CHILDREN AND TOYS IN THE ROMAN WORLD: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN FAMILY

by

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ABSTRACT

The object of this thesis is to collect and analyze evidence on Roman toys and games with a view to establishing the significance of play in the lives of Roman children. The study is set in the context of recent scholarly discussion of child-rearing in antiquity. Evidence of all kinds is considered, but special attention is given to compiling a catalogue of toys from archaeological sources.

Chapter 1 begins by raising the question of whether it is feasible to think in terms of a history of ancient childhood, and what approaches might actively be pursued in an effort to reconstruct the world of Roman children. A synopsis of scholarship on childhood in the modern period prefaces an explication of a recent addition to the study of childhood in antiquity. This discussion provides the foundation for contrasting and comparing the methodology of modern and ancient historians in their evaluations of parental and societal attitudes toward children. Examination of expressions of affection, as evinced by two ancient authors from divergent backgrounds, concludes the chapter. Children are plainly regarded by these authors as integral parts of a prosperous social and political life, but also as sources of pleasure, aggravation and even perplexity.

The assemblage of literary evidence for toys and games that appears in Chapter 2 is drawn from an extensive range of Republican and Imperial authors, and is organized along very broad lines. A synthesis of the literary material both demonstrates the all-pervasive influence of children in Roman society, and validates the investigation of toys and games as indicators of social attitudes. Furthermore, the analysis accentuates the need for greater focus on two particular issues: parent-child interaction within the context of play and leisure, and recreational space for children.

With the literary and historical evidence for toys and games safely established we turn, in Chapter 3, to a profile of the material evidence, which is presented in the form of a catalogue. The chapter stresses the strong correlation between the literary and archaeological records, and furnishes evidence of objects not attested or noted by ancient authors, but which archaeologists generally regard as the playthings of children.

A detailed discussion of the archaeological record is conducted in Chapter 4. Origins for toys, technological developments, media, construction methods, along with geographic and chronological concerns are considered in an attempt to explain society's apparent desire to create a variety of appealing toys for its children.

Building upon the archaeological and literary framework established in preceding chapters, the fifth chapter explores the potential for socializing Roman children through toys and games. The work of modern child psychologists and sociologists is drawn on to formulate hypotheses on how children developed motor skills and analytical abilities; how boys and girls learned about their sexual and social roles; and how Roman parents ensured that their children acquired requisite social skills while preserving the diversionary aspects of toys and play at the same time.

The conclusion is reached that children in Roman antiquity lived in the constant shadow of potentially fatal illnesses and, from a contemporary perspective, experienced a harsher way of life. Nonetheless, it is evident from the toys and games examined in this thesis that Roman children could and did enjoy themselves immensely. A more light-hearted view of Roman childhood can be achieved, and it is clear that Roman parents were very concerned with both the present and future comfort of their children.

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CHAPTER 1. A HISTORY OF ANCIENT CHILDHOOD: IS IT POSSIBLE?

It is often alleged that a history of childhood cannot be written because of the dearth of primary source evidence focusing on children, as well as the lack of information from children themselves. But is a history of childhood necessarily contingent upon such evidence? The work of many historians on the modern era demonstrates that, with careful analysis and a sound methodology, the obstacle may be overcome. Although the limitations placed upon ancient historians, by the very nature of the evidence, makes the task of writing a history of Roman childhood seem insurmountable, the work of Keith Bradley, Suzanne Dixon, Keith Hopkins, Beryl Rawson, Richard Saller, Brent Shaw, and others proves that reliable results can be achieved through meticulous and painstaking research.

One way to address a history of Roman children is to take a comparative point of view. While the practices of modern historians cannot be adopted wholesale, they can nevertheless be useful for formulating a study of ancient history. For example, the utilization of case studies on wetnursing practices, infanticide, infant mortality, and child-rearing practices may well provide insights useful for comprehending ancient social attitudes towards children and childhood. It is the object of this chapter to analyze some modern methodological approaches in an effort to determine

their applicability to the study of ancient childhood. The works of four present-day historians will be investigated and contrasted with a recent addition to the scholarship of children in the ancient world. Moreover, the work of two ancient authors will be explored for evidence of Roman sensitivities to children and an awareness of childhood as a distinct phase of life.

TOWARDS A CONCEPT OF CHILDHOOD: PHILIPPE ARIES

In 1960, Philippe Ariès published the seminal work L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime.[1] In the thirty years that have elapsed since the appearance of Ariès' book, his work has been severely criticized. Notwithstanding its inaccuracies and inconsistencies, it has provided modern historians with a revolutionary view of children and childhood. The central thesis of Ariès' book is that a concept of childhood, as a single phase of the life cycle, simply did not exist in the Middle Ages, but as society moved into the modern period the concept began to emerge.[2] The mainstays of Ariès' argument are studies of iconographic and educational evidence, conventional methods of child-rearing, and attitudes toward children, as evinced in the private and public literature of the *ancien régime*.

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[1] Published in English in 1962 as Centuries of Childhood.

[2] Ariès (1960), 59-60.

In his iconographic survey, Ariès focused on what he perceived to be a subtle development in portraits of children. Initially the portraits of children were unrefined, but over time they grew in strength, culminating in the sophisticated child portraits of the seventeenth century.[3] Ariès identified clothing as one harbinger of change, and maintained that the evolution of the child's apparel signalled a definite shift in attitudes toward children. Prior to the 1600s, small children appearing in family portraits (if they were included at all) were generally clothed in 'long coats' or cloaks similar to those worn by adult males. Later portraits revealed modes of dress obviously designed for the small child. Although clothing was not really an issue for young girls (for they would be attired in the same style of clothing throughout their lives[4]) their male counterparts came to be dressed in short jackets, breeches, and tunics.

In his survey of literature, Ariès utilized the journals of Héroard, the doctor to the Dauphin of France, Louis XIII. Héroard's journals disclosed meticulously detailed accounts of all aspects of the Dauphin's upbringing, from his ostensibly sexual adventures, to his education, through his participation in life at court. A comparison of the

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[3] Ariès (1960), 50.

[4] Ariès (1960), 51.

escapades of the little Dauphin with the imagery of children in religious works suggested to Ariès an evolution in childhood. The little prince, by way of illustration, was permitted to romp through the palace exposing himself to any individual he chose. Héroard noted that at about one year of age, Louis called to a page and shouted "'Hey there!' and pulled up his robe, showing his cock."[5] And Ariès provided a variety of citations from Héroard's commentary which indicate this was hardly an isolated event.[6] Rather, Héroard's accounts intimate that adults felt no need to shield children from exposure to the sexual aspects of life, and Ariès attributed this to the fact that French society did not possess a concept of childhood. In contrast, the growing emphasis in the later seventeenth century on the child's first communion heralds "the most visible manifestation of the idea of childhood".[7] Ariès viewed first communion celebrations as rites of passage, because they marked the admission of 'innocents' to the world of 'adults' through a 'mysterious' yet sacred initiation ceremony. During the eighteenth century, confirmation ceremonies became common-

[5] Ariès (1960), 100.

[6] The entries from Héroard's journal indicate that jokes of a sexual nature were common not only between the little Dauphin and his nanny, but routinely involved the King, Queen, as well as ladies-in-waiting, livery and other household servants (p. 101).

[7] Ariès (1960), 127.

place in convents and colleges, commemorated with inscribed devotional pictures that served as a semi-official certificate of membership in the adult world. And by the nineteenth century, a child's first communion required a special costume.[8]

These are just two examples of the methods taken by Ariès in his attempt to discern social attitudes toward children and childhood in the *ancien régime*, but they illustrate how innovative his approach was. In many instances, however, it is extremely difficult to follow the chronology of his perceived attitudinal developments; his apparent class bias prompts an immediate proviso on the application of his theories to the less privileged classes; and his perception of trends in French society as representative of European society generally is difficult to accept. Against these weaknesses his work provides, at the very least, a fascinating starting point for a study of the history of childhood.

THE WORK OF LAWRENCE STONE

The world of the small child and the slowly evolving concept of childhood in English society is one aspect of Lawrence Stone's The Family, Sex and Marriage in England: 1500-1800. The main thrust of Stone's argument is that the

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[8] Ariès (1960), 127.

modern capitalistic system resulted from the breakdown of a conventional holistic society, which was dominated by kinship ties; in turn, the dissolution of this society fostered the growth of individualism.[9] Like most historians, the infrastructure of Stone's thesis depends most heavily on the interpretation of primary source and demographic evidence. But Stone moves farther afield than Ariès in that he explores familial relationships in greater detail and discusses at length the difficulties inherent in defining such key concepts as family, kin, marriage, divorce, childhood and so forth.

From Stone's perspective, these concepts (if they may be regarded as such) were not static but shifted constantly between social classes and at different rates. Marriage in the eleventh century, for instance, assumed a variety of forms. The most common sort was a contractual agreement between two parties with suitable arrangements for the welfare of each in the event of spousal death. By the thirteenth century, however, the church had come to exert great influence on marriage laws with the result that relationships became monogamous (in theory if nothing else), and adultery and fornication could be subject to penalty.[10] The actual wedding ceremony itself could be performed in a

[9] Stone (1977), 21-24.

[10] Stone (1977), 29-30.

church; but in remote communities, isolated but not exempt from church controls, the 'handfast' (engagement ceremony) performed before witnesses was deemed as sufficient to meet the church's requirements.[11] As Stone so aptly demonstrates, then, there is no simple effective way to characterize marriage, and the same applies to divorce, kin and even childhood.

Stone's primary contribution to the study of children and childhood, however, is his theory of the development of what he terms 'affective individualism', a phenomenon generated by the Age of Enlightenment. One of the tenets of this age was the belief that the happiness of the individual was an inalienable right, "one of the basic laws of nature".[12] Over time, and among all classes, kinship and community bonds were eroded, a trend toward free-choice or companionate marriages emerged, and a move toward greater legal and educational equality between the sexes resulted in the advancement of individualism. Among the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie, for example, a family unit developed that can be characterized as generally permissive where its progeny were concerned, as exhibiting an increasing interest in moral and religious sanctification, and as exerting far greater control over procreation than previous generations.

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[11] Stone (1977), 30.

[12] Stone (1977), 158.

Not surprisingly, the rise of such a family created an environment that fostered changing attitudes toward children. Husband and wife could now regulate (to a degree) the number of children they might have, and this in turn could govern the amount of time and affection bestowed upon each child.

Stone has examined parent-child relationships as they appear in journals and literary correspondence, infant mortality rates, and reproductive ages of women, in an attempt to establish firm evidence of change over time. And he asserts that statistics on reproductive periods, wetnursing practices and infant mortality in particular, all point to extremely weak affective bonds between parents and offspring.[13] Stone's conclusions along with his methods, however, have come under fire from other historians, at least one of whom claims that Stone's background in political and institutional history predisposed him to expect a "gradual progression of society along certain prescribed lines".[14] Perhaps, then, his most crucial mistake is in equating sentiment and demographics.[15] Nevertheless, Stone's work is rich in primary source information that exhibits a sensitivity toward children, and

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[13] Stone (1977), 66.

[14] Pollock (1983), 59; see also Anderson (1980), 41.

[15] Anderson (1980), 40.

recognition of childhood as a distinct phase of the life cycle.

AN EXEGESIS OF MODERN THEORY: LINDA POLLOCK

In 1983 Linda Pollock published Forgotten Children, an overview and analysis of the scholarship on children and childhood that has emerged since Ariès' work. Throughout her book it is apparent that she discounts the idea that a concept of childhood did not exist prior to the seventeenth century. And she argues, in the main, that the work of many historians has been clouded by their own limitations: if they cannot discern a concept of childhood consistent with the twentieth century's then they naively conclude one did not exist.[16] Furthermore, Pollock believes their studies of primary source evidence do not disclose a correlation between attitudes and behavior (singling out the work of Ariès and Stone in particular).[17] Perceived changes in education and modes of discipline, for instance, are indicative of new approaches to old problems--not of a shift in parental care. The myth of the dramatic transformation of child-rearing practices, she writes, is promulgated by "over-hasty reading, a burning desire to find material to

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[16] Pollock (1983), 263.

[17] Pollock (1983), 199.

support the thesis and a willful misinterpretation of evidence".[18]

The criticism Pollock levels at modern scholarship may be rather unbridled at times, but her work is nevertheless useful. Not only does Pollock offer an excellent summary of current scholarship on children, but she stresses the need for caution and sensitive analysis of the evidence--especially where issues of parental discipline, wetnursing, infant mortality, and education are concerned. Ariès, for instance, believed that parents wished their children to be beaten at school because they mistakenly believed the children would learn discipline by such drastic action. Pollock, however, cites the seventeenth century autobiography of Adam Martindale and the diaries of J. Erskine and C. Morris as evidence to the contrary; and she contends that parents were perfectly prepared to intercede if they felt their children were being harshly dealt with.[19]

Ariès (and later Stone) subscribed to the belief that illness and high infant mortality created an indifference to children and, consequently, parent-child relationships devoid of affection and warmth. Pollock disputes this notion, too, and substantiates her argument with numerous

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[18] Pollock (1983), 271.

[19] Pollock (1983), 263. Stone (1977), 135, too, is familiar with the journal of Adam Martindale, but seems to have ignored this evidence entirely, perhaps feeling it was not applicable.

examples from parental journals that express genuine concern for the welfare of ill or infirm children. Her information overwhelmingly supports the fact that the age of the sick child bears no relationship to the degree of parental concern. In many cases, moreover, it was the mothers and fathers themselves who maintained a constant vigil at the sick child's bedside.[20] Pollock clearly supports the existence of affective relationships; she takes issue, however, with what she deems careless reasoning, for it can invalidate a seemingly rational hypothesis such as Stone's theory of affective individualism, or Ariès' belief that a concept of childhood did not exist during the *ancien régime*.

A RECENT STUDY OF CHILDHOOD: SHULAMITH SHAHAR

Pollock is not alone in her belief that a concept of childhood existed prior to the seventeenth century; this view is also argued by Shulamith Shahar in her recent book, Childhood in the Middle Ages. Like Pollock, Shahar maintains that the idea of childhood existed in the central and late middle ages, contrary to the convictions of Ariès and his proponents.[21] Shahar's work, unlike her predecessors, consistently crosses class and cultural boundaries and draws upon a variety of evidence from both England and continental

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[20] Pollock (1983), 130-140.

[21] Shahar (1990), 1.

Europe. And a review of Shahar's work amply demonstrates that if Ariès had investigated a wider range of sources, he perhaps would not have assumed that prevailing practices and attitudes of French society were applicable to Europe as a whole. Stone's work, too, may have suffered less had he drawn parallels with European societies of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries.

Shahar's research reveals that both positive and negative attitudes toward children were prevalent during the Middle Ages, but she stresses that the presence of a negative attitude did not have an adverse impact on society's perception of children. For example, the fact that the preponderantly religious societies of the Middle Ages recognized children as products of 'sin' who needed to be shaped into acceptable social beings, coupled with the notion of children as innocents, shows that the small child was *sui generis*.[22] There were specific forms of child care that corresponded to the age of the child, and though initial care was intensive it decreased as the child matured. Not only does Shahar's work point to a sharp demarcation of various stages of childhood, it also confirms the reality of affective parent-child relationships. Shahar's meticulously crafted and systematic study of wet-nursing practices, abandonment, infanticide, accidents, illness, bereavement, or-

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[22] Shahar (1990), 15-20.

phanhood, and disabilities, illustrates that parents in the Middle Ages were not necessarily the detached, unemotional beings that Ariès and Stone have constructed. On the contrary, Shahar's literary evidence is filled with models of parental solicitude and tenderness.[23]

Inasmuch as Shahar has drawn from an extensive variety of sources and cultural backgrounds, she is also careful to point out the problems inherent in using these sources. She cautions in her discussion of infanticide that some evidence may be untypical because of the fact that it is derived from folktales and myths, but that it should not be discounted altogether.[24] The same holds true for hagiographic material. With the biographies of saints, we are dealing with 'gifted' children and must be careful not to see a select group as representative of children generally. Shahar's approach does not differ fundamentally from that of Ariès or Stone but serves as an example of the need for studying a large and varied body of evidence, as well as sensitive interpretation of the data. As a result, she has provided a compelling argument for the existence of a concept of childhood in the Middle Ages. The question arises, therefore, that if Shahar is able to argue forcefully for a compassion-

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[23] Shahar (1990), see chapter 7.

[24] Shahar (1990), 132.

ate view of the small child in the Middle Ages, is the same possible for ancient Rome?

TOWARDS A HISTORY OF ROMAN CHILDHOOD

A most recent and welcome addition to the scholarship on Roman children is Thomas Wiedemann's book, Adults and Children in Ancient Rome. The theme of Wiedemann's book is primarily one of change, which he attempts to illustrate through an explication of the role of the small child during the first four centuries of the Roman Empire. Wiedemann begins by reviewing attitudes toward children and the place of children in the classical city state, and then follows by examining the images of children as they appear in panegyrics and biographies. He characterizes the city-state system as rigid and patriarchal, one where children were viewed largely as a form of security in old age or an investment in the future; and one with a high incidence of infant mortality that encouraged parents not to invest emotionally in the small child. For Wiedemann, it is a "largely negative picture which emerges from literature and philosophy", although he is quick to point out 'pagan Romans' should not be censured for their point of view.[25]

He argues (in subsequent chapters) that attitudes toward children manifested at the beginning of the Empire

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[25] Wiedemann (1989), 42.

evolved considerably in later centuries, with the result that children were no longer considered 'marginal' beings but became active participants in Roman society. Wiedemann utilizes well the primary source materials available to ancient historians, legal and literary sources, along with public and private correspondence. It is surprising, however, that he relies heavily on evidence contained in biography and panegyric, despite the fact that their very genres, with their rules and expectations, inhibit a true reflection of the small child in Roman society.[26] Our most convincing evidence is often incidental, because ancient authors who did not write for a particular audience or with a view to publication enable modern scholars to effect a more accurate assessment of the images that appear in the source material.

Evidence of the child's progression from a so-called 'marginal' being into a valued member of society exists, Wiedemann asserts, in a number of areas. By way of illustration he undertakes a detailed analysis of the *toga praetexta*, a garment given to young, free-born males as emblematic of their preparation for participation in Roman society. He seems to equate the lack of importance attached to conferring the *toga praetexta* in the later Empire (a formerly significant event in the life of a young male) as

[26] Wiedemann (1989), 49.

clear evidence of society's greater acceptance of children.[27] Wiedemann does not, however, adequately address the pertinence of his theory of marginality to young girls, for whom marriage usually marked the passage from adolescent to adult and to increased participation in Roman society; and he implies that as the division between the adult and child worlds became less distinct it was the ability to acquire life skills that characterized the transition from child to adult.[28] The acquisition of these skills entailed instruction in acceptable modes of social behavior, skills, and particularly the *artes liberales*. Yet despite Wiedemann's sometimes convincing argument, his work continually begs the question of whether these changes are indicative of the evolution of citizenship and education, or illustrative of a dramatic shift in society's perception of the small child.

Scholars who have reviewed Adults and Children in the Roman Empire generally agree that while Wiedemann's book is ground-breaking it also contains several weaknesses. Current scholarship on affective relationships within the Roman family is conspicuously absent from his bibliography, and according to Patricia Clark this has led to a superficial treatment of basic issues. Wiedemann suggests

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[27] Wiedemann (1989), 138.

[28] Wiedemann (1989), 157.

that wet-nursing practices may be regarded not merely as parental distaste for diaper-changing and time constraints imposed by breast-feeding schedules, but also as "a refusal to invest unnecessary emotions in a child who might not survive".[29] As Clark deftly points out, however, "parental affection and an empathic grasp of the child's world" were very much present in family life, but their expression was muted "because of the pervasive influence of high infant mortality".[30] Wet-nursing concepts are central to most studies of children in antiquity because, as scholars have argued, this practice could influence the parent-child relationship. Surprisingly, Wiedemann's discussion of wet-nursing practices is rather thin, yet the work of family scholars such as Bradley and Dixon, during the past ten years, has prompted a reassessment of the hypothesis that high death rates among children led to low emotional investment on the part of parents.[31]

Mark Golden voices the same concerns as Clark (that is, the apparent lack of current scholarship on a number of child-related topics, and Wiedemann's perceived correlation between high infant mortality and lack of parental affec-

[29] Wiedemann (1989), 17.

[30] Clark (1990), 297.

[31] Bradley (1986), 218-219; Dixon (1988), 134; and more recently Bradley (1991), 56. Nor does Wiedemann seem to be familiar with the problematical nature of infant mortality statistics, as discussed by Hopkins (1983), 224-226.

tion); however, he also takes issue with Wiedemann's interpretation of the participation of children in society, principally in the sphere of religion. Wiedemann alleges that the attendance of children at pagan Roman family and community religious ceremonies was not a measure of the equality of child and adult, "but a sign that the child only marginally belonged to the human community".[32] Yet Golden sees the child's involvement as an index of participation or a means of socialization rather than relegation to subordinate or marginal roles. He illustrates his point by drawing a parallel with his own recent study, Children and Childhood in Classical Athens. Greek children, Golden counters, participated in a variety of rites and festivals, both public and private, and "religion played so pervasive a part in the *polis* that 'marginal' seems an inappropriate label".[33] He also wonders why Wiedemann regards the *toga praetexta* as a symbol of marginality, when sons of freedmen, for example, are "depicted with these insignia in early Imperial art precisely to indicate that they and their families are no longer marginal".[34]

Richard Saller is not thoroughly persuaded by Wiedemann's analysis of the *toga praetexta* either, and

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[32] Wiedemann (1989), 186.

[33] Golden (1990), 92.

[34] Golden (1990), 92.

contends that the ramifications of citizenship require a re-examination of the evidence. Saller suggests that the change in status of this item of clothing may have less to do with children than Wiedemann thinks; instead, the gradual erosion of the social importance attached to the *toga* reveals more about the evolution of citizenship regulations than of attitudinal change. He queries: "Would one write an account of contemporary childhood by emphasizing children's lack of voting rights?"[35] Equally, Saller sees Wiedemann's view of the family dominated by the *paterfamilias* as too conventional.[36] Some scholars have argued convincingly that the influence of women in the Roman *familia* should not be underestimated and that women could, and did, take an active role in not only child-rearing but in matters that generally affected their children.[37] Moreover, prior to the publication of Wiedemann's book, Saller had authored two articles that examined *patria potestas*, and which proposed that the authority of the *paterfamilias* may not have been as ubiquitous, nor as influential, as historians previously thought.[38]

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[35] Saller (1990), 240.

[36] Saller (1990), 241.

[37] Dixon (1986), 104-105; Dixon (1988), 130-135; and more recently, Treggiari (1991), 96-99.

[38] See Saller (1986) and (1988).

From Wiedemann's perspective, during the first four centuries A. D. there is sufficient evidence of changing attitudes toward the place of children,[39] and he points to the rise and spread of Christianity to demonstrate his proposition. But according to Bradley, tracking change is very difficult because the disparity of evidence between earlier and later periods makes comparison difficult.[40] By way of illustration, Bradley mentions Wiedemann's analysis and comparison of the social attitudes of Cicero with those of Fronto and Augustine. The connotations of 'Rome' in the late Republic were vastly removed from those of the later Empire, when society had become far more extensive and complex, embracing a "multiplicity of regional social variations".[41] Similarly, Bradley regards the child's participation in religious ceremonies as indicative of the child's social value, because these children "had to be responsibly prepared for their adult roles in religion as in other matters".[42] And he suggests that what Wiedemann construes as the child's marginal status might more appropriately be regarded as 'liminal'. Finally, Wiedemann categorizes women, slaves and beasts of the field as a fringe element,

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[39] Wiedemann (1989), 3.

[40] Bradley (1990), 259.

[41] Bradley (1990), 259.

[42] Bradley (1990), 262.

but such a classification is misleading. Slaves could never become members of society (unless manumitted) whereas children could, women were contributing members of society, and beasts simply were not.[43]

Perhaps the most striking feature about Wiedemann's work is its ignorance of Beryl Rawson's The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives, a collection of articles that examine in detail the interpersonal relationships of Roman families. One of Rawson's own contributions to the book, "Children in the Roman *Familia*", would have been particularly helpful in determining the position of disadvantaged children such as the *alumni* and *vernae* of Roman society.[44] Wiedemann's work focuses primarily on elite male children, but *alumni* and *vernae* could and did figure prominently in the Roman *familia*. Indeed, as Rawson points out the Roman family accommodated not only what contemporary society regards as the nuclear family, but a range of quasi-familial relationships in which the child seemed to have some intrinsic value.[45] Taken together, then, the work of a number of ancient historians confirms that the role of children in Roman society was far more

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[43] Bradley (1990), 262.

[44] Rawson (1986), 170-200.

[45] Rawson (1986), 197.

comprehensive than Wiedemann's book would lead us to believe.

CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD AS REVEALED BY ANCIENT AUTHORS

Despite the fact that Wiedemann argues, at times persuasively, for the marginal status of the child in the early empire, many ancient authors display a greater awareness of the small child than Wiedemann's thesis concedes; two such authors are the Roman orator and politician Cicero and the philosopher Epictetus. Not only do these authors reveal much about children and childhood, they also contrast with one another. Cicero, the earlier of the two, came from the upper echelons of Roman society and although he was proficient in Greek his works are, of course, written entirely in Latin. Conversely, the freedman Epictetus lived in Rome approximately one hundred years after Cicero and his work (filtered through Arrian) is recorded in Greek. While neither author seems preoccupied with children, it is evident that both men felt a genuine concern and affection for children that runs counter to Wiedemann's thesis of marginality.

CICERO

Cicero's surviving works and correspondence provide a rich and colorful commentary on life among the Roman elite, and the political turmoil that enveloped Rome during the

civil unrest of the Late Republic. Cicero was married to Terentia, herself rich and well-connected, whom he divorced in 46 B.C. Terentia and Cicero had two children; Tullia, who was born circa 76 B.C., figures prominently in Cicero's letters, as does the younger Cicero, Marcus, born in 65 B.C. The letters in the Ciceronian corpus number over 900. Even allowing for the strong letter-writing tradition in Rome, especially among the well-educated members of society, the extent of Cicero's correspondence with his devoted friend Atticus, his immediate family members, and a coterie of acquaintances is truly amazing. Men like Horace, Seneca, and Pliny the Younger wrote letters with a view to publication, yet it is clear by the subject matter of Cicero's letters that they were intended simply as personal correspondence. Indeed, the letters to Atticus were not published until the middle of the first century A. D., some one hundred years after his death.[46]

Relatively few of Cicero's letters are devoted entirely to family matters; more often political and business transactions take precedence, while family concerns are discussed rather perfunctorily or mentioned alongside the mundane. The style of the letters themselves is worthy of note; while not necessarily formulaic, they do in many instances display

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[46] Shackleton-Bailey (1978), 23 maintains that some of Cicero's correspondence may have been published at an earlier date.

the traditional forms of Roman salutation and they frequently close with the greetings and good wishes of wife and family along with those of the writer. One cannot always regard the inclusion of the wife and children in these closing lines as a measure of their importance in Roman society; that is, the writer has not necessarily made a special point of including these members of his family. Compelling evidence can be found, nevertheless, which demonstrates that Cicero was solicitous of his children, and thoroughly conscious of the fact that children required nurturing and guidance.

Among the most poignant of Cicero's letters are those written to Atticus and Cicero's brother Quintus, during Cicero's stays in Dyrrachium and Thessalonica. In 58 B. C., with overtures from Caesar rejected and the full force of Clodius' hatred against him, Cicero fled to Greece. He remained in exile some eighteen months before returning to Rome. In a letter to Quintus dated June 13, 58 B. C., Cicero laments that his consulship has caused a cruel separation from his brother, his country, his fortune and his children (Q.fr. 1.3). Shortly thereafter, on June 17, Cicero writes to Atticus from Thessalonica expressing a similar sentiment, although here including his children along with the honor, fame and fortune that have been torn from him (Att. 3.10). Three months later Cicero confides to

Atticus that he has been "robbed of his honors and his dearest and fondest possessions" (Att. 3.19). He then entreats Atticus to watch over Terentia and the children, and to support his brother Quintus. Wealth, status and political power were essential to the survival of the upper-class family, so it is not extraordinary that children were enumerated among such social constituents, particularly when they were regarded as vehicles for continuity. Other letters bear witness to the fact that even a powerful, austere politician such as Cicero was not unresponsive to children.

He writes to Terentia on November 25, 58 B. C. that it pains him to think that the young Marcus, "*qui cum primum sapere coepit, acerbissimos dolores miseriasque percepit*" (Fam. 14.1.1). On November 29, Cicero writes to Atticus, entreating him to look after "*meum Ciceronem, cui nihil misello relinquo praeter invidiam et ignominiam nominis mei*" (Att. 3.23). Cicero writes disconsolately to Terentia again on November 30, that he is as much tortured by his own miseries as those of his wife and children, and that he is ashamed of "not having given assurance of my courage and devotion to my best of wives and my sweetest of children" (Fam. 14.3.1-2). Plainly, Cicero feels responsible for the stigma that his exile will bring to young Marcus in later years, and is frantic about the potential social and politi-

cal ostracism of his son. The general tenor of Cicero's letters makes it clear that his lamentations are as much for his own declining political status and ambitions as for those of Marcus. Cicero appears, however, to have been in a highly emotional state during his sojourn in Greece, and this state no doubt intensified the tone and feeling of his letters. We are afforded, nevertheless, glimpses of genuine affection and concern for his children.

He speaks touchingly in a letter to Quintus of the daughter he misses, his ingenious, demure and affectionate daughter, the very reflection of himself (Q.fr. 1.3). At the time of Cicero's exile, Tullia was about eighteen years of age, and had been married for almost four years to C. Calpurnius Piso Frugi. It is, however, the image of the young Marcus that looms large: "*Quid filium venustissimum mihique dulcissimum? quem ego ferus ac ferreus e complexu dimisi meo, sapientiorem puerum quam vellum*" (Q.fr. 1.3). We find a comparable expression of grief in a letter to Terentia, written during the earliest stages of his exile. Here, Cicero tells his wife that young Marcus will be always in his thoughts and in his embrace, continuing painfully in the next line: "*Non queo plura iam scribere; impedit maeror*" (Fam. 14.4). If Cicero's expressions of affection for his children were limited to the letters composed in exile, it would be easy enough to believe that they are the

product of estrangement and loneliness. Other letters, however, reveal that Cicero's regard for his children existed prior to and continued well after the humiliating events of 58 B. C.

As early as February of 67, Cicero scolds Atticus good-naturedly because a present which Atticus has promised to the eleven year old Tullia has not yet materialized, and the girl is now pestering her father (Att. 1.8). By July of this same year, the promised present still has not appeared and Tullia has become more insistent for Cicero writes rather comically, "*Tulliola tibi diem dat, sponsorem me appellat*" (Att. 1.10)! Seven years later, Cicero confides to Atticus that his only enjoyment is the company of Terentia, Tullia, and his sweet little son (Att. 1.18). Terentia and Tullia are the recipients of a letter, dated to October of 50 B. C., in which Cicero writes" "*Si tu et Tullia, lux nostra, valetis, ego et suavissimus Cicero valemus*" (Fam. 14.5). Marcus would have been fifteen years of age, old enough to assume the *toga praetexta*, yet Cicero still refers to his son as a most sweet boy. And as late as November of 46, Cicero tells Atticus that he longs for the embraces of Tullia (who is now almost thirty years old) and the kisses of Attica (daughter of Atticus), and directs his friend to send news of the two girls (Att. 12.1).

Cicero was capable of great affection for his children not only as the inheritors of his name and status, but simply as his children. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that Cicero displays an unparalleled regard for children of friends and relatives. With the hardships of exile now behind him, Cicero assumes the responsibility for the education of his nephew, the younger Quintus, sometime during 54 B. C. (Q.fr. 2.14.2; 3.1.14). While the boy's father was in Gaul, Cicero faithfully kept him informed of his son's progress which, on occasion, caused Cicero some concern (Q.fr. 2.14.2, 3.3.4). Cicero's affection for the younger Quintus is most evident in a letter to the boy's father written in September of 54: "*Non enim concedo tibi, plus ut illus ames, quam ipse amo*". Elsewhere, Cicero speaks about Quintus with the same warmth: "*Nihil puero illo suavius, nihil nostri amantius*", and "*Ciceronem, et ut rogas, amo, et ut meretur, et ut debeo*" (Q.fr. 3.1, 3.9.9). Cicero's concern for Quintus' emotional well-being is apparent when he describes how the boy came to him in tears, devastated by news of his parents' impending divorce (Att. 6.3). Other correspondence reveals that Cicero found solace in the company of both Cicero boys (Marcus and Quintus). Indeed, Cicero informs the elder Quintus that he finds happiness only in the repose of his country villas, and the company of "our boys" (Q.fr. 3.9.2). And Cicero's fondness for both young

men is evident in his plan to journey from Tarsus back to Rome via Rhodes, so that the "Cicero boys" might have an opportunity to visit the island (Fam. 2.17.1).

Attica, daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus, figures prominently in a number of letters also. The girl was stricken with an affliction, some time during 46 B. C. (or possibly earlier), that caused prolonged shivering fits or seizures, but from which she recovered (Att. 12.6a, 12.1). Attica apparently suffered a number of relapses over the next two years, causing anxious moments for not only the girl's family but for Cicero, too.[47] Throughout this period he seems genuinely touched by reports of the girl's health: "It is good news that Attica's attack gets slighter and slighter and that she is bearing it cheerfully" (Att. 13.21a). And when Attica is stricken again in the following year, Cicero is indebted to Atticus for "informing me of Attica's recovery before I knew of her illness" (Att. 14.16). The relationship between Cicero and Attica seems to have been close from its inception; as early as June of 50, when Attica must have been approaching her first birthday, Cicero refers to her as *'puella Caecilia bellissima'*, the most charming girl (Att. 6.4). In a letter to Atticus written in 44 B. C., Cicero closes his letter with the following: "Please give Attica a kiss in my name for being

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[47] Att. 12.3, 12.11, 12.17, 13.12, 13.13, 13.14, 13.49.

such a merry little thing. It is the best sign in children" (Att. 16.11). Six years later Cicero still speaks of Attica in a most affectionate way, using such words as darling and pet, words that he often used when addressing his own children.

Despite the fact that children appear in Cicero's correspondence, it is difficult to characterize his conception of childhood, or whether he even visualized childhood as a distinct phase in the life-cycle. We have very few glimpses of Tullia in early childhood, but this may be a problem of evidence rather than an indication of Cicero's feeling for her. Similarly, Marcus does not really become the focus of conversation until age seven. Although Cicero's allusions to his own children are peppered with endearing phrases such as 'my darling boy' and 'my little daughter', his diction is not uncommon by Roman standards. Terms such as *dulcis*, *suavis* and *mellitus*, were frequently used to denote "sweetness and other aspects of childish appeal".[48] Perhaps more revealing is Cicero's correspondence concerning Attica and his little grandson Lentulus. Lentulus was born in January of 45, the son of Tullia and Dolabella who, by now, were divorced. Suddenly, in February, Tullia died and Lentulus seems to have been of little interest or comfort to his grief-stricken grandfather. Cicero wrote to Atticus on

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[48] Dixon (1991), 103.

two occasions, asking him to ensure the infant was well looked after, but following this Cicero seems to have been overwhelmed by his anguish, and never again refers to Lentulus (Att. 12.28, 12.30). For Cicero, Lentulus may have been a painful reminder of his daughter, and the ills she suffered by her marriage to Dolabella. His indifference to the little boy, then, should not necessarily be characterized as indifference to small children generally.[49] Cicero was very much taken with Attica from the time she was a small child, as we know from communications with Atticus, and this feeling surfaces as early as February of 50 B. C. when Attica could not have been above a year old (Att. 6.1). We can only speculate as to whether Cicero's regard for Attica was accentuated by the loss of his daughter, but the evidence seems to suggest that Cicero was not insensitive to young children.

Among the correspondence of the frequently bombastic Cicero, is a well-spring of information on family life and the "importance of nuclear family attachments in Roman society".[50] Because these letters were not intended for publication, we are afforded glimpses of an upper class politician at home with his wife and children. Cicero gives the impression that, while children could be a source of

[49] For a somewhat different view of Cicero's apathy see Clark (1985), 85-87.

[50] Bradley (1991), 177.

constant concern, equally they brought comfort and happiness. He was the consummate Roman parent, ever vigilant of his children's fortunes, but he was very much a parent who experienced genuine sorrow over estrangement from his children. Terentia and Tullia's pre-nuptial negotiations with the inconstant Dolabella caused him a good deal of anxiety;[51] and the disgrace of 54 B. C. generated concern for Marcus' future socio-political ambitions. Yet the pressures of political life were often allayed by the company of his children, and the children of friends and relatives. Cicero clearly exhibits a sensitivity toward children which, at times, seems difficult to reconcile with his exacting political persona.

EPICTETUS

Many details of the life of Epictetus come to us from accounts found in the work of various authors: Lucian, Celsus, Origen, Gregory of Nazianzus and the lexicon of Suidas among them. He was born in Hierapolis circa 50 A. D., the son of a Phrygian slave woman. He eventually came to be owned by Epaphroditus, a freedman and secretary to the emperor Nero, and became well versed in the ways of upper class Romans as a result of his intimate connections

[51] The search for a suitable marriage candidate prompted a flurry of letter writing activity. For a few examples see Att. 6.6, 7.3, Fam. 3.12, 8.13.

with the aristocracy. Although the details of Epictetus' personal life are sketchy, we know that he resided in Rome during the Flavian period, that he left Rome for Nicopolis, after Domitian banned all philosophers from Rome (probably in 92-93 A. D.), and that he was much admired by the future emperor Marcus Aurelius.[52]

During his service to Epaphroditus, Epictetus was afforded an opportunity to study with the eminent philosopher Musoninus Rufus, from whom he received exposure to the Stoic school of thought. Accordingly, Epictetus spent much of his time in Nicopolis instructing that true happiness was dictated by divine providence and life must, therefore, be lived according to nature rather than in opposition to it.[53] The discourses and homilies of Epictetus survive largely through the efforts of his pupil, Flavius Arrianus. The date of the dissertations may be placed around 108 A. D. based on what we know of the lives of both Epictetus and Arrian.[54] Arrian explains, in a letter to Lucius Gellius, that he transcribed the works of

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[52] Millar (1965), 141-142.

[53] Stadter (1980), 20-21.

[54] Millar (1965), 142 notes that Arrian became suffect-consul in 130 A. D., a post usually assumed around age 42; working back from this date, Millar argues that Arrian would have been about 20, "just the age one would expect, when he sat at the feet of Epictetus". But Syme (1988), 21 points out, the discourses were probably not penned until Arrian retired to Athens, some time after 137 A. D.

Epictetus in order to "preserve a record for myself of his thought and frank speech" (Ep. Gell. 1-2). Stadter suggests the surviving works are likely a reflection of Arrian's own interests, rather than an exact record of the discourses.[55] As for the kinds of students Epictetus would have addressed, they were primarily affluent members of Greek and Roman society, young men with time to engage in philosophic pursuits. Equally, however, Epictetus' audience may well have included less prosperous members of society for he taught in public and his school was open to all individuals.[56]

Despite the fact that over one hundred years separates Cicero and Epictetus, their characterizations of children and childhood are remarkably similar. On a number of occasions, Epictetus mentions the hallmarks of a satisfying life in the same breath as children, listing these components variously as honor, offices, faculties, wealth, a wife, slaves, friends in Rome, parents, and in one instance the recognition of 'Caesar'.[57] In conversation with an Epicurean, Epictetus claims the principal things in life are the "duties of citizenship, marriage, begetting children, reverence to God, [and] care of parents" (3.7.26). Children

[55] Stadter (1980), 27.

[56] Brunt (1977), 20-21.

[57] Epict. 1.22.10, 2.14.18, 3.22.72, 4.1.87, 4.1.101, 4.7.34, 4.8.31, Ench. 15.

are also enumerated among the possessions a solitary man does not have, which Epictetus sees as beneficial for these possessions may well have diverted the man from his true purpose in life (4.1.159). But the tone that Epictetus adopts in discussing children lends the impression that child-rearing was not only a familial obligation but also a civic responsibility.[58] Although the passages cited barely evince a deep sympathy for the small child, Epictetus is well aware of the importance of children in Roman society and their need for attention. Indeed, according to Epictetus a mother who has placed vengeance above the welfare of her children is to be pitied, "because [she] has gone astray in the greatest matters, and has been transformed from a human being into a viper" (1.28.9).

When Epictetus utilizes the conduct of small children as a contrast to acceptable behavioral standards, his tone is compassionate, not disparaging or derisive. Children are altogether characterized as petulant, cowardly, easily upset, helpless, and ignorant. But Epictetus rationalizes the reality of such qualities because children are uneducated, and he is keenly aware that children require schooling in the ways of the adult world. For example, in an attempt to illustrate the importance of knowing oneself, Epictetus says that only children and fools are frightened by a corpse

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[58] Stadter (1980), 23.

(4.7.31). He is cognizant of the fact that children and fools are frightened because they do not have an understanding of a dead body. Epictetus uses a comparable example when he argues that masks are frightening to children by virtue of the child's inexperience (2.1.15; 3.22.106). Adults, he asserts, are no different from children in this regard for they, too, are affected by events they do not understand. "For what is a child? Ignorance. What is a child? Want of instruction. For where a child has knowledge he is no worse than we are" (2.1.17; 3.19.6).

Similarly, what many adults might deem childish behavior is judged by Epictetus as a reasonable method of dealing with frustration. He counsels adults to take their cue from children who, when displeased by something simply say, "I won't play any longer" and take their departure. But should you decide to remain, he cautions, "stop lamenting" (1.24.20; 2.16.38). In a lesson on helplessness, Epictetus admires the resourcefulness of children; when they are left to their own devices, "they gather up sherds and dust and build something or other, then tear it down and build something else again; and so they are never at a loss as to how to spend their time" (3.13.18). For Epictetus, there was a vast difference between children and adults. Children lacked the requisite qualities of adulthood: self-knowledge, patience, understanding and mastery of the

emotions. Only when he sees how certain individuals have carried vestiges of childish behavior into adult life does his work take on a decidedly more pejorative tone. "Don't you know," says Epictetus to a man who does not want to face his adult responsibilities, "that when a person acts like a child, the older he is the more ridiculous he is" (3.24.53)? Or, take the case of a man who bemoans the fact that he may never see Athens or the Acropolis again. Epictetus asks why the man is not satisfied with what he sees every day, and reproves him: "When, therefore, you are about to leave the sun and the moon, what will you do? Will you sit and cry as little children cry?" (2.16.34). Furthermore, Epictetus advises an inconstant individual not to behave like children who pretend to be philosophers and tax-gathers one day, then rhetoricians and procurators of Caesar the next. "You must be one person, either good or bad. . . play either the role of a philosopher or else that of a layman" (Ench. 29).

In a number of vignettes, the pain and sweetness of childhood are successfully captured by Epictetus, and in so doing he communicates his own awareness of the distinctiveness of the child as opposed to the adult. Epictetus has observed children playing with potsherds, busily piling them up, knocking them down and creating new things (3.13.18; 4.7.5). He describes children walking along, mouths agape, bumping into various obstacles because they aren't paying

attention to where they were going (3.19.4). Epictetus notes the hand clapping and high spirits of children on the Saturnalia, how children yearn for holiday-time, and how they scramble excitedly for treats such as figs and nuts when someone scatters them about (1.29.31; 4.8.33; 4.7.22). He observes children pretending to be gladiators and athletes, and acting out a play (3.15.5; Ench. 3). And "who is not tempted" he inquires "by attractive and wide-awake children to join their sports and crawl on all fours with them, and talk baby talk with them" (2.24.18)? Similarly, Epictetus is familiar with the sometimes peevish behavior of children. At the moment a child is left alone by a nurse the child begins to wail, yet the tears stop and the child is pacified once given a cookie (2.16.25). Children cry over the momentary departure of their nurses, but dance and clap on their immediate return (3.24.8). Epictetus also wonders who among us could pass by a child who has fallen upon the ground and begun to cry (1.22.1). Although Stoics have generally been considered as dispassionate and sometimes callous, Epictetus is far from unresponsive to children.

Not only does his work yield amusing images of children, but it suggests that strong bonds could and did exist between adults and children of all ages. Certainly not all parents and children enjoyed an openly affectionate rela-

tionship, but such a state in antiquity should not necessarily be considered an anomaly.[59] In a chapter suitably titled "Of Family Affection" we find Epictetus contemplating the sentiments that parents have for their children, and whether these feelings are in accordance with nature and good (1.11.20). He relates how one father fled from his young daughter's sick-bed because he felt wretched about her illness and could not bear to be near (1.11.4). Epictetus describes an adult crying over a child who has recently gone on a journey (Ench. 16), and how parents become angry with children who insist upon studying philosophy (1.26.5)! Clearly, it was not unusual for parents to be concerned about the welfare of their children.

Throughout the discourses, however, Epictetus repeatedly warns his students against being prodigal with affection toward not only brother or friend, but toward children, for the object of your love is mortal, and it is not within our power to control the destiny of these individuals (Ench. 14). He feels compelled to advise parents that their children have not been given to them in perpetuity--they have come as gifts, presumably of a divine being, and must eventually be given back (3.24.84-87). Epictetus suggests that when kissing a child or wife, they should be regarded as hu-

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[59] Wiedemann (1989), 87 implies that Cicero is such an oddity, being "even more concerned with the education of his family's children than the average Roman *paterfamilias*...".

man beings rather than family members; then, if they should die, it will be much easier to endure the grief (Ench. 3). And he claims that he would never say to a man "your child is dead; [for] how could you bear that?" (4.1.141). Implicit in the work of Epictetus is that parents did enjoy affectionate relationships with their children. Otherwise, what reason would Epictetus have to caution them about investing too heavily in children in an emotional sense? Epictetus makes clear in a response to Epicurus on the issue of distancing oneself from what is uncontrollable and therefore in conflict with divine providence, that affection for one's own children is a natural sentiment, and it is not in our power to restrain it.[60] Once a child is born, we no longer have the power not to love or care for that small child (1.22.1). And he chides Epicurus facetiously: "Why in my opinion, your mother and your father, even if they had divined that you were going to say such things, would not have exposed you!" (1.22.10).

Epictetus' awareness of the uniqueness of children is striking in light of the fact that Epictetus did not have children of his own (that we know of). As we have seen, children appear as paradigms of appropriate and inappropri-

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[60] This conviction is reminiscent of Cicero's own sentiments as evinced in a letter to Atticus; ". . . a desire for children is natural. For, if it is not, there can be no natural tie between man and man; remove that tie and social life is destroyed" (Att. 7.2).

ate behavior, which implies that Epictetus must have spent a good deal of time observing and analyzing the reasons for such behavior. He has also furnished clear evidence that children were perceived as different from adults, and that Roman society of the first century A. D. clearly had a conception of childhood. Epictetus seems to be thoroughly versed in the intimate details of child-rearing; he describes how a man might be pressed into service as his child's nurse-maid, obliged first of all to find a kettle for heating bath-water and then bathing the child (3.22.71)! And he details the preparation required for sending children to school. Prior to their departure, one must find their little cloaks, and ensure they have their little tablets, writing implements and notebooks (3.22.74). Although Wiedemann has made much of the incidence of high infant mortality in ancient society, the evidence from Epictetus can attest that this did not always diminish parental concern nor genuine affection for a child.

CONCLUSION

There is little question that the writing of a history of childhood is a complex task, as the review of modern scholarship in this chapter has demonstrated. Careful and sensitive interpretation of data, familiarity with a large body of literary and art historical evidence, and exposure

to a multiplicity of ideas and methodologies (whether one agrees with them or not) are requisite. Although a child's diary would be an exciting and valuable addition to our studies, the absence of such an account does not preclude the writing of a history of childhood, it simply makes our task more difficult. Instead one might well ask how we approach a study of childhood in antiquity.

As Epictetus' evidence suggests, one alternative is to pursue the study of children's toys, games and pastimes, which Ariès used but did not fully develop in Chapter 4 of Centuries of Childhood. Wiedemann touches upon this facet of childhood, too, but seems preoccupied with games as indicators of status and as ways in which elite Roman boys might justify their position in society; girls are virtually excluded from his discussion of games because he lumps them together with boys, perhaps assuming that boys and girls played all the same kinds of games. And while Wiedemann's analysis of the socializing capabilities is significant, he tends to lose sight of the diversionary aspects of toys and games. Had Wiedemann consulted modern child psychologists for an explication of children's toys and play, his theory of marginality might not have seemed so sound.[61] As the archaeological and primary source information attests, Roman

[61] Golden, too, offered that Wiedemann could have explored the topic of children's play to a much greater extent, in his attempt to track "attitudinal change" and to define the child's role in Roman society (p. 94).

parents were aware of the beneficial aspects of toys; it will be the objective of succeeding chapters to investigate Roman toys and their relevance to writing a history of children and childhood in antiquity.

CHAPTER 2. IMAGES OF CHILDHOOD: THE PRIMARY SOURCE EVIDENCE FOR TOYS AND GAMES

One of the most intriguing elements of Linda Pollock's Forgotten Children, is her analysis of British and American children's diaries of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, through which she acquires what might be considered a 'bird's eye view' of childhood in the modern historical period. But what type of information can be gleaned from the childish scribblings of a small boy or girl? Written by children under the age of thirteen, these journals contain amusing anecdotes detailing such spirited activities as sleigh-riding, playing tricks on servants, quarreling with siblings, playing with toys, and engaging in games such as hide-and-seek, or blindman's bluff.[1] Many children among the Roman elite were surely literate,[2] but the musings of these children do not survive, and ancient historians must be content to see the world of Roman children through the eyes of adults.

Nevertheless, the works of ancient authors reveal a variety of captivating images of children at play, cautionary notes on the excesses of play, and advice on the

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[1] Pollock (1983), 256-257.

[2] Children are often depicted in funerary reliefs (as on the tombstone of Avita and the sarcophagus of Cornelius Statius) clutching book rolls or scrolls. See Wiedemann (1983), pl. 18 and 22.

benefits of toys and play. Images have surfaced in the work of such diverse writers as Cicero, the satirist Petronius, the Roman rhetorician and teacher Quintilian, the elegiac poet Tibullus and the Stoic, Seneca, who worked within the central period of Roman history (200 B.C. to 200 A.D.). Children appear in realistic contexts, yet they also crop up in the mythical world demonstrating that the influences of children permeated all aspects of community life and culture. These accounts propose, too, that toys and games were an integral part of Roman childhood at all levels of society, and that Roman children had a number of toys and games from which they received a good deal of enjoyment. It is the aim of this chapter to analyze such allusions to children's toys and games in an effort to characterize Roman childhood.

THE VOCABULARY OF CHILDREN'S TOYS

From a modern perspective, the word 'toy' most often conjures up notions of objects designed specifically for children, but in the ancient world quite the opposite was true. There are a number of words in Latin (and Greek) which denote toys and game activities (approximately twenty), but few pertain exclusively to children and child-ish pursuits. *Ludicrum*, and *oblectamen* (and variations thereof) signify sources of pleasure, delight or amusement,

within the framework of both adult and child worlds. Horace and Livy are certainly thinking of adult distractions when they speak of setting aside or distributing 'toys', while Cicero, Seneca, and Claudian refer explicitly to a child's playthings when they use the same word.[3] And Greek authors, such as Plutarch, generally use παιγνια in reference to the playthings of children. *Ludere* is the verb most often used in connection with children's activities, but is also taken to mean participation in public entertainment, or amorous sport, as well as to trick or deceive someone.

Latin words that denote individual playthings seem to be derived from objects or phenomena associated with the natural environment. The Latin word *turbo*, and the Greek ῥομβος, for example, denote not only a child's top, but any object that spins, apropos of a whirlwind or an eddy in a stream. A *pila* is a ball, a sphere or any kind of sphere-shaped object, while *follis* can mean a pair of bellows, a purse, or an air-filled ball. We see a continuation of this pattern with the Latin words for gaming pieces. *Tali* connotes nuts, knucklebones and even marbles, while *tesserae* refers to dice which were often shaken in a *fritillus*, or dice-box. But *talus* is also the term for human and

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[3] Hor. Ep. 1.8; Liv. 41.3; Cic. Para. 38; Sen. Ep. 115.8; Claud. Rapt. Proserp. 3.162.

quadruped knucklebones, and *tesserae* sometimes signifies the small squares used in mosaic composition.

Trochus is used solely to describe the hoop used in exercise regimens, which one trundled with a *clavis* or hooked metal key. This word is obviously of Greek origin, as is *neurospaston*, which refers to articulated figures or marionettes. The Latin word for doll is particularly interesting, for *pupa* can also be used in reference to girls. Was the young girl, essentially, playing with an image of herself?[4] The word *vavato* appears in the text of Petronius to designate a straw puppet, and E. P. Glare has proposed that this particular word may have evolved from baby-talk.[5] *Sigillaria* are the small terracotta images commonly given as presents to children as well as slaves, during the Saturnalia, while authors who refer to children playing with rattles use the words *crepitaculum* or *sistrum*. Occasionally, *crepundia* has been taken to mean a child's rattle; the standard interpretation of the latter, is that they were small necklaces or chains of trinkets (much like modern charm bracelets). While an object such as this might easily have captured a child's attention, it appears more

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[4] Golden (1990), 74, offers this interpretation of Greek dolls.

[5] Glare (1982), 2016.

often in Roman comedy as a conventional way of identifying foundlings, than as a child's plaything.[6]

TOYS AND GAMES FOR GIRLS

Although the archaeological remains of Roman dolls are fairly rich, relatively few references to dolls or young girls playing with dolls appear in the literary sources.[7] Authors mention 'figures' which captivate children, or which children sometimes fashion,[8] but dolls specifically are cited in the works of very few authors. Varro mentions dolls in the Menippean Satires, but the reference is fragmentary, thus making it difficult to establish a context (Men. 4). Persius reveals that Roman girls dedicated their dolls to Venus upon coming of age, which usually coincided with marriage[9] (Pers. 2.70); and in the Satyricon, Petronius relates how a little boy peeping through the key-hole to his sister's room sees her playing with a *vavato* (Petr. 140).

[6] Wiedemann (1989), 148 claims that by the age of six months children would be "rattling" *crepundia*. This may be true, but the ancient authors, so far as I am aware, do not consider *crepundia* as a child's plaything. See for example Plaut. Rud. 1154, Miles 1399, Epid. 640; Cicero Brut. 90.3113, and also Boswell (1988), 110-111.

[7] In Jouer (1991), 58, Manson remarks that approximately 500 dolls from Roman antiquity have been recovered.

[8] D. Chrys. 40.9; Lucian Lex. 21, Somn. 2; Plu. Mor. 673F.

[9] In a treatise on idolatry, written some time during the late third or early fourth century, the Christian writer Lactantius reiterates Persius' comments (2.4).

Although *vavato* is ordinarily taken to mean a straw puppet, the puppet could easily have substituted as a doll in households where little money was available for the purchase of ready-made toys.

Plutarch, writing under the high Empire, provides perhaps our only hint as to how girls may have used their dolls. After the death of his two-year old daughter Timoxena, Plutarch wrote to his wife, recalling tenderly how the little girl presented her παιγνια (playthings) to the nurse, so that the nurse might breast-feed them (Plu. Mor. 608D). In this context assuredly, the playthings must refer to dolls; the question remains, however, of whether the behavior of Timoxena was typical of young girls or not. Given the narrow social role of women in Roman society it is quite plausible that young girls naturally played at being wives and mothers, a role they could assume as early as age twelve.[10]

Among the playthings which are pleasing to little girls, Ovid lists smooth pebbles, shells, tiny birds and colored balls, and alludes to ball games played specifically by girls, which he does not describe (Met. 10.260; Ars. 3.353). In late antiquity, Jerome advises parents to offer 'pretty balls' to their daughters as incentives for the

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[10] Rawson (1991), 19-20, disagrees that this type of socio-dramatic play was prevalent among Roman girls, an issue which will be more fully addressed in Chapter 5.

prompt completion of household chores (Ep. 128.1). Young girls are often seen in the literary sources playing fairly passive games with dice or knucklebones, which may indicate that such activities were judged to be more appropriate for girls (Paus. 10.30). Indeed, Ovid maintains in the *Ars Amatoria*, that it is advantageous for a girl to be skilled in certain games, but given the theme of the work the skill is one that will likely by used for amorous pursuits (Ars 3.353)! Propertius claims that girls from Sparta took part in activities that required balls and hoops, but oddly he makes no mention of whether Roman girls participated in similar sports (Prop. 3.14). Dedicatory epigrams from the Palatine Anthology attest to the types of toys offered to Roman girls; among the playthings Timareta and Lycomedes have consecrated to their patron goddesses are knucklebones, a ball, a doll and the doll's dresses[11] (APL. 6.276; 6.280).

TOYS AND GAMES FOR BOYS

The most striking feature of the evidence on toys and games for boys is the emphasis on activities which do not require specially crafted toys. Boys are seen with amazing regularity playing with nuts and knucklebones, two items

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[11] The dating and provenance of epigrams in the Palatine Anthology can be problematic. Consequently, they are used only sparingly throughout this thesis, and not without supporting evidence from reliable authors.

that could have been easily obtained, especially in agrarian communities. The poet Martial alleges that more than one schoolboy suffered a smarting backside because of a penchant for gambling with nuts or knucklebones (14.18; 5.84). Authors such as Horace, and the satirist Persius, fondly reflect on childhoods spent giving and gambling away Saturnalian nuts (Hor. S. 2.3; Pers. 1.8). And Phaedrus maintains that even the illustrious Aesop was discovered in the street one day, playing at 'shots' with a crowd of boys[12] (3.14). Roman boys are shown to imitate people and events which piqued their curiosity, as a number of authors attest. Not only did boys imitate lawyers and judges, Suetonius and Plutarch paint vivid pictures of boys pretending to be soldiers and generals.[13] Notwithstanding the Roman aversion to monarchy, boys seem to have taken particular delight in the game of 'kings', where one might shout vigorously: "*rex eris, si recte facies*"[14] (Hor. Ep. 1.59). A somewhat more sedate game may have been coin tossing, where boys would

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[12] Allusions to 'shots' in the primary source material suggests it was a type of gambling. In Nux 73, Ovid provides a rough description of this game (and others). See also Suet. Aug. 83; APL. 12.212.

[13] Hor. Ep. 1.18; Sen. Ep. 12.2; SHA Sev. 1.4; Suet. Nero 35; Plu. Cat. Mi. 2.

[14] Dio Chrysostom (4.47), also mentions the game of kings which can be traced back to the time of Herodotus (1.114).

call "*capta aut navita*"[15] (Macr. 1.7). Alongside these marvelous vignettes we find boys rambling by the seashore, collecting mussels and shells, skipping stones, wrestling, cock-fighting, swimming, and fishing.[16] And witness this curious epigram from the Palatine Anthology, in which a walnut-tree bewails its sad fate as a mark "for the well-aimed stones" of passing young boys (APL. 9.3). Although the primary sources lend the impression that Roman boys favored improvised toys and make-believe activity, it is evident they derived at least some enjoyment from specifically designed toys such as hoops, balls and tops.

Few authors remark on hoops or hoop-playing activities, but those who do generally associate them with boys (Hor. Car. 3.24; Ov. Ars. 3.381; Mart. 14.168). At least two authors have suggested that hoops were an integral part of exercise routines, but Martial describes also an extraordinary hoop "that resounds with tinkling rings" (hardly indicative of an exercise implement).[17] There are a number of allusions to boys playing with balls, but the authors imply that balls were components of exercise routines. Again, Martial

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[15] Assuredly, this is a reflection of Roman coin design--one side held the silhouette of a ship while the obverse might reveal the portrait of the emperor.

[16] Cic. de Ora. 2.5; Min. Fel. Oct. 3.5; Herod. 3.10, Paus. 6.14; Petr. 86; Plin. Ep. 9.33.

[17] Strab. 5.236; Hor. Ars. 378; Mart. 11.21, 14.169.

details the usage and construction of at least two different kinds of balls (the *follis* and the *harpastum*), and provides the rules for certain contests.[18] But boys must surely have played with balls outside of exercise contexts, and devised their own games (D. Chrys. 4.47; APL. 7.282). The literary evidence for tops is meager; Tibullus, and later Persius, nostalgically recall playing with tops as young boys, and how they were fascinated by the whirling boxwood (Tib. 1.5; Pers. 3.51). The Augustan poet Vergil and the Antonine emperor Marcus Aurelius, mention tops and children in the same context, but what they do not specify is whether the children are boys or girls (Verg. A. 7.379; Aur. 5.36). The generic term, *pueri*, is used by Vergil, while Marcus Aurelius refers to a foster-child's top as τον του θρεπτου 'ρομβον. Both words are ambiguous at best, and may indicate that tops were not used solely by male children.

CHILDREN AND TOYS IN MYTH

Among Greek authors of the Roman period, toys frequently come into view in mythical contexts. This material is not irrelevant to Roman perceptions of children and childhood, for it offers proof of the wide-ranging associations of children and their games in Roman society at large. Pausanias describes divine children at play and notes the

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[18] Mart. 4.19, 7.32, 14.46, 14.47, 12.82.

kinds of toys they played with: dice and knucklebones (10.30). Philostratus, writing in the second century A.D., was a native of Athens who spent some time at the court of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna. He relates how Heracles, as a baby in swaddling clothes, involved himself in games that were inappropriate for a small child (Im. 5.1). Philostratus was attempting to show how Heracles' personality and character traits were formed at a relatively early age; and in the process he demonstrates, quite clearly, an awareness of the different phases in child development, as well as a child's natural propensity to play. In another work, significantly entitled Boys at Play, Philostratus depicts Eros and young Ganymede playing a spirited game of dice, with the mischievous Eros cheating despite Ganymede's protestations (Im. 8). Here again, two mythical figures compete in an often played, actual game and behave, in all probability, in the same fashion as Roman children.

Among Roman writers proper, Ovid furnishes examples of children playing in mythical contexts; in the Metamorphoses, he explains how the young Io (having been transformed into a heifer) wanders to the stream where she played as a young girl (Met. 1.639). And he describes an idyllic locale where the king's daughter played with her Tyrian maidens (Met. 2.844). Similarly, in a dialogue between Dido and Aeneas in book IV of Vergil's *Aeneid*, a dejected Dido laments that if

she had a little Aeneas playing by her side, as a memory of the love she shared with his father, she would not feel abandoned (A. 4.328). And in Claudian's poem The Rape of Proserpinae, we find the mother of Proserpinae wandering disconsolately through her absent daughter's room, observing its childish disarray--toys, spindles and a basket of wool are strewn pell mell (Rapt. Proserp. 3.162). In mythical contexts, Ovid, Vergil and Claudian are able to contrast the innocence of childhood and the emotions evoked by children with the sometimes painful and harsh realities of adult life. This is clear evidence of the widespread influence of children and acknowledgment that they were an integral part of Roman society.

TOYS AND GAME ACTIVITIES FOR *PUERI*

The emergence of child psychology in the twentieth century, and the rise of feminism, has encouraged many modern parents not to stereotype their children by providing them with conventional, gender-based toys. Yet playthings such as dolls are still deemed appropriate toys for girls, and miniature motor vehicles, or toy weapons as suitable for boys. One might imagine, based on the strict patriarchal nature of Roman society, that there were strong ideas about what constituted seemly toys for girls and suitable toys for boys. The evidence for non gender-specific toys and games,

however, seems to rival evidence for gender-based toys. Many authors do not differentiate between male and female children in their accounts of children at play. Authors have a tendency to use the word *pueri*, as Quintilian does when he explains his preference for giving children ivory letters to play with, in the hope of pleasing them (Inst. 1.1.26). Is it safe to assume that he is referring to boys or children of both sexes? The issue is obscured somewhat by the fact that Quintilian's surviving work focuses predominantly on the education of male children. Although *pueri* is the nominative plural of *puer*, meaning boy, over time it came to denote children of either sex. This pluralism is well illustrated by Cicero when he says, "*Atticae quoniam quod optimum in pueris est, hilarula est, meis verbis suavium des volo*"[19] (Att. 16.11). This detail may seem inconsequential, but it has relevance within the context of toys and games because it lends credence to the theory that few toys in antiquity were gender-specific. The literary sources show clearly that Roman children participated in a wide variety of games, and that children of both sexes played with many of the same toys.[20]

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[19] See Andr. *poet.* 14, Naev. *poet.* 2.24, Prisc. *ap. G. L.* 231.13, Dig. 50.16.163.1.

[20] This theory will be explained and argued more fully with the support of the archaeological evidence.

Elite and non-elite children of both sexes, for example, were given rattles to pacify and amuse them.[21] Older children busied themselves at the seashore by making sandcastles and drawing figures in the sand; older children also had a predilection for games of chance and the telling of stories and riddles, particularly riddles that offered some degree of complication or difficulty.[22] There were make-believe games, such as imitating grown-ups like magistrates and judges, and even acting out a play.[23] The *sigillaria* distributed during the Saturnalia seem to have been a source of delight for boys and girls alike (Sen. Ep. 12.2, SHA Hadr. 17.3; Macr. 1.2). And such diverse authors as Seneca, and the Greek travel-writer Pausanias, observe that knuckle-bones and dice were common playthings for children of both sexes[24] (Sen. Ep. 12.2; Paus. 4.24). Among all of these citations, there is little to suggest that male and female children never played together, or that it was common for children to be segregated. Moreover, the fact that fewer authors discuss female toys and games strongly suggests that girls were playing with their male siblings or relatives.

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[21] Lucr. 5.228; Mart. 14.54; Quint. Inst. 9.4.66.

[22] Cic. Fin. 5.42, Plu. Mor. 673E; Hor. S. 2.3., Sen. Ep. 12.2, Philostr. VA 2.22.

[23] Aur. 9.24; Sen. Ep. 12.2, Epict. 3.25, SHA Sev. 1.4.

[24] See also APL. 6.276, 6.308, 6.309, 12.46, 12.44.

The notion of non-segregated play raises also the issue of recreational space; aside from obvious outdoor locales, authors seldom note where the activities of children took place.

CHILDREN AND RECREATIONAL SPACE

Against the fact that ancient historians have addressed a number of issues concerning children and childhood in antiquity, the issue of recreational space remains untouched.[25] Cicero, in a passage from *De Finibus*, claims that some children "prefer games involving considerable exertion", while Quintilian suggests that children sustain mild injuries to their hands and knees as a result of playing or running about from morning till night (Cic. Fin. 5.55; Quint. Inst. 1.12.10). Where did these children play? The opulent homes of many elite Romans, and even the modest houses of community notables, boasted large areas of space where children would have had sufficient room to run about, toss a ball, spin a top or just play quietly.[26] But whether children were permitted the run of the house or whether they

[25] Wallace-Hadrill (1991), 227 and (1988), 52 raises the issue of where children slept and played, but only in connection with the wide-ranging topic of Roman family relations.

[26] See, for example, Pliny's descriptions of the areas surrounding his Laurentine and Tuscan villas (2.17, 5.6), the villa specifications set out by Columella (1.6), and Vitruvius' recommendations for town and country homes (6.3) For an interpretation of large scale homes in Roman North Africa see Thébert (1987), 357-378.

were confined to designated areas is virtually impossible to ascertain.

Lucretius refers to children who play *in atria*, and Vergil graphically describes a childish throng that gathers *in vacua atria* to marvel over the spinning boxwood (Lucr. 4.400; Verg. A. 7.377). Small children would have required constant supervision if they were to play in the *atria* or the peristyles of some homes, for those homes with *impluvia* or basins in the peristyles presented a drowning hazard much like a house with a swimming pool today. The gardens and grounds surrounding Roman villas held great potential for childish rambles (supervised of course), as battle-grounds for little soldiers or arenas for young gladiators. For affluent city children, the central enclosure of luxury *insulae* might have furnished an alternative to playing in a busy street. Spacious Ostian apartments, such as the early second century *Casa a Giardino* for example, were organized around central enclosures; here, the court measured an amazing 78 x 95m.[27] So long as the weather was pleasant, ample recreational space was available to children from privileged backgrounds. In the event of inclement weather they could resort to, or at least have the option of playing indoors.

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[27] Packer (1971), 16; p. 172-173. See also his discussion of other luxury buildings such as the *Insulae delle Muse* (p. 176-177) and the *Caseggiato degli Aurighi* (p. 177-182).

Other *insulae* were little more than simple cubicles and offered only the most basic necessities. The early second century *Caseggiato del Temistocle*, for example, had a number of shops on the ground floor, no central court, and windows appear to have been rare. Many *insulae* were multi-functional, including not only living space but shops and even factories.[28] Indeed, the vast majority of Ostian apartments were not equipped to cater to all the physical needs of the tenants, they served merely as a place to eat and sleep, and "for the storage of family property".[29] No doubt many Roman children lived in apartments like these, but because they were cramped and afforded very little natural light they were ill-suited for most kinds of recreation. Ostian adults might spend their leisure in any of the fourteen bathing complexes, or among the colonnades and fora; but these public spaces must have been congested at times, and thus the room available to children was probably limited. Furthermore, without spacious apartments to return to, where did these children go when the weather prevented them from playing outside?

The domestic architecture of ancient Rome provides only a little help with the question of the degree to which male

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[28] Packer (1971), 195. See also Packer's discussion of the multi-purpose complex, the *Caseggiato delle Trifore* (p. 165-166).

[29] Packer (1971), 73.

and female children played together, given that we do not know exactly where within the household children were permitted to play.[30] The domestic architecture of ancient Greece, by way of illustration, provides an indication of the recreational space available to children. The design of the *oikos* incorporated a *gynaikonitis*, or women's quarters, where women and children spent a good deal of their time.[31] Greek vase paintings have also yielded depictions of women and children, or children and nurses playing in this precise context. More importantly, however, we observe children of both sexes playing together. Greek literary sources specify that young boys remained in the *oikos* until six or seven, when they began their scholastic and athletic training.[32] There are no parallels for the *gynaikonitis* in Roman domestic architecture, at least according to Cornelius Nepos (Praef. 7), so we may only speculate on how often integrated play occurred. Upper-class children may well have played together, very much in the manner of Greek children, and as they matured their lives were channelled in the appropriate direction. Conversely, the design of *insulae* and the

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[30] According to Packer (1971), 74, very few apartment buildings from the city of Rome have survived; nevertheless, the *insulae* of Ostia are considered to be a reasonably accurate reflection of apartment buildings in Rome during the first four centuries A. D.

[31] Walker (1983), 81-82.

[32] Pl. Leg. 7.794C, Arist. Pol. 7.1336.B36.

communal lifestyle they fostered points to little opportunity for segregation among the lower classes or free poor. The implications are that children of both sexes may have been encouraged, by reason of their living space, to mingle and participate in one another's games.

If the family dwelling had an impact on recreational space, it is also likely that domestic architecture influenced parent-child relationships. It was much easier for lower-class children to have remained under the watchful eyes of a parent when play was limited to a courtyard or apartment. Although elite Roman children were usually supervised by a child-minder, they may have spent greater periods of time separated from parents if they were permitted the run of the house or the gardens. Of course, the effect of domestic architecture on children and play deserves more intensive study and discussion than is possible here; but the subject has been broached in an effort to illustrate the range of influences that shaped Roman childhood. If we were able to determine whether architects allocated recreational space in Roman houses, we might be able to elucidate further the traditional view of the child's role in Roman society.

PARENT-CHILD INTERACTION

A salient characteristic of the literary evidence on Roman play is the absence of parents, or images of parents

playing with their children. There are plenty of representations in Roman art, from funerary reliefs to wall paintings, of children interacting with their parents but there, too, parents are seldom seen participating in an activity as opposed to watching from the sidelines. This may stem from the fact that parents placed greater emphasis on relationships with mature or adult children.[33] Upper-class Roman parents were very concerned with the proper education and rearing of their offspring, so we should not necessarily conclude that parents were indifferent to small children. The preference for relationships with adult children did not preclude the existence of warm relationships between parents and small children.[34] Much research has also been conducted on the roles of child-minders like *paedagogi* and *nutrices* in particular, their positions in the Roman *familia* and the relationships between *nutrix* and *paedagogus* and their young charges. These studies have amply demonstrated that the introduction of a *nutrix* may have resulted in physical distancing and consequently emotional distancing between parents and small children.[35] We have already seen how Plutarch was able to recall the amusing incident between his two-year old daughter Timoxena and her nurse (Mor. 608D).

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[33] Dixon (1992), 119.

[34] Garnsey (1991), 64-65; Dixon (1988), 35.

[35] Bradley (1991), 92; see also Bradley (1986), 220.

Did Plutarch or his wife witness this incident while in the company of their daughter and her nurse, or did the nurse tell her master of the girl's engaging behavior? While we can never know the answer to this particular question, it is appropriate to ask, in our attempt to characterize Roman childhood, how much time parents spent in the company of their children.

STAGES OF CHILDHOOD

If we wish to define Roman childhood, it is essential that we ascertain whether Roman society had any concept of distinct phases in childhood and, if so, how the various developmental stages were demarcated. But the ancient authors seldom give the age of children, although they occasionally intimate that certain games and toys were preferred by specific age groups. Rattles, for example, seem to have been the preserve of the very young or the *infantes*. Pliny the Elder uses the word *infans* to describe the son of Croesus who spoke at the age of six months, when he was *in crepundiis*, or still at the rattle stage (Nat. 11.270). Martial recommends that a fussing *vernula* (slave-child) be given a rattle to play with (14.54). Admittedly, we can only conjecture on the child's age for Martial did not specify whether the child was an *infans*. Nevertheless, we may safely conclude that the *vernula* was quite young, for not

many four or five-year old children would be appeased by such an object. A similar inference may be made from a passage in Lucretius comparing the helplessness of the human child to the relatively independent progeny of animals. The offspring of animals have no need of rattles, nor do they require the coaxing and *infracta loquella* (baby-talk) of a *nutrix*, asserts Lucretius (5.228). Here, assuredly, Lucretius is thinking of very young children.

Throughout the primary sources we find scattered references to children coming of age, indicating that Roman society acknowledged a time for play, and a time to put away toys and take on the responsibilities of young adults. Girls usually relinquished their childhood playthings shortly before they married,[36] while the assumption of the *toga virilis* marked the end of childhood for boys. There are, in fact, a number of dedicatory epigrams in the Palatine Anthology which are associated with children dedicating their childhood toys to the gods. Timareta, as we saw earlier, gave her dolls, her doll's dresses and a ball (APL. 6.280). And Philocles hung up his boyhood toys for Hermes: a ball, a top and knucklebones (APL. 6.309). Persius, in a biting attack on the corruption of Roman moral standards, laments his sad existence by saying, "*nucibus facimus quaecumque relictis, cum sapimus patruos*" (1.8).

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[36] For girls' age at marriage see Shaw (1987), 30-46.

For Persius, at least, the transition from child to adult was marked by the fact that he was expected to exchange his childish pursuits (that is to say, playing with nuts or marbles) for the demeanor of an adult male. It is, of course, difficult to determine whether children willingly agreed to give up their toys or whether they continued to play with them after attaining adult status. Since children mature at differing rates, it is probably safe to assume that for some Roman children the preoccupation with toys diminished before the onset of puberty.

Roman society distinguished, then, between very young children and children approaching adulthood. But what about the intervening period, the years between infanthood and puberty? The issue is confused somewhat by the indiscriminate use of certain terms. Quintilian, for example, seems to think that infancy spans the years from birth to age seven (Inst. 1.1). Cicero certainly perceived a difference in the attention span of very young children (*infantes*) who were unable to keep still, and older children (*pueri*) who "delight in games involving considerable exertion--from which not even fear of punishment can restrain them" (Fin. 5.55). Cicero actually describes various stages of childhood, one being the stage at which children begin to interact with one another, "to participate in games and listen to stories" (Fin. 5.42). When Cicero's comments are

examined in the context of the Latin vocabulary pertaining to children, it is evident that Roman society noted various phases in childhood. While demarcation may not have been as sharp as those of modern child psychologists, we cannot ignore the fact that Roman society acknowledged variances in a child's development, and this is apparent in the vocabulary of childhood. Latin used a variety of words to describe the differing stages of maturation, words such as *infans* or *infantia*, *puer* and *pueritia*, *parvulus* and *vernula* are prime examples. These words and their derivatives frequently appear in conjunction with certain types of toys and games; seldom do we seen an *infans* or a *iuvenis* playing a make-believe game, authors are more inclined to use the word *pueri*. It is reasonable to hypothesize that when writers used the word *pueri*, they were referring to children in a certain age range, other than babies and toddlers but younger than teenagers, as Horace does incisively when he compares the foolish anxieties of love to building sandcastles at the age of three (S. 2.3).

SLAVE-CHILDREN AND PLAY

One group of children that receives very little attention in antiquity is that comprising children of the less privileged sectors of Roman society, specifically slaves. Despite the dearth of evidence on the slave-child's role in

antiquity, a study of toys and games must address the issue of what opportunities slave-children had to participate in games or make-believe activities, and whether these children possessed playthings of their own. A study of child labor in Roman Egypt, has led Bradley to suggest that slave-children could have expected to begin an apprenticeship about the age of twelve, in any number of vocations.[37] And legal evidence indicates that non-elite children could be employed by age ten and sometimes as early as age five (Code of Justinian 6.43.3.1; Dig. 7.7.6.1). Plainly, economic necessity resulted in an abridged childhood for many slave-children, but how were these children occupied prior to taking up their apprenticeships? The time allocated for recreation and the quality and sophistication of toys must have been directly affected by membership in a particular social class. Elite Roman children would likely have possessed better quality toys, and have been permitted more time for play than slave-children. But while the lives of most slave-children were arduous and harsh, we cannot discount the possibility that they were the recipients of toys from a sympathetic *dominus* or *domina*, as the works of Martial, Seneca and Tibullus imply.

The poetry of Tibullus paints an intimate picture of a mistress teaching a chattering slave-child to play on her

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[37] Bradley (1991), 111-115.

lap (1.5.25). As we have seen, Martial suggested that when a home-born slave began to cry the child should be pacified with a *sistrum* or rattle (14.54). Tibullus used the word *verna* and Martial the diminutive form, *vernula* to denote slave children at play. The vocabulary is indicative of a class of slaves that enjoyed a special status in the Roman household and who could, unlike most slaves, expect preferential treatment. One modern historian asserts, by way of illustration, that the Roman regard of a country environment as beneficial for pregnant women and small children resulted in slave-owners sending some of their pregnant *vernae* to the country during confinement and during the formative stages of child-rearing.[38] Furthermore, it is clear that "[home-born] slaves seem also to have sometimes had a familial importance in substituting for or complementing a master's own child(ren)".[39] These two contentions support the hypothesis that slave-children received some of the privileges normally associated with free born children and that one of these privileges may have been time for play and the acquisition of toys. An inscription from Latium reveals that a dignitary from Ferentinum made a provision in his will for a gift of nuts to all the children of the town--*sine distinctione* (CIL 10.5853); and we know from a reference in Seneca that

[38] Treggiari (1979), 189-190.

[39] Rawson (1986), 186.

his own slave, Felicio, was the recipient of *sigillaria* that were given to children at the time of the Saturnalia (Ep. 12.3).

Certain children, as in the case of the young Felicio, may have shared special relationships which were the consequence of playing together as children.[40] Bradley suggests, in his study of *collactanei* (children at once breast-fed by the same woman) that the children of a slave *collacteus,* and her charges, may have shared a close relationship when young, but which diverged as the children matured.[41] Elite Roman children were also assigned their own personal slaves --how might the child treat a slave of his or her own age?[42] Was the slave-child pressed into service for games of 'blind-man's cheek' or 'kings', for it was certainly not a slave's prerogative to refuse. The issue of slave and freeborn child interaction takes on a new perspective in the context of the Saturnalia. Role-reversal (between masters and slaves) and the giving of token gifts were special features of this December festival.[43] The household slaves were permitted to behave as masters, while the master took on a more subservient role for the day. But was this ex-

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[40] Dixon (1992), 228.

[41] Bradley (1991), 154.

[42] Dixon (1988), 128.

[43] Ogilvie (1969), 98-99.

change in social roles extended to the children of the household and if so, how would the small slave-child have reacted to such an opportunity?

We can only speculate, of course, upon the degree of interaction between slave and freeborn child. The literary evidence furnishes enough information to suggest that toys may well have been shared (or cast-off toys given to slave children) and the boundaries of class relaxed somewhat during playtime. It is conceivable that enslaved children played with toys and participated in games at least prior to age five, to commencing an apprenticeship, or to taking on domestic responsibilities. What set slave children apart from children of means (among other things) was the quality of their toys and the time constraints placed on their leisure activities. Throughout history, toys have been constructed from ephemeral materials that are often at hand --sticks, rags, and straw--to which many Roman slaves and free poor children may have had access. Although the harsh realities of Roman life would have compelled these children to relinquish their playthings and pastimes at a much earlier age than elite Roman children, it is evident that under-privileged children received some exposure to toys (improvised or otherwise) and games.

CONCLUSION

The literary evidence for toys and games in Roman antiquity discloses a number of pronounced features of Roman childhood. Children and their activities materialize in a variety of contexts and in the work of a broad range of authors, all of whom appear to have regarded childhood as a recognizable phase in human development. From Republican politicians to the Antonine emperor Marcus Aurelius to the Christian writers of the Late Empire, the images of children change very little. The child's fascination with miniature figures and cheap dolls, and the predilection for stories, riddles, games, building sandcastles, and imitating grown-ups is well documented.[44] The general tenor of modern scholarship on children tends to emphasize the rigidity of school-life, the seeming lack of parental participation in child-rearing (primarily among the upper classes), and the harsh realities of life for children of the free poor and the enslaved;[45] the literary evidence reveals, however, that Roman children from all walks of life may well have found childhood a pleasant part of the maturation process. Roman children, much like children today, seem to have had a natu-

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[44] Lucian Somn. 2, Halc. 4; Paus. 5.20.; SHA Hadr. 17.3; Hor. S. 2.3; Sen. Ep. 12.2; Plu. Mor. 673E.

[45] This is a common theme throughout Wiedemann (1989), but see especially 143-175; see also J. K. Evans (1991), 169-171.

ral inclination to play with toys, create their own make-believe worlds, and exasperate parents and schoolmasters through inattention to schoolwork! Cicero is quick to warn parents that children should not be given unlimited freedom to play (Off. 1.103). While Quintilian cautions that boys should be permitted time to play in order to prevent them from hating their studies (Inst. 1.3). The funerary inscription for Geminia Agathe, who died at the age of five states quite eloquently, "*dum vixi, lusi . . .*" (CIL 6.19007). In another funerary inscription a young girl admonishes her playmates: "play while life allows you to be happy, girls; for often deathly fate carries you off in dread" (CLE 1167).[46] Assuredly, toys, games and other activities described in the primary sources are more than an acknowledgment of childhood as a distinct phase in the Roman life course, they are valuable indicators of the role and importance of children in Roman society.

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[46] *. . . ludite, felices, patitur dum vita puellae, saepe et formosas fata sinistra trahunt.*

CHAPTER 3. A CATALOGUE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

As we saw in the preceding chapter, a broad range of authors attest to the kinds of toys and games available to Roman children. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the correlation between the literary and material evidence, and this takes the form of a catalogue.

The material for the present catalogue has been culled from a wide variety of sources such as monographs, archaeological field reports, art historical surveys and museum catalogues. Initially, the types of toys which were to be included in this collection were determined by the information that could be extracted from the resource materials; that is, many toys in museum collections around the world remain unpublished and are known only from oblique references. With the publication of the companion-guide to one exhibition,[1] however, a wealth of material became available, and this permitted a more thorough evaluation of the archaeological evidence for children's toys. Initially, there was an inclination to search for the kinds of objects that were thought to have been fashioned expressly for children (as opposed to improvised playthings), and this was prompted chiefly by information on ancient toys that had been obtained from a survey of the primary sources. But as representations of children playing with nuts or

[1] This exhibition, Jouer dans l'antiquité, was held from November 1991 to February 1992 in Marseille, France.

knucklebones, began to come to light, the manner in which the data were being compiled was re-evaluated. Items such as carts and nuts have now been included because they appear to have been familiar playthings of children. Similarly, depictions of *putti* or erotes at play were ignored at the outset of research because of their mythological connotations. Study of child sarcophagi, paintings and funerary reliefs, however, reveals that *putti* are frequently associated with children (perhaps because of their mischievous or high-spirited natures). Reconsideration of these issues has served to broaden the material base for the catalogue; it now focuses on objects that appear in a variety of contexts, and those which Roman children seem to have played with on a frequent basis.

CATALOGUE ORGANIZATION

The toys have been typed under the following rubrics: balls, carts, dolls, doll accessories, games and game equipment, hoops, miniature animals, puppets, rattles, tops and wheeled animals.[2] To facilitate an accurate impression of the diversity of the toys within each group, an attempt has been made to classify the object; that is, balls have been identified as hand or exercise balls, dolls as jointed

[2] It should be noted that despite the unusual number of depictions of children and pets, pets have been deliberately excluded from toy discussions.

or non-jointed, rattles as theriomorphic or non-theriomorphic, carts as two-wheeled or three-wheeled, and so forth. The data fall neatly into one of two categories, 'preserved' (denoting actual physical remains) or 'representation' (signifying art historical evidence), such as the illustrations of toys that appear on sarcophagi, in mosaics and wall paintings. The preserved or representational remains have been dated and the location of the objects ascertained wherever possible (ie. private collection or museum[3]). The construction materials of the preserved remains have been identified, but for obvious reasons this was not feasible with the illustrations. An effort has been made to keep the descriptions as concise as possible, and bibliographic and background material is included when available.

Frequently, representational and preserved remains were found in a similar context. Toys have been discovered as a result of tomb and cemetery excavations and in sanctuaries dedicated to a patron god or goddess of children. The recovery of toys from burial contexts is not unusual, and such finds can be characterized in one of two ways: as objects that were created explicitly for funerary purposes, that is to honor the deceased and provide comfort in the afterlife, or as actual personal possessions of the dead

[3] For an index of museums, and their locations, please see p. 114-115.

that serve as statements about the wealth and rank of individuals. Scholars may quibble over the categorization of grave finds but it is apparent that they were a constituent of burial practices throughout the Mediterranean and Near Eastern worlds. Whether or not the items are the private effects of the deceased is perhaps not the key issue here; in all likelihood they are indicative of the kinds of playthings the deceased child can be expected to possess. In the ancient world, children who died before adulthood were customarily buried with their favorite toys. Excavations throughout the Mediterranean in general and Roman Britain in particular have exposed an array of expensive and inexpensive toys ranging from amazingly sophisticated, jointed dolls to knucklebones and gaming pieces. Even infants, as the jet bear from Malton (no. 063) demonstrates, were accompanied into the after-life by such trinkets as rattles and miniature animals.

CATALOGUE

001 **OBJECT:** ball
CLASS: hand ball
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Musée Archéologique, Laon 37.266
PROVENANCE: southern Italy
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 97, fig. 82.
DESCRIPTION: moulded, terracotta statuette of a girl holding a ball. She is dressed in a chiton gathered at the bust and hips. The facial features are well formed, and her hair is parted in the middle and pulled back into a chignon. She holds a ball in her left hand, which is cocked as if to throw the ball. She clutches the folds of her garment with her right hand. Traces of a white slip remain on the surface.
DATE: end of the third century B.C.

002 **OBJECT:** ball
CLASS: hand ball
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: LOU MA 99
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 67, fig. 90. Veyne (1987): p. 16.
DESCRIPTION: frieze from a child's sarcophagus, which exhibits three girls playing ball (all are shown in a lateral position). They are wearing short tunics over long flowing skirts and are barefoot. Two of the girls have long shoulder-length hair and another has her hair swept up into a chignon. One girl throws a ball against a wall while her companion, arms outstretched waits to catch it. A third girl clasps a ball in her hands as she observes her playmates. To the left of the frieze a group of boys are playing with nuts.
DATE: second century

003 **OBJECT:** ball
CLASS: hand ball
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: SM
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 98, fig. 85.
DESCRIPTION: detail from a sarcophagus that shows Medea with her children. In the center of the frieze two small, nude boys stand in front of Medea; they have soft, plump bodies and wavy hair. The taller of the two boys holds a ball, and extends his arms upwards and away from the smaller child, boyishly preventing his sibling from playing with the ball. The smaller child reaches towards his brother.
DATE: second century

004 **OBJECT:** ball
CLASS: hand ball
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Terme Museum, Rome
PROVENANCE: Rome
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Veyne (1987): p. 15.
DESCRIPTION: tomb painting showing two boys and two girls engaged in a boisterous ball game. The girl on the extreme left is shown in full length dress and toga, left arm raised and the right arm holding the folds of her clothing. On the extreme right another girl (in side view) rushes energetically toward a ball that has been thrown into the air. The two males, dressed in calf length tunics and arms oustretched, are positioned in the center of the panel and may be trying to catch the ball. One boy is in full frontal position while the other has his back to the viewer.
DATE: second century

005 **OBJECT:** ball
CLASS: hand ball
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Yorkshire Museum, York
PROVENANCE: York
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tufi (1983): pl. 38.
DESCRIPTION: poorly preserved tombstone of Flavia Augustina that features a family portrait. The two young children who stand in the foreground (a boy and a girl) are attired in calf length tunics and have shoulder-length hair. In their left hands the children grasp the edge of their tunics, while in their right hands they are holding balls. The parents are standing immediately behind the children, and all figures are in full frontal position.
DATE: third century

006 **OBJECT:** ball
CLASS: exercise ball
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: BM GR 1947.7-14.5
PROVENANCE: Roman Italy
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Walker (1985): p. 19, pl. 9.
DESCRIPTION: relief fragment from a sarcophagus lid, that depicts two erotes at play. The erote on the left, is holding a ball and placing it on the shoulder of the erote to his immediate left. This smaller figure turns as if to receive the ball. On the right is a third erote, who is carrying a small basket of fruit. Typically, the erotes have chubby bodies, short wavy hair, and child-like facial features.
DATE: unknown

007 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: two-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: LOU 659
PROVENANCE: Roman Italy
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Evans (1991): pl. 8; Wiedemann (1989): pl. 18; Jenkins (1987): p. 35, fig. 42; Koch and Sichtermann (1982): pl. 114.
DESCRIPTION: frieze from the sarcophagus of Cornelius Statius, executed in full relief, that shows the life-cyle of the deceased child. In the center of the freize, a young boy dressed in a calf-length tunic and toga stands on a small cart drawn by a ram. He holds the reins in his left hand and a whip (or switch) in his right. The cart is similar to Roman chariot designs (high front and low back).
DATE: second century

008 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: two-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: MMA 90.12
PROVENANCE: Roman Italy
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch and Sichtermann (1982): pl. 219.
DESCRIPTION: this decorative frieze from a sarcophagus, executed in low relief, displays a number of chubby erotes riding in carts. The carts, are similar in construction to chariots, that is they have a short narrow platform (high in front, low in back). They are drawn by a variety of animals including bears, lions, boars and oxen. A stylized palm tree or *metae*, divides the frieze, and may have been included to suggest a race context.
DATE: 240-250

009 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: two-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: LOU
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch and Sichtermann (1982): pl. 116; Himmelmann (1973): pl. 42.
DESCRIPTION: detail from funerary relief illustrating the life-cycle of a young child. On the extreme left, a young boy with curly hair appears to be climbing into a cart drawn by a team of rams. The design of this cart differs slightly; the front is low and the back quite high, which suggests the child may have sat rather than stood in the cart, and one would enter the cart from the side as opposed to the rear.
DATE: third century

010 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: two-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Torlonia Museum, Rome
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiedemann (1989): pl. 17; Koch and Sichtermann (1982): pl. 115; Himmelmann (1973): pl. 42B.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved frieze from a child's sarcophagus, executed in full relief. The frieze depicts the life-cycle of the deceased child. On the far right a curly-haired boy in a short tunic, with his back to the viewer, stands in a small chariot with four-spoked wheels, which is being drawn by a horse (although the horse is being guided by an adult male).
DATE: third century

011 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: two-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Chiaramonti Museum, Vatican 1632
PROVENANCE: Ostia
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Evans (1991): pl. 9; Wiedemann (1989): pl. 19.
DESCRIPTION: poorly preserved and crudely modelled frieze from a child's sarcophagus, executed in low relief. On the right a child in a long tunic sits on a small cart drawn by a ram (lateral position). The cart has a rather high back and is low in front. The child holds a whip or switch in his right hand and the reins in his left. An older male in front of the ram, looks back toward the child as he guides the animal along.
DATE: unknown

012 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: two-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: National Museum, Naples
PROVENANCE: Naples
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch and Sichtermann (1982): pl. 245.
DESCRIPTION: frieze from child's sarcophagus that depicts eight erotes competing in a chariot race. They are driving small carts or chariots which are drawn by teams of ponies with elaborate harnesses. A race context is suggested by the inclusion of a *metae* or obelisk located in the center of the frieze. The erotes are distinguished by their size, fleshy bodies, and wavy hair.
DATE: unknown

013 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: three-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Terme Museum, Rome
PROVENANCE: Rome
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Veyne (1987): p. 15.
DESCRIPTION: tomb painting of a small male child learning to walk. The child is supporting himself with a small cart or walker. The cart is composed of a triangular base with three small wheels; along the base of the triangle, a support rail (which the child can hold onto as he walks) extends updward at a sharp right angle. The child is nude, has short wavy hair, and mature looking facial features.
DATE: second century

014 **OBJECT:** cart
CLASS: three-wheeled
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: National Museum, Rome
PROVENANCE: Rome
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Veyne (1987): p. 222; Koch and Sichtermann (1982): pl. 113.
DESCRIPTION: frieze from child's sarcophagus, executed in low relief, which depicts the life-cycle of the child. In the center of the frieze, two small nude males are playing beneath a tree. The boys are chubby, have short curly hair and rather mature facial features. The boy on his right pushes a small cart. The cart appears to be a triangular, three-wheeled arrangement, with a perpendicular support rail. The children are flanked on either side by families riding in *plaustra* drawn by a team of horses.
DATE: second century

015 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: MMA
PROVENANCE: Tarentum
MATERIAL(S): bone
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elderkin (1930): p. 467, fig. 16.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved dancing doll, in the form of a young woman, which is jointed at the shoulders and thighs. She is wearing a short tunic that is pleated from the waist to the knees and which has been incorporated into the torso design. Her facial features are thick-looking, while her hair appears to be braided or waved and then swept up into a top-knot. There are traces of paint on her lips and in the folds of her skirt.
DATE: third century B.C.

016 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: MMA 23.160.48
PROVENANCE: Civita Castellana
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elderkin (1930), p. 468.
DESCRIPTION: head and upper half of torso of articulated doll, representing a young child. The doll is made of dark-colored terracotta and has perforations at the shoulders for limb attachment. The facial features are rather unrefined but easily discernible; the pitted surface of the head suggests that hair may have been glued on rather than moulded.
DATE: late third century B.C.

017 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles A306
PROVENANCE: Italy
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 62, fig. 25.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved, dancing girl, articulated at the shoulders and thighs. The body is moulded, but the modelling of the limbs indicates they may have been hand-made (left arm missing). The hair (a series of top-knots or chignons) and the facial features are crudely modelled. She is wearing a short, pleated chiton which has been included in the torso design, and linear incised work has been used to emphasize the folds of her dress.
DATE: third century B.C. (?)

018 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon 0-301-1
PROVENANCE: Lyon, Tomb of Claudia Victoria
MATERIAL(S): ivory
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 59, fig. 28.
DESCRIPTION: torso of legionary soldier. Perforations are evident at the shoulders and the lower hem of the tunic for limb attachment (limbs now missing). The clothing consists of a short skirt with an over-tunic. Linear incised work defines the folds of the skirts and tunic, as well as the elaborately arranged straps which are also part of the uniform.
DATE: 70-115 A.D.

019 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Pergamon
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Topperwein (1976): pl. 73, no. 495.
DESCRIPTION: head and torso of gladiator doll, worked completely in the round. The gladiator wears a belted short-sleeved tunic and holds a shield in his left hand. Although the left half of the head is missing, the peforation on the top of the head, for the string attachment, is clearly visible. The weapon the gladiator may have held in his right hand is now missing.
DATE: first century

020 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Via Cassia, Rome
MATERIAL(S): ivory
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee (1971): p. 41; Scamuzzi (1964): p. 278.
DESCRIPTION: well-preserved, nude jointed doll from the tomb of an eight year old girl. The doll is articulated at the shoulders, hips and knees, but the left arm is missing. Although the torso is reasonably proportionate it swells markedly around the stomach and hips. The facial features and hairstyle are well defined but thick-looking.
DATE: mid second century.

021 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Museo Nacional Archeologic, Tarragon MNAT 12906
PROVENANCE: Necropolis at Tarragon
MATERIAL(S): ivory
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 62, fig. 30.
DESCRIPTION: crudely modelled nude doll, articulated at the knees, hips, elbows and shoulders. The torso is long, slim and very narrow at the shoulders. The limbs, like the torso, are softly modelled. The torso terminates in a rectangular flange and the legs are attached on either side of this projection. The hands and feet are not well-formed or proportionate. Her facial features are slightly distorted, and the hair appears to be pulled into a chignon with wispy strands in back and on the sides.
DATE: second half of second century

022 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: National Museum, Rome N262725
PROVENANCE: Via Valeria, Rome
MATERIAL(S): ivory
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p.58.
DESCRIPTION: nude ivory doll, jointed at the shoulders, elbows, hips and knees. The torso is elongated and swells slightly around the navel and hip areas; the breasts are softly modelled. The facial features are thick-looking and the hairstyle is reminiscent of the Severan period. She has long elegant fingers and carefully defined nails, and is wearing shoes with laces that have been realistically rendered. She is adorned with ankle and wrist bracelets, and a necklace composed of petite links.
DATE: late second or early third century

023 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Christian Museum, Vatican
PROVENANCE: catacombs in Rome
MATERIAL(S): bone
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elderkin (1930): p. 473, fig. 24a, 24a.1.
DESCRIPTION: poorly preserved bone doll. The doll is jointed at shoulders and thighs (limbs now missing) Although the doll is worked almost completely in the round the exterior is relatively flat. The physiological details are almost completely eroded. Still visible, however, is the careful stylization of the hair (resulting in a wig-like appearance), and an austere face with a thick nose and full lips. Details have been executed through incised work.
DATE: third century

024 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Christian Museum, Vatican
PROVENANCE: catacombs in Rome
MATERIAL(S): bone
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Elderkin (1930): p. 473, fig. 24b, 24b.1.
DESCRIPTION: very small, poorly preserved bone doll, articulated at the shoulders and thigh area. The physiological details are almost completely eroded, but the doll's elaborate hairstyle has been worked in a reticulated pattern. The doll's torso ends in a square flange that may have accomodated the limb attachment (limbs now missing).
DATE: third century

025 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Capitoline Museum, Rome
PROVENANCE: Tomb of Crepereia Tryphaena, Rome
MATERIAL(S): oak
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Evans (1991): p. 167; Wiedemann (1989): p. 149; Fraser (1966): p. 51, fig. 59; Elderkin (1930): p. 472, fig. 23.
DESCRIPTION: well-preserved, nude wooden doll; the doll is jointed at shoulders, elbows, hips and knees. The articulation appears to be achieved through tenon and mortise construction. The torso is rather disproportionate but shapely, and the facial features are soft. Her hair is elegantly braided and waved, and she has exquisitely modelled hands and feet. She wears a ring on the left hand, a bracelet on the upper right arm and earrings.
DATE: third century

026 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Italy
MATERIAL(S): bone
BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished
DESCRIPTION: well preserved bone doll; the torso is elongated, crudely modelled and ends in a rectangular projection or flange that is perforated. Her shoulders are rounded but the arms are missing; the breasts and pelvic triangle are sharply defined. The facial features are slightly worn and the hair, heavily stylized and worked in a reticulated pattern, has a wig-like appearance.
DATE: fourth century

027 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM
PROVENANCE: Egypt
MATERIAL(S): cloth
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fraser (1966): p. 50, fig. 57.
DESCRIPTION: well-preserved rag doll. The doll's torso and limbs appear to be constructed of rectangular fabric pieces folded in half (lengthwise) and then crudely stitched. The legs turn up slightly at the ends which suggests there may have been some attempt to simulate the feet. Facial details are non-existent, but a very coarse yarn or perhaps woven grasses encircle the head and give the appearance of hair. The doll is bound tightly at neck, hip and shoulder joints.
DATE: unknown

028 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: non-jointed
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu 73.A.A.II
PROVENANCE: Rome
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Koch (1990): p. 12, pl.4
DESCRIPTION: kline monument of a young girl. Her hair is elaborately arranged and she is wearing a full-length robe. With the right hand she reaches out to pet a small lap dog. At the foot of the couch rest two poorly preserved dolls. The head and shoulder areas of the dolls have sustained considerable damage. The lower torso and leg areas are clothed in a manner that suggests the dolls were swaddled.
DATE: early second century

029 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: non-jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Petrie Museum, London UC 28002
PROVENANCE: Hawara, Egypt
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 59, fig. 27.
DESCRIPTION: non-articulated, nude, moulded doll. The young female child has a soft, plump torso. She is sitting with her legs extended foward and bent slightly, while her arms are splayed toward the viewer. She has an elaborately waved hairstyle and the facial features are carefully modelled. She is also wearing bracelets and a necklace (constructed as part of mould).
DATE: Roman period (?)

030 **OBJECT:** doll
CLASS: non-jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Department of Antiquities
PROVENANCE: Humeima, Jordan
MATERIAL(S): ivory
BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished
DESCRIPTION: poorly preserved ivory doll. The entire doll is rather square-looking, but the basic shape is not unlike some of the jointed bone dolls of the third century. All facial and other anatomical details have been eroded.
DATE: sixth century

031 **OBJECT:** ladle
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: SMP 30891M
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): silver
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 64, fig. 35.
DESCRIPTION: very small ladle, with bowl-shaped base and the flared rim. A ridged design is clearly visible around the rim. The handle is attached to one side of the bowl, extends upwards at a sharp right angle and tapers to a point.
DATE: first century

032 **OBJECT:** goblet
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: SMP 30891ii
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): silver
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 64, fig. 38.
DESCRIPTION: traditional wine-shaped goblet, has a circular base, thick stem, and large bowl-shaped cup. The base and stem exhibit a raised ridge-type of design, probably the result of incised work.
DATE: first century

033 **OBJECT:** foot-stool
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: SMP 30891
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): silver (?)
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 64, fig. 35.
DESCRIPTION: fairly well preserved miniature foot-stool; the lines of the stool are very simple and it has four feet that sweep down from the seat in a slight curve.
DATE: first century

034 **OBJECT:** candelabra
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: SMP 30891W
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): silver
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 64, fig. 35.
DESCRIPTION: simple, unadorned candelabra; the shaft that holds the candle rests on a thin circular base. There are three legs attached to the base that extend away from the base and curve slightly downward and then flatten out into the feet.
DATE: first century

035 **OBJECT:** foot stool
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: SMP
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): metal
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 64, fig. 35.
DESCRIPTION: simple foot stool, approximately .05 cm in length. Four legs are attached to a rectangular base or seat, and the legs extend away from the base and curve slightly downward terminating in carefully detailed animal claws or bird talons.
DATE: first century (?)

036 **OBJECT:** amphorae
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: SMP
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): metal
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 64, fig. 35.
DESCRIPTION: four miniature amphorae (two large and two small). They have a typical amphora shape: narrow elegant necks, and swelling shoulders that taper gradually to slim bases. Each amphora has handles attached to either side of the neck.
DATE: first century (?)

037 **OBJECT:** dish
CLASS: dolls accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Pompeii
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jashemski (1979): p. 193, fig. 283.
DESCRIPTION: fragmented doll's dish, approximately .035 cm in diameter. The dish is slightly concave and has a handle along the preserved rim. Ridges are evident on the interior surface, but they may be the result of construction rather than serving a decorative purpose.
DATE: first century (?)

038 **OBJECT:** lamp
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Pompeii
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jashemski (1979): p. 193, fig. 283.
DESCRIPTION: fragmented toy lamp, preserved length is approximately .052 cm. The lamp has a slightly concave top, especially around the central perforation for the wick. There is a tiny circular design around the exterior (the result of moulding).
DATE: first century (?)

039 **OBJECT:** plate
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM N7961
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): ceramic
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 66, fig. 36.
DESCRIPTION: miniature plate, similar in appearance to a modern pie-plate; edges are up-turned and folded in a pinched design. The plate is covered with a creamy glaze.
DATE: second or third century

040 **OBJECT:** goblets
CLASS: doll accessories
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM 41.4
PROVENANCE: Hanstein, Cologne
MATERIAL(S): ceramic
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 66, fig. 36.
DESCRIPTION: miniature goblets in varying shapes and sizes, from squat to tall and elongated; two of the goblets are covered with a dark glaze and one with a cream-colored glaze. An attempt has been made to decorate the surfaces of the goblets with ridged designs.
DATE: third century

041 **OBJECT:** game
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Casa dei Cervi, Herculaneum
PROVENANCE: Herculaneum
MATERIAL(S): not applicable
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Tinh (1988): fig. 112; Deiss (1985): p. 50.
DESCRIPTION: wall painting of three erotes playing hide and seek. The erotes are small in stature and have chubby features, wavy hair, and appear to be wearing short capes. An erote on the extreme right of the panel covers his face with his hands as his companion (in the center) runs towards an open door. Another erote stands in the doorway, partially hidden.
DATE: first century (?)

042 **OBJECT:** dice
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): silver
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 109, fig. 104; Jenkins (1987): p. 31, fig. 36.
DESCRIPTION: silver dice in the shape of two miniature figures. The abstract-looking figures are in sitting positions with legs bent and slightly turned out, hands on hips, and heads dropped forward onto the chest. The block-shaped heads lack detailing with the exception of incised work to simulate hair. The die markings appear on the thighs, torsos, groins and backs.
DATE: Roman period

043 **OBJECT:** fighting cock
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
PROVENANCE: Samsun
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Reeder (1988): p. 183; Bruneau (1965): p. 104, fig. 14.
DESCRIPTION: moulded terracotta statue of two children observing a cock-fight. The arrangement is worked completely in the round. In the center is a woman (body now missing) and to either side stands a small, chubby boy (not above the age of five) the child on the right is completely nude while the boy on the left is nude to the waist with a robe covering the lower extremities. In the foreground are two roosters pecking at one another.
DATE: third century B.C.

044 **OBJECT:** fighting cock
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Constantinople Museum, Istanbul
PROVENANCE: Constantinople
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bruneau (1965): p. 113, fig. 22.
DESCRIPTION: well-preserved marble statue of two erotes (one slightly taller than the other) who seem to be playing with fighting cocks. The two figures are typically plump, have wavy hair and wings, as well as childish features. To the right of each child are the cocks, who appear to be eyeing one another, while the erotes attempt to restrain them.
DATE: second century

045 **OBJECT:** knucklebones
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: BM D 161
PROVENANCE: Capua
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Beck (1975): pl. 67, no. 343; Higgins (1967): pl. 61A.
DESCRIPTION: South Italian terracotta statue of two young females, crouching opposite one another as they play with knucklebones. The girls are wearing long chitons that appear to be pinned at the shoulders and are barefoot. The facial features are worn. The girl on the left is clutching a few knucklebones in her left hand, as she reaches forward with her right. Her companion gestures with her right arm as if to pick up knucklebones that may have fallen between the two (now missing).
DATE: 300 B.C.

046 **OBJECT:** knucklebones
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: National Museum, Naples
PROVENANCE: Herculaneum
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 104, fig. 92; Deiss (1985): p. 127; Fraser (1966): p. 55, fig. 2.
DESCRIPTION: this monochromatic painting on marble, depicts a group of five young women. In the foreground two girls (in a lateral position) stoop forward as they play with knucklebones. They are attired in flowing dresses and mantles; the girl on the right wears her hair up and tied with a sphendone, while her sister is wearing a snood. The girl on the right balances the knucklebones on the back of her outstretched hand as her sister looks on. Knucklebones are also strewn on the ground between the two girls.
DATE: first century (?)

047 **OBJECT:** knucklebones
CLASS: game and game equipment
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: SMP
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 101, fig. 87.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved marble statue of a young girl. She is sitting on the ground (leaning on the left hip and arm for support) playing with knucklebones. She wears a *stola* that is pinned at the shoulders, which has slipped from shoulder to waist on the left side. Her hair is elaborately braided and pulled back into a chignon, and her facial features are well defined. She seems to be picking up the knucklebones which have fallen near her left hand.
DATE: second half of second century

048 **OBJECT:** knucklebones
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): bronze, glass, onyx
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jenkins (1987): p. 31, fig. 36.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved examples of knucklebones made from inorganic materials. All examples have the familiar knucklebone shape, that is a flat oval-looking top and bottom with a narrow waist. These knucklebones are highly polished, and the natural grain in the onyx is clearly visible.
DATE: Roman period

049 **OBJECT:** marbles
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM
PROVENANCE: Roman Egypt
MATERIAL(S): glass
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jenkins (1987): p. 31, fig. 36.
DESCRIPTION: two glass marbles. The smallest marble is approximately .01 cm in diameter and is a light ochre color. The larger of the two marbles is not more than .015 cm in diameter and is a creamy yellow color. Neither marble exhibits any surface markings or decorative details.
DATE: Roman period

050 **OBJECT:** nuts
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Chiaramonti Museum, Vatican
PROVENANCE: Ostia
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Wiedemann (1989): fig. 20. Veyne (1987): p. 18.
DESCRIPTION: funerary relief from a child's sarcophagus depicting a group of thirteen children playing with nuts. In the left foreground one girl is crouching (frontal position) as she leans forward to pick up a nut; on her right, another girl (lateral view) is about to pick up a few nuts and hand them to one of three girls in the background. They are wearing short tunics over long flowing skirts, have bare feet and their hair is swept up in the familiar chignon. On the opposite side of the frieze a crowd of young boys jostle with one another as they throw and gather nuts. There are a number of nuts strewn around their feet. The boys are wearing long calf-length robes and are also barefoot.
DATE: second century

051 **OBJECT:** nut
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée des Antiquités Nationales
Saint Germain-en-Laye 25469-52017
PROVENANCE: Lezoux (Puy de Dome)
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 76, fig. 65.
DESCRIPTION: moulded terracotta facsimile of a walnut; the surface is worn but the natural ridges and contours of a nut shell are clearly visible. Traces of a white slip remain on the surface, which helps to delineate the shell.
DATE: unknown

052 **OBJECT:** nuts
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: BM Sc.2321
PROVENANCE: Rome
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Walker (1985): p. 43, fig. 32.
DESCRIPTION: frieze from sarcophagus of Lucius Aemilius Daphnus, executed in high relief and depicts twelve boys, playing with nuts. On the left, five boys appear to be gambling. Two boys stand in the center of the frieze conversing, a small heap of nuts at their feet. On the right five boys are tossing nuts at a pile on the ground. The boys are barefoot and wearing knee-length tunics. Some of the boys have collected nuts which they carry in the folds of their tunics.
DATE: unknown

053 **OBJECT:** yo-yo
CLASS: games and game equipment
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée Archéologique, Dijon 75-2-234
PROVENANCE: source of the Seine
MATERIAL(S): wood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 77, fig. 68; Beck (1975): pl. 68, no. 348.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved wooden yoyo. It comprises two convex discs, joined by a very short cylinder. The diameter of the cylinder is approximately .025 cm smaller than the circumference of the discs. The surfaces of the discs are pitted, and there are no traces of incised or painted decoration.
DATE: Roman period

054 **OBJECT:** hoop
CLASS: exercise
CATEGORY: representation
LOCATION: Vatican Museum, Rome
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Veyne (1987): p. 16.
DESCRIPTION: fragment from a child's sarcophagus, executed in low relief, representing a young male child trundling a hoop. The boy has curly hair, a chubby body but mature facial features. He is also wearing a short tunic. The child is depicted in a running position (three-quarter frontal position); the hoop is immediately in front of him, and he holds the trundling stick or *clavis* in his right hand as he looks backward over his right shoulder.
DATE: unknown

055 **OBJECT:** hoop
CLASS: non-exercise
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: The Great Palace, Istanbul
PROVENANCE: Constantinople
MATERIAL(S): unknown
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Dunababin (1978): pl. 53; Balsdon (1969): pl. 15B.
DESCRIPTION: mosaic from the Late Antique period, that depicts two young boys pushing hoops. The toys appear to be constructed of two hoops joined by an axle, with handles attached to the axle itself for pushing. The inclusion of the *metae* (on the right) and a somewhat elliptical playing area suggests the two boys may be racing. The boys are dressed in short tunics, are barefoot, and have rather mature looking facial features.
DATE: 530-700

056 **OBJECT:** duck
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille, 2773
PROVENANCE: Toulon sur Allier
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 73, fig. 57.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved, moulded figurine of a duck, standing on a small pedestal or base. The duck is approximately .08 cm in height. Anatomical details have been rendered largely through moulding but etched work has been used to define the beak, feathers, and wings.
DATE: first or second century

057 **OBJECT:** cock
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille, 2772
PROVENANCE: Toulon sur Allier
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 73, fig. 57.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved, moulded terracotta rooster that stands on a small base. The majority of anatomical details have been incorporated into the mould, however extensive incised work has been used to lend greater realism to the comb, wattles, and feathers.
DATE: first or second century

058 **OBJECT:** cock
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM 72.322
PROVENANCE: Gereonskloster (Cologne)
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 69, fig. 54.
DESCRIPTION: fairly well preserved, moulded terracotta figurine, that is standing on a small pedestal. Although the surface of the figurine is pitted and worn, the comb, eyes, and tail are easily discerned. The latter details appear to be the result of the moulding rather than incised work.
DATE: second century

059 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM N 6817
PROVENANCE: Aachenerstrasse, Cologne
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 69, fig. 50.
DESCRIPTION: badly worn, moulded horse which stands on a low base. The horse is disportionate, with a long torso and short stubby legs. The mane, tail, and eyes are well formed and easily discerned. Although the surface is pitted a white or light colored slip is still visible, which helps to define some of the anatomical details.
DATE: second century

060 **OBJECT:** ram
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM 70.6
PROVENANCE: Luxemburgerstrasse, Cologne
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 68, fig. 47.
DESCRIPTION: very well preserved, moulded figurine of a ram. Most of the anatomical details have been incorporated into the mould, but a white slip seems to have been added for definition. Incised work also helps to delineate the fleece (which is shaggy) and the ram's horns, that curl neatly around the ear area.
DATE: second century

061 **OBJECT:** lion
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM
PROVENANCE: Aachenerstrasse, Cologne
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 73, fig. 58.
DESCRIPTION: moulded terracotta figurine of a lion. The lion is standing on a thin base or pedestal. The body is elongated (almost to distortion) and the back slightly arched. Although the mane, tail and some facial features have been incorporated into the mould, etched work has been added to the anatomical details. The surface is worn but a light-colored slip is still visible.
DATE: second century

062 **OBJECT:** bear
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: City Museum, Sheffield
PROVENANCE: Bootham, Yorkshire
MATERIAL(S): jet
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee (1964): p. 365; Hawkes (1948): pl. 6E.
DESCRIPTION: very small, crudely carved bear (approximate L .02 cm). The bear has a large drooping head, high arched shoulders, and a very heavy looking torso. It is set on a platfrom, and is poised as if to take a step, one foreleg slightly in front of the other. The hindlegs appear to be side by side. The surface is well polished.
DATE: 320

063 **OBJECT:** bear
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Malton, Yorkshire
MATERIAL(S): jet
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee (1964): p. 364; Hawkes (1948): pl. 20A, 6C.
DESCRIPTION: very small carved bear from infant's grave (approximate L.02 cm). The bear has a large drooping head, high arched shoulders and a very heavy looking torso. It stands with forelegs together; the hind legs are partly missing. There are no visible markings on the highly polished surface.
DATE: 300-369

064 **OBJECT:** bear
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Colchester, Essex
MATERIAL(S): jet
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee (1964): p. 365, pl. 84A.
DESCRIPTION: very small (approximate L .02 cm) carved jet bear (possibly from the same workshop as the Malton and Bootham bears); the bear exhibits the same sort of curvature in the spine and crude facial features as the Malton bear but there does not appear to be a drill-hole for suspension.
DATE: Roman period

065 **OBJECT:** bear
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RL 05.431G
PROVENANCE: St. Matthias, Trier
MATERIAL(S): jet
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hawkes (1948): pl. 25C.
DESCRIPTION: very small (approximate L .02 cm) carved jet bear (possibly from the same workshop as the bears from Roman Britain). The bear, found in a grave, exhibits the same sort of curvature in the spine and crude anatomical features as the English bears. The forelegs are splayed slightly and the bear is standing on a platform.
DATE: Roman period

066 **OBJECT:** bear
CLASS: miniature animals
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Cologne
MATERIAL(S): jet
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Hawkes (1948): pl. 25D.
DESCRIPTION: very small (approximate L .02 cm) carved jet bear (possibly from the same workshop as the bears from Roman Britain). The bear is standing on a platform, with the forelegs and hindlegs parted slightly. Its torso arches sharply, the head droops toward the chest, and the body in general has a very thick appearance. The surface is highly polished.
DATE: unknown

067 **OBJECT:** puppet
CLASS: jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 492
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 11, no. 492.
DESCRIPTION: torso and head of male Asiatic dancer. The figure is flat rather than three dimensional. Incised work suggests he is wearing a long-sleeved blouse, belted at the waist. He has his arms held above his head. Each hip has been pierced to allow for jointed legs (now missing). In addition, the top of the head has been perforated to accommodate string or wire.
DATE: second century

068 **OBJECT:** puppet
CLASS: non-jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Colchester, Essex
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee (1971): p. 53; Toynbee (1964): pl. 96.
DESCRIPTION: four moulded reclining figures (three men and a woman) found in a child's grave. The three men, who are leaning on their left elbows, have contorted facial features such as bulging eyes and large protruding ears. Two of the men are scratching their heads. The woman is lying on her stomach, chin in hand. All the diners are wearing full-length togas and are barefoot.
DATE: 45-50

069 **OBJECT:** puppet
CLASS: non-jointed
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: unknown
PROVENANCE: Colchester, Essex
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Toynbee (1971): p. 53; Toynbee (1964): pl. 96.
DESCRIPTION: four moulded male figures who appear to be giving a recitation. Three of the men are wearing full-length togas and boots, while a fourth is dressed in a tunic and trousers and has his thumbs tucked into his tunic as he speaks. All figures have distorted facial features; they are flap-eared, have bulging eyes and full lips. Three of the men are holding book rolls. These figures were found in a child's grave with no. 068.
DATE: 45-50

070 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology 51.347D
PROVENANCE: Pompeii
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jashemski (1979): p. 105, fig. 168.
DESCRIPTION: small (approximate L .096 cm) moulded rattle in the shape of a pig. The torso is quite round and heavy-looking. In contrast the legs are rather slim and form part of the rattle's base. The snout, ears and facial details have been realistically rendered.
DATE: first century (?)

071 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 726
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): p. 18, no. 726.
DESCRIPTION: small, moulded, seated dog with head cocked attentively; incised work gives the impression that the coat is shaggy and that the dog is wearing a collar. There is a small vent near the tail and a pebble inside.
DATE: third century

072 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 826
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 20, no. 826.
DESCRIPTION: poorly preserved moulded rattle in the shape of a cock. The cylindrical base and feet are missing; traces of paint and linear incising outline eyes, comb, wattles, wings and tail.
DATE: fourth century

073 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM 832
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 21, no. 832
DESCRIPTION: small moulded rattle in the shape of a cock. The figurine is sitting on a cylindrical base; paint and incised work give the appearance of feathers. There is a small vent on the underside of the tail and a pebble inside the body.
DATE: fourth century

074 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 835
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): p. 21, no. 835.
DESCRIPTION: moulded rattle in the shape of a cock; the base is missing but there are traces of white slip and red paint on the body. Linear incised work emphasizes the comb, wattles, facial features and tail.
DATE: fourth century

075 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 791
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): p. 19, no. 791.
DESCRIPTION: small moulded bear-shaped rattle; the bear has a somewhat aggressive stance and linear grooves give the appearance of a shaggy coat; there is a small vent underneath with a pebble inside.
DATE: fourth century

076 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 756
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 18, no. 756.
DESCRIPTION: small moulded sitting dog with head cocked attentively; traces of white slip and yellow and red paint remain for coloring of the coat and collar. Incised work gives the appearance of short, wiry hair and there is a pebble inside the body.
DATE: fourth century

077 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM 750
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 18, no. 750.
DESCRIPTION: small moulded crouching dog with head cocked to the right; incised linear work and traces of red paint have been used to simulate a shaggy coat. There is a small vent on the underside of the body and a pebble inside.
DATE: fourth century

078 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RL 11738
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 51, fig. 11.
DESCRIPTION: well preserved, moulded rattle in the form of a bird, with the antlers of a stag. The body is similar in shape to a sitting bird, that is the chest is prominent but tapers gradually into a fanned tail. The head is cocked playfully. The surface of the figure is pitted but the carefully modelled antlers, muzzle and button eyes are easily discerned.
DATE: Roman period

079 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RL 4103
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 51, fig. 11.
DESCRIPTION: moulded rattle in the shape of a bird. well preserved, moulded rattle in the form of a bird, with the antlers of a stag. The body is moulded in the form of a sitting bird; the chest is rather prominent but tapers gradually into a fanned tail. The head is cocked to one side. Although the surface of the figure is worn, the precisely modelled antlers, muzzle and button eyes are easily discerned.
DATE: Roman period

080 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM K138
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Robinson (1959): pl. 48, no. K138.
DESCRIPTION: small moulded dog in a crouching position; incised work gives the appearance of a shaggy coat and collar, and there are traces of both white and red paint on the body. There is also a small pebble inside the body of the dog.
DATE: unknown

081 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: non-theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Museo Nacional Archeologic, Tarragon MNAT 45426
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): bronze
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 53, fig. 15.
DESCRIPTION: frying-pan shaped rattle. It has a long, thin tubular handle with a loop at one end (possibly for hanging) and forked at the opposite end. The fork passes on either side of a bowl-shaped compartment, and is held in place by a pin which passes through the center of the bowl. There are drill holes around the periphery of the compartment.
DATE: late second or third century

082 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: non-theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée Rolin, Autun B1322
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 51, fig. 13.
DESCRIPTION: frying-pan shaped rattle. The body or gourd section of the rattle appears to have been moulded, and the handle made by hand and attached separately. There is a decorative outline on the lid that consists of a pie crust or pinched design in centre, surrounded by concentric circles.
DATE: Roman period

083 **OBJECT:** rattle
CLASS: non-theriomorphic
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon 0-104-1
PROVENANCE: Sainte Colombe (Rhone)
MATERIAL(S): silver
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 53, fig. 14.
DESCRIPTION: cast, metal rattle from the tomb of an infant. The rattle has the appearance of two separate bowls set together. The rims are flat and pierced at four locations (equidistant) with metal rings. There is also a metal rod that passes through the center which holds the saucers together. The handle is forked at one end (attaching on either side of the bowl) and rectangular shaped at the other.
DATE: Roman period

084 **OBJECT:** top
CLASS: hand spun
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée Archéologique, Saintes 87.82
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): boxwood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 79.
DESCRIPTION: squat wooden top, no more than 6.5 cm in diameter. It is slightly concave on top, and has a small hub running through the center. The right hand side of the top has sustained some damage. The surface is ridged, possibly from carving or turning, and the top is a rich ochre color.
DATE: Roman period

085 **OBJECT:** top
CLASS: hand spun
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Department of Antiquities
PROVENANCE: Humeima, Jordan
MATERIAL(S): ivory and wood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished
DESCRIPTION: fairly well preserved top. The toy comprises a wooden base (approximate D .025 cm, tapering to .015 cm) and an ivory head. The ivory segment has laminated slightly but a concentric circle motif is easily discerned around its circumference. There is a central perforation for the insertion of a peg (now missing).
DATE: sixth century

086 **OBJECT:** top
CLASS: hand spun
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Department of Antiquities
PROVENANCE: Humeima, Jordan
MATERIAL(S): ivory
BIBLIOGRAPHY: unpublished
DESCRIPTION: poorly preserved top. It consists of a thick ivory disc (approximate Th .015 cm). Although the top has laminated badly it is clear that it has been decorated around the periphery and the upper surface with a concentric circle motif. There is also a central perforation for the insertion of a peg (now missing).
DATE: sixth century

087 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 772
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 19, no. 772.
DESCRIPTION: badly fragmented and well worn head and torso of wheeled horse; although the surface is pitted traces of white slip as well as red and black paint remain. The horse's muzzle is pierced on either side for the attachment of a bridle.
DATE: first or second century

088 **OBJECT:** horse and rider
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: RGM 3201
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 26, fig. 4.
DESCRIPTION: moulded horse and rider with original wheels. The bodies of both horse and rider are squat and somewhat abstract in appearance. Incised work on rider, and horse's body give greater realism and define facial features; as is common the horse's muzzle is pierced, probably for string attachment.
DATE: second century

089 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 776
PROVENANCE: Attica
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 19. no. 776.
DESCRIPTION: fragmented head, neck and shoulder area of a wheeled horse. Careful attention has been paid to an accurate representation of the horse's anatomy. Incised work has been used to simulate the mane, ears, bridle and other facial features. The shoulder area has been pierced, presumably for a wheel and axle arrangement.
DATE: third century

090 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: AM 781
PROVENANCE: Athens
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Grandjouan (1961): pl. 19, no. 781.
DESCRIPTION: moulded torso and head of a wheeled horse (wheels have been restored); incised work and paint has been used for detailing of the various features (coat, muzzle, eyes, bridle, tail, etc.). The design of the toy and the crude treatment of the body result in a relatively heavy-looking torso.
DATE: fourth century

091 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM
PROVENANCE: Oxyrynchus
MATERIAL(S): wood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Fraser (1966): p. 27, fig. 27.
DESCRIPTION: well-preserved silhouette of a horse; the body is boxy and angular. The feet have been pierced to accommodate a wheel and axle arrangement. The muzzle is also pierced for the inclusion of a bridle.
DATE: Roman period

092 **OBJECT:** horses and rider
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: LOU E27134
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): tamaris wood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 67, fig. 89.
DESCRIPTION: wheeled horses and rider; the horses are comprised of a very crude, angular, silhouettes while the rider is worked in the round and set astride the horses back, and held in position by a peg. There are no visible facial features on either horse or rider, but the horse's muzzle is pierced, and a peg has been inserted perhaps for the string attachment. The forward wheels are larger than the rear wheels. There are traces of red paint on the bodies of the figures.
DATE: Roman or possibly Coptic period

093 **OBJECT:** horse and rider
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: LOU AF 1185
PROVENANCE: unknown
MATERIAL(S): tamaris wood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 67, fig. 90.
DESCRIPTION: wheeled horse and rider; the horse is comprised of a crude angular, silhouette, while the rider is worked in the round (and held in place by a peg). The original wheels are missing. Both the horse and rider are fairly abstract. The rider, who stands astride the horse's back, lacks any anatomical detailing and has a short blunt-cut hairstyle. There are no visible facial features on the horse, nor does there appear to be a perforation or lug attachment for the string arrangement.
DATE: Roman or possibly Coptic period

094 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: BM 22687
PROVENANCE: Akhmim
MATERIAL(S): tamaris wood
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 70, fig. 51.
DESCRIPTION: wheeled, wooden horse. The horse is worked in an angular, boxy and somewhat thick silhouette. The horse lacks any sort of anatomical detailing, but traces of polychrome are still around the muzzle and ears, and this may be an attempt to represent the bridle or harness. The muzzle is perforated for the string attachment.
DATE: Roman or possibly Coptic period

095 **OBJECT:** horse
CLASS: wheeled toys
CATEGORY: preserved
LOCATION: Musée des Antiquités Nationales Saint-Germain-en-Laye 9813
PROVENANCE: Vichy (Allier)
MATERIAL(S): terracotta
BIBLIOGRAPHY: Jouer (1991): p. 72
DESCRIPTION: badly fragmented and worn, moulded horse; the limbs are missing but articulation holes or holes for axle arrangement are evident; there is incised work on the mane and tail to give a more realistic rendering and the horse's muzzle is pierced. A saddle on the horse's back is also in also achieved through moulding.
DATE: unknown

MUSEUM INDEX

Museums that are cited more than twice in the catalogue have an abbreviated form. This form has been placed in parentheses at the end of each entry below.

1. Agora Museum, Athens (AM)
2. British Museum, London (BM)
3. Cambridge University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Cambridge
4. Capitoline Museum, Rome
5. Chiaramonti, Museum, Rome
6. Christian Museum, Rome
7. City Museum, Sheffield
8. Constantinople Museum, Istanbul
9. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu
10. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (MMA)
11. Musée Archéologique, Dijon
12. Musée Archéologique, Laon
13. Musée Archéologique, Saintes
14. Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne, Marseille
15. Musée de la civilisation gallo-romaine, Lyon
16. Musée des Antiquités Nationales, Saint Germain-en-Laye
17. Musée du Louvre, Paris (LOU)
18. Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels
19. Museo Nacional Archeologic, Tarragon
20. National Museum, Naples
21. National Museum, Rome

22. Petrie Museum, London

23. Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn (RL)

24. Römisch-Germanisches Museum, Cologne (RGM)

25. Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antiken Museum, Berlin (SMP)

26. Terme Museum, Rome

27. Torlonia Museum, Rome

28. Vatican Museum, Rome

29. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore

30. Yorkshire Museum, Yorkshire

CHAPTER 4. AN ANALYSIS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

In November 1991, through the joint efforts of ancient historians, art historians and archaeologists, a collection of toys and games was displayed at the Musée d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne in Marseille, France. This exhibition, Jouer dans l'antiquité, brought together for the first time a broad variety of toys and games from Egypt, classical Greece and Rome, both simple and sophisticated. The collection comprised numerous objects that are ordinarily regarded as children's toys, such as dolls, wheeled animals, tops and so forth.

Noticeably absent from the catalogue that accompanied the exhibition, however, was a concise definition of a toy (although individual contributors occasionally provided the parameters for their studies).[1] In contemporary society, for example, harried parents who wish to quiet a squalling infant or a fretting toddler may give the child any object to play with that will divert the child's attention. The articles may range from car-keys that jangle to harmless kitchen utensils such as a wooden spoon or plastic bowl. Older children, too, fashion and devise toys from household odds and ends, or materials found outdoors such as twigs and

[1] In Jouer (1991), 54, Manson sets out the criteria he has used to determine what constitutes children's dolls. Other scholars, however, seem to operate on the assumption that miniature objects are simply toys, as in Fraser (1966), Beck (1975), Jenkins (1987), Wiedemann (1989).

stones. Conceivably, then, any object that appeals to a child, whether it is used to make a noise or produce an image could be regarded as a toy.

But in modern western societies, toys are usually manufactured or intentionally created for the enjoyment of children, unlike an adult's car-keys which have been created for an express purpose but pressed into service temporarily as a toy. When we look at ancient toys, how can we be certain that we are dealing with objects that Roman parents regarded as toys and gave to their children? Exasperated Roman parents or child-minders might have responded in the same manner as their modern counterparts, and given an irritated charge a household item to play with--anything that would calm the child. The aim of this chapter is to characterize the archaeological and art historical evidence for objects that have been regarded as 'toys' (using the catalogue as a basis), to explain their general use, and to address some of the problems of interpretation they raise.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A discussion of the archaeological remains needs to be prefaced with general comments about their chronological and geographic spread, to establish a sense of how various toys and games have come to be characterized as Roman. The central period of Roman history, for example, is usually taken

to mean the years from approximately 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.; but Rome as a state certainly existed prior to 200 B. C. and dissolution of the Empire did not begin until well after the third century. How far-reaching, then, was Rome's artistic influence, and how should we define objects which fall outside of the central period of Roman history? There is, of course, no simple answer; but the toys in the catalogue above have not been identified as 'Roman' on the basis of their style and composition, but by the fact that they are found in Roman contexts.

Very few toys in the catalogue antedate the central period of Roman history, and those that do often come from southern Italy.[2] Artistically speaking, Rome was the dominant force in Central Italy during the the third century B. C.;[3] but it is less easy to determine the cultural impetus in southern Italy. There is no denying the ubiquitous Greek influence in Campania and Apulia; but Higgins claims that among the principal coroplastic centres in southern Italy, for example, only Tarentum and Cumae are technically Greek, even though these cities and others such

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[2] One toy from the third century B. C., a doll, was found outside Southern Italy, at Civita Castellana (Falerii). This object is classified as 'Roman' based on Strong's assertion that as early as the fourth century B. C. this area was very much within the Roman sphere of influence. Strong (1988), 27.

[3] Strong (1988), 27.

as Capua, Nola and Pompeii were all manufacturing figurines of Greek style.[4] Should dolls and other terracottas produced in the Late Hellenistic style be classified as Greek, when they may have been made by Roman artisans? For the purposes of this catalogue, it was deemed sufficient to include objects with a provenance of southern Italy (such as nos. 015 and 045) with so-called Roman toys from later periods. The justification for this classification is that one of the primary goals of this thesis is to ascertain the 'types' of objects that Roman children played with, rather than to address the problematic issues of aesthetics and style. Perhaps it should be noted, here, that any toy in the catalogue that possesses a rather ambiguous origin was included only when a parallel could be found in later periods.

A similar pitfall occurs at the other end of the artistic spectrum, when we try to characterize objects dated to the later stages of Roman history, as well as those with provenances very much within the Roman orbit, but outside Italy proper. Infant rattles and miniature terracotta animals, among other toys, have been found throughout continental Europe, and a large number were manufactured in Athens during the third and fourth centuries. The rattles (nos. 071-080), by way of illustration, bear a remarkable similar-

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[4] Higgins (1967), 126-128.

ity of style and subject and may safely be established as objects which were common among Roman children. Indeed, Grandjouan contends that these physical remains from Roman Athens and other regions such as Gaul, are indicative of what she terms the "provincial terracotta production in the late Empire".[5] Equally, wheeled, wooden and terracotta horses (nos. 089-091, 094) have been found in Egypt and Athens, while exquisitely carved ivory tops (nos. 085-086) were found at a sixth century site in Jordan. Since first century Egypt, third century Athens, and for a time sixth century Persia, came under the aegis of Rome, can we correctly classify the toys produced there as Roman--particularly when vigorous and well-established art forms may have existed prior to Roman ascendancy or the toys may have been imported? Stylistically it may be inappropriate to arrange them in this manner, but they are Roman in a broad cultural sense and may be indicative of the types of toys with which Roman children played.

BALLS AND HOOPS

In present-day societies, balls and hoops are often associated exclusively with children, but the same was not true in antiquity. The second-century medical doctor, Galen, extols the benefits of physical training with a ball

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[5] Grandjouan (1961), 1-5.

(large or small) in *De Sanitate Tuenda*, (8.1) and recommends that such exercises be part of a daily regimen. Horace and Martial make clear that freeborn males made hoop and ball activities part of their routine workouts.[6] And the younger Pliny had a *sphaeristerium* (ball-court) at his villa in Laurentum, where he might take his exercise (*Ep*. 2.17). The origin of balls and hoops is unclear; they may have been regarded as adult implements and adopted as children's toys, or perhaps adults recognized the enjoyment derived from ball games or bowling hoops and wished to participate also. Martial indicates (7.32) that ball games were a thoroughly enjoyable activity for young boys and old men alike (at least among the Roman elite) and Pliny speaks admirably of his friend Spurinna who still throws a ball "briskly" at the age of seventy-seven (*Ep*. 3.1).

Only representations of balls are contained in the catalogue. Well-preserved examples from the Egyptian world have survived (due largely to the arid conditions that exist in this region) and these may give us some indication of the style and construction of small balls in Graeco-Roman antiquity. These richly colored and decorated spheres consist of fabric patches with a reed overlay.[7] Plato, writing in the fourth century B. C., mentions balls for

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[6] Hor. *Car*. 3.24; Mart. 6.32, 4.19, 14.47.

[7] Fraser (1966), 25.

Greek children that are constructed of multi-colored patches, but he does not provide any information on their make up (Plato *Phaedo* 110B). Balls fashioned from cloth and reeds may not have been wholly functional for boisterous games, but they would have been fitting for small children or infants because of their tactile qualities. Balls manufactured in eye-catching colors and inviting textures (as was the case with some Egyptian balls) are appealing to very young children. Roman authors, on the other hand, indicate that certain balls were made of wool (Var. Men. 456.1), and others sewn together (APL. 12.44). According to Martial there were at least two types of balls, the *follis*, which was inflated (12.82, 14.47), and the *paganica*, which was packed with feathers (7.32, 14.45). Balsdon has characterized the *follis* as an ancient medicine ball, but the *paganica*, with its additional weight seems a more logical choice.[8] Galen (Nat. Fac. 1.7) also speaks of a 'bladder' or 'balloon' that amuses children, and it may be that the stomach or stomach lining of certain animals was extracted, cleaned and inflated for this purpose.

The depictions of children engaged in ball games and other activities (specifically nos. 002 and 004) suggest that hand balls had to be both durable and resilient. A lovely terracotta statue from the third century B. C.

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[8] Balsdon (1969), 166.

depicts a young girl in the process of tossing a ball, and in a second century funerary relief a little girl is seen throwing a ball against a wall while her two companions enthusiastically stretch out their arms to catch it. (nos. 001 and 002) Similarly, a wall painting from the Terme Museum, also dated to the second century, reveals three young males and a young female engaged in an energetic game. (no. 003) The only representation of the larger exercise ball, or *paganica*, comes from a funerary relief fragment (no. 006) depicting three erotes at play; but there is little evidence here of the composition or construction materials. Nevertheless, the former examples advance the idea that balls needed to withstand the rigors of caroming off stone, concrete and other rough surfaces, or possibly being stepped on by players during a mad scramble; consequently, leather and not cloth may have been used in the construction of certain types of balls.

Against the fact that Greek vase paintings provide a wealth of information about hoops and how they were used, there is little surviving physical evidence for hoops from the Roman world. Hoops were certainly known to the Romans, (Ov. *Ars*.3.381; Hor. *Car*. 3.24) but only two examples appear in the catalogue. A panel on a child's sarcophagus (no. 054) portrays a small boy trundling a hoop with a stick, in a pose similar to that of boys bowling hoops in Greek vase

paintings.[9] The objects in the mosaic from Istanbul (no. 055) have been categorized as hoops, though it is difficult to tell from the illustration whether the hoops are in fact a type of wheel and axle arrangement that was meant to be pushed rather than bowled. The *metae* (turning posts) in the centre of the scene were found on race-courses throughout the Roman world, and may have been used here to provide a race context. Vehicles similar to those depicted in the Istanbul mosaic also appear on the small *choes* that Greek children would dedicate in the temple during the Anthesteria,[10] but whether these push toys may be regarded as antecedents is debatable; the Roman vehicles may simply be the result of boyish innovation.

Despite the fact that hoops are mentioned in the primary sources, the authors shed little light on their composition. Martial (14.168) remarks that boys sometimes bowled tire rims, and Propertius (3.14) tells of a *clavis*, or metal key, that was used to trundle hoops. One modern scholar contends that Roman hoops were made of iron but offers no supporting evidence.[11] If Martial's information is reliable, then children may well have played with the

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[9] For a number of examples of Greek boys bowling hoops, see Beck (1975), pl. 55, nos. 282-285.

[10] For examples of Greek push-toys see Hamilton (1992), Fig. 3-4, Jenkins (1987), 32, and Beck (1975), pl. 54, nos. 277-279; pl. 58. nos. 299-300.

[11] Fraser (1966), 52.

rims cast for wagon or cart wheels. Construction materials such as willow and other supple woods were probably less expensive, more easily obtained, and therefore a more viable alternative. Their evanescent qualities may also explain the lack of preserved remains. As for Martial's peculiar hoop, which "resounds with tinkling rings" (11.21, 14.169) we have no evidence at all. Martial uses the word *tinntinnabulum* to describe the small rings which were attached to the hoop, but these may also refer to tiny bells. Their silvery sound, however, must certainly have been pleasing to young ears.

CARTS

The many decorative panels from children's sarcophagi that have survived provide virtually all the evidence for children (chiefly male children) driving small carts or miniature chariots. Ancient authors do not comment on the design or construction of these carts, and we can only deduce that they were simply scaled-down versions of adults' chariots or carts. There are two styles of animal-drawn carts. The first resembles a chariot, where the driver steps onto the cart from the rear and stands upon a small semi-circular platform. (nos. 007, 008, 010, 012) A low partition runs around the perimeter of the platform, and the wheels are attached to either side of the cart. With the

second cart style, the driver mounts the cart from the side much as one did with nineteenth-century traps or sulkies. (nos. 009 and 011) The design is fundamentally the same; it comprises a small platform with a seat and a low partition running around the back of the cart. The animals are hitched to the cart by means of long bars that run the extent of the animal's body, and most are provided with a simple bridle or harness. From a modern perspective, the children represented seem rather young to be engaged in such an activity; but Galen recommends that riding lessons begin around age seven, when small bodies can "tolerate even more violent motions" (*De San*. 8.2). Sheep, goats and ponies were probably chosen to draw these carts because small animals were easier for children to manage.

In one view, scenes that illustrate children driving carts, represent the apotheosis of the dead child's soul.[12] This may well be true in the case of no. 010 and 011, because the child driving the cart is positioned at the extreme right of the frieze, which is sometimes meant to be symbolic of the final stage of life. In the frieze from the sarcophagus of Cornelius Statius, however, (no. 007) the dead child is depicted driving a cart in the centre of the frieze and this may simply be the artist's account of an event in the boy's life. Such 'slices of life' are common

[12] Wiedemann (1989), fig. 17.

themes in other funerary reliefs in the catalogue where children are seen, for example, playing and fighting. It is, in fact, preferable to believe that all the cart scenes are reflections of everyday activities in the life of children, rather than symbols of adult concerns such as apotheosis.

The surviving physical and literary evidence for three-wheeled carts in antiquity is slim at best, but it is apparent the such carts were used to assist children in learning to walk. In the Gynaecology, (21.41) Soranus suggests that small children exercise by means of a little pushcart. These carts appear to have been constructed by placing three short beams together in a triangle arrangement, and attaching small wheels at all three points. Along the base of the triangle is a low railing which the children may use for support as they push the cart forward.[13] And, in a second century wall painting from the Terme Museum, a small boy can be seen using a cart in this manner (no. 013). Although the artist seems to have had difficulty with a precise rendering of the child's age, it is clear by the loincloth, or diaper, the child is wearing that he is a toddler. There is little question about the age of the nude male child pushing a walker in a relief from a second century child's

[13] In a sketch from Le Propriétaire des Choses, printed in 1482, a small child learns to walk with the aid of a cart or walker that closely parallels those in the catalogue. Fraser (1966), 63.

sarcophagus. (no. 014) While the boy has a rather mature visage, his body is plump, his limbs stubby, and he moves with the awkward gait of a child just learning to walk.

DOLLS

The catalogue documents only sixteen dolls from the Roman period.[14] Nonetheless, these dolls constitute one of the largest bodies of evidence in the catalogue and allow extended discussion. The remains span an approximate 700 year period, from the third century B. C. to the sixth century A. D., and show signs of technological or presumably aesthetic variations.

The predominant media for dolls were bone, ivory, wood, and terracotta. Some of the jointed dolls appear to be among the more technologically complex toys; they exhibit extensive articulation not only at shoulders and hips, but also at knees and elbows. Limbs were attached to torsos by means of string or wire. It is difficult to ascertain, however, what dictated the shapes of the dolls. A bone doll from Tarentum (no. 015), dated to the third century B. C., is moderately abstract and the anatomical details are unrefined. The torso of the legionary soldier and the gladiator (nos. 018 and 019) display greater realism and polished

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[14] In Jouer (1991), 58, Manson claims almost 500 dolls from the Roman world have survived in a variety of shapes and media.

detailing in the representation of the clothing than the Tarentum doll, but the jointed wood and ivory dolls produced from around 150 A. D. through the late third century display superlative craftsmanship. Facial features, intricate hairstyles and pelvic triangles, in particular, have been rendered through incised work, while breasts and gently swelling hips have been carefully fashioned or shaped. The craftsman has turned a keen eye to the detailing of the extremities, from the representation of laces on a pair of shoes worn by one doll to the fingernails and toenails of another. (nos. 022 and 025) Conversely, the bone dolls from the third and fourth centuries (nos. 023-024, 026) are crudely modelled. The torsos appear ungainly and the hair is so heavily stylized it takes on a wig-like appearance. How is this vast difference in bearing among the dolls to be explained?

The abstract character of the Tarentum doll might be attributed to a lack of skill on the part of the designer, the medium which has been chosen, or simply an aesthetic preference. A contemporary item, for example, the terra-cotta doll from the Civita Castellana, (no. 016) exhibits much greater realism and the execution of the facial features is far more substantive. The latter are carefully delineated and the rough surface of the head indicates that

hair may have been attached with glue.[15] Three of the sophisticated dolls (and possibly a fourth) were found in tombs of young girls from affluent families, whereas the bone dolls tended to be found in cemetery contexts (often Christian). And in this instance, perhaps, the contrast between the dolls is the product neither of aesthetics, nor of technology, but of financial resources.

The rag doll from Roman Egypt and the dolls that appear on the sarcophagus of a young girl, are perhaps the most intriguing examples. Damage sustained by the sarcophagus lid has eliminated an evaluation of doll design, for the remains are simply elongated rectangular outlines. (no. 030) The dolls may have been three-dimensional, and the trace outlines the remnants of pedestalling. Alternatively, the sculptor may have taken a minimalist approach and carved two rather flat rectangles (with appropriate detailing) to represent swaddled dolls. Because of the ornate style of the sarcophagus it seems more plausible that the dolls were worked in the round. Considering its cloth composition, the rag doll (no. 027), is remarkably well-preserved.[16] The torso and limbs appear to have been cut from individual fabric pieces and then stitched together. The modelling of hair (possibly with coarse yarn or woven grasses) lends

[15] Elderkin (1930), 468.

[16] Information on the type of textile and the doll's stuffing is unavailable.

additional realism. The binding of the doll, at the neck, shoulder and hip areas may signify an attempt to simulate articulation, but this cannot be determined with any degree of certainty because similar examples that could be used for comparison are not available.

The torso of the legionary soldier (no. 018) may seem an odd inclusion in the category of dolls, since dolls are often characterized as toys for girls. But, as the provenance of the torso indicates, children of both sexes may have played with dolls of both sexes. The soldier came to light in the first century tomb of a young girl, Claudia Victoria, and was found alongside such other female articles as bracelets and hairpins.[17] The exquisite ivory torso is worked in entirely in the round, and exhibits marvellous detailing of the cross-straps, pleats, and tucks of the soldier's uniform. A gladiator doll from Pergamon (no. 19) exhibits a realistic treatment of uniform and accoutrements. The doll is badly fragmented, but the shield he holds in his left hand and the details of his tunic (cross-straps) are apparent. His right hand (now missing) may have held some type of weapon. Although the gladiator's arms are not articulated, the doll could still have been used to act out battles or contests, in the same way that children today use

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[17] Discovered in 1874, the inscription from the tomb of Claudia Victoria, gives her age as 10 years, 1 month, and 9 days at the time of death (CIL 2108).

'Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles' or wrestler dolls such as 'Hulk Hogan'. The popularity of ancient soldier dolls among girls is, however, impossible to determine.

Manson has conducted an extensive study of dolls from around the Mediterranean world, and notes a great disparity between the preserved remains from Republican Rome and those from the Roman Empire.[18] He characterizes the lack of evidence for dolls, along with other toys, as a reflection of adult perceptions of the small child in Republican society.[19] Consider, however, the two dolls (nos. 015 and 016) that have been dated to the beginning of the central period in Roman history. The bone doll from Tarentum is surely comparable to the lively, carefully crafted dancing dolls from Classical Greece,[20] and the 'child' doll from Civita Castellana may be indicative of an interest in sculpting children that was prevalent during the late Hellenistic period.[21] Since scholars have failed to establish whether these dolls are Greek imports, or if they are Roman copies of Greek dolls that were in vogue at this time, it is unreasonable to assume that 'Republican' dolls

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[18] Jouer (1991), 58 Manson (1983), 156; cf. Evans (1992), 171.

[19] Manson (1975), 149.

[20] See Higgins (1970), pl. 909, 913, 924, 930 for possible precursors to the Tarentum doll.

[21] Elderkin (1930), 468.

are non-existent because parents were not concerned with the diversionary aspects of childhood.

Among the examples Christopher Faraone cites in a study of 'voodoo' dolls are two lead figurines found in an Etruscan tomb in Sovana, and dated to the third century B.C. The dolls are remarkably sophisticated in terms of the modelling and anatomical details. A grave site in Puteoli, which has been dated to the first century B. C., yielded eight clay figurines, two of which bear a striking resemblance to bone dolls of the third and fourth centuries.[22] Furthermore, principal Campanian cities such as Cumae, Capua, Nola and Pompeii, produced figurines from the early Hellenistic period well into the first century A. D.[23] The supposition, here, is not that children played with figurines or 'voodoo' dolls (for the dolls in Faraone's study are clearly unsuited to children); rather, it is difficult to accept that such a vigorous and well-established art form (figurine-making) could not have designed dolls for children. Whatever the answer might be, it may be more sensible to believe that evidence for Republican dolls simply has not survived to the same extent as Imperial evidence.

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[22] Faraone (1991), 202-203, fig. 4, 12, 13.

[23] Higgins (1967), 128-129. Higgins also points out that Cumae is the only technically Greek town, the others are typically Roman.

DOLL ACCESSORIES

In contemporary society, many dolls are manufactured with an array of accoutrements or accessories that simply boggle the mind. The 'Barbie' doll is the most obvious example. In addition to a phenomenal collection of clothes, she can be purchased with a sports car, or a weekend camper, an apartment, assorted sports equipment and even musical instruments. One wonders, consequently, whether Roman girls had a similar penchant for doll accessories and whether it is sensible to characterize the miniature dishes and furniture in this catalogue as doll accessories. Elderkin advised that when these types of objects were found within temple precincts, appropriate caution should be used in interpretation, because small scale items could signify votive offerings or have other religious connotations.[24] To illustrate her point, Elderkin mentioned a table, chair, candelabra, dishes and kitchen utensils made of lead that were found at Terracina in the temple of Venus Anxur. It is the case with all the potential doll accessories in the catalogue, however, that we have no information on the excavation context. Thus, we do not know whether we are working with votive offerings, or simple doll dishes.

Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that there was some interest in fashioning appurtenances which could con-

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[24] Elderkin (1930), 456.

ceivably be used for dolls. Plutarch, for example (Dion.9), describes how the tyrant Dion crafted such small scale objects after his father had placed him under house-arrest:

> ". . . through lack of association with others and in ignorance of affairs, as we are told, he made little wagons, and lampstands and wooden chairs and tables".

Similarly, Pausanias describes a tiny ivory couch that may have been the toy of a small girl (5.20). The present catalogue does contain a silver candelabrum and footstool, but the average family certainly could not afford such precious items; it is possible therefore that accessories were created from cheaper materials, such as the ceramic plate (no. 039) and ceramic wine goblets (no. 040). Indeed, the ceramic wine goblets are virtually identical to the silver goblet from Berlin. (no. 032) The surface details on most of the dishes and drinking vessels suggest the craftsmen have tried to make them appealing. The decorative work is uncomplicated and consists primarily of incised ridges, and in the case of the plate from Cologne (no. 039), a pie-crust edge. The dates for these objects range from the first to third centuries, but this should not be taken as proof that doll accessories did not exist during the Republic.

GAME EQUIPMENT

This category includes not only specially crafted gaming pieces and equipment, but improvised toys as well. Few

glass marbles from the Roman period have survived, but terracotta marbles dated to the Minoan period (circa 2000-1700 B. C.) do exist, and they imply a long and well-established history for this toy.[25] The marbles in the present catalogue are from Roman Egypt, and are made of glass. (no. 49) They are also of different sizes and textures; one marble has etched surface details while the smaller marble is smooth. They are quite similar to contemporary marbles which range in scale (peewees and conkers) and styles (pretties and crystals). Just how widespread marbles were in the ancient world is difficult to determine. The primary sources are of little help in this respect, because the Latin word for marbles, *tali*, is used by various authors to denote dice or knucklebones.[26] The silver dice (no. 042) shaped liked small, rather abstract figures might well have been aesthetically pleasing to children, but one wonders whether dice of such high quality were intended for adults and merely 'borrowed' by children.

Knucklebones, or *astragaloi*, originated as the name indicates with the knucklebones of animals. These items were probably easily acquired, and affordable, in agrarian societies as playthings for children. These bones were replaced in later periods with glass, onyx and bronze pieces shaped

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[25] see Jenkins (1986), 31.

[26] Pers. 1.8; Hor. S. 2.3; Sen. *Ep*. 12.2; Suet. Aug. 83.

like knucklebones. (no. 048) The durability and incomparable attractiveness of these latter materials may have inspired such a change. Curiously, all representations of knucklebone games involve young females. The terracotta statue from Capua, dated to the third century B. C., comprises two girls; the first century wall painting from Herculaneum depicts the daughters of Niobe; and the lovely marble statue from Berlin, from the late second century, a young girl. In the monochrome painting, one of the young girls has tossed a few knucklebones into the air and is attempting to catch them on the back of her hand. The girls in the terracotta and marble compositions appear to be in the act of gathering up knucklebones which have fallen to the ground. A variety of knucklebone games may have existed in antiquity but these have not surfaced as yet in either the primary or archaeological records.

Under the banner of game equipment we also find nuts, a 'toy' that seems to have provided great scope for imagination (but little material for analysis). The use of nuts as a plaything plainly demonstrates that if one did not have sufficient means to purchase toys, one could always improvise. The type of nuts often pictured in funerary reliefs for children appear to be similar to the terracotta facsimile (no. 051) from Lezoux. The mould for the Lezoux walnut was carefully conceived, and this is apparent in the

detailing of the nut's surface and the light slip that highlights the delineations. Nuts, as is evident from the sarcophagus of Lucius Aemilius Daphnus (no. 052), appear to have been popular among children. Here, a lively group of boys is happily engaged in playing with nuts. The artist's conception of children at play is a remarkable match to a passage in Ovid's 'treatise' on the walnut tree (Ov. *Nux*. 73-86). The nuts have been stacked pyramid fashion, and one boy waits anxiously to roll another nut down an incline in an effort to dislodge the pile! The other little boys may be gambling with nuts, as children were wont to do.[27] The composition in a funerary relief from the Vatican, (no. 050) which depicts a group of thirteen children playing with nuts, is very similar to the sarcophagus of Lucius Aemilius Daphnus. Here, the incline is absent and the children appear to be carrying the nuts in the folds of their tunics. Whether the sculptor of this relief was familiar with Horace or not is impossible to ascertain; it is extraordinary, however, that Horace refers to a certain Aulus, who carries nuts in his toga, "giving and gambling them away" (S. 2.3.171).

The vivacious characters of children so well-represented by the sculptors of these two friezes is also apparent in a wall painting from the Casa dei Cervi in

[27] Mart. 14.1, 14.18; Phaed. 3.14; Suet. Aug. 83; Ov. *Nux*. 73.

Herculaneum. (no. 041) Three chubby erotes are involved in a game of hide and seek. The painting, which was found in the enclosed portico of the house,[28] is the only illustration in the catalogue of children playing a game which does not require equipment.[29] One of the most intriguing features of the painting, however, is its context. As mentioned in the preceding chapter, we can only speculate on the sites for children's play, because the primary sources seldom indicate where activities took place. The door behind which one of the erotes is hiding and the general perspective of the panel suggests the erotes are playing indoors. Yet, we must also consider whether the painting was located in the portico because that is where children often played. Clearly, additional research and study will be required before the issue of recreational space can be properly and fully addressed.

The category of games and game equipment also contained three unusual items. The first item (no. 053), has been tentatively identified as a yo-yo; the caution exercised with this classification stems from the absence of any literary evidence for such a toy, and from the lack of material available for comparison. The scant bit of evidence we do

[28] Deiss (1985), 50.

[29] Petronius (64) describes children playing blindman's cheek (or bluff), and Deiss (1985), 50, claims that in the portico of the Casa dei Cervi there is a painting of erotes playing this same game.

have for this toy comes from the Greek world; on an Attic red-figured cup (circa 450 B. C.) we see a young boy holding a string (his palm is face down), from which a small circular object is suspended. Although the artist's rendering is imprecise, Beck regards the object as a yo-yo.[30] Two young boys casually observing a cock-fight (no. 43) constitutes the second peculiar item in this category. And a second-century marble from Constantinople (no. 44) is composed of two erotes who seem to be taking an active role in a cock-fight, by attempting to restrain two cocks. Justifiably, one may ask how fighting-cocks qualify as game equipment, for cock-fighting is not a sport that modern society equates with children or childhood activities. The primary sources imply, nevertheless, that Roman boys may have engaged in this kind of recreation, possibly because parents did not regard it as a violent sport (Herod. 3.10; Petr. 86). In fact, in the center of the Samsun terracotta a pair of adult feet is still conspicuous (although the figure is missing) as if a parent or child-minder were presiding over the event.

MINIATURE ANIMALS AND THERIOMORPHIC RATTLES

Animal toys are well represented in the material record. The animals assume a variety of shapes: bears,

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[30] Beck (1975), pl. 68, no. 348.

small dogs, cocks, and even sheep; and all are moulded from terracotta, except for five small bears which have been fashioned from jet. Such finds should not be surprising, for throughout the ancient sources there is ample evidence that Romans were captivated by animals. Romans took their leisure in the amphitheaters watching wild animal fights, strange and wondrous animals were sometimes part of exhibitions at ceremonial games, and the younger Pliny, it seems, had boxwood hedges shaped like animals at his estate in Tuscany.[31] Throughout Roman art generally one can observe sensitive and precisely executed depictions of a plethora of animals, which echo Roman society's admiration for the beautiful, intelligent, and extraordinary beasts they often observed in the arenas.[32] And this fascination with nature seems to have filtered down to children.

Evidence of the Roman interest in animals is perceptible in the attention to their anatomical details. Although the jet bears are extremely small, the craftsmen have captured the sometimes menacing aspect of bears in the curvature of the spines, high arching shoulders and drooping heads. (nos. 062-066) Even a bear-shaped terracotta rattle, has the bear in a purely aggressive stance. (see no. 075) The miniature cocks, and rattles in the shape of cocks, have

[31] Aug. RG 22; Plin. *Nat*. 8.69; Plin. *Ep*. 5.6.16. See also Jennison (1937), 60-66.

[32] Toynbee (1973), 21.

well defined beaks, eyes, wattles, and feathers achieved partially through moulding and partially through carving. (nos. 057, 073 and 074) Traces of a white slip and red paint on feathers and wattles show that there was an attempt to lend greater realism to the birds. The same holds true with the various renditions of dogs and sheep, where incised work has been used to give coats a thick, shaggy appearance and carefully delineated ears and curling horns. It is clear that the craftsmen had a keen eye for detail, especially where the dogs are concerned. Most dog rattles in the catalogue depict the dogs with heads cocked attentively, a quirk that might only be noticed from exposure to and careful study of dogs. There is also a great similarity of pose within each group of animal rattles, especially with the dogs and cocks, which might be indicative of large-scale production of such forms.[33]

What is most striking about these animal forms is their true-to-life qualities. From a modern perspective such realism may seem unusual when we think of our own representations of animals that come in soft forms, cheerful colors, and with a gentle or friendly visage. Stuffed animals, such as the teddy bear, are prime examples of how contemporary

[33] Grandjouan (1961), 2, contends that growing Christian influences in fourth century Athens led, in part, to a gradual disappearance of figurines and grotesques that had traditionally been manufactured, with the result that toys became one of the principal products of ceramic workshops.

society has diffused the intrinsic tension and danger of wild animals for the sake of children. The more authentic-looking animals from the Roman world seem to reflect Roman attitudes toward wild beasts; the artisans have made no attempt to dispel the threatening aura that surrounds bears or lions, for example, as the dynamic poses and bared teeth reveal. (nos. 061, 075) But even the Romans could be droll, as two of the rattles from Bonn suggest. (nos. 078 and 079) These rather curious forms combine the body of birds with the antlers of a stag and, not surprisingly, efforts to find parallels for such compositions have been unsuccessful. It may be that they are the product of regional cult associations or mythological beliefs.[34] But one cannot overlook the fact that the rattles may simply have been designed for the amusement of children.

NON-THERIOMORPHIC RATTLES

Although many theriomorphic or animal-shaped rattles have survived from antiquity, there is also evidence of spherical rattles.[35] Of the three non-theriomorphic rattles contained in the catalogue, one is fashioned from bronze, one from silver and the third from terracotta. (nos. 081-

[34] Composite animal forms are not unknown in antiquity, as the literary sources reveal in the descriptions of fantastic creatures such as chimaeras and dragons.

[35] This is suggested by the provenance of the silver rattle, which was found along the Rhone in the tomb of an infant.

083) They are roughly similar in shape, possessing circular heads and long handles. They were probably filled with small pebbles or, like the silver rattle, had a series of rings around the circumference for added sound effects.[36] Rattle shapes, like those in the catalogue appear as early as the fifth century B. C., as a red-figured *chous* from Athens indicates.[37] Little else about the style or construction of such rattles is found in the source material, but the shape strongly suggests that spherical metal rattles may have been adapted from the *sistra* used in religious worship.

PUPPETS

Horace, (S. 2.8) Aulus Gellius, (14.1) and Marcus Aurelius, (2.2, 7.3) all mention *neurospasta* but they do not describe them (although the figures are clearly articulated), nor refer to them as the playthings of children. Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to ascribe specific characteristics to puppets. The puppets in the catalogue have been defined as such primarily on the basis of physical idiosyncrasies. The reclining and reciting figures (nos.

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[36] Perhaps this is what Columella (9.12.2) is referring to when he speaks of a *crepitaculum aeris* that was used to frighten bees--an odd antecedent to a child's toy!

[37] See Jenkins (1986), 32.

068-069) which were found in a child's grave in Colchester, possess 'grotesque' or distorted facial features. Distortions such as floppy ears, bulging eyes and uncommonly full lips were intended to give a comic appearance to the little figurines (perhaps much like clowns do today).[38] And although these figures are non-jointed, they do comprise a collection which may have encouraged children to exercise their imaginations or create various arrangements of the figures. The male Asiatic dancer (no. 067), unlike the Colchester figurines, is flat rather than three-dimensional, and is articulated but the arms are held in a fixed position above the dancer's head. The hips have been perforated for the attachment of the legs, but as the limbs are missing we have no way of assessing the extent of the articulation. Incised work and grooving have been used to give the dancer's blouse an oriental flavor. The lack of dimension and the perforation at the top of the dancer's head would seem to preclude its classification as a doll. But to establish the disparity in sophistication between the Colchester figures and the Asiatic dancer as the possible consequence of technological, stylistic or regional variations would require more extensive data.

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[38] Toynbee (1964), 419. One also wonders, however, whether the context of the finds (that is a child's grave) predisposed scholars to regard these objects as children's toys.

TOPS

On the basis of descriptions from ancient authors and preserved remains from the Graeco-Roman world, it was supposed that tops were usually manufactured from terracotta or boxwood. Terracotta would seem to be an appropriate material because it was a relatively inexpensive alternative to boxwood, and thus made tops affordable for a greater number of people. However, in the summer of 1992, during the excavation of a Byzantine church in Humeima, Jordan, directed by Professor J. P. Oleson, two ivory tops were recovered from the burial of a small female child. (nos. 085 and 086) The Humeima tops, although poorly preserved, exhibit the all pervasive concentric circle motif and have a central perforation for the insertion of the peg on which the top spins (although neither peg was found). These tops were probably spun by hand or a snap of the fingers, unlike the larger terracotta and wooden tops that were spun with a whip.[39] Vergil, for example, provides a wonderful description of an excited throng of children admiring the 'spinning boxwood', but he gives the impression that the top is much larger in scale than the tops contained in the catalogue, because the top to which he refers is being spun with a *flagellum*. Similarly, the small hub in the centre of the boxwood top (no. 084) may also have been designed specifically for

[39] For a well-preserved example of a terracotta top in the British Museum collection, see Jenkins (1986), 31.

spinning by hand. The top composed entirely of ivory (no. 086) is similar in appearance to a spindle whorl, and this may be an indication of the origin of small scale tops. Indeed, the action of spinning a whorl and the action of spinning these small tops bear striking resemblances.

WHEELED ANIMALS

The forerunners of Roman wheeled toys appeared in Persia as early as the eleventh century B. C. and include vigorous renditions of such animals as a lion and a hedgehog.[40] Surprisingly, however, the ancient authors are silent on the subject of wheeled animals. A rather vague reference is found in Horace, who numbers harnessing mice to a tiny cart among the pastimes of children (S. 2.3.247). Nor do we find wheeled animals depicted in Greek vase paintings, though hoops, tops and other kinds of push-toys are well represented.[41] In the Roman material record there are nine wheeled-animals, all horses. Two were discovered in Roman Egypt (nos. 091 and 094); the seven remaining horses (nos. 087-090, 092-093, 095), were found in continental Europe. Wood and terracotta are the predominant media. It is unclear whether the contrast in the choice of materials can be attributed to the availability of materials or a craftsman's

[40] Fraser (1966), 26.

[41] For examples of other pull-toys see Beck (1975), pl. 54. nos. 277-279 and Jenkins (1986), 32.

preference; however, as we have seen with other objects from the catalogue, wood and terracotta were frequently used in toy construction.

The four wooden horses consist largely of angular, boxy silhouettes while their terracotta counterparts are three dimensional. Again, it is difficult to ascertain whether these designs were chosen for the ease of manufacture, or whether they are indicative of regional aesthetics. Despite the fact that the horses are contrived differently, there are certain constituents that the craftsmen have incorporated in an effort to lend an air of realism to the animals. All the horses, for example, except the horses from Egypt, exhibit well-defined or at least discernible manes, eyes, muzzles and bridles. These particular details have been achieved primarily through incised work, and occasionally moulding (for the latter see no. 095). And it seems reasonable to posit that the wheels were generally composed of the same material as the animal itself. In the case of the Oxyrhynchus horse (no. 091) and the fourth-century horse from Athens (no. 090), the wheels have been restored; however, the original wooden wheels for the Akhmim horse are intact, and the Cologne horse (no. 088) has wheels fashioned from terracotta, like the main body of the horse. All muzzles appear to have been pierced for the attachment of string, or possibly a thong, by which the toy was drawn.

And traces of red and black paint can be found on three of the horses (nos. 087, 090, 094), which suggests there may have been an interest in making the horses visually appealing to youngsters.

Of particular note are the wonderful horses carrying riders upon their backs. The rider on the Cologne horse (no. 088) does not sit astride the horse's back; instead, the horseman has been incorporated into the body of the animal so that only the upper half of his torso is visible. Despite the fact the wooden horses are little more than silhouettes, the riders are three-dimensional. One rider (no. 092) appears to be driving a team of horses, while the other rider straddles the back of his mount. (no. 093) Again, only the heads, arms and torsos of the horsemen are observable, and these details have been worked in a very rudimentary fashion. The riders are held in place by a peg which passes through the lower region of the torso and the saddle area, but whether this affected the artist's decision to exclude the riders' legs cannot be ascertained.[42] The wheeled terracotta horse from Vichy (no. 095) may also have carried a rider. A moulded saddle on the horse's back is easily discerned and one wonders whether children added their own

[42] The precise execution of horse and rider seems to have posed similar problems for artists in later centuries, as figurines from thirteenth and fourteenth century Europe demonstrate; though the legs have been incorporated, they are completely out of proportion with the rider's body. See Fraser (1966), 57, 60-61.

riders in the form of the articulated legionary soldier, or the gladiator dolls.

TOY COSTS

Production costs are an important consideration in the study of ancient toys, for they can sometimes govern the affordability and even the universality of a toy. Because so little is known about toy costs or production in the ancient world, we can only speculate on how widespread ready-made toys actually were. Dio Chrysostom refers to makers of figurines and how they produce multiple images from a single mould (60.9). And Lucian describes clay images shaped for market and painted with red and blue (Lex. 22). Taken together, these comments suggest, at the very least, that there was a market for 'images', and in all likelihood these images included toys. But one wonders just how many parents could afford to buy ready made toys for their children. An itemized household account from Oxyrhynchus, dated to the first century (P.Oxy. 4.736), lists 'playthings' for children at a cost of half an obol; but the account provides no information about the make-up or sophistication of these toys, nor the number purchased, so it is difficult to determine precisely whether the price of the toys may be considered exorbitant. Certainly, the purchase of toys comprised of ivory or oak (like the dolls with their elegant accou-

trements) was beyond the financial means of many lower class parents whose primary concerns were the feeding and clothing of their offspring. But these considerations must also have encouraged ingenuity, and thus items such as rag dolls and supple wood hoops were born in an effort to provide affordable toys for children.

CONCLUSION

The review of literary evidence in Chapter 2, revealed that Roman children enjoyed a variety of toys and games. In the context of the literary record, the objective of this chapter has been to examine the archaeological record of toys that were available to Roman children, to clarify their general use and, where needed, address some of the problems of interpretation they raise. In so doing, it becomes apparent that toys and games were an integral part of Roman childhood. The physical evidence for Roman toys is chronologically very diverse, stretching from the third century B. C. to the sixth century A. D.; and the geographic distribution is impressive, extending the breadth of the Mediterranean world, from the Near East to Roman Britain. The remains illustrate, too, that there was a broad distribution of toy types within Roman society proper and among the different stages of childhood. Toy types range from infant rattles and miniature animals to the puppets and

gaming pieces of older children. Although some toys, such as the intricately fashioned, ivory dolls, or the oddly-shaped silver dice, were probably beyond the financial resources of many Roman families, the more rudimentary wooden horses, rag dolls, or nuts and knucklebones may have been more affordable. Clearly, there was, or could be, something for everyone, from infant to adolescent, for elite and non-elite children.

Noticeably absent from the literary and material records is an impetus for the manufacture of these objects. Did simple affection and concern for a child's well-being compel Roman parents and child-minders to create imaginative and technologically diverse toys for their children, or do toys serve a more lofty purpose? Aristotle implies that toys can be used as a preventive measure, that is when children are occupied with toys "they will not break any of the furniture; for young things cannot keep still. . ." (Pol. 8.6). Were Roman parents and child-minders of the same opinion? With the literary and archaeological evidence for toys safely established, we can now turn to analyzing the role and function of toys as an element of the history of Roman childhood.

CHAPTER 5. SOCIALIZING ROMAN CHILDREN

Not long after the younger Pliny married Calpurnia he wrote to his wife's aunt Hispulla to advise her of her niece's superlative wifely behavior. According to Pliny, Calpurnia was intelligent, devoted to him and his work, and managed the household conscientiously. In every respect Calpurnia's comportment was a reflection of her husband's social status and, as Pliny informed Hispulla, a credit to Calpurnia's family name (Ep. 4.19). The young woman was clearly a model of Roman matronly conduct, which raises the question of whether Calpurnia was the fruit of a concerted educative program or whether Pliny had been fortunate to procure a mature and talented wife.

The young Ummidius Quadratus, an admirer of Pliny, is described in a similar way with allowance made for the difference in gender. Quadratus was a young man of exceptional honesty, integrity, and sound judgment (Ep. 6.11). Pliny also points out that, although Quadratus was "conspicuously handsome", his youth was untouched by scandal, he married at the proper time, and, while he lived with a grandmother renowned for her "sybaritic tastes" his own lifestyle was abstemious by comparison (Ep. 7.24). Notwithstanding the fact that the young man looked to Pliny as a mentor and allowing that Pliny's account may be slightly prejudiced, we still gain a sense of the consummate

Roman male. The question arises again: how did Quadratus come to be the man he was?

Pliny's descriptions of Calpurnia and Quadratus give us an idea of the personal attributes that Roman society esteemed and considered essential in the accomplished young male and female. Elite Roman women were not often celebrated for themselves as talented individuals; rather, personal achievement was measured by the honor they brought to their own families and the enhancement of a husband's social status. For men the growth and preservation of personal honor through distinguished public service was the ultimate design. And the attainment and perpetuation of prestige was contingent, in part, upon the careful nurturing and education of children. Just as children of the Roman elite learned to personify their parents' hopes for lasting familial success and prosperity, it was equally important that lower-class children understand their position and function within Roman society.[1] This chapter will explore some of the cultural ideals of Roman society, how children were socialized and how toys and games contributed to the enculturation of children of all social ranks.

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[1] Bradley (1991), 61.

DEFINING SOCIALIZATION

From a modern perspective, the process of teaching children about their gender identities, about their social duties, and about their environment, and preparing them for adult roles begins at a very early age. This kind of training takes place in virtually all societies or groups in some form or other, and is commonly referred to as socialization. Upper and lower class individuals alike require a working knowledge of their community so that they may be able to function within it.[2] Within a familial context adults instruct children, that while it is permissible to yell and scream on the playground, this same behavior is inappropriate in a classroom or place of worship.[3] Parents may teach their sons that it is unacceptable to hit or strike girls, the connotation being that girls are weaker and more frail than boys and should be treated preferentially. Children who refuse to obey their parents may have recreational privileges curtailed, or be confined to the bedroom to contemplate their behavior. In each of these cases the parents attempt to provide their children with positive behavioral guidelines that will enable them to participate successfully in society. It is crucial that children be taught what society will demand of them as adults, in addition to the

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[2] Elkin and Handel (1989), 2.

[3] Elkin and Handel (1989), 1.

consequences of rejecting social norms. The socialization of a child may assume a variety of forms, and be administered by an assortment of persons in different settings.[4] Not surprisingly the strongest influences on the young child, who has to be thought of as a highly malleable being, are contained in the immediate family. Under the tutelage of parents, children acquire skills that are used first in private and then in public discourse.[5] But although parents may have the initial and prime responsibility for instructing a child, society comprises any number of individuals, such as teachers, nurses, doctors, and policemen who also have an effect on children. As a result of exposure to these professionals, children often imitate or emulate individuals they admire or find most intriguing. But children are not socialized solely through interpersonal relationships or by role models. Inculcation of sound habits also appears in more simple forms such as wearing specific types and colors of clothing, reading certain types of books, engaging in gender-typed games or playing with gender-specific objects that we commonly refer to as toys. It is the socializing capabilities of the latter that most concern us here.

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[4] Elkin and Handel (1989), 3.

[5] Elkin and Handel (1989), 142.

Modern sociologists have identified a number of characteristics that are usually present in the small objects we label as toys. First and foremost, toys are regarded as articles which encourage the development of motor skills and mental faculties, such as hand-eye coordination and reasoning ability. Objects with special properties can function as media from which children learn facts about the world around them.[6] When children play with a rubber ball, for example, they learn that a ball can bounce and that its spherical shape facilitates rolling. A child may play with building blocks that come in a variety of shapes; the child soon discovers that the shapes must be arranged in a particular fashion in order for his or her 'creation' to remain standing. Other objects can stimulate and advance the use of imagination, or role-playing; a boy given a miniature hammer and saw may pretend to be a carpenter, or a young girl provided with a baby-doll may pretend she is a mother. One of the most conspicuous characteristics of toys, therefore, is their ability to transmit cultural messages. When children interact with such objects, not only are they entertained but they are introduced to ideas pertaining to social expectations, gender functions and orientation, acceptable modes of behavior and so on.

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[6] Dixon (1990), 9ff.

The benefits of properly raising or socializing the child and the strength of toys in this training were not lost upon the ancients. As early as the fourth century B. C., we find men involved in discussing the best ways to educate children. Thus in Plato's Laws a Cretan, a Spartan, and an Athenian debate various approaches to education. After common agreement upon socially desirable characteristics, the Athenian inquires: "What way can we find, then, for implanting at once in the new-born child whichever of these qualities we desire?" (7.791D). Plato's interest in children, however, stemmed not from a genuine concern for their welfare. Although he viewed the proper instruction of children (chiefly male children) in terms of future contributions to the *polis*, (Laws 1.643E) Plato appreciated the potential advantages of socialization. He counselled parents to have future carpenters play at building toy houses and tomorrow's farmers play at plowing the fields; he commended the Egyptians for their "counting games", which combined learning and play in a single activity; and he viewed as dangerous innovative children who modified their games, for they grew into men "different from their fathers" (1.643B; 7.819B; 7.798C).

Child care perspectives similar to Plato's are found in Roman sources, but it is more difficult to produce hard evidence for a correlation between Roman child-rearing

practices and ideals.[7] At the very least Roman authors display a sensitivity to the roles certain individuals played in fashioning a child's character. In Plautus's Mostellaria, the young man Philolaches spells out the role of the parent:

> Now in the first place parents are the . . . builders of their children. They lay the foundations of their children's lives. They rear them, do their best to construct them . . . solidly, and spare nothing necessary to making them useful and ornamental as men and citizens (120-123).[8]

Seneca, solicitous of his motherless niece Novatilla, urged his own mother to turn her attentions to the tutelage of the young girl, because "instruction that is stamped upon the plastic years leaves a deeper mark" (Dial. 18.8). Quintilian perhaps is most responsive to the impact of education upon a child. He carefully monitored the development of his own children and claimed that any servant charged with the care of children should be articulate:

> It is the nurse that the child first hears, and her words that he will first attempt to imitate. And we are by nature most tenacious of childish impressions. (Inst. 1.1.5).[9]

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[7] Dixon (1992), 118.

[8] *Primumdum parentes fabri liberum sunt; ei fundamentum substruont liberorum; extollunt, parant sedulo in firmitatem, et ut in usum boni et in speciem populo sint sibique, haud materiae reparcunt . . .*

[9] *Has primum audiet puer, harum verba effingere imitando conabitur. Et natural tenacissimi sumus eorum quae rudibus animis percepimus . . .*

Galen realized that children (again principally males) should be made ready for a specific future; he advised parents to cultivate whatever aptitude would be most beneficial to the child's future (*De San*. 12.2).

But, against the fact that the nurturing and instruction of children was a priority of family members, both inside and outside the conjugal unit, we have very little explicit information on the methods society advocated for socializing children. Modern sociologists have hypothesized that toys have the ability to convey cultural messages: is it possible that Roman parents and those in charge of the young commonly utilized toys for the purpose of directing their children?

ROMAN CHILDREN AND NON-GENDER SPECIFIC TOYS

In preceding chapters we have seen that a variety of toys existed in Roman society which could amuse and delight young owners. Evidence from both literature and art history attests to the childish thrills that resulted from spinning a top; how school children were good-naturedly rebuked for spending too much time 'playing at shots' or with knucklebones; and how balls provided enjoyment for male and female children alike. While the diversionary function of toys may have been uppermost in the minds of child-minders and parents, many toys would have been beneficial to both the in-

tellectual and physiological development of the child by heightening hand-eye co-ordination, dexterity, and motor skills used in everyday life. In antiquity tops were spun with a lash. The activity not only taught the child about the natural properties of some objects--that is the top's conical shape is conducive to spinning and the top's speed needs to be maintained in order for it not to fall over--but the action of whipping the top called for a certain level of skill. In a well-known wall painting from Herculaneum we see a group of girls playing at knucklebones; the object of the game, in this instance, was to toss the bones into the air and then to catch them on the back of the hand. (no. 046) To be successful the child needed to be able to judge distance as well as exploit the appropriate motor skills. Similar coordination was necessary for 'playing at shots', the game described by Ovid that sounds suspiciously like a modern-day game of marbles (Nux 73). Balls and tops as well as improvised toys such as walnuts and knucklebones were excellent tools for teaching children about texture, size and weight. The surface of a nut or bone may be rough or smooth; knucklebones and walnuts are small when compared to balls; a ball has a different shape from that of a top; a top is heavier than a knucklebone; toys with wheels can be drawn more efficiently than those without and so forth. As the child matures, the ability to perceive, differentiate

and rationalize becomes more acute and these skills are applied more and more frequently as the child adapts to his or her environment.

But how did Roman children procure the social or cultural expertise that was essential to taking one's place in society? In his recent book Toys as Culture, Brian Sutton-Smith amply demonstrates the presence and ascendancy of toys in the maturation of contemporary children. He traces the growth of certain social precepts from infancy to the period when the child's interest in toys begins to wane (around age 12). In addition to the standard exposition of toys as educational tools, Sutton-Smith illustrates how toys can foster a child's facility to play independently of parents and child-minders; how the manipulation of toys can teach a child the difference between exerting control and being controlled; and how toys in the guise of gifts can convey such ideas as obligation and loyalty. Although Sutton-Smith's work is devised to elucidate the role of toys in the lives of modern day children, at the very least he provides the ancient historian with a vantage point from which to assess the ramifications of ancient toys. A word of caution is, of course, necessary. Any hypothesis of the impact of toys on Roman children must acknowledge that while socially disparate children within a *domus* may have played together and shared playthings, the life courses and expectations of

these children were inherently different. Plutarch describes how an inheritance dispute might ensue between brothers "dividing their father's estate" and the "slave-boys" who were their childhood companions.[10] Friendships between children of nurses and nurslings were not uncommon in Roman society;[11] but while there may have been a special camaraderie among the boys when they were children, social expectations caused their paths to diverge as they matured. And toys may have influenced these children in similar but also diverse ways.

First, we need to examine who gave toys to children and why. The answer appears deceptively simple: toys were given to children by parents, relatives or child-minders as tokens of affection. But as the following evidence indicates that toys were also conferred upon children for other reasons. Aristotle (as we already know) proposed that rattles would keep children occupied and prevent them from breaking furniture (Pol. 8.6.1). Martial echoed this sentiment when he suggested a rattle would assuage a weeping *vernula* (14.54). Jerome recommended that parents offer "a glittering bauble" or "a pretty doll" to their daughters as an incentive for the prompt completion of household chores (Ep. 123.1.4). At first very small children are unable to

[10] Plu. Mor. 483E, Bradley (1991), 150.

[11] Dixon (1988), 128; Bradley (1991), 150.

grasp the nuances of gift-giving, such as the donor's expectations that something be given back by the recipient.[12] Consider the behavior of modern children in the weeks preceding Christmas: they promise earnestly to clean their rooms, do their homework or brush their teeth (all without being asked) and hope that Santa Claus will reciprocate by bringing the items painstakingly enumerated on wish lists.[13] The Roman precursor to our gift-giving festival, the Saturnalia, was a special time for children and slaves; they were given small figurines as presents and permitted certain freedoms that were restricted at other times of the year (Sen. Ep. 12.3; SHA Hadr. 17.3). Plainly, we shall never know how Roman children reacted to the liberality of the Saturnalia. Then, as now, parents may have used the gift-giving of this festival as leverage for assurances of proper conduct, and children may have responded to the event accordingly--especially if exemplary conduct had been rewarded with presents or trinkets in the past.

The ancient authors demonstrate that gifts could be used as positive reinforcement for correct behavior or increased cooperation. Horace intimates that Roman children may have learned to equate good behavior with rewards from a

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[12] Sutton-Smith (1990), 20.

[13] Sutton-Smith (1990), 20.

relatively early age, for teachers coaxed children to learn the alphabet by giving them cookies (S. 1.1). Epictetus, too, describes how a whimpering child could easily be pacified with a cookie (2.16). As children matured they, like their modern counterparts, may have come to realize that presents sometimes involved accountability and that there was prestige to be gained from seemly deportment. While Horace and Epictetus mention cookies as enticements for behavior modification, Seneca says that children are greedy for knucklebones, nuts and coppers--perhaps children were persuaded by such items also (Ep. 12.2). But a gift that impresses a child of three may not interest a child of seven. In a letter to Attius Clemens, the younger Pliny disparages the ostentatious mourning of Regulus's dead son. The pets belonging to the son (a veritable menagerie that was slaughtered around the funeral pyre of the young master) may have constituted rewards or encouragements for a specific type of behavior (Ep. 4.2).

The concepts of bond and obligation were pivotal in the development of children in all sectors of Roman society.[14] The correspondence of both Cicero and Pliny confirms that, although socially elite children lived a life of ease and comfort, tremendous emphasis was placed on compliance with parental expectations and upholding the family name and

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[14] Bradley (1991), 117; Saller (1990), 165.

honor. Progeny from upper-class families were expected to marry within their own circle and such marriages (on the whole) were arranged with an eye to aggrandizement of the family's social status, in some cases improving the political or financial situation of an impoverished aristocratic family.[15] Success in such a venture demanded that parents forge strong bonds with their children to create an awareness of duty, loyalty and obligation. In the circumstances of a recalcitrant child the right of *patria potestas* could certainly be invoked; however, there are very few recorded instances of fathers exercising this legal right and this may reflect the fact that upper-class children grew generally to understand and accept their familial obligations, albeit reluctantly.

This same sense of being indebted to one's parents played an equally significant role in the life-course of non-elite children. While the offspring of the socially disadvantaged may not have been pawns in political and social power-broking schemes, the responsibility placed upon them was no less onerous. Children from lower class families were required to care for aged or infirm parents when they could no longer look after themselves. Indeed, non-elite parents looked to their large families as a bulwark

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[15] Dixon (1992), 62.

against destitution in old age.[16] Once children were capable of working they provided their parents with a source of income, and when the parents could no longer work the children reciprocated by supporting the parents. Inasmuch as we have few expressions of affection from parents of less-privileged children, some may regard the financial considerations of child-bearing as cold and calculating. But one cannot ignore the harsh economic realities of disadvantaged families, and within this type of domestic context toys may have helped to foster a notion of indebtedness to one's parents as they did in upper-class households--regardless of the toy's sophistication or complexity.

ROMAN CHILDREN AND GENDER-SPECIFIC TOYS

In a letter addressed to Aefulanus Marcellinus, an agitated Pliny relates that their mutual friend Minicius Fundanus is preparing for the funeral of his young daughter. The girl in question was Minicia Marcella who, although not yet thirteen years of age was already engaged to be married.[17] Pliny's image of the grieving father spending money on burial incense, ointment and spices instead of a trousseau is especially evocative, because Minicia Marcella

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[16] Bradley (1991), 117.

[17] Although the text gives Minicia Marcella's age as 14 (Ep. 5.14), in ILS 1030 the girl's age is given as 12 years, 11 months and 7 days.

embodied her father's hopes for the future. Aside from the amiable and affectionate nature of a child, Minicia Marcella displayed devotion, diligence, patience, courage and self-restraint. Like Calpurnia, Minicia was a paragon of female behavior.

There were a variety of forces which affected the development of the Roman female: *nutrices, paedagogi*, and *praeceptores* would certainly have influenced the young girl in her formative years, as the letter on Minica Marcella shows. Mothers and female relatives, too, shaped a girl's character by helping her to establish her sexual identity and social role, and dolls must certainly have played a part in this process.

The only outwardly gender-specific toy in all the archaeological and art historical evidence seems to be the doll; dolls may vary in terms of their sophistication but by and large Roman craftsmen attempted to make the dolls anatomically correct, that is, they have female bodies, soft features and elaborate hairstyles. When the archaeological evidence is viewed in the light of Plutarch's anecdote about his daughter Timoxena, it seems natural to assume that Roman girls were not so very different from many of their modern counterparts: they enjoyed being make-believe wives and mothers. Beryl Rawson, however, questions the wisdom of such conjecture given the fact that there is insufficient

material to ascertain whether dolls "were essentially female in form and whether they represented babies, children, or adults".[18] She contends that the evidence recovered to date provides little indication that dolls were used solely by girls; moreover, she emphasizes that the influence exerted by the Roman mother on the young girl was not sufficient to engender this type of "condition and differentiation".[19] True, the mother may not have been in close proximity to her daughter on a frequent enough basis to invite the parroting of 'female' behavior, but young girls could learn from nurses with whom they spent a good deal of their time. Nor should we overlook the fact that the majority of dolls do possess female attributes, especially molded breasts and stylized hairdos. When these dolls are compared with those from Classical Greece we see little variation in terms of anatomical details.[20] Whether dolls encouraged girls to imitate their mothers and nurses is perhaps not the most critical point. The mere fact that young girls sometimes played with representations of females may have served to strengthen male-female polarization. Dolls may have been only one medium used to 'remind' young girls of their sexual identity and the concomitant social assignment. Even in

[18] Rawson (1990), 20.

[19] Rawson (1990), 20.

[20] See Higgins (1970), Vol.2.

present day society, where the rise of feminism has discouraged parents from 'stereotyping' young daughters, there is still an array of playthings that do so, the most notorious of which is the Barbie doll. Regardless of the activities this doll may be used for, implicit in her appearance and accoutrements "[is] the idea of women as sex objects".[21]

In an article on ancient dolls published in 1930, Kate Elderkin touched briefly on the issue of whether dolls could have been the playthings of young boys. The question appears to have been prompted by the discovery of jointed dolls in sanctuaries of Apollo. Dedicatory epigrams in the Palatine Anthology confirm that girls routinely offered their childhood toys to Artemis or Aphrodite and boys passed on their favorite playthings to Hermes or Apollo (APL. 6.280, 6.309). Elderkin suggested that while there are no explicit references to boys dedicating dolls to either of their patron gods, it is likely that dolls were included among male toys from time to time.[22] One wonders whether the Asiatic dancing puppet, or the gladiator doll from Pergamon, may be examples of 'dolls' that were deemed suitable for young boys, a sort of ancient 'GI Joe'. (see

[21] Dixon (1990), 92. In Pre-Industrial Societies, Patricia Crone (1989), 114, also points out that social roles were "strongly defined in terms of clothing, ornaments, language and mannerisms". It is reasonable to postulate that in contexts similar to those outlined by Crone, dolls helped to reinforce a specific type of behavior.

[22] Elderkin (1930), 465.

nos. 067 and 019) Seneca makes clear that equally pleasing to young boys as well as girls were *sigillaria*, the small figures given to children at the time of the Saturnalia (Sen. Ep. 12.3). Festus reports that woolen effigies representing freeborn men and women of the household were hung in trees during the Compitalia to avert evil, specifying that the effigies were of both sexes.[23] Taken together, the evidence does suggest that dolls were available to boys as well as girls. Indeed, as we saw in the preceding chapter, the legionary soldier (no. 018) was found in the tomb of a ten year old girl, Claudia Victoria. And, when we weigh the possibility of children sharing recreational space, it is not improbable that boys played with the dolls of their female companions, either out of childish curiosity or because there simply was no stigma attached to boys playing with such toys. While it is difficult to reconcile the idea of Roman boys playing with dolls when one reflects on the very masculine ideals typified in Roman art, it is apparent that children of both sexes may well have played with dolls.

GAMES AND THE WORLD OF MAKE-BELIEVE

Games and make-believe activities afforded perhaps the most stimulating environment for the socialization of the

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[23] Fest. 239.1; see also Macr. 1.7.

child in antiquity. The mimetic propensities of children have been thoroughly evaluated by modern scholars.[24] But ancient authors also attest to a child's preference for pretend activity. Three-year old children enjoyed building castles or drawing figures in the sand,[25] and youngsters from all walks of life built toy houses.[26] In fact, children, had a penchant for imitating just about anything they saw and admired--such as gladiator fights (Epict. 3.25); and boys enjoyed games that required such leaders as kings, magistrates and lawyers.[27] It is no accident that some of the games played by boys contained an element of power; this would have been a natural adjunct to both the physical and educational training Roman boys received and a reflection of the type of role boys were expected to assume upon attaining full adult status. Clearly, role-playing could help the Roman child to associate with future roles.

Frequently, in the primary sources, we see groups of children in the street or at home playing elaborate games with nuts, or tossing balls: what influence did these activities have in shaping the character and mind-set of the

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[24] For a summary of scholarship on socio-dramatic play see Schwartzman (1978), 115-124.

[25] Hor. S. 2.3; Philostr. VA. 2.22.

[26] Hor. S. 2.3; Tib. 2.1.

[27] Hor. Ep. 1.59, D. Chrys. 4.47, Sen. Ep. 12.4, Plu. Cat. Mi. 2.

Roman child?[28] When current theories of children's games are set against the hierarchical and heavily regulated society of ancient Rome, we are given an indication of the kinds of things a Roman child might absorb from certain kinds of play activities.

Like many other pre-industrial societies, Roman society was primarily holistic in nature; that is, the aspirations of the individual were subordinated to collective interests.[29] Roman society was heavily stratified and its stability depended upon its membership recognizing social boundaries and upholding them. Prior to full-fledged participation in the community, children needed to be aware of which social group they belonged to and the ramifications of such an affiliation. Slave children, for instance, may have been permitted to play with the master's children when small, but such behavior would not and could not go on indefinitely. Ultimately, the slave child would take up the anticipated responsibilities, resulting in not only physical but gradual emotional separation from former childhood playmates (Sen. Ep. 12.3). Games and make-believe pursuits may have provided children with a foothold from which to grasp these ideas. Many childhood games in ancient Rome involved one or more individuals, and for the sake of efficient and

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[28] Phaed. 3.14; see also no. 002.

[29] Crone (1989), 108.

peaceful completion of the game, common agreement upon rules and structure was probably essential. Children, of course, do not acquire such a perception of games immediately, but they eventually develop what has been termed 'rule conceptualization'.

The celebrated Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget formulated this theory after a thorough study of marble games and the rules governing them. Children, he concluded, could acquire moral standards through play. Although the argument may seem tenuous at first, Piaget's data reveals that the child's impression of and ability to utilize rules evolves with age.[30] In stage 1 (ages 1-3), children do not conceive of rules as coercive; rather they accept rules as "interesting examples of 'obligatory realities'".[31] Between the ages of four and eight children believe game rules are inviolable, and the fastest way to be ejected from the game is to break the rules! And by age nine or ten, children perceive rules as being determined by social consensus; they may be altered only by soliciting the opinions of others--on your side.[32] This type of development, he posited, demonstrated the child's acquisition of moral standards.

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[30] Piaget (1965), 14-15.

[31] Piaget (1965), 28; Schwartzman (1978), 51.

[32] Piaget (1965), 28; Schwartzman (1978), 51.

We know that Roman children had their own adaptations of 'marbles' in addition to knucklebone and nut games; there were also forms of blindman's bluff and elaborate ball games such as *trigonalis*--all with their own special rules (Petr. 64; Mart. 12.82, 14.46). Then as now, games may have helped children to differentiate between right and wrong, or to fathom the importance of social conformity and community. It is also worthy of note that the bulk of literary and art historical material provides few allusions to independent play among children. In the primary sources children appear most frequently in couples or group scenes; they may be swimming or skipping stones at the seashore, gathered together to watch someone spinning a top, or enjoying a vigorous re-enactment of the battle of Actium in the streets![33] Implicit in much of the evidence from the Roman world is that many opportunities existed for children to obtain and then implement their knowledge of rules through group dynamics.[34]

The peer pressure that existed within most groups in pre-industrial societies forced people to "identify with

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[33] Plin. Ep. 9.33; Min. Fel. Oct. 3.5; Verg. A. 7.377; Hor. Ep. 1.18.58.

[34] Although later sociologists and psychologists agree with Piaget's theory for the most part, Sutton-Smith is quick to point out that Piaget did not take into account the effects of context; that is, Piaget did not adequately consider how different environments might affect the development of rules and rule conceptualization.

their social roles through constant reminders".[35] Children could observe, for example, that girls behaved in one fashion and boys in another; or that games for boys might not always be appropriate for girls. They might also begin to recognize the differences between non-elite and freeborn children. Perhaps slave children were allowed only a certain amount of play-time before they were required to carry out their household chores. Conceivably in some *domus* slave children may have been compelled to stand by and watch their young masters or mistresses play, or maybe they were assigned only marginal roles in make-believe activities. In short, ideas pertaining not only to sexual identity but also to social status could be instilled in children during group play. Within the group play context the concept of community was reinforced; in such an environment children (as Piaget pointed out) came to understand that the will of the individual had to be affirmed by group consensus. When groups were comprised of children from disparate social backgrounds the elite children were afforded an opportunity to exercise their social and legal rights over servile children. This argument is, of course, highly speculative.

One characteristic of games, especially games of chance, that is particularly useful for children is their ability to help children adapt to the belief that they are

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[35] Crone (1989), 114.

controlled by outside forces.[36] We do not have verification of such a belief from any of the ancient authors in connection with gambling games. Nevertheless, when one considers the unpredictable and sometimes even capricious nature of Roman society, the modern idea may be entirely relevant. Games of chance evolved, according to one modern theorist, from magical and divinatory rites of ancient tribes who endeavored to determine exactly what the gods wanted them to do.[37] Such an origin for children's games is not unusual when we consider that a simple game like the modern "nuts in May" was probably derived from an earlier society's custom of marriage by capture.[38] In twentieth-century Britain children play a game called 'touch iron', the origins of which can be traced back to the sixteenth century when iron was regarded as a sort of talisman.[39] The affinity of Roman gambling games and religion is evident in one of the activities of the Saturnalia. During this December festival public gambling was sanctioned for citizens and slaves alike (Mart. 14.1). Moreover, the idea of the gods controlling one's fate is well attested throughout Roman history, from success in military ventures to bearing children. The

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[36] Sutton-Smith (1990), 63.

[37] Sutton-Smith (1990), 63.

[38] Schwartzman (1978), 59.

[39] Opie (1969), 79.

younger Pliny tells us that Ummidius Quadratus married at the proper age for a young senator and "would have been a father had his prayers been granted" (Ep. 7.24). This same tacit acceptance of the will of the gods surfaces in a letter to Calpurnius Fabatus in which Pliny describes his wife's miscarriage; a stoical Pliny encourages Fabatus to find consolation in the fact that the gods have spared Calpurnia's life and that they will "surely grant us children later on" (Ep. 8.10). But even for parents who successfully conceived and women who carried children to term, the fates could still be unpredictable. Mortality rates among infants and small children were high and children were not considered to be "out of danger" until the early teenage years.[40] Within tightly knit social units such as the family, children would certainly have witnessed the deaths of siblings, playmates and relatives, as did the sister of Minicia Marcella (Pliny Ep. 5.16). Just as children could not manipulate death, neither could they always control a game of shots or knucklebones--especially if they did not possess *felicitas* on that occasion. It is, of course, difficult to ascertain whether children truly grasped the implications of chance. Still, at the very least, such games may have provided a method for children as well as adults, of coping with the vagaries of life in the ancient world.

[40] Garnsey and Saller (1987), 138.

CHILDREN, EXERCISE AND COMPETITIVE GAMES

Just as games served as opportunities for emotional and mental growth, competitive games and exercise activities helped to cultivate sound bodies. In present day societies children are encouraged to engage in different types of athletic endeavors ranging from 'pick-up' games such as road hockey or stick-ball, to organized sports such as soccer, baseball or gymnastics. Some parents may envision their children as Olympic hopefuls or future professional athletes, but for the most part competitive and non-competitive sports are simply constituents of childhood, an opportunity for children to exercise their bodies and have fun. In Roman society, similar attitudes towards sports and exercise may also have existed. It was traditional for men, and occasionally women, to exercise in the *Campus Martius* where there was space for a myriad of activities (Strab. 5.3; Juv. 6.425). And Galen extols the benefits of exercise throughout his work *De Sanitate Tuenda*. In spite of the fact that 'working out' had its detractors (namely Seneca),[41] most Romans were well aware of the benefits of a sound constitution, and trundling hoops and playing ball were among the many exercises enjoyed by young and old alike.

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[41] Sen. Ep. 15.2.

It is difficult for us to know just when children first accompanied adults to the gymnasium or the practice field. For boys it may have been around age seven when physical training usually commenced. The age at which girls began to exercise (if it was even included in a daily routine) is less easy to discern. The rather masculine woman described by the carping Juvenal (in Satire 6) is clearly an older married woman and not a tender young girl (425). The scantily clad 'bikini girls' depicted in one mosaic from the Piazza Armerina provide a hint that Romans believed physical exertion was beneficial for women as well as men.[42] Even if the women were female gladiators,[43] there were other opportunities for young girls to exercise their bodies. Hoop trundling and ball playing, the two salubrious activities endorsed by Galen could easily have taken place in the streets, courtyards or the wide open spaces of country estates such as Pliny's.

Authors such as Cicero, Quintilian and Galen give the impression that ideal Roman children were active and robust; even if adults want to, quips Galen, they cannot prevent children from "running about and frolicking like colts and calves", for it is a child's natural disposition (De San. 8.2). Because children run about from morning till night,

[42] Veyne (1987), 249.

[43] Balsdon (1969), 167.

they end up hurting their hands and knees says Quintilian (1.12.10). Perhaps the most revealing comments about the effect of games on the mindset of the Roman child are found in passages from Cicero's *De Finibus*. Cicero noted that as children matured their activity levels increased to the point where games were zealously contested:

> . . . they pursue their rivalries! How fierce their contest and competitions! What exultation they feel when they win and what shame when they are beaten (Fin. 5.61).[44]

Although Cicero provides a strong sense of the impassioned play of children, what is most consequential is that he mentions the shame children experience when defeated in a game. This statement accents the association between lessons learned on practice fields and in the street, and what Roman society expected of young males in both the political and military arenas. Victors were handsomely rewarded with the spoils from battle and permitted to display them in their homes as symbols of valor, while soldiers accused and convicted of cowardice could be bludgeoned to death by fellow soldiers in a *fustuarium* (Poly. Hist. 6.38-39). Not every male child would find a career in the military, but for those who did some of the lessons learned in childhood might be essential to survival. Achievement in athletic competition demands both physical and mental prowess. In

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[44] *Quanta studia decertantium sunt! quanta ipsa certamina! ut illi efferentur laetitia cum vicerunt! ut pudet victos!*

the gymnasium the difference between winning and losing might simply be a loss of prestige or an insult to one's pride; disgrace on the battlefield, where the stakes were much higher, might destine death--either at the hands of an opponent or at the hands of fellow Romans. Young males needed to be well equipped emotionally, physically and mentally to endure the rigors of such a life and sports may have helped.

CHILDREN AND VIOLENCE

In recent years western societies have become increasingly interested in the effect on children of war toys and violent television programs or movies. Parents, governments and even international child welfare agencies have become concerned about the type of behavior that aggressive toys and games will foster in children. In the late seventies Sweden banned the sale of all war toys except those representing weapons used prior to 1914, and UNICEF has developed a 'peace kit' for educators in all countries to help de-glorify violence at individual, national and international levels.[45] In North America movies are rated according to subject matter and those movies considered unsuitable for child audiences require 'parental guidance' or are 'restricted'. Traditionally, modern day societies

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[45] Dixon (1990), 14-15.

have attempted to prevent their young from viewing or participating in events that are perceived as injurious to the child's emotional well-being. We seem intent upon regulating a child's exposure to the harsh realities of life, largely because we regard childhood as a period of innocence, or as one scholar has termed it "a long and glorious holiday from adult society".[46] In this regard our interpretation of childhood differs sharply from that of ancient Rome.

Among the archaeological remains for children's toys and games are two small statues which presuppose that Roman parents saw no need to protect their children from the violent aspects of Roman life. In each grouping we find two small male children about the age of five observing a cock-fight, an activity we do not commonly associate with childish pursuits. (nos. 043-044) The boys are not visibly sickened or upset by the event; on the contrary, their relaxed poses suggest they are fascinated by the spectacle. While the juxtaposition of innocence and violence in these two compositions may seem paradoxical it clearly mirrors a society that did not necessarily regard violent events as unsuitable for a child's viewing. Indeed, Petronius tells us that a young boy was to receive a fine pair of "fighting cocks" from an admirer in return for sexual favors (86).

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[46] Crone (1989), 110.

Roman society from the time of the Twelve Tables to the waning of the Empire may be characterized as violent and aggressive. Violence was not fundamentally indiscriminate; rather it was carefully conceived and controlled to serve a variety of purposes. Without a police force as we know it, harsh sentences for breaching the law were designed to deter members of society from willful action, and to discourage individuals from taking the law into their own hands.[47] Thus, disobedient slaves and criminals were tortured publicly by the application of boiling pitch, plates of red hot metal, or flaming torches to the skin.[48] We know also that prisoners of war were executed in public, largely as examples of what happened to soldiers who were on the losing side in war. Hopkins maintains that not only men and women but children witnessed such an event.[49] Moreover, human beings as well as animals were pitted against one another in the amphitheaters for the enjoyment of all citizens, and Roman children could accompany their parents to such an event.[50] Tacitus sardonically maintains that Roman children develop a passion not only for theater, but horse-racing and gladiatorial shows *in utero* (Tac. Dial. 29).

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[47] Wiseman (1985), 6.

[48] Wiseman (1985), 5.

[49] Hopkins (1983), 2.

[50] See Cic. Att. 13.44.2 and Epict. 3.25.

But children did not need to be playing in the streets or taken to public executions by their elders to observe acts of violence. Corporal punishment of slaves is well attested within the Roman household. A recurrent theme in comedy and satire are slaves who, for a variety of offences, are repeatedly subject to *verbera*.[51] Ovid noted the skills of his paramour's *ornatrix*; the hairdresser was so adept she never gave her mistress cause to "grab a hair pin and stab her in the arm" (Ars. 1.43). Children, young girls particularly, often appear in paintings or reliefs depicting women at their toilet.[52] While such renderings may simply be artistic convention, they may also represent a very real event in the lives of young females; girls could easily have witnessed the type of punishment meted out to 'incompetent' slaves. Servile children, in addition to observing the treatment of other household slaves may have been the recipient of beatings themselves, not only from adults but from young masters as well. Children from affluent backgrounds were provided with their own personal slaves at a relatively young age and enjoyed close friendships with these children during childhood.[53] In the normal course of play how might the free-born child respond to being bested by a social

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[51] Saller (1990), 158; Mart. 3.94, Petr. 49, Juv. 14.63.

[52] See Deiss (1985), 74, for one such example.

[53] Dixon (1988), 128.

inferior? Apart from threatening the slave child with expulsion from the game, the socially elite child, in a fit of pique, could well have resorted to striking his or her servile companion. An exhibition of such behavior would not be entirely without justification. Roman children, as we have seen earlier, had a great propensity for acting out events that were witnessed in the adult world. Elite children could have and no doubt did parrot their elders in the treatment of their own slave companions. The hierarchical nature of pre-industrial societies, such as Rome, demanded that every individual understand his or her position on the social ladder, obey superiors and command the respect and obedience of inferiors.[54] Children, along with adults, had to be taught the ways of society: why not begin the teaching process at an age when, as so many authors have pointed out, children are most impressionable?

Although ancient authors disagreed on the efficacy of corporal punishment for free-born children, it should be noted that these children were not exempt from corporal punishment.[55] Beatings were inflicted on children from privileged backgrounds within the school environment; inattention to studies and excessive concentration on games could well result in a smarting backside. Schoolmasters

[54] Crone (1989), 99.

[55] Saller (1990), 162-4.

such as the immortal 'Orbilius of the rod' had great authority over their young charges and were not loathe to punish any misdemeanor.[56] But while the theme of the "*magister* whipping his students" is a convention of Latin literature and appears in Roman art, it is unlikely that free-born children experienced beatings on the scale of those a servile child might anticipate.[57] Bradley's discussion of child labor in the ancient world, for instance, provides a poignant image of the physical punishment sustained by child laborers.[58] Of particular note is the case of the young apprentice, who was blinded when struck with a last by the cobbler who employed him (Dig. 9.2.5.3; 19.2.13.4). There is also the testimony of Lucian who recalls the severe beating he suffered for breaking a slab of stone as a mason's apprentice (Somn.3-4). Admittedly Lucian was not a small child at the time the beating occurred; nevertheless his declaration is characteristic of the type of treatment non-elite children might be subjected to throughout their lives. Given the institutionalized violence in Roman society it should come as no surprise that children were not shielded from gruesome events

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[56] Mart. 14.18, Hor. Ep. 2.1.71, Juv. 7.210, Aug. C. D. 1.14.

[57] Saller (1990), 163.

[58] Bradley (1991), 112-116.

such as cock-fights,[59] and may even have actively participated as Herodian implies in his comment on two brothers who quarrelled regularly over quail-fights (3.10).

CONCLUSION

Ancient historians have investigated a variety of child-related topics such as wet-nursing, exposure, family structure, marriage, and heirship strategies, but the general tenor of such works underscores the subordinate role of the child in Roman society. Indeed, the central thesis of Wiedemann's book is that children were 'marginal' beings and that "pagan Romans had a substantially less romantic view of bringing up children than recent generations of Europeans".[60] But such statements belie Roman parental concerns for the healthy development and education of offspring as evidenced by a study of toys and games. There certainly is no denying the fact that the ancient world placed greater emphasis on a child's contribution to family and society in deference to the child's own hopes or aspirations; or that society seems to have measured the accomplishments of 'ideal' children by how well they exemplified the name and status of the parents. Cicero's

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[59] Golden (1990), 64, maintains cock-fights were also a part of a Greek boy's up-bringing, because they prepared boys for war.

[60] Wiedemann (1989), 42.

daughter Tullia, for example, resembled her father not only in face but also in comportment and it is the latter that Cicero seems to have prized above all else (Q.fr. 1.3.17). This same theme emerges in Pliny's remembrance of Minicia Marcella: "[she] was her father's living image in a wonderful way" (Ep.5.16.9). Familial and social continuity demanded the careful nurturing, shaping and molding of children, and the child's subordinate status should not automatically relegate him or her to a peripheral role; children were pawns in the power struggles of elite families and an economic asset in less-privileged ones. As we can see from the work of modern sociologists and child psychologists, children have a lot to learn before they can participate successfully in society. It would be deceptive to assume however that then, as now, toys and games carried similar connotations. The work of these theorists has been used strictly as a guideline for studying ancient toys and games and in formulating hypotheses about the ways in which toys were used in antiquity, and in our efforts to comprehend the function of toys and games in Roman childhood we discover that the child's contribution to society was truly significant.

CONCLUSIONS

The primary sources comprise a plethora of authors who, in their descriptions of activities such as whipping a top, gambling with nuts, and skipping rocks at the seashore, attest to the vivacity and delight of children. Powerful politicians and gentle philosophers alike were aware not only of the idiosyncrasies of children, but also of their familial and social value. But when we rely upon ancient authors, such as Cicero and Epictetus, to determine whether Romans had affectionate attitudes toward and interest in children, or to reconstruct a picture of childhood in antiquity, we are confronted with a bias. The overwhelming majority of writers were educated males from privileged classes, who typify a very small percentage of Roman society as a whole. To what degree can their opinions and perceptions be taken as normative? The work of some writers, moreover, may be romanticized because it is embellished with idealized remembrances or memories of their own childhood.[1]

In contrast, modern scholars such as Bradley, Dixon, Garnsey and others have shown that the life of the average Roman child was far from uncomplicated. Garnsey, following Hopkins, estimates that a staggering 28% of Roman infants

[1] See for example Persius' account of growing up (1.8), Cicero's fond recollection of his boyhood (de Ora. 2.2), and how Lucian recalls modelling small wax figures of men and animals, as a boy (Somn. 2).

died within the first year of life, and that 50% of children died before the age of ten.[2] Children in less-privileged families probably suffered from malnutrition, for family finances would have permitted only "inadequate supplementary foods" once children were weaned from their mothers.[3] Bradley contends that wetnursing practices point to "general disruption" of physical and possibly emotional contact between parent and child.[4] Roman parental attitudes to children must certainly have been affected by these harsh realities. Although such comments discourage a roseate view of childhood, within the Roman context it is still possible to discern a good deal of parental interest in children, especially older children. An examination of play and toys, the subject of this thesis, is one way of illustrating that concern, and the fact that childhood was clearly recognized by Romans as a distinct phase of the life cycle.

The preserved remains illustrate that throughout childhood some Roman children had access to various kinds of toys. Different toy media, such as ivory, silver, cloth and terracotta, may be indicative of aesthetic preferences, but they strongly support too the proposition that both improvised and manufactured playthings were available to

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[2] Garnsey (1992), 51-52; Hopkins (1983), 225.

[3] Garnsey (1992), 63.

[4] Bradley (1991), 29.

children of all social ranks. By and large the toys are well-designed and fashioned with care, which may indicate that Roman society recognized the efficacy of toys in child development and attempted to provide children with an array of appealing playthings. In spite of the prevailing male-female polarization of Roman society, it appears that toys and games were not used to stereotype Roman children. Young girls may certainly have imitated their mothers or nurses when playing with female dolls, and boys clearly enjoyed games involving leadership, but there is little to suggest that parents and child-minders categorized toys according to the sex of a child; nor, as one might have expected, do the ancient authors speak of particularly boisterous activities as suitable for male children only. In fact, Roman adults seem to have been content simply to let children play.

Among the art historical representations we find perhaps the most insightful *exempla* of Roman society's attitudes toward children. In a funerary frieze from a child's sarcophagus in the Chiaramonti Museum (no. 050), thirteen male and female children are playing with nuts. Nuts are regarded as children's playthings throughout the primary sources, so the choice of composition is not unusual. What is remarkable, however, is a small detail that depicts one boy mischievously pulling the hair of another. Similarly, the small boys shown on the sarcophagus

of Lucius Aemilius Daphnus carry nuts in the folds of their tunics; and amid the portrayals of children not included in the catalogue is a fourth century mosaic from Piazza Armerina in which a small boy is holding a puppy on his lap, mercilessly squeezing the poor animal by the neck.[5] In each case, the craftsmen have taken the time to incorporate a singularly childish peculiarity, one which can only have been achieved through keen observation. Are we to assume that artists and artisans alone took the time to note the mannerisms of children?

One aspect of children's history alluded to only incidentally in this thesis is that of keeping pets. Keith Thomas characterizes pets in the modern historical period as "company for the lonely, relaxation for the tired, a compensation for the childless",[6] and the same might also be said of pets in antiquity. Pets are often seen perched in the laps of children on sarcophagi, or cradled in little hands on tombstones.[7] Birds, cats, small lap dogs, and even lambs appear to have been favored by children. Pets may have provided a bulwark against loneliness for some children, as pets and plush toys do for many contemporary

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[5] See Toynbee (1973), pl. 49.

[6] Thomas (1983), 118.

[7] See True and Koch (1990), 28, pl. 22-24.

children,[8] and both the primary sources and the material record provide solid evidence of the Roman child's love of animals.[9] Other children undoubtedly learned about responsibility through the care and feeding of their pets (particularly in homes where slaves were not assigned this task). Although probable, it is difficult to ascertain whether parents regarded pets as constituents of childhood, or beneficial to the development of children. The mere fact, however, that parents permitted children to keep pets further supports the view that Roman parents were concerned not only with the future social and financial well-being of their children, but with their present comfort and happiness.

Finally, how do we account, for the tender feelings about children evinced by such men as the Epicurean philosopher Lucretius, the passionate Catullus, and the consummate poet Vergil? Lucretius speaks of "sweet children [who] race to win the first kisses and thrill your heart to its depths" as the "prizes of life" (3.896).[10] Catullus describes how the infant Torquatus stretches out his hands

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[8] Sutton-Smith (1989), 50.

[9] Hor. S. 2.3; Ov. Met. 10. 260; Petr. 46, 71; Plin Ep. 4.2. For just a few examples of children and pet animals see Wiedemann (1989), pl. 22; Veyne (1987), 84; 184; Jashemski (1979), 102; Toynbee (1973), pl. 28; pl. 49. Pobé (1982), pl. 221.

[10] . . . *dulces occurrent oscula nati praeripere et tacita pectus dulcedine tangent.*

from his mother's lap and smiles "a sweet smile at his father with lips half-parted" (61.209).[11] Vergil prompts a newborn child: "begin baby to know thy mother with a sweet smile, to thy mother who has endured ten long months of waiting" (Ecl. 4.60).[12] Tibullus' *vernula* prattles (1.5), Martial's darling slave-girl lisps (5.34), and Cicero's Tulliola is petulant because a gift promised has not yet been delivered (Att. 1.8, 1.10). It may well be true that Romans held a less romantic, more practical view of child-rearing than European societies of the modern era, and that mother-child relationships in Roman society were not characterized "by tenderness and affection, so much as moral strength".[13] But this does not alter the fact that many Romans were clearly affected by and sensitive to the needs of children. Familial and social continuity demanded the careful nurturing, shaping and modelling of children, and both the preserved remains of toys and the primary sources on play illustrate that Romans generally were very much aware and sympathetic to the needs of one of their most precious resources.

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[11] *Torquatus volo parvulus, matris e gremio suae, porrigens teneras manus, dulce rideat ad patrem, semihiante labello.*

[12] *Incipe, parve puer, risu cognoscere matrem (matri longa decem tulerunt fastidia menses).*

[13] Dixon (1988), 236.

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