



This is a repository copy of "*The mourning was very good*". *Liberation and liberality in Roman funerary commemoration*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:  
<http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/138677/>

Version: Published Version

---

**Book Section:**

Carroll, P.M. (2011) "The mourning was very good". *Liberation and liberality in Roman funerary commemoration*. In: Hope, V.M. and Huskinson, J., (eds.) *Memory and Mourning: Studies on Roman Death*. Oxbow Books Limited , pp. 125-148. ISBN 9781842179901

---

© 2011 Oxbow Books. Reproduced in accordance with the publisher's self-archiving policy.

**Reuse**

Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

**Takedown**

If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing [eprints@whiterose.ac.uk](mailto:eprints@whiterose.ac.uk) including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.



[eprints@whiterose.ac.uk](mailto:eprints@whiterose.ac.uk)  
<https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/>

‘The mourning was very good’.  
Liberation and Liberality in  
Roman Funerary Commemoration

*Maureen Carroll*

The death of a slave-owner was an event which could bring about the most important change in status in the life of a slave. If the last will and testament of the master contained the names of any fortunate slaves to be released from servitude, these individuals went from being objects to subjects of rights. Works of contemporary literature and art reveal that it was considered a matter of great prestige to have a large number of freed slaves in the funeral procession of the *patronus*. With mourners made up of freshly manumitted slaves, effectively displaying gratitude and sorrow, a fine funeral and ‘good mourning’ were assured (Petronius, *Sat.* 42). The manumission of slaves also was a sign of the owner’s magnanimity and humanity, character traits that were worth publicly displaying on his tomb.

Freedmen as a group, particularly in the context of self-presentation, social status and social mobility expressed in funerary commemoration, have been the focus of much scholarly debate, some of it very recent (Zanker 1975; Kleiner 1977; George 2006; D’Ambra 2006; Koortbojian 2006; Petersen 2006). The relationship between the freedman and his patron, however, has been less explicitly explored in terms of funerary art and commemoration and in the combination of this evidence with a body of Roman sources reflecting contemporary thought, literature and law. This paper therefore assesses the significance of testamentary manumission in the context of social competition and funerary display, both during the ceremony surrounding the death of the master and thereafter when monuments, texts and rituals played an active role in preserving memory. Relevant funerary monuments are examined that illuminate the relationship between the liberated and the liberator, with death as a significant threshold to the transformation of status. In this context, the role of freedmen in preserving the memory of their patrons and commemorating their relations with them will be explored. The evidence ranges chronologically from the late Republic to the second century AD.

*To free or not to free: slave law and manumission*

According to Roman law, 'the primary distinction in the law of persons is this: that all men are either free or slaves. Next, free men are either *ingenui* or *libertini*. *Ingenui* are those born free, *libertini* those manumitted from lawful slavery' (Gaius, *Inst.* 1.9–11; Buckland 1975, 62). There were three legally attested ways in which slaves could be made into freedmen (Cicero, *Top.* 2.10; Gaius, *Inst.* 1.17; *Digest* 1.5.1–2; Buckland 1975, 72–76; Watson 1975, 86–92; Kaser 1980, 73–74):

*Manumissio vindicta*: A slave could be freed by a unilateral declaration of the intention of the master to free the slave, the master applying the *vindicta* (rod) himself in the presence of the magistrate and his lictor.

*Manumissio censu*: A slave could also be freed by presenting himself as a free citizen for enrollment in the list of citizens during the census every fifth year; this required the consent of the master.

*Manumissio testamento*: Upon his master's death a slave could be set free, in which case this was stipulated in the owner's will. The heir of the testator was bound to perform the manumission, so both the dead *dominus* and the new heir became the *patronus* of the *libertus*.

Of all the ways of freeing slaves, testamentary manumission was the most common because it had real advantages for the master (Buckland 1970, 442, 460; Watson 1967, 194; Gardner and Wiedemann 1981, 147; Horsley 1998, 52–53). The owner retained the services of slaves to the very last moment, and he could manipulate his slaves by making the contents of his will known in advance, ensuring compliance to his demands and threatening changes to the will if necessary. Only with *manumissio testamento* could the *dominus* impose a formal condition for the slave to fulfil before he was eligible for freedom and citizenship. This might have been a cash payment to the master's heir, a prescribed number of years service for the heir, or the production of children (for female slaves).

Rome in the first century BC was a melting pot of Romans and foreigners, some free-born, many of servile origin, although estimates on the size of the latter population group are difficult (Noy 2000, 15–19, 31–52; Scheidel 1997). Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a Greek working in Rome in the late first century BC, found it unacceptable that so many slaves, especially those of dubious character and guilty of criminal activity, could become freedmen (*Ant. Rom.* 4.24). Even if the situation is somewhat exaggerated by Dionysius, Augustan legislature on the regulation of manumission suggests that the balance between free and servile elements of the population was genuinely delicate and that slaves might too often be freed for the wrong reasons (Bradley 1984, 89–90). Particularly the number of slaves manumitted at the death of their master from this time on varied according to the proportion of slaves in the household and according to their merits and loyalty. An important law of 2 BC, the *lex Fufia Caninia*, limited any owner on the number of slaves he could liberate, forcing the *dominus* to be selective

(Gaius, *Inst.* 1.42–46; Buckland 1975, 78). Those who owned between two and ten slaves could free up to half of them; owners of ten to thirty slaves could manumit a third; owners of thirty to a hundred slaves could free up to a quarter; and a fifth could be liberated by those who owned one hundred to five hundred slaves. The law forbade the manumission of numbers greater than a hundred, ‘but if you only own one or two slaves, you are not covered by this law and there are no restrictions upon your freedom to manumit’.

This law put constraints on the wealthy Roman from making his funeral an occasion of conspicuous display, illustrating both his vast slave-holdings and his *humanitas* in giving slaves their freedom. This pertained not only to the aristocracy, but also to those who emulated the elite in this regard. We might think here of the fabulously wealthy Gaius Caecilius Claudius Isidorus, a freedman whose estate included 4116 slaves and whose funeral in 8 BC cost over a million sesterces; this kind of ostentatious display will almost certainly have involved an impressive procession of mourning freedmen (Pliny, *HN* 33.47.135). The *lex Fufia* did not hinder manumission, but it curbed the creation of too many *liberti orcini* (freedmen of the deceased) who had no strong obligatory ties to the family and the community (Fabre 1981, 23–36; Gardner 1991, 27–29, 37). In contrast, masters could free as many slaves as they wanted to while they were alive, which was looked upon favourably as strengthening the social bonds between freedmen and their patrons. Under Justinian, however, the *lex Fufia* was repealed ‘as an obstacle to freedom’ because it was deemed ‘inhuman to take away from a man on his deathbed the right of liberating the whole of his slaves’ (*Digest* 1.7; Buckland 1975, 82).

A few years later in AD 4, a new law of Augustus ‘set a limit to manumission’ which was to keep the Roman people free of the ‘contamination...of servile blood’ (Suetonius, *Aug.* 40.3–4). This legislature, known as the *lex Aelia Sentia*, was aimed at limiting the unjustified emancipation of those who had served for an insufficient number of years, or who were below the accepted age for manumission, or were otherwise unworthy (Gaius, *Inst.* 1.13–19; Buckland 1975, 78–80). A slave had to be over thirty years of age and be owned by quiritary right; he had to be set free by the rod, by census or by will; and slaves under thirty and manumitting slave-owners under twenty had to have their actions accepted and confirmed by a council. As for those who were unworthy, ‘slaves disgraced...by whatever method and at whatever age they are manumitted...never become either Roman citizens or Latins...’

The state was now being far more prescriptive regarding eligibility for manumission. The automatic right to citizenship upon being freed was now denied to many, although the law did allow citizenship to be acquired in a range of exceptions which had to be approved by a special council or *consilium*. When manumission transformed the slave into a Roman citizen, limiting the numbers of freed slaves and regulating the power to manumit was an important mechanism designed to exclude unworthy slaves whilst retaining the desirability of freedom and the reward of citizenship for those who were

willing and able to assimilate themselves ‘within the existing social status quo’ (Bradley 1984, 93).

### *Freedmen, funerals and mourning*

As we shall see, freedmen constructed tombs for their former owners and they helped to perpetuate the memory of their patrons by performing funerary rituals year after year. These were long-term benefits of manumission for the patron and his family, but there were other benefits and advantages that came to the fore immediately after death and in a very public way. I am referring here to the participation and actions of liberated slaves in the funeral procession (*pompa funebris*).

The ostentatious and liberal manumission of slaves, particularly in the context of the funeral, was not always looked upon favourably. A blistering commentary on the practice and a cynical evaluation of the reasons behind some of the apparent generosity of slave-owners was delivered by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 4.24) in the latter part of the first century BC, before the new laws limiting manumission came into being. ‘[In the past] most [slaves] were given their freedom as a reward for good conduct, and this was the best way of becoming independent of your owner...but this is not the situation today...[Some gain freedom] as a result of their owner’s frivolity or silly desire for popularity. I personally know people who conceded freedom to all their slaves after their own deaths so that as corpses they would be acclaimed good men, and so that there would be lots of people wearing the felt liberty caps on their heads to follow their biers in the funeral procession.’ Bradley (1984, 87–91) suggests that the *lex Fufia Caninia* was passed to limit the numbers of manumissions by testament to curb precisely this practice.

One of the main reasons for the actions of such liberators appears to have been their desire for a funeral of some extravagance, with great numbers of grateful freedmen attesting to their generosity and acclaiming them good men (Treggiari 1969). Slaves might be told in advance of the death of the master that they were to be freed, the master thereby ensuring that his slaves remained on their best conduct and most compliant. Perhaps the best known literary depiction of testamentary manumission as a means to control slaves and win their affection can be found in Petronius’ *Satyricon* (71–72) in which the rich freedman, Trimalchio, had his will read out during his dinner party, informing the guests which of his slaves were to be freed when he died and what they were to inherit. Already the slaves show their gratitude, giving a hint of the show of grief and mourning the owner could expect at his funeral: “[A]nd if I live [my slaves] shall soon taste the water of freedom. In fact I am setting them all free in my will. I am leaving a property and his good woman to Philargyrus as well, and to Cario a block of buildings, and his manumission fees, and a bed and bedding.....I am making all this known so that my slaves may love me now as if I were dead.” They all went on

to thank their master for his kindness, when he turned serious and had a copy of the will brought in, which he read aloud from beginning to end, while the slaves moaned and groaned.....the whole household filled the room with lamentations, for all the world like guests at a funeral.’ Although within the realm of comic fiction, this story is rooted in the contemporary practice in the early empire of making funerals, as vehicles of self-promotion, popular spectacles that promoted public participation (Bodel 2000, 262–263).

A dead man’s clients and his *liberti* would march in his funeral procession. The more clients, the more important the dead man appeared, and one’s freedmen were one important group of these clients. In the so-called Will of ‘Dasumius’ of AD 108 from Rome, the testator requested specifically that freedmen be his pallbearers (*CIL* VI 10229; ILS 8379a; Bradley 1984, 97; Champlin 1991, 139–141; Gardner and Wiedemann 1991, no. 158). According to Persius (Sat. 3.106), *liberti*, clearly only recently freed by will and referred to as ‘day-old Roman citizens’, often were used as pallbearers:

A fine processional with trumpets and tapers too,  
Our poor fellow now looking quite relaxed  
All made up with powder and some sweet smells  
High on a bier with feet turned toward the door,  
Borne out by his slaves (smiling day-old Roman citizens).

A funerary relief of the late first century BC from Amiternum (Fig. 8.1) portrays the *pompa funebris* and the public display of mourning of a family (Toynbee 1971, 46–47, pl. 11; Flower 1996, 98–99, pl. 6; Bodel 2000, 264–265, fig. 1). It depicts the deceased man on a canopied bier, accompanied by the distraught family, musicians and professional mourners. Eight pallbearers are depicted, indicating that this family could afford more than the four pallbearers of a pauper and more than the six bearers encountered in middle-class circles (Martial 2.81, 6.77, 8.76), but we are not looking at an aristocratic funeral procession of overt extravagance. Given that the surviving written documents specify the role of freedmen as pallbearers at the funeral, we might hypothesise that these figures on the relief were of freed status. The wailing women on the relief might also be former slaves lamenting the passing of their patron, although they could equally be hired mourners. There is no doubt, however, that the women on one of the reliefs of around AD 100 from the tomb of the Haterii in Rome (Fig 8.2) are grateful and mourning freedwomen gathered around the deceased *patrona* who is not carried in a cortège, but who lies in state in her home (Giuliano 1968; Sinn and Freyberger 1996; Bodel 2000, 267–270, figs. 2–3; Leach 2006). Three hunched figures sit at the head end of her bier in a pose of public mourning, their hair worn open and looking dishevelled. It is obvious that they are no longer slaves, but *liberti*, as they wear the cap of liberty (*pileus*) on their heads, the headgear given to newly liberated slaves as a sign of their changed status (Appian, *Mith.* 2). Such a cap is the central motif of symbolic significance on the reverse of coins issued by M. Junius Brutus in 43–42 BC in Greece after his participation in the assassination of Julius Caesar (Sydenham 1952,

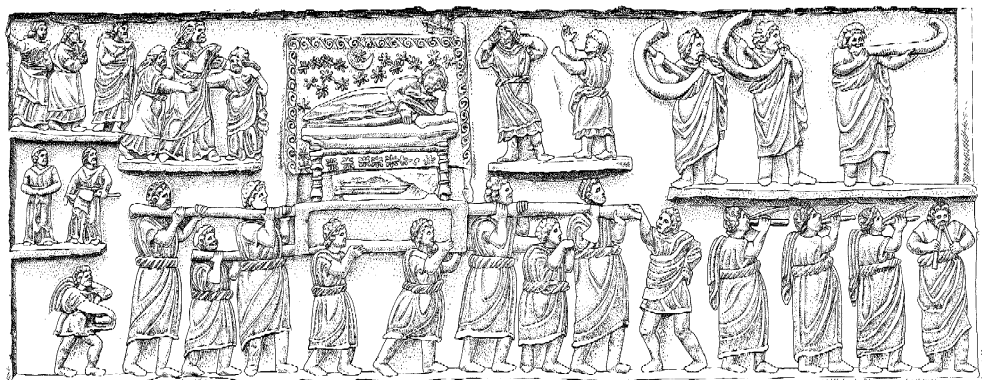


Fig. 8.1 Funerary relief from Amiternum showing a funeral procession. Drawing: J. Willmott.

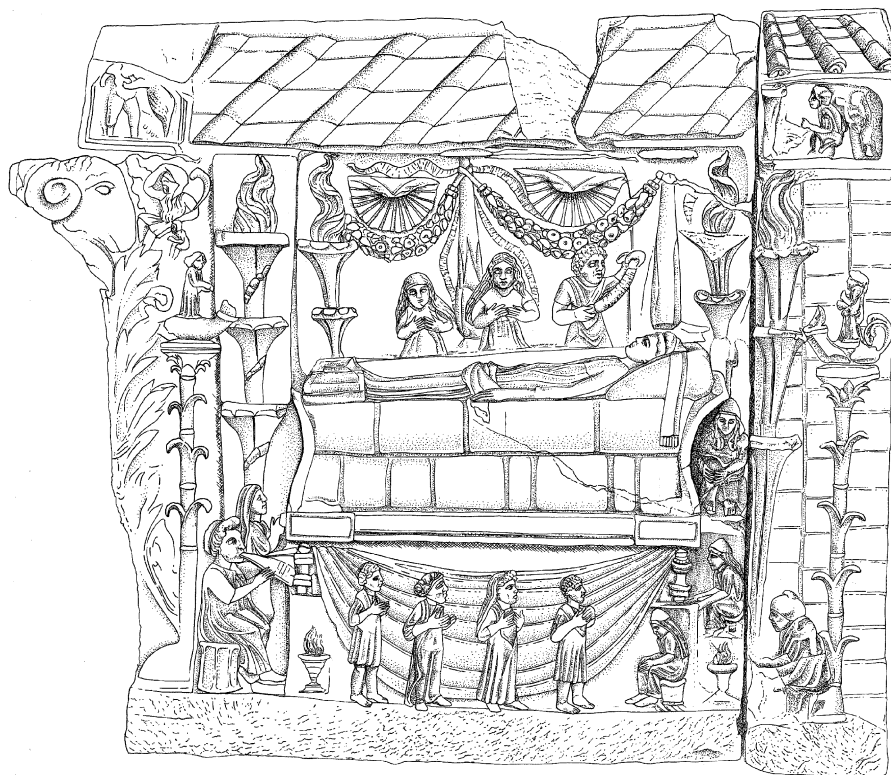


Fig. 8.2 Funerary relief from Rome (Tomb of the Haterii) showing the deceased lying in state and mourning dependents around her. Note the three freedwomen with caps of freedom on the lower right. Drawing: J. Willmott.

No. 1301, pl. 30; Crawford 1974, no. 508.3, pl. LXI). The *pileus*, flanked by daggers, and accompanied by the inscription EID MAR, expressed the liberation of Rome from the tyranny of Caesar on the Ides of March.

Who carried the bier and who walked in the procession as a mourner may have differed slightly in the aristocratic funeral from less prestigious ceremonies such as that represented in the relief from Amiternum. At funerals of the nobility in Rome, significant numbers of *liberti* must have accompanied the body, but even other members of the aristocracy might accompany the bier, and they might even wear a cap of liberty (Flower 1996, 91–127). Livy (30.43, 30.45.5, 38.55), for example, tells us how the praetor Q. Terentius Culleo, marched in the funeral cortège of Scipio Africanus in 183 BC wearing a *pileus*, a symbol of the freedom that had been granted by Africanus to him and other Roman captives held by the Carthaginians in 201 BC (38.55). Clearly at the funeral of Aemilius Paullus, consul and victorious general over Macedonia in 167 BC, the pallbearers were men from other nations and Roman citizens as well, and both the young and old had roles to fulfil. Plutarch (*Aem.* 39) tells us: ‘...his funeral procession called forth men’s admiration, and showed a desire to adorn his virtue with the best and most enviable obsequies. This was manifest...in good will and honour and gratitude on the part, not only of his fellow citizens, but also of his enemies...Young and strong of body assisted by turns in carrying the bier, while the more elderly followed with the procession calling aloud upon Aemilius as benefactor...’

Perhaps the desire to have as many participants as possible in the funeral, in emulation of the funerals of the aristocracy, prompted others of lesser status to liberate quantities of slaves according to the last will and testament, who would guarantee those things that society appreciated and valued in the funeral cortège of Aemilius Paullus: a public display of mourning, admiration, honour, gratitude and the portrayal of the deceased as a benefactor. An aristocratic funeral would involve families of similar status, magistrates and officials, throngs of onlookers and, of course, the public parading of wax ancestor masks, the masks sometimes being worn by actors to impersonate famous family members (Flower 1996). Especially for a freedman, who had no illustrious ancestors and who had held no public office apart from those reserved for freedmen, a well-attended, theatrical *pompa funebris* would have helped to compensate in death for inequality in life.

*Manumissio testamento* had one great advantage, beyond the retention of the services of slaves to the very end and the possibility of applying a condition to their liberation. Testamentary manumission brought the slave-owner prestige and public recognition at his funeral, with freshly freed slaves following or carrying his corpse and noisily proclaiming his liberality and magnanimity. The fictional freedman Chrysanthus, friend of Trimalchio, had freed some of his slaves by *manumissio testamento* (Petronius, *Sat.* 42). According to a friend of Trimalchio’s who, along with the freed slaves and the wife of Chrysanthus attended the funeral, ‘the mourning was very good’. Petronius and many other Romans will have witnessed this spectacle often enough in real life.



*Manumission in funerary inscriptions and written wills*

It is not uncommon to find epitaphs that make reference to the tombs having been built by freedmen for their patrons, but it is far less common to find references to *manumissio testamento* in such inscriptions. Nevertheless, such texts exist and they are informative about manumission, at least from the point of view of the *libertus*. A funerary inscription of AD 86 belonging to Lucius Vafrius Epaphroditus in Rome, for example, reveals that he was freed at the age of thirty according to the will of Lucius Vafrius Tiro, centurion of *Legio XXII Primigenia*, on the tenth day of the kalends of April when Domitian was consul for the twelfth time (*ILS* 1985). He died a little over a year later, sadly unable for very long to enjoy his freedom. In Córdoba Lucius Calpurnius Salvianus also was granted freedom according to the will of his *dominus* in the first century BC (*CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/7.432=*CIL* II 2265). Typically, the brief, but key, details are that liberation had taken place according to the last will and testament and that the individual's status had irrevocably changed for the better, resulting in freedom and Roman citizenship. To memorialise this change in status, these details were inscribed in a permanent medium on public display.

More precise and detailed information on the manumission of slaves from the point of view of the master can be found in another kind of document, the last will and testament itself (Kaser 1980, 289–299; and see Noy, this volume). Several wills survive in fragmentary form only because they were transcribed onto marble tablets and fixed to the tomb as a permanent record of the original (and perishable) written document. The so-called Will of 'Dasumius' of AD 108 from the Via Appia in Rome is one of them (*CIL* VI 10229; *ILS* 8379a; Bradley 1984, 97; Champlin 1991, 139–141; Gardner and Wiedemann 1991, no. 158). It preserves some of the provisions this slave-owner made for at least some of his dependants on his death. Excerpts cited below clearly demonstrate the power of the master to determine the fate of individuals of differing sexes and professions, whether to free them or, in line with the *lex Aelia Sentia*, to deny them liberty.

[Also I ask that freedom be given to] Sabinus the accountant and My[...] subject to their rendering accounts, along with their women. Likewise [...] the cook and Crammicus [the...] and Diadumenus the accountant, [...] the treasurer [along with his woman, whom he is to] have in faithful marriage.

I likewise ask that...you set free...the steward [on rendering of] account [and ...]es and Eutyches the older valet. [In addition I give and bequeath to my] maternal aunt Septuma, wife of Secundinus, [my slaves...Menecrates, Paede]ros. [I ask that you do not] manumit Menecrates and Paederos, [but] keep them [in the same occupation as long as they live since] through no fault of mine they have so gravely [offended...by injurious] and unacceptable [behaviour].

This kind of *ante mortem* regulation of testamentary manumission is also recorded in the marble titular inscription above the door of Gaius Publius Heracla's tomb in the

Vatican necropolis (Tomb A) beneath St. Peter's basilica in Rome (Mielsch and Von Hesberg 1995). Since the tomb was constructed prior to Heracla's death, as was the epitaph, the legal instructions in it refer to the future. It states that legal control of his monument will be given to his freedmen and freedwomen and to 'those whom I shall have freed by will, as well as those who are freed conditionally (*in statu libertatis*)' (AE 1945, 136; Gordon 1983, 142–143). Heracla will have freed these individuals, subject to a condition, although we do not know what it was.

Occasionally a person's will was added to or modified from the original terms, and in that case a codicil was written that needed to be witnessed, signed and sealed to be valid (Kaser 1980, 298; Dropsie 1996). A passage from the Will of 'Dasumius' refers to just such a procedure: 'Anything I leave in notebooks [*codicilli*] or in any other form, written and sealed, I wish to be entirely valid, as if I had left them in my will, written and sealed...' A codicil could contain some addition or alteration to the intent to manumit, as it appears to be the case in an inscription from Ostia. Here Marcus Manlius Diligens names specific individuals as well as, more generally, those freedmen and freedwomen whom he will have freed as part of his will or those named in a codicil (CIL XIV 382). An epitaph of the late second century AD from Cefalù in Sicily also preserves an *exemplum codicillorum* recording the emancipation of an *alumnus* and a slave (CIL X 7457; ILS 8377).

Finally, thanks to the preservation of details of the will in a permanent medium, we have a direct reflection of the *lex Aelia Sentia* of AD 4 prohibiting the *manumissio* of slaves under the age of thirty, unless by agreement with a *consilium*, in a marble epitaph from Ostia (CIL XIV 1437; ILS 1984; Gardner and Wiedemann, 1991, no. 45). Decimus Otacilius Hilara had his will made to include the testamentary manumission of two sons born as slaves before he and his co-freedwoman were manumitted; one of the sons was young enough to have required his freedom to be conferred on him in *consilio manumisso*.

### *Tombs and memory*

Tombs and grave markers of all shapes and sizes lining the roads outside Roman settlements were among the most visible and public monuments across the empire (Toynbee 1971; Purcell 1987; Von Hesberg 1992; Koortbojian 1996; Carroll 2006). The funerary monument, according to Roman legal sources, was designed to preserve memory (Ulpian, *Digest* 11.7.2.6, 11.7.42). Although there were many people in the Roman empire who, for various reasons, were not commemorated with permanent stone memorials, about 200,000 funerary inscriptions survive, reminding us of the importance attached to the perpetuation of memory. The texts on Roman tombs were a source of information on each individual, and they were intentionally chosen by the deceased or those close to the deceased to negotiate and display status and to

commemorate a network of personal relationships the dead enjoyed. What was or was not included in the epitaph reflected an intentional and manipulative selection of details and information to make the life of the deceased visible and memorable (Hope 2001, 24; Flower 2006, 1).

Both patrons and freedmen are well represented in funerary commemoration. Images of freedmen and freedwomen and monuments by and to them are one of the most ubiquitous forms of funerary display in the Roman world (Zanker 1975; Zanker 1992; Kleiner 1977; Dexheimer 2000; George 2006; Leach 2006; Petersen 2006). The 'deliberate shaping process' of choosing particular aspects and circumstances of an individual's life can be seen very clearly here (Hope 2001, 24). A freed slave, and particularly his children who were fortunate enough to be born outside slavery, would have been keen to have that crucial status publicly memorialised in a funerary inscription (Weaver 1991). Patterson (1982, 40) calls the state of being enslaved 'social death', but this phase of a slave's existence ended with manumission. Social resurrection from this point in time needed to be negotiated, and the reality of one's life compensated for; the tomb was an ideal public arena for the transition from having extra-societal status to operating autonomously within the fabric of Roman society. Both the owners of slaves and those freed by them were concerned to have a proper memorial as a reflection of their 'essence and dignity' (*substantia et dignitas*) (*Digest* 11.7.2.6, 35.127), and they used funerary monuments as a public form of self-representation, depicting themselves either as liberal and generous patrons or as faithful and honourable freedmen. The advertisement of a slave-owner's grants of freedom to slaves in the texts and images of funerary monuments reflected not only his *substantia et dignitas*; it also underlined his *humanitas*, especially if the slaves were particularly deserving of freedom. One is reminded of the approval Quintus felt when his brother Marcus Cicero finally freed and made an *amicus* out of his slave Tiro who was worthy, trusted and in possession of considerable literary skills (Cicero, *Fam.*16.16). The idea that loyal service deserved manumission certainly crops up in literary sources, although, in reality, this did not necessarily greatly influence the regularity of grants of freedom (Wiedemann 1985, 164–165).

### *Patrons provide for their freedmen*

The surviving wills of the Roman period demonstrate that the owners of slaves made concerted efforts to leave specifications about their tombs, their entitled inhabitants and their maintenance. They often determined which of those freedmen and freedwomen would have the right and privilege of sharing the family tomb of the *patronus*. Both freedmen manumitted by the testator himself or by his legal offspring could be eligible for this inclusion in the burial community. Freedmen thereby would be assured a decent burial and a permanent monument to perpetuate their memory and display their new

social status. From the first century AD funerary inscriptions appear frequently that advertise the provision by the patrons of a place in the family tomb for freedmen and freedwomen; even the possibly as yet unborn offspring of the freedmen and freedwomen are included. In a fairly typical titular inscription of the second century AD from Portus (Fig. 8.3), the patrons Publius Varius Ampelus and Varia Ennuchis emulate dozens of other tomb owners in that cemetery in admitting their household or *familia* into their last place of rest (Baldassare *et al.* 1996, 71–77, figs. 25–26; Hope 1997, 75, fig. 5). The formula *libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum* –for their freedmen and freedwomen and their offspring– is a standard one used for this type of legal document. Since slave women rarely were manumitted before the age of thirty, when they were most fertile, freedwomen had their genetic contribution to the next and subsequent generations of free-born offspring ‘severely curtailed’ (Scheidel 1997, 167–168). Married couples in the freedman group may often have remained childless or had only few children who may not have survived to inherit (Gardner 1998, 56). The frequent inclusion of *liberti* in the burial community of people who were freedmen and freedwomen themselves is very likely related to this situation and one way in which heirs to the estate and protectors of the tomb could be found. Providing and paying for a monument for one’s freedman might also have acted as an ‘incentive [for all freedmen] to be loyal to their



Fig. 8.3 Tomb inscription of P. Varius Ampelus and Varia Ennuchis from the Isola Sacra cemetery at Portus providing a place of burial in the tomb also for their freedmen and freedwomen and their children. Photo: M. Carroll.

patrons', as an epitaph from Forlì reveals (*CIL* XI 600; Gardner and Wiedemann 1991, no. 43). Not only the prospect of liberty, but also the promise of one's own memorial, therefore, could be dangled like a carrot in front of the slave's nose.

Although these family tombs were inclusive, but somewhat vague, in their view of future members of the community of death, the *dominus* or *patronus* was selective in determining who would share his monument with him. 'Dasumius' certainly had a preference for his own freedmen: 'I request of [...] my heirs, [of you in particular, my dearest daughter...not to] allow anyone after me to be buried in that place, except those whom I myself manumitted...or those whom you wish in future of your own freedmen.' It was also not uncommon for the tomb-owner to bar some of his dependants from the tomb, naming them specifically in his will and in the titular inscription that was a lasting record of it. The reasons given for the rejection of certain freedmen and freedwomen from the burial community are usually vague, although a freedman's 'ungrateful and offensive behaviour' (*CIL* VI 11027; *ILS* 8285) or a freedwoman's 'disloyalty towards her patron' (*CIL* VI 13732; *ILS* 8115) might be given as justification. These accusations are based on the legal definition of ingratitude: a lack of respect by a freedman (*obsequium*) for his patron. This might involve a freedman's refusal 'to look after the management of his master's property or to act as his children's guardian' (*Digest* 37.14.19; Gardner 1998, 75).

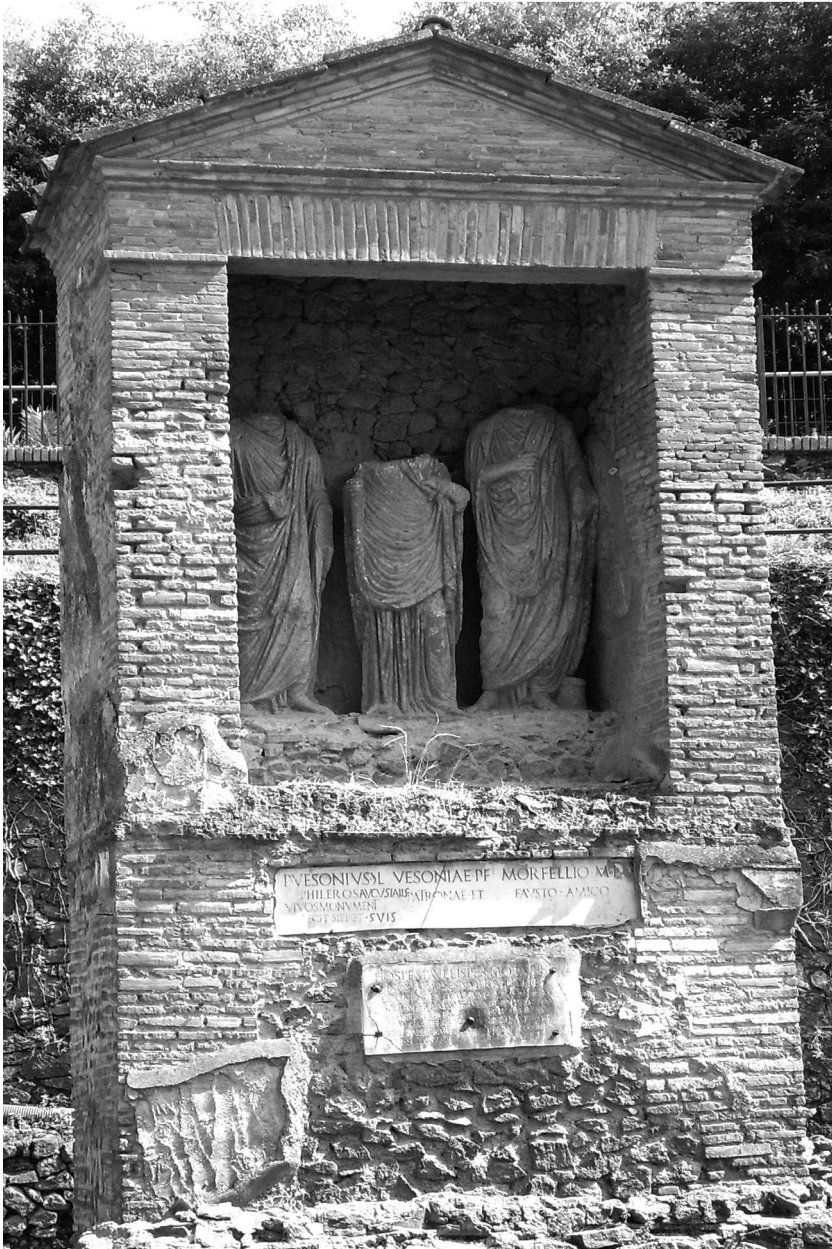
### *Freedmen perpetuate the patron's memory*

Whilst, on the one hand, ex-slaves could benefit by the patron's provision of a place for them in the family tomb, a frequent benefit for the patron, on the other, was that his freedmen and freedwomen might erect a tomb (perhaps as part of a condition for their manumission) for him when he died. The will of 'Dasumius', for example, contains the condition that his funerary monument was to be completed within a certain time after his death by his freedmen, and it also determined how much they were to spend on it. Such wishes were compelling, especially for the heir or the person(s) designated, and they represented a moral obligation within the legal relationship (Meyer 1990, 77–78). In this way, the *patronus* had a proper burial and an appropriate commemorative monument. Relations between patrons and freedmen in funerary practice, therefore, reflect both the responsibilities of the patron relative to his freedmen's rights and property (*bona*) and the system of *operae* which the freedman was obliged to perform for his former owner (Watson 1975, 108–110; Garnsey 1981; Mouritsen 2001). The epitaph of Publius Varius Ampelus and Varia Ennuchis at Portus discussed above also illustrates the custom of *liberti* honouring their patrons by building them a commemorative monument. They built their tomb, as the titular inscription tells us, not only for themselves and their dependants, but also their *patrona* Varia Servanda.

Elsewhere, in Pompeii, the freedman Publius Vesonius Phileros, erected a grand funerary monument outside the Porta Nocera around the mid-first century AD for his *patrona* Vesonia, himself and his friend (D'Ambrosio and De Caro 1983, Tomb 23OS) (Fig. 8.4). Vesonia not only was thereby given a prestigious and conspicuous built tomb, with her own statue preserving her appearance, but she was also able to rely on a grateful freedman, his family and his household who will have continued to pay their respects dutifully and perform obsequies in her memory. Recent excavations have demonstrated just how frequented this precinct was as the focus of funerary rites and commemorative performances for the dead (Lepetz and Van Andringa, 2006, 2008 and 2010). Occasionally epitaphs contain very specific instructions that access to the tomb must be ensured to the freedmen and freedwomen of the deceased, even to the point that the heir was to let them have the key to the tomb 'so that they may sacrifice as often as is necessary' (*CIL* VI 12133; *ILS* 8365). Such rituals of remembrance – sacrificing, pouring libations, commemorative meals – were essential acts performed repeatedly and regularly in honour of the dead (Graham 2005a, 2005b).

Gratitude and duty towards the patron is also apparent in the text of an epitaph with high quality portraits of the freeborn Lucius Antistius Sarculo and his freedwoman wife Antistia Plutia from Rome (*CIL* VI 2170; *ILS* 5010; Zanker 1975, 296, fig. 34; Walker 1995, 80, fig. 57) (Fig. 8.5). The epitaph reveals that their two freedmen paid for this monument out of their own money in the late first century BC to perpetuate the memory of their patrons. As an added bonus and a reciprocal benefit, they, and three other named freedmen of Sarculo and Plutia, were allowed to share their patrons' tomb, as a second, lengthier inscription tells us (*CIL* VI 2171). Freedmen were also often required to care for and see to the upkeep of the patron's tomb long after his death. Trimalchio's (fictional) declared intention to put one of his freedmen in charge of his burial place to protect it (Petronius, *Sat.* 71) is reflected in actual practice. Sextus Iulius Aquila, a Gallo-Roman aristocrat from Langres in Gaul, for example, left a will in the second century AD specifying the details of his monument and determining that his freedmen, both those freed while he was alive and those who were provided for in the will, were to tend his monument and observe his birthdays in perpetuity with commemorative rituals (*CIL* XIII 5708; *ILS* 8379; Hatt 1951, 66–69; Lavagne 1987, 162–163).

Owning slaves, particularly if there were vast numbers of them, was an indication of wealth and status in Roman society. But substantial prestige and status in society could also be gained by freeing slaves and thereby increasing one's entourage of loyal clients. Commemorative inscriptions that reflected a lengthy client list of freedmen contributed significantly to the reputation of a *patronus* and reflected on his magnanimity in releasing slaves. Epitaphs survive that list numerous *liberti*, all of them, of course, taking the family name of the patron and perpetuating it for generations. Cicero (*Tusc.* 1.31) includes 'the propagation of the name' as a means of caring for the future. The elder Pliny (*HN* 2.154) mentioned monumental inscriptions as 'giving a longer life to men's name and



*Fig. 8.4 Tomb of the freedman P. Vesonius Phileros built for himself, his patroness and his friend in the Porta Nocera cemetery at Pompeii. Photo: M. Carroll.*



Fig. 8.5 Portraits and epitaph of L. Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia, commemorated by their freedmen. Photo: British Museum.

memory’, and the more times that name would be adopted by one’s dependants and appear in public inscriptions the greater the prestige. For Pliny the Younger (*Ep.* 9.19.3), ‘everyone who has done some...memorable deed should be...praised if he wishes to ensure the immortality he has earned and...seeks to perpetuate the undying glory of his name’. Although manumitting slaves was not necessarily an act of historical importance or a great deed of social relevance to all, as an act of *humanitas* it was certainly viewed by those it immediately affected as a memorable deed. The master’s desire to have his actions publicised and remembered are understandable in the competitive climate of Roman society.

In particular in and around Rome, funerary inscriptions can list very large numbers of individuals freed by a generous patron, casting light on the wealth of the family to have owned so many slaves and to be able to free so many (and replace them with new slaves). It is not uncommon to find a dozen or more names of freedmen and freedwomen in one inscription. Such lists of names may represent a burial club or *collegium*, formed by the joint efforts of all *liberti* who had worked for the same master, in which case they took their burial and commemoration into their own hands, rather than relying on their patron to provide for them. A couple of examples here will suffice to illustrate the importance of perpetuating the name of the patron. The *liberti* Marcus Aurelius Asclepiades, Aurelia Salvia, and Marcus Aurelius Euclatus list sixteen other Aurelii in



their titular inscription in Rome who had the right to be buried with them (*CIL* VI 38076). Even more impressive is the inscription commissioned by the freedmen of the Lucius Appuleius family in Salerno to commemorate well over sixty individuals, all with the family name of Appuleius (*CIL* X 557). The desire of the *patronus* for a lasting name would certainly be given some fulfillment here. Although such inscriptions send immediate signals about wealth and prosperity and the maintenance of a substantial *familia* and circle of dependants, they still, however, might be giving us only part of the picture. They tell us nothing about the total number of other slaves not named here that the owner might have freed in the course of his life because we have insufficient evidence about the slave-holdings of any individual (Gardner 1992, 348).

Freed slaves could act as the property heirs of the patron, but they were also heirs to his name. This factor was perhaps particularly important if there were no children to inherit the estate of the patron and keep the (adopted) blood-line and the name alive. In an epitaph from Margum in Moesia Superior, Lucius Valerius Seranus, a legionary veteran, says: 'A husband I was not, but I freed slaves' (*CIL* III 1653, Suppl. 8143). These freed slaves, ten in all, were his heirs and they set up the monument to their unmarried and childless patron whose name they all took as their own and passed on to subsequent generations.

### *Anonymous but visibly effective freedmen in Roman Gaul*

The manumission of slaves clearly was viewed as a sign of the owner's generosity and worth being publicly displayed. This could be conveyed by including the names of the freed slaves in the text of the epitaph, as we have seen. There is, however, a unique group of funerary monuments in Gaul which does not always refer explicitly in the text to *manumissio testamento*, but which nevertheless provides some indication of how many slaves the owner set free and how the magnanimity of the patron was expressed in this part of the empire.

This assemblage of funerary monuments from Nîmes, Narbonne and Lyon includes altars, *stelae* and mausolea; on all of them there are carved or incised depictions of caps of liberty somewhere on the face of the memorial (Carroll 2006, 238–239). It is certain that the carved *pilei* on the Gallic gravestones are symbols representing freedmen and freedwomen. The number of *pilei* will have informed the viewer how many slaves the owner had freed. These *pilei* are often arranged in rows, ranging in number from one to thirteen, the average number being four (Fig. 8.6). On the funerary altar commemorating Sextus Granius Boudo in Nîmes, the number of *pilei* corresponds directly to the number of freedmen named in the inscription, three caps are depicted and three freedmen are named, (Sextus Granius) Homullus, (Sextus Granius) Iaphys, and (Sextus Granius) Alchimedo (*CIL* XII 3603). But the names and the *pilei* do not always correspond in number. One freedman may be named as the commemorator,



*Fig. 8.6 Funerary altar of T. Boduacius Karus and his wife Gaia from Nîmes depicting three stylised caps of freedom on the base. Photo: M. Carroll, courtesy of the Musée Archéologique de Nîmes.*

and yet four caps of liberty are represented (*CIL* XII.3760; Fig. 8.7), or the unspecified heirs (*heredes*) are said to be responsible for the monument and there are five *pilei* in total. Attia Philendis in Nîmes, for example, received a funerary altar in the second century AD from her freedmen and freedwomen who were her designated heirs; no personal names are stated, but six *pilei* are depicted at the bottom, so that it can be assumed that she had liberated six former slaves (*ILGN* 442). If only depictions of caps survive in fragmentary monuments, we cannot tell whether freedmen were mentioned in the accompanying, but now lost, inscription (Fig. 8.8).

Perhaps only those who paid for the stone will have had their names recorded in the text. If we remember the funerary monument with portrait busts of Lucius Antistius Sarculo and Antistia Plutia from Rome, only those two freedmen who provided the funds for the monument of their patrons are named; the other freedmen who shared the tomb are listed in a separate inscription, and there is no mention of any financial contribution on their part. The inclusion of *T P I* (*testamento poni iussit*), 'erection ordered by the will', at the end of the epitaph of Lucius Severius Severinus, an aedile of the second century AD in Nîmes, may be a reference to the testamentary obligation on the part of the three freedmen depicted as three *pilei* to set up a memorial to their patron (*CIL* XII.3273; Carroll 2006, 238, fig. 72). Perhaps the *dominus* had attached a condition to the emancipation of his slaves, the condition being that the *liberti* were obliged to set up a memorial to him. Perhaps cost also played a role, as it would have been cheaper to carve a series of *pilei* than to have a letter-cutter inscribe a series of names. If these six freedmen and freedwomen were obliged to erect a monument to their patron according to the will, they had fulfilled this obligation, whether or not they include their own names.

It is also possible that the anonymous caps of liberty refer to the number of freedmen, (and their families), who were to share the patron's tomb. Like the rather anonymous provision in Italian epitaphs of space provided in the tomb for the freedmen, freedwomen and their offspring (*libertis libertabusque posterisque eorum*, see fig. 8.3), these *pilei* might express the intention of the former owner to open up his burial community to other members of the *familia*.

In the end, however, it may be that the *pilei* were simply a visual indicator of the number of slaves generously freed than a list of the actual names and identities of the lucky ones. It is not uncommon on Gallic funerary monuments to find objects carved to convey symbolically a message, particularly in those regions along the Rhône river. Here, for example, the *ascia*, a tool used in building, is often depicted as a variant to what sometimes is written out in words: *sub ascia dedicavit*, 'dedicated while under the hammer' (see Carroll 2006, fig. 9). The *ascia* may reflect a rite of dedication to render the tomb inviolable and place it under divine protection or to signify the exclusivity of the tomb for the person(s) named in the epitaph (Hatt 1951, 85–107; De Visscher 1963, 285). The liberty caps carved on Gallic gravestones functioned much the same way that a series of names on funerary inscriptions in Italy and elsewhere did: they



Fig. 8.7 Funerary altar of C. Nemonius Plocamus set up by his freedman in Nîmes and showing four stylised caps of freedom on the bottom. Photo: M. Carroll, courtesy of the Musée Archéologique de Nîmes.

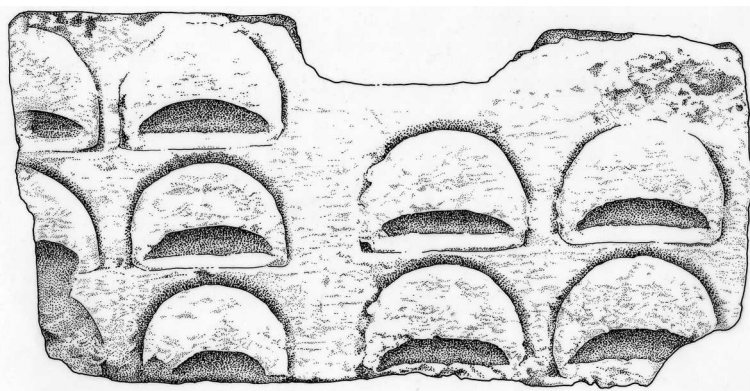


Fig. 8.8 Fragmentary stone block from a mausoleum in Narbonne depicting rows of caps of freedom. Drawing: J. Willmott.

conveyed information about the wealth, status and magnanimity of the patron, and they gave viewers an inkling of the number of manumitted slaves who bore the family name of the former owner for succeeding generations. Lists of names of freedmen or rows of *pilei* of freedmen communicated to the viewer that good deeds had been performed and accomplishments achieved, something, with Cicero (*Rab. Post.* 16–17), that was worthy to be ‘handed on as a memorial to succeeding generations’.

### *Conclusions*

Augustan legislature in the late first century BC limited the number of slaves that could be freed on the death of their master, forcing the owner to be selective in his choices. This law was designed to hinder the wealthy Roman from making his funeral a public spectacle with the aid of the slaves he had manumitted, especially those freed by testament at his death. The conspicuous participation of newly liberated slaves in the funeral procession of their patron was to be curbed and the public self-promotion of the liberators as good and magnanimous men displaying *humanitas* limited. Displays of mourning, gratitude and general lamentations nonetheless continued in this context in the first and second centuries AD, for a dead man’s clients and *liberti* would be an important part of the funeral procession as mourners and pallbearers. For the non-elite, and particularly for freedmen who themselves had liberated slaves and who had no illustrious ancestors portraits to parade in the cortège or who could expect no high-ranking dignitaries at their funeral, the desire was strong to liberate slaves and thereby construct a well-attended, theatrical send-off.

Testamentary manumission is occasionally recorded in funerary epitaphs of freedmen, this most important change in status thereby being advertised in a permanent medium on public display. Surviving wills drawn up by slave-owners also survive as transcripts written in stone and they clearly demonstrate the power of the master to determine the fate of individuals, whether to free them or to deny liberty to them, and to subject their dependants, once freed, to certain conditions such as maintenance of the patron’s tomb.

Both patrons and freedmen are well represented in funerary commemoration. The owners of slaves and those freed by them were concerned to have a proper memorial as a reflection of their status and dignity, and they used funerary monuments as a public form of self-representation, appearing either as liberal and generous patrons or as worthy and deserving freedmen. The wills and funerary inscriptions of slave-owners often specify that their freedmen and freedwomen had the right and privilege of inclusion in the burial community of the *patronus*, an advantage for the freedman being a decent burial and a vehicle with which to perpetuate his memory and display his new social status. Likewise, a frequent benefit of manumission for the patron was that his freedmen and freedwomen might choose to or were obliged to erect a tomb for him when he died. The

patron could also rely on a grateful freedman and his household to pay their respects dutifully and perform obsequies in his memory. Furthermore, freed slaves took the family name of the patron as their own, passing it on to subsequent generations and fulfilling the desire of the *patronus* for a lasting name. Relations between patrons and freedmen in funerary practice, therefore, reflect both the responsibilities of the patron in regard to his freedmen's rights and property and the duties which the freedman was obliged to fulfill for his former owner.

### *Bibliography*

- Baldassare, I., Braquantini, I., Morselli, C. and Taglietti, F. (1996) *Necropoli di Porto. Isola Sacra*. Rome, Libreria dallo Stato.
- Bodel, J. (2000) Death on display. Looking at Roman Funerals. In B. Bergmann and C. Kondoleon (eds) *The Art of the Ancient Spectacle*, 258–281. New Haven, Yale University Press.
- Bradley, K. R. (1984) *Slaves and Masters in the Roman Empire. A Study in Social Control*. Brussels, Latomus.
- Buckland, W. W. (1970) *The Roman Law of Slavery: The Conditions of the Slave in Private Law from Augustus to Justinian*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press (reprinted from 1908).
- Buckland, W. W. (1975) *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Third Edition). Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Carroll, M. (2006) *Spirits of the Dead. Roman Funerary Commemoration in Western Europe*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Champlin, E. (1991) *Final Judgements: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 BC–AD 250*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Crawford, M. H. (1974) *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- D'Ambra, E. (2006) Imitations of life: style, theme and a sculptural collection in the Isola Sacra Necropolis, Ostia. In E. D'Ambra and G. Métraux (eds) *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1526, 73–90. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- D'Ambrosio, A. and De Caro, S. (1983). *Un Impegno per Pompei. Fotopiano e Documentazione della Necropoli di Porta Nocera*. Milan, Touring Club.
- De Visscher, F. (1963) *Le Droit des Tombeaux Romains*. Milan, Giuffrè Editore.
- Dexheimer, D. (2000) Portrait figures on sepulchral altars of Roman liberti: Evidence of Romanization or assimilation of attributes characterizing higher social strata? In J. Pearce, M. Millett and M. Struck (eds) *Burial, Society and Context in the Roman World*, 78–94. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Dropsie, M. A. (1996) *The Roman Law of Testaments, Codicils and Gifts in the Event of Death*. Littleton, Fred B. Rothman and Co. (reprinted from T. & J. W. Johnson and Co., Philadelphia 1892).
- Fabre, G. (1981) *Libertus: Recherches sur les rapports patron-affranchi à la fin de la république romaine*. Paris, Boccard.
- Flower, H. I. (1996) *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

- Flower, H. (2006) *The Art of Forgetting. Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.
- Gardner, J. F. (1991) The purpose of the Lex Fufia Caninia. *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 35, 21–39
- Gardner, J. F. (1992) Roman will-making. Review of E. Champlin, *Final Judgements: Duty and Eomtion in Roman Wills, 200 BC–AD 250*. *The Classical Review* 42.2, 347–349.
- Gardner, J. F. (1998) *Family and Familia in Roman Law and Life*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Gardner, J. F. and Wiedemann, T. (1991) *The Roman Household: A Sourcebook*. London, Routledge.
- Garnsey, P. (1981) Independent freedmen and the economy of Roman Italy under the Principate. *Klio* 63, 359–371.
- George, M. (2006) Social identity and the dignity of work in freedmen's reliefs. In E. D'Ambra and G. Métraux (eds) *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*. British Archaeological Reports International Series 1526, 19–30. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Gordon, A. E. (1983) *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy*. Berkeley, University of California Press.
- Graham, E.-J. (2005a) The quick and the dead in the extra-urban landscape: the Roman cemetery at Ostia/Portus as a lived environment. In J. Bruhn, B. Croxford and D. Grigoropoulos (eds) *TRAC. Proceedings of the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference*, 133–143. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Graham, E.-J. 2005b Dining al fresco with the living and the dead in Roman Italy. In M. Carroll, D. Hadley and H. Willmott (eds) *Consuming Passions: Dining from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, 49–65. Stroud, Tempus.
- Giuliano, A. (1968) *Documenti per servire allo studio del monumento degli Haterii*. *Memorie della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* 13, 449–482.
- Hatt, J. J. (1951) *La Tombe Gallo-Romaine*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France.
- Hesberg, H. Von (1992) *Römische Grabbauten*. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Horsley, R. A. (1998) The slave systems of Classical Antiquity and their reluctant recognition by modern scholars. In A. D. Callahan, R. A. Horsley and A. Smith (eds) *Slavery in Text and Interpretation = Semeia* 83/84, 19–66.
- Hope, V. M. (1997) A roof over the dead: communal tombs and family structure. In R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds) *Domestic Space in the Roman World. Pompeii and Beyond*, 69–88. Portsmouth, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*.
- Hope, V. M. (2001) *Constructing Identity: The Roman Funerary Monuments of Aquileia, Mainz and Nîmes*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 960. Oxford.
- Kaser, M. (1980) *Roman Private Law*. Durban, Butterworths.
- Kleiner, D. E. E. (1977) *Roman Group Portraiture: The Funerary Reliefs of the Late Republic and Early Empire*. New York, Garland Publishing.
- Koortbojian, M. (1996) *In commemorationem mortuorum*: text and image along the 'streets of the tombs'. In J. Elsner (ed.) *Art and Text in Roman Culture*, 210–233. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Koortbojian, M. (2006) The Freedman's voice: the funerary monument of Aurelius Hermia and Aurelia Philematio. In E. D'Ambra and G. Métraux (eds) *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1526, 91–99. Oxford, Archaeopress.

- Lavagne, H. (1987) Le tombeau, mémoire du mort. In Hinard, F. (ed.) *La mort, les morts et l'au-delà dans le monde romain. Actes du Colloque de Caen 1985*, 159–166. Caen, Université de Caen.
- Leach, E. W. (2006) Freedmen and immortality in the tomb of the Haterii. In E. D'Ambra and G. Métraux (eds) *The Art of Citizens, Soldiers and Freedmen in the Roman World*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1526, 1–18. Oxford, Archaeopress.
- Lepetz, S. and Van Andringa, W. *et al.* (2006) Pour une archéologie de la mort à l'époque romaine : fouille de la nécropole de Porta Nocera à Pompéi. *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres : Comptes-Rendus*, avril-juin, 1131–1161.
- Lepetz, S. and Van Andringa, W. *et al.* (2008) I riti e la morte a Pompei: nuove ricerche archeologiche nella necropoli di Porta Nocera. In M-P. Guidobaldi and P. G. Guzzo (eds), *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003–2006), Convegno Internazionale organizzato dalla Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, Rome, 2007*, 377–387. Rome, “L'Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Lepetz, S. and Van Andringa, W. (2010) *Publius Vesonius Phileros vivos monumentum fecit*: Investigations in a sector of the Porta Nocera cemetery in Roman Pompeii. In M. Carroll and J. Rempel (eds) *Living through the Dead. Burial and Commemoration in the Classical World*, 110–133. Oxford, Oxbow Books.
- Meyer, E. A. (1990) Explaining the epigraphic habit in the Roman Empire: the evidence of epitaphs. *Journal of Roman Studies* 90, 74–96.
- Mielsch, H. and Von Hesberg, H. (1995) *Die heidnische Nekropole unter St. Peter in Rom. Die Mausoleen E-I und Z-PSI*. Rome, “L'Erma” di Bretschneider.
- Mouritsen, H. (2001) Roman freedmen and the urban economy: Pompeii in the first century AD. In F. Senatore (ed.) *Pompeii tra Sorrento e Sarno*, 1–27. Rome, Editore Bardi.
- Noy, D. (2000) *Foreigners at Rome. Citizens and Strangers*. London, Gerald Duckworth & Co.
- Patterson, O. (1982) *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.
- Petersen, L. H. (2006) *The Freedman in Roman Art and Art History*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Purcell, N. (1987) Tomb and Suburb. In H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds) *Römische Gräberstraßen. Selbstdarstellung – Status – Standard*, 25–42. Munich, Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Scheidel, W. (1997) Quantifying the sources of slaves in the early Roman Empire. *Journal of Roman Studies* 87, 156–169.
- Sinn, F. and Freyberger, K. S. (1996) *Die Grabdenkmäler. Die Ausstattung des Hateriergrabes* (Vatikanische Museen, Museo Gregoriano Profano ex Lateranense, Vol. I.2). Mainz, Von Zabern.
- Sydenham, E. A. (1952) *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*. London, Spink and Son Ltd.
- Toynbee, J. M. C. (1971) *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Treggiari, S. (1969) *Roman Freedmen During the Late Republic*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Walker, S. (1995) *Greek and Roman Portraits*. London, British Museum Press.
- Watson, A. (1967) *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Watson, A. (1975) *Rome of the XII Tables. Persons and Property*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Weaver, P. R. C. (1991) Children of freedmen (and freedwomen). In B. Rawson (ed.) *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, 166–190. Oxford, Oxford University Press.



- Wiedemann, T. (1981) *Greek and Roman Slavery*. London, Routledge.
- Wiedemann, T. (1985) The regularity of manumission at Rome. *Classical Quarterly* 35, 162–175.
- Zanker, P. (1975) Grabreliefs römischer Freigelassener. *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 90, 267–315.
- Zanker, P. (1992) Bürgerliche Selbstdarstellung am Grab im römischen Kaiserreich. In H.-J. Schalles, H. von Hesberg and P. Zanker (eds) *Die römische Stadt im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, 339–358. Cologne, Rheinland Verlag.