

Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis

Agents, Images, and Practices

*Proceedings of the VIth International Conference
of Isis Studies (Erfurt, May 6–8, 2013 – Liège,
September 23–24, 2013)*

VOLUME 1

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Roman Children and the “Horus Lock” between Cult and Image*

Annika Backe-Dahmen

1 The Isiac Deities and their Relation with Children

The Egyptian goddess Isis successfully made her way into the cultic worship and everyday life of the Romans. She had a special meaning for both women and girls, as she was venerated as a protective deity in regard to wishes and concerns in notably female areas: wearing the epithets Bubastis or Lochia, she was invoked when it came to matters of the life-cycle – marriage, fertility, birth and, likewise, death.

Her distinct connection with women and the family in general becomes apparent when one looks at figural representations of her lactating her little son Horus and written sources such as the aretalogies. In an aretalogy from Cyme (perhaps 1st cent. CE), which was found in the local *Iseum* in 1925,¹ Isis praises herself for having brought man and woman together, instituting marriage contracts, imposing childbearing on women, and taking care of all matters related to that laborious and dangerous task. Isis, Osiris (Sarapis) and Horus (Harpocrates) became a kind of embodiment of family that was praised as holding up a basic principle stated in the above mentioned aretalogy: there, Isis “laid down” that a child ought to love its parents; she also threatened punishment if her commandment was ignored.² In this regard, Plutarch in his work *De Iside et Osiride* (ca. 120 CE) praises Horus as a model for filial piety and love for parents.³

* I would like to thank Laurent Bricault, Richard Veymiers and Valentino Gasparini for inviting me to participate in the conference as well as for their valuable contributions to this manuscript. I am also indebted to Marianne Bergmann for giving me the opportunity to read an article of hers prior to its publication, to Caecilia Fluck for a fruitful discussion about jewelry from Roman Egypt, and to Céline Trouchaud for exchanging views on a child's portrait.

1 *RICIS* 302/0204, l. 17.

2 *RICIS* 302/0204, ll. 19–20.

3 Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 19 (358B–E).

Horus was also credited for being the overseer of human infants' education, as written in an aretalogy dating from the late 3rd or early 4th cent. CE from Chalcis.⁴ In this source, his name is spelled "Karpokrates", son of Isis and Sarapis. With that, we have arrived at the main Egyptian deities that played a central role in the cultic worship of every-day life, to whom Roman parents sent their prayers, in order to ensure health and well-being for their offspring. In fact, there are a number of extant archaeological monuments dedicated by parents together with their children (in the case of votive offerings or donations) or on behalf of their children in sanctuaries of Isis as well as Sarapis throughout the Roman Empire. Often, the parents ask for their children's well-being. A case in point is a statue base from Cyme found in the ruins of the mentioned sanctuary of Isis, dating from the 2nd cent. CE.⁵

In Egyptian every-day cult, children also played an interesting role insofar as they acted as mediums for divine advice and answers that were granted to those who came to certain temples, seeking guidance.⁶ Plutarch refers to a relevant episode in the mythology surrounding Isis' search for her vanished husband (who was tricked by friends of Typhon into a chest whose lid was then nailed to fasten it, before the coffin was launched into a river): when she came to a city called Kopto, she approached children from whom she then got the pivotal information about what had happened and where she had to turn (*i.e.* Byblos) in order to find her beloved again.⁷

Human children being consecrated to the Egyptian gods are attested several times, like the boy Timandros who is mentioned in the inscription of an

4 *RICIS* 104/0206, l. 6.

5 *RICIS* 302/0201, pl. LXXV. Apparently, likewise Apis was asked for ensuring the well-being of children, as evidenced by an inscription on an altar from Abila in Syria dating from 321/322 CE where the celestial bull and Zeus Aktipegaios are invoked both for the above mentioned purpose and for granting fertility to women: see *RICIS* 402/1004.

6 The underlying concept is elaborated on by Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 14 (356E): "Wherefore the Egyptians think that little children possess the power of prophecy, and they try to divine the future from the portents which they find in children's words, especially when children are playing about in holy places and crying out whatever chances to come into their minds" (translation taken from Meyer 1987, 163). There was a famous children's oracle at Memphis, at the temple of Apis, where those who wanted to consult the god went to the bull and whispered their question into the animal's ear after which they quickly covered their own ears and went outside. The first words they would hear then from the children playing there were considered the answer the god had given. On this, see Paus. VII, 22, 2–4; X.Eph. V, 4, 11; D.Chr. 15 or 32, respectively, § 13; Ael., *NA* XI, 10. See Merkelbach 1995, 103, § 181, with n. 3 and 4, 361, § 605, with n. 4; and Alvar 2008, 42 (with reference to Gwyn Griffiths 1970, 315) points out that in Egypt schools were often attached to temples for this very reason.

7 Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 14 (356D).

altar from Hyampolis (Greek Phocis) dating from the 2nd/1st cent. BCE as having been consecrated, by his parents Eukleidas and Kallo, to Sarapis, Isis and Anubis.⁸ From the same geographical area, from the city of Tithorea, comes an early 2nd cent. CE base of a statue of a boy called Theonidas who had been consecrated to the same triad by his parents.⁹ In Tithorea, a sanctuary of Isis, Sarapis and Anubis was located, where slaves could be freed by means of a fictitious sale;¹⁰ if in central Greece children (as well as adults) are mentioned in this context, it is not because they were initiated or consecrated in any way but because they were freed from their servile status through the mentioned act in the temple of the Isiac deities.¹¹

Roman children being close to the cult of the Isiac deities, Isis in particular, is evidenced by both literary sources and figural representations. The testimonies of these two genres complement each other in their content and provide the essential basis for answering questions like the following: what new insights can be gathered in regard to the so-called “Horus lock” – or “youth lock”, as it is sometimes referred to?¹² Were not only adults but also children initiated into the cult? Were there not just boys, but also girls amongst the children consecrated to Isis? Can we possibly find in the archaeological material such special cases as double consecration, which is hitherto attested only by written sources? And, finally, should not some of the hairdos, which have been identified as mere variations of a leitmotif, *i.e.* the “Horus lock”, be interpreted otherwise?

8 *RICIS* 106/0302. On this testimony, see Bricault 1997, 120.

9 *RICIS* 106/0401. While the stone block in question had been identified as an altar, Laurent Bricault concluded – on the basis of an illustration in Rousset 2012, fig. 13 – that it was rather a statue base that exhibits the mortices where the boy’s statue was once inserted: *RICIS Suppl.* 111, p. 140–141, 106/0401. On this monument see Dunand 1973, 11, 174, n. 2; Bricault 1997, 120, and afterwards in *RICIS* 106/0401. In the Greek world of Hellenistic times, an individual could be consecrated to a god or goddess, for example the Isiac deities, in order to be freed from his or her servile status: on the relevant sources, see Darmezine 1999.

10 On this, see Alvar 2008, 304, no. 390.

11 See, for example, the following testimonies from Chaeronea in Boiotia making reference to children (or juveniles): *RICIS* 105/0801, 105/0828, 105/0831–0832, 105/0853, 105/0888, 105/0891. From Tithorea: *RICIS* 106/0404–0408.

12 The term “Horus lock” is to be preferred – the term “Isis lock” (as used, for example, by Moock 1998, 68), in contrast, is to be rejected since it describes the long curly strands of hair falling on both shoulders as one of the characteristic attributes of Isis, which consequently becomes an often encountered feature of her female adherents but not of children of whatever sex.

2 The So-called “Horus Lock”

Via Hellenistic times and the Ptolemies, Roman art of Imperial times borrowed a distinct iconographic feature from Egyptian depictions of Horus-Harpocrates for children, as can be seen both on grave markers as well as, sometimes, in images that show still living children. In ancient Egypt, a longer strand of hair bound together in a plait and hanging in front of the ear was a characteristic feature of minors. The cranial hair can either be shaven, short-cropped or arranged in some kind of coiffure. More than one plait appears from the Middle Kingdom onwards, and starting in the New Kingdom the plait is sometimes replaced by a more voluminous section of hair.¹³ A feature of juvenile deities, it became particularly prominent for Harpocrates as the embodiment of the divine child and son (of Isis and Osiris). Denoting young age, this iconographic element also served as an ideogram when reference was made either to child/childhood or son/daughter; as hieroglyph, it can also mean “to rejuvenate”.¹⁴ Herman de Meulenaere has shown that the importance of this sign was also reflected in Egyptian anthroponymy in that the name Sisois, or “lock” – as evoking the lock of child-deities, most notably Horus-Harpocrates – was also adopted by cult officials who were thus given the designation “wearer of the lock of young Horus”.¹⁵

While in Egypt the lock indicated the youth of its wearer (human and divine alike), in the rest of the Greco-Roman world it gained an additional connotation, hinting not so much at a certain age but at a religious identity and, more specifically, the cult of the Isiac deities. Modern scholarship has taken this iconographic element as a sign that a child so depicted had been consecrated to Isis or initiated into her mysteries.¹⁶

What this lock, with its inherent religious meaning, looked like is described by Macrobius¹⁷ who stated that at the right-hand side of the otherwise completely shaven head there was a long strand of hair left. This seemingly precise description comes up against many depictions of children, for example in portraits in the round, grave reliefs and mummy portraits, which seem to display the very feature – but other hairdos are likewise subsumed under this by

¹³ Müller 1980, 273–274.

¹⁴ Sandri 2006, 100.

¹⁵ Meulenaere 1991, 133–135. On the lock as a marker of youth in ancient Egypt, see also Marshall 2013, 35–42, with 94–96 (variations) and 185–187 (cutting the lock).

¹⁶ On Valerian II being depicted on coins with the “Horus lock”, as probably the most prominent wearer of this element, and its possible explanations within the Imperial dynastic propaganda, see Brenot 1973 and Zaccaria 1976–1977.

¹⁷ Macr., *Sat.* I, 21, 14.

modern scholars, and interpreted as indicating a connection with Isis.¹⁸ The latter, however, deserves a reappraisal.¹⁹

Following on some earlier academic work on the topic, Victorine von Gonzenbach²⁰ examined portraits, dating mainly from the 2nd and 3rd cents. CE depicting Roman children up to an age of approximately 14 years with the so-called "Horus lock", systematically and as a group in 1957.²¹ It is thanks to her work that these portraits could be interpreted as children being consecrated to the goddess Isis. Since Gonzenbach's publication, however, more than six decades have passed and a couple of scholars have reconsidered her theories. Hans Rupprecht Goette took up the matter again in 1989 and presented an updated list of relevant Roman monuments. Sixty-four of these exhibit the lock falling freely onto the shoulder on the right side of the head; another four have this lock bound into a plait; 14 portraits are shown with the lock located at the back of the head, while only two have this strand bound into a plait; four depictions exhibit the lock at the left-hand side of the head; and, finally, no braided examples on the left side are known. In this list Goette included boys' portraits only, for he was not entirely convinced that likewise girls wore this hairdo. As depictions in question he lists another 11 works of art, but the overall ratio continues to be valid.

Goette was able to prove Gonzenbach wrong in her assumption that the different locations of the lock were linked to a chronological development, starting in the 1st cent. CE with the lock at the back of the head, via a transitional phase when the lock was bound into a plait, arriving at the true "Horus lock" in Hadrianic times with the strand located at the right-hand side, finally

18 Goette 1989a, 208: "Die langen Haarsträhnen, die sie [= die auf der Athener Agora gefundenen Köpfe mit Locke und Myrtenkranz, author's note] auf der Kopfrückseite aufweisen, erlauben uns zudem, alle Bildnisse mit einer derartigen Frisur, gleichgültig, ob sie eine Ohrlocke oder eine am Hinterkopf tragen, auf Knaben zu beziehen, die den Isis-Mysterien geweiht waren. Ist die Position der Jugendlocke also tatsächlich nicht ausschlaggebend für die Interpretation als Isis-Knabe, so mag dies auch für die Strähnenanbringung an der linken Kopfseite bzw. für Zöpfchen-Wiedergaben gelten (...). Am deutlichsten ist dies wohl bei den am Ohr oder auf dem Hinterkopf erscheinenden Zöpfen: Denn es ist schwer vorstellbar, daß eine offen fallende Jugendlocke eine andere Bedeutung haben sollte als die zu einem Zopf geflochtene. Der Zopf mag nur eine bequemere zu tragende Variante derselben Erscheinung gewesen sein; darauf deutet die Tatsache hin, daß er bisweilen hochgeschlagen und am übrigen Haupthaar befestigt wurde".

19 Already in 1972, Michel Malaise expressed a more critical point of view: "Cette « boucle d'Horus » était-elle effectivement une marque religieuse ou ne reflétait-elle qu'une mode égyptienne, c'est ce qui nous paraît difficile de déterminer dans l'état présent de notre documentation" (Malaise 1972b, 151).

20 Gonzenbach 1957.

21 The older scholarly work done on the topic is summarized by Gonzenbach 1957, 11–13.

corresponding with the old Egyptian depictions of Horus. Her theory of course relied heavily on the dates of the portraits – a number of these, however, were proven incorrect. Some of the depictions Gonzenbach had taken as being sculpted in earlier Imperial times were in fact produced during the 3rd cent. CE.

A portrait of a boy wearing a myrtle wreath from Eleusis, as well as two statuary heads likewise with the wreath found on the Athenian agora, were taken by Goette in 1989 as the starting point for his argumentation that no matter which position of the lock it would always refer to Isis. Of the heads with wreath found at Athens, two, perhaps even three,²² show the lock not on the right-hand side but emerging from the scalp. The question arises: does that mean anything at all or is a lock at the back of the head to be treated equally in terms of its religious connotation, *i.e.* as sign that the one depicted had been consecrated to Isis? Or are we on the safe side only in regard to the lock at the right-hand side and have to look for other possible explanations for the lock at the back of the head? Could the latter perhaps indicate that the child so depicted had been placed under the protection of Apollo or Aphrodite – for their sanctuaries were quite near-by – and could it be possible that the (now gone) statues which these heads had once belonged to might have been displayed there? After all, none of these mentioned heads were actually found in the *Eleusinion* proper.

Although the Roman representations of these Eleusinian hearth initiates²³ hark back to earlier Greek models, in that they exhibit the myrtle wreath, they – and this is important to bear in mind – did not have anything to follow on in terms of the lock as a kind of “status marker”. Even though hair offerings²⁴ were always much more common in Greek daily life (the most important ceremonies in regard to “coming of age” were accompanied by hair

22 Harrison 1953, 54–55, no. 41, pl. 28, 55–56, no. 42, pl. 27, and 60–61, no. 46, pl. 29. According to a close inspection conducted by Céline Trouchaud (whom I thank for sharing this information with me), the third head, inv. no. S1312, is in a rather deteriorated state which makes it nearly impossible to verify the hypothesis that it once exhibited a similar lock.

23 For all we know, children were apparently only accepted as initiates if they were hearth-initiates; on this, see Clinton 1974, 107, with n. 55.

24 For ritual haircutting in ancient Greece, see Harrison 1988; Leitao 2003; Brulé 2015. About hair offerings in antiquity more generally, see Sommer 1912a; Sommer 1912b; Kötting 1986, 181–190; Tiedemann 2007, 81–88. With hair offerings in ancient Egypt (while also giving interesting modern ethnographic parallels) deals Tassie 1996. In the context of the Egyptian youth lock and its afterlife in present-day Egyptian countryside, Naguib 1990, 21, calls to mind that a ritualistic practice often originates from a practical, hygienic expedient, *i.e.* the shaving of the head might have been done not only as an apotropaic action to avert the evil eye but as a prophylactic measure against lice as well.

offerings) than was practiced by the Romans,²⁵ on the other hand, representations of the lock in Greek art are lacking, since age groups were signified by other elements such as chubbiness/squareness of bodily and facial features, nakedness/clothing, accessories (like toys or jewelry, amulets in particular), actions and context of the relevant depiction.²⁶

Hairdo is another significant Greek aspect which, however, does not include such coiffures as the ones we are dealing with in Roman art in this very context, *i.e.* short-cropped hair in combination with a prominent lock (wherever located).²⁷ Since there is a clear tradition in terms of iconography of the representations of the son of Isis, Horus-Harpocrates, handed down from Egyptian art to Roman representations, it seems justified to consider only the lock at the right-hand side as the sign of a child being placed under the protection of Isis.²⁸

25 In contrast to numerous sources attesting hair offerings for the Greek culture, there is only scant material for the Romans: Tert., *Anim.* xxxix, elaborates on the habit of Roman fathers pulling some hair out of their new-born baby or even cutting it. See Samter 1901, 65, with n. 1.

26 Seifert 2006; Crelier 2008, 106–110.

27 The only exception is Minoan and Mycenaean art where children and youths of either sex can be depicted with one or more locks or strands of wavy hair which modern scholars have tried to interpret as age markers: Chapin 2007, 247–248 in particular; Rehak 2007, especially 213. As for the possibility that the lock or rather its length might have served as indication of the age group of the depicted child in Roman art: if the lock did indeed serve to indicate age then the lock of hair would be the longer the more time had passed since the preliminary initiation – that in turn would mean that the lock would be generally quite long with older children and markedly short with children of a very tender age. That, however, is not corroborated by the figural representations where young children can be shown with a longer lock and older ones with a shorter lock (while this of course is based on the assumption that the depictions reflect the actual appearance of the ones depicted). It must also be stressed at this point that a preliminary initiation did not necessarily only take place very early in the children's lives or even immediately after birth. Albeit: given the fact that the children in question were placed under the protection of the goddess with this preliminary initiation it simply must have made sense to do just that when the minors were still at a tender age, *i.e.* in a phase of their life when they were most threatened to fall victim to fatal illnesses or malevolent demons, as the Romans feared.

28 A mummy portrait of a boy, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum (inv. no. 78.AP.262; illustrated, for example, in Borg 1998, 68, fig. 81, and argued by G. Tallet, *supra*, 435, fig. 14-5, in this book), is an example of another kind of distinct "coiffure": the otherwise shaven head exhibits not only a lock at its right-hand side but also two little tufts of hair above the forehead. This has been interpreted by Georges Nachtergaele, drawing on the findings of Ikram 2003 and terracotta statuettes of Harpocrates, as hinting at a ritual that involved the cutting of a child's (or adult's) hair, thus asking for its recovery or, prophylactically, its well-being. Nachtergaele 2004. See also *supra*, n. 24.

In 1991 and 1993, respectively, Dominic Montserrat and Bernard Legras²⁹ asked if this coiffure might possibly have a different meaning than a religious one. They identified the ones depicted with the so-called “Horus lock” – or at least a part thereof – as *mallokouretes*, hence the sons of the local upper echelons of society who, following the Greek tradition, cut off their hair in the public eye on the occasion of their reaching the (fiscal) age of legal maturity – that is, at the age of 14 – in a festive ceremony called *Mallokouria* (as locations where this rite was conducted, the extant papyri mention the great *Sarapieion* in Alexandria and the Thoeis sanctuary in Oxyrhynchos).

However, as Barbara Borg pointed out in her 1998 examination of the Egyptian mummy portraits,³⁰ the argumentation of Montserrat and Legras is problematic, methodologically most of all.³¹ Borg proved the hypothesis wrong that all kinds of “Horus lock” ought to be considered a youth lock in the proper sense, hence *malloi* and symbols of status.

Based on the hypothesis that the “Horus lock” and the “youth lock” did in fact look different, Borg arrived at the following important conclusions: 1) it is only possible to evaluate the portraits with a markedly longer strand of hair (sometimes plaited or held in place by some kind of ribbon) with a somewhat “additive appearance” located at the right-hand side of the head as representations of children consecrated to Isis; and, 2) as evidenced by the mummy portraits, girls in Egypt did not wear the “Horus lock”.

In 2011, Mirko Vonderstein took that issue further in his interpretation of a Roman boy’s portrait in the Berlin Collection of Classical Antiquities.³² The boy is shown with a remarkable coiffure that consists of long cranial hair combed to the head’s back and bound at the neck with a fillet whose ends are clearly visible. Contrary to earlier scholarly opinions, Vonderstein made his point that this is by no means a short hairstyle – he rather considers the portrait to be the first one in the round that can be safely identified as a boy wearing the *mallos* which is hitherto known only from the Egyptian mummy portraits.

Finally, in an article published in 2016, Marianne Bergmann interpreted three children’s portraits in the round as depictions of boys as *mallokouretai*, on the basis of the just mentioned coiffure, even if she called for further

29 Montserrat 1991; Legras 1993.

30 Borg 1998.

31 After all, their interpretation is based on modern age determinations that are destined to remain uncertain, to say the least. Plus, these age determinations are evaluated statistically as seemingly “safe” findings. And since the *Mallokouria* was only undertaken by male youths, the scholars only refer to this particular group which they identify as male by mere looks alone.

32 Inv. no. Sk 1894. See Vonderstein 2011.

corroboration of the hypothesis raised by Vonderstein. In her view, the three portraits may well represent children of the privileged classes of Greek origin. The lock then served as a status marker, emphasizing the wearer's and his family's Greekness in Egypt under Roman rule.³³

In sum and on the basis of the just outlined findings it now seems well justified to exclude from the list of “children with the Horus lock” those portraits that feature longer cranial hair, bound at the neck with a fillet, forming a kind of voluminous (non-braided) strand. In the material from Roman Egypt the ends of the fillet are clear to see, which the Berlin head actually corresponds to, while in some other portraits this particular element is not really that accentuated – if at all.

As for the lock being located at the left-hand side or at the back of the head, a connection with Isis has still to be proven. Already at this point it becomes clear that we should not adhere anymore to generalizations but allow for reappraisals and perhaps even new attributions.

3 How Close a Connection between the “Horus Lock” and the Cult of Isis after All?

At this point, a general question arises: is the connection between the so-called “Horus lock” and the mystery cult of Isis really that strong? Or, to put it the other way round, where in the archaeological material can we find a genuine, secure depiction of a child consecrated to Isis? And what does the hairdo look like in such a case?

It is important to bear in mind that so far not a single depiction of a child – with whatever kind of hairdo – has actually been found in any of the (in the Greco-Roman world quite numerous) sanctuaries of Isis as the main places where one would expect such likenesses of children consecrated/initiated to be displayed. At this point the unique case of the Isis Temple at Pompeii springs to mind: it had been rebuilt after the earthquake of 62 CE by Popidius Numerius Celsinus. It is highly probable that some kind of statue was erected in his honor and it would be intriguing to see how the 6-year-old boy was depicted, *i.e.* if he was actually shown wearing a “Horus lock”. Unfortunately no

33 Bergmann 2016, 171: “(...) in order to conform to the Roman system of norms, it was necessary to emphasize one's Greek status in particular, and this was partially accomplished through a boy's hairstyle associated with a particular social status. In the land of the ancient youth- or Horus-lock, the hairstyle of the *mallokouretai* may be regarded both as a mark of assimilation – because hairstyles to distinguish male age classes gained greater importance for the Greeks in Egypt – and simultaneously as an indication of distinction”.

portrait of him has survived, but even if it had, and if it really exhibited the lock, we still could not be certain about his status (consecrated and/or initiated) from the mere look of the portrait alone.³⁴

There are, however, some instances where depictions of a child wearing the so-called “Horus lock” have been found near a local sanctuary of Isis. One such instance is the grave stele of a boy called Vibius, from Hohenstein (Virunum) in the Roman province Noricum, which was reused and found in Pulst, where a temple precinct of Noreia-Isis was discovered.³⁵ Vibius is shown with short-cropped hair and a longer strand located at the right-hand side of his head. Another case of a so-depicted child from Noricum is the funerary stele of 13-year-old Cassianus in St. Nikolai, nine kilometers away from Frauenberg, where a local Isis temple was excavated in 1951.³⁶ However, since the marker formed part of a wall of a church’s apsis but was not found in its original context, an alleged connection with Isis cannot be ascertained beyond doubt.

Another example is the portrait in the round of a little child, from Bulla Regia, Tunisia,³⁷ that was found together with a statue of Isis in the vicinity (south-west) of the theater where also a sanctuary of Isis was located. The child is shown not with a lock at the right-hand side of his head, but with a mass of curly hair falling onto his neck.

Although these examples seem to point to a close connection with Isis, the ultimate proof provided by a figural representation of the actual appearance of the “Horus lock” in Roman times is nevertheless still lacking. Instead, we have to turn to monuments from which we can infer, given their context and/or iconographical features, a relation with Isis, after which we are able to examine what the children actually looked like in this context. Of great importance in this regard are the depictions of parents who were close to the cult of Isis, against the backdrop that it would be the adherents of Isis who were most

34 Inscription: *CIL* X 846 = *ILS* 6367 = *RICIS* 504/0202. Translation given in Cooley & Cooley 2004, 31: “Numerius Popidius Celsinus, son of Numerius, rebuilt at his own expense from its foundations the Temple of Isis, which had collapsed in an earth-quake; because of his generosity, although he was only 6 years old, the town councillors nominated him into their number free of charge”. Although the inscription states that the little boy used his own money to fund the rebuilding, that was probably not the case. It is considerably more likely (see also Gonzenbach 1957, 116–117) that his father paid for it and put his son in the first row, who – in turn – was accepted amongst the decurions despite his young age. This granted him great prestige which to the boy’s father, a freedman with the ever-sticking stigma of his servile origin, must have been very rewarding. On Pompeii and the *Popidii*, see Gasparini 2014a, 288–296.

35 Vetters 1961; Diez 1968–1971, 114–116, fig. 1; Goette 1989a, 212, no. A30; *RICIS* 612/0202.

36 Vetters 1961, 468; Diez 1968–1971, 116–117, fig. 2.

37 Attya Ouertani 1995, 399–402, pl. 2, figs. 1–4.

likely to place their offspring under the protection of their venerated goddess. Such a status had been obtained by Clea, the lady to whom Plutarch devoted his treatise *De Iside et Osiride*. She had been initiated into the Isiac mysteries by her parents.³⁸ Unfortunately, though, no depictions of hers have come down to us that could tell us how (if at all) her special status was actually reflected in her portrait.

Now, we turn to the Roman grave reliefs of former slaves (*libertini*) which might yield interesting results. However, a search brings a few monuments to light that feature adult *isiacae*³⁹ – albeit, the relevant images do not involve any children which is why this genre can be dismissed in this context. More results are obtained by an examination of the Greek grave reliefs from Roman times like, for example, the grave stele of the son of Sôteriôn from Athens:⁴⁰ the adult *isiaca* at the right end of the grave stele is accompanied by a rather large male figure in civic garments who wears a clearly visible lock at the right-hand side of his head. In this example, the woman (who may well be identified as the mother) exhibits a distinct connection with Isis while the lock of the young man (*i.e.* very probably the son) can be interpreted as a sign of his consecration to Isis.⁴¹

Likewise a connection with Isis has the young boy whose grave stele has been found at Ostia⁴² (Fig. 17.1): his clothes are markedly similar to the ones worn by grown-up Isis believers, and as a matter of fact, he wears his lock at the right side of his head. Similarly, the little one shown on the gold glass medallion at Pesaro⁴³ carries a distinct mark on his forehead, the *sphragis*, which in pagan times could have served to distinguish the initiates of different

38 Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 35 (364E). See Gwyn Griffiths 1970, 95–96. That also the priesthood of divinities worshipped in mystery cults could run in the family is attested, for example, by the inscription on an altar from Pannonian Poetovio (Ptuj) that mentions both father and son as priests of Isis: *RICIS* 613/0301 (138–161 CE).

39 On the terminology, see Malaise 2007b, 20, and the contribution by R. Veymiers, *supra*, esp. 4–15, in this book. Roman grave reliefs of *libertini* with some sort of connection with the Isis cult: Kockel 1993, 93, no. A 13, pl. 9 c, and 138–139, no. H 2, pls. 2 a, 48 b, 49 d-f.

40 Athen, NM, inv. no. 1223. See Walters 1988, 38, n. 39, 84, pl. 38 (“second decade of the 3rd century after Christ”); Eingartner 1991, 146, no. 103, pl. LXV (“A. D. 60–90”). Inscription: *RICIS* 101/0248.

41 Eingartner 1991, 146, no. 103.

42 Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 150. See Becatti 1938; Becatti 1939; Gonzenbach 1957, 149–150, no. K 18, pl. 17; Kleiner 1987, 273, no. 6; Goette 1989a, 212, no. A24; Merkelbach 1995, 597, fig. 125; Arslan 1997, 417, no. v.38 (N. Agnoli); Mander 2013, 193, no. 151; Siebenmorgen 2013, 194, no. 145.

43 Gonzenbach 1957, 151, no. K 20, pl. 18b.

(mystery) cults.⁴⁴ This mark, in combination with the lock at the right-hand side, might well indicate that the boy had undergone a preliminary initiation into the cult of Isis.

The sarcophagus of 7-year-old Iulius Filocyrius from Ostia⁴⁵ depicts a Nilotic scene as well as a portrait medallion of a child with the said lock. Scholars have come to be rather reluctant in automatically addressing the one buried in such a sepulchral monument as having been an initiate into a mystery cult. This monument alludes to Egypt and points to the parents (according to the inscription below the portrait *clipeus*, the memorial had been commissioned by the father) fancying a somewhat Egyptian atmosphere evoked by iconographical elements that may have been used like set pieces⁴⁶ but which, on the other hand, cannot be taken as outright proof that the boy depicted on the front, *i.e.* the deceased, had actually been consecrated to Isis during his lifetime.⁴⁷

4 Were there also Girls amongst the Children Consecrated to Isis?

The question whether or not the children consecrated to the Isiac deities, notably Isis, included girls can be answered outright positively. For this positive answer a number of sound arguments can be invoked. Firstly, there is the literary testimony of Anthia, who is said in Xenophon's *Ephesiaka* to have been consecrated to Isis during her childhood years.⁴⁸ At the earlier stages of her life, Clea, later to be priestess in Delphi, had been "consecrated" in the

44 Nock 1964, 135: "It has indeed been thought that the description of baptism as *sphragis*, 'seal' or *photismos* (or *photismo*) 'illumination' and of the baptized as 'perfect' or 'being perfected', *teleioi*, *teleiomenoi*, is based on the language of initiation, but this is not so. *Sphragis* and its cognates were used in the tattooing or branding of sacred eunuchs and of devotees or initiates in various cults, but *sphragis* was not a term for a pagan initiation as such".

45 Formerly Rome, Palazzo Vaccari-Bacchettini. See Gonzenbach 1957, 147–148, no. K 16, pl. 15; Goette 1989a, 213, no. A35; Huskinson 1996, 50, no. 6.40, pl. XI.3; Dimas 1998, 244, no. 108 ("late Gallienic times"); *RICIS* 503/1122 ("seconde moitié du III^e s. apr. J.-C.").

46 In this context Turcan 1999, 158, on the lighthouse that has been interpreted either as the one located at Ostia or at Alexandria, respectively: "En réalité, c'est comme un idéogramme du port, *portus quietus* ou *portus salutis*, où le défunt trouve enfin la béatitude".

47 This conclusion is also reached by Huskinson 1996, 88 and 144: "Although some parents might have chosen to secure the initiation, or induction, of their children into particular religious rites, perhaps to guarantee them a happy fate in the next world (as suggested by Cumont 1942, 282–283), evidence for this is hard to determine in the decoration of these sarcophagi (...)".

48 See Alvar 2008, 323–324.

“sacred rites of Osiris” through the priestly connections of both her father and her mother.⁴⁹

That women and likewise girls – as women in the making – had a special connection with Isis is obvious. After all, the protective goddess Isis was of major importance in many essential aspects of the female life cycle and, together with Osiris and Horus-Harpocrates, she represented something of a divine role model: both of a devoted and pious wife and a loving and caring mother.⁵⁰

In addition, she of course was invoked by women for help and assistance, particularly when it came to the wish to have children: from conception, to pregnancy and delivery etc.⁵¹ At her peak when Isis merged with female deities like Bubastis, Aphrodite and others, the Egyptian mother goddess assumed their functions (as indicated, for example, by her epithet *Lochia*) and became one of the central protective deities for women, likewise in the Greco-Roman world, particularly for those who had been initiated and were also undertaking priestly duties.⁵²

That Isis really was a goddess not just for adult women but for girls as well is evidenced by the inscription of an altar from Tarraconensian Acci (Guadix) from the second half of the 2nd cent. CE:⁵³ in honor of her little granddaughter, a certain Fabia Fabiana donated a lavish gift consisting of money and quite a number of precious stones she intended the cult statue of Isis to be adorned with. The inscription states that the donation was made to Isis *puell(laris)*. Hence, this monument indicates that Isis performed a specific protective function for young girls, too.⁵⁴

It is important to note that a certain formula is used in a few sepulchral inscriptions for children which is otherwise well known from monuments for adults already – or about to be – initiated: “may Osiris give you cool water” (“Οσειρις τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ”). This formula included the wish that Osiris may grant the deceased a blissful existence in the afterlife.⁵⁵ The said formula occurs not only in the inscription, from Rome dating from Domitian times, for

49 Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 35 (364E).

50 Heyob 1975, 42–44. See also the Isis aretology from Cyme, *RICIS* 302/0204.

51 Alvar 2008, 320–321, summarizes the areas in which Isis was invoked: “People prayed for ordinary favours, health and recovery of health, protection in child-birth, for the family, particularly children, safe return from a journey, escape from poverty, success in business or profession”. See also Alvar 2008, 329, with n. 501 (referring to the Ptolemaic Period).

52 On this, providing a number of bibliographical references, Alvar 2008, 321, with n. 461–465.

53 *RICIS* 603/0101.

54 X.Eph. III, 11, and v, 4, refers to Isis of Memphis as protective deity especially of the maidens.

55 Cumont 1929, 232–235; Vidman 1970, 13, n. 20; Delia 1992; Gasparini 2016c.

a boy called Markos Ortôrios Eleutheros who had died when he was 10 years of age,⁵⁶ but likewise in two cases for girls. The phrase was chosen for the siblings Priskos Nemônianos and Isidôra (*sic!*)⁵⁷ who had died at the same time, the brother with 15 and his little sister with 7 years, as can be read on a plaque from Caesarea Maritima from Roman Imperial times.⁵⁸ The inscription expresses the wish for both children to be affectionately received by Osiris in the netherworld. The variant of the formula naming Isis has come down to us with the inscription on an Imperial grave altar from Rome that was erected in honor of the girl Claudia Isias (*sic!*) who had died at a tender age, *i.e.* when she was just 1 year, 8 months and 19 days old. The inscription wishes the little one to be granted the fresh water and peace by Isis (*refrigerium*).⁵⁹

A general closeness to the Egyptian deities can also be inferred from testimonies from other genres⁶⁰ such as jewelry, as attested by a necklace⁶¹ from Roman Egypt, dating from the 1st cent. CE (Fig. 17.2). Its cut gemstones depict from left to right Aphrodite, mummified Osiris, the head of Sarapis, as well as Fortuna. With its length of a mere 22.6 cm, it could only have belonged to a

56 *RICIS* 501/0164. See Delia 1992, 190, no. 14; Gasparini 2016c.

57 A theophoric name like Isidôra, Isidôros or Isidotos alludes to Isis but does not per se indicate that the person so named was indeed initiated into the mysteries of Isis. On the religious explanation of these theophorians, see also the article of W. Clarysse, *supra*, 198–220, in this book.

58 *RICIS* 403/0401. See Gasparini 2016c.

59 *RICIS* 501/0197. See Gasparini 2016c. Heyob 1975, 61, points out that apparently this formula was especially popular for deceased of the female sex.

60 To the realm of superstition belong such testimonies like the tiny amulets made of glass paste with a suspension hole, bearing the inscription $\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha\kappa\epsilon\ \eta\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma$ ("Isis prevails") one of which was actually found in a little necropolis at the Via Latina in Rome, in the tomb a 15-year-old girl, dating from the 2nd cent. CE: *SEG* 53, 1103 = *AE* 2003, 247; See Sacco 2003; Alvar 2008, 238, with n. 108.

61 Galerie Nefer 1996, 48, no. 50; Veymiers 2009a, 259, no. IAB 274. Another interesting genre in this context, with a great many figural depictions harking back to Egyptian topics, are the Magical Gems, with which Simone Michel dealt (Michel 2004) and which (sometimes more than one) were also worn by children. Since, however, of most of the gems that have come down to us neither find-spot nor archaeological context are known (see Michel 2004, 2), it is rather difficult to determine individual magical gems as actually belonging to (identifiable) children. A possible small size of an ancient ring, for example, is of no great help, either, since rings could also have been worn by adults on the second phalanx or on their little finger, as can be seen on the Gratidii relief ("Cato and Porcia": Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Clementino, Sala dei Busti, 388; see Kockel 1993, 188–190, no. L 19, pl. 105). As for the religious concepts underlying these amulets, Campbell Bonner expresses doubts; also to the realm of superstition belonged the little *petala* or *lamellae* that consisted of a thin layer of silver or even gold, which was inscribed with formulae against demons and perils, then folded (often several times) and enclosed in a *bullula* or locket that was worn around the neck, especially by children (Bonner 1950, 150).

child whose sex, however, is a bit more difficult to establish since nothing is known about the specific context in which the necklace was found. In a 2013 article, Céline Trouchaud dealt with five children's mummy portraits found in the Fayum which feature necklaces with pendants that refer to the Isiac deities.⁶² Accompanying a central amulet, these pendants consist of small-scale busts of Isis and Sarapis. Of these five portraits, Trouchaud identifies the first three as male, while the fourth displays pendants that she considers Isiac in subject because of the iconographic resemblance to the first three examples. The fifth portrait is so poorly preserved that no secure identification as to male or female can be established.

The necklace in question, however, does not consist of any amulet capsule and/or miniature busts. Thus, it does not seem justified to automatically identify its ancient wearer as male. What kind of jewelry women and girls wore can be inferred from mummy portraits and archaeological finds. The deceased are shown with necklaces made of gold, pearls and/or precious as well as semi-precious stones. An exceptionally rich decoration is exhibited in the mummy portrait, now in Cairo, of a young woman.⁶³ Her attire identifies her as an adherent of Isis, and her elaborate decoration includes cut stones set into the gold frame around her painted portrait. These stones also include a gem.

That the distinction between the jewelry worn by boys and girls is not as clear-cut as it might seem, and as it is suggested by Trouchaud, is evidenced by a mummy portrait now in Copenhagen.⁶⁴ In the 2001 catalog written by Jørgensen, it is referred to as a depiction of a woman, but she seems to be quite young. What is important in regard to the relevant question is the kind of necklace she is wearing: it is a dark band with a gold pendant that might have served as a container for some amulet. Although there are no miniature busts of deities involved here, as was the case with the boys' depictions mentioned above, the band nevertheless has some similarities with the kind of “protective decoration” allegedly reserved for male children. That the person depicted in this mummy portrait is indeed female is attested by the pearl earring she is shown wearing.

Women and girls are often depicted wearing plain stones and/or imitations made from glass. A mummy portrait found by Pietro della Valle in Saqqara in 1615 features a woman wearing three necklaces, the one at the top made of gold

62 Trouchaud 2013.

63 Cairo, Egyptian Museum, CG no. 33216. See Borg 1996, 112–117, pl. 20, fig. 1; Borg 1998, 65, fig. 79. See also the article of G. Tallet, *supra*, 420, fig. 14.1, in this book.

64 Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. ÆIN 682. See Jørgensen 2001, 338–339, no 38, with further bibliography.

with a central medallion; the Berlin Collection of Classical Antiquities houses another such example.⁶⁵ According to Gertrud Platz-Horster, these bands were worn quite close on the neck and, because of their often limited length, can be interpreted as having been worn by girls.⁶⁶ What makes the Berlin band interesting is the fact that its central part is not a medallion but a gem: a cornelian with a depiction of Perseus and the medusa.

With this said, the necklace in question (Fig. 17.2) with its cut stones is more likely to have belonged to a girl than a boy. At any rate, the parents probably hoped for their little one to be protected by the deities depicted, and perhaps the child actually was close to their cult(s?): whether simply through the parents or because s/he was consecrated we cannot say for sure, however.⁶⁷

The fact that girls were accepted into the cult of Isis should come as no surprise since, as a parallel, a considerable number of girls are testified as initiates into the mystery cult of Demeter at Eleusis, as we know from inscriptions. When analyzing the material assembled by Kevin Clinton one arrives at the interesting result that girls were by no means in the minority – as a matter of fact, in Roman Imperial times they are mentioned in their function as *παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας* (*i.e.* τὸν παῖδα ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθέντα = hearth initiates)⁶⁸ equally as often as boys: 24 testimonies for boys are faced by exactly 24 inscriptions referring to girls.⁶⁹

5 And how about the “Horus Lock” likewise for Girls?

If we take the archaeological monuments depicting male children with the “Horus lock” as referring to their status of being put under the protection of Isis, that would mean that boys and only boys were entrusted to a deity which is otherwise a source of comfort and strength particularly for women and in

65 Inv. no. 30039. See Parlasca & Seemann 1999, 197, no. 102 (G. Platz-Horster).

66 Platz-Horster 1999, 89. On papyrological sources on the jewelry of women as depicted on mummy portraits, see Schenke 2001. On Roman Imperial jewelry in general, see Schenke 2003. On jewelry of children in ancient Egypt, see Marshall 2013, 96–110.

67 It is equally impossible to say whether or not the young participants in the boxing fights conducted in the context of games held in honor of the Isiac deities were close to the god or were even initiated: *RICIS* 306/0103 and 306/0104 (from Kadyanda, in Caria), *RICIS* 312/0801 (from Pogle, in Pisidia), and *RICIS Suppl.* 111 306/0702 (from Rhodiapolis, in Lycia).

68 On the hearth initiates in Eleusis, see the instructive general remarks and the list of monuments assembled by Clinton 1974, 98–116, and, more recently, *IEleusis* 11, p. 19–20 and 449 (with the relevant monuments listed under “Dedication [hearth initiate]”).

69 The sex of another 12 mentioned children cannot be distinguished anymore.

virtually all matters related to women. Is it really likely that girls were excluded, and – according to the Roman point of view – were denied the chance of a blissful afterlife thanks to being consecrated to Isis? It does not seem very probable. Instead, sources like the already mentioned Anthia unmistakably testify to girls being consecrated to Isis. So, if girls were “on a par” with boys, what about their iconography? Do their figural representations likewise show them with this distinct iconographical feature?

Victorine von Gonzenbach, who has dealt with this question, reached the conclusion that while adult women wore both the same hairdo and the same garments as Isis, girls on the other hand wore coiffures that were deemed befitting their age and status.⁷⁰ Of the monuments she considers to be likenesses of girls with the “Horus lock” though, the only one that might be identified as such is the already mentioned portrait mummy in Cairo.⁷¹ This portrait admittedly has a distinct connection with Isis in that the depicted female is characterized as *isiaca* through her garments, a fringed cloth and a knotted *palla*.⁷² It is interesting to note that she, and this is the only case known so far, wears not the “Horus lock”, but the *mallos*. In imitating the male youths, the *mallokouroi*, she signals her elevated social status:⁷³ a status that is further emphasized by the elaborate jewelry she is wearing.

Generally speaking, Roman girls, in their figural representations, were not shown with the “Horus lock”.⁷⁴ There is, however, one monument that deserves mention in this context insofar as it seems to suggest otherwise: it is the fragment of a sarcophagus in Rome for little Attaliane, now in the Musei Vaticani, Rome, from the late 2nd cent. CE (Fig. 17.3).⁷⁵ She is shown with a lock on the right-hand side of her head while the rest of her hair is short-cropped, as known from depictions of boys. In direct comparison with the relevant material depicting male children, it seems justified to address this feature as a “Horus lock” which might hint at the girl being placed under the protection of Isis (or Isis-Venus, as indicated by the garment slipping from her left shoulder?).

70 Gonzenbach 1969, 902: “Man versteht unschwer, dass isisgläubige Mädchen bevor sie nicht selbst Gattinnen und Mütter sind, die volle Angleichung an das göttliche Vorbild, also auch in der Haartracht, noch nicht vollziehen dürfen”. Affirmative also Wrede 1981, 38.

71 See *supra*, n. 63.

72 On the attire of Isis and its reception, see Albersmeier 2002, 85–105, and *supra*, 448–469, in this book. On the iconography, see also Eingartner 1991.

73 Borg 1996, 120. Borg, however, also considers the possibility that the girl imitates the “Horus lock” of the boys.

74 See also Goette 1989a, 205–206.

75 Rome, Musei Vaticani, inv. no. 7647. See Goette 1989a, 206, with n. 15, and 217, no. F11.

A sarcophagus in Ravenna dating from the middle of the 2nd cent. CE⁷⁶ states the names (*signum*) that the deceased had adopted upon their initiation: the mother, Tetratia Isias (*sic!*), was also called Memphis thereafter, while the 8-year-old daughter Sosia Iuliana had assumed the name Eugamius.⁷⁷ It is obvious that the young girl had a connection with Isis, but nowhere in the figural representation can a “Horus lock” be spotted.

Likewise relevant in this context is a sarcophagus in Salona⁷⁸ that draws a distinction between the representation of a boy and a girl: the boy is shown on the left with the “Horus lock” in its “canonical” way, *i.e.* at the right-hand side of the head, while the girl, who was most likely also placed under divine protection, just like her brother, wears a conspicuous “Scheitelschmuck” (headband/head decoration). This particular element can also be found with other girls close to Isis but was, on the other hand, not restricted to these.⁷⁹

As can be seen, there is a differentiation between the sexes when it comes to the “Horus lock”, which apparently for boys is the sign of being consecrated to Isis. As for the reasons why girls that are consecrated to Isis actually lack this feature, one can only speculate. Perhaps the markedly short-cropped hair, or even outright shaven head, with a laterally protruding lock did not go along with the common ideal of female beauty that was applied even to the very young members of this sex. Or did the girls actually wear this kind of lock but

76 Ravenna, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. See Arslan 1997, 212–213, no. IV.193 (C. Ricci); *RICIS* *512/0101.

77 The inscription reads: *Have Eugami, dulcissima infas (sic!)*. With the epigraphical challenges this monument poses deals Vidman 1970, 132–138.

78 Split, Arheološki Muzej, inv. no. A 393. See Budischovsky 1977, pl. xcv; Bugarski-Mesdjian 2007, 318 and 320, fig. 19; Selem & Vilogorac Brčić 2012, 12–17 and 65, no. 2. Inscription: *RICIS* 615/0402.

79 See, for example, the grave stele of Aphrodisia (the name of the *isiaca* is secondary) from Salamis from 140/150 CE, treated by Eingartner 1991, 151–152, no. 115, pl. LXXI (Broomhall, Lord Elgins Coll., no inv.): while the mother is shown holding a sistrum, and hence was an adherent of the Isis cult, the daughter wears the headband (“Scheitelschmuck”) which in this context might hint at her likewise being close to the cult. Drawing on the findings of Claude Rolley (Rolley 1968), Victorine von Gonzenbach believed that the “Scheitelschmuck” pointed to a close connection not so much with Isiac deities but with mystery cults – especially of Isis and Dionysus – and with Aphrodite, without automatically indicating that the depicted was in fact initiated (Gonzenbach 1969, 886, 888, 896, 903–904, 914 and 918). As a reaction, Rolley emphasized that he deemed it ultimately impossible to associate a certain kind of decoration of the head with a certain religious identity (Rolley 1970, 565). In regard to this element appearing on portraits of children of the Imperial house in Julio-Claudian times – with the portraits of the children of Claudius, Octavia Claudia and Tiberius Claudius Britannicus, found in Tyndaris, as prominent examples – Rita Amedick suggested a connection with Venus *Genetrix* as the ancestress of this dynasty (Amedick 1991, 381–382, following on the findings of Andreae 1983, 57–58).

were not shown this way in the figural representations?⁸⁰ This is a question that seems very difficult to answer on the basis of the extant sources.

6 Children as Initiates into the Mysteries of Isis

Now, it is time to have a closer look at what we have as evidence for children as participants in the mysteries in Roman times. The term of choice is “participants”, because uncontroversial evidence is yet to be supplied that children, of both sexes, were indeed initiated into the mysteries, among these the ones of Isis.

When examining sources like the portraits of male children wearing the “Horus lock”, one evidently has to come to terms with the question whether or not and to what degree children were accepted as fully valid members into the communities of cult-adherents. Did they even assume higher, priestly functions?

Children of a quite tender age being shown with the “Horus lock”, small children being marked by a *sphragis* on the forehead, Clea being initiated into the Isiac mysteries early in her life – all this seems to indicate that initiations were indeed performed even at babyhood. The fact that even very small children, like 2-year-old Florus on his grave altar,⁸¹ are shown with the lock, however, does not necessarily support the assumption of little ones being fully initiated: this becomes even clearer by looking at what was included in the initiation of Lucius, as described by Apuleius in book XI of his *Metamorphoses*. According to this literary testimony, the ceremonies involved for a full initiation into the Isis cult were rather complex in that they required a period of intensive preparation; they were time-consuming and expensive and even included a long stay at the temple.⁸² Thanks to these elements alone it is clear that there was no way that babies and toddlers could really have undergone a full initiation.

From Xenophon’s story of Anthia in his *Ephesiaka* we can infer that infants could have been consecrated immediately after birth. This, however, should not be confused with a full initiation: a baby simply could not master all the

80 In all the depictions of children in Roman art, it is only comparatively few monuments that show girls past their baby years even with short hair. As a rule, the hair seldom falls freely, but is in almost all cases bound and/or put in an elaborate coiffure, depending on the contemporary fashion.

81 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, aula VII, inv. no. 135742 (early 4th cent. CE). See Kleiner 1987, 272, no. 126; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 164, no. A 37, pl. 19e; Mander 2013, 191, no. 141. Inscription: *RICIS* 501/0179.

82 Vidman 1970, 130–131.

procedures involved in the four-staged full initiation of an adult. Conspicuous may seem monuments like the grave marker of Cornutus⁸³ and the altar of Caius Nonius Pius⁸⁴ that each show a child in the typical posture of Horus-Harpocrates with the index finger of the right hand raised to the mouth, and the little boy called Souper⁸⁵ reclining like Dionysus on his stele, holding a cantharus and a thyrsus staff, while wearing the “Horus lock”. However, these monuments are rather examples of a *consecratio in formam deorum*⁸⁶ and not the ultimate proof that the children were indeed fully initiated into the Bacchic or Isiac mysteries.

About the testimonies “evidencing” the initiation of children into the mystery cults, Franz Cumont,⁸⁷ and Pierre Lambrechts later,⁸⁸ were rather positive, taking the archaeological monuments as outright proof for it. Lambrechts even went so far as to say: “Il n’est donc pas douteux qu’à l’époque impériale on a continué à initier des enfants dans le culte bachique en vue de leur procurer l’immortalité s’ils venaient à mourir prématurément. On peut même se demander si ce n’était pas là la principale raison d’être des mystères dionysiaques et peut-être, par extension, des mystères tout court”.⁸⁹

83 Rome, Musei Vaticani, Museo Chiaramonti, inv. no. 1369 (270–300 CE). See Wrede 1981, 36, 253–254, no. 160, pl. 14, figs. 1–3; Mander 2013, 190–191, no. 140. Inscription: *CIL* IV 16483.

84 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, inv. no. 19378 (Trajanic times); Budischovsky 1977, 62, no. IX, 7, pl. XL, fig. b; Goette 1989b, 459, fig. 7; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 157, no. A 23, pl. 15d. Inscription: *RICIS* 512/0501.

85 Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, inv. no. G1062 (from Alexandria; 2nd quarter of the 3rd cent. CE). See Wrede 1981, 32–34, who considers Souper identified with both Osiris and Dionysus, and Arslan 1997, 227, no. IV.209.

86 On the *consecratio in formam deorum*, see Wrede 1981 as standard work of reference. As for the lock: Wrede 1981, 38–39, rejects the idea that the child wearing the “Horus lock” is actually becoming a little Horus-Harpocrates: “Entsprechend geben Sarkophagreliefs, die einen Träger der Jugendlocke abbilden, nur allgemeinen und nicht einmal ägyptisch geprägten Jenseitserwartungen Ausdruck. Gerade aber von ihnen müsste eine eindeutige Auskunft über die Identität von Verstorbenen und Horos erwartet werden, wenn die Jugendlocke eine solche Bedeutung beinhaltete”. Wrede 1981, 39 and 42: “Die Vorstellung von einer postumen Gleichsetzung (...) hat die griechisch-römische Welt außerhalb Ägyptens nie übernommen”. See Derriks 1998, 103.

87 Cumont 1942.

88 Lambrechts 1957.

89 Lambrechts 1957, 332. Nilsson 1957, in his monograph about the Dionysiac mysteries, devoted an entire chapter to children and reached the conclusion: “The admission of children to the Bacchic mysteries was exceptional. It was conditioned by the myth of the childhood of Dionysos, reared by the Nysean nymphs, and the sentimental love of children, prevalent in the age when these mysteries flourished, and which well-to-do parents were able to indulge. If they lost a child of tender years, this could be a comfort to them, they would be sure that the child was enjoying a happy afterlife in the company of the

Since then, the scholarly *communis opinio* has come a long way. For today, a depiction of Eros in a Dionysiac procession, for example, is not anymore considered testimony of the deceased actually having been initiated.⁹⁰ Likewise the written sources have to be examined with care: for example, Plutarch's consolation to his wife on their infant daughter's death can only be taken as evidence that – in accordance with the ideas of the Dionysiac mysteries – he wished his daughter to enjoy a blissful afterlife, and not as evidence that she herself was actually fully initiated.

In the archaeological monuments from Roman Imperial times, many Dionysiac or Isiac images evoke a certain joyous or exotic atmosphere, like the afore-mentioned sarcophagus of 7-year-old Iulius Filocyrius in Ostia. From then on, it has to be assessed carefully whether the images reveal the commissioners' and the recipients' closeness to these cults, or them even being devotees, initiates, lay personnel, or priests. Challenging as it is to arrive at such an assessment for adults already, it is even more difficult when children are concerned who, as a rule, are much more rarely mentioned in the sources which, in turn, are generally neither extensive in what they say about initiations nor available in a great number.

An inscription from Arcadian Megalopolis informs the reader that a female youth called Dionysia (who later became a priestess of Isis) became an *isiaca* when she was 15 years old⁹¹ – and this statement regarding a proper age threshold, as it were, is indirectly also confirmed by Xenophon, in his *Ephesiaka*, for 14-year-old Anthia.⁹²

In a society with high infant mortality, the consecration of a child surely implied the wish for a pleasant afterlife in case the little one died prematurely, but the placing of a boy or a girl under the protection of Isis also had a real, every-day aspect in that it introduced the child into the community of cult-adherents and enabled it to be present in rituals it was promised to fully participate in once it was fully initiated. That children were present and fulfilled minor duties in (mystery?) rituals is evidenced, for example, by a wall-painting

god" (Nilsson 1957, 115). Cumont 1942, 282–283, likewise recognizes children amongst the initiates into the mysteries while Turcan 2003a, 10–11, rejects the idea of children actually being initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus altogether though citing an inscription that refers to a 9-year-old participant in the *thiasos* (AE 1966, 63).

90 See Geyer 1977, 61–93.

91 *RICIS* 102/1702 ("11^e–111^e s. apr. J.-C.").

92 Merkelbach 1995, 348–349, §581. The sources from Eleusis state 10 years as the minimum age for children to be initiated into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore as *παῖδες ἀφ'ἑστίας*. See Cypri., *Conf.* 2, 2, and *Acta Sanctorum, Sep.* vii [48], 204–205. See *I.Eleusis* 11, p. 20.

from Herculaneum dating from the middle of the 1st cent. CE⁹³ and a 2nd cent. CE stele found at Ariccia (Rome) in a tomb located at the Via Appia⁹⁴.

Another testimony is provided by Apuleius with Lucius' account of the procedures involved in the *Navigium Isidis* at Cenchreae, *i.e.* the presence of a youths' choir.⁹⁵ As far as the Bacchic festivities were concerned, children could be present there, too, as evidenced by Plutarch who, in the context of the advent of Antony in Ephesus, speaks about girls being disguised as maenads and boys clad like satyrs.⁹⁶

In accordance with the portraits of "Horus-lock"-wearing children that do not appear older than 12 to 14 years, the afore-mentioned Dionysia being "called to service" at the age of 15 also signals the end of childhood, the beginning of life as a Roman woman and hence the "eligibility" for a full initiation, coming with priestly functions. The youthful age at which some took over official duties in the cult is further attested by funerary inscriptions, such as the ones for Iulia Sidonia Felix on her altar found at Numidian Coudiat who died unmarried at the age of 19 after having served as priestess of "the Memphis goddess",⁹⁷ the (now lost) inscription for a certain Hortensia (...)rtulla who had been a priestess of Isis before she died at the age of 18 years,⁹⁸ or the one written on a marble plaque found in a catacomb located at the Via Latina in Rome, honoring 18-year-old Marcus Iulius Eutychides who held the office of *aretalogus*.⁹⁹

It seems safe to assume that younger children underwent a kind of preliminary initiation or rather consecration by which they were placed under the protection of the deity invoked, in this case Isis. The specifics of this act – like the exact procedure involved, the date, whether or not it was part of the official celebration in honor of Isis etc. – are difficult to determine so far on the basis

93 Naples, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. 8919. See Arslan 1997, 447, no. v.77. See also the article of E. M. Moormann, *supra*, 367–372, fig. 12.2, in this book.

94 Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano, inv. no. 77255. See Arslan 1997, 664, no. x1.1. The group of onlookers on the relief's right-hand side seems to include children, as indicated by their smaller size, whereas the group of dancing figures apparently consists of adult dancers as well as black people and dwarfs. Merkelbach 1995, 158, §295, and 172, §329, rather interprets the scene as "sarcophagus ritual", in which the ritualistically buried initiates have been resurrected, just like Osiris had been in the mythical story, which they now celebrate merrily.

95 Apul., *Met.* xi, 9. On this passage, see also the article of L. Bricault & R. Veymiers, *infra*, 698–699, with n. 44, in this book.

96 Plut., *Ant.* xxiv, 3.

97 *RICIS* 704/0401 ("fin de 11^e–111^e s. apr. J.-C."). On the two priestesses, see also the article of L. Bricault, *supra*, 162, nos. 37 and 39, in this book.

98 *RICIS* 508/0301 (Sulmo/Sulmona).

99 *RICIS* 501/0214 ("seconde moitié du 111^e s. apr. J.-C.").

of the source material available to us.¹⁰⁰ The actual initiation – and with that the opportunity and the eligibility for assuming functions in the cult as well – apparently did not take place before the age of 15.

In spite of that, there are two conspicuous monuments that should not go unmentioned in this context, each of which is depicting a young child. The first is the already mentioned grave stele for a young boy in Ostia¹⁰¹ (Fig. 17.1), and the second is a statuette (to which the head does not belong) of a little girl at Rome, Villa Albani.¹⁰² Both children wear contabulated clothes that bear a similarity to the garments worn by the cult personnel of Isis.¹⁰³ At first glance, these two children might be identifiable as underage individuals who held some kind of – priestly? – official function. On the other hand, apparently neither the boy at Ostia nor the girl at Rome had already reached the age required for a full initiation and hence the eligibility to assume priestly functions in the first place. Their garments could best be understood in a proleptic sense. It is particularly in the monuments for the victims of untimely death (*mors immatura*), i.e. children, where the deceased were depicted in a proleptic/prospective way: in these cases, Roman art made use of elements like more mature bodily proportions and/or a kind of clothing that strictly speaking was not yet theirs to wear. Such an artistic convention, apparently applied exclusively to the depictions of children, anticipated in the figural representation

100 Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* lets Lucius elaborate on the stages and procedures involved in his initiation (as far as an adherent of a mystery cult was permitted, that is). His account being the only available source on what an initiation actually involved (which differed from city to city; on this, see, for example, Alvar 2008, 343) for an adult, it is even the more difficult to learn anything about the specifics of the initiation of minors. In XI, 10, where Lucius describes the procession he witnesses in honor of Isis on the occasion of the *Navigium Isidis* in March after which he is to be initiated himself, the Latin words read: *Tunc influent turbae sacris divinis initiatae, viri feminaeque omnis dignitatis et omnis aetatis linteae vestis candore pruo luminosi* (...) which is usually translated as: “Then there came walking a great band of men and women of all classes and ages, who had been initiated into the Mysteries of the Goddess and who were all clad in linen garments of the purest white” (Meyer 1999 [1987], 182). The terms *vir* and *femina* do not refer, however, to children of male or female sex, but to adults. There is no other reference to the presence of children initiates in this or any other festivity honoring Isis. Hence, if the initiation of children was in any way linked to a specific festivity at a fixed date where the grown-ups were accepted into the cult of Isis, we cannot say. On the other hand, it seems that adults, too, were given a divine sign (in a dream) as to the exact date that the goddess deemed proper for the initiation: “For, he said, the initiation date for each aspirant was given by direct sign from the Goddess; and the officiating priest was selected by the same process – as also the precise sum to be expended on the ceremony” (Apul., *Met.* XI, 21, 3).

101 See *supra*, n. 42.

102 Rome, Villa Albani, inv. no. 614. See Bol 1992, 96–98, no. 420, pl. 36–37 (R. Amedick).

103 Apul., *Met.* XI, 3–4. See Eingartner 1991, 73–78; Bol 1992, 97 (R. Amedick).

what these children might have achieved had they lived longer and reached adulthood.¹⁰⁴

The “Horus lock” in the Roman sphere seems to have acted as only one of a few iconographic elements hinting at the cult of the Isiac deities and human children placed under their protection. Other elements include, for example, jewelry – as seen in the already mentioned necklaces with decoration that refer to Isis, Osiris, etc.

7 Two are Better than One. Double Consecrations and Accumulation of Functions

In the context of children's initiations into the cults and mysteries of deities, another portrait in the round deserves mention here, today displayed at the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek in Copenhagen (Figs. 17.4a–d).¹⁰⁵ It dates from the middle of the 3rd cent. CE and shows a young boy with a hairdo that requires an explanation of its own: the boy wears a lock on the right-hand side of his head as well as another distinct section of hair located on the back of his head. This latter feature was considered as a “Horus lock” as well, and the depiction as a whole was listed by Gonzenbach and Goette as a representation of a child consecrated to Isis.

None of the scholars who have dealt with this portrait, however, have taken due consideration of the doubling of the lock. It must be pointed out that one single lock, located in its canonical form at the right-hand side of the head, would have been quite sufficient to denote the boy as a child being placed under Isis' divine protection. So the question arises: why is there another lock, a second one, located at the back of the head? To come straight to the point: this monument probably is a testimony to a child being consecrated not only to one, but to two deities at once.

Strictly speaking, such a cumulative or double consecration should come as no big surprise, for there is inscriptional evidence for adults adhering to the cults of several gods and goddesses at once and likewise their taking on some sort of priestly function in the cults of more than one deity.¹⁰⁶ A telling example in this regard is Fabia Aconia Paulina – wife of the well-known leader

¹⁰⁴ See Backe 2015.

¹⁰⁵ Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 2756. See Gonzenbach 1957, 141–142, no. K 10, pl. 11; Poulsen 1974, 181–182, no. 187, cat. 677 b, pl. CCCIV; Goette 1989a, 211, no. A18; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 198–199, no. F 95, pl. 88 b.

¹⁰⁶ On the fluid and multiple nature of religious identity in this regard, see Sfameni Gasparro 2007a; Sfameni Gasparro 2013; and her contribution, *supra*, 74–107, in this book.

of the pagan opposition in Rome during the late 4th cent. CE, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus – who had been initiated into all of the mysteries, such as the Eleusinian and the Lernean ones of Dionysus and Demeter, but who also acted as *hierophant* of Hecate, as well as *tauroboliat*us of Magna Mater, and who likewise was close to both Ceres and Isis.¹⁰⁷

Ancient polytheism in Roman culture never restricted believers to venerating one god or goddess exclusively. Instead, it was deemed perfectly all right if a believer turned to more than one deity and likewise chose to be initiated into more than one mystery cult/religion.¹⁰⁸ From all we know that held true for adults and children alike. This is corroborated by a sepulchral inscription from Rome from the 3rd or the 4th cent. CE where it is said that the parents of a boy, who died at seven years of age, had him appointed “priest of all deities”, including, amongst others, Bona Dea and Dionysos.¹⁰⁹

Dispersed amongst the inscriptions found at Eleusis, are two other testimonies that are important in this matter: firstly, there is the inscription of a base, dating from the middle of the 1st cent. BCE, of a girl’s statue. This girl was, as we can read in the wording, initiated into the cult of Demeter but also and at the same time she acted as *kanephoros* of Isis.¹¹⁰ Secondly, we know from the death lament of Himerius for his prematurely deceased son Rufinus that the juvenile¹¹¹ had been initiated into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis and had been consecrated to Dionysus as well.¹¹²

107 Her sepulchral inscription (*CIL* VI 1780 = *ILS* 1260 = *RICIS* 501/0210 [384 CE]) reads: “To Fabia Aconia Paulina, daughter of Aco Catullinus formerly prefect and consul, wife of Vettius Praetextatus prefect and consul elect, initiate at Eleusis to the god Iacchus, Ceres and Cora, initiate at Lerna to the god Liber and Ceres and Cora, initiate at Aegina to the two goddesses, tauroboliat, priestess of Isis [*isiaca*], hierophant of the goddess Hecate, and initiate in the rites of the Greek Ceres” (translation taken from Lefkowitz & Fant 2005, 305, no. 439; see also Kahlos 2002, 62–84; Bricault 2014a, 348–356; R. Veymiers, *supra*, 9, in this book).

108 Apuleius himself says that he had been involved in many cults and rites (Apol., *Apol.* 55, 9: *multiuuga sacra et plurimos ritus et varias ceremonias studio veri et officio erga deos dedici*).

109 *IG* XIV 1449. See Burkert 1994 (1987), 34; Merkelbach 1988, 93; Backe-Dahmen 2006, 103; Bernabé Pajares & Jiménez San Cristóbal 2008, 93, n. 152. According to the inscription, the boy had performed all the rites involved properly and with great care. Since he had died nonetheless, he asked all the other initiates to forget about the “sacred mysteries of life” because nobody would be able to unravel the thread of the Fates, hence prolong his life. Another doubling of function is attested by the inscription on the statue base for Polyzelos Xeinagorou who was not only hearth initiate in Eleusis but also ἱερεὺς παῖς τοῦ Πυθίου at Delphi: *I.Eleusis* II 642.

110 *IG* II² 3727 = *RICIS* 101/0302. See also Clinton 1974, 114, no. 50; *I.Eleusis* I 283.

111 Him., *Or.* VIII, 7–8, 5. From the monody of Himerius about his son, we might take Rufinus to be about 17 years old when he died. See Penella 2007, 27.

112 Him., *Or.* VIII, 65–69 Colonna. See *I.Eleusis* II, p. 19–20.

Of high interest in this context is the already mentioned portrait head of a boy¹¹³ from Eleusis whose find-spot and wreath prove him to represent a young initiate into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore at this very place.¹¹⁴ In contrast to other portraits found at the agora of Athens that exhibit a lock emerging from the scalp¹¹⁵ (which may be the distinct marker of children being consecrated to Demeter), this head features a lock on the right-hand side, *i.e.* a “Horus lock”.

Neither Clinton, in his highly useful 1974 study of *Sacred Officials in the Eleusinian Mysteries*,¹¹⁶ nor Goette in 1989, drew any distinction between the lock located at the back of a portrait's head and one at the right-hand side. However, against the two afore-mentioned boy portraits¹¹⁷ with the scalp lock found at the agora of Athens that have been connected with the Eleusinian mysteries, and the *Eleusinion* located on the agora, the two Eleusis portraits with the lock on the right stand out (the one mentioned above with the “Horus lock” still visible in its entirety and another one, where the lock has apparently been cut off).¹¹⁸ Although the damage of the stone makes any further differentiation methodologically hazardous, the latter boy represented here seems to be a little bit older than the first one.

Hence, the lock of this second boy being no longer existing can only mean that he had outgrown the need for divine protection (presumably of Isis, based on the location of the lock) and had cut and offered it as a token of gratitude to the divinity. To the modern viewer, it is something of a paradox that he apparently had already left his childhood behind and yet acted as a hearth initiate at Eleusis, a function that was reserved for children. Another possibility might be that the boy depicted had already left his childhood behind at the time when the statue with the portrait head was erected in his honor.¹¹⁹

With these two portraits of boys, we may have testimonies for children actually having been consecrated and placed under the protection of two

113 So far, only representations of boys as hearth initiates have been secured; the only monument (found at Eleusis in 1972) that may depict a girl of that very status was described by Pantos 1989.

114 Clinton 1974, 104–106, no. A, figs. 11–12; Goette 1989a, 203–204 and 207, appendix A, no. 15, pl. 35.1–4 and 36.1.

115 Athens, Agora Museum, inv. nos. S403 and S1307. See Harrison 1953, no. 40, pl. 28, no. 42, pl. 27; Goette 1989a, 203–204, with n. 2, and 207–208, 215, nos. C1–2.

116 Clinton 1974, 108.

117 See *supra*, n. 22.

118 Clinton 1974, 104–106, no. B, figs. 13–14.

119 See *LEleusis* 11 411 and 485, for monuments honoring hearth initiates that were set up some time after the named child had held the position.

deities.¹²⁰ An indirect reference to this might be gathered from Pollux who expands on the religious connection of children's locks: the young wearers would let a part of their hair grow long to have it later cut in honor of a certain deity from whom they were granted protection against the perils of their tender age.¹²¹ That Isis was not the only deity in whose honor children grew their hair long – or, rather, a part thereof – may be hinted at by Ammianus Marcellinus:¹²² he speaks of an otherwise unknown military *comes*, Diodorus, who, when overseeing the construction of a church in Alexandria in the 350s CE, cut off the locks of some boys present for he considered them a sign of pagan worship.¹²³ By the way, this was his personal undoing in that he suffered martyrdom for this action.

8 Other Children's Hairdos with Distinct Individual Locks

This takes us right to the last archaeological monument, which would probably be better removed from the listing of likenesses of Roman children consecrated to Isis. It is the statue of a boy from a statuary family group that was once on display at the *Bouleuterion* of Aphrodisias (Figs. 17.5a–b).¹²⁴ To date, his hairdo has been interpreted as the “Horus lock” with the by now well-known meaning. However, what he actually wears is no lock (additionally, it is not located at the right-hand side and hence does not correspond to the canonical form), but a broad mass of longer, wavy hair falling freely to his neck and originating from the back of his head. This sets this example apart from all the depictions looked at so far, which alone calls for caution when assuming an all too close relationship with Isis. And what is more, so far no evidence of a cult of Isis has been found at this very place, Aphrodisias.¹²⁵ Therefore, another explanation for this hairdo has to be found.

120 See Goette 1989a, 207, who also considers it possible that the myrtle wreath in combination with the youth lock was a reflection of the “syncretistic” merging of Demeter with Isis.

121 Poll. II, 30.

122 Amm. Marc. XXII, 11, 9. See Vidman 1989.

123 Vidman 1989 believes the locks mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus here to explicitly refer to the “Horus lock”. This reading, however, is not backed by the source in that it only speaks of *cirros pueorum* which can mean any kind of longer strand of hair.

124 Aphrodisias Museum, inv. nos. 72–438 (body) and 70–556 (head). See Hallett 1998, 80–84, no. 4, figs. 20–24; Smith (R.R.R.) 2006, 160–162, no. 42, pls. 32–33.

125 Smith (R.R.R.) 2006, 161 (Chr. H. Hallett). Hallett deems it possible that the lock (he refers to it as the “youth lock”) was considered a mark of prestige and goes on saying: “As the young boys who wear the myrtle crown of the mysteries at Eleusis, this boy's hairstyle would proclaim the honor he has received in being dedicated to the cult of the goddess of

According to the observation that locks and prominent sections of cranial hair on children in most cases were linked to the fields of superstition, cult and religion, it is necessary to think of other deities that this boy might have been close to. One goddess immediately springs to mind, given the fact that the place is Aphrodisias: it is the patroness and protective deity of the city, Aphrodite/Venus.

Another member of this boy's high-ranking family can further corroborate this assumption in that he is shown in this prestigious¹²⁶ family group as a priest of Aphrodite. While the boy, at his juvenile age, had not assumed any official, priestly function in that cult, his coiffure – with its distinct, massed hair at the neck – might well suggest his being consecrated to the city-goddess with whom his family clearly fostered a special relation. This would be no isolated case after all, for we know of another boy being consecrated to Aphrodite, a certain Antidotos, mentioned in an inscription found at Aphrodisias.¹²⁷

Other monuments that might well be associated with Aphrodite include portraits in the round as well as relief sculpture such as the grave altar of deceased 10-year-old Caetennia Pollitta, today displayed in Leiden.¹²⁸ The head features a long strand of hair falling onto the girl's left shoulder, which Goette interprets not as a "Horus lock" but as a reference to Venus.¹²⁹ And perhaps that is true. A possible corroboration might be derived from the observation of Rita Amedick that there are distinct similarities (*i.e.* the short cranial hair and

Aphrodisias. (...) Since this statue comes from a context in the city center of Aphrodisias and was part of an honorific family group, the youth lock should probably be understood as a mark of status as well as of religious devotion".

126 The aspect of prestige is likewise hinted at by the civic garments the youth is wearing, which, by the way, also speak against a possible interpretation of the depicted one as a slave/servant or an athlete with the characteristic lock at the head's back, called *cirrus in vertice*. On the *cirrus*, see Gassowska 1966; and recently also Vonderstein 2011, 166–168, with n. 28; and, quite detailed, Bohne 2012, 72–84; with representations of boy athletes in particular deals Söldner 2000. About some small-scale bronze heads mainly from Roman Gaul, with the peculiar strand of hair located at the scalp, which have been connected with the Isis cult, see Schwartz 1963 and Richard 1973. The appearance of a peculiar slave coiffure with shorter cranial hair and one longer lock or a more voluminous section of hair flowing onto the shoulders can be gathered from monuments like, for example, Roman funerary reliefs from Syria: *e.g.* the relief of a Palmyrene woman and a slave in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 1153 (see Ploug 1995, 208–210, no. 85); funerary relief stele of Yarḥai and a slave: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 1024 (see Ploug 1995, 255–257, no. 126).

127 Smith (R.R.R.) 2006, 162, n. 7 (Chr. H. Hallett) gives reference to Roueché 1993, 198–200, no. 70, lines 38–42, and her comparison with M 413, Frgm. E, line 11.

128 Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, inv. no. K 1951/12.1. See Backe-Dahmen 2006, 155, no. A 17, pl. 14 b.

129 Goette 1989a, 206, with n. 15.

a longer, more voluminous section of hair at the back of the head as well as the headband and the motif of the garment slipping from one shoulder) between the altar of Caetennia Pollitta and the portrait statue of Octavia Claudia found at Baiae.¹³⁰ Both have clear references to Venus. While in the case of the princess the mentioned elements emphasize her ancestral royal lineage harking back to Venus *Genetrix*, with Caetennia Pollitta they might indicate that she actually had indeed been consecrated to Venus.

Isis and Venus were by no means the only deities that received hair-offerings from children in the Greek and Roman world, as summarized by David D. Leitao and, most recently, Pierre Brulé.¹³¹ As to the appearance of the relevant hair sections and/or locks sacrificed in the honor of other deities – like Apollo or river gods, for instance – the sources allow to an even lesser extent any clear-cut statement than what can be said about the “Horus lock”.

9 Conclusion

There is ample evidence of Roman children being consecrated to deities whom the parents turned to and asked for protection of their offspring during the early stages of their lives, when they were in constant danger of becoming victims of an untimely death or being approached by malevolent demons. The evidence can be derived first and foremost from written sources. When it comes to figural representations, though, the picture gets somewhat blurred: although there is the undisputed iconographic tradition of the “Horus lock” handed down from Ancient Egypt to Roman art which produced quite a number of depictions of children with this very feature, the so far generally assumed connection with the cult of Isis has to be reconsidered.

Whereas until now nearly every portrait of a child with a peculiar lock of hair – located at the right, the left or the back of the head, longer or shorter, bound, forming a kind of tail, in combination with short-cropped hair, with or without a fillet, etc. – has been taken as depiction of a child close to the mystery cult of Isis, methodologically it is much more sound to look carefully at every individual depiction to assess the kind and degree of this connection, or even if such a connection can safely be established at all.

130 Amedick 1991, 389; Amedick 1997, 26–27. See also Schmidt 1967, esp. 102–106, on the grave relief (“Grabpfeiler”) at Basel, whose figural depictions she interprets as a little boy initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus and a girl placed under the protection of Venus.

131 See *supra*, n. 24.

Due to the iconographic tradition mentioned before and sources like Macrobius, it seems well-justified to address only the lock located at the right-hand side of a child's head, markedly longer than the rest of the cranial hair, as a sign of being consecrated to Isis. Although written sources mention boys as well as girls being consecrated to Isis, the figural representations as a rule do not depict girls with this "Horus lock".

While children at quite young an age could already have been placed under Isis' protection (which makes sense in the light of high infant mortality – the earlier, the better, as it were), a full initiation apparently did not take place before the age of 15. This was generally the time when a girl could be married for the first time, had experienced the first menarche: in short when she stopped being a child and became a woman.

Be it for underage girls or for mature women – Isis was by no means the only goddess important to the female sex. If we allow for some reconsiderations and reappraisals of older attributions, we might well identify in the archaeological material some depictions of girls being close to Aphrodite/Venus. As a matter of fact, based on inscriptional testimonies, even boys could have been placed under her protection.

Other new attributions can be made for portraits that show children with more than one peculiar strand of hair or lock since that may very well indicate a double or cumulative consecration, which is also corroborated by written sources.

Since almost all portraits lack their original context, it is often difficult to find the last proof verifying the hypothesis that a particular child was close to a (mystery) cult and/or consecrated to a specific deity. A great number of the extant monuments in question, however, were intended to be used as grave markers and sepulchral portraits of the victims of a *mors immatura*. As such, they were surely meant to depict the deceased not just as "a child out of many" but also to refer to elements that used to be of importance to the child during his or her lifetime, like being consecrated to a god or goddess. Something like the "Horus lock" most likely was more than a mere fashionable accessory favoured by Roman families with a liking for Egypt. While in ancient Egypt, this peculiar lock had served as a marker of age and/or social status, in the Greco-Roman world it could gain an additional connotation, hinting at a religious identity, most notably referring to the Isiac dieties.

They, most notably Isis, were among the ones Roman parents turned to in their attempt to secure protection for their offspring in this world and a blissful afterlife in the next, in case their children's lives were tragically cut short – something that happened all too often (not just) in ancient times.

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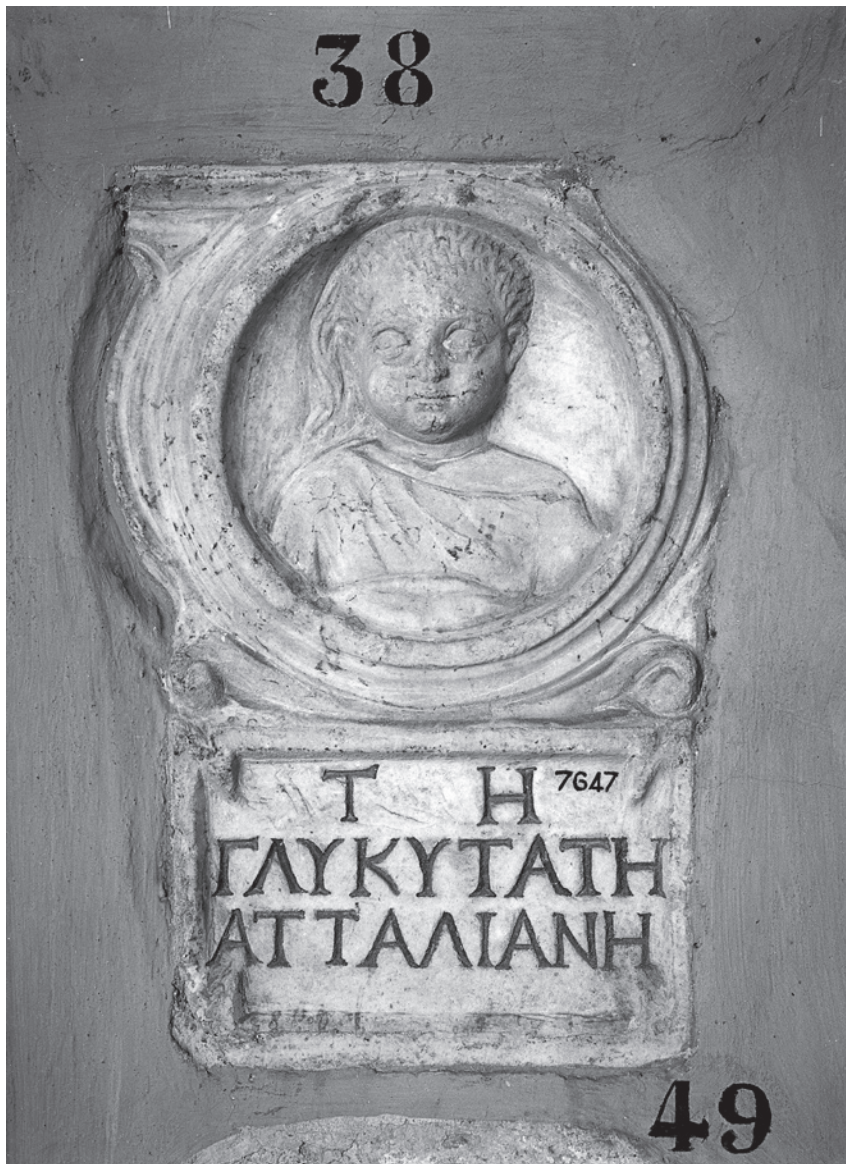
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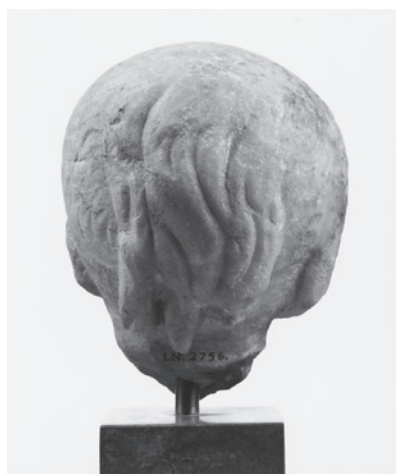
17.1 Marble grave stele of a Roman boy, Ostia, early 4th cent. CE. Ostia, Museo Ostiense, inv. no. 150. After Becatti 1938, pl. 34, fig. 1



17.2 Gold necklace with gems depicting from left to right Aphrodite, Osiris, Sarapis, and Fortuna, Egypt, 1st–2nd cent. CE. Private collection. After Galerie Nefer 1996, 48, no. 50



17.3 Fragment of the marble sarcophagus of a little girl called Attaliane, Rome, late 2nd cent. CE. Rome, Musei Vaticani, inv. no. XYZ. 7647. Neg. XXXII.143.30
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17-4a–d Marble portrait of a Roman boy with a hairdo that might hint at the depicted being consecrated to two deities at once, 3rd cent. CE. Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, inv. no. 2756

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17.5a–b Marble portrait of a Roman boy from a prestigious statuary family group, *Bouleuterion* at Aphrodisias, early 1st cent. CE. Aphrodisias Museum, inv. nos. 72–438 (body) and 70–556 (head)

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