# Children, Memory, and Family Identity in Roman Culture

Edited by
VÉRONIQUE DASEN
and
THOMAS SPÄTH

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# *Preface and Acknowledgements*

This volume presents a selection of the papers delivered at the Fifth Roman Family Conference, 'Secret Families, Family Secrets', which took place in June 2007 in Fribourg (Switzerland). The conference, held for the first time in Europe, assembled specialists from different academic and cultural traditions: American, Australian, Belgian, Finnish, French, German, Italian, and Swiss.

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V.D. and T.S.

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# *List of Contributors*

**Catherine Baroin** is Maître de conférences of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Rouen (France).

**Véronique Dasen** is Professor in Classical Archaeology at the University of Fribourg (Switzerland).

**Judith Evans Grubbs** is Professor of Roman History at Emory University (USA).

**Michel Fuchs** is Professor in Roman Provincial Archaeology at the University of Lausanne (Switzerland).

**Danielle Gourevitch** is Directeur d'études at the École pratique des Hautes Études in Paris (France).

**Ann-Cathrin Harders** is Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Münster (Germany).

**Christian Laes** is Assistant Professor of Ancient History at the University of Antwerp, and Assistant Professor of Latin and Ancient History at the Free University of Brussels (Belgium).

**Francesca Mencacci** is Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Siena (Italy).

**Philippe Moreau** is Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University Paris Est Créteil (France).

**Francesca Prescendi** is Professor in History of Religions at the University of Geneva (Switzerland).

**Beryl Rawson** is Professor Emerita and Adjunct Professor in Classics at the Australian National University, Canberra (Australia).

**Thomas Späth** is Professor in Ancient Cultures and Constructions of Antiquity at the University of Bern (Switzerland).

**Ville Vuolanto** is Lecturer at the Department of History and Philosophy, University of Tampere (Finland).

# Introduction

*Véronique Dasen and Thomas Späth*

In 1986, the publication of the first *Roman Family Conference* by Beryl Rawson promised '*New Perspectives*' in the study of family life, defined as the household, including the conjugal family and non-kin dependants.[1] The following three *Roman Family Conferences* demonstrated that family studies had departed from a traditional prosopographic approach, centred on the study of upper-class marriage alliances and politics. Moreover, they promoted an in-depth transformation of the mode of inquiry into social history, and engaged other disciplines, such as demography, anthropology, and archaeology, which brought a new focus on social values and the inner workings of the family. The first volume[2] dealt with the acquisition and transmission of property by women, questioned the extent of the father's rights, and examined children of humble legal status, such as those born to slave and free parents, or illegitimates, or 'foster children', such as *alumni* and *vernae*. Published in 1991, the proceedings of the second conference[3] further expanded the themes, and issues concerned matrimonial strategies, attitudes towards divorce, remarriage and adoption, and marriages involving slaves or recently freed slaves. In particular, contributors confronted the sentimental ideal of family life with the frequency of reconstituted or blended families in the upper classes. From this emerged a dynamic field of

[1] Rawson 1986. For a definition, see also George 2005, 1–3.
[2] Rawson 1986.
[3] Rawson 1991.

research, which the next two conferences pursued and deepened.[4] Specifically, they explored the structure of Roman kinship, and endeavoured to reveal greater insights into the lives of families from the lower social strata. This research also drew increasingly on iconography in order to understand adult–child relationships. Contributions, moreover, discussed the physical setting of family life, and to what extent the space of the Roman house reflected the organization of kin and non-kin in the same household. In the fourth volume, edited by Michele George in 2005, investigations expanded beyond Italy to other provinces of the Roman Empire.

The present volume builds on these results and presents a selection of the papers delivered at the fifth *Roman Family Conference* in Fribourg (Switzerland) in summer 2007. This first *Roman Family Conference* to be held in Europe brought together scholars spanning Anglo-American and European research traditions and specializing in Roman family and childhood history, and continued the dialogue between these various approaches.[5] Based on the current international developments of the history of the family, the contributions gathered here focus on three much debated areas of Roman social history: the history of childhood, the concept of social memory, and the modes of construction and transmission of social identity.

Ancient childhood has recently become a significant issue. A wealth of studies has raised new methodological questions thanks to cross-disciplinary and comparative approaches over large geographical areas. The notion of childhood is as complex and challenging as that of the 'Roman family'. In *Constructions of Childhood in*

[4] Rawson and Weaver 1997; George 2005.

[5] See, for instance, the series entitled *Kindheit, Jugend, Familie* [Childhood, Youth, Family] published by the Centre for Historical Anthropology at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany): Müller 1985; Martin and Nitschke 1986; Martin and Zoepffel 1989. In 1986, a colloquium on the interrelations between the family and political practices was held in France, and its proceedings were published in 1990 (Andreau and Bruhns 1990). 1986 also saw the publication of the two-volume *Histoire de la famille* (Burguière *et al.* 1986), in whose first volume Y. Thomas and A. Rousselle published important contributions to the understanding of ancient Rome (Rousselle 1986; Thomas 1986). Since the 1980s, the Centre for the Study of Anthropology of the Ancient World, *Antropologia del mondo antico*, established by Maurizio Bettini at the University of Siena, has published the findings of numerous research projects on the Roman family and kinship—see, for instance, Beltrami 1998; Bettini 1986; Guastella 1985; Mencacci 1996.

*Ancient Greece and Italy*, Ada Cohen and Jeremy Rutter have underscored the instability of its definition, which depends not only on biological but also on shifting cultural criteria.[6] Among the new directions, many questions concerning the parent–child bond and the role of the child within the family are revisited. Thus, Philippe Ariès's thought-provoking *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*,[7] which refuted both the notions of childhood as a separate stage of human life and of sentimental relationships between adults and children in pre-modern societies, was first widely acknowledged also by ancient historians.[8] Concurrently, however, Ariès's claims were critically debated in relation to ancient Rome, for instance in Judith Hallet's study of the close relationships between fathers and daughters in Roman elites, or in Jean-Pierre Néraudau's *Être enfant à Rome*. In their contributions to the second *Roman Family Conference*, Susan Dixon and Emiel Eyben opposed 'negative generalisations', and instead postulated the transfer of current notions of the family and of emotional bonds onto antiquity.[9] The most substantiated criticism of Ariès's claims concerned his interpretation of iconographic materials.[10] With regard to antiquity, it is thus especially archaeological evidence that has offered new insights into the value of children from birth onwards in both the upper and lower classes.[11] Funerary practices, for example, demonstrate that specific rituals were performed for dead newborn babies and infants. In the Roman world,

[6] Cohen and Rutter 2007. See also Dasen 2004; Mustakallio, Hanska, Sainio, and Vuolanto 2005. For a review of past scholarship, see also Dasen, Lett, Morel, and Rollet 2001; Backe-Dahmen 2006.

[7] Ariès 1960.

[8] See Backe-Dahmen (2006: 11) for references to the corresponding passages in Wiedemann 1989, Golden 1988, and Bakke 2005, who all date the emergence of the notion of childhood as a fully-fledged stage of life already to Christianity or before—and not only to the 17th cent. like Ariès. The latter's study is not concerned with antiquity; he had restricted his claims decidedly to the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age; see his preface to the new edition of his book (Ariès 1973: 18–19), where he sets apart the period of Imperial Rome by making reference to the numerous children's graves during the first four centuries, which attest to parents mourning the death of an infant aged a few months or of a young child a few years old.

[9] Hallett 1984; Néraudau 1984; Dixon 1991; Eyben 1991. See also Rawson 2003.

[10] See A. Cohen's introduction to Cohen and Rutter 2007: 6.

[11] Neils and Oakley 2004; Uzzi 2005; Backe-Dahmen 2006.

the under-representation of small children in traditional funerary spaces is now explained by their presence in other contexts, such as in settlements, or inside houses or along their walls. Similar observations have also begun to emerge about the Greek world.[12] Contrary to longstanding belief, while small children occupied a marginal status, in that they were too young to be fully recognized social beings, this did not imply that their parents treated them with indifference.

If recent studies have demonstrated that Ariès's ideas must be called into question with regard to ancient societies, the specific practices of love and affection in Roman culture remain open to discussion. The emotional involvement of parents did indeed interact with the construction of family traditions—*traditions* in quite a distinct sense from those unearthed by standard prosopographic studies, which have assumed since the nineteenth century that there was evidence for the existence of *political* constants in connection with specific gentilician names.[13] Today, historians of Roman family history inquire into tradition in terms of identity: how was family identity elaborated and transmitted in the everyday practices of family life, notwithstanding regular ruptures—divorces, remarriages, adoptions—which were part of daily life in ancient Rome? The notion of tradition implies the transmission of memory. Memory and identity, however, are individual facts,[14] and their collective meaning needs explanation. The present volume begins with exploring how children acquire personal memory within the family, which is as such anchored within the social group of its ancestors and in the interaction between the families constituting Roman society. The contributions thus propose answers to a question that has remained unanswered in the numerous historical investigations into *social memory* over the past decades: from the

[12] Coulon 1994; Duday, Laubenheimer' and Tillier 1995; Gourevitch, Moirin, and Rouquet 2003; Durand 2003; Alfonso and Blaizot 2004; Laubenheimer 2004; Baills-Talbi and Blanchard 2006; Dasen 2009b and 2010.

[13] See Hinnerk Bruhns's essay and the Introduction by H. Bruhns and J. Andreau in Andreau and Bruhns 1990.

[14] This is the object of F. Yates's study (1966) which rests on individual *art* of memory and of mnemotechnics without exploring the collective dimension of memory.

debate on collective memory which surged in the 1980s, starting with theoretical deliberations on the relationship between history and memory,[15] through the *lieux de mémoire* (sites of memory) of national histories,[16] to research on Roman practices of politically governed social memory.[17] Notwithstanding many new insights, these studies hardly considered the interdependence between individual and collective memory as a problem.

The new interest of historical research in the social phenomenon of memory amounts to the rediscovery of a research topic prevalent in the 1920s. Between 1924 and 1929, Aby Warburg devoted himself to his last scholarly work, the *Mnemosyne Atlas*, an inventory of pictures in which he set about tracing a European memory of images that he termed 'social memory'.[18] Warburg's reflections attained no theoretical substantiation beyond these marvellous plates, and thus remained an isolated project within the history of art, quite unlike the work of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, which attracted widespread reception about half a century later, especially in Classics.[19] Halbwachs starts out from the postulate that the individual's integration into a collective symbolic order serves as a prerequisite for any recollection of past events, that is, that they can be situated within a social context and attributed meanings. Collective memory does not exist beyond individual organic memory, he further asserts, but collective and individual memory are instead interdependent. Individuals remember by adopting the viewpoint of the group; conversely, memory realizes and manifests itself

[15] For a representative example in medieval history research, see J. Le Goff's *Storia e memoria*; for ancient history scholarship, see G. S. Shrimpton's *History and Memory in Ancient Greece* (1997).

[16] Pierre Nora's pioneering study (1997) has been much emulated, for instance in Germany (François and Schulze 2001), Italy (Isnenghi 1996–8), but also in studies of the ancient world (Stein-Hölkeskamp 2006). For a discussion of the concept of memory in 20th-cent. historiography, see most recently Whitehead 2009.

[17] See C. Hedrick's study of *CIL* 6. 1783, the alleged *damnatio memoriae* of Nicomachus Flavianus and his rehabilitation in the year 431 CE (Hedrick 2000).

[18] Warburg 2008.

[19] Beyond the study mentioned here (Halbwachs 1994 [1925]), see especially the posthumously published *La Mémoire collective*, in which Halbwachs further pursued his reflections (Halbwachs 1968 [1950]).

in individual memories.[20] Halbwachs does not consider this collective memory to be an image or copy of the past, but claims instead that it is characterized by selectivity and reconstructivity. Thus, memory is shaped, selected, and reorganized according to social needs, which are themselves contingent on the ever-changing present. Halbwachs demonstrates this concept of memory as much in both small groups and the family, and subsequently expands his basic postulate to religious communities and the European aristocracy.[21] The question bound up with his expanded postulate, namely about the specific mechanisms of transmission and the formation of tradition over centuries, remained unanswered during Halbwachs's life and research, which came to an abrupt end with his murder by the Nazis in Buchenwald in 1945.

Halbwachs's deliberations served as a starting point for the research undertaken by Aleida and Jan Assmann since the mid-1980s amid the interdisciplinary exchange between English Studies and Egyptology. Their fundamental distinction is that between *communicative* and *cultural* memory. Communicative memory corresponds to the 'biographical recollection' of everyday communication, which comprises three generations and a period of eighty to a hundred years, and thus also includes the 'recent past' of *oral tradition* research. Unlike the 'floating gap',[22] firmly established since Jan Vansina advanced his hypotheses in the 1960s, Aleida and Jan Assmann posit that in the social practice of remembrance cultural memory

[20] Halbwachs 1994 [1925]: viii. See also the first chapter, 'Mémoire collective et mémoire individuelle', in Halbwachs 1968 [1950]: 1–34.

[21] In anticipation of the concept of 'sites of memory', Halbwachs published *Topographie légendaire des Évangiles en Terre Sainte* in 1941 (Halbwachs 1971 [1941]); an English translation containing excerpts from this study and from *Cadres sociaux de la mémoire* was published as *On Collective Memory* (ed., trans., and with an introd. by L. A. Coser, Chicago, 1992).

[22] Vansina 1985: 23–4. With regard to oral tradition, Vansina postulates a tripartite division of time, comprising first the highly informative stories about the most recent past, second the equally detailed accounts of the origins of a remote time, and third for the time between these periods the merely scant records, which he terms the 'floating gap'. In her trend-setting study of the construction of 'family tradition' in 5th- and 4th-cent. Athenian oral tradition, R. Thomas furnishes evidence precisely for this three-generational structure of memory handed down in (aristocratic) families, beyond which hardly anything is remembered up until a legendary eponymous ancestor becomes situated in a mythical past (Thomas 1989: esp. 123–31).

immediately follows on from everyday memory. Cultural memory recalls events and narrated persons, which both designate the origins of the cultural present and become consolidated in 'figures of remembrance'. Such figures of remembrance, moreover, are transmitted via specific media: by means of language, such as myths or epic song; by means of images, such as sculptures and buildings; and by means of performance, such as rituals and festivals. All media are constantly made new by designated 'specialists', such as rhapsodists, scribes, or priests, in forms rendered distinct from the everyday. Cultural memory thus preserves the identity of a culture, not only by conserving collective knowledge about origins and values, but also by continuously reactualizing such knowledge.[23]

Aleida and Jan Assmann's further developments of Halbwachs's approaches, as outlined here, present a set of conceptual tools able to conceive the transmission of the origin and foundation narratives in social groups. At the same time, however, these concepts are limited to the macro perspective of the grand narratives about the origins of overall cultures, and thus leave unanswered two fundamental issues: on the one hand, they neglect the memories of specific social groups within these overall cultures; on the other, their structuralist viewpoint fails to account for the pragmatic mechanisms about how everyday life conveys 'cultural memory' through commonplace actions and behaviour in the sphere of 'communicative memory'.[24]

Notwithstanding the evident limitations of such a perspective, the concept of 'cultural memory' has proved to be a highly stimulating approach for investigating the *invention of tradition*, also and

[23] For a definition of cultural memory, see especially Assmann and Assmann 1988: 29–33; J. Assmann 1988: 12–6 and 1997: 52–6.

[24] Aleida Assmann's work refers to 'communicative memory' as 'ephemeral and trivial' (Assmann 1991*b*: 14; see also Assmann 1991*a*: 187–91), while Jan Assmann notes its 'unshapedness, arbitrariness, disorganisation' (Assmann 1988: 10). The reasons justifying the exclusion of 'communicative memory' as a research topic coincide largely with the reasons that made Ferdinand de Saussure, the founder of structuralist linguistics, refute 'parole' (speech) as a suitable object of research, given that it was 'accessory' and 'accidental'; Saussure therefore studied the structures of 'langue', that is, of language as a system, declaring this to be the only object of a science known as linguistics. What 'langue' was for Saussure, 'cultural memory' is for A. and J. Assmann. For a more detailed substantiation of this classification, see Späth 1998: 42–3.

precisely in Roman culture. This approach has been conceptually further developed into the notion of *social memory*, thus rendering it capable of grasping the complex group-specific mnemonic processes within an overall culture.[25] In Roman society, the *mos maiorum* emerges as binding memory; such 'ancestral custom' also substantiates Roman aristocratic identity and allows us to observe its ceaseless transformation.[26] Especially German-speaking ancient historians have in recent years engaged in a broad debate on the social process of collective identity establishment.[27] In Republican and Imperial Rome, social values are conveyed not in abstract maxims, but instead in narratives about the exemplary deeds of 'great men'. These deeds are incessantly reactualized in Roman historiography, in the speeches delivered in the courts and in the Senate, and in the numerous commemorative statues and wall paintings in the squares, streets, and sacred sites of ancient Rome.[28] At the centre of these actualizations stands the aristocratic *domus*, which was understood as both the family's social group and as the concrete physical space in which its ancestors enjoyed visible and everyday presence as *imagines*, the wax busts and descriptions of their exemplary deeds. On the other hand, the *domus* ensured the constant renewal of remembrance—not only by way of the *pompa funebris*, but also through the endeavours of elite families to attain pictorial presence in urban space in the form of statues and paintings.

All investigations into Roman social memory point to the family as the pivotal point of the transmission of tradition and values. Compared to classical Athens, for which Rosalind Thomas's study of the construction of memory along the lines of the *oral tradition* has established a marked difference between family traditions and a significantly more complex 'polis tradition', the Roman construction of family traditions is characterized by ancestors being remembered not because of their individual characteristics but because of their exemplary fulfilment of the collective norms of the *mos maiorum*. Such a construction raises even more urgently the question how

[25] See Fentress and Wickham 1992. For an application of this concept to Roman processes of memory construction, see Horsfall 1996; Späth 1998: 45–6.

[26] Gehrke 1994; David 1998*a* and 1998*b*.

[27] See the three collections edited by Braun, Haltenhoff, and Mutschler 2000; Linke and Stemmler 2000; Haltenhoff, Heil, and Mutschler 2005.

[28] Hölkeskamp 1996; Späth 1998; Coudry and Späth 2001.

this complex process of bringing together collective memory with ancestral commemoration was conveyed to the Roman family on an everyday basis. The working assumption of the contributions to the fifth *Roman Family Conference* is that children were the key actors in this process.

This volume thus focuses on the role of children in the transmission of social memory as an instrument for the construction of social identities within the family. It draws together the perspectives of various disciplines: historical and epigraphic approaches combine with the perspectives that archaeology, legal history, religious studies, the history of medicine, gender history, and historical anthropology develop on Roman children living in different family and household circumstances, from the city of Rome to the Italian peninsula and from the first century BCE to Late Antiquity and the Christian period. Accordingly, the essays assembled here present a wide range of source materials, including not only textual sources written in diverse genres, but also visual and material evidence. The collection thus presents a wealth of evidence for future scholarship. All contributions attest to a growing interest in both relationships and practices, and in material and cultural contexts, rather than in institutions; thus, they reflect shifting concerns among a new generation of Roman family historians. The available source materials render obvious a discussion of those children whose legal and social status makes them the actual bearers of family tradition, not only the legitimate children of the elite *domus*, but also those of non-aristocratic families. Significantly, the contributions gathered here also point to the importance of examining those children living outside the legally determined succession of generations and in extraordinary circumstances, for instance on the edge of or beyond legimitacy.

The first part of this collection deals with family identities and traditions; it explores the notion of memory, and examines the role of children in its transmission in elite and non-elite circles.

Familial memory is not passive. The first four chapters examine the mechanisms of memory in the construction of gentilician identity, established by the transmission of names and genealogy and by the performance of religious rites and actions. In Republican Rome, it was a father's task to instruct his son and to turn him into a worthy

representative of his family, just as he himself had learned to be a Roman aristocrat by following his own father's *exemplum*. Catherine Baroin investigates the concept of imitation, based on the knowledge of past deeds; its active dimension is well illustrated by the metaphor 'following in the footsteps of our ancestors' used by various authors (Cicero, Seneca, Tacitus). More than physical resemblance, moral behaviour was expected to reflect the model of the father or of a prestigious ancestor.

Imitation was not restricted to agnates. Ann-Cathrin Harders argues that maternal relatives also had an influence on children, especially in the absence of fathers, on account of high mortality rates, divorce, and remarriage. Familial break-ups entailed 'patchwork families', that is, constructions that cannot be described in strict agnatic terms. The fragmentation of Roman families was countered by substitute parenting, often by cognate kin or by the single mother offering an alternative model. The ideal of *imitatio patris* was thus replaced with the practice of *imitatio cognati,* that is, the imitation of both paternal and maternal ancestors. A bilinear, cognatic tradition became more visible and prominent. Harders studies four cases of surrogate parenting in the second and first century bce, and closely documents the impact of alternatives to paternal socialization on the moulding of tradition.

Religious knowledge was also transmitted to children by imitation. Francesca Prescendi examines the mechanisms of this kind of rote memorization, where the child learns by repetition, without, however, being conscious of the process. The active participation of children in private and public rites was important, albeit with restrictions, as only children whose parents were alive (*patrimi matrimique*) were allowed to participate as servers in religious cults. Children were deliberately taught to perform the rites only on a few rare occasions. According to Statius, preceptors explained the history of religious colleges to the sons of prominent families who would one day enter these seats of learning. Michel Fuchs's chapter pursues these reflections through a discussion of relevant images and pictures: the landscapes depicted in the wall paintings discovered at Pompeii and in other villas contain realistic scenes of everyday family life in ancient Rome. The mother–daughter pair is a recurring motif in these images. Moreover, this pair is often shown in close

spatial proximity to a shrine or sanctuary—does this image motif perhaps suggest the iconic thematizing of a close mother–daughter relationship in cultural contexts?

One major element of family memory were the famous *imagines maiorum*, the wax portraits of office-holding ancestors kept in the home of the elite. No ancestor's *imago* has been archaeologically preserved, apart from the burnt wooden busts from *lararia* in Pompeii. Véronique Dasen has collected and discussed scattered iconographic documents. By contrast, a number of plaster masks of children, often very young, have been found in tombs of the imperial period in Rome and in the provinces. These artefacts come from non-elite families and raise a number of questions about commemorative practices and the status of children in lower social orders. Do they reflect aristocratic habits or other influences, such as Isiac beliefs? These unusual and little known funerary portraits allow us to revisit the need for memorials and the importance of *mimesis* in Roman society. They throw an unexpected light on the reworking of aristocratic imagery in freedmen's families.

The gendered dimension of the transmission of familial memory is addressed by Thomas Späth, whose essay pursues reflections raised by Susan Treggiari in the last Roman Family volume.[29] A series of Cicero's letters reveals his concern for his daughter Tullia and his son Marcus. In examining these letters in respect of a father's emotional attachment to his children, scholarship has focused particularly on Cicero's mourning the death of Tullia. Such emotional statements—often considered excessive—have been contrasted with his philosophical principles. Cicero's letters, however, cannot be interpreted as testimonies of ahistorical, universal paternal love. Instead, as the essay argues, they must be read as a specifically Roman expression of paternal affection: Cicero's concern for his personal prestige among the Senate aristocracy implied his concern for the prestige of his *domus* and family line. Revealing the gender-specific differences between Cicero's treatment of Tullia and Marcus thus yields further insights into the distinct social functions of daughters and sons also in the field of family memory.

[29] Treggiari 2005. See also Dixon 1991, Eyben 1991, Treggiari 2003.

The last contribution to the first part of this collection explores the importance of children for family continuity and for the survival of an individual's memory in the Late Roman world. Ville Vuolanto analyses the influence of Christianity on forms of commemoration in the light of the debate held by late fourth-and early fifth-century ecclesiastical authors in favour of asceticism and against married family life. Asceticism aimed at severing biological lineage by promoting spiritual fertility instead of earthly children. Notwithstanding these endeavours, and although the Church now replaced the family in the commemoration of the dead, tradition prevailed over the new faith. Children remained central to familial commemorative strategies and to bearing the family name and patrimony; they were also the principal actors in funerary rites and in the tendance of tombs.

The second part of the present volume deals with threats to familial memory, in terms of children deliberately or accidentally excluded from tradition. The chapters by Beryl Rawson, Francesca Mencacci, and Christan Laes are a focal point of this part. They reveal from different perspectives that children long believed to be invisible, such as *vernae*, that is, the children of slaves born at home, could indeed be integrated into the Roman family and into commemorative processes through being assigned specific functions and expected roles. Those children otherwise situated on the margins are the subject of the three following chapters, namely children outcast because of illness or their unusual status, such as *expositi*, or those born of incest.

In 'Degrees of Freedom', Beryl Rawson returns to a theme that has occupied her since 1966.[30] Surveying previous work on *vernae* confirms the commonly accepted definition of *verna* as 'a home-born slave'. *Vernae* might continue to have that term applied to them after manumission, in order to identify their primary bond. After manumission, *vernae* (like other slaves) normally took on the *nomen* of their former master or mistress, now their patron. But there are a few examples where the *nomen* differs. While they are by no means numerous, such irregularities compel us to consider more profoundly those aspects of society that might help explain them,

[30] Rawson 1966, 1989, 2003, 2005.

especially the flexibility and fluidity that allowed 'anomalies' to arise. The young ages of the anomalous *vernae* suggest that their status was that of *Junian Latins*. Their (informal) manumission in a household other than their final dedicator's suggests some degree of circulation of children between households. An examination of epigraphic, legal, iconographic, and literary evidence reveals various reasons for the transfer of dependants from one household to another, including loans, gifts, settlement of debts, transfer of property, death or divorce, and the abandonment (*expositio*) of infants, an aspect developed in Judith Evans Grubbs's contribution. Such diverse needs and motives could be accommodated in a society of considerable fluidity, especially due to considerable mortality rates and permeable status boundaries, and in a wide range of personal or familial relationships.

Francesca Mencacci discusses the emotional tension inherent in the status of a *verna* as both slave and surrogate son (or daughter). Many authors have suggested that among other reasons the *domini* of the imperial era were so fond of little slave children (*deliciae*) because of their verbal impudence and scurrilous jesting. Free speech and a certain kind of humour seem to have been encouraged in these children for the private entertainment of the *dominus* and his guests. Seneca explicitly observes that such verbal *licentia* was not permitted to the free children of the *domus*; the complete mastery of language was a mark of social distinction. By exploring the different shaping of speech habits of *ingenui* and slave children together with its social consequences, this contribution aims to identify the different ways in which free members of the Roman *familia* understood childhood and at the same time to define more precisely the nature of the relationship between *domini* and *deliciae*. Christian Laes pursues these reflections by raising interesting questions about Statius' four poems, which depict 'slave-pets', tokens of wealth, whose lower status may also be intentionally concealed. Affectionate relationships can develop, and *deliciae* designate cherished substitute or foster children.

The last three chapters deal with challenges to the transmission of familial memory. Sickness often leads to death in a society with high infant mortality. How is parental concern expressed in ancient sources? This issue mirrors family values and the importance of the survival of male progeny. Danielle Gourevitch builds on case

histories transmitted by Galen's reflections on the identity of those responsible for a child's health (nannies, physicians, mother, father, both parents); she underscores the dominant role of fathers, caring for their sick sons and hence for the continuity of gentilician and family tradition. Daughters and mothers are absent or secondary figures, but they may appear in other media.

Judith Evans Grubbs revisits the much debated custom of *expositio*, the 'putting out' of newborn infants. Using legal, papyrological, and literary sources from the Roman imperial period, she looks at the fate of abandoned infants. Most often, rescued *expositi* were raised as slaves, whereas under the law, they retained their original birth status. Moreover, a *pater familias* who had exposed his child retained *potestas* over it. In fact, not infrequently children were later reclaimed by the very parents who had abandoned them. Not surprisingly, this led to legal conflicts. Provincial governors regularly had to deal with claims for freedom brought before them on behalf of enslaved *expositi*. In some cases, the rescuers themselves presented the child to its parents, perhaps in the hope of reward. More often, recovery of an *expositus* spelled a legal conflict between exposer and rescuer. Such cases show that *expositio* was often a neighbourhood phenomenon. The parent abandoning a child might know (or suspect) the child's fate, and a rescuer might also know (or suspect) the child's identity. Parents might wait for circumstances to improve and then reclaim the child whose progress they had observed from a distance. Unlike the situations in ancient drama and novels, the identity of real-life *expositi* was often known. They were hidden in plain sight.

The final contribution to the present volume explores the much debated topic of the status of children born from incestuous relationships in the light of the late antique controversy. Philippe Moreau demonstrates that incest was not an issue for ancient Greeks and Romans. The birth of children from an incestuous relationship was nothing but a cognitive or sociological problem. The main question concerned the kinship term to be used for the children of a brother and sister, for instance: son or nephew? Emperors and their jurists, since Gaius, had had no doubt about the existence of such children and, dealing with them as a category, regarded them as mere illegitimate offspring, *spurii*, until Justinian's *Novellae* reduced their succession rights and forbade them from claiming *alimenta* from

their begetters. Since jurists would routinely cancel non-juridical data from such requests, we lack any sociological insight into children born from incestuous relationships—with one exception. In his *Libellus responsionum* to Augustine of Canterbury, Pope Saint Gregory the Great (601 CE) argued against marriages between close kin, because God prohibited such marriages, which furthermore could not procreate. It has been argued that this contention came from Augustine of Hippo, whereas in fact he disapproved of close-kin marriages in the *City of God* for another reason: marrying non-kin extends the social ties of *caritas*.

This collection reveals a highly diversified, multifaceted picture of the Roman family. The chapters prise open the normative model of the family and its agnatic kinship structure under the dominance of the *pater familias*: the ideal-typical family is confronted with the various family forms existing in actual practice. The daily life of Roman families is determined by manifoldly reconfigured household groups, resulting on the one hand from the extended functions of women as mothers or daughters, and, on the other, from the simultaneous presence of children with a different legal status. While these children are expected to behave in a clearly distinct manner, they are nevertheless an integrative part of the family. In such a diverse reality, memory becomes central to the construction of the family's group identity; children are required to step 'into the footsteps of their ancestors', a demand that appears even more pressing in patchwork families, in non-aristocratic circumstances, and in the lives of illegitimate children where ancestors lack clear definition and must be established contrary to fact as it were. The investigation of children conveying familial memory and identity thus reveals that the famous ancestors of the *mos maiorum* are social constructs made out of the present: the Roman concept of family identity is not only oriented towards the past and the ancestors, but also shaped by children and turned towards the future.

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