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Elise Williams April 12, 2022

The Artwork of Tragedy: Roman Children's Funerary Altars and Their Functions

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An abstract of
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Abstract

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By Elise Williams

In a society of alarmingly high infant and child mortality rates, the choice to commemorate children with large and expensive funerary monuments was by no means a common decision. Altars with portraits provide especially valuable insight into the motives behind this decision. With the portrait so foregrounded and the decorative program so customizable, altars with portraits show the aims of the commemorators, perhaps more than any other form of funerary commemoration. This thesis seeks to explore the background of childhood and *mors immatura* ("untimely death") as well as the themes presented in both the portraits and the inscriptions on children's altars. To do so, I compiled a catalogue of 45 children's altars with portraits and included as part of this thesis. Finally, this thesis considers the multi-functionality of these monuments and delineates six broad functions of children's altars.

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Abbreviations

Ann.	*Annals (by Tacitus)*
AnnEpigr	*L'Année Épigraphique*
BCAR	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
Claud.	*Divus Claudius (by Suetonius)*
EDCS	*Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss-Slaby*
EDH	*Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg*
Gyn.	*Gynaikeia (Gynecology by Soranus)*
Met.	*Metamorphoses (by Ovid)*
Mor.	*Moralia (Morality by Plutarch)*
Ner.	*Nero (by Suetonius)*
NSA	*Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*
Quaest. Mor.	*Quaestiones* Romanae *(Roman Questions by Plutarch)*
RICIS	*Recueil des Inscriptions Concernant les Cultes Isiaques*
RMO	*Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*
Suet.	*Suetonius*
Tac.	*Tacitus*

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Introduction

With limited medical knowledge and technology, having children in ancient Rome was a very dangerous endeavor. With high infant and child mortality rates, the Romans were all too familiar with the deaths of children. Indeed, Plutarch once famously remarked that in the first week of life, a newborn child is "more like a plant than an animal."[1] Although this comment initially seems insensitive, it may reflect the hardened nature with which Romans were forced to regard children who were all to likely die at a young age. In a society where *mors immatura* (literally translated as 'untimely death') was a common reality, how were deceased children commemorated?

To explore how Roman children were mourned and commemorated, it is first necessary to examine how they lived. The daily lives of children — from birth, to early childhood, to education — provides valuable insight into various elements of their funerary monuments' decorative programs. As children didn't have careers or similar achievements, their monuments instead often featured scenes from a child's daily life. By understanding their life prior to death, we thereby gain a better understanding of the experiences available for parents to access and reference on the monuments they commemorated. The most extensive study of Roman childhood comes from Beryl Rawson's masterful *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*.[2] Though somewhat slow to emerge as a discipline, in the years since Rawson's work, it has been taken up by numerous scholars. Two notable compendiums include *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* and most recently *Children in Antiquity: Perspectives and Experiences of Childhood in the Ancient Mediterranean.*[3] Numerous other articles and books

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[1] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 102, *Mor.* 288c as mentioned in Parkin 2013: 45

[2] Rawson 2003

[3] In order: Evans Grubbs and Parkin 2013, and Beaumont, Dillon, and Harrington 2020

have also explored the topic of childhood in antiquity, though there is nevertheless much work left to be done.[4]

The answer to the question posed at the beginning of this introduction, inquiring into the methods of commemoration for Roman children, has been aptly explored in Jason Mander's catalogue and analysis, as well as a number of other articles.[5] The study of Roman children's sarcophagi specifically, has likewise been examined in depth by Janet Huskinson.[6] On the subject of funerary altars, Diana Kleiner has written the seminal work.[7] Children's altars, as a subset of this genre, however have not been studied at length before, specific altars have been examined in various articles.[8] This thesis seeks to resolve this gap in research, providing an in depth study of Roman children's funerary altars as their own subset. By focusing on a narrowed group of altars, I was able not only to expand on the catalogues of both Kleiner and Mander, but to consider the themes and functions of these altars through new lenses.

The majority of surviving children's funerary monuments were commissioned by the middle class, though some outlying examples were commissioned by other socioeconomic groups do exist.[9] Altars are no exception, with their primary commissioners being freedmen, who most often dedicated the monuments to their deceased children.[10] In Roman society, slaves were unable to legally marry, a right which they gained upon manumission. Additionally, while they will forever be labeled as "freedmen," their children (if born after manumission) are considered freeborn. This heightened status opened up many opportunities for their children that would

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[4] See Rawson 2005 for a more complete analysis of research in the area of classical childhood studies
[5] Mander 2013; Carroll 2012a; Carroll 2012b; D'Ambra 2008; Huskinson 2007; Huskinson 1996
[6] Huskinson 1996
[7] Kleiner 1987b
[8] For example, see Huskinson 2011; D'Ambra 2008; Evans Grubbs 2002; Williams 1940
[9] Scarfo 2012: 1
[10] Huskinson 2007: 328

never be available to them, including the ability to join the military. The loss of a freeborn child was all the more devastating as a result. In addition to losing a child, the family in many cases saw their hopes and dreams for upward socio-economic mobility also thwarted. Since their child would no longer serve as a living advertisement of the family's achievements, one remaining recourse was to create an altar that not only commemorated the child, but also advertised the wealth and status of the family.

Altars were by no means the only monument type to feature portraits of the deceased; such portraiture can be found on sarcophagi, cinerary urns, reliefs, stelae, and aediculae. The earliest funerary monument with a portrait dates to the late first century BCE (around the time of the fall of the Republic), while the most recent is from the first half of the fourth century CE.[11] The height of popularity for altars fall nearly in the middle of this spectrum, with the vast majority from this catalogue dating to the mid-first to late-second centuries CE.[12] Among the types of funerary monuments with portraiture, altars are particularly tantalizing because of the intimate view they provide of the child. In no other form of children's funerary art is the individualized portrait so foregrounded. Sarcophagi may provide more of a narrative, but the portraits often form part of a standardized theme, with the focus less on the individual themself. Cinerary urns, though featuring portraits, are too small for the images to be very personalized. Stelae and aediculae admittedly approach the detailed levels of altar portraiture, but a key difference between the genres is that the largeness in size and the three remaining faces of altars provide space for other personalized elements to be included, thus deepening the ability to

[11] Mander 2013: 1

[12] In fact, of the 45 altars, there are only two outliers: #37, which is estimated by Kleiner to be from 280-320 CE, and #17, which has been evaluated as a modern forgery by the Musée du Louvre. Prior to this evaluation however, Wrede estimated this altar to be from 80-100 CE, based on the hairstyle and drapery.

consider the child as an individual. This is a luxury not afforded by the size and structure of the other two genres.

Since their origins in antiquity, a plethora of children's altars have been discovered and studied from across the many regions of the Roman Empire. Unfortunately, this number is far too great to adequately study for the scope of this thesis. As a result, I decided to limit this catalogue to only the altars from Rome and its immediate environs. Doing so narrowed the number of altas to a manageable subset, and eliminated the risk of regional differences influencing my conclusions. That said, a more conclusive study of all altars from the varying regions is a promising line of future inquiry. Finally, in the creation of this catalogue, I have attempted to only include examples in which the child is the primary recipient of the altar. It is, of course, impossible to be certain in some instances, but altars where the age of the primary recipient is unclear were included and the ambiguity noted in the description.

The subset has been taken from Mander's far more extensive catalogue, though it expands significantly on the information provided by Mander. Most notably, all inscriptions have been newly translated and all inscriptions have been provided for each altar, compared to only the main inscription provided by Mander. Beyond this, Mander's dimensions and dates of altars have been compared with other evaluations, and discrepancies noted and referenced. The descriptions and bibliography have both been expanded, the latter to include not only references published after Mander's catalogue, but those published prior that were excluded from his bibliographies. Finally, the locations have been updated to reflect their most recent display status. Most notable among these updates is the relocation of #9 to London, having recently been sold by Sotheby's. Prior to this, its location had not been known since the 1970's, and as a result was recorded as "Lost" in Mander's catalogue.

In addition to the exploration of themes among the altars in this catalogue, it is undoubtedly important to also consider the motive behind such commemoration. The two most obvious answers are that, like all funerary commemoration, it is an outlet for grief and a way to preserve the child's memory. Children, especially infants, are consistently under-represented in cemeteries when compared to the childhood mortality rate. With this in mind, what were the driving factors for those children who did receive commemoration? While attempting to discern the functions of funerary altars is by no means exact, it is a path of investigation worth considering. While other scholars have alluded to the multi-functionality of altars, I have yet to come across attempts to fully delineate such functions. I therefore propose six broad functions for children's altars: the two stated above and four further functions. These are to mourn the child's potential, to advertise the status of the child and the family, to transform the child, and to emphasize the child's individuality.

Chapter 1: Roman Childhood

Birth

Childbearing was a primary aim and expectation of most marriages in the Roman world.[13] In fact, each woman would have had to give birth four to six times each in order to maintain population stability, making children not only a desire but in many ways a necessity and a priority.[14] Because pregnancy and childbirth were undertaken by women, and overseen by female midwives, there is a disconnect between the written evidence and the first-hand experiences of childbirth. Indeed, Christian Laes notes that most male authors gained their knowledge from oral accounts from women, as opposed to their own observation.[15] Like most literary evidence, the foremost source on pregnancy and childbirth in the Roman world comes to us from a male physician and writer, Soranus. In his seminal work *Gynaikeia (Gynecology)*, Soranus covers many topics related to women's reproductive health, ranging from admirable qualities in a midwife to medical procedures for birth and care of a newborn child. It is important to recognize, however, Soranus's bias in portraying an idealized account of medicine, as he does not acknowledge the lower social status and the superstitious beliefs of many midwives.[16]

Birth happened at home, almost exclusively in the presence of women, though male doctors may have been present to assist with medical complications.[17] A birth necessitated at least one midwife and three assistants, though as many as 18 women might have been present for a birth, including midwives, free women, and enslaved women.[18] As Rawson points out, few

[13] Rawson 2003a: 95
[14] Laes 2006: 31
[15] Laes 2006: 57
[16] Laes 2006: 63-64
[17] Rawson 2003a: 100-101
[18] Laes 2006: 58; Rawson 2003a: 100

monuments show the actual birthing process; those that do are typically erected in honor of a midwife and show her in her profession, as opposed to the birth of a specific child.[19] The initial moments of life after birth, however, are often depicted in biographical sarcophagi, which present the major life stages of the deceased on the front face of the sarcophagus.[20]

Soon after birth, the father (though likely with input from the mother and midwife as well) would make the decision to raise the child or not.[21] Upon the father's decision, the Roman child was still not considered an official member of the family for its first week of life, and was unnamed for this initial period. The naming ceremony took place on the eighth day of life for girls or the ninth day of life for boys, known as the *dies lustricus* ("day of purification"), marking the child's official status as a new member of the family. The evening before this important ceremony, a ritual was performed to drive off evil spirits.[22]

The *dies lustricus* itself often consisted of a family party, at which the child would be fed, signaling its entry and acceptance into the family. It was at this time that the newborn child was officially given its name, which would then be officially registered.[23] The *dies lustricus* also involved purification rituals and marked the child's entry into social life.[24] Finally, sometime after this naming day, public declaration of the birth of Roman citizens would take place.[25] Those who did not qualify for the official registry but desired the legal certainty it provided might still choose to draft a document and have it witnessed and recorded.[26]

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[19] Rawson 2003a: 102
[20] For more on these sarcophagi and examples, see Huskinson 1996: 10-12
[21] Rawson 2003a: 105; Laes 2006: 64
[22] Rawson 2003a: 110
[23] Corbier 2001: 57
[24] Laes 2006: 65-66
[25] Corbier 2001: 57
[26] Rawson 2003a: 112

Infancy

As is often pointed out, the Latin language has no word for infants in particular, as conceptualized by modern society. The closest word, *infans*, as an adjective can mean inarticulate, newborn, and foolish and as a noun can be used to refer to both an infant and a child under the age of seven. Maureen Carroll and Emma-Jayne Graham point out, however, that many modern languages share similar levels of ambiguity with words related to children, and we must be careful not to assume that lack of specific language means lack of interest or care in infants.[27] In fact, evidence suggests that much thought was put into the care of infants, in the hopes of improving not only the child's chance of living to adulthood, but also their ability to succeed in adult life.

Determining when Roman infancy ended is difficult to do; as Laes pointed out, there are over 120 different classifications of life stages in Latin literature.[28] The end of the first life stage, 'infancy' and/or 'early childhood' in contemporary terms, seems most commonly associated with the age of 7. This is the age given by pseudo-Hippocrates, Solon, and Isidore of Seville, and it is also the age at which children lost their milk teeth, would become eligible for cremation, and typically began formal schooling.[29] Although this classification is not perfect, and likely does not represent the opinion of everyone in ancient Rome, it provides a base point for how scholars should consider Roman children.

Many children in ancient Rome, including those of both the upper and lower classes, were fed by a wet-nurse.[30] While some ancient sources admired mothers who breastfeed their

[27] Carroll and Graham 2014a: 10
[28] Laes 2006: 86
[29] For more on various classifications of life stages, see Laes 2006: 77-100, esp. 86-96
[30] Rawson 2003a: 124

own children, others suggest that it was too strenuous to expect the mother to breastfeed her own child following birth.[31] Soranus advocated for a detailed screening process for potential wet-nurses, recommending that they spoke Greek, were healthy, hygienic and had already given birth several times.[32] Though initially hired just for this period prior to weaning, they may have continued to work as general caretakers for the infant far into its childhood, potentially forming a deep pseudo-familial bond with the child.[33] Other caretakers for infants existed as well, including such positions as cradle-rockers.[34]

Though a wet-nurse may have been a primary caretaker for an infant, this certainly does not preclude parental and other familial involvement and affection. Archaeological evidence from Karanis suggests that the average occupancy of homes was 4.5 people.[35] As Mander notes, the nuclear family model, consisting of two parents and at least one child, is particularly prevalent in depictions of families on children's funerary monuments, being the most common family model in monuments from every region.[36] The reality of families likely looked quite different from this, however, in part due to the high mortality rates in the region. By age 15, nearly 40% of children would have lost their father, and nearly 30% would have lost their mother.[37] In these cases, the nuclear family model necessitated a shift to other caretakers. Indeed, even extended relatives such as aunts and grandmothers seem to have been involved in the upbringing of children.[38]

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[31] Laes 2006: 101, 69
[32] Soranus, *Gyn.* 2.19 as mentioned in Rawson 2003a: 122-123 and Laes 2006: 62
[33] Rawson 2003a:123
[34] Rawson 2003a:132
[35] Laes 2006: 35
[36] Mander 2013: 65-71, esp. 66
[37] Laes 2006: 29
[38] Rawson 2003a:125

Weaning was an inevitable, yet dangerous transition for Roman children. Soranus recommended weaning occur around two years old.[39] Bioarchaeological evidence from Isola Sacra during the Imperial Age confirms that weaning often began around the age of one and was completed by the age of two and a half.[40] Comparable evidence from Roman Egypt, however, indicates that weaning often began closer to the age of six months and be as late as three years.[41] Such variance between regions indicate that the recommendations and practices of weaning were not universal, but could change throughout different populations. Skeletal evidence also suggests a higher rate of mortality among two- to three-year-olds, demonstrating just how dangerous this weaning period could be.[42]

Prior to official schooling, informal education was a common occurrence, particularly with the children of the elite. It was recommended that parents take advantage of children's retentive memories by beginning to teach morals through short stories and sayings.[43] In the period between infancy and the beginning of education, a child might have interacted and learned from a number of people, particularly in large urban centers like the city of Rome. Such people would inevitably have included the child's wet-nurse and other caretakers, but the child's social circle might have been expanded to also include various household slaves and other children, whether siblings or unrelated children in the vicinity.[44] This is the same reason why Soranus recommended a Greek-speaking wet-nurse: so the child might be exposed to the sounds,

[39] Soranus *Gyn.* 2.46-8 as mentioned in Rawson 2003a: 126
[40] Marklein and Fox 2020: 575
[41] Marklein and Fox 2020: 575
[42] Parkin 2013: 55
[43] Rawson 2003a: 127
[44] Rawson 2003a: 127, 157-158

vocabulary, and grammar of the language from a young age, and therefore be more masterful when learning it formally in adolescence.

Beyond these educational endeavors, children also might have amused themselves with a variety of toys. Rattles, hoops, and tops were all common toys during this time, and dolls were especially prevalent, though seemingly only belonging to girls. Boys, on the other hand, were more likely to play games with balls, nuts, and knucklebones, though such games were not entirely exclusive to the male gender. Children also commonly had toys in the inanimate forms of animals, and some even had live pets.[45] Animals, most frequently birds and dogs, are a common attribute depicted with children on funerary monuments as well.[46]

Early Childhood and Education

Formal education, which typically began at the age of seven, was a privilege largely reserved for boys of elite families.[47] Some elite girls did receive a formal education, as it was still considered valuable for their domestic role as adult women.[48] Parents were faced with a choice between sending their child to public school or hiring a tutor instead. Regardless of their decision, the choice of instructor was made very carefully, as they would no doubt have great influence on the child's intellectual and emotional growth.[49] Schooling had several levels, though they were not so clearly delineated as educational stages in the present-day United States. What is often considered the most basic level is taught by a *magister* or *litterator*, the following stage by a *grammaticus*, and the highest level by a *rhetor*. Rawson emphasizes the flexibility of these

[45] For more on children's toys, see Rawson 2003a: 128-131
[46] Mander 2013: 36-42, esp. 37-38
[47] Rawson 2003a: 158-160
[48] For more on the education of girls, see Rawson 2003a: 162-164; 197-207
[49] Rawson 2003a: 160-162

stages however, noting that only the rhetoric stage seems significantly selective in its students and more expensive in its costs.[50] Another noteworthy figure in a child's education was the *pedagogus*, often a slave, who accompanied the child to school.[51]

Education provided boys with the skills they would need to succeed in public life. For freedmen, the ability to provide their freeborn son with an education through which he might pursue an honorable career, thus raising the social and economic status of the whole family, was important. Praise for children who succeeded in education is a common theme in funerary art, as is lamenting the achievements that the children might have accomplished had they not died.

As previously noted, however, many children did not receive such an education. In fact, daily life differed significantly based on their birth status. Enslaved children in particular had a childhood most different from that of a freeborn child. It is important to note, however, that not all enslaved children would have received the same childhoods - what their daily life consisted of largely depended on the desires and favors of their owners. Although slaves were more likely to receive training in an occupational skill, there were some instances in which slaves themselves received a formal education.[52]

Rites of Passage

While the modern date of adulthood in the United States is set at one's 18th birthday, the transition to adulthood in ancient Rome was much more varied. Although there has been much discussion about the end of childhood in ancient Rome, most agree that adulthood generally begins for boys with the *toga virilis* ("toga of manhood") ceremony, and marriage for girls.[53]

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[50] Rawson 2003a: 165
[51] For more on *pedagogi* and their selection, see Rawson 2003a:165-167
[52] Rawson 2003a: 187-191
[53] Mander 2013: 5

Both of these life events can be considered rites of passage, which mark the transition point to adulthood. The *toga virilis* typically occurred between the ages of 14 and 16 for boys, though the exact timing seems to have been determined by the father.[54] As such, these were not strict age limits, but rather guidelines that most followed. One notable exception to this rule is the Emperor Nero, who received the *toga virilis* when he was just 13.[55] At this ceremony, the boy would lay aside his *bulla* (an amulet worn around the neck, and a signifier of freeborn social status) and *toga praetexta* (a kind of toga worn by young children),[56] and don the *toga virilis*. Notably, this ceremony seems to be primarily relevant for elite, freeborn children in Rome, and perhaps less so for lower social classes or regions outside of Rome.[57]

Though marriage was an important event in a man's life, it did not constitute nearly as large a shift in his identity as it did for his wife. Marriage was the closest thing to a rite of passage for young women in ancient Rome. It represented at least the first part of the fulfillment of their purpose, the second part being to produce children. At marriage, the girl was transformed into a woman - no longer a child, she was now a wife and expected to soon be a mother herself. This is evidenced by the rituals to take place the night before the wedding, when the bride would dedicate the dolls and toys of her childhood to Venus. [58]

Like the *toga virilis* ceremony, the age at which Roman girls were married was flexible, determined by their social status and their parent's desires. Scholars have long sought to pinpoint the age at marriage, but this has proved a difficult, if not impossible, task. The legal age of marriage for girls was 12 years of age. As Harlow points out, after Augustus marriage had to

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[54] Ibid
[55] Tac. *Ann*. 12.41.1 as mentioned in Barrett, Fantham, and Yardley 2016: 12; Mander 2013: 3
[56] Mander 2013: 5
[57] Ibid
[58] Rawson 2003a: 145

occur within two years of betrothal, therefore making the earliest age for betrothal 10 years old, though it seems this rule was not strictly followed and that younger betrothals did occur.[59]

While these two rites of passage give a general benchmark for adulthood, it is not a foolproof system. One issue is that not all children would have had these ceremonies. Enslaved people, for example, were unable to be legally married in ancient Rome and enslaved boys would not have had a *toga virilis* ceremony. Although enslaved children did not have these rites of passage, they were not considered perpetually children. Other markers for adulthood existed, such as the notion in late antiquity, that 12 was the age of adulthood for girls, and 14 for boys.[60] Because no system seems to be universal, it is necessary for scholars to consider the information given for deceased individuals in these teenage years and to decide accordingly whether they should be classified as children.

[59] Harlow 2012: 148
[60] Rawson 2003a: 136

Chapter 2: Roman Death and *Mors Immatura*

Mors Immatura

Childhood was a dangerous time period in ancient Rome. Not only was the time prior to birth, and the birthing process itself, very risky to both mother and child, but the first few years after birth were equally if not more dangerous. Infectious diseases presented a large and looming danger to all children, particularly gastrointestinal diseases and respiratory tract infections. Such diseases included typhoid, malaria, and dysentery among others.[61] The toll of these diseases was no doubt compounded by poor sanitation and hygiene and widespread malnutrition.[62] Parents certainly hoped to avoid the more immediate threat of death, but it is important to note that they might also have been considering the long term health of their child and his/her subsequent ability to successfully participate in society as an adult when taking measures to improve or maintain their child's health.[63] Though these measures may have helped some, they unfortunately failed many others.

In efforts to combat the high mortality rate, there was a wealth of medical advice regarding preventative measures that parents could take to keep their child healthy. Although ancient medicine no doubt had good intentions, and occasionally helpful advice, it was by nature an experimental field. As such, not all medical advice was necessarily advantageous to the health of children, and could even be quite harmful. For example, Soranus advised that mother's milk should be avoided in the first weeks after birth, making this period even more hazardous than

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[61] Parkin 2013: 49; Bradley 2005: 80; for more on ancient diseases with respect to children, see Bradley 2005, esp. 79-81

[62] Bradley 2005: 80

[63] Carroll and Graham 2014a: 16-17

need be.[64] Other common advice included intensive swaddling for the first 40 days after birth, which could have caused paralysis or damage to the nervous system when done incorrectly.[65]

In addition to preventative medical advice, there was also much to be said on how to cure various ailments commonly known to afflict children. This advice, unfortunately, ranged from being able to treat the symptoms (though not the illness itself) at best, and at worst would have caused the child unnecessary and excruciating pain. An example of the former might be lozenges prescribed to ease a sore throat, "prepared with small pine cones, roasted almond, linseed, the juice of licorice, tragacanth, and honey."[66] Fitting into the latter category, however, was the practice of Syrian nurses to cure a child's mouth ulcers. To do so, the nurse "wrapped some hair around one of her fingers, coated it with olive oil or honey and wiped the ulcers, thereby removing their scabs and irritating them."[67] The list of potential treatment plans continues, with very few presenting any real chance of success.[68]

In tandem with medical approaches, desperate parents often turned to religious practices in attempts to keep their children healthy or to spare them from death caused by threatening illnesses already contracted. A number of deities presided over the realm of childbirth and childhood which might be appealed to for the safe arrival and early years of a child. Laes groups such childhood deities into five categories: protectors before birth, protectors of birth, deities of the *dies lustricus*, deities of infancy, and goddesses of early childhood.[69] Among these five

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[64] Soranus, *Gyn*. 2.7.17-18 as mentioned in Parkin 2013: 57
[65] Laes 2006: 71
[66] Soranus, *Gyn.* 2.54 as mentioned in Bradley 2005: 84
[67] Soranus, *Gyn*. 25.1 as mentioned in Bradley 2005: 84
[68] For more on ancient cures to children's illnesses, see Bradley 2005, esp. 81-87
[69] Laes 2006: 67-68; see also Rawson 2003a: 109-110, 137

categories, there are well over 20 deities associated with childhood, which demonstrates the perceived impact of religion on childhood survival.

Parents also employed the use of amulets to protect their children. Such amulets took a number of different shapes and could be made from a variety of materials. Most widely recognized among these protective amulets was the *bulla*. Given only to freeborn boys, it not only offered protection against sexual assault but also served as a symbol of status, and thus appears frequently in the funerary art of young children.[70] Just as the *bulla* had a specific protection-oriented purpose, so did many other amulets. It is believed the shape and material may have been chosen to combat a particular disease or threat. The teething process, as one of the most life-threatening transitory periods in a child's life, seems to have received abundant attention in the form of amulets.[71]

Although disease may have been the immediate cause of death for many children, its danger was compounded by other factors. Hunger and famine certainly made children far more susceptible to illness. Bioarchaeological evidence supports the finding that this was a common problem: in two Italian cemeteries, between 60 and 100% of children's skeletons in different subgroups demonstrated lesions associated with childhood anemia.[72] Furthermore, at Corinth, there was a high prevalence of enamel disruption, which could indicate elongated but non-fatal periods of infection or malnutrition.[73]

Despite the widespread prevalence of disease, children died in a variety of other ways. Some children suffered accidental deaths - from snake bites, traffic accidents, falling in a well,

[70] Dasen 2020: 109
[71] Dasen 2020: 109-111
[72] Marklein and Fox 2020: 573-574
[73] Marklein and Fox 2020: 573-574

and more.[74] In the inscription of an altar that will be examined in greater detail later (#14), a father laments the deaths of his wife and daughter in a shipwreck.[75] Just as drowning inevitably took the lives of children, so too did fire. Fires were common in ancient Rome, and it is likely that many lives succumbed to the flames.[76] There is little doubt that at least some children were included in the death toll. Accidental deaths such as these might have been particularly painful - the child had potentially survived the common dangers of childhood, only to be thwarted by a chance occurrence.

Another, though less probable, cause of death among children was murder. A number of things might have motivated murder of children; among these reasons was jealousy. Carroll notes the case of a 10-year-old girl from Salonae, for example, who was murdered for her jewelry.[77] Another, far more famous case of a child being murdered comes from the life of Nero, the Prince of Youths himself. Nero was fearful that his step-brother, Britannicus, might ascend to power and succeed Claudius as the next emperor. Hoping to avoid this undesired outcome, Nero had Britannicus poisoned at the age of 13, just before he would have donned the *toga virilis* and been considered an eligible ruler.[78] Though perhaps not the case for the majority of children, the child in both of these cases was envied to the point of inspiring murder. Their lives were cut short by the action of another and, similar to accidental deaths, might have been particularly bitter to the surviving parents.

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[74] For the first two examples (and others), see Carroll 2006: 156-157; For the second example, see Mander 2013: 127

[75] For more examples of children's deaths by drowning, see Carroll 2006: 158

[76] Carroll 2006: 157

[77] CIL III, 1399/ILS 8514, as mentioned in Carroll 2006 : 154

[78] Tac. *Ann.* 13.15.1, 3-4, 13.16.1-4 and Suet. *Ner.* 33.2-3 as mentioned in Barrett, Fantham, and Yardley 2016: 45-48

When examining the rates of infant and child mortality, it is necessary first to think about the demography of Rome as a whole. It is of course difficult to determine the age structure of ancient Rome based solely on evidence remaining from antiquity. As Laes notes, the ages noted in epitaphs are an unreliable source, as the average age varies from 23 years to 51 years based on inclusion of Greek epitaphs.[79] Likewise, bioarchaeological evidence, while invaluable for individual cases, is not sufficient for demographic analysis due to the small number of surviving skeletons and the skewed age distribution due to unequal access to proper burial.[80] Instead, scholars have combined their knowledge of the ancient world with modern demographic tools, specifically the Coale-Demeny Model-Life Tables, to best estimate what age structures in ancient Rome may have been like.[81]

As Tim Parkin noted, as much as one third of the populations of Rome might have been under 15 years old at any given time, making "classical antiquity, in that sense, a very young world."[82] Laes contextualizes this for the modern reader, noting that ancient Rome had nearly twice as many children in proportion to the rest of society, as compared to a current developed nation.[83] Life expectancy as a whole is estimated to have been around 25 years, though one's life expectancy would naturally increase far beyond this after having survived childhood, typically to between 40 and 60 years.[84]

Though the birth rate was high, infant and childhood mortality, unfortunately, was also very high. While exact numbers are unattainable, it is estimated that around 8% of children may

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[79] Laes 2006: 24
[80] Laes 2006: 24
[81] Laes 2006: 23-27
[82] Parkin 2013: 41-42
[83] Laes 2006: 28
[84] Laes 2006: 27

have died within the first month of life, including fetal and in-birth deaths.[85] Some, however, place mortality in the first month as high as 30 to 35 percent.[86] Beyond this first month, some estimates suggest that between a quarter and a third of children in the Roman period would have died before their first birthday, and half of all Roman children died before reaching the age of ten.[87] Other figures place this 50% death rate closer to five years of age rather than ten, going so far as to suggest that life expectancy would jump over a decade, from 25 years to over 40 years, if one were to survive to five years old.[88]

While these figures allow us to contextualize the demographic realities surrounding children's altars, one should be cautious to fully accept a single suggested figure. As Parkin shows, such mortality rates are dependent on a variety of factors, and the actual rates may be significantly lower than previously suggested.[89] Though the child mortality rate was undeniably high, the loss of a child was still a painful loss to not only their parents, but also to surviving siblings. This is evident in the way that they were mourned, buried, and commemorated.

Exposure and Infanticide

In the discussion of *mors immatura* it is necessary to consider another important contributing factor to the child mortality rate: exposure. Exposure was an ancient practice, whereby an unwanted child was abandoned, often in their first week of life, prior to the *dies lustricus*.[90] The seeming apathy of this practice is perhaps best contextualized by a remark by

[85] Rawson 2003a: 104
[86] Laes 2006: 26
[87] Mander 2013: 1; Laes 2006: 26
[88] Parkin 2013: 47
[89] Parkin 2013: 49-50
[90] Evans Grubbs 2013a: 83

Plutarch, which notes that infants in their first week are "more like a plant than an animal."[91] As previously mentioned, the father was responsible for deciding whether or not a child would be raised, perhaps signified by the symbolic gesture of raising the child in the air, or via instructions to feed the newborn.[92] Although it was not unheard of to expose a child after the *dies lustricus*, as evidenced by Claudius's belated exposure of his daughter, the child's position in the family was certainly made more official, making exposure less common after the *dies lustricus*.[93]

Exposure involved the practice of abandoning children at a known local place, such as a dung heap, if the decision was made not to raise them.[94] Other common locations for exposure included temples, water-tanks near aqueducts, or a column in the forum.[95] As Corbier notes, until later antiquity, this practice was not only legal but also socially acceptable.[96] There were a wide variety of reasons why a child might be exposed, including economic hardship, illegitimate pregnancy, and adultery.[97] Additionally, deformity was seen as justifiable cause for infanticide and likely accounted for a number of exposures as well.[98] A common source of debate in academia is whether female children were more frequently exposed than their male counterparts. Most recent scholars have concluded that, although it is impossible to know exact numbers and a slight tendency toward exposure of girls may have existed, evidence for it is weak and overall

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[91] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 288 c as mentioned in Laes 2006: 26

[92] See Corbier 2001 for more on debate regarding the symbolic gesture, esp. 53-54

[93] Suet. *Claud*. 27.3 as mentioned in Corbier 2001: 54

[94] Evans Grubbs 2013a: 93; Corbier 2001: 63 notes textual citations of exposure at the 'dump,' but warns of limited evidence for more specific established exposure locations, though she does not go so far as to deny the possibility of their existence

[95] Rawson 2003a: 118

[96] Corbier 2001: 66

[97] Rawson 2003a: 114

[98] Lindsay 2020: 521

there was not such a steep imbalance that it affected the gender ratio of ancient Rome to any great extent.[99]

Upon exposure, the child might be taken by another family and raised either as their child or as a slave. Judith Evans Grubbs makes the point that such adoption must have been the hope, as outright infanticide would have been a far kinder death than the suffering endured by children who were exposed and not adopted.[100] This view is shared by Mireille Corbier, who notes that infants would have been swaddled at time of exposure, an indication that parents at least hoped their child would survive.[101] Such optimistic outcomes of exposure were promoted in ancient novels, such as Longus's (admittedly Greek) *Daphnis and Chloe*, where the young abandoned infants suckle at the teets of animals until being adopted by shepherds. Unfortunately, this was not the case for most exposed children. Evans Grubbs later describes the slow death that was no doubt the fate of the majority of children who were exposed: "Those left in more public places, in the hopes that they would be taken up, would cry until they grew silent from exhaustion, starvation, and dehydration."[102]

Their corpses might have been dealt with in a number of ways. If left on dung heaps or garbage piles, their corpses were likely left to decompose. Those left in more public areas would have been dealt with by those responsible for cleaning the area - perhaps tossed into a sewer or a well - if the corpses were not first taken by those desiring to use them for dissection or magical purposes. One fate commonly theorized, however, that Evans Grubbs places little faith in is that they might be eaten by wildlife - a theory for which she claims there is no proof.[103]

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[99] Rawson 2003a: 117
[100] Evans Grubbs 2013a: 93
[101] Corbier 2001: 69
[102] Evans Grubbs 2013a: 100
[103] Evans Grubbs 2013a: 100

Mourning a Child

In his seminal article, Mark Golden asks, "Did the ancients care when their children died?"[104] This initially alarming question has been much debated by scholars. On the one hand, a number of literary texts suggest that it was recommended to limit mourning for infants and children, and that behavior to the contrary was frowned upon. Guidelines for mourning children were clearly laid out by both Plutarch and Paulus, though they disagree slightly with each other.[105] Plutarch asserted that there should be no mourning for an infant less than one year old, and for children up to ten years of age the number of months spent in mourning should be no longer than the number of years the child lived. Paulus, meanwhile, argues that children under six years of age should be mourned only for a month, while children and adults over six can be mourned for a year. Despite the disagreement in ages and mourning durations, one thing is clear: children were deemed less worthy of mourning than adults. These restrictions also applied to the funeral rituals, claiming that none of the rites typically performed for deceased adults should be performed for infants, beyond a simple burial.[106] Additionally, fear of pollution to the living associated with childhood death also impacted such funerary rituals, and some evidence suggests that the bodies of children were removed at night in the hopes of avoiding such pollution.[107]

Other textual sources, however, show that parents did in fact mourn the loss of their children.[108] In one of his most well-known letters, Pliny mourns the loss of a friend's daughter,

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[104] Golden 1988
[105] Plutarch, *Numa 12* and Paulus, *Opinions 1.21.2-5* as mentioned in Hope 2007: 174
[106] Plutarch, *Consolation to his Wife 11* as mentioned in Hope 2007: 181
[107] Seneca, *Hercules Furens* 849ff; Servius, *Ad. Aen.* 11.143 as mentioned in Lindsay 2020: 527
[108] For a comprehensive list of ancient texts on both sides of this argument, see Hope 2007: 173-189

Minicia Marcella.[109] He lauds her virtues excessively, mourns the especially tragic timing of her death as she was on the cusp of womanhood, and discusses the pain and grief the death has brought both him and her parents. He clearly views her death as worthy of mourning, not only despite her young age, but to some extent because of it. In another text, Juvenal claims that it is on the orders of nature that people weep for the burial of an infant too young to be burned on the pyre.[110] Beyond the textual sources, the plethora of funerary monuments dedicated to children make it evident that some children, at least, were greatly grieved for by their parents and other relations.

Burial

Throughout the history of ancient Rome, cremation was at times more widespread than inhumation, and at other times inhumation was the more frequent choice.[111] As such, depending on the era, children too were at times more likely to be buried than cremated, and vice versa. Though altars, the focus of this thesis, often commemorated children whose bodies had been cremated (or were unable to be recovered, as is the case of Iulia Secunda - #14), a brief examination of child burial is still necessary to contextualize the *mors immatura* and its effects. How the children's bodies were prepared for burial, and what they were buried with, can indicate the ways in which parents viewed their children in death and mourned for their loss.

Scholars have frequently noted that the high rates of childhood mortality do not correspond with the lower proportions of juvenile skeletons in cemeteries.[112] This may be at least

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[109] Pliny, *Letters* 5.16. For more discussion on this particular letter compared with the epitaph of the girl's tombstone, see Bodel 1995

[110] Juvenal, *Satire 15, 138-140* as mentioned in Hope 2007: 181

[111] Toynbee 1971: 39-42

[112] Marklein and Fox 2020: 576

partially, though not completely, explained by the fragility of infant bones. The archaeological evidence that does exist for children's burials, however, seems to confirm that at least some children were buried with great care. Textiles, for example, are most prone to degradation over time, and therefore leave scholars with limited ability to study burial clothing. Despite this, enough evidence has been preserved in other mediums, such as plaster death masks or hardened gypsum, that we can achieve some understanding of the ways in which children were dressed for burial.[113] Apparently common in both adult and child burial was the shrouding of the body, with records for children's shrouds coming from a number of regions, including Lyon and York.[114]

There was of course a range in the quality of clothing in which children were buried. The burial of a two-to three-year-old boy from Gaul demonstrates the potential simplicity of child burial, as he was buried in a wool tunic with sleeves. Carroll notes that this is the most common garment children are depicted wearing in Gallo-Roman funerary monuments.[115] Conversely, burials of children could be quite extravagant, reflected in part by the luxury of their burial clothing. A twelve-year-old girl from Gaul, for example, seems to have worn a purple and gold-tunic, her body then was covered in a large tapestry of the same colors, and atop this lay several layers of Damask silk. Several more clothing items seem to have been lain over her legs.[116] Although such an elaborate burial outfit would have been possible only for a few children, this burial clearly demonstrates the value placed on the girl, and the lengths her parents went to in mourning her. They spared no expense, wishing her body to be eternally clothed in only the finest garments.

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[113] Carroll 2012a: 135
[114] Carroll 2012a: 135
[115] Carroll 2012a: 137
[116] Carroll 2012a: 136-137

Though infants are underrepresented at burial sites, and literary sources suggest they were hardly to be mourned at all, archaeological evidence for the burial of infants does exist. A number of newborn corpses seem to have been swaddled prior to burial, reflecting the practice in life to keep newborns swaddled for 40-60 days. Other slightly older, though still infant, burials also exist, such as one ten or eleven month old buried in dyed wool.[117] While perhaps not as well represented as children of an older age, it cannot be said that the loss of infants went by unnoticed. These infants, clearly, were buried with care, directly contradicting the aforementioned rules on mourning.

Commemoration

As Carroll wrote "If it was important to people on many levels of Roman society and in many regions of the western empire that their memory be preserved for future generations through the commissioning, carving, and erection of funerary monuments with inscriptions, it should be important to us to understand what those inscriptions represented and communicated about individuals, communities, and society in the Roman past."[118] The importance of scholarly study of inscriptions described in this quote can be extrapolated to apply to all of funerary art. Remembrance after death was of vast importance to the Romans; to be remembered after death was to triumph over oblivion, to "escape the grave," as Horace put it.[119]

Whether commissioned in advance to commemorate one's own death, or included as instructions for commemoration in one's will, adult funerary monuments often show us how the deceased wished to be remembered. We are unable to gain this same insight into children's

[117] Carroll 2012a: 139-140
[118] Carroll 2006: 20
[119] Horace, *Odes* 3.30.1-9 as mentioned in Carroll 2011b: 67

desires, however, because it is highly unlikely children had a say in their funerary commemoration and leave virtually no written record behind. We do not know what the children considered to be most important to their identity and what they would have chosen to include on their tombstone - this has been lost to time. Children's monuments can tell us, however, how parents saw their children, and how they mourned for children who predeceased them.

Funerary monuments often advertised the status of the deceased and their family, and in the case of children exemplified the parent's hopes for social and economic advancement that expired with their child. In addition to these public-image related motivations, however, monuments could also fulfill a sentimental purpose, providing a space of comfort for those left behind.[120] In particular, monuments with portraits, such as the altars discussed in this catalogue, might have been especially important in survivors' mourning.[121] As the child likely died young and unexpectedly, there is potential that the portrait on a funerary altar may be one of a few (or indeed the only) images of a child left to the parents.

The death of a child, being an especially tragic event, necessitates a shift in response as compared to an adult death. Rather than commemorating the achievements of a life well lived, the funerary monuments of children instead represent the life cut short, unlimited potential that would never be reached. Because of this, the iconography of the funerary art required modifications. For example, although adult funerary monuments might celebrate the career of the deceased, a child's monument would depict scenes of children playing or practicing declamation, the occupations of children.[122]

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[120] Hope 2011: 177
[121] Hope 2011: 185
[122] Huskinson 1996: 16-17

Chapter 3: Motifs in Portraits on Roman Children's Funerary Altars

Introduction

Within the genre of children's funerary monuments, altars provide fruitful study for how the deaths of individual children were received. Unlike sarcophagi, altars did not contain an inhumed body, and could therefore be carved after death without time as a limiting factor. Therefore, the decorations are often individualized for each child, rather than pre-carved stock pieces kept in the workshop. Although cinerary urns were also intended for cremations, altars are much larger, and provide the commissioner and artist more space in which to depict the child, important attributes, and a meaningful inscription. Because of these two factors, altars provide the best insight into the mourning of individual children.

In antiquity, altars were used in animal sacrifices to the gods. They provided a flat surface upon which the animal could be sacrificed, and were often decorated, becoming not just functional but also a work of art. For the first time, in the Roman period, altars became popular as funerary monuments, though they continued to be used in sacrifices as well.[123] Funerary altars, unlike sacrificial altars, served less of a functional purpose so much as a symbolic purpose. They were primarily designed to preserve the memory of the deceased, rather than serve as a receptacle for the body or an altar on which actual sacrifices were to be performed.[124] Such funerary altars could consist of two parts, the main body and the lid, but Kleiner notes that most altars with portraits were built as a single unit.[125] Unfortunately, the provenance of many funerary altars has been lost, but many that do have exact find spots were located along the main

[123] Kleiner 1987b: 21
[124] Kleiner 1987b: 21-23
[125] Kleiner 1987b: 23

roads leading out of Rome. The altars would have been located within a tomb complex, either free-standing or set within a niche, or just outside of it.[126]

Funerary altars frequently housed portraits of the deceased, set into a niche on the front face, as well as decorative elements and inscription(s) on the front and side faces. In a society where literacy has been estimated as low as 15%, such images were in many ways most valuable for keeping the memory of the deceased alive, as only a minority of people might have been able to read and fully comprehend the accompanying inscription.[127] These altar portraits show the ways in which the artists balanced realistic depictions of a dedicatee's portrait features with the urge to idealize the deceased, often associating them with divine or mythological features. How the deceased was portrayed, though perhaps not accurate to their appearance in life, is crucial to the study of Roman funerary monuments, as it lends insight into how the living commemorated and remembered their dead.

As Huskinson notes, most dedicants of altars were freedmen, eager to display their new social status through impressive monuments.[128] One of the benefits of this social status was the ability to create their own families, and family relationships were emphasized on monuments to boast this new privilege. It is no surprise then, that the largest number of these monuments are dedicated to children, typically between the ages of two and fifteen.[129] In these altars the children, both boys and girls, were most frequently commemorated as individuals.[130] This allows insight into how parents wished to portray their child, and how individual characteristics of the

[126] Kleiner 1987b: 24-25
[127] Harris 1989: 326 as mentioned in Rawson 2003a: 146
[128] Huskinson 2007: 328
[129] Huskinson 2007: 328
[130] Huskinson 2007: 329

child might have interacted with established funerary iconography to fulfill the altar's desired purpose(s).

Structure

In her seminal study of Roman Imperial funerary altars, Kleiner grouped altars with portraits into seven main categories based on the structural design of the altars.[131] Working from a sample of nearly 100 altars from the 130 altars in her catalogue, she sorted these altars into the categories and subtypes they most exemplified, sometimes including one altar in multiple categories. Although this sample is not large enough to make any definitive claims about structural rules for children's altars it is nevertheless valuable to examine the distribution of children's altars among Kleiner's examples for each type. As a basis for comparison with the whole catalogue, 37 of the 130 altars compiled in Kleiner's catalogue were dedicated to children, or 28%.

Four of the seven types (Types III-VI) have a sample size of less than ten, which makes it nearly impossible to draw conclusions. Type II features 10 children's monuments from its sample size of 32 monuments (appr. 31%). This type is noteworthy for its segmental pediment buttressed by acroteria, though the types of acroteria vary, thus constituting various subtypes. It is interesting to note that the only two extant examples for subtype IB (plain acroteria with portrait on the main body of the altar) belong to children. Despite this small (and admittedly not statistically significant) outlier, however, the proportion of children's altars in Type II corresponds to the proportion of children's altars overall.

[131] Kleiner 1987b: 32-43

The two remaining types have less than the average percentage of children's monuments. Four of the 36 altars, classified by Kleiner as Type I, approximately 11%, belonged to children. Type I altars are differentiated by their segmental pediment buttressed by pulvinars, with two subtypes coming from the location of the portrait (A: portrait in the pediment, B: portrait on the main body of the altar). This type has one of the largest sample sizes, which allows more weight to be given to the disproportionate lack of children's altars.

Even more obvious, however, is the complete absence of children's monuments in the twelve examples of Type VII, which is characterized by the flat tops of the altars. As a result of the flat tops, the altars have neither internal cavities nor lids. Excluding one altar, which is the earliest surviving altar with a portrait, the other eleven altars from Type VII date to the Flavian period or after, with the majority dating to the Trajanic period. While it is difficult to draw conclusions about why children's altars might be underrepresented in these two types, it is worth considering whether age at death might have impacted the choice of altar structure.

Decorative Program

As in most genres of art, there is an established iconography of Roman funerary art, particularly within each genre. Such elements appeared frequently, though not on every single altar. One of the most common decorations on Roman funerary altars is the inclusion of a pitcher (*urceus*) on the left side face and a patera on the right hand side. Kleiner estimates that these two decorations are found on approximately 75% of funerary altars, likely due to the association of these implements with actual sacrifices performed on altars.[132] Although it does not seem to

[132] Kleiner 1987b: 21

have had much influence on the iconography of the child's portrait and the functions of the altar, it is nevertheless noted in the catalogue when an altar has the pitcher and patera.

Along with the pitcher and patera are a whole host of other decorative motifs that reappear on many, though not all altars with portraits. On the main body of the altars, these include garlands, Jupiter Ammon and ram's heads, *erotes* (winged cupid-like figures), wreaths and fluttering ribbons, eagles, and trees. On the top portion of the altars, rosette pulvinars and palmette patterns are common, in addition to wreaths and fluttering ribbons. These motifs are used to fill in blank spaces on the front and sides of the altar, no doubt advertising the wealth of those commemorating the altar, as they were able to afford not just a portrait and inscription, but a number of other carved decorations as well. Additionally, some of these decorations could suggest apotheosis of the child, as Kleiner suggests with the altar of L. Postumius Iulianus (#34).[133]

Attributes are also frequently found on altars with portraits. Unlike the pitcher and patera, attributes significantly impact interpretation of the portrait. Though they may be considered part of the portrait, and are certainly worth noting, I have opted rather to include them in the decorative program, as they are still separate from the child. For the purpose of this study, objects and animals held by the child are considered attributes. Still valuable to note, however, are altars such as #11 and #44, which feature animals sitting near the child rather than being held by them. In his study of all types of children's portraits on funerary monuments (excluding sarcophagi), Mander noted nearly 600 attributes found among his approximately 700 examples.

[133] Kleiner 1987b: 175, no. 53

Categorizing these monuments, he found that animals and fruit were by far the most frequent types of attribute, followed then by "objects," scholastic items, and toys.[134]

Prospective Imagery

A uniting theme in funerary portraiture is idealization of the dead. They are depicted as healthy and vital, no hint of the death that overtook them. As Hope notes, in many surviving funerary commemorations, this took the form of retrospective imagery - depicting the deceased as their younger self, before old age weakened them.[135] Although children's funerary art also idealizes the deceased, it must do so in a different way. A common theme therefore in children's funerary monuments with portraits is the use of prospective imagery to depict the child. Such imagery portrays the child as older than they were when they died. Doing so perhaps provides some solace; the child is able to be an adult in stone, if not in life. Conversely, the prospective image juxtaposed with their limited years announced in the inscription serves as a harsh reminder of the child's cruel fate.

While some uses of prospective imagery simply depict the child as several years older than the recorded age at death, as in the case of Hateria Superba (#4), other times prospective portraiture is wielded as a device to advertise the potential upward mobility and status of the family. Unfortunately, in many cases, such hopes have been thwarted or at least hindered by the child's untimely death. One example of this can be seen with the altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (#20), which depicts the young child in an orator's pose, imagining what his future career might have been, given his success at a poetry competition just before his death. In this

[134] Mander 2013: 36-55, esp. 36-37
[135] Hope 2011: 181

example, not only does the prospective imagery serve to advertise his achievements in life, but it also imagines what such talent would have led to. Given his father's Greek name (Eugrammus), his own *trinomina* (three-part name), and the *bulla* around his neck, Maximus was likely the freeborn child of freedmen parents. Because of this, the parents might have been all the more eager for the heightened status their son's success was sure to bring them, and wish to advertise what might have been on his altar.

Another common instance of prospective imagery being used to advertise potential is the depiction of young boys in military clothing, creating a heroicized image of the child. This can be seen in the portraits of L. Passienius Doryphoros (#8), Q. Fabius Proculus (#21), Successus (#23), Alcides (#32), and Florus (#36). Once again, such imagery might relate in part to the legal status of their parents, though this can only be confirmed in the case of L. Passienius Doryphoros, whose mother and brother were both of freed status. Because only freeborn Roman citizens could be in the military, depicting their child in such a guise is another way of advertising their freeborn status and the upward social mobility that came with it.

A final, unique, case of prospective imagery is seen on the altar of Iulia Victorina, (#15) which will be discussed further in the following section. In short, however, it depicts an age-accurate portrait of the girl on the front of the altar, and a prospective portrait of her on the back. Having these two portraits makes the loss even more poignant, as the viewer is overwhelmed by the realization that the older portrait will never come to fruition - the first portrait is the final appearance of the young girl.

Consecratio in Formam Deorum

A common theme in children's portraiture on funerary altars is *Consecratio in Formam Deorum*, a concept named by Wrede in her seminal source on the subject. In this type of portraiture, the child assumes the attributes, guise, or identity of a god or mythical hero.[136] Although any deity could potentially be used in such scenes, there was a clear preference on children's monuments towards certain deities. Mander identified Cupid, Mercury, and Hercules as being most popular among the funerary monuments of boys, and Venus and Diana being the most frequent choice for girls.[137] While these representations do not occur in such high numbers among this catalog as they do in Mander's, there is at least one representation of each of these deities.

The monument of Claudius Hyllus (#9) features a portrait of the boy as Cupid, if Mander's identification of the deity is correct. In this portrait, a winged male figure reclines on his left arm, as though resting on a *kline* (a dining couch). His legs are crossed, and his right arm reaches up over his head. Although occasionally made clear, often we are left to hypothesize about the reasoning behind the choice of a specific deity. In the case of Cupid, it was perhaps the deity's childlike appearance that appealed to parents. The god's chubby physique, short stature, and infantile face would allow for easy union of his body with the portrait features of a young child. Additionally, Mander suggests that the god's association with eternal play might be comforting to parents, and his mischievous nature might be reminiscent of the child's personality.[138]

A depiction of a child in the guise of Mercury can be seen with the monument of M. Cocceius Crescens (#44). In this monument, if Montfaucon's drawings are to be trusted, a semi-

[136] Antal 2015: 55; Mander 2013: 55; Wrede 1981
[137] Mander 2013: 55
[138] Mander 2013: 56

circular niche atop the monument contains a full-body portrait of an entirely nude boy.[139] He wears the winged cap of Mercury and holds a Caduceus in his right hand and a money bag in his left. Additional examples (#2, #27) depict the child with an attribute of the god, his Caduceus, rather than assuming his entire guise. Unlike most other deities depicted in *consecratio in formam deorum* scenes on children's altars, the choice of Mercury seems less likely to be a response to the child's young age at death. Instead, it is most probably related to Mercury's role as psychopomp, or the guide of the departed spirits of the deceased to the afterlife. By depicting the child as Mercury himself, this altar perhaps expresses hope for M. Cocceius Crescens to have a safe journey to the underworld, invoking the presence of Mercury to be with the child's spirit. Mander suggests two other motives behind representing Mercury: that his childhood features in many myths, which would be relevant to the children's age, and that he was the god of trade, commerce, and profit, which might have been appealing to freedmen parents who sought to increase their socioeconomic status.[140]

Another altar, dedicated to the fifteen-year-old L. Marcius Pacatus, is quite stunning in its narrative depiction of Hercules's labors across three faces (#12) Hercules is the only mythical hero in the list of most common choices, the others all being Olympians. The front depicts Hercules strangling the hydra. He appears to be a toddler, as indicated by his rounded features, nearly muscular, but still chubby arms and legs, and slightly oversized head. The right face figure, who kills a stymphalian bird, is now clearly tall and muscular, having grown significantly since the last scene. His face is still bare, however, indicating a youthful age, perhaps 15 years old, as L. Marcius Pacatus was when he died. The final figure on the left face fights a centaur,

[139] Monfaucon 1719: tom. 1 pl. 72.6
[140] Mander 2013: 56

and appears similar to the right face figure, though upon close inspection he is shown to be slightly older. He now seems to have a beard, his muscles are slightly more defined, and he utilizes his knee to pin the centaur down as he strikes him with the club, indicating improved skill since that last scene. The back of the altar depicts several of Hercules main tools and weapons - his lion fur sits atop a bow, arrows, and a club.

At fifteen, Pacatus's somewhat older age may partially explain why Hercules was chosen. The narrative scenes serve to emphasize the deceased's age, as, like Hercules, he was in his physical prime when he died. Additionally, they perhaps brought to mind both his accomplishments, as the first two scenes took place before the age of his death, as well as unfulfilled future promise, as he would never reach the age of the third figure. It is no surprise that children's altars in general might make allusions to Hercules, his strength representing their youthful figure. His myths are also applicable to all ages - though Hercules lived to adulthood, his astonishing strength and skill was apparent even as an infant.

Consecratio in formam deorum scenes on children's altars featuring Venus never depict the child fully in her guise, but rather just with a subtle attribute - drapery slipping from the shoulder. Such a reference can be seen on the altars of Caetennia Pollitta (#7), Iunia Pia (#24), and Ammaea Urbana (#38). Unlike the other most frequent choices for such scenes, all of which were connected in some way to childhood, Venus is associated primarily with adulthood. As these girls died before maturity, before marriage, and before motherhood, they do not bear much semblance to Venus. Connecting the girl to Venus then is perhaps not about her life experiences, but a way of looking toward the future that would never be. Such an allusion inevitably causes the viewer to imagine the young girl as an adult, a married woman, and a mother. This sharpens the loss, as the unfulfilled potential of the girl's life is so clearly present. Additionally, some

scholars believe that women in ancient Rome left dolls and other childhood toys as an offering to Venus before their wedding.[141] In this light, Venus might even represent the ending of childhood - perhaps a commentary on the all-too-soon ending of the deceased girl's childhood.

The final frequent choice of deity is Diana, who is a fitting choice for the funerary altars of young girls, having been known for her perpetual maidenhood. As they died before marriage, the deceased girls can be considered to have this perpetual maidenhood as well, and such representation thus highlights their purity and innocence. Eve D'Ambra asserts that this choice also "exemplified antisocial or transgressive behavior with the goddess's fierce and permanent virginity, her habitat in the wilds, and her predatory behavior in the hunt."[142] Association with Diana therefore also suggests that these girls were independent, and perhaps also returns some of their agency, taken from them by the cruel hands of death.

Three altars, those of Aelia Tyche (#10), Aelia Procula (#16), and an unnamed girl (#17) depict the deceased in the guise of Diana. The first two are nearly identical in depiction, both imitate a well-known Hellenistic statue.[143] They are shown in Amazonian dress, with a mantle over the shoulder and a breast exposed. The girls are depicted as active, strong, and healthy, standing in a powerful pose. Their bow is extended, and their free hand reaches behind to pull another arrow from the quiver. A hunting dog runs alongside them, just behind their legs.
The third altar depicts the girl in a chiton instead, though still with the bow extended in one hand, and the other reaching for an arrow. A dog and a stag stand on either side of her. In sum, these altars depict the deceased in the guise of Diana, eternally in the prime of youth.

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[141] Hersch 2010: 66-67
[142] D'Ambra 2008: 171
[143] D'Ambra 2008: 173

Another way Diana is referenced can be seen in the altar of Iulia Victorina (#15). In her portrait, she wears a crescent headdress atop her head, a subtle nod to Diana, goddess of the moon. The headdress brings to mind Diana's attributes in connection to Iulia, without Iulia Victorina being portrayed in full Amazonian dress on a hunt. The backside of this altar depicts an adult woman, perhaps in her twenties. The woman wears a radiate crown. The portrait features of the two are quite similar, leading scholars to believe that the back depicts what Iulia might have looked like had she lived.[144] The symbolism of this radiate crown - a motif often connected with Apollo - could be quite interesting. Apollo, though Diana's twin, is known for several of his more famous ventures in love. It therefore seems more fitting that his symbol should accompany the more adult portrait. Additionally, there is a connection to rebirth or the continuance of life after death, insofar as the sun rises after the moon sets.

A final way Diana can be referenced is seen in the funerary altar of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (#14). The references to Diana are even more subtle on this altar, with the left side of the pediment area being decorated with a bow and arrows, two attributes of Diana. This nod to Diana, though subtle, would still evoke thoughts of her virtues and similarities to Iulia Secunda. These five altars show the gradient of intensity of *consecratio in formam deorum* scenes, as they can range from depicting the deceased as fully assuming the identity of the deity, to simply including a few attributes near the portrait. It is also worth noting that these five mythological figures were not the only ones to appear on children's funerary altars - Harpocrates is referenced once (#2), though this altar will be discussed in further detail in the next section

The Cult of Isis

[144] Kleiner 1987b: 120-121

Though the altars in this catalogue all originated from Rome, there are a number of references to Egyptian and Ptolemaic deities, all related to the cult of Isis. The influence of Egyptian culture in Rome first appeared in the Republican period, as the Roman empire saw increased contact with Egypt. Specifically, during the first century BCE, many Romans began to adopt the Egyptian cult of Isis, though a Hellenized version.[145] Osiris having been mummified by his wife Isis, became the god of the dead, associated with cycles of renewal and rebirth.[146] Therefore, as Isis is responsible for this partial resurrection, she is also, at least partially connected to these notions. In addition to these associations, it is important to note that involving their children in this cult provided parents hope of protection for their children in life and a pleasant afterlife should they die young.[147] This latter, unfortunately, is the only remaining hope for the parents who dedicated these altars, and reference to the cult may have been one last attempt to secure this divine favor for their child.

Two altars depict their young, female recipients as participants this cult: the altar of Caetennia Pollitta (#7) and the altar of Hateria Superba (#4).[148] The girls are shown sporting hairstyles with braids and pearls that indicate connection to the cult of Isis. In the case of young female adherents, it is worth also considering Isis' connection with marriage and motherhood.[149] Perhaps such a hairstyle created a similar effect to the slipping drapery of Venus, emphasizing the unfulfilled domestic potential of the deceased girls.

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[145] Sorek 2010: 37

[146] Kleiner 1987b: 183

[147] Backe-Dahmen 2018, esp. 538

[148] Following Backe-Dahmen's example (2018: 527), I use the term participants when discussing children represented with references to the cult of Isis, because there is no conclusive evidence that children were actually initiated into the cult in Roman times

[149] Backe-Dahmen 2018: 521

Male participants in the cult of Isis are represented in the portraits of L. Passienius Doryphoros (#8) and Florus (#36). Like the female adherents, the mark of young male participants of the cult is found in the portrait's hairstyle, though this style can potentially be worn by girls as well.[150] The portraits wear what is known as the Horus Lock, also known as the sidelock of youth. It is a hairstyle that features a large braided lock of hair to the side, typically longer than the rest of the hair. The Horus Lock, so named after Horus, the child of Isis and Osiris, was an identifying characteristic of children.[151] In this way, the Horus lock permanently marks these figures as children, making their young age immediately apparent to contemporary visitors. Additionally, the connection to the rebirth and rejuvenation associated with the cult of Isis is still present. It is also worth noting that the portrait of Florus appears to depict a child between the ages of six and ten, while the inscription clarifies that he was only two when he died. Florus is simultaneously depicted as being older than he ever lived to be, while also being identified as a child by the Horus lock. This creates a unique effect where perception of his age is simultaneously altered to be both older and yet permanently young.

A final reference to the cult of Isis is found on the altar of C. Nonius Pius, which depicts the young boy raising the index finger of his right hand to his lips (#2). This is recognized as an allusion to Harpocrates, a Ptolemaic deity of silence. Harpocrates was a Greek adaptation of Egypt's Horus, and his name is a Hellenization of the Egyptian, which translates to Horus the child.[152] He is depicted as a child, holding his finger to his lips. Likely misunderstanding the Egyptian hieroglyph for child as the Greco-Roman motion for silence, still used today, Harpocrates later became the god of secrecy and silence. Initially, though, he was known for

[150] For more on the debate of the Horus-Lock's applicability to girls, see Backe-Dahmen 2018, esp.524-527
[151] Ikram 2003: 259; Backe-Dahmen 2018, esp. 10
[152] Swan Hall 1977: 55

representing youth; he stood for the sun rising in the morning.[153] Therefore, Harpocrates could have been a fitting figure for use on a child's funerary altar. Like the Horus lock, portrayal as Harpocrates immediately and permanently marks the deceased as a child and connects him to the cult of Isis. Being associated with the rising sun, Harpocrates can also indicate the promise of a bright future. This could potentially suggest one of two things. It is perhaps meant to sharpen the ache of the loss of this child, making the viewer think of the future that Gaius Nonius Pius would never have. The other potential meaning is that it symbolizes that the child still has a future after death, just not in this realm.

Group Portraiture

Included in this catalogue are altars that in some cases have been dedicated to multiple people, among them children. A great many of the altars are dedicated to multiple people through the inscription. The deceased child is listed first, followed by a general statement that the altar was also made for themselves (those commissioning the monument) and their descendants (*sibi et suis posterisque*). It is less common, however, to have multiple people memorialized in the portraiture. This may have been done as a way of affording the monument, as funerary monuments were no doubt expensive, and even more so for those with elaborate portraiture. It may also have been a way to unite the family in death, and to advertise the family unit through the monument.

In some cases, it was to mark the unfortunate deaths of multiple family members from the same incident, as is the case with the Altar of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche, who both died in a shipwreck leaving their father and husband immensely grieved (#14). In other cases, the

[153] Swan Hall 1977: 55

altar may have been commissioned upon the death of only one family member, but used to depict those who predeceased them, or perhaps even those who outlived them and have yet to die. The inscriptions often do not provide us enough information about the order of deaths, and so we are left to theorize about this for many monuments. The altars of Dexter and Sacerdos (#26) and Nico and Eutyches (#41), for example, both commemorate two children who died under the age of five. In these cases, it is more probable that those who commissioned the monument chose to commemorate two lost children at once, though they likely did not die at the same time. Although it is unknown how far apart the pairs died and how long after their deaths the stones were commemorated, it is at least evident that they were both deceased at the time of creation.

This is much less certain with the altars of L. Passienius Doryphorus and L. Passienius Sabinus(#8) and M. Iunius Satyrus and Iunia Pia (#24). The first of these altars has three portraits, and is dedicated to a man's wife and two children. Ages at death are listed for none of the figures, leading to contention among scholars as to whether the portraits depict the two sons as adults or as children.[154] The altar of M. Iunius Satyrus is somewhat less open-ended, as the busts of the children are noticeably smaller and their skin smoother than the two adult busts, though once again ages at death are not given. This altar is interesting as well, as it depicts part of the nuclear family unit together, with the busts of the two children and the father, while the bust of the patron is in a separate niche.

Name Play

[154] Kleiner 19987b: 225 asserts that the portrait features appear older and that the two sons are adults, Mander 2013: 113-14, 178 in turn argues that the leftmost portrait wears a Horus Lock, indicating a youthful age, and the figure on the right is unanimously considered to be the younger of the two brothers, thus creating an identification of both of them as children.

As Corbier phrased it, "For a Roman, the choice of name was never irrelevant to the child's destiny."[155] Though perhaps no longer influencing their destiny, the deceased's name could still influence their funerary portraiture. The most notable occurrence of this among the altars in this catalogue is seen on that of Laberia Daphne (#42). The story of her namesake, Daphne, is most notably told by Ovid. In this classic tale of transformation, Daphne flees from Apollo's lusting touch. As she runs from him, she makes a desperate plea to her father, one of the river gods, to help her escape Apollo. Her father grants her this, and transforms her into a laurel tree, just moments before she would have been within Apollo's reach.[156]

Clearly playing with her namesake and this recognizable narrative, the altar depicts a naked young girl, though evidently post-puberty, in the midst of her transformation into a tree. Her legs are fused together, branches sprouting out on either side. Her arms are held up at near 90-degree angles, with her fingers already taking on a leaf-like shape, and additional branches grow vertically near each elbow. Her hair has been transformed into a laurel wreath, Apollo's later creation to pay homage to Daphne's memory. Kleiner suggested that the girl's face, though rather small and with unspecific features, was initially intended as a portrait of Laberia Daphne.[157] In addition to creating a connection to her name, the myth of Daphne is a fitting theme for a young girl's funerary altar. Daphne, having spurned Apollo's advances, can be seen as an emblem of purity, similar to Diana. It is also interesting to note that although Daphne ceased to exist as a human, she did find new life as a tree, potentially connecting this altar to notions of life after death.

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[155] Corbier 2001: 56
[156] Ovid, *Met.* 1.452-567
[157] Kleiner 1987b: 204

As Kleiner noted, this depiction of the myth is significant, in that it depicts Daphne already mid-transformation, an artistic choice only seen in one other work, a floor mosaic. Other ancient representations typically portrayed her in her human form, with just a sprig of laurel to indicate her identity. Representations of Daphne, not seen prior to the Hellenistic period, are most often completed in the painting medium, with this altar being one of, if not the only stone portrayals of the myth.[158] The rarity of this depiction certifies this altar as a unique commission and exhibits the creativity of either the commemorator or the stone carver.

Another example of nameplay on a child's funerary altar can be seen in that of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (#14), though it admittedly plays off of the mother's name, rather than the daughter. Tyche, the Greek goddess of chance, corresponds to the Roman Fortuna. In the right portion of the pediment, above the portrait of Tyche, are a cornucopia, a torch, a rudder on a globe, and a wheel, all of which are attributes of Fortuna. Additionally, on the right side of the altar, was a carving of Fortuna's mirror, which has since been lost and is now only preserved in a 17th-century drawing.[159] Though Cornelia Tyche is not depicted as Fortuna in the same way that Laberia Daphne takes the form of her namesake, it is evident nonetheless that the creator of this altar was distinctly aware of the identities of the deceased and ways that they might be associated with divinities through their names.

Liminality

A final theme worth considering in the portraiture on children's funerary altars is the concept of liminality between life and death. This has briefly been discussed already, particularly

[158] Kleiner 1987b: 203-204
[159] Kleiner 1987b: 255

as it relates to *consecratio in formam deorum* scenes and references to the cult of Isis. In the altar of Iulia Victorina (#15), there is this interplay between the moon of the night-time representing the age at death, and the sun rising again in the morning being connected with her prospective portrait. This symbolism is even more evident with the cult of Isis, as Osiris (and Isis by connection) is heavily associated with cycles of renewal and rebirth. Harpocrates, too, was related to the rising sun in the morning. Two other altars also exemplify this state of liminality, those of Hateria Superba (#4) and an unnamed boy (#18).

In the altar of Hateria Superba, the young girl stands, holding grapes in one hand and a dove in the other. Standing at her side is a dog and another, slightly larger bird. Above these two animals are two *erotes*, hovering in the air as they crown her head with a wreath. Mansuelli was the first to point out the liminality inherent in this altar.[160] The two animals at her feet, as well as the dove in her hand, represent her childhood on earth, the animals she might have played with in everyday life. The *erotes* flying above the animals, however, are an element of the afterlife. As it is, Hateria Superba in a sense has one foot in both worlds in this depiction, literally holding on to and grounded by her life on Earth, but increasingly approached by the new world in the afterlife.

Another sense of this theme is present in an altar unique to this catalogue, of an unnamed boy. Rather than being presented in a typical portrait niche, however, his partial portrait is visible through the opened doors of a simulated shrine. Both Mander and Kleiner tentatively identify this as an *armarium*, a chest intended to house ancestor portraits and sometimes mimicked by slaves and freedmen in their funerary monuments.[161] While I do not deny the validity of this function of the shrine, I posit that such a depiction is potentially also a commentary on the

[160] Mansuelli 1958: 208-209 as mentioned on the Galleria degli Uffizi Web Entry
[161] Kleiner 1987b: 192, no. 66; Mander 2013: 174, no. 69

liminality of life and death. I draw this argument from Verity Platt, who suggests that architectonic doorways on funerary monuments act as a quite literal visualization of the threshold between life and death.[162] The doors of the shrine open to reveal the portrait of the deceased, in this sense creating a point of interaction between those still living and the deceased boy. In this way, the doorway suggests that though life status stands between them, the worlds of the two are not so separate as they might initially appear.

[162] Platt 2012, esp. 218. Though Platt largely focuses on sarcophagi in this article, she mentions that it applies to other genres as well, including ash chests and painted walls in tombs. I have extended her argument to include funerary altars. Though they do not always contain the physical remains of the body as sarcophagi do, I believe the notion of liminality through architectonic doorways is still present and valid among funerary altars.

Chapter 4: Eulogizing the Youth: Themes in Epitaphs

Introduction

Another crucially important element of Roman funerary altars is their inscriptions, though study of inscriptions is often underrepresented in art historical analyses. The inscriptions are often consulted only to confirm theories about the portraiture, such as the age of the deceased. These inscriptions are worthy of their own study, however, as what was written and how the text was formatted on the monument were conscious decisions made by both the commissioner and the carver. As such, they provide crucial insight into how the victims of *mors immatura* were mourned and commemorated. In sum, they are an equally valuable part of funerary altars, not a secondary element to be consulted briefly.

Although portraits certainly helped to preserve the child's memory, inscriptions arguably play the larger role in preservation of memory.[163] They record the deceased's name, which was a key way to preserve one's memory in Roman thought. They also often preserve their age, how they were perceived by those mourning them, and occasionally note important achievements by the deceased. That being said, it must be kept in mind that literacy has been estimated to be as low as 20-30% among the adult male population in Rome,[164] so a combination of portrait and inscription would have been most effective in preserving memory.

Limitations of this Chapter

This chapter seeks only to provide a cursory exploration of funerary inscriptions on altars as it pertains to children's altars with portraits. Unfortunately, this risks stepping into a common

[163] Carroll 2006: 19, 39
[164] Harris 1989: 259-272 as mentioned in Carroll 2006: 55

pitfall in the study of Roman funerary art - seeing epitaphs as only subsidiary evidence, rather than as a primary source of information. Indeed, as Carroll points out, "If funerary inscriptions do not appear to be of especial interest to archaeologists, they are even less so to historians of ancient art, unless there is a portrait bust or a relief scene on them that allow the stones to be classed as 'art.'"[165] Carroll continues, accusing art historians of often including images of funerary monuments to make a particular point or to make the scholarly work more visually appealing. While I certainly hope that my illustrations serve a more valuable purpose than this, I recognize that I am indeed guilty of her first claim.

In only examining the accompanying inscriptions of children's altars with portraits, I consult only a limited group of inscriptions, and even altars. There are likely to be at least some differences among how children are commemorated in altars with portraits as opposed to in altars with only text. Therefore, I proceed through this next chapter with caution, and do not seek to provide an accurate representation of all children's funerary inscriptions. Instead, I comment only on themes within inscriptions of the altars included in this catalogue, and how the inscriptions might be consulted in tandem with the images to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the altars in their entirety.

Importance of Inscriptions

Although portraits and other decorations on altars are invaluable in understanding how the deaths of young children were mourned, they are best understood when read in tandem with the accompanying inscriptions. The issues with not viewing funerary altars as a whole are evident in a number of ways. Sometimes the inscription either did not survive or did not exist in

[165] Carroll 2006: 21, for more on this exclusion of epigraphic evidence, see 20-27

the first place, while at other times the inscription contradicts what one might hypothesize based on image alone. Likewise, looking only at the inscription is an equally flawed strategy, as adult children are sometimes commemorated by their parents with inscriptions resembling those of young children.

An altar depicting a female figure in the guise of Diana (#17) demonstrates the first issue well. Lacking an inscription, the portrait is the only clue to the identity of the deceased. Because of ambiguity in the facial features, this figure has been identified as a middle-aged woman by Kleiner and as a young girl by Mander.[166] Without an age given by an inscription, there is no definitive way to prove the approximate age of the figure and whether or not the altar should be included in a study of children's portraits. Altars with multiple portraits and no inscriptions (e.g. #39) present even more issues, as there is no definitive way to know if both figures were deceased at the time of the altar's creation, let alone their approximate ages.

One becomes even more aware of the potential issues of altars without inscriptions when considering how an altar might be interpreted without its accompanying inscription. Consider the altar of Hateria Superba (#4),which depicts a young girl being crowned with a wreath by *erotes*. Wearing a tunic and toga, and holding grapes and a bird in her hands, she stands upright and looks straight ahead. Though clearly not yet an adult, she nonetheless looms over the dog and bird standing on either side of her, and is considerably larger than the two *erotes*. One might estimate her to be anywhere from four to seven years of age, and yet the inscription contradicts this entirely. A case of prospective portraiture, this altar depicts the one and a half year old Hateria Superba as being several years older than her age. Had the inscription not survived, scholars might draw entirely different conclusions about this particular altar.

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[166] Kleiner 1987b: 147-148, no. 35; Mander 2013: 169, no. 45

One must also be careful not to place too much value on inscriptions either. The inscription on the altar of M. Cocceius Crescens (#44), demonstrates several ambiguities of inscriptions. Like many altars, though M. Cocceius Crescens appears to be the primary recipient, the altar is also dedicated to several other members of his family. Two women named Cocceia Auge, one a well-deserving wife and the other the sweetest daughter, are mentioned, as well as M. Ulpius Vestalis, sweetest son. The ages of the two women are not given, perhaps suggesting that they are still alive, though this cannot be confirmed. Additionally, the epithet *filius dulcissimus*, here abbreviated *f d*, is commonly used to describe deceased children. Here however, the inscription clarifies that M. Ulpius Vestalis is far from being a child, having died at 29 years old. Had the inscription not listed any of the deceased's ages, this altar might have been perceived as an altar for three children who died young, rather than just one. In the brief study of these altars, it is clear that optimal comprehension of an altar and its recipients come from simultaneous study of both iconography and inscription.

Formulaic Writing

Like many inscriptions, those on children's funerary altars tend to be at least partially, if not entirely formulaic. Similar in some ways to modern-day headstone engravings, which feature the ever common "Rest in Peace," these standard words perhaps represent the futile attempt to express an indescribable grief. Most equivalent to this English phrase is the phrase "*Dis Manibus,*" a dedication to the Departed Spirits, which occurs in some variation on nearly every Roman funerary monument. In addition to providing the commemorator with a guideline for writing an epitaph, the formulaic writing may also have served another purpose. Carroll argues that formulaic writing repeated on many headstones would have allowed the meaning to be

somewhat understandable even by those generally considered to be illiterate, thus allowing the memory to be preserved by more people.[167] By noting commonalities among inscriptions, not only can we examine what was considered a standard and expected epitaph in Roman culture, but we are also further able to recognize unique divergences from the formula, and explore the motives behind such choices.

A standard feature of inscriptions on children's altars is the inclusion of superlative adjectives to describe either the virtues of the deceased child or the grief of those dedicating the altar. By far the most common adjective used to describe the deceased is *dulcissimus* (sweetest) which occurs fourteen times among the altars in the catalogue.[168] Other adjectives include *pientissimus* (most pious - six occurrences), *carissimus* (dearest - three occurrences), *praestantissimus* (most outstanding - 1 occurrence). Though not in a superlative form, *bene merenti* (well-deserving - three occurrences) is also used as a descriptor. Less common are the adjectives describing the current emotional state of those commemorating, though *infelicissimi* (most unhappy) is used four times, and *misero* (wretched) just once.

Funerary monuments, especially those of children, often include the age of the deceased as another formulaic element. Recorded in remarkable detail, epitaphs often listed their age down to months and days. In the deaths of children, this emphasized to the reader just how tragic the death was, having taken such a young life. Carroll does warn that such ages may not be trusted at face value, as older ages are highly over-represented, suggesting that ages may have been rounded or estimated rather than as exact as they claim to be.[169] Though it would have been far

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[167] Carroll 2006: 55-56

[168] Strictly speaking, it occurs more frequently than this, but only instances where it was used to describe the deceased child were counted - see #44 for examples of this adjective not included. The same applies for the other adjectives.

[169] Carroll 2006: 175-178

easier to calculate the exact age of a young child than that of an elderly person, it is worth bearing in mind that such skewing may have existed in children's epitaphs as well.

As Laes acknowledges, study of inscriptions cannot lead to conclusive results regarding demography in the ancient world, but it can, however, teach us more about the epigraphic habit.[170] In other words, by examining the distribution of ages on inscriptions, we can determine who received commemorations most frequently, and subsequently we can theorize why certain groups were privileged over others in inscriptions. Of the 45 altars in this catalogue, 42 of which possess at least a partially intact inscription, the ages of 28 children are given. Though this catalogue is limited in number, and therefore does not provide a statistically significant sample size, it is still valuable to examine the distribution of ages.

The ages of the 28 children span the years from one to fifteen. The most common ages represented are less than one year old, six years old, and ten years old, each age group including four children. Ages one, two, three, four, five, eight, and eleven all have two children each. Ages fourteen and fifteen have just one child each, and ages seven, nine, twelve, and thirteen have none. It is most interesting that children less than one year of age are so well represented in this catalogue. In both Carroll's study as well as Keith Hopkins', children less than one year of age were by far the least represented category, making up only 1% of the total in both studies, significantly lower than the infant mortality rate in Rome.[171] When Carroll reduced the scope to just the children's epitaphs they then made up 9.4%, though this is still lower than the 14.2% of this study, though comparisons between the two in other age categories have similar discrepancies. Of course, two of the four infants commemorated in this catalogue come from the

[170] Laes 2014: 132
[171] Carroll 2006: 173; Hopkins 1983: 225

same altar (#26), thus limiting it to three families who chose to commemorate infants. Nevertheless, it is worth considering what went into the decision to commemorate such a young child when infant mortality was so high.

Engagement with the Reader

Outside of this formulaic writing, some funerary inscriptions address the reader directly, often to issue a command or to recommend a certain way of living to them. This was such a common theme of epitaphs in fact, that the Latin word for "monuments" (*monumenta*) has been traced back to the Latin infinitive "to admonish" (*admonere*).[172] In adult funerary monuments, such direct addresses might appear as though they come from beyond the grave; the deceased speaking to the living one last time through the inscribed stone. In children's monuments, however, the inscription more frequently is in the voice of the parents. Though they may occur frequently on funerary monuments as a whole, there are only three instances of direct addresses within the inscriptions of this catalogue.

The first is on the altar of M. Iunius Rufus (#1), in which the dedicator, the *paedegogus* Soterichus, encourages the reader not to waste time (*rumpe moras*), claiming that this hope is all that remains to him now. The other instance is far less friendly, and perhaps reflects the aggravated state of the mourning parents. The inscription on the altar of Iunia Procula warns passers-by to allow the daughter and soon her parents to rest in peace, and should they disturb the altar, to expect the same for themselves. The inscription ends with a somewhat chilling warning, "Believe me, you will be your own witness."[173] These two cases show quite different

[172] Varro, *On the Latin Languages* 6.49 as mentioned in Carroll 2006: 19

[173] The direct address portion of the inscription is as follows: *tu sine filiae et parentium in u[no ossa] / requescant quidquid nobis feceris idem tibi speres mihi crede tu tibi testis [eris]*

functions, one encouraging the reader to a life well-lived, the other warning the reader against desecration of the altar.

The third example comes from the Greek epigram on the monument of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (#20). The epigram, written from the point of view of Maximus after his death, beseeches the reader to, "stop in order to learn the beauty of this impromptu poem" (ὄφρα μάθῃς σχεδίου γράμματος εὐεπίην / εὐφήμου). It further asks of the reader that as they inevitably cry over the tragic death of the talented young boy that they only speak the following lengthy passage:

> εἴης χῶρον ἐς Ἠλύσιον· / ζωούσας ἔλιπες γὰρ ἀηδόνας, ἃς Ἀιδωνεὺς / οὐδέποθ' αἱρήσει τῇ φθονερῇ παλάμῃ. // βαιὸν μὲν τόδε σῆμα, τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει / Μάξιμε, Πειερίδων ἐξέο λειπομένων / νώνυμον οὐδέ σε μοῖρα κατέκτανε νηλεόθυμος / ἀλλ' ἔλιπεν λήθης ἄμμορον εὐεπίην / οὔτις ἀδακρύτοισι τεὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἀμείβων / ὀφθαλμοῖς σχεδίου δέρξεται εὐστιχίην / ἄρκιον ἐς δόλιχον τόδε σοι κλέος· οὐ γὰρ ἀπευθὴς / κείσεαι, οὐτιδανοῖς ἰδόμενος νέκυσι / πουλὺ δὲ καὶ χρυσοῖο καὶ ἠλέκτροιο φαεινοῦ / ἔσ[σ]ετ' ἀεὶ κρέσσων ἣν ἔλιπες σελίδα.
>
> May you go to the place of Elysium, for you have left behind living nightingales which Hades will never seize with his envious palm. This monument is small, but glory arrives at Heaven. Maximus, you have surpassed the muses who have been left behind. Ruthless destiny did not slay you nameless, but you left behind the beauty of verse, that has no share in Lethe. Nobody who comes to your grave will behold it without tears at the orderliness of your impromptu composition. The glory of yours is secure for a long course, for you do not lie here unknown, being looked at like the no-account corpses. The writing you left behind will forever appear better than gold and amber.

Not only does this engagement with the reader add a sense of liminality in death, as the young boy seemingly speaks beyond the grave, but it doubly encourages the preservation of his memory. First, it asks that the passerby stop and take the time to read the entire poem written by Maximus, then it encourages the reader to speak the passage exalting the boy's talent and expressing the wish for the boy's eternity in the isles of Elysium. Both of these commands

encourage engagement with the monument and recognition of the boy's achievements, together increasing the preservation of his memory.

Poetry

Although many of the inscriptions on monuments were relatively short and formulaic, as we have seen in the previous section, there were however, exceptions to this general rule. One type of inscription that is often far more unique and elaborate is a poetic inscription. The reasons for including a poetic inscription are varied, however in part they seem to stem from a desire to advertise one's high education and cultural sophistication.[174] They also provide an opportunity to record in greater detail the personality and accomplishments of the deceased person(s) or the circumstances in which they died. This latter reason might be particularly appealing in the case of child deaths, which were often tragic and unexpected.

Certainly the most famous example of a poetic inscription on a child funerary monument, and perhaps of any funerary monument in general comes from the Altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (#20). This altar has by far the longest inscription of any in this catalogue, and is the only to be written in both Greek and Latin. Included on the monument is the extemporaneous poem composed by the boy in an oratory contest prior to his death. Specifically, as noted by the inscription, he speaks "The words which Zeus might have used, meting out due measure to Helios because he gave his chariot to Phaethon."

A viewer of this monument might immediately draw a connection between the deceased boy and young Phaeton in the poem.[175] This is especially brought to mind in one line, "Weep not

[174] Garulli 2018: 93-94

[175] The parallels between the deceased boy and Phaeton have been appreciated before, see Cooley 2012: 132 and Garulli 2018: 95. As Cooley remarks, the extent to which his parents were aware of the irony of the similarities between the boys' deaths is unknown.

the lad's dire fate, but for thy world take thought."[176] It is almost as though the deceased boy is speaking from his grave, consoling viewers of the monument not to mourn him too excessively. As Phaeton briefly fulfilled the great achievement of driving the sun chariot before his untimely death, so too did Quintus Sulpicius Maximus achieve greatness before his death. While this parallel to the myth reaffirms his young age at death, it also suggests a sense of life after death through the memory of others. Phaethon, though he perished at a young age, was immortalized in myth; likewise, Quintus Sulpicius Maximus was immortalized through this monument and through his poetry.

Another example of a poetic inscription on a child's altar comes from the altar of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (#14). On the side of this altar, the surviving father and husband wrote an acrostic poem, mourning the cruelty of fate to take them so suddenly and to leave him alone, which spells out his own name vertically. This altar has been recut since its initial discovery, and the side inscription has unfortunately been lost, though the poem has been preserved through earlier scholarship.[177] The motivation for the acrostic nature of the poem is uncertain, though perhaps it was the husband/father's attempt to include his own name on the altar without detracting attention from his wife and daughter.

Regardless, the poem in this case reveals an important detail about the nature of their death, specifically that they died in a shipwreck. Such a death was no doubt considered to be particularly "bad" in Roman thought.[178] Not only did it occur far from home, but it resulted in a loss of the physical remains of the deceased and took the life of two family members, one of them a young girl. The motivation for the altar becomes clearer in this context, with no bodies to

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[176] Nelson 1903: 386

[177] Williams 1940: 48

[178] For more on the concept of "bad" deaths as it relates to this monument see Huskinson 2011. For the concept of "bad" death relates to death by drowning/death far from home more generally, see Lattimore 1962: 199-202

bury, the father's only option was to erect a stone monument to preserve their memory. The portraits, in this sense, perhaps even substituted as the bodies, allowing the grieving man to be in their presence again even though he was unable to visit their physical bodies at a grave site.

Curses

Another uncommon, but not unheard of, form of inscription found on children's funerary monuments is a curse. Curses are often associated with the funerary realm, as curse tablets were deposited in burials in hopes of invoking the spirits of the dead. As Evans Grubbs explains, the spirits of deceased children were thought to be particularly effective, as they were likely young and restless. It seems unlikely, however, that those who deposited curse tablets knew the deceased whose tomb they used.[179] In the case of Iunia Procula, however, it was actually her father who instigated the curse, against no other than her mother.

Some time after her death and the initial commemoration of the stone, her father added this curse on to the backside of her altar (#6). Procula's mother, Acte, was a freedwoman of her husband, M. Iunius Euphrosynus. After the death of their daughter, however, she purportedly committed adultery, left her husband, and took with her two of his slaves. Enraged, her husband had her name removed from the main inscription on their daughters altar, and issued a curse on the backside, utilizing his daughter's restless spirit. It is uncommon for such curses to be carved on the back of monuments, but rather lead curse tablets are the favored method. Evans Grubbs points out, however, that carving it on the back allowed Euphrosynus to invoke his daughter's spirit without desecrating her grave, as would have been required with a tablet.[180] This curse

[179] Evans Grubbs 2002: 236-242
[180] Evans Grubbs 2002: 241-242

inscription therefore creates a level of interaction between the living and the deceased that was not initially present at its original creation.

Chapter 5: Functions of Children's Funerary Altars

Introduction

In examining children's funerary monuments, I have identified six broad functions of children's funerary monuments: to preserve the child's memory, to act as a conduit for grief, to mourn the child's potential, to advertise one's status, to transform the child, and to emphasize the child's individuality. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and as a result, some monuments are listed in multiple categories. This list of categories is also by no means exhaustive. A number of other functions might be argued for successfully, but these six functions appear to be the most frequent functions. Examining the functionality of funerary altars allows for more in-depth consideration of the motives behind choices in funerary commemoration.

How those dedicating the altars decided to portray the deceased child was, ultimately, dependent on what they wished passers-by to glean from the monument. Did they wish for them to learn how deeply loved the child was, how irreplaceable they were as a human? Or did they wish to advertise their own status through the funerary monument of their child? Or, conversely, did their motive have less to do with the reaction of the passers-by, and more to do with the altar's effect on the child's memory and spirit? These questions are all worth considering when studying children's altars, and the answers to each greatly affects the choices made in the portraiture.

Preserving the Child's Memory

Perhaps the most obvious function of children's altars, or any funerary monument for that matter, is to preserve the memory of the deceased. Funerary monuments were commonly thought

of as a way to "live on after death."[181] By noting the child's name and depicting their facial features, the child is able to live on in the memories of others. Children's funerary monuments are unique though, in the sense that they lacked influence in how, and even if, their memory was preserved. It was entirely up to parents or other relations to decide to commemorate an altar for a child. The fact that so many altars were dedicated to children indicates an interest from others to preserve their memory. Altars with portraits perhaps suggest this interest even more, as it was no doubt an extra cost to those commissioning the monuments. The added value of the preservation of the child's physical appearance must have been considered worth it, however, as it in some senses doubled the chance of preserving the child's memory. Indeed, the inscriptions on a number of altars have been lost over time, though the portrait remains, and vice versa. Despite such damages, the child's memory has still been preserved and is being discussed even millennia later. Through these altars, the children live on.

Acting as a Conduit for Grief

Another of the most innate functions of children's altars is to mourn the personal loss experienced. Most often those dedicating the altars were the parents of the deceased child, though occasionally other relations such as siblings (#2), masters (#s 3, 13, 19, 41, 43), and extended relations (#21). Regardless of the official relationship to the child, those dedicating the altars had a close relationship with the children and were often emotionally distraught over their deaths. This is particularly evident in a number of epitaphs. In the epitaph of Claudia Victorina (#37), for example, her parents lament the fact that "it was not permitted for us to enjoy [her]" (*quem non liquit nos / frunisci*). The epitaph of Iunia Procula (#44) expresses a similar sentiment,

[181] Petronius, *Satyricon* 71 as mentioned in Carroll 2011b:67

writing that, “She left behind her wretched father and mother in mourning” (*miseros / patrem et matrem in luctu reliquid*). Although these are only two of a number of epitaphs related to this function, they exemplify how epitaphs were used to express the immense grief of those left behind.

Furthermore, the notion of portraiture itself strongly supports this function, as it was a more personalized way of commemorating the child. As Carroll notes, portraits provided a sense of comfort in grief, an outlet for emotion and affection, and a prompt for memories of the child in lifetime.[182] The fact that those commemorating the child incurred the expense of having a portrait carved, often customized to the child’s portrait features, indicates a strong level of attachment and affection for the child. Though the mourners’ grief is not visible in the imagery of the portraiture, it is in some ways inherent in the inclusion of a portrait at all. Portraits that depict the child happy and with playthings, such as that of Hateria Superba (#4), potentially indicate grief as a stronger motivating factor, as they chose to focus on the youthful joy of the child, as opposed to using the portrait to advertise or elevate status.

Mourning the Child’s Potential

Unlike adult funerary monuments, children’s funerary monuments are rarely if ever able to commemorate the child for their achievements in life. Instead, they must mourn what might have been, as indicated by the child’s albeit limited successes before death. This function is most frequently brought about by the use of prospective imagery. In the case of Iulia Victorina (#15), this showed what her future appearance and womanly beauty might have been had she lived. In the case of a boys in heroized portraiture (e.g. #8, #32), or Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (#20),

[182] Carroll 2011b: 68-69

prospective imagery imagines what their career and related successes may have been. The child's potential is also shown through *consecratio in formam deorum* scenes depicting young girls with drapery slipping from their shoulders in allusion to Venus. Though the girls are often depicted accurately to their age, this allusion creates a comparison between the girls and Venus in the minds of the viewers. They will inevitably think about the beauty the girls might have held in adulthood and the girls' unfulfilled potential for marriage and motherhood.

While portraiture more frequently fulfills this function, a child's potential can also be mourned through inscriptions. The most apparent case of this comes from the altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (#20). He alone of all children commemorated in this catalogue had a substantial achievement to his name at the time of death, as recorded by inscriptions. The inscription claims that he amazed the crowd gathered to watch the oratory competition, and that his verses were made all the more impressive by his young age. Recorded on the monument itself are Maximus' extemporaneous verses, and they are indeed the result of skill combined with years of education. The reader cannot help but imagine the great poet and orator the boy might have become with the time fate did not allow him.

Advertising Status

Hand in hand with mourning a child's potential is advertising both the social and financial status of the family. As mentioned, the primary commissioners of altars were freedmen, who most often dedicated the monuments to their deceased children who, in many cases, represented the family's achievements and upward socio-economic mobility.[183] Once again, this function is at least somewhat inherent to the commemoration of altars as even a simple stone

[183] Huskinson 2007: 328

would be expensive, and a stone with elaborate carvings and portraits even more so. To incur this expense for a child advertises the financial success of all those who dedicated the altars in this catalogue. Additionally, the inclusion of epitaphs and, on some, lengthy poetic inscriptions also indicates the education and literacy of those commemorating, which again heightens their status in the mind of the viewer. In these ways, the very existence of the stones themselves are testaments to the status of the family, and clarity of this function is only enhanced by various themes in the portraiture and inscriptions.

Once again prospective portraiture fulfills this function. By depicting boys in military uniforms and in a heroized fashion, such portraiture simultaneously mourns the potential and advertises the rising status of the young boys. Another privilege reserved for freeborn boys that is often used to advertise their social status is the ability to wear a *bulla*. This can be seen in a number of altars, including the altar of an unnamed boy (#40). Including the *bulla* in their portraiture is an immediate indicator to the viewer of the child's freeborn status. This, potentially combined with revelation of the parents' freed status via the inscription (as in the case of Maximus's altar), would also indicate rising social status.

The inscription is invaluable for advertising status in a number of ways. Freeborn status can also be indicated by the affiliation of the child to a voting tribe, as is noted in the epitaphs of M. Iunius Rufus (#1), P. Albius Memor (#22), and C. Petronius Virianus Postumus (#25). Additionally, the mere inclusion of their name was another indicator of freed status, as the *trinomina* was only given to freed citizens of Rome. In one interesting case, a father also used the epitaph of his daughter to not only include his status as an imperial freedmen, but also his occupation as an architect (#30). This was an intellectual, and no doubt prestigious occupation, and the inscription forever records not only his social status but his skilled career. Beyond

indicating the parents' freed status or the child's freeborn status, the inscription can also be used to indicate that the children themselves are freed, as in the cases of A. Egrilius Maximus (#13) and C. Iulius Philetus (#33). In these cases, the inclusion of the child's status was perhaps less aimed at promoting the family's status, as at least the former example was commemorated by the master, but rather to promote the achieved status of the child himself.

Transforming the Child

An admittedly more abstract function of children's funerary altars is to be a means of transformation for the child. Unlike the other functions, this is the function with the least amount of support from textual evidence, and rather is heavily reliant on the visual imagery of the child's portrait. Once again prospective imagery may play a part in this function, as depicting the child as their future self may not only have been a way to mourn the child's potential, but to transform them to be that age, allowing them to become the future self they were not allowed to be on Earth. Another form of transformation is the apotheosis of the child, which Kleiner remarks is suggested in the visual imagery of the altar of L. Postumius Iulianus (#34).[184] Here, the *erotes* holding the *clipeus* (shield portrait) and standing atop eagles is indicative of private apotheosis. Apotheosis can also be further suggested by *consecratio in formam deorum* scenes, as the child takes the guise of a deity, and perhaps even achieves a level of divinity.[185] Although such scenes were not deemed to depict true apotheosis, they perhaps indicate the hopes of the family for their child's deification, and their belief that the child is worthy of such an honor. It is uncertain

[184] Kleiner 1987b: 175, no. 53

[185] Kleiner 1987b: 253, no. 113 argues that inclusion of the attributes of Diana and Fortuna on the altar of Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche (#14) suggests a sort of private apotheosis, which I further to other *consecratio in formam deorum* scenes. Antal 2015: 55, however, argues that excluding the imperial family, such scenes were only a simulated deification, and not true apotheosis.

whether this ever translated to genuine belief of the family that their child had achieved some level of deification, but it remains a possibility.

Emphasizing Individuality

The final of these six main functions of children's altars is to place an emphasis on the child's individuality. Despite the abundance of children in ancient Rome and the frequency of child death, parents still grieved for their child as a unique and irreplaceable person. There was no doubt a desire then to differentiate their child from the many that did not survive, to make their memorial specific to the child as an individual. This function can be noted by the lengths parents went to when commissioning customized altars for their child that must have surely cost quite a bit of money and took time to make.

Although many of these portraits were completed to mimic the portrait features of the deceased children, and therefore emphasize the child's individuality, some altars in this catalogue have gone above and beyond to make the monument unique to their child. The altar of Laberia Daphne (#42), for example, depicts her in the guise of her namesake, the nymph Daphne who was chased after by Apollo. This myth is not commonly featured on funerary monuments, and so it is clear that it was carved especially for Daphne as a play on her name. Once again, the altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus (#20) comes to mind once again, unique not only in its portrait of him, but also in its exceedingly lengthy inscription. The inclusion of his poem adds to this function, as it makes real Maximus's existence, showing that he had his own individual thoughts.

Other inscriptions also serve to fulfill this function. The epitaph of Iulia Secunda (#14) remarks that she was "most outstanding both by her singular beauty of her form and by her most

pious character and learning, beyond what one would expect of her sex and age" (*et forma singulari et / moribus piisimis docri//naq super legitimam / sexus sui aetatem prae/stantissimae*). In this epitaph, not only do they remark upon her beauty, pious nature, and intelligence, but they are sure to emphasize that she was unique in these ways among peers her own age. Inclusion of the child's exact age also contributes to this function. By stating the child's lifespan down to the day, it indicates that their presence was noticed and will be missed in the absence. Additionally, noting the exact age further differentiates the deceased from other children who died at the same general age. While many children may have died at age five, relatively few might have died at five years, six months, and six days old (#22).

Conclusion

The question has, asking whether the deaths of children in ancient Rome were grieved, has been considered by many scholars. Child and infant mortality rate was alarmingly high, and as a result, the death of a child, though still tragic, was not necessarily unexpected. Though literary sources may suggest that such deaths were hardly worthy of notice, let alone to be grieved, the funerary altars dedicated to children tell an entirely different story. Parents and other relations went to great lengths to commission altars that not only note the child's life through an inscription, but preserve their facial features in stone. These altars were expensive and time-consuming, and indicate that the child's death was deeply mourned.

Children's altars with portraits, though only a small subset of the much larger genre of funerary art, are clearly worthy of further examination. While this catalogue has begun to examine themes and categorize the functions of children's altars, there is no doubt much room for future study, especially of altars from regions not included in this catalogue. Though they

have been comparatively under-studied, children's altars are rife with both recurring themes in portraiture and epitaphs as well as entirely unique portrayals and descriptions. Examining these themes and divergences from such standards allows better insight into the motivating factors for commemorating altars. In sum, however, it is clear that although altars were certainly a means to advertise a family's social and financial status, the main functions of such altars were overwhelmingly centered on the child. The clarity of this makes it evident that these children were commemorated and mourned as irreplaceable individuals, and their presence was greatly missed by those closest to them.

A Note on the Catalogue

The altars in this catalogue were selected from Mander's far more comprehensive catalogue of various types of children's monuments from the extent of the Roman Empire.[186] All altars within "Rome and its Environs" section in his catalogue were initially selected for this catalogue, though three altars were excluded upon further consideration. A key difference between the two catalogues is that Mander's features funerary altars with portraits of children, while this catalogue aims to examine portraiture on children's funerary altars. As such, not all altars included by him were actually dedicated to children, but simply feature depictions of children. Altars that exclusively commemorated adults, those of C. Crixius Secundus, Q. Gavius Musticus, and Grania Faustina, were removed from the catalogue.[187] Other altars that are ambiguous in subject matter (ie. those containing portraits of both children and adults with no clarification from the inscription) were included, though the potential for misidentification is duly noted in the descriptions.

This catalogue, while initially similar to Mander's, has expanded upon his work in several ways. First, and perhaps most important, is the inscriptions. All translations are provided by myself, which allows not only for more cohesion among translations but also a more intimate familiarity with inscriptions that contributed significantly to the observations made in Chapter 4. Additionally, while Mander only includes the primary inscription for each monument, I have included additional inscriptions when possible, as I argue that the inscriptions are inseparable from the portraits and immensely valuable for overall understanding and interpretation of the altar. Such additions can be seen in entries 6, 14, and 20.

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[186] Mander 2013

[187] In order - Mander 2013: 166, no. 34; 172, no. 58; 182-83, no. 103

I cross-checked Mander's dimensions and dates with those provided by the museum, and in the case of discrepancies, both measurements were provided and referenced. Discrepancies in dating was less common, however one notable case is that of #7, which is classified as "Modern" by the Musée du Louvre. It is unknown what the basis for this classification is, or whether it was extant at the time of Mander's work on the monument, and so it is still included in this catalogue. Location has also been updated according to changes in the past nine years. One notable example of this is #9. In Mander's catalogue, four of the altars were recorded as being "Lost" or "Uncertain" in location. Since then, one of these altars (#9) was sold by Sotheby's and now resides at an art gallery in London. Contact with the gallery resulted in permission to use three new photos of the altar in this thesis. All descriptions are new and significantly expanded from Mander's, with the exception of #35, in which case I was unable to gain access to a photograph of the altar and thus had to rely on Mander's descriptions. The bibliography has not only been updated to include sources after 2013 (the publication year of Mander's catalogue), but also expands on sources prior to this date not included by Mander.

Catalogue

BALTIMORE

Walters Art Museum, Deposit

#1 - M. Iunius Rufus
Inventory Number: 23.18
Find Spot: Villa Carpegna
Dimensions: 95 x 57 x 46 (Mander); 95.3 x 56.5 x 45.7 (Walters Art Museum Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 9752

> Si qua tamen pietas gelidos movet rustica m[anes] / rumpe moras [spes haec s]ola est mihi gratia [vitae] / M Iunio M f Pal Rufo / Soterichus paedagog fecit / hae sunt parvae tuae meaeq sedes / haec certa est domus haec colenda nobis / haec est quem mihi suscitavi vivus

Translation of Inscription:

> If in any way, country piety nevertheless moves the chilled spirits, do not spend time uselessly. This hope is the only recompense for [my life]. For M. Iunius Rufus, son of Marcus, member of the Palatina voting tribe. Soterichus, his *paedagogus* made this. These are your and my small resting places. This is certainly to be inhabited by us. This is what I erected for myself while I was alive.

Description:

> This altar contains a semi-circular niche (lunette) at top, which contains two full figure portraits. The portrait on the left is of a standing boy in a tunic, holding a scroll in his hands. The figure on the right is seated and most likely identified as the *paedagogus* from the inscription. As a *paedegogus*, he would have been classified as a slave, his primary duties being to acompany Rufus to school and to oversee home lessons. Filling in the rest of this niche are more scrolls and a *capsa* (identified as a *scrinium* by Kleiner 1987b).
>
> Below this, there is a larger rectangular niche framed by pilasters. In this niche is a boy riding horseback. Both the boy and the horse are in profile, facing to the right. He wears a *trabea*, a tunic, and a wreath. He is taking part in the *transvectio equitum* ceremony, which took place annually in July. The horse wears a fringed saddle and other regalia for the occasionTo the right of the boy and horse is another figure who pulls the reins of the horse. He is a *viator*, and is dressed in a tunic and cloak, holding a staff with a wreath and ribbon in his other hand. Neither of the faces have been preserved.While the age of the boy is not given in the inscription, Kleiner noted that other boys depicted as participating in this ceremony range in age from 10 to 16. This monument can therefore be safely included in this catalogue of children's funerary altars.

Date: 130-160 CE (Kleiner - other comparanda, early drawing, and horse's mane)
Bibliography: Matz and Duhn (1881) III 180-81 no. 3889; Esbroeck (1897) 143 no. 15; Veyne (1960) 107; Koeppel (1969) 163 n.114; Bradley (1985) 489-491; Kleiner (1987b) 249 no.110; Mander (2013) 141, 184 no.110; Davenport (2014) 391-2

BOLOGNA

Museo Civico Archeologico, cortile lapidarium

#2 - C. Nonius Pius
Inventory Number: 19378
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 38 x 26 x (wall) (Mander)
Inscription: CIL VI 23032
C Nonio Pio qui v a VI / m V d VII fec Nonia Spes / [fra]tri bene merenti
Translation of Inscription:
For C. Nonius Pius, who lived six years, five months, seven days. Nonia Spes made this for her well-deserving brother.
Description: This altar has been inserted into the wall, and as a result has a rather unevenly cut front face in the shape of an arch, atop a projecting rectangular base. The base has been inscribed with the epitaph. Atop this base stands a young boy in the nude. His legs are thick, and several lines suggest rolls on his side where he has bent his torso. His face is round with large almond shaped eyes and straight locks fall evenly across his forehead. Some weathering on the face makes it difficult to discern the details of his other portrait features. He appears to stand in contrapposto with his right leg bent slightly at the knee. His left hand holds the Caduceus near his hip, while his right hand reaches up to hold a finger to his lips. The former is an attribute of Mercury, while the latter is taken as an allusion to the Ptolemaic deity Harpocrates. In an interesting reversal from the typical prospective imagery used for children's monuments, in this portrait C. Nonius Pius looks several years younger than his recorded six years.
Date: 98-117 CE (Backe-Dahmen - hairstyle)
Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 283; Susini and Pincelli (1960) 149 no. Arcata c; Wrede (1981) 254 no. 161; Goette (1989) 459; Uzzi (2005) 176; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 157 no. A23; Mander (2013) 171 no. 55; Backe-Dahmen (2018) 528

FLORENCE

Galleria degli Uffizi, Antiquarium of the Villa Corsini in Castello

#3 - L. Iulius Carus
Inventory Number: 938
Find Spot: Via Flaminia, vigna del Poggio
Dimensions: 62 x 39 x 20 (Mander); 65 x 25 x 20 (Galleria degli Uffizi Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 20404; Arachne Datenbank no. 6024
D M / L Iulius Thamyrus / L Iulio Caro / vernae suo bene / merenti fecit et / Iulia Trophime / mater vix an III / mens VIII die X
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits. For L. Iulius Carus. L. Iulius Thamyrus made this for his well-deserving *verna*, with Iulia Trophime, mother. He lived for three years, eight months, and ten days.
Description: This altar is framed by fluted pilasters topped with corinthian capitals with rosette pulvinars. The altar has a rounded top, in which there is a semi-circular niche. Within this niche, a full-body portrait of L. Iulius Carus depicts him wearing a tunic and mantle

while he reclines on his left side, as though on a *kline* (though the *kline* is not depicted). He holds a bunch of grapes in his right hand. His face is round, and his fair falls straight around his forehead, a coiffure popular among boys in the Trajanic period. His epitaph is inscribed below this niche on the main body of the altar in large letters. There is a fairly large blank space left below the inscription. The sides feature the pitcher and patera.

Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle)

Bibliography: Mansuelli (1958) 207 no. 208; (Boschung 1987) 110 no. 900; Kleiner (1987b) 182 no. 57; Hermann-Otto (1994) 414; Minten (2002) 130 no. A15; Baills (2003) 126 n.14; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 146 no. A1; Granino Cecere (2008) 60 no. 3456; Scarfo (2012) 69, 86, 104, 120; Mander (2013) 174 no. 66

#4 - Hateria Superba

Inventory Number: 942

Find Spot: Via Flaminia, vigna del Poggio

Dimensions: 95 x 69 x 49 (Mander); 97 x 69 x 48 (Galleria degli Uffizi Web Entry)

Inscription: CIL VI 19159; Arachne Datenbank no. 132198

Diis Manibus / Hateriae Superbae que / vixit anno I mesibus VI dieb XXV / fecerum parentes infelicissimi / filiae suae / Q Haterius Ephebus et Iulia Zosime aibi suis // Diis Manibus locus occupatus in fronte P VII in agro P IIII

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits of Hateria Superba who lived one year, six months, twenty-five days. Q. Haterius Ephebus and Iulia Zosime, most unhappy parents, made this for their daughter. To the Departed Spirits. This space occupies seven feet in front and 4 feet in back.

Description: The front face of the altar has a square niche, in which the full-length figure of Hateria Superba stands, wearing a tunic and toga. The portrait is prospective, as the figure appears much older than Hateria Superba's one and half years. Her left arm is bent at the elbow, her hand holding a bird to her chest. Her right hand, meanwhile, hangs at her side holding a bunch of grapes. Two erotes fly on either side, crowning her head with a wreath. Her braided coiffure decorated with pearls indicates her involvement in the cult of Isis. Near her feet, there is a dog at her right and a bird at her left. The niche is framed by a torch on either side. The main inscription is inscribed in a rectangular space above the niche, though another, more brief inscription is written on the base of the altar. A pitcher and patera decorate the sides of the altar.

Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - Coiffure)

Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 115 no. 109; Mansuelli (1958) 208-209 no. 211, fig. 210; Boschung (1987) 93 no. 555; Kleiner (1987a) 551; Kleiner (1987b) 183 no. 58; Shelton (1998) 26; Scott (1999) 71; Harlow and Laurence (2002) 6; Minten (2002) 130 no. A16; Baills (2003) 129 n.67; Backe (2005) 92; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 154 no. A16; Huskinson (2007b) 331; Backe-Dahmen (2008) 145; Granino Cecere (2008) 52 no. 3453l; Mander (2013) 153-154; 174-175 no. 70

<u>Galleria degli Uffizi, Deposit</u>

#5 - Q. Octavius Magullinus

Inventory Number: 969 [1825 no. 11191881 no.258]

Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 96 x 59 x 39 (Mander); 90 x 56 x 44 (Galleria degli Uffizi Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 23293

Q. Octavio / Magullino / dulcissimo filio / Mevia T f Casta / mater

Translation of Inscription:

For Q. Octavius Magullinus, sweetest son. Mevia Casta, daughter of Titus, his mother [did this].

Description: This altar features a triangular pediment buttressed by rosette. In the center of this pediment is a laurel wreath with fluttering ribbons, inside of which is the bust portrait of Q. Octavius Magullinus. Neither his drapery nor his facial features have not survived, though Kleiner takes the rounded cheeks to suggest a younger age, closer to infancy. As she notes, however, this cannot be confirmed, as the inscription does not record his age at death. Below the pediment is a square niche, which contains the inscription. The pitcher and patera appear on the sides.
Date: c.100 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle)
Bibliography: Boschung (1987) 81 no. 1010; Kleiner (1987b) 154 no. 40; Minten (2002) 130 no. A8; Granino Cecere (2008) 68 no. 3460; Mander (2013) 173 no. 60

#6 - Iunia Procula - #44M
Inventory Number: 950
Find Spot: Via Flaminia
Dimensions: 102 x 61 x 45 (Mander); 99 x 63 x 51 (
Inscription: CIL VI 20905; Arachne Datenbank no. 6021

Front Inscription:

Dis Manibus / Iuniae M f Proculae vix ann VIII m XI d V miseros / patrem et matrem in luctu reliquid fecit M Iuniu[s ---] / Euphrosynus sibi et [[Act]]e tu sine filiae et parentium in u[no ossa] / requescant quidquid nobis feceris idem tibi speres mihi crede tu tibi testis [eris]

Back Inscription (added later):

Hic stigmata aeterna Acte libertae scripta sunt vene / nariae et perfidae dolosae duri pectoris clavom et restem / sparteam ut sibi collum alliget et picem candentem / pectus malu commurat suum manumissa gratis / secuta adulterum patronum circum scripsit et / ministros ancillam et puerum lecto iacenti / patronos aduxit ut animo desponderet solus / relictus spoliatus senex Ehymno ffadestimta / secutis / Zosimum

Translation of Inscription:

Front Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits of Iunia Procula, daughter of Marcus, who lived eight years, eleven months and five days. She left behind her wretched father and mother in mourning. M. Iunius Euphrosynus made this for himself and [Acte]. You, let the bones of daughter and parents to rest as one. Whatever you do to us, expect the same for yourself. Believe me, you will be your own witness.

Back Inscription:

Here, the eternal brands/marks have been written for Acte, the freedwoman, poisoner, faithless and deceitful, hard of heart. (I bring) a nail and the rope of a broom, in order that she might hang herself around the neck and tar glowing with heat that might burn up her evil heart. Manumitted out of kindness, having followed an adulterer, she

wrote around her patron, his servants, a slave girl and boy, while her patron was lying with sluggishness, inducing him to despair alone in spirit, an old man abandoned and pillaged. And the same marks to Hymnus and those who followed Zosimus.

Description: The altar is highly decorated with many different motifs common to funerary art, though according to Kleiner it is missing its lid. The front face of the altar features a small square frame at the top which contains a nearly circular niche, described as shell-shaped by Kleiner. Within this niche is a nude partial portrait of Iunia Procula. She has a highly curled coiffure accomplished by drillwork. She has thin lips pressed together in a straight face, a regular nose, and wide eyes.

On either side of the niche, on the edges of the altar, are Jupiter Ammon heads. Suspended from the horns of the Jupiter Ammon heads are fluttering ribbons and a large garland, which consists of leaves (possibly oak) and fruit. In the semi-circle between the top of the garland and the square portrait frame, there is a small scene of a dog on the left eating from a basket recently held a *erote* the right. At the bottom of the altar, on the edges, are two eagles, which extend their wings slightly and turn to look up at the Iunia Procula. In the space between the two eagles, there is a scene of a winged griffin attacking a bull. The front legs of the griffin are wrapped around the torso of the bull, forcing it to the ground. Directly beneath this are the words "Dis manibus." The rest of the inscription is carved within a rectangular frame on the base of the monument, though part of the inscription was intentionally destroyed in an act of memory condemnation at a personal level.

The sides of the altar feature the pitcher and patera, along with other decorations similar to those on the front face. Fluttering ribbons occupy the space above the pitcher and patera. On the back edges of the altar, at the same height as the Jupiter Ammon heads, are rams' heads. Again, fluttering ribbons and a garland, this time of laurel, are suspended between the horns of a ram's head on one side, and the horns of a Jupiter Ammon head on the other side.On the left, in the space between the top of the garland and the pitcher are two birds attending to a nest full of chicks. On the right side, between the top of the garland and the patera, are two birds pecking at each other. On the back edges of the altar, at the same height as the eagles, are sphinxes. In the space between the sphinxes and eagles on the left side is a griffin. In the same space on the right side is a rodent eating a fruit. A curse inscription, added after the initial commemoration of this altar, takes up the upper portion of the back face of this altar.

Date: c.80 CE (Kleiner - coiffure and drill-work)

Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 97 no. 75; Strong (1923) 124; Toynbee (1934) 203; Mansuelli (1958) 213 no. 219; Lattimore (1962) 124; Gercke (1968) 26 no. R22; Boschung (1987) 97 no. 649; Kleiner (1987b) 132 no. 23; Evans Grubbs (2002) 230-242; Minten (2002) 130 no. A7; Rawson (2003a) 48-9; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 149 no. A9; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Granino Cecere (2008) 42 no. 3451; Olson (2008) 146; Carroll (2011b) 75-77; Mander (2013) 168-69 no. 44; Perry (2013) 55-56

LEIDEN

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden

#7 - Caetennia Pollitta

Inventory Number: k 1951/12.1
Find Spot: Baths of Caracalla (though Mander notes purchase from art dealer limits certainty)
Dimensions: 78 x 52 x 36 (Mander); 78 x 48 x 37 (RMO Web Entry)
Inscription: Arachne Datenbank no. 40517

Dis Manibus / Caetenniae P F Pollittae / Vixit annis X et mensib sexs

Translation of Inscription:

To the departed spirits of Caetennia Pollita, daughter of Publius, who lived ten years and six months.

Description: This altar has a semi-circular crown, which contains a wreath with fluttering ribbons. It is buttressed by Rosette pulvinars. On the front face of the altar is a tondo, in which the bust of Caetennia Pollitta is carved. She wears a tunic and mantle, with the drapery slipping off of her shoulder in allusion to Venus. Kleiner notes that both her bust style and coiffure are characteristic of the Trajanic boys, though the latter is more often associated with boys and young men. Her hair falls in straight strands over her forehead, though longer, wavy hair falls over her shoulder. As Backe-Dahmen 2018 notes, this hairstyle has been interpreted by scholars as a sign of consecration to Venus. Additionally, a pearl hair decoration indicates her participation in the cult of Isis. The inscription is carved below the circular niche. The pitcher and patera appear on the sides of the altar.

Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - based on the hairstyles)
Bibliography: Gercke (1968) 31 no. R28; Bastet and Brunsting (1982) no. 234; Boschung (1987) 113 no. 949; Kleiner (1987b) 184 no. 59; Halbertsma and Mol (1995) 76-77; Minten (2002) 132 no. A17; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 155 no. A17; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Mander (2013) 175 no. 71; Backe-Dahmen (2018) 536-7; Gorostidi Pi (2019) 81-82; *Masterpieces of the RMO* (2020) 134-135

LIVERPOOL

National Museums (Storage)

#8 - L. Passienius Doryphoros and L. Passienius Sabinus
Inventory Number: (19)59.148.302
Find Spot: Uncertain (possibly from the Via Appia)
Dimensions: 101 x 46 x 29 (Mander); 102 x 45.5 x 32 (Liverpool, National Museum Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 23848; Arachne Datenbank no. 131243; AnnEpigr (2005) 85 no. 187

L Passienius Saturninus fecit // D M / Passieniae Gemel/lae coiugi et lib / suae carissimae / obsequentissi/mae et L Passie/no Doryphoro / filio et Passienio / Sabino filio et lib / sanctissimis

Translation of Inscription:

L. Passienius Saturninus made this. To the departed spirits of Passienius Gemella, his dearest and most compliant wife and freedwoman, and for L. Passienius Doryphorus, son, and for Passienius Sabinus, his most venerable son and freedman.

Description: The top of this altar is carved with three busts, though they are not carved in the round. The left-most bust depicts a male figure wearing a tunic and toga. Mander argues that this figure wears a Horus lock, an element of hairstyle denoting the young age of a child. Kleiner, meanwhile, argues that this bust has a lined face and receding hairstyle,

and should be interpreted as middle-aged. The central bust, which represents Gemella, depicts a woman wearing a tunic and palla. Her hair is centrally parted and brushed back, with braids forming a coiffure atop her head. The bust on the right is smaller than the others, depicting a partially nude male figure wearing a chlamys, another motif common to childhood. Mander argues that this is the younger of the two brothers. Though Kleiner agrees that this must be the younger of the two, she suggests both brothers are adults. She also argues for an interpretation of Doryphoros (the younger) in a heroic military portrayal, which would point to an older age. All three figures sport serious expressions and look straight ahead.

The first line of the inscription is written below these busts, while the rest of the inscription is contained within a square frame on the front face of the altar. Both sides of the altar depict a mother embracing her son. The son on the right side of the altar is considerably smaller than the son on the left side. The sides of the top of the altar, meanwhile, both depict an eagle between two columns.

Due to the disagreement between Kleiner and Mander on the age of the two brothers, it is unclear whether this altar can truly be said to depict a child. Additionally, the age of the two sons are not listed, nor is it fully defined if they were alive or dead at the time of commemoration. A final issue with identification of children on this altar is that the identity of the two male busts is not clarified by the inscription, and either bust could be identified as either brother. It has been included in this catalogue because of the possibility of a child's portrait, but the reader is encouraged to use caution when considering this altar in the context of *mors immatura.*

Date: 120-130 CE (Kleiner - based on hairstyles and bust lengths); 135-145 CE (Liverpool, National Museum Web Entry)

Bibliography: Michaelis (1882) 399 no. 302; Ashmole (1929) 110 pl. 35; Frenz (1977) 27 no. 94; Boschung (1987) 87 no. 329; Kleiner (1987b) 225 no. 91; Gardner (1988) 98; Gardner (1998) 184; Minten (2002) 132 no. A 27; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 159 no. A27; Davies (2007) 3-4, 140-145 pl. 104-106; Huskinson (2007b) 329; Mander (2013) 113-14, 178 no. 82

LONDON

Tomasso Art Gallery

#9 - Claudius Hyllus

Inventory Number: Unknown

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 92 x 65 x 42

Inscription: CIL VI 15118; Arachne Datenbank no. 50868

Diis Manibus / Claudio Hyllo / vix ann IIII mens VII / dieb V Claudius Tauriscus pater filio / carissimo

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. For Claudius Hyllus, who lived four years, seven months, and five days. Claudius Tauriscus, father, [made this] for his dearest son.

Description: The top portion of this altar has a rectangular frame, inside on which is a

semi-circular framed niche. The niche is flanked by pulvinars. Inside of this, a young boy in the nude, supposedly Claudius Hyllus, reclines, possibly on a *kline*. He rests his weight on his left arm, his right arm reaching up and bending over his head. A wing is carved into the background behind him, lined up so it appears to be sprouting from his shoulder and back. Mander suggests that the boy is being represented in the guise of Cupid. The inscription is carved into a framed panel on the main portion of the altar's front face. The pitcher appears on the left side, the patera on the right.

Date: 100-150 CE (Boschung - style)

Bibliography: Michaelis (1882) 457 no. 71; Vermeule (1955) 335; Wrede (1981) 201 no. 17; Boschung (1987) 89 no. 372; Howard (1990) 260 note 62; Tedeschi Grisanti and Solin (2011) 183; Mander (2013) 179-80 no. 88; Angelicousis (2017) no. 104

NEMI

Palazzo Ruspoli, Garden (Granino Cecere)

#10 - Aelia Tyche

Inventory Number: Unknown

Find Spot: Via Latina, vigna Aquari, in sepulchral area attributed to the gens Allidia (1843)

Dimensions: 158 x 95 x 96 (Mander) up the

Inscription: CIL VI 6826; AnnEpigr (2001) 88 no. 191

Dis Manibus / Aelia Tyche P Aelius Helix et Aelia Tyche / parentes filiae piisimae et Aelia Marciana / sorori optimae fecerunt et sibi posterisque suis

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits of Aelia Tyche. P. Aelius Helix and Aelia Tyche made this for their most dutiful daughter and for Aelia Marciana, best sister and for themselves and for their descendants.

Description: This altar features a large square niche which takes up the entirety of the front face. Within the niche is a seemingly pre-pubescent girl in the guise of Diana. She wears a hunting dress with a mantle over her left shoulder and sandals on her feet. Her right breast is exposed, possibly in an allusion to Amazonian dress. She holds a bow out to the right with her left hand, while her right hand reaches behind her to pull an arrow from the quiver she wears on her back. Despite heavy weathering on the face, one can discern large, almond-shaped eyes. A hunting dog runs to the right behind her left foot, turning its head back to look up at the young girl. A tree stump fills in the corresponding space to her left. An inscription is carved evenly in four lines on the base of the altar. The sides feature the pitcher and patera.

Date: Antonine (Granino Cecere - based on hairstyle)

Bibliography: Matz and Duhn (1881) III 183 no. 3899; Altmann (1905) 282; Schwarzlose (1913) 47; Wrede (1971) 139; Wrede (1981) 226 no. 92; Granino Cecere (2001) 287-92; Mander (2013) 186 no. 117

NEW YORK

Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gallery 162 (Roman)

#11 - Anthus
Inventory Number: L.2007.31.2
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 86 x 73 x 51
Inscription: CIL VI 11864
Diis Manib // Anthi / L Iulius Gamus pater fil dulcissim
Translation of Inscription: To the Departed Spirits of Anthus. L. Iulius Gamus, father, made this for his sweetest son.
Description: The front face of this altar contains a square niche. Within this niche, standing on a ledge is a full-figure portrait of Anthus. He is clothed in a tunic and toga, holding some of the drapery in his right hand. His left hand, meanwhile, holds a scroll. To his right stands a small dog in profile, which tilts its head up to look at the boy. "Diis" is written on the left side of the portrait, and "Manib" is written on the right side, both words inscribed in large lettering. The remainder of the inscription is below the portrait, with the boy's name in the largest letters. The portrait appears to be slightly left of center. The sides of the altar are both decorated with laurel trees, with birds picking berries from their branches. At the base of the tree on one side are ducks, while herons catch snakes at the base of the tree on the other side.
Date: Mid to late 1st C. CE (Mander - based on the drapery and hairstyle), 1st half of 1st C. CE (Metropolitan Museum Web Entry)
Bibliography: Christie's (1992) Lot 114; Mander (2013) 165; Hemingway, Mertens, Lepinski, and Belis (2021) 9

OXFORD

Ashmolean Museum, Gallery 21 (Greek and Roman Sculpture)

#12 - L. Marcius Pacatus
Inventory Number: ANMichealis.202
Find Spot: Smyrna (Ashmolean Museum Photo Library Web Entry); Unknown (Mander)
Dimensions: 40 x 26 x 21 cm (Mander); 42 x 26 x 21 (Ashmolean Museum Photo Library Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 22086
D M L Marcio / Pacato filio d/vlcissimo / fecit Ro/dope ma/ter in/feli/cissima / qui vix annos / XV M VIIII D VIIII
Translation of Inscription:
To the departed spirits of L. Marcius Pacatus, sweetest son, who scarcely lived fifteen years, nine months, and nine days. Rodope, most unfortunate mother, made this.
Description: The front face of this altar features a depiction of a young child as Hercules, approximately toddler age, battling a hydra. This portrait is raised from the surface, and is placed in the center of the front face. The child's limbs appear chubby, though with underlying muscle. This depiction has been weathered to the point where details of the facial features are no longer discernible. The hydra is long and serpentine, the numerous heads twisting in various directions to escape the child's grip. The top of the altar features a double volute and pulvinars, and a pattern, possibly of acanthus leaves, continues around the altar both at the top and the bottom, framing the faces. A simulated ground is

carved in all three figural faces, giving a greater sense of weight and reality to the figures. The inscription is carved around the figural scene in large letters, taking up all of the remaining space on the front face.

The right side face depicts the same figure in an older stage of life, now battling a Stymphalian bird. He appears as though he might be close in age to L. Marcius Pacatus at the age at which he died, 15 years. His muscles are now quite well defined, though his face seems to still be bare. He wields a club above his head, poised to strike it down on the head and neck of the bird. The bird, meanwhile, is carved in much shallower relief, and its left wing extends behind the Herculean figure. Its wings are spread, its neck twisted in an effort to escape its assailant.

The left side face of this altar depicts the same figure, though once again significantly aged, this time battling a centaur. While it is hard to estimate the age of this figure, his older age is clearly suggested by the figure's now bearded face. His muscles are similarly well-defined, though improved skill may be suggested by the figure's use of his knee to pin down the centaur. He holds the centaur's hair with his left hand, his right arm, meanwhile, is wound back, holding a club. He appears to be preparing to strike the centaur with the weapon. The centaur, though a mighty creature, is at the mercy of the Herculean figure. His hind quarters are bent to the ground, pinned under the other figure's knee, and his arms are behind his back, seemingly bound together.

The Herculean theme of this altar is tied together by the back face of the altar, which portrays several of Hercule's main implements. A quiver and arrows and a club sit atop the Nemean lion skin. It is worth noting the unique aspect of this back carving, insofar as the back face of many Roman funerary altars were not carved, having been placed against a wall in antiquity.

Date: 150-200 CE (Wrede); 75-100 CE (Ashmolean Museum Photo Library Web Entry)

Bibliography: Montfaucon (1724) tom. I 143 and pl. LIV.1; Michaelis (1882) 586 no. 202; Wrede (1981) 249 no. 143; Boschung (1987) 114 no. 960; Mander (2013) 187 no. 121; Bradley (2019) 161

PALERMO

<u>Museo Archeologico Regionale, cortile maggiore</u>

#13 - A. Egrilius Masculinus

Inventory Number: 3721

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 60 x 41 x 18

Inscription: CIL VI 17135

D M / A Egrilio Masculino / vixit annis VIII mensib / II et diebus V A Egrili Les/bi vernae liberto A Egri/lius Privatio pater filio / pietissimo fecit

Translation of Inscription:

To the departed spirits. For A. Egrilius Masculinus, who lived eight years, two months, and five days, *verna* and freedman of A. Egrilius Lesbus. A. Egrilius Privatio, father, made this for his most dutiful son.

Description: The top half of this altar features a square niche within a frame. A bust sits within

this niche, depicting A. Egrilius Masculinus. Straight locks of hair fall evenly across his forehead in a centrally parted hairstyle. There appears to be some sort of raised dot in the center of his forehead, though it is unknown what this might be. He wears a tunic and toga. Below the square niche is inscribed the epitaph, carved at a slight downward slope to the right. A line carved below the inscription creates a visual frame for the epitaph, giving the leftover space at the bottom of the altar a more intentional feel. This line mirrors the text, also slanting downwards toward the right.

Date: Trajanic (Equizzi)

Bibliography: Bivona (1970) 182 no. 221; Herrmann-Otto (1994) 416; Equizzi (2006) 134; Mander (2013) 171 no. 54

PARIS

Musée du Louvre, Reserve

#14 - Iulia Secunda

Inventory Number: MA 1331 (MR 731; N 691)

Find Spot: Campus Martius

Dimensions: 120 x 90 x 22

Inscription: CIL VI 20674; Arachne Datenbank no. 130021

Front Top Inscription:

D M / Iuliae Secundae filiae Corneliae Tyches uxoris

Front Left Inscription:

et forma singulari et / moribus piisimis docri//naq super legitimam / sexus sui aetatem prae/stantissimae quae vixit / annis XI mens VIIII D XX

Front Right Inscription:

et incomparabilis erga / maritum adfectus sancti/tatisque et eximiae erga / liberos pietatis quae / vixit annis XXXVIII mens / III d VII ex is mecum an[n XI]

Right Face Inscription (Now lost):

Iam datus est finis vitae iam paussa malorum
Vobis quas habet hoc gnatam matremque sepulcrum
Littore Phocaico pelagi vi exanimatas
Illic unde taguset nobile flumen hiberus
Vorsum ortus vorsum occasus fluit alter et alter
Stagna sub oceani tagus et Tyrrhenica hiberus
Sic etenim duxere ollim primordia parcae
Et nevere super vobis vitalia fila
Cum primum Lucina daret lucemq[ue] animamque
Vt vitae diversa dies foret unaque leti
Nobis porro alia est trino de nemine fati
Dicta dies leti quam propagare suopte
Visum ollis tacito arbitrio cum lege perenni
Sisti quae cunctos iubet ad vadimonia mortis

Translation of Inscription:

Front Top Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits of Iulia Secunda, daughter, and of Cornelia Tyche, wife.

Front Left Inscription:

Most outstanding both by her singular beauty form and by her most pious character and learning, beyond what one would expect of her sex and age, who lived 11 years, 9 months, 20 days.

Front Right Inscription:

Both of incomparable affection and holiness toward her husband,And extraordinary piety toward her children. She lived 39 years, 4 months, 7 days, from which she lived with me (11 yrs)

Right Face Inscription (now lost):

Already the end of life is given, already a pause of bad things / To you whom this sepulcher holds, mother and daughter / By the Phocaean shore, you all having been made lifeless by the strength of the sea, / From where the Tagus and the noble river Iberus / Flows toward the sunrise toward the west, the one, and the other / Beneath the waters of the ocean, rivers Tagus Tyrrhenian Iberus / The fates once upon a time led out the beginnings / Wove the life-giving threads above you / As soon as Lucina gave light and soul / And separate of life a day was one of a violent death / So that there would be a diff day of life, but one of death / But for me, however, there is another day of death decreed from the third thread of fate / Which it seemed to them to extend by their own silent judgment with their eternal law / Which orders that all are presented in the court of death.

Description: The altar of Iulia Secunda is both elaborate and well preserved. An arched pediment at top contains, from left to right, a quiver and a bow, two empty chairs, with the letter D in the space between the legs of the left gate and the letter M in the space under the right chair, a cornucopia, torch, a rudder on a globe, and a wheel. Pulvinars with rosette decorations sit on either side of this pediment. The attributes at left of the seats belong to Diana, corresponding with Iulia Secunda's early death, while the attributes at right are associated with Fortuna, a play on Cornelia Tyche's name. Kleiner proposes that these attributes suggest portrayal of the two deceased in the guise of gods, as a form of private apotheosis. Below the pediment is a narrow strip with a single line of inscription.

Below this is the main central niche, carved rather deep into the stone. Two Corinthian columns flank this niche, and two busts sit atop acanthus bases within. The left bust, depicting Iulia Secunda, is smaller to emphasize her young age at death and therefore sits atop a larger base, so as to make the busts equal in height. Her head turns slightly inward, to her left. She wears a tunic and mantle. She has a narrow face and almond-shaped eyes. Kleiner notes that her hairstyle, with a central part and hair brushed back, is a variation of hairstyles worn by Faustina the Younger.

The bust on the right, meanwhile, depicts her mother or stepmother Cornelia Tyche, and is larger to suggest her adult age. Like Iulia Secunda, she turns inward (to her right), and wears a tunic and mantle. Her face is also narrow, with a straight, defined nose and almond-shaped eyes. The pupils in both portraits have been drilled. Her hairstyle is more elaborate, involving a central parting of the hair and braids gathered in a bun. Kleiner points out similarities between this coiffure and that worn by Faustina the Elder. The hairstyles and their imperial origins parallel the mother-daughter relationship that exists between Iulia Secunda and Cornelia Tyche. Below each bust is a square frame, containing the epitaph for each of the deceased.

Though the stone has since been recut into a tabula, a 17th century drawing preserves an additional inscription on the right face of the altar. acrostic inscription that was once on the side of this monument. This inscription is acrostic, spelling out the name of the man who dedicated the altar, Iulius Secundus, the father and husband of the women commemorated. The sides were also decorated by a stag on the left side of the altar and a mirror on the right side, furthering the allusions to Diana and Fortuna.

Date: Antonine [150-165 CE (Kleiner - Coiffures and bust length); 165-170 CE (Musée du Louvre Web Entry)]

Bibliography: Clarac (1828-1830) pl. 158, no. 507; Clarac (1830) 97 no. 507; Altmann (1905) 216 no. 279; Williams (1940) 47-52; Vermeule (1960) 24 no. 230; Jucker (1961) 26 no. G15; Wrede (1981) 227 no. 93; Boschung (1987) 105 no. 791; Kleiner (1987b) 253 no. 113; Vedder (2001) 23; Minten (2002) 134 no. A37; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 162 no. A35; Carroll (2006) 158; D'Ambra (2007a) 89; Huskinson (2007b) 329; Huskinson (2011) 114-23 fig. 7.1; Mander (2013) 186 no. 119; Bruun and Edmondson (2014) 10-11; Foubert (2020) 137-156; Hemelrijk (2020) 40-42 no. 44

#15 - Iulia Victorina

Inventory Number: MA 1443

Find Spot: Campanian Gardens near San Giovanni in Laterano

Dimensions: 113 x 72 x 66 (Mander); 116 x 70 x 66 (Musée du Louvre Web Entry)

Inscription: CIL VI 20727; Arachne Datenbank no. 15165

D M / Iuliae Victorinae / quae vic ann X mens V / C Iulius Saturninus et / Lucilla Procula parentes / filiae dulcissimae fecerunt

Translation of Inscription:

To the departed spirits of Iulia Victorina, who lived ten years, five months. C. Iulius Saturninus and Lucilia Procula, parents, made this for their sweetest daughter.

Description: The altar contains a lid featuring a double-volute pediment with rosettes at the center of each scroll and palmettes beneath the scrolls. The main body of both the front and the back of the altar has a rectangular frame of rosettes and acanthus scrollwork. Both sides of the altar have carvings of laurel trees. Inside the frame on the front face is a bust portrait in relief of the ten year old Iulia Victorina. She wears a tunic and palla, and earrings hang slightly below her ears, perhaps made of pearl. She has a short cropped hairstyle and she wears a crescent moon diadem atop her head. Below the bust is a Latin inscription.

The back face of the altar features the same pediment and frame, but the portrait bust inside depicts an older girl, and it takes up the entire height within the frame, not limited by an inscription like the former bust. She wears a palla over a *stola* and earrings as the first portrait Her features are elongated and more defined, and instead of a crescent moon diadem, she instead wears a radiate crown. Her hair is also longer and more elaborate, curled into an Augustan coiffure. The similarity between the portrait features of the two busts has caused scholars to hypothesize that the portrait on the back depicts Iulia Victorina as she may have appeared had she not died prematurely.

Date: 60-70 CE (Kleiner - based on hairstyle and drillwork); 70-90 CE (Musée du Louvre Web Entry)

Bibliography: Fröhner (1878) 386 no. 422; Altmann (1905) 282; Cumont (1942) 243;

Charbonneaux (1948) 98-99 pl. 92; Gercke (1968) 25 no. R20; Ducroux and Duval (1975) 131 no. 464; Wrede (1981) 264 no. 183; Boschung (1987) 111 no. 918; Kleiner (1987b) 119 no. 15; Minten (2002) 130 no. A4; Rawson (2003a) 50, 360; Rawson (2003b) 294; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 148 no. A6; D'Ambra (2007a) 67; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Mander (2013) 166 no. 32; Gorostidi Pi (2019) 81

#16 - Aelia Procula

Inventory Number: MA 1633

Find Spot: Via Appia, near San Sebastiano

Dimensions: 83 x 72 x 40 (Mander); 85 x 72 x 39.5 (Musée du Louvre Web Entry)

Inscription: CIL VI 10958; Arachne Datenbank no. 15166

D M / Sacrum / Deanae et / memoriae / Aeliae / Proculae / P Aelius Asclepiacus / Aug lib / et Ulpia Priscilla filiae / dulcissimae fecerunt

Translation of Inscription:

Sacred to the departed spirits. For Diana and for the memory of Aelia Procula. P. Aelius Asclepiacus, imperial freedman, and Ulpia Priscilla made this for their sweetest daughter.

Description: The altar has a separate lid, as well as a cavity in the top of the altar, likely intended for the ashes of the deceased.The front face of the altar has a small rectangular niche with a rounded top set near the top of the altar. It is framed with fluted pilasters. The niche reaches approximately halfway down the altar. An inscription is written in large letters around the niche and below it, though it leaves a significant portion of the altar at the bottom blank

The niche contains a full-body portrait of Aelia Procula. She is depicted in the guise of Diana. Despite this, as Kleiner points out, she is depicted in Amazonian dress with her right breast exposed, which is uncharacteristic of depictions of Diana. She wears a mantle over her left shoulder. She holds her bow straight out to her left, her right hand reaching behind her to pull an arrow from a quiver on her back. Her face is turned toward the viewer, her cheeks puffed out in physical exertion. Kleiner suggests that the contrast between the developed breasts and her relatively childish portrait features indicates a pre-existing Diana type combined with a personalized portrait of the deceased girl's face. A hunting dog runs alongside her in the background.

Date: c. 140 CE (Kleiner - coiffure and style of lid)

Bibliography: Fröhner (1878) 132 no. 106; Altmann (1905) 282; Schwarzlose (1913) 49; Cumont (1942) 243; Wrede (1971) 138; Ducroux and Duval (1975) 2 no. 7; Bieber (1977) 73, 81 pl. 45; Wrede (1981) 226 no. 91; Kleiner (1987b) 241 no. 104; Granino Cecere (2001) 290; Minten (2002) 134 no. A35; Feraudi-Gruénais (2003) 102 no. 123; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 161 no. A33; Varner (2006) 295; Huskinson (2007b) 331; Backe-Dahmen (2008) 146; Olson (2008) 144 n.54; Scarfo (2012) 94-5, 99, 105, 126; Mander (2013) 185 no. 113; Caldwell (2015) 21-22, 57; Gaultier, Haumesser, and Trofimova (2018) 74 no. 58; Bradley (2019) 161

#17 - Name Unknown

Inventory Number: MA 2195

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 105 x 44 x 42 (Mander); 106 x 64 x 42 (Musée du Louvre Web Entry)

Inscription: N/A

Translation of Inscription: N/A

Description: The top of this altar is crowned with double volutes with palmette decorations and with rosette pulvinars. The front face is entirely composed of a rectangular niche, inside of which is a full body portrait of a female standing on a pedestal. She wears a belted chiton and mantle with boots, dressed in the guise of Diana. She holds a bow straight forward in her left hand, while her right hand reaches behind her to pull an arrow from the visible quiver on her back. She has a curly coiffure and stares forward with wide eyes.On her right is a dog and on her left is a stag (as identified by Kleiner, though Mander suggests it is a doe), both which turn their necks to look up at her. It is perhaps worth noting that while still detailed, the carving on this monument is more crude than others in this catalogue. There is no inscription on this altar. The pitcher and patera are depicted on the sides.

It is worth noting that Kleiner identifies this figure as a middle-aged Roman matron, though Mander identifies this same figure as a child. Though her features do seem somewhat older than other portraits of this type (cf. #10 - Aelia Tyche and #16 - Aelia Procula), they are not so aged that it is unimaginable that she might be in her early to mid teenage years. Additionally, Diana is a common choice for commemoration of the deaths of young women, and is rather less fitting for a middle aged woman. Further issues are raised by the dating of this object, as the dating estimate provided by Wrede conflicts greatly with the Modern classification by the Musée du Louvre. Because of the potential for this to be a child's altar, as well as the value of previous scholarship on this altar, it has been included in this catalogue, though great caution is recommended when considering both the recipient and the dating of this altar.

Date: 80-100 CE (Wrede - hairstyle and drapery); Modern (Musée du Louvre Web Entry)

Bibliography: Fröhner (1878) 132 no.105; Wrede (1981) 225 no. 90; Boschung (1987) 79 no. 17; Kleiner (1987b) 147-148 no. 35; Mander (2013) 169 no. 45

ROME

Basilica di San Paolo fuori le mura, Chiostro Cosmatesco IV

#18 - Name Unknown

Inventory Number: Unknown

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 36 x 30 x 30

Inscription: CIL VI 35453

[---]/[---]ius Herme[s] / pater / posterisque suis

Translation of Inscription:

--- ---ius Hermes, father, and for his descendants

Description: This altar has a unique design among this catalogue, though Kleiner notes there is precedent among altars as an entire genre. The bottom of the altar features the doors of a shrine, which open up to reveal a bust portrait of a young boy. This design has been tentatively identified by both Kleiner and Mander as an *amarium*, a chest intended to house ancestor portraits and sometimes mimicked by slaves and freedmen in their funerary monuments. He wears a tunic and toga. Above the doors is a pediment featuring a wreath with fluttering ribbons, buttressed by half-palmette acroteria. The front face of

the altar rests on five steps, almost imitating the stairs leading up to a shrine or temple. According to Kleiner, the carving of the doors suggests imitation of bronze doors with lion's-head handles. Further above this is the lower half of an inscription, though it is incomplete, as the top half of the monument has not survived. Fluted pilasters frame what remains of this altar, and likely would've continued further throughout the length of the lost portion. The sides feature the pitcher and patera.

Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle and bust form)

Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 18; Zadoks and Jitta (1932) 26; Boschung (1987) 109 no. 868; Kleiner (1987b) 192 no. 66; Filippi (1998) 36 no. 50811; Minten (2002) 132 no. A22; Mander (2013) 174 no. 69

Catacombe di San Sebastiano, entrance corridor

#19 - Lutatia Felicitas

Inventory Number: Unknown

Find Spot: Unknown (possibly from a tomb in the ancient cemetery below San Sebastiano

Dimensions: 53 x 38 x 20

Inscription: AnnEpigr (1977) 27 no. 89; EDH no. 013445

D M / Lutatia / Callipolis / fec sibi et / Lutatiae fe/licitati vernae / V A XIIII M III

Translation of Inscription:

To the departed spirits. Lutatia Callipolis made this for herself and for her *verna*, Lutatia Felicitas, who lived 14 years and 3 months

Description: This altar is heavily weathered, and the top of the altar is missing entirely. The inscription, now appearing somewhat faded though still preserved, is carved on a panel on the front face of the altar. Above this inscription panel, only the beginnings of a niche and partial portrait remain. This niche is flanked by partially intact half-palmettes. It appears as though the bust belonged to a girl wearing a tunic, and, when taken with the inscription, has thus been assumed to be a portrait of Lutatia Felicitas. The pitcher and patera are carved onto the sides of this monument, though the pitcher on the left side of the monument has not been preserved.

Date: Late 1st to 2nd C (Mander - monument type)

Bibliography: Kleiner (1987b) 277 no. 130; Hermann-Otto (1994) 415; Mander (2013) 181 no. 93

Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini, Boiler Room

#20 - Q. Sulpicius Maximus

Inventory Number: 1102 (urn:collectio:0001:scu:01102)

Find Spot: Via Salaria

Dimensions: 161 x 97 x 74 cm

Inscription: CIL VI 33976; Arachne Datenbank no. 39706

Main Inscription:

Deis Manibus Sacrum / Q F Cla Maximo domo Roma vic ann XI m V d XII / Hic tertio certaminis lustro inter Graecos poetas duos et L / professus favorem / in admirationem ingenio suo perduxit et cum honore discessit versus / extemporales

eo subiecti sunt ne parent adfectib suis indulsisse videant / Q Sulpicius Eugramus et Licinia Ianuaria parent infalicissim f piisim fec et sib p s

Epigram:

ἐπιγράμματα // μοῦνος ἀπ᾽ αἰῶνος δυοκαίδεκα παῖς ἐνιαυτῶν / Μάξιμος ἐξ ἀέθλων εἰς Ἀίδην ἔμολον / νοῦσος καὶ κάματός με διώλεσαν· οὔτε γὰρ ἠοῦς / οὐκ ὄρφνης μουσέων ἐκτὸς ἔθηκα φρένα. / λίσσομαι ἀλλὰ στῆθι δεδουπότος εἵνεκα κούρου / ὄφρα μάθῃς σχεδίου γράμματος εὐεπίην / εὐφήμου καὶ λέξον ἀπὸ στόματος τόδε μοῦνον / δακρύσας· εἴης χῶρον ἐς Ἠλύσιον· / ζωούσας ἔλιπες γὰρ ἀηδόνας, ἃς Ἀιδωνεὺς / οὐδέποθ᾽ αἱρήσει τῇ φθονερῇ παλάμῃ. // βαιὸν μὲν τόδε σῆμα, τὸ δὲ κλέος οὐρανὸν ἵκει / Μάξιμε, Πειερίδων ἐξέο λειπομένων / νώνυμον οὐδέ σε μοῖρα κατέκτανε νηλεόθυμος / ἀλλ᾽ ἔλιπεν λήθης ἄμμορον εὐεπίην / οὔτις ἀδακρύτοισι τεὸν παρὰ τύμβον ἀμείβων / ὀφθαλμοῖς σχεδίου δέρξεται εὐστιχίην / ἄρκιον ἐς δόλιχον τόδε σοι κλέος· οὐ γὰρ ἀπευθὴς / κείσεαι, οὐτιδανοῖς ἰδόμενος νέκυσι / πουλὺ δὲ καὶ χρυσοῖο καὶ ἠλέκτροιο φαεινοῦ / ἔσ[σ]ετ᾽ ἀεὶ κρέσσων ἣν ἔλιπες σελίδα

Translation of Inscription:

Main Inscription:

Sacred to the departed spirits, for Quintus Sulpicius Maximus, son of Quintus, of the Claudian tribe. Maximus, his home being in Rome, he lived 11 years, 5 months, and 12 days. On this third lustrum (five year period) of the contest, having performed among fifty-two Greek poets, who led the favor he had aroused with his youthful age toward admiration by his talent, and he left with honors. So that his parents not seem to be indulged their own affections for him, the extemporaneous verses have been placed below here. Quintus Sulpicius Eugramus and Licinia Ianuaria, most unhappy parents, made this for their most pious son, for themselves, and for their descendants.

Greek Epigram:

Though I was a boy of only twelve years, I, Maximus, departed from the contest to Hades. Illness and exhaustion destroyed me, for not at dawn, nor at night did I place my heart outside the muses. I pray you, on account of this poor boy, stop in order to learn the beauty of this impromptu poem. Speak this only from your well-speaking mouth as you weep tears. May you go to the place of Elysium, for you have left behind living nightingales which Hades will never seize with his envious palm. This monument is small, but glory arrives at Heaven. Maximus, you have surpassed the muses who have been left behind. Ruthless destiny did not slay you nameless, but you left behind the beauty of verse, that has no share in Lethe. Nobody who comes to your grave will behold it without tears at the orderliness of your impromptu composition. The glory of yours is secure for a long course, for you do not lie here unknown, being looked at like the no-account corpses. The writing you left behind will forever appear better than gold and amber.

Description: The altar is rectangular with a triangular pediment, which contains a laurel wreath and waving ribbons, buttressed by acroteria. In the main body of the altar, there is a rectangular niche with a rounded top, containing a full-body portrait of the boy. He is dressed in a toga with a tunic worn underneath. He holds his right hand to his chest in an orator's pose, his left arm outstretched holding a scroll. Though still youthful, he looks older than his twelve years as professed by the inscription. On the scroll and surrounding

the niche on the main body are Greek verses, supposedly those spoken by Maximus at the oratory competition. Below the figure is a rectangular inscription in Latin. Below this is a Greek epigram, written from Maximus's point of view. Written after his death however, the author is not Maximus, but likely his father. The sides of the altar sport a pitcher and patera.

Date: 94-100 CE (Kleiner - mention of the festival and coiffure)

Bibliography: Henzen (1871) 98-115; Visconti and Vespignani (1871); Lanciani (1892) 280-82; Raleigh Nelson (1903) 384-95; Altmann (1905) 219 no. 285; Platner and Ashby (1929) 487; Gordon (1958) 144 no. 153; Gercke (1968) 33 no. R31; Boschung (1987) 113 no. 957; Kleiner (1987a) 162 no. 45; Wiedemann (1989) 169; Huskinson (1997) 237; Rawson (1997a) 223; Rawson (1997b) 80; D'Amxbra (1998b) 43; Mattei and Gregori (1999) 48 no. 19; Rawson (1999) 90 and Appendix 3; Steinby (1999) 300; Nocita (2000) 81-100; Minten (2002) 130 no. A9; Kragelund, Moltesen, and Østergaard (2003) 21; Rawson (2003a) 17; Rawson (2003b) 285; Laes (2004b) 66; Huskinson (2005) 94; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 151 no. A11; Carroll (2006) 157; D'Ambra (2007b) 340; Huskinson (2007) 329; Backe-Dahmen (2008) 74; Cooley (2012) 131-133, 288 fig. 2.4Mander (2013) 170 no. 50; Fittschen and Zanker (2014a) 139-141 no. 152; Fittschen and Zanker (2014b) pl. 144-5 no. 152; Wright (2017) 53-63; Bloomer (2018) 56-60 fig. 4.1; Garulli (2018) 83-100

Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini, Deposit

#21 - Q. Fabius Proculus

Inventory Number: 101

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 66 x 31 x 15

Inscription: CIL VI 17557

D M / Q Fabio Q F / Fabio Procu/lo vixit men/sibus VIIII die/bus XXIIII / Claudia Spendu/sa nepoti fecti

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. For Q. Fabius Proculus, son of Quintus, who lived nine months and 24 days. Claudia Spendusa made this for her *nepos*.

Description: Above this altar is a portrait niche in the shape of an inverted shell, though the striations have been smoothed in the lower half. This has been identified by Mander as a mussel shell. Within this is the bust of a young boy. He stares outward, his head tilted slightly upward and to the left, with almond-shaped eyes. His hair is combed forward onto his forehead in straight locks. In a heroicized portrait, he is nude except for a chlamys draped over his left shoulder. He also appears significantly older than he would've at the end of his short nine month life span. The portrait niche is flanked by short pilasters topped with half-palmette acroteria. Below this, there is a rectangular framed panel on the main face of the altar containing the inscription. The sides feature the pitcher and patera.

Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle)

Bibliography: Stuart Jones (1912) 52 no. 9; Boschung (1987) 88 no. 346; Kleiner (1987b) 188 no. 62; Mattei and Gregori (1999) 54 no. 28; Minten (2002) 132 no. A19; Baills (2003) 128; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 155 no. A19; Huskinson (2007b) 331; Mander (2013) 174

no. 68; Carroll (2014b) 161; Fittschen and Zanker (2014a) 139 no. 151; Fittschen and Zanker (2014b) pl. 143 no. 151; Dasen (2017) 267, 269 fig. 5

#22 - P. Albius Memor
Inventory Number: 164
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 55 x 35 x 29 (Mander); 54 x 35.5 x 29 (Musei Capitolini Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 11346; Arachne Datenbank no. 16253
D M // P Albi P F Fab Memoris / vix ann V m VI d VI / P Albius Threptus / et Albia Apollonia / parentes filio dulcissimo
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits of P. Albius Memor, son of Publius, member of the Fabia voting tribe, who lived five years, six months, six days. P. Albius Threptus and Albia Apollonia, parents, [made this] for their sweetest son.
Description: In a more unique structure, the bust of P. Albius Memor crowns the altar, flanked on
either side by rosette pulvinars. His bust is not in the round, but rather has excess marble in the back. He stares straight ahead with large, almond-shaped eyes. His fair falls in straight strands down his forehead, in a style typical of the Trajanic period. He wears a tunic and toga, and a *bulla* is strung around his neck. A square frame on the main face of the altar below the bust holds his epitaph. The sides are decorated with the pitcher and patera.
Date: c. 100 CE (Kleiner - portrait style and bust length)
Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 221 no. 288; Stuart Jones (1912) 58 no. 18; Mustilli (1939)157 no. 25 pl. 97 fig. 358; Gercke (1968) 36 no. R34; Vidman (1975) pl. 13; Goette (1986) 161 no. 85; Boschung (1987) 87 no. 317; Kleiner (1987b) 173 no. 51; Mattei and Gregori (1999) 54 no. 27; Minten (2002) 130 no. A12; Rawson (2003a) 51; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 152 no. A13; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Mander (2013) 173 no. 61; Fittschen and Zanker (2014a) 137-8 no. 149; Fittschen and Zanker (2014b) pl. 142 no. 149

#23 - Successus
Inventory Number: 2878
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 93 x 52 x 36
Inscription: Arachne Datenbank no. 91919
D M S // Succeso dulcissimo vixit ann III / mens X diebus XVIII et Pius pater fil / karissimo fecit
Translation of Inscription: Sacred to the Departed Spirits. For sweetest Successus, who lived three years, ten months, and 18 days. Pius, father, did this for his dearest son.
Description: There is a circular portrait niche in the center of the main face of this altar with a bust of a young boy, which rests atop an acanthus base. Wavy locks fall across the boy's forehead in a centrally parted hairstyle. In a heroicized portrait, he is nude except for a chlamys draped over his left shoulder. On the left above the portrait niche are the letters "DM" and on the right is the letter "S." The rest of the inscription is carved below the portrait niche.

Flanking the portrait niche are two spiral corinthian columns. Hanging between the two column capitals are two small garlands. In the semicircles above the garlands are theatrical masks. In between the two garlands is a lion's head Atop this altar is a semi-circular pediment flanked by another theatrical mask on either side. Within the pediment are two winged Victories holding a wreath in the center. Below the wreath and Victories are fluttering ribbons. The sides of the altar feature the pitcher and the patera.

Date: 135-150 CE (Kleiner - drill-work and hairstyle)

Bibliography: Jucker (1961) 26 no. G14; Mercklin (1962) 274 no. 649b; Boschung (1987) 105 no. 795; Kleiner (1987b) 246 no. 108 ('D M S' omitted from inscription); Minten (2002) 134 no. A36; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 162 no. A34; Mander (2013) 184 no. 111; Fittschen and Zanker (2014a) 141-42 no. 153; Fittschen and Zanker (2014b) pl. 146 no. 153

#24 - M. Iunius Satyrus and Iunia Pia

Inventory Number: 2886

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 161 x 74 x 43

Inscription: CIL VI 20819; Arachne Datenbank no. 39498

Diis Manibus / M Iunio Perso patrono / et M Iunio Satyro / et M Iunio Iusto / et Iuniae Piae / fecit / Iunia Venusta coniugi suo / et filis dulcisimis / una cum Pharnace lib

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. For M. Iunius Persus, patron, and for M. 'Iunius Satyrus, and for M. Iunius Iustus, and for Iunia Pia. Iunia Venusta made this for her husband and sweetest children together with Pharnaces, freedman.

Description: This altar was dedicated by a woman to her husband and her three children. A semi-circular niche at the top of the altar holds a small bust portrait of the patron, M. Iunius Persus. He wears a tunic and toga and appears to be turned slightly to the right. His balding head and somewhat heavily lined face indicate his age. This niche is flanked on either side by undecorated pulvinars.

Below this, a rectangular niche takes up the top portion of the altar's main face. There are three busts in this niche, each of different sizes. The largest bust is in the center, seemingly representing an adult male, though younger than the patron above. Kleiner identifies this to be M. Iunius Iustus, the husband of Iunia Venusta, with portraits of his children on either side. In addition to the size of the bust, slight naso-labial lines, creases in the forehead, and strong cheekbones indicate his older age. His eyes are deeply set beneath a strong brow, creating an interplay between shadows and the light marble. Short, straight locks of hair fall evenly across his forehead. He also wears a tunic and toga.

To the left is the next largest portrait, though it is still considerably smaller than the central bust. It appears to be a young male child, perhaps around his early teenage years. If Kleiner's identification of the central figure is correct, then this would be his son, M. Iunius Satyrus. He has slightly thicker hair, which falls further down on his forehead than his father's hair, though the two hairstyles are generally similar. His facial features are the most damaged of the three, though the basic outlines are still discernible. His face is far rounder than the central figure, indicating his more youthful age. Like the other male busts, he too wears a tunic and toga.

To the right of the central figure, meanwhile, is the bust of Iunia Pia. Hers is the smallest of the three, though not much smaller than the leftmost brother. She wears a tunic and mantle. The drapery slips off of her right shoulder in an allusion to Venus, partially exposing her flat chest. Her hair has been brushed into a tier of waves around her forehead, a hairstyle that Kleiner notes is uncommon among women. She gazes out with almond-shaped eyes, her brows gently arched above. The three busts are arranged so that their shoulders overlap, with the central bust being in the background, and the two smaller busts on the outer edges being in the foreground. The central bust faces straight forward, while the busts of the two children turn slightly inwards toward their father.

Below the rectangular niche is the inscription, carved neatly within a rectangular frame. One limitation of the inscription is the lack of clarity on the names of the two male figures, as the names could be read in order of oldest to youngest or left to right. Additionally, it is unclear whether the children were alive or deceased at the time of creation. Kleiner interprets both the names and the life status with certainty, suggesting that it is implied that all four recipients are deceased. This calatogue entry has followed Kleiner's identifications, though slight caution is recommended when considering this monument as a deceased child's altar. A pitcher and patera appear on the sides of the altar.

Date: 95-110 CE (Kleiner - portrait styles and bust lengths)

Bibliography: Gercke (1968) 28 no. R25; Boschung (1987) 113 no. 942; Kleiner (1987b) 168 no. 48; Rawson (1991) Pl. 5; Rawson (1995) 4; Mattei and Gregori (1999) 54 no. 25; Minten (2002) 130 no. A10; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 152 no. A12; Huskinson (2007b) 329; Mander (2013) 170-71 no. 52; Perry (2013) 117; Fittschen and Zanker (2014a) 125-26 no. 134; Fittschen and Zanker (2014b) pl. 130-31 no. 134

<u>Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo, sala del Fauno</u>

#25 - C. Petronius Virianus Postumus

Inventory Number: 7264

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 59 x 46 x (wall)

Inscription: CIL VI 24011

D M // C. Petronio C F Cam / Liguri Viriano Postumo / vix ann X M X D XX / D Valerius Niceta / avos nepoti fecit

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. For C. Petronius Virianus Postumus, son of Gaius, member of the Camilia voting tribe, of Liguria. He lived for ten years, ten months, and twenty days. D. Valerius Niceta made this, grandfather, made this for his grandson.

Description: This altar has been inserted into a wall, and as a result, only the front face remains. This front face has a frame, in the center of which is a small figural scene. The figures are only slightly raised from the surface, though a ledge protrudes further, providing a horizon line for the scene. In this scene, ten year old Gaius Petronius Virianus rides on horseback, wearing a tunic and trabea and an olive-leaf crown.

This clothing is typically worn by a boy of equestrian status, which is confirmed by the epitaph. Therefore, this scene seems to represent him taking part in the *transvectio equitum* ceremony. He has a round face and has turned his torso slightly to his right so as

to gaze out directly at the viewer of the monument. He sits atop a tasseled saddle, and he holds the horse's reigns with his left hand. The horse lifts his front right hoof, perhaps indicating movement. The letters "D" and "M" are inscribed above the figures, one letter on either side of the boy's head, while the rest of the inscription is carved below the scene.

Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle)

Bibliography: Kleiner (1987b) 187 no. 61; Mattei and Gregori (1999) 52 no. 23; Minten (2002) 132 no. A18; Rawson (2003a) 322; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 155 no. A18; Mander (2013) 174 no. 67; Davenport (2019) 391-92 fig. 8.5; Gorostidi Pi (2019) 81

Musei Vaticani, cortile ottagano

Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti

#26 - Dexter and Sacerdos

Inventory Number: 1255

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 100 x 54 x 46

Inscription: CIL VI 21805; Arachne Datenbank no. 130013

Maenae L L Mellusae uxori / C Genucius Delus et sibi // Dextro f / V m XI // Sacerdo / F / V m III / D x

Translation of Inscription:

For wife Maena Mellusa, freedwoman of Lucius. C. Genucius Delus made this also for himself and for Dexter, son, who lived for 11 months, and for Sacerdos, who lived three months and ten days.

Description: This altar is rectangular, though the left side of the front face juts out near the top. It is unclear whether it was unevenly cut in antiquity or if it has been damaged. The front face features a depiction of a woman sitting in a chair, holding an infant in her left arm. She wears a tunic and mantle, the drapery flowing from her arms and legs, outlining the curves of her body. Her right arm reaches out to another, older child. He stands with his legs crossed, leaning with his elbow on her knee. He is nude except for a Chlamys, which he wears over his shoulder.

The inscription, emphasized with red pigment, is carved rather unevenly at the top, with the name and age of each child above their corresponding depiction. Though Dexter was indeed the older of the two children, the figure below his name is still far too old to be an accurate depiction of the child. Perhaps this was intended as a prospective depiction, though the accurate depiction of Sacerdos calls into question potential motives. Another possibility is that this was a stock image already carved onto a stone, and only the inscription was added to customize it for Maena Mellusa. The sides of the altar are decorated with elaborate garlands with fluttering ribbons, suspended from bucrania.

Date: Claudian (Boschung - garlands)

Bibliography: Amelung (1903) 1/4 671 no. 543a; Altmann (1905) 220 no. 286; Dosio (1976) 41 no. 14 (ID of boys as *erotes*); Boschung (1987) 114 no. 964; Rawson (2003a) 42; Mander (2013) 111-112, 164 no. 25; Bloomer (2018) 60-61 fig. 4.2 (Dexter is identified as being three years old, not eleven months); Carroll (2018b) 232

Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria

#27 - M. Turranius Benedictus
Inventory Number: 8416 (MV.8416.0.0)
Find Spot: Via Portuense, vigna Pia
Dimensions: 59 x 41 x (wall) (Mander); 57 x 41 x (wall) (Musei Vaticani Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 27799

Vix an IV / men IV // D M / M Turrani Benedicti / fecit Turrania / Onesime mater et sibi et / M Turrano Secundo / patrono suo de se B M / et suis libertis liberta/busq posterisq eor et / M Lollio Athenagorae / amico fidelissimo / [---]

Translation of Inscription: To the Departed Spirits of M. Turranius Benedictus, who lived four years, four months. Turrania Onesime, mother, made this also for herself and for M. Turranius Secundus, her patron who was well-deserving of her, and for her freedmen and freedwomen and their descendants, and for M. Lollius Athenagora, most faithful friend.

Description: This altar has a rounded top, with half-palmette acroteria attached to each side of the arch. Within this rounded top is a semi-circular niche which contains the bust of M. Turranius Benedictus. His face has been heavily weathered, so that only the faint outline of his portrait features remain. He wears a chlamys, and a Caduceus leans against his shoulder in reference to Mercury. The portion of the inscription giving the boy's age at death is inscribed on either side of his bust in this niche. The rest of the inscription, however, is carved in a square panel on the main portion of the front face. While the letters are evenly-sized, the inscription does not seem to have been carefully planned by the carver, as some letters continue outside of the panel and onto the frame. The bottom of the stone has been damaged, thus rendering the inscription incomplete.

Date: 100-120 CE (Wrede - hairstyle)

Bibliography: Wrede (1981) 278 no. 217; Di Stefano Manzella (1995) 30 no. 136; Di Stefano Manzella (2003) 186 no. 2579; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 157 no. A22; Mander (2013) 176 no. 74

#28 - Acilia Rufina
Inventory Number: 9174
Find Spot: Vigna near S. Agnese
Dimensions: 38 x 22 x 15
Inscription: CIL VI 10531

D M / Aciliae / Rufiniae / Acilus Xys/tus et Aci/lia Ianua/ria filiae / carrissimae

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. For Acilia Rufina. Acilius Xystus and Acilia Ianuaria made this for their dearest daughter.

Description: This front face of this altar is entirely consumed by the inscription, which is carved in large, even, deep letters. Pigment appears to have been added to the inscription to make it more legible. The top of the altar features an arched niche containing a bust. Acroteria flank this, with the letter D inscribed on the left acroteria and the letter M on the right. Excess stone has not been removed from above the pediment. The bust is of a female wearing a tunic, though somewhat severe weathering makes it difficult to discern details of the facial features.

Date: 130-140 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle)

Bibliography: Amelung (1903) 1/4 589 no. 424F; Boschung (1987) 88 no. 334; Kleiner (1987b) 232 no. 96; Di Stefano Manzella (1995) 36 no. 9174; Minten (2002) 132 no. A29; Mander (2013) 183 no. 107

#29 - C. Aelius Urbicus
Inventory Number: 9467
Find Spot: Via Appia, vigna near San Sebastiano
Dimensions: 74 x 38 x 31 (Mander); 73 x 39 x 39 (Musei Vaticani Web Entry)
Inscription: CIL VI 10818; AnnEpigr (2000) 61 no. 132
D M / C Aelio / Urbico filio / Aelia Priscilla / mater fecit
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits. For C. Aelius Urbicus, son. Aelia Priscilla, mother, made this.
Description: The front face of this altar holds the inscription within a square frame, carved in large letters and darkened with red pigment. A semi-circular niche above the main face, however, is buttressed by half-palmette acroteria and contains a figural scene. In this scene, a nude child no older than three years sits on the left, with his left leg tucked inward at the knee and his right leg outstretched. He seems to be erotesng most of his weight on his left side. This pose is quite unique, and does not seem to be replicated in any other children's altars in this catalogue. He turns his head to the right to look at a pet rooster which is as nearly as large as him. The rooster extends one leg forward, as though he is actively coming nearer to the child. The boy holds a bunch of grapes to his right in his right hand, his left hand being used to support the other arm. The child has a very round face, with comma shaped locks falling over his forehead. His mouth appears as though it might be open, perhaps in a look of surprise at the rooster's movement.
Date: 130-140 CE (Kleiner)
Bibliography: Wrede (1971) 139 no. D; Boschung (1987) 89 no. 385; Kleiner (1987b) 235 no. 99; Di Stefano Manzella (1995) 29 no. 9467; Bradley (1998a) 529; Vedder (2001) 61 n.455; Minten (2002) 134 no. A32; Feraudi-Gruénais (2003) 102 no. 124; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 160 no. A31; Mander (2013) 183 no. 104

#30 - Aulia Laodice
Inventory Number: 9337 (MV.9337.0.0)
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 99 x 42 x 39
Inscription: CIL VI 8725
D M / Auliae laodices / filiae dulcissimae / Rusticus Aug lib / Architectus pater / infelicissimus quae /vix ann VI mens VI / dieb IIII
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits of Aulia Laodice. Rusticus, most unhappy father, an imperial freedman architect, made this for his sweetest daughter, who lived for six years, six months, and four days.
Description: The top of this rectangular altar features a semi-circular niche with a partial portrait of Aulia Laodice. Her clothing is subject of some debate, having been identified by Kleiner as a tunic and palla, and by Mander as a tunic and mantle. The area of her face and hair has been heavily weathered, but typical portrait features can still be discerned. The pupils of her eyes appear to be drilled.

The niche is surrounded on both sides with acroteria decorated with half-palmettes which have not been fully carved. The inscription is written below this, darkened with red pigment and surrounded by a rectangular frame. The pitcher and patera appear on the sides of the altar. Similar to the acroteria, the patera on the right side of the altar appears to be unfinished as well.

Date: 130-140 CE (Kleiner - coiffure and drilled pupils)

Bibliography: Amelung (1903) 1/4 795 no.707E; Boschung (1987) 88 no. 333; Kleiner (1987b) 234 no. 98; Di Stefano Manzella (1995) 47 no. 9337; Minten (2002) 132 no. A31; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 160 no. A30; Mander (2013) 184 no. 108

Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano

#31 - P. Fannius Dama

Inventory Number: 9828

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: 32 x 32 x 6

Inscription: CIL VI 17710; Arachne Datenbank no. 21600

D M // [E]ros // P Fannius / Dama // Asia

Translation of Inscriptions:

To the Departed Spirits. Eors, P. Fannius Dama, Asia.

Description: According to Mander's description, this altar contains an arched portrait nich flanked by columns. Within this niche are three full-figure portraits. The portrait of a boy is at left, embracing the man in the center in *dextrarum iunctio* who in turn is facing the boy. The figure on the right is a young girl, who holds an object in her left hand and pulls on the drapery of the man with her left hand. The two male figures both wear a tunic and mantle, while the girl wears a peplos.

Date: 1st to 2nd C. (Sinn); Mid 2nd C. (Arachne Datenbank)

Bibliography: Sinn (1991) 33 no. 11; Mander (2013) 181-82 no. 98

#32 - Alcides

Inventory Number: 9868 (MV.9868.0.0)

Find Spot: Near Porta Sapienza

Dimensions: 68 x 48 x 40 (Mander); 68.5 x 49 x 39 (Musei Vaticani Web Entry)

Inscription: CIL VI 18088; Arachne Datenbank no. 21617

D M / T Flavius Her/mes et Flavia / Edone fecerunt / Alcide filio / pientissimo / qui vixit annis / VI mens VI / diebus XVI

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. T. Flavius Hermes and Flavia Hedone made this for their most pious son, Alcides, who lived for six years, six months, and sixteen days.

Description: This altar is unique because though it appears to have once been carved to have a square-framed panel on the front face and an arched top buttressed by pulvinars, it has been recarved from this original design. A trapezoidal niche has been hollowed out from the top of the monument and part of the square panel, containing the bust portrait of a boy. He is nude except for a chlamys which he wears over his left shoulder. He has large eyes and straight locks fall evenly across his forehead. Kleiner identifies this portrait as a heroic, prospective portrait, perhaps the result of his parents' wishes for his future or

simply a stock type offered by the workshop. Below this niche is the inscription. The panel has been smoothed over the original bottom of the frame, and 1the inscription continues past this point. The pitcher and patera appear on the sides.

Date: 130-140 (Kleiner - drill-work and hairstyle)

Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 222 no. 290; Gercke (1968) 40 no. R39; Boschung (1987) 88 no. 330; Kleiner (1987b) 237 no. 101; Sinn (1991) 73 no. 40; Dixon (1992) 105; Minten (2002) 134 no. A34; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 159 no. A28; Huskinson (2007b) 328; Mander (2013) 183 no. 106; Dasen (2017) 277-78 fig. 14

#33 - C. Iulius Philetus

Inventory Number: 9934

Find Spot: Reused as a water basin in S. Maria in Domnica on the Caelian Hill

Dimensions: 93 x 78 x 50 (Mander)

Inscription: CIL VI 20189; Arachne Datenbank no. 21602

C Iulio Postumi L / Phileto

Translation of Inscription:

For C. Iulius Philetus, freedman of Postumus

Description: The front face of this altar features a panel, inside of which is a figural scene. The two full-figure portraits are carved in relief and stand on a protruding ledge, which acts as a ground line for the scene. On the left a boy stands barefoot, wearing a tunic. He uses the bottom portion of the drapery as a makeshift basket, in which he carries fruit and a hare. He holds out his right hand, in a motion identified by Kleiner as offering grapes to the other figure, while the other hand holds up the fruit-filled drapery. The figure has rounded, thick legs and is slightly shorter than the other figure. The figure on the right, meanwhile, is identified by Mander as a man wearing a tunic and toga. He holds an object, tentatively identified as a scroll, in his left hand, his right hand being used to hold the folds of his drapery. Above the figures is carved the short inscription, colored with red pigment.

The sides of the altar both feature full-figure portraits as well. On the left side, a figure identified by Mander as a boy wearing a tunic pulls a small carriage with his left hand. Riding inside of the chariot is a small infant. The boy reaches out his right hand to grasp the infant's raised left hand. Though his body is positioned to pull the carriage to the right, he turns his head to the left to look back at the infant. On the other side, a figure identified as a boy reaches out his right hand, his knees slightly bent, to offer an object, tentatively identified as a piece of fruit to a dog. He wears a tunic and is barefoot. The dog lifts its front paws to reach the fruit, balancing them on the boy's knee. The back of the altar features a large circular shield, decorated in the center with a rosette. The edge of the shield is decorated with laurel branches with leaves and fruit. Two spears are crossed behind the shield, forming a large X.

This altar has not been entirely preserved. According to Kleiner, the crowning portion of the altar is missing, and the cinerary cavity has been recarved into a water basin. Additionally, the faces of all four figures, almost as though they have been deliberately erased. This makes it difficult to fully deduce the ages of the figures. The identities of the figures are not made clear, and both figures have been identified as Philetus by scholars. Kleiner, however, makes a compelling argument that the young boy is Philetus, and the figure on his right his master. While it is less common for a child to

be a freedman, it is not unheard of. Indeed, another altar in this catalogue (#13) identifies a child as a freedman.

Date: 45-55 CE (Kleiner - *praenomen* and *nomen*, toga style)

Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 255; Kleiner (1987b) 113 no. 11; Boschung (1987) 113 no. 952; Sinn (1991) 65 no. 33; Whitehead (1993) 304; Minten (2002) 130 no. A2; Mander (2013) 164 no. 26

#34 - L. Postumius Iulianus

Inventory Number: 10603

Find Spot: Near Porta Sapienza

Dimensions: 78 x 39 x 32

Inscription: CIL VI 24868; Arachne Datenbank no. 16253

Dis Manibus / L Postumii / Iuliani

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits of L. Postumius Iulianus.

Description: The front face of this altar features a clipeus held up by two *erotes* figures. The left *erotes* has been significantly weathered, but the right one is in much better condition. He stares out with relatively small eyes. He has a larger nose, a mouth that appears to be agape, and curly hair. His hairstyle was accomplished by drillwork, emphasizing the hollows of the curls. The two *erotes* stand upon the wings of eagles, which are positioned on the outer edges of the monument, their other wings extending onto the side faces. Kleiner suggests that this motif has a clear link to apotheosis. The inscription is carved into a small, rectangular frame, though it only takes up half the space. Red pigment has been added to the inscription. Below the inscription, in between the two eagles are two pecking birds.

The portrait of the boy within the clipeus only depicts his head and small portion of his shoulders and chest. He has almond-shaped eyes, a straight mouth, and rather large ears. His hair falls evenly across his forehead in straight locks. He wears a tunic and cloak. Above the tondo is a triangular pediment buttressed by rosette pulvinars. The pediment is decorated with two birds facing inwards toward each other, a tripod in between them. Kleiner notes that the removable lid indicates a cinerary function to this monument.

The pitcher and patera appear on the sides, along with other decorations similar to the front face. The left side face has a garland and two birds pecking at insects. The right side face also has a garland, this time held up on the left by the other hand of the right front face *erote* and on the right by a ram's horn. This side also has a bird, as well as a swan which pecks at the garland's fruit.

Date: c. 100 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle)

Bibliography: Boschung (1987) 103 no. 762; Kleiner (1987b) 175 no. 53; Sinn (1991) 69 no. 36; Minten (2002) 130 no. A14; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 153 no. A15; Mander (2013) 173 no. 62

<u>Musei Vaticani, necropoli dell'Autoparco, il settore Santa Rosa</u>

#35 - L. Rutulius Felix

Inventory Number: 52164

Find Spot: Via Triumphalis, Autoparco Necropolis
Dimensions: Dimensions Unavailable (Mander)
Inscription: Dis Manibus / L Rutilio Felici / Rutilia Sunctyche / mater filio suo piisimo fec / vixit annis V mensens VI
Translation of Inscription: To the Departed Spirits. For L. Rutilius Felix. Rutilia Syntyche, mother, made this for her most pious son, who lived for five years, six months.
Description: According to Mander's description, the lid of this altar features rosette pulvinars. On the main face, a square portrait niche contains a full-figure portrait of a young boy wearing a tunic and toga. Hr holds a scroll in his right hand, and a *capsa* seemingly floats in the air to his left.
Date: 1st to early 2nd C (Mander - style, epigraphy, monument)
Bibliography: Mander (2013) 168 no. 42

Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, aula VII deposit

#36 - Florus
Inventory Number: 135742
Find Spot: Abbazia delle Tre Fontane
Dimensions: 74 x 29 x 26 (Mander)
Inscription: Arachne Datenbank no. 17508; EDCS no. RICIS-02, 00501/0179
D M // Floro qui vix an / duobus m X d XXIIII / Bassaeus Feliscissimu / servea parentes filio / dulcissimo b m f
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits. For Florus, who lived for two years, ten months, and 24 days. Bassaeus Felicissimus and Servea, parents, made this for their sweetest, well deserving son.
Description: This altar is relatively narrow. The top portion of the front face features a tondo which contains a portrait of Florus. The portrait is prospective, depicting him somewhere between five to ten years, rather than as the two year-old that he was. His face is round with regular features, and he faces directly forward. He wears a Horus lock on the right side of his head, which associates him with the cult of the Egyptian deities Horus and Harpocrates and emphasizes his young age at death, as the Horus lock was only worn by children. He wears a *sagum*. Both his haircut and his dress are associated with the military. Above this portrait niche is a pediment flanked by pulvinars. It is severely weathered, though the pediment appears it may have contained a wreath. The letters "D" and "M" are inscribed below the pediment, though the rest of the inscription is carved below the portrait niche.
Date: 280-320 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle and drillwork)
Bibliography: Candida (1979) 91 no. 38; Giuliano (1985) 331 no. VII,3; Boschung (1987) 113 no. 947; Kleiner (1987a) 553; Kleiner (1987b) 272 no. 126; Kleiner (1992) 460; Minten (2002) 134 no. A39; Backe-Dahmen (20064 no. A376) 1; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Mander (2013) 191 no. 141; Backe-Dahmen (2018) 527

Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Deposit

#37 - Claudia Victorina

Inventory Number: 2973
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 45 x 29 x 21
Inscription: CIL VI 15652/3; Arachne Datenbank no. 26543
Dis Manibus / Claudiae Victorinae / vixit annis VI / mensibus XI / diebus XVI / parentes filiae / fecerunt / quem non liquit nos / frunisci
Translation of Inscription:
To the departed spirits of Claudia Victorina, who lived six years, eleven months, and sixteen days. Her parents made this for their daughter, whom it was not permitted for us to enjoy.
Description: The partial portrait of Claudia Victorina is carved into a semi-circular pediment above the square altar face. Rosette pulvinars sit on either side of the niche. Her clothing is debatable, identified by Kleiner as a tunic and palla, and by Mander as a tunic and mantle. Very little detail has survived on the bust, though typical facial features are discernable. Her head is turned slightly to the right. The inscription is carved into the front face inside of a square frame.
Date: Flavian to early Trajanic (Boschung)
Bibliography: Giuliano (1984a) 228 no. VII,23; Boschung (1987) 87 no. 313; Kleiner (1987b) 109 no. 8; Minten (2002) 130 no. A1; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 147 no. A3; Mander (2013) 167 no. 36

#38 - Ammaea Urbana
Inventory Number: 39128
Find Spot: Via Praenestina, near Acqua Bollicante
Dimensions: 71 x 34 x 26
Inscription: CIL VI 37974; Arachne Datenbank no. 17501
D M / Ammaea / Urbanae / C Ammaeus / Aristarchus / cum Ammaea Saturnina / filiae dulcissimae
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits. For Ammaea Urbana. C. Ammaeus Aristarchus with Ammaea Saturnina made this for their sweetest daughter.
Description: The front face of this altar has a rectangular panel which contains the inscription. Below this, the stone is roughly hewn, as though uncarved from its original state. Above this is an arched portrait niche flanked by undecorated acroteria. Within the niche is a bust portrait of Ammaea Urbana. She has a round face and almond shaped eyes. She has creases along her naso-labial lines, perhaps indicating the rounded face of an infant. Her hair is centrally parted and is brushed to either side from the part. She wears a tunic, which slips from her right shoulder in allusion to Venus. The sides feature the pitcher and patera.
Date: c. 100 CE (Kleiner - hairstyle and bust type)
Bibliography: BCAR (1907) 359; NSA (1907) 285; Gercke (1968) 28 no. R24; Giuliano (1984a) 77 no. IV,I; Boschung (1987) 88 no. 345; Kleiner (1987a) 552; Kleiner (1987b) 174 no. 52; Goette (1989) 462; Minten (2002) 130 no. A13; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 153 no. A14; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Mander (2013) 173 no. 63; Dasen (2017) 267-69 fig. 6; Steding (2021) 200

Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Diocleziano, Giardino dei Cinquecento

#39 - Names Unknown
Inventory Number: 2000770
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 117 x 86 x 69
Inscription: N/A
Translation of Inscription: N/A
Description: This altar is evenly divided into two parts on the front face. Each has an undecorated rectangular panel on the front face, topped by a semi-circular niche containing the bust portrait of a boy. The panels once held the inscriptions, though these have been heavily weathered and are no longer legible. The two semi-circular niches are joined together by excess marble to create a unified arched top to the altar. A third rosette appears between the two portrait niches. The sides of the monument feature small figural scenes in relief of *dioscuri* leading horses.

The left portrait is slightly larger than that of the right, possibly indicated an older age. The figure on the left wears a tunic and toga, while the figure on the right wears only a tunic. This portion of the monument has also been heavily weathered, and the portrait features have been all but destroyed. Kleiner does however identify them to be two male figures, which she further supports with the identification of the side decorations, which depict the twin sons of Leda, Castor and Pollux.

Date: 90-150 CE (Kleiner - bust type)
Bibliography: Wrede (1981) 231 no. 105a; Giuliano (1984b) 467 no. XV,28; Kleiner (1987b) 243 no. 106; Huskinson (2007b) 331; Mander (2013) 173 no. 64

Villa Albani, Galleria della Leda

#40 - Name Unknown
Inventory Number: 220
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: 115 x 80 x (wall)
Inscription: Arachne Datenbank no. 28070
D M S [---]
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits.
Description: This altar is carved in the shape of a temple. In the triangular pediment are letters "D M S", separated by leaves and flanked by two small birds holding twigs in their beaks. Fluted Corinthian Pilasters frame the main face of the altar, simulating the columns on a temple porch. In between these columns, in a rectangular niche, is a full-figure portrait of a boy. He wears a tunic and toga and has a large *bulla* around his neck. He holds a scroll in his left hand and his drapery in his right. His nose is heavily damaged, but the rest of his facial features are still intact. He has full, curved lips and wide, almond-shaped eyes. His hair is combed forward, his wavy locks falling evenly across his forehead in a centrally parted hairstyle.
Date: Trajanic to early Hadrianic (Bol - toga)

Bibliography: Altmann (1905) 220; Gercke (1968) 35 no. R33; Goette (1986) 161 no. 87; Bol (1991) 274 no. 353; Mander (2013) 172 no. 57

Villa Albani, sala ovale

#41 - Nico and Eutyches
Inventory Number: 920
Find Spot: Cancelleria gardens
Dimensions: 102 x 58 x 26
Inscription: CIL VI 22972; Arachne Datenbank no. 28078
D M / Niconi filio / dulcissimo / qui V mens XI / diebus VIII // Eutycheti / vernae / qui vix an I / mens V dieb X // Publica Glypte fecit
Translation of Inscription:
To the departed spirits. For Nico, sweetest son, who lived eleven months, eight days, and for Eutyches, *verna*, who lived one year, five months, ten days. Publicia Glypte made this.
Description: There is a rectangular crown atop this altar. In the lower corners of the crown are two mask acroteria facing outwards. A semi-circular niche between the two masks depicts a scene, which Mander and Kleiner both identify as Telephus being suckled by a doe. Below this, the front face of the altar has a square frame. In the top half of the frame is a niche with bowed sides, which contains two full-body portraits of young boys. Both boys wear a tunic and toga. Both of the boys hold scrolls in their left hands, while their right hands lift up some of the drapery of their togas. Both stand on low plinths, which Kleiner suggests may indicate that the boys are meant to be represented as statues rather than as being alive. A *capsa*/*scrinium* sits between them. The inscription is below these portraits, each name hypothetically corresponding to the portrait above it. It is perhaps worth noting that the name of the freeborn child, Nico, comes before that of the *verna*, Eutyches. The sides feature the pitcher and patera.
Date: 100-110 CE (Kleiner - hairstyles and mask acroteria)
Bibliography: Boschung (1987) 89 no. 377; Kleiner (1987b) 195 no. 68; Bol (1989) 121 no. 34; Goette (1989) 455; Hermann-Otto (1994) 415; Minten (2002) 132 no. A24; Rawson (2003a) 259, 351; Rawson (2003b) 286; Huskinson (2005) 94; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 156 no. A21; Huskinson (2007b) 331; Carroll (2012) 142; Tulloch (2012) 413; Mander (2013) 175-76 no. 73; Carroll (2014b) 161; Dasen (2017) 272-73 fig. 12; Carroll (2018a) 158; Carroll (2018b) 232

URBINO

Museo Lapidario, sala IV

#42 - Laberia Daphne
Inventory Number: 41135
Find Spot: Via Labicana, Tor Pignattara
Dimensions: 63 x 38 x 19
Inscription: CIL VI 20990

D [M] // Laberia[e] / Daphnes v a [---] / M Laberius Daph[nus et] / Fl Horaea parente[s] / fil dulcissi[mae]

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits of Laberia Daphne, who lived [---] years. M. Laberius Daphnus and Flavia Horaea, parents, [made this] for their sweetest daughter.

Description: The altar is rectangular, with a shallow square niche on the front face. The segmented top of the altar with undecorated acroteria holds the inscription. While the inscription originally stated Laberia Daphne's age, this number did not survive. In the square niche is a portrait of a young girl, evidently post-puberty as indicated by her rounded breasts. Her body is in the nude. In recognition of her namesake, she is portrayed as the nymph Daphne. As myth goes, Daphne fled from the undesired advances of Apollo, eventually being turned into a laurel tree by her father just before Apollo would have reached her.

Laberia Daphne's legs are pressed together, gradually fusing into one, so that her feet have merged completely to become a tree trunk. From her legs sprout four branches, one from each calve, one from each thigh. Likewise, her arms have also begun transforming into tree branches. She holds her arms directly out to the sides, bent upwards by ninety degrees at the elbow. Smaller branches burst forth from her biceps and leaves have taken the place of her fingers. Her hair has become a laurel crown around her head. There is slight damage to the face of the portrait, though the basic features are still legible.

Date: 90-120 CE (Kleiner - *nomen* and iconographic scheme)

Bibliography: Montfaucon (1724) 83 n.1; Altmann (1905) 245; Wrede (1981) 113 n.473; Luni and Gori (1986) 34; Kleiner (1987b) 203 no. 75; Sorabella (2001) 78; Minten (2002) 132 no. A26; Backe-Dahmen (2006) 150 no. A10; Varner (2006) 297; Huskinson (2007b) 330; Mander (2013) 171-72 no. 56

LOST/UNCERTAIN

Previously in the Villa Comtessa Margarucci (Kleiner)

#43 - Numisia Heorte

Inventory Number: Unknown

Find Spot: Unknown

Dimensions: Unknown

Inscription: CIL VI 23130

D M / Numisia / Hoerte / annorum X mesum / VIII dierum XXV / Numisia / Trophime / vernae / dulcissimae

Translation of Inscription:

To the Departed Spirits. Numisia Heorte, of ten years, eight months, and 25 days. Numisia Trophime (made this) for her sweetest *verna*.

Description: Heavily weathered, this top of this altar features a triangular niche flanked by half-palmette acroteria. The niche contains a partial portrait of a girl, though it is not well-preserved enough to discern details of her portrait features, drapery, or coiffure. Below this, the main face is occupied by a panel featuring the inscription.

Date: 90-117 CE (Kleiner - bust form)

Bibliography: Boschung (1987) 88 no. 361; Kleiner (1987b) 200 no.72 (*cognomen* as Neopte; records age of Numisia in inscription as illegible); Hermann-Otto (1994) 416; Minten (2002) 132 no. A25; Mander (2013) 171 no. 53

Formerly at Rossie Priory

#44 - M. Cocceius Crescens
Inventory Number: N/A
Find Spot: Via Appia, vigna Moroni
Dimensions: 81 (H) x 51 (W)
Inscription: CIL VI 15893; Arachne Datenbank no. 130968
D M / M Coccei Crescentis f / vix ann II m I d VII / et Cocceiae Auge c b / et Cocceiae Auge f d / et M Ulpio Vestali f d / v a XXVIIII m VI / Vestalis Aug lib / et sibi et suis posterisq/eorum
Translation of Inscription:
To the Departed Spirits of M. Cocceius Crescens, son, who lived two years, one month, and seven days and Cocceia Auge, well-deserving wife, and Cocceia Auge, sweetest daughter, and M. Ulpius Vestalis, sweetest son, who lived 29 years and six months. Vestalis, imperial freedman, [made this] for himself and for his descendants.
Description: This altar has been lost, and there are no known existing pictures of it. An eighteenth century drawing by Montfaucon demonstrates what this may have looked like, though as Williams (1940) demonstrates, earlier drawings are not always accurate to the altar's actual appearance. The drawing depicts a semi-circular niche atop the altar with rosette pulvinars on either side. Within the niche is a full-body portrait of a boy in the guise of Mercury. He wears the winged cap atop his head and carries the caduceus in his right hand. He is nude except for a chlamys draped over his right arm. He carries a money bag in his left hand. He is flanked by a tortoise on his right and a ram on his left.
Date: 98-160 (Boschung)
Bibliography: Montfaucon (1722) tom I pl. 72.6; Michaelis (1882) 655 no. 91; Altmann (1905) 283; Chantraine (1967) 116; Wrede (1981) 282 no. 230; Boschung (1987) 89 no. 370; Mander (2013) 172 no. 59

Records at DAI place it at the Museo Nazionale Romano
(Neither Kleiner nor Mander were able to locate it)

#45 - Name Unknown
Inventory Number: Unknown
Find Spot: Unknown
Dimensions: Unknown
Inscription: N/A
Translation of Inscription: N/A
Description: The top of this altar features a portrait bust backed by a seashell and flanked on either side by undecorated pulvinars. The figure is turned slightly, looking out to the viewer's left. Wavy locks fall evenly across her forehead while the rest of her hair has been gathered in a bun. She has deep-set almond-shaped eyes and appears as though she might be in her early teenage years. She wears a tunic and mantle. There is relatively

heavy damage to the main body of the altar, though it is clear that the panel on the front face of the altar was left blank. Kleiner suggests that this suggests either the monument was never purchased or it was purchased but there was not the time or the resources to carve an inscription.

Date: 120-125 CE (Kleiner - coiffure)

Bibliography: Kleiner (1987b) 221 no. 87; Huskinson (2007b) 328; Mander (2013) 177 no. 80

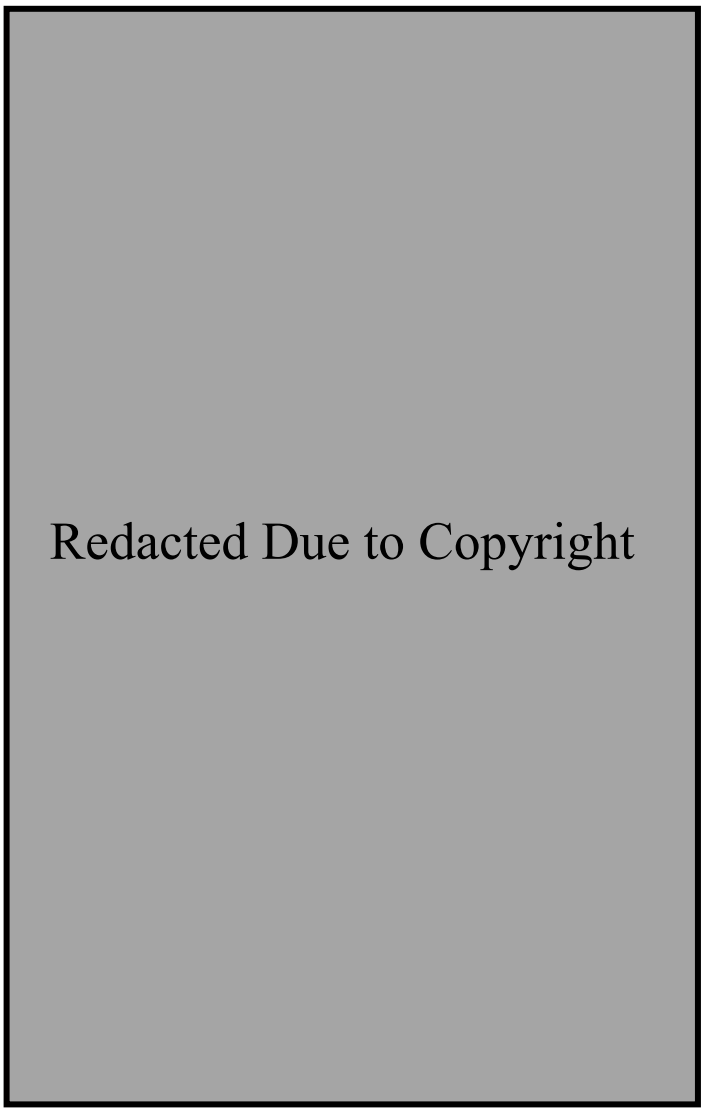
Catalogue #1: The Altar of M. Iunius Rufus. Baltimore, Walters Art Museum.

Figure 1. Front. (Photograph by Walters Art Museum, distributed under CC0 license. From https://art.thewalters.org/detail/29811/).

Catalogue #2: The Altar C. Nonius Pius. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico.

Redacted Due to Copyright

Figure 2. Front. (©Museo Civico Archeologico – redacted for publication.)

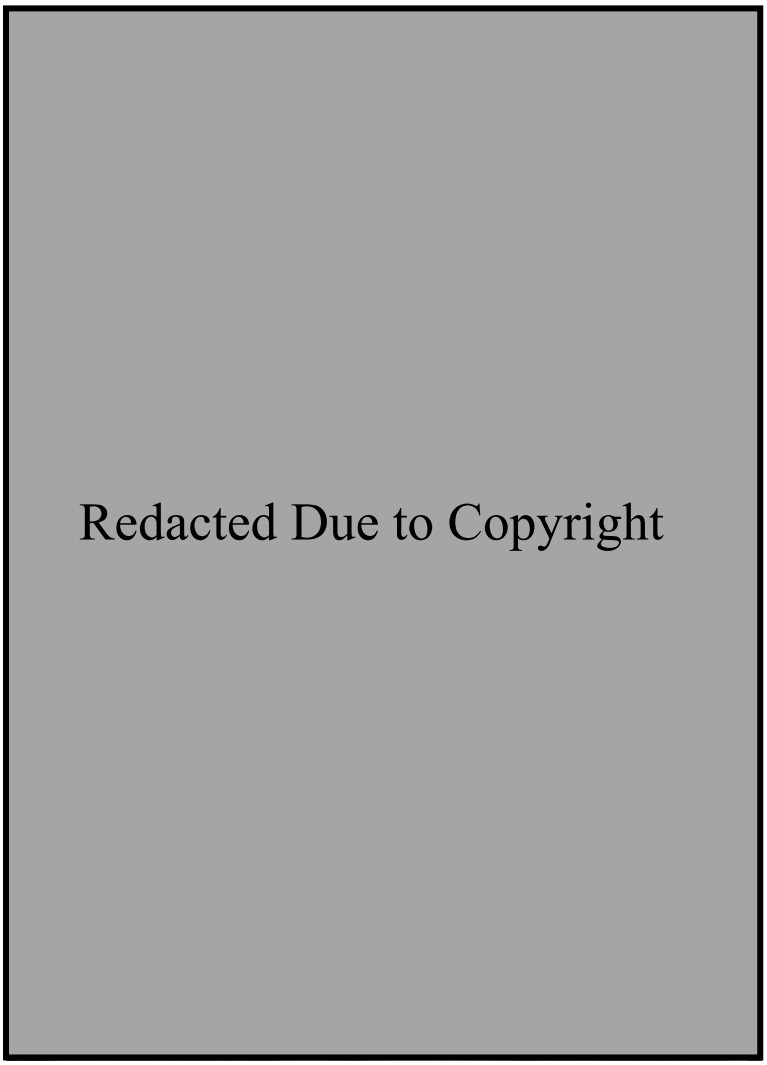


Catalogue #3: The Altar of L. Iulius Carus. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Figure 3. Front. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redacted for publication.)

Catalogue #4: The Altar of Hateria Superba. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Figure 4. Front. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redacted for publication.)



Catalogue #5: The Altar of Q. Octavius Masculinus. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

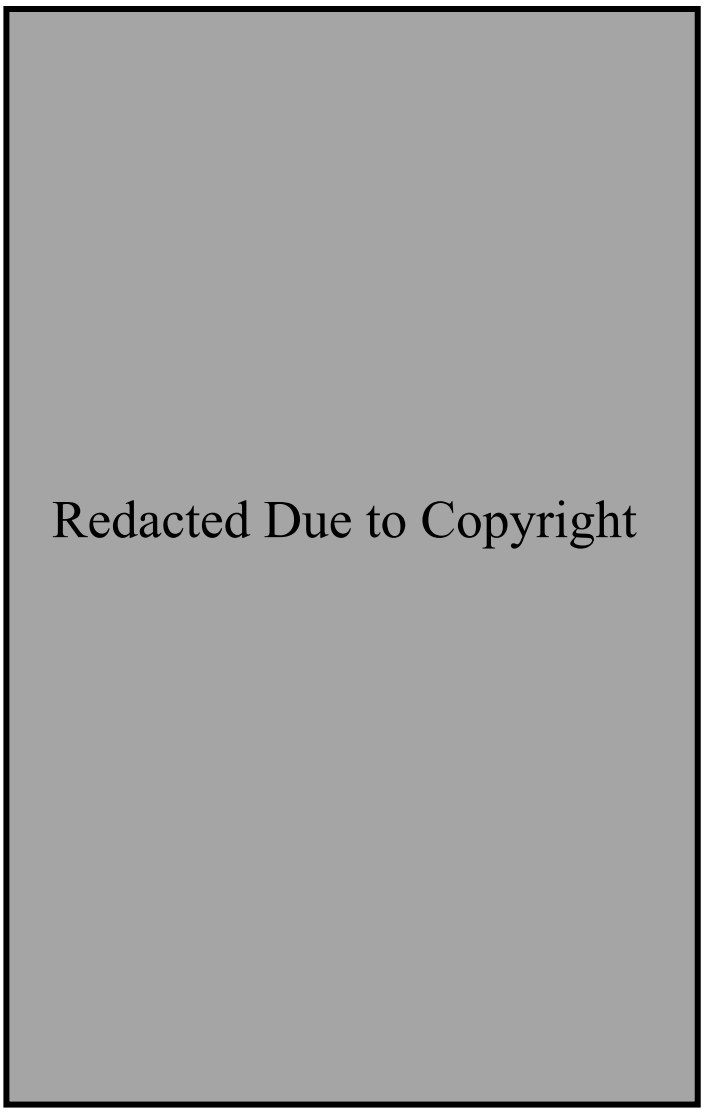


Figure 5. Front. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redact for publication.)

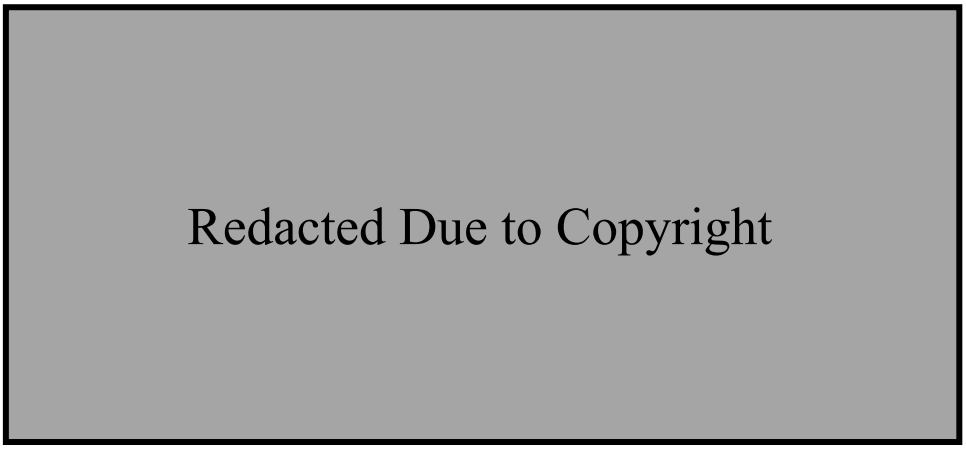


Figure 6. Detail of portrait niche. (Cropped from the original photo, ©Galleria degli Uffizi – redacted for publication.)

Catalogue #6: The Altar of Iunia Procula. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

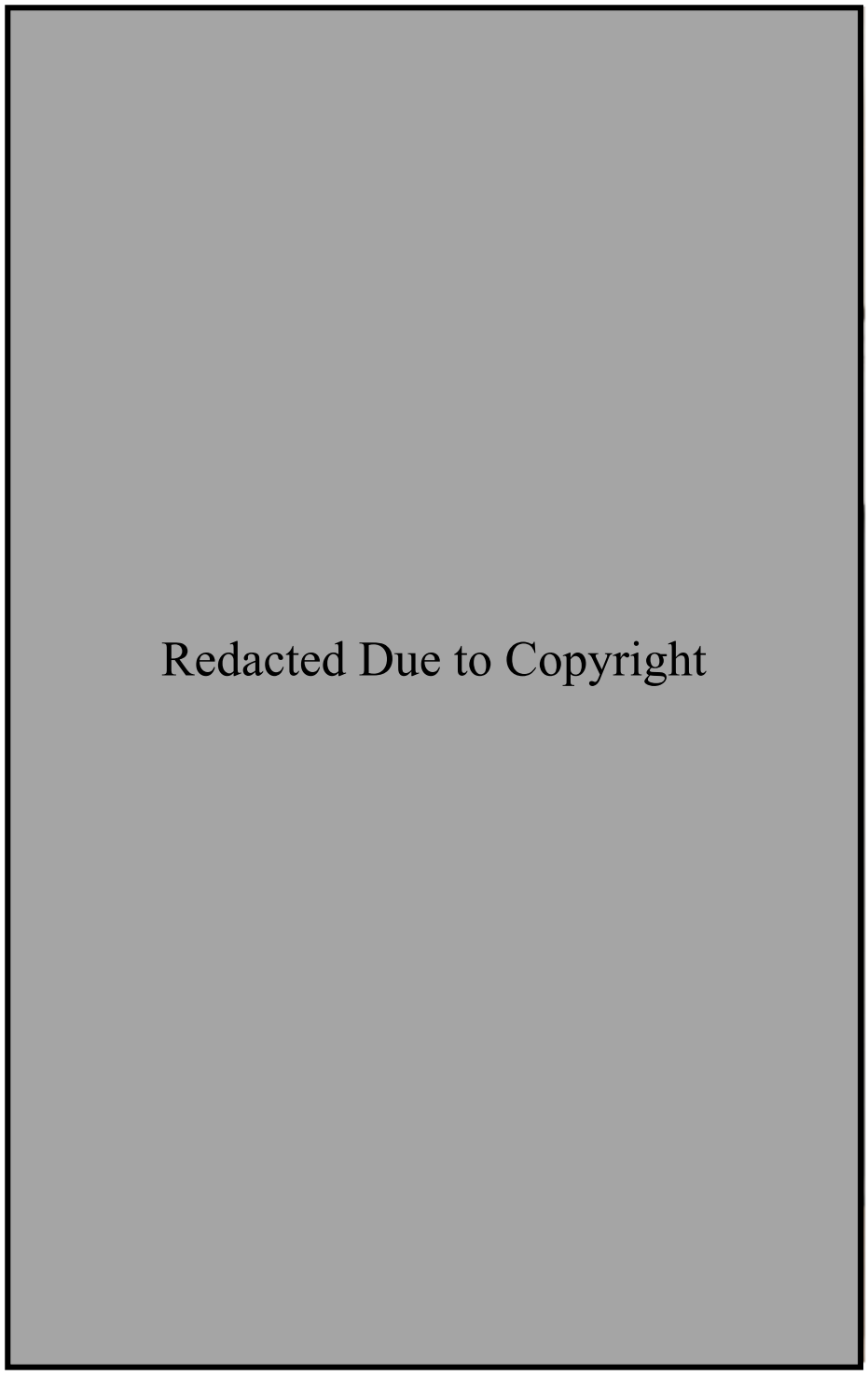


Figure 7. Front. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redact for publication.)

Catalogue #6: The Altar of Iunia Procula. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

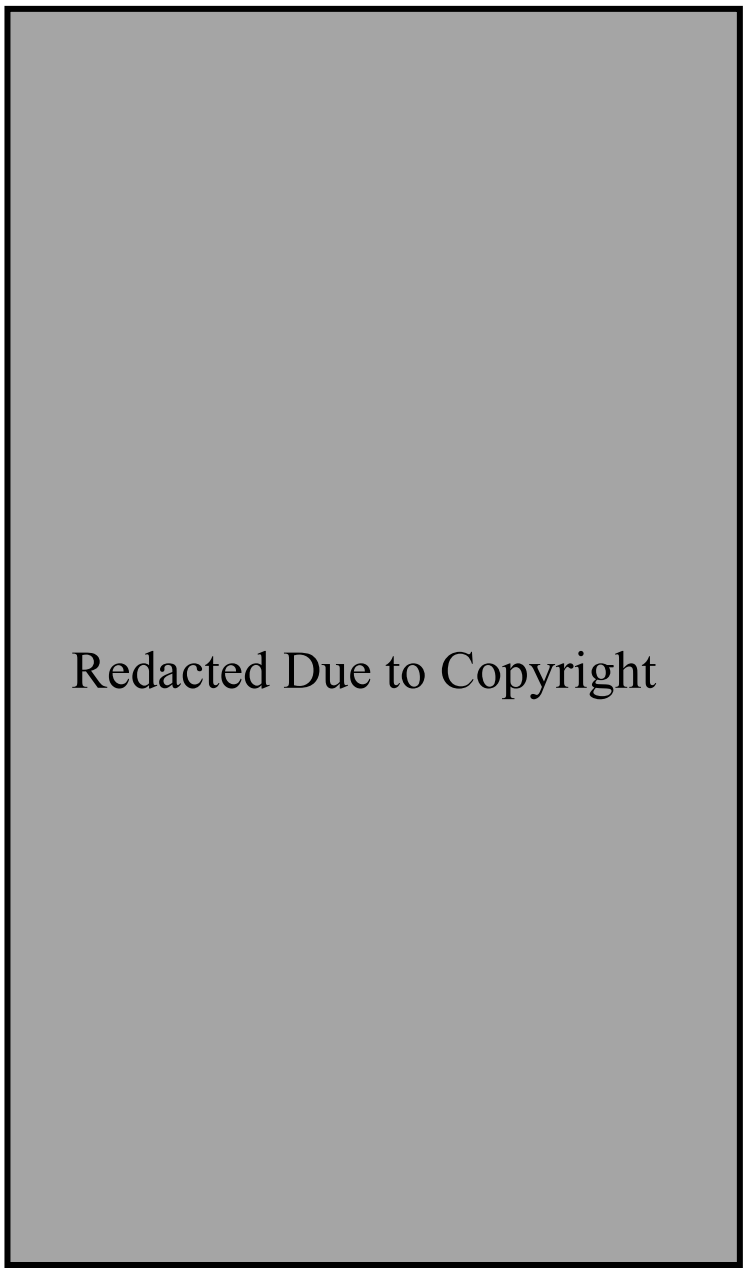


Figure 8, Catalogue #6. Altar of Iunia Procula, side. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redact for publication.)

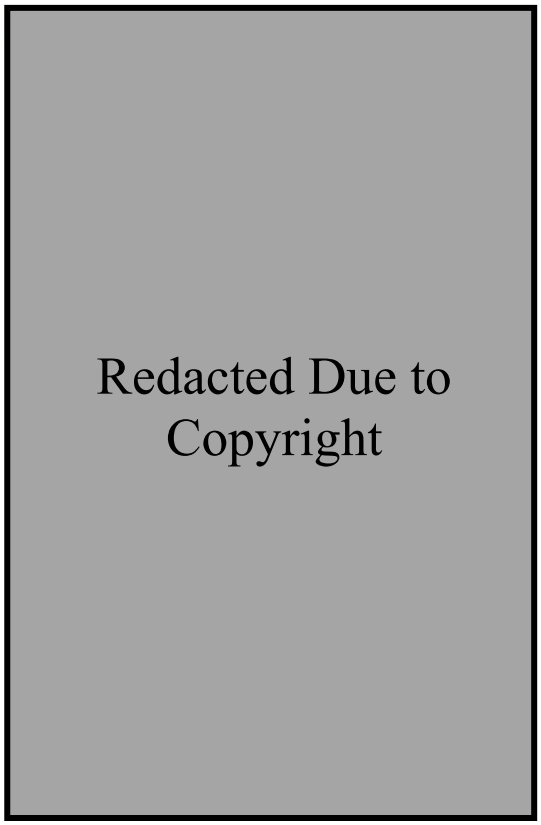


Figure 9. Back. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redact for publication.)

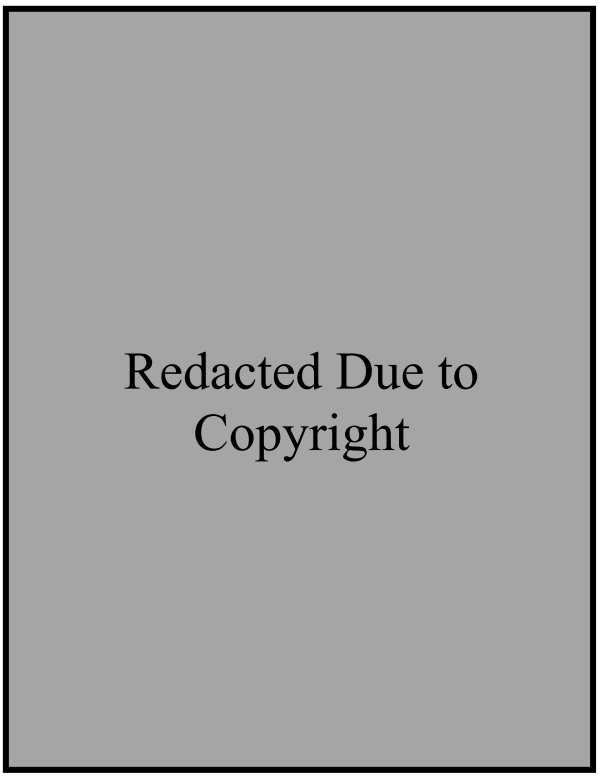


Figure 10. Corner. (©Galleria degli Uffizi – redact for publication.)

Catalogue #7: The Altar of Caetennia Pollitta. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Figure 11. Corner. (Photograph by Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, distributed under CC0 license. From https://www.rmo.nl/imageproxy/jpg/019024).

Figure 12. Detail of front face. (Photograph by Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, distributed under CC0 license. From https://rmo.nl/imageproxy/jpeg/019420).

Catalogue #7: The Altar of Caetennia Pollitta. Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden.

Figure 13. Detail of the portrait. (Photograph by Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, distributed under CC0 license. From https://www.rmo.nl/imageproxy/jpeg/019025).

Catalogue #8: The Altar of L. Passienius Doryphoros. Liverpool, National Museum.

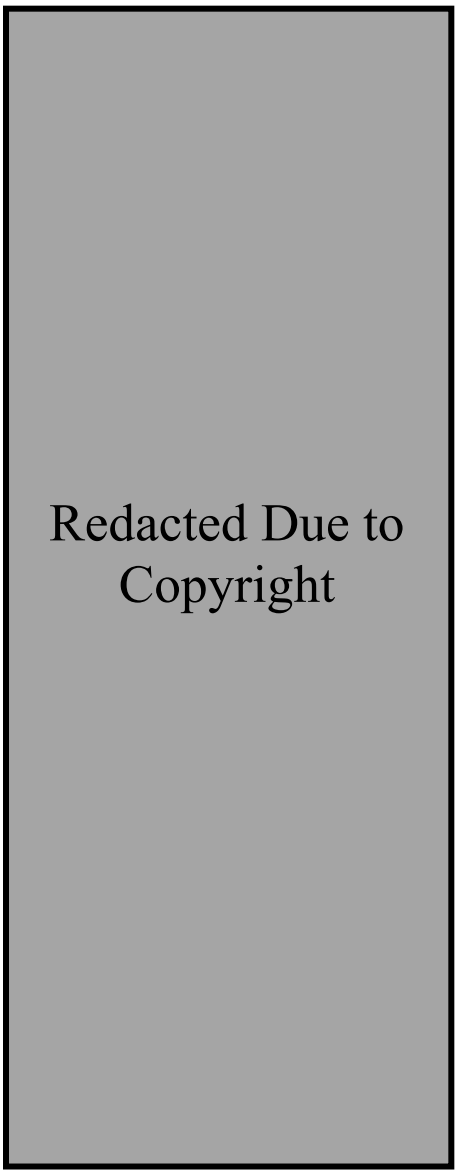


Figure 14. Left side. (©National Museum, Liverpool – redact for publication.)

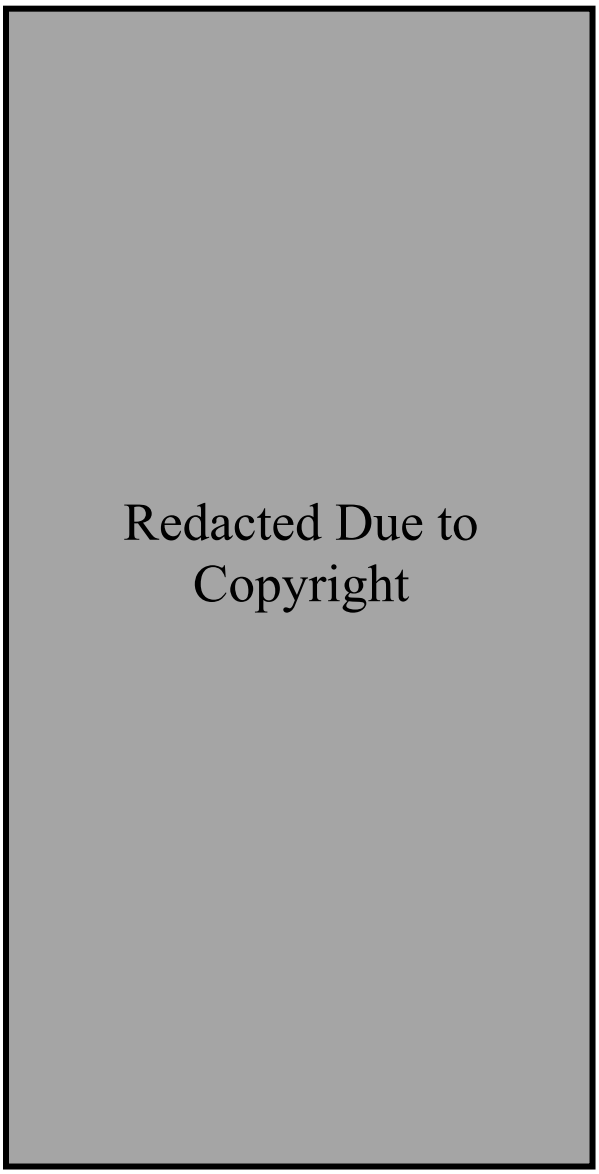


Figure 15. Front. (©National Museum, Liverpool – redact for publication.)

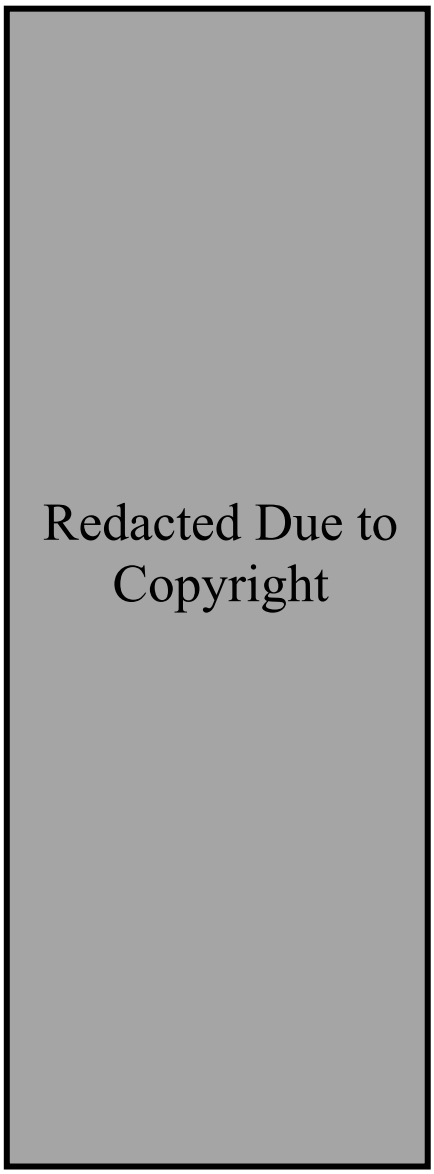


Figure 16. Right side. (©National Museum, Liverpool – redact for publication.)

Catalogue #9: The Altar of Claudius Hyllus. London, Tomasso Art Gallery.

Figure 17. Front. (Photograph courtesy of Tomasso, UK - Reproduced with permission).

Figure 18. Right corner. (Photograph courtesy of Tomasso, UK - Reproduced with permission).

Figure 19. Left corner. (Photograph courtesy of Tomasso, UK - Reproduced with permission).

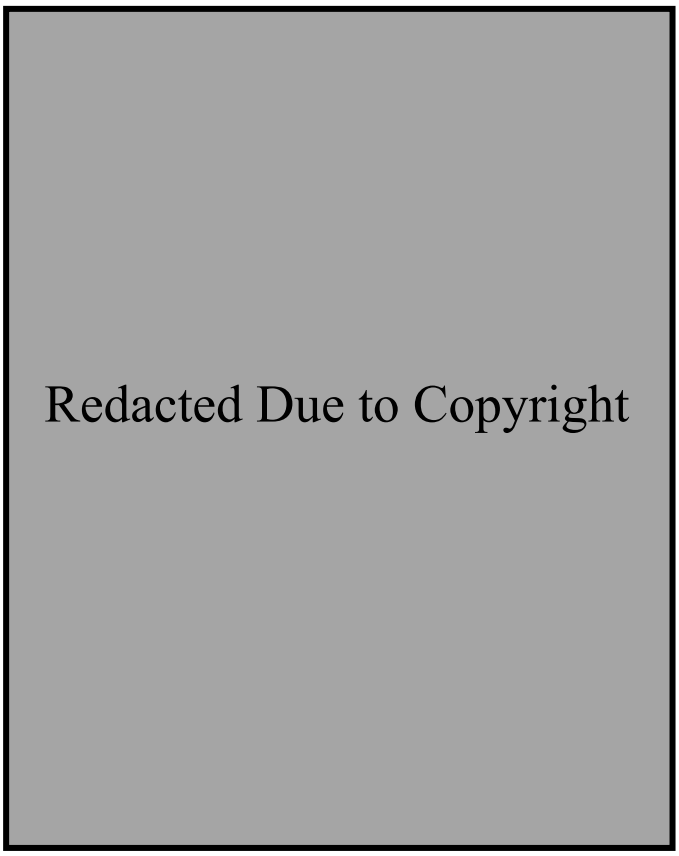


Figure 20. Front. (Published by Granino Cecere– redact for publication.)

Figure 21. Detail of portrait. (Published by Granino Cecere– redact for publication.)

Figure 22. Detail of inscription. (Published by Granino Cecere– redact for publication.)

Catalogue #11: The Altar of Anthus. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 23. Front. (Cropped from the photograph by Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed under CC0 license. From http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257855).

Catalogue #11: The Altar of Anthus. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 24. Side. (Cropped from the photograph by Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed under CC0 license. From http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257855).

Figure 25. Side. (Cropped from the photograph by Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed under CC0 license. From http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257855).

Figure 26. Corner. (Cropped from the photograph by Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed under CC0 license. From http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257855).

Figure 27. Back. (Cropped from the photograph by Metropolitan Museum of Art, distributed under CC0 license. From http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257855).

Catalogue #12: The Altar of L. Marcius Pacatus. Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.

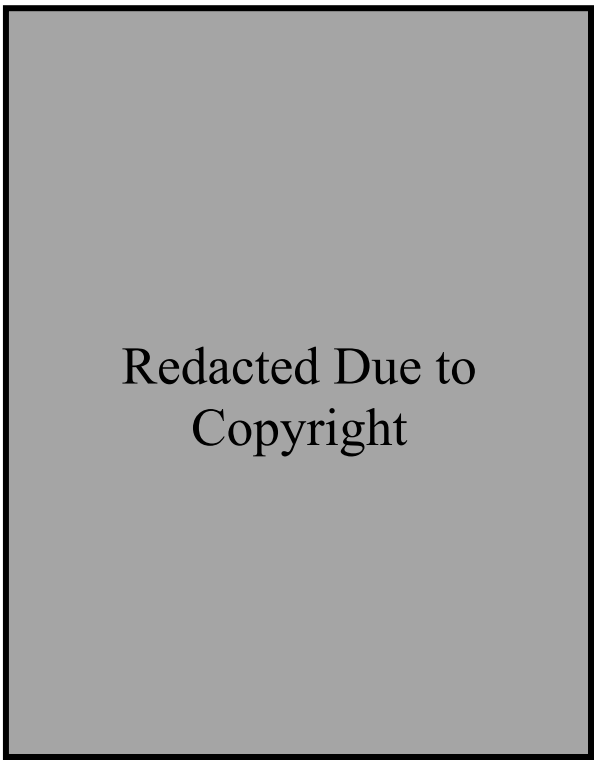


Figure 28. Front. (Cropped from the photograph © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University- Redact for publication).

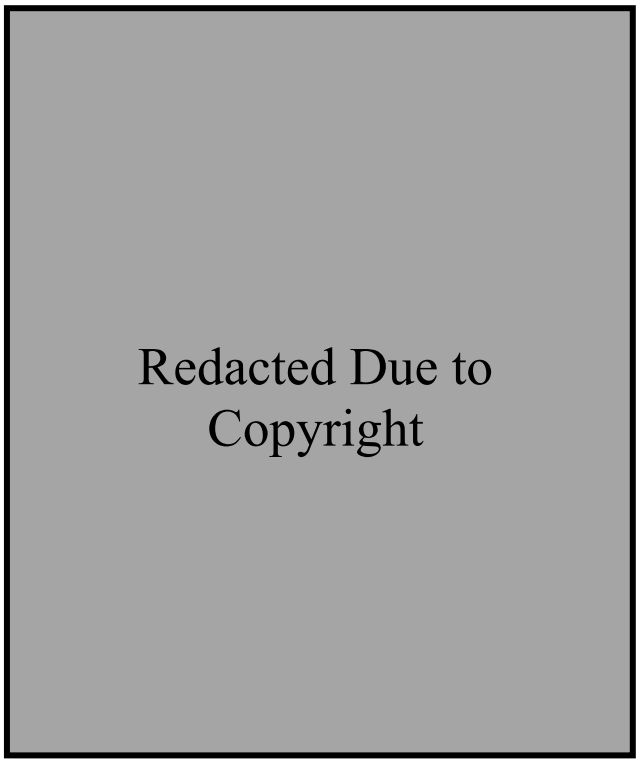


Figure 29. Back. (Cropped from the photograph © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University – Redact for publication).

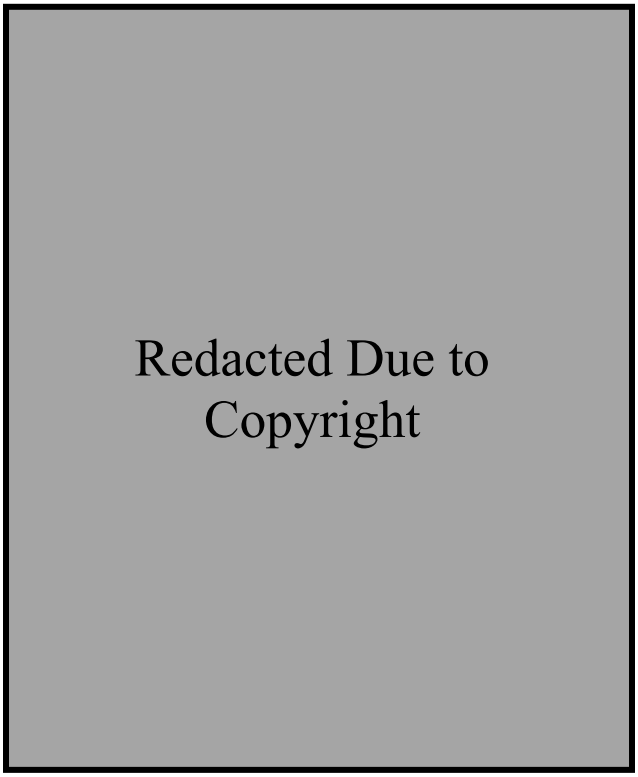


Figure 30. Right side. (Cropped from the photograph © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University – Redact for publication).

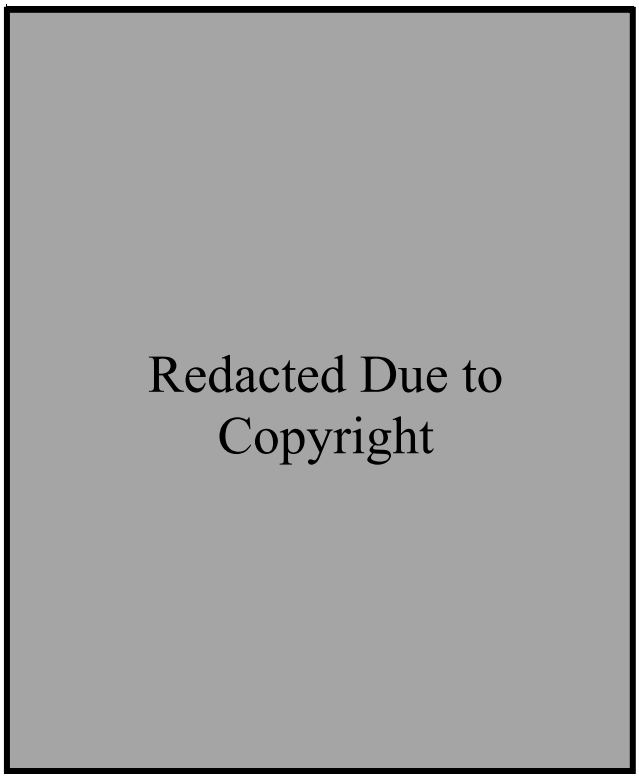


Figure 31. Left side. (Cropped from the photograph © Ashmolean Museum, Oxford University – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #13: The Altar of A. Egrilius Masculinus. Palermo, Museuo Archeologico Regionale.

Figure 32. Front. (Photograph courtesy of Museo Archeologico Regionale "Antonino Salinas" di Palermo, Archivio Fotografico – Reproduced with permission).

Catalogue #14: The Altar of Iulia Secunda. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

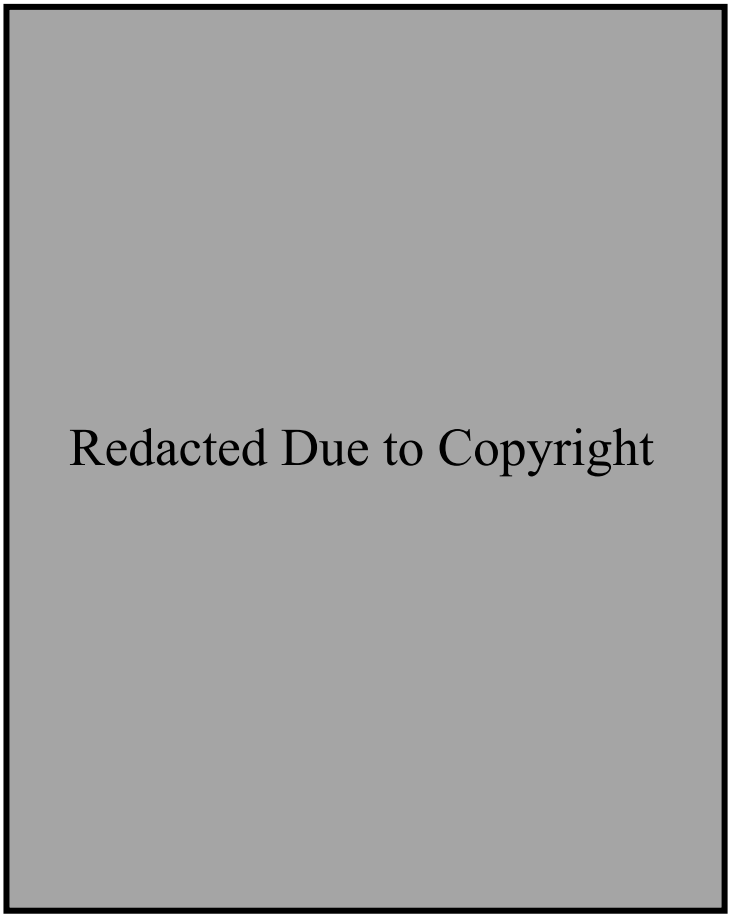
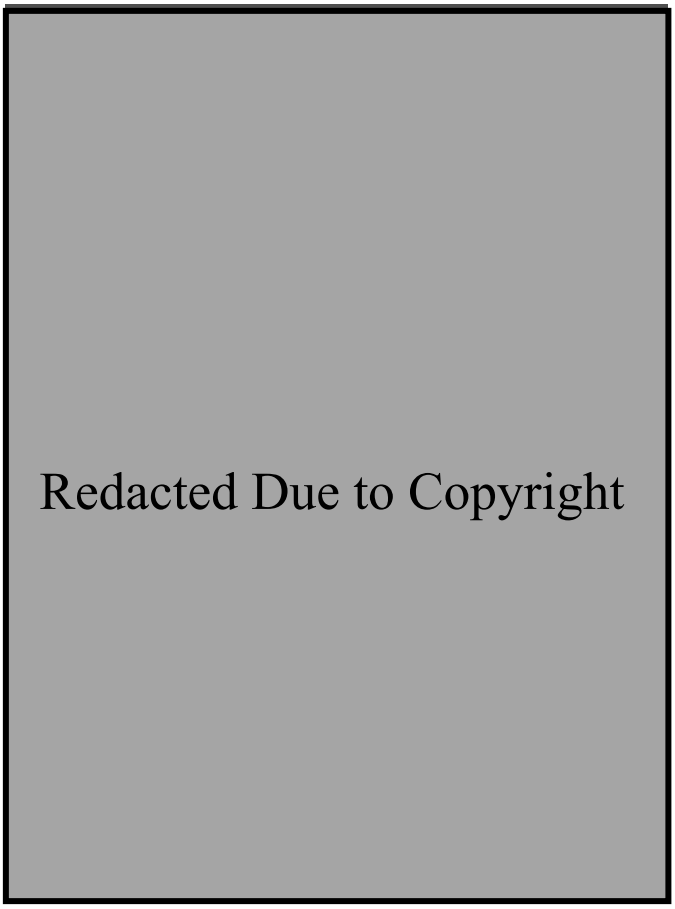


Figure 33. Front. (Photograph by Stéphane Maréchalle ©2014 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Figure 34. Back. (Photograph by Stéphane Maréchalle ©2014 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).



Catalogue #14: The Altar of Iulia Secunda. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

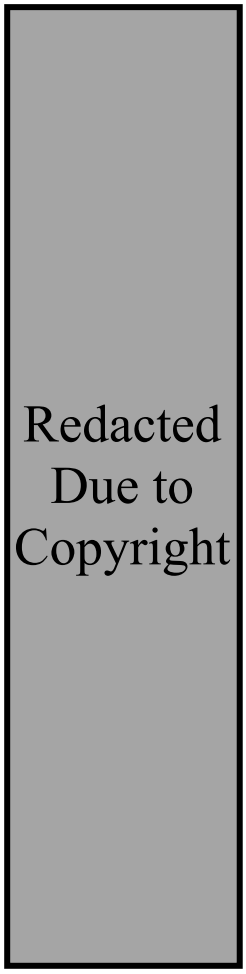


Figure 35. Left side. (Photograph by Stéphane Maréchalle ©2014 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

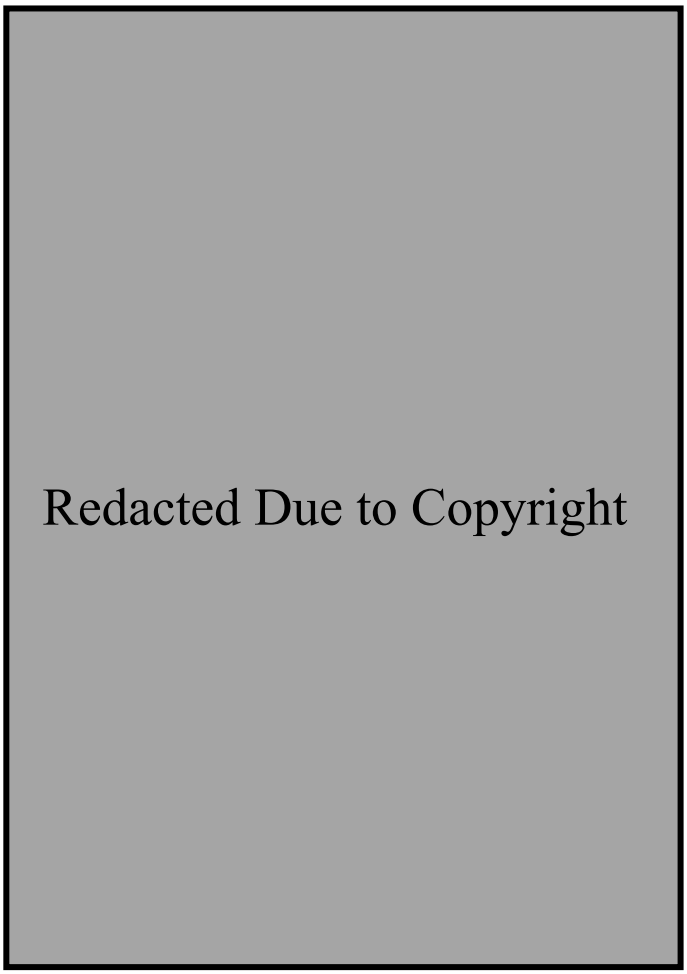


Figure 36. Detail of portrait of Iulia Secunda.(Cropped from the photograph by Maurice and Pierre Chuzeville ©1982 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Figure 37. Right side. (Photograph by Stéphane Maréchalle ©2014 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #15: The Altar of Iulia Victorina. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

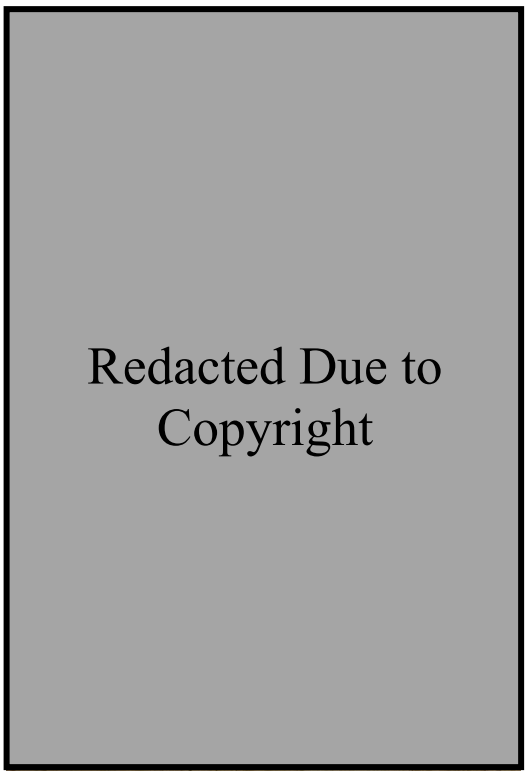


Figure 38. Front. (Cropped from the photograph by Anne Chauvet © 2019 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

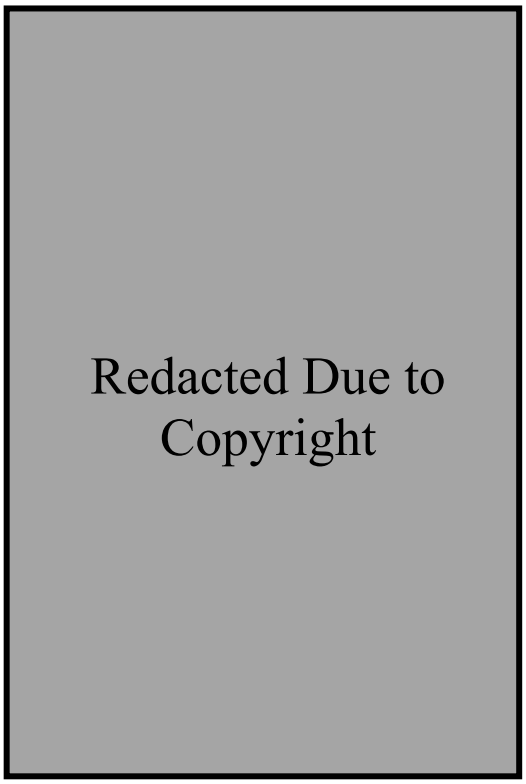


Figure 39. Back. (Cropped from the photograph by Anne Chauvet © 2019 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

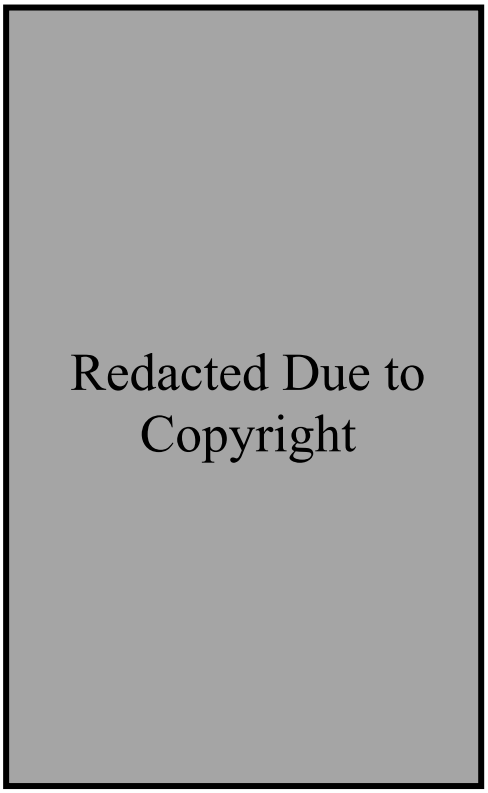


Figure 40. Side. (Cropped from the photograph by Anne Chauvet © 2019 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

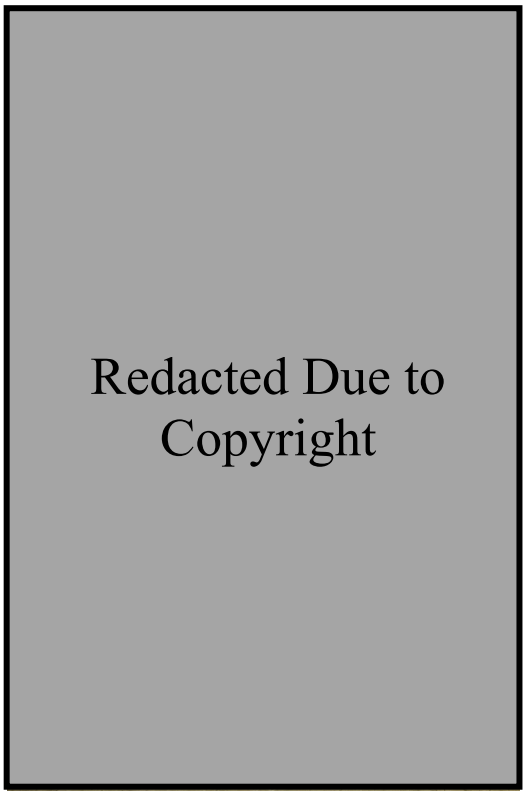


Figure 41. Side. (Cropped from the photograph by Anne Chauvet © 2019 Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #16: The Altar of Aelia Procula. Paris, Musée du Louvre.

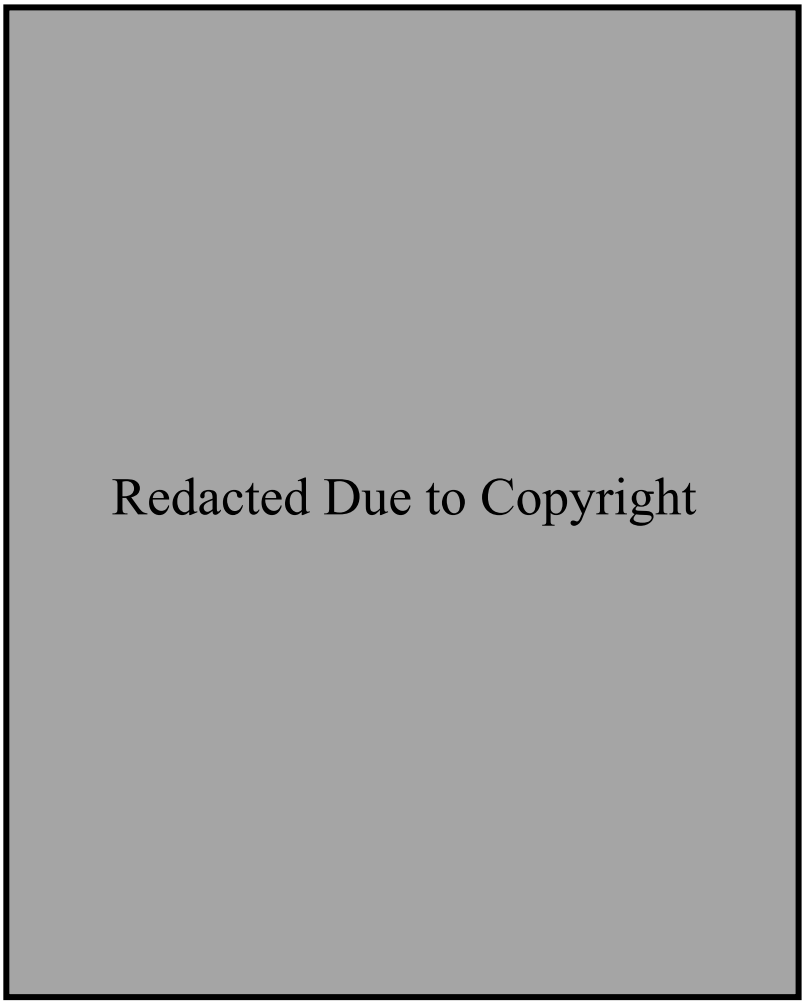


Figure 42. Front. (Photograph by Maurice et Pierre Chuzeville ©Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Figure 43. Detail of portrait niche. (Cropped from the photograph by Maurice and Pierre Chuzeville ©Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #17: Altar (Name Unknown). Paris, Musée du Louvre.

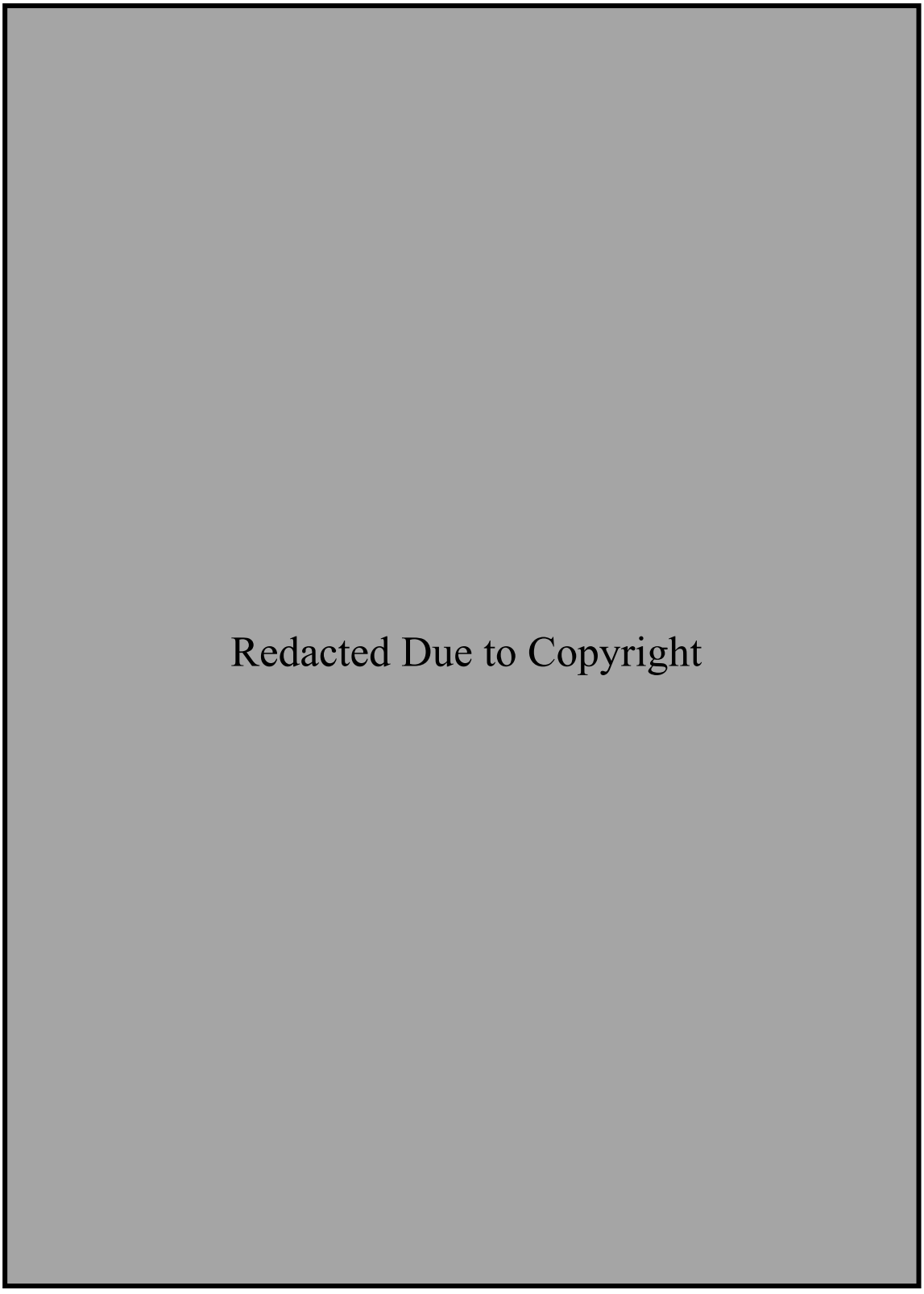


Figure 44. Front. (Cropped from the photograph by Maurice and Pierre Chuzeville ©Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #17: Altar (Name Unknown). Paris, Musée du Louvre.

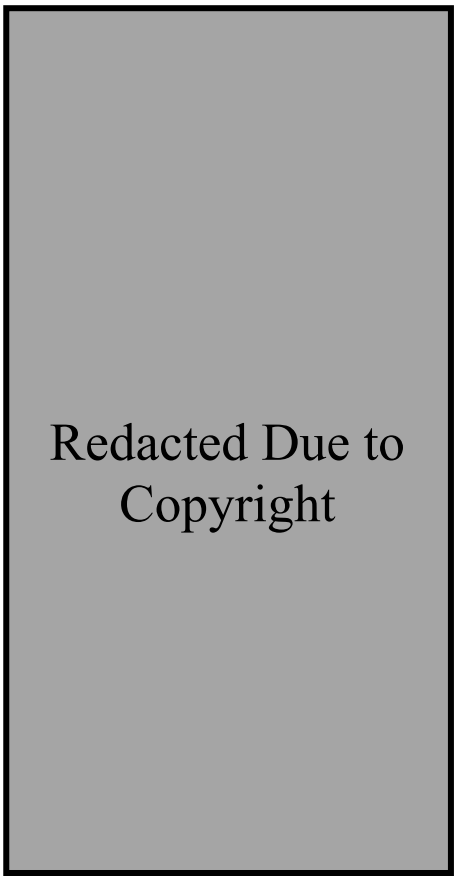


Figure 45. Side. (Cropped from the original photograph ©Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

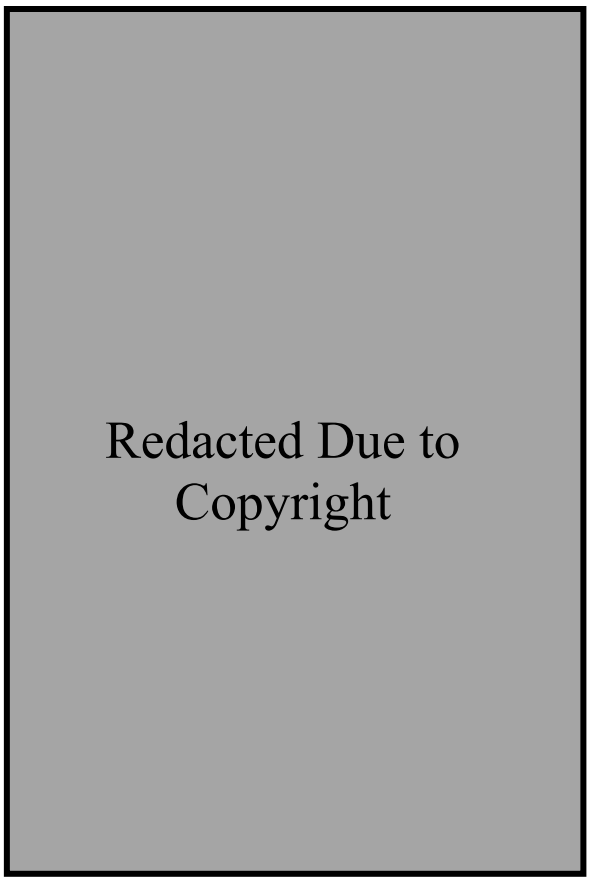


Figure 46. Corner. (Cropped from the photograph by Daniel Lebée and Carine Deambrosis ©Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

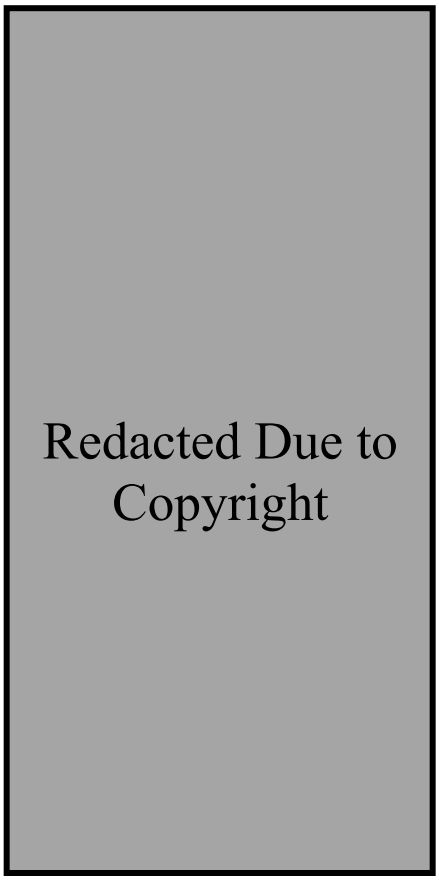


Figure 47. Side. (Cropped from the original photograph ©Musée du Louvre – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #18: Altar (Name Unknown). Rome, Basilica di San Paolo fuori le mura.

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Figure 48. Front. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #19: The Altar of Lutatia Felicitas. Rome, Catacombe di san Sebastiano.

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Figure 49. Front. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #20: The Altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini.

Figure 50. Corner. (Photograph by MumblerJamie, distributed under CC BY-SA 2.0 License. From http://www.wordpress.org/openverse/image/8b68cd4e-5954-4c5f-9727-f35dff256237).

Catalogue #20: The Altar of Quintus Sulpicius Maximus. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini.

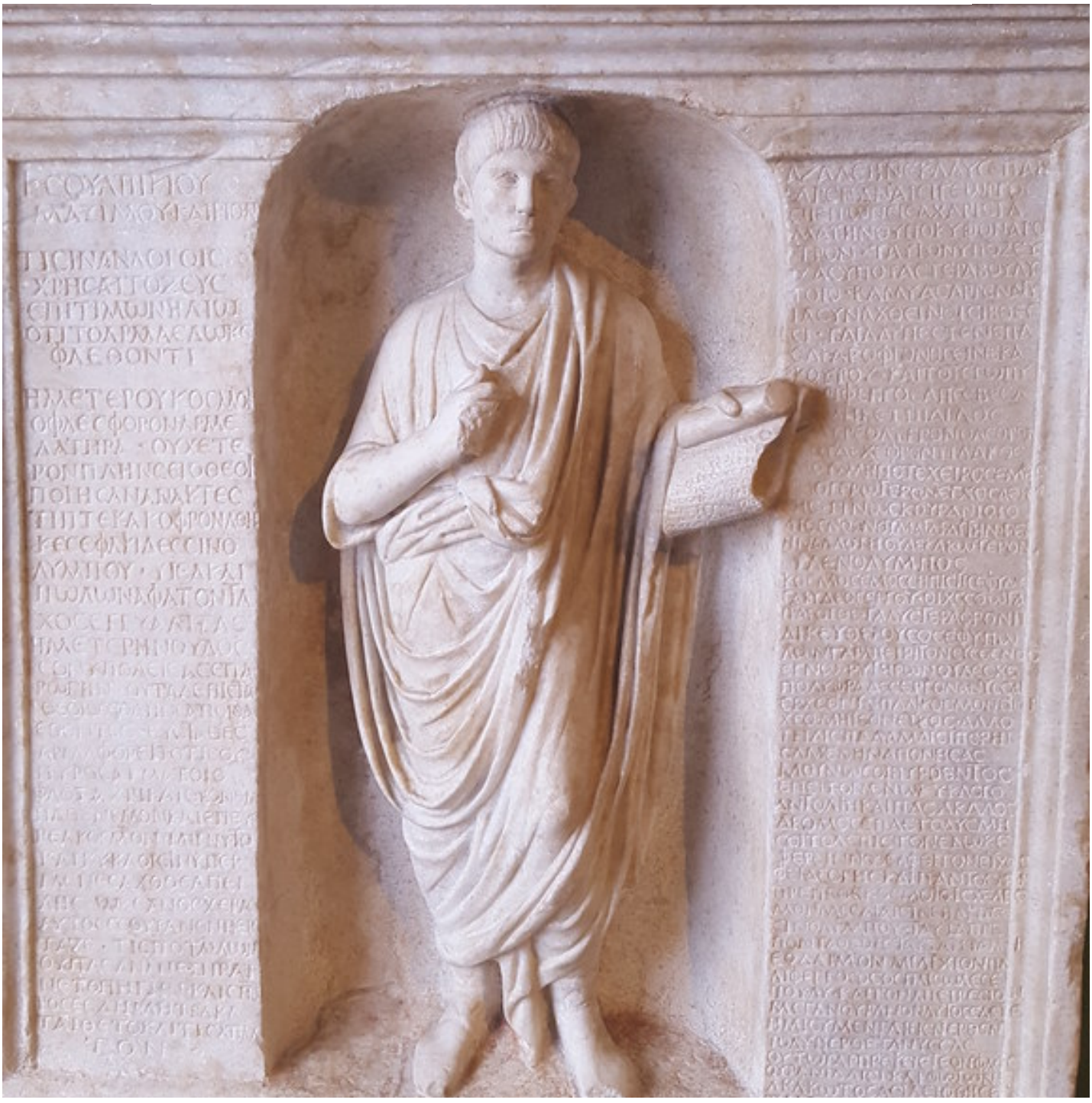


Figure 51, Catalogue #20. Altar of Q. Sulpicius Maximus, detail of the portrait niche. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini (Cropped from the photograph by MumblerJamie, distributed under CC BY-SA 2.0 License. From http://www.wordpress.org/openverse/image/75793bae-4c36-4ef5-b015-fb86e0013fcf).

Catalogue #21: The Altar of Q. Fabius Proculus. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini.

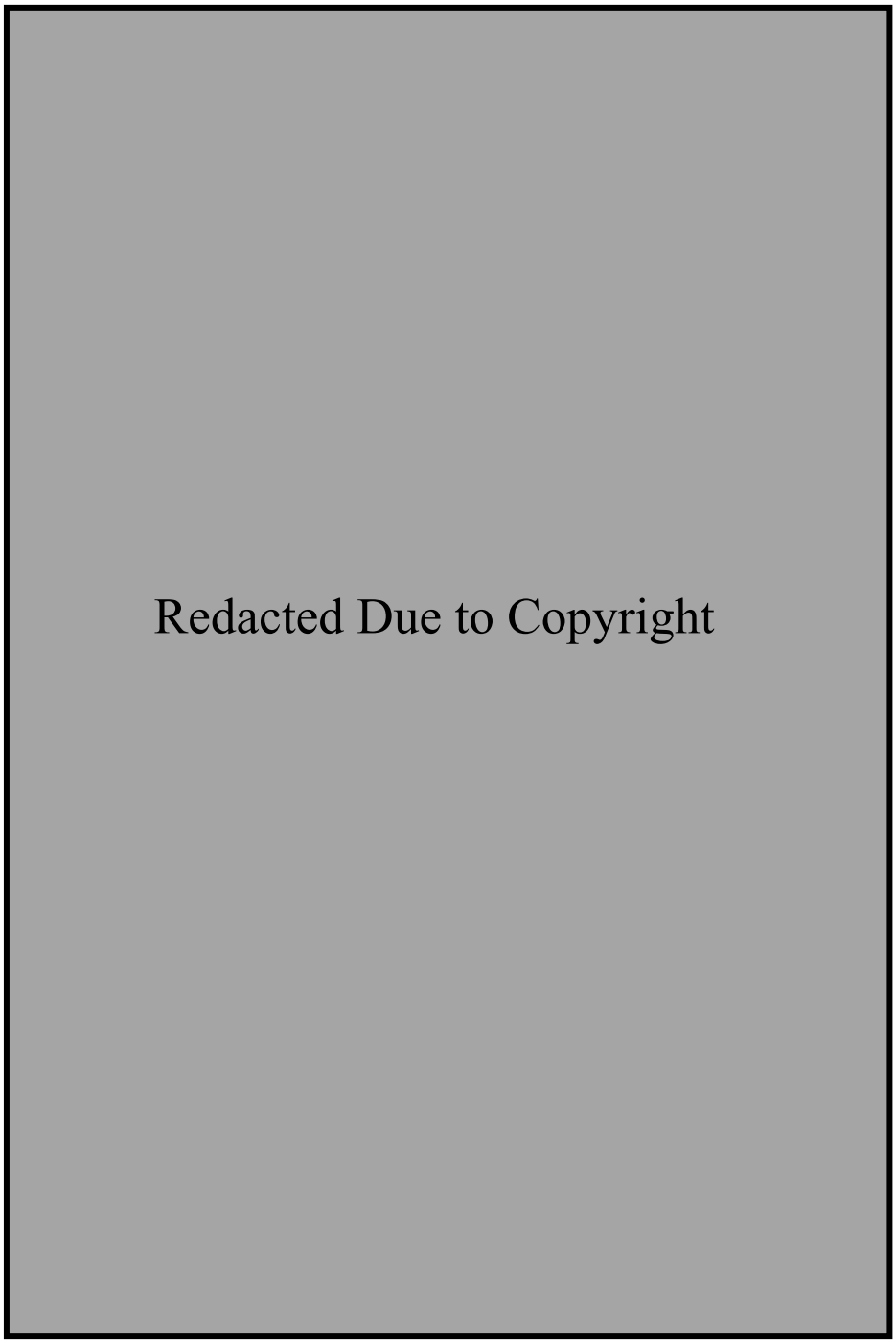


Figure 52. Front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

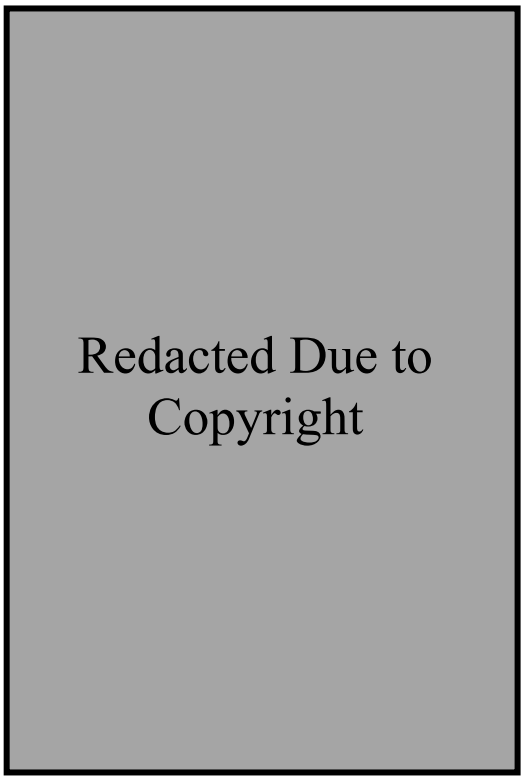


Figure 53. Detail of portrait, front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

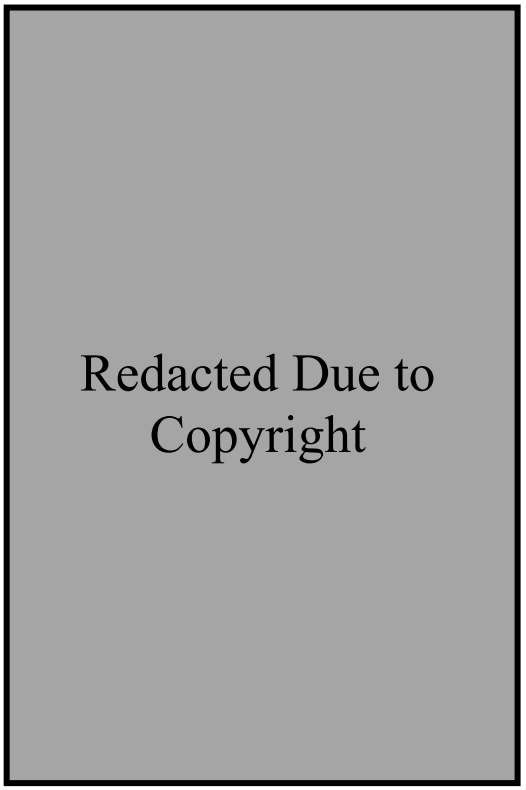


Figure 54. Detail of portrait, side. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #22: The Altar of P. Albius Memor. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini.

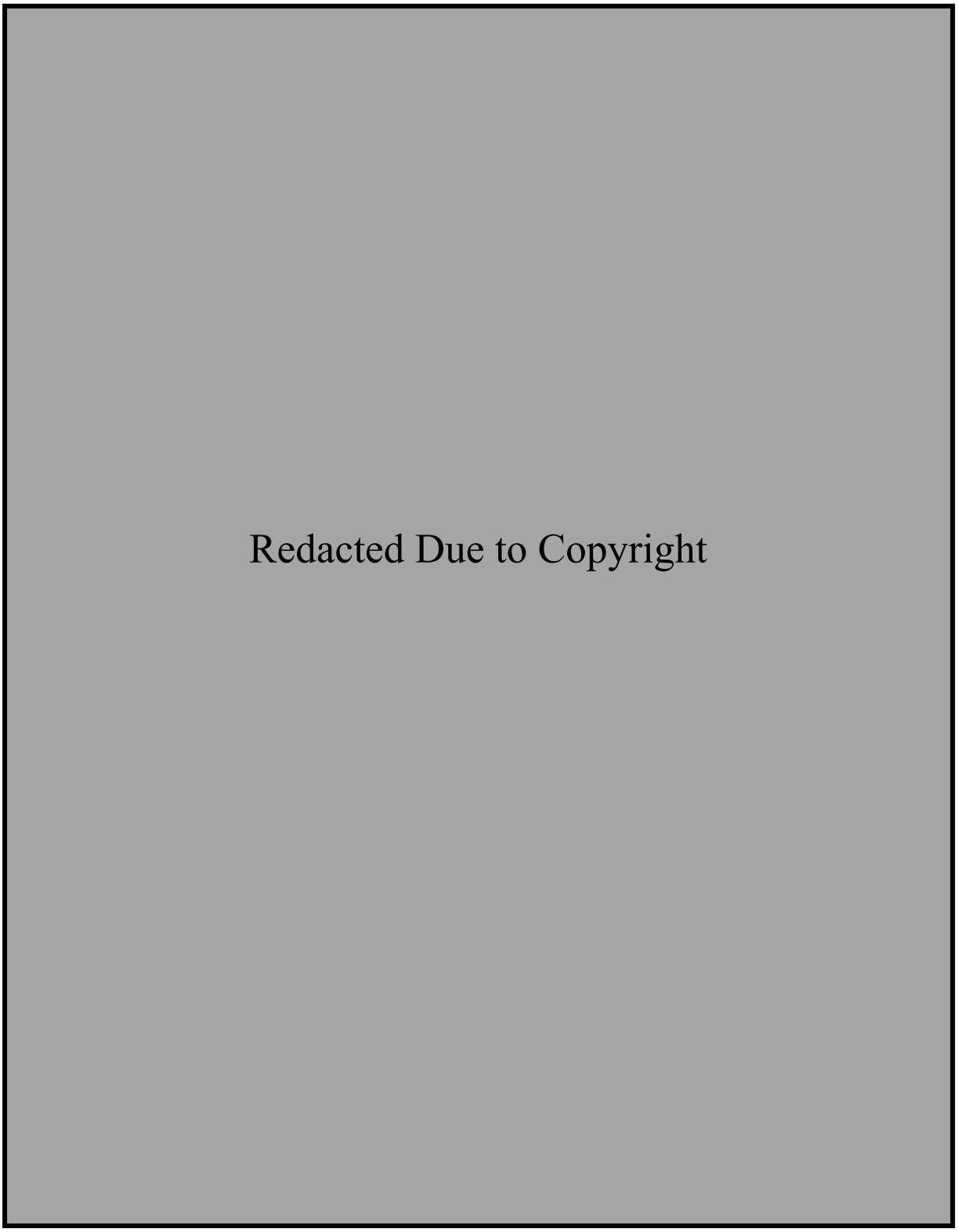


Figure 55. Front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

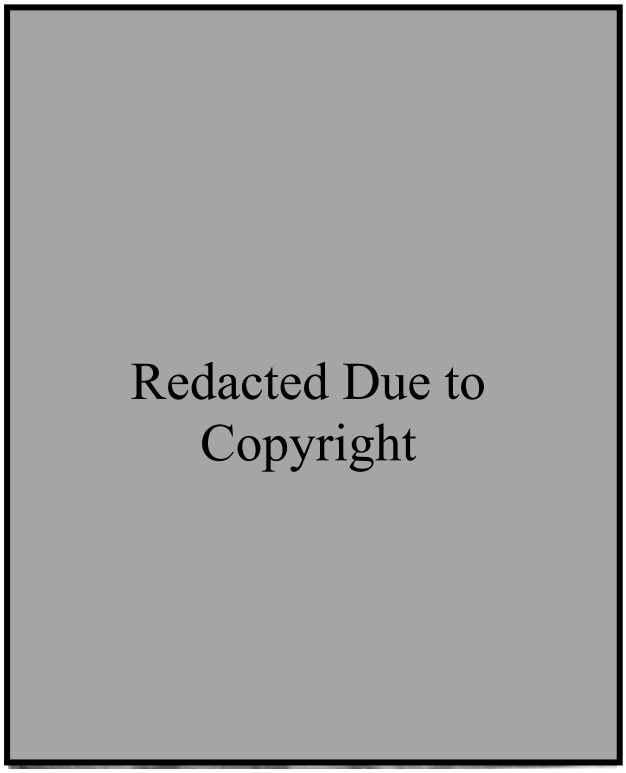


Figure 56. Detail of portrait, front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

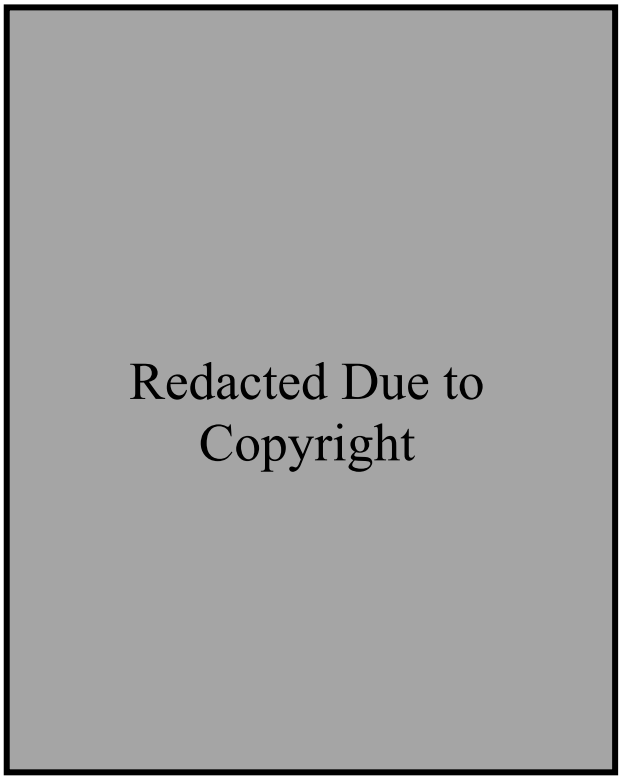


Figure 57, Back. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

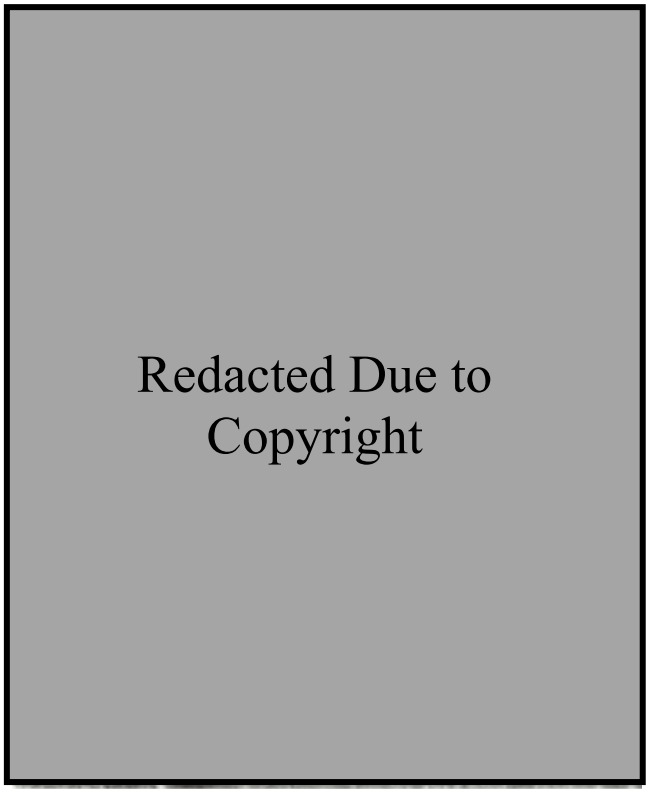


Figure 58. Detail of portrait, right side. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

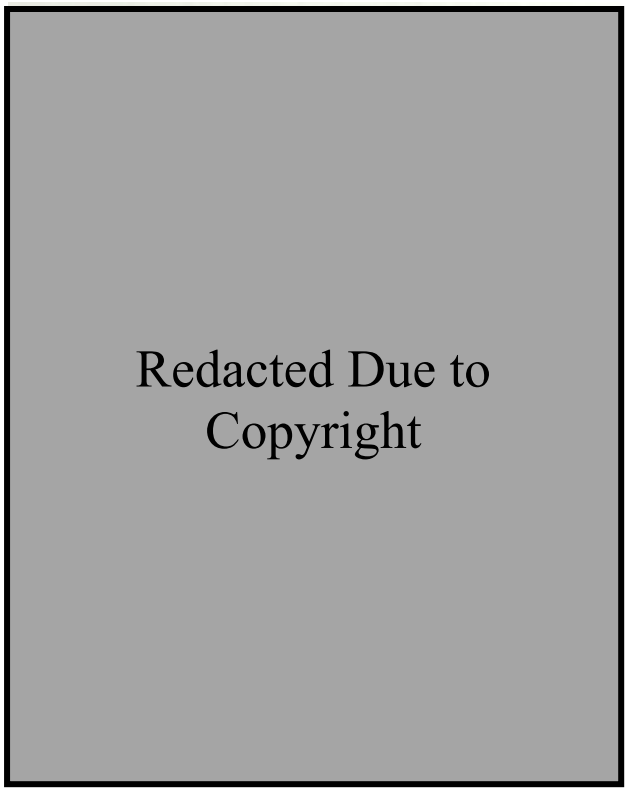


Figure 59. Detail of portrait, left side. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #23: The Altar of Successus. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini.

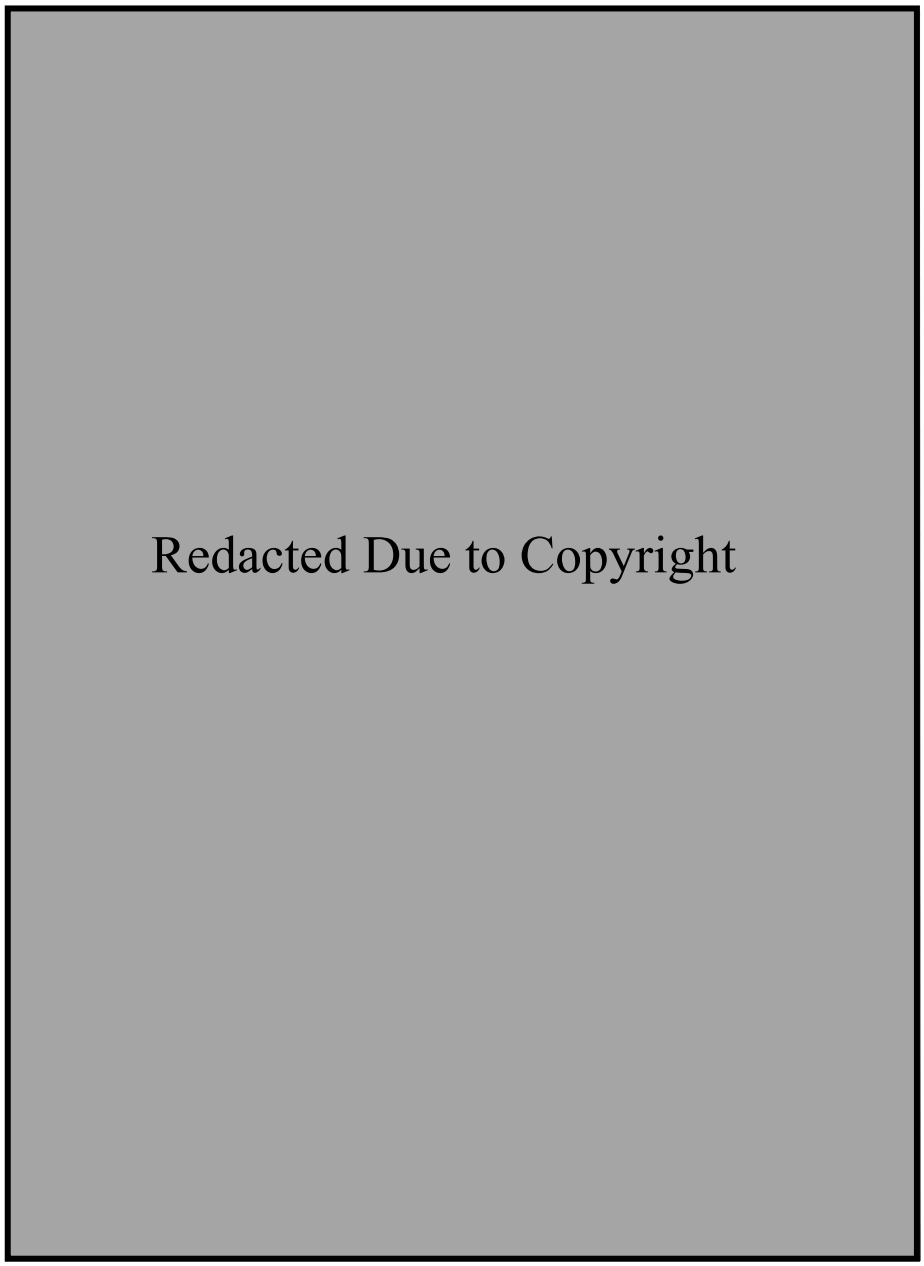


Figure 60. Front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

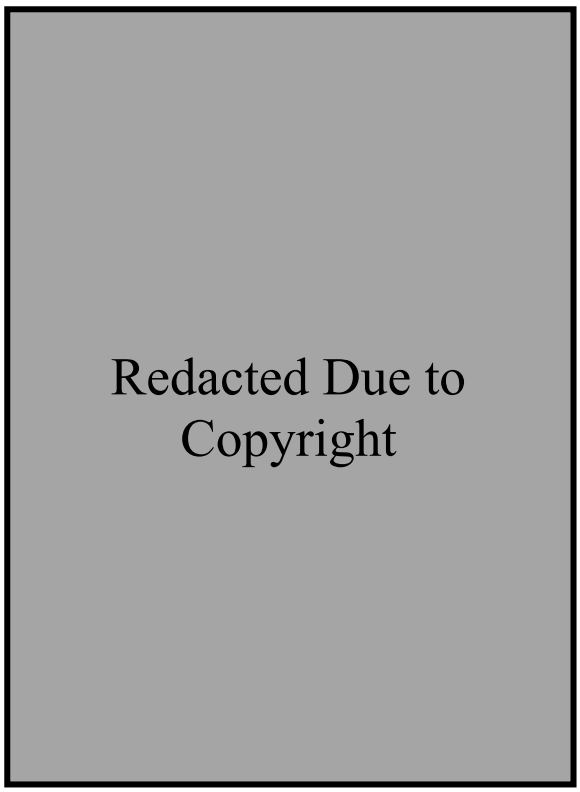


Figure 61, Front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

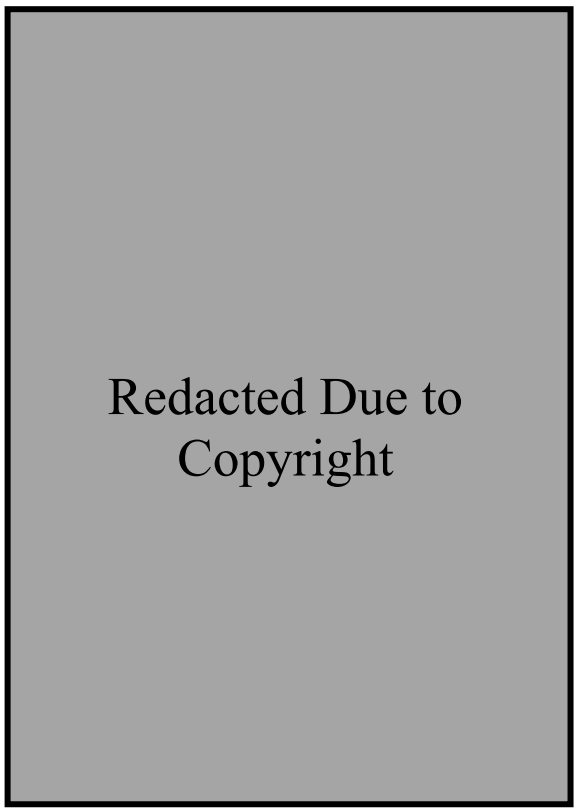


Figure 62. Detail of portrait, side. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

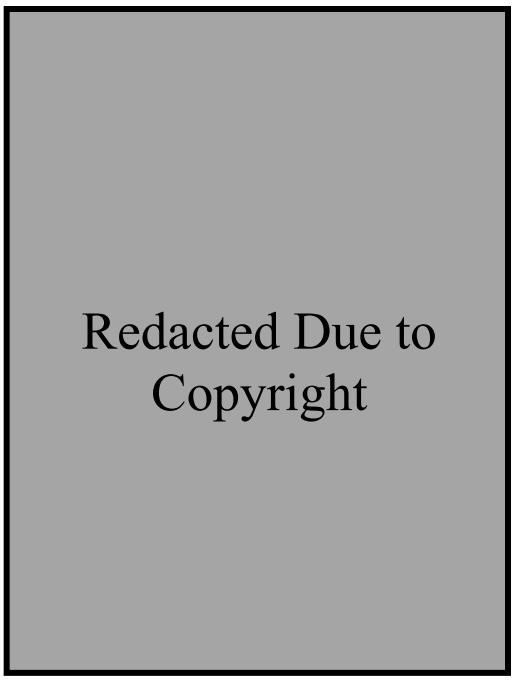


Figure 64. Detail of M. Iunius Satyrus's portrait. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

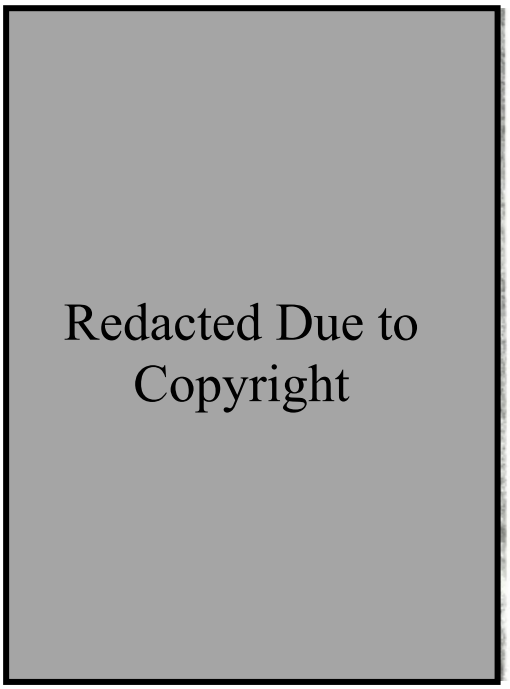


Figure 65. Detail of Iunia Pia's portrait. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #24: The Altar of Successus. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Museo Centrale Montemartini.

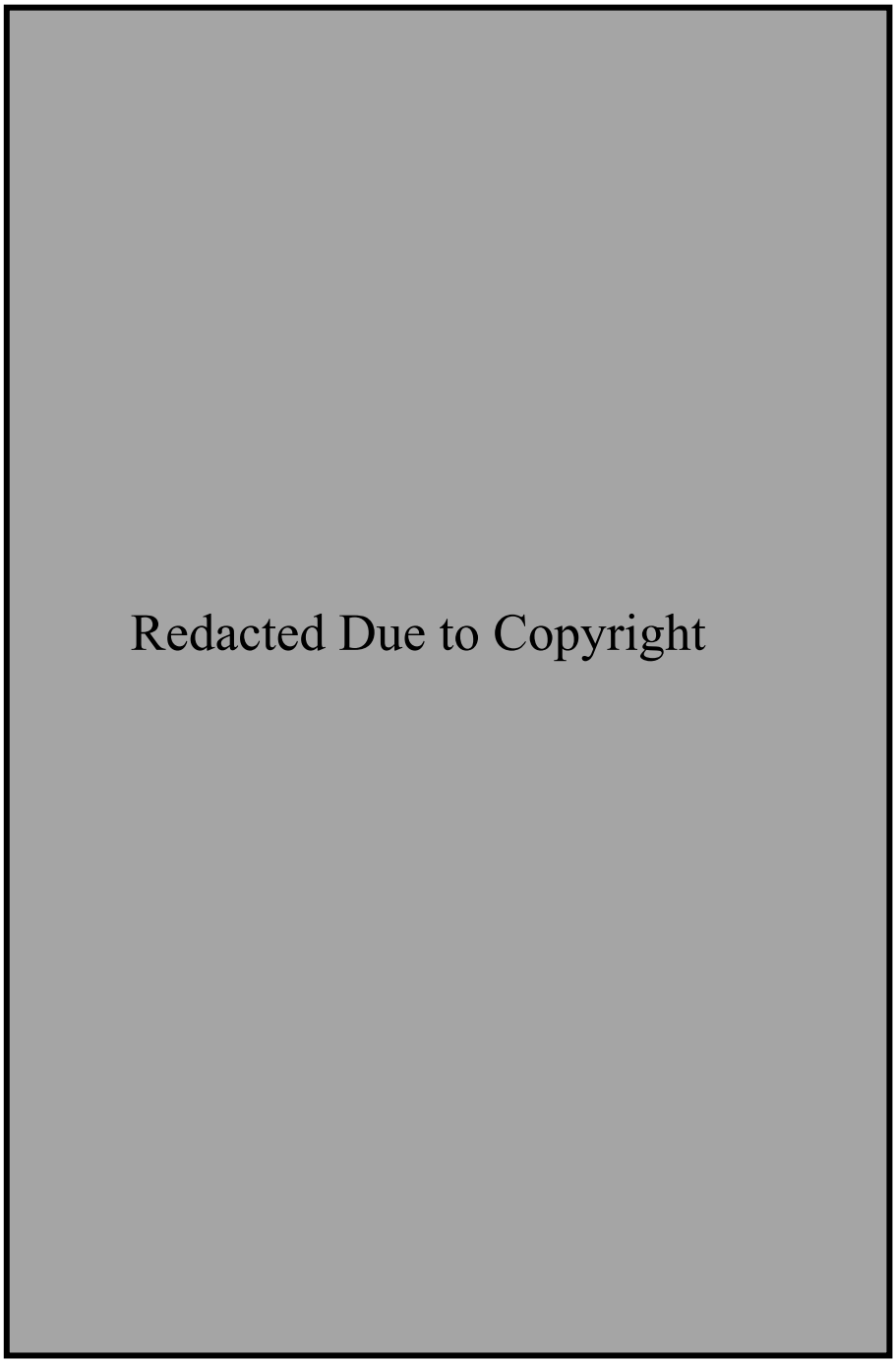
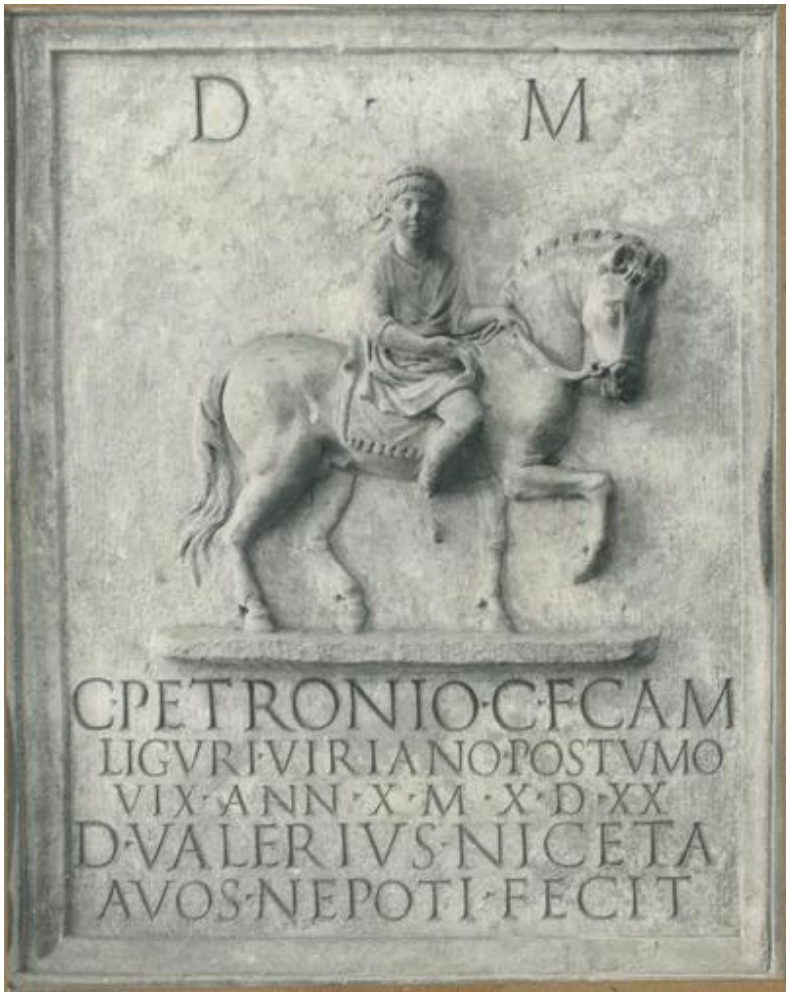


Figure 63. Front. (Published by Klaus Fittschen and Paul Zanker – Redact for publication).



Catalogue #25: The Altar of C. Petronius Virianus Postumus. Rome, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo Nuovo.

Figure 66. Front. (Photograph by the University of Bologna, distributed under CC BY-ND 4.0 License. From https://www.europeana.eu/mt/item/22/_85425).

Catalogue #26: The Altar of Dexter and Sacerdos. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Chiaramonti.

Figure 67. Front. (Published by Jason Mander – Redact for publication).

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Catalogue #27: The Altar of M. Turranius Benedictus. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria.

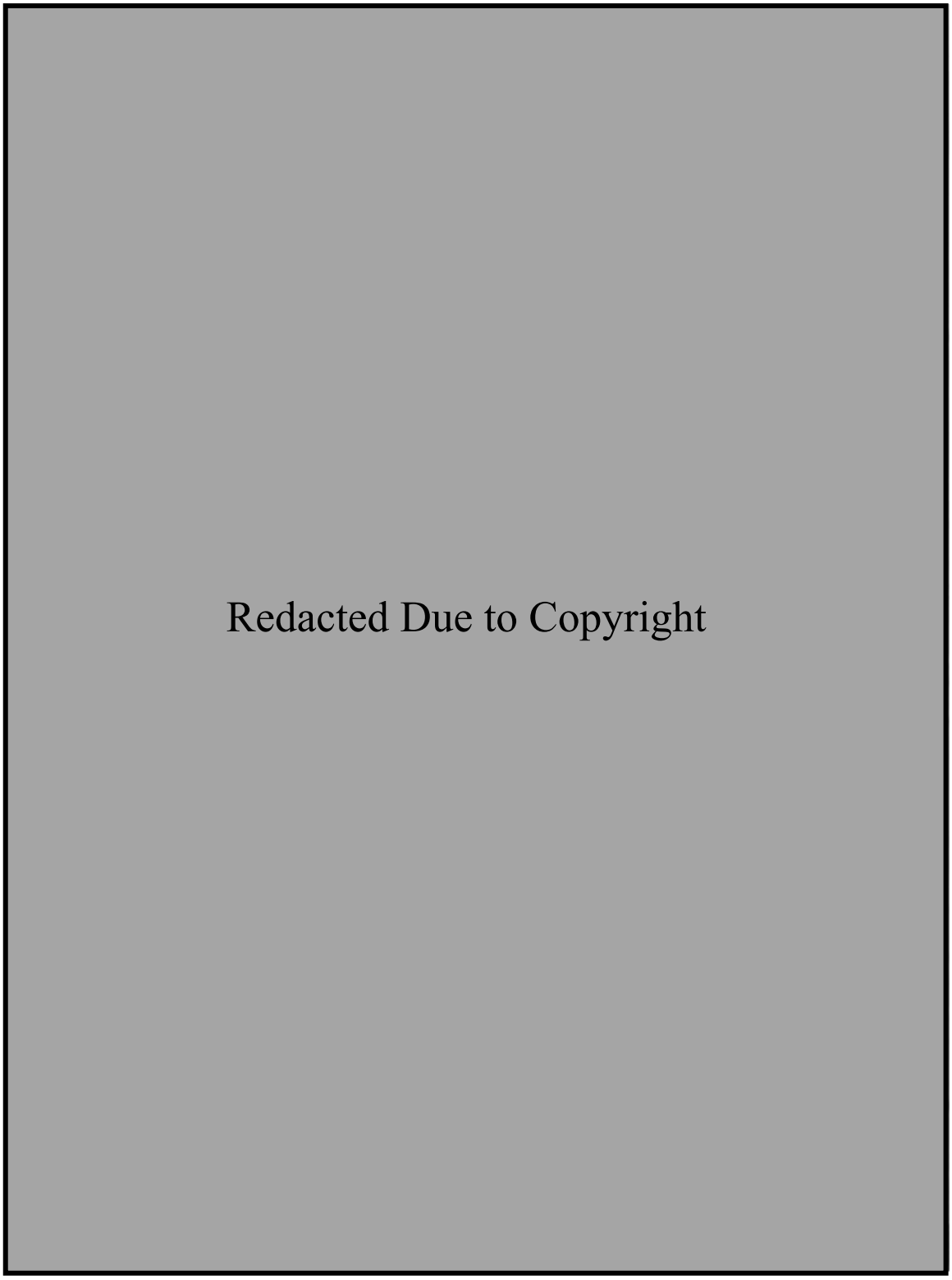


Figure 68. Front. (©Musei Vaticani – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #28: The Altar of Acilia Rufina. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria.

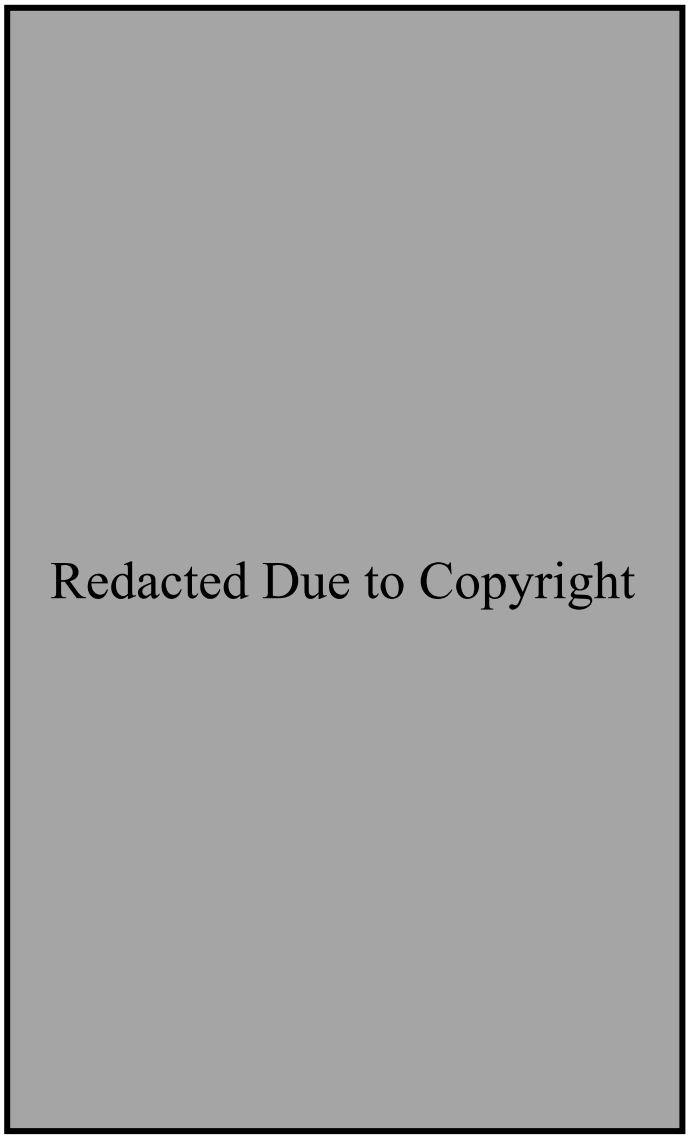


Figure 69. Front. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

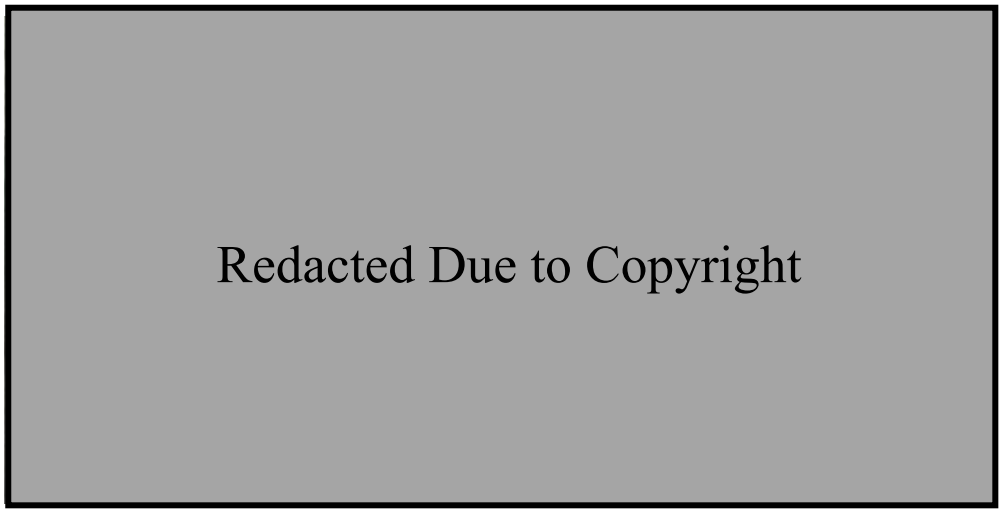


Figure 70. Detail of portrait niche. (Cropped from the original photo, published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #29: The Altar of C. Aelius Urbicus. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria.

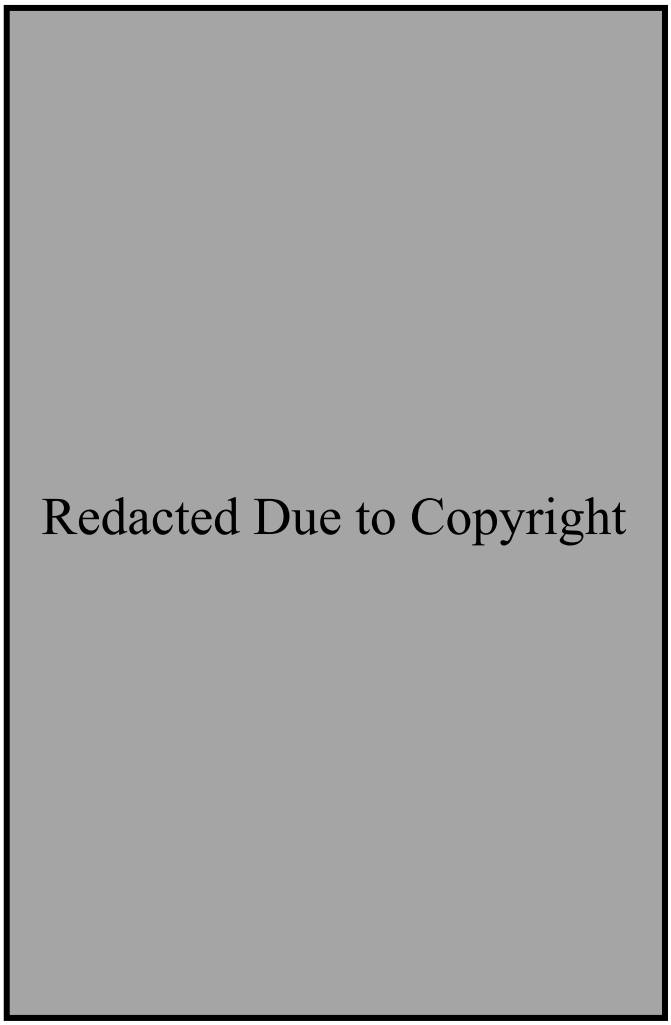


Figure 71. Front. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

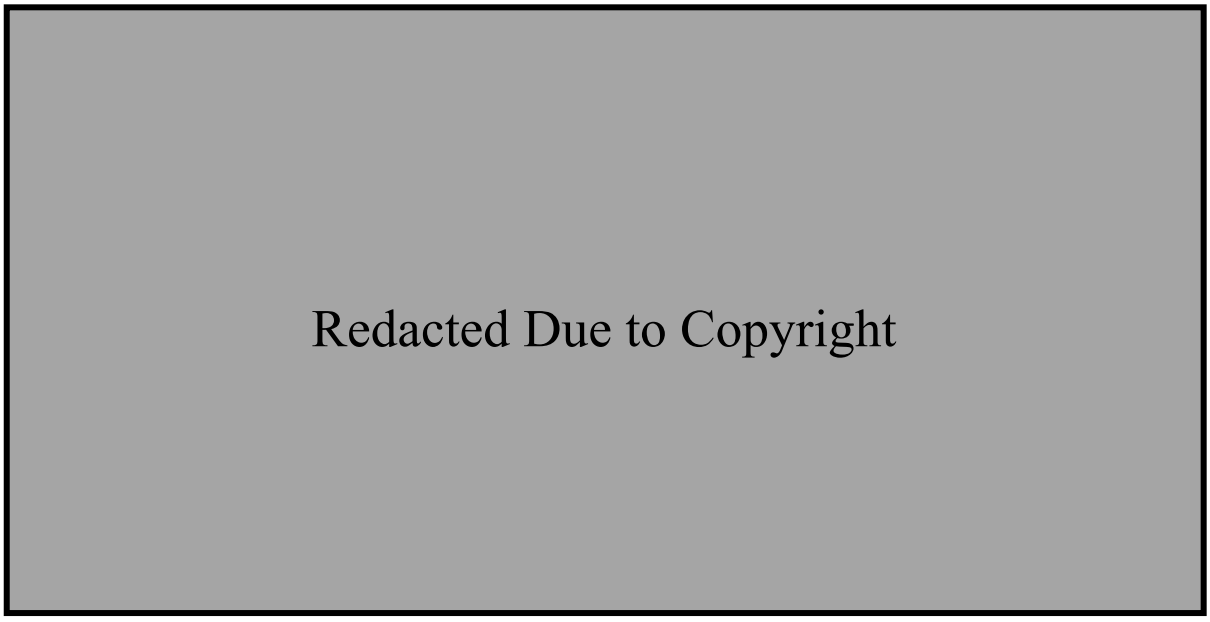


Figure 72. Detail of portrait niche. (Cropped from the original photo, published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #30: The Altar of Aulia Laodice. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Galleria Lapidaria.

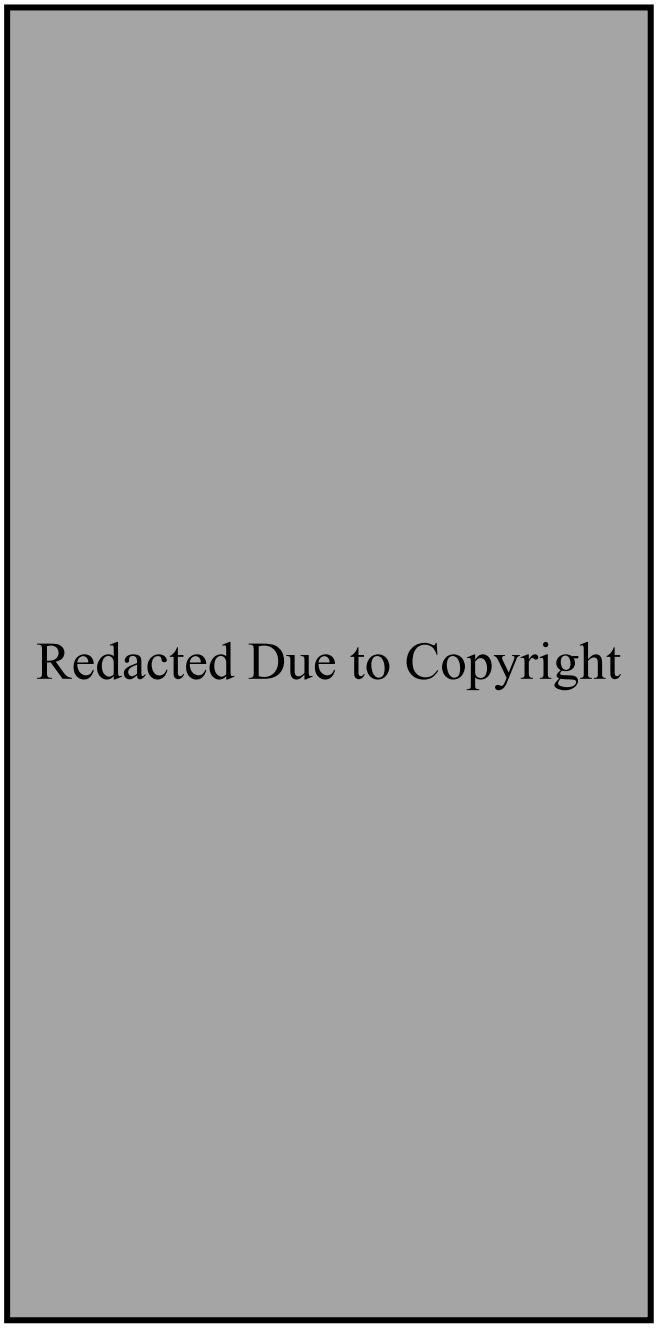


Figure 73. Front. (Published by Annika Backe-Dahmen – Redact for publication).

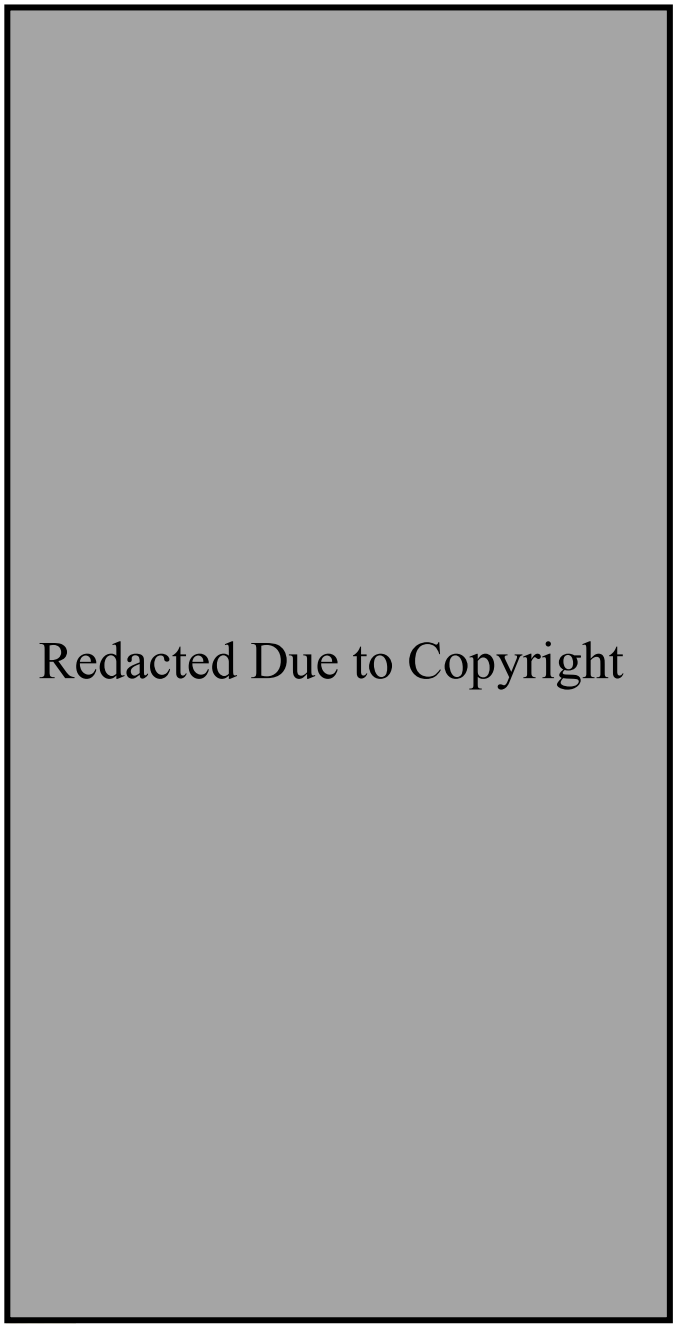
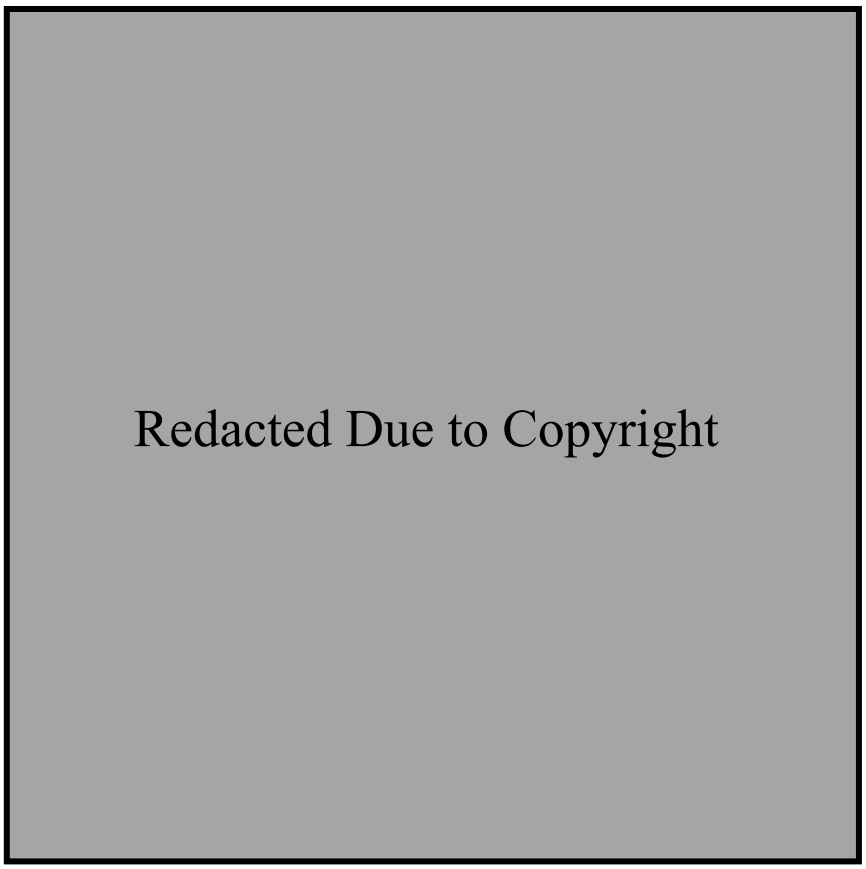


Figure 74. Corner. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

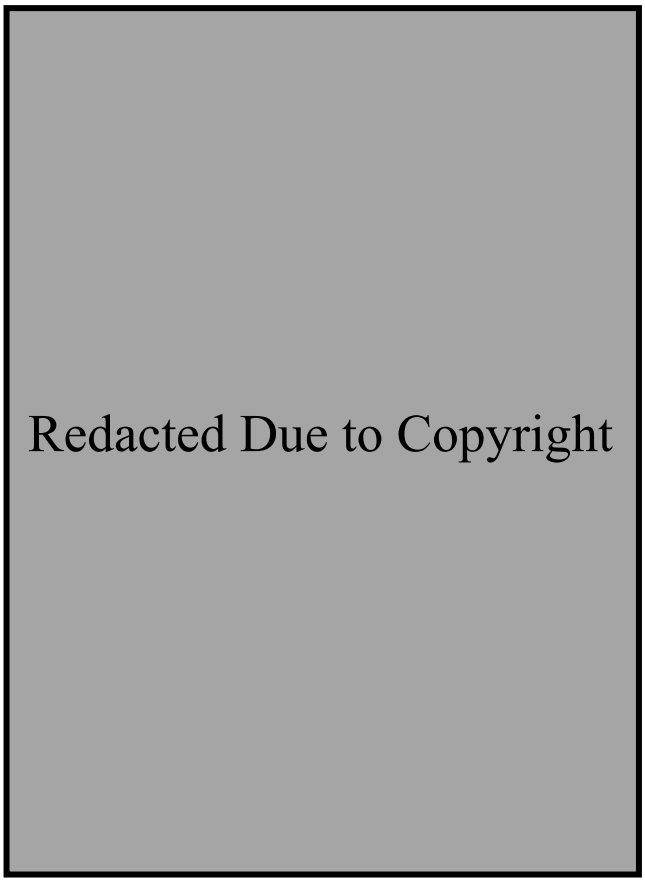


Catalogue #31: The Altar of P. Fannius Dama. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano.

Figure 75. Front. (Published by Friedericke Sinn – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #32: The Altar of Alcides. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano.

Figure 76. Front. (©Musei Vaticani – Redact for publication).



Catalogue #33: The Altar of C. Iulius Philetus. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano.

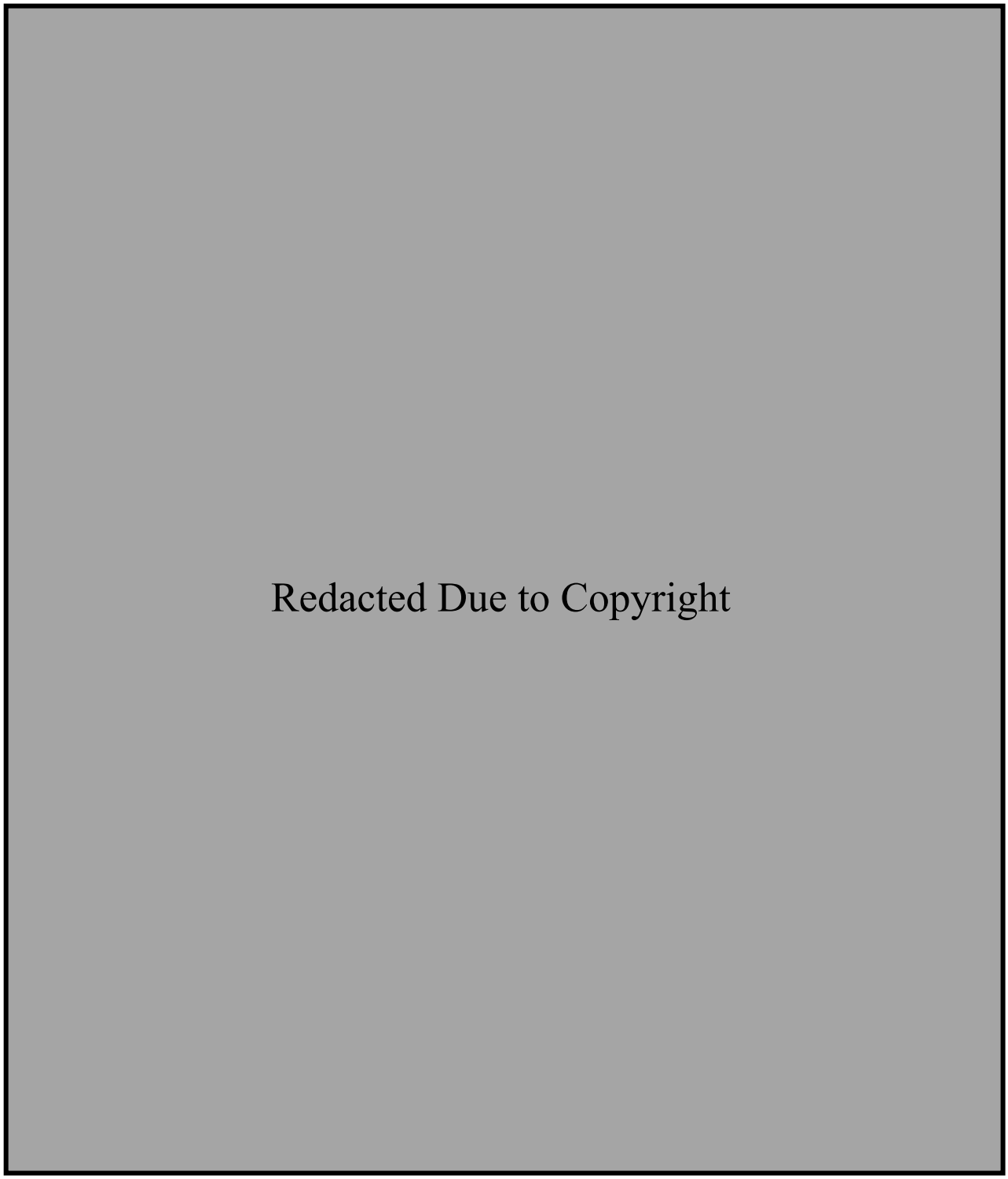


Figure 77. Front. (©Musei Vaticani – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #33: The Altar of C. Iulius Philetus. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano.

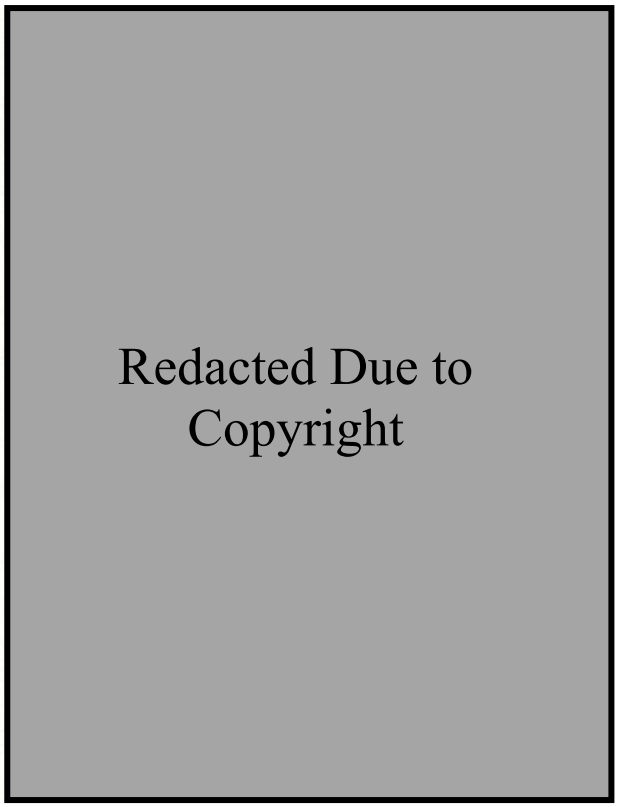


Figure 78. Back. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

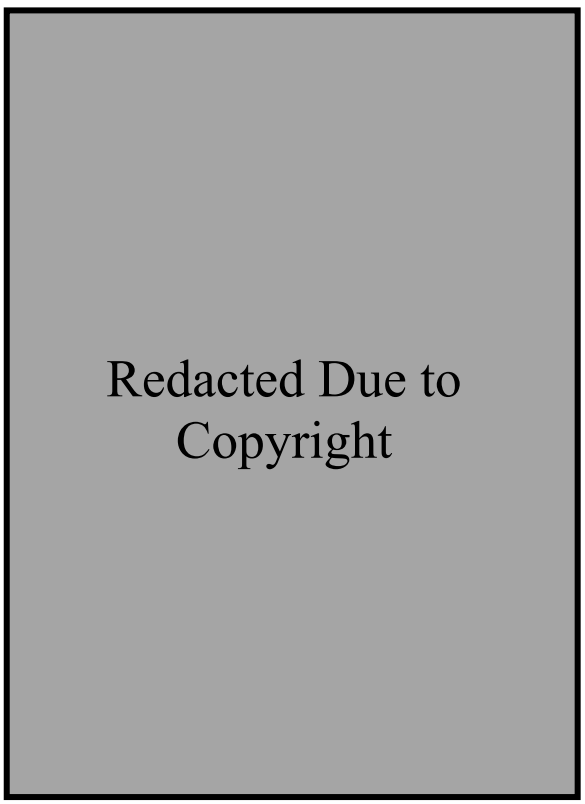


Figure 79. Left side. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

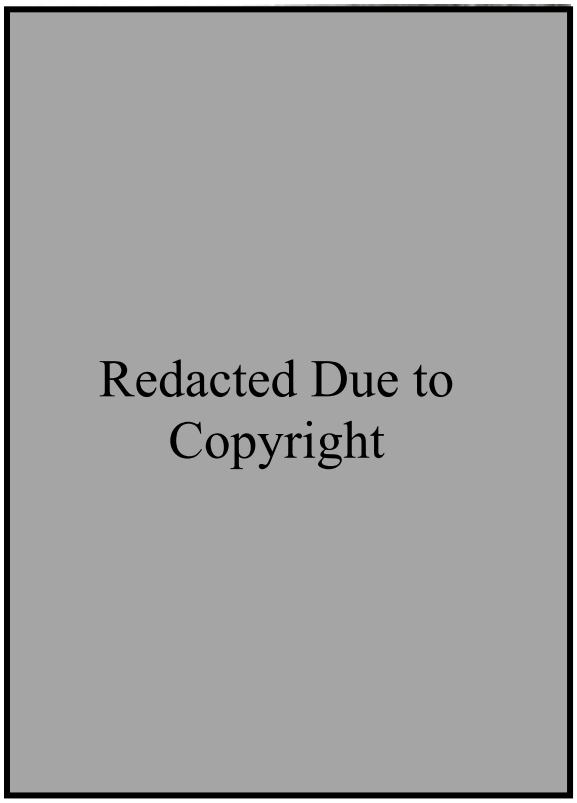


Figure 80. Right side. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #34: The Altar of L. Postumius Iulianus. Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Profano.

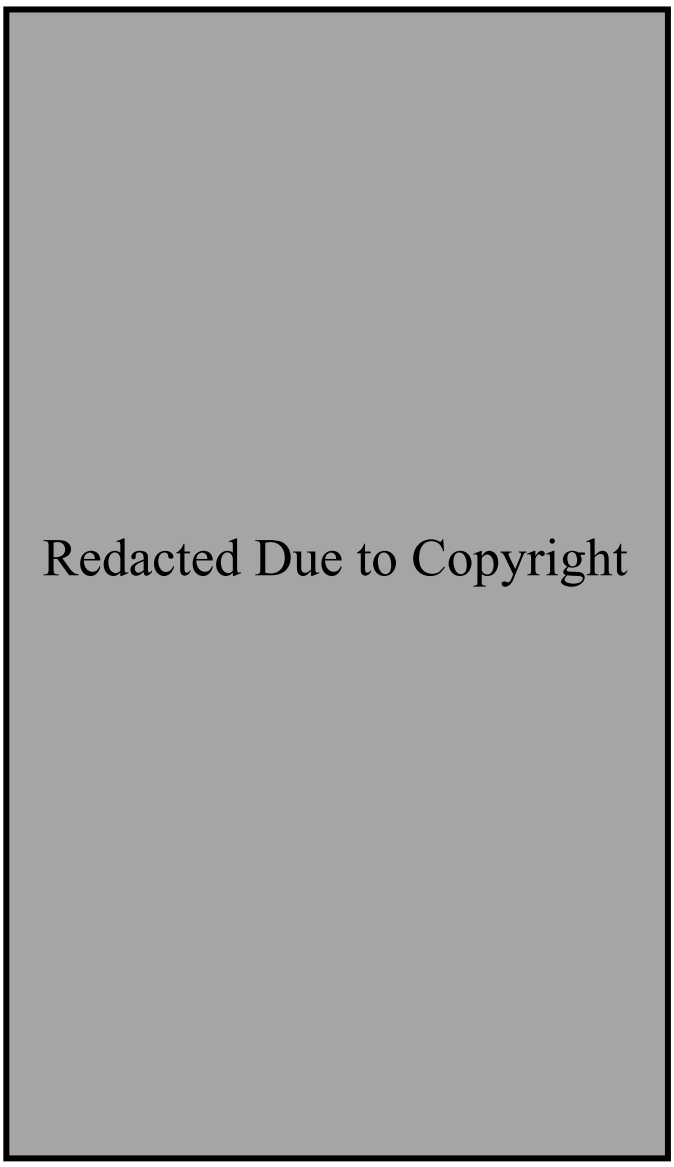
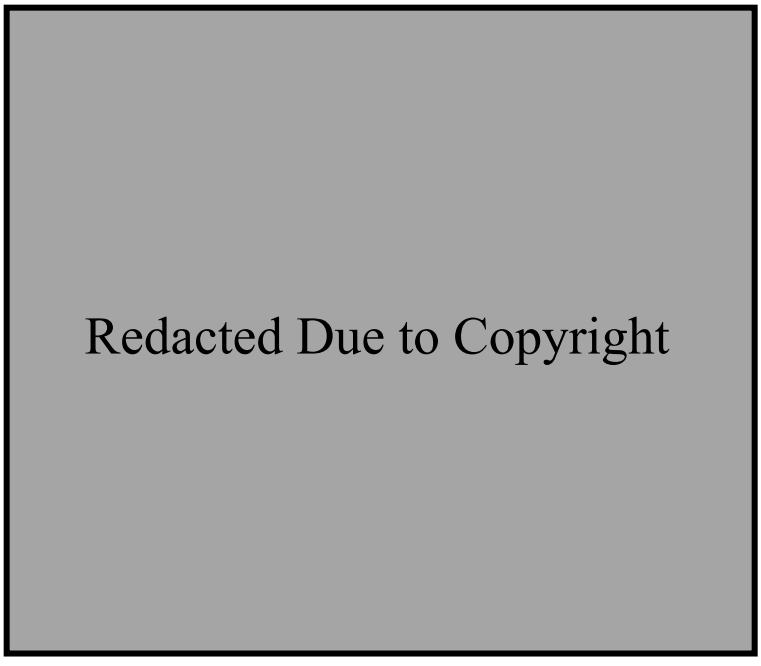


Figure 81. Front. (©Musei Vaticani – Redact for publication).

Figure 82. Detail of portrait. (Cropped from the original photograph, ©Musei Vaticani – Redact for publication).



Catalogue #36: The Altar of Florus. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme de Dioclenziano.

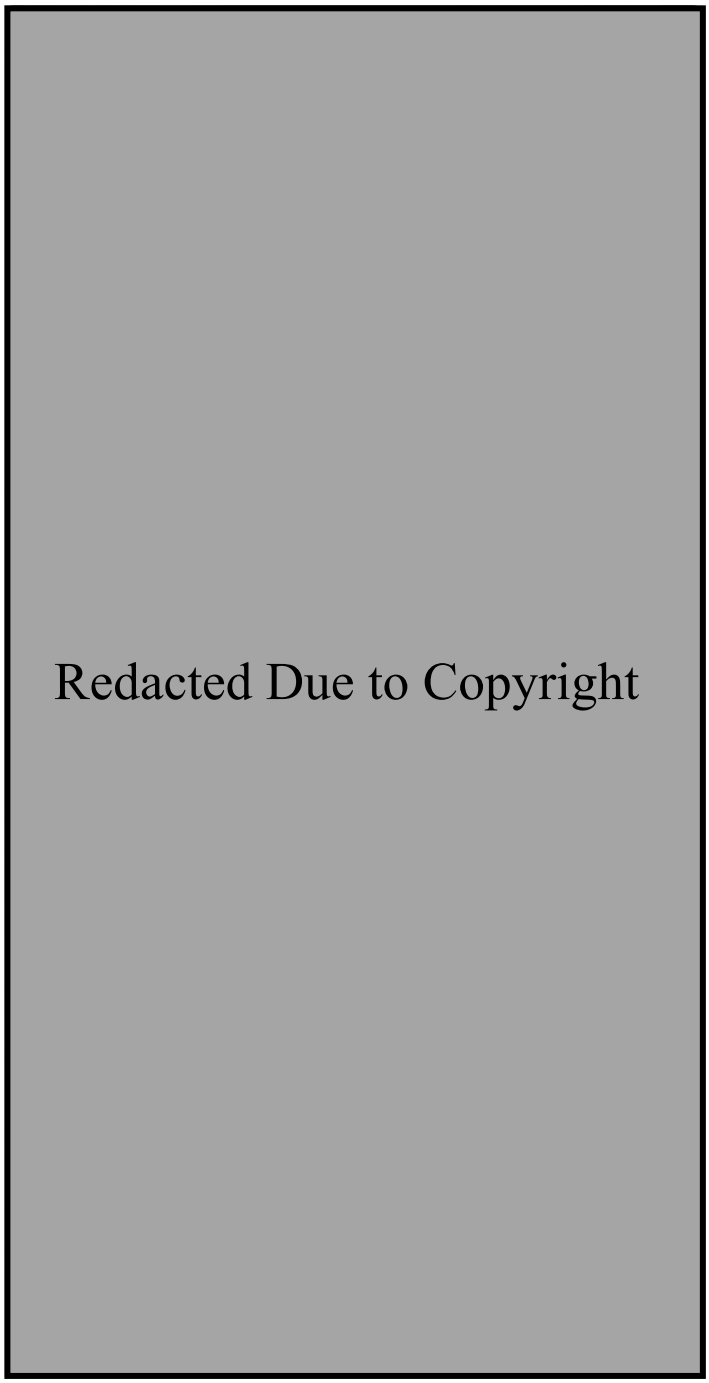


Figure 83. Front. (Published by Annika Backe-Dahmen– Redact for publication).

Catalogue #37: The Altar of Claudia Victorina. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme de Dioclenziano.

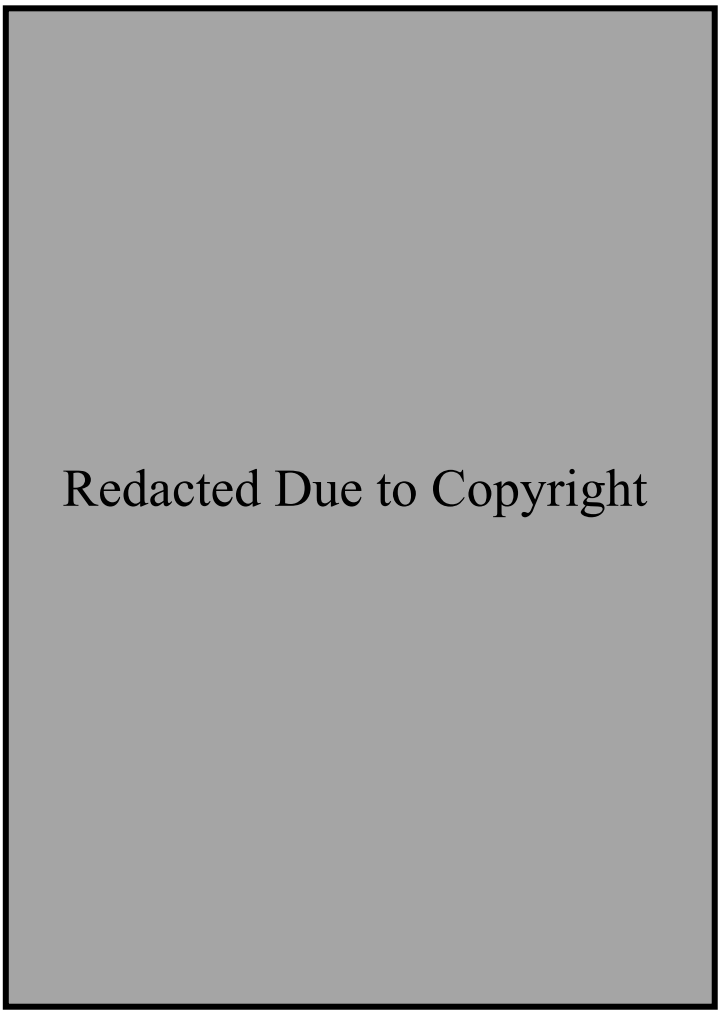


Figure 84. Front. (Published by Annika Backe-Dahmen– Redact for publication).

Catalogue #38: The Altar of Ammaea Urbana. Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Dioclenziano.

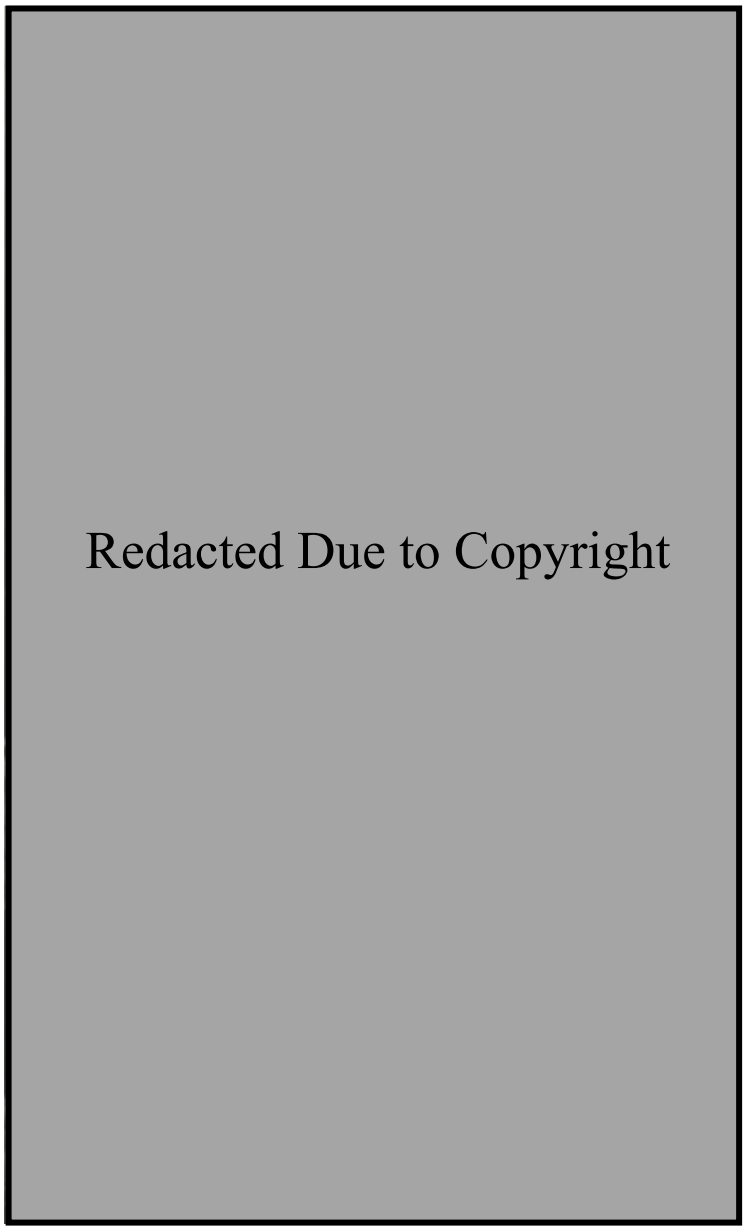


Figure 85. Front. (Published by Annika Backe-Dahmen– Redact for publication).

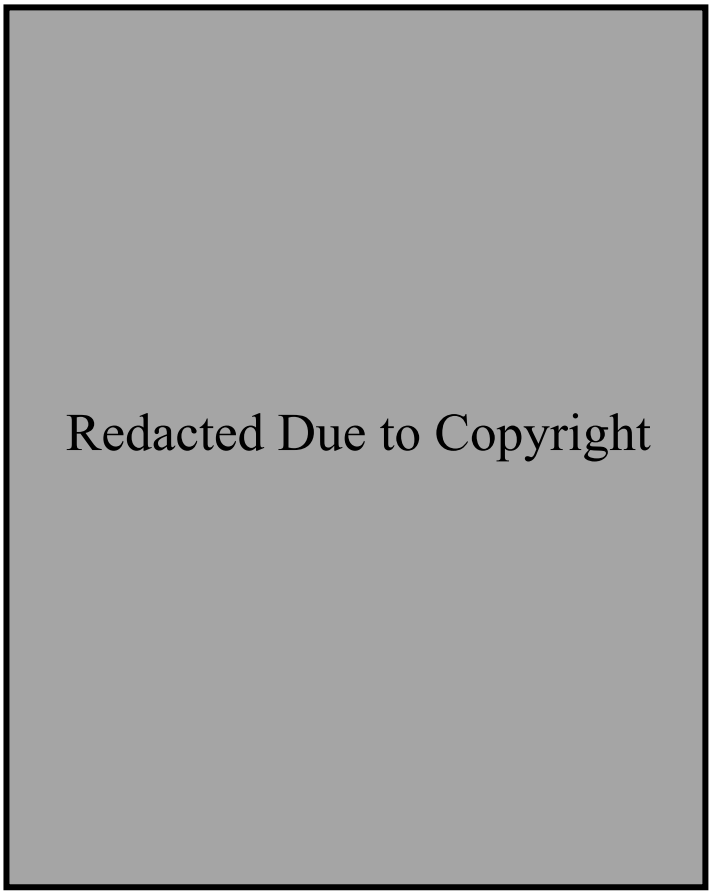


Figure 86. Detail of portrait niche. (Cropped from the original photograph, published by Annika Backe-Dahmen– Redact for publication).

Catalogue #39: Altar (Names Unknown). Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, Terme di Dioclenziano.

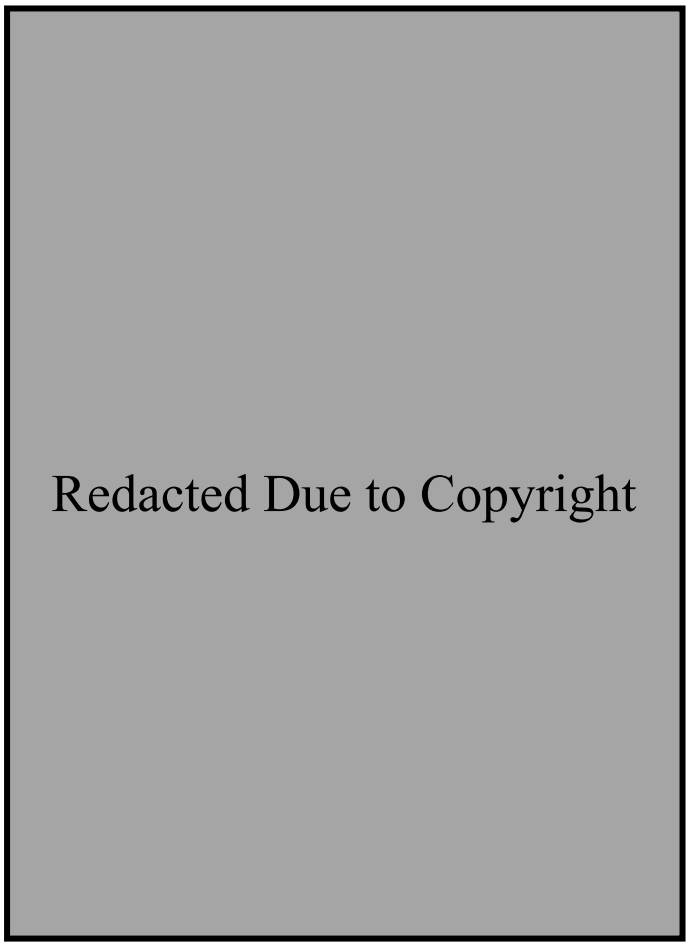


Figure 87. Front. Rome. (Published by Diana Kleiner– Redact for publication).

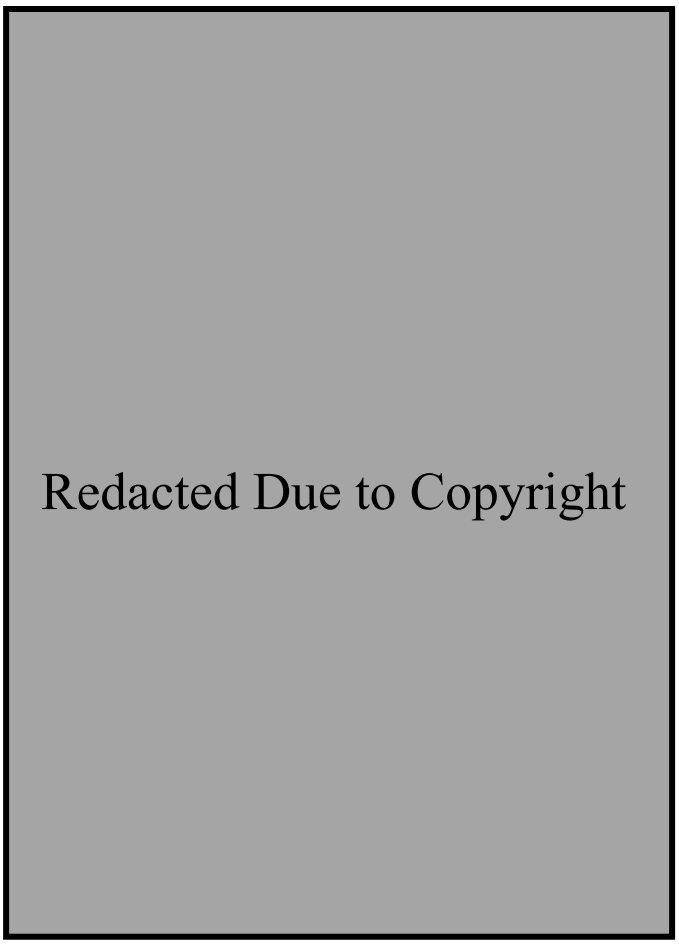


Figure 88. Detail of side. (Published by Diana Kleiner– Redact for publication).

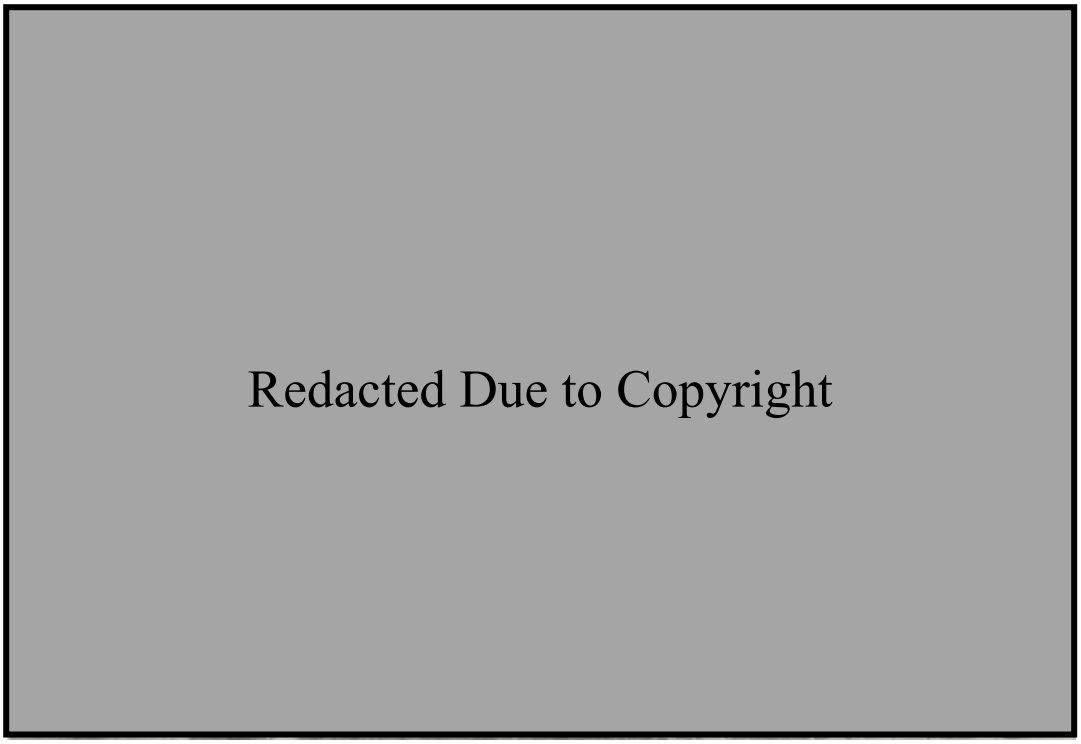


Figure 89. Detail of portraits. (Published by Diana Kleiner– Redact for publication).

Catalogue #40: Altar (Name Unknown). Rome, Villa Albani, Galleria della Leda.

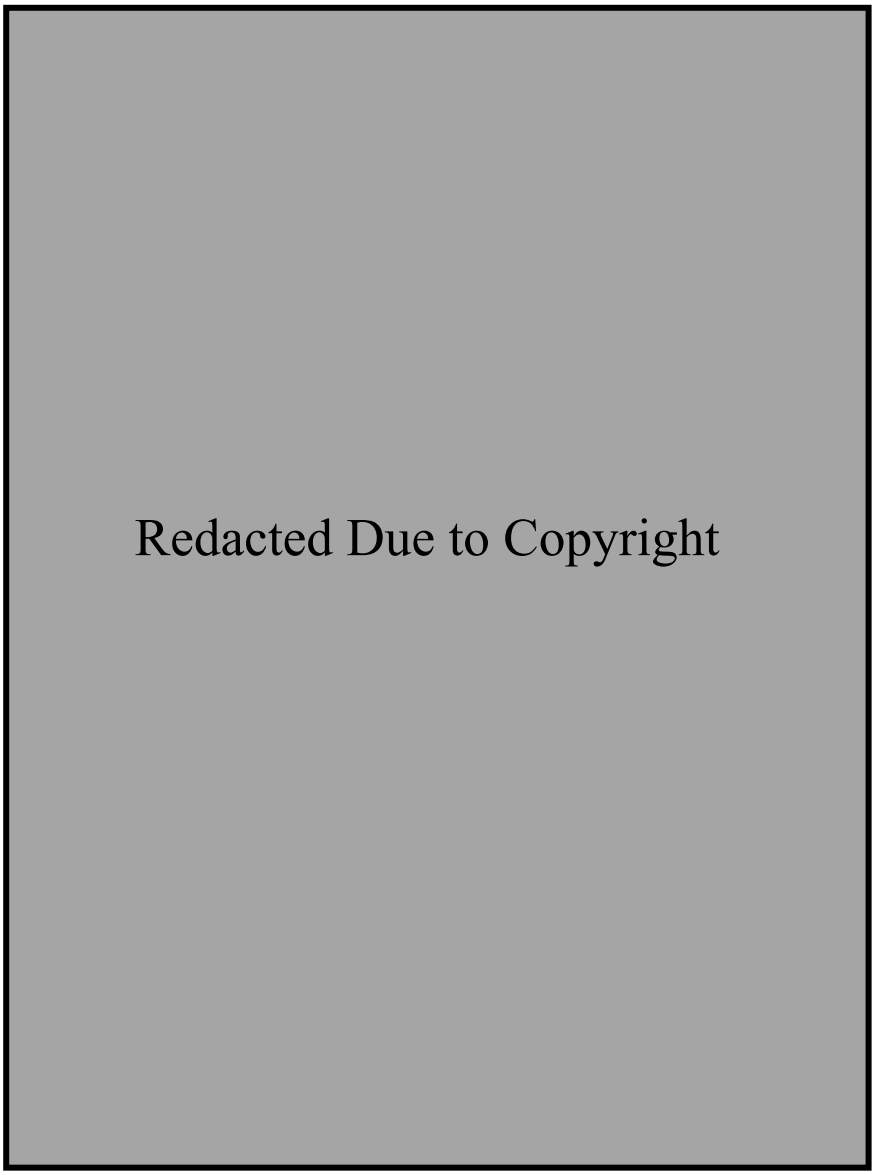
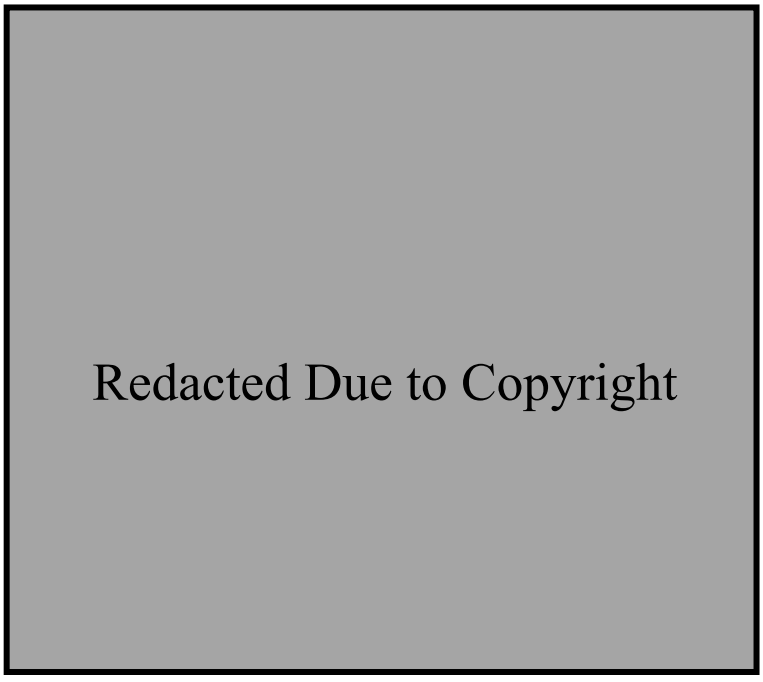


Figure 90. Front. (Published by Peter C. Bol – Redact for publication).

Figure 91. Detail of portrait. (Published by Peter C. Bol – Redact for publication).



Catalogue #41: The Altar of Nico and Eutyches. Rome, Villa Albani, sala ovale.

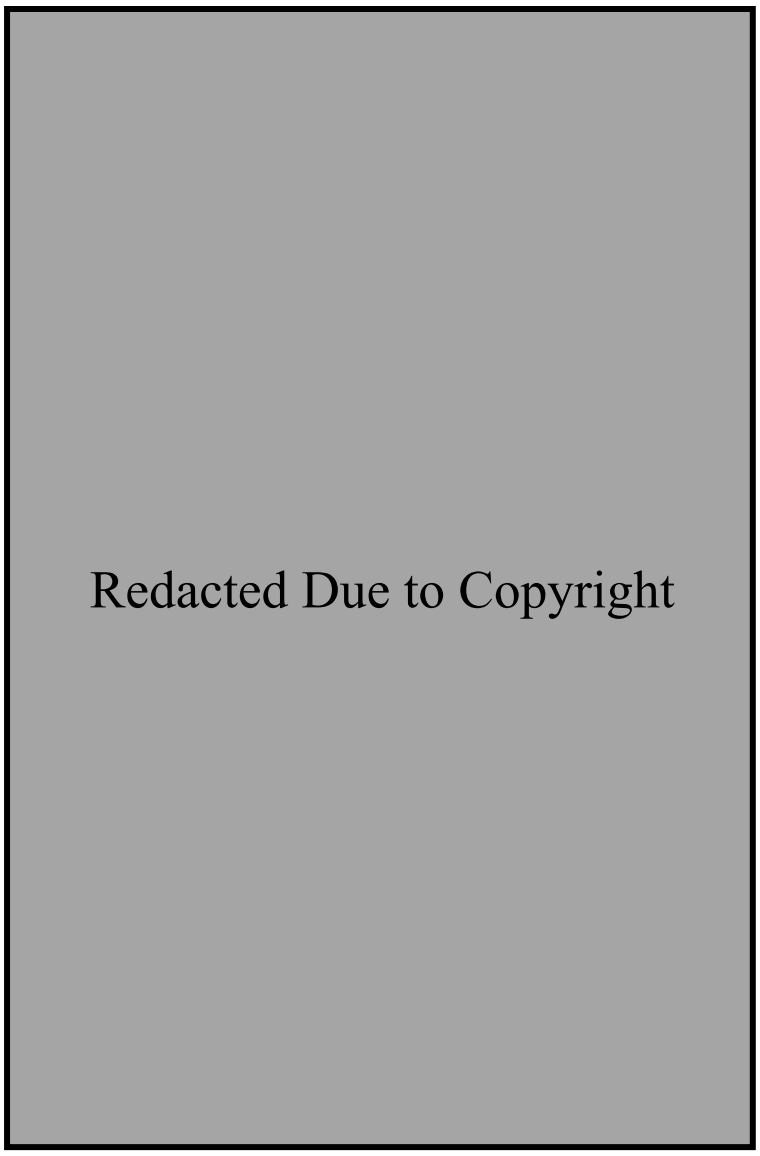


Figure 92. Front. (Published by Annika Backe-Dahmen – Redact for publication).

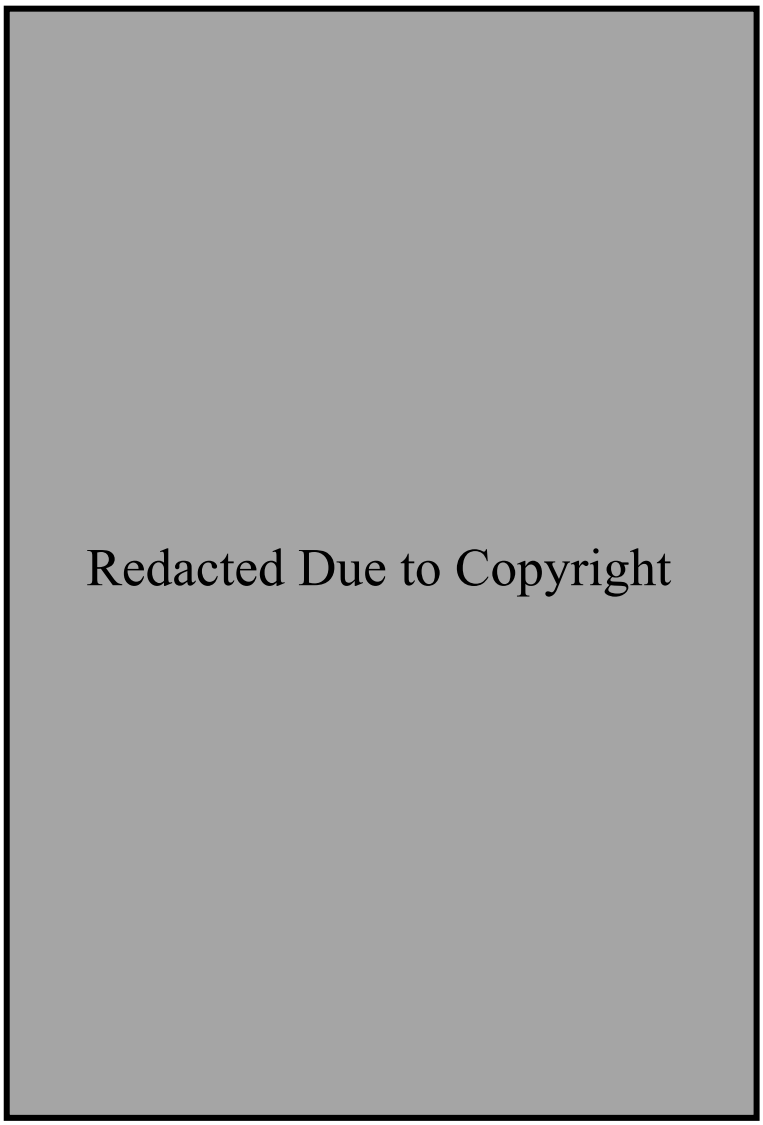


Figure 93. Line drawing. (©J. Willmott, published by Maureen Carroll – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #42: The Altar of Laberia Daphne. Rome, Museo Lapidario.

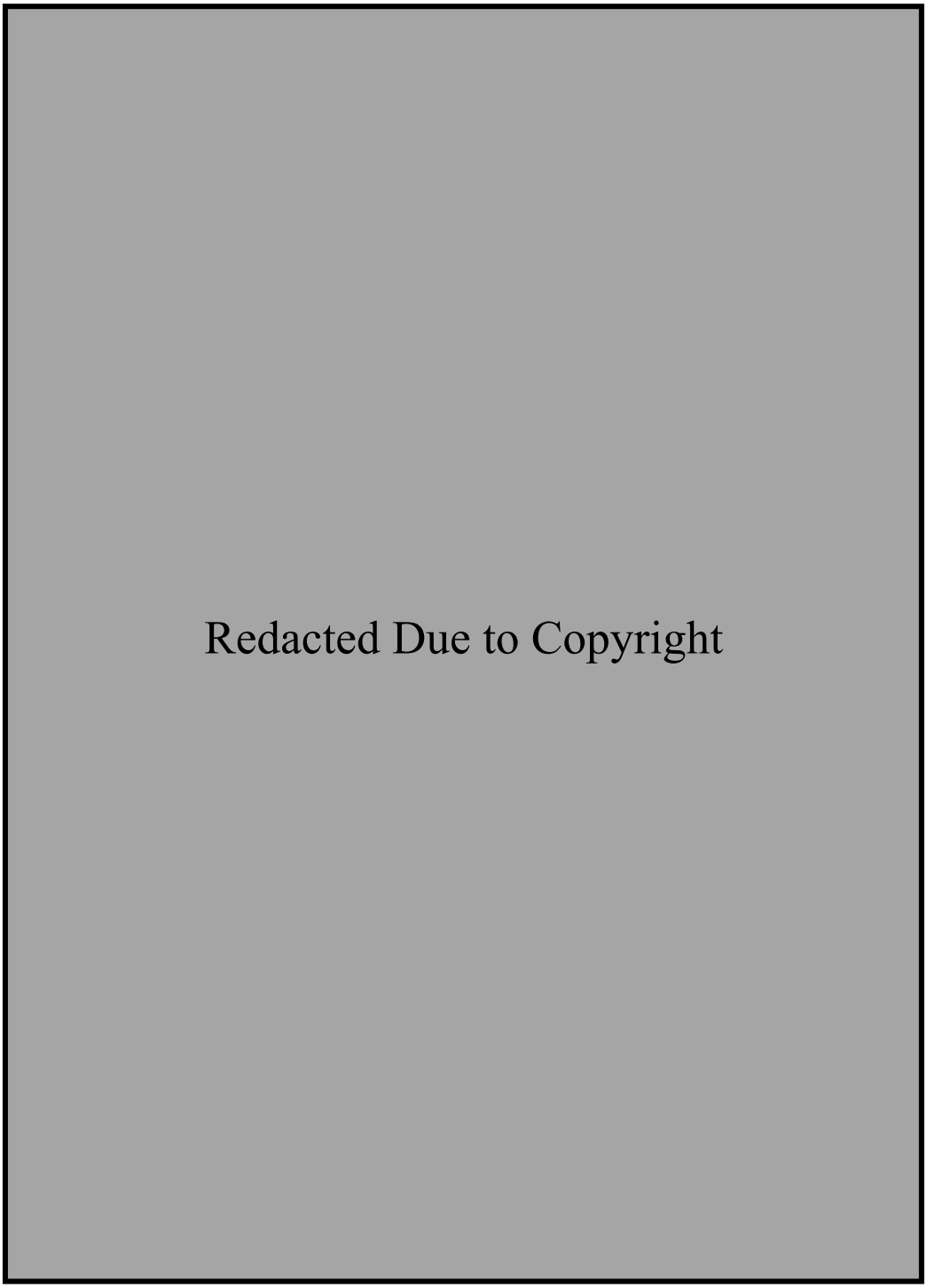


Figure 94. Front. Rome, (Published by Annika Backe-Dahmen – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #43: The Altar of Numisia Heorte. Lost/Uncertain (Previously in the Villa Comtessa Margarucci).

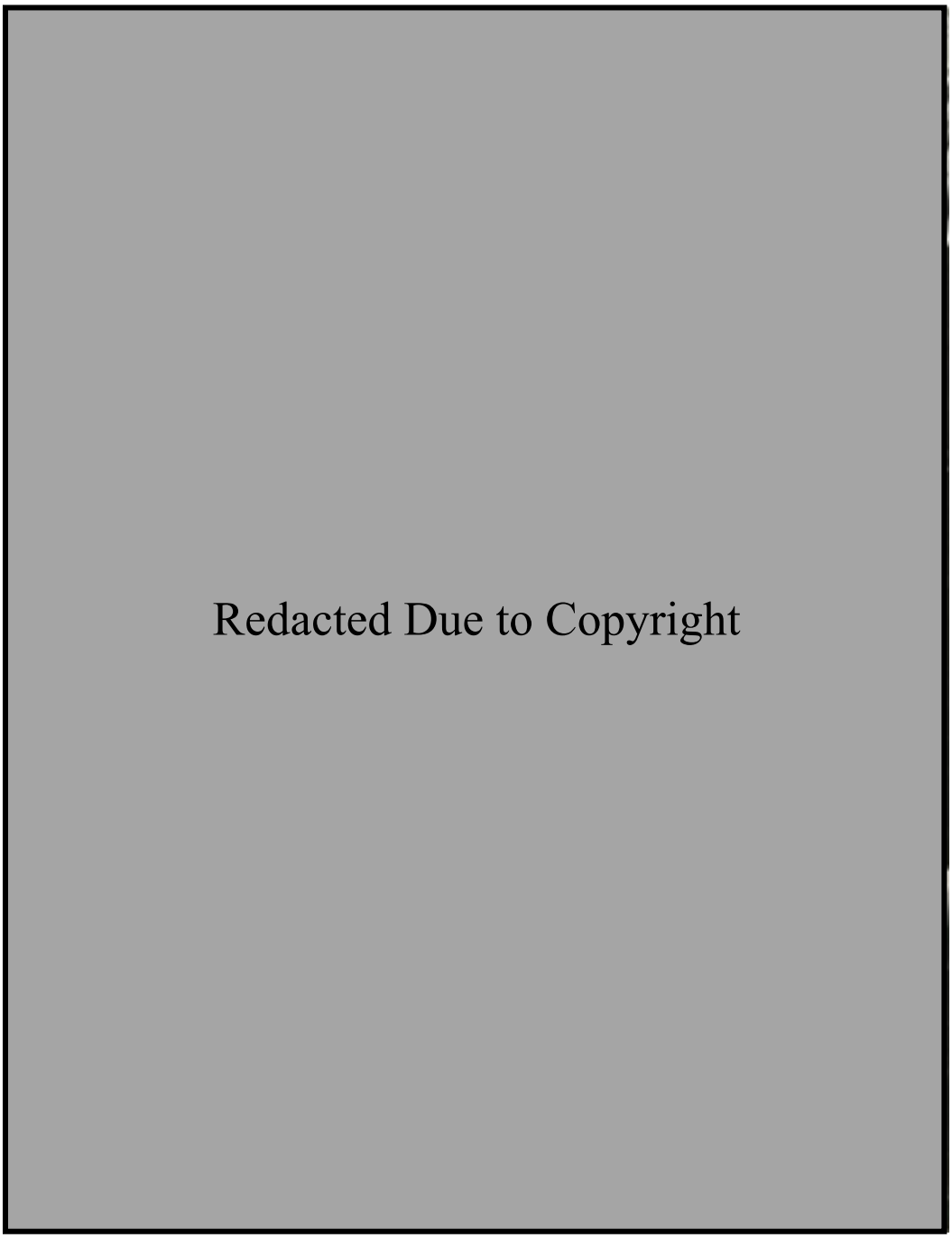


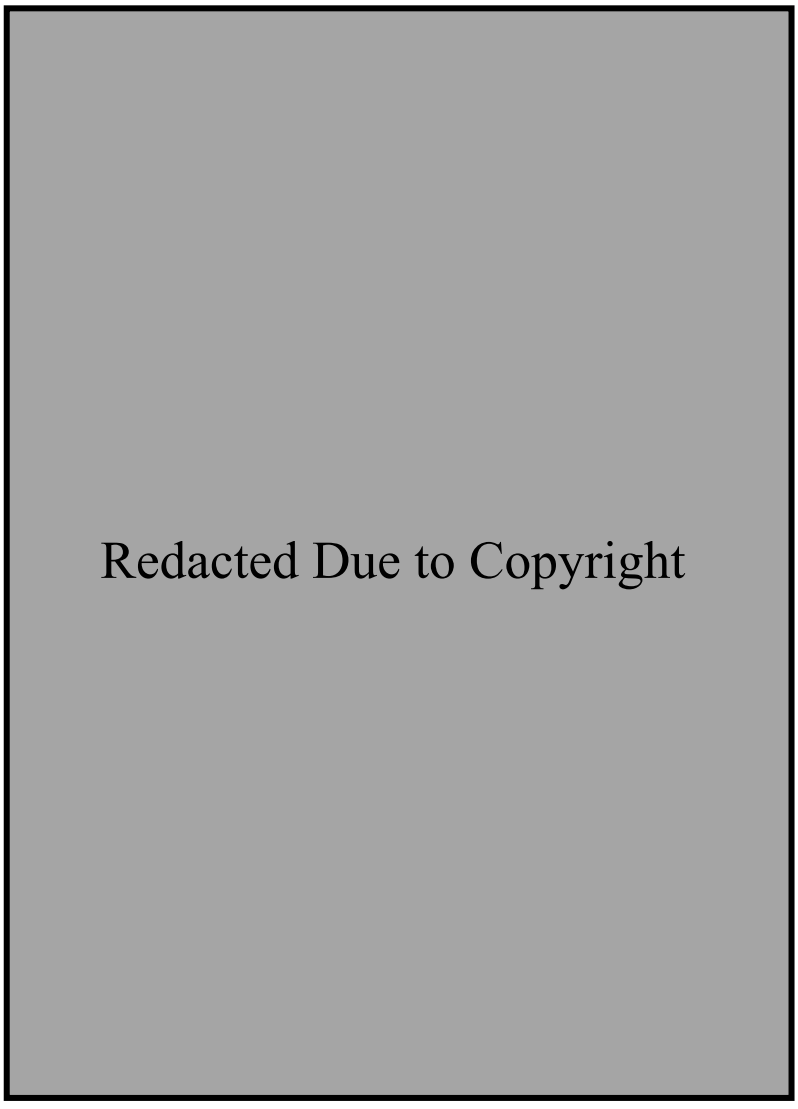
Figure 95. Front. Lost/Uncertain. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).

Catalogue #44: The Altar of M. Cocceius Crescrens. Lost/Uncertain (Previously at Rossie Priory).

Figure 96. Front. (Drawing by Montfaucon, 1719, Public Domain).

Catalogue #45: Altar (Name Unknown). Lost/Uncertain (Last known to be in the Museo Nazionale Romano).

Figure 97. Front. (Published by Diana Kleiner – Redact for publication).



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