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L'enfance dans la Grèce hellénistique

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CHILDREN IN HELLENISTIC GREECE

Prof Mark Golden (Winnipeg)

What was a Greek child in the Hellenistic period, roughly defined as the years between the deaths of Alexander the Great in 323 BCE and of Cleopatra in 30 BCE? Well, what was a Greek child before? Louise Pratt has recently offered a succinct summary of the portrayal of children in archaic and classical Greek literature, stressing the centrality of the three Ps: pathos, precocity and play (Pratt (2013)).

There is evidence for each of these characteristics in Hellenistic sources too. For pathos, we may consider the gravestone of Nicopolis of Smyrna, dated to the first quarter of the second century BCE (Schlegelmilch (2009) 72-73, Bobou (2015) 110 fig. 48). Her epitaph reads, 'With your endearing chatter you used to amuse your parents, as lisping speech came from your mouth. But cruel Hades took you from your mother's lap at the age of two, sweet Nicopolis. Farewell, baby, may light dust cover your body, strong sprig of Sarapion' (Peek (1955) no. 1512, (1960) no. 228). Nicopolis' tombstone provides an example of precocity too, since (as is common on such monuments) she is depicted as older than she was, not as a two-year-old, but as a young woman clad in a *chiton* and *himation*, and accompanied by a much smaller servant who carries her hat. Callimachus provides a less mortal and even more striking example in his *Hymn* 4, to Delos. Here Apollo is still in his mother's womb when he threatens Thebes for its refusal to supply Leto with a place to give birth to his twin sister Artemis and himself, warns Leto off the island of Cos and prophesies the future birth of King Ptolemy II Philadelphus

there. As for play, Hellenistic tombstones show both boys and girls with playthings of many kinds, from pet dogs, hares and birds to dolls, balls, knucklebones and wheeled pushtoys. Contemporary poetry has something to contribute here too, not Callimachus this time but Apollonius of Rhodes. The start of Book 3 of his *Argonautica* presents Eros and Ganymede playing at knucklebones 'as boys in the same house will' (3.118). Eros, triumphant, snickers as Ganymede loses his last two dice and stomps off. Then, in Richard Hunter's words, 'The whole miserable set of events which will culminate in the killing of Medea's children can take place only because Aphrodite succeeds in bribing her awful son with the promise of a pretty ball' (Hunter (1989) 24). There is pathos here as well as play, since the scene is meant to stress the difference between gods and humans in addition to their surface similarities. (We may think of Gloucester's words in *King Lear*: 'As flies to wanton boys are we to the gods/They kill us for their sport.') But Apollonius captures the playful innocence of children along with their thoughtless cruelty. (We find the same combination in Boethus' famous late-third-century statue of a boy strangling a goose; Schlegelmilch (2009) 90 fig. 1.) Aside from these characteristics, children were regarded in all periods as models of a lack of judgement and physical weakness. So the third-century poet Euphorion of Chalcis says that 'not even newborn children seek mighty Orion' in vain -- that's how well-known the location of the constellation is (Euphorion fr. 67 Lightfoot = Schol. Arat. *Phoen.* 324, p. 240.9 Martin).

Of course, there is a fourth P which is relevant here: proportionality. It may well be true (as I have endeavoured to show) that children in Hellenistic

texts were represented as sharing the attributes of children of earlier periods. But Hellenistic Greeks may have stressed pathos, or perhaps play, more, even much more, than their predecessors, and that would make quite a difference. Unfortunately, such a statistical evaluation is out of our reach. Nevertheless, many scholars seem quite confident that the death of Alexander ushered in or coincided with an increased prominence for children or with a new and generally more positive attitude towards them. Beate Czapla (Czapla (2006) 65), Peter Green (Green (1990) 359), Robin Lane Fox (Lane Fox (1986) 363), Hilde Rühfel (1984) 187): each discusses different evidence, each has a different end in view, all agree that children became more interesting and more important in the Hellenistic period. The classic statement of this view is Hans Herter's, now almost ninety years old: 'The Hellenistic poets were the first to put children at centre stage as they are and for their own sakes … and the art of the period swarms with true depictions of real children, from whose amusing conduct the Greeks of that time must have taken special pleasure' (Herter (1927) 251). Nor (according to still other scholars) was this new interest limited to what Herter mentions, literature and art. Hellenistic medicine is said to have a developed distinctive therapeutic regime for children, an early pediatrics, something absent from the earlier Hippocratic Corpus (Bertier 1990); the very young were admitted to Dionysian mysteries because of the 'sentimental love of children which begins in the Hellenistic Age' (Lambrechts 1957). These are the conclusions of good and experienced students of Greek culture and history; they may be right. But five problems with the evidence suggest that we should be cautious in accepting them.

Before I take these up, I caution that (like most of the scholars I've mentioned here) I ignore a fifth P -- polymorphosity. My discussion will for the most part ignore distinctions between rich and poor, free and slave, city and country, boys and girls, children of different ages, Greeks and those who shared the Hellenistic kingdoms with them, as well as the vagaries of individual family settings and styles (cf. Beaumont (2003) 81, Parca (2013) 480).

1. We simply have too few continuous series of data which extend from one period to another. The gaps are especially noticeable when we consider literary genres. Theocritus' idylls have no extant predecessors. We have ample remains of the tragedies of the classical period, just exiguous fragments of Hellenistic examples. Enough remains to show that these were different in many respects (Kotlińska-Toma (2015) 1-43): subjects included current events and contemporary public figures as well as marginal myths; the chorus was smaller and perhaps absent altogether when plays were presented in abridged versions; stage and scenery featured rich decorations; the language lost its dialectical colour – tragedy was now a panhellenic phenomenon – and the metre of dialogue was remarkably free of resolutions. But there is nothing left to show that children were represented on stage more often or differently than before. There are tantalizing traces of one particularly pertinent type of text, the lullaby, in both archaic and Hellenistic poets (Colesanti (2014) 102-106, Karanika (2014) 160-164). Lullabies were certainly heard by more Greeks than, say, Pindar's epinicians, and likely understood by more too. And of course they were directed at babies and other young children. Is this why

none survives? Or is it because they were composed or at least transmitted by women and that transmission was oral only? In any case, the versions we do possess, in the male poets Simonides (*PMG* 543) and Theocritus (*Id.* 24.7-9) are as alike as they are different, and the chorus's invocation to Sleep in a play from the classical period, Sophocles' *Philoctetes* (827-832), shares 'the structure and language of a lullaby' (though it is delivered on behalf of an adult male) (Ussher (1990) 138 *ad loc.*).

2. Differences that can be demonstrated may stem from the aims and intentions of individual authors and artists rather than from any sweeping social change. So the Hellenistic historian Polybius is (quite consciously) more similar to his great classical predecessors Thucydides and Xenophon in the prominence and portrayal of children in his work than either is to their near contemporary Herodotus, mainly because he, like them, foregrounds political and military history (Golden 1997). Hymns for the gods, as old as the archaic *Homeric Hymns* and prominent among the surviving poems of Callimachus, offer another test case. There is no doubt that Callimachus' hymns reveal a keen interest in the infancy and childhood of gods and heroes – even in their fetuses, in Apollo's case. Do they provide what Herter identified, the presentation of children for their own sake? Perhaps they do testify to a new concern for and valuation of children. But other explanations are possible too (Ambühl (2005) 5-8). For example, they may represent a nostalgic desire to escape for the turbulence of the times, or another instance of the realism – or at least willingness to touch on themes and groups outside

the ambit of high culture in earlier periods – which we find in terracotta figurines of beggars, street people, dwarves and hunchbacks and in the shepherds and working girls of Theocritus. Or perhaps the youthful gods and heroes mark a further development of the antiheroic and ironic treatment of myth so often identified in Euripides' and then Apollonius' figure of Jason; on this reading, mind you, children are used to undercut the stature of the heroes of myth, a trope which would seem to run counter to the view that they were now more highly regarded than before. Now Annemarie Ambühl has subjected Callimachus' child gods and heroes to a full-length examination and concluded that they mostly serve his literary purposes (Ambühl 2005). Playing on two meanings of *neos,* 'new' and 'young', Callimachus prefers to make divine and heroic protagonists younger as a way to define himself against the poetic tradition. In a sense, such an emphasis coincides with Callimachus' interest in aetiology and origins of many kinds: how did gods and heroes become what they are? Moreover, it allows him to imagine a stage when their attributes and activities had not yet become canonical but were free to develop in other directions, much as Callimachus himself claims a right to innovate as a literary artist.

Among more particular parallels for which Ambühl argues, *Hymn* 1 to Zeus outlines how Zeus opposes and then integrates the old order of deities, as Callimachus will rival and then join the Greek literary canon – and thus like Zeus become immortal. Both god and poet change the world in which they operate (Ambühl (2005) 232-233). Another example illustrates Callimachus' refashioning of earlier poetry for his own purposes. In the archaic *Homeric*

Hymn to Apollo, the god indicates his special sphere shortly after his birth (131-132); Callimachus (as I noted above) shows him as a seer still earlier. Callimachus' younger Apollo, then, has more prophetic power than the earlier version of the god, just as Callimachus himself is newer and has more powerful poetic gifts. And while his Apollo chooses the sterile island of Delos for his birthplace and so makes it paradoxically productive, Callimachus rejects epic but writes poems no less rich for appearing meager (Ambühl (2005) 324-336). There is much for specialists in Greek poetry to debate in this details of this very impressive book, but, to my mind, Ambühl succeeds in showing how Callimachus' emphasis on and portrayal of divine and heroic children can be explained by his literary concerns and need not be read as responses to a broader sociocultural shift in sentiment or (in Herter's terms) as reflective of an interest in children for their own sake. Moreover, she demonstrates that much of what he writes draws on Greek poetry of the archaic and classical periods – not just the *Homeric Hymns* but epic, lyric, drama too. Similarly, Callimachus' funerary epigram for the Phrygian wetnurse Aischre is careful to put the dedicator's name, Mikkos, in a prominent position; the name, a dialect variation of *mikros*, 'small', reminds readers of when he was a baby. But the epigram makes use of conventional motifs too (Callim. *AP* 7.458; Cannevale 2012). Ambühl's ideas on Callimachus' use of the childhood gods and heroes have since been affirmed and applied to the work of Apollonius and Theocritus as well by Gyburg Radke (Radke 2007). Sabine Schlegelmilch too doubts that the presence of divine and heroic children in Alexandrian poetry is evidence for a shift in

mentalité, though she places it in another context, of Egyptian traditions and their political use by the Ptolemies (Schlegelmilch (2009) 154-256).

3. As this indicates, much of what has been taken as characteristic of the Hellenistic attitude towards children is evident earlier too. Children begin to appear on funerary steles in the 450s (Beaumont (2003) 73-74); Attic *choes* and white ground *lekythoi* feature babies with large heads and chubby limbs just a generation later (Beaumont (2012) 73, 200; Bobou (2015) 1); terracotta types depicting children become more common from the late fifth century onwards (Bobou (2015) 88). Gravestones from Hellenistic Delos share the conventions of classical Athenian iconography (Le Dinahet (2001) 95, 97, cf. Latini (2011) 69-70). Even Herter, in his last pronouncement on the subject, recognized 'forerunners' : Tanagra figurines, the vase painter Pasias, Euripides (Herter (1993) 372). More recently, Lesley Beaumont and Olympia Bobou have prudently subtitled sections of their discussions of the depictions of children 'Children in Late Classical and Hellenistic Art' (Beaumont (2003) 77) and 'Late Classical and Hellenistic Types' (of terracotta figurines) (Bobou (2015) 88) in recognition that the fourth century was, in Brunilde Ridgway's words, the 'Hellenistic period ante litteram' (Ridgway (1990) 4).

4. Some developments affected only a part of the Hellenistic period or some portion of the (much expanded) Greek world. Anna Lagia studied burial practices involving children in two Athenian cemeteries and discovered that they did indeed reveal a change over time, but one which occurred at the end of the third century BCE, not the fourth, and so cannot be neatly fit into the usual periodization of Greek history. Lagia concludes that children are treated

similarly in the late classical and early Hellenistic periods and then again in the late Hellenistic and early Roman (Lagia 2007). According to Nikolas Dimakos, this shift, interesting as it is, may be confined to Athens itself; it is not (yet at least) evident elsewhere in Attica. In art, new varieties in the depiction of children in clay and marble begin to appear only in the mid first century BCE, in response to the demands of purchasers among the Roman elite (Schlegelmilch (2009) 123-149). Other innovations, in the realm of cult, may be the initiatives of powerful individuals and even more limited in place and time. Berenice II introduced rituals to commemorate her young daughter (also named Berenice) into the Ptolemies' ritual calendar in 238 BCE, a memorial for the girl and, at the same time, a means to make the queen more sympathetic as a mourning mother (*OGIS* 56; Clayman (2014) 167-168). A cult of Apollo on Geronisos, a small island near Cyprus, may – this is quite speculative -- be built around a passage rite for boys who were weaned and so had left infancy behind. It is further speculated that it was instituted by Cleopatra VII to mark the birth of her son Caesarion and, like him, was not long lived (Connelly 2007).

5. Finally, broad generalizations, useful and even necessary though they are, run the risk of eliding important disagreements and debates within historical periods. Take philosophy. New schools of thought became prominent in the Hellenistic period: Stoics, Epicureans, Cynics …. Do they evince a new interest in or attitudes towards children? As for interest, we must recognize that Greek thinkers of the classical period say quite a lot about children – they seem to have found them interesting. Moreover, the most

famous and influential among them, Plato and Aristotle, do not always agree. (Plato seems to disapprove of children's crying as an inadequate means of communication, Aristotle thinks it aids in an infant's growth: Pl. *Leg.* 7.792A, cf. *Resp.* 10.604C, Arist. *Pol.* 7.1336a35.) As for their Hellenistic rivals, what remains of Stoic and Epicurean writings is sufficient to suggest that children were observed closely and figured in arguments of various kinds, for example on the origins and nature of early human societies (Lucr. 5.1011-1023). But again we can discern differences. The Stoics thought that the love of children is natural (a belief supported in some sources by the view that newborn babies are so distasteful that otherwise no one would care for them (Plut. *Mor. 496B*)). Epicurus disagreed. Nonetheless, even some of his followers took the Stoic side of this debate (Alesse 2011, Roskam 2011). The picture that results is too complex to admit clear conclusions about attitudes towards children.

In any case, there is no evidence that the ideas of artists, poets and philosophers had any effect on the mass of the Hellenistic Greek population as a whole. There are some art forms which may reflect a broader spectrum of society. Tombstones, for example, were produced on an industrial scale, those who wrote the verses inscribed upon them were rarely among the literary elite, their sentiments must have satisfied those who bought them. It is interesting, therefore, that the designation of the deceased as 'heroes' is a feature of the Hellenistic period and that most of these heroes are children, adolescents, young adults (Wypustek (2013) 93-95, 190). Is this a mark of higher status? Only in a way: The practice is an extension of the tendency to show dead children as older than they were, another means to ascribe remarkable

qualities to those who had not yet demonstrated any. Anyway -- and this seems of cardinal importance to me -- none of these conceptual shifts (even assuming that we can be confident in them) made any difference in the lives of children themselves. Where might we look for such changes? Here are three possibilities, discussed in rough relation to the course of a child's life: the exposure of newborns, the adoption of infants and younger children, boys' athletic competitions. In each case, I will conclude that evidence for change is inadequate. I will then finish up with a brief treatment of an area of Greek life in which we can make a case for a meaningful change in children's circumstances: education.

The Exposure of Newborns

A number of scholars have offered opinions on the rate of exposure of newborns in the Hellenistic period and its causes. LaRue van Hook thought of the Hellenistic Greeks as unworthy and decadent descendants of their glorious classical forebears and adduced a tendency to expose newborns more often as a symptom for this diagnosis (van Hook (1920) 144); van Hook's estimation of relative rates of exposure has recently been revived in an (unpublished) thesis (Roubineau (2014) 146 n. 9). To the contrary, Marieluise Deissmann-Merten argues that a belief in the child's right to life, a new development of this epoch, made exposure, long accepted as the prerogative of the household's *kyrios*, morally problematic for the first time (Desissmann-Merten (1984) 276-281). Robert Sallares agrees with van Hook on the question of the rate of exposure but, writing from a very different perspective, ascribes the cause to demography rather than to morals: as the population

grew too great to be sustained in the late fourth century and the decades that followed, exposure became common – and for the first time at that (Sallares (1991) 151-160). It might be possible to reconcile these different conclusions: as the effects of their growing numbers became more serious and more apparent (Sallares), the Greeks first resisted a change in their customs on moral grounds (Deissmann-Merten) only to yield to necessity and even embrace it (van Hook). But, once again, it is the inadequacy of the evidence which offers the most likely area of agreement.

It is true, as Deissmann-Merten notes, that exposure is a recurring element of the plots of New Comedy. But though these plays are generally accurate in referring to the legal frameworks of marriage, inheritance and so on at Athens – essential details of many stories -- , they cannot be regarded as reliable indicators of the frequency of exposure (or of the prevalence of unidentified sexual partners, supposititious children and kidnapping). These are the unaccustomed contretemps which titillated audiences then as they do today. As for the passage on which Deissmann-Marten places most weight, in Menander's *Samia* (129-143a): Demeas has just announced his intention to throw his *hetaira* and the baby boy he believes to be hers out of his house when his son Moschion, the boy's real father, objects. These lines do not explicitly argue for a newborn's right to live or say anything about exposure. Rather, they vary a tragic theme, the unimportance of the distinction between legitimate children and others in a world in which the gap between gods and men dwarfs social cleavages. It is noteworthy here that a grown-up foundling in another play by Menander makes no reference to such a right when she asks

her father why he exposed her brother and herself (*Peric.* 801); the tone does not even appear to be reproachful (Gomme and Sandbach (1973) 522 *ad loc.*). A sacred law from first-century-BCE Ptolemaïs in Egypt may require the partner of a woman who exposes a child to undergo a purification period of fourteen days before entering an unknown sanctuary, but the prohibition, linked to those for illness, miscarriage and parturition, is to be ascribed to ritual rather than moral concerns (*SEG* 42.1131; Rowlandson (1998) 65 no. 40).

Our quantitative data is limited to lists which show widely different numbers of boys and girls in the families of mercenaries granted citizenship in late third-century Miletus (*Milet* 3.34-93). These skewed sex ratios have been explained by the frequent exposure of girls (Pomeroy 1983, Petropoulou (1985) 128-130, 177-199), Brulé 1992). However, even if we were justified in letting the families of mercenaries stand for those of all Greeks at this time, the ratios show a strong tendency to become more equal the older the children are. They should therefore be explained as reflecting a practice of failing to register girls until they began to matter, as they reached marriageable age, rather than as evidence of demographic realities (Scheidel (2010) 2-3, Evans Grubbs (2013) 91, Roubineau (2014) 151-152). Besides, suppose that the practices of the mercenaries were widespread and the sex ratios reliable evidence: they might be the result of an increase in the exposure of girls alone, while the rate of exposure overall remained stable or even dropped.

Adoption

A number of Athenian lawsuits during the classical period concern or mention the adoption of children (Isae. 5.6-7, 11.8ff., 41, [Dem.] 43.12, 58.31, ?[Dem.] 43.77). It is possible that such adoptions were quite common. One Theozotides proposed that adopted sons should be excluded from the ceremony that honoured war orphans at the City Dionysia and, if his motive was to save money, there must have been more than a few boys who qualified (Lys. Fr. 6 Gernet; Slater 1993). But the adoptions we hear of in the lawsuits were normally carried out only after the adopter's death. Moreover, writing as I am in the middle of an election campaign, I wonder whether Athenian democratic politicians pioneered the present-day practice of advocating pointless or impractical policies in order to make an ideological appeal. In any case, the usual view is that the preponderance of evidence from the lawsuits is reliable: classical Athenians preferred to adopt young adults, on the grounds that these were more likely to have shown their true natures and to survive than children; the interests of the adopter were paramount (Rubinstein (1993) 13-14, 62-76, Lindsay (2009) 59-60). However, in the eastern Mediterranean provinces of the Roman Empire, the adoption of infants and young children seems to have been the norm, apparently in order to offer a destitute or orphaned child a home (Huebner (2013) 522, 526). Such a shift would make a tremendous difference in the lives of children, perhaps of many children. But can we be sure that it occurred? And can we date it to the Hellenistic period if it did? Unfortunately, the available evidence does not permit us to answer

these questions. We have no information on the age of adoptees outside Athens in the classical period, and nothing on Athenian ages in the Hellenistic.

Athletic Competition

Athletic competition was always an important activity for Greek men of all ages, a means for boys (at least from the elite, who make up the great majority of athletes whose origins we can identify) to gain prominence and prestige from the archaic period onwards. One indication: even boys' *gloios*, the mixture of sweat, dust and oil scraped off an athlete's body after exercise or competition, was in demand for its healing powers (*Hipp. Berol.* 81.1, 96.4). There are some indications that their opportunities for victory and its rewards increased during the Hellenistic period. For one thing, there was a 'huge explosion in the number of Panhellenic festivals' featuring athletic competition at that time, beginning in the third century BCE (Parker (2004) 11). For another, the role of boys in existing games also became more prominent. The *pankration* for boys was admitted to the Olympic program only in 200 BCE. The Pythian games may have added a third age class, for *ageneioi,* 'beardless youths', in the third century BCE – some of these will have been under the age of majority (Ebert 1965). A local Athenian festival, the Theseia, had three categories of competitor among *paides,* 'boys', after its reorganization in the second century BCE (*IG* 2^2 956-958, 960-962, 964-965; Kennell 1999); three divisions for boys are attested at a competition on Hellenistic Teos as well, and other festivals elsewhere, both panhellenic and local, had two (Kennell (1999) 252). It is possible that the greater number of opportunities for competition for young athletes improved the performance of

some at least as they grew older. Our very imperfect data include the names of seven boys who won as both *paides* and men in the great panhellenic names in the third century alone, while there are only seven to ten known from the traditional date of the founding of the Olympic festival in 776 down to the time of Aristotle (Maróti 2005).

Can we ascribe this enhanced access to athletic success to a change in contemporary attitudes towards and evaluations of children (Papalas 1991) 167)? Certainly they would not have figured as they did in such an important area of activity if they were despised or denigrated. Nor, however, can we see a new interest in children as the spur for the foundation of new festivals. The multiplication of age classes may be explained by the desire to even the playing field, since the category of *paides* might normally include boys from 12 to 17 years of age (Frisch (1988) 181). However, size and physical development must always have played a part in assigning younger competitors to an age-class in a world without birth certificates and with many different local demarcations of the year (Petermandl (2012) 90-91). I incline to an explanation which focuses on opportunity as well as motive (Golden (1998) 107-110). In the most prestigious games, those open to all-comers, locals appear disproportionately often among the winners in boys' events; this implies that the organizers, aware of the extent of their home-field advantage, saw a relatively easy way to garner distinction for their native city. (This is the same reasoning which led Canada to plump for the inclusion of curling as a demonstration sport at the 1988 winter Olympics in Calgary.) Boys from more distant regions would need the company of an adult family member for the

journey, the training period – thirty days at the Olympics – and the festival, a total of maybe six weeks. In the early fifth century, Pindar rebukes the parents of Aristagoras of Tenedos because they didn't let him test the ability he'd shown against local competition at far-away Delphi and Olympia (Pind. *Nem.* 11.19-29), but many parents in his time and later would surely have approved their caution. Turning to the addition of events for boys, it is significant that (whatever contemporary Greeks thought of children), the Olympics, the most important festival, didn't add a third age-class for *ageneioi* or even let boys run the *diaulos* or *dolichos* footraces, established though they were in the Pythian program since its inception. It is in fact equestrian events which make up the majority of new events at both Olympia and Delphi from the fourth century on: these were contests only the rich and powerful could hope to win and they had the influence on those in charge of the festivals to give themselves a better chance. Note that these new events also included horse- and chariot races for young competitors: colts.

Education

Despite my skepticism, however, there is one area in which I do think that we can see a change -- and a change for the better at that -- in the lives of children in the Hellenistic period. This is education. Sparta boasted a state-supported and state-run system of education, now usually called the *agoge*, for both boys and (likely) girls and late (and not very reliable) evidence indicates that Charondas instituted a state-sponsored program of literacy for the panhellenic Greek colony of Thurii in the mid fifth century (Diod. Sic. 12.12.4). The norm in Greek communities, however, was for individual heads

of the household to make whatever arrangements they saw fit for their children's schooling, contracting with private entrepreneurs who in turn set their own fees and curriculum; the classical Athenian community was involved only insofar as it passed legislation meant to keep boys out of the reach of sexual predators (Aeschin. 1.9-12). But beginning in the late third century BCE, a number of members of the Greek elite -- royalty and private citizens -- set up endowments for the schooling of children, to be administered by the communities in which they lived. The first of these benefactions we hear of, by one Polythrous, son of Onesimus, consisted of a gift of 34,000 drachmas for the education of freeborn children of Teos (*SIG* ^{3} 578 = Joyal *et al.* (2009) 134 no. 6.8). The inscription which records this endowment is extraordinarily detailed, outlining provisions for the appointment of a supervisor on the part of the community, for the hiring of teachers (three *grammatodidaskaloi*, one for each level of instruction; two *paidotribai*; a *kitharistes*; three instructors in weapons), for their pay (including instructions for what to do in an intercalary month), for their duties, for the required examinations and where they are to take place. The inscription specifies that the *grammatodidaskaloi* are to teach girls as well as boys. Other endowments and similarly careful arrangements are attested for Miletus (by Eudemus, *SIG* ^{3} 577 = Joyal *et al.* (2009) 135 no. 6.9, 200/199 BCE), for Rhodes (by King Eumenes of Pergamon, Polyb. 31.31, 161/0 BCE), for Delphi (by Eumenes' brother Attalus, *SIG* ^{3} 672 = Joyal *et al.* (2009) 139 no. 6.13, 160/59 BCE).

We should view these initiatives as examples of a broader phenomenon, the euergetism which marked the Hellenistic period as a whole and resulted

(among much else) in the funding of most new gymnasia by kings and rich gymnasiarchs rather than by political communities (Meier (2011) 174-176). They were thus not motivated, primarily at least, by a new interest in children. Nor was the fact that schooling was now made more accessible popular with everyone among the elite. Polybius, our source for Eumenes' largesse, grouses that such a gift might be acceptable from a friend if a man were in tight straits for a while -- but anything would be better than begging for money to pay teachers when times are good. But other fathers must have been grateful for the money they saved or, in some cases, for the chance to educate their children longer than they could otherwise afford.

Can we discern the traces of any benefit for the children themselves? Men as a group always dominate among our sources and among those that interest them; it is therefore improbable that we could discern any change in their lives due to these endowments. Nor do we know any individual careers which began with an unexpected entry into or stay at school. About women there is more to say. I am struck by the numbers of female musicians, most (so far as we can tell) of citizen birth, who won prizes at festivals or performed before other audiences during the Hellenistic period (Loman (2004) 63-68). Pasi Loman, the most recent scholar to collect the evidence, notes that identifiable competitive or professional musicians of earlier periods are almost all male, since 'education was vital for learning to play an instrument, let alone for mastering it to the point of being able to win competitions' (Loman (2004) 66). Was this record of success a direct result of endowments which allowed more girls to study *mousike*? Only the arrangements for Teos explicitly refer

to the teaching of girls, and that is in *grammata* only. There is no evidence for girls' learning to play musical instruments in schools elsewhere in the Hellenistic period (though a fragmentary and undated inscription from Pergamon includes lyric poetry, poetry sung to musical accompaniment, among the competitions in which girls took part; *MDAI(A)* 35 (1910) 436 no. 21, 37 (1912) 277-278 no. 1)). It is therefore imprudent to ascribe their new prominence in competitions and concerts to any change in this area. However, we hear in addition of quite a number of female poets, scientists, scholars, philosophers, artists (Pomeroy 1977). Some of these, among the artists especially, have famous fathers: in modern terms, they were probably home-schooled (Pomeroy (1977) 53). But Polythrous was not the only philanthropist to include girls in his benefactions; and though Opramoas' gift (if he is the donor) for the education (and the feeding!) of both boys and girls at Xanthus in Lycia is dated to the mid second century CE, there surely were others earlier (*SEG* 30 (1980) no. 1535; Kokkinia 2000). Furthermore, there is other evidence for girls learning their letters in school during this period (Cribiore (2001) 74-101, Mantas 2012). It is from among these that some of the creative and scholarly Hellenistic Greek women we meet in our sources must have come.

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