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# Greek and Roman child life as represented in some Greek and Latin authors

Anne Louise Sanford

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**Greek and Roman Child Life**

**Greek and Roman Child Life as  
Represented in Some Greek  
and Latin Authors**

**By**

**Anne Louise Sanford**

**A Thesis**

**Submitted to the Graduate Committee of the  
University of Richmond in Candidacy  
for the Degree of Master of Arts**

**1933**

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## Preface

In the following study I have attempted to present a picture of Greek and Roman child life as it is represented in some Greek and Latin authors. Most of my material has been derived from well known authors such as Homer, Plato, Quintilian, etc. But there has been an attempt to enlarge my scope by consulting some other Greek and Latin authors easily available in the University of Richmond Library, the Richmond Public Library, and the Virginia State Library. In my general discussion I have drawn freely on available works which would be helpful for elucidation and comparison.

I wish to express my indebtedness to Dr. Gertrude H. Beggs professor of Latin in Westhampton College of the University of Richmond for her valuable criticism and guidance. I am grateful to Miss Virginia Atkinson of the Senior Latin Class of Westhampton College for reading the manuscript, copying in the Greek passages cited, and supervising the typing. I acknowledge also the help received from the authors of the Loeb Classical Library whose translations I have used freely.

The mechanical scheme of this study is modelled after that used by Professor Walter Miller in his Daedalus and Thespis.

Anne Louise Sanford

Richmond, Virginia

May, 1933

## I. Preliminary Definitions

As a preliminary to the discussion of Greek and Roman child life it seems desirable to offer some explanation of various words and phrases which will be used frequently in this paper. This so-called "preliminary" is really the result of the study contained in the later pages of this thesis, but has been placed first for the convenience of the reader.

Let us consider first the word "παῖδιον" which appears quite frequently in the works of Herodotus, Euripides, Plato, and others. From Herodotus we get a passage which gives the impression that "παῖδιον" means a "small child" (I, 119):

κελεύει σε Ἀστυάγες τὸ	Astyages bids you to
παῖδιον τοῦτο λαβόντα	take this child and
θεῖναι ἐστὸ ἐρημότατον	place it in the most
τῶν ὀρέων.	desolate part of the
	mountains

and the context indicates the same meaning for the word in another passage in Herodotus (II, 119):

λαβὼν γὰρ δύο παῖδια	for taking two children
----------------------	-------------------------

In Aristophanes one finds a very clear indication of this meaning (Lys. 18-19):

ἢ δὲ παῖδιον κατέκλινεν,	one to put the child
ἢ δ' ἔλουσεν,	to sleep, one to wash
ἢ δ' ἐφώμισεν.	him, one to feed him

We find another word used at times for the small child in a context which restricts the meaning to "infant" or "babe". Pindar uses this word (O, VI, 52-3):

κυρίῳ δ' ἐν μηνὶ πέμπουσ'	and in the appointed
---------------------------	----------------------

αμφιπόλους ἐκέλευσεν  
ἤρωι πορσάνειν δόμεν  
Ἐιλατίδα βρέφος,

month she sent messengers  
and bade them give the  
babe to the son of Eilatus  
for him to tend it<sup>1</sup>

From Aeschylus we get a passage containing this word (Ag. 1096):

κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη  
σφαγὰς,

these babes bewailing  
their own slaughter

Euripides uses the word with an adjective which conveys the meaning of a very young being (Bacch. 289):

νέον βρέφος

young babe

" παιδάριον " is used also by Plato in speaking of an infant or young child (Symp. 210D): παιδαρίου κάλλος the beauty of an infant  
Likewise by Aristophanes (Aves 607):

ἢ παιδάρι' ὄντ'  
ἀποθνήσκειν δεῖ;

must they die while they  
are still infants?

One might note before passing to the next, that " βρέφος " ,  
" παιδίον " , and " παιδάριον " , neuter nouns, are used to refer to either a male or female child, the sex being determined by the context.

" παῖς " occurs in both genders, meaning "boy" or "son" and meaning "girl" or "daughter". The context in a passage in Homer indicates that " παῖς " refers to Zeus (Il. II, 205):

ᾧ δῶκε Κρόνου παῖς  
ἀγκυλομήτεω

to whom the son of  
crooked-counselling  
Cronos has vouchsafed

The feminine adjective in another passage in Homer clearly shows the gender (Il. I, 20):

παῖδα δ' ἐμοὶ λύσαίτε  
φίλην

and release to me my  
dear child

Plato is definite as to the use of the word for both males and females

(Loeb.788A):

παῖδες ἄρρενες καὶ θήλειαι

male and female children

A boy seems to have been termed "παῖς" until about his eighteenth year, when, according to Aristotle, he became a youth ("ἐφ' ἡβῆος") and was enrolled among the demesmen and liable to military duty.

(Resp.Ath.42):

They are enrolled among the demesmen at the age of eighteen. On the occasion of their enrollment the demesmen give their votes on oath whether the candidates appear to be of the age prescribed by law (if not they are dismissed back into the ranks of the boys)<sup>2</sup>.

"μευράκιον" is another term for "youth". For the distinction between "παῖς" and "μευράκιον" witness the remark of Xenophon.

(Symp. IV, 17):

ἐπεὶ ὡσπερ γε παῖς  
γίγνεται καλὸς οὕτω καὶ  
μευράκιον καὶ ἀνὴρ καὶ  
πρεσβύτης.

for just as a boy becomes beautiful, so also a youth, a man, and an old man.

"κοῦρος" is another commonly used word for boy or lad. It is used in reference to a child from its earliest days or even before birth, in some instances as in a passage from Homer.

(Il. VI, 59):

ὄν γαστέρι μήτηρ  
κοῦρον ἔορτα φέρον

the child which the mother bears in her womb

Homer applies the same word to an adolescent. (Il. XXIV, 347):

βῆ δ' ἔναι κοῦρῳ  
αἰσυμνητῆρ' ἰοικῶς,  
πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη, τοῦπερ  
χαριεστάτη ἦβη

then went he his way in  
the likeness of a young  
man, that is a prince, with  
the first down upon his  
lip, in whom the charm of youth  
is fairest.<sup>3</sup>

The feminine form "κούρη" is used by Homer to refer to a very young girl child. (Il. XVI, 7):

ἤυτε κούρη νηπίη  
ἢ θ' ἄμα μητρὶ  
θεοῦσ' ἀναλίσσθαι  
ἀνώχευ.

like a girl, a mere babe,  
who standing beside her  
mother, begs to be taken up.<sup>4</sup>

"τέκνον" is another word for child. It appears frequently in Homer who uses it often with the adjective "νήπιος" thereby giving the meaning of a very young or small child. (Il. IV, 238-9):

ἡμεῖς ἄντ' ἀλόχοος τε  
φίλας καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
ἄξομεν ἐν νήεσσιν, ἔπην  
πολλίεθρον ἔλωμεν.

And we shall bear away  
in our ships their dear  
wives and little children,  
when we shall have taken  
their citadel.<sup>5</sup>

Helenus addresses Hector about Athena and her mercy for Troy and its little children. (Il. VI, 94-5):

αἶ κ' ἐλεήσῃ  
ἄστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἀλόχοος  
καὶ νήπια τέκνα,

if she will have com-  
passion on the city and the  
Trojans' wives and their  
little children,<sup>6</sup>

(Il. VI, 196-7):

ἣ δ' ἔτεκε τρία τέκνα  
δαΐφρονι Βελλεροφόντῃ

and the lady bore to  
wise-hearted Bellerophon

Ἴσανδρόν τε καὶ Ἴππόλοχον<sup>5</sup>  
καὶ Λαοδάμειαν.

three children Isander  
and Hippolochus and  
Laodameia.<sup>7</sup>

(Il. IX, 593-4):

ἄνδρας μὲν κτείνουσι, πόλιν  
δέ τε πῦρ ἀμαθύνει  
τέκνα δέ τ' ἄλλοι ἀγούσι  
βαθυζώνους τε γυναῖκας.

The men are slain  
and the city is wasted  
by fire, and their  
children and low-  
girdled women are led  
captives of strangers.<sup>8</sup>

(Il. XVII, 223-4):

ἀλλ' εἴνα μοι Τρώων ἀλόχευς  
καὶ νήπια τέκνα  
προφρονέως ῥύσασθε  
φιλοπτόλέμων ὑπ' Ἀχαιῶν

but that with ready  
hearts ye might save the  
Trojans' wives and their  
little children from  
the war-loving Achaeans.<sup>9</sup>

Aeschylus uses this word in a context which shows clearly that it refers to a very young human being. (Eum. 658-9):

οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένου  
τακίως, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος  
νεοσπόρου.

The mother of what is  
called her child is not  
its parent, but only the  
nurse of the newly-  
implanted germ.<sup>10</sup>

Having considered the many Greek words<sup>11</sup> for "child", let us now turn to a discussion of the Latin words.

From the adjective "infans" meaning "incapable of speech" we get the noun "infans," according to Cicero (as cited by Harper s.v. "infans")<sup>12</sup>

Fatur is, qui primum homo  
significabilem ore emittit  
voce: ab eo, antequam ita  
faciant pueri, dicuntur in-  
fantes.

The man who first  
emits a significant  
word from his mouth  
speaks: on account of  
this, before children  
do this, they are called  
infantes.

Livy shows that the word was used to denote a child of either sex (XXXI, 12):

in Sabinis incertum infans  
natus, masculus an femina  
esset.

it was uncertain whether  
the infant born among  
the Sabines was male or  
female.

"Puer," another word for "child," was likewise used for either sex.

We find proof of its use referring to a female in Livius Andronicus who, in translating Homer V, 721, (as cited by Wordsworth<sup>13</sup>), used it to describe Hera.

Sancta puer Saturni filia  
regina

Sacred child, daughter  
of Saturn, queen

Naevius (as quoted in Harper s.v. "puer"<sup>14</sup>) also used the word to refer to a female.

Proserpina puer Cereris

Proserpina child of Ceres

There are passages where the limitation to the male sex is very ~~clear~~ clear.

In Seneca we find two passages which use the word in reference to a male child, the son of Hercules. Hercules, driven to madness by Juno upon his return from the underworld has slain his wife and children. He laments his dead son and says (Hercules Furens 1231-2):

Tibi tela frangam nostra,	For thee will I break
tibi nostros, puer,	my weapons, for thee, poor
rumpemus arcus;	boy, will I rend my bow;

(Hercules Furens 1296):

hoc en peremptus apiculo	lo, slain by this arrow
cecidit puer.	my boy fell.

From Quintilian's treatise on the education of a Roman boy for Oratory we get three passages which show very clearly from the context that the word "puer" refers to a young male child (Institutiones Oratoria I, 1, 8):

De pueris, inter quos educ-	As regards the boys in whose
abitur ille huic spei des-	company our budding orator
tinatus, idem quod de nutricibus	is to be brought up, I would
dictum sit.	repeat what I have said about
	nurses. <sup>15</sup>

(Institutiones Oratoria I, 1, 12):

A sermone Graeco puerum	I prefer that a boy should
incipere malo,	begin with Greek,

(Institutio Oratoria I, 1, 18):

Nam certe quamlibet parvum	For though the knowledge
sit, quod contulerit aetas	absorbed in the previous
prior, maiora tamen aliqua	years may be but little,
discet puer ipso illo anno,	yet the boy will be learn-
	ing something more advanced
	during that year, <sup>16</sup>

"Puer" is used not limited to either sex. Cicero's use of it in the plural in the following passage is clearly devoid of any sex limitation(as cited by Harper s.v. "infans"<sup>17</sup>):

Fatur is, qui primum homo  
significabilem ore emittit  
vocem: ab eo, antequam ita  
faciant pueri, dicuntur  
infantes.

The man who first emits a  
significant word from his  
mouth speaks; on account of  
this, before children do this,  
they are called infants.

Again we find Cicero using the word with no sex implied(Cr.XXXIV, 120):

nescire quid anteaquam  
natus sis, acciderit, id est  
semper esse puerum

not to know what happened  
before you were born is  
to be a child always

These passages cited for the use of "puer", either limited to one sex or not limited as to sex, are not satisfactory to one trying to find an age specification in the word. That is clearly connoted for "infantes" in the Ciceronian passage given above (as cited by Harper s.v. "infans"<sup>17</sup>) where the word is definitely limited to human beings who have not yet learned to speak. But Cicero was there interested in derivation and we must not press too far a bit of antiquarian lore. In one of the Laws of the Kings (Wordsworth p. 254)<sup>18</sup> we find "puer" used of a person capable of beating his father and a penalty prescribed for that crime.

Si parentem puer verberit  
ast ole plorassit puer  
divis parentum sacer esto.

If a child shall have beaten  
his father so that he shall  
have wept, let that child be  
accursed to the gods of his  
parents.

Livius Andronicus (Fragments 3 and 4) uses both "puer" and "puera", each time with the feminine form of the adjective mea (another proof of the use for female) in addressing Athena who is certainly an adult (Wordsworth p. 289)<sup>18</sup>:

Mea puera quid verbi ex	My child what word has
tuo ore supra fugit?	escaped from your mouth?
Mea puer quid verbi ex	My child what word do I
tuo ore audio?	hear from your mouth?

Horace uses the word of a child that has learned to walk and talk, but that is not yet a "iuvenis" as the context shows (Ars Poetica 158):

Reddere qui voces iam	The child who knows how
scit puer ut pede certo	to repeat words and treads
signat humum,	the ground with a sure foot,

Varro (quoted in Wordsworth) applies "pueros" to very young children (Wordsworth p. 655):

pueros a lacte	recently weaned children
----------------	--------------------------

Limiting adjectives seem to be relied upon to indicate the period of life as in Suetonius (Claudius 35):

feminae praetextatique	women and young boys
pueri et puellae	and girls

From the last five passages we get evidence of the application of "puer" to several different periods of life. "Puer" thus seems to be a general word used indiscriminately not only for both sexes but for all ages.

In Horace we find the word applied to slaves and attendants (C. I, 19, 14):

Verbena, pueri, ponite turaque	Slaves, put sacred boughs
	and incense

(C. I, 38, 1):

Persicos odi, puer, apparatus	Slave, I detest Persian
	splendors

We may thus add to the use without sex limitation and the use without age limitation another use showing the extension of "puer" to the servant class.

"Puella" is restricted to one of the female sex and of immature age, and means "girl", "maiden", or "lass". Plautus in using filiam in apposition with puellam, indicates the female sex and relative youth (Cist. 2, 3, 77):

eam nunc puellam	now we seek this girl,
filiam eius querimus	the daughter of this one

Terence in using parere shows babyhood (Heaut. 4, 1, 16):

puellam parere	to give birth to a girl
----------------	-------------------------

Then at the close of this scene he has Chremes refer to this last child as a daughter, thus establishing the sex (4, 1, 34):

ut cupiam filiam	that I desire a daughter
------------------	--------------------------

Terence indicates comparative youth by the use of the adjective parvula (Eum. 1, 2, 29):

parvula puella	little girl
----------------	-------------

And later in this scene this "puella" is referred to by the word filia (1, 2, 37):

ita uti si esset filia	just as if she had been a daughter
------------------------	---------------------------------------

"Puella" is used by Horace without any elucidating context as to sex but the word infans clearly limits the "puella" to childhood (Ep. 2, 1, 99):

puella infans	infant girl
---------------	-------------

In the Carmen Saeculare of Horace it is clear that "puellas" used in line 36 refers to the "virgines lectae" of line 6 and the whole sense of the poem contrasts these girls, hymning Diana, with the boys, singing in honor of Apollo (C. S. 36):

audi, Lina, puellas	Hear, o Lina, the girls.
---------------------	--------------------------

And the comparative youth of these "girls" is shown in the ode in which Horace gives instructions to the chorus for his Carmen Saeculare, the last stanza indicating that these are unwedded

inupta iam dicetis	Presently when you are married you will say
--------------------	--

Vergil's contrast between "pueri" and "puella" seems usable as a contribution to the sex sense in "puella" and the adjective innuptae indicates youth (Aen. 6, 307):

pueri innuptaeque puellae

boys and unwed girls

"Puella", like "puer", may also be used of servants. "Puellae" for handmaids is given in Ovid's Fasti where Lucretia, on speaking to her handmaids who were spinning their allotted stints of yarn says (Ovid, Fasti II, 754):

nunc, nunc properate

haste ye now, haste my

puellae

girls<sup>19</sup>

To summarize the use of "puella" we may say that we have not as yet found any proof of its extension to the male sex. We must therefore regard "puer" as the generic term referring to either sex, but until we have reason to change our opinion, we must regard "puella" as having specific sex significance. And while "puer" has been proven to be used for any time of life, we have not as yet found any evidence for the use of "puella" in reference to any but a youthful period. But "puer" and "puella" are alike, however, in having their use extended to the servant class.

## Summary

"παῖδιον" is used to denote a small child of either sex.

"βρέφος" is used to denote an infant or babe of either sex.

"παῖς" is used to denote a person of either sex and of any age.

"κόρπος" is used to denote a male child of any age from before birth through the adolescent period.

"κούρη" we have found referring to a small female child.

"Infans" is used to denote a very young child of either sex.

"Puer" is used to denote a person of either sex and of any age.

"Puella" is apparently used only of a female person, but, like "puer", has no definite age limit.

In none of the passages which I have cited has there been indication of any specific age limit except in the passage from Aristotle which gives an upper age, eighteen, for "παῖς". In none of the passages do I find any definite demarcation between babyhood and childhood. However, the consensus of the passages would justify me in dividing the discussions of the Greek child and of the Roman child into two main divisions, the first dealing with the child of pre-school age, which corresponds approximately to the Greek "παῖδιον" and the Latin "infans"; the second dealing with the child of school age, corresponding approximately to the Greek "παῖς" and the Latin "puer" and "puella."

## II. The Greek Child

In the pre-school age we divide our discussion into three main divisions, the first dealing with matters pertaining to the legal status of the child, the second dealing with matters pertaining to his physical development, the third with matters pertaining to his intellectual development. These phases of the child's life, of course, often overlap, but the plan has been selected because it can be followed approximately through the succeeding divisions of this paper.

### A.

An indispensable item in defining the legal status of a child was the father's acknowledgement of his parenthood. In considering this item, we find "exposure" resorted to by unwilling parents. The matter of the "exposure" of infants is a debatable subject, as to many details. After a careful study of Van Hook's discussion the writer of this paper is ready to accept his conclusions in principle. Anyone interested in the arguments on debated points may review the evidence pro and con as he has presented it. But to our general picture of child life among the Greeks we add the following statements as to "exposure", quoted from Van Hook (Exposure of Infants at Athens, in P. A. P. A., Vol. 51, pp. 144-5): "The following conclusions may be drawn as a result of this study. Abandonment of infants occurred to a greater or lesser degree throughout the Greek world from earliest times, and in the late Hellenistic Period became, it appears, an actual menace and evil. It was legally sanctioned at Sparta in the case of deformed children. It was nowhere forbidden by law except possibly at Thebes at a late date (Ael. V. H. II, 7). It was nowhere severely condemned by general public opinion and feeling, since the Greeks did not have the moral and religious scruples relative to the matter which influenced Christians and Jews. Yet the Athenians were certainly not altogether lacking in humanity, as is shown, for example, by their care of orphans at the public expense and the pensions allotted to those physically incapable of earning a livelihood. It is true that the father's will in the family was regarded as supreme,

but there are many indications that the wishes of the wife and mother were by no means ignored by the husband and father. Is it natural to suppose that the vote of the Athenian mother would be frequently cast for the repudiation of her own child, or that her influence, in the matter of the fate of legitimate offspring, would be without weight? In Athens, however--a great community with large foreign and slave elements in the population--cases of exposure of course occurred. Infants in this world have ever been abandoned by unmarried mothers, by prostitutes, by victims of poverty, vice, dissipation, brutality, war, and slavery. For these unfortunates the ancient world made no adequate provision, whereas the modern world provides foundlings' homes, orphan asylums, and the institutions of the Church. But in Athens so-called exposure of infants by no means meant infanticide. In fact, thorough-going measures might be employed to ensure the safety of the child. In the New Comedy and in the Ion of Euripides the infant is carefully dressed, placed in a basket or earthen vessel, and left in a prominent location, such as the entrance to a temple or sacred cave, where it is promptly seen and rescued. In actual cases the fate of the child must have been doubtful and depended on the person into whose hands it fell. If it survived it might be adopted by childless parents or, at worst, reared for slavery or the brothel. At any rate we do not hear of actual death as being the usual fate.

The chief contention of this article is that there is no sound evidence which proves the prevalence of the exposure of newborn infants in Athens of the Classical Period, or shows that the practice particularly flourished there among respectable married citizens as a repellent evil of great proportions. The proof generally offered, and stated above, does not stand sober scrutiny, namely, the so-called evidence supposedly furnished by legend, myth, Aristophanic and Euripidean references to myth, dramatic motifs of the third-century New Comedy, hypothetical regulations of Platonic and Aristotelian imaginary politics of Spartan coloring, Polybius of 150 B. C., and Longus, the pastoral romancer of the second century after Christ."

To summarize briefly our information as to the matter of "exposure" in the Greek:

1. On the father depended the fate of the infant, as to whether it should be brought up or "exposed".
2. The mother's wishes had some weight in the matter.
3. In Athens, so-called "exposure" did not necessarily mean infanticide.

That is, "exposure" was practised in the Greek world, yet we do not know to how great an extent.

Some details may add interest to the picture. Though Homer does not specifically mention "exposure" as a method of relief for unwelcoming parents, he has Hephaestus say that Hera wished to conceal him on account of his lameness (Seymour p. 139), a state of mind which might well be the basis for "exposure". Aristophanes gives two interesting points: The shame of a virgin mother as the motive for "exposure", and the saving of the child after "exposure" (Clouds, 530-532):

Κἀγώ, παρθένος γὰρ ἔτ' ἦν  
κούκ' ἐξ ἦν πῶ μοι τεκεῖν  
ἐξ ἔθηκα, παῖς, δ' ἑτέρα τίς  
λαβοῦς ἀνείλετο,  
ὑμεῖς δ' ἐξ εὐρέψατε

When, for I was yet a  
virgin, and it was not  
right to bear, I "exposed"  
it and another did the  
foundling nurse.

Another instance of virgin shame as the motive and of the saving of the child is given by Pausanias (1, 43, 7):

ἐπὶ Κροτώπου λέγουσιν ἐν  
Ἄργεσι βασιλεύοντος Ψαμάθην  
τῆς Κροτώπου, τεκεῖν παῖδα  
ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος, ἐχομένην, δὲ  
ἰσχυρῶς τοῦ πατρὸς δείματι  
τὸν παῖδα ἐκθεῖναι. καὶ τὸν  
μὲν διαφθείρουσιν ἐπιτυχόν-  
τες ἐκ τῆς ποιμένης κύνας  
τῆς Κροτώπου,

They say that in the reign  
of Crotopus at Argos,  
Psamathe, the daughter of  
Crotopus, bore a son to Apollo,  
and being in dire terror of  
father, "exposed" the child.  
He was found and destroyed by  
the sheep-dogs of Crotopus,

Another motive for "exposure" is mentioned by Longus, who, as the "pastoral romancer of the second century"<sup>1</sup> may give interesting side lights even though he may not be entitled to unsalted belief. He assigns an abundance of older children as a motive for "exposure" (Longus as quoted by Becker, p. 218):

ἵσως παιδίων πρεσβυτέρων  
ἄλλοι ἔχοντες

probably because they had an abundance of older children.

Aristophanes supplies the detail that a child was "exposed in an earthen vessel" (Frogs, 1189-1190):

ὅτε δὴ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν  
χενόμενον  
χειμῶνος ὄντος ἐξέθειραν  
ἐν ὀστράκῳ,

no sooner born than they "exposed" the babe (and that in winter) in an earthen crock,<sup>2</sup>

Euripides says that sometimes a herdsman serves as the agent in the "exposure" (Phoenissae, 25):

δίδωμι βουκόλοισιν  
ἐκθεῖναι βρέφος,

He gave the babe to herdsmen to cast forth.

It seems that not infrequently a childless wife desirous of a child would avail herself of this opportunity to obtain a cast off child and call it her own (Dio Chrysostom, as quoted by Becker, p. 219):

ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ ὅτι αἱ  
μὲν ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες  
ὑποβάλλονταί πολλάκις  
δί' ἀπαίδειαν, ὅταν μὴ  
δύνωνται αὐταὶ κυῆσαι

For I know that free women being childless substitute frequently on account of childlessness when they are not able to bear.

If the Greek child did not experience the fate of "exposure" but was started along the usual path of family life, on the seventh day after its birth there was a ceremony which is described by Meaychius (as quoted by Becker, p. 217):

ἔστι δὲ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ  
ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως, ἐν

it is seven days after the birth when, lightly clad,

ἢ το βρεφὸς βατταζόντες

lifting the child, they run

περὶ τὴν ἐστίαν γυμνοὶ τρέχουσι

around the hearth.

It is probable that this festival put by Hesychius on the seventh day is the one to which Suidas gives the name "Amphidromia", though he places it on the fifth.<sup>3</sup> For this festival of the "Amphidromia"<sup>3</sup> the features of the celebration were strictly prescribed, and omission of these prescribed features was noticeable according to Ehippus (Fragment preserved by Athenaeus IX, 370):

ἔπειτα πῶς

If that is so, how is it that

οὐ στέφανος οὐδεὶς ἔσσι προῦθε  
τῶν θυρῶν

there is no wreath before the  
doors, no savour of cooking

οὐ κῆσα κρούει βένος ὑπὸ κῆς ἄκρας,  
Ἀμφιδρωμίων ὄντων ἐν οἷς νομίζετα  
ὄπτᾶν τε τυροῦ χερρανηοῖτου τόμους,  
ἔψιν τ' ἐλαίῳ βράθανον ἤνλαϊσ-  
μένην.

strikes the tip ends of the pro-  
jecting nose, though the feast

of the Amphidromia is on! For

then it is the custom to toast

slices of Gallipoli cheese, to

boil a cabbage glistening in oil,

to broil some fat lamb chops, to

pluck the feathers from ring-doves,

thrushes, and finches withal to

devour at the same time cuttle-

fish and squids, to pound with

care many wriggling polyps, and

drink many a cup not too diluted.<sup>4</sup>

πνίγειν τε παγίων ἀρνίων στηθῦνα  
τίλλειν τε φάττες καὶ κίχλας  
ὄμοῦ σπίνους

κουρῆ τε χναύεω τευθίσιν σπηρίδια

πιλεῖν τε πολλὰς πλεκτάνας ἱπι-  
στρεφῶς

πίνειν τε πολλὰς κύλικας εὐζω-  
ρεστέρας.

In addition to this fifth-day feast there was another for the child. It was called the "δεκάτη" and celebrated on the tenth day after the birth of the child. From Aristophanes we get one passage which speaks of an invitation to the "δεκάτη" of the child (Aves, 493):

ἐς δεκάτην γὰρ ποτε  
παιδαρίου κληθεῖς

for I was asked to the "tenth"  
of a child

THE CHILD RECEIVED ITS NAME ON THE TENTH DAY ACCORDING TO SOCRATES (AS QUOTED IN BECKER, CHARICLES, p. 219):

τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦνομα  
τίθενται.

the name is given on the tenth day.

Aristotle, however, says that since most of the deaths in infancy occurred before the child was a week old, it was named at this time (Hist. An. VII, 12):

τὰ πλεῖστα δ' ἀνασρέεται  
πρὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης διὸ καὶ  
τὰ ὀνόματα τότε τίθενται.

The majority of deaths in infancy occur before the child is a week old, hence it is customary to name the child at this time.<sup>5</sup>

Jocasta says that one of her daughters was named by the father, while she herself named the other daughter (Euripides, Phoenissae, 57):

τὴν μὲν Ἴσμηνην πατὴρ  
ᾠνόμασε, τὴν δὲ πρόσθεν  
Ἀντιγόνην ἐγώ.

The father named one Ismene, I named the older Antigone.

From the passages cited above we conclude that, in addition to the Amphidromia, there was another special day, the "δεκάτῃ", the tenth day after the child's birth. We have some testimony that at this festival the child received its name. One passage shows that the father and mother gave a name. The Aristotelian passage, however, which puts the naming of the child on the seventh day leaves us in doubt as to just when the name was given. We were left in a similar doubt as to whether the Amphidromia occurred on the fifth or the seventh day. We must therefore content ourselves with a statement of the points of agreement which will be sufficient for the purposes of our present study; that there were two special days, one appointed for the Amphidromia and another for the christening, both of which ceremonies took place between the fifth and tenth days in the life of the infant who was accepted as legal by his parents who did not therefore resort to the escape from responsibility by means of the permitted practice of "exposure."

The development of a child is largely dependent on his physical comfort, and we consider three concomitants which contribute to his well-being: food, dress, and

exercise. The information which we have collected on the subject of a child's food is so fragmentary that it certainly must not be considered a complete diet program. Indeed, the tenor of the Homeric passage where Andromache mentions marrow and rich fat of sheep as the food given to Astyanax, still an infant in arms, indicates that the child receives these foods as choice bits, probably from the plate of his father (Iliad XXII, 500-2):

<p>ἔσθ' ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρὸς          μυελὸν οἶον ἔδρασκε καὶ οἶων          πίογα δημόν.</p>	<p>on the knees of his          father, ate only marrow and          the rich fat of sheep;</p>
--	---

We must regard as another special case Aphrodite's bringing up the daughters of Pandareus on cheese, honey, and wine (Odyssey, XX, 69):

<p>κόμισσε δὲ δὲ Ἀφροδίτη          γορῶ καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῶ καὶ          ἡδέϊ οἴνω.</p>	<p>and fair Aphrodite tended          these with cheese, and sweet          honey, and pleasant wine.<sup>6</sup></p>
--	---

Phoenix, also, must not be considered a model dietician for a young child.<sup>7</sup> In speaking of the infant Achilles he says that he cut the meat for him first and held the wine to his lips, which often dribbled down upon Phoenix's tunic, the child being still too young to eat properly (Iliad IX, 488-91):

<p>πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ σ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖσιν          ἔγῳ γούνασι καθίσσας          ὄψου τ' ἄσασκε προσημῶν καὶ          οἶνον ἐπισκῶν.          πολλὰκι μοι κατέδυσσας ἐπὶ          στήθεσσι χιτῶνα          οἴνου ἀποβλύζων ἐν νηπιῇ ἀλι-          γευρῇ.</p>	<p>until I, placing thee upon my          knees, satisfied thee with          viands, previously cutting them,          and supplied thee with wine.          Often hast thou wetted the          tunic upon my breast, ejecting          the wine in infant peevishness.<sup>8</sup></p>
---	---

The Greeks must have had a more or less aesthetic attitude in the matter of feeding the young child, for Theophrastus, in discussing the ill-bred man, mentions as one manifestation of his bad manners that (Char. XX, 5):

<p>τὸ παιδίον τῆς τίτθης          ἀφελόμενος, μαρῶμενος</p>	<p>He will take the child from          his nurse and feed it from</p>
---	--

σιτίζεεν αὐτός.

his own mouth.<sup>9</sup>

This sharing of chewed food seems to be referred to when Aristophanes has the sausage seller chide Paphlagon for treating the demos as a bad nurse treats a child--he "chews the food", gives away only a small part, and greedily swallows most of it himself. The criticism of course is directed mainly against the trait of greediness, but the disparaging tenor of the passage may apply also to the pre-chewing (Aristophanes, Equites, 716-17):

καὶ θ ὡσπερ αἱ τίθαι γε  
σιτίζεις κακῶς.  
μασώμενος γὰρ τῷ μὲν  
ὀλίγον ἐν τίθεις,

and feed him badly as the  
nurses do. For you chew  
and pop a morsel in his  
mouth.<sup>10</sup>

Plutarch, in speaking of the feeding of infants, says that mothers should feed and nurse them themselves, for foster-mothers and nursemaids are kindly only because of the pay they receive (Mor., I, 3, C):

δεῖ δὲ, ὡς ἐγὼ ἂν φαίην, αὐτὰς  
τὰς μητέρας τὰ τέκνα τρέφειν καὶ  
τούτοις τοὺς μαστοὺς ὑπέχειν.  
... αἱ τίθαι δὲ καὶ  
αἱ τροφοὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ὑπο-  
βολυμαίαν καὶ παρήγγραπτον  
ἔχουσιν, ἅτε μισθοῦ φιλοῦσαι.

mothers ought, I should say,  
themselves to feed their in-  
fants and nurse them themselves.  
.....The good will of  
foster-mothers and nurse-  
maids is insincere and forced,  
since they love for pay.<sup>11</sup>

He says, however, that if mothers are unable to do this, they may select nurses. This must be done with great care, however. He thinks it essential that they be Greek (Mor., I, 3, C):

εἰ δ' ἄρ' ἀδυνατῶς  
ἔχουσιν ἢ διὰ σώματος  
ἀσθενείαν (γίνοιτο γὰρ ἂν  
τε καὶ τοσοῦτον)

but if they are unable to do  
this, either because of bodily  
weakness (for such a thing can  
happen) or because they are in

ἢ πρὸς ἑτέρων τέκνων  
 πεύδουσαι γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ  
 τὰς γε τίτθας καὶ τροφούς  
 οὐ τὰς τυχεύσας ἀλλ' ὡς  
 ἔνε μάλιστα σπουδαίας  
 δοκιμαστέον ἔστι πρῶτον  
 μὲν τοῖς ἠθεσιν Ἑλληνίδας.

haste to bear more children,  
 yet foster-mothers and nurse-  
 maids are not to be selected  
 at random, but as good ones as  
 possible must be chosen; and,  
 first of all, in character  
 they must be Greek.<sup>11</sup>

That babies were fed from feeding-bottles is evident for four different bottles are reproduced by Klein from whom I quote (p.6): "The feeding bottles themselves vary considerably in detail, although they conform in general to two main types. The more slender style, suggesting a small pitcher, is open above, and the handle is placed over the top. From the stand point of adaptability, this form seems decidedly less practical than the second. Its length from the spout to the top of the handle is considerable, and it is difficult to see how it could have been tilted enough to give the child an opportunity to absorb the contents in comfort. The second type, even more frequent, is squat in shape, with a handle at the side. The top is occasionally left open, but more often it is closed by a concave strainer; one example rather interestingly combines the two features, with a circular opening in the center top, and a strainer near the edge, opposite the mouth. All of these have a short spout, set at right angles to the handle, and often carefully rounded in the shape of a nipple."

We have not found many passages giving details about the dress of the young child, but swaddling bands are attested. Aeschylus has Aegisthus mention his wearing such baby garments (Ag., 1606):

ὄντα μ' . . . τυτθὸν ὄντα  
 ἐν σπαστά γάνυσι

me as yet a babe in swaddling  
 clothes<sup>12</sup>

And the nurse of Orestes in the Choephoroi speaks of such garments for a child who has not yet learned to speak (755):

παῖς ἔτι ὤν ἐν

being a child still in

σπαργάρες.

swaddling bands

Heracles had saffron swathing bands according to Pindar (No., I, 58):

κροκωτὸν σπαργάρον  
ἔγκατέβα.

he was laid in his saffron  
swathing bands.<sup>13</sup>

The Spartans, that hardy and stoical people, disdained swaddling bands as we learn from Plutarch (Lycurgus, XVI, 3):

ὡστ' ἄνευ σπαργάνων ἐκ-  
τρεφούσας τὰ βρέθη τοῖς  
μῖλεσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδέσιν  
ἔλευθέρια ποιεῖν.

they reared infants without  
swaddling bands, and they  
left their limbs and figures  
free to develop.<sup>14</sup>

For additional evidence of the young Greek child's clothing I quote from Klein (pp. 1-2): "As to the exact method of clothing the small body, there is greater variety, or possibly less certainty, in the evidence at our disposal. In the majority of cases the outlines of the figure certainly suggest a child closely wrapped, although it must be admitted that often there are few or no lines to represent the winding of the swaddling band. Yet there are a considerable number of terracottas which show us very clearly bands of varying widths wrapped tightly round and round. Some of them move us to hope that the babies were less uncomfortable than they seem to us. The feet may be left uncovered, or the neck is free, but several figures are, apparently, wrapped from tip to toe, so that nothing but the face is exposed. Sometimes, it should be added, the head is left entirely bare.

While it seems safe to assume that swaddling was common, it was evidently not the only form of clothing used. Certain figures suggest a large garment or mantle, wrapped more or less loosely about the child, and a few show it hanging free below the child's feet. In one instance it seems to extend only from the armpits down, while another looks very like the infant's long dress of modern times.

As for colors, the evidence which we possess is so slight that generalizations of any sort are out of the question. However, it is interesting merely to observe that on the painted stelai, in contrast to the reddish-brown garment covering the child's

body, the pointed cap is white.

As the child grows older it most frequently appears entirely nude, or with only a cap, or a small cloak in addition, clasped on the right shoulder." (Ibid., p. 34): "For the period following infancy, however, a number of observations should be added, to qualify the statement that the child was generally nude. Children carried in the arms of the mother or nurse are usually represented without a garment, and those which creep about always are. In every case where it is possible to determine the child's sex, it proves to be a boy. Where little girls are found on toy vases they wear a chiton, or tunic, or the hair is high. In the grave reliefs, where we often see small children, it is clear that even the smallest girl is dressed in a long chiton. All of this points to the conclusion that while boys were often allowed to creep or run about unhampered, girls of all ages wore the chiton. The presence of such a garment on the figure of the baby, lying on the lap of its nurse, distinguishes it, therefore, as a little girl from the more numerous baby boys.

The small cloak, clasped on the right shoulder, as mentioned before, is found here and there. Another wrap, seen rather infrequently, is a long cape reaching nearly to the feet, with a pointed hood attached. When dressed in this sort of garment, only the wearer's face and feet are visible. It seems sometimes to have been made with only an opening cut for the face, so as to slip on over the head; in other cases we see the overlapping edges of the cape in front. In some instances the cloak is a short one, but covers the head in similar fashion."

It is safe to assume that the child got some exercise in its cradle. Klein (p. 3) cites one example showing "a construction similar to that of the wooden cradles on rockers in common use not long ago", with the motion, however, from end to end. One could imagine the child sitting in such a cradle and rocking itself as on a hobby-horse. That the little Greek child had opportunities for a vigorous physical life we may gather from Klein's pictured illustrations of which I shall mention the following:

Plate VII--a creeping child and a child playing with a rooster

Plate IX--a child reaching for a bird

Plate X--a child playing with a goose

Plate XI--a child riding on a cock

Plate XII--a child playing with a dog

Plate XV--a child playing with a go-cart

Plate XXIII--two children playing with cocks

Plate XXVIII--a child standing by its mother or nurse

Whether the illustrations listed above show the child at play or performing some assigned task we cannot always decide; for example, the "child playing with the cock" may not have been playing but performing the assigned task of bringing the cock to someone. But whatever the interpretation may be, the picture shows opportunity for abundant physical exercise. The frequent association of the child with animals would probably indicate a rather free outdoor life.

Aristotle thinks that the rattle is an excellent plaything for a young child and well-suited for the amusement of "the infant mind" (Politica, VIII, 6):

Besides, children should have something to do, and the rattle of Archytas, which people give to their children in order to amuse them and prevent them from breaking anything in the house was a capital invention, for a young thing cannot be quiet. The rattle is a toy suited to the infant mind.<sup>15</sup>

From Klein (pp. 4-5) we get information about rattles which would have been suitable for childish use. "Of course the child had to be amused somehow, and nothing was more convenient than a rattle with a nice long handle. Any one who has observed children will know that such a toy must, first of all, be durable. So the Greeks

seen to have made these things of bronze, or else of wood, as is indicated in the dedication of Philokles' toys, which included a boxwood rattle, to the god Hermes. There are several illustrations of some such object, held in the hand of a small child or of the slave who attends him, and the general shape brings to mind two so-called children's toys which are made of bronze. Each consists of a long handle attached to the axis of a double convex disc, but they seem to lack the means of being made to rattle. On another object of similar shape, this want is obviously supplied by a number of small rings inserted in holes around the edge of the disc, and in a bronze rattle of the same type from a child's grave at Olynthus, by pebbles enclosed in the disc. There is also one unusual terracotta rattle with geometric decoration, shaped like a flattened round flask with a very long slender neck. For the description I am indebted to Mr. Beazley who has added the suggestion that the thing held by a child on a small oinochoe is a rattle of this type.

Curiously enough, most of the rattles which have survived the centuries are of a fragile sort; at least terracotta is not a suitable material for a toy to be put into the hand of a small child. Either these were intended for older youngsters, or else were held by the mother or nurse, and shaken to attract the child's attention. The use of the rattle by nurses to lull to rest children who do not sleep well is specifically mentioned by Pollux."

When Achilles is chiding Patroclus for his tears, he compares him to a little girl, a mere babe, and adds the detail "that runneth by her mother's side." We thus get the impression that the child was allowed considerable freedom in running around about the house (Homer, Iliad, XVI, 7-10):

ἥντε κοῦρη  
 γηπίη, ἢ θ' ἄμα, μητρὶ  
 θέουσ' ἀνελίσθαι ἀνώγει,  
 εἶα νοῦ ἀπτομένην, καὶ γ'  
 ἔσσομένην κατερύκει,  
 δακρυόεσσα δέ μιν

like a girl, a mere babe, that  
 runneth by her mother's side  
 and biddeth her take her up,  
 and clutcheth at her gown, and  
 hindereth her in her going,  
 and tearfully looketh up at

ποτιδέρεται, ὄφρ'  
ἀνέληται.

her, till the mother take  
her up.<sup>16</sup>

The evidence of the picture of the child with his go-cart is reinforced by the evidence of Aristophanes, who tells of a purchase of a go-cart for a little boy (Nubes, 861-4):

κἀγὼ τοί ποτε  
ὄν πρῶτον ὀβολὸν ἔλαβον  
Ἡλιατικόν,  
τούτου 'πριάμην σοι  
Διασίους ἀμαξίδα

and I with the first  
obol which my judgment  
fetched bought you  
a go-cart at the great  
Diasia.<sup>17</sup>

Aristophanes does not make a definite statement about the age of the child who was possessed of manual dexterity enough to make his own toys. But from the father's speech and the use of "παῖδριον" we feel a contrast between the young man as he worries his father by his prodigal habits, and the precocious child who delighted his father's heart. But, without any definite statement as to the age of the child when he was so proficient, and even granting that he was proficient at perhaps ten or twelve (a time which falls within the "παις" or school age, according to the divisions made in this thesis), such proficiency could not have sprung into existence overnight; it must have been preceded by several years of effort and practice. So we are justified in adding to our picture of the physical activities of the young child more or less activity along the line of manual work. We must, however, be cautious in accepting this manual dexterity in a young child as applicable to the general run of children, since the father clearly feels pride in this skill as, apparently, an unusual achievement (Nubes 878-881):

ἔνθους γέ τοι παῖδριον  
ἔν τινυρουτονί  
ἔπλαττεν ἔνδον οἰκίας,  
ναυς δ' ἔγλυφεν,  
ἀμαξίδας τε σκουρίνας  
εἰργάζετο,

For when he was a little  
chap, so high, he used to  
build small baby-houses, boats,  
go-carts of leather,  
darling little frogs  
carved from pomegranates,

καὶ τῶν σιδίων βαρβάχους ἐποίησεν. you can't think how nicely.<sup>17</sup>

By way of summary we may say that our findings concerning the food of the young Greek child were fragmentary, and most of the passages cited applied to children of high rank; thus we may in no sense consider the foregoing as a complete diet for the average child. Plutarch, in speaking of the feeding of infants, felt that mothers themselves should nurse their children, but if, for various reasons, this was not possible, it was permissible to employ wet-nurses. These should, however, be Greeks. Babes were fed from feeding bottles, also, according to Klein.

Swaddling bands are mentioned as clothing for a Greek babe, though, according to Plutarch, the Spartans were accustomed to leave the limbs of their infants free and unhampered. In addition to being wrapped in these swaddling clothes, babes were dressed in long, loose-fitting garments comparable to the long infant dresses of today. As a child became older, if a boy, it might run about the house nude, but if a little girl, it was always dressed in a tunic, either long or short.

The babe and young child, of course, had no formal exercise as the older children of the family, but exercised and developed themselves as they played about the house with their toys and pets. From our knowledge of the child and his association with animals we conclude that he led a rather free and untrammelled outdoor life.

The Athenian stranger and Cleinias in Plato agree that the child at a very early period of his life indicates his pleasure or displeasure by manifestations which are intelligible to the nurse (Leges, VII, 792 A):

οὐκοῦν αἱ τροφαὶ σκοποῦσαι  
τίνας ἐπιθυμίας τούτους  
αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ προσφορᾷ  
τεκμαίρονται. οὐ μὲν  
γὰρ ἂν προσφερομένου  
σιγᾷ, καλῶς οἴονταί  
προσφέρειν, οὐ δ' ἂν  
κλαίῃ καὶ βοᾷ, οὐ καλῶς.

Do not nurses, when they  
want to know what an infant  
desires, judge by these signs?  
—when anything is brought to  
the infant and he is silent,  
then he is supposed to be  
pleased, but, when he weeps  
and cries out, then he is not

τοῖς δὴ παιδίους τὸ  
 ἰήλωμα ἔν ἐνθά καὶ μισεῖ  
 κλαυμοναὶ καὶ βοαὶ,  
 σημεῖα οὐδαμῶς εὐτυχῆ.  
 ἔστι δὲ ὁ χρόνος οὗτος  
 τριῶν οὐκ ἐλάττων ἔτων,  
 κόριον οὐ μικρὸν τοῦ  
 βίου διαγαγεῖν χειρὸν ἢ  
 μὴ χειρὸν.

The Greeks strove to inculcate in the child from his very early years a discrimination in moral values. Nurse, mother, tutor, and "the father himself" (the father's participation apparently being worthy of especial emphasis) took a hand in this. The method included the use of precept upon precept, line upon line from the earliest years; and resort to reproaches and even whipping in case of disobedience (Plato Prot. 325, G and D):

ἐκ παίδων μικρῶν  
 ἀρξάμενοι μέχρι οὐπὲρ ἂν  
 ἴωσι, καὶ διδάσκουσι καὶ  
 ρουθετοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴν θάπτον  
 συκιῇ τις τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ  
 τροφὸς καὶ μήτηρ καὶ  
 παιδαγωγὸς καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ  
 πατήρ περὶ τούτων δια-  
 μάχονται, ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστος  
 ἴσται ὁ παῖς, παρ' ἑκάστου  
 καὶ ἔργον καὶ λόγον  
 διδάσκουτες καὶ ἐν-  
 δεκνύμενοι, ὅτι τὸ  
 μὲν δίκαιον, τὸ δὲ

pleased. For tears and cries are the inauspicious signs by which children show what they love and hate. Now the time which is thus spent is no less than three years, and is a very considerable portion of life to be passed ill or well.<sup>18</sup>

Education and admonition commence in the first years of childhood, and last to the very end of life. Mother and nurse and father and tutor are quarreling about the improvement of the child as soon as ever he is able to understand them; he can not say or do anything without their setting forth to him that this is just and that is unjust; this is honorable,

ἀδίκον, καὶ τόδε μὲν καλόν,  
τόδε δὲ αἰσχρὸν, καὶ τόδε μὲν  
ὅσιον, τόδε δὲ ἀνόσιον, καὶ  
τὰ μὲν, ποίει, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποίει  
καὶ εἴαν μὲν ἐκῶν πείθεται.  
εἰ δὲ μὴ, ὥσπερ ξύλον δια-  
στρεφόμενον καὶ καμπτό-  
μενον εὐθύνουσιν ἀπειλαῖς  
καὶ πληγαῖς.

that is dishonorable;  
this is holy, that is  
unholy; do this and  
abstain from that.  
And if he obeys, well  
and good; if not, he is  
straightened by threats  
and blows like a  
warped piece of wood.<sup>19</sup>

As the child from the time of its birth came under the constant influence of its nurse or "τρόφος" it was absolutely essential that a person of good character be chosen, and one of Greek training. Plutarch emphasizes not only that physical development and moral development must be cared for, but also that this training is efficacious if given at an early age (Mor. I, 3, E):

ἀλλὰ τὰς γε τίτθας καὶ  
τροφούς οὐ τὰς τυχοῦσας  
ἀλλὰ ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα  
σπουδαίας δοκιμαστῆρον  
ἐστί. πρῶτον μὲν τοῖς  
ἤθεσιν Ἑλληνίδας. ὥσπερ  
γὰρ τὰ μέλη τοῦ σώματος  
εὐθὺς ἀπὸ γενέσεως πλατ-  
τειν τῶν τέκνων ἀναγ-  
καῖόν ἐστιν, ἵνα ταῦτ'  
ὀρθὰ καὶ ἀστραβῆ φύηται,  
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἐξ  
ἀρχῆς τὰ τῶν τέκνων  
ἤθη ρυθμίζειν προσήκει.

yet foster-mothers and nursemaids  
are not to be selected  
at random, but as good ones  
as possible must be chosen;  
and first of all, in character  
they must be Greek. For just  
as it is necessary immediately  
after birth, to begin to mould  
the limbs of the children's  
bodies in order that these may  
grow straight and without de-  
formity, so, in the same fashion,  
it is fitting from the beginning  
to regulate the characters of

εὐπλαστον γὰρ καὶ ὑγρον  
 ἢ νεότης, καὶ ταῖς τούτων  
 ψυχαῖς ἀπαλαῖς ἔτι τὰ  
 μαθήματα ἐντήκεται· πᾶν  
 δὲ τὸ σκληρὸν χαλεπῶς  
 μαλάττεται. καθάπερ  
 γὰρ σφραγίδες τοῖς ἀπα-  
 λοῖς ἐναπομάττονται  
 κηροῖς, οὕτως αἱ μαθή-  
 σεις ταῖς τῶν ἔτι παιδίων  
 ψυχαῖς ἐναποτυποῦνται.

children. For youth is im-  
 pressionable and plastic, and  
 while such minds are still tender  
 lessons are infused deeply into  
 them; but anything which has  
 become hard is with difficulty  
 softened. For just as seals leave  
 their impression in soft wax, so  
 are lessons impressed upon the  
 minds of children while they are  
 very young.<sup>20</sup>

Plato according to Plutarch, enjoined careful selection of material for the story hour so that nurses might not fill the child mind with trash and according to the same authority the poet Phocylides urged that stories of noble deeds be told the child (Mor. I, 3, F):

καὶ μοι δοκεῖ Πλάτων, ὁ  
 δαιμόνιος ἐμμελῶν παραινέων  
 ταῖς τίτθαις μηδὲ τοὺς τυχόν-  
 τας μύθους τοῖς παιδέσσι λέγειν,  
 ἵνα μὴ τὰς τούτων ψυχὰς ἐξ  
 ἀρχῆς ἀνοίας καὶ διαφθορᾶς  
 ἀναπίμπασθαι συμβαίῃ.  
 κινδύει δὲ καὶ Φωκυλίδης  
 ὁ ποιητὴς καλῶς παραινέων  
 λέγων

χρὴ παῖδ' ἔτ' ἔοντα  
 καλὰ διδάσκειν ἔργα.

and, as it seems to me, Plato,  
 that remarkable man, quite  
 properly advises nurses, even in  
 telling stories to children, not  
 to choose at random, lest haply  
 their minds be filled at the out-  
 set with foolishness and corrup-  
 tion. Phocylides, too, the  
 poet, appears to give admirable  
 advice in saying:

Should teach while still a  
 child the tale of noble deeds.<sup>21</sup>

No doubt the Greek child was inducted by means of toys into many phases of his later education just as the modern child is today. A child of the present time who

owns a toy engine and a string of cars and sections of track unconsciously in his play learns a great deal about the speed of trains, traction, curves, ties, rails, grades, bridges, signals, etc. If one looks through the list of toys given by Klein, one finds ample material for the intellectual development of the child, whether or not selection was made with that in view. A little girl could not help getting some ideas and possibly some experience if she possessed (p.16) "a pretty little terracotta oven, with an opening at the lower right side for the fire, is open in front so that one is able to see a large number of small round cakes within." Similarly the small boy who (p.16) "appears to have been filled with terror by a large mask" is on a fair way to learning something about the theatre.

Some awareness of religious ritual was experienced by the child whenever he observed or participated in any celebration. Klein (p.25) cites information from Philostratus to the effect that children between two and three years of age were adorned with wreaths of flowers in the month Anthesteria. The beauty of the flowers would be apt to make an impression upon the mind of the child and the whole experience would gradually acquire significance as time went on. The children grouped about the herm (Klein, Plate XXVI E), even the smallest one beside the pet goat would be conscious of the difference between a herm and an ordinary post. So by means of all the varied and rich experiences of child life in Athens, by means of simpler experiences in the country communities, the Greek child, before he entered school, had already started along the trail which would lead him into the recognized highroad of directed education. Though we do not know of Montessori opportunities for the little Greek urchin, it is safe to assume that letting the child learn through doing was a well-recognized principle among the ancient Greeks.

In considering the intellectual development of the pre-school child, we must give the nurse a place of importance. It was essential that she be a person of Greek training and of good character. The story-telling hour was to be planned with careful thought, in order that the child's mind might not become clogged with trash and rubbish. Nurses were expected to tell the child "tales of noble deeds."

That the Greeks believed in an early inculcation of moral precepts is apparent. Ideas of right and wrong were instilled early in the child. If he proved disobedient he was apt to be punished.

The child gathered ideas from its toys, or from watching its elders, and from viewing or participating in religious rites.

We should not leave this discussion of the "παιδεία" without some mention of the Greeks' love and affection for the child. That they exhibited these feelings from the very earliest times is evident from Homer's frequent references to the warring Greeks' and Trojans' thoughts of their wives and children. Sarpedon on dying requests Hector to bear his body back to the city in order that it may not be left to the Danaans, for he knows that his death is nigh and that he will not return to his native land to gladden his wife and little son (Iliad, V, 684-688):

"Πρὶν μὲν γὰρ, μή μ' ἔλθοι  
 Δαναοῖσιν ἐλπίσθαι  
 κείσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπάμυνον ἔπειτα  
 με καὶ λιποὺσσι δαίμων  
 ἐν πόλει ὑμῶν, ἔπειτα οὐκ  
 ἔρ' ἔμμελλον ἔγωγε  
 νοστήσας οἴκονδε φίλην εἰς  
 πατρίδα γαῖαν  
 εὐφρανίσαι, ἄλοχόν τε φίλην  
 καὶ νήπιον υἱόν."

Son of Priam, suffer me not to lie here a prey to the Danaans, but bear me aid; thereafter, if need be, let life depart from me in your city, seeing it might not be that I should return home to mine own native land to make glad my dear wife and infant son.<sup>22</sup>

Helenus asks Hector to return to the city and request his mother to entreat Athene with sacrifices to keep from Ilios Diomedes, the son of Tydeus, and to implore her to have mercy on the little children and women (Iliad, VI, 86-96):

"Ἐκτορ, ἄγε σὺ πόλινδε  
 μετέρχσο, εἴπει δ' ἔπειτα  
 μητέρα σῆ καὶ ἐμῆ· ἢ δὲ  
 ξυνάγουσα γεραιάς  
 νηὸν Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπεδος  
 ἐν πόλει ἔκρη."

but do thou, Hector, go thy way to the city and speak there to her that is thy mother and mine; let her gather the aged wives to the temple of flashing-eyed Athene in the citadel, and when

οὐρανὸν κλεῖσει θυρὰς ἱεροῖο  
δόμοιο,

πάπλον, ὅς οἱ δοκίαι χαρίεσ-  
τατος ἦσσι μέγιστος

εἶναι ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ καὶ οἱ  
πολυφίλιτος αὐτῆ,

θεῖναι Ἀθηναίης ἐπιγύνουσαν  
ἑὸν κόμοιο,

καὶ οἱ ὑποσχέσθαι δωκαίσεκε  
βοῦς ἐνὶ νηῶ

ἦναι ἡκίστους ἱερυσέμων,  
εἰ κ' ἔλθῃσιν

ἕστυ τε καὶ Τρώων ἑλόχους  
καὶ νηπίων τέκνα,

εἰ κεν Τυδείος υἱὸν ὑπόσχη  
Ἰλίου ἱρῆς,

she has opened with the key  
the doors of the holy house,  
the robe that seemeth to her the  
fairest and amplest in her hall,  
and that is far dearest to her  
own self, this let her lay upon  
the knees of fair-haired Athene,  
and vow to her that she will  
sacrifice in her temple twelve  
sleek heifers that have not  
felt the goad, if she will have  
compassion on the city and the  
Trojan's wives and their little  
children; in hope she may hold  
back from sacred Ilios the son  
of Tydeus,<sup>22</sup>

Hector, feeling that his death may come at any time, returns to his home to see his  
little son Astyanax (Iliad, VI, 365-368):

καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼν οἰκόνδε ελευσό-  
μαι, ὅφρα ἴδωμαι

οἰκῆας ἑλόχων τε φίλων  
καὶ νηπίων υἱόν.

οὐ γὰρ οἶδ' εἰ ἔτι σφιν  
ὑπότροπος ἕξομαι αἰτίς,

ἢ ἦδ' ἄρ' ὑπὸ χειρὶ θεοῖ  
δαμόωσιν Ἀχαιῶν.

For I shall go to my home,  
that I may behold my housefolk,  
my dear wife, and my infant  
son; for I know not if any more  
I shall return home to them  
again, or if even now the gods  
will slay me beneath the hands  
of the Achaeans.<sup>22</sup>

Nestor arouses the Greeks to battle and inspires courage in them by reminding them  
of their wives and children, and imploring them to fight to protect them (Iliad,

XV, 661-666):

"ὦ φίλοι, λυγροὶ ἔστε, καὶ  
κίσῳ θέσθ' ἐνὶ θυμῷ  
ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπὶ δὲ  
μνησασθε ἕκαστος  
παίδων γῆδ' ἄλλοχον καὶ  
κτῆσιος γῆδ' ἑτοκῶν,  
ἡμῖν ὅτε ὡς ζώουσι καὶ  
ὦ κείτε θυγῆκσι.  
τῶν ὑπερ ἑυθὺς ἐγὼ  
γυνάξομαι οὐ πρῶτων  
ἔστ' ἔμενα κείτῶν, κῆδ' ἔ  
τρωπασθε φόβονδε."

My friends, play the man,  
and take in your hearts  
shame of other men, and  
be ye mindful, each man of  
you, of children and wife,  
of possessions and of his  
parents, whether in the  
case of any they be living  
or be dead. For the sake of  
them that are not here with  
us do I now beseech you to stand  
firm, and turn not back in flight.<sup>22</sup>

The very tender and touching scene between Hector and the babe Astyanax is clearly  
indicative of the love and affection of a father for his child (Iliad, VI, 466-484):

"ὣς εἰπὼν οὐ παῖδός ὄρεσσε κτῶ  
φαιδῆμος Ἑκτωρ  
ἔψ δ' ὀπίσθ' ἑπὶ κόλπον  
εὐζώνου τεθῆνγος  
ἐκλίνθη ἰάχων, πατρὸς φίλου  
ὄφιν ἔτυχθεῖς,  
ταρβήσας χαλκὸν τε ἰδεῖ  
λόφον ἑπιολαίτην,  
δεινὸν ἔπ' ἀκροτάτης κόρυθος  
νεύοντα γόγασας.  
ἔκ δ' ἐγέλασσε πλεῖρ τε  
φίλος καὶ πότνιζ μητρὸς  
ῥυτίκ' ἔπ' ἀπὸ κρατὸς κόρυθ'  
εἰλστο φαιδῆμος Ἑκτωρ,  
καὶ τῆν μάη κατέθηκεν

So saying, glorious Hector  
stretched out his arms to his  
boy, but back into the bosom of  
his fair-girdled nurse shrank the  
child crying, affrighted at the  
aspect of his dear father, and  
seized with dread of the bronze  
and the crest of horse-hair, as  
he marked it waving dreadfully from  
the topmost helm. Aloud then laughed  
his dear father and queenly mother;  
and forthwith glorious Hector took  
the helm from his head and laid it  
all-gleaming upon the ground. But

ἐπὶ χθονὶ πεμφανώωσαν·  
 ὅττιρ ὁ γ' ὄν φίλον υἷον  
 ἐπεὶ κύσε πῆλ' ἔτε χερσίν,  
 εἶπεν ἐπευξέμενος Διὶ τ'  
 ἄλλοισιν τε θεοῖσιν·  
 "Ζεῦ ἄλλοι τε θεοί, δότε  
 δὴ καὶ τόνδε γενέσθαι  
 παῖς' ἐμὸν, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ  
 παρ' ἱριπρεπεία Τρώεσσι,  
 ὣδε βίην τ' ἔχεθ' ὄν, καὶ  
 Ἰλίου ἔφι λυλάσσειν.  
 καὶ ποτὲ τις εἴποι πατρός  
 γ' ὅδε πολλὸν ἀμείνων,  
 ἔκ πολέμου λυλόντα φέρου  
 δ' ἔνδρα βροτόεντα  
 κτείνετο δῆϊόν ἔνδρα, χερσὶν  
 δὲ φρένα μήτηρ."  
 ὣς εἰπὼν ἀλόχοιο φίλης  
 ἐν χερσίν ἔθηκε  
 παῖς' ἐόν· ἣ δ' ἔρε μιν  
 κηῶ δειδύξετο κόλπῳ  
 δεκρυσόεν γελάσασα.

he kissed his dear son, and  
 fondled him in his arms, and  
 spake in prayer to Zeus and the  
 other gods: "Zeus and ye other  
 gods, grant that this my child  
 may likewise prove, even as I,  
 pre-eminent amid the Trojans,  
 and as valiant in might, and  
 that he rule mightily over Ilios.  
 And some day may some man say of  
 him as he cometh back from war,  
 'He is better far than his father';  
 and may he bear the blood-stained  
 spoils of the foeman he hath  
 slain, and may his mother's heart  
 wax glad."

So saying, he laid his child  
 in his dear wife's arms, and  
 she took him to her fragrant  
 bosom, smiling through her  
 tears; 22

As further evidence of the child's place among the Greeks we quote from Bates' chapter on the child motive. The reader who wishes to review the passages cited from Euripides or their translation may do so for himself. Here we do not present any of the evidence but merely summarize the conclusions of Bates (Euripides, pp. 42-56): "The fondness of the Greek for his children is well known."

"...nothing could so arouse the sympathy of a Greek audience as the sight of a child suffering or in danger. Euripides fully appreciated this and he introduced children into no fewer than ten of his extant plays."

In the Medea "the plot is built about the children through whose death Medea obtains her revenge upon her husband. Our main interest is not with the worthless, self-seeding Jason, and we have little sympathy with the cruel and savage Medea; but we are deeply concerned with the fate of the children to whom the poet is constantly bringing us back. Thus, although they are silent characters, they become through the action of first importance in the drama."

In the Heracleidae "the interest of the spectator in the first part of the play lies in the fate of the children,...we are not permitted to forget the children,... we find Euripides again employing children in order to make his appeal to the spectators and to hold their interest."

In the Suppliants "the poet has introduced a band of children, which, except for one short passage, has no part in the dialogue, and yet is on the stage during practically the whole play. They might have been omitted without serious injury to the plot. What was the poet's object? Partly, perhaps, spectacular, for in the stage setting the grouping of the children must have been effective; but more important than this was the fact that with the help of the boys he could make his appeal to the audience more vividly. In other words these fatherless children had a definite part in the action and assisted materially in arousing feelings of compassion in the minds of the spectators."

"Another tragedy in which the child motive is made the principal theme is the Heracles Furens....Heracles himself suddenly enters. The children now dressed as if for burial with wreaths on their heads run to him and cling to his garments. Heracles, who is naturally perplexed, tells them to throw off their wreaths and go home, but they cling to him more desperately than ever. And here we have put into the mouth of the hero the words already quoted, that everybody loves children, no matter what his position in society. Then, in keeping with the spirit of his words, he picks them all up in his arms and carries them into the house....The real tragedy then follows; but it is the fate of the children in which we are still interested....the spectators... are moved by the tragic fate of the children, rescued from a cruel tyrant only to die

by their father's hand. The child motive is thus seen to be a dominant motive in the play."

"In the .. tragedies just discussed the child motive is the important one in the play. In five others a child or children are introduced effectively in one or more scenes."

"The fact that children play so important a part in these ten tragedies is significant for the proper understanding of the drama of Euripides. There are indications that the extant plays are not exceptional in this respect, but that he also made frequent use of them in the plays which have not survived....In other words, as a true student of human nature Euripides recognized the possibilities of the child on the stage. His dramatic instinct saw clearly that an appeal made through children would go straight to the hearts of the spectators. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the child motive occupying so conspicuous a place in his tragedy."

We must be cautious in assuming that these Euripidean children are strictly representative of all children in Greece, for we are here dealing with children of important families and here again we feel the lack of genre scenes such as are provided by the pictures of some of the Dutch painters. "Among these genre painters may be mentioned, particularly: Gerard Dou,...and Jan Steen....A favourite example of his (Dou's work) is "The Young Mother," of the Hague Museum; very tender in sentiment and characterised by minute details. Yet it is not because of the excessive finish of details that this picture should be admired, but because the details have been so well harmonised with the whole effect of the scene. For there is no value in details merely as details, and often they detract from the merit of the whole....

Steen differed from most of the other genre painters in the interest that he displayed in the subjects of his pictures. He had something of the large-hearted observation of life displayed by Shakespeare; something also of Moliere's wit and satire, and, occasionally, a little of Rabelais' grossness. But, while he chose subjects which interested or amused him, it was as a painter relying on the resources of his own art, that, when he was at his best, he represented them. Some of his choicest

examples are those in which a few figures appear, such as those in which we see a physician visiting his patient. Meanwhile, he excelled in the management of crowded scenes, among which the happiest are those depicting his own family circle."<sup>23</sup> It is natural, of course, that the literature of important personages should have been preserved and that the lives of the obscure, if they were ever written, should not have been preserved, but in lieu of definite evidence we may perhaps fall back upon the truism that the human heart is the human heart in any station, and we may reasonably infer that in general the Greek child was surrounded with affection.

It is not relevant here to discuss whether the various children in Euripides belong to the pre-school age or the school age ("pigeon holes" which we have set up for temporary convenience during the study presented in this thesis). Whether the children are very young children or adolescents is immaterial at the present moment, since just now we are stressing merely the general background of affection and interest against which these children of the tragic drama are projected.

As these few paragraphs may be applicable not only to the child of pre-school age but also to the child of school age, they may be used as a transition to the discussion of our next period, that of the "Παις".

#### B. Παις

We have seen that the Greek father had the power of life and death over his newborn babe. He might expose it in an earthenware jar on some desolate mountain side, or else rear and educate it. The Greek boy, until he became a youth of age with the rights of a citizen, had norights or powers whatsoever. He did as his father bade (Plato, Lysis, 209, A):

σὺ δὲ ἔρχεις οὐδὲν ὄν, ὅ  
 λόγῳ, οὐδὲ παρῆς οὐδὲν  
 ὧν ἐπιθυμῆς. Οὐ γὰρ  
 πῶ ἐφ' ἡ γ' ἔκτερος ἔγω,  
 ὡς Σὺ κρείττος.

while you, Lysis, control  
 no one, and do none of  
 the things which you desire.  
 It is because I am not yet of  
 age, Socrates, he said.

Children were under the strict rule of their father (Aristotle, Politica, I, 13):

ἡ δὲ τῶν τέκνων ἀρχὴ  
βασιλική· τὸ γὰρ γεννηθῆσαν  
κατὰ φιλικὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ  
κατὰ προσβίβειν ἔστιν, ὅπερ  
ἔστι βασιλικῆς εἴδους ἀρχῆς  
(ὁ δὲ καλῶς Ὀμηρος τὸν  
Δία προσηγόρευσεν εἰπὼν  
πατὴρ ἄνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
τὸν βασιλέα τούτων πάντων)  
φύσει γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα  
διεφέρειν μὲν δεῖ, τῷ  
γένει δ' εἶναι τὸν  
βασιλέα διεφέρειν μὲν  
δεῖ, τῷ γένει δ' εἶναι τὸν  
βασιλέα· ὅπερ πέπονθε,  
τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ  
νεώτερον καὶ ὁ γεννηθῆσ-  
ας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον.

The rule of a father over his children is royal, for he rules by virtue both of love and of the respect due to age exercising a kind of royal power.

And therefore Homer has appropriately called Zeus 'father of gods and men' because he is the king of them all. For a king is the natural superior of his subjects, but he should be of the same kin or kind with them, and such is the relation of elder and younger, of father and son.<sup>24</sup>

The boy passed from childhood into young manhood at the age of eighteen, when he was enrolled in one of the demes (Aristotle, Resp. Ath., 42, 2-3):

μετέλουσιν μὲν τῆς πολι-  
τείας οἱ ἐξ ἰμφοτέρων  
γεγονότες ἄστων. ἐγγρά-  
φονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δήμους  
ὀκτώ κἀ δεκά ἕτη γεγονό-  
τες ὅταν δ' ἐγγράφωται,

The franchise is open to all who are of citizen birth by both parents. They are enrolled among the demesmen at the age of eighteen. On the occasion of their enrollment

δικαψηφίζονται περὶ αὐτῶν  
ὁμοσάυτες οἱ συμῳταί,  
πρῶτον μὲν εἰ σοκοῦσα  
γεγονέτω τῶν ἡλικίων  
τῶν ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, καὶ μὴ  
δοξῶσι, ἀπέρχονται πάλιν εἰς  
παῖδας, δεύτερον δ' εἰ  
ἐλεύθερός ἐστὶ καὶ γέγονε  
κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. ἔπειτα εἰ  
μὲν ἀποψηφίσωνται μὴ  
εἶναι ἐλεύθερον, ὁ μὲν  
ἐφίγαιεν εἰς τὸ δικαστή-  
ριον, οἱ δὲ συμῳταί  
κατηγοροὺς κίρουνται πέντε  
ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ  
μὴ μὴ δοξῶσι δικαίως  
ἐγγράφουσι, πωλεῖ τούτων  
ἢ πόλις εἰν δὲ νικῆσῃ,  
τοὺς συμῳταίς ἐπ' ἀνάγκης  
ἐγγράφειν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα  
δοκεμίζουσι τοὺς ἐγγρά-  
φοντας ἢ βουλή, καὶ τίς  
δοξῶσι γέωτερος ὀκτώκλι-  
σεκλῆτων εἶναι, συμῳταί.  
τοὺς συμῳταίς τοὺς  
ἐγγράφουσαντας.

the demesmen give their votes  
on oath, first whether the  
candidates appear to be  
of the age prescribed by  
the law (if not, they are  
dismissed back into the ranks  
of the boys), and secondly  
whether the candidate is  
free born and of such parentage  
as the law requires. Then if  
they decide that he is not a  
free man, he appeals to the  
law-court, and the demesmen  
appoint five of their own number  
to act as accusers; if the  
court decides that he has no  
right to be enrolled he is  
sold by the state as a slave,  
but if he wins his case, he has  
a right to be enrolled among  
the demesmen without further  
question. After this the  
Council examines those  
who have been enrolled,  
and if it comes to the  
conclusion that any of them  
are less than the eighteen  
years of age, it fines the  
demesmen who enrolled them.<sup>25</sup>

After this enrollment among the demesmen, i. e. after eighteen years of age, he was no longer a child, but was now one of the ephēbi, in which group he remained for two years. This was a period of military apprenticeship and training for the assumption of full citizenship duties which came to the youth at twenty. A study of the activities of this period from eighteen to twenty will show clearly that they formed a severe course of training leading into political and military careers and were not such activities as the immature body and mind of the adolescent could sustain (Aristotle, Resp. Ath., 42, 3-5):

<p>ἐπὶ δὲ δοκιμασθῶσιν οἱ  ἐφ' ἕβου, συλλεγέμενοι οἱ  πατέρες αὐτῶν κατὰ φυλὰς,  ὁμοσάντες ἀποδύντα τρεῖς  ἐκ τῶν φυλετῶν τῶν ὑπὲρ  τετταράκοντα ἔτη γεγονότων,  οὓς ἐν ἡγήσονται βελτίστους  εἶναι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύουσιν  ἐπιμελεσάσθαι τῶν ἐφ' ἕβων.  ἐκ δὲ τούτων ὁ δῆμος  ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς ἐκλετῆς χειρο-  τονεῖ σωφρονιστὴν, καὶ  κοσμητὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων  Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ πάντας.  συλλεβόντες δ' οὗτοι τοὺς  ἐφ' ἕβους, πρῶτον μὲν τὰ  ἱερὰ περιήλθον, εἶτ' εἰς  Περαίαν πορεύονται, καὶ  φρουροῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὴν  Μουνιχίαν οἱ δὲ τὴν  Ἄκτῆν. χειροτονεῖ δὲ καὶ  παιδοτρίβας αὐτοῖς δύο καὶ  διδασκάλους, οἵτινες</p>	<p>When the youths (Ephēbi) have passed this examination, their fathers meet by their tribes and appoint on their oath three fellow tribesmen, over forty years of age, who, in their opinion, are the best and most suitable persons to have charge of the youths. And of these the Assembly elects one guardian, together with a director chosen from the general body of Athenians, to control the whole. Under the charge of these, the youths first of all make a circuit of the temples; then they proceed to Piræus, and some of them garrison Munichia, and some the south shore. The Assembly also elects two trainers with subordinate instructors, who teach</p>
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ὀπλομαχίῃν καὶ τοξυσίῃν  
καὶ ἄκοντιζίῃν καὶ κίττα-  
πάλην ἄφ' ἑνῆς δ. δίακουσιν.

δίδωσι δὲ καὶ εἰς τροφήν τοῖς  
μὲν σωφρονισταῖς δραχ-  
μῆν μίαν ἑκάστῳ, τοῖς δ'  
ἐφ' ἑβδόμῃσι τήτταρ' ὀβολοὺς  
ἑκάστῳ

καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔτε-  
λοῦτον οὕτως διδάσκουσιν τὸν  
δ' ὑπεροχὴν ἑκκλησιαστικῆς ἐν  
τῷ θεάτρῳ γενομένης, ἅπο-  
σειξίμενοι τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ  
περὶ τῆς τάξεως, καὶ λαβόν-  
τες ἰσπίδα καὶ δόρυ  
περὶ τῆς πόλεως περὶ-  
πολοῦσι τῶν χώρων καὶ  
διετρίβουσιν ἐν τοῖς  
φυλάκτηρίοις. φρουροῦσι δὲ  
τὰ δύο ἔτη, χλαμύδας  
ἔχοντες, καὶ ἕτεροι εἰσὶ  
πάντων. καὶ δίκην οὔτε

διδόσκουσιν οὔτε λαμβάνουσιν,  
ἵνα μὴ προφασίῃ τοῦ  
ἀπειθέμεν, πλην περὶ  
κληροῦ καὶ ἐπικληροῦ, κἄν  
τινὲς κίττα τὸ γένος  
ἰερωσύνῃ γέννηται.  
διεξελεθόντων δὲ τῶν

them to fight in heavy armor,  
to use the bow and javelin, and  
to discharge the catapult.  
The guardians secure from the  
state a drachma apiece for  
their keep, and the youths four  
obols apiece.....In  
this way they spend the first  
year. The next year, after  
giving a public display of their  
military evolutions, on the  
occasion when the Assembly meets  
in the theatre, they receive a  
shield and spear from the state,  
after which they patrol the  
country and spend their time at  
forts. For these two years they  
are on garrison duty, and wear  
the military cloak, and are ex-  
empt from taxes. They also may  
neither bring an action at law,  
nor have one brought against them,  
in order that they may have no  
excuse for requiring leave of  
absence; though exception is made  
in cases of actions concerning in-  
heritances and wards of the state,  
or of any sacrificial ceremony  
connected with the family. When

δυσὲν ἑτῶν ἡτῆς ματὰ τῶν  
ἄλλων εἶσιν. τὰ μὲν οὖν  
παρὶ τῆν τῶν πολιτῶν  
ἐγγραφῆν καὶ τοὺς ἐφύβους  
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν  
τρόπον.

the two years have  
elapsed they thereupon take  
their position among  
the other citizens. Such  
is the manner of the  
enrollment of the citizens  
and the training of youths.<sup>25</sup>

(Aristotle, Resp. Ath., 53, 4):

οἱ δ' ἐφύβου ἐγγραφόμενοι  
πρότερον μὲν  
εἰς λελευκωμένα γραμμα-  
τῆα ἐνεγράφοντο, καὶ  
ἐπεγράφοντο αὐτοῖς ὅτ'  
ἔρχων ἐφ' οὗ ἐνεγράφη-  
σαν καὶ ὁ ἐπώνυμος  
ὁ τῷ πρότερον ἔτετι  
δεδικαιτηκώς, νῦν δ'  
εἰς ἀτήλην χρυσοῦν  
ἐνεγράφονται, καὶ ἵστανται  
ἡ ἀτήλη πρὸ τοῦ  
βουλευτηρίου παρὰ  
τοὺς ἐπώνυμους.

The youths, on being en-  
rolled among the citizens,  
were formerly registered upon  
whitened tablets, and the names  
were appended of the Archon in  
whose year they were enrolled,  
and of the Eponymus who had him  
in course in the preceding  
year. At the present day,  
they are written on a  
bronze pillar, which stands  
in front of the Council-  
chamber, near the Eponymi of  
the tribes.<sup>25</sup>

The Greek girl came under the strict supervision of her parents and led a very  
sheltered life until she entered marriage, which usually came at an early age as

Xenophon tells us (Oeconomicus, VII):

καὶ τί ἔν, ἐφ' ᾧ  
Σώκρατες, ἐπισημῆνεν  
αὐτῆν παρέλθον, ἢ ἔτη  
μὲν οὕτω πρὸς τὴν καὶ δεκ-

Why, what knowledge  
could she have had,  
Socrates, when I took  
her for my wife? She

γεγονυῖα ἤλθε πρὸς ἑμὲ,  
τὸν δ' ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον  
ἔζη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας,  
ὅπως ἴως ἑλέχιατα  
δὲ λίκουοιτο, ἑλέχιατα  
δ' ἔροίη;

was not yet fifteen years  
old when she came to  
me, and up to that  
time she had lived in  
leading strings, seeing,  
hearing, and saying as  
little as possible.<sup>26</sup>

A girl was provided with a dowry as Isaeus points out (Meneclae, 9):

καὶ οὕτως ἐκδίδομεν  
λύτην Ἡλείω Σφηθίῳ,  
καὶ ὁ Μενεκλῆς τῆν τε  
προῖκ ἐπέδιδωκεν λύτῳ.

So we gave her in marriage  
to Elius of Sphethis and  
Meneclae handed over her  
dowry to him.<sup>27</sup>

(Pyrrhus, 52):

οὐτ' ἐπὶ τῇ Σοθρίαῳ  
προικὶ λύτῃ ἡ γυνὴ κτῆ-  
σεν οὐδὲν.

nor did he express any indig-  
nation at the dowry which  
was bestowed upon her.<sup>27</sup>

(Ciron, 8):

πέλειν ἐκδίδωκε τῷ ἐμῷ  
πατρὶ καὶ χιλίους δραχμῆς  
προῖκ' ἐπέδιδωκε.

and gave her in a second marriage  
to my father with a dowry of  
one thousand drachmae.<sup>27</sup>

One should not leave a discussion of the laws concerning the Greek child without saying something of the provisions made for orphans. In the Homeric days, the orphaned child was more or less an outcast and stood little chance in life. Homer gives us a touching picture of the condition of the orphaned child in the fate which Andromache forebodes for her son as she laments the death of his father (Iliad, XXII, 484-506):

παῖς δ' ἔτι νήπιος οὕτως,  
ὄν τέκομεν σὺ τ' ἐγώ τε  
δυσάμμοροι οὔτε σὺ τούτῳ  
ἔσοισαι, Ἕκτορ, ὄνειρ, ἐπεὶ θάνεις,

and thy son is still a mere babe,  
the son born of thee and me in  
our haplessness; nor shalt thou  
be any profit to him, Hector,

οὔτε σοὶ οὗτος.  
 ἦν περὶ γὰρ πόλεμόν γε φύγη  
 πολὺ δακρυῦν Ἀχαιῶν,  
 αἰεὶ τοι τούτῳ γε πόνος καὶ  
 κῆδε' ὀπίσσω  
 ἔσονται ἄλλοι γὰρ οἱ ἔπου-  
 ρήσουσιν ἀρούρας.  
 ἦμαρ δ' ὀρφανικὸν παν-  
 φηλικὰ παῖδε τίθησι.  
 πάντα δ' ὑπομνήμυκε,  
 δαδάκρυνται δὲ παρειαί,  
 δειόμενος δὲ τ' ἄνελοι  
 παῖς ἕς πατρός ἑταίρους,  
 ἄλλον μὲν χλαίνης ἔρῳν,  
 ἄλλον δὲ χιτῶνος.  
 τῶν δ' ἐλεησάντων κοτύλην  
 τις τυτθὸν ἐπέσχε,  
 χεῖλεσσι μὲν τε δίην, ὑπε-  
 φώγην δ' οὐκ ἐδίγηε.  
 τὸν δὲ καὶ ἑμφοθαλγῆς  
 ἔκ δαιτύος ἐστυφέλιξε,  
 χερσὶν παπληγῶς καὶ  
 ὄνειδείοισιν ἐνίασων.  
 ἔρρ' οὕτως οὐ σὸς γε  
 πατὴρ καταδαίνυται  
 ἡμῶν.  
 δακρυόεις δὲ τ' ἄνελοι παῖς  
 ἕς μητῆρα χέρην,  
 ἄστυνάξ, ὅς πρὶν μὲν  
 ἔου ἐπὶ γούνασι πατρός

seeing thou art dead, neither  
 he to thee. For even though  
 he escape the woeful war of the  
 Achaeans, yet shall his portion  
 be labour and sorrow in the  
 aftertime, for others will take  
 away his lands. The day of or-  
 phanhood cutteth a child off  
 from the friends of his youth;  
 ever is his head bowed low, and  
 his cheeks are bathed in tears,  
 and in his need the child hieth  
 him to his father's friends, and  
 of them that are touched with  
 pity, one holdeth forth his cup  
 for a moment: his lips he wetteth,  
 but his palate he wotteth not.  
 And one whose father and  
 mother yet live thrusteth  
 him from the feast with smiting  
 of the hand, and chideth him  
 with words of reviling: 'Get  
 thee gone, even as thou art!  
 No father of thine feasteth  
 in our company.' Then in  
 tears unto his widowed mother  
 cometh back the child--Astyanax,  
 that aforetime on his father's  
 knees ate only marrow and the

μυελόν οἶον εἰσεσκε καὶ  
 οἰῶν πλῆνι συμὸν.  
 τότε ὅθ' ὕπνος ἔλοι, πύουσι.  
 τὸ τὰ γηπικαχισίων,  
 εὐδρακ' ἐν λέκτροισιν, ἐν  
 ἄγκυλίσσασσι τιθύνης,  
 εὐνήν ἐν μαλακῇ, θαλέων  
 ἔμπροσθεν κῆρ.  
 γυν δ' ἐν πολλὰ πάθησι,  
 φίλου ἀπὸ πατρὸς  
 ἀμφοτέρων.  
 Ἀστυάναξ, ὃν Τρώες  
 ἐπικλήσιν καλέουσι.

rich fat of sheep; and  
 when sleep came upon him  
 and he ceased from his  
 childish play, then would  
 he slumber on a couch in the  
 arms of his nurse in his soft  
 bed, his heart satisfied with  
 good things. But now, seeing  
 he has lost his dear father,  
 he will suffer ills full many--  
 my Astyanax, whom the Trojans  
 call by this name<sup>28</sup>

In the days of Athenian supremacy, however, the orphaned child of a soldier killed in war was assured of care and protection by the state. He was watched over by guardians and the Archon (Plato, Menexenus, 249):

τῆς δὲ πόλεως ἴσται που καὶ  
 αὐτοὶ τὴν ἐπεμέλειαν, ὅτι  
 νόμους θεμένην περὶ τοὺς  
 ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τελευτησάντων  
 παῖδας τε καὶ γεννητόρας  
 ἐπιμελεῖται, καὶ δὲ  
 φερόντως τῶν ἄλλων  
 πολιτῶν προστακτικῆ  
 φυλιπτεῖν ἀρχῇ ἢ περ  
 μεγίστη ἐστίν, ὅπως ἐν  
 οἱ τούτων μὴ ἰδικῶνται  
 πατέρες τε καὶ μητέρες τοὺς  
 δὲ παῖδας συνεκτρέφει αὐτῇ, ἵνα  
 θυμὸν ὅτι μάλα τ'  
 ἔσθλον αὐτοῖς

And the care which the city  
 shows you yourselves know; for  
 she has made provision by law  
 concerning the parents and children  
 of those who die in war; and the  
 highest authority is specially in-  
 trusted with the duty of watching  
 over them above all other citizens,  
 in order to see that there is  
 no wrong done to them. She herself  
 takes part in the nurture of the  
 children, desiring as far as it  
 is possible that their orphanhood  
 may not be felt by them; she is a

τὴν ὀρφανίαν γυνέσθαι, ἐν  
 πατρὸς ἀχρήματι κληρονομήσασθαι  
 αὐτοῖς αὐτῇ ἔτι τε παλαιὴν  
 ὄσασθαι, καὶ ἐπειδὴν εἰς ἄνδρος  
 τέλος ἕως ἂν ἀποπέμψαι ἐπι-  
 ταὶ ἀφ' ἑτέρ' αὐτῶν πανοπλίαν  
 κοσμησάσθαι, ἐνδεδυκνυμένην,  
 καὶ ἀνελμυμένησκούσθαι τὰ  
 τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδεύματα  
 ὄργασθαι τῆς πατρῶας ἀρετῆς  
 διδοῦσα καὶ ἕκαστου οἴκου  
 χάριν ἀρχεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ ἐπὶ  
 τὴν πατρῶαν ἑστίαν ἀρ-  
 ζοντά μὲν ἰσχυροῦς  
 ὄπλοισι κεκοσμημένον.

parent to them while they are  
 children, and when they arrive  
 at the age of manhood she  
 sends them to their several  
 duties, clothing them in com-  
 plete armor; she displays to  
 them and recalls to their minds  
 the pursuits of their fathers,  
 and puts into their hands  
 the instruments of their  
 fathers' virtues; for the sake  
 of the omen, she would have  
 them begin and go to rule in  
 the houses of their fathers  
 arrayed in their strength and  
 arms. 29

(Aristotle, Resp. Ath., 56, 7):

ἐπιμελεῖται δὲ καὶ τῶν  
 ὀρφανῶν - - - - - καὶ  
 κύριός ἐστι τοῖς ἑσκούσιν  
 ἐπιβάλλειν ἢ εἰσαγγεῖν  
 εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.  
 μισθοῦ δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 οἴκους τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ  
 τῶν ἐπικληρῶν, ἕως ἄν  
 τις τὰ τὰ ἀκαὶ δεκτικὸς  
 γένηται, καὶ τὰ ἀποτε-  
 μήματα λαμβάνει καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐπιτρόπους, εἰ μὴ

The Archon also has the care of  
 orphans . . . . ., and he has power  
 to inflict a fine on those who  
 offend against the person under  
 his charge, or to bring the case  
 before the law-courts. He also  
 releases the houses of orphans  
 and wards of state until they  
 reach the age of fourteen, and  
 takes mortgages on them; and if  
 the guardians fail to provide  
 the necessary food for the children

ὑποδύατο τοὺς παῖδας  
τὸν ἄριστον, οὗτος  
ἐξ ἀπρόεττου.

under their charge, he exacts  
it from them. Such are the  
duties of the Archon.<sup>30</sup>

By way of summary we may say that the Greek child had no rights until he became of age. The father's power over his children was absolute. At the age of eighteen the boy left the ranks of the children and became an ephebus with certain prescribed military duties which would have been too heavy for an adolescent. At this time he entered upon a two year course which trained him for public life. At twenty he assumed all the rights and duties of a citizen. Girls remained inexperienced in the duties of life until they entered marriage which came at a very early age. They were provided with dowries. As regards orphans we have found that in the very early days of Greece there were no provisions made for their care. The orphaned child was more or less an outcast and stood little chance in life. In the days of Athenian supremacy, however, orphans of soldiers killed in war were cared for and protected by the state. They were watched over by guardians and the Archon.

In discussing the physical development of the "παῖς" we shall consider three concomitants which contribute to his comfort and well-being, food, dress, and exercise, as in the case of the "παιδίον".

Concerning the food of the "παῖς" I have found nothing. It is reasonable to assume, however, that he had the same diet as his elders. With this brief statement we pass on to his dress.

In the early days of Athens, the boy wore a simple chiton (Aristophanes, Nubes, 961, 964-965):

λέξω τοῖνον τὴν ἀρχαίαν  
παιδείαν.....  
ἐῖτα βραδύτως ἐν ταῖς  
ὁδοῖς εὐτάκτως εἰς κίθα-  
ρατοῦ τοῦ κωμῆτος  
γυμνοῦς ἰσθμίου,

I shall speak now of the ancient  
education .....

then those from the same neigh-  
borhood, clothed only in chitons  
and in a group would go in an  
orderly manner through the streets

καὶ κριμύσῃ κατακίθου.

to the home of the harpist,  
even if it were snowing as  
thick as meal.

Later on he wore a himation (Aristophanes, Nubes, 987):

αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦς νόν εὐθὺς εἶν  
ἱματῶν δὲ δὲ κελς  
εἴτε τε λίθη.

and you now straightway teach  
them to be clad in  
himations.

For further evidence of the adolescent's clothing we quote from Klein (pp. 34-36):  
"The chiton worn by older boys reaches only to the knees or a little below. It is often ungirded, but, where a girdle is occasionally worn, it is placed low over the hips. The sleeve, if present at all, is always very short; it is not shaped, but is formed by the extension of the shoulder seam over the upper arm. As suggested before, the girl apparently wears a full-length chiton always. The sleeve, when present, varies in length, sometimes reaching nearly to the elbow, with a row of small clasps or buttons to hold together the edges of the front and back. The girdle is worn in a variety of ways. It may be simply tied around at the waist line or a little higher. Often there is an additional crossing of the cord in front, after bringing the ends down from the shoulders. Or, instead of crossing the two cords over the breast, they may be simply carried back again under each arm. Where the cord is crossed, we often see a sort of large brooch, and this frequently appears on the shoulders as well. If two chitons are worn, the one underneath, of finer material, has sleeves, while the heavier one, worn over it, is without.

The himation or mantle is worn by both girls and boys, and for the latter it is, at times, the sole garment. A frequent arrangement common to both sexes is to bring the himation back over the left shoulder and arm, then down around the right hip, and back again to the left side, where the ends are held on the arm and hand. Thus the right shoulder and arm are left free for action. Again, it may be carried over the right shoulder as it is brought around from the back, and so the entire body is protected. Such an arrangement is often seen worn by even the smallest lads who are being

led to school by their paidagogoi. A girl is occasionally seen imitating her mother by wearing the himation so as to cover even the head, but this occurs only rarely. What one would normally expect active children to do with such a garment, when not absolutely necessary for warmth, actually was often done. One sees it many times simply carried over the left shoulder, or twisted once around the lower arm, where it was certainly less of an impediment than when worn in the approved fashion.

The short cloak or chlamys which was fastened upon the right shoulder was ordinarily the garment of the ephebe. Where the petasos, or broad-brimmed hat, is worn with it, the figure is almost certainly that of a youth about eighteen years of age. In some cases, however, and especially in combination with a small hat, a cloak of the same general type, with brooch on the right shoulder, is worn by boys also."

To summarize briefly our findings on the adolescent's clothing we may say that both boys and girls wore the chiton and the himation. The boys chiton reached to his knees or a little below, while the girl's was apparently full-length. The chlamys was the garment of the ephebe, though the younger boy apparently wore a cloak of the same general type.

The Homeric youths according to Seymour led active, outdoor lives for they (p. 144) "learned from their fathers and from each other to shoot the bow, hurl the javelin, put the shot, to hunt, to fish, and to swim". That they, and maidens too, also exercised their bodies in dancing is evident from Homer (Iliad, XVIII, 593-594):

ἔνθα κέν γ' ἰθὺς καὶ  
 παρθένοι ἀλφειοβάουσι  
 ὠρχεῦνται ἑλληγῶν ἐπι  
 καρπῶ χερσὶ ἔχοντες.

There were youths dancing and maidens of the price of many cattle, holding their hands upon the wrists one of the other. 31

(Iliad, XVIII, 569-572):

τοιαῖν δ' ἔν μέσσοισι παῖσι  
 φέρμευ γυ. λυγείῃ  
 ἱμερόσιν κ. θάρσιν, λίνον  
 δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄξει.

And in their midst a boy made pleasant music with a clear-toned lyre, and thereto sang sweetly the Linos-song with his

λεπταλέη φωνή· τοὶ δὲ  
 ῥηόσονται ἱμῶν  
 κολπῆ τ' ἰσχυμῶ τε ποσὶ  
 ακαίροντες ἔπροντο.

delicate voice; and his fellows  
 beating the earth in unison there-  
 with followed on with bounding  
 feet mid dance and shoutings. 31

Later on adolescent youths were trained formally in sports, for according to Gardiner (pp. 35-41): "At Olympia events for boys were introduced in the seventh century. It is difficult to be sure what was the age limit for boys. An inscription containing the regulations for the Augustalia at Naples, a festival closely modelled on that of Olympia, lays down that boys must be over seventeen and less than twenty years of age. And this was possibly the rule at Olympia. Though in an age when birth certificates were unknown, there must have been a good deal of elasticity as to the age limits of entrants. At the Nemean, Isthmian, and Panathenaic Games there was an intermediate class between boys and men, the beardless, sixteen to twenty--and there is some reason to think that the age limits for boys were twelve to sixteen, and for the beardless seventeen to twenty.....In the Olympic games the first events for boys, a foot-race and wrestling, were introduced in 632 B. C.; boxing for boys was added in later times. The Panathenaea, a local festival at Athens, founded in 566 B. C., and usually ascribed to Pisistratus, had contests for boys....The inclusion in the programmes of these festivals of special events for boys is clear proof that in the sixth century athletic exercises were everywhere an essential part of education. At the Athenian Thesea there were three classes of boys. Some competitions were probably confined to schools. Hence the young Greek athlete was from his boyhood continually testing his powers, first in close local competitions, then in open events in his own city or in neighboring cities, then the Panhellenic contests."

From a vase painting (Hall, pp. 38-39) representing a scene in a gymnasium we see boys engaged in wrestling, jumping with weights, throwing the spear and discus, while their teachers look on in admiration. One man says, "a beautiful boy, truly."

Plato says that boys should be sent to teachers of riding, archery, javelin-throwing and slinging (Leges, VII, 794, C):

πρὸς δὲ τὰ μαθημάτων ἵππων  
πρῶτον χρῆσθαι ἑκάτερον, τοὺς  
μὲν ἄρ' ἄνευ ἐφ' ἵππων δίδαξαι  
κάλους καὶ τόξων καὶ  
ἔκοντιων καὶ ἀφ' ἑνὸς ἡσέως,

Now they must begin to  
learn--the boys going  
to teachers of horseman-  
ship and the use of the  
bow, the javelin, and sling;<sup>32</sup>

He advocates as gymnastics for youths, dancing and wrestling, for dancing aims at agility, flexibility, rhythmical motion and general physical beauty while "the true stand-up wrestling" is useful and not to be neglected (Leges, VII, 795, E-796, A):

τὰ δὲ γυμναστικῆς αὖ δύο,  
τὸ μὲν ὄρχησις, τὸ δὲ πάλη.  
τῆς ὄρχησεως δὲ ἄλλη μὲν  
Μούσης λέξις μεμυμένων,  
τό τε μεγάλο πρεπὲς φυλάτ-  
τουσα ἄμα καὶ ἐλεύθερον.  
ἄλλη δὲ εὐεξίας ἐλαφρό-  
τητός τε ἔνεκα καὶ κάλους  
τῶν τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ  
μαλῶν καὶ μερῶν τὸ  
προσῆκόν καρπῆς τε καὶ  
ἐκτίσεως, καὶ ἀποδιδυμένων  
ἐκίοις αὐτοῖς αὐτῶν  
εὐρύθμου κινήσεως, δια-  
σπειρομένης ἄμα καὶ  
ξυνακολουθούσης εἰς πᾶσαν  
τὴν ὄρχησιν ἰκανῶς. καὶ  
τὰ γὰρ κατὰ πάλην ἔ-  
μην

And gymnastic has also two parts--  
dancing and wrestling; and  
one sort of dancing imitates  
musical recitation, and aims  
at preserving dignity and  
freedom; the other aims at  
producing health, agility,  
and beauty in the limbs and  
parts of the body, giving the  
proper flexion and extension  
to each of them, diffusing  
and accompanying the har-  
monious motion of the dance  
everywhere. As regards  
wrestling, the tricks which  
Antaeus and Cercyon devised  
in their systems out of a vain  
spirit of competition, or  
the tricks of boxing which  
Epeius or Amycus invented are  
useless for war, and do not

Ἄνταιος ἢ κερκίων ἐν  
τέχναις αὐτῶν ξυνασπῆ-  
σαντο φιλονεικίας ἰσχύου

χρῆσιμα ἢ ἄλλοι  
 Ἄμυκος, οὐδὲν χρῆσιμα ἔστι  
 πολέμου κούων ἢ ἄλλων ὄντων, οὐκ  
 ἔστι λόγῳ κοσμεῖν τὰ δὲ  
 ἀπ' ὀρθῆς πάλης, ἀπ' αὐγέων  
 καὶ χερῶν καὶ χλαυρῶν  
 ἐξελύσεως, κατὰ φιλονεικίας  
 τὰ καὶ καταπίσεως διαπο-  
 νούμενα καὶ ἐπιρροῆς  
 ἰσχυρῆς τὰ καὶ ὑγείας ἐνεκα  
 ταῦτ' εἰς πάντα ὄντα  
 χρῆσιμα οὐ παρετόν

deserve to have much  
 said about them; but  
 the true stand-up  
 wrestling and art  
 of liberating the  
 neck and hands and sides,  
 working with energy and  
 constancy, with a com-  
 posed strength, and for  
 the sake of health, these  
 are always useful and  
 are not to be neg-  
 lected,<sup>32</sup>

In Sparta athletic exercises were not confined to men and boys. Gardiner (p. 41) cites the legend concerning Atalanta and the foot-race with her suitors, and mentions a sixth century vase which represents her as wrestling with Peleus. "Athenian women, it is true, were brought up in seclusion and forced inactivity, but it was not so among the Dorians. Spartan girls took part in all the exercises of the boys, and they attributed their beautiful complexions and figures to their athletic training."

According to Plutarch, Lycurgus required maidens to train in athletics (Lycurgus, 14):

τὰ μὲν γὰρ σώματα τῶν  
 παρθένων δρομοῖς καὶ  
 πάλαις καὶ βολαῖς δίσκων  
 καὶ ἔκοντίων διαπύοντες.

He made the maidens exercise  
 their bodies in run-  
 ning, wrestling, casting  
 the discuss, and hurling  
 the javelin.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to formal physical training and contests adolescents engaged in informal games. From Herodotus we get a passage describing a group of boys playing at being grown-up (I, 114):

καὶ οἱ παῖδες παίζοντες  
 εἴλοντο ἐμυτῶν βασιλέα

The boys in their play chose  
 for their king that one who

εἶναι τοῦτον δὲ τὸν  
 τοῦ βουκόλου ἐπὶ κληροῦν  
 παῖδα. ὁ δὲ δὲ αὐτῶν  
 διέταξε τοὺς μὲν οἰκίας  
 οἰκοδομεῖν, τοὺς δὲ  
 δορυφόρους εἶναι, τῷ δὲ  
 τινὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας φέρειν  
 ἐδίδου γέρας, ὡς ἑκάστῳ  
 ἔργον προσαδασάνων.

passed for the son of the cow-  
 herd. Then he set them severally  
 to their tasks, some to the  
 building of houses, some to be  
 his bodyguard, one (as I suppose)  
 to be the King's Eye, to another  
 he gave the right of bringing  
 him messages; to each he gave  
 his proper work.<sup>34</sup>

Xenophon tells us of a child's game "Guess the Number" (Cavalry Commander, V, 10):

ὅποτε γὰρ καὶ οἱ παῖδες  
 ὅταν παιζῶσι ποσίνδε,  
 δύνανται ἀπατᾶν προῖσφοντ<sup>ες</sup>  
 ὡστε ὀλίγους τ' ἔχοντες  
 πολλοὺς δοκεῖν ἔχειν καὶ  
 πολλοὺς προῖσφοντες ὀλίγους  
 φαίνεσθαι ἔχειν,

Even children are successful  
 deceivers when they play "Guess  
 the number;" and they will hold  
 up a counter or two and make  
 believe that they have got a  
 fist-full, and seem to hold up  
 few when they are holding many;<sup>35</sup>

We conclude that Homeric youths exercised in dancing, swimming, hunting, fishing, hurling the javelin, putting the shot and shooting the bow. Since we know that youths took part in foot-racing, wrestling, and boxing at Olympia as early as the seventh century, it is safe to assume that by the sixth century athletics were everywhere a part of a youth's education. In the gymnasia they wrestled, jumped with weights, and threw the spear and discus. Plato believed that boys should be sent to teachers of riding, archery, slinging, and javelin-throwing. He advocated dancing and wrestling, for these gave, in addition to health and strength, physical beauty. Athenian maidens did not engage in athletic pursuits as their brothers, but Spartan maidens took part in all the exercises of the boys. Besides this formal physical training, adolescents engaged in informal games.

As regards the Homeric child Seymour (p. 144) tells us that his formal education was

negligible. "The formal education of the Homeric child was exceedingly limited, and consisted almost entirely in the observation and imitation of the elders. In the natural imitation of their mothers, the girls learned to card, spin, weave, embroider, and to make bread, while the boys learned from their fathers and from each other to shoot the bow, hurl the javelin, put the shot, to hunt, fish, and swim. In such a free and untrammelled life no formal lessons were needed. Some form of writing seems to have been known, but the art was little used. The memories of the Homeric Greeks were not yet impaired by note books, and children were not set to reading and writing. The application of the principle of imitation sufficed, and parents being imitated by their children, did not have to employ teachers for their children." It seems that the boy learned from his father, for he (pp. 141-142) "doubtless accompanied his father in many of his occupations and expeditions, and in particular to his feasts, which, as is seen elsewhere, were made by daylight. Thus Andromache, enumerating the trials of a boy who has lost his father (Iliad, XXII, 490-498) says that he goes to the comrades of his father (at a feast, as the sequel shows), plucking one by the cloak, another by the tunic, etc. Clearly, then, no boy might go to the feast without his father, but the father might take him with him. At these feasts the boy would hear the tales and songs about the past, discussions of the present, the principles of war and peace. There he would learn the unwritten laws of the people, which are the foundations of the public life. There, too, he would observe the methods of public sacrifice. Whether the boys were allowed to accompany their fathers to the agora is uncertain. No instance of this is mentioned, but opportunities are lacking in the Iliad, and there are only a few in the Odyssey.....Girls as well as boys would listen to their father's stories, but it was chiefly from their mothers at home, while they were busy with weaving and spinning, that they would learn the customs which served as laws. The mothers, as well as the fathers, had tales to tell and advice to give."

Homeric youths were also taught music. They learned to play the "clear-toned" lyre and to sing according to Homer (Iliad, XVIII, 569-571):

τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοις παῖσι And in their midst a boy  
φάρμακον ἄγχι λίσσιν made pleasant music with a

ἰμῆρον ἐν κούρῳ  
ὑπὸ καλῶν ἀείδε  
λατταλῆν φωνῆν.

clear-toned lyre, and thereto  
sang sweetly the Linos-song with  
his delicate voice; 36

By the days of Plato formal education had grown up. According to him Greek parents took their children's training both intellectual and moral very seriously. The child's education began from its earliest days when its nurse, mother and father, even, strove to impress upon it the difference between right and wrong. If the child did not respond well to his training he was whipped. When he came of school-age, he was sent to masters, who stressed his moral training even more than his reading and harp-playing. After he had learned his letters, he was required to memorize the works of the best poets. This study of their greatest writers served to build up the character of the child, for he naturally desired to emulate the great heroes of the past. The child was also trained by music masters to play the lyre. He learned the works of the lyric poets, the song makers, while his master accompanied him with the harp. To the Greek a knowledge of music was essential to the intellectual development of the man, for he believed that from the rhythm, harmony, and melody of music, came gentleness and efficiency in speech and action (Protagoras, 325, C-326, B):

Ἐκ παίδων ἀμικρῶν ἰθάμην Education and admonition  
μακρὴ οὐπάρ ἐν ζωῆ, καὶ commence in the first years  
διδάσκουσι καὶ νοθετοῦσιν of childhood, and last to  
ἐπαιδῶν θάττον συνιῆτισ τε the very end of life. Mother  
λαγόμενα, καὶ τροφίς καὶ and nurse and father and  
μητέρα καὶ παιδαγωγὸς καὶ tutor are quarreling about  
αὐτὸς ὁ πατήρ περὶ τούτου the improvement of the child  
διαμάχονται, ὅπως ὡς as soon as ever he is able  
βέλτερος ἔσται ὁ παῖς, παρ' to understand them; he can not  
ἕκαστον καὶ ἔργον καὶ say or do anything without  
λόγον διδάσκοντες καὶ ἐν their setting forth to him  
δεικνύμενοι, ὅτι τὸ μὲν that this is just and that is

οὐκ ἀδίκον, τὸ δὲ μὲν καλόν, τὸ δὲ δὲ  
δυσχερὲς, καὶ τὸ δὲ μὲν ὅσιον,  
τὸ δὲ δὲ ἀνόσιον, καὶ τὰ μὲν  
ποιεῖν, τὰ δὲ μὴ ποιεῖν, καὶ  
εἰ μὲν καλῶν ἐκὼν παύσεται,  
μηδ' ὡς παρ' ἕξουλον δεικνύμενον  
καὶ καμπτόμανον. εὐθύνουσιν  
ἀπὸ ἀκῆς καὶ πληγῆς. μετὰ  
δὲ ταῦτα εἰς διδασκάλων  
πέμπονται πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐν-  
τέλειοντα ἐπιμαλξίαθαι εὐ-  
κοσμίας τῶν παιδῶν ἢ γραμ-  
μάτων τε καὶ κιθαρῆας.  
οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι τούτων τε  
ἐπιμαλοῦνται, καὶ ἀπιδείν  
εὐ γράμματα μάθωσι καὶ  
μᾶλλον συνήσειν τὰ  
γεγραμμένα, ὡς παρ' τότε τῆν  
φωνήν, παρατιθέσθαι αὐτοῖς  
ἐπὶ τῶν βιβλίων ἀναγιγνώ-  
σκουσιν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν νόμιμα  
τήσασιν ἐνκαίρια, πολλὰ δὲ  
διδασκαλίας καὶ ἐπαινοὺς καὶ  
ἐγκώμια παιδῶν ἰσθμίων  
ἵνα ὁ παῖς βελῶν μιμηταὶ  
καὶ ὀρέγεται τοῖς οὗτοι  
οἱ τ' αὖτε κιθαρῆας, ἵνα  
τοιαῦτα σωφροσύνης τε

unjust; this is honorable,  
that is dishonorable; this  
is holy, that is unholy; do  
this and abstain from that.  
And if he obeys, well and  
good; if not, he is straightened  
by threats and blows, like a  
piece of warped wood. At a  
later stage they send him  
to teachers, and enjoin them  
to see to his manners even  
more than to his reading and  
music; and the teachers do as  
they are desired. And when  
the boy has learned his letters  
and is beginning to understand  
what is written, as before he  
understood only what was spoken,  
they put into his hands the  
works of great poets, which he  
reads at school; in these are  
contained many admonitions,  
and many tales, and praises, and  
encomia of ancient famous men,  
which he is required to learn  
by heart, in order that he may  
imitate or emulate them and de-  
sire to become like them. Then,  
again, the teachers of the lyre

ἀν οἱ γὰρ μὴ δὲν κα-  
 κουργῶσι πρὸς δὲ τούτους,  
 ἐπειδὴν κ. θερὶ ζεῦ  
 μάθων, ἄλλων αὖ  
 ποιητῶν ἄγαθῶν πολὺ μᾶλλον  
 διδασκαλοὶ μαλοποιῶν,  
 εἰς τὰ κ. θερὶ ζεῦ  
 ἐν τρινοῦτες, κ. τούτους  
 ῥοθμούς τε καὶ τῆς  
 ἔρνοίας ἀναγκάζουσαι  
 οἰκτιροῦσθαι τῆς ψυχῆς  
 τῶν παιδῶν ἵνα ἡμᾶρ ὡς  
 τῆ ὡσ, κ. εὐρυθμότεροι  
 εὐρυστότεροι γινόμενοι  
 χρεῖται ὡσ εἰς τὸ λέγειν  
 τῆ καὶ πρῶτον πᾶς γὰρ ὁ  
 βίος τοῦ ἐνθρώπου εὐρυθ-  
 μος  
 τε καὶ εὐρυστίας δεῖται.

take similar care that their  
 young disciple is temperate  
 and gets into no mischief; and  
 when they have taught him  
 the use of the lyre, they  
 introduce him to the poems  
 of other excellent poets,  
 who are the lyric poets;  
 and these they set to music,  
 and make their harmonies and  
 rhythms quite familiar to  
 the children, in order that  
 they may learn to be more  
 gentle, and harmonious, and  
 rhythmical, and so more  
 fitted for speech and action;  
 for the life of man in every  
 part has need of harmony  
 and rhythm.<sup>37</sup>

Xenophon, in explaining how the educational system of Sparta under Lycurgus differs from that of the other Greek states, says that parents who aim to give their children the best training possible, place them under the supervision of a tutor and send them to school to learn their letters, music, and gymnastics (Lacedaemonians, II, 1):

τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων  
 Ἑλλήνων οἱ φασκόντες κάλ-  
 λιατὰ τοῦς υἱεῖς παιδεύειν,  
 ἐπειδὴν τάχιιστα αὐτοῖς οἱ  
 παῖδες τὰ λεγόμενα  
 συνιῶσιν,  
 εὐθὺς μὲν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς

In the other Greek states  
 parents who profess to  
 give their sons the best  
 education place their boys  
 under the care and control  
 of a moral tutor as soon

παιδαγωγούς ἀγαθοὺς  
ἐφ' ἵνα τὸν αὐτοῦ δὲ πᾶν  
ποῦσιν εἰς διδασκαλῶν  
μαθησομένους καὶ γράμματα  
καὶ μουσικὴν καὶ τὰ ἐν  
παιδείᾳ.

as they can understand  
what is said to them, and  
send them to a school to  
learn letters, music and  
the exercises of the  
wrestling-ground.<sup>38</sup>

Plato points out the strangeness of a slave being appointed to rule and control a free being, as is certainly the case in the relationship between child and tutor who had control over the child when he was in his care. The tutor accompanied the boy to and from school. (Lysis, 208, C):

Ἄλλ' ἔρχεαι τίς σου;  
Ὅδε, παιδαγωγός, ἔφη.  
Μῶν δούλος ὢν.  
Ἄλλὰ τί μὲν; ἡμᾶτερός,  
γὰρ, ἔφη.  
Ἢ δαιμόν ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
ἐλεύθερον ὄντα ὑπὸ δούλου  
ἔρχεσθαι. τί δὲ ποιῶν  
αὐτὸς οὗτος ὁ παιδαγωγός σου  
ἔρχεαι διδασκαλῶν, ἔφη.

Then you have a master?  
Yes, my tutor; there he is.  
And is he a slave?  
To be sure; he is our  
slave, he replied.  
Surely, I said, this is a  
strange thing, that a free man  
should be governed by a slave.  
And what does he do with you?  
He takes me to my teachers.<sup>39</sup>

As regards the "παιδαγωγός" Plutarch entreats that he be chosen carefully, so that the child may not thoughtlessly be entrusted to war slaves, barbarians, or ones of bad character (Mor., I, 4, A):

Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἡλικίαν  
λάβωσιν ὑπὸ παιδαγωγοῦς  
τεταγθεὶς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ  
πολλὴν ἐπιμέλειαν  
ἔκτεσον ἐπὶ τῆς τούτων  
καταστάσεως, ὡς μή  
λαθῶσιν ἀνδρῶν ὁδοῦς ἢ

When now they attain to an  
age to be put under the charge  
of attendants, then especially  
great care must be taken in the  
appointment of these, so as not  
to entrust one's children inad-  
vertently to slaves taken in war

βαρβαροὶς ἢ παλιμβόλοισι or to barbarians or to those  
 τὰ τέκνα πρὸς οὐστάς who are unstable.<sup>40</sup>

Most important of all, in the education of the adolescent, he thinks, was the kind of training he received from his teachers. Therefore these were to be ones of respectability, well-bred and experienced in their profession (Mor., I, 4, 13):

τὸ δὲ πάντων μέγιστον καὶ ἰσοκύριωτάτων τῶν εἰρημίων ἔργων ἐρχομαι φράσαι. Ἰσοκύριους γὰρ ζητητέου τοῖς τέκνοις, οἳ καὶ τοῖς βίοις εἰσὶν ἀσπίβητοι καὶ τοῖς τρόποις ἀνεπίληπτοι καὶ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἀρίστοι. I come now to a point which is more important and weighty than anything I have said so far. Teachers must be sought for the children who are free from scandal in their lives, who are unimpeachable in their manners, and in experience the very best that may be found.<sup>40</sup>

Concerning the intellectual training of the Greek girl we conclude from Xenophon that she received none, for Socrates, on questioning Critobulus about his wife, learns that Critobulus married her when she was a mere child and had experienced almost nothing (Oeconomicus, III, 13):

Ἐγγυμὰς δὲ αὐτὴν παιδίαν ἔγγυμὰς μὲν ἵατα καὶ ὡς ἦ δούλοιο εἰδὲ ἵατα ἔωρα κούειν καὶ ἀκηκουῖαν. "And you married her when she was a mere child and had seen and heard almost nothing?"<sup>41</sup>

From Xenophon again we cite a passage which gives us a conversation between Socrates and Ischomachus whose wife was not yet fifteen years of age when he married her and whose knowledge was negligible, for she too had seen and heard as little as possible (Oeconomicus, VII, 5):

καὶ τί οὖν, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, εἴπισατε μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν παρ' ἐλάβου, ἢ ἔτι μὲν "Why, what knowledge could she have had, Socrates, when I took

οὕτω πεντακίδεκα γέγονε  
 γυῖα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν  
 δ' ἐμπροσθεν χρόνον ἔζη  
 ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας ὅπως  
 ὡς ἑλαχίστα μὲν ὄψοιτο,  
 ἑλαχίστα δὲ ἀκούοιτο,  
 ἑλαχίστα δ' ἐροίη;

her for my wife! She was  
 not yet fifteen years old  
 when she came to me, and  
 up to that time she had  
 lived in leading-strings,  
 seeing, hearing and saying  
 as little as possible.<sup>41</sup>

It appears, however, that she had been enlightened on the subject of spinning and had  
 been taught to control her desires (Oeconomicus, VII, 6):

οὐ γὰρ ἀγαπητόν σοι δοκεῖ  
 εἶναι, εἰ μόνον ἦλθον  
 ἑπιταμίην ἐρίᾳ παραλα-  
 βούσα ἱμάτιον ἀποδαίξαι,  
 καὶ ἑώρακουῖα, ὡς ἔργα  
 τῶν δαίμων θεῶν παίδωναις  
 δίδονται, ἔπειτα τὰ χεῖρα  
 ἐμφιχάστειρα, ἔφη,  
 πάνυ καλῶς ὡς ὠκράτες,  
 ἦλθε πατριδευμένη ὅπῃ  
 μέγιστον ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ  
 παίδευμα εἶναι καὶ ἀνδρῶν  
 καὶ γυναικῶν.

If when she came she knew no  
 more than how, when given wool,  
 to turn out a cloak, and had  
 seen only how the spinning  
 is given out to the maids,  
 is not that as much as could  
 be expected? For in control  
 of her appetite, Socrates,  
 she had been excellently  
 trained; and this sort of  
 training is, in my opinion,  
 the most important to man  
 and woman alike.<sup>41</sup>

When the maiden became a wife it was her duty to remain at home, supervise the  
 servants, attend to the household finances, the weaving, the food, and even the servants  
 when they were ill (Oeconomicus, VII, 35-37):

Δεῦρα μάλιστα, ἔφη,  
 ἐγὼ, ἐνδον τε μένειν καὶ  
 οἷς μὲν ἂν ἔξω τὸ ἔργον  
 ἦ τῶν οἰκητῶν, τούτους  
 σου εἰσπείπειν, οἷς δ' ἂν

"Indeed you will," said  
 I; "your duty will be  
 to remain indoors and send  
 out those servants whose  
 work is outside, and superintend

ἐνδον ἔργον ἐργαστέον,	those who are to work
τούτων σοι ἐπιστατητέον	indoors, and to receive
καὶ τὰ τε εἰσφορὰν καὶ	the incomings, and dis-
ἀποδεκτέον, καὶ ἃ μὲν ἐν	tribute so much of them as
αὐτῶν δεῖν δαπανᾶν, σοὶ	must be spent, and watch
διαγρηγορέον, ἃ δ' ἐν περι-	over so much as is to be
τέθειν δεῖν προνοητέον καὶ	kept in store, and take
φυλακτέον, ὅπως μὴ ἢ εἰς	care that the sum laid by
τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν κειμένη	for a year be not spent in
δαπάνη εἰς τὸν μῆνα δαπα-	a month. And when wool
νῆται. καὶ ὅταν ἔρῃ εἰσεν-	is brought to you, you
ερχθῆ σοι, ἐπιμελητέον,	must see that cloaks are
ὅπως οἷς δεῖ ἰμάτια	made for those that want
γίγνηται. καὶ ὅ γε ξηρὸς	them. You must see too that
σιτος ὅπως καλῶς ἐδωδε-	the dry corn is in good
μος γίγνηται, ἐπιμελητέον.	condition for making
ἐν μάντιλι τῶν σοὶ προσ-	food. One of the duties
ηκόωντων, ἔθῃν ἐγὼ, ἐπι-	that fall to you, however,
μελημάτων ἴσως	will perhaps seem rather
ἀχρησιότατον δοξᾷ	thankless; you will have
εἶναι, ὅτι ὅς ἐν κέρμη	to see that any servant
τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοὶ	who is ill is cared
ἐπιμελητέον πάντων,	
ὅπως θέρη πρέσβηται.	

for."41

By way of summary we may say that the formal education of the Homeric child was exceedingly limited. He learned almost entirely from observing and imitating his elders. By the time of Plato formal education had grown up. When the boy became of school-age (at just what age this was we do not know) he was sent to teachers of reading and harp-playing. These masters stressed the child's moral training even more than his intellectual training. With the exception of those of Sparta, Greek parents placed

their boys under the supervision of tutors who took them to and from school. It was essential that these be chosen carefully. Teachers, too, were to be selected for their character, good breeding, and experience. The Greek girl seems to have had no real intellectual training. She led a sheltered and isolated life, seeing and hearing as little as possible. She was married at a very early age after which time she seems to have been trained in household duties.

### III. The Roman Child

In considering the Roman child we shall be content with brief statements. Since we have gone into pretty careful detail in our representation of Greek life for infants and adolescents, in our study of the Roman child we shall stress only items which are different from those of Greek life, and instead of quoting the original translations of passages cited from ancient authors, we shall summarize their content and relegate these references to the notes at the end of this study which the reader may use as he sees fit. How much the Romans borrowed from the Greeks in the education of their children is a question which resembles the problem of the Roman use of Greek literature, art, science, jurisprudence, etc. We shall not attempt a discussion of the degree of imitation, nor do we think it essential to this study to decide whether any custom in regard to children which we find common to the two peoples was borrowed from the Greeks or independently developed at Rome. In other words we think it unimportant to label ourselves as diffusionists or independent originists, and shall be content with setting down facts as we find them, with special emphasis laid on those practices which differ from the Greek.

#### A. Infans

In discussing the Greek child we saw that the Greek father had the right of acknowledging or not acknowledging the new-born babe as his. If he refused to claim it as his or did not desire the child for other reasons, the babe was "exposed." We found, however, that "exposure" did not always mean infanticide. We also had no evidence as to just how prevalent this practice was. In our study of the Roman child we find that there was a similar custom in regard to it. In Plautus' Amphitryon<sup>1</sup> Jupiter bids Alcmena farewell and entreats her to tend herself well for her time is near. He also instructs her not to "expose" the child when it is born but to raise it. These are god and goddess, however, of whom Plautus speaks. Therefore, we have not proof from this that this custom prevailed among men. In Terence's Heautontimorumenos<sup>2</sup> Sostrata,

an old nurse, tells Chremes that she gave the girl baby to an old Corinthian woman to "expose". In Terence's Andria<sup>3</sup> Davus, the servant of Simo, in speaking to himself, says that the Andrian woman is pregnant by his young master Pamphilus and that whether the child is male or female they have resolved to "rear" it. The well-known case of the "exposure" of Romulus and Remus would serve to prove further our point that such a practice existed among the Romans, though, like the passage from Plautus dealing with Juppiter and Alcmene, Livy's<sup>4</sup> citation of the "exposure" in a basket of these two babes points out that this was not an ordinary case, for these children were supposed to have been the sons of Mars and Rhea Silvia, a vestal virgin. These few passages do not serve to enlighten us as to just how prevalent this custom was, but we feel that it is safe to assume that there was among the Romans just such a right of rearing or "exposing" a new-born babe, as there was among the Greeks.

After birth, it appears, the child was laid upon the ground. Ovid,<sup>5</sup> mourning his exile from Rome, says that he would like to be possessed by the same earth that he touched at birth. Suetonius<sup>6</sup> points out that both the divine Augustus and Nero touched the earth at birth. According to Augustine<sup>7</sup> the goddess Levana was the patron goddess of the raising of a child from the earth.

If the child was raised and acknowledged, it was started along the regular road of family life. According to Macrobius,<sup>8</sup> nine days after its birth there was a day called "lustricus", for the babe was purified and given its name at this time. The goddess Nundina was the patron goddess on this occasion. This celebration may be compared to the Greek "Amphidromia" and "Σκίση".

In considering the physical development of the young Roman child we shall deal with his food, dress, and exercise, just as we did for the Greek child. The Roman babe, like the Greek babe, was fed by wet-nurses, for from the prologue of Plautus' Menaechmi<sup>9</sup> we learn that the two brothers were so much alike that the "mother" who nursed them and the mother who gave them birth could not tell them apart. There is a distinct difference made here between their own mother and the one who suckled them. We conclude from this that there were wet-nurses, and, at least in this case, that they were called "mother."

As the Greek child, the Roman child seems to have been swathed in swathing bands. For Phronosium in Plautus' Truculentus<sup>10</sup> mentions swathing bands as clothing for the new babe. From one view of the Ara Pacis<sup>11</sup> we see a small child of about two years wearing a very short, loose-fitting garment girded at the waist and draped over only one shoulder. From another view<sup>12</sup> of this monument are seen two small children, one apparently younger than the other, but both probably of pre-school age. Both are dressed in togas which appear even longer and more cumbersome than those of their elders. In a Pompeian mosaic (Rodenwaldt, Tafel XXXIV) now in the National Museum at Naples we see a small boy wearing a brown knee-length garment resembling a tunic and caught in around the waist. The child wears no shoes.

It is evident that the pre-school boy did not always wear clothing, for we have many representations of him in the nude. From a Pompeian wall-painting pictured in Mau-Kelsey (p. 55) we see a boy child of about two years held in its mother's lap. It is nude. Another representation (p. 67) of a wall-painting in Pompeii shows children between babyhood and about seven years all of whom are nude. In another scene (Gell and Gandy) is a small nude boy who is playing with a monkey on a string. A statue of a boy child in the Art Museum at Vienna (Rodenwaldt, p. 488) represents the child unclothed. In no case, however, have we found little girls unclothed. A statue of a little girl in the Capitoline Museum at Rome (Rodenwaldt, p. 486) represents the child garbed in a toga and sandals.

One should not mention the wearing apparel of the young Roman child without speaking of the bulla. The bulla seen in the Metropolitan Museum (McClees, p. 40) is a round, flat case of gold. Juvenal<sup>13</sup> declares that it was gold and that it was of Etruscan origin. This is apparent from his application of the words "Etruscum...aurum" to it. Macrobius<sup>14</sup> states that Tarquinius Priscus instituted this custom of children wearing the bulla by hanging one about his son's neck as a reward of honor. According to him Tarquinius got the idea from the Etruscans whose triumphant generals wore them as protection against evil spirits. He says that only children of noble birth wore them. Plautus<sup>15</sup> mentions a gold bulla which was given to a girl child on her natal day. From

Juvenal<sup>16</sup> we conclude that a child of poor parentage wore a leather badge. Macrobius<sup>17</sup> says that by the time of the second Punic war children of the "libertini" wore a leather badge around their necks in place of the bulla. It seems that a boy wore his bulla until he laid aside the purple-bordered toga, for Persius<sup>18</sup> states that he, as a timid one, donated his bulla to the Lares when his purple garment was laid aside. We have no evidence as to how long a girl child wore hers, but we know from Plautus that girls did wear them.

As far as we can ascertain the Roman child of pre-school age, like the young Greek child, had no formal or organized exercise. We may well imagine a Roman babe exercising itself in its cradle. That cradles were used is evident from Plautus, for in his play Truculentus,<sup>19</sup> Phronesium, in listing the needs of the new-born babe, mentions the cradle as an essential thing to its comfort. It is safe to assume that after the child learned to walk it ran about the house and engaged in the natural and instinctive movements of all young children.

Little girls may have played with dolls, for there are several in the Metropolitan Museum (Mc Cless, p. 42). That Roman children owned pets as Greek children is probable from the evidence of art pieces depicting the child with animals. In the Capitoline Museum (Rodenwaldt, p. 486) is a statue of a little girl garbed in a toga and sandals. She holds high up in her hand a bird which she seems to be defending from a serpent. A tiny boy is seen in a Pompeian wall-painting (Gell and Gandy) playing with a little monkey. This presence of pets would probably indicate a rather free outdoor life for the child.

Quintilian,<sup>20</sup> in speaking of the proper training of a boy for oratory, implores that the nurse chosen for the child speak correctly. More important than this, however, is the necessity of her being of good character. She must speak well though, for "it is the nurse that the child first hears, and her words that he will first attempt to imitate." The child is by nature very tenacious of first and childish impressions. The worst impressions are the most durable; therefore he inveighs that parents not allow the boy to become accustomed even in infancy to bad speech which he will later have to unlearn.

In addition to the nurse, the mother played an important role in the intellectual development of her young child. Tacitus<sup>21</sup> says that Julia Procilla, the mother of Agricola, was a woman of rare virtue. From her fond bosom he imbibed his early training. Tacitus,<sup>22</sup> in speaking again of a mother's early training of her child, says that formerly every man's son born in wedlock was entrusted not to a hired nurse, but was brought up in his mother's lap and at her knee. Then, it was her duty to manage her house and give herself to her children. Some elderly relative of good repute was selected to care for the young children of the home. Under her supervision the children uttered no base words or engaged in wrong deeds, without grave punishment. She saw to their recreation and games. In this manner Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, brought up her sons from their earliest days, as did Aurelia, the mother of Caesar, and Atia, the mother of Augustus. These cases are all applicable to children of high rank, but we feel that it is safe to assume that the Roman mother was in general the same everywhere.

#### B. Puer, Puella

In discussing the legal status of the Roman child it is necessary to take up the "patria potestas." We have seen that a Roman father might rear or "expose" his newborn babe as might a Greek father. In addition to this power, however, he had the right of selling his child into slavery as is evident from one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables<sup>23</sup> After the child was sold three times he was free from the power of his father. A person might be freed from the "patria potestas" by means of emancipation. Concerning the emancipation of a son from his father in the earliest days of Rome Mommsen (Bk. I, p. 156) has the following to say: "The emancipation of a son encountered even greater difficulties than that of a slave; for while the relation of master to slave was accidental and therefore capable of being dissolved at will, the father could never cease to be father. Accordingly in later times the son was obliged, in order to get free from the father, first to enter into slavery and then to be set free out of this latter state; but in the period now before us (Monarchy) no emancipation of sons can have as yet

existed." Later on, however, as Mommsen (Bk. II, p. 428) says, "the fearfully absolute paternal power was restricted by the enactment that a son thrice sold by his father should not relapse into his power, but should thenceforth be free; which-- by a legal inference that, strictly viewed, was no doubt inconsistent with the spirit or Roman law--was soon construed to imply that a father might voluntarily divest himself of dominion over his son by emancipation." In addition to being freed from the "patria potestas" by emancipation after being sold three times, a son automatically passed from under the rule of his father if he became a flamen dialis, and a daughter, likewise, if she became a vestal virgin, according to Ulpian.<sup>24</sup> Though we have evidence from the Laws of the Twelve Tables that a father might sell his child, we have found no instances of it actually having been done.

We have seen that a Roman father had the right of rearing or "exposing" his child, and even of selling it into slavery, and that a person might not be released from the "patria potestas" except by emancipation or the entrance into the ranks of the flamines diales or vestal virgins. In other words the father held the life and liberty of his offspring in his hands. Furthermore he had the right of punishment by death if a son offended in any way as is evident from Valerius Maximus<sup>25</sup> who says a certain Cassius, having called a council of friends and kinsmen, condemned his son to be killed by blows because of a crime committed. Sallust<sup>26</sup> relates the case of a senator's son who was ordered by his father to be put to death. This right of a father to sell his child or put it to death seems to be peculiar to the Romans, for we have found no evidence that such powers were granted to Greek fathers.

In considering the physical development of the Roman adolescents we shall discuss the same three items necessary to his well-being that we have dealt with in the preceding sections of this study, namely food, dress, and exercise. That the child in its early years did not partake of the same meals as its elders is evident from Plautus' Truculentus,<sup>27</sup> in which Phronesium says that the father of her boy has just ordered their son to be nourished until it could partake of the "jentaculum" which was the first meal of the day according to Isidore.<sup>28</sup> Of just what this meal consisted we have found no

evidence. We conclude from this remark, however, that a child, until it reached a certain age, did not have the same diet as its elders. We feel that it is safe to assume that after a certain age he ate the same foods as the other members of the household.

According to Livy<sup>29</sup> children wore a toga bordered with purple, which was similar to the one worn by magistrates and priests. Isidore,<sup>30</sup> however, limits the wearing of this purple-bordered toga to noble children. He says that they wore it until their sixteenth year. This toga was called "praetexta," because of its purple edge, and from this term "praetexta" children wearing it were termed "praetextati." Macrobius,<sup>31</sup> in attempting to explain the origin of children's wearing the toga praetexta, states that Tarquinius Priscus, after a triumph over the Sabines, as an honor to his fourteen year old son, who had slain an enemy with his hand, praised him in an assembly and gave him a gold bulla and a toga praetexta which was the garment of magistrates.

We have further evidence of children's wearing togas from monuments. On the Ara Pacis<sup>32</sup> is seen a youth wearing a toga arranged similarly to that of his elders pictured with him. From a portrait statue of a Roman youth (Wilson, Fig. 25) we see again that adolescents wore togas. This youth seems also to wear a bulla around his neck.

Concerning the wearing of togas by girls and women Wilson (p. 27) has the following to say: "According to literary references, the toga in very early times was also worn by women as well as by men, and we shall see that the wearing of it by young girls was continued at least until about the beginning of the imperial period. But in later times the plain inferences from literary passages is that the wearing of it was discontinued by women excepting those of the disreputable sort."

Of the physical training of Roman youths Sandys<sup>33</sup> has the following to say: "In spite of the influence of Greek models, the Romans never fully adopted the principle of a harmonious and proportioned education of all the faculties. In early days the aim of physical training at Rome had been simply to equip men for war, not as at Athens to develop bodily health, beauty and grace. Accordingly, though the exercises of the "palaestra" were introduced at Rome, conservative fathers disapproved. The exercises

outraged Roman feelings of decorum, for as Ennius expresses it, 'Flagiti principium est nudare inter cives corpora.' (Cic. Tusc. IV. 70). The palaestra was also regarded as encouraging idleness, and as dangerous to morals. The dislike to Greek gymnastic often found expression--even down to the age of Tacitus (Ann. XIV, 20)."

Boys, however, were trained in the manly exercises of swimming, riding, boxing and wrestling. Cato himself is said to have trained his son thus (Mommsen, Bk. III, Chap. XIII, p. 482): "True to his maxim, that a ruddy checked boy was worth more than a pale one, the old soldier in person initiated his son into all bodily exercises, and taught him to wrestle, to ride, to swim, to box, and to endure heat and cold." Vergil states<sup>34</sup> that there was a special horsemanship game called "Troia" which came down to Roman youths from Ascanius and his boy companions.

Dancing served as exercise for adolescents as is attested by Sandys;<sup>35</sup> "Dancing and music now began to receive a certain amount of recognition. Both were taught to boys and girls of good birth, but never formed an essential part of education.....Dancing, in particular, was denounced as disgraceful for a Roman. Cicero, for example says (pro Mur. 13) 'Nemo enim fere saltat sobrius, nisi forte insanit;' and Sallust (Cat. 25) 'Psallere, saltare elegantius quam necesse est probae.'"

It appears from Quintilian<sup>36</sup> that the usual age at which the formal intellectual training of a child began was seven years, as that was the earliest age at which it could benefit from instruction and stand the labor of learning. Hesiod and Eratosthenes both approved of this practice. Quintilian himself, however, believed that a child's intellectual training should begin even before that, for if a child was capable of moral education from its earliest days why should it not be able to begin early its training in things literary? He realized, of course, that one could not expect the same amount of progress in these earliest years of the child's life as one might expect after it was a little older, but nevertheless the small profit derived was not to be despised, for each little bit learned counted, and the time gained during early childhood was beneficial to the adolescent period.

That there were schools and that girls attended them too, is evident from Livy<sup>37</sup> who

cites the case of Virginia coming into the forum to the school of letters. Tacitus<sup>38</sup> in lamenting the education of imperial times mentions the fact that upon one's entering any of the children's schools, he hears talk of horses, actors, and gladiators instead of literature. Further evidence of the existence of schools is furnished us by Horace<sup>39</sup> who says that his father, though poor, did not send him to the school of Flavius where the children of centurions went carrying their bags and slates and taking the teacher's fee on the Ides of eight months in the year, but brought him, as a boy, to Rome to learn the liberal arts which the sons of knights and senators learned. Moreover, his father served as his guardian in all of his studies.

Cato taught his own son, for (Mommsen, Bk. III, Chap. XIII) "he felt very justly, that the time had gone by when it sufficed for a Roman to be a good farmer and soldier; and he felt also that it could not but have an injurious influence on the mind of his boy, if he should subsequently learn that the teacher, who had rebuked and punished him and had won his reverence, was a mere slave. Therefore he in person taught the boy what a Roman was wont to learn, to read and write and know the law of the land; and even in his later years he worked his way so far into the general culture of the Hellenes, that he was able to deliver to his son in his native tongue whatever in that culture he deemed to be of use to a Roman. All his writings were primarily intended for his son, and he wrote his historical work for that son's use with large distinct letters in his own hand."

From the foregoing we conclude that the child's formal education began at seven years of age. There were schools to which a man might send his children, both boys and girls, or he might teach them himself as did Cato. Quintilian<sup>40</sup> discusses at length the question of whether a child should be sent to schools or taught privately at home. The practice of sending the child to a school or public instructors was approved of by the most eminent authorities. Many, however, preferred private instruction, for they felt that a child at such an early age might acquire serious faults from associations with a group. Furthermore it was better for a child to have private instruction, for a teacher with one pupil was able to devote more time to the training of one than of many.

Quintilian believes that if schools really corrupt the morals of the young, it is preferable to keep the child apart from such an influence, though public instruction might be more advantageous to study than private instruction, for he holds that virtuous living is to be desired above excellence in learning. Concerning the corrupting influence of schools, he admits that this is true in some cases, but that morals may be corrupted at home as well. The teacher employed privately may be one of bad character, and there is just as much harm derived from the companionship of bad slaves (teachers) as there is from school companions of immoral ways. Parents with careful thought are able to choose good teachers if they will. Parents, also, often do much to ruin the characters of their children by spoiling and petting them in their early years and allowing them to hear and see foul things at home from their elders. Children often pick up vices at home, rather than acquire them from school. Having discussed the corrupting influences of schools upon children he next takes up the argument for private instruction that many make as regards the benefits derived from one master teaching one child. He prefers the "broad daylight of a respectable school to the solitude and obscurity of a private education." A child, however, should not be sent to a school where he will be neglected. A good teacher though, will not burden himself with too many pupils. Even if large schools are to be avoided, all schools are not to be avoided. Public instruction is to be desired, for children should learn to associate with others. Friendships made in school are valuable and often endure to old age. In addition to these a child by competing with his associates will progress and aspire to excel.

Having seen that there was both private and public instruction, let us see now of just what a child's training consisted. It appears from Quintilian<sup>41</sup> that children first learned their letters. They were taught the names and orders of the letters before their shapes. However, he disapproves of this method, believing that they should first learn their appearance and names. Though he objects to this method of teaching letters, he advocates it for learning the syllables. It seems to have been customary to give the child ivory letters to play with, for he derived pleasure from these as well as learned from them. After the child knew how to read his letters, he was next taught to write

them. It seems that he learned to do this by tracing the letters on wax tablets. Next the child was taught to read by syllables. When the syllables had been learned he was to construct words from them and from the words sentences. He was to read and to memorize the sayings of famous men and selections from poets especially, for poetry is more pleasing to small ones. Horace<sup>42</sup> speaks of teachers giving sweet cakes to children for learning these first elements.

As soon as the child had learned to read and write Quintilian states<sup>43</sup> that the literature teacher was to take him in hand. It is apparent from him<sup>44</sup> that children in these schools read Homer and Vergil. Furthermore he advises the reading of tragedy and lyric poetry, provided it is selected. He remarks that even Horace contains passages that he would not be willing to explain. Erotic elegy was to be done away with.

In the days of Cicero's<sup>45</sup> boyhood children learned the Laws of the Twelve Tables. This practice was done away with later, however.

It seems that school children were disciplined by flogging. From a series of Pompeian paintings (Mau-Kelsey, p. 56) depicting scenes in the forum we see a picture from school life. "A pupil is to receive a flogging. He is mounted on the back of one of his schoolmates, while another holds him by the legs; a slave is about to lay on the lash, and the teacher stands near by with an air of composure." Quintilian<sup>46</sup> disapproves of flogging, although it was the custom.

We might say something here concerning teachers. Martial<sup>47</sup> speaks of one as hated by boys and girls and raising an uproar with his voice before the dawn. He entreats him to dismiss his pupils, and calling him a "blatant fellow", asks him if he is willing to accept for keeping silent as much as he does for shrieking. Again<sup>48</sup> he remarks that the boy is called to school from his game of "nuts" by his "clamorous master."

#### IV. Summary

##### A. Παιδίον

A Greek father had the privilege of rearing his new-born babe or "exposing" it. The mother's wishes, however, had some weight in the matter. In Athens so-called "exposure" did not necessarily mean infanticide. We do not know to how great an extent "exposure" was practised.

If the Greek child was not "exposed", it was started along the usual path of family life. There were two ceremonies for the new babe, one the "amphidromia" which occurred on the fifth or seventh day after the birth of the child and the other the "Σκάρτη". There was a feast on the "amphidromia" day. The child was given its name on the "Σκάρτη."

In discussing the physical development of the child, we considered its food, dress, and exercise. Our findings on the food of the "Παιδίον" were fragmentary, and most of the passages cited applied to children of high rank. Aphrodite fed the young daughters of Pandareus on cheese, honey, and wine, while Phoenix nourished the small Achilles on meat and wine. Mothers suckled their infants themselves, or employed wet nurses. Feeding bottles were used for the young babe.

The Greek babe seems to have been wrapped in swaddling bands. The Spartans, however, left the limbs of their infants free and unhampered. Babes were also clothed in long, loose-fitting garments. When the child became older, and was able to run about, it went nude, if a boy, and wore a tunic, either long or short, if a girl.

The young child had no formal exercise, as did the elder children of the house, but exercised and developed itself as it played about with its toys and pets. We conclude from this presence of pets in the life of the child that it led a rather free, outdoor life.

The nurse must be given a place of importance in the intellectual development of the pre-school child. It was considered essential that she be a person of Greek training and of good character. The story-telling hour was to be planned carefully, for the child's mind was not to be filled with trash. Nurses were expected to tell "tales of noble deeds." The child's intellectual development was furthered by playing with its toys, observing its elders, and viewing or participating in religious rites. The Greeks believed in an early inculcation of moral precepts. If the child was disobedient, it was apt to be whipped.

#### B. Παιδεία

The Greek child had no rights until he became of age. The father's power was royal. At the age of eighteen, the boy left the ranks of the children and became an ephebus with certain prescribed military duties. At twenty, he assumed all the rights and duties of a citizen. Girls remained inexperienced in the duties of life until they entered marriage, which came at an early age. They were provided with dowries. As regards orphans, we found that in the early days of Greece there were no provisions made for their care. The orphaned child was more or less an outcast and stood no chance in life. In the days of Athenian supremacy, however, orphans of soldiers killed in war were cared for by the state.

Concerning the clothing of the Greek adolescent, we found that both boys and girls wore the chiton and himation. The boy's chiton reached to his knees or a little below, while the girl's was

apparently full length. The chlamys was the garment of the ephebe, though the younger boy wore a cloak of the same general type.

Homeric youths exercised in dancing, swimming, hunting, fishing, hurling the javelin, putting the shot and shooting the bow. Since we know that youths took part in foot-racing, wrestling, and boxing at Olympia as early as the seventh century, it is safe to assume that by the sixth century athletics were everywhere a part of a youth's education. In the gymnasia, they wrestled, jumped with weights, and threw the spear and discus. Plato believed that boys should be sent to teachers of riding, archery, slinging, and javelin-throwing. He advocated dancing and wrestling, for these gave, in addition to health and strength, physical beauty. Athenian maidens did not engage in athletic pursuits as their brothers, but Spartan maidens took part in all the exercises of the boys. Besides this formal physical training, adolescents engaged in informal games.

The formal education of the Homeric child was exceedingly limited. He learned almost entirely from observing and imitating his elders. By the time of Plato, formal education had grown up. When the boy became of school age (at just what age this was we do not know) he was sent to teachers of reading and harp-playing. These masters stressed the child's moral training even more than his intellectual training. With the exception of those of Sparta, Greek parents placed their boys under the supervision of tutors who took them to and from school. It was essential that these be chosen carefully. Teachers, too, were to be selected for their character, good breeding, and experience. The Greek girl seems to have had no real intellectual training. She led a sheltered and isolated life, seeing and hearing as little as possible. She was married at a very early age, after which time she seems to have been trained in household duties

### C. Infans

The Roman father, like the Greek father, had the right of rearing or "exposing" his new-born baby. We do not know just how prevalent this practice was. The child was laid upon the ground after its birth. If it was raised and acknowledged, it became a member of the family. Nine days after its birth there was the ceremony of purification. This took place on the "dies lustricus." The child also received its name at this time. This celebration may be compared with the Greek "amphidromia" and " ."

Roman mothers nursed their children themselves, or employed wet nurses, as the Greeks were wont to do. Roman babes were swathed in swathing bands. When the child became older it wore a very short, loose-fitting garment, girded at the waist and draped over one shoulder, or a toga. The pre-school boy did not always wear clothing, but ran about nude. We have found no instances of little girls unclothed, however. The "bulla," a round, flat case of gold, was worn about the neck of the child as a charm against evil spirits. It seems that it was given to the child at birth. This bulla was probably of Etruscan origin and was introduced into Rome by Tarquinius Priscus, who hung one about the neck of his young son. Children of poor parentage wore a leather badge in place of the bulla. The boy seems to have worn his bulla until he laid aside his "toga praetexta," which may have been doffed at sixteen years of age. We have found no evidence of just how long a girl wore hers.

The Roman child of pre-school age seems to have had no formal or organized exercise. The babe exercised itself in its cradle. After it learned to walk, it is probable that it ran about the house and engaged in the natural and instinctive movements of all children. Little girls may have played with dolls. The Roman child also owned

pots. This would probably indicate a rather free, outdoor life.

The Roman child was placed early in the care of a nurse, just as the Greek child was. It was essential that she speak correctly and be a person of good character, for the child's speech and character might be ruined if the nurse, from whom he first learned were not a person with those qualities and abilities. The young child was very impressionable, therefore it was important for it not to pick up incorrect speech and bad traits.

#### D. Puer, Puella.

The Roman child had no rights whatever. He came under the strict rule of his father. This power of the father over his child was termed "patria potestas." This power was absolute. A father not only had the right of refusing to rear his child, but he might at any time sell it into slavery or order it to be punished severely, or even put to death, if he deemed it wise and necessary. An individual might not be freed from the "patria potestas" except by emancipation, which took place after a father had sold his child three times. A "flamen dialis," or vestal virgin, however, was automatically freed from the absolute rule of the father when he or she entered the service of the temple.

In discussing the physical development of the Roman adolescent, we considered its food, dress, and exercise. It seems that a child, until it reached a certain age, did not have the same diet as its elders. We do not know, however, of just what its food consisted.

The child wore a toga bordered with purple. This was similar to the one worn by magistrates and priests and was called the "toga praetexta." It seems that the boy wore his until his sixteenth year. According to Macrobius, Tarquinius Priscus instituted the custom of children wearing the "toga praetexta" by clothing his son in one as a reward of honor. Girls wore the toga too, that is un-

til the Imperial Period. After this, only women of ill fame wore them.

We do not find the Roman adolescent exercising himself and training in the "palaestra" for the same purposes as the Greeks. We found that the Greeks aimed not only for bodily health and strength but also for grace, poise, and beauty. The Romans brought their sons up for military pursuits. The Greek "palaestra," though introduced into Rome, was frowned upon by Roman fathers, for they felt that it encouraged idleness and corrupted the morals of the youths. Some fathers, as Cato, trained their sons in wrestling, riding, swimming, and boxing. Both boys and girls were also taught to dance, though this exercise was never an essential part of formal education. Cicero scorned the idea of dancing, as did Sallust.

It seems that the formal intellectual training of the Roman child began at seven years of age. He was either sent to a school or taught privately at home. The child's education consisted of learning to read and write and studying and memorizing the great writers, such as Homer and Vergil. Cicero speaks of learning the Laws of the Twelve Tables when he was a boy.

## Children in Ritual

In our study we have made no mention of the child's place in the religious and ritualistic life of his time. We will not dwell at length on this phase of his life but will content ourselves with a few well-known instances of children's participation in ritual.

First of all we cite the case of the ritualistic sacrifice of Astyanax, concerning which we quote from Knight (Magical Motives in Seneca's Troades in P. A. P. A., Vol. LXIII, pp. 20-30): "Seneca's fine play contains poetic allusions which still betray an origin in forgotten ritual practices. The actual nature of Hector and the true motivation of the sacrifice of Astyanax, inferred from other evidence, are implied by Seneca's language. Astyanax was to meet a ritual death, by which, as parallels suggest, the last life of the wall and the strength of Troy should be finally expelled in him. Seneca has reproduced these indications from sources now lost; probably, but not certainly, sources already used differently by Euripides and Vergil....."

The principal climax of the Troades is of course the death of Astyanax. Seneca prepares us for this, by creating in advance a deep reverence for his father Hector--a method of which he is master. However, Seneca again offers something else besides tragic technique; for concerning Astyanax he gives almost a direct statement of a part of the supernatural theory which I am recommending. According to the theory, Astyanax was sacrificed by the Achaeans either to expiate or to confirm their work of destruction on the sacred wall. Seneca disagrees apparently with all other extant writers except Apollodorus in regarding the death of Astyanax as a sacrifice of any kind.....Some kind of ritual act or sacrifice must have been intended by the death of Astyanax, partly because otherwise the peculiar necessity that he should be thrown from a tower seems inexplicable. Homer's suppression of the real motive is typical and in itself suggestive; his reference takes the form of a prediction that Astyanax will be thrown from a wall; apparently not after, but at the sack of Troy, in the heat of the moment, by one who owed Hector vengeance.....

Seneca's Astyanax does not wait to be thrown from the walls. He anticipates the

sacrifice by leaping--"in media Priami regna" (1102 f.). This suggests that he should have been thrown outwards from the walls. If so, there is here just possibly a useful indication of the nature of the "sacrifice." The walls were to be "lustrated", that is, exorcised by a sympathetic act meant to symbolise the departure of the last vestige of their vital spirit. As Apollo and Poseidon had long since left the wall of Troy, and as the gods left the wall of Veii when the water was drained from the Alban Lake across the confine of it, so also the spirit of Hector was to be finally banished from Troy and to depart in death from the wall. For otherwise, if he lived, he might bring back the vitality of Troy's defence by the vitality residing in him, and so might justify the Achaean fear which persists, in spite of contradictions, in Seneca and Euripides too."

Other cases of ritualistic sacrifices of adolescents are mentioned by Knight (pp. 30-31): "There are three instances of a similar act which are peculiarly comparable with the death of Astyanax, because they occur in contexts of defensive sanctity. One of the maidens sent to Troy according to the terms of the Locrian curse--clearly, as I hope to shew elsewhere, a device meant to restore the infringed defensive sanctity of Athena--was captured and thrown either "from Mount Traron" or from the hill of Troy "by Traroi." The daughters of Cecrops threw themselves from the Acropolis of Athens. August Mommsen rightly thought that this story represented an original human sacrifice, and compared the daughters of Cecrops with the two maidens sent according to the Locrian curse. But there seems to be more in it than that. The Athenian event is part of a myth which begins with an assault by Hephaestus on Athena. This clearly expresses some contemplated or practised counteraction of Athena's defensive efficacy, symbolised by her maidenhood. The succeeding sacrifice, accordingly, meant the ejection from the walls of the Acropolis of some unfriendly influence, now incorporated in the two girls. This is of course the opposite to the quality ejected in Astyanax, but the parallel is not the less relevant for that. Lastly, there is the motive of Tarpeia. Her story is confused and uncertain, but a few things in it are clear enough. The tale is an aetiology for the infliction of death by throwing from the Tarpeian rock, to expiate threats against

the security of Rome."

In further mentioning Astyanax Seneca<sup>49</sup> has Hecuba lament that he will no longer be able to take part in the Trojan game. This game called "Troia", which has been described by Vergil,<sup>50</sup> seems to have had some ritualistic significance. Knight (p. 32) says that he has "lately collected some evidence which seems to shew that the Troia was a defensive rite, designed to weave an intricate abstract wall of magical power round places which required defence, but to leave, in the field of magical force, a necessary entry, difficult for the unauthorised, and corresponding with the path through a maze. If the indications are rightly interpreted, nothing could be more appropriate than that Astyanax, the inheritor of Hector's personal validity, should perform this duty of the defensive observance. He would have the added ritual advantage of adolescent purity; and for this there is a parallel from early Prussia, where circular movements were required to be performed by unmarried boys and girls. In Vergil, of course, Ascanius leads the Troia (Aen. v, 545 ff.), and it is worth while to notice that at the beginning of the incident he is called "impubes" (546). Seneca seems here to be following more closely than Vergil a source which Vergil also used, a source in which the Troia was led by Astyanax, not Ascanius."

The Greeks seem to have had some sort of ceremony in which boys participated in celebration of Apollo's fight and victory over the dragon Delphyne. It was (Poulsen, pp. 7-8) "a kind of pantomime, the so-called Stepterion, which took place on a paved threshing floor, which is thought to have been found in the middle of the Temenos in front of the Stoa of the Athenians. Though we have several descriptions of this strange ceremony, and for certain details a parallel in the festival of Isis at the Phocian town of Tithorea, much in the mise-en-scene is quite uncertain to us. The intention was to reproduce the fight of Apollo with the dragon, and his flight after its death to the vale of Tempe, where, according to the legend, he had to go to purify himself of blood-guiltiness. But the pantomime showed a noble Delphian boy, accompanied by companions of his own age, and by a troop of holy women, who in profound silence marched on to the festal ground, and set fire to a wooden shed built to resemble a royal palace; after having upset

in the flames a board of the shed, the whole troop ran away without looking back. Later the boy was seen "wandering up and down, going as an exile to Tempe, purging himself at an altar by a costly sacrifice, returning with his comrades by the sacred way with laurel wreath on his hair, and approaching Delphi after having on the road at the 'Town of the Meal' partaken of a festal meal." It is especially mysterious how a representation of a royal palace could pass for the dwelling of a dragon, and what is intended by the setting on fire and the overturned board. In this case, as the agreement with Tithorea shows, there must be presumed to be an ancient Phocian religious ceremony, adopted without being understood by the priesthoods of both Apollo and Isis, and therefore as mysterious to the ancients as to us. The procession of the laurel-wreathed youths, however, with a youthful Apollo as leader, was imitated by the Thebans, who every ninth year sent just such a holy band of children from the temple of Ismenian Apollo to the god's sanctuary at Delphi."

The cases of the child in ritual cited above all referred to things Greek. That the Romans too used children in their ritualistic ceremonies is evident from Livy,<sup>51</sup> who speaks of twenty-seven maidens who were ordered by the pontiffs of Rome to go through the city singing a hymn composed by the poet Livius. This was ordered to expiate the birth of an infant which seemed neither male nor female and which Aruspices said was a foul and ill-omened prodigy. The infant was shut up in a chest and thrown into the sea. In addition these maidens mentioned above were required to pass through the streets singing. While these maidens were practising the hymn in the temple of Jupiter Stator, the temple of Juno Regina was struck by lightning. They believed that this was another ill omen.

In a sacrifice to Juno Livy<sup>51</sup> tells us further of maidens participating in a ritualistic ceremony. Again there were twenty-seven. They were arrayed in white vestments and sang a hymn in honor of Juno Regina.

Horace's Carmen Saeculare was sung by twenty-seven youths and an equal number of maidens to Apollo and Diana. He entreats the boys and maidens to keep the time of his Lesbian measure as they hymn the children of Latona.<sup>52</sup> These youths and maidens were children of famous parents.

Greek

Homer	Eighth Century (?) B. C.
Aeschylus	525-456 B. C.
Pindar	518-438 B. C.
Euripides	485-406 B. C.
Herodotus	c. 485-c. 425 B. C.
Aristophanes	c. 450-c. 388 B. C.
Isaeus	c. 450-c. 380 B. C.
Xenophon	c. 430-c. 354 B. C.
Plato	427 (?) - 347 B. C.
Aristotle	384-322 B. C.
Theophrastus	c. 372-287 B. C.
Dio Chrysostom	c. 40-c. 112 A. D.
Plutarch	c. 50-c. 125 A. D.
Longus	Second Century A. D.
Athenaeus	Second Century A. D.
Pausanias	c. 130-c. 175 A. D.
Hesychius	Fifth Century A. D.
Suidas	Tenth Century A. D.

Latin

Livius Andronicus	c. 284-c. 204 B. C.
Naevius	c. 270-c. 204 B. C.
Plautus	c. 254-184 B. C.
Terence	c. 190-159 B. C.
Cicero	106-43 B. C.
Sallust	86-35 B. C.
Vergil	70-19 B. C.

Horace	65-8 B. C.
Livy	59 B. C.-17 A. D.
Valerius Maximus	c. 47 B. C.-30 A. D.
Ovid	43 B. C.-18 A. D.
Seneca	c. 1-65 A. D.
Persius	34-62 A. D.
Quintilian	c. 35-100 A. D.
Martial	c. 40-c. 104 A. D.
Tacitus	c. 55-118 A. D.
Juvenal	55 (?) -c. 135 A. D.
Suetonius	c. 70-150 A. D.
Ulpian	-----228 A. D.
Augustine	354-430 A. D.
Macrobius	410 (?) A. D.-----
Isidore	c. 570-636 A. D.

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1. Trans. from Sandys, The Odes of Pindar.
2. Trans. from Kenyon in The Works of Aristotle, edited by W. D. Ross, Vol. X.
3. Trans. from Murray, Homer--The Iliad, Vol. II.
4. Ibid.
5. Trans. from Murray, Homer--The Iliad, Vol. I.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. See note 3.
10. Trans. from Smyth, Aeschylus, Vol. II.
11. No note.
12. Harper's Latin Dictionary.
13. Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, p. 290.
14. See note 12.
15. Trans. from Butler, The Institutio Oratoria, Vol. I.
16. Ibid.
17. See note 12.
18. Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin.
19. Trans. from Frazer, Fasti of Ovid, Vol. I, p. 103.

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1. Van Hook, p. 145.
2. Trans. from Rogers, Aristophanes, Vol. III.
3. Becker, Charicles, p. 217.
4. Trans. from Gulick, Athenaeus--Deipnosophists, Vol. IV.
5. Trans. from Thompson in The Works of Aristotle, edited by W. D. Ross, Vol. IV.
6. Trans. from Murray, Homer--The Odyssey, Vol. II.

7. Seymour, Life in the Homeric Age, p. 141.
8. Trans. from Murray, Homer--The Iliad, Vol. I.
9. Trans. from Edmonds, The Characters of Theophrastus.
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11. Trans. from Pabbitt, Plutarch's Moralia, Vol. I.
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19. Trans. from Jowett, Dialogues of Plato (Protagoras).
20. See note 11.
21. Ibid.
22. See note 8.
23. De Forest, A Short History of Art.
24. See note 15.
25. Trans. from Kenyon in The Works of Aristotle, edited by W. D. Ross, Vol. X.
26. Trans. from Marchant, Xenophon--Memorabilia and Oeconomicus.
27. Trans. from Forster, Isaeus.
28. See note 16.
29. Trans. from Jowett, Dialogues of Plato.
30. See note 25.
31. Ibid.
32. See note 18.
33. See note 14.
34. Trans. from Godley's Herodotus.
35. Trans. from Marchant, Xenophon--Scripta Minora.
36. See note 16.

37. See note 19.
38. See note 35.
39. See note 29.
40. See note 11.
41. See note 26.

### Chapter III

1. Plautus, Amphitryon, 499-501.
2. Terence, Heautontimorumenos, 626-630, 649-652.
3. Terence, Andria, 219.
4. Livy, I, 4.
5. Ovid, Tristia, IV, 3, 46.
6. Suetonius, Augustus, 5; Nero, 6.
7. Augustine, De Civitate Dei, IV, 11.
8. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 16, 36.
9. Plautus, Menaechmi, prologue, 19.
10. Plautus, Truculentus, 902-908.
11. Wilson, The Roman Toga, Fig. 17, C.
12. Ibid.
13. Juvenal, Satires, V, 164-165.
14. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 6, 8-9.
15. Plautus, Rudens, 1171.
16. See note 13.
17. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 6, 13-14.
18. Persius, Satires, V, 30-31.
19. See note 10.
20. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I, 1, 4-5.
21. Tacitus, Agricola, IV.
22. Tacitus, Dialogue concerning Oratory, XXVIII.

23. Smith, Latin Selections,
24. Ulpian, X, 5 (as quoted in Becker's Gallus, p. 181).
25. Valerius Maximus, V, 8, 2.
26. Sallust, Catiline, XXXIX.
27. Plautus, Truculentus, II, 7, 46.
28. Isidore, Origines, XX, 2, 10 (as quoted in Becker's Gallus, p. 453).
29. Livy, XXXIV, 7, 2-3.
30. Isidore, Origines, XIX, 24, 16 (as quoted in Wilson's Roman Toga, p. 51).
31. Macrobius, Saturmalia, I, 6, 8-10.
32. See note 12.
33. Sandys, Companion to Latin Studies, p. 229.
34. Vergil, Aeneid, V, 545-602 (see note 50).
35. See note 33.
36. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I, 1, 15-19.
37. Livy, III, 44.
38. Tacitus, Dialogue concerning Oratory, XXIX.
39. Horace, Satires, I, 6, 65-80.
40. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I, 2, 1-29.
41. Ibid., I, 1, 24-37.
42. Horace, Satires, I, 1, 25.
43. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I, 4, 1.
44. Ibid., I, 8, 5-7.
45. Cicero, De Legibus, II, 23, 59.
46. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, I, 3, 13.
47. Martial, Epigrams, IX, 68.
48. Ibid., V, 84.
49. Seneca, Troades, 777 ff.
50. Vergil, Aeneid, V, 545-602.

At pater Aeneas nondum certamine misso  
custodem ad sese comitemque inpubis Iuli

But, when the contest has not yet  
been ended, Father Aeneas summons

Epytiden vocat et fidam sic iatur ad  
aurem:  
'Vade age et Ascanio, si iam puerile  
paratum  
agmen havet secum cursusque instruxit  
equorum,  
ducat avo turmas et sese ostendat in  
armis,  
dic,' ait. Ipse omnem longo decedere  
circo  
infusum populum et campos iubet esse  
patentis.  
In cedunt pueri pariterque ante ora  
parentum  
frenatis lucent in equis, quos omnis  
euntis  
Trinacriae mirata fremit Troiasque  
iuventus.  
Omnibus in morem tonsa coma pressa  
corona;  
cornea bina ferunt praefixa hastilia  
ferre,  
pars levis umero pharetras; it pectore  
summa  
flexilis obterti per collum circulus  
auri.  
Tres equitum numero turmae, ternique  
vagantur  
ductores; pueri bis seni quemque secuti

Epytides, attendant and companion of  
the young Iulus and speaks thus to his  
faithful ear: "Come now, go and tell  
Ascanius (if he now has ready with him  
his band of boys and has arranged the  
courses for the horses) to lead his  
troop of cavalry, and display themselves  
in arms in honor of his grandfather."  
He then ordered all the people to with-  
draw from the long race course and the  
fields to be open. The boys advance and  
on their curbed horses shine equally be-  
fore the eyes of their parents; and ad-  
miring all of them as they advance the  
youth of Trinacria and Troy applauds. Ac-  
cording to the custom the hair of all is  
bound with a trimmed garland; they bear,  
two each, two cornel spears apiece tipped  
with iron; a part of them bear light  
quivers on their shoulders; a pliant  
circlet of twisted gold goes over the  
neck from the top of the breast. In  
squadrons of cavalry three in number  
their three leaders ride to and fro;  
twelve boys following each are resplen-  
dent in the divided line and with equal  
leaders. There is one joyful line of  
youths which the little Priam, bearing  
the name of his grandfather, leads

agnine partito fulgent paribusque  
magistris.  
Una acies iuvenum, ducit quam parvus  
ovantem  
nomen avi referens Priamus, tua clara,  
Polite,  
progenies, auctura Italos, quem Thracius  
albis  
portat ecus bicolor maculis vestigia  
primi  
alba pedis frontemque ostentans arduus  
albam;  
alter Atys, genus unde Atii duxere Latini,  
parvus Atys pueroque puer dilectus Iulo;  
extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher  
Iulus  
Sidonis est invectus equo, quem candida  
Dido  
esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus  
amoris.  
Cetera Trinacriis pubes senioris Aestae  
fertur equis.  
Excipiunt plausu pavidos gaudentque tuentes  
Dardanidae veterumque agnoscunt ora  
parentum.  
Postquam omnem laeti consessum oculosque  
suorum  
lustravere in equis, signum clamore paratis  
Epytides longe dedit insonuitque flagello.

(your famous offspring, O Polites, des-  
tined to augment the Italians), whom a  
spirited Thracian steed dappled with  
white spots carries, displaying vestiges  
of white on the fore of the foot and a  
white forehead; next is Atys (whence the  
Latin Atii have derived their race), Atys  
a little boy and beloved by the boy Iu-  
lus; last and beautiful in form beyond all  
Iulus is borne on a Sidonian horse, which  
fair Dido had given him as a memorial and  
token of her love. The other youths are  
borne on Sicilian steeds of the elder  
Aestes. The Dardanidae receive the timid  
ones with applause and rejoice as they be-  
hold them and recognize the faces of  
their ancestors. After the boys had joy-  
fully passed before on their horses the  
whole assembly and the eyes of their pa-  
rents, Epytides gave from afar the pre-  
pared ones a signal with a shout from a  
distance and sounded his whip. They gal-  
loped equally and the three leaders sep-  
erated as the troops were drawn apart, and  
called again, they wheeled and pre-  
sented hostile weapons; they then be-  
gin other courses and other returns,  
wheeling in their tracks from opposite  
spaces interweave circles with circles

Olli discurrere pares atque agmina terni  
diductis solvere choris rursusque vocati  
convertere vias infestaque tela tulere;  
inde alios ineunt curses aliosque  
recursus  
adversi spatiis alternosque orbibus orbis  
impediunt pugnaeque clement simulacra  
sub armis  
et nunc terga fuga nudant, nunc spicula  
vertunt  
infensi, facta pariter nunc pace feruntur.  
Ut quondam Creta fertur Labyrinthus in  
alta  
parietibus textum caecis iter ancipitemque  
mille viis habuisse dolum, qua signa  
sequendi  
falleret indeprencus et enreueabilis error,  
haud alio Teucrum nati vestigia cursu  
impediunt textuntque fugas et proelia ludo  
delphinum similes, qui per maria umida  
nando  
Carpathium Libycumque secant luduntque  
per undas.  
Hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina  
primus  
Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam,  
rettulit et priscos docuit celebrare  
Latinos,  
quo puer ipse modo, securus quo Troia pubes;

and incite pretended battles under  
arms, and now they show their  
backs in flight, now hostile they turn  
their darts, now with peace restored  
they are borne along together. As  
once the Labyrinth in lofty Crete  
is said to have had a path built  
with blind walls and a perplexing  
maze with a thousand paths where  
mistake and irretaceable wander-  
ing would render useless the signs  
for following; in no other way do the  
sons of the Teucrians interweave  
tracks and fashion retreats and battles  
in sport, like dolphins which in  
swimming through the moist seas  
cut the Carpathian and Libyan  
waters and sport about through  
the waves. This custom of the  
race and these contests Ascanius  
was the first to report when he  
built the walls of Alba Longa and  
he taught the old Latins to celebrate,  
in the same manner in which he as a  
boy himself and the Trojan youths  
with him did; the Albani taught their  
sons, and greatest Rome later re-  
ceived the custom, preserved it as  
an ancestral honor now called

Albani docuere sucs; hinc maxima porro  
accepit Roma et patrium servavit honorem,  
Troiaque nunc pueri, Troianum dicitur  
agmen.

"Troy", the boys, "Trojan  
Band."

51. Livy, XXVIII, 37, 5-13.

52. Horace, Carmina, IV, 6.

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