Amor, Marmor, Memor:

Patterns of Parental Commemoration of Children in Rome and Roman Italy, with Particular Reference to Mothers and Young Children and to Mothers and Older Daughters

By

Melanie Grace Knowles, B.A., B.A. (Hons.)

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania (May, 2009)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the epigraphic and literary evidence for ideals of parent-child relationships in Rome and Roman Italy, with a special focus on the relationship between mothers and young children, and mothers and older daughters. It considers all funerary inscriptions from Rome and Italy dedicated by parents to children – not a sample - that record the dedicand, their relationship to the honorand, and at least one epithet, in order to determine what ideals are most commonly expressed of the parent-child relationship, and of the mother-child relationship in particular. In order to place the inscriptional ideals expressed of the mother-child relationship into a broader context, two literary works from the first century A.D. – Seneca's *Troades* and Statius' *Thebaid* – are examined in-depth in terms of how their treatment of the mother-child bond reflects the ideals of the mother-child relationships recorded in the epitaphs.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the help of the following people:

My supervisors: Paul Gallivan, Peter Davis and Paul Burton. My fellow postgraduate students: Tansy Roberts, Frank Strk, Neil Apted, Tristan Taylor, Michael Berry, Fran Alexis and Matthew Shaw. Above all, my husband, Andrew, and my parents.

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List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations of ancient texts are as listed in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Abbreviations of journal titles are in accordance with *L'Annee Philologique*. The following is a list of abbreviations of key reference texts:

AE:	*L'Annee Epigraphique* (Paris).
CIL:	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (Berlin, 1876-1974).
ILLRP :	A. Degrassi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae* (Florence, 1963).
ILS :	H. Dessau (ed.), *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae* (Berlin, 1962).
IPO:	H. Thylander, *Inscriptions du Port d'Ostie* (Rome, 1951-52).
N. Sc:	*Notizie degli Scavi di antichità* (Rome).

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Introduction

In 1984, Saller and Shaw (1984: 124) noted the absence of detailed study of the Roman family, arguing that it was remarkable that such an important institution had received so little attention. Since then this situation has been steadily rectified, with historians conducting numerous studies into issues surrounding the definition, structure and nature of the family in Roman society. Studies conducted by scholars such as Rawson, Dixon, Treggiari, Parkin and Bradley, among others, have done much to further our understanding of the experiences, ideals and expectations of familial relations, and of factors that affected these.[1]

The evidence for Roman attitudes towards children, including attitudes towards their deaths, has generated a great deal of interest for modern scholars. We now have a far better understanding of the diversity and nature of the relationships experienced by the Roman child, and of attitudes towards children (and the loss of children) within these relationships in Roman society.[2] Of all the relationships experienced by Roman children, that between parents and children remained central to Roman ideology and ideals (Rawson 2003a: 267). Evidence of the importance placed on this relationship, and of ideals and expectations of parental attitudes towards children, has been vital in discrediting negative perceptions of the parent-child bond in Roman society. The work of Rawson in particular, and also of others such as Saller, Garnsey, Néraudau and Treggiari, has been able largely to disprove the contention put forward by those such as Ariès, Stone, Veyne and DeMause that Roman children were not loved by their parents, that there was no expectation of an affectionate bond between parents and children, and that the deaths of children were of little

[1] E.g. Rawson (esp. 2003a; 1991b); Dixon (1988; 1992); Treggiari (esp. 1991a; 2007); (Parkin (1992; 2003); Bradley (1986; 1991).

[2] On the relationships experienced by Roman children during their life course, see Rawson (2003a: 210-68); Harlow and Laurence (2002); Bradley (1986; 1991, on children and wetnurses in particular); Corbier (1999b, on adoption and fosterage in Rome); Dixon (1992); Garnsey (1991).

consequence to their parents.[3] Studies conducted by these scholars (among others) into parent-child relations in Roman society that consult the evidence of Roman literature and iconographic sources have found a great deal of evidence for ideals of affection and closeness displayed by parents towards children.[4]

Evidence from funerary inscriptions from the Roman empire offers further scope for researching the family, with a number of studies conducted using this evidence.[5] Of particular interest has been the fact that the epitaphs represent our best source of evidence for non-elite classes in Roman society (see Saller and Shaw 1984: 127-28);[6] they are also almost the only first-hand evidence left by Roman women. The importance of the inscriptional evidence for Roman parents and children was first shown by Saller and Shaw's groundbreaking study (1984) into familial funerary commemoration. The centrality of the parent-child relationship to Roman ideology and ideals was demonstrated here conclusively, through the new method that they used for studying the funerary inscriptions. Their study also made clear the enormous potential of the funerary inscriptions for furthering our understanding not only of the importance placed on the parent-child relationship, but of expectations and ideals of this and other Roman familial relationships.

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[3] See Ariès (1962); Stone (1977); DeMause (1974b). Veyne goes so far as to argue that in Rome, the 'so-called maternal or paternal instinct' did not exist, and that tenderness among Roman fathers 'was misplaced' (1987: 16-17). Against his argument and those of Ariès, Stone and DeMause, see Rawson (2003a); Saller (1994; 2001; also Saller and Shaw 1984); Garnsey (1991); Néraudau (1984); Treggiari (2005).

[4] On an excellent argument against the concept that Roman parents failed to love or mourn their children, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 35). They argue that in order to propound this argument, it is necessary to take a 'one-sided' view of the evidence, to ignore the cultural and socio-economic context of the evidence, and also to draw comparisons with modern western ideals of parenting in order to emphasise a perceived 'irresponsibility' in the Roman social system.

[5] See Rawson (1966), Taylor (1960) and Mouritsen (2005) on the inscriptional evidence for slave and freedmen familial relations in Rome; Weaver (1990; 1991) on the evidence for families of Junian Latins in the funerary inscriptions; also the works of Saller and Shaw (esp. 1984; 1987; 1991) on the inscriptional evidence for bonds of duty and affection within the Roman family in Rome and the empire.

[6] See also Bodel (2001b: 30)

For their study, Saller and Shaw (1984) gathered a sample of funerary dedications from across the Roman empire. Their method of analysing the inscriptional data in bulk takes into account,[7] and indeed is based upon, the phenomenon of the 'epigraphic habit' – the fact that the inscriptions represent not a direct reflection of demographic or emotional realities, but rather are a reflection of commemorative practice; they are the result of the act of commemoration itself.[8] By taking into account the presence of 'epigraphic habits', Saller and Shaw (1984) were able to determine, through measuring variations in familial and non-familial relationships, which relationships in Rome and the empire were the most emphasized or important.

It is worthwhile discussing briefly here the meaning and significance of commemorative practices – or 'habits of commemoration'[9] – in Roman society. The question of who commemorated the deceased in Rome, and what they chose to record about them, depended upon and were informed by cultural norms and values (see Shaw 1991: 67). While it is now understood that cultural biases in commemorative practice make it impossible to use the inscriptions as an indicator of such factors as mortality rates,[10] the inscriptions can be seen to reflect a commemorating society's expectations and values of recorded relationships and of the deceased. As Shaw (1991: 67) argues, the setting up of an inscription was a cultural act that signified the value that the deceased held within his or her family or society.[11] He argues also (1991: 67) that the act of placing or making a funerary inscription was 'integrally connected' to the duty of commemoration.

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[7] Theirs is a quantitative analysis; for a qualitative analysis of the familial epitaphs, see Rawson (2003a: 17-22; 29-34; 42-51); Sigismund Nielsen (1997) combines the two approaches to examining the inscriptional evidence.

[8] The term 'epigraphic habit' was first used by MacMullen (1982: 238).

[9] Hopkins (1966: 246).

[10] See Hopkins (1966: 246; 263). His paper is the authority on the dangers of using the inscriptions as mortality indicators and the necessity for any analysis of the inscriptional data to take into account the presence of the 'habits of commemoration', including cultural biases in the recording of ages at death in the epitaphs (on these biases, see also Bodel 2001: 35). On the caveat against using the inscriptions as direct demographic indicators, see also Saller and Shaw (1984); Shaw (1991); Saller (2001); Parkin (1992: 5-8); Scheidel (2001b).

[11] See also Carroll (2006: 30).

The act of commemorating a particular relationship therefore reflects the importance placed on a particular social bond (Saller and Shaw 1984: 126-27); the familial relationships recorded in the funerary inscriptions represent bonds of duty and affection within the Roman family (Saller and Shaw 1984: 136; see also Saller 2001: 101).

Saller and Shaw's study (1984) found that throughout the Roman empire, children were commemorated primarily by their parents, and that bonds between parents and children, and between husbands and wives, were those emphasized the most frequently in funerary commemorations. They conclude (1984: 145-46) that the nuclear family represented the core relationship of duty and affection within commemorating societies in Rome and the empire.[12] This finding, they argue (1984: 145), fits in well with Cicero's statement that the nuclear family – the 'father-mother-children triad' – was the focus of familial affections and obligations (Cic. *Off.* 1.54). Saller and Shaw (1984: 145) conclude that because the act of commemoration was strongly linked to a sense of familial obligation and affection, the emphasis on the nuclear family – and on the parent-child relationship in the commemoration of children – highlights and confirms the importance placed on the parent-child bond in Rome and the empire, and dispels the notion that the Romans emphasized bonds within the extended family.[13]

Rawson (1997: 295) presents a similar argument based on the epigraphic, legal and iconographic evidence, stating that they are the 'best indicator yet' of the Roman view of what the 'core loyalties and affections' in their society were. As Rawson (e.g. 2003a: 217; 268) argues, the focus on the

[12] See also Saller (1994: 98). On the nuclear family as a core Roman relationship, see Rawson (2003a: 268).

[13] Saller and Shaw are very careful, however, to avoid using the emphasis on the nuclear family in the epitaphs to draw conclusions as to the *structure* of the Roman family - despite Martin's criticisms (Martin 1996). Sigismund Nielsen also points out the dangers of using the inscriptions as evidence of familial structures. She argues that the patterns of dedications to parents and children mainly reflect parents' expectations of their children, and only secondarily reflect the structure of the family (1997: 173).

nuclear family in the inscriptions does not indicate that other relationships were unimportant, but that close relationships within the nuclear family were considered to be the most important. Saller (2001: 101) later argues that the fact that the Romans chose to emphasise certain bonds in the epitaphs, but omitted others, tells us something important about 'hierarchies of duty and affection' within the Roman family.

Subsequent studies on the evidence of the funerary inscriptions follow Saller and Shaw's method, and have revealed much about the valuation placed on children by parents in Roman society.[14] These studies examine aspects of and variations in attitudes towards, and the status of, children in Rome and the empire as shown in the epitaphs. Shaw's study (1991) on the cultural meaning of death and commemoration, for example, examines the shift in values placed on children by parents (among other relationships) across regions of the empire, and from pagan to Christian Rome. More recent, and of great importance to this present study, is the work conducted by Gallivan and Wilkins (1997) into Roman familial structures.[15] Their study examines a sample of parent-child dedications (including those from non-biological parents) from Roman Italy (excluding Rome itself) in terms of regional variations. They found much regional variation in commemorative patterns.[16]

Examinations of how parents chose to represent children in the epitaphs through the use of epithets, and therefore to characterize the parent-child bond,[17] have demonstrated the importance of funerary inscriptions not only for confirming the emphasis placed on the centrality of the parent-child relationship in Rome and the empire, but also as evidence for ideals and

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[14] See e.g. Shaw (1991: 67) on tombstone commemoration as a signifier of the valuation of the 'social persona' of the deceased. He argues that this valuation may have been of a neutral type that had 'structural origins', as well as 'purely emotive ones'. See also Sigismund Nielsen (1997).

[15] In their study, Gallivan and Wilkins make use of the *Roman Familial Structures Database.*

[16] Except in certain factors such as gender bias, which in all regions studied favoured the commemoration of boys over that of girls (Gallivan and Wilkins 1997: 255).

[17] On epithets in familial epitaphs as characterisations of particular relationships, see Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 175).

expectations of this relationship, and of parental attitudes towards children within Roman society.[18] Sigismund Nielsen's study (1997) on the use of epithets in familial funerary dedications is the most important of these to date. She examines a sample of familial dedications from Rome (every fifth usable epitaph was included) in terms of which epithets were used to commemorate familial relationships, and which relationships were most commonly commemorated. In terms of the commemoration of children, Sigismund Nielsen (1997) pays particular attention to the age groups of children commemorated. She found again that that young children were commemorated most frequently by their parents, and also that the epithets used to commemorate children by parents varied according to the children's age.

Sigismund Nielsen (1997) discovered that young children – she classes these as children aged under 15 years – are most frequently commemorated as *dulcissimus/a*; while older children are most frequently commemorated as *piissimus/a*. She argues in conclusion (1997: 204) that the use of *dulcissimus/a* to commemorate young children reflects an ideal of parental affection towards these children,[19] while the dominance of the epithet *piissimus/a* as used to commemorate older children reflects a higher expectation of *pietas* from parents of older children.[20] She also argues (1997: 198-202) that the epithets used to commemorate children, as well as the emphasis placed on commemorating children, indicate that parents connected their deaths with the concept of *mors immatura* – 'premature death'. Sigismund-Nielsen's study has been of great importance as further evidence of ideals of closeness, love and a mutual, dutiful affection within the parent-child bond.

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[18] On the epithets recorded in epitaphs as indicators of ideals (if not realities) of the nature of familial relationships, see Morris (1992: 159); Rawson (2003a: 221); Carroll (2006: 3); Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 177).

[19] Through her examination of literary evidence from Rome, Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 188-90) found that the term *dulcis* is used in the literary sources only to describe personal relationships that were very intimate and loving.

[20] Following his examination of the use of the term *pietas* in Roman literature, Saller found that the ideal of familial *pietas* involved a reciprocal, 'loving devotion' (1994: 109) and a 'well-wishing duty' (1994: 113) that involved an affective element.

This present study follows the method used by Gallivan and Wilkins (1997) and Sigismund Nielsen (1997); it is, in a sense, an extension of their studies. The contribution of this study as an examination of parent-child dedications is that, as far as I am aware, it is the first to examine all relevant dedications from Rome and Roman Italy – not just a sample. It is also the first to examine parental dedications to all ages of children, from both Rome and Roman Italy.[21] This study examines patterns of parental roles of commemoration in Rome and Italy and how these change according to the age and sex of the child commemorated, and according to region. It looks at the representation of children through epithets in dedications by parents from Rome and from throughout Roman Italy, and interprets the use of these epithets in terms of what this can tell us further about parents' ideals of children, and of society's attitudes towards and ideals of parent-child relationships.

It is particularly concerned with the inscriptions as evidence of parental affection, and especially as evidence of ideals of maternal affection. Recent scholarship has questioned the widespread notion of affection between mothers and children – especially between mothers and young children, and mothers and older daughters.[22] Through an examination of the inscriptional evidence – evidence that is recorded by mothers themselves – (and also by examining two works of literary evidence in particular – see below), this study aims to show that there was a strong expectation of closeness and affection between mothers and children.

The study includes all usable inscriptions dedicated to children in Rome and Roman Italy. 'Usable' inscriptions are those that indicate the commemorator, the child's relationship to the commemorator and at least one epithet (excluding *bene merens*).[23] Inscriptions were gathered with the

[21] McWilliam's study (2001) examines dedications from Rome and Roman Italy made to children aged up to 14 years.
[22] See e.g. Dixon (1988; 1992); Bradley (1986). Dixon's study (1988) remains the most important and influential into the relationship between mothers and children.
[23] *Bene merens* is excluded because it is common to nearly all extant epitaphs from Rome and Roman Italy, therefore making it pointless to study this epithet in relation to the patterns of its usage. See Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 179-81).

aid of the *Roman Familial Structures* database created by Gallivan, Weaver, Rawson and Wilkins (1998), which includes familial funerary inscriptions from Roman Italy (excluding Rome itself); the Jory index of *CIL* 6, and Jory's *Epigraph* database. The help of these tools was invaluable.

Ages at death of the commemorated children were included where recorded. This makes it possible to examine whether specific patterns of commemoration relating to parental dedicands and their representations of children change as the age of the commemorated child increases. This approach to the study of the epitaphs is valid because it does not appear that the inclusion of epitaphs that do not record an epithet would greatly distort the commemorative patterns found. The patterns found are similar to those found by Gallivan and Wilkins, who include all familial epitaphs in their study (including those that do not record epithets).[24]

The majority of the inscriptions used in this present study are funerary inscriptions dedicated by parents to children from the first to the fourth centuries A.D., although the epitaphs are difficult to date precisely.[25] Taylor (1960: 113) writes that the majority of epitaphs from Rome are from the first two and a half centuries A.D. They were placed along the major roads leading from Rome, or in cemeteries near the roads (Taylor 1960: 113). Mouritsen (2005: 40) states that the Ostian epitaphs date from the first to the fourth centuries A.D., and that they come from two main sites: the eastern Porta Romana necropolis; and the Porta Laurentina necropolis to the south of the city.

Nomenclature is one method of dating the inscriptions. Salomies (1991: 83) shows that from the first century B.C., the *cognomen* began to replace the *praenomen* as the preferred personal name, with each son being given his own *cognomen*. By the end of the third century A.D., the *praenomen*

[24] See Saller and Shaw (1984: 132-33) for a similar argument on the validity of samples that exclude some epitaphs.
[25] See Salomies (1991: 73-94); McWilliam (2001: 74-75); Shaw (1991: 68).

was largely abandoned (Salomies 1991: 83). If this is correct, the inscriptions used here originate primarily from the first century A.D. onwards, as very few were found that include a *praenomen*; whereas most had *nomen* and *cognomen*. Where the names of fathers and sons were recorded, the *nomen* remains the same for each generation, while the *cognomina* are individual. Interestingly, children recorded in the inscriptions found, particularly daughters, often bear one name from each parent. This development and that of the use of two names for daughters also point to an inscription originating from at least the late Republic, as women in the Republic usually bore only the feminised *nomina* of their fathers. Few of the inscriptions found in this study record only one name for women, except where they were identified as slaves. *Se uiuo* inscriptions were rarely included, as they rarely record an epithet.

The majority of inscriptions used originate from the first three centuries of the empire.[26] Where an epitaph was dedicated to more than one child, each relationship recorded was counted as an individual entry. Where there was doubt as to the indicated commemorator or relationship due to fragmentation or deterioration of the inscription, that inscription was not included in order to avoid making misleading entries. In order to avoid erroneous identification of the status of either dedicands or honorands in the inscriptions found, status was noted only where securely identified by status indicators, for example the recording of *l.* to indicate freed status.[27]

It has been estimated on the basis of nomenclature, however, that the majority of Roman funerary inscriptions commemorate or were dedicated by freedmen (Mouritsen 2005: 123). In this study, the nomenclature in the inscriptions found from Rome suggests that the majority were dedicated by freedmen, with only around 400 out of nearly 2,000 dedications to sons involving *ingenui* identified by either status indicators or nomenclature,

[26] In Saller and Shaw's (1984) sample, the provincial epitaphs are thought to have been concentrated in the mid-second to the first quarter of the third century A.D. (see Saller and Shaw 1984: 131).

[27] See Taylor (1960: 117) on similar criteria for reliability of status indication. Taylor (1960: 121) found also that after the first century A.D., the use of *libertus* in the names of freedmen largely disappeared from the epitaphs, unless they were imperial freedmen.

and only 171 out of over 1,500 dedications to daughters involving *ingenui* identified in these ways. It is also likely that the majority of epitaphs found from Ostia and Puteoli in this study commemorate or were dedicated by freedmen. Mouritsen (2005: 41) found that virtually all funerary monuments and inscriptions from Ostia were dedicated by freedmen. The use of epithets does not appear to have varied greatly according to the status of either the commemorators or the commemorated, and so this study will not examine the effects of status on the act of commemoration.[28]

Chapter One presents an analysis of the inscriptional data by region. Data are tabulated in Tables 1-17.A-E (see Appendix). The commemorative patterns evidenced in each Table are described. Tables 1-17.A describe trends and variations in the parental dedicand patterns; Tables 1-17.B-E describe trends and variations in the epithet patterns.

Chapter Two examines commemorative patterns in order to determine who appears to have held the primary parental role of commemorating children according to each region studied, and therefore which parent-child relationships were most emphasised. Shaw (1984: 465) notes that minor patterns are to be found within the major dedicand patterns in inscriptions dedicated within the nuclear family, referring to the evidence found in his study with Saller (1984). The large number of parental dedications gathered for this study allows scope for examining parental commemorative roles in greater depth than has been attempted previously. It was found that the commemorative patterns in dedications to children vary not only according to the age or sex of child commemorated, but also according to whether they were commemorated by parents acting together as dedicands, or acting separately; these patterns therefore show that parents should not necessarily be considered an homogenous group as commemorators.

[28] On status indicators in the familial inscriptions, see Weaver (1990: 275-305); Rawson (1966: 71-83).

Chapter Two aims to look in further detail at the individual commemorative roles of parents, by looking more closely at the 'break-down' of the dedicand commemorative patterns. It will then interpret the patterns of parental roles of commemoration, in terms of what this may tell us further about the values placed on different parent-child relationships in Rome and Roman Italy. It looks at whether children were most frequently commemorated by parents acting together, fathers acting alone or mothers acting alone, and whether the patterns of parents' roles as commemorators vary according to region, the age or the sex of child commemorated. The patterns showing when parents begin to commemorate children separately, for example, or when dedicands who held only a small role in commemorating children become their main commemorators, may be indicative of changes in parent-child relationships. Interestingly, it was found that one 'type' of parental dedicand was rarely the primary commemorator of both sons and daughters from a given region. The significance of this and other patterns to our understanding of the nature of parent-child relations in Rome and Italy will be discussed in this chapter.

The next part of this study examines mothers' use of epithets to represent children in the funerary inscriptions, and what this reveals about maternal ideals of children and of mothers' relationships with their children. While it was hoped to be able to examine the four parent-child relationships outlined by Kertzer and Saller (1991: 15) – mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, father-daughter – there was insufficient space to do so. It was therefore decided to focus on the inscriptional evidence presented here for mothers' relationships with young children and with older daughters, as this is where further study seems to be most needed.[29]

[29] There has been a great deal of study conducted into the relationship between fathers and children in Rome, and between mothers and older sons. These include: Eyben's study (1991) on fathers and sons; Dixon's in-depth examination (1988) of mothers and older sons; Hallett's examination (1984) of the father-daughter relationship in Rome; Kleijwegt's study (1991) on male adolescence in Roman society (largely concerned with the father-son bond); Kleiner's chapter (2000) on mothers and sons in elite Roman art; and Treggiari's study (2007) on the relationships between Cicero and his wife and daughter, which gives an excellent examination of the relationship between Cicero and Tullia. Studies into the family that consult primarily the 'historical' literary sources, such as Rawson (2003a), deal largely with the relationship between fathers and children, or

Chapter Three examines mothers' commemoration of young children in terms of the evidence that it represents for maternal ideals of these children, and of social ideals of the mother-child bond. It has been argued that mothers were not close to young children, and that they did not experience a very affectionate or close relationship with infants in particular (see Dixon 1988: 233); it has even been contended that mothers may have displayed an attitude of indifference towards their young children, and towards their deaths (see Bradley 1986: 216-17).[30]

It is argued here, however, that mothers' own representations of their relationship with young children in the inscriptions do not support this contention, but instead are suggestive of a strong ideal of maternal affection for young children, and of a close mother-child bond, within Roman society. The inscriptions also appear to present evidence that mothers associated the deaths of small children with *mors immatura*, casting doubt upon the concept that mothers may have been indifferent to the loss of these children.

Chapter Four examines mothers' commemoration of older daughters (those older than 10 years). The relationship between mothers and older daughters has received the least attention from modern scholars of any parent-child relationship in Roman society. The situation has been exacerbated by Dixon's (1988) and Phillips' (1978) refusal to consult much evidence beyond the 'historical' literary sources, which are little concerned with the lives of mothers and their older daughters. Because the studies of Dixon and Phillips remain the most important on this topic, their findings that the expectation of the mother-daughter relationship was one of maternal severity and authority and daughterly obedience, more than one of maternal affection and a mutual closeness and devotion, has prevailed. The

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between mothers and sons, as these are the relationships with which those literary sources are the most concerned. It therefore seems that the inscriptional evidence would be most useful for furthering our understanding of the bond between mothers and small children, and between mothers and older daughters. To date, the only extensive studies into these relationships have been those made by Dixon (1988) and Phillips (1978).

[30] On arguments against parental indifference towards young children, see Rawson (2003a: 124); Garnsey (1991: 64-65); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 52-53).

inscriptional evidence, however, again suggests that this is too harsh a view of mothers and daughters. Mothers' representation of daughters in the epitaphs presents a picture of a high expectation and strong ideal of a reciprocal, deep affection and devotion between mother and daughter that was little different to modern western expectations of this bond. This chapter also examines the potential of mothers' commemoration of older daughters as evidence for attitudes towards adolescent girls – a subject that has received little research thus far (see Harlow and Laurence 2002: 54; 56), and one that we therefore know little about.

Chapter Five presents a case study of two Roman literary works from the first century A.D. – the period from which many of the funerary inscriptions are thought to originate – that are concerned with the relationship between mothers and children. The aim of this chapter is to demonstrate the wider context in which the inscriptional ideals of mothers and children existed; and also to show the importance of the 'fictional' literary sources for emotional ideals of the mother-child relationship. It does so by giving a close examination of mothers and children in Seneca's *Troades* and Statius' *Thebaid*; works in which the mother-child bond forms a key focal point.

This chapter examines the ways in which the portrayals of the mother-child relationship in these works reflect the ideals of this relationship as expressed in mothers' commemoration of children. It looks at Seneca's treatment in his *Troades* of the bonds between Andromache and her infant son Astyanax, and between Hecuba and her daughter Polyxena; it then looks at Statius' portrayal of the relationships between the infant Astyanax/Archemorus, his mother Eurydice and his nurse, Hypsipyle, and the relationship between Atalanta and her son, Parthenopaeus. Of particular interest is the way in which the bonds between these mothers and children are characterized by maternal love and devotion, and how this then leads to their intense grief upon the loss of their children. This chapter also examines the reflection in these works of the concept that a child's death, including that of an infant (Astyanax and Opheltes) and an older

daughter (Polyxena), represents *mors immatura*, and how this reflects the motivation of premature death in mothers' commemoration of such children.

Chapter One

An Empirical Study of the Inscriptions from Parents to Children from Rome and Roman Italy

This chapter presents an analysis of the inscriptional data used in this study. The data were grouped in two ways. Where there were sufficient inscriptions found from single towns, these were grouped as individual data sets. The inscriptions thus grouped come from Rome, Ostia and Puteoli. The inscriptions found from the remaining towns were collated into data sets by region, in order to give data sets large enough to be analysed. These groups include the 11 numbered regions: Latium (excluding Rome and Ostia), Apulia, Lucania, Samnium, Picenum, Umbria, Etruria, Aemilia, Liguria, Venetia and Transpadana, as well as Campania (excluding Puteoli), Calabria and Sabina. Histria and Bruttium yielded too few inscriptions to give a useful analysis, and therefore the inscriptions found from these regions have not been included.

Given the very small number of dedications by non-nuclear dedicands, there is a focus on dedications by three major dedicand groups: fathers dedicating alone, mothers dedicating alone and parents dedicating together. The resulting sample groups give a total of 2,788 inscriptions. Of the urban centres, 1,951 inscriptions are from Rome – 688 to daughters and 1263 to sons. There are 197 inscriptions from Ostia – 74 to daughters, 123 to sons. Puteoli, the town with the next highest number of inscriptions, yielded 91 – 55 to sons and 36 to daughters. Of the regions, Latium yielded the most inscriptions, with 111 – 70 to sons and 41 to daughters; while Lucania yielded the least: only 11 inscriptions, four to sons and seven to daughters. The number of inscriptions found in each region does not appear to vary according to area; each area in Italy – north, east, south and west – includes regions that yielded both high and low numbers of inscriptions. Instead, the number of dedications found varied, as would be expected, with the number and size of towns from a particular region.

The data were tabulated by town or region, in tables 1.A-1.E through to 17.A-17.E. The data from each region are tabulated in the same pattern. Tables 1-17.A enumerate the epitaphs dedicated by members within the nuclear family to children at specific ages at death, from zero years to 30+ years. These ages are divided into groups of five years, with the exception of children aged below one, and above 20. The age groups are as follows: 0, 1-5, 6-10, 11-15, 16-20, 21-30, 30+. Dedications to children aged less than one year at time of death are given a separate group so that the commemoration of infants can be examined later in detail. Children aged more than 20 at time of death are grouped into larger data sets, because there are insufficient data for dedications to these ages to be looked at in smaller groups. These age groups are listed in the top rows of the tables. The tables also indicate the number of dedications with no recorded age at death.

On the left side of Tables 1-17.A-E are the dedicand groups, in three rows. First are parents together as dedicands, followed by fathers dedicating alone, and then by mothers dedicating alone. The figures in each column show the frequency of dedications to each age group of children from each dedicand. For example, in the inscriptions from Rome (see Table 1.A) there are 102 dedications from parents to sons aged between six and 10; there are 56 dedications from parents to daughters in the same age group. From Latium (see Table 4.A), there are four dedications from fathers to sons aged between one and five; there are two dedications from fathers to daughters in the same age group.

Tables 1-17.B-E summarise the data relating to epithets given to children. The figures in each column show how often a particular epithet was used for a particular age of child, from a specific dedicand. For example, Table 1.B – dedications from Rome – shows that 49 sons aged between one and five received the epithet *dulcissimus* from fathers. It was found in this study that there were three main epithets used in dedications to children from each urban centre and region: *dulcissimus/a*, *piissimus/a*

(*pientissimus/a*) and *carissimus/a*.[1] These epithets occurred often enough to be examined as individual groups, with data tabulated in tables 1-17.B, C and D. The other epithets found have been tabulated in tables 1-17.E, according to dedicand and frequency of occurrence. These epithets do not occur often enough for it to be possible to analyse them according to how often they were given to a specific age of child.

Patterns of Commemoration

Rome

Table 1.A.

When examining the inscriptions from Rome, certain trends are immediately noticeable. One is that there is a definite gender bias.[2] In all instances, sons received more dedications than did daughters; in many instances, sons received nearly twice as many dedications as daughters. This trend can also be seen in the inscriptions found from all areas except three – Lucania, Aemilia and Sabina (Tables 16.A, 11.A and 9.A). It seems unlikely that this gender bias in the inscriptions could be explained using demographic factors. The most obvious literal reading of these data would be that twice as many sons from Rome died as daughters. This cannot have been possible in reality. A more likely explanation is that daughters married at a younger age than sons, and that their husbands then assumed the role of commemoration - and therefore fewer daughters than sons were commemorated by their parents.[3]

A closer look at the inscriptional data reveals, however, that the gender bias is also present in dedications to young children. Daughters aged younger than 10 still received only around half as many dedications as sons

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[1] There appears to be no difference in meaning or use between *piissimus/a* and *pientissimus/a* in the inscriptions used in this study. See Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 193).

[2] Gallivan and Wilkins (1997) found a similar gender bias in the dedications from Roman Italy. Shaw (1991) also notes a similar gender bias in the Roman inscriptions. See also Sigismund Nielsen (1997).

[3] See Shaw (1987: 30-46). Saller (1987: 21-34) uses the same method as Shaw to determine men's age at first marriage.

(with only one exception – daughters aged younger than one received six dedications from parents, while sons of this age received seven dedications from parents). Although there is no certain age known for Roman girls' first marriage,[4] it is hardly likely that those aged younger than 10 would have been married and cohabiting with their husband. It is more reasonable to conclude therefore that this trend is more a reflection of commemorative practice than a direct reflection of demographic influences. The gender bias favouring sons in these inscriptions may reflect a preference for male children in Rome.[5]

The next trend noted relates to the frequency of extant inscriptions recorded by each dedicand. Parents in Rome are the most frequent dedicands for both sons and daughters. 487 out of the total 1263 inscriptions to sons were dedicated by parents, and parents dedicated 282 out of the total 688 inscriptions to daughters. This pattern of dedicand frequency appears to be unusual. In the inscriptions found from many regions, one dedicand will not be the most frequent commemorator of both sons and daughters. The exceptions to this pattern are Rome, Umbria (Table 7.A), Sabina (Table 9.A), Latium (Table 4.A) and Apulia (Table 12.A). Mothers were the next most frequent dedicands for sons, dedicating 395 of the total inscriptions, with fathers dedicating 381. This trend, however, is reversed in the inscriptions to daughters, with mothers dedicating only 178 of the extant inscriptions, while fathers dedicated 228.

When examining the frequency of commemorations to each age group, we can see a pattern of overrepresentation in some of the inscriptions found. In those dedicated by parents and fathers in Rome, children of both sexes aged between one and 10 are overrepresented. 256 out of the 487

[4] From the epigraphic evidence, Hopkins (1965: 326) estimates the first age at marriage for Roman girls to have been 12-15 for pagan girls. He estimates (1965: 319) this age as having been higher for Christian girls – around 15-18. Shaw (1987) re-evaluates this conclusion on the grounds that Hopkins' method led to a skewing of the data, resulting in an average age of girls' marriage that is too low. Shaw (1987: 43) estimates the average age for most Roman girls at first marriage to have been in the late teens.

[5] See Shaw (1991: 72-73) on the preference for commemorating sons over daughters as indicative of gender preference within Roman society.

dedications to sons by parents are to these age groups, with 142 out of the 282 dedications to daughters. We see the same pattern in the dedications by fathers. 146 out of the 381 dedications to sons are to those aged between one and 10, while 98 dedications to daughters are in this group. A contributing factor to this overrepresentation may have been the vulnerability of young children to illness or accident. While the first year of life was the most dangerous, children are not thought to have been out of the 'danger period' until they reached the age of 10.[6]

Rawson (2003a: 363) suggests that the overrepresentation of young children in the epitaphs reflects a corresponding importance placed on the deaths of children aged 10 or younger. Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 174-5; 193) draws a similar conclusion, linking the abundance of inscriptions to young children to the concept of *mors immatura* as a motivation for commemoration. Suder (2001: 75) argues that the emphasis on commemorating young children in Rome is indicative of their position and value within the family, and of the loss felt upon their deaths.[7] In the extant funerary inscriptions from Rome, parents often emphasise the young age at death of their child. Dedications to children aged 10 or younger make up nearly 50% of the total number of dedications found from Rome (835 out of the total 1951).[8]

The emphasis placed on recording children's age at death appears to reflect the concept of *mors immatura*, with some epitaphs even recording this term, or the term *funus acerbum*.[9] Only around one quarter of the extant

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[6] Parkin (1992: 92) estimates that 50% of Roman children who survived their first year would die before they reached their 10th year.

[7] On parents' grief upon the loss of their infant children in the literary sources, see Néraudau (1985: 379-88). The emotional reaction of parents when their infants died, he argues (1985: 207), was *loin de l'égalité d'âme jadis prônée par les sages.*

[8] For a comparison of the percentage of funerary epitaphs dedicated to young children in Rome, Africa, Spain, Gaul, Pannonia and Brittany, see Suder (2001: 76; 1990: 31).

[9] The term *funus acerbum* (or *mors acerbum*) was also used when referring to premature death (see Néraudau 1985: 374). Seneca, for example, uses the term *funus acerbum* to refer to the untimely deaths of children in his *Consolatio ad Marciam* (17.7). Examples of inscriptions dedicated by parents in Rome that record the terms *mors immatura* or *funus/mors acerbum* include *CIL* 6.26901 (*mors immatura*), 6.14389 (*mors acerbum*), 6.38879 (*mors immatura*) and 6.22397 (*funus acerbum*). Inscriptions recorded in Volume 6 of *CIL* come from Rome.

inscriptions dedicated to children in Rome record no age at death (488 out of 1951). It was therefore far more common for parents to record a child's age at death than it was for them to omit it.[10] Some of the epitaphs dedicated to infant children even record the number of hours for which had they lived.[11]

The pattern of dedications by age group also shows that children of both sexes aged younger than one are underrepresented in the inscriptions, regardless of the dedicand. Given the estimated high infant mortality rate in Rome, we would expect children aged younger than one to be the most frequently commemorated age group.[12] Yet only 32 out of the 1951 dedications from Rome were to infant children. It has been suggested that the lack of epitaphs for infants in Rome indicates that they were given neither burial nor funeral rites, and that this is an indication that infants were 'in some ways' undervalued in Roman society.[13] While this may be the case, there are other possible explanations for this epigraphic habit. Rather than a lack of epigraphic material indicating that infants did not receive burial *per se*, it may indicate instead that infants received a form of burial in which they were not commemorated with an epitaph.[14]

There were even fewer dedications from Rome found to children aged older than 30 than there were to infants younger than one. The underrepresentation of children aged older than 30 is perhaps more easily explained. Again, it must be stated carefully here that we are not seeing a direct reflection of demographic reality in these inscriptions. The fact that

[10] See also Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 174-75).
[11] E.g. *CIL* 6.23882; 6.12509; 6.18318.
[12] Parkin (1992: 92) estimates the infant mortality rate at around 30%. Epitaphs from Italy and the Empire also give evidence of parents who have lost several children. Those used for this present study include: the dedication from Rome to Pupus Torquartianus and Pupus Laetianus (*CIL* 6.27556), aged eight and five, by their parents, Gaianus and Eucharis – the two boys died within eight days of each other; another epitaph from Rome (*CIL* 6.16028), dedicated by Cominia Blanda and Vibuleius Hypatus to their sons, L. Cominius Italicus (aged 17) and L. Vibuleius Cedrius; and a tablet from Rome (*CIL* 6.14569) dedicated by Communis and Casta to their children, Communis and Castricia (aged eight and 15). Carroll (2006: 169), in her work on Roman funerary commemoration in the western Empire, lists several epitaphs from outside of Italy that show parents' loss of several children.
[13] Rawson (2003a: 346). See also Dixon (1992: 99-100).
[14] On the possibilities of alternative burials for infants, see Rawson (2003a: 341-44).

there were far fewer commemorations found by parents to children older than 30, than there were to younger children, suggests only that parents from Rome did not commemorate children of this age very often. The most likely explanation for this trend is that the commemoration in Rome of children of this age was performed by someone other than parents, possibly either spouses or children. Saller's study (1994: 48-52) on Roman kinship concludes that by the age of 30, fewer than half of children would have had a living mother, while only around a third of sons and a fifth of daughters would have had a living father. Also, by this age, both sons and daughters would often have been married, with their spouses assuming the role of commemoration (see Shaw 1987). These demographic influences would contribute to an apparent lack of parental commemoration of children older than 30.

Another possible explanation relates to the frequency of dedications found to young children that record age at death. As the evidence suggests that it was considered more important to record the age at death of young children than it was for adults – parents or spouses – it may be that this attitude was extended to the commemoration of adult children. The apparent lack of dedications to children older than 30 that we see here could simply be due to parents not recording an age at death for these children, as these inscriptions would then have been grouped as 'without age at death recorded' in this study. There is no way of determining how many of the 'without age' inscriptions found were actually dedicated to adult children; or, indeed, how many of these inscriptions were dedicated to infant children of less than one year of age.

Dedications by parents and fathers to both sons and daughters begin to decline dramatically in number in the age groups after the six-10 group. Dedications from parents and fathers to daughters aged between 21 and 30 decline even further, with only eight dedications from parents to this age group, and only nine from fathers. This pattern cannot be attributed solely to the deaths of fathers and their subsequent decline as dedicands, as parents and fathers continue to be found as dedicands of sons of this age

group.[15] These patterns of decline are not evident in the dedications from mothers, who dedicated inscriptions to sons and daughters with fairly equal frequency in each age group (with the obvious exceptions of the underrepresented age groups discussed above). Sons aged between 11 and 15 received slightly fewer dedications from mothers (46, compared to at least 50 for sons aged between one and 10), as did daughters aged between 11 and 20 (20 and 21 for the two age groups respectively, compared to 27 or more).

Most interestingly, we do not see the sharp decline in dedications to daughters aged between 21 and 30. The predominance of mothers as dedicands of older children is likely due in part to mortality amongst fathers, who tended to be older than their wives (Shaw 1987: 43). Social influences on the practice of commemoration, however, must be considered in order to explain the decline in the number of dedications to daughters by parents and fathers, and the corresponding rise in these dedications by mothers (daughters aged 21-30 received 34 dedications from mothers, compared to 21 dedications received by daughters aged 16-20), when parents and fathers continued to dedicate epitaphs to sons. The evidence suggests that mothers assumed the primary role of dedication for daughters while the fathers were living.

Table 1.B.

This table summarizes the use of *dulcissimus/a* for children in the inscriptions from Rome. Immediately noticeable is the overall number of times this epithet is recorded – 937 out of the total 1951 dedications, or nearly 50%.[16] It was by far the most frequently recorded epithet for

[15] There are 37 dedications from parents to sons aged 21-30, and 32 dedications from fathers to sons in this age group.

[16] Very few of the inscriptions used record more than one epithet; fewer still record the same epithet more than once, such as in the inscription to brothers Ti. Claudius Hermogenes and Claudius Faustinus (*CIL* 6.15053). This double recording of the same epithet, or 'doubling up', occurred in only five more of the inscriptions found – *CIL* 6.6632, 14.1485, 10.4410, 14.818 and *IPO* A145. The 'doubling up' of epithets when found in an inscription did not in any case pose a problem, as the purpose of this examination has been to determine which epithets were more popularly used to commemorate children.

children aged one to five, used in 280 out of the 442 dedications to children in this age group. Proportionately, it was also the most frequently recorded epithet for infants aged younger than one. Parents, for example, recorded this epithet for infant sons in six of the seven extant dedications. There is then a dramatic drop in the recording of *dulcissimus/a* by parents for children aged older than five.

Interestingly, this drop does not occur nearly as dramatically in the dedications from fathers or mothers. In fact, the instance of *dulcissima* recorded for daughters in the dedications from mothers rises slightly for daughters aged between six and 10, from 14 to 17. Overall, *dulcissimus/a* is recorded in around half of all inscriptions found dedicated to children aged between six and 10 – found in 184 out of the 361 dedications. It was recorded in the same proportion of inscriptions dedicated to the next age group, children aged between 11 and 15. Here it was recorded in 96 out of the 213 inscriptions found.

In the dedications to children aged between 16 and 20, however, the frequency of the use of *dulcissimus/a* declines. It is recorded in only 69 out of the 211 dedications found – around 32%. This percentage falls again in dedications to the next age group – children aged between 21 and 30 – where *dulcissimus/a* is recorded in 45 out of the 176 dedications, or 25%. While it would be expected that the number of inscriptions recording *dulcissimus/a* will fall in dedications to children older than 10 as the total number of these dedications falls, the evidence shows that the *proportionate* frequency with which *dulcissimus/a* is recorded for children falls as the age of the deceased child rises. Children from Rome aged older than 10 were therefore less likely to receive *dulcissimus/a* as an epithet than were younger children.

Table 1.C.

Table 1.C shows the number and distribution of dedications from Rome that record *piissimus/a*. *Piissimus/a* was the most frequently recorded epithet in dedications to children aged between 16 and 20. 108 of the total

211 dedications to children of this age record *piissimus/a*, compared to only 69 that record *dulcissimus/a*. 93 out of the total 176 dedications to children aged between 21 and 30 record *piissimus/a*, compared to 45 that record *dulcissimus/a*; and 19 out of the total 28 dedications to children aged older than 30 record *piissimus/a*, or 67%. The data show clearly that the number of epithets recording *piissimus/a* begins to increase as the use of *dulcissimus/a* decreases; the evidence here appears to indicate that as children grew older, the epithet with which they were most commonly commemorated changed.

It therefore appears, as Sigismund Nielsen argues (1997: 169-71), that epithets were not chosen randomly by dedicands. The ideal of *pietas* in connection with older children has been studied at length. Saller (1994: 31) describes *pietas* as an 'affectionate devotion', and as a 'reciprocal duty' (1994: 111). Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 196) associates it with religious obligations, especially those connected to death and mourning.[17] In general, she argues (1997: 197), children commemorated with *piissimus/a* in the found inscriptions were old enough to have been expected to be capable of displaying familial and religious *pietas* and were old enough to be expected to outlive their parents and therefore to demonstrate their piety by commemorating them.

The difficulty lies in finding explanations for the commemoration of young children with *piissimus/a*. While it is far more common in the surviving inscriptions to see small children commemorated with *dulcissimus/a*, children as young as one are in fact commemorated with *piissimus/a*. There were 86 inscriptions to children aged between one and five found that record this epithet, 113 dedicated to children aged between six and 10, and two to infants aged younger than one. Clearly, the concept and definitions of *piissimus/a* as used to describe older children cannot have applied to younger children, especially those younger than five, who were

[17] Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 197) argues that parents who were displaying *pietas* in burying their children still called their children *pius/a*, when their children would be unable to display this *pietas* towards their parents.

too young to have been expected to show a serious sense of familial or religious piety. *Pietas* must have had different connotations when used to describe young children.[18]

In addition to the overall pattern of its distribution in the extant inscriptions, the use of *piissimus/a* shows a number of smaller trends. In the dedications from parents to sons aged older than 15, *piissimus* is recorded more than twice as often as *dulcissimus* (in 55 dedications, compared to 22). In the dedications from parents to daughters of this age, however, daughters were commemorated with *piissima* only slightly more often than they were with *dulcissima* – 16 of the total 36 epithets record *piissima*, compared to 13 that record *dulcissima*. Fathers as dedicands actually commemorated their children with *piissimus/a* the least often. The dedications from fathers to children aged older than 15 show that both sons and daughters were almost as likely to be commemorated with *dulcissimus/a* as they were with *piissimus/a*.

Dedications from mothers to sons aged older than 15 follow the pattern of dedications from parents. Sons were commemorated by mothers twice as often with *piissimus* as they were with *dulcissimus* – 73 inscriptions from mothers to sons older than 15 record *piissimus*, while only 29 record *dulcissimus*. In terms of dedications to daughters, mothers commemorate those aged between 16 and 20 *less* often with *piissima* than they do with *dulcissima* – daughters of this age were still commemorated primarily with *dulcissima*. However, mothers commemorated daughters aged between 21 and 30 more than twice as often with *piissima* as they did with *dulcissima*. This is the only instance where older daughters are much more likely to be dedicated with *piissima* than with *dulcissma*.

Possibly the most interesting trend in these inscriptions is the dedications from mothers to daughters aged over 20, who are commemorated far more

[18] For more detail on the use of *piissimus/a* to commemorate young children and its significance for the meanings of *pietas*, see Chapter Three on mothers' commemoration of young children.

often as *piissima* than they are as *dulcissima*. There may be a connection between this sudden change in the epithets used by mothers to commemorate daughters, and the fact that by this age many daughters would have been married (see Shaw 1987; Harlow and Laurence 2002: 56). It is possible that mothers' expectations of married daughters, who had left the household, were different from their expectations of daughters who were not yet married and who were therefore still living within the household. Fathers were also more likely to commemorate older daughters with *piissima* (see Table 1.C); the small number of inscriptions from fathers to older daughters containing *piissima* could, however, give the misleading impression that the ideal of marriageable-aged daughters as being *piissima* was held only by mothers. The drop in the number of inscriptions from fathers to older daughters that record *piissima* in fact reflects the overall drop in inscriptions from fathers to these daughters.

Table 1.D.

This table shows the distribution of *carissimus/a* in the Roman inscriptions found. It is the third most commonly recorded epithet, recorded in 297 out of the total 1951 dedications (15%). Like *dulcissimus/a*, *carissimus/a* was most commonly used to commemorate children aged younger than 11. 135 of the 297 extant inscriptions recording this epithet are dedicated to children in this age range. Children aged between 11 and 30 were those commemorated the next most frequently with *carissimus/a*. There were around 30 dedications found for each of the three age groups within this age range – children aged between 11 and 15, 16 and 20 and between 21 and 30.

In some cases, daughters seem to have been proportionally more likely to have been commemorated with *carissima* than were sons. Daughters aged between one and 10 commemorated by fathers, and those aged between 11 and 20 commemorated by mothers and by fathers, were represented as *carissima* in the same number of inscriptions as sons were with *carissimus*. As daughters received only around half the number of dedications than sons in these age groups received, daughters were proportionally more

likely to receive *carissima* as their recorded epithet. A degree of caution must, however, be displayed when drawing conclusions from these data, as the number of inscriptions found recording this epithet is relatively small.

In her study of the epithets, Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 190-91) found that *carissimus/a* is used more widely than *dulcissimus/a* in the inscriptions, with *dulcissimus/a* being used most frequently in dedications between intimate relationships – sons, daughters, parents and foster children. *Carissimus/a*, on the other hand, was considered to be a less intimate epithet (Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 188). Sigismund Nielsen (1997) shows that the use of these epithets in the inscriptions appears to reflect their use in the literature. She demonstrates (1997: 188-89) that the epithet *dulcis* is not used in a political context, and is used to characterize very close relationships. Young children especially, she found, are characterized as *dulcis* in the literature. The frequency of the use of *carissimus/a* in the inscriptions found in this study appears to confirm Sigismund Nielsen's findings, with this epithet being less commonly used to commemorate children than were *dulcissimus/a* or *piissimus/a*.

Table 1.E.

Table 1.E shows the frequency with which the less common epithets were recorded for children. *Optimus* was easily the most commonly recorded, occurring in 34 of the 113 inscriptions to sons recording the less common epithets. However, *optima* was used only infrequently to commemorate daughters, occurring in five inscriptions. *Pius/a* was the next most frequently recorded of these epithets, recorded in 20 of the inscriptions found to children, followed closely by *innocens* (recorded in 13 dedications). *Innocens* was recorded proportionately more often for daughters than for sons in the inscriptions found: six out of the total 50 inscriptions found for daughters recorded this epithet, compared to seven out of the total 113 inscriptions found for sons. *Incomparabilis* was recorded in 15 cases.

Ostia

Table 2.A.

Ostia yielded the highest number of relevant inscriptions after Rome, with 197 epitaphs. In terms of the age distribution of the dedications, the Ostian inscriptions follow a similar pattern to those from Rome. The most frequently commemorated children were those aged between one and 10, with 80 dedications found for this age group. Children aged between 16 and 30 were the next most frequently commemorated. Again, there is a sharp drop in the number of dedications found to children aged over 30 – only one dedication was found for this age group. Interestingly, this drop is not present in dedications found to infants aged younger than one. There is the same number of inscriptions dedicated to infants as there is dedicated to children aged between 11 and 30. This may be indicative of a different emphasis placed on the commemoration of infants in Ostia, as opposed to that in Rome.

The dedications from Ostia also show a gender bias. There are nearly twice as many extant dedications to sons as there are to daughters. This bias is especially evident in the inscriptions dedicated to infants. There were only two dedications found to daughters, while 14 dedications were found to sons. A closer analysis of the commemorative patterns needs to be conducted with caution, given the relatively low number of inscriptions found. It does appear that there are some exceptions to the trend indicating gender bias – for example, in the dedications from mothers to children aged between six and 10. In the dedications from parents to children aged between 11 and 15, the gender bias is reversed – there was one dedication found to a son, while four dedications to daughters were found. The same trend is shown in dedications from mothers to children aged between 16 and 20. Overall, however, the Ostian inscriptions show the same gender bias found in the Roman inscriptions.

The majority of the dedications from Ostia record an age at death (49 out of the total 197 inscriptions do not record an age at death, compared to 148

that do). We therefore again see here an emphasis placed on recording children's age at death, particularly in the commemoration of young children. There is a relatively higher propensity for commemorating infant children in the inscriptions from Ostia than there is in the inscriptions from Rome, but infants are still underrepresented.

When we look at the total number of dedications by each dedicand, there is a notable difference between the Ostian and inscriptions those from Rome. Fathers are by far the main commemorators of sons, dedicating twice the number of epitaphs to sons as did parents or mothers. There were 61 dedications found from fathers to sons, compared to 33 from parents and 29 from mothers. Of particular interest is the fact that fathers do not commemorate daughters at a similar rate. There were between 20 and 30 inscriptions found dedicated to daughters from all three dedicands. This suggests that fathers held primary responsibility for commemorating sons, while responsibility for the commemoration of daughters was shared more equally. We do see the same pattern here that we see for Rome in terms of the commemoration of older daughters, with mothers taking over as the main commemorators of daughters aged between 16 and 30; although this is a tentative result due to the small number of inscriptions dedicated to this age group by each dedicand.

Table 2.B.

This table shows the distribution of inscriptions recording *dulcissimus/a*. Once again, this was the most commonly recorded epithet overall. 66% of the inscriptions found record *dulcissimus/a*. It occurs in 131 cases, out of the total 197 inscriptions. Thus the Ostian inscriptions show an even greater preference for the use of *dulcissimus/a* than do the Roman inscriptions. It is most frequently recorded in dedications to children aged between one and five, with 40 inscriptions recording it out of the total 48 for this age group. The group that is next most frequently commemorated with *dulcissimus/a* is children aged between six and 10, with 23 dedications. It is also the most frequently recorded epithet for infants, with 10 of the 16 dedications to children younger than one recording

dulcissimus/a. There is a decline in the use of this epithet for children aged older than 10, with only 13 dedications found recording *dulcissimus/a* for children aged between 11 and 15, and 9 for those aged between 16 and 20. This decline continues for children aged over 20, with nine dedications. *Dulcissimus/a* was therefore the preferred epithet recorded for young children, with its use declining for children older than 10.

Table 2.C.

Table 2.C shows the pattern of inscriptions from Ostia that record *piissimus/a*. 49 of the total dedications found record *piissimus/a*, or around 25%. We do not see the same pattern for its use here that we do in the Roman inscriptions. The frequency with which it was recorded is fairly even across the age groups, with the exception being dedications to children aged younger than one, where there are only three inscriptions recording this epithet. *Piissimus/a* was not commonly recorded in dedications to younger children. Only eight inscriptions dedicated to children aged between one and five record *piissimus/a*, compared to the 40 that record *dulcissimus/a*. It is slightly more popular in dedications to older children, with seven dedications found to children aged between 16 and 20, compared to the 13 dedications to this age group that record *dulcissimus/a*. Again, caution must be used when examining the distribution of *piissimus/a* in these inscriptions given the relatively low number found. This makes a detailed analysis of the patterns of its use by dedicand and age group difficult to compare to those of its use in the Roman inscriptions. What is clear is that the overall proportion of dedications found recording *piissimus/a* in the Ostian inscriptions is the same as that occurring in the Roman dedications.

Table 2.D.

This table details the commemorative patterns found in the use of *carissimus/a* in the dedications from Ostia. There were very few inscriptions found that record *carissimus/a* – only 12 out of 197, or 6%. It was nonetheless the third-most commonly recorded epithet in the Ostian inscriptions.

Table 2.E.

This table details the use of the less common epithets in the Ostian inscriptions. *Pius/a* was the most commonly recorded of these, recorded in five dedications, followed by *sanctissimus/a* and *rarissimus/a*, each recorded in three dedications. Overall, there were 22 dedications found from Ostia that record the less common epithets.

Puteoli

Table 3.A.

A total of 91 dedications were found from Puteoli. The age distribution in these dedications follows the Rome pattern. The largest group of inscriptions was dedicated to children aged between one and five, with 25 dedications. The next most commonly commemorated group was children aged between six and 10, with 19 dedications. Children aged between 11 and 15, 16 and 20 and 21 and 30 received around 10 dedications. Children older than 30 and younger than one were the age groups that received the smallest number of dedications, with three and two respectively. As in the inscriptions from Ostia, fathers were the most frequent commemorators of sons, while parents were the main commemorators of daughters. In the inscriptions from Puteoli, daughters were not commemorated at a similar rate by each dedicand. Fathers dedicated inscriptions to daughters less frequently than did parents, with 12 dedications found from fathers compared to 19 from parents. Mothers dedicated only five epitaphs to daughters.

Daughters again were commemorated less often than sons, receiving 36 dedications compared to 55. Daughters were also more likely to be commemorated without an age at death. Three of the total 12 inscriptions without an age at death were dedicated to sons, while nine were dedicated to daughters. In the inscriptions from Rome and Ostia, sons and daughters were equally likely to be commemorated without an age at death.

Table 3.B.

Nearly half of the inscriptions from Puteoli record *dulcissimus/a* – 43 out of 91. Children aged between one and five are those most frequently commemorated with *dulcissimus/a*, followed by children aged between six and 10. The number of dedications recording this epithet declines as the age of children commemorated rises, with only five inscriptions dedicated to children aged between 11 and 15 and 16 and 20. There were no dedications found to children aged between 21 and 30 that record *dulcissimus*, and only one found to a child aged older than 30. Interestingly, neither of the two inscriptions found dedicated to infants record *dulcissimus/a.* In the dedications from Rome and Ostia, *dulcissimus/a* was the most commonly recorded epithet for infant children.

Table 3.C.

Table 3.C shows the number of epitaphs from Puteoli that record *piissimus/a.* Around one quarter of the total epitaphs found record this epithet, with 28 dedications. The two groups that received the largest number of dedications recording *piissimus/a* were children aged between one and 10 and between 16 and 30. Sons and daughters were equally likely to be commemorated with *piissimus/a*, with sons receiving 17 dedications (out of a total 55) and daughters receiving 11 (out of a total 36) – both around 30%. Daughters were more likely to be commemorated with *dulcissima* than with *piissima* (20 out of 36 dedications to daughters record *dulcissima*, or around 55%). Sons also were more likely to be commemorated with *dulcissimus* than with *piissimus*, but the proportion of commemorations to sons recording this epithet is smaller, with 42% of the total number of dedications to sons recording *dulcissimus*.

Table 3.D.

15 of the epitaphs from Puteoli record *carissimus/a*, or 16% of the total number from this town: the same percentage as found in the Roman inscriptions. 12 of the inscriptions recording *carissimus/a* were dedicated to sons, and three to daughters. The three inscriptions to daughters were dedicated by parents. Children aged between one and 10 were the group

most frequently commemorated as *carissimus/a*, although the number of dedications found is too small to make detailed conclusions.

Table 3.E.

Table 3.E shows the distribution of the less common epithets in the dedications from Puteoli. 15 of the dedications found recorded one of these epithets. *Optimus* was recorded in three instances, and was used only to commemorate sons. *Incomparabilis* was recorded in four of the extant dedications; one of these was to a daughter. Overall, sons were commemorated with a less common epithet in 12 dedications, daughters in three.

Latium

Table 4.A.

Latium yielded the highest number of inscriptions from the regions, with 111 dedications. The dedicand-honorand patterns show some similarities to those found in the dedications from the three urban centres, but there are some interesting differences. Children aged between one and five were still the most frequently commemorated, with 22 dedications found to this age group; however, the next most frequently commemorated group is children aged between 16 and 20, with 18 dedications. There is a noticeable drop in the number of dedications to children aged between 11 and 15, with only seven found. Children aged between six and 10 and between 21 and 30 were commemorated in 13 dedications. Infants aged younger than one and children aged older than 30 were again the least frequently commemorated. Only two dedications were found to infants, and only three found to children older than 30.

Parents were the most frequent commemorators of both sons and daughters, followed by fathers, with mothers the least frequent dedicands. The same dedicand pattern occurs in the Roman inscriptions, suggesting that the roles of commemoration in towns from Latium may have been similar to those in Rome. We also see the same gender bias evident in the

dedications from Latium as was seen in those from Rome, with 70 extant dedications to sons compared to 41 to daughters.

Table 4.B.

Like the patterns found in the inscriptions from the three urban centres, *dulcissimus/a* was the most frequently recorded epithet. 50 dedications found record *dulcissimus/a* (45%), while 46 record *piissimus/a*. *Dulcissimus/a* was again used most frequently to commemorate young children. 27 out of the total 50 dedications found recording *dulcissimus/a* commemorate children aged 10 or younger, meaning that 71% of young children in the inscriptions found from Latium were commemorated as *dulcissimus/a*. The use of *dulcissimus/a* then declines as commemorated children grow older. Daughters were proportionately more likely to be commemorated with this epithet than were sons. 56% (23 out of 41) of dedications to daughters record this epithet, compared to 38% (27 out of 70) of dedications to sons.

Table 4.C.

Piissimus/a was the most commonly recorded epithet in the Latium dedications after *dulcissimus/a*, with 46 (40%) of the total 111 inscriptions recording this epithet. It was used primarily to commemorate older children, but some dedications (10 out of 46) record *piissimus/a* for children aged younger than 16. In the dedications to children aged between 16 and 30, this epithet is used far more for sons than it is for daughters. 47% of dedications found to sons record *piissimus*, with most of these sons older than 15. It is interesting to note that 17 of the 46 inscriptions found that record *piissimus/a* have no indication of age at death, compared to only 13 out of the 50 inscriptions that record *dulcissimus/a* with no age at death. This pattern is most probably related to the fact that the majority of inscriptions recording *dulcissimus* are dedicated to young children, who were more likely to have their ages at death recorded.

Table 4.D.

The inscriptions from Latium show the same trend in the use of *carissimus/a* as do the inscriptions from the urban centres. It was the third most commonly recorded epithet, found in 11 of the surviving dedications. *Carissmus/a* was recorded in seven dedications to sons and four to daughters. The distribution of *carissimus/a* in the extant inscriptions appears to be fairly even across the age groups commemorated, with the small numbers of dedications found meaning that no one age group could reliably be said to be the most frequently commemorated with this epithet. No dedications from mothers recording *carissimus/a* were found.

Table 4.E.

This table shows the number of inscriptions from Latium that record one (or more) of the less common epithets. A total of 18 such inscriptions was found. *Optimus/a* was the most frequently recorded, found in eight dedications. Seven of these were dedicated to sons; six by parents. Only one extant inscription recording *optima* was dedicated to a daughter. *Pius/a* (three), *incomparabilis* (two) and *sanctissimus/a* (two) were the next most frequently recorded epithets.

Campania

Table 5.A.

Table 5.A shows the distribution of dedications to each age group from the Campanian inscriptions. 79 inscriptions were found from this region, with 49 commemorating sons and 30 commemorating daughters. While the number of dedications to each age group is relatively small, it can be seen that the pattern here is very different to that found in the dedications from Rome, Ostia and Puteoli. It is children aged between 21 and 30, rather than young children, who were most frequently commemorated in the Campanian dedications. This age group received 18 dedications, nearly twice as many as the next most frequently commemorated groups, children aged between 11 and 15 and 16 and 20, which each received 10

dedications. Children aged between one and five, and six and 10, received nine and 10 dedications respectively.

This trend may suggest that there was a higher importance placed on the commemoration of older children in Campania, than there was on the commemoration of younger children. It is possible that there was a difference between rural areas and urban areas in the way in which the deaths of children were perceived, in terms of their ages at death. Rome, Ostia and Puteoli, being large towns, emphasised young ages of children at death.[19] Infant children are still underrepresented in the Campanian inscriptions, with only three dedications found to children younger than one. Only one dedication was found to a child older than 30.

Sons were commemorated nearly twice as often as daughters – once again, the same gender bias as was seen in the Roman inscriptions. Parents were the most frequent commemorators of sons, while mothers were the most frequent commemorator of daughters. Fathers were the least frequent commemorators of both sons and daughters. Parents were also the dedicand most likely to commemorate young children, dedicating 13 of the extant 22 dedications to children aged 10 and younger.

Table 5.B.

29 of the inscriptions from Campania record *dulcissimus/a*. The number of dedications recording *dulcissimus/a* is not concentrated in any particular age group; instead, their distribution is fairly even. Daughters (15) were commemorated with this epithet slightly more often than were sons (14). This is the first region examined where the number of commemorations found to daughters recording this epithet was higher than that for sons. In

[19] See Saller and Shaw (1984: 130). They too found that large urban centres gave more attention to commemorating young children, as did servile populations. Indeed, Saller and Shaw discovered that the emphasis on commemorating young children correlated with population density and the proportion of slaves and freedmen living in the cities. Dedications to children aged younger than ten in Carthage and Ostia, for example, formed the largest category of commemorations from those cities. Shaw (1991: 74-75) found a similar result when examining dedications to children from the empire. The more 'urbanised' a region was, the greater the emphasis it placed on commemorating children and infants.

the epitaphs examined earlier, daughters were proportionately more likely to be commemorated with *dulcissima* than sons were with *dulcissimus*, but received fewer dedications recording it overall.

Table 5.C.

We can see from this table that sons were commemorated more often overall with *piissimus* than with *dulcissimus*, with 20 dedications. We can see also that daughters were far less likely than sons to receive *piissima* as an epithet, with only seven dedications. It may be concluded that in the Campanian inscriptions especially, there was a preference for commemorating daughters with *dulcissima*, and sons with *piissimus*. *Piissimus* was used the most often to commemorate older sons, a trend seen also in the Roman inscriptions.

Table 5.D.

This table shows that the epithet patterns found in the inscriptions from Campania reflect those found in the inscriptions from Rome. *Carissimus/a* is the third most frequently recorded epithet, with 13 dedications – nine to sons and four to daughters.

Table 5.E.

Optimus/a was again the most frequently recorded of the less common epithets, with six dedications. *Sanctissimus/a*, *incomparabilis* and *innocens* were each recorded in two inscriptions. 18 dedications were found in total that record a less common epithet.

Samnium

Table 6.A.

A total of 55 inscriptions were found from Samnium. Parents were the most frequent commemorators of both sons and daughters. Mothers and fathers commemorated almost the same number of epitaphs to sons, while fathers dedicated more epitaphs to daughters than did mothers. The epitaphs are distributed fairly evenly across the age groups, with the

exception of the two age groups that usually receive the lowest number of dedications – infants younger than one and children older than 30. No dedications to infants were found.

Compared to the dedications found from the three urban centres, Latium and Campania, those found from Samnium show a higher proportion of inscriptions with no age at death recorded. There is a higher proportion of dedications recording no age at death than that found in the dedications from Rome (19 out of 55, or 34%; compared to 488 out of 1951, or around 25%). Daughters were slightly more likely to have their age at death recorded than were sons. There is, however, still a gender bias against daughters present in these inscriptions. 17 of the dedications from Samnium are to daughters; there are more than twice as many dedications – 38 – to sons.

Table 6.B.

Dulcissimus/a was the most popularly recorded epithet. 22 inscriptions record *dulcissimus/a*, 14 dedicated to sons and eight to daughters. Daughters therefore received a higher proportion of dedications recording this epithet than did sons (47% compared to 37%). Children aged between one and 15, and between 21 and 30, were those most commonly commemorated with *dulcissimus/a*.

Table 6.C.

This table shows the distribution of epitaphs recording *piissimus/a*. 18 inscriptions were found that record this epithet. 13 of these were dedicated to sons, five to daughters.

Table 6.D.

Only 12 epitaphs from Samnium were found that record *carissimus/a* – eight dedicated to sons and four to daughters. Too few were found to make a detailed analysis.

Table 6.E.

A total of 11 of the inscriptions found record one of the less common epithets. Nine of these were dedicated to sons, two to daughters. Both of the dedications to daughters record *optima*.

Umbria

Table 7.A.

Table 7.A shows the dedicand-honorand patterns from Umbria. Parents were the most frequent dedicand of both sons and daughters, as in the inscriptions from Samnium. Mothers were the least frequent dedicand of both sons and daughters. While there is a gender bias against daughters in these inscriptions also, daughters were more likely to have their age at death recorded – three out of the 15 dedications to daughters record no age at death, compared to 14 out of the 37 to sons. The overall proportion of dedications with no age at death is similar to that seen in the Samnium inscriptions – nearly half of the total dedications (17 out of 52, or 32%).

Children aged between 16 and 20 were the most frequently commemorated, although there were still only 13 inscriptions found dedicated to this age group. Children aged between 21 and 30 were next most frequently commemorated, followed by those aged between one and five, and those aged over 30. Only one dedication was found both to an infant and to a child aged between six and 10.

Table 7.B.

14 dedications found from Umbria record *dulcissimus/a*. Sons and daughters each received seven dedications recording this epithet. The majority of these were dedicated by parents, with nine dedications. No dedications recording *dulcissimus* were found from mothers to sons. Daughters again received a higher proportion of dedications recording *dulcissima*, with seven out of the 15 dedications found to them recording this epithet.

Table 7.C.

The most noticeable trend in the Umbrian inscriptions recording *piissimus/a* is that 26 of the total 31 are dedicated to sons. Sons were thus commemorated with *piissimus* far more often than they were with *dulcissimus* – in 26 out of the total 37 dedications to sons – while daughters were only commemorated with *piissima* in five dedications. The sons who were commemorated with both *piissimus* and an age at death were all aged over 10, with the greatest number of commemorations dedicated to sons aged between 16 and 20. There is a very high proportion of dedications to sons recording *piissimus* that give no age at death – 11 out of the total 15.

Table 7.D.

This table shows the patterns for the use of *carissimus/a*. Only six dedications were found; three to sons and three to daughters. Only one of these recorded no age at death.

Table 7.E.

A total of four dedications from Umbria were found that record one of the less common epithets. Three of these were dedicated to sons, one to a daughter.

Etruria

Table 8.A.

This table shows the dedicand-honorand patterns from Etruria. 45 dedications were found in total. A gender bias in favour of the commemoration of sons is again evidenced, with 27 dedications found to sons and 18 to daughters. When examining age at death indications, it can be seen that the pattern found here reflects that shown in the inscriptions from Umbria and Samnium. 14 of the 45 inscriptions from Etruria give no age at death (or 31%). The trend found in the dedications from north-central Italy (Umbria, Etruria and Samnium) of a lower proportion of inscriptions with an age at death recorded may be related to the higher

proportion of older children commemorated in these inscriptions. The pattern of dedications from Umbria, Etruria and Samnium shows a greater tendency to commemorate children older than 16 than do the inscriptions from the three urban centres or Latium. In the dedications from Umbria, children aged older than 20, and between six and 10, are the most frequently commemorated (each with eight dedications).

At the same time, we do not see the same pattern of overrepresentation in dedications to younger children in the inscriptions from the three north-central regions that we do in the inscriptions from Rome, Ostia, Puteoli or Latium. It seems unlikely that the preference for commemorating older children in the north-central regions occurs coincidentally in tandem with a higher proportion of inscriptions with no age at death indications. The most likely explanation is that the recording of age at death was still considered to be more important in the commemoration of younger children, again in connection with the concept of *mors immatura*. It was perhaps considered to be less important to record the death of an older child. The increased preference shown for the commemoration of older children in Etruria, Umbria and Samnium may also therefore contribute to the increased number of dedications found with no age at death.

Tables 8.B, C and D.

The most obvious trend shown in these tables is that *dulcissimus/a*, *piissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* were recorded with almost equal frequency. *Piissimus/a* was recorded in 15 instances, *dulcissimus/a* in 13 and *carissimus/a* in 12. Also interesting is that unlike in the inscriptions from the regions previously examined, sons and daughters were equally likely to receive any of these three epithets.

Table 8.E.

This table shows the distribution of the less common epithets in the Etrurian inscriptions. Two of the dedications found that record one of these epithets were dedicated to sons, while five were dedicated to

daughters. The less common epithets recorded by dedicands were *malemerens*, *sanctissima*, *infelicissimus*, *innocens* and *optimus*.

Sabina

Table 9.A.

In this table, we see again the higher proportion of commemorations to older children (in fact here, dedications to older children outnumber those to younger children) and the corresponding higher proportion of dedications that record no age at death. Parents were the most frequent commemorator of both sons and daughters, followed by fathers. Mothers were the least frequent commemorator of sons, but dedicated the same number of inscriptions to daughters that fathers did.

Perhaps the most important trend seen here is that the gender bias is reversed. There were slightly more dedications found to daughters than to sons – 17 compared to 14. Sons were also less likely to have their ages at death recorded (six dedications to sons record no age at death, compared to five to daughters).

Table 9.B.

10 of the dedications found record *dulcissimus/a*. Seven of these commemorate daughters.

Table 9.C.

Piissimus/a was recorded in 11 of the inscriptions, with daughters received more dedications recording *piissima* (eight) than they did *dulcissima*. Sons were commemorated with *piissimus* in three dedications; they were commemorated with *dulcissimus* in the same number of dedications. An interesting trend that emerges from these inscriptions shows that the age-at-death-recorded ratio is much higher in the dedications recording *piissimus/a* than it is in those recording *dulcissimus/a*. Only one of the 11 inscriptions recording *piissimus/a* gives no age at death, while four of the inscriptions recording *dulcissimus/a* fail to give an age at death.

Table 9.D.

The most noticeable trend in this table again relates to the frequency with which an age at death was recorded. None of the inscriptions found recording *carissimus/a* give an age at death. Six inscriptions in total were found that commemorate children with *carissimus/a*; four were dedicated to sons. Parents were the most frequent dedicand recording this epithet.

Table 9.E.

Five inscriptions found record one of the less common epithets. The epithets used were *miser*, *obsequissimus*, *pius* and *infelicissimus/a*.

Picenum

Table 10.A.

The most immediately noticeable pattern in the inscriptions from Picenum is that there does not appear to be a gender bias. Sons and daughters received a nearly equal number of commemorations, with sons commemorated in 11 inscriptions and daughters in 10. This pattern may reflect a regional variation in attitudes toward daughters, which could suggest that they were valued more highly in this region. If a preference for commemorating sons in many regions reflects a higher value placed on boys than on girls in those regions,[20] it may be reasonable to conclude that the gender pattern from Picenum reflects a more equal valuing of sons and daughters in that region.

Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 242-43) found that all regions demonstrated a gender bias in favour of males in the funerary inscriptions when all commemorations were taken into account, including those without epithets. The difference between the pattern identified by Gallivan and Wilkins' and that shown here may therefore be explained as a greater emphasis placed on commemorating daughters with an epithet in the commemorations from Picenum than in other regions, resulting in an evident lack of gender bias in

[20] See Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 246-47); Shaw (1991: 83); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 11).

these inscriptions. Of course, it may be inadvisable to draw too detailed a conclusion from the relatively small number of dedications to children surviving from Picenum.

The inscriptions from Picenum recorded an age at death more frequently than did those from the previous four regions examined. Only five of the 21 dedications found record no age at death, or 20%.

Table 10.B.
13 of the dedications found record *dulcissimus/a*. Six of these were dedicated to sons, while seven were dedicated to daughters. Parents commemorated children with *dulcissimus/a* the most frequently.

Table 10.C.
Piissimus/a was not recorded as frequently as *dulcissimus/a* in these inscriptions. Eight commemorations record *piissimus/a*, with sons slightly more likely to be commemorated with this epithet than daughters. Interestingly, all of the dedications found that use *piissimus* also record an age at death. Parents were again the dedicand who recorded this epithet the most frequently.

Table 10.D.
Only four inscriptions found from Picenum record *carissimus*. All of these were dedicated to sons; three by mothers and one by parents.

Table 10.E.
The less common epithets recorded in the Picenum inscriptions were *pia*, *sanctissima* and *uirgo*, each recorded in one inscription and each used to commemorate a daughter.

Aemilia

Table 11.A.

Table 11.A shows the dedicand-honorand patterns in the inscriptions from the Aemilia region. In these inscriptions also, there is almost no gender bias evidenced. Sons received nine dedications; daughters received 10. Children aged between one and five were those most frequently commemorated, although there were still only five inscriptions found dedicated to this age group. There were no inscriptions found dedicated to infants younger than one, or children older than 30. Fathers were the most frequent commemorators of sons, while parents dedicated the highest number of extant inscriptions to daughters. The proportion of inscriptions giving no age at death is higher than in the Picenum inscriptions, with six dedications out of 19 failing to record this information (or 31%).

Table 11.B.

This table shows the use of *dulcissimus* in the Aemilian dedications. Only five such inscriptions were found. Three of these commemorate sons.

Table 11.C.

Piissimus/a was recorded slightly more frequently, with eight dedications found that use this epithet. Sons were more likely to be commemorated with *piissimus* than daughters were with *piissima*, and were more likely to receive this epithet than they were to receive *dulcissimus*.

Table 11.D.

From this table we can see that *carissimus/a* was found in the same number of dedications as *dulcissimus/a*. Sons were commemorated less frequently with this epithet than were daughters; with daughters receiving four dedications, compared to one for a son.

Table 11.E.

Only one dedication was found that records a less common epithet. The epithet recorded in this instance was *innocens*.

Apulia

Table 12.A.

Table 12.A shows the distribution of epitaphs from Apulia. Nearly half of the inscriptions found with an age at death (6 out of 13) were dedicated to children aged between 21 and 30. Six out of the total 19 dedications found give no age at death, or 31% - the same proportion as in the Aemilian dedications. It is interesting to note that mothers were the most frequently found dedicand for both sons and daughters, commemorating sons in six dedications and daughters in five. Fathers made four of the dedications found to sons.

Table 12.B.

Dulcissimus/a was recorded in seven of the dedications from Apulia; four of these to sons. Only one epitaph found gives no age at death. Four of the inscriptions recording *dulcissimus/a* were dedicated by mothers, two to sons and two to daughters. No inscriptions recording this epithet were found dedicated to a child aged over 20.

Table 12.C.

Piissimus/a was the most commonly used epithet in the inscriptions found. Sons received six dedications; four dedicated by mothers. Mothers dedicated three of the four inscriptions recording *piissima* to daughters. Fathers commemorated sons with *piissimus* in two of the extant dedications, while parents dedicated the remaining inscription to a daughter. Four of the inscriptions recording *piissimus/a* were dedicated to children aged between 21 and 30.

Table 12.D.

Only one inscription from Apulia uses *carissimus*. This was dedicated by parents to a son aged between six and 10.

Table 12.E.

Three of the inscriptions found record one of the less common epithets. These epithets are *infelicissimus/a* and *meritus*.

Liguria

Table 13.A.

12 inscriptions were found that originate from Liguria. The most obvious trend when we look at the data is, again, the gender bias. Only one of the Ligurian inscriptions was dedicated to a daughter; by a mother to a daughter aged between 11 and 15. Mothers also dedicated the highest number of inscriptions found to sons (eight). Parents were identified as the dedicand in only one inscription found; to a son aged between one and five. Two inscriptions were found dedicated by fathers, neither of which records an age at death. No inscriptions were found that were dedicated to infants or to children aged over 30.

Table 13.B.

Three of the inscriptions from Liguria record *dulcissimus/a*, including the only dedication to a daughter.

Table 13.C.

Sons were commemorated with *piissimus* more than three times as often as they were with *dulcissimus*, with seven dedications to sons recording *piissimus*. Five of these were dedicated by mothers, two by fathers. Three of the inscriptions that record *piissimus* give no age at death.

Table 13.D.

Only one inscription was found that records *carissimus*, the same number as found in the Apulian inscriptions. The inscription was dedicated by a mother and gives no indication of an age at death.

Table 13.E.

The only inscription that uses a less common epithet records *optimus*.

Transpadana

Table 14.A.

47 inscriptions from Transpadana were found. 22 of these were dedicated by fathers, making them the most frequent dedicand. Fathers dedicated 16 of the extant inscriptions to sons, and six to daughters. Mothers are the dedicand in 14 inscriptions, dedicating nine to sons and five to daughters. Parents dedicated the lowest number of dedications; seven to sons and four to daughters. Children aged between six and 10 were those most commonly commemorated, with nine of the extant inscriptions dedicated to this age group. The next most frequently commemorated group was children aged between 21 and 30. We can see that infants aged younger than one and children aged over 30 are again underrepresented. No dedications were found to infants and only one to children older than 30.

There is also a noticeable gender bias. Sons received 32 dedications, daughters 15. An interesting pattern is that for the first time seen, the number of dedications to sons that record no age at death (17) is higher than the number of dedications that do record an age at death (15). In contrast, only five of the 10 dedications to daughter record no age at death. This suggests that daughters may have been more likely than sons to have their age at death recorded. The gender bias in favour of the commemoration of sons, however, suggests a higher importance overall placed on the deaths of sons, despite the relative unlikelihood of their ages at death being recorded.

Table 14.B.

This table shows the patterns for the use of *dulcissimus/a*. 12 inscriptions were found that record this epithet – seven dedicated to sons and five to daughters.

Table 14.C.

Piissimus/a was the most frequently recorded epithet. Sons were far more likely to be commemorated with this epithet than were daughters. 20 of the total 32 dedications to sons record *piissimus*, while only six of the 15 dedications to daughters record *piissima*. Conversely, daughters were more likely to receive the epithet *dulcissima* than sons were to receive *dulcissimus*.

Table 14.D.

Eight of the dedications found from Transpadana record *carissimus/a*; two are dedicated to daughters, six to sons. Four of the inscriptions recording *carissimus/a* give no age at death.

Table 14.E.

Three dedications were found that record one of the less common epithets. The epithets recorded are *innocens*, *optima* and *incomparabilis*.

Venetia

Table 15.A.

The patterns for the Venetian inscriptions again show a marked gender bias. Daughters are commemorated in less than half of the total number of dedications found – 15 out of 38. Half of the dedications that daughters did receive record no age at death. The evidence here suggests that a greater importance was placed on the commemoration of sons than on daughters, with a corresponding emphasis placed on their ages at death. This could imply that daughters held a lower value in this region, although caution must be used in drawing such conclusions from a relatively small number of inscriptions found.

As in the inscriptions from Rome, the most frequently commemorated groups were children aged between one and five, followed by those aged between six and 10. No inscriptions were found that were dedicated to an infant younger than one. Mothers dedicated the largest number of inscriptions to sons, with 11 found. Fathers and parents both dedicated six

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of the extant inscriptions to sons. Daughters were commemorated in a roughly equal number of inscriptions, with between four and six found from each dedicand.

Table 15.B.

Children aged between one and five those most frequently commemorated with *dulcissimus/a*. Six of the total 10 inscriptions recording this epithet were dedicated to these children; five of them to sons. None of the seven dedications to sons recording *dulcissimus* fail to give an age at death, while one of the three dedications to daughters recording *dulcissima* gives no age at death.

Table 15.C.

Piissimus/a was the most commonly recorded epithet in the Venetian inscriptions. 11 of the total 17 inscriptions recording this epithet are dedicated to sons. Mothers dedicated the highest number of inscriptions to sons that record *piissimus*, with seven found.

Table 15.D.

Five inscriptions found from Venetia record *carissimus/a*. Only one of these is dedicated to a daughter.

Table 15.E.

Two dedications from Venetia record one of the less common epithets: one from parents to a son (*innocens*) and one from parents to a daughter (*misella*).

Lucania

Table 16.A.

Lucania yielded a total of 11 inscriptions. The gender bias in these inscriptions is reversed, with four dedicated to sons and seven to daughters. The proportion of dedications with no age at death recorded is low, with only one found to a son and one to a daughter.

Table 16.B.

Four inscriptions record *dulcissimus/a*; one dedicated to a son and three to daughters. None of these dedications fail to give an age at death.

Table 16.C.

The pattern of the distribution of *piissimus/a* in these inscriptions is the reverse of that of *dulcissimus/a*. Three of the four dedications recording *piissimus/a* are dedicated to sons.

Table 16.D.

Only one inscription recording *carissima* was found; dedicated by parents to a daughter aged between one and five.

Table 16.E.

The less common epithets used in the dedications from Lucania are *incomparabilis* (in one dedication) and *amantissima* (also in one dedication).

Calabria

Table 17.A.

The first trend noticed in these 12 inscriptions is that the majority are dedicated to children aged between one and 10 – the same pattern was found in the dedications from Lucania. There is also less of a gender bias present, although it is slightly in favour of sons. Only one of the five dedications to daughters records no age at death, compared to two of the seven dedications to sons. Each dedicand made a nearly equal number of the dedications found; between one and three.

Table 17.B.

Four dedications again found that record *dulcissimus/a*. Two of these were dedicated to sons and two to daughters. All of these dedications record an age at death.

Table 17.C.

Piissimus/a was the epithet record in a slightly higher number of dedications, seven in total. Sons were commemorated with this epithet more frequently than were daughters. Three of the inscriptions recording *piissimus/a* give no age at death.

Table 17.D.

One of the inscriptions from Calabria records *carissima*, dedicated by a father to a daughter aged between one and five.

Table 17.E.

None of the dedications found record one of the less common epithets.

Conclusion

There appears to have been much regional variation in dedications to children, particularly in terms of the commemorative roles of parents, evidenced by the dedicand-honorand patterns; these variations and their significance for parent-child relationships in Rome and Roman Italy will be the subject of the next chapter. While the patterns in parents' use of epithets to represent children shows some regional variation, the epithets *dulcissimus/a*, *piissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* were the three most frequently recorded epithets across Rome and Roman Italy in dedications from all three parental dedicand groups. This suggests a widespread association of these ideals with parent-child relationships across Roman Italy. The significance of the patterns shown in mothers' use of these epithets to commemorate young children and older daughters will be examined in Chapters Three and Four.

Chapter Two

A Complex Role: Parents as Commemorators

Saller and Shaw established that children were primarily commemorated by their parents. They concluded that this has implications for our understanding of the nature of the relationships between parents and children in the empire (1984: 134). Since the publication of their work, the epitaphs to children have formed an important part of studies into the family.[1] In examining these studies, it appears that while the importance and predominance of parents as commemorators of children has been discussed, the *individual* roles of parents as commemorators – that is, their roles as either joint or sole commemorators – has been given limited attention.

The exception is the examination by Gallivan and Wilkins (1997) of regional variations in familial epitaphs, so far the most conclusive study into parental commemorative roles.[2] This chapter aims to explore the variations in parents' roles as commemorators in the inscriptions found and to interpret these in terms of their significance for our understanding of parent-child relationships in Rome and Roman Italy. The chapter will pay particular attention to the regional variations in parental commemorative roles. In doing so, it aims to expand on the earlier study conducted by Gallivan and Wilkins into parental commemorative roles, particularly in terms of how the evidence of the inscriptions found here from Rome can add to their findings.

When examining the dedicand-honorand patterns in Tables 1-17.A, two trends in the commemoration of children become clear. The first is that certain commemorative patterns appear to be common to most of the regions studied, such as the preference for commemorating young children and the gender bias in favour of sons. The second is that within the larger

[1] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997); Shaw (1987: 30-46); Rawson (2003a: 336-63).
[2] Their sample does not include the inscriptions from Rome.

patterns showing that parents were the main commemorators of children, dedicating either jointly or separately, there are smaller patterns showing that the roles of parents as commemorators in fact varied according to a number of factors that were included in the study.

In many regions, parents had different roles in the commemoration of sons and daughters, with Rome one of the few areas where one dedicand was the main commemorator of both. The patterns show that parents' commemorative roles also changed as children grew older. The change in parental commemorative roles according to children's age can be partly attributed to the demographics of mortality, but the patterns of some commemorative roles, such as that of parents in Rome to older daughters, appear to be the result of changes in parents' relationships with their children.[3]

The dedicand patterns will be discussed by region, as this appears to be the easiest method for explaining the trends identified. The complexities of parental commemorative roles are easiest to see in the inscriptions from Rome, as these were the most numerous of those found. The Roman inscriptions will therefore be examined first. The evidence from these inscriptions will then be compared to that from the regions and towns surrounding Rome. As the number of inscriptions from each of the regions was relatively small, for the sake of discussion they have been grouped into three larger regions: Northern Italy, Southern Italy and Central Italy.[4] Data for these groups are tabulated in Table 18.

[3] Shaw (1984: 465) notes that there are minor patterns to be seen within the larger patterns of parent-child commemorations.
[4] This grouping is also used by Gallivan and Wilkins (1997).

Rome

Parents Dedicating Together

Parents dedicating together are the most frequent dedicands in the Roman inscriptions found. While it seems obvious to us that parents should be the usual commemorators of their children, the diversity of relationships within the ancient Roman household might lead us to expect to find more instances of these recorded on dedications to children. For example, there are epitaphs that commemorate the relationship between nurses and children.[5] Children would also have formed relationships with tutors and with other members of various status within the household.[6] George (2001a: 192-93) states that the domestic slaves who cared for élite Roman children spent more time with them than did the children's parents. Nevertheless, Saller and Shaw (1984: 124) found, based on their sample, that the majority of children in the empire were commemorated by their parents. In familial epitaphs, very few were put up by members of the non-nuclear family. They conclude from this that in the commemorating societies of the western provinces, the nuclear family was the 'primary focus of certain types of familial obligation' (1984: 124).

Saller (2001: 101) underlines the link between the act of commemoration and familial affection by arguing that the commemorative patterns of familial funerary inscriptions reflect, if imperfectly, 'lines of inheritance and bonds of affectionate duty (*pietas*)'.[7] He argues further (2001: 101) that the fact that the Romans chose to highlight certain bonds in dedications (among the many bonds that existed within the household, for

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[5] Epitaphs recording nurses used in this study include *CIL* 6.17026, 14.486 (Ostia), 14.1046 (Ostia), 6.12366 and 11.4433 (Ameria). See Joshel (1986) on the relationship between nurses and children in the epitaphs. See also for example Garnsey (1991, on nurses in Rome); as well as Mounteer (1987); Bradley (1986); and Rawson (1991b). George (2001a: 191-207) looks at the portrayal of nurses and pedagogues on Roman children's sarcophagi.

[6] On the different relationships a child would form within the household, see especially Rawson (2003a). Sigismund Nielsen (1997), examines the different household relationships in the epitaphs, as do Gallivan and Wilkins (1997).

[7] On the association of *pietas* with familial affection, see Saller (1994: 105-14).

example those between children and nurses)[8] – especially spousal and parent-child bonds – reveals important ideas about the hierarchy of affection and duty within the Roman family.[9] The role of commemoration was performed by those considered by society to have the closest bonds of affection and duty with the child (I say 'considered by society' because as argued by scholars such as Saller (2001: 102-103), the epitaphs cannot be read as direct evidence of emotion upon personal loss. What they can be read to reflect instead is a society's expectations of the emotions or values within particular relationships.[10]

Sigismund Nielsen (1996: 53) found that the epitaphs that were meant to be seen by passers-by (that is, those epitaphs placed along roadsides) differ greatly from those placed on or in family tombs in the necropoleis, where visitors were assumed to have known the relationships of those interred within. They were generally dedicated after the deaths of those commemorated (as opposed to being dedicated *se uiuo*, like many of the inscriptions on family tombs) and are far more informative on personal relationships and epithets. The emphasis in these inscriptions is on the nature of the relationship between the dedicands and those commemorated, rather than on the status of those dedicating the tomb and of their families (Sigismund Nielsen 1996: 53). What is most interesting about Sigismund-Nielsen's findings in relation to this present study is the possibility that

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[8] See especially Garnsey (1991: 48-65).

[9] Saller and Shaw (1984: 137) note the absence of grandparent-child dedications, arguing that this is evidence that the extended patriarchal family was not a 'common reality' in the commemorative societies of the western empire. In this present study, very few epitaphs were dedicated by grandparents. Of the few dedications from grandparents that were found, most were dedicated along with one or both of the deceased child's parents. Epitaphs found with grandparents as dedicands are, for male children (all numbers refer to *CIL*): 9.748 (Larinum, grandparents dedicands with mother); 9.3967 (Alba Fucens, grandparents dedicands with parents); 6.22095 (dedicated by the mother and both grandfathers); 14.570 (Ostia, grandfather dedicand with father); 9.5767 (Ricina, grandfather dedicand with mother); 14.2537 (Ager Tusculanus, paternal grandfather dedicand with parents); 14.1475 (Ostia, grandfather sole dedicand); 6.20007 (grandmother and uncle dedicands with mother); 6.18443 (grandmother sole dedicand). For female children: 6.15575 (grandparents sole dedicands. Also dedicated to their daughter, who died at around the same time as their granddaughter); 6.34444 (grandparents sole dedicands); 5.3617 (Verona, grandparents sole dedicands); 6.21608 (grandfather dedicand with mother); 6.13850 (paternal grandmother dedicand with mother); 6.18376 (grandmother sole dedicand).

[10] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997).

many of those who dedicated 'single graves' would have had the option of being included in the larger familial tombs of their masters' or former masters' households. Instead, they have dedicated single epitaphs that emphasise their relationship with one person, who is usually a close family member (Sigismund Nielsen 1996: 53. Dedicands less often commemorate more than one person or relationship in an inscription – see Gallivan and Wilkins 1997).

Although the majority of the inscriptions used in this present study appear to have been dedicated by those of the freedmen class, only 74 of the 1572 inscriptions dedicated to daughters were located in *columbaria*, and only 45 of the 1936 dedications to sons. This suggests that parents preferred to have their relationships with their children publicly acknowledged and legitimised (see Sigismund Nielsen 1996: 53; Mouritsen 2005). It is also suggestive of a desire for the immortalisation of the memory of the deceased and of their embodiment of the commemorating society's ideals of parent-child relationships,[11] which could only be achieved if the child's epitaph were placed where it could be frequently read.[12]

The 'hierarchy' of affection and duty within the *familia* evidenced by the dedicand pattern in these inscriptions explains the lack of dedications by paternal *aui* discovered by Saller and Shaw (1984: 136). They found (1984: 136) that despite the position of paternal *aui* as *patresfamilias*, their presence as dedicands is lower than can be explained by the demographics of mortality. In Table 1.A, we can see that parents are the main commemorators of children by a large number of dedications. This evidence shows clearly that parents held the primary role of commemorating nearly all ages of children in Rome. While a parent may not in reality have had a close relationship with his or her child, or a husband with his wife, the inscriptional evidence indicates that society in

[11] See Chapters Three and Four below. See also Morris (1992); Sigismund Nielsen (1997); Shaw (1991).

[12] On the desire to immortalise the memory of a lost child, see for example Cicero on his attempts to build a shrine to the memory of Tullia (e.g. *Att.* 12.12). See Treggiari (2007: 136).

Rome still expected that parents together would perform the duty of commemoration where possible. Parents dedicating together only begin to decline in their role as commemorators in Rome when the children commemorated reach the age of sixteen, by which age mortality amongst fathers would have begun to be a common factor in commemorative practice.[13] This obviously would have forced mothers to assume the role of sole dedicands, and we can see this shift in commemorative roles in the pattern of dedications to sons aged older than 16 and all children aged older than 20.

The pattern of inscriptions suggests that parents dedicated epitaphs to children out of feelings of affection as well as from a sense of duty. Previous studies have established that familial affection was a strong motivation in the act of commemorating children. Meyer (1990) examines the spread of the Roman epigraphic habit throughout the empire. She questions the motivation of affection in the act of commemoration; a motivation that is an important consideration in any study of the Roman family from the inscriptions, and one that is central to discussions concerning the inscriptions' ability to reflect the nature of familial relationships.

Meyer (1990: 77-78) argues that the epigraphic habit was closely linked to the spread and associated value of Romanization and the desire for the public display of Roman citizenship. She claims that the epigraphic habit grew from the 'moral and legal' obligation of heirs to commemorate their benefactors and it was 'heirship, not family', that was the primary motivation for the act of commemoration. Meyer (1990: 83) acknowledges that dedications to children must be an exception and that affection must have been the 'major motive' for commemorating them; but she then argues that this is why children are underrepresented in the epitaphs – that is, because those erecting the epitaphs to children could not as easily display their own status. Earlier, Meyer questions Saller and Shaw's

[13] On patterns of mortality in the Roman family, see Saller (1994: 12-25); Parkin (1992: 92-107).

conclusions that the epitaphs reflect a sense of duty and affection, arguing that we can draw no conclusions about the nature of the act of commemoration by considering the nature of the Roman family (1990: 78).[14] Her arguments in regard to the commemoration of family members, and in particular her criticisms of Saller and Shaw's conclusions, appear to be unsatisfactory. As pointed out by Woolf, Meyer does not take into account dedications left by those who were not the heirs of those commemorated (Woolf 1996: 23).[15]

The emphasis on the commemoration of children within the nuclear family does not support Meyer's thesis. It is difficult to ignore the huge phenomenon of the commemoration of children, with dedications to children making up the second largest group of funerary commemorations from Rome (Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 172). The commemoration of children presents two problems for Meyer's arguments. The first is that parents were obviously unlikely to inherit from their children, especially young children who are those most commonly commemorated (Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 172).[16] The *loss* of one's dutiful heir may have been partly a motivation for commemorating a child,[17] but this in itself then suggests the involvement of sentiments of affection and loss as well as those of duty on the part of the commemorating parent. Saller (1994: 99) argues that funerary portraiture representing parents and children cannot be explained

[14] Meyer (1990: 78) also misreads Saller and Shaw's article (1984), believing that they make conclusions as to the actual structure of the family, rather than their conclusions relating to the value of the nuclear family in Rome and the empire.
[15] Woolf (1996: 23) argues that Meyer also needed to account for the *se vivo* dedications, and for non-funerary dedications and inscriptions set up by non-citizens. See also Saller (1994: 99).
[16] Saller (1997: 30) states that the link between inheritance and commemoration is 'not as direct as Meyer suggests'. On parents not inheriting from their children and the implications of this for Meyer's arguments, see Saller (1994: p. 99). Saller (1994: 99 n. 94) comments also that although some epitaphs identify the commemorator as the heir of the deceased (and epitaphs recording the *heredes* make up only 5% of the relationships recorded in Saller and Shaw's 1984 paper. According to Saller (1994: 99), most familial epitaphs record 'family sentiments' such as *caritas* and *pietas*.
[17] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 198) on parents' loss of those who would bury and commemorate them, and the frustration of their expectations of filial *pietas*.

if we assume that heirship was the primary motivation for commemoration.[18]

The second problem with Meyer's argument is that children are in fact overrepresented in the inscriptions, rather than underrepresented. Some argue that children are underrepresented in terms of the actual number of children that died. [19] As Rawson (2003a: 278-79) argues, however, children, age-group by age-group, are the most heavily represented group commemorated.[20] In the inscriptions found in this study, children aged between one and 15 are the most frequently commemorated groups, with the emphasis on children aged between one and 10.

The lack of dedications from children to parents also fails to support Meyer's argument.[21] If the practice of commemoration were tied so strongly to the concept of heirship, we would expect to see far more children commemorating their parents. Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 172) remarks that the lack of child-parents dedications in the Roman inscriptions is 'very strange'.[22] Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 245) comment on the fact that parents in regional Italy commemorate children far more often than children commemorate parents (68% compared to 32%), in an apparent 'inversion of nature'. Most regions in Saller and Shaw's study (1984: 147-50) show a much lower proportion of child-parent than parent-child dedications. Meyer's argument that dedicands acted almost entirely from obligations of heirship does not make sense in view of this pattern. When interpreting the patterns of commemoration of children in Rome and Italy,

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[18] For an excellent exploration of the representations of children in funerary reliefs and altars, see Rawson (2003a: 17-92).

[19] Saller (1994: 99) argues that children under 10 are underrepresented while older children are overrepresented. Saller and Shaw (1984) found that in urban areas such as Rome, where there is a high percentage of parent-child dedications, children under the age of 10 were more likely to be commemorated.

[20] Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 174) also argues that young children are overrepresented in the epitaphs.

[21] On the lack of child-parent dedications, see Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 172-73).

[22] Demand (1994: 73) suggests that the lack of child-parent dedications in Greece may have been related to children's lack of resources; parents had larger resources, and so we see far more parent-child dedications than child-parent. This may also have been a contributing factor in the dedications from Rome and Roman Italy. It cannot explain, however, why there are comparatively so few dedications from adult children to parents.

conclusions about familial duty and affection being major motivations in the epigraphic habit seem to be far more plausible than Meyer's conclusion that heirship was the primary motivation for commemoration.[23]

In terms of dedications made by freedmen,[24] it has been suggested these were the product of self-promotion, including dedications to children.[25] While this is true to an extent, Mouritsen (2005: 58) warns against accepting this concept 'in its entirety', as on closer inspection 'a large proportion of Roman epitaphs turns out to be devoid of any overt social ostentation'. He argues (2005: 58) that the private placement of freedmen funerary *stelae* from Pompeii, their lack of social ostentation and status indicators in inscriptions that were often dedicated to young children, suggest that sentimental motivation was more likely responsible for the epigraphic habit than was 'civic competition'.[26] Freedmen funerary inscriptions from Pompeii display little concern with status (Mouritsen 2005: 47).

Mouritsen (2005: 60-61) suggests that a freedman's right to a legitimate, secure family, denied him as a slave, may have played a prominent role in his propensity to commemorate his family where he stressed his familial bonds. These bonds, he argues, had a different significance for freedmen than they did for people of other classes.[27] Mouritsen's conclusions are

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[23] See Saller (1994: 101-02); see also Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 174-75; 193; 198-204).

[24] 179 of the inscriptions found in this study are able to be conclusively identified as having been dedicated by freedmen – that is, they give a status indication. The nomenclature of a large number of inscriptions found suggest that they are freedmen dedications, but only those giving a status indication were held to be definitely dedicated by freedmen.

[25] See Taylor (1960: 113-132).

[26] Mouritsen (2005: 56) stresses in his study that the modest funerary inscriptions to family members are to be distinguished from the more ostentatious monument erected as self-commemorations and *se vivo* inscriptions, which emphasized status. In her study on children in the funerary epitaphs and portraits of Pannonia, Boatwright (2005: 317) found similarly that status is less evident on the tombstones (through depictions of dress, or by other status markers) than is the emphasis on portraying affectionate family groups, primarily as the nuclear family of parents and children.

[27] For a similar argument see also Shaw (1991: 87), Carroll (2006: 38) and Zanker (: 285), cited in Shaw (1991: 8). Woolf (1996: 32) discusses the possible motivations behind memorialization, including the desire to publicise memory and to create a public identity. His views agree with Mouritsen's arguments on the motivations behind freedmen monumentalisation, particularly in terms of freedmen's emulation of the upper classes in

particularly important to the study of the Roman family from the inscriptions in terms of motivations to commemorate, as it is estimated that many funerary inscriptions from Rome and Italy were erected by freedmen. Woolf (1996: 35) argues that freedmen are 'dramatically over-represented' in the epitaphs from Rome and other cities in Italy.[28] Mouritsen's conclusions are also important in that the inscriptions are our best source for freedmen's familial relationships.

Parents Dedicating Separately

Two pairs of inscriptions found by Gallivan and Wilkins, and discussed by Wilkins, show that parents did not always commemorate their daughters together even when both parents were alive.[29] The inscription *CIL* 11.5772 (from Sentinum) is dedicated to Aurelia Florentia by her father, Aurelius Florinus, a veteran. Another inscription, *AE* 1981, 322, makes it clear that Aurelia's mother was alive at the time of her death and was still married to her father. The dedication in *AE*, dedicated to Florinus by his wife Aurelia Velrina and son Aurelius Herculanus, records that their marriage lasted 50 years. Wilkins (1997: 274) argues that the age of the daughter at the time of her death (she was 27) indicates that Florinus' son was alive when Florentia's epitaph was set up – in other words, Florentia's mother and brother did not act as co-dedicands. Florentia's mother and brother may have been absent at the time of her death, leaving Florinus to commemorate his daughter alone. Although it cannot be proven, whatever the reasons may have been for this commemoration, Florentia's epitaph suggests a close bond between father and daughter.

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leaving monuments. Woolf's comment (1996: 32) that the epitaphs 'offered a partial remedy to the problem of how to surpass and conform at the same time' seems especially relevant to Mouritsen's arguments. George (2005a: 65-66) argues that family relief portraiture presented freedmen with the opportunity to 'display their adoption of Roman social values and insert themselves into the landscape of the idealized Roman family'. She argues (2005b: 55) that freedmen's preference for commissioning family relief portraits reflected a desire to show their 'embodiment of fundamental Roman moral values' relating to the family. Her chapter presents an important analysis of freedmen commemorative motivation in Roman Italy.

[28] See also Taylor (1960: 132).

[29] Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 274-75 – Appendix 2: 'Hidden Children').

It appears that fathers had the largest duty of commemorating younger children in Rome when parents commemorated their children separately, while mothers held the primary role of commemorating older children. Fathers decline as commemorators when the deceased children reach the age of fifteen, by which age it is estimated that only around half of children would have had a father living, compared to around 70% who would have had a mother living. The evidence suggests that fathers had the main role of sole commemoration while they were living; the pattern shows that mothers commemorate children at a steady rate, around 50 dedications to sons and 20-30 to daughters for the age groups between one and 20 years, and only assume the primary role of commemorating older children when fathers and parents begin to decline as dedicands.

This pattern would be partly the result of maternal mortality and mothers' consequent absence as commemorators. Pregnancy and childbirth were dangerous for women in Roman times, though not as greatly as has been believed at times.[30] We do not know the exact figures for maternal mortality in Rome, only that it was much higher than we now experience in the western world. Parkin warns against exaggerating the severity of maternal mortality in Rome, citing a paper by Schofield that estimates the maternal mortality rate in England from 1550 to 1849 as having been around 10 to 15 per 1,000 live births.[31]

The largest cause of maternal deaths in Roman society may have been puerperal fever, which could occur after even an uneventful, safe delivery.[32] According to Loudon, 35-55% of maternal deaths prior to the introduction of antibiotics were due to this illness (1991: 34). A famous case was Hippocrates' wife Philinus, who contracted puerperal fever fourteen days after giving birth.[33] Despite the apparent frequency of

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[30] See Parkin (1992: 103-104). Parkin refutes Dixon's suggestion (Dixon 1988: 30) that women's reproductive years were fraught with danger.
[31] Parkin (1992: 104); Schofield (1986: 256).
[32] See Demand (1994: 76).
[33] See Denman (1768); cited in Demand (1994: 76). Denman outlines three cases of puerperal fever that he managed to cure. He notes that the fever usually sets in after two to five days following the delivery, but cites Philinus' case as an exception. It may have

puerperal fever cases in Classical Greece,[34] Parkin's argument that it would be exaggerating to say that a very significant number of mothers died in childbirth is convincing, particularly in view of modern death rates amongst mothers. In Africa and India, where conditions for mothers in childbirth are often poor, and where the incidence of deaths in childbirth is highest, the average maternal mortality rate is around 400 per 100,000 births, or four in 1,000 – lower than Schofield's estimate for pre-modern England.[35] The death of mothers in childbirth must have had some influence on parental commemorative roles, resulting in fathers sometimes having to act as sole dedicands. The evidence for maternal mortality rates in comparative societies suggests, however, that maternal mortality may not have been a predominant factor in deciding parental commemorative roles in Roman Italy.

Fathers may also have had to act as sole commemorators in the case of divorce. Under Roman law, the presumption was that the father would retain custody of children upon divorce, providing they were under his *potestas* (see *Dig.* 43.30.1.3; 43.30.3.4).[36] The legal exception to this was if the husband could be proven to be of very bad character, in which case the wife could keep custody of her children (*Dig.* 43.30.3.5). It is not possible to know the frequency of divorce, and therefore its potential to impact on the practice of commemoration in Rome. Treggiari (1991a: 482) demonstrates that divorce was easy in Rome from the late Republic onwards, but also that this is not a reliable indication of the frequency of divorce.[37]

The law granted custody of any children to fathers, except in special circumstances, but the law may not have been rigidly observed in real life.

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been puerperal fever that led to the death of Cicero's daughter Tullia, who died a few weeks after giving birth to her son Lentulus.

[34] See Demand (1994: 71-79).

[35] Figures for maternal mortality rates in modern Africa and India according to the World Health Organisation's 2005 report on maternal mortality rates.

[36] See Frier and McGinn (2004: 109).

[37] See also Harlow and Laurence (2002: 87); Corbier (1991: 57-58); Treggiari (1991b: 44-46)

Treggiari, along with Harlow and Laurence, believes that it was usual for a child to remain in the father's household after divorce,[38] while Evans Grubbs (2002: 199) suggests that after an amicable divorce, parents may have come to an arrangement involving joint custody. A law of 294 A.D. (*Cod. Iust.* 5.24.1) suggests also that attitudes towards the question of maternal custody may have relaxed over time. This law states in response to the petition of Caelestina that a suitable judge would decide whether the children would remain with their father or with their mother.[39] Ulpian (*Dig.* 43.30.1.3; 43.30.3.5) writes that it was sometimes considered better for children to remain with their mother, and that in this case mothers could be entitled to receive child support.[40] There is also the possibility that parents may sometimes have simply separated without formally divorcing; this may have facilitated mothers being able to keep custody of their children.

If divorce were in fact frequent in Rome, and fathers were usually given custody of their children, we still cannot say from this that divorce greatly affected parental commemorative roles without knowing the degree of involvement mothers commonly had with their children after divorce. There is evidence that mothers were still expected to be involved with the lives of their children after divorce. Treggiari (1991a: 468) argues that a law given by Marcus Aurelius shows that he, at least, expected that a mother would continue to support her children after a divorce because of maternal affection (*Dig.* 25.3.5.14), and that emotional ties between mothers and children often seem to have lasted beyond divorce. She argues also (1991: 468) that the necessity for fathers to sometimes be away from Rome, or their lateness in remarrying, means that we cannot ignore the possibility that children of divorced parents sometimes lived with their mothers.[41]

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[38] Treggiari (1991a: 467); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 88). See also Rawson (2003a: 228).

[39] See Evans Grubbs (2002: 199); see also Frier and McGinn (2004) for further laws concerning the custody of children.

[40] See Frier and McGinn (2004: 230 and 109); Evans Grubbs (2002: 199).

[41] Treggiari (1991a: 468 n. 162) cites Cicero (*Clu.* 27), who writes that one of Oppianicus' children lived with his mother at Teanum.

As neither the laws nor our literary sources discuss the responsibility of commemorating a child, we cannot say for sure if divorced mothers were prevented from acting as dedicands. They may have commemorated their children separately to their husbands. It is difficult to credit that mothers would have been excluded from the commemoration of their children after divorce when there seems to be acknowledgement in the sources of the continued importance of the relationship between mother and child; unless perhaps the divorce had been particularly acrimonious.[42] It is possible, however, that unpleasant as it may seem to us, mothers *were* often prevented from commemorating their children after divorce, especially if they had been allowed little contact with them. Evans Grubbs points out that a woman who divorced her husband risked never seeing her children again (2002: 199).[43] We can therefore only guess as to the extent to which divorce affected parental roles of commemoration, without knowing its frequency or whether mothers commonly continued to act as their children's commemorators after divorce. What we can say for the same reason is that divorce and maternal mortality cannot be overlooked as influences, and that the commemorative patterns in the Roman inscriptions may well reflect the reality of both of these factors.

It is fairly certain that social custom had some influence on the role of fathers as commemorators in Rome; it is unlikely that their role was uniquely unaffected by cultural values or habits. Saller's argument (2001: 101) that funerary inscriptions reflect bonds of both affection and duty within the family is important in the interpretation of the pattern of dedications by fathers in Rome. Rawson (1997: 295) argues that the epitaphs are good indicators of the 'core loyalties and affections' in Roman society; the pattern of fathers as sole dedicands may be partly a further reflection of these loyalties or duties. The father as *paterfamilias* was the head of the household and he held commensurate obligations towards his

[42] See Treggiari (1991a: 467-68; 470).
[43] Evans Grubbs (2002: 199) goes on to argue that this risk would have been a larger deterrent to a woman thinking about divorce than would have any legal restrictions.

children.[44] There have been numerous works written on the nature of fathers' authority and responsibilities within the Roman family, of which Saller's (1994) is possibly the most important.[45] The pattern of commemoration may here be evidence for another aspect of a father's duty towards his children. When it was necessary that one parent should act as sole commemorator of a child, the evidence suggests that this role was usually assumed by the father (with the notable exception of the commemoration of Roman daughters aged over 20; see below: 70-75). This situation could conceivably arise if there were any dispute as to who should dedicate an inscription, or if there had been an acrimonious divorce; or for any number of reasons that are impossible to list without entering the realms of pure speculation. The inscriptions nonetheless appear to give physical evidence for the importance of fathers' relationships with their children.[46]

The role of fathers as commemorators may also have been related to their financial ability to commission an epitaph. Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 244) found that there is a slight bias towards commemorations by mothers commemorating alone in the Italian inscriptions. The inscriptions found here from Rome show that fathers were the preferred commemorators over mothers until children reached the age at which they began commonly to lose their fathers. Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 244) disagree with Kleiner's comment (1987b: 549) that more fathers commemorated children than did mothers because they had greater access to funds; as they found that mothers tended to be the more common commemorators in regional Italy. Kleiner's comment may nonetheless have some bearing here on the interpretation of the commemorative patterns from Rome; the choice of whether or not to include epithets, for example, may have have been one of financial cost (see Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 176-77).

[44] See Saller (1994: 102-32) for a discussion of fathers' legal authority over children and his corresponding duties towards them.
[45] See also Gardner (1998); Treggiari (1991); Eyben (1991).
[46] On father-child relationships, see Saller (1994); Eyben (1991; 1993) Rawson (2003a).

Overall, the pattern in these inscriptions shows that mothers in Rome held the smallest role of commemorating younger children (that is, those aged 10 or younger). The decline of parents and fathers as dedicands to older children has already been mentioned as partly the result of mortality amongst fathers due to their being much older than their wives. In most cases, mothers appear to assume the role of sole dedicands only when fathers begin to be affected by mortality.[47] Mortality amongst fathers is the most obvious factor that may have contributed to the decline of parents and fathers in their roles as commemorators of older children, and the corresponding rise of mothers' role. The fact that husbands were on average at least 10 years older than their wives meant that women were likely to have lost their husbands by the time their children were in their late teens.[48] Mothers would then have had to assume the role of commemoration alone. This may have been even more likely if a woman was not her husband's first wife, making the age gap between them even greater.

By the time commemorated children reach the age of 21, dedications from mothers alone make up 51% of the total dedications (90 out of 176). Mothers would also have had to assume the role of sole commemorator when their husbands were absent.[49] When children reach their late teens, mothers begin to appear as primary dedicands to sons, and dedicated more of the inscriptions found to daughters than did fathers (21 compared to 18). The number of dedications by mothers occurs at a steady rate across the age groups commemorated (except for children aged younger than one and older than 30), and so their usurpation of the primary role of commemoration from parents and fathers is not as obvious as if the number of dedications by mothers began suddenly to rise. More subtly, and more interestingly, mothers take on the primary role of commemoration by

[47] This pattern is different to that found by Saller and Shaw (1984) for dedications by the lower orders in Rome, where mothers played a prominent role (See their table Civilian Populations 1: 147).
[48] See Shaw (1987: 43); Saller (1987: 34); Treggiari (1991: 400); Garnsey and Saller (1987: 138).
[49] On the absence of husbands and its effects on mother-child relationships, see Rawson (2003a: 227); Evans Grubbs (2002: 199).

default as the number of dedications by parents and fathers to both sons and daughters falls (the exception is dedications from fathers to sons aged between 16 and 20, where the number of dedications rises slightly. Mothers are still the most frequent dedicands of this group). It appears therefore that in the commemoration of sons especially, mothers usually came to hold the main commemorative role only when fathers were no longer able to commemorate.

The exception to this pattern is in the commemoration of daughters aged older than 20. Mothers were the most frequent dedicands of this group, with the greatest rise in dedications from mothers to older daughters occurring in the 21-30 age group. Mothers dedicated 39 of the extant inscriptions to daughters aged over 20, while parents and fathers dedicated eight and nine inscriptions respectively. Therefore, the number of dedications from mothers to daughters of this age rises sharply at the same time as the number of dedications from parents and fathers to these daughters falls dramatically.

The most important aspect of this trend in relation to parental commemorative roles is that it can only partly be attributed to mortality amongst fathers. This is because of the pattern showing that parents and fathers continued to commemorate sons aged older than 20 almost as frequently as they did sons aged 16-20 (parents dedicated 42 of the extant inscriptions to sons aged over 20, while fathers dedicated 37), suggesting that the decline in dedications from parents and fathers to daughters aged older than 20, and the corresponding rise in dedications from mothers to daughters in this age group, was due to social factors more than to paternal mortality; if the pattern were due to fathers' mortality, we would expect to see a similar decline in dedications from parents and fathers to older sons to that seen in the dedications to older daughters.

The idea that the fathers of daughters died at three times the rate of the fathers of sons is clearly ridiculous. The dedicand patterns seen in the Roman inscriptions therefore suggest that there were social changes that

resulted in it becoming almost the sole duty of mothers to commemorate older daughters. Dixon (1988: 213) makes the suggestion that mothers who acted as sole dedicands of older daughters may have done so because they were divorced. While this is certainly a possibility, it cannot explain the trend showing that fathers and parents did not commemorate older daughters at the same rate as older sons; fathers would surely have had the same opportunity to commemorate older daughters as did mothers despite being divorced.[50]

The fact that mothers assumed the primary role of commemorating daughters aged 21-30 when commemorating alone, and that they commemorated far fewer of these daughters when acting together with fathers (only eight dedications were found from parents to daughters in this age group) while still commemorating sons aged 21-30 at a similar rate to younger sons (there were 37 dedications found to sons in this age group, compared to 47 and 48 to sons aged 16-20 and 11-15 respectively), suggests that mothers chose to act independently of fathers when commemorating daughters aged older than 20.[51]

In terms of social changes or factors that may have influenced this pattern, the most obvious one to consider is a daughter's marriage. Shaw and Saller both discovered that by the age of 20, most women in Rome were married.[52] They determined this by examining the ages at which women

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[50] There are some instances where mothers commemorated daughters together with their husbands, who would have been the daughters' stepfathers: e.g., *CIL* 6.15846.

[51] For example, Furia Secunda dedicated an inscription to her daughter, Hygia (*CIL* 6.18815). Furia's husband Hyginus, likely Hygia's father, is mentioned in the inscription but not as co-dedicand.

[52] Their estimate is higher than Hopkins' (1965), which Shaw (1987) believes to be too low. See also Saller (1987). Lelis, Percy and Verstraete (2003: 9) disagree with Shaw's method of determining Roman girls' average age at first marriage from the funerary inscriptions. They argue that his conclusions are based on an untenable assumption that husbands would usually take over the commemoration of girls from girls' parents, and that based on the literary evidence and a 're-examination' of the epigraphic evidence, girls' age at first marriage was not in the late teens to early twenties as estimated by Shaw, but in the early teens. Their argument seems flawed on two bases in particular: firstly their contention that the literary evidence for the average age at marriage for elite Roman girls may be applied to the general Roman population, thus demonstrating that girls usually married in their very early teens; secondly, their argument against Shaw's use of the epigraphic evidence rests on their own 'assumption' that the the age at which husbands take over almost completely from parents as commemorators of women cannot be used to

began to be commemorated primarily by their husbands rather than by their parents – a similar method was used by Saller to determine men's age at first marriage.[53] It is important to note here that married daughters would also most often have been commemorated by their husbands, who were the main commemorators overall of women of marriageable age.[54] When mothers commemorated married daughters, they would most likely have been dedicating an inscription separately to those dedicated by their daughters' husbands. No epitaphs for daughters were found that were dedicated jointly by a mother and her daughter's husband.

The question raised by these inscriptions is why mothers have commemorated daughters who would most likely have been married and whom we would therefore expect to be commemorated by their husbands rather than by their parents. One explanation for the emphasis in the Roman inscriptions on mothers' commemoration of older daughters is that due to cultural factors, mothers were more likely than fathers or parents to commemorate married daughters who were also commemorated by their husbands in separate epitaphs.[55] It is also possible that mothers were the preferred commemorator when their daughters had no husband to perform this role, whether because they were divorced, separated or widowed, or never married.

In her work on mothers and daughters in Rome, Dixon (1988: 210-32) argues that the mother-daughter relationship may have increased in closeness after the latter married, and that there was an emphasis within Roman society on the reciprocal duty owed between a mother and her

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suggest the average age at first marriage for girls, because parents may still have commemorated married daughters without recording their marital status. While this is true, they fail to explain why parents as a dedicand group decline so suddenly as commemorators of daughters when those daughters pass the age of 20; the fact that mothers continue to commemorate daughters aged older than 20 suggests that this decline was not due solely to the deaths of parents.

[53] Shaw (1987: 43); Saller (1987: 32).

[54] See Shaw (1987). On the female life course including estimations of age at first marriage for Roman girls, see Laurence (2000; 444-47).

[55] The question of how many women commemorated by their mothers were also commemorated by their husbands deserves to be researched. Unfortunately this is a very large task that I did not have the time to undertake in this study, so I have necessarily left this explanation of the mother-daughter commemorative pattern as an hypothesis.

married daughter. The inscriptional evidence appears to support her argument. In his study on family relations in the funerary inscriptions from Roman Lusitania, Edmondson (2005: 201) found that mothers in that province played a significant role in commemorating children, and that they dedicated several inscriptions to sons and daughters of marriageable age. He concludes from this (2005: 201) that mothers maintained strong social and emotional bonds with their children even after the latter had married. The emphasis on the role of mothers in the dedications to older daughters in Rome, indicative of an importance placed on the relationship mothers had with these daughters, similarly suggests an expectation in Roman society that a close bond between a mother and her older daughter would at least continue after a daughter married.

In addition to giving us further knowledge of parental commemorative roles, the decline in dedications by parents and fathers in these inscriptions may be able to tell us more about ages at death for Roman men. Saller was able to find fairly conclusive evidence in the inscriptions as to men's age at first marriage, estimating this to have been in the mid-twenties for elite men, and slightly later for those in the lower classes; Shaw's method to determine girls' age at marriage is similar.[56] By adopting this method and examining the ages at which children begin to be commonly commemorated by mothers rather than by parents or fathers – around 20 years – we can make a tentative estimate of the age at which fathers began commonly to die. Assuming that men began to produce children soon after marriage, it appears this age may have been around the late forties to early fifties. This would of course have to be an informed guess at best, as an accurate calculation of age at death would need an epigraphic sample that is accurately representative of the Roman population; evidence that we do not have.[57]

[56] See Saller (1987); Shaw (1987).
[57] See Saller (1994: 15). On the unreliability of the funerary inscriptions as mortality data, see also e.g. Hopkins (1966); Parkin (1992); Scheidel (2001b).

Ostia

Shaw (1991: 75) comments on the similarities between Rome and Ostia in their commemoration of children, calling the two 'the largest urban agglomeration in the empire'. There are indeed large similarities in the commemorative practice between Rome and its port town, particularly in the emphasis on commemorating young children and sons. The commemorative roles of parents in Ostia also seem to have been as complex as those of parents in Rome, while the individual roles held by parents seem to have differed to those in Rome.

The most obvious regional difference in dedications between the two urban centres is that fathers dedicating alone, rather than parents dedicating together, were the most frequent dedicands identified in epitaphs to sons, dedicating 49% of inscriptions found in Ostia (61 of the total 123). Saller and Shaw (1984: 150, Table 16) also found that fathers were the main commemorators of sons in Ostia, although the size of their sample is smaller. Dedications to daughters in Ostia show that daughters were commemorated at a nearly equal rate by all three dedicands (29 from parents, 23 from fathers and 22 from mothers). This suggests that all three types of parental dedicands held similar commemorative roles when commemorating daughters.

The factors of divorce and of maternal mortality no doubt contributed to the pattern of dedications by fathers, as they did in the Roman inscriptions. For divorce and maternal mortality to have had so great an impact on fathers' commemorative role in Ostia, with fathers dedicating at twice the rate of parents and mothers, these factors would have to have been far more prevalent than they were in Rome. It is difficult to gauge the influence of these factors when we have even less evidence for the rates of divorce and of maternal mortality in Ostia than we do for those in Rome. It may be more probable that it was held to be the responsibility primarily of fathers in Ostia to commemorate their children due to social custom or values,

with it being less common for mothers to commemorate children either together with fathers, or alone.

The lack of literary evidence from Ostia makes it difficult to assess the link between roles and status of fathers within that society, and therefore it is difficult to make interpretations in terms of exactly what attitudes within Ostian society may have resulted in fathers holding a greater commemorative role that they did in Rome.[58] A key difference in the commemorating population between that of Rome and that of Ostia may have been the proportion of freedmen to freeborn. Mouritsen (2005: 41) found that the vast majority of tombs in Ostia were dedicated by those not of free birth. He comments (2005: 41) that 'virtually everybody who commissioned tombs and monuments appears to be associated with unfree birth'. In this study, the nomenclature in the Ostian epitaphs suggests also that they were dedicated almost exclusively by freedmen.[59]

Mouritsen's conclusions concerning the motivation of freedmen to create funerary inscriptions are therefore both interesting and important in terms of explaining the dedicand patterns found here in the Ostian inscriptions. Mouritsen's paper (2005) establishes that the civic function of erecting funerary monuments and inscriptions was very much a secondary motivation to the personal and emotional function. He then (2005: 60) asks the question of why it is, if the epigraphic habit reflects personal and social values, customs and ideals, funerary dedications in Ostia and Pompeii were commissioned typically by only one class – the freedmen. We must examine, argues Mouritsen, what separated freedmen from the rest of society. He presents (2005: 60-61) the argument that the commemoration of children held a special significance to freedmen, who did not have the right to legitimate marriage and children when they were slaves. This may

[58] See Rollo (1934: 41) on the lack of literary material relating to Ostia. Mouritsen (2005: 38) found that the vast majority of those recorded in funerary inscriptions are freedmen, with the remainder largely consisting of their relatives and descendants.
[59] See Taylor (1960: 117-32) on the identification of status in the funerary inscriptions using nomenclature.

be an explanation as to why they so frequently chose to commemorate children and why they are so well-represented as commemorators.

The significance to freedmen of the opportunity to have a legitimate family and legitimate heirs may be the key as to why fathers are the predominant commemorators of children in Ostia. In their freeborn children, their sons in particular, freedmen fathers had at last legitimate heirs to whom they could bequeath their property and by whom their family could be continued. Mouritsen (2005: 61) argues that the fact that the freeborn sons of freedmen carried no personal stigma apart from their *nouitas* and that therefore through them, freedmen could enter Roman society 'on a formally equal footing'.[60] They would have felt the loss of their heirs and of their future extended family particularly keenly.

The pattern of dedications from fathers to sons may therefore have been linked to the concept of heirship and the importance of the relationship between fathers and sons as their legitimate heirs.[61] This does not, of course, imply that the motivation of affection was unimportant or even less important in freedmen commemorations. It simply may be that it was more important to fathers of freedmen status in Ostia to stress their bond with their sons in funerary commemorations. This idea may be supported by the pattern showing that fathers in Ostia dedicated only around a third as many inscriptions to daughters as they did to sons.

In dedications from parents and mothers, there is almost no gender bias; there is equal emphasis on the commemoration of both sons and daughters. This is a further suggestion that there was a special importance in father-son relationships in Ostia, or at least in the public display of this relationship. From their names, the mothers who commemorated children in Ostia appear almost all to have been freedwomen. A small number of

[60] See Weaver (1990: 275-305) on some freedmen's inability to produce legitimate children due to their having been informally manumitted. Mouritsen (2005: 61 n. 116) argues that it is not feasible to compare the epigraphic practices of the two types of freedmen.
[61] On heirship as a motivation for commemoration, see Meyer (1990).

maternal dedicands are shown to have been freeborn by their filiation indicators.[62]

The numbers of dedications to each age group in the Ostian inscriptions are perhaps a little too small to be able to draw detailed conclusions, although there are far more dedications to children aged between one and 10 than there are to the other age groups – the same pattern that we see in the Roman dedications. This suggests that parents in Ostia may have valued young children in a similar manner to Roman parents, with similar views on premature death. Children in the remaining age groups received an equal number of dedications, between 16 and 18.

Parents in Ostia seem to have been more inclined to commemorate infants than were parents in Rome, suggesting a greater value placed on infant children. This may have been related to the significance of freedmen being able to have a legitimate family, as argued by Mouritsen (2005: 61). Saller and Shaw (1984: 130) found a correlation between the commemoration of young children and whether they were from urban or regional areas. They discovered that commemorators from urban areas were more likely to emphasise the deaths of young children than were those from regional areas; dedications to children under 10 from Ostia were found to comprise 40% of the total commemorations from that town.

The importance of parents' role in commemorating children in Ostia is highlighted by the evidence of the extant dedications from families of mixed status. Several inscriptions were dedicated by slave parents to a child who was of freed status.[63] There also seems to have been a greater propensity by parents and fathers to commemorate older children, especially daughters. Mothers appear to have been more inclined to commemorate daughters aged over 16 than were fathers; although again, the small number of inscriptions warns against making too much of this pattern.

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[62] *N. Sc.* (1938: 63 n. 23); *CIL*14.479.
[63] These include *CIL* 14.1671; 14.627; 14.1667/8; 14.1059; 14.979.

Puteoli

The relatively small number of inscriptions found from Puteoli urges caution in their interpretation. We can see, however, that the roles of parents as commemorators in this town show variation to those of parents in Ostia or Rome. Parents in Puteoli seem to have had similar commemorative roles to parents in Ostia in some respects but not in others. Fathers had the main role of commemorating sons as they did in the Ostian inscriptions, dedicating 23 of the 55 inscriptions found (42%). Parents and mothers both dedicated 16 of the extant inscriptions to sons (29%). Unlike the patterns from Ostia, parents appear to have held differing roles in the commemoration of daughters. The pattern suggests that parents dedicating together may have held a greater role than fathers in the commemoration of daughters, dedicating 19 of the 36 found (53%). Mothers seem to have held only a small role in the commemoration of daughters, dedicating five inscriptions.

The patterns from Puteoli resemble those from Rome and Ostia in the commemoration of young children. Parents here also emphasise the deaths of young children. 46 of the total dedications found from Puteoli (just over 50%) are to children aged 10 or younger. This is a higher percentage than that found by Saller and Shaw in the Ostian inscriptions. Saller and Shaw (1984: 130) suggest that slave and freedman populations were more likely to commemorate young children than were parents in other classes. The dedications that they found from urban areas (such as Rome, Carthage and Ostia) and from servile populations show a greater concentration of epitaphs to young children. Mouritsen's argument (2005: 61) about the high value placed on children by freedmen, and a correspondingly high tendency to commemorate young children, may be the best explanation for this trend.

Central Italy

The dedications from the regional areas in Italy (see Table 18 below) indicate that some patterns in the Roman practice of commemoration were widespread, while other patterns show great regional variation. The roles of parents as commemorators in central Italy appear to have been similar to those in Rome in terms of the commemorative roles of parents dedicating together. Parents in central Italy are the dedicands in 128 dedications out of 260, or 49%. This suggests that there may have been a value of the parent-child relationship held in central Italy similar to that held in Rome, with parents holding a similar role in commemorating children.

Table 18. Total Dedications from Northern, Central and Southern Italy

Dedicand	Northern	Central	Southern
Parents	**18**	**67**	**42**
	14	61	29
Fathers	**29**	**41**	**32**
	13	27	13
Mothers	**28**	**41**	**35**
	14	23	24
Total	**116**	**260**	**175**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

It appears that parents dedicated together when possible, with fathers and mothers sharing the role of sole dedicands. The commemorative roles of fathers and mothers as sole dedicands appear to have varied from those in Rome in these regions, however. In central Italy, fathers and mothers commemorated children in similar numbers. There were 68 out of 260 dedications found from fathers in central Italy, or 26%, and 64 found from mothers, or 25%. This suggests that fathers and mothers in regional central Italy had a more equal role in commemorating children than did fathers and mothers in Rome.

Southern Italy

The pattern from southern Italy is similar to that from Rome in that parents dedicating together had the main commemorative role, with 40% of the inscriptions dedicated (71 out of 175). This suggests that as in Rome, parents were expected to commemorate their children jointly where possible. The greatest variation in the inscriptions from southern Italy is that in this region alone do mothers appear to have held a larger role of commemoration than did fathers, dedicating 34% of the total inscriptions (59 out of 175). They were the preferred commemorator of both sons and daughters. Saller (1994: 36-7; 28-29; Tables 2.2.a; 2.2.c) found that the inscriptional evidence suggests that men in southern Italy married later than men in Rome. This may have led to women being widowed earlier and more often, resulting in their holding a greater role as sole dedicands.

The commemorative dedicand patterns from this region suggest a stronger relationship between mothers and children and a greater emphasis placed on the mother-child bond than is seen in the inscriptions from other regions in Italy. These patterns may suggest that women held a higher value in southern Italy than in other regions. Edmondson (2005: 202-15) argues that the strong presence of women in the funerary dedications from Lusitania, both as commemorators and as the commemorated, points to a higher value and emphasis placed on women and 'matrikin'.

Saller and Shaw (1984: 138) reached a similar conclusion from their results. They found that in the funerary dedications from Spain, mothers commemorated children far more often than did fathers. It is possible that the dedicand patterns found in the inscriptions reflect the commemorators' status within the family and within society. Hence, in regions such as Spain, women's higher status within society is reflected in their role as commemorators. The funerary dedications from Ostia and Rome, for example, suggest that fathers held a higher status in the family than did mothers in those cities, and thus they display a greater role than mothers in the commemoration of children. The status of mothers appears to have

been greater in the regional areas of Italy than it was in the urban centres, with them having a correspondingly greater commemorative role.

Northern Italy

The pattern in the dedications from northern Italy varies noticeably from that seen in the dedications from central and southern Italy. Here, we can see that parents were the *least* frequent commemorators of sons, who were commemorated primarily by fathers and mothers. Fathers and mothers each dedicated nearly an equal number of the extant inscriptions to sons in this region – 29 and 28 respectively. Daughters, however, were commemorated with equal frequency by each dedicand – in 14 dedications each by parents and fathers, and in 13 by mothers.

The pattern of dedications to sons in these regions is similar to that found by Gallivan and Wilkins, who observe (1997: 244) that in the northern dedications alone, there is no bias favouring the commemoration of sons by fathers over mothers. It suggests that there was an equal emphasis in northern Italy on the bond between fathers and sons, and mothers and sons, with fathers and mothers sharing an equal role in sons' commemoration. The pattern of dedications in northern Italy showing that parents held the smallest role of commemorating sons may be related to a higher incidence of divorce or of parental mortality in the north, resulting in fathers and mothers being required to assume the role of sole commemoration more often.

This seems the most plausible interpretation of this pattern; but we would expect then to find the same pattern in the commemoration of daughters. Instead, parents commemorated daughters equally as frequently as fathers and mothers. This suggests that these patterns are again the result of the influence of cultural factors on commemorative practice, than of demographic factors. It may be that there was a greater emphasis placed on individual relationships between mothers and sons, and fathers and sons, than there was on parental relationships with daughters; with the

result that parents, fathers and mothers commemorated daughters equally, but not sons.

Gender Bias in the Inscriptions

Table 19 (below) shows that there was very little regional variation in the inscriptions in terms of gender bias. Sons received around 60% of dedications with epithets in the urban centres and in regional Italy. This is a similar pattern to that found by Gallivan and Wilkins (1997). In their study, the ratio of families with single sons to those with single daughters is 7:3 across Italy. They found (1997: 242) slight regional variation, but not enough to need a detailed discussion. Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 243) did find that the gender imbalance rose when families with one, two, three or four sons were compared to the those with the equivalent number of daughters. They note (1997: 243) that the figures showing gender bias cannot be related to a biological reality, commenting that the early marriage of daughters and their subsequent commemoration by their husbands would have affected their sample.

Table 19: Dedications to sons as proportion of total[64]

	Number	%
Rome	1263	65
Ostia	123	62
Puteoli	55	60
Northern Italy	75	65
Central Italy	159	61
Southern Italy	108	62

The pattern of gender bias in the inscriptions indicates that the valuing of sons above daughters was not limited to Rome but was found throughout Italy. Parents usually show a preference to commemorate sons (with the

[64] Figures refer to numbers of dedications to sons used in this study from each region, and to their percentage of the total number of inscriptions used from these regions.

exception of dedications by mothers to older daughters in Rome), and sons were more likely to have their ages at death recorded, indicating a further importance placed on their commemoration. As is argued by Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 243), the gender bias in the inscriptions is not indicative of the normal biological structure of the family. Nor does it indicate that more sons died than did daughters. It instead reflects a societal valuing of sons above daughters. Shaw (1991: 69) argues that the specification of age at death demonstrates further the greater value that the commemorating society placed on the deceased. If the number of sons that died was similar to the number of daughters, then the gender bias in the inscriptions should tell us about gender preferences in the regions where the inscriptions originated (Shaw 1991: 73).

The Emphasis on the Commemoration of Young Children

The inscriptions show an emphasis on the commemoration of young children in all regions, particularly children under the age of 11 (see Table 20, below). This pattern has been noted in several previous studies. Shaw (1991: 75; Table 4.2) found that the epitaphs from northern and southern Italy and from Rome all emphasise young children in the inscriptions, with Rome having the largest percentage of its inscriptions dedicated to children out of the three (29.5%) and southern Italy the smallest (20%). The emphasis on the commemoration of young children in Italy is also noted by, for example, Gallivan and Wilkins (1997: 247); Saller and Shaw (1984); Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 174); Rawson (2003a: 341). Saller and Shaw (1984: 138) note that areas with a high percentage of parent-child dedications have a correspondingly larger proportion of dedications to young children.

Table 20: Proportion of Dedications to Children Aged Under 11[65]		
Region	**Number**	**%**
Rome	**835**	**43**
Ostia	**96**	**48**
Puteoli	**46**	**50**
Northern Italy	**36**	**31**
Central Italy	**68**	**26**
Southern Italy	**49**	**28**

The tendency to commemorate young children in urban areas especially has been linked to a high value placed on young children and a corresponding desire to record their ages at death (Shaw 1991). In Gallivan and Wilkins' study (1997: 247), 70% of the dedications found to children with usable ages were dedicated to children aged 20 or younger. As Saller (2001: 100) argues, the overrepresentation of children aged between one and 10 in the inscriptions does not point to an extraordinarily low life expectancy, but to the stronger likelihood in commemorative practice that they would have their ages at death recorded. That the emphasis on commemorating young children in Rome and Italy was a conscious choice on the part of commemorators, and part of the epigraphic habit itself, is shown by Saller and Shaw's study (1984), where they found that some provinces emphasise old, rather than young, ages at death.

The pattern of the commemoration of young children across Italy, the emphasis on *mors immatura* in the epitaphs found, indicates that this concept was not confined to Rome but was common also to regional Italy. The most interesting pattern shown in the inscriptions here is that the primary dedicands, in all regions, all emphasise the deaths of young children (those aged 10 or younger) in that they are the main groups commemorated by commemorators in each region. The emphasis on

[65] Figures refer to the numbers of inscriptions used in this study dedicated to children aged younger than 11 years from each region, and to their percentage of the total numbers of inscriptions used from these regions.

premature death is not limited to a particular dedicand such as parents dedicating together. The cultural values present in a region or town that may influence who holds the primary role of commemorating children do not appear to influence dedicands' desire to emphasise young ages at death. The table shows a similar result to that found by Saller and Shaw (1984), in that larger urban areas have a higher proportion of dedications to young children.

Conclusion

The inscriptions from Rome and Italy show that parental dedications to children need to be viewed as more than a uniform group. The roles of parents as commemorators were affected by a number of social and demographic factors, of which the influence of some can only be guessed. The variations in dedicand patterns, with children in some regions commemorated primarily by both parents and others by either mothers or fathers, suggest corresponding differences in attitudes to parent-child relationships within the family.

The tables show that there were regional variations in most of the commemorative patterns, even between such closely tied cities as Rome and Ostia. These patterns may be further evidence of the cultural differences affecting the epigraphic habit.[66] Mouritsen (2005: 62) argues that the notion of a Roman 'monolithic habit' needs to be revised, with no epigraphic habit being uniform within the empire or regions of Italy. The tables of epigraphic data used here show, however, that certain 'habits' were uniform in the commemorating societies of Roman Italy. The protest against premature death is shown in dedications from parents in all of the regions studied, with an overwhelming emphasis in many cases on the deaths of children aged between one and 10.

[66] On the effects of cultural differences upon commemorative practices, see MacMullen (1982).

In the dedications from every region, there is also a focus on the commemoration of sons in preference to daughters. The inscriptions suggest therefore that parental commemorative roles in Roman Italian society were affected by a complexity of familial values in many respects; but that there were also certain shared attitudes in the value of children.

Chapter Three

Mors Immatura: Mothers and Young Children in the Inscriptions

> Le sourire de l'enfant dans les bras de sa mère illumine les siècles païens.[67]

In order to gain a full picture of what mothers' expectations of their children were, we need to examine evidence that was written or recorded from mothers' own perspectives. The problem with this was first discussed by Pomeroy (1975: *x*): that our literary sources were written primarily by men, for men, apart from 'a few scraps of lyric poetry'.[68] Garnsey and Saller (1987: 139) later noted the same problem, this time in relation to the study of the Roman family, arguing that 'One of the most obvious shortcomings of our sources written by males is the lack of information about the mother-child bond from the mother's perspective'. This means that while there are certainly literary sources that detail ideals of mother-child relationships from the male perspective,[69] and while these are vital to our understanding of Roman society's perceptions and ideals of mother-child relationships, it is very difficult to determine Roman mothers' own ideals of their children from the literary evidence.

It has been argued in particular that there is little evidence for mothers' relationships with young children; that Roman society tended to emphasise relationships between mothers and adult children (Dixon 1992: 119). This argument may be accurate in relation to the 'historical' sources that have previously been depended upon to inform us of maternal attitudes towards children;[70] but an examination of further evidence indicates that there are, for example, some important literary works in which relationships between mothers and young children are a focal point, such as Seneca's *Troades* and Statius' *Thebaid* (these works will be examined in Chapter Five).

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[67] Néraudau (1984: 138).
[68] See also Katz (1995: 30).
[69] For example, Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Uxorem*, in which he commiserates with his wife upon the loss of their baby daughter (see Pomeroy 1999b).
[70] See Dixon (1988); Phillips (1978).

There is also the inscriptional evidence, which is of particular importance for this relationship and for mothers' expectations and ideals of young children.

The inscriptional evidence is vital to any examination of how Roman mothers thought about their children. The funerary inscriptions represent almost our only extant source of evidence for mother-child relationships that were recorded by mothers themselves. By examining the inscriptions mothers dedicated to children, we may be able to gain a good idea of mothers' own expectations of their children and of their relationships with their children. This chapter aims to address the three problems encountered when studying mother-child relationships mentioned above, by examining the ways in which mothers represented children in the inscriptions, and what this can tell us about maternal ideals and expectations of both young and older children.

Wiedemann (1989: 42) argues that the epigraphic evidence is too 'scanty' to be able to tell us what parents thought about their children. Subsequent studies have shown that this is not necessarily the case; that in fact we can infer from the epitaphs valuable information about the ideals, values and attitudes of commemorating societies towards certain people or relationships.[71] The epithets used by mothers to commemorate children can tell us about how mothers felt their children should be represented and idealised, and by extension how the commemorating society felt children should be thought of by mothers.[72]

In this study, it was found that all parental dedicand groups – parents, fathers and mothers – commemorate young children (that is, children aged from less than one year to 10 years) primarily as *dulcissimus/a*.[73] This pattern of commemoration is not limited to Rome, but occurs also in Ostia, Puteoli and in the regional areas of Roman Italy. The commemorative

[71] See Shaw (1991); Saller and Shaw (1984); Woolf (1996).
[72] Morris (1992: 159) argues that the inscriptions record what the Romans thought ought to have been said about the deceased.
[73] Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 193) found a similar pattern in the Roman inscriptions.

patterns in the Roman inscriptions show that in terms of dedications from mothers, 82 out of the 167 extant dedications to young children from Rome record the epithet *dulcissimus/a* (See Tables 1.B and 1.A). The inscriptions from Ostia show the same preference by mothers, although the relatively small number of inscriptions surviving from that town urge caution in drawing detailed conclusions (see Tables 2.A and 2.B). The dedications from central and southern Italy show a similar pattern; the use of *dulcissimus/a* is less frequent in the dedications from mothers from northern Italy (see Table 24).

It is also important to consider the dedications mothers made when dedicating together with fathers, as 'parent' dedicands; it does not seem plausible to discount the possibility that mothers had as great a role as a parent dedicand as did fathers. In the inscriptions from Rome, Ostia and Puteoli, *dulcissimus/a* was the epithet most commonly used by parents to commemorate small children (Tables 1-3.A and 1-3.B). *Dulcisssimus/a* was also the most frequent epithet used to characterize children by parents in dedications from regional Italy (see Table 22). *Dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* were the two epithets used in the extant inscriptions from parents to young children in southern Italy. The inscriptions therefore show that in Rome and in most areas of regional Italy, mothers primarily chose to commemorate their young children as *dulcissimus/a*.

Table 21. Frequency of parents' use of *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* to commemorate young children in the three urban centres[74]

	Rome	Ostia	Puteoli
Dulcissimus/a	**245**	**26**	**11**
Carissimus/a	**63**	**1**	**6**
Total	**411**	**34**	**20**

[74] 'Total' refers to the total number of dedications from parents to young children from each area. This also applies to Tables 22-32.

Table 22. Frequency of parents' use of *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* to commemorate young children in regional Italy

	Northern	Central	Southern
Dulcissimus/a	5	29	5
Carissimus/a	2	6	2
Total	12	58	7

Table 23. Frequency of mothers' use of *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* to commemorate young children in the three urban centres

	Rome	Ostia	Puteoli
Dulcissimus/a	82	15	2
Carissimus/a	30	1	1
Total	167	20	7

Table 24. Frequency of mothers' use of *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a* to commemorate young children in regional Italy

	Northern	Central	Southern
Dulcissimus/a	4	13	3
Carissimus/a	4	2	0
Total	13	24	4

Sigismund-Nielsen (1997: 204) argues that the commemoration of children by parents as *dulcissimus/a* in the Roman inscriptions is an indication of the closeness of the relationship between parent and child. Her conclusion is related to the use of the term *dulcis* to describe personal relationships in the literature; *dulcis* and its superlative are used only when referring to particularly close relationships (Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 188). Friends, found Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 189-90) are referred to as *dulcissimus/a* only when they are very intimate friends, and the writers' relationships with those whom they describe as *dulcissimus/a* are close and affectionate. When writing to Tiro, his freedman, Cicero addresses the latter as *mi dulcissime Tiro*: 'My sweetest/dearest Tiro' (Cic. *Fam.* 16.21.2.2). Atticus, Cicero's brother-in-law, with whom Cicero shared an intimate

correspondence, is also addressed as *dulcissime* (*Att.* 6.2.9). The letters of Fronto also demonstrate the use of *dulcissimus* to describe very close friends. Many of Fronto's letters close with the sentimental *magister dulcissime* – 'sweetest/dearest teacher' (for example, *Ep.* 2.3.2; 2.7.3; 4.4.2; 5.74.3). Statius uses the term *dulcissimus* of his friend Pollio, addressing him as *Polli dulcissime* (*Silu.* 3.*pr.*1).

We also see the term used to describe close members of the nuclear family. There are several passages of Justinian's *Digest* in which daughters are described as *dulcissima*. In the chapter on the bestowment of legacies, we learn that one Lucius Titus left a legacy to his daughter Paulina, whom he calls his *filia dulcissima* (*Dig.* 31.1.34.6.7). Scaevola writes that one testator charged a *fideicommissum* on his wife, that she should pass on all the inheritance that he left her onto their *infans dulcissima*: 'sweetest infant', Maevia (*Dig.* 32.1.41.14). The literary use of the term *dulcissimus/a* to describe personal relationships seems to be limited almost exclusively to the description of close relationships with friends or lovers, or of members of the nuclear family; it does not appear to have been used to describe wider relationships with members outside of the nuclear family (see Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 188-89).

We therefore find that mothers in Rome and Italy commemorated young children primarily with an epithet that implies intimate, affectionate relationships. The fact that mothers chose most frequently to commemorate young children as *dulcissimus/a* suggests therefore that there was an ideal or an expectation within Roman society of a close and intimate bond between mother and small child. The connection of the term *dulcis* in the literary sources with sentiments of affection suggests further that mothers' representation of young children as *dulcissimus/a* in the epitaphs is indicative of an expectation that the mother-child bond would be characterized not only by a closeness, but by great affection.

A term similarly implying affection, *carissimus/a* – 'most beloved' or 'dearest', was also commonly used by mothers to commemorate young

children in Rome and Italy, although it was recorded less often in the extant inscriptions than was *dulcissimus/a* (see Tables 21-24); like *dulcissimus/a*, *carissimus/a* is a term implying affection when used to describe relationships or loved ones.[75] Cicero assures his brother, Quintus, that he is the 'dearest' (*carissimus*) thing to him (*Off.* 3.121.13). In a letter written during the final tumultuous years of the Republic, Cicero urges his friend, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, to keep himself safe for the sakes of Cicero himself and of Ahenobarbus' wife, mother and all of his family. To Ahenobarbus' loved ones, Cicero writes, *es fuistique semper carissimus*: 'you are and always have been most dear' (*Fam.* 6.22.2).

The instances of *carissimus/a* in the literature suggest that while it implied great affection when employed as a term to describe family members, it had a more formal tone than did *dulcissimus/a* and was often used to characterize official relationships or associations. For example Cicero, in his correspondence with Appius Claudius Pulcher, several times refers to the latter as being *carissimus* – very dear – to him (for example, *Fam.* 3.1.1; 3.4.1). Cicero is careful, however, to qualify their relationship as being an 'official' one (3.4.1). The more formal meaning associated with the term *carissimus* may explain why mothers preferred to commemorate young children with the more intimate *dulcissimus/a*, which does not seem to have been used to describe as broad a range of relationships as was *carissimus/a* (see Sigismund Nielsen 1997).[76]

The overall impression given by the mothers' commemoration of young children as *dulcissimus/a* or *carissimus/a* is that there existed an ideal in Roman society that young children would be valued and held in great

[75] For a detailed discussion of *carissimus/a* as used to characterize relationships in the Roman inscriptions, see Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 185-93), where she notes that *carissmus/a* has a wider use in the inscriptions and the literature than does *dulcissimus/a*. It is frequently used in literary texts, she argues (1997: 185-90), to characterise friends and associates, as well as family members. It seems to have a more formal tone than *dulcissimus/a*, hence its use to describe associates and less intimate friends, or official relationships (Sigimund Nielsen 1997: 190). The interest in this chapter is the use of *carissimus/a* in our literary sources to describe intimate relationships.

[76] This need not imply, of course, that children commemorated as *carissimus/a* were less loved by mothers than were those commemorated as *dulcissimus/a*.

affection by their mothers. The existence of this ideal in the Ostian inscriptions supports Mouritsen's argument (2005: 58) that affection was likely to have been a motivation in freedmen epitaphs dedicated to young children.[77] As Rawson (2003a: 20) argues in relation to representations of children in funerary art and inscriptions, parents sought to show that their children were loved.

Shaw (1991: 76) notes that the regional areas of Italy place less emphasis on commemoration of young children than do the larger urban centres of Rome and Ostia, in terms of the number of inscriptions that survive to young children as a proportion of the inscriptions found from rural regional areas. Even slaves in urban areas, he found (1991: 76), were more likely to commemorate young children than were free populations in rural areas. He calls this the 'urban factor' (1991: 75) – the influence of urbanity on the expression of public valuation of children. It does appear in this study, from the number of extant dedications from mothers to children in regional Italy, that mothers in these areas were less likely to commemorate young children (see Tables 4-17.A). This may lead to the conclusion that young children were valued less by mothers than were children in the three urban centres – Rome, Ostia and Puteoli – where there is more emphasis on their commemoration. The important point, I believe, is that where mothers in regional areas did commemorate young children, they expressed the same ideals and values of those children that we find in the inscriptions from the three urban centres studied. The characterisation by mothers in regional Italy of young children as 'sweetest', or 'most beloved' therefore suggests that in these areas, mothers may have valued their children equally as highly as did mothers in urban areas.

The inscriptional evidence for the ideal of an affectionate bond between mothers and small children has interesting implications for the debate as to the effects of wetnursing and non-parental childcare practices in Rome on the relationship between mothers and young children. This issue has long

[77] See Chapter Two above for a discussion of the proportion of slave and freedmen-dedicated epitaphs in the inscriptions used from Ostia.

been considered important when examining mother-child relationships. Previously, the fact that Roman children were given over to wetnurses from birth has been presented as evidence that mothers in Rome may have had a weak relationship with their small children.[78]

The key point of argument has been whether or not the fact that Roman mothers were not the only central figures in raising their children adversely affected the mother-child bond. Dixon (1988) argued that the use of wetnurses meant that many mothers, especially those of the elite classes, may not have formed a very close relationship with infants or small children.[79] Infants and small children, argues Dixon (1988: 128-30), were given to a wetnurse after birth and consequently saw little of their mothers, with mothers then playing an indistinct role in children's early years.[80] A child's relationship with his mother developed intimacy over time, 'rather than being set up by a close, exclusive relationship in infancy' (Dixon 1988: 135).

Bradley (1986: 216-19) goes so far as to link the use of wetnurses to parental indifference towards young children, and especially towards their deaths.[81] He argues (1986: 220) that 'perhaps the best explanation' for the use of wetnursing was that it helped parents to distance themselves from vulnerable infants, allowing them to avoid a high emotional investment in children who may not survive.[82] Our literary sources were certainly aware of the negative effects of wetnursing, including the possibility that it would prevent mothers from bonding with their infants. Plutarch (*De lib. ed.* 5) and Soranus (*Gyn.* 2.18) both criticise the use of wetnurses for this reason.

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[78] See especially Bradley's papers (1986; 1994) on wetnursing in Rome.

[79] Although she also argues (1988: 129) that there is no evidence to support the suggestion that the use of wetnurses prevented the development of a relationship between parents and children.

[80] For how widespread was the use of wetnursing in Roman Italy, see Bradley (1986) and Garnsey (1991: 61). Bradley cites (1986: 201) a number of sources that suggest that wetnursing was common practice amongst the upper classes, with it being unusual for an elite mother to nurse her own infant (see e.g. Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 20.3; Sor. *Gyn. passim*). Garnsey (1991:61) argues that only the wealthier classes would have had the option of employing a wetnurse. Rawson (2003a: 122), on the other hand, argues that wetnursing was common at all levels of Roman society.

[81] See also Bradley (1994; 1999) on a similar argument.

[82] Against Bradley's argument, see Garnsey (1991: 61).

Corbier (1999a), in her article on infancy in Rome, describes Favorinus' argument against wetnursing (Gell. *NA* 12.1), where the philosopher compares the practice to exposure of the infant:

> Favorinus présentait en effet la mise en nourrice comme un abandon entraînant l'extinction de l'amour maternel et comparait l'enfant confiè à une nourrice à l'expositus: il tourne son amour et son affection vers celle qui le nourrit. (Corbier 1999a: 1274).[83]

It clearly was not the social norm for upper-class mothers to breastfeed their own children. The feeding of infants came to be seen as a job for slaves or freedwomen, and it was evidently highly unusual for elite women to feed their children themselves. Plutarch praises his wife for feeding their son herself; she showed 'nobility and true love' (γενναῖα ταῦτα καὶ φιλόστοργα: *Cons.ad Uxor.* 609.E.4-5), as she had to have an operation when her nipple became bruised (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 609.E.4). Most mothers, writes Plutarch, do not do this, but allow others to raise their children (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 609.E.6). Aulus Gellius' Favorinus is harshly critical of mothers who use wetnurses. Women who do not breastfeed, he argues, do so because they believe that it will cause them to lose their beauty (*pulcritudinis sibi insignia deuenustet*: *NA* 12.1.8.5-6). A mother's refusing to breastfeed is akin to the hateful (*odio*) practice of abortion, depriving the child of nourishment by its 'known blood' (*cogniti sanguinis*: Gell. *NA* 12.1.9.6).

The reasons for using wetnurses given by Aulus Gellius suggest that there was a belief among some Roman authors that elite Roman mothers refused to breastfeed their children for selfish reasons. It may therefore be argued that the practice of wetnursing at Rome is evidence that mothers were not close to their infants, as they could ignore their infants' needs in favour of their own. A further examination of the evidence for wetnursing reveals, however, that many of the reasons for this practice did not necessarily

[83] In this article, Corbier goes on to argue against the idea of parental indifference towards children in Rome.

reflect self-interest on the part of the mother. The evidence of Soranus' *Gynaecology* suggests that the practice of wetnursing was related at least in part to the physical ability of mothers to breastfeed.[84] Even today, women can find it difficult to breastfeed their newborn infants from birth (Cox 2004: 91). If a Roman mother had trouble breastfeeding after the birth, or developed problems with breastfeeding (as did Plutarch's wife Timoxena), a wetnurse would have been the most practical option for ensuring that the child survived.

For the first week after the birth, the availability of a wetnurse would have been particularly important: infants lose weight in the first week after birth, making this their most vulnerable time.[85] Giving a child straight to a wetnurse would have ensured that the child received immediate nourishment, which the mother may not have been able to provide. Mead argues that in societies where artificial feeding is not available, the insistence that only a mother should feed her child when she is not fully able to do so could result in only a limited number of children surviving. The modern Western assumption that mothers should preferably breastfeed their children even if they cannot provide sufficient nourishment can not only endanger the child, but can even damage the mother-child bond through the mother's anxiety (Mead 1966: 242-44; 246-47).

Even if women were able to feed their own infants without trouble, there is evidence that unlike today, maternal milk was not considered to be the best nourishment for infants from the birth onwards. There also appears to have been an unfortunate belief that colostrum was bad for the infant. Soranus cautions against giving infants maternal milk until at least 20 days after birth. Colostrum, he warns, is unhealthy, being too thick and therefore difficult for the infant to digest. Moreover, the mother's 'unhealthy' state immediately after the birth, with her being weak and often feverish,

[84] On Soranus on gynaecology and obstetrics in Rome, see Maire (2001, on the similarities between Soranus' treatise and that of Muscio). Bradley argues (1986: 215) that one reason for employing a wetnurse may have been that the mother was unable to breastfeed.
[85] Aristotle writes that most infants who died in Athens died in their first week (*Hist An.* 588a5).

rendered her milk unhealthy for the newborn also (*Gyn.* 2.17). Soranus then warns that one should censure the medical writer Demastes, who urges mothers to begin breastfeeding infants immediately after birth; instead, wetnurses should be engaged (*Gyn.* 2.17). The tragedy of this belief was that infants did not receive the vital colostrum that would guard them against infection and illness. If Demastes' view on breastfeeding had been widely accepted in Rome, the infant mortality rate might not have been as high.

The idea also existed in Rome that breastfeeding could overtax the mother. Soranus acknowledges that breastfeeding could place too much strain on a newly-delivered mother, making her prematurely old, and could delay her next pregnancy (*Gyn.* 2.18).[86] Aulus Gellius' Favorinus may have believed that mothers should nurse their own children, but he lost the argument against a friend's mother-in-law, whose very young daughter had just given birth. When Favorinus went to congratulate his friend on the birth of his son, and extolled the virtues of maternal breastfeeding over wetnursing, the girl's mother declared that her newly-delivered daughter was much too exhausted to breastfeed her newborn and she at once engaged a wetnurse (Gell. *NA* 12.1.1-5). Before the twentieth century, dangerous illnesses among newly-delivered mothers were common. Illnesses contracted by mothers included puerperal fever, hyperpyrexia (very high temperature), and delirium (Fildes 1986: 110). Apart from the obvious strain breastfeeding would place on a seriously ill mother, it was believed best that the infant did not ingest its mother's infected milk (Fildes 1986: 111).

Of course, childbirth was dangerous in Roman times and mothers did not always survive, a situation to which our literary sources attest.[87] The

[86] On these effects on new mothers, see Garnsey (1991: 61); Rawson (2003a: 122); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 41). Soranus' treatise shows that the Romans were aware of the contraceptive effects of breastfeeding (*Gyn.* 2.18).

[87] On the possible instance of maternal death following childbirth, see Parkin (1992: 103-05). Demand (1994) discusses the high mortality rate of puerperal fever among new mothers; it is possible that this illness was the cause of Tullia's death. On the dangers of childbirth in Rome, including medical treatises on malpresentations, see Ellis Hanson (2001, on the use of amulets to ensure a safe delivery); Bonnet-Cadilhac (2001, on advice to midwives as to what to do in the event of malpresentations).

deaths of Cicero's daughter Tullia not long after the birth of her son Lentulus, and of Caesar's daughter Julia in childbirth, left both men devastated (Cic. *Att.* 3.13; 3.14; 3.15). Cicero writes of the admiration that he felt for Caesar's self-control upon the loss of Julia (*Q. fr.* 26/3.6(8)3).[88] Pliny mourns the loss of Helvidius' daughters in childbirth when one daughter died not long after the other: 'How sad and bitter the fate of Helvidius' daughters! Both dead in childbirth, both dead after bearing daughters' (*Ep.* 4.21).[89]

The dangers of childbirth and the vulnerability of both mother and child in the days immediately after were reflected in the many rituals and invocations performed in the hope of ensuring their survival.[90] If there were serious problems with the birth, Roman midwives did not have the option of performing a caesarean, so commonplace in the modern western world; caesareans were carried out to save the baby only if the mother were already dead.[91] The death of the mother in childbirth due to complications, or not long after due to exhaustion or fever,[92] would obviously have necessitated the engagement of a wetnurse.[93]

Another social factor would also have dictated the use of wetnurses: that of the necessity for some women to work. For middle-class or lower-class women who needed to return to the workplace, 'maternity leave' may have been a luxury (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 41). Women whose husbands were dead or were frequently absent (for example when they were in the army) may have had little choice about leaving their infant in the care of a wetnurse while they went to work.[94] Women of the upper classes may

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[88] See Treggiari (1998: 15) on Cicero's appreciation of the *uirtus* and *grauitas* that Caesar showed despite his great grief.
[89] *Tristem et acerbum casum Heluidiarum sororum! Utraque a partu, utraque filiam enixa decessit.*
[90] See Rawson (1991b: 13)
[91] See Gourevitch (2001).
[92] See Chapter Two above on the incidence of maternal deaths and its effect on commemorative roles.
[93] Garnsey (1991: 61); Rawson (2003a: 103); Bradley (1986: 215).
[94] On the absence of husbands and the ensuing necessity for mothers to take over the supervision and organisation of their children's education, see Rawson (2003a: 227); Mounteer (1987: 237).

have found that they had little choice about whether or not to engage a wetnurse. Society's expectations of the Roman matron's role within the *domus* and within her marriage may also have dictated the use of wetnurses, whether or not the mother wished to breastfeed herself.

The varied reasons for using wetnurses evidenced in our literary sources caution against making sweeping generalisations about the relationship between motivations for the practice and the ensuing effects on the mother-child bond. As Garnsey argues (1991: 61), generalisations about parental motives and emotions are dangerous. It is of course possible that some Roman mothers were not close to their children, though it would be difficult to argue as to whether or not this would have been the case even if they had not engaged wetnurses. The difficulty of the 'indifference debate' has always been that it is possible to argue both that parents did hold young children in affection, and that they did not.[95] While it is true that some literary sources demonstrate a concern that the use of wetnurses would adversely affect the close relationship between mothers and young children, as expressed by sources such as Aulus Gellius (Favorinus), the moralising nature of these sources means that they can only be held to be evidence of an elite male concern about the mother-child bond; they are not necessarily evidence that wetnursing commonly prevented the mother-child bond from being formed or from developing.[96]

Arguments have also been raised that the relegation of children to the care of slaves or freedmen would usually have had an adverse effect on the parent-child bond. George (2001a: 192) argues that while the representations of parents and children in the sarcophagi show direct parental involvement with children, this was a rarity in Rome both in art and in reality. She claims (2001a: 192) that parents had little direct involvement with their children, with children being raised primarily by slaves and others within the *domus*. In his paper on nurses and children in Rome, Bradley (1994: 146) argues similarly that Roman childcare practices

[95] See Dixon (1992); Sigismund Nielsen (1997).
[96] See Rawson (2003a: 123-24).

resulted in 'a minimum of parental interaction with the child'.[97] This meant that parents formed a minimal attachment to their child (Bradley 1994: 146).

The literary evidence, however, indicates that the fact that mothers were not solely responsible for the care of young children did not necessarily weaken the relationship between mother and child. In fact, although there is evidence that nurses were very important figures in the development of a child,[98] there is also evidence that mothers were still expected to be involved in the daily care of their children. Jerome, for example, paints a picture of the Roman housewife juggling infants, young children, household slaves and the household accounts (*Helu.* 20).[99] In the case of the absence of the father, mothers would have had to take an active role in their children's early education.[100]

Comparative evidence suggests also that Roman childcare practices need not be believed to have damaged the parent-child bond. Rawson (2003a: 217-19) argues effectively against the idea that the splitting of child-raising responsibilities among the *familia* and the non-nuclear family would have distanced parents from their children. She cites a study by Goody, who by studying different modern societies, found that 'supplementary' parent-child bonds could be formed 'without dissolving the remaining links between original parent and child'.[101] Rawson concludes that although modern western society assumes that all child raising is best performed by parents, this is a culturally specific belief and does not necessarily apply to other societies, including that of ancient Rome.

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[97] For a similar argument, see Dixon (1992). Against, see Suder (2001: 73-74); Rawson (2003a: 124-25).

[98] On the importance of nurses in the *familia* and on the continued close relationships between nurses and their charges, see especially Joshel (1986); Garnsey (1991); Bradley (1986, 1994); Rawson (2003a). Some inscriptions give evidence of the continuance of the close relationship between nurses and those for whom they cared. Examples of inscriptions from nurses to their nurslings or vice versa include *CIL* 14.486 from Ostia, dedicated by Musa to Caisaris, his *nutrix sanctissima* – 'most virtuous nurse'; also from Ostia, *CIL* 14.1046, from C. Veturius Athenio to Flavia Eutychia, whom he commemorated as *amantissima* – 'most loving'.

[99] Rawson (2003a: 216-17; 237).

[100] Mounteer (1987: 237); Néraudau (1984: 171); Rawson (2003a 125; 235-36).

[101] Goody (1982:)

Dixon (1988: 129) similarly argues that there is no evidence to support the idea that the use of non-parental childcare in Rome interfered with the development of close relationships between parents and children. The inscriptional evidence showing mothers' frequent representation of young children with terms that imply an intimate and affectionate bond, such as *dulcissimus/a*, suggests an ideal within Roman society that they would experience close relationships with young children despite the fact that they often were not the sole carers of these children,[102] and that therefore childcare practices in Rome cannot be said to have led to widespread indifference towards young children by mothers.

The ideal of the strength of the mother-child or parent-child bond is suggested further by inscriptions that give evidence of 'broken families' in Rome and Italy.[103] Some inscriptions record different gentile names for parents and children, indicating that they were freed in different households.[104] One such of these, from Rome, is from Alius Potitus and Munatia Paulina to their three-year-old daughter Antestia Glycera (*CIL* 6.11924). The nomenclature on the inscription indicates that parents and child were all freed in different households.[105] There are several possibilities that may have led to this situation: Paulina may have become pregnant whilst still a slave, and then been sold to another household; or the child's father, Potitus, may have been transferred. Antestia could have been sold before or after her mother's manumission, and later been freed herself.[106] Whatever the order of events, the implication is that Antestia had been physically separated from her parents. The fact that her parents have been the ones to commemorate her death suggests that there nonetheless remained a strong bond between parents and daughter. The

[102] On those people involved in raising children in Rome, see Rawson (2003a: 122-33).
[103] See Rawson (1966: 78) for the use of the term 'broken families' to describe certain freedmen families in the Roman inscriptions.
[104] Rawson (1966: 78) first drew this conclusion from the Roman freedman epitaphs.
[105] On nomenclature as status indicator and indicator of household, see Rawson (1966).
[106] See Weaver (1991: 181) on the frequency of early ages of manumission (that is, those below the legal age of 30 years required for formal manumission).

ideal that this bond would involve parental affection is suggested by the representation of Antestia as *dulcissima*.

The dedication from Ambibia Servanda to her son, one-year-old C. Pinarius Onesimus, suggests similar separation of parent and child (*CIL* 6.24189). Servanda records that her son was a freedman of Gaius. Unless Gaius had a wife called Ambibia, who then manumitted Pinarius' mother – a possibility – this inscription also suggests that mother and child were freed in different households. A likely explanation for this may be that Onesimus was born while his mother was still a slave, and was then sold into another household.[107] Ambibia still expresses the ideal of a close and affectionate relationship between herself and her infant son by commemorating him as *dulcissimus*.

From one perspective these inscriptions are evidence of the stark reality of the lack of rights that slave mothers and parents had over their children, with these children able to be sold into different households (Rawson 1966: 78); from a more positive perspective, they are evidence of a Roman ideal of the strength and nature of the mother-child bond, with mothers whose children had been removed to other households still expressing an affectionate, emotional ideal of their small children upon their deaths.

The extant 'non-formulaic' or longer prose epitaphs from Rome and Italy are also suggestive of the existence of an ideal that mothers would display an affectionate attitude towards young children. An inscription from Puteoli, from Aurelia Lais to her son, M. Val. Lao... Africanus, who was six, is a short example of a 'prose' inscription that is nonetheless touching in its brevity. Aurelia records that her son was *dulcissimo ac super ceteros karos mihi piissimo*: 'sweetest and most pious to me above my other dear ones' (*CIL* 10.3049).[108] Mothers also recorded prose epitaphs when they commemorated with fathers, as 'parent' dedicands. The inscription to

[107] On the possibility that the children of slaves in Rome would be sold into other housholds, see Rawson (1966).
[108] All translations are my own except where otherwise acknowledged.

three-year-old Grusoclosus shows the affection in which he was held by his parents (*CIL* 6.14786): *nomine Grusoclosus amabilis*: 'His name was Grusoclosus and he was loved'. An epitaph from Castrimoenium, to one-year-old Cornelia Anniana, shows a close interest in the qualities of a young child (*CIL* 14.2482). She is described by her parents as having been *iam garrule bimule nondum*: 'a prattling child, not yet two years old'.

A Roman ideal of an affectionate mother-child bond is also suggested in the few remaining visual representations of mothers and small children in Roman funerary art. Two famous Roman sarcophagi depict the close nuclear family unit, with small children interacting with their parents and at play. The sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius shows him as an infant being held by his mother and then by his father (*fig.* 1). He is then depicted playing in a goat-pulled wagon, and being educated by his father (George 2001a: 193). The scene is one of close family intimacy and implied affection.[109]

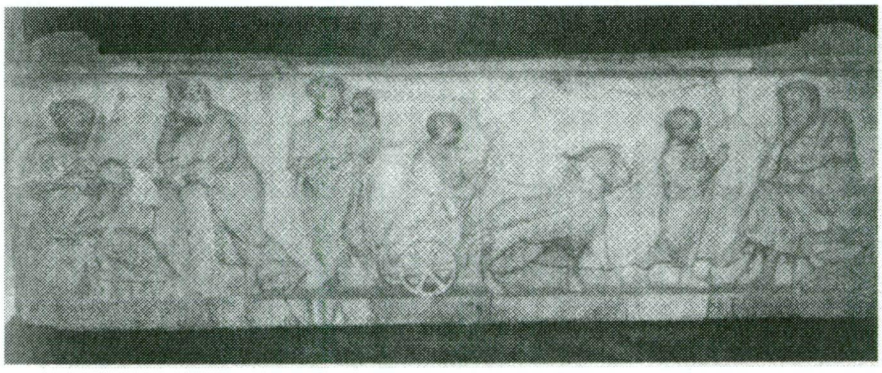

Fig. 1: Sarcophagus of M. Cornelius Statius, 2nd century A.D. Musèe du Louvre.

George (2001b: 182-83) suggests that a funerary monument depicting a father, mother and young daughter (in the Villa Doria Pamphilj) is also intended to convey a sense of familial affection (*fig.* 2). The small girl is portrayed turning to her mother and tugging at her clothing, creating a close interaction between mother and child (George 2001b: 182-83). The

[109] George (2001a: 191-92). On the sentimental ideal of the affectionate family in Roman art, see Dixon (1991); Rawson (2003a: 20).

relative informality of the daughter's gesture reflects the informality of her hair and clothing.

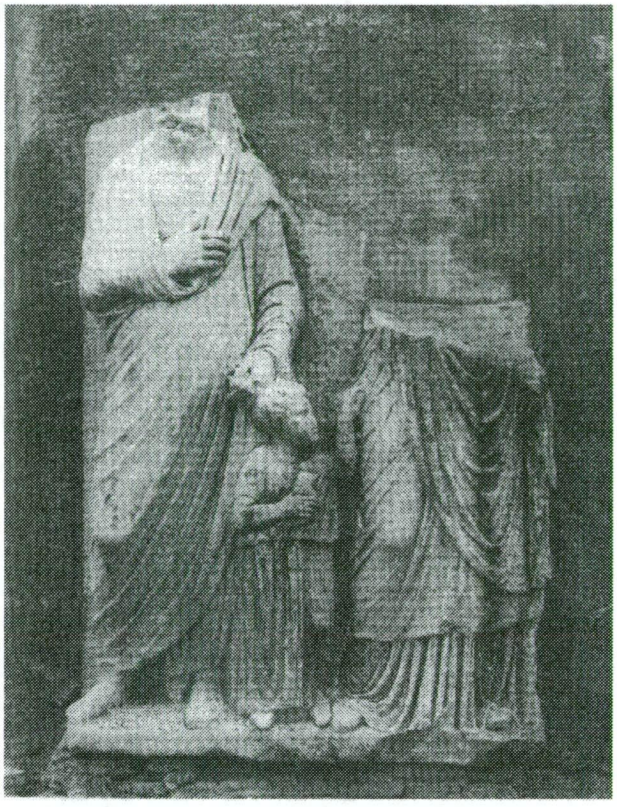

Fig. 2: Monument showing couple with daughter. Villa Doria Pamphilj.

The informality of the details, argues George (2001b: 182-83), suggests a sentimental motivation in the commission of this monument; a desire to convey a sense of affection as well as to convey the family's status. The characterisation of the mother-child relationship in the inscriptions and in visual representations therefore suggests that the commemorating societies in Rome and in Italy idealised the mother-child relationship as being one of sentimental attachment.[110]

For mothers to represent their young children in public display using an epithet so strongly connected with sentiments of affection, such as *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a*, would not make sense if Roman society itself did not also believe that this was how the relationship between

[110] On the representations of children on sarcophagi, see Rawson (2003a: 76-82); George (2001a); Huskinson (1996); Kleiner (1987a).

mothers and children should be characterized.[111] In the literary evidence that deals with mothers and young children, we can see an ideal of the maternal attitude towards young children that echoes the sentimental ideal expressed by mothers in the inscriptions. Plutarch's letter of consolation to his wife, for example, shows that mothers could have close, affectionate relationships with their children even if they did not breastfeed these children themselves, and when children were cared for primarily by nurses.[112] The letter, written after he learnt of the death of their two-year-old daughter, Timoxena, leaves the reader in little doubt that both he and his wife loved their daughter greatly and mourned her loss. Plutarch writes that his wife always longed for a daughter, and comments on how happy they both were when little Timoxena was born (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 608.C.7-8). It was 'the sweetest thing in the world' to hold their daughter in their arms (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 608.E.6); now that she is gone, the thought of her should bring them joy, not sorrow (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 608.F.1-2).

Plutarch's concern for his wife's state of mind is evident throughout the letter. One of his main concerns is that she may pity their daughter for dying without the experience of marrying and having a family of her own (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 611.C.4-5). The sentiment that a child's death is sad because of their loss of potential is commonly expressed in our literary sources and also in funerary reliefs and portraiture;[113] its use here, however, seems to be one of the only instances in the literature where it is expressed in relation to a mother's sense of loss upon the death of her daughter. Plutarch attempts to dissuade his wife from feeling sorrow for her daughter in this way by arguing that one cannot miss what one has

[111] On the characterisation of the dead in the inscriptions as representative of the commemorating society's values and ideals of certain people and relationships, see Shaw (1991).

[112] Bradley (1999) gives a good discussion of Plutarch's interest in and attitudes towards children in this and other works. See also Pomeroy (1999b).

[113] Rawson (2003a: 22) argues that the representation of children as adults in funerary art is related to the idea of premature death; Kleiner (1987a: 87; restated 1987b: 553) argues similarly that middle-class Roman children are represented 'not as they were but as they would have been had they lived' and that this practice was related to the idea that it was unnatural to lose one's children. Authors such as Pliny the Younger and Quintilian lament the deaths of children and the loss of potential which their deaths represent (e.g. Plin. *Ep.* 5.16; Quintilian *Inst.* 6 *Pr.* 10-11).

never experienced (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 611.D). His letter clearly shows that mothers such as his wife, Timoxena, could be very close to their young children, despite the fact that they did not breastfeed their children themselves and despite the fact that the children were commonly cared for by nurses. Plutarch's and his wife's relationship with their daughter was evidently one that knew great affection, shown in their appreciation of her kind, loving nature and in the joy that she brought them.

Other literary sources attest to the emotional ideal of the relationship between mothers and young children. In his *Eclogues*, Virgil suggests an awareness of the emotional bond between mother and infant that existed from birth when he urges a newborn baby boy to smile at his mother, who has 'borne out 10 long, hard months' to see him (*matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses*: 4.61). Catullus, expressing his longing to see his friend produce children, draws an affectionate picture of the nuclear family: *Torquatus uolo paruulus / matris e gremio suae / porrigens teneras manus / dulce rideat ad patrem / semihante labello*: 'I want a little Torquatus, stretching out his tender hands from his mother's lap to laugh sweetly at his father, with little lips half-parted' (61.209-13). Musonius Rufus argues that ideally, mothers love their children more than life itself (Fragment 3). There was also the idea that the love between parents and children was part of natural law: *Natura ius est quod cognationis aut pietatis causa obseruatur, quo iure parentes a liberis et a parentibus liberi coluntur*: 'To natural law there is that which is observed due to the cause of either kinship or a sense of family devotion;[114] by which law parents are loved by their children and children by their parents' (Cic. *Her.* 2.19).

A mother's love and concern for her child was considered so natural, and the lack of it so unnatural, that Cicero based Cluentius' defence upon the betrayal of the mother-child bond. He portrays Cluentius' mother, Sassia, as a woman so monstrous that she would place her affection for her husband over that for her son, and would go so far in this unnaturally

[114] On this definition of familial *pietas*, see Saller (1994: 131).

displaced love that she would attempt to destroy her son. So shocking was Cicero's portrayal of this 'unnatural' mother that his audience forgave his attack on a woman (normally morally prohibited).[115] The theme throughout Cicero's defence of Cluentius is that he has been treated with cruelty and disregard by the person from whom you would least expect this behaviour. In treating her son in such a way, Sassia inverted the laws of nature.[116]

The literary evidence for the affectionate ideal of the mother-child bond, and its reflection in the inscriptions through mothers' representation of children as *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a*, point to an ideal in Rome and Italy that young children would have an intimate relationship with their mothers, by whom they would be valued and held in great affection. The existence of this ideal is further suggested by mothers' and parents' use of the less frequently found epithets that imply parental affection, such as *suauissima* – 'most delightful' (for example, *CIL* 6.21113) and *amabilissimus/a* – 'most lovable' (for example, *CIL* 6.22013).

Piissimus/a was the second-most commonly recorded epithet in the Roman dedications from mothers to children aged 10 or younger. It is used in 35 out of the extant 107 inscriptions from mothers to young sons, and in 16 of the extant 60 dedications from mother to young daughters (around 30% of the dedications to sons and to daughters. See Tables 1.A, C). The pattern is similar in the dedications from Ostia and Puteoli (see Tables 2.A, C and 3.A, C) and in the dedications from regional Italy (see Table 26). The pattern of parents' use of *piissimus/a* to commemorate young children in the dedications from Rome resembles that of mothers' use of the epithet. It was the epithet most often recorded by parents for young children, after *dulcissimus/a*. Of the 411 extant dedications from parents to young children, 106 use the epithet *piissimus/a*. The pattern is the same in

[115] Treggiari (2001: 22).
[116] Treggiari (2001: 25). Cicero portrays Sassia as 'an unnatural mother'. See also Treggiari (1998: 8) on Cicero's invocation of the family in his speeches in order to heighten the emotion of the audience.

parents' dedications to young children from Ostia and from Central Italy (see Tables 2.A, C and Table 24).

From Tables 25-28, we can see that there does not appear to have been a great deal of regional variation in the overall frequency with which *piissimus/a* was recorded for young children by mothers and parents. The patterns do show, however, that while *piissimus/a* was the epithet most commonly recorded after *dulcissimus/a*, the emphasis placed recording *piissimus/a* varied. Mothers in central Italy appear to have placed proportionately less emphasis on commemorating young children as *piissimus/a* (this epithet is recorded in four out of the 24 extant inscriptions dedicated by mothers to young children in central Italy) than did those in southern Italy (where *piissimus/a* is recorded in five out of the extant 13 dedications), although it is still the second-most commonly recorded epithet in that region.

The epithet patterns suggest that in the dedications from mothers from the three urban centres, and in central Italy, *dulcissimus/a* was the ideal most commonly associated with young children. In northern Italy, however, the patterns suggest that *piissimus/a* was the preferred epithet for mothers acting as sole commemorators of young children, while mothers dedicating together with fathers in this region preferred to commemorate young children with the epithet *dulcissimus/a.* While the smaller number of inscriptions extant from southern and northern Italy make detailed comparisons difficult, what is apparent is that the concept of *pietas* as applied to young children did exist outside of Rome itself. The concept of *pietas* was central to the Roman ideal of the family (Saller 1994: 105). The modern interpretation of the concept of *pietas* in relation to members of the family as having meant simply filial obedience (specifically that of sons) towards their fathers as *patresfamilias* has long since given way to the interpretation of the term as involving more a mutual, affectionate devotion and duty between parents and children.[117] It is now believed that *pietas*

[117] See Saller (1994); Rawson (2003a); Sigismund Nielsen (1997).

was owed as much to mothers as it was to fathers,[118] a belief that is supported by the inscriptional evidence found here, which shows that mothers emphasise the ideal of *pietas* in association not only with older children, but with children as young as one year old.[119] Mothers in the extant Roman inscriptions in fact emphasised the ideal of *piissimus/a* in both younger and older children more than did fathers (see Table 1.C), suggesting that mothers may have considered the display of *pietas* in children to be more important than did fathers.

Table 25. Frequency of parents' use of *piissimus/a* to commemorate young children in the three urban centres

	Rome	Ostia	Puteoli
Piissimus/a	**106**	**8**	**6**
Total	**411**	**34**	**20**

Table 26. Frequency of parents' use of *piissimus/a* to commemorate young children in regional Italy

	Northern	Central	Southern
Piissimus/a	**3**	**18**	**1**
Total	**12**	**58**	**7**

Table 27. Frequency of mothers' use of *piissimus/a* to commemorate young children in the three urban centres

	Rome	Ostia	Puteoli
Piissimus/a	**53**	**4**	**4**
Total	**167**	**20**	**7**

[118] See Saller (1994: 100).

[119] Dedications by mothers that commemorate one-year-old children as *piissmus/a* include *CIL* 6.11700 (from Voconia Euphrosyne to her son, P. Annius Acindynus) and 6.13850 (from Vibia Communis to her daughter, Caecilia Saturnina).

Table 28. Frequency of mothers' use of *piissimus/a* to commemorate young children in regional Italy			
	Northern	Central	Southern
Piissimus/a	5	4	1
Total	13	24	4

The emphasis placed on commemorating young children as *piissimus/a* is surprising given that this epithet (and the related concept of *pietas*) was far more commonly associated in our literary sources with expectations of the actions and behaviour of older, usually adult, children (see below). Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 197) identifies the ideal of *piissimus/a* as being applied mainly to older children also in the inscriptions. She found (1997: 197) that children commemorated as *piissimus/a* tended to be older than those commemorated as *dulcissimus/a*. She also argues (2001: 172) that *pietas* always seems to have involved 'action or expectations of action'; that it was often related to economic support either of parents or of children. Indeed, children and parents were legally obliged to support one another in times of need (see Saller 1994: 111).

The examples of filial piety given by Valerius Maximus in his chapter on piety towards parents, brothers and country (*de pietate erga parentes et fratres et patriam*: 5.4) all involve older (usually adult) children displaying actions that directly demonstrate their sense of filial duty, devotion or loyalty. Croesus' mute son saved his father's life by identifying him before he could be killed, speaking for the first time (5.4.6 *ext.*). A similar example of filial piety is given in which the Vestal Virgin Claudia saved the life of her own father. Seeing him being dragged from his triumphal chariot by *uiolenta tribuni plebis manu*: 'the violent hand of a Tribune of the Plebs', she threw herself between them *mira celeritate*, 'with amazing speed', thus protecting her father with her sacrosanctity (5.4.6). Other examples of the display of filial piety include daughters suckling their parents in order to keep them alive (5.4.7; 5.4.1 *ext.*); showing unearned

love towards an unloving parent (5.4.4); or avenging a parent (5.4.6). The references in the literary sources to the display of *pietas* between family members would therefore seem to suggest that the concept was important primarily as a virtue displayed by children who were old enough to be expected to behave dutifully towards their parents.

The lack of literary examples of *pietas* as used to describe the actions or behaviour of young children, especially towards mothers, means that a comparison with its use in the inscriptions dedicated to small children is almost impossible. This makes the interpretation of parents' use of *piissimus/a* to represent young children in the epitaphs very difficult. It seems easiest to examine briefly first interpretations of its use in the commemoration of older children, and then to see how these interpretations may relate to mothers' commemoration of young children.

The commemoration of older children as *piissimus/a* by their parents in the Roman inscriptions has been linked initially to the concept of premature death – *mors immatura*.[120] Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 192-93) argues that parents' emphasis on commemorating sons and daughters, together with their choice of epithets and their emphasis on recording children's ages at death, is strong indication of the importance of the idea of *mors immatura* in Rome.[121] Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 198) concludes further that parents' commemoration of especially older children as *piissimus/a* reflects the connection of the *mors immatura* concept with an inversion of the natural order, with parents fulfilling a duty to their children that their children should have performed for them. Their children's deaths made it impossible for them to act with piety towards their parents when they needed it most (Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 196). Parents' expectations of their children's piety, argues Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 198), had been 'frustrated' by their children's untimely deaths, and they express this

[120] See Sigismund Neilsen (1997; 2001). Pizzolato (1996: 9) argues that in classical thought, premature death was 'normally that which has not conformed to one's assigned destiny'.

[121] See also McWilliam (2001: 93). The commemorative patterns used in this present study show that mothers especially emphasised the commemoration of children in Rome aged older than 15 as *piissimus/a*.

frustration by characterizing their children in the inscriptions both with an age at death and with the epithet *piissimus/a*.

Parents whose children had survived the first 15 years of life could expect them to reach adulthood, and therefore to be able to support them in their old age (Sigismund Nielsen 2001: 172). This idea is supported by the commemorative pattern mentioned above, where children begin to be commemorated mainly as *piissimus/a* by all parental dedicand types when they reach the age of 16, with the exception of daughters in Rome who were commemorated by mothers acting alone (see Tables 1-17.A, B and C). Therefore, parents who lost older children may have felt their loss more keenly, as it meant also the loss of their children's ability to act with piety towards them by supporting them and by carrying out their funeral rites.[122] Parkin (2003: 206) points out the Roman belief that an important reason for having children was that they would be your support in old age, and would perform your burial upon your death.[123]

An inscription from Puteoli gives concrete evidence of the hope that a child would live to perform his or her burial rites. A. Umbricius Magnus and Clodia Felicitas dedicated an epitaph to their daughter, Umbricia Iusta, who was 15 (*CIL* 10.3142). Magnus and Felicitas lament the reversal of roles that has resulted in the inability of their daughter to perform their funeral rites. They recorded *quod fia<t> parentibus facere debuit mors intercessit*: 'That which ought to have been done for her parents, death has obstructed'. That there could be a direct connection between the frustration of parents' hope of burial, and the commemoration of children as *piissimus*, is shown in the epitaph dedicated by Caesia Gemella to her nine-year-old son, Successus (*CIL* 6.26901). Gemella recorded *quod fas parenti facere debuit filius, mors immatura fecit ut faceret parens*: 'That which it is right for a son to do for his parent, untimely death has made a

[122] Sigismund Nielsen (2001: 172). On the literary use of the term *pius/a* to describe someone who performs the duty of burial for the deceased, and description of the duties connected with burial as *officia* or *munera pia*, see Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 195-96). By examining this literary use of *pius/a*, Sigismund Nielsen was able to establish a link between the performance of burial for parents, and the concept of filial *pietas*.
[123] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 196; 2001: 172).

parent do'. She also commemorated her son as *piissimus*. Mothers' frequent commemoration of young children as *piissimus/a* may be an expression of the frustration of their hopes for future piety from these children, and suggests that the death of a young child could represent the loss of a mother's hopes for the future as much as the death of an older child could.

The reflection of the concept that the loss of young children represented the loss of a mothers' hopes of future burial, and also of their support in old age (see Sigismund Nielsen 2001: 172), through their commemoration as *piissimus/a* may help to explain why mothers in Rome seem to have placed a greater emphasis than did fathers on commemorating young sons as *piissimus/a*. This commemorative pattern may be related to a greater sense of a child's death representing a loss of support to mothers in Rome. As mentioned earlier, the dedicand patterns suggest that mothers acted as sole dedicands primarily because fathers were not available; this would often have been due to fathers being absent in the long term, or due to mothers being widowed.

Unless women were wealthy in their own right, many would have been dependent upon their children for material support in the absence of a husband. The loss of one's husband would have been a reality for many in later life, given the age difference between husbands and wives. Mothers would perhaps then have felt the loss of a child, including a young child, particularly keenly. They may therefore have been especially motivated to commemorate children as *piissimus/a*. This seems to be the most likely explanation for the pattern showing that mothers emphasised the virtue of *pietas* in commemorations to sons more than in commemorations to daughters, and that they also emphasised this ideal in sons more than did fathers.[124]

[124] On sons being expected to support their parents later in life, see Parkin (2003: 206-207); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 119).

When interpreting the use of the epithet *piissimus/a* in the commemoration of young children, it is also important to consider its descriptive qualities. In our literary sources, the term *pietas* is frequently used to describe the actions of children towards their parents, as we have seen in the examples of filial piety given by Valerius Maximus (5.4). The term is also used, however, to describe the attitude shown by children towards their parents. Clearly, young children could not reasonably have been expected to show the sense of filial duty and devotion displayed in the examples of sources such as Valerius Maximus. A young child of three or four, or even a slightly older child of eight or nine, for example, is unlikely to have understood an expectation of dutiful behaviour such as that evidenced by the literary sources in examples of filial *pietas*; a child younger than three, even less so.

Therein lie the possible difficulties, mentioned above, of interpreting the representation of young children with the epithet *piissimus/a*. The most likely interpretation is that when used to represent young children, *piissimus/a* was perhaps intended to mean 'most affectionate' more than 'most dutiful'. As scholars such as Saller have successfully argued (1994: 105-14), the affective qualities of the virtue of *pietas* were as important as the dutiful qualities and the two factors cannot be separated.[125] The literary sources give evidence that the active display of love and devotion towards parents formed an important aspect of the expectation of familial *pietas*. In his *ad Herennium*, for example, Cicero argues that love is owed between parents and children according to the 'natural law' (*natura ius*) of *pietas* (*ad. Her* 2.19).[126] In his chapter on filial *pietas*, Valerius Maximus argues that loving one's parents is the first law of nature (*prima Naturae lex*) (5.4.7). Examples of children's display of *pietas* towards mothers that we

[125] See also Rawson (2003a: 223); Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 194).

[126] *Natura ius est quod cognationis aut pietatis causa observatur, quo iure parentes a liberis et a parentibus liberi coluntur*: 'To natural law there is that which is observed due to the cause of either kinship or *pietas*, by which law parents are loved by their children and children by their parents'. On further literary evidence for the affective qualities of familial *pietas*, see Saller (1994: 105-14).

find in Cicero's works seem strongly to involve filial affection.[127] The emphasis placed by our literary sources on the reciprocal affective qualities of *pietas* may help to explain the frequent use of the epithet *piissimus/a* found in the extant dedications mothers to young children. The ideal of young children represented by mothers' commemoration of them as *piissimus/a* may have involved the expectation of a display of affection by these children towards their parents.

The existence in Rome and Italy of a maternal ideal of young children as showing affection, as well as being held in affection,[128] is suggested further by their commemoration with epithets such as *amantissimus/a* – 'most loving'.[129] If the representation of young children as *piissimus/a* did reflect a maternal expectation of a dutiful attitude displayed by these children, this would perhaps have been in the nature of an expectation that they would respect their mother, and that they would return her love and devotion.

Mothers' commemoration of young children in the dedications from Rome and Italy suggests also that the concept of *mors immatura* was a strong motivation for commemoration, and that this concept may therefore have been more frequently associated with the deaths of younger children than has been thought previously.[130] As well as commemorating these children as *piissimus/a* and thus conveying the sense of frustrated hopes, mothers

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[127] (E.g. *Fam.* 4.5.6, onTullia's love and devotion towards Cicero and her family; *Att.* 6.3.8, on Cicero's nephew Quintus' love for his mother, Pomponia). On Tullia's relaitonship with her mother, Terentia, see Treggiari (2007).

[128] As suggested by their representation as *dulcissimus/a* and *carissimus/a*.

[129] E.g. *CIL* 6.14075; 6.14448. On the reciprocity of parent-child affection as evidenced in the inscriptions, see Corbier (1999c: 27).

[130] On the differences and connections between the Greek and the Roman beliefs on the deaths of children as *mors immatura* (in Greek, ἄωροι), see ter Vrugt-Lentz (1960). The main difference between the two beliefs, he argues (1960: 75), seems to be that ἄωροι were admitted to Hades but could easily return to the earth as ghosts; whereas the Romans believed that those who died early, including small children, could not enter the underworld. Thus we see reference to infant dead among the *lemures* in Virgil's *Aeneid.* On his journey to the underworld, Aeneas encounters the spirits of small children, trapped between the worlds of the living and the dead along with those who had died violently (*Aen.* 6.427-29). The belief that the untimely dead were restless spirits who often wished harm to the living led to the use of infants' bones in curse tablets. Pizzolato (1996) examines two beliefs on premature death: that which defined it as cutting short one's rightful lifespan (κατὰ μοῖραν); and that which defined it as a life ended too early by a human factor such as violence (with those who died such a death being classed as βιαιοθάνατοι).

express a sense of untimely death more directly. Some mothers count the hours for which a child lived, suggesting an acute sense of the unfair nature of the child's death. One example of such an inscription dedicated to a young child is that from Lucilla Januaria to her son Onesimus (*CIL* 6.5525). She records that he lived for *annis III. m. VI. D. III. H. V*: 'Three years, six months, three days and five hours'. In another epitaph from Rome (*CIL* 6.12509), Compse records that her daughter Asella lived only *mensib XI. diebus XXVII horis II*: '11 months, 27 days and 2 hours'.

Certain dedications from parents to young children record similar information. A tablet dedicated by T. Aelius Saturninus and Aelia Glyconis to their six-year-old son, T. Aelius Saturninus (*CIL* 6.10791), states that he lived for *ann VI mensibus VIII di(e)b(us) XVI horis VI*: 'six years, eight months, 16 days and six hours'. In the case of the death of a young child whose parents were of freed status, such as T. Aelius Saturninus, their loss would have been an even greater blow, as it represented also the loss of their family's hopes of legitimacy.[131]

There is an instance in the inscriptions used in this study where a mother explicitly expresses the concept of *mors immatura* in relation to the death of a young child. The inscription from Caesia Gemella to her son Successus (*CIL* 6.26901), who was nine, describes his death as *mors immatura*. In other prose dedications to young children, mothers express the *mors immatura* concept through emphasising a child's young age.[132] Marrucia Veneranda, from Faventia, dedicated an inscription to her 10-year-old daughter, Valeria Gemellina (*CIL* 11.655). She describes her daughter as *pientissima*, and also as *puella aetatis immaturae*: 'An immature girl'. A particularly poignant epitaph to two-year-old Maximus from his parents, L. Petronius Ampliatus and Masonia Briseis (*CIL*

[131] On the deaths of freedmen's children representing the deaths of their parents' hopes for a future for their families, see Kleiner (1987a: 87 – 'The freedman's hope for a better future died with the death of his children'); Mouritsen (2005); Woolf (1996). See also the argument in Chapter Two above on the motivation for freedman dedications of familial funerary inscriptions.

[132] For the purposes of this study, 'prose dedications' refer to those that record more than the common formulae.

6.22321), laments his early death and emphasises his parents' affection for him. *hic recubo, dulcissimus infas bimulus, in tertium escendens. sis mihi terra leuis dulcis. eram matri carior usque patri*: 'Here I lie, a sweet infant only two years old, nearing my third year. Please, earth, be light and sweet upon me. I was as dear to my mother as I was to my father'.

The term *funus acerbum* – 'bitter death' – was also used to convey the idea of premature death (see Rawson 2003a: 362). We see this expression used by a mother in the epitaph to four-year-old Eperastus (*CIL* 6.22397). His parents, Menandris and Ethermeros, lament the loss of their son: *Eperasto, filio dulcissimo, qui parentes dolentes reliquit memoriae causa...funus acerdum* (sic): 'For Eperastus, our sweetest son, who left his grieving parents for the sake of remembrance. A bitter death'. The description of Eperastus' death as 'bitter' echoes Seneca's description of the premature deaths of children in his consolation to Marcia (*Mar.* 17.7. See below).

The theme of a child being snatched away unfairly is common in epitaphs that emphasise the concept of *mors immatura* in these inscriptions. The inscription to three-year-old Grusoclosus is one such example. His parents, Saturninus and Velia Lalema, recorded:

> Paruulus hic situs est. uixit tris usque per annos inque nouem menses inualidosq. dies. nomine Grusoclosus amabilis utque erat infans flebilis et misere raptus ad inferias. Saturninus filio Velia Lalema delicato suo posuit. (*CIL* 6.14786)
>
> A little boy lies here. He lived for three years and into his ninth month when days of illness came. He was Grusoclosus by name and he was loved. He was a baby when he was carried off tearfully and wretchedly to the underworld. Saturninus and Velia Lalema placed this for their tender son.

P. Ancitius was also snatched away by the Fates, and this time it is his parents who are 'wretched'. They dedicated an epitaph to their seven-year-

old son (*CIL* 6.11624), *cuius furibundae ruperunt fila sorores cuius funus myseri uidere parentes*: 'Whose threads the mad sisters broke, whose death his wretched parents saw'. Again, this epitaph conveys a sense of an unfair reversal of nature.

Mothers' commemoration of young children and its connection to the concept of premature death therefore suggests that they were aware of an injustice in the loss of their sons or daughters. This is often expressed in a bitter lament of the unfair actions of the Fates or of the gods, who have taken their child too early, as in the cases of the parents of Grusoclosus and Maximus. The concept of *mors immatura* or *funus acerbum* as a motivation for mothers' commemoration of young children appears to be further evidenced by the prose epitaphs that emphasise the unfair nature of their deaths, such as that dedicated to P. Ancitius.

The existence of the concept of premature death in relation to the deaths of young children should warn against the belief that parents deliberately practiced indifference to the deaths of young children due to the fact that they expected to lose young children due to the high infant mortality rate in Rome.[133] The lamentation of a small child's death as 'untimely' does not support this belief. In his Consolation to Marcia, Seneca writes that *nullum non acerbum funus est, quod parens sequitur*: 'No death is not bitter when the parent follows [the bier]' (*Mar.* 17.7). Even though so many children die, he argues, we still dream of a future for our own infants and do not expect to lose them:

> Tot praeter domum nostram ducuntur exsequiae: de morte non cogitamus; tot acerba funera: nos togam nostrorum infantium, nos militiam et paternae hereditatis successionem agitamus animo...Necesse est itaque magis corruamus: quasi ex inopinato ferimur.
>
> (*Mar.* 9.2)

[133] On argument for this belief, see Dixon (1992); Bradley (1986 and 1994); against, see esp. Rawson (2003a); Sigismund Nielsen (1997); Garnsey (1991).

> So many funerals are led past our door, yet we do not think on death. So many untimely deaths: yet in our minds we see our infants' toga, military service, succession to paternal inheritance... Therefore we fall all the harder: we are caught, as it were, off-guard.

Seneca here provides evidence that parents did not necessarily expect to lose their children despite the large number of children who died. Their loss was all the more heartbreaking in its unexpectedness. Seneca argues that while it would be more sensible perhaps to expect that the misfortune of others could fall upon ourselves, and thereby make our loss less surprising and easier to bear, we do not do so. Therefore, when we experience the loss of a child (and he is clearly including the loss of young children), the unforeseen blow is all the more violent.

Visual representations of young children in Roman funerary art also point to an association of their deaths with *mors immatura*, with small boys and girls often depicted not as they were, but as whom their parents hoped they would become had they lived (Kleiner 1987: 87). Boys such as Q. Sulpicius Maximus are represented as potential orators (*fig.* 3). In the portrait dedicated by Maximus' parents, Q. Sulpicius Eugramus and Licinia Ianuaria, the child wears the *toga uirilis* and holds a scroll. He is represented as the talented orator that he should have become (Rawson 2003a: 19).

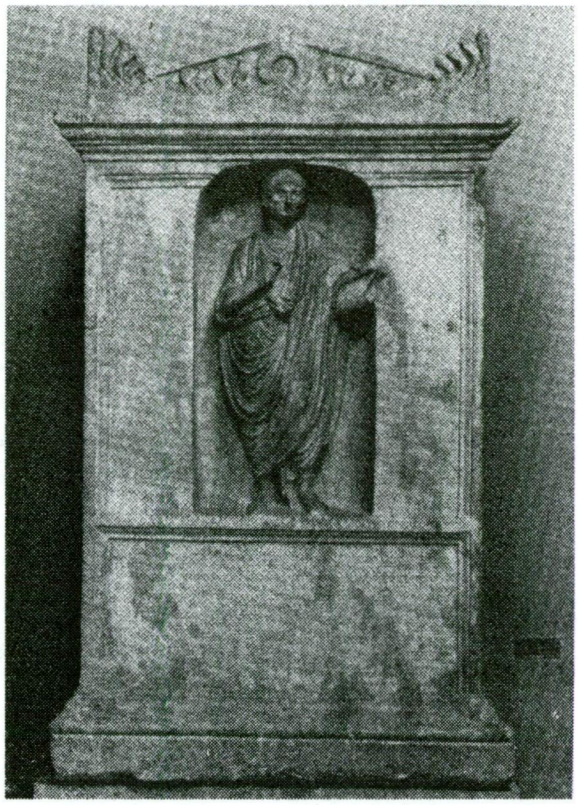

Fig. 3: Altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, ca. 94-100 A.D. Rome, Musei Capitolini.

Six-year-old T. Flavius Alcis was commemorated with an altar by his parents, T. Flavius Hermes and Flavia Edone (*fig.* 4). He is portrayed in military guise, nude from the waist up with a *chlamys* thrown over his left shoulder (Kleiner 1987: 238). At six years old, Alcis was certainly not a solder; his portrait therefore represents a prospective view of his life (Kleiner 1987: 87) and emphasises the untimely nature of his death.

Representations of young girls wearing the *palla* of the Roman *matrona* form a touching reminder that they will never now fulfil the role hoped for them – that of a respectable Roman wife and mother.[134] The altar of six-year-old Claudia Victorina (*fig.* 5), dedicated by her parents, portrays her wearing the tunic and *palla* (Kleiner 1987: 110). The altar dedicated to 10-year-old Iulia Victorina by her parents, C. Iulius Saturninus and Lucilia

[134] A girl's transition to adulthood took place when she first married, with her new status as wife (and mother) signified by her wearing the *stola* and *palla* of the Roman *matrona* (George 2001b: 184). On marriage (and motherhood) as the normal expectation and hope parents held for daughters, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 64).

Procula (*fig.* 6-7), similarly depicts her wearing the *palla* (Kleiner 1987: 120).

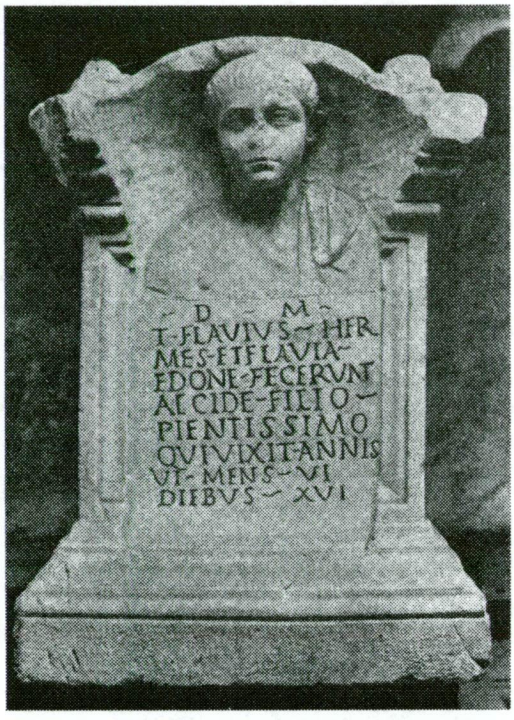

Fig. 4: Altar of T. Flavius Alcis, ca. 130-40 A.D Rome, Musei Vaticani.

Fig. 5: Altar of Claudia Victorina, ca. 50 A.D. Rome, Museo Nazionale delle Terme.

Fig. 6: Altar of Iulia Victorina (front), ca. 60-70 A.D. Paris, Musèe du Louvre.

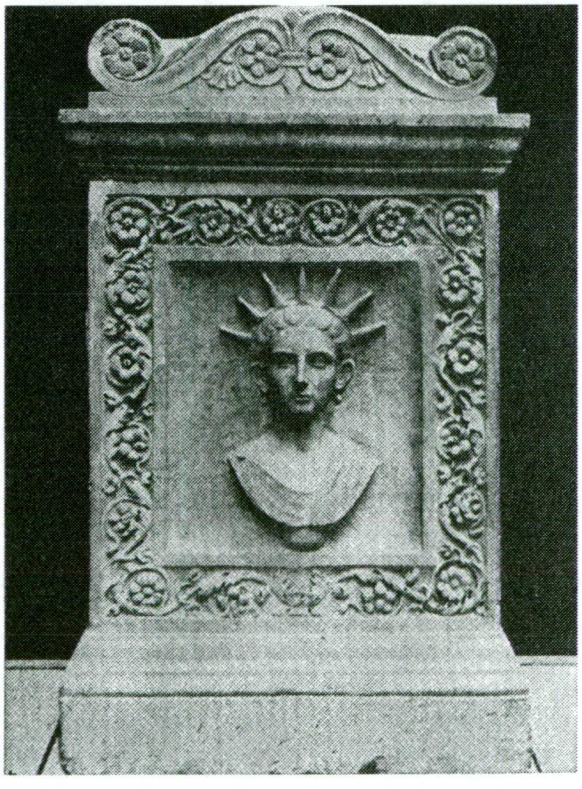

Fig. 7: Altar of Iulia Victorina (back).

Rawson (2003a: 336-63) argues that the deaths of children, especially those of older children, were frequently lamented by their parents as unnatural and premature. The evidence of the inscriptions used in this study, and of Roman funerary art, suggests that the concept of *mors immatura* also formed a strong motivation for mothers' commemoration of young children. The deaths of young children represented the loss of their mothers' hopes and dreams for the future, just as did the deaths of older children.

The extant inscriptions dedicated by mothers in Rome and Italy present an ideal of young children that involves affectionate devotion on the parts of both mother and child. These inscriptions do not support the idea that mothers were commonly distanced from and indifferent to their young children through the use of wetnurses and later non-parental childcare. In fact, they represent evidence from mothers themselves that the mother-child bond was idealised as remaining intact and strong; this is shown in particular by the extant epitaphs from 'broken families'. Mothers mourned the loss of young children not only as representing a loss of support in old age, but also as untimely deaths and as the inability of their children to realise their full potential and achieve the lives that were hoped for them – as shown also in such literary sources as in Plutarch's letter to his wife upon the death of their daughter (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 611.C).

The representations of young children as 'sweetest', 'most beloved' and 'most affectionate' in the funerary inscriptions from Rome and Italy suggest that mothers' ideal of their relationship with young children was that it would be characterized by intimacy and by a reciprocal affection. The fact that mothers in urban and in regional Italy commemorated children with the same epithets – *dulcissimus/a*, *piissimus/a* and *carissimus/a*, and with a very similar amount of emphasis on these epithets, suggests that while emphasis mothers placed on the commemoration of children under 11 may have varied across Italy, the ideals that mothers associated with these children were the same. In this, mothers' ideals and

expectations of young children appear to have transcended the 'urban-rural' dichotomy identified in Italian commemorative practice.[135]

[135] On this dichotomy, see Shaw (1991).

Chapter Four

Mater Non Seuera: Mothers' Commemoration of Older Daughters and the Ideal of Mutual Affection

Of all parent-child relationships in Rome, we perhaps know the least about that between mothers and their older daughters.[1] A study similar to Hallett's (1984) on the relationship between mothers and daughters in Rome would be difficult to write (Dixon 1988: 210).[2] When our male sources do discuss mothers and their children, they tend to focus on mothers and sons rather than on 'the wholly female world of mothers and daughters' (1988: 210).[3] The studies of Dixon (1988) and Phillips (1978) on the relationship between mothers and older daughters in Rome remain the two most important and extensive into the subject thus far.[4] Dixon and Phillips note the obvious shortcomings of studying an entirely female relationship from literary material that was written almost entirely by members of the opposite sex, as does Joshel in her later study on work and legal status.[5]

Dixon's and Phillips' discussions are limited by their decision to restrict them to an examination primarily of the prose or 'historical' texts, although Dixon (1988: 212-14) does examine briefly legal sources and epigraphic material.[6] While limiting studies of women and children in Rome mainly to the historical texts has some advantages (see Phillips 1978: 69-70), it also greatly increases the difficulty of determining what mothers expected

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[1] For the purposes of this study, 'older daughters' refers to those aged older than 10 years. It is after this age that we begin to see a shift in the patterns of commemoration in mothers' dedications to daughters.

[2] Dixon notes here that the study by Phillips on mothers and their adult daughters is an important examination of the bond between elite mothers and daughters (Phillips 1978).

[3] Hallett (1984: 246) also notes the literary emphasis on the mother-son bond and on ties between elite Roman mothers and their male children. Foley (2004: 113) argues that we face a similar problem when attempting to learn more about Greek mothers and their daughters.

[4] Treggiari's (2007) study into the lives of Terentia and Tullia also forms an important, more specific examination of a particular mother-daughter relationship. At the time of writing this chapter, the study by Fischler, From *Puella* to *Matrona*, was still forthcoming.

[5] Joshel (1992: 3-24); see Dixon (1988: 210); Phillips (1978: 69). See also Evans Grubbs' (1990) criticism of Dixon's study in terms of her source material.

[6] On their reasoning for thus limiting their examination of mothers and daughters, see Phillips (1978: 69-70); Dixon (1988: 210).

from their relationships with their older daughters. By their very nature, the 'historical' texts, concerned with the political interactions of important and powerful male figures, are only rarely interested in interactions between mothers and daughters.[7] As a result, Dixon's and Phillips' studies are concerned primarily with Roman elite male stereotypes and ideals of the role of the mother in Rome, and not with the sentimental nature of the relationship between mothers and daughters. Due to the nature of their source material, they do not focus at all upon maternal ideals of daughters or of the mother-daughter relationship. Our picture of mothers and their unmarried daughters remains especially incomplete, due to the focus of the 'historical' literary sources on mothers and married daughters.[8]

In her conclusion on the ideals of the Roman mother, Dixon (1988: 233) argues that she was not idealized as an affectionate and tender figure, but as *seuera mater*; but at the same time, she is careful to point out (1988: 7-8) the inadequacy of her sources for examining the emotional bond between mothers and children, or as evidence for mothers' point of view of the mother-child relationship. Phillips (1978: 79), in her conclusion about the mother-daughter relationship in Rome, states also that the imperfect impression of Roman expectations of the mother-daughter bond as being largely one of maternal support and concern 'characterizes the sources much more than they can reflect the relationship as it existed'.[9]

In terms of maternal feelings towards children, Dixon (1988: 235) concludes that these are interesting, but must remain 'beyond our reach'; and they largely have. Treggiari (2007: 162) noted recently the difficulty of gauging expectations of affection within the mother-daughter bond from the historical texts, in her examination of the lives of Terentia and Tullia from Cicero's correspondence; we cannot necessarily argue from Cicero's

[7] See Pomeroy (2007); Hallett (1984); Dixon (1988); Phillips (1978).
[8] On the problem of discovering the 'invisible' relationship between mothers and unmarried daughters, see especially Harlow and Laurence (2002); Pomeroy (2007). The inscriptional evidence for this relationship will be discussed later in this chapter.
[9] Dixon (1988: 211) also raises the concern that the 'historical' sources are largely silent on expectations of daughters within the mother-daughter relationship.

evidence, she concludes, that their relationship was not affectionate – but nor, similarly, can we argue that it was.

An examination of the inscriptional evidence reveals its great importance as a source on the sentimental ideal of the mother-daughter bond in Rome, and urges a reconsideration of the ideal of the mother-daughter bond in Rome. The epitaphs represent first of all our only opportunity to discover the 'voice' of mothers in Rome and Roman Italy, and their ideals and expectations of their relationships with older daughters. They may not be able to reflect these relationships as they existed, but they are vital evidence for Roman expectations of the relationship that *should* have existed between mothers and daughters.[10] They place Roman *ideals* of maternal feelings and attitudes towards daughters firmly within our reach.

Most importantly, mothers' funerary dedications to older daughters in Rome and Italy reveal a crucial difference between the literary ideal of the *seuera mater* that has dominated our perception of the Roman mother and of her role in the mother-daughter bond,[11] and the types of ideals that mothers themselves express of older daughters and of the mother-daughter relationship. The inscriptions show that the maternal representation of older daughters is overwhelmingly concerned with ideals of both a maternal and a mutual affection and devotion – with the latter ideal more strongly emphasised than it was in mothers' commemoration of young children – and of an intimate relationship.[12] They show also that mothers express a deep sense of loss upon the death of a daughter through the

[10] On the epithets recorded in the epitaphs as representing ideals and expectations of relationships within commemorating societies, see Rawson (2003a: 232); Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 173; 175-76).

[11] Dixon (1988: 233) concludes her study by summarizing the role and ideal of the Roman mother not as the tender and affectionate nurturer of children that we associate with the modern mother in western society, but as a 'firm disciplinarian' and 'transmitter of traditional morality'. For a criticism of this conclusion and of the inadequacy of the sources used by Dixon for a 'complete picture of the maternal relationship', see Evans Grubbs (1990: 336).

[12] On the epitaphs as evidence for maternal affection in Rome, see Kleiner and Matheson (2000b: 7).

connection of a daughter's death with the concept of *mors immatura*.[13] Of particular importance is the inscriptional evidence for maternal ideals of and attitudes towards unmarried daughters, and the opportunity this evidence presents for adding to our picture of this 'invisible' period in the life of a Roman girl.

As always, the inscriptional evidence must be placed into context; here, the non-historical literary sources – poetry and drama – are of vital importance and have not been fully exploited in terms of what they can reveal about parent-child relationships in Rome. These sources reveal a further reflection of the ideal of affection within the mother-daughter relationship. This chapter examines the inscriptional and the 'fictional' literary evidence for maternal ideals of the mother-daughter bond in Rome and Italy. As in the previous chapters, it will look at regional differences in the ideals expressed by mothers of older daughters in the funerary inscriptions. The aim here is to present concrete evidence for the ideal of a mutually loving, intimate and devoted relationship between mother and older daughter that is tentatively suggested by Treggiari (2007), by examining how mothers represent older daughters in the extant epitaphs.

Perhaps the most obvious and striking aspect of the pattern of mothers' commemoration of older daughters is its similarity to that seen in their commemoration of young children. The same three epithets that dominate mothers' representation of young children in the epitaphs from Rome and Italy – *dulcissima*, *piissima* and *carissima* – also dominate their commemoration of older daughters. The change that occurs can be seen not in the type of epithets that are recorded, therefore, but in their frequency. We see first of all a continued emphasis on the ideal of an attitude of maternal affection and of an intimate bond between mother and child through mothers' use of the epithet *dulcissima* to represent daughters

[13] Extant funerary inscriptions dedicated by mothers that describe a daughter's death as having been premature include *CIL* 9.5771 (Ricina); *CIL* 9.3845 (Antinum); *CIL* 10.3142 (Puteoli).

in these inscriptions.[14] *Dulcissima* is no longer the dominant ideal recorded in the extant dedications from mothers to older daughters in most regions of Italy (in the dedications from parents and mothers to older daughters in Ostia and in central Italy, *dulcissima* remains the most frequently recorded epithet: see Tables 29-32), but it remains one of the most frequently recorded epithets whether mothers were acting as sole commemorators or as part of the 'parent' dedicand group.

In the dedications from Rome and Puteoli made by mothers dedicating as part of the 'parent' group, *dulcissima* is recorded in at least one-third of the total dedications, and it remains the most frequently recorded epithet in the dedications from Ostia and central Italy (see Tables 29 and 30). In the dedications to older daughters made by mothers acting as sole dedicands, *dulcissima* is again recorded in at least one-third of the extant inscriptions from Rome and Puteoli, while it is still the most frequently recorded epithet in inscriptions dedicated to older daughters from Ostia and central Italy (see Tables 31 and 32). Only in the dedications made by mothers acting alone to daughters from Puteoli, southern and northern Italy is *dulcissima* recorded with markedly less frequency than other epithets.[15]

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Table 29. Frequency of parents' use of *dulcissima*, *piissima* and *carissima* to commemorate older daughters in the three urban centres

	Rome	Ostia	Puteoli
Dulcissima	**32**	**5**	**3**
Piissima	**32**	**2**	**3**
Carissima	**10**	**0**	**0**
Total	**78**	**6**	**8**

[14] On the use of *dulcissimus/a* to represent children in the inscriptions as indicating an expectation of closeness within a relationship, see Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 204).

[15] In northern Italy, it is recorded in one epitaph, compared to three epitaphs that record *piissima*; while no dedications from mothers to older daughters from southern Italy record *dulcissima*. The small number of extant inscriptions from these regions urges caution in drawing too much from them.

Table 30. Frequency of parents' use of *dulcissima, piissima* and *carissima* to commemorate older daughters in regional Italy

	Northern	Central	Southern
Dulcissima	2	15	1
Piissima	1	14	1
Carissima	0	7	0
Total	4	35	4

Table 31. Frequency of mothers' use of *dulcissima, piissima* and *carissima* to commemorate older daughters in the three urban centres

	Rome	Ostia	Puteoli
Dulcissima	27	4	1
Piissima	39	3	2
Carissima	13	1	0
Total	80	9	3

Table 32. Frequency of mothers' use of *dulcissima, piissima* and *carissima* to commemorate older daughters in regional Italy

	Northern	Central	Southern
Dulcissima	1	12	0
Piissima	3	7	1
Carissima	1	1	1
Total	5	20	3

It is noteworthy that there appears to be more regional variation in mothers' and parents' dedications to older daughters than there is in their dedications to young children. This variation suggests that ideals and expectations of daughters may have become less ubiquitous across Italy as the mother-daughter relationship matured. Without other forms of literary evidence from regional Italy, it is unfortunately difficult to draw further conclusions from these inscriptions without, as Dixon (1988: 228) argues from the literary evidence for mother and daughters, indulging in 'an exercise of creative sentimentality'; the small number of extant funerary inscriptions found dedicated by mothers to older daughters in the more

rural regions of Italy – that is, in southern and northern Italy – also warns against making far-reaching conclusions about mothers' ideals of children from these inscriptions. The regional variations in the pattern of mothers' dedications to older daughters do appear to show, however, that there was a stronger tendency on the part of commemorating mothers to represent older daughters as *dulcissima* when these mothers came from the more highly urbanized populations of Italy – Rome, Ostia, Puteoli and central Italy.

The continued emphasis placed on commemorating older daughters as *dulcissima* suggests first of all that the ideal of maternal affection towards daughters, and of a close mother-daughter bond, remained of high importance in commemorating societies in Rome (and in the more urbanised regions of Italy at least) as the relationship between mother and daughter matured. This is suggested further by the frequent representation of older daughters as *carissima* in the dedications from mothers. In the Roman dedications, this was the third most commonly recorded epithet, after *dulcissima* and *piissima*; it was recorded in 10 of the extant 78 dedications to older daughters from mothers acting as part of the parents group, and in 13 of the extant 80 dedications from mothers acting as sole dedicands (see Tables 29 and 31. See also Table 1.C). It was also recorded in seven of the extant dedications from central Italy made by parents (see Table 32), and was found in at least one epitaph from most other regions of Italy (see Tables 29-32).

Some of the less common epithets that mothers used to commemorate older daughters further indicate an ideal of a deeply affectionate bond between mother and daughter. For example, 18-year-old Cypare was commemorated as *amantissima* by her mother in an epitaph from Tegianum (*CIL* 10.294); when used in funerary inscriptions, *amantissima* meant 'most beloved'.[16] In an epitaph from Rome (*CIL* 6.26850), 16-year-old Stercoria is touchingly commemorated by her parents as both *dulcissima* and *ab omnibus amantissima* – 'sweetest and most beloved by

[16] The *OLD* translates the inscriptional use of *amantissimus/a* to mean 'beloved' (by) or 'dear (to)'.

all'. Another poignant epitaph (*AE* (1974) 314), from Regio VI (Italy), is suggestive of a mother's sense of loss and grief upon the death of her daughter. Vaberia Zosime describes her 12-year-old daughter, Vaberia Superanda, as *desiderantissima*: 'most longed-for'.

The ideal that mothers would love their older daughters and grieve at their loss, and not merely share an interest in their adult lives or be simply figures of maternal authority,[17] is suggested further by the treatment of the mother-daughter bond in the non-historical literary sources, such as Roman poetry and drama. In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, for example, Hecuba 'emblematizes every war-mother's grief' in her reaction to the loss of her children - including the virginal Polyxena (Lateiner 2006: 196). Ovid's portrayal of Hecuba's reaction to the death of her daughter, sacrificed to the ghost of Achilles, presents a terrible and tragic picture of maternal suffering:

> Quae corpus conplexa animae tam fortis inane,...
> ...lacrimas in uulnera fundit osculaque ore tegit...
> 'Nata, tuae – quid enim superest – dolor ultime matris,
> nata, iaces, uideoque tuum, mea uulnera, uulnus...
> ...tu nunc, quae sola lauabas maternos luctus,
> hostilia busta piasti!...
> ...Felix morte sua est! nec te, mea nata, peremptam
> adspicit...tibi munera matris.
> (*Met.* 13.488-95; 514-15;-521-5)[18]

> She, embracing the lifeless body of that brave spirit,...pours tears into the wound and covers her face with kisses... 'Daughter, your mother's final grief – for what else is left to me? – My daughter, you lie there, and I see your wound – my wound...Now you, who alone used to wash away your mother's grief, have propitiated our enemy's grave!...He [Priam] is happy in his death! He

[17] See especially Phillips (1978: 79) on the portrayal of the Roman mother as 'a powerful character, deeply involved in her daughter's life'. Phillips' conclusion (1978: 79) concerning the mother-daughter relationship from the literary sources is that it was seen as one where the mother participated in a decisive or supportive role in her daughter's life.

[18] On a similar portrayal of the relationship between Hecuba and Polyxena in Seneca's *Troades*, see Chapter Five below.

> does not see you, my daughter, destroyed...Your funeral gifts shall be your mother's tears'.

In this passage of the *Metamorphoses*, Hecuba's love for her youngest daughter is shown through her intense grief upon her loss.

A mother's love for her daughter is shown also in the *Metamorphoses* through Ovid's portrayal of Niobe, who begs Latona to spare the life of her last child, a daughter, after losing all of her other children by her boastful claims of maternal superiority to the goddess (*Met.* 6.301-302. See Lateiner 2006: 194). Hecuba and Niobe, as human mothers in Ovid's poem, experience a 'terrifying suffering' upon the loss of their daughters (Lateiner 2006: 198).

The love in which a daughter should be held by her mother is evidenced also in a letter from the younger Pliny to his wife's aunt, Calpurnia Hispulla. When Calpurnia later has a miscarriage that nearly proves fatal, Pliny knows that her aunt, who loves her niece with 'an affection gentler even than that of a maternal indulgence' (*affectum...materna indulgentia molliorem*: *Ep.* 8.11), will be concerned for her safety:

> Quamquam uereor ne post gratulationem quoque in metum redeas, atque ita gaudes periculo liberatam, ut simul quod periclitata sit perhorrescas. (*Ep.* 8.11.1)

> Though I am afraid that after a sense of relief, you will return to your fear, and that while you rejoice at your niece's freedom from harm, you will at the same time shudder at the danger she faced.

The frequent expression of the affectionate ideals of *dulcissima* and *carissima* in mothers' representation of older daughters in the epitaphs, and their suggestion of an expectation of maternal affection and of a close and loving relationship between mother and daughter, can therefore be seen to be reflected clearly in the literary sources when one looks further than the

'historical' sources, as this brief examination of the non-historical sources shows. Pliny's letter to Hispulla shows also that the historical sources can offer evidence of the affectionate ideal of the mother-daughter bond (*Ep.* 8.11).

Mothers' preference for commemorating older daughters as *dulcissima* may also have been a reflection of the idea of their daughters' deaths as representing *mors immatura*, and may therefore be an indirect expression of loss. The epithet *dulcissimus/a*, as we have seen in Chapter Three, was most commonly associated with young children and was frequently used as the 'epithet proper' to describe infants in both the epitaphs and in Roman literature (Sigismund Nielsen 1997: 189). For example, as pointed out by Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 189), Statius uses the term *dulcis* to characterize small children in his *Siluae* (for example, 4.5.34; 2.7.37). He also uses this term to describe the infant Opheltes in his *Thebaid* (5.608: *dulcis imago*).[19] Correspondingly, we have seen that it is the epithet most commonly used by parents to commemorate young children in the Roman and Italian inscriptions (see Chapter Three above).

Mothers' use of *dulcissima* to represent older daughters places a strong emphasis on the idea that they died too early, by describing them with a sentimental epithet that was most commonly associated with the small child in Rome. Mothers may therefore have used this epithet to express the concept of *mors immatura* in a similar way to which Sigismund Nielsen (1997) suggests parents used the epithet *piissimus/a* to commemorate older children.[20] That mothers did associate the loss of older daughters with the concept of *mors immatura* can be seen in the extant funerary inscriptions in which this concept is expressed more directly. In an inscription from Antinum, for example (*CIL* 9.3845), the death of 22-year-old Montana is commemorated by her parents as having been *mors immatura*. Similarly,

[19] For more examples of the use of *dulcis* to describe small children, see Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 189); see also Chapter Three above.
[20] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997) on parents' similar use of *piissimus/a*, together with an age at death, to commemorate older children as being an expression of the concept of *mors immatura*.

the epitaph dedicated by the parents of 11-year-old Geneia Successa (*CIL* 9.5771), from Ricina, commemorates her as *dulcissima* and laments her premature death as *mors immatura*.[21]

The untimely nature of a daughter's death is sometimes emphasised by the recording of very detailed information about the length of their daughters' lives; a practice that we have seen also in mothers' commemoration of young children. Three epitaphs from Rome count the hours for which commemorated daughters lived: the first from a freedwoman named Melitine to her 28-year-old daughter, whose name can no longer be deciphered (*CIL* 6.22348); the second from Vibia Spatale to her 17-year-old daughter, Vibia Thetis (*CIL* 6.28892); and the last to 12-year-old Pettia Rhodine from her parents, freed slaves P. Pettius Primigenius and Pettia Voluptas (*CIL* 6.24054). In a poignant epitaph dedicated to her daughter Munatia Ampliata (*CIL* 6.22675/6), who died at the age of 24, Munatia Compse protests at her death, recording that her daughter *laesit neminem*: 'hurt no one'. This last epitaph in particular seems to lament the unfairness of a daughter's death by emphasising her blamelessness.

Finally, a poignant prose epitaph from Monteleone Sabino, from the first century B.C., tells of the grief experienced by a mother upon the untimely death of her daughter. Posilla Senenia recorded for her daughter:

> hospes, resiste se pa[rite]r scriptum perlig[e], matrem non licitum ess[e uni]ca gnata fruei, quam nei esset credo nesci[o qui] inueidit deus. eam, quoniam haud licitum [est u]eiuam a matre ornarie[r], post mortem hoc fecit aeq[uo]m, extremo tempore decorauit eam monumento, quam deilexserat. (*ILLRP* 971)
>
> Stranger, stop and, while you are here, read what is written: that a mother was not permitted to enjoy her only daughter, whose life, I believe, was envied by some god. Since her mother was not allowed to adorn her while she

[21] See also Lefkowitz and Fant (1992: 190).

> was alive, she does so just the same after her death; at the end of her time, [her mother] with this monument honours her whom she loved.[22]

The theme of children being taken too early through the jealousy of the gods appears not to have been isolated to a few such epitaphs as this one from Senenia, but to have been a common way of expressing the concept of untimely death upon the loss of a child, and a sense of injustice. In another epitaph from a mother, this time from a Roman mother to her son, for example (*CIL* 6.8991), we see the Fates blamed for taking a child through envy. On the tombstone of her 17-year-old son, L. Marius Vitalis, Maria Malchis records that the Fates, jealous of her son's achievements, snatched him away (*raptum*). The idea of the death of a daughter as being unjust is stated explicitly in an epitaph dedicated the parents of a 10-year-old girl from Rome (*CIL* 6.7898).

Finally, the parents of Marcianus, who died at the age of seven, recorded for him a long prose epitaph that protests at the unfairness of his untimely death and reproaches the Fates for their cruelty in taking their son. This epitaph is one of particular pathos:

> O saeua! lux nona parentibus orta planctibus heu! miserae patris simitu. spes mihi qum magna fuerat, si (me mea) fata tulissent... inuidit Lachesis, Clotho me saeua necauit, tertia nec passa est pietate(m) rependere matri.
>
> (*CIL* 6.7578)

> ...O cruel ninth day for my parents, that which stole me from the lamentations, alas, of both my poor mother and father. How great had been the hope placed in me, if only my fates had allowed me... Lachesis envied me, cruel Clotho slew me, nor did the third Fate allow me to repay my mother for her *pietas*.[23]

[22] Trans. Lefkowitz and Fant (1992: 190).
[23] Trans. Parkin and Pomeroy (2007: 67).

The inscription dedicated by Posilla Senenia to her daughter (*ILLRP* 971) is touching evidence of both the ideal of a loving bond between mother and daughter in Rome, and of the sense of loss and grief experienced by a mother upon the premature death of one 'whom she loved', and reflects a sense of injustice at the death of a daughter that can be seen expressed in other such epitaphs as those mentioned above. The fact that the concept of *mors immatura* is expressed explicitly by mothers in their commemoration of older daughters shows that mothers did associate this concept with the loss of a daughter, and may support the interpretation of mothers' representation of older daughters as *dulcissima* as being an indirect expression of this concept.

The representation of older daughters as *dulcissima*, and the fact that this epithet was so strongly associated with young children, may also be suggestive of the fluidity of ideals and values of daughters. Kajava (1993: 167) points out that the terms used to describe children and adults do not always correspond to legal statuses or divisions, and that it should not surprise us that a person who is described in terms appropriate to a child is someone whom we would consider to be a young woman or man.[24] One of the best examples of this in terms of the inscriptions dedicated by parents to children is that dedicated by Bebenius Pastorinus and Licinia Felicissima to their 17-year old son, T. Bebenius Licinius Pastorinus (*CIL* 14.1731).[25] The younger Pastorinus is described by his parents as *infans dulcissimus* – terms that we would normally associate with a young child.

Rawson (2003a: 135) argues that there was 'little rigid age demarcation within childhood in Roman society' until the late Empire. She points out (2003a: 136) that Quintilian emphasises the need for flexibility when assessing a child's character (e.g. *Inst.* 1.3). The frequent commemoration of older daughters by mothers as *dulcissima* may reflect a related flexibility

[24] In terms of the inscriptions to children, this can be seen in the perhaps most obviously in the use of the term *infans* to describe a child. Inscriptions that give examples of this include *CIL* 14.1324 (to a 13-year-old girl from Ostia) and *CIL* 14.1731 (to an eight-year-old girl, also from Ostia).
[25] From Teanum Sidicinum.

and fluidity in perceptions and values of children's qualities. While there are no extant instances of mothers themselves directly describing their older daughters as *dulcis* or *dulcissima* in Roman literature, there is evidence from our literary sources that fathers praised or valued childlike qualities, or qualities of sweetness and tenderness, in older daughters. For example, Cicero writes to Atticus that Tullia is 'sweeter' (*dulcior*) to them than their own lives. He also refers to his daughter in his letters by the affectionate diminutive of her name, 'Tulliola' (for example, *Fam.* 14.1.1; 14.7.1; *Att.* 1.5.8).

A letter of Pliny the Younger gives an excellent example of the fluidity and complexity of Roman ideals of children. In his lament at the death of 12-year-old Minicia Marcella, a girl poised between childhood and adulthood (she was engaged to be married),[26] Pliny writes that he never saw 'a girl more lovable than anything' (*qua puella nihil umquam...amabilius*: *Ep.* 5.16.1), who combined 'the seriousness of a matron with the sweetness and modesty of virginity and girlhood' (*matronalis grauitas...et...suauitas puellaris cum uirginili uerecundia*: *Ep.* 5.16.2). Mothers' commemoration of older daughters as *dulcissima* in the epitaphs from Rome and Italy may be an indication of a similar valuing among commemorating mothers of a daughters' childlike qualities of sweetness and tenderness. The emphasis on such qualities in these inscriptions suggests perhaps that to the commemorating mothers, their daughters, no matter their age, would always remain their 'sweetest little girl'.[27]

The dominance of affectionate ideals such as *dulcissima* and *carissima* in mothers' commemoration of older daughters demonstrates the importance of the inscriptions as further evidence for the mother-daughter relationship in Rome; the male historical sources may have chosen to emphasise a mother's role as *seuera mater* to her daughter, but mothers themselves chose to emphasise a very different maternal attitude when they

[26] On marriage representing a girl's transition to adulthood, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 56); Rawson (2003a: 145).
[27] On the valuing of children for adult-like and childlike qualities, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 49).

immortalized them in the inscriptions. Perhaps nowhere is this evidence more important than for our understanding of maternal attitudes towards unmarried daughters – that is, those daughters who had reached the age of puberty, but who had not yet been married. Attitudes towards unmarried girls in Rome are notoriously difficult to qualify (see Harlow and Laurence 2002: 56).[28]

The primary reason for this appears to be a lack of evidence for a transitional period in the female life course that corresponded to the period of *iuuentus* experienced by Roman males.[29] There is no extant literary evidence for an equivalent ceremony for girls to that of the donning of the *toga uirilis* – a ceremony of complex ideology, which seems have marked both a boy's transition into adulthood and into the public sphere, and also the beginning of male *adulescentia*.[30] The literary sources give ample evidence for a period of male adolescence, with writers such as Cicero, Seneca and Varro delineating the different ages, and qualities of these ages, for boys and men;[31] yet in terms of literary evidence for a ceremony for girls that marked a stage in the life course following childhood, we only find that of the wedding ceremony – a ceremony that marked a girl's transition into adulthood.[32]

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[28] On the difficulty of determining female transitions to adulthood in late antiquity, see Alberici and Harlow (2007: 193).

[29] On this period of the male life course, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 65-76); Rawson (2003a: 135-45); Kleijwegt (1991); Eyben (1993).

[30] Its association with the transition to adulthood is made clear by the younger Pliny, who states that this ceremony was equal to that of entering public office. On this ceremony, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 67-68); see Rawson (2003a: 136-37) on the stages of life for a Roman male; see also Eyben (1993).

[31] Cicero gives four life stages for Roman men: childhood (*pueritia*: *Sen.* 33), youth (*adulescentia*: *Sen.* 33), the so-called middle age age, or adulthood (*aetas quae media dicitur*: *Sen.* 76) and old age (*senectus*: *Sen.* 76). Varro argues that there were five life stages, each having a length of 15 years: *puer*, *adulescens*, *iuvenis*, *senior* and *senex* (*Frag.* 447.1). Seneca discusses the different pleasures the ages of children bring: 'the adolescence of our children brings more fruit', he argues, 'but their childhood is sweeter' (*Fructuosior est adulescentia liberorum, sed infantia dulcior*: *Ep. Mor.* 9.7).

[32] On marriage marking the transition to adulthood for Roman girls, and on there being no ceremony for them equivalent to the donning of the *toga virilis*, see D'Ambra (2007: 73); Kajava (1991: 167); Phillips (1978:) argues that marriage would have constituted the 'major element' in the Roman definition of female adulthood.

Until relatively recently, estimations of girls' age at first marriage in Rome meant that this understanding of the female life course in Rome, and of attitudes towards Roman girls and women, posed no problem (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 56). The literary evidence for the very early ages at marriage for elite girls in Rome, together with interpretations of the inscriptional evidence, suggested that the average age at marriage for Roman girls was around 12 to 13 years (Hopkins 1965). It appeared that upon reaching the age of puberty at around 13 years of age, a girl's chastity was preserved by arranging her marriage as soon as possible, with the resulting belief that the age at first marriage and the age of puberty coincided (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 56). As argued by Harlow and Laurence (2002: 56), this meant that there was no need to examine attitudes towards unmarried girls, as the perceived coinciding of biological age, chronological age and marriage led to the conclusion that there was no female period of adolescence; girls went very rapidly from being *puella* to *uirgo*, and thenceforth to *uxor* and *mater*.

Reassessments of girls' age at first marriage, however, have made necessary a different perception of the lives of Roman girls.[33] Shaw (1987) found that in the middle and lower classes of Rome, girls' age at first marriage was usually in the late teens to early twenties. This meant that there appeared to be a stage in a Roman girl's life course that had not yet been considered – that between puberty and marriage. Harlow and Laurence (2002: 56-57) argue that the onset of puberty should be seen as the period of transition from girl to virgin, and that this 'age of virginity' should be seen as a separate stage of life for Roman girls (albeit one without, obviously, the sexual licence and freedom that marked the period of *iuuentus* for Roman males).[34]

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[33] Alberici and Harlow (2007: 194) comment that 'A period of female youth is often dismissed because of an apparently early age of marriage'. They argue (2007: 194) that those who dismiss the idea of a female youth fail to take into account the gap between the age of puberty and girls' age at first marriage.

[34] See also Alberici and Harlow (2007: 194-97). They argue (2007: 197) that the medical evidence of writers such as Rufus of Ephesus (quoted by fourth century writer Oribasius) indicates that there was a period of changed status between puberty and marriage for Roman girls – an age of virginity – that seems to have been considered an 'intermediate and potentially dangerous stage prior to adulthood'. Alberici and Harlow (2007: 197) then

We know little of Roman attitudes towards unmarried girls.[35] The 'historical' sources are rarely concerned with girls in this period of life (with the notable exceptions of the evidence of Pliny the Younger on the death of Minicia Marcella (*Ep.* 5.16), and of Seneca's advice to his mother on bringing up her motherless granddaughter, Novatilla, who was of marriageable age).[36] Pomeroy (2007: 181-2, n. 15) admits that, thus far, the subject of attitudes towards unmarried girls in Rome has received little attention. Maternal attitudes towards their unmarried daughters are especially difficult to locate; in terms of our current knowledge, this relationship truly verges on being 'invisible'.

The Roman dedications, being the most numerous and therefore showing the most detailed commemorative patterns, allow us to see the patterns in mothers' representation of teenaged daughters and may therefore offer much-needed evidence for attitudes towards unmarried girls. The key point is our understanding of Roman girls' average age at marriage, and how this relates to mothers' role in commemorating girls aged younger than 20. It is unlikely that girls aged younger than 15 and who were commemorated by mothers in these inscriptions had at some point been married,[37] and that they were therefore considered to be adults.[38] Daughters aged between 16 and 20 were perhaps more likely to have been married at some time before their deaths, particularly those who were close to the age of 20; by this age, the *lex Iulia* stated that women were expected to start producing children (see Parkin 2003: 194-95). Of the 12 dedications used in this study in which girls were commemorated by a husband as well as by one or both parents, only four were dedicated to girls

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argue that this evidence suggests that Roman society recognized a period 'transitional to womanhood' that 'was recognized as a distinct and extended stage of the female lifecourse'.

[35] At the time of writing, Fischler's work 'From *Puella* to *Matrona*' was as yet forthcoming.

[36] Seneca *Helu.* 18.8; see Dixon (1988: 219-20).

[37] It is most likely that daughters who were commemorated by mothers, or by fathers or parents, were not married at the time of their deaths. If girls were married, they were usually commemorated by their husbands (see Shaw 1987).

[38] On marriage representing a Roman girl's transition to adulthood, see Harlow and Laurence (2002: 56).

aged younger than 20.[39] Shaw (1987) found a similar pattern, with only one of the 400 sample inscriptions gathered for his study dedicated by a husband to a girl aged 15 or younger. In Shaw's sample (1987: 37), husbands appear as commemorators increasingly in dedications to girls aged in the late teens, and take over from parents almost completely after the early twenties.[40]

D'Ambra (2007: 69) comments on the unusually young age of a married girl memorialised with a funerary altar. Minucia Suavis was 14 when she died, and was commemorated by her father, who mentions her husband in the inscription (*CIL* 6.22560. See D'Ambra 2007: 69). We may perhaps assume with some confidence that the majority of girls aged between 11 and 15 who were commemorated by mothers were unmarried, and that at least some of those aged between 16 and 20 were unmarried at their time of death. The inscriptions dedicated by mothers to daughters aged between 11 and 20 may therefore present evidence not only for mothers' own ideals and expectations of their daughters, but of Roman attitudes towards unmarried girls.

In the dedications from Rome made by mothers to daughters aged between 11 and 20, daughters are commemorated as *dulcissima* in one-third to half of all extant dedications from mothers to daughters of this age (see Tables 1.A and 1. B). In the inscriptions dedicated by mothers acting as sole dedicands, daughters aged between 11 and 15 are represented as *dulcissima* in eight out of the total 20 extant dedications to daughters in this age group, while daughters aged between 16 and 20 were commemorated as *dulcissima* in nine of the total 21 extant dedications to daughters of this age. In the inscriptions from mothers acting as part of the 'parent' dedicand group, daughters aged between 11 and 15 are commemorated as *dulcissima* in 19 of the extant 42 dedications to these daughters; daughters

[39] *CIL* 9.3543 (Furfo); 9.3058 (Interpromium); 14.2785 (Labici); *AE* (1979) 110 (Regio I).
[40] The inscriptions used in this study appear to support Shaw's conclusions (1987). This study found only two extant dedications to girls aged under 20 made by husbands, to Esychia (aged 16: *AE* 1979 110) and Popillia Isias (aged 14: *CIL* 14.2785); these were dedicated along with the girls' parents.

aged between 16 and 20 are represented with this epithet in 10 of the extant dedications to daughters of this age.

Mothers' commemoration of teenaged daughters as *dulcissima* in the Roman inscriptions indicates the high value placed on a close and loving relationship between mother and daughter. We find an echo of this ideal of a close mother-daughter bond in the literary sources. In Seneca's *Troades*, for example, the relationship between Hecuba and her unmarried daughter, Polyxena, is portrayed as being very close and loving. Hecuba's grief-stricken reaction to the news of Polyxena's coming death shows the great love that she has for her daughter. [41] We saw a similar portrayal of the mother-daughter bond in Ovid's description of Hecuba's grief upon the death of Polyxena in his *Metamorphoses*.

The evidence for mothers and unmarried daughters in ancient Greece points to a similar expectation of love and closeness between mother and unmarried daughter. Foley (2003: 120) argues that the literature portrays the relationship between Greek mothers and adolescent daughters as having been 'normally exceptionally close'. She cites the example of Euripides' Hecuba who, like Ovid's and Seneca's Hecuba, is devastated at the thought of losing her daughter. In Euripides' *Hecuba*, Polyxena's mother is prepared to substitute her own life for that of her daughter in a tragic portrayal of the emotional bond between mother and daughter. Hecuba describes Polyxena as '...my solace, my Troy'. (μοι παραψυχή, πόλις: *Hec.* 280-81). To Hecuba, her daughter is her whole world – her Troy.

The inscriptional evidence suggests further that mother felt a particularly keen sense of loss upon the death of an unmarried daughter, expressed through the representation of daughters as *uirgo* in the epitaphs. The death of an unmarried girl meant that she was denied the opportunity to fulfil her potential role within Roman society as a wife and mother, and represented

[41] The death of Polyxena, and the portrayal of Hecuba as a loving and grief-stricken mother, will be treated in greater depth in Chapter Five below, on mothers and children in Seneca and Statius.

a particular pathos as *mors immatura*. The commemoration of older daughters as *uirgo* emphasises their unmarried state and therefore their loss of potential. It is used by mothers almost exclusively to describe daughters aged between 11 and 20. This pattern is what we would expect to find, given the modern perception that the majority of Roman girls, both elite and non-elite, would have been married by their early twenties.[42] In total, 11 dedications from Roman Italy were found that commemorate girls aged older than 10 as *uirgo*.[43] Of these, seven were dedicated by mothers acting either as sole dedicands or as part of the parent dedicand group.[44]

Two longer epitaphs, both from Rome, stress the unmarried state of deceased older daughters. In the first, the famous epitaph of Eucharis (*CIL* 6.10096), who died at the age of 14, her parents record that she died 'an unmarried girl' (*uirgo*). The second inscription, dedicated to Julia Reginia (*CIL* 6.20653), also aged 14, similarly states that she died unmarried (*uirgo decessit*). The epithet *uirgo* emphasises a daughter's unmarried state and therefore the loss of her potential through her inability to fulfil her role within Roman society as a wife and a mother; it also emphasises her youth.

There is insufficient space here to discuss in depth the values and sexual mores attached to the ideal of *uirgo* in Rome;[45] what is of interest to the interpretation of mothers' use of this epithet in the Italian inscriptions is its use in our literary sources to define girls in terms of their age and life stage, as well as their purity. In Christian ideology, virginity was held to be 'the most holy and honourable state of human life' (Sigismund Nielsen 2001: 174). A woman who took a vow to remain a virgin for life was revered. In pagan Rome, however, the 'period of virginity' marked the stage in a girl's life between puberty and marriage (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 57). The distinctiveness of this stage (a distinctiveness that is at odds with the idea that a girls' status as a child merged instantaneously into that of a wife and

[42] See Shaw (1987); Harlow and Laurence (2002); Rawson (2003a).
[43] These include *CIL* 9.5919 (Ancona), 10.555 (Salernum), 6.28756, 6.23823, 6.21070, and 6.9342.
[44] *CIL* 6.10096; 6.13172; 6.17224; 6.20653; 6.23823; 6.28756; 10.555.
[45] On this, see Parker (2004); Pomeroy (1975); D'Ambra (2007).

mother) can be seen in the concern for the preservation of a sexually mature girl's chastity.[46]

In Latin literature, the connection between a girl's virginal state and her future role as a bride is evident. In his hymenal poem, Catullus describes a bride as *uirgo* (61.4). The speaker then addresses unmarried virgins, 'for whom a like day (ie. marriage) comes': *integrae uirgines, quibus aduenit par dies* (61.46-48). Tibullus also uses the term *uirgo* to refer to a bride, describing a youth's body as having the 'blushing face of a bride when she is first led to her husband's home': *primum uirgo deducta marito / ...ore rubente* (3.4.31-32). In Livy, *uirgo* is used to describe a woman who had been betrothed. The interesting, and telling, aspect of Livy's use of the term here is its qualification: the Celtiberian woman is described as *adulta uirgo*: 'grown virgin' (26.50.1). Livy's use of *adulta* suggests that it was unusual for a woman to remain *uirgo* into her adult years. The term *uirgo* therefore seems to have defined Roman girls not only in terms of their sexual inexperience or purity, but crucially in terms of their youth and in terms of the expectation that their status as *uirgo* would soon be ended by marriage and their transition to the status of *matrona*.

In our literary sources, we find a reflection of the inscriptional evidence for the pathos attached to the death of an unmarried girl. Minicia Marcella's death at the age of 12, reported by Pliny the Younger, was all the more devastating because she was engaged to be married, with the wedding day set (Pl. *Ep.* 5.16).[47] In Ovid's *Heroides*, Cydippe laments her coming fate at the hands of 'cruel Persephone' (*crudelis Persephone*: 21.45-46), who will snatch her away 'at the very time' of her wedding (*coniugii tempus...ad ipsum*: 21.45). The tragedy of her imminent death is highlighted by her words that instead of the wedding torch, the 'torch of death' is near to her (*fax mihi mortis adest*: 21.172); and especially by the

[46] On the importance of the preservation of a virgin's chastity to her chances of marriage, see Treggiari (1991a: 105-107); Alberici and Harlow (2007: 197); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 57).

[47] On the age at death of Minicia Marcella as having been 12, not 13 as claimed by Pliny, see Rawson (2003: 85 n. 122); *CIL* 6.16631 gives Marcella's age at death as being 12 years, 11 months and seven days.

poet's poignant description of her mother preparing her for a wedding (88-96) – one that, like that of Micinia Marcella, must now be replaced by a funeral.

From the use of *uirgo* in the literary sources to emphasise a girl's youth and to highlight the untimely tragedy of her death, it may be concluded that mothers' use of *uirgo* to commemorate older daughters was intended to emphasise the untimely nature of their deaths in terms of the loss of daughters' own experiences of marriage and a family. The term *uirgo* was intrinsically linked to ideals of youth, purity and innocence and to the expectation of coming marriage. The representation of a girl as *uirgo* in an epitaph is a permanent reminder of her untimely death, emphasising her unfulfilled potential as a *matrona* and as a mother. By commemorating daughters as *uirgo* and therefore highlighting their unmarried state, mothers are expressing a deep sense of loss that reflects the pathos attached to the death of an unmarried girl in Roman society. Mothers' commemoration of unmarried daughters therefore suggests that they were at least expected to love these daughters, and that they felt a deep sense of grief and loss when they died before they could achieve the future that their mothers wanted for them.

Mothers' frequent commemoration of older daughters as *dulcissima* and *carissima* shows the strength of the ideal of maternal affection within the mother-daughter bond, and of the expectation that this relationship would be very close. In this way, mothers' characterisation of their relationship with older daughters is similar to their characterisation of young children. As was mentioned in earlier, however, there is a difference in mothers' emphasis in their use of epithets to commemorate older daughters, and this becomes apparent when we examine the patterns of their use of *piissima* in the extant dedications from Rome and Italy. The difference in mothers' representation of older daughters can be seen the most clearly in the Roman inscriptions.

In Table 29, we can see that *piissima* and *dulcissima* were recorded in equal numbers of dedications from parents to older daughters. Table 31 shows a greater preference for the use of *piissima* in the dedications to older daughters made by mothers acting a sole dedicands, with 39 dedications found that record *piissima* compared to 27 that record *dulcissima*. The more detailed patterns recorded in Table 1.A allow us to see the point at which mothers begin to show a greater preference for commemorating daughters as *piissima*. The shift in commemoration occurs in the dedications made to daughters aged between 11 and 15. In these dedications, we can see an increased emphasis placed on the use of *piissima*, in comparison to the use of *dulcissima* (see Table 1.A).

In the dedications to daughters aged between 11 and 20, *piissima* is now recorded equally with *dulcissima*; each of these epithets is recorded in 17 of the extant dedications. In the extant dedications to daughters aged older than 20, mothers recorded *piissima* more frequently than *dulcissima* – *piissima* was the epithet used in 19 of the dedications to daughters aged between 21 and 30, and in three dedications to daughters aged older than 30; while *dulcissima* was used in 10 dedications to daughters aged older than 20. We can see in the broader patterns in the funerary inscriptions from Puteoli, Central, Northern and Southern Italy a similar increase in the use of *piissima* to commemorate older daughters (see Tables 29-32).

An exception can be seen in the dedications to older daughters by mothers in Central Italy when mothers acted as sole dedicands; these inscriptions show that older daughters in this region, like those in Ostia, were commemorated by their mothers primarily as *dulcissima*. This pattern suggests that mothers usually placed a greater emphasis and importance on the ideal of *pietas* in daughters who were teenaged or older. The daughters who were commemorated by mothers as *pia* were also usually in their early

teens, a further indication that there was a higher expectation of *pietas* from mothers of older daughters.[48]

In her study (1997) on the use of epithets in the Roman funerary inscriptions, Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 197-98) interprets the frequent commemoration of older children (those older than 15) as *piissimus/a* and with an age at death is an expression of the frustration of their parents' hopes that they would act piously by supporting and burying their parents.[49] In a reversal of natural roles, she argues (1997: 198), parents have themselves shown *pietas* by commemorating their children. Sigismund Nielsen argues here, and also in her chapter on the importance of pagan and Christian epithets (2001: 172), that parents would have felt the loss of an older child more keenly, as they could be more expected to survive their parents. In the previous chapter on mothers' commemoration of young children, however, it was argued that while there is evidence that parents were perhaps expected to grieve less upon the death of a young child,[50] there is also evidence to suggest that they did not necessarily expect to lose small children even though the mortality rate was high - and that they therefore did not necessarily view older children as being more likely to survive their parents.[51]

The loss of an older daughter may have been felt more keenly by mothers, however, not because they believed their deaths to be more unfair or untimely than those of young children, but because as mothers of older daughters, they were less likely to be able to have another child; they were therefore more likely to have lost the future possibility of support and of being given the proper funeral rites upon the loss of an older daughter than

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[48] The inscriptions found that were dedicated by mothers (acting alone or together with fathers as part of the 'parent' group) to older daughters and that record *pia* include *CIL* 6.16449, to 13-year-old Cornelia Sabina from her freed parents, Cornelia Felicla and L. Cornelius Maternus; 6.11830, to 13-year-old Annia Victoria from her mother, Annia Tyche; 6.25737, to 19-year-old Saccaria Zosima from her parents, Eutychus and Domitia Hys...; 14.541, to 24-year-old Vitalis from her mother, Aemilia Auge (Ostia); 14.487, to 19-year-old Restituta from her mother, Prisca (Ostia); and 9.5771, to 11-year-old Geneia Successa from her parents (Ricina). All of these numbers refer to inscriptions in *CIL*.

[49] See also Sigismund Nielsen (2001: 172).

[50] See Dixon (1992: 99); Rawson (2003a: 343-44).

[51] On the estimated infant mortality rate in Rome, see Parkin (1992: 93).

they would have been had they lost a young child.[52] This would also help to explain why mothers commemorate daughters aged older than 20 most frequently as *piissima*. Mothers of these daughters would have been aged at around their late thirties to early forties,[53] and therefore may have had little chance of bearing another child (see Parkin 2001; 2003: 197). The idea that a woman aged in her forties was less likely to be fertile still is supported further by the terms of Augustus' marriage laws, which state that a married woman between the ages of 20 and 49 was expected to produce children (Parkin 2003: 195).[54]

The loss of an older daughter may therefore have been felt more keenly by a mother in terms of her death representing her mother's loss of support. The support, care and burial of one's parents appears to have formed an important expectation of a child's *pietas*. Parkin (2003: 203-15) found that while there do not appear to have been any legal obligations for children to care for or bury their parents, it was considered to be a moral duty and an important part of filial *pietas*. The fact that the Romans felt no need to legislate the compulsory care of one's parents suggests the strength of the *pietas* ideal in Rome. The care of mothers in particular, who could not command *patria potestas*, rested on expectations of this virtue (Parkin 2003: 216). Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 195) points out further that the term *pius* is often used 'in connection with death and mourning'. She found (1997: 196-97) that in the literary sources, those who commemorate the dead are described as *pius*, and that the duties that were related to the conduction of a funeral are called *officia* or *munera pia*. An example from Ovid's *Tristia* highlights the relationship in Rome. The poet tells of carrying out his mother's final rites (*Tr.* 4.10.80), giving him the opportunity to display his *pietas* (Lateiner 2006: 189-90).

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[52] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 198). Parkin (2001: 223-24; 2003: 197) argues that Roman legalisation concerning ages at which children were expected of a marriage suggests that Roman women were generally considered to be past childbearing age by the time they were 50.

[53] Based upon Shaw's estimate (1987) of the average age at first marriage for Roman girls at around the late teens, and assuming that women began to produce children soon after marriage.

[54] On the sources for this law, see Parkin (2001: 232 n.2); Evans Grubbs (1995: 84).

Sigismund Nielsen's literary examples of children who act piously by arranging a parent's funeral all involve the actions of sons; but there is evidence in the funerary inscriptions to suggest that daughters as well as sons were expected to carry out a parent's funeral rites. In the dedication from Puteoli made to 15-year-old Umbricia Iusta (*CIL* 10.3142; see above, p. 111), Iusta's parents mention explicitly the idea of the reversal of natural roles that has seen them perform the rites for their daughter that she should have performed for them. This inscription suggests that the loss of an older daughter may therefore have represented the loss of her parents' hopes for a proper funeral. The dedication to Iusta is particularly important in that it is evidence both for the importance of a daughter's role in ensuring that her parents received the proper funeral rites, and that mothers could consider the death of an older daughter to represent *mors immatura*. In this dedication, the two ideals are intrinsically connected – the concept of *mors immatura* is expressed in terms of the daughter's inability to demonstrate her piety towards her parents upon their deaths.

The evidence seems therefore to suggest that there was a connection in Roman thought between the concept of *pietas* and caring for one's mother,[55] while the inscriptional evidence suggests that there was also a connection between the death of an older daughter representing parents' loss of support and of being buried by their child, and the concept of *mors immatura*, as indicated in the epitaph dedicated to Umbricia Iusta. Sigismund Nielsen's interpretation (2001: 172) of parents' preference for commemorating older children as *piissimus/a*, and with an age at death, as being an expression of their children's inability to act with piety upon their deaths or to support them in their old age is important in that it may have been a motivation in mothers' commemoration of older daughters as *piissima*.

[55] On the expectation that a daughter would care for her elderly mother, see Cokayne (2003: 167).

The patterns in mothers' use of *piissima* to commemorate older daughters suggests that there may also have been a link between expectations of *pietas* and ideas of maturity. The first change in mothers' representation of daughters in the Roman inscriptions occurs in the dedications made to daughters aged between 11 and 15. Before this age, daughters are commemorated by mothers primarily as *dulcissima*. Daughters in this age group, however, are now commemorated equally frequently as *dulcissima* or *piissima*, with each of these epithets recorded in 17 – nearly half – of the extant dedications made to these daughters. Daughters aged between 16 and 20 are commemorated similarly. We can see a similar pattern in the dedications made by mothers when acting as part of the 'parent' dedicand group. The shift in mothers' representation of daughters once they were aged between 11 and 15 corresponds to the time in which Roman girls underwent the transition in status from girl to *uirgo*; it is estimated that the average age of menarche for Roman girls was around 13 to 14 years.[56]

Expectations of girls within Roman society changed once they reached sexual maturity. A girl's chastity – and therefore her reputation - now needed to be guarded (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 56-58). Following the onset of puberty, the moral reputation of a girl also became vital to her chances of marrying (see Treggiari 1991a: 105-07). Pliny's praise of Minicia Marcella's matronly virtue provides a good example of the changing expectations of a girl once she came of sexual age (*Ep.* 5.16). Rawson (2003a: 138) found also that according to Roman law, the age of 14 or the age of puberty represented the time at which children became responsible for their own actions.[57] Before this, they were generally

[56] See Harlow and Laurence (2002: 57-58), especially on the evidence of medical writers for guarding a girl's chastity after this age. Rawson (2003a: 138) cites the age of puberty as 14, when arguing that this age of puberty represented the age at which a child was perceived as being responsible for their own actions; before this, she argues, they were *doli incapax*.

[57] Rawson (2003a: 74) cites, for example, the laws stating that children below the age of puberty could not be prosecuted for forgery (*Dig.* 48.10.22.*pr.*) and that children below the age of puberty could not be tortured (*Dig.* 48.18.10).

considered *doli incapax*, and were perceived to be incapable of criminal intent (Rawson 2003a: 74).[58]

The second change in mothers' commemoration of older daughters in the Roman epitaphs occurs in the dedications made by mothers to daughters aged older than 20. Daughters of this age are now commemorated primarily as *piissima*, with *dulcissima* now recorded only half as often as the former epithet. *Piissima* is recorded in 22 of the extant 39 dedications made by mothers to daughters of this age group – more than half. In comparison, *dulcissima* is recorded in only 10 of these dedications, or just over one quarter. In these dedications, therefore, *piissima* is now the most commonly recorded epithet, in contrast to *dulcissima* in the dedications to young daughters.

It is important here to compare this pattern to that found in mothers' commemoration of older sons. When we examine mothers' dedications to these sons, we can see that a similar shift in the use of epithets, to a greatly increased emphasis on the ideal of *pietas* and a corresponding decrease in the use of *dulcissimus*, occurs in the dedications made to sons aged between 16 and 20. Sons of this age are commemorated by mothers primarily as *piissimus* in the same manner as daughters aged older than 20 – mothers used the epithet *piissimus* in 32 of the extant 55 dedications to sons in this age group, or over one half; whereas their use of *dulcissimus* dropped sharply to 16 dedications, or around one quarter. We can therefore see a similar pattern in mothers' commemoration of sons aged between 16 and 20 to that shown in their commemoration of daughters aged older than 20.

This epithet pattern corresponds to the ages by which male Roman children would commonly have made the transition from childhood to adulthood. By the age of 17, Roman boys had usually taken part in the ceremony in which they discarded the *toga praetexta*, which symbolised their status as

[58] Rawson (2003a: 74-75) argues that there was some flexibility in assessing an individual child's capacity to appreciate criminal behaviour.

children, and donned the *toga uirilis*, which denoted their new status as adults (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 67; Rawson 2003a: 142). The strong preference among commemorating Roman mothers for the commemoration of older sons as *piissimus* may therefore have been related to their new status and role as adults within Roman society; the pattern seems to coincide too neatly with this major social transition to have been purely accidental.[59]

For Roman girls, the transition to adulthood occurred when they married for the first time (see Rawson 2003a: 145). This makes it perhaps more difficult to link the pattern in mothers' representation of daughters aged older than 20 conclusively to their new status as wives and therefore as adults, as the transition to adulthood was not linked firmly to a specific biological age but rather to a social custom that depended on other factors that could see the age of a girl's first marriage vary (see Shaw 1987). Importantly, however, there is evidence for the age at which Roman women were expected to be married, and this age coincides almost exactly with the age at which mothers begin to commemorate older daughters primarily as *piissima* in the inscriptions. Under the *lex Iulia*, women were legally required to be married (and producing children) between the ages of 20 and 49 years. Those who were not were penalised by being declared ineligible to take either legacies or inheritances (see Parkin 2003: 194-95). From this evidence, when considered along with the inscriptional evidence found by Shaw (1987) that indicates an average age at first marriage for Roman girls that was in the late teens to early twenties,[60] we can perhaps tentatively conclude that daughters aged older than 20 commemorated in the inscriptions had at some point been married; even if it is most likely that they were not currently married at the time of their deaths. There therefore appears to be a relationship between the preference for commemorating daughters aged older than 20 as *piissima* in the Roman

[59] See Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 169-70) on the concept that nothing that is recorded in the inscriptions is the result of accident.
[60] See also Shaw (1991: 72).

dedications made by mothers, and these daughters' status as adults within Roman society.

The patterns seen in mothers' commemoration of older daughters as *piissima* in the Roman inscriptions may therefore be suggestive of a link between the concept of *pietas* and ideas of a child's maturity and responsibility. Importantly, the pattern in mothers' use of *piissima* in these inscriptions may in this way also be evidence that at least from the maternal perspective, the age of puberty represented a first coming-of-age for girls, in the same way that the shaving of the first beard represented the first coming-of-age for boys (see Rawson 2003a: 144).[61] This would support Harlow and Laurence's contention (2002: 56) that Roman girls experienced an 'age of virginity' between childhood and adulthood – in other words, these inscriptions may be evidence for the existence in Roman society of the concept of a female adolescence.

When examining mothers' use of *piissima* to commemorate older daughters in Rome and Italy, we must also consider the nature of the ideal of *pietas* in relation to ideals of the Roman family. Saller's interpretation (1994: 105-13) of the *pietas* ideal as a reciprocal, dutiful affection is well known and widely accepted. The literary sources show that expectations of *pietas* could change according to circumstance; what mattered was that a child's actions demonstrated and were motivated by an attitude of 'loving devotion' (Saller 1994: 109) or of a sense of affectionate duty (Saller 1994: 113) towards parents. Unfortunately there are few examples in our literary sources of *pietas* as shown by a daughter towards a mother. An example given by Valerius Maximus' in his chapter on filial piety (5.4), of the daughter who saved her condemned mother by suckling her, nonetheless reveals a good deal about perceptions or expectations of the nature of filial *pietas* within Roman society (Val. Max. 5.4.7). The sight of a woman suckling her mother may be considered unnatural, argues Maximus, *quid*

[61] The shaving of a boy's first beard formed one of the rituals associated with the donning of the *toga virilis*. For more details of this coming-of-age ceremony, see Rawson (2003a: 144).

enim tam inusitatum, quid tam inauditum quam matrem uberibus natae alitam: 'for what is so extraordinary, what so unheard of as for a mother to be nurtured at the breasts of her daughter?' (Val. Max. 5.4.7). But the daughter's actions were born from her love for her mother, he argues, and love for one's parents is nature's first law (*prima Naturae lex*: 5.4.7).[62] This act, born from a daughter's loving devotion to her mother, was considered so great an act of piety that a temple to *Pietas* was dedicated on the site of the prison where it occurred (Val. Max. 5.4.7; see Saller 1994: 107).

The motivation of love for her mother is what made this daughter's actions a demonstration of *pietas* and not an act against nature.[63] In examples found elsewhere in the literary sources of daughters' demonstration of *pietas* towards fathers, the term is also used to refer to a devoted affection. For instance in his letters, Cicero praises Tullia for her *pietas*, or 'daughterly affection', towards him during difficult times (*Fam.* 14.11; *Att.* 11.17). Martial's congratulation of his friend Nepos on the arrival of a daughter shows the ideal that a daughter would show this virtue: 'let her be loving', he declares (*sit pia*: 6.27.7).

Sigismund Nielsen (1997: 204) argues that the expectation of *pietas* in Roman society is 'of greatest importance' in determining the relationships that the Romans considered to be the most important. The patterns in mothers' use of *piissima* when commemorating older daughters suggests that it may also reflect an increasing importance to mothers of the mother-daughter relationship as it matured, and of a corresponding importance placed on a daughter's reciprocation of her mother's love and devotion. [64] The shift in mothers' use of epithets to commemorate older daughters in Rome, to the greater emphasis that we see on representing them as *piissima*, is not coincidental. It corresponds to the time from which Roman

[62] See Saller (1994: 108-109) on this example.
[63] This example is noteworthy in that it deals with a subject that would normally be invisible to an elite Roman male author: the relationship between a poor mother and daughter – as Saller (1994: 107) calls it, 'the antithesis of power in the Roman world'.
[64] See Saller (1994: 105-14) on the concept of the reciprocal nature of familial *pietas*.

mothers' role in their daughters' lives became crucial. At the age of puberty, which is (as mentioned above) the age at which Roman mothers begin to place greater stress on the ideal of *pietas* in their representations of older daughters, mothers began to play a correspondingly greater and more important role in their daughters' lives. They were responsible for their teenaged daughters' moral and domestic education, teaching them the skills, behaviour and virtues that they would need to be good wives and mothers.[65] Seneca outlines the role of a mother in educating her daughter in his consolation to his mother, in which he urges her to forget her sorrow by focussing instead on educating her motherless granddaughter, Novatilla:

> Tene in gremio...Novatillam,... nunc mores eius compone, nunc forma; altius praecepta descendunt, quae teneris imprimuntur aetatibus. tuis adsuescat sermonibus, ad tuum fingatur artribium; multum illi dabis, etiam si nihil dederis praeter exemplum.
>
> (*Helu.* 18.8)

> Hold in your lap Novatilla... Now shape her character, now form it; precepts that are imprinted at a tender age go deeper. Let her become accustomed to your teachings, let her be shaped to your will; you will give her much, even if you give her nothing but your example.

It is made clear in Seneca's essay that Novatilla's education would have been undertaken by her mother if she lived; Helvia can ensure, Seneca writes, that Novatilla will not suffer for her mother's death: *abstulit illi nuper fortuna matrem; tua potest efficere pietas, ut perdidisse se matrem doleat tantum, non et sentiat*: 'Fortune recently snatched away her mother; your loving devotion can see to it that she shall only mourn her dead mother, and not feel her loss' (*Helu.* 18.8). Helvia's *pietas* will take the form of loving and educating her granddaughter.

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[65] See Hemelrijk (1999: 28); Harlow and Laurence (2002: 52); Dixon (1988: 211); Pomeroy (2007: 22) on mothers' role in educating their older daughters. On matronly virtues in Rome, see Pomeroy (1975: 149-63); D'Ambra (2007: 47-50); Treggiari (1991a: 86).

The importance of a mother's role in the education of older daughters, and of the example that they set for them through their own behaviour and virtues, can be seen in literary evidence showing the assumption that a daughter's (particularly a married daughter's) behaviour reflected upon the training that her mother provided (see Dixon 1988: 217). Pliny writes to his mother's aunt, Calpurnia Hispulla, to say that she would be delighted to see how favourably her niece's virtues as a wife reflect her aunt's upbringing:

> Non dubito maximo tibi gaudio fore, cum cognoveris dignam patre, dignam te, dignam avo evadere... nec aliud decet tuis manibus educatam, tuis praeceptis institutam, quae nihil in contubernio tuo viderit nisi sanctum honestumque. (*Ep.* 4.19)
>
> I don't doubt that it will be a great joy to you when you learn that she [Pliny's wife, Calpurnia] behaves in a manner worthy of you, her father and her grandfather... Nor could anything else be expected of one who was taught by your hands, formed by your precepts, who saw in your home nothing except what was pure and honourable.

Juvenal's denunciation of immoral mothers, while a negative example of a mother's influence on her daughter's upbringing, nonetheless demonstrates further the importance of a mother's role in her daughter's moral training (see Dixon 1988: 220): *Atque alios mores ut tradet mater honestos / atque alios mores quam quos habet? uitle porro / filiolam turpi uetulae producere turpem* (6.239-41): 'Do you really expect a mother to teach her ways that are honest and different to those that she herself has? Foul old women find it useful to produce a foul little daughter'. Later, in his satire on teaching by example, Juvenal attacks mothers who set their daughters examples of adultery (see Rawson 2003a: 221-22):

> Rusticus expectas ut non sit adultera Largae filia, quae numquam maternos dicere moechos tam cito...ut non terdecies respiret? conscia matri virgo fuit, ceras nunc hac dictante pusillas implet. (*Sat.* 14.25-30)
>
> Do you, simpleton, expect that Larga's daughter will not be an adulteress, who could never speak the maternal adulterers so quickly...as to breathe 30 times? As a girl she was her mother's confidante; now, at her mother's dictation, she fills her own tiny love notes.

These examples make clear the emphasis placed on mothers teaching their adolescent daughters the good moral virtues of the Roman matron through their own example.

Mothers also played a vital role in the selection of a husband for their daughters, even if they had no legal say in the choice of a daughter's marriage partner.[66] Dixon argues that the provision of a husband was one of a mother's primary obligations to her daughter (1988: 215). A letter from Statius to his wife demonstrates the importance of mothers in arranging a daughter's marriage. His wife, Claudia, is clearly reluctant to leave Rome until she sees her daughter finally married; the poet reassures her that she will be able to find suitable husband for her daughter in Naples, to where Statius wishes to return:

> Te nunc illa tenet, viduo quod sola cubili
> otia iam pulchrae terit infecunda iuventae.
> sed venient, plenis venient conubia taedis...
> ...nec tantum Roma iugales
> conciliare toros festasque accendere taedas
> fertilis: et nostra generi tellure dabantur. (*Silu.* 3.5.60-71)

[66] See Treggiari (1991a: 134) on a mother's role in the selection of a daughter's husband; on a mother's lack of legal say in whom her child married, see Frier and McGinn (2004: 41; 211; 212-13); *Tit. Ulp.* 5.2 outlines the need for the consent of a daughter's *paterfamilias* but not that of her mother; as does *D.* 23.2.2: *Nuptiae consistere non possunt nisi consentiant omnes, id est qui coeunt quorumque in potestate sunt*: 'A marriage cannot stand unless all consent, that is those who marry and those in whose power they are').

> She holds you now because, alone and on a husbandless bed, she wastes the leisure of beautiful youth, already barren. But a wedding will come, come filled with torches...for it is not only Rome that is fertile in marriage partners and burning festal torches: in my town, too, husbands will be provided.

The example of Terentia and Tullia's selection of Dolabella as a husband for Tullia, without the knowledge of Cicero, is perhaps the most famous instance of a mother's involvement in the arrangement of a daughter's betrothal. While this was not Tullia's first engagement, Terentia's pivotal role demonstrates the influence that mothers held in such affairs, and the degree to which their wishes could be deferred. It is clear from Cicero's letters that he had short-listed two prospective sons-in-law for his daughter (*Att.* 6.1 – 'For I much prefer the one from Pontidia to the one from Servilia': *multo enim malo hunc a Pontidia quam illum a Seruilia*).[67] Terentia and Tullia, however, preferred Dolabella, and Tullia's engagement to him was arranged without Cicero's knowledge.[68] Cicero could only hope that the marriage would work: *Ego uero uelim mihi Tulliaequae meae, sicut tu amicissime et suauissime optas, prospere euenire ea, quae me insciente facta sunt a meis*: I would wish that what was done by my family without my knowledge will work out happily for me and for my Tullia, as you have so kindly and sweetly hoped' (*Fam.* 3.12).

Treggiari (2007: 85) argues that, even if Cicero had not been absent, it is 'unthinkable' that Tullia's mother would not have had a crucial role in her betrothal.[69] Treggiari (2007: 85) argues further that women were often the protagonists in matchmaking, and quotes the examples of Pontidia, Servilia and Postumia. Dixon (1988: 215) argues from Cicero's correspondence about the matter that the arrangement of a marriage seems to have been 'women's business'. Phillips (1978: 72), in her examination of mothers

[67] For a detailed examination of the selection of a husband for Tullia at this time, see Treggiari (2007).
[68] The engagement was potentially embarrassing for Cicero politically, as Dolabella (unsuccessfully) prosecuted Cicero's predecessor in Cilicia. See Treggiari (2007: 89-91).
[69] On Terentia's role in Tullia's engagement to Dolabella, see also Dixon (1988: 215).

and adult daughters in the literary sources, also found that mothers expected to take part in the arrangement of a daughter's marriage – including her first marriage – and that in some instances, they had been the ones to arrange a daughter's betrothal.

Mothers also had a crucial role in the wedding preparations and in the wedding ceremony itself. The expectation in Roman society of closeness between mother and daughter is suggested by a wedding-day ritual, in which the bride was dragged from her mother's arms, symbolising the reluctant parting of the two. Claudian writes that *agreditur Cytherea nurum flentemque pudico detraxit matris gremio*: 'Cytherea approaches the bride and drags her, crying, from the chaste lap of her mother' (*Car. Min.* 25.124-25. See Harlow and Laurence 2002: 63). Another role of the mother in the mother-daughter relationship – that of her daughter's protector – is hinted at here.[70]

Our surviving literary evidence for mothers and daughters suggests that a strong mother-daughter bond became most important after daughter married; this is also the time when Roman mothers most frequently commemorated daughters as *piissima* (see Table 1.B). Dixon (1988) and Phillips (1978) both found an expectation in the literary sources that a mother would be heavily involved in the life of an adult daughter, and that this involvement would consist of support, protection and maternal concern. Dixon (1988: 217) argues further that a mother was seen as her married daughter's 'natural ally and protector', and quotes examples of mothers' protection of a daughter's financial interests, and their concern with their daughters' wellbeing (1988: 216-18). A good example of the important role that a mother was expected to play in a married daughter's life is given in Aulus Gellius' criticism of wetnursing. The mother-in-law of Favorinus' friend, having overseen her young daughter's difficult birth, overrules suggestions that her daughter breastfeed her infant and authoritatively arranges a wetnurse (*NA* 12.1). Her intervention was the

[70] On mothers as protectors of their older daughters, see Dixon (1988: 215-16).

result of her concern that breastfeeding would subject her already weakened daughter to further physical strain (Phillips 1978: 75). The fact that the presence of the mother-in-law appears to have been unremarkable suggests that mothers conventionally attended their daughters at such times (see Dixon 1988: 217-18).

The literary also sources provide other examples of mothers acting in the interests of their married daughters.[71] Terence's *Hecyra* appears to have been overlooked by Dixon and Phillips as evidence of expectations of the role played by mothers of married daughters; yet it demonstrates clearly the ideal that a mother would be the one to protect her daughters' interests in times of crisis.[72] In Terence's play, Myrrina's daughter Philumena is raped prior to her marriage and consequently falls pregnant. To protect her daughter's reputation, Myrrina hides Philumena's pregnancy, and later Philumena's child, from her own husband.

This play shows clearly the ideal of selfless maternal concern and devotion; Myrrina suffers the displeasure and suspicion of her husband, rather than betray her daughter. Phiddipus, Myrrina's husband, accuses her of trying to sabotage Philumena's marriage, which he had arranged in order to secure the friendship of his and his son-in-law's families, by hiding their daughter's pregnancy; while declaring herself to be 'miserable' (*misera*: 536), she vows that she would rather he suspected her than that he knew the real reason for her deceit (*quamuis causam hunc suspicari quam ipsam ueram mauolo*: 540-41).

The literary sources suggest that a mothers' love for and devotion towards their older daughters were seen to be of increasing importance as a daughters' life stages passed, with the mother-daughter relationship seen to be of the greatest importance after a daughter married. It was during this

[71] See Phillips (1978); Dixon (1988).
[72] On other examples of the literary expectation that mothers would look to her daughter's interests after she married, see Phillips (1978) and Dixon (1988); also Treggiari (2007) on Terentia's heavy involvement in Tullia's life both during and between the latter's marriages.

time that the sources seem to place the greatest emphasis on a mother's provision of support, concern and protection for her daughter. The fact that the inscriptional patterns in mothers' dedications to older daughters from Rome and from Italy show an increasing expectation of daughterly *pietas* that corresponds to the points at which a mother's role within the mother-daughter bond became increasingly important, suggests that mothers placed a corresponding level of importance on a daughter's reciprocation of her love and devotion by demonstrating her own affectionate devotion through her display of *pietas*. In other words, the greater the role that a mother played in her daughter's life, and the greater the emphasis placed on maternal devotion, the more frequently mothers express the ideal of their relationship with their daughters being characterized by a reciprocated, devoted affection.[73]

Finally, mothers' increased use of *piissima* to commemorate older daughters may also reflect an anxiety amongst commemorating mothers that daughters would still demonstrate piety towards their mothers after they married and left the natal home – a 'wishful thinking' that daughters would still display *pietas* towards them once daily contact became more difficult, or decreased.[74] Again, it is daughters aged older than 20 – and therefore those who would most likely have been married at some point – who are most often commemorated as *piissima* by Roman mothers. After marriage, and especially after motherhood, a daughter's loyalties were divided; she owed *pietas* not only to her natal home – and her mother – now, but also to her husband and to her children. A married woman had several roles - wife, mother, daughter - all at the same time. Her loyalties could therefore be pulled in many different directions at once (Harlow and Laurence: 2002: 81).[75] An example of such divided loyalties is found in the elder Seneca's *Controuersiae*, in which a woman feels her loyalties torn between her husband and her father with tragic consequences:

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[73] On the interpretation of familial *pietas* as being a reciprocated, dutiful affection, see Saller (1994).

[74] See Saller (1994: 100) on mothers being owed *pietas* as much as were fathers.

[75] On the evidence for wives owing *pietas* towards husbands, see Treggiari (1991: 242, on wives being praised as *piissima* in the Roman funerary inscriptions). On mothers owing *pietas* towards children, see Rawson (2003a: 125); Saller (1994: 111).

> Bello ciuili quaedem uirum secuta est, cum in diuersa parte haberet patrem et fratrem. uictis partibus suis et occiso marito uenit ad patrem; non recepta in domum dixit: quemadmodum tibi uis satis faciam? ille respondit : morere. suspendit se ante ianuam eius. (*Contr.* 10.3)
>
> In the civil war, a certain woman followed her husband, when she had a father and brother on the opposite side. After her side had been defeated and her husband killed, she went to her father. When she was not let into his house, she said, "How do you want me to make amends to you?" He responded, "You can die." She hanged herself in front of his door.

Seneca's example, while extreme, demonstrates the fact that a married woman could owe conflicting loyalties; in this case, the father condemned his daughter for showing *pietas* towards her husband before her natal family. It is possible that by so strongly emphasising the ideal of *pietas* in their funerary dedications to daughters aged older than 20, mothers are expressing their hope that they would still be shown *pietas* by these daughters once they had married and left the natal home; just as Sigismund Nielsen (1997; 2001) suggests they may also be expressing their frustrated hopes of a daughter's demonstration of *pietas* by caring for them in their old age.

The funerary inscriptions dedicated by mothers for older daughters in Rome and Italy represent important evidence for the emotional ideal of the mother-daughter bond. Mothers' frequent use of *dulcissima* to represent older daughters in these inscriptions indicates the that there was a strong ideal of maternal affection for daughters within commemorating societies throughout Rome and Italy, with this ideal emphasised particularly in the epitaphs from Ostia. The increased emphasis on commemorating older daughters as *piissima* suggests a corresponding importance placed by mothers on daughters' reciprocation of maternal affection and devotion through the active demonstration of *pietas*. Mothers' use of epithets to

commemorate older daughters suggests also that the death of an older daughter was strongly associated with the concept of *mors immatura*.

The ideal of the mother-daughter relationship as being characterized by a deep, mutual affection and devotion is reflected in the literary sources, especially those dismissed by Phillips and Dixon as being 'non-historical'. Most importantly, the inscriptional evidence for ideals of the mother-daughter bond as expressed by mothers themselves does not support the idea that the relationship between mothers and older daughters was expected to be characterized simply by maternal authority and severity, and daughterly obedience and submission. Instead, mothers chose overwhelmingly to idealize their relationships with older daughters as having been ones of closeness, and of a reciprocated, devoted affection that became increasingly important to Roman mothers as their relationship with older daughters matured.

Chapter Five

Mothers and Children in Seneca and Statius

The aim of this chapter is to explore the evidence for Roman attitudes towards the relationship between mothers and children in Seneca's *Troades* and Statius' *Thebaid*, in terms of how this evidence reflects ideals of the mother-daughter bond expressed by mothers in the funerary inscriptions. In Seneca's *Troades*, the mother-child bond is a key focal point. Act Three is concerned with Andromache's desperate attempts to save her son, Astyanax, from being sacrificed by the Greeks; in Act Four, we see Hecuba's suffering and torment culminate in the discovery that her daughter, Polyxena, is also to be sacrificed, this time in a mock wedding to the ghost of Achilles. Seneca's portrayal of the relationships between Andromache and Astyanax, and Hecuba and Polyxena, will be examined in terms of the nature of the ideals of children and of the mother-child bond within Roman society, and how these ideals reflect those seen in the inscriptional evidence from Rome and Italy. Of particular interest in this chapter is the play's reflection of the concept that a child's death represents the loss of his or her potential and of the destruction of his or her parents' hopes for the future, a concept that is especially emphasised in the portrayal of Astyanax and that we have seen was a strong motivation for mothers' commemoration of children. This chapter also examines the way in which Andromache's and Hecuba's concern and love for their children characterize their relationship and add to their suffering.

First of all, however, this chapter needs to address an interpretation of the *Troades* that may adversely affect our interpretation of Roman attitudes towards children, in particular their attitudes towards the deaths of children. In her chapter 'The spectacle of death in Seneca's *Troades*', Shelton (2000: 102) argues that Seneca's Roman audience would have interpreted the sacrifices of the children as justifiable acts of domination by the victorious Greeks, 'who are assuming the burden of re-establishing order and confirming their superiority'. She argues (2000: 102) that as conquerors themselves, the Romans would have identified with the Greeks

in the play rather than with the Trojans (by arguing this, she ignores the fact that the Romans considered themselves to have been descended from the Trojans), and that they would have accepted the murders of the children as acts committed upon vanquished enemies who had no right to be treated as human beings. In fact, Shelton (2000: 102; 107) claims, the Romans would have regarded the children's deaths as being similar to the execution of conquered barbarians in the arena, a spectacle which they enjoyed.[1] The language that Seneca uses to portray the children's murders, however, would have made it impossible for a Roman reader to approve or accept their deaths unless they had a very indifferent attitude towards children indeed; an attitude that is denied by the inscriptional and other literary evidence. The way in which the killings are presented in the play strongly suggests that Seneca knew that readers or spectators would not approve of the sacrifice of children, and that they would accordingly respond to these acts with revulsion and horror.[2]

The most obvious indication of how Seneca expected the children's deaths to be received is his use of language to describe them. Throughout the play, the idea of sacrificing children is voiced in the strongest terms of condemnation and implied barbarity. In Act Two, Agamemnon vainly seeks to avert the coming sacrifice of Polyxena (see Wilson 1983: 36-38). He argues that the sack of Troy already constitutes an act of savagery, an act that is unworthy of the Greeks (*indignum aut ferum*: 281); that a virgin princess should be killed in the manner planned by Pyrrhus is an 'atrocious crime' (*facinus atrox*: 289). Agamemnon's own moral position is compromised, however, by the fact that he himself is a child killer (Wilson 1983: 36; Davis 1989: 315). Prior to the departure of the Greeks at the onset of the war, Agamemnon had sacrificed his own daughter, Iphigenia; a

[1] Seneca, however, made the games a 'special target' in his moral essays (Wedeck 1955: 319). *Ep.* 7 begins with a vitriolic tirade against the spectacle and the spectators of the games, which he argues are now 'pure murder' (*mera homicidia*: 7.3). See Wedeck (1955); Barton (1989). Barton (1989: 8) argues that Seneca's abhorrence of the games is related to the nature of the spectacles' violence, rather than to violence in itself; he argues (1989: 8) that Seneca appears to loathe the 'naked victimization' that characterises the spectacles and robs the victims of the ability to die with dignity.

[2] See Lawall (1982: 251) on the reader's feelings of revulsion towards the spectators who witness the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena.

fact which Pyrrhus is quick to point out: ...*Priamique natam Pelei nato ferum / mactare credis? at tuam natam parens / Helenae immolasti*: 'And now you think that it is brutal to sacrifice Priam's daughter to Peleus' son? You, a father, sacrificed your daughter for Helen.' (247-49. See Wilson 1983: 36). Seneca here emphasises the close relationship between Agamemnon and Iphigenia, thus highlighting the 'extreme nature' of Agamemnon's action (Boyle 1994:161).[3]

The repetition of the words *saeuus* – 'savage', 'cruel' – and *ferus* – 'bestial' to describe the children's murders emphasises the barbaric nature of these misdeeds. In Act Three, Ulysses tells Andromache that she is lucky that Astyanax is already dead, as 'a savage death waited for him' (*mors manebat saeua*: 621).[4] Andromache's terrified reaction to Ulysses' speech adds to the pathos of Astyanax' coming death, and increases the disgust felt by the reader at Ulysses' determination to hunt down Astyanax (623-24). The children's deaths are again described as 'savage' and 'brutal' when the Greek messenger protests at their sacrifices at the beginning of Act Five:

> O dura fata, saeua miseranda horrida.
> quod tam ferum, tam triste bis quinis scelus
> Mars uidit annis? (1056-59)
>
> O cruel fate, savage, pitiful, chilling! What crime as bestial, as sad has Mars seen in 10 years?

No other act of savagery committed during the war's long duration was as terrible as that which has just occurred. This last act of war is even more horrible than the murder of Priam in Act One, alluded to by the use of *saeuus* (the *saeuus ensis* – 'savage sword' of Pyrrhus: 312). Seneca also describes the deaths of the children as 'sinful murder' (*nefandae neci*: 651) and 'crimes' (*scelera*: 928). These are hardly terms or descriptions that encourage the reader's acceptance of the children's fate. Andromache's

[3] On the allusion to Iphigenia's sacrifice in these lines, see Fantham (1982: 247-48).
[4] Andromache tries to save Astyanax by telling Ulysses that her son is already dead.

response to the description of Astyanax' death completes the portrayal of the Greeks' degeneration into barbarity:

> Quis Colchus hoc, quis sedis incertae Scytha
> commisit, aut quae Caspium tangens mare
> gens iuris expers ausa? non Busiridis
> puerilis aras sanguis aspersit feri;
> nec parua gregibus membra Diomedes suis
> epulanda posuit. (1104-08)

> What Colchian, what Scythian of uncertain home committed this? Or what lawless tribe touching the Caspian Sea dared it? The blood of a child was not sprinkled on the altars of bestial Busiris; nor did Diomedes give small limbs to his herd to feast upon.

Even the paradigms of cruelty, Diomedes and Busiris,[5] never resorted to the murder of children. Andromache's lament forms a damning portrayal of the Greeks as the personification of cruelty and savagery.[6]

But it is Seneca's use of *nefas* to describe the children's murders that is perhaps the strongest indication of how they were meant to be received.[7] *Nefas* is a term of strongest disapproval, used to describe the worst possible acts – those that are against all moral law. Following the murders of the children between Acts Four and Five, Andromache tells the Greek messenger to recount their deaths and describe *duplex nefas* – 'the double sin' (1066). The Greek messenger, in his description of Astyanax' fall from the tower, tells that the watching Greeks 'wept at their sin' (*fleuit...nefas*: 1119). In Act Two, Pyrrhus responds to Agamemnon's objection to his plans to murder Polyxena by asking *iamne immolari uirgines credis nefas*: '*now* you think that it's a sin to sacrifice virgins?' (331), thereby alluding to Agamemnon's own sacrifice of Iphigenia

[5] See Fantham (1982: 373).
[6] On the degeneration of the Greeks into barbarity and sacrilege in the play, see Clark and Motto (1988: 248-49);
[7] On the concept of *nefas* in the play, see Clark and Motto (1988: 246-57).

(Wilson 1983: 36). Again, the murder of Polyxena reminds us of that of Priam by Seneca's repetition of *nefas*; Priam's murder is described in horrific detail by Hecuba in Act One: *uidi execrandum regiae caedis nefas / ipsasque ad aras maius admissum scelus*: 'I saw, cursed sin, the murder of the king committed before the altars themselves, which made the crime greater' (44-45). In Hecuba's retelling of Priam's death, we should remember that *nefas* indicates a religious crime as well as a crime against morality. Andromache uses the term when protesting against Ulysses' threat to demolish Hector's tomb. The Greeks have committed sacrilegious and impious acts before in the sack of Troy, she cries, but never have they dared to touch a tomb: *fuerat hoc prorsus nefas / Danais inausum. templa uiolastis, deos / etiam fauentes; busta transierat furor*: 'The Greeks left this crime absolutely undared. You have violated temples, even favourable gods; your rage passed over tombs' (668-70). Through their description as *nefas*, the murders of Astyanax and Polyxena therefore also represent crimes against the gods themselves – they are an ultimate act of sacrilege.

The perception of the children's murders as an evil crime, as *nefas*, is reinforced more subtly by Seneca's emphasis on the tender age of those to be sacrificed. The impression of the children's vulnerability, emphasised through the use of descriptive terms that emphasise their young age, heightens the pathos of their deaths. In the description of Astyanax' murder in Act Five, the sense of his helplessness is conveyed through the use of the diminutive *paruulus* (1089) and of *puer* (1090; 1118); the image of his being dragged (*trahens*: 1089) is pitiable. Seneca also uses the imagery of Astyanax as a defiant young cub (*paruus tenerque fetus*: 1094); this description of the young boy here emphasises his bravery, but it also reminds us of the earlier description of Astyanax as a young calf cowering against his mother when a lion hunts it (793-95) – the lion being Ulysses as he comes to take the child. Just before, Andromache has wept for Asytanax, saying that he will die 'so small' (*quidem paruus*: 789). Andromache also refers to her son as *pignus*: 'pledge' or 'little one' (766). Throughout the play, Seneca's language suggests that Astyanax is little more than a toddler. As well as being described as *paruulus* and *puer*, he is

called *infans* (482) and *paruus* (537, 1094). His innocence is highlighted also by his silence, broken only by his heart-wrenching appeal to his mother, *miserere, mater*: 'pity me, mother' (792).

The language used to describe Polyxena also emphasises her youth. Throughout the play, she is referred to as *uirgo*, a term that alludes to both her innocence and her young age. Given what we know of the average age of elite Roman girls at their first marriage, Polyxena must be only around thirteen.[8] In Act Four, Helen calls her 'noble virgin' (*generosa uirgo*: 862); she is also called *uirgo* by Andromache (929), the Greek messenger (1063), Hecuba (1167), Calchas (361) and Agamemnon (287). He also alludes to the tragedy of her death by describing Polyxena as *uirgo* rather than as *puella*, a term that would also have been appropriate. Seneca continually stresses her purity as a young bride. As her daughter is led away, Hecuba cries that by murdering her, the Greeks offend both the gods and the dead: *maculate superos caede funesta deos, / maculate manes*: 'Defile the gods above with foul murder, defile the spirits of the dead' (1004). Polyxena's innocence is also conveyed through her silence: unlike Euripides' Polyxena in his *Hecuba*, she does not speak at all (Boyle 1997: 74). Boyle argues that her silence 'speaks more poignantly than all the words Euripides gives her' (1997: 74).

In Act Five, Polyxena's young age is emphasised explicitly. In his description of Polyxena's death, the messenger tells that some of the Greek watchers admired her doomed beauty (*formae decus*: 1144); others were moved by her 'tender age' (*mollis aetas*). Fantham (1982: 380) argues that by describing Polyxena as being of *mollis aetas*, Seneca makes a 'concession to the weaker aspect of his heroine'. The emphasis on Polyxena's youth, however, also serves to highlight the courage with which she faces her death and adds to the portrayal of the Greeks as barbaric spectators of her sacrifice.[9]

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[8] See Chapters Two and Three above; see also Shaw (1987).

[9] On Polyxena's bravery being instructive of how to welcome death with dignity and nobility, see Clark and Motto (1988: 235); Fantham (1982: 90); Davis (1989: 314). On

Seneca's careful construction of pathos at the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena by his portrayal of the children as helpless innocents reflects a similar attitude towards the deaths of young children found in the inscriptions. The commemoration of children as 'innocent' (*innocens*) or 'most innocent' (*innocentissimus/a*) was common even before the Christian era. The epithets *innocens* or *innocentissimus/a* are recorded in 26 of the extant dedications to children from Rome and Italy. Seven-year-old Salutius is commemorated in language similar to the description of Astyanax – he is *paruulus innocentissimus* – 'a most innocent little boy' (*CIL* 6.19383). Six-year-old Dalmatius is described by his father as *puer dulcissimus* – 'sweetest boy' (*CIL* 6.33929).

We also see girls commemorated as *uirgo* in eight of the dedications to daughters aged younger than fifteen. 12-year-old Pardalis, for example, is commemorated as *uirgo* in an inscription that also counts the hours for which she lived (*CIL* 6.23823). 14-year-old Julia Reginia is commemorated with the words *uirgo decisset*: 'She died a virgin' (*CIL* 6.20653). The ideal of children as *innocens* was related to the ideal of them as *sacra* ('sacred': Quintilian *Inst.* 340) and implied purity and simplicity, rather than the Christian notion of innocence as meaning 'without sin' (Néraudau 1984: 135); *uirgo* similarly implies purity as well as youth. The deaths of young children are lamented in the funerary inscriptions, both by the epithets used to commemorate them and by the frequency with which they are commemorated by their parents. Through his emphasis on the young ages of Astyanax and Polyxena, Seneca ensures that their murders will likewise be viewed as *pathétique* by the reader.[10]

The emphasis on the vulnerability of children in the play reflects a perception in Roman society that children were helpless and in need of adult protection. They were given amulets such as *bullae* in the hope that

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Seneca's portrayal of the Greek spectators, see Clark and Motto (1982: 236); Lawall (1982: 251) discusses the readers' disgust and revulsion for the Greeks who observe the two murders.

[10] On the deaths of Astyanax and Polyxena as *pathétique*, see Néraudau (1984: 386-87).

these would give them some protection when they went outside of the family home (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 40). The protection of various gods was invoked from the moment they were born.[11] The law codes show an enormous preoccupation with the protection and welfare of children,[12] and various literary sources discuss children's vulnerability (for example, Plutarch *Quaest. Rom.* 101).[13] In terms of Roman society's attitude towards children, the most important point concerning Seneca's presentation of the sacrifices in the play as being *nefas*, and therefore utterly immoral, is that this impression of the murders necessarily depends on a prevailing ideal and attitude within Roman society that children should be treated not with cruelty and savagery, but with love and respect.

In the *Troades*, therefore, we are able to place the inscriptional ideals of young children as 'beloved and sweetest' in a wider context, as Seneca's careful creation of pathos at the children's deaths would not make sense if similar ideals of children were not held by his audience. The description of the murders of the children as *nefas* in particular suggests that Seneca did not intend their deaths to be acceptable, but instead meant them to represent the inversion of moral and religious law. The Roman reader would not have been able to approve of the children's sacrifices without abandoning their ideals of what was morally right.

Roman ideals of the mother-child bond are similarly reflected in Seneca's portrayal of the relationships between mothers and children in the play. The relationship between Andromache and Astyanax is characterized by Andromache's deep sense of responsibility towards her son and by her concerns for his safety. A dominant theme in the play is the concept of *mors libera* – 'death as freedom' or 'death freely chosen' (Davis 1989: 308).[14] The dead are to be envied rather than mourned, as they are now

[11] See Harlow and Laurence (2002); Rawson (2003a).
[12] *D.* 26.7.12.3, for example, is one of many laws concerning tutelage and the protection of children (see Frier and McGinn 2004: 424-37).
[13] See Harlow and Laurence (2002: 40).
[14] See also Wilson (1983: 41).

free from the terrible fate of slavery that awaits the survivors. In Act One, Hecuba tells the chorus to cease their mourning for the slaughtered Priam:

> Alio lacrimas flectite uestras.
> non est Priami miseranda mei
> mors, Iliades.
> "felix Priamus," dicite cunctae.
> liber manes uadit ad imos,
> nec feret umquam uicta Graium
> ceruice iugum. (143-47)

> Turn your tears elsewhere. The death of my Priam is not to be pitied, Ilians. All cry, "Happy Priam". He walks free to the deepest shades, he'll never bear Greek yoke on conquered neck.

Andromache, too, wishes that she might escape her pain through death, but her responsibility to her son means that she cannot. Not only must the suffering that she feels at Hector's death endure, but it is worsened by her fears for Astyanax' life:

> Iam erepta Danais coniugem sequerer meum,
> nisi hic teneret. hic meos animos domat
> morique prohibet. cogit hic aliquid deos
> adhuc rogare. tempus aerumnae addidit.
> hic mihi malorum maximum fructum abstulit:
> nihil timere. (417-24)

> I would escape the Danaans to follow my husband now, if he did not hold me. He tames my passion and prevents my death. He forces me still to implore the gods. He prolongs my troubles. He has taken from me the greatest reward of suffering: to fear nothing.[15]

Andromache's devotion to her husband, her desire to be reunited with him, is superseded by her devotion to and fear for her son, who ties her to a life

[15] See Wilson (1983: 41; 44-45) on fear as a pivotal emotion in Act Three of the *Troade*.

that is now unbearable. She cannot escape fear nor display an attitude of indifference because of her love for Astyanax (Davis 1989: 312). Her fear, as Wilson argues, stems from her deepest natural instinct as a mother; it is 'the necessary accompaniment of her parenthood' (Wilson 1983: 44). She attempts to save her son by hiding him in Hector's tomb and pretending that he is already dead. Ulysses, however, mistrusts her because he knows that any mother would lie to protect her child: *...tu cui? parenti? fingit an quisquam hoc parens?*: ...'Whom will you trust? A parent? Would not any parent lie about this?' (608). The reader's sympathy for Andromache is increased by the fact that while she can conceal her son, as a mother she cannot conceal her own fear and grief that he may be discovered. When a suspicious Ulysses tells her the manner of death that awaits Astyanax, she is undone:

Andromache:	reliquit animus membra, quatiuntur, labant torpetque uinctus frigido sanguis gelu.
Ulixes:	intremuit. hac, hac parte quaerenda est mihi. matrem timor detexit. (623-26)
Andromache:	Life abandons my limbs, they shake, give way and my blood congeals, bound by freezing chill.
Ulysses:	She trembled. This, this is where I must seek. Fear reveals the mother.

Andromache's love for her son is thus shown through her inability to remain detached; tragically, it is her deep attachment to Astyanax that betrays her attempts to save him.[16]

The close relationship between Andromache and Astyanax is further portrayed by her continuing to place her duty to him over that to her husband. When Ulysses threatens to demolish Hector's tomb and use his ashes as a substitute sacrifice if he cannot find Astyanax, Andromache

[16] See Wilson (1983: 45).

faces the necessity to make a choice between Hector and her son for the second time;[17] Ulysses 'sets Andromache the wife against Andromache the mother' (Wilson 1983: 45). Once again, Andromache's love for Astyanax prevails:

> Quid agimus? animum distrahit geminus timor:
> hinc natus, illinc coniugis cari cinis...
> quid fluctuaris? statue quem poenae extrahas...
> utrique parci non potest. quidnam facis?
> serua e duobus, anime, quem Danai timent. (642-62)

> What am I doing? A two-fold fear tears apart my mind: from here my son, from there the ashes of my beloved husband... Why do you waver? Decide whom you will snatch from punishment... Both cannot be spared. What then will you do? From the two, my spirit, save he whom the Danaans fear.

The emphasis on Andromache's internal struggle serves to highlight the strength of Andromache's devotion to her son through her final decision to save him. To defend the tomb and Astyanax, she will present 'unarmed hands to armed men' (*inermes offeram armatis manus*: 671). In her portrayal as a frightened mother desperate to protect her son, Andromache presents a stark contrast to Cicero's portrayal of Sassia, the mother of Cluentius. As was discussed in Chapter Three above, Cicero was able to attack Sassia as an 'unnatural mother' for her decision to observe her loyalty towards her dead husband, Oppianicus, over her maternal duty to her son.[18] A normal mother would pray for her child's welfare; Sassia hopes for her son's destruction (Treggiari 2005: 26; Cic. *Clu.* 194).

Cicero argues that by abandoning her son and conspiring against him on behalf of her husband, she has changed 'not only the laws of nature, but the

[17] See Wilson (1983: 45) and Davis (1989: 312) on Andromache's dual loyalties to husband and son.
[18] See Treggiari (2005: 24).

names of relationships', by becoming as her son's step-mother (*Clu.* 199).[19] She is too cruel to be called a mother (*ea crudelitas, ut nemo matrem appellare possit*: 199); she has been brought at last to the point where she is only human by outward appearance (*eo iam denique adducta est, uti sibi praeter formam nihil ad similitudinem hominis reseruarit*: 199).

Cicero's attack on Sassia was successful because his portrayal of her as an unloving, undutiful mother who chose to be loyal to her husband rather than to her son – and who tried to destroy her own son – represented the opposite of the Roman ideal of motherhood (see Treggiari 2005: 26-27). Seneca plays on the same ideal to portray Andromache as representing the ideal of motherhood, and thus to ensure that his audience identifies and sympathises with her. Andromache, unlike Sassia, makes the decision that a good mother would naturally make: she places her duty towards her son above her loyalty towards her husband.[20] While Sassia attempted to destroy Cluentius, Andromache tries to save Astyanax. To Andromache, who loves her son, his death will be even more terrible than that of Hector:

> O morte dira tristius leti genus!
> flebilius aliquid Hectoris magni nece
> muri uidebunt. (783-84)
>
> O form of death sadder than dreadful demise! The walls will see something more mournful than great Hector's murder.

The idea that mothers naturally love their children, and that this natural love is universal, is demonstrated by Andromache's appeal to Ulysses when she realises that she must reveal Astyanax' hiding place and bring him forth, or have him die when Hector's tomb is demolished. It has been argued that Andromache's attempts to save her son are motivated by her

[19] See Treggiari (2005: 26).
[20] On the 'good' mother being the one who is the opposite of Sassia, see Treggiari (2005: 28), on the mother of Caelius.

desire to ensure the future of Troy and of the Trojan people,[21] and this motivation is certainly apparent (for example, in lines 659-660). But when Andromache makes her first desperate appeal to Ulysses to spare Astyanax, it is as a mother who loves her son:

> Ad genua accido supplex, Ulixe...
> miserere matris et preces placidus pias
> patiensque recipe...
> miserere matris. unicum adflictae mihi
> solamen hic est. (691-703)

> I fall at your knees a suppliant, Ulysses... Pity a mother and receive my pious supplication with calmness and patience... Pity a mother. He is my only solace in my ruination.

Ulysses is finally moved; while he remained impervious by the thought of Astyanax' fate, he feels sympathy for a grieving mother. Yet he cannot yield to her supplication because he is driven by the thought of the mothers of Greek children who may one day be threatened by Astyanax should he live (Wilson 1983: 46):

> Matris quidem me maeror attonitae mouet,
> magis Pelasgae me tamen matres mouent,
> quarum iste magnos crescit in luctus puer. (736-38)

> This terrified mother's mourning truly moves me, but the Pelasgian mothers move me more; for this boy grows up into their great grief.

Ulysses' words echo those that he expressed earlier in Act Three, where he first reveals to Andromache that her love for her son has reminded him of a fear deeper than the threat of a becalmed fleet: the fear for the children of

[21] See Boyle (1994: 72). The portrayal of Astyanax as a future Hector and its reflection of the ideal found in the inscriptions of the loss of children representing the loss of their parents' future will be discussed below.

the Greeks, and in particular his own son, and the need to protect them from the threat that he believes Astyanax poses:[22]

> Hic ipse, quo nunc contumax perstas, amor
> consulere paruis liberis Danaos monet.
> post arma tam longinqua, post annos decem
> minus timerem quos facit Calchas metus,
> si mihi timerem. bella Telemacho paras. (589-93)
>
> This very love in which you now stubbornly persist reminds the Danaans to think on their little children. After such long warfare, after 10 years, I would fear less the dread that Calchas causes, if I feared for myself. But you prepare wars for Telemachus.

Here, like the descriptions of Astyanax in the play, the smallness and vulnerability of the Greek children are implied through the use of *paruus*. Thus Seneca creates a link between the children of the Greeks and Astyanax, who is the last little child of the Trojans. Love and concern for one's children drive the play; Ulysses and the Greeks, like Andromache, are motivated in their actions by parental love and their fears for their children's safety.[23] Andromache's grief for Astyanax heightens the pathos of the imminent moment when he must be torn from her; her portrayal as an ideal mother, loving and dutiful, is crucial to the emotions that the scene evokes in the reader – sympathy and sorrow for Andromache and a hatred for Ulysses in his abduction of her son. The reader's sense of loathing towards Ulysses' actions is, however, complicated by the idea that he too is motivated by his love for his son.

Andromache's dutiful devotion to her son is further portrayed by her final maternal act: she weeps and mourns him as one already dead, and asks that she be allowed to perform his funeral rites: *Lacrimis, Ulixe, parua quam*

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[22] See Wilson (1983). Wilson argues that Andromache's adoption of the 'formal ritual' whereby a suppliant appeals to his or her adversary in the name of their wife and children in order to establish a 'common ground of humanity' here has the opposite effect, reminding Ulysses of the threat posed to his own child by Astyanax (1983: 46).
[23] Wilson (1983: 44); Fantham (1982: 297); see Davis (1989: 315-16).

petimus mora est. / concede paucas, ut mea condam manu / uiuentis oculos: 'My tears, Ulysses, beg a small delay. Allow a few more tears, that with my hand I may close the eyes of the living' (787-89). Her appearance and behaviour become that of a woman in formal mourning: she weeps, her hair is unkempt, she kisses her son for the final time: *oscula et fletus, puer, / lacerosque crines excipe*: 'Receive, child, my kisses and weeping and my mangled hair' (799-800). She performs the final lustration, giving Astyanax her hair and her tears. The language that she uses to describe her child in her farewell fittingly reflects the epithets used to commemorate children in the funerary inscriptions: Astyanax is *dulce pignus*: 'sweet pledge / sweet near one' (766);[24] her son and her husband are those who are dear to her (*cari*). The term *pignus* could be used to denote a child who was a 'pledge' of its parents' love;[25] Quintilian uses the terms *pignus* and *carus* together to mean those who are 'most beloved and near' to us – one's children, wife and parents (*carissima pignora...liberi, coniux, parentes*: *Inst.* 6.1.33).[26] Andromache's love for her son is demonstrated through her language and her grief.

In the *Troades*, a mother's loss of her child is presented as her ultimate suffering. At the beginning of the play, Andromache cannot weep (409-17); when Astyanax is finally torn from her, she cannot stop (812. Wilson 1983: 42). In Act Four Hecuba, who has remained strong throughout her suffering at the destruction of Troy and the murder of her sons and of Priam, collapses at the news that Polyxena's marriage is to be a marriage through death (949-50). Hecuba's lament is particularly poignant. With the loss of Polyxena, the last of her children to remain with her, life becomes utterly empty:

Modo turba felix latera cingebat mea.

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[24] On the use of *pignus* to describe Astyanax, see Wilson (1983: 45).

[25] See Fantham (1982: 316) on the use of *pignus/pignora* in Latin literature to denote children as a pledge 'of their parents' love'. She argues that by Quintilian's time, the term had become a cliché in this usage. See also Boyle (1994: 199).

[26] Quintilian argues here that appealing to judges 'by all that is most beloved and near' (*carissima pignora*) to them (the accused) will help an accused man, particularly if the judge, too, has children, a wife and parents.

lassabar in tot oscula et totum gregem
diuidere matrem. sola nunc haec est super,
uotum, comes, leuamen afflictae, quies.
haec totus Hecuba fetus; hac sola uocor
iam uoce mater. dura et infelix age
elabere anima, denique hoc unum mihi
remitte funus. (958-64)

Just now a happy crowd surrounded my side. I grew tired sharing so many mother's kisses among the whole flock. Now she alone remains, my prayer, my companion, comfort in my sorrow, my peace. She is Hecuba's whole brood; I am called mother now by this voice alone. Cruel and unhappy life, come slip away, spare me at last this single funeral.[27]

Hecuba's love for Polyxena, like Andromache's for Astyanax, makes the loss of her child more unbearable. The actions of the Greeks, already sinful for the murder of children, are made all the more unconscionable by their tearing them away from their devoted mothers.[28] The inscriptional evidence suggests that the Roman ideal of the mother-child bond was that it would be intimate and affectionate. We can see the reflection of this ideal in Seneca's representation of the relationships between Andromache and Astyanax, and Hecuba and Polyxena. The pathos of Acts Three and Four relies on the reader identifying and sympathising with Andromache and Hecuba as mothers whose love for their children causes them great grief upon their loss. The concept that all parents, whether Greek or Trojan – friend or enemy – love their children is also used by Seneca to deny the reader the satisfaction of despising Ulysses and the Greeks completely, by portraying them as also trying to protect their own children.

Andromache's desire to protect her child stems from her love as a parent. Her determination to protect her son stems also from the desire to ensure

[27] On the added dramatic and emotional effectiveness of treating Polyxena as Hecuba's last child, see Clark and Motto (1988: 243 n. 36).
[28] Boyle (1997: 67) argues that the 'main body' of the play is concerned with the tearing of a child away from its mother.

that he survives to rebuild Troy.[29] The loss of Astyanax represents not only the loss of her child, but the loss of his potential to become another Hector; his death represents the death of his people's future. Astyanax' potential as a future version of his father, a future leader of his people and avenger of Troy's destruction, inspires a fear in the Greek victors that compels them to destroy him.[30] We have seen that the concept of a child's death representing the death of his or her parents' hopes for the future was a strong motivating factor in mothers' commemoration of children in the funerary inscriptions. The concept of a child's death representing the loss of their potential is also very important in the *Troades*.

Astyanax is never referred to by name in the play; he is always described in terms that directly or indirectly imply his future role as a new Hector by identifying him through his relationship to other members of his family, or to his home (Wilson 1983: 45; Boyle 1994: 172). His potential drives the play in his representation of Troy's future. Seneca emphasises Astyanax' representation of this future as his father's heir by using terms to describe him that allude to his birth or ancestry. In Act One, Calchas announces that Fate demands the death of Polyxena and of 'Hector's child, the grandson of Priam' (*Priami nepos Hectoreus*: 369). In Act Three, Andromache tells Ulysses to rejoice, as 'the son of Hector is dead' (*Hectoris proles obit*: 597).

Astyanax is referred to also by the ghost of Hector (in Andromache's dream) as the 'little sapling of our house' (*nostrae paruulam stirpem domus*: 456); he is the 'true son' of his 'great father' (*magni certa progenies patris*: 461). Ulysses justifies the sacrifice of Astyanax by arguing that the Greeks will always fear him; he will one day grow from a 'tender twig' (*tenera uirga*: 541) to be as tall as his mother, as 'noble seeds rise to meet their origins' (*generosa in ortus semina exsurgunt suos*: 536). Seneca's use of *natus* to describe Astyanax emphasises his potential as

[29] See Boyle (1997: 72) on Andromache's attempts to save Astyanax in Act Three in order to reverse the cycle of history and ensure Troy's future.
[30] See Wilson (1983: 45).

successor to Hector and Priam. Andromache refers to her son not as *filius* but as *natus* (for example, 461; 469; 503; 556; 643), a term that alludes more strongly to one's birth and ancestry. Ulysses also refers frequently to Astyanax as *natus* (532; 571; 620; 704). Seneca's use of the future participle expresses perfectly the idea of Astyanax' future potential. Ulysses argues that Astyanax is a 'future Hector' (*futurus Hector*: 551) and that he therefore represents the last great fear of the Greeks. To Andromache, Astyanax represents the future avenger of his dead father (*futurus ultor extincti patris*: 660).

Andromache's hopes that her son will grow to become the avenger of his father and the future of his family and people is expressed explicitly at the beginning of Act Three. Terrified for Astyanax' safety following the dream where Hector warns her that he is in danger, she addresses her son as the last hope for Troy: *O nate, magni certa progenies patris, spes una Phrygibus, unica afflictae domus*: 'O my son, true child of your great father, sole hope of the Phrygians, sole hope of our ruined house' (461-62). The death of Astyanax means not only the loss of his mother's hopes for the future of his family, but also the loss of any hope for the future of his people. The loss of Astyanax' potential represents every child's loss of potential in death, and every parent's loss of their hopes for the future. His murder will be Troy's 'final death' (*summum funus*: 767).

Seneca also conveys the concept of Astyanax' potential as an adult in the play through his close physical resemblance to Hector. Andromache's fears for her son are heightened by his being too like his father; Hector's features were the same as his son's (*nimiumque patri similis. hos uultus meus / habebat Hector*: 464-45). Even Astyanax' bearing, his mannerisms and his hands, resemble those of his father (465-68). Ironically, Astyanax becomes 'indistinguishable' from Hector when he lies, a 'misshapen corpse' (*deforme corpus*: 1116), after his death;[31] when the messenger tells

[31] On the significance of Astyanax' resemblance to Hector after death, see Wilson (1983: 47); Boyle (1997: 72).

Andromache of her son's mangled body, she responds that he is 'still like his father' (*sic quoque est similis patri*: 1117).

The ideal that a child would closely resemble his or her parent is found also in other sources. For example, Pliny the Younger writes to Aefulanus Marcellinus that the latter would admire, rather than condemn, Fundanus' devastated bereavement upon the loss of his young daughter, Minicia Marcella, if he thought of what Fundanus had lost: a daughter who 'resembled her father in manner no less than in face and expression, and who had copied her whole father in miraculous similarity' (*non minus mores eius quam os uultumque referebat, totumque patrem mira similtudine exscripserat*: *Ep.* 5.16.9-10). Marcella's resemblance to her father emphasised the untimely nature of her death, and the loss of her potential as an adult woman (on Marcella's death reflecting ideals of *mors immatura* found in mothers' commemoration of older daughters, see below). In the *Troades*, Astyanax' resemblance to his father emphasises his loss of potential as his father's avenger and as future leader of his people; it also emphasises the extent of Andromache's loss – to her, Astyanax is both her son and Hector (659). With Astyanax' death, it is as though Andromache also loses her husband for a second time.

The concept of a child's loss of potential through death, of their *mors immatura*, is also poignantly conveyed through Seneca's portrayal of Polyxena as a doomed bride. Her sacrifice in the form of a perverted marriage completes the tragedy of her death.[32] In Acts Four and Five, the reader is presented with a parody of a Roman wedding ceremony (Wilson 1983: 40). Polyxena prepares for her wedding as a real bride would; she dons her royal robes and allows her hair to be brushed: *cultus decoros regiae uestis petit / et admoueri crinibus patitur manum*: 'She asks for the noble dress of royal robes and allows her hair to be combed' (945-46).[33] In a real marriage ceremony, a new bride would be led to her husband's home

[32] On the perverted nature of Polyxena's mock marriage, see Davis (1989: 314-15).
[33] On the night before her wedding, a girl would put on her wedding gown and would sleep in it. The next morning, she would have her hair dressed in a specific, formal way. See Harlow and Laurence (2002: 61).

by a boy carrying a torch (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 63). Polyxena's wedding procession in Act Five mimics this ritual: *subito thalami more praecedunt faces*: 'Suddenly torches advance in the custom of a wedding' (1131);[34] Polyxena herself 'acts with all the dignity of a true bride' (Davis 1989: 314). A marriage would normally mark the beginning of a new stage of a girl's life, with the expectation of children and family; for Polyxena, however, marriage means not life, but death. The emotions that would usually accompany a wedding are twisted and inverted. Polyxena rejoices at donning her robes not because her marriage is a joyous occasion in the normal sense, but because her marriage-as-death will spare her a life of captivity.[35] Her marriage represents the Trojan's funeral (*funus*: 1130); the Greeks admire the 'bride' more because she is about to die (1144-45). The values of marriage and death are reversed. Andromache tells us that to Polyxena, marriage to Pyrrhus would have been death; her death will be marriage (948).[36]

Polyxena's death as a mock bride would have been all the sadder for a Roman reader through its reminder that she is in fact to be denied the joys and comforts that would normally come with marriage – those of a husband and children – and so she will never realise her potential within her family and her society. In Rome, the traditional hopes and expectations for a young girl were that she would marry and become a mother when she reached a suitable age (Pomeroy 1975: 164).[37] The inscriptional and literary evidence show that the death of a girl before she was able to marry and therefore realise her potential was considered to be *mors immatura* and a cause for great grief. Mothers and fathers both lamented the lost experiences of their daughters. Plutarch knew that his wife would mourn the fact that their daughter Timoxena would never know the joys of marriage and motherhood (*Cons. ad Uxor.* 611.C). The death of Fundanus' 12-year-old daughter, Minicia Marcella, was a tragic loss (see Plin. *Ep.*

[34] See Wilson (1983: 40) on the wedding procession as a 'parody'.
[35] On Polyxena's sacrifice as representing a reversal of values between marriage and death, see Wilson (1983: 39; 43); Lawall (1982: 247); Davis (1989: 309).
[36] Davis (1989: 309); Wilson (1983: 39).
[37] Rawson (2003a: 353) notes that many of the recorded laments for the death of a young girl refer to her failure to attain motherhood.

V.16). Pliny writes that her death was yet more untimely and sad because she was engaged to be married:

> O triste plane acerbumque funus! O morte ipsa mortis tempus indignius! iam destinata erat egregio iuueni, iam electus nuptarium dies, iam nos uocati. Quod gaudium quo maerore mutatum est! (*Ep.* 5.16.6-7)
>
> O truly sad and bitter death! O time of death more undeserved than death itself! She was already engaged to a distinguished young man, the wedding day was already set, we had already been invited. Such joy is changed to such sorrow!

The loss of Marcella is *mors immatura* because she has died before she could marry; worse, she was very soon to be married. As with the death of Polyxena, the future celebration of a wedding will be replaced by mourning at her funeral.[38] Pliny writes further that words cannot express his grief (*non possum exprimere uerbis quantum animo uulnus acceperim*': *Ep.* 5.16.7) when he hears that the money with which Fundanus had intended to buy his daughter clothes, pearls and jewels would now be spent on incense, unguent and spices for her funeral (*Ep.* 5.16.7-8). In the inscriptions, we have seen that the concept of *mors immatura* may have been a motivation for mother's commemoration of older daughters as *piissima* (see above, in the discussion of mothers' commemoration of older daughters). That a girl's death could be considered to be *mors immatura* because she was not yet married is shown in the epitaph to 14-year-old Eucharis, from Rome (*CIL* 6.10096). The inscription, dedicated by her parents, declares that she was an 'unmarried girl'; her unmarried state is emphasised by her commemoration as *uirgo*.[39] The death of Polyxena in the *Troades* would therefore have inspired further sympathy in the reader through its evoking

[38] See Wilson (1983: 55) on the Greek spectators at Polyxena's sacrifice: 'One minute they watch a bridal procession, the next they are mourning as at a funeral'.
[39] On mothers' use of the term *uirgo* to emphasise the concept of untimely death in their commemoration of unmarried daughters, see Chapter Four.

the idea of immature death. Although she resembles a bride in dress and bearing (see Wilson 1983: 40), she will never in fact be married.

The ideals of maternal affection for children, its motivations for mothers' concern and grief for their children, and the concept of their deaths as representing *mors immatura*, also inform the portrayal of the mother-child bond in Statius' *Thebaid*. Like Seneca's *Troades*, this is a work in which the voice of the mother is given great prominence; so prominent, in fact, is the mother's voice, and the voice of maternal grief, that Henderson (1993: 180-87) describes the poem as a maternal lament (see Newlands 2006: 204), while Brown (1994: 75) refers to the epic as one 'full of bereaved mothers'. Fantham (1999: 232) argues further that the mothers' perspective is so emphasised in the epic that their grief upon the loss of their children in battle denies any possibility of glory to be gained from the war.

This chapter is interested primarily in Statius' treatment of the reactions of Eurydice and Hypsipyle to the death of Opheltes/Archemorus in Book Five. The Opheltes episode is unique in the poem in that it deals not with the death of a warrior, but with that of an infant. While sleeping in the grass, Opheltes is accidentally slain by the serpent that inhabits the Nemean grove (5.538-40). Statius' portrayal of the ensuing grief of the child's mother, Eurydice, and of his nurse, Hypsipyle, indicates the strength of the Roman ideal of maternal affection towards and concern for one's children; the grief of the two women, like Andromache's fear for Astyanax, is the result of their love for Opheltes and reflects the ideal of maternal affection that is shown in the commemoration of young children by mothers in the epitaphs from Rome and Italy. Of particular interest to this chapter is Statius' presentation of the maternal perspective on the effects of wetnursing on Roman mothers through his treatment of Eurydice, and the evidence of her lament for the ideal that the bond between mother and child would remain close despite the use of a wet nurse – and that this practice therefore did not necessarily reflect or promote maternal indifference towards the fate of infants.

Statius' portrayal of the relationship between Atalanta and her son, Parthenopaeus, will also be examined. Statius' use of language to describe Parthenopaeus suggests that although he has chosen to participate in the war, he was considered to be a child who was beginning to make the transitional period into adulthood. He is described as a sexually immature boy (4.328-30) and as a beardless youth (4.335-36). The bond that is idealised here is therefore that between mother and adolescent son. The examination of Statius' treatment of the relationship between Atalanta and Parthenopaeus will look especially at the motivations of maternal love and devotion in Atalanta's attempts to save her son from war, and the ways in which her love and concern for Parthenopaeus characterize their bond and add to the pathos of his death and her grief.

The concept of *mors immatura* also features prominently in the deaths of Opheltes and of Parthenopaeus in the poem. Eurydice, Hypsipyle and Atalanta all express their grief partly in terms of the loss of their children representing their loss of potential and the loss of their parents' hopes for the future. The emphasis on this concept in Statius' portrayal of the deaths of the two children,[40] and in his portrayal of their mothers' reactions to their loss, will also be examined here in terms of its reflection of this concept in mothers' commemoration of children in the funerary inscriptions.

The pathos of Statius' portrayal of Hypsipyle's grief-stricken response to the death of Opheltes is strongly suggestive of a Roman ideal of maternal affection within the mother-infant bond. It is important to establish here that from the point of his introduction of Hypsipyle and her infant charge in Book Four of the poem, Statius' use of language clearly establishes the relationship of Hypsipyle to Opheltes as that not only of nurse and *alumnus*, but (primarily) as that of mother and child. [41] When she first

[40] On Statius' emphasis on the concept of *mors immatura* in his portrayal of the death of Opheltes, see Brown (1994: 89).
[41] On the maternal relationship shared by Hypsipyle with Opheltes, see Brown (1994: 75).

encounters the Argives in Nemea, Hypsipyle describes Opheltes as her *pignus* (4.772). The term means generally an entrusted 'pledge' or 'token', and this is how Mozley (1928) translates it. It also, however, meant a child (*OLD* s.v. §4). In the *Troades*, Andromache describes her son Astyanax as the 'pledge' of herself and Hector. Hypsipyle's description of Opheltes as *pignus*, rather than as *alumnus* (the term more commonly used to describe nurslings, and which Statius uses to describe the infant in 5.501), thus alludes to her ambiguous role as both nurse and as surrogate mother. At 4.782, Hypsipyle's relationship to Opheltes is clearly described as maternal. In her attempts to console the crying Opheltes by surrounding him with plucked flowers, she is 'like the Berecyntian mother' (*qualis Berecyntia mater*) trying to console the infant Jupiter (4.780-85). As Brown and Henderson both argue, Opheltes is Hypsipyle's *and* Eurydice's child.[42]

Hypsipyle's reaction to the death of Opheltes is therefore that of a mother, and it is as a mother whose affection for her child motivates her grief and mourning that she is portrayed in the poem, and with whom the reader identifies and sympathises. Following her search and her terrible discovery of Opheltes' body in Book Five,[43] Statius poignantly compares Hypsipyle to a mother bird who returns to find her nest silent and desolate:

> Ac uelut aligerae sedem fetusque parentis
> cum piger umbrosa populatus in ilice serpens,
> illa redit querulaeque domus mirata quietem
> stat superimpendens aduectosque horrida maesto
> excutit ore cibos, cum solus in arbore paret
> sanguis et errantes per capta cubilia plumae. (5.599-604)
>
> As when a slothful serpent has devastated the home and
> young of a winged parent in a shady ilex, she returns and,

[42] Brown (1994: 75); Henderson (1993: 184-85). Henderson refers to Opheltes as 'Hypsipyle's/Eurydice's Dead Baby' (1993: 185).
[43] Hypsipyle's search is described in language that alludes to Ide's search for her sons in Book Three, thus setting the tone for her maternal grief and lamentation; see Dominik (1994: 126); Statius (*Theb.* 3.133-39)

> wondering at the silence of her querulous home, she
> stands hanging over it; horrified, she throws away
> from sad mouth the food she bears, while in the tree
> is visible only blood and feathers strewn throughout the
> captured nest.

Statius' 'skilful simile' (Dominik 1994: 126) resembles and foreshadows that in Book Six in which Opheltes' mother Eurydice is compared to a bereft mother cow (see below). Hypsipyle then goes on to mourn the loss of Opheltes in language that establishes her attitude of maternal affection, and that heightens the pathos of her grief. Her description of Opheltes' qualities and behaviour forms a tragic portrayal of the ideal of the close relationship between mother and young child, and of Hypsipyle's devastation upon its severance. She refers to the infant first as *dulcis*, her language echoing the frequent representation of infant children as *dulcissimus/a* by mothers in the funerary inscriptions (see Chapter Three above; Tables 1-17.B). In his sweetness, Opheltes reminded her of her own lost children: '*o mihi desertae natorum dulcis imago, / Archemore*': 'O sweet image of my abandoned children, / Archemorus' (608-609). Hypsipyle's use of the epithet *dulcis* to describe Opheltes establishes her attitude towards the child as having been one of greatest affection and indicates the closeness of their bond,[44] adding to the pathos of this scene.

Hypsipyle also calls the child *paruus* ('little one': 617), recalling Statius' description of her desperate search through the woods for the 'babe' (*paruo*: 5.548), and also Hypsipyle's own description of the Lemnian women's terrible slaughter of their children, in which they 'crushed their babes against their full breasts' (*plenisque adfrangere paruos uberibus*: 5.150-51). It also reflects parents' descriptions of young children as *paruus* or *paruulus* in the funerary inscriptions, such as that dedicated to six-year-old Salutius from Rome, who is described as 'most innocent tiny little one' (*paruulus innocentissimus*: *CIL* 6.19383). The portrayal of

[44] On the conventional use of descriptive epithets to establish the mourner's attitude towards the subject in laments, see Dominik (1994: 126).

Opheltes as *paruus* emphasises his innocence and evokes even greater sympathy for Hypsipyle's loss.

Hypsipyle's lament then moves on to form a poignant picture of the lost joys of motherhood:

> Heu ubi siderei uultus? ubi uerba ligatis
> imperfecta sonis risusque et murmura soli
> intellecta mihi ? quotiens tibi Lemnon et Argo
> sueta loqui et longa somnum suadere querela !
> sic equidem luctus solabar et ubera paruo
> iam materna dabam, cui nunc uenit irritus orbae
> lactis et infelix in uulnera liquitur imber. (5.613-19)

> Alas, where is your starry face ? Where are your words imperfect in constricted sounds and your laughter and murmurs that only I could understand? How often I used to talk to you of Lemnos and the Argo, and persuaded you to sleep with my long complaint! Thus indeed I used to console my sorrow and give the little one a mother's breasts; now, bereft, my milk comes to me in vain, and drops, unhappy rain, into your wounds.

Statius here presents a uniquely maternal perspective on the mother-infant bond. Hypsipyle's mournful recollection of the joys and tasks of her motherhood 'vividly expresses the tragic cost of this war in human terms' (Newlands 2006: 206). The scene is one of a 'deep pathos' that demonstrates Statius' understanding of the emotional bond that existed between parents and children (Newlands 2006: 207). It also demonstrates the ideal of a close and loving bond between mother and infant child; the 'deep pathos' of the scene can be experienced, or be successful, only if the reader identifies and sympathises with Hypsipyle as a loving mother who suffers immensely when the bond between herself and her child is severed. Statius clearly expects his reader to make such an identification with Hypsipyle; the lament here thereby reflects the inscriptional ideal of the mother-infant bond as being characterized by a deep and close affection.

The way in which we are meant to perceive Hypsipyle's reaction to Opheltes' death, the intensity of her grief and self-loathing, is also shown clearly by Statius' conclusion of her lament. Berating herself for neglecting the child, Hypsipyle refers to his accidental slaying as *nefas* (628), anticipating Eurydice's description of her son's death (6.161). In an expression 'characteristic of Statian lament' (Dominik 1994: 127), she fervently desires her own death (628-32). Worst of all for her, tellingly, is the thought of facing Opheltes' bereft mother, Eurydice. Hypsipyle declares that she would rather die than have to witness reactions of the child's parents to his death. In a prediction of Euridyce's terrible reaction to the loss of her son, Hypsipyle states that she will be 'a figure of hate' (*inimica*: 631). The reader's sympathy for Eurydice as a mother in mourning is established first here, where Hypsipyle states that she would rather the earth swallowed her up than have to place this 'sorrowful burden' (*onus illaetabile*: 633) in the lap (*gremio*: 634) of the dead infant's mother.

Hypsipyle's prediction of Eurydice's reaction to the untimely death of her son is realised in Book Six. Statius' portrayal of Eurydice's grief and mourning for her child, like Ovid's description of the devastated Hecuba upon the loss of her daughter Polyxena in the *Metamorphoses* (see Chapter Four above), paints a terrible and tragic picture of maternal suffering. Statius' treatment of Eurydice is particularly interesting given that here we have a mother whose grief, as we shall see, is heightened – not eased – by the fact that she was barely able to know her son; that it was Hypsipyle whom he knew as mother (*illa tibi genetrix semper*: 6.166). Eurydice's reaction is far from that of a mother for whom the use of a wetnurse allows her to greet the death of her child with distanced indifference; instead, her grief-stricken lamentation for her son 'spares the reader nothing' (Brown 1994: 85), and falls at the very heart of the poem (Brown 1994: 75).

Through the voice of Opheltes' mother, Statius inserts into his epic an 'implied and sympathetic critique' of the social practice of wetnursing (see

Newlands 2006: 208); at the same time, however, the language of Eurydice's grief-stricken response to her son's death shows her to be anything but indifferent to his loss. To her, Hypsipyle's neglect of her son represents nothing less than an act of impiety, made worse by the nurse's previous *pietas* in her devotion to her father:[45]

> Haec pietate potens solis abiecit in aruis,
> non regem dominimque, alienos impia partus,
> hoc tantum, siluaeque infamis tramite liquit,
> quem non anguis atrox (quid enim hac opus, ei mihi, leti
> mole fuit?), tantum caeli uiolentior aura
> impulsaeque Noto frondes cassusque ualeret
> exanimare timor. (6.153-59)

> This woman, so strong in her piety, cast off impiously in a lonely field not king or master, but the child of another, only that, and left him on a path in an infamous wood; he whom no terrible serpent (for what need was there, alas, for such a mass of death?), but only a sky's violent breeze, or leaves shaken by the South Wind, or even empty fear was strong enough to kill.

The bitterness of Eurydice's attack on Hypsipyle for abandoning her charge, the force of her anger, demonstrates the intensity of her feelings. Through her eyes, we see Hypsipyle as a wickedly negligent nurse whose role in Opheltes' tragic fate condemns her as *impia* (154. See Newlands 2006: 208). The pathos of this passage is heightened by Eurydice's emphasis on her child's helplessness; her accusation that exposure or fright

[45] It must be noted here that while Eurydice blames Hypsipyle for the death of Opheltes, Statius is careful to exonerate her from blame and treats her with great sympathy (see Ahl 1967: 141). Throughout the episode of Opheltes' death in Book Five, Statius emphasises the inevitable nature of his loss by constant reference to the role played by the Fates and the Gods in his death – for example, Hypsipyle's forgetfulness of her charge is described as being the result of intervention by the gods (*sic di suasistis*: 5.501); his death is repayment for the crime (*nefas*: 5.628) owed to Venus by Hypsipyle for her failure to murder her father on Lemnos. On Statius' absolution of Hypsipyle, and the demands of Fate for the death of Opheltes, see Vessey (1973: 189). In Eurydice's lament in Book 6, argues Vessey, there is a direct allusion to the fact that Opheltes' death is compensation to Venus for the survival of Thoas, Hypsipyle's father, from the Lemnian massacre (*Theb.* 6.150-54; Vessey 1973: 194).

may have killed her son is a poignant reminder of Opheltes' innocence and vulnerability and highlights her sense of Hypsipyle's neglect.

Eurydice's next words leave the reader in no doubt as to her deep attachment to her son, and her consequent devastation at his loss. Addressing the Argives, she describes the death of Opheltes as *luctu orba*. Shackleton Bailey translates this phrase as 'grievous loss' (2003: 339), but the term *orbus* has greater significance here for Statius' portrayal of maternal grief. *Orbus* means specifically 'bereft' or 'deprived' of one's children (*OLD* s.v. §1.B); Statius' use of the term therefore emphasises his portrayal of Eurydice as a figure of bereavement. Eurydice later describes her loss as *nostris ruinis*: 'our ruin' (183), and herself as having been destroyed (*excisa*: 170). But it is her reference to her son's death as *matri nefas* - 'a mother's sinful loss' (160-61) – that most clearly demonstrates how the reader is meant to perceive her reaction and the depth of her suffering. To her, the death of her son is the worst of all immoral and impious acts, the direct and inevitable result of Hypsipyle's impiety (the concept of which Eurydice expresses explicitly: *fixum matri immotumque manebat / hac altrice nefas*: 'A mother's sinful loss remained fixed and immutable with such a nurse': 160-61).

Statius' portrayal of Eurydice in this passage is therefore far from that of a mother whose failure to nurse her own child has resulted in an attitude of indifference to his fate. For Eurydice, Hypsipyle's neglect of her charge has tragic consequences precisely because she did love her son. The fact that she literally 'handed over' to another the physical role of mother (*ubera mando*: 148) has resulted not in a diminished affection for Opheltes and therefore protection from grief upon his death, but instead in terrible suffering and grief. Statius' presentation of Eurydice as a grief-stricken mother reflects the suggestion in the inscriptional evidence that the Roman ideal of mothers' attitude towards their infant children was one of a deep affection that was not affected by physical separation.

The idea that a mother would continue to love her child despite using a wetnurse, and that the maternal bond would remain strong, is shown most clearly in the next part of Eurydice's lament for Opheltes. Through Eurydice's bitter and envious speech, Statius presents a sympathetic and sensitive critique of the effect of wetnursing upon a child's mother (see Newlands 2006: 208). In this scene of 'deep pathos' (Newlands 2006: 208), we see that Eurydice's grief is heightened by the fact that her love for her son was not returned; the child, she laments, never saw her as his mother. Instead, the love that should have been given to a mother was transferred to a nurse. Eurydice's lament for the lost joys of motherhood here presents a poignant ideal of the mutually loving bond that a mother should be able to enjoy with her child, and the reader sympathises with her as one whose grief is exacerbated by the fact that this is a bond that she will now never experience:

> ...blandus ad illam,
> nate, magis, solam nosse atque audire uocantem,
> ignarusque mei: nulla ex te gaudia matri.
> illa tuos questus lacrimososque impia risus
> audiit et uocis decerpsit murmura primae.
> illa tibi genetrix semper, dum uita manebat,
> nunc ego. (6.161-67)

> ...You loved her more, my son, you knew only her, heard only her when she called, and did not know me: your mother had no joy from you. She, impious, heard your complaints, your tearful laughter, and snatched the murmurs of your first speech. She was always your mother while life remained, now I am.

Dominik argues that in this speech, Eurydice recalls that her son was deprived of her affection (1994: 128); but the opposite is in fact true: handing over her child to another to nurture has had the devastating effect of depriving *her* of her son's affections. Eurydice has had to watch as the one she holds responsible for his death experienced the joys that she herself should have had: comforting Opheltes when he cried, and seeing his tears

turn to laughter (*lacrimosos...risus*: 164); hearing his infantile murmuring and first words (*uocis...murmura primae*: 165); enjoying his affections and seeing him look to her (161-62). For Eurydice, the practice of wetnursing has had the tragic effect of her being able to fulfil the role of mother only upon her son's death; while her son was alive, he did not know her (*ignarus mei*: 163). Eurydice's lament here forms a tragic echo of Hypsipyle's lament in Book Five for the lost joys of her own 'motherhood' (611-19).

Eurydice's lament here clearly demonstrates the ideal that a mother's natural love for her child would remain strong and undiminished even if she did not nurse it herself, reflecting a similar ideal shown by mothers' commemoration of young children as *dulcissimus/a* in the funerary inscriptions from Rome and Italy (see Chapter Three above). It also presents further indication of an ideal in Roman society that the bond between mother and infant would be one of a deep and mutual affection, suggested by mothers' representation of young children as *piissimus/a* in the epitaphs. The pathos of this scene, the success of Statius' unique criticism of wetnursing through the maternal perspective, relies upon the reader identifying with Eurydice as a mother who loves her son, but who has been denied the experience of being loved in return, suffering jealousy and intensified grief from seeing her role as mother usurped.[46]

Eurydice's grief, and the ideal of maternal affection within the mother-infant bond, are emphasised further by her irrationality and desire for vengeance (Dominik 1994: 128). She demands Hypsipyle's death (168-73) and attempts to deny her the right of mourning Opheltes at his funeral (180-84). She calls the wretched nurse 'defiled' (*funesta*: 182); the loss of her son is her 'ruin' (*ruinis*: 183). But it is her portrayal as a bereft mother cow that forms the most vivid and tragic picture of maternal grief and suffering in this episode. In his final description of Eurydice's reaction to

[46] See also Ahl (1967: 141) on Eurydice's jealousy of the maternal relationship that Hypsipyle shared with Opheltes.

her son's death, Statius compares her to a cow whose calf is taken from her:

> Non secus ac primo fraudatum lacte iuuencum,
> cui trepidae uires et solus ab ubere sanguis,
> seu fera seu duras auexit pastor ad aras ;
> nunc uallem spoliata parens, nunc flumina questu,
> nunc arbusta mouet uacuosque interrogat agros;
> tunc piget ire domum, maestoque nouissima campo
> exit et oppositas impasta auertitur herbas. (6.186-92)

> Just as when a bull calf cheated of his first milk, whose strength is tremulous and whose vigour is only from the teat, is carried off by a wild beast or by a shepherd to the harsh altar; now his robbed mother stirs the valley and river and trees with her complaint, and questions the empty fields; then she does not wish to go home and is the last to leave the sad field, and turns away, unfed, from the grass before her.

The comparison of Opheltes to an innocent and helpless calf, unable to survive without his mother, heightens the reader's sympathy for his fate and for his mother's loss. Statius' portrayal of Eurydice as a bereft mother cow, calling to her lost calf long after all others have left the field to return home, is one of the most moving in the epic and completes the image of desolation 'that is so characteristic of the lament in the *Thebaid*' (Dominik 1994: 128).[47]

Eurydice's speech therefore demonstrates the existence of an ideal in Rome that even when a wetnurse was used, the emotional bond that a mother had with her child, at least from her perspective, remained intact. Eurydice's reaction to her son's death is motivated not by indifference or detachment, but by an intense grief that is informed by maternal affection.

[47] Statius' simile resembles Lucretius' description of a mother cow searching for her sacrificed calf in his *De Rerum Natura* (252-66).

Atalanta's desperate attempts to save her son, Parthenopaeus, from battle, and her devastated grief when she fails, are also motivated by great maternal affection. Like the death of Opheltes, the death of Parthenopaeus is outstanding in the poem because Parthenopaeus was not an experienced and hardened warrior, but an innocent child who had no experience of warfare; his death, argues Vessey (1973: 294-95), serves primarily to evoke pathos. Atalanta first attempts to save her son in Book Four, when the news reaches her that Parthenopaeus is leading a force of Arcadians against Thebes. Statius describes her fear for her son when, dropping everything, she races to intercept him:

> Iamque Atalantaeas implerat nuntius aures,
> ire ducem bello totamque impellere natum
> Arcadiam: tremuere gradus, elapsaque iuxta
> tela; fugit siluas pernicior alite uento
> saxa per et plenis obstantia flumina ripis,
> ...raptis uelut aspera natis
> praedatoris equi sequitur uestigia tigris. (4.309-16)

> And now the news had filled the ears of Atalanta that her son was going to war as a leader, and was rousing all Arcadia; her steps falter, her darts fall by her side; she flees the forest, swifter than the winged wind, over rocks and rivers impeding her with full banks... Just as a tigress, her cubs snatched away, follows the cruel tracks of the predator's horse.

Atalanta's determination to protect her son presents a clear ideal of maternal devotion and protection. Her fears for Parthenopaeus, her desire to protect him, are driven by her son's youth. Atalanta's plea to Parthenopaeus to wait until his first beard grows indicates that her son is still an adolescent, poised in the transition between childhood and adulthood: *exspecta, dum maior honos, dum firmius aeuum, / dum roseis uenit umbra genis uultusque recedunt / ore mei*: 'Wait, until you honour is greater, until your age is more firm, until the shadow comes to your rosy

cheeks and my image fades from your face' (4.335-36). Parthenopaeus is further differentiated from a soldier by the fact that he carries not the spear of a warrior, but the bow of a hunter (Ahl 1967: 70-71).

Even as a hunter, Atalanta reveals, he is in need of his mother's protection; her description of Parthenopaeus' helplessness against a wild boar, how he was saved only by his mother's quick arrow, serves to highlight his young age and his dependence on her (322-26). Atalanta then voices her reasons for fearing: her inability to similarly save her son in battle: *nil te mea tela iuuabunt / nec teretes arcus, maculis nec discolor atris / hic, cui fidis, equus*: 'My shafts will not help you, nor my rounded bows, nor this black-spotted horse whom you trust' (326-28); and her son's youth. For he is not yet sexually mature, but a boy (*puer*: 330). Atalanta's agony, her futile attempts to prevent her son's death, are thus highlighted by Statius' emphasis on her son's youth.

When he is ready, his mother tells him, she herself will give him the battles he so greatly desires (4.337-39); but to her, now, he is still her child to protect, and her tears call him back (4.339). The pathos of the scene is completed by Statius' description of her final, grieving parting from Parthenopaeus: when the bugles' 'horrible signal' (*horrida signa*: 4.341-42) sounds, she is unable to send him from her devoted, loving embrace (*nequit illa pio dimittere natum complexu*: 4.343-44).[48]

Atalanta's love and devotion for her son are therefore demonstrated poignantly by her initial attempts to prevent him from going to war, by which the reader sympathises and identifies with her as a mother whose first instinct is to protect her child. Her maternal affection also informs a scene of deep pathos later in Book Nine, where she is tormented by nightmares about the approaching death of Parthenopaeus. Statius here gives a deeply sympathetic and sensitive picture of maternal fear. Atalanta dreams often, through terrifying nights weighed down with worries (*per*

[48] On the definition of familial *pietas* as an 'affectionate devotion', see Saller (1994: 131).

attonitas curarum pondere noctes / saepe: 575-76), of portents that can only be interpreted to mean that her son will die (Vessey 1973: 298). She sees his horse, his armour and his companions return home, but never him (579-81); she sees her image in flames (582). In desperation, with a 'mother's fears' (*matrum curas*: 603), she appeals to Diana to save her son. Atalanta's speech here shows the depth of her maternal torment and grief; if Diana cannot save her son, and the portents are true, then Atalanta begs her to let her die first:

> Si uera sopor miserae praesagia mittit,
> per te maternos, mitis Dictynna, labores
> fraternumque decus, cunctis hunc fige sagittis
> infelicem uterum, miserae sine funera matris
> audiat ille prior! (9.631-35)

> If sleep sends true presagings to me in my misery, I beg you, gentle Dictynna, by your mother's labours and your brother's glory, pierce with all your arrows my unhappy womb, let him hear first of his wretched mother's death!

Her prayer, her grief will be in vain; Diana is powerless to prevent Parthenopaeus' pre-ordained death (see Vessey 1973: 299). Parthenopaeus' dying words underscore the tragedy of his death by emphasising its cost to his mother. The scene is perhaps one of the most poignant in the poem (Ahl 1967: 72), and shows Statius' deep awareness of the strength of maternal love and of the resulting intensity of maternal grief upon the loss of a child. The poet's description of the dying Parthenopaeus' address to his mother, in which he laments his separation from her and her inability to perform his last rites, emphasises his vulnerability and therefore adds to the reader's sense of devastation at his death and for Atalanta's loss:

> Frigidus et nuda iaceo tellure, nec usquam
> Tu prope, quae uoltus efflantiaque ora teneres.
> Hunc tamen, orba parens, crinem...
> ...Hunc toto capies pro corpore crinem,

> Comere quem frustra me dedignante solebas.
> Huic dabis exsequias. (9.898-903)
>
> I lie cold and on the bare earth, and you are nowhere near, you who hold my face and my final breath... But take this hair, bereft parent... Take this hair in place of my whole body, which you used to adorn in vain despite my scorn. Give it burial.

Like Eurydice, Atalanta was not with her son when he died; like Opheltes' mother, she can now only mourn her son's loss. The final image of the poem is one of Atalanta's grief: *quo planctu genetrix Erymanthia clamet, / Arcada* (12.805-806): 'by what lament the Erymanthian mother mourns the Arcadian'. The poem ends not with a depiction of glory, but with one of maternal suffering; a tragic reminder of the human cost of war.[49]

The tragedy of Parthenopaeus' death is highlighted also by the continual stress that Statius places on his young age. The concept of *mors immatura* is given great prominence in the play (see Newlands 2006: 207; Brown 1994: 89), and is strongly reflected in Statius' portrayal of the deaths of Parthenopaeus and Opheltes. The pathos of Parthenopaeus' death is created through the stress that Statius places on his youth and innocence. The poet's description of Parthenopaeus on the battlefield, taking boyish delight in his glamorous accessories, emphasises that he is not a hardened warrior, but a boy, innocent of warfare (see Vessey 1973: 299). He wears a tunic that his mother spun (*hoc neuerat unum mater opus*: 9.691-92); wearied by his sword, he lets his shield drop (9.693-94); he takes joy in his polished belt-buckle and the sounds of his armour (9.694-96). Statius again stresses here that Parthenopaeus is not soldier, but hunter: his horse is a hunting steed and, like his rider, he is seeing his first battle (9.683-85). Statius reminds the reader that Parthenopaeus has not yet grown his first beard (*nondum mutatae rosea lanugine malae*: 9.703).

[49] On the grief of mothers in the poem as an expression of the human cost of the war, see Newlands (2006: 207).

Parthenopaeus' tender age is the subject of Diana's tearful lament, which increases the sense of coming tragedy. Watching his naïve delight in the trappings of war with 'gentle grief' (*mitis dolor*: 9.712-13), she mourns the fact that while he is still just a boy, in need of his mother's protection, his impetuosity has doomed him to premature death. Statius' use of language in this passage gives perhaps the clearest and most poignant picture of the boy's tender age:

> Cruda heu festinaque uirtus
> suasit et hortatrix animosi gloria leti!
> scilicet angustum iamdudum urgentibus annis
> Maenaliem tibi, parue, nemus, perque antra ferarum
> uix tutae sine matri uiae. (9.716-720)

> Alas, crude and hasty valour has persuaded you, and the urging glory of a courageous death! Doubtless, for a long time past the Maenalian wood has been narrow for you, little one, as the years urged you on, and the paths through wild beasts' dens scarcely safe without your mother.

Diana's references to Parthenopaeus as 'boy' (*puer*: 9.716) and 'little one' (*paruus*: 9.719) emphasise the fact that he is still very young, her description echoing Atalanta's earlier use of *puer* to describe her son (4.330). Throughout his portrayal of Parthenopaeus, Statius continues to describe the youth as either *puer* (for example, 9.729; 744; 791; 810) or *paruus* (9.839). Statius builds the pathos of Parthenopaeus' doom by his use of terms that highlight his immaturity, and that reflect the pathos of *mors immatura* through the concept of doomed youth. The poet's use of *puer* and *paruus* to emphasise the theme of premature death in relation to the death of Parthenopaeus reflects a similar use of these terms in the inscriptions to emphasise a child's innocence and the untimely nature of a their death. For example, the dedication made to seven-year-old Dalmatius by his father describes him as *puer* (*CIL* 6.33929), while six-year-old Salutius is described as 'innocent little one' (*parbulus* [sic] *innocens*: *CIL* 6.19383). Three-year-old Grusoclosus is also described by his parents as

paruulus; his parents lament his loss, recording a poignant prose epitaph that emphasises his infancy and his premature death (*CIL* 6.14786).

Statius' creation of deep pathos in his portrayal of the death of Parthenopaeus through language that emphasises his youth and innocence therefore is a reflection of the language used by parents to lament the untimely deaths of their children in the epitaphs of Rome and Italy, and demonstrates the strength of the concept of *mors immatura* in wider Roman society. The poet's description of Parthenopaeus' final moments, in which the poet laments the boy's premature demise, is especially poignant. Parthenopaeus is carried from the battle in his comrades' arms; in a line that 'captures the spirit of the boy in him' (Ahl 1967: 72), he weeps for his fallen horse even as he himself is dying (*moriensque iacentem flebat equum*: 9.878-79). The poet himself bewails the too-early death of the Arcadian, and thus emphasises the nature of its tragedy: 'Alas, for his naïve age!' (*heu simplex aetas!* (9.877).

The pathos of Parthenopaeus' premature death lies also in its effect on the boy's mother. In Parthenopaeus' dying speech, Statius intertwines the sorrow of the boy's death as *mors immatura* and that of maternal grief in a scene that has been described as possibly the most moving in the entire poem (see Ahl 1967: 72). Too late, Parthenopaeus becomes conscious of his own youth and impetuosity (Vessey 1978: 302). He asks Atalanta to forgive the fact that, as she told him in vain, he rushed to war when he was still too young: 'Mother, this I deserve... I, a boy, seized arms' (*merui, genetrix.../ arma puer rapui*: 9.890-91). The pathos of the scene is heightened by Parthenopaeus' description of his mother, watching for his return: 'In vain do you look forth anxiously from the hill of Lycaeus, in case any sound or dust from my company rises to you through the distant haze' (*frustra de colle Lycaei / anxia prospectas, si quis per nubila longe / aut sonus aut nostro sublatus ab agmine puluis*: 9.895-97). Parthenopaeus' death, through its embodiment of *mors immatura*, seems to form an oblique condemnation of the absurdity of war (see Delarue 2000: 404). A boy playing at soldiers, he is doomed by his own innocence, youth and naïvety

(Vessey 1973: 302). His death is 'a sin lamentable by Thebes itself' (*ipsisque nefas lacrimabile Thebis*: 9.882), tragic in its futility and in the fact that he was not a soldier, but a child whom the war should never have concerned: *C'est...un enfant que la guerre ne concernait en rien...Sa mort constitue le sommet de l'absurdité et de l'horreur* (Delarue 200: 404).

The descriptions of Opheltes and his death in the poem convey the theme of *mors immatura* upon the death of a child possibly even more strongly than those of the *aristeia* of Parthenopaeus (see Brown 1994: 89). His innocence and infancy are continually emphasised with great sentimental effect, to the point where Vessey (1973: 169 describes Statius' portrayal of the child as 'one of the most effective descriptions of an innocent child in ancient literature' (see also Brown 1994: 131). The language with which Statius depicts Opheltes, like that which he uses to describe Parthenopaeus, increases the pathos of his death through its reflection of the concept of *mors immatura*. Statius' portrait of the infant lying in the grass emphasises his helplessness and vulnerability, and shows a sensitive awareness of the characteristics and nature of a small child; and a corresponding, acute awareness of how Roman ideals of children and childhood would inform his readers' response to his portrayal of the child:

> At puer in gremio uernae telluris et alto
> gramine nunc faciles sternit procursibus herbas
> in uultum nitens, caram modo lactis egeno
> nutricem clangore ciens iterumque renidens
> et teneris meditans uerba illuctantia labris
> miratur nemorum strepitus aut obuia carpit
> aut patulo trahit ore diem nemorique malorum
> inscius et uitae multum securus inerrat. (4.793-800)

> But the boy, in the lap of the green earth and the tall grass, now crushes the pliant grasses with his onrushes, resting on his face; cries now for need of milk, calling his beloved nurse and again, smiling joyfully, he practices struggling words with his tender lips. He wonders at the sounds of the woods, or plucks at

> whatever is within reach, or with open mouth draws in the day; and he wanders in the wood unknowing of harm and utterly free from the worries of life.

Statius here draws an appealing picture of Opheltes' infant qualities that draws the reader's attention to his very young age and his utter dependency on others. Not yet old enough to walk, he crawls through the grass; he is still dependent on his nurse's milk, and cannot form coherent speech - this latter description alludes to the literal meaning of the term *infans* – 'unable to speak'. The depiction of Opheltes here foreshadows Hypsipyle's devastated lament upon the child's death in Book Five (611-15), and Eurydice's regret for the lost joys of motherhood (6.165). Pache points out that the combination of a child, flowers (plucked by Hypsipyle to console the weeping infant: 4.787-88) and a meadow 'spell danger' in the Greek tradition of the Opheltes episode, and thus the reader would already recognize the threatening nature of Statius' bucolic scene (Pache 2004: 106-107); the description of Opheltes as *puer* adds to the portrayal of infantile helplessness, and increases the pathos of his imminent death.

Again, Statius' use of *puer* to describe the child reflects a similar use of the term by parents to describe children in the epitaphs and thus to draw attention to the untimely nature of their child's death. By drawing upon the theme of *mors immatura* in his use of language to describe Opheltes, by his emphasis on the child's innocent infancy, Statius helps to ensure the reader's reaction of sympathy and sorrow upon the baby's death. The pathos of the scene is clearly suggestive of a strong attitude of sentimental attachment to infants within Roman society.

One of the most poignant ways in which Statius evokes sympathy for Opheltes, and also a sense of outrage in the reader for the nature of his untimely death, is by questioning the judgement of the gods and of Fate in bringing about the death of an infant. In a moment of 'sentimental pathos' (Vessey 1973: 188), the poet himself asks of the gods why they have given the child so terrible a destiny. Like the Greek messenger in the *Troades*,

Statius protests at the harshness of the infant's undeserved fate:[50] *Quis tibi, parue, deus tam magni pondera fati / sorte dedit? tune hoc uix prima ad limina uitae / hoste iaces?*: 'What god gave you the burden of so great a fate by lot, little one? Barely on the threshold of life, shall you be killed by this enemy?' (5.534-36). The description of Opheltes as *paruus* – 'little one' – and the description of him as 'barely on the threshold of life', highlight his innocence and tender age and render his death all the more horrific.

The questioning of the fairness of the gods and of Fate in taking a child reflects a similar theme in the expression of *mors immatura* in the funerary inscriptions from Italy, whereby parents question the justness of their child's death. In a Roman epitaph from Maria Malchis to her 17-year-old son, L. Marius Vitalis, his mother records that he was 'snatched away' by the Fates, who envied his skill in letters and artifice:

> ...consummatus litteris, parentes suasi, arteficium discerem. discessi ab urbe in praetorio Caesaris. ubi dum studerem, fata inuiderunt mihi, raptumque ab arte tradiderunt hoc loco. (*CIL* 6.8991)
>
> ...Expert in letters, I advised my parents, and learnt artifice. I left Rome in the emperor's Praetorian. While I was studying there, the Fates envied me, and, snatched from my art, they took me to this place.

Another good example of the expression of this theme can be seen in the funerary dedication from Rome made to seven-year-old Julianus by his father, L. Umbrius Saturninus. The inscription is especially touching, with the father berating the gods and the Fates for taking his son at so early:

> ...Sitis iam morte misellis...praepropera... hic etenim puer est umbri de sanguine cretus inuida quem tenerum

[50] See Vessey (1973: 188).

> parca tenax rapuit... nam solos septem proles quos dexerit orbes septuaginta forent. (*CIL* 6.29426)
>
> For here now, in this miserable place, lies a tender boy, born of Umbrian blood... whom envious and grasping Fate snatched away to a premature death... For my child had led only seven turns of the earth, which should have been seventy.

The emphasis placed by Statius on the theme of *mors immatura* in his portrayal of Opheltes shows clearly that the death of an infant in Roman society could be viewed as premature. That infant deaths were connected with the concept of *mors immatura* is shown further by the reaction of Opheltes' parents in Book Six of the epic, in the passage that deals with the child's funeral. For Lycurgus and Eurydice, the death of their son represents also the death of their hopes for his future, and the loss of his potential. The gifts that are offered to the baby's funeral pyre are 'weightier than his years' (*grauiora annis*: 6.74): his father, dreaming of Opheltes' future as a warrior, had made for him tiny bows and arrows, was rearing a horse for him, and had prepared belts and shields for when he was grown (7.74-78).

Lycurgus' reference to his son as *natus* also reflects his hopes for the future by implying Opheltes' potential as the future of his line; just as Andromache's description of Astyanax as *natus* in Seneca's *Troades* emphasises his potential as the successor of Hector. Eurydice, too, refers to her son as *natus* (for example, 6.139). The loss of her son as representing the loss of her hopes for his future potential is made poignantly clear by her first laments. She mourns the experiences that he will never know, and the destruction of her expectations for him:

> Non hoc Argolidum coetu circumdata matrum
> Speraui te, nate, sequi, nec talia demens
> fingebam uotis annorum elementa tuorum,
> nil saeuum reputans: etenim his in finibus aeui
> unde ego bella tibi Thebasque ignara timerem? (6.138-42)

> It was not thus, my son, that I hoped to follow you surrounded by an assembly of Argive matrons, nor foolish in my prayers did I imagine such things for your first years; I pondered nothing cruel: for how in my ignorance should I fear wars and Thebes for you, at your time of life?

Far from imagining that her infant child might be a casualty of a war, Eurydice dreamed of his wedding; the description of Eurydice as being 'surrounded by matrons' alludes to the wedding scene in Book Two, in which a 'chaste Argive band' surrounds Argia, Deipyle and their mother (*casta matrem cinxere corona / Argolides, pars uirginibus circum fusae*: 2.226-27). Opheltes' death is all the more shocking and cruel to her for its unexpectedness; this is not the future that Eurydice hoped for her son. Her speech echoes sentiments expressed by Seneca in his letter of consolation to Marcia: that we never expect to lose our children, and that this makes their deaths all the harder to bear (*Mar.* 17.7). Further on, Eurydice explicitly refers to her son's death as *mors immatura*, when she bitterly laments that hers has been the first death of the war: '*I* bore the first fruits of tears and of bitter death' (*primitias egomet lacrimarum et caedis acerbae.../ tuli*: 6.146-47).

The bond between mothers and children can therefore be seen to be a focal point of both Seneca's *Troades* and of Statius' *Thebaid.* In each work, mothers are portrayed as having a deep love for their children that motivates them to attempt to save those children from death; and that causes them intense and terrible grief upon their loss. The pathos created by Seneca and Statius through their portrayal of maternal grief upon the loss of a young child shows that mothers were expected to be far from indifferent upon the death of an infant, reflecting mothers' representation in the epitaphs of their bond with infant children as being a close one of great affection. Seneca's treatment of Hecuba and Polyxena demonstrates also the Roman ideal of a close and loving relationship between a mother and her adolescent daughter, as is suggested by mothers' frequent

commemoration of these daughters as *dulcissima* and as *piissima*. Through their use of language to describe children that reflects ideals of children expressed by parents in the epitaphs from Rome and Italy, Statius and Seneca show in these works that the inscriptional ideals of the mother-child bond were held in a much wider context. The emphasis on the concept of *mors immatura* in Seneca's and Statius' treatment of the deaths of the children in the *Troades* and the *Thebaid* also reflects a similar theme in mothers' commemoration of children, and shows the strength of this ideal as associated with the deaths of children in Roman society. Most importantly, Seneca's and Statius' tragic portrayal of the deaths of Astyanax and of Opheltes as premature shows that the deaths of infant children, and not only those of older children, were thought of in Rome as being *mors immatura*.

Conclusion

The patterns emerging from parents' commemoration of children in Rome and Roman Italy demonstrate the importance of the funerary inscriptions as a source for ideals and expectations of parent-child relationships within Roman society. The commemorative patterns evidenced in the extant funerary dedications used in this study show that while parents were inarguably the primary commemorators of children in the extant epitaphs from Rome and Roman Italy, their role was not a simple one; these patterns therefore warn against treating parents as one homogenous dedicand group if we are to fully exploit the potential of this source of evidence. Parents could and did choose to commemorate a child either together as joint dedicands, or separately as sole dedicands, with their roles as commemorators influenced by social values placed on the bonds between parents and children. The patterns for parental commemorative roles indicate that there was a great deal of regional variation in the emphasis placed on parents' roles as commemorators of children, and therefore the importance placed on specific parent-child relationships. The Roman funerary inscriptions suggest that parents acted as sole dedicands primarily when one partner was unavailable; the emphasis in these inscriptions is on the bond between parents and children, with parents clearly expected to act together when dedicating a funerary inscription to a child where possible.

The evidence for parental commemorative roles therefore further supports the contention that the nuclear family was the focus of Roman social values. Importantly, the inscriptions from Rome also suggest an emphasis on the father-child bond. When parents in Rome did act as sole commemorators of children, the primary role of commemoration was held by the father; this may be a reflection of the legal and social emphasis placed on the father-child bond in terms of the importance of single parent-child relationships. Other regions emphasise different parent-child relationships. The father-son bond is the most frequently expressed in the Ostian dedications; while in southern Italy alone, mothers held the primary

role as commemorators of children, suggesting a greater importance placed here on the maternal relationship than in the remaining regions of Italy.
The commemorative patterns in these inscriptions therefore show that the inscriptions can reveal far more than that parents as a whole were the main commemorators of children in Rome and Italy; they show that the individual roles played by parents commemorating children varied enormously from region to region, and therefore so did the emphasis placed on bonds within the relationship between parents and children.

The examination in this study of mothers' commemoration of children also demonstrates the importance of the inscriptional evidence for furthering our understanding of two 'invisible' relationships in Rome: those between mothers and young children, and of mothers and older daughters. The overwhelming ideal expressed by mothers themselves of their relationship with their small children as one characterized by a deep, close affection, through their frequent commemoration as *dulcissimus/a* is concrete evidence against the suggestion that mothers did not form loving, intimate attachments to young children. The patterns showing that mothers in all regions emphasised the deaths of children aged 10 and younger, the association made by mothers of the deaths of their small children as *mors immatura*, is perhaps our strongest evidence against the idea that mothers displayed an attitude of indifference towards the deaths of these children. The inscriptional evidence suggests that the primary expectation and ideal of the mother-child bond within Roman society was that mothers would love their children, and that their children would love them in return.

The inscriptions also fail to support the contention that the relationship between mothers and older daughters must have been 'a close one at best', with mothers again emphasising an ideal of a close and loving relationship in their commemoration of these daughters. The increasing frequency with which mothers represent older daughters as *piissima* reflects the increasing importance of the maternal role in the mother-daughter relationship as a daughter grew older, with the greater involvement of mothers (and the greater importance of the mother-daughter bond) reflected by a

correspondingly greater emphasis placed by mothers on a relationship of reciprocal love and devotion as the mother-daughter relationship matured, shown through a daughter's demonstration of *pietas*. Mothers' emphasis on a married daughter's *pietas* in their dedications to older daughters may also reflect a maternal anxiety that daughters would continue to demonstrate this ideal towards mothers after they married and left the natal home. Perhaps most important is the evidence in mothers' dedications to older daughters for attitudes towards unmarried girls in Rome. Mothers' commemoration of unmarried daughters shows a strong emphasis on the ideal of maternal affection, and also on the expectation of *pietas* from these daughters (though the expectation of this ideal seems to have been less expected of teenaged, unmarried daughters than of older, married daughters), suggesting that the primary maternal ideal of the bond between mother and unmarried daughter was one of a mutual, affectionate devotion. Mothers also lamented the early deaths of their daughters, with the concept of *mors immatura* stressed in their commemoration.

The evidence of the inscriptions used here for Roman ideals of an affectionate mother-daughter relationship, and of the strength of the ideal of mutual affection in maternal attitudes towards this relationship, shows the importance of this type of evidence for our understanding of the bond between mothers and daughters in Rome, and of looking beyond the evidence of the 'historical' literature when examining mother-child relationships. As was discussed in Chapter Four of this study, while the historical sources may stress the *seuera mater* ideal, with this ideal then expounded by Dixon and Phillips as the dominant ideal of the mother-daughter bond,[1] the ideal of this bond as expressed by mothers themselves in the inscriptions could not be further away than one of maternal severity or daughterly submission.

The treatment of mothers and children in Seneca's *Troades* and Statius' *Thebaid* demonstrates further the ideal of maternal affection within the

[1] See Dixon (1988); Phillips (1978).

mother-child bond in Roman society. Mothers in these works are portrayed as loving parents whose actions are motivated by their affection and concern for their children; and whose maternal love causes them immense grief and suffering upon their children's deaths. Seneca's and Statius' treatment of the death of children in the *Troades* and the *Thebaid* shows in particular the strength of the concept of *mors immatura* in Roman society; most importantly, these works show that the deaths of infant children were considered by the Romans – including Roman mothers – to be premature. Through their reflection of mothers' representation of the mother-child bond in the funerary inscriptions, these two works demonstrate the broader context in which ideals of the mother-child bond were held, and the widespread existence of these ideals within Roman society.

Appendix: Tables 1-17

Table 1.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Rome

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**7**	**154**	**102**	**47**	**48**	**37**	**5**	**400**	**87**	**487**
Parents	6	86	56	42	28	8	0	226	56	282
Fathers	**10**	**71**	**75**	**36**	**41**	**32**	**5**	**270**	**111**	**381**
Fathers	3	52	46	22	18	9	3	153	75	228
Mothers	**5**	**52**	**50**	**46**	**55**	**56**	**10**	**274**	**121**	**395**
Mothers	1	27	32	20	21	34	5	140	38	178
Total	**22**	**277**	**227**	**129**	**144**	**125**	**20**	**944**	**319**	**1263**
Total	10	165	134	84	67	51	8	519	169	688
Total all	**32**	**442**	**361**	**213**	**211**	**176**	**28**	**1463**	**488**	**1951**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 1.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Rome – *Dulcissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**6**	**105**	**46**	**24**	**12**	**8**	**2**	**203**	**46**	**249**
Parents	4	54	31	19	10	3	0	120	36	156
Fathers	**5**	**49**	**45**	**17**	**14**	**11**	**1**	**142**	**60**	**202**
Fathers	3	31	26	8	8	2	0	78	46	124
Mothers	**4**	**27**	**20**	**20**	**16**	**12**	**1**	**100**	**39**	**139**
Mothers	0	14	17	8	9	9	1	58	14	72
Total	**15**	**181**	**111**	**61**	**42**	**31**	**4**	**445**	**139**	**584**
Total	7	99	73	35	27	14	1	256	96	352
Total all	**22**	**280**	**184**	**96**	**69**	**45**	**5**	**701**	**235**	**936**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 1.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Rome – *Piissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**29**	**41**	**16**	**32**	**22**	**1**	**141**	**22**	**163**
Parents	0	17	19	16	13	3	0	68	14	82
Fathers	**2**	**11**	**15**	**12**	**16**	**13**	**3**	**72**	**27**	**99**
Fathers	0	7	9	9	8	4	3	40	15	55
Mothers	**0**	**13**	**22**	**17**	**32**	**32**	**9**	**125**	**61**	**186**
Mothers	0	9	7	10	7	19	3	55	17	72
Total	**2**	**53**	**78**	**45**	**80**	**67**	**13**	**338**	**110**	**448**
Total	0	33	35	35	28	26	6	163	46	209
Total all	**2**	**86**	**113**	**80**	**108**	**93**	**19**	**501**	**156**	**657**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 1.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Rome – *Carissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**1**	**20**	**20**	**6**	**4**	**6**	**1**	**58**	**12**	**70**
Parents	2	11	9	6	4	0	0	32	8	40
Fathers	**2**	**10**	**11**	**7**	**6**	**7**	**1**	**44**	**18**	**62**
Fathers	0	9	10	4	2	2	0	27	9	36
Mothers	**1**	**12**	**8**	**9**	**5**	**11**	**0**	**46**	**15**	**61**
Mothers	1	3	5	0	6	6	1	22	6	28
Total	**4**	**42**	**39**	**22**	**15**	**24**	**2**	**148**	**45**	**193**
Total	3	23	24	10	12	8	1	81	23	104
Total all	**7**	**65**	**63**	**32**	**27**	**32**	**3**	**229**	**68**	**297**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 1.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Rome – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**17**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**51**
	1	0	0	0	4	0	1	3	0	3	0	1	0	3	3	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	24
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**7**	**1**	**6**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**33**
	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**10**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**6**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**29**
	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	2	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	13
Total	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**7**	**1**	**0**	**34**	**1**	**13**	**2**	**5**	**4**	**8**	**12**	**6**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**113**
	1	0	0	0	6	2	1	5	0	7	0	5	2	7	3	4	0	3	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	**50**
																														Total		163

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 2.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Ostia

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**4**	**9**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**5**	**0**	**26**	**7**	**33**
Parents	1	11	4	4	1	1	0	22	7	29
Fathers	**8**	**11**	**13**	**7**	**4**	**2**	**0**	**45**	**16**	**61**
Fathers	1	5	4	4	2	1	0	17	6	23
Mothers	**2**	**8**	**3**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**22**	**7**	**29**
Mothers	0	4	3	0	5	4	0	16	6	22
Total	**14**	**28**	**21**	**10**	**9**	**10**	**1**	**93**	**30**	**123**
Total	2	20	11	8	8	6	0	55	19	74
Total all	**16**	**48**	**32**	**18**	**17**	**16**	**1**	**148**	**49**	**197**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 2.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Ostia – *Dulcissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**3**	**7**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**19**	**3**	**22**
Parents	1	9	2	3	1	1	0	17	4	21
Fathers	**5**	**11**	**9**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**34**	**8**	**42**
Fathers	0	4	3	3	1	0	0	11	4	15
Mothers	**1**	**6**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**13**	**4**	**17**
Mothers	0	3	3	0	1	3	0	10	4	14
Total	**9**	**24**	**15**	**7**	**6**	**4**	**1**	**66**	**15**	**81**
Total	1	16	8	6	3	4	0	38	12	50
Total all	**10**	**40**	**23**	**13**	**9**	**8**	**1**	**104**	**27**	**131**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 2.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Ostia – *Piissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**3**	**9**
Parents	0	3	1	1	1	0	0	6	2	8
Fathers	**1**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**8**	**4**	**12**
Fathers	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	3
Mothers	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**8**	**3**	**11**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	2	1	0	4	2	6
Total	**3**	**3**	**6**	**2**	**4**	**4**	**0**	**22**	**10**	**32**
Total	0	5	1	2	3	1	0	12	5	17
Total all	**3**	**8**	**7**	**4**	**7**	**5**	**0**	**34**	**15**	**49**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 2.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Ostia – *Carissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Parents	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Fathers	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Fathers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Total	**2**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**2**	**8**
Total	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	3	1	4
Total all	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**9**	**3**	**12**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 2.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Ostia – Other Epithets

	Pudentiss.	Meritus/a	Pudicis.	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Probus/a	Merent.	Relig.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**5**
	o	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Mothers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**12**
	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	10
																																22

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 3.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Puteoli

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**1**	**6**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**16**	**0**	**16**
Parents	0	4	5	3	2	3	0	17	2	19
Fathers	**1**	**9**	**4**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**0**	**23**	**0**	**23**
Fathers	0	2	3	1	1	0	0	7	5	12
Mothers	**0**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**13**	**3**	**16**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	2	5
Total	**2**	**19**	**11**	**5**	**8**	**4**	**3**	**52**	**3**	**55**
Total	0	6	8	5	3	5	0	27	9	36
Total all	**2**	**25**	**19**	**10**	**11**	**9**	**3**	**79**	**12**	**91**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 3.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Puteoli – *Dulcissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**8**	**0**	**8**
Parents	0	2	2	1	2	0	0	7	1	8
Fathers	**0**	**6**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**10**	**0**	**10**
Fathers	0	2	3	1	1	0	0	7	4	11
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**11**	**6**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**22**	**1**	**23**
Total	0	4	5	3	3	0	0	15	5	20
Total all	**0**	**15**	**11**	**5**	**5**	**0**	**1**	**37**	**6**	**43**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 3.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Puteoli – *Piissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Parents	0	0	2	0	0	3	0	5	0	5
Fathers	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**6**
Fathers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
Mothers	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**7**	**1**	**8**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	2	4
Total	**0**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**16**	**1**	**17**
Total	0	0	2	1	0	5	0	8	3	11
Total all	**0**	**5**	**5**	**1**	**4**	**7**	**1**	**24**	**4**	**28**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 3.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Puteoli – *Carissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Parents	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Fathers	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**6**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**2**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**11**	**1**	**12**
Total	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	3
Total all	**2**	**4**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**14**	**1**	**15**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 3.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Puteoli – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Merens	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**5**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**12**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
																																15

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 4.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Latium

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**7**	**3**	**3**	**9**	**7**	**1**	**30**	**9**	**39**
Parents	1	6	3	2	4	0	0	16	6	22
Fathers	**1**	**4**	**4**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**14**	**3**	**17**
Fathers	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	4	6	10
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**8**	**6**	**14**
Mothers	0	2	0	0	1	3	0	6	3	9
Total	**1**	**12**	**9**	**4**	**13**	**10**	**3**	**52**	**18**	**70**
Total	1	10	4	3	5	3	0	26	15	41
Total all	**2**	**22**	**13**	**7**	**18**	**13**	**3**	**78**	**33**	**111**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 4.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Latium – *Dulcissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**12**	**4**	**16**
Parents	1	6	1	0	1	0	0	9	2	11
Fathers	**1**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**7**	**1**	**8**
Fathers	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	3	6
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	4	2	6
Total	**1**	**9**	**6**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**21**	**6**	**27**
Total	1	8	2	1	1	3	0	16	7	23
Total all	**2**	**17**	**8**	**3**	**3**	**4**	**0**	**37**	**13**	**50**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 4.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Latium – *Piissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**11**	**8**	**19**
Parents	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	6	2	8
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**4**	**10**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**6**	**7**	**2**	**21**	**13**	**34**
Total	0	1	2	1	4	0	0	8	4	12
Total all	**0**	**3**	**5**	**2**	**10**	**7**	**2**	**29**	**17**	**46**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 4.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Latium – *Carissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**4**
Parents	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	3
Fathers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**0**	**7**
Total	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	4
Total all	**1**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**9**	**2**	**11**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 4.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Latium – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**10**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**7**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**15**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
																																18

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 5.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Campania

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**6**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**0**	**19**	**2**	**21**
Parents	0	1	2	2	3	1	0	9	1	10
Fathers	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**8**	**5**	**13**
Fathers	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	6	1	7
Mothers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**7**	**0**	**12**	**3**	**15**
Mothers	0	0	1	3	1	3	0	8	5	13
Total	**2**	**7**	**5**	**4**	**6**	**14**	**1**	**39**	**10**	**49**
Total	1	2	5	6	5	4	0	23	7	30
Total all	**3**	**9**	**10**	**10**	**11**	**18**	**1**	**62**	**17**	**79**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 5.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Campania – *Dulcissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**9**	**0**	**9**
Parents	0	1	1	1	2	1	0	6	0	6
Fathers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Mothers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	1	2	1	2	0	6	1	7
Total	**2**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**12**	**2**	**14**
Total	0	2	3	3	3	3	0	14	1	15
Total all	**2**	**4**	**4**	**6**	**4**	**6**	**0**	**26**	**3**	**29**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

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Table 5.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Campania – *Piissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**4**
Fathers	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**6**	**0**	**9**	**2**	**11**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	4
Total	**0**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**3**	**7**	**0**	**16**	**4**	**20**
Total	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	4	3	7
Total all	**0**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**4**	**8**	**0**	**20**	**7**	**27**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 5.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Campania – *Carissimus/a-*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Parents	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**4**
Fathers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**8**	**1**	**9**
Total	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	4
Total all	**0**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**11**	**2**	**13**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 5.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Campania – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**7**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**13**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
																																18

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 6.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Samnium -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**5**	**0**	**12**	**5**	**17**
Parents	0	1	4	2	1	1	0	9	2	11
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**6**	**10**
Fathers	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	1	4
Mothers	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**4**	**11**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	**0**	**7**	**2**	**0**	**6**	**6**	**2**	**23**	**15**	**38**
Total	0	1	4	5	1	2	0	13	4	17
Total all	**0**	**8**	**6**	**5**	**7**	**8**	**2**	**36**	**19**	**55**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 6.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Samnium – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Parents	0	0	2	2	1	0	0	5	1	6
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**6**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**10**	**4**	**14**
Total	0	0	2	3	1	1	0	7	1	8
Total all	**0**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**17**	**5**	**22**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 6.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Samnium – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**7**
Parents	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	1	4
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**4**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**10**	**3**	**13**
Total	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	2	5
Total all	**0**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**13**	**5**	**18**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 6.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Samnium – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**4**
Fathers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**8**
Total	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	3	1	4
Total all	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**7**	**5**	**12**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 6.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Samnium – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**6**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**9**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
																																11

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 7.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Umbria

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**5**	**1**	**2**	**13**	**3**	**16**
Parents	1	1	1	3	1	0	0	7	1	8
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**5**	**6**	**11**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	2	4
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**0**	**5**	**5**	**10**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	3	0	3
Total	**0**	**2**	**0**	**4**	**10**	**5**	**2**	**23**	**14**	**37**
Total	1	2	1	4	3	0	1	12	3	15
Total all	**1**	**4**	**1**	**8**	**13**	**5**	**3**	**35**	**17**	**52**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 7.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Umbria – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**1**	**6**
Parents	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	0	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**7**
Total	0	1	0	1	3	0	1	6	1	7
Total all	**0**	**3**	**0**	**2**	**5**	**0**	**1**	**11**	**3**	**14**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 7.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Umbria – *Piissimus/a-*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**7**	**2**	**9**
Parents	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**5**	**9**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**8**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**6**	**4**	**2**	**15**	**11**	**26**
Total	0	0	1	1	0	0	1	3	2	5
Total all	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**6**	**4**	**3**	**18**	**13**	**31**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 7.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Umbria – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Total	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	3
Total all	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**6**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 7.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Umbria – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Probiss.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**3**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
																																4

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 8.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Etruria-

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**8**
Parents	0	1	1	1	1	3	0	7	1	8
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**6**	**2**	**8**
Fathers	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	3	3	6
Mothers	**0**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**8**	**3**	**11**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	1	4
Total	**0**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**0**	**18**	**9**	**27**
Total	0	1	3	3	2	4	0	13	5	18
Total all	**0**	**6**	**8**	**5**	**4**	**8**	**0**	**31**	**14**	**45**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 8.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Etruria – *Dulcissimus/a-*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Parents	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**2**	**8**
Total	0	1	1	0	0	1		3	2	5
Total all	**0**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**9**	**4**	**13**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 8.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Etruria – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Parents	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**4**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**5**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Total	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**6**	**5**	**11**
Total	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	4
Total all	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**8**	**7**	**15**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 8.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Etruria – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**4**
Parents	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	4	0	4
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**7**
Total	0	0	1	0	0	4	0	5	0	5
Total all	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**10**	**2**	**12**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 8.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Etruria – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Malemer	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
.	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	5
																																7

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 9.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Sabina

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**8**
Parents	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	6	3	9
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**4**
Fathers	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	1	4
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	3	1	4
Total	**0**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**8**	**6**	**14**
Total	0	1	2	0	6	3	0	12	5	17
Total all	**0**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**6**	**5**	**0**	**20**	**11**	**31**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 9.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Sabina – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Parents	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	1	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Total	0	0	1	0	3	1	0	5	2	7
Total all	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**4**	**10**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 9.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Sabina – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Parents	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	4	1	5
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Total	0	0	1	0	4	2	0	7	1	8
Total all	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**4**	**2**	**0**	**10**	**1**	**11**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 9.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Sabina – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**3**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**4**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**6**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 9.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Sabina – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
																																5

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 10.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Picenum

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**4**
Parents	0	1	0	3	0	1	0	5	1	6
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**8**	**3**	**11**
Total	0	2	0	3	1	2	0	8	2	10
Total all	**0**	**4**	**0**	**5**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**16**	**5**	**21**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 10.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Picenum – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Parents	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	1	4
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**2**	**6**
Total	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	5	2	7
Total all	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**9**	**4**	**13**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 10.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Picenum – *Piissimus/a*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Parents	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**0**	**5**
Total	0	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	3
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**8**	**0**	**8**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 10.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Picenum – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**4**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 10.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Picenum – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
																																3

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 11.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Aemilia -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**4**
Parents	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	4	0	4
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**5**
Fathers	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	3
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3	0	3
Total	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**5**	**9**
Total	0	1	3	1	3	1	0	9	1	10
Total all	**0**	**2**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**0**	**13**	**6**	**19**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 11.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Aemilia – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Total	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	0	2
Total all	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 11.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Aemilia – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Parents	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**3**	**5**
Total	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	0	3
Total all	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**5**	**3**	**8**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 11.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Aemilia – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Total	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3	1	4
Total all	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**5**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 11.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Aemilia – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	o	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
																																1

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 12.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Apulia

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	0	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**4**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**6**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	2	3	5
Total	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**4**	**0**	**8**	**3**	**11**
Total	0	1	1	0	1	2	0	5	3	8
Total all	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**3**	**6**	**0**	**13**	**6**	**19**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 12.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Apulia – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Total	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**4**
Total	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	4
Total all	**1**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**1**	**7**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 12.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Apulia – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**4**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	3
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**3**	**6**
Total	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2	2	4
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**5**	**5**	**10**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 12.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Apulia – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total all	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 12.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Apulia – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
																																3

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 13.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Liguria

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**2**	**8**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**7**	**4**	**11**
Total	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total all	**0**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**8**	**4**	**12**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 13.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Liguria – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Total	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 13.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Liguria – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**1**	**5**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**3**	**7**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**3**	**7**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 13.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Liguria – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 13.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Liguria – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
																																1

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 14.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Transpadana -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**4**	**7**
Parents	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	2	4
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**7**	**9**	**16**
Fathers	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	3	6
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**5**	**4**	**9**
Mothers	0	0	2	0	2	0	1	5		5
Total	**0**	**1**	**5**	**2**	**1**	**6**	**0**	**15**	**17**	**32**
Total	0	1	4	1	3	0	1	10	5	15
Total all	**0**	**2**	**9**	**3**	**4**	**6**	**1**	**25**	**22**	**47**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 14.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Transpadana – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Parents	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**4**
Fathers	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**4**	**7**
Total	0	1	2	0	1	0	1	5	0	5
Total all	**0**	**1**	**4**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**8**	**4**	**12**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 14.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Transpadana – *Piissimus/a-* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**5**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**3**	**5**	**8**
Fathers	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**	**4**	**7**
Mothers	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**5**	**0**	**9**	**11**	**20**
Total	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3	3	6
Total all	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**2**	**5**	**0**	**12**	**14**	**26**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 14.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Transpadana – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**3**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**2**	**6**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total all	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**4**	**8**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 14.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Transpadana – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
																																3

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 15.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Venetia -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**5**	**1**	**6**
Parents	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	4	6
Fathers	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**4**	**2**	**6**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2	4
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**6**	**5**	**11**
Mothers	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	4	1	5
Total	**0**	**6**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**1**	**15**	**8**	**23**
Total	0	3	3	0	1	1	0	8	7	15
Total all	**0**	**9**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**23**	**15**	**38**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 15.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Venetia – *Dulcissimus/a-*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Parents	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Fathers	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**3**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**7**	**0**	**7**
Total	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	3
Total all	**0**	**6**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**9**	**1**	**10**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 15.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Venetia – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Parents	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	3
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**4**	**7**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**5**	**6**	**11**
Total	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	2	4	6
Total all	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**7**	**10**	**17**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 15.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Venetia – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**4**
Total	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total all	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**5**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 15.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Venetia – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Misella	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	o	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
																																2

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 16.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Lucania -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	3	0	3
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	3
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**1**	**4**
Total	0	1	1	0	3	1	0	6	1	7
Total all	**0**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**0**	**9**	**2**	**11**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 16.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Lucania – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Total	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3	0	3
Total all	**0**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**4**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 16.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Lucania – *Piissimus/a-*

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	2
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
Total all	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**4**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 16.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Lucania – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Total	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total all	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 16.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Lucania – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	o	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
																																2

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 17.A. Total Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Calabria -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Parents	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	2
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**5**	**2**	**7**
Total	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	4	1	5
Total all	**0**	**4**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**9**	**3**	**12**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 17.B. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Calabria – *Dulcissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**2**
Total	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total all	**0**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**0**	**4**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 17.C. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Calabria – *Piissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Fathers	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Fathers	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**2**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**2**	**5**
Total	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2
Total all	**0**	**1**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**4**	**3**	**7**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 17.D. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Calabria – *Carissimus/a* -

Dedicand	0	1-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	30+	Total	Without Age	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Parents	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Fathers	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Mothers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
Total	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total all	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

Table 17.E. Dedications by Dedicand, Honorand and Age Group from Calabria – Other Epithets

	Fidel	Miser	Carus/a	Delicio	Innocen.	Claris.	Docta	Optimus/a	Amans	Pius/a	Felicis.	Amantis.	Desiderant	Sanctis.	Incomp.	Infelicis.	Praestant.	Rariss.	Univira	Bonus/a	Reverent.	Obsequis.	Suavis.	Pudicus/a	Delicatus/a	Iucund.	Studio.	Sodalis	Fugral.	Amab.	Virg	Total
Parents	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fathers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mothers	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
																																1

Note: Bold type represents dedications to sons, non-bold to daughters

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