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A PART OF THE FAMILY: FUNERARY PREPARATIONS FOR CHILDREN AND
ADOLESCENTS IN LATE PTOLEMAIC AND ROMAN EGYPT

by

Branson Anderson

A Thesis

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

Art History

The University of Memphis

May 2021

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Dedications

This thesis is dedicated to my family and friends, who have supported me throughout my academic journey.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr. Lorelei Corcoran for all of her help and support through my time working on this thesis and my time here at the University of Memphis. My time working on this thesis has occurred alongside the COVID-19 pandemic, and she was a light during a very stressful year for all of us. Without Dr. Corcoran's expertise and insight, this work would not have been possible. I want to thank Dr. Podzorski for her expertise and help in creating my tables. I would also like to thank Dr Patricia Podzorski and Dr. Benjamin Graham for agreeing to be on my thesis committee and for their expertise and aid. Lastly, I would like to thank my fellow graduates for their friendship and support. Everyone at the University of Memphis - faculty, staff, and my fellow students, has helped to create a positive work environment that has allowed all of us to achieve academically.

Abstract

Children in Roman Egypt lived in a complex, multi-cultural world. Due to the numerous risks to life at the time, children and adolescents died at rates much higher than today yet they do not appear in the archaeological record as often as one might expect. Nevertheless, their sometimes elaborate burial preparations, incorporating native Egyptian and Hellenistic religious and artistic traditions, reveal that they were valued members of their families and of society. This thesis presents a catalog of child burials in Roman Egypt and will discuss which religious motifs and art styles the families of the deceased drew upon, how the age group the child belonged to affected their burial, and how child burials in Roman Egypt compare to burial practices in other provinces of the Roman Empire such as Gaul, Britain, north-central Africa, Sardinia, and the Italian peninsula.

Table of Contents

Chapter	Page
1. Introduction	1
2. The Iconography of Child Burials	13
Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies	15
Coffins and Masked Mummies	23
Shrouds	27
Undecorated and Unwrapped Mummies	29
Conclusion	30
3. Death and the Stages of Childhood	31
Newborns, Infants, and Toddlers	35
Pre-Pubescent Children	40
Adolescents	44
Conclusions	46
4. Comparing Child Burials Across the Roman Empire	49
Child Burials in Roman Egypt	49
Kellis 1 and 2, Dakhleh Oasis	51
Saqqara	54
Deir el-Medina	56
Hawara	57
The Roman Empire Outside Egypt	60
Roman North Africa	61

Northwestern Provinces	67
The Italian Peninsula and Sardinia	71
Conclusion	75
5. Conclusions	76
Bibliography	81
Appendix A	88
Figures	89
Appendix B	93

List of Figures

Appendix A

Figure	Page
1. Age of Child at Death Chart	89
2. Sex of Child Chart	89
3. Map of Ancient Egyptian Sites	90
4. Servilii Family Relief, 10491, Museo Gregoriano Profano	91
5. Iunii Family Altar, 2886, Museo Nazionale Centrale Montemartini	91
6. Roman Child Sarcophagus, 1973,0103.15, British Museum	92
7. Roman Child Sarcophagus, 1805, 0703, 144, British Museum	92

Appendix B

Table: Summary of Corpus Object Information	94
---	----

Corpus of Objects

Plate	Page
Portraits	
1. EA 21809, British Museum, London	102
2. CG 33240, Egyptian Museum, Cairo	103
3. ÄM 11413, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin	104
4. 31161, Antikensammlung, Berlin	105
5. 31161 41, Antikensammlung, Berlin	106
6. Hawara Portrait #4, Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary	107
7. 78.AP.262, Getty Museum, Los Angeles	108

8. Male, National Museum of Archaeology, Athens	109
9. National Museum of Archaeology, Athens	110
10. ÄM 11412, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin	111
11. 1989.06.0001A, Spurlock Museum, University of Illinois	112
12. EA 21810, British Museum, London	113
13. EA 13595, British Museum, London	114
14. UC 19609, Petrie Museum, London	115
15. UC 19613, Petrie Museum, London	116
16. 11.139, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	117
17. 18.9.2, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	118
18. 09.181.4, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	119
19. 6-21378b, Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley	120
20. 75.AP.87, Getty Museum, Los Angeles	121
21. X 432, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna	122
22. X 303, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna	123
23. I.1.a5780, Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow	124
24. I.1.a5776, Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow	125
25. 54.197, Brooklyn Museum, New York	126
26. 41. 848, Brooklyn Museum, New York	127
27. EA 74719, British Museum, London	128
28. UC 19607, Petrie Museum, London	129
29. UC 38102, Petrie Museum, London	130
30. 11.2892, Museum of Fine Art, Boston	131

31. E16212, Penn Museum, Philadelphia	132
32. 918.20.2, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto	133
33. 6-21377, Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley	134
34. 51.342, Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest	135
35. 1971.137, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	136
36. 7.2, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart	137
37. SR 133, Egyptian Museum, Cairo	138
Coffins, Mummy Cases, and Cartonnage Mummies	
38. EA29588, British Museum, London	139
39. F 1980/1.12, Leiden Museum	140
40. EA 22108, British Museum, London	141
41. EA 6708, British Museum, London	142
42. NMR.26.1, Nicolson museum, Sydney	143
43. RC-22, Rosicrucian Museum, Los Angeles	144
44. ÄM12125, Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin	145
45. 1048, Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim	146
46. EA 29589, British Museum, London	147
47. A.1956.357; A.1956.357A, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh	148
48. 1914.715, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland	149
49. 2230, Museo Egizio, Turin	150
50. E 12379, Musée de Louvre, Paris	151
51. 00.2.38, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York	152
52. 48.225, Seattle Art Museum, Seattle	153

53. 12.182.46, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 154

Shrouds

54. EA 6715, British Museum, London 155

55. I.1.a5749, Pushkin Museum of Fine Art, Moscow 156

56. EA 6709, British Museum, London 157

57. AN1913.924, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 158

58. 79.AP.219, Getty Museum, Los Angeles 159

59. AF6486, Musée de Louvre, Paris 160

60. N 3076, Musée de Louvre, Paris 161

Partially or Fully Unwrapped Mummies

61. EA6723, British Museum, London 162

62. EA54053, British Museum, London 163

63. EA30363, British Museum, London 164

64. EA30362, British Museum, London 165

65. EA30364, British Museum, London 166

66. DUROM.1985.61, Oriental Museum, Durham 167

Introduction

Egypt during the first five centuries of the common era was a crossroads of cultural syncretism involving native Egyptian and Greco-Roman funerary beliefs and practices and their artistic expressions. Greco-Roman or Egyptian religion and art was dominant by varying degrees depending on where in Egypt one lived, as well as the ethnicity of one's family. Diseases, nutritional deficiencies, accidents, and foul play all posed a danger to sub-adults and contributed to the high childhood mortality rates of the period. The socio-cultural, economic, and spiritual expectations Roman Egyptian society had for children and adolescents also influenced the choices people made for their burials. In the case that a child died, most families chose to give them the best burial that fit their economic, social, and spiritual needs.

Religious motivations for mummifying an individual in ancient Egypt largely stem from pharaonic Egyptian concepts of the afterlife, which involved the deceased either joining the sun god Ra on his daily journey in the solar barque or merging with the chthonic god Osiris.¹ Pharaonic era motivation for the care, preservation and adornment of the dead was as much motivated by religious concerns and emotional attachment as social expectations.

In Roman Egypt, many options for the funerary preparations of a mummified body were available from various artisans that incorporated traditional Egyptian funerary motifs and Greco-Roman and Egyptian forms of sculpture and painting. Depending on the age, sex, and socio-economic class of the deceased, one could be buried with a mummy portrait or a cartonnage or stucco mask, be mummified without a mask or portrait or, in rare cases, be cremated. Also, coffins were quite rare, but some from this period have been found in the archaeological record.

¹ Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries AD) with a catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 56 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1995): 49-50.

The application of the wrappings and funerary art would have occurred after the embalming and before the deceased was given back to the family. Family would have come to view the mummy before it was taken to be buried,² which has led some scholars to theorize that funerary art mainly served to garner “social capital” through a display of disposable income.³ With respect to the burial of children, however, the burial of some infants and neonates in amphora and baskets, as discussed in this thesis, argues persuasively against this theory,⁴ since these burials would not have been expensive yet also demonstrate that the family cared about their child and wanted to bury them regardless of public opinion.

Due to the fact that roughly half of children died by the age of five, the mortality rates were much higher than today yet children do not appear in the archaeological record as often as one might expect. Children have, therefore, often been neglected in past scholarship due to their underrepresentation, but studying them as a social group with data from the mortuary sphere provides the opportunity for a fuller view of Roman Egyptian society. In this thesis, I will address what types of burials, funerary art, and religious motifs were afforded to Roman-Egyptian children, how the stages of childhood affected these religio-artistic decisions, and how child burials in Roman Egypt compare to other parts of the Roman Empire. Although more data

² Dominic Montserrat, “Death and Funerals in the Roman Fayum,” In *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1997): 34. Montserrat, (ibid, 39), does not, however, believe that mummies were displayed in the home for periods of time because homes would not have been large enough to make long-term display realistic.

³ Mauren Carroll, *Infancy and Earliest Childhood in the Roman World: “A Fragment of Time”* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).; Jason Mander, “Mors immatura, portrait of children on Roman funerary monuments in the west,” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2008).

⁴ Lynn Meskell, “Dyjnq Young: The Experience of Death at Deir el-Medina,” *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13 (1994): 38-39.

has recently become available regarding child burials, this thesis is one of the first studies to attempt to treat the subject synthetically.

For the purposes of this thesis, I have compiled a corpus of sixty-six examples of child and adolescent mummy portraits, masked mummies, coffins, shrouds, and unwrapped/undecorated mummies selected from the online collection databases of the museums that curate them. The corpus is divided into three groups based on age: infants and toddlers (children under 5), pre-pubescent children (aged 5-15), and adolescents (15-20) based on social transition points during childhood such as average age of weaning, the age when infant mortality rates started to decline, and the average age of the start of puberty in antiquity. They are identified based on type of object, and any available information on the sex or age of the deceased. The provenience and present location of each object has also been noted. Often, the ages of the deceased was difficult or impossible to ascertain, as many portraits and masks were separated from their mummies during their original excavation. The portraits and many of the masks were made using naturalistic portraiture characteristic of the Greeks and Romans but almost all of the religious motifs used with the mummies are Egyptian in origin so that for the individual families, who decided whether they preferred Greco-Roman or Egyptian styles of funerary art, Egyptian beliefs and motifs were evidently the most popular although trends amongst the local populace at the time, as well as the style of art amongst the local artisans, must have played a part as well. These child mummies and funerary arts have not been studied together outside of larger comprehensive studies with adult material, so grouping them together in this corpus allows for analysis of the differences between age groups.

After arranging the groups and analyzing the iconography of the examples in the corpus, the differences between the stages of childhood and how they manifest in funerary art became

more apparent. For infants and young children, the goal of the funerary art was to mourn the lost potential of the child, while older children and adolescents were given funerary art more similar to those of adults, their achievements displayed through their portraits. These groupings were also beneficial for studying the percentage that each group makes up in the archaeological record and the differences between the number of boys and girls. Societal expectations and the changing roles of children as they aged are reflected in funerary art as much as sex, location, and socio-economic status.

The cities in Egypt that had a larger presence of Greek settlers tended to have larger cemeteries with mummy portraits, shrouds, and naturalistic masks. Regional identity, mostly stemming from individual cities and trends in art can be seen between objects from different sites, so studying the context in which Roman child mummies were found is crucial. Four main sites in Egypt are the source of the greatest number of Roman period mummies that allow for case studies of children within a cemetery population. By studying the funerary material at these sites within Egypt, comparisons across the Roman Empire become possible. As Greek and Roman culture and art were used for funerary art in Egypt, studying other provinces across the Empire revealed how far and wide-reaching Greek and Roman culture and art influenced local populations. From North Africa to the British Isles, Roman culture interacted with local traditions in ways that connect the lives and deaths of children and adolescents across the Empire.

Although there is a general lack of scholarship dedicated to child remains in Egypt, there has been extensive scholarship on Roman mummy portraits and funerary art in Egypt. Among the earliest publications, by archaeologists excavating sites in Egypt in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are the journals and excavation reports of Sir W.M. Flinders Petrie, focusing on his

excavations of the portrait mummies at Hawara.⁵ Child portraits and mummies were noted in these early works, but they were not studied in-depth apart from their adult counterparts.

Roman Egypt as a time period was undervalued in scholarship in Egyptology and Classics for a long time. Many Egyptologists were not interested in these later post-Pharaonic periods, while the Classicists were not interested in studying Roman Egypt. Signaling a rise in interest in the portrait mummies that would continue through the next decades was the publication in 1966 by Klaus Parlasca of *Mumienporträts und Verwandte Denkmäler*,⁶ which was one of the first modern studies of portrait mummies since Petrie's excavations.

Six important publications on mummy portraits and funerary art in Roman Egypt would follow in the next few decades. In 1995, Lorelei Corcoran published *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*,⁷ and Euphrosyne Doxiadis published *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt*.⁸ In 1997, M.L. Bierbrier published *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, which included chapters by experts on the subject that were given as presentations during a 1995 international colloquium of the same name.⁹ In 1996, Barbara Borg published her dissertation *Mumienporträts: Chronologie und kultureller Kontext*, in which she used hairstyles

⁵ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, London: The Leadenhall Press, 1889.; Flinders Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)*, London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1911. Also, Flinders Petrie's journals can be read digitally at <https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-1>

⁶ Klaus Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und Verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1966).

⁷ Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries AD) with a catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 56 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1995).

⁸ Euphrosyne Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995).

⁹ M. L. Bierbrier, *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1997).

to date the portraits to the reigns of Roman emperors.¹⁰ Susan Walker and Morris Bierbrier's 1997 catalog, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, accompanied the British Museum sponsored exhibition of the same name which also toured New York.¹¹ Christina Riggs published *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* in 2006 that included not only portrait mummies, but also a wider variety of objects including shrouds, coffins, and masks.¹² All of these scholarly publications provided a unique perspective on portrait mummies, and all of their corpuses included funerary art of children and adolescents. Although there was a growing amount of literature regarding burial in Roman Egypt, there were few focused on children.

Beginning in the 1990s, scholars became more interested in studying children on their own and knowing more about the place of children and adolescents in the archaeological record. Most of the literature published before 2000 discussed individual child mummies that were the subjects of more intensive study. Lorelei Corcoran's article from 1985 "Hawara Portrait Mummy No. 4," was the first of a number of scholarly publications about this particular mummy.¹³ More recently in 2019, this mummy became the subject of a multi-disciplinary book titled *Portrait of a Child: Historical and Scientific Studies of a Roman Egyptian Mummy*.¹⁴ Also, the portraits of

¹⁰ Barbara Borg, *Mumienporträts: Chronologie und kultureller Kontext* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1996).

¹¹ Susan Walker and M. Bierbrier, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (A catalogue of Roman portraits in the British Museum)* (London: British Museum Press, 1997); Susan Walker, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000).

¹² Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

¹³ Lorelei Corcoran, "Hawara Portrait Mummy No. 4," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 190-193.

¹⁴ Essi, Rönkko, Taco Terpstra, and Marc Walton, *Portrait of a Child: Historical and Scientific Studies of a Roman Egyptian Mummy* (Northwestern University: Northwestern University Press, 2019).

Aline and her two daughters have been the feature of multiple scholarly publications.¹⁵ Dominic Montserrat's article "The Representation of Young Males in 'Fayum Portraits'" was among the first work to examine a corpus of multiple child and adolescent objects on their own.¹⁶

A series of studies in the 1990s and early 2000s greatly expanded our knowledge of how children feature in the demographic analyses of Roman Egypt. These include Bagnall and Frier's *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (1994), in which they published extensive results analyzing ancient census records,¹⁷ and Lynn Meskell's *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* that further laid the groundwork for studying a child's place in society.¹⁸ In 2009, Inge Uytterhoeven published *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*,¹⁹ which also provides contextual information describing the environment children grew up in during this period, such as the climate of the area, the use of the land over time, and the layout of the settlement during the Roman period. Interest in child monuments in the Roman world has also increased since 2000. In 2008, Jason Mander published his doctoral dissertation *Mors immature: portraits of children on Roman funerary monuments in the west*, in which he examines the Roman attitude towards children through six-hundred-ninety portrait

¹⁵ Renate Germer, Hannelore Kischkewitz, and Meinhard Lüning, "Das Grab der Aline und die Untersuchung der darin gefundenen Kindermumien," *Antike Welt* 24 (1993): 186-196.; Jana Helmbold-Doyé, *Aline und Ihre Kinder: Mumien aus dem römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Berlin-Wiesbaden: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017).

¹⁶ Dominic Montserrat, "The Representation of Young Males in 'Fayum Portraits,'" *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993): 215-225.

¹⁷ Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

¹⁸ Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999).

¹⁹ Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement oosterse studies, 2009).

monuments.²⁰ More recently, Mauren Carroll published *Infancy and Earliest Childhood in the Roman World: "A Fragment of Time"*,²¹ in which she discusses *mors immatura* with data from across the Roman Empire. Mander and Carroll analyzed the elevation of the family's social status through the erection of large funerary monuments.

Excavations at Roman-era cemeteries allowed scholars to engage in regional and site-based studies of children within a cemetery population. Meskell's 1994 article, "Dying Young: The Experience of Death at Deir el-Medina," focused on the burials and remains of sub-adults.²² She would publish another article with Dominic Montserrat three years later on Deir el-Medina titled "Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina."²³ These two articles that focus on remains from Deir el-Medina represent some of the earliest publication of modern case studies of child remains from a site, with many more appearing in the following decades. C. A. Marlow's site study, "Miscarriages and infant burials in the Dakhleh Oasis Cemeteries: an archaeological examination of status," focused on the Kellis cemeteries at Dakhleh Oasis in 2001.²⁴ Interest in the Dakhleh Cemeteries has continued over the last two decades, with G.E. Bowen publishing "Child, infant, and foetal burials of the Late Roman period

²⁰ Jason Mander, "*Mors immatura*, portrait of children on Roman funerary monuments in the west," (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2008).

²¹ Mauren Carroll, *Infancy and Earliest Childhood in the Roman World: "A Fragment of Time"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

²² Meskell, "Dying Young," 35-45.

²³ Dominic Montserrat and Lynn Meskell, "Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997): 179-197.

²⁴ C. A. Marlow, "Miscarriages and infant burials in the Dakhleh Oasis Cemeteries: an archaeological examination of status," In *The Oasis Papers 1: The Proceedings of the First Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, edited by A.J. Mills, Oxford, 2001, 105-110.

at Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis, Dakhleh Oasis,” in 2009.²⁵ Articles discussing fetal remains were even fewer in number, and these publications helped to open the door to more discussion on what was once a rarely pursued topic of research. Most recently, articles have been published on the Ptolemaic cemeteries at Saqqara. Previously, scholars had been most interested in Saqqara for its Old Kingdom burial monuments, but studies of the Ptolemaic era remains have increased. Malgorsata Radomska’s “Child Burials at Saqqara Ptolemaic Necropolis West of the Step Pyramid”.²⁶ Radomska’s article on child remains establishes a link between Ptolemaic, earlier Late Period, and later Roman burials through discussion of a site that was used throughout those periods. Case studies from various sites across Egypt allowed for cross-comparisons between regions and cemetery sites from the period.

Increased interest in cemeteries and human remains have contributed to the growing amount of data that physical anthropologists and biologists are able to use to test new scientific methods of analyzing remains. Walter Scheidel’s research on death, disease, and health in Roman Egypt focuses extensively on the experiences of children during this period and the evidence from their remains.²⁷ The excavations at Dakhleh Oasis provided S.M. Wheeler with material for his article on the disease and nutritional markers in the bones of sub-adults found there.²⁸ The growing interest in general in Roman Egypt in the last forty years, the more recent

²⁵ G.E. Bowen, “Child, Infant, and foetal burials of the Late Roman period at Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis, Dakhleh Oasis,” In *L’enfant et la mort dans L’Antiquité. Actes de la table internationale organisée à Alexandrie, Centre* (Paris: Centre d’études alexandrines, 2009): 351-372.

²⁶ Malgorsata Radomska, “Child Burials at Saqqara Ptolemaic Necropolis West of the Step Pyramid,” *Études et Travaux* 29 (2016): 169-202.

²⁷ Walter Scheidel, “Age and Health in Roman Egypt,” *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, Stanford University, February 2010: 1-12.; Walter Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt*, Leiden: Brill, 2001.

²⁸ S.M. Wheeler, “Nutritional and Disease Stress of Juveniles from the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt,” *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 22, 2 (2012): 219-234.

interest in children in the archaeological record, and new scientific advancements have all contributed to the growing literature on Roman Egyptian children in the last twenty years.

Although there is a growing amount of scholarship about children, gaps still exist in the literature. New approaches that seek to combine scientific analysis, art history, and archaeology are bringing together many fields into the cooperative study of ancient childhood. Archaeology and Egyptology present unique opportunities for collaborative research between STEM and social scientific approaches to the study of burial. Through this analysis of the art afforded to deceased children, the contexts of their burials, demographic information about their lives, and scientific data from their remains, a wider image of childhood in Roman Egypt can be achieved.

In Chapter 2, the iconography used in shrouds, mummy portraits, coffins, and masks is discussed and used as a point of comparison between individual objects and sites. As Roman Egypt was a syncretic culture, it is important to designate which iconographic elements, art styles, and religious motifs were native to Egypt and which were imported. These choices regarding which beliefs and art styles the family preferred help to demonstrate what sources informed upon their beliefs regarding death. Iconography is examined from sixty-six funerary objects from nine archaeological sites across Roman Egypt. They represent the funerary art produced for children, commissioned by their families, aged from infancy to late adolescence. Objects are grouped and discussed by type - mummy portraits, coffins, mummy cases, and cartonnage masks, shrouds, and undecorated, unwrapped, or partially wrapped bodies - which allows for patterns and similarities between objects of the same type to be seen. After identifying what iconographic elements and art styles are incorporated into these pieces, these motifs can be compared with those used in other age groups.

The stages of childhood were important for the social and physical development of children in Roman Egypt and their funerary preparations were reflected in these stages. In Chapter 3, the differences in iconography and artistic portrayal of the deceased are compared in the funerary art of different stages of childhood. Three main stages of childhood, infants and toddlers (0-5 years), pre-pubescent childhood (5-15 years), and adolescence (15-20 years) were used to group the corpus objects when the age at death of an individual was known. As many of the ages at death cannot be ascertained with a high amount of certainty, some of the corpus objects were not placed into one of the three age groups, but rather a fourth “age uncertain” group. The differences between burials for children across these three age groups display the varying attitudes towards child death depending on the age of the child. Children develop different relationships to their family and society as they mature. One unexpected outcome of the conclusions from this chapter is that discrepancies between the perceived death rate for these three age groups and how they appear in the archaeological record are present at every site and for all age groups.

Following the investigation of the iconography of funerary art and differences in burial between age groups, Chapter 4 compares the manner of child burials in Roman Egypt with that in other regions across the Roman Empire: Roman north-central Africa, Sardinia, the Italian peninsula, Gaul, and Britain. Roman cultural ideas about childhood death interacted with local beliefs in different ways across the Empire, but patterns across these sites can be observed. Comparisons reveal the overarching themes throughout the Empire regarding ideas about funerary preparations for deceased children.

Child burials have been long undervalued in archaeological research on the cemetery populations of Roman Egypt. As children often had smaller burials with fewer grave goods, they

did not garner the most attention. In the last few decades, more scholars have begun to research and write about the place of children in society and in the cemetery contributing toward discussions of the wider themes of child burials across Egypt as a cohesive whole. This thesis seeks to understand the experience of child death in Roman Egypt, and the wider Roman Empire as a whole, through the evaluation of funerary art dedicated to children during the first few centuries of the common era.

Chapter 2: The Iconography of Child Burials

Every culture experiences unique struggles and circumstances that affect its ability to successfully raise children to adulthood. Disease, famine, war, and unforeseen accidents all posed potential dangers for parents raising children in the ancient world and Egypt during the 1st – 3rd centuries CE was certainly no exception.¹ Ancient Egypt had a long history spanning many millennia and had been conquered by foreign rulers before the Greeks brought Hellenistic culture to Egypt around the 4th century BCE. Mixed communities became melting pots for the exchange of religious ideas and artistic traditions.

These diverse communities gave birth to new syncretic religious ideas and funerary practices that reflected a mixed religious-artistic heritage between Egypt and the Greco-Roman world. With the high child mortality rate of the first five centuries CE, parents in these new communities faced the unfortunate situation of having to bury children and adolescents.² The funerary preparations for young ones were equally representative of the ideal of these communities as were those for adults. Sex, gender, economic resources, religious affiliation, and age of childhood all played key parts in determining what funerary preparations were chosen for the untimely dead.

For most of pharaonic Egyptian history, the ideal preparations for the dead, for certain economic classes, involved mummification, wrapping the body in bandages, and placement of

¹ Susan Walker, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000): 23.

² Walter Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2001)

the body in one or a series of coffins.³ Mummification continued to remain the preferred method of preparing the dead in the Roman period, and a drop in cost and the expansion of the funerary industry made it accessible to a larger percent of the population.⁴ With an increased access to mummification, there seem to have been some mistakes and oversights in the process such as breaks, missing pieces, and signs of rushed treatment evident in the x-rays and CT-scans of remains from this period.⁵ An increase in the demand for mummification, coupled with diverse levels of cost, led to a proliferation in burial options and decoration.

The initial few days after a person died, known as the *peristole*, consisted of the first wrapping of the deceased, as well as visits to the corpse in the home after which the deceased was sent on to the embalmers.⁶ Most of those that were mummified during the Roman period had their bodies prepared in one of a few ways.⁷

Many mummies in this period were not placed inside coffins, but some child-sized coffins have been found.⁸ Like coffins from the preceding periods, they were decorated with religious scenes similar to those found on burial shrouds. Wrapping the body and applying the chosen funerary art was a part of the second stage of preparing the body, after the *peristole*,

³ John Taylor, "Before the Portraits: Burial Practices in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, Susan Walker (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000): 9-13.

⁴ Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement oosterse studies, 2009): 360.

⁵ Lorelei Corcoran Schwabe, "Hawara Portrait Mummy No. 4" *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 71 (1985): 191.; See Plate 12, from the British Museum, as an example. The ribs and vertebrae are out of order, which suggests that the body decomposed before the mummy was prepared.

⁶ Dominic Montserrat, "Death and Funerals in the Roman Fayum," In *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, M. L. Bierbrier (London: British Museum Press, 1997): 33-34.

⁷ Montserrat, "Death and Funerals," 34-35; For an example of a child wrapped but without funerary art, see Plate 61 in Appendix B.

⁸ See Plates 45-49.

known as the *kedeia*. This stage encompasses the preparation of the body, the viewing, the transportation to the burial site, and the funeral meal.⁹ Some have theorized that mummies may have been kept in the home for a period of time before the burial, but Dominic Montserrat disagrees with this theory, since homes were not large enough to realistically store these large mummies.¹⁰ Children who died young most likely had their funeral preparations decided for them by surviving loved ones. The choices that were made for the preparation of the deceased can reveal much about the communities and families that favored them. What choices in burial style and iconography were made for any particular child left clues about how their deaths were processed, what expectations the family held for them, and beliefs about what children could expect in the afterlife.

Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies

The portrait mummies, known by their Hellenistic influence and naturalistic portrayal of the subject from the chest up, have been found in cemeteries and burial sites across Egypt. Portrait mummies could have painted linen wrappings or burial shrouds decorated with iconographic scenes from ancient Egyptian myths and beliefs. Another common covering for the face involved the use of a mask instead of a portrait. Masks were closer to Egyptian traditional burial practices, but the Greco-Roman influence was evident here as well.¹¹ Masked mummies could also have decorated shrouds or undecorated bandages.¹²

⁹ Dominic Montserrat, "Death and Funerals," 34.

¹⁰ Ibid, 39.

¹¹ Gunter Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Weisbaden: F Steiner, 1974).

¹² For examples, see Plates 40-44.

Mummy portraits were a new funerary element in Egypt dating from the 1st-4th centuries CE. This option was popular in and around towns and cities with a Hellenistic, as well as Egyptian, cultural presence. Most of these towns and cities had seen expansion during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods with the arrival of new Greek and Egyptian settlers. The first portrait mummies were found in modern times as early as the 17th century but became well known in academic circles as a consequence of the excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie and others at the end of the 19th century. Many portrait mummies were found at Hawara in the Fayum region, which led to them being known as Fayum portraits, but they have also been found in sites outside the Fayum. Although the portraits themselves were heavily influenced by Greco-Roman approaches to portraying the subject, they incorporated iconographical elements that stemmed from earlier mask types and Egyptian traditions.¹³ If the number of portrait mummies is compared to the total number of Roman mummies found, however, the percentage is quite low. Of the thousands of mummies Petrie found at Hawara, only about 2% of them had a portrait, either on a wooden panel or shroud.¹⁴ Of those, Elisabeth Fugmann and Yvonne Schmuhl estimate that child portraits make up about 6% of the total number of known mummy portraits.¹⁵ With a percentage this low, the portrait mummy type seems to have not been chosen for the majority of children.

With painted mummy portraits, the best place to start an iconographical examination is the portrayal of the human figure itself. In preceding Egyptian tradition, children were

¹³ Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries AD) with a catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 56 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago): 17.

¹⁴ W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Roman Portraits and Memphis (IV)*, London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1911

¹⁵ Elisabeth Fugmann and Yvonne Schmuhl, "Das Mumienporträt eines Mädchens im Bonner Akademischen Kunstmuseum," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 7 (2017): 196.

commonly depicted, naked, as miniature adults, usually standing alongside their parents.¹⁶ Although Greco-Roman art used naturalistic bodily proportions for children, the sentiment that children were as of yet unrealized adults was shared with Egyptians.¹⁷ Occasionally, the very young age of a child was expressed through the shape of their face in a portrait. Infants or children only a few years of age were sometimes painted with chubby or square faces that communicated their youth.¹⁸ These features disappear in painted portraits and naturalistic masks around the time children reached an older age,¹⁹ after which they begin to earn their place as contributing members of society.

In Roman Egypt, this mixing of artistic styles and belief systems influenced how deceased children were portrayed and treated. In Classical Greek art, a three-quarter or frontal view was only used for the dead or the sleeping.²⁰ These views signaled that the person was in a transition between life and death, which fits with the portraits well. The portraits look out at the viewer as if they are still present among the family but they are also gone and have journeyed to the afterlife. If someone had their portrait painted while they were still alive, the portrait made

¹⁶ Nicola Harrington, "A World Without Play? Children in Ancient Egyptian Art and Iconography," In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Childhood*, edited by Sally Crawford, Dawn M. Hadley, and Gillian Shepherd (Oxford: University Press: 2018): 540.

¹⁷ Charles Heiko Stocking, "Greek Ideal as Hyperreal: Greco-Roman Sculpture and the Athletic Male Body," *A Journal of Humanities and the Classics*, 21, 3 (Winter 2014): 47; Thomas Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989): 9.

¹⁸ Annika Backe-Dahmen, "Roman Children and the 'Horus Lock' between Cult and Image", in *Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis*, Valentino Gasparini and Richard Veymiers (Leiden, Brill, 2018): 515.; For an example, see Plate 3 in Appendix B.

¹⁹ Backe-Dahmen, "Roman Children and the 'Horus Lock'," 514-515.

²⁰ Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion in Roman Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 139.

that transition with them into death.²¹ CT-scans have allowed scholars to see that some portraits are well done likenesses of the person, while others have minor or major inconsistencies between the portrait and the actual body. It seems that some portraits corrected physical imperfections or were modeled after premade forms portraits that the artist used as a guide for their portraits.²² For some families, the accuracy may not have been as important as having a representation of their child making the transition from life to death. Since almost every child portrait presents a frontal or three-quarter view from the deceased's right side,²³ those viewpoints, popularized by the Greeks for the deceased, were also used for the dead in Roman Egypt. Ancient Egyptians also used a frontal view in burial masks and coffins to make the deceased's body easily recognizable for the soul. Portraits and masks allowed the living to maintain visual interaction with the deceased, even if it was no longer auditory or physical.

The idea that children were miniature and unrealized adults was supported by the choices in clothing in which children are depicted. The Greco-Roman style of portraiture allowed for more variety in clothing depiction than traditional Egyptian coffins used. Anthropoid Egyptian coffins usually depict the deceased in mummiform with a wig and collar, but as these portraits show the deceased as a still living person,²⁴ clothing that the living wore became an artistic

²¹ David L. Thompson, *Mummy Portraits in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 1982): 8.

²² Thompson, *Mummy Portraits*, 14-15.

²³ For an example, see 33161 (Plate 4) in Appendix B.

²⁴ There is some debate among scholars as to whether these portraits were painted during the subject's life or not. For some discussions about the creation of the portraits, see Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries AD) with a catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 56 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago), 1995, 4-5.; Susan E.C. Walker, "Mummy Portraits in their Roman Context," In *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt*, edited by M. L. Bierbrier, (London: British Museum Press, 1997): 1.

option. Due to their short life spans, deceased children would have had a much lesser chance of having had their portrait painted from life, and the families may have had to commission one at death. At first glance, some clothing choices for child portraits may not seem out of the ordinary but they had iconographic meaning.²⁵ Children were sometimes painted wearing “proleptic dress” clothing that was not typical of their age group but appropriate for adults. Depicting children as older than they were was a way for surviving family members to mourn a child’s lost future while also hoping for a more prosperous and accomplished afterlife. Known as *mors immatura* (“untimely death”), these children missed out on the opportunity to achieve their parents’ hopes and goals for them. Showing them in more adult roles was, therefore, a part of the grieving process.²⁶ Whereas Mander and Mauren Carroll propose that depicting a child this way on monuments was primarily a means for a family to exhibit its expendable financial resources to others, a form of “social capital”,²⁷ this thesis argues that the social and emotional motivations for erecting funerary monuments for *mors immatura* were not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Boys were sometimes shown in military attire, which symbolized unattained civil achievements.²⁸ Young girls might have one shoulder visible with the clothing draped just below it. This was an association with the goddess Venus and her beauty.²⁹ These choices in clothing for child portraits draw heavily on Greco-Roman artistic conventions, beliefs, and social

²⁵ For an example of a child wearing clothing that matches their age, see 18.9.2 (Plate 17) in Appendix B. Note the white tunic and colored clavi.

²⁶ Backe-Dahmen, “Roman Children,” 529.

²⁷ Jason Mander, “Mors immatura, portrait of children on Roman funerary monuments in the west,” (PhD diss., Oxford University, 2008).; Mauren Carroll, *Infancy and Earliest Childhood in the Roman World: “A Fragment of Time,”* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

²⁸ Annika Backe, “Römische Kinderkleidung zwischen Realität und Repräsentation,” In *Das Bild vom Kind im Spiegel seiner Kleidung* (Berlin, Schnell & Steiner: 2015): 68.

²⁹ Backe, “Römische Kinderkleidung,” 65.; See Plate 3 in Appendix B below for an example.

expectations for a proper life as a citizen of society. Associating children with deities would have aided in their achievement of a blessed afterlife. Mixing associations with Roman and Egyptian gods was common in this period. Egyptian or mixed families may also have associated their deceased with Greco-Roman gods, as well as Egyptian ones, to give their deceased family members the best chance of currying divine favor for their afterlife.

Besides the iconographic references conveyed by their clothing, the children were often shown holding or wearing items of iconographic significance. Gold leaf was used in the application of wreaths onto certain portraits. These wreaths were either applied using diamond/rhomboid-shaped stencils or more naturalistic leaf shapes.³⁰ Barr, ten Berge, et al calculated that approximately 8.4% of mummy portraits have wreaths.³¹ Wreaths, in both funerary art and as funerary equipment, could symbolize multiple meanings in Hellenistic and Egyptian traditions. For the Greeks and Romans, laurel wreaths were awarded upon an important athletic victory.³² Myrtle wreaths were used for the initiates of the Eleusian mysteries of Demeter and Kore.³³ In pre-Hellenistic Egypt, wreaths were presented to those deceased that had successfully passed the weighing of the heart ceremony in the afterlife.³⁴ In Egyptian tradition, gold was associated with divinity, particularly with the sun god and his daily journey of rebirth.³⁵

³⁰ Judith Barr, Clara M. ten Berge, Jan M. van Daal, and Branko F. van Oppen de Ruiter, "The Girl with the Golden Wreath: Four Perspectives on a Mummy Portrait," *Arts* 8 (2019): 12.; For an example of stenciled gold wreaths, see Plate 23 in the Appendix B.

³¹ Barr, ten Berge, et al, "The Girl with the Golden Wreath," 12.

³² Lorelei Corcoran and Marie Svoboda, *Herakleides: A Portrait Mummy from Roman Egypt* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010): 32.

³³ Backe-Dahmen, "Roman Children," 534-535.; Backe-Dahmen notes that almost all representation of child initiates of Eleusis are male.

³⁴ Corcoran and Svoboda, *Herakleides*, 34.

³⁵ R. S. Bianchi, "The Mummy as Medium: A Provocative New Study Links Roman-Era Fayum Portraits to Pharaonic Religious Beliefs," *Archaeology* 48.6 (1995): 61.

Gold wreaths were gilded versions of plant wreaths and flowers that also were depicted in the portraits frequently.³⁶ Since wreaths could associate a person with a particular cult, with athletic prowess, or with a pleasant afterlife, there is no one explanation for all uses of wreaths in child portraits.

Many of the subjects of the portraits have flower wreaths on their heads or hold bunches of flowers, usually in their left hand. Greeks and Egyptians both had traditions of giving flowers to the deceased.³⁷ Greeks introduced roses to Egypt, and flower wreaths and bouquets increased in popularity in funerary art.³⁸ Similarly to the gilded versions, these flower wreaths can be identified with divinity and resurrection through comparison to the sun god's crown.³⁹ Also, hand-held bunches of roses in the portraits are similar to those carried by Isis priests, whose cult had grown in popularity during this period.⁴⁰ Hairstyles were also signifiers if a child had been dedicated to a certain god. An example is 78.AP.262 (Plate 7), which is the portrait of a young boy, now housed in the Getty Museum. This boy's hairstyle was one worn by those that had been dedicated to the cult of Isis.⁴¹ Worship of Isis increased dramatically outside of Egypt during this period. Some non-Egyptian children have been depicted wearing the Horus lock to show their association with the Isis cult. For example, depictions of Roman children wearing the Horus lock

³⁶ X 432 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria depicts a young male with a non-gilded wreath. See Plate 21.

³⁷ Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*: 490.

³⁸ Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*, 63.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 62.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 63-64; An example of a child with a rose wreath and a handheld bunch is 41.848 from the Brooklyn Museum, see Plate 26 of Appendix B below.

⁴¹ Backe-Dahmen, "Roman Children and the 'Horus Lock' between Cult and Image", 511-512.

have been found at the Isis sanctuary at Virunum (modern Hohenstein).⁴² All of these iconographical features aided in placing the deceased children as close to the divine and resurrection as possible.

Though the portrait has potential for many iconographic details, the outer wrappings of the mummy were often more plain.⁴³ For the majority of portraits that did not have an accompanying shroud, the wrappings were left mostly undecorated. Often, gilded stucco knobs were added at the points where bandages crossed to make a pattern, as seen on Plate 22 in Appendix B. In the wrappings of the portrait mummies from Hawara, the bandages were wrapped in a pattern that resembled a net, which was a representation of the net-shaped bandages of Osiris.⁴⁴

Inscriptions on either the portrait or the bandages are extremely rare and were not a part of the iconographical scheme. In this corpus, only two portraits have preserved inscriptions.⁴⁵ Dominic Montserrat notes that out of approximately 1000 portraits, only 25 have inscriptions containing the deceased's name. In the few inscriptions for children, "farewell" or the child's age are sometimes included.⁴⁶ These inscriptions served as a final message or gave additional information about the deceased. The small amount of inscriptions that are found on the portrait

⁴² Backe-Dahmen, "Roman Children and the 'Horus Lock' between Cult and Image", 518.

⁴³ Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*, 57.

⁴⁴ Susan Walker, *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000): 47.

⁴⁵ The two with preserved inscriptions are 18.9.2 (Plate 17) from the Metropolitan Museum of Art and 7.2 (Plate 36) from the Landesmuseum Württemberg.

⁴⁶ Dominic Montserrat, "'Your name will reach the hall of the western mountains'. Some aspects of the mummy portrait inscriptions," In *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt: The Proceedings of the Seventh Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, held on 1-4 December, 1993*, edited by D.M. Bailey (Ann Arbor: Michigan, 1996): 177-179.

mummies is uncharacteristic of both Roman and Egyptian tradition. In Greek and Roman tradition, as well as in pharaonic Egypt, written language had been an important method for keeping the deceased person's memory alive to avoid both being forgotten socially amongst the living and forgotten in the afterlife. The lack of coffins, which had traditionally been decorated with written text, partially accounts for the missing linguistic aspects. Also, group burials in this period have fewer stone monuments, which also had featured written language. The absence of language is also in contrast to the Roman family stelae (Figures 5 & 6 in Appendix A), which contained biographical information about the deceased family members. This lack of language is made up, partially, by what the portrait communicates about the individual. Iconographic elements discussed here served to ensure that a child attained, in the afterlife, the full life they missed out on having in this one.

Coffins and Masked Mummies

Mummies with masks made of plaster or cartonnage, their decoration also reflecting a mixed culture, were more common than mummy portraits in the 1st-3rd centuries CE.⁴⁷ They served the same function as pharaonic Egyptian burial masks but portrayed the deceased in contemporary, Roman-inspired clothing with more naturalized hairstyles,⁴⁸ and holding the bouquet of flowers that also appears in the painted portraits.⁴⁹ On some of these

⁴⁷ For a discussion on masks from this period that utilize Egyptian motifs, see the masks from Meir section of Christina Riggs, *The Beautiful Burial in Roman Egypt: Art, Identity, and Funerary Religion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 105-137.; Also for a specific example, see CG33129 in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

⁴⁸ Lorelei H. Corcoran, "They Leave Behind Them Portraits of Their Wealth, Not Themselves: Self-Preservation in the Dress of the Deceased in Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt," In *Dress and Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity: Greeks, Romans, Jews, Christians*, edited by Alicia Batten and Kelly Olson (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2021): 141.

⁴⁹ Montserrat, "Your name will reach," 48.: For an example of a Roman mummy mask, see EA 22108 (Plate 40) from the British Museum. This young girl was the oldest of three children from the grave of Aline. Her assumed family members buried with her included her father who also had a gilded mask, while her sisters and mother had painted portraits.

cartonnage masks, gilding was used on parts or all of the deceased's head and upper body since the arms were sometimes included. Gilding the mask associated the deceased with divinity and the daily resurrection of the sun god, so that they might themselves be resurrected. Some of the faces wear a slight smile, known as an "archaic smile", that was carried over from the previous Ptolemaic period.⁵⁰

As some portrait mummies have decorated shrouds wrapping the body, masked mummies also have decorated fabric placed around the body. The scenes used on these shrouds were similar to those that appear on the portrait mummies. They are all religious in nature and include representations of the necessary steps involved with preparing the body and reaching the afterlife. One of the most common scenes is that of the deceased's mummy laid out on a table being attended to by Anubis or other gods.⁵¹ This scene appears on shrouds used with portraits and masks, as well as on child coffins. Often, it is positioned above or before other scenes relating to the afterlife, since proper mummification was the first essential step. Two other common scenes have associations with the god Osiris. One is Osiris's resurrection scene that doubled as a comparison between the god and the deceased, who sought to achieve the same resurrection. The second Osiride scene is the veneration of the Abydos fetish, a standard that consisted of a wig and feather crown, referencing Osiris's journey to Abydos in Egyptian myth.⁵²

⁵⁰ Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*: 47.

⁵¹ Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*, 59-61.

⁵² M. L. Bierbrier, *Portraits and Masks: Burial Customs in Roman Egypt* (London: British Museum Press, 1997): 47.; For an example of a mummy with both of these scenes, see 1914.715 (Plate 48) from the Cleveland Museum of Art in Appendix B.

These two scenes often accompany each other on the mummies and served to transform the deceased into an Osiris.⁵³

On these mummies, lustration scenes and protective deities were also common. Lustration scenes, often compared to baptisms, were purifications of the deceased by a deity through water being poured on their mummified body.⁵⁴ The lustration purified the body and prepared it for rebirth, and refreshing water was a common motif of resurrection in Egyptian tradition.⁵⁵ Protective goddesses, either as winged humans or birds, were commonly placed around the abdomen area to serve as protection for the mummy. On the bottom of these masked mummies, as well as some portrait mummies, the feet were either painted directly on the shroud or modeled in stucco and placed over the mummy's feet.⁵⁶ Feet were needed for mobility, and the deceased would not have been able to progress into the afterlife without them.⁵⁷

As John Taylor explains, coffins were not as much of a necessity in the Roman period as they had been in earlier periods.⁵⁸ As coffin usage had declined in this period, there are far fewer examples of coffins than portrait and masked mummies.⁵⁹ Child coffins from the Roman period do, however, survive and the decorative programs of these coffins is similar to that found on portrait mummies and masked mummies; images of Anubis attending to the mummy and images

⁵³ Lorelei Corcoran and Marie Svoboda, *Herakleides: A Portrait Mummy from Roman Egypt* (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2010): 86.; For examples of these scenes in Appendix B below, see Plates 1, 12, 39, 40, and 48.

⁵⁴ Bierbrier, *Portraits and Masks*, 47.

⁵⁵ Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt*, 59.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 50.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 50.

⁵⁸ Taylor, "Before the Portraits," 13.

⁵⁹ For six examples of both anthropoid and rectangular coffins, see Plates 41 and 45-49.

of protective goddesses, such as Nut with outstretched wings. The figures depicted on the coffins are painted wearing everyday clothing and may hold the same bouquets of flowers seen in some portraits. Coffins could be made in anthropoid form, which was more aligned to coffin styles in Middle and New Kingdom Egypt, or more rectangular as in Greco-Roman tradition, as well as in Third Intermediate Period and Late Period Egypt.⁶⁰ On some coffins, the deceased was depicted full-length on the coffin lid with Roman dress and Egyptian motifs.⁶¹

Regional and individual artistic styles are evident in portraits and coffins from certain sites, which sometimes aid in ascertaining provenience since similarities in the decoration of objects from a certain site may be due to the style of a particular artisan or school of artists. Scenes that include a divine barque appear on mummies, but are just as common on coffins. Riggs has discussed the inclusion of a scene with the *henu* barque of Sokar that is depicted on the side of a child's coffin in the Saffron Walden Museum that also appears on other coffins from Deir el-Bahri.⁶² Some scenes show the solar boat being pulled by Wepwawets, which were jackal gods that opened the way for the boat.⁶³ The inclusion of this barque motif complements the iconographic theme established by the other scenes mentioned above and is the epitome of this transformation process. Having been properly prepared for burial and resurrection successfully achieved, the deceased can then join the sun god on his divine journey. All of these iconographic scenes related back to traditional Egyptian beliefs about the gods and the afterlife, which shows

⁶⁰ Taylor, "Before the Portraits", 13.

⁶¹ For an example, see Plate 40.

⁶² Christina Riggs, "A Roman Period Child's Mummy in the Saffron Walden Museum," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 99 (2013): 269-270. Sokar was a falcon deity associated with death and rebirth. He was commonly shown alongside and even syncretized with Osiris.

⁶³ Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies*, 52.

the Egyptian influence in these communities. Even though some of the artistic elements may relate more to Greco-Roman tradition than to Egyptian,⁶⁴ the iconography is much more Egyptian than Roman.⁶⁵ All of the funerary motifs seen on the coffins came from Egyptian beliefs and myth.

Shrouds

Burial shrouds, common during the Roman period and decorated with mostly Egyptian motifs, were used on mummies with painted portraits and masks, but were also placed over a mummy as the main covering. Repairs and replacements of shrouds have been noted, even an entirely new shroud could have been placed or tied over an old one,⁶⁶ since faded or damaged shrouds would not have provided the desired iconographic benefits for the deceased. Just as with the portraits and masks, there were regional variances in style and iconographic choices. Although a provenance is not known for most of the shrouds in the corpus of this thesis, the differences in art style between specific sites discussed by Euphrosyne Doxiadis can be used to establish potential places of origin for seven of these shrouds.⁶⁷

Doxiades discusses burial shrouds that were used for children, of which there seem to be three general types. These were the mummiform type, the full-length portrait, and the deceased in the presence of deities.⁶⁸ Doxiadis noted that shrouds that show the deceased in mummiform

⁶⁴ For an example, see Plate 40 in Appendix B.

⁶⁵ Bierbrier, *Portraits and Masks*, 27.

⁶⁶ Maria Cannata, "A Mummy Shroud from Hawara," *JSSEA* 45 (2018-2019): 29,35.

⁶⁷ See seven shrouds included in Appendix B, Plates 54-Plate 60.

⁶⁸ Euphrosyne Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995): 20, 118, and 125.

are characteristic of Antinoopolis.⁶⁹ This type continued the iconographic theme of comparing the deceased to the god Osiris.⁷⁰ This type was often accompanied with religious motifs along the sides and above the figure. The second type has an artistic style similar to that of the portraits. This type of shroud depicted the child in a full-body or upper-body version of the portrait.⁷¹ Fewer religious motifs accompany this type, which relates to the typical decoration of the rhombic-shaped portrait mummies. Unlike other types of shrouds that seem to take their decoration more from traditional Egyptian coffins and mummy wrappings, this type generally limits any decorative elements or scenes to the general area of the person's head and upper body.

The third type of shroud shows the deceased as a living person in a striding pose between two gods. Doxiadis notes that this type is characteristic of Saqqara and that the striding movement of the human signifies a movement between life and death.⁷² In the two available examples, young boys are shown between a mummiform Osiris and Anubis with palace façades around their heads.⁷³ Anubis reaches out both arms to embrace the deceased while Osiris stands behind the deceased. The choice of these two funerary deities continues the theme of resurrection. Even though the decoration of these three shroud types differ in composition, they all sought to ensure the deceased child made a successful transition to the afterlife. Painted

⁶⁹ Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits*, 121.

⁷⁰ For an example, see Plate 57, AN 1913.924 from the Ashmolean Museum.

⁷¹ For two examples, see Plate 54 EA 6715 from the British Museum and Plate 58, 79.AP.219 from the Getty Museum.

⁷² Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits*, 20.

⁷³ For examples of this type, see Plate 55, I.1.a 5749 from the Pushkin Museum and Plate 60, N 3076 from the Louvre.

shrouds were suitable options in place of portraits and either plaster or cartonnage masks, because they served as a visual depiction of the deceased surrounded by popular funerary motifs.

Undecorated and Unwrapped Mummies

Although funerary art reveals information regarding the deceased, the place of origin, and the beliefs of the communities from which they originated, iconographic symbolism is also present on physical bodies themselves. The body itself was the main focus of these funerary preparations, because the deceased needed it for resurrection. Instead of elaborate tombs, extensive grave goods, and even coffins in large part, most funerary art in this period revolved around the body.⁷⁴ The body needed to be protected from possible harm to ensure effective resurrection.

When some of these portraits and masks were first excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was common to remove the mask and portrait and dispose of the body, while other mummies had decayed by the time of discovery.⁷⁵ There are a few examples of child mummies from this period that are, therefore, fully unwrapped or are missing their mask or portrait. In the case of the fully unwrapped children, more evidence of gilding is revealed. Gold leaf was laid on the skin, which is an even closer comparison to the divine associations between gold and the skin of the gods.⁷⁶ The use of gilding on the bodies correlates with the iconographical theme of resurrection and divinity used in the outer funerary preparations.

⁷⁴ Riggs, *Beautiful Burial*, 2.

⁷⁵ Morris Bierbrier, "The Discovery of the Mummy Portraits," In *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*, edited by Susan Walker (New York: Routledge, 2000): 33.

⁷⁶ For an example, see Plate 64, EA 30362 from the British Museum in Appendix B.

Conclusion

As seen by the multiple ways that children's bodies could be prepared for the afterlife, individuals and communities approached death in ways that fit their identities, beliefs, and preferences. Portraits, masks, and shrouds all had unique syncretic iconography that drew from Greco-Roman and Egyptian artistic techniques and religious beliefs. Nevertheless, the popularity of Egyptian iconographic scenes on these mummies demonstrates a preference for *Egyptian* religious beliefs regarding the afterlife and traditional *Egyptian* burial practices and beliefs. Each of the objects in the corpus shows the care someone took to ensure that their child succeeded in achieving the best afterlife possible. Choices in iconography that are similar across many examples show how these people believed their child would safely achieve that transition. Even though children appear less often in the archaeological record, the time, care, and financial resources put into these funerary preparations shows that while complex funerary art was used to communicate a family's social status because being able to afford a funeral for an individual that was a member of such an at-risk group was telling of a family's financial situation, families in antiquity were attached to their children and only wanted the best for them. Families no doubt cared for their children.

Chapter 3: Death and the Stages of Childhood

The reality of childhood loss was an unfortunate part of the Roman Egyptian world and reactions to such loss, as discussed in Chapter 2, led to many examples of expertly crafted burial preparations for the untimely journey of children to the afterlife that largely drew upon Egyptian motifs. Mummy portraits, shrouds, coffins, and masks were available for those families that had the desire and monetary funds to provide a deceased child with funerary preparations. Funerary provisions reveal information about the family's beliefs, culture, and economic standing, while the child's physical remains can be used to deduce how the child lived.

Though archaeologists have found many child remains, there are inconsistencies and questions to be addressed such as why certain age groups make up a larger percentage of the cemetery populations and how much regional/site or cultural differences affect burial practices. One issue is that the childhood death rate during this period and the number of remains found at sites do not always match. Often, sub-adults make up a smaller percentage of a cemetery population than their death rate would suggest.¹ Other than the specific cause of an individual's death, there are quite a few factors that impacted whether a child received extensive funerary preparations and what those were. The economic resources of the family, the sex of the child, and their age at death all factored into what funerary provisions they were provided with. The focus of this chapter centers around how the stage of childhood in which the child died affected their funerary preparations and funerary art.

Roman Egypt provides a unique opportunity to effectively compare human remains found in archaeological contexts to the preserved textual records of the people themselves.

¹ Walter Scheidel, "Age and Health in Roman Egypt," *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, Stanford University, February 2010:2-3.

Across the Roman Empire, censuses were taken but nowhere else in the Empire has as many preserved census records as Egypt. Walter Scheidel says that Egypt conducted a census every fourteen years consistently for the first three centuries of Roman rule.² Although not all of the census records have survived, the records that are preserved allow for detailed studies of the demography of Roman Egypt. Bagnall and Frier published their groundbreaking work, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* in 1994, in which they discuss census records in detail and some of the associated problems. They noted that census returns tended to skew towards the urban; in fact, half of the available census returns come from large cities. Rural areas and villages were under-reported. The majority of villages that are represented are from the Arsinoite nome,³ which includes Hawara.

A skew toward cities correlates with the provenience of a majority of the mummy portraits, shrouds, masks, and coffins that were also found within cemeteries that were associated with a neighboring city. Kellis, a cemetery site located at the Dakhleh Oasis in the western desert, was active throughout the entire Roman period (1st-5th centuries CE). As will be discussed in this chapter and in Chapter 4, the cemetery at Kellis was used before and after the introduction of Christianity into Roman Egypt and contains a large cemetery population in which children and adolescents are a considerable percentage.

The census records, even with an urban skew, contain crucial information concerning children. Bagnall and Frier noted that the lower numbers of young girls appearing in records indicated that they were being under-reported.⁴ Also, there is a drop-off in the records for

² Walter Scheidel, "Age and Health in Roman Egypt," *Princeton/Stanford Working Papers in Classics*, Stanford University, February 2010: 2.

³ Roger S. Bagnall and Bruce W. Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994): 56-57.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 91.

adolescent boys at age 14 that cannot be completely accounted for by death. They propose that, with the beginning of the poll tax for boys at age 14, some families were choosing not to report their sons or lied about their age in order to avoid paying.⁵ Even though young boys and girls disappear from the records, their absence in itself reveals information about their roles in society that played into their treatment if they were to die young.

While the census provides information about the living, human remains can aid in the ascertainment of how each child died. Before discussing stages of childhood, it is important to establish what was causing the high mortality rates for children during this period. Scientific analyses of human remains from across Egypt have allowed for the study of the trends of disease and death. Uytterhoeven places life expectancy at birth in the low-mid-twenties for girls and twenty-five for boys. If girls survived to age ten, their life expectancy rose to around thirty-five. For boys at age five, it rose to forty.⁶ The main reason for this dramatic rise in life expectancy at a certain age was due to the high mortality rate for infants and young children. It is estimated that between 40%-60% of children did not reach their fifth birthday.⁷ Disease, accidents, and nutritional malnourishment all factored into the deaths of these children.

Many diseases in ancient Egypt, to which children were particularly susceptible, varied by region and time of year. For example, deaths peaked in fall and winter in the Delta but appear to have peaked in spring and summer in Upper Egypt and Nubia. This was largely caused by the

⁵ Bagnall and Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, 97.

⁶ Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in the Fayum Village*, Leuven, Uitgeverij en Departement oosterse studies, 2009: 520.

⁷ Nathan Pilkington, "Growing Up Roman: Infant Mortality and Reproductive Development," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44, (2013): 21.

differences in climate, mainly humidity and wetness, between the two regions.⁸ Malaria would have been a much higher risk in the Fayum and Delta regions, especially during the inundation season (June-September). Diarrhea, dysentery, and typhoid were also especially fatal to younger children and infants.⁹ As children got a bit older, they became more likely to contract and succumb to tuberculosis.¹⁰ Risk of dying from disease would have been increased by nutritional deficiencies. Pilkington says that at Kellis during the Roman period, 80% of children under six were stunted in height for their age.¹¹ *Cribra orbitalia*, which is the appearance of holes in the roof of the eye orbit, is caused by anemia. These anemias could be genetic or a sign of diseases, parasites, or nutrition deficiencies.¹² Most child skeletons dated to this period have signs of *Cribra orbitalia*. For example, the remains of nearly all children under three from the late Roman period Kellis 2 cemetery document active *Cribra orbitalia*.¹³ When factoring in accidents, murders, and other potential causes of death alongside these diseases, there were many ways that children and adolescents could die. By being informed on how many children were present in censuses and what children were dying from, a discussion can be held concerning the causes of deaths that occurred in the various stages of childhood.

⁸ Scheidel, "Age and Death", 5; Walter Scheidel, *Death on the Nile: Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt* (Leiden: Brill, 2001): 8.

⁹ Ibid, 6-7.

¹⁰ Scheidel, *Death on the Nile*, 91.

¹¹ Pilkington, "Growing Up Roman," 21.

¹² S. M. Wheeler, "Nutritional and disease stress of juveniles from the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 22, 2 (2012): 224.

¹³ Pilkington, "Growing Up Roman," 15.

Newborns, Infants, and Toddlers

Newborns, infants, and toddlers make up the first of my three stages of childhood. This early stage of childhood is characteristic of children who have not yet been weaned off of milk completely. The weaning of children off of milk was a gradual process, which was completed around the age of three.¹⁴ Slowly, other foods would be introduced until the child was off milk completely. Shortly after weaning, the child's chances of dying young began to decrease. Because of this, I am designating five years of age as the time when children transitioned to the second stage of childhood, which was Pre-Pubescent Childhood (see below).

This first stage of childhood is also the most dangerous for children, since this is the stage when children were most likely to die. As mentioned previously, around half of children died before they reached their fifth birthday. Infants and toddlers were also among the most susceptible to certain diseases. Even though many children did not survive early childhood, the archaeological record reflects something different. Although the death rate was high for infants, they often do not constitute a large percentage of a cemetery population. In most cemetery sites in pre-Christian Roman Egypt, infants and toddlers do not make up over 10% of the deceased.

With a death rate this high for infants (40%-60%), one might assume that there would be many examples of mummified and otherwise buried infants and toddlers but that is not the case. At Kellis 2, which was used after Christianity became prevalent, 30% of the cemetery population is under one-year old. While at the pre-Christian Kellis 1 cemetery, only 10% of the burials are for children under one year old.¹⁵ This rise in percentage of child burials at Kellis 2 is partially

¹⁴ Wheeler, "Nutritional and Disease Stress," 230.

¹⁵ C. A. Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials in the Dakhleh Oasis Cemeteries: An Archaeological Examination of Statue," In *The Oasis Papers 1: The Proceedings of the First Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, A. J. Mills, Oxford, 2001: 107-108.

explained by changing ideas with the introduction of Christianity, which stressed the importance of the preservation of all bodies in a proper burial for the coming resurrection. The earlier Kellis 1 percentage does not match what the death rate suggests. My corpus matches the Kellis 1 percentage closely, with seven of my sixty-six objects being definitively associated with children younger than five years old.¹⁶ From the cemetery evidence, it is clear that a noticeable percentage of young children's remains do not survive in the archaeological record. Parents and families are making different decisions for children in this stage as to their funerary provisions and manner of burial than for older children.

Of the seven mummies from the corpus that are confirmed to belong to Group One, four of them are confirmed to be male by the museums that house them, two are of undetermined sex, and one is female. With infant and toddler mummies, it is often extremely difficult to determine sex, even with advanced scientific technology. The main problem is that most physical characteristics that can be used to determine sex in the bones do not appear until puberty.¹⁷ Also, with bodies as small and young as these, physical remains are more likely to deteriorate. Fortunately, the artistic funerary preparations for the deceased can sometimes be used to estimate sex.

For the two of uncertain sex, there are signs that the child may have been male. EA 29588 (Plate 38) is a mummy prepared in the traditional Egyptian style with a mummiform-wrapped body, completely decorated shroud, crossed arms holding two crooks, and traditional cartonnage face mask. This mummy is dated between the first century BCE and the first century

¹⁶ The seven are EA 22108 (Plate 40), EA 6723 (Plate 61), EA 54053 (Plate 62), F 1980/1.12 (Plate 39), EA 21809 (Plate 1), EA 29588 (Plate 38), and ÄM11413 (Plate 3) in Appendix B.; For a chart showing numbers by childhood stage, see Figure 1 in Appendix A.

¹⁷ Wheeler, "Nutritional and Disease Stress," 220.

CE, which places it at the very beginning of the Roman period in Egypt. EA 21809 (Plate 1) is one of two portrait mummies in this grouping, and the portrayal of the deceased in this portrait suggests a male. The tunic that the child wears in the portrait is white and lacks the lilac, purple or pink colors typically associated in Roman Egypt with female dress.¹⁸ Also, the child wears no jewelry other than a necklace that most likely would have included an amulet pendant. Also, the square face, larger nose, and short brown hair may also suggest a male.

Five mummies are of known sex: four males and one female. The four males are all between a year and a half and three years old, and none of the four are portrait mummies. EA 6723 (Plate 61) is a wrapped mummy with no decorations whatsoever. EA 22108 (Plate 40) wears a golden mask that portrays the deceased in a naturalistic style similarly to portrayals in the mummy portraits. His body from chest down is decorated with traditional Egyptian afterlife motifs. The last male, F 1980/1.12 (Plate 39) is wrapped and decorated in a traditional Egyptian style with afterlife motifs across the body. This pharaonic style shows the deceased in a generalized, less naturalistic and personalized form. The color chosen for the skin on this mummy's decorations is more bright orange than the usual reddish-brown or yellow traditionally associated with skin color in pharaonic Egyptian art. The last male, EA 54053 (Plate 62) is a wrapped but undecorated mummy.¹⁹

The one confirmed female, ÄM11413 (Plate 3), is the youngest daughter at age of death of the woman known as Aline and is one of two portrait mummies in this category of infants and toddlers. Through x-ray and dental analysis, scientists have estimated that she was about two-

¹⁸ Jana Helmbold-Doyé, *Aline und Ihre Kinder: Mumien aus dem römerzeitlichen Ägypten* (Berlin-Wiesbaden: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußlicher Kulturbesitz und Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017): 50-51.

¹⁹ John Taylor, "The Collection of Egyptian Mummies in the British Museum: Overview and Potential for Study," In *Regarding the Dead: Human Remains in the British Museum*, edited by Alexandra Fletcher, Daniel Antoine, and JD Hill (London: British Museum Press, 2014): 111.

years-old at death.²⁰ Although scholars debated about her sex for quite some time, recent opinion and examination of the elements in her portrait have convinced many that she is female.

Although her body wrappings are not decorated, she was painted wearing clothes that would not have been worn by members of her age group. Extremely young children, like her, were instead portrayed in the clothing of adults to mourn the lost potential of adulthood, to communicate social status, and to associate the child with divine attributes.²¹ This young girl was shown in a lilac-colored tunic, a clothing color associated with women, that was draped off her left shoulder associating her with the beauty of the goddess Venus.²² The tunic was the main article of clothing across much of the Roman Empire. It was dyed in many colors and was often accentuated with a belt, colored vertical strips of cloth called *clavi*. *Clavi* were initially a designation of status for the Romans, but they lost that function in Egypt.²³

Although proleptic dress also appears in the portraits of slightly older children as well, the use of it in children so young shows not only the social status and monetary funds available to the family for funerary preparations but also the care and mourning for these children. Proleptic dress was a way for parents to mourn but also to display achievements their children surely would have had if they had lived to an older age whereas proleptic dress is less common in older children who have lived long enough to become more active members of civic society with group associations. The use of Egyptian afterlife motifs and use of divine attributes indicates that aiding the child in their journey to a pleasant afterlife was a goal of the surviving

²⁰ Helmbold-Doyé, *Aline und Ihre Kinder*, 35.

²¹ Janet Huskinson, "Constructing Childhood on Roman Funerary Memorials," *Hesperia Supplements* 41 (2007): 331.

²² Helmbold-Doyé, *Aline und Ihre Kinder*, 50-51.

²³ Corcoran, "They Leave Behind Portraits of Their Wealth," 145.

family. Even though some families may have chosen to spend less on young children as they died so often, families clearly cared about their lost children. Those that commissioned portraits, coffins, and mummification for these seven children were among 1% of the total population, but there were other ways that those with fewer economic means could bury their deceased infants and toddlers.²⁴

In addition to this category of burial with a traditional coffin and mummy, which is the group represented by this corpus,²⁵ Lynn Meskell discusses four other, more affordable categories of burials for infants that were available to all families emotionally motivated to ensure their children were buried. The first is burial within vessels. Infants were small enough to fit in amphorae, and many examples of these types of burials have been found within cemeteries.²⁶ Often, these amphorae were used within the home before burial and almost all families would have had pottery available for use.²⁷ The second type is reused fish baskets, which also would have been available to lower-economic families. Found in earlier New Kingdom burials, this type is the least common.²⁸ The third type is a round or oval basket in which the child was placed and covered in a shroud. The fourth category is burial within reused boxes and chests from inside the home, and these could be interred in cemeteries or directly under the house.²⁹ These categories show the range of options that families had for infants

²⁴ Elisabeth Fugmann and Yvonne Schmuhl, "Das Mumienporträt eines Mädchens im Bonner Akademischen Kunstmuseum," *Kölner und Bonner Archaeologica* 7 (2017): 197.

²⁵ Lynn Meskell, "Dying Young: The Experience of Death at Deir el-Medina," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 13 (1994): 40.

²⁶ Though found at my sites from various period, Meskell only discusses those found at the Eastern Necropolis at Deir el-Medina.

²⁷ Meskell, "Dying Young," 38.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 39.

²⁹ *Ibid*, 39.

compared to older children. Although Meskell's categories date from pharaonic Egypt, they did not fall out of use in the Roman period as child burials of these types are still noted and the percentage of children in cemetery populations. Pharaonic Egyptian burial methods had established a precedent that lasted into the Roman period. The ingenuity used to create unfortunate infant and toddler burials show the immense care for them. For families that could afford it, portraits, coffins, shrouds, and mummification were available, while other families used what was available to them to provide the best burial possible for their children. Infants and toddlers have been overlooked in the archaeological record in the past, but they were clearly not insignificant to the families that lost them.

Pre-Pubescent Children

The second stage of childhood that I have defined for my study of childhood funerary preparations is Pre-Pubescent Childhood. It includes any child who has been weaned off milk but has yet to reach adolescence and the ceremonies involved therein. Children aged five to fifteen fit into this category. Today, many may consider adolescence to begin as early as eleven or twelve, but there is much evidence that it began slightly later in Roman Egypt.³⁰ For young women, the start of menstruation marked the entrance to adolescence, which Roman writers say began around age fourteen,³¹ but it would have varied between each individual. This was the same age as families began having to pay taxes for boys.³² There also would have been certain clothing, amulets, and hairstyles that children discarded ceremoniously around this age as well. Traditionally, free-born Roman boys living in the Italian peninsula during this period dedicated

³⁰ S.M. Wheeler, "Nutritional and Disease Stress of Juveniles from the Dakhleh Oasis, Egypt," *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology* 22 (2012): 221.

³¹ Pilkington, "Growing Up Roman," 25.

³² Bagnall and Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, 97.

protective amulets to the *Lares* (protective deities) around age seventeen and put on the toga of adulthood.³³ Certain hairstyles such as the Horus Lock,³⁴ while being indicative of cult associations, were shaved off once the child reached adulthood.³⁵

For children that survived to this second stage of childhood, they had survived arguably the most vulnerable part of their lives, but diseases, nutritional deficiencies, and even accidents were still a danger to these older children. For children of agricultural families, accidents may have become a greater threat as they got older and were entrusted with more duties. Any suspect deaths, called *mors singularis*, had to be reported to an official called a *Strategos* in Roman Egypt, so there are many records of accidental (and purposeful) deaths of children. Through these records, it can be seen that falls, deaths at sea, fires, cart accidents, and drowning were all common causes of accidental deaths in children.³⁶ Even though the death rate may have been somewhat lower for older children, they have a larger presence in the archaeological record. Besides older children no longer being buried outside of cemetery sites, their bones are also less likely to deteriorate or be mistaken for animal bones as those of infants and toddlers may have been. With all of the possible ways a child this age could die, their funerary preparations can reveal how their parents tried to protect them and what happened when those protections failed.

Dedicating a child to certain gods or goddesses was believed to help protect a child from harm. For those dedicated or initiated into certain cults, clothing or hairstyles were signs of association. In my corpus of sixty-six funerary objects, sixteen of them are confirmed to belong

³³ Veronique Dasen, "Les amulettes d'enfants dans le monde gréco-romain," *Latomus* 62, 2 (April-June 2003): 284.

³⁴ For examples of portraits of boys with Horus locks, see Plates 4, 5, 7, and 8.

³⁵ Salima Ikram, "Barbering the Beardless: A Possible Explanation for the Tufted Hairstyle Depicted in the 'Fayum' Portrait of a Young Boy," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 89 (2003): 249.

³⁶ Christian Laes, "Children and Accidents in Roman Antiquity," *Ancient Society* 34, (2004): 155-162.

to children that fit this age group. One of the more famous mummies that shows divine associations is a mummy portrait numbered 78.AP.262 (Plate 7) in the collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles.³⁷ Called the Malibu Boy in some scholarship, this young boy wears a hairstyle that associates him with the cult of Isis. The Horus lock was a traditional Egyptian style of hair for children of this age group that would have been shaved when the child reached puberty.³⁸ By the Roman period, the Horus lock had become associated with the Romano-Egyptian cult of Isis.³⁹ The two tufts of hair left at the top center of the child's forehead were kept there until the child reached a safe age, at which point they were shaved while the Horus lock was left. A "safe age" would have been after the child turned five and began formal education. This is the point when the chances of untimely death dropped dramatically. If that child had reached that age, the tufts would have been shorn off and dedicated to a god or goddess at a temple. Salima Ikram observed that, in the portrait, the child is also wearing a protective amulet case and his facial coloring indicates sickness.⁴⁰ Amulet cases could vary in shape, and *bullae* and *lamellae* sometimes contained protective spells.⁴¹ The kohl ringed around the child's eyes could also have warded off evil. The parents did all they could to protect their child using amulets and divine protection but it, unfortunately, did not work.

³⁷ The portrait is dated from 150-200 CE and has no provenience.

³⁸ Nicola Harrington, "A World Without Play? Children in Ancient Egyptian Art and Iconography," In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Childhood*, edited by Sally Crawford, Dawn M. Hadley, and Gillian Shepherd, Oxford: University Press, 2018: 542.

³⁹ Ikram, "Barbering the Beardless," 249.; Annika Backe-Dahmen, "Roman Children and the 'Horus Lock' between Cult and Image," In *Individuals and materials in the Greco-Roman cults of Isis: agents, images, and practices*, ed. Valentino Gasparini and Richard Veymiers, Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2018: 510-511.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 250.

⁴¹ Roy Kotansky, *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae Part 1* (Köln: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994): 92.

Another trend with this age group is the larger representation of children overall and especially of girls as compared to the previous group. Though boys are still in the majority, six of the sixteen examples from this group belonged to girls. Amulets for girls also make a large appearance in the funerary art during this period. While amulet cases are used for girls too, lunula pendants are the most common for girls. *Lunulae*, originally of Roman origin, were extremely popular in Roman Egyptian funerary art. Traditionally, they were given to girls and removed and dedicated to the gods at puberty, but they were not quite used the same way in Egypt. Since they appear in portraits of women into adulthood, it has been suggested that lunula pendants were painted on deceased young women to mourn lost potential motherhood.⁴²

Most of the child remains and portraits in my corpus have no confirmed age, so it is likely many more of them fit into this age group. Besides portraits, traditional Egyptian mummies, coffins and shrouds were also acceptable options. The biggest difference between the group of infants and toddlers (Group One) and the group of pre-pubescent children (Group Two) is the difference in the number of human remains and associated burial goods. It is likely that, as children got older, the parents had more time to commission portraits that were painted before the child's death. Also, the loss of an older child may have been less expected. Parents may have been more likely to pay for mummification and funerary preparations for older children whom the parents had grown more attached to and who had become working and valued members of the family. Though the same methods of funerary preparations were used, the ways of depicting and mourning a child shifted depending on the age of the child.

⁴² Essi Rönkkö, Taco Terpestra, and Marc Walton, *Portrait of a Child: Historical and Scientific Studies of a Roman Egyptian Mummy* (Northwestern University: Northwestern University Press, 2019): 32.

Adolescents

The last stage of childhood is defined by the onset of puberty and the ceremonies that incorporate the metaphorical shedding of childhood and the beginning of adulthood. It was around age fourteen that the Horus lock would have been shaved, protective amulets and dedications may have been given to the gods, and the boys would be eligible for the poll tax,⁴³ so by age fifteen the children would have entered early adulthood. The end of this stage is somewhat fluid, due to this being the transition to adulthood and the onset of physical puberty differing for each person. For the purposes of this discussion, the ending of this stage will be age twenty. Once in this stage of life, women and men would be eligible for marriage but most would not marry right away. Bagnall and Frier note that, by age twenty, 3/5 of women were married. With the average age gap between husband and wife being 7.5 years, young men were marrying later than that on average.⁴⁴ Socially, the end of this stage of childhood comes when the person marries and leaves his/her parents' home, but biological adolescence may have continued into marriage.

The causes of death for adolescents were of the same nature as for younger children. Disease and accidents were the most common, even if the specific diseases and accidents changed somewhat. Work-related accidents, deaths at sea, and gymnasium accidents were common causes of accidental deaths for teens.⁴⁵ Different diseases, such as tuberculosis, were more deadly for teens than younger children.⁴⁶ The death rate was lower for adolescents than for

⁴³ Ikram, "Barbering the Beardless," 249.; Bagnall and Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, 97.

⁴⁴ Bagnall and Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, 113,118.

⁴⁵ Laes, "Children and Accidents," 157.

⁴⁶ Scheidel, *Death on the Nile*, 91.

younger children and their untimely deaths more often resulted in more complex funerary preparations.

As adolescents were on the cusp of marriage and having families of their own, untimely deaths would have been particularly tragic for families left behind. Adolescent burials most resemble the burials of adults, which can sometimes make it difficult to distinguish between them if the skeleton cannot be properly analyzed scientifically. In my corpus of sixty-six objects, fourteen of the group are confirmed adolescents and all are male.⁴⁷ Without analyzing the body itself, males are often easier to identify in portraiture and on shrouds thanks to one popular feature. Most adolescent males are portrayed with downy or light facial hair. Mustaches are the most common for young men of this age, and the light facial hair was meant to be a clear indicator of their age at death. Adolescents were in the peak of their physical perfection, and a young man killed in the peak of sexual health and just before marriage was a huge loss for a family.⁴⁸ Dominic Montserrat notes that there are about fifty portraits of men with light facial hair that go up in age as high as the early twenties.⁴⁹ Relating to the gymnasium deaths mentioned previously,⁵⁰ some portraits show young men without clothing, perhaps to indicate their athleticism.⁵¹

⁴⁷ For a chart organizing my corpus by sex, see Figure 2 in Appendix A

⁴⁸ Dominic Montserrat, "The Representation of Young Males in 'Fayum Portraits'," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993): 216.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 217.

⁵⁰ The gymnasium was a facility in which boys would practice sports, such as javelin throwing, that one may associate with the Olympics. The gymnasium was a Greco-Roman institution in origin. One death of a teen in a gymnasium was purposeful when a peer threw a javelin at him, killing him. The perpetrator was then executed by being thrown into the sea.; Christian Laes, "Children and Accidents in Roman Antiquity," *Ancient Society* 34 (2004): 157.

⁵¹ For a discussion of interpretations of nude torsos depicted in mummy portraits see Lorelei H. Corcoran, *Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt (I-IV Centuries AD) with a catalog of Portrait Mummies in Egyptian Museums*, *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 56 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1995): 70-

Besides portraits, coffins and shrouds were used for adolescents as well. A shroud, numbered I.1.a5749 (Plate 55), now located in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow was used for the burial of an adolescent male. The face of the young man was removed from an original shroud and sewn onto this second one. The color difference between the square piece of fabric with the face and the rest of the shroud is the main visual indication that the two were not originally one piece.⁵² This would suggest that descendants cared for the mummy and performed necessary upkeep and repairs after the original shroud had deteriorated. The young man is shown in a striding stance between the Egyptian funerary gods Osiris and Anubis, and he holds a scroll in his hands.⁵³ Even though there are many confirmed burials of young men, burials of adolescent women are much harder to identify without scientific examination. Unlike the portraits of adolescent men, who sometimes have light facial hair as an identifier, adolescent women's portraits and mummies can appear identical to those of adult women.

Under-representation of young women in the archaeological record compared to men fits with the surviving census records. Bagnall and Frier note that young girls appear less in census records, particularly in large cities.⁵⁴ On the other hand, adolescent women make up a larger percentage of all age groups in the census records compared to adolescent men, which is partially explained by the under-reporting of adolescent men to avoid taxes. It is important to remember that mummification and funerary preparation were often more complex and more elaborate for

71.; Dominic Montserrat, "The Representation of Young Males in 'Fayum Portraits,'" *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993): 221-224.

⁵² Euphrosyne Doxiadis, *The Mysterious Fayum Portraits: Faces from Ancient Egypt*, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1995, 20.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 187.

⁵⁴ Bagnall and Frier, *The Demography of Roman Egypt*, 81.

men and those that could afford it.⁵⁵ A family would have been more likely to spend more money on the funerals of older children and especially for male children. Lynn Meskell notes that, in pharaonic Egypt, women of wealthier families tended to control a smaller amount of the family's wealth, and women of lower economic classes had more financial equality.⁵⁶ Because portraits, shrouds, and coffins cost more than the average family could afford,⁵⁷ these wealthy, patriarchal families would be the ones commissioning them.

These burials show that age, sex, and socio-economic status all had an equal effect on what funerary preparations a child received. For families of lower economic means, child burials were more egalitarian and were closer to adult burials than were those commissioned by families of higher social status as they would not have had as much disposable income for elaborate burials regardless of the deceased's age at death.⁵⁸ A common metaphor for childhood for the Romans compared childhood to a ripening corn crop.⁵⁹ A child taken so close to the ripening of the crop, while also being the economic loss of an able-bodied worker for the family, was a tragedy for the child and an emotional loss for their family.

⁵⁵ Meskell, "Dying Young," 37.

⁵⁶ Lynn Meskell, *Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999): 155-156.

⁵⁷ Lorelei H. Corcoran, "They Leave Behind Them Portraits of Their Wealth, Not Themselves: Self-Preservation in the Dress of the Deceased in Mummy Portraits and Portrait Mummies from Roman Egypt," In *Dress and Religion in Mediterranean Antiquity: Greeks, Romans, Jews, Christians*, edited by Alicia Batten and Kelly Olson (London: Bloomsbury Press, 2021): 140.

⁵⁸ W. A. Daszewski, "Child Burials of the Roman period in the necropolis of Marina el-Alamein, Egypt," *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité Types de tombes et traitement du corps des enfants dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine: actes de la tableu*, (2012): 285.

⁵⁹ Thomas Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989): 9.

Conclusion

High childhood mortality rates in Roman Egypt unfortunately ensured that most families had to deal with the loss of at least one, if not multiple, children. The average woman had to have between 4.5-6.5 children to successfully replace herself depending on how many of her children survived.⁶⁰ Infants and toddlers had the highest mortality rate. Although the most options for burial existed for that age group, they appear least frequently in the archaeological record. That families appear to have spent less money on infant and toddler burials on average, is most likely due to the frequency of infant deaths and not a lack of emotion or care for the children. Some families still chose to commission mummy portraits and mummify these children, while poorer families chose goods from their home to hold these small children. There were fewer burial options for older children, because their remains could no longer fit inside pottery or a basket. Older children died somewhat less frequently. Older children were given burials that more closely resembled those of adults.

Adolescent burials for young men shifted focus on what their current achievements were and not what they missed out on. Their funerary art mourns that they died in the prime of their lives. Adolescent young women continued to be mourned for their loss of potential motherhood and marriage. All three age groups have a higher representation of males than females. The largest differences in manner of burial between age groups appears to be a difference in emotional response on the part of the surviving family and mourning what could have been or what was. As a child matured, they had time to build a social identity, which could be shown in their portraits, shrouds, and coffins. The shifting place of the child in the family throughout the stages of childhood was reflected in their burials.

⁶⁰ Pilkington, "Growing Up Roman," 6.

Chapter 4: Comparing Child Burials Across the Roman Empire

This examination of the funerary preparations for children in Roman Egypt (Chapters Two and Three) provides evidence that the burials of children drew from native Egyptian traditions, as well as elements rooted in Hellenistic traditions. The preservation of textual records and material remains demonstrates that Greek and Roman artistic styles and religious motifs were combined with those of the Egyptians to create a syncretized burial culture that was unique in the Empire. Egyptian and Greco-Roman attitudes towards childhood also informed the roles of children and adolescents in society and how they were buried if they died during any stage of childhood from birth through adolescence.

This chapter will examine how the adoption and adaptation of Greek and Roman traditions with native Egyptian modes of burial as presented at four Roman Egyptian sites in Egypt compares with the burial practices of children from other areas of the Roman Empire during the first few centuries of the common era. Before comparisons can be made, it is important to define the manner in which children were buried in Egypt. Four major sites in Egypt (Figure 3 in Appendix A) have proven vital for the study of the remains of children from the Roman period: the Kellis cemeteries at the Dakhleh Oasis, Saqqara, Deir el-Medina, and Hawara.

Child Burial in Roman Egypt

Before discussing the four case studies from Roman Egypt, it is important to note what aspects of burial in Roman Egypt were taken from pharaonic Egyptian, Greek and Roman burial traditions. In pharaonic Egypt, the funeral was an important step in the journey to the

afterlife.¹ For those who could afford them, lavishly decorated tombs and the Coffin Texts, Books of the Dead, and other underworld texts greatly aided in assuring that the deceased achieved a positive afterlife.² Mummifications, decorated coffins, and shrouds kept the connection between the soul and the body that a person needed.³ For infants, burial under domestic structures rather than in a tomb or cemetery was common.⁴ In later periods, the importance of burial goods declined in importance although the living regularly left food offerings for their deceased relatives. Even though burial goods had fallen out of popularity by the Roman period, the importance of the body, mummification, and artistic depictions of the deceased continued as crucial parts of a funeral.

Mummification was not practiced in Greece. Although cremation was also practiced in certain cities,⁵ inhumation was the preferred manner of burial. In common with the Egyptians, the Greeks believed that the body had to be ritually treated for the soul to properly transition to the underworld. Until the body received a proper funeral, the deceased posed a potential risk for the living.⁶ The untimely dead, known as *aoroi*, were the most dangerous souls, as they were often viewed as vengeful.⁷ Greeks placed stone markers on graves or interred the deceased in

¹ Campbell Price, *Golden Mummies of Egypt: Interpreting Identities from the Graeco-Roman Period* (Manchester Museum: Nomad Exhibitions, 2020): 116-117.

² Aidan Dodson and Salima Ikram, *The Tomb in Ancient Egypt: Royal and Private Sepulchres from the Early Dynastic Period to the Romans* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2008).

³ Price, *Golden Mummies of Egypt*, 118.

⁴ C. A. Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials in the Dakhleh Oasis Cemeteries: An Archaeological Examination of Status," In *The Oasis Papers 1: The Proceedings of the First Conference of the Dakhleh Oasis Project*, edited by A. J. Mills, Oxford, 2001, 107.

⁵ Peter Toohey, "Death and Burial in the Ancient World," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010): 365.

⁶ Sarah Iles Johnson, *Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999): 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 22.

stone tombs.⁸ Aspects of Greek culture influenced Roman practices, and many aspects of Greek burial were similar for the Romans. The largest difference for the Romans was a preference for cremation. Social milestones were an important part of Roman life, and these milestones affected burial choices. No infant that died before age six months was meant to be cremated.⁹ As in Greece, stone burial monuments were available for those who could afford them. Roman monuments were a means to celebrate and commemorate the deceased publicly.¹⁰ Romans and Egyptians shared the view that being remembered after death was very important. Egyptian manner of burial, Greek ideas about the untimely dead, and Roman civic ideas about death culminate in Roman Egyptian burial practices.

Kellis 1 and 2, Dakhleh Oasis

The Dakhleh Oasis lies in the desert 350 km west of the Luxor area.¹¹ There are two major Roman period cemeteries at the site, known as Kellis 1 and Kellis 2. Kellis was the name of the town during its Ptolemaic and Roman era occupation, that is now known as Ismant el-Kharab meaning Ismant the ruined.¹² Kellis 1 is made up entirely of pre-Christian burials, while Kellis 2 includes burials of both Christian and pagan individuals. Kellis 1 is made up of rock cut tombs that contain mummified, as well as skeletal, remains from the second and third centuries CE. Kellis 2 consists of in-ground inhumations in mudbrick-lined graves that date to the third-

⁸ Johnson, *Restless Dead*, 78.

⁹ Naomi J. Norman, "Death and Burial of Roman Children: The Case of the Yasmina Cemetery at Carthage- Part 1, setting the stage," *Mortality* 7 (2002): 310.

¹⁰ Janet Huskinson, "Constructing Childhood on Roman Funerary Memorials," *Hesperia Supplements* 41 (2007): 323.

¹¹ The temples to Tutu, Neith, and Tapsais were the focal points of the pre-Christian era site.

¹² G. Wagner, R. Talbert, Adam Prins, Jen Thum, Jeffrey Becker, Nicola Aravecchia, Tom Elliott, DARMC, Herbert Verreth, Anne User, Sean Gillies, Mark Depauw, "Kellis: A Pleiades Place Resource," *Pleiades: A Gazetteer of Past Places*, last modified August 24, 2017, <https://pleiades.stoa.org/places/776189>.

fourth centuries CE.¹³ C.A. Marlow notes that excavations at the Kellis cemeteries have greatly increased the amount of known child remains, because the physical remains from the site are in a good state of preservation and the children are buried along with adults.¹⁴ These two cemeteries also illustrate the shift in burial traditions and the place of children in society that occurred when Christianity became a prevalent influence.

During the Kellis 1 period, the wealthy dead were buried in mausolea, while others were buried in rock-cut tombs.¹⁵ The graves from this period appear to be family groups, in which children and adolescents were buried with older relatives. Unlike Kellis 2, mummification was still in practice during the Kellis 1 period, which would have been before the complete acculturation of Christianity. The number of individuals under the age of one is much lower here than the anticipated mortality rate, being only 10% of the cemetery population. With it being unlikely that the death rate for infants changed as drastically as 20% between the second and fourth centuries, it appears that the pre-Christian inhabitants of Kellis were choosing to bury infants elsewhere.¹⁶ The fragile nature of infant and fetal bones likely also contributes to the underrepresentation of young children in both cemeteries, as well as the possibility of mistaking those bones for those of animals.

The later Kellis 2 cemetery is representative of that transitional period between polytheism and the rise of Christianity. At Kellis 2, Marlow says that 30% of burials were of

¹³ Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials," 107.

¹⁴ Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials," 107.

¹⁵ G. E. Bowen, "Child, Infant, and foetal burials of the Late Roman period at Ismant el-Kharab, ancient Kellis, Dakhleh Oasis," In *L'enfant et la mort dans L'Antiquité. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à Alexandrie, Centre*, (Paris: Centre d'études alexandrines, 2009), 351.

¹⁶ Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials," 108.

infants under one year of age,¹⁷ while Bowen puts the percentage at 24%.¹⁸ In total, children up to fifteen years of age make up approximately 53.6% of the cemetery population.¹⁹ This is a notably high percentage when compared to Kellis 1 and is likely influenced by Christian ideas of death and burial. Though they almost never occur in pre-Christian burial sites such as Kellis 1, stillbirths and miscarriages appear in the Kellis 2 cemetery population.²⁰ Multiple burial customs were practiced here that continued from the previous polytheistic period, including the use of oil and resin, the lack of extensive grave goods, and the burial of young infants and toddlers inside pottery.²¹ Mudbricks were used to protect some graves. As the manner of burial did not dramatically change between Kellis 1 and 2, the most notable shift is the increase in the percentage that children make up in the cemetery population.

Although the dead at Kellis 1 were buried as family groups, a lack of extensive grave goods can be observed here. Marlow theorizes that the rise in infant and child burials in Christian cemeteries reflects, not a lack of care on the part of polytheistic Egyptians, but rather changing ideas about the afterlife, the child's place in society, and religion. She disagrees with past scholars who theorized that infants in pre-Christian society were undervalued and disposed of under the home out of convenience, and says it is likely that these children were being buried

¹⁷ Ibid, 107.

¹⁸ G. E. Bowen, "Child, Infant, and foetal burials," 355.

¹⁹ The site of Fag el-Gamous has a child pre-Christian cemetery population that comes the closest to Kellis 2, but only reaches 32%; Kerry Muhlestein and R. Paul Evans, "Death of a Child: Demographic and Preparation Trends of Juvenile Burials in the Graeco-Roman Fayoum," In *Children in Antiquity: Perspectives and Experiences of Childhood in the Ancient Mediterranean*, edited by Lesley A. Beaumont, Matthew Dillon, Nicola Harrington, (Routledge, 2021), 537.

²⁰ Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials," 107-108; Christians buried every individual, regardless of age, because they believed everyone would need their body for the resurrection upon Christ's return.

²¹ G. E. Bowen, "Child, Infant, and foetal burials," 357-358.

under domestic buildings in higher numbers before Christianity,²² because it may have been a way for the grieving parents to keep their baby near them, while also providing protection for their other children. As some believed that the untimely dead had been taken by the gods out of favor, the deceased children took on a divine protective role similar in nature to that of the many amulets worn during this period.²³ In contrast, Christians in Kellis 2 saw children as more integrated into religious society, with an equal place amongst adults, at least in the next life.

Saqqara

Saqqara is one of the oldest sites in ancient Egypt and was used as a cemetery for most of Egyptian history. Arguably, the most famous monuments and burials at Saqqara date to the Old Kingdom, but the site was used for burials in most preceding periods.²⁴ The presence of child remains from the Ptolemaic period at Saqqara highlights the transitional period from Ptolemaic to Roman rule. Rock-cut tombs, surface inhumations, and reused Old Kingdom tombs are all forms of burial present at Saqqara during the Ptolemaic period. Like at many other sites across Egypt such as at Hawara and Abydos, venerated older constructions were the focal point of the burials.²⁵ The Ptolemaic graves are found between the Djoser complex and the edge of the dry moat that surrounds Djoser's Step Pyramid and in front of three Old Kingdom cult chapels.²⁶

²² Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials," 107.

²³ Johan H. M. Strubbe, "Epigrams and Consolation Decrees for Deceased Youths," *L'Antiquité Classique* 67 (1998): 50.

²⁴ Christiane Ziegler, "Sépultures d'enfants à Saqqara au 1 millénaire av J.-C.," In *L'enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité. Actes de la table ronde internationale organisée à Alexandrie*, (Paris, Centre d'études alexandrines, 2012), 61.

²⁵ Ziegler, "Sépultures d'enfants à Saqqara," 61.; Inge Uyterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*, Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement oosterse studies, 2009.; Thomas Landvatter, "Burial Practices and Ritual Landscapes at Ptolemaic Abydos: The 2011 and 2012 Seasons of the Abydos Middle Cemetery Project," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 76, 4 (December 2013): 235-245.

²⁶ Malgorzata Radomska, "Child Burials at Saqqara Ptolemaic Necropolis West of the Step Pyramid," *Études et Travaux* 29 (2016): 170.

As was common at other sites, single in-ground inhumations and group burials in rock cut tombs were the manners of burial at Saqqara. Of the group burials at the site, a noticeable number contain the bodies of children. Of the remains studied from seventeen excavations,²⁷ 15% are of children aged up to fourteen, and 3% are aged from fifteen to eighteen.²⁸ These percentages most likely are not as high as the death rate, but they are a noticeable portion of the cemetery population.

A Ptolemaic era child mummy, excavated by Francis Janot from tomb h.A was buried in an Egyptian style coffin. H.A is one of the Hypogeum tombs, most of which contained many sets of remains.²⁹ The child's name is preserved on the coffin, Payetchaouemaouykhonsou, and he was buried with one adult.³⁰ One noticeable difference between Ptolemaic and Roman burials is the decline in coffin popularity. Fewer coffins were used for Roman burials than for Ptolemaic burials, and a lack of extensive grave goods is a common feature of both periods.

Of eighty-three child burials dating to the Ptolemaic period that were found during the excavations of the Ptolemaic necropolis west of the Djoser pyramid, fifty-six of them were interred in the ground. Some of these inhumations were placed within oval cuts directly into the ground. Some had rectangular structures constructed over the grave. Another type of burial was to place the body in a pit or niche cut into an Old Kingdom mastaba or wall of an older burial shaft.³¹ Sixty-three of the children were mummified, the amount of resin used exceeding

²⁷ Ziegler, "Sépultures d'enfants à Saqqara," 61.

²⁸ Radomska, "Child Burials at Saqqara," 170.

²⁹ Ziegler, "Sépultures d'enfants à Saqqara," 63.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 70-71.; It is important to note that the child's name is Egyptian in origin. This was not the case for every child during this period due to Hellenistic influence.

³¹ Radomska, "Child Burials at Saqqara," 171-172.

that used in earlier Pharaonic period mummification. Twenty were placed in coffins. What little funerary equipment was present consisted of jewelry, wreaths, amulets, and one onion.³² All of these items, with the exception of the onion, continued to be popular for inclusion in child burials of the Roman period and are items depicted on mummy portraits of children. This suggests that the importance of amulets, jewelry, and wreaths for the deceased had already become popularized by the beginning of the Roman period.³³ While other grave goods such as those common in the pharaonic period, including furniture, domestic material, and food offerings, had largely fallen out of popularity, these remained. The heavy use of resin during mummification, the declining popularity of coffins, and the percentage of children amongst the cemetery population match trends and numbers for later Roman burials.

Deir el-Medina

Deir el-Medina, like Saqqara, was a site in ancient Egypt with a long history and a changing identity over time. The site was founded during the New Kingdom as a residential village for the workmen and their families who were tasked with the state construction of royal tombs. As state employees, these workmen would have had a guaranteed salary as long as there was construction work available. Over time, the site lost its importance as a residential town but it was not completely abandoned. From the Third Intermediate Period through the Roman period the site was used for burials and religious practices.³⁴ The Temple of Hathor in particular continued to be religiously important, as well as a focal point for these later burials. Deir el-Medina's ancient status as an important site for socio-economically privileged families make it

³² Radomska, "Child Burials at Saqqara," 177.

³³ N 3076 Musée de Louvre, Paris is a shroud for an adolescent male that was found at Saqqara, see Plate 60.

³⁴ Dominic Montserrat and Lynn Meskell, "Mortuary Archaeology and Religious Landscape at Graeco-Roman Deir el-Medina," *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 83 (1997): 180.

important for the study of later child burials as its status continued to attract the burials of the later inhabitants from the Roman town of Luxor.

Montserrat and Meskell note that Roman mummies have been found in many tombs that were reused from earlier periods. The data for their study largely came from the excavations at the site conducted by Bernard Bruyère.³⁵ While he had found remains from other periods, they chose to focus on the Roman period remains. They also note the exceptionally high numbers of female and child mummies buried here. Sixty women and children in total were found within tombs 1332A, 1332B, and 1447. Adult female mummies were interred in separate coffins from other adults, while child mummies had personal coffins or shared a coffin with an adult.

As with group burials at Kellis, Saqqara, and Hawara, many of these tombs appear to have been used by the same family for multiple generations. It appears that some families were choosing to invest in a larger space that could be used for multi-generational burials. Even though people may no longer have lived at Deir el-Medina during the Roman period, the number of burials there from this period show that Roman Egyptians were aware of the site's history and valued it for religious and funerary uses. Burying children, together with their families, at this site placed them within an extensive necropolis of the dead all striving for a positive afterlife.

Hawara

Hawara lies nine km southeast of El-Fajjum and its modern name is thought to derive from the ancient Egyptian *Ht-wrt* meaning "The Great Mansion."³⁶ It was established as a burial

³⁵ Montserrat and Meskell, "Mortuary Archaeology," 180.

³⁶ "Hawara," In *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Band II, ed. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto (Otto Harrassowitz: Wiesbaden), 1072-1073.

site used during the Roman period for the inhabitants of Arsinoe.³⁷ Arsinoe was the capital of the Arsinoite nome, which encompassed the Fayum region. A majority of pharaonic activity in the region consisted of the Middle Kingdom state construction of the pyramids of Senwosret II and Amenemhat III and the Labyrinth, while there was a lack of small-scale residential construction.³⁸ Many Greeks and Egyptians settled in the Fayum during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, which saw the growth of new settlements and the need for more burial sites. The presence of Middle Kingdom pyramids and the Labyrinth drew settlers, as well as tourists to the area. Herodotus himself visited the Labyrinth and claimed it had 3,000 chambers and that no Greek architecture could equal its size.³⁹ The presence of these impressive burial sites of Middle Kingdom pharaohs led to the choice by Roman era Arsinoites to bury their dead nearby.

As with the graves at the other Roman sites previously discussed, a mix of constructed tombs and in-ground inhumations are found at Hawara. Sir Flinders Petrie excavated extensively at the site in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and noted the shallow nature of the inhumations.⁴⁰ The Hawara cemetery was laid out in a similar way to the village, with the constructed tombs being close in size to a dwelling.⁴¹ Although Petrie found no superstructures during his excavations, others such as R. von Kaufmann, who was exploring the site at the same

³⁷ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, London: The Leadenhall Press, 1889.; Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village* (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement oosterse studies, 2009).

³⁸ Claire J. Malleon, *The Fayum Landscape: Ten Thousand Years of Archaeology, Texts, and Traditions in Egypt* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2019): 48-49.

³⁹ Herodotus, *The Histories* 148.

⁴⁰ W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe*, London: The Leadenhall Press, 1889, 20.

⁴¹ Inge Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period: Life and Death in a Fayum Village*, Leuven: Peeters Publishers & Department of Oriental Studies Bondgenotenlaan, 2009, 295-299.

time, reported superstructures in his journal notes.⁴² These tombs would have been used by a family for multiple individuals, sometimes across a few generations. These tombs were partially dug, finished with mudbricks, a shaft leading down to the burials, and a room accessible from the surface.⁴³ The cemetery had paid necropolis workers, who were responsible for making libations and offerings to the deceased in place of the family members.⁴⁴

Hawara is unique from all other sites in Egypt in regard to the number of portrait mummies that were found there. The excavations from Hawara and other sites around the Fayum produced many of the portraits now in museums and led to mummy portraits being called Fayum portraits by some. In addition to the painted portraits, naturalistic masks, Egyptian-style masked-mummies, and coffins have also been found in the tombs. According to Inge Uytterhoeven, children and adolescents make up 7% of the masked mummies and 30% of the portraits of the total excavated at Hawara.⁴⁵ Many family tombs have a mix of portraits and stucco or cartonnage masks. For example, Aline's three children do not all have the same funerary art. The younger two girls were provided with mummy portraits, while the oldest girl in the family tomb had a golden mask instead.⁴⁶

As with other burial sites during the Roman period, grave goods were not extensive at Hawara. It is notable that children seemed to have been given more grave goods than adults.

⁴² Jana Helmbold-Doyé, *Aline und Ihre Kinder: Mumien aus dem römerzeitlichen Ägypten*, Berlin-Wiesbaden: Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preußischer Kulturbesitz und Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2017, 17.

⁴³ Barbara Borg, "Der Zierlichste Anblick der Welt..." *Ägyptische Porträtmumien*, Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Phillip von Zabern, 1998, 17.

⁴⁴ Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 368.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 520.

⁴⁶ Germer, Renate, Hannelore Kischkewitz, and Meinhard Lüning, "Das Grab der Aline und die Untersuchung der darin gefundenen Kindermumien," *Antike Welt* 24 (1993), 188; Helmbold-Doyé, *Aline und Ihre Kinder*, 33.

Flowers and small amounts of pottery are found in many child graves, while toys have also been found in tombs.⁴⁷ The child mummy, dated to 70-120 CE, whose portrait was labeled by Petrie as “no. 4” (Plate 6) was found with four other mummies and, notably, had a scarab placed within her wrappings. She was five years old at death.⁴⁸ In all, the presence of children and adolescents in the cemetery population is exceptional, as well as their grave goods. Though many of the mummies were separated from their portraits and lost during the initial nineteenth and twentieth century excavations, Hawara is still an excellent case study for Roman child burial.

As seen through the above case studies, child burials in Roman Egypt follow a pattern. The body is preserved to the best of the ability of the family, and interred in a group tomb or in a single in-ground inhumation. Young infants were sometimes buried in amphorae or under domestic structures. A small amount of grave goods may be afforded, which includes jewelry, pottery, and flowers. Funerary art commemorating the life of the child and their lost future is present if the family could afford it. Religious motifs invoked were usually Egyptian in nature, while Hellenistic and Egyptian art styles were chosen at the discretion of the individual family. Now that the criteria for the burial of Roman children and adolescents in Egypt has been established, they can be compared to other places across the Roman Empire.

The Roman Empire: Outside of Egypt

As has been established in Chapters One and Two, Greek and Roman artistic styles, religion, and ideas about death and childhood were syncretized with those of the Egyptians during the first few centuries CE. Egypt was a very important province of the wider Roman Empire, which included the entire Mediterranean basin. Rome spread its culture to all corners of

⁴⁷ Uytterhoeven, *Hawara in the Graeco-Roman Period*, 487-491.

⁴⁸ Essi Rönkkö, Taco Terpestra, and Marc Walton ed, *Portrait of a Child: Historical and Scientific Studies of a Roman Egyptian Mummy*, (Northwestern University: Northwestern University Press, 2019): 26-36.

the empire to varying degrees. Sites from Roman Africa, the Italian peninsula, Sardinia, Gaul, and Britain show how Roman beliefs and practices mixed with local ones and affected the burials of children across the Empire's many provinces.⁴⁹

Roman North Africa

By the first and second centuries of the common era, Rome had control of the entire northern coast of Africa. Scholars have often been most concerned with Egypt and Punic-era Carthage when studying Rome in Africa, but there were many other important sites, especially for burials. In modern Algeria and Tunisia, the ancient burial sites of Setif and Yasmina contain large numbers of Roman era burials. Setif, in modern Algeria, has a large necropolis that served a 4th century town.⁵⁰ The colony had been occupied earlier, but the remains were fewer. Yasmina cemetery, in modern Tunisia, is a large site that served Carthage after it was refounded by Augustus as the capital of Africa Proconsularis, and the cemetery was used from the 1st to the 5th centuries CE.⁵¹

Roman era burials at Setif lie in the eastern necropolis. There are 360 tombs in total from the site that can be assigned to one of three phases (labeled by Guéry as Old, Intermediate, and Late phases).⁵² These phases have been deduced by the layering over one another of a mix of cremations and inhumations at the site.⁵³ The child burials of the oldest phase are cut into the

⁴⁹ John Pearce, Martin Millet, and Manuela Struck, *Burial, Society, and Context in the Roman World*, Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2000.; Thomas Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989.

⁵⁰ Paul-Albert Février and Roger Guéry, "Les Rites Funéraires de la Nécropole Orientale de Sétif," *Antiquités Africaines* 15, (1980), 91.

⁵¹ Naomi J. Norman, "Death and Burial of Roman Children: The Case of the Yasmina Cemetery at Carthage- Part 1, setting the stage," *Mortality* 7, (2002): 303.

⁵² Février and Guéry, "Les Rites Funéraires," 96-99.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 96.

rock, and sometimes include lamps or small amounts of pottery.⁵⁴ All cremations from the site date to the Intermediate period, as do more inhumations. There is a slightly larger amount and variety of burial goods with these burials. The latest phase of burials overlays the cremations. Dating the site has been difficult and has mostly relied on the graves themselves and a handful of coins dated to the fourth century CE.⁵⁵ One of the few coins from the site, dating to the fourth century, was placed at the feet of a child from this phase.⁵⁶

The oldest phase of burials came in three general forms. Type 1-A is a vertical shaft cut into the rock that widens at the bottom with an annex chamber for the body. These contain a few traces of wooden coffins, while other bodies were protected with slabs of stone that formed a protective overhang covering the remains. Only five burials of this type had no burial goods, all of which contained child remains.⁵⁷ Type 1-B consists of a shaft divided at the base into three parallel longitudinal bands. These tombs have vaults with side benches, and niches for the disarticulated skulls that were removed from the bodies of adults and older children to ensure they fit in the small graves. Only young children fit into these narrow tombs so that the skull did not necessarily need to be separated from the body as in the case of older children and adults.⁵⁸ Most of these tombs also have burial goods, with adults appearing to have been afforded the majority of what goods were provided. Type 1-C burials are the latest and the simplest, consisting of a rectangular pit. Many of the skulls have been separated here as well.⁵⁹ A larger

⁵⁴ Février and Guéry, “Les Rites Funéraires,” 97.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 93.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 99.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, 102.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 103.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 104.; A lamb and chicken have both been found in these graves.

percent of the bodies of this tomb type are not protected in any way.⁶⁰ In all, burials from this phase make up 31.90% of the total amount of graves.⁶¹

Children in these graves were sometimes placed in a unique burial position, with their knees apart and feet close together. This position resembles a sleeping infant and only children were buried like that. Some of the tombs contain the remains of animals. In tomb 301, a chicken is placed in lieu of a missing skull.⁶² Also, a lamb found in a tomb appears, according to texts, to have been offered for a newborn child. This offertory burial relates to the cult of Saturn, which has connections to the Punic, pre-Roman Baal cult, as well as child sacrifices.⁶³ In total, thirty-eight fetuses or stillbirths, thirty-seven children aged up to 3 months, thirteen aged 3-12 months, twenty-nine aged 1-4 years, fifteen aged 4-7 years, nine aged 7-10 years, forty-six aged 10-16 years and ten aged 16-20 were found.⁶⁴ Infants appear as prevalently in the cemetery population here as older children and adolescents do. The scant amount of burial goods for children is comparable to that of child burials in Egypt during this period, with adults receiving more goods. It does appear that covering and protecting the remains of children was less of a concern than for adults, since child remains were more often left unprotected. Although there is no complex funerary art at Setif for children, the attitudes as to whether children of certain ages should be buried and how is comparable to that in Roman-Egyptian society.

⁶⁰ Only 49% of these bodies are protected, while the percentage was 88% for 1-B and 94% for 1-A.

⁶¹ Février and Guéry, "Les Rites Funéraires," 105.

⁶² Ibid, 104.

⁶³ Ibid, 107.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 119.

Yasmina cemetery lies east of Setif outside of the ancient remains of Carthage in modern Tunisia. Burials at the cemetery date from the 1st-5th centuries CE and are a mix of inhumations and cremations. The differences between the centuries reflect the major shift from polytheism to Christianity that occurred across the Empire, as all of the burials from the 1st-3rd centuries CE are cremations, while inhumations become the most popular manner of burial during the 4th and 5th centuries. With the rise in adherence to Christianity in the area, the populace switched to burying their dead rather than cremating them to adhere to Christian ideas regarding the body and death. This religion-driven shift in manner of burial occurs during the same period at Kellis in Egypt. Naomi Norman notes that the cremations all occurred outside of the cemetery as there are no signs of an *ustrinum* (crematory) within the cemetery.⁶⁵ Although it may be easy to assume that all burials from the 4th and 5th centuries were Christian, Norman notes that there is not necessarily proof of that. The children in the cemetery population are represented in percentages that more closely resemble those at pre-Christian Roman sites. Polytheistic religious burial practices did not necessitate the burial of every child within the cemetery as Christianity later would. There are twenty-two burials of children under seven years of age, while there are thirty-eight children and adolescents over seven years of age. Notably, there is only one child under six months old.⁶⁶ These later inhumations consist of burials in cists, stone-lined graves, and amphorae burials. Some children, whose bodies were too big to fit in an amphora were placed in wet plaster.

The children were not buried amongst the adults, and were clustered around the 2nd century cremation monuments. A stone monument for Tertullus served as a focal point for these

⁶⁵ Norman, "Yasmina Cemetery Part 1," 305.

⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 305.

burials. Tertullus was an official who had helped to oversee and organize the resettlement of Carthage by the Romans.⁶⁷ Ashes were found in the graves, which may suggest fires dedicated to underworld deities.⁶⁸ Norman notes that the ashes may suggest proof of a pre-Christian burial tradition, which required child funerals to happen at night with torches meant to calm the child's spirit or dispel pollution that emanated from the death of a child.⁶⁹ While some sacrificial fires were dedicated to gods, others were legal in nature. Pigs were sacrificed at the graves of children to legally mark them.⁷⁰ Burial goods were rare, but what jewelry was found all laid in child burials with bells and medallions being notable inclusions.⁷¹ Also, the lack of young infants further suggests that locals were still conforming to the Roman tradition of burial by forty days-of-age and six months-of-age milestones.⁷²

The evidence from the burials indicates that burial customs were syncretized from Roman and local Punic traditions. Carthage had a history of child sacrifice before the Romans, but the practice was already in the decline by the 2nd century BCE. The cult of Baal, which was the focus of the sacrifice, continued during the Roman period as well as the cult of Saturn.⁷³ Instead of children, animal sacrifice was substituted, which relates to the Setif site as well (see above).

⁶⁷ Jennifer Marilyn Evans, "The Tertullus Monument: A Funerary Monument from Roman Carthage," Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Georgia, 2006, 129-130.

⁶⁸ Norman, "Yasmina Cemetery Part 1," 306-308.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 310-312.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 312.

⁷¹ There were also some bells and medallions found in child graves.

⁷² Norman, "Yasmina Cemetery Part 1," 310.

⁷³ Naomi J. Norman, "Death and Burial of Roman Children: The Case of the Yasmina Cemetery at Carthage- Part II, The Archaeological Evidence," *Mortality* 8 (2003): 38.

At another area cemetery at El Djem in Tunisia (known as Thysdrus by the Romans) a larger amount of grave goods were afforded for the dead and red ochre was used on remains, which indicates native Punic traditions. El Djem was a cemetery dedicated to children. It was protected by the local goddess Tanit who had become Romanized as Diana/Caelestis.⁷⁴ Remains document an average age of death for children at twenty-five months. At another nearby site in the region, a Roman villa in the area contained the remains of thirty-five individuals buried under the domestic structure, with adults and children buried together.⁷⁵

All of these sites in the Carthage area demonstrate that local burials syncretized the Punic history of the area with Roman traditions and beliefs. As the preferred method of burial shifted from cremation to inhumation, the locals did not abandon polytheistic burial traditions. Children at Yasmina, unlike Setif, were granted more grave goods than adults. Notably, there were no group tombs at designated cemetery sites in the area, and single inhumations were preferred. Like many sites in Egypt, the deceased clustered around important local monuments from centuries past. It will be seen that Yasmina is not the only place where children were clustered in a separate section. Yasmina and Setif demonstrate burial methods for children in an area of Roman Africa that is often only mentioned when discussing Rome's triumph over Carthage during the Punic wars.⁷⁶ As in Egypt, Roman burial traditions for children were syncretized with local beliefs and traditions that were clearly important to the families living in north-central Africa.

⁷⁴ Norman, "Yasmina Cemetery Part 2," 42.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 40-44.

⁷⁶ Neville Morley, "'They Called It Civilization': The Dynamics of Cultural Change," In *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism*, (Pluto Press, 2010), 102-127.; Neville Morley, "'Carthage Must Be Destroyed': The Dynamics of Roman Imperialism," In *The Roman Empire: Roots of Imperialism*, (Pluto Press, 2010): 14-37.

Northwestern Provinces

For the purpose of this thesis, the northwestern provinces of the Roman Empire are defined as Roman land northwest of the Italian peninsula on the European continent (approximately modern France, Belgium, and Great Britain). The focus of this section will be on cemetery sites in Roman Britain and the section of Gaul that is now modern France. Though these parts of the Empire may not have a plethora of architectural or textual remains when compared to mainland Italy or Egypt, children and adolescents were a central part of the cemetery population in these regions as well. An important difference between North-Central Africa and Egypt when compared to Gaul and Britain is climate. The wetter and colder climate of Gaul and Britain made the long-term preservation of remains less likely. Complicating matters further, John Pearce notes that the lower mineral content of child bones and the patchy nature of some excavations have hindered our ability to understand what percentage children made up of the total cemetery populations.⁷⁷ Archaeological excavations of both cemeteries and housing settlements in the northwestern regions have provided valuable information on Roman life here.

Roman Britain may have been at the far northwestern reaches of the Empire, but that does not mean Roman culture, religion, and artistic styles had no impact on society. The presence of infant remains in pre-Christian Roman Britain correlates with percentages from other regions of the Empire during this period. Pearce notes that, in almost all cemeteries, infants do not make up more than 2% of the cemetery population.⁷⁸ Infants and young children were sometimes buried along boundaries and ditches. In his survey of the vast number of Roman

⁷⁷ John Pearce, "Infants, Cemeteries, and Communities in the Roman Provinces," In *TRAC 2000: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual Theoretical Archaeology Conference London 2000*, Oxbow Books, 2001, 130-131.

⁷⁸ Pearce, "Infants, Cemeteries, and Communities," 134.

burial sites in Great Britain, Simon Esmonde-Cleary states that only infants and young children were buried intramurally with various kinds of buildings, as well as under enclosure ditches.⁷⁹ The skeletons of multiple children have been found within heat sources such as kilns, ovens, or grain driers, with one juvenile at Godmanchester being decapitated and placed in a kiln.⁸⁰ It is interesting that these children were placed inside sources of heat as these were not cremations. At a villa at Barton Court Farm and at the villa at Hambleden, a special cemetery was dedicated to children. The remains of twenty-one more infants were found under building 3 at Bradley Hill, while the remains of many young children were found under enclosure ditches in Ellis.⁸¹

The biggest difference between Britain and the other provinces is the strong association of children with burial under settlements and domestic structures. As young children lacked a social place in society, they were separated from the rest of society's dead until they reached a certain life point. As seen in Roman Egypt and on the Italian peninsula, milestones in a child's life appear to have dictated how fully integrated they were with adults in life and death. Though burial under houses happens across the Empire, the number of known examples is higher in Britain. Esmonde-Cleary suggests that young children's burials may have acted as fertility talismans that were believed to ensure the family would give birth to additional children.⁸² This is similar to C. A. Marlow's theory that infants were interred under domestic structures in Egypt,

⁷⁹ A. S. Esmonde-Cleary, "Putting the Dead in their Place: Burial Location in Roman Britain," In *Burial, Society, and Context in the Roman World*, edited by J. Pearce, M. Millet, and M. Struck, Oxbow Books, 2000, 132-133.

⁸⁰ Esmonde Cleary, "Putting the Dead in their Place," 129.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 131-133.

⁸² *Ibid*, 136.

because parents did not want to part from their baby and believed their souls would serve to protect surviving children.⁸³

Roman Gaul was closer to Roman Italy in both geographic location and culturally. Like Roman Britain, many in Roman Gaul were Celts, but Roman religion and art had been introduced and syncretized with local Celtic culture. Child remains from the Roman period can be found at quite a few sites across modern France, and an interestingly high number of children were buried at some of the Gallo-Roman cemeteries. At Champ l'Image, children under one year-of-age make up 28% of the cemetery population.⁸⁴ At Les Bolards, neonates are 52% of the cemetery population.⁸⁵ At Chantambre, a site directly south of Paris, extensive archaeological work has allowed for in-depth study of the ages of the cemetery population.⁸⁶

Chantambre cemetery dates to the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE and lies in a rural area. The site was abandoned and covered by forest growth, which saved it from desecration. The site is a mix of inhumations, ossuaries, cremations, and religious deposits.⁸⁷ There were a total of 472 graves from the site, but due to issues of preservation brought on by the climate, only 307 of them could be effectively studied. Through his excavations and work with an anthropologist, Girard divided the bodies into four classes based on age being, perinatals, children, adolescents, and adults.⁸⁸

⁸³ Marlow, "Miscarriages and Infant Burials," 107.

⁸⁴ Pearce, "Infants, Cemeteries, and Communities," 132.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 132.

⁸⁶ Louis Girard, "Les sujets immatures du cimetière gallo-romain de Chantambre (Essonne): Pratiques funéraires," In *L'enfant, son corps et son histoire. Actes des 7èmes journées anthropologiques de Valbonne*, edited by Luc Buchet, Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1997, 211.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 211.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 212-213.

The cemetery population included many sub-adults with 162 perinatals, 39 children, and 9 adolescents. The graves of the perinatals all contained partial or complete pottery vessels in which the young children had been placed. Girard notes that these burials are separated from the others, are shallower in depth, and contain no burial goods. As in Egyptian amphorae burials, the vessels were domestic in origin and could have been used in the home before being used for a burial. 90% of these burials were separated in a section to the west of the cemetery.⁸⁹ Oddly, ten adult burials of undetermined sex were also found in the perinatal section of the cemetery.

The second type of graves, those for pre-adolescent children, are scattered evenly across the cemetery but are shallow like the perinatal graves. Child graves have a layer of ash as well as an introduction of burial goods. The layer of ash is most common for children. It is present in 91% of child graves but only 7% of adult graves. Like the ash used in Northern Africa,⁹⁰ it is likely that it was used in religious or spiritual funerary practices. Children were given ceramic burial goods as well as varying kinds of jewelry.⁹¹ Clearly, children that survived past infancy attained a social position in society that earned them more complex funerary preparations.

Adolescents are represented in far fewer numbers at only nine present. Adolescents were given identical burials to adults, with an even dispersion across the site, complex burial goods, deeper burials, and sometimes coffins.⁹² Other than the individual inhumations discussed, twelve group burials include a child buried with one or two adults. Three burials with three individuals have one child, a man, and a woman, while nine dual burials include one child with one adult;

⁸⁹ Girard, "Les sujets immatures," 214-216.

⁹⁰ Norman, "Yasmina Cemetery Part 1," 307-308.

⁹¹ Girard, "Les sujets immatures," 217-219.

⁹² *Ibid*, 219.

five men and four women.⁹³ It is likely that these are cases of children buried with their parents or other close relatives.

The differences between Gaul and other places in the Empire with respect to children in the cemetery populations is notable. Very few places across the Empire have child and adolescent percentages of the cemetery population as high in the pre-Christian era. Although large scale funerary architecture or art was not common, the stages of childhood, and the treatment as such, match fairly well with those in Egypt. Children receive more complex and adult-like burials once they enter adolescence. Although infants appear much more often in Gallo-Roman cemeteries, older children and adolescents seemed to have a more entrenched place in society.

The Italian Peninsula and Sardinia

The Italian peninsula and the surrounding Mediterranean islands were the seat of the Roman Empire and the heart of Roman culture. Roman cemeteries across the peninsula reveal the stories of those children living there. Unlike some of the other provinces, families that could afford to do so paid for spectacularly carved sarcophagi and burial monuments for their children. Roman societal expectations for children notably affected the kinds of burials different aged children received.

Roman society had many rules and expectations for its citizens, particularly those of the aristocracy. Many Roman writers discuss childhood and what was to be done if a child should pass away. *The Aeneid*, the foundation myth of Rome, discusses weeping infants at the borders of the Underworld.⁹⁴ Plutarch also wrote that young infants do not require burial rites reserved

⁹³ Girard, "Les sujets immatures," 219.

⁹⁴ Virgil, *The Aeneid* 6.426-6.429.

for older children and adults.⁹⁵ The first milestone that earned a child a proper place in Roman social society was their *dies lustricus*, which is their naming day.⁹⁶ Some writers, such as Cicero, encouraged no complaining for the death of an infant, while open grieving for a child was seen as feminine.⁹⁷ For older children, one month of mourning was expected for every year the child lived.⁹⁸ It is important to note that these social expectations were more for the aristocracy rather than the middle and lower classes.

The death rate for children closely parallels that in Egypt, with 60% of children dying before their sixth birthday and 20%-40% dying during their first year. A Roman child entered his second main stage of life at the age of seven when he began his formal education.⁹⁹ For polytheistic Romans, cremation was the preferred method of burial, but there were specific rules for the cremation of children. In theory, infants were supposed to be six months or older in order to be cremated. Younger infants were buried in pits scattered through cemeteries or with older adults.¹⁰⁰ Like mostly every other part of the Empire, these young children were often buried in pottery. These infants almost always have no burial goods, as jewelry was reserved for children older than one year-of-age at death.¹⁰¹ Similarly to other sections of the Empire, children are

⁹⁵ M. Carroll, "Infant death and burial in Roman Italy," *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 24 (2011): 99.

⁹⁶ This was the 8th day of life for girls and 9th day for boys.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 101.

⁹⁸ Carroll, "Infants, death, and burial," 100-101.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, 102-103.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, 105-106.

¹⁰¹ Henry Dunday, "Une inhumation d'enfant dans la necropole de Porta Nocera à Pompéi," *Pour une archéologie du rite: Nouvelles perspectives de l'archéologie funéraire* (2008): 211.

underrepresented in Roman cemeteries. At Sa Mitza Salida Masullas in Sardinia, only one body of seventy was that of a sub-adult.¹⁰²

Many families gave their deceased children the best that they could afford. While showing an emotional response may have been frowned upon in elite Roman society, spiritual objects and monumental architecture allowed parents the opportunity to ostentatiously memorialize their children, because a distinguished burial prevented a child from dropping out of memory, thus avoiding a second, social death.¹⁰³

The Italian peninsula has provided some notable examples of Roman sarcophagi and monuments inscribed with epitaphs erected for children. Funerary epitaphs provided an outlet for parents to express loss and ensure the memory of their children. These epitaphs changed over time, and parents began to express more emotion with the death of a child as the Roman Republic became the Roman Empire. Besides the loss of the child's life, the parents often lament the loss of the care the child could have given them in their old age, as well as the lost *investment* in the child's care. Some seem to insinuate that the child would have been better off not born, while others are more emotional and sorrowful over the loss of a beloved member of the family.¹⁰⁴ Other families were more optimistic about the deaths, with some believing that a premature death was a sign that a child held favor among the gods and had been taken to be with them.¹⁰⁵ The thought that child death meant divine favor was shared with the Egyptians and

¹⁰² Mauro Puddu, *Funerary Archaeology and Changing Identities: Community Practices in Roman-Period Sardinia*, (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2019): 72.

¹⁰³ Hélène Lamotte, "Le Rôle de l'épithaphe dans la Commémoration des Enfants Défunts: L'exemple des Carmina Latina Epigraphica Païens," In *L'Enfant et la mort dans l'Antiquité I: Nouvelles recherches dans le nécropoles grecques le signalement des tombes d'enfants*, Anne-Marie Guimier-Sorbets and Yvette Morizot, Paris, 2010, 363.

¹⁰⁴ Johan H. M. Strubbe, "Epigrams and Consolation Decees for Deceased Youths," *L'Antiquité Classique* 67 (1998): 46-48.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 49-51.

would have been an attractive way to view the loss of a child for some in both groups. These epitaphs are excellent views into the emotions and opinions of the families children and adolescents left behind and how their deaths were dealt with.

Tomb monuments and sarcophagi were decorated with visual representations of the deceased used to communicate something about them while ensuring their memory. On these monuments, children were often represented in adult roles in a similar way to the proleptic dress depicted in the mummy portraits.¹⁰⁶ The Roman versions either used the same proleptic dress or showed the child with the qualities the parents wanted to display, such as freeborn status, education, and beauty.¹⁰⁷ Some families commissioned reliefs depicting multiple family members in a frontal pose. These reliefs are similar in style and view to the mummy portraits and were contemporary in time period.¹⁰⁸ The clothing and amulets in these portraits communicated the child's status. Funerary altars also utilized the same naturalistic depictions as the mummy portraits and allowed for grieving families to ensure that their child held status and meaning in society.¹⁰⁹ Roman sarcophagi were often elaborately carved with scenes of full-length figures along the sides. Child sarcophagi often show scenes of childhood or those of the child in a role they never got to play. Portrait-style carvings of the child's upper body were sometimes included.¹¹⁰ These types of Roman funerary art (tomb monuments and sarcophagi) show the

¹⁰⁶ For examples, see Figures 4-7 in Appendix A.

¹⁰⁷ Janet Huskinson, *Roman Children's Sarcophagi: Their Decoration and its Social Significance*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996, 93.

¹⁰⁸ Janet Huskinson, "Constructing Childhood on Roman Funerary Memorials," In *Hesperia Supplements* 41 (2007): 324-325.

¹⁰⁹ Huskinson, "Creating Childhood," 331.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 335-336.

same methods of portraying children found in many aspects of Roman Egyptian funerary art. Romans, just like Egyptians, were concerned about the memory of their children, as well as mourning their lost lives, potential, and usefulness to the family.

Conclusions

Through this examination of Rome and its provinces, some regional and Empire-wide patterns arise. In almost all regions of the Empire, children are not represented in the archaeological record in a way that fully matches the death rate. Egypt, North-Central Africa, and the Italian peninsula share an affinity for group burials, while Gaul and Britain preferred single inhumations. Most places across the Empire appear to have been generally hesitant to give young children burial goods, with pottery and jewelry being the most common types. Funerary art is rare in most places, but when it is present, it allows the families to ensure the child's memory, utilizes funerary art and monuments as a means to commemorate their children, and to ensure the child's proper transition to the afterlife. Regional and provincial differences are clear, yet, although children had to earn their place amongst the burials of the adults by living through the crucial but dangerous early stages of childhood, their loss was acknowledged at every stage.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Children that were growing up during the first few centuries of the common era in Roman Egypt were a part of a culture that was already ancient but was encountering new cultural ideas. Elements of Hellenistic culture and belief were combined with indigenous Egyptian beliefs and art styles to create a new system of expressing and dealing with death. As children faced many risks from disease, the environment, and physical ailments, they often died untimely and were thus unwitting participants in Roman Egypt's funerary system. Greco-Roman styles of art, added to the indigenous Egyptian art styles, allowed surviving family members even more choices for funerary preparations, depending on their economic resources. Artistic elements and religious motifs in funerary preparations allowed for surviving families to grieve the loss of a child and celebrate what they might have been. The stages of childhood (infancy, pre-pubescent childhood, and adolescence) defined the experience of growing up, while also affecting the manner of burial. As Roman Egypt was one region of a large Empire that covered the entire Mediterranean basin and parts of three continents during the first few centuries CE, comparing child burials in Roman Egypt to those in other provinces show which elements of child burials were part of a shared attitude and which were local custom.

Into the Roman period, mummification continued to be the preferred method of preparing a body for burial in Egypt. Although mummification had become more widely available and less complex than in earlier Pharaonic periods, those living in Egypt, both native Egyptians and descendants of Greek settlers, preferred it as the best way to prepare themselves for the afterlife. Surviving family members had multiple artistic options for the funerary preparations of a deceased relative. Though coffins had fallen out of popularity during this period, cartonnage masks, mummy portraits, and shrouds were all available media for portraying the deceased. For

those families that wanted to perpetuate their child's image and attributes, naturalistic Greek styles that allowed for a greater amount of individuality were used in mummy portraits, masks, and shrouds. Other families chose indigenous Egyptian styles for masks and shrouds that portrayed fewer individual characteristics but aligned closer with earlier pharaonic mortuary and religious traditions.

These types of funerary art provided surviving family members with a way to publicly mourn their lost child by emphasizing their positive attributes and how successful they would have been had they lived. While Greek and Egyptian art styles are both prevalent, religious motifs used with the dead are almost exclusively Egyptian. The Egyptian idea of rebirth aligned with Greek concepts of untimely death being a sign of divine favor. Parents wanted their children to have the best chance at a better afterlife than the life they had been deprived of on earth.

Childhood in Roman Egypt consisted of three main stages, as I present in this thesis. The infancy and toddler stage lasted from birth until age five when most children were fully weaned and would have had a lower chance of dying decrease. This was the most vulnerable stage for children, as the death rates were the highest. Infants and toddlers do not appear in the archaeological record as often as the death rates suggests, which is due to a number of factors. Infants were not buried as often in cemetery sites, and were sometimes buried under domestic structures. Also infant bones are fragile and often do not preserve as well, while some archaeologists may have mistaken them for animal bones. Infants could have been buried with masks or portraits, as well as buried in baskets, pottery, or boxes, but families typically expended less resources on funerary preparations for infants, as the death rate was so high.

If the infant successfully survived through this stage, they entered pre-pubescent childhood. Beginning at age five and lasting until around age fifteen, this stage is when most

children would have taken on more responsibilities with their families and, if from a wealthy family, would have begun their formal education. Pre-pubescent children, especially male children, appear more often in the archaeological record and were more often afforded complex funerary preparations. As these children had become more fully integrated members of their families and society, their loss may have come more unexpectedly. Though their burials do not yet fully resemble those of adults in representation, these children had attained a social presence that some chose to mourn through portraits, masks, and shrouds.

The last stage of childhood in my scheme, and the one with the lowest death rate, was adolescence. This stage encompasses those aged fifteen to twenty, as this was the age in which individuals entered adulthood by participating in socio-religious rituals and nearing age of marriage. Funerary preparations for adolescents are the most similar to those for adults in that these individuals had time to possibly achieve an education and status that could be represented in funerary art. Adolescent funerary art typically shows the achievements of the individual rather than mourning a lost future even if in some Greek myths dying in the prime of life was seen as a blessing. The one exception is the mourning of the lost potential for motherhood in girls. As funerary preparations move closer to resembling those of adults the older a child became, it can be seen that cementing one's place in society was a gradual process that occurred with age rather than at one specific moment. Crossing the boundary from childhood to adulthood was not a singular event but rather a process that involved both physical growth and a development of a social identity. The interruption caused by death throughout various points in this process is displayed through funerary art.

Roman Egypt was connected to other regions of the Roman Empire through a shared economic system and the introduction of Hellenistic culture and Roman bureaucracy through the

expansion of the Empire. In Roman Egypt, children are present in many cemetery sites from the period, but they do not appear in the numbers that the death rate would predict. When Christianity arrives in Egypt, the percentage of children in cemeteries rises as ideas about death and burial change. Children are then most often buried in group burials in rock tombs or in single in-ground inhumations in larger cemeteries. Though funerary art is common, burial goods were relatively rare.

By establishing the manner of burial in Egypt and then comparing these practices to burial practices in other provinces, a fuller picture of child death in the Roman Empire is achieved. Some Roman settlements in north-central Africa, Gaul, Britain, Sardinia, and the Italian peninsula had large cemeteries that contained significant numbers of children. Even though the presence of funerary art varied between provinces, the manner of burial for children consisted mainly of group tombs, in-ground inhumation, and burial under domestic structure in all regions. In most regions, cemeteries were used for multiple generations and were centered around older structures. Also, burial goods were relatively rare in all regions, and what was included mostly consisted of jewelry, pottery, and organic material. As death rates for children were similar across the Empire and children most often are underrepresented in the archaeological record a pattern emerges.

Children across the Roman Empire were more often included in cemeteries the older they were at time of death. Most families were more willing to spend financial resources on a funeral for an older child rather than for an infant because of social norms and the high death rate for that age group. Infants and Toddlers are the only age group that, consistently across the empire, were regularly buried away from the rest of the cemetery population. Gallic cemeteries in modern France are the only examples included above with an infant/toddler cemetery population

before Christianity that approaches the death rate. To varying degrees, these cultures across the Roman Empire held a shared idea that children earned their place in society as a full member slowly over time through the aging process and participation in various transition events. This process of growing up is reflected in the burials for individuals that died in various moments in the process.

Until recently, children were neglected in scholarly archaeological research. Publications dedicated to the study of children in Roman Egypt have only started to become prevalent in the last twenty years. Studying the human remains of children is important for attaining a full view of the cemetery population of a site and understanding how the living dealt with the death of young people. Even though young children may have been buried apart from adults and older children, it does not mean they were not loved. This study provides evidence that children were valued by their families, and they were provided with burials accordingly. Their deaths were dealt with differently than those of adults, which led to the creation of manners of burial unique to their age groups. The burials of children may not be the most elaborate or complex, but their burials are not less informative for a full understanding of life and death in Roman Egypt and the wider Empire.

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Appendix A

Figures

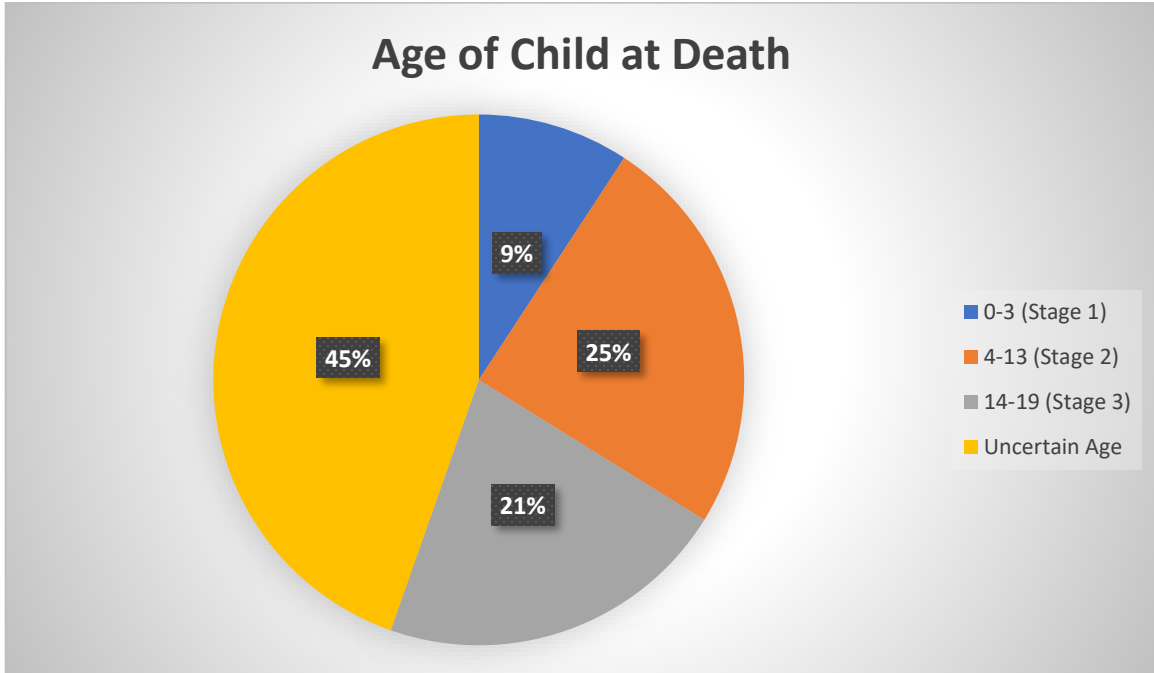


Figure 1: Age of Child at Death for Corpus Objects

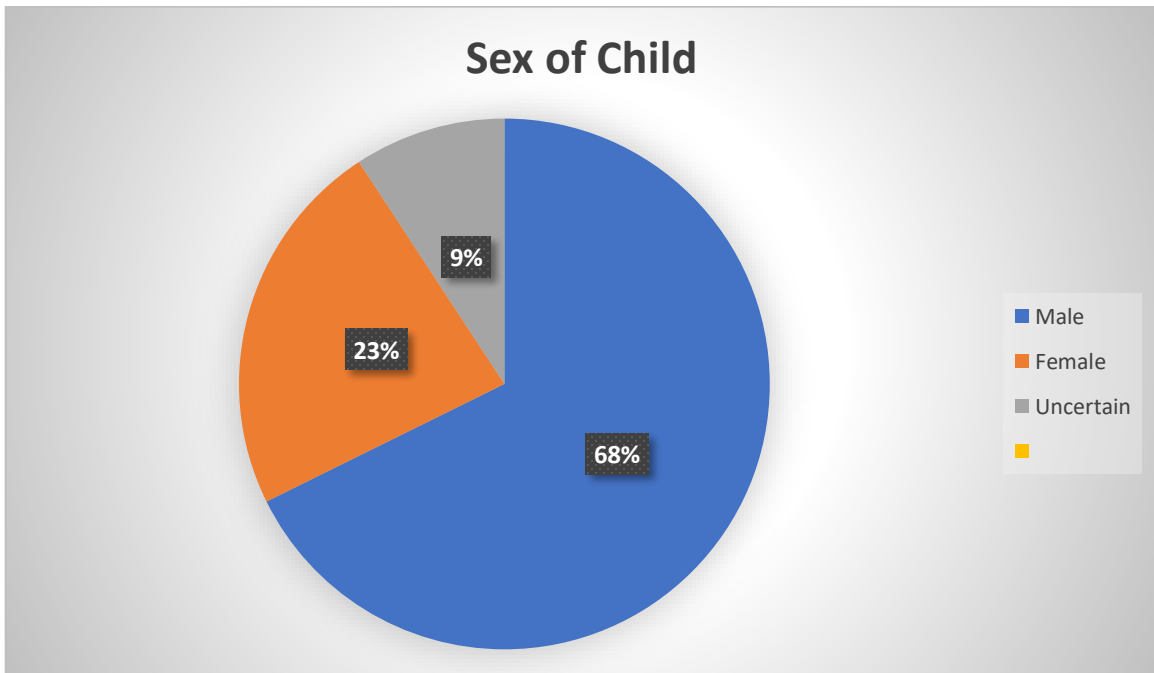


Figure 2: Sex of Child for Corpus Objects

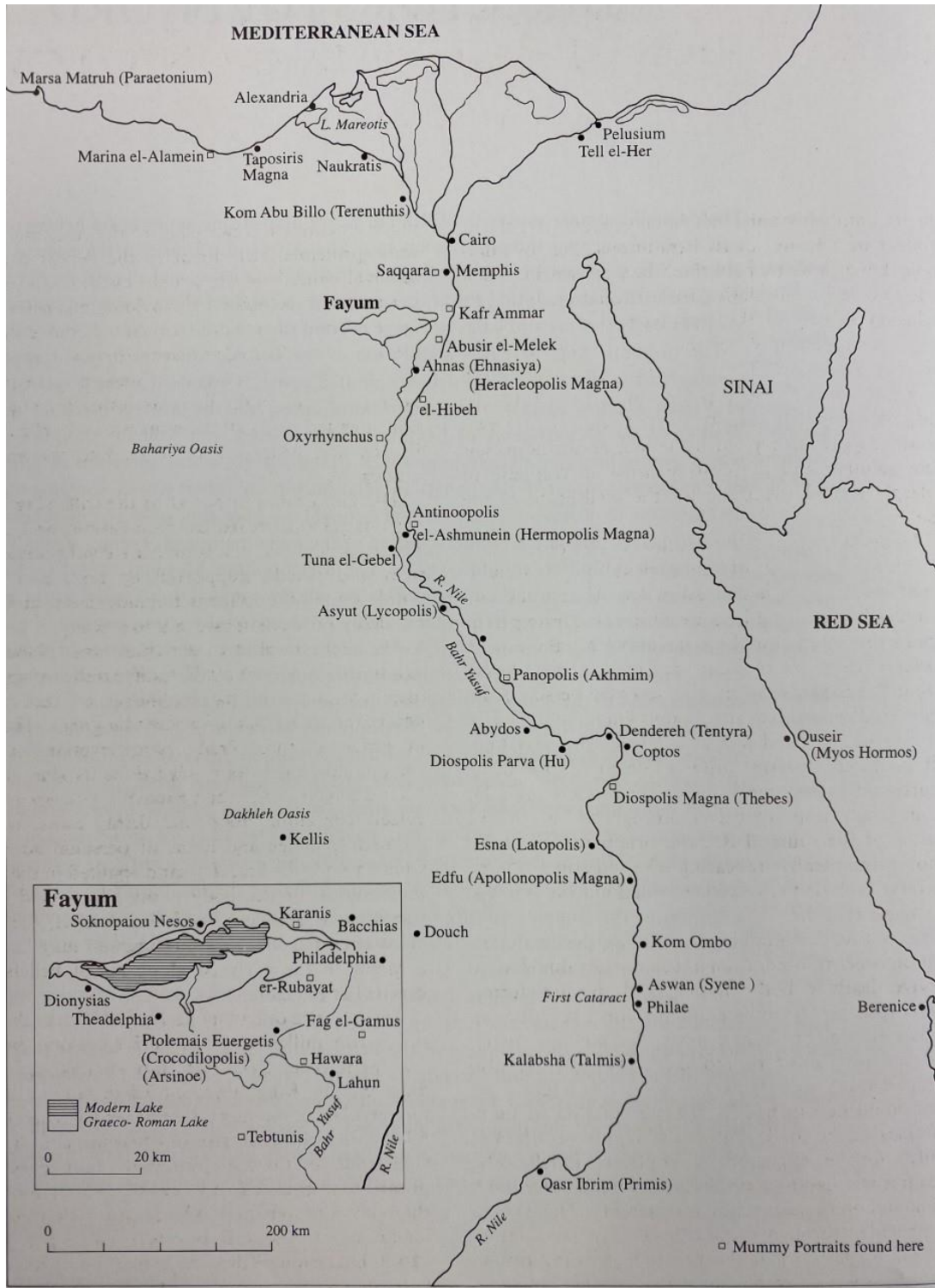


Figure 3
 Map of Ancient Egyptian sites where Mummy Portraits have been found
 Map from Susan Walker, ed. *Ancient Faces: Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt*. New York:
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000, pp 8.

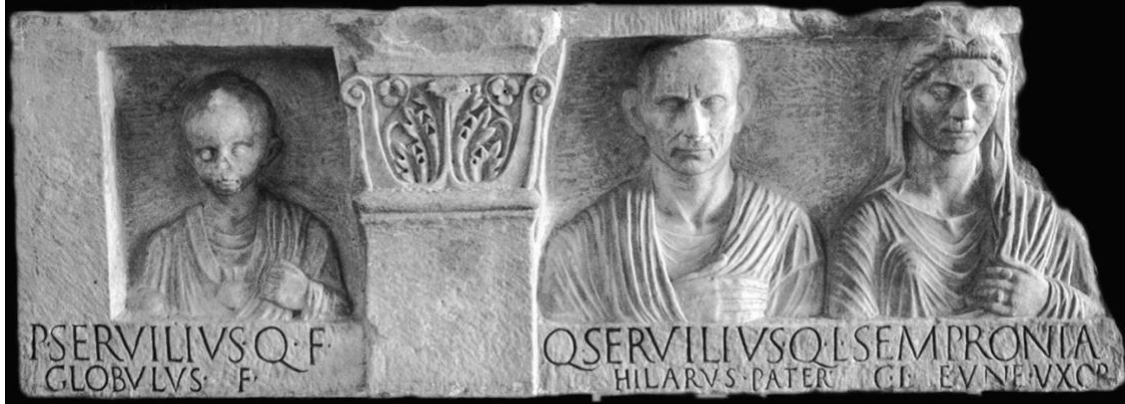


Figure 4

Servilii Family Relief

Museo Gregoriano Profano, Vatican City

10491; Rome, Italy

<https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/roman-tombs-and-the-art-of-commemoration/family-matters-the-long-life-of-roman-tombs/528172BFDC76F147682575005B748B1A/core-reader>



Figure 5

Iunii Family Altar

Museo Nazionale Centrale Montemartini, Rome, Italy

2886 (NCE 2969)

Photo courtesy of: <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/roman-tombs-and-the-art-of-commemoration/family-matters-the-long-life-of-roman-tombs/528172BFDC76F147682575005B748B1A/core-reader>



Figure 6
Roman Child Sarcophagus
British Museum, London, United Kingdom
1973,0103.15; Circa 300 CE

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1973-0103-15

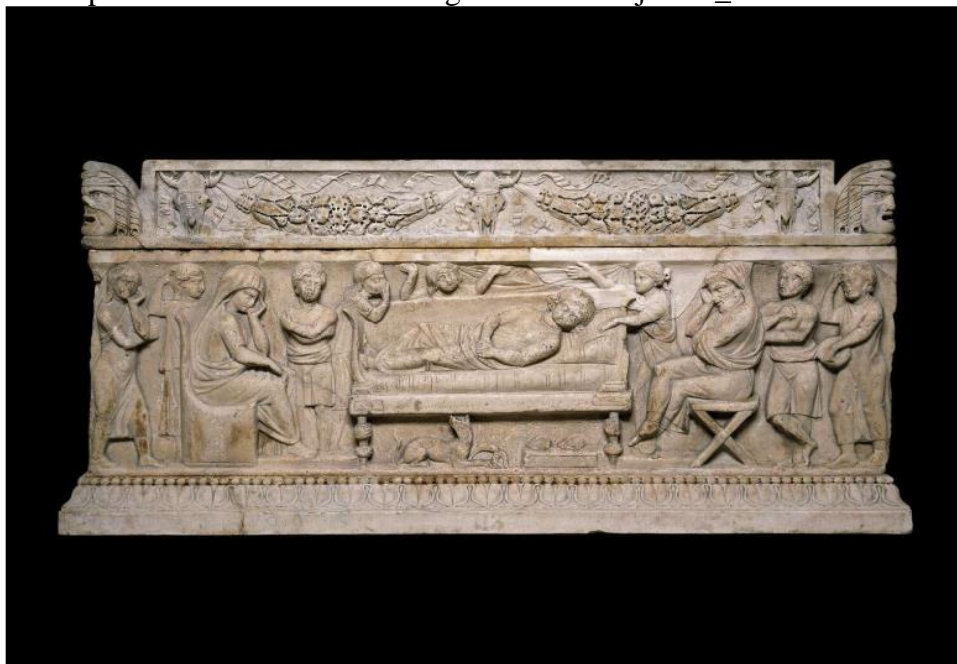


Figure 7
Roman Child Sarcophagus
British Museum, London, United Kingdom
1805,0703.144; Circa 200-220 CE

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1805-0703-144

Appendix B

This corpus of objects represents sixty-six objects from across Egypt. Foremost, it is organized into four categories (portraits, coffins, mummy cases, and cartonnage mummies, shrouds, and partially or fully unwrapped mummies). Within these categories, they are grouped by age (Infants and Toddlers, Pre-Pubescent Children, Adolescents, and Uncertain age). Occasionally, an age group does not appear within a type category, as no examples of that age appears in the corpus. All of these objects were located online through museum websites. The dating information provided by the museums was used for this thesis.

Summary of Corpus Object Information						
Plate No.	Museum No. and Location	Type of Remains	Age of Death & State of Childhood	Sex	Provenience & Date	Additional Information
1	EA 21809 British Museum	Portrait Mummy, wrapped	Infant	Uncertain	Hawara; 40-55 CE	
2	CG 33240, Egyptian Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Pre-Adolescent	Female	Faiyum; Date Uncertain	
3	ÄM 11413: Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung	Portrait mummy, wrapped	Infant and Toddler	Female	Hawara; 1 st -2 nd Century CE	
4	31161, Antikensammlung	Mummy Portrait only	Pre-Pubescent	Male	Faiyum; 2 nd Century CE	
5	31161 41; Antikensammlung	Mummy Portrait only	Pre-Pubescent	Male	Faiyum; 2 nd Century CE	
6	Hawara Portrait #4; Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary	Portrait Mummy; wrapped	5 years old: Pre-Pubescent	Female	Hawara; 2 nd Century CE	

7	78.AP.262; Getty Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Pre-Pubescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 150-200 CE	
8	National Museum of Archaeology, Athens	Mummy Portrait only	Pre-Pubescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 4 th Century CE	
9	National Museum of Archaeology, Athens	Mummy Portrait only	Pre-Pubescent	Female	Provenience Unknown; 4 th Century CE	
10	ÄM 11412; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung	Portrait Mummy, wrapped	Pre-Pubescent	Female	Hawara; 1 st -2 nd Century CE	
11	1989.06.0001A; Spurlock Museum	Portrait Mummy, shrouded	Pre-Pubescent	Sex Uncertain	Provenience Uncertain; 50-150 CE	
12	EA 21810, British Museum	Portrait Mummy, wrapped	Adolescent	Male	Hawara; 2 nd Century CE	
13	EA 13593, British Museum	Portrait Mummy, wrapped	Adolescent	Male	Hawara, 2 nd Century CE	Body decomposed and disarticulated inside
14	UC 19609; Petrie Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Hawara; Date Uncertain	
15	UC 19613; Petrie Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Hawara; Date Uncertain	

16	11.139; Metropolitan Museum of Art	Portrait Mummy, wrapped	Adolescent	Male	Hawara; 80-100 CE	
17	18.9.2; Metropolitan Museum of Art	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 100-150 CE	Named Eutyches
18	09.181.4; Metropolitan Museum of Art	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 190-210 CE	Surgical cut on the eye included in the portrait
19	6-2137b; Hearst Museum of Anthropology	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Tebtunis; 96-192 CE	
20	75.AP.87; Getty Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 150-200 CE	
21	X 432; Kunsthistorisches Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Er-Rubayat; 2 nd Century CE	
22	X 303; Kunsthistorisches Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Er-Rubayat; 2 nd Century CE	
23	I.1.a5780; Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 2 nd Century CE	

24	I.1.a5776; Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts	Mummy Portrait only	Adolescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 2 nd Century CE	
25	54.197; Brooklyn Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Male	Er-Rubayat; 200-230 CE	
26	41.848; Brooklyn Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Male	Er-Rubayat; 200-230 CE	
27	EA 74719; British Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Sex Uncertain	Provenience Unknown; 50-70 CE	
28	UC19607; Petrie Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Male	Hawara; Date Uncertain	
29	UC 38102; Petrie Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Female	Hawara; Date Uncertain	
30	11.2892; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	Portrait Mummy, wrapped	Age Uncertain	Male	Hawara; 50 CE	
31	E16212; Penn Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience Uncertain; 2 nd Century CE	

32	918.20.2; Royal Ontario Museum	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Female	Al-Fayyum; 200-250 CE	
33	6-21377; Hearst Museum of Anthropology	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Male	Cemetery 7 or 8 Tebtunis, 96-192 CE	
34	51.342; Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience Unknown; 2 nd Century CE	
35	1971.137; Cleveland Museum of Art	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Female	Hawara; 25-37 CE	
36	7.2; Landesmuseum Württemberg	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Female	Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain	
37	SR 133; Egyptian Museum, Cairo	Mummy Portrait only	Age Uncertain	Female	Faiyum; Date Uncertain	
38	EA 29588; British Museum	Coffin, cartonnage and mummy	Infant	Sex Uncertain	Akhmim, 1 st Century BCE-1 st Century CE	
39	F 1980/1.12; Leiden Museum	Mummy, wrapped	1.5- 3 years; Infant	Male	Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain	

40	EA 22108; British Museum	Mask + wrapped body	1.5-2.5 years; Infant	Male	Hawara; Date Uncertain	
41	EA 6708; British Museum	Coffin only	6 years; Pre-Pubescent	Female	Thebes; 2 nd Century CE	
42	NMR.26.1; Nicolson Museum	Mask + wrapped body	5 years; Pre-Pubescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain	
43	RC-22; Rosicrucian Museum	Mask + wrapped body	5 years; Pre-Pubescent	Sex Uncertain	Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain	
44	ÄM12125; Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung	Mask + wrapped body	Pre-Pubescent	Female	Hawara; 1 st Century CE	
45	1048; Pelizaeus Museum	Coffin only	Age Uncertain	Sex Uncertain	Provenience Unknown; 2 nd -3 rd Century CE	
46	EA 29589; British Museum	Coffin cartonnage	Age Uncertain	Male	Akhmim; 1 st Century BCE-1 st Century CE	
47	A.1956.357 and .375A; National Museum of Scotland	Coffin only	Age Uncertain	Males (2)	Thebes; 175-200 CE	Names: Petamun and Penhornabik
48	1914.715; Cleveland Museum of Art	Mask + wrapped	Age Uncertain	Male	Kharga Oasis; 50-BCE-50 CE	

49	2230; Museo Egizio, Turin	Coffin only	Age Uncertain	Male	Thebes; 123 CE	Named: Petamenophis
50	E 12379; Musée de Louvre	Mask only, plaster	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
51	00.2.38; Metropolitan Museum of Art	Mask only, plaster	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
52	48.225; Seattle Art Museum	Mask only, plaster	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience Uncertain; 3 rd Century CE	
53	12.182.46; Metropolitan Museum of Art	Mask only, plaster	Age Uncertain	Male	Tuna el-Gebel; 140-190 CE	
54	EA 6715; British Museum	Shroud +wrapped body	7-10 years; Pre- Pubescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; 230-250 CE	
55	I.1.a5749; Pushkin Museum of Fine Art	Shroud only	Adolescent	Male	Saqqara; 2 nd Century CE	
56	EA 6709; British Museum	Shroud only	12-15 years; Pre- Pubescent or Adolescent	Male	Thebes; 3 rd Century CE	
57	AN1913.924; Ashmolean Museum	Shroud only	Age Uncertain	Male	Thebes; 2 nd Century CE	Named; Nespawtytawy

58	79.Ap.219; Getty Museum	Shroud only	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience Unknown; 220-250 CE	
59	AF6486; Musée de Louvre	Shroud only	Age Uncertain	Male	Provenience Unknown; 3 rd Century CE	
60	N 3076; Musée de Louvre	Shroud only	Age Uncertain	Male	Saqqara; 2 nd Century CE	
61	EA 6723; British Museum	Wrapped body	1.5-2.5 years; Infant	Male	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
62	EA 54053; British Museum	Wrapped body	1.5-2.5 years; Infant	Male	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
63	EA 30363; British Museum	Body only	6-7 years; Pre-Pubescent	Female	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
64	EA 30362; British Museum	Body only	5-6 years; Pre-Pubescent	Female	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
65	EA 30364; British Museum	Body only	5 years; Pre-Pubescent	Male	Provenience and Date Uncertain	
66	DUROM.1985.61; Oriental Museum	Portrait Mummy with portrait	14-15 years; Adolescent	Male	Provenience Unknown; Trajanic Period	Portrait removed; assumedly in modern excavation

Corpus of Objects

Portrait Mummies and Mummy Portraits



Plate 1

EA 21809

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Sex Uncertain, Infant

Hawara; 40-55 CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=21809>

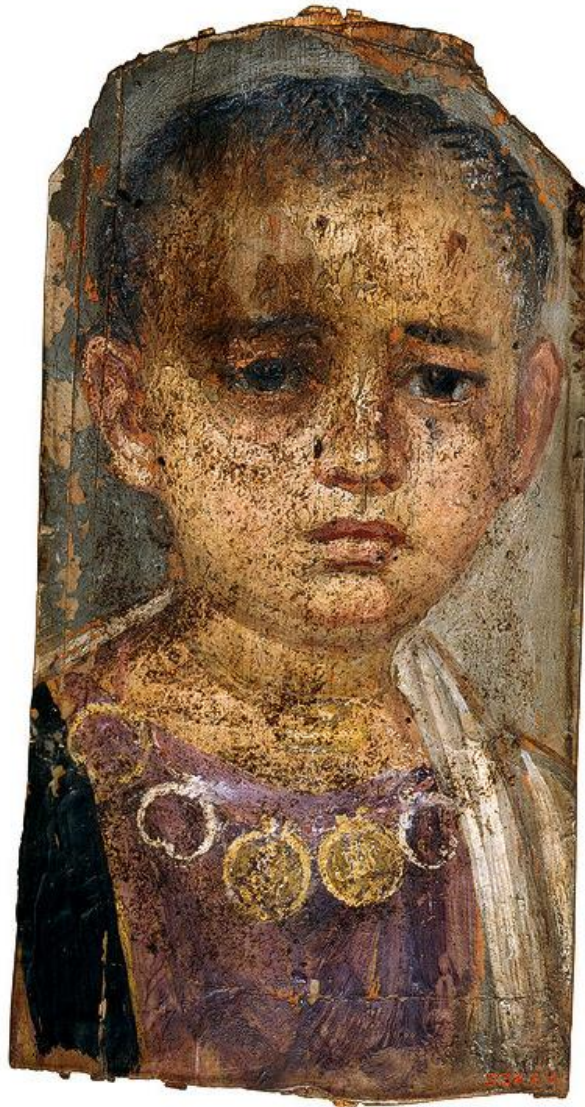


Plate 2
CG 33240
Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt
Female, Pre-Adolescent
Faiyum; Date Uncertain
<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/417357090451376515/>



Plate 3
ÄM11413
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, Germany
Female
Hawara; 1st-2nd Century CE

[http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=3&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=4](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=3&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=4)

Pre-Pubescent Children



Plate 4

31161

Antikensammlung, Berlin, Germany

Male, Pre-Adolescent

Faiyum; 2nd Century CE

<http://www.smb->

[digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=0&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=6](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=0&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=6)



Plate 5

31161 41

Antikensammlung, Berlin, Germany

Male, Pre-Adolescent

Faiyum; 2nd Century CE

<http://www.smb->

[digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=1](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=1&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=1)



Plate 6
Hawara Portrait #4
Garrett-Evangelical Theological Seminary
Female, approximately 5 years old
Hawara; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.sciencenews.org/article/modern-tech-unravels-mysteries-egyptian-mummy-portraits>



Plate 7

78.AP.262

Getty Museum, Los Angeles, USA

Male, Pre-Adolescent

Provenience Unknown; 150-200 CE

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/8213/unknown-maker-mummy-portrait-of-a-youth-romano-egyptian-ad-150-200/>



Plate 8
National Museum of Archaeology, Athens, Greece
Male, Pre-Adolescent
Provenience Unknown
4th Century CE

<https://www.blindbild.com/athen-archaeologisches-nationalmuseum-april-2017/athen-archeological-museum-egypt/>

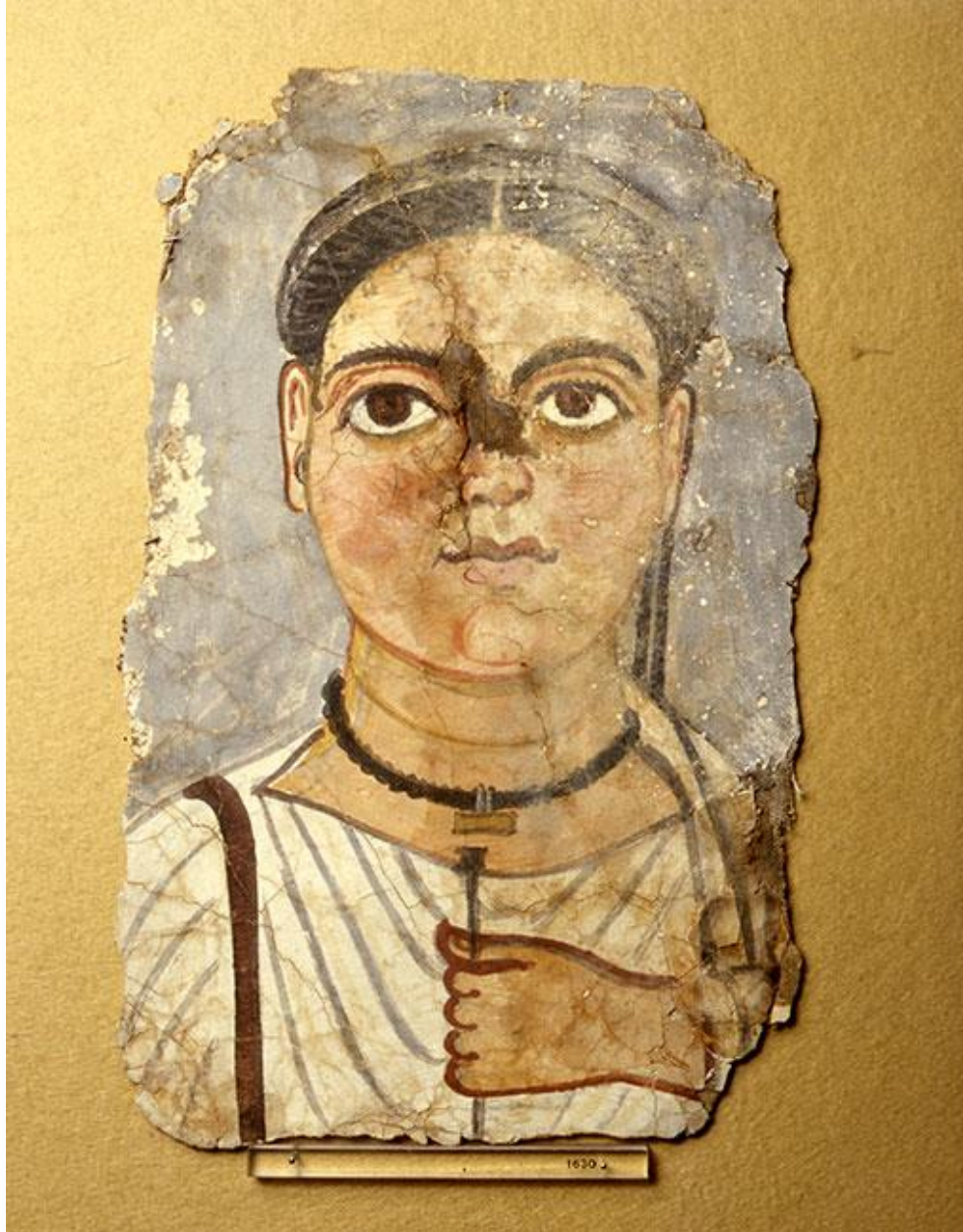


Plate 9
National Museum of Archaeology, Athens, Greece
Female, Pre-Adolescent
Provenience Unknown
4th Century CE

<https://www.blindbild.com/athen-archaeologisches-nationalmuseum-april-2017/athen-archeological-museum-egypt/>



Plate 10
ÄM11412
Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, Germany
Female
Hawara; 1st-2nd Century CE

[http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=3&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=3](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$TitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=3&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=3)



Plate 11

1989.06.001A

Spurlock Museum, University of Illinois

Sex Uncertain; Aged 7-9

Provenience Uncertain, 50-150 CE

<https://www.spurlock.illinois.edu/img-DB/orig-digi/1989/1989.06/1989.06.0001A.72.JPG>

Adolescents



Plate 12

EA 21810

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male; Late Teens

Hawara; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=21810>



Plate 13

EA 13595

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male; Adolescent

Hawara; 100-120 CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=13595>



Plate 14

UC19609

Petrie Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, Adolescent

Hawara

<https://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpref=>

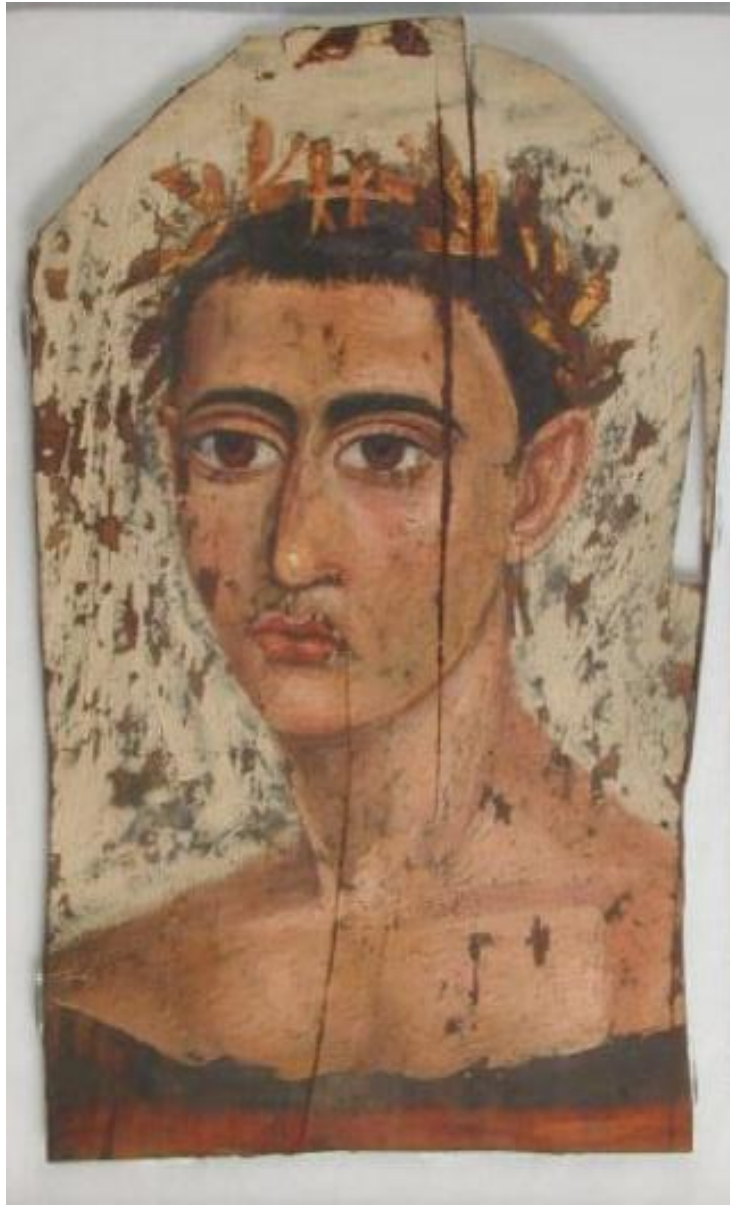


Plate 15

UC19613

Petrie Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, Adolescent

Hawara; Date Uncertain

<https://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpreref=>



Plate 16

11.139

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA

Male, Adolescent

Hawara; 80-100 CE

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547697>

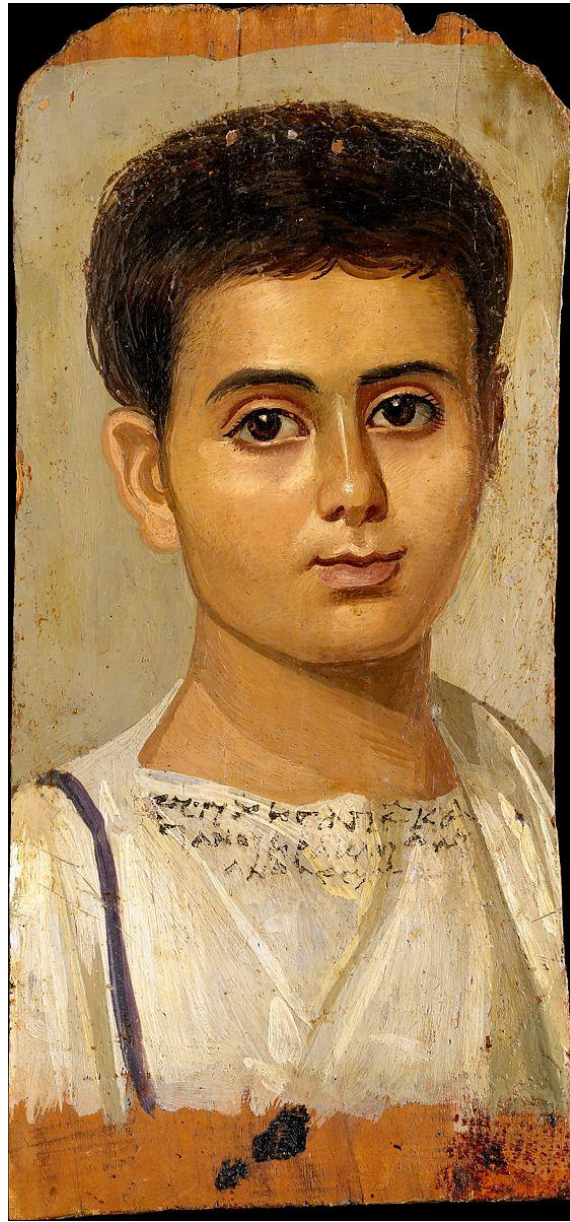


Plate 17

18.9.2

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA

Named: Eutyches

Male; Adolescent

Provenience Unknown; 100-150 CE

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547951?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=18.9.2&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>

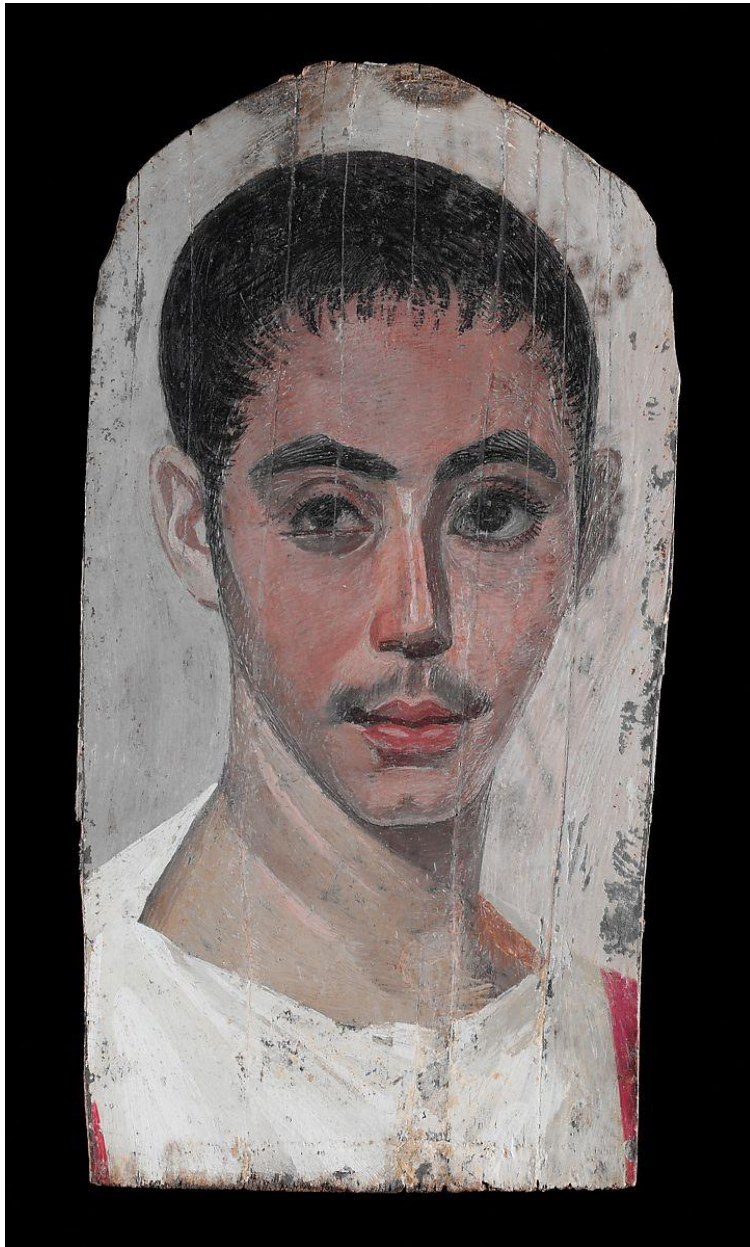


Plate 18
09.181.4

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA
Male; Adolescent

Provenience Unknown; 190-210 CE

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547768?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=09.181.4&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>



Plate 19
6-21378b

Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California, USA
Male, Adolescent
Tebtunis; 96-192 CE

<https://portal.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/catalog/ca758a0b-17aa-478f-b1ee-4de95b2b69d1>



Plate 20
75.AP.87

Getty Museum, Los Angeles, USA

Male, Adolescent

Provenience Unknown; 150-200 CE

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/7256/unknown-maker-mummy-shroud-with-painted-portrait-of-a-boy-romano-egyptian-ad-150-250/>

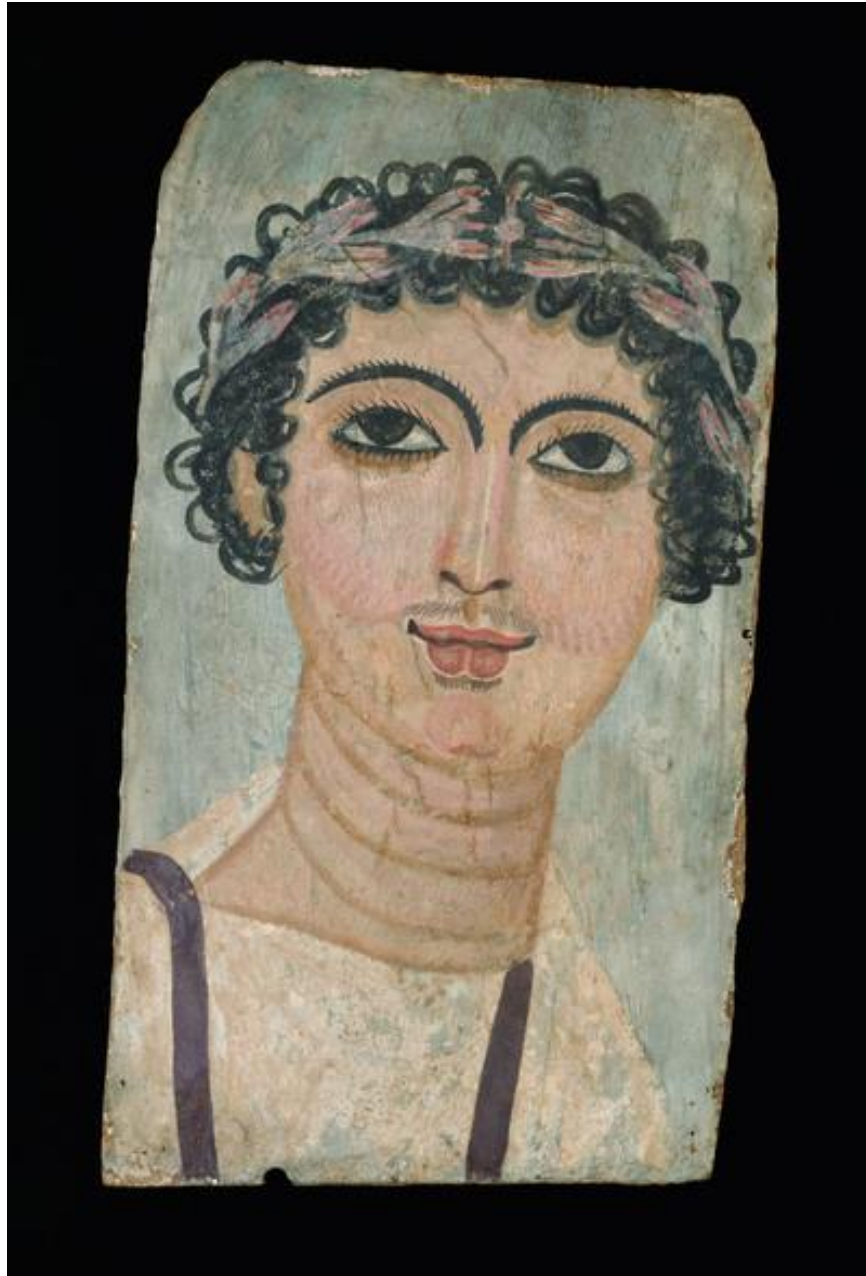


Plate 21

X 432

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria

Male, Adolescent

Er-Rubayat; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.khm.at/en/objectdb/detail/71844/?offset=9&lv=list>

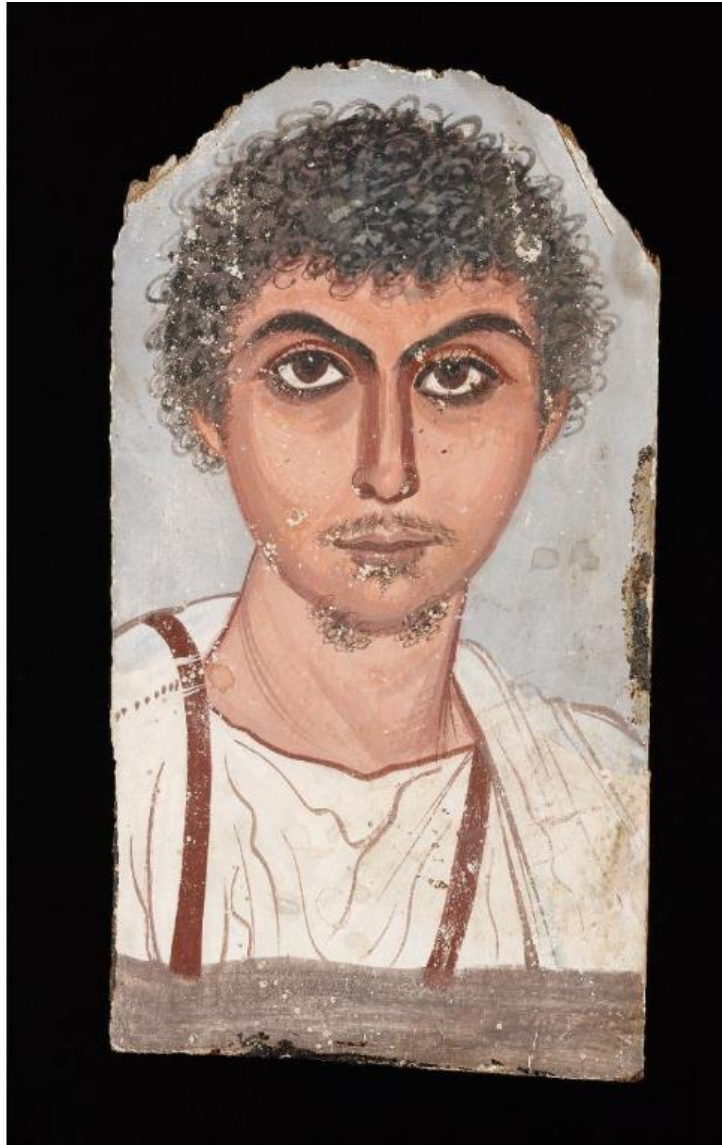


Plate 22

X 303

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria

Male, Adolescent

Er-Rubayat; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.khm.at/en/objectdb/detail/71685/?offset=5&lv=list>



Plate 23

I.1.a 5780

Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia

Male, Adolescent

Provenience Unknown; 2nd Century CE

https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_5780/index.php?lang=ru

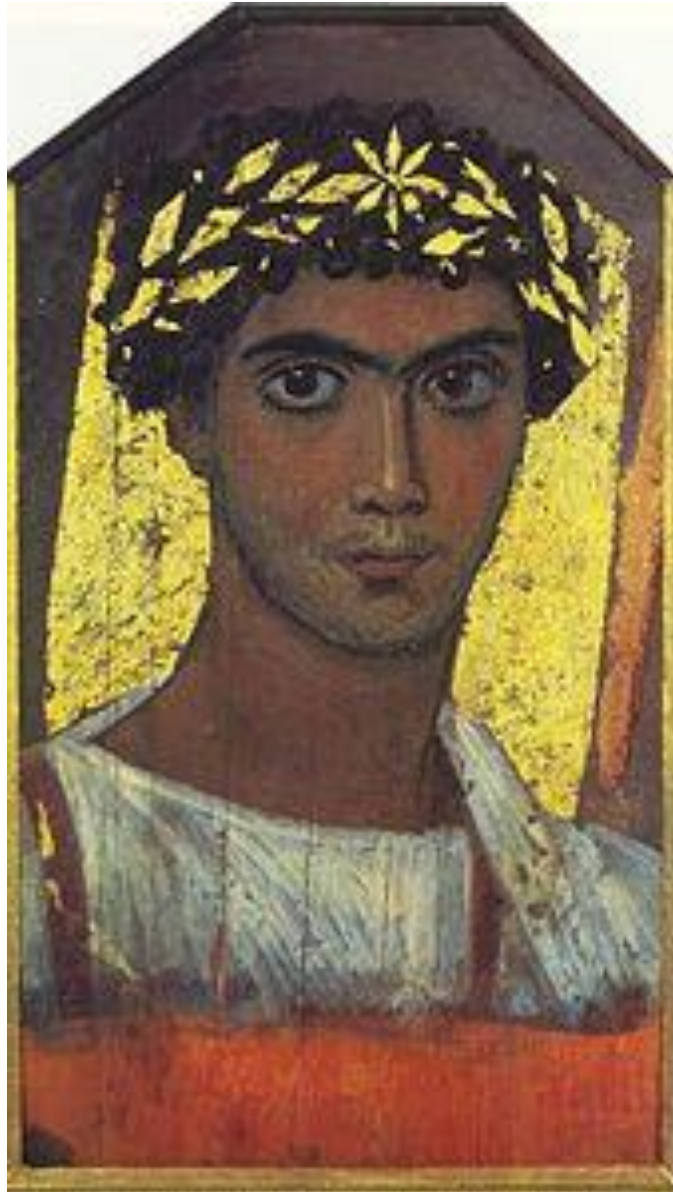


Plate 24

I.1.a 5776

Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia

Male; Adolescent

Provenience Unknown; 2nd Century CE

https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_5776/index.php?find=I.1.a%205776

Uncertain Age



Plate 25
54.197

Brooklyn Museum, NY, USA
Er-Rubayat; 200-230 CE

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/69254>



Plate 26

41.848

Brooklyn Museum, NY, USA

Male

Er-Rubayat; 200-230 CE

<https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3458>



Plate 27

EA 74719

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Female

Unknown Provenience; 50-70 CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=74719>



Plate 28

UC 19607

Petrie Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, Youth

Hawara

<https://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpreref=>



Plate 29
UC 38102

Petrie Museum, London, United Kingdom

Female, Youth

Hawara

<https://petriecat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/detail.aspx?parentpreref=>



Plate 30

11.2892

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, USA

Male, Youth

Hawara; 50 CE

<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/45976/portrait-mummy-of-a-youth?ctx=8c5e5f21-1eb5-4fc9-adedc-e6f2d56822ee&idx=0>

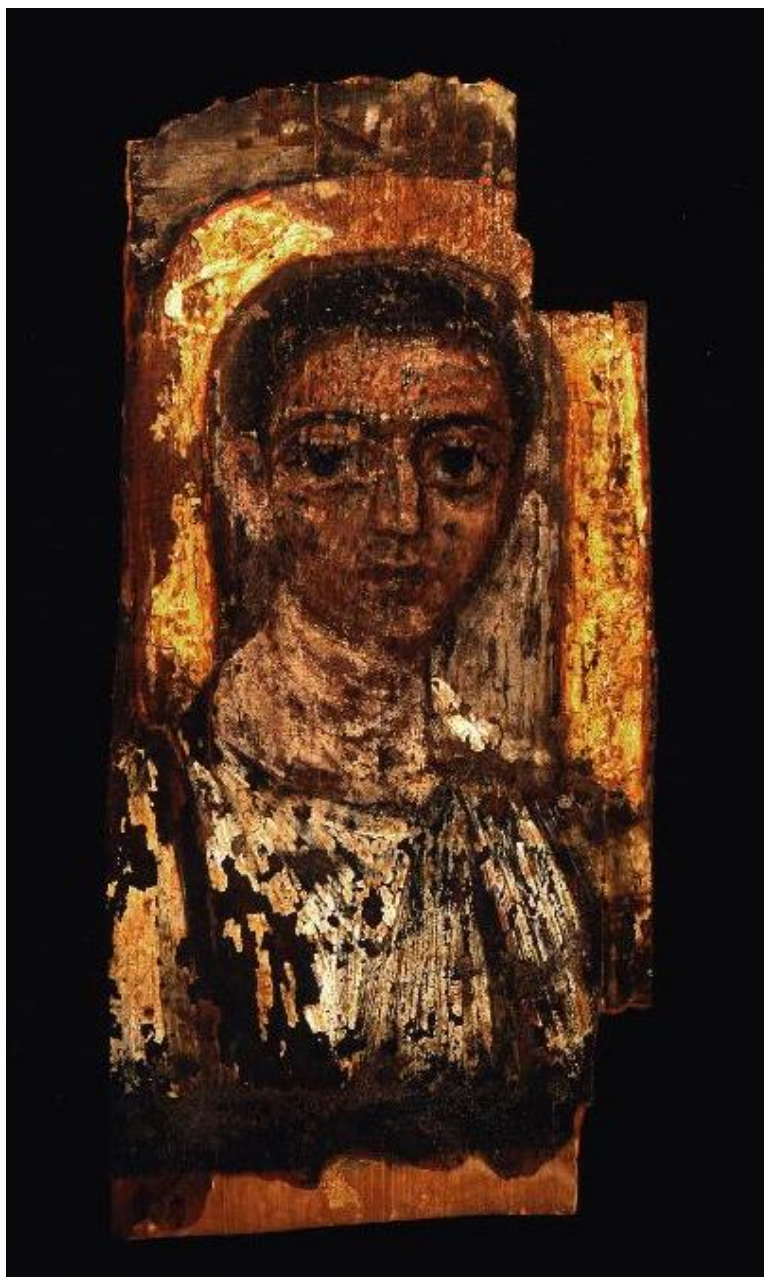


Plate 31
E16212

Penn Museum, Philadelphia, USA

Male, Youth

Hawara; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.penn.museum/collections/object/84085>



Plate 32
918.20.2

Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, Canada

Female, Young

Al-Fayyum; 200-250 CE

<https://collections.rom.on.ca/objects/403024/mummy-portrait-of-a-child?ctx=075fba10-7696-4cde-bac0-c324496eb803&idx=0>



Plate 33
6-21377

Hearst Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California

Male; Youth

Cemetery 7 or 8, Tebtunis; 96-192 CE

<https://portal.hearstmuseum.berkeley.edu/catalog/e515fa08-c249-4e65-a118-be97664f8b89>



Plate 34

51.342

Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Hungary

Male, Youth

Provenience Unknown; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.mfab.hu/artworks/painted-mummy-portrait-of-a-young-man/>

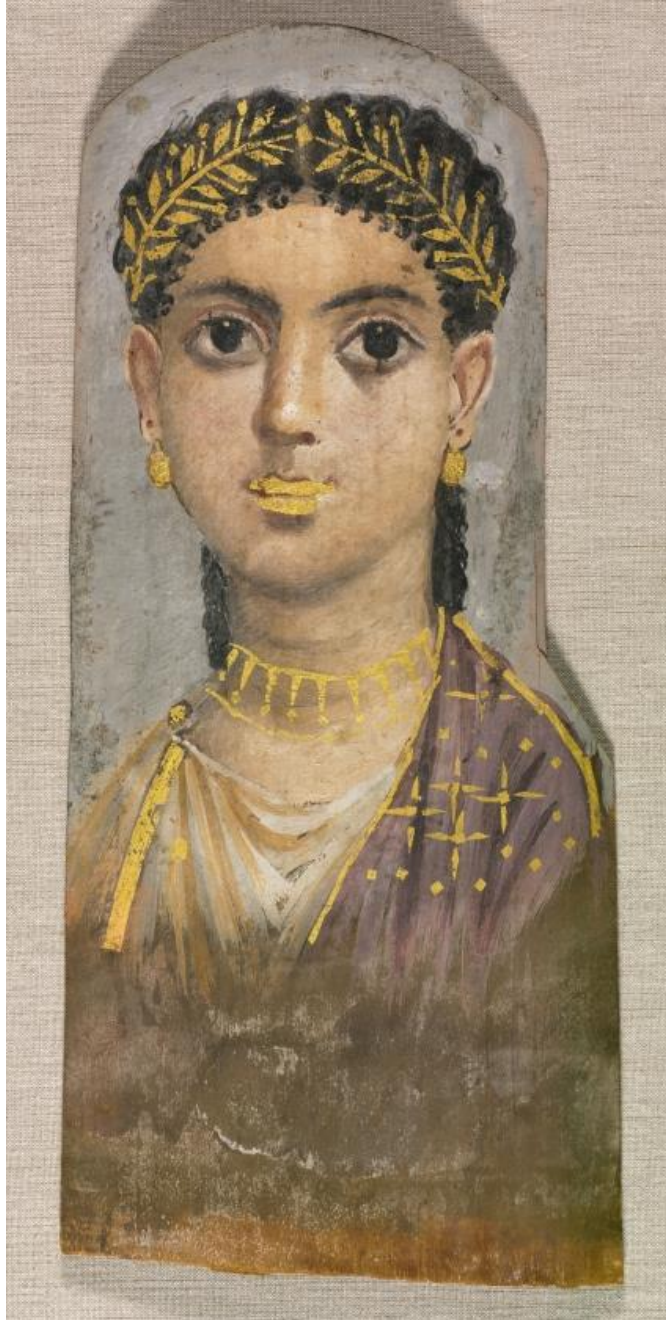


Plate 35
1971.137

Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA
Female, Youth
Hawara; 25-37 CE

<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1971.137>



Plate 36

7.2

Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart, Germany

Female, Youth

Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain

https://www.landesmuseum-stuttgart.de/sammlung/sammlung-online/dk-details/?no_cache=1&dk_object_id=300

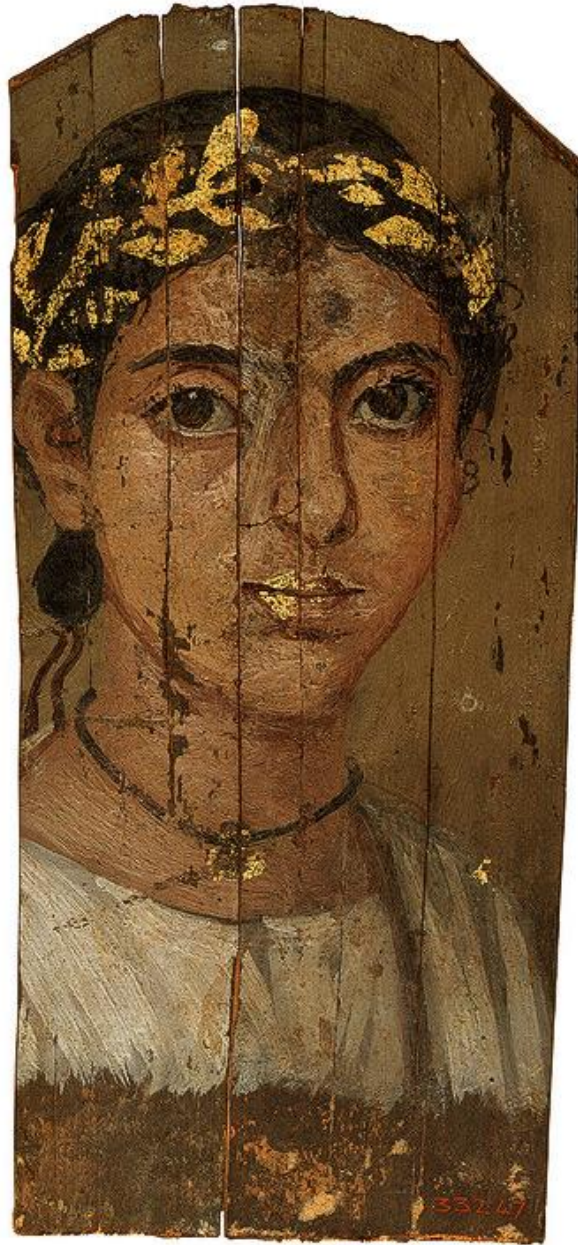


Plate 37
SR 133
Egyptian Museum, Cairo, Egypt
Female, Youth
Faiyum; Date Uncertain
<http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=14940>

Coffins, Mummy Cases, and Cartonnage Mummies

Infants and Toddlers



Plate 38

EA 29588

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Sex Uncertain, Infant

Akhmim; 1st Century BCE -1st Century CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=29588>

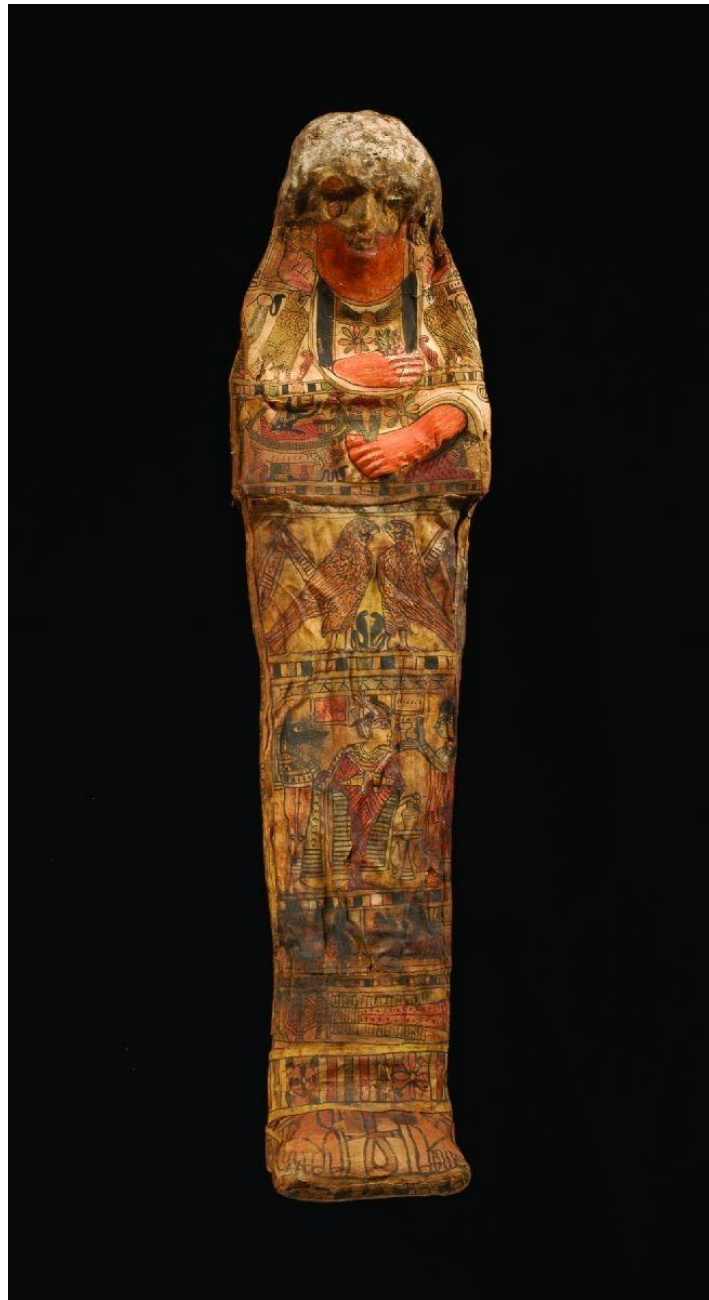


Plate 39

F 1980/1.12

Leiden Museum, Netherlands

Male, 1.5-3 Years

Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain

<https://www.rmo.nl/collectie/collectiezoeker/collectiestuk/?object=22122>



Plate 40
EA 22108
British Museum, London, United Kingdom
Male, 1.5-2.5 Years Old
Hawara; Date Uncertain

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=22108>

Pre-Pubescent Children



Plate 41

EA 6708

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Female, 6 years old

Thebes; 2nd Century CE

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6708



Plate 42

NMR.26.1

Nicolson Museum, Sydney, Australia

Male, 5 Years

Provenience Uncertain; Date Uncertain

https://www.sydney.edu.au/museums/collections_search/#search-results&view=details&id=8112&modules=ecatalogue&irn=41221



Plate 43

RC-22

Rosicrucian Museum,

Sex Unknown, 5 Years Old

Provenience Unknown; Date Uncertain

<https://egyptianmuseum.pastperfectonline.com/webobject/7FCD0340-7558-4DBB-9EEB-882328160750>



Plate 44

ÄM12125

Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, Germany

Female

Hawara; 1st Century CE

<http://www.smb->

[digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.\\$Ts_pTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=3&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=2](http://www.smb-digital.de/eMuseumPlus?service=direct/1/ResultLightboxView/result.t1.collection_lightbox.$Ts_pTitleImageLink.link&sp=10&sp=Scollection&sp=SfieldValue&sp=0&sp=3&sp=3&sp=Slightbox_3x4&sp=0&sp=Sdetail&sp=0&sp=F&sp=T&sp=2)

Uncertain Age

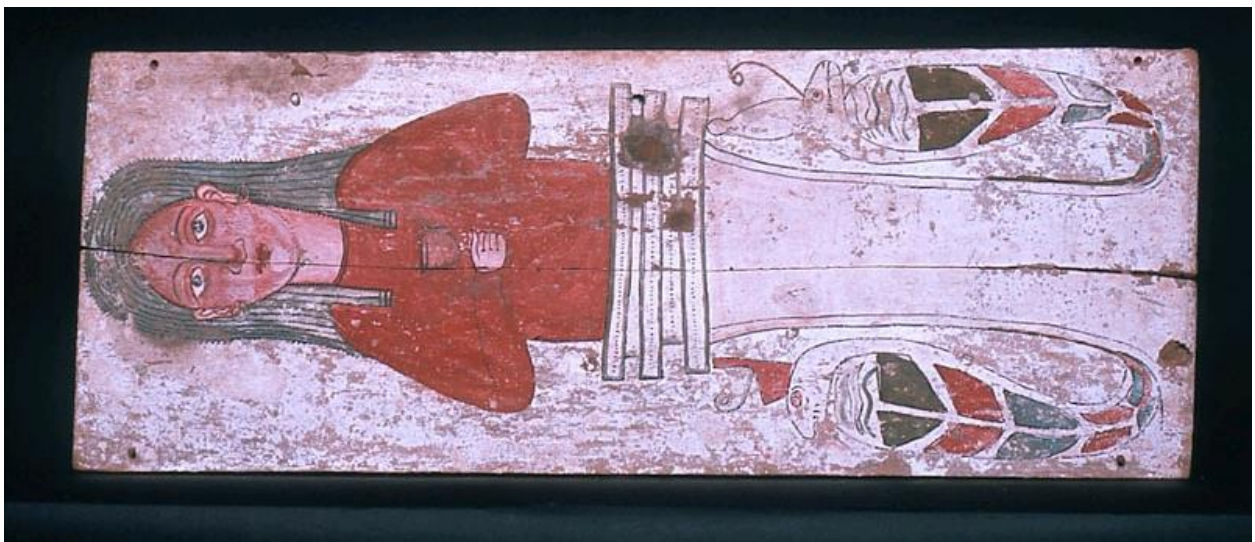
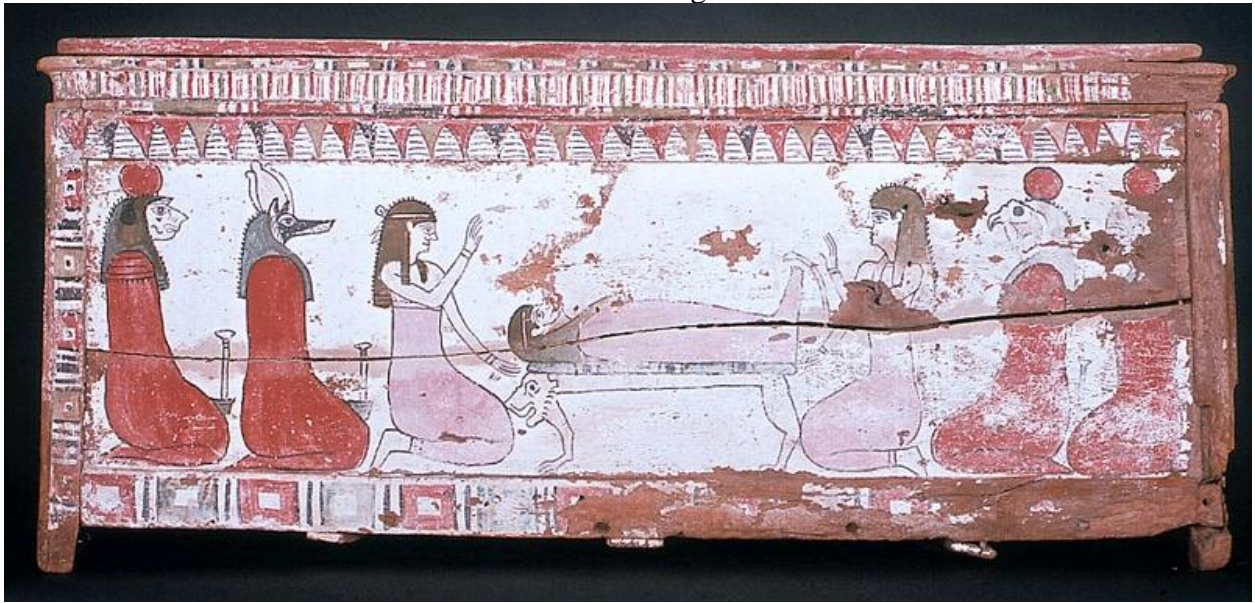


Plate 45
1048

Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, Germany

Provenience Unknown

Coffin Side and Lid

2nd-3rd Century CE

<http://www.globalegyptianmuseum.org/record.aspx?id=10733>



Plate 46

EA 29589

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, Youth

Akhmim; 1st Century BCE - 1st Century CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=29589>



Plate 47

Base: A.1956.357; Lid: A.1956.375A

Named Petamun and Penhornabik

National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, United Kingdom

Two Males; Youths

Thebes; 175-200 CE

<https://www.nms.ac.uk/explore-our-collections/collection-search-results/coffin-base/301463>



Plate 48
1914.715

Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA
Male; Age Uncertain
Kharga Oasis; 50 BCE- 50 CE
<https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1914.715>



Plate 49

2230

Named Petamenophis

Museo Egizio, Turin, Italy

Male, Youth

Thebes

123 CE

http://collezioni.museoegizio.it/IT/material/Cat_2230/?description=&inventoryNumber=2230&title=&cgt=&yearFrom=&yearTo=&materials=&provenance=&acquisition=&epoch=&dynasty=&pharaoh=



Plate 50

E 12379

Musée de Louvre, Paris, France

Male, Youth

Provenience Uncertain; Date Uncertain

<https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/mummy-mask-boy>



Plate 51
00.2.38

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA

Male; Age Uncertain

Provenience Uncertain; 1st-2nd Century CE

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547848?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=00.2.38&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>



Plate 52

48.225

Seattle Art Museum, Seattle, USA

Male, Youth

Provenience Uncertain; 3rd Century CE

<http://art.seattleartmuseum.org/objects/16372/mummy-mask-of-a-young-boy?ctx=e8ea51de-00f5-4a2d-884d-95dcae60ddcd&idx=0>



Plate 53
12.182.46
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA
Male, Youth
Tuna el-Gebel
140-190 CE

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547698?searchField=All&sortBy=Relevance&ft=12.182.46&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1>

Shrouds

Pre-Pubescent Children



Plate 54

EA 6715

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, 7-10 Years

Provenience Uncertain; 230-250 CE

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/search?keyword=EA&keyword=6715>

Adolescents



Plate 55

I.1.a 5749

Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow, Russia

Male, Adolescent

Saqqara; 2nd Century CE

https://pushkinmuseum.art/data/fonds/ancient_east/1_1_a/1_1_a_5749/index.php?lang=ru



Plate 56
EA 6709

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, 12-15 Years

Thebes; Early 3rd Century CE

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6709

Uncertain Age



Plate 57

AN1913.924

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, United Kingdom

Named Nespawtytawy

Male, Youth

Thebes; 2nd Century CE

https://collections.ashmolean.org/collection/search/per_page/25/offset/0/sort_by/relevance/object/23568



Plate 58

79.AP.219

Getty Museum, Los Angeles, USA

Male, Youth

Provenience Uncertain; 220-250 CE

<http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/9063/unknown-maker-mummy-shroud-with-painted-portrait-of-a-youth-romano-egyptian-ad-220-250/>



Plate 59
AF6486

Musée de Louvre, Paris, France
Male, Youth

Provenience Uncertain; 3rd Century CE

<https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/shroud-childs-mummy>



Plate 60
N 3076

Musée de Louvre, Paris, France

Male, Youth

Saqqara; 2nd Century CE

<https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/funerary-hanging>

Partially or Fully Unwrapped Mummies

Infants and Toddlers



Plate 61

EA 6723

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, 1.5-2.5 Years Old

Provenience Uncertain; Date Uncertain

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA6723



Plate 62

EA 54053

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, 1.5-2.5 Years Old

Provenience Uncertain; Date Uncertain

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA54053

Pre-Pubescent Children



Plate 63

EA 30363

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Female, 6-7 Years Old

Provenience Uncertain; Date Uncertain

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30363



Plate 64
EA 30362

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Female, 5-6 Years Old

Provenience Uncertain/ Date Uncertain

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30362



Plate 65

EA 30364

British Museum, London, United Kingdom

Male, 5 Years Old

Provenience Uncertain; Date Uncertain

https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA30364

Adolescents



Plate 66

DUROM.1985.61

Oriental Museum, Durham, United Kingdom

Male, 14-15 Years

Provenience Uncertain; Trajanic Period

https://discover.durham.ac.uk/primo-explore/fulldisplay?docid=44DUR_ADLIB_DS729&context=L&vid=44DUR_VU4&lang=en_US&search_scope=LSCOP_MUS-COL&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=mus-col_tab&query=any,contains,DUROM.1985.61