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Chapter 13

Mors immatura, childhood and maternal–filial relationships in the *carmina epigraphica*. Case studies from the Iberian Peninsula

Rosa María Cid López

A funerary inscription discovered in *Carthago Noua* tells us about a mother who is unable to bear her daughter's death. Finally, the mother dies as well:

For your interest, traveller, here lies a daughter and her mother, whom died violently. Cruel almighty fortune first took the daughter away from the mother. Her premature death evidences how much the mother mourned the loss of her child. After the grieving mother honored her daughter with this monument, she surrendered her soul in the midst of all her pain.¹

In addition to being very moving, this beautiful epigraphic poem speaks volumes about the relationship between mothers and their infants. It specifically deals with the mother's deep affection and grief for her daughter, who died at a very early age. These types of texts are very common among the so-called *carmina epigraphica*, which are found widely across the Roman Empire. Hispania is not an exception. In Ancient Rome, epigraphic poems dealing with children and young people are relatively common and very beautifully written.² They are also among those which better convey the experience of pain, particularly parents' grief for a *mors immatura*, that is to say, a premature death.

Because of their characteristics, these poems have been traditionally studied by philologists, but they are also of tremendous value to historical scholarship. These funerary poems offer alternative views on childhood and maternal/paternal–filial relationships, and also show how femininity and masculinity are constructed from an early age. In this sense, they evidence the way in which boys and girls are given specific roles. Childhood is without any doubt a stage that leaves an imprint not only on individual lives, but also on social and family life, as is apparent in the *carmina epigraphica* dedicated to children.

Funerary poems refute the idea that parents did not love their children, a belief grounded on the high rate of infant mortality that existed back then. Parents' tributes

to their prematurely deceased children overtly express sorrow and pain. Thus, they contest the ethic of the *severitas* and the alleged coldness of maternal/paternal-filial relationships in Roman society. Among these poems, those dedicated by mothers to their sons and daughters particularly stand out. These compositions showcase the strong relationship that existed between mothers and their children in a society where the father played a prominent role.³

Sepulchral *carmina epigraphica*. Children testimonials

The number of texts from the Iberian Peninsula that have been selected to explore maternal-filial relationships is very limited. They make up a list of approximately 20 pieces showing mothers' tributes to their children.⁴ Additionally, they reflect what life was like in the rest of the Roman Empire.

In order to understand to what extent this limited number is significant, it is helpful to take some figures into account. Nowadays it is estimated that there are about 280,000 Latin inscriptions in the Roman Empire, including the 4135 *carmina epigraphica* or poems engraved on some kind of hard material (Fernández 1998–99, 11–18).⁵ Two hundred of the latter type can be found in the Iberian Peninsula, including the 20 funerary pieces dealing with the child population (see appendix).⁶ In this regard, they all are inscriptions engraved on gravestones or milestones, honoring the deceased children.

Up until not too long ago, it was hard to have access to this material because the existing publications were dispersed despite the many efforts to compile the texts and gather *corpora*. Between 1895 and 1897, Franz Bücheler created the first compilation. These inscriptions were translated into Spanish by Concepción Fernández Martínez in 1998 and 1999. It is difficult for historians to study this material because it is organised according to philological criteria, paying special attention to metrics and overlooking social, geographical or chronological standards. Later on, local studies were carried out and the CIL XVIII, which included *carmina epigraphica* found in the different Roman provinces, was created.⁷ Significantly, *corpora* pertaining to the Hispanic provinces have recently been gathered. It is known as XVIII/2. It has been compiled by a group of distinguished scholars in the field of classical philology, such as Concepción Fernández Martínez herself and Joan Gómez Pallarés. The texts making up these *corpora* consist of detailed comments and information, including bibliographic lists and images that are available for consultation in an online database.⁸

This is indeed an attractive object of study for linguists, and hence many studies have focused on its content, textual variety and semantic aspects. The process of reading, transcribing and translating is carried out in great detail, reconstructing fragmented lines, even though some interpretations may be debatable due to the difficulties arising in certain cases. Scholarly work on the *lamentatio*, *consolatio* and *laudatio* is of crucial relevance, as well as studies on the words used to express pain and relatives' reactions to death, regardless of the age of the deceased person (Hernández

2010). There is not much variation in terms of the words and expressions used. It is common to find tributes to the *Manes* or wishes that the earth lies light upon the dead. In addition, one can frequently find information about the life of the deceased person. Pieces honouring dead wives and husbands are worth considering; especially the terms used to praise their masculine and feminine qualities.⁹

There is no question that these studies contribute to expanding and enriching historical scholarship. In this regard, scholarly work on emotions may consider *carmina epigraphica* a valuable object of study, as they are no longer studied by philologists only. These texts clearly show parents' strong affection towards their infants. Similarly, they demonstrate that childhood is a crucial stage in the life of young people. Boys and girls were considered social beings, despite the fact that scholars such as Philippe Ariès thought otherwise.¹⁰ Nowadays, it is accepted that childhood is not only a physical age, but also a social and cultural construction. In this sense, it is argued that children are able to construct their own identities (Minten 2002, 118–120; Juskinson 2005, 92–93).¹¹

To be boy or girl in Ancient Rome. Childhood from the *mors immatura*

In Ancient Rome it was widely believed that children were not members of society because they were seen as *liminal beings* (Aasgard 2006, 31). During the early years of life, boys and girls were prepared for their future roles as men and women (Dixon 1992, 98–100). Their dying so young made it impossible to achieve those aspirations. These circumstances were reflected in the epitaphs.¹² It is also true however that boys and girls were considered part of the family and hence they were given specific roles in accordance with their young age. The same occurred to people who reached old age.¹³

According to the information provided by the *carmina epigraphica*, boys and girls share similar biographical characteristics, namely tenderness, obedience and their eagerness to learn (Sigismund 2001, 171). In both cases, emphasis is placed on their love for their parents and their family in general. When parents are mentioned in the texts, reference is made to their deep affection towards their deceased son or daughter. Different stages of childhood were distinguished; the younger the child was, the more difficult it was to consider her or him a *social being*.¹⁴ These attitudes are reflected in the reactions to their deaths, the place chosen for burial, or the funerary ritual, which could be regulated according to laws that went beyond social conventions.

It is noteworthy that children were buried apart from adults – babies in particular were buried underneath houses (Sevilla 2013, 208–209, 213). Burying infants next to their parents or other older family members was in fact exceptional.¹⁵ Leaving aside these norms and conventions, it is clear that families were eager to honor their dead young relatives, even if the latter were just a few months old when they died. The funerary monuments that families dedicated to their dead infants evidence this eagerness. In this regard, they were visible and functionally accessible to the passerby.¹⁶

As in the case of adults, children's graves were also placed close to the main roads to the city and were part of necropolis similar to those found in Ancient Rome and

Greece. Thereby, it is not uncommon to find a dialogue between the deceased person and the passerby, regardless of the former's age. The dead try to call the passerby's attention in order to stay in the memory of the living (Hualde 1995, 74–79; Fernández 1998, 37–38; Hernández 2001, 229–237).

Rituals performed to say goodbye to boys and girls are very similar. Differences in this type of rituals are in fact determined by age. For instance, most babies who were less than seven months old had no teeth and therefore could not be incinerated. Because of the children's small size, it was thought that the bonfire would be far from large. Similarly, due to their weak bones, it was assumed that they would be rapidly consumed, leaving no human remains at all (Sevilla 2012, 208–209, 213). The time allowed for mourning children that died under 3 years of age was a month for every year they had lived, showing the little importance given to young people (MacWilliam 2001, 7–5 and Sevilla 2012, 208, 228). Funerary ceremonies took place at dawn. These practices are captured by the concept of *funus acerbus*, which means 'bitter.' It can also be translated as *mors immatura*, and hence its bitterness.¹⁷

It goes without saying that a *mors immatura* is a source of deep pain for parents (Martin-Kilcher 2000; MacWilliam 2001, 78, 193; Sevilla 2010–11; 2012, 200–201; Hernández 2016).¹⁸ An inscription found in Iberian Peninsula greatly accounts for a father's reaction to his daughter's death, whose age remains unknown:

Egnacia Florentina is buried here. May the earth lie light upon thee. What the father thought her daughter should have done to him was prematurely done by the father to his daughter (Martín 2010, C05).

Sorrow was greater when children were involved. Boys left childhood when they were between 15 and 17. At this point they were given the *toga virilis*. Girls, on the one other hand, became adults when they turned 12, the age at which they were considered to be marriageable.¹⁹ These differences are taken into consideration when emphasising children's truncated lives. As far as boys are concerned, stress is laid on the fact that they had not been given the *toga virilis* yet, thus foregrounding their public activity (Dixon 1992, 108; Hernández 2001, 8–11; Laes 2016, 7).²⁰ Girls, for their part, were buried with their mirrors, dolls, spindles and other elements regarded as being feminine.²¹ Dolls are very important, since women left childhood by giving their toys (dolls in particular) away before getting married. It is unknown whether the dolls were offered to the household gods, or left in the temple of goddesses such as *Venus* or *Fortuna Virginalis*.²² In the Roman Empire, dolls are normally found in funerary contexts, not in domestic spaces (Dasen 2015, 328–334). It is common to find dolls and other toys in children's graves. Interestingly, in Ontur (Albacete) archaeologists found an impressive set of amber and ivory dolls in a girl's grave dating back between 4th and 5th century (Balil 1962).

Funerary monuments usually highlight the fact that the deceased infants were indeed good sons and daughters (Sevilla 2012, 222; Hernández 2001, 186–192). Sometimes they explain the cause of death, which usually involves an illness or an accident, and often express tremendous pain and grief for the loss. Thus, families'

wishes that they could take the place of the deceased infant are recurrent. Due to their inability to bear pain, mothers do sometimes follow their daughters in death.²³

It is also common to find references to the *Manes* and wishes that the earth may lie light upon the dead, evidencing that death was considered a passing phase of life. On the other hand, not always are these monuments explicit about the name of the dead person, the age or social status. The inclusion of nicknames and references to a premature death is enough to learn that a dead child is being honoured.

Paying tribute to a dead infant through poems was popular mainly among the emancipated slave population.²⁴ The latter engaged in this practice so as to prove that they were up the social ladder. Citizens, free and even slaves also dedicated poems to their dead infants. In this sense, the presence of the mother as the sole signer of the epitaph indicates that she is either a slave or a freedwoman and not a widow. On the other hand, the absence of the mother may be attributed to her being dead or to the tradition of highlighting the figure of the father only.

On reading the *carmina*, the beauty of the text and the suitability of the style, expressions and metrics become evident. Thereby, it can be argued that the sponsors of the monuments hired experts in poetry to write the texts. The influence of the greatest Latin poets (Horace, Ovid, Martial, Juvenal and of course Homer) is felt in many of the poems, as they often quote the aforementioned authors or include some of their most popular themes (Hualde 1995; Fernández 1998, 47–63). Leaving aside aspects such as social status and geographical origin, these pieces demonstrate the way Roman customs were adopted by families and passed to children, although the latter's death blocked assimilation into that way of life. These characteristics, which are clear in the case of Rome and the Italian Peninsula, are also identified in the *carmina epigraphica* found in the Hispanic provinces.

Hispania and the funerary *carmina epigraphica* dedicated to children. From paternal-filial to maternal-filial relationships

The 20 pieces under study here speak volumes about the relationship between parents and their children, the emotions triggered by a *mors immatura*, and the way childhood was conceived in Hispanic provinces and others of the Roman Empire, even though we cannot say for certain that all of these texts do account for the child population.

It is not coincidental that these pieces are found mostly in major cities; that is to say, in Romanised centres inhabited by people who are knowledgeable in Latin language and Greek and Latin literature, especially poetry. In fact, funerary poems are located in Latinised environments, namely *Corduba*, *Emerita*, *Hispalis* or *Castulo*, among other places.²⁵ The case of *Carthago Noua* is remarkable. A large set of epigraphs from an early stage was located in this community, which was very soon incorporated into the Roman Empire.²⁶ The first texts located here date back to the 1st century BC. More pieces appeared in the first centuries of our era, especially during the 1st and 2nd centuries. The Christianisation of the imperial society did not put an end

to the tradition of *carmina epigraphica*, which continued under the new religious establishment. As a matter of fact, the *corpus* created by Franz Bücheler included Christian texts dating back to the 9th century, many of which were found in the Iberian peninsula.²⁷

The pieces contained in the annex present twelve boys and nine girls. A bigger presence of the former was also common in other parts of the empire.²⁸ Their ages are varied; there is a 7-month-old baby and a 15-year-old teenage boy, who claims that he could not get to wear the *toga virilis*. There are also 1-, 2-, 3-, 8-, 9- and 11-year-old children, who belong to the category of *parvulus*, *puer* and *puella* (Dixon 1992, 104). Most of the epitaphs are not clear about the age infants were when they died. Expressions such as ‘dead at a tender age,’ ‘little daughter,’ ‘did not get to grow up,’ ‘boy,’ and ‘girl’ allow us to infer that children are being honoured.²⁹ The deceased boys and girls mainly represent frustrated hopes, as the protagonist of an inscription from *Baessuci* (today’s Vilches, Jaén) claims: ‘I was my parents’ greatest hope, but my name was lost because I did not get to grow up.’ The boy was called *Crescens*, meaning ‘the one who is growing up’ (Fernández 1998, 29, n. 16; Hernández 2001, 57).³⁰ Mostly parents are the ones dedicating the monuments to the children. The father is the sole signer in two cases and the mother in four. In six cases there are no references to either the father or the mother, which prevents us from jumping at any conclusions regarding their social status.

The presence of only one of the parents triggers some insights. The sole presence of the father is not strange considering the fact that families in Ancient Rome were patriarchal. What is especially bizarre is that the mother is the only signer of the epitaph. In this regard, the mother is believed to be a slave or a *liberta* that had her daughter or her son when she was a servant. In addition, the daughter or the son may be illegitimate, a fact that would not be accounted for by the funerary monument. Widows are out of the question here, because in that case we would be talking about a legitimate birth, which would be reflected in the monument.

There are a few striking examples of mothers as sole signers of the epitaphs. Two of them present a mother who decided to follow her daughter in death. This event is perfectly described in an inscription from *Carthago Noua* similar to the one opening this chapter:

The father lost his little daughter and the mother followed her in death. Her name was Salviola.³¹

It is not easy to come to conclusions regarding the social condition of the people featured in Hispanic epitaphs, although it is true that this practice was popular mainly among the slave and the emancipated slave populations (MacWilliam 2001, 93; Sevilla 2012, 223). Even if the *nomen* does not always specify whether or not the text was written in a servile context, what we know is that servants only had one name of non-Latin origin, which underscored their foreignness. In this sense, references to the mother were more common than to the father. A servile status is observed in ten of the selected cases. Their names are not Latin and in three cases the mother is mentioned as the sole

signer.³² Significantly, the inscription dedicated to a boy named *Phillocallus* mentions his mother and sister (see No. 7 in appendix). A reference to *tria nomina* indicates that we are talking about a citizen, which occurs in six cases.³³ The fragmented state of three examples do not enable us to reach any conclusions regarding social status. In this regard, the shortage of population emancipated slave and the great presence of slaves are in fact peculiar. According to the data available, the mothers and their daughters are sometimes buried together; the latter are never buried with their fathers.³⁴

Emphasis is usually placed on how premature and cruel the death was. Destiny and fortune are held responsible for these tragedies. There is even one case of murder.³⁵ Great importance is given to the feelings triggered by these losses. As a matter of fact, there is no shame in expressing pain and grief and there are even direct allusions to tears.³⁶ The death of boys and girls is regarded as unnatural because it goes against the order of nature. Thus, some parents say that they would graciously take the place of their dead infants. This wish is commonly expressed in the epitaphs that honour children, which can be regarded as a conventional way of expressing pain. This is revealed by the following words, which are uttered by a grieving mother:

I wish I was dead instead of my daughter. Now you rest in peace. May the earth lie light upon thee.³⁷

This wish is in the end realised in the inscription cited on the first page of this chapter, whose protagonist was also a mother. Allusions to pain and love are constant. In order to stop suffering, mothers are encouraged to consider having more children (No. 4 of the appendix), which challenges the idea that mothers did not love their infants.

Mors immatura, childhood and gender. The lamentation of mothers

It is possible to identify several features that keep recurring in the funerary poetry of the Iberian Peninsula, features that are also common to texts found in Rome and the Italian peninsula. I am referring to the dialogues that are established with travellers, the wish that the earth lies light upon the dead or the recommendations that the passerbys make the most of their lives.³⁸ There are also singular features that are worth considering, especially the detailed descriptions of the societal roles given to boys and girls. Unfortunately, because of their early death, they could not fully follow those gender scripts.

Boys exhibit masculine virtues very early. Stress is laid on the fact that they would perform typically masculine activities when they became adults. This is emphasised in the epitaph to *Crescens* (No. 9), already mentioned, whose death caused severe pain in his parents. He is indeed the protagonist of the text below:

When you walk past my grave, stop for a moment and read these few words quickly. Here I am, *Crescens*: I was my parents' greatest hope, but my name got lost because I did not get to grow up. All my people's and my country's love has always been with me and my own death attests to that privilege. My courage was not concealed

by my good speaking abilities and my conception of friendship. My own father engraved these flattering words on my grave as a sign of the impossibility to forget my death. Many will learn this epitaph: you who walk past my grave, be nice to me, may the art of these verses move my *Manes* and, since you have already read them, I say goodbye.³⁹

In the case of girls, the situation is very different, as is apparent in a text dedicated to Lesbia by her mother, located in *Iesso* (Guissona, Lérida). Lesbia's beauty is foregrounded:

Praepusa to her eleven-year-old daughter Lesbia, who lies here. What does destiny aim to do when taking away from me the most beautiful thing it has ever created? If we have to submit to the law of the hados, then we will cry in front of the rigid destiny. She was not even twelve. She had never dropped any tear, but now we, her beloved ones, cry over her death. Take care of yourselves, you afflicted parents and stop bothering my *Manes*. We write this epitaph to alleviate our pain and for readers to say: May the earth lie light upon thee!⁴⁰

Regardless of gender, all the texts under study show parents' deep affection towards their infants and the pain caused by the death of the latter. However, in the case of boys, emphasis is placed on their physical strength, talent, love for their country and speaking abilities: characteristics that will be also present in their adulthood. Beauty, on the other hand, is the only feature worthy of attention when talking about girls. Regarding parents, whose role is not as prominent as that of their dead infants, one can observe differences between mothers and fathers. In this regard, only two mothers follow their children in death, whereas no father surrenders to death. As far as the level of pain is concerned, differences can also be identified. They are evident in a text dedicated to a 9-year-old girl who is 'cried over by her father and demanded by her mother' (No. 12 in the appendix).

To sum up, the *carmina epigraphica* remain under-studied in historical scholarship. Even though texts dealing with children are scarce in the Iberian Peninsula, they do reveal that gender made a difference in premature deaths. Mothers' and fathers' attitudes towards their dead children were also different. Both conveyed their pain by relying on the gender roles they had been taught, making it clear that their dead infants were on their way to become men and women. Mothers usually surpassed parents when expressing pain. When a woman decided to follow her daughter in death, she showed female *immoderatio*, but, in this case, her attitude aroused respect and admiration. Actually, they reinforced the image of the *bona et pia mater* pervading Roman society.

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Notes

- 1 Epitaph found in *Carthago Noua*, the modern Cartagena (Murcia, Spain). See Appendix No. 1. Due to the difficulties of translating Latin poetry, all passages cited in this text come from Spanish versions, especially from those provided by Carmen Fernández.
- 2 Epitaphs dedicated to a dead spouse or adult sons and daughters are also very beautifully written. Besides, they stress the affection towards the dead person and the pain caused by his or her death (Hernández 2001, 130–137 and 153–168).
- 3 Recent works have revisited the figure of the mother and the conception of motherhood. For some examples Cid (2009; 2010) or Hackworth and Salzman-Mitchel (2012). They expand on Dixon's pioneer work, which dates back to 1988.
- 4 The texts located in Rome and Italy are too many to be considered in this chapter. For this reason, I have selected significant epitaphs found in the Iberian Peninsula. I rely on Concepción Fernández's translations into Spanish (1998–99; 2007) and on the texts compiled by Franz Bücheler (1895–97). Reference is also made to the works of Hernández (2001), Hernández and Gómez (2006) and Martin (2010, 19–23).
- 5 These data are not updated, for new testimonies have been discovered since then. For more information on the pieces found in Hispania, see Hernández (2001) who carries out a detailed philological study on the words and expressions used in these funerary texts.
- 6 Corell (1990–91, 165, n.1) claims that there are 220 *carmina epigraphica* in the Iberian Peninsula.
- 7 For more information on these *corpora* and its evolution, see Fernández (1998, 12–18; 2007, 13–20), Hernández (2001, xvii–xviii) and Martin (2010, 19–23) among others. Sebastián Mariner analysed the case of Hispania in 1952.
- 8 This database is known as *Carmina Latina Epigraphica Hispaniae. Latin Epigraphic Poetry Database: Iconographic and Textual Researchs*, edited by C. Fernández Martínez, J. Gómez Pallarés and J. del Hoyo Vallejo. [<http://cle.us.es/clehispaniae/show-index.jsf?idx=CHAR>]. It was finalised in 2013 and includes 173 inscriptions from the Iberian Peninsula. It also includes detailed information about each piece, which is presented using philological standards.
- 9 Women are referred to as *domiseda*, *univira* or *lanifica*, as Hernández (2010, 17–19; 2016) points out. This is in fact a frequent practice in the Roman Empire.
- 10 Minten (2002, 110) foregrounds the conception of children as social beings. Phillipe Ariès (1960) was a pioneer historian who specialised in childhood, although he also analysed modern society. Nowadays, his theses are frequently called into question. Evans and Parkin (2013, 1–6) are some of the scholars in ancient times that criticise Ariès.
- 11 For a recent view on childhood in ancient times, see, for example, Aasgard (2006) and Evans and Parkin (2013). The particular case of Greece is analysed by Beaumont (2012) and Jouanna (2017), whereas Laes (2016) and Laes and Vuolanto (2017) explore the case of Rome.
- 12 Children's death in Rome has been explored by scholars such as Neraudeau (1987), King (2000), Minten (2002), Mustakallo *et al.* (2005) and Sevilla (2012).
- 13 Childhood, maturity and old age are important stages in family life, as Rawson (2003; 2011) argues in his studies on the family, emphasising the role of children in particular.
- 14 The work of Laes (2016) is crucial to fully grasp these aspects. For a review of the studies on childhood in ancient times, see Minten (2002, 9–10), Aasgard (2006, 25–27) and Laes (2016, 13–18).
- 15 See George (2013) for an analysis of examples found in Rome.
- 16 For some insights on children's graves, see King (2000) and Huskinson (2005).
- 17 For more information on the conception of *funus acerbus*, see Boyancé (1952) and Fernández (2003).
- 18 Very early Ter Vrugth-Lentz (1960) analysed the *mors immatura*.
- 19 The minimum marriageable age in Rome is a very controversial issue, although Laes (2016, 1–2) or Evans and Parkin (2013, 6–7) agree on these ages. According to Dixon (1992, 104), the

- infans*, who does not speak, the *parvulus*, and then the *puer* or *puella*, who is an older boy or girl, were distinguished.
- 20 See *Festus*' epitaph (Appendix No. 13).
- 21 Toys are usually found in children's graves (Sevilla 2012, 223–224).
- 22 Hersch (2010, 65–68) argues that the age at which Roman women got rid of their dolls is unknown.
- 23 Appendix Inscription No. 6 is a good example of this.
- 24 Laes (2016, 11) defines the funerary *carmina epigraphica* as 'the voices of ordinary people.'
- 25 According to Hernández (2001, xvii–xviii) this is a recurring characteristic in all the *carmina epigraphica*.
- 26 For a view on the epitaphs found in *Carthago Noua*, see Hernández and Gómez (2006).
- 27 Hernández and Gómez (2006, xvii); Fernández (1998, 30–47).
- 28 Appendix text No. 17 presents two brothers.
- 29 These expressions are present in Appendix texts Nos 3, 5, 9, 10, 17 and 12. According to MacWilliam (2001, 14) the Italian funerary epigraphy usually specifies how old the boy or girl was when they died so as to foreground their early age.
- 30 See Appendix text No. 9
- 31 Appendix text No. 5. Interpretation and translation by Fernández (1998, n. 1070). Some authors offer different translations. For Hernández and Gómez (2006, n. 5), *Salviola* died in her adult years and after becoming a mother. According to these authors, the inscription says that 'when she was little, the daughter lost her father and, when she became a mother, she followed her father in death.'
- 32 Appendix texts Nos 1, 5, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19 and 20. For more information about the *nomina* of the Hispanic *carmina epigraphica*, see Limón and Martín (2012).
- 33 Appendix texts Nos 2, 3, 4, 6, 8 and 15.
- 34 In two cases the mother and her daughter share the same grave (Appendix Nos 5 and 6). In two other examples there are only references to the siblings (Nos 1 and 17).
- 35 Cruelty is mentioned in Appendix texts Nos 5 and 6 and destiny is discussed in No. 12. Fortune is mentioned in Nos 4 and 6. There are also allusions to the abandonment of the *Hados* in Nos 1 and 13. Murder is mentioned in text No. 3.
- 36 This occurs in Appendix Nos 1, 6, 8, 12 and 20 of the annex. Affection is mentioned in Nos 17 and 18 and the loss of the *pignora cara patentes* is lamented in No. 17.
- 37 Appendix No. 7. This expression is recurrent in inscriptions located in other parts of the Roman Empire, as Hernández points out (2001, 24–27).
- 38 Direct references to travellers can be seen in Appendix texts Nos 2, 4, 9, 6 and 15 of the annex. The expression *sit tibi terra levis* is commonly found too (texts Appendix Nos 1, 2, 7, 11, 14, 15, 16 and 18).
- 39 A similar text is present in the epitaph dedicated to *Quintus Lusius Senica*, whose father laments that his son was not strong enough when he died because he had not reached adulthood yet (Appendix text No. 3). The love for the country evokes Cicero. The admiration towards *Lares Patrii* is present in a very fragmented epitaph dedicated to a boy (text No. 15), which reproduces expressions similar to those found in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, as pointed out by Hernández (2001, 187–188).
- 40 Appendix text No. 1. Reference should also be made to a poem dedicated to a girl from *Hispalis* who died when she was 1 year 8 months and 12 days old. The text goes as follows: 'Nome was my name and I was called *Cusucia* upon being born. Both names are present in this inscription. I lived for a short time and while I was alive I always was affectionate towards my father. Now I am buried under this epitaph. I fulfilled all my duties. You, whoever reads these verses, may note the little time I got to live. I beg you to say "may the earth lie light upon

thee” (Appendix text No. 16). In this case, the girl’s affectionate character and compromise to fulfill her duties stand out.

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Appendix

List of Epigraphic *carmina epigraphica* on *mors inmaturna* of Children. Selected Testimonials of the Iberian Peninsula

No.	Bibliographic reference	Location	Girl/child dead	Relatives mentioned	Date	Age
1	Hernández 2001 321	Iesso (Guissona, Lérida)	Lesbia	Servilia Praepusa (mother)		11 years 10 months
2	Fernández 1999, no. 2.183	Montán, Castellón	M. Marius Lasciuos	–	–	3 years 6 months
3	Fernández, 1998, no.979; Hernández and Gómez 2006, no. 7	Carthago Noua (Cartagena, Murcia)	Quintus Lusius Senia ¹	–	1st century AD	(Young age)
4	Fernández 1998, no. 980; Hernández and Gómez 2006, no. 3	Carthago Noua (Cartagena, Murcia)	C. Licinius Thorax (son of Caius Licinius)	Parents	1st century AD	–
5	Fernández 1998, no. 1.070	Carthago Noua (Cartagena, Murcia)	Saluiola (and your mother)	Parents	1st century BC	(small daughter)
6	Fernández 1998 no. 1.076 = Hernández and Gómez 2006, no. 8	Carthago Noua (Cartagena, Murcia)	Sicinia, (the mother) Sicinia Secunda, (the daughter) ²	–	–	–
7	Fernández, 1999, no. 1.194; Hernández and Gomez 2006, no. 10.	Carthago Noua (Cartagena, Murcia)	Phillocallus ³	Mother	1st–2nd century AD	–
8	Hernández and Gómez 2006, no. 2	Carthago Noua (Cartagena, Murcia)	Publius Pontilenus (son of Lucius)	Parents	1st century BC	–
9	Fernández 1999, no. 1.196	Baesucci (Vilches, Jaén)	Crescens	Parents		Uncertain
10	Fernández 2007, no. J18	Torredelcampo (Jaén)	(girl)	–	1st century AD	–
11	Fernández 1998, no. 193	Castulo (Linares, Jaén)	Antisporo		2nd century AD	8 years
12	Fernández 1998, no. 445; 2007, no. CO5	Corduba (Córdoba)	Melitine	Titilicuta, (mother) Carpoforo (father)	2nd–3rd century AD	9 years 6 months 8 days

No.	Bibliographic reference	Location	Girl/child dead	Relatives mentioned	Date	Age
13	Fernández 2007, CO3	Corduba	<i>Festus</i>	Mother (?) ⁴	2nd–3rd century AD	15 years
14	Fernández 2007, CO18	<i>Conuentus Cordubensis</i>	(girl)	Mother	1st–2nd century AD	2 years
15	Fernández 2007, CO10	Cortijo de Malpartida, Córdoba	<i>Son of Marius</i>	Father	2nd century AD	Uncertain ⁵
16	Fernández 1998, No. 1.316	<i>Hispalis</i> (Sevilla)	<i>Nome Cusucia</i>	Father	–	1 year 8 months 12 days
17	Fernández, 1998, no. 1.158; 2007, no. CA1	Gades (Cádiz)	<i>Sodalis et Festiua</i> (brothers)	Parents	1st century AD	11 years (girl) 1 year (child)
18	Fernández 1999, no. 1.566	Gades (Cádiz)	<i>Herennia Crocine</i>	–	–	Uncertain ⁶
19	Martín 2010, no. MA1	<i>Sabora</i> , (Tolox, Málaga)	<i>Hermógenes</i>	–	–	8 years 7 months 13 days
20	Fernández 1999, no. 1.197	<i>Emerita Augusta</i>	<i>Julianus</i>	Parents	–	7 months

¹ According to Hernández and Gómez, No. 7, *Quintus Lusius Senica* is referred to here; ² *Sicinia* was the daughter of *Quintus* and *Sicinia Secunda* of *Gaius*; ³ the inscription refers to the freedwoman *Aucta*, the mother and *Adventa*, the sister, who dedicated the monument; ⁴ Allusions are made to the wet nurse; ⁵ according to Fernández 2007, 199, both *VIII* and *XVIII ann(or)um* could be written on the grave; ⁶ the youth of the deceased woman is emphasised, without specifying age. We cannot say for certain that it is talking about a girl