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# AGENTS AND OBJECTS
# CHILDREN IN PRE-MODERN EUROPE

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KATARIINA MUSTAKALLIO & JUSSI HANSKA

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# Contents

# Children in Pre-modern Europe, Agents and/or Objects?

This book is about children and young people, boys and girls, rich and poor, disabled and healthy, in different contexts in pre-modern societies. It is a result of two interwoven research projects, the first *Religion and Childhood. Socialisation in the Pre-Modern Europe from the Roman Empire to the Christian World* (2009-2012) funded by the Academy of Finland, and the other *Childhood and Socialisation* by the *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae* in Rome (2009-2013), both directed by Katariina Mustakallio. The main concern of both projects was the role and agency of children, an attempt to find out the extent to which we are able to reach and realise the agency of children and young people in different circumstances in Antiquity and the Middle Ages.

The two research teams, that of the *Academy of Finland* and that of *the Finnish Institute in Rome*, have utilised various source materials in studying different forms of socialisation of children - Etruscan wall paintings, Greek and Roman epigraphy and Classical literature, ancient historiography, papyrus documents from Roman Egypt, letters of the Church Fathers, medieval miracle collections and hagiography, as well as late medieval canonisation inquiries. The methods and approaches used in this context are multidisciplinary, that is, those of classical and medieval studies and their subfields, as well as social history, art history, anthropology and the social sciences. The common interests of the two research projects cover the socialisation process and the agency of children and young people. The active social process by which the social personhood of the young was constructed, negotiated and re-constructed is of special interest. At the same time the interactions between children and the people with whom they were in contact, peers, teachers, clients are brought into focus.

This *longue durée* approach to the problems of social history in the ancient and medieval world has recently been introduced into the research activities of the *Finnish Institute in Rome*, but has long been one of the main themes of the *Trivium* – Centre for the Classical, Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the University of Tampere. It has led to numerous joint research projects and publications, and to the on-going *Passages from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* conference -series.

In this volume the concepts of sociology and of social anthropology are utilised: the concept of socialisation is the main conceptual tool for analysis. As result of the activity in this field, recent studies have sought to understand childhood in its cultural contexts, introducing fresh topics and greater reflection on theoretical positions.[1] In Classical and Medieval Studies education has received a relatively great amount of scholarly attention.[2] During recent years however, socialisation of children by daily interaction in everyday

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1 See for example James – James 2004; Valentine 2011, 347-58.

2 See individual studies in Classen (ed.) 2005; Grubbs – Parkin – Bell (eds.) 2013; Hanawalt 1993; Lett 1997; Mantle 2002, 85-96; Finucane 1997. Several of the papers in Corbier (ed.) 2000; George (ed.) 2005; Harlow – Laurence 2002. See also Hanawalt 2002, 440-60.

life has aroused more and more attention. In every society the newcomers need to learn certain rules, regulations and the boundaries of permissible behaviour of social interaction if they wish to become full members of the community. The community affects the individual, but at the same time the community is comprised of individuals who regulate the social dynamics. Moreover, a child also socialises her/himself and affects the society in which she/he is born and lives.[3]

In this context a child is not a passive object. [4] Our focus is on the active process of internalisation of the values and culture of the surrounding society, but avoiding over-emphasising the role of the child in the process of socialisation. In Antiquity and during the Middle Ages socialisation, especially among non-elite groups, was rarely formalised: the education given by experts was not a regular part of the socialisation process. The informal instruction and *stimuli* afforded by the daily practicalities in the most intimate private sphere - parents, closest kin and neighbours - were the most important incentive to adopt certain behaviour and norms. However, one must not neglect the role of the whole community in passing on the cultural expectations. In pre-modern communities socialisation was much more a common concern of the whole community than it is today in the modern western world.

Usually in studies concerning the child, the role of the family is central.[5] In this volume however, the focus is mainly on the role of children and young people, not in the educational or other efforts of their families. Of course, even in these cases we are dealing with the family; parents and sisters are present, but they are not the centre of our interest. In some cases we do not even know much about the families of the children with whom we are dealing. In other cases the role the children play is important outside their families, and of course, sometimes the servants, teachers or even peers take an active role in the socialisation process of the children. To analyse this process the concept of gender, social construction of femininities and masculinities, is an important tool.[6] Construction of gender is essential element in forming the hierarchies, identities and modes of thought in every culture.[7]

The first chapter of this volume concerns the role and agency of young people in Roman mythical historiography. The article of **Elina Pyy** discusses the agency of youngsters in the context of Roman historiography of legendary times, especially that of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus. These historians were transmitters of the "old" moral values, *mores maiorum*, to the new generation of Romans after the Augustan revolution. Pyy shows how these young personages emphasise the ambivalent characters connected to the phase of youth in Roman literary tradition. The story of *Horatii* and *Curiatii* is a powerful example, representing the conflicts of the two rival cities, Rome and Alba Longa. As the stories of the Roman legendary past were also very much presentations of the Augustan period that produced them, in her study Pyy is not

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3 On socialisation of ancient and medieval children, see: Katajala-Peltomaa – Vuolanto 2011, 82-5; Laes 2011, of which socialisation is one of the leading themes.

4 Cf. "[S]ocialization is not something that happens to children; it is a process in which children, in interaction with others, produce their own peer culture and eventually come to reproduce, to extend and to join the adult world", see: Corsaro – Molinari 2000, 197-8.

5 See articles in Laes – Mustakallio – Vuolanto (eds.) 2015.

6 For the recent studies on gender and family in medieval period, see e.g. Farmer – Pasternack (eds.) 2003; Karras 2003. In the ancient history the *gender* approach has not so often been connected to the family history, however, see: Kuefler 2001; Hemelrijk 2004, 185-97; Katajala-Peltomaa 2009; Tinkle 2010; Murova – Toivo 2013.

7 Farmer – Pasternack (eds.) 2003, ix–xxvii. Farmer criticises recent scholarship for its tendency to fall back to the old simplistic masculine/feminine binary. However, for some scholars even the binary gender system is rather implicit.

only studying legendary stories but also how the social realities and ideological visions of the late republican/early imperial period were presented in these stories.

The article of **Sonia Taiarol** approaches the role of children and young people in the context of the culture of death, and especially in the iconography of the Etruscan Tomb paintings from the Tarquinii. This study is the first ever to concentrate on Etruscan child figures in Tarquinian tombs. She analyses the different roles and activities of these small characters in the context of the tomb paintings from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. In hierarchic and patriarchal societies, unimportant members were often represented as small figures in iconography. Taiarol discusses the problem of identifying children and slaves, servants and other less important figures presented in as smaller forms in paintings.

The third article considers the role of imperial children in the context of Roman culture of commemoration and honour. **Sanna Joska** has studied inscriptions from the Eastern parts of the Roman Empire honouring children of the Antonine imperial family. Joska's main question is why these dedicators chose to honour children when they could have celebrated the emperor himself.

Then we will turn to the activities related to the socialisation and education of the children in the Roman and Christian cultures. The focus is on the interaction between children and the people with whom they were in contact. How did children of different genders and from various social classes, from the noble to the poor families, become a part of the society? To what extent were children expected to participate in the different activities of society, work and culture?

In his article **Ville Vuolanto** scrutinises the impact of child work and the consequences of the work for the children and their families. He points out the value of the work of children for both family strategies and for the children's socialisation and integration into the local community in the Roman world. His evidence comes from the papyrus documents from Roman Egypt. **Mikko Pentti** concentrates on the influence of servants in the upbringing and socialisation of noble Christian girls in Late Antiquity. Pentti shows that servants and slaves were often the nearest and sometimes even the dearest people of the children of upper classes of the Late Roman world. Consequently, servants' children were the nearest peers and sometimes role models for noble children during their upbringing.

**Sari Katajala-Peltomaa**, in turn, shows us how the children of fourteenth-century Spoleto were supposed to take part in all of the activities of the society. Children were socialised to the norms and customs of the family and the surrounding community by participating in a pilgrimage. Of course, pilgrimages were not organised as a means of socialisation and there were numerous other processes of socialisation going on at the same time. However, children's participation in pilgrimages offers us an interesting point of view of late medieval socialisation, particularly concerning religion and religious rituals. Fortunately, not only the more prosperous families and their children left their marks on our historical evidence. In her study **Jenni Kuuliala** concentrates on the disabled beggar children from thirteenth-century miracle narratives and shows how the children found their way and managed to survive even in those gruesome circumstances.

The education of a Royal Prince from thirteenth-century France, the contribution of **Jussi Hanska**, approaches the theme of socialisation from another side of the question. Here the passive role of children in the process of learning is the focus. However, Hanska's article does not deal solely with the traditional formal education, but also sheds some light on the meaning of more informal mentors, playing, hunting and games.

The more anthropologically oriented reflection by **Svetlana Hautala** rounds off the volume. Other articles have presented reconstructions and interpretations of the history of childhood and socialisation covering a long period of time. Hautala looks at the history of such reconstructions and interpretations. She sets out to deconstruct how the dolls in the tombs of the Roman children have been interpreted and analysed during the last two hundred years. This analysis gives us a sort of meta-historical view of how the sources – in this case archaeological sources – of the history of children are open to very different interests and interpretations.

All in all, the aim of this volume is to approach the problem of the socialisation and the agency of children from different viewpoints bearing in mind that children and young people were always an active part of society. It reveals parts of the role of children of different social levels that have been neglected and, hopefully, it widens the spectrum of scholarship on children and youth in the pre-modern era. This collection of essays is the fruit of the joint labour of all the contributors. However, this book would not have been possible without the kind and generous help of several persons.

On this occasion we would especially like to name Phil. Lic. *Tauno-Olavi Huotari* (1942-2011). We remember him with deep affection for his inspiring lectures and helpful, encouraging comments to the young scholars, and also for his support and love for his family and friends in Rome and elsewhere.

Our warmest thanks go to all the collaborators of the research project in Finland, Italy and all over the world, as well as the staff of the *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae*, especially *Simo Örmä*. We would like to thank the *Institutum Romanum Finlandiae* foundation and the General Editor, Professor *Mika Kajava*, for accepting our publication for the prestigious *Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae* series, and for all the time he has dedicated to this volume. Finally, we would like to thank Dr. *Jill Bradley* for checking the language of these essays.

Tampere/Rome, Ferragosto (15th of August) 2015

*Katariina Mustakallio and Jussi Hanska*

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# The Horatii Legend and the Ambivalence of Youthful Heroism*

Elina Pyy

## Introduction

In the historiography of the Augustan era the legendary past of Rome is remarkably full of young heroes and heroines. From Marcus Curtius to Horatius Cocles and from Mucius Scaevola to Cloelia, the young Romans are depicted as rising above the rest as exemplary characters during the regal era and the early Republic. Because the theme is so central in Augustan literature it is worthwhile to consider more closely its significance in its temporal context. This means examining to what extent the youthful protagonists are characterised by their age, and what kind of significance the matter has concerning the ideological and didactic content of the stories. Is a defined conception of youth perceivable in the legendary history written in the early Principate? Is the phase of life preceding adulthood defined by certain characteristic virtues or vices? Moreover, considering the literary reconstruction of the past and the Roman identity, does youth provide a specific channel for expressing certain values and ideals of the time?

A mention should be made about the source material. It is noteworthy that among the surviving sources from the late Republic and the Augustan period there are few literary works that focus directly on the legendary past of Rome. Roman authors tended to emphasise Republican history rather than the regal period – this is evident in the surviving works of Sallust, Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus. However, there are two extensive historiographical works from the Augustan period that do discuss in length the distant legendary past: Livy's *Ab urbe condita* and Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Roman Antiquities*. In this paper I will be focusing on them.

Considering the ideological content of these works, the most significant factor is the influence of the recent past. In the early Principate one of the goals of historiography was to patch up the unity and value system that had been shattered by the civil wars, and to create a widely accepted understanding of *Romanitas* and the ideals associated with it. In this attempt, the reconstruction of the past worked as a means to create a feeling of unity and continuity. Contemporary values were introduced as age-old and eternal, in order to establish a solid basis for the collective identity.[1]

Although a great amount of research concerning the creation of values in Augustan historiography has been made, the role played by the protagonists' youth has not been comprehensively studied before. Obviously, the topic is linked with the studies of youth in Roman culture in general, especially in the public and the political field.[2] Moreover, this paper will participate in the discussion concerning heroism and exem-

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1 For a few studies on the subject, see e.g. Powell (ed.) 1992; Gurval 1995; Miller 2009; Clark 2010.

2 See e.g. Eyben 1993; Eyben 1981, 328-50; Baldwin 1976, 221-33; Isayev 2007, 1-13; Severy 2003.

plarity in Roman historiography; this is a field of study that has evoked a great amount of scholarly interest in the past few decades.[3]

Instead of comprehensively discussing all the aspects associated with youth and heroism in Augustan historiography, I will focus on the ambiguity that is characteristic of the concept, by analysing a single separate case – the story of the Horatii and the Curiatii. One of the well-known tales from the regal period, the story can be considered a representative piece of tradition concerning young heroes. By juxtaposing and mixing the juvenile virtues and vices it can deepen our understanding of how the concept of youth was defined and utilised in the Augustan period.

**The tale of the Horatii and the Curiatii**

The earliest literary versions of the Horatii story date to the Augustan era; both Livy and Dionysius related it in their Roman histories.[4] Most probably there were a variety of earlier versions circulating during the late Republic – the Augustan authors implied that the legend was well known among their coevals, and they appear to have moulded their own versions utilising a common source pool.[5]

The most apparent differences in Livy and Dionysius' accounts can be found in the amount of detail, subjectivity, and moralising.[6] Most of these are due to the fact that the two authors represent somewhat different literary traditions. Dionysius' work was directly addressed to the Greek-speaking elite in the eastern provinces and in the capital.[7] The *Ab urbe condita*, for its part, was a widely circulated Latin text that approached the past from a strongly Roman starting point.

These differences can be observed in the overall composition of the works. Livy's style is marked by a Latin-centric viewpoint – he rarely undertook a profound analysis of foreign peoples and used them mainly as a point of comparison in order to emphasise Roman qualities.[8] Dionysius' agenda, on the other hand, was to pinpoint the legacy of the Greeks to Roman culture. In the *Roman Antiquities* Rome's supremacy over other peoples is due to the adoption of the Greek civilisation.[9] The Romans and the Greeks are treated as related peoples in contrast to the barbarian, oriental Others.[10] Nevertheless, both historians represent a moralistic tradition typical for ancient historiography. Whereas Dionysius emphasised the moral development of the Roman people, caused by the adoption of the classical culture, Livy reflected the trauma of the civil war period by emphasising the moral decline that had overcome the Romans during the past centuries.[11]

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3 For a few select studies, see: Roller 2004, 1-56; Chaplin 2000; Nicolai 2007, 13-26. For some more general works, see: Mehl 2011 [2001]; Miles 1995; Forsythe 1999; Miles 2005; Evans 1985.

4 Liv. 1, 24-6; Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 13-22. The story is also briefly related in Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, where the author mentions it as an example of severity; see Val. Max. 6, 3, 6.

5 For further discussion of the sources used by the Augustan historiographers and of the earlier Republican tradition, see e.g. Mehl 2011 [2001].

6 See e.g. Solodov 1979, 251-68, esp. 252-60.

7 On Dionysius' debt to the Thucydidean tradition, see: Fox 1996, 82-98. Dionysius' attempt to supplement Polybius' work, has been discussed e.g. in Mehl 2011 [2001], 114. According to Mehl, Dionysius primarily aimed at shaping the worldview of his Greek readers, and their ideas concerning Rome in particular. Mehl 2011 [2001], 115.

8 Walsh 1961, esp. 108-9; Mehl 2011 [2001], 109.

9 Wiater 2011, 103-5; Fox 1996, 55; Mehl 2011 [2001], 114-6.

10 Fox 1996, 103, 106, also 107-10.

11 Mehl 2011 [2001], 106-7.

What is especially relevant concerning the Horatii episode is that both Livy and Dionysius were deeply interested in virtuousness and degeneration in individuals.[12] Their idea of history was dominated by powerful leaders and families, and they utilised methods of characterisation to point out what kind of virtues and vices led to the events described.[13] Therefore, Livy and Dionysius' works can be used as comparative sources when studying the portrayal of young heroes in the Horatii story. Their attention to the relationship between the individual and the community offers fruitful material for the examination of the agency of the young in the patriarchal society.

The basic storyline is relatively the same in Livy and Dionysius' versions of the story. The events take place during the reign of Tullus Hostilius. As the neighbouring peoples of Rome and Alba find themselves involved in a weary war, they decide to conserve their military power and settle the conflict by a single combat. Triplets of brothers are selected on both sides - the Roman Horatii and the Alban Curiatii who, according to Dionysius, are maternal cousins born on the same day.[14] After a long combat one of the Horatii brothers wins the day for the Romans by being the sole survivor. The war is thus brought to its end and the Romans return home rejoicing in their victory. The story has often been studied as divided in two parts, of which the above is the first: it deals with a political crisis and military glory – as well as with individual heroism at its greatest.[15]

The latter part of the tale parallels the first; instead of military heroism it discusses civic mischief and post-war purification. As the hero returns from the battle he comes across his sister, a maiden betrothed to one of the fallen Curiatii. When Horatia discovers the outcome of the battle, she bursts into tears and pours scorn on her brother for slaughtering members of their family. Horatius considers his sister's behaviour treasonable and kills her where she stands. The deed upsets the people and Horatius is brought before justice accused of *perduellio*.[16] After consideration by the king, the conviction of the *duumviri* and an appeal to the people, the youth is acquitted. However, he is obliged to go through a ritual purification ceremony to atone for his crime.

The story addresses simultaneously many legal, ritual and moral issues in Roman society – it raises questions concerning the relationship between public and private justice, *patriapotestas* and the conflicting loyalties to the family and the state.[17] For this study the story of the Horatii is of pivotal significance because

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12 Mehl 2011 [2001], 108-9.

13 Mehl 2011 [2001], 106; Walsh 1961, 82-5, 88-90; Pitcher 2007, 102-17; Mustakallio – Pyy 2015.

14 Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 13, 4; 3, 14, 1.

15 However, there are differing opinions on how strong this division between the two parts of the story is; Solodow for instance, argues that in Dionysius' account, the contrast between the two halves is obscured. Solodow 1979, 252-4. Oakley, when studying Dionysius' version, perceives a change of tone in the narrative. According to him, the first part is closely connected to the epic tradition, while the latter reflects the influence of Athenian tragedy. Oakley 2010, 118-38, esp. 122-3.

16 It is an intriguing detail that Horatius is charged with *perduellio*, a 'treason', rather than of *parricidium*, a murder of a free citizen, which legally would be more appropriate. Many Livy scholars have studied the issue taking into account the legal procedures of the late Republic and the early Principate, and attempting to trace the contemporary influence on Livy's depiction of the archaic society. See e.g. Watson 1979, 436-47; Solodow 1979, 255-8, 264-5; Ogilvie 1965, esp. 114-5.

17 Mustakallio, for instance, considers the story a powerful manifestation of the citizen's conflicting loyalties to the *patria* and to the family. Mustakallio 2012, 165-74, 169. Moreover, the story has an evident antiquarian purpose as it attempts to explain the origins of certain ritual and legal phenomena of the Augustan age. Both authors mention the ritual practice of *tigillum sororium* that, according to the legend, had its origins in the episode. Liv. 1, 26, 12-14; Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 6-9. As for the topographical sites, Livy points out that the tombs of the Horatii and the Curiatii, where they had fallen, were still visible in his age. Liv. 1, 25, 14. Dionysius also mentions the memorial place of *pila Horatia* in the Forum and a law established in memory of the episode. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 9-10. For further discussion about the etymological and the antiquarian purpose of the story, see: Poucet 1985, esp. 206-7, 220-1, 293-6; Deroy 1973, 197-206; Solodow 1979, 262-4. On *tigillum sororium*, see also: Ogilvie 1965, 117.

of the points it makes about the concepts of youth, heroism and public participation, and about the complex relationship between the three.

Noticeably, all the protagonists in the story are clearly depicted as minors. The exact age of the triplets is not mentioned; however, Livy repeatedly refers to them as *iuvenes* whereas Dionysius speaks of νεανίσκοι and μειράκια, all expressions that imply young manhood.[18] Furthermore, although the youngsters have been enrolled in the army, none of them is mentioned as having married or holding a political office. On these grounds, they can be estimated to be around twenty to twenty-five – the number of years that in Augustan Rome clearly signified youth.[19] As for Horatius' ill-fated sister, she is explicitly referred to as a *virgo* soon to be married. Since marriage was the primary maturation rite for Roman girls, Horatia clearly does not yet belong in the adult world. Considering the high social ranking of her family, presumably she would have been betrothed at an early age; at the time of her death she most likely was in her early teens.

Despite their young age, all the protagonists are active agents in the public sphere. For some of their actions they have the mandate of their elders, for others not. What appears most significant is that both Horatius and Horatia as agents are clearly and repeatedly defined by their age – how their characters are pictured is directly related to the contemporary ideas concerning the nature of youth. The considerable attention that Livy and Dionysius paid to the interaction of generations and to the independent agency of the young makes the tale appropriate material for examining the concepts of youth, prestige and plenipotentiary participation in the early Principate.

Before moving into a deeper analysis of the story, a few words should be said about its relationship to the exemplary tradition in Roman literature. Roman culture has often been considered backwards-looking and *exempla*-seeking and Roman historiography particularly didactic in nature.[20] Exemplary stories formed a canon of models of behaviour to imitate or to avoid – the past provided guidelines for the future.[21] This is why the use of *exempla* in the creation of the Roman identity has been one of the most prevalent viewpoints in the studies of Augustan literature.[22]

One of the most emblematic features of an exemplary story is the way it links action, audience and imitation to each other.[23] In order to provide models of behaviour the story needs to present at least one focaliser who recognises the *exemplum* and reacts to it.[24] The action is observed at the same time by the internal audience and the external audience; by modifying the reaction of the former, the author can influence that of the latter. This interaction between the past, the present and the future emphasises the self-conscious awareness of how *exempla* work.[25]

As Chaplin observes, the overwhelming interest in *exempla* is typical for the authors of the Augustan age because of the feeling of continuity these stories offer – *exempla* can be utilised to narrow the gap be-

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18 Liv. 1, 25, 3; 1, 26, 3; 1, 26, 10; 1, 26, 11; Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 15, 1; 3, 15, 2; 3, 15, 3; 3, 17, 6; 3, 18, 3.

19 See e.g. Eyben 1993, 9-15, 41-69; Eyben 1981, *passim*; Baldwin 1976, 221-2; Isayev 2007, 1-3.

20 Mehl 2011 [2001], 20, 108, 198; Nicolai 2007, 14.

21 See e.g. Chaplin 2000, 11-6. Naturally, an *exemplum* need not be literary; the Romans expressed exemplary stories through visual arts and performances that were omnipresent in the everyday life of the people. The discussion of what kinds of literary stories count as exemplary is never-ending, since it is extremely difficult to determine whether the purpose of a story is genuinely didactic. Chaplin aptly phrases the issue, stating that in its broadest definition *exemplum* could be defined as 'anything from the past that serves as a guide to conduct within the text'. Chaplin 2000.

22 See e.g. Roller 2004; Chaplin 1980.

23 Roller 2004, 3-5; Chaplin 2000, 3, 51-3.

24 Chaplin 2000, 3.

25 Feldherr 1998, esp. 155-64; Solodow 1979, 257-9; Chaplin 2000, 4, 51-3, 103, 109.

tween the past and the present.[26] The urge to reach for the future while clinging to the past is apparent in the exemplary stories of Augustan historiography.

What is particularly relevant when considering the Horatii legend is the role of youth in the exemplary tradition. It has been argued that in Roman historiography one can perceive a generational conflict in the attitudes towards the past: old men are depicted as leaning towards history, whereas the young tend to disregard it.[27] Due to the inexperience associated with youth, the youngsters are often characterised as the audience of exemplary stories; through errors, they learn to respect the past.

However, when studying the stories about heroic youngsters in the histories of Livy and Dionysius, it is obvious that the Roman historians also utilise the young as agents in the exemplary tales in order to give examples of behaviour. This is apparent in the story about the Horatii and the Curiatii. There, the models of behaviour are transmitted explicitly through the young people; their role is not to be the audience that receives the lesson but the active agents who deliver it.

Moreover, among the Roman exemplary stories the Horatii legend stands out because of its moral ambiguity – it cannot be characterised as an unequivocally good or bad *exemplum*. Compared to the virtuousness of Horatius Cocles or Mucius Scaevola, or to the mischief of the sons of Iunius Brutus, the protagonists of the Horatii story are of a more ambiguous nature. Their virtues and vices, in the first place, are strictly interrelated and secondly, appear to be characteristic of their young age. In this story youthful heroism and anti-heroism are merged together, which makes it an excellent source when examining values and ideas connected with youth in Augustan literature.

**The representative role of young heroes: patriotic virtues and military strength**

In order to examine what constitutes heroism in the Horatii story we should examine the sorts of qualities with which Livy and Dionysius provided the protagonists of the tale. In the beginning of the story, the Horatii and the Curiatii are depicted as optimal representatives of qualities required of a Roman soldier: both physical and mental qualities are taken into account. Dionysius praised them for their 'beauty and strength and nobility of mind', and added that they were 'brave in arms, most comely in appearance'.[28] Livy presented them as *trigemini fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares*, and laid stress on mental qualities by depicting them as *iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes*.[29]

In addition to their strength and courage, the authors praised the young warriors for their patriotic morale. Livy stressed that 'neither side thought of its own danger, but of the nation's sovereignty and servitude, and how from that day forward their country must experience the fortune they should themselves create'.[30] Dionysius, in turn, repeatedly emphasised that of their own free will they were ready to risk their lives for

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26 Chaplin 2000, 169-72, 201-2.

27 Chaplin 2000, 107-8.

28 κὰλλος τε καὶ ῥώμην καὶ δὴ καὶ ψυχῆς γενναιότητα μηδενὸς τῶν ἄριστα πεφυκότων χείροσι γενέσθαι, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 13, 4; ὑπὲρ πάντων γένει τε μηδενὸς χείρονας καὶ τὰ πολέμια ἀγαθοὺς ὀφθῆναί τε καλλίστους, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 14, 1. The English translation of the *Roman Antiquities* by E. Cary, on the basis of the version by E. Spelman, *LCL* 1953.

29 Liv. 1, 24, 1; 1, 25, 3. The tendency to emphasise both the skills and the appearance of young heroes can be perceived in epic poetry as well. Virgil introduces Nisus to his audience as *acerrimus armis* and Euryalus as the most beautiful of all the Trojan warriors. Other young warriors, Lausus, Pallas and Camilla are likewise praised for their appearance as well as for their courage and fighting skills. Verg. *Aen.* 7, 803; 9, 176-81; 11, 432; 11, 498; 11, 800-1. For some further discussion on beauty and battle prowess in the depiction of young warriors, see e.g. Pyy 2014.

30 *Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent*, Liv. 1, 25, 3-4.

the benefit of the people.[31] As Oakley notes, by emphasising this the authors attempted to idealise the heroes and make them appear as paragons of selfless patriotism – particularly in Livy's account, the stress laid on the community (evident by the frequent use of *imperium*) highlights the young heroes' submission to the need of the *patria*.[32]

Indeed, this patriotic high-mindedness appears to be an integral part of the young warriors' characters; it springs from their noble birth and is complemented by their physical fitness and warlike courage. Moreover, it seems to be the quality that assures that their other virtues are appropriately offered in the service of the community. Beauty, strength, courage and selfless patriotism are thus represented as characteristics that together form the ideal warrior.

This kind of an introduction of the protagonists is to be expected, of course – it fittingly labels the young warriors as the heroes of the story from the beginning.[33] What is more, the degree to which the Horatii and the Curiatii are associated with their troops as a whole, in effect constitutes their most defining characteristic - their position as the representatives of their respective social groups - first, young warriors in general, and second, the Roman and Alban peoples in particular.

The representative position of the Horatii and the Curiatii of course, is evident by the fact that it is a story about a single combat – a matter that *ipso facto* raises one or a few soldiers above the others as exemplary characters. Oakley points out that single combat, as a particularly heroic form of war, in Roman literature is usually closely associated with youth, rashness and a desire for glory – rather than a military strategy, it appears an opportunity for individuals to show valour.[34]

However, in the Horatii legend the single combat is depicted as an event where individual glory and the common good harmoniously interrelate. The story is one of few examples among Roman literature where the outcome of the war is determined by a single combat.[35] Thus, these young heroes are not only outstanding examples of their peoples' valour, but they become embodiments of their peoples – the personifications of the fate and the future of entire communities.

The selection of the representatives is a crucial part of the story, for it is the moment when the age of the protagonists appears as a vital factor for the first time. Dionysius related that as soon as the generals announced the pact that had been made about a single combat,

> there rose a wonderful emulation among the officers and soldiers alike, since a great many were eager to carry off the prize of valour in the combat and expressed their ambition not only by their words but

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31 Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 15, 4; 3, 16, 2; 3, 16, 3.

32 Oakley 2010, 127-8, 131.

33 It is worthwhile to note that these kinds of 'masculine' virtues are most typical of the legendary stories of the Roman past – even when the protagonists are female. Often in the stories of heroic women or girls their heroism appears to be very masculine in nature – Livy and Dionysius' run-away virgin Cloelia and Virgil's warrior-maiden Camilla are a couple of examples of this. These legendary heroines are depicted as rising above their gender; they are represented as amalgamations of high-mindedness and self-sacrifice that under difficult circumstances can be manifested in women as well as in men. In the case of the heroines, youth appears to be of particularly crucial significance; the virginal status of the maidens allowed the authors to associate them with masculine roles that would be unthinkable for a matron. Youth, therefore, is an integral part of the gender role-play in Roman legendary stories: as a transitional phase characterised by ambiguity of identity, it offers an excellent environment to present unconventional behaviour. For a deeper analysis of the ambiguous nature of the heroic maidens, see e.g. Roller 2004, 38-50; Boyd 1997; Beltrami 1994; Pyy 2010, 181-203, esp. 196-201; Pyy 2014, 191-214.

34 Oakley 1985, 392-410, esp. 403-34, 406.

35 Oakley 1985, 399. Furthermore, the Horatii story is the only depiction of a single combat within Roman literature where a Roman (or, in this case, two Romans) die in the combat (Oakley 1985, 407). Also, unlike most stories about single combats, the *Horatii* tale stresses the similarities rather than the differences between the fighting warriors – the enemy does not appear as an arrogant aggressor but as physically and mentally equal to the Romans. This is a rather unique feature, and it is somewhat puzzling that Oakley does not mention the matter in his thorough discussion of the topic.

> also by their actions, so that their leaders found great difficulty in selecting the most suitable champions.[36]

That the representatives should be selected from the youngest of warriors was taken for granted by both Livy and Dionysius – this is hardly surprising, since physical prowess naturally is crucial for the task. However, there are other qualities associated with youth that support favouring young candidates. Most importantly, youthful enthusiasm is emphasised. Dionysius declared that upon hearing about the task, the Curiatii 'accepted the proposal with incredible and wonderful alacrity', and the Horatii, when consulting their father, eagerly claimed to 'rather be dead than to live unworthy both of you and of our ancestors'.[37] Livy, too, stressed the youngsters' battle lust that was encouraged by their comrades' cheering.[38] It seems that besides physical fitness, the boundless eagerness, indifference to danger and the fascination of self-sacrifice are considered qualities that make the youngsters ideal to undertake the fatal patriotic task.

**The one and the many: youth as embodiments of the Roman power**

Nonetheless, the question of why these particular youngsters remains. In Dionysius' version the Alban general Fufetius interprets the wondrous existence of triplet brothers on both sides as a divine omen, and on these grounds proposes them as combatants.[39] What is particularly striking is that this is the only weighty reasoning for favouring the Horatii and the Curiatii over others. In other words, the youngsters are not selected for any special skills that would set them apart from the other youths – on the contrary, Dionysius made it evident that they are no better than many other voluntary candidates.[40] Furthermore, Fufetius explains that by choosing the triplets,

> "the emulation of the other youths, which cannot be easily appeased in any other way, will be promptly settled....For they [the others] will then look upon themselves as inferior to the triplets, not in point of bravery, but only in respect of a special boon of Nature and of the favour of a Chance that is equally inclined toward both sides".[41]

Apparently, the plan works out as expected, since both Livy and Dionysius stressed the strong bond between the heroes and their respective troops who gaze at them and cheer.[42] The fact that their peers identify with the Horatii and the Curiatii enhances the representative role of these youths and presents them as a sample of the whole of their contemporaries.

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36 θαυμαστὴ μετὰ τοῦτο κατεῖχε φιλοτιμία καὶ λοχαγοὺς καὶ στρατιώτας πολλῶν πάνυ προθυμουμένων ἐξενέγκασθαι τὰ τῆς μάχης ἀριστεῖα καὶ οὐ λόγῳ σπουδαζόντων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ φιλοτιμίας ἀποδεικνυμένων, ωστε χαλεπὴν γενέσθαι τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν αὐτῶν τὴν τών ἐπιτηδειοτάτων διάγνωσιν, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 12, 1.

37 "τεθνάναι γὰρ ἂν βουλοίμεθα μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἀνάξιοι γενόμενοι σοῦ τε καὶ τῶν προγόνων", Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom* 3, 15, 3; 3, 17, 4; see also 3, 16, 2.

38 *feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium vocibus,* Liv. 1, 25, 1.

39 Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 14, 1-3. In Roman culture births of twins or triplets were often considered an omen and meaningful; see e.g. Dasén 2005, 72-83.

40 Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3, 14, 2.

41 "ἥ τε φιλοτιμία τῶν ἄλλων νέων χαλεπὴ λυθῆναι δι'ἑτέρου τινὸς οὖσα τρόπου ταχεῖαν ἕξει κρίσιν - - οὐ γὰρ ἀπετῇ λείπεσθαι δόξουσι τῶν τριδύμων ἀδελφῶν, ἀλλὰ φύσεως εὐκληρίᾳ καὶ τύχης ἰσορρόπου πρός τὸ ἀντίπαλον ἐπιτηδειότητι", Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3, 14, 2-3.

42 A strong bond between the actor and the internal audience has been considered a crucial component in exemplary stories in general. See e.g. Roller 2004, 3-4; Chaplin 2000, 50-72; Oakley 2010, 133-4.

This being the situation, the youthful heroism of the Horatii and the Curiatii, in effect appears as a pronounced manifestation of Roman (and Alban) military power and grandeur in general.[43] The complex relationship between the one and the many that marks Roman history is subtly discussed in the story about the heroic youngsters.[44] The story about individual heroism is subordinated to the bigger picture of Roman power that is based on the virtues of the young.

Therefore, the idolising of the Horatii and the Curiatii appears to serve a purpose to fortify the idea of the flourishing Roman virtues. These virtues are strongly warlike in nature, and they effectively construct an image of the almighty military potency of the people. When legendary youths – either Romans or Latins who later become a part of Rome – are represented as embodiments of military virtues, in the minds of the audience they become personifications of the Roman army. In addition, the emphasis on the youth of the protagonists implies the continuance of the strength and power of Rome. The future of Roman grandeur lies in the hands of the young; as the valour of the young is emphasised, the reader is subtly encouraged to have confidence in the continuance of Roman military power and supremacy. The idea of an unbreakable lineage of the patriotic virtues is at its strongest when represented through the youngest of warriors.

The first part of the Horatii story therefore participates in the discussion concerning patriotism, future and continuity, with the stress on the military aspect. That these are the points that the Augustan authors chose to emphasise is hardly surprising; the dissolution in the government of the regions and the disruption of the army were major factors that evoked insecurity in the first years of the Augustan regime. After Actium newly united Rome met with an immense challenge of finding internal balance while maintaining its position as the supreme Mediterranean military power.[45] By depicting the Roman virtues flourishing in the young warriors, Augustan historiography sought to fight the insecurity brought about by the civil strife. The Horatii and the Curiatii are introduced as an affirmation of the Roman grandeur that would prosper from generation to generation.

**Ambiguity and anti-heroism: the inconsiderate rashness of youth**

The first part of the Horatii story, therefore, is fairly typical of an exemplary story from the legendary past of Rome. The courage, strength and patriotism of the protagonists are depicted in an idolising tone that is supposed to encourage enthusiasm and emulation in the external and the internal audience alike. Moreover, the stress laid on the youth of the heroes associates their virtues with the future of the people and creates a feeling of continuity.

Nevertheless, as the story goes on it becomes more difficult to fit it into the classical frame of an *exemplum*. Livy and Dionysius' accounts of the death of Horatia differ somewhat in the amount of detail; however, both authors made evident the moral ambiguity of the episode. Livy represented Horatius' murder of

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43 The idea seems to be the same as in the story of Mucius Scaevola – when the king Porsenna admires his courage and sublimity, the young hero responds (albeit deceitfully) by claiming that there are three hundred on the same mission "*principes iuventutis Romanae"* (Liv. 2, 12, 14-16), 'all of the same age and all of patrician birth' with his resilience and valour; "῾Ρωμαίων ἄνδρες τριακόσιοι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχοντες ἡλικίαν ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν πατρικίων ἅπαντες", Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 5, 29, 3-4.

44 A discussion of the concepts of 'the one' and 'the many' in Roman literature can be found in e.g. Hardie 1993, esp. 3-11; Cornell 1975, 1-32; Alföldi 1974, esp. ch 6 "Zweiteilung und Doppelmonarchie"; Henderson 1991, 30-80.

45 The ideal of a strong and united superpower can be clearly observed in the stress laid on the recent foreign conflicts during the early years of the Principate. In the visual material from the Augustan era the foreign victories and the Roman rule all over the *imperium* are far more common topics than Octavian's victory in the civil war. See e.g. Wyke in Powell (ed.) 1992, 86-129, esp. 117-21; Gurval 1995, 4-6; Zanker 1987, esp. 85-90.

his sister as *atrox visum id facinus patribus plebisque*, emphasising the diminishment of the youth's valour in the eyes of his community.[46] Dionysius, on the other hand, stressed the approbatory attitude of Horatius' father, in order to make clear his own disapproval:

> But so averse to baseness and so stern were the manners and thoughts of the Romans of that day and, to compare them with the actions and lives of those of our age, so cruel and harsh and so little removed from the savagery of wild beasts, that the father, upon being informed of this terrible calamity, far from resenting it, looked upon it as a glorious and becoming action.[47]

The main difference between Livy and Dionysius' accounts is that Dionysius followed his agenda of emphasising the civilised nature of the contemporary era, brought by the Greek cultural influence. He blamed the Romans of the past for savagery, while Livy blamed Horatius alone, representing him as a horror to his fellow citizens.[48] Nevertheless, neither of the authors appeared to accept the youngster's behaviour but depicted it in a highly disapproving tone.

Both Livy and Dionysius however, recognised the difficulty of judging Horatius, considering his recent heroism. Dionysius expressed the problem as he told that during the trial,

> the king was in great perplexity what decision to pronounce in the cause. For he did not think it seemly either to acquit any person of murder who confessed he had put his sister to death before a trial - - or to punish as a murderer any person who had chosen to risk his life for his country and had brought her such great power.[49]

Livy, too, was obliged to admit that *recens meritum facto obstabat*.[50] His awareness of the problem becomes obvious in the words of Horatius' father when he speaks in favour of his son:

> "This man you saw but lately advancing decked with spoils and triumphing in his victory; can you bear, Quirites, to see him bound beneath a fork and scourged and tortured? - - Go, lictor, bind the hands which but now, with sword and shield, brought imperial power to the Roman People! Go, veil the head of the liberator of this city!"[51]

Even though the battle for *imperium* and the murder of the maiden are two ostensibly separate cases, Horatius' status as the saviour of the people makes it impossible to judge him based on commonplace norms. *Patres plebisque* are torn between their gratitude towards the hero and their sense of justice. The ambiguity that marks the story throughout is at its strongest when the law, the morals and the ability to make circumspect decisions are confronted.[52]

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46 Liv. 1, 26, 5.

47 οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μισοπόνηρα καὶ αὐθάδη τὰ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἤθη καὶ φρονήματα ἦν καὶ, εἴ τις αὐτὰ βούλοιτο παρὰ τὰ νῦν ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐξετάζειν βίους, ὠμὰ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ τῆς θηριώδους οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντα φύσεως, ὥστε πάθος οὕτω δεινὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἀκούσας οὐχ ὅπως ἠγανάκτησεν, ἀλλὰ καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως ὑπέλαβε τὸ πραχθὲν ἔχειν, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 21, 7-8.

48 On Dionysius' moral agenda and its expressions in the tale of the Horatii in particular, see e.g. Oakley 2010, 123-6, 136-8; Horrillo 2010, 65-83, esp. 80.

49 τὸν βασιλέα κατεῖχεν ἀμηχανία, τί τέλος ἐξενέγκῃ περὶ τῆς δίκης. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπολῦσαι τοῦ φόνου τὸν ὁμολογοῦντα τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀνῃρηκέναι - - - οὔτε ὡς ἀνδροφόνον ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἑλόμενον προκινδυνεὺσαι καὶ τοσαύτης αὐτῇ δυναστείας γενόμενον αἴτιον, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 4-5.

50 Liv. 1, 26, 5.

51 *"Huncine", aiebat, "quem modo decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? - - I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius - -"*, Liv. 1, 26, 10-11.

52 On Livius' subtle treatment of this moral problem, see e.g. Solodow 1979, 257-60; Watson 1979, 440-1.

Therefore, the latter part of the story deepens the psychological dimensions of the tale. If one accepts the definition of an exemplary story to be such that it evokes a desire to imitate,[53] then this is where the tale ceases to be a classic *exemplum*. From Horatia's murder onwards one cannot consider Horatius' actions as exemplary either good or bad – heroism and anti-heroism mix in his character, causing great confusion in the internal audience as well as in the external one.

**The threat of juvenile *ferocitas***

The ambiguity of Horatius' character becomes evident when we notice that his virtues and vices actually spring from the same quality of his personality. Livy made this clear by a deliberate choice of words. *Ferocitas* is an attribute he associated with Horatius throughout the story; however, the connotations of the word differ considerably depending on the circumstances. At the beginning of the battle, *ferox* is used with highly positive connotations: *feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni adhortantium uocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt*.[54] When Horatius, after the fall of his brothers, proceeds to meet the two Curiatii, *ferox* appears again, as if to emphasise his eagerness and potency. *Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox*.[55] Thus, judging by the first part of the story, it would seem that *ferox* is as an expression that is used to emphasise the protagonists' *virtus*. What is striking however, is that the next time Livy used the word the young hero is represented in quite a different light. As Horatius loses his temper and draws his sword on his sister, it is stated that *Movet feroci iuveni animum conploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico*.[56] Thus, the same characteristic that made possible Horatius' virtuous fight is depicted as the reason behind his culpable crime.

The multiple meanings of *ferox* in Livy's history have been widely discussed before. It has been considered a term loaded with ambiguous meanings, 'from boldness or spiritedness to savagery or arrogance'.[57] Solodow for instance, suggests two different translations for the word, commendatory 'fierce' and disapproving 'savage'.[58] According to Penella, *ferox* associated with Horatius at the moment of his crime 'looks back to his martial valour and forward to his *atrocia*'.[59] The basic idea is more or less the same in all of these interpretations: the multiple meanings of the word are deliberate and significant, and they imply the transition in the story from the public to the private sphere. As Oakley puts it, 'qualities of character that serve well in war do not always make for comfortable coexistence in domestic life'; 'usefully *ferox* against his opponents (25.7), Horatius is unwisely *ferox* (26.3) towards his sister'.[60]

However, I suggest that even more significant is how Livy associated *ferocitas*, and its pejorative connotations in particular, with youth. In the story hitherto Horatius is referred to a) by his name, b) as one of the warriors, c) as the victorious one, d) as an enemy to the last surviving Curiatius, e) as Horatia's brother,

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53 Roller 2004, 32.

54 Liv. 1, 25, 1-2.

55 Liv. 1, 25, 7.

56 Liv. 1, 26, 3.

57 Penella 1990, 207-13, esp. 211-2. Penella aptly defines *ferocitas* as 'an overripe might, a physical force untempered and potentially excessive'.

58 Solodow 1979, 253.

59 Penella refers to Liv. 1, 2, 5, in particular. Penella 1990, 211.

60 Oakley lists other examples of Livy's use of the term that are particularly loaded with moral ambiguity, e.g. in 5, 36, 1; 6, 23, 3; 8, 7, 8. Oakley 2010, 137.

or d) as *Romanus* or the champion of the Romans.[61] However, when he turns his fierceness and his sword against his sister Livy characterised him as a youngster - *Movet feroci iuveni animum conploratio sororis*.[62] Likewise, *iuvenis* appears thrice when the trial is arranged to try Horatius for his crime.[63] To make the matter explicit, the old age of Horatius' father is stressed in contrast to his son - *Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus*.[64]

Hence, the youth of the hero becomes his defining characteristic precisely at the moment he loses his temper and misuses his virtuous *ferocitas*. It is implied that had Horatius been an older man he would have been able to restrain his anger. The emphasis that Livy put on Horatius' age when discussing his crime appears deliberate and significant. With a subtle choice of words the author represented the hero's greatest virtue and his greatest vice as one and the same thing – and, more importantly, as something that is closely associated with a certain phase of life.

The tendency of the Roman authors to associate youth with rashness and indiscretion has been widely noted. The matter is particularly evident in the representations of the legendary past where the juxtaposition between the fierceness of youth and the *disciplina* of old age is a recurring phenomenon[65] The restraint and deliberation that characterise the older men and youth as an antithesis to all this has been considered an integral feature in the *Ab urbe condita* in particular.[66] The association between youth and *ferocitas* is especially quintessential to the ten books that relate the reign of Tullus Hostilius. As a contrast to Numa's peaceful reign, Tullus is depicted as *ferocior etiam quam Romulus*.[67] He is a *rex bellicosus* who *undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat*.[68] Moreover, as Penella points out, Tullus' *ferocia* is reflected in the *ferocia* of his contemporaries.[69]

However, it is noteworthy that it is not *ferocitas* alone that characterises Tullus' reign, but its particular association with youth. When Livy introduced the new king, besides mentioning his bellicosity, he laid stress on his age. Moreover, the author described the king's youth as one of the crucial reasons behind his fiery character - *Cum aetas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat*.[70] Studied against this background, Horatius' story appears to be part of a bigger picture – a story about Rome struggling with its

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61 *unius quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant* (Liv. 1, 25, 6-7), *iam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat* (1, 25, 9), *Romani adiuvant militem suum* (1, 25, 9-10), *victusque fratrum ante se strage victori obicitur hosti* (1, 25, 11-12), *Romanus exsultans* (1, 25, 12), *Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt* (1, 25, 13), *Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens* (1, 26, 2), *cognitoque super umero fratris paludamento sponsi* (1, 26, 2).

62 Liv. 1, 26, 3.

63 Liv. 1, 26, 10; 1, 26, 11; 1, 26, 13.

64 Liv. 1, 26, 10.

65 Oakley 1985, 404; Néraudeau 1976, esp. 249-58. For further discussion, see: Baldwin 1976; Eyben, *cit.* n. 2; Isayev 2007.

66 Chaplin 2000, 110-1, 119, 130. Examples of youthful *ferocitas*, ignorance or indifference can be found e.g. in the story of Perseus (Liv. 45, 8, 1-5) and in the story of Fabius (Liv. 8, 30ff). Chaplin perceptively expresses the issue, stating that 'Fabius' military success may benefit Rome, but it results from youthful insubordination. He needs the status of his father and the Senate to protect him, and he is not absolved until there is extensive public acknowledgement of Papirius' authority' (Chaplin 2000, 111) – this case could be effectively compared with the *Horatii* story.

67 Liv. 1, 22, 2.

68 Liv. 1, 31, 5; 1, 22, 2-3. For Tullus *ferox*, see: 1, 22, 2; 1, 23, 4; 1, 23, 10; 1, 27, 10; 1, 31, 6. The matter has been studied at length by Penella. According to him, the literary characters of the first four kings symbolise the 'archetypal balance of military competence and the *pacis artes*' (Penella 1990, 237) – Tullus carries on the legacy of Romulus in a sense that the hallmark of his reign is *ferocitas*, whereas Numa is the ultimate representative of the peaceful rule. Finally, the warlike and the peaceful governance form a synthesis in the reign of Ancus Marcius. Concerning Tullus in particular, see: Penella 1987, 233-7, esp. 235-6; Penella 1990, 207, 211-2.

69 Penella 1990, 207-8.

70 Liv. 1, 22, 2.

growing pains, and of a young community that in many respects is similar to its leaders and heroes - fierce in war, but also reckless, imprudent and unaware of its fatal weaknesses. When Horatius takes up his sword against his sister, *ferox iuvenis* recalls the nature of the king and reflects the moral stage of society as a whole.

**Conflicts of interest: public and private, family and state**

In a story marked by juvenile shortcomings, Horatius is not the only protagonist who is blamed for rashness and lack of judgement. In fact, Livy and Dionysius accused the hero's hapless sister of the same weakness. Dionysius depicted Horatia as frantically storming through the city to learn the outcome of the battle. He related that 'she could no longer contain herself, but leaving the house, rushed to the city gates like a maenad', and, at the sight of her beloved's robe among her brother's spoils, 'rent her garment, and beating her breast with both hands, fell to lamenting and calling upon her cousin by name, so that great astonishment came upon all who were present there'.[71]

Horatia therefore is depicted as overwhelmed by passion, behaving in a highly inappropriate manner. Her grief is understandable, as she has just lost two brothers and three cousins, one of whom was her husband-to-be. Nevertheless, her decision to express it by wailing and tearing her clothes exceeds the limits of suitable behaviour. In Roman historiography this kind of behaviour is usually assigned to women when the community is in danger or has been struck by a tragedy.[72] Perversely, Horatia indulges in these powerful mourning rites at the moment of a great military victory. When the public joy is at its highest she cries and calls out the name of the dead enemy. It was clear to Livy, Dionysius and their audience that this was most inappropriate behaviour. More importantly, it was most immature behaviour. When the episode is studied carefully, it appears that the reason for Horatia's unsuitable actions is no other than her young age. Just like her brother, Horatia is unable to distinguish the private and the public sphere because of her immaturity. Livy made this implicit when, after Horatia's outburst, he deliberately called her not *virgo* but *puella*, thus emphasising the childishness of the girl.[73] Horatia's passion is likewise characterised as juvenile, as her brother blames her for her *immaturo amore*.[74]

What constitutes the irony is that immediately after these accusations Horatius becomes the victim of his *own* immature passion. Thus, Livy underlined the tragedy caused by the stormy emotions of two people too young to recognise the different natures of public and private agency. Besides this shortcoming, the siblings appear to have difficulties reconciling the interests of the family and the state. This was stressed by Dionysius, who makes it a central issue in their conversation:

> After she had bewailed the death of her betrothed she stared with fixed gaze at her brother and said: "Most abominable wretch, so you rejoice in having slain your cousins and deprived your most un-

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71 οὐκέτι κατέσχεν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκλιποῦσα τὴν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ αἱ μαινάδες ἐφέρετο πρὸς τὰς πύλας - - - τόν τε χιτῶνα κατερρήξατο καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις παίουσα τὸ στῆθος ἐθρήνει καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἀνεψιόν, ὥστε πολλὴν κατάπληξιν εἰσελθεῖν ἅπαντας ὅσοι κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἦσαν τόπον, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 21, 3; 3, 21, 4-5. Livy, too, relates that Horatia s*olvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appellat*, Liv. 1, 26, 2-3.

72 For some analysis of the traditional and ritual aspects of (women's) mourning, see e.g. Loraux 1991 [1990], esp. ch 3, 'Le lacrime efficaci delle matrone'; Mustakallio 1990, 125-42; Mustakallio 2003, 86-98; Fögen (ed.) 2009; Suter (ed.) 2008; Mustakallio 2012, 169-71.

73 *Stricto itaque gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit puellam*, Liv. 1, 26, 3-4, compare with earlier *cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat,* (1, 26, 2).

74 Liv. 1, 26, 4. It is noteworthy that Valerius Maximus too, in his account of this legendary tale states that Horatia was 'weeping more profusely than became her years', *profusius quam illa aetas debebat flentem*, Val. Max. 6, 3, 6.

> happy sister of wedlock! Miserable fellow! Why, you are not even touched with pity for your slain kinsmen, whom you were wont to call your brothers, but instead, as if you had performed some noble deed, you are beside yourself with joy and wear garlands in honour of such calamities. Of what wild beast, then have you the heart?"[75]

The difference in their viewpoints becomes obvious in Horatius' answer:

> "The heart of a citizen who loves his country and punishes those who wish her ill, whether they happen to be foreigners or his own people. And among such I count even you; for though you know that the greatest of blessings and woes have happened to us at one and the same time – I mean the victory of your country, which I, your brother, am bringing home with me, and the death of your brothers – you neither rejoice in the public happiness of your country, wicked wretch, nor grieve at the private calamities of your own family but, ignoring your own brothers, you lament the fate of your betrothed ... "[76]

Livy's Horatius reacts in the same manner – annoyed by his sister's mourning *in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico*[77] he considers her *oblita fratrum mortuorum vivique, oblita patriae*.[78] Obviously, Horatius and Horatia define family in different terms, and both believe that they express their familial loyalty in an appropriate way. Sadly, they are both dangerously off the mark. Horatia fails to realise that at times the need of the community entitles an individual to turn his blade against his family. Horatius, slaying his sister, fails to recognise a situation where it does not. Certain of the superiority of their opinions, both dramatically overreact to the situation.

The emblematic issue concerning Horatia's death is summarised by Pavón, who considers both protagonists wild-hearted creatures, led by their passionate impulses rather than by reason.[79] I would stress that these passionate impulses are first and foremost due to the youth and immaturity of the siblings. Livy and Dionysius drew attention to the threat brought by juvenile enthusiasm and implied that this is something that characterises, besides the young in general, the reign of Tullus Hostilius and the early history of Rome in particular.

**Horatius' atonement: purification and initiation**

The challenges that the community faces when dealing with youth become particularly apparent when examining the events subsequent to Horatia's death. Although Horatius can escape punishment on the grounds of the services done for the community, he cannot escape the guilt. The people acquit him against their better judgement; therefore they demand that the stain of the murder is washed away. Dionysius stated that

> Nevertheless, the king did not believe that the judgment thus passed upon Horatius by men was a sufficient atonement to satisfy those who desired to observe due reverence to the gods; but sending

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75 ἀνακλαυσαμένη δὲ τὸν μόρον τοῦ μνηστῆρος ἀτενέσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὁρᾷ καὶ λέγει "Μιαρώτατε ἄνθπωπε, χαίρεις ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἀνεψιοὺς κἀμὲ τὴν παναθλίαν ἀδελφὴν ἀποστερήσας γάμου, ὦ δύστηνε! ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἔλεος εἰσέρχεταί σε τῶν ἀπολωλότων συγγενῶν, οὓς ἀδελφοὺς ἐκάλεις, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἀγαθόν τι διαπεπραγμένος ἐξέστηκας τῶν φρενῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐπίκεισαι κακοῖς, τίνος ἔχων ψυχὴν θηρίου;", Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 21, 5-6.

76 "Φιλοῦντος", ἔφη, "τὴν πατρίδα πολίτου καὶ τοὺς κακῶς αὐτῇ βουλομένους κολάζοντος, ἐάν τε ἀλλότριοι τύχωσιν αὐτῆς ὄντες, ἐάν τε οἰκεῖοι: ἐν οἷς τίθεμαι καὶ σέ, ἥτις ἐνὶ καιρῷ τὰ μέγιστα ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν συμβεβηκότα ἡμῖν ἐπιγνοῦσα, τήν τε νίκην τῆς πατρίδος, ἥν ὁ σὸς ἀδελφὸς ἐγὼ πάρειμι κατάγων, καὶ τὸν θάνατον τῶν ἀδελφῶν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὦ μιαρὰ σύ, τοῖς κοινοῖς τῆς πατρίδος χαίρεις οὔτ ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς ταῖς ἰδίαις τῆς οἰκίας ἀλγεῖς, ἀλλ' ὑπεριδοῦσα τῶν σεαυτῆς ἀδελφῶν τὸν τοῦ μνηστῆρος ἀνακλαίεις μόρον," Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom* 3, 21, 6.

77 Liv. 1, 26, 3.

78 Liv. 1, 26, 4-5.

79 Pavón 2006, 287-300, esp. 294.

> for the pontiffs, he ordered them to appease the gods and other divinities and to purify Horatius with those lustrations with which it was customary for involuntary homicides to be expiated.[80]

Livy expressed the same idea with fewer words: *Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret pecunia publica*.[81] Although he did not stress the cultic aspect as explicitly as Dionysius, his choice of words is particularly telling; *piaculum*, *luere* and *expiare* have implicit connotations of washing away the guilt. The people know that Horatius is guilty; they likewise know that they should have condemned him as such. Unable to do so, the community asks forgiveness for itself as well as for the youth.[82] This is evident by the stress laid on the agents in the ritual; Livy stressed that the father (who defended his son) is the one to make the atonement, while the people (who made the ruling) provide the means for it.

The emphasis put on the role of the father and the people is all the more significant when we consider the episode from the viewpoint of youth. Livy recounted that after Horatius' father had been ordered to arrange an expiatory rite, 'he therefore offered certain piacular sacrifices, which were thenceforward handed down in the Horatian family, and, erecting a beam across the street, to typify a yoke, he made his son pass under it, with covered head'.[83] Passing under a yoke, *tigillum*, had a significant place in the Roman way of war. In the early practice ritual passing-under was an act to which two kinds of people in particular were subjected. Defeated enemies were marched under a yoke before being allowed to return to their homes – the act was comparable to ritual disarming of the enemy.[84] Secondly, ritual passing-under was a privilege of victorious Roman generals who used to lead their army under a symbolic yoke when returning from a battle – a tradition that gradually evolved into a triumphal procession under *arcus triumphalis*.[85] In both cases the yoke has been interpreted as a *limes* between the military and the civic spheres: as the person passed under, his status was altered from *bellicosus* to domicile and he was stripped of his destructive powers.[86]

This conclusion is logically in keeping with the case of Horatius – the difference being that the young hero has already abused his *ferocitas*, and therefore the rite is expiatory rather than preventive. It is conducted in a reverse order, and it follows in order to symbolically undo the *fait accompli*. The basic idea nevertheless is the same, since Horatius cannot coexist with his fellow-citizens before the danger and the guilt have been washed away.

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80 Οὐ μὴν ὅ γε βασιλεὺς ἀποχρῆν ὑπέλαβε τοῖς βουλομένοις τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὅσια φυλάττειν τὴν ὑπ᾽ἀνθρώτων συντελεσθεῖσαν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ κρίσιν, ἀλλὰ μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἱεροφάντας ἐκέλευσεν ἐξιλάσασθαι θεούς τε καὶ δαίμονας καὶ καθῆραι τὸν ἄνδρα οἷς νόμος τοὺς ἀκουσίους φόνους ἁγνίζεσθαι καθαρμοῖς. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 6-7.

81 Liv. 1, 26, 12-13.

82 It has been suggested that since Horatius' crime was not only a crime against the state and the authority of the *paterfamilias*, but also an insult of *fas*, a lay court could not absolve him – the expiatory rites were in order so that he could be in contact with the rest of the people without polluting the community. In his paper, 'Passing under the Yoke', W. W. Fowler goes as far as to consider Horatius to be 'undoubtedly *sacer*, i.e. taboo, in an infectious condition, dangerous to society'. Fowler 1913, 48-51, esp. 49-50.

83 *Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem*, Liv. 1, 26, 13.

84 Dionysius relates this tradition about the ζυγόν in his version of the Horatii story, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 7-8.

85 For the origins and the development of the Roman tradition concerning *arcus triumphalis*, see: Patroni 1927, 3-30; Petrikovits 1933, 187-96; Kleiner 1985.

86 Fowler 1913, 49-51; Ogilvie 1965, 117. Furthermore, Solodow suggests that Livy addresses in the *Horatii* story a specific problem typical of the late Republic - the threatening aspects of the victorious generals' homecoming. He refers to Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar and Octavian who 'all won distinguished victories for the state, all upon their return inspired fear for the future in many of their fellow-citizens'. As in the Horatii story, during the late Republic the violence and blood-lust was not always left on the battlefield, but followed the generals to civic life – it is an intriguing notion that Livy might have had these kinds of historical examples in mind when composing his version of this legendary story. Solodow 1979, 260.

Considering the emphasis on youth and its ambiguous nature that is evident in both Livy and Dionysius' versions of the story, I suggest that the young hero's passing under is represented as an initiation rite of a sort. Besides the border between the sacred and the profane – or the warlike and the civic – spheres of life, the yoke can be interpreted as a *limes* between childhood and adulthood. Horatius' ritual passing under therefore, besides an atonement for his crime, is also a passage into a full manhood. Considering how Livy associated Horatius' *ferocitas* with his young age, it is logical to suppose that as the youngster is ritually washed clean of this quality, he is simultaneously forgiven the errors of his youth and accepted as a plenipotentiary member in the adult world. This interpretation explains further the stress laid on the roles of the father and the people in the ritual. The father authorises his son's transition and leads the way as an exemplary character; the community, for its part, receives the youth in its midst. In Horatius' transition the weaknesses that are characteristic of youth are washed away – the rash *iuvenis* who shines only on the battlefield becomes a *vir* capable of acting in civic society.

**Commemorating the past, building a future**

While Horatius is able to leave his juvenile vices behind, his hapless sister is not as lucky. She atones for her inconsiderate passion by death and passes, not from childhood to adulthood, but from the world of the living to the world of the dead.[87] What is problematic, if one chooses to interpret Horatia's death as an atonement, is that the expiation is not authorised by the community. It is carried out by an individual who is not in a position to conduct such a sacrifice. Horatius himself has no doubts of the justice of his actions;[88] his father too, strives to justify the murder, referring to his daughter as *iure caesa*.[89] Nevertheless, these defences are not enough to convince the people or the reader. The author, the internal audience and the external audience share the uncomfortable feeling that what has happened is unjust, no matter how well argued it might be.

The fact that Horatius' victim is a member of his family recalls the fratricide theme that is omnipresent in the story. In many aspects Horatia's fate resembles the deaths of the Curiatii. These youths too, were put to death by a relative, the very same Horatius who is now doubly guilty of shedding a kinsman's blood. Moreover, the internal audience has controversial feelings about their deaths too. Dionysius related that before the combat of the triplets,

> When they came near to one another they gave their swords to their armour-bearers, and running to one another, embraced, weeping and calling each other by the tenderest names, so that spectators were moved to tears and accused both themselves and their leaders of great heartlessness, in that, when it was possible to decide the battle by other champions, they had limited the combat on behalf of the cities to men of kindred blood and compelled the pollution of fratricide.[90]

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87 In the studies of classical literature the death of a virgin, in particular, is often interpreted as a transitional act – see, for instance, Fowler's discussion concerning the association between defloration and death in Roman literary tradition: Fowler 1987, 185-98.

88 This is evident by Horatius' attempt to make his act an *exemplum* for all times to come, by claiming that *"Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem"*. Liv. 1, 26, 5.

89 Liv. 1, 26, 9; see also: Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 4.

90 γενόμενοι δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλέλων τὰ μὲν ξίφη τοῖς ὑπαστισταῖς παρέδωκαν, προσδραμόντες δὲ περιέβαλλον ἀλλήλοις κλαίοντες καὶ τοῖς ἡδίστοις ὀνόμασιν ἀνακαλοῦντες, ὥστε εἰς δάκρυα προπεσεῖν ἅπαντας καὶ πολλὴν ἀστοργίαν κατηγορεῖν σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ὅτι παρὸν ἄλλοις τισὶ σώμασι κρῖναι τὴν μάχην εἰς ἐμφύλιον αἷμα καὶ συγγενικὸν ἄγος τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πόλεων ἀγῶνα κατέκλεισαν, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 18, 3.

Here, as in the case of Horatia, the community accepts the slaughtering of family members under exceptional circumstances, nonetheless feeling that they do so against their better judgement.[91] The ambiguity that characterises the deaths of Horatia and the Curiatii is explicit in the way the community commemorates them. Not only is Horatius washed clean of his crime, but on the same occasion, the memory of the deceased is monumentalised. According to Dionysius,

> The pontiffs erected two altars, one to Juno, to whom the care of sisters in allotted, and the other to a certain god or lesser divinity of the country called in their language Janus, to whom was now added the name Curiatius, derived from that of the cousins who had been slain by Horatius; and after they had offered certain sacrifices upon these altars, they finally, among other expiations, led Horatius under the yoke.[92]

It is worth noticing that in this context Dionysius referred to the Curiatii as Horatius' family, thus downplaying the political aspects of their death and emphasising the fratricide. By doing so, he depicted the community as asking forgiveness for these deaths as well as for that of Horatia. In particular, the long-lasting commemoration of the victims is stressed:

> Here the altars then erected still remain, and over them extends a beam which is fixed in each of the opposite walls; the beam lies over the heads of those who go out of this street and is called in the Roman tongue "the Sister's Beam". This place, then, is still preserved in the city as a monument to this man's misfortune and honoured by the Romans with sacrifices every year. Another memorial of the bravery he displayed in the combat is the small corner pillar standing at the entrance to one of the two porticos in the Forum, upon which were placed the spoils of the three Alban brothers. - - the pillar still preserves its name and is called *pila Horatia* or "the Horatian pillar".[93]

The monumental commemoration of the victims symbolises both Horatius' heroism and his anti-heroism. The age-old monuments are a reminder of Rome's glorious military success, and of the heavy price paid for it. On the one and the same day, five young lives were sacrificed and one family polluted by a manifold fratricide. Thus, the story of Horatius in Livy and Dionysius is a powerful manifestation of the internal conflicts and tensions that the building of an empire creates. It is among the first episodes in the Roman past when the state's political and historical evolution leaves scars that the community cannot and does not want to forget.

The fact that Livy and Dionysius both stressed this aspect in their versions of the story makes great sense concerning the temporal context. The sacrifices that the community makes in order to move on are a theme characteristic of the Augustan period. Through legendary history Livy and Dionysius discussed the

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91 Mustakallio perceptively compares Horatia's death at the hands of her brother with Verginia's death at the hands of her father. In both cases, the women are depicted as lonely characters that lack peer support and, instead of being protected by their male relatives, become their victims. Mustakallio 2012, 169-71, 173-4. It is noteworthy that in both cases, the people accept, albeit reluctantly, what has happened – of course, the different natures of the episodes concerning the *patriapotestas* must be taken into account.

92 κἀκεῖνοι βωμοὺς ἱδρυσάμενοι δύο, τὸν μὲν Ἥρας, ἥ λέλογχεν ἐπισκοπεῖν ἀδελφάς, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ τινος ἢ δαίμονος Ἰανοῦ λεγομένου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν, ἐπωνύμου δὲ Κοριατίων τῶν ἀναιρεθέντων ἀνεψιῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ θυσίας τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ποιήσαντες τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καθαρμοῖς ἐχρήσαντο καὶ τελευτῶντες ὑπήγαγον τὸν Ὁράτιον ὑπὸ ζυγόν, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 7.

93 - - ἔνθα οἵ τε βωμοὶ μένουσιν οἱ τότε ἱδρυθέντες καὶ ξύλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τέταται δυσὶ τοῖς ἄντικρυς ἀλλήλων τοίχοις ἐνηρμοσμένον, ὃ γίνεται τοῖς ἐξιοῦσιν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς καλούμενον τῇ Ῥωμαϊκῇ διαλέκτῳ ξύλον ἀδελφῆς. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τὸ χωρίον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μνημεῖον ἐν τῇ πόλει φυλάττεται θυσίαις γεραιρόμενον ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν, ἕτερον δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἣ ἐπεδείξατο κατὰ τὴν μάχην μαρτύριον ἡ γωνιαία στυλὶς ἡ τῆς ἑτέρας παστάδος ἄρχουσα ἐν ἀγορᾷ, ἐφ' ἧς ἔκειτο τὰ σκῦλα τῶν Ἀλβανῶν τριδύμων. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὅπλα ἠφάνισται διὰ μῆκος χρόνου, τὴν δ' ἐπίκλησιν ἡ στυλὶς ἔτι φυλάττει τὲν αὐτὴν Ὁρατία καλουμένη πίλα. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom*. 3, 22, 8-10. Livy mentions the same memorials, stating on the Horatian pillar that *spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco qui nunc pila Horatia appellatur*, and on the Sister's Beam that *Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet: sororium tigillum vocant*. Liv. 1, 26, 10; 1, 26, 13. For further discussion, see: Ogilvie 1965, 116.

trauma caused by a century of civil wars, and represented the sacrifice as the inevitable condition of a new beginning. It is crucial to note that the Horatii story takes place at the turning point of Roman history; it shows the merge of the Roman and the Alban peoples and the grandeur born from unity. The value of this unity is emphasised by making clear that it is based on the spilling of young, kindred blood. In the Augustan authors' versions of this story we can observe a clear political-moralist message - the grandeur and the unity of Rome are of immeasurable value because of the heavy price paid for them – consequently to imperil these would mean despising the sacrifices of the previous generations. The internal audience understands this, which is evident by the public commemoration of Horatia and the Curiatii. Most probably the idea did not go unnoticed by Livy and Dionysius' contemporary audience either, who understood it in relation to the circumstances of their own time.

**Conclusion**

In Livy and Dionysius' version of the Horatii story youth appears as a recognised phase of life that holds great significance in the delivery of ideas and values typical of the early Principate. The Augustan authors utilised the concept, on the one hand to define the protagonists of the tale and to provide explanations for their behaviour and, on the other to express ideas concerning the past and the future of their contemporary society. The positive connotations of youth are particularly frequent in the first part of the story, where youthful vigour is represented as a promise of the continuance of the Roman grandeur. Rather than mere representatives, the young heroes become embodiments of their peoples – they symbolise the future that awaits their community.

Remarkably, the young protagonists do not symbolise only the future, but also the heavy sacrifices made for it. The ardour and enthusiasm that characterise the young are depicted as both their greatest advantage and their fatal weakness. Youthful *ferocitas* that stigmatises Horatius and his sister makes them unable to distinguish the public and the private spheres of life. The result of the conflict – a multiple fratricide – severely scars the community and calls for commemoration. In this manner, Livy and Dionysius emphasised the unjust deaths of the young people on which the civic peace and the future are built. They stressed the value of unity by underlining the heavy price paid for it – thus reflecting the trauma of the civil war period. The Augustan historians had a multifaceted way of utilising youth as a symbolic concept through which they discussed the issues of their time and constructed Roman identity. Instead of youth being treated as a univocally admirable or dangerous matter, its ambiguity was emphasised, and the phenomenon connected to the discussion concerning the communal healing of the people. In the end the youthful strengths and weaknesses turn out to be significant when defining the character and the direction of the whole community.

# Representations of Children and Juveniles in the Painted Tombs of Tarquinia*

Sonia Taiarol

## Introduction

Although studies of childhood in antiquity have become more popular over the last few years, these rarely focus on childhood and children's roles in Etruscan culture.[1] My aim is to study Etruscan art from a point of view that has been largely neglected, concentrating on children represented in the frescoes of the tombs of Tarquinia. My aim is to analyse the kind of situations in which children are shown as taking part, and the ways in which they do so; the focus will be on the agency of children in the visual world of Tarquinian tombs. I will systematically analyse the child characters from the perspective of their social status and with special attention to body language, social context and signs indicating the status of the children depicted.

The tombs that have been included in this article date from the sixth to the third century BCE. That is a long period during which styles changed and influences from neighbouring cultures were adopted by the Etruscans. From circa 200 painted Tarquinian tombs I have analysed those nineteen that have child figures. Out of these nineteen ten belong to the Archaic period (600-480 BCE), six to the Classical period (480-330 BCE), and three to the Hellenistic period (330-30 BCE).[2] I have divided the child figures presented there into subgroups, based on the kind of activity in which they are involved.

One must first ask which small figures could be identified as children and on what grounds. Here the definition of a child or an adolescent denotes figures that appear to have not yet reached adult age and status. In antiquity adult status was usually reached no later than the age of 17.[3] In these tomb paintings the most obvious feature setting children apart from other figures is the small size. However, in Etruscan art smaller figures are usually either children or adults of lower status, and there is also the possibility that one was shown smaller merely for artistic reasons. In addition, there are other physical features to consider, such as

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* I wish to thank Rasmus Brandt for his helpful advice and Mariagrazia Celuzza for kindly sending me her work. In this paper I will refer to the city by its modern name Tarquinia, and modern names are also used for other Etruscan cities.

1 On the archaeological evidence on children in Etruscan areas, see: Celuzza 2008, 87-104. On children and burial practices in Etruria, see: Becker 2007, 281-92. Etruscan tomb paintings are discussed in several books, but these present a large part of the tombs and their motifs rather narrowly. The best pictures of painted Etruscan tombs are found in Steingräber 2006. Women in Etruscan tomb paintings have been studied to some extent, e.g. Scheffer 2007, 35-53. On Tarquinia and its excavations see: Bonghi Jovino – Chiaramonte Treré (a c. di) 1986; Bonghi Jovino – Chiaramonte Trerè 1986. Leighton 2004 is also a compact guide to the city's history.

2 Most of the painted tombs in Tarquinia belong to the Archaic period, after which there seems to be less interest in decorating the tombs with paintings. However, in the Hellenistic period this tradition was revitalized. In the dating of the tombs I follow mainly Steingräber.

3 For example, in Rome a boys' military duties began at the age of 17, and this was also the age when a boy usually celebrated the *liberalia* and obtained his men's toga, see: Rawson 2003, 138. Also Persius who was born in 34 CE in the northern Etruscan city of Volterra writes about his own *toga virilis* ceremony, see: Pers. 5, 30: *Cum primum pavido custos mihi purpura cessit // bullaque subcinctis Laribus donata pependit, // cum blandi comites totaque inpune Subura // permisit sparsisse oculos iam candidus umbo...*

the anatomy and lack of facial hair in the case of boys, since in art the beard is usually a clear indication of maturity. The first task here is to separate the obvious children from other figures. When possible, I have used a comparative method, so that if in a tomb both large and small figures appear in the same activity (playing a musical instrument, for example), I have interpreted the smaller beardless character as a child, since status should not be the reason for small size in these cases. Nevertheless, it is often impossible to identify with certainty the status of a small figure: serving children are usually shown in the presence of their masters, and carrying objects like cups, fans, stools or oil bottles. Boys acting as servants are often naked, but servant girls are always dressed decently.[4] This study uses the corpus I have collected from all the small figures that can be interpreted as children in painted Etruscan tombs. Some figures might not be included, if the state of the paintings is very poor, making identification impossible.[5]

These painted tombs all belonged to aristocratic Tarquinian families. In most of them the themes of the paintings are connected with funerals, and usually they also show the deceased, for example, watching the funeral games. The deceased is sometimes in the company of family members, and the children of the family appear as well. In other scenes children act as entertainers, sometimes playing musical instrument or taking part in athletic performances. My main interest here is the possible relations or connections of the figures in these paintings. I will analyse these relations by examining the context, body language and indications of the status through clothing and the actions of the children. The paintings were not public, but seen only on rare occasions by a small group of people: this raises the question for whose eyes were these frescoes painted and the significance of the child figures in this context. One must also pay attention to the placing of the children in these paintings; the back for example, was usually considered the most important wall of the tomb and had the finest painting. There are inscriptions in some of the tombs that might give some information concerning the status or the relationships of the characters depicted. Inscriptions could also indicate that some figures represented still living, contemporary people.[6]

**Tarquinia and the Monterozzi Necropolis**

The city called Tarquinii by the Romans, but named Tarch(u)na in Etruscan, was one of the most powerful Etruscan cities and its earliest settlements date back to the Villanovan era. The main urbanisation of the city began about 750 BCE and construction focused on a hill about 6 kilometres from the sea. The hill on which ancient Tarquinii was located is called the Pian di Civita and it lies just northeast of the modern city of Tarquinia. We know that it was a prosperous city, and enjoyed brisk trade, for example with Greece, Carthage and Egypt. The city's port, Gravisca, is estimated to date from no later than 600 BCE.[7] Around 300 BCE

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4 It has been suggested some servants, cupbearers for example, were preferred serving naked, others with clothing, see: Small 1994, 85-94, esp. 88.

5 Some of these graves had already been opened in the mid-19th century and their documentation is sometimes incomplete. Studies on graves found in this early period in some cases are becoming out-dated or else have been written nearly a hundred years after the actual discovery of the tomb. Research is also more difficult because of the fact that chamber tombs have very rarely been found intact; tomb robbers have often visited the graves before the archaeologists. The poor condition of the frescoes complicates their study, and in some cases I have to rely solely on copies and watercolours made of the frescoes. The copies of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek from the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries are necessary sources, as they were made quite soon after the discovery of the tombs, in other words at a time when the frescoes on the tombs in many cases were in a much better condition than today. However, they are not always reliable since mistakes were made and in some cases 19th century modesty caused ignoring homoerotic scenes, for example; see Moltesen – Weber-Lehmann 1991; Moltesen – Weber-Lehmann 1992.

6 Inscriptions are rare in archaic tombs, but become more common in the fourth and third centuries BCE, see: Steingräber 2006, 70.

7 Leighton 2004, 36. Gravisca is the Latin name of the port, the Etruscan name is unknown to us; Leighton 2004, 128.

Rome and Tarquinia seem to have had several conflicts. Livy tells us that Tarquinians sacrificed 307 Roman prisoners of war in 358 BCE, and that the Romans avenged this five years later by sending noble Tarquinians to the forum of Rome to be put to death.[8] It is uncertain when exactly Tarquinia bowed under the power of Rome, but we know that in 181 BCE Tarquinia's port was turned into a Roman colony and Tarquinia became eventually a *civitas foederata*.[9] During the Middle Ages Tarquinia was moved west of the earlier settlement, where the modern city centre is still located, and was renamed Corneto. However, during the nationalism of the early 1900s the city's history and status as one of the leading Etruscan cities was highlighted and the name was changed back. The city is located approximately 50 miles northwest of Rome.

In the early seventh century there was a change in Etruscan burial customs. The tombs were starting to become ever larger, tombs for entire families.[10] The chamber tombs were usually meant for a man and his wife, and were also used for their descendants. In Tarquinia many of these tombs are famous for their paintings, which are a unique source for both the history of art and Etruscan culture. Of all painted Etruscan tombs about 80% are found in the area of Tarquinia.[11] Tarquinia's largest cemetery, the necropolis of Monterozzi, is located on the long Monterozzi hill south of the centre of modern Tarquinia. There are signs of more than 6,000 graves in this area, of which about 200 are decorated with paintings. At the moment less than twenty of these painted tombs are open to the public. Because of its uniqueness Monterozzi became one of the protected world heritage sites of UNESCO in 2004.

The tomb paintings reveal a strong Ionian, and in the case of the latest tombs also Roman, influence but they were nevertheless created as a part of Etruscan culture. By looking at the tomb paintings we get a glimpse of the Etruscan world and obtain some idea of what the Etruscans considered important, especially concerning the culture of death. The paintings preserve and reconstruct habits, ideals and beliefs of a world lost in many areas. They hint at the contemporary consciousness of the artists living in a certain period. The paintings could be based on reality, but they present life through art instead of imitating it mechanically. They reflect the values and attitudes of the surrounding culture of their time, but obviously it is another question whether the social situations actually were as shown on the walls of these tombs.

One must keep in mind that these graves were more private than public spaces; the paintings were not intended for the eyes of a large audience. The art in these tombs was primarily dedicated to the deceased. The themes were probably chosen by him whilst he lived, or by members of his family. Usually the themes are related to the life of the deceased, and especially in later times to the world that awaited him after death. The paintings are often dedicated as a memorial to the funeral banquet or the rites that took place in a funeral ceremony.[12] The chamber tombs were visited rarely, presumably when it was necessary to bury another family member and at festivities that celebrated the memory of those who had died. On such occasions probably the closest family members of the deceased were present with priests, and the underground spaces were lit only

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8 Liv. 7, 15, 10: *Nec in acie tantum ibi cladis acceptum, quam quod trecentos septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses immolarunt, qua foeditate supplicii aliquanto ignominia populi Romani insignitior fuit.*

9 An inscription from the imperial period mentions Tarquinians with the expression *Tarquinienses foederati*. Rome and Tarquinia therefore, must have made a contract that probably bound Tarquinians to assist Rome with manpower and the transfer of food when necessary, see: Leighton 2004, 142.

10 Prayon 1986, 174-201, esp. 174; Banti 1973, 27.

11 The rest of these are situated in Veii, Cerveteri, Vulci, Orvieto and Chiusi; Steingräber 2006, 9.

12 In the Etruscan tombs of Cerveteri drinking cups have been found in the entrance halls of the tombs, which indicates that these entrance halls might have been used for banqueting ceremonies; Pieraccini 2000, 38f. Some scholars think that imitations of fabrics painted on the walls and ceilings in the tombs of Tarquinia could refer to tents that were used as places of celebrations situated near the entrance of the tombs. Tents might have also served as contemporary spaces for preburial rites, see: Haynes 2000, 89.

by torches.[13] The Etruscans believed that the soul of the deceased continued its life partly inside the tomb and therefore the tomb was considered as a kind of a home.[14] The idea of the grave as a home for the soul was typical of early cultures, especially in the Middle East.[15] The tomb might have been considered as a liminal space between the world of the living and the world of the dead, a place where the mourning family could visit a dead family member, almost as if these two worlds could encounter one another on such occasions.

In the earliest tombs dating from the seventh century BCE fantastic as well as real animals are common themes.[16] In the Archaic period banqueting scenes became popular, as well as false doors that symbolise the passage to another world.[17] Early tomb paintings concentrate on married couples and activities involving only men, but by the end of the fourth century BCE family scenes became more common. The idea of the tomb as an eternal home for the soul underwent a change in the end of the fifth century BCE, probably due to Greek influence, and perhaps also the fear of losing their independence due to the Roman wars of conquest. The contemplation of human destiny and mortality seems to have increased, which is reflected by the fact that the themes of the paintings of this period concentrate on depictions of the underworld and demons enter the picture. In the last few centuries BCE Etruscan cities were already part of the Roman sphere of influence, but the Etruscans continued their own burial customs, suggesting strong family ties and faith in the continuation of the family.

## Children as Musicians

In Mediterranean cultures dancing, singing and playing a musical instrument had a central role in a child's education.[18] Early Romans used to hire musicians and actors from Etruria, since Etruscans were seen as experts in this area, especially when it came to the knowledge of the correct use of music during religious rituals.[19] Ancient literary sources tell us that music was an integral part of the everyday life of the Etruscans, even cooking and punishing slaves was accompanied by music played by a double pipe, *aulos*.[20] They also mention that hunting should be carried out in such a way that animals were so mesmerised by pipe music that they walk straight into a trap.[21] Therefore we can make the assumption that music was essential in all kinds of activities throughout an individual's life, from childhood and life's transitions to the funeral ceremony.

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13 Steingräber 2006, 29.

14 See e.g. Bianchi Bandinelli – Giuliano 1973, 184; Krauskopf 2006, 66-89, esp. 71.

15 Pallottino 1989, 11-8, esp. 12.

16 For example *Tomba degli Animali Dipinti* (660-640 BCE) and *Tomba dei Leoni Dipinti* (650-630 BCE) in Cerveteri.

17 Haynes 2000, 222. In Tarquinia there are false doors in 18 tombs, but this architectural motif disappears after 480 BCE; Steingräber 2006, 66.

18 See Rawson 2003, 170.

19 See Landels 1999, 172. Livy tells us, that plague struck Rome in the year 364 BCE, and Etruscan actors were called in for help to pacify the gods with their *ludi scaenici*, which included dancing to the pipes, see: Liv. 7, 2, 4. On Etruscan music in literary sources, see: Grandolini 2010, 271-80.

20 See e.g. Arist. fr. 247, who writes that Etruscans not only box, but also castigate their slaves and cook accompanied by music (survived in Plut. *De cohib.* 460, C). The *aulos* (lat. *tibia*) is one of the most popular musical instruments in Greek, Roman and Etruscan art. It is often mistakenly called a flute, but in fact it was a reed-blown instrument and its sound did not resemble that of a flute. In art two *auloi* are usually showed as been played at the same time, but it is uncertain weather they were played in unison or with a different melody on each. Sometimes the *aulos* players wear a *phorbeia*, a mouth band that goes around the back of the head to keep the *aulos* steady. The *aulos* may be carried in a *sybene*, a leopard-skin or deerskin bag, which implies to the instrument's presence even when not being played. On the *aulos* see e.g. Bundrick 2005, 34; Martinelli 2007, 21; Martinelli – Melini 2010, 93-120; Sutkowska 2010, 79-92. In these Tarquinian tombs the instrument seems to be always the *aulos*, two pipes played at the same time. All the musicians seem to have their fingers on both pipes, which implies they were played in unison.

21 Ael. *NA* 12, 46.

In Tarquinian tomb paintings the banquet scenes, here meaning all kinds of celebration scenes, focus on drinking and dancing, and might reflect the actual feasts that were organised as part of the funeral. The deceased is usually represented in a central position reclining on a banqueting couch. Women participated in the banquets, and this can also be seen in the paintings: the wife of the deceased is usually lying on the couch with him.[22] In early graves married couples are often represented, and in the fifth century BCE other members of the family also enter the picture. We do not have any examples of children dancing or lying on the banqueting couches, but they are represented in these scenes standing or sitting close to adults, presumably their parents or other family members.[23] Sometimes small musicians can also be found, which is only natural considering that music was a fundamental part of funerals and other religious festivities.

Small *aulos*-players are represented a few times in Tarquinian tombs.[24] The children seem to be portrayed in this activity much more frequently than in other active roles, if we exclude serving boys and girls. Supposedly there was a professional class of musicians in Etruria, so it may be suggested that all these figures do not represent slaves but young professional musicians.[25] Then again, they could represent children who belonged to the family that owned the tomb.[26] In these paintings the children playing *aulos* are often also better dressed than slaves, who are usually represented naked. In the *Tomba dei Baccanti* there is a figure of a dancing man accompanying a small aulete; the *aulos*-player's function in this scene seems to be to simply play music for dancers (**fig. 1**). However, on the opposite wall there is another, slightly bigger aulete dressed differently. Could this indicate that there were possibly different kinds of roles for musicians, depending perhaps on the status or age of the child, or the instrument that was played? It is a hard question to answer, but we can look at other tombs in order to get a broader view.

In a fourth century tomb, the *Tomba del Guerriero*, there are several *aulos*-players, of whom one is much smaller than the others[27]: it looks as if the small aulete is a child practicing with adults (**fig. 2**). A musician's occupation was probably learned from parents and practicing started at a young age.[28] In the *Tomba del Barone* (510 BCE) in the centre of the back wall a bearded man with a *kylix*-cup in his hand accompanies a blond-haired *aulos*-playing boy (**fig. 3**). Both wear a short Etruscan mantle, *tebenna*,[29] and pointed ankle-

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22 In some tombs women are referred to in inscriptions telling us their own names; on Etruscan women in banquets see e.g. Small 1994, 87; On the conjugal symposium, D'Agostino 1989, 1-10, esp. 6-8.

23 Children do not act as dancers, although young women and men seem to do so. According to Scheffer's study, c. 36% of dancers depicted in Etruscan tombs are women. She has made the plausible suggestion that dance was a part of the funerary ritual, and therefore seen as a part of women's duty; Scheffer 2007, 41. Dance as a subject of tomb decoration is confined within sixth and fifth centuries BCE, see: Johnstone 1956.

24 The *aulos* seems to be the most popular musical instrument in Etruria, at least it is found in tomb paintings between VI and IV century BCE much more frequently than other instruments. According to Steingräber the flute/*aulos* is depicted in 52 tombs of this period, while the second most common instrument, the *kithara*, is found in the paintings of only 21 tombs; Steingräber 2010, 37-44, esp. 37.

25 On professional *aulos*-players see: Martinelli – Melini 2010, 95-6.

26 Nielsen suggests that some of the female figures in these tombs are dressed in such fine clothes that one must interpret them as members of the family; Nielsen 1998, 69-84, esp. 76. In the *Tomba delle Iscrizioni* (c. 520 BCE) we have inscriptions, which have preserved names of the people who are depicted performing in different entertaining games. Judging by the names the horsemen seem to be of a higher rank, youths who may have belonged to the family of the deceased. The names of boxers and musicians indicate that these kinds of performers were of lower social status, supposedly hired professionals or slaves; Jannot 2005, 50.

27 In the *Tomba del Colle Casuccini* (475-450 BCE) in Chiusi two auloi players are represented smaller than the dancers and athletes next to them, and also judging by their features they look more like children than adults depicted in a small scale; Celuzza 2008, 91. In *Tomba Golini II* in Orvieto there is also a group of musicians holding *lituus*-trumpets, and between these a small boy of whom we can unfortunately only see the head, therefor it is not sure if he is also holding a musical instrument or not.

28 Families of entertainers are known also from imperial Rome, see e.g. *CIL* 6.10131.

29 *Tebenna* was a practical outfit, which became very popular in Etruria during the sixth century BCE. The name of the cloth, *tebenna*, is probably originally an Etruscan word since the suffix *–enna* is found among the Etruscan language; Bonfante 2003, 48, 124.

**Fig. 1**: *Tomba dei Baccanti*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

**Fig. 2**: *Tomba del Guerriero,* Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

high shoes.[30] This couple walks towards a woman who seems to play a key role in the scene; she has been thought to be a member of the family that owned the tomb, and is consequently buried there.[31] The man is presented with his arm around the shoulders of the *aulos*-player, which implies a close relationship. It has been argued that this scene could represent the dead woman together with her husband and son who are saying their goodbyes to their beloved wife and mother. Another possible interpretation is that the woman is a goddess who is worshiped by the man and the boy. In either case, we have some kind of a religious scene in which the child is shown taking part. A vertical row of flower buds separates the woman from the boy

30 The common nomination for all Etruscan pointed shoes is the Latin form *calceus repandus*. These ankle-high shoes with laces were popular among all Etruscans around the years 550-475 BCE, but later in the fifth century especially women of high social status and goddesses were shown wearing them; Bonfante 2003, 61. In this painting we have the short and laceless version of these shoes, the *socci*.

31 Giglioli 1935, 23. Walberg comes to the conclusion that the scene is a combination of the banquet motif and the funeral motif, interpreting the woman as the deceased owner of the tomb who is saying goodbye to her family, while the Dioscuri are waiting to escort her to the underworld see: Walberg 1986, 51-9. On the *Tomba del Barone* see also Amann 1998, 71-93.

**Fig. 3**: *Tomba del Barone*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

and the man. A married couple is not usually presented this distance from each other in Etruscan art. On the other hand, the row of flowers might be a symbolic border separating the living from the dead. The woman has raised her arms in a gesture that could imply a farewell or some kind of a blessing pose. If the *kylix* in the left hand of the man means that he is about to make a libation, the scene could be interpreted as a funeral ritual, possibly an offering of a farewell toast.[32] It could be suggested that the man and the *aulos*-playing boy might also have an erotic tone, but the context of the scene does not imply to this, and such an interpretation would be unlikely since, as Åke Åkerström notes, they are approaching a dignified lady.[33] What is interesting is that a similar scene is depicted in the *Tomba Cardarelli* from the same period (510-500 BCE). There also is a bearded man with a raised *kylix* in his left hand, and before him walks an *aulos* playing boy in a very elaborate dress: he is wreathed and wears a chiton, short mantle and beautiful laced boots (**fig. 4**). In the same *Tomba Cardarelli* there is also a small *barbitos*-player, but he is naked.[34] Thus it appears as if we have two kinds of musicians represented here, both children, but obviously in different kinds of situations.

I would like to return to the *Tomba dei Baccanti* mentioned earlier. There we have a small aulete with a dancer, and on the opposite wall a bigger aulete dressed in a more festive way.[35] The figure walking behind this *aulos*-player is in poor condition, but we can see he is a man, clearly bigger than the musician, and his hand is raised; he is actually also holding a *kylix* (**fig. 5**). It seems plausible that these auletes dressed differently to other small figures in the same tombs may be regarded as children who are taking part in some kind

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32 The libation here was most probably made with wine and, as Pieraccini notes, wine might have been consumed ritualistically by the living and symbolically by the deceased in the afterlife. Wine seems to have been an essential part of the Etruscans religious culture, something that was considered to have the symbolic power to connect the living with the dead, see: Pieraccini 2011, 127-37, esp. 128, 136. M. Martinelli plausably interprets this scene as a depiction of a libation and writes "in alcuni casi il flauto sembra apparire in scene di valore religioso...", Martinelli 2007, 26.

33 Åkerström 1981, 7-34, esp. 27.

34 In ancient Athens the *barbitos* was an instrument that was associated with leisure and revelry. In sixth and early fifth century BCE Attic vase paintings it is present especially in Dionysian scenes, *symposion* and *komos*. After the fifth century the *barbitos* vanishes from Athenian iconography, and Aristotle also writes about the instrument becoming unpopular among the Athenians (Arist. *Pol.* 1341a); Bundrick 2005, 22.

35 In Athenian sixth and fifth century vase paintings music played by *aulos* accompanies for example long jump, discos throw and sometimes boxing and acrobatic exercises. It is unclear however, whether *aulos* music was played during practice sessions or during the actual competitions; Bundrick 2005, 74f.

**Fig. 4**: *Tomba Cardarelli,* Tarquinia. Foto Sonia Taiarol.

**Fig. 5**: *Tomba dei Baccanti*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

of religious action, probably in a private cult. They have been given the role of a musician, while the men close to them perform a libation or offer a toast, most likely in honour of the deceased.[36]

In the ancient world music played a large part in every religious ceremony. Musicians were the ones to create a soundscape suitable for every situation that needed to be accompanied by music. The artists who painted these scenes, and the patrons who commissioned such scenes, must have had an idea of the musical instruments and their use in ancient Etruria; they knew how specific instruments functioned and with which sort of situations they were associated. Maybe the *aulos* had a special meaning and music played on it was an obligatory part of every religious ceremony.[37] Aristotle's opinion was that the *aulos* was "not a moral instrument, but one that excites the emotions", and should therefore not be used in educating Greek children.[38] On the other hand Ovid tells us that in ancient times *aulos*-players were appreciated and needed constantly in all kinds of religious ceremonies, in temples, festivals and at funerals.[39] This might be why the aulete in *Tomba Cardarelli* is better dressed than the *barbitos*-player: he has a more important role in the religious act. The *aulos* has also been accused of robbing its player the ability to speak while playing; for this reason

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36 Greek fifth century imagery demonstrates, that the *aulos* was used in education, and sacrificial scenes often include a young *aulos* player; Bundrick 2005, 39, 41.

37 The importance of the *aulos* in religious ceremonies is indicated also in *Scholia Berl. Ad Verg. Georg.* II, 193, a commentary on Virgil's verses. The text tells us that it was the Etruscans who first took the *aulos* for sacred use, and that almost all Etruscans were able to play the instrument. The finest pipes, those made of ivory, were the ones to be used for religious purpose during sacrifice. On the *aulos* as a part of sacred ceremonies, see: Martinelli – Melini 2010, 94-5.

38 Arist. *Pol.* 1341a. Note however that Aristotle is protesting the increasing professionalism of music in general, and finds also the harp and *kithara* as inappropriate for educational use.

39 Ovid. *fast.* 6, 657: *...temporibus veterum tibicinis usus avorum magnus et in magno semper honore fuit: cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis, cantabat maestis tibia funeribus...* See also Liv. 9, 30, 5-10.

it might have been an appropriate instrument for a child, who did not have place in social conversation during celebrations and ceremonies.[40]

It is interesting that the majority of these auletes seem to be boys; perhaps playing the *aulos* at ceremonies and symposia was a way to prepare boys for the social life of adult men.[41] In any case, there was most probably a strong ritualistic meaning in the music played by the *aulos*: in Greece libations were part of symposia, and they were accompanied by a "libation melody", *spondeion*, played on an *aulos*.[42] It has been argued that in Antiquity children were used in religious ceremonies because they were thought to give innocence and a sort of purity to them that adults did not posses.[43] In Rome these kinds of roles were considered very important for the child and also for his family. The epitaphs of the children who were chosen to act as religious musicians or dancers imply this; such a role was so important that it was sometimes mentioned on the tombstone of the child.[44] In Greek art children are shown participating in sacrifices, but they hardly ever seem to be small children.[45] The Etruscans were influenced by Greek culture in many respects, but to understand the role of these figures in an Etruscan context we need to look at other groups of children illustrated in these tombs.

## Boys in Athletic Scenes

**Fig. 6**: *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, Tarquinia.

In ancient Greece a youth's education included not only musical but also athletic training. Along with the musicians in the tomb paintings of Tarquinia there are also other child entertainers. Depictions of athletic competitions, chariot races and acrobats suggest funeral games in honour of the deceased owner of the tomb and remind us of the theatrical aspects these rites had. The children in these scenes are exclusively boys. In the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* (ca. 520 BCE) the deceased man is represented watching acrobatic performances. On the back wall there is a scene with a young woman holding an incense burner on her head.[46] Opposite her stands a boy who hands her discs of some kind. There is a basket on the ground close to the boy, and it looks as if the boy has just taken the discs from it. The boy has been thought to be a young acrobat whose task might be throwing the discs in the incense burner held by the woman (**fig. 6**).[47]

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40 See Arist. *Pol.* 1341a, and the story on Alkibiades who refused to play the *aulos* in school in Plut. *Alc.* 2, 4-5.

41 In Classical Greece three-year old children took part in the Dionysiac Anthesteria festival, where they were given small amounts of wine in Choe-cups. This was perhaps an early initiation into Athens society, and at the same time celebrated the fact that the child had survived through the most fragile period of his life, see: Beaumont 2003, 59-83, esp. 75; Dasen 2011, 291-314, esp. 312.

42 Bundrick 2005, 81.

43 See Rawson 2003, 315. Children had sometimes important roles in acts of augury and extispicy, which is shown in several Athenian vase paintings to have taken place before battle; Neils 2003, 139-61, esp. 158.

44 E.g. *CIL* VI 2192: *D(is) M(anibus) / T(ito) Aur(elio) T(iti) f(ilio) Pom(p)t(ina) / Clito dec(uriali) coll(egii) fid(icinum) / R(omanorum) vixit ann(os) VIII m(enses) / IIII d(ies) XXII Aur(eli) Nice/phorianus e⌜t⌝ Filume/ne filio dulcissi/mo b(ene) m(erenti) f(ecerunt). CIL* VI 2177: *D(is) M(anibus) / Flaviae Ver(a)e praesul(a)e / sacerdot(i) Tusculanor(um) / vix(it) ann(is) VI me(n) s(ibus) XI die(bus) [- - -] / fecit Fl[avi - - -].*

45 In Greek art children, usually boys, are shown, for example pouring libations, carrying offerings and making animal sacrifices. Girls on the other hand, are depicted in scenes representing dance lessons. They are in the role of pupils and usually their dancing is accompanied by music played on the flute; Klein 1932, 25, 32.

46 In Etruscan art women are sometimes depicted wearing a high candelabra on the head. This was a form of acrobatic performance, see: Scheffer 2007, 38.

47 Haynes 2000, 231.

More acrobats can be found in the *Tomba del Guerriero* (beginning of the fourth century BCE). They are involved in a more dangerous act that takes place on a moving chariot. One of the small acrobats has his feet on the head of a larger figure, the *auriga* who is driving the chariot: he is probably getting ready to stand up, a performance that looks quite dangerous. The other small acrobat is riding a horse, holding the reins with only one hand, while the other hand is raised (**fig. 7**).[48] These children are shown performing stunts that probably could not be performed by heavier and bigger adult acrobats. Horse races were popular in religious festivals and particularly in Greece boys had an important role as performers in different kinds of athletic games. In Rome the role of the children as performers was less visible, but we do have examples of boys from important families participating in riding competitions in the *Lusus Troiae* games, a competition that was probably known in Etruria as well.[49] Martinelli suggests that in this acrobatic scene of the *Tomba del Guerriero* the performers might be descendants of the deceased who were to perform at the funeral games as a reminder of the youth and strength of their ancestor when he was alive.[50]

**Fig. 7**: *Tomba del Guerriero*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

The wall paintings of the *Tomba delle Bighe* (ca. 490 BCE) are adorned with a frieze above the actual fresco. On the frieze there are depictions of athletic games and chariot races.[51] Wooden stands have been erected for the spectators who follow the spectacles in the arena. On the stage there are four figures smaller than the other athletes. One of them is a naked boy standing beside a man dressed as a soldier; the boy could be interpreted as an assistant to the man because he appears to be handing him something from the basket nearby. In another scene there are two boys who are standing near an older bearded man, possibly a trainer (Gr. *paidotribes*) or a supervisor of the games (**fig. 8**). Today these paintings are in poor condition, but fortunately better versions of this scene are preserved in copies of a number of nineteenth century watercolours. We can see that both boys are pictured naked, and both are standing with their bodies turned away from the trainer, but their faces turned towards him. The trainer is probably saying something to them and therefore both have turned to look at him attentively. It looks as if the smaller of the boys answers the trainer, because his other arm is raised and this gesture is connected with speaking. Are these boys waiting for their turn

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48 Sprenger 1969, 403-12, esp. 405. This painting is situated on the entrance wall of the *Tomba del Guerriero*. Many parts of it have been destroyed: from the figure with his feet on the head of the *auriga* only the other foot and the head can be seen, while the driver-acrobat lacks the head and the right arm.

49 The *Lusus Troiae* was reserved for noble youths of 11 to 17 years of age. An *oinochoe* found in a chamber tomb at Tragliatella (area of Cerveteri) and dated between 630-600 BCE might hold an early depiction of the *Lusus Troiae*. This would mean the games were known also in Etruria of the Orientalising period, see: Martinelli 2007, 107; Haynes 2000, 97.

50 See Martinelli 2007, 91.

51 The common interpretation for this scene is that it represents funeral games. These spectacles might have been held during the actual funeral ceremony and taken place near the tomb, see: Benassai 2001, 51-62, esp. 60.

**Fig. 8**: *Tomba delle Bighe*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

to go on the stage? Do they have a task to accomplish? They might be helpers of some kind, assistants to adult athletes.[52] On the other hand, they could also be young athletes practicing under the guidance of the trainer. It is possible that roles changed according to the age of the person: young boys hoping to be athletes one day might have started out as assistants in athletic games.

A fourth smaller figure in slightly crouching position already wears a helmet and holds a spear and a shield. It has been speculated that he could be dancing the armed dance, which was part of the cult of the dead and representations of it can be found in other Etruscan tombs as well.[53] His attitude seems almost playful, as if he had tried on a costume that belonged to older men. In front of him, there is a youth who has raised his hand, as if he wanted to restrain this small boy dressed as soldier. This could be regarded as a scene of a boy in his last stage of childhood: he has put on equipment that belonged mainly to adults and already belongs to the world of men, but is still set apart from adults by his small size and lack of beard. In fact, the armed dance in Greece served as a rite of passage for youths who were about to reach manhood; it was an initiation into the use of arms and prepared youths for military service.[54] It is probable that this was also the case in Etruria where obviously the armed dance was also performed, and the same procedure awaited the other small boys in this scene once they reached an age to be regarded as sufficiently mature. The armed dance does not however, seem to have acted only as an initiation, but at some point it was developed into a spectacle, a part of the funerary games:[55] but for boys who went through this it must have been an important step that had to be taken, since it symbolised readiness to defend the city proper and becoming an active member of society.

## Mourning Children

The *Tomba degli Auguri* dates from c. 520 BCE. In its wall paintings there are two figures smaller than all the others, both located behind the same bearded man. One is a male servant following his master, probably

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52 In Chiusi in the *Tomba della Scimmia* (ca. 480 BCE) there is a depiction of a small naked boy handing an athlete an oil bottle; Celuzza 2008, 91. This kind of slave boys can also be found in Greek vase painting; the boy's job was to be ready to prepare his master for a battle or athletic performance. See e.g. Robertson 1959, 66 (picture on p. 62).

53 See e.g. Johnstone 1956, 27, 41. According to the study of Johnstone, armed dancers appear in 8 tombs, of which four are Tarquinian (*delle Bighe, Quericola, Letto Funebre* and *senza nome*); Johnstone 1956, 46. Other armed dancers are found in the *Tomba del Colle Casuccini* (475-450 BCE), *della Scimmia* and *Tomba del Poggio al Moro* (475-450 BCE) in Chiusi. The armed dancer in the *Tomba Casuccini* at Chiusi also looks quite young, he has no beard and unlike the other male characters near him he seems to have longish hair showing under his helmet. With the Greeks the armed dance (Gr. *pyrrhiche*) formed part of the funeral festival; see Arist. *frag.* 519 R, Scholia to Homer's Iliad 23, 130.

54 In ancient literature the armed dance is said to have been performed by youths; see Hom. *Od.* 24, 86-90, and Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1, 1134. The *pyrrhiche* was part of the Panathenaic games, and there were three classes for competitors: men, youths and boys, see: Bundrick 2005, 78; Martinelli 2007, 80. For a description of the *pyrrhiche* see also Pl. *Leg.* 815a.

55 Martinelli suggests, that athletic activities were an important way to initiate young men into military service, especially in the early periods when this could also have been a way to celebrate the privilege to become a soldier. By the fifth and fourth centuries BCE these activities might have lost their strong ritual meaning and turned more into spectacles; Martinelli 2007, 81. On the armed dance in Attic vases made for export to Etruria see: Shapiro 2000, 315-37, esp. 335.

the deceased himself, and bearing a *sella curulis*-chair (Gr. *diphros*).[56] Another small figure is located between the two, curled up on the ground and wearing a strange black outfit that seems to be open from the middle of the back (**fig. 9**). He has no shoes and a hood covers his head. The dress makes it likely that he is not an ordinary slave boy, which is the usual interpretation of this figure.[57] His hair cannot be seen because of the hood, and his position prevents seeing what kind of physique he has, but judging by the brown skin colour I think this figure should be interpreted as a boy. It has been speculated that he might be sleeping or mourning curled up on the ground.[58] Poulsen compares him to boys depicted in Greek tomb reliefs, who are 'weeping on their cold knees' and sees him as a mourning slave-boy.[59] The black dress could very well be a dress of mourning. The Roman dark *toga pulla* was used only during the mourning period, and wearing it at other times was frowned upon.[60] Interestingly, there is a figure dressed in a very similar fashion painted on an Athenian cup from the fifth century BCE. His dress however, is not a dress of mourning but he is actually wearing cerements, that is, his burial clothes, and is in a crouching position on the ground of his own tomb. The scene is mythological and the boy is Glaukos, son of Minos of Crete, who died but was revived again by Polyeidos.[61]

**Fig. 9**: *Tomba degli Auguri*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

The boy in the *Tomba degli Auguri* has his hands clenched; could he be holding something in his fists? Perhaps he has dice-like objects in his hands and he is simply sitting on the ground playing, although this does not seem like a satisfactory interpretation since the scene should represent a funeral. His position could refer to the young age of the figure, because children are often shown as sitting on the ground, for example in small statuettes representing children. On the other hand, such a crouching pose with knees drawn close to the body can easily be seen as one of mourning. An urn from Chiusi from the sixth century BCE has a similar depiction. It shows a scene of *prothesis*, the preparation and display of the body before burial: two musicians are playing the double pipe as women are grieving around the body of a deceased family member. On the ground, sitting with knees bent and drawn close to their chests, are two girls. This suggests this crouching position is connected to funerals, and thus it could actually be related to grieving. Perhaps it was a pose typical of young children who were part of the family of the deceased and participated in the funeral ceremony. Perhaps young children had to sit on the ground in these occasions since they were not considered

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56 The bearded man has often been interpreted as the deceased himself, whose noble roots are thought to be highlighted by the slave bearing the chair.

57 The servant next to him is in a short tunic, which was a typical cloth for servants in the end of the sixth century BCE; Bonfante 2003, 35.

58 Haynes 2000, 232.

59 See Poulsen 1922, 11. Åkerström suggests that this character's dress and position are connected to mourning, and that he has perhaps been placed in this painting to add balance between the characters, or to point out the mourning men on the back wall; Åkerström 1981, 9.

60 Cic. *Vatin*. 12, 30: *Atque etiam illud scire ex te cupio, quo consilio aut qua mente feceris ut in epulo Q. Arri, familiaris mei, cum toga pulla accumberes; quem unquam videris, quem audieris; quo exemplo, quo more feceris.*

61 See Robertson 1959, 134 (picture on p. 130).

old enough or capable enough to participate in any other way. However, we have material that shows that these sitting figures were depicted in funerary art, which leads to the assumption that they were meant to be present in funerary ceremonies.[62]

**Boys with the Elderly - Assisting or Learning?**

In the *Tomba della Caccia e Pesca* there is a small red-brown boat on which there are three smaller fishermen together with a bald rower, bigger than the other figures (**fig. 10**). The smallest of the boys wears a blue tunic but the other youngsters do not wear any clothes. The boy in the tunic stands in the boat, watching a hunter who aims at birds with his sling. This boy's hair is different from that of the other characters, as if it were wet from swimming. The boys have usually been interpreted as slaves who are fishing for their masters, possibly the couple depicted above them in the tympanum. However, hunting and fishing seem to be typical activities of the Etruscan aristocracy as well. In fact it has been suggested that the scene could be taken from life: perhaps one of the fishermen or hunters is meant to represent the owner of the tomb in his days of youth.[63] We can only speculate about the boys' social status, but it is noteworthy that their activity appears to take place in the company, perhaps even under the guidance, of an obviously older man.

On the left side wall of the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* we find another old man with grey hair and a stick in his hand. Despite the man's age, his posture and gestures indicate authority. He seems to have a firm grip on the hand of a young, naked boy, who is not just a slave helping the man walk; the man is obviously leading the boy (**fig. 11**).[64] The man points forward with his finger at another naked young man who runs holding a stick in his hand. The stick has been interpreted as a *lagobolon*-stick, which was used for hunting hares. The index finger is often associated with authority and can be found for example, in scenes including teaching. Often, physical contacts such as the hand-holding imply a close relationship of the figures.

**Fig. 10**: *Tomba della Caccia e Pesca,* Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

62 This can also be seen in Roman reliefs where small children are shown present at ceremonies, but usually playing or just sitting on the ground.

63 Pallottino 1952, 52.

64 Based on a study of Athenian vase painting, adult men hardly ever seem to lead other adult males by the hand. They are however shown leading elderly, women and children. Children are the last to lead anyone, except in rare cases other children; McNiven 2007, 85-99, esp. 89.

**Fig. 11**: *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

Leading someone also says something about the hierarchy: a person in a superior position was in control of an inferior person. Since boys were often depicted naked, it is uncertain whether this boy was meant to represent a slave. He could very well be a descendant of the elderly person or a youth learning important skills under this older person's guidance.[65] The last character on the same wall, next to the young man running, is also a naked young boy. He has his right hand elevated. Maybe this is a hunting practice, in which both the naked boys are participating, following the example of a more experienced young hunter while the old man watches.[66]

Both hunting and fishing are the sort of activities that one immediately connects with men, usually healthy young men. This is why I would not exclude the possibility of interpreting this scene as a depiction of an initiation rite that was part of young men's growing up process. No doubt the skills of hunting and fishing, just like the ability to use arms, was important for a young man who was supposed to take care of his family in the future. Once he had developed such a skill a boy took an important step towards the world of adult men and performing his duties not only in his family but in society as well. At this point I would like to draw attention to the old men who seem to be involved in both the fishing and the hunting acts shown in these tombs. Perhaps the role of a mentor in these important situations was often entrusted to older experienced men, perhaps teachers or even grandfathers.

## Children and the Underworld

In the fourth century BCE the themes of Etruscan tomb paintings underwent a drastic change. Human destiny and mortality seem to have been subjects much considered, and this is reflected in the paintings that depict scenes representing the underworld. In these paintings the deceased is shown in the company of underworld deities and demons. In the paintings of the last few centuries BCE the Roman influence is clearly visible, but the Etruscans' burial customs continued to be the same. Family graves were built on a scale even larger than before, suggesting that faith in the continuation of the family was still strong. In scenes showing

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65 The position of the old man and the boy resemble a scene on a black-figure amphora painted by the Micali painter, now in the British Museum. This amphora holds a scene with an adult male holding the hand of a boy and pointing forwards, while another boy is climbing a pole in front of them. Pole climbing was supposed to be a part of athletic games, see: Banti 1973, 77.

66 Steingräber suggests that the scene could be a symbolic allusion to the journey into the afterlife; Steingräber 2006, 95.

the departure to the underworld the deceased is shown drifting away from his loved ones. Children can be found in these scenes either saying goodbye or welcoming the newly dead to the underworld.[67]

The *Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri* dates to a time when there were changes in the perceptions of death among the Etruscans. In this fresco depictions of merry symposia, typical of the Archaic and Classical periods, seem to mix with dark coloured underworld scenes. This has made dating problematic. In the latest studies the tomb paintings are dated to the end of the fifth century BCE and are believed to be the first in Tarquinia with scenes of the world of the dead. The right side wall paintings have attracted most attention in this tomb. The other two walls are adorned with paintings of landscapes with trees, but there are no trees on this wall. This could suggest that the world depicted on this right side wall is different from the other two walls of this tomb. The gate leading to the underworld has been replaced by a boat, which is rowed by the demon Charun. There is a woman in a long hooded cloak standing next to the boat, her left hand stretching out to touch the head of a child walking in front of her (**fig. 12**). In her right hand she holds some kind of a long branch that curves over the child's head.[68] Both figures have probably just got off the boat. The child looks more like a boy than a girl, and he has lifted up his hands as if he was hurrying to embrace the newcomer walking towards him. She is a lady, who seems to be dragged towards the boat by a blue-skinned demon.[69]

According to one theory this scene would relate to the Eleusinian mysteries and the cult of Demeter, whose worshippers were promised liberation from death by the goddess. According to this interpretation the two women, perhaps mother and daughter, would be initiated to the cult of Demeter.[70] If this were the case, the role of the male child would remain extremely unclear; his presence does not make sense if the scene is linked to such a mystery religion, usually not open to non-initiates. It has even been suggested that the women in this scene represent Demeter and Persephone, and the boy Eubouleos.[71] This is an interesting suggestion, but it is not entirely convincing, since the woman who should represent Persephone, queen of the underworld, is overshadowed by the demons dominating this fresco.[72] Moreover, according to myth, Demeter

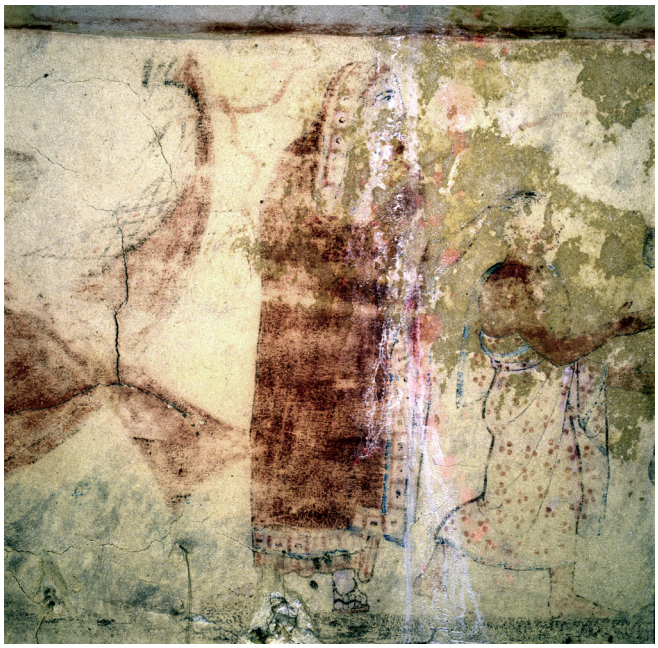

**Fig. 12**: *Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

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67 In the *Tomba Golini* at Orvieto we have a scene of the underworld, with Aita and Persephone. To the left of the banquet table a naked slave with a jug and dish can be seen. To the right there is a young man in a light-coloured sleeved chiton and above him an inscription: *Vel leinies larthial ruva arnthialum clan velusum prumaths avils semphs lupuce = Vel Leinies, Larth's brother, son of Arnth and Vel died at the age of 7.* The boy looks like a young man, but the inscription tells us he is seven years old. He is probably the son of the man on the banqueting-couch and belongs to the noble family interred in the tomb, see: Poulsen 1922, 40; *CIE* 5093-4. This representation shows just how complicated it is to try to interpret the age of a figure. We also have such examples in Rome: in some cases even babies could be depicted as diminutive men in togas, see: Huskinson 2011, 521-41, esp. 523.

68 See Krauskopf 2006, 81; Spivey 1997, 118. Rendeli suggests the woman could hold wheat spikes, see: Rendeli 1996, 10-29, esp. 17. On the *Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri,* see e.g. Cataldi Dini 1986, 37-42; Cataldi Dini 1989, 151-3.

69 Jannot interprets this character as "a man in white clothes", see: Jannot 2000, 92.

70 Cf. Pairault Massa 1992, 92.

71 Cf. Rendeli 1996, 17, 24.

72 As noted already by Krauskopf, see: Krauskopf 2006, 81, citation 52.

never actually travelled to the underworld. Assuming that the event is located at the entrance of the underworld accessible by boat, the woman dragged by the demon could have died recently and is welcomed to the underworld by relatives.[73] If this were the case, the child in the picture would very likely represent a member of the family owning the tomb who died at a young age. Domenici suggests that the gestures of this boy hint at the direction for reading the paintings of this tomb.[74]

**Fig. 13**: *Tomba dell'Orco I*, Tarquinia. Foto Sonia Taiarol.

In the *Tomba del Orco I*, dated 400-350 BCE, there is a largely destroyed banqueting scene. Three people lie on the couches. In front of them stand two smaller figures, often interpreted as the sons or descendants of the tomb owner (**fig. 13**). Of the bigger child only the face is left, and part of a white garment, probably a toga, in which he is dressed. On his left, there is a white object, only partially preserved, and interpreted by some as a shield. If this is the case, the boy might have held the shield, but it has also been argued that the assumption that it is a shield is unfounded.[75] The boy turns his dark eyes towards the woman lying on the banqueting couch. He has short black hair and a much darker skin than the smaller boy next to him. The smaller boy has longer red-brown hair and wears a big golden *bulla* on a thick golden chain round his neck.[76] His face is unfortunately destroyed. This boy's tunic is reminiscent of the colouring of the Roman *toga praetexta*. From the neck a dark red stripe runs over the shoulder to the cuff of the sleeve.[77] Only the right hand of this boy has survived; he has lifted it above chin level, just like the man lying on the couch. Raising the right hand is a gesture associated with control and ritual behaviour, and is also linked to speaking. Explicitly male characters are typically shown in such positions.[78] Judging by the clothing of the boy he seems to belong to the upper class: his skin is very pale, almost as pink as the skin of the woman lying on the banqueting couch.

If this is some sort of family portrait and the boys are brothers, they do not resemble each other very much. The dark complexion of the bigger child refers to a male character. We cannot see properly what this child is doing, but the shield by his side gives the name of the family that owned the tomb, so presumably

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73 As Roncalli has convincingly argued, the woman's role as recently deceased is supported by the direction in which she is moving - from the entrance wall towards the back wall, see: Roncalli 1996, 47.

74 See Domenici 2009, 225. Pairault Massa interprets the child as a "giovane servitore", but the child is hardly serving anyone; Pairault Massa 1992, 92.

75 The shield is shown in the drawing by Schulz, but could have been a misinterpretation; Pairault Massa 1992, 108.

76 According to tradition the Etruscan king Tarquinius Priscus was the first to make his young son use the golden *bulla*, after the boy had killed an enemy in battle. This happened when he was in *praetextae annis*, that is, at the age when a boy had changed the boys' *toga praetexta* to the men's *toga virilis*. According to Pliny soon after this episode the *bulla* was adopted by the Roman people. Plin. *nat.* 33, 4, 10: *Sed a Prisco Tarquinio omnium primo filium, cum in praetextae annis occidisset hostem, bulla aurea donatum constat, unde mos bullae duravit, ut eorum, qui equo meruissent, filii insigne id haberent, ceteri lorum...*

77 The white tunica with a red vertical stripe was already used in Etruria in the fifth century BCE, as tomb paintings demonstrate. This outfit might have influenced the usage of the *toga praetexta* in Rome, but since it became popular among both peoples around the year 300 BCE, the influence could have been mutual. In Rome the *toga praetexta* was thought to have Etruscan origins; see Liv. 1, 8, 3: *...hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est....* For the Romans the garment was a symbol of the social status, but it is difficult to say when such a garment began to mean the same to the Etruscans; Bonfante 2003, 41.

78 McNiven 2007, 90, 94.

he belongs to this *gens*. His dark skin colour could be associated with the shield. It is possible that the skin colour tells us something about the boy's age: he has already been involved in military exercises and is therefore shown as tanned, like men in general. The use of the toga also reinforces this.[79] The smaller boy is perhaps so young that he has not yet been allowed to participate in outdoor activities. He has not yet given up his protective *bulla*, which also suggests young age. I consider that his longish hair is another sign of his young age because when the boy gave up his *toga praetexta* his hair was cut short. Above this banqueting scene, on the *kline* and on what is assumed to be the shield near the boy are inscriptions telling us the name of the banqueting woman [*R*]*avnthu* [*Th*]*efrinai* and the family name of the men [*M*]*urinas*.[80] This implies that the tomb belonged to the *gens Murina*, and the woman mentioned in the inscription could be the grandmother of the boys depicted on the scene. This is supported by the text [*at*]*i nacnuva* found in this tomb, which in Etruscan meant 'grand mother'.[81] Again it would appear that we have a scene indicating the presence of several generations. The children can be united with their grandparents in a banquet, possibly when visiting the tomb, or once reunited in the next world. This might have been a way to show how strong the link with one's ancestors was, and how important it was to belong to a family with a long history, not least for the purpose of highlighting the family's social role in the city.

**Boys in their Togas**

**Fig. 14**: *Tomba Bruschi*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale

The *Tomba Bruschi* is dated to the early third century BCE. On the back wall of the tomb is a depiction of a crowd of men and among them is a male figure much smaller than the others (**fig. 14**). Some of the men go to the right and another group led by the boy walk towards them. The boy is dressed in clothing similar to that of the men, a white ankle-length *toga exigua*. His right arm is bent on his chest, under the toga. It is interesting that as in the *Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri* in this tomb the boy also walks in front of all the other characters, he is the first to greet the figure arriving. I find this spontaneous action very natural to children, but what is interesting is that it seems to be commemorated in these ancient tombs. This illustration is meant to depict members of the Apunas family on their journey to the afterlife, where they are greeted by deceased family members.[82] It is probably meant to highlight the continuity of a high-ranking family. The line coming from the left has been interpreted as a group travelling to the underworld. At the same time, a group of their

79 In Roman funerary art we find small boys wearing a short sleeved tunica, while bigger youths are usually represented wearing the toga; Huskinson 2007, 323-38 esp. 326.

80 On the tomb belonging to the *gens* Murina, see Morandi – Colonna 1995, 95-102.

81 See Morandi Tarabella 2004, 320; Haynes 2000, 313; Nielsen 1989, 121-45, esp. 138.

82 Vincenti 2009, 68.

relatives who have died are walking towards them from the right, from the underworld. Such depictions celebrating ancestors are very characteristic of the Etruscans.

In *Tomba 5512* from the second half of the third century BCE the subject of the paintings is also saying farewell to the newly dead and welcoming them to the afterlife.[83] The frescoes are in poor condition, but on one wall we have a scene of two boys dressed in togas, shown standing between two figures, usually interpreted as males: the young boys stand between two adults who shake hands, in a *dextrarum iunctio* position. The handshake is a common theme in late Etruscan funerary art and can also be found on sarcophagi and urns. Often the handshake has been interpreted as an act of farewell, whereby the deceased is shown leaving his family.[84] Some scenes of handshaking take place in the afterlife and in these cases it is connected with welcoming the newly dead to another world. Pairault Massa interprets the character on the right as an elderly man, shaking the hand of his son.[85] In this case the two children would be his grandchildren, and the man on the left and the woman behind him would be the children's parents.[86] Most probably this scene is a depiction of a nuclear family, including the grandfather, who might be seen as transferring the *patria potestas* to his son by shaking his hand.[87] The two boys below their arms are the youngest generation, to whom the roles as the leading men of this family will one day be transferred.

*Tomba 5636* is dated to the third century BCE, and its paintings clearly differ from those of the earlier tombs. The frescoes of this grave do not entirely cover the walls, as in many other graves, but focus on small surfaces of the tomb, on a column and on the right wall. On the right wall is a small area with a scene in which the demon Vanth seems to lead a man and a small boy to the gate of the underworld. The gate is guarded by the demon Charun, and two figures seem to have come through it, a man and a youth, who are thought to represent relatives who have died (**fig. 15**). Under this depiction the sarcophagus was placed and the tomb presumably belonged to the Arnthunas family. The older men have short white hair, that of the youths and the boy's is also short but brown. Everyone is wearing a white toga. The little boy, as well as the older men, stand with the right arm raised towards the youth. It is this gesture that is relevant: the youth is the only one who has not raised his arm. Therefore it is likely that he has a different role: perhaps all the other males in this group are saying their farewells to him. Pairault Massa suggests that the older men in this scene are brothers saying goodbye to each other, both in the company of their sons.[88] This painting belongs to the period when the Etruscans were part of the Roman Empire and also under Roman influence. In Rome mostly adult men wore the toga and if this was also the case in Etruria the little boy in this fresco was considered old enough to wear the toga.[89] The fact that he has been described as part of the group consisting of men and in the same position as adults tells he was respected and considered worthy of remembrance as a member of his *gens*.

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83 The tomb is known also as *Tomba Doppia* and *Tomba degli Aninas II*. Its inscriptions reveal it was the tomb of a noble woman, Vela Pelsinei, but was used also in later times; Steingräber 2006, 261.

84 This is supported by the demons depicted in these scenes, and the doors that presumably symbolise the gates of the underworld. Demons do not always separate family members from each other, but sometimes bring them together in the afterworld; Davies 1985, 627-40, esp. 630-2.

85 Pairault Massa 1992, 192.

86 Colonna thinks that the figure on the left is a woman, shaking the hand of a man who seems to be bearded: Colonna 1985, 139-62, esp. 151. However looking at the clothing and skin colour the couple shaking hands look like two men.

87 See Pairault Massa 1992, 192.

88 Pairault Massa 1992, 193.

89 From the Hellenistic period we have inscriptions dedicated to youths who died at a young age (ca. 14-year-old), on which there is the name of the boy (in the ones written in Etruscan usually the boy's name is in the diminutive form) and in addition the *gentilicium*. This indicates that boys of this age were considered as members of their *gens*, individuals important for the family; Camporeale 1986, 241-308, esp. 269.

**Fig. 15**: *Tomba 5636*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale

## Fragile Youths or Statues?

In the *Tomba delle Leonesse* and the *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, both dated around the year 520 BCE, particular childlike characters are presented, their skin completely uncoloured. These three boys are very different from the other characters surrounding them: they are much smaller and drawn in outline only. It is unclear what this lack of colouring means; one theory is that it was meant to indicate the boys' fragility and vulnerable age.[90] In the *Tomba delle Leonesse* the boy is left without colouring except for his reddish-brown hair. He is naked and standing on a low podium, holding an *aulos* in his left hand, while with his right he holds a circular object that has been interpreted as a ring (**fig. 16**). However, the boy is very much smaller than the other figures, and the ring would be too big for his own finger. While the ring is too large for the size of the boy, the boy's stool and *aulos* are depicted on a scale that matches his size. The object has been regarded as a ring because of its small size and round shape, and because the boy seems to hold it between his forefinger and thumb as if it were quite light. If it really is a ring, we must ask why the boy is offering it to the man lying opposite him on the banqueting couch. What is the significance of this gesture? One possibility is that the ring belongs to some game, unknown to us now.[91] In this case its large size would not necessarily be relevant. From the Comedy of the Asses written by Plautus we get the impression that lovers used to give each other their rings to look at, and that it was not appropriate to do this with anyone other than your loved one.[92]

Ducati saw this boy as a hermaphrodite, because he thought the boy's chest looked feminine. The lack of colouration could then be explained by the fact that the boy is not really a man (whose skin in Etruscan art would be of a dark brown colour) nor a woman (which would be light-skinned), but something in between. According to Ducati, the boy could be a statue of a hermaphroditic deity.[93] Brendel suggests that it was difficult for the painter to capture the very essence of a young boy in this figure and so he tried to indicate the

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90 Haynes 2000, 230.

91 Also in the *Tomba dei Leopardi* there is a description of a man on the banqueting couch holding an object identified as a ring, and it has been suggested it was used for some kind of a game; Rizzo 1989, 143-4, esp. 143. We know that the Greeks played *kottabos* with *kylixes* and wine lees at their symposia.

92 Plaut. *Asin.* 778: *...spectandum ne cui anulum det neque roget*.

93 Ducati reminds us that hermaphrodite deities are not completely absent in ancient literature. He refers to Propertius' text, which describes Vertumnus, one of the most important gods of the Etruscan pantheon, who, according to Propertius, could take the form of a woman as well, see: Ducati 1937, 8; Prop. 4, 2, 19: *In quamcumque voles verte, decorus ero. Indue me Cois, fiam non dura puella: me que uirum sumpta quis neget esse toga?*

**Fig. 16**: *Tomba delle Leonesse,* Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale.

boy's immature age by leaving him discoloured.[94] The ring could be related to the status of the man lying on the banqueting couch.[95] The object could also be interpreted as a small bird's egg, or as a flower bud.[96] Eggs are often found, especially in banqueting scenes, as symbols for a new life.[97] The boy seems to be handing this object to the man who lies on the couch and points to the boy with a laurel branch. Branches are often linked to religious ceremonies.[98] If we interpret this small figure as a sculpture, the branch could be related to honouring the deity he might represent, and laurel is associated with the cult of Apollo.[99] However in the case of the boy, could the branch be meant to protect the child, or should it be interpreted as a symbol of life after death?[100] Laurel is a sign of ritual purification before death, but according to Jannot it is always held by the living, never by the dead, since it was believed to protect against the pollution and impurity of death.[101]

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94 Brendel sees him as one of the children in archaic Etruscan painting who "add to the fun at the banquet, as do the tame animals"; Brendel 1978, 187. Steingräber believes that the outline figure in the *Tomba delle Leonesse* is a "small naked performer" standing on a footstool; Steingräber 1985, 322. Others thinking in this same vein have called the figure a servant standing on a podium.

95 Etruscans adopted accessories from the Romans that highlighted a person's high rank during the first century BCE. Nobility was shown for example, by the use of golden rings; Bonfante 2003, 41. This tomb however, is of an early date, and therefore we cannot infer Roman influence, but perhaps the golden ring, as well as other jewellery, has marked high status and been part of ceremonious situations even before the Romans started to use such objects as status symbols.

96 See Roncalli 2005, 407-23, esp. 417. The round object in the hand of the boy could be a lotus bud, as the one held by a banqueter in the *Tomba del Triclinio*. The lotus, according to Jannot, might be a symbol for rest and wellbeing, see: Jannot 2009, 81-6, esp. 84.

97 The egg seems to have been popular at funeral banquets. Pieraccini notes that it would indeed have been an ideal portable food item, easy to cook and easy to transport to the tomb. However, it also must have had a symbolic meaning, perhaps related to the origin of life and also afterlife, see: Pieraccini 2000, 44.

98 About branches used in ceremonies, see: Haynes 2000, 248. During the late Archaic period plants became a popular motif in the paintings. Different plants had different meanings: laurel was dedicated to Apollo, cypress to Hades, ivy to Dionysus and pomegranate to Persephone (in some cases also to Dionysus). The palm was considered as a symbol of the sun, immortality and victory; Steingräber 2006, 70.

99 On Etruscan cult images and figures standing on altars, see: Rask 2011, 89-112.

100 See also the *Tomba dei Demoni Azzurri*, where a woman is holding a branch above the head of a child. Branches of laurels are also common on Etruscan funerary urns. Could the branch in this context have a purifying or auspicious meaning? Tacitus tells us that garlands and branches were used when a temple was erected. Tac. *hist*. 4, 53, 2: *…spatium omne quod templo dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque; ingressi milites, quis fausta nomina, felicibus ramis*.

101 See Jannot 2009, 82.

**Fig. 17**: *Tomba dei Giocolieri*, Tarquinia. Foto © Soprintendenza per i beni archeologici dell'Etruria meridionale

Similar figures are found in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri.* On the back wall we have two naked boys, one sitting on the ground and raising his hand as if in greeting. The other boy stands on a low podium, holding a circular wreath in his hand (**fig. 17**). The boys have no contact with other figures, and yet they have been displayed on the rear wall, the most central place in the tomb. These boys are thought to be perhaps the tomb owner's descendants.[102]

What is common to both these scenes is the boy's placement on a low stand, the much smaller size of these boys in comparison to other characters, their different colouring and nudity. Coincidence or not, in both scenes we find the presence of religious paraphernalia, a branch and a wreath. As the graves are dated to the same period, the style in which the boys are represented could be a fashion phenomenon of the time, or linked to the characteristic style of a particular artist. Since the tombs are from the same period it is possible that the same artist might have been at work in both tombs. These boys are distinguished so clearly from all other figures that they could represent another world. Lack of colouration and standing on the podium makes the boys look sculptural. The positions of the legs of the standing boys resemble the position of Greek *kouros*-statues, but the one sitting on the ground is far from looking like a sculpture, and the reaching gestures of the other two boys make one question this interpretation. In addition, the same stance, the side profile and one foot in front of another, is also common in other Tarquinian tombs.

The boy of the *Tomba delle Leonesse* could be a slave, as Steingräber mentions, entertaining his master with flute music. One could also see this boy as a youth taking part in a banqueting party: in Greek symposia the participant holding a branch of myrtle was the next in turn to perform a song. This performance could be accompanied by *aulos* music, played either by a hired professional or another participant.[103] The man on the couch could be handing the branch to the boy, indicating his turn comes next. However, in the *Tomba dei Giocolieri* the boys do not seem to serve or entertain anyone. In addition, they are separated from other figures by a large wall of flowers. In archaic Greek art this kind of difference in the sizes of the figures was used when depicting someone from the world of the living making an offering to a divinity or a dead loved one; it indicated the difference between the characters belonging to different worlds. If we interpret

102 Small 1994, 88.

103 See Bundrick 2005, 81.

these paintings as depictions of two different worlds, perhaps the row of flowers acting as the border, we could see these small figures as male family members greeting and making an offering to their ancestors.[104]

**Where are the Girls?**

By now we have discussed scenes in which children are exclusively male, but what about the girls? In the *Tomba della Caccia e Pesca* we have a depiction of a man and a woman, most probably a married couple buried in this tomb, lying on a banqueting couch. A woman holds up a wreath and touches the man's chest. The man keeps his right arm tenderly on the woman's shoulder, and his right leg intimately on her back. At the feet of this couple, sitting on pillows placed on the floor, are two young girls (**fig. 18**). They are making flower wreaths, similar to the one that the woman is offering to the man, and close to them a small musician is playing the double pipe.[105] The smaller of the girls with long dark hair and a white outfit seems to be very focused on her work: in front of her there is a basket, perhaps including accessories for making wreaths. Another girl, whose outfit is blue and hair red, looks over her shoulder towards the couple. Whether these girls are slaves or daughters of the couple lying on the couch, they seem to help at the manufacture of wreaths used in the banquet.

Often this scene is regarded as a family scene, or one of a married couple with their servants. Some scholars have suggested that the *aulos* playing child is the couple's offspring, because he is better dressed than the slaves on the right side of the couch. This aulete is often identified as a girl, because some scholars want to see a division of feminine and masculine world in this painting. The left side, in which the woman and girls making wreaths have been placed, is believed to represent the feminine side. Therefore, the *aulos* player placed on the same side has also been interpreted as a girl.[106] The fine clothing does differentiate this figure from the other small characters, the servant boys on the 'men's side', who are naked. However, the skin colour has been ignored when considering this interpretation: all the other female characters have a white skin, while the flute player looks as tanned as the man and the servant boys on the right. Moreover, the women have long hair, while the auletes hair is short.

On the back wall of the *Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti* (ca. 500 BCE) is a depiction of a married couple lying on a banqueting couch. On their right is a naked boy servant holding a bowl. On their left there is an

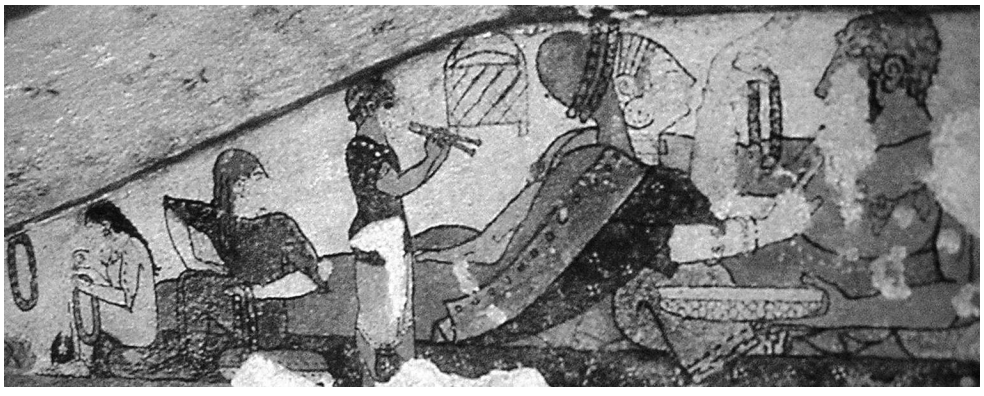

**Fig. 18**: *Tomba della Caccia e Pesca,* Tarquinia. Foto Sonia Taiarol.

104 See Roncalli 2005, 417.

105 Garlands (*hypothymides*) were first used by the Aeolians and Ionians who wore them around their necks, see: Ath. 15, 678 d. In Ionia women perfumed their bosoms and wore wreaths of flowers round their necks as Sappho says (Ath. 15, 674 c-d). Women are often described holding or handing this kind of wreath which was meant to be worn around the neck and which probably served as a protective symbol; Jannot 2005, 47.

106 Cf. Brendel 1978, 189; D'Agostino 1983, 2-12, esp. 6.

**Fig. 19**: *Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti,* Tarquinia. Watercolor, 1895. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek.

interesting portrayal of a girl and a boy. They are more or less the same size as the servant boy, smaller than the man and the woman lying on the couch. The girl is dressed nicely, almost as elaborately as the lady lying on the couch. Sitting on the girl's lap is a boy who, judging by the size is of the same age as the girl. The boy is naked, except for the red shoes (*socci*) he wears, and in his left hand he holds a bird (**fig. 19**).[107] He has wrapped his right arm around the girl's shoulder. The boy and the girl are looking into each other's eyes. This young couple has been interpreted in various ways. D'Agostino is of the opinion that the bird in the boys lap is a dove, which refers to the girl's and boy's erotic relationship.[108] D'Agostino's conclusion has some justification, because birds are often connected to deities of love. On Greek vases we also have young boys painted with bird pets, and we know that cocks were popular gifts given by adult men to their young loves.[109] However, in this case this interpretation is questionable, because the Etruscans used to show erotic situations as explicitly and unashamedly erotic. Moreover, in Greek art it was common to show small children holding birds, including doves, and in funerary art birds symbolise a connection between the world of the living and that of the dead.[110]

In the 1930s Ducati saw this as a family scene and interpreted the girl and the boy as a big sister with her little brother.[111] In this case the bird would simply be the boy's pet. In fifth century BCE paintings children often look like miniature adults, which complicates interpretation.[112] It seems most likely that this is a family scene, because it was typical that young boys were to be portrayed holding birds; this became especially popular in the Hellenistic period, which has produced many statuettes representing boys with birds. The pet's presence emphasises immaturity; on the other hand birds are also linked to the idea of death and

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107 The shoes are the soft *socci*-shoes, which after 520 BCE were especially depicted as shoes of dancers or nude characters; Bonfante 2003, 63. In Etruscan art we have several examples of figures, both male and female, who are represented naked, but wearing shoes. Such are often shown on winged demons or geniuses, as well as women in toilette-scenes (especially in vases). In art depicting myths related to Troy women have a lot of jewellery, but no clothes, except for shoes; Bocci 1960, 109-25, esp. 118.

108 D'Agostino 1983, 7.

109 Robertson 1959, 100 (picture on page 98). Robertson notes that the boy painted on a fifth century BCE Athenian mixing-bowl (*krater*) is still a child, since he is represented with his long hair loose and playing with a hoop. The cock however implies, that the boy has reached an age to be wooed.

110 See Cohen 2011, 465-87, esp. 465. About doves and other birds as children's pets in Greek art see: Klein 1932, 10.

111 Ducati 1937, 12.

112 Small 1994, 89. This is also the case in archaic Greek art. Children depicted with athletic bodies are not rare; perhaps they represented the ideal child 'born to survive' as Véronique Dasen puts it, see: Dasen 2011, 314. Lesley A. Beaumont suggests that at the time no iconographic type for children had yet been developed, so the children were depicted as adults only smaller in size, see: Beaumont 2003, 62.

were therefore popular in funerary art.[113] This boy has shoes that distinguish him from an otherwise identical character, the servant boy. Perhaps shoes are shown here to express the higher position of the boy compared with the servant. The boy's nudity could be an indication of his young age: unlike his big sister he is not yet subject to the social norms of modest dress. The girl looks so much like the woman lying on the couch that it is easy to think of them as mother and daughter. We do not know how much Etruscans used the similarity between parents and children to point out family connections, but it is natural to think of this as a way of suggesting family continuity.

## Conclusion

Tarquinian tomb paintings reflect the perceptions of Etruscans concerning death and life, but the paintings should be approached with caution: most art is based on ideals and it is not intended to depict contemporary everyday life as it was. The tomb paintings show the development of different styles and ideas during the period that lasted for several centuries. As in the style of painting, the depictions of the people were inextricably linked to the fashion of the time. From the paintings we can get an indication of what kind of roles children might have had in Etruscan culture, how they were dressed on certain occasions and with whom they might have spent time; but the paintings are certainly idealised versions of their life and have symbolic connotations.

To conclude, in many instances it is difficult to argue that these small figures were meant to represent slaves, slave children or freeborn children. However, some of the children depicted in the painted chamber tombs of Tarquinia were clearly playing important roles. We do not have any examples of small babies, nor scenes that would clearly show a mother taking care of her child.[114] One reason for this might be that the scenes depicted in the tombs represent funeral games and banqueting parties, which were probably not considered to be appropriate places for small children. The children seem to appear in the paintings once they are of an age mature enough to participate in the social action, once they are old enough have an active role.

Most children were shown in musicians' role. Music seems to have played an important part in the life of both children and adults, and it seems quite likely that music had great significance in children's education, as in Greece. Children's early experiences of taking part in religious ceremonies seem to have been related to the playing of a musical instrument. This was also quite common in Greece and Rome: a child could take part in religious action through assistive roles.[115] Children mourning was not a common motif, but we have possible examples of boys commemorating and honouring their ancestors, which might have been a habit among the Etruscans: the tomb seems to have been a place for past and future generations to meet and wellbeing was something to be desired for both.

When it comes to gender, boys' roles were meant to be visible, whereas the girls' roles seem to have been bound to the home, as was the case in most cultures in antiquity. Girls are shown very rarely, and when they appear they are in less active roles; one does not see them raising their hands and conversing with others, nor moving from place to place or exercising. Women do dance, but little girls do not: they sit in their places, close to their parents or other adults, helping with domestic work. The roles of the girls could be

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113 Huskinson 2007, 327.

114 According to J.M. Becker's studies, children under the age of five are not found in the cemeteries of Tarquinia, and he assumes that it was not a custom to bury young children in the same cemeteries or in the same way as adults, see: Becker 2007, 285.

115 Performance played a large part in Greek ritual, and children were trained in dancing, singing and athletics, activities that were considered pleasing to the Greek gods. Children have participated in adult rituals as bearers of sacred objects and even victims; Neils 2003, 139.

seen as quite dignified; they are practicing how to become a worthy lady of the house and the socialisation seems to happen in the family circle. The more public activities, such as the job of a musician or a young athlete, seem to be reserved exclusively for boys. These scenes indicate that it was important for boys to be socialised at a young age into the world of adult behaviour through these active roles. The boys are shown participating in the funeral games by taking part in sports performances. These kinds of situations must have been important moments in the surrounding community, as presenting the talents of the new generations undoubtedly created a sense of pride and security in the whole city. Perhaps because of this important role the boys were taught and supervised by the best teachers in town, the older, experienced men. In fact, children are never shown playing or associating with other children. This was hardly the case in the children's everyday life in Etruria, but perhaps the ideal education was supposed to train the child to become a dignified citizen, and the skills needed were learnt from adults.

The roles of the children differ during the period. Most of the children, or at least those figures interpretable as such, are found in the archaic tombs. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods the girls completely disappear from the paintings. Almost all children acting as musicians belong to early tombs; one flute player is in a tomb of the Classical period. It seems that when the style of the paintings changed, children's roles changed as well. At the end of the fifth century children began to be depicted in scenes connected to the underworld, as members of the family of the deceased. In the tombs of the Hellenistic period, children portrayed in the paintings are exclusively boys, and the Roman influence is discernible in their appearance. The boys wear togas and are distinguished from other male figures in the scenes mainly on the basis of their size. Boys are depicted in central activities, such as saying farewell to a person newly dead or in scenes of welcome.

Perhaps such representations in which the boys were in close connection and almost identified with the group of adult men reflected in some manner the historical change in Etruscan culture: Etruscan cities were falling under the rule of Rome. It is possible at a time like this Etruscan family traditions became even more important than before and also the youngest of the family would participate in the activities with their own contribution. The loss of political independence might have caused a need for comfort and security, which was sought by holding on to old traditions as a way of strengthening the cultural identity. In such a case, the unity of the family and the importance of co-operation between generations were most likely of particular importance.

## Appendix 1

Tarquinian tombs:

| TOMB | DATED | FOUND | NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WALL | SEX OF CHILDREN | ROLE OF CHILDREN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tomba delle Leonesse | 520 BCE | 1874 | Left side wall: 1 | 1 boy | Musician/Statue? |
| Tomba degli Auguri | 520 BCE | 1878 | Right side wall:1 | 1 boy | Mourning child? |
| Tomba dei Giocolieri | 520 BCE | 1961 | Back wall:3, left side wall:2 | 5 boys | 1 assistant to female athlete, 2 boys drawn in outline, 2 boys with old man |
| Tomba del Barone | 510 BCE | 1827 | Back wall:1 | 1 boy | Musician |
| Tomba della Caccia e Pesca | 510 BCE | 1873 | Back wall tympanum:3, back wall:1 | 2 girls, 2 boys | Girls making wreaths, musician and fisher |
| Tomba dei Baccanti | 510-500 BCE | 1874 | Left side wall:1, right side wall:1 | 2 boys | Musicians |
| Tomba Cardarelli | 510-500 BCE | 1959 | Left side wall:3, right side wall:1 | 3 boys, 1 girl | 2 musicians, 1 fan bearer, girl holding mirror and kyathos-cup |
| Tomba 1999 | 510-500 BCE | 1960 | Left side wall: 1 | 1 boy | Boy holding a bag |
| Tomba dei Vasi Dipinti | 500 BCE | 1867 | Back wall:3 | 1 girl, 2 boys | Family members, servant |
| Tomba delle Bighe | 490 BCE | 1827 | Left side wall frieze:3 | 3 boys | Assistants, athletes |
| Tomba del Letto Funebre | 460 BCE | 1873 | Left side wall:1, right side wall:2 | 3 boys | Musician, boy with horse, servant? |
| Tomba 5513 | 450 BCE | 1967 | Right side wall: 1, left side wall:1 | 2 boys | Boy holding branch, servant? |
| Tomb dei Demoni Azzurri | end of 5. cent. BCE | 1985 | Right side wall: 1 | 1 boy | Family member, escort |
| Tomba Quericola 1 | end of 5. cent. BCE | 1831 | Right side wall: 1 | 1 boy | Servant/Hunter? |
| Tomba del Guerriero | ca. 450-400 BCE | 1961 | Left side wall:1, left entrance wall:2 | 3 boys | 1 musician, 2 athletic preformers |
| Tomba dell'Orco 1 | 400-350 BCE | 1868 | Back wall:2 | 2 boys | Family members |
| Tomba Bruschi | beginning of 3. cent. BCE | 1864 | Back wall:1, 'wall A':1 | 1 boy, 1 girl | Family member, mirror holding maiden |
| Tomba 5512 | second half of 3. cent. BCE | 1967 | Left entrance wall:2 | 2 boys | Family members |
| Tomba 5636 | second half of 3. cent. BCE | 1969 | Right side space over sarcophagus:2 | 2 boys | Family members |

Other Etruscan tombs:

| TOMB | DATED | FOUND | NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER WALL | SEX OF CHILDREN | ROLE OF CHILDREN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tomba del Colle Casuccini (Chiusi) | first half of 5. cent. BCE | 1833 | Left side wall:1, back wall:1 | 2 boys | Musicians |
| Tomba di Montollo (Chiusi) | beginning of 5. cent. BCE | 1734 | Main chamber:1 | 1 boy | Auriga |
| Tomba di Orfeo e Euridice (Chiusi) | 480-470 BCE | 1846 | Posterior chamber, back wall:1 | 1 boy | Musician (drawn in outline only) |
| Tomba di Poggio Gaiella (Chiusi) | first half of 5. cent. BCE | 1840 | Back wall and left side wall: 2 | 2 boys | Musicians |
| Tomba della Scimmia (Chiusi) | 480 BCE | 1846 | Back wall:2, left side wall:1, right side wall:2, entrance wall:1 | 6 boys | 1 nude rider, 1 nude boy with dog, 2 servants, 1 musician |
| Tomba Dipinta (Grotte S.Stefano) | middle of 5. cent. BCE | beginning of 20th cent. | Entrance wall:3 | 3 boys | 2 musicians, 1 assistant? |
| Tomba Golini 1 (Orvieto) | middle of 4. cent. BCE | 1863 | Rigt side wall: 2, back wall:1 | 3 boys | 1 nude servant, 1 familymember, 1 dwarf? |
| Tomba Golini 2 (Orvieto) | second half of 4. cent. BCE | 1863 | Left side wall:1 | 1 boy | Musician? |
| Tomba degli Hescanas (Orvieto) | end of 4. cent. BCE | 1883 | Back wall:1, Right side wall: 4 | 3 boys, 1 girl | Family members? Boys kissing, boy with stylus |
| Tomba Francois (Vulci) | second half of 4. cent. BCE | 1857 | 'Atrium': right side wall:1 | 1 boy | Arnza, with bird |
| Tomba Campanari (Vulci) | 3. cent. BCE | 1833 | Right side wall: 1, left side wall:2 | 2 boys (?), 1 girl | Family members |

# Symbols of Continuity: Greek Senatorial Families and Honorific Dedications to the Children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger*

Sanna Joska

## Introduction

In the public spaces of various cities in the Roman Empire there are several statues and inscriptions in honour of the youngest members of the *domus divina*, the children of the emperor. In modern studies they are often overshadowed by the monumental presence of the emperor himself, but here attention is given to acts honouring imperial children. These children can be regarded as the objects while the dedicators of honorific monuments are the actors. In this context inscriptions and statues are studied as outcomes of acts that conveyed various messages. The study focuses on communication and the use of social power, reflecting relations and status in Roman society.[1] The main questions are what was the message the dedicators wished to convey by honouring imperial children and why choose children to convey it?

By focusing on children as a social group this article aims to bring further insights into their roles and status and how they were represented in second century Roman society. It is essential to recognise that the Romans regarded childhood as a stage of life and they depicted their children in public art and remembered them in epitaphs. Children and families continue to be prominent topics in recent studies of Antiquity.[2] When considering the imperial family, of course one must remember that they were members of the highest possible social group in Roman society: because of their unique status imperial children are well represented in the material that has survived. Their everyday lives were very different to those of children born to the lower freeborn classes, not to mention those born in slavery.

While discussing Roman childhood this study also focuses on inscriptions as communicative acts: in tracing patterns of agency regarding imperial children attention is paid to the dedicators of the inscriptions. The method is to consider each monument and inscription with the same questions in mind. First I will present the inscription to the imperial child, the monument and its context and what is known of its dedicator. Next the social function of the dedicatory act will be considered and the representative role of the child analysed.

This is a social historical case study concerning one imperial family, obviously it would be desirable to include all Roman imperial families, but within the scope of a single article this is simply not possible. The intention is to come to some conclusions regarding one particularly interesting imperial era, the second century CE and the Antonine imperial family. The second century was a time of relative peace and greater

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* I am grateful to Mika Kajava, Ray Laurence and Ville Vuolanto for giving valuable comments concerning my text. Any mistakes that remain of course are my own.

1 Power discourses in the Roman Empire are a vast area of study, see e.g. Mennen 2011, 3-10 as a serviceable introduction and summary on the subject.

2 E.g. Harlow – Laurence (eds.) 2010; Harlow – Larsson Lovén (eds.) 2012; Laes 2011; Laes – Mustakallio – Vuolanto (eds.) 2015.

wealth in the Roman Empire. The upper classes had the means to finance schemes of public benefit such as the funding of new buildings and monuments to adorn their cities throughout the Empire. The Greek provinces prospered particularly during this era of stability.[3]

The second century has been depicted as a distinctive period focusing on the public acknowledgement of children.[4] Under the Emperor Augustus families and children had already been promoted, but in the second century public representations of children reached new heights. Children became the focus of the emperor's patronage and they also received greater notice in legislation. In public art produced during second century imperial regime child imagery promoted the ideology of generosity and the emperor's care for his subjects.[5] Through imperial coinage and other representations the Antonine regime, together with the Roman Senate, built a new public profile concentrating on the imperial family, promoting marital harmony and fertility.[6]

Representations of children also became more prominent in other media. Janet Huskinson, discussing children in Roman funerary contexts, calls the mid second century "a highpoint in the development and use of imagery which represented childhood as a distinct stage of life".[7] The attention to children in public life reached its peak with Faustina the Younger's public image as the most fertile and pious mother, surrounded by her offspring, as can be seen on the coinage. **(Fig. 1)** The images of children on imperial coin issues symbolised the fertility of their mother and the continuity of the dynasty.[8] This study turns the attention to representations of the imperial children that were not produced by the imperial rule but by its subjects.

The Antonine dynasty was in power from 138 to 192 CE, from Emperor Antoninus Pius to Commodus, Antoninus Pius (emperor 138-161), being the adopted heir of Emperor Hadrian (117-138). At the same time Hadrian had Pius adopt two young heirs, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, who ruled after Pius' death. Marcus Aurelius ruled the Empire until his death in 180 CE, but Lucius Verus died in 169 CE after only eight years in power. Marcus Aurelius was succeeded by his biological son Commodus, the first emperor in the history of imperial Rome to be born during his father's reign.[9] Antoninus Pius strengthened the ties within the imperial family by marrying his daughter Annia Faustina to his adoptive son Marcus Aurelius in 145 CE. Two years later Faustina gave birth to her first child. During their thirty years of marriage the imperial couple had up to thirteen more children, which made this the largest group of siblings in the history of Roman imperial families - notable since there had been no young children among the imperial family since the days of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[10]

Modern scholars differ about the number, birth order and ages of the children of Marcus and Faustina. Klaus Fittschen argued in *Die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor und die Fecunditas Augustae* (1982) there were thirteen children,[11] but later added one unnamed son, making fourteen.[12] Dietmar Kienast in *Römische*

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3 Birley 1987, 22-4.

4 See esp. Rawson 1997, 205-38; Rawson 2001, 21-42.

5 Rawson 2001, 22-5, 37; Uzzi 2007, 61-81, esp. 64-70.

6 Weiss 2008, 1-45.

7 Huskinson 2005, 91-103.

8 Ameling 1992, 147-66; Fittschen 1982; Levick 2014, 110-2. On stability and continuity promoted through imperial births: Haensch 2013, 131-51.

9 On the Antonine regime see: Ackeren (ed.) 2012; Birley 1987; Grant 1994; Levick 2014; Priwitzer 2009.

10 With the exception of Emperor Domitian's son, who died at an early age; Suet. *Dom*. 3, 1.

11 Fittschen 1982, 23-32.

12 Fittschen 1999, 2-9.


**Fig. 1:** *RIC* III (Marcus Aurelius) 718. An *aureus* of Faustina the Younger.
Obv. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. Bust of Faustina the Younger, draped, right.
Rev. TEMPOR FELIC. Woman standing, head left, holding two children, four more at sides.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

*Kaisertabelle* (1990) has presented Marcus and Faustina as having thirteen children:[13] his interpretation differs from that of Fittschen, especially in the case of the first six children.[14] Walter Ameling in *Die Kinder des Marc Aurel und die Bildnistypen der Faustina Minor* (1992) has suggested that the imperial couple had only eleven children.[15] The order of birth and even the full names of these children are not known with any certainty. We know more of some children than of others, especially Commodus, who succeeded his father as emperor, and Lucilla, who was married to his father's co-emperor Lucius Verus. The children who died very young have left far fewer imprints on the pages of history. Whatever the number of children, it can be said that more than half of them died before reaching the age of ten. This is to be expected with the high child mortality rates during Antiquity that did not spare even the highest social groups.[16] This study focuses on the inscriptions in which the imperial children can be identified as individuals and is not concerned with their order of birth or specific ages.[17] The emphasis here lies on the representative role of imperial children as the objects of honours and the acts of the dedicators.

**Communication Cut in Stone**

Three monuments in which children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger were honoured serve as the sources in this article. These three are the only examples throughout the whole Empire of an individual person or a family acting as the dedicator of such monument that are known to the author.[18] Among the

13 Kienast 1990, 139-141.

14 See also further studies listing the children collected in: Petraccia 2006, 477-86, esp. 483-6.

15 Ameling 1992, 161.

16 Parkin 1992, 92; Scheidel 2009, 31-40.

17 As opposed to inscriptions in which the children were included by mentioning *domus augusta*, *domus divina* or *liberorumque*.

18 These types of monuments were more often dedicated by communities, e.g. *I.Ephesos* 287, 1-9, and 288, 1-5 or *AE* 1978, 839-841. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that when searching for sources, attention has been given only to honorific inscriptions in which the children were honoured as a son or a daughter of Marcus Aurelius or a grandchild of Emperor Antoninus Pius. Inscriptions that honour the children in official imperial positions have not been taken into account, ruling out inscriptions honouring

remains of these monuments three inscriptions honouring four Antonine imperial children have been preserved. With this limited case study I hope to find answers to questions concerning agency and strategies of the dedicators in the cases in which an imperial child was included as an object of honouring. These sources have been selected because they offer evidence of the dedicators of the monuments, and the focus has been on groups in which more than one member of the imperial family was honoured. This makes it possible to gain insights into the messages the monuments were designed to convey. Each of these monuments was erected in the Eastern part of the Empire and by persons from Greek senatorial families. This offers a possibility to focus on the Greek aristocratic culture of the second century CE.

In Roman imperial society inscriptions were essentially made to be seen and to be used, and not just at their erection, but as long as the public memory of the person honoured was considered important for the community. When attempting to grasp the message of honorific monuments their ancient context becomes important. The place of the monument in civic space determined its visibility, whether it was aimed at limited or larger audience. A monument by the busy main street of a city and one besides the city's administrative centre targeted different audiences, at least in part.[19] What is considered of key importance for this study are the acts of the dedicators and the fact that the honorific monuments were set up in public spaces with the prospect of being seen by members of the public.

The practice of honouring was followed at many levels of society. The dedicators of honorific inscriptions and statues generally ranged from individual persons to whole communities, from slaves to senators and from *collegia* to provinces. The number of inscriptions has been shown to increase in the second century, culminating in the late second and early third centuries.[20] As Pliny the Younger writes, the act itself of erecting a statue to someone else should be considered honourable.[21] Stones bearing inscriptions honouring the emperor and set up in public places conveyed messages of the dedicator's loyalty to both the imperial regime and the local community of the dedicator.[22] Above all, inscribed dedicatory acts gave the dedicator an opportunity to have his (or her) name, deeds and social standing inscribed in a public space, while waiting for a possible, honorific monument for him or herself in the future.[23]

For the emperor's subjects it was essential to demonstrate one's faith in the imperial government. In exchange for the dedicatory act of loyalty one could expect that the ruler would provide stability and order in the Empire. Other, more personal, benefits could also have been expected from the emperor.[24] However, using the imperial name and image in public must not be considered as being possible for every citizen.[25] Setting up a public honorific monument required an adequate amount of money to cover the expenses and

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Commodus as an *imperator* or the co-emperor of his father or Lucilla as the wife of Emperor Lucius Verus. This choice has been made because I am interested in the roles of imperial children in a situation in which they had no official positions or titles and no official power.

19 Eck 1984, 129-67, esp. 133. Also the recent study by Ma 2013.

20 The phenomenon named as the epigraphic habit by MacMullen 1982, 233-46. Recent studies view the phenomenon/a as cultural, free of economic factors and regional; see discussion with further references in Borg – Witschel 2001, 47-120, esp. 49, n. 4.

21 Plin. *epist*. 1, 17: *Neque enim magis decorum et insigne est statuam in foro populi Romani habere quam ponere.*

22 See Noreña 2011, 267-72 for discussion on honorific inscriptions as public expressions of loyalty aimed at the imperial reign and the anticipation of imperial benefactions. Noreña himself strongly emphasises that the main audience of inscriptions honouring the emperor were local.

23 'Dedicanti di statue ed autorappresentazione nelle città romane' in Eck 1994, 650-62 (= Eck 1996, 347-57). Discussing the forms of epigraphic communication and self-representation of the senatorial order, see also the collected essays of Eck 2010.

24 The role of imperial cult in the expressions of loyalty in hope of benefactions must also be noted, see e.g. Kajava 2011, 553-92; Price 1984, 65-77.

25 Fejfer 2008, 85 states that in order to avoid public spaces to be crowded with the statues of the emperor "[t]he honouring of the emperor had to remain a privilege."

permission from the city officials to erect it in civic space. The emperor was the usual object of honorific dedications, along with his wife the empress[26] or their divinised predecessors. Thus previous research has concentrated greatly on inscriptions dedicated to the emperor in the provinces of the Empire.[27] The role of imperial children in this scheme of loyalty has not been studied in its own right.[28]

## The *Bouleuteria* of Ephesus and Nysa

In two ancient cities within 100 kilometres of each other two similar honorary groups were set up. Local aristocrats had inscriptions made honouring the imperial family in the *bouleuterion* of their cities in Ephesus, the capital of the province of Asia, and in the ancient city of Nysa. Particularly in the eastern parts of the Empire it was common for the members of local aristocracy to practice euergetism and to act as benefactors of their cities. This earned them honours and prestige in their cities in return for using their personal finances for the good of the whole community.[29] Civic patronage took the form for instance, of funding public building projects, both restoring and constructing new edifices. While improving the status of their city, the benefactors improved their own social status by displaying their private wealth, political position and connections.[30]

In Nysa a woman called Julia Antonia Eurydice[31] dedicated an honorary group consisting of seven inscriptions (*SEG* IV 402-408). Her son, Julius Antoninus Pythodorus,[32] was responsible for the execution of the monument. The seven inscriptions were carved in the bases of statues that were set up in a new *bouleuterion*, the meeting place of the city council. Five of the inscriptions (*SEG* IV 402-405, 408) honour members of the Antonine imperial dynasty, while two of them (*SEG* IV 406-407) pay tribute to the family of the dedicator. *SEG* IV 405 is dedicated to Faustina, who is mentioned as a daughter of *Caesar* Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger[33]:

> Φαυστῖναν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου) Οὐήρου / Καίσαρος θυγατέρα καὶ / Φαυστίνης Αὐτοκράτο/ρος Καίσαρος Τ(ίτου) Αἰλίου Ἁδρια/νοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Σεβασ/τοῦ Εὐσεβοῦς θυγα/τρὸς / Ἰ(ούλιος) Ἀντωνῖνος Πυθόδω/ρος ἐκ διαθήκης Ἰ(ουλίας) Ἀν/τωνίας Εὐρυδίκης / τῆς αὐτοῦ μητρός.

Altogether three generations of the imperial family were represented in this group, from Emperor Antoninus Pius to little Faustina. The statuary plan gave a great deal of attention to the generation following Antoninus Pius by honouring Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, both mentioned as *Caesars*, and Faustina the Younger. It is essential to ask why the dedicator went even further and included yet another generation, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, in the monument.

The answer can be found by looking at the two remaining inscriptions in the group. These honour Julia, a daughter of the dedicator and sister to Pythodorus, and a man, who could be either Pythodorus or

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26 See Hahn 1994.

27 See especially Ando 2000; Højte 2005; Noreña 2011.

28 Honorific inscriptions to Antonine imperial children, particularly as parts of family groups, have gained attention in the following studies: Deppmeyer 2008; Fittschen 1999; Højte 2005.

29 On euergetism see: Veyne 1976; Migeotte 1997, 183-96. In the West the *summae honorariae* were paid upon entering offices, but these should not be regarded as a form of euergetism; Eck 1997, 305-31, esp. 307.

30 Longfellow 2011, 5-7.

31 *PIR*$^2$ I 644; *PFOS* 428.

32 *PIR*$^2$ I 398.

33 Marcus and Faustina had two daughters who were named Faustina, Domitia Faustina (*PIR*$^2$ D 177; *PFOS* 323) and Annia Faustina (*PIR*$^2$ A 714; *PFOS* 61).

his father of the same name.[34] All the inscriptions and indeed the whole new *bouleuterion* are recorded as having been set up ἐκ διαθήκης, in accordance with the wishes of Julia Antonia Eurydice expressed in her will. Since Eurydice left the money for the undertaking, she should be considered as a dedicator and initiator of the idea of setting up the honorary monument. Dedicating a whole new *bouleuterion* and the statues inside it was a notable act of public benefaction. As well as male members of the aristocracy, throughout the Empire wealthy women acted as benefactresses. The most famous example of such in the East is perhaps Plancia Magna of Perge: the Anatolian city was the recipient of public building projects funded by Plancia, for instance a city gate and a monumental arch. Statues representing members of the imperial family of Emperor Hadrian were placed in these monuments, along with honorific statues of Plancia Magna herself.[35]

No dedicatory inscription for the whole building project in Nysa has been preserved, nor do we know of any other benefactions Eurydice might have made. Apart from being a form of self-representation, her motivation for leaving her money to re-build precisely the *bouleuterion* can only be guessed. Rachel Meyers suggests that she might have wished to secure a position for a male relative – possibly her son – on the council of elders, or that she herself was a member.[36] The family is known to have belonged to the senatorial class and, as the act of funding a monument on this scale demonstrates, were very wealthy.

*Bouleuterion*, a place of much civic importance, proclaims the family's considerable power within the city of Nysa. The place chosen indicates that the message that the honorary group was created to convey was aimed at their peers. The members of the council of Nysa would have seen the inscriptions set up by Eurydice and Pythodorus every time they gathered for a meeting. The structure of the *bouleuterion* took its shape from Roman theatres. Based on architectural remains it is reasonable to assume that the lower niches of the building had statues of little Faustina, her mother Faustina the Younger, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, that of the reigning Emperor Antoninus Pius could have been placed higher, above the central doorway. The statues of Pythodorus or his father and Julia stood by the orchestra. There are no traces of a statue for Eurydice, but its presence can be surmised.[37]

The statuary plan of the group makes Emperor Antoninus Pius the central figure with his heirs, including the next generation represented by little Faustina, below him. Brought together visually with the imperial family, the dedicators became associated with them and presented themselves as citizens who fulfilled the required characteristics - loyalty to their own family and to that of the emperor.[38] By adding the imperial daughter Faustina to the statuary group the continuity of the imperial family, and that of the dedicating family, could be further emphasised.

In the city of Ephesus there is a very similar honorary group, *I.Ephesos* 285. It has not been preserved on the same scale as its counterpart in Nysa. The Ephesian group included inscriptions at least to a girl called Faustina, to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.[39] It is very probable that the statues of Emperor Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Younger were also erected.[40] The girl Faustina might be the same person as in the

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34 For more information on the senatorial family in question see: Alföldy 1977, 111, 211; Halfmann 1979, 143, 171; Thonemann 2011, 217.

35 Boatwright 1991, 249-72, esp. 250; Dillon 2010, 155-9.

36 Meyers 2012, 453-66, esp. 462. One public act could naturally serve many functions; Kokkinia 2009, 191-206, esp. 204.

37 Meyers 2012, 462.

38 This form of self-representation, concentrating on the family and reflecting the messages propagated by the imperial regime, can also be seen in the sarcophagi of the senatorial families in the second century CE; Weiss 2008, 24-9.

39 The inscription to Marcus Aurelius, see: Kalinowski – Taeuber 2001, 351-7. The base of the statue of Lucius Verus: *I.Ephesos* 1505. See also Taeuber 2011, 87-98, esp. 96.

40 Kalinowski – Taeuber 2001, 355.

honorary group in Nysa, or her sister of the same name,[41] since the child is mentioned as a granddaughter of the emperor (*I.Ephesos* 285a):

Φαυσ[τεῖναν] / θυγατρίδ[ην τοῦ Αὐτοκράτορος] / Οὐήδιο[ς Ἀντωνεῖνος].

The dedicator of the group, Publius Vedius Antoninus (M. Claudius Publius Vedius Antoninus Phaedrus Sabinianus, also Vedius III), is known to have had imperial connections and considerable wealth.[42] Together with his wife Flavia Papiane,[43] he not only dedicated the honorary group but re-furbished the whole *bouleuterion*. The couple also paid for the building of a bath-gymnasium in Ephesus. Vedius Antoninus and his family, the Vedii, are well represented among the epigraphic material preserved from ancient Ephesus. The family was one of the wealthiest in Ephesus and acted as great benefactors to the city. His wife also came from the same distinguished group of aristocratic families; the high priesthood of the imperial cult in the province of Asia was held by her family and Flavia Papiane herself became an *archiereia* of Asia.[44]

In addition to the honorific dedications, three letters written by Emperor Antoninus Pius were inscribed on the walls of the *bouleuterion*.[45] The letters *I.Ephesos* 1491-1493 are addressed to the citizens of Ephesus, and in them the Emperor expresses his disappointment in the way Ephesians have treated their benefactor Vedius Antoninus.[46] Before becoming emperor, Antoninus Pius had served as the proconsul of Asia during the reign of Hadrian and it can be assumed that during this time he became well acquainted with the leading families of the provincial capital, including the Vedii.[47] The act of inscribing the letters made Vedius Antoninus' ties with the imperial family and the favours he had received from the Emperor even more visible. The act must also have led to a certain amount of ill-feeling among his fellow Ephesians.

The custom of engraving imperial decrees or letters on the walls of civic buildings made them public and at least symbolically accessible to everyone.[48] Another example of the practice of publicising imperial correspondence and one that also concerns a child of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger has been preserved in Smyrna, on the western coast of Asia Minor. A priestly *collegium* from the city sent a letter to *Caesar* Marcus Aurelius to congratulate him on the birth of a son. In his response, carved in stone, Marcus Aurelius had to inform the *collegium* that the son had already died and their good wishes went unfulfilled.[49] The newborn son served as a reason for the *collegium* to contact their imperial ruler, whose response was made public by engraving it in stone.[50] It may be suggested that instead of being able to set up a possible honorific inscription to the son, since he died soon after his birth, the *collegium* had inscribed what they

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41 See note 34.

42 Halfmann 2001, 77-80; Kalinowski 2002, 109-49.

43 *PFOS* 373.

44 Flavia's priesthood: *I.Ephesos* 729; Kalinowski 2002, 109-17. On the priesthood see: Friesen 1993, 79-81; Kearsley 1986, 183-92.

45 In addition to these three, other letters were inscribed: *I.Ephesos* 1487-1489.

46 Kokkinia 2003, 197-213; Taeuber 2011, 92-5.

47 Kalinowski 2002, 117-21.

48 On the practice, see: Cooley 2012, 159-82; Oliver 1989, 1-24.

49 Cagnat *et al.* (eds), *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinente*s, Paris 1911-1927, IV, 1399 = *I.Smyrna* 600 = R. S. Ascough – P. A. Harland – J. S. Kloppenborg (eds)*, Associations in the Greco-Roman World: A Sourcebook,* Wako 2012, 192; Oliver 1989, 325-7.

50 On the personal involvement of emperors (or their heirs) in the production of imperial letters, see: Müller 2009, 366-406, esp. 371 on Emperor Hadrian's involvement on the basis of style and content; Millar 1977, 213-28; Honoré 1981, 41. Honoré suggests that the emperor dealt personally with petitions and gave decisions on matters. The answer itself however was composed by a legal secretary.

could - the proof of imperial correspondence. The letter from Smyrna also sheds light on the way information concerning the births and deaths of children in the imperial family was spread. Clearly the *collegium* was informed in some way of the birth, perhaps through a notification sent by the imperial government to its provinces.[51]

To return to the honorary group in the *bouleuterion* of Ephesus, it is most probable that, like the group from Nysa, these also had inscriptions and statues to the family of the dedicator.[52] The topographical setting of the *bouleuterion* built by Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane connects the building to Roman imperial power and declares the couple's great influence in the city. It stood in the civic agora of Ephesus and was surrounded by monuments dedicated to such figures as the Emperor Augustus and his wife Livia and to the Flavian emperors. By building the *bouleuterion* with its sculptural and epigraphic programmes Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane demonstrated their connection to Roman rule and also displayed their local power in Ephesus.[53]

Further motivation for erecting the honorary group of the imperial family might have been gratitude, as Angela Kalinowski suggests.[54] As the inscribed letters show, Vedius Antoninus had the support of Emperor Antoninus Pius in his disagreement with his fellow Ephesians. His public career was also influenced by emperors; for example he served as a *quaestor* designate of Cyprus and a decade earlier had received a significant honour by becoming the first man from Ephesus to be advanced to senatorial rank.[55] Antoninus Pius in all probability was informed of the building of the *bouleuterion* and of the statuary group honouring his family. During his reign the Emperor did not travel to the provinces and was not able to admire the monument in person, but as we have seen, letters served as a means of communication. Cities sent ambassadors to inform the Roman Senate and the Emperor of public benefactions and honours to the rule. In fact, both the grandfather and father of Vedius Antoninus served as ambassadors during the reign of Hadrian.[56] However, as much as the gesture of building the *bouleuterion* was aimed at the Emperor, it was also directed at his fellow members of the local aristocracy.

Setting up an honorary group was a family matter. In those in Nysa and Ephesus local senatorial families represented themselves and their connection with the imperial family, the emperor and his heirs apparent. The addition of an even younger generation, represented in both cases by the girl Faustina, created a relationship between the dedicator and the imperial family that had a strong emphasis on the future of the dynasty. The dedications in both cases are connected to the family of the dedicator: Antoninus Pythodorus in Nysa set the inscriptions up in accordance with his mother's will, and in Ephesus the wife of Vedius Antoninus was involved in the building of the whole *bouleuterion*.

In both cases considered above only one child of the imperial family seems to have been honoured. Possibilities concerning the original array of the honorary groups are many: they might have included more bases of statues now lost to us or perhaps they were erected during a time when there was only one child in the imperial family. It might be suggested that therein lies a resemblance to the funerary reliefs of freedmen from the imperial period. Often only one child, usually a boy, was depicted on the familial monument. The

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51 Ando 2000, 112, 178, n. 11 on imperial administration sending notices to provinces; On Egyptian papyri that bear evidence of imperial notices at the occasion of a new emperor, see: Jördens 2009, 313-24, esp. 318-20.

52 Kalinowski – Taeuber 2001, 354-7.

53 Kalinowski 2002, 138-43.

54 Kalinowski 2002, 144.

55 Kalinowski 2002, 121. Kalinowski argues that by the date of Antoninus Pius' proconsulate in Asia, 135/6 CE, Vedius had become a Senator.

56 *I.Ephesos* 728, 4110; Kalinowski 2002, 119-21.

picture of the boy served as a symbol, informing the viewer of the new status of the family: in the future the boy was to be the freeborn head of the family.[57] The depiction of the girl Faustina might have had a similar function. The presence of a child informed the viewer of the continuity of the imperial dynasty and of the fertility of her imperial mother. The freeborn boy in funerary reliefs represented the continuity of the family as *liberti*, while Faustina as the daughter of an imperial family had the potential to produce yet another generation of the ruling dynasty. Also important for this analysis is the fact that both Antoninus Pythodorus and Vedius Antoninus saw a young girl as worthy of being honoured as an individual. We do not know how old she was at the time she was the object of the honorific act, but she has a statue base of her own.[58] The child was represented as an individual figure and a member of her family.

**The *Nymphaeum* in Olympia**

Without doubt the honorific act of Herodes Atticus[59] and his wife Annia Regilla[60] belongs to the same category of wealthy aristocrat families setting up large groups honouring the imperial family. What distinguishes them from the senatorial families previously discussed is their much closer connection to the imperial family. Herodes Atticus was a wealthy Greek aristocrat, a Sophist and a Senator acting both in Athens and Rome. He was also the teacher of the young Caesars Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. Regilla belonged to a Roman senatorial family and was related to the imperial family via Faustina the Elder and the Younger.[61] Thus the social status of the couple can be viewed as somewhat higher than that of the two families discussed above. They were not only senatorial, but also closely connected to the *domus Augusta*.

Herodes and Regilla set up a *nymphaeum* in Olympia, in the Peloponnese, including honorific inscriptions and statues to both families. This monumental fountain stood in the city centre of Olympia, near the temples of Zeus and Hera.[62] The imperial family was honoured from Emperor Hadrian to the children of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger, all together four generations. One inscription (*IvO* 615, 616 = *ILS* 8803c) honouring two children of Marcus and Faustina has been preserved:

> Τ(ίτον) Αἴλιον Ἀντωνεῖνον / [υ]ἱὸν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Καίσαρ[ος] / Βήρου καὶ Ἀννίας Φαυστείνης / Σεβαστῆς Ἡρώδης. // Ἀννίαν Γαλερίαν Αὐρηλίαν / [Φαυ]σ[τ]εῖναν θ[υγ]α[τ]έ[ρ]α Μ(άρκου) / Αὐρηλίου Καίσαρος Βήρου / καὶ Ἀννίας Φαυστείνης Σεβαστῆς / Ἡρώδης.

The inscription honours T. Aelius Antoninus[63] and Annia Galeria Aurelia Faustina[64] and mentions both their parents. The dedication reads simply "Herodes". The monument has been much studied, beginning primarily with Renate Bol who reconstructed the statuary plan. In addition to the statues of the two families the two-level monument contained two statues of Zeus. The reconstruction by Bol places the imperial family on the lower level of the monument while the statues of the family of Herodes and Regilla would have stood in the upper niches. Bol pointed out how the statuary programmes of the two families

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57 Huskinson 2007, 323-38, esp. 327.

58 Rose gives examples of Julio-Claudian imperial statue groups where mothers hold their new born babies in their arms: Rose 1997, 13; Catalogue no. 82 and no. 95. Greek statue types depicting divine mothers and infants were common: Rose 1997, 13 n. 54.

59 *PIR*$^2$ C 802.

60 *PIR*$^2$ A 720; *PFOS* 66.

61 Pomeroy 2007, 13, 23.

62 Bol 1984, 2.

63 *PIR*$^2$ A 140.

64 See note 34.

differ: the imperial family had more young members depicted, while the family of the dedicator emphasised their ancestors. The number of statues would still have been the same, creating symmetry between the two families.[65]

The imperial children Aelius Antoninus and Aurelia Faustina were honoured on a double base, like the youngest children of Herodes and Regilla. In addition to these two imperial children, it is possible that two other children of Marcus and Faustina were honoured, bringing the number of imperial children represented on the monument to four. The inscriptions honouring the two other imperial children have not been preserved but two marble heads depicting young girls have been found, and these are thought to represent Lucilla and Domitia Faustina.[66] The construction of the monument has been dated convincingly to 153 CE. Reasons for this specific dating arise from the title of Regilla as a priestess of Demeter, in whose honour Olympic games were held in the years 149, 153 and 157 CE. Of these dates the middle one is most likely, the argument being the presence of these very children.[67] It seems probable the monument represented all the living children in the imperial family at the moment of its construction.

Does the greater number of imperial children portrayed in the monument affect its message? The statuary plans of the *nymphaeum* and those of the *bouleuteria* in Nysa and Ephesus seem very similar. The only differences are the number of imperial children and the presence of Emperor Hadrian and his wife Sabina in the *nymphaeum* of Herodes and Regilla. Also the functions of the two public structures differ. *Bouleuteria* were the official gathering place of a select, powerful group while the *nymphaeum* had no such function. The fountain provided water for the use of the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia and must have caught the notice of every visitor in the area.[68]

While the single daughter in the *bouleuteria* of Nysa and Ephesus symbolises fertility and continuity, the four children in the *nymphaeum* are reminiscent of the design of imperial coinage. (See Fig. 1.) The imperial government minted coins with pictures of female figures surrounded by children on the reverse. The number of the children varies, perhaps according to births and deaths occurring in the imperial family.[69] The coins broadcast a forceful message of the fertility of Faustina, of joy brought by the births of children and the future of the Antonine dynasty. The *nymphaeum* follows the same message that was propagated by the regime.[70] In addition it promoted the high status, future and the connections of the two families, as well as Herodes' patronage, both local and pan-Hellenic.[71]

In the case of Herodes Atticus it is essential to ask why this specific monument was dedicated to the promotion of imperial family values. He funded many public building projects throughout his career and in various parts of the Empire, especially in Athens and elsewhere in Greece. He also dedicated honorific statues to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, statues of his own family and numerous monuments to the memory of Regilla after her death in 160 CE.[72] Nowhere else but in the *nymphaeum* in Olympia does the material evidence refer to the presence of imperial children. Perhaps an answer could be found in the strong

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65 Bol 1984, on the statuary programmes esp. 107, and Beilage 4: Plan der Statuenaufstellung. See also Ameling 1983, 127-38.

66 Bol 1984, 27, 30-8.

67 Meyers 2009, 37-54, esp. 40.

68 Pomeroy 2007, 90-4.

69 See Fittschen 1982.

70 Meyers 2009, 50.

71 Tobin 1997, 317.

72 On Herodes' public benefactions, see: Tobin 1997, 161-210, 241-83, 295-331.

presence of Regilla. Sarah B. Pomeroy has further emphasised her role in the building of the monument and suggests we should actually be speaking of Regilla's *nymphaeum*, not that of Herodes. It could be conjectured that the monument was created above all to visualise the close relationship of the imperial family with the family of Regilla.[73]

**Hellenistic Tradition and Strategies of Continuity**

Each of the three honorary groups discussed above consisted of statues and inscriptions to the whole imperial family and to the family of the dedicator. An important consideration for the task at hand is the inclusion of the youngest generation of imperial power, the grandchildren of the emperor. The groups set up in Nysa and Ephesus honoured three generations of imperial power, from grandparents to grandchildren. In Olympia the family representation was extended back by including the divinised imperial couple Hadrian and Sabina. The messages propagated by the imperial regime were followed in the pictorial programme of the *nymphaeum* of Herodes and Regilla. This should also be considered in the cases of the honorary groups set up in Ephesus and Nysa.

After the time of what are known as the Adoptive Emperors the numerous births in the Antonine family made it possible to fully celebrate the dynasty. The fertility of the empresses and children born to Marcus Aurelius and Faustina the Younger were commemorated in numerous coin types throughout the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius.[74] A special bond between imperial titles and rights and imperial children was created in 147 CE when Faustina the Younger gave birth to her first child. On the following day she was named *Augusta* while Marcus Aurelius had the rights of *tribunicia potestas*.[75] The role of children in the policy of the Antonine regime was great and this policy was followed by the subjects of the dynasty to show their loyalty and support.

All of the three honorary groups in this study were set up in the Greek East and the cultural effect of Hellenism should thus be considered. In the second century CE cultural influences from the Greek speaking area of the Empire were strong. Emperor Hadrian in particular admired and favoured Hellenistic culture and frequently travelled in the East. In increasing numbers men of eastern provincial origin became members of the Senate. The heirs apparent of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, were educated in both Latin and Greek. In his *Meditations* Marcus Aurelius took on the role of a Stoic philosopher, influenced by the Greek philosophers of the Second Sophistic.[76]

C. B. Rose has studied statuary groups set up in the Eastern Empire in honour of the Julio-Claudian imperial family. He suggests these dynastic groups were the direct descendants of Hellenistic honorific statues to monarchs and their families. Greek cities set up honorific statues to monarchs and local benefactors along with statues of their sons and daughters. This was done in hope of future benefactions from the same family. Rose finds the earliest examples of this habit in the fourth century BCE with significant developments during the Macedonian and Ptolemaic courts. The dynastic imagery was later used in monuments honouring Roman proconsuls and their families and after the Republican period, in the imagery of the first

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73 Pomeroy 2007, 90-103.

74 Rawson 2003, 63-5 and pp. 31-42 for representations of the children of earlier imperial dynasties; Weiss 2008, 20-4.

75 Recorded in the *Fasti Ostienses*, see: Vidman 1982, 51.

76 Birley 1987, 23, 61-4, 98-102.

Roman imperial family.[77] In contrast, the traditional Roman habit of representing family was concentrated on ancestors and the deeds of earlier generations.[78]

Each of the honorary groups discussed in this article follows this model of Hellenistic group portraiture. The emperor was honoured with his immediate family and even his grandchildren, who it was hoped would be future rulers, or to would give birth to one. The dedications were made by families belonging to the highest social group in the Greek East. They traced their ancestry from the Hellenistic past all the way back to mythical origins. For instance, Julia Antonia Eurydice from Nysa was the descendant of the royal house of Pontus[79] and Herodes Atticus claimed ancestry from such mythical figures as Hermes and Herse.[80] On the other hand, the wife of Herodes Atticus, Regilla, was the daughter of Roman noble families.[81] However, if the impact of Hellenism and the admiration of second century Romans for the Greeks are taken into consideration, the influence of Hellenistic dynastic imagery should be regarded as an underlying motive for the honorific acts of these families.

Nevertheless, such honorific acts should not be labelled as being only the results of Hellenistic habits, but also as conscious strategies of behaviour. The dedicators of the honorary groups forcefully highlighted their immediate families. They were represented visually and literally in the monuments alongside the *domus divina*. The concept of a family strategy should be taken into account when searching for further reasons behind the setting up of these monuments. Defined as "recurrent patterns of familial behaviour resulting from the individual strategies", family strategies are aimed at the improvement of a family's status: the social and economic standing of the family are in question, with an attention to continuity even after the death of an individual, such as the *pater familias*.[82]

The dedications, including imperial children, in the Greek East are interpretable as family strategies aimed at the future – as continuity strategies. The youngest generation of imperial power was honoured along with their parents and grandparents, while the family of the dedicator was also represented. The relationship created between the imperial family and the dedicator's family displayed continuity. In the statue groups in the *bouleuteria* of Ephesus and Nysa this relationship was expressed by the inclusion of one imperial child symbolising the link in future generations. This symbolic value invested in a child bears a resemblance to the freeborn boys in funerary reliefs.[83] Although of entirely different social status, the imperial child who was brought into the honorary group in the same way created a family with an emphasis on the future. In imperial honorific monuments young girls might have been chosen as honourees for their reproductive potential. The freeborn boys in funerary reliefs were chosen because of their future status as the head of the family. Whether a boy or a girl was depicted, a child symbolised a promise of the future.

The *nymphaeum* of Herodes and Regilla in Olympia was erected at a time when there were more living children in the family. The statuary plan was clearly designed to create a correspondence between the two families. The clearest proof of this is to be found in the two double bases for the statues of imperial children and the children of Herodes and Regilla. Generally speaking, it was possible to add new statues to an existing group later. Herodes Atticus himself added statues of his children to a monument he had built

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77 Rose 1997, 3-10. Hellenistic family group portraiture is also discussed in e.g. Ma 2013, 187, 202-42.

78 Roman elite families and *imagines maiorum*; Flower 1996.

79 See note 32; Meyers 2012, 462.

80 Tobin 1997, 13.

81 Pomeroy 2007, 13-5.

82 Vuolanto 2005, 119-32, esp. 121. For a comprehensive discussion on the subject and a broader view of continuance strategies, see: Vuolanto 2015.

83 Huskinson 2007.

in Delphi. The monument first had only statues of Herodes, Regilla and their first daughter Elpinike. Later when more children were born and survived infancy their portraits were added to the group.[84] This was scarcely the case with the *nymphaeum* with its pictorial message deliberately planned from the start. Representations of imperial children were part of the strategies of the dedicators.

**Conclusions**

Honorific monuments were prominent tools of self-representation for members of the Roman society. Here three public buildings from the second century CE have been discussed. Public building projects were a form of civic patronage, designed to show the wealth and contacts of their sponsor. *Bouleuteria* in the cities of Ephesus and Nysa were rebuilt by local aristocratic families and a monumental fountain in Olympia demonstrated the status of the famous Herodes Atticus and Regilla. Each of these buildings contained honorific statues and inscriptions not only for the Emperor Antoninus Pius but also for his grandchildren.

This brief survey has suggested that when the children of the imperial family were represented in public honorific monuments they had a specific symbolic value invested in them. The message of the monument was augmented by adding representations of imperial children. Essentially that message was one of continuity: through representations of imperial children future generations could be portrayed. A representation of a child, or children, instantly shifted the message towards the future of the dynasty and the whole Empire. A stable rule promised a peaceful Empire. This role as the portrayers of continuity cannot be reserved only for the children of the imperial house. Similar symbolic roles can be detected, for instance in the funerary monuments of freedmen. Childhood as a stage of life bears a promise of continuity.

The role of imperial children in honorific monuments does not speak only of the continuity of the imperial dynasty. The monuments were designed to represent the dedicator and his/her family. All of the monuments discussed here have strong associations with family. The representations of imperial children were one way of highlighting this, since the children symbolised continuity and the fertility of the dynasty. Each of the monuments was also connected to the family of the dedicators by portraying family members or making them otherwise visible. The *bouleuterion* in Nysa was funded by Julia Antonia Eurydice and executed by her son. In Ephesus the building was dedicated by the married couple Vedius Antoninus and Flavia Papiane. The *nymphaeum* of Herodes Atticus and Annia Regilla celebrated the close connection of Regilla to the imperial house. These were family monuments designed to depict the continuity of the families. Hellenistic tradition of dynastic imagery can be detected as an underlying motive, as well as the imperial policy of the second century. The fertility of Faustina the Younger was widely celebrated by the regime and children played a role in the politics of the Emperor. The message broadcast by the ruling house was taken up by its subjects.

Above all the monuments can be regarded as parts of the continuity strategies of the senatorial families. Representations of imperial children were a deliberate part of the design of the honorific monuments. The message conveyed by children declared the continuity of the imperial dynasty and that of the family who acted as the dedicator of the monument. The images of imperial children and the role invested in them meant that the monuments conveyed a message of continuity - a message that could not have been achieved by merely representing the emperor.

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84 Tobin 1997, 303-9.

# Children and Work. Family Strategies and Socialisation in the Roman and Late Antique Egypt

Ville Vuolanto

> Little Polydeuces is to work
> with Melas the carpenter,
> and not to leave his side.[1]

In pre-modern societies, outside the elite circles, the working contribution of all members of the household, including children, was an ordinary feature of everyday life – indeed as it is even today in many parts of the world. The conclusions of the seminal article by Keith Bradley on Roman child labour over twenty years ago mark the starting point for the present paper. As he noted, the lower class children in Roman society "were to set to work from the earliest moment they were considered capable of acquiring skills and becoming productive". The importance of child labour in the Roman world was not limited to economic considerations, but also had implications for childhood socialisation. As Bradley noted, children were introduced through the medium of labour to the adult world.[2]

After Bradley, freeborn children at work have aroused little interest.[3] My purpose here is to study how the social circumstances of families affected the need for children, both boys and girls, to work outside their households – and what the consequences were for the children in question. Thus, the principal frame of reference here is the social history of childhood, and more specifically, the history of family dynamics and childhood socialisation – rather than, for example, economic or labour history.

Normally freeborn children were expected to learn the skills and knowledge needed in their working life primarily from their parents, continuing their family traditions by also inheriting their occupations. There were no vocational schools available in the Roman Empire. Scattered reflections of this reality can be found both in more traditional Roman literature,[4] and later in Christian sources. Telling is the framework given in the late second century *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, which presents a six-year-old Jesus helping his mother to carry water, but as an eight-year-old helping his father sow wheat and assisting in the carpenter's shop.[5] Little by little children absorbed the relevant information for their future life (with the proper gender

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1 *P.Oxy.* XLII 3066 (3rd c. CE). All comments in different venues in which this study has been under discussion have been received with thankfulness; the ideas and help I have got from Graham Claytor, Marja-Leena Hänninen, Jussi Hanska, Sabine Hübner, Myrto Malouta, Katariina Mustakallio, Turid Karlsen Seim and Jyri Vaahtera are to be singled out.

2 The first version of the article appeared as Bradley 1985, 311-30, but it is cited here from Bradley 1991, here 116 and 118.

3 By far the fullest account of the phenomenon is Laes 2011, 148-221, even if here too child slaves are given most of the space. See also Petermandl 1997, 113-36; Mirković 2005, 139-49; For apprenticeship contracts, see Bergamasco 1995, 95-167; Bergamasco 2004, 25-36; Bergamasco 2006, 207-12; Van Minnen 1998, 201-3. For child slaves at work, see: Heinen (ed.) 2012; Laes 2008, 235-83; Herrmann-Otto 1994.

4 See esp. the story of Lucian on his own apprenticeship (Lucian, *de somno* 1), with Laes 2011, 190, 207-9, 218.

5 *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*, 11-13.

roles) by imitating their family members and working with them in the household, workshops, fields and pastures.

Analysing situations in which this was not the case sheds light on the role of children in families and family dynamism: the more exceptional circumstances tell us new things about ordinary childhood and ordinary families. For example, were children sent outside the household in order to diversify and strengthen the economic base of the family, they would learn skills not available at home. Here, the concept of family strategies is central: by this I mean the different behavioural patterns found in different phases of the family life course, which were directed towards the survival and continuity of the family group, and to gain social power and prestige in the (local) community. It has to be pointed out that family strategies are those of the familial power holders, that is, in the context of the present article, of the parents or other caretakers of the children in question. Moreover, it is worth noting that family strategies should not be limited to family economic strategies, as other considerations (like social capital or family continuity) were also at stake.[6]

To approach the theme, I have examined Egyptian papyri dealing with freeborn children at work (when they were apprenticed, pawned or given away to work by other means), spread chronologically from the first century CE to the eighth. I will also offer some comparative material (literary texts and epigraphy) from other parts of the contemporary Roman Empire in order to assess, as far as possible, whether the features analysed were confined to Egypt. Even if Egypt is unquestionably a special case in terms of it offering a unique source of documentary material, there is no *a priori* reason to consider it as a case of its own in matters dealing with the every-day living conditions of the populace.[7]

Before entering into the discussion proper, some further definitions are needed. First of all I want to emphasise that using child work as a resource for the family economy does not need to have anything to do with discipline or negative feelings towards one's children. It would be hypocritical to take a moralising stance towards the parents for this phenomenon. For this reason I will use below the concept 'child work' instead of 'child labour', which has long referred to the dangerous working conditions and general exploitation of children as a work force in the modern world.[8] By this I do not aim to deny the harsh realities of child work in Antiquity, with long days, heavy labour and hard discipline,[9] but want to point out that the working contexts and experience of the children was not one and the same in all cases. Economic and social circumstances of the families varied much and changed depending on issues related to the family life course (like births, deaths, trade of the parents, migration), on local situations (like crop failures and epidemics) and even on imperial politics (like changes in taxation or in legal policy). Thus, it makes as little sense to write about 'the role of children in the Roman world' as to write about the role of women – or men – and this variation is one point I wish to bring forward in this article.

Secondly, I am particularly interested in those families who at least hoped that the working period of their children outside the household was temporary. That is, the children in question were supposed to remain free, the children's work was to contribute the original family and the contact between the parents and the child were broken only temporarily (if even that). Therefore, I will not take up issues like kidnapping or

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6 For family strategies in the context of the methodology of the Roman social history, see: Vuolanto 2015, esp. 18-27.

7 See e.g. Bagnall 1995, esp. 1-8. Here it has not been possible systematically to go through all the Roman Egyptian documents dealing with the working children. In fact systematic research on any aspect of social history based on the Roman papyri is rare. In a research project launched by April Pudsey and myself our aim is to study childhood in Roman Oxyrhynchus by going through all the available papyrological and epigraphical material.

8 See Laes 2011, 220. E.g. Nathan 2000, 149, misses the point when combining the apprentice contracts of children with a desire to get rid of a child, severe discipline, fear of the whip and disinheritance.

9 See Laes 2008, esp. 261; Bradley 1991, 110-3.

infant abandonment, which naturally also led freeborn children to work outside of their families of origin.[10] Moreover, it is important to note that even if most of our knowledge of child work comes from different kinds of contracts through which children ended up working outside their homes and households of origin, the actual form of the document (for example a contract of work, apprenticeship or pledge, or notes from a legal dispute) as such did not define the circumstances in which the actual work took place; even more so as the different contract types merged with each other quite flexibly – thus, for example, a text published as an apprentice contract might as well be filed under pledging of a child.[11]

Thirdly, who is a 'child' here? Even if the evidence is fragmentary, it seems that the basic rule of thumb remained much the same during the whole Roman Imperium – and even more generally in western history: children started working in their early teens or little younger. Studying the actual contracts of apprenticeship, which often include notes on children's minority and provisions for liability and the payments of taxes, reveals that they were usually entered into when the children were approaching, but not yet reached, their majority, which in both Roman and Egyptian legal customs for boys would have taken place when they were 14. Indeed, all but one of the apprenticeship agreements were contracted on behalf of the future apprentices by their parents or guardians.[12] More generally speaking, minority ended with puberty, marking the end of childhood and often taking place some years later than the legal lower limits, as the poor health and nutrition delayed the onset of puberty for ordinary people. Women married most often in their late teens, and that would definitely mark the end of their childhood; men married some five to ten years later.[13] In comparison, in epigraphic material there is mention of children of the age of nine and older as workers, with a few entertainers as young as five or even less. In Roman literature, children mentioned as working are over ten years old as a rule.[14] On the other hand, the productivity of children defines the lower age limit of people discussed in the present chapter: children had to be old enough to accomplish the work they were given.

The discussion below is divided into four main parts: first, I will discuss the different ways in which children ended up working outside of their households. After this, I will pay attention to three different themes – the status of the family of origin, the structure of the family of origin, and the gender of the child. What kind of impact did these factors have on children regarding the child work? In the third part, I will discuss briefly the working conditions of children. In the conclusion, the issue of child work is analysed in connection with the socialisation of children and family strategies.

**The framework: children as apprentices, pledges, prostitutes and hired workers**

The apprenticeship contracts preserved in Egyptian papyri from the Roman period offer a unique view of one of the basic mechanisms through which children ended up working outside their families. In making an apprenticeship contract the apprentices exchanged their labour in a workshop of an older professional for

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10 See e.g. Evans Grubbs 2011, 21-36; Vuolanto 2011, 3-19.

11 See e.g. *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596 (264 CE(?)); Vuolanto 2003, 205, with further examples below.

12 Bradley 1991, 107; Mirković 2005*,* 147-9; Malouta 2012, 298; However, in the Roman system girls reached their majority at 12, or at the onset of puberty, and only at the age of 25 a person could achieve a complete freedom from guardianship. This rule was also adopted in Egypt after the promulgation of *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE (see Vuolanto 2002, 204). The exception among the apprentice contracts is *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2875 (early 3rd c. CE), with a boy himself contracting – but even here mother is giving her approval.

13 Laes 2011, 1; Laurence 2005, 86-8; Bagnall – Frier 1994, 111-6.

14 Bradley 1991, 107-16; Laes 2011, 189-91, 195-7, 207-16.

training for a fixed period of time. Contracts include provisions for the length of the apprenticeship (from six months to six years), for food and clothing (in most cases considered to be the responsibility of the master) and for the skills to be learned.[15] Apprenticeship was used to learn any profession needing technical skills and knowledge. Most of the contracts concern weaving, which reflects the importance of this industry to the economy of Egypt. Other crafts mentioned in connection with freeborn children are nail making, building, carpet and linen weaving, basket making and copper smithing.[16] However, information on apprenticeship can be deduced from other kinds of sources too: for example, we have a letter of a young barber reporting his professional success to his old master and his old colleague apprentices. Moreover, a 17-year-old doctor, as a person is mentioned in a second century census return, could hardly have acquired his skills in other ways than serving as an apprentice.[17] There are also documents referring to young apprentices' registration in local files – seemingly for taxation purposes.[18]

Apprenticeship could have been linked with other modes of child working, and in some cases the apprenticeship contract forms only a part of the transaction in a document. The apprentice's work could have been used as security for a loan made to the parents, as in a case in which Nilus, a master smith, admits that the loan of 100 drachmas he gave for the apprenticeship of a boy had been paid off. In 99 CE a certain Ischyras contracted his relative as an apprentice for five years, in return for an 80 drachmas loan. In a mid-third century case, a father obtained a loan of 400 drachmas to be returned after the five-year apprenticeship of a boy had ended.[19]

Naturally, it was also possible to simply lease out a child: the child would work outside of the household and the parents would get his salary.[20] However, to pawn a child, that is, to combine a loan and its repayment with the child's work, seem to have been more usual. The difference between the kinds of agreements in which children's work was leased out in return for a loan and those in which a loan agreement also included an apprentice contract is quite small. In many cases the agreement involving children working for the other contracting party includes an explicit *paramonē* clause, a technical term by which the debtor (or his/her ward) is obliged to remain in the service of another to pay off the loan and/or the interest on it. In most cases the obligation to work ended only when the original debt was completely paid off. In these cases the children *de facto* were in pawn to the creditor. In a first century document, for example, Pabelleus agreed with Harmiysis that the daughter of Pabelleus would work for Harmiysis for one year in return for the interest of a loan of 48 drachmas: the daughter would also get necessities and clothing from the creditor for that period.[21]

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15 Bradley 1991, 107, 111; Bergamosco 1995.

16 Bradley 1991, 107, 113; Bergamosco 1995, 104-6; *SB Kopt*. I 45; *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596. The shorthand writer mentioned in *P.Oxy.* XLI 2988 is most probably a slave (and the one in *P.Oxy.* IV 724 certainly is).

17 *P. Oxy.* LV 3809; *SB* X 10630 (118/119 CE).

18 E.g. *P. Osl. inv.* 1470 (= *SB* XXIV 16186) (70 CE), a father registering his son as an apprentice.

19 *BGU* IV 1124 (18 BCE); *P.Heid*. IV 327 (99 CE); *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2586 (253 CE). See also *P.Mich.* II 121 recto II, viii (42 CE): Tasooukis gave her son to a weaver for five years, accepting 40 drachmas in return, and *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596 (264 CE(?)): a father gave his daughter as an apprenticeship for four years, but the girl was to return to her home only after the 400 drachma loan is paid back. See also a late case, *P.Ness.* 56 (687 CE): Al-Asvad had 'lent' to monk Kyrin 50 *solidi* in return for having the son of Kyrin work for him. When the contract time was up Kyrin paid off 30 *solidi* for the debt and interest, keeping the rest as wages from his son's work.

20 E.g. *BGU* VII 1647 (129 CE); *P.Cair.Isid*. 123 (317 CE); *Stud.Pal.* XX 219 (604 CE); see also *PSI* IV 287 (377 CE), which in form is similar to an apprenticeship contract, but the word itself does not appear, and the contracting period is only eight months.

21 *P.Mich*. X 587 (24-25 CE); P. Oxy. LXXVIII 5169 (18 BCE – a daughter had worked for two years before the debt was paid off); *BGU* IV 1139 (5 BCE, on this, see: Montevecchi 1985, 231-41). Other cases of children working for the debt and/or for the interest: *P. Mich inv.* 4299 (20/19 BCE, mother and an older brother give a teenage boy to service for two years to cover interests

In other kinds of agreements the children were not so much considered as pledges for the loan, but were paying off the loan itself by their work. In these cases the loan can be seen as an advance payment for the work done by the child. In an early first century CE agreement, a boy would get one third of the wages for himself, but two thirds would go to pay off the debt owed by his father. In one second or third century case, a widowed mother Tapetheos had taken out a loan of 400 drachmas with her guardian Galerius Kapiton. In return Tapetheos' son Atreias was given to cook and help the businesses for five years and eight months.[22]

The difference between working contracts for children and contracts in which the children were given away was not large. For example, in 561 CE a man unable to maintain his family gave away his child to work with a contract assuring food and clothing for her, but pledging himself. These kinds of contracts were rather close to unofficial adoption documents in their form – in 554 CE, for example, a widowed mother who, because of poverty, could not afford to maintain her nine-year-old daughter, made a contract by which she gave the daughter away to a couple to become their 'legal daughter'.[23] An extreme case is that of one fourth or fifth century document featuring an old widow who had given her daughter to work for a pimp in order to have the means to support herself.[24] Fathers and (more often) mothers prostituting their children was common rhetorical figure in the Roman world, but it is impossible to ascertain how widespread this actually was – and who was actually in charge of teaching the necessary skills to the child.[25]

Later there emerged one more possibility: in some eighth-century Egyptian papyri there appear parents giving their children to monasteries. This did not need to mean that they would necessarily end up being monks: the documents do not mention the children as novices, but they use terms for 'slaves' or 'temple servants', and they deal with the ownership and work of the children: these are economic transactions, not records of oblation.[26]

Even if the above mentioned contracts cover a wide array of different cases leading the children to work outside their own families, it is safe to assume that most of the freeborn children, working in agriculture, did not have any separate contracts – or, at least, there is no trace left of these. However, it is possible to

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of a 48 drachma loan, upkeep and clothing); P. *Mich. inv.* 4346 + 4446f and *P. Mich. inv.* 931 + P. Col. X 249 (7 and 9 CE: two *paramonēs* in which a daughter, who seems to be only seven years old at the time of the first contract, is given first for two years and then for further two-an-a-half years to feed olives in the oil-press to pay interests of his father's loans and food and clothes for herself). For these cases, I thank for an opportunity to see the edition in preparation by G. Claytor, N. Litinas and E. Nabney (to be submitted to *BASP*)); See also *BGU* IV 1153 II (14 BCE) and *BGU* IV 1154 (10 BCE – a son had worked seven years); *P.Flor.* 44 (158 CE, here the work is vaguely defined as consisting of household and agricultural tasks, and the creditor is responsible for food and clothing); *PSI* IV 424 (3rd cent.); *P.Tebt.* 384 (10 CE, a *paramonē*), in which two brothers gave third to weave for the interest on a loan of 16 drachmae, food, clothing and taxes. For these cases see: Samuel 1965, 302f. See also: *P.Oxy.* LXIII 4393 (late 5th c. CE); *P.Coll.Youtie* 92 (=*P.Cair.Masp.* 67023 + *P.Fitzhugh*, 569 CE); *P.Princ.* II 78 (6th c. CE). A *paramonē* clause did not denote a certain type of a contract, but it was applied in a number of different contractual situations (such as sureties, service contracts and loans). See Samuel 1965, 311; Yiftach-Firanko 2010, 267-82 (the article also enumerates all the in 2010 known 23 paramonē-contracts which are linked to a loan).

22 *P.Strass.* II 116 (c. CE 18); Tapetheos: *P.Mil.* II 60 (= *SB* V 7612, 2nd-3rd c. CE); see also *P.Mert.* III 105, l. 17-34 (164/5 CE); *P.Iand.* IV 62 (=*FIRA* III 62, 6th c. CE) a man gives his sister to work for the creditor; *P.Herm. Rees.* 7, a fourth century private letter, in which a certain Psois complains that the addressee, an anchorite, has got the money acquired from pledging Psois's son to a moneylender, but had done nothing to get Psois released from military service.

23 *BGU* XII 2200 (561 CE); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1895 (554 AD). Giving one's child away is mentioned also in *CJ* 4.43.1 (CE 294). In 335 CE a couple living in Oxyrhynchus gave their two-year-old boy child for adoption; the contract specifies that the step-parents could to sell or forsake the child *P.Oxy.* IX 1206 = *FIRA* III 16 (335 AD). See also *P.Lips.* 28 (= *MChr.* 363, 381 CE); on these kinds of 'pseudo-adoptions' see Beaucamp 1992, 180; Arjava 1996, 85.

24 *BGU* IV 1024 (late 4th c. CE, on this case, see: Kotsifou 2009, 350).

25 Petron. 81.5; Martial. 9.5(6); Lucian. *dial.meretr.* 6; Proc. *hist.arc.* 9.8-10; Vuolanto 2003, 176. Of the hagiographical material, see Krause 1995, 191. See also *Conc. Elv. canon* 12 and *Cod.Theod.* XV 8.2 (428 AD), which take the possibility of parents prostituting their children quite seriously.

26 Schroeder 2009, 333-6.

deduce their presence and work done from other kinds of sources. Particularly the surviving lists of agricultural workers from two big Egyptian estates (from late first and early second century CE) are very illuminating in this sense, as they show that a considerable part of an estate's (seasonal) unskilled labour needs was met by hiring free children. In these hundreds of children are shown to have performed various tasks – carrying letters, taking care of a donkey, spreading manure, preparing the vines, cutting the reeds, collecting the fallen leaves, weeding, threshing wheat etc. In all, quite naturally, the tasks given to children did not usually require physical strength or special skills. The recorded wages from these tasks varied between three fifths to five sixth of that of adults doing the same kind of tasks. In other documents children also appear helping at olive harvest, watering, untying sheaves and reaping hay. Most of the workers mentioned were boys, but girls also appear to have been paid for winnowing.[27] In other contexts there are also references to underage boys working as shepherds.[28]

The estates used the working contribution of both the children of the employees of the estate itself and of those coming 'outside', that is, from the neighbouring villages and towns. Indeed, some of the tasks clearly required a seasonal work force, like children helping in olive harvest.[29] It seems that some children, those not from the estate itself but hired for seasonal work, did not live with their families during their working periods. For a different reason, those children pledged to work in return for a loan for their parents stayed under the constant surveillance of their masters and thus away from their families. For these children moreover, there was a danger that if the loan was not paid back, their temporary working period was changed into *de facto* slavery.[30] However, most of the working free children seem to have continued living with their parents or other kin.

**Family circumstances of the children at work**

Above, the focus was on the different ways by which children ended up working outside their household of origin. Here, the perspective is shifted to the factors affecting families causing them to put their children to work outside their households in different situations. I will discuss here the different background circumstances playing a part in children's working conditions – family wealth, family structure and kinship relations, and the impact of gender.

Even if in most cases the actual social status of the people cannot be clearly deciphered, in the apprenticeship contracts and in most cases involving pawning of children one can note the presence of middle status people, below the elites but above the poor – small scale landowners and craftspeople. For example, there was a wine merchant pawning his children and a weaver apprenticing his offspring.[31] Thus, even if the arrangements like pledging a child or an apprenticeship were basically open to anybody, it seems that the children involved did not come from the lowest classes. Naturally, this might partly depend on the sources

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27 Mirković 2005, 145; Rathbone 1991, 155-66 (with esp. 156, Table 12), citing esp. *P.Fay.* 102 (105 CE) and *P.Lond.* 131 (79 CE). See also: *P.Oxy.* XLII 3048 (246 CE) with a reference of (free?) worker children in a farm; *P.Princ. II* 96 (550s CE) with (slave?) children receiving wages from agricultural work; *PSI* VIII 953 and 956 (567-8 CE) with children receiving wine-pay. For comparative glimpses of children working in agriculture outside Egypt, see Laes 2011, 206-10 citing cases from epigraphy and in Ovid, Varro, Columella and Palladius.

28 *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2850 (29 CE); *P.Oxy.* XLII 3033 *verso* (40s CE).

29 See also: Mirković 2005, 144; Wiedemann 1989, 155, who makes the plausible assumption that there were also children of village or urban craftsmen earning cash for their families as seasonal labourers.

30 See Vuolanto 2003, 194-7.

31 *P.Lond.* VI 1915-1916 (in the 330's); *P.Oxy.* II 275 (66 CE).

on which we must rely: ancient literature most often reflects the lives of the educated elites and sub-elites, and even the papyri documents do not deal with the poorest.

However, there are further reasons to see especially pawning and apprenticing as resources of comparatively wealthy people: in those cases in which any indication of social status might be deduced it emerges that if the apprentices were not slaves, they originated from the same social class as the master. Indeed, often the children apprenticed were to adopt a family trade. This is shown most clearly in the cases in which a weaver apprentices his son to another weaver. In a series of contracts from an Oxyrhynchian family archive it appears that a certain Pausiris, a weaver himself, had given his three sons as weavers' apprentices. Moreover, one of the sons was taught by a weaver who was the uncle by marriage of Pausiris's own apprentice. Weaving could have been a business strongly related to family.[32]

Similarly, it was normal to organise apprenticeships inside the family group: relatives often took care of the teaching, or arranged for the children to become apprentices elsewhere. In 54 CE for example, a boy was apprenticed by his grandmother to become a weaver under his uncle. We have also comparative evidence on this outside Egypt: when the young Lucian of Samosata was about to learn a trade he was apprenticed to his uncle to become a stone-cutter.[33] As Keith Bradley has noted, apprenticeship was not a way for any real social advancement.[34] However, to apprentice a child would certainly be a way for a family group to reinforce social and economic status.

Indeed, it seems it was usual and even preferred to apprentice a son or relative outside of one's own household, even in cases there were similar expertise available in the family.[35] This phenomenon is widely known from other cultural contexts worldwide. This does not seem to have been the result of any particular need or wish of the craftsmen themselves to get the younger generation to learn new techniques,[36] because, as shown, the masters often belonged to the same kin group or colleague network as the father or other contractor involved. It has also been proposed that sending a son to learn a trade outside his own household would subject the apprentice to more severe discipline than would be possible if father took the role of master. More generally, when parents acted as masters, the children might have difficulties in maintaining the disciplined concentration necessary for learning the craft.[37] Esther Goody in turn has proposed that a primary reason for avoiding fathers as masters would be the emotional stress due to teaching a child who in other respects is expected to know what to do and how to do it after having been socialised into household ways for many years; instead, an apprentice from outside is supposed to be ignorant from the beginning – and for them, there is a possibility of leaving, if the master treats them too roughly.[38] These kinds of general

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32 See *P.Mich.* III 170 (49 CE); *P.Wisc.* I 4 (53 CE); *P.Mich.* III 172 (62 CE); *P.Mich.* III 171 (58 CE). For another family of weavers apprenticing children also 'out' of the family, see the archive of Tryphon, with *SB* X 10236 (36 CE), *SB* X 10247 (56 CE) and *P.Oxy.* II 275 (66 CE).

33 *P.Oxy.Hels.* 29; Lucian, *de somno* 1. In *P. Ifao inv.* 339 (= *SB* XXIV 16253, Trajanic) the master is the uncle of the apprentice (see Kruse 1996, 149-58), and in *P.Mich.inv.* 4238 *verso*, the master is the cousin of the apprentice (see Eckermann 2011, 47-9). Parents, naturally, most often organised these contracts, but see also *P.Mich*. III 171 (58 CE, aunt), *P.Osl.* III 141 (50 CE, uncle(?)); *P.Heid.* IV 327 (99 CE, uncle); in *P.Oxy.* IV 725 (183 CE) the relationship between the apprentice and the contractor cannot be ascertained (see below, note 46).

34 Bradley 1991, 109; He gives *P. Fouad* I 37 as a lone example of the opposite, as in this case a legionary veteran had apprenticed his boy to a linen weaver. However, it is debatable how much even this case can be interpreted as social advancement rather than as a sign of the relatively high social status of a veteran in a local context.

35 Thomas Wiedemann's claim that children were handed over to experts in the Roman world "only when the *paterfamilias* himself was unable to teach the *ars*" in question, cannot be upheld (Wiedemann 1989, 156).

36 As is proposed by e.g. Bergamasco 1995, 151.

37 Bergamasco 1995, 151; Coy 1989, 4.

38 Goody 1989, 239, 250.

psychologising, however, is very difficult to substantiate, and I would be more inclined to stress that sending a child to work outside one's household would enforce the ties among the kin (if the master or employer was a relative) or between different households with similar professional interests (as exchanging sons to become apprentices) in local contexts.[39] Moreover, apprenticeships provide a means of adaptation to even quick changes in the need of labour in one's own household and/or workshop by moving labour from one household to another.

As has been shown, often the working agreement seem to have included a pre-payment or a loan to the parents, as in the case of the widowed Tapetheos and her son Atreias the cook. Labour was exchanged for a loan or for the interest on it, to be paid back by the work of the child, while the child also acted as collateral. Indeed, the cases of pledging of children seem to have their origin in the agreements of the slightly better off people: agreements on loans and pledges can be made only between people expecting that the businesses would turn out positively and the loan paid back in due time.[40] This would not outplay the possibility, that there was also social capital accrued by being a lender and a person known to have money available. It should also be noted, that the direction of payments (of loans, taxes, food, clothing, and sometimes, after the initial years, even outright wages) was most often from the master to the child's family – one was not obliged to pay for one's apprenticeship, as could be the case in many other cultural contexts. This points to the fact that the market situation for the products that the apprentices were to produce (i.e. in Roman Egypt most often textiles) was stable or expanding, and that their labour input was appreciated and needed by the masters.[41]

However, we know that in some of these cases, especially because loans were not repaid, pledged children were not reclaimed. In a fourth century papyrus for example, it is told how Pamonthios, a wine merchant, was forced to take a considerable loan to pay the local magistrates more than he could afford. He was unable to pay off his debts in time: he sold all his property, even his clothes, but could collect only half of the sum required. The creditor then took his small children, who seem to have served as collateral for the debt. We know of this situation because his friend Herieous tried to collect money to pay off the debts and release the children.[42] These kinds of pawning arrangements in which the original debt was never repaid would have led the working contracts going on forever, and thus to *de facto* slavery for the children. Indeed, Roman legislation seems to have interpreted such situations as the children being 'sold' because of the debts of their parents, and many Roman writers used the concepts for selling and pawning of children synonymously.[43] In the face of the antipathy of legislation to the selling and pawning of free children, and the legality of apprenticing – and child work more generally – it would have been necessary for the contracting parties to find other means for taking advantage of the working contributions of children. Thus, even if

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39 See also Freu 2011, 31.

40 See above, with *P. Mich inv.* 4299 (20/19 BCE); P. *Mich. inv.* 4346 + 4446f; *P. Mich. inv.* 931 + P. Col. X 249 (7 and 9 CE), both belonging to Harthotes archive: Harthotes, clearly at least in later life a rather affluent man (we can follow his businesses in almost 40 papyri survived in the archive), appears in the first case as giving (with his mother) his younger brother to a *paramonē* contract, and in the second and third document as father entering into *paramonē* contracts for his daughter. In both cases child's labour is to cover interests of a debt (and children's upkeep with clothing), and the workers serve as *de facto* -pledges (child's status as a pledge shows especially in *P. Mich inv.* 4299, in which the work input of the boy in question would be much more valuable than the actual costs for the moneylender) For these cases, see above note 21.

41 See Coy 1989, 6. This would also provide a clue to why so many of the apprentices were in weaving and the clothing business – it seems to have been such a flourishing trade in Roman Egypt that apprentices were far from being financial burdens for their masters but assets in production.

42 *P.Lond.* VI 1915-1916 (in the 330's CE). See also *Nov.Just.* 134.7 (556 CE) for a case in which creditors have taken children as pledges, reduced them to slavery and even re-lent them, and Greg.M. *epist.* 3.55, 4.43 (late 590's CE) for a case of Cosmas Syrus, a tradesman, who was so badly in debt, that he had to give his children to the creditors.

43 See Vuolanto 2003, 189-202 for discussion and further cases.

there might have been some 'real' sales, it is reasonable to assume that many of the sales referred to in the literature originally represent children hired to work, or as pledges in loan agreements.

More importantly in the context of the present paper, parents could also have resorted to leasing their children's work out as farmhands or maidservants – this resulted children being documented (see above) as working in different tasks on estates, and falling into different categories according to whether they came from the estates or elsewhere. In contrast to children ending up as apprentices or pawned by their parents for money, it is reasonable to think that these children came from more modest backgrounds. A late comparative literary example is offered by Cassiodorus who describes how during his stay in Lucania in the early sixth century he came across a lively market-place in which the children of the rural poor were sent to the nearby towns to earn their living by themselves – as slaves, claims Cassiodorus, but legally this kind of transaction could not change their freeborn status.[44] Why would the parents have sold their children into permanent slavery if they could get the same advantages without losing sight of the child, and without the children losing their freedom? However, these people were smallholders or wage-labourers living near subsistence level. All the surplus income from the family members was necessary, and often resulted in the need of putting children to work outside the household.[45]

The effective use of the labour force of the family unit was an important part of the survival strategies of any household. However, families and households have their own life courses – the number of people to be fed, clothed and lodged varies due to demographical factors and cultural expectations, and accordingly, the need for work force. The labour allocation strategies are in flux and influence the patterns of behaviour on the family level in different ways in different times.[46] Thus, it is clear that the family structure plays an important part here.

Unfortunately, for the most part the effect on family structure for the different modes of the child work is bound to remain hidden from us. We cannot deduce from the documentation available exactly how wealthy (or poor) were those Roman families who sent their children to work outside of household, nor can we know how many people of what ages these households included. However, it is possible to scrutinise the absence or presence of the fathers and other siblings in the working contracts for minors. Most of the people entering into apprenticeships contract for the children were their fathers, as would be expected. Of the 47 published apprentice contracts from Roman and early Byzantine Egypt, 32 concern freeborn children. Of these 17 are contracted by fathers of the apprentices and 13 by other people, most often by mothers, but also uncles, brothers, an aunt and a grandmother appear. In two of these cases the relationship between the contractor and the child cannot be ascertained.[47] Thus, 57% of the contracts that concern freeborn children we

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44 Cassiod. *var.* VIII 33.4 (527 CE); see further Vuolanto 2003, esp. 192.

45 See also Garnsey 1989, 44, 68.

46 On family (economic and labour) strategies, see e.g. Engelen 2002, 453-64; Viazzo – Lynch 2002, 423-52; Moen – Wethington 1992, 233-51, with discussion in Vuolanto 2015, esp. 22-5, 35.

47 Bergamasco 1995, 162-6 gives in total 42 apprenticeship contracts, of which one dates to the third century BCE (*P. Heid.* 226); Some new texts and interpretations on apprenticeship are to be added to these: *P.Osl.inv.* 1470 (= *SB* XXIV 16186) (70 CE, a registration of a free boy as an apprentice by his father, see: Forselv 1998, 116-24); *P.Col.inv.* 164 (Hadrianic, a male apprentice, female contractor. See Bercamasco 2006; *P.Kell.G.* 19.a (late 3rd cent. CE, a slave girl. See Bergamasco 1998, 193-6); *SB Kopt.* I 45 (eight century CE, a freeborn girl; actor: mother. See van Minnen 1998); *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596 (264 CE (?), a free girl, actor: father); *P.Mich.inv.* 4238 *verso* (a free boy, actor: father. See Eckermann 2011, 47-9). Of the cases Bergamasco 1995 gives, I have counted *SB* XVIII 13305 as concerning a freeborn girl, following Van Minnen 1998, 201-3, against Pearl 1985, 255-9. Bergamasco has interpreted *P.Oxy*. IV 725 as contracted perhaps by an uncle, but there is no indication for this, and the relationship between the son and 'the acting adult', Ischyron, is bound to remain unresolved. Still, there is no indication that the boy would have been a slave (as the wages seem to go to the boy, who is also mentioned to have 20 days holiday a year). On apprenticeship contracts, see also Freu 2011, 29.

are able to ascertain the link between the contractor and the child, involved active fathers. On the other hand, according to the figures of Walter Scheidel, by the age of thirteen 30 percent of children had lost their fathers and by sixteen 40 percent. The total number of contracts, naturally, is rather small, but even if we make the plausible assumption that fathers were responsible for the contracts when they were alive, these numbers would imply that being fatherless had no effect on the possibility of children becoming apprentices.[48] Thus, fatherlessness did not mean that the networks making the apprenticeship possible would be broken, but neither did it result in an increased need of obtaining education outside of family sphere.[49]

In the absence of similar lists for contracts with children shown as having been pledged or given away to work,[50] it is more difficult to make statements based on systematic study of the documents. Widows do appear quite often, but it is hard to say if their number is unexpectedly high and to conclude that pledging or hiring out children to work would have been particularly a way to cope with death of the male head of the household.[51] Still, strikingly often the inability to bring up the child emerges explicitly from the sources.[52] Moreover, the evidence on the gender of the children in question also leads to the conclusion that different modes of child work were applied in different family situations. Nearly three quarters of the apprentice contracts concern freeborn boys, but for the freeborn girls it seems to have been the norm to learn a trade in the safety of the home, there being only four cases in which girls appear as apprentices. Even here, in two cases the master was a woman, once a woman and her husband – in fact female masters for freeborn apprentices appear only in these cases. Most likely this is not just a coincidence, but a way to minimise the possibility of sexual harassment. In the only case in which a freeborn girl is apprenticed to a male master, there is an exceptional situation because the apprentice is simultaneously pledged for a loan of 400 drachmae to her father. It seems that the tough financial circumstances prevented the father taking further care of the girl's safety.[53]

Indeed, in cases of pledging and other kinds of working arrangements girls appear quite frequently.[54] For example, there are eight Egyptian documents explicitly referring to *paramonē* -clause with obligation to work falling on children: five of these concern boys and three deal with girls.[55] Thus, the acuteness of the economic situation of the family in question seems to have had its effect on this. For example, in the 560s a certain Martha claimed that it was because of abject poverty that her father had been forced to pawn her

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48 Scheidel 2009, 31-40, esp. 34-6. See also Krause 1995, 7.

49 Cf. Freu (2011, 30), who claims that orphan apprentices were usual because of a particular need of gaining economic autonomy quickly, citing also *SB* XIV 11588 (late 4th cent.), a private letter mentioning an orphan apprentice. See also Bercamasco 2006, 55.

50 The absence has much to do with the fact that these contracts and document vary greatly in their form, and clear criteria are hard to find in compiling such list – apprentice contracts (see above) or contracts with a *paramonē* -clause (see below) are much more unambiguous categories.

51 E.g. *P.Mil.* II 60 (= *SB* V 7612, 2nd-3rd c. CE); *BGU* IV 1153 (14 BCE); *BGU* IV 1024 (late 4th c. CE); *P.Oxy.* XVI 1895 (554 CE); *Stud.Pal.* XX 219 (604 CE). In *P.Coll Youtie* 92 (=*P.Cair. Masp* 67023 + *P. Fitzhugh*, 569 CE) the active person is the elder sister of the girl she pawned, even if the girl was first pawned by her father, now dead. See also *P.Oxy.* XVI 1895 (a widow giving his child away). See also *P. Mich inv.* 4299 (20/19 BCE) with a mother and an older brother acting (for this case, see above note 21). As a comparative point it might be mentioned, that according to Cribiore 2009, 271, shows fatherlessness as such was not a hindrance to acquiring higher education in Late Antiquity.

52 *BGU* IV 1139 (5 BCE); *P.Oxy.* X 1295 (2nd or early 3rd c. CE); *BGU* IV 1024 (late 4th c. CE); *P.Oxy*. LXIII 4393 (late 5th c. CE); *P.Coll.Youtie* 92 (=*P.Cair.Masp* 67023 + *P.Fitzhugh*, 569 CE); *BGU* XII 2200 (561 CE).

53 For the cases (*SB* XVIII 13305; *P.Heid.* IV 326 (98 CE); *SB Kopt.* I 45 (eighth century CE), see: Van Minnen 1998; *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596 (264 CE (?)).

54 P. *Mich. inv.* 4346+4446f and *P. Mich. inv.* 931 + P. Col. X 249 (7 and 9 CE) (for these cases, see above note 21; the girls seems to be only 7 years old at the time of the first contract); *P.Oxy.* LXXVIII 5169 (18 BCE); *BGU* 1139 (5 BCE); *P.Ryl.* II 128 (the original agreement contracted in 30 CE); *P.Mich*. X 587 (24-5 CE); *P.Iand*. IV 62 (=*FIRA* III 62, 6th c. CE); *BGU* XII 2200 (561 CE); *P.Coll Youtie* 92 (=*P.Cair. Masp* 67023 + *P. Fitzhugh*, 569 CE).

55 Yiftach-Firanko 2010, 276.

sister Procla. After their father died, Martha was obliged to take Procla away from the original master and pledge her again, even though the original debt was not yet paid off. This change of the master was necessary, as old one was overworking Procla, and Martha needed time to collect money to repay the remaining half of the debt.[56] Indeed, those in acute need or the poorest did not have the luxury of being able to select whom to send outside of the safe realm of the household and whom to keep working at home. The result is a more equal distribution of girls and boys appearing in those documents dealing with the loans and pledges, and in which the dire need of the contracting adults is mentioned as a reason for the transaction.

**Working conditions of the children**

The apprentice contracts routinely include a clause imposing the authority of the master on the apprentices. The verb usually used is *diakoneō*, implying an obligation to serve, but often this is indicated simply by specifying that the apprentice is to perform all orders given. In some cases this is expressly limited to the tasks related to the trade to be learned, but often this is not specified, and once there is a clause that just states that the apprentice should perform all the orders as do 'the other apprentices'.[57] Moreover, in six out of thirty contracts the authority of the master is limited or stressed especially by the regulations concerning the length of the working day – in three cases this is set from sunrise to sunset, and in four other cases both day and night.[58] The life as an apprentice need not have been easy. To return to the account of Lucian, his first day as an apprentice was also his last: when he managed to break a slab with his chisel, his master (his mother's brother) gave him a thrashing that made him flee to his mother – who in turn made clear that her son did not return to stone-masonry under her brother.[59] Indeed, a legal response in *Digest* refers to apprentices fleeing from their masters to their mothers (*sic*!): if they do so only in order to hide from their masters, the apprentice is deemed to be a runaway, *fugitivus*, and having broken the contract. However, it was accepted that an apprentice had the right to return to the mother in order to plead for help in case the child had committed an offence.[60]

Still, the formulae in papyri and the literary evidence outside Egypt should not be seen as indications that the working conditions and discipline as such would have been particularly severe – that is, any more than would have been expected in children's own households.[61] From comparative perspective, the discipline maintained by the parents could have been more severe than the one enforced by the master.[62] Indeed, there is evidence of warm emotional ties between the apprentices and their masters in the Roman world. A sense of deep gratitude can be deduced from the letter of a former barber's apprentice to his master, men-

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56 *P.Coll Youtie* 92 (=*P.Cair. Masp* 67023 + *P. Fitzhugh*, 569 CE); Vuolanto 2003, 185-6; Kotsifou 2009, 350f.

57 Obligation to serve could be limited to the trade: e.g. *P.Oxy.* II 322 (36 CE); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 29 (54 CE); *P.Oxy.* II 275 (66 CE); The other apprentices mentioned in *P.Oxy.* IV 725 (183 CE). In *P.Oxy.* XLI 2977 (239 CE) there is both the limitation clause and reference to other apprentices. For further cases, see: Bergamasco 1995, 125. What is curious is that all these clauses appear in documents from Oxyrhynchus. Most probably this is due not to local variation in actual circumstances, but to ways of drafting the contract. In the context of the present paper however, this question cannot be answered.

58 Sunrise to sunset: *P. Fouad* I 37 (48 CE); *P.Oxy.* IV 725 (183 CE) and *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2586 (264 CE); Day and night: *P.Osl.* III 141 (50 CE); *P.Heid.* IV 327 (99 CE); *P.Oxy.* XXXVIII 2875 (early 3rd c. CE) and *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596 (264 CE (?)) – in this last mentioned case, however, the child is consider as a pledge for his father's debt.

59 Lucian. *de somno* 1.

60 *Dig*. 21.1.17.5: 'Vivianus ait, si a magistro puer recessit et rursus ad matrem pervenit, cum quaereretur, num fugitivus esset: si celandi causa quo, ne ad dominum reverteretur, fugisset, fugitivum esse: sin vero ut per matrem faciliorem deprecationem haberet delicti alicuius, non esse fugitivum'. See also *Dig*. 9.2.5.3; Laes 2011, 192.

61 Cf. Bergamasco 1995, 151; See also Bradley 1991, 110.

62 See Goody 1989, 250.

tioned above. At least in some cases a craftsman has clearly been like a second father to his apprentices, and a model to be emulated, as Christian Laes has put it.[63] It is revealing that even if more than half of the apprenticeships were contracted by fathers, those agreements that included the provision to stay day and night at the master's were contracted by other relatives (twice by the uncles, once by the apprentice himself with his mother) as the father has died – or, as in one case in which the father does appear as contractor, the night and day clause is to ensure that apprentice would not flee from the master, as he functions as a pledge for a loan his father had taken.[64] Thus, in general, the paternal authority and responsibility were shifted to the master by the relatives of the apprentice.

Children themselves do not seem to have much say in these familial arrangements. In a single case however, we have a situation in which an under-age apprentice has been given the choice whether he would like to stay with the master or continue to live at his home with his mother during the time of his training period. The boy in question seems to have been fatherless, as he was given to apprenticeship by his mother (with her brother as her guardian).[65]

In cases other than the apprenticeships we have even less indication of the actual treatment of the free-born children working outside their homes. It might be noted that work from sunrise to sunset was required of both free and slave apprentices – and the same was expected of the children hired as day-workers. Still, it seems that apprentices belong to the 'upper class' of those children working outside of their home. This is shown already in the fact that the wages received by children for unskilled agricultural labour were, as was to be expected, considerably lower than those given to children while working during (the later years of) an apprenticeship.[66] However, there is also other information that implies this, like the case of the overworked fifteen-year-old Procla.[67] Thus, the working conditions of children entered into these kinds of agreements were not necessarily very different from what we know about child slaves and their working conditions.[68]

Not surprisingly, not all children could bear this. We have an early first century complaint by Hatres, an oil maker: a couple had borrowed money from him, in turn giving their daughter Soueris to work as an olive-carrier, but she ran away with Hatres' savings. The original debt was not yet paid off, and Hatres accused girl's father Harsuthmis of having persuaded his daughter to take flight.[69] As a comparative case outside Egypt, Theodoret of Cyrrhus tells of a young girl living near Antioch who was in the service of an old and intemperate former officer. Theodoret claims that there was some sexual harassment involved, as she ran away from him. Her widowed mother, with whom the girl – unmarried but of marriageable age – seems to have been living, agreed that she should try to find refuge in a convent.[70] Thus, discipline, even excessive, there might have been – but it is very difficult to assess what were the differences between those children

63 See *P. Oxy.* LV 3809 (2nd or 3rd c. CE); Laes 2011, 193-5; Tran 2011, 128. See also Bradley 1991, 11; Goody 1989, 239 for comparative perspectives.

64 See Bergamasco 2004, 25-36, esp. 29; *P.Oxy.* LXVII 4596 (264 CE (?)) for the case in which father appears as a contractor with the night and day staying provision.

65 *P.Oxy.* XLI 2971 (66 CE).

66 Mirković 2005, 146. See also e.g. P. Mich. Inv. 4299 (20/10 BCE), for this, see note 21 above, with a very low 'wages' and obligation to stay night and day with the master.

67 *P.Coll Youtie* 92 (=*P.Cair. Masp* 67023 + *P. Fitzhugh*, CE 569), discussed above.

68 See esp. Laes 2011, 153-65.

69 *P.Ryl.* II 128 (the original agreement contracted in 30 CE).

70 Theod. Cyr. *Hist. rel.* 9.12 (440s CE).

working at home and those working outside the household. Indeed, the question arises of what should be reckoned as particularly harsh treatment in the context of Romano-Egyptian society?

**Conclusions**

In the ancient world child work was an everyday phenomenon, and outside the elites, giving a child to work outside of the family was part of family labour strategies to ensure the welfare of the family in any given situation. Economically speaking, children would have often constituted the only 'realisable part' of the assets available in a modest household, thus it seems that there were no alternatives to the use of children and their work as collateral when in urgent needs of cash. Moreover, putting a child to work outside the household limited the size of the family temporarily and let the child learn a new skill. This made it possible for the child to socialise in their community's norms, values and expected modes of behaviour in ways not possible in the family of origin. Working outside the home therefore, was also a means to educate children, to ensure that they would pick up the skills necessary to support themselves (and their families) later on. This is especially true in cases of apprentice contracts that offered children a better (more secure) position than other kinds of working agreements, particularly if no actual contract regulating the duties and obligations of the parties involved was ever drawn up. Putting a child to work outside the parental home was potentially a very effective move in family strategies, as it would have contributed simultaneously to many different aspects of family survival and continuity.

The children dealt with in this chapter belong to middle status families: they were children of peasants, craftsmen or small traders. As is the usual case in studying the social history of the Roman world, the poorest for the most part are out of our sight. On the other hand, it seems that in general "the difference in the day-to-day reality between slaves and freeborn children, both as to the profession performed and the lack of free choice, will have been minimal."[71] The life as apprentice might already have been very hard – and in no category of working children, be they apprentices or day workers, does any work seems to have been connected specifically with either free or slave status. Children were constantly under the authority of others, discipline was severe, and their own willingness to enter into some or other occupation was not an issue.[72]

Still, there seems to have been variations. Compared to apprentices, a harder life seem to have awaited children hired or pledged to work – the parents could do little to help their children in cases of excessive work, or violence on the part of the master. Working in the confines of one's household and under the protection and control of their parents children's work could be expected to have consisted of the daily tasks learning the parent's occupation, whereas outside the household children confronted much wider variety of tasks and attitudes. Especially the girls in the families in acute economic crises that did not allow keeping the daughters at home ran the risk of sexual harassment. However, even the measures taken in times of distress show the continual aim of the parents to stay in touch with their offspring. Outright selling of the children, for example, was always only a second option. This might have been a slight relief for those children who were obliged to stay with their masters even if temporarily, and experienced the pain of being cut off from the family communion. Much depended on the relationships between the parents (or other carers of the child) and the master, master's personal attitude to his young workers and, naturally, the experience and skills of the children themselves to cope with the situations they confronted.

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71 Laes 2008, 261.

72 See also Bradley 1991, 118.

Still, children could exercise agency and find meaningfulness in these working circumstances outside their parental homes. For most children, working away from home was the first opportunity to be at least temporarily on their own, away from surveillance (for good or ill) of their everyday caretakers and guardians. Moreover, they were simultaneously helping their families of origin and learning skills necessary for their adult lives – as well as appearing in public and making connections of their own in the local community.

In Roman Egypt child work, even apprenticeship, was not a way of social mobility or advancement – a point already made in previous studies – but, contrary to what was the original hypothesis for the present article, neither did apprenticeship offer an alternative for continuing parents' occupational career. In all the cases in which there was any indication of the parents' or other contracting adults' background, it emerges that children were to learn outside their household the same skills their carers themselves had mastered. Instead of teaching themselves, they preferred masters from outside. Thus, apprenticeship did not widen the available array of economic strategies of survival and advancement for households by bringing in new skills for the kin group,[73] even if it might have worked as an adapting strategy to distribute labour and thus securing the family's status in changing situations of family life course. Further, there is no indication that especially fatherless sons or younger brothers in families with many siblings were the ones to work outside of household. Moreover, even this 'outside' is a relative concept, as in many cases there was a link (of kinship or colleagueship) between the contracting parties. Like in many other cultures, in Roman Egypt apprenticeship seems to have been used to strengthen the existing family traditions and co-operative networks while keeping the 'secrets of the trade' safely under control, and to protect the cultural and social capital already acquired.[74]

But why did the masters want freeborn children to work for them? Naturally, reasons like kinship ties and need to have someone to continue a trade (and oneself) played a part, especially in the apprenticeships. There were also economic factors: freeborn provided a labour force for the master at a low cost. According to the jurist Ulpian, children younger than five are not yet able to do any work – but the age for children to be profitable naturally, was higher. The legal material from late antiquity – in Syria, in the West and the East – also supports the conclusion that a ten-year-old was understood to produce more than he or she consumed.[75] Naturally, this understanding here is more important than the actual state of affairs, as it directed behaviour; still, the comparative material also points out that children around the age of twelve would probably produce more than they consume.[76]

Even the masters of apprentices favoured children capable of earning more than their own keep, being immediately profitable to them. Moreover, the longer apprenticeship contract of four or five years seems to have been intended to ensure that the master would gain the working contribution of the already skilled apprentice at the end of his or her contract period. Different kinds of wage arrangements in which the salary

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73 See also Laes 2015, 88-9, citing Hawkins 2006, 159-79, stressing that in artisan families the importance of freedmen and apprentices from other families was much more important than what has been thought earlier compared to the work of the family members or slaves.

74 See Coy 1989, 3; Goody 1989, 249.

75 *Dig*. 7.7.6; *Sent. Syr.* 77 and 98; *Lex Vis.* 4.4.3; *CodJust.* 7.7.1.5 (530 CE) and *CodJust.* 6.43.3 (531 CE).

76 However, the estimations for a break-even point in which children would have produced more than consumed in their previous life differ widely (at least from fifteen to twenty-five years of age). For discussion, see Hin 2011, 101. Hübner 2013, 59-64 proposes a much higher break up point than fifteen based on her approximations on Egyptian papyri, whereas some modern studies, like Cain 1977, 201-27, for an estimation that in the 1970's in rural Bangladesh, naturally based on fuller data, would not only propose that ten to thirteen-year-old boys would produce more than they consume, but also that by the age of fifteen they would have produced more than what they have consumed in their life.

gradually increased towards the end of the apprenticeship also indicate the labour needs of the masters.[77] Moreover, many of the working children lived with their parents, but slaves had to be lodged and fed night and day. A more important part however, might have been played by demographic factors: in case a freeborn working child died, there were no extra costs for the master – and the master had already saved money not having bought a slave or brought up a slave child.[78] A contract involving a freeborn child to enter as a worker or an apprentice was less risky and consumed less capital.

How far were these features limited to Egypt? Indeed, nothing in these depictions hints at any sort of difference between Egypt and the other parts of the Roman world, as the scattered comparative evidence referred to above has shown. This should not be surprising: after all, the same frame of reference for the children's work applies – low life expectancy, huge differences in living conditions, shortage of cash, changing needs of a work force and child education, and the different cultural expectations for girls and boys. In the light of this, there is no reason to believe that the situation would have been radically different outside of Egypt.

77 Bercamasco 1995, 151.

78 For the continuing relevance of the slave economy in Late Antiquity, see Harper 2011.

# The Role of Servants in the Upbringing of the Roman Elite Girls in Late Antiquity

Mikko Pentti

## Introduction

In the Roman view slaves were an essential part of an elite family.[1] In addition, such families used the services of clients and freedmen, and many also had different kinds of intellectual protégées closely tied to them, and in many cases residing with them. From her childhood on, an elite girl had continuous and important contacts with these people in her parents' household. This article will take a closer look into the contemporary discussion on the lives of elite girls in the western part of the Roman Empire at the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries. My aim is to analyse the contacts they had with members of the household who, by our modern standards, would not be considered a part of the family, but who shared the responsibility of raising them to adulthood. We have an exceptional amount of source material on social history, and the history of children in particular, in the works of the ecclesiastical writers from this period. Because of the lure of asceticism and virginity among the Christians in this period even some members of the highest Roman elite embraced the habits of eastern monks. Since many of the highborn converts were women, the male promoters of this new religious custom also took considerable interest into the lives of women. This means that they have provided us with a great amount of fascinating detail.

The focus in this article lies with the servants and teachers an elite girl encountered in her early life, almost without exception in the house of her parents. The main goal is to find out who were the people closest to such girls and what was their role in the process of socialisation. I will also take a look at how the identity of these girls was formed by the servants. This article also analyses the rare glimpses that the early Christian sources offer into the world of children of different status in the elite households of late antiquity. Since most of the young girls in these sources were Christians their families had the added possibility of using Christian priests or monks as teachers.[2]

The majority of research on Roman childhood has concentrated on the early imperial period.[3] Sometimes late-antique sources have also been used for the study of earlier periods.[4] The role of the mother and

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1 In this article in the category of elite families I include both the local elite families and the Roman senatorial families. Even though there was huge differences in wealth and status between these people, the common factor most important for my purposes is that they owned slaves and had the means to use the services of other people to their own advantage. On the Roman view of slaves as part of the *familia*, see e.g. Harlow 2010, 14; Rawson 1986, 7-8; Rawson 2010, 616. I would like to thank Katariina Mustakallio and Jussi Hanska for their guidance, Carolyn Osiek for her advice, and especially Ville Vuolanto on the hours he has spent reading my work and commenting on it.

2 Unlike in many studies on Roman childhood, I will not devote attention to the midwives. Their task must be recognised as essential for the very survival of the new-born child, but it is most likely that they were not present in the girl's personal experience of her life.

3 Beryl Rawson sets the end of her study in *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* in the early third century as do Mary Harlow and Ray Laurence in their *Growing up and Growing old in Ancient Rome*. This is due mainly to the very real gap in literary evidence between the early third and mid-fourth centuries. Rawson 2003, 1; Harlow – Laurence 2002.

4 Bradley 1991 is a good example in the way he uses epigraphic material from the 1st century BCE till the 4th century CE, but literary sources only from the republican and the early imperial period. This means that although his epigraphic database shows

the role of the nurse in Roman upbringing have been the subjects of much discussion, but this has mainly revolved around the question of whether the Romans cared for their children and thus the perspective of the parents. Later research has also attempted to find the perspective and agency of the child, but because of the nature of sources from the classical antiquity it has concentrated on boys, who are clearly a more accessible subject through such sources.[5] By far the most important work on elite female education in classical antiquity is the *Matrona docta* by Emily Hemelrijk and, as she has stated, the most detailed description of the practice and aims of the education of an upper-class girl is the letter of Jerome on the education of Paula the Younger.[6] So if we turn our gaze on the late-antique Christian sources they can give us a picture of the process of a female child growing up. The world in the late fourth century had changed considerably from classical times and many of the classical ideas on childhood perhaps were less valid in this period. However, the Roman educated classes had a certain trust in tradition, which also clearly emerges in the Christian sources.[7]

During recent years the family and childhood in late antiquity have also aroused growing interest. The possible change caused by the rise of Christianity has been the underlying idea behind much of this discussion, but it has also concerned the adult conceptions of childhood and formal education. The view has been mostly that of the parents, the intellectuals and the legislators. Moreover, it has been almost entirely regarding boys who were considered more interesting by the writers in antiquity.[8] However, the Christian ascetic movement and the women involved in it have attracted a considerable amount of scholarly attention but, although there is a great deal of research on the Roman senatorial women of Late Antiquity, it concentrates mainly on their asceticism and life as adults.[9] On the actual childhood of these women, there are only a few specialised articles. In the early 1990's Joan M. Petersen published an article on education of girls in Late Antiquity. However, though it concentrates on the same sources I am using, its focus means that it deals with only one of the aspects of childhood. Her article also dismisses many valuable pieces of information in the letters of Jerome because, as she puts it, they are mere educational fantasies.[10] Although this might well be true, there is no evidence whether the advice Jerome gave was ever used, the letters he sent to the Roman matrons contain a lot of useful information I intend to use, while keeping the many problems constantly in mind.

Also Phyllis B. Katz has written an article on the same subject, concentrating on the letter of Jerome to Laeta on the education of her daughter Paula the Younger. Unfortunately, she only uses her article to criticise Jerome on his proposed way of education, without going any deeper into the question of what this letter might tell us of late Roman elite childhood.[11]

This article studies a group of Roman ascetically minded senatorial women. The information concerning these families comes mostly from Jerome, Augustine, Ambrose, Paulinus of Nola and Gerontius.

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several childminders in connection with female children, the shortcomings in his literary material cause his work to revolve around boys. See also e.g. Rawson 2003, 217.

5 Harlow – Laurence 2002; Rawson 2003; Harlow 2010; Laes 2011.

6 Hemelrijk 1999, 63.

7 For a reasonably recent survey of research on Roman childhood studies see e.g. Rawson 2005; Harlow – Laurence – Vuolanto 2007, 5-14.

8 Bakke 2005; Evans Grubbs 2009; Horn – Martens 2009; Horn – Phenix 2009; Nathan 2000; Shaw 1987, 3-51; Vuolanto 2013, 47-74.

9 The work of Gillian Clark, Elizabeth A. Clark, Gillian Cloke and Ville Vuolanto among others has brought these remarkable women well into the field of Late Antique history. Clark 1983; Clark 1984; Clark 1999, 3-23; Clark 1993; Cloke 1995; Vuolanto 2008.

10 Petersen in Wood (ed.) 1994.

11 Katz 2007, 115-27.

The group gathered first around Marcella, a Christian senatorial widow, who decided to adopt an ascetic way of life after the death of her husband.[12] Paula the Elder was another senatorial widow who, with the example set by Marcella and the instigation of her ascetically minded mentor, Jerome, also decided to abandon her riches and strive for the simple and ascetic lifestyle.[13] Melania the Elder was the third highly influential Roman lady who was also associated with this group, but because of her theological position, especially in regard to the sharp-tongued Jerome on the Origenist controversy, the information on her life in the sources has disappeared somewhat.[14] This article however, focuses on the younger generation of these female ascetics – the daughters and granddaughter of Paula the Elder and the granddaughter of Melania the Elder and her children.[15]

The daughters of Paula the Elder are often featured in the correspondence of Jerome with his Roman friends and supporters. The eldest daughter Blesilla was left a widow after only seven months of marriage.[16] According to Jerome, she led the life of a normal young senatorial widow for a while, but after a serious illness decided to listen to her mother and the spiritual counselling of Jerome and adopt their ascetic lifestyle. However, she seems to have gone a bit too far in her pursuit of this and died within just four months.[17] We know almost nothing of Rufina, who was of marriageable age when Paula left for the Holy Land, following Jerome. She seems to have died soon after Paula's departure.[18] Iulia Eustochium, the best known of these girls, went east with her mother, and after her death became the head of her community of female virgins in Bethlehem. She was an avowed virgin, and Jerome has left us a detailed set of instructions as how she ought to act in her new life.[19] The fourth daughter, Paulina, married Pammachius, an old friend of Jerome and a cousin of Marcella. She died childless and, probably according to her wishes, her widowed husband spent their joint fortune on various charitable works.[20] The last known member of this family, the granddaughter of Paula the Elder by her only son, Toxotius, was named after her. Paula the Younger was promised to God from her birth, and Jerome wrote a long letter to her mother Laeta on how to raise the little girl so that she would become a true Christian virgin.[21]

Melania the Younger, who was a second cousin of Paula the Younger, seems to have decided very early in her life to follow her grandmother and namesake Melania the Elder in her calling.[22] Because of the objections of her relatives and particularly of her father, she was forced to marry her distant young rela-

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12 About the life of Marcella, see: Hier. *Epist*. 32, 48, 54, and esp. 127.

13 On Paula the Elder see: esp. Hier. *Epist*. 108.

14 Although the *Vita Melaniae iunioris* does not mention Melania the Elder at all, she is mentioned by Jerome in *Epist*. 3, 39, 45, 133, by Paulinus of Nola in *Epist*. 29 and discussed at some length by Palladius in *Hist. Laus*. 46, 54. See also Clark 1984, 85-6; 141-52.

15 In this article we are not concentrating on the other senatorial girls and young women mentioned by Jerome, namely Demetrias and Pacatula, since in the texts related to them (Hier. *Epist*. 128, 130; Aug. *Epist* 150; Pelag. *Ad Demetriadem*), there is hardly any new information about servants in their early lives. The advice given by Jerome to Pacatula follows closely the advice he gave earlier to Paula the Younger. The most interesting difference perhaps being that the addressee of this letter was Gaudentius, the father of little Pacatula rather than her mother.

16 Hier. *Epist*. 22, 15.

17 Id. 38, 2; 39, 1-3.

18 Id. 108, 4; 108, 6.

19 Id. 22. More information on her can be found in Hier. *Epist*. 30, 14; 32, 1; 39, 6, 8; 45, 7; 46, which was perhaps written by Paula the Elder and Eustochium; 49, 18; 52, 17; 54, 2; 66, 2, 3, 13; 99, 2; 107, 5; 108, 2, 4, 6; 123, 17; 127. 5; 134, 2; 137; 142; 143; 151; 153; 154.

20 Id. 66, 77, 108. Paul. Nol. *Epist*. 13.

21 Hier. *Epist*. 107. She is also mentioned in *Epist*. 108, 134, 137, 142, 143, 153.

22 On the effect of Melania the Elder on her see Pall. *Hist. Laus*. 54; 61; Paul. Nol. *Epist*. 29.

tive Pinianus and provide the family with heirs.[23] After the death of her father and both her children, a girl promised to God and a newborn boy, she was able to convince her husband to live in chastity,[24] and after a long legal battle even involving the imperial circles, also to give up their property for the poor.[25] After this, the family consisting of her mother Albina and her now spiritual brother Pinianus, moved first to Africa and then to the Holy Land, where Melania founded a monastic community in Jerusalem.[26]

Important evidence can also be found in the *Confessions* of Augustine regarding both the life of his mother, Monica, and his own early life, which might also have something to offer for the subject of female childhood. Although the family of Augustine was of considerably lower status than the senatorial ladies, nevertheless they were part of the local African elite and his evidence is valuable in trying to find information on the relations between children and the servants around them. Another woman of the same period, and well known through her biography written by her brother Gregory of Nyssa, is Macrina. Despite its hagiographical nature this contains a number of usable references to her childhood. Thus, the early lives of Augustine, his mother Monica and Macrina serve to add information on some parts of the early lives of children and to highlight certain aspects peculiar to the highest senatorial nobility living in the city of Rome that are depicted by the other sources.[27]

**Nurses**

In the modern western perspective it is often taken for granted that the task of taking care of children belongs first and foremost to the mother and to the nuclear family. For the Roman elites however, the employment of servants for these duties seems to have been equally self-evident. One of the underlying purposes for the employment of nurses in Roman childcare was to enable the biological mother to continue her other household duties. The senatorial households of Late Antiquity were vast, including rural properties all over the empire, around Rome and townhouses in the city of Rome. The managing of these properties and the commercial activities related to the trade of their produce demanded a large number of slaves, sometimes amounting to thousands. As the mistress of the household, a Roman elite mother to a great extent was responsible for running this large economic enterprise, so the employment of a nurse need not have been because of any physical fault in the mother, nor the aristocratic aversion of physical labour, both of which Christian Laes lists as reasons. Although in some cases these might well have been causes for the use of a nurse however the necessities of running a large household should also be taken into consideration.[28]

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23 *Vita Melaniae Latina* 1. However, opposition to marriage as an ascetic *topos,* see: Vuolanto 2009, 255-91, esp. 261, 271.

24 *Vita Melaniae Latina* 5-7.

25 Melania and Pinianus asked for the help of Empress Serena, mother-in-law of Emperor Honorius, against Pinianus' brother who was trying to prevent their sale of their properties. Id. 10-15. About the problems they encountered with the other senators, see: Id. 34.

26 *Vita Melaniae Latina* 19-22; 34-5; 40-1. Melania is also mentioned by Augustine in *Epist*. 124; 126 and by Jerome in *Epist*. 143 = Aug. *Epist*. 202.

27 The most important parts of Augustine's *Confessions* for this article are the description of his own childhood in 1; 6-16 and of his mother's in 9; 8-9.

28 Laes 2011, 70; Harper 2011, 117-28. There is a good discussion on the ancient attitudes on nursing by the mother *versus* by the wet-nurse in Garnsey 1991. One of the more interesting notions is given by Soranus, who advises the use of maternal milk, but is strongly against using *colostrum*, the milk of the first period after giving birth, because it is hard to digest for the baby. It is clear however, that a lively discussion existed between the ancient doctors on this subject. Sor. *Gyn*. 2, 17-18. In his article Garnsey summarises the reasons for using nurses as to prevent mother-child bonding, preserving the female figure, follow the fashion that the high society dictated or maximising the mother's child-bearing potential. He finishes by making a hypothesis that the Roman child rearing practices in part were a cause for the high child mortality. See also Harper above, 109-12 for the shamefulness of nursing as physical labour.

The institution of using servants for nursing can also be considered as a social norm among the Roman elites.[29] It is perhaps coincidental that Jerome does not call this practise into question in any way in any of his letters directly addressed to the Roman elite, although in the Christian literature there was the tendency to represent the mothers who suckled their own children as positive examples.[30] The availability of a large number of servants also meant that the elite women were able to employ a proper nursing staff for the early years of their children. The employment of servants for child-rearing however, did not mean that the parents lost their contact with their children. The children mostly lived in the same physical space as their parents, and their actions, and the actions of the servants taking care of them would have been monitored by the parents.[31]

Though the ancient Romans do not seem to have made a distinction between a wet-nurse and a dry-nurse, referring to both as *nutrices*, in this context however, it is worthwhile to separate the two according to their different tasks. In the early imperial era the use of a wet-nurse was widespread in all areas of the Roman Empire and in all social classes.[32] Her primary role was to suckle the new-born child. In elite households wet-nurses seem to have been chosen from within the family, meaning the domestic slaves. For this to be possible, one needed to have slave-women who had recently given birth present in the household or in relatively close rural properties. Although paid wet-nurses do appear to have been common enough in the lower strata of society, the parents in my sources had the means to provide their children with wet-nurses from amongst their slaves.[33]

Quite strikingly the role of the wet-nurse is not particularly emphasised in the late antique sources. The only references to an instantly recognisable use of a wet-nurse comes from the *Confessions* of Augustine where he writes of his own childhood, stating that in fact he had several wet-nurses to feed him, and that his mother Monica also suckled him herself.[34] Augustine of course was male, but although this might have enhanced both the likelihood of employing several nurses and particularly the decision of his mother to feed him herself, this need not have been the case here. Throughout the *Confessions* of Augustine Monica is represented as an ideal mother, which would also include her breastfeeding her own child. In Augustine's narrative discourse she was the person who always tried to lead him towards the right path of life.[35]

A household in which there would have been both slave and free suckling, and the probable employment of professional nurses to supplement the work contribution of biological slave-mothers, would have needed several nurses just for biological necessities. Also, according to ancient medicine it was advisable to give the child milk from several different sources to avoid causing the child the trauma of losing the only milk to which he/she was accustomed in the case of the nurse's death.[36] Moreover, the use of several wet-nurses somewhat mitigates the idea of the importance of a particular wet-nurse in the growth process of a child. The wet-nurse was essential in keeping the child alive for the first part of her life, but later on there

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29 It is important to note that the use of nurses was routinely denounced also by classical authors. Traditional virtue was associated with greater maternal involvement in the early years of a child's life, and the milk, the morals and the Latin of the common run of nurse were suspect. Dixon 1988, 120-8.

30 One good example is Monica, the mother of Augustine, and the idealistic picture he gives of her. See below.

31 Clark 1994, 10-1.

32 Bradley 1991, 13-22; Rawson 2003, 122.

33 Bradley 1991, 24-5.

34 Aug. *Conf.* 1, 6. [...]*nec mater mea vel nutrices meae sibi ubera implebant*[...]

35 According to Elizabeth A. Clark, Monica in the *Confessions* plays the double role of ideal wife, the servant of her husband (*ancilla domini*) and the faithful servant of God (*ancilla Domini*). Clark 1999, 14-5.

36 Sor. *Gyn*. 2, 18; Rawson 2003, 122.

were other people in the nursery who took the main responsibility for bringing up and socialising the child. This is not to say that emotional bonds were not already forming in earliest childhood however, they just do not feature in the sources.

Perhaps in the wealthy senatorial households the parents would have chosen to employ a nurse even for a single child, but the lack of any evidence in the sources makes it hard to say anything with certainty. The children themselves were probably too young to remember personally anything of their earliest childhood, but the role of family-stories in this respect needs to be taken into consideration. Romans considered the wet-nurse a very important person for the development of small children and thus the people who later were in contact with the child would very probably have been made her aware of who had been her wet-nurse. One more possibility also needs to be considered before moving on. How probable it was that wet-nurses continued in another role after the suckling-phase? Did the nurse of an elite girl turn into a supervisor and in some cases into a teacher as Keith Bradley has suggested?[37]

In the case of Monica's own childhood, as told by Augustine, the real figure of authority is an older nurse. She is represented as an exemplary servant, greatly responsible for the way Monica eventually turned out as an adult woman and mother. Augustine writes that this same nurse had carried the father of Monica on her back when he was a child as the bigger servant girls commonly do with smaller children.[38] So this servant was certainly older than Monica's father. Due to the fact that Roman men married rather later than Roman women, she probably was not her wet-nurse, but this cannot be entirely ruled out.[39] Although she might well have been a wet-nurse for some older siblings of Monica, there is no mention of this or of her having any children of her own. Augustine calls her a decrepit servant (*famula decrepita*), which is perhaps the best proof of her advanced age. By the time of Monica's childhood however, this servant was appointed to oversee the education of all the daughters of the household, a task she seems to have performed well. In none of the cases however, are there references clear enough to say anything with certainty about the 'progress' of wet-nurses to different roles in the later life of a girl. However, this might well be just because the use of a wet-nurse for child minding was self-evident in wealthy senatorial circles. The senatorial families would indeed have had the means to provide each of their children with personal nurses who would stay with them after weaning, and even into their adult lives, but the sources lack evidence of this actually happening.

The nurse of Monica and her sisters seems to have had a profound influence on their lives. Augustine writes that his mother actually had more to say about the education she received from her than about what her own mother's contribution.[40] This nurse was the real figure of authority in the early lives of these girls. Augustine concentrates especially on the way she tried to prevent them from falling to the bad habit of drinking. It seems that the girls were regularly present at their parents' table, although eating many of their meals with this old servant. When the girls were not at their parents' table, she did not allow them to have even water to drink, justifying this by saying that when in later life they would have their own stores, they would not be able to contain their thirst. So even though the girls seem to have had regular interaction with their parents, a significant part of their time and their meals were spent with this aged servant.[41]

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37 Bradley 1991, 25-7 lists several examples from classical Roman literature of nurses continuing as nannies and chaperones.

38 Aug. *Conf*. 9, 8. [...]*quae patrem eius infantem portaverat, sicut dorso grandiuscularum puellarum parvuli portari solent*.

39 Shaw 1987, 30-46, esp. 43-4.

40 Aug. *Conf*. 9, 8. *Nec tantam erga suam disciplinam diligentiam matris praedicabat, quantam famulae cuiusdam decrepitae*[...]

41 Ibid. *Nam eas praeter illas horas, quibus ad mensam parentum moderatissime alebantur, etiamsi exardescerent siti, nec aquam bibere sinebat, praecavens consuetudinem malam*[...] A good point of comparison can be found in Hier. *Epist*. 107, 8. where Jerome writes that Paula the Younger should not be allowed to eat her food in public, that is as her parents' *convivio*. For Jerome the biggest problems posed by these feasts are the drinking of wine at these occasions, and the possibility of seeing dishes that she will

In his letter on the education of Paula the Younger Jerome gives advice on what kind of nurse would best aid in the process of training the little girl as a Christian virgin. Jerome recommends that the nurse should not be a drunkard, nor wanton or fond of gossip.[42] In Paula's case for a large part the training meant the exclusion from her view of the bad things of life, so the choice of a nurse should support this. The advice Jerome gives is based on Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria,* written some three hundred years earlier, but there are interesting differences. Quintilian's advice was originally meant for male education, but Jerome has adapted it for the benefit of a female Christian virgin. In regard to the role of a nurse, the difference is particularly interesting. Quintilian's original text lays the greatest emphasis on the role of the nurse as the teacher of early speech. According to him, the nurse is the first person the little child hears and it is her words he starts to imitate.[43] Jerome on the other hand transfers this part of learning both to the teacher and also to the kind but linguistically wrong words of women (*blanditiis feminarum*).[44] In this respect Jerome is not bringing the nurse to the fore, compared to the other women surrounding the child. It might be that the habits of childcare had changed, since Jerome certainly was close to the family of Paula the Elder and he probably would also have known of these more intimate matters concerning this particular family. More likely however, is that Jerome considered the nurse to be somewhat insignificant when compared to the male teachers and elderly virgins, from whom Paula the Younger was to learn what she needed in her new life. Because she was to become a Christian virgin, the influence of a nurse in her early socialisation was to be reduced in favour of the (Christian) teachers, who most likely would enter her life at a very early stage.

So the childcare in a Roman elite family, as represented in these texts, was fairly specialised. There seems to have been several wet-nurses to ensure that all the children were fed. In the family of Monica's father it seems that there was a clear distinction between an elderly dry-nurse who was in charge of all the girls of the household and the younger wet-nurses who were needed only for the period of breastfeeding. In the richest families though, the parents could well have given each of their children their individual nurses, who would have remained with her for her entire childhood and even beyond that. Unfortunately there is no evidence for this. Whether or not the wet-nurse was in some cases the same person as the nurse mentioned in the later life of a Roman elite girl, the really important phase of her influence began only as the child progressed from a suckling, into a more active phase of childhood. For the child's own experience, the continuity of this relationship certainly would have been important. This was the age the girl could personally remember in her later life.

Another female figure connected to early childcare in these texts is the bearer (*gerula*). Though somewhat nebulous, she is represented as an assistant of the nurse and her prime responsibility might well have been, as the term suggests, to carry the young child. The letters of Jerome contain several instances where the female bearer is mentioned, and in all of these she is referred to in immediate connection with the child. In the instructions on the education of Paula the Younger she is briefly mentioned after the nurse. The only advice Jerome gives in this long letter for choosing a *gerula* is that she should be modest.[45] There is more

later crave. An example of personal servants eating at a different table from their mistress can be found in Hier. *Epist*. 22, 29, where Jerome advises the virgin Eustochium to let the servants who share her asceticism also the share her table.

42 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. *Nutrix ipsa non sit temulenta, non lasciva, non garrula*[...]

43 Quint. *Inst*. *orat*. 1, 1, 4-5.

44 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. [...]*ne ineptis blanditiis feminarum dimidiata dicere filiam verba consuescas*[...] Laes 2011, 75 has a good summary on the role of *aniles fabellae*, or old wives tails in the Roman moral upbringing does. According to him, most ancient authors associate fables with childhood and immaturity (as Jerome, see: Hier. *Epist*. 128, 1), but several of them, including Strabo, Ausonius, Horace and Tibullus, could also recognise their merits. See also Massaro 1977, 104-35.

45 Ibid. [...]*habeat modestam gerulam*[...].

however. In a later letter to Gaudentius - who probably was also a member of the Roman senatorial elite - on the education of his daughter, in passing Jerome laments that the baby girl is still far more moved by the facial expressions of her bearer than the understanding of the prophets.[46] Another example can be found in a letter of Jerome to Furia, a relative of Paula the Elder, who turned to him for advice when she had lost her husband and her father wanted to marry her again. Here Jerome tells her to beware nurses and bearers and other drunken creatures of their kind.[47] While none of these examples gives a lot of information of her role in practice, they do establish that she was one of the important people in the early life of a child. Although Jerome wrote about *gerulae* in a rather satirical tone to ridicule the influence of the servants and accusing them of greed, the last example does hint that she, together with the nurse, could have influenced even the decision-making of an adult Roman matron.

Another instance of the possible use of a *gerula* in connection with the child, although a male one, is the already discussed case of the nurse of Monica, the mother of Augustine. When this nurse was a young girl, she carried the father of Monica on her back, as servant girls often did with smaller children.[48] This early relationship with the later master of the house earned her his trust and later on meant that she was to become the nurse of all his daughters. This example also indicates that the *gerula* would probably have been younger than the proper nurse, and that she could well have been a sort of a nurse in training. The younger age of a *gerula* in comparison to that of the nurse might also be detected in a letter of Jerome to Heliodorus, a fellow monk and his friend, who had decided to abandon his ascetic calling and return to his native Aquileia to take on what, in Jerome's eyes, were worldly responsibilities as a priest. As Jerome is chastising him for his decision he also mentions a *gerula*, already an old woman asking him to bury her soon when the time comes.[49] In this passage, Jerome goes through almost every servant in connection with a child, mentioning the *vernae*, a *gerula*, a *nutricius*, a *mamma* and the *grammatici*. However, the nurse is missing from this list. This could well be because Jerome has just substituted *mamma* for *nutrix*, but if there was a division of labour between an elderly nurse and a younger wet-nurse, the elder of these servants would have already died by the time Heliodorus was thinking of returning home from the desert. Of course, at best this is only speculative. What is more interesting however, is the striking importance Jerome attaches to these servants. Albeit in a satirical tone, in this letter he has decided to include them right beside the parents and siblings of Heliodorus as his earthly family, and contrasts their role in favour of the spiritual family he is in danger of abandoning.

In addition to the female servants so often thought to belong to the sphere of childcare, the late-Roman nursery seems to have included certain male ones as well. As in the example of Heliodorus, Jerome sometimes mentions male *nutricii* also in connection with female children. This is curious, as his model for his letters on female education was Quintilian, who does not mention them at all. In his letter on the education of Paula the Younger he writes that her *nutricius* should be a serious man.[50] Even though this reference hardly throws any real light on the subject, it indicates that a male *nutricius*[51] could have been included in

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46 Hier. *Epist*. 128, 1. *Audiat profunda apostoli, quae anilibus magis fabulis delectatur? Prophetarum* αἰνίγματα *sentiat, quam tristior gerulae vultus exagitat? Evangeli intellegat maiestatem, ad cuius fulgura omnis mortalium hebebatur sensus*?

47 Hier. *Epist*. 54, 5. *Cave nutrices et gerulas et istius modi vinosa animalia, quae de corio tuo saturare ventrem suum cupiunt*.

48 Aug. *Conf*. 9, 8. [...]*quae patrem eius infantem portaverat, sicut dorso grandiuscularum puellarum parvuli portari solent*.

49 Hier. *Epist*. 14, 3. *Nunc et gerula quondam, iam anus, et nutricius*[...] *clamitat: "Morituros expecta paulisper et sepeli."*

50 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. [...] *habeat* [...] *nutricium gravem*.

51 Keith Bradley writes that *nutricius* should not be understood as a foster-father raising the child separated from the biological parents. Instead, the biological father seems to have had a certain role in the upbringing of his children and some closeness to the children is apparent. Moreover, he writes, that *nutritor* rather should be understood as a male nurse and goes on to consider the epi-

the staff caring for a little girl. Also the use of *gravis* in this connection is important. This rather masculine adjective is exactly what Jerome seems to want Paula to develop, and the *nutricius* seems to have an important part in this. In his later letter to Gaudentius he aims to omit the male influence from his daughter's life completely and to diminish the influence of the secular servants, emphasising the role of the mother. In this instance he even changes all the teachers of young Pacatula into the feminine form.[52] So in the light of the sources a Roman nursery was not necessarily an all-female space.[53] Although in his letter on the education of Pacatula Jerome makes it one, this is only because of his intention of raising the little girl with an absolute absence of any male influence.

One important aspect in the structure of the nursing staff was the hierarchy based on age and experience. The family of Monica is the best example of this. The old nurse had been involved with childcare over several generations and earned the respect and trust of Monica's father. Younger than her were the wet-nurses whose main task was to feed the children when they were young, but who, in this case, seem to have disappeared to their other duties after the children were weaned. Also some younger slave girls and women were involved in childcare. These were very probably the ones Jerome refers to as *gerulae*. In addition to some physical labour like carrying the young child, their tasks seem to have included keeping the children company and playing with them, like the nurse of Monica had done with her father in his childhood. They too could have formed a strong bond with the children, and in some cases followed them into their new lives after they married.

The importance of childhood servants in later female life is well documented in the sources.[54] Jerome gives them the role of (bad) advisors, especially in connection with young widows. In his letter to Furia he seems to make them as important as her own father when it comes to the likelihood of listening to their advice.[55] Moreover, in his treatise against Jovinian he cites the lost *de nuptiis* of Theophrastus giving it a somewhat Roman tone as Susan Treggiari writes.[56] Speaking of the problems a married man faces, he states among other things, that he is forced to show respect to his wife's nurse, her *gerula* and many more of her personal servants.[57] The slaves closest to a Roman woman in her childhood seem to have quite commonly followed her on her marriage as a part of the dowry.[58] Their special relationship and their loyalty to her could have given them an elevated status, to the dissatisfaction of her husband, much in the way Jerome somewhat satirically describes in his letters.

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graphic material that seems to point to the direction of *nutrix* and *nutritor* functioning together like a family in many cases. Bradley 1991, 49-51.

52 Hier. *Epist*. 128, 4. *Sexus femineus suo iungatur sexui* [...] *Matris nutum pro verbis ac monitum pro imperio habeat. Amet ut parentem, subiciatur ut dominae, timeat ut magistram.* [...] *Sit ei magistra comes,* paedagoga custos [...] The servile teacher seems to be one person.

53 Keith Bradley has studied the role of *nutricii* in epigraphic material from Rome and in the earlier Roman literature. He quotes several examples and concludes that the use of *nutricii* was not reserved just to the upper classes. Instead the *nutricii*, *paedagogi* and *educatores* were also used by elite families in connection with the slave-children in the household, and their use was emulated by sub-elite free people. Bradley 1991, 37-64.

54 On these relationships in earlier Roman history see also Harlow – Laurence 2002, 44-6.

55 Hier. *Epist*. 54, 5. See note 32.

56 Treggiari 1991, 192.

57 Hier. *Adv*. *Iovin*. 1, 47. [...] *honoranda nutrix eius, et gerula, servus patrinus, et alumnus, et formosus assecla, et procurator calamistratus, et in longam securamque libidinem exsectus spado: sub quibus nominibus adulteria delitescunt*.

58 Treggiari 1991, 349.

**Teachers**

Because of the nature of most of the sources concentrating on the asceticism of these women a great part of the female education goes unnoticed and we need to rely on what they seem to have known or been able to do in their adult lives. The process of learning these skills in most cases can only be the subject of speculation. However, the Late Antique sources do have a lot of references to early female education, and this in itself can be considered an important break from the classical tradition. As Beryl Rawson states, referring to the classical period, most of the evidence for the education and training of girls has had to be induced, because of the lack of direct attestation or focus on girls' intellectual and professional skills. Moreover, as reason for this she gives the traditionalism of the Roman society.[59] Against this background the novel interest of some Christian writers of the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries in the world of women and feminine training was all the more striking.[60]

The most important servant, and probably also the most important person in early education and socialisation of a child would have been her nurse. She was the person who spent most time with the child, and from her the child would learn e.g. her language, as Quintilian warned,[61] and much of her conduct and knowledge of the world as well, as Jerome feared.[62] Unlike the boys who got much of their education outside the household from quite early on, the girls, especially below the senatorial elite, were attached to their nurses for most of their childhood. The nurse of Monica, the mother of Augustine, is a good example of this. However, we do not know whether she had any other type of education. Augustine decided to include in his discourse only the education their nurse gave her and her sisters, and this education was mostly about the duties and tasks of a matron. Patricia Clark has observed that the elderly slave tamed and curbed her youthful charges into the proper mould expected of a Roman matron, transmitting familial and societal values to them.[63] The ability to also withstand the hard married life stood high in Augustine's notion of Christian virtue, and this is what he shows the elderly servant teaching them.

One of the most revered female household skills in the ancient world was the ability to make cloth. The early Christian authors also thought this task to be appropriate for the young girls to learn. They seem to have used the old Roman exemplary womanhood as a model for exemplary Christianity. However, in the context of this article it is more interesting to learn from whom they learnt this skill. Jerome urged the mother of Paula the Younger to ensure her daughter was taught to make cloth and learn all the phases from wool to the finished product.[64] In this case there is no mention of who would teach her, but in the letter to Pacatula Jerome states clearly that it is the responsibility of her teacher, who is both her *magistra* and her *paedagoga*.[65] While by the imperial era the practices of spinning, weaving and making the clothes and textiles for the household might well have become rare in the

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59 Rawson 2003, 207.

60 For example in the well-known case of Cicero and his children, the daughter Tullia's education is hardly mentioned in his correspondence, whereas to his son Marcus's education he refers often. However, it is clear that Tullia did receive a good degree of education, since she was one of his correspondents, read his letters over his shoulder, and shared her assessment of the critical political situation in 49 BCE with him. Späth 2010, 150-1.

61 Quint. *Inst. orat.* 1, 1, 4-5.

62 Hier. *Epist.* 107, 4. *Nutrix ipsa non sit temulenta, non lasciva, non garrula*[...]

63 Clark 1998, 109-29, esp. 114.

64 Hier. *Epist.* 107, 10. *Discat et lanam facere, tenere colum, ponere in gremio calatum, rotare fusum, stamina pollice ducere.*

65 Hier. *Epist.* 128, 4. *Sit ei magistra comes, paedagoga custos non multo vino dedita, non iuxta apostolum otiosa ac verbosa, sed sobria, gravis, lanifica*[...].

lived reality of the Roman elite,[66] it nevertheless maintained its importance in the idealistic literary tradition. Jerome appropriated this old virtue for Christian use, showing the Christian virgins morally better than their secular peers. Unlike the old tradition by which these skills were passed on from mother to daughter, in Jerome's discourse it is the servants who teach these girls. Female servants in any case were responsible for the greater part of a Roman elite household's cloth-production. This could have formed a large part of the household income, though on the senatorial scale this was probably nothing compared to the income produced outside Rome.[67] Like weaving, many more household skills would probably also have been learnt from the servants both by active teaching and by following and imitating their actions, but because of the selection of the Christian writers, they are not represented in the sources.

In the late Republic and early Empire the women of the elite grew up in a stimulating cultural environment, surrounded by poetry, literature and music. Many of them benefitted from the education given to their brothers by learned teachers, and there is also good indication that teachers were occasionally hired just for their benefit.[68] In Late Antique Rome a good degree of education, as well as wealth, was still considered the mark of a senatorial aristocrat.[69] The ability to read and knowledge of the literary tradition were as important in the Christian elite culture as they were with the more traditional Romans. In the texts related to the Christian ascetic movement in Rome however, there was a newfound interest also in female education.

In the profession of a highborn Christian virgin, as seen by Jerome, it was necessary to have a certain amount of knowledge of Christian texts. This in its turn required not only the ability to read Latin, but also a good knowledge of Greek and even, as a speciality of the close circle of women around Jerome, some Hebrew.[70] It seems that many of the women of the highest senatorial nobility still understood Greek in this period. The ease with which the ascetic Roman women travelled in the eastern Mediterranean is a good indication of their ability to use Greek in everyday situations, and especially the learning of Melania the Elder testifies to just how well at least some of them could understand it.[71] Both Melania the Elder and Melania the Younger also seem to have been quite scholarly figures when it comes to their knowledge of the Bible and Christian theology. Gerontius writes that Melania the Younger used to decide every day how much she would read of the canonical scriptures and commentaries, and how much she would write on them. She would write on parchment every day while one of the sisters read to her, and while writing she would notice and correct all the mistakes the sister made.[72] After the departure of Jerome for the Holy Land, Marcella became the foremost proponent of his views in Rome. Her theological learning and underhand behaviour,

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66 Rawson 2003, 197. It is also important to note that Jerome is fighting mostly against luxurious silks and gold fabrics, and this is one of the reasons he wants these elite virgins to make their own white woollen cloth. Hier. *Epist*. 107, 10. *Spernat bombycum telas, serum vellera et aurum in fila lentescens*. *Talia vestimenta paret, quibus pellatur frigus, non quibus corpora vestita nudentur*. Embroidery on the other hand was seemingly still an important part of an ideal matron's occupation in Late Antiquity. For example the epigrams of Decimus Magnus Ausonius, a rhetor and private teacher of Emperor Gratianus, include several that seem to have been meant to be embroidered on cloth by his wife. Auson. *Epig*. 53-5.

67 Larsson Lovén – Strömberg 2010, 52-3. For the importance of cloth production especially for the female slaves in late-Roman economy, see also Harper 2011, 128-35

68 Rawson 2003, 199-209.

69 Lançon 2001, 66-9.

70 Hier. *Epist*. 39, 1.

71 According to Palladius she read 3,000,000 lines of Origen and 2,500,000 lines of Gregory, Stephen, Pierius, Basil and other standard writers. She did not just read these books once, but laboriously went through them seven or eight times. This indicates a certain degree of scholarly learning. Pall. *Hist*. *Laus*. 55, 3. Petersen 1994, 30.

72 *Vita Melaniae Latina* 23.

for a great part, won the Origenist controversy in Rome in Jerome's favour.[73] How were all these skills learned then?

The importance of mothers in teaching their daughters to read in the Late Antique and Early Byzantine period has been emphasised in several studies.[74] However, if we take a look at their role in the texts on upper class education, it seems that they fade into the background somewhat. In the letter of Jerome on the education of Paula the Younger the role of her mother is important, but the actual teacher seems to have been someone else. Jerome recommends that Laeta, the mother of Paula the Younger, should have a set of letters in wood or ivory made for her daughter. She should be told their names and through play, song and regular testing be taught them both by sight as well as sound. When she starts to use the *stilus*, someone should guide her hand by placing a hand on top of hers, or by making tablets where the outlines of letters are carved to keep her from straying of them.[75] So even though the mother is closely involved in the process of elementary education, there is no definite mention of her personally partaking in the teaching.

Another text with information on a young girl learning to read and write is the life of Macrina, written by her brother Gregory of Nyssa. Although it comes from Asia Minor, geographically far distant, it still deals with the same social class, with the same cultural ambitions. Also here the learning process is described only in terms of Macrina's own actions. Her parents chose what she was to study, but there is still no mention of them actually teaching her.[76] One likely explanation for this is the employment of a socially inferior person for elementary education. In all probability the first teacher would have been a learned household slave. It is possible that in both these cases the elementary education, teaching the letters to the little girl, was considered a task for the members of the household, and not necessarily for a paid teacher or a cleric residing in the household. It is also interesting that both Jerome and Gregory gave the early female education so much importance, that the parents, and especially the mother, needed to be closely involved in the education of their daughter.

Professional teachers however, do appear in connection with elite female education quite early on. In his letter on the training of Pacatula Jerome states that the correct age to start studying the Scriptures is seven, when she has learned to blush, knowing what she should not say, and doubting what she should.[77] This is completely in line with the traditional Roman understanding of a child's education.[78] That Jerome uses this tradition in connection with a little girl signifies perhaps that this was nothing unheard of in the earlier Roman elite culture either. Jerome recommends that the teacher chosen for Paula the Younger should be of mature age and whose lifestyle and learning are approved.[79] The advanced age of the teacher could have been for the protection of the young virgin against her sexuality. In another letter written to Iulia Eu-

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73 Hier. *Epist*. 127, 9. Marcella seems even to have circulated false copies of Rufinus' translations of Origen in Rome. Rufin. *Apol*. I.19; Murphy 1945, 131; Clark 1984, 141-3.

74 For example Ashbrook Harvey 1996, 27-56; Kalogeras 2005, 135-8.

75 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. *Fiant ei litterae vel buxeae vel eburnae et suis nominibus appellentur. Ludat in eis, ut et lusus eius eruditio sit, et non solum ordinem teneat litterarum, ut memoria nominum in canticum transeat, sed ipse inter se crebro ordo turbetur et mediis ultima, primis media misceantur, ut eas non sonu tantum, sed et visu noverit. Cum vero coeperit trementi manu stilum in cera ducere, vel alterius superposita manu teneri regantur articuli vel in tabella sculpantur elementa, ut per eosdem sulcos inclusa marginibus trahantur vestigia et foras non queant evagari*. This passage is closely modelled on Quint. *Inst*. *orat*. 1, 1, 24-29.

76 Gr. Nyss. *V*. *Macr*. 3

77 Hier. *Epist*. 128, 4. *Cum autem virgunculam et rudem edentulam septimus aetatis annus exceperit et coeperit erubescere, scire quid taceat, dubitare quid dicat*[...]

78 There is a good discussion on the meaning of age seven both as the end of infancy and the beginning of formal schooling (for boys) in Rawson 2003, 136, 141-2. See also Harlow – Laurence 2002, 37; Laes 2011, 77-99 especially on its background in Greco-Roman philosophy.

79 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. *Magister probae aetatis et vitae atque eruditionis est eligendus*[...]

stochium, the aunt of Paula the Younger, when she was young and had just decided on her ascetic career, Jerome advises her to put her questions to an older man whose age, reputation and earlier life puts him above suspicion.[80] Joan M. Petersen has note that Jerome might be thinking of himself as a suitable teacher for little Paula. After all, his final advice in the letter is for Laeta to send the child to be reared by her grandmother Paula the Elder and her aunt Eustochium in Bethlehem, where they had settled with Jerome, to keep her away from the bad influences of the city of Rome.[81]

The words Jerome uses indicate that female pupils probably were not highly valued by the professional teachers themselves. However, Jerome does not seem to share this view completely. According to him a learned man should not be ashamed to take on the task of educating an aristocratic virgin or, rather enigmatically, one close to him.[82] His preferred man would definitely have been a Christian in any case, as the things the little girl was learning were mostly Biblical verses. The person in charge of following the progress of Paula the Younger in her studies was her mother, who was to prepare a set passage of Scripture every day. Paula was to learn these by heart in Greek and follow by understanding them in Latin as well.[83] So the Greek texts and the language itself were supposed to be learned through repetition, which in an almost bilingual environment of the elite senatorial household, might not have been as difficult as one might think.[84]

The future of these girls as Christian virgins also had its impact on their early training. As seen earlier, this meant that the professional teacher chosen for the child could well have been a priest or a monk involved in the ascetic movement. In Pacatula's case however, Jerome went a step further and wanted the child to grow up completely without male influence. This is even more interesting, since it was the father of the little girl who contacted Jerome for the advice. Jerome recommended using a female companion, who was also a Christian virgin and able to teach Pacatula the skills she was to need in her later life, as well as keeping her well away from all secular influences. This woman also had the added duty to protect the little girl from male influence and especially from contacts with young men. Jerome seems to have feared most that as she grew older Pacatula might lose her chastity and purity, and it was for this protective task that the chaperoning by an older virgin was, in his opinion, most needed.[85]

In the case of Paula the Younger, Jerome goes into some detail explaining the socialising work an older and more experienced virgin is to do with the younger. Her main responsibility is to teach the girl the habits peculiar to the Christian virgin, mainly the hours of prayer and chanting at night. However, most interesting is that Jerome believes this should be done by setting her an example, rather than forcing the nightly vigils on her. He also gives the same advice to her parents, though more to prevent their bad habits contaminating the little girl, but in any case Jerome clearly recognises the importance of imitation in the

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80 Hier. *Epist*. 22, 29. [...]*interroga eum, quem vita commendat, excusat aetas, fama non reprobat*[...]

81 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 13; Petersen 1994, 35.

82 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. [...]*nec, puto, erubescit doctus vir id facere vel in propinqua vel in nobili virgine, quod Aristoteles fecit in Philippi filio, ut ipse librariorum vilitate initia ei traderet litterarum*. The *propinqua* here is probably another reference to Jerome's hoped role as the *magister* of the little girl.

83 Id. 9. *Reddat tibi pensum cotidie scripturarum certum. Ediscat Graecorum versuum numerum.Sequatur statim et Latina eruditio*[...]

84 Marrou 1948, 354. The Roman senators of late antiquity still seem to have had a full understanding of the Greek language. Even Augustine with all his classical education never fully grasped it. However this had a lot to do with the methods his teachers used, beating amongst them. Aug. *Conf*. 1, 14.

85 Hier. *Epist*. 128, 4. *Sit ei magistra comes, paedagoga custos non multo vino dedita, non iuxta apostolum otiosa ac verbosa, sed sobria, gravis, lanifica et ea tantum loquens, quae animum puellarem ad virtutem instituant. Ut autem aqua in areola digitum sequitur praecedentem, ita aetas mollis et tenera in utramque partem flexibilis est et, quocumque duxeris, trahitur. Solent lascivi et comptuli iuvenes blandimentis, affabilitate, munusculis aditum sibi per nutrices ad alumnas quaerere et, cum clementer intraverint, de scintilis incendia concitare paulatimque proficere ad inpudentiam et nequaquam posse prohiberi illo in se versiculo conprobato: 'Aegre reprehendas, quod sinas consuescere.'*

early socialisation of a child. He is also concerned about giving the girl enough variety in her studies. Reading and prayer should follow each other in turns to make the time go faster and prevent her from getting bored with her work. In a way, in Jerome's proposed *curriculum* this older virgin would replace the nurse as the chaperone, as well as the most important behavioural model.[86]

There is a clear difference in the level of education when one compares Monica, the mother of Augustine, and the Roman senatorial women close to Jerome. The purpose of Monica's early education was to make her ready to be a wife of a member of the local elite. It is perhaps significant that the parents of Augustine, and particularly his father, decided to invest significantly in his education. We do not know a lot about his father's level of education, but he definitely had not studied as much as Augustine himself. Monica on the other hand in the *Confessions* is always represented as somewhat unread.[87] So perhaps we could assume that any higher education, beyond learning to read and some basic household economics, in these circles was mainly reserved for boys. Even Augustine himself seems to have benefitted from wealthier patrons, but the commitment of his parents to his education is obvious. The wealthy senators on the other hand, were able to employ specialists for the training of their children and it seems that for them it was also more important to give their daughters a good degree of education. Although the young girls discussed by Jerome in detail were mostly to become Christian virgins, it is clear that also the women who had been educated more in line with the Roman tradition had skills showing the signs of higher education. Most of these women definitely knew Greek, and in his letters to them Jerome constantly quotes long tracts both from classical and Christian literature, clearly assuming that they would also be recognised.

In this sense, the ideal of *matrona docta*, as put forward by Emily Hemelrijk, was very much a part of the reality in the late Roman senatorial elite.[88] Although as proposed by Jerome, the *curriculum* of a Christian virgin in itself was definitely different from the classical model, it still shows the commitment of these highborn families in the education of their daughters. The employment of private teachers for these young girls is in no way represented as something special or unique. It is only the Christian emphasis on the things taught that makes the difference. Jerome follows the guidelines set by Quintilian closely, but instead of just copying them, he gives them new emphasis and in the process also successfully employs them for female training. The letters to Paula the Younger and Pacatula may be said to be just educational fantasies in the sense that the appliance of his advice in practice is naturally only speculative,[89] but the effort he puts into giving this advice is in itself significant, as well as the fact that the parents asked him for his advice, and thus considered their daughters' education important enough to consult Jerome.

**Peer Culture – a threat or a possibility in education?**

The final part of this article discusses the evidence these texts give of peer culture in the late Roman elite household. In Roman elite families the number of living children is generally perceived to have been rather

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86 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 9. *Nihil in te et in patre suo videat, quod si fecerit, peccet.* [...] *Praeponatur ei probae fidei et morum ac pudicitiae virgo veterana, quae illam doceat et adsuescat exemplo ad orationem et psalmos nocte consurgere, mane hymnos canere, tertia, sexta, nona hora quasi bellatricem Christi stare in acie accensaque lucernula reddere sacrificium vespertinum.* [...] *Orationi lectio, lectioni succedat oratio. Breve videbitur tempus, quod tantis operum varietatibus occupatur*.

87 For the different rhetorical functions of Monica in the works of Augustine, see: Clark 1999, 14-21.

88 According to her, the education of a female member of the elite was important both for her role in raising the children of the elite family, as well as for her part in the social activities of her husband and constructing the family's role in society in general. Hemelrijk 1999, 59-75.

89 Clark 1994, 20.

small. Infant mortality was high, and because of this the age gap between siblings would often have been wide.[90] Although in the Late Antique families under scrutiny here we can also see evidence to the contrary: the four daughters of Paula the Elder were close in age and Monica had several sisters at the same phase in life: unfortunately there is not enough to say anything about the relations between siblings in childhood other than some casual remarks. Augustine writes that his mother and her sisters trained under the same nurse and Jerome in his letter to Eustochium presents her own sister Blesilla as an example of problems caused by marriage.[91] Both of these indicate the existence of a relationship between siblings, but unfortunately we lack any further evidence. Jerome's letters, like the *Confessions* of Augustine, reveal nothing of the potential closeness in the relations between siblings. It was not the biological, but the new Christian family in which the ascetically minded writers, and Jerome in particular, were most interested.

However, one group of probable relations between age peers is very much in evidence in these texts. That is the younger servants surrounding these elite girls. Some of the serving staff were probably very close to elite children in any case, but with the Christian ascetic virgins these relations become more visible because of the avoidance of normal contacts between aristocratic girls of approximately same age. Even without these contacts with their class peers, the problem of worldly influence existed between girls and their servants, and this is the main reason why they feature so frequently in the writings of Jerome. His willingness to recruit for his train of ascetics among these lesser girls is also apparent and can explain part of his interest in them.

As we know from Augustine, already in the nursery phase Roman children could be forming lasting bonds with the younger servants. The example of Monica's father and his *gerula*, who later became her nurse, is a revealing one. It shows the continuation of a link between a master and a servant, possibly quite close in age, through the childhood into old age. It also reveals the mutual trust already formed at an early age and its consequence as both became adults. Of course the slave hardly had any choice in the matter, but the decision to give the care and education of one's children into the hands of someone else is a clear sign of trust.[92]

Another example, also from Augustine, is the slave girl who went with Monica to fetch wine for the table of her parents. Monica's parents considered their little daughter trustworthy enough to be allowed to go into the storerooms unattended by her nurse. This in itself can be considered an important part of her training, as gradually giving her more independence in her actions would have socialised her into the adult world. However, even with the training her nurse had given her fresh in her mind, she gradually turned into the habit of drinking some drops of wine every time she filled the flagon. Augustine tells us that at this point the servant girl who was with her, as she usually was, decided to scold her for it. Augustine and Monica seem to have given God credit for this intervention, but what is interesting is the decision of a young servant to scold her little mistress. Moreover, Augustine states that the two girls quarrelled in the storeroom and that this was why she decided to call her mistress a drunkard (*meribibula*). The servant's action was based on her wanting to provoke Monica, not to correct her behaviour, and she did this in the storeroom either because

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90 For example Rawson 1991, 22. She writes that the reasons for lack of older siblings in particular were high child mortality, the young age at marriage for girls and the tendency of young men to go away on military (or civil) service or to their independent establishments. It is interesting to compare for example the rather high child mortality in the contemporary family of Ausonius as portrayed in *Parentalia* to the Roman families in this study. See also Saller 1994, 43-69 for some simulated statistical data on the probability of living siblings in Roman Antiquity and Joska above for the Antonine imperial family.

91 Aug. *Conf*. 9, 8. [...]*unde etiam curam dominicarum filiarum conmissam diligentur gerebat*[...]; Hier. *Epist*. 22, 15. [...]*cum soror tua Blesilla aetate maior, sed proposito minor, post acceptum maritum septimo mense viduata est. O infelix humana condicio et futuri nescia! Et virginitatis coronam et nuptiarum perdidit voluptatem*.

92 Aug. *Conf*. 9, 8.

they just happened to be there, or because she was afraid of being punished because she had not mentioned the matter earlier.[93]

Alone in the storerooms the two girls apparently were more equal than under the watchful eye of Monica's parents, and her nurse in particular. It also needs to be remembered that a slave who rose against her mistress in front of other people of the household would surely have risked being punished for it. Although it is not told in the narrative of Augustine, there must also have been a reason for the servant to be angry with her mistress. In the presence of other people of the household the argument could only have been one-sided, but their solitude in the storeroom and Monica's wrong and forbidden behaviour gave her the possibility of fighting back without the risk of being reported. Even though the narrative leaves out much of the detail of the relationship between these two girls, it has a lot to say about the possibilities for peer culture between a mistress and a slave. In this story it is the adults who force the norms of elite society on them: out of their presence the girls have the possibility to interact on a more equal level. We do not know whether the slave in this narrative was a general servant in the household or a personal attendant of Monica. In any case, her task in this instance was one befitting a younger girl - helping her young mistress fetch wine and quite possibly also ending up carrying the full flagon to her mistress's parents. Their chance to be peers on this occasion is related mostly to the task at hand. In the rich Roman senatorial households however, we encounter a different type of young servant in connection with the female child.

The senatorial girls seem to have had their own personal staff of servants, in whose composition they were also able to have a say. Although the letters of Jerome to his young female students cannot be said to represent reality as such, nevertheless they portray his expectations that these aristocratic girls would be attended by a group of their age peers. Paula the Younger, on whose proposed education he gives a far more detailed description, is to have companions in her lectures,[94] be followed by young female attendants and moreover she is expected to choose as her companion a serious, pale and rather melancholic girl, as opposed to the pretty and graceful girls with a sweet singing voice her secular peers could have chosen.[95] In his letter to Iulia Eustochium on how to be a proper Christian virgin, Jerome writes about what she should do if her female attendants wish to join her in her calling. So he seems to have expected at least some of them to follow their mistress even in her new life, although this could in some cases only be to escape from the servitude, as he warns.[96]

Who were these companions in Paula the Younger's lectures Jerome had in mind? Of course there is the possibility that he meant the other young ascetic girls in Rome, but it seems that for him, in light of his council to Eustochium, it did not really matter from which social strata his virgins came. The most important

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93 Ibid. *Ancilla enim, cum qua solebat accedere ad cupam, litigans cum domina minore, ut fit, sola cum sola, obiecit hoc crimen amarissima insultatione, vocans meribibulam. Quo illa stimulo percussa respexit foeditatem suam, confestimque damnavit atque exuit. Sicut amici adulantes pervertunt, sic inimici litigantes plerumque corrigunt. Nec tu quod per eos agis, sed quod ipsi voluerunt, retribuis eis. Illa enim irata exagitare appetivit minorem dominam, non sanare, et ideo clanculo, aut quia ita eas invenerat locus et tempus litis, aut ne forte et ipsa periclitaretur, quod tam sero prodidisset*.

94 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 4. *Habeat in discendo socias, quibus invideat, quarum laudibus mordeatur. Non est obiurganda, si tardior sit, sed laudibus excitandum ingenium; et vicisse se gaudeat et victam doleat*. This passage is originally from Quintilian (Quint. *Inst. orat*. 1, 2, 1-29.), but there is no question of its benefits girls as well as boys. Interestingly Jerome has nothing against introducing companions as such. He just warns against them spreading information of the world to Paula. Ibid. [...] *ipsae puellae et pedisequae a saecularium consortiis arceantur, ne quod male didicerint, peius doceant*.

95 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 9. *Placeat ei comes non compta atque formonsa, quae liquido gutture carmen dulce moduletur, sed gravis, pallens, sordidata, subtristis*.

96 Hier. *Epist*. 22, 29. *Si quae ancillae sunt comites propositi tui, ne erigaris adversus eas, ne infleris ut domina. Unum sponsum habere coepistis, simul psallitis Christo, simul corpus accipitis, cur mensa diversa sit?* [...] *Si qua simulat fugiens servitutem, huic aperte apostolum lege: Melius est enim nubere quam uri*.

thing however, was the education they had and the ensuing knowledge of Christian theology. In this sense it is plausible that the servants closest to the little girl, who were to have no knowledge of the world,[97] would also have accompanied her in her lectures. Moreover it must be remembered that the servants closest to little girls would probably have benefitted from their training, also in a secular household. The Roman elite were in constant need for educated slaves, both for their skills in running the household and for quite simply because they were pleasanter company. Also in purely economic terms the value of an educated slave was bound to be much higher.[98]

That some slaves definitely followed their mistresses in their religious calling can be verified by the letter Jerome wrote Eustochium after the death of her mother, praising the virtues of Paula the Elder. Among other things he states that Paula did not let the virgins of high status share the same dwellings with their former servants for fear of them turning back to their common memories of their lives before embracing asceticism.[99] This also establishes that the highborn girls were expected to bring along and have servants when they joined the monastic community Paula and Eustochium founded in Bethlehem.

There is also evidence that in the absence of children of similar status and age, the elite ascetic girls were in danger of forming similar ties with their servants, a danger to which Jerome was sensitive. In his letter on the upbringing of Paula the Younger Jerome states the importance of choosing the right companions for the little girl. She should not be allowed to choose favourites among her maidservants (*ancillulis suis*) to whisper secrets into their ears. Instead all her maids should know what she says to one of them.[100] However, the Christians were not the only ones who demanded chastity of their daughters. This was an old virtue, also for the traditional Roman elite. So this type of ties in all probability can be considered fairly normal if we remember that in childhood aristocratic girls, even normally, led rather secluded lives inside the houses of their parents.[101]

**Conclusions**

The servants were present at all stages of the upbringing and education of an elite female child. Although one should avoid making judgements on this issue, some of them, like the members of the nursing staff, may well have become more important to the child than her own parents. In Augustine's narrative of his mother Monica for example, the nurse is the person she remembered as giving her advice, socialising and educating her. The parents were the ones who made the decision to give the education of their daughters into the hands of their servants however, and they seem to have trusted that the outcome of this process would fulfil their expectations. In this sense, for example the regular meals together can have served as possible occasions of

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97 Hier. Epist. 107, 4. [...]*ipsae puellae et pedisequae a saecularium consortiis arceantur, ne quod mali didicerint, peius doceant*.

98 For specialised slaves and their different tasks in the late-Roman household, see: Harper 2011, 100-43. For their role in the "culture industry" esp. 113-7.

99 Hier. *Epist*. 108, 20. *Si qua erat nobilis, non permittebatur de domo sua habere comitem, ne veterum actuum memor et lascivientis infantiae errorem refficaret antiquum et crebra confabulatione renovaret*.

100 Hier. *Epist*. 107, 9. *Nolo de ancillulis suis aliquam plus diligat, cuius crebro auribus insusurret. Quicquid uni loquitur, hoc omnes sciant*.

101 Roman girls did have a part to play in public rituals. Also it seems to have been common for their mothers to invite their female friends over and their fathers to have their peers and clients to visit. It is not always clear however if unmarried girls were present when there were outsiders in the household. In Late Antiquity particularly Jerome comments on the way his young female protégés had paraded through the streets accompanied by processions of eunuchs before they had turned ascetic. This however, tells more about the need to protect these girls than about their un-Christian pride as Jerome believes. Mustakallio 2013, 20-3; Hier. *Epist*. 66, 13.

supervising the process of education, and it needs to be recognised that the parents rarely seem to have been far from their children.

It seems that the girls of the Roman elite were expected to spend most of their life inside the household. Although the reality might in some cases prove very different indeed - consider for example the journey of Paula the Elder through Egypt to the Holy Land - the training Roman elite girls received was for their future duties as matrons. The slaves and servants most in contact with these girls seem to have followed their mistress into her adult life as a wife in the new household formed with the family of her husband, and in the rather special case of Christian asceticism also into the profession of a virgin. The fact that the young women in this study were Christians and that many of them were trained with their future asceticism in mind, makes it hard to point out the difference Christianity made into their rearing and the role of servants in it. What is clear is that the parents of these girls used wet-nurses, dry-nurses and all the other household childminders for some period even with these girls, and only later with the start of home-schooling replaced them with Christian teachers. It seems equally clear that normally the female members of the senatorial elite in Late Antiquity still received extensive education from private teachers.

The letters of Jerome quite naturally portray less personal attachment to servants because they are meant to be fairly general advisory texts on Christian education. Only the letter to Iulia Eustochium on the virgin's profession[102] gives a more detailed description on the connections a young female member of the Roman elite was to have with her personal servants. The way Jerome writes about the servants' willingness to follow their mistress into her new life gives a hint of expectations that this could well happen. However, Jerome, perhaps because of the longstanding distrust of the Roman elite towards their slaves, proceeds to undermine these ties by bringing forward his suspicion that they would choose virginity only to escape from slavery. The importance of the servants in early life of a Roman child is clearly noted by Jerome. In this he follows in the footsteps of Quintilian and also the general trend of moralising classical authors who were suspicious of the influences a childhood spent with slaves would have on a child.

Even with his general lack of trust in servants, it is interesting to note how Jerome in his letters on elite childrearing never calls the role of servants into question. This is even more striking if we take a look at the contemporary eastern ideas of John Chrysostom who was also addressing the elite. According to him, the parents were responsible for the sins of their children. The very salvation of their souls depended on their success in educating their children to become Christians and live in accordance with Christian morality.[103] The success of the education of Paula the Younger or Pacatula, to Jerome's way of thinking, did have a connection with the salvation of their parents and in the case of Paula the Younger even with the continuity of the family, in the way of making it more probable for her parents to have more children in the future. However, the way Chrysostom urges the parents to take personal responsibility in rearing and educating their own children for the most part is lacking in Jerome, and it must be stated that even Chrysostom took the presence of servants in the elite children's lives for granted. Jerome, on the other hand, still advocates the use of servants, but especially after the first years of childhood spent in the nursery, he replaces most of them with the Christian women from whom the little girls are to learn their profession, or even with Christian male teachers in the case of Paula the Younger. So it can be stated that Jerome conforms to the Christian ideals in the elite way of upbringing and that in this the social norms of the Roman senatorial elite seem to have the upper hand. Thus when writing to the Christian members of this group the ecclesiastical writers did not question the role of slaves or servants in itself, nor did they recommend that mothers take care of their

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102 Hier. *Epist*. 22.

103 Bakke 2006, 145-63, esp. 153-7.

daughters personally. Instead, they advocated the use of Christian teachers for these little girls to socialise them for their future role as ascetics. The use of non-family members of the household for child-minding among the Roman elite seems to have been embedded very deeply indeed.

From the modern viewpoint it can be pointed out that the use of slaves for the nursing and upbringing of children evidently did cause some problems, and it could even have been an underlying cause for the high child mortality in the ancient world.[104] However, the servants were also essential for the very survival of the child. For the girls some of the closer servants were also an important part of continuity after marriage and the formation of a new family unit. It must be stated that for the child's own experience the use of servants was not necessarily a negative thing. In fact, their presence may well have played a part in enriching the childhood-experience. When writing about how he learned the Latin language, Augustine really gives us something to think about. According to his *Confessions*, he learned Latin from the affectionate words of his nurse, the jokes of those who laughed at him and the joy with those who played with him.[105] Though his parents and siblings were probably also included among these people, the majority must have been from amongst the servants of the household and of all these the nurse is mentioned first. In an uncertain world of high mortality rates the large number and variety of people bringing up a child and featuring in his/her life also brought safety and continuity in the face of the death of people close to the child. In the elite family the rich set of influences combined with stable relations with certain servants can be said to have formed the entire world of the growing child.

104 Garnsey 1991, 65; Harlow – Laurence 2002, 41-2; Laes 2011, 71-2; Parkin 2010, 113.

105 Aug. *Conf*. 1, 14. *Nam et latina aliquando infans utique nulla noveram, et tamen advertendo didici sine ullo metu atque cruciatu, inter etiam blandimenta nutricium et ioca arridentium et laetitias alludentium*. An interesting comparison can be found in the *Eucharisticus* of Paulinus of Pella, where he states that he learnt Greek from the servants, but seems not to have been fluent in written Greek. Paul. Pell. *Euch*. 77-80. […]*conloquio Graiorum adsuefactus famulorum, quos mihi iam longus ludorum iunxerat usus; unde labor puero, fateor, fuit hic mihi maior, eloquium librorum ignotae apprehendere linguae*.

# Learning by Doing: Pilgrimages as a Means of Socialisation in the Late Middle Ages

Sari Katajala-Peltomaa

Around the year 1310 in Spoleto, central Italy, Neapoleanus was severely ill. For a month this six-year-old boy had suffered from an unbroken fever and during the last fortnight he had scarcely eaten or drunk anything. The doctors were not optimistic when evaluating his condition and his mother, Buta, was desperate. In this situation Neapoleanus' maternal aunt, Margarita, made a vow to a local intercessor, Clare of Montefalco, promising to embark on a barefoot pilgrimage to her shrine with Buta and Neapoleanus if Clare cured the sick boy. While travelling Neapoleanus would walk the length of a stone's throw on his knees. Once at the shrine, they would encircle it with wax.[1]

Pilgrimages were a typical manifestation of lay piety during the Middle Ages. Christians had many reasons to embark on a journey to a sacred sphere and pilgrimages' goals, length and motivation varied greatly. Here the focus is on fairly short-term journeys to the shrine of a local intercessor in exchange for a miracle.[2] The aim of this article is to analyse this kind of ritual performed collectively by parents and other relatives with children. The key element is the socialisation process: how were children socialised into the norms and customs of the family and surrounding community by participating in a pilgrimage, and what were these norms they were supposed to internalise?

## Sources for children's agency

Socialisation can be deemed to be a process during which cultural expectations are passed on to the next generation, a process when social personhood is constructed and negotiated. In the ancient and medieval worlds this transmission of cultural and social customs, skills, knowledge and values, that is, the growth of children into full members of their community, took place mainly in the midst of everyday experiences and social interaction, by learning from examples, rituals and stories, and through trial and error.[3]

Most recent childhood studies have diversified the picture of the life of children and their agency by focusing on children's experiences as they are, and not what their life is supposed to become.[4] Children's socialisation into rituals and practices however, has not aroused keen scholarly interest among medieval-

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1 *'Sancta Clara, virgo benedicta, supplicamus quod reddas nobis istum puerum; et nos promictimus, si hoc feceris, vissitare seppulcrum tuum nudis pedibus et predictum puerum portabimus et veniet per iactum lapidis cum genibus in terra et accingemus ecclesiam tuam cum centura una de cera.' Clare*, testis CXLI, 416-7.

2 Pilgrims and pilgrimages have attracted much scholarly attention and they have been categorised in several ways. According to the motivation of the pilgrim as *Bittpilgerfahrt* to petition a favour and *Dankpilgerfahrt* to offer thanks for the grace gained. Krötzl 1994. On categorisation according to the goal or motivation, see: Sigal 1984, 76-86. On gendered aspects, see: Morrison 2000; Tibbetts Schulenburg 2008, 68-86; Craigh 2009. Thus far children on pilgrimages have aroused less scholarly attention.

3 On socialisation, see: Handel 2006. On children's agency and activity in this process, James – Jenks – Prout 2001; Corsaro – Molinari 2001, 179-200.

4 James – James 2004, 23-7, 37-40; Alanen 1992, 80-90; on the role of religion in the socialisation process, see: Ammerman 2003, 207-24.

ists.[5] There is an obvious explanation for this; medieval sources only rarely enable the study of children's own agency.

In the aforementioned example the course of events was not told by Neapoleanus himself; his actions are seen through the eyes of the adults. However, this case is a narration of lived experience – not ideological propaganda or didactic material. The case of Neapoleanus was recorded in the canonisation hearing of Clare of Montefalco in 1319. Canonisation processes were inquiries into the life, merits and miracles of a candidate for sainthood. A judicial hearing was held before an official proclamation of person's sainthood by the pope, the interrogation being carried out by papal commissioners and sworn witnesses, typically lay Christians, were summoned to testify to their personal miraculous experiences.[6] Eye-witness accounts of religious practices are numerous in this material. Furthermore, children were particularly well represented among the beneficiaries of saintly powers, so their participation can be evaluated by this material.[7] Witnesses had to be of good reputation and of the age of majority, therefore children were not usually interrogated about their own experiences.[8] There are exceptions to this though, as we will see later.

Since canonisation processes were judicial hearings, the requirements of canon law, the questionnaire of the commissioners, as well as the work of the notaries, who, for example, may have shaped the testimonies while translating and recording them, all affected the outcome of the records.[9] However, depositions in a canonisation hearing also belonged to the genre of hagiography. Typical elements in a miracle narration were known by both the commissioners holding the hearing and witnesses testifying to their experiences. Therefore certain components, like the desperate situation before the cure, legitimate invocation, as well as the manifestation of gratitude after the grace gained, were anticipated and are usually found in this material.[10] A vow – a cry for help and a promise of a counter gift – was part of proper miracle and proper narration. However, the particular details, how the saint's help was invoked as well as the content of the offerings were not dictated by the genre or judicial requirements.[11] For example, a joint pilgrimage to the shrine was a typical promise given by a parent while invoking the help of a saint. Yet Margarita's promise to make Neapoleanus walk on his knees was distinctive and unique among the depositions in the canonisation process of Clare of Montefalco. Most likely it was her personal assertion – a negotiation strategy she considered most effective while appealing to Saint Clare for help.

**Travelling together: journey to the sacred sphere**

Pilgrimages were religious rituals: they were a form of religious practice guiding the behaviour of men and women in the interaction with the divine intercessor. They involved formalised, often collective, and repeti-

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5 See however, Katajala-Peltomaa 2011; Katajala-Peltomaa – Vuolanto 2011, 79-99.

6 On canonisation practices, see: Vauchez 1988, 39-67; Krötzl 1998, 119-40; Paciocco 2006. On testimonies of the life of a candidate for sainthood, see, for example, Jussi Hanska's article in this compilation.

7 On canonisation processes as sources for the religious practices and everyday life of the laity, see: Finucane 1995; Krötzl 1994, 27-8; Goodich 1995; Katajala-Peltomaa 2009. On historiography, see: Katajala-Peltomaa 2010, 1083-92. On children particularly, see: Finucane 2000. On children in hagiographic material: Lett 1997.

8 Gender, the age of maturity, as well as good reputation, were important aspects in the process of the validation of witnesses. The mentally ill were forbidden to give testimony and preference was to be given to the wealthy rather than the poor in the selection. Wetzstein 2004, 64-8; on choice of witnesses in canonisation processes, see e.g. Golinelli 2004, 165-80.

9 The notaries took notes at the interrogation and transliterated the whole testimony later. Afterwards the testimonies were read to the witnesses and they could correct their depositions. Notaries were public persons: they had the capacity to produce public judicial documents. See Vauchez 1988, 39-67; Krötzl 1998; Lett 2008.

10 On hagiography as source material and requirements of this genre, see: Clark 2004, 156-85; Lett 2001, 201-16; Lifshitz 1994, 96-113; Klaniczay 2013, 207-24.

11 On methodological aspects in reading canonisation processes, the requirements of hagiographic genre and the amount of personal reminiscences to be found in the depositions, see: Andrić 2000, 228-34; Smoller 1998, 429-54; Mariani 1996, 259-319; Klaniczay 2004, 365-95; Hanska 2001, 121-38.

tive symbolic action.[12] As bodily practices, they were also intimate modes of interaction with the heavenly intercessor. It should be noted though, that in this study it is not possible to examine the actual rituals. We can only analyse the literal forms of them – later narrations of the event or a promise referring to a possible future event found in the depositions.

The essence of the symbolic meaning of the journey to the sacred sphere can be seen to be communication; pilgrimages manifested the devotion and gratitude of the petitioner. In addition to the interaction within the spiritual sphere, pilgrimages also communicated and were evaluated in the social context. The journeys were a way to create collective identity for the pilgrims: by their travel they demonstrated their belonging to this cultic community, to a group of devotees venerating this particular saint. By travelling to the shrine, the pilgrims could also make visible their private roles, like nurturing, that led to the miracle and subsequent pilgrimage.[13]

This article however, concentrates on the messages delivered and analysed within the group of travellers. It is possible that Buta, Margarita and Neapoleanus travelled to the shrine of Saint Clare with other members of the household or with neighbours from Spoleto who were making a pilgrimage to Montefalco as well. It was typical for whole neighbourhoods or large parts of a community to travel to the shrine together – especially on a feast day of a local intercessor. However, we do not know the exact company since only the intention to travel was uttered in the deposition; Buta did not clarify whether the promise was made good and the commissioners did not ask about it. Only Buta's testimony of the case is preserved.[14]

What would Neapoleanus have learned of his grave illness and the shared journey to the shrine during which he had to walk on his knees? The first lesson may have been the need to venerate heavenly intercessors; they had power over nature, the ability to heal and protect. To turn to a saint's help was a traditional and typical way to cope with daily adversity. However, it was a skill that had to be learned; it was a social strategy since saints demanded a counter gift for their help. The proper invocation and negotiation over a suitable votive offering to induce a saint to act was not part of official liturgy or taught by the clergy. These abilities and methods were internalised whilst watching parents and other members of the community cope with daily adversity.

In Neapoleanus' case the mother and maternal aunt seem to have been the ones most interested in caring for him, even if a friend of the family, a knight called Abrunamonte de Spoleto, apparently took interest in Neapoleanus since he also helped to care for him during his illness. This is quite typical: in the Italian urban context, the nurturing role was gendered, and it was normally women who took care of children and the sick. The importance of nurturing to the feminine identity is also seen in the pilgrimages performed with children; in the almost contemporary and geographically close canonisation process of Nicholas of Tolentino, carried out in the cities of the Marches of Ancona in 1325, parents, usually mothers more often took their daughters than their sons to the shrine after the cure. This was undoubtedly a method to socialise the daughters into their future responsibilities as mothers and caregivers.[15]

Obviously boys were not excluded from the sacred sphere: on a general level parents were more eager to invoke a saint's help for their sons than for their daughters. Didier Lett has found that in the hagiographic

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12 On a ritual theory, see: Bell 1992, esp. 13-66; Collins 2004, 9-46; Witthöft 2004; Kreinath – Snoek – Stausberg (eds.) 2006.

13 On various messages of pilgrimages, see: Katajala-Peltomaa 2009; Katajala-Peltomaa 2010, 231-44.

14 Clare of Montefalco's canonisation hearing is preserved only in part and some of the depositions are missing. Therefore we do not know whether Margarita or other witnesses to the case were ever interrogated. For practicalities of this hearing and list of witnesses, see: Menestò in *Clare*, XXI-CIV.

15 The canonisation process of Nicholas of Tolentino is edited by Nicola Occhioni. Occhioni, O.S.A. (ed.) 1984. On gendered practices of pilgrimages in this cultic community, see: Katajala-Peltomaa 2010; Katajala-Peltomaa 2005, 145-55.

material of twelfth and thirteenth centuries two thirds of the child beneficiaries were boys. It is possible that daughters were more independent in the relationship with the Divine; on the other hand, parents may have favoured the well-being of their sons over that of their daughters.[16] One must not exclude the possibility that this imbalance actually represents the choice of the clerics recording the cases: it is plausible that they considered the miraculous recoveries of boys more often worth recording.

In Neapoleanus' case the journey to the neighbouring city, from Spoleto to Montefalco, was not long, only a couple of dozen of kilometres, but the road was mountainous and travelling could have been dangerous, since this was a rather turbulent period and political strife was typical of this area. Therefore, the travel itself could have been seen as an act of penance. The humility was stressed further by the ascetic mode of travelling Neapoleanus was to adopt during the journey. We do not know whether Neapoleanus ever walked on his bare knees and if so, how he felt about it. Was it embarrassing for him since this performance marked him out from the rest of the group; or did he feel special, as the saint's chosen when displaying his gratitude for the grace he had received?

Unfortunately, the source material does not give answers to these questions. Most certainly, the illness and subsequent recovery together with these practices depicted a clear image of Clare's intercessory powers in the mind of this six-year-old boy. Probably these religious rituals taught Neapoleanus something about social relations and hierarchies as well. Apparently, he was from a prosperous family: they had their own house in Spoleto and Buta was called as *domina*, a title referring not only to her marital status but also to her well-to-do social position. The family acquaintances were a knight and other *domini*. However, the elevated social status did not eliminate the need for humbleness before a heavenly intercessor. In the cosmological order saints ruled over other Christians; the relationship between the petitioner and intercessor was hierarchical and the proper order of things needed to be manifest regardless of the social background of the petitioner – humility was essential in the interaction with a saint.

**Rituals at the shrine**

The aim of the ascetic practices during the travel was also to prepare the pilgrims to be in a suitable state of mind when entering the church housing the shrine, the sacred sphere. The interaction with the intercessor did not cease when the journey was over. Margarita also promised that once they had reached the church they would encircle it with wax. Most likely she meant that they would encircle the shrine with a string of wax since to circle the whole church would have been quite expensive and practically impossible. Moreover, promises to encircle the shrine – but not the church – can be found in the other depositions. Usually the encircling itself had some kind of devotional significance and these offerings are typically linked with promises of ascetic practices, such as barefoot pilgrimage, as in the case of Neapoleanus.[17] For others, such promises seem to have been a way to announce the specific amount of the offering.[18]

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16 Lett 1997, 165-7.

17 In the canonization process of Clare of Montefalco the promise to encircle the shrine seems to have been favoured particularly by women. *Clare*, testis L, 304; testis CXLI, 417; testis CLXXIIII, 455, and testis CLXXVII, 458. In the canonization process of Nicholas of Tolentino the promise of encircling was used fairly equally by men and women on various different occasions, for example, when petitioning for oneself or for a family member the cure of diverse ailments, such as blindness, hernia or paralysis. *Nicholas*, testis LIV, 188; testis LXI, 194; testis LXXI, 204; testis LXXIII, 205, and testis CLII, 368. However, these encircling promises are not the most typical ones. Altogether eight cases can be found in the canonisation process of Clare of Montefalco and 23 cases in Nicholas's process. Thus, they were not standard offerings but petitioners most likely had a special reason for their choice.

18 For example, Berardus Nuctii promised, among many other things, to encircle the shrine of Nicholas of Tolentino with wax or give an equal amount of wax to the shrine. *Nicholas,* testis CXXXIII, 351, and testis CCXCVI, 588.

The wax used to encircle the shrine was a material offering to the saint, a part of the promise, an important element in the negotiation for the cure. To encircle the shrine with the offered amount was a way to give more emphasis to the offering and to stress the sacredness of the relics and the final resting place of the holy patron. At the same time, the enculturation into the essential constituents of medieval world of children participating in such rituals took place, initiating them in the categorisation of spaces as sacred and profane.

In the medieval worldview sacred was a mental element but also a concrete constituent in topography. Late Medieval Europe was dotted with points of access to the holy, shrines, chapels, churches and cathedrals – some cults were also linked with natural objects, such as springs. Within the sacred space the barriers between the visible, secular realm and the hidden, sacred world were weakened, human beings could experience both, or at least communication between these spheres was easier.[19] The sacred space should be seen as a continuum: God's power was omnipresent, but churches and chapels were still important; they were more sacred than the spaces around them. Furthermore, some spaces, like the shrine, were more sanctified than the areas around them in the church. Hence, the circling of the shrine determined the core of the sacred sphere, the beneficent healing power, thus creating a bond between the practitioner and the saint. This ritual entailed a physical contact with the sacred place, and interaction with the sacred was concrete. These rituals reinforced the liminal nature of the sphere around the shrine and offered the possibility to take some kind initiative in a church. Children who were attending such rites were taught both need for reverence and possibilities for autonomy in the field of religion.

Encircling the shrine was a ritual of thanksgiving performed after the cure. Other activities were favoured when searching for the cure at the shrine. An active endeavour was to penetrate the shrine, to put an ailing body part inside the shrine at the very core of the sacred realm, in the utmost vicinity of the healing power of the relics. Many shrines had some kind of opening to enable this ritual. However, this method of seeking a cure may be considered a bit provocative, since it comes quite close to the ritual of humiliating the relics. For clerics the humiliation was a rather symbolic act but the laity occasionally could even act violently. The intention was to arouse the saint to act; to provoke the lazy or sleeping patron to protect his or her community.[20] Examples of children performing the humiliation ritual or even the penetration of the shrine to maximise the closeness to the relics cannot normally be found.

Normally children were aided by their parents or other custodians in performing the rituals at the shrine. Usually tranquil practices like sleeping or lying on the shrine were favoured when in search of a cure for children. However, the close contact with the relics was important and children were occasionally lifted onto the shrine to lie there. For example, Petrus Andree testified how he had once seen an ailing boy put onto the sepulchre of Saint Clare: the boy was blind, his eyes were hanging out and covered with pus, thus it was impossible for him to see anything. Petrus saw how the boy stayed on the shrine for a while and when his mother took him down he was fully recovered.[21]

Well-known among the devotees of Clare of Montefalco was also the recovery of Ceptus Sperançe, a boy of ten or twelve years. Both his legs were paralysed and bent and he could not walk, but he was cured after lying on Clare's tomb. The cure had taken place approximately eight years before the hearing and during this time Ceptus had reached the age of majority, so he was also personally interrogated about his

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19 By sacred is meant here the opposite to both profane and secular. Sacred was detached from the mundane and profane spheres of everyday life but it was also eternal – separate from the time span of humans. Furthermore, more than a fixed and stable entity, the sacred is seen rather as a process depending on various negotiations, needing reproduction and reconstruction. On various meanings and uses of sacred, see: Döring 2005, 7-31; Coster – Spicer 2005; Besserman (ed.) 2006.

20 Gurevich 1988, 46; Geary 1983, 123-40, esp. 135-7.

21 *Clare*, testis LIII, 306-7.

miraculous experiences. He told the commissioners that he was unable to walk and his mother tried various remedies - medicines, lotions, ligatures and bandages (*emplastra*). She had also taken her son to baths, but all this was in vain. Finally, the mother made a vow to Saint Clare, took her son to the church and put him onto the sepulchre where he was cured.[22]

Ceptus himself is fairly brief in his deposition about the actual healing process, but Andriolus Benvengnatis is more loquacious. According to him, Ceptus stayed on the sepulchre with hands together in a typical praying position, waiting for his cure. Then little by little, his legs started to straighten: Ceptus was crying bitterly since the change caused him much pain.[23] Another eye-witness, Petrus Andree, recounted that after Ceptus had lain on the shrine for a while a rumour ran through the church that one leg had straightened miraculously. People in the church examined the situation and they devoutly put Ceptus back above the shrine to wait for his other foot to recover too. People prayed and invoked Saint Clare to perform another miracle: their prayers were answered and Ceptus' other leg was also straightened. He could walk with a limp after being completely paralysed.[24]

Ceptus credits his mother with the initiative, but the other witnesses were not interested in her actions. Their focus is on Ceptus's agency - his deeds, words and gestures on the sepulchre. Apparently, a boy of ten could be considered an independent agent in this kind of procedure. In his deposition Ceptus does not emphasise his own actions, initiative or even devotion to Saint Clare after the recovery. His deposition does not particularly highlight the independent activities of children. However, in other cases of children's recoveries successful socialisation process and internalised customs are manifest.

**Internalised customs and independent actions**

When Alicia de Lonesdale, a girl of fifteen, miraculously recovered from paralysis at the shrine of Thomas Cantilupe in Hereford, a vision of the saint performing healing gestures was part of the experience. The other elements in Alicia's case do not emphasise her active agency: she was vowed to Saint Thomas by her father who also arranged the travel from London to Hereford cathedral, close to the Welsh border. It was not an easy task since Alicia was unable to walk and needed to be taken to the shrine in a cart; the family was poor and had to beg to obtain the money for the necessary preparations. At the shrine Alicia was aided by the chaplains in the vicinity of the sepulchre of Thomas Cantilupe and she stayed there three nights with her stepmother.[25] Her seeming passivity may not necessarily be a result only of her inferior, dependent status as a child, since she was already fifteen years old, but also a concrete result of her inability to move.

According to medieval categorisations, Alicia was no longer a child; at twelve years old girls were regarded competent enough to consider their own actions and intentions to make their confession of sins. After the confession and first communion children were considered mature enough for example, to enter a monastery and take a vow of chastity or marry.[26] Furthermore, Didier Lett has shown that in the interaction with the intercessor children's independent agency had already started to increase at the age of eight; at twelve

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22 *Clare*, testis LXVIII, 348-9. On interconnection, interchangeability and intermingling of various curative methods, see: Galdi 2012, 93-112; Foscati 2012, 113-28.

23 *Clare*, testis CCXXIX, 504.

24 *Clare*, testis LIII, 307-8. Descriptions of symptoms of illness as well as signs of a cure varied from one witness to another. For a more detail analysis of Ceptus' illness, see: Kuuliala 2013, 53, 111-2, 132, 215-6.

25 Depositions in this case are in BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 ff. 64$^{v}$-71$^{v}$. For analysis of this case both before and after the pilgrimage and cure, as well as for a map of locations mentioned in this case, see Jenni Kuuliala's article in this collection.

26 Orme 2003, 220-1, Youngs 2006, 70-4.

years old children quite often took the initiative in invoking a saint and decided independently which saint to approach.[27]Alicia however, was dependent on her father, and he was clearly willing to continue to take care of his daughter. Even if medieval culture was able to base categorisations of childhood on limits based on age, conditions and situations determined the modes of action, not rigid boundaries based on years.[28]

Details of Alicia's vision tell that she had been active in evaluating and internalising the customs, narrations and beliefs of the culture surrounding her. During the third night at the shrine, she saw an old man approaching; he was dressed in white and had a big ring with precious stones on his hand. The old man stroked Alicia with a milk-like liquid, focusing on her infirm legs and left arm, the paralysed parts of her body. After the treatment, he made a sign of the cross in front of her.[29]

Alicia's experiences came quite close to the ancient ritual of incubation, the ritual sleep. That rite was already practised at the shrines of Asclepius in Antiquity and ritual sleeping at the shrine continued in the Christian culture. A vision or a dream of a healing deity/saint was an essential element of the ritual: after treatment in such a vision or in a dream the cure was received. In the hagiographic material both in miracle narrations as well as in the depositions of canonisation hearings, medical treatment performed by a saint in a vision was quite typical, the saints' performance often included benediction, praying or a sign of a cross, as well.[30]

The same rituals held different meanings depending on the social background of those performing them. Lying at the shrine could also be interpreted as a way of praying by humbling oneself and prostration simultaneously offered an opportunity to be in closer contact with the sacred space. Thus the prostrate position of the petitioner can be interpreted as a manifestation of humility or carrying notions of the rite of incubation. However, in either case it can be understood to be a mode of interaction with the divine.[31]

In her vision Alicia cried out to the old man: 'Saint Thomas Cantilupe, have mercy on me!' Her plea may not have been the most sophisticated, but at least she had understood the need for humility when approaching the heavenly intercessor. The recovery itself tells that she had also internalised the ideas of saints' supernatural forces and their ability to heal. Furthermore, the detailed testimony of her vision and the subsequent miracle reveals that she knew how saints were supposed to act for pilgrims awaiting a cure at their shrines. A saint acting as an earthly doctor was a known hagiographical *topos*, and apparently Alicia was familiar with such narratives. Fitting one's personal experiences to a general pattern of a miracle story may have been a way to give meaning to those experiences. Alicia may or may not have dreamed of that old man, but whether or not the vision was her genuine experience or an invented element, she must have been aware of saints performing healing gestures to be able to utilise such details in her deposition.

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27 Lett, *cit* n. 7, 167-78.

28 Medieval authors followed the ancient categorisation of 'Ages of Man' according to which the first seven years of a child's life were classified as *infantia* and next seven years up to the age of fourteen as *pueritia*. After that the child was no longer a child but had become a youth; *adolescentia* could last up to the age of thirty. Goodich 1989 and Youngs 2006, 40-2. Cf. Stanbridge 2008, 25-37, esp. 31, who argues that medieval societies did not base categories of childhood on age, since 'medieval society did not conceive of aging in the strict chronological, calculable manner it is in modernity.'

29 *'visum fuit sibi quod venit ad eam quidam vir senex magnus, pulcher, canus et albus sicut lilium habens vestes candidas et anulum in manum cum quattuor lapidibus preciosis et in capite videbatur portare operimentum sive pilleum nigrum cuius caude pendebat subtus collum ..'*Afterwards Alicia was able to move her arms *'levavit ambas manus et ambo brachia versus celum supra caput suum et clamavit alta voce: 'Domine sancte Thome, domine sancte Thome miserere mei,' et tunc dum sic clamaret et manus ad celum erectas teneret, ille senex qui palpaverat eam et inunxerat quasi subridens fecit signum crucis supra frontem et vultum dicte Alicie non tamen tangendo eam et disparuit facto signo crucis predicto.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 ff. 66$^{v}$-67$^{r}$.

30 Katajala-Peltomaa 2009, 142-4.

31 The prostration of monks was a sign of self-humiliation, while for peasantry it was more likely a form of incubation. Geary 1983, 132-6.

The success of her narration and construction of events is further emphasised by the fact that the commissioners accepted it as a part of her deposition and thus regarded it as a plausible course of events.[32] However, *dominus* Willelmus, a perpetual chaplain, *perpetuus cappellanus* of the Chapel of All Saints in London, also repeated the vision, including the details of the old man and milk-like liquid in his deposition.[33] Small group of pilgrims from London had travelled to Hereford at the same time as Alicia and her father. *Dominus* Willelmus was one of them and Alicia recounted her experience to him the next morning, after the cure. Clearly, she had been able to convince a cleric of her experiences up to the point that Willelmus could still remember what she had said four years after her recovery.

However, the deposition of Willelmus also testifies to the limits of the religious knowledge of Alicia. General patterns of a miracle story may have been a way for the witnesses to remember and understand a miraculous experience. Real life experiences could have become fixed according to certain stereotypes. Willelmus as a cleric obviously was well acquainted with the prototype of a miraculous healing of a paralytic found in the Bible (Matt. 9:5-7). This exemplar might have been in his mind when in his deposition he claimed that the apparition of the saint has told Alicia to rise – as when Jesus healed the paralytic.[34] One may speculate why Alicia did not add this detail in her deposition; it would have fitted in nicely and correlated with the other gestures of the saint. Probably this detail was not part of her genuine experience; if she was not familiar with this biblical story it was not a potential feature to be experienced in a dream – or to be added in a narration.

As noted, the seeming passivity of Alicia and activity of her family members may have been due to her being paralysed and not to her being a child. However, lying in the vicinity of the relics and ritually sleeping at the shrine formed the core of many adults' activities as well. Alicia's vivid and convincing account testifies to the successful socialisation process into the interaction with a saint. However, some youths were rather independent and took positive action. For example, Johannes de Burtone, a youth of sixteen, took part, apparently independently, in the curative rites at the shrine of Thomas Cantilupe.

Johannes and Alicia were approximately same age at the time of their recoveries; they were of about same status as well, since also Johannes had to beg to make a living. However, a striking difference was the family ties; Alicia's father took care of his daughter but Johannes had to cope with daily life alone. Moreover, unlike Alicia, Johannes was fully capable of moving but not of speaking: he was dumb and many witnesses stated that he did not have a tongue in his mouth before his miraculous cure. Small wonder then, that his agency was focused on deeds and not on speech.[35]

The recovery of Johannes was a well-known incident and several witnesses were interrogated about the case.[36] Their descriptions of the healing process vary quite remarkably. A quite detailed account can be found in the deposition of *vicarius* Gilbertus who was a custodian at the shrine of Thomas Cantilupe at the time. Johannes himself was not questioned; some of the witnesses claimed that he had embarked on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land after his cure.[37]

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32 The commissioners interrogated Alicia about the details of the vision - when it took place and who were present. BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 ff. 67$^{v}$-68$^{r}$. These auxiliary questions were not necessarily signs of mistrust but rather a method to validate the case by examining the details.

33 *'apparuerat sibi quidam senex cum magno lumine et palpaverat sibi pectiis et tibias et pedes et inunxerat quodammodo unguento simili lacti in colore.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 71$^{r}$.

34 *'dixerat ei quod surgeret,'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 71$^{r}$.

35 The case of Johannes is also analysed by Jenni Kuuliala in this compilation, the focus of her article however, being on the activities before Johannes' miraculous cure. See Kuuliala's article also for a map of locations of this case.

36 BAV MS Vat. Lat 4015 ff. 187$^{v}$-88$^{r}$ and 204$^{r}$-209$^{v}$.

37 *'et ex inde dicitur ivisse ad terram sanctam et nescit quid tunc accederit de eodem.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 209$^{v}$.

According to Gilbertus, Hugo de Bromptone, the guardian of the Franciscan friary of Hereford, took Johannes to the church. Johannes stayed there three days and nights and performed various rituals, apparently independently, since there are no further mentions of the acts of the friar or any other adult. Most likely the instruction in religious practices given by Johannes's parents was not very thorough or recent either, since many of the witnesses mentioned seeing Johannes beyond his home village for years, begging for alms to support himself.

While Gilbertus, the custodian, was watching, Johannes kissed the shrine three times and then leaned on its side for a while.[38] Kissing and embracing the relics was a typical form of devotion, particularly in the early Middle Ages. It was approved by the clergy, even though the Fourth Lateran council in 1215 forbid the habit of kissing 'nude' relics, that is, outside their reliquary.[39] Kissing of course was a manifestation of intimacy between the petitioner and the intercessor. In this particular case it was also a method to put the affected part, the mouth, in closest possible contact with the healing power.

It remains unknown whether Johannes actually put his head inside the tomb. The shrine of Thomas Cantilupe also had an opening and some petitioners used it in their interaction rituals. Yet, Gilbertus mentions only the leaning on the shrine.[40] Apparently, Gilbertus did not guide or instruct Johannes in any way. He may have only inspected the acts and gestures of this young low status pilgrim; he recounted that after leaning Johannes had got up on the shrine and slept there for a while. He did not want to drive Johannes away since he had witnessed so many pilgrims recovering their health after sleeping there.[41]

In the spiritual context, the sacred sphere was highly hierarchic: the supplicants were in a submissive position in relation to the heavenly intercessor; their task was to be humble and show need, petition for help or display gratitude. In the social context, the shrine was open to everyone: both the humble and the mighty could approach the relics, as Johannes also knew. There may have been a considerable difference in the attitude of the officials of the shrine however; beggars were often treated with mistrust and they were suspected of faking cures in order to gain economic benefits.[42]

Gilbertus was tolerant of Johannes's actions but on other occasions for similar rituals he was rather encouraging. For example, when five-year-old Adam recovered from blindness at the shrine, he slept at the shrine. He did not climb onto the sepulchre, but instead he slept by the shrine in a bed, a bed that was personally prepared by Gilbertus.[43] Adam was a peasant but from a fairly prosperous family, since a servant accompanied him on the journey. Furthermore, Adam's mother had sent a valuable offering to the shrine - five long candles. Four of them were positioned at the corners of the shrine and the last one in the middle.

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38 '*quod dictus johannes ipso teste videnteٔ fuit bis vel ter osculatus dictum tumulum et post dictam osculationem cum aliquantulum reclinasset capud super dictam tumulum […] et obdormisset super dictum tumulum.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 209$^{r}$.

39 Tanner (ed.) 1990, 263. Occasionally the manifestation and possibility to kiss the relics raised a real fervour among the devotees. Herrmann-Mascard 1975, 213-6. On kissing as a mode of veneration in Easter Christianity, see: Hahn 1997, 1079-106, esp. 1089.

40 For example, Johannes Holarton, another petitioner of Thomas Cantilupe, also had a kind of affliction in his head. He put his head into the tomb yet apparently could not touch it with his head; he touched the sepulchre with his hand and then the afflicted part: *'et cum manu cum quam tangebat tumulum ter ipso teste videnteٔ tetigit dictum gibbum et in tertio tactis disparuit dictus gibbus.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 184$^{r}$.

41 '*ipso teste audiente stetisset super ipsum tumulum et ipsa testis nollet eum excitare quia viderat quod alii obdormiverant super dictum tumulum in quorum personas contigerant ubi miracula meritis dicti sancti Thome.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 209$^{r}$.

42 The interrogators may have been especially cautious with poor witnesses of miracles because it was believed that they were susceptible to bribes, that they might feign illnesses in order to obtain more alms or that they might feign a miraculous cure in order to gain fame and perhaps increase their incomes as a result. The officials at shrines even occasionally claimed that all beggars were liars. Farmer 2002, 50; Finucane 1995, 102. For poor children's testimonies, see also Kuuliala 2013.

43 The depositions to this case are in BAV MS Vat. Lat. ff. 234$^{r}$-38$^{r}$; '*dicto Adam dormiente iuxta tumulum in quodam lecto per ipsum dominum Gilbertum commodato*.' BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 f. 237$^{v}$.

This kind of offering must have been pleasing to Gilbertus and other officials. Wax was expensive but it was necessary in liturgy and important in illuminating and decorating the church.[44] On the other hand, in Johannes's case the offering must have been rather modest or even non-existent.

It is likely sleeping in a church was a memorable event filled with the anticipation of a cure. For children as well as for adults these occasions were liminal moments; the sacred sphere and ritual practices there were extraordinary, they were not part of the daily routines. Contemplation and prayer were the core elements at the shrine, but waiting was not necessarily a particularly private moment of piety. As the depositions of the aforementioned children and Gilbertus testify, it was a fairly common practice to sleep at the shrine. By the time of Alicia's recovery the heyday of the cult of Thomas Cantilupe had already passed and she told the commissioners that she and her stepmother were lying alone at the shrine. The cures of Johannes and Adam took place nearly two decades before the hearing when the cult of Saint Thomas was at its peak and miracles at the shrine were numerous. They were probably not the only pilgrims waiting to be cured by the relics.

Occasionally a shrine could have been rather crowded. For example, when interrogated in the canonisation hearing of Nichols of Tolentino, *domina* Fina claimed that during one night forty-five petitioners were cured and the church was nearly full of people lying there.[45] Thus, even if rituals at the shrine were individual communications with the saint, the communal waiting that was interrupted by the chiming of the bells to announce another miracle must have created a sense of unity among the pilgrims.

The miraculous cures and the rituals the children experienced intensified the socialisation process; the religious values were learned and internalised more readily, at least if we are to believe Alicia's testimony. She was asked the routine question if she was more devout due to the miracle. She replied yes, and went on to explain that she had formed the habit of saying the *Credo* and the Lord's Prayer and Hail Mary five times every morning before she got up. She did not do this before her recovery. She also fasted on Fridays.[46] For Alicia, the impact of the miraculous cure for religiosity was apparently deep and long lasting. However, the message these rituals conveyed was not always straightforward and some of the child participants were more critical and reluctant to adapt religious values.

**Children's agency in the socialization process**

Children did not always learn devotion to a particular saint or more general veneration of saints from their parents. In the aforementioned cases the witnesses do not seem to have been particular devotees of these saints; they do not emphasise any long-term or strong devotion that they had experienced before the cure or that was evoked by the miracle. Furthermore, in many cases pleading for the help of a particular saint may not have been the first choice. For example, when Willelmus, the father of Alicia, made a vow to Saint Thomas, he also made a conditional vow to Saint Eloy if Thomas Cantilupe did not cure his daughter.[47] In

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44 Dendy 1959, 2-3, 92-8, 108-19. Postles 1999, 97-114.

45 '*Et dixit etiam dicta testis quod illa eadem nocte, qua iacuit ibi, dictus beatus Nicholaus fecit XLV miracula in dicta ecclesia […]. Interrogata de presentibus, dixit quod multe persone, ita quod ecclesia ipsa erat quasi plena de personis ibi iacentibus*.' *Nicholas,* testis CXXIX, 335. Also '*et multi et de diversis partibus, qui iacuerunt in dicta nocte in dicta cappella, quorum nomina ignorat,'* testis CCIX, 453.

46 *'Interrogata in quo est ipsa ratione dicti miraculi facta devocior. Respondit quod dicit in mane cum surgit Credo in Deum et quinques orationem domenicam et Ave Maria quod ante dictam curationem non faciebat. Ieiunat in super sextis feriis et vivit de labore suo.'* BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 ff. 68$^{r}$.

47 BAV MS Vat. Lat. 4015 ff. 65$^{r}$-65$^{v}$.

the same way, pleading for the help of Saint Clare of Montefalco may have been quite close to the last resort for the mother of Ceptus Sperançe. At least a wide variety of other methods for curing him were tried before this option.

Occasionally parents clearly failed in their attempts – even fervent devotion could not always be passed on to the next generation. Often it was not only a question of internalising religious customs since religion was so closely linked with everyday practices and social hierarchies. This is evident in the unfortunate pilgrimage on which Bernardus Ricardi embarked with his son. Bernardus had been blind for three years when he prayed to Urban V, the former pope with a saintly reputation. He decided to travel to his shrine with his fourteen-year-old son, also named Bernardus. Apparently the father and son were accustomed to travel together since younger Bernardus had helped his father to get around during his blindness. The younger Bernardus however, was no devotee of Saint Urban; moreover, he was not particularly respectful to his father, either. On the road the youth stole money from his father; when he was caught he ran away leaving his father alone – without sight, money, guide or place to go. Luckily another pilgrim travelling to the same direction took care of older Bernardus and led him to the shrine. Bernardus was cured during the journey to the shrine and this case was recorded in the canonisation hearing of Urban V.[48]

Internalising the religious values of one's parents was not always a smooth process. There must have been other children like Bernardus rebelling against their parents and their beliefs. However, such cases are more often met in didactic exempla as warnings than in depositions of canonisation processes the intention of which was to evaluate the sanctity of the candidate.[49]

Occasionally the logic worked the other way around: children could have been more eager to venerate a saint than their doubting parents, as is seen in a case of a certain Antonio Bollegoni of Aix-en-Provence, who was given an educational and even punitive lesson by means of his daughter. This daughter was ill and the parents invoked Saint Urban V to cure her. The girl recovered, but the parents did not fulfil their vow to bring the girl to the shrine of the saint. In hagiographic material punishing miracles were fairly common; the saints punished negligent petitioners by renewed illnesses.[50] Indeed, the girl relapsed and was put to bed. In this case, the girl blamed her father, saying, 'Lord my father, I have told you several times to take me to Saint Urban to whom you made the vow. But you have not done so; he will punish you, just wait.' This said, the girl did not speak again, turned her back on her parents – and died.[51] As her father's deposition claimed, this girl of ten years was apparently more pious and sage than her parents. Furthermore, the girl was clearly well informed of the powers of saints and the proper ways of interaction with them. Children's agency and its communal value are manifest in this narration.

Children were not passive objects in the process of socialisation, but actively reconciled various, even conflicting, values. Furthermore, not all the parents were eager to transmit the belief in saints to their children, but the immediate family was not the only component in the socialisation process. News, narrations and traditions were passed on by a larger circle of relatives, neighbours and other members of the community. For example, when Saint Clare of Montefalco died miraculous signs of her sanctity were found in her heart. Clare had said many times that she had a crucifix in her heart and the sisters took it quite literally and wanted to verify this. They performed an autopsy on her body and a crucifix and other signs of Christ's

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48 The canonisation hearing was carried out in Avignon between 1382 and 1390. Albanès – Chevalier (eds.) 1987, 465-6.

49 See e.g. Jacques de Vitry, *Exempla or illustrative stories from the* sermones vulgares, cap. CCLXXXVII, CCLXXXVIII, 121 and CCC, 126.

50 On punishing miracles, see: Klaniczay 2000, 109-35; Golinelli 2009, 67-73, 90-3.

51 *Urban*, 302.

passion were found in Clare's heart. These items become very famous and were considered as proofs of Clare's sanctity.[52]

The fame of Clare's sanctity and the news of the miraculous signs spread to the neighbouring cities. In Spoleto, Caratenuta, a girl of fourteen had heard about these signs and about the holy life of Saint Clare. She was eager to visit the relics; this was in her mind constantly, as she explained to the commissioners, but she did not dare to suggest the pilgrimage to her parents. However, one night she dreamed or had a vision of these marvellous tokens; she saw a crucifix made of human flesh in between two crystals. Caratenuta explained that this made her very happy: she had been able to see the relic in her mind if not physically.[53]

Obviously, this experience could have been caused by juvenile imagination. Caratenuta herself admits this, and continued that she did not consider herself worthy of such grace – to receive a genuine divine vision.[54] The humility-*topos*, which Caratenuta quite skilfully utilises in her deposition, was a well-known element in religious rhetoric; humility was the virtuous counterpart of the sin of pride. It was an important step on the path away from sin towards salvation. Voluntary humility when approaching the divine was emphasised in several passages in the Bible.[55]

Caratenuta may have become acquainted with this sort of rhetoric while listening to sermons and in conversations with religious people. In her deposition she gives an image of herself as a pious girl and a devotee of Saint Clare. She explains that after her vision she listened to a conversation of religious people talking about Saint Clare; she was not very pleased, though, since she thought that Clare was not credited with enough holiness in this exchange.[56] After a couple of days she gained another blessing: she saw a vision of Saint Clare in all her glory in a bright light. Later, one night when she was saying the *Pater noster* and contemplating Clare's life a voice whispered in her ear that Clare had led the life of St. Francis and had gone to Jesus Christ after her death.[57]

Saint Clare was a controversial figure during her lifetime and in the canonisation process elements of disbelief in her sanctity can also be found.[58] The parents of Caratenuta were not interrogated, thus we do not know whether they were reluctant to believe in the sanctity of Clare or if their incredulity or indifference to saints in general was the reason Caratenuta did not dare to express her desire for a pilgrimage. Obviously, more mundane reasons like the costs and troubles of travelling, and the need to leave the daily tasks untended may have been the reason for her hesitation. Caretenuta could have been too timid to express this kind of wish to her parents, yet she was brave enough to explain and justify her opinions and proclaim her disagreement with other people's opinions in front of papal officials. Furthermore, she

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52 On cult of Saint Clare, see e.g. Menestò in *Clare*, XXI–LXIX; Menestò 1992, 107-26.

53 *'Audiens ipsa testis de sanctitate et vita et miraculis dicti s. Clare, ipsa habuit multam magnam voluntatem eundi ad videndum corpus suum et crucem et fustam et insignia passionis Christi. .. sed non audebat dicere patri vel matri quod vellet ire ad monasterium suum apud Montem falcum, quia erat puella et iuvenis annorum XIIII vel circa.' Clare*, testis CLXXVI, 457-8.

54 *'quadam nocte ipsa habuit visionem quamdam, quam ipsa testis dixit et appellavit forte fuisse fantasiam iuvenilem, eo quod non esset digna talia a Deo habere dona.' Clare*, testis CLXXVI, 457.

55 See e.g. 2 Samuel 2:28; 2 Kings 22:19; 2 Chronicles 7:14; 2 Chronicles 12:7; 2 Chronicles 33:12; 2 Chronicles 36:12; Proverbs 3:34; Luke 18:11. On the humility-*topos*, see e.g. Newman 2003, 182-209.

56 *'Item dixit quod quadam die se invenit inter quadam spirituales personas, inter quas erat sermo de persona s. Clare predicte, quod erat et steterat sancta domina, sed non videbatur sibi testi quod actribueretur sibi tanta sanctitas quamta videbatur sibi testi quod eidem deberet actribui.' Clare*, testis CLXXVI, 457.

57 '*Item dixit dicta testis quod quadam nocte dum diceret sua Pater noster coram crucifixo et cogitaret de factis s. Clare predicte et examinatione et inquisitione que fiebat de canoniçatione sua, sompnus aliquamtulum cepit eam; et in illo pauco sompno fuit sibi dictum et sonitum <in> auribus suis quod quedam vox dixit sibi quod s. Clara predicta tenuerat vitam sancti Francisci et quod ivit post vitam Yhesu Christi.' Clare*, testis CLXXVI, 458.

58 See e.g. *Clare,* testis CLX, 434-6.

was quite skilful in her choice of rhetorical methods: she argued for the sanctity of Clare and constructed an image of herself as a devotee.

Religious activities seem to have been part of Caratenuta's daily life: she prayed, contemplated and took part in conversations of religious life. She was able to dream about saints and evaluate the discussions of them, as well as analyse aspects of their sainthood. During the last centuries of the Middle Ages, independent religious activities become increasingly popular among the laity, especially in urban areas of Italy. Caratenuta seems to have internalised these more general trends of the culture in her behaviour. She prayed actively, contemplated and had visions like that of Clare; perhaps this nun who was famous for her sanctity served as a role model for her.

Caratenuta is also a case in point of a more nuanced and sophisticated socialisation process. Pilgrimages and rituals as bodily practices were a fairly straightforward and simple way to introduce children to the interaction with the saints. Rituals and concrete acts were essential in the laity's religiosity but by no means the only way of religious participation. The importance of pilgrimages and other rituals does not mean that children, especially teenagers, were unable to ponder and evaluate the spoken word – learning did not always require concrete acts or doing.

**Conclusions**

In pre-modern Europe the presence of religion guided the socialisation of children into the wider community: religious rituals and narrations were a way to teach children other values, customs and traditions as well. Especially important for the medieval laity was the participation in the cult of saints and the interaction with a heavenly intercessor. It enabled independent activities in the field of religion and it was a method to cope with difficulties in life. The connection between saints and children was particularly close: in a society with high child-mortality and few options available when seeking a cure, children were particularly numerous among saints' clientele.

However, saints were not only a replacement for doctors: cosmological order, social hierarchies, topography of sacred and secular spheres, as well as concrete methods to cope with daily adversities, were taught to children by joint participation in pilgrimages to a local intercessor's shrine. Saints had power over nature, the ability to heal and protect, thus they needed to be venerated and could be appealed to in times of need. The ability to successfully invoke a saint for help could be a useful skill for any child to learn.

Sacred and secular divided medieval space and it was essential to know the difference between these spheres. The reverent mind when approaching the shrine was created by adopting a penitential mode of travelling. Furthermore, the rituals at the shrine, encircling it, lying and probably sleeping in its vicinity and praying further emphasised the holiness of the relics, yet offered to the laity an opportunity for independent religious activity.

Children took part in these physical acts and learnt not only by watching the adults but also by actively participating. One must bear mind however, that children were not a single homogenous group: gender, status, geography and age marked differences within this group, just as among adults. Difference among children can be clearly seen when evaluating the agency of a child: younger children, whether boy or girl, rich or poor, did not usually take the initiative at the shrine; they could be put upon the sepulchre and adults took the leading role in these rituals. For teenagers the situation was different: they acted independently and were competent to evaluate the activities of others, perform rituals independently and construct plausible narrations of events.

However, the process of socialisation was not automatic, nor were children passive objects in it. They assessed the various and sometimes conflicting values of the surrounding community. Even the most fervent devotion was not always passed on to the next generation. On the other hand, children could participate in a cult more eagerly than their parents. One should not underestimate the children's ability to comprehend and weigh up values of the surrounding society: the chosen examples show that they were willing and able not only imitate but to ponder, evaluate and eventually to reconstruct religious rituals and narrations – to contribute to the culture and social order of the surrounding community.

# Unlikely Heroes: A Study on Three Miracle Narratives of Disabled Beggar Children in Late Thirteenth-Century Hagiographic Sources*

Jenni Kuuliala

## Introduction

The study of disability in the Middle Ages has recently received increasing scholarly attention.[1] In this discussion the question of the experience of an impaired individual has been a topic of growing interest. One of the dominant questions has been the impact of socio-economic status on the possible marginalisation of disabled persons in the pre-industrialised world, and what their options for earning a living were.[2] At the same time, it has been suggested that during the late thirteenth century the worsening economic situation in Europe put a big strain on cities that had to find a way to cope with the increasing number of beggars.[3]

Throughout the Middle Ages begging was a visible social institution that had its place in the social structure. Justified and unjustified begging were widely discussed by clerical authors and secular law; in part this discourse pertained to the distinction between voluntary and involuntary poverty, deriving from the foundation of the mendicant orders belonging to the former group. There were critical voices raised, especially among the secular clergy, against those not choosing to work, while mendicancy was defended on the grounds of superior spiritual work. Therefore, in principle impairments that prevented a person from working were considered the most harmful, but at the same time the sick and the disabled were among those entitled to ask for alms. Otherwise it was considered better to give alms to the voluntary than the involuntary poor, and the deceitfulness and sinfulness of beggars, who were also under suspicion of feigning their impairments, as we will later see, were mentioned by several writers of the time. With the worsening economic situation in the fourteenth century the critical voices raised against beggars and begging also became more

* I wish to use the opportunity to thank Line Cecilia Engh, Katariina Mustakallio, Jussi Hanska, as well as the anonymous referee for their helpful and thoughtful comments on this paper.

1 The first book concentrating solely on the topic was Metzler 2006. Since then different studies have emerged. See e.g. Eyler (ed.) 2010; Metzler 2013; Nolte (ed.) 2009; Nolte (ed.) 2014; Turner – Vandeventer Pearman (eds.) 2010; Wheatley 2010. Similarly, there is a growing interest in the history of disability in the ancient world, see e.g. Arzt-Grabner 2012, 47-55; Collard – Samama (eds.) 2010; Dasen 1993; Garland 2010; Gevaert 2012, 85-9; Gourevitch 2005, 459-47; Laes – Goodey – Rose (eds.) 2013; Laes 2011, 39-62; Laes 2011, 451-73; Studer-Karlen 2015, 53-78; Trentin 2011, 195-208.

2 See e.g. Farmer 2005, 30-2, 78, 92. At the same time, for a long time the perception was that most, if not all, disabled people in pre-modern societies were beggars, which is not true. Citing Brendan Gleeson, this approach has 'silen[ced] history, projecting disabled people's relatively recent experience of service dependency and marginalisation through the entirety of past social formations', and further that it naturalises 'the relationship between impairment and social dependency that has existed to varying degrees in capitalist societies'. Gleeson 2001 [1999], 64. While placing all disabled people into one marginalised group, this approach also bypasses the lived realities of the poor and their individual experiences. Moreover, due to the lack of empirical historical studies, the notion of the high unemployment rates of the disabled in modern Western society as such cannot be seen to hold true in the pre-industrialised society. See Blackie 2010, 138-40; Metzler 2006, 25; Metzler 2013, 71-85.

3 Geremek 2006 [1987, 1991], 167-70; Jordan 1997, 7-23. On the historiography of poverty in medieval times, see e.g. Scott 2012, 1-15, esp. 1-5.

audible, and involuntary poverty could be seen as the fault of the pauper.[4] Yet, at the same time begging was an important part of religious life, as it made it possible for people to show the charity expected from every good Christian in order to receive salvation.[5]

In the sources concerning the Middle Ages, the poor and the beggars often appear as either suspicious or the objects of charity, or as fictitious literary characters, and by and large the vast majority of them are lost to us.[6] Young beggars as individuals are an even more underrepresented group, easily portrayed as stereotypical characters and unable to influence their own destinies. This, for its part, has also resulted in the lack of scholarly work on their lives and position in society, although begging and poverty in the Middle Ages are well covered.[7] However, one of the rare types of sources in which the experiences and actions of non-fictitious young beggars can be traced are hagiographic texts, and especially miracle testimonies included in canonisation processes. Although poor children appear rarely even in these, and although the depositions mainly concentrated on the merits and miraculous powers of the putative saint, the witnesses ended up revealing various details about the life and experience of both the *miraculé* and other eyewitnesses. Although the written records are filtered through the demands and practicalities of canonisation processes, this type of source material is one of the few in which the voices of the beneficiaries and witnesses – also those belonging to the lower social strata – is to some level audible.[8] For these reasons, a study based on close-reading of selected cases from these sources is needed to deepen our understanding of the actions and survival strategies of young beggars.

## Young beggars in canonisation testimonies

The analysis in this article is based on twenty-two major, well-preserved canonisation processes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They contain 228 beneficiaries of miraculous cures of those impaired in childhood, forty-eight per cent being girls and fifty-two percent boys.[9] Among these documents the number of beneficiaries miraculously cured of childhood impairments and reported to have been begging at some point during their disability is notably sparse. Only ten of them were reported to have been asking for alms, and two were residing in a hospital due to their impairments or poverty.[10]

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4 See e.g. Amsler 2012, 227-51, esp. 227-32; Buhrer 2012, 113-28, esp. 119; Farmer 2005, 60-70; Geremek 2007, 32, 192-201; Rubin 1987, 54-65. The view of poor men preferring to collect alms instead of doing hard physical labour has existed since Antiquity, but the thirteenth century saw a turn towards harder attitudes. Farmer 2005, 64.

5 Charity to the poor has been dealt with in several studies, see e.g. Brodman 2009; Buhrer 2012; Farmer 2005; Mollat 1990 [1978]; Rubin 1987. On charity and disability, see Metzler 2013, 154-98. Anne M. Scott reasonably even depicts the relationship between the paupers and the wealthy as 'symbiotic'. Scott 2012, 8.

6 For examples of disabled literary characters and discussion on them, see e.g. Sayers 2010, 81-92; Tovey 2010, 135-48; Tracy 2010, 105-18; Wheatley 2010, 63-128. See also Schofield 2012, 96.

7 E.g. Geremek 2007, on stereotypes esp. 193-200; Farmer 2005; Mollat 1990. Farmer discusses the hardships of young paupers described in the miracles of St Louis IX as one part of her analysis, but the young, their actions and decision-making are not her primary focus. Christopher Dyer, who has studied the experience of poor people in English administrative sources, interestingly points out that the medieval negative attitudes to the beggars, which separated them from the settled society, might on their part have also caused modern historians to 'view the poor as a mass without names or identities'. Dyer 2012, 21.

8 On the legal development and practicalities of canonisation hearings, see e.g. Klaniczay (ed.) 1988 [1981]; Wetzstein 2004. Even though the interviews were done following a strict set of rules and according to a ready-made list of questions, which also followed the typical patterns of a miracle story, it has been concluded that the witnesses' voice is at least to some level audible, see: Goodich 2005, 143-4; Goodich 1995, 9; Hanska 2001, 121-38, esp. 122; Smoller 1998, 429-54, esp. 430. For these reasons, during the past decades, the materials of canonisation inquiries have been widely used as source material for both the history of sainthood, and social and family history. For a summary of the historiography of canonisation processes, see: Katajala-Peltomaa 2010, 1083-92.

9 See Bibliography for a full list of these canonisation processes.

10 The testimonies regarding these cases are on: *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth, Landgräfin von Thüringen*; 'Processus apostolici de B. Joanne Bonus', AASS Oct IX, 792; Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*; *Analecta*

The scarcity of poor children in the canonisation testimonies is a consequence of the principles on which witnesses for the *inquisitiones in partibus* were selected. The commissioners valued the word of the wealthy more than the views of the poor, because the wealthy were seen as more trustworthy.[11] This, obviously, results in a relatively small number of poor beneficiaries of miraculous cures in the testimonies, because not all of them had wealthier people to testify to their cures. However, this disparity does not necessarily represent the lived realities concerning the veneration of saints, as their cults had penetrated society as a whole.[12]

Another aspect typical of the very poor beneficiaries is that their recorded miraculous cures that we have are, for the most part, of long-term disabling conditions. The reason for this lies again, at least partly, in the question of their trustworthiness or the lack of it. If the condition had lasted for a long time, presumably there were also more people of higher social status who had observed it and were also able to give their witness accounts. While this provides us with material for the study of their experience of impairment, it does not enable comparisons between beggars suffering from sudden or acute ailments. For the same reasons, most of the cures of very poor people that ended up being recorded in canonisation processes also occurred as a result of a pilgrimage rather than after a *votum* made in private.[13] It is also possible that the harsh living conditions including malnutrition, lack of medical care or hard work, made poor children more prone to long-lasting physical impediments caused by accidents and illnesses – a situation still very true in the developing countries.[14]

Based on three cases that are approximately contemporary and come from geographically close areas, this article will discuss the representations of the survival strategies of young beggars with childhood impairments in miracle narratives.[15] What were their chances and means of survival, and how much of their own

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*Franciscana sive chronica aliaque varia documenta. Processus Canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O. F. M. Episcopi Tolosani*. Firenze, MCMLI, 162-65; *Processus canonizationis s. Thomae de Cantalupo*. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 64v-71r; 90r-v, 105r-v, 186r-88r, 204r-09v; *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, and *Liber Canonizationis dominis Karoli ducis Bretanie*, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4025, f. 177v. It is likely however, that among the beneficiaries there were more impaired children who had been begging at some point, but this aspect of their experiences never ended up being either mentioned in the inquiries or recorded in the written document. Begging did not necessarily serve any purpose in the reconstruction of events, and as begging was often considered shameful and beggars associated with moral weakness, it is not unthinkable that parents and other family members would occasionally have left this aspect of children's lives unmentioned. See Farmer 2005, 42-9; Fradenburg 1999, 54-7. For the complexity of the definitions of poverty, see: Rubin 1987, 6-9; Schofield 2012, 97-101; Dyer 2012, 20-6.

11 Farmer 2005, 56-8; Katajala-Peltomaa 2009, 38-42. In matters concerning their social status, the miracle collection of St Louis IX is exceptional in its frequent portrayal of poor witnesses and beneficiaries, as well as its careful recording of the beneficiaries' social standing. Of the sixty-five miracles of St Louis, thirty-six portray a beneficiary who can be defined as 'poor'. Farmer 2005, 52. Louis's charitable character was one strand of the way he was memorialised in the court, and is an essential aspect of the medieval image of Capetian kingship, of which piety and religiosity were essential elements. For example, in his death announcement, Philip III the Fair described him as the father of the poor and the solace of the oppressed. This image of Louis was repeated in the hagiography and iconography portraying his phases. Gaposchkin 2006, 6, 26, 34, 44, 201-4, 212. Although charity and piety were essential characteristics of all saints, it seems that in the case of Louis's canonisation, the large number of poor beneficiaries was thus a conscious choice of the executors of the process.

12 On the other hand, the noble are known to have reported fewer healing miracles than the poor, probably due to their unwillingness to be associated with illnesses and impairments that were typically connected to them. Finucane 1995 [1977], 149-50; Metzler 2006, 162. The same shortage holds true also with children of the nobility in the canonisation processes. For further discussion, see: Kuuliala 2015. The development of the accuracy of canonisation recordings in mentioning the witnesses' origins was gradual. The earliest source of this paper, the process of St Elizabeth of Hungary, is still cursory in this sense. The later ones are more thorough, but still the social status of a large amount of witnesses remains unspecified. See also Goodich 2007, 139; Klaniczay 2004, 365-95, esp. 380.

13 Farmer 2005, 55f.

14 This was noted already by Jean Gerson (1363-1429), who wrote about beggars in his treatise *Le Truant ou le secret parlement de l'homme contemplatif à son âme sur la poverté et mendacité espirituelle*. Geremek 2007, 194. There is also osteoarcheological evidence pointing to the commonness of various degenerative pathological conditions among the medieval poor. See Rawcliffe 2004, 301-26. On disability and poverty in the modern world, see e.g. Stone 2001, 50-63.

15 By childhood impairment is here meant a condition acquired during the first two medieval stages of childhood, *infantia* (0-7 years) or *pueritia* (7-14 years). Many of the protagonists included in the canonisation testimonies, who suffered from childhood

actions or even agency can be traced in the testimonies? First, the selected cases will be summarised, and the environment and social network in which the children lived will be reconstructed, focusing on the influence of the social network and living conditions on their poverty and survival. Secondly, the spiritual and material coping strategies of our protagonists will be analysed, asking how they found support and what factors in their living conditions and background influenced their strategies of survival.[16] Although the primary focus of this essay is on the everyday life of the miracle beneficiaries, due to the nature of the sources, the role of the selected cases portrayed in the canonisation hearing and the witnesses' memories of the saint will also be addressed.

## The Cases

The essay will concentrate on miracle cases and testimonies in which the narrative is constructed in an elaborate way, giving detailed information about the beneficiary's everyday experience before obtaining the miraculous cure.[17] The primary focus will be on the accounts of three different miracle beneficiaries. In addition to the fullness of the accounts, they have been selected on the basis of the visibility of beneficiaries' actions, as well as the portrayal of them supporting themselves primarily by begging.[18] For the sake of comparison, these miracle accounts portray poor children in different family or work situations, but are roughly contemporaneous and cover areas of Northern France, England and Wales. The selected cases come from two sources - *Les Miracles de Saint Louis* based on the testimonies of the now lost canonisation process of St Louis IX of France (1214-70) from 1282,[19] and the *inquisitio in partibus* of St Thomas Cantilupe (c. 1218-82) from 1307.[20]

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impairments, however were miraculously cured after the age of fourteen. On the stages of childhood, see: Lett 1997, 26-7; Gaffney 2011, 23-34. In general, the largest part of miraculous cures recorded in medieval canonisation testimonies and other miracle collections are cures of various mobility impairments, although in the course of the fourteenth century other types of ailments became more common. Of the so-called 'classic' disabilities, blindness and other eye problems are the second most common conditions, while hearing and speech impediments are extremely rare. See Finucane 2000, 97; Krötzl 1994, 88; Metzler 2006, 130; Sigal 1985, 256; Vauchez 1988, 547.

16 In the analysis, the orthography of persons' names will follow that of the original texts. In other words, although for example Johannes de Burtone would most likely be John of Burton in English, I have chosen to stick to the Latin form for the sake of uniformity, as translating the names would not be as convenient in all instances. Some tolerance of expressions that nowadays are considered derogative is also needed from the modern reader. Medieval sources use terms such as 'cripple' (*contractus* or *claudus*) and 'mute' or 'dumb' (*mutus*), and the usage of them is unavoidable when referring to the original texts and seeking to avoid anachronisms.

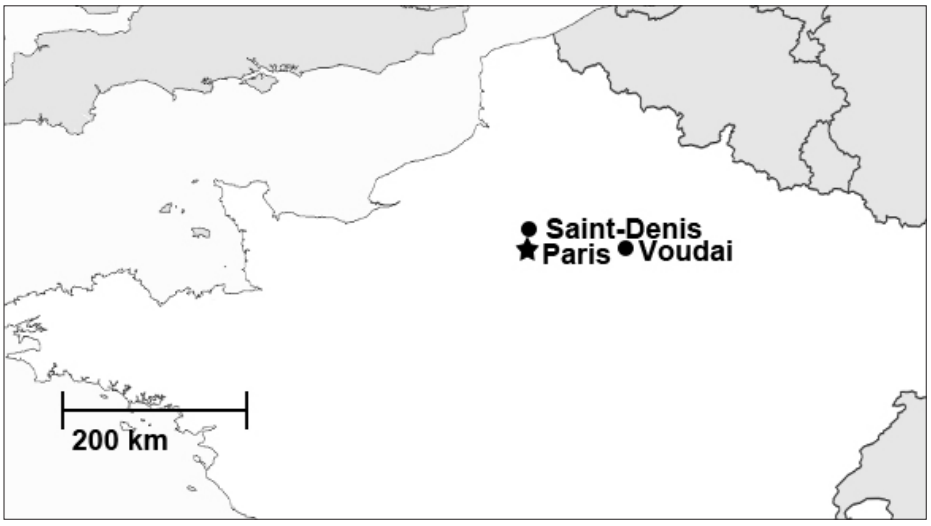
17 What we see in the depositions cannot be considered as the 'actual' lived experience, but rather a record and combination of later memories formed to suit the purposes of the canonisation hearing. Nevertheless, because of the demands of accuracy during the hearings, the witnesses' conceptions and recollections, occasionally even wordings, are traceable.

18 In many cases it is not always clear whether begging was only temporary. As an example, only one witness out of six regarding the cure of the twisted legs of a boy called Ceptus Sperançe de Montefalco at Clare of Montefalco's shrine mentioned that he had been begging. Even Ceptus himself did not refer to this. It seems possible that the family had not been among the poorest, because at some point Ceptus's mother had been able to take him on a donkey to receive baths. Hence it is possible that at some point Ceptus had been forced to help support the family by begging, although not necessarily continuously. *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 348f, 504. In Yves of Tréguier's process a blind pilgrim boy was mentioned having been begging during his stay in Tréguier, but the witnesses did not describe his living conditions at home. *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, 213, 224-8.

19 Louis IX was canonised in 1298, but the documents of the hearing, except for the testimonies of three miracles (edited by H.-F. Delaborde, 'Fragments de l'enquête faite à Saint-Denis en 1282 en vue de la canonisation de Saint Louis', *Mémoires de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris de l'Ile-de-France*, 23, 1896, 1-71) are missing. However, Louis's queen Marguerite's confessor, the Franciscan friar Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, compiled a miracle collection based on the canonisation testimonies in around 1303. Comparing his text with the surviving fragments of the hearing, it has been concluded that he remained quite faithful to his original source. Farmer 2005, 7-9. On Louis IX's canonisation, see: Gaposchkin 2006, 19-65; Goodich 1982, 186-91. Many of the miracles occurred at the shrine of Louis IX at Saint-Denis, but the beneficiaries came from a large geographical area, as the collection portrays several immigrants to Paris.

20 The canonisation process survives in a Vatican Library manuscript BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, *Processus canonizationis s. Thomae de Cantalupo*. On the practicalities of St Thomas Cantilupe's process, see: Finucane 1995, 173-90; Krötzl 1998, 119-40, esp. 126-8; Vauchez 1988, 569-81. The report of the curialist on Thomas Cantilupe's life and miracles is edited in: Vauchez 1988, 633-47. Thomas Cantilupe's shrine is located in Hereford, near the Welsh border, where most of the miracles occurred. His cult

The first example portrays a twelve-year-old boy named Thoumas de Voudai whose miraculous cure is recorded in the miracle collection of St Louis IX. He lived in his native village,[21] guarding other people's pigs and doing other tasks for local households. One night, when he was staying at the farm of a woman called Ansout le Charron, he lost his vision. The blindness brought Thoumas to poverty, forcing him to beg. During his blindness, which lasted for a year, he was occasionally beaten by three local boys, Adam Vicart, Guillot Boscheron and Oudort Boscheron. Sometimes he fell into mud when walking alone, but during such instances he also reportedly received help from a man called Jehan le Chandelier. After having been blind for around a year, Thoumas learned that God performed miracles through the merits of King Louis IX at Saint-Denis, and decided that he wanted to go to the shrine, believing that if he did, he would be cured. He then begged a local woman called Ysabel Vicart to consent to her son Adam accompanying him to the shrine. Walking to Saint-Denis it took the two boys eight days, asking for bread in the villages they passed through. Eventually, Thoumas returned to Voudai cured. People rejoiced in the miracle, and for a while Thoumas continued doing the tasks he had been doing before becoming blind, before travelling to the Holy Land.[22]




**Map 1**: The locations mentioned in the narratives about Thoumas de Voudai.

The second example features the miraculous cure of a youth called Johannes de Burtone,[23] who had been born without a tongue, and was therefore unable to speak. There were ten witnesses testifying about the case in Thomas Cantilupe's canonisation inquiry, but Johannes himself was not among them, as according to the witnesses, he also left for the Holy Land after his cure and was never seen again.[24] Thus, everything

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flourished mostly in the rural areas around the town, but there were also several witnesses and beneficiaries from elsewhere, especially from London.

21 The modern name for the village is Villevaudé, and with its c. 1700 inhabitants, it is located in the department of Seine-et-Marne.

22 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 27-29. Because Thoumas took the cross, it appears he was not among the original witnesses for the miracle. Based on the text, presumably Adam Vicart was one of them, providing detailed information on the pilgrimage and the cure. A man called Jehan le Chandelier apparently also testified, because the narrative states that he helped Thoumas from falling into a pit and sometimes dragged him from mud.

23 There are several places called Burton in the United Kingdom. However, Gilbertus, the former custodian of Thomas Cantilupe's shrine, reported that after the miracle, Johannes had told him that he was from Burton, which is located in the Bishop's Castle of Hereford. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 209r. Symon de Lodelawe, for his part, reported that Johannes had been born in the parish of Burton located in the diocese of Hereford. Ibid., f. 204r.

24 Nine of the witnesses were specifically summoned to testify about Johannes's cure. The tenth witness, Johannes Bute, Thomas Cantilupe's *pistor*, testified about his *vita* and *fama*, also reporting the miracle. He did not remember Johannes's name, but presumably he was indeed talking about him because his description of the boy's age, actions and origins is in accordance with the other

we learn about him comes from people who had encountered him during several years spent as a beggar or as a pilgrim. Johannes had been begging in the village of Ludlow for years, and when he was around the age of sixteen some local people persuaded him to go to Hereford on a pilgrimage. The results of Johannes's first pilgrimage were left incomplete, as only a small tongue grew in his mouth, with which he could speak in a babbling manner. He returned to Ludlow, where he again showed his new tongue to people. At that time, Hugo de Bromptonis, the guardian of the Hereford Franciscans, was staying as a guest of a local *matrona* Margerie de Aylinche, and he witnessed the boy in the house. After examining his mouth with his fellow brother Johannes de Bromptonis, Hugo took Johannes back to Hereford where the Franciscan brothers persuaded him to stay the night at Thomas Cantilupe's shrine. This time the pilgrimage was successful, and Johannes got a long and beautiful new tongue with which he could speak English and Welsh.

Our third beneficiary, Alicia, was around five years old when she was on a pilgrimage from Lonesdale[25] to Santiago de Compostela with her father Willelmus, and suddenly fell on the road. As a result, she became 'crippled and paralysed' (*contracta et paralitica*) so that in the end she was totally unable to move except by dragging her body on the ground. The father and the girl interrupted their journey and ended up in London, where several people saw them begging over a period of ten years. They asked for alms especially in front of the church of St Martin Vintry,[26] and Willelmus told people that he would use the alms to take Alicia to Thomas Cantilupe's shrine. Eventually, he had collected enough money for the pilgrimage. Alicia stayed a fortnight at Thomas Cantilupe's grave, and was finally cured so that she was able to walk with a limp or with the help of a stick.[27]


**Map 2**: The locations mentioned in the testimonies regarding Alicia de Lonesdale and Johannes de Burtone.

witnesses. Moreover, one witness, *frater* Henricus who was the guardian of London Franciscans, reported that he had heard rumours about a youth who received a tongue at Thomas Cantilupe's shrine, and afterwards tried to fake being mute at other shrines, but we do not know if this perhaps refers to Johannes of Philippus, another youth who miraculously received a tongue. The witness accounts are on Ibid., ff. 46v-47f, 105r-05v, 168r-88r, 204r-09v, for Philippus see note 66 below. Both Ronald Finucane and Michael Richter are of the opinion that there were nine witnesses for the miracle; Finucane 2000, 81; Richter 2000, 53-62, esp. 54.

25 Lonesdale is presumably the modern Kirkby Lonsdale in Cumbria. Willelmus and Alicia were from the diocese of York, and Willelmus reported that his native village was located in Northern England. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 64v.

26 St Martin in Vintry, located near Cripplegate, was destroyed in the great fire of London in 1666 and never rebuilt.

27 The witness accounts are on BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 64v-71v.

**Social and physical sphere**

The physical living conditions of our three miracle beneficiaries varied. Different challenges to their survival had to be met, depending on where they lived and how mobile they were, but their physical sphere also had a great effect on the social network. The narratives still give an impression of lively communication with other community members, and among them particularly those of higher socio-economical status than the protagonists. This is partly explained by the characteristics of canonisation inquiries and the need for having several witnesses for poor people's miraculous cures. However, although these practicalities made a number of witnesses necessary, it does not diminish the importance of communal interaction. On the contrary, the witness accounts show how our protagonists actively sought support, and simultaneously illuminate their two-fold status in their communities. They were a way for the wealthier to express charity in the manner of good Christians, but simultaneously the witness accounts portray the poor beggars as a burden for society, which had limited means for taking care of its members in need.[28]

The question of beggar children's social sphere and networks also intertwines with the communal memories of miracles. The shared knowledge of an individual child's physical state was a result of interaction in both domestic settings and public spaces in which already existing miracle narratives were also transmitted in both oral communication and in written texts. Moreover, communal memories, or the *fama* of an individual saint and his / her miracles, were institutionalised and shaped by liturgical offices.[29] Hence the re-telling of the cures of even beggars in both the everyday social sphere and later in the canonisation inquiries became interwoven with these communal memories.[30] Consequently, the narratives of canonisation records like the ones under discussion here were filtered through this internalised conception of impairments miraculously cured.

It would seem that of our beneficiaries, Thoumas de Voudai's social sphere was most stable due to the fact that he lived in the same location throughout his disability. His blindness was relatively short-term, which may also have had an effect on this. Sharon Farmer suggests that beggars with (severe) mobility impairments remained in one location more commonly than the blind and the deaf ones, which could result in some kind of a relationship between the beggar and the donor; for instance, there are some examples of wealthy Parisians leaving money to individual beggars in their wills.[31] On the other hand, Christopher Dyer writes concerning late medieval England that the donors appear to have aimed at giving to the deserving poor – the disabled included – but that they very rarely named any individual who should receive the alms.[32] One may assume, however, that the immobility only pertains to beggars with very severe disabilities whereas the mobility of others depended on how willing their community was to support them. Already in St Louis IX's miracles, there is an account of a swineherd Moriset de Ranton, who first went in search for accommodation in a hospital and later on a pilgrimage and ended up walking over four hundred kilometres altogether. First, when he was only a 'little ill', he went from Saint-Jean-d'Angély to Ranton where his brother lived, and later, when his condition got worse, he walked on crutches more than two hundred kilometres from Ranton to Saint-Denis via Saumur, Tours, Blois, and Saint-Sulpice-de-Favières. During his

28 See also Dyer 2012, 19-20; Dyer 1989, 239; Geremek 2007, 167.

29 Gaposchkin 2006, 15.

30 Smoller 1988, 433.

31 Farmer 2005, 34.

32 Dyer 2012, 21, 36.

journey Moriset probably was occasionally assisted by other pilgrims, and he must have received alms quite often to have survived, given that his journey lasted for several months.[33]

As Thoumas had no mobility impairments, of course it is possible that had his blindness been prolonged, he might have ended up becoming one of the wandering beggars if the villagers' benevolence had ceased. As Thoumas had lived all his life in the same village, we may assume he had some means of finding his way about despite his impairment, because he was familiar with the area. However, the reports of him falling into mud and a pit illustrate the dangers of rural life typically represented in miracle accounts,[34] but in the narrative they also serve as proof of his hardships as a blind person and, consequently, the healing powers of St Louis IX. The influence of a small village is also traceable when examining Thoumas's social networks. Because the original witness depositions of his miraculous cure have not been preserved, it is possible the text does not identify all persons who testified or were mentioned by the witnesses. Nevertheless, one may presume that in addition to the boys who beat him, Jean le Chandelier and Ysabel Vicart, Thoumas's supporting network consisted of those he had known when he was still working.[35] We do not know how many of his previous employers supported him, but given that he did not leave the village but survived there for a year, there appear to have been enough such people. Although one should not romanticise the roles of villages and other communities, it has been concluded that medieval villages were units of mutual accommodation, and that charity was shown most willingly to one's peers and those to whom the donor felt responsible in some way. Many paupers known to us from other sources were also members of villages, not always outsiders but belonged to their communities.[36] After returning from the pilgrimage Thoumas was again met by villagers, who rejoiced in his cure. The expressions of communal joy belong to the genre and they were inquired after at canonisation hearings because they acted as a verification of the *fama* of the miracle and the saint.[37] Moreover, the remark also gives an impression of Thoumas's cure as a concern of the community, which is partly caused by his lack of family because in the narratives regarding cures of children who had families, the cure also healed parental worries and was a reward for their devotion.[38]

Like Thoumas, Alicia de Lonesdale also stayed in the same location throughout her disability, only in her case the location was London instead of a small village, and her condition lasted for ten years. All

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33 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 45-50. Moriset's first waypoint was a hospital in Saumur, where his stepmother lived. After his arrival however, Moriset learned that she had passed away. He resided in the hospital for two months before starting his pilgrimage. For further discussion, see: Farmer 2005, 76, 91-2; Kuuliala 2016 (forthcoming).

34 See Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 26. Especially children's resurrection miracles after falling into pits and wells are common in hagiographic material. For further examples, see: Finucane 2000, 101-35; Katajala-Peltomaa 2009, passim; Krötzl 1989, 21-37, esp. 35-6; Lett 1997, 93-7. In St Yves of Tréguier's canonisation inquiry eight people testified about an incident that involved a blind man called Gaufridus Rannou who fell into a new well and was saved from drowning by a vow to the saint. The witnesses' testimonies give a very strong impression about the importance of Gaufridus's blindness as the cause for the accident. *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, 235, 281f, 284-90. In addition to miracle accounts, rural life and accidents have been extensively studied by Barbara Hanawalt based on coroners' rolls, a material parallel to miracle depositions, see: Hanawalt 1986; Hanawalt 1993.

35 As a more concrete indication of this, the tongueless boy in St Francis of Assisi's miracles went to ask for a place to stay for a night from a local man, Marcus. The boy did not need to make his situation in life or the nature of his impairment clear for him, because the man already knew that the boy had been mute and deaf since birth. Marcus also knew about the boy's services or work as a servant (*famulari*), which suggests that he was not known to the villagers at least only as a beggar, but had also done tasks in the houses to earn his living. *Vita Prima S. Francisci Assisiensis et eiusdem legenda ad usum chori*, ed. A PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae. *Analecta Franciscana, Tomus X: Legendae S. Francisci Assisiensis,* Ad Claras Aquas 1926, 113f.

36 Dyer 2012, 33, 36; Farmer 2005, 85; Schofield 2012, 107.

37 On the *fama* and publicity of a miracle, see e.g. Goodich 1995, 14; Katajala-Peltomaa 2009, 103-5; Krötzl 2004, 223-44; Lett 2008, 357-78; Thompson O.P. 2005, 203; Wetzstein 2004, esp. 60-85.

38 See Webb 1994, 183-95, esp. 188.

the witnesses to her cure reported how she was unable to walk but either had to crawl on the ground or be carried by her father, which undoubtedly reduced the family's possibilities of moving around and is in accordance with the notion mentioned above about beggars with mobility impairments staying in one location. We do not know whether Alicia and her father had a permanent lodging, but one of the witnesses stated that Alicia's impairment and cure were well known in the neighbourhood where she lived.[39] When the witness depositions were given Alicia's father Willelmus was seriously ill and was thus interviewed in a house where he lived, located in the London suburbs, in the parish of St Giles in Cripplegate, while it appears that Alicia herself either lived or at least worked in the neighbourhood where they had been begging.[40] No other information about their lodging is given, but because Alicia herself mentioned that after the cure she lived by her own work,[41] it seems that the family's economic situation improved.

The father and daughter were seen begging at the churches of London,[42] and *dominus* Willelmus de Londinum had witnessed the father carrying the girl through the city, asking for alms.[43] The church of St Martin Vintry, however, appears as the only specified church where they begged after Alicia's disability became severe, and was mentioned by three witnesses.[44] Thus, we do not know how large an area she and her father covered in their begging activities. One of the witnesses mentioning the church of St Martin Vintry, Willelmus de Oxoniis, lived in the parish, and one may assume that the other witnesses mentioning the church also visited it frequently, probably living in that district. *Dominus* Willelmus, on the other hand, was the perpetual chaplain of the Church of All Saints at the Haymarket, and thus he presumably spent most of his time at his church. However, the area of London enclosed by the city walls was only a little larger than one square mile, which a person walking 'normally' can traverse in about half an hour.[45] Thus it is not incredible that despite Alicia's disability, Willelmus could carry her around, especially as a young child, even though St Martin Vintry's church appears to have been their most common location. Presumably they too were worried about exhausting their donors' generosity, which was a reason why many beggars able to do so to chose a mobile lifestyle.[46]

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39 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 69r. *Item interrogata si in vicinia in qua morabatur dicta Amicia communiter vicini eius dicunt et credunt quod dicta Alicia absque aliquo medicamine, et absque aliqua operatione naturali, et ultra vires et potentiam nature dicte Alicie fuerit miraculose meritis dicti domini Thome curate, respondit quod sic*.

40 Ibid., f. 64v. Amicia la Rysslwyk, who had seen Alicia frequently begging at St Martin Vintry, later said that after the miracle she saw her daily. Ibid., f. 69r. Because Amicia had given Alicia alms there on Sunday, it would seem that the area around the church was her own neighbourhood.

41 Ibid., f. 68r. As Alicia's cure was not complete, she still remained slightly disabled. In general, the reports of the work of the disabled are quite sparse in hagiographic material, but there are a few such mentions. For example, in St Louis IX's miracles a youth called Guillot *dit* le Potencier worked for a cloth-fuller. After his leg became impaired he first continued working, but when it started to stink so badly that he could not be in the company of other people of the workshop, his master suggested that he should have his leg cut off and get himself a prosthesis so that he could earn his bread like other people – even though he still would have counted an impaired person. *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 23f. Another account in the same collection describes a case in which a man continued his work as a *vallet costurier*, which can mean either a tailor or a needle-worker, after his legs became paralysed. Ibid., 81f. In St Thomas Aquinas's miracles a *medicus cirurgicus* suffered from *gutta* and was only able to walk on crutches. Yet, he kept on doing his work. *Fontes vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis 1-4. Fasciculus IV, Processus canonizationis S. Thomae, Neapoli*, ed. M.-H. Laurent O.P., Saint-Maximin 1911, 281-84, 287-89, 292f., 311f. See also Metzler 2013, 200.

42 BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4015, ff. 69v, 70v.

43 Ibid., f. 70v. *Vidit eciam quod pater dicte Alicie portabat eam tanquam contractam per Ciuitatem Londoniis mendicando et querendo elemosinas cum eadem*.

44 Ibid, ff. 68v, 69v, 70v. The witnesses mentioning the church were Willelmus de Oxonia, Amicia de Rysslwyk and Nicholas Chiket.

45 Hanawalt 1993, 23.

46 See Geremek 2007, 193.

Those who reported having encountered Alicia de Lonesdale and her father begging were Londoners wealthier than they,[47] but, except for *dominus* Willelmus, not of a very high social standing. The same seems to have held true also for other beggar children, supporting Sharon Farmer's notion that the daily support of the poor and the disabled came mostly from modest artisans instead of the nobility and the very prosperous.[48] This however, is presumably explained by the form of support rather than the nobility's general lack of interest towards beggars. The help of modest artisans and other such citizens probably occurred at a grassroots level, while that of the nobility and other people belonging to the highest strata of society often took place in a more institutionalised manner in the form of hospitals, alms-houses and colleges, and on specific feast days.[49] In Alicia's case the child's own agency is rather suppressed, which is caused by her father being the one responsible for finding a way to care for the girl, but might also be connected to the way a young person's work or inability to work were recorded based on their gender.

In her analysis of St Louis IX's miracles Sharon Farmer has discovered that men's work in general is far more frequently mentioned than that of women. She also suggests that disabled boys were expected to follow the same life cycle as the healthy ones, which meant starting to work or becoming an apprentice around the age of eight, and that this would have made severe impairments a greater burden for them than for girls.[50] Indeed, the canonisation processes of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries mention boys' begging more often than girls, as ten boys[51] and three girls[52] were reported as having either been unable to work due to their physical impairments or to have been begging at some point of their disability. However, the idea that female and male work would have significantly differed has recently received criticism, for girls also worked outside their homes and migrated for work.[53] Hence it is possible that the more frequent mention of boys' work derived from the learned discourse on the male body and the greater emphasis on men's productive work,[54] which made the commissioners more eager to either inquire into these matters or include them in the written record. The emphasis given to Willelmus de Lonesdale's role derives primarily from his parental responsibilities, although begging with a child was presumably also a part of his survival strategy, for children could be used to arouse sympathy.[55] Nevertheless, it is also possible that the parents of begging

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47 Those reported having encountered Alicia were a woman called Amicia la Rysslwyk, a surgeon called Gilbertus who unsuccessfully treated Alicia as a charity case, Alicia's blind stepmother Leticia, *dominus* Willelmus de Londinum, the perpetual chaplain of the church of All Saints at Haymarket, Nicholas Chiket, a merchant, Willelmus de Oxoniis, a wine-hauler, and *domina* Margeria la Moulers, *domina* Margeria de Gifors, Thomas de Gifors, Geruasius de Molers and some unnamed women who were in Amicia's company.

48 Farmer 2005, 80. This was not a norm, though, for it is also known that the noble households nurtured individuals with disabilities. Farmer 2009, 203-8, esp. 206.

49 Mollat 1990, 11, 96-100; Wood 2002, 59. See also Rubin 1987, 94.

50 Farmer 2005, 30-2, 78, 118.

51 *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth*, 230; *Processus Canonizationis B. Laurentii Sublacensis*, MS ASV, A.A. Arm. 1, XVIII, 3328, f. 3r; Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 23-26, 27-30, 45-50, 50-55, BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4015, ff. 105r-v, 168r-88r, 204r-09v; *Il processo di canonizzazione di Chiara da Montefalco*, 308f., 348f., 427f., 503-07; *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, 213, 224-28 and *Liber Canonizationis dominis Karoli ducis Bretanie*, BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4025, f. 177v.

52 *Quellenstudien zur Geschichte der hl. Elisabeth*, 163; *Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O. F. M. Episcopi Tolosani*, 195; BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 64v-71v.

53 P.J.P. Goldberg writes that although women perhaps spent more time inside than men, at least in peasant households women and girls also helped with seasonal tasks such as harvesting and collecting fruits, berries and nuts. Goldberg 2011, 205-32, esp. 214. Also migration was typical of girls, not only of boys; Goldberg 1994, 85-100, esp. 86. Sharon Farmer has also partly questioned the division; especially in the discussions concerning women's penitentiary labour, the clerics were of the opinion that women should engage in manual labour as begging was considered tainted work. Farmer 2003, 261-87, esp. 266-9.

54 See Farmer 2005, 39-45.

55 Geremek 2007, 201-3.

girls suppressed their agency when giving testimonies, as most likely they were aware that beggars were thought to have loose morals in both sexual and other matters.[56]

Alicia's agency in the search for support emerges mostly in her actions *after* the cure. Alicia informed Willelmus de Oxoniis as well as *domina* Margeria de Cifors, who were in Hereford at the time of her cure, about it in detail.[57] Publicising a miracle was an important and even compulsory aspect of it,[58] although often also something the *miraculé* wanted to do. When back to London, the father and daughter returned to Amicia la Rysslwyk and the others who had helped them, reporting what had happened and thanking them for their alms.[59] Undoubtedly gratitude and the sheer joy were important reasons for this, but experiencing a miracle also raised the status of the person.[60] Thus, Willelmus and Alicia continued communicating with the more wealthy Londoners for a while, but the depositions do not reveal if they really interacted after the miracle. Amicia la Rysslwyk however, reported that after the cure she saw the girl daily, and stated that Alicia's cure was commonly discussed in the neighbourhood, which could indicate that there was some interest in this young woman after she had experienced the miracle.[61]

Unlike Thoumas and Alicia, the mute Johannes was travelling during his disability for other reasons than pilgrimage, but in the reports the desire for a cure and the wish for material support are intermingled. According to the witnesses, Johannes stayed in two locations: he seems to have spent most of his time in the village of Ludlow on the Welsh border, and travelled occasionally to the city of Hereford. Johannes was reported to have been begging in Ludlow for at least twelve years,[62] which would make him only four years old when he was first seen, but what the witness depositions do not make clear is how and why he ended up in the village.[63] If indeed Johannes had been begging there since the age of four, it seems highly improbable that he would have come to Ludlow on his own. Whether or not Johannes's lack of tongue had something to do with him ending up begging in Ludlow, is equally unknown. The testimonies state that he had been born without a tongue instead of losing it as a result of an accident or violence, although his ability to speak both Welsh and English immediately after the cure would suggest that he had learned to speak in his infancy.[64]

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56 Among other things, beggars were connected with prostitution. Karras 1996, 84.

57 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 69v-70r.

58 Publicising a miracle belonged to the interaction with the saints, who could also punish those who failed to publicise a miracle. See Smoller 1997, 333-60, esp. 354.

59 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 69r, 71r.

60 See Smoller 1998, 435.

61 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 69v. In St Thomas Cantilupe's process there is another more noteworthy example of this. Johanna la Schiurre's resurrection after drowning aroused much public attention and influenced both the girl and the community years after the event. For an analysis of the case, see: Katajala-Peltomaa 2009, 60-1, 76-82, 90-1, 169, 277-9. The testimonies are in BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 123r-40v and have been edited in Finucane 2000, 169-206.

62 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 204r. *duodecim annorum esse dicebatur publice et communiter in dicta villa quod prefatus Johannes fuerat natus prope dictam villam septem miliarum in parrochia de Burtone diocesis Herefordensis*. Ysolda Thorgryme stated that Johannes had been seen begging in Ludlow for twelve or fourteen years. Ibid., f. 186v. *Item dixit quod post predictum miraculum ipsa uidit predictum parvulum qui tempore dicti miraculi erat effectus ut arbitratur xii uel xiiii annorum in dicta uilla de lodelawe mendicantem.*

63 Gilbertus, the former custodian of the shrine, reported that after gaining his ability to speak, Johannes said that his father had been Johannes de Burtone, which contradicts Ronald Finucane's notion that Johannes 'grew up knowing nothing about his parents'. Finucane 2000, 81. Two other witnesses reported that it was known that Johannes had been born without a proper tongue. The choice of words and the past perfect tense in Gilbertus's testimony indicate that the father had died, but none of the depositions give information about what had happened to the family. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 209r, 205v, 207v. Being parentless could lead to a child's poverty in many different situations, but it is also known that poverty was highly hereditary, see: Dyer 2012, 33.

64 The miraculous cures of the mute are not always sudden in a sense that the beneficiary would immediately be able to speak. In the *miracula* of St Louis IX there is a detailed narrative regarding the cure of a congenitally deaf-mute adolescent called Loÿs, who started to hear at the saint's shrine. However, although he started to hear noises, he was not able to understand them nor was he able to speak, but remained begging in the way of the mute for a while. Eventually he returned to his foster home and his former

Johannes's travels to Hereford at first seem to be strictly connected to his attempts to receive a cure, as most of the witnesses reported him going there twice for precisely that reason. However, we also have reports of him being a frequent visitor in the city, as several witnesses stated that they had seen the boy there often during the past six months or so,[65] and it thus appears that although Johannes generally stayed in Ludlow, Hereford was a part of his physical and social sphere. There is also a possibility that some people might have confused Johannes with Philippus, another boy born without a tongue and cured at Cantilupe's shrine, who had been begging in Hereford for years.[66] However, it seems Philippus was a bit older than Johannes, and the distance between Ludlow and Hereford is roughly forty kilometres, still reachable for a youth with good physical stamina. As the biggest town in the area and the location of a cathedral, presumably it was a likely location for receiving alms, especially on more important feast days.

Because he spent his time in two locations, Johannes had the largest reported social network. It consisted mainly of villagers of Ludlow,[67] citizens of Hereford,[68] as well as Hereford Franciscans.[69] A woman called Margeria Thurgrym testified that when she still lived in the house of her father in Ludlow, she frequently saw Johannes begging, showing his mouth to people, and she gave him alms. As Margeria's mother was called a 'famous matron', it leads one to assume that the family was indeed of a higher social standing.[70] At that time Margeria was around nine years old and so here we get a rare glimpse of interaction between two children in completely different life situations. It appears that Margeria's family was among those Johannes visited on a frequent base, knowing that they would help him, because she stated that she had seen him *often* in her father's house.

Based on the depositions, as in Ludlow, Johannes kept returning to the same houses in Hereford, even though presumably he had not formed similar networks there from an early age on. According to Rogerus Hamptonis, Johannes came 'hundreds of times' to him and other people to ask for alms, and stayed in his

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workplace, which was in the household of the countess of Auxerre. There he was taught to speak so that in the end he was able to recite *Ave Maria* and *Pater noster* to the papal commissioners investigating Louis IX's miracles. In the same collection another child suffering from muteness, named Deniset, was taught by her mother to speak after the miracle. *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 52-5, 108-12. Then again, many beneficiaries also received the full ability to walk after being bed-ridden or paralysed for a long time, which would technically lead to a significant loss of muscular strength. Therefore, immediately receiving a fully functional ability can be seen as an essential factor of a sudden miraculous cure.

65 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 105r, 205r, 206v.

66 Philippus appears in the testimony given by Johannes de Leoministeris, who was primarily summoned to testify about Thomas Cantilupe's *fama*. Ibid., ff. 90r-90v. Although there are significant similarities between the two cases, it seems highly improbable that they would actually describe the same miracle. Thomas Cantilupe's canonisation inquiry was done meticulously, and also the list recorded at the shrine and provided by the Hereford proctors mentions two cures of adolescents born without a tongue; the other one being Johannes, cured at the age of sixteen in 1288, and the other a youth not named, cured at the age of twenty-six in 1293. Ibid., ff. 274v, 291r. On the proctors' list, see: Finucane 1995, 177.

67 Those who were mentioned having encountered Johannes in Ludlow were Symon de Lodelawe, citizen of Hereford who had lived in the village, Ysolda Thorgryme, a citizen of Hereford originally from Ludlow, Margeria Thurgrym, at the time of the canonisation inquiry a citizen of Hereford but originally from Ludlow, Margeria de Aylinche from Ludlow, who presumably was Margeria Thrugrym's mother, as well as unspecified other women.

68 Those in contact with him in Hereford were Johannes Bute, a Hereford citizen, Thomas Sandi, a Hereford citizen, Rogerus de Hamptonis, a cobbler, Johannes Moniwordis, a Hereford citizen, Johannes Alkyn, a Hereford citizen, and Johannes de Akoruebury, Hereford under-bailiff. In addition to them, Johannes reportedly encountered unnamed other beggars.

69 Those with clerical status were Hugo de Bromptonis, the guardian of Hereford Franciscans, Johannes de Bromptonis, Franciscan brother, Rogerus de Fenealorum, canon, and Gilbertus, the *procurator* of the cathedral chapter of Hereford who had been a custodian of Thomas Cantilupe's shrine at the time of Johannes's cure. In addition to them, Johannes was in contact with other Franciscan brothers whose names were not specified.

70 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 207r, 208r. The notion about the family's social status is also supported by Margeria herself later marrying a wealthy Hereford citizen, as well as giving her witness deposition in French. According to Michael Richter, the knowledge of French was an implication of some sort of education in medieval England. Richter 1979, 187-201.

house every now and then.[71] Gilbertus, the former custodian of Cantilupe's shrine, testified that he too had seen Johannes in Rogerus' house as well as in the houses of other canons.[72] Of course the witnesses might have exaggerated the frequency of Johannes's visits, thus emphasising their knowledge about the incident, as well as Johannes's status as beggar, perhaps even alluding to their own irritation caused by him, but nevertheless their words give a clear picture of a youth who kept returning to those he thought might help him. After all, the number of wealthy houses in the town was limited, and it is also plausible that Johannes was aware of the charitable duties of canons.[73]

Travel in search of income in general was by no means exceptional, for medieval society was highly mobile, and especially young people migrated frequently – this applies to both women and men.[74] Beggars and vagabonds also wandered around in search of income, and big cities like Paris suffered from overpopulation, which was partly caused by their attraction to those unable to earn their living by work and thus resorted to begging.[75] However, in other hagiographic sources than *Les Miracles de Saint Louis* in which poor workers are frequently reported having travelled long distances in search of a living,[76] such travels are less commonly portrayed. This presumably derives from both the selection of miracles and witnesses for the processes, but also from the priorities of the commissioners, most of whom apparently did not consider work-related aspects essential for their inquests.[77] A beggar presumably had better chances to have his or her miracle investigated and testified to if he or she mostly stayed in one location and was thus known to more people. Johannes, however, seems to have hovered somewhere between a beggar with a permanent residence and a vagabond, being something of a peripatetic nomad. Presumably Hereford was an attractive location especially at the time of fairs or saints' feast days during which alms were usually given.[78] It is possible that he also frequented other towns in the area, of which we just do not have any written statement, but he also seems to act as an example of the loose, yet existing, social ties of those without a family that provided them with support.[79] After all, in a society very much based on face-to-face relations, people were more suspicious of vagabonds than settled beggars,[80] and thus it was useful to stay within his social network. At the same time, beggars often travelled in order to avoid exhausting their donors' generosity,[81] and it is possible that he tried to avoid this by leaving Ludlow once in a while.

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71 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 206 v.

72 Ibid., f. 208v. *et per alios eo uidente in domo magistri Rogeri de Fenealorum canonici Herefordensis et in aliis locis dicte ciuitatis et in domibus aliorum canonicorum*.

73 On canons' duties and their practice of alms-giving, see: Mollat 1990, 90-5.

74 In the context of professional guilds, itinerancy can even be seen as a normalcy for young people. Goldberg 1994, 86, 91-3; Michaud 2007, 73-90, esp. 77.

75 The estimations of the number of beggars in medieval Paris are, at best, rough. Nevertheless, contemporaries were of the opinion that their number was significantly high. Bronisław Geremek has calculated that their number was somewhere in between 8,000 and 20,000, depending on what is reckoned as the total population. Geremek 2007, 193.

76 Farmer 2005, 20-38.

77 Work and the inability to work are relatively rarely reported as the manifestations of the condition miraculously cured, although it occurs occasionally. Similarly, disabled beggars are not common in earlier miracle collections either. Metzler 2006, 165-7.

78 See e.g. Rubin 1987, 245-50.

79 This does not necessarily presuppose a complete lack of family, but such disconnection from a community could also derive from the family members' poverty. Moriset de Ranton, for example, ended up making his long pilgrimage because of his brother's poverty. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 45-50. See also note 33 above.

80 Mollat 1990, 247.

81 See Geremek 2007, 193.

**Proving the impairment**

Although the narratives regarding our beneficiaries give an impression of lively interaction, it was not enough to secure a source of alms. In order to justify their begging, the disabled beggars had to be able to prove the genuineness of their impairments. As mentioned earlier, in the Middle Ages those who were ill, weak or disabled and thus unable to work were allowed to live on alms, but impaired beggars were also readily suspected of feigning their condition.[82] This for its part led to the need to act as convincingly as an ill or disabled person.[83]

In medieval society performing one's disability was essential precisely for persons like Johannes de Burtone. The witnesses reported that he kept showing his mouth to people, which seems to have been his way of ensuring that he appeared credibly impaired. Johannes's actions were the same no matter where he was staying or with whom he was communicating, and in each reported instance his way of communicating emphasised his muteness. This was essential for his survival, but at the same time, the frequent mentions of his actions by the witnesses served as evidence of the nature of his condition for the canonisation hearing.

Whether Johannes had learned his 'tactics' from other beggars, from experience or from both, beggar children were typically also socialised into the group of their peers, as beggars are reported having travelled in groups in which there were several children, who could also help in arousing sympathy.[84] It seems there was a certain way mute beggars were supposed to act, and they also knew how to follow the norm. For example, in the narrative in St Louis IX's miracles about a deaf-mute youth living in the household of Count Jean I de Chalon-Auxerre (1243-1309) and Countess Alix de Bourgogne-Auxerre (1251-90), and raised by a smith of their chateau Orgelet, it is stated, presumably referring to a testimony Loÿs himself had given, that for a while he went around 'asking for alms like the mute because he could not speak'.[85] Although signing primarily derived from the impairment – as a mute person, he simply was unable to speak – the notion also implicates that a certain kind of (inter)acting already showed that the person in question was unable to talk, and it seems the mute beggars also knew how to indicate their disability. Apparently signs were a part of this: Johannes Bute reported that Johannes was instructed on going to the shrine by signs,[86] and the one witness testifying about the other tongueless boy, Philippus, mentioned him communicating with signs as well.[87]

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82 Farmer 2005, 60-70; Geremek 2007, 32, 192-201.

83 There seems to be congruence with the findings of modern sociological studies, which have proposed that disability can be seen as something that is not intrinsic to a person, but rather a construct developing as a result of interacting with socially based norms. These norms, for their part, shape the way impaired bodies are perceived and performed. Sandahl – Auslander (eds.) 2009, 215.

84 Geremek 2007, 201-3. P.J.P. Goldberg points out that small children especially spent a lot of time with each other and were thus socialised as much by their peers as adult community members. Goldberg 2008, 249-62, esp. 261. Presumably this held true also in the groups of beggars. At the same time, Christopher Dyer writes that, at least concerning the paupers in English villages, there is no evidence of them acting for any common causes or organising themselves around some mutual identity. Dyer 2012, 34.

85 The text reports that Loÿs had been interviewed in the canonisation hearing. In the narrative Loÿs's experiences at the shrine and during his journey back from Saint-Denis, do not mention any other persons by name, which lets us assume that the information regarding also his begging came from himself. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 53-55. In this case the begging appeared *after* the miracle. Loÿs started to hear at Louis IX's grave but did not yet know how to speak. Ibid., 54, 'et aloit querant aumones comme muet pour ce que il ne savoit parler'.

86 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 105r. *persuaserunt per signa quod veniret ad tumulum dicti domini Thome, et venit*. The witness probably referred to the communication as a whole because Johannes was not deaf and would thus have understood the words of those persuading him to go to the shrine. It is also possible that precisely Johannes's muteness was what made him refer to the signs, if indeed muteness was thus connected with this kind of communication.

87 Ibid., ff. 90r-90v. *gentes per sua dicebant sibi quod iret ad tumulum dicti domini Thomae, et dictus Philippus ostendebat duos digitos suos faciebat signum quod bis fuerat, et persuadentibus gentibus ad huc, quod reduet fecit signum cum tercio digito quod ad*

Johannes's inability to speak was obviously an important aspect of his interaction within the community or communities in which he lived and in his socialisation as well. However, as he appears to have been able to hear, the language-related hindrances he faced were not as great as of those who were also deaf. Most likely the 'signs of the mute' referred to in Loÿs's case refer to some established, generally acknowledged yet imprecise, communication method, but it is impossible to know exactly how sophisticated the signs mentioned in the testimonies were. There are varying opinions among scholars about the matter. According to Lois Bragg, there is no proof of any established visual-kinetic communication method before the modern era,[88] while Irina Metzler writes that there is no reason to assume that relatively advanced sign-language would not have developed in communities where one or several of its members could not hear and/or speak.[89] Given Johannes's loose social ties, it is most likely that in his case the level of the visual-kinetic communication remained rather basic, whereas the abovementioned Loÿs, who worked and was educated for a period of over ten years by the smith and in the kitchen of the Countess of Auxerre, might have had much more developed means to express himself.[90]

In some instances showing his mouth was not considered enough, and Johannes was beaten on the streets of Hereford. These investigations, according to the witnesses, were done to test whether his impairment was genuine.[91] Similarly in her testimony regarding Alicia de Lonesdale, Amicia la Rysslwyk said that due to some doubts, she and other women lifted her skirts to see if her legs really were impaired.[92] As was mentioned above, Thoumas de Voudai was beaten by three boys and also left to walk alone by them. The text does not reveal the motives of those beating Thoumas and whether they had something to do with testing his blindness or were just a way to mock the beggars or indulge the sighted.[93] In the event, leaving him to walk alone seems a more probable way to test his blindness than the beatings.

Beating as a method of testing impairment is not as straightforward a matter as it first appears for a modern reader of the sources, though. The tests were justified according to the perceptions of hierarchy and

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*huc reuerteretur*. Similarly, the mute boy in St Francis of Assisi's miracles indicated with signs that he needed a place to stay for a night. *Vita Prima S. Francisci Assisiensis*, 113.

88 Bragg 1997, 1-25, at 2.

89 Metzler 2009, 79-97, at 86. On what are known as 'natural sign languages' that develop naturally among deaf populations, see: Johnson 1994, 102-9.

90 It is noteworthy however, that even in Loÿs's case the signs used lacked the ability to educate him about abstract matters. Throughout the narrative, it is emphasised that he never learned to understand anything about religion or the hierarchies of the society. Nevertheless, after accidentally receiving his hearing at Louis IX's shrine, Loÿs was able to explain to the smith and his family how the miracle had occurred. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 50-5. See also Metzler 2013, 200-2. For further discussion, see also Kuuliala 2016 (forthcoming).

91 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 205r. *Thomas Sandi [dixit quod] non proferebat dictus Johannes uocem articulatam sed emittebat quosdam rugitus. Volens probare idem testis si fingeret se mutum vel non esset fecit eum in dicta ciuitate Herefordensis prope ecclesiam Sancti Nicolai bis vapulare per alios mendicantes cum baculo quem ipse Johannes portabat*. See also ibid, ff. 205 v, 206v, 208v.

92 Ibid. ff. 68v-69r. *dicta Amicia et alie mulieres volentes probare an dicta Alicia ratione questus fingeret se contractam eleuauerunt vestes eius.*

93 In continental – especially French – literature there are several examples of texts in which blindness is portrayed in a comical manner and the blind characters' struggles are there to give amusement. We also have an early fifteenth century chronicler's account about a 'game' in which four blind people were given a stick and put in a park with a strong pig which they could have if the managed to kill it. In a fourteenth century manuscript from Flanders, there is a mention about blind people, again trying to beat a pig but ending up beating each other. The satirical texts also portray the blind as greedy, lacking sexual moral and as a parallel of the Jews who choose not to see the light. Wheatley 2010, esp. 1-3, 90-128. The tests also make an interesting parallel with the occasional remarks of the physically malformed children shown for public. For example, Matthew Paris wrote about a 'miniature youth' born on the Isle of Wight, who was shown to the queen and later to a wider public by her. *Matthaei Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora*, Vol. V. See also Orme 2001, 97. It is worth pointing out, however, that these are really exceptional cases that only pertain to a small number of children with very striking impairments, and as such do not tell much about the society's attitudes towards children's disabilities at large, see also Metzler 2013, 86.

authority, on which the conceptions of just and unjust violence were based.[94] It has also been proposed that hierarchies were supported by the authoritative discourses on the body,[95] of which the physical tests and the communication leading to them could be considered an example. In our sources, those doing or ordering the beatings were always of a higher status. Johannes was beaten by the underbailiff, clerics and other citizens,[96] and when those beating him were other beggars, the order was given by Thomas Sandi.[97] The rules guaranteeing pilgrims' inviolability did not seem to have an effect on how Johannes was being treated, either.[98] After all, beggars were occasionally blamed for starting and faking pilgrimages in order to provoke more sympathy, as pilgrims were also entitled to ask for alms.[99] Thus, it is possible that if Johannes indeed visited the city over and over again, as discussed above, he was not considered a 'true' pilgrim. This appears in an especially interesting light if we take into account the one vague testimony in Thomas Cantilupe's hearing about a boy who first received a tongue at the shrine but then continued to pretend that he had none until he was caught counterfeiting muteness at another shrine.[100] This gives some rather revealing insights into the survival strategies, as a cured impairment actually appears to have hindered the youth's means of earning an income when the 'legal' excuse for begging had disappeared.

Beggars were also competitors, and although those beating Johannes presumably had no choice, it is also possible that others saw the boy as an intruder because he did not reside permanently in Hereford but came there only occasionally, perhaps even breaking some of the Hereford beggars' agreed rules concerning the privileged sites for begging.[101] The hierarchies are also visible in the narratives regarding Alicia and Thoumas, as the three boys presumably were of a higher status than he was, and the women checking Alicia's leg were also of a higher status than the girl. Thus, their actions also re-enforced the hierarchies and portray them as being in control of poor people's bodies and disabilities.

Bodily tests also intermingle with charity. First, they derived partly from the need to limit the number of those living off charity, and hence were not 'violence' in the way they are understood in modern society. Secondly, even those making the violent tests like those beating Johannes provided him nourishment, and Thoumas de Voudai was accompanied to the shrine by one of those who had beaten him. Although this undoubtedly was an unpleasant characteristic of their everyday experiences, the beggar children and adolescents needed to undergo the tests in order to transform from a suspected fraud to a worthy or deserving poor person. Especially Johannes and Alicia, who had been beggars for a long time in cities where there were others like them, presumably were aware of this aspect.

The beatings and other tests did not stop the poor children from seeking help from the perpetrators. This is only natural in those cases when the tests secured almsgiving, but even Johannes kept going to the canons' houses despite the frequent beatings. Guillot Boscheron leaving Thoumas de Voudai to walk alone leads us to assume that possibly the interaction between the boys was not all negative in that sense, because

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94 See Müller 2005, 29-53, esp. 30. On medieval conceptions of hierarchies and violence and their relationship with the authority stemmed from God, see: Maddern 1992, 84-97.

95 Rubin 1994, 100-22, esp. 115.

96 Yet, one cannot avoid thinking that a part of this was explained by sadistic pleasure, as written by Ronald Finucane, given that Thomas Sandi and the underbailiff were reported having *frequently* beaten the boy although one time should have been sufficient to show that he indeed could not speak. See Finucane 2000, 82.

97 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 205r. *Fecit eum in dicta ciuitate Hereford prope ecclesiam sancti Nicholaum bis vapulare per alios mendicantes cum baculo quem ipse Johannes portabat.*

98 On the inviolability, see e.g. Webb 2000, 219.

99 Birch 2002 [1998], 2.

100 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 47v. See also note 24 above.

101 On the possible rules of beggars, see: Geremek 2007, 206f.

it can also imply that Guillot at least occasionally accompanied him.[102] Hence, although the motives of those treating begging children violently must not be embellished, the tests – even the aggressive ones – can be seen to have been a pertinent part of the interaction between beggar children and their benefactors.

Because the bodily inspections were not something that would have been condemned, presumably they were reported primarily because they not only served as a proof of the condition for the almsgivers, but also for those investigating the miracle. In other words, a secular test to verify whether the beggar child was suitable for obtaining alms provided detailed information for proving them worthy of a miraculous cure. Johannes's inarticulate cries and Thoumas's falls in the mud – if we consider some of them as tests instead of only hardships caused by blindness – were tangible demonstrations of the disabling consequences caused by their physical impairments, but also highlighted their inferior and marginal position in the society.

**Supporters and the search for the cure**

Due to the nature of our sources the miraculous cure obviously forms an essential part of the narratives of the witnesses in their depositions, as well as the version compiled by Guillaume de Saint-Pathus. Although the primary focus of the current analysis is not on this aspect of our protagonists' lives, the role of the community in the events leading to their miraculous cures is an essential part of the communication they had within their social sphere and thus worth discussing here.

In the miracle accounts portraying cures of children suffering from physical impairments the most common person to make the *votum* or take the initiative in making a pilgrimage to a shrine is a parent, and occasionally another member of the child's family.[103] Of the beggar children in question here, this practice was followed in the case of Alicia de Lonesdale, whose situation differed fundamentally from those of Thoumas and Johannes precisely because she had a family. Hence, instead of the *miraculé*, the testimonies clearly portray the father as the one actively searching for help in obtaining a miraculous cure for the girl, and when Alicia stayed at the shrine, her stepmother was with her. The depositions also give a glimpse of the father's survival strategies: although there is no need to doubt the sincerity of his intentions, asking alms for taking an ailing child on a pilgrimage undoubtedly helped to make people open their wallets.[104] Hence the search for spiritual support in this family's case consisted of the search for funds.

Because miracles were so distinctively public, the role of either unspecified others or some named community members emerges in the more elaborate narratives. These other people could help with the invocation, and after the miracle they were important witnesses to the events, as well as distributors of the saint's fame. One of the typical auxiliary characters of miracle narratives is the person who Stanko Andrič has labelled as the Adviser. He or she is a person who makes the suggestion of asking for help from the saint, and whose advice then leads to a successful invocation of a saint.[105] The presence of the Adviser however,

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102 *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 27. 'Et avint une foiz que Guillot, le fiuz Huede Boscheron, qui menoit le dit Thoumas, le lessa seul en une rue de Voudai, et donques le dit Thoumas commença a aler de seul'.

103 See Lett 1997, 139-44. Here children's illnesses and impairments differ fundamentally from those of adults, for the sick person was the one responsible for searching a cure. See Gentilcore 1998, 196.

104 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 69r. In one of St Louis de Toulouse's miracles, Cecilia de Sancta Cruce also used to carry her disabled daughter on her back when asking for alms in her neighbourhood. This undoubtedly was partly caused by necessity, but the ailing child could also increase people's sympathy. *Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O. F. M. Episcopi Tolosani*, 163. Some beggars were even known to have mutilated children in order to arouse sympathy and earn money, which for its part strengthened the prejudices towards beggars as a suspicious group. See Geremek 2007, 204-5.

105 Andrič 2000, 232. The most common person to give the advice was a clergyman, often promoting a cult, but also friends and neighbours were portrayed as assiduous in this sense. Krötzl 2000, 557-76, esp. 571.

is not a norm, but more often miracle narratives simply refer to common knowledge of the *fama* of the saint. This is what was reported by Alicia de Lonesdale's father.[106] The same goes for Thoumas de Voudai, in whose case the narrative states that Thoumas heard about the miracles of St Louis and decided that he wanted to go to Saint-Denis, believing that if he did, he would be cured.[107]

Thoumas's own agency and devotion in obtaining the saintly cure are exceptionally emphasised in the narrative, which is quite rare in the miracles curing childhood impairments. Presumably this derives mostly from his familial situation, as hagiographic texts tend to emphasise the initiative of children, especially in the cases when there were no parents.[108] It is not known whether some of the original witnesses had mentioned that they had been the ones suggesting invoking the help of St Louis, given that emphasising one's own role seems to have been somewhat common in canonisation testimonies.[109] However, usually a person's own devotion was considered essential for a cure, and undoubtedly highlighting Thoumas's piety – which culminated in his becoming a crusader – was also an efficient narrative tool for both the witnesses and Guillaume de Saint-Pathus who compiled the miracle collection.[110]

In addition to his devotion, Thoumas was also active in organising the practical matters of his pilgrimage, that is, finding a companion for the journey. The narrative reports that after making the decision, he went to speak to Ysabel Vicart, who was the mother of Adam – one of the boys who had beaten Thoumas – and begged her to consent her son going with him. Adam, for his part, agreed to accompany Thoumas but 'not because his mother wished so'.[111] One may presume that this information originally came from Adam himself, who may in turn have wanted to emphasise his devotion and role in the course of events leading to Thoumas's miraculous cure. Yet, it can also be interpreted as a sign of some level of mutual trust between the boys. If Thoumas had *only* been mocked and treated violently by Adam, it seems somewhat improbable that the boys would have travelled together of their own free will. Adam made a conscious decision, possibly even contradicting his mother although the text is somewhat ambiguous about this,[112] to help Thoumas on the long journey. The narrative does not specify Adam's age, but because his mother's permission was asked, it would seem that he was relatively young. Although children are occasionally reported making pilgrimages on their own or for their parents or siblings,[113] this is the only narrative I have found in which two

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106 BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4015, f. 65r. *post predicta dictus testis audito quod dominus operabat multa miracula per domino Thomae de Cantilupo*.

107 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 29. 'Et après ces choses, quant le dit Thoumas ot entendu et oÿ que l'en disoit communement que le benoiet saint Loÿs fesoit a Saint Denis granz miracles et mout de vertuz, et li disoit l'en que il feroit que sage se il I aloit, il dist donques que il i vouloit aler et que il creoit, se il aloit la, que il seroit gueri.'

108 Lett 1997, 120. One of the few examples in which the child's devotion or initiative is portrayed despite them having a parent was recorded in St Louis de Toulouse's canonisation hearing. The mother of a Iacobus Deodatus, a child with twisted feet, told him to say *Ave Maria* in honour of the saintly bishop. According to her own testimony, she believed that he indeed did say the prayer although she did not hear it, because he was soon miraculously cured. *Processus canonizationis et legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O. F. M. Episcopi Tolosani*, 176f. In Giovanni Buono's hearing a girl of circa eight years and suffering from *fistulae* took the initiative to make a vow and start a pilgrimage to the shrine. Her mother accompanied her, but all four witnesses for the miracle portray the girl as the one being active in the process. *Processus apostolici de B. Joanne Bonus*, AASS Oct IX, 811.

109 Smoller 1998, 435-40.

110 Not identifying the one giving the advice appears to have been quite common in Guillaume de Saint-Pathus's narrative. Although it is possible that this derives from the original testimonies, it is also possible that by such an emphasis he highlighted the communal knowledge of St Louis IX's *fama* and sainthood.

111 Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 28. 'Et le dit Adam i ala, non pas par la volenté sa mere, avec le dit Thomas'.

112 It is also possible that in the original testimony Adam meant that his mother also wanted him to go, but that the decision was his own.

113 Lett 1997, 119f. In another of Louis IX's miracles, a severely disabled sixteen-year-old youth was accompanied on a pilgrimage by his sister. Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Les Miracles de Saint Louis*, 114-17. In St Yves of Tréguier's canonisation inquiry

children with such different backgrounds travelled together and in which their own initiative was so much emphasised.

Despite his activity in finding material support, the testimonies regarding the cure of Johannes de Burtone portray him as less active in his search for a saintly cure than Thoumas, which may derive from the witnesses' preferences rather than from Johannes's inactivity. The villagers of Ludlow, who had been the ones giving Johannes alms, made the suggestion of the first pilgrimage, and it seems that at this point Johannes made the final decision himself. After this first pilgrimage he returned to those who had advised him and showed the small tongue he had received. Johannes was then encouraged to go back to the shrine by Hugo de Bromptonis and Johannes de Bromptonis, the two Franciscan brothers, Margeria Aylinche, in whose house they were staying as guests, as well as by some other people.[114] The witnesses however, emphasised the roles of different people, as some Ludlow villagers mentioned the role of the community in persuading Johannes to return, while some witnesses stated that Hugo de Bromptonis was the person who took Johannes back to the shrine.[115] Johannes de Bromptonis, however, reported that he and Hugo took Johannes to other brothers of their convent, after which Johannes de Bromptonis and the other brothers persuaded the boy to spend a night at the shrine.[116]

It seems that of the witnesses Hugo de Bromptonis appeared as the most important person in the course of events, as his role was mentioned by all of them and when the accounts are summarised, he readily seen in the roles of intercessor, assistant and adviser, all typical for miracle narratives.[117] Apparently, in their reminiscences of the events having taken place around twenty years ago, the witnesses had ended up finding one benefactor for the incidents, presumably as a result of adjusting their memories to the patterns of miracle narratives,[118] although some of them still kept recalling their own or their community's part. The role of benefactor was most easily given to Hugo de Bromptonis also because he was a famous man, as well as the one who publicised the miracle.[119] It is possible that, as a consequence, Johannes's fate thus intermingled with that of Hugo, and those two were remembered together.

Even though it appears that Hugo de Bromptonis was not the only person persuading Johannes to go to the shrine, it is possible that he was at some level concerned with his wellbeing. He seems to have been

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an abbot called *dominus* Aufredus testified about a blind woman who was led to the shrine by her daughter. The girl cried because St Yves had not cured her mother, and later, when the mother was cured, she reportedly cried that her mother saw. When asked how long the woman had been blind, Aufredus responded that he had heard the daughter saying that she had been blind for a long time. In this case the daughter appears as the active person, who not only guided her mother but also communicated for her with the saint and with the locals. *Monuments originaux de l'histoire de S. Yves*, 159f.

114 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, ff. 207r-07v. *Margeria Thurgrym [dixit quod] cum per matrem ipsius testis et alias mulieres et per fratrem Hugonis de Bromptonis de ordine fratrum minorum (...) fuit suasum eidem Johanni quod rediret ad tumulum dicti sancti Thome*; Ibid., f. 208r. *Johannes de Bromptonis (...) videt predicta fecerunt dictum Johannem intrare domum Margerie quondam de Aylinche famose matrone dicte ville quo etiam predicta eis narrauerat in qua domo tunc fuerant hospitati et aperto ore dicti Johannis viderunt ipse testis et dictus frater Hugo quod predictus Johannes habebat in ore suo quoddam frustrum carnis (...) et persuasiis ab eis et a dicta matrona et pluribus aliis rediens ad ciuitatem Herefordensis*.

115 Ibid., f. 186v. *Ysolda Thorgryme [dixit quod] in dicta ecclesia sancti Laurencii fuisse per ipsam et per alios persuasim tunc dicto Johanni quod rediret ad dictam tumulum.* Ibid., f. 204r. *Symon de Lodelawe [dixit quod Hugo de Bromptonis] referebat publice se nouisse dictam Johannem ab infantia et quod adduxerat eum ad dictum tumulum apud dicta villa de lodelawe*. See also Ibid. f. 206r, 209r.

116 Ibid., f. 208r.

117 This had already happened when the miracle was recorded in the Hereford proctors' list, for the text states that Hugo de Bromptonis found Johannes in Ludlow and with his fellow brother (apparently referring to Johannes de Bromptonis) saw that he was lacking a tongue. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 274v. On the characters of miracle narratives, see Andrič 2000, 232.

118 See Smoller 1998, passim.

119 BAV, MS Vat. lat. 4015, f. 208r. *quia dictus frater Hugo erat valde famosus et a baronibus ortus et pluribus notus*. Ibid., ff. 204r-204v, 206 r, 206v, 208r, 209v.

the only person mentioned in the testimonies who had known the boy since his infancy. The same might also be true of the villagers of Ludlow as well as the Hereford Franciscans. On the other hand, the persuasion Johannes encountered can also be seen as a continuation of their previous dealings with the boy. Despite his inferior status, Johannes appears to have been the community's mutual concern, and possibly the growing fame of Thomas Cantilupe was seen as a hoped-for solution to the situation. The same goes for Thoumas de Voudai, as, although he apparently made the decision to travel alone (*or* this is how the witnesses and / or Guillaume de Saint-Pathus wanted to interpret the situation), the narrative reports that on his return the whole village received him rejoicing and he was placed in the position in which he had been before his blindness. In other words, he was a part of the community, and his miraculous cure not only gave him back his sight, but also restored his role in it. The way Alicia's fate was reported in the hearing differs from these because although she changed from a beggar to a productive inhabitant of London and although her cure had long-term effects in the religious lives of her neighbours, her fate and her cure were primarily important within her family.

**Conclusions**

Despite their inferior status, beggar children and young people were not without power to make decisions concerning their own life, but within their limited possibilities, appear to have intentionally formed or attempted to strengthen their existing networks. The miracle narratives regarding the beggar children and adolescents represent them in constant interaction within the community in which they both played an internal role and at the same time had a marginal position. Because charity was expected from Christians, the children served a moral and spiritual purpose. Yet in order to secure their livelihood they had to both find people willing to help them and also credibly act as impaired persons, which made them entitled to live on alms. This left them exposed to public inspections, which occasionally were violent, and consequently portray them as objects in the preservation of hierarchies.

For our beneficiaries, begging was a coping strategy, and although giving alms was the duty of every Christian, they had to find the right supporters and secure ways to retain their help. In this it was essential to convince possible benefactors of the genuineness of their impairments, but also to find and encounter persons inclined to help them. Especially in smaller communities, this may have been easier for those who had become a part of the community already before suffering a disability, but there was also the danger of wearing them out. In big cities performing one's disability might have been an even more essential prerequisite for survival, as the number of beggars was larger, but at the same time the social networks and the knowledge of beggars' identity was presumably looser. As beggars were also competing against each other for the willingness of possible donors to support them, the successful performance of physical impairment could help to strengthen their cause against others. The sources portray beggar children and adolescents as having turned to quite a large number of people for support. While this presumably was a part of their coping strategy, it is also an aspect essential for the sources since miraculous cures of poor people had to have several witnesses in order to be credible and to be set down in canonisation records.

The most concrete difference in the agency and experience of beggar children seems to have been whether or not they had a family to take care of them. In the hagiographic context parentless children's devotion is emphasised more, but unless the parentless beggar child had some other adult to be responsible for, or willing to take care of him or her, this presumably was also the case in their everyday experience. In the narratives about our miracle beneficiaries this shows in both their search for material and spiritual support, and thus having an active parent also reduces the child's portrayed agency in the testimonies.

The narratives also give an impression that beggar children were part of the discussions that were held in the social sphere. Due to the nature of our sources, the information thus delivered about cults, miracles and the proper ways to invoke a saint was emphasised.[120] Presumably the same persons who gave the beggar children and young people material support also informed them about this aspect of religious life, into which they were socialised. The narratives thus portray the search for a saintly cure also as a communal matter, and in the case of beggar children perhaps even more so than in the case of those in a better economic situation. Especially given the activity of young beggars in their search for a miraculous cure, it would seem that those living on the margins of society did not only receive information about saints, but also participated in the interaction and distribution of such information.

When looking at the cases describing the cures of beggar children and young people from the viewpoint of disability history, the most important point delivered by our sources is the influence of living conditions other than bodily impairment on the lives and fates of these children. The definitions of physical difference were imprecise and depended significantly on the person's status in life; the same also holds true for the impacts impairment had on one's life. In other words, the texts portray the beggar children primarily as victims of their orphan status and / or poverty, which is the foremost reason for their begging and marginalisation. They faced suspicion and even mockery, and had to undergo bodily inspections. However, all this was a consequence of their status as beggars, and as such their occasionally harsh everyday experiences do not serve as examples of general cruel treatment or marginalisation of the disabled.

120 This interaction and the resulting socialisation into the religious practices of even those living at the margins of the society are illustrated by the detailed descriptions of their actions during the pilgrimages and at the shrines. For further discussion, see Sari Katajala-Peltomaa's article in this volume.

# Education of Royal Princes. The Case of St Louis of Toulouse

Jussi Hanska

## Introduction

This paper deals with the education of one prince of the Angevin family, namely Saint Louis of Toulouse (1274-1297). He is chosen as a case study of the educational practices of the late thirteenth-century French upper nobility. His education is compared to the contemporary educational ideas and theories. While Louis of Toulouse, as a member of the royal family, might not be the most representative person, nevertheless he is a very interesting candidate for a case study because of the nature of the sources available.

For a long time it has been customary to study medieval education from the point of view of theory. There are numerous studies concerning the medieval theoretical manuals of education, such as Hugh of Saint Victor's *Didascalicon*, Pseudo-Boethian *De disciplina scolarium*, Vincent of Beauvais' *De eruditione filiorum nobiliorum*, Guillaume Peyraut's *De eruditione principum* or Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*. The practise on the contrary, has been much less studied, not because of the lack of interest, but because of the scarcity of source material.[1] This problem does not exist in the case of Louis of Toulouse because the acts of the *inquisitio in partibus* of his canonisation process have survived. Several witnesses of this process testified about his childhood, education and sometimes even about his daily programme.[2] Admittedly, the information is not as rich and detailed as one would hope; nevertheless it is far better than in many other cases.

Louis of Toulouse makes a particularly interesting case study because he was closely related to the French royal family. Louis was a grandson of Charles of Anjou, the king of Sicily and brother of King Louis IX of France. His father Charles was the Prince of Salerno. What makes this connection interesting is that two of the most important medieval educational manuals were written at the behest and under the patronage of the French royal family. Dominican Vincent of Beauvais wrote his *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* sometime between 1247 and 1249 at the request of Queen Marguerite to whom it was also dedicated.[3] Aegidius of Rome wrote his *De eruditione principum* at the request of Philip the Fair, the grandson of Louis IX.[4]

Vincent of Beauvais' *De eruditione* is especially important for this paper. It has been used as one of the most important sources for the history of medieval education, and it serves here as a point of comparison

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1 An exception to this rule is Natalie Blancardi's fascinating study concerning the education of the Duke of Savoy's children in the middle of the fifteenth century. It is based mostly on the surviving account books that have made it possible to know what expenses were incurred by the education of the children; Blancardi 2001.

2 As early as 1929 Margaret R. Toynbee pointed out the possibilities of this process from the point of view of history of education in her excellent study of the canonisation of Saint Louis of Toulouse. Sadly she did not pursue the subject further, but concentrated on the process of Saint Louis as an example of fourteenth-century canonisation processes; Toynbee 1929, 2-3. On the records of the *inquisitiones in partibus* as sources of historical study, see the article of Sari Katajala-Peltomaa in this book.

3 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, xv.

4 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, xxv.

between the theory and practise of education in the French royal family. It was meant to be used by Simon, the cleric who was in the charge of the education of Louis IX's son Philip.[5] Alas, Vincent's instructions cannot be compared with the actual education of Louis IX's children due to the lack of sources, but it can be compared to the education of the Angevin princes of the kingdom of Sicily. Their education, as we learn from the canonisation process, followed the example of the French royal family.[6] Imitating the French royal family in every possible respect was an intentional strategy of the Angevins of Naples. They wanted to emphasise their connection to the French ruling house to obtain their share of the saintliness of Louis IX and hence to consolidate and legitimise their power in southern Italy.[7]

Considering the similarity between the two family branches it is reasonable to use the evidence concerning the Angevins of Naples to study how Vincent of Beauvais' educational ideas were implemented in practise. The influence of the *De eruditione* on the late medieval theory of education and renaissance humanists greatly exceeded what we would assume from the number of surviving manuscripts.[8] There are a good many studies of Vincent of Beauvais and his educational ideas.[9] None of them however, has been interested of the real effect Vincent's treatise, or other educational manuals, had on the everyday education of the nobility.

Louis of Toulouse's education, as a whole, would be too large a subject to be dealt with in a single paper. Therefore I shall concentrate on the period between Louis' arrival in Provence in 1279 and October 1288 when he was moved to Moncada castle in Aragon as a hostage.[10] At the beginning of this period Louis was five years old and fourteen at the end of it. According the widely accepted medieval idea, this means that we are dealing with a time period that covers both his infancy (*infantia*), which was considered to last from the birth to the age of seven, and his boyhood (*pueritia*), which lasted from the age of seven to the age fourteen.[11] At fourteen he was considered to be adult, even though his education continued for several years in Aragon. However, from the point of view of the history of childhood the first fourteen years are the most interesting ones.

Hence, to put it briefly, this essay will study firstly how Louis of Toulouse was educated and socialised to perform his duties as an heir to the throne of the Kingdom of Sicily. This is done by analysing the acts of his canonisation process to find out who were his teachers and mentors, how he was taught, and finally what was taught to him. Secondly, this essay will study how Louis of Toulouse's education reflected the contemporary values, aims and means of education as presented in Vincent de Beauvais' *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*.

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5 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 3 '*...componere festinaui eamque dignacioni uestre per manum symonis clerici uidelicet eruditoris philippi bone indolis filii uestri...*'

6 This is emphasised by several witnesses in the canonisation process, for example in the testimony of certain Elzcan de Alamannone from the diocese of Avignon; 'Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani', in *Processus canonizationis et Legendae variae Sancti Ludovici O.F.M. episcopi Tolosani* (Analecta Franciscana VII), Quaracchi 1951, 42. '*...et docebat pueros, videlicet dominum Ludovicum et fratres suos, dominum Robbertum et dominum Raymundum Berengarium in bonis moribus et honestate, sicut est consuetum in domo regis Francie. Interrogatus quomodo scit ipse quod in Francia docentur sic pueri, dixit quod frequenter fuit ipse ibi cum rege et vidit quomodo pueri regis Francie nutriebantur et docebantur*.' This is confirmed by other witnesses; *cit.* 65, 71, 83, 98, 107.

7 Boyer 1998, 146; Vauchez 1977, 403.

8 *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* survives in eighteen manuscripts; Kaeppeli – Panella 1993, nro. 4003. On the of *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* see: McCarthy 1976, 12f.

9 See e.g. Gabriel 1956.

10 Toynbee 1929, 37. Louis was born in Southern Italy and was sent to Provence in the age of five to be educated there.

11 Lett 1997, 26f.

**Teachers and Mentors**

Vincent of Beauvais wrote that one needs to find a teacher for the young princes to guide them in both learning and good manners ('*in ambobus, in sciencia et moribus*').[12] The Latin sentence is formed in such a manner that it is not possible to know whether Vincent meant that there should be two teachers, one for moral education and one for the actual learning, or whether he meant that there should be a teacher competent in both fields. Nevertheless, it is obvious from the context that Vincent saw that the education of noble children consisted of two different main issues, good manners and learning.

This double view of education is definitely reflected in the education of Louis of Toulouse and his two younger brothers Robert[13] and Raymund Bérenger.[14] From the testimonies of different witnesses it is obvious that they had several teachers. First there was an older knight who was assigned to teach them manners suitable to royal children. Second, there was one, or at some stage even two priests, who taught the children the rudiments of Christian doctrine. Third, there was a schoolmaster who was in charge of the actual learning.

The older knight who was assigned to the task of looking after Louis and his brothers seems to have been the same man throughout all the years spent in Provence. His name was Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi. The witnesses describe him as having various positive attributes that explain why he was chosen for the task. He is presented as '*probus homo*', '*miles magne sapiencie et multe bonitatis et honestatis et antiquus homo*', '*gallicus, qui multum commendabatur de honestate et bonitate*', '*valde prudens, morigeratus et honestus homo*', '*homo provecte etatis et magne prudencie et honestatis*', '*homo perfecte etatis, magne prudencie et honestatis*', and '*gallicus et homo magne et perfecte honestatis*'.[15]

In the light of these testimonies, it is easy to note that in selecting the mentor for the children the emphasis was put on three things – age and experience, moral qualities and wisdom. Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi is described as an old and seasoned knight who had the kind of wisdom typical of well-experienced men. He is also presented as an extremely honest person. All these qualities made him excellent model for the young princes to imitate. Furthermore, his abilities were well known to Louis' father, Charles of Anjou, because the very same Guillelmus had been his mentor too.[16]

In this respect Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi seems to fit in very well with the ideas presented by Vincent of Beauvais when considering a teacher's personality: '*Secundum, quod requiritur in eo, est honesta vita siue conversacio… . Et reuera uite honestas et maturitas in doctore auctoritatem adquirit et multum in auditoribus proficit… . Et reuera, sicut exempla bona doctoris melius discipulos instruunt, sic et mala corrumpunt*.'[17] Following the typical medieval *topos* Vincent emphasised the idea of teaching with *verbum et exemplum*.[18] This seems to have been the idea of Louis' parents when they chose Guillelmus to serve as his mentor. The idea of learning by example is very modern in the sense that it presupposes the agency of the children themselves. The parents realised that the children were surrounded by different persons whose

12 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 8.

13 Robert the Wise who followed Charles II as the king of Naples.

14 Raymund Bérenger, the count of Provence, son of King Charles II of Sicily.

15 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 42, 59, 65, 71, 87-8, 93, 106f.

16 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 59.

17 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 9f.

18 Lett 1997, 151.

behaviour, manners and speech they imitated. Thus to achieve best results, the parents had to make sure that this example was positive one.[19]

The matter of the teachers in the rudiments of Christian doctrine and basic learning is more complicated. There was no single person in charge, and the teachers were sometimes changed. The major responsibility seems to have been with a certain Johannes de Bymaret, who is described as a master and cleric. Just like Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi he was of French nationality. One of the witnesses also mentions that he was either a canon or provost of the church of Forcalquier ('*et fuit canonicus uel prepositus Fontisqualquerii*').[20] According to one of the witnesses Johannes taught young Louis for at least for six years.[21]

In addition to Johannes, the teaching of Louis and his brothers was in the hands of several priests and members of religious orders. Two of these priests, Petrus Debria and Philippus Normanni, are mentioned by name, but it is not possible to know how long they stayed in charge or how many others were involved in different stages.[22] Even before the beginning of his formal studies in Provence, Louis had received some religious education in Naples. We know from the testimony of a certain Johannes de Us, Arch-dean of Beaugeancy in the diocese of Orléans, that he taught the basics of Christian doctrine to Louis when the boy was three or four years old.[23] If he remembers correctly, this teaching must have taken place when Louis and his brothers were still residing in Naples, since, as we have seen, they were sent to Provence when Louis was five years old.

**Practical Skills and Courtly Manners**

What was taught to Louis and his brothers and how it was done? As noted above, Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi instructed them in all the issues pertaining to the behaviour expected of the young noblemen of royal family. The basic method in teaching these skills, abilities and virtues seems to have been giving them a positive example to follow and, on the other hand, discouraging firmly any signs of unsuitable behaviour. We have already seen that the role model for the princes was selected carefully, and from the testimonies it is equally evident that he took his task seriously. For instance, we know that Guillelmus was extremely careful in rooting out all vices and bad language from the children. He also made sure that at a tender age the children were not exposed to adults cursing or speaking indecently, lest that they should learn such habits.[24]

In this Guillelmus reflects the Aristotelian idea of a child as a *tabula rasa* that can be filled with any kind of learning – good or bad – and habits when he is of tender age. Vincent of Beauvais had presented this same idea in his *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*. He quoted Ecclesiasticus (7:23-24): '*Filii tibi sunt? Erudi illos et curua illos a puericia eorum*.' Vincent compared young children to soft wax. They are still easy to

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19 Cf. with Mikko Pentti's article in this collection.

20 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 65. Forcalquier is a small town on the Alpes de Haute Provence in southern France. The kings of Sicily were *seigneurs* of that region, as they were also counts of Provence.

21 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 33.

22 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 33.

23 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 82. This is somewhat exceptional as teaching the rudiments of faith and necessary prayers to children was normally considered to be the mother's duty; Alexandre-Bidon 1991, 39-63, esp. 54; Goodich 1982, 109.

24 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 32: '*Et dictus miles docebat eos in honestate morum et retrahebat eos a vicio et turpiloquio, et omnes familiares qui erant iuxta eos dictus miles multum reprimebat et retrahebat ne verba turpia vel indecentia dicerent coram eis, ne dicti pueri audientes talia in cordibus suis imprimerent*.' Here it is interesting to note that, exactly as Jerome had done (see Mikko Pentti's article in this book), Guillelmus Manerio gives a lot of attention to the servants and members of the household who might teach the royal children bad habits with their negative example.

bend and shape according to the need: when they grow older it is much more difficult to teach them good manners.[25]

Luckily the papal commissioners were not satisfied with the general statement that Louis and his brothers were taught good manners, but they asked the witness to specify what he meant by that. He responded that he meant living in humility, love God and that they should always respect and receive kindly good people.[26] Admittedly, such an explanation does not clarify much, but it seems that the boys were taught how to behave as magnates, that is, how to fulfil their role as rulers and treat their subjects justly. In short, it seems that Guillelmus' task was to teach the boys to live according to their social position. Humility and love of God, on the other hand, were considered to be the necessary prerequisites *sine qua* more advanced studies could not be pursued. Vincent of Beauvais confirmed this by quoting Hugo of Saint Victor's *Didascalicon*: '*Principium ergo discipline est humilitas*.'[27]

An essential part of teaching courtly manners to the princes was to punish them should the need arise. Once it was considered that harsh or even cruel punishments were typical for medieval education. During the last two decades this assumption has been proved to be exaggerated or even wrong by several historians of childhood.[28] However, no medieval writer denied the use of corporal punishment altogether, they just recommended moderation. For example, Vincent of Beauvais suggested that children should be threatened with punishment before actually punishing them because the threat is often more effective and certainly less harmful than the actual punishment.[29] Several witnesses mention that Guillelmus punished the princes when it was necessary. This he did sometimes by whipping, sometimes by slapping them with an open hand.[30] However, it is obvious that beating was not systematically used as a means of education for Louis and his brothers. They were only punished when it was necessary, and indeed Louis was punished less than his brothers because, as Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi had said, he learned easily and did not need much punishment or reprehension.[31]

Here however, it is necessary to take into account that it was a common *topos* to claim that saints in their childhood were already more mature than other children. In hagiographic literature this is known as *puer senex* topos.[32] Witnesses of the late thirteenth-century canonisation processes were well aware of the stereotypical representations of the saint's lives and this might have affected their recollections of the early maturity of Saint Louis.

In addition to good manners and courtly etiquette, Guillelmus' task was also to teach the young princes the military skills that all the young noblemen needed to learn. Several literary sources and minia-

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25 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 5-7, 83. On comparing young children to easily modified wax, see also: Alexandre-Bidon – Lett 1997, 73.

26 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 32: '*Interrogatus qui essent isti mores in quibus informabantur, respondit quod humiliter vivere, Deum diligere et quod bonos homines venientes ad eos decenter reciperent et honorarent*.'

27 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 25.

28 See e.g. Lett 1997, 152; Swanson 1990, 309-31.

29 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 91: '*At uirge disciplinam precedere debet comminacio, sicut excommunicacionis sentenciam admonicio. Que scilicet comminacio plerumque plus quam flagellacio ualet uel minus nocet*.' In recommending moderation in physical punishment Vincent was following a long tradition going back to Benedict of Nursia; Alexandre-Bidon – Lett 1997, 74.

30 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 32: '*Et ab omni actu illicito non solum opere sed eciam signo retrahebat eos; et quando excedebant in aliquo, cum virgulis interdum et quandoque cum palma corrigebat eos.*

31 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 107: '*Tamen dixit quod ipse non vidit in domino Ludovico causam inhonestatis et inordinacionis alicuius vel excessus; immo mansuetissime se habebat. Alius, Robbertus, ipsius domini Ludovici frater, quandoque committebat aliqua, ex quibus dictus miles supponebat eum virgis; et dominus Ludovicus, fratri suo compaciens, plorabat'.* and 65: '*Et vidit dominum Ludovicum secundum suam etatem multum compositum et disciplinatum, qui, secundum quod miles predictus dicebat, non indigebat multa correctione nec reprehensione, ita erat docilis*.'

32 Goodich 1982, 87.

tures show that the customary way of learning these skills were hunting, practising with arms and riding lessons.[33] Alas, we do not have any information on the hunting from the canonisation process and the only mention of training with weapons is indirect. One of the witnesses points out that while Louis' brother Robert was happy to play with his bow and run around, Louis was of more serious nature and was often lost in his thoughts.[34] Judging from the context it seems plausible that Robert's bow was not a real weapon but a toy – a sort of miniature bow. Using such toys was an essential part of noble boy's military training. Before starting to practise with real weapons they played with miniature weapons, thus learning by playing.

We do not know how old Louis and his brothers were when they started to train with weapons, however it is reasonable to assume that this happened at a fairly early age. As a point comparison, it is known from the account books of the fifteenth-century Savoyan court that the sons of the duke were given their first swords between the ages eight and twelve.[35] Furthermore, there are several examples of the children's armour and toy, or to be more precise, miniature weapons.[36]

What comes to riding we know that Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi taught Louis and his brothers to ride only because one of the witnesses explicitly tells so.[37] Alas, we do not learn at what age the riding lessons were started since the witness does not specify it. Furthermore, that particular witness saw Louis and his brothers several times during their sojourn in Provence, and therefore we cannot establish just when the riding lessons were started. However, there is no indication that Louis had been taught to ride before coming to Provence when he was five years old. Hence it seems plausible that riding lessons started at the age of *pueritia* – seven- not before. The abovementioned children of the fifteenth-century duke of Savoy were taught to ride from the age of seven on.[38]

**Learning and Religion**

As we have already seen above, Louis' formal education might have been started at the very early age of three or four. A certain priest called Johannes de Us testified in the *inquisitio in partibus* process, and claimed that he had taught Louis letters, *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* at the age of three or four.[39] This testimony does not seem to be very reliable for two reasons. First, the age of three seems to have been unconventionally early age to start learning the alphabet, and, more importantly, the same witness mentions that when he saw Louis, Guillelmus de Manerio Raynardi was already his mentor. As the other witnesses mention that Guillelmus took over that task only when Louis moved from Naples to Provence at the age of five, it seems plausible that either Johannes de Us remembered Louis' age wrongly, or the error appeared somewhere in the copying tradition of the process.

At what stage Johannes de Us taught Louis remains unclear. Probably it was a short period because most of the witnesses recall that there were two priests who said the Mass and taught the rudimentary elements of the Christian doctrine to Louis and his brothers. Bermundus de Rosa, who saw the children

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33 Alexandre-Bidon – Lett 1997, 194-202.

34 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 96: '*Et ubi frater suus dominus Robbertus ludebat vel trahebat cum arcu vel currebat, iste semper stabat in gravi et maturo statu secundum suam etatem*.'

35 Blancardi 2001, 39.

36 Alexandre-Bidon 1991, 60.

37 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 32: '*Et docebat eos equitare*.'

38 Blancardi 2001, 38.

39 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 82: '*...dixit quod ipse vidit dominum Ludovicum quando erat etatis trium vel quatuor annorum, et docuit eum alphabetum et oracionem dominicam, scilicet Pater noster et Ave Maria*.'

occasionally during the whole of their stay in Provence, states that those priests were Petrus Debria and Philippus Normanni. He does not mention Johannes de Us at all, nor does any other witness. According to Bermundus' testimony Petrus and Philippus took turns in celebrating the daily Mass for the boys, and it was they who taught Louis the alphabet, *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, the *Credo* and the seven penitential psalms.[40]

The seven penitential psalms were sung during the religious processions on the Rogation Days and in case of some particular need when God's mercy was sought, such as floods, droughts, famines, plagues or natural disasters.[41] Sometimes the lay participants of the processions sang the penitential psalms too, therefore they were also taught to Louis and his brothers. The *Pater noster*, *Ave* and the *Credo* were the basic requirements that were demanded from all the Christians, as is easy to see from numerous thirteenth-century synodal statutes, the best example being the famous Lambeth constitutions by Archbishop John Peckham.[42] This is the most likely reason why they were taught to the young princes.

It is interesting to note that it was the chaplains who taught the alphabet to Louis, not the actual schoolmaster. This seems to mean that the schoolmaster was employed only when the boys reached the age when they could begin more serious and formal studies. The schoolmaster who took care of these studies was a certain Johannes de Bymaret. An interesting question is at what age was formal teaching started? According to Bermundus de Roca's testimony Johannes de Bymaret stayed with the boys and taught them for more than six years.[43] This would mean that he must have started his tenure as a teacher quite soon after Louis had arrived in Provence at the age of five. This is confirmed by another witness, certain nobleman called Guillelmus de Veyruna, who testified that he saw Louis when he had 'seven years and no more'. Johannes de Bymaret was already with Louis at that time.[44] This would fit in very well with the old Aristotelian tradition that schooling should be started at the age of seven.[45] We also know that Louis' almost exact contemporary, Thomas of Cantilupe, who was a member of one of the noblest families of England, started his formal education at the age of seven.[46]

Unluckily the witnesses do not have very much to say about the content of Louis' studies. The only witness who had any specific information about Louis' *curriculum* was Bermundus de Roca who testified that Johannes de Bymaret had taught Louis grammar and logic.[47] That would fit in very well with the normal basic schooling that was started with the *trivium*.

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40 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 33: '*Dixit etiam idem testis quod dicti pueri habebant duos honestos sacerdotes qui alternis diebus et vicibus Missam eisdem cotidie celebrabant, quorum unus vocabatur P(etrus) Debria et alius Philippus Normanni; in qua Missa per ipsi pueri secundum suam etatem tacite et honeste se habebant. Et illi sacerdotes docuerunt dominum Ludovicum alphabetum et Pater noster et Aue Maria et Credo in Deum et septem psalmos*.' See also testimonies of Elzean de Alamannone and Raymundus de Bancon, 42 and 96.

41 Hanska 2002, 58.

42 'Council of Lambeth, constitutio 9', in *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church. II A.D. 1205-1313*. Powicke – Cheney (eds.) 1964, 900.

43 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 33: '*Interrogatus quanto tempore dictus Iohannes de Bymaret fuit cum dicto domino Ludovico et ipsum docuit, dixit quod per sex annos et ultra'.*

44 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 71: '*…ipse fuit cum domino Ludovico eo tempore quo ipse habebat septem annos, ut credit, et non plus….Dixit eciam quod habebant unum clericum gallicum honestum hominem, sicut dicebatur, qui docebat eos litteras, set quas litteras, ipse nescit, quia laicus est.*'

45 Lett 1997, 112; Blancardi 2001, 23.

46 *De vita, fide et moribus beati Thome de Cantilupo*. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS. Vat.lat. 4015, f. 112r.: '*Post septennium autem uel circa cum traderetur litteris informandus traditus fuit bonis magistris cum dicto fratre suo domino Hugone…'*

47 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 33: '*Dixit etiam quod processu temporis habuerunt dicti pueri quemdam clericum vocatum Iohannem de Bymaret, qui docebat eos in libris grammaticalibus et logicalibus, sicut tunc audivit dici*.' Other witnesses are even more vague about the contents of Johannes' teaching. For example the testimony of Johannes de Veyruna is not

On the basis of testimonies that concerned Louis' studies when he was already in Moncada, we get some additional information that helps us to further evaluate the quality and nature of his studies in *pueritia*. Franciscan Brother Fortis testified that when Louis arrived in Aragon, he did not know very much about grammar or any other branches of learning.[48] This does sound rather bad considering that he had already received schooling in grammar and logic for about seven years. However, Fortis' testimony cannot be taken at face value. It must be evaluated taking into account two things. First, Brother Fortis himself was a very well educated man indeed. He had worked as an *inquisitor* and *lector* in several Franciscan houses. The requirement for lector's position was university studies, or at the very least, four years of studies in one of the Franciscan order's own *studia*.[49] Either way, he would have been far more learned than one could expect from a noble lay man and hence he was probably more inclined to evaluate Louis' educational abilities critically.

Second, it is very possible or even likely that Brother Fortis had an agenda of his own when testifying. Being a Franciscan and therefore one of the persons who definitely wanted to see Louis of Toulouse as an officially canonised saint, it was convenient for him to emphasise the supernatural advancement that Louis made in his studies during the time spent in Moncada. Therefore, he probably wanted to play down his starting level to make the rapidity of his advancement look even more impressive.[50]

The testimony of another Franciscan master, Raymundus Gauffridi, implies that Louis was much better schooled than his confrere Fortis let it be understood. Raymundus did emphasise Louis' supernatural advancement in studies in Aragon, but his opinion about his initial level is more positive than that of Brother Fortis. He testified that Louis had learned something about elementary grammar before coming to Aragon.[51] In reality, Louis' advancement in studies appears to be normal. One reads in the canonisation process of Raymund Peñaforte that at the age of twenty he was so well schooled in the liberal arts that he could teach others.[52] From the tone of the text it is obvious that this was considered exceptional advancement, and Raymund's academic abilities are well known from his writings. Hence it is obvious that an average boy was not supposed to master both the *trivium* and *quadrivium* perfectly at the age of twenty. This means that Louis' studies in the *trivium* were probably only typical for noble children of his age.

Furthermore, we know something about the daily schedule of Louis and his brothers from the testimony of Brother Franciscus, another Franciscan friar who had seen Louis and his brothers when they were staying in Provence. He testified that in the morning Guillelmus de Manerio Raymundi made sure that the boys washed their hands properly. Then they were taken to the chapel where the Mass was said. After the

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very informative concerning the curriculum; '*Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*,' 71: '*Dixit eciam quod habebant unum clericum gallicum honestum hominem, sicut dicebatur, qui docebat eos litteras, set quas litteras, ipse nescit, quia laicus est*.'

48 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 59:'*…et quod quando intravit Cathaloniam ipse quasi nichil sciebat in gramaticalibus nec aliis*.'

49 Roest 2000, 91.

50 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 59f: '*Et in illo septennio sic in scienciis nominatis in eodem capitulo profecit idem dominus Ludovicus quod in exitu suo de Cathalonia, quando rediit in Provinciam ad quam immediate reversus est post exitum obsidatus et fuit Aquis, incepit conferre et disputare cum eo, et continuerunt hoc usque Neapoli, de difficilibus questionibus et materiis tam theologicis quam philosophicis; et ita plene et excellenter idem dominus Ludovicus arguebat et respondebat, quod, secundum dictum testem, qui loquitur, magis videbatur divini doni infusio quam humani ingenii et studii exquisicio; et reputasset magnum secundum humanam capacitatem, si in xv annis tantum profecisset.'*

51 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 65f: '*In quo septennio, quamquam de rudimentis gramatice dominus Ludovicus prius aliquid didicisset, ibi tamen tam in gramaticalibus, logicalibus, philosophicis, moralibus et theologicis sic profecit, quod recte pocius videretur de sciencia sua divina infusio quam humani ingenii acquisicio…'*

52 *Vita Raymundi Penaforti*. Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS. 6059, f. 29v: '*Ceteris discipline atque doctrine se totum gratis subiiciens in breui tempore sic perfecit quod cum esset uiginti annorum uel circa competenter in liberalibus instructus in ciuitate Barchinonensis plurimos sermoni artibus absque salario instruebat et sancte conuersationis exemplo in moribus informabat'*.

Mass the boys went to a separate room where their schoolmaster, Johannes de Bymaret gave them lectures. After the daily lecture, they had some free time before the lunch. After that the formal programme ended and the boys were free to pursue their own activities, such as playing chess.[53]

No exact estimations of time are given, but it seems likely that between the mass and the lunch there was not time for more than one ordinary lecture, especially since the boys also had some free time before lunch. However, even one single hour of lectures a day for six or seven years would probably have been enough to teach the princes the elements of Latin grammar and other basics of the *trivium*. That was good enough, keeping in mind that originally Louis and his brothers were not intended for a clerical career. Ability to read and knowing basic Latin was enough for a future magnate. It is also likely that Charles II did not want to give too scholarly an education to his sons, since he did not want them to pursue an ecclesiastical career. It is known that the pope in person needed to speak to the king before he allowed Louis to be ordained to the priesthood.[54]

Vincent of Beauvais took a very positive attitude to the formal studies of noble children. To emphasise the importance of learning he quotes the saying: '*An illiterate king is like a crowned donkey*' ('*Rex illiteratus est quasi asinus coronatus*') and goes on to explain that princes, who do not work manually, should use their free time in learning, which develops their wisdom. When they spent their free time studying, they avoid the evils that laziness causes.[55]

Vincent was very detailed and particular concerning what the studies should include, but sadly he did not provide his readers with any specific information on which subjects should be studied at which age. Vincent started by claiming that the basis for all studies is an adequate ability in language, that is, in Latin. Without that it is not possible to proceed successfully in other studies. The ability to use language properly is gained by studying the *trivium*, that is, grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. This is proved by quotations from Richard of Saint-Victor and Quintilian. Having said that, Vincent moved on to deal with more advanced studies. His general idea was that one should study anything that is useful and refrain from studying things that are not useful, or even harmful, such as the writings of the heretics and pagan authors, although the latter are legitimate when read in order to learn language and style while still in school. Finally Vincent stated laconically that everyone should study those things that are suitable to his age and social standing ('*quod etati sue, uel statui congruit ac decet*').[56]

In a later passage Vincent returned to the question of what should be studied and said that all studies should be chosen so that they benefit the eventual purpose of all learning, that is, the study of theology. As God is the end and fulfilment of all the things, so is theology the end and fulfilment of all learning ('*Sicut enim deus est finis omnium rerum, sic et theologica sciencia, que est de divinis, est finis omnium arcium*').[57] One gets the impression that Vincent does not mean to imply that sons of the princes and magnates should

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53 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, 106f.: '*et tunc ipse testis vidit in domo ipsius domini Ludovici et germanorum suorum dominum Guillelmum de Manerio Reynardi militem, qui erat gallicus et erat homo magne et perfecte honestatis et sollicite intendebat ad bonum et honestum regimen dicti domini Ludovici et fratrum suorum, ita quod omni mane faciebat eos lavare manus suas et postea, lotis manibus, faciebat eos intrare capellam ubi erat sacerdos paratus, et ibi audiebat Missam, et dictus dominus Ludovicus tenebat unum librum in manu in quo dicebat Officium beate Virginis. Et Missa finita, ipsi ibant ad quamdam cameram, ubi pedagogus eorum clericus, qui vocabatur Iohannes de Bimareno, bonus et honestus homo, sicut dixit, docebat eos litteras et multum erat diligens ad bene docendum eos. Et postquam audiverant lectionem ibi, ibant ad aliquale solacium, et deinde veniebant ad prandium; et sumpto prandio, dicti fratres interdum ludebant ad scacos.'*

54 *Acta canonizationis sancti Ludovici Tolosani*, xxxii.

55 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*.

56 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 40-43.

57 Vincent of Beauvais, *De eruditione*, 55.

really proceed to study theology. It seems that he just got carried away and included a commentary on learning in the broad sense of the word into his book on the education of the princes.

If one compares Vincent of Beauvais' ideas of what should be studied to the scarce information we have on Louis of Toulouse's *curriculum* it becomes obvious that there are no significant differences. What was taught to Louis, was precisely the same things that Vincent considered to be the rudiments of all the learning, that is, the things that needed to be taught to those who are at the beginning of their studies.

**Conclusion**

Thus we may conclude by noting several things about the education of Louis of Toulouse and his brothers. First, the education was divided into two parts, or three if one counts catechetical instruction in the rudiments of Christian religion. These main parts of the education were good manners and actual learning. For both these subjects, there was a teacher or mentor. These teachers were carefully selected by the parents and judging from the testimonies, very competent in their respective duties. The role of the parents in this case was limited to selecting the teachers, or at least so it seems on the basis of the testimonies of the canonisation process.

Second, the main emphasis seems to have been on the practical and social skills that were demanded from the members of the upper nobility. Not much is said about the details of such education, but the daily time used for the actual schooling was very short and the witnesses all agree that the level of schooling was restricted to the basics of the *trivium*. It is also worth noting that a good deal of time was left for relaxation (lat. *solatium*). One has to add though, that the hobbies that Louis and his brothers had during their free time were also useful for future noblemen. The witnesses mention archery and playing chess, both of which were suitable practices for young princes. In fact, the use of free time was the only part of the education where the responsibility was given to the children themselves. Otherwise, it seems that upper class children during the Middle Ages were not expected to take responsibility for their own socialisation and learning, but rather they were considered as *tabula rasa* or soft wax that was to be formed to the right shape by the educators and teachers.

Third, it is important to note that Louis and his brothers were educated according to the customs of the French royal family. We know that Saint Louis and his queen Marguerite did give a good deal of attention to the education of their children. They consulted outside specialists and even ordered a manual of education from the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais. One does not know how well Vincent's advice and educational methods were followed in the French court, but on the basis of the witnesses, the Naples Angevins followed them quite meticulously. Hence it is reasonable to assume that Vincent's manual indeed reflected or guided contemporary educational ideas in France.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge, that the case of Louis of Toulouse and his brothers is a rather specific one. Their father after all, was Prince of Salerno and heir to the kingdom of Sicily. One must be very careful in drawing any conclusions on its basis, even concerning other children of the higher nobility. A good many more case studies are needed before the history of medieval education, as it really was, can be written. By 'as it really was', I mean, as opposed to the history of educational theories: there are already numerous books on that subject, but one cannot, or should not assume that the practise always followed theories. Most likely in many cases it did not.

# Why Did the Ancient Romans Put Toys in their Children's Graves? Interpretations from the Era of Antiquarianism to 20th Century Anthropology*

Svetlana Hautala

## Introduction

In the absence of literary sources that would shed light on the custom of burying children with the objects that belonged to them, the artefacts themselves acquire utmost value. It is not enough however, to simply *gaze at* the objects found in the graves of Roman children in order to understand the value with which they were endowed. Such was the antiquarian's approach, but we really need to *study* them. This essay is an attempt to offer a more dynamic "methodological fetishism" to show the objects in motion, in the broader context of their social biographies.

Not all the archaeological material comes from the excavations directly to museum showcases, but only those objects now considered the most valuable ones. It was only with the French Revolution that humble tools also attracted interest and scholars finally noticed picks, shovels, ploughs and other tools found at Pompeii. Pictures of these utensils found their place in treatises on the agriculture and economy of ancient Rome, and were shown in engravings in the vast collection, *Antiquités de la Grande-Grèce* by Francesco Piranesi (1756/1758 - 1810), the son of Giovan Battista who was still more interested in the iconography of stately monuments.[1] However, sometimes not even the existence of an interest in certain objects can guarantee their presence in museum collections. Dietwulf Baatz, a historian of ancient artillery, notes that probably some metal parts of the catapults were found during the excavations, but most likely ended up in museum stores awaiting identification, since there were, and still are, only few experts who could recognise them.[2] In contrast, ancient toys and amulets – the focus of this study – belong to that type of artefact that does not need many explanations as to their use, and they have never been neglected by researchers. Moreover, because of their particular recognisability, children's toys, especially dolls, often led the scholar to hasty conclusions, as we will see in the following pages, before an accurate analysis of the site of the discovery was completed.

Although emphasis in museum exhibits is generally placed on the previous phases of the social biographies of the objects – the fascination of ancient toys for the modern viewer lies in the assumption that ancient children played with them – we must start from the information usually written in small letters on museum labels, namely, that the majority of toys and other children belongings come from their graves. The people who probably last touched the child's objects in antiquity, before their revival as exhibit items, were the parents burying their child. Thus, the child's tomb is the departure point of this paper.

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1 Pucci 1979, 67-73.

2 Baatz 1978, 1-17.

**The two sides of a Roman tomb**

There is no return from the reign of shadows and what was taken by Orcus cannot be restored, each coffin is closed forever. However, thanks to the inquisitiveness of archaeologists, we can see what was never destined for our eyes. The major part of the images on the basis of which we can recreate the "ancient way of living" – how the ancient Romans used to dress, comb their hair, move from one place to another or spend their leisure time, gambling for instance – comes from the reliefs or paintings of their tombs. While trying to imagine their everyday life by looking at these representations, we follow their wish to see them as they themselves wanted to be seen in the centuries to come. We read their epitaphs and find ourselves in the position of those for whom they were intended – a passer-by or the casual traveller, with the obvious difference that now we do not see the gravestones on the margins of the road when approaching the town, as it was in Antiquity, but in museums.[3]

Other than the epitaphs, which the Ancients wrote having future generations in mind, we were never supposed to see what they buried in their tombs. What is revealed by virtue of this knowledge is a certain *asymmetry* of the ancient tomb as a complex: the epitaphs communicate a message, but the objects buried with the dead tell other stories.

Firstly, there is selection: only a few features are selected, in the epitaph, to create an image of the deceased, and according to a certain logic some biographical facts rather than others are taken into consideration. To some, one short sentence seemed sufficient to describe their entire life: "He lived in the fields and was happy".[4] Others were more willing to narrate their own life, like a Carthaginian who died at Lyon, a "babbler" as Paul Guiraud calls him,[5] whose epitaph was "a glass maker by trade, he died aged 75, lived 48 years with his wife and had three sons and one daughter, all his children gave him grandchildren whom he leaves behind".[6]

Secondly, a similar selection characterises the objects chosen to represent the deceased: in the same way, as in the case of selecting the most suitable phrases, here too only certain objects are selected from all the variety of the ancient material world. Sometimes images of the objects can replace descriptive phrases. For example, on women's epitaphs *lanam fecit*[7] could be found, weaving being one of the exemplary virtues of the Roman wife, or other times a distaff, a spindle and a basket of wool could be represented to broadcast the same message – this is the tomb of a virtuous Roman matron. Similarly, the epitaphs of craftsmen can carry images of the tools of their trade and sometimes the actual tools were put into the grave. It is mostly in these cases that we can observe that the two "stories" do not coincide, but the story told by the objects is always complementary to the short text of the epitaph. For instance, the spindles and distaffs mentioned in the epitaph of a woman's tomb were not necessarily put in a grave as concrete objects. When a Roman physician could afford to order a relief depicting himself at work, it was not the technical side of his craft that he wanted to emphasise, but the image of himself in contact with people, helping patients. The interior of his tomb however, was sometimes likely to display an impressive quantity of scalpels, mortars for grinding medicinal ingredients, bottles for drugs and other technical apparatus of his profession, the very sight of

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3 The new environment determines our attitude as readers of the inscriptions: cf. the bans (with threats and sacrileges) on urinating and defecating near the tombs, e.g. CIL 2170, CIL VI 5075, etc.

4 CIL X 4923: *Agresti vita felix fuit*.

5 Guiraud 1901, 268.

6 CIL XIII 2000= ILS 7648.

7 Lattimore 1942, 297; Larsson Lovén 2002.

which must have usually frightened his sick clients.[8] Examples are numerous, the main point here is that the whole of the tomb, as a complex, represents the two sides of the same coin: it has a façade, full of formulaic language, and it has the objects inside, which are not the exact representation of the façade. These two sides are not contrasting, but complementary to each other, like the two sides of a coin.

With the inevitable scale reduction, all these features of the adult's tomb also characterised Roman children's tombs. Here too, the text of the epitaphs might vary from the rather laconic to the longwinded and Roman children could also be represented through what they did: for instance, on the gravestone of Geminia Agathe, a girl who died in her sixth year of life in Rome, is written: "*dum vixi*, *lusi*" (all the time I lived, I played).[9] Often various symbols of childhood were chosen by the parents to be put in the graves where they were supposed to stay forever, away from human sight. As in the larger model of the adults, the complex of a child's tomb consists of parts that are neither the same as each other nor the opposite, but rather complementary to the main theme, the mourning for a child lost before his time.

Are the toys in the grave "mute", in the sense that they were to remain hidden from human sight, and, other than the epitaph, they do not carry inscriptions? Since the eighteenth century antiquarians and archaeologists have been convinced of the communicative potential of these items, and today such a belief that things carry messages is also held, albeit with the expected differences as to the explanation: toys change their stories depending on who interrogates them. Being aware that my own interpretation (in the last part of this paper) will also bear the marks of my time, I will start with the historical background to the interpretations of the Roman children's cherished belongings found in their graves. It is clear that the main question of my study (i.e. why did the ancient Romans put toys in their children's graves?) implies many others, for example, the status of children's possessions in Rome, their functions, and finally the contexts of the find. Instead of cataloguing here the materials – too plentiful to do it successfully[10] – I will try to address those questions while revisiting the theories and interpretations provided by the scholars of the past who found and collected the toys in museums.

**Entering the kingdom of heaven like a child**

Unearthed children's toys begin their second life as museum exhibits in the context of Christian archaeology. Since the days of Helen, Emperor Constantine's mother, sometimes called "the first archaeologist" because she ordered the excavations to search for the cross on which Christ was crucified, the Christian archaeology approach to the study of Antiquity has consisted of reviving the life of the early Christians starting with the material fragments of their culture. Once asked about the nature of his business, Cyriacus of Ancona (1391 – 1453/55), assiduous collector of ancient inscriptions, replied, "Restoring the dead to life".[11] While Latin and other ancient languages in which the gravestones spoke to Cyriacus had never fallen in total neglect, it was much more difficult to make everyday objects 'speak', and the history of ancient children's toys is the history of the search for a code to decrypt their mysteries.

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8 Künzl 1982, 1-131.

9 CIL VI 19007, CLE 562, 4.

10 The following titles are useful for the lists of children's objects and their images: McK. Elderkin 1930, 455-79; Rinaldi 1956, 104-29; *Jouer dans l'antiquité: Musée d'archéologie méditerranéenne* 1991; Manson 1992, 48-57; Salza Prina Ricotti 1995; Fittà 1997; Dasen 2003, 275-89; De' Siena 2009; Mori – Lambrugo – Slavazzi (eds.) 2012.

11 *Kyriaci Anconitani Itinerarium nunc primum ex ms. cod. in lucem erutum*…, Florentiae 1742, 55: "*ex tempore equidem respondi, mortuos quandoque ab Inferis suscitare Pythia illa inter vaticina didici*".

In February 1544 during the construction of St. Peter's in Rome, a sarcophagus containing a young girl's remains surrounded by many precious objects was found. As further research showed, the place of the find – the Chapel of St. Petronilla – had been built upon the foundation of another building, namely, the mausoleum of Emperor Honorius. The golden *bulla* from the tomb carried such names as *Stilichon*, *Serena*, *Maria*, *Thermantia*, *Sucherius* and *Honorius*, and the engraving on another jewel was "*Domina nostra Maria*". It was concluded that the grave belonged to Maria, daughter of Stilichon, who at the age of 12 years was married to fourteen-year-old Emperor Honorius. For a long time it was believed that, among other things, a doll from her grave was supposed to serve as a proof of the fact that Maria died a virgin. Michel Manson however, in an article published in 1978,[12] demonstrated that no doll was actually found in Maria's grave and that this myth was due to some misunderstanding. Firstly, in the large monograph on the Christian cemeteries in Rome, published in 1720 by Marcantonio Boldetti (1663-1749), the learned canon of Santa Maria in Trastevere, one of the plates depicted a doll together with other objects found in the graves of the early Christians **(Fig. 1)**. Though no mention of the doll in Maria's sarcophagus was made in the monograph, the "inattentive reader", Manson notes, could come to such a wrong conclusion because misled by the picture. The second reason at the root of the confusion, Manson goes on, is a long lasting uncertainty about the term *crepundia*, used in Latin to refer to the metallic pendants worn by children as amulets against the evil eye, the very jingling of which (hence the name, from *crepo* 'to rattle', 'to tinkle') would drive the evil forces away from the child. Not long since, in 1939, Alfred Ernoult in his translation of Plautus' *Rudens* translated *crepundia* as generic 'toys' ('jouets d'enfant'). Probably the very indefinite nature of the word – used largely in the plural and reflecting the variety of shapes that the protective amulets might take – was the reason why at some point *crepundia* came to identify a whole range of small objects (dolls included) belonging to a child.

However, the myth of Maria's doll was to be debunked by Manson only in 1978, a long time after 1865 when, under the entry 'toys' in his *Dictionary of Christian antiquities*, Abbé Joseph Alexandre Martigny mentioned an ivory doll found in the tomb of Maria, Emperor Honorius's wife. The context of this statement is curious. Martigny begins by stating the fact that putting in the grave the objects to which the deceased was particularly attached was characteristic of all the nations of antiquity, but at the same time he also emphasises that only with the advent of Christianity the very meaning of this practice changed radically. To Martigny, toys in Christian graves were some kind of ticket to paradise, as follows from his quotation from the New Testament (Matthew, 18, 3): "Verily I say unto you, unless ye be converted and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven": and as "new evidence" to support his statement, he mentions[13] the presence of a doll in the grave of an adult, namely that of Maria, Honorius's wife.

The very idea of putting toys in the coffin of the deceased in order to ensure they would be considered as children in the afterlife, and not the adults they really were, so that the doors of the kingdom of heaven would be flung open to them, is so unusual that it would require more corroborative evidence. However let us note an interesting point: the doll in this reference system is a proof of innocence (more spiritual, than physical), it is to be understood as a sign that encompasses the dead person's values and attitudes. A single glance at the doll would be enough to reveal the story of an entire life, provided that there were additional signs, such as the cross for example, or other Christian symbols. Martigny juxtaposes the pious and the profane very clearly. Following the same logic, Giovanni Battista de' Rossi (1822-1894), a passionate explorer of Roman catacombs and cemeteries, wrote in his *Roma sotterranea cristiana*, that the little bells (*tintin-*

12 Manson 1978, 863-9.

13 Martigny 1865, 347.

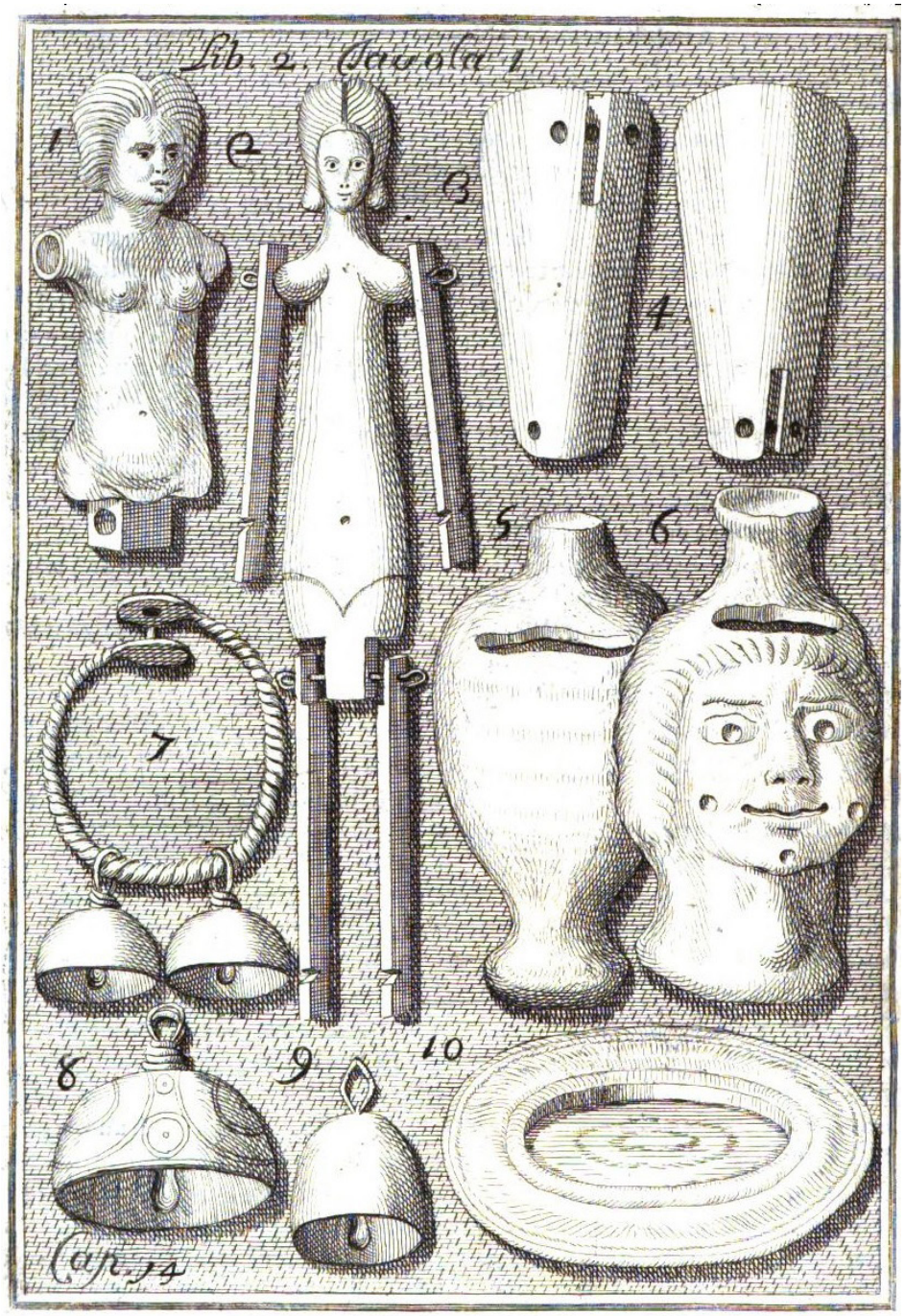


**Fig. 1**: M.A. Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri de' SS. Martiri ed antichi cristiani di Roma* 1720, 496.

*nabula*), whose purpose in antiquity was to serve as an apotropaic charm, in the Christian graves were to embody the willingness to accept martyrdom, because a person with the bell around their neck was supposed to demonstrate being like an animal ready to be sacrificed.[14]

If in any other tomb the gems might indicate a "pleasure of life",[15] in a Christian grave they were reminders of the Heavenly Jerusalem the walls of which were built of precious stones: virgins and matrons, explains Martigny, were considered brides of Christ, "it was thus natural, that their earthly remains were

14 G.B. De' Rossi, *Roma sotterranea cristiana* 1877, 586.

15 Martigny 1865, 531.

adorned with the objects that symbolised their virtue".[16] In pagan graves mirrors and combs are to be interpreted as symbols of empty pride: it is characteristic that Boldetti, quoted by Martigny and many others, at this point introduces some passages from Latin poetry in which those items are mentioned in a satirical, rather misogynistic context. On the contrary, the mirrors and combs found in the Christian tombs should generate another kind of association: for example, according to Boldetti, how priests used to comb their hair before celebrating Mass in order to have a proper appearance, or how they looked at themselves in the mirror to remove any foreign body from their faces before the sacrifice.[17]

"These combs, for their shapes and materials are not dissimilar from the modern ones", says Boldetti,[18] and apparently this is a key feature of his method: from all the variety of things found in ancient graves he singles out the familiar objects in order to destroy immediately the illusion of familiarity that could be created by looking at the images in his tables. This process of de-familiarisation is aimed at demonstrating how different was the use of these objects in Christian hands: they were used for more spiritual purposes than ours. His system of references to Latin satirists and Christian authors gives the objects a new dimension: immersed in this supersaturated solution, Christian meanings crystallise – from the emblem of vanity it was in antiquity, the mirror turns into a tool for the good priest to prepare to serve Mass before the altar.

Unlike other objects, ancient children's toys do not change their status so drastically in the perspective of Christian archaeology: dolls and *crepundia* as emblems of the 'child' are only reinforced in this interpretation. For Boldetti dolls and children's amulets have kept their meaning through the ages – a symbol of innocence both in pagan Antiquity and in the Christian era, as well as in his own time, the eighteenth century.

However, Christian archaeology was not the only context in which ancient toys found their place in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and notwithstanding their obvious marginality among other artefacts of Antiquity, not only antiquarians were interested in them.

## "The *College of Latin Nurses*" and the Iroquois

In 1719 in Siena, Italy, a book describing the inauguration of a very unusual college was published. The purpose of this college was to award a degree to students whose mother tongue would be Latin. In order to achieve this objective, the most natural way was proposed: to be accepted to the college the children would not be older than four months and would be in the charge of learned nurses, women who all the time would speak only in the language of the ancient Romans. It was forbidden within the walls of this college to utter a word in modern languages and the founders' grandiose plans foresaw the enrolment of babies not only from Italy, but from other countries too so that, brought up in such a manner, they would then return to their homelands to spread Latin everywhere.

As reported in the posthumous collected works of the author Girolamo Gigli (1660-1722) a learned, eccentric professor of the University of Siena, the impact of this booklet was such that many had really believed in the existence of such a college and began to send letters to Siena applying for admission for their children.[19] The whole book, from beginning to end, was a mockery, a kind of April Fool joke, and a parody of the projects to revive the former glory of the language of ancient Rome, which had never completely ceased to preoccupy minds in Italy and elsewhere. Probably there was a series of causes that led many to

16 Ibidem.

17 Boldetti 1720, 503.

18 Boldetti 1720, 503.

19 G. Gigli, *Collezione completa delle opere edite ed inedite di Girolamo Gigli celebre letterato sanese* 1797-1798, vol. 1, XI.

believe in the real existence of the *College of Latin Nurses*: from time to time proposals were formulated for the revival of the Latin language and Gigli's description was so detailed and comprehensive that it could deceive the enthusiast. The reason for mentioning Gigli's here is that his book contains, in embryo, a classification of ancient toys in relationship to the child's age.

According to the scrupulous statute imposed by the founders of the *College*, a game activity corresponded to each age, in addition to reading and studying. While for the ages from 4 to 6 years light physical exercise was prescribed; children from 8 to 10 years were to "learn the games of the children of Troy, about which Virgil writes in the fifth book of the *Aeneid* when describing Anchises' celebrations".[20] However very young children, from 1 to 4, were to be allowed to play with toys: "they will hold in their hands dolls, representing some Hero, or Heroine, in order to make them fall in love, from the cradle, with the image of Virtue" and "babies will be entertained with the *cymbals*, *sistra*, *tintinnabula*, and *crotala* in use among the Romans".[21] This last category of toys, the various rattles, was evidently introduced by Gigli as a mocking intent to further ridicule the enterprise to resurrect Latin as a spoken language, but in a work published a few years later, "*Customs of the American Indians compared with customs of primitive times"*, the famous work of Joseph-François Lafitau (1681-1746), a Jesuit missionary in New France, the rattles he saw being used in Iroquois' dances were taken as evidence of their culture being in an extreme state of infancy.

The first European travellers of the sixteenth century had already described the Native Americans' musical instruments. Lafitau, in his extremely erudite work, quotes the previous accounts and completes them. For instance, while reporting the opinion of Jean de Léry (1536-1613), a French Calvinist pastor, author of the *History of a Voyage to the Land of Brazil*, he notes:

> "The sound made by this instrument [the *maracas*] resembles very closely, Mr. de Léry writes, that which a pig bladder full of dried peas would make. He would have been able to find a more perfect and proper resemblance with certain toys still made in Europe to amuse children".[22]

Then Lafitau proceeds with a reference to the image of a mysterious Goddess, Clatra **(Fig. 2)**, "who is identical with Isis", holding a *sistrum* in her hand. In order to shed light on the goddess's name, he recalls that the *sistrum* that the goddess is holding is called "*clater*" in Flemish, that is baby rattles, and underlines how the word sounds like the goddess's name, clater/Clatra. Then he goes on associating the ancient with the modern, typical of his method of study, and discerns that both Apollo's lyre and the Iroquois' rattles were made of the same material, a turtle shell, discovering similarities which the objects themselves bring out. As has been noted,[23] the figures in Lafitau's work enjoy the status of 'authority' to the point that they generate the text rather than illustrate it.

Many centuries separate the Iroquois' turtle rattles from Apollo's lyre: Apollo belongs to the past, the Iroquois to the present. How can their use of the turtle shell be explained? Lafitau posits the existence of a third party acting as a bridge between Apollo and the Iroquois - children and their rattles. In his system Antiquity represents the infancy of man and the Iroquois, who use rattles like children, are now in that stage. In the frontispiece of Lafitau's work two winged children (the *genii*, as the author himself calls them) hold-

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20 Gigli 1719, 73: "impareranno i puerili giuochi Trojani, dei quali fa menzione Virgilio nel Libro quinto per la celebrità di Anchise".

21 Gigli 1719, 72: "e si terranno alle loro mani, i *Pupi*, figuranti qualche Eroe, o Eroina, onde s'innamorino […], fino dalle fasce dell'immagine della Virtù" […] "e trattar piccoli colli cembali, sistri, tintinnaboli e crotali, i quali presso i Romani furono in uso".

22 Lafitau 1974, 151-2. Jean de Léry actually makes this comparison himself: "ainsi que voyez en France les enfans percer de grosses noix pour faire des molinets" (*Histoire d'un voyage faict en la terre du Bresil, autrement dite Amerique*, Genève 1580, 104).

23 De Certau 1980, 37-64, esp. 41.

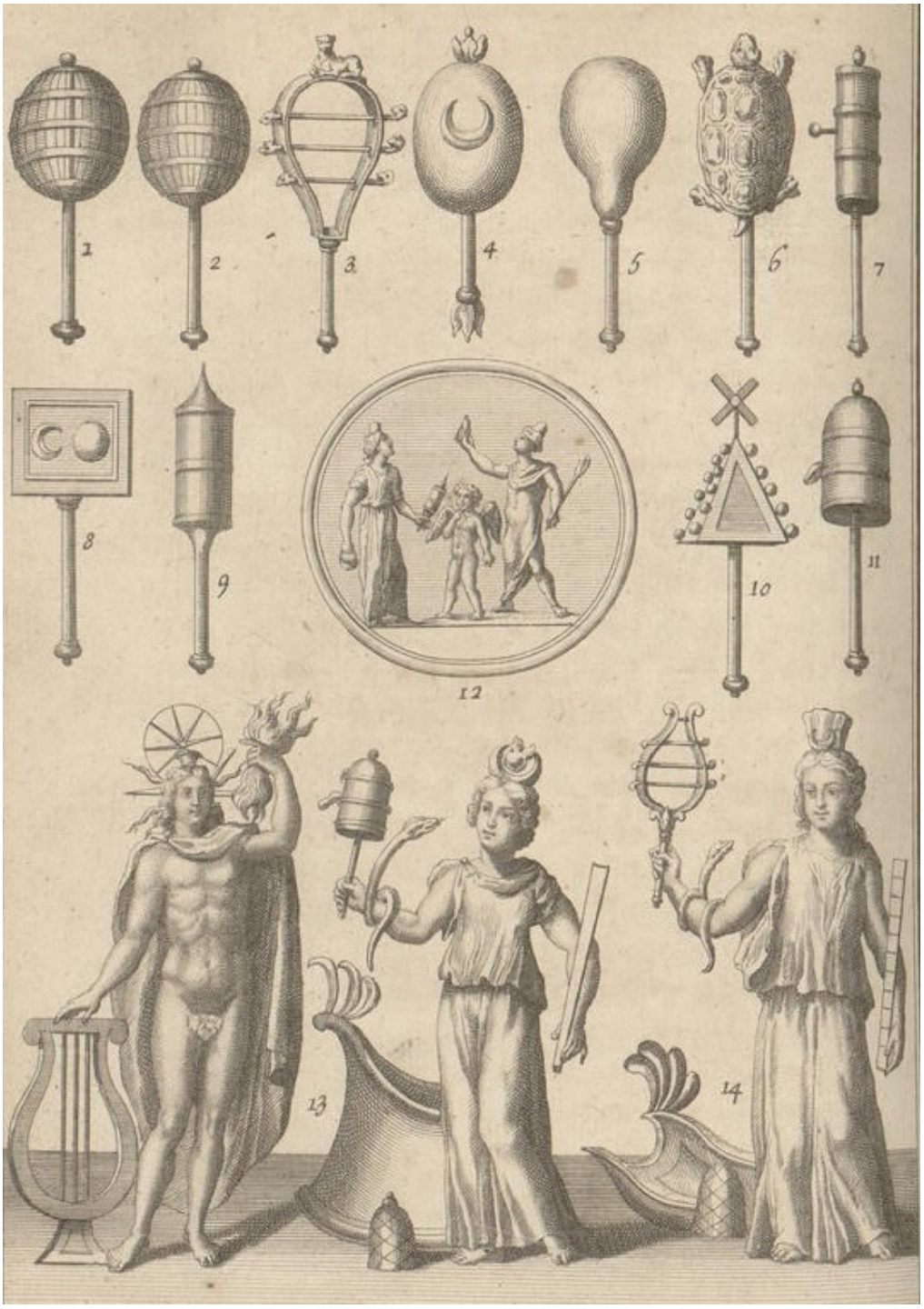


**Fig. 2**: J.-F., Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains compares* 1724, vol. I, 212.

ing rattles are depicted close to the personification of Time and the eyes of all three are turned to a female figure, the personification of Writing **(Fig. 3)**. According to the explanation of the image provided by Lafitau himself, "two *genii* are engaged in assembling these specimens (i.e. statues of gods, medals, travel books, etc.) for comparison, piling them up near one another in a way that shows the relationships between them".[24]

It is significant that Lafitau does not show further interest in the third party of his comparison, i.e. contemporary children playing with rattles. He writes at length about the religious use of both ancient musi-

24 Lafitau 1974, 7.

**Fig. 3**: J.-F., Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains compares*, Paris, 1724, vol. I, frontispiece.

cal instruments and the rattles with which the Huron dance during their ceremonies, but does not examine further the fact that European children "amuse themselves" with the objects that at another time and in another place had a sacred status. In his system of resemblances children have only one role, namely that depicted on the frontispiece of his work: they help him to point out what he believes it is obvious. Dealing with modern children would mean Lafitau must deviate from the purpose of his research, that is bringing together the customs of the American Indians and those of primitive times.

"*Reasoning to Madame NN on the ancient ornaments and playthings for children"*[25] by the Sicilian aristocratic antiquarian Ignazio Paternò Castello, Prince of Biscari, the monograph published some 60 years later in 1782, was dedicated exclusively to the comparison of ancient and modern toys.

**"Not a bizarre novelty, but a palpable demonstration".**

Apparently, Paternò Castello's *Reasoning* was the first monograph having as its subject ancient children's toys, and for the presentation of his material the author chose the epistolary form, the whole work representing a kind of display of his collection to which he invited a "*Madame NN*", his correspondent.

Antiquarian works in the eighteenth century were written in a variety of forms: evidently the plain prose for long descriptions of ancient artefacts was no longer very attractive in the eyes of the public and in order to succeed in the book market one had to experiment with different genres. For instance, in "*Athenian letters"*, published by a group of authors in 1741 in Cambridge, a Persian spy named Cleander and his correspondents exchanged the details of everyday life in Athens during the Peloponnesian war, in Egypt and in Persia. If, for example Cleander communicates to Hydaspes, the king of Persia's first chamberlain, an evaluation of the different manners of Greece and Asia,[26] the latter writes back to Cleander about Araspes and Araminta's wedding at the court of Ecbatana,[27] and so on. In such a way, through the device of an exchange of correspondence, customs and artefacts of distant countries were illustrated to one's fellow countrymen.

The moderate popularity of this book was soon eclipsed by the extraordinary success of the "*Voyage of young Anacharsis in Greece*", written by Abbé Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716-1795), published in 1788, since reprinted and translated many times throughout Europe. The use of the image of a young Scythian, Anacharsis, visiting various places in Greece and wondering at what he sees allowed the author to present many aspects of the Ancients' everyday life. Although not a history book in the strict sense, it is not a novel; it differs from a historical novel in the abundance of authoritative quotes. Every page in the elegant edition in eight *petites volumes* is full of quotations from various sources: "the quizzical gaze of the ignorant traveller, the barbarian Anacharsis, propels us toward the informed view of the antiquarian Barthélemy".[28] Paternò Castello also needed an interlocutor, an expedient for his story. He addressed his work "*Reasoning"* to a lady in order to demonstrate his main thesis, namely that ancient toys were very similar to the modern ones since man's nature will always be the same, no matter what changes the course of Time might introduce. The lady, "*Madame NN*", his imaginary correspondent, remains anonymous and she speaks no lines in the text, but the whole discourse rests on her silent presence. Other than Barthélemy's young Scythian, "*Madame NN"* is more familiar with culture, some aspects of which are laid before her: for example, the author does not translate the Latin quotation that he invites her to read in order to judge for herself the reliability of his reasoning. Still some elements of wonder are present here, too.

To begin with, the author invites his correspondent to test for herself his "system of inferring the use of ancient objects by comparing them with the modern ones".[29] Spending long hours at the hairdresser's, "*Madame NN"* probably thought that all complicated, time-consuming hairstyles were the invention of recent times. Just a look at the marble busts of the Roman matrons, abundantly represented in museums,

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25 Paternò Castello 1781.

26 *Athenian letters* 1792, 11-3.

27 *Athenian letters* 1792, 15-8.

28 Ginzburg 2012, 119.

29 Paternò Castello 1781, 15: "secondo il mio sistema di interpretare l'uso delle cose antiche paragonandole alle moderne".

should have been enough to assure her that the changing fashions in hairdressing already existed in antiquity: but there is more. It was not Madame du Barry, as was believed, who invented the long hairpin that would allow scratching the head without disturbing the hairstyle: for that purpose the Ancients used a similar device, called *Acus Crinalis*.[30]

In Barthélemy's book the young Scythian Anacharsis asks permission to enter the house of a rich Athenian, Dinias, and marvels greatly at his wife Lysistrata's dressing-table: there are so many different brooches, combs, mirrors, little bottles and so on,[31] and while the owner of the house is wondering how all this might be new to a Scythian, *Madame NN*'s surprise, if she were to be on the scene, would be of a third type: she would have recognised the purpose of all the items in Lysistrata's boudoir, and would be marvelling only at the fact that so many items, all so familiar to her, already existed in Antiquity.

It is interesting to note that in the first place Paternò Castello needs an interlocutor to display his collection of antique toys. Apparently, since not only a woman and mother would have appreciated how ancient toys were similar to the modern ones, the Prince could have addressed himself to a general reader while making appeal to his childhood memories, but for some reason he prefers to ignore the public behind *Madame NN*'s shoulders and he prefers to communicate with her only through a book that he wants published. It is worth noticing that the museum of the Prince of Biscari represented a must-see place on the Grand Tour. It was visited by Goethe among many other Europeans.[32] The Prince himself would guide the visitors and perhaps his written style of presenting his collection, of emphasising some details while ignoring others, reflects his real experience as a guide. It is also probable that his choice of a woman as an interlocutor was suggested by his observations of the public during those real museum tours. In any case it is difficult to overestimate the importance of the female audience for the antiquarian production of the second half of the 18th century.[33] It was on this public that, for instance Karl August Böttiger (1760-1835), a German classicist and a prominent member of the literary and artistic circles in Weimar and Jena, was relying when he decided to represent exclusively the feminine segment of the private life in Rome in his first book. His "*Sabina, or morning scenes in the dressing room of a wealthy Roman lady"* was first published in 1803,[34] reprinted three years later and translated into French in 1813. The work was dedicated to Maria Feodorowna (1759-1828), the princess of Württemberg and the second wife of Tsar Paul I of Russia. It illustrates the *boudoir* of a wealthy Roman lady in minute detail, unlike the fleeting glimpse offered by Barthélemy. If the author digresses from the composition of beauty creams and powders in his book that is over 300 pages long, it is only to show how the Roman barber's shop was stocked or to make a detour on the cruelty of Roman matrons to slaves. It is interesting that "*Sabina*" served as a model for "*Gallus*" and "*Charicles*", two books on Roman and Greek private life respectively, narrated through the biographies of personages, written by Wilhelm Adolf Becker (1796-1846), a classical scholar and from 1842 professor of archaeology in Leipzig.[35] However let us return to Paternò Castello's virtual tour.

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30 Paternò Castello 1781, 4-5: "Ella [*sc*. Madama Du Barrì] ancora pretese essere l'inventrice di quel lungo Spillone, che si porta conficcato ai Capelli per comodo di potersi grattare la testa, non permettendo farlo altrimenti la esuberante pettinatura […]. Neppure questa invenzione deve reputarsi una novità, giacchè ebbero gli Antichi uno strumento simile a questo Spillone, usato per l'acconciatura de' Capelli, che potea ancora a tale uso servire, e che *Acus Crinalis* fu chiamato".

31 J.-J. Barthélemy, *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*… 1789, 118-9.

32 Pitanza 2009.

33 Cf. Chartier 1989, 146.

34 K.A. Böttinger, *Sabina, oder Morgenszenen im Putzzimmer einer reichen Römerin* 1803.

35 *Gallus, oder, römische Scenen aus der Zeit Augusts: zur genaueren Kenntniss des römischen Privatlebens*, Leipzig 1838; *Charicles: Bilder altgriechischer Sitte, zur genaueren Kenntniss des griechischen Privatlebens*, Leipzig 1840.

Once he gained *Madame NN*'s full attention by pointing out the early origins of the pins in her hair, the Prince of Biscari turned to show his collection. He organised the toys according to the child's age: rattles correspond to the first years of life, then it is the dolls' turn, and after them *terracotta* money boxes, containers of various shapes with the slot for the coins. In the author's opinion, they represent that age when passions begin to "burn" in children, and with them "the desire to possess and keep what they have got" is aroused.[36] Paternò Castello was not interested in the context in which the objects of his museum were found: it is possible for example, that the money boxes came from children's graves, but he does not mention the graves at all in his work. As with Lafitau's and other eighteenth century antiquarians, reasoning is replaced by simply indicating the items that are taken as a whole, regardless of where they were found. As Paternò Castello declared (not without challenge) at the beginning of his monograph: "It is not philosophic contemplation, not researched argument, nor bizarre novelty that induces me to think so, but palpable demonstration".[37] Generalisation was the main goal here, Paternò Castello like other antiquarians, was interested not so much in solving problems, as in cataloguing the artefacts according to some principle. Yet this static tranquillity is sometimes disturbed by the necessity to answer competitors: there are colleagues that pose specific questions.

Only once does Paternò Castello mention excavations in his book, intentionally leaving out the details about the place where the museum items were found, and this is in connection with *terracotta* statuettes. Contrary to the general opinion that they were antique votive gifts for the temples, he believed they were toys. For those who supported the common interpretation, the proof was in the great number of statuettes found, but the Prince of Biscari based his refutation on the same argument. He recalls how he happened to visit a place in Kamarina, an ancient city situated on the south coast of Sicily, where he saw about a hundred of those figurines, in addition to fragments everywhere, and concluded that the place was probably a manufactory. About twenty such *terracotta* figurines found a place in his museum and, together with others coming from various other places, they totalled about a hundred.[38] Paternò Castello compared the accumulation of *terracotta* statuettes that he had seen in Kamarina with the workshops full of dolls of his own time, and concluded that both in the past and in his present time the need to produce them in such a great quantity was determined by their fragile material, easily broken in children's hands. Moreover, votive gifts, continued the Prince, were not likely to be so uniform: they surely would have some detail to emphasise the peculiar type of *beneficium* obtained.[39] Having touched on the central issue, that of the identification of these anthropomorphic figurines, the questions arose as to whether they were dolls or were they statuettes representing people or gods. Were they toys to play with or were they objects of veneration? The Prince of Biscari did not dwell long on the subject. If he happened to go deep into the problem, perhaps his belief that ancient children did not differ much from the Sicilian children of the second half of the eighteenth century would be shaken, but he was too engrossed in his thesis on the sameness of human nature in all periods to pursue this line of thought.

**Gazes from afar, "either full of tenderness or as cold as ice"**

In order to be capable of seeing other possibilities for interpretation a certain level of separation is needed, such as the detachment that the early Christian authors achieved when describing the ancient Greeks and

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36 Paternò Castello 1781, 27-8.

37 Paternò Castello 1781, 2: "A così pensare mi induce non filosofica contemplazione, non ricercato argomento, non bizzarra novità, ma palpabile dimostrazione".

38 Paternò Castello 1781, 22-3.

39 Paternò Castello 1781, 23.

Romans who were pagans to them. Lactantius (died ca. 320 A.D. in Trier), an advisor to Constantine I and tutor to his son, found that the very concrete forms of venerating the statues of gods among the ancient Greeks and Romans, namely the ritual washing of the statues, adorning them with clothes and offering them food, resembled the play of a little girl with her dolls, the only difference was in the sizes. He calls on the Roman poet Persius for his argument, and comments on a sentence from his *Saturae* (2, 68-70), according to which the gold inside a holy place "is about as useful as those dolls that a girl dedicates to Venus":

> "Perhaps the poet spoke dismissively of the dolls because of their small size. But did he not see that even the simulacra and images of the gods made in gold and ivory by such artists as Phidias, Euphranor, or Polyclitus are nothing other than big dolls? Of course, they are dedicated not by little girls (whose games we can forgive) but by full-grown men with beards. And these men give to these toys of theirs, to their big fancy dolls, offerings of balm, incense, and perfume, sacrificing to them victims that are rich and fat (even though, while they have mouth, they have no teeth), giving them cloaks and precious clothing when they have no need to be dressed, and presenting them with gold and silver that is not so much the property of those who receive it as it is of those who offer it."[40]

The prospect of separation, achieved by Persius by means of his critical distancing from the culture to which he belonged, is amplified in Lactantius' work by the absence of empathy for that culture, completely alien to him and distant.[41]

Although Lactantius' works never ceased to be published, the relevance of the passage above to the study of ancient dolls was noted long after the second half of the eighteenth century[42]: the antiquarians of the Age of Enlightenment did not search for information on ancient toys in the texts of Christian authors. The entry "*Poupée*" (Doll) in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* is very illuminating in this sense. Its author, Louis de Jaucourt (1704-1779), the most prolific contributor to the Encyclopaedia, mentioned the Christians only once to say that they imitated the Roman custom of burying their children with the dolls. It is curious that, although there are many cross-references in the *Encyclopédie* de Jaucourt - nicknamed "*l'esclave de l'Encyclopédie*" (the slave of the Encyclopaedia) because of the great number of entries he signed – did not cross-reference this to another entry in which the doll appears in an unexpected light and in a Christian context. The entry is called "*Fou*" (Fool) and is dedicated to court jesters.[43] At the beginning of the ninth century, wrote de Jaucourt, the Emperor Theophilos had a jester named Daudery. One day he unexpectedly went into the Empress Theodora's room and found her praying before some icons. She did so in secret, not wishing to be seen by her iconoclastic husband. Daudery had never seen an icon and asked her what they were: the Empress replied that they were dolls that she had made for her daughters. Later, at dinner the jester told how he had happened to see the Empress kissing the most beautiful dolls in the world.

This anecdote has reached us in several versions. In one of them the jester himself, without any question or answer, calls the icons 'dolls', while reporting to the Emperor on what he had seen in the Empress's chamber. Then Theodora corrects him before the Emperor and explains that the fool was wrong: she was looking at herself in the mirror and what he took to be the doll was her own reflection in the mirror.[44] According to another version, it was the smallest of the Empress's daughters who kissed the icons, calling

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40 Lact. *inst*. 2. 4, 13.

41 On estrangement, see: Ginzburg 1998.

42 José Dörig, in his article 'Von griechischen Puppen' (*Antike Kunst* 1. 2 (1958) 41-52) read this passage of Lactantius as an evidence of dolls actually being worshiped in the ancient Greek temples by bearded men.

43 *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers*… T. 7, 1757, 42.

44 Theophanes Continuatus, 91-2, where the jester's name is *Denderis* (Δένδερις), not *Daudery* as in de Jaucourt.

them the most beautiful dolls.[45] Essentially, in all its versions, this anecdote is nothing else but a broad reflection of the definition of the sacred image: the different ways of looking at an object determines its characterisation. To a child or a fool (and they both are the same according to the story's logic) the icon is a doll, to the empress it is a holy image and to her iconoclastic husband an empty idol.

Here I should pause in order to summarise what has been discussed so far. The antiquarian approach does not help us when there is a question to be answered; their "conversation" with the material evidence, their "palpable demonstrations" resembles more the ventriloquist talking to his dummy. The very nature of this way of organising information does not encompass problem-solving, as was noted over half a century ago by Arnaldo Momigliano in his memorable article: "historians produce those facts which serve to illustrate or explain a certain situation; antiquaries collect all the items that are connected with a certain subject, whether they help to solve a problem or not".[46]

"Looking at things" is never a universal, unchanging act. Lafitau, who took great care in choosing the most authentic images, as he relied more on their descriptive power than on text, dressed the nude statues of gods of his illustrations. "These figures being too nude, decorum has obliged me to have them dressed", as he explained to the reader.[47] There was something that was not to be seen. Girolamo Gigli was also concerned about the same decorum, when he expressly prescribed in the statute of his imaginary "*College of Latin Nurses"* that all dolls should have breeches in order to prevent the children indulging their curiosity if they wanted to peep under the dolls' clothes.[48]

**Fig. 4**: The doll of Crepereia Tryphaena, (from: *Crepereia Tryphaena: le scoperte archeologiche nell'area del Palazzo di Giustina*, [mostra, Roma luglio - novembre 1983] 1983).

It is not only the imprint that Rococo aesthetics imposed upon antiquity that should discredit the antiquary's method in our eyes. The changed paradigms of our time have restored the ancient dolls to nudity and, apparently, there is nothing further distant from the bashful eighteenth century attitude to the nude than the view of Danielle Gourevitch when she describes the doll found in the sarcophagus of Crepereia Tryphaena in Rome in 1889 **(Fig. 4)**: "the charm of her body, with the discernible pubic area, shaved as was fashionable then, flat belly albeit with a delicate swelling and a well-designed navel, high-placed small breasts, delicate nipples".[49] Her main thesis is that dolls were "educational toys": a girl had to learn and aspire to have sex appeal in order to become a childbearing matron. However, when it comes to giving evidence for her thesis,

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45 Pseudo-Simeon 628-9. I wish to thank Tommaso Braccini for this (and previous) references.

46 Momigliano 1950, 286; Burke 2001.

47 De Certau 1980, 42.

48 Gigli 1719, 80: "se terranno i pupazzi, e le pupazze co' calzoncini, essendo i Bambini sempre curiosi di alzar loro la gonnella, e le brache".

49 Gourevitch 2011, 15: "le charme de son corps, pubis en valeur, épilé comme on l'apprécie alors, ventre plat avec néanmoins un délicat renflement et un nombril bien dessiné, petits seins haut placés, aux mamelons délicats".

**Fig. 5**: The so-called Cossinia-doll (Museo Nazionale Romano, Palazzo Massimo. Su concessione del Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo - Soprintendenza speciale per i beni archeologici di Roma).

the reader, just like the eighteenth century reader, is invited to look at images:

> I was even more convinced when I the catalogue of a photographic exhibition of Olivier Rebufa came into my hands: this artist narcissistically pictures himself with Barbie dolls, whose seductive sexual characteristics are known to everyone. Some scenes leave no doubt about the relationship between Barbie and the artist. The inevitable happens: Barbie is pregnant, that is the condition that the Romans hoped to reach without emphasising it too much. They encouraged the emergence of the seductress's attributes through play.[50]

The works of a modern photographer should shed light on the status of the Roman doll, and an appeal to information "known by everyone" should give a touch of universality to the conclusions. If it is true that we will never be able to estimate precisely the difference that lies between us and the Romans, it does not mean that we should not try.

The antiquarian works of the eighteenth century mentioned the existence of dolls of the male sex, referring thus to the likelihood that the Roman boys played with them, but from the beginning of the nineteenth century the female sex of dolls prevails.[51] Actually, from the whole mass of figurines the ones which represented gladiators, with mobile arms and legs, stand out: by virtue of the mobility of their limbs, the play with such doll creates an illusion of life.[52] Yet it seems that especially the discovery of the doll in Vestal Cossinia's grave, which took place in 1929 in Tivoli (**fig. 5**), had the greatest influence on the formation of today's triumphant view of dolls as a sign of emerging sexuality. In the publications of the 30s the fact that Cossinia, who had served 66 years as a Vestal virgin as her epitaph states, did not seem particularly strange.[53] Ancient evidence of a girl's dedication of dolls to the gods before her marriage was quoted as proof of the correctness of the interpretation of the doll as a materialisation of the main physical quality of a Vestal, i.e. her virginity. Only in 1983 did Gabriella Bordenache Battaglia make an accurate analysis of the burial site to conclude that the doll came from the grave of a young woman near that of the Vestal, and which Mancini thought might have been the base of Cossina's statue.[54] Thus the incongruity between the epitaph on the grave, datable to the

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50 Gourevitch 2011, 27: "J'en fus encore plus convaincue quand j'ai eu entre les mains le catalogue d'une ex position de photographies d'Olivier Rebufa: cet artiste se photographie narcissiquement avec des Barbies, dont chacun connait les caractéristiques sexuelles séductrices. Certaines scènes ne laissent aucun doute sur les relations entre Barbie et l'artiste. Arrive ce qui devait arriver: Barbie est enceinte, ce que les Romains ont bien espéré sans le montrer, en stimulant par le jeu les caractères physique de la femme aguicheuse!"

51 The bibliography on subject is wide, see e.g. L. Becq de Fouquières, *Les jeux des anciens, leur description, leur origine, leurs rapports avec la religion, l'histoire, les arts et les moeurs* 1869; Danese 1986, 47-57; Reilly 1997, 154-73; Martin-Kilcher 2000, 63-77; Pardon-Labonnelie – Gourevitch 2009, 209-14; Scilabra 2012, 387-402.

52 Dardaine 1983, 239-44; Dasen 2012, 19.

53 Mancini 1930, 353-69; Hallam 1930, 14-5.

54 Mancini 1930.

first century, and the doll hair-style, reminiscent of Iulia Domna's style from the second century **(Fig. 5)** was explained. As Bordenache Battaglia concludes, Vestal Cossinia was most likely cremated in the first century, whereas the doll in her tomb came from the neighbouring grave, built a century later.[55]

Thus, despite the fairly dynamic history of the interpretation of children's belongings, all the information we have at present comes down to the very fact that sometimes the Romans buried their children with toys. Whatever the comprehension of what toys could teach children – dolls might teach, for instance, seduction; moneyboxes frugality – those functions do not yet answer the question: why were they put into the grave?

The approach that I propose to take in order to answer this question is genealogically related to antiquarianism. Funeral practices belong to the area traditionally studied by antiquaries, who referred to them as 'the private life', and later by ethnographers and cultural anthropologists who gave it the broader definition of 'culture', but before all this, in Antiquity, the *mores maiorum* (*the ancestors' customs*) had been the main interest of ancient antiquaries.[56] As noticed recently, the *mores maiorum* are not far from the modern anthropological understanding of 'culture' and the antiquarians' interest in the manners and customs of other people led to anthropology as a discipline in its own right.[57] My theoretical framework comes from an article by Igor Kopytoff, published in 1986 as a chapter in a book dedicated to the anthropology of things.[58] He described the model for the cultural biography of objects: his depth of perception has been a source of inspiration for archaeologists and such a contribution has been repeatedly acknowledged.[59] The main merit, among many, of the biography of objects is that it represents the objects in motion: in order to understand the meaning of things we do not have to fix our eyes on them, but instead we have to follow the changes of their status. Another important benefit of this approach is a fairly uniform combination of generalisation and details: in the following pages I will make Roman dolls the centre of attention to facilitate the dating (from the 2nd century to the 4th) of materials, dating that otherwise would remain too imprecise and vague, but as will be seen, the cultural biographies of other children's items belong to the same order of things.

**The cultural biographies of Roman toys**

Some objects in Antiquity were more interrelated with particular aspects of a person's life than others. For example, amphorae were made continually to satisfy the on-going need for containers, thus safeguarding the continuation of the life of society as a whole, and were usually intended to have a lifetime exceeding the average human life. This was even truer of books or statues. There is also another class of objects the very existence of which is closely linked with specific human lives. For example, sling bullets that were fashioned to make an attempt on a person's life were sometimes inscribed with the enemy's name, for instance "*peto culum Octaviani*" (*I'm heading for Octavian's bottom*).[60] *Tabellae defluxiones* are another example. They owe their existence as material objects to someone's will to influence another's life and to ensure that the curses would reach the destination the person's name was written here as well.[61]

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55 Bordenache Battaglia 1983, 124-38.

56 Cf. Bettini 2000, 241-92.

57 See e.g. Motsch 2001; Burke 2007, 229-47.

58 Kopytoff 1986, 64-91.

59 E.g. Langdon 2001, 579-606; Papadopoulos – Smithson 2002, 149-99.

60 E. Desjardins, 'Les balles de fronde de la République', *CRAI* 18. 2 (1874) 134; McCaul, "On inscribed sling-bullets" 1864, 92102; Hallett 1977, 151-71.

61 When, in the reign of Tiberius, noble Germanicus was dying from a mysterious illness, his friends attributed his death to the charms of his enemies, and "the name of Germanicus inscribed on leaden tablets" (*nomen Germanici plumbeis tabulis insculptum*

It was the birth of a child that brought dolls and protective amulets to 'life', and even when they were not specifically made to order but waiting in a shop to be chosen, from the moment of purchase their lives began to depend on the child's life.

Children received toys as a gift on their birthdays or other special days which marked their biographies, for instance on the day of the initiation into a religious cult, as we learn from the slave Davos at the beginning of Terence's comedy, *Phormio*, where Davos complains that even slaves had to financially contribute to the expenses for the celebration of their master's children.[62] Painted clay figurines were bought for children during the Saturnalia.[63] As well as public festivals, other occasions for presents in a child's life were not limited to the family circle. In his fifth satire, Juvenal peevishly notes that a friend is welcomed when he is childless, and therefore there is no need to spend money on gifts,[64] which implies that children would also receive gifts from their parents' hosts.

In one of his studies Michel Manson shows ancient toys as the embodiment of the child's right to play: the parent's willingness to pay for toys acknowledged, at that very moment, the child's right to play.[65] On the other hand, in the light of the references just mentioned, more complex relationships could take place and there were more extensive social networks within which the child's right to play was recognised. Toys started their cultural biographies as commodities, and once exchanged for money they continued to maintain their exchange potential, as is apparent from the evidence provided by Roman satirists: it was the father's gratitude, and not the child's, that the giver of a gift was expecting and relying on, constructing in such a way a sort of "indebtedness engineering", to use Firth's[66] happy expression. The child's right to play of course, is confirmed in these transactions, but it fades into the background giving way to the giver's right to be repaid.

As is known from studies in economics, the value is never an inherent property of objects, but the result of the interaction of different opinions of them and it is generated by the exchange.[67] The choice of such precious material as ivory, beside the extraordinary refinement of the Roman dolls, is likely to have developed as a response to the demand of adults competing in the gifts given to an influential man's daughter, a man from whom they expected some economic profit. It is possible therefore that the opposition between *terracotta* dolls, typical of the Hellenistic East, and the finer and much more expensive Roman ones[68] reflects the difference of economic as well as cultural models.

In economic terms, to put a doll into the grave means to remove it from commodity circulation; in terms of the anthropology of objects, such an end marks merely the diversion of the path of the object, and this is especially true of its overall cultural biography: the object did not disappear at all, since it still exists as a museum exhibit. What was the ideal progress of the Roman doll? What would have happened to it if the owner had not died at that specific time? It would have been donated to the gods by the girl on the eve of her

– Tac., *ann*. 2, 69) was among the evidence mentioned, for a wider view on this practice, see: Gager 1992.

62 Ter. *Phorm.* 46-50.

63 Varro *Men*. 4 Bue.

64 Juv. 5, 137-45.

65 Manson 1975, 117-50.

66 Firth 1983, 101.

67 Cf. Appadurai 1986.

68 A doll even made of amber was found in Spain: Balil 1962, 70-85. On the other hand, from the same territory come two terracotta dolls, typically Roman, since they represent two gladiators. Dardaine 1983, however, notes the rarity of such material for Spanish dolls. According to Michel Manson 1987, 19: "bone and ivory dominate (56%) and are the Roman material for excellence, replacing gradually terracotta which instead is typically Greek".

wedding day; we have some very clear evidence to that effect. For example, Horace's scholiast, aware of the distance that existed between Horace and his own contemporary readers, when the poet mentions votive gifts to the Lares, explains: "it was the habit of boys, when grown up, to consecrate their *bullas* to the Lares, like the girls did with their dolls".[69] However Persius, in the lines previously mentioned, names Venus as the goddess who received the dolls from girls who were going to be married.[70] Obviously this custom, *mos*, naturally had undergone changes over time. The most important point here is that the doll, like other toys and *bullae* – all signs of childhood – leave the house as soon as the child grows up and moves onto the next stage of its biography.

The child does not save these objects as souvenirs, does not pass them on to anyone as inheritance, for example to younger brothers, does not keep them for future children, but gives them away. The objects of childhood are "disposable" items; they were destined to make one single journey, from production to the culmination of their biographies, which is their dedication to the gods. Similarly to the words '*donare*' used by Persius, and '*consecrare*' used by Horace's scholiast, do not presuppose the return into circulation among the living of those objects dedicated to the gods. *Consecrare* something meant to remove it from the human community. By the formula "*Sacer esto!*" a *praetor* condemned a guilty man to death, and by the inverting the word order of the '*consecratio*' formula an emperor would become a god after his own death. In both cases the formula was used to detach the individual from their original community. As Florence Dupont points out, the deification of emperors started with Augustus follows the same logic of the Roman religion according to which it was possible to deify a natural force, such as a storm or mistral. By the same formula, loyalty, *fides*, or charm, *venustas*, could become respectively the god *Fides*, or the goddess *Venus*.[71] In the case of human beings, the emperor had to be dead and buried first and it was during the second funeral of his wax image that his ascension to the assembly of gods took place. These two spheres, human and divine, were to be kept separate. The emperor, once he was buried, could not remain among common people: now that he belongs to the gods "he leaves no trace on earth, having become *sacer*".[72] In a somehow similar manner, the child's belongings were soon to cease their life, but their status at the end of their existence might differ drastically: if their owner survived childhood they were consecrated to the gods, i.e. became the gods' property, but in the case of a child's untimely death, they would remain forever a human possession.

The child's belongings were not necessarily always put inside the tomb, as we can deduce from an anecdote handed down by Vitruvius when he describes the history and origins of the orders of columns.[73] The passage is curious in view of the fact that it is a Greek story told by a Roman architect. A Corinthian virgin of marriageable age, wrote Vitruvius, was attacked by a disease and died. After her funeral, her nurse collected in a basket the articles which delighted (*delectabatur*) her when she was alive and carried them to her grave. It is not clear what these articles were: at first, Vitruvius' editors accepted the conjecture '*ioculis*' (toys) proposed by Saumasius in 1629 instead of '*poculis*' (drinking vessels) reported in the manuscript, but other readings as well were proposed later, such as '*pupulis*' (little dolls) etc, and as a rule modern editions have '*poculis*' in the text, but there is a tendency not to translate it literally, but as generically as possible in order to maintain the main sense of the expression, that they were some personal belongings dear to the

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69 Pseudacr. *ad* Hor. *serm*. 1, 5, 65-66: *solebant pueri, postquam pueritiam excedebant, dis Laribus bullas suas consecrare, similiter et puellae pupas*.

70 Cf. also *Schol. Pers*. 2, 69 (291-2 Jahn).

71 Dupont 1989, 400.

72 Dupont 1989, 417.

73 Vitr. 4, 1, 9-10.

girl when she was alive.[74] So the nurse took the basket with some of the girl's belongings to her monument and placed the basket on the top of it. She protected the basket with a tile so that the articles inside could remain undamaged longer. In springtime the root of an acanthus plant which was pressed accidentally by the weight of the basket, put forth leaves and shoots. One day Callimachus, the architect esteemed by the Athenians for the elegance of his style, passed by the monument and was impressed by the novelty of the form which the large foliage of the plant was compelled to take because of the tile on the top of the basket. Thus the Corinthian order was invented and the proportions of the column itself were created on the model of the maiden's (*virgo*) body; in the same manner the Doric column reflected a male figure, and the Ionic one echoed that of a *matrona*, with its vertical flutes – the lines carved into them from top to bottom – "which bear a resemblance to the folds of a matronal garment" (*truncoque toto strias uti stolarum rugas matronali more demiserunt*).[75] Even in the symbolism of the architectural forms the child's belongings are hidden in a basket behind the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian order, the model for which was the *virgo*, who remained in that stage of her life forever. Even more interesting in this story is the chain of events that the nurse sets in motion and that would eventually lead to the invention of the architect Callimachus. Although the articles that delighted the girl were not put in her grave during the funeral, very soon after however, they are taken from the house. They cannot remain inside if their owner is dead. Their place is with the girl, in or near her grave, but at least outside the house.

A parallel can be established between the brevity of the life of the child's belongings and the minor Roman deities: for instance one had to invoke the god *Vagitanus,* who opened the newborn's mouth to let out the first cry (*vagitus*); while *Fabulinus* (from *fari*, to speak; cf. *fabula*) presided over the beginning of articulate speech, and the goddess *Cunina* watched over the cradle (*cuna*).[76] As soon as these phases of life had passed, the presence of the patron gods was no longer needed, thus they disappeared to be replaced by new ones, responsible for the other tasks in the following stages of life. *Educa* (from *edo*, to eat) presided over a child's weaning; *Potina* (*potio*, a drink) enabled the child to drink and another goddess, *Cuba* (from *cubo*, to lie down, hence *cubiculum*) watched over children in their beds. When children started walking, four goddesses were supposed to guide them: *Adeona* and *Abeona* (*adeo*, to approach or enter) monitored their coming and going in learning to walk and *Interduca* and *Domiduca* (*domus* + *duco*) accompanied the children when they left the house and came home again.[77] It is clear that the list of deities could be endless. This extremely high specialisation of the Roman minor deities made the Christian authors snigger. They were proud of their universal, all-in-one God, but it was their polemical sarcasm that preserved for posterity this evidence of the exceptional attention of the Romans towards the phases of life, personified by different deities. Saint Augustine for instance, mentions the children's gods while wondering how the gods were able to extend and preserve the Roman Empire,[78] and in another chapter he compares the minor gods to slaves obliged to perform those humble tasks that more important gods disdain.[79] Drawing on Augustine's *City*

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74 Gros (ed.) 1992.

75 Vitr. 4, 1, 7.

76 Varro *fragm. apud Non*. p. 167 M.

77 Aug. *civ.* 4, 21; Tert. *nat.* 2, 11, 9.

78 Aug. *civ.* book 4.

79 Aug. *civ*. 7.3: "But if these, as it were, extreme and lowest things have been committed by Him who presides universally over life and sense to these gods as to servants, are these select gods then so destitute of servants, that they could not find any to whom even they might commit those things, but with all their dignity, for which they are, it seems, deemed worthy to be selected, were compelled to perform their work along with ignoble ones?"

*of God*, it is from this tension between the universal and the fractional, between frugal monism and lavish polytheism, that the answer to the question posed in the title of this paper originates.

It is not that the Romans did not know how to combine different functions or that they were not commercially-minded people, or that they took too seriously their pacts with the gods. A Roman folding knife in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, with blade, spoon, fork and various spikes, almost a Swiss army knife, dating from the second or third century C.E., is a very impressive embodiment of the Romans' ability to combine several functions. The Romans appreciated the humour of the explanation provided by Dionysius of Syracuse when he was accused of sacrilege because he had stolen a golden robe belonging to the statue of Jupiter. He replaced the golden robe with a woollen cloak saying "Gold is so heavy in the summer and retains the cold in winter, but woollen clothes are good to wear all year round".[80] As a matter of fact, it is because of its popularity that this wisecrack has passed to us in many variants.[81] In the eternal conflict between economy, which tends to commoditise continually growing quantities of objects, and culture, which tries to restrict this tendency by valuing most the single specimen, and "individuals can go with either tendency as it suits their interests or matches their sense of moral appropriateness".[82]

In the perspective of the cultural biography of things we can reformulate now the initial question as follows: why are children's most cherished belongings, which started their existence as commodities, very soon excluded from exchange? The answer is, because they are priceless, "in the full possible sense of the term, ranging from the uniquely valuable to the uniquely worthless".[83] When things are removed from circulation (by situating them in a grave, for example) it means that there is no price they can be assigned in order to continue their circulation in the commodity turnover.

However, from symbolic point of view, the short life together with their owners makes the 'cherished belonging' the emblem of childhood; and these items became the child's double. The very name 'doll', both in Greek and in Latin, also meant the girl herself (κόρη, *pupa*). In an endless play of reflections on the girl's wedding day the doll becomes, as Maurizio Bettini puts it, the girl's 'double' designed to replace her, the *simulacrum* of her absence, the girl's *kolossos*, "that rough sculpture which in ancient Greek culture was able to reproduce the absence of life, capturing the elusive lightness of the *psychē* in the coldness of stone".[84] If "the doll abandoned in the temple stood for the rigid equivalent of a lost age (physical and cultural) that could never return"[85] this is especially true of a doll put in a grave. Just like the outlines of *kolossos*, which were of no importance since most often they were just rough-hewn stones representing less the appearance of a person than trying to capture the soul of the deceased,[86] a toy or an amulet in the grave represents a double, a reflection of the child's soul. Sometimes the idea of the double was taken literally and his posthumous mask was also buried together with the child and his toys. This was the case for instance, with young Claudia Victoria, died at the age of 10 years, one month and eleven days. In her grave, found in 1874 during the construction of the *Gare de Trion* in Lyon, the mask

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80 Lact. *inst.* 2, 4, 12, (transl. from Bettini 2000).

81 Cf. Cic. *nat. deor*., 3, 34, 83, Val. Max. 1, 1 ext. 3, Arnob. *nat*. 6, 21.

82 Appadurai 1986, 17.

83 Kopytoff 1986, 75.

84 Bettini 2000, 227.

85 Bettini, *ibid*.

86 Vernant 1971, 325-38.

of the girl was found together with her ivory doll and bronze and ivory hairpins.[87] Why did her mother, who calls her daughter "sweetest" (*dulcissima*[88]) in the epitaph, not keep the mask for herself? As appears from the location itself, the mother thought that the right place for this mask, as well as for the doll, was the tomb, the monument which preserves the person's memory, also through the epitaph, and which enshrines the cherished possessions, located in a special, enclosed spot, well separated from the land of the living.

**Conclusions**

If the imperative to constantly change the point of view in historical studies does sound reasonable now, it is also due to the contribution of the antiquarians of the past. "The antiquary", wrote A. Momigliano, "rescued history from the sceptics, even though he did not write it. His preference for the original documents, his ingenuity in discovering forgeries, his skill in collecting and classifying the evidence and, above all, his unbounded love for learning are the antiquary contributions to the "ethics" of the historian".[89]

A long time has passed since both the age of antiquarianism and the publication of Momigliano's article. Physical evidence, as before in the past, is produced as proof of practices which the sceptics do not believe as they rely more on written sources. Following the Roman antiquarians quoted above, modern research has established that the *bulla* was worn only by Roman boys and dolls had a similar function representing an age phase for girls. The question however, is not without controversies[90] and some graves show that at least some parents chose toys and not the *bulla* as the objects that best represented their sons.[91] In her recent article Maureen Caroll had to disprove a quite widely held view according to which the emotional involvement of parents in Italy was directly proportional to the age of their children, and in such a way the Romans did not mourn the death of an infant at all. This vision derived from literary sources, but, as has been noted,[92] the influential Roman texts cannot be taken as impersonal reports on the manners of the ancients, they were written in their own context for their own purposes and as such they need to be so regarded now.[93]

On the other hand, to trust written sources too much can sometimes give the illusion of solid ground just because we can now rely on a corpus of ancient texts that appears exhaustive: discrepancies in the editions are nothing in comparison to errors in the archaeological reports, and numerous examples teach us to be cautious. Still, we have no choice if we want to avoid ventriloquism in interpretations, but wish to combine all the sources, written and material, in "a form of analysis just as complex and lacking in explicit certainties as ritual action itself seems to be".[94]

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87 H. Thédenat, *Sur deux masques d'enfants de l'époque romaine trouvés à Lyon et à Paris*, 1886; A. Allmer, P. Dissard, *Trion: Antiquités découvertes en 1885, 1886 et antérieurement au quartier de Lyon dit de Trion*, 1887, 33-5; A. Allmer, P. Dissard, *Inscriptions latines*, III, Musée de Lyon, 1890, 228-32; Rémy – Mathieu 2009, 10.

88 CIL XIII 2108.

89 Momigliano 1950, 313.

90 For the argumentation in favour of the *bulla* being worn by girls too, see: August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III.1, 1049.

91 E.g. Eckardt 1999, 57-90.

92 Dasen 2006, 29-37.

93 Carroll 2011, 99-120; I thank Simo Örmä for this reference.

94 Morris 1992, 18.