

Material Culture Approaches to the Study of Children  
and Childhood in the Roman World

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## Abstract

### *Material Culture Approaches to the Study of Children and Childhood in the Roman World*

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This thesis presents a theoretical framework for studying several aspects of children's lives through material culture. The framework, which is developed from current theory in archaeology, anthropology and sociology that stresses the agency and social contributions of children, is applied to three case studies based in the Roman world that have been designed to focus on different aspects of their lives. The first case study looks at graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum as material remains of children's activities and the social expectations influencing them. The second examines burial assemblages of children in the provinces of Raetia and Germania Superior to understand how childhood is demarcated as a social space. The final case study reconsiders the role of toys and objects traditionally thought of as children's material culture in the process of socialization. Ultimately this thesis attempts to draw conclusions about the lived experiences of children, including the physical location of their activities and the relationships they had with family members, peers and other members of their communities.

Key words: Roman, Children, Childhood, Material Culture, Pompeii, Raetia, Germania Superior, Graffiti, Burial, Toys

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## CHAPTER 1

### *Introduction and Research Objectives*

#### 1.1 Introduction

In the past 20 years the study of children has developed into a major field of research within the discipline of archaeology. Archaeologists investigating an array of cultures have recognized that the lives and actions of children in past societies need to be and can be accessed through archaeological and ethnographic evidence. Children are no longer viewed as passive recipients of culture, but rather as functioning members of their societies who made significant social and economic contributions. The terms 'child', 'children' and 'childhood' have vastly different meanings depending on the context in which they are used; that these terms are culturally defined ideas has been recognized for fifty years (Cohen 2007). Both Roman social historians and archaeologists have disproved Ariès' influential, yet highly flawed claim that childhood did not exist prior to the seventeenth century (e.g. Golden 1988; Rawson 2003).

The Romans recognized childhood as a distinct life stage and regarded children as precious in their ideology. Research regarding Roman socio-cultural constructions has progressed far, while the study of children's everyday lives has lagged behind. Gaps in our knowledge of children's activities, experiences and authority remain, due at least in part to the nature of the evidence and modern perceptions of children. There are many questions as to what constitutes children's material culture in the Roman world and how it is distinguished from adults' material culture that have made it difficult to study the everyday lives of children.

## 1.2 Research aims and objectives

The thesis presented here is concerned with the use of both the material culture of children and the materiality of childhood in understanding children's everyday lives and contributions to the archaeological record. The aim is to address the problems with the material-cultural evidence of the aspects of their daily lives by re-examining artefacts and assemblages previously used to study the socio-cultural constructions of childhood. The main questions that have driven this research are as follows.

- Can we develop an understanding of the everyday lives of children in the Roman world? Can we understand the roles they played in reality as well as ideologically? Can we access the experiential differences of childhood among various social classes and geographic locations?
- In what contexts are we able to identify the presence of children? What kinds of material remains can we attribute to them?
- Can we understand the relationships between children and other members of their communities, such as kin, youth and peers?
- Can we trace the development and socialization of Roman children through the material culture?
- By understanding how Roman culture was negotiated by children can we better comprehend how it was ultimately continued or changed?

Little is known of the archaeology of children's day-to-day lives, including the activities they participated in, the places they inhabited, the people with whom they interacted, and their contributions to their communities. Knowledge of these facets of children's lives is accessible through the archaeological record. The lack of a recognizably distinctive material culture makes identification of their presence difficult in contexts where the physical remains of a child is absent. Furthermore, little is known about difference in lived experience based on gender and socio-economic class. Did boys and girls have much interaction and did the frequency of this change as the children aged? Were certain activities encouraged or permissible for girls, but not boys and vice versa? The same questions may be posed for children of different socio-economic statuses or for freeborn and slave children.

Questions regarding cultural change are a major concern in Roman archaeology, particularly in relation to the different peoples whom the Romans subjugated and with

whom they interacted. The role of children in cultural change is rarely discussed, despite the fact that children can be one of the primary contributors to change. Through social experience, participation and interaction, the socialization process prepares the generation of children to maintain society as adults. If social and environmental conditions differ from that of their parents' generation, at least some aspects of the outcome of socialization may be different (Greenfield 2000: 72). This will be reflected in the material culture. For instance, a change from subsistence to a commercial economy amongst the Zinacantecs of Mexico altered not only modes of textile production, but also the ways that children were taught to weave. As a result of different teaching methods there were more variations in textile designs (Greenfield 2000). The behaviours of adult society are in many ways reflections of childhood experience. Forcey (1998) postulates that many wooden 'Romano-Celtic' temples were rebuilt with stone foundations around the time when the central figures in the communities were those who had been youths during the conquest of Britain; their experiences of this event as children affected their choices under Roman rule.

In order to address these questions I have developed a theoretical framework for approaching different facets of children's daily lives through material culture from various archaeological and social contexts. Following a survey of various concepts of childhood used by social and behavioural scientists and past research related to children in historical and archaeological contexts (Chapter 2), I will present the underlying theory of Lillehammer's *World of Children*, which maintains that children are active social agents, and the four facets of the framework: the Creator Child Model, the Social Structural Child Model, the Minority Group Child Model and the Social Cultural Child Model (Chapter 3).

To illustrate how the framework may be applied to archaeological evidence, I have used three case studies involving different types of material culture (detailed in Chapter 3.5). The first case study (Chapter 4) uses the Creator Child Model to examine

and discuss Campanian graffiti as evidence of children's activities. The second case study (Chapter 5) analyzes burial assemblages associated with children utilizing the Social Structural Child Model to understand how childhood is structured with regard to the relationship between age and perceived responsibilities and behaviour. The final case study (Chapter 6), using the Minority Group Child Model, reexamines children's toys to discuss relationships between children and adults. The Social Cultural Child model, representing the fourth facet of the framework is discussed in Chapter 2.1.2 and Chapter 3 though it is not used in a case study for reasons that will be explained.

The chronological range of the material spans from the time of the late Republic through the mid Imperial period, from approximately the first century BCE through the fourth century CE. The data came primarily from the central Roman empire, namely southern Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, though material from France, Spain, and Egypt will also be discussed.

## CHAPTER 2

### *Definitions of 'Children' and Past Research*

#### 2.1 Defining Children and Childhood

There will never be any universally accepted definition for the terms 'child' or 'childhood.' The root word of definition is definite and, quite simply, there is nothing definite about either of these concepts. A definition is meant to be clear, concise and straightforward, yet these concepts are incredibly complex and variable. In any case it is necessary for archaeologists to explain what they refer to when they use the term 'child.' Within different scientific disciplines (both social and physical) there are numerous "definitions" of childhood, which are first and foremost related to the nature of discipline itself and to the purposes of the researcher.

First, I will examine a range of views of children and childhood in modern Western society, focusing in particular on some theories used in biological and social sciences. Following this, I will discuss evidence concerning the Roman notion of childhood. Finally, I will talk about the some complexities in designating a particular view of what constitutes a child in archaeology and Roman studies and explain the concept of childhood that will be used in this research.

##### *2.1.1 Modern Western Concepts of the Child*

The *United Nations Convention on the Rights of a Child* (Article 1) states that a child is any "human being below the age of eighteen years unless under the law applicable to the child, majority is attained earlier." As is typical of legal speak this "definition" is decidedly vague. Clearly the only significant factor here is physiological development since the only stated criteria for being a child is to be under 18 years of age.

Legally all individuals under the age of 18 are considered children, in theory. Still within modern Western society are all these individuals viewed as being children?

Even within Anglo-American/Western culture there is great variability in childhood experiences and frequent variation in how children are identified. A renowned non-fiction book written about growing up in the Jonathan Taylor housing projects of Chicago is titled *There Are No Children Here* (Kotlowitz 1992). The idea reflected in the title and content is that in an environment where children do not have access to the resources and experiences associated with childhood, they are in some sense not children, emotionally and mentally. Even though these boys and girls are recognized as not living the life of a child, they are nevertheless considered children. There is recognition within our own culture that childhood is at least in some ways dependent upon experience; socio-cultural and environmental factors also determine childhood rather than just physiological or cognitive states. Furthermore, in the United States in cases of severely disturbing crimes, such as murder or aggravated assault, individuals under the age of 18 may actually be tried as adults and subject to harsher punishment. The mitigating factor here is the individual's cognitive state. It is not purely physical, as the individual is under 18. It is also not a socio-cultural factor because that would make the environment somewhat at fault and thus it would be unfair to subject the person to a harsher punishment for this reason. The theory behind trying a minor as an adult is that there is something corrupt about the individual making him or her something other than a child. Thus although the concept of childhood is at least partially socially constructed, society itself cannot seem to agree on what exactly it is.

The emphasis within modern Western culture on age in the identification of children is due at least in part to the Scientific Revolution and the disciplines of developmental psychology and biology. Textbooks never provide any kind of definition or description of the meaning of the term 'child' (Pickard 1970; Mussen 1990; Goswami 2004). Browsing the glossary, a reader would find terms like 'brain' and 'embryo'

defined, but neither 'child' nor 'childhood.' This is partially because the latter two are concepts that are supposed to be implicitly understood. Furthermore, the failure to address the concept of the child is related directly to the nature of the discipline itself. Psychology is concerned with the 'de-contextualized, universal child' who progresses through a sequence of ordered developmental stages at certain ages (Mayall 1994: 2). While cross-cultural studies exist to question the impact of socio-cultural factors on psychological reactions, it is ultimately assumed that there are universal aspects of psychological development regardless of social or cultural upbringing. These defined stages in development also are used by or adapted for the other hard sciences, including skeletal biology and pediatrics (see Table 2.1).

Pediatric Stages		Skeletal Biology Stages		Behavioural Biology Stages	
Stillbirth	infant born dead after 24 gestational weeks			Infancy	period when individual is nursing, may vary from a few months to about 3 years <b>depending on society</b>
Perinatal	from 24 weeks gestation to 7 postnatal days	Infans I	birth to 7 years (until emergence of first permanent molar teeth)	Childhood	following weaning, when child is still dependent on adults for feeding and protection. coincides with rapid brain growth, small digestive system and immature dentition
Neonatal	from birth to 28 days	Infans II	7-14 years (between emergence of 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> permanent molars)	Juvenility	period at completion of brain growth and the beginning of the eruption of permanent dentition at about 7 years
Infant	from birth to the age of 1 year	Juvenil	until closure of spheno-occipital synchondrosis (about year 22)	Adolescence	beginning with puberty at about 10 years in girls and 12 years in boys and including the adolescent growth spurt
Childhood	from 1 year to puberty, although sometimes the range is 1-15 years	Adult	onset of suture closure	Adulthood	from the end of the growth spurt, the attainment of adult stature, the completion of dental maturity and the achievement of full reproductive maturity
Notes: <i>Puberty</i> as a physiological term describes the beginning of secondary sexual change ranges from 10-14 years (girls) and 12-16 years (boys). <i>Adolescence</i> (sometimes used interchangeably with puberty) refers to behavioural and psychological changes at puberty. Some pediatricians describe adolescence as 13-19 years of age.					

Table 2.1 Life stages used in scientific disciplines (based on Scheuer and Black 2000; 468-469)

None of the life stages in these three models is equivalent amongst the different disciplines. Pediatricians and skeletal biologists primarily rely on physical characteristics in their view of what constitutes a child, whereas behavioural biologists are concerned with development of the brain in their concept of childhood. The latter also does make a slight nod to social constructions by designating the period of infancy as being reliant on social customs concerning the act of nursing. However, their concept of childhood is limited to the period after weaning until the age of seven years. Likewise, pediatricians acknowledge behavioural and psychological conditions in their concept of adolescence. The one characteristic of all three of these models is their recognition of puberty as a point of transition. For pediatricians, puberty marks the transition period from childhood to adulthood. It would usually begin before the age of fifteen, at which childhood is designated as ending. Skeletal biologists mark the end of the stage *Infans I* as occurring with the emergence of the 2<sup>nd</sup> permanent molars, an event related to puberty and occurring around the age of fourteen. The physical definitions do allow for some variation in the rate through which individual or groups of children may progress through these stages. Ultimately, though, childhood is viewed as a natural, physical state in the biological sciences.

It is difficult to determine with any certainty what aspects of childhood and child development are natural and what aspects are socio-cultural. Decisions about classifying the different aspects are due more to the perception and intent of the researcher than to scientifically determined 'facts'. In the last forty years or so, there has been a move, particularly in the field of sociology, to redefine what might be considered natural as a cultural phenomenon. This may be due to an attempt to break down any hidden forms of social stratification in order to democratize society completely (James, Jenks and Prout 1998: 31).

Sociology and anthropology also tend to avoid describing the concept of childhood they are using in their research for the same reason: the concept itself is embedded in the discipline. Both disciplines are directly concerned with the study of culture and society. Thus it is logical that concepts of childhood in these disciplines are going to be based on socio-cultural constructions within the community or social group under study. The obvious advantages of these fields over archaeology is that sociologists and anthropologists have access to living members of the society and are even able to speak directly with the children they are studying. They are able to observe their subjects' socially constructed childhood and the points where their status and roles change. They can talk to the adults and inquire about when children stop being children. They can ask the children at what points they felt "grown up". Thus, while they are able to learn of socio-cultural expectations, they are also in a position to understand developmental factors. Furthermore, many sociologists and anthropologists generally reject the notion of a universal process of development (Mayall 1994: 10).

### *2.1.2 The Socially Constructed Child: Roman notions of childhood*

It is quite clear that the Romans had a view similar in many respects to modern Western concepts of the child, an individual who is physically, mentally and socially developing and also physically, emotionally and socially dependent. They clearly recognized children as belonging to a distinct social group, with certain behavioural expectations, associated rituals, perceived biological and emotional differences, and special rights and regulations under the law (Laurence and Harlow 2002: 35).

Romans associated particular behaviours and preferences with children. In his discussions of proper education Quintilian stressed that early learning should be through play rather than rigorous, formal education, which could instill a disdain in the child if imposed too early (*Instit. Orat.* I. 20).

A number of rituals also define childhood as a separate life stage in Roman society. After a successful birth and eight days of life (for girls) or nine (for boys), the family would have celebrated the *lustratio*, a ceremony recognizing that the child had reached a new stage of existence (Macr. *Saturn.* 1.16.36). The Romans noted that it was at this point that a child opened its eyes and was able to focus on objects and persons (Pers. *Sat.* 2.124). For citizen children there were 'coming of age' rituals that would have marked the end or at least a point during transition from childhood to adulthood. Young citizen boys would have dedicated their *bullae* to the gods and cut their hair when they took up the *toga virilis* to mark their official entrance into adult citizen life at age fourteen to sixteen years (Martial *Ep.* 1.31; Propertius 4.1.131-2). For girls marriage marked the transition from the role of a child to that of a wife and mother; just as boys offered their *bullae* to the gods, girls were expected to dedicate their dolls (Persius *Sat.* 2.70). Legally a girl could not officially be married until she was twelve years old (Ulpianus, *Dig.* 23.1.9). Marriage would have taken place when the girls were as young as twelve or fourteen years old, but no later than their late teens (Hopkins 1965; Shaw 1987).

Now I will focus in particular on two types of evidence concerning the social construction of childhood, namely medical and legal texts. I have chosen not to look at the use of particular terms for children in Latin literature for two reasons. Firstly, this subject has already been well covered by social historians (see in particular Rawson 2005). The second reason is that law defines children as a social group and highlights commonalities of experience (James and James 2004: 20). In a similar way, medicine defines children as a social group through the perception of shared physical and biological characteristics. The identification of children as a social group or groups is central to this research. Instead of looking at children as developing adults who are manufactured through the process of socialization, they are regarded as active and autonomous social agents. Thus socialization is not a process of creation but rather the responses of children to the demands of society and their chosen conformity to social norms (James et al. 1998: 23).

Ultimately a child is not entirely a social construct; there are also both biological and psychological factors central to the concept.

Children were acknowledged as being physically different from adults in the ancient world. Galen, a physician from the East in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE and one of the few ancient medical writers to address the issue of children's health, structured his work *Hygieina* around the ages of man, based on the notion that complexion of an individual changes as he or she grows (Sotres 1998: 294). Galen generally divides childhood into seven-year stages. The eight to eleventh chapters of the *Hygieina* deal with infancy through the age of seven. Chapter 12 begins discussion of the next seven-year stage.

Galen writes:

Until his fourteenth year of age let him who is well-constituted continue in the regime which we have already outlined, exercising not excessively nor violently, lest his growth be arrested, and washing in warm rather than in cold baths, for he will not yet be able to tolerate the latter without harm. And at this age of his life also let him form his mind, especially by good habits and serious disciplines, by which the mind is adorned. And especially in regard to those things which in his ensuing age ought to be developed, the most advantageous are modesty and obedience (*Hyg.* I.12.2, Green 1951: 37).

Galen notes that for a male child, once he reaches the age of seven, he will be entrusted to masters to teach him to read, to have proper morals and to exercise the body (Sotres 1998: 295).

Galen writes, "the first steps, which correspond to what we call childhood, are marked by the predominance of warm and moist humors, which is explained by the vigour of innate heat and the abundance of radical moisture, underlying the exceptional growth rate of a child" (*Hyg.* I.7.2, Green 1951: 23). This passage suggests that the Romans viewed individuals under the age of fourteen as being physically different and even recommends particular care for them. When discussing exercise he emphasizes that although children are able to crawl and walk, they should not be compelled to undergo strenuous exercise because it could cause deformity (*Hyg.* I.8.1, Green 1951: 27).

Galen states that there is a connection between physical health and psychological wellbeing: "such a person, placed under the art of hygiene, would be fortunate if entrusted to it immediately after birth. For thus he would benefit psychologically, since advantageous regime would develop desirable habits" (*Hyg.* I.7.1, Green 1951: 23). The care of a child was intricately tied up with his or her development into a healthy, functioning member of society.

Health is dependent upon the child being provided with these certain necessities. He further recommends that mothers continue breastfeeding to ensure continuity with what the baby was receiving in the womb and that the child not be weaned until the age of three (I.7.6, Green 1951: 24).

Within Roman law puberty was marked as the dividing point between childhood and adulthood in a male individual's life:

Masculi autem cum puberes esse coeperint, tutela liberantur. puberem autem Sabinus quidem et Cassius ceterique nostri praeceptores eum esse putant, qui habitu corporis pubertatem ostendit, id est eum qui generare potest; sed in his qui pubescere non possunt, quales sunt spadones, eam aetatem esse spectandam, cuius aetatis puberes fiunt. sed diversae scholae auctores annis putant pubertatem aestimandam, id est eum puberem esse existimant, qui XIII annos explevit...(*Instit Gaius* I.196).<sup>1</sup>

The age of majority for males was cited as being around the age of fourteen, which was meant to approximately coincide with the onset of puberty (*id est...explevit*). The law further states that a male is released from guardianship (*tutela liberantur*) upon reaching this age. However, there was some disagreement on when exactly majority should be reached. Sabinus and Cassius' school of thought believed it was a matter of when an individual became sexually mature (*autem Sabinus...potest*), but others believed it should be when an individual reached the age of fourteen. Along the same lines the adoption of

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<sup>1</sup> "Moreover, when males begin puberty, they are liberated from guardianship. However, even Sabinus, Cassius and all of our other instructors think that he reaches puberty when he displays the physical signs of puberty, that is when he is able to beget [children]. But those who are not able to undergo puberty, such as eunuchs, the age which it is observed, should be the age which they become adults. But the supporters of the opposing school of thought think that they consider him to be an adult, who has completed fourteen years, the estimated age of puberty..."

the *toga virilis* also would suggest the significance in puberty marking the change from being a child to being an adult. A Roman boy would have put on the *toga virilis* between the ages of thirteen and seventeen (Rawson 2003: 142). The name of the garment itself further suggests this, as the individual was no longer an *impuber*, but upon assuming this toga was now *virilis* (manly).

The above evidence only relates to male individuals, as girls did not have an equivalent *vestis feminae* to the male *toga virilis*. Additionally female persons were not automatically released from *tutela* like their male counterparts. However, marriage might have been a similar rite of passage from childhood to adulthood. For girls the law required that they be twelve years of age to marry. This would have been around or just before the onset of puberty as girls often undergo this change earlier than boys (Scheure and Black 2006: 469). Justinian's *Digest* records Ulpian's *Secundo Libero de Adulteriis*, which states

si minor duodecim annis in domum deducta adulterium commiserit, mox apud eum aetatem excesserit coeperitque esse uxor non poterit iure viri accusari ex eo adultero, quod ante aetatem nupta commisit, sed quasi sponsa potent accusari ex rescripto divi Severi, quod supra relatam est (Dig. 48.5.14.8).<sup>2</sup>

Legally a girl could not be considered a true wife until she turned twelve. In this case, the girl in question could not be charged or punished as an adulterous wife so long as the indiscretions took place before her twelfth birthday. Inherent in this case is also the idea that a girl could be too young for marriage, carrying with it the implication that she should behave in a way appropriate to her status as a young, unmarried girl and that she belonged under the *tutela* of her father. This particular source also reveals that although a girl might be recognized by law as being too young to be a wife, that did not mean she

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<sup>2</sup> "If a girl less than twelve years of age committed adultery after she was led into the home [of her future husband], soon afterwards she passed the age [of legal marriage] in his home and began to be his wife, he is not able to use a husband's right and accuse her of adultery, which she committed before the [legal] age of marriage, but betrothed women are able to be accused with the rescript of the divine Severus, which has been related above."

did not become one. However, even when this rule was not followed absolutely, it still seems girls were married around that age and not significantly younger.

There is further evidence that young girls would begin to take on wifely responsibilities before the law saw them as being of an appropriate age. A second century inscription on the sarcophagus of a centurion's wife from Aquincum in Pannonia Inferior reads:

Sita hic sum matrona genus nomen / que Veturia Fortunati coniux de  
patre Vetu / rio nata ter novenos misera et nupta bis octo / per annos  
unicuba uniuuga quae post / sex partus uno superstite obit / T (itus?)  
Iulius Fortunatus (centurio) leg (ionis ) II ad (iutricis) p (iae) f (idelis) /  
coniugi incomparabili et insigni in se pietate (CIL III 3572).<sup>3</sup>

The deceased woman, Veturia, is described as having died at the age of 27 (*nata ter novenos*) but having been married for sixteen years (*nupta bis octo*). Thus she would only have been eleven years old at the time of her marriage. Shaw (1987) and Saller (1994) have argued based on epigraphic data that marriage of girls happened more commonly in their later teens in the Western empire during the first to fourth centuries CE (see also Saller and Shaw 1984). Despite different practices, the overall ideology remains the same; the time around the onset of puberty is the time when girls, like boys, could make the transition from child to adult.

Children were recognized as physically and socially dependent, which is the reason both male and female children were under *tutela* before reaching puberty. They were reliant on adults to provide for them. An honorary inscription recorded that Caelia Macrina, a woman living in Terracina in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, funded food for 200 children in her name and that of her son. Boys were to receive funds for food up until the age of sixteen, whereas girls were to receive it up until the age of fourteen:

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<sup>3</sup> "Here I lay, Veturia, by name and family and a married woman. The wife of Fortunatus, from my father Veturius, unhappy I lived [only] twenty seven years and was married [only] sixteen years. I slept with one man, I was married once, I bore six children, with one surviving me. Titus Iulius Fortunatus, a centurion with the Second Legion erected this for his wife, incomparable and distinguished in her piety."

Caelia C.f. Macrina ex testamento sestertium trecentis milibus fieri iussit, in cuius ornatum et tutelam sestertium...milia reliquit. Eadem in memoriam Macri fili sui Tarracinensibus sestertium decies reliquit, ut ex reditu eius pecuniae darentur centum pueris centum puellis [omisit quadratarius] alimentorum nomine singulis mensibus singulis pueris colonis denarii V, puellis colonis singulis in menses singulos denarii IIII, pueris usque ad annos XVI, puellis usque ad annos XVIII, ita ut semper C pueri, C puellae per successiones accipiant (CIL X.6328).<sup>4</sup>

Prepubescent boys and girls were seen as dependent and Caecilia was considered honorable for helping the children who could not feed themselves. She puts on public display her good deed with this inscription, suggesting that the Romans saw disadvantaged children as a concern of society. According to the inscription girls received assistance for a shorter period, probably because they married younger. Once a girl married or a boy came of age they were seen as no longer dependent in the same fashion; presumably the girl's husband would care for her and the boy could care for himself (Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 159). Likewise the Romans also made legal provisions to oversee the well being of children: *Etiam si maxime autem probet filium pater in sua potestate esse tamen causa cognita mater in retinendo eo potior erit idque decretis divi Pii quibusdam continetur: optinuit enim mater ob nequitiam patris ut sine deminutione patriae potestatis apud eam filius moretur* (Dig. 43.30.3).<sup>5</sup> In the case where a father was considered unfit, a child could be placed in the custody of the mother.

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<sup>4</sup> "Caecilia Macrina, daughter of Gaius, has ordered in her will that there to be 300,000 sesterces to be used for [the construction of a building]... the rest of the money goes to its decoration and upkeep. The same in memory of her son Macer, she left 1,000,000 sesterces so that the money might be granted to 100 boys and 100 girls in the name of *alimenta*; 5 denarii each month to each citizen boy until the age of 16 years, and 4 denarii each month to each citizen girl until the age of 14 years, indeed so that always 100 boys and 100 girls receive [this grant] in succession.

<sup>5</sup> "Even if the father demonstrates that his son is under his authority, nevertheless, when there is a known reason, the mother will be able to retain custody of him, according to the decree of the divine Antoninus Pius: for the mother obtained it on account of the worthlessness of the father so that her son remained in her home with diminishing patria potestas."

The jurist Paulus wrote about those who were excluded from all civic and public duties, in particular acting as *iudices*, which included women, the deaf and mute, the insane and children:

Quidam enim lege impediuntur ne iudices sint, quidam natura quidam moribus natura ut surdus mutus: et perpetuo furiosus et impubes, quia iudicio carent...moribus feminae et servi, non quia non habent iudicium sed quia receptum est ut civilibus officiis non fungantur (*Dig. 5.1.12.2*).<sup>6</sup>

He states that children (*impubes*) are ineligible because of nature (*impediuntur... quidam natura*), citing specifically that they are without discernment or understanding (*quia iudicio carent*). They are distinguished, along with the lunatic (*furiosus*), by this condition, as others are noted as being excluded because of statute (*lege*) or custom (*moribus*). Women and slaves are specifically cited as being excluded because of custom, not because they lack the understanding.

Puberty clearly seems to have indicated a change from childhood into adulthood in the Roman mind. However, this change represented more than a switch in status; it meant a change in roles and responsibilities for the individuals. Bradley in his study of thirty papyri, which recorded apprenticeship agreements, determined that most apprenticeships began when the individuals were around the ages of twelve to fourteen years (1991: 108). One of the papyri records that a slave girl Nike being apprenticed was fourteen years old (Bradley 1991: 107; *PSI 241*). In another papyrus, the girl Thermuthion being apprenticed to a weaver is noted as being under age (*POxy. 1647*) (Lefkowitz and Fant 1992: 208). The fact that apprenticeship contracts are drawn up for freeborn males by a third party would also suggest that the apprentices to be are underage. A mother apprenticed her son for five years to a weaver in Tebtunis in 42 CE, agreeing also to pay a required poll tax on the boy. As the particular poll tax mentioned

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<sup>6</sup> "For certain persons are prevented from being judges by law, some by nature, some by custom. Namely that the deaf and mute [are prevented] by nature: and the perpetually insane and children, since they are without [proper] judgement...women and slaves [are prevented] by custom, not because they lack judgement but because it is accepted that they do not perform civic duties."

was required only once the boy had turned the age of fourteen, he must have been around that age when he was apprenticed (Bradley 1996: 108). It seems as if the early teen years were the time when individuals lives and roles were undergoing changes related to their roles in the community as well as family. Bradley also points out that there are no records of freeborn girls taking on an apprenticeship as their primary job would have been to become a wife and mother (Bradley 1996: 109). A young girl would move in with her new husband's family and would not have necessarily been expected to immediately take on all responsibilities. There may have been a transitory stage, similar to an apprenticeship, in which the freeborn girl was continuing to learn to be a wife and mother. Furthermore, there is nothing to suggest that she would not have become acquainted with her husband's trade and assisted him in that endeavor,

Laws also further support the idea that the change from child to adult was a gradual transformation rather than an immediate switch. Young adults up until the age of twenty-five years were barred from being statutory guardians, since they themselves still needed assistance in handling their own affairs (*Instit. Iust.* 1.25.13). The Romans thought puberty was too early to make a complete transition into adulthood and thus around 200BC instituted the *Lex Plaetoria* (Frier and McGinn 2004: 441). This law established a severe penalty for anyone who had knowingly cheated an individual under the age of twenty-five years. Justinian records this among the laws on curatorships, a job originally instituted sometime during the reign of Marcus Aurelius to protect young adults (Frier and McGinn 2004: 441): *Masculi puberes et feminae viripotentes usque ad vicesimum quintum annum completum curatores accipiunt: qui, licet puberes sint, adhuc tamen huius aetatis sunt, ut negotia sua tueri non possint (Instit. Iust. 1.23.2).*<sup>7</sup> The individuals to whom this law applied were recognized as having gone through puberty (*masculi puberes*) (the females being acknowledged as able to bear children *feminae*

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<sup>7</sup> "Males having gone through puberty and females able to bear children have curators until they reach the age of twenty five years. Although they have reached puberty, still they are of the age that they are not able to manage their own affairs."

*viripotentes* rather than using the term *puberes*). Although *curatores* and *tutores* are sometimes equated with each other in the postclassical period, they had been distinct institutions, surviving as such even during Justinian's reign (Frier and McGinn 2004: 444).

Ultimately determining a Roman definition of childhood is difficult and variable depending on the context. For instance, there are variations between a medical and a legal definition of child, both of which mark what we term childhood as a series of stages of mental and physical development, dependency, and vulnerability. The law, which is concerned only with citizen children, marks puberty and the attainment of majority status at eighteen years of age as transitions from stages of dependency. Even after reaching majority, individuals are given extra protection until twenty-five years of age on account of their perceived vulnerability due to inexperience. Galen demarcates seven-year stages in childhood development (*Hyg. I*). Furthermore, neither the legal nor the medical definitions may fit lived experience in differing social contexts. Childhood may have been very different among the many communities within the extent of the empire. Variations in experience may also have existed between the sexes or between children in different socio-economic classes. The extent to which the concept of childhood existed for slaves remains even more in the dark. It is also worth noting that differences of experience existed on the individual level as well. For example, some boys cast off the vestiges of youth at thirteen years, while others did not do this not until they were seventeen years of age. Even the existence of these coming of age rituals tells us very little of how individuals lives changed with the participation in the rituals; changes in daily life and responsibilities may have happened more gradually.

Just as definitions of childhood vary among the different social and biological sciences according to research aims, the definition of Roman childhood should also vary depending on the available evidence and the questions being asked of that evidence. 1

will discuss my definitions of childhood in the next chapter along with my theoretical framework and methodology.

## 2.2 Survey of Past Research

### 2.2.1 *The foundations of childhood studies: Ariès, Mead and Piaget*

At the outset there are three researchers who need to be discussed because of their influence on the studies of children and childhood in the areas of history, anthropology and cognitive development: Ariès, Mead and Piaget. They revolutionized the ways researchers view and investigate children, though their views have been criticized and challenged.

The seminal work on childhood in history is Ariès' *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* (1960) and it has been said that "few works have exerted a greater influence on British and American social historians" (Wilson 1980: 132). He was one of the first people to suggest that the idea of the child is not intuitive, but rather it is culturally constructed. He purports that the concept of childhood was conceived in western society in the seventeenth century at the end of a process begun in the Middle Ages through which children were gradually distinguished from adults. Prior to this young children, defined as seven years and younger, were treated with indifference by parents and community alike. According to Ariès, mothers and others would have been reluctant to invest emotionally in the child as a sort of protection in a time of high mortality. He writes that because of the lack of portraiture, dress and games existing exclusively for children, childhood did not exist. He also considered how the family was altered along with the development idea of the child. The family became less of a legal and economic unit and focused more on its social function of rearing children. It has been noted though that Ariès' methodology and conclusions were "badly flawed" (Stone 1974: 28). Wilson (1980: 136) found that the critical flaw in Ariès' thinking was that he viewed

the past entirely in terms of the present. Still, Ariès' work is significant in that it provided other social historians with an analytical framework of historical development and evolution for research in the history of the family, which in the 1960's was just gaining popularity (Wilson 1980: 137). Another important outcome of Ariès' work is that it highlights the differing experiences of youth in the past. For instance, Kleijwegt (1991: 39) points out that Ariès recognized the effect of the social system of the lifecycle, such as the early and swift transition into adult roles, which meant the likely absence of adolescence.

Just as the concept of the child is culturally constructed, childhood experiences are also dependent on socio-cultural factors. Mead is credited with being "the first person to challenge the universality of adolescent experience" (Kleijwegt 1991: 1). Her work *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1929) painted a picture of a society in which youth led a relatively carefree and privileged life. However, her work has been heavily criticized. Freeman's critique (1983), perhaps the most extensive, began one of the most heated debates in anthropology (Feinberg 1988: 656). Among Freeman's biggest complaints was that Mead's depiction of life on Samoa as idyllic, casual and easy was flawed. This view of Samoan life arose from significant problems with her methodology, including her lack of experience with the Samoan language and her living arrangements away from the people during her fieldwork. He also argued that Mead went to Samoa with an agenda: to prove the supremacy of culture over biology (Freeman 1983: 81). However, her work also shows that she did indeed have an insightful understanding of Samoan society. Freeman (1983) criticized her for not living among the Samoans, but she reasoned that she "could study all the individuals in the village and yet remain aloof from native feuds and lines of demarcation" (Mead 1929: 7). She also records such things as the irritation experienced by older children required to tend to younger siblings (Mead 1929: 33) or the taunting of a youth by his rival for a girl's affections (Mead 1929: 26). She was clearly aware of cultural conflicts and demands and the psychological stress they caused (Feinberg 1988:

657). Whether Samoan youth had 'idyllic' lives or not, her conclusions ultimately revealed the fact that childhood experiences could differ drastically depending on the socio-cultural environment. For instance, Mead wrote that Samoan girls had much sexual freedom, though it was not necessarily exercised. There was not a parental ban, but rather an "institutionalized antagonism between younger boys and younger girls and the taboo against any amiable intercourse between them" (Mead 1929: 108).

The area of developmental psychology during the past century has also advanced understanding of children. Cognitive development is the area of developmental psychology concerned with how children acquire knowledge about physical and social worlds and how this knowledge changes over time (Kang 2000: 1). Piaget was one of the first psychologists to conduct studies wherein he considered himself the student and his subjects, the children, his teachers (Schwartzman 1978: 52). Some of Piaget's developmental categories have also been rejected, though his theoretical approaches were groundbreaking and continue to be utilized. Particularly he challenged past views that knowledge was passively acquired by a subject, who was separate from the external world but whose body is enclosed by it. According to this common view, knowledge of objects is simply "the result of a set of perceptive recordings, motor associations, verbal descriptions and like, which all participate in producing a sort of figurative copy or "functional copy" (Piaget 1970: 34). Such a theory purports that intelligence is meant to systematically file and correct sets of information. Piaget, however, proposed that "in order to know objects, the subject must act upon them and transform them: he must displace, connect, combine, take apart and reassemble them" (Piaget 1970: 35).

Work in the theory of sociological and psychological development has contributed to different ways of looking at children and childhood that have benefitted both anthropology and more recently archaeology. Piaget's theory has affected the way play is defined and viewed. Goldman (1998) produced a study of social imaginative play among the Huli children of Melanesia. One interesting point he highlights is that play is

the work of childhood (Goldman 1998: xv). This concept of play has for the most part been embraced by the current anthropological community (Schwarzman 1978). It is no longer set opposite work in a play/leisure versus work dichotomy. Play is both a behaviour and a tool or method through which children negotiate, affect and come to understand culture. Play is neither trite nor limited to certain individuals or groups. Rather it is inextricably linked to growth and development and is something all children use and participate in no matter how underprivileged they may seem or how 'adult-like' their lives may appear. It is a process by which culture is transmitted, continued and changed.

### 2.2.2 Early studies of children in archaeology

Only in the last twenty or so years has the study of children in archaeology really become a significant area of research. Before that one might find an article on an artefact, which might have been a toy, or the body of an infant buried beneath a house. This is, of course, not to suggest that such studies were unimportant but merely that they were isolated and not necessarily interested in the children themselves. One example is a study of jointed dolls from antiquity (Elderkin 1930). This study made use of textual sources to support its identification of the anthropomorphic figurines as children's toys. Elderkin, however was careful to recognize the difficulty in separating dolls from votive figurines (Elderkin 1930: 456). She mentioned those found in actual sub-adult graves, but also identified figurines found at temples, such as those of Venus, as dolls. She drew this association on account of ancient writers describing the custom in which young girls dedicated their dolls to Venus before their marriage (Elderkin 1930: 456). However, she was not very discriminating and discussed dolls made of different materials from many parts of the ancient world, specifically Egypt, Greece and Italy, without addressing any potential cultural specifics (though this was unsurprising for the time in which she

wrote). In her study she described the details and typologies of all the dolls as well as their accoutrements, which she did in chronological order. Additionally, the dolls were mainly described in respect to aesthetic appearance. Interestingly Elderkin also attempted to explain the cultural origin of these artifacts. She supports a theory that dolls evolved as children's playthings directly from idols, remarking that "rites often die down into children's games" (Elderkin 1930: 459). While this work focused on what were presumably children's objects, the author was concerned with the dolls themselves and not at all with who might have used them.

Another example of an early study of children's material culture was written by Bullen, an anthropologist (1947), though, as the title *Archaeological Theory and Anthropological Fact* suggests, it is mainly focused on the issue of whether or not comparisons can be made between modern cultures and their ancient counterparts. But the example she uses to illuminate her point concerns the debate over whether certain prehistoric American artifacts represent 'fetishes' or toys. She studied clay figurines and pots produced by modern Navaho children to draw a comparison. She states "in themselves the Navaho toys do not present serious problems; they are a straightforward 'anthropological fact'" (Bullen 1947: 129). She maintains that archaeological study needs to be supported by information derived from the study of living peoples (Bullen 1947: 128). Nevertheless, she still highlights problems and complications with doing so, such as difficulties in identifying parallel ancient and modern ethnic groups and fuzzy distinctions between 'fetish' objects and mundane artifacts (Bullen 1947: 129, 130). This study served the purpose of addressing methodological and theoretical issues using children's material culture. The study remains significant because of its cautions concerning the use of ethnographic data, which nowadays is frequently employed in archaeology, particularly in the archaeology of childhood.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s archaeologists stepped forward from simply associating artifacts with children to considering their effect on archaeological contexts.

A significant study, which considered potential connections between children and ritual, was carried out by Hammond and Hammond (1981). They took their young daughter out to a vacant lot and allowed her to play. Observing how she moved things around from their usual or proper place, the authors concluded that unusual deposits, which are frequently written off as ritual deposits, may actually be the result of child's play (Hammond and Hammond 1981: 636). For so long children had been overlooked by most archaeologists, partially on the basis of their perceived 'invisibility.' Beyond specific artifacts, their presence appeared to be elusive. The significance of Hammond and Hammond's study is that it illustrates that children may seem invisible because the evidence is misinterpreted. Nevertheless in this study the children remain tangential, the concern is the potential factors affecting the analysis of archaeological contexts.

### *2.2.3 New approaches to children in archaeology*

The work, which jump-started the current interest in trying not only to identify children in the archaeological record but also to glean information about their lives and experiences, was Lillehammer's paper *A Child is Born: the child's world in an archaeological perspective* (1989). She uses the concept 'the child's world' to provide a theoretical framework for archaeologists to approach archaeological data and attempt to identify children and also to emphasize that archaeologists need to start to study not simply their presence, but also their actions and experiences. The child's world includes the culture created by the children themselves based on their engagement with the surrounding world, the culture transferred from adults to children, and the culture passed between children with no adult mediator (Lillehammer 1989: 90). Her approach is significant for two reasons: first it suggests that children are active social agents involved in the formation of the archaeological record and, second, it emphasizes that their actions are not separate from adult society. Children's behaviour and activities should not be viewed in isolation from the activities and behaviours of the other people

around them; knowledge of the adult world in past societies is a necessity to understanding them (Lillehammer 1989: 96). For instance, she addresses the issue of play, which tends to be attributed exclusively to children. Instead she suggests adults influence play, which acts as mediator between the child's world and the adult world (Lillehammer 1989: 94). Her paper also includes a survey of Scandinavian archaeological finds related to children and explains what insight into the child's world they provide. Recently she has altered this concept and rechristened it 'the world of children' (Lillehammer 2000: 20). This new concept acknowledges the diverse experiences of being a child and "links the child collectively to aspects of time, space, culture and identity" (Lillehammer 2000: 20).

Since the publication in 1989 of Lillehammer's seminal work, *A Child is Born*, more and more archaeologists have been trying to bring children into interpretations of the past and also to consider why they are so frequently left out. Kamp (2001) questioned the treatment of children by archaeologists. She not only addressed the way they are often neglected in our investigation and excluded from our image of the past, but also criticized the context in which they have been most studied. Specifically she complained children are treated stereotypically and are only studied in terms of learning and development. For instance, there has been little study of their economic contributions. A similar complaint has been noted in the area of developmental psychology. Sociologists Harkness and Super (1983) remarked that children are only ever studied in terms of being developing adults, a trend that extends over many of the social science and humanity disciplines.

Nevertheless, as research progresses, the area of investigation widens. A number of studies of childhood have been carried out on topics such as behaviour and site formation, labour and learning, and socialization (Baxter 2005: 9). They have incorporated archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence. The result has been the creation of a number of edited volumes bringing together and organizing studies

carried out in many different areas, geographical and temporal, of archaeological research. These volumes are *Children and Material Culture* (Derevenski 2000a) and *Children in Action: perspectives on the archaeology of childhood* (Baxter 2005b). Additionally, books devoted to the general study of the archaeology of childhood have been published. These are *Archaeology of Childhood* (Baxter 2005a) and *Hide and Seek: the archaeology of childhood* (Wileman 2005).

The first of the edited volumes *Children and Material Culture* (Derevenski 2000a) collects papers on both theoretical and methodological issues and case studies. As discussed, it is in this volume that Lillehammer trades in 'the child's world' for the 'world of children.' In the preface Derevenski echoes Lillehammer, stressing that children are intricately tied up in the material world; they are at once "not removed from it and critical to it" (Derevenski 2000a: xv). She goes on to explain that the book seeks to find and understand the materiality of children through its collection of diverse studies spanning many time periods and geographical areas (Derevenski 2000a: xv). This reveals the wide impact of Lillehammer's theory; unlike older research concerning possible children's artifacts, these studies place the child at the center of their interpretations despite varied theoretical and methodological approaches and data.

Different sections of the book cover subjects such as theoretical perspectives, socialization and the transmission of knowledge, demography, valuation and relationships. Some keep mostly to the archaeological evidence, such as Grimm's (2000) investigation of apprentice flintknapping in the Upper Paleolithic and May's (2000) look at infanticide in early British populations. Other chapters rely heavily on ethnographic evidence to help interpret and understand the archaeological material. For instance, Greenfield (2000) examines the relationship between historical change, the transmission of knowledge and the production of cultural artifacts. She observed changes in weaving apprenticeship among the Maya community of Zinacantec and how this affected the physical appearance of the final product. Roveland's chapter on children in the Upper

Paleolithic also uses ethnographic case studies to consider their role in daily life (Roveland 2000). Other chapters are primarily theory driven such as Derevenski's *Material Culture Shock* (Derevenski 2000b), which analyzes modern Western society's expectations of what a child is and what kind of objects and spaces it interacts with. Illustrating her point that not all material culture related to children will conform to these expectations, she uses a well-known photograph of a young Afrikaner girl learning to shoot a gun (Derevenski 2000b: 4). She presents this situation as a problem for archaeologists since they must move beyond these expectations to study childhood in past societies.

The other major edited volume *Children in Action: perspectives on the archaeology of childhood* (Baxter 2005b) is a contribution to the growing body of theoretical and practical approaches to recognizing and studying children in archaeology. In her introduction Baxter, like Derevenski, discusses Lillehammer and remarks on the diverse approaches to the study of childhood. Additionally she emphasizes the reliance of the research presented on the theories, methods and data of other disciplines, particularly biology, psychology and anthropology (Baxter 2005d: 5).

Two monographs of the archaeology of childhood have been published in the past few years: Baxter's *The Archaeology of Childhood: children, gender and material culture* (2005a) and Wileman's *Hide and Seek: the archaeology of childhood* (2005). The former deals with theoretical and methodological approaches of studying childhood in archaeology. The latter looks at a wide range of examples of both archaeological and historical evidence concerning children in past societies.

Baxter (2005a) has produced a comprehensive work on the theoretical and methodological approaches to the study of children and childhood through archaeology. For instance, socialization is central to her study; it is a theme in each section of her book. She defines it as a "dynamic discourse across generations," a process which involves both children and adults as active social actors (Baxter 2005a: 27). She discusses her issues

abstractly and incorporates appropriate examples. For instance she writes about socialization and material culture. In one section she focuses on toys, addressing not only the function of the toys, but also how they are perceived by both the child and the adult (Baxter 2005a: 41-42).

#### *2.2.4 Defining children*

Much of the recent literature on the archaeology of children and childhood fails to address one of the central problems: how do we define the terms 'child' and 'childhood?' Baxter (2005a), however, gives a concise, generic definition, which can provide a good starting point for archaeologists in most areas of research: "Childhood is a prolonged period of dependence during which children mature physically and acquire cultural knowledge necessary to become accepted members of society" (Baxter 2005a: 1). She also acknowledges that such a definition needs to be refined to suit cultural specifications dependent on the society being studied (Baxter 2005a: 1).

Baxter has also highlighted some of the problems in the discipline of archaeology that has led children to be more or less neglected. Firstly she points out that Western scholarship has a general bias, which views children's actions as unimportant and peripheral. This has also been an issue in the study of cognitive development as pointed out earlier by Harkness and Super (1983). Secondly, there exists a long tradition of ethnoarchaeological and experimental data, which purports that children's behaviours are unpatterned and thus unknowable to archaeologists (Baxter 2005c: 78). A good example of such a study is the research of Hammond and Hammond (1981) previously mentioned. They refer to the effect children have on archaeological deposits as "distortion." It is as if children are a foreign group, which alters the "normal" order of the site. Adults are involved in the formation process that children distort. A similar study was carried out also on vacant lots by Wilk and Schiffer (1978) and reached similar conclusions. Nevertheless Baxter points out that most archaeologists do not make a habit

of excavating “the historical or prehistorical equivalent of vacant lots”; rather they tend to focus on domestic contexts, which would create some structure to affect child behaviour through social expectations and activities (2005c: 78).

Wileman’s study *Hide and Seek* (2005) in some ways seems to complement Baxter’s *Archaeology of Childhood*. Whereas Baxter addressed theoretical and methodological issues, Wileman provides examples where archaeological and historical study has produced information about the lives of children in the past. Unlike Baxter (2005) or Derevenski (2000) she does not critically approach either the methodologies or the theories of the archaeology of childhood. She may forgo discussion of theoretical and methodological approaches in order to target a more general audience for her book. She does make some theoretical statements, which show she is familiar with Lillehammer’s ideas, though she does not actually mention her. Wileman’s problem lies in the fact that she has no real theoretical or methodological framework in which to organize her ideas. She tries to draw broad, far-reaching conclusions but her examples are so far apart geographically and temporally that doing so is nearly impossible. She breaks her chapters down into themes, such as how children are welcomed into a society and the issue of treatment and abuse. In the end, the only sensible conclusion she is able to reach is that childhood varies greatly across cultures and communities. For instance in her chapter concerning the welcoming of the child, she gives examples from the Egyptian, Aztec and Judeo-Christian worlds (Wileman 2005: 17). Egyptian and Aztec sources suggest the child was welcomed with joy and mother and child were viewed as warriors, godlike. The Judeo-Christian tradition differed greatly from this, regarding both mother and child as inherently unclean (Wileman 2005: 15).

Wileman does make a number of good points though. For instance she points out that “every society must produce children in order to survive. Every society will have been concerned with the upbringing of children – their care and nurture, education and training, their control and future” (Wileman 2005: 8). This is a good, logical argument

against those who would still give weight to Ariès' theories concerning indifference towards children (Golden 1988). After all, to what extent can a society really be indifferent to its children when so much relies on them? Wileman is also the only one thus far to consider the youth of our closest relatives, chimpanzees and apes, indirectly challenging the concept of the 'Contextual Child' (Wileman 2005: 67).

Both the edited volumes and the monographs address the archaeology of childhood in many different cultural contexts. Nevertheless there are few published examples of extensive study done exclusively on the material culture of childhood within a single culture. One exception is *Children in the House* (Calvert 1992), which deals with the material culture of early childhood in America from 1600-1900. The study benefits from the fact that the evidence is better preserved, historical documentation is readily available and the culture under investigation is more familiar to modern society.

### *2.2.5 Studies of children in Roman social history and archaeology*

Roman social historians have contributed a great deal to the recognition of children in the Roman world. Early studies of Roman children were generally a part of larger studies of the family and domestic life (Bradley 1991; Dixon 1991). As in other fields, studies have gradually changed and placed the child at the center. Historians have led the way in such studies and have gradually turned from focusing on the institutions, such as marriage and the role of the family and paterfamilias, to focusing more "on relationships and on material and cultural contexts" (Rawson 2005: 2). There have also been notable attempts to go beyond social and cultural ideas of childhood to understand the experiences of children (Bradley 1991; Bradley 1998; Rawson 2003; Boatwright 2005; Evans Grubbs 2005). For the most part, though, focus has remained on socio-cultural constructions of childhood, but the potentiality for understanding lived experience is always present, though infrequently discussed.

Modern Western society tends to associate young children with domestic contexts. As a result, the earliest studies of this demographic were concerned with the structure and function of the family and the relationship between parent and child. Rawson notes that within the field of classics and ancient history the interest in children and childhood emerged directly from the study of the family (Rawson 2005: 1). A number of studies were produced beginning in the late 1980s, which focused on the Roman family (Rawson 1986; Bradley 1991; Dixon 1992; George 2005). Within these books, the subject of children is usually afforded one chapter to discuss the function of the child within the family, the attitudes towards young children, relationships with parents and other members of the household, and related issues of age, status and sex. In the same vein, researchers pondered such questions as whether or not ancient parents loved their children and mourned them when they died (Golden 1988; Evans 1991; Dixon 1991). Such a trend is clearly tied to the Ariès tradition, which purported that parents remained indifferent to young children as a form of emotional protection in a time of high child mortality.

Other studies have examined the caretakers of children, particularly *nutrices* and pedagogues (Bradley 1991). Epigraphic evidence from funerary monuments exists all over Italy often naming both the nurse and the child entrusted to her care. Bradley uses this evidence, along with historical texts, to show that affection between the nurse and her charge was necessary or at least ideal. He notes inscriptions existed, which were dedicated by the nurse to her charge (Bradley 1991: 19) and that the writer Soranus stressed that the nurse needed to have sympathy for the child (Bradley 1991: 23). However, the focus of Bradley's article is on the nurses and the children are only tangentially relevant.

Research has also been carried out on the results of problems arising between members of the household. Evans Grubbs (2005) has written about Roman law concerning the fate of children in cases of divorce. She makes use of Roman legal sources

from the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries. She addresses the issue of custody and child support. Bradley (1991) also deals with the consequences of the break-up of the family. He makes note of the fact that the 'traditional Roman family' seems to have been a nuclear family (Bradley 1991: 125). He uses literary evidence concerning senatorial and imperial families from the Late Republic and early Imperial periods, noting how marriage was not necessarily thought of as permanent among the elite (Bradley 1991: 128). These essays belong to a trend that is more and more interested in childhood experiences. For instance, Bradley discusses the emotional trauma and stress children would have experienced in the event that something caused the break-up of the family.

Texts and inscriptions have yielded some information about the experiences of children particularly concerning the subject of child labour. Researchers are also expanding the area of study beyond domestic contexts and roles. Texts and inscriptions have yielded some information about the experiences of children particularly concerning the subject of child labour. They would have made considerable economic contributions in the Roman world. Lower class children and slave children would have worked from the time they were considered capable of learning a skill (Bradley 1991: 116).

Documents from Roman Egypt list different children and their apprenticeships. Only a precise age is given for one: Nike, a fourteen-year-old slave girl apprenticed to a weaver in Antinoopolis (Bradley 1991: 107). Similarly laws have provided information concerning the types of jobs held by children. A *nomenclator*, *librarius* (copyist), *calculator* or *histrio* (actor) could be below the age of puberty (*Dig. XXXVIII.1.7.5*). Boys and girls were put in charge of shops and would supervise the laundry in the absence of the launderer. Bradley notes also that Roman authors mention children as workers relatively frequently as well. Varro (*Re. Rust.* 2.10.1) tells us that both young boys and girls were capable of tending animals (*non modo pueri sed etiam puellae pascant*). Inscriptions, often epitaphs commemorating the dead, provide the most authentic evidence on child labour and attest to the diversity of jobs they held (Bradley 1991: 115).

Here Bradley is trying to understand the ever-elusive experiences of children when he writes, "...from the viewpoint of the children themselves, exposure to the adult world of work must have arrived quickly in the lives of the majority" (1991: 116). Slave children and children in lower income families would probably have worked in some capacity from a young age. To the modern Western world childhood is a time of learning and leisurely play; children's economic contributions are deemphasized. They provided a significant amount of labour and contributed to the subsistence of many societies (Kamp 2001: 1).

Alberici and Harlow (2007) have challenged old ideas about the existence of youth and transitions from childhood to adulthood during Late Antiquity using historical and literary evidence. Much emphasis in the study of classical Roman childhood is often put on transitions and coming of age rituals for males, such as the taking of the *toga virilis* and marriage for young girls, for whom there seems to have been no equivalent ceremony (Harlow and Laurence 2002: 56). Alberici and Harlow first point out quite rightly that there is little chance that an instantaneous transition from childhood to adulthood would have existed simply because there was a ceremony. This is an interesting point where Alberici and Harlow have brought in that other aspect of childhood, lived experience (though it is understood and the term is not expressly used). It is unlikely that an individual could change her behaviour, mindset and social roles through participation in a transitory ritual. The ritual would have represented a shortened, conceptual version of a longer transitory period. Using medical, legal and rhetorical texts, they make a compelling argument that for females there was a gradual progression from childhood to adulthood through a transitory period of youth.

The role of children in religion is also an area that has undergone some study. Mantle (2002) examines the role of children in Roman religion by looking at literary and iconographic sources. She challenges past analysis claiming children were used because of symbolic reasons, particularly sexual purity. She does not dismiss them, but suggests

that they were included since they were members of society (Mantle 2002: 103). She also concludes that there may have been a preference for boys over girls as participants in religious ritual (Mantle 2002: 104). Another study conducted by Johnston (2001) discusses the role of the child as a medium in ancient divination. She calls upon evidence from papyri documenting divinatory rituals, which were often "inversions, reversals, or perversions of mainstream rituals" (Johnston 2001: 98). She also makes use of comments made by late antique authors concerning divination. She suggests it is related to a cultural phenomenon, which views children as being able to see into other worlds (Johnston 2001: 97). She also suggests reasons for the use of children as mediums, such as their status as more 'pure' than adults. Purity in all areas of ritual is stressed in the papyri. Other reasons are suggested by the ancient authors, including qualities such as children's straightforwardness and youth (Johnston 2001: 107). At the end of her paper, she considers whether children were used because of their ability to "exude an aura of integrity and they simultaneously remain open to manipulation by other participants" (Johnston 2001: 113).

Ultimately the vast majority of studies of Roman children have focused primarily on how society viewed and treated them. There are some exceptions, particularly Bradley (1991). Another significant exception can be found in Rawson (2003), the only major book to concern itself exclusively with the history of children and childhood in the Roman world. Most of the book is concerned with the views and treatment of children. It is certainly the most thorough and comprehensive study of childhood in the Roman world. Rather than include them as part of a study of family or class or age, she places them at the center of her study. She uses historical, epigraphic and iconographic evidence to show that children were valued and cared for in Roman society. She considers evidence pertaining to law and education as well as visual representation. Much of her research pertains particularly to the upper echelons of society. This is of course due to the nature of the evidence. Rawson does touch briefly on labour. Though she does fall

into the trap of making some broad generalizations and attributing adult perspective to children, she takes the study of children in the Roman world in an interesting new direction. In her final chapter she explores how a child might have experienced the city. She considers the appearance and layout of the city of Rome as a child's eyes might have seen it (Rawson 2003: 271). She also reflects on what the atmosphere would have been like during a celebration and how a child would have reacted to it (Rawson 2003: 275). Thus she presents an interesting, dual view: how Roman society reacted to children and how the children reacted to the culture around them.

Another study that has attempted a new approach to looking at children in the Roman world is the work of Harlow and Laurence (2002). Though they do not really provide any new information or insight into the lives of children, they do present an interesting way of approaching their subjects by placing childhood within the context of the life course. Such an approach is also significant because it does not isolate children from their family, community and society. It also recognizes 'child' as only a temporary identity.

Studies of children in Roman archaeology have typically focused on iconography and funerary evidence, the two types of evidence where there is a corporeal representation of a physically immature human being is present.

Huskinson's work on images in funerary iconography related to children provides an interesting contrast in her study of the social construction of childhood. Her work on *Roman Children's Sarcophagi* (1996) looks at images on sarcophagi that may have been intended for children. She determines this by size, restricting her data set to sarcophagi no longer than 1.7 meters. She is well aware of the problematic nature of her material. She acknowledges that her sarcophagi might have been used as receptacles for the ashes or bones of adults. Similarly, children could have been interred in 'adult sized' sarcophagi. She has sought to answer important questions regarding how the images and motifs relate to the Roman notion of children and what they might tell us about the

expectations for children's lives, which death rendered unattainable. Huskinson has continued investigation of iconography as evidence of socio-cultural constructions of childhood. More recently she has examined the representations of children of different types of funerary monuments and their differing constructions of the concept of the child (Huskinson 2007).

Boatwright (2005) used iconographic and epigraphic evidence from Romano-Pannonian tombstones to suggest that in this province close-knit ties between parents and children were an ideal. The children were frequently depicted with their parents, often in a very individualized manner. The family members were often very close together and physical contact, such as a hand on a shoulder, was common (Boatwright 2005: 305). She also notes that some of these characteristics differ from Italian tombstones, stressing variation between regions (Boatwright 2005: 307).

The house is usually the physical context in which children are studied. Historical research implies this through the primary association of children with the family and caretakers. Children's activities outside the house and relationships with members outside the *familia* are studied less commonly. Roman archaeology has been unable to identify children's presence within the house (Wallace-Hadrill 1994, Allison 2004) for reasons discussed in the introduction. Thus, scholars most often seek children in mortuary contexts, "where they can be unquestionably seen" (Whittlesey 2002). Such studies have helped to understand the social status and role of children within society. Martin-Kilcher (2001) conducted a study of objects found in the graves of young girls. Through a comparison of the grave goods she determined that certain objects, such as dolls and jewelry, were placed in the graves of young girls who died before they married. However she notes the presence of a doll in the grave of an elderly Vestal Virgin, suggesting that such grave goods were not necessarily age related, but rather represent the absence of marriage (Martin-Kilcher 2001: 73). This study also illustrates that

historians and archaeologists need to be cautious about assigning a single purpose to objects.

Gowland has published a number of studies on the bioarchaeological evidence for sub adults in Roman era cemeteries and also cemeteries from other historical periods (Gowland 2001; Gowland 2006; Gowland and Chamberlain 2002). She uses the evidence not only to determine environmental conditions, but also to consider the social construction of childhood (Gowland 2001).

While Romanists have pointed out that children did not have separate spaces in daily life, some research has shown that they sometimes did have separate spaces in death. Blaizot et al. (2003) identified three funerary groups at Grange-Neuve that contained large numbers of children who died in their first year of life. One of these cemeteries seems to have been reserved entirely for children under one year of age. The others were a communal cemetery which also included infants and a third that was an area regularly used for the burial of children and only occasionally adults.

Becker (2007) looked at the role age played in the likelihood of juvenile representation in cemeteries. In his study of mortuary remains from Tarquinia he found that children from the age of 5.5 years and older were well-represented. Children under this age were completely absent as were any examples of a mother buried with an infant or perinatal. Becker discusses the possibility of separate cemeteries for women who died in childbirth and for children who died before the age of 5.5 years.

There have also been a number of studies of single object types attributed to children because of their conformity to modern notions of childhood or their physical proximity to the body of a physically immature individual. Elderkin (1930) conducted a study of dolls from the Greco-Roman world, taking a rather evolutionary perspective in discussing the ways that dolls evolved from votives. Janssen has also published a study of soft toys from Egypt, which included a number of dolls (1996). These toys were found primarily amongst burial assemblages. Besides dolls and toys, the other main artefact

type of childhood that has been studied has been footwear. Driel-Murray (e.g 1987, 1999, 2005) has conducted a number of studies of Roman footwear from Germany and Northern England, which included children's shoes.

### 2.3 Roman Childhood in Pieces

The study of children and childhood in archaeology continues to develop so that archaeologists can come to a more complete understanding of the past. Lillehammer's (1989) theory is useful in its broad applicability and reintegration of children back into a social world that includes adults and peers. Her theory does not address different ways the evidence can be analyzed, particularly in light of the Roman archaeological material and its limitations. Furthermore the Child's World Model does not provide a platform for integrating different archaeological evidence for different aspects of children's lives. Current research in Roman archaeology has tended to focus on rather disparate aspects of childhood, which has not been very helpful in reconstructing the totality of children's day-to-day lives. Most recent as well as older research has been concerned with socio-cultural constructions from an adult perspective. A cohesive theoretical framework with which to analyze in relation to children's experiences and agency the specific kinds of evidence available from the Roman period is lacking.

Children, once viewed as peripheral and of less importance, are being studied as significant members of their societies and active participants in the formation of the archaeological record. Roman social historians and archaeologists continue to look ahead to where studies of children and childhood may expand. Both Rawson (2005: 1) and Mustakallio and Hanska (2005: ix) note the necessity of interdisciplinarity in the future of childhood studies. Dixon (2001: 2) remarks on the need to step outside of domestic and familial contexts more: " 'history of the family' is seen as the proper repository for

matters concerning women and children, while Roman class and status are assumed to be about adult men.”

This thesis intends to widen the focus on the world of children in the western Roman empire to investigate a range of social contexts of childhood not limited to the family. In the next chapter I will lay out my theoretical framework for approaching children’s material culture and the materiality of childhood. Then I will illustrate its application to archaeological materials in the Roman world using three different case studies.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### *Theoretical Framework and Methodology*

In this chapter I put forward in greater detail the theoretical approach to the material in this thesis. I will begin by presenting my concept of the terms 'child' and 'children. The discussion will then address Lillehammer's theory of the 'world of children,' which underlies the thesis as a whole. I have chosen to use her theory because no one has produced a more suitable framework and scholars, who studying children in the past, continue to rely heavily on her theoretical contribution (see for instance contributions in Sofaer Derevenski 2000a and Baxter 2005b). However, I further develop her ideas and refine her theorem in my own theoretical framework and the subsequent case studies of this thesis. I will then touch upon my approach to the concept of materiality and the nature of the material evidence for children's lives. Finally I will present a four-part theoretical framework based on sociological research for advancing the study of children in Roman period contexts through the analysis of material culture.

#### **3.1 The concept of the terms 'child' and 'children'**

As discussed in the last chapter, there are a wide variety of different ideas about what defines the concepts 'child,' 'children' and 'childhood.' The designations can vary greatly depending on the goals of particular branches of research, the nature of the discipline, the evidence available to scholars and the methodologies employed. For this research, the period of childhood will be designated as beginning in infancy and ending around the age of eighteen years. This concept incorporates socio-cultural, physical and psychological factors, all of which are important in attempting to understand the everyday lives of children. When trying to study a society's views of childhood, simply

looking at socio-cultural ideas may suffice. But to ignore physical and psychological development, which affect people's perception and behaviour, would give an incomplete view of the experience of the groups being studied. I also recognize the fact that childhood is not a monolithic phase in the life course and may be subdivided into different stages. Thus I will consider childhood in the Roman context to have at least two phases, one from birth until around age of twelve years or the onset of puberty, and a second from that point until around the age of eighteen years. A transition from child to adult, which may have begun with marriage, the taking of the *toga virilis* or the onset of puberty, may well be reflected in the material culture, and this transition should be studied separately. There may have been further divisions of age, and I will explore this in one of my case studies.

This concept incorporates the ideas present in Baxter's fluid definition that childhood is "a prolonged period of dependence during which children mature physically and acquire cultural knowledge necessary to become accepted members of society" (2005: 1). By considering the end of childhood to be after puberty, it incorporates a period of development when the individuals would have been adjusting to their new roles within their community. Their minds and bodies would have been continuing to develop along with their social and occupational skills. The law still allowed citizens certain protections until the age of 18, when they would have reached majority. Individuals would have been learning a trade in their teens.

Before proceeding, a number of complications with this definition should be acknowledged. It should be stated that it is recognized that this definition is based largely on the Roman written source material. Such ideas represented in these writings were not necessarily held throughout the entire empire or amongst all the different social groups. While it may be assumed that laws extended empire wide, they may not have in actual practice. And, of course, laws do not always reflect the opinions of the people. Different

social status and socio-cultural values may have affected the speed or way in which a child's life progressed.

Another complication with having a single, definite age to mark the end of childhood is that the lives and roles of girls might have changed two or more years before their male counterparts and thus their childhoods might have been over that much sooner. However, because of the nature of much of the material being studied in this dissertation, it is often difficult to determine the gender of the individuals interacting with the material culture.

### 3.2 Children as social agents

Lillehammer's arguments (1989; 2001) that children are active agents in their families and communities and also in the production of the archaeological record forms the theory underlying the research presented in this thesis. It has been acknowledged that children's activities affect archaeological deposits (Hammond and Hammond 1981). Still, these behaviours are not restricted to capricious play; children had significant roles to perform within their communities, such as participation in ritual (Mantle 2002) and production of goods (Bradley 1991). All of these activities, including play, involved interaction with the 'adult world'; adults provided toys and society provided expectations that affected children's activities. Interaction between peer groups also had a significant effect. Lillehammer emphasizes that the actions and behaviours of children do not exist separately from society and from the activities and behaviours of the adults around them. As sociologists are quick to point out: "childhood and the life conditions of children are fundamentally determined by the same economic, political and social forces which create the framework of adults' lives" (Qvortrup 1991). Furthermore, children are not passive recipients of culture; they are actively involved in the production of culture and changes that take place over generations (Toren 1993: 461).

### 3.3 Materiality of childhood vs. Material culture of children

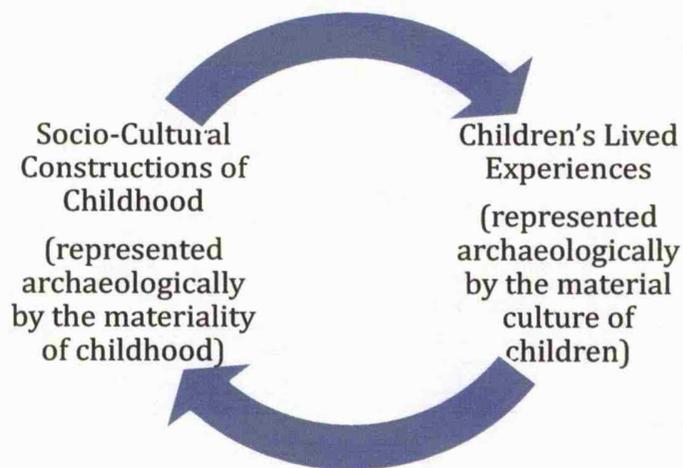
There are many questions as to what constitutes children's material culture in the ancient world and how it is distinguished from adult's material culture. Items labeled as 'children's objects' tend to be associated with children based on either their proximity to the body of a child or their conformity to modern notions of what constitutes a child's object. The fact of the matter is that Roman children's material culture is mostly not distinguished from that of adults. Toys, games, dolls, anything small or educational are often associated with children. These associations are problematic; dolls and figurines are often difficult to distinguish from votive figurines (Shumka 1999: 617). Likewise, miniatures, such as miniature pots and tools, also may have been votives (Kiernan 2009). Dice and game pieces were undoubtedly used in games played by both adults and children. Abecedaria could be associated with adult learners as well as children or even may have been religious or astrological symbols (Kraeling 1967: 90). The desire to identify "children's objects" is in many ways related to a modern conception of childhood (Wilson 1980: 137). Most of the items associated with children are found in burials and tombs or as images in art (Rawson 2005: 128; Janssen 1996; Elderkin 1930). Very few of these have been found on settlements for unknown reasons. It may be due to the fact that they were either not there, they were made of perishable materials that did not survive in the archaeological record, or we are unable to recognize them in their current state. With the exception of a few beds, several dolls and an infant feeder (Maiuri 1958: fig. 275; Mols 1999: 43, 164; Rinaldi 1956: 128; Descoedres and Sear 1987: 18), both Pompeii and Herculaneum, which are often considered pillars in our understanding of Roman daily life, are virtually bereft of identifiable children's material culture (Allison 2004: 155).

When trying to understand children's lives in the Roman period, the concept of 'children's material culture' presents several problems. The first, which was mentioned previously, concerns the imposition of modern notions of childhood on the material culture of the past. Imbedded in the monolithic concept of children's material culture is the idea that it should be distinct from adult's material culture; a lack of distinction would seem to indicate a lack of social distinction. This of course is the problem underlying Arles' argument for the discovery of childhood in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which he concluded from an apparent lack distinctive dress and games for children in the ancient and medieval world (Wilson 1980: 137). Another problem is that the concept is so broad as to be unhelpful in analysis. It does not distinguish between items that past peoples associated with children and those that were actually created and used by children. When children's material culture is studied as a monolithic concept then these two ideas are correlated. If an artefact was designed for children but not used by a child, is it actually a child's object? Would a pot or a stick, which was not intended for use by a child, become a child's object if one used it? Should these then be considered in the same class of artefacts if they have different intended and actual uses?

I propose the division of the concept into two distinct, though not mutually exclusive categories: the materiality of childhood and the material culture of children. The former, which has been the focal point of much archaeological research, I define as the physical manifestations of socio-cultural constructions. Such manifestations might include children's objects such as toys, spaces designated for children, particular types of work and their products, iconography, and clothing. In contrast, the material culture of children is comprised of the artefacts children interacted with, used and created. The meaning of the terms 'material culture' and 'artefact' should not narrowly be understood to mean objects. Rather I use these terms according to Deetz's definition, wherein they are the physical remains of series of decisions and actions (1968: 31). The material culture of children might include deposits they form, products they create, objects they

use, ways they alter their appearance, and places they play. The materiality of childhood and the material culture of children are not mutually exclusive, of course.

Archaeologists are often more comfortable dealing with the materiality of childhood. Within a particular culture socio-cultural constructions are on the whole more consistent than experience, which is highly variable depending on conditions, such as sex, gender, age, generation, religion, ethnicity, and socio-economic status. Nevertheless, the materiality of childhood and the material culture of children are intricately linked. Socio-cultural constructions will have significant effects on children's everyday lives. In turn, children's behaviour and agency affect socio-cultural constructions of childhood (see fig. 3.1)



**Fig. 3.1 the relationship between socio-cultural constructions and experience**

Lillehammer (1989) encapsulates these ideas in the concepts of 'the child's world,' which relates to children's experience, and 'the adult world,' which moderates the socio-cultural constructions. The culture of the child's world includes that which is transferred to children from adults (Lillehammer 1989: 90), which would include these socio-cultural constructions. At the same time children, as both a social group and individuals with agency, will in turn affect perceptions of children through actions and behaviour. The

relationship between material culture and social worlds, wherein one constitutes the other and vice versa, has been argued by scholars (Baxter 2005: 40). The relationship between socio-cultural constructions and experience is the same; one constitutes the other and vice versa.

In order for Roman archaeologists to understand more fully children's lives it is necessary to study both the materiality of childhood and the material culture of children while recognizing the difference between the two.

### 3.4 Studying the different facets of children's lives

As discussed in Chapter 1, the study of children in Roman archaeology has focused on iconographic, mortuary and bioarchaeological evidence, with the exception of a few studies of isolated material culture, namely games and toys. The main focus of these studies has been to understand the materiality of childhood and how the concept of the child is socially defined. This is only one aspect of children's lives. Childhood is thoroughly studied, though the children themselves are often not the focus and their day-to-day lives are glossed over.

Both sociology and developmental psychology are actively involved in studying all facets of children's lives in the modern world. This thesis also adapts for archaeological purposes the following theoretical framework, which is based on contemporary sociological research about children (from James *et al.* 1998). This framework offers four different views from which to theorize and discuss childhood, ultimately bridging the gap between commonality and diversity of childhood experience and between structure and agency. The four aspects of the framework are meant to represent four different facets of children's experiences as children and reflect the totality of children's lives (James and James 2004: 61). While it requires adaptation for use with archaeological evidence, I believe the framework can be used to study children

in the Roman world. Different types of material culture and different archaeological contexts can be studied in relation to these different facets, providing Roman archaeologists with a better, more rounded understanding of children's lives.

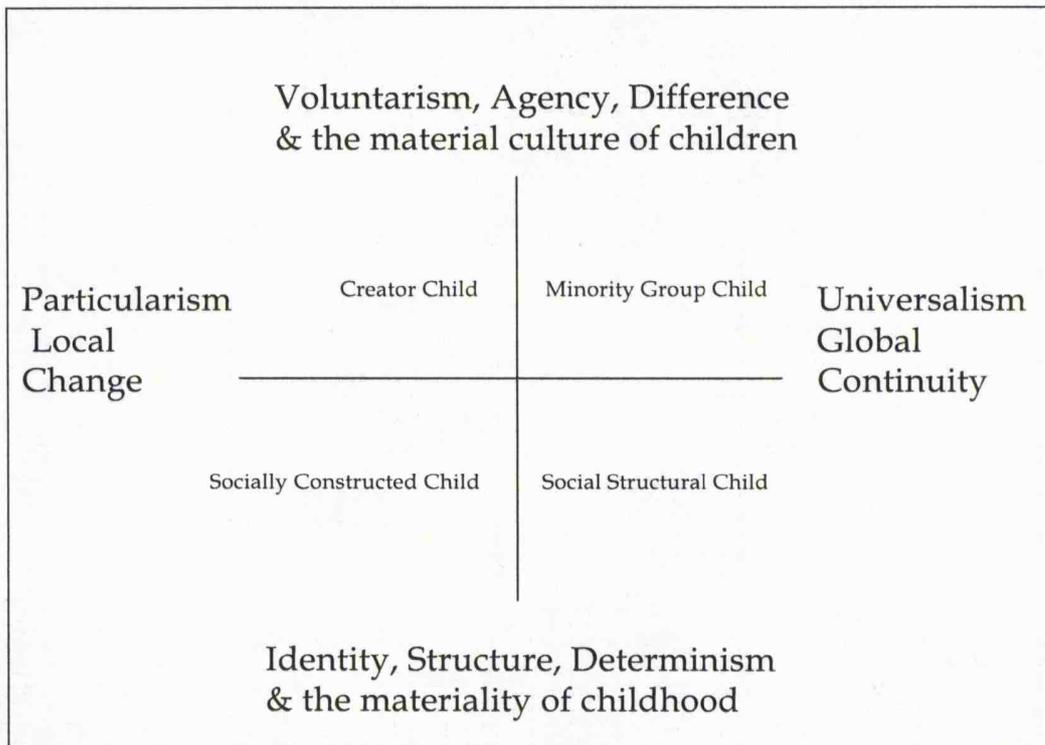


Fig. 3.2 adapted from James and James 2004

This framework is divided into two perspectives (see fig. 3.2). The first perspective focuses on children as social actors, dividing into two main models, the 'Creator Child' and the 'Minority Group Child.' These facets of children's lives are primarily represented archaeologically by the material culture of children. Within the 'Creator Child' model the diversities of experience, such as those due to age, gender, class, health and ethnicity, are emphasized. Children are approached as competent and actively engaged in the construction of their own world. Research is concerned with the culture of children, focusing on their local play traditions and language. James and James note that this model "sets out from a commitment to childhood's social worlds as real places and provinces of meaning in their own right, and not as fantasies, games, poor imitations or

inadequate precursors of the adults' state of being" (2004: 28). This aspect of the theoretical framework is very much fashioned after the approaches of ethnographers.

Childhoods are social worlds and are approached through the perspective of their inhabitants, children (James and James 1998: 29). Archaeologically this feat is achieved through children's material culture, as this is the physical remains of their decisions and behaviour. The 'Creator Child' model rejects the notion that children's behaviour is unpatterned and spontaneous, as it is often viewed in archaeology (Baxter 2005: 58). While not explicitly stated in the majority of archaeological literature, it is usually insinuated that adults produce the recognizable patterns in the archaeological record (e.g. Hammond and Hammond 1989). Children within their social worlds respond to both internal and external social expectations and pressures. James and James entitled this aspect as the "Tribal Child" model. I have made the conscious decision to change the term to 'Creator Child' in order to avoid some of the pejorative associations and 'primitiveness' often invoked with the word 'tribal.' Also the term 'creator' is more suggestive of the concepts of autonomy and active participation.

In contrast to the 'Creator Child,' the 'Minority' model is concerned with the commonalities of experience and engages with what is common to all. Within the context of this model, children are united as members of the social category 'child.' Children comprise a minority group (in a figurative not a demographic sense) with an existing set of power relations with the majority group, adults (James, Jenks and Prout 1998: 30). These power relationships are reflected in the material culture, which can be viewed as a focal point in adult-child interaction, the core of the conditions of the socialization process.

The second perspective of the theoretical framework approaches childhood as a social space for children and the ways this space is structured by society. These facets of children's lives are primarily represented archaeologically by the materiality of childhood, which is the manifestation of these social structures. Like the first perspective,

it is divided into two models, the 'Socially Constructed Child' and the 'Social Structural Child.' While the 'Creator Child' and 'Minority Group Child' focused on children's agency, these two models of the second perspective focus on identity and structure.

The 'Social Structural Child' model is concerned with the way that the social space of childhood is marked out for children in society through status identity and subject positions. The existence of childhood is not questioned and children are viewed as a constant feature of all social realms (James, Jenks and Prout 1998: 32). The focus is on the shared commonality of childhood and its inter-relationship with others, such as youth and adulthood (James and James 2004: 60).

While recognizing that childhoods are both mutable and deliberate, the 'Socially Constructed Child' model is concerned with the different ways in which childhood is constituted in different societies. The model deals with the types of discourse and material culture through which the concepts of 'the child' and 'childhood' are produced (James and James 2004: 60). This concept of the 'Socially Constructed Child' in relation to the Romans has already been discussed as it is evidenced in the textual sources for legal and medical contexts (see section 2.1.2). The 'Socially Constructed Child' is the aspect of childhood most often studied in Roman archaeology. How adults viewed children, distinguished childhood from adulthood, and expressed these differences in texts, images, and other manifestations of culture, has been a major concern of both Roman archaeologists and social historians in the past few decades.

This framework is particularly useful to archaeologists because it allows children's agency to be explored at the same time as the contexts and conditions of childhood. Different types of material culture from various archaeological contexts are able to be studied using this framework. Allison (1999) stressed that it is necessary to ask appropriate questions of different types of evidence. She is particularly addressing some of the misuses of historical and archaeological data, but her argument holds true for different types of archaeological evidence and their contexts.

Though each cite vastly different evidence from different contexts, the case studies used in this research can ultimately be fitted into this theoretical framework and provide information about a number of aspects of children's lives in the Roman world. While Baxter (2005) has also recreated a framework for studying the material culture of children, as discussed in Chapter 1, hers is more suited to the historical period in which she works. This framework allows Roman archaeologists to deal with the more disparate and ambiguous material culture.

### 3.5 Theory and Methodology by Case Study

Since each case study looks at rather diverse types of material culture from different contexts, the particular theory and methodology will be discussed at greater length in the chapter of the relevant case study. They address three of the four models presented above - the 'Creator Child,' the 'Social Structural Child,' and the 'Minority Group Child' models.

I have chosen not to develop a case study for the 'Socially Constructed Child' model because it represents the approach of the majority of research concerning children in Roman archaeology. Though these studies have not been specifically structured around this model, they have focused on the same aspects of children's lives; they are concerned with the types of discourse and material culture through which the concepts of 'the child' and 'childhood' are produced and are ultimately aimed at presenting an adult perspective. For example, studies of iconography over the past two decades have vastly increased the understanding of how childhood is constructed through visual media. One of the most recent endeavors, Cohen and Rutter's volume on the *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy*, contains several chapters dealing with the way parents commemorated their children through the creation of specific images of their deceased child (Sorabella 2007, D'Ambra 2007). Huskinson, in her work

on Roman children's sarcophagi, observed that there were differences in the physical representation of children of various ages in portraiture. Her discussion focuses primarily on an adult perspective: "for older children there is a greater and livelier variety of portraits, which may suggest the growing social awareness of that age-group and its increased visibility to adults" (Huskinson 1996: 87).

Mortuary studies focus on an adult-child dichotomy, concerned with showing how the ubiquitous group 'sub-adults' or 'children' were treated differently than adults (e.g. Mackensen 1978; Clarke 1979; Hintermann 2000). When specific subgroups (e.g. young girls, infants) within the larger group 'sub-adults,' the interest is in socio-cultural constructions from an adult perspective (e.g. Martin-Kilcher 2000; Gowland 2001). Life course approaches, which often deal with childhood, are concerned with the production of adulthood and often neglect to discuss the experiences of childhood from a child's perspective (Harlow and Laurence 2002; Alberici and Harlow 2007). While some scholars will make a brief acknowledgement of the child's perspective or the possible implications for lived experience, the studies are primarily from an adult perspective (see for instance Alberici and Harlow 2007: 393).

The evidence I have chosen for the case studies are types of material culture that have been associated with children in the past. The reason for this is to drive home the fact that "finding" children in the archaeological record does not require the production of new evidence. Rather it can be done through the reinterpretation of existing data.

### *3.5.1 Mapping activity using graffiti (Creator Child Model)*

This first case study (Chapter 4) incorporates the Creator Child Model. Using figural graffiti from four sites in Roman Campania, it explores the particularism and agency of children in the archaeological record through a study of their behaviour and choices.

One important aspect in accessing the agency of children is the dismissal of the notion that children behave in random and spontaneous ways. Adherence to this belief has impeded the study of children as social actors. Recognizing behavioural patterns is a necessity to understanding children's actions. The incorporation of findings from developmental psychology and sociology can help in understanding the ways children's behaviours differ or follow those of adults and how to recognize any deviations.

In the past some examples of Pompeian graffiti have been associated with children. The reasons for such an association included the apparent 'crudeness' of representations, the low placement of graffiti on walls, and the learning aspect of alphabet inscriptions (Mau-Kelsey 1902: 482). Research in developmental psychology during the 1960s and 1970s discerned that there were patterns in the ways that young children produce drawings. These patterns appear regardless of cultural differences and boundaries; the drawings of nomadic Mongolian children, American suburban children, and children of Bali all had shared characteristics. Using the patterns identified by child psychologists, it is possible to identify with more certainty examples of figural graffiti that may have been the work of young children.

This methodological approach itself incorporates the main themes of agency and particularism of the Creator Child Model. The central aspect of children's drawing is that it is a process of representation and not reproduction; the child instills his or her creation with emotional and imaginative elements (Di Leo 1970: 40). Piaget theorized that knowledge is not passively acquired, but rather it is understood after a process of deconstruction, negotiation and reconstruction (Piaget 1971). Studies of children's drawings validate such a theory. The children draw what they know rather than what they see (Di Leo 1970: 40). Their creations are representations rather than simple imitations.

The graffiti come from the sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the Villas San Marco and Arianna of Stabiae, all of which were destroyed during the volcanic eruption

of 79CE. A reasoned case can be advanced for associating some graffiti of these sites with children. Once identified, the children's graffiti are analyzed in terms of location, both within small units (i.e. particular buildings, streets, rooms) and larger ones (i.e. the city or town). These findings are then used to draw conclusions about the locations of children's activities and the types of activities that took place within different spaces.

While not considered a criterion for identification, the height of the graffiti on the wall is analyzed, as is the subject matter. For the latter, the graffiti are divided into seven groups: animal figures, human figures, objects, geometric designs, abstract designs, and scribbles, with a seventh category for subject matter that combines elements from more than one group.

This case study identifies children's activities through patterns and specific rules and dispels the notion of children's total spontaneity. It is necessary not to view children's behaviour as random, meaningless, or even 'wrong' in order to understand their contributions to the archaeological record. Their actions conform to specific rules. Goodknow says it perfectly: "Their rules may not be ours, but they are nonetheless rules rather than exercises in pure whimsy" (1977: 153).

Additionally this study aims to contribute to the growing body of scholarship on the artefactual evidence from Pompeii. There have been a number of studies of domestic artefacts (Allison 2001; Berry 1997; Baxter and Cool 2008). More often, though, scholarship in Pompeii has focused primarily on its architecture and decoration, particularly from the most visually impressive structures, and the epigraphic evidence. Graffiti are often treated as decorative or epigraphic evidence; the figural graffiti, if they are discussed, either play second fiddle to their written counterparts or are discussed separately (Langner 2001; Maulucci 1993). Here the graffiti are studied as a type of artefact, wherein an artefact is the material result of a series of decisions and actions (Deetz 1968: 31).

### 3.5.2 Designating the child's world (*Social Structural Model*)

This second case study (Chapter 5) is designed around the model of the Social Structural Child. It seeks to examine how childhood is demarcated as a social space through material culture and how it is made distinct from other social groups, such as adults and youths. Furthermore, since childhood is not a static life stage, but one marked by cognitive, biological and social changes and transitions, I will consider the existence of different social sub-groups within the larger group 'children.' The case study also relates the implications for these distinctions in terms of social roles and relationships. The existence of childhood is viewed as a definite feature of society.

A study of grave assemblages can yield information on how children are represented within their communities in death and perhaps also information concerning the kinds of material culture they interacted with during their lives. Archaeological and ethnographic data have shown child and infant burials often differ from those of adults in regard to associated grave goods (Baxter 2005: 97). Many archaeological studies considering children in funerary contexts study distinctions between adults and sub-adults, rarely considering variations between different groups of sub-adults. Thus I approach childhood as a transitional period with different stages potentially marked by differences in material culture associations. I examine the grave assemblages to see whether or not such stages are reflected in the artefacts buried with the individuals. Different age groups and associations would have potentially meant different roles, relationships, interactions and experiences for the individuals in their lifetime.

The data for this case study come from four imperial period cemeteries in the Upper Rhineland region, formerly the Roman provinces of Raetia and Germania Superior. The region was formalized as provinces around 40/50 CE, though prior to this it had been a single military district. It consisted of south and east Switzerland, north Tyrol and south Bavaria (Koepke 2002: 2). The four cemeteries are located at the sites of

Arae Flaviae (Rottweil), Vindonissa (Dagerli-Windisch), Courroux, and Cambodunum (Keckweise-Kempton).

This area was selected because of the quality and availability of information from the excavations and their published reports. All identification of individuals has been carried out through analysis of the biological remains rather than the associated grave goods. Additionally all the cemeteries share similarities in material culture. The majority of those buried in these cemeteries seem to have been indigenous people who have adopted some aspects of Roman culture or Romans who have adopted certain aspects of the local culture.

While this area of the empire is quite different both culturally and geographically from Roman Campania, this is not problematic to the research presented in this thesis. The purpose of this project is to find new ways to understand different types of material culture in different contexts, rather than to provide a single, coherent investigation of what childhood was in the Roman world.

The items from the burials are considered both individually and as components of the assemblages. So, characteristics like vessel forms, pottery types, metal objects are examined to see if individually there is any link between children and the objects. The interrelatedness of the objects to each other as parts of assemblages is another aspect that is examined. The possible uses of the different artefacts are considered; they are categorized into flexible, general functional groups, including 'amulets and votives', 'dress and adornment', 'toiletry', 'gaming' and 'boxes and fittings.'

Assemblages and objects are analyzed according to age group. Due to the fact that the age of most of the individuals is not able to be exactly determined, a number of them straddle two of the age groups. Age groups are based loosely on the skeletal biological stages, as these are the ones used by osteologists to determine the ages. The groups are as follows: 0-3 years, 4-8 years, 9-12 years, 13-18/20 years, and a fifth group which includes those sub-adults whose approximate age could not be determined from

the remains. The case study also includes a sample comparison of sub-adult graves and adult graves. This was done with the burials from the Vindonissa cemetery, which comprises the largest group of sub-adults in all of the cemeteries in the case study.

### *3.5.3 The material culture of socialisation (Minority Group Child)*

This case study (Chapter 6) will focus on isolated material culture that has previously been identified as children's toys. What is meant by the term "isolated" material culture is simply that it has been relegated to the periphery by being labeled as children's objects and is frequently ignored in studies of the wider contexts in which it is found. Usually these things are apparent games, toys and anything seen as small and cute. Often they are isolated with the children and they are rarely viewed as the material culture of a wider community. This case study uses the 'Minority Child Model,' which considers the commonalities of childhood and the relationship between the social group 'children' and material culture. It incorporates a view of children as competent. In reconsidering the role of material culture in socialisation, I look at isolated material culture as focal points of social interaction rather than simply tools of socialization as a top down process. The ultimate aim is to attempt to understand better children's social networks and power relations between children and adults and amongst peers. Material culture acts as a conduit of communication between the older generation and the younger one.

The case study will incorporate Toren's model of the mind, which maintains that socialisation processes are influenced by a combination of experience and cognition (1993). She argues that children must be able to function in the same social and material worlds as their parents and elders despite the fact that they often have perceptions of object and experiences that are the direct inversion of the adults. She further emphasizes

that children must be studied within a social context that includes the family, peers, and wider community in order to gain an adequate understanding of their lived experiences.

*Discussion of games and toys in Roman archaeology usually paints the picture of a solitary child, responding to a toy as a stimulus in a predetermined way (Elderkin 1930: Janssen 1996: 239; Rawson 2003: 128). By relying on the assumption that there is a single fixed response to a stimulus, scholars have ignored the fact that socialization is an evolving process dependent upon social interaction (Waksler 1991: 13). For this last case study, I will look at dolls and infant feeders in particular, both of which have a long tradition of study in Roman archaeology. Infant feeders are potentially the artefacts of the important transitions, being used immediately after birth and during weaning of young children (Dasen 2003). Dolls are among the most versatile and ubiquitous children's objects across cultures and time. I discuss how they may have functioned as conduits for creating social ties and communicating values and expectations. This case study will be discussed on a more theoretical level and will use examples from several provinces across the Roman empire.*

## CHAPTER 4

### *Mapping Activity Using Graffiti (Creator Child Model)*

#### 4.1 Introduction to the Case Study

This chapter uses the 'Creator Child' model to explore the competence and agency of children through a study of figural graffiti as material culture. The theoretical framework incorporates children's agency through the understanding that children's behaviour is patterned and contributes to the archaeological record in meaningful ways. The graffiti are studied as evidence for the locations of children's activities and the types of activities that were taking place in these locations. The social worlds of the children are approached through their own behaviours rather than through the eyes of their society, communities, or their adult family members.

Romanists have noted that children did not have separate spaces within homes as they have had in the traditional Anglo-American home since the Victorian era (Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 9; Allison 2004: 165). While as Allison rightly notes, this does not indicate "a lack of social definition" (2004: 156), it has made their activity patterns difficult to discern and study. There are some brief remarks in Latin literature about children playing in the atrium (Ver. *Aen.* VII.379; Lucr. *De re. nat.* IV.401-4), but they are few and far between. The archaeological evidence is even more scant than the historical evidence and further obfuscated by the problematic nature of 'children's objects.'

Since the authorship of graffiti is often ambiguous, this case study has two parts. The first part is concerned with the identification of figural graffiti that were likely to be the work of young children. This incorporates a new methodology informed by research in

developmental psychology. Art historians and classical archaeologists traditionally have used stylistic elements in vase painting and sculpture to identify the products of particular workshops (e.g Payne 1931: 333; Merker 2000: 56; Risser 2003). A similar strategy is employed here to determine whether particular instances of ancient graffiti may have been the work of young children. Using patterns and rules identified by child psychologists as guidelines, analysis of stylistic techniques in graffiti is used as a way to identify the products of young children. The second part of the case study will take the findings and analyze them to discern patterns in children's activities in different spatial and social contexts. The outcome is to understand the distinctive form of the child's world and culture, particularly the social expectations and relationships that influenced children's activities and where these activities took place.

The general theoretical framework was introduced in Chapter 2, but is expanded upon here. The graffiti are approached as the material culture of the world of children; they are artefacts wherein they exist as the material remains of a series of activities and decisions (Deetz 1968: 31). Webster has similarly suggested that graffiti should be approached as objects rather than texts, the usual category they are placed in; she argues this would help scholars to explore interpretations, such as the potentiality of slave authorship (2008: 118). Here graffiti are viewed as artefacts of play, a behaviour and a tool or method through which children negotiate, affect, and come to understand culture. Play is neither trite nor limited to certain individuals or groups. Rather it is inextricably linked to growth and development and is something all children use and participate in no matter how underprivileged they may seem or how 'adult-like' their lives may appear. It is a process by which culture is transmitted, continued and changed (Fromberg and Bergen 1998: xvii). Play is often seen as a leisure activity, which is spontaneous, non-serious and is unproductive (Toner 1995: 20). Ancient authors differentiated between play and learning as being at least mildly exclusive of

each other. Quintilian remarked that a child should be allowed to play and learning should not be imposed too early lest the child comes to dislike it (*Institutio Oratio* I. 20; Rawson 2005: 127). On the contrary, sociological and anthropological study found that for children play is an integral part of development; it is the work of childhood and of all children, regardless of gender or class (Fromberg and Bergen 1998: xv; Goldman 1998: xv).

## 4.2 The Identification of Children's Graffiti

### 4.2.1 *Past assertions of graffiti as the work of children in Campania*

In the past some examples of figural graffiti from Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae, have been interpreted as the work of children by archaeologists and epigraphers (Maukelsey 1908: 429; Koloski-Ostrow 1990: 59; Maulucci 1993: 77; Beard 2008: 15). These interpretations are often linked to the crudeness of the graffiti and the low placement on a wall. All of these traits conform to the long held view of children as incompetent and inconsequential. First of all, low placement on the wall does not guarantee a graffito is the work of a child. An adult could easily crouch down to scrawl something low on a wall or a child could easily climb on furniture to draw something high up. Most of the graffiti in the theatre corridor of Pompeii are below 120cm above the floor; many are actually well under that. As for the 'crudeness' of the graffiti, it is important not to view children's art as crude, immature or wrong. The drawings represent evolving mental development in children's capacity to create complex patterns and forms pleasing to the human eye (Kellogg 1969: 108). The prime reason it is possible to identify the work of children is because as a social group its members are also defined by physiological and psychological characteristics. Their brains are developing and it is these changes, which are reflected in the graffiti themselves.

The way in which children create representations is directly related to cognitive development (Kellogg and O'Dell 1967; Sundberg and Ballinger 1968; Efland 2002). The past identifications of particular graffiti as the work of children had no bearing on the identification of children's graffiti in this case study.

#### *4.2.2 Background for a developmental psychological methodology*

In the field of developmental psychology, the way young children draw has been the focus of much study, reaching a peak during the 1960s and 1970s. Piaget (1969), Di Leo (1970) and Kellogg (1959; 1969) posited that there are recognizable patterns and rules to the way children draw and that these vary depending on the age of the child. These studies have remained seminal works in this area of psychology and later studies of child representation and development draw directly from their findings. Kellogg's studies are particularly relevant because they were cross-cultural and very extensive; she collected approximately one million drawings from children in cultures spanning the globe.

Drawing fulfills both motor and visual needs in cognitive development. Scribbling, the first type of drawing activity, which young children engage in, is actually an extension of motor play (Di Leo 1970: 25). Children will scribble, in sand piles or on frosty windows, whether or not they are permitted or encouraged by adults. Children in Nepal, when given paper and crayons for the first time, demonstrated experience in scribbling and drew forms and patterns that Kellogg had identified in earlier studies of American children (Kellogg 1969: 98) (fig. 4.1).

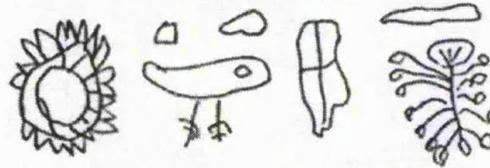


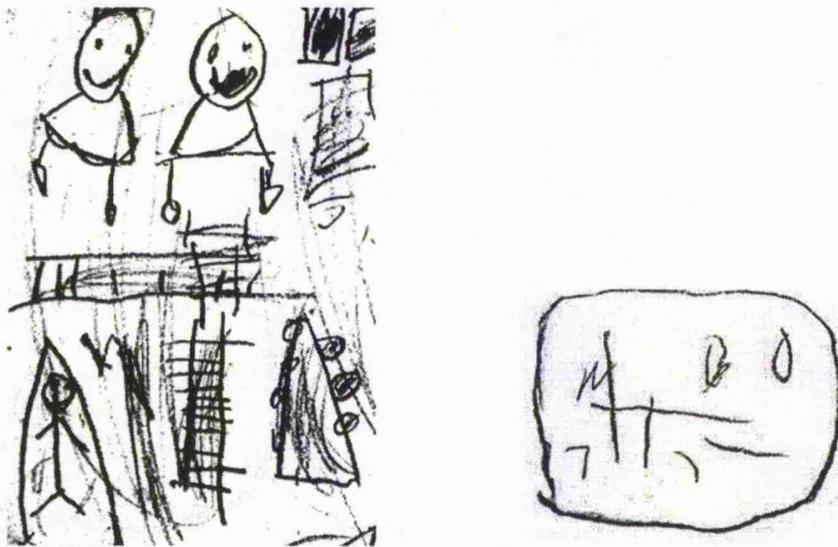
Figure 4.1 Nepalese boy and his drawings (Kellogg 1969)

There is also a significant visual component to even the earliest scribbling efforts, as children choose mediums in which the scribbles are actually visible, such as drawing with fingers on dusty furniture or scratching out images in the dirt. The visibility of their creation is at least partially central to their purpose (Kellogg 1969: 101). These motor and visual components make the production of drawing a significant event. Thus graffiti are an important type of children's material culture.

Research in the field of developmental psychology focusing on children's drawings has viewed representational development in two ways: the universalist perspective and the contextualist perspective (Tramonti 2005: 45). The former maintains that children from different cultures undergo the same evolution of representational capacities. The latter maintains that development of representational abilities is culturally constructed (Tramonti 2005: 47). One concept used in support of the universalist perspective is that of 'recognizability,' wherein children not normally accustomed to images will be able to identify

the content of simple drawings (Tramonti 2005: 49). For instance, children from cultures, which do not encourage or which even actively discourage the representation of the human figure (such as Islamic cultures), will still recognize illustrations of human beings (Pinto et al. 1999: 454). Moreover, a study by Ricci of children's drawing, *L'arte dei Bambini* published in 1887, revealed many of the same patterns in the way children drew (Ricci 1887: 54). However, variation due to cultural differences is seen in how objects and people are represented.

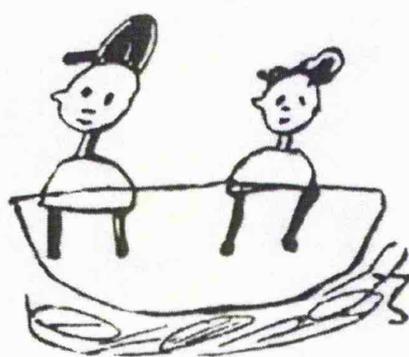
Developmental psychologists have determined that one central aspect of young children's drawing is that it is a process of representation and not reproduction; the child instills his or her creation with emotional and imaginative elements (Di Leo 1970: 40).



**Figure 4.2 Two drawings by young children displaying imaginative elements. Drawing on the right is of a human head (both from Kellogg's study, 1959)**

Piaget theorized that knowledge is not passively acquired, but rather it is understood after a process of deconstruction, negotiation and reconstruction (Piaget 2000: 34). Studies of children's drawings validate such a theory. The children draw what they know rather than what they see; they are representations rather than imitations (Di Leo 1970: 40). For

instance, when drawing people in a boat, the child will choose to show the lower halves of the bodies even though they would be obscured by the boat's side (this is sometimes called a *transparency*) (Fig. 4.3). The child draws the legs because they *know* they are there. The child has also placed a boundary between the water and the boat, even though the boat should rest in the water. Again, this is because the child *knows* the boat is separate from the water.



1885

**Figure 4.3** Child's drawing showing transparency from Ricci's study (1887)

There is a clear logic behind the way in which children represent people, animals and objects in drawings. Since there are recognizable patterns in the behaviours of children, archaeologists can access these behaviours in the archaeological record; they need only be aware of these patterns. Thus, this case study uses these patterns found in the drawings of young children to identify graffiti that are the work of children. Campanian children's graffiti that are discussed in this chapter are listed in Appendix 2; [numbers in brackets] refer to the ID number listed in this appendix.

### 4.2.3 Ages of the Campanian children and some inherent problems

The ages of the children who scratched the graffiti into walls are difficult to pin down. The age of two is generally when children are found to begin scribbling, though some do scribble at a younger age (Kellogg 1969: 14). While Malchiodi, (1998), Cox (1992), Di Leo (1970) and Kellogg (1969) attribute developmental stages with age groups, these designations are variable depending on socio-cultural circumstances, which have an effect on the rate of representational development. It seems that children will develop faster the more they are encouraged to draw and the more instruction they receive. Hence a study of Japanese children who were taught to draw in school showed an increase in the speed of their development, sometimes by several years (Alland 1983: 203). Despite the difference in the rate of development, the children still progress through the same stages, drawing using the same 'rules', and create visual representations exhibiting the same patterns.

It is difficult to know the rate of cognitive development in Roman children. There is little evidence, historical or archaeological, regarding the extent to which children in the ancient Roman world were encouraged to draw or whether they received any instruction how to do so as part of either formal or informal education. Marcus Cornelius Fronto remarks in a letter that he gives his young grandson writing paper and tablets (*Epistulae ad amicos* 1.12). This does provide evidence that at least privileged young children had access to writing/drawing materials, but it is difficult to extrapolate this to the wider population of children, particularly the poor or servile. Fronto's remark also does not reveal whether children were given instruction in drawing, though it is not out of the realm of possibility. Careers such as painting and architecture would have required abilities in draughtsmanship and visual representation, so parents, caretakers, tutors or owners may have wanted to foster such skills. Nevertheless gauging the particular rate of development of Roman children is problematic with such scant evidence.

For this reason I have not attempted to place the children's graffiti into age groups associated with the particular ages of development. Generally I have considered the graffiti to be the work of children below the age of twelve. Culturally the age of twelve is relevant because historical and archaeological evidence suggests that age marks the beginning of a transition period for children. In regards to citizens, legally girls would have been allowed to marry at this age and boys would have been preparing to enter public life in a few years time when they took up the *toga virilis* between fourteen and sixteen years. Bradley (1991: 111) suggests also that children learning a trade would have been placed in apprenticeships during their early teens.

There are a number of inherent problems with the methodology that are addressed here. Research has shown that children in different cultures tend to develop at different paces (Alland 1983). It is, of course, also true that each individual child develops at a different rate. Additionally, psychological studies have generally provided the subjects with at least a minimal amount of structure for their behaviours. Presumably, the Pompeian graffiti were done with some degree of spontaneity. However, even this is without certainty. It is also unknown to us how often and under what conditions young children in the Roman world would have been allowed or encouraged to draw. Alland (1983) studied children from six different cultures (American, Japanese, Balinese, Ponapean, Taiwanese and French) and among which were children who attended school and those who did not. Overall the major difference in the rate of development was between children attending school and those who did not. Those attending school often had more opportunities to draw and received at least encouragement if not some instruction in doing so, and to this Alland attributes the increased speed in which their drawings develop.

Additionally this case study about Campanian graffiti is actively concerned with what has been deemed normal and does not directly take into account aberrations. The work of Di

Leo (1970) showed that the drawings of children with mental disabilities or genetic conditions often developed at different paces and children who underwent physically or emotionally stressful events often expressed themselves differently in their art.

#### *4.2.4 The data set*

The 545 figural graffiti used in this case study are drawn from four sites in Roman Campania: Pompeii, Herculaneum, and the villa sites of Arianna and San Marco (see Fig. 4.4). The sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae are well known for having been both destroyed and preserved by the same disaster, the eruption of Mount Vesuvius. While the once prevalent idea that the volcano provided us with a moment of life frozen in time has been contested (Allison 2004: 14-19), the level of preservation at these sites is nonetheless remarkable. Graffiti are highly ephemeral and the eruption preserved large amounts of delicate wall plaster onto which they had been carved or painted.

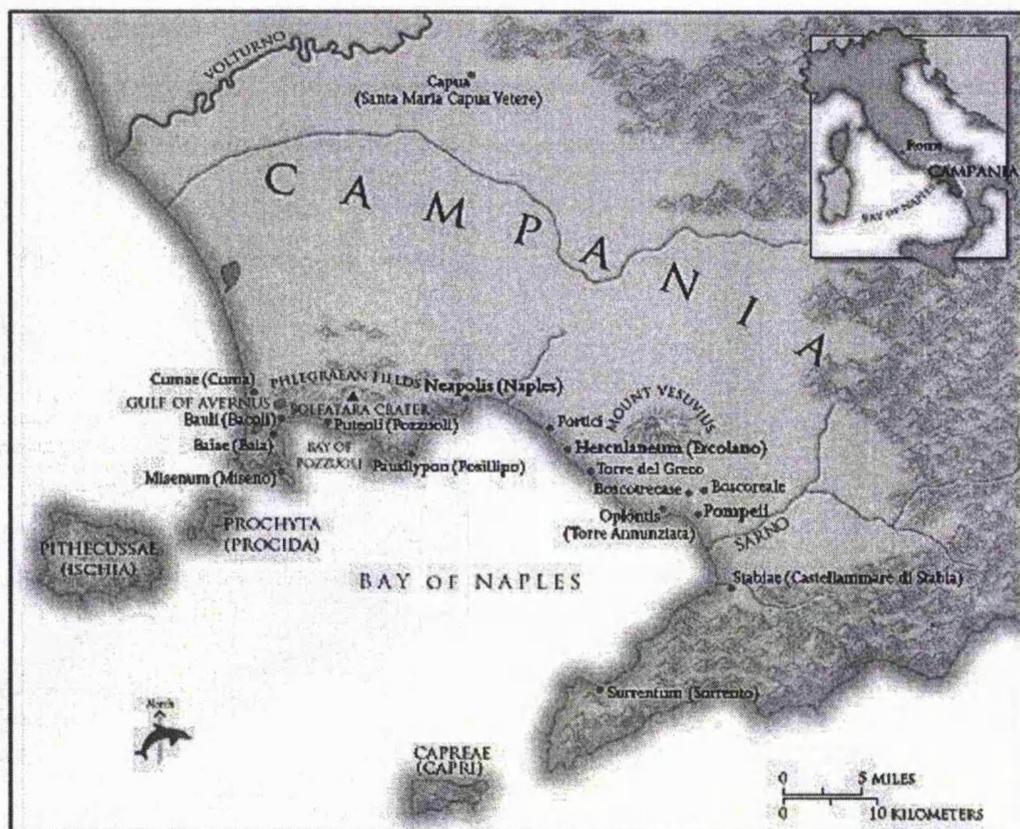


Figure 4.4: Map of the Bay of Naples showing Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae and other ancient settlements

In the end a total of 545 instances of graffiti were examined, with 161 being identified as potentially being the work of young children. All together this data set includes only a portion of the figural graffiti that was found. Langner (2001) in his compendium of ancient figural graffiti identified 831 instances of figural graffiti from Pompeii alone. In this count he included all those found *in situ*, recorded in publications and identified in reports, even if only in mention. While information about the graffiti was primarily gathered from published excavation reports and the published collections of inscriptions and graffiti, I did examine the graffiti *in situ* where it was possible to do so.

Though these sites provided a relatively large amount of graffiti to analyze, the data set nonetheless is highly fragmentary. Much of the figural graffiti no longer survive after

excavation exposed them to the environment. In order to be used in my study, the figural graffiti needed to either have survived *in situ* from the time they were uncovered or been recorded with an illustration to allow for the stylistic analysis. Prior to the twentieth century early excavators often saw graffiti as peculiarities, their discovery on walls was frequently only mentioned in passing (Laurence 1994: 96). The occasions on which they were treated as significant finds were primarily when a large number were found within a single property, such as at the Casa del Criptoportico or the Grand Palestra in Pompeii, the Casa dei Cervi in Herculaneum and the Villa Arianna of Stabiae. The deterioration of wall surfaces from exposure over time and from damage due to bombing during WWII means that many graffiti have since been lost (García y García 2006). Thus the final count of 545 graffiti is rather small in comparison to the number of graffiti that were present when the different areas of the site were first excavated and even smaller than when the city was populated. Though not a large sample, 161 instances of children's graffiti constitute a body of evidence large enough to discern some patterns.

This research builds on the extensive study of Pompeian graffiti by Langner (2001) and Maulucci Vivolo (1993). These two studies focused specifically on figural graffiti, though their scope has been more on typological issues than sociological ones. Langner's study (2001) did also look at the distribution of the figural graffiti from Pompeii based on the type of graffiti and its location. Works by Varone (1999) and Tinh (1988) have also included the figural graffiti in their studies of the Villa San Marco and the Casa dei Cervi, respectively. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* IV and *Pitture e Mosaici* also compile much of the figural graffiti from Pompeii and Herculaneum alongside the verbal graffiti.

#### 4.2.5 The Sites: social settings

'Felix Campania', literally 'lucky Campania', was how the great naturalist Pliny the Elder described this region (Pliny *NH* III.60). It was well known for its fertility, which produced famous wines and rich olive oil, its access to the sea, which provided high quality seafood, its thermal waters, and its beauty (Pliny *NH* III.60; Polybius III.91). Its thermal waters and fertile soil was of course due to the volcanic material from Vesuvius and the Phlegraean Fields (Comardo 2007: 21). Since political definitions shifted over time, the name Campania is usually used as a geographic designation (Frederikson 1984: 2). Pliny the elder recorded the most noteworthy sites around the Bay of Naples: "here along the coast is Neapolis, itself settled by the Chalcidians, called Parthenope as it was located at the site of the Siren's tomb; Herculaneum and Pompeii where Mount Vesuvius can be seen, not at all far away, ..." (Pliny *NH* III.62). Stabiae is located about seven kilometres south of Pompeii, at the point where the Sorrentine peninsular begins to project out into the sea.

The plateau that Pompeii occupied was likely first settled no earlier than the sixth century BCE (Descoedres 2007: 14). After Pompeii was defeated in the Social War in 89 BCE, Sulla converted it into a Roman colony, Colonia Cornelia Veneria Pompeianorum, and settled perhaps as many as 4,000-5,000 colonists there (Descoedres 2007: 16). The city grew to be some 67.6 hectares and may have been occupied by as many as 10,000-12,000 people (Jongman 1988: 109). Excavations of the town began back in 1758, and as of the present time over 2/3 of the city has been unearthed. It was a flourishing commercial centre, with opulent residences attesting to the wealth of a portion of the population (Westfall 2007: 129), though residents of Pompeii would have belonged to a wide range of socio-economic classes. Within the city there was no residential zoning by socio-economic status and the grand, luxurious houses of the upper classes were intersperse with more humble homes and small apartments. This was a feature found not only in Pompeii and Herculaneum, but also in

towns empire-wide (Owens 1996: 18). The absence of socio-economic zoning has implications for the composition of peer groups; it may indicate that children from many different socio-economic groups had the opportunity to interact.

Also interspersed throughout the city were shops, taverns, and guesthouses. The city also boasted a wide range of public buildings, including two theatres, an amphitheatre, a number of bath houses, two outdoor structures for sporting or markets, and a forum fully equipped with offices, a *comitium*, a basilica, temples and markets. Laurence (1994) and Wallace-Hadrill (1995) argue that there may have been moral zoning in Pompeii, which would have determined where bars and other establishments catering to “deviant behaviour” (as Laurence 1994: 70 calls it), namely gambling, prostitution and excessive drinking, were located. Ellis (2004) and McGinn (2002) have presented arguments against this, proposing that location of bars was in fact related to profit and their functions as businesses and questioning the evidence for moral zoning. The absence of moral zoning may have resulted in fewer restrictions in regards to places children may have been.

The town of Herculaneum was located at the foot of Versuvius along the coast, approximately 8 km southeast of Naples. Now buried more than 20 m below the current ground level, before its destruction the town lay on an elevated promontory. The first historical record of Herculaneum appears in the fourth century BCE in Theophrastus, who makes a mention in passing to it (*Hist. Plant.* 9, 16, 6 as Heracleion). It was described by Cicero as one of the most important centres in the region, having become a fashionable suburban residence (Cicero *De lege agr.* II 96). In all likelihood, it was probably more of a large village, with a basic political system, that may have been an important cult centre (Frederiksen 1984: 34-5). Politically it may have been part of a loose southern Campanian federation centred at Nuceria from the fourth century onwards. It is recorded that after its sack by Sulla in 89 BCE its ager was awarded to Nuceria (Frederiksen 1984: 141). Only a

fraction of the settlement has been excavated because much of it lies beneath the modern town of Ercolano. The first excavations of the town began in 1738 (Maiuri 1957: 9). Most of what has been exhumed seems to have been a residential area consisting of homes, shops, bars and a bath complex. Since it had become such a choice location to live, there were many lavish houses. Like Pompeii, there is little evidence of socio-economic or moral zoning.

During the seventh and sixth centuries BCE, Stabiae had been a large settlement, but experienced a recession following the Samnite conquest. This seems to have coincided with Pompeii's growth and indeed may have been due to Pompeii's increasing importance as a port city (Guzzo 2007: 3). Though it remained independent it was likely part of the same confederation with Nuceria, Herculaneum and Pompeii, and after it was sacked it also became part of the *ager* of Nuceria (Frederiksen 1984: 44). Pliny the Elder reported that after Stabiae's destruction by Sulla in 89 BCE it became an area thickly populated with wealthy villas (Pliny *NH* III.70). Pliny the Younger records that during the eruption his uncle went to Stabiae to help his friend Pomponianus, who had a villa there (Pliny *Ep.* 6.16.12). The Villas San Marco and Arianna are two examples of the extraordinarily opulent villas that had both a residence and an area dedicated to agricultural production.

#### *4.2.6 Methodology: stages and patterns*

Cross-cultural investigation by Di Leo (1970), Kellogg (1969) and Goodknow (1977) found that, with the exception of the severely handicapped, all children progress through a series of predictable stages of visual representational development (Malchiodi 1998: 64). Generally developmental psychologists acknowledge six stages (Lowenfeld and Brittain 1982; Malchiodi 1998). The first stage is scribbling. This is an activity that all children engage in; it fulfills motor and visual needs in the process of cognitive development (Di Leo 1970: 18).

Scribbles are the first type of drawings that young children produce, and all children produce them regardless of whether or not they are encouraged by adults. Scribbles are uninterrupted horizontally oriented or circular strokes produced by a continuous to-and-fro movement. (Di Leo 1970: 18). Kellogg identified 20 basic scribble forms among her sample (fig. 4.5).

Scribble 1		Dot
Scribble 2		Single Vertical Line
Scribble 3		Single Horizontal Line
Scribble 4		Single Diagonal Line
Scribble 5		Single Circular Line
Scribble 6		Multiple Vertical Line
Scribble 7		Multiple Horizontal Line
Scribble 8		Multiple Diagonal Line
Scribble 9		Multiple Circular Line
Scribble 10		Roving Open Line
Scribble 11		Roving Enclosing Line
Scribble 12		Zigzag or Waving Line
Scribble 13		Single Loop Line
Scribble 14		Multiple Loop Line
Scribble 15		Spiral Line
Scribble 16		Multiple Line Overlaid Circle
Scribble 17		Multiple Line Circumference Circle
Scribble 18		Circular Spread Out
Scribble 19		Single Crossed Circle
Scribble 20		Imperfect Circle

Figure 4.5 Twenty basic scribble forms identified by Kellogg (1969)

Although the end products of scribbling may appear similar, there is great variability in the manner in which the activity is carried out. This variability in the approach and process of drawing is considered among psychologists an invaluable clue to understanding the temperament and personality of individual children (Di Leo 1970: 25). Developmental experiments carried out by Kellogg (1959, 1969) showed that

children begin to evolve scribbles into definite forms when they are as young as two-and-one-half years of age (fig. 4.6).

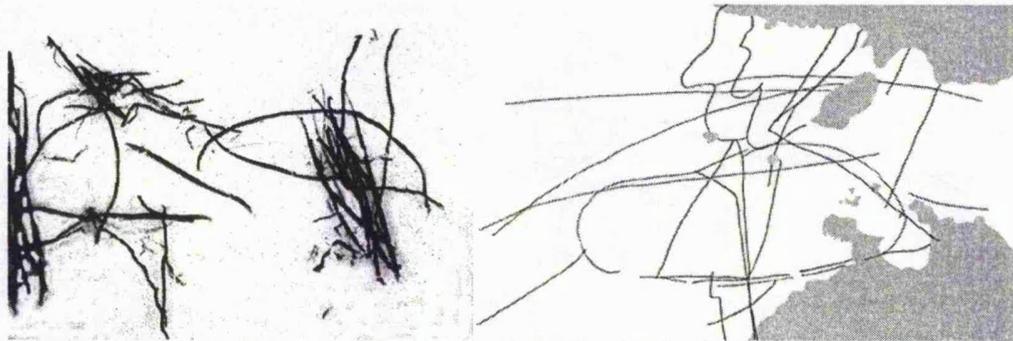


Figure 4.6 Scribbles beginning to show forms. On the left from Kellogg's study. On the right from (Langner 2001: 473).

The second stage in development is a preschematic/basic form stage (Malchiodi 1998:66). At this point children begin to draw what Kellogg has termed 'diagrams'; these are six simple shapes that are combined to form representational figures (Fig. 4.7). Five of these are geometrically regular: the rectangle/square, the oval/circle, the triangle, the Greek cross, and the diagonal cross. The sixth diagram, 'the odd shape,' is a catchall category for a deliberate line enclosing an irregular area.

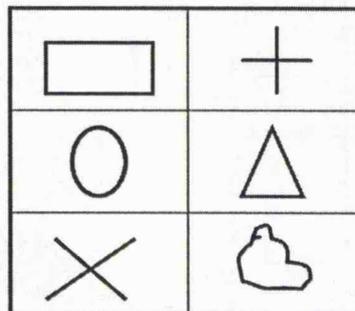
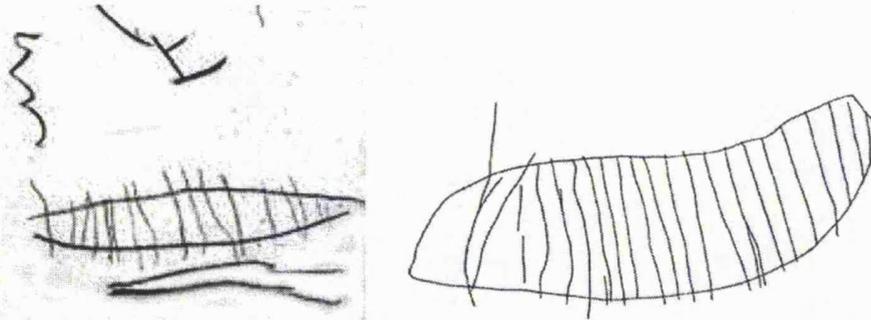


Figure 4.7: Diagrams (after Kellogg 1969)

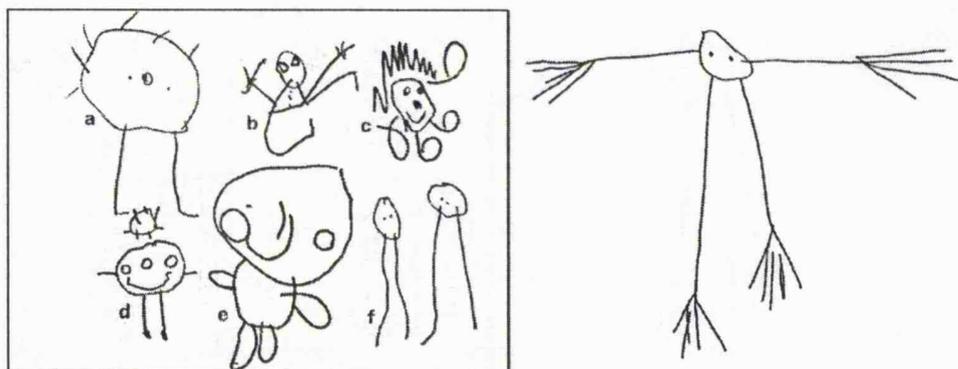
Diagrams generally are easy to separate from other line formations. They develop from scribbling and rarely appear on their own, often being combined with scribbles or

other diagrams (Kellogg 1969: 45). Ladder cross squares develop from multiple horizontal and single vertical line scribbles (fig. 4.8).



**Figure 4.8** Ladder cross square diagrams. On the left from Kellogg's study. On the right, a graffito from the Casa del Menandro

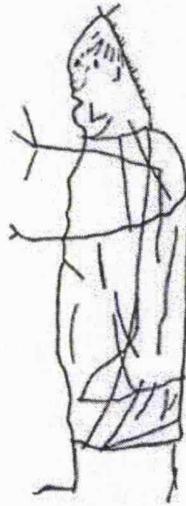
The third stage is sometimes termed the schematic stage (Malchiodi 1998: 66). In this stage drawings continue to become more complex. Three or more diagrams are combined to form aggregates, which demonstrate that the child functions with a repertory of visual ideas. The creation of aggregates constitutes the bulk of children's compositions between the ages of three and seven, approximately (Kellogg 1969: 52). During this stage children begin to draw human figures with specific schema. The earliest figural forms that they draw tend to focus on the head. They also tend to like images that are balanced and favour radial compositions, such as suns, flowers, and tadpole figures (Goodknow 1977: 36).



**Figure 4.9** Early human figures from Kellogg 1959 (left) and a graffito from the Termopolio dell'Aselline in Pompeii (right)

This is related to the fact that young children favour shapes and patterns that radiate outwards (Arnheim 1974). A graffito from the outside of the Termopolio dell'Aselline in Pompeii (fig. 4.9) shows a human figure with only a head and limbs radiating outward. This Pompeian graffito has the same characteristics as the modern children's drawings; the focus is on the head, the most important feature of a human, with limbs radiating outward to create a balanced image.

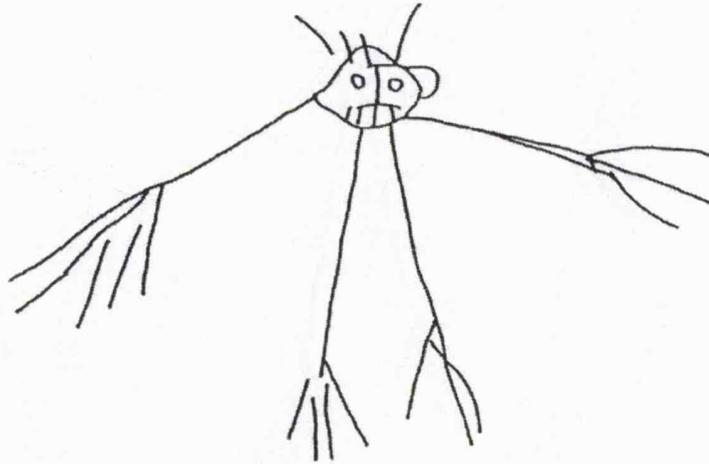
The fourth stage is characterized by the development of a visual schema and a movement towards visual realism. The fifth stage then is the development of visual realism. This is the point in development when children begin to create more objective representations. For instance, the earliest drawings of human beings are always from a head on perspective, since face to face interaction is the most important aspect of development and socialization (Waksler 1991: 13). The fifth stage is when the representation of a human in profile begins to emerge. This is a relatively late stage in children's development; it reflects a change from subjectivism to objectivism and visual realism (Di Leo 1969: 80). There is a rather wide period of transition and researchers have identified it as happening between the ages of seven and ten years (Di Leo 1969: 80). This transition is sometimes marked by certain confusions, such as maintaining the second eye. A graffito from Pompeii's Grand Palestra (fig. 4.10) shows a human figure likely to have been drawn by a child at this transitory stage. Though the figure is turned to the side, the child still shows both the arms and also both eyes remain on the side of the face.



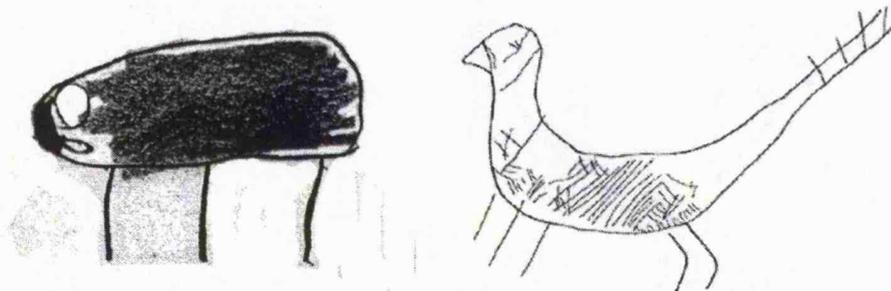
**Fig. 4.10 A graffito of a human figure [110] from the south portico of the Grand Palaestra, Pompeii**

All of these patterns are born from a series of 'rules' that children adhere to when producing representations.

1. The most important 'rule' about children's graphic work is that it represents their thinking. For instance, 'wrong' proportions do not reflect any mistake on the child's part, particularly since a child's frame of reference is not the same as an adult's. He or she expresses an inner realism, wherein the relationship between object and expression is not a direct one. The child emphasizes what he or she feels is important and omits or deemphasizes what is considered minor. Hence the head is usually the most prominent element of a human figure (Di Leo 1970: 122), as is the case with two graffiti [301, 302] found outside the Termopolio dell'Aselline (fig. 4.9 and 4.11).



**Figure 4.11 Graffito [301] from Termopolio dell'Aselline showing emphasis on the head**  
 In the case of the bird graffito from the Casa degli Amanti (fig. 4.12), the child may have been emphasizing its non-humanness by giving it additional legs, since bipedalism is a recognizably human trait. Similarly on the left, the child shows the non-humanness by orientating the figure horizontally and adding a third leg.

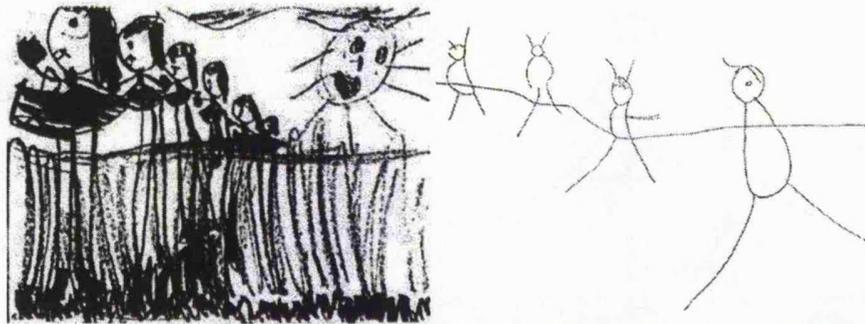


**Fig 4.12 On the left from Kellogg's study an animal with three legs. On the right a graffito [80] from the entranceway of the Casa degli amanti**

2. Children are conservative in producing graphic units. They will use a graphic unit, such as a particular type of circle, line, human figure etc. repeatedly. For instance, the same line may be used to represent both an arm and a leg. The repetition helps to create a sense of unity and the child is recognizing similarities

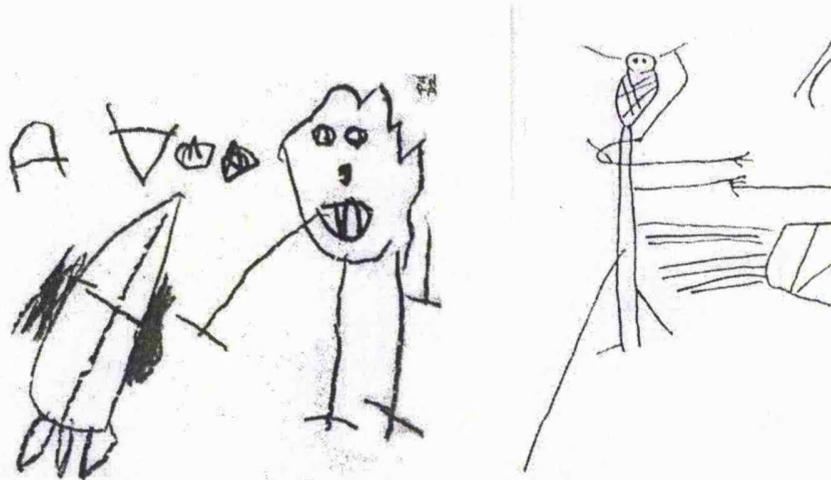
and coming to understand that many separate items may be represented by a single symbol.

3. When children do choose to make changes, they will usually be conservative. Generally, a change in meaning will be expressed by varying a single unit. For instance, when drawing family members or a group of people, a child may express a difference by varying the height of the individual figures (fig. 4.13).



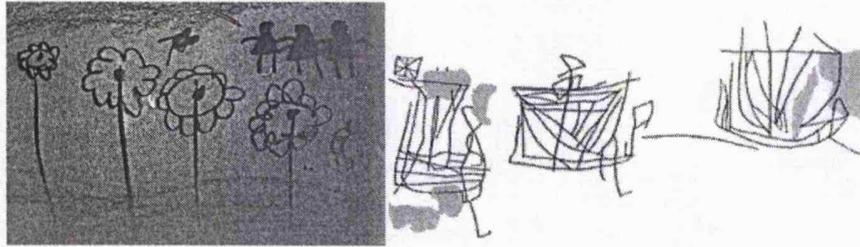
**Figure 4.13** On the left a child's drawing from Kellogg's study. On the right, graffiti [200] from a passageway in Pompeii

Generally children vary supplementary parts, leaving the central aspects unaltered. An example of this would be when a human figure reaches for something; the arms are adjusted while the body remains upright. The graffiti from the Casa dell'Criptoportico (fig. 4.14) displays this characteristic; the human-like figure's arms bend to reach for something.



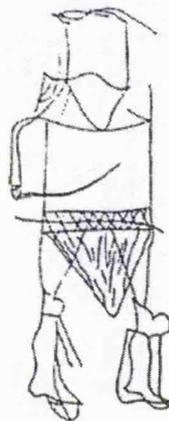
**Fig. 4.14** On the left a graffito from Kellogg's study showing a figure with an elongated arm. On the right a graffito [20] from the Casa del Criptoportico, where the author has made the figure reach for something by elongating the arms

4. Parts are related to one another according to specific principles. Some principles relate to boundaries and the ways in which units are allotted their own spaces. Young children often avoid overlapping parts. When drawing human figures composed of a circular head with arms and legs radiating outward, they may add hair or ears but they will not come into contact with the limbs in any way. Other principles relate to the orientation of figures. Most figures are aligned on a single axis. Generally this progresses to the use of perpendicular axes, particularly once the horizontal axis is understood to represent the ground.
5. Parts are related in a sequence. Children begin and end their drawings in regular patterns (fig. 4.15).



**Fig. 4.15** On the left a child's drawing from Kellogg's study showing patterns in composition of flowers. On the right several graffiti [250-2] from the Theatre Corridor, possibly showing repeating 'v' stroke pattern in composition.

6. **Transparencies.** The fundamental idea in understanding the art of early childhood, is that young children draw what they know to express a mental impression rather than what they see to illustrate a visual observation. Thus young children will often ignore the opacity of physical objects and beings (Di Leo 1970: 102). For instance, a child may draw the legs inside trousers or a man inside a building (see fig. 4.16). In an experiment described by Goodenough (1926: 20, 116) a group of children were presented with an apple with a hatpin running through it and asked to draw it. They were only able to see the hatpin entering on the side of the apple facing them. Still nearly all drew the apple with the hatpin entering and emerging horizontally. Most of the younger children even showed the entire hatpin as it traversed through the apple.



**Figure 4.16** Graffito [165] from Casa degli amorini dorati showing a transparency

#### 4.2.7 Some terminology used

Within this study, the term 'young children' refers to an age group including children of up to 12 years of age. As children mature their drawings gradually lose their distinctive characteristics become less distinguishable from older teens and adults. Thus some of the graffiti not dealt with here may have also been the work of children, but if this is so, it would have been more likely to have been that of older children. Also as children's drawings become more concerned with representing visual observation and the children conform more to social norms and the demands of socialization, cultural differences will become a more significant factor.

For the sake of saving space, the phrases *children's graffiti* and *young children's graffiti* as well as similar variations will be used for the figural graffiti wherein the characteristics of young children's drawings are present. It is recognized, however, that the fact there is only the probability or possibility of the composition having been created by a young child exists. Along the same lines, graffiti described as being *the work of adults or older children* or similar statements will be used, though it is acknowledged as only having the probability of not being the work of a young child.

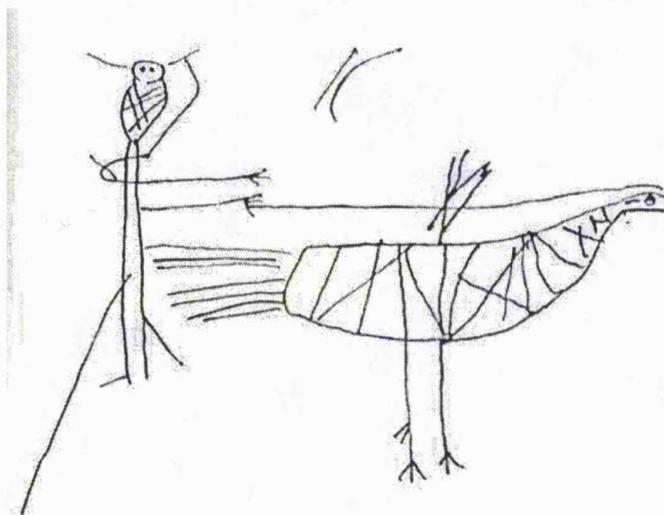
When discussing the location of graffiti, some Latin terminology for rooms and buildings will be used on occasion for clarity and space. The terminology here refers only to the room's location and not to any particular role that has been traditionally applied to room (i.e. the term *triclinum* refers to large rooms off the corner of front halls and not necessarily to a room containing couches used for dining). The descriptions corresponding to the Latin terms are borrowed from Allison (2004), who discusses the problematic nature of using labels taken from ancient texts for archaeological structures and materials.

In regards to the labeling of properties in Pompeii and Herculaneum, they will be designated with a numerical address. The town of Pompeii is divided into nine regions; each

region is divided into *insulae* (blocks). Within each *insula*, every entranceway is given a number. Thus I.6.2 means the property is located in Regio I, *insula* 6, at number 2. The larger properties often have more than one entrance; in these cases only one number will be used. Where the property has an individual name, this will be used as well. Some of the houses have more than one name, others have not been given one. The Stabian villas will always be referenced with their proper names.

#### 4.2.8 *Subject matter classifications*

The discussion of the subject matter of children's drawings can be problematic, as sometimes it is unrecognizable to adults and sometimes the child cannot verbally explain it. It has been noted that it is actually important never to ask a child what he or she is drawing (Cox 1959: 72). This problem is true of graffiti in general as well; the subject of 'crude' depictions can often be difficult to discern. Consider the graffito [20] in fig. 4.17.



**Fig. 4.17** Mysterious graffito [20] from the Casa del Criptoportico

This composition has been described differently by various scholars. Maulucci described it as a hunt scene (1993: 87), Langner saw an owl and a bird (2000: 1091). It is identified in this study as possibly an incomplete chariot scene, with a bird instead of a horse. During an informal poll of the Archaeological Institutes' Annual Conference in Philadelphia (Jan 8, 2009), people additionally identified a person riding an animal, a person lassoing a bird, and a man with a large phallus next to a chicken.

This problem with 'crudeness' was apparently as true in antiquity as today. Someone contemporary with the creation of a graffito from the peristyle of the Casa del Triclinio thought it was so poor that it required a verbal description to identify it as the portrait of an owl, "*Ulula est*" (CIL IV.2.1448; Jashemski 1979: 179) (see fig. 3.18).



Figure 4.18 Graffito of an owl from the Casa del Triclinio

Nevertheless, a consideration of what Roman children were drawing is important in understanding them. I have chosen six categories, based on those used typically used in developmental psychology (e.g. Kellogg 1969). Here are the categories, which have been chosen and their definitions.

Human Figure: These are drawings that appear to be human, bipedal, with a vertical orientation or characteristically human heads.

Animal Figure: These are representations of non-human creatures, such as birds and beasts.

Objects: These are visual representations of recognizable inanimate objects.

Geometric: These are drawings that have recognizable geometric shapes and display a clear attempt by the artist to create abstract patterns, as opposed to the abstract images created by the motor activity of scribbling.

Abstract: This is the catchall category including any design that cannot readily be identified and lacks recognizable geometric shapes and patterns. Here the classification does not follow the definition of an abstraction as "a work of art using lines, shapes and colors without reference to natural objects" (Kellogg 1969: 308).

Scribble: The drawings classified as 'scribbles' exhibits evidence of a high level of activity and motion in its creation that takes precedence over the creation of any recognizable image.

Combined: The categories I have used frequently overlap either because a graffiti's subject is uncertain or it has more than one element.

### 4.3 Discussion of findings

I will now discuss the patterns in the children's graffiti that I have identified using the previously discussed methodology. I will begin with a discussion of the height above ground at which the graffiti were drawn. Then I will discuss the locations where the

children's graffiti were found, addressing separately the domestic and non-domestic contexts. See Appendix 2 for images of all children's graffiti and the reasons for the identification of each as the work of children.

#### *4.3.1 Height*

The heights at which graffiti were drawn on a wall has often been considered a notable characteristic of children's graffiti (Mau 1907: 492; García y García 2005: 37; Beard 2008: 15). This problem lies with the popular perceptions of children's abilities that assume children will produce graffiti at a low height on the wall. This is of course a logical argument related to the fact that children are shorter than adults. The assumption that graffiti found low on the wall were executed by children is undeniably similar to the assumption the small objects are children's toys. While many archaeologists, including Baxter (2005) and Kamp (1998), have rightly cautioned others against making the latter assumption, some archaeologists have successfully shown through solid case studies that in certain cases there is indeed a relationship between small objects and children (Parks 2005). There is an undeniable logic in linking children to short and small things as they themselves are relatively short and small in comparison to most adults. As scientists it is difficult to criticize logic, and thus there will certainly be archaeologists and historians who think that height is one legitimate criterion. Nevertheless, there is also the fact that healthy children from a young age are capable of climbing on items of furniture, storage boxes or the like, which no doubt would have littered homes and buildings. Furthermore, an adult is quite capable of crouching down to inscribe something on a wall, as García y García notes (2005: 37).

Another problem with using height as an identifying characteristic is that in many cases the heights of the graffiti in this case study were never recorded and much of the graffiti no longer survive. For the entire dataset nearly one fifth (19.57%) lacked any

recording of height and no longer survive in situ or are inaccessible. This proportion was roughly the same for the set of graffiti positively identified with children, with 20.49% never having had their height recorded. For the group of graffiti which were identified as either being not the work of children or lacking conclusive evidence, the rate was similar, with 20.2% of graffiti missing height information.

Although height was not directly taken into account as a criterion in the process of identification, the heights of the analyzed graffiti were considered after identification. For those who feel strongly that height should be a criterion as a way of considering the graffiti in its archaeological context, it might be seen as a check on my approach to identification of children's graffiti. Of the positively identified graffiti analyzed in this study with recorded height (128 graffiti), 20% of the total were located no higher than 0.55 metres on the wall and 75% were located no higher than 1.1 metres. With 75% of the total being fairly low on the wall, there is certainly a correlation between height and the graffiti identified as children's using my approach; perhaps this lends credence to using height as a valued criterion in identifying the work of children. Langner (2000: 143) postulates that most graffiti are drawn at eye level, which would support the interpretation of the 128 graffiti below 1.1 metres high as being children's graffiti as they would be at eye level for young children.

#### *4.3.2 Discussion of location*

Out of the 545 instances of figural graffiti in this study, 161 had the characteristics (not including height) outlined in the methodology as being childlike. Domestic spaces were the location of 40.9% of children's graffiti, 66 out of the total 161 instances (see Tab. 4.1). These were found in 20 separate domestic properties, including both of the Stabian villas, two houses in Herculaneum and 16 houses in Pompeii. The remaining 95 graffiti (59.1%)

were found on outer walls and in various spaces that were non-domestic, including areas devoted to work, leisure, and other social activities. The majority of the graffiti in public spaces are clustered in a few locations. The Theatre Corridor and the Grand Palaestra are the other locations with fairly high percentages (26.1% and 10.6%, respectively) although both these spaces on the whole contain a large amount of both figural and verbal graffiti. Domestic and non-domestic spaces will be discussed separately because domestic areas are where children are traditionally thought to have spent the majority of their time. For example, Roman children are primarily discussed in connection with the home and the family (e.g. Bradley 1991; Dixon 1992; Gardner 1998; Rawson and Weaver 1999; Harlow and Laurence 2002), which, along with being perfectly valid associations, are tied in with modern western conceptions of childhood. Notable exceptions to this trend include work by Bradley (1991) who deals with child labour and apprenticeships, Mantle (2002) who discusses the role of children in public religious activities, García y García (2005) who looks at education, Rawson (2003) who considers children's experience of urban life, and a large number of studies of burial, which consider children's place within the wider community (e.g. McWilliam 2001). The graffiti are archaeological evidence of their presence and activities in other locations outside of the home and so the two types of location are worthy of separate exploration.

Location	Number of Graffiti	Percentage of Total
Outer Walls & Ramps	22	13.7%
Private Houses	66	40.9%
Theatre & Theatre Corridor	42	26.1%
Grand Palestra	17	10.6%
Baths	12	7.45%
Production and Work areas	2	1.24%
Other Buildings	1	0.62%

**Table 4.1 Location of children's graffiti from the sites of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae**

### 4.3.3 Domestic buildings

The evidence from this study suggests that the assertion made by scholars (e.g. Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 9; Allison 2004: 155) that children did not have separate designated spaces in Roman houses is likely to have been true. Within private houses children's graffiti were found in a wide range of rooms and were present in most of the room types that non-children's graffiti were found in (see Tab. 4.2). There was none identified in any of the atria, though nine were identified in adjoining wings, which are often termed *alae*. The highest percentage of all children's graffiti in this study were found in so-called *cubiculi*, though in Pompeii only 10.6% of figural graffiti in houses were in *cubiculi*. Figural graffiti in general were noticeably absent for kitchen areas and only five instances of figural graffiti were found in Pompeian *tablina*, open rooms off of *atria* usually directly opposite the entrance to the house. Graffiti from entrances, vestibules and *fauces* made up approximately 10% of the graffiti identified as the work of children.

Room Types in 'Private' Houses	Number of Graffiti	Percentage of Total
Gardens and Ambulatories ( <i>peristyla</i> )	10	15.2%
Large rooms off corners of front halls ( <i>triclinia</i> )	1	1.51%
Large open rooms off gardens ( <i>oeci</i> )	7	10.6%
Small rooms off front halls ( <i>cubiculi</i> )	20	30.3%
Medium rooms/wings off the sides of front halls ( <i>alae</i> )	9	13.6%
Front halls ( <i>atria</i> )	-	-
Entranceways ( <i>fauces</i> )	7	10.6%
Rooms associated with cooking ( <i>culinae</i> )	-	-
Open rooms opposite main entrances ( <i>tablina</i> )	-	-
Other rooms and corridors	11	16.7%

Table 4.2 Location of children's graffiti within private houses of Pompeii, Herculaneum and the villas of Stabiae (room types after Allison 2004: ch. 5)

The distribution of graffiti in the houses suggests children's presence, and perhaps frequent presence, all over, except in the *tablina*, in the cooking areas, and in the front halls themselves. However, in these rooms there were virtually no figural graffiti found at all. It may not be that children were not present, but simply that there were different social expectations, or perhaps more stringent control over activities, within these spaces. Cooking areas were certainly primarily work spaces. While some types of play can be done in conjunction with learning and working activities, drawing requires concentration, even if it be for just a short period of time. Thus expectations to work, help and learn may have been higher in these rooms.

The same is likely true for the front halls. While Roman literature and older traditional scholarship stresses the ceremonial functions of the atrium, with the meeting of clients and guests and the placement of household shrines to the Lares, Allison's study of household assemblages has shown it also had much more mundane functions as well, and may have been the place for activities such as weaving (Allison 2004: 124). In a study of the Casa di M. Epidius Primus, Berry noted that while tools associated with some unknown craft were distributed throughout the house, there was a prominent number found in the atrium, reinforcing the idea of the *atrium* as a work space (1997: 193). Therefore, there might have been social expectations for children to work and learn in this space as well. There are a few Latin authors who make mention of the *atrium* as the site of child's play. Lucretius mentions boys spinning themselves around the atrium until they are dizzy (Lucretius *De rerum natura* IV.401-4), while Vergil compares Queen Amata's grief-driven ravings to a top spun by boys in the *atrium* (Vergil *Aen.* VII.379). Their association of the *atrium* and children is meaningful, but perhaps only certain play activities were permitted in this space. A large portion of children's graffiti is associated with the rooms and *alae* off of front halls, which may indicate that these

spaces offered young children the privacy to carry out the drawing away from the supervision of adults or older children.

For instance in the Casa de Gran Portale in Herculaneum, a ship graffito [345] was drawn on the lower part of a wall in an obscured *ala* off the main hall (fig. 4.19).



**Figure 4.19** A child's graffito [345] is located on the wall below the ledge to the left of the door in the Casa de Gran Portale in Herculaneum

The irregular plan of the house reduced visibility in the many corners and alcoves it creates (fig. 4.20). This may have had two effects. Firstly it may have obscured the author while he or she drew the graffito. Secondly it may have meant the graffito was less likely to be seen once it was created.

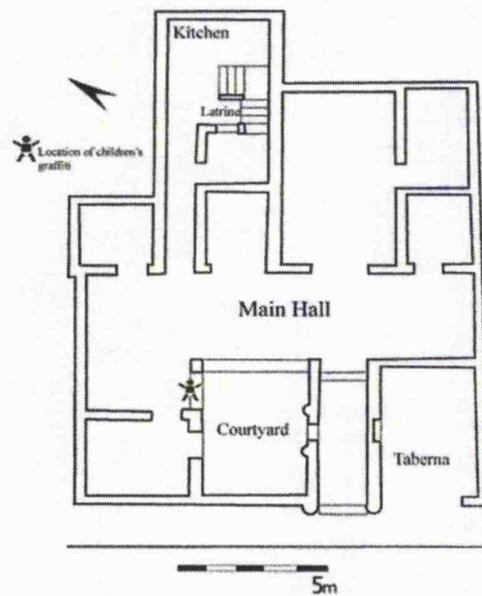
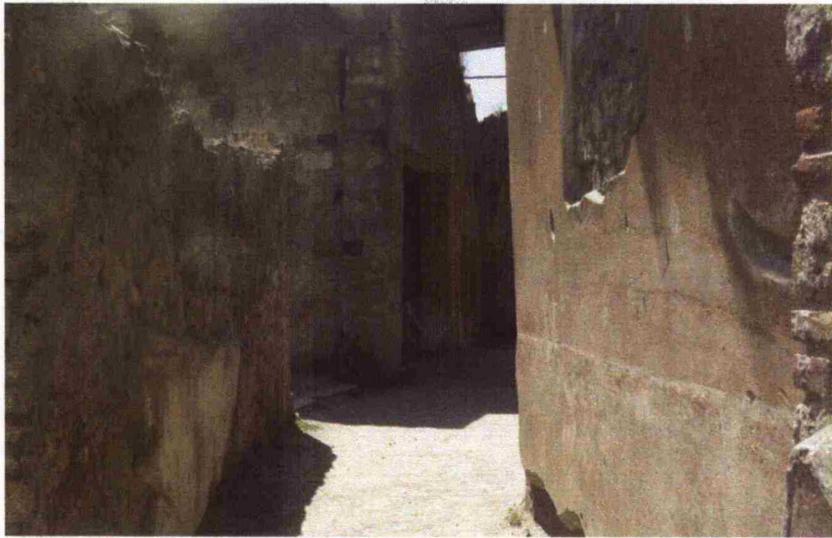


Figure 4.20 Plan of the Casa del Gran Portale, Herculaneum

According to Langner's study, amongst all the Pompeian figural graffiti found in houses, almost a third of them were found in gardens or peristyles (Langner 2000), but my study found that the percentage of children's graffiti located in these spaces was half that. Only 20% of the Pompeian graffiti were found in front halls or the various rooms and wings around them (Langner 2000), as opposed to children's graffiti, of which almost 44% was found in rooms and spaces adjoining the front halls. There seems to have been a preference by children for smaller, more private spaces as locations for drawing on walls.

In the Casa della Caccia Antica (VII.4.48) in Pompeii, an animal was drawn along a side corridor between the front hall and the garden peristyle (fig. 4.21). The corridor, which runs from the east side of the atrium back to the hallway leading along one side of the pseudo-peristyle, was likely for utilitarian purposes; the entrances to the passage from both the atrium and the pseudo-peristyle are located unobtrusively in the corners. It was one of three paths, which allowed access to the peristyle from the front hall. A far more visually impressive entrance to the garden courtyard from the atrium/front hall was through a large

*tablina* (Descoedres 1987: 137). The hallway with the graffiti had plain white lime flooring and painted stucco. There may have been a painting, which no longer survives, in the hallway, but this is unlikely (Allison and Sear 2002: 24).



**Fig. 4.21** Side corridor leading to the courtyard and 'oecus' in the Casa della Caccia Antica (VII.4.48)

The passage may have been utilitarian, serving as a thoroughfare for slaves, guests or family members. It is significant that the graffiti's location is in a hallway, a space traditionally designed to be a place for people to pass through from one room to another. In the Casa della Caccia Antica, this space was used, at least for a short time, by a child or children for a different type of activity. It may suggest that children were allowed a good deal of movement within houses and had a certain amount of freedom to manipulate important spaces for their own purposes.

Within domestic contexts it seemed that children preferred, or at least had access to, closed spaces to participate in drawing on walls. This may indicate different expectations for activities in different rooms. It may also be that drawing on walls could be done away from the prying eyes of guardians, who might have disapproved of such activities. Evidence suggests that young children would have had at least a moderate amount of supervision.

Numerous historical sources of course suggest that the Romans made extensive use of nurses as caretakers (Pliny *Ep.* 5.16; Juv. 14.190-3; Dion. Hal. II.28.3; see also Rawson 2003 and Bradley 1987 and 1991, ch.2). Childcare was likely not their only responsibility; Bradley notes that many *nutrices* were slaves and may have had other duties (1991:21). Other “mercenary” nurses actually took children in to live with them and also would have had other duties to fulfil within their own household (Bradley 1991: 21). Nurses would have been with young children constantly, comforting and entertaining them, even sleeping nearby (Rawson 2003: 126). Children thus may have assisted their caretakers in their work reducing the amount of time they had for capricious play. On the other hand, the nurses’ duties may have led to less rigid supervision.

The individual who fulfilled the role of supervisor must have varied somewhat depending on situation and socio-economic status. In upper class households, *nutrices* and *paedagogi* would have looked after and taught children (George 1999: 317). For families that could not afford to have a nurse, care must have fallen to other members of the family. Roman literature does provide some information about the roles of parents in the care of young children. There was no image of the indulgent, doting mother in opposition to the stern father, a common motif in modern western culture, in Roman texts (Dixon 1990: 111). Dixon argues that literary evidence depicts the roles of mothers and fathers in the care of young children as being quite similar. Writers such as Quintilian, Cicero, and Aulus Gellius seem to have been attentive fathers, who were involved in the lives of their children (Dixon 1990: 111). Dixon notes that while the textual evidence suggests that mothers did play a role in the lives of young children, it was neither uncommon nor frowned upon to entrust the care of a small child to a surrogate (Dixon 1990: 110). The quote from Quintilian (*Inst. Or.* I.1.20) mentioned earlier advocated letting children play and ensuring that learning was made amusing, but did not specify any particular amount of supervision.

Saller estimates that around one third of children lost their fathers before they reached puberty because of the late age of marriage for men and high mortality (1994: 189). Mortality, divorce or socio-economic status may also have affected the presence of the traditional caretakers, parents and nurses. The care of young children may have fallen to older peers, stepparents, distant relatives, or other members of the *familia* (Rawson 2005: 132). The extent to which these different caretakers might have affected children's behaviour and allowed or restricted play is uncertain.

#### 4.3.4 Public Spaces

The children's graffiti outside of houses turned up either in a few major public institutions or along outer walls. A relatively small percentage is found in public bath houses, although overall there is not a lot of figural graffiti found in them. Only a handful of graffiti were found inside workshops, taverns or other places of business.

The theatre corridor (VIII.7.20), with the largest percentage of children's graffiti in a single location, may have functioned in a similar way to the rooms off of the front halls of domestic buildings, offering a secluded space for play. It ran behind the stage side of the small theatre, from the via Stabiana through to the large theatre. Children may have made use of the space on the way to or from a performance in the large theatre, or perhaps even during a performance, which did not hold their attention to the fullest. These activities did not necessarily have to occur when a production was being performed in the theatres. With its placement close to the Porta Stabia, the corridor might have offered a shaded stopping place for groups of people entering the city. Children within those groups would have had the opportunity to draw (and older children and adults with them). The children's graffiti

were also fairly evenly distributed through the passage, the walls of which are literally covered in graffiti that were almost exclusively figural.

In the case of the Grand Palestra (II.7), however, there was a particular area where children's graffiti seemed to be more frequent. Approximately 11% of the total number of children's graffiti was found in the Grand Palaestra, most of which were located on a few columns in the south portico (12 out of 17 graffiti; see Table 4.3). 10 of those graffiti in the south portico were scratched onto columns 26 through 33.

	Total Number of Figural Graffiti	Number of Figural Graffiti by Young Children
South Portico	26	12
North Portico	13	3
West Portico	6	2

Table 4.3 Graffiti recorded or surviving in the Grand Palestra in Pompeii

Della Corte believed the Grand Palestra (fig. 4.22) was the seat of Pompeii's *collegium iuventutis*, an organization of the town's youth, which promoted physical education as well as aspects of civil and religious responsibilities (Maiuri 1939: 168). The young men would have entered the organization at the age of 17 years. Della Corte has argued that the *Iuventus* also had a subdivision of *pueri* made up of citizen boys aged 11-17 years (Della Corte 1942: 17). An inscription above one of the entrances commemorates the association of the palestra with the *Iuventus*. A number of verbal graffiti also suggest such a link (Welch 2007: 95). The organization may have used it for sporting (García y García 2005: 164) and military training (Ling 2007: 123).

Whatever its use, the presence of children's graffiti suggests some sort of sectioning of the palestra either for young children or for play activities. On the eastern wall were a number of abecaderia graffiti (Della Corte 1939: 177), which have been associated with formal learning activities of either adults or children. This could possibly suggest an area of the Grand Palestra dedicated to learning and a division of formal learning from play. The

space may have been seen as an appropriate area for play. Welch suggests that the *Iuventus* used the Grand Palestra for staging mock gladiator fights and beast hunts (Welch 2007: 98). So already the space would have been one associated with socio-dramatic play. Indeed images of children sometimes depict them carrying out mock battles and races.

While it would be wrong to assume children were away from peers when they were in domestic buildings, certainly the Grand Palestra would have offered them the opportunity to interact with a larger, extended group of peers. With the presence of the *Iuventus*, younger children (presumably male) could have interacted with older peers, who could have served as role models. Richardson (1988: 211) argues that the pool in the middle has an odd profile if it was indeed used for swimming; one end was very shallow and there was gentle slope downwards towards the other end. Perhaps this design made it a good pool to instruct young children in swimming or simply to allow them to play.



**Fig. 4.22** View of the south-west area of the Grand Palaestra

There are many aspects of the Grand Palestra that are not completely understood. While it may have been an area used for sports and exercise, no discernable tracks or

trappings associated with athletics have been found (Richardson 1988: 214). In all likelihood the Grand Palestra had a wide range of uses. It may have been the location of a market for local and visiting merchants, although the absence of access for vehicles casts some doubt on this (Richardson 1988: 214). It was probably used heavily during festivals, where it provided shelter, sanitary facilities and concession stands for celebrants, while on a day-to-day basis it served as an urban park and a place for meetings and more casual socializing (Parslow 2007: 217).

For children it would have allowed them to socialize with a larger group of peers. This may also have included children visiting Pompeii from other towns or settlements. A decree banning gladiatorial games after a fight broke out between Pompeians and Nuceria in 59AD (Tacitus *Annales* XIV.17) attests that non-Pompeians visited the city in significant numbers for particular occasions. It is not inconceivable that they would have brought young children along. Indeed the Grand Palestra might have offered a particularly important social opportunity for the children from rural homes, such as the Villas of San Marco and Arianna, to develop an extended peer group and to interact with young relatives living in the city.

Children's graffiti were also found at two bath complexes in Pompeii, the Stabian baths (VII.1.8) and the baths of the Praedia Iulia Felix (II.4.6), and in the Forum baths of Herculaneum (VI.8). In the Stabian baths, two were found in the so-called 'women's *apodyterium*' (Eschebach 1979: 17) and one in the palestra (CIL IV 2089). At the Praedia Iulia Felix, they were found in the courtyard area. There is historical and epigraphic evidence for young children visiting the baths. Ancient schoolbooks detailed the processes of bathing, though most of these date to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century or later (Dionisotti 1982). A couple in Rome set up an inscription to commemorate their eight-year-old child who had drowned in the baths of Mars (Fagan 2002: 197). In changing rooms, slaves could be hired to watch over bathers' possessions (Fagan 2002: 38). The drawings could have perhaps been the creations of slave

children as they performed this task. The lack of graffiti within the actual baths may indicate that behaviour was strongly directed towards bathing or play associated with bathing. The process of bathing was considerably important as a social activity and also for reasons related to medicine and hygiene (Fagan 2002: 85). Because of the significance of the social and hygienic aspects, there may have been more stringent social expectations for the way children behaved in the bathing rooms.

Very few children's graffiti were found in workshops or buildings devoted to business, such as taverns and guesthouses. These were places often with a lot of graffiti, particularly ones related to love and sex (DeFelice 2007: 477). Treated in literature as places of ill repute (e.g. Seneca *De vita beata* VII.3), they offered patrons food, drink, sex and a place to socialize or sleep. These may have been places in which young children were less likely to be. The low number of children's graffiti may indicate these places were not considered appropriate for young children or they were places where young children were not wanted. If children were present in these establishments the hustle and bustle of shops and bars may have kept young children occupied in observation or in different types of activities. It is also possible that there were different expectations for their behaviour or that they may have been working as well. A wall painting in an inn at IV.10.1 shows what may be a young boy serving patrons seated around a table (Tanzer 1939: 48). It is uncertain, however, whether the boy is a teen or younger. In the few taverns and guesthouses where children do seem to have been present based on the graffiti evidence, there may have been more lax social expectations.

Places such as bath houses, bars, shops, and various workshops may have had more stringent social expectations or were the location of situations that stimulated a high level of attention for children. If young children were present at workshops and production areas they must have been engaged at work, affording them fewer opportunities to create graffiti.

This may have been similar to the situation in domestic spaces, where kitchens and front halls, where work and ceremony may have created more stringent expectation for behaviour. The frequency in which children were inside workshops may have been uncommon. Bradley (1991) in his study of apprenticeship contracts from Roman Egypt argued that apprenticeships probably began when individuals were in their early teens. A Pompeian fresco shows fullers at work rinsing garments in vats (Tanzer 1939: 10). Three of these workers are diminutive in size and possibly are young children, though they could also be teens or adult slaves.

Some children's graffiti (13.7%) were found on outer walls throughout the city. The existence of graffiti on outer walls suggests that young children were allowed outside controlled spaces, perhaps with accompaniment or perhaps on their own. Some of the graffiti turn up along major roads. For instance, children's graffiti [301, 302] were found on the outer wall of the Termopolio dell'Aselline (IX.11.2-3), which lies along the Via dell'Abbondanza, one of the main thoroughfares through Pompeii. Others are found on walls along small streets and alleyways, such as two graffiti outside the property at I.13.9 [81, 82], which is located on a small street off the Via dell'Abbondanza. Many are present near the entrances to houses, suggesting either that young children had the opportunity to venture outside in the immediate vicinity of their home or that they waited outside of homes while their companions conducted visits within. Moreover, shops and workshops often operated in parts of domestic buildings (Pirson 2007: 457), so they may have been present for business transactions as well. Similarly, graffiti were found outside taverns or guesthouses of various natures.

### 4.3.5 Subject Matter

Over all the most popular subject matter for children's graffiti seems to have been animal figures (37.9%) and objects (38.5%), namely ships and boats (see Tab. 4.4). Human figures were also fairly common (23.6%) and some featured both human and animal figures. Kellogg (1969) divided the subject matter of children's drawings into similar categories. Humans and animals are common motifs in the drawings of young children. Objects are also common and fall into a number of sub-categories, including housing and modes of transportation.

Type	No. of Graffiti	Percentage of Total
Scribble	2	1.24%
Human Figure	38	23.6%
Animal Figure	61	37.9%
Object	62	38.5%
Geometric	24	14.9%
Abstract	37	22.9%
Combined	54	33.5%

**Table 4.4 Patterns in the subject matter of children's graffiti. Far right-hand column is the total percentage of children's graffiti characterized by the type.**

The somewhat high preoccupation with animals may reflect the fact that some childhood activities involved animals. Bradley (1998) and Sorabella (2007) have investigated the close relationship between children and animals in Roman life and ideology. Roman sculpture frequently portrays children with animals, such as birds, dogs and lizards (Huskinson 1996; Sorabella 2007). Birds are the only one of these types of animals to be represented by children in their graffiti. There are fourteen instances of children's graffiti featuring birds [6, 20-1, 54, 58, 75, 79, 80, 87, 167, 169-70, 182, 378]. Eight graffiti did contain images of

quadrupeds that were not readily identifiable [79, 81, 124, 126, 140, 142-3, 184]. Anecdotes from ancient authors report that birds were frequently kept as pets by young children (e.g. Pliny *NH* X.120; Plautus *Captivi* 1002-1003). Other than birds, dogs would seem to have been the other popular choice for a child's pet, appearing in both literature (e.g. Petr. *Saty.* 64.5-6, *Juv. Sat.* IX.60-1) and funerary art (see Huskinson 1996, n. 8; see Bradley 1998 for an extensive discussion of children's pets, including some more unusual choices).

Among the objects drawn by Campanian children, ships could fall into the category of transportation. Images of ships accounted for 24 instances of children's graffiti. Horses, which turned up in nine children's graffiti [207-8, 211, 214, 220, 238, 282-3, 286] but were classified as animal figures, could also be counted as images of transportation modes. There were no apparent images of houses or buildings, though some abstract shapes in Casa de Cervi have the appearance of column bases [347-9].

Geometric and abstract shapes that may have been gladiator helmets account for twelve instances of children's graffiti [98, 173, 182, 260, 323-30]. If they are gladiator helmets, they might attest to children's frequent presence at gladiatorial games.

The small number of scribbles [162, 216] may be accounted for in two ways. Firstly it is possible such graffiti were missed by excavators as damage to walls or were deemed unimportant, as they had no recognizable form. The scribbles usually had elements that could be interpreted as evidence they were aborted attempts to draw some figure or object. Secondly it may be that there were indeed few scribbles. Since this is the form of drawing of very young children, who are often no more than a few years old, it may have been that they had more supervision than older children or less access to sharp implements needed to incise drawings onto the walls.

## 4.4 Conclusions

Children's activities are not random and can be accessed through the archaeological record. Since children's material culture is mostly indistinguishable from that of adults, developmental psychology can assist archaeologists in understanding their behavioural patterns so they might be recognized in the archaeological record. Figural graffiti can provide evidence of young children's activities and where those activities took place. Looking at location patterns, some conclusions can be drawn about spatial allocation of certain behaviours and social expectations that affect these behaviours.

The graffiti in the study presented here seem to corroborate past assertions that traditionally there were no specific areas of Roman houses dedicated solely to children, as there were graffiti found in all types of rooms, with the exception of the front halls, the kitchens and the *tablina*. This is an overall pattern that has been observed, though individual households may have organized space differently. The lack of figural graffiti in the three room types mentioned above does not preclude the presence of children. It simply suggests that there were different social expectations for acceptable activities in those rooms. The presence of the figural graffiti would seem to indicate the permission or at least the achievement of play in the absence of work. Areas, such as the *atrium* and kitchen, were places of work and thus the expectation may have been for young children to focus on work in these spaces as well, or at least not play in them.

Grffiti also attest to the presence of young children in non-domestic locations. Children's graffiti appears at several large public facilities, namely the theatre corridor, the Grand Palestra and the Stabian baths as well as on outer walls throughout the city. Only a small number found in places devoted primarily to work or business, such as taverns, workshops and guesthouses. This fact reinforces the idea of different social expectations for children in places devoted predominantly to work.

There are a number of questions that still remain concerning children's activities and the social expectations regarding children's behaviour in Roman Pompeii and Herculaneum. The graffiti do not attest to the socio-economic status of the children who drew it. In virtually all of the locations children's graffiti were found, there potentially could have been children from a variety of different backgrounds present.

The graffiti also do not inform us about the age of the children who drew it. The rate of development is affected by socio-cultural attitudes towards drawing. Children given encouragement and instruction in drawing will move through the stages of development at a faster rate. Even if the rates did not change significantly, judging the age would be difficult. While the stages of development can be neatly divided on paper, children often vacillate between different stages (Malchiodi 1998: 65). They do not draw an aggregate and then cease to draw diagrams. Gender is another aspect of children's lives that the graffiti are silent about. There is no way to tell the gender of the child creating the graffiti. So it is still difficult to know whether the gender of the child affects social expectations for behaviour or the areas in which children's activities were taking place. It is also not known how children's days were organized temporally, either by the children themselves or by external factors. Unfortunately it is not possible to discern when the graffiti were produced.

Nevertheless, the evidence from the Campanian figural graffiti provides an idea of the spatial distribution of children's activities and the social expectations shaping their behaviour. This study has focused on the children rather than on childhood in its intent to identify children as authors. One key has been to approach the material through the Creator Child model, which maintains that children behave in patterned, reasoned ways, which was influenced by adults, peers, and social expectations. Understanding children as competent interpreters of social expectations can assist in the consideration of children's activities when studying particular social spaces. The identification of the use of social spaces will

provide archaeologists with an idea of the activities taking place there, which children may have participated in, and implications for what expectations there may have been for their behaviour. Knowledge of developmental psychology can aid archaeologists in understanding children's behavioural patterns allowing us to explore more dynamic questions about children's lives in the Roman world. The ability to identify their contributions as active participants in the archaeological record is a challenge Roman archaeologists will continue to face. The graffiti have provided at least a glimpse of the location of these activities and interactions. This information can also help us to account for the presence of children and their activities when analyzing deposits and assemblages.

## CHAPTER 5

### *Designating the Child's World in Burial (Social Structural Child Model)*

#### 5.1 Introduction to the Case Study

This second case study will present an approach to studying the ways childhood is ordered and demarcated as a social space and discuss the implications this may have on the roles and relationships children had within their communities, both before and after death. Within the Social Structural Child model, the existence of childhood is taken as a definite feature of society.

This case study examines grave assemblages to yield information on how children are represented within their communities in death and the implications this may have for social roles and relationships. Archaeological and ethnographic data have shown child and infant burials often differ from those of adults in regard to associated grave goods (Baxter 2005a: 97). Many archaeological studies considering children in funerary contexts study distinctions between adults and sub-adults, rarely considering differences between different groups of sub-adults (see for instance Mackensen 1978; Clarke 1979; Hintermann 2000). I have approached childhood as a transitional period with different stages. I examined the evidence to see whether or not such stages are reflected in the artefact assemblages buried with the individuals. Different age groups and associations would have potentially meant different roles, relationships, interactions and experiences for the individuals in their lifetime, which may be reflected in death.

The data for this case study come from four imperial period cemeteries in the Upper Rhineland region, formerly the Roman provinces of Raetia and Germania Superior, which consisted of south and east Switzerland, north Tyrol and south Bavaria (Koepke 2002: 2).

This area was selected because of the accessibility of the data from their published reports and regional and cultural similarities between the different sites. The sites also provide a sizeable dataset, with individuals spanning each of the established age groups. While this area of Germany is quite different both culturally and geographically from Roman Campania, this is not problematic to the research. The purpose of this project is to find new ways to understand different types of material culture in different contexts, rather than to provide a single, coherent investigation of what childhood was in the Roman world.

I will begin by discussing theoretical approaches to mortuary evidence and the role of age as an analytical category. Then I will introduce the cemetery sites from the Roman province of Raetia, followed by a short discussion of some differences between adult and sub-adult burials found at these cemeteries. I will then present and apply my methodological approach for looking at the grave assemblages. The chapter will conclude with a discussion of the results and an evaluation of the model and methodology.

## 5.2 Use of Mortuary Evidence in Studies of Social Organization

Graves are among the most abundant and complicated sources of evidence for the late prehistoric and Roman period in Europe. Beyond providing information on material culture and dress in different societies, they are also used in theorizing about social organization within their respective societies (Härke 1997: 19). The earliest approaches to mortuary remains were concerned with grave goods as markers of wealth and social standing, such as the study of male status groups in the Alamannic cemetery of Holzgerlingen (Veeck 1926). There was the idea that graves acted as 'Spiegel des Lebens' (Haffner 1989), literally 'mirrors of life.' In many ways burials were viewed as faithful reproductions of social organization and archaeologists have used them to define cross-cultural laws (e.g. Binford 1971). Grave goods were seen as reflecting a carefully fixed

proportion of the wealth accumulated by the deceased in life; thus grave goods were studied as a direct reflection of the social standing and wealth of the dead, with whom they were interred. This idea was based on two premises concerning burial customs: The first premise was that the custom was determined by beliefs concerning the afterlife that social status was carried over to the hereafter through grave goods (Paulsen 1967: 150). The second premise was that certain objects belonging to the dead person were legally inalienable because of their personal nature. Rather than being passed on to heirs, this property was interred with the deceased (Redlich 1948). A notable adjustment to this idea was put forward by Christlein (1973), who argued that grave goods reflected only the wealth of the departed and his or her family, not the legal standing of the deceased. Thus the study of grave goods was used to reconstruct economic status. Noted problems with these ideas include that they follow a normative and deterministic view of social relationships (Härke 1997: 20).

Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971) used ethnographic data to look at how social organization was reflected in grave goods. Binford was particularly interested in using mortuary evidence to look at aspects of egalitarianism or their absence within archaeological cultures. The idea of burial as being a passive, static representation of socio-cultural systems has been discarded in favour of a more complex view of burials as processes that affected social structures through the course of time (McHugh 1999: 1). The post-processual school posits that social differentiation may be either over or under-emphasized in burial and that economic conditions may also affect grave goods. Furthermore post-processualists have rejected the assumption that burial is always considered an important arena for status display by all cultures (McHugh 1999: 13). The broad division of the post-processualist school into two groups, the contextual (Hodder 1986) and the sociological/structuralist (Giddens 1984), has also affected the way mortuary evidence is interpreted. Contextualism views the archaeological record as the remains of symbols through which all human action is

expressed; material culture is analogous to language, wherein both consist of signs which are only meaningful when considered in a wider context (Hodder 1986). While the sociological approach shares many of the same ideas as contextualism, it also incorporates ideas from current social theory; particularly significant for the interpretation of burial data is Giddens' structuration theory (1984) (see Morris 1992). Giddens' theory maintains that social structure is constantly replicated by the actions and mind-set of the people involved. Critics have noted that Giddens' theory allows individuals the agency to act reflectively, but not to create actions through individual motivation (Montserrat 1997: 157).

### 5.3 Death, Burial and Emotion

While certain social dictates often determine associated grave goods, emotion on the part of mourners may also affect artefact deposition in burials. McHugh (1999: 18) has remarked that there has been too much concentration on ideological interpretations, which only represent one particular attitude towards burial. Webster has criticized archaeology as well for over-rationalizing social behaviours; he and others have noted that current theory fails "to incorporate realistic assumptions about human conduct such as the role of nonmaterial motives (emotions, moral sentiments, habits) and a whole range of less-than-rational tendencies that characterize social behaviour in the real world" (Webster 1996; Cowgill 1993; Earle 1991; Shennan 1991). He further notes that the body of results produced in sociological and psychological research necessitates we reconsider long standing assumptions that the material record reflects rational patterns of social behaviours (Webster 1996: 609). Any archaeological deposit or feature that cannot be explained with a 'rational' behaviour is often simply labeled as religious or childish (Hammond and Hammond 1988). Webster proposed a composite model of limited rationality based on the work of social

theorists, such as Giddens, Boudon and Bourdieu, which he applied to Bronze Age Sardinian archaeology. This model was criticized because of his limited definition of rationality as functional, while confusing other possible forms as irrational (Whitehouse 1993: 622). Still Webster's work was lauded for stressing both the complexity of social behaviour and the overuse of functional rationalism for explanations of patterns in the archaeological record (Knapp 1993: 621).

Emotion is an important factor frequently neglected in most archaeological theory and discourse (Tarlow 2000: 713). Perhaps it is most notably absent in the discussion of burial and commemoration, which certainly must be affected by the experience of loss, though not necessarily associated with the emotion of grief. Tarlow, who has written extensively on the incorporation of emotion into archaeological thought, has argued that personal relations are represented in the archaeological remains of commemoration as much as social status and power (1999: xi). Studies of evolutionary psychology found that individuals grieve more strongly for relatives of the closest genetic relatedness and reproductive value (MacDonald 2001: 706). A cross-cultural study carried out by Crawford et al. (1989) found that grief levels corresponded to the reproductive value of the individuals. The reproductive value is "the extent to which persons of a given age and sex will contribute, on average, to the ancestry of future generations" (Buss 1997: 176). A strong relationship between level of parental grief and the reproductive potential of deceased child was found in a cross-cultural study of people in British Columbia, Japan and South Africa (Crawford et al. 1989) and also in a study of the !Kung (Howell 1979).

MacDonald argues that this would indicate, "young adults with high reproductive value are grieved for more intensively than individuals of other age groups" (2001: 706). This may or may not be indicated in burial with more elaborate funerary rites and grave goods. In ethnographic studies it has been shown that the death of individuals with high

reproductive value is often accompanied by the most elaborate rites and deposits. Amongst the Lodagaa, agropastoralists living in West Africa, the graves of young adults were given more elaboration than those of infants or the elderly. The Lodagaa would say that fathers always mourn for sons more deeply than sons for fathers. Goody explained that this was the case because the death of a young adult represents a "contradiction to the normal progression of human life" (1962: 92). MacDonald examined this theory in an archaeological context, looking at the Hohokam culture of what is now southern Arizona. He remarks that this elaboration is likely to be clearer in the case of societies that are not highly stratified. Martin-Kilcher (2000) examined the graves of young Roman girls, ages eight to fourteen years, and found they were buried with elaborate assemblages that included jewellery and dolls. She suggests these may have been intended to represent wedding gifts for a marriage unattained in life.

Much historical evidence from the Roman period attests to the great sense of loss and grief felt by those still living, particularly in regards to the death of a child. While there are anthropological examples of funerals stirring emotions other than grief and loss (see for example Barley 1995), historical evidence from the Roman period would seem to suggest a legitimate association between death, burial, the experience of loss, and the emotion of grief. One of Lucian's works, *De Luctu*, is a philosophical treatise dealing particularly with bereavement and mourning. Pliny the Younger in one of his letters related the story of a grief-stricken senator mourning the loss of his teenage son by sacrificing the son's pet birds at his funeral (*Ep.* 4.2). Juvenal wrote that Nature impels people to weep for those taken too early by death, a virgin or an infant too young to burn: *Naturae imperio gemimus cum funus aduetae virginis occurrit vel terra clauditur infans et minor igne rogi* (*Sat.* XV 138-40).<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> "Driven by Nature to weep, when the funeral of a virgin woman occurs or an infant, too little to burn on a pyre, is closed up in the earth."

For citizens, particularly of the upper class, there were prescribed rules and activities for mourning. Paulus recorded that those in mourning ought to abstain from banquets, wearing jewellery, purple and white (*Sententiae* I.21.14). Gunnella (1995) has argued that members of the lower classes were able to express grief more freely, with less social pressure to behave in a particular manner. Funerary rites and rituals allowed for the acknowledgement of loss and the expression of grief. Undoubtedly these will be expressed in the burials in some manner. Identifying them is the difficulty.

Studies of sub-adult burials frequently incorporate a modern western view of childhood into their analysis of the archaeology. This is based on the idea of the scientific child, born as a 'blank slate' onto which culture is inscribed through the process of socialization. McHugh describes children as having fewer social personae (1999: 24.). Among the Beng of Cote d'Ivoire, who believe in reincarnation, socialization is a process of de-socialization. Babies are born from the afterlife (*wrugbe*) with the culture of the ancestors. Parents must convince infants to remain with them by catering to the child's every need and making life comfortable and amusing. Infants are seen as intelligent and wise (Gottlieb 2004). Gottlieb, who has conducted studies of the Beng, related the following interaction with a Beng mother. When questioning the mother about what infants like, she was told to ask the baby. When Gottlieb responded that the infant would not understand English, the mother was offended, assuming that Gottlieb thought her child was stupid. After all, Beng babies can understand all languages, an ability that fades as the person ages. Still a Beng infant who dies before the stump of the umbilical cord falls off (around the third or fourth day of life) is not given a funeral or proper burial (Gottlieb 2009). Yet to argue that they had little or no developed social persona might offend the Beng; the infant had agency and made a choice not to stay with its mother and the community. Furthermore, no matter the age of infant at death, its mother would mourn privately (Gottlieb 2004: 83).

Roman custom decreed that an infant would not be named before its eighth day of life for a girl and ninth day for a boy. The tradition of treating the bodies of newborns differently in burial is often attributed to the parents maintaining an emotional distance from a child that, statistically speaking, was more likely to die than to make it to its first birthday (Golden 1990: 82; Scott 1999; Rawson 2003). Emotional responses are shaped by experience. While the historical sources are no doubt silent in regards to this, one must wonder what the mother's experience of pregnancy was. For all women life does not change suddenly with the birth; the mother will have experienced months of physical and hormonal changes followed by long hours of labour. Moreover, there is a probability that she will have been treated in a different manner within her family and community during the pregnancy. All of these factors will no doubt have affected her view of her baby. Despite modern western perceptions, high infant mortality does not necessarily mean Roman parents would try to maintain emotional distance to protect themselves. Only a little more than a century ago in the western world, pregnancy, birth and infancy were just as perilous and uncertain as in any Third World country or ancient society; infant and child death was both mundane and ubiquitous. Scheper-Hughes noted, "In many remote rural areas and in the squalid urban slums of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was hardly a family that had not experienced firsthand the death of an infant or small child. Public health and sanitation, child and adult labour laws, and social welfare legislation had yet to vanquish the great uncertainties of individual human existence" (1987: 1). Despite this, our own view of children as precious and childhood as special grew and flourished as Ariès (1960) had shown.

## 5.4 Age as a Category of Analysis

Age is often understudied as a category for mortuary analysis in archaeology, despite the fact that age is a ubiquitous aspect of all societies and an important element affecting social structure (McHugh 1999: 19). It is considered one of four structuring principles of human societies, along with gender, race and class (Scott 1999: 92). In an anthropological essay about the relationship between context and identity, Goodenough noted that age (like sex) was always a relevant identity in any social interaction (1965: 7).

Representation of distinctions based on age can manifest in a number of ways, including where an individual is interred, how the body is oriented or the remains treated, and what artifacts are included in the grave (McHugh 1999: 19).

There are often multiple divisions relating to age, which affect burial practices (McHugh 1999: 19). Infants are a group that is often the exception to the above rule that children are treated as a monolithic group in mortuary studies of the Roman period. This is related to the fact that infants in the Roman world are often treated in special or unusual ways. For instance, Pliny the Elder wrote that it was custom not to cremate infants before their teeth erupted: *hominem prius quam genito dente cremari mos gentium non est* (NH VII.15.72). He is not explicit though as to whether he was referring to the pre-molars, which come in around 6-9 months or the molars which come in around years 2-4 (Fecher 2006: 52). However, there was archaeological evidence of variation. Infants inhumed at Cambodunum were generally less than six months old, while children inhumed at Avenches En-Chaplix were under two years of age. This is a prime reason why it is important to look at regional patterns as well as patterns within individual sites. Pader's examination of Anglo-Saxon burials found that even two cemeteries, Holywell Row and Westgarth Gardens, which were only 19km apart, exhibited differences in commemoration based on age (1980).

Sometimes ancient customs regarding the treatment of dead infants contradict modern attitudes towards infants; their remains have turned up in unexpected places. Burial of infants within settlements is a markedly recurrent trend in the Roman provinces (Pearce 2000; Duda et al. 1995; Ucko 1969: 270). They have been even found beneath the floors of houses. One of the most prominent theories put forward regarding this phenomenon is that the bodies of infants were considered less polluted than those of adults (Kurtz and Boardman 1971). Scott (1992) has also offered an explanation, describing the burials as evidence of female subversion of male dominance and control. The graves of infants were even found under the barracks of a number of Roman forts at sites such as South Shields (Scott 1999: 1), Ellingen (Allison 2006a: 410-11), Malton (Bidwell 1997: 64), and Vindonissa (Trumm and Brogli 2008). This may have been a common practice, though it may be underreported due to the fact that infant bones are sometimes confused with animal bones (Zanier 1992: 72).

Infants, particularly neonates, are almost always underrepresented in cemeteries (Pearce 1997), even modern ones as Scott has noted (1999: 26). Some scholars have speculated that this is due to the relative fragility of children's small bones (Bourbou 2000: 187). This is not true in all cases; Becker (2007: 281) noted that the bones of perinatals are no less well preserved than those of adults and that the limestone-rich geology rarely produces acid soils. As examples, acid soils can affect skeletal survival and shallow graves of infants are more vulnerable to damage from plowing (Evison 1987: 146). Furthermore imperfect excavation techniques can affect the recovery of the remains of infants and young children (Bello 2004; Angel 1971). A cultural reason why infants and children are underrepresented in cemeteries is that they are sometimes interred in separate locations, such as under houses (Scott 1991; Pliny *NH* 7.15) or cemeteries specifically designated for children (Soren et al. 1995; Soren and Soren 1999; Norman 2002; Norman 2003). Sometimes

women who died in childbirth were also buried in these separate locations (Becker 2007: 289). Some infant cemeteries have been excavated, such as the late Roman infant cemetery at Poggio Grimignano (Soren and Soren 1999) and the Yasmina cemetery at Carthage (Norman 2002; Norman 2003). The phenomenon of separate burial sites for sub-adults has been seen in mortuary sites throughout the world, though reasons for this may vary depending on culture and location (Becker 2007: 281). The underrepresentation of sub-adults in traditional cemeteries is one factor that has contributed to the neglect in the study of their populations.

Though infants were buried in separate locations, the treatment of the body and associated grave goods is often similar to that of adults. Blaizot, Alix and Ferber (2003) conducted a study of three cemeteries in the Rhone-Alps-Auvergne region of France. One was a cemetery only for infants. The second was primarily for children under the age of four years, though adults were sometimes buried there as well. The third cemetery contained the burials of adults and sub-adults, including infants. They found that there was great similarity between adult and infant burials in regards to the form of the grave and the abundance and diversity of grave goods.

Particular artifacts may be deposited in sub-adult burials, suggesting the presence of certain beliefs concerning transitory periods in life. For instance Martin-Kilcher's study of the burials of young girls found that dolls were often associated with them, suggesting that the dolls were symbols in the Roman mindset of the failure to attain the status of wife in life (1999). Amongst ancient Athenians it was common to place a small juglet in the grave with a child, who had not reached its third year when it would have been admitted into the religious life of the community during its first Anthesteria festival (Garland 1985: 82).

McHugh (1999: 24) identified five situations frequently occurring in sub-adult burials. Firstly, children may be buried with items that do not reflect any status, but rather

may mark a transition, religious belief or emotional response in relation to the deceased child. Secondly, the identity of a child may be marked by the use of organic equivalents of adult artifacts, which may or may not be preserved. Thirdly the significance of age may vary between communities and over time. Thus particular symbols used in burial to represent age may change accordingly. The fourth situation is that symbols of distinct age grades in mortuary contexts may be misinterpreted as reflecting some other status. Finally, the deceased child may be 'misrepresented' through the inclusion of symbols of certain social identities not actually attained.

Often when age is considered it is done so according to a simple dichotomy; sub-adults, individuals under the age of 18 or 20 years, are compared to adults. Such research has been pivotal in recognizing constructions of childhood and distinctions made between adults and children in the ancient world. Furthermore, the reliance on this dichotomy is understandable because of the often poor condition of the evidence; the ageing of human remains is difficult and often determining precise age can be nearly impossible (Perry 2005: 89). The resulting impression, though, is of childhood as a single, inert life stage.

After infancy, another age-related interest of archaeologists is coming of age, which can also be problematic to study. Mair (1972) noted that this individual aspect of coming of age often will result in 'fuzziness' in the patterning of artefact finds in graves.

## 5.5 Essential theoretical points for the case study

Firstly, children, no matter how young and perhaps even the unborn, did not lack social identities, which may have varied over time particularly in regards to perceptions of different members of the family and community. The burial and commemoration of the dead were complex processes that were a mutable combination of social ideologies and

experiential understanding. Graves can provide evidence concerning social structures related to age in the past, though these were not the only factor affecting the make-up of the assemblages. The emotions and attitudes towards the deceased child on the part of those participating in the ritual, which were at least partially constructed through interaction with the child when s/he was alive, played a role in deposition of grave goods. Ultimately there was some connection between the lives of the individuals and the material culture with which they were interred. There exists a back and forth relationship between socio-cultural constructions and lived experience; each informs the other. Thus the grave assemblages that can inform us about socio-cultural constructions of childhood can also perhaps provide glimpses into the lived experiences of children.

## 5.6 Data

### *5.6.1 The dataset*

As stated, the data for this case study come from four imperial period cemeteries in the Upper Rhineland region of Germany and Switzerland. The cemeteries are located in an area that was formerly the Roman provinces of Raetia and Germania Superior, which comprised modern Bavaria south of the Danube, the Austrian Vorarlberg and Northern Tyrol, the principality of Liechtenstein and eastern Switzerland. The region was formalized as provinces around 40/50CE, though prior to this it had been a single military district (Koepke 2002: 2).

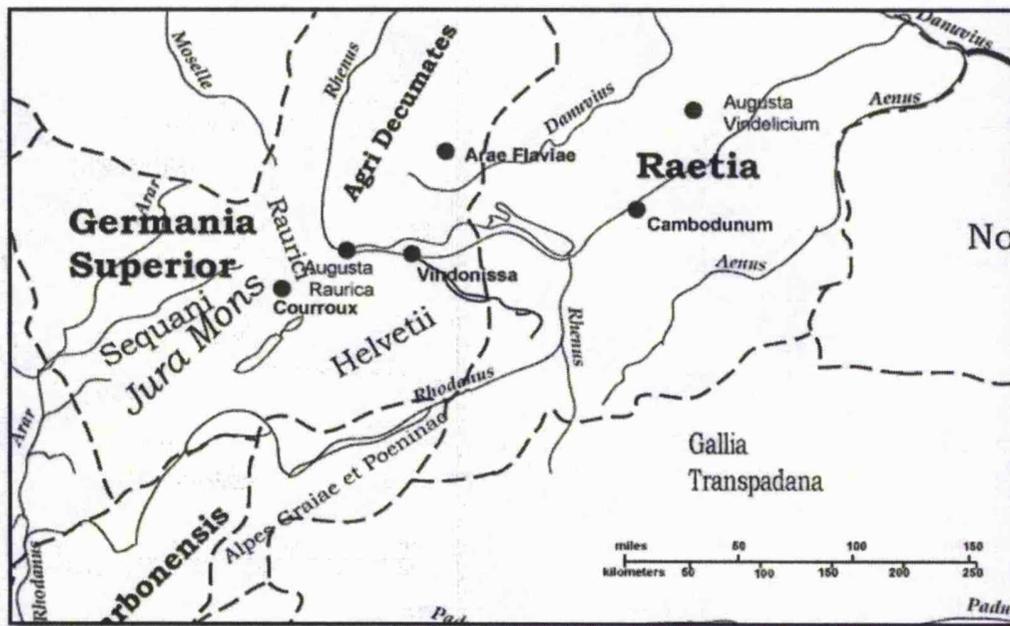


Figure 5.1 Map of Raetia and Germania Superior showing the sites of Vindonissa, Courroux, Arae Flaviae, and Cambodunum

### 5.6.2 Sites

**Dägerli-Windisch, Vindonissa:** This cemetery is one of four dating to the period of the Roman legionary camp at Vindonissa, which was built over an earlier Iron Age settlement during the Augustan period. Located to the south of the fort, Dägerli was in use from the early Imperial to the mid Imperial period. The site of Vindonissa's south cemetery lies near the modern town of Windisch and was excavated 1996-1998. It is the largest imperial era cemetery in Switzerland with 382 graves, of which 79 contain sub-adult remains. The fort was built and occupied by the Legio XIII Gemina, and was successively populated by the Legio XXI and then the Legio XI, until the 2<sup>nd</sup> century when it became the site of a civilian settlement (Okun 1989: 187). Little is known about the use of the fortress after the departure of the legion in 101CE. Over the entire period of use for the cemetery, Hintermann

found in her analysis of burial trends that there was a lack of alteration in rituals to coincide with garrison changes. This continuity of traditions combined with the continued use after 101CE and the high number of women and children's burials led her to conclude that the cemetery was probably used by the civilian population (Hintermann 1996).

**Kapellenösch, Rottweil (Arae Flaviae):** This was the site of a legionary fort built in the Upper Neckar under the emperor Vespasian (Okun 1989: 232). It is not known whether there was earlier occupation on the site (Fecher 2006: 7). Arae Flaviae is among the best investigated Roman sites in the region (Fecher 2006: 6). The fort was located at a key strategic position for both military and economic matters; it lies along a main road between Argentoratum (modern Strasburg) and along the border between Raetia and Germania Superior. A military fort was probably established here around 75/85CE by the Legio XI Claudia, after the legion was moved from Vindonissa (Fecher 2006: 7). The cemetery, Kapellenösch, was in use from the early imperial period, around 70 CE, until the third century (Fecher 2006). It lay to the southwest, along the road to Vindonissa. A total of 238 graves were excavated there between 1979-1981 and from 1990-1991. Of the total, 206 were cremation burials, while 32 were inhumations. Thirty-eight graves (16%) contained sub-adult remains, 15 of which were inhumations of infants. As with Dagerli-Windisch, the majority of grave goods had been burned (Fecher 2006: 65).

**Keckwiese in Kempten (Cambodunum):** Lying on the river Iller, this had been the major center for the Estioni. Germanicus left a garrison there, when Tiberius recalled him to Rome in 17CE after a series of poorly executed campaigns (Tac. *Ann.* 2.2.6). Although the garrison eventually moved on to the Danube around 46CE, the civil population remained (Mackendrick 1970: 85). Because of its location at a junction of major routes between Italy

and the Danubian region, the Romans developed Cambodunum as an administration settlement. It served as the capital of the province until 100CE when Augusta Vindelicum, modern Augsburg, became the new capital (Koepke 2002: 4). Sometime after the barbarian invasions of 260CE, the site of Cambodunum was transferred to a plateau west of the Iller during the reorganization of the frontier provinces under Probus (Mackensen 1999: 205). Though it was a civilian settlement Roman military objects were found there (Wells 1972: 68). The cemetery was used primarily from the Augustan period through the end of the first century. After this it seems to have gone out of use until the 4<sup>th</sup> century (Mackensen 1978: 4). It contains 347 graves with 101 sub-adult burials.

**Courroux:** This is the site of an early/mid Imperial era cemetery located in the Delsberger basin in northwest Switzerland, which was excavated in the 1950s. Nearby was a large villa enclosure, to which the cemetery may have belonged prior to the third century when the villa was abandoned (Martin-Kilcher 1976: 17). This interpretation has been challenged on account of the great diversity within the cemetery; unurned cremations with coins and personal ornaments were buried amongst inhumations (Clarke 1978: 511). Martin-Kilcher has suggested that the differences represent variations in social status amongst the dead (1976). Sometime during the third century the villa was abandoned and a new settlement may have begun using the cemetery. In all, 148 graves, which were discovered beneath a late Roman cemetery, were excavated between 1953 and 1958. Of these graves, 116 were cremation burials and 32 were inhumations. Based on anthropological study of the human remains, 37 graves contained sub-adults.

This area was selected because of the accessibility of the data and detail of the published excavation reports. Also, all age and sex identifications of individuals have been

carried out through analysis of the biological remains rather than the associated grave goods. The burial customs and grave goods from all four cemeteries share similarities, revealing the adoption of some Italic-Roman customs, which included burying objects like oil lamps, balsamaria and coins with the deceased. All the cemeteries have cremation burials, many of which make use of cremation urns; this was a new tradition introduced through contact with the Romans since the Iron Age peoples of the region traditionally inhumed their dead (Okum 1989: 38). Much of the pottery though is indigenous Iron Age ceramics, including handmade cooking pots, jars with painted stripe decoration and vessels decorated with incised comb line (Wells 2001: 162). Many of the burials also contained plant and animal remains, which were probably part of food offerings (Wells 2001: 162). It is not always clear whether these were indigenous people who adopted Roman practices or Roman soldiers or civilians incorporating some local traditions (Wells 2001: 159). In the region, the main Gallic 'tribes' were the Helvetii, Rauraci, and the Sequani (Sommer 1999: 613); traditions in the area seem to have been more Gallic than Germanic (Fecher 2006: 80-81). Only a handful of late La Tène cemeteries have been discovered in this region; few have been excavated (Okum 1989: 38). At Basel-Gasfabrik, one of the most extensively excavated late Iron Age cemeteries, there were 90 inhumations found, with 40% containing grave goods, which included cooking, polished and painted pots, brooches, arm, ear and finger rings, and various other items (Major 1940; Furger-Gunti and Berger 1980).

During the Roman period the dead were interred by a number of different methods. Some were inhumed; for sub-adults this was normally reserved for infants. Cremation of the bodies either took place on a pyre in a separate area (*ustrina*) or on a pyre directly above the open grave (*bustum*). The *bustum* burials seem to have developed later, sometime after the first century CE (Fasold 1985: 189). Usually the remains were placed in an urn; at other times they were deposited without one. In lieu of an urn, a leather or fabric bag might be

used or, on rare occasions, a wooden box (Fasold 1985: 189). Vessels and other objects were burned with the body before being placed in the grave pit with the remains as part of the primary deposit. On occasion there was a secondary deposit of unburnt objects, though this was not common practice in any of the four cemeteries studied here (Hintermann 2000: 112).

Unlike some of the nearby Gallo-Roman cemeteries, such as Avenches-En Chaplix, the graves of Vindonissa, Cambodunum, Courroux and Rottweil do not generally contain ceramic or glass vessels that have been specially made for burial (Ettlinger and Simonett 1952; Fecher 2006: 36). Urns were primarily ceramic; there were only a few examples of glass urns, which again tended to be more popular for 'rich' burials in some Gallo-Roman cemeteries like Avenches-En Chaplix (Fecher 2006: 36). Excavated vessels were usually in pieces, likely destroyed during the cremation process, though some argue they were ritually destroyed (Mackensen 1978: 152; Fasold 1985: 189), while others postulate some of them may certainly have been intact when they were deposited (Fecher 2006: 81).

While there are similarities in the burial traditions at the four sites in Raetia, there were some differences in the communities that are worth noting. Vindonissa and Arae Flaviae were military communities, Cambodunum was an urban center and Courroux was a rural community. The different characters of the communities have potential to affect the ways in which children were buried and the assemblages buried with them.

Throughout the following analysis and discussion of the burials, individual graves are referred to with the first letter of the site (Kapellenösch, Rottweil= R; Dägerli-Windisch, Vindonissa=V; Cambodunum, Kempten=K, Courroux=C), followed by the catalogue number from the published excavation report. For example, V93-100 refers to grave 93-100 at Dägerli-Windisch and C104 refers to grave 104 from Courroux.

### 5.6.3 *Sub-adult vs. adult grave assemblages*

Out of the 1115 burials excavated in these four cemeteries, 241 (21.5%) included sub-adult remains. This is significantly below many demographic estimates. Bagnall and Frier have suggested that in the case of Roman Egypt, the sub-adult population was somewhere around 40% (1994: 97), with nearly a third of the entire population being under 15 years of age (Frier 2000: 794). Even taking into account that Roman Egypt and Raetia were different in regards to environment and customs, this would not explain the discrepancy between the 40% estimated by Bagnall and Frier and the 21.5% representation in the cemeteries used in this case study. So either sub-adults are being interred elsewhere or problems in age identification due to poor preservation have left them underrepresented.

Overall there were some notable differences in the character of grave assemblages for sub-adults that were relatively consistent at each of the four cemetery sites. For example, assemblages of sub-adult burials tended to share similarities with those of adult females more often than with those of adult males. All of the reports of the excavations of these cemeteries included brief age analyses and comparisons of sub-adult and adult burials, noting that there was indeed dissimilarity between grave goods interred with individuals under the age of 18 years and those with individuals older than 18 years.

In many cases distinctions between assemblages based on age were more readily evident than those based on sex. For instance at the cemetery of Dägerli-Windisch, where there were clear differences between adult and sub-adult assemblages, there appears to have been virtually no distinctions in burial customs based on the sex of the deceased.

Typically amulets and adornment objects that were likely to have had apotropaic qualities were found in sub-adult burials at all four cemeteries. At Kapellenösch amulets and ornaments were frequently deposited in both inhumations and cremations of sub-adults

(Fecher 2006: 50). Pendants were predominantly found in the graves of sub-adults and female adults. The most common form of pendant is termed 'lunula' or 'little moon.'

Coins, which were sometimes perforated to be used as pendants or buttons, often function as amulets. These were distributed fairly evenly through the burials regardless of the sex or age of the deceased (Mackensen 1978: 153). The other primary purpose of depositing coins in burials is argued to be to give the deceased money for the ferryman in the underworld (Stevens 1991: 215). Beads were frequently interred in sub-adult burials; usually these were single beads of glass or clay, which were probably hung on ribbon or other organic material. Again these may have served as amulets (Mackensen 1978: 159).

Finger rings and bracelets were also found in the burials of sub-adults. The tradition of giving infants rings and "lunula" shaped pendants as protective items was recorded in Plautus (*Rudens* 1171).

Brooches were found in the burials of adults and sub-adults alike. They tend to be found more frequently in the graves of males than females; such was the case at Cambodunum, where it was also noted that specific brooch types were found with either male or female individuals (Mackensen 1978: 155). Brooches were found only in adult burials at Dägerli-Windisch and Kapellenösch, but both cemeteries have a noticeably low number of brooches (they are found in about 2% of burials) in comparison to cemeteries in Northern Switzerland and Germany (Hintermann 2000: 122; Fecher 2006: 74), including Courroux and Cambodunum. At the latter, children as young as six months were buried with brooches. Twelve sub-adult burials at Cambodunum and three at Courroux contained iron or copper alloy brooches. Mostly these were simple spiral brooches and disc brooches (*Distelfibeln*), though there were also several 'eye' brooches (*Augenfibeln*) and one Aucissa type. In sub-adult graves brooches were found individually, with one exception; K89 contained the remains of two 'eye' brooches (*Augenfibeln*).

Both adult and sub-adult burials at Cambodunum contained evidence of leather shoes. K130, containing a child of around 4-5 years, is the youngest to contain evidence of shoes other than scattered shoe nails. Shoe nails were relatively common finds in the burials of sub-adults and two even contained shoe bundles with leather remains preserved.

Though bells were often noted as being present in the burials of females and sub-adults (Mackensen 1978; Hintermann 1996), only two graves from all four cemeteries had identifiable remains of bells (V93-100 and K212).

Articles of clothing, small boxes, tools, utensils and toilet items were found interred with adults, but were noticeably rare in the graves of sub-adults. The remains of boxes and chests were found in at least four sub-adult burials at Kapellenösch (R 694, R29, C81 and R60). The latter were more frequently found with adult females, and slightly less frequently with adult males (Fecher 2006: 77). Bits of metal fittings and fragments were common in many sub-adult graves from all four cemeteries, though whatever objects they may have been attached to did not survive and their specific purpose remains uncertain.

While oil lamps were often found in both sub-adult and adult burials, there was some variation between the different sites. They were evenly distributed amongst all the burials at Dägerli-Windisch. The number of lamps found in sub-adult graves was slightly above average for all the burials at the cemetery; 17% of sub-adult graves contained lamps, while the number was somewhat lower in adult graves (Hintermann 2000: 118). This was notably different in some Roman period cemeteries further north in Germany, where oil lamps were more likely to be found in the graves of women and children (Haffner 1989: 103; Bridger 199: 116). At Kapellenösch, lamps were found primarily in adult graves; only one lamp was found associated with the inhumation of a sub-adult (R280; Fecher 2006: 71).

A few terracotta statues were found at Dägerli-Windisch, which were associated with females and sub-adult burials. The total number of terracotta statues was very small; only 11

were found in the entire south cemetery (Hintermann 2000: 120). At Kapellenösch, only one was found and it was not associated with a sub-adult burial (Fecher 2006: 72). Terracottas were found in association with women and sub-adults at Courroux (Martin-Kilcher 1976: 92) and Cambodunum (Mackensen 1978: 173). Overall only five sub-adult burials contained terracotta sculpture fragments, two of which also contained the remains of adult females.

Blades from shaving tools and knives, which tended to be a rare find across all age and sex groups, do not appear to have been deposited with individuals based on sex (Mackensen 1978: 159). There were, however, several sub-adult burials that had remains of blades or knife handles.

Glass balsamaria or fragments of balsamaria were another object frequently interred with sub-adults. They were found in eight sub-adult graves at Dägerli-Windisch. They were widely found in female burials as well, and, although rarer, they were also found in male burials (Hintermann 2000: 121). Balsamaria and other glass vessels were more frequently found in the graves of females and sub-adults at Kapellenösch (Fecher 2006: 70).

Ceramic jars and flagons were more likely to be interred or used as urns with sub-adults and women. The jars were frequently painted in the La Tène tradition, suggesting that they were replacing an earlier form of painted vase found prior to the Roman period (Okum 1989: 96). At Kapellenösch, children were less likely to be buried with terra sigillata vessels; when they were found the vessels were likely to be associated with adult male burials (Fecher 2006: 67).

*Saugbechern*, possibly a type of feeding cup, were found in the graves of both adults and children. This would seem to indicate that they were likely to have been used for both nursing infants and feeding the ill and frail. They may also have been used to refill oil lamps (Fecher 2006: 50). In all four cemeteries only one sub-adult burial seems to have contained such a vessel (R501).

## 5.7 Methodology

### 5.7.1 *Approaching the artefacts*

In order to examine possible social distinction within the group 'children', I have analyzed the assemblages in terms of age groups. In addition to these age groups, I have also considered neonates - individuals no more than nine months old - separately. With regard to the material culture, there are a number of issues of significance beyond the types of artefacts. Variation in the size and material can often be dependent on age (McHugh 1999: 20). Miniature items, such as pots and figurines, are sometimes associated with children in burials (e.g. Degani 1951/52; Barbera 1991; Going et al. 1997). Additionally small items, like 'child-sized' dress and adornment artefacts, may be more frequently found sub-adult graves.

Objects are categorized in the first instance by possible use. The prevalence of objects made of clay, glass, metal, and bone in burials from each age group was observed. Objects are also divided into flexible/broad/general use categories for analysis. These categories are 'amulets and votives', 'adornment objects', 'gaming objects', 'tools', 'toiletory items', 'shoes and shoe nails', coins, and lamps. Both ceramic and glass vessels were looked at in separate categories based on form and function.

The category 'amulets and votives' comprises objects of a protective or devotional nature. This includes terracotta statues and pendants. Finds of single beads that may similarly have had apotropaic qualities (Mackensen 1978: 156) were also included in this group. Objects of dress and adornment consist of brooches, finger rings, arm rings, beads, and shoes/shoe nails. Gaming items include tile and brick fragments that were frequently used as makeshift game boards, gaming pieces, and fittings that may have come from purpose-made hinged game boards. Toiletory objects were items used in personal grooming, such as tweezers, curved blades for shaving, hairpins, scoops and spatulas for makeup and

ointment containers. *Balsamaria* have been analyzed separately, even though they are by definition perfume jars. The term was coined by archaeologists under the assumption that this was the vessels' purpose. These objects could have held any number of different substances (Allison 2007: 18). Thus the term *balsamarium* is used here for convenience to refer to a particular form category of glass vessels. Items classified as tools were objects used in production. This category includes objects like knives, loom weights, and whetstones. I looked at coins and lamps as separate categories because of the relative frequency with which they were found in the sub-adult burials and felt this warranted individual analysis.

I have chosen to use functional categories because they related to the potential use of the item in life, though I acknowledge the difficulty in assigning functions to artefacts, particularly small finds. Cool and Baxter have argued that functions are frequently assigned to small finds based on narrow functional interpretations without any formal analysis of the artefacts themselves within their archaeological contexts (2002: 366). In this case study and the thesis as a whole, my primary interest is in accessing children's lives. I have made the categories very broad. As a result these categories are not mutually exclusive and some objects were placed into more than one. For instance a pierced coin would be included both in the coin and amulet categories; pendants would be placed in both the adornment and amulet groups. A curved blade placed in the tool group would have been placed in the toilet object category as well since it might have been used for shaving.

To analyze the findings by age group I assessed the frequency with which burials in each age group contained certain objects or object types rather than the sheer number of individual objects. In many cases, the numbers of individual items in all the sub-adult graves are very low, often less than 20. So if one grave contains several examples of a single object, it might appear as if the item is more common amongst burials of a particular age group than it actually is. For instance, 19 brooches were found in sub-adult graves, but one grave (K54)

contained three, 16%. Thus discussion will focus on both the percentages and numbers of burials within each age group containing particular artefacts or categories of artefacts.

### 5.7.2 Age groups

Assemblages are also analyzed according to age group. Age groups are based loosely on the skeletal biological stages, as these are the ones used by osteologists to determine the ages. The groups are as follows: 0-3 years, 4-8 years, 9-12 years, 13-18/20 years, and a fifth group which includes those individuals whose approximate age could not be determined from the remains. The first group corresponds to a physiological phenomenon, a major growth spurt that takes place during childhood and which has been found to have been consistent since antiquity (Saunders 1992). It begins during infancy, around the second month after birth, until weaning, which often occurs around three years of age (Perry 2005: 92). The second age group constitutes the rest of early childhood after weaning until the age of eight. The third age group spans the age of nine until about twelve years. The age of about seven or eight had both biological and cultural significance. At this point, brain growth has ceased and permanent teeth begin to erupt. The behavioural biological sciences recognize the age of about seven as significant, terming the period between three to seven years as childhood and the period from seven until puberty as juvenility (Scheuer and Black 2000: 469). For girls, eight years marks the beginning of the period of menarche, which onsets between eight and fifteen years (Bogin 1999: 54). Galen's work recommended a change in diet and exercise at seven years of age (*Hyg. I.7*). This was also the age at which children would have begun formal education or entered into betrothal (Rawson 2003: 140); Varro noted that the age of seven was when children were able to truly understand language (*De ling. lat. 6.52*). The fourth age group would have marked an important period of change and

transition in a child's life; many young girls would have been married and learning their roles as wives while boys may have been entering public life or preparing to join the military. As Bradley's work has shown, it was a time when children of both sexes might be apprenticed to learn a trade. Due to the fact that the ages of most of the individuals are not able to be determined exactly, a number of them would fall into two of the age groups, so I have placed them into combined groups. For example an individual aged as 2-5 years old or under 7 years, could either belong to AG1 or AG2. So in such instances they were not counted in either of those age groups, but in a combined group, AG 1/2. The references to age groups will be abbreviated thus: AG1=age group 1, AG1/2=age group 1 or 2, AG2=age group 2, etc.

## 5.8 Analysis of the Sub-Adult Burials by Age Group

### 5.8.1 *Distribution by age group and burial types*

Of the 241 (21.5%) burials containing sub-adult remains, the majority contained individuals under the age of 8 years (63.1%) (Table 5.1). There were 67 burials (27.8%) of children in AG1, of which 15 were of neonates. 33 of the burials in the first age group burials were inhumations, including 14 of the neonates, the majority of which came from Cambodunum. One neonate was found in the fill of an adult male burial at Courroux (19B). The majority of inhumations were children in the first age group, so roughly up to the age of three years. 18 were cremations with urns and 14 were cremations without urns, a few containing bone deposits in wooden boxes. Only one was a *bustum* burial, wherein the body was burned in the same location it was deposited. Only a handful of the cremations (7) had secondary deposits that included unburnt items, particularly balsamaria and pitchers. Generally they have been noted to be more common for women and children than men (Fecher 2006: 65; Hintermann 2000: 113). Since such a custom is relatively rare in these

cemeteries, it is poorly understood. It may be related to an ancient custom of pouring oil and wine over the deceased (Hintermann 2000: 114).

Forty-three individuals (17.4%) here are classified as AG 1/2, being between the ages of 0 and 8 years old, and 21 (8.7%) were between 4 and 8 years old (in AG2). Four of the AG 1/2 burials were inhumations and one was a cremation accompanying the inhumation of an adult. Seventeen burials were cremations with urns, while 14 were cremations or fire-pit burials without urns. At least one and possibly two were *bustum* burials.

An additional 21 burials (8.7%) contained individuals between the ages of 4 and 12 years of age (AG2/3). Only 8 burials (3.3%) contained individuals aged between 9 and 12 years (AG3), one of which was an inhumation (R648). The rest of the graves containing individuals in AG3 were cremations, three of which were contained in urns. Children age 13 to 18/20 were found in 46 burials (19.1%). The rest of the burials, 14 (7.9%) in total, could not be recognized as belonging to a particular age group, although they were identified as having the remains of individuals not fully developed physically.

Age Group	Kapellenösch	Courroux	Dägerli-Windisch	Kempton	Total
AG1	5	5	23	35	68
AG1/2	7	1	7	25	43
AG2	4	0	9	8	21
AG2/3	1	5	5	10	21
AG3	3	1	3	1	8
AG3/4	5	3	7	5	20
AG4	10	24	6	6	46
AG5	1	0	13	0	14

Table 5.1 Distribution of sub-adult graves by age group in the different cemeteries.

Considering the high rate of infant mortality during the Roman period, children seem to have been underrepresented in all four cemeteries. The most frequently cited studies, which have been based on modern preindustrial societies, estimate that the mortality rate for live-born infants in the first year of life would have been around 28% (Hopkins 1983: 225). In this study the underrepresentation of sub-adults could be due to the difficulty in ageing the remains, as noted in many of the reports (Martin-Kilcher; Hintermann); the amount of remains unable to be aged is around 8-10% in each of the cemeteries. Hintermann attributes the underrepresentation of children among the burials at Vindonissa (21%) to Roman tradition, which dictated that neonates should not be cremated (2000: 144). At an estimated 15-17% percent, sub-adults also seem underrepresented at Kapellenösch (Fecher 2006: 18). Both Hintermann (2000: 144) and Fecher (2006: 18) postulate, as others have (i.e. Becker 2007), that there were separate areas devoted to the burial of infants and young children. Additionally there were four infant burials recovered from excavations of the settlement at Arae Flaviae (Fecher 2006: 18). The percentage of sub-adults was slightly higher at Courroux, where 37 of the 148 burials (25%) contained the remains of individuals under the age of eighteen years. Cambodunum also had a slightly higher percentage.

Since infants and children before they are weaned are the most vulnerable, the pattern in these cemeteries is interesting. Parkin estimates that about 30% of infants die before reaching their first birthday (1992: 92). The rate of death among sub-adults drops to 10-15% after weaning, which occurs around three years of age, and this age group is often appropriately represented in cemeteries (Becker 2007: 286). Findings from other cemeteries, such as Lankhills in England, have found that the highest mortality periods in childhood, after infancy, occur around weaning and the few years following it, so roughly from age 3-8 years (Clarke 1979; Gowland 2001: 155). This is often attributed to the increased risk of injury that resulted from a reduction in adult supervision that would be

likely to follow weaning and also to the probability that there would be a decrease in nutrition in the child's diet (Gowland 2000: 155). The relatively high increase in mortality rates among children aged 13-18/20 years (AG 4) could be accounted for. It could signal a change in social roles and activities, which may have increased risk. Among all these communities in Raetia the period between weaning and age twelve could have been a time where children were accustomed to a certain amount of independence following weaning, but they remained moderately protected by socially perceived vulnerabilities.

Looking at the cemeteries individually, Dägerli-Windisch and Cambodunum had high proportions of young children (in age groups 1, 1/2, 2). Courroux had relatively older children (age group 4), while Kapellenösch had fairly equal numbers of individuals distributed through all the age groups. This may reflect different facilities and traditions between each of the communities. The largest group of burials in AG4 came from the rural site at Courroux as opposed to the military and urban communities at Arae Flaviae, Vindonissa, and Cambodunum. Social roles, living conditions, activities, and level of supervision at a rural site may have differed. Alternately there may have been a separate burial grounds or practices for younger children.

In 34 instances, children were buried with at least one other individual (see Appendix 4); the presence of the other individual could affect the artefact assemblage associated with the burial. Four of these were the burials of multiple sub-adults. One child aged 5-6 years and another aged 13-14 years were found in grave K373 at Cambodunum. Burials K95 and K208 in Cambodunum's cemetery each had two children in age group 1. Courroux 56 contained the remains of a neonate and a juvenile in age group 4. Martín-Kilcher speculates that the remains had been of a mother and child interred together (1976: 86). Eight burials each contained a single adult female, ranging in age from older than 20 years to older than 40 years. Five sub-adults were each buried with one adult male, whose

ages ranged from 30-60 years of age. Cambodunum K278 contained two adult males and grave 20 at Arae Flaviae contained an adult male and an unsexed individual along with the child. In Vindonissa V94-85 a male, aged 40-50, a female older than 20 years, and a child aged 4-8 years were buried together. Six burials each contained the remains of a single individual who could not be sexed. In one instance an infant's cremated remains were found in the fill of the inhumation of an adult (Courroux 19B). Two children's burials (C67 and C68) overlapped with each other and with that of an adult. Most of these multiple burials had a young child in age group 1 or 2.

### 5.8.2 Patterns by object type

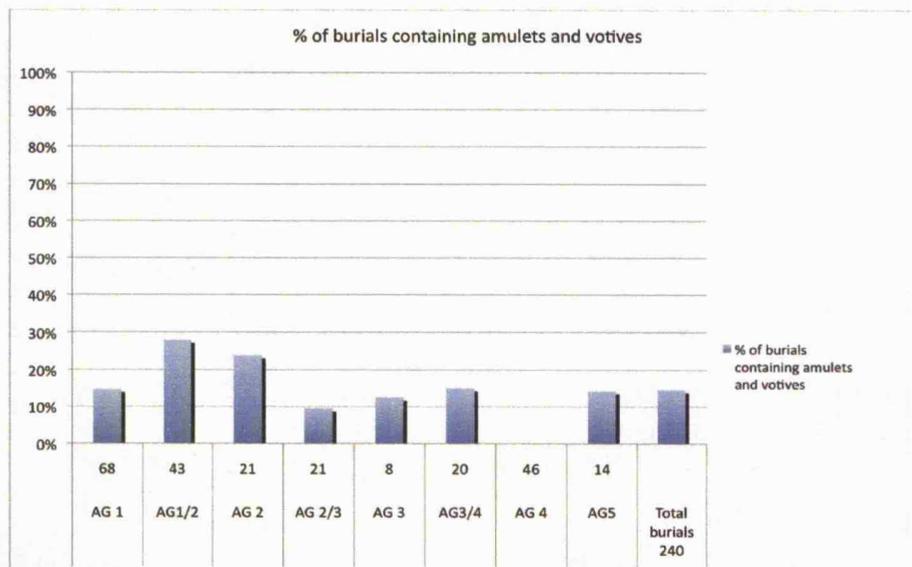
There were some notable patterns in the distribution of certain object types across the different age groups, particularly amulets and votives, gaming artefacts, and coins (see Tab. 5.2).

Object Type	AG1 68	AG1/2 43	AG2 21	AG2/3 21	AG3 8	AG3/4 20	AG4 46	AG5 14	Total burials
Amulets and Votives	10	12	5	2	1	3	-	2	35
Adornment	19	16	11	6	4	7	14	5	72
Gaming	9	4	5	4	-	2	1	5	30
Toilet Objects	1	4	1	-	1	1	3	1	13
Tools	1	3	1	1	-	-	3	1	10
Coins	8	9	8	4	1	1	3	1	35
Lamps	8	4	3	5	-	2	2	2	26
Box, lock, fittings	1	5	3	1	1	2	5	-	18

**Table 5.2** Number of graves containing particular object types. Numbers below the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.

## *Amulets and Votives*

Objects that may have served as amulets and votives to protect the deceased were found primarily in the first two age groups of children up to eight years of age. 81.8% of the burials, which were aged (i.e. not including AG5), containing these artefacts include individuals in AGs 1, 1/2 or 2 (see Fig. 5.2). Amulets were only found in the burials of children in these groups. Burials in all other age groups contained terracotta figures, which were likely to have been votives, but no amulets. Overall the pattern of placing amulets in the burials of women and children is often interpreted as reflecting their perceived vulnerabilities (Fasold 1985: 233). The pattern here would thus seem logical, as younger children would likely be perceived as needing more protection. Only three graves in the older age groups contained votives or amulets. It also suggests that around the age of eight years there is a change in perception regarding the vulnerabilities of children. It is interesting to note that none of the older individual's graves contains amulets, despite the fact that they are also tend to be associated with adult women.



**Figure 5.2 Percentage of graves in each age group containing amulets and/or votives. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

The most common forms of amulets found in the four cemeteries in this study were pendants, which were present only in the burials of sub-adults under eight years of age. Three of the amulets were the typical *lunula* (moon-shaped) forms. These protective pendants were the girl's equivalent of the *bullae*, the apotropaic amulet traditionally worn by Roman boys (Olson 2008: 144). Isidore of Seville described them as the "ornaments of women" (Isidore of Seville *Etym.* 19.31.17: *lunulae sunt ornamenta mulierum*). The gender distinctions may not have actually been as strict though; in Plautus' play *Rudens* the character Palaestra mentions that she was given a *bullae* by her father when she was born (*Rud.* 1171). Allison identified a lunate item, which might have been a pendant, along with a teardrop and a bird-headed pendant in a box in the Casa del Menandro (Allison 2007: 119, cat. no. 671). Pendants are a common find on Roman military sites and they are associated in particular with horse harnesses (Bishop 1988: 96; Allison 2004: 8.2.2g). Indeed Allison has noted that Maiuri (1933: 453) originally identified those from Casa del Menandro as parts of horse harnesses (Allison 2006a: 119). The other objects found in the same room as the pendants included luxury and personal items, including a bronze statuette, oil lamps, a small glass vessel, weights, and bronze furniture fittings. Allison concludes that the domestic assemblages from Menander suggest that the use of pendants was not limited to the cavalry; men and women, soldiers and civilians alike probably wore them as well (Allison 2004: 8.2.2g). Evidence from the cemeteries in this study would seem to suggest they were worn by children as well. Though it is possible that adults gave the pendants for the burials, literary evidence would seem to support that *lunulae* at least were indeed worn by the young children. One of the graves (V93-38) contained two *phalerae*, which were used to suspend many forms of pendants, that were also associated with cavalry equipment (Bishop 1988: 94).

Besides the *lunula*, a number of other pendant were found with sub-adults. V93-100 contained a phallus pendant and a wheel pendant, both made of bronze. Phallus-shaped pendants particularly are associated with military contexts, though not necessarily with the cavalry (Bishop 1988: 98); several have been found at the camp at Augsburg (Fasold 1985: 233). However, such pendants have been found in domestic contexts as well; a phallus-shape, was found in a storeroom with domestic objects in a house in the Insula del Menandro at Pompeii (Allison 2007: 228, cat. no. 1724).

The most common material used for these objects was metal. Most were made of bronze, but two were made of silver (R501 and K278), which is extremely rare. Silver amulets have also been found in infant burials at Rossfeld in Bern and Nida-Hedderheim (Wiedmer 1909: 29; Fecher 2006: 50).

Two burials contained punctured coins (K388 and V93-38), which were perforated so they could be worn (Mackensen 1978:153). This transformation has lent the objects the properties of amulets ; the tradition of wearing perforated coins as amulets was common in Anglo-Saxon England (Evison and Annable 1994: 27). Terracotta figurines were a notably rare find in sub-adult burials and were distributed fairly evenly among most age groups. Beads also might have carried apotropaic qualities and in some cases might have served as substitutions for pendants (Hintermann 2000: 112). For this reason they were counted in this category, but will be discussed further in the next section on *Dress and Adornment*. Single small nails also may have been placed in graves as apotropaic objects (Hintermann 2000:127; Fecher 2006: 80). Six sub-adult burials contained single small/shoe nails (K278, R166, R16, K218, R80, V93-117). In all but one of these burials (K278), there was no other amulet or devotional object.

A total of 32 rings were found in 22 sub-adult burials. Latin authors, such as Plautus have noted that rings were considered protective items, which should be left with exposed

children (*Rud.* 1171). This may indicate that rings found with dead infants and young children may have had apotropaic qualities. With only a few exceptions, the rings found at the four cemeteries were either iron or bronze, with both metals being found in nearly equal numbers.

R32 contained miniature pots, including a *mortarium*, two bowls and a pot. Miniature pots have been found in burials, in votive deposits and at religious sites all over the north-western part of the empire at sites in Britain (Woodward and Leach 1993; Graham and Graham 2009), Gaul (Young 1977), and Germany (Kiernan 2009). They were not a common find at the four cemeteries; a handful of graves in all four cemeteries, only one of which was a sub-adult, contained such items. It is tempting to identify small items buried with a child as toys. This was Toynbee's assessment of miniature pots found alongside a joint doll in a burial of a young girl along the Via Cassia (1996: 41). It is not entirely out of the realm of possibility that they could have had a dual function as toys for a child as well; objects regardless of their intended or usual purpose can be used in different ways by different individuals. Perhaps use-wear analysis could provide a better idea as a toy would certainly have some wear and tear, particularly in the hands of a 2-4 year-old child buried in R32. Otherwise this line of thought can be little more than speculation.

Amulets and votives were found in the burials of sub-adults at all four cemeteries. Burials at Courroux contained votive figurines; none contained amulets. This may be due to the fact that very young individuals, who were more likely to be interred with amulets, were likely to have been buried elsewhere.

## Adornment and Dress

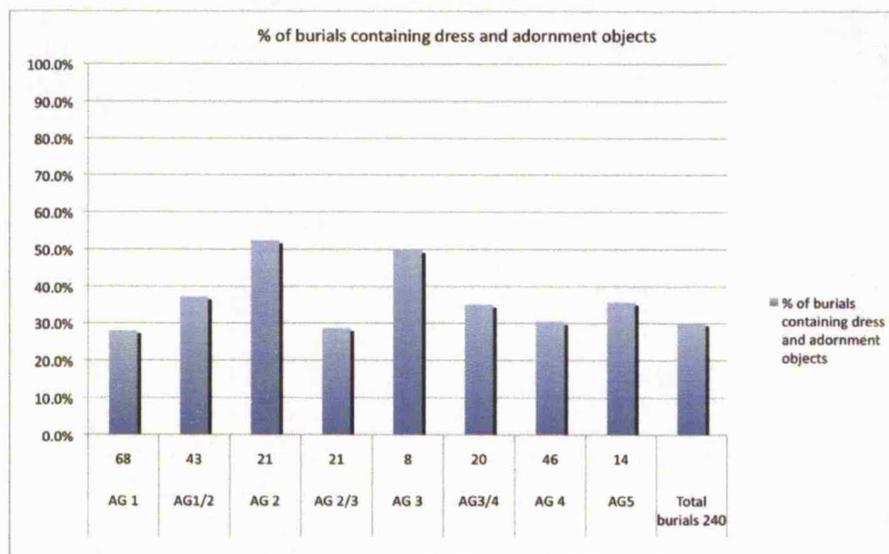
There were five main types of adornment objects: beads, rings, brooches, pendants, and bracelets (see Tab. 5.3).

	AG1	AG1/2	AG2	AG2/3	AG3	AG3/4	AG4	AG5	Total
Pendant	<b>5</b> (6)	<b>1</b> (1)	<b>1</b> (1)	-	-	-	-	-	<b>7</b> (8)
Ring	<b>7</b> (9)	<b>5</b> (7)	<b>4</b> (9)	<b>1</b> (1)	<b>1</b> (1)	<b>2</b> (2)	-	-	<b>20</b> (29)
Bead	<b>4</b> (37)	<b>5</b> (31)	<b>2</b> (14)	-	-	<b>1</b> (7)	<b>1</b> (1)	<b>1</b> (1)	<b>15</b> (91)
Brooch	<b>2</b> (2)	<b>4</b> (6)	-	<b>4</b> (5)	<b>1</b> (1)	<b>2</b> (2)	<b>3</b> (3)	-	<b>16</b> (19)
Bracelet & Arm Rings	<b>1</b> (1)	-	<b>1</b> (1)	-	-	<b>1</b> (1)	-	-	<b>3</b> (3)

**Table 5.3** Distribution of jewellery in burials of different age groups. Numbers in bold represent total burials containing artefacts in designated age group. Numbers in parentheses indicate the total number of artefacts found throughout the burials in each designated age group

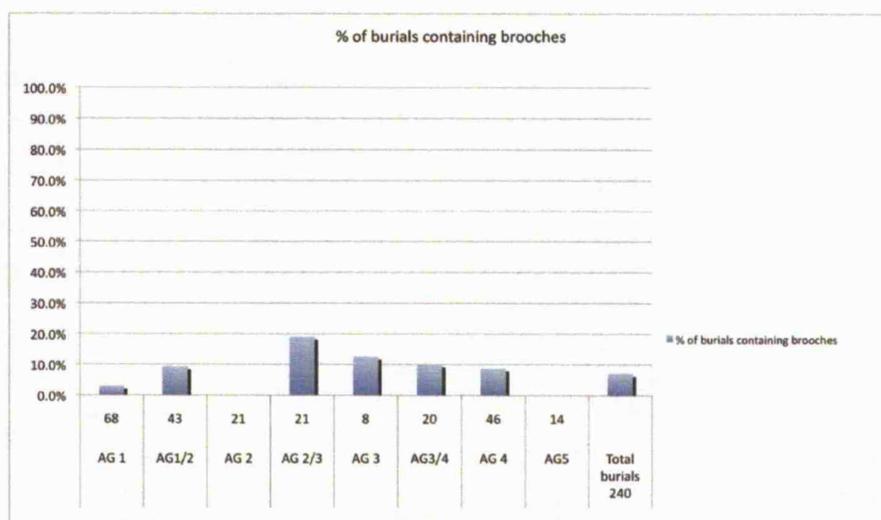
There was some fluctuation in the presence of adornment items across the age groups.

There were lower frequencies in AG1, AG2/3 and AG4 (see fig. 5.3). Shoes and brooches were more frequently associated with older children, while pendants, beads and rings were more commonly found in the burials of younger individuals (see Tab. 5.3).



**Figure 5.3** Percentage of burials in each age group containing adornment objects. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.

Brooches, which, as an artefact type, are generally associated with individuals irrespective of sex or age of adults and sub-adults alike, also appear in burials of sub-adults of varying ages (see fig. 5.4); the percentage of AG1/2 burials containing brooches is nearly the same as AG3/4. The youngest child (K174), at around 6 months old, had a small disc brooch (diameter 2.1cm). Hintermann (1996: 122) noted that at Vindonissa, where sexing of adults was done through analysis of the human remains and not grave goods, two brooches were typically found in men's burials and single brooches in women's graves. One sub-adult burial contained two brooches and another contained three; otherwise these artefacts were found singly in sub-adult burials.



**Figure 5.4 Percentage of burials containing brooches in each age group. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

A variety of types were found in sub-adult burials, so there does not seem to be a particular brooch associated with them. Brooches were a common aspect of dress among Roman soldiers, though women certainly wore them as well. Some have argued that particular brooches types, such as *Kragenfibeln* (Gechter 1979: 77), *Spiralfibeln* (Böhme 1972: 14-15), *Distelfibeln* (Martin-Kilcher 1993), were worn primarily by women, though probably not

exclusively (Allason-Jones 1995: 22-24). The latter two brooch types, *Spiralfibeln* and *Distelfibeln*, were found in sub-adult graves in this study.

Rings were the most frequent adornment item found in sub-adult burials, but unlike brooches, they were more common among younger individuals. 25 out of the 32 rings found were in the graves with children 8 years or younger. With only a few exceptions, the rings found at the four cemeteries were either iron or bronze, with both metals being found in approximately equal numbers. R570 contained a silver ring, K238 contained a bone ring, and V93-66 contained a quartz ring. Rings, which had fragments large enough to determine diameter, ranged in size from 13.0mm to 25.0mm in diameter, though the majority was less than 20.0mm (see Fig. 5.5).

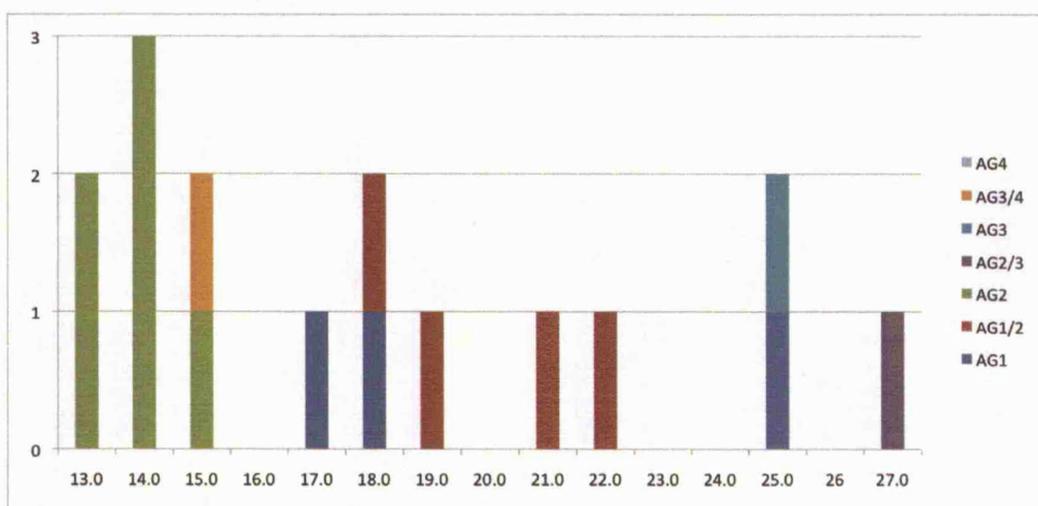


Figure 5.5 Inner diameters of rings in sub-adult burials and their distribution among age groups. Y-axis represents number of rings.

The bone ring had the smallest inner diameter at 13.0mm. An inner diameter of 17.0mm or more would likely have been very large on a young child's finger. Furger (1990) conducted a study of sizes of rings found in burials at Augst and Kaiseraugst. Rings found with women had a mean internal diameter of 17.5mm, while rings found with men were as large as 25.0mm (internal diameter). He suggests that rings between 13.0mm and 14.3mm (internal

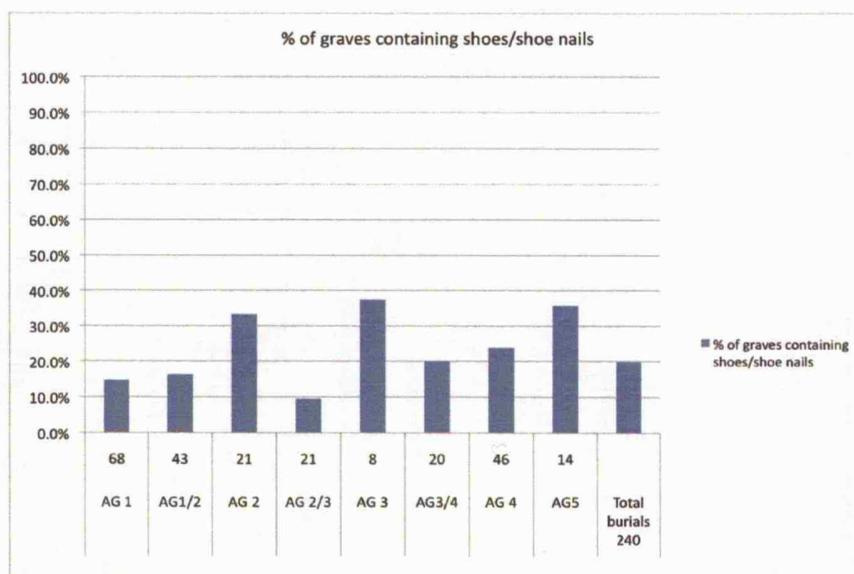
diameter) were child sizes. If the rings were used by the deceased in life and not just deposited with them at burial it is possible they could have been worn as pendants until the children had grown enough to wear them. Though if this were the case, we might expect there to be more standardization in regards to size. The significant amount of variation in ring diameter might indicate the rings were fitted for particular people, who would have actually worn them and then had deposited them as gifts for the deceased.

Ten pendants were found in association with the burials of young children. Two pendants found in Cambodunum (K66 and K135) were made of glass. A pendant of yellow-green and cornflower blue glass was found in grave K66 with a child in AG2.

A total of 96 beads were found in 15 burials. Beads were either ceramic or glass. Twenty-three glass beads were found in two burials, one of a neonate at Courroux (C110) and the other of an infant around a year old at Dägerli-Windisch. Six burials contained melon beads; all the beads were green-blue in colour. The individuals with which they were interred were all six years of age or younger; four were in AG1, one in AG1/2 and one in AG2. Melon beads are another item often associated with the Roman cavalry horses as part of harness decoration (Bishop 1988). They have been found in domestic contexts at Pompeii (Allison 1997: 80; Allison n.d.a), other mortuary contexts, such as a child burial at Hawara (Janssen 1996), and military contexts at the Roman fort of Oberstimm (Allison 2006b: 6). The latter is most likely the reason for their often rigid association with the cavalry, since women and children are often presumed to be absent in Roman forts. Nevertheless melon beads and pendants have been frequently found at military sites with no evidence of a cavalry presence (Allison 2006b: 6).

Footwear itself was only found in two inhumations from Cambodunum that contained bundles of shoes. The burial of an individual 15-17 years of age had two pairs of shoes with 25 hobnails. A second inhumation of a 15-17 year old had two-three pairs of

shoes with 62 hobnails. Otherwise finds related to footwear were limited to hobnails, none of which was found in their original position (i.e. in the form of soles). They are represented somewhat equally in all the age groups, excepted AG 2/3 (see fig. 5.6). The presence of shoe nails increased in frequency during AG2. With the exception of a dip during AG2/3, the occurrence is higher than in the youngest age group.



**Figure 5.6 Percentage of burials containing footwear artefacts. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

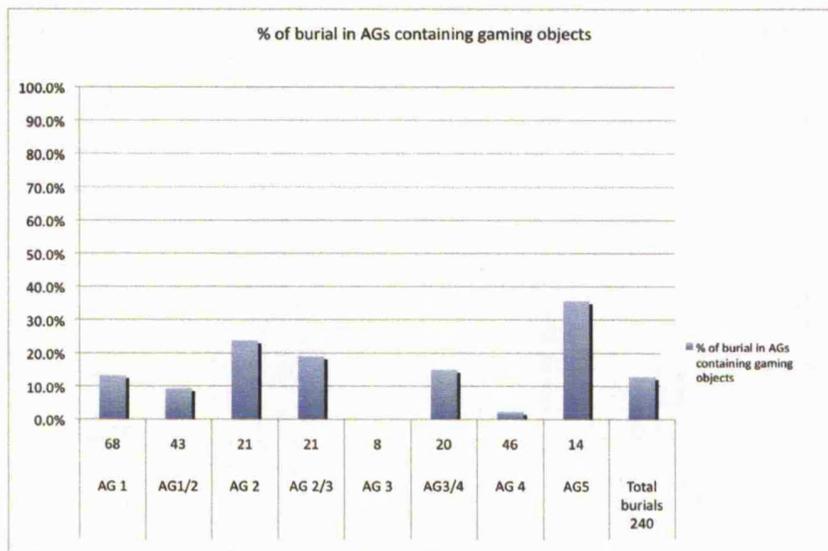
In most cases there were between one and 15 hobnails in each burial. Larger groups of 23-27 nails were found in four burials, one an AG1 burial and three AG4. Groups of 62-65 nails were found in another two burials, one a child of 5-8 years and

Most of the graves were cremations, which contained almost exclusively artefacts that had been burned along with the body and thus did not provide any information about how the items might have been worn. The majority of the inhumations were too disturbed or information on the positions of the deposited artefacts was not recorded. There were a couple of exceptions. The individual in R501 appears to have had the silver pendant hanging around his or her neck at the time of burial. R316 had a rivet near his or her head that may have belonged to some type of headgear. The shoe nails recovered in R53 were adhered to

bone and charcoal, indicating that the deceased may have worn them when he or she was cremated. The metal remains of shoes were found placed next to the body of the individual in R234.

### *Gaming*

Brick and tile fragments were often used as makeshift game boards and were a typical find in Roman burials (Fecher 2006: 79). They were a frequent find in sub-adult burials in all four cemeteries. Other than AG5, in which around 36% of graves contained gaming objects, the highest percentage of graves containing such items were the groups representing children just beyond weaning (see fig. 5.7). 23% of graves in AG2 and 19% of graves in AG2/3 contained objects related to gaming. There were no gaming objects in AG3 burials, but this may be due to the small number of graves in this group since they were present in all other age groups. There is a dramatic drop in the occurrence of these items in AG4 burials, the oldest subset of sub-adults; only about 2.2% of graves in this group contained such items. This could possibly be illustrative of a point of change in social roles and expectations for children. Individuals would not necessarily have ceased to play board games as they aged, but perhaps this was no longer the way in which the community wished to represent the deceased; the period between 13 and 18 years of age may have brought new social roles to the individuals who were thus represented differently in death.



**Figure 5.7 Percentage of burials in each age group containing gaming objects. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

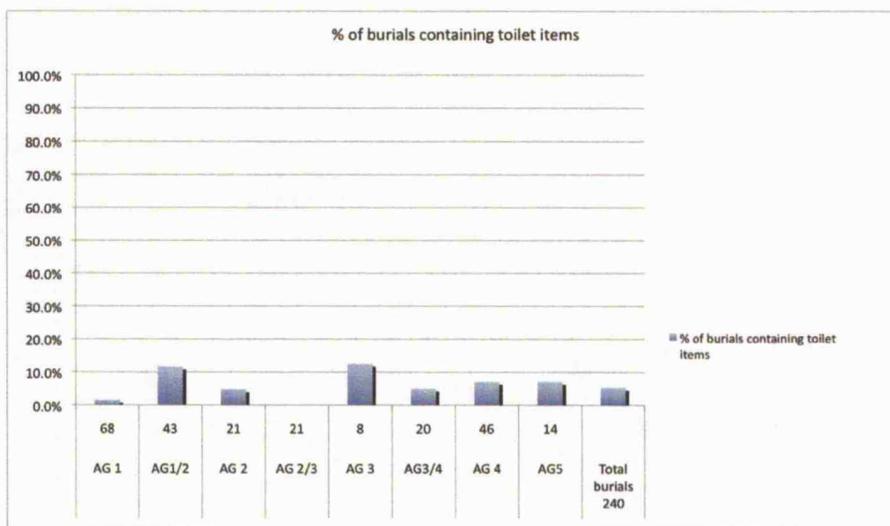
Other finds related to gaming included gaming pieces and metal fittings that might have belong to a purpose-made folding game board, but these only turned up in a few instances. K278 contained at least one gaming piece. R592, the only individual (15-17 years old) in AG4 buried with gaming items, had fittings that may have belonged to a hinged board game as well as 22 game counters.

Gaming items were entirely absent in the sub-adult graves at Courroux.

### *Toilet Items*

Toilet items usually included hairpins, mirror fragments, tweezers, toilet boxes (*pyxis*), and small spatulas. Though hair pins could be considered an adornment as well as an item for personal grooming, I included them in this category because the two that were found were plain shafts rather than decorative. The remains of two knives were found in sub-adult burials at Cambodunum (K135 and K184), which were included in this category for analysis since they had curved blades often associated with shaving (Mackensen 1978:

144). Toilet items do not seem to have been associated with young children in burial with any frequency (see fig. 5.8). Out of the seven burials of children in AG2 or younger that contained toilet objects, five of these also contained the remains of an adult individual. Of these adult individuals three were female, one male and one whose sex was undetermined. Among the six burials of sub-adults only, toilet items included single finds of scoops or spatulas and mirror fragments.



**Figure 5.8 Percentage of burials in each age group containing toilet objects. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

C18A, the burial of a child less than 8 years and an adult, contained a small flat dish with a small bit of shaft remaining that was probably a scoop. V93-03, which contained the remains of a child less than five years old and an adult female, had a fragment from a mirror. K135 and K184 had the remains of a blade presumably for shaving, one containing a blade and the other a blade with a handle, respectively.

Two burials contained toilet boxes; V93-132 contained a bone *pyxis* and V98-1 contained a bronze one. Along with the bronze *pyxis* V98-1 contained some toilet items, which included two bronze scalpels, a pair of tweezers, and two bronze fragments of

spatulas. Hintermann (2000:119) attributes the occurrence of the toiletry kit to the presence of an adult female individual, who was buried along with the young child.

Mirrors or bronze or copper alloy mirror fragment were found in four burials (V93-03, K201, K210, and V93-132). Two of the mirrors were rectangular, two were round and one was a folding mirror.

### Tools

Overall tools were a rare find in all sub-adult graves, though there was a slightly higher occurrence of these items in AG 1/2 and AG4 burials (fig. 5.9). These were primarily limited to a three chisels, five knives, a stylus and two whetstones.

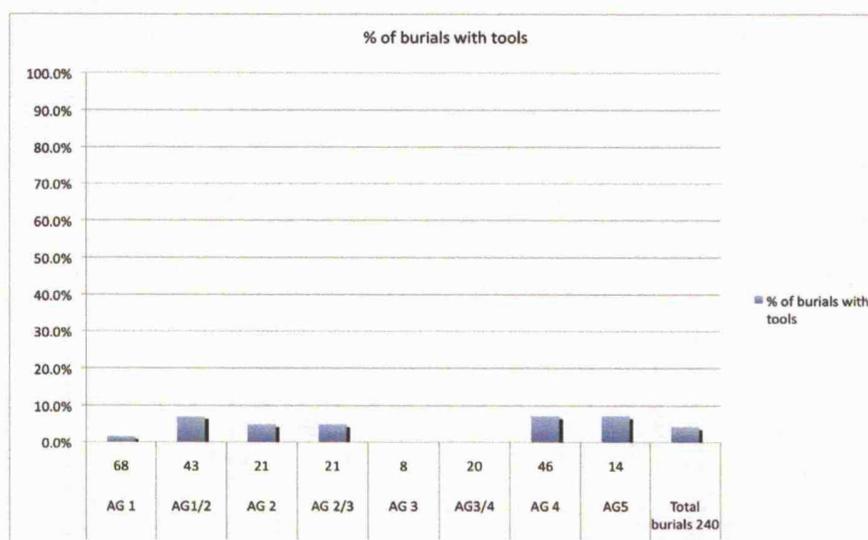


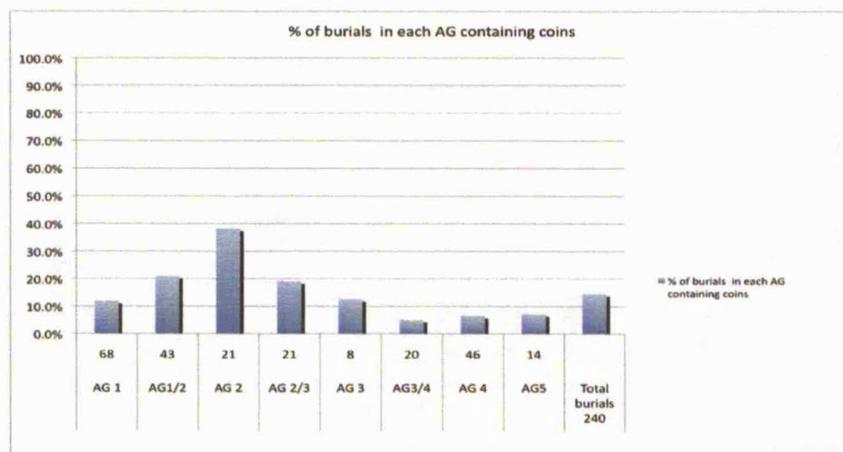
Figure 5.9 Percentage of sub-adult burials containing tools. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.

Unlike the blades found in the burials at Cambodunum, the knives from two Arae Flaviae burials (R79 and R568) were serrated, and more likely to have been used as tools rather than toiletry items. The blades from Cambodunum were counted in this category as well, however, since their use for shaving is not entirely certain. They could also have had dual

functions. R34, the burial of a child around 8-13 years of age, contained a bronze stylus. This was around the age when children would begin proper schooling and perhaps the deposition of the stylus is related to this. R568, the burial of a child at least ten years of age, also contained an iron stylus.

### *Coins*

Coins were found with individuals from all age groups, though they were more common among the finds of younger children (fig. 5.9). Overall coins were one of the most common types of find in sub-adult burials. 35 graves (14.6%) contained one or more coins. More than half of those burials (23) belonged to an individual in the first two age groups (0-8 years), including six neonates. Most of these had one or two bronze asses each. A grave from Courroux (110) had three asses. One coin in a burial at Cambodunum (K388) was very worn and had two holes punched through it, suggesting it could have been worn from a chain or affixed to clothing or an object. V93-38 had three bronze sesterces, two bronze quadrantes and six bronze asses, all perforated with single holes. The 16 burials with individuals in the higher age groups, including those classified as being in AG2/3, had either one or two bronze asses. None of these coins was punctured.



**Figure 5.10 Percentage of burials in each age group that contain coins. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

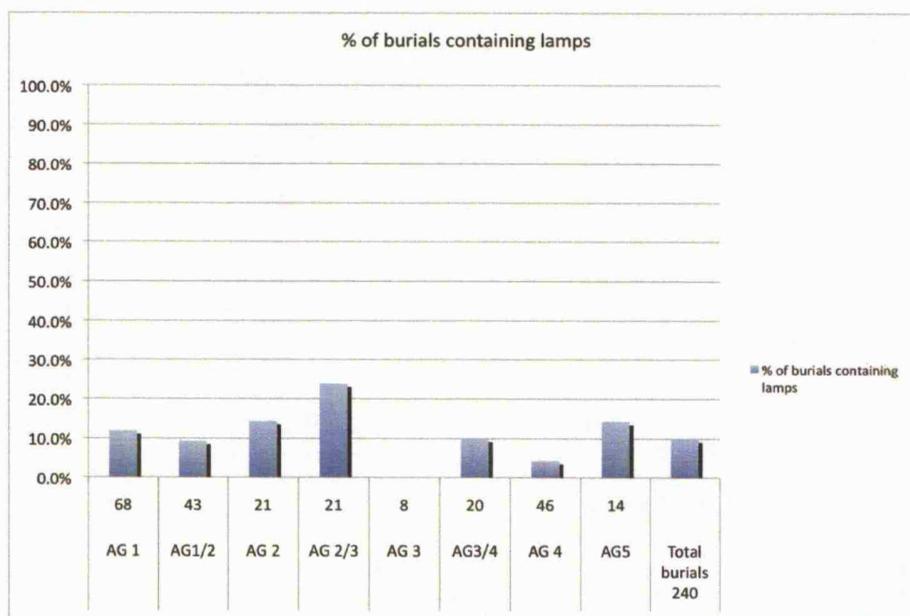
The deposition of coins in graves was a trend spanning the temporal and geographical extent of the Roman empire. While the sheer number of coins found in burials is high, the number of burials in each cemetery containing coins is often low, suggesting that the custom was only practiced by a small part of the population or was only intended for certain individuals (Stevens 1991: 223). In this study, the frequency of coins was quite a bit higher for burials of younger sub-adults, particularly those in AG2. Coins were found in sub-adult burials at all four cemeteries. Stevens has noted that in the late fifth century CE, pierced coins appear in graves as jewellery (1991: 223). As stated earlier, there were pierced coins present in two of the graves in this study (K388 and V93-38), which probably functioned as jewellery.

Only two inhumations, K395 and C110, contained coins. There was no information in the reports as to whether a coin had been placed in the mouth of either of the deceased, as the literary evidence attests was the tradition (e.g. *Juv. Sat.* 3.265-268). During the third and fourth centuries CE, some cemeteries show other customs with regard to the placement of coins in graves. At Lankhills during the fourth century, coins were placed on other parts of the body rather than in or around the head (Clarke 1979: 165-167). There was variation in

the placement of coins on and around the bodies at Turnacum as well (Brulet and Coulon 1977: 18).

### *Lamps*

There were no lamps found in AG3 burials; this may be due to the small sample size in this group (fig. 5.11). 75% of the oil lamps were found in burials in AG2/3 or younger. This is probably not a trend based on age but socio-cultural differences. The practice of including lamps in burials was a Roman tradition that was more commonly adopted around urban and military sites in Raetia, such as Vindonissa, Arae Flaviae and Cambodunum. In contrast Courroux was a rural site and lamps overall were not frequently found in burials (Fecher 2006: 71). Since many of the older children's burials in this case study are from the cemetery at Courroux, this may explain their less frequent appearance in the older burial groups.

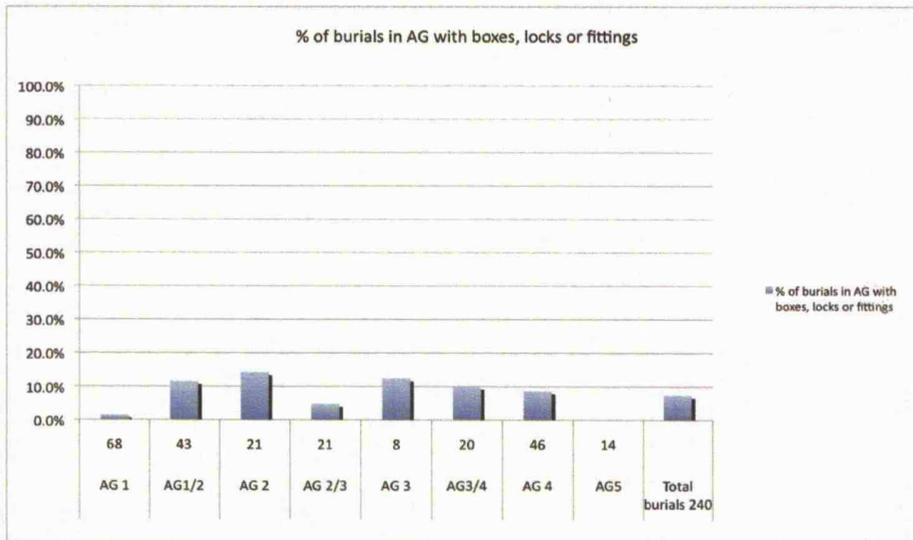


**Figure 5.11 Percentage of sub-adult burials containing lamps. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

There was a range of decorative images on the lamps, which included both real and mythical beasts, gladiators, masks and rosettes. One lamp in the burial of a child less than three years old (V93-164) had an erotic *Symplegma* scene. Only 12 out of the 24 lamps found had recognizable images on them. Out of these 12, eight had images of real or mythical animals, including an eagle, a hare, a lion, a dog and a pegasus. Hintermann stated that at Vindonissa there seemed to be no correlation between lamp decoration and age or sex. She also noted that gladiator and fish images were most prevalent (2000: 119).

### *Boxes, Locks and Fittings*

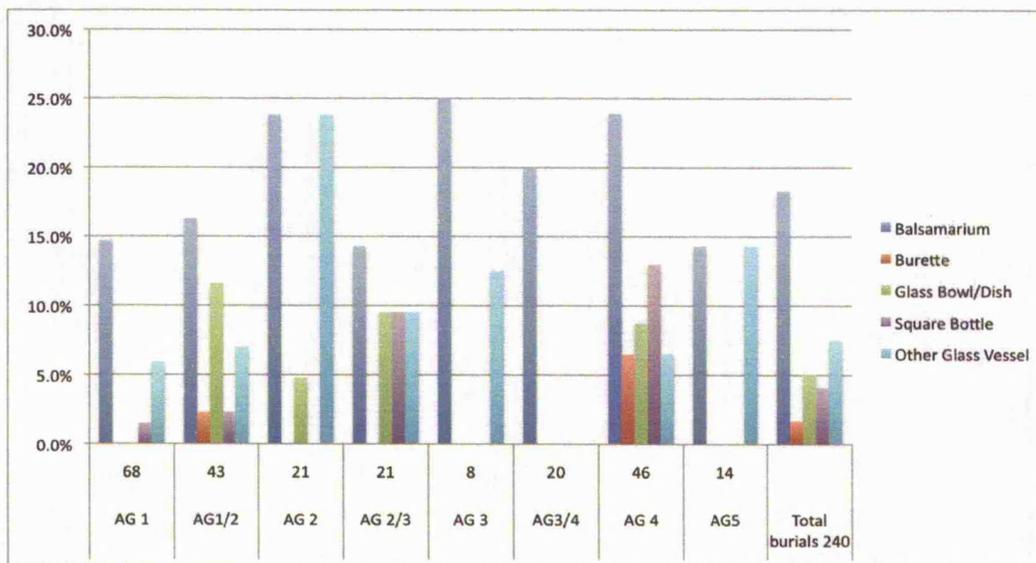
The presence of boxes, locks, and fittings fluctuated somewhat among the different age groups (fig. 5.12). It was lowest in AG1 burials and highest in AG1/2 and AG3/4. With the exception of the AG1 group, fittings and boxes were distributed fairly evenly. The contents of the boxes, if indeed they contained anything, may have provided more insight into the reasons for their inclusion. Unfortunately, because the boxes were burned so that mostly only the fittings remained they can no longer provide information on what they may have held.



**Fig. 5.12 Percentage of graves containing boxes, locks or fittings in each age group. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

### *Glass Vessels and Sherds*

Glass vessels were among the most common finds in 107 sub-adult burials after ceramic vessels. They were more common (61% of burials contained glass) and more varied for the oldest age group (AG4), though there was a fair amount of variation in glass vessel finds in AG1/2 and AG 2/3 as well (fig. 5.13).

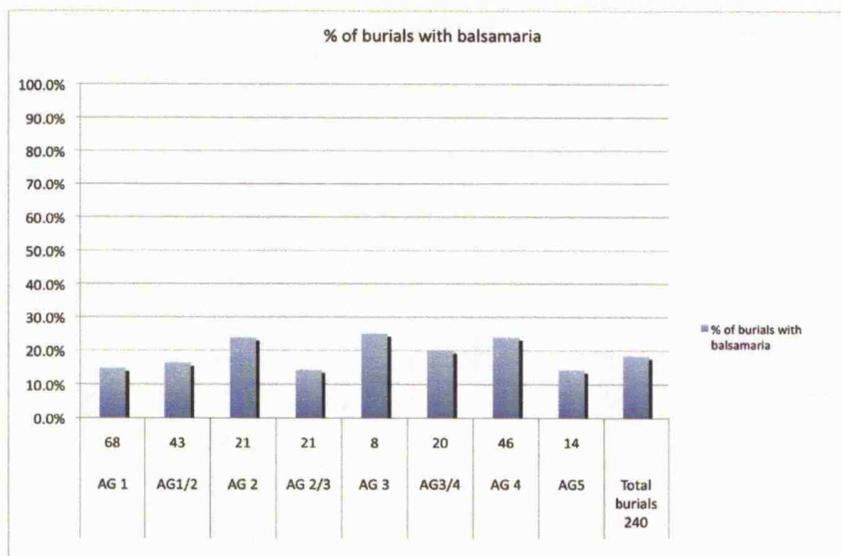


**Fig. 5.13 Percentage of graves in each age group containing glass vessels. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

As with the ceramic vessels, the majority of the glass finds were burned and fragmentary.

Balsamaria were found consistently in c.15-25% of burials in each age group (fig. 5.14).

Square bottles, though less frequent than balsamaria, were the other type of bottle found in burials regardless of the age of the individual.



**Figure 5.14 Percentage of sub-adult burials containing balsamaria. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.**

One way in which there was variation among the different age groups was in respect to glass colour. The younger children of AG1 typically were buried with only natural blue-green coloured vessel glass. Beginning with AG1/2 burials there were remains of blue, yellow and purple glass.

Among the youngest age group 17 graves out of 68, including three neonates, contained glass vessels. A total of 15 balsamaria, 11 of which were complete, were found in ten burials. The most common types of glass vessel were balsamaria, primarily globular or pear-shaped (Berger 61 and 62 and Isings 26). Other balsamarium forms represented in the burials included Isings 28, Isings 6, Isings 67 and 68. Two Isings 67a type jars were found in two burials and a beaker (Isings 21) was found in another. V94-247 contained a chamber pot (Isings 68). C110 also contained a glass bowl and a fragmentary burette in the form of a grape cluster. A square glass bottle was used to hold the cremated remains of one infant (K274). All of the glass vessels from these graves were natural blue-green in colour.

The glass finds in the graves of AG1/2 individuals were similar to those of AG1, but there was more variation in the colour of the glass. In addition to green-blue, there was also glass of cobalt blue, honey yellow, purple, and colourless. Twelve balsamaria were found in six burials. A number of them were bulbous or globular; forms included Isings 26, Berger 61, and Berger 62. A dished plate (Hofheim 1B) was found in K230 along with one bulbous and one spherical balsamaria. Another burial (C62) contained fragments of half a glass bowl and half a square bottle along with a complete square bottle. R80 contained an Aryballos form 61.

Glass finds were contained in 13 burials of children in AG2. Five graves contained the remains of a total of seven balsamaria. Three were bulb-shaped versions (Berger 61, Berger 62, and Isings 26a) and at least one tube-shaped form (Isings 8). A ribbed dish (Isings 3) and a jar (Isings 67c) were also found separately in two of the graves. Another contained a black

and white glass bead along with a Berger 61 balsamarium in K66. There were various vessel sherds, including fragments of a thin-walled container in V93-38. Again there was variation in glass colour, which included natural blue-green, purple, violet blue, orange brown, and colourless.

Nine burials in AG2/3 had glass vessels. Three square bottles and the neck of a fourth large square bottle were found in three graves. Eight balsamaria, four of which were complete, turned up in four graves. These were primarily spherical or globular in form (four were Berger 61 type). C42 had a balsamarium fragment that was shaped like a grape cluster. Again, one burial contained a ribbed dish (Isings 3a) and another had a glass beaker. There were various vessel sherds, including one of a handle, and fragments of enamel. Glass colour was primarily blue-green, light green, and colourless.

Glass vessels were found in only two AG3 graves. R11 had a balsamarium (Isings 26a), and a small container with a handle, and some enamel fragments. Vindonissa 94-75/127 contained a fragmentary balsamarium and a partial beaker (Isings 12). There was also a rhyton (Isings 73b), which was unburnt and fragmentary.

Nine burials in AG3/4 contained glass vessels. These were primarily vessel sherds and enamel fragments. Three of the graves contained balsamaria sherds from five different vessels (Isings 9 and Isings 26a). Colours included violet blue, blue-green, light blue, colourless, dark blue, and opaque white.

AG4 had the highest number of burials (28 in total) that contained glass vessels. Fourteen fragmentary balsamaria turned up in ten burials. Forms included Isings 6, Isings 28a, Isings 68, and Berger 62. A balsamarium in K277 had at least one handle shaped like a female head. R79 had a complete, unburnt beaker, though it was in very small sherds and part of a secondary deposit. A glass urn held the remains of the deceased in C94. Four burials contained remains of one square bottle each, one of which also had a fishbone handle.

Ribbed vessels were found in three burials. C29 had a complete ribbed bowl (Isings 3) along with an additional bowl sherd (Isings 42) and  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a bulgy bottle. C81 had a ribbed dish (Isings 67c) along with balsamarium fragments. C59 had a turquoise ribbed bowl (Isings 3b), which was deposited with two glass beads, and a potty (Isings 68/AR113; H. 8cm, RD 8.8cm). Glass bowls and dishes are often categorized as tableware, though they may have served other uses. In the Casa del Fabbro in Pompeii, glass bowls were found in association with objects that may have been medical implements (Allison et al. 2004; 8.1.2) Fragments of spherical burettes (Isings 14) were found in three burials (C95, C90, C108). A small fragment of jade green glass from a decorated plate, similar in form to Isings 7a, was found in R311. Sherds of white and royal blue with white glass were found as well.

Only six of the burials in AG5 contained glass objects. Two burials contained two balsamaria. Otherwise the glass finds were sherds of natural blue-green glass and enamel.

### *Ceramic Vessels and Sherds*

Ceramics were the most abundant finds in the burials of sub-adults. 196 burials out of 248 contained whole or partial ceramic vessels (tab. 5.4).

	AG1 68	AG1/2 43	AG2 21	AG2/3 21	AG3 8	AG3/4 20	AG4 46
<b>Vessel Forms</b>							
Jar	40%	63%	38%	52%	37.5%	45%	35%
Flagon	54%	74%	71%	76%	25%	40%	48%
Cup	9%	9%	5%	38%	-	15%	20%
Bowl	22%	33%	19%	24%	25%	15%	24%
Plate/Platter	21%	33%	24%	24%	37.5%	30%	33%
Dish	13%	37%	19%	19%	-	10%	13%
Beaker	25%	16%	19%	10%	25%	5%	30%
Mortarium	-	2.3%	-	-	12.5%	-	-
Amphora	4%	14%	-	0.5%	-	10%	9%
<b>Vessel Types and Decoration</b>							
Handmade	9%	9%	14%	14%	12.5%	-	20%
Cooking Pots	10%	7%	14%	10%	12.5%	-	0.2%
TS or TSI	31%	51%	43%	48%	37.5%	45%	48%
Decorated	71%	49%	33.3%	43%	25%	25%	28%

Tab. 5.4 Percentage of graves in each age group containing ceramic forms and types. Numbers above the age group labels refer to the total number of sub-adult burials in each corresponding age group.

Flagons with one handle and jars were the most common ceramic vessel in the graves across all age groups. Jars were found consistently in sub-adult burials of all age groups but there is a somewhat marked decline in the presence of flagons in the graves of older children (AG3, AG3/4 and AG4). Cooking pots and mortaria were also found primarily in the burials of younger children and are mostly absent from burials in AGs 3/4 and 4. There is also a much higher incidence of decorated wares in AG1 burials.

There is an increase in the frequency of cups in AG2/3. The presence of dishes decreased among burials in the older age groups. There is an increase in the deposition of fineware, particularly TS and TS imitation, for sub-adults in AG4.

Overall, only a handful of burials contained Terra Sigillata vessels, most of which came from workshops in the region, including the southern Gaulish workshop at

LaGraufesenque. A few of the sigillata vessels were imported from Italy. Cooking vessels were more commonly found in the burials of younger children; they rarely turned up in AG3/4 and AG 4 graves. 122 sub-adult burials contained complete or mostly complete (over 50% extant) ceramic vessels.

Jars and flagons were the most common vessel forms found in AG 1 burials. Jars were found in 14 burials including Auerberg type pots, which were grey-brown coarse ware with a triangular rim profile (Flügel 1999). The Auerberg blackware, which they are copies of, was probably used for the transportation and storage of food. The shape of the rim suited tying up the pot with a piece of fabric and string. The imitations, like those in the Kempten graves, were also certainly used as cooking pots and were produced locally as funerary urns (Flügel et al. 2004: 248). In K172 an Auerberg jar was used as an urn for an infant. The other type of jars common in the AG1 burials had horizontal painted stripes as decoration. The painting mimics decoration, often inscribed comb lines, on indigenous Iron Age pottery. R501 had an infant feeder. Flavons were found in three of the four Kapellenösch burials. All these vessels had a single handle and ranged in size (RD4.4-7cm, BD 5.6-6.8cm). Eight burials contained TS vessels and four contained TS imitation. The vessels in the burials were primarily commonware, with some cooking pots and few items of coarseware.

Jars of various types were found in 14 of the 23 AG1/2 burials containing ceramic vessels. Five of the Kempten burials had jars with painted horizontal stripes. V93-04 had a beaker with a similar horizontal line decoration. Only a single cooking pot was found in grave V93-03; it had thin incised line decoration and was handmade. V93-28 had a large jar and a small, non-functional jar. Flavons with a single handle were found in six burials. Flavons and jars turned up together in the same graves five times. Jars were occasionally found on their own. Five burials had dished plates, pates or dishes, which varied in height from 4.5-5.5cm and 8.7-14.3 cm in diameter. Four burials contained TS vessels. R9 had a

dish (Drag 37) decorated with animals including lions. K135 had a plate decorated with dolphins (TS Olenroth 5) and a cup (Drag. 24/25). K230 had flagon with rosette decoration (Hermet 15) and R32 had a plate (Drag 37).

Nine burials in AG2 contained ceramic vessels. Four of these contained jars, only two of which were decorated with the usual stripe pattern. Flavons, each with a single handle, were found in 2 burials. Plates were found in two burials as well; both were terra sigillata (forms Haltern 1a and 4a). One of the plates was found in a grave alongside a beaker.

Ceramic vessels were found in 12 burials containing individuals in AG2/3. Five of these contained jars, which included 1 Auerberg and three with painted horizontal stripe decoration (Hs. 12.8-18.5cm). Burials in this group also contained more TS vessels.

Three burials in AG3 contained ceramic vessels, 2 of which had jars.

## 5.9 Discussion and Conclusions

The evidence from the grave assemblages suggests there may have been some ties between material culture and social structure for sub-adults in funerary contexts. There were distinct differences in the items found in the graves of children under the age of eight years and those over eight years. The former were more likely to be buried with amulets, votives, lamps, coins and adornment items. 44% (66 out of 153 burials) of burials with individuals in AG2/3 or younger were interred with at least one of these objects. Pendants were entirely absent from graves with individuals over the age of eight.

Additionally there was a general trend on increase of variability in grave assemblages as the age of the dead increased; such was the case with regards to the colour and form of glass vessels. Only AG1 graves contained only natural green-blue glass. Research in developmental psychology has shown that infants can perceive colour by the second

month of life and by the fourth month begin to exhibit preferences for particular colours (Kellman and Arterberry 2000: 65). The development of these preferences will also be dependent on the individual's exposure to colour choice (Karnoil 2010: 53). Just as modern infants in America are often surrounded by pastel blue or pink (depending on gender), natural green-blue glass may have been seen as appropriate for infants in Raetia. As children aged and were exposed to more objects and environments with different colours, they may have developed and expressed certain preferences. It is possible the range of glass colours in different sub-adult graves is related to the preferences of the deceased.

Changes in grave assemblages are also most evident among individuals in the oldest age group (13-18 years of age). There are decreases in the frequency of rings, gaming items, and amulets alongside an increase in the presence of tools and ceramic vessels. Most notably the frequency of gaming items as grave goods decreases somewhat drastically. This would seem to parallel historical evidence suggesting this was a period when individuals were taking on different roles within their communities as discussed. This should not be viewed as a case of archaeology confirming historical evidence, but rather as a case of physiological and psychological factors affecting social norms and customs from which the materiality of childhood is born. Additionally, the historical sources available pertain to Roman children. While many of these graves contain 'Roman' characteristics, such as the inclusion of rings, lamps and coins, they may have belonged to indigenous people. Thus the extent to which the written evidence is applicable is contentious.

Despite potential cultural differences between the peoples buried in these four cemeteries and the Romans presented in the historical sources, there might have been shared basic elements in the structure of childhood. The greatest variation has been between the rural site of Courroux and the other three sites, which were urban and military sites. This could also be a result of the difference in demographic representation at Courroux, that has a

higher frequency of older sub-adults and which may itself be an indication of some cultural differences.

Anthropological research has shown there is a certain amount of cross-cultural consistency in the social recognition of age demarcations throughout childhood. Rogoff et al. (2007) examined the ages at which certain responsibilities were allocated to children in 27 different cultures from across the globe. There were some tasks that varied greatly across cultures in regards to the age at which they became the responsibility of children. Others seemed to be delegated to children around the same age regardless of cultural differences. For instance, nearly all the societies allotted the care of younger siblings and tending of animals to children between the ages of 5-7 years. This was also the age when children are expected to contribute to household chores. Sex differentiation began to be stressed and separate play groups for male and female children were formed. Around puberty or roughly from ages 13-15 years, children typically were independent from their family situation. On the other hand, the age at which children were considered capable of sexual activity and the age when these become bounded by social taboos varied more across cultures.

Despite arguments that treatment of the dead did not reflect life, evidence from child burials suggests that some grave goods would have been related to the life of the individual. The activity of playing games seems to have been associated with children. Objects related to gaming increased in frequency among sub-adults in AG2 and decreased drastically in AG4. These were objects for board games, which could certainly have been played by both adults and children. Sub-adults three years and younger (AG1) were mostly too young to play board games. Sub-adults between 13 and 18 years might have had more adult responsibilities limiting their game playing. Amulets meant to offer protection were often found with the youngest group of sub-adults, who were seen as the most vulnerable individuals. Perhaps

sub-adults in AG1 did not have variation in glass colour because they had not developed or expressed colour preferences.

The data in this case study did not produce much evidence of such clear cut age demarcations. Even among the youngest infants, there seems to have been no hard and fast conventions for grave goods, which could suggest that perhaps they were not viewed as beings lacking social identities. Strong emotional ties amongst immediate family would certainly have affected deposition of particular artefacts.

Since the aim of this thesis is to study the material culture of children and the materiality of childhood, I have focused on the artefacts. A similar study could be done looking at the treatment of the remains and associated rituals in order to assess the social structure of childhood. Indeed a comprehensive study of all these aspects together might yield a clearer picture of the way childhood was demarcated as a social space. Additionally wider regional studies that include more cemeteries to increase the sample size might produce some noticeable patterns in overall assemblages that were difficult to see in this study. Certainly this could be applied to commemoration of the dead in any number of cultures in the Roman world.

Ultimately the next step forward in studying the social space of childhood is to approach it not as a condition of age but rather as a dimension characterized by social events, activities and expectations. Weaning, apprenticing, marrying, and all such events and activities would have affected the way in which individuals were treated. Using these as guidelines for analysis rather than typical age categories used in cemetery reports, neonate, infans I and II, juvenile, can perhaps yield more informative results and will emphasize the importance of lived experience over physical age. This also makes the categories less rigid for discussion and thus can allow for acknowledgement of Rawson's point that individual

development and experience shaped social expectations, responsibilities and personae more than preset age markers (2003: 135).

## CHAPTER 6

### *The Material Culture of Socialization (The Minority Group Child Model)*

#### 6.1 Introduction to the Case Study

This final case study is concerned with commonalities of experience of a specific social group 'children' and how the group's status as a minority is expressed through the material culture. Within the context of this model, children are united as members of the social category 'child.' Children comprise a minority group in an abstract not a demographic sense with an existing set of power relations with the majority group, adults (James, Jenks and Prout 1998: 30). These power relationships are reflected in the material culture, which can be viewed as a focal point in adult-child and peer interactions, which form the core of the socialization process. In the past, scholars have often attempted to discuss socialization through toys on a general level, de-contextualized from children's day-to-day lives, using popular knowledge and preconceptions about children. This case study seeks to re-center the discussion on the foundation of a scientific understanding of child behaviour. It will incorporate Toren's theory of the mind, which brings together phenomenology and cognition, whereby individuals are "informed not by the peopled world of objects 'out there', but by historically structured states of [the] nervous systems which function to bring forth the world that we inhabit" (1993: 462).

The artefacts analyzed in this chapter have been found in the burials of infants and children from around the empire, at sites in Spain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Egypt, and Italy. I have termed this class of artefacts "isolated material culture." What is meant by this term is simply that these objects have been relegated to the periphery by being labeled as children's objects and are frequently ignored in studies of the wider

contexts in which they are found. As stated in the introduction to this thesis, these things are games, toys and anything seen as small, cute and educational. Often they are isolated with the children and are rarely viewed as the material culture of a wider community. I have focused particularly on dolls. I will discuss how they may have functioned as conduits for communicating expectations and creating social ties between the older generation and the younger one and among peers. Using studies of children's cognition I will also attempt to draw some conclusions about how the messages may have been understood and interpreted by the children. This case study will be argued on a more theoretical level and its purpose is to consider new interpretations of material culture that acknowledge children's agency and perspective. The ultimate aim is to attempt to understand better children's social networks and the power relations between children and adults. Studies of children must consider them in the context of relationships with people in the wider community in order to perform an adequate analysis (Toren 1993: 462).

I will begin by presenting Toren's model of childhood cognition and the influential study by Whiting and Whiting (1975), which looked at the relationship between family structure and child behaviour. Then I will discuss some theories regarding toys and play, followed by a review of scholarly work done on toys and games in the Roman world. Then I will examine some examples of dolls to propose some possible interpretations about their roles in the lives and social relationships of children in the Roman world.

## 6.2 Childhood cognition, the family and socialization

Toren's model of the mind (1993) maintains that socialization is achieved through the interpretation of experience through changing neural processes. Human cognition, she argues, is "a historical process because it constitutes – and in constituting

inevitably transforms – the ideas and practices of which it appears to be the product. In brief, human cognition renders intentionality as inevitably historical” (1993: 462). From her own research on Fijian children (1990) and other studies by anthropologists on the Abelam (Forge 1970), Euro-American children (Hirschfeld 1988), and the Manus Islanders (Mead 1932) she has found that the perspective of children is often the direct inversion of that of their parents and elders; children often focus on material and physical aspects, while adults focus on internal or unseen qualities.

Toren found that Fijian children and adults have opposing understandings of the relationship between place and social status (1993). During the kava ceremony, a ritual central to Fijian life, in which all members of the community participate, differential status according to an above/below axis is expressed through space; those of higher social status occupy a separate area within the buildings. Toren found that around the age of nine years, children show an awareness of this axis. While the adults see the people conferring their status on the spaces in which they are, children see the space as giving aboveness or belowness to the people. Mead in her study of the Manus Islanders (1932) revealed similar contrasting perspectives among the people (Toren 1993). For instance, while adults attributed the sounding of wind chimes to spirits, children would say in the first case that it was caused by a known person or in the second that it was the wind. Mead (1932) attributed this to the fact that the children were not yet fully integrated into ritual life. Toren, on the other hand, sees it as a reflection of different neurological reactions to the same experience (1993: 443).

Forge’s study (1970) of the Abelam found a similar situation where children’s materialism was in opposition to adult’s animism (Toren 1993: 465). Abelam ritual life includes the production of paintings (*tambaran*) that are understood to be a material aspect of ancestors, brought into being through the sacred medium of paint. The adults deny that the paintings are of anything and refuse to attribute meaning to representations in general. As a result they display a difficulty in identifying people and

objects in photographs. On the other hand, children had no problem identifying people and objects in photographs. They also engaged in spontaneously drawing images in the dust even though adults reprimanded them (Forge 1970).

Hirschfeld's study (1988) found that young children between the ages of three-and-a-half and five years reverse the relation adults make between emotional and perceptual dimensions of racial categories. Children were found to focus on the moral evaluations while adults focused on perceptual attributes. Young black children made as many negative evaluations of 'black people' as did white children. The black children did not, however, identify themselves or others as belonging to the category 'black.' They could not identify themselves or someone they knew as 'black' if they had already come to understand that category as inferior. Thus children associated moral values to racial terms before they were able to use the terms to classify others or themselves correctly. Furthermore their negative judgments did not reflect the stated attitudes of their parents (Toren 1993: 465).

Interestingly, a similar inversion of perception could be argued for the case of dolls of American girls in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Formanek-Brunell found that while parents gave dolls to girls to encourage feminine behaviour, the girls were more interested in the 'unfeminine.' (1998: 31). Young girls were given dolls to encourage quiet play involving sewing and other domestic arts. Many girls, however, behaved in such a way that disturbed their parents; they would 'kill' their dolls and hold funeral rites for them. One girl was repeatedly given dolls by her parents, which she subsequently smashed against walls or with books. Another account mentions a girl who drove nails into her doll. Aggressive discipline of the dolls was also observed; one girl would punish her doll for transgressions by forcing it to eat dirt (Formanek-Brunell 1992: 122).

Toren sees the challenge for anthropologists is to examine the processes by which children lead effective lives despite possessing ideas and attitudes that are often the inversion of those held by the majority group, namely parents and other adults: "it is to

understand too how this very process, as manifest in the concepts and practices of adults, structures the conditions in and through which children will come to maturity as particular, historically located, persons who will actively constitute a world that is as once the same as, *and different from*, the world their elders know" (1993: 463).

Family life is one of the primary social contexts in which socialization occurs. The structure of families has been found to have a significant effect on child behaviour and development. Whiting and Whiting (1975) is one of the few cross-cultural studies of family structure and its relationship to child behaviour. They examined families in six different cultures: a family in the community of Taira on Okinawa, another of Tarongans on the island of Luzon in the Philippines, a family from Orchard Town, Maine in the United States, one in Khalapur, India, one in Nyangsongo, Kenya and finally a family in Juxthahuaca in Mexico. With the exception of the family from the United States, all the families in the study were predominantly subsistence farmers.

Children from Orchard Town, Juxthahuaca and Tarong were raised in domestic environments based on the independent nuclear family in which the father ate at the same table with his wife and children, slept with his wife, was present at the births, and was involved in early infant care. These children displayed more sociable behaviours. Children from the other three families in Taira, Khalapur and Nyansongo, who lived in patrilineal extended families, where supreme authority was held by a member of the grandparents' generation and there existed a prescriptive virilocal residence, displayed more aggressive, authoritarian behaviours. Whiting and Whiting also found that socio-economic systems affected child rearing and behaviour.

### 6.3 The Roman child's social worlds: family and peers

Any investigations of socialization and the material culture involved in the socialization processes must be based on an awareness of children's social worlds. This

section will briefly discuss some features of the Roman family and how they may have related to the structure of children's social environments. I will also touch upon some aspects of peer relationships, which were central to socializing and socialization.

### 6.3.1 *The Roman family*

An understanding of the Roman family is central to the study of children and socialization. Cross-cultural studies have shown ways that the complexity of socio-economic systems and the composition and structure of the household, including daily routines, living arrangements and roles assigned to children, all have an effect on children's behaviour (Whiting and Whiting 1975: 128). Interaction between children and their family members provides not only career knowledge but also understanding of human relationships. How might the Roman family compare to the families in Whiting and Whiting's study?

The family was at the center of Roman society (Lassen 1997: 103). So sacred was the concept of the family to the Romans that even law-makers were hesitant to place limits on *patria potestas*, the authority of the *paterfamilias*. Despite the tradition of the *paterfamilias*, which might have been similar to the authoritarian figures in the families of Taira, Khalapur and Nyansongo, the nuclear family seems to have been a primary social unit among the Romans (Parkin and Pomeroy 2007: 74) and many scholars have agreed even that "the normal Roman family seems to have been a 'nuclear family' like our own" (Crook 1967: 98; see also Treggiari 1991: 410; Bradley 1991: 125; Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 92). Extensive work by scholars has brought together historical, epigraphic and archaeological evidence in an effort to reconstruct the composition of the Roman family. The triad of the father-mother-child is a ubiquitous motif in iconography (Boatwright 2005; Backe-Dahmen 2006) and instances of multigenerational households in Rome were few and far between (Rawson 1986: 170).

Less common have been studies of extended kinship, relationships between related individuals living in different households (Saller 1999: 8). Bettini's opus (1991) investigates the way kinship structure might be embodied in the Latin language and analyzed how the Romans conceptualized extended family relationships, which are relationships between the related individuals living in different households. Saller has noted that the major flaw in Bettini's research is that he presupposes a close correspondence between linguistic groups and social roles (Saller 1999: 8).

Studies of Roman demography have also contributed to the dialogue regarding the Roman family, particularly in regards to the constitution of the family. Scholars have posed theories about characteristics such as size, gender balance, and age distributions/ratios. Nevertheless, the problems in reconstructing Roman demography and family composition have been much discussed. Gallivan and Wilkes examined literary, iconographic and epigraphic sources to determine family relationships and thus to answer questions regarding family size and gender balance (1999). They noted some clear biases in their data, which were due to regional variations in commemorative practices, low frequency of single step-parents' commemoration of step-children, and a more than 2 to 1 ratio of memorials for male children versus female children. Parkin has noted that in Roman studies often we only know the number of children, and often only sons, who survived rather than the total number of children born (1992: 92).

The question of how Roman families, and thus children's social worlds, were composed is a complex question. The role of parents in the lives of children has been much discussed by scholars. Many children in the Roman world grew up with a single parent. The dangers of childbirth probably claimed the lives of 10-15 per 1000 women, though, as Parkin argues, there have been some overestimations of the likelihood of death in childbirth (Parkin 1992: 104-5). Saller estimated that nearly one third of all children would have lost their fathers before reaching puberty (1994: 189). Social historians have addressed questions regarding the intensity of parent-child

relationships and interaction through examinations of divorce and child custody (Evans Grubbs 2005), nurses (Bradley 1986; Bradley 1991), and foster parents and other alternative caregivers (Rawson 1986). Hallett (1984) focused on the relationship between fathers and daughters.

Less well explored has been the issue of sibling relationships in the Roman world. The number of siblings a child might have could vary greatly depending on how many children the mother bore and how many survived infancy. On average a woman would probably bear five or six children during her life (Parkin 1992: 92). For instance, Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, bore twelve children, though only three survived to adulthood (Plut. *Tib. Gracch.* 1.2).

Likewise, the role of grandparents has received less attention from scholars. Parkin (2003) has studied the elderly at length, though he defines elderly as being sixty years of age or older and the terms 'elderly' and 'grandparents' are not one and the same. For those who survived the dangerous years of early childhood and, for women, childbirth, there was a fair chance they would survive into their fifties or even their sixties. The Model West life table, which is often used as a model for the Roman empire, estimates that those who survive to reach 15-20 years of age might expect on average to live to be fifty (Coale and Demeny 1983: 43). This would mean there was a likelihood that children would have living grandparents, and maybe more likely grandmothers since women married some ten years younger than men (Saller 1994: 188; Parkin 2003: 52).

While the extensive practice of using wet nurses might make grandparents and siblings seemingly superfluous with regard to childcare, this is not necessarily the case. Furthermore, though primary care and responsibility for young children may fall to nurses and paedagogues, this does not preclude significant close relationships with siblings, grandparents, or even extended relations, such as aunts, uncles and cousins.

### 6.3.2 Peers

Peer culture also plays an important role in socialization processes. Peer culture is defined as a “stable set of activities or routines, artefacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share in interaction with peers” (Corsaro and Eder 1990: 197). As mentioned in 5.6.3, demographic models have estimated that 33% of the population was under the age of fifteen years (Frier and Bagnall 1994: 97), so children probably spent a lot of time around other children. There is little information from historical or iconographic sources regarding levels of peer interaction for children. This lack of information is even truer for younger children. As discussed in Chapter 3, the *Iuventus* would have provided older, freeborn, male children with structured interaction. Some Roman iconography shows images of children playing together, such as the sarcophagi in fig. 6.1 and 6.2.



**Figure 6.1 Sarcophagus showing boys and girls involved in separate games, 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE (Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, Rome)**



**Figure 6.2 Boys and girls playing ball games on a Roman sarcophagus, mid 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Louvre Museum, Paris, photo by Barbara McManus 2005)**

Interestingly, although both portray girls and boys together, the two groups on each sarcophagus are clearly involved in separate pursuits. The extent to which boys and girls interacted is unclear in the historical and archaeological record (Huskinson 1996: 116). It may have been acceptable for boys and girls of certain ages to mingle, but whether this was true and at what points it may not have been acceptable is not evident.

Also uncertain is how frequently children of different socio-economic statuses intermingled, though there were many forums within the city to do so. Throughout Pompeii as well as other cities in the Roman empire, there seemed to be little evidence of zoning by socio-economic status. Affluent houses were scattered among more humble abodes and various businesses (Owens 1996: 18). The graffiti evidence presented in Chapter 3, of which nearly 60% came from outside the home, suggests children indeed were allowed outside the home. With intermixed residences, children could have worked and played alongside peers of various socio-economic groups. Within slave-owning households, freeborn and slave children would have interacted in the home as well as outside of it. Slaves born in the house of their masters (*vernae*) seem to have held a special position in the Roman family and would have complemented a master's contingent of his own children (Rawson 1986: 186). The public baths have been noted as a place where adults of different social groups would have conversed (Fagan 2002: 189). The baths may also have offered children, who frequented the baths, the same opportunity.

## 6.4 Toys

### 6.4.1 Toys and some theories regarding toys and play

What is a toy? Dictionaries define toys as being “paltry or trifling objects”, items “diminutive in size” or “intended for a child.” That these objects are small and used by children seems to be their most defining characteristics.

Once an object is in the hands of a child, it would seem to become a toy. Take discussion of dolls in antiquity as an example. The ambiguity of whether a human figurine is a doll or a votive statuette is often invoked in discussing children and toys (Elderkin 1930; Dasen 2003; Coulon 1994). On the other hand, scholarship about iconography rarely deals with this uncertainty; a figurine in the hands of a child or being given to a child is usually labeled a doll (see for example Cavalier 1991; Roccas 2000; Neils and Oakley 2003: 168-9; Sorabella 2007: 366). Even though such scholarship might describe figurines as being votives or offerings, this role is either transitional from their role as a toy or is secondary to the figurines' primary identification as dolls. The mere presence of the child seems to preclude the possibility that a figurine might be first and foremost a devotional object. Can a doll be both a toy and a votive at once? Or is the category 'toy' mutually exclusive of other functional categories? Can a child hold a votive figurine without the figurine ever having functioned as a toy?

Today, toys are a \$17 billion-a-year business (Chin 2006: 252), but there is little known about the manufacture and sales of toys in the Roman world. Manson has suggested that the manufacture of dolls at least might have arisen from another trade such as religious figurines. He has argued for commercialization of doll production based on the number of dolls found and their elaborateness. He further suggests that there was a boom in doll production during the Antonine period, which he attributes to

an increased attention to children as well as better socio-economic conditions (1991: 55). Rawson disagrees, stating that there is little epigraphic evidence to support his claim; inscriptions commemorating *eborarii* do not indicate there was any specialization (Rawson 2003: 128).

In addition to production practices, the ways in which dolls were sold in the Roman world are not well understood. There may have been vendors selling dolls and toys down a street in Rome called the *Sigillaria*. This street was the location for the annual celebrations of the Saturnalia, during which people fashioned little images, also called *sigillaria* (Sen. *Ep.* 18; see also Davis 1910). Seneca made a remark in one of his *Epistulae* that associates *sigillaria* with children (Sen. *Ep.* 12). This may be a reason the street Sigillaria is assumed to have sold toys. As a marketplace, the Sigillaria seems to have sold more than religious figurines; Aulus Gellius recorded an anecdote wherein a grammarian bought a copy of the *Aeneid* from a bookseller along the Sigillaria. Primary sources also suggest that all toys were not purchased; children would have fashioned dolls and animal figurines themselves from clay or wax (Lucian *Somn.* 2, *Lex.* 21; Seneca *Ep.* 12).

Toys have been notably neglected in the studies of social scientists in a number of disciplines, including anthropology and archaeology. This has been attributed by some to perceptions regarding toys and socialization. The latter is usually viewed as a process, which has fixed beginning, intermediary and end points. Toys, believed to be the tools through which socialization is achieved, are thus presumed to be understood (Toren 1993: 261).

There are two main theories about play: the preparatory theory and the adjustment theory. The former, born out of the Enlightenment and evolutionary theory, maintains that play is preparation for the future. The latter, a production of Romanticism and phenomenology, considers play a form of adjustment to the present (Sutton-Smith 1967: 130). Ball (1967: 449-450) posits that the world of toys bears an

observable relationship to the social world on which it is based. "While doll play may involve elements of fantasy, it is a fantasy firmly grounded in the social reality of the people upon which it is modeled." Dolls are viewed as transitional objects, wherein they lie somewhere between the self and the other. The doll is understood by the child to be a separate entity, though through it the child expresses his or her own internal ideas and emotions. The child imbues his or her doll with a personality and chooses its actions to which the child reacts as part of play (Winnicott 1971).

#### *6.4.2 Past studies of toys and games in the Roman world*

Most archaeological studies of Roman child games and toys are single chapters or articles scattered throughout journals and books, such as Martin-Kilcher's work on *crepundia* and dolls in child burials (2000), Janssen's article on Romano-Egyptian soft toys (1996), or Manson's extensive work on dolls (1983; 1987 with Simeoni). Work on toys is usually descriptive and focused on form and function rather than use. Rinaldi (1956) has looked at dolls over the course of antiquity, cataloguing dolls from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, and Rome. Manson and Simeoni (1987) have defined a typology of jointed dolls and discuss the materials and places of origin as well as the relationship between shape, size and function.

Well-made toys or elaborate assemblages of miniature objects often are singled out for study in secondary literature and excavation reports. Janssen (1996) focuses particularly on a rag doll and the other objects found in a child's tomb at Hawara. Discoveries of fine toys are also sometimes singled out for description in excavation reports, such as the bone doll from the infant cemetery at Poggio Gramignano (Shumka 1999). Her discussion is more descriptive than anything else, and she compares the doll to other examples from the Roman world. Martin-Kilcher's study looks at dolls and *crepundia* found in burials (2000). She breaks from the tradition of descriptive studies

to analyse the artefacts in their context and thus has discerned that they were imbued with significant symbolic meaning.

Coulon (1994) wrote a book on the images and artefacts of early infancy in Roman Gaul, which included discussions on dolls, infant feeders, and clothing. Primarily books written about toys and games are often exhibition catalogues.

Other volumes containing descriptions or analyses of children's toys and games often include them alongside adult games and leisure activities. The Museo della cività romana produced a publication in its *Vita e costumi dei romani antichi* series on *Giochi e Giocattoli* in Roman antiquity (Ricotti 1995). The first chapter was devoted to the 'games of infants' and included figurines, rattles, infant feeders, amulets and other toys. There is a separate chapter on games for girls that discusses dolls and not much else. Active games and ball games are covered in an additional chapter, while the rest of the work is devoted to the games of adults. Discussing the toys and games with children alongside the games and leisure activities of adults, as is often done in regards to the Romans (Ricotti 1995), is a problematic way to approach children's material culture. This practice reinforces the idea that child's play is a leisure activity, which of course it is not. As discussed briefly in Chapter 3, play is a complex and productive process that social and behavioural scientists continue to argue over; *The International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences* noted that it is a "controversial and unresolved topic," and admits that "no one definition of play is necessary or sufficient" (Smeltzer and Baltes 2001: 11,501-3). As archaeologists, a complete understanding of all the intricacies and theories of play is unnecessary for our purposes, but to ignore the existence of this process and its complexities in our discussion of the material culture will only impede our understanding of children in the Roman world.

*Jouer dans l'Antiquité* was an exhibition on the games and toys from Egypt, Greece and Rome at the Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne in Marseille from 1991-1992. It covered various table games, in addition to dolls, rattles and images of play.

From 2003-2004 the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Bourges held an exhibition on "maternité et petite enfance" in Roman antiquity (Gourevitch et al. 2003). The exhibition focused on the iconography of birth, infancy, infant death and mothers with young children. Sections of the catalogue also explored objects like infant feeders, dolls and burial assemblages of infants from Bourges.

Toys and childhood are seen as good subjects for museum exhibitions because for the public, the objects and images are evocative of their own childhood and experiences with children, but for the most part scholars seem to have shown little interest in these artefacts.

In Roman history and archaeology, as in anthropology, archaeology and history more widely (Toren 1993: 461), this process of socialization is often written about as if it is passively undertaken by children and both the steps and the outcome are fixed. There is a certain amount of irony in this, seeing as children's behaviour is often viewed by archaeologists as random (Baxter 2005: 50). Dolls and toys are often cited as tools of socialization.

Discussion of such objects usually paints the picture of a solitary child, such as the following example:

The rag dolls discussed all show the gently curving form of the nubile adolescent. The breasts, navel, and pubic areas are carefully delineated. During life these dolls had an educational function: playing and caring for them prepared a girl for her future destiny in marriage and motherhood. Naked dolls were particularly appealing to little girls as they could dress them themselves (Janssen 1996: 239).

Rawson expresses what is basically the same thought: "Dolls provided scope for role-playing as they always have. Most of the dolls known seem to be for girls rather than boys" (Rawson 2003). Both Rawson and Janssen's statement echo Elderkin's argument from 1930: "That children learn by imitation was as true in antiquity as it is today. Toys, by means of which they could simulate the activities of their elders, were an important item in their lives then as now, and nothing delighted them so much as

miniature representations of people, animals and inanimate objects, such as wagons, boats or doll's furniture." The problem is not necessarily that these ideas are false, but rather they are too general actually to provide insight into the lives and behaviours of ancient children. Furthermore, the study and understanding of these objects seem to have hit a standstill if no new ideas about the use of these objects have been put forth in 80 years. It relies on the assumption that there is a single fixed response to a stimulus and ignores the fact that socialization is dependent upon social interaction. As noted in the case of children's drawing, imitation is not the default behaviour, but rather interpretation. While adults may look at an object and associate it with certain activities, a child will not necessarily draw the same associations. A doll can no more teach a child the duties of being a wife and mother any more than a pen can teach someone to write or a book teach someone to read.

The dialogue about the socialization of children is very reminiscent of early discussions of Romanization, a top-down process of acculturation among indigenous populations through contact with the Romans. In recent years the Romanization model of cultural change has come under intense criticism for a number of reasons, which include the fact that it has deprived indigenous peoples of agency (see Mattingly 2002). In a similar way, discussions of socialization have followed the same line of thinking as early dialogues about Romanization.

There remains the idea of society's total domination of children and their development. Socialization is characterized as a top-down process, whereby adults, the imperialists, overlay their culture on children, the provincials. Conventional thought views parents and other adults as the link between children and society. Through adult efforts, children become socialized and develop characteristics that are socially adaptive. The role of adults serves two purposes: to promote children's adjustment and to preserve society (Youniss 1980: 17). Socialization is not the imprinting of culture on children by adults but rather a process of deconstruction, interpretation, negotiation

and reconstruction of ideas and knowledge by children (Piaget 1969). It is also a process that involves peer groups as well as parents and other adults. The idea that adults intend for dolls to teach young girls to be wifely and motherly and the children passively absorb this idea not only robs the children of agency, but downplays the contributions of family members and peers to socialization processes. I have already discussed in section 6.2 how Anglo-American girls in the late nineteenth century used their dolls in violent and 'unfeminine' ways despite encouragement from their parents to use them in subdued ways that were considered feminine and socially appropriate (Formanek-Brunnel 1992: 122). A study by sociologists Murray and Woolgar (1999) has also shown that children use dolls during play in ways that reflect relationships and internal problems. The same study revealed that the manner in which dolls were used in socio-dramatic play also varied between genders (Murray and Woolgar 1999). Imitation is not the default behaviour, but rather interpretation (Singer and Haan 2007: 286). While adults may look at an object and associated it with certain activities, a child will not necessarily draw the same associations. Or the children may simply reject the associations in favour of a more enticing option.

The second problem with our approach to socialization is that it is often used interchangeably with acculturation, though they are not in fact the same process, nor are their outcomes necessarily the same. Successful acculturation assumes successful socialization, but the reverse is not always the case. Acculturation is a dual process, involving both the shedding of aspects of the existing culture and the incorporation of aspects of a new culture. It assumes differences between the individual and the new group with regard to norms, values, behaviour and overall worldview. Acculturation can be forced assimilation of a new culture or the way an individual with minority status functions and adapts to life in a new culture (Reynolds 1992: 637).

On the other hand, socialization is the process through which an individual learns the norms, behaviours and values of a society in order to produce an initial

worldview. The concept was developed by sociologists and incorporates deliberate methods of teaching children these aspects of society. Research in developmental and social psychology introduced embedded, less deliberate and informal aspects (Grusec and Hastings 2007: 547).

Cultural anthropology has developed the concept of *enculturation*, which is based on socialization. It focuses more on the informal, less deliberate aspects of socialization. As the term implies, it refers to the submersion or surrounding of an individual by his or her culture. Through a network of interpersonal relationships between the individual and his or her peers, parents, and other adults, the individual becomes competent in his/her understanding and application of the culture, its beliefs, values, rituals, language, and behaviour (Grusec and Hastings 2007: 547).

## 6.5 Dolls

Of all the toys from the Roman world, dolls have received the most attention from archaeologists and art historians. "Remains of dolls constitute one of the largest bodies of evidence for toys and games to survive from Roman antiquity" (Shumka 1999: 616). Only about 30 complete examples from the Roman world have been identified, all of which are from burials (Dasen 1991: 205). Fragments, limbs and torsos have been recovered as well, again primarily from burials. Manson suggests that the total number of dolls found is somewhere in the neighborhood of 493 (1987: 20). How many of these were intended to be dolls as opposed to votive figurines has long been argued by scholars and will continue to be, without a resolution no doubt.

### *6.5.1 Dolls in the Greek and Roman world*

The materials that dolls were made of were highly variable. Most of the dolls that have been found are made of bone or ivory, though examples made of wood and terracotta have also been found. Even a doll of amber was discovered at the necropolis of La Eras (Ontur) (García y Bellido 1949: 155). As previously noted, classical authors make reference to children fashioning their own figurines from clay and wax.

Numerous examples of jointed dolls have been found in the Greek world from the Geometric through the Hellenistic periods. Many hold castanets indicating that they were intended to be dancers. Holes in the tops of their heads also allowed them to be strung up to dance like marionettes. Male dolls, though not as popular, existed as well. Terracotta was by far the more prevalent material, though dolls of ivory, wax, alabaster and cloth have been found as well (Neils and Oakley 2003: 267). Dolls have been found at graves and sanctuaries, but also at terracotta workshops. They may have been an offshoot of other enterprises, such as the production of cult figurines (Manson 1992: 55). Like their Roman counterparts, Greek dolls' presence at sanctuaries and cemeteries probably indicates they served dual purposes as toys and votives (Neils and Oakley 2003: 267).

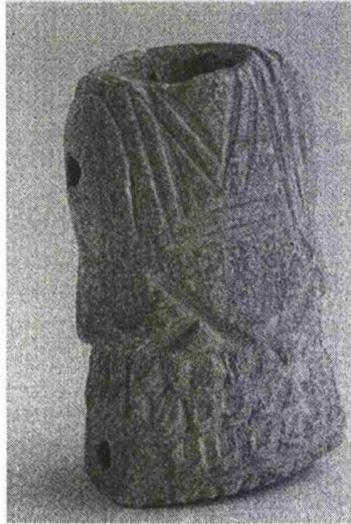
Jointed figurines are evidently identified as more doll-like by scholars; their ability to move is seen as an attribute that would make them easier and more pleasant to handle (Dasen 1999: 205; Shumka 1999: 616) and encourage play or make it more elaborate. Manson, who has conducted some of the most extensive work on dolls, proposes two criteria for determining if a figurine was a doll. Firstly it must be small enough and light enough for a young child to handle. Secondly the doll must be articulated enough to allow for socio-dramatic play (Manson 1991: 54). Images of dolls on stele and sarcophagi generally do not appear to be jointed (see fig 6.3).



**Figure 6.3 Greek stele with a doll/figurine, 4th century BCE (Musée Calvert, Avignon)**

The figurines are held delicately, certainly not dangling as marionettes. Reilly has noted that most Athenian funerary monuments with figures identified as dolls always portray them as anatomical figures. She proposes that images on grave monuments interpreted as dolls might actually be votives related to female health (1997).

Dolls are considered “le jouet par excellence des petites filles” (Dasen 2003: 205). Other scholars have also posited that dolls were primarily playthings for girls (Elderkin 1930; Janssen 1996: 239; Rawson 2003: 128). The other primary reason for the association is that most dolls appear to be female. There are examples of male dolls, however. The articulated doll in fig. 6.4 is clearly dressed in the regalia of a legionary. It was found in the cemetery at Trion (modern Lyon).



**Figure 6.4 Torso of a soldier doll, 70-115CE (Musée de la Civilisation gallo-romaine)**

The doll torso was also found in the tomb of a young girl, Claudia Victoria. This brings into question gender associations. If a girl played with a male doll, could a boy not have played with a female doll? Dolls are associated with girls in part because they have been found interred with dead girls. No doubt some (if not all) of the deceased children buried with dolls have been sexed as female by archaeologists on account of the fact that they were buried with dolls.

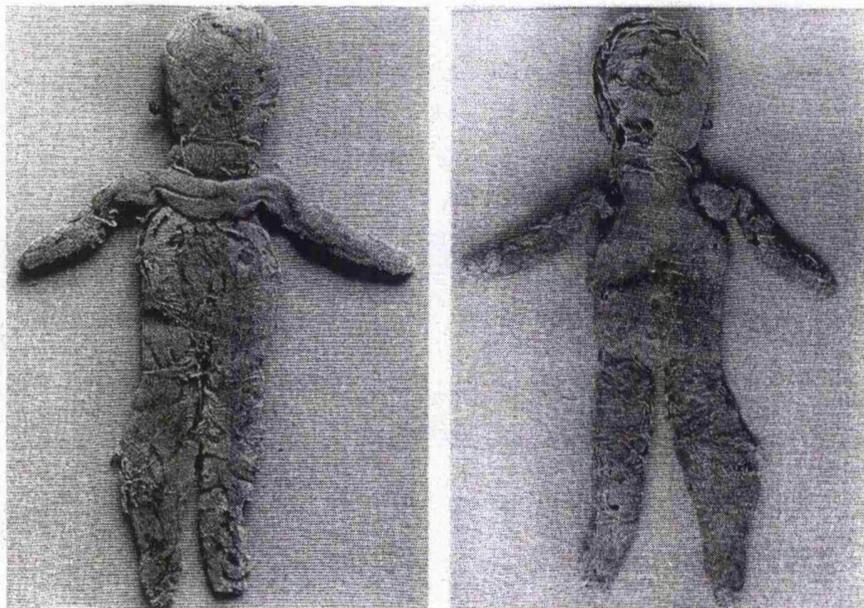
### *6.5.2 Dolls, child agency and social interaction*

The preparatory view of toys might maintain that Claudia's doll (fig. 6.4) was meant to help prepare her for life as a wife. The doll could be the ancient equivalent of a Ken doll, perhaps half of a set of dolls that would have included a corresponding soldier's wife doll. Dolls have been termed as 'transitional objects,' meaning that they stand symbolically somewhere between the self and another person (Winnicott 1971). Dolls are used by children to express internal ideas and conflicts rather than to internalize external values and beliefs. Perhaps the soldier identity was shared by the soldier's family. Allison et al. (2004: 8.2.2g) note that pendants found in domestic contexts like the Insula of the Menander were likely to have been worn by women, and

could have been keepsakes given to them from a soldier husband, brother or son. Such shared material culture could also speak to a sense of shared identity. If Claudia's father or brother was a soldier, it might have had influence on her own personal sense of identity, which she may have expressed through a preference for this doll over more traditional female dolls. If, in fact Claudia treated the doll as a soldier doll, would she draw an association with the abstract concept of a future husband? If we are to give credence to the idea of children's agency, perhaps Claudia's preference for a soldier doll speaks to a close relationship with a male family member, perhaps her father. Whiting and Whittings' cross-cultural study (1975) of the effects of culture on the social behaviour of children revealed that children in nuclear families, as the Romans had, were more likely to have contact and close relationships with their fathers than children in extended or polygamist families. Writers such as Quintilian, Cicero, and Aulus Gellus seem to have been attentive fathers, who were involved in the lives of their children, both male and female (Dixon 1992: 111).

Alternatively the doll could also have been placed with Claudia to indicate her membership in a military family. Or perhaps as Martin-Kilcher has shown, it is meant to represent her marriage not attained in life. The doll might stand in for her husband in a similar way to the northern Japanese bride-doll tradition during WWII, wherein a dead child was married to a spirit-spouse embodied in a figurine (Schattschneider 2001).

One observation frequently made by scholars is that the Romans did not seem to have "baby" dolls. The fabric dolls from Roman Egypt, which are pudgy and less 'anatomically correct' than their ivory and wood counterparts, could certainly have been intended by the creator to be in the form of an infant (fig. 6.5).



**Figure 6.5 Fabric doll from Oxyrhynchus in the British Museum (GR 1905.10-12.13)**

There were also ceramic figurines, which were not jointed, which appear to be fashioned as infants (Fig. 6.6). These could have possibly served as dolls.



**Figure 6.6 Terracotta figurine of an infant from Hawara, 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE (Petrie Museum, London)**

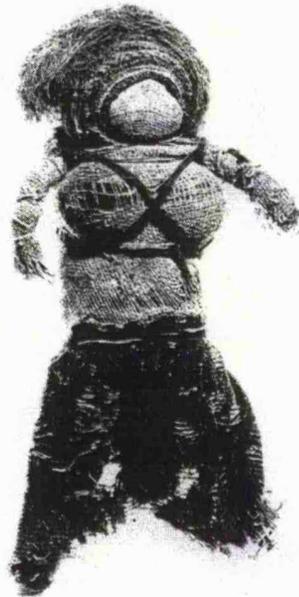
The figurine from Hawara was painted to have black hair and eyes and has the accoutrements of childhood, including protective rings on its ankle and wrists (*Jouer dans l'Antiquite*: 191). At 255mm in height, it is about the right size for a doll according

to Manson (1987) and it was found in a child's burial. It also appears to have been broken and mended in antiquity (Petrie Museum Online Catalogue).

The absence or rarity of baby dolls might indicate a preference among children for other types. Parents may not have felt any need to encourage children to use such toys. Baby dolls are poor tools on their own to prepare a child for motherhood, since live babies are truly nothing like silent, pliable dolls. Hubert's study of expectations about motherhood in modern Britain (1974) found that many women, who were given mothering classes with dolls, were shell shocked by the demands and stress of caring for their infant. Many mothers experienced bouts of severe depression and inability to deal with the stress. "Instead of a quiet, undemanding doll-like baby, the new mother is often presented with a squalling, starving animal whose needs are both unpredictable and apparently insatiable" (Hubert 1974: 47). A girl, or boy for that matter, in the Roman world would probably not have had the same problem. They would have learned about caring for infants through observing their own caretakers and assisting in the care of younger siblings or relatives. Studies of demography have suggested that most families probably would have had many children born, perhaps somewhere around five or six, though not all survived. Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi supposedly had thirteen children, with only Tiberius, Gaius, and a sister surviving to adulthood (Parkin 1992: 110-112). Families in the lower classes may have had fewer children, but they may have relied more on their own children as caretakers. Cross-cultural anthropological research has shown that throughout many various cultures, children between the ages of five and seven years are placed in charge of looking after their younger siblings (Rogoff et al. 2008).

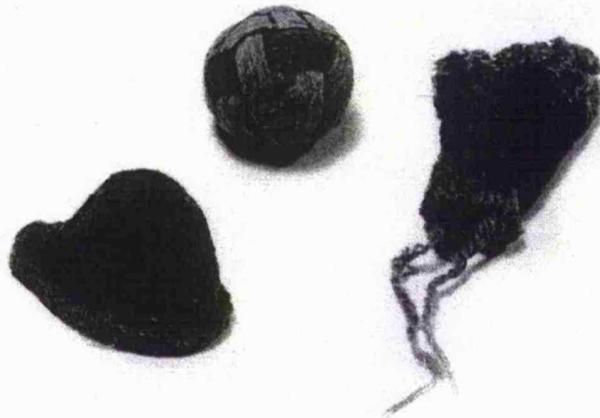
The creation of dolls and doll clothing might have been an important act for children. In some instances it might have been a gendered activity in the Roman world. Historical sources that record children fashioning their own dolls from wax or clay do not make mention of fabric dolls. They may not have written about this because it was

an activity for girls that the authors as boys might not have participated in. Cloth production is an activity usually associated with women (Kampen 1996: 22). Female children might also have made fabric dolls. Fabric dolls have been found in Roman Egypt (see fig. 6.5 and 6.7) but they likely were present in other parts of the empire, where they did not survive in the archaeological record.



**Figure 6.7 Rag doll from Hawara (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)**

A young child learning to weave and sew might make a doll or clothing for a doll. Girls in 19<sup>th</sup> century America were encouraged by their parents to sew doll clothing (Formanek-Brunnel 1992: 169). The evidence from Campania presented in Chapter 3 suggests that children were playing in areas around the front halls, where weaving was likely to have taken place. I have stated that I think this evidence suggests that they were expected to work and learn rather than play in the front halls, so perhaps sewing dolls and clothing was one part of the learning process of young girls. One of the ragdolls from Hawara (fig. 6.10) excavated by Petrie had several items of clothing of linen and wool accompanying it (Petrie 1889: 13). Janssen posits that the clothing might have been sown by "its child owner" based on the crude stitching (1996: 232). The remains of doll clothing have been found in Egypt as well (fig. 6.8).



**Figure 6.8 Hat, ball and hairnet for a doll from Behnasa (Victoria and Albert Museum)**

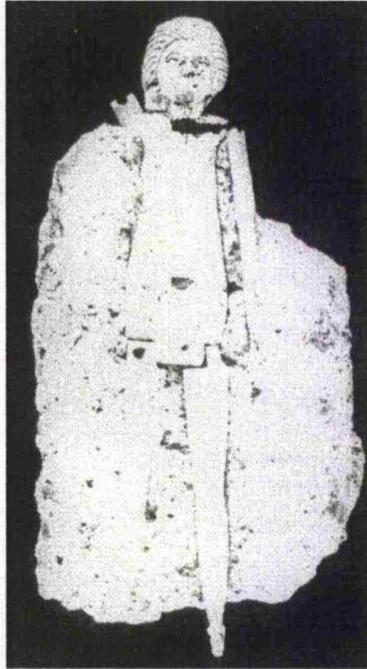
Perhaps the deposition of dolls in burials may be less about the unattained marriage and more about the relationships between the deceased girl and female members of her family. These relationships presumably would have changed at marriage and this may be the reason dolls are not found with adult women.

Activities leading to the deposition and the action of discarding of dolls are also important considerations for archaeologists with regard to child agency. Dolls often undergo deliberate modifications by children in addition to the daily wear and tear they receive. Some of the dolls from antiquity show some evidence of modifications or damage. The fabric doll from Hawara had its legs cut off sometime before it was placed in the grave (see fig. 6.9) (Janssen 1996: 213).



**Figure 6.9 Fabric doll from Hawara with its legs cut off (Petrie Museum, London)**

The possible baby doll in fig. 6.6 was damaged in antiquity and mended at some point (Petrie Museum Catalogue). An ivory doll in the Museo Nazionale in Rome has a chunk missing from the shoulder and has heavily abraded surfaces (fig. 6.10).



**Figure 6.10 Doll with damaged shoulder and abraded surface, 3rd century CE (Museo Nazionale, Rome)**

Modification or damage is not necessarily seen by a child as a reason to discard. Parents on the other hand may feel differently. Unfortunately there has been little research done on the alteration of toys by children, in part due to the general shortage of studies of toys. There is a prevalent opinion in modern western society that toys or objects used in play become irreparably damaged. A popular website ([shitmykidsruined.com](http://shitmykidsruined.com)) features anecdotes and photos of objects damaged, altered, drawn on or otherwise ruined by young children in both intentional and unintentional situations. The website details how one young child dragged her Barbie doll behind her scooter until it was, in the mother's view, irreparably damaged (fig. 6.12). The mother promptly threw it away.



**Figure 6.11 Barbie doll that had been dragged behind a scooter by her young owner**

Similarly in the case of Anglo-American girls in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, ritualistically killed dolls were tossed away by disturbed parents (Formanek-Brunell 1998: 32). Whether or not Roman parents or caretakers would have similarly discarded 'ruined' dolls is unclear.

The extent to which a doll was the property of the child to do with as he or she pleased has connotations for the relationship between parent and child and between the child and his or her possession. There were social expectations that a girl would give up her doll (Persius 2.70), but would the time and manner be left to the child to choose? The deposition of a doll into a grave may also indicate a sense of obligation on the part of the parents to bury a girl with her beloved doll if she had not yet dedicated it to Venus of her own volition.

## 6.6 Conclusions

Hirschfeld wrote that "by viewing children as the vehicle into which culture is poured, anthropologists have put the cart before the horse" (2002: 612). Sociological

and anthropological research has shown that children actively transform and create culture rather than simply absorb and reproduce it. In any analysis of children's material culture it is necessary to step away from an adult perspective as sociological research clearly shows they viewed their world in a much different, often opposing way.

It is difficult to discern much information about lived experience or the use of artefacts from studies of single objects found in burials. However, examinations of doll forms, materials and burials can help pose questions, which can in turn be used in analysis of assemblages. A reconsideration of dolls in light of children's agency and social relationships can potentially help us to access children's lives as opposed to socio-cultural concepts constructed by adults.

Studies of toys, particularly out of archaeological context, may be difficult to advance on account of the paucity of modern studies, cross-cultural or otherwise. Indeed, examination of individual objects from mortuary contexts wherein it is difficult to discern use in life can do little more than educe questions. Nonetheless, questions are what allow research to progress, particularly in the case of the study of dolls which has more or less come to a standstill. The questions posed here can provide a jumping-off point for studies of assemblages wherein the remains of dolls are found. In order to understand socialization processes and the transmission of culture in the Roman world, objects must be studied in both their social contexts and their archaeological contexts.

This case study does underscore how social history and archaeology can complement each other to provide a fuller picture of the past. In order to study children's social worlds, archaeologists must focus on assemblages and activities rather than just the objects themselves (Baxter 2005: 55). Textual and epigraphic evidence has afforded information on social relationships, which ultimately can inform analyses of archaeological assemblages and reconstructions of the social activities of those individuals peopling sites.

## **CHAPTER 7**

### *Discussion and Conclusions*

The purpose of this thesis has been to explore new ways of approaching children through the material culture of the Roman empire. Many scholars have rightly noted that children most probably did not have a wholly distinctive material culture (Harlow et al. 2007: 7); differences in material culture are perceptual rather than physical. By distinguishing between the material culture of children and the materiality of childhood it is possible to have a dialogue about artefacts that while not exclusively produced, used, and discarded by children, were nonetheless distinguished by differing uses, modes of production and age associations. Studying children in the Roman world does not require separate or new data in many cases, but only the inclusion of children in the interpretation of the archaeological record and the resulting narrative.

#### **7.1 Recognizing the 'Contextual Child' and the 'Universal' Child**

One of the most important points of this thesis has been to emphasize that there must be recognition of both the *Contextual Child* and the *Universal Child* in order to study the *world of children*. The former, favoured by social sciences, maintains that childhood is a cultural construction and that children's experience and socialization are dependent on the socio-cultural context that they inhabit. The latter, favoured by biological and behavioural sciences, approaches childhood as a condition of all human lifecycles because it is characterized by certain fixed biological, physiological and cognitive aspects. These two concepts are not mutually exclusive and finding the balance between the two is the key to accessing children and childhood experience through the material culture.

It is possible to consider both the way that socio-cultural aspects influence physiological and cognitive development and how the physical and cognitive factors affect socio-cultural characteristics. There are certain physiological and psychological realities concerning children that all societies must address and scholars must recognize. Accepting that there are certain biological realities that different societies are aware of should not be seen as deterministic. Responses to these realities can be highly variable, but there must be a response. While these are culturally constructed and varied, they are nonetheless extant and will be reflected in the material culture.

Human childhood is unique among animals in many respects. Newborns are particularly vulnerable and in need of care. Humans have a long gestational period and early weaning, despite a long period of dependency (traits shared by other primates) (Johanson and Edgar 1996: 76). In one way or another all societies must have some concept of *childhood* and *the child*. Societies wherein there is no concern for children's wellbeing or indeed a negative view of children have serious social problems, including difficulties in production, intense internal violence, and extreme poverty. Children are not successfully socialized and the community cohesion is affected. For instance, in Brazilian shanty towns (*favelas*) children as young as 4 years old are left to survive on their own, cut off from their parents and often living in street gangs (De Oliveira 2001: 8). Mothers will often place babies on the ground and leave them in hopes that they will die or be taken. Such social problems will undoubtedly manifest themselves in the archaeological record, particularly in mortuary contexts. Among the most recent generations, the so-called 'War on Children' and the resulting neglect, have led to stunted growth, child obesity, and chronic diseases among adults (Dimenstein 1991). Though child prostitution likely existed as a market of some size, there is little or no mention of criminal activity or gangs of young children as being among Rome's social problems. Without archaeological or historical evidence of such social problems, it is highly unlikely that young children were not given at least a modicum of nurturing. This

would probably have been true of all social classes. Helping orphaned children as Caelia of Terracina did (*CIL* X.6328) was seen as a virtuous endeavor; needy children were seen as worthy of care and assistance. Emperors and empresses also took it upon themselves to create such social programs. Imperial coinage, art and legislation attest to the significant *alimenta* program instituted by Trajan (Rawson 2003: 60; see fig. 7.1).



**Figure 7.1** Coin celebrating Trajan's *alimenta* program, 103-111CE (Pergamon Museum, Berlin)

Furthermore, the idea of parents as primary caretakers is a modern western notion. Among many societies the care of children is shared by siblings, relatives and other members of the community (see for instance Gottlieb 2004). Thus societies need to recognize the inherent vulnerability of infants and very young children and respond to their physical and emotional dependency in order to survive and perpetuate.

## 7.2 The Theoretical Framework

I have demonstrated the significance of drawing a distinction between the materiality of childhood and the material culture of children when discussing any aspect relating to children in archaeological discourse. Making the distinction between the material culture that is the manifestation of a socio-cultural concept of childhood and the

material culture that children created or used allows the archaeology to be analyzed from children's perspective rather than the de facto adult perspective. There must be an understanding of childhood as a socio-cultural construction and a concurrent recognition of children as an autonomous social group. These two ideas are intertwined; the socio-cultural construction will influence children's experiences and behaviours just as their physical and cognitive facilities will affect those constructions. As adults, archaeologists and social historians must be vigilant in acknowledging children as a distinct social group with differing perspectives. Recognizing that these two different ideas are separate and will be manifested differently in the material record makes for a more coherent discussion of the evidence. Making this distinction explicit allows for focused discussion of material culture within relevant social contexts.

The four part theoretical framework presented in this thesis is broad and malleable, which makes it useful for a wide range of studies dealing with many varied aspects of the archaeological record. Though here it was used specifically for studies of material culture, it can also be used for looking at studies of bio-archaeological evidence and iconography.

### *7.2.1 The Creator Child Model*

The Creator Child Model is focused on discerning and understanding children's actions. Discourse on the study of children's agency and activities through archaeology has been notably negative, stressing the lack of a defined material culture to attribute to them. Nevertheless progress is made through discussion of what evidence is available and what can be done with it. As Baxter (2005) has said previously, it is necessary to turn our focus away from the idea of children's objects towards the study of children's activities, which will be represented archaeologically not by single objects but by deposits and assemblages. This requires a complete rejection of the notion of child behaviour as precocious and random.

Studies of developmental psychology, such as those focused on children's representational capacities, have shown that there are patterns in children's behaviour. Furthermore children's activities are influenced by social expectations, of which children are capable interpreters.

While the framework itself will be important for studying children's material culture archaeologically, the findings from the case study itself can be useful. Analysis of the identified children's graffiti found patterns in the location where particular activities were taking place. Within the home children seemed to have used spaces and rooms attached to front halls for certain unrestricted play activities. They may have had more stringent social expectations for formal working and learning in the front halls themselves. Findings also revealed that children's activities took place both within the home and without. The presence of children's graffiti in all of these locations brings up questions regarding expectations for behaviour in different spatial and social contexts and children's interpretations of these expectations.

Studies of assemblages and deposits in parts of domestic and public areas where children's graffiti have been found in particular should consider children's activities in their analyses. The graffiti evidence not only demonstrates the presence of children in certain spaces, but also the types of activities they were involved in, particularly more leisurely play and recreation. Areas lacking children's graffiti do not preclude the presence of children, but rather suggest different activities for those spaces. Any children's activity, whether work or leisure, also does not necessarily mean a lack of adult involvement by any means. Considerations of the types of activities taking place in different spaces must take children into account. Looking at the finds and deposits while considering the activities they were used in can perhaps assist archaeologists in expanding the range of artefacts we can classify as children's material culture.

Though certainly not unproblematic, scholars have often extrapolated from evidence at Pompeii and Herculaneum to understand aspects of life in the Roman world

more generally. Historical and archaeological narratives of daily life certainly draw a great deal from the Pompeian evidence. Examinations of domestic buildings and public spaces on other sites can also consider the locations and range of children activities in interpretations of the archaeological record.

Ultimately this research could be taken further through an investigation of graffiti assemblages. Most of the graffiti examined in this case study were not isolated; they were often found among other graffiti, both figural and verbal. Many children may have been learning to write and there may be evidence of this on the walls. An investigation of figural and verbal graffiti, child and adult graffiti together might produce further information on learning processes for children and interaction between children, peers and adults.

### *7.2.2 The Social Structural Child*

This aspect of the theoretical framework is focused on how material culture reflects the way childhood is constructed as a social space and its implications for children's lives.

Mortuary contexts, despite their many complications, provide some of the most suitable material evidence for the study of the structure of childhood. The findings from this case study had patterns revealing that there were some connections between the lives of the deceased and the material culture being interred with them. Again, this aspect of the framework could also be applied to bio-archaeological and iconographic evidence. Recent research into the socio-cultural constructions of childhood in ancient Greece has looked at how different ages of childhood are portrayed in images (Langdon 2007), as has Huskinson (1996) in her work on portraiture on Roman children's sarcophagi. These studies have discussed adult perceptions but have not considered the potential implications for the lives of children.

The evidence from this case study suggests that there are links between children's lives and patterns of artefact inclusion in the burial of children of different ages. Burial assemblages showed differences across age groups, which were based on physiological and social factors. For instance gaming items were most common in children out of infancy but before reaching the age when they would likely have married, been apprenticed or otherwise entered public life.

In some cases, such as the study in this thesis, certain aspects of social structure may not be represented in the material culture or may not be readily visible to archaeologists. The structure of childhood can also comprise other aspects other than age, but gender and social status. Gender demarcations are difficult to study in mortuary contexts, because sexing of sub-adult remains is virtually impossible. The research presented in this thesis was somewhat hindered by the poor preservation of some of the graves. Investigations of cemeteries in other regions with better preservation may yield more evidence patterns and clearer results.

There have been wide studies of burial practice in the Roman period and on the provincial level, such as those by Reece and Collis (1977), Toynbee (1971), and Philpot (1991). Regional studies of burial practices are somewhat less common; cemeteries tend to be investigated individually. The Social Structural Child model is well suited for application to regional studies; can help put infant cemeteries, such as those at Poggio Gramignano or Tarquinia, into wider social contexts. The infant cemeteries and the individuals interred in them are often defined by their isolation from the rest of their respective societies. Regional studies using the Social Structural Child model, such as the one presented in this thesis, can help reintegrate them into our investigations and understanding of how their societies were structured and functioned.

### 7.2.3 *The Minority Group Child*

This case study was primarily theoretical, but was intended to help progress future research through the introduction of a new perspective and the posing of new questions. Unfortunately in regards to understanding social worlds, there is little that can be done with single objects beyond proposing questions and possibilities. Most objects found on archaeological sites at some point or another were likely to have been used by children for recreation, work and play. What must be done is analysis of assemblages from sites that have good contextual information. Johnson recent work has examined some doll remains in their contexts from the site of Karanis in Egypt, which was excavated in the 1920s and 1930s. The next step is to think less about objects and more about activities, behaviours and relationships and how assemblages can be analyzed to bring forth some understanding of these things.

Studies of toys in the ancient world have been mostly descriptive and have rarely explored their social roles. This is primarily due to the misconception that they are tools in a process that has fixed stages and outcomes. This problem is widespread in the social sciences and as a result there are few studies of toys. In order to understand the complex socialisation process, it is necessary to study the material culture of children because the material subtext is a more powerful influence than spoken attitudes and rules (Toren 1993: 262).

Child cognition is different than that of adults and thus it is necessary to understand its role in the formation of material record in order to begin reconstructing archaeological narratives of children's lives in the Roman world. Cognition changes throughout life and no doubt the elderly as well would have different cognitive processes (Bieliauskus 2001: 89). Can an understanding of the complex nature of human cognition over a lifetime help us to understand? Harlow and Laurence (2002) have applied a descriptive life-course approach to the Romans. Is it possible for a cognitive-analytical life-course approach?

#### *7.2.4 The Socially Constructed Child*

The Socially Constructed Child model is concerned with how societies conceive of the concept of children. This aspect of the framework was not put to a case study related to material culture. Past research in archaeology and history coming from an adult perspective has focused extensively on this facet of children's lives and the materiality of childhood.

The next step for this area of research is to incorporate discussion of how the socio-cultural constructions affected childhood experience. This involves putting aside traditional adult perspectives or at least incorporating children's perspectives in our analyses of material record. Our discussions must rely on scientific study rather than popular perceptions of the way children think. Sociologists, psychologists and anthropologists are actively involved in the study of children and it is necessary to integrate their research into our own reconstruction of archaeological and historical narratives for children. Recently sociologists in particular have begun to examine the ways they can make their subjects, children, active participants in study and incorporate the input of children into their findings (see Mayall 1994). Such research can benefit our understanding of how children behaved and by extension how the archaeological record is formed.

### **7.3 Moving Forward: Children and the Transmission of Culture**

The research presented in this thesis is among the first material culture study to consider the lived experiences of children in the Roman world and to treat them as active social agents. It is also the first to identify evidence of children's activities on archaeological sites, in both domestic and non-domestic contexts. I have demonstrated

that children's activities, which are indeed rational, are accessible through the archaeological record if archaeologists understand children's logic and unique perspective. I have also shown that lived experience and socio-cultural constructions of childhood are not mutually exclusive and both can often be investigated using the same material culture, but approached from different perspectives.

Children are an important component in studying cultural change that has been mostly overlooked in Roman studies. Socialization and acculturation are separate processes; nevertheless they do not occur in isolation of each other. Considerations of how changing social conditions and cultural norms would have affected childhood and children could introduce a new and dynamic angle. Approaching socialization from this perspective would allow for a more nuanced, contextually specific awareness of childhood in different communities and time periods in the Roman world. This in turn could aid in understanding the complex processes of cultural transmission and change.

Changes in material culture have been attributed to the agency of children in an ethnographic study: Greenfield (2000) found that differences in the way children are supervised and taught to weave are actually manifested in the appearance and patterns of the textiles. Contact with the Roman empire might have led to a similar increase in the market for many different products. Bradley's work on apprenticeship contracts seems to indicate that children were slightly older when learning particular trades, though certain activities, such as weaving, must have been learned at an earlier age. If weaving and other work were indeed taking place in the front halls, as Allison's study shows, and children were present there as this thesis suggests, would this perhaps suggest that adults were present at least to supervise if not to provide instruction?

Childhood studies can contribute new considerations for studies of cultural change in the Roman period. This raises one of the major problems in studying children in the past: they did not remain children. Should we not still be talking about childhood

when discussing adults? As much as adults affect childhood within society, their own childhoods have affected them. Unfortunately this is a circular problem.

Forcey (1998) made note of the fact that the time when many Romano-Celtic temples in Britain were being built or rebuilt in more permanent forms (usually in stone) was also the time when those, who had been children during the Roman conquest, would have been of the age to be senior figures in their communities. It begs the question of how childhood experience affected their perceptions of both their own society and the Romans and how these perceptions are manifested in the material culture. Childhood experience plays an integral role in cultural change and this should be acknowledged by archaeologists concerned with the affects of contact between Romans and other peoples who were incorporated into the empire.

## APPENDIX 1: Locations of children's graffiti

### **Pompeii**

#### *1.6.2 Casa dei Criptoportico*

The house was first excavated in 1906, but major excavations were carried out by Spinazzola between 1911 and 1918 and completed by Maiuri in the 1920's (*Nsc.* 1933: 252-279). Additional damage was incurred to the atrium and viridarium from two bombs that were dropped in 1943 (Poel et al. 1986: 10). It covers approximately 1200m<sup>2</sup> and has a double atrium, peristyle with a 2-sided colonnade, a bath suite, 12 additional rooms and the grand cryptoporticus from which the house derives its name (Wallace-Hadrill 1994: 187). The house had three levels-the level of the atriums at which the house was entered from the Via dell'Abbondanza, an upper level with two dining rooms overlooking the peristyle, and the lower level of the cryptoporticus.

Children's graffiti were found in several places around the property. In the oecus, a graffito of a duck or bird [6] was found on the south wall and a graffito of a ship with two passengers [7] on the north wall (Mauucci 1993: 83; CIL IV 3,1 8010). A bird, possibly an owl, [21] was scratched into the wall of the fauces (Mauucci 1993: 78). A geometric design or possibly a chalice [23] was found on the south wall of the so-called winter triclinium (Langner 2001). A graffito of a deer [22] was found somewhere inside the property, though it no longer survives and there is no specific mention of its location in the sources (Mauucci 1993: 83).

#### *1.6.15 Casa dei Ceii (Exterior Wall, Exterior Pillar)*

A total of five graffiti by children were identified on the outer wall of the Casa dei Ceii [41, 42, 43, 45, 46].

### *1.7.7 Casa di Sacerdos Amandus (garden) Exterior Wall*

A graffito [54] of an object formed from a curved line and an s-shaped line, which Langner (2001) suggests may be a bird, was found on the north wall of the garden. Another graffito [58], possibly of a bird, by a child was found on the outer wall of the property, just to the left of the entranceway (Langner 2001).

### *1.7.11 Casa dell'Efebo (garden)*

This house was named after a portable bronze lamp found there; it had been carefully wrapped in linen to protect it while the house underwent work. The massive house, believed to be owned by P. Cornelius Tages, had three entrances along the vicolo (de Vos and de Vos 1983:114) and was a conglomeration of several more modest houses that were combined sometime after the earthquake of 62CE (Maiuri 1927: 27).

A child's graffito [59] was found on a column in the northeast corner of the garden peristyle. Della Corte identified it as a net, recording it as having a retiarius beside it (CIL IV 3.1 8183). As of today all that survives are interlocking straight lines forming a grid.

### *1.8.11 Casa dei quattro stili (ala 13)*

This house was excavated in the year 1938. The house was struck by lightning, as remembered by the inscription engraved on a tile FULGUR. The owner was probably L. Valerius Peregrinus, but the house had to be inhabited by a certain Quartilla, whose name appears six times on the graffiti wall.

On the north wall of one of the alae was found a graffito [63] of a circle with curved and straight lines intersecting it (Della Corte 1946: 117).

#### *1.10.2 Dwelling with Caupona (Langner); Caupona/Taberna/Popina Excavated*

by Maiuri between 1927-1934, this *caupona/taberna/popina* was originally a room attached to the Casa di Poppaeus, which has its entrance at no. 3 (DeFelice 2001: 200). The term *caupona* usually refers to a small inn and smaller establishments. They usually sold food and drink and provided rooms for guests. A *taberna* was a drinking establishment, similar to a modern tavern. A *popina* was a snack shop that sold food and drink (DeFelice 2001: 178). Just as using Latin terminology for rooms can be problematic, so can assigning Latin terminology to business establishments. The discovery of two dolia, a stove and some informative graffiti suggests it was indeed some type of eating and drinking establishment, though the exact nature of its conformity to a specific Latin term is uncertain. The graffiti are an exchange between rival lovers from a nearby *textrina*, both of whom were enamored with a girl named Isis working at this tavern (CIL IV 8238, 8246). (see also *NSc* 1933, 279-280, 1934, 271-275).

Two figural graffiti done by a child were found in the entrance to the tavern. One [66] possibly portrays a gladiator with shield and helmet (Della Corte 1929: 459). The other [67] shows two human figures, possibly gladiators again (CIL IV 3,1 8266).

#### *1.10.4 Casa del Menandro*

A graffito [70] of an elongated, round shape with horizontal lines running over it was found on a panel on the north wall of a cubiculum (Langner 2001).

#### *I.10.8 Possible workshop (House of Minucius Fuscus)*

A room off the atrium has been identified as a possible workshop. On the south wall of this room were two children's graffiti. One is of a hunter or gladiator with a trident and triangular appendages (CIL IV 3,2 8382). The second graffito is of an abstract shape that may have been meant to be a bird (CIL IV 3,2 8385).

#### *I.10.11 Casa degli amanti*

On the south wall of the fauces was a children's graffito [79, 80] of three animals resembling birds, but two with four legs and one with five legs (CIL IV 3,2 8395).

#### *I.13.9 Exterior Wall*

The building around it was some sort of shop or bar. There was also a *hospitium* nearby at I.13.7.

On the outer wall of this property, on either side of the entranceway, were two instances of children's graffiti. To the left of the entrance was a graffito [81] of a gladiator with a quadruped; to the right of the entrance way was scratched a graffito [82] of several broken, concentric circles (Langner 2001).

#### *II.4.6 Bath Atrium Praedia Iulia Felix*

Eight instances of children's graffiti were found in the atrium to the bath complex of the Praedia Iulia Felix. All were located on the east wall near a window (Della Corte 1958: 124). Five of them were drawings of ships, two with a single sail and a rudder [128, 129], one with a double sail [133], and one with a mast and oars [131]. The fifth appeared to be the inverted body of a boat [137]. Among three other graffiti were a five-pointed star [134], a shape that resembled a basket with a handle [135], and a triangular shape [136].

### *II.7 Grand Palestra*

Excavated from 1935-1939, the so-called Grand Palestra was a large outdoor, enclosed area just to the west of the amphitheater. The construction, which used small tufa and limestone blocks with a facing of opus incertum, suggests it dates to the Julio-Claudian period (Maiuri 1939: 210). A portico ran along three sides of the rectangular area, which measured ca 130x140 meters. This is the larger of two such structures in the city (the other being the so-called Samnite palestra located near the theaters). At its center was a large swimming pool (Maiuri 1939). Presumably it was used as an exercise and training ground, but it lacked any arrangements, such as running tracks or javelin ranges. Similarly the pool in the center may not have been used for swimming (Richardson 1988: 211).

In addition to hosting daily activities, it may also have served special public services, particularly serving as a shelter for those whose homes were badly damaged and destroyed by the earthquake of 62CE (Richardson 1988: 215).

An inscription above the main entrance commemorates its dedication by the collegium Iuventum.

118 stuccoed columns were densely covered in graffiti, as was the wall running along the fourth side (Maiuri 1939: 177). While the palestra's purpose is uncertain, the graffiti has been used to discern at least general aspects of its use. The casual nature of the graffiti suggests this was a place where people loitered. It does not seem to have been a market as no way for wheeled traffic to enter (Richardson 1988: 214).

### *III.2.1 Casa d. Treb. Valens*

In the summer triclinium was a child's graffito [140] resembling a quadruped animal (Spano 1916: 234).

### *III.5.4 Apartment Building/Workshop*

Two instances of children's graffiti were found in the vestibule of this workshop or apartment. One appeared to be a quadruped with a mane and tail, angled downward [142] (Della Corte 1936: 308). Another child's graffito [143] next to it resembles an s-shaped animals with ears and possibly four legs (Langner 2001). On the outer wall of the workshop there was an additional two children's graffiti as well. One [144] was of a triangular shape with extraneous lines through it and around it; the other was a circle with radial lines projecting outwards (Langner 2001).

### *VI.2.b Exterior Wall*

On the outer wall of this property were two graffiti of ships, one with a stern and sail [152] and one with a square body and sail [153]. Both of these were located between the entrances designated b and c at the same height (Langner 2001).

### *VI.14.20 Casa di Orfeo*

On the rear wall of the peristyle was a graffito [162] of several curved lines, possibly meant to represent a human figure (Maulucci 1993: 177).

### *VI.16.7 Casa d. Amorini dorati*

The house, which was excavated between 1903 and 1905 (Nsc 1906: 374-93, 1907: 549-93, 1908: 1908: 36-43) had belonged to Cn. Poppaeus Habitus. The house had been ransacked after the earthquake of 62CE .

A child's graffito [165] of a gladiator with a sword, greaves and loin clothe, but lacking facial features was found of the north column of the aedica in the peristyle (Seiler 1992: 48).

#### *VI.16.28 Casa della Caccia di Tori (oecus), Apartment Building (room f)*

Graffiti of a bird and another animal or human [167] were found on the east wall of the so-called oecus, but it no longer survives (*Pitture e Mosaici V: 942*).

#### *VII.1.8 Stabian Baths*

Of the four bath complexes in Pompeii, the Stabian baths were the earliest to be built. They were probably constructed in the second century BCE and were later remodeled sometime after 80BCE (Gates 2003: 348). The plan of the baths is irregular. Since it has pairs of rooms identified as apodyteria, calidaria, and tepidaria one section has been designated as the women's section.

Two of the three children's graffiti found in the baths were in the so-called women's apodyterium, named for being both smaller and less ornate than its supposed male counterpart (Maiuri ). Both [169, 170] were images of birds and were found on the eastern wall between niches 3 and 4 (Eschebach 1979: 17). In the peristyle another graffito [173] was found of what appears to be a helmeted head (CIL IV 2089).

#### *VII.1.36 Casa della Panettiere*

Though no longer surviving, a graffito of a small sailing boat with an oar [177] was found in the cubiculum (*Pitture e Mosaici VI: 370*).

#### *VII.2.45 Exterior Wall of Casa dell'Orso*

An abstract graffito [182] was found on the outer wall of the Casa dell'Orso, to the right of the entrance. Langner was not sure whether it was a bird, gladiator helmet, or head (2000, no. 2523). The graffito no longer survives.

#### *VII.4.48 Casa della Caccia Antica (peristyle 13)*

Two graffiti were found in the house. A graffito of an animal [184] was found on the south wall of the courtyard (Langner 2000, no. 1816). Another animal graffito [336] was found in the corridor between the atrium and the courtyard.

#### *VII.6.34 Exterior Pillar*

A graffito of an animal [186], possibly a spider, was found on the outside of a single room, corner building in Regio VII, identified as a *lupanar*. The graffito was found on the central pillar between the entrances to No. 34 and 35, now in Naples Museum, inv. 27683 (Langner 2000 no. 975).

#### *VII.7.2 Casa di Tritolemo (peristyle 1)*

Originally excavated in the late 1920's, the Casa di Tritolemo, which adjoins the Temple of Apollo, also underwent a second exploration from 1933-34 (see *NSc.* 1973 (1942), pp. 125-33). A graffito of a deer [189] was found in the peristyle, on a column near the passage to the second peristyle (Langner 2000, no. 172).

#### *VII.9.69 Ramp*

Three graffiti of ships were [192, 193, 194] were found along the wall of a ramp leading to the Forum of Pompeii (Langner 2000, no. 2206).

#### *VIII.2.17 Ramp 1*

Graffiti of four human figures [200abcd] were found along a ramp off of the Via delle Scuole, leading down to the Palaestra Baths. Fagan notes that the Palaestra baths, with its small palaestra, a balcony overlooking the scenic valley to the south, and its relatively small rooms seemed more suited for an idle bather than an athlete (Fagan 2002: 66).

#### *VIII.5.19 Exterior Pillar*

An abstract graffito [201], which includes what may be trees and a deer, was found on the outer wall on a corner along the Via dell'Abbondanza (NSc. 1929, pg. 472).

#### *VIII.7.20 Theater Corridor*

A large amount of children's graffiti [207, 208, 211, 214-217, 220, 222, 224, 225, 227, 228, 230, 235, 238, 243, 244, 246, 247, 249-253, 257, 258, 260, 263-266, 271, 277, 282, 283, 284a, 284b, 286, 287] was found in a corridor south of the small theatre leading to the so-called Samnite Palestra. The passageway has a low seat lying along the north wall. Both the north and south walls of the passageway are covered in graffiti, mostly figural. This particular area/feature of Pompeii has not been well explored.

#### *IX.5.18 Cubiculum H*

Three graffiti [288, 289, 290] were found in cubiculum in a building that may have been a hospitium or guesthouse of some type (De Felice 2001: 132).

#### *IX.9.13 Hospitium? (yard)*

A graffito of a man in a toga was found on the wall in the inner courtyard of a building that may have been a so-called *hospitium* (Sogliano 1981: 260).

#### *IX.11.2 Thermopolio dell'Aselline*

Excavations of this building, which opens out onto one of Pompeii main streets the Via dell'Abbondanza, were carried out from 1911-1912. It was Eschebach who christened this address as the "Thermopolium der Asellina mit Lupanar" based on political notices outside the entrance (Eschebach 1970: 151). The notices named several women, with Asellina perhaps being the hostess or owner. Della Corte suggests that the presence of a lupanar based on a phallic lamp, a drawing that appears to be a Mercury figure with a phallus, and the "custom" that not only food and drink were served at such establishments (Della Corte 1927: 23). There is little evidence however that there is a lupanar there (DeFelice 2001: 304). Excavators did discover four dolia and a stove. In the northwest corner there as also a staircase leading to upper rooms.

#### *IX.14.2.4 Casa d. Ob. Firmo (oecus 14)*

Unknown

### **Herculaneum**

#### *Insula IV, n.21 (Casa dei Cervi)*

This is one of the grandest houses found thus far in the seaside town of Herculaneum. First discovered by the Borbons in 1748, it was later excavated by Maiuri in the early 1930's, after which he carried out major restoration of the house (Tinh 1993: 258). It lies at the southern end of the Cardo V, in the southeast area of the site. It had a panoramic terrace that would have overlooked the marina and gulf. In the vicinity along the decumanus and Cardo V are more humble dwellings and shops.

It broke with the 'traditional' atrium-tablinum-peristyle plan prescribed by Vitruvius in his *De Architectura* (VI 7, 10), which characterized many of the older, more upper class houses in Pompeii and Herculaneum. In place of this was a new type of architectural plan, which is more closely attuned with the concept of the villa suburbana-maritima than with any modified version of the atrium house (Tinh 1993: 258). In place of a peristyle is a large cryptoporticus surrounding a large garden with a number of large decorated rooms, variously identified as oeci, viridaria, and a grand triclinium by Maiuri. There is also a long solarium along the southern edge, which overlooked the sea. The structure and decoration date to the Claudian-Neronian period (41-79CE) (Maiuri 191954: 61). At some point there were modifications to the structure in the addition of upper stories above the atrium and seafront oeci, which may have been servant's quarters (Maiuri 1954: 61) or more likely the result of the division of the house into separate apartments (Parslow 1991: 357).

The house was so named the Casa dei Cervi for the free-standing sculptures depicting "Deer attacked by hounds", which were found in its gardens. Interestingly much of the graffiti found in this house also depicts stags in hunting scenes; though the graffiti are far from the gardens in one of the small rooms in the northeastern area of the house.

Graffiti by children were found in a cubiculum on the landing above the room Maiuri labels the atrium. It comprises various images of stags, humans/hunters, hounds, and an animal that was possibly meant to be either a hound or a turtle. They were recorded as being on the rear wall at approximately 0.45 meters high (Maiuri 1958: 306). There is additional figural graffiti of column bases on the same wall, but around 0.70 meters high (Della Corte 1958: 254). At the time of this study the room is inaccessible due to deteriorating conditions; thus it is unknown if the graffiti survives in situ.

### *V.9-10 Casa del Gran Portale (ala B)*

This house off of the Decumanus Inferiore, was named for its entranceway that was flanked with columns, half of brick, which were stuccoed and painted red and capped with Corinthian capitals decorated with winged Victories. Despite the grand entrance, the interior of the house is relatively small. The plan of the house is quite unusual, with a small, raised courtyard next to the entrance, providing the house with light and air. There was a cistern in the center for collecting rainwater (Maiuri 1957: 52). There is a wide inner hall, off of which the several rooms lie.

## **Stabia**

*Villa San Marco (passage 25a, palestra 48, porticus 20, corridor 49, hallway 32a, kitchen 26, frigidarium 25, unknown)*

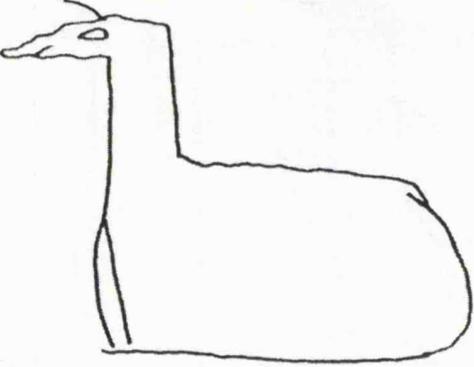
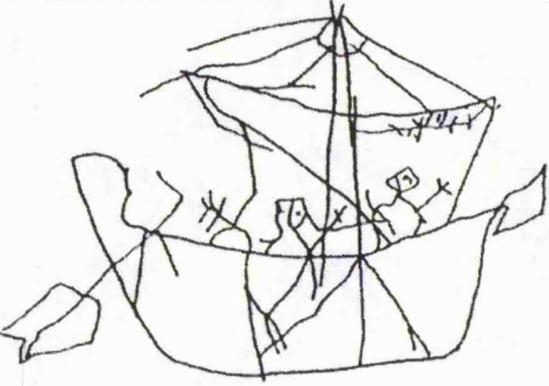
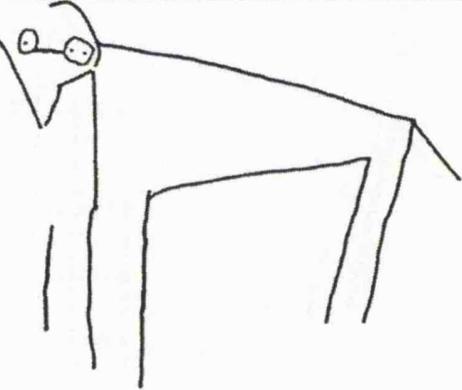
The first excavations of the Villa San Marco, a large villa at Stabiae (approximately 6000m<sup>2</sup>), were begun in the 1750 under the Alcubieere and Weber (Sodo and Bonifacio 2007: 31). Lying on the north eastern part of the Varano hill, this villa was the first villa in the area to undergo exploration. It was named after a nearby chapel, erected in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The surviving structure was built some time during the late republic, with a number of successive building phases to enlarge and restructure the villa continuing up to the eruption (Sodo 2007: 39).

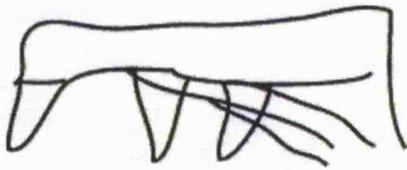
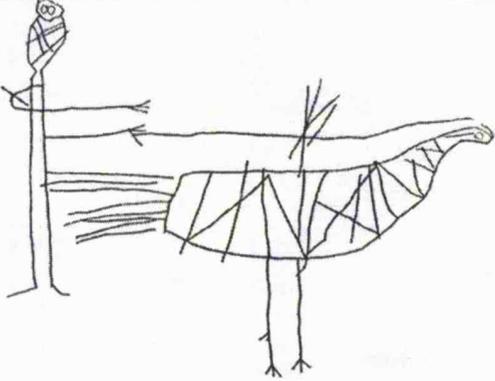
*Villa Arianna (courtyard, courtyard near the baths, cubiculum 5)*

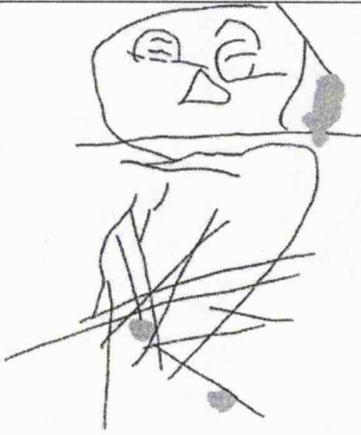
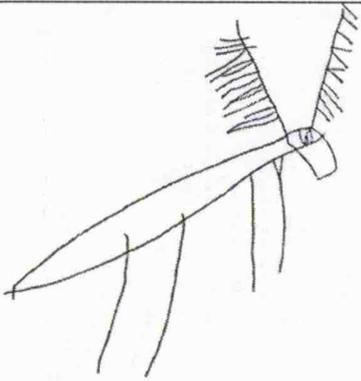
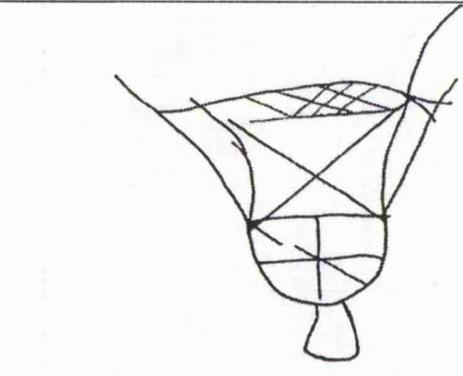
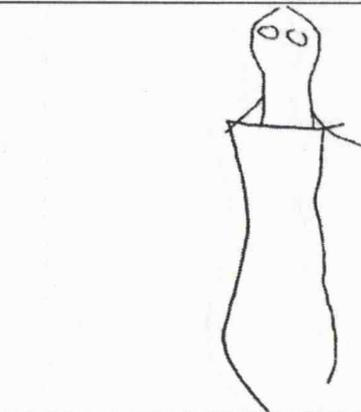
At 13000m<sup>2</sup>, the Villa Arianna dwarfs even the Villa San Marco. It's name is taken from a wall painting of a mythological scene from one of the triclinia. It first underwent excavation from 1757-1762 and again from 1777 until 1778, after which it was reburied. The purpose of the early excavations was to recover wall and mosaic decoration. It lay

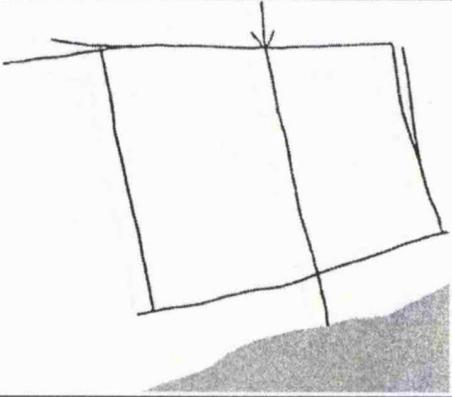
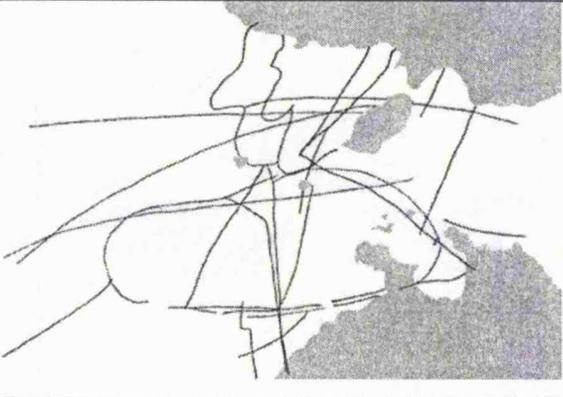
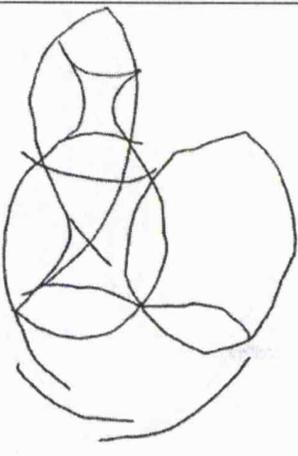
mostly untouched until the 1950's when d'Orsi resumed excavations there (Bonifacio 2007: 45).

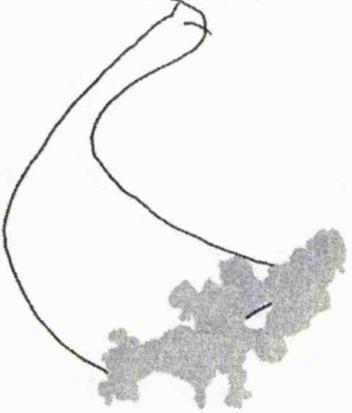
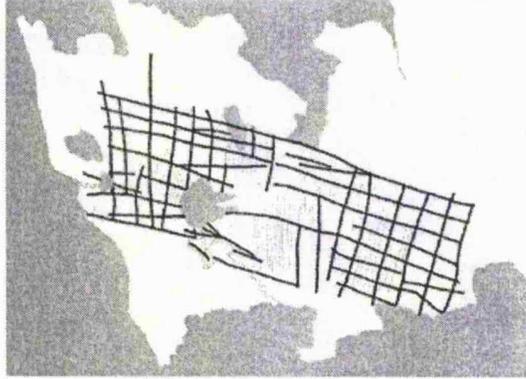
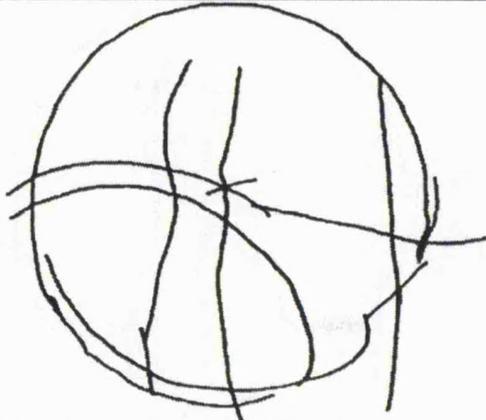
## Appendix 2: Children's Graffiti

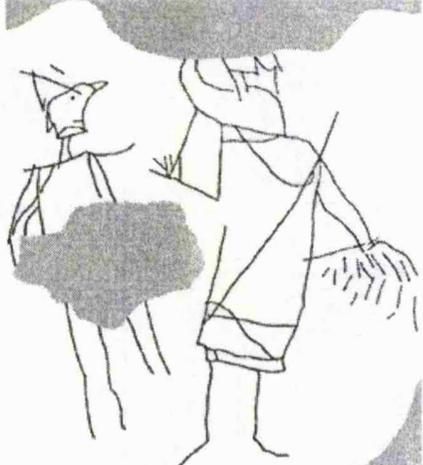
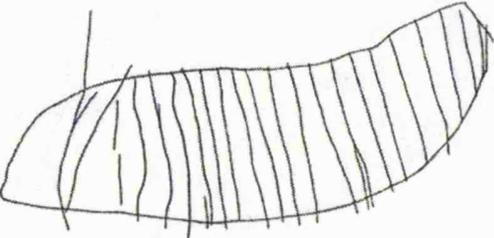
<p><b>ID No. 6</b>          Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Oecus, South Wall          References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 83; Langner 2000, no. 1724          Image: Langner 2000          Reasons for ID: Figure from diagram-odd shape</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 7</b>          Location: : I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Oecus, North Wall          References: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,1 (1952) 8010; Maulucci 1993, 76; Maiuri 1950, fig. 141; Langner 2000, no. 2083.          Image: Langner 2000          Reasons for ID: Diagrams-crosses and triangles, repetition of units</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 16</b>          Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Oecus          References: Langner 2000, no. 1606; Maulucci 1993, pg. 81          Image: Langner 2000          Reasons for ID: Repetition of units (upper and lower parts of body. Face aggregate, eyes connected by line showing an understanding that vision is experienced as singular though there are two eyes. Body and additional leg may be evidence of experimentation with perspective.</p>	

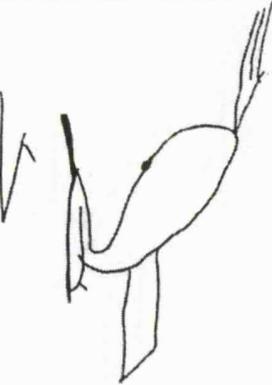
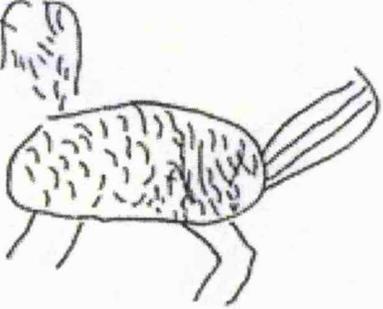
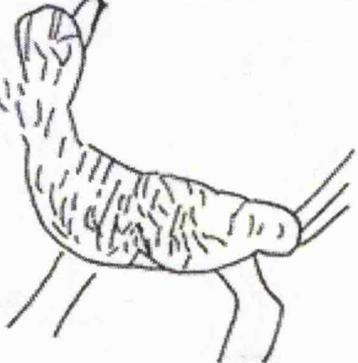
<p><b>ID No. 17</b>  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Oecus  References: Langner 2000, no. 1605; Maulucci 1993, pg. 79  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagram-odd shape and circle. Crossing lines, centralized markings</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 18</b>  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Oecus  References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 82; Langner 2000, no. 1507  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates-squares, crosses and odd shapes</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 19</b>  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Oecus, South Wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1116; CIL IV Suppl. 3,1 (1952) 8010; Maulucci 1993, pp. 88-108  Image: K. Huntley  Reasons for ID: Surrounded by other graffiti portraying quadrupeds. Perhaps this is a young child's rendering of an animal?</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 20</b>  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico), Vestibule (ante-room for the Oecus)  References: Langner 2000, no. 1091; <i>Pitture e Mosaici I</i> 243, fig. 87. 88; Maulucci 1993, pg. 87  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Boundaries maintained, arm extended to reach for something, repetition of units, aggregates-crossing lines, odd shapes. Tadpole figure. Imaginative elements.</p>	

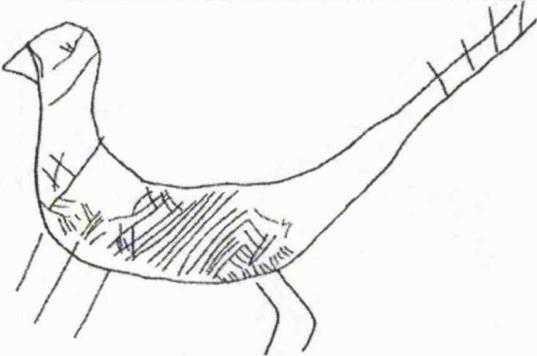
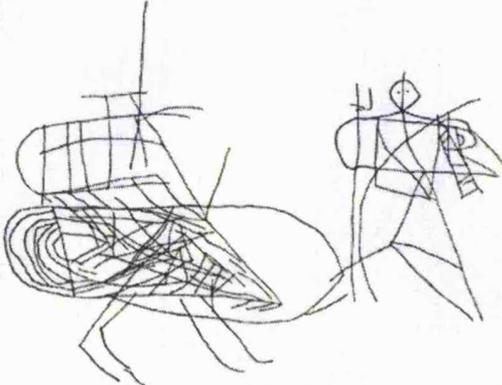
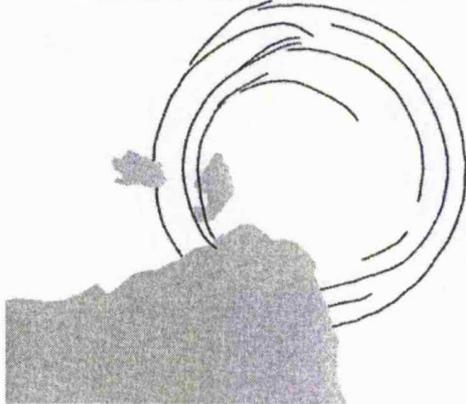
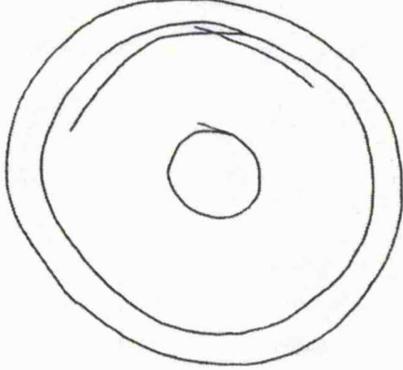
<p>ID No. 21  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico),  Fauces, in situ  References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 78;  Langner 2000, no. 1733  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure aggregate-odd  shape, triangle, circles, crossing lines.  Facing forward, emphasis on head.</p>	
<p>ID No. 22  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico)  References: Langner 2000, no. 1506,  Maulucci 1993, pg. 109  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Animal aggregate from  odd shape and crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID No. 23  Location: I.6.2 (Casa del Criptoportico),  Winter Triclinium, in situ  References: Langner 2000, no. 2416  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Object from diagrams</p>	
<p>ID No. 41  Location: I.6.15 (Casa dei Ceii), outer  wall, to the right of the entranceway  References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 117;  Langner 2000, no. 659  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure aggregate-odd  shapes, circles.</p>	

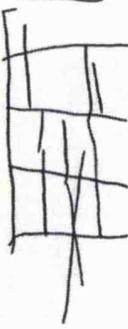
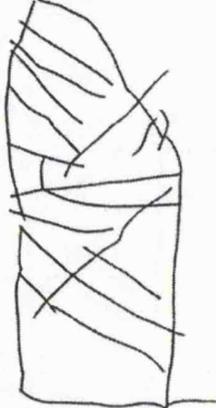
<p>ID No. 42  Location: I.6.15 (Casa dei Cei), outer wall, to the right of the entranceway  References: Langner 2000, no. 661; Maulucci 1993, pg. 117  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure (?) from odd shape, emphasis on head, imaginative elements, misplaced features</p>	
<p>ID No. 43  Location: I.6.15 (Casa dei Cei), outer wall, to the right of the entranceway  References: Langner 2000, no. 2252  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Diagram with squares. Part of composition possibly destroyed?</p>	
<p>ID No. 45  Location: I.6.15 (Casa dei Cei), outer wall, to the left of the entranceway  References: Langner 2000, no. 473; Maulucci 1993, pg. 113  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-odd shape, implied square shape</p>	
<p>ID No. 46  Location: I.6.15 (Casa dei Cei), outer wall, to the left of the entranceway  References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 112; Langner 2000, no. 131  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Circle aggregates, odd shapes</p>	

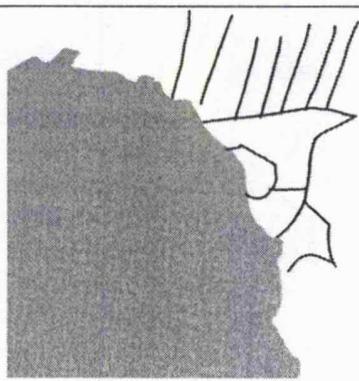
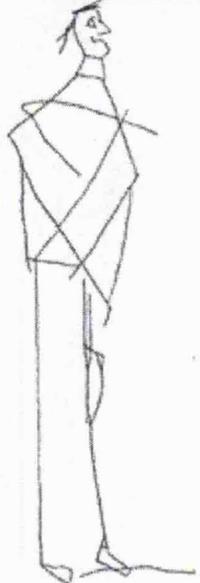
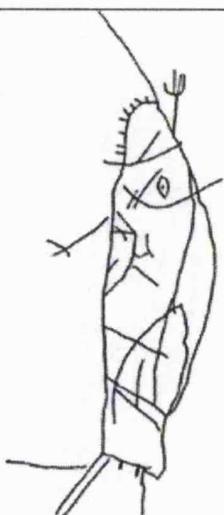
<p>ID No. 54  Location: 1.7.7 (Casa di. Sac. Amandus), garden, in situ  References: Langner 2000, no. 1725  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Diagram-odd shape</p>	
<p>ID No. 58  Location: 1.7.7 (Casa di. Sac. Amandus), outer wall, to the left of the entranceway  References: Langner 2000, no. 1720  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figured aggregate-crosses, odd shapes</p>	
<p>ID No. 59  Location: I.7.19 (Casa dell'Efebo), garden peristyle, north portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 854; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,1 (1952) 8183  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID No. 63  Location: I.18.11 Casa dei quattro stili, Ala, north wall  References: Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1946, pg. 117 no. 291; Langner 2000, no. 66; <i>Pitture e Mosaici I</i>, pg. 875, fig. 48  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Circle and cross aggregates</p>	

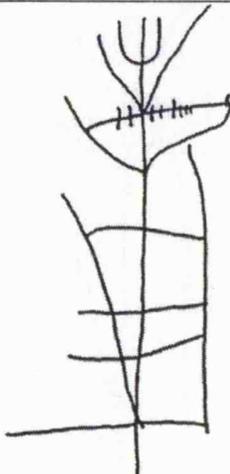
<p><b>ID No. 66</b>  Location: I.10.3 (dwelling with caupona), entranceway, to the right  References: Langner 2000, no. 809; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1929, pg. 459 No. 162; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,1 (1952) 8268  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Diagrams, squares, crosses, circles, odd shape</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 67</b>  Location: I.10.3 (dwelling with caupona), entranceway, to the right  References: Langner 2000, no. 1159; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,1 (1952) 8266  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figures</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 70</b>  Location: 1.10.4 (Casa del Menandro), cubiculum, north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2232  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-ladder crossed squares</p>	

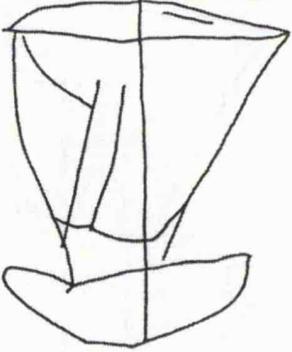
<p>ID No. 73  Location: I.10.8 (House of Minucius Fuscus), room east of atrium  References: Langner 2000, no. 820; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8382; <i>Pitture e Mosaici</i> II, pg. 426 fig. 8  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure formed from diagrams-triangle, square, odd shape. Transparency.</p>	
<p>ID No. 75  Location: I.10.8 (House of Minuvius Fuscus), room east of atrium  References: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8385; Langner 2000 (1704)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagrams-square and odd shape. Forming a figure?</p>	
<p>ID No. 79a  Location: I.10.11 (Casa degli amanti), fauces, south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1829; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8395; <i>Pitture e Mosaici</i> II, pg. 437, fig. 6  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Extra legs to emphasize non-humanness? Patterning in composition with 79b?</p>	
<p>ID No. 79b  Location: I.10.11 (Casa degli amanti), fauces, south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1829; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8395; <i>Pitture e Mosaici</i> II, pg. 437, fig. 6  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Extra legs to emphasize non-humanness? Patterning in composition with 79a?</p>	

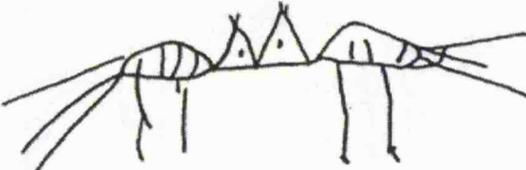
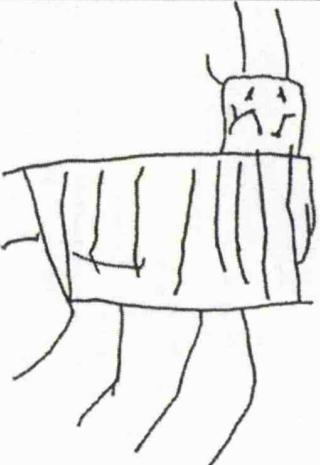
<p><b>ID No. 80</b>  Location: I.10.11 (Casa degli amanti),  fauces, south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1828;  <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8395; <i>Pitture e</i>  <i>Mosaici</i> II, pg. 437, fig. 6  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Imaginative elements,  extra leg to indicate 'non-humaness'?</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 81</b>  Location: I.13.9, outer wall, in situ  References: Langner 2000, no. 1076  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Pattern with regard to  unit used for body of animal and  human. Ladder cross squares and  aggregates from crossing lines.</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 82</b>  Location: I.13.9, outer wall, to the  right of the entrance  References: Langner 2000, no. 42  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Circle aggregates</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 84</b>  Location: II.7 (Grand Palestra), west  portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 43  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Circle aggregates</p>	

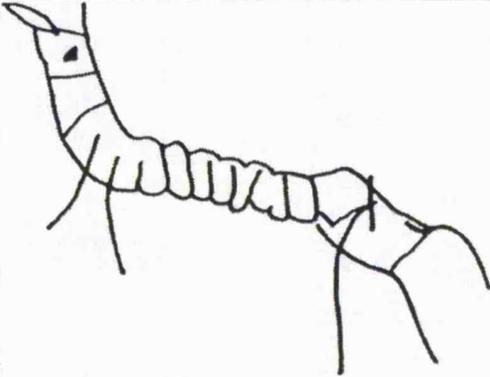
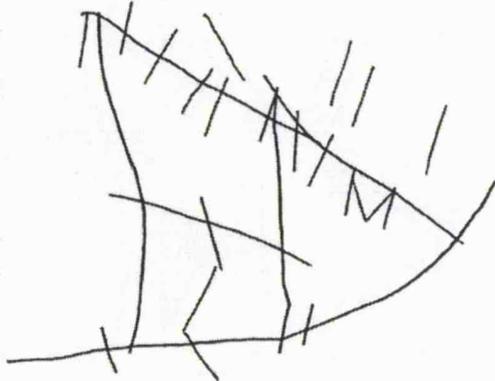
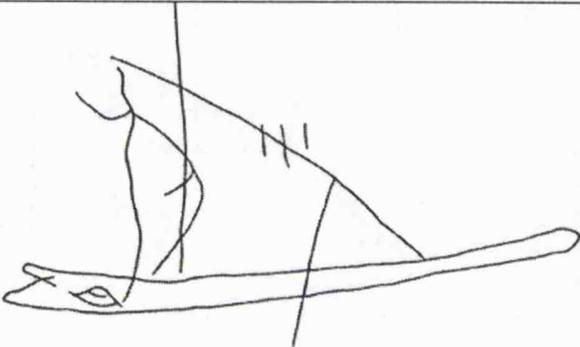
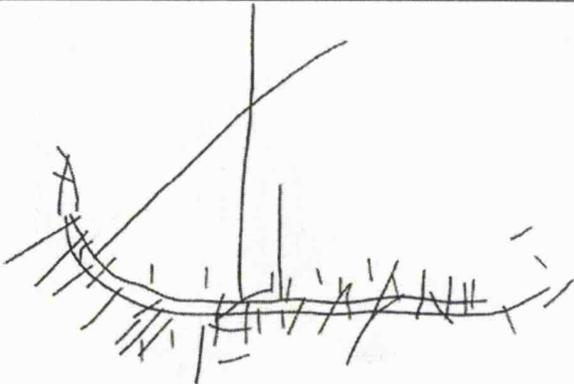
<p>ID No. 87  Location: II.7 (Grand Palestra), west portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 1732); <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8635  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID:</p>	
<p>ID No. 94  Location: II.7 (Grand Palestra), north portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 2520  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-ladder cross-squares</p>	
<p>ID No. 97  Location: II.7 (Grand Palestra), north portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 960; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8741  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram from square, crosses and odd shape.</p>	

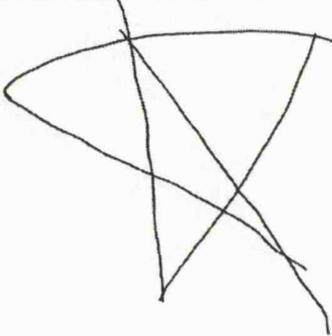
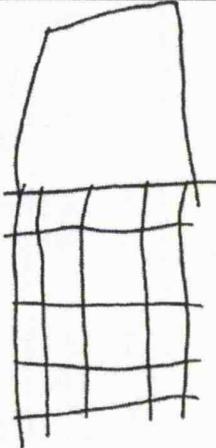
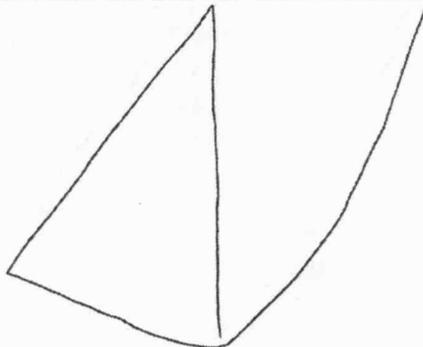
<p>ID No. 98  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), north portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 972; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1963) 8792  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate-circle, odd shape, ladder lines</p>	
<p>ID No. 109  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Maulucci 1993, 66; Langner 2000, no. 709; Della Corte <i>NSc</i> 1939,pg. 260 no. 122; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8611  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure, transparency (arm), emphasis on body and legs (child's perspective?)</p>	
<p>ID No. 109b  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Maulucci 1993, 66; Langner 2000 no. 710; Della Corte <i>NSc</i> 1939,pg. 260 no. 122; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8611  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Imaginative elements, possibly vertical orientation, from odd-shape diagram</p>	

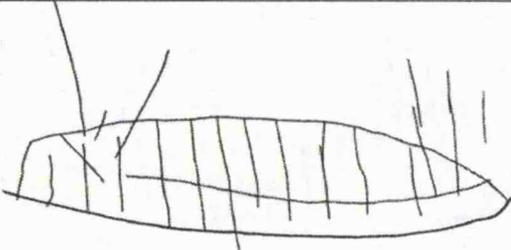
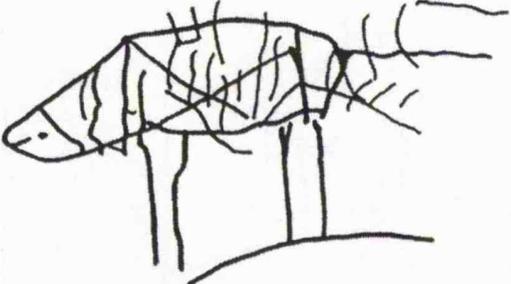
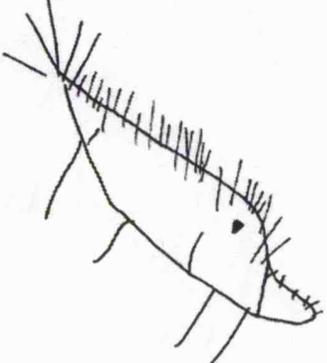
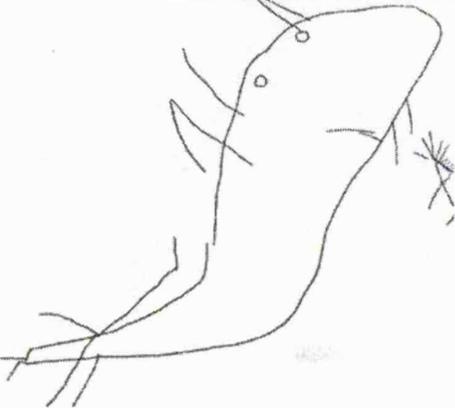
<p>ID No. 110  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Maulucci 1993; 66;  Langner 2000 no. 711; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8608  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure's head turned to the side, but maintains a second eye, transparency (arm)</p>	
<p>ID No. 112  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 735  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Human figure, crossing lines,</p>	
<p>ID No. 113  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Langner 2000 no. 951  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-crossing lines to produce squares and triangles</p>	

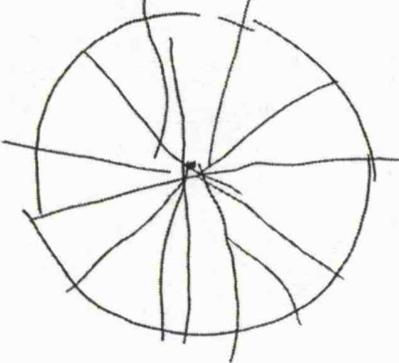
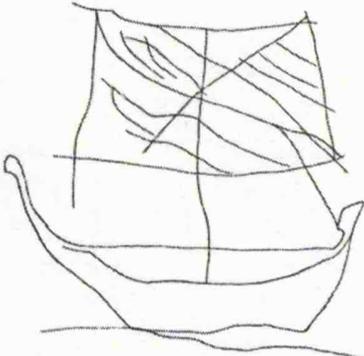
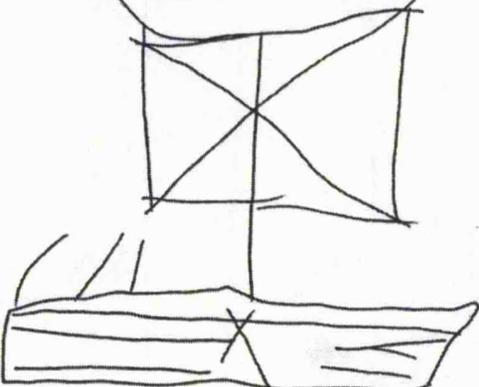
<p>ID No. 119  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8544; Langner 2000, no. 1492  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Animal figure, aggregate?</p>	
<p>ID No. 120  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8597; Langner 2000 (1697; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1939,pg. 258 no. 107  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Animal figure, imaginative elements</p>	
<p>ID No. 122  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 1995; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8544  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Boat aggregate-cross, odd shapes</p>	

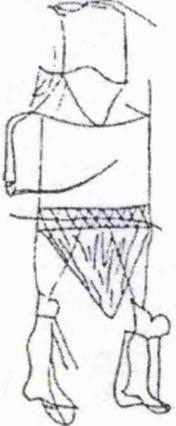
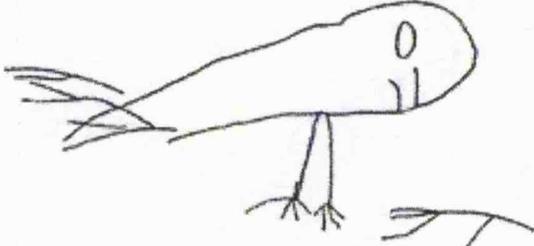
<p>ID No. 123a  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8599; Langner 2000, no. 1680  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates</p>	
<p>ID No. 123b  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8599; Langner 2000, no. 1682  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figures</p>	
<p>ID No. 124  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 1472; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8608  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure, repetition of units</p>	

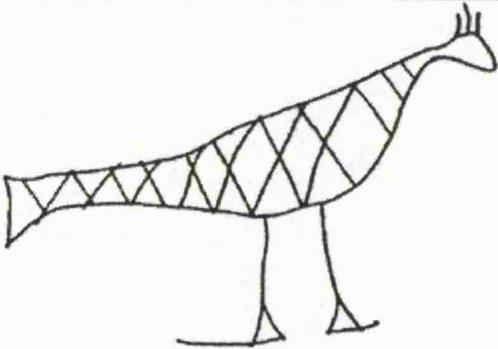
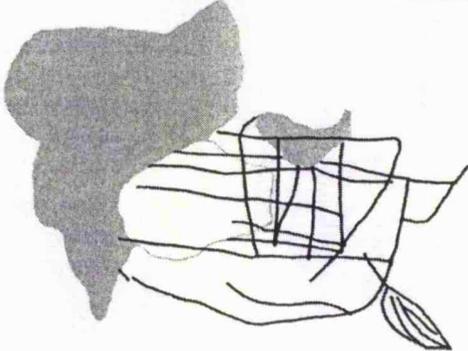
<p>ID No. 126  Location: Il.7 (Grand Palestra), south portico  References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 60; Langner 2000, no. 1820; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1939,pg. 242 no. 9 fig. 1  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure, imaginative elements</p>	
<p>ID No. 128  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 1971; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram from crossing lines, triangles</p>	
<p>ID No. 129  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 1972; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-from triangle, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID No. 131  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 1904; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure, crossing lines</p>	

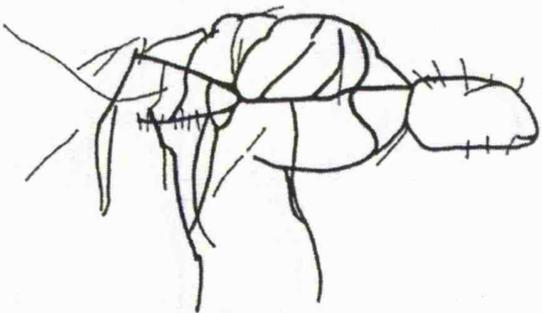
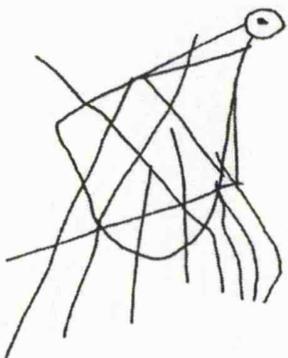
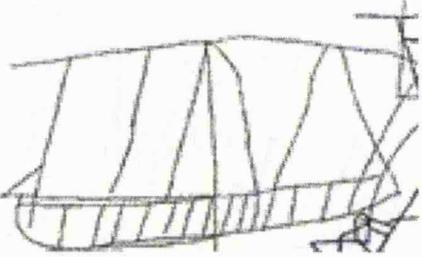
<p>ID No. 133  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000; no. 1926; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-ladder crossed squares, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID No. 134  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 162; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram, crossing lines, triangle</p>	
<p>ID No. 135  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 959; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID No. 136  Location: Il.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 1961; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-triangles/crossing lines</p>	

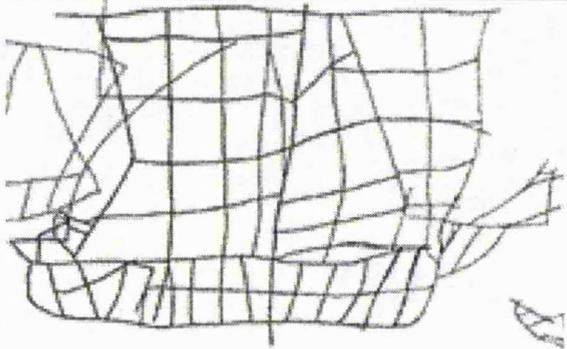
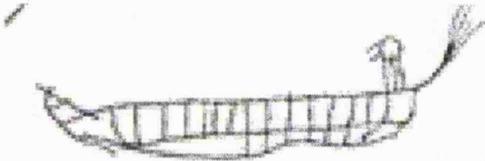
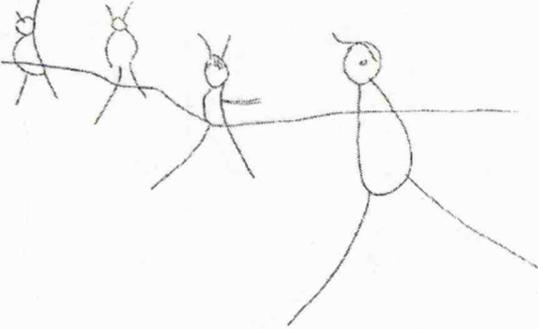
<p>ID No. 127  Location: II.4.6 (Praedia di Giulia Felice/Baths), courtyard  References: Langner 2000, no. 1994; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1958,pg. 124 no. 234  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Ladder-crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID No. 140  Location: III.2.1 (Casa di Trebius Valens), summer triclinium, in situ  References: Spano, <i>NSc</i> 1916, pg. 234; Langner 2000, no. 1584; CIL IV Suppl. 3,2 (1955) 8830  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure, squares, crossing lines, centralized markings, ground line</p>	
<p>ID No. 142  Location: III.5.4 (workshop), vestibule  References: Langner 2000, no. 1580; Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1936, pg. 308 no. 54f  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure, perpendicular axes, misplacement of limb, imaginative elements</p>	
<p>ID No. 143  Location: III.5.4 (workshop), vestibule  References: Langner 2000, no. 1604  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-odd shape, crossing lines, triangles, orientation</p>	

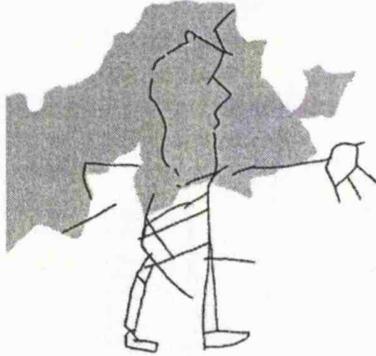
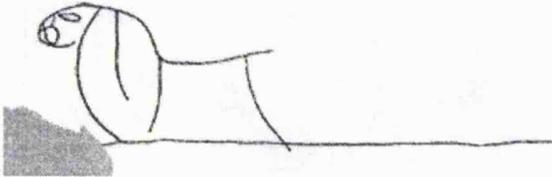
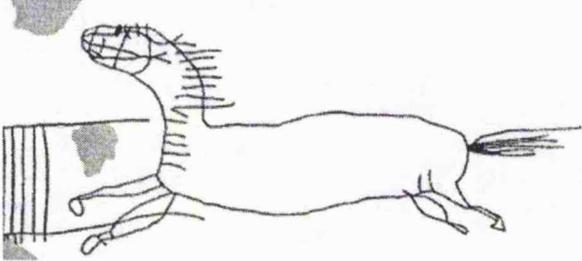
<p><b>ID No. 144</b>  Location: III.5.4 (workshop), outer wall, to the right of the entrance  References: Langner 2000, no. 2521  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagrams-triangles, crossing lines</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 145</b>  Location: III.5.4 (workshop), outer wall, to the right of the entrance  References: Langner 2000, no. 57  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Circle and cross aggregate</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 152</b>  Location: VI.2b, outer wall, to the right of the entrance  References: Langner 2000, no. 2017  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates-crossing lines and triangles</p>	
<p><b>ID No. 153</b>  Location: VI.2b, outer wall, to the left of the entrance  References: Langner 2000, no. 2018  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates-crossing lines and triangles</p>	

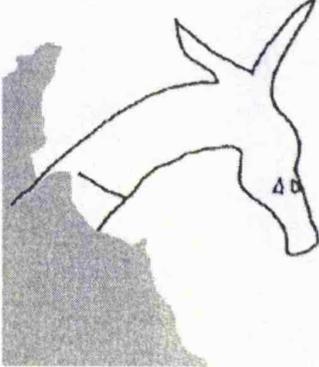
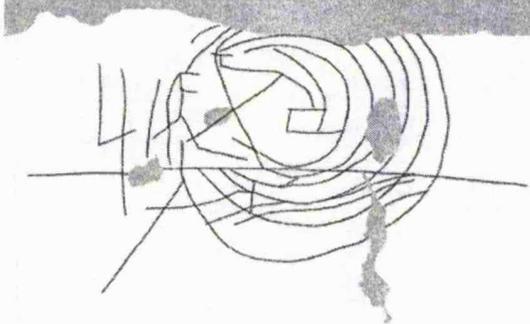
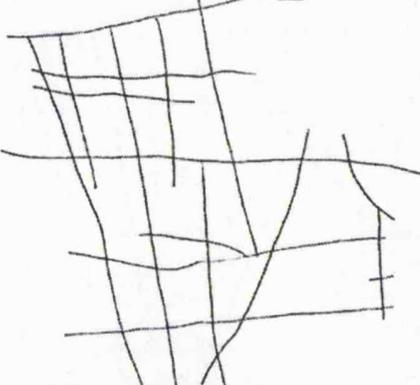
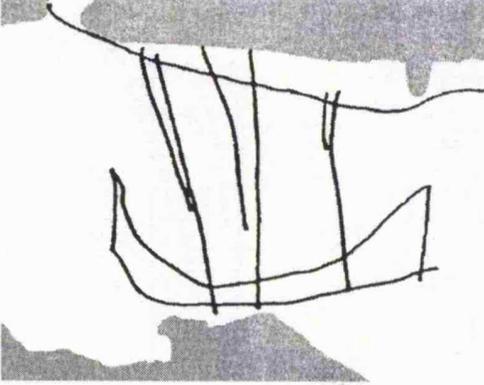
<p>ID No. 162  Location: VI.14.20 (Casa di Orfeo),  peristyle, rear wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 733;  Maulucci 1993, pg. 177  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram  with scribbling-circle, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID No. 165  Location: VI.16.7 (Casa degli amorini  Dorati), peristyle, west portico  References: Langner 2000, no. 773;  Seiler 1992,pg. 48 f. fig. 44  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Transparency</p>	
<p>ID no. 167  Location: VI.16.28 (Casa della Caccia di  Tori), oecus, east wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1284;  <i>Pitture e Mosaici V</i>, pg. 942 fig. 22  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure from  odd shape, crossing lines.</p>	
<p>ID no. 169  Location: VII.1.8 (Stabian Baths),  Women's Apodyterium  References: <i>CIL</i> IV (1871) 2115;  Eschebach 1979, pg. 17, Tab. 16b;  Langner 2000, no. 1683  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Patterning of  composition with 179?</p>	

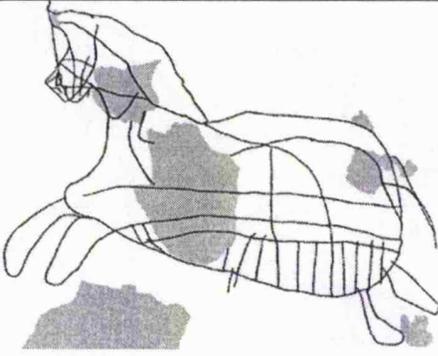
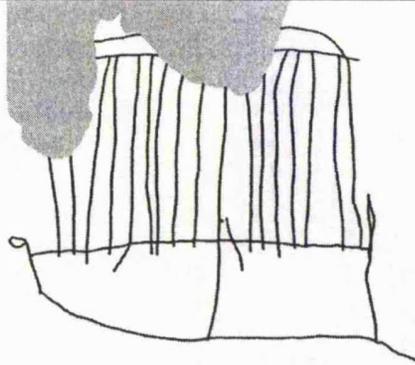
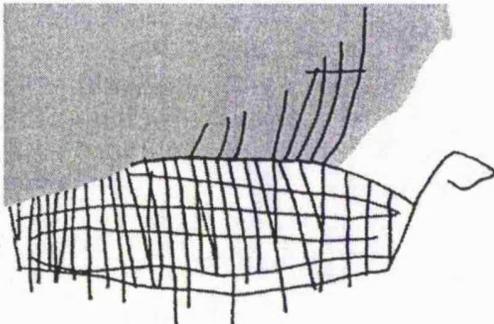
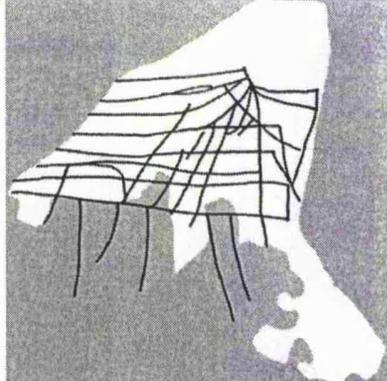
<p>ID no. 170  Location: VII.1.8 (Stabian Baths),  Women's Apodyterium  References: <i>CIL</i> IV (1871) 2115;  Eschebach 1979, pg. 17, Tab. 16b;  Langner 2000, no. 1684  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-  crossing lines, triangles. Patterning of  triangles in composition</p>	
<p>ID no. 173  Location: VII.1.8 (Stabian Baths),  peristyle  References: Langner 2000, no. 974  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate, imaginative  elements, joining of eyes to indicate  single vision</p>	
<p>ID no. 179  Location: VII.1.8 (Casa del Panettiere  (Large Bakery), cubiculum  References: Langner 2000, no. 1996;  <i>Pittura e Mosaici</i> VI (1996), pg. 370 fig.  12  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  ladder-cross squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 182  Location: VII.2.45 (Casa dell'Orso),  outer wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2523  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Odd shapes and  crossing lines, imaginative elements</p>	

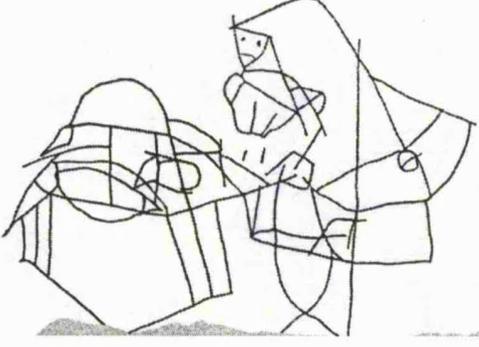
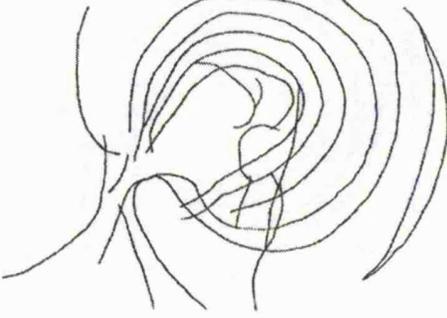
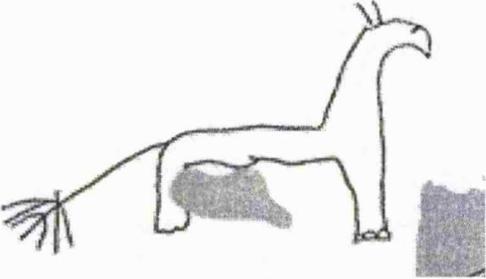
<p>ID no. 184  Location: VII.4.48 (Casa della Caccia),  courtyard, south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1816  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure,  repetition of crossing lines theme,  simple axes</p>	
<p>ID no. 186  Location: VII.6.34 (Lupanar)  References: Langner 2000, no. 975  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-  crossing lines and triangle forms.</p>	
<p>ID no. 189  Location: VII.7.5 (Casa di Trittolema),  peristyle  References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 172;  Langner 2000, no. 1508  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-  circles, crossing lines, odd shape.  Imaginative elements, oddly placed  features (neck and shoulder) perhaps  trying to show perspective</p>	
<p>ID no. 192  Location: VII.9.69, ramp  References: Langner 2000, no. 2206;  <i>Pittura e Mosaici</i> 1997, pg. 322 fig. 16;  <i>CIL IV Suppl.</i> 3,2 (1955) 9077  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  ladder crossed squares</p>	

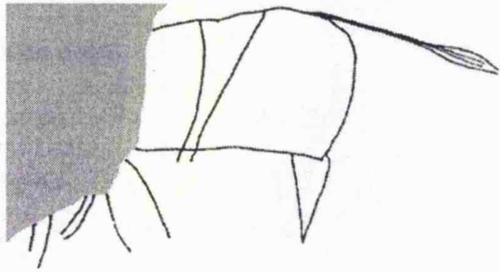
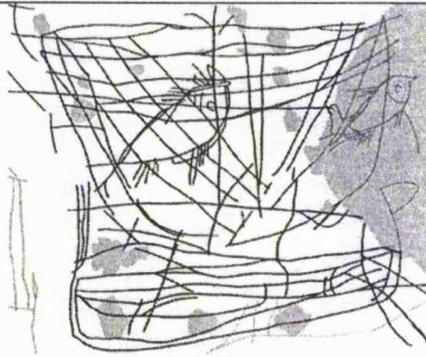
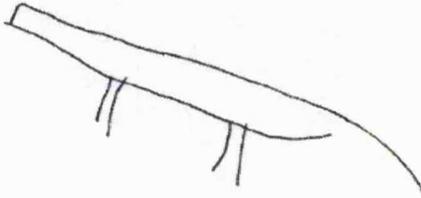
<p>ID no. 193  Location: VII.9.69, ramp  References: Langner 2000, no. 2206;  <i>Pittura e Mosaici</i> 1997, pg. 322 fig. 16;  <i>CIL IV Suppl.</i> 3,2 (1955) 9077  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 194  Location: VII.9.69, ramp  References: Langner 2000, no. 2206;  <i>Pittura e Mosaici</i> 1997, pg. 322 fig. 16;  <i>CIL IV Suppl.</i> 3,2 (1955) 9077  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 200abcd  Location: VIII.2.17, ramp  References: Langner 2000, nos. 728,  729, 730, 731  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Repetition of a theme,  differences expressed through size  variation, figure on left extends his  arm to contact the other three figures</p>	
<p>ID no. 201  Location: VIII.5.19, outer wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1355;  Della Corte, <i>NSc</i> 1929, pg. 472 no. 244  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Diagram themse of  crossing lines and ladder crossed  squares, Imaginative elements</p>	

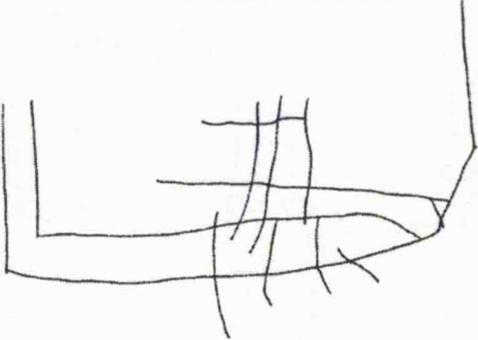
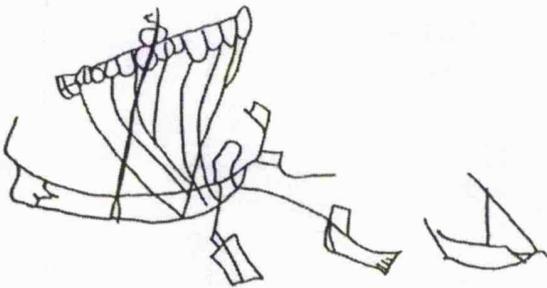
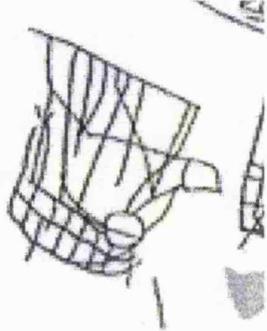
<p>ID no. 202  Location: VIII.7.20 (Large Theater),  entrance, to the left  References: Langner 2000, no. 938  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-odd  shapes, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 207  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1414,  Maulucci 1993, pg. 138  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  circles</p>	
<p>ID no. 208  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1415;  Maulucci 1993, pg. 138  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure,  ladder-crossed squares as ground line,  orientation with ground</p>	
<p>ID no. 211  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1417  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure,  emphasis on head</p>	

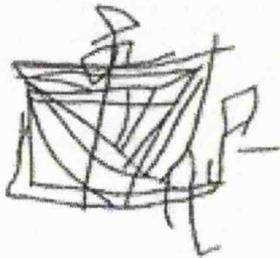
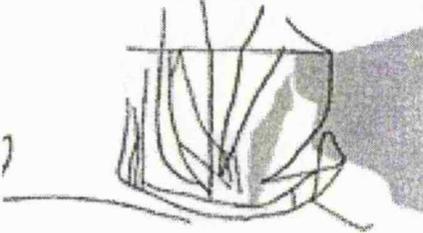
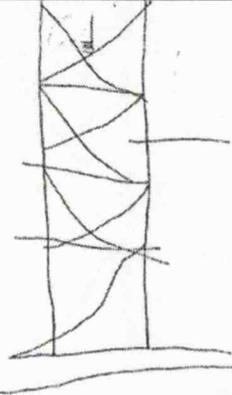
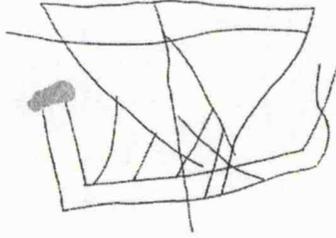
<p>ID no. 214  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1418;  Maulucci 1993, pg. 136  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID:</p>	
<p>ID no. 215  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 153  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Circle, Greek cross and  cross aggregate, centralized  composition</p>	
<p>ID no. 216  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1998  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-  squares from crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 217  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor),  south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1917  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  ladder crossed squares</p>	

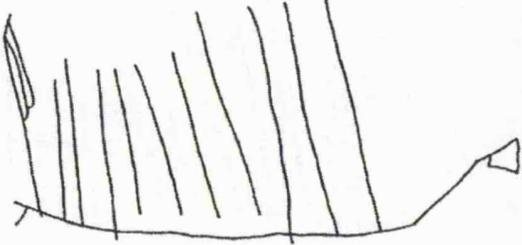
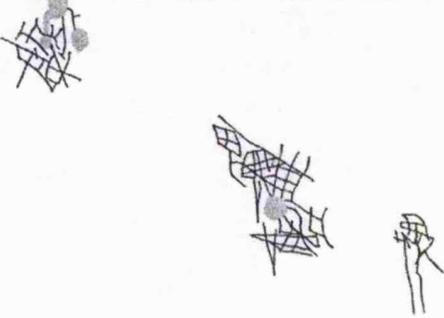
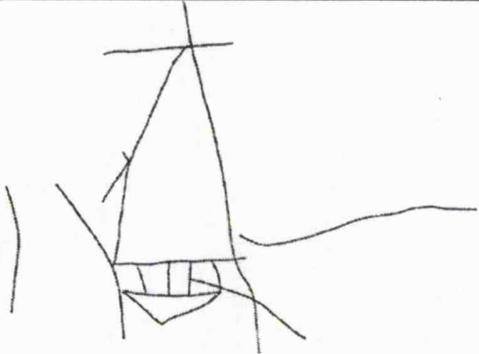
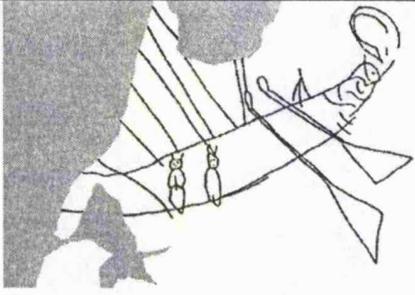
<p>ID no. 220  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1404; Maulucci 1993, pg. 137  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-odd shapes, ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 222  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1999; Maulucci 1993, pg. 124  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 224  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1997; Maulucci 1993, pg. 130  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 225  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2254  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	

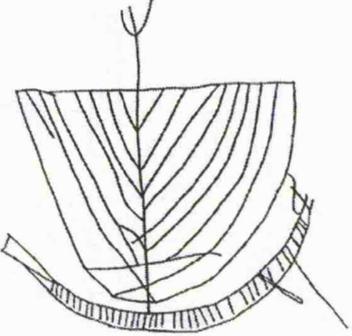
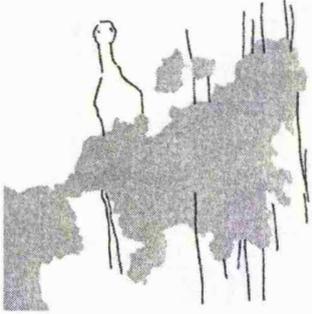
<p>ID no. 227  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2236  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-squares from crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 228  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1077  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figures, imaginative elements</p>	
<p>ID no. 230  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 152  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate-circles and odd shapes, centralized composition</p>	
<p>ID no. 235  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1263; Maulucci 1993, pg. 150  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-odd shape, crossing lines</p>	

<p>ID no. 238  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1406; Maulucci 1993, pg. 124  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate figure-square, crossing lines, triangles</p>	
<p>ID no. 239  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2052  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 243  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall, in situ  References: Langner 2000, no. 1602  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Diagram figure-square</p>	
<p>ID no. 244  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1603  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-crossing lines, odd shapes or squares</p>	

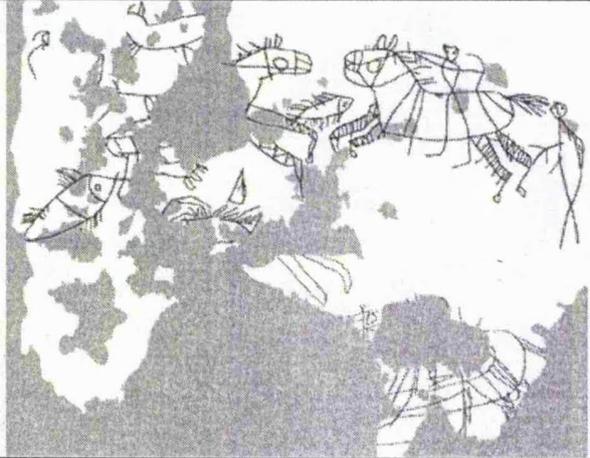
<p>ID no. 246  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1887; Maulucci 1993, pg. 123  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-squares from crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 247  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2084; Maulucci 1993, pg. 123  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate image, Imaginative elements</p>	
<p>ID no. 249  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2212; Maulucci 1993, pg. 123  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 250  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2212; Maulucci 1993, pg. 123  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	

<p>ID no. 251  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2212; Maulucci 1993, pg. 123  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-crossing lines forming triangles. Pattern with 252?</p>	
<p>ID no. 252  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2212; Maulucci 1993, pg. 123  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID:</p>	
<p>ID no. 253  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2291  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emerging diagrams-squares and triangles from crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 257  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1937  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-crossing lines producing triangle theme</p>	

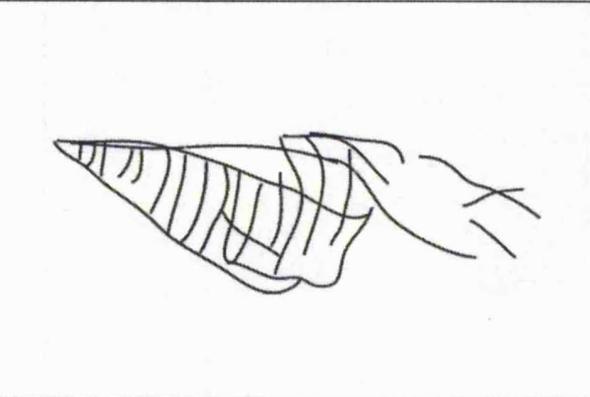
<p>ID no. 258  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1922  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from emergent diagrams-ladder crossed squares</p>	
<p>ID no. 260  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 853  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emerging diagrams-squares from crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 263  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2061  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagrams-odd shapes and squares from crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 264  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1936  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Transparency-people in the boat.</p>	

<p>ID no. 265  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 1938; Maulucci 1993, pg. 128  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-crossing lines-ladder crossed squares and triangles</p>	
<p>ID no. 266  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 658  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Lines (scribbling?)  Figure from diagram.</p>	
<p>ID no. 271  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 2256  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-multi-crossed lines.</p>	
<p>ID no. 277  Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), north wall  References: Langner 2000, no. 671  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure formed from diagrams-triangles, square, odd shape, cross. Imaginative elements</p>	

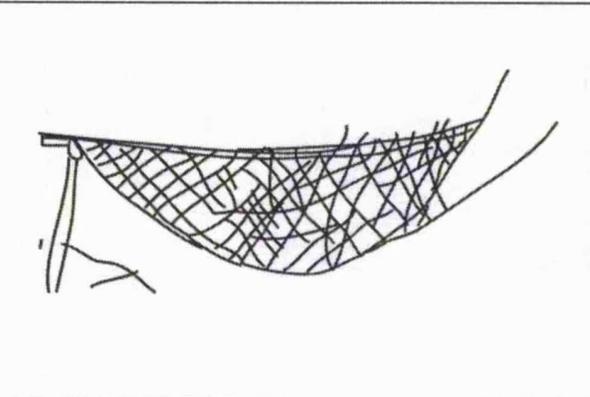
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 Location: VIII.7.20 (Theater Corridor), south wall  
 References: Maulucci 1993, pg. 139; Langner 2000, no. 1123  
 Image: Langner 2000  
 Reasons for ID: Transparency (legs of rider), patterns in composition of horses. Ladder crossed lines



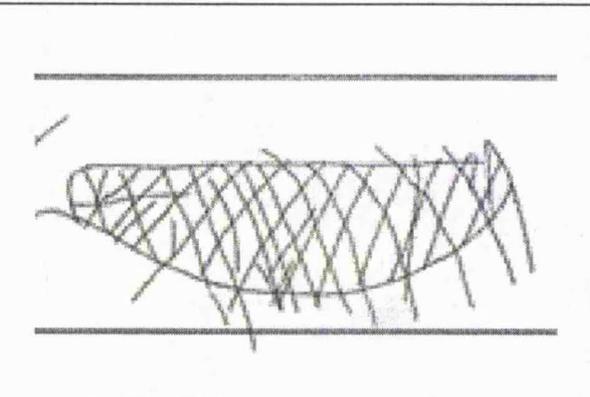
ID no. 288  
 Location: IX.5.18, cubiculum  
 Reference: Langner 2000, no. 2205  
 Image: K. Huntley  
 Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams- ladder crossed squares

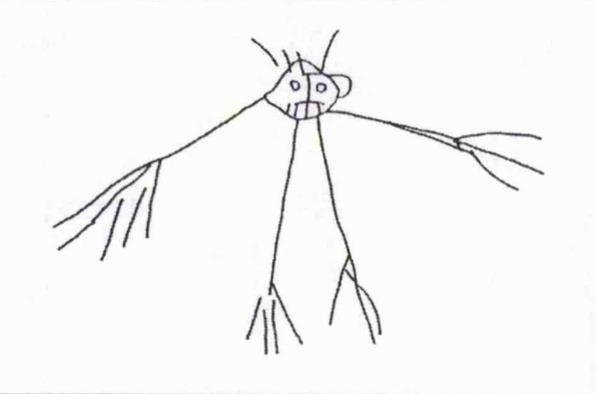
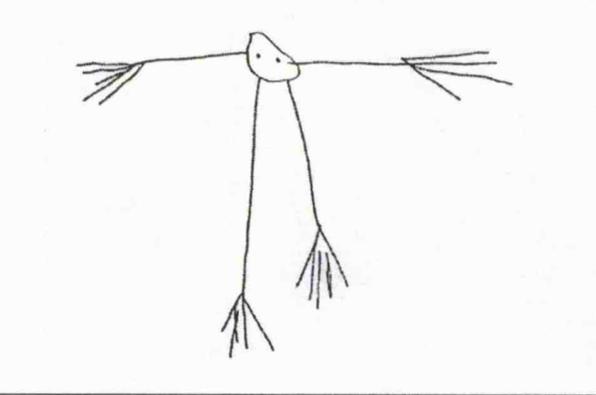
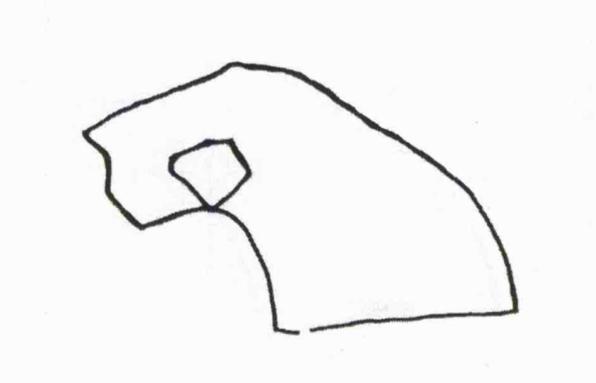


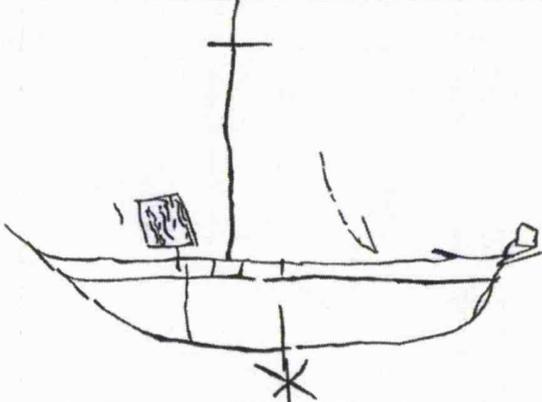
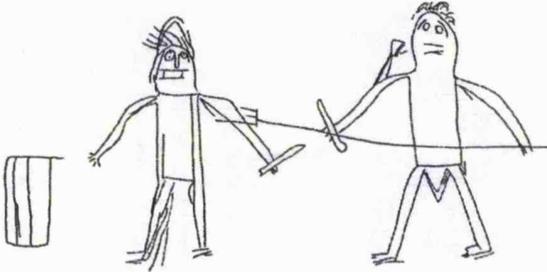
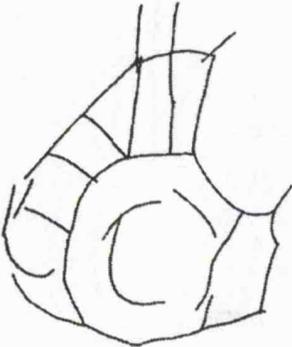
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 Reference: Langner 2000, no. 2205  
 Image: K. Huntley  
 Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams- ladder crossed squares

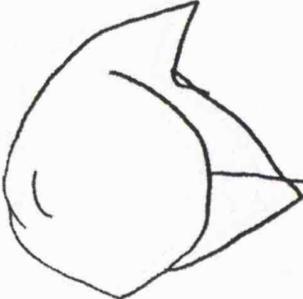
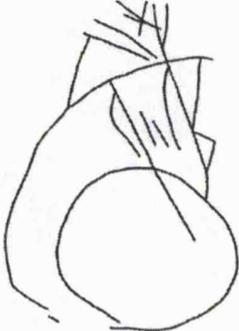
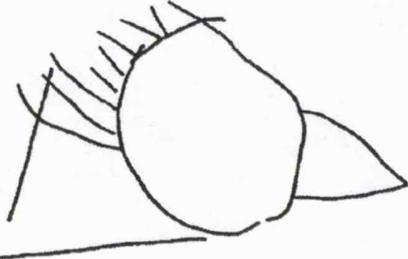


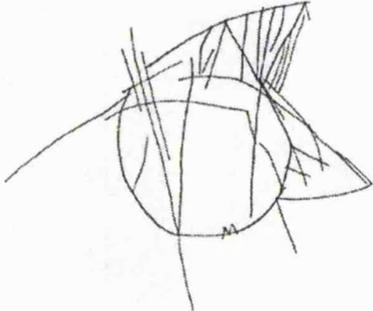
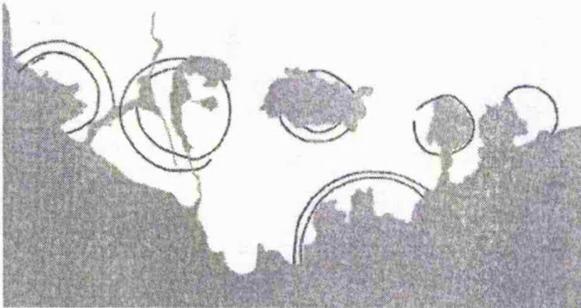
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 Image: K. Huntley  
 Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams- ladder crossed squares

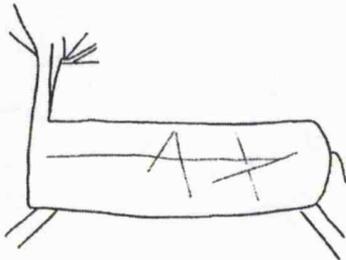
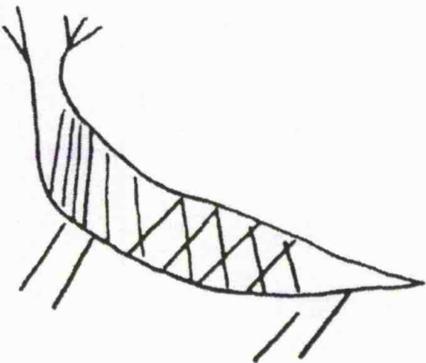
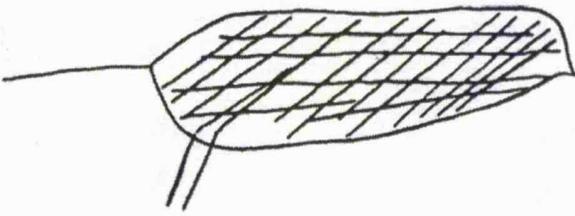


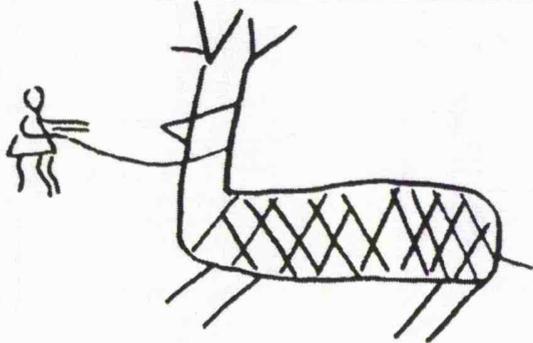
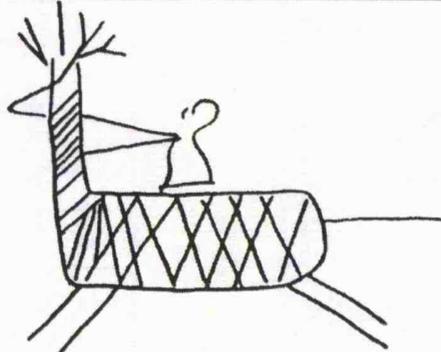
<p>ID no. 298  Location: IX.9.13 (Hospitium), inner courtyard  Reference: <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 2 (1909) 5275;  Langner 2000, no. 1058  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Ground line, figures from diagrams-squares, triangles, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 301  Location: IX.11.3 (Termopolio dell'Aselline), outer wall  Reference: Maulucci 1993, pg. 74;  Langner 2000, no. 633  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Human figure with emphasis on head, repetition of units (arms)</p>	
<p>ID no. 302  Location: IX.11.2 (Termopolio dell'Aselline), outer wall  Reference: Maulucci 1993, pg. 74;  Langner 2000, no. 634  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Human figure with emphasis on head, repetition of units (arms)</p>	
<p>ID no. 303  Location: IX.11.4 (Termopolio dell'Aselline), outer wall  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 1388  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Odd shapes aggregate</p>	

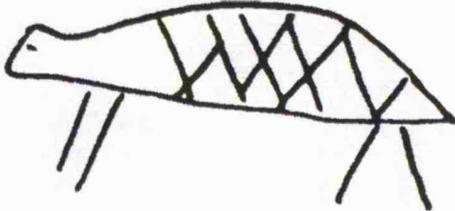
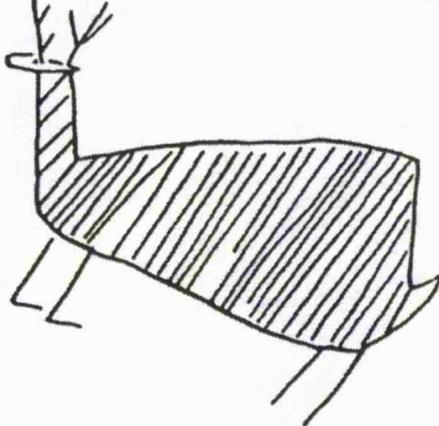
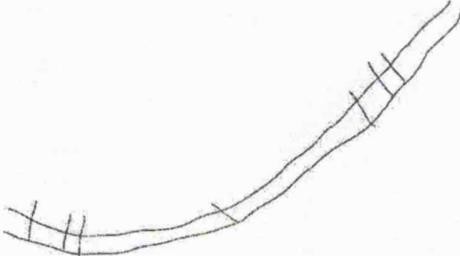
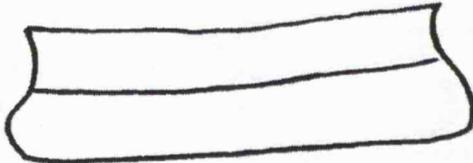
<p>ID no. 320  Location: Villa Arianna, yard behind baths  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 1043; Maulucci 1993, pg. 193  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: figures from diagrams-squares, triangles, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 321  Location: Villa Arianna, yard C, aedicule, in situ  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 2093  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-crosses, greek crosses</p>	
<p>ID no. 322  Location: Villa Arianna, yard behind baths  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 1027  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: figures from diagrams-squares, triangles, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 323  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale), Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 966; <i>CIL</i> IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized composition, radial</p>	

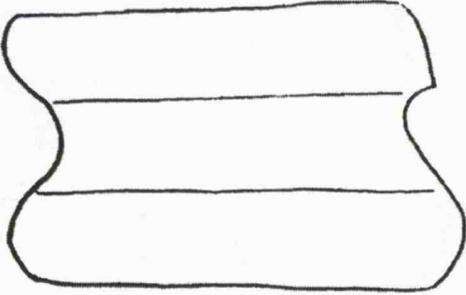
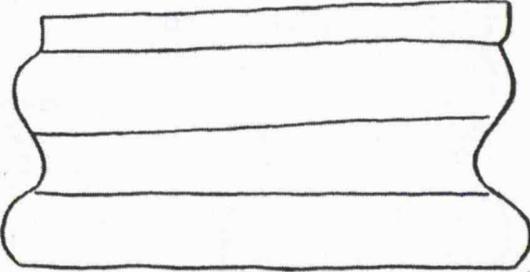
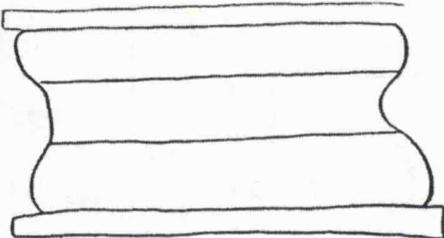
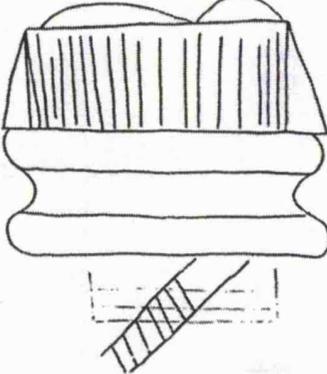
<p>ID no. 324  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 968; <i>CIL</i>  IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized  composition, radial</p>	
<p>ID no. 325  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 963; <i>CIL</i>  IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized  composition, radial</p>	
<p>ID no. 326  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 964; <i>CIL</i>  IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized  composition, radial</p>	
<p>ID no. 327  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 965; <i>CIL</i>  IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized  composition, radial</p>	

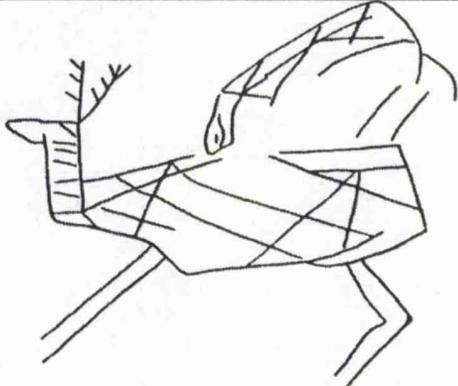
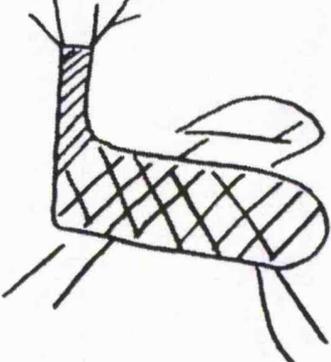
<p>ID no. 328  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000; 969; <i>CIL</i> IV  Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized  composition, radial</p>	
<p>ID no. 329  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 967; <i>CIL</i>  IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Odd shapes</p>	
<p>ID no. 330  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  Herculaneum, ala  Reference: Langner 2000, no. 970; <i>CIL</i>  IV Suppl. 3,4 (1970) 10711  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates, centralized  composition, radial</p>	
<p>ID no. 335abcdef  Location: VI.8 (Forum Baths),  Herculaneum, vestibule  Reference: Langner 2000 (40)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregates-circles</p>	

<p>ID no. 336  Location: VII.4.48 (Casa della Caccia Antica), corridor  Reference: none  Image: K. Huntley  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 337  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi), Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1509)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 338  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi), Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1510)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 339  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi), Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1595)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-odd shape, crossing lines</p>	

<p>ID no. 340  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1124)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 341  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (734)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID:</p>	
<p>ID no. 342  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1310)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines, boundaries  maintained</p>	

<p>ID no. 343  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1596)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 344  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1511)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 345  Location: V.9 (Casa del Gran Portale),  ala off of main hall  Reference: none  Image: K. Huntley  Reasons for ID: Emergent diagram-  ladder crossed squares (body of a  ship?)</p>	
<p>ID no. 346  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (2322)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate shapes,  patterns in composition</p>	

<p>ID no. 347  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (2319)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate shapes,  patterns in composition</p>	
<p>ID no. 348  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (2320)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate shapes,  patterns in composition</p>	
<p>ID no. 349  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (2321)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate shapes,  patterns in composition</p>	
<p>ID no. 350  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (2318)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Aggregate shapes,  patterns in composition</p>	

<p>ID no. 351  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1108)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines, boundaries  maintained</p>	
<p>ID no. 352  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1109)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines, boundaries  maintained</p>	
<p>ID no. 353  Location: IV.21 (Casa dei Cervi),  Herculaneum, cubiculum  Reference: Langner 2000 (1110)  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  odd shape, crossing lines</p>	
<p>ID no. 378  Location: Villa San Marco, room  Reference: Varone 1999; Langner  2000, no. 1696  Image: Langner 2000  Reasons for ID: Figure formed from  diagrams-odd shape, triangle, crosses.  Single x-y axes.</p>	

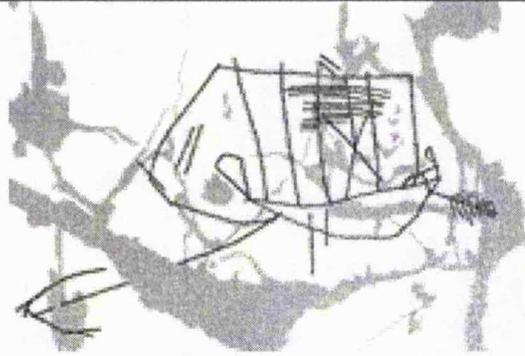
ID no. 386

Location: Villa San Marco, palestra

Reference: Varone 1999; Langner 2000, no. 2303

Image: Langner 2000

Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  
odd shape, crossing lines



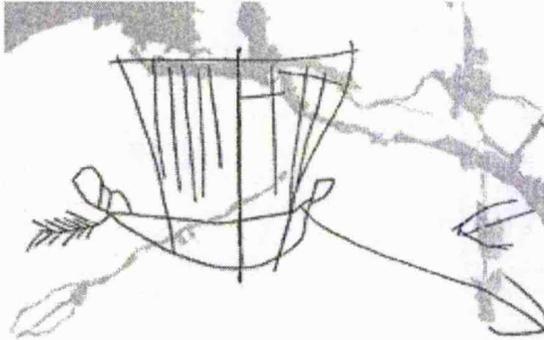
ID no. 387

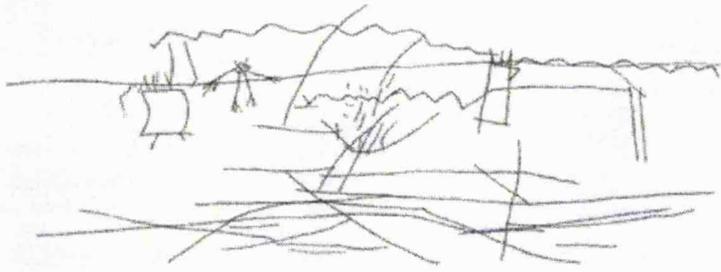
Location: Villa San Marco, palestra

Reference: Varone 1999; Langner 2000, no. 2303

Image: Langner 2000

Reasons for ID: Figure from diagrams-  
odd shape, crossing lines





APPENDIX 3: Small finds from Vindonissa, Arae Flaviae, Courrroux, and Cambodunum by object type

Amulets and Votives

**AGE GROUP 1**

Grave: K278  
 Reference: Mackensen 1978, 278  
 Age: 6 months-3years (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Pendant (Lunula, silver, H. 21mm)  
 -1 shoe nail (L. 13mm)

Grave: R501  
 Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 501  
 Age: 6-9 months (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Pendant (Lunula, silver)

Grave: K145  
 Reference: Mackensen 1978, 145  
 Age: around 9 months (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Pendant fragment? (drop form)

Grave: V94-237  
 Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-237  
 Age: less than 1 year (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -1 melon bead (blue-green, unburnt)  
 -1 bead (ceramic, orange-red, unburnt)

Grave: V94-298  
 Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-298  
 Age: 3 years (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Ring fragment (iron)  
 -Antlers

Grave: K105  
 Reference: Mackensen 1978, 105  
 Age: 10 months-3 years (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Ring (bronze, Idm. 17mm)

Grave: V93-100  
 Reference: Hintermann 2000,93-100  
 Age: 1 year (AG1)

Objects:  
 -11 melon beads (blue-green)  
 -17 beads (glass)  
 -Ring (bronze, round section with a thickened part)  
 -Pendant (phallus-shaped, bronze)  
 -Pendant (wheel-shaped, bronze)  
 -Bell (bronze with iron clapper)

Grave: K212  
 Reference: Mackensen 1978, 212  
 Age: 10 months-3 years (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Amulet ring (with bronze nodules, Idm. 18mm)  
 -Amulet ring (bronze, Idm. 25mm, with faint wear marks)  
 -Bell (bronze, with 5 grooves, iron clapper, H. 25mm)  
 -Pendant (with stylized animal hanging, W. 31mm)

Grave: V93-131  
 Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-131  
 Age: less than 1 year (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -Melon bead (blue-green, unburnt)

Grave: V93-93  
 Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-93  
 Age: less than 3 years (AG1)  
 Objects:  
 -1 ring (iron)

**AGE GROUP 1/2**

Grave: K388  
 Reference: Mackensen 1978, 388  
 Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
 -Coin (very worn, with 2 holes punched through, Claudius for Germanicus)

Grave: K135

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 135  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Pendant (drop form, glass, L. 30mm)  
-Ring (bronze, Idm. 22mm)

Grave: V93-03  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-03  
Age: less than 5 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-1/2 figurine (bird, ceramic, fineware)  
-2 melon beads (green-blue)  
-Ring (bronze, rhomboid section)

Grave: K223  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 223  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Ring fragment (bronze, with 2 nodules, plaited)

Grave: K220  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 220  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Bead (grey-black w/ white diagonal lines, Dm. 20mm)  
-Amulet ring (bronze, with nodules, Idm. 19mm)  
-Ring (bronze, Idm. 21mm)  
-Ring (bronze, fluted, Idm. 18mm)

Grave: R32  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 32  
Age: 2-4 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-3/4 miniature beaker (two handle fragments, smoothed, reddish clay with brown slip, possibly unburnt, RD. 33mm)  
-1/3 miniature mortarium (no granulation, but form suggests mortarium, RD 114mm, BD 40mm)

Grave: R166  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 166  
Age: 2.5-5.5 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

-1 small nail (possibly a shoe nail)

Grave: R16  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 16  
Age: 1.5-4.5 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-1 small nail (possibly a shoe nail)

Grave: R80  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 80  
Age: 2.5-5.5 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-1 small nail (possibly a shoe nail)  
-Pendant (glass, yellow-green with cornflower blue and white, L 41mm, W. 9-14mm)

Grave: K218  
Reference: Mackensen 1976, 218  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-1 shoe nail

Grave: R80  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 80  
Age: 2.5-5.5 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-1 shoe nail (iron)

## AGE GROUP 2

Grave: K238  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 238  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Bead (glass, ribbed, black and white diagonal bands)  
-Ring (bone, polished, Idm. 13mm)  
-Ring (iron, Idm. 14mm)  
-2 rings (bronze, Idms. 14mm and 13.5mm)

Grave: K66  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 66  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Ring (bronze, Idm. 15mm)

Grave: V93-38

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-38  
Age: 3-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Figurine (bird, 3 small holes at the tail end)  
-13 melon beads (green-blue)  
-2 rings (bronze, d-section with ridge)  
-2 phalerae (bronze)  
-11 punctured coins (bronze, 3 sesterti, 2 quadrans, 6 ases)

Grave: V93-66  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-66  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Pendant (Lunula, bronze)  
-Ring (quartz, d-section)

Grave: V93-117  
Reference: Hintermann 93-117  
Age: 4-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-1 shoe nail (iron)

#### AGE GROUP 2/3

Grave: C42  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 42  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-1/2 figurine (clay, deer/cow/gazelle lying down)

Grave: K89  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 89  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-Ring fragment (iron, Idm 27mm)

#### AGE GROUP 3

Grave: K210

#### Dress and Adornment

##### AGE GROUP 1

Grave: K208a  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 208a  
Age: 10 months-3 years (AG1)

Reference: Mackensen 1978, K210  
Age: 7-9 years (AG3)  
Objects:  
-Ring (iron, Idm 25mm)

##### AGE GROUP 3/4

Grave: R68  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 68  
Age: 10-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Ring (iron with glass inlay)

Grave: C29  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 69  
Age: 12-18 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-fragment of figurine (clay, bird tail?, flat on one side)  
-fragment of figurine base (clay, hollow)

Grave: K175  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 175  
Age: 9-18 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Ring (iron with missing intaglio, Idm. 15mm)

##### AGE GROUP 5

Grave: V93-132  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-132  
Age: less than 18 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Figurine (animal, ceramic)

Grave: R568  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 568  
Age: 7-30 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-1 melon bead (glass, ultramarine)

Objects:  
-various shoe nails

Grave: K278  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 278  
Age: 6 months-3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Pendant (Lunula, silver, H. 21mm)
- 1 shoe nail (L. 13mm)

Grave: K105

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 105  
Age: 10 months-3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Ring (bronze, Idm. 17mm)

Grave: R501

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 501  
Age: 6-5 months (AG1)

Objects:

- Pendant (Lunula, silver)

Grave: K145

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 145  
Age: around 9 months (AG1)

Objects:

- Pendant fragment? (drop form)

Grave: V94-237

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-237  
Age: less than 1 year (AG1)

Objects:

- 1 melon bead (blue-green, unburnt)
- 1 bead (ceramic, orange-red, unburnt)

Grave: K116

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 116  
Age: 10 months-3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Brooch (spiral, sleeved, with ribbed bow, L. 44mm)

Grave: K174

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 174  
Age: around 6 months (AG1)

Objects:

- Brooch (bronze, disc brooch, fragmentary, Dm. 21mm)

Grave: V94-298

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-298  
Age: 3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Shoe nails (iron)
- 1 ring (iron, square cross-section)
- 1 disc (bronze, punctured)

Grave: V93-100

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-100  
Age: 1 year (AG1)

Objects:

- 11 melon beads (blue-green)
- 17 beads (glass)
- Ring (bronze, round section with a thickened part)
- Pendant (phallus-shaped, bronze)
- Pendant (wheel-shaped, bronze)

Grave: K212

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 212  
Age: 10 months-3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Amulet ring (with bronze nodules, Idm. 18mm)
- Amulet ring (bronze, Idm. 25mm, with faint wear marks)
- Pendant (with stylized animal hanging, W. 31mm)

Grave: R77

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 77  
Age: 9-15 months (AG1)

Objects:

- 4 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V93-67

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-67  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- 3 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R20

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 20  
Age: around 1 year (AG1)

Objects:

- 23 shoe nails (iron, 18 bent)

Grave: V94-81

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-81  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- 2 rings (iron)
- 1 bracelet (iron)
- 5 shoe nails (iron)
- 6 melon beads (3 blue, 3 green-blue)

Grave: V93-131

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-131  
Age: less than 1 year (AG1)

Objects:  
-Melon bead (blue-green,  
unburnt)

Grave: V94-213  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-213  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)

Objects:  
-shoe nail (iron)

Grave: V93-93  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-93  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)

Objects:  
-1 ring (iron)

Grave: R145  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 145  
Age: 1-2 years (AG1)

Objects:  
-1 ring (iron)

### AGE GROUP 1/2

Grave: K135  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 135  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-Pendant (glass, drop form,  
L.30mm)  
-Ring (bronze, Idm. 22mm)

Grave: K184  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 184  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-11 beads (glass, ribbed, dark  
violet-blue, H. 3mm, Dm. 5mm)  
-2 beads (fragmentary, glass,  
light green-blue, Hs. 5 and 7mm  
and Dms. 5 and 7mm,  
respectively)  
-1 bead (glass, green-blue with  
violet-blue and white 'eyes,' H.  
12mm)

Grave: R9  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 9  
Age: 3-4 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

-2 shoe nails (iron, possibly  
fragments from 5 other shoe  
nails present in grave)

Grave: K54  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 54  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-2 brooches (in fragments,  
spiral-sleeved form  
(*Spiralhülsen*), bronze, long  
ribbed bows, Ls. 44mm and  
18mm)  
-1 brooch (*Distelfibel*, bronze, L.  
56mm)

Grave: K230  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 230  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-Brooch (*Scheibefibel*, disc  
form, bronze, Dm. 30mm)

Grave: R642  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 642  
Age: 2-4 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-9 beads (glass, opaque white,  
small spherical, some  
fragmentary, between them  
were probably yellowish green  
smaller glass beads, which  
melted against the spherical  
white beads. Their form cannot  
be determined, cylindrical  
perhaps)  
-2 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V93-03  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-03  
Age: less than 5 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-Ring (bronze, rhomboid  
section)  
-2 melon beads (green-blue)

Grave: C110  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 110  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-Brooch (bronze, bow with  
triangular cross-section)  
-6 beads (glass)

Grave: V93-128  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-128  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- 1 ring (bronze)
- 1 ring (iron)

Grave: K223  
Reference: Mackensen 1976, 223  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- Ring (bronze, with 2 nodules, plaited band)

Grave: K220  
Reference: Mackensen 1976, 220  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- 1 bead (glass, grey-black with diagonal white stripes, Dm. 20mm)
- Amulet ring (bronze, with nodules, Idm. 19mm)
- Ring (bronze, Idm. 21mm)
- Ring (bronze, fluted, Idm. 18mm)

Grave: V95-54  
Reference: Hintermann, 95-54  
Age: 2-6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- 6 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: K218  
Reference: Mackensen 1976, 218  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- 1 shoe nail

Grave: R166  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 166  
Age: 2.5-5.5 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- 1 shoe nail (iron)

Grave: V93-20  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, V93-20  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

- 1 split pin hinge (iron)

Grave: R80  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 80  
Age: 2.5-5.5 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-1 shoe nail (iron)

#### **AGE GROUP 2**

Grave: R585  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 585  
Age: around 7 or 8 years (AG2)  
Objects:

- 2 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R570  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 570  
Age: 4-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:

- Ring (silver, with two spiral gaskets, unburned, secondary deposit)
- Shoe nails (iron, 8 w/ bent shafts, possibly 20 more)

Grave: V94-85  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-85  
Age: 4-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:

- 7 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: K66  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 66  
Age: 4-5 year (AG2)  
Objects:

- Ring (bronze, Idm. 15mm)
- Pendant (glass, yellow-green with cornflower blue and white, L 41mm, W. 9-14mm)

Grave: V94-101  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-101  
Age: 5-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:

- 64 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: K130  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 130  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:

- 4 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R8  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 8  
Age: 4-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:

- 3 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V93-117  
Reference: Hintermann 93-117  
Age: 4-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:

-1 shoe nail (iron)

Grave: K238  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 238  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:

-1 bead (glass, back with white diagonal bands)  
-Ring (bone, polished, Idm. 13mm)  
-Ring (iron, Idm. 14mm)  
-2 rings (bronze, Idms. 14mm and 13.5mm)

Grave: V93-38  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-38  
Age: 3-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:

-13 melon beads (green-blue)  
-2 rings (bronze, d-section with ridge)  
-2 phalerae (bronze)  
-11 punctured coins (bronze, 3 sesterti, 2 quadrans, 6 ases)

Grave: V93-66  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-66  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:

-Pendant (Lunula, bronze)  
-Ring (quartz, d-section)

### AGE GROUP 2/3

Grave: K178  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 178  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:

-Brooch (*Scharnierfibel*, hinged, fragmentary with perforated, lattice form bow, L. 47mm)

Grave: K189  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 189  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:

-Brooch (Aucissa, bronze, fragmentary, L. 60mm)

Grave: K247  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 247  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:

-Brooch (*Distelfibel*, bronze, 24mm)

Grave: R53  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 53  
Age: 7-9 years (AG 2/3)  
Objects:

-Shoe nails (iron, 31 bent, adhering to charcoal and bone)

Grave: K89  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 89  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:

-Brooch (*Augenfibel*, Almgren 52, bronze, with stamped round eyes, L. 43mm)  
-Brooch (*Augenfibel*, Almgren 45b, bronze, with angled line on the foot, comb decoration on the bow and implied eyes, L. 56mm)  
-Ring fragment (iron, Idm 27mm)

Grave: V93-22  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-22  
Age: 4-12 years (AG 2/3)  
Objects:

-Shoe nail fragments (iron)

### AGE GROUP 3

Grave: K210  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, K210  
Age: 7-9 years (AG3)  
Objects:

-Ring (iron, Idm 25mm)  
-Brooch fragment (hinged, bronze, L. 32mm)

Grave: R34  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 34  
Age: 9-12 years (AG3)  
Objects:

-Shoe nails (iron, 23 with bent shaft)

Grave: V94-124  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-124  
Age: 8-10 years (AG3)  
Objects:  
-9 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R11  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 11  
Age: 8-12 yaers (AG3)  
Objects:  
-2 shoe nails (iron)

#### AGE GROUP 3/4

Grave: R68  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 68  
Age: 10-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Ring (iron with glass inlay)  
-Shoe nails (iron, 4 with bent shaft)

Grave: K207  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 207  
Age: 8-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Brooch (spiral, iron, fragmentary)  
-15 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R29  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 29  
Age: 10-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-31 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: K240  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 240  
Age: 9-18 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Brooch (spiral, Almgren 19, bronze, bow broken, L. 45mm)

Grave: K175  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 175  
Age: 9-18 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Arm ring (iron wire)  
-Ring (iron with missing intaglio, Idm. 15mm)

Grave: K201

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 201  
Age: 9-18 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-18 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V94-148  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-148  
Age: 10-18 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-7 bead fragments (ceramic)

#### AGE GROUP 4

Grave: R624  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 624  
Age: 12-16 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-3 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R551  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 551  
Age: 15-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Shoe nails (iron)

Grave: R10  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 10  
Age: 15-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-27 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: C107  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 107  
Age: 15-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Brooch (Spiral, bronze, with 4 spirals, lower shank of pin broken)

Grave: R79  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 79  
Age: 13-16 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Shoe nails (iron, 22 with bent shaft)

Grave: K222  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 222  
Age: 14-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Brooch (hinged, bronze, broad bow with lengthwise ribbing, L. 41mm)

Grave: R311  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 311  
Age: 15-19 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Shoe nails (iron, 14 with bent shaft)

Grave: R592  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 592  
Age: 15-17 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Shoe nails (iron, 9 with bent shaft)

Grave: C90  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 90  
Age: 14-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Brooch (hinged, bronze)

Grave: R234  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 234  
Age: 15-17 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Bundle of shoes (2-3 pairs, 69 iron shoe nails)

Grave: R316  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 316  
Age: 14-15 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-2 pairs of shoes (with 25 iron shoe nails)

Grave: V94-224  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, V94-224  
Age: 18 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-25 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V94-296  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, V94-296  
Age: 16-18 years (AG4)  
Objects:

-Shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V94-184  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, V94-184  
Age: 15-18 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-3 shoe nails (iron)

#### AGE GROUP 5

Grave: R568  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 568  
Age: 7-30 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-1 melon bead (glass, ultramarine)  
-3 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V93-28  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-28  
Age: less than 18 year (AG5)  
Objects:  
-4 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V93-37  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-37  
Age: less than 16 year (AG5)  
Objects:  
-2 shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V93-101  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-101  
Age: less than 16 year (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Shoe nails (iron)

Grave: V94-313  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-313  
Age: less than 15 year (AG5)  
Objects:  
- 2 shoe nails (iron)

## Gaming Objects:

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### AGE GROUP 1

Grave: K208a  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 208a  
Age: less than 10 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: K278  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 278  
Age: less than 6 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-gaming piece, bone, diameter  
18mm

Grave: K26  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 26  
Age: 8-9 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: K83  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 83  
Age: 7-9 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment (from fill)

Grave: K145  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 145  
Age: ca. 9 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: V94-237  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-237  
Age: less than 1 year (AG1)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: V93-114  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-114  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: V93-119  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-119  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)  
Objects:

-tile fragment

Grave: V94-298  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-298  
Age: 3 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-3 tile fragments

### AGE GROUP 1/2

Grave: K91  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 91  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-2 tile fragments

Grave: K133  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 133  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-4 tile fragments (from fill)

Grave: V93-04  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-04  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: V93-128  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-128  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

### AGE GROUP 2

Grave: K66  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 66  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment

Grave: K373a  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 373a  
Age: 5-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-tile fragment with rhomboid  
design  
-2 tile fragments

Grave: V93-117  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-117  
Age: 3-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-3 tile fragments

Grave: V98-2  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 98-2  
Age: 3-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-3 tile fragments

Grave: V94-162  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-162  
Age: 3-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-2 tile fragments

#### **AGE GROUP 2/3**

Grave: K42  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 42  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-3 tile fragments

Grave: K342  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 342  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-Tile fragment

Grave: K89  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 89  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-2 tile fragments

Grave: V94-198  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-198  
Age: 3-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-6 tile fragments

#### **AGE GROUP 3/4**

Grave: K265  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 265  
Age: 8-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-Tile fragment

Grave: V94-180  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-180  
Age: 10-15 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-4 tile fragments

#### **AGE GROUP 4**

Grave: R259  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 259  
Age: 15-17 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-catch hooks, iron, possibly from  
a hinged game board  
-3 game counter fragments,  
glass, 1 beige, 2 opaque black  
-22 game counters, some with  
carved concentric circles

#### **AGE GROUP 5**

Grave: R568  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 568  
Age: 10-30 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Game counter fragment

Grave: V94-107  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-107  
Age: less than 14 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Tile fragment

Grave: V93-37  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-37  
Age: less than 16 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Tile fragment

Grave: V93-101  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-101  
Age: less than 16 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-3 tile fragments

Grave: V94-313  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-313  
Age: less than 15 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Tile fragment

## Toilet Items:

### AGE GROUP 1

Grave: V98-1

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 98-1

Age: 3 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Pyxis (bronze, unburnt)
- 2 scalpels (bronze)
- Pair of tweezers (bronze)
- solid tube and a fragment of another tube (bronze, probably parts of spatulas)

Grave: C62

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1967, 62

Age: 1-7 years (AG1)

Objects:

- Probe/spatual (bronze with flat end missing)

### AGE GROUP 1/2

Grave: K135

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 135

Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

- blade fragment (L. 54mm, grip with two rivets L. 70mm)

Grave: C18a

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 18a

Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

- bowl of a scoop (flat iron dish with partial broken edge with wood remainders on the underside)

Grave: V93-03

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-03

Age: less than 5 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

- Mirror (bronze, round, one side polished)

Grave: C110

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 110

Age: 0-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

### AGE GROUP 2

Grave: R694

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 694

Age: 5-7 years (AG2)

Objects:

- Pin fragments (bone, 1 from a shaft, one possibly part of a pin head)
- 2 scoops/spoons (bone)

### AGE GROUP 3

Grave: K210

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 210

Age: 7-9 years (AG3)

Objects:

- Mirror (fragment, round, diameter 84.5mm)

### AGE GROUP 3/4

Grave: K201

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 201

Age: 7-14 years (AG3/4)

Objects:

- Hand mirror (rectangular, fragmentary, L. 47mm, copper alloy "*stagno et aere mixtis*")

### AGE GROUP 4

Grave: R551

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 551

Age: 15-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

- Small ointment container (glass, colorless)

Grave: R311

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 311

Age: 15-19 years (AG4)

Objects:

- Hairpin (bronze)

Grave: R592

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 592

Age: 15-17 years (AG4)

Objects:

- Hairpin or needle head fragment (bone, carved like a face)

Grave: C99

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 99

Age: 14-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

- Spatula fragment (iron)

#### AGE GROUP 5

Grave: V93-132

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-132

Age: less than 18 years (AG5)

Objects:

- Pyxis (bone)
- Scoop/spoon (bone)
- Mirror (bronze, rectangular, polished on one side)
- Folding mirror (bronze)

## Tools

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#### AGE GROUP 1

Grave: K208a

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 208a

Age: less than 10 months (AG1)

Objects:

- blade (fragmentary, L. 104mm)

#### AGE GROUP 1/2

Grave: K135

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 135

Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

- blade (fragmentary, blade L. 54mm, grip with 2 rivets L. 70mm)

Grave: K184

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 184

Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

- Grip/handle (fragmentary, bronze, 14mm)

Grave: K133

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 133

Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

- 2 chisels (Ls. 68mm and 74mm, from fill)

#### AGE GROUP 2

Grave: K169

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 169

Age: 4 years (AG2)

Objects:

- Chisel (iron, L. 50mm)

#### AGE GROUP 2/3

Grave: C89

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 89

Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)

Objects:

- iron object with flat rectangular cross section and an s-shaped ends with wood remainders of shaft (L. 80mm)

#### AGE GROUP 4

Grave: C8

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 8

Age: 14-16 years (AG4)

Objects:

- iron blade with hilt

Grave: R79

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 79

Age: 12-16 years (AG4)

Objects:

- Knife fragment (iron, part of the handle and beginning of blade, L. 58mm)

Grave: C66

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 66

Age: 14-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

- Sandstone object (roller-shaped, split down the middle lengthwise, evidence of use and smoothing at the center)
- Whetstone fragment (sandstone, irregularly sanded off along sides)

**AGE GROUP 5**

- Grave: R568  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 568  
Age: 10-30 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-Knife (serrated, iron, grasp with polygonal section)  
-Stylus (iron)

Coins

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**AGE GROUP 1**

- Grave: K395  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 375  
Age: 8-9 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-As (Caligula/Claudius for Agrippa)

- Grave: V93-100  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-100  
Age: 1 year (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Nero)

- Grave: V93-67  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-67  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As

- Grave: V93-71  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-71  
Age: less than 2 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As

- Grave: V93-131  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-131  
Age: less than 1 year (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Nero)  
-Bronze As

- Grave: V93-86  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-86  
Age: 1 year (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze coin

- Grave: V98-1

- Reference: Hintermann 2000, 98-1  
Age: 3 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Caligula)  
-Bronze As (Augustus)

- Grave: R145  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 145  
Age: 1-2 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Domitian?)

**AGE GROUP 1/2**

- Grave: C124  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 124  
Age: neonate-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-As (Claudius)

- Grave: K291  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 291  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-As (Tiberius for Divus Augustus, decentered, very worn)

- Grave: K41  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 41  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-As  
-As (Augustus for Tiberius)

- Grave: K388  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 388  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:

-Coin (Claudius for Germanicus,  
very worn, 2 punctured holes)  
Grave: K91  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 91  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-As (Tiberius for Drusus Caesar)

Grave: R642  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 642  
Age: 2-4 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-As (secondary deposit)  
-As (Tiberius for Divus  
Augustus, secondary deposit)

Grave: V93-04  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-04  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Vespasian)

Grave: C110  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 110  
Age: neonate-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-As (Antoninus Pius)  
-As (Nero)  
-As (Vespasian)

Grave: V93-19  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-19  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Vespasian)

## AGE GROUP 2

Grave: R570  
Reference: Fecher 2006, 570  
Age: 4-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-As (unburnt, secondary deposit)

Grave: K169  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 169  
Age: 3-4 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-As (Augustus)

Grave: K66  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 66

Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-As (Augustus for Tiberius)  
-1/2 As (Augustus for Tiberius)

Grave: K130  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 130  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-As (Tiberius for Divus Augustus)

Grave: V98-2  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 98-2  
Age: 3-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Hadrian)

Grave: V94-162  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-162  
Age: 3-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Titus)  
-Bronze As (Caligula Germanicus)

Grave: V93-38  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-38  
Age: 3-6 years (AG2)  
Objects: All perforated  
-Bronze Sestersi (Tiberius)  
-2 Bronze Sestersi (Nero)  
-2 Bronze Quadrans  
-Bronze As (Augustus)  
-Bronze As (Altar series of  
Lugdunum)  
-4 Bronze Ases

Grave: V93-66  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-66  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As (Domitian/Flavian?)

## AGE GROUP 2/3

Grave: K30  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 30  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-As (Augustus, decentered)

Grave: K178  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 178  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)

Objects: -As (Tiberius) -As (Tiberius for Divus Augustus)

Grave: K342  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 342  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-As (Tiberius for Divus Augustus)

Grave: V93-22  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-22  
Age: -14 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-Bronze As

### AGE GROUP 3

Grave: R34  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 34  
Age: 9-13 years (AG3)  
Objects:  
-2 Ases (Trajan, secondary deposit)

### AGE GROUP 3/4

Grave: K201  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 201  
Age: 8-20 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:

### AGE GROUP 4

Grave: C29  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 29  
Age: 14-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-As (Trajan)

Grave: C95  
Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 95  
Age: 14-20 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-Restruck Gallish As  
-Coin

Grave: R624  
Reference: Fecher 2006, 624  
Age: 12-16 years (AG4)  
Objects:  
-As (secondary deposit)

### AGE GROUP 5

Grave: V93-132  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-132  
Age: less than 18 years (AG5)  
Objects:  
-As (Nero?)

## Lamps

with rabbit, H. 25mm, L. 92mm,  
brown-red slip)

### AGE GROUP 1

Grave: K208a  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 208a  
Age: less than 10 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
- Lamp (ceramic, Loeschcke 1B  
with curved lip, image of dog  
pursuing a hare, H. 24mm, L.  
93mm, orange-brown slip)

Grave: K278  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 278  
Age: less than 6 months (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Lamp (ceramic, Loeschcke 1B  
with curved spout, Cupid sitting

Grave: V94-237  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-237  
Age: less than 1 year (AG1)  
Objects:  
- 1/2 Lamp (*firmalampe*,  
Loeschcke 9, mask on the face,  
fineware)

Grave: V93-119  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-119  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)  
Objects:  
-Lamp (*firmalampe*, Loeschcke  
4, visage of horned satyr on the  
face, fineward, unburnt)

Grave: V93-100  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-100  
Age: 1 year (AG1)

Objects:  
-Lamp (*firmalampe*, Loeschcke 1B, image of a ship (*Wettfahrer*), fineward)

Grave: V93-164  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-164  
Age: less than 3 years (AG1)

Objects:  
-3/4 Lamp (pornographic scene (*Symplegma*) on the face, fineware)

Grave: V93-129  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-129  
Age: less than 1 year (AG1)

Objects:  
- Lamp fragment (fineware, brown slip)

#### AGE GROUP 1/2

Grave: V93-86  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-86  
Age: 1 year (AG1)

Objects:  
-1/2 Lamp (*firmalampe*, fineware)

Grave: K394  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 394  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
- Lamp (ceramic with curved lip, image of a dog and two *Pegasoi*, old break on the lip)

Grave: K293  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 293  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-Lamp (ceramic with curved lip, image of a boar with a dog on its back, H. 26mm, L. 89mm)

Grave: K223  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 223  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)

Objects:

-Lamp (ceramic, Loeschcke 1B, with curved lip, image of a griffen jumping, H. 23mm, L. 100mm)

Grave: V93-19  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-19  
Age: less than 6 years (AG1/2)

Objects:  
-Lamp fragment (*firmalampe*, fineware)

#### AGE GROUP 2

Grave: K66  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 66  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)

Objects:  
- Lamp fragment (ceramic with rounded nose)

Grave: K130  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 130  
Age: 4-5 years (AG2)

Objects:  
-Lamp (ceramic, Loeschcke 1B, with curved lip, image of a goat, H. 24mm, L. 82mm, dark brown slip)

Grave: V93-25  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-25  
Age: 3-6 years (AG2)

Objects:  
- Lamp fragment (*firmalampe*, fineware, red slip)

#### AGE GROUP 2/3

Grave: K58  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 58  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)

Objects:  
- Lamp (ceramic, Loeschcke 8(II-9), with rounded lip, rosette comprised of 4 heart shapes on the face)

Grave: K73  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 73  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)

Objects:

-Lamp (ceramic, Loeschcke 1B,  
with curved nose, H. 24mm,  
dark sienna slip)

Grave: K247

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 247

Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)

Objects:

-Lamp (ceramic with curved lip,  
image of eagle capturing a hare,  
H. 25mm, L. 91mm)

Grave: R53

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 53

Age: 7-9 years (AG2/3)

Objects:

-Lamp (intact, unburnt, with an  
image on the face, with a handle,  
stolen)

Grave: K42

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 42

Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)

Objects:

-Lamp (ceramic with the image  
of a goat, H. 28mm, L. 83mm)

#### AGE GROUP 4

Grave: K277

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 277

Age: 14-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

-Lamp (ceramic, in many pieces,  
Loeschcke 4, with rounded lip, 4-  
leaf rosette decoration, H.  
22mm, brown-red slip)

Grave: V94-135

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-135

Age: 10-20 years (AG3/4)

Objects:

-2 sherds of a lamp (fineware)

Grave: C29

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 29

Age: 14-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

-Lamp (stamp on bottom, L. ca.  
55mm)

Grave: V94-177

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-177

Age: 16-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

-Lampe (*firmalampe*, fineware,  
red-brown slip)

#### AGE GROUP 5

Grave: V93-132

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-132

Age: less than 18 years (AG5)

Objects:

-Lamp fragment (*firmalampe*,  
fineware)

Grave: V93-120

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 93-120

Age: less than 14 years (AG5)

Objects:

-Lamp (*firmalampe*, Loeschcke  
4, armed gladiator on fance,  
fineware, unburnt)

## Boxes, Locks and Fittings

#### AGE GROUP 1

Grave: V94-237

Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-237

Age: less than 1 year (AG1)

Objects:

-7 sheet metal fragments with  
rivet holes (iron)

#### AGE GROUP 1/2

Grave: K291  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 291  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Iron fitting with hinge and wood remainders

Grave: R9  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 9  
Age: 3-4 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Front part of lock (bronze with egg-dart design)

Grave: K230  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 230  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Bronze nail

Grave: K91  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 91  
Age: 1-7 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-Rivet fragment (bronze, L. 10mm)  
-Knob (bronze, Dm. 20mm)

Grave: R32  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 32  
Age: 2-4 years (AG1/2)  
Objects:  
-2 fitting fragments with drill holes

#### **AGE GROUP 2**

Grave: R694  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 694  
Age: 5-8 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Components of a large wooden box (iron handles with two fragmentary split pins, iron padlock with four nails to fasten to wood, iron bolts for lock, 5 iron hinges with 3 parts, 6 iron fittings)  
-2 cast bronze handles with split pin fragments

Grave: K373a

Reference: Mackensen 1978, 373a  
Age: 5-6 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-Copper alloy handle (L. 78mm)

Grave: V94-273  
Reference: Hintermann 2000, 94-273  
Age: 6-7 years (AG2)  
Objects:  
-2 sheet metal fragments with nails (iron)

#### **AGE GROUP 2/3**

Grave: K73  
Reference: Mackensen 1978, 73  
Age: 5-10 years (AG2/3)  
Objects:  
-Rivet (bronze, L. 9mm)  
-Knob fragment (bronze, Dm. 21mm)

#### **AGE GROUP 3**

Grave: R34  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 34  
Age: 9-12 years (AG3)  
Objects:  
-2 lock bolts (bronze, unburned)  
-Sheet metal fragments (iron, two corner pieces, two center pieces, small nail holes visible)

#### **AGE GROUP 3/4**

Grave: R60  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 60  
Age: 10-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:  
-crate/small box components (all iron, lock bolts; 2 sheet metal fragments from lock with some pin fragments, fitting with nail fragment 63x19mm, nail fragment 27mm, original edges; fitting 87x22mm, with nail fragment 31mm, two nail holes complete)

Grave: R29  
Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 29  
Age: 10-14 years (AG3/4)  
Objects:

-crate remains (iron padlock complete rectangular approx. 125 x 100 mm, L-shaped iron key, 2 split pin fragments connected, 2 split pin fragments connected)

**AGE GROUP 4**

Grave: C81

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 81

Age: 14-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

-cap-shaped fragment of a fitting from Bronze sheet metal with

wood remains, probably fitting for a box

Grave: C66

Reference: Martin-Kilcher 1976, 66

Age: 14-20 years (AG4)

Objects:

Grave: R79

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 79

Age: 13-16 years (AG4)

Objects:

Grave: R592

Reference: Fecher 2006, Bef. 592

Age: 15-17 years (AG4)

Objects:

APPENDIX 4: Sub-adult burials containing multiple individuals

**AGE GROUP 1**

Grave: C56  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: Juvenile or adult female

Grave: K208a  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: Sub-adult AG1/2 (K208b)

Grave: K278  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: 2 adult male

Grave: K172  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: 1 adult

Grave: V94-237  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: female, >20 years

Grave: K95  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: 2 sub-adults

Grave: V94-298  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: female, >20 years

Grave: R69  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: another individual, age and sex undetermined

Grave: V94-128  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: individual, age 57 years

Grave: V94-339  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: female, >40 years

Grave: R20  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: male 21-60 years, individual 18-40 years

Grave: V94-81  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: female, >20 years

Grave: V94-213  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: female, >20 years

Grave: V98-1  
 Age Group: 1  
 Other Individuals: female, 18-25 years

**AGE GROUP 1/2**

Grave: K208b  
 Age Group: 1/2  
 Other Individuals: Sub-adult, AG1 (K208a)

Grave: C18A  
 Age Group: 1/2  
 Other Individuals: individual, age and sex undetermined

Grave: C62  
 Age Group: 1/2  
 Other Individuals: adult

Grave: V93-03  
 Age Group: 1/2  
 Other Individuals: female, < 40 years

Grave: C19B  
 Age Group: 1/2  
 Other Individuals: sub-adult remains in the fill of an adult's inhumation

**AGE GROUP 2**

Grave: R694  
 Age Group: 2  
 Other Individuals: male 21-40 years

Grave: V94-85  
 Age Group: 2  
 Other Individuals: female, >20 years, male 40-50 years

Grave: K373a  
 Age Group: 2

Other Individuals: sub-adult, AG4  
(K373b)

Grave: V93-117  
Age Group: 2  
Other Individuals: individual, >20 years

Grave: V98-2  
Age Group: 2  
Other Individuals: male, < 60 years

#### **AGE GROUP 2/3**

Grave: C42  
Age Group: 2/3  
Other Individuals: adult?

Grave: R53  
Age Group: 2/3  
Other Individuals: male, 30-50 years

#### **AGE GROUP 3**

Grave: R34  
Age Group: 3  
Other Individuals: male, 30-50 years

Grave: R648  
Age Group: 3  
Other Individuals: cremated individual,  
>21 years

Grave: V93-69  
Age Group: 3  
Other Individuals: male 40 years

Grave: V94-75/127  
Age Group: 3  
Other Individuals: female, <30 years

#### **AGE GROUP 3/4**

Grave: R68  
Age Group: 3/4  
Other Individuals: individual 30-50  
years, cremated individual  
21-60 years

Grave: K207  
Age Group: 3/4

Other Individuals: 1 adult female, 1  
adult individual

#### **AGE GROUP 4**

Grave: K373b  
Age Group: 4  
Other Individuals: Sub-adult, AG2  
(K373a)

Grave: C56  
Age Group: 4  
Other Individuals:

Grave: C67  
Age Group: 4  
Other Individuals:

Grave: C68  
Age Group: 4  
Other Individuals:

Grave: R311  
Age Group: 4  
Other Individuals:

Grave: R316  
Age Group: 4  
Other Individuals:

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