significant percentage of the population of Rome and Ostia, the act of erecting an epitaph for a child was part of the ritual culture of death. In the other areas analysed in this study, this act was not as integral. Death was still marked, but it did not always require relatively expensive memorials to be set up in 'public' burial areas. This distribution pattern was largely determined by, not only the socio-economic position of respective individuals within their communities, but also by the influences imposed by the physical and geographical settings of the cities, towns, villages in or around which they lived. In communities where it was common to honour children in death, especially within Rome and Ostia, a memorial set up to a child was as much an expression of the
dedicator's place within the social network as it was a recognition of the child and his or her place in society. This is reflected by the settings in which these memorials were erected and the types of information dedicators chose to include upon particular epitaphs. For some, association with a child who belonged to an influential person or one who had been honoured with an 'official' title brought its own prestige. For others, simply being able to visit a simple memorial in a columbarium with other familia members was extremely important. Those who chose to join their communities in honouring children in the settings of columbaria or in cemeteries located on the outskirts of major towns did so because they consciously wanted to participate in the public nature of their society, and the commemoration of children was one way in which this could be achieved. In areas served by fora or in towns like Veleia, commemorating individuals and children with a permanent memorial was not as important, as a different range of social influences operated in these areas.

The importance of children to Roman society is substantiated by the finding that children were listed in first position upon epitaphs set up to mark their death in at least 74% of the memorials analysed in each area examined in this study. Thus funerary memorials do help to determine the types of social influences that operated in Roman society concerning children. These inscriptions also confirm that the glimpses of children and the favourable attitudes exhibited by adults towards them obtained through some of the literary sources (sources that were not influenced by philosophy and tradition) were attitudes shared by the majority of the population. Thus Statius's picture of his foster child indicates that children were valued by their parents:¹

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nonne gemam te, care puer? quo sospite natos 
non cupii, primo genitum quem protinus ortu
implicui fixique mihi, cui verba sonosque 
monstravi questusque et vulnera caeca resolvi
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¹ Statius Silvae 5.5.79-87. Shall I not mourn for you, dear son? While you were alive, I desired no natural sons, you were my first born and from the moment of your birth I bound myself to you and made you truly mine; I taught you sounds and words and soothed your complainings and unseen ills; as you crawled on the ground, I bent down and lifted you up to my kisses, and lovingly in my bosom I lulled to sleep your drooping eyes and called sweet slumber to take you. My name was your first word, my games the source of your delicate laughter, and my countenance the source of all your joy.
Other literary examples also corroborate the view that children were important to the members of their immediate community and to society as a whole. Thus in many cases the inherent biases in the literature of the upper classes do present a distorted picture of children and childhood; an ideal world that was very different from everyday reality. By using a combination of sources, it can be shown that children were loved and respected in life, and their loss was mourned by parents and other adults; even in death they were more than marginal members of the community. The inadequacy of the sources available does inhibit the assemblage of a complete picture of Roman childhood. Even so, it can be determined that the position of children in Roman society was important, and it is only with further study in this area of Roman social history that this picture can be clarified and expanded further.
- ANCIENT SOURCES -

Aelius Aristides


Aristotle


Augustus


Marcus Aurelius Antoninus


Aurelius Victor


Catullus


Cicero


Cicero


Cicero


Cicero


Cicero

Cicero


Columella


Dio Cassius

Dio Cassius


Epictetus


Fronto


Fronto


Gaius


Galen


Aulus Gellius


Aulus Gallius

Horace


Juvenal


Livy


Livy


Livy


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Persius


Pliny the Elder


Pliny the Elder


Pliny the Elder


Pliny the Elder


Pliny the Younger


Pliny the Younger


Plutarch

Plutarch


Plutarch


Plutarch


Plutarch


Sallust


Seneca


Seneca

Seneca


Seneca


Seneca


Seneca


Servius


Servius


Statius


Tibullus


Quintilian


Quintilian


Varro


Varro


Varro


Virgil

Vitruvius


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