ABSTRACT

THE REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN IN HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE: CONTINUITY OR CHANGE?

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From the late Neolithic period to the Hellenistic period, ancient Greek literature and art are filled with images of the escapades of children, both mortal and immortal. What distinguishes the representations in the Hellenistic period, however, is that they appear to reflect a society-wide change in the perception and valuation of children. This shift is demonstrated by the appearance of new forms of iconography as seen by the extant examples of freestanding and relief sculpture. The purpose of this thesis is to explore these supposedly new forms of iconography, including their character and number, and to compare them with their earlier Classical counterparts, thereby assessing whether they do indeed constitute a shift not only in imagery but also in social attitudes toward children.
THE REPRESENTATION OF CHILDREN IN HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE:
CONTINUITY OR CHANGE?

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A very special thank you goes to my mother, Kat Heller, who listened to me panic and who has edited and read my thesis almost as many times as I have. I love you Mutti.
DEDICATION

For Mom and Dad - thank you for always believing in me.
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CHAPTER 1: OVERVIEW OF CHILDREN IN ANCIENT GREEK ART AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Ancient Greek literature and art are filled with images of the escapades of children, both mortal and immortal: they play ball,¹ pester their elder siblings,² and weep at their mothers’ deaths, among many other themes.³ These representations appear as early as the late Neolithic period⁴ and continue to be depicted throughout the Hellenistic period, the period that forms the focus of this thesis. What distinguishes the representations in the Hellenistic period, however, is that they appear to reflect a society-wide change in the perception and valuation of children. This shift, according to scholarly convention, is demonstrated by the appearance of new forms of iconography as seen by the extant examples of freestanding and relief sculpture. The aim of this thesis is to explore these supposedly new forms of iconography, including their character and number, and to assess whether they do indeed constitute a shift not only in imagery but also in social attitudes toward children.

Representations in Art

Representations of children in Greek art changed significantly in number, content, and context from the earliest examples in the Neolithic period to those dating to the Hellenistic period and beyond. Late Neolithic and Bronze age sculptures of children largely depicted them in funerary and domestic contexts, as demonstrated by examples from both mainland Greece and Crete.5 It is from this period that the first kourotrophos (child-nourisher) dates,6 a type that continues to be popular throughout Greek art. In the Geometric and Orientalizing periods, mythological scenes begin to be depicted, with scenes from the epic tales of Homer appearing to be particularly popular.7 These themes carry on into the Archaic period, in which children are once more depicted in domestic and ritual scenes. They can also be seen in representations of mythological scenes, which expand to include three different types: the birth of a god or hero, child heroes being sent off to train under mythological creatures, and children being negatively affected by war.8 Moreover, during this period new representations of children at work and play emerge, as well as more detailed scenes of mothers caring for their children.9 Throughout these periods, depictions of children are characterized by their adult physiognomies, which are simply miniaturized in order to convey youth. Sometimes the children are represented in poses that mimic those of real children, but these occurrences are rare.10 However, it must be kept in mind that sometimes adults are also depicted as miniatures due to a lack of space within the picture, as

5 Oakley, 2013, 147.
7 Oakley, 2013, 148-149.
8 Oakley, 2013, 153-54.
9 Oakley, 2013, 150.
10 Oakley, 2013, 148.
seen on a late Geometric krater from Kerameikos (Fig. 1). Consequently, small stature is not necessarily a sign that an individual is a child.\textsuperscript{11}

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there are significantly more depictions of children in art dating from the Classical period. In particular, an increased interest in children appears to manifest itself after 430 BCE, especially in Athenian funerary art. Various scholars have suggested that this is a reaction to the population loss caused by the Peloponnesian War, a possibility we will discuss further in the third chapter.\textsuperscript{12} However, despite the increased number of examples, the nature of the scenes being portrayed remained much the same as during the Archaic period. In addition to this increase in quantity, however, there was one almost completely new type of visual tradition that grew in popularity during this period: images of children in danger or actively being harmed.\textsuperscript{13} Moreover, there is a decline in the number of children who look like adults; rather, children begin to be depicted with realistically-modeled child physiognomy, gestures, and poses.\textsuperscript{14} This desire to represent children mimetically continues into the Hellenistic period, during which countless examples of children were realistically rendered in freestanding sculptures and on votive and funerary reliefs. Once again, however, a new style developed. This consisted of the generic statues of children in the round that were used as votive dedications.\textsuperscript{15} Although these statues differ from each other with regards to specific features, there appears to be no evidence that they were meant to be portraits. Another remarkable aspect of these statues are the small animals and objects found on many, if not most, of them. Various scholars have

\textsuperscript{11} Oakley, 2013, 148.
\textsuperscript{12} J. H. Oakley, “Children in Athenian Funerary Art During the Peloponnesian War.” In \textit{Art in Athens During the Peloponnesian War}, ed. O. Palagia (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2009), 231.
\textsuperscript{13} Oakley, 2013, 159.
\textsuperscript{14} Oakley, 2013, 156.
suggested that these were possibly the pets and favorite toys of the child; another theory is that they were meant to represent imagery related to their function as votive dedications.16

**Historiography**

In recent years, scholars have debated the roles and significance of children within society during the Hellenistic period. Many scholars, such as Olympia Bobou, argue that a new interest in children occurred during this period, as evidenced by their increased presence in art and literature. Other scholars, however, particularly Mark Golden, argue that no such shift occurred, contending that the trends scholars have identified were in fact already present in Archaic and Classical art, but that those continuities have been overlooked. For the purposes of this work, I will be comparing Hellenistic and Classical representations of children: first by applying formal analysis to a selection of Hellenistic works, and then by assessing whether the same themes are indeed already present in Classical art.

In her comprehensive study of this topic, *Children in the Hellenistic World: Statues and Representation*, Olympia Bobou painstakingly examines every example of children from the fourth century onward. She focuses in particular on votive statues, which she asserts are “manifestations of the growing importance of the role of the family within the various communities.”17 Bobou organizes her book into four parts, examining in turn literary sources, iconography, extant marble artefacts and the sites at which they have been found, and finally, the different types of media in which they were carved.

16 Bobou, 2015, 77.
17 Bobou, 2015, 122.
Bobou begins by evaluating the literary sources and funerary inscriptions in order to determine what they can tell us about ancient Greek beliefs about and attitudes toward children. She examines the works of Plato and Aristotle, legal documents, plays, and medical texts, all of which lead her to conclude that children were valued and active participants in family life who could participate in festivals, assume supporting roles in rituals, and even serve as priests.\textsuperscript{18}

In the next chapter of Bobou’s book, she analyzes the iconography of the statues. She examines them first by age, breaking them down into four different age groups: infants; two to five years old; five to eight years old; and nine to twelve years old and slightly older. This analysis reveals that although there are no clear-cut distinctions between the groups, there are generalizations that can be made to distinguish one group from the other.\textsuperscript{19} Bobou subsequently considers how representations of young boys and girls were influenced by representations of adults. She notes that although boys of all ages were depicted in the nude, female children were always dressed in some manner and lacked any of the outward trappings of sexuality that were present in depictions of goddesses.\textsuperscript{20}

The next two chapters make up the majority of Bobou’s book as they contain her analysis of specific artifacts and the sites where they were found. The first of these chapters is the more extensive of the two, dealing with statues of children that were found in sanctuaries. As she notes, although some statues of children were found in the sanctuaries of deities unrelated to childhood, the majority were discovered in sanctuaries dedicated to gods and goddesses who are associated with childbirth, such as Artemis; with healing, such as Asklepios; or with children in

\textsuperscript{18} Bobou, 2015, 32-36.
\textsuperscript{19} Bobou, 2015, 48.
\textsuperscript{20} Bobou, 2015, 48-50.
general, such as Apollo.\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, it is from these sanctuaries that a significant number of the extant statues of children has been found. Seventy-seven different statues and fragments were discovered at the Brauron sanctuary to Artemis alone, while still more were unearthed at other sanctuaries throughout the Greece.\textsuperscript{22} Numerous statue bases have also been found, often with partial inscriptions carved upon them. These inscriptions name the dedicators and sometimes the reason for the dedication: for example, a statement of thanks for a miracle, a request for one, or just a simple prayer. From these statues and inscriptions, Bobou concludes that children were valued members of their families and communities.

The number of votive statues discovered at houses and in tombs is comparably small. Only eight have been definitively connected to houses, and only five to tombs.\textsuperscript{23} Furthermore, Bobou notes the intriguing absence of children in civic spaces, which she interprets as meaning that such spaces were not appropriate for depictions of children.\textsuperscript{24} She also draws attention to the fact that the statues of children found in these sites are typologically identical to those found in sanctuaries, giving evidence of the "visual multi-valence of Greek statues."\textsuperscript{25} The same statues could be used to convey a wide number of meanings in the Greek world.

The final two chapters of Bobou’s work cover statues that were carved in a different medium or in a different style: namely, terracotta statuettes in the round and marble relief sculpture. Terracotta statuettes have been found in the same kinds of spaces as marble statues: cemeteries, sanctuaries, and houses. Thus, Bobou explains, they offer comparable data, providing insight into how depictions of children changed from medium to medium. The most

\textsuperscript{21} Bobou, 2015, 55. \\
\textsuperscript{22} Bobou, 2015, 56. \\
\textsuperscript{23} Bobou, 2015, 79. \\
\textsuperscript{24} Bobou, 2015, 79. \\
\textsuperscript{25} Bobou, 2015, 85.
obvious difference between the two media is the difference in iconographic styles. A remarkably large number (745) of different types of terracotta statuettes has been catalogued, with 477 of these representing boys and only 48 depicting girls.\textsuperscript{26} The remaining 220 were used to represent Erotes and ephebes, and thus can be disregarded due to their difference in body structure from those of children. In contrast, there are only around 50 different categories of marble statues, something that Bobou attributes to the level of difficulty and cost associated with that medium.\textsuperscript{27} Because of the increased number of types in terracotta statuettes, more information can be gleaned about children in the Hellenistic period from these terracotta statues than from those carved from marble.

In her discussion of Hellenistic relief statues, Bobou focuses on votive and funerary reliefs. Votive reliefs, she explains, fall into three categories: children being presented to a deity, children taking part in a procession towards a deity, and children praying to the deity with their families. As Bobou argues, the family unit is the focus of these reliefs because it was the family that was publicly making the dedications, dedications that all the visitors to the sanctuary would witness. Reliefs also provide information about the role that religion played in the lives of children, who are depicted participating in rituals at ages as young as two or four.\textsuperscript{28} The depictions of children in funerary reliefs, on the other hand, are very similar to their counterparts in the round.\textsuperscript{29} The same approximate ages are portrayed, and the differences in clothing between the two genders is the same as well. Additionally, Bobou stresses that just as with the votive reliefs, family is the central theme of these reliefs.

\textsuperscript{26}Bobou, 2015, 55.
\textsuperscript{27}Bobou, 2015, 97.
\textsuperscript{28}Bobou, 2015, 99-102.
\textsuperscript{29}Bobou, 2015, 113.
In contrast to Bobou’s emphatic claims that Hellenistic art supports the argument that perceptions of children and families changed in the Hellenistic period, Golden claims that the exact opposite is true. Indeed, in his forthcoming article, “Children and the Hellenistic Period,” he maintains that despite the preponderance of scholarship arguing to the contrary, children were not given new prominence during the Hellenistic period. Rather, the ‘changes’ that other scholars believe to have developed during this period were actually present in earlier art and literature as well, or were not as significant as they appear.

Golden begins his article by examining literary descriptions of children in the Archaic and Classical periods and comparing them to those in the Hellenistic period. To this end, he analyzes the 2013 article written by Louise Pratt, “Play, Pathos, and Precocity: The Three P’s of Greek Literary Childhood,” which argues that there are three themes that characterize representations of children in Archaic and Classical Greek literature: play, pathos, and precocity. Golden then cites examples of these three themes in Hellenistic literature and art. By doing so, he is able to infer that children were viewed in much the same way during the Hellenistic period as during the Archaic and Classical periods.

After determining that there are significant similarities between children in Classical and Hellenistic art and literature, Golden lists five problems with the assertion that children were given new emphasis during the Hellenistic period. The first problem is the gaps present in literature. Whereas there are countless examples of surviving Classical literature, the number of examples from the Hellenistic period is relatively low. Moreover, those that do survive provide

no evidence that children were treated any differently than before. The next problem is that the differences that do occur between Hellenistic and Classical periods might be consequences of the desires of the artist or author rather than the result of social changes. Shifts in literature, Golden argues, have roots in older stories. As evidence, he compares the Hellenistic poems of Callimachus to the much earlier *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, maintaining that each shows the same interest in the childhood of gods and heroes. The third problem is that the visual themes that many scholars have taken as evidence are actually present in earlier art. Golden argues that children are present on funerary stelai as early as the 450s, while Attic *choes* and white ground *lekythoi* are rendered with realistically chubby babies shortly thereafter. Golden does concede that classicists such as Bobou have incorporated Late Classical art, but contends that this incorporation only proves his point that there is evidence dating from earlier than the Hellenistic period. The penultimate problem that Golden identifies is that many of the developments used as evidence only affected a part of the expansive Hellenistic Greek world. Therefore, any changes that occurred were likely the result of powerful individuals rather than sweeping changes in attitudes throughout the Greek world. Finally, the last problem that Golden sees with these generalizations about Hellenistic perceptions is just that: they are generalizations. And although necessary, generalizations can be dangerous, and often gloss over important details that might alter the overall picture.

Golden spends the second half of his article examining three changes in social practices that may have occurred in the lives of children that would provide concrete proof that

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32 Golden, forthcoming, 3-4.
33 Golden, forthcoming, 4.
34 Golden, forthcoming, 6.
36 Golden, forthcoming, 7.
perceptions of them were indeed changing. The changes that he considers are in the exposure of newborns, the adoption of infants and children, and athletic competitions for boys. However, he concludes that none of these areas yields satisfactory evidence in support of this theory of widespread social changes in the Hellenistic period.

First, there appears to have been an increase in the exposure of infants throughout the Hellenistic period, as evidenced by a significant difference between the number of girls and boys in the families of mercenaries granted citizenship in Miletus in the late third century BCE. Although different scholars have provided different theories to explain this seeming increase, the explanation that most interests Golden is Marieluisse Deissmann-Merten’s argument that this exposure became morally problematic in the Hellenistic period as a result of a new belief in a child’s “right to live.” Golden counters this by reasoning that this supposed interest in a child’s right to live is not apparent in any of the contemporary literature, not even in those works that specifically have characters who were exposed as infants. Moreover, he argues that it is possible that the rate of exposure did not actually increase, but rather that the data was skewed by families not registering daughters until they are older. This apparent change is interesting, as it contradicts the theory that children were more valued in the Hellenistic period. However, because this thesis utilizes art historical analysis, and any evidence of this apparent change is found in the written record, this change is ultimately immaterial to this study.

The next ostensible difference in the Hellenistic period was an increase in the adoption of children. Although this is a developing area of study, and as such Golden’s section on it was brief, he allows that Classical Athenian lawsuits provide evidence of the popularity of adoptions

37 Golden, forthcoming, 10.
during the fifth century, and that there is also evidence of this in the eastern Mediterranean provinces of the Roman Empire. However, Golden notes that there is no tangible evidence of any increase in the adoption of children during the Hellenistic period proper.  

Finally, Golden turns to the apparent increase in opportunities for young boys to participate in athletic competitions during the Hellenistic period. Various athletic competitions throughout Greece, both local and panhellenic, added categories for young boys between the second and third centuries BCE. Golden argues that rather than this being an indication of increased favor towards children, it was likely an attempt by the organizers to have more local winners and therefore to accrue more glory for their cities. By allowing more competitors, more locals were permitted to compete and, due to home-field advantage and the distance that other boys would need to travel to compete, they were more likely to win.  

Golden ends his article by discussing the one area in Hellenistic society where he does see change: the educational system. In the late third century, various members of the Greek elite classes created endowments that would pay for the schooling of children. However, Golden maintains that despite the undeniable benefits that children received as a result of this change, it was not motivated out of a new interest in the welfare of children, but was likely the result of the increase in euergetism that colored the Hellenistic period overall. Yet there were positive changes that occurred as a consequence of this increase in education, largely in the lives of females. There were more female poets, scientists, scholars, philosophers, and artists in the

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40 Golden, forthcoming, 11.  
41 Golden, forthcoming, 12.  
42 Golden, forthcoming, 14.
Hellenistic period than ever before. And although some of the women were likely home-schooled, a number of the benefactors specified that girls were permitted to be educated as well.

Conclusions

Because of the tendency towards mythological and fantastical stories in literature, this thesis will center on extant sculptures from the Hellenistic and Classical periods, which provide a clearer lens into the everyday lives of ancient children than representations of mythological scenes do. However, there are certain considerations that must be taken into account as we move forward. First, there is the question of whether depictions of children in public art such as votive and funerary sculpture indicate genuine bereavement for the child as an individual or whether they suggest a desire to portray that child as part of an ideal family – whether it existed or not – in order to present a favorable image to the polis. Second, just as Golden warned, we must be wary of making too many generalizations about children based on the surviving evidence. It should always be kept in mind that what survives is only a small part of the corpus. We do not know what we do not have. Finally, when examining scenes from mythology, we must be aware that the events shown do not reflect the typical lives of ancient children; therefore, we will strive to utilize representations of mortal children, rather than the immortal. However, there are also advantages to focusing on artistic evidence and leaving aside literature, for it is through art that we become aware of a possible shift in perception during this time and it is through art that the lives of ordinary children may be glimpsed. And although Golden does briefly discuss the

43 Golden, forthcoming, 15.
manifestation of these seemingly new attitudes towards children in Classical art, he does not fully explore the implications of the archaeological evidence. This thesis seeks to close that gap.

This thesis will be focusing specifically on sculptural examples from the Hellenistic period in order to allow for a narrower focus and a more straightforward comparison to Classical sculpture. I have also chosen to focus on sculpture because it is in this medium that the majority of Hellenistic representations of children are found, thereby providing me with the broadest collection from which to choose my examples. Furthermore, because only a few case studies will be considered, choosing the appropriate works of art was essential. For an ideal comparison, the examples would be, at a minimum, (1) well preserved, (2) discovered in situ, and (3) include their original inscriptions. However, such examples are unfortunately rare. Consequently, because this thesis is a work of art historical analysis, I have prioritized works that permit greater opportunities for visual analysis: that is, they are well preserved versus those found in situ or with inscriptions but which have not been as well preserved. Additionally, it should be noted that I will be focusing specifically on freeborn children, thereby avoiding the ambiguity of determining whether a slave ‘child’ is actually a child or merely an adult that has been portrayed with the iconography of a child (an issue discussed further in the next chapter). And now, in our attempt to answer the question of whether the lives of children changed during the Hellenistic period in Greece, we turn to that archaeological evidence.
CHAPTER 2: FORMAL ANALYSIS OF HELLENISTIC SCULPTURE: OVERVIEW AND CASE STUDIES

The ways in which children were represented in Hellenistic art varied widely: they could be depicted clothed (Fig. 6) or in the nude (Fig. 7), as infants or pre-pubescent (Fig. 9), alone (Fig. 12) or with family (Fig. 8). These variations and many more were dependent upon numerous factors, chief among them being the child’s age, gender, and social status. Consequently, in order to examine and discuss Hellenistic works containing representations of children, we must first seek to measure and understand the impact of these factors.

Age Groups

The most significant, and deceptive, element that dictated how children were represented was their age. Although it is easy to differentiate between the visualization of a newborn and a youth on the cusp of puberty, the ages in between are not so easily identifiable. While there has been much debate amongst scholars about how the stages of Greek childhood were marked and conceptualized, scholars generally posit that childhood was divided into three or four groups. Lesley Beaumont suggests that there were four categories: infancy, ranging from birth to three years old; early childhood, from three to seven years old; older childhood, from seven years old
to puberty; and adolescence, which ended when the child became an adult.¹ In contrast, in her study of the Athenian Kerameikos, Sane Houby-Nielson identifies three age groups of child burials: newborns to one-year-olds, one to three- or four-year-olds, and three- or four- to eight- to ten-year-olds.²

Bobou, however, argues that this scholarship does not take into account literary and archaeological evidence from the late fourth century and Hellenistic periods.³ Furthermore, she notes that many literary sources place particular emphasis on the age of seven. It was at seven that formal schooling began, and, according to Aristophanes’ fifth-century play Lysistrata, it was at seven that children were first permitted to participate actively in the religious rites of the polis.⁴ Accordingly, in place of the traditional groups, Bobou suggests four categories of her own: (1) infants between six and twenty-four months old, (2) children between two and four years old, (3) children between five and eight years old, and (4) children between nine and twelve years old.⁵ Moreover, Bobou identifies specific physical characteristics that are associated with these age groups, which can in turn be employed to analyze both Hellenistic and Classical sculpture more accurately.

The first age group, infancy, is characterized by soft and overly fleshy bodies with disproportionately large heads. These babies are sometimes shown with pets such as geese or puppies⁶ and are always depicted sitting down, often with their arms raised as if asking to be

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³ Bobou, 2015, 47.
⁵ Bobou, 2015, 47.
picked up. Bobou notes that this style of representation is quite realistic, as ‘real’ children would not be able to stand at that age.\(^7\)

Children in the next group, ranging from two to four years old, could be represented in either in a seated or standing position (Fig. 10). Like infants, these children are often accompanied by small animals, but they also occasionally clutch playthings such as dolls or balls. Bobou points out that these representations are less realistic, as the child’s grasp of the toy is tighter than that of which a child of that age would be capable.\(^8\) The physiognomic features that characterize these toddlers are chubby bodies and faces, short limbs, and noticeably rounded stomachs. They are also shown with disproportionately large heads similar to those found on toddlers and are frequently smiling either at the viewer, their pet, or at something else that only they could see.\(^9\)

Representations of children ages five to eight years old are distinctly different from those of toddlers and infants.\(^{10}\) Their heads are in correct proportion to the rest of the body and, although they still possess chubby bodies and faces, their limbs are longer and their faces leaner than the round faces of infants and toddlers. Additionally, children in this age group are always represented standing, and the animals that they hold are struggling to escape rather than sitting placidly. Bobou does observe, however, that when children of this age are shown holding toys and other inanimate objects, it is with a delicacy that mirrors the actual increase in fine motor skills that real children would possess by that age.\(^{11}\) Finally, unlike younger children and infants,  

\(^{7}\) Bobou, 2015, 48.  
\(^{8}\) Bobou, 2015, 48.  
\(^{9}\) Bobou, 2015, 48.  
\(^{10}\) See Fig. 6 for example.  
\(^{11}\) Bobou, 2015, 48.
five- to eight-year-olds are rarely seen smiling but instead more frequently exhibit serious 
expressions.

The last group that Bobou discusses, children between nine and twelve years old, are 
distinguished even more from their younger counterparts. The children in these depictions are 
shown with very little fat on their bodies, although their musculatures are still those of pre-
pubescence, soft and slightly plump. Their faces may retain some of the chubby qualities of 
youth, but this is not always the case. Additionally, it is in this group that the first divisions 
between representations of boys and girls begin to occur, with the boys always appearing 
focused and serious while the girls are smiling.¹² These children continue to hold animals and 
toys in a manner identical to five- to eight-year-olds and are also always portrayed standing.

*Differences in Gender*

The second noteworthy factor that influences how children were represented in 
Hellenistic sculpture is gender. Just as with their adult counterparts, boys and girls were depicted 
in very different ways, each characterized by iconography that is similar to their adult 
equivalents. However, the primary difference between how male and female children were 
represented is in how they were dressed. Although both genders could be depicted clothed, boys 
are frequently nude or in a himation that exposed their genitalia and highlighted their sexuality. 
Girls, on the other hand, were much more likely to be shown completely dressed in a 
conservative fashion. Bobou proposes that these conventions mirror gender roles in society, 
citing statues of fully-dressed adults as evidence.¹³ Boys were portrayed in ways similar to adult

¹² Bobou, 2015, 48.
¹³ Bobou, 2015, 52.
males, with the iconography of soldiers, athletes, and citizens. This included everything from clothing, with boys wearing the himations, chlamyses, and chitons in a style traditionally used for statues of athletes, to stances and postures, which frequently mirrored those found on statues of adult males.\textsuperscript{14} Girls, on the other hand, were given the appearance of mothers and wives, wearing himatia and chitons reminiscent of those worn by ideal wives.\textsuperscript{15}

The other significant difference between representations of males and females can be found in the items that they hold. As we have seen, children of all ages were depicted with various animals, but what is notable is that particular items appear to be gender-based. For example, girls are more frequently accompanied by doves and hares and they often hold fruit. In contrast, boys rarely hold fruit; instead, they clutch knucklebones and are frequently surrounded by ducks, pigs, and dogs.\textsuperscript{16} This trend is likely related to how their adult counterparts were perceived in Greek society. Young girls, like women, were expected to be nurturing and gentle, and consequently held soft animals and delicate fruits, which may symbolize bounty and fertility. Boys on the other hand, like men, were expected to be tough and mischievous, traits often associated with the animals they held.

\textit{Social Status}

Social status is another leading factor that affects Hellenistic representations of children. However, this is also the most complex component since slaves, including adult slaves, were often shown in the same sculptural style as freeborn children, with each being depicted with

\textsuperscript{14} Bobou, 2015, 48-52.
\textsuperscript{15} Bobou, 2015, 50-52.
\textsuperscript{16} For a detailed graph of the objects and animals held by children see Bobou, 2015, fig. 20.
diminutive statures and youthful physiognomies. Consequently, it can be difficult to differentiate between figures that were meant to represent slaves and those meant to represent children. Golden attributes this ambiguity to the inherent duality of the Greek word *pais*, meaning both ‘slave’ and ‘child,’ something that he believes stems from the idea that children and slaves held a similar status in Athenian society.

However, there are certain traits that aid us in differentiating freeborn children from slaves, the most obvious of these being the race of the individual. Whereas the race of freeborn children is not emphasized, slaves are frequently depicted as Africans, recognizable by their thick, curly hair and full lips. Hierarchical scale is another way to differentiate between slaves and freeborn children. Although they are frequently shown as the same size in works that include adults, when children are alone with slaves, they tower over them. *The Grave Naiskos of Demainete with an Attendant Holding a Partridge* (Fig. 5) is a good example of this convention. Demainete is clearly a child, yet she is depicted as significantly larger than the slave who stands at her side, thereby emphasizing her relative importance, and concomitantly, the slave’s insignificance.

However, the most reliable way to identify slave children is through an examination of their body language. Just as freeborn children are shown with particular iconographies and body languages, so too are slaves. In fact, in her recent book *Body Language in Hellenistic Art and Society*, Jane Masséglia argues that slaves were represented with a completely unique body

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19 Bobou, 2015, 51.
20 Masséglia’s work is representative of the increasing interest of Classical art historians in the value of body language for providing insights into Greek and Roman society, especially gender roles. Earlier work in this vein has focused on adults: e.g., G. Davies, “On Being Seated: Gender and Body Language in Hellenistic and Roman Art,” in *Body Language in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, ed. D. Cairns (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2005) 215-238.
Masséglia catalogues the many ways that slaves were represented, with actions including holding items for their master, handing items to them, and gazing at or away from their master. Another distinctive pose is that of the slave resting his head in one hand, while the other arm is wrapped around his torso, a stance that is thought to symbolize mourning or possibly introspection. It is important to note here that, from the perspective of the Greek master and by extension the artist (who was commissioned to represent his interests), the slave is not simply daydreaming, but rather is to be understood as consumed by thoughts about his master. There are other poses that have been linked to slaves, such as a particular wrist hold and various arrangements of the arms and legs, but what is important is that these traits allow us to determine which individuals are freeborn children and which are slaves.

Methodologies

There are countless examples of children in Hellenistic art: they survive as terracotta figurines and marble votive statues; they are carved onto stelai and naïskoi; and they are found on amphorae and lekythoi. However, the purpose of this thesis is not to catalogue every example of Hellenistic representations of children or indeed every example of sculptural representations of children. As previously discussed, Bobou has already compiled a comprehensive study of this material. Instead, this thesis will examine just a few specific case studies, first utilizing formal analysis and an iconographic approach to analyze them individually in detail, and then ultimately

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21 Masséglia, 2015, 184-204.  
22 Masséglia, 2015, 188-196.  
23 Masséglia, 2015, 198-199.  
24 Masséglia, 2015, 199-201.
comparing the case studies with Classical representations of children in order to determine whether a distinct change in the social valuation and perception of children is discernible.

I have chosen four case studies on which to focus: two terracotta figurines that illustrate domestic scenes and two marble stelai and naiskoi that served as funerary monuments. These specific case studies allow me not only to examine marble – and, by extension, more costly – works, but also the more common and inexpensive terracotta works. This provides us with a glimpse into the lives of children from all freeborn classes. Additionally, in choosing my examples I have tried to be as expansive as possible within my set parameters, examining one terracotta figurine of two girls and one of two boys, and one funerary monument displaying a single child and one showing a family. Thus, I am attempting to achieve a broader perspective of the many ways in which children were represented, while acknowledging that in a study as limited in scope as this, total coverage is an impossibility.

**Terracotta Case Studies**

The first case studies are made from terracotta, a medium that could be fashioned in three different ways: shaped by hand, thrown on a wheel, or crafted with the aid of a mold. During the Hellenistic period, molded figurines began to be made using two molds, one comprising the back half of the work, and the other the front half. These terracotta statuettes had many functions. They could serve as votive dedications that could be found in shrines, as decorative items, as functional objects in the domestic sphere, or as personalized funerary dedications. Additionally, we should keep in mind that finding an object at a shrine or in a grave does not preclude the possibility that it may have been used in a household setting earlier in its ‘life.’ Objects could have many different functions over time.
As discussed above, the wide variety of terracotta figurine types provides important insight into the lives of children, allowing us to see children in many different social situations rather than just the few present on marble statues. This does not mean, however, that marble statues have nothing to offer, merely that terracotta statuettes provide a broader range of types for understanding the variety of children’s lives and experiences. Terracotta works also hold out the potential to offer insights into the lives of the lower classes, since they were significantly less expensive than their marble counterparts and therefore accessible to multiple strata of society.

**Terracotta Case Study #1**

The first case study has been dated to between the late fourth and early third century B.C.E. and is entitled *Girls Playing Ephedrismos* (Fig. 6). The polychrome terracotta group is approximately five inches tall and, based on the style in which the heads of the girls were rendered and how well it has been preserved, was likely a grave good that originated around the town of Tanagra.²⁵ The work depicts two girls, one riding the back of the other, playing the game known as *ephedrismos*. The pose of the two girls, with right knee of the rider bent and held by the carrier and the rider wrapping her arms around the torso of the carrier, is traditional of the game, much of which we know about from the second century CE author Julius Pollux, who describes the rules in his text the *Onomasticon*. Pollux writes:

> They place a stone upright on the ground and throw balls or pebbles at it from a distance. The one who fails to overturn the stone carries the other, having his eyes blindfolded by the rider’s hands, until – if he does not go astray – he touches the stone.²⁶

The carrier in this statue group is not blindfolded, but this is not a unique occurrence. Early black-figure representations, largely painted by the Theseus Painter, also depict players without blindfolds.\textsuperscript{27} Moreover, it is logical to assume that there were countless variations of the game, just as is the case with children’s games in modern times. Other depictions of this game, found on black- and red-figure pottery, show that it could be played in teams and was more commonly played by boys. It is not until the late fourth century that prepubescent girls are depicted playing it, although there are earlier examples of older females partaking, their mature age identifiable by their clearly defined breasts.\textsuperscript{28}

The two girls appear to be in the five to eight age group, with slender limbs and heads that are well-proportioned, but with faces that retain a youthful plumpness that belies an older age. Both girls have curly hair with traces of red paint and the remnants of white paint can be found on their faces and dresses. The chiton that each girl wears is thin enough that her limbs, and in the case of the carrier, bellybutton, are clearly visible. However, although the chitons are thin, there are no indications that this thin dress is intended to sexualize its subjects. As we will see, representations of little boys are entirely different in this regard.

The girl riding the carrier wears a crown, called a \textit{stephane}, and has a noticeably jovial expression, with smiling lips, an upturned head, and gleefully crinkled eyes. The rider’s cheeks, chin, and nose are noticeably rounder than those of the carrier, possibly indicating that she is the younger of the two. In contrast, the girl on the bottom wears a thick floral wreath on her head and a serious expression on her face, with downturned lips and bowed head. The wreath that she wears implies that the setting is that of a festival, a theory that is supported by our understanding.

\textsuperscript{27} Neils & Oakley, 2003, 275.
\textsuperscript{28} Beaumont, 2012, 132.
that “whenever children encounter one another [at festivals], they play, and ambitious tests of strength often ensue as well.”

The girl’s frown is possibly representative of her age, but the cheerful expression of the rider suggests another reason for her pout. While the rider is happy to have won the game, the carrier has lost and must therefore both carry the rider and seek out the stone. Thus, her serious expression likely reflects her disappointment at losing. Two other possibilities are that the expression is an indication that she is concentrating on finding the stone, or an indication of the exertion required to carry the other girl; however, the body language of the rider and carrier indicate otherwise. The carrier has her right leg braced in front of her while the rider’s left leg is swinging behind her, suggesting rapid movement forward that would be precipitated by the carrier lifting the rider. This action would imply that the second part of the game has just begun, indicating that not only would the girl not yet have begun searching for the stone, but that she also would not yet be feeling significant exertion.

This statue group is just one example of the many works that illustrate children’s games, a popular theme in Hellenistic art. Yet despite its prevalence, it should not be assumed that representations of children at play signify a new interest in children, as it was a well-established theme in both literature and art. There are literary references to children playing as early as Homer’s *Iliad*, wherein Achilles’ action of tearing down walls is compared to a child thoughtlessly destroying sandcastles that he has built. Additionally, vases dating to the Classical period have been found that have scenes of children playing together and with toys, and archaeological remains of toys have been found dating as far back as the middle Geometric

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30 Pratt, 2013, 228-229.
Moreover, scholars have posited that these playthings and depictions of play had deeper ritualistic and symbolic undertones and that viewing them as photographic evidence of fondness for children in antiquity would be anachronistic and misguided. Toys were often associated with the liminal states between age groups, and therefore frequently dedicated to the gods, upon marriage in the case of girls and upon reaching adolescence in the case of boys. Additionally, Plato and Aristotle considered play to be a valuable preparation for roles that children would occupy as adults; a boy constructing toy houses, for example, might become a carpenter or builder. This is underlined in Plato’s *Laws*, where he writes “We should live out our lives playing at certain pastimes.” Consequently, toys and images of children at play did not necessarily just celebrate childhood, but were also aspirational objects that symbolized the lives that these children might have as adults. This is not to say, however, that children did not play for the sake of play, merely that there was also greater significance attached to that play and the representations of it, significance that was present in Hellenic society far earlier than the Hellenistic period.

**Terracotta Case Study #2**

Our second case study was discovered in 1912 in ancient Amisos (present-day Samsun) and dates to between 330 and 100 BCE, around a century later than the *ephedrismos* statue group. The work, alternately called *Children at a Cockfight*, and *Three People Watching a*
Cockfight, is a terracotta figurine group, approximately three inches tall and five inches wide, and comprises three human figures standing before a cockfight (Fig. 7). The composition is symmetrical, with one boy standing on the far right of the group, another standing on the far left, and the remains of a third figure in the middle. Little can be said about this third figure, as all that survives of it is the lower half of the body. However, the style of clothing and layers of cloth inform us that it was likely a female companion, as what can be seen of the figure is starkly different from the male figures present.

The cocks tussle in front of the two boys, each of which would have bet on one of them. The cock that the boy on the left likely bet on stands before him, rearing over its opponent and digging its talons into the neck of its enemy while simultaneously gripping its comb with its own beak. The other cock, on which the boy on the right would have bet, attempts to bite the throat of the victorious cock, but the struggle is clearly in vain. It is interesting to note that the poses of the two cocks mirror those of the two boys. The boy on the left is upright and leans forward only slightly, a stance paralleled by the left cock. Similarly, the boy on the right is slumped forward, a position reflected by the cock in front of him.

Based on their physiognomy, the boys are most likely between four and five years old, with the chubby bodies and faces and slightly distended stomachs of the younger group, but the accurately proportioned heads of the older one. Some degree of individuality has been included; the boy on the left has been carved with thick, curly hair while the boy on the right is depicted with fine, slightly wavy hair. Unlike the girls in the ephedrismos group, both boys are mostly nude, with a himation wrapped around the waist of the left boy, as well as one around the right boy’s left arm. Additionally, just as with the ephedrismos group, the two boys display contrasting emotions that mirror the outcome of the match that they are watching. The boy on the
left appears gleeful, clapping his hands and eagerly leaning forward to watch the match. His satisfied smile and raised brows telegraph his pleasure and suggest to viewers that the cock he has bet on is winning.

In contrast to his comrade, the boy on the right is clearly despondent, resting his forehead in the palm of his right hand and slumping over what appears to be a crate of some sort. His dejection shows clearly on his face, with the downturned lips, furrowed brow, and closed eyes leaving viewers in little doubt as to his emotions. Interestingly, the unlucky boy’s stance and expression echoes those of the famous *Farnese Herakles*, also called the *Weary Herakles of Lysippos* (Fig. 11). Each figure leans heavily against a support of some sort, a box in the boy’s case, a club in Herakles,’ rests his weight on one of his legs in a contrapposto position, and holds one arm behind its back. Additionally, Herakles’ face is stylistically similar to the boy’s, with a similarly furrowed brow, downturned lips, and bowed head. This stylistic similarity was perhaps meant as a parody, with the little boy serving as a comedic echo of Herakles. In contrast to Herakles, whom we know is at the end of his labors from presence of the Apples of Hesperides in his right palm and therefore has legitimate reason to be weary, the boy has little reason to be despondent. Indeed, the child’s woe at merely losing a bet is almost cute in the face of Herakles’ exhaustion and despair. The practice of parodying prominent and serious works of art appears to have been a common one in the Hellenistic period. Another example of this practice is found in the statue type commonly referred to as *Boy Strangling a Goose* (Fig. 12), which may have been a comedic copy of images showing Herakles strangling the Nemean lion. In both cases, the

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likening of the child to a hero, however subtly achieved, would not have been unusual in a culture where cults to child heroes are documented at an early period.\textsuperscript{38}

The cockfight statue group is often attributed to what has been termed ‘Hellenistic rococo,’ a term that has been borrowed from early modern European art and denotes works which are decorative and light-hearted, but which also sometimes contains elements of eroticism.\textsuperscript{39} Although Hellenistic genre works of children are frequently counted among this group, it should once again be understood that these were no more a reflection of how real Greek children lived their lives in the Hellenistic period than the 18\textsuperscript{th} century rococo depictions of shepherdesses were a reflection of that reality (Fig. 13). Each offers insight into how the subject was perceived, but each should also be understood to be the artist’s interpretation of reality, not a snapshot of it. However, whether the reason was societal or artistic, this manner of depicting children was clearly popular with Hellenistic craftsmen and should therefore be taken into consideration. We will come back to this question, and with it the idea that perhaps attitudes towards children did not actually shift during the Hellenistic period, in the next chapter.

\textit{Marble Case Studies}

Our next two case studies are relief sculptures found on marble funerary monuments: a stele depicting a couple with two children (Fig. 8) and a polychrome naiskos engraved with the image of a girl standing alone with a dove (Fig. 9). Unlike terracotta works, these monuments would have been significantly more expensive, with each figure that is included adding to the cost. For example, Mark D. Stansbury-O’Donnell estimates that an approximately three-foot-tall

\textsuperscript{38}For an in-depth discussion of children as cult heroes see C. O. Pache, \textit{Baby and Child Heroes in Ancient Greece}, (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004).

\textsuperscript{39}Pollitt, 1986, 127-128.
A stele from around 420 BCE depicting a grandmother and newborn babe may have cost around 150 drachmas, equal to about half a year’s salary of an average worker.\textsuperscript{40} Stansbury-O’Donnell further notes that part of this exorbitant cost is the size of the monument and the inclusion of multiple figures.

Taking this into consideration, a monument standing just under five feet and depicting an entire family is likely to be at least twice as expensive as the fifth-century stele, if not more. The simplicity of the naiskos showing a girl and bird made it less expensive, but the addition of polychrome undoubtedly more than made up for the small number of figures, as does its large size, standing around three feet tall and weighing 680 pounds. This high cost of marble funerary monuments must be taken into consideration as we move forward, as they reflect the values of the most wealthy and elite members of Hellenistic society.

Marble Case Study #1

The first marble case study, which offers insight into how families were represented in the Hellenistic world, consists of a grave stele carved in high relief and depicting a family of four: a man, woman, boy, and girl. The monument is entitled The Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos (Fig. 8) and dates to around 150 BCE. The stele was discovered in Smyrna, Turkey and is 59 5/8 inches tall by 22 7/16 inches wide. The man and two children stand on the left side of the composition, the woman on the right, with the torch of Demeter separating them and informing viewers that Herophanta was a priestess of the goddess.\textsuperscript{41} Viewers might be tempted

\textsuperscript{40} M. D. Stansbury-O’Donnell, A History of Greek Art (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 272; see Fig. 3 for the stele of grandmother and baby.
to assume that the woman is deceased, while the man and children remain living if not for the inscription, which reads “The demos (honors) Posideos, (son) of Demokleios” and “The demos (honors) Herophanta, (daughter) of Timon.” The children remain unnamed, but this is not unusual, as other examples of stelai made in Smyrna have similar omissions.

Although Posideos and Herophanta are the clear focus of the monument, for the purpose of this thesis, their importance lies only in their interactions with the children. Herophanta stands on the right side of the composition. She is modestly clad in a long-sleeved dress over a short sleeved one, a cloak, and a scarf that covers her tied-back hair. A gentle smile graces Herophanta’s face and her eyes are softly creased at the corners as she gazes down at the children on the left half of the composition, which informs viewers that her smile is directed towards them. Posideos stands on the left with his arms clasped in front of him in a scholarly pose usually reserved for orators and philosophers. Although he is in closer proximity to the children than his wife, Posideos pays little attention to them, gazing instead at his wife.

The two children stand to the left and right of Posideos on the left side of the relief. Their age is more difficult to ascertain than in the first two case studies, but – based on their proportionate heads, soft features, and upright stances – they are likely in the five to eight year age group. The boy is barefoot, has short hair, and wears a short tunic that has been belted around the waist. He stands slightly behind his father and the upward tilt of his head informs viewers that he is gazing up at his mother, although the individual features of his face have been

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largely worn away by time and the elements.\textsuperscript{44} The little girl stands at the center of the relief, her left hand is lifted and wrapped around the torch at head height and her right hand grasps the section near her waist. The girl is taller than the boy, which may indicate that she is older than him, but more likely denotes the use of perspective, as she is in front of the other figures. The girl wears a belted chiton that slips off her shoulder and is stylistically similar to her brother’s tunic, suggesting that she may be younger than she appears. Like her brother, the girl looks up at her mother, perhaps asking whether she is holding the torch properly. Indeed, if the girl is in the five to eight years age group, this may be a representation of her first participation in a ritual, an event we know occurred around that age.

It should also be mentioned that some texts identify the two children as being slaves.\textsuperscript{45} The body language of the two children would seem to support this, as the little boy is represented with little room and the girl could be understood to be holding the torch for Herophanta, each position one of the indicators of slavery that Masségia discusses in her monograph.\textsuperscript{46} However, the emotion previously discussed suggests to me that these are not slaves, but freeborn children. It seems unlikely that citizens would choose to memorialize themselves gazing so affectionately at slaves, or looking at their supposed slaves at all. In fact, most funerary monuments coming from Smyrna are characterized by figures that stand side by side, looking out at the viewer and not interacting with one another.\textsuperscript{47} Consequently, this deviation from the standard is likely to have been intentional and would not have been done merely to depict servants.

\textsuperscript{44} In her analysis of this monument Grossman describes the boy as gazing up at his father. However, a straight line can be drawn from his eyes to those of his mother, not his father; Grossman, 2001, 117.
\textsuperscript{46} Masségia, 2015, 187-188.
\textsuperscript{47} Zanker, 1993, 215.
This monument provides an interesting commentary on the interactions between children and their parents. We know from literary sources that children and women existed in one social sphere while men inhabited another one, separations that were mirrored by their distinct living spaces within a house.\(^{48}\) A similar division is present on this relief, with the children and woman interacting, while the man distances himself from the children and instead focuses on his wife. Although this relief undoubtedly depicts an idealized family, the affection Herophanta expresses towards her children is still notable. However, we will see in the coming chapter that similar expressions of affection towards children are present in Classical art as well.

Marble Case Study #2

Our final Hellenistic case study, *The Grave Naïskos of Apollonia* (Fig. 9), is a polychrome naïskos that dates to approximately 100 BCE. Unlike the stele of Herophanta and Posideus, this naïskos has only one figure on it, a girl whose name is given in the inscription: “Apollonia, (daughter) of Aristandros and Thebageneia.” Apollonia is likely in the nine to 12-year age group, with a proportionate head, well-defined and slender limbs, and distinct facial features. However, her youth is evident in her slightly large hands, flat chest, and scrawny physique, all signifying a girl who has not yet done growing. Additionally, Apollonia’s hair frames her face, and is then bound in a central braid that runs down her back, a style that was commonly reserved for depictions of children.\(^{49}\) She wears a dress that is buttoned at the shoulder and belted at the waist along with a cloak that drapes over her left shoulder and arm.


\(^{49}\) Neils and Oakley, 2003, 308, cat. 126.
Apollonia stands in a three-quarter frontal position, a pomegranate in her left hand with her right reaching up to stroke the dove that is perched on a rectangular pillar to her left. Her attention is directed away from the viewer, and contemplating the bird, which in turn rotates its head around to gaze back at her. Although doves are commonly associated with the goddess Aphrodite, but there are several instances where they might also reference Kore, as is seen on the Lokroi plaques.\textsuperscript{50} In the case of this naisskos, however, the inclusion of the pomegranate implies that it is Kore (Persephone) that is being referenced, further signposting to viewers that the girl resides in the realm of death. However, the dove may also represent a beloved pet.\textsuperscript{51} The gentle stroke along the dove’s back and the slight smile towards it convey the girl’s fondness for the bird, and we have already discussed the popularity of depicting pets alongside children, with doves being particularly popular with little girls.\textsuperscript{52}

Conclusions

The four case studies that I have chosen reveal the many different ways – in material, imagery, scale, style, and text (where present) – that children could be represented in Hellenistic art. These examples range from small terracotta figurines of little girls and boys to five-foot-tall marble stelai carved with the likeness of a family. No matter the medium, we have seen how these depictions were influenced by age, gender, and social status. However, what remains to be determined is whether or not these representations reflected a different way of viewing children

\textsuperscript{52} Bobou, 2015, Figure 20.
than that which is present in Classical art. In the coming chapter, we will compare these 
Hellenistic sculptures to similar Classical works, attempting to ascertain whether there is any 
evidence in these earlier works of the specific attitude towards children that scholars such as 
Bobou claim is unique to the Hellenistic period.
The abundance of Hellenistic representations of children is undeniable: realistic representations of them are rendered on stelai and vases, in naiskoi, and as freestanding statues. Indeed, it is precisely this abundance of representations that has prompted many scholars, most recently Bobou, to assert that a new attitude toward children developed during the Hellenistic period. Yet if these works are evidence of such a shift in attitude, how are we to interpret similarly realistic works from the preceding Classical period and still earlier (as noted by Golden, above)? Although there are far fewer extant examples from the Classical period, the interest that scholars believe developed during the Hellenistic period may in fact have been present much earlier. Those examples provide the core of this chapter. However, before we examine them, we must first understand the historical conditions in which they took shape.

Children in the Wake of the Peloponnesian War

As we discussed briefly in the first chapter, around the year 430 BCE there is noticeable increase in the number of representations of children in Greek art. This increase has been attributed to the population loss that resulted from the Peloponnesian War, a connection drawn first by Greta Ham in her article “The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: Male Maturation
Rites and the Peloponnesian Wars.” Ham explains that the upsurge in depictions of boys on Attic red-figure choes was a “cultic response to the decimation of the population through war and plague.” As evidence of the significance of this loss, she references Thucydides’ *The Peloponnesian War*, in which he states that 4,400 hoplites and 300 cavalrymen perished in the second wave of the plague in 426 BCE, as well as exponentially more fatalities among the civilians. From these numbers, Ham calculates that between 430 and 426 BCE, around one third of the male population in Athens perished, leading to concerns on the part of the surviving citizens about whether the city could endure.

As further evidence, Ham draws on contemporary literature, including Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, in which the eponymous character laments that women are becoming old maids as a consequence of all the men going off to war; Euripides’ *Ion*, in which the chorus claim that children are the hope for the future; and Euripides’ *Andromache*, in which Hermione’s barrenness is a key theme. Ham’s primary source of evidence, however, is the increase in the red-figure choes that were made during this period. These choes were connected to the Anthesteria, a rite that is believed to have marked the transition of male three-year-old children to the next stage of childhood, at which point they were more likely to survive to adulthood. At a time when children often died in their early years, this festival celebrated their survival to a harder age. It is important to note, however, that the importance of the children appears to have

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5 Ham, 1999, 211.
lain in their potential to become adult members of society. Indeed, Ham asserts that the festival “draws attention to the boys’ prospective roles as adult members of the community, rather than their present status as children, through the ritual context of a drinking banquet.”

Ham suggests that by illustrating these hopeful scenes, the Greeks were confronting their new reality and embracing the possibility of renewal and survival rather than the fear of decimation.

John H. Oakley revisits the connection between representations of children in Classical art and the population loss during the Peloponnesian War. In his recent article “Children in Athenian Funerary Art During the Peloponnesian War,” he demonstrates that the same interest in children that Ham identifies in Classical choes is also present in Athenian white-ground lekythoi with polychromatic paintings and sculpted marble gravestones. He begins by discussing lekythoi, noting how the imagery changes from the domestic scenes they were first painted with in 470 BCE to the scenes of people visiting graves that were popular by the middle of the fifth-century.

Children can be found on examples dating as far back as 470, but it is not until the last 30 years of the fifth century that they were seen regularly. However, Oakley is careful to note that although the increase in the presence of children on lekythoi is undeniable, this increase was a gradual one. Moreover, the percentage of lekythoi with children was still much smaller than those without.

Conversely, there is a significant and sudden change in the representation of children on gravestones. In the Archaic period, depictions of children on gravestones were incredibly rare, with only two surviving examples, the so-called Brother and Sister Stele and an unnamed stele.

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6 Ham, 1999, 213.
8 Oakley, 2009, 208.
from Anavysos. In contrast, there are countless examples of children on Classical gravestones, with Oakley estimating that 40 percent of all gravestones carved between 430 and 400 BCE included depictions of children. Moreover, around a fifth of these depictions show only children, indicating that the memorial was dedicated specifically to the child.

Although Oakley emphasizes that he concurs with Ham’s interpretation of the connection between Athenian choes and the Peloponnesian War, his interpretation of contemporary funerary art is quite different. He suggests that the emotion expressed on these grave markers did not celebrate the survival to three-years-old, but rather mourned the passing of a human life, both child and adult, in a time when so many had already been lost. Oakley acknowledges that this might be overly simplistic, but stresses that the Athenians lost around a quarter of their male population and that “death, and lots of it, can alter the fabric of any society.”

To further underscore the impact of war and sudden population loss as depicted in art, Oakley examines French postcards that were released during World War I and which serve as an interesting counterpoint to fifth-century art. The postcards, which show quaint scenes such as wheelbarrows full of children, were marketed as “patriotic fantasy” or “sentimental patriotism” and Oakley states that they propagandized children and families in a blatant message of pronatalism. He comments that population loss on such a monumental scale has the same impact on people, whether the setting is 20th-century France or fifth-century Greece, in both cases leaving survivors not only to mourn the dead, but also to rebuild the population. Oakley concludes that

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9 Oakley, 2009, 213.
10 Oakley, 2009, 218.
11 Oakley, 2009, 226.
12 Oakley, 2009, 226.
13 Oakley, 2009, 230. A similar message of pronatalism is found in imperial Roman art under the reign of Augustus after the Battle of Actium, which resulted in a huge population loss in Rome.
This oft-forgotten member of society surfaced noticeably for the first time in Athenian funerary art during the Peloponnesian War, primarily because the loss of a child in these circumstances was particularly devastating, and children at this time mattered more in the consciousness of Athenians than before.¹⁴

In summary, Ham’s and Oakley’s explanations represent the current orthodoxy in understanding the shift in the numbers and language of representations of children in the Classical period. These explanations should be kept in mind as we examine the Classical case studies and compare them to the previously discussed Hellenistic works.

(Classical Marble Case Studies)

Because the vast majority of carved representations of children in the Classical period come from marble funerary stelai and naiskoi, it is from this corpus that our three case studies will be taken. Although this makes it difficult to make formal comparisons to the Hellenistic terracotta case studies previously discussed, thematic and some formal connections can still be drawn.¹⁵ When choosing the case studies, I have once again prioritized works with a high level of preservation over those with that have not been well preserved but that were found in situ or with inscriptions. Additionally, I have chosen works that date to the High Classical period, not only to avoid blurring the line between Late Classical and Hellenistic works, but also to highlight the reality that there was an interest in children long before the Hellenistic period. Finally, because the purpose of this section is to compare Hellenistic and Classical works, the Classical case studies were chosen for their formal and thematic similarities to the Hellenistic case studies rather than for their status as emblematic of all depictions of Classical children.

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¹⁴ Oakley, 2009, 231.
¹⁵ The practice of representing children in terracotta begins in the mid-fifth century BCE, but it is not until the Hellenistic period that these representations begin to be rendered with any realism; Bobou, 2015, 88.
Classical Case Study #1

Our first Classical case study is a marble stele that was discovered in the late 1700s on the Cycladic island of Paros (Fig. 2). The stele, which has been alternately called the Dove Stele and Marble Stele of a Young Girl, shows a young girl holding two doves to her chest. The stele stands 31 ¼ inches tall and 14 9/16 inches wide, with a 15 1/2 × 4 inch base, and is carved from Parian marble. It survives largely intact, missing only the head of one bird and a small section from the top right of the stele.

Dating to between 450 and 440 BCE, this work is one of the earliest surviving funerary stele memorializing the death of a child. Although some scholars have argued for a date as late as 420 BCE, recent scholarship, and indeed the curators at the Metropolitan Museum of Art where it resides, have favored an earlier date. No matter which date is correct, it is undisputable that the stele was carved during the High Classical period and is therefore emblematic of representations of children during that time.

The girl’s age is difficult to determine: her head is disproportionately large (nearly 1/5 the length of the whole figure) and her limbs are slightly chubby, indicating an age somewhere around four-years-old. However, the girl’s sorrowful expression, conveyed by her downturned lips and bowed head, is one most often seen on children five years old and older. To further add to the uncertainty, the birds sit placidly in the girl’s arms, not struggling as they commonly do in the grasp of five to eight-year-olds. Despite these ambiguities, it can be assumed that the girl is no younger than four years old, but is also no older than seven years old. These contradictions

16 Metropolitan Museum of Art, Greek Art of the Aegean Islands (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979), 231.
suggest that Classical artists had perhaps not yet settled on which physiognomic features were associated with which age, leading to a vaguer convention than is seen in later art. This does not necessarily indicate a lack of interest by artists in accurately depicting children’s ages, but rather a failure to settle on a particular visual language just yet. This is further evidenced by the writings of Pliny, who relates that the famous fifth-century artist Zeuxis was irate at not having been able to render a child as realistically as he had a bundle of grapes. Pliny writes:

It is said that Zeuxis also subsequently painted a Child Carrying Grapes and when birds flew to the fruit...he strode up to the picture in anger with it and said, ‘I have painted the grapes better than the child, as if I had made a success of that as well, the birds would inevitably have been afraid of it.'

Doubtless this account is apocryphal, but it nevertheless demonstrates the possibility of an interest in representing children realistically in a period when this is commonly thought not to have been present.

The girl stands in profile with her head bowed, attention focused on the birds in her arms. She wears a thin peplos that is unbelted and hangs loosely around her body in folds of drapery revealing her legs and the curve of her bottom. Most of the girl’s weight rests on her right leg, which stands straight and is locked at the knee, while her other leg is bent at the knee as she steps slightly forward. Her hair is wavy and is pulled into a knot at the back of her head before flowing down her shoulders in a style that suggests the work of a Parian sculptor.

Two birds sit in the girl’s arms. The bird in the back sits on the closed left fist of the girl, perched in a position that is reminiscent of a falcon on a falconer’s glove. The bird in the front is

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18 Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. H. Rackham, (Loeb Classical Library Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), Book XXXV, line 66. We cannot be sure of whether this is evidence of an authentic desire on the part of Classical artists to represent children accurately or of a Roman belief that this is true.
cradled to the girl’s breast, and her head bowed to kiss it on the beak. The species of the birds are unknown, but they are likely either pigeons or doves. Although the former interpretation has been suggested by some scholars,\(^{19}\) the latter is the more compelling interpretation. As we have seen, doves were popular pets among young girls and were frequently depicted alongside them in art. This is likely the case in this work, as the emotion expressed by the girl’s sorrowfully bowed head, cradling arms, and tender kiss all give credence to the impression that she cared deeply for the creatures. However, as is true with the *Grave Naiskos of Apollonia* (Fig. 9), the doves may also be a reference to Kore, and thus a chthonic reference to the fact that the child has passed into the Underworld.\(^{20}\) Yet the most probable explanation is that the birds worked on multiple levels, representing the beloved pets that they were while simultaneously symbolizing the realm in which the girl now dwelled.

*Comparisons to Hellenistic Works*

Several comparisons, both formal and thematic, can be made between the *Dove Stele* and the Hellenistic representations of children that we have already discussed. The most obvious parallels can be found in the *Grave Naiskos of Apollonia*. Each work depicts a solitary figure: a young girl accompanied by doves. Both girls appear to be in their own worlds, their attention fixated on the birds that they gently caress. Although the girls are represented at different ages, the girl of the *Dove Stele* between four and seven years-old whereas Apollonia is around ten, the realism found in each is astonishingly similar. The awkwardness of early puberty shows clearly in Apollonia’s too-large hands, while the girl on the *Dove Stele* exemplifies the charming

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\(^{20}\) Klinger, 2011, 36.
loveliness of little girls everywhere. The *Dove Stele* may have been carved around 350 years earlier, but it is no less realistic than those carved in the Hellenistic period. Moreover, there are not only formal similarities between these two works, but also thematic ones, with each mourning the loss of a little girl through the erection of a gravestone dedicated solely to her. Finally, in each case the dove represented serves both as a beloved pet and as a visual reminder that the girls are no longer in the realm of the living, but have instead joined Kore in the Underworld.

The other Hellenistic work that is both formally and thematically similar to the *Dove Stele* is the terracotta statue group known as *Girls Playing Ephedrismos* (Fig. 6). Although these works were rendered from different mediums and are different sculpture types and we can therefore not make direct formal comparisons, there are some parallels that can be drawn. The girl on the bottom of the *ephedrismos* group wears a mournful expression that is quite similar to the one seen on the girl on the *Dove Stele*. Additionally, there are thematic similarities that allow for more straightforward comparison. Both works depict girls around the age of five or six years-old in a manner that is realistic, but which also highlights the charming nature of little girls, with pretty, wavy hair, and features that are at once delicate and youthfully plump. Just as the *ephedrismos* group celebrates youth through the representation of the two girls playing, the *Dove Stele* mourns it through the representation of a charming little girl that is forever lost.

Classical Case Study #2

The second work that we will be examining is the *Gravestone of Ampharete*, a grave stele that was discovered in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens and has been beautifully preserved (Fig. 3). The work dates to between 430 and 420 BCE and stands 1.20 meters tall and shows a
youthful looking woman seated in 3/4 view on a klismos and holding a baby. The name of the woman comes from the inscription on the lower part of the pediment, which reads “Ampharete.”

The woman wears disc earrings, sandals, and is garbed in a thin chiton that exposes her legs and breasts and a mantle that has been pulled over the back of her head. Her head is bowed and she gazes down at the child on her lap with a loving expression, her lips tilted upward at the corners in a gentle smile. In her right hand she holds what has been identified as a bird, although the species is unclear. The baby is cradled in Ampharete’s left hand in the center of the stele and swaddled in a cloth. Although much of the babe is covered by the drapery, including its sex, that which is revealed is quite realistic. The head is disproportionately large, with carefully sculpted eyes, lips, nose, and ears. In addition, the right hand of the babe is raised up to its grandmother in a gesture that mimetically echoes a real babe at that age.

A casual viewer might identify the woman as the baby’s mother, but the inscription carved onto the architrave tells us otherwise, labeling her as his grandmother. It reads: “I hold this my daughter’s dear child, whom I held on my lap, when we were alive and looked at the rays of the sun with our eye, and now being dead, I hold it (the child) dead.”

This inscription provides interesting insight into how babies were viewed in Greek society, expressing a level of emotion towards the child that is normally thought to have been reserved only for older children. The high infant mortality rate has led many scholars to believe that ancient parents largely held themselves aloof from their children until they were of an age when they were more likely to survive to adulthood. This idea is further fueled by the writings of Herodotus, who reports that in order to save themselves unnecessary grief, Persian fathers would not see their male sons until

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21 Oakley, 2009, 222.
they were at least five years old. However, if the death of babies were of no consequence in Classical Greece, then why would the dedicators of the stele have bothered to not only include the child in the work, but also use an inscription that highlights the importance of the deceased child? Although the babe makes up only a small portion of the overall stele, he/she is clearly not secondary to the woman or marginalized in any way, but is rather the focus of both the inscription and the stele itself. This, in addition to the tenderness communicated by the inscription (“dear child”) and the tender expression on Ampharete’s face, inform viewers that these children were cared for, were loved.

**Comparisons to Hellenistic Works**

The most obvious parallel that can be drawn between the *Ampharete Stele* and the Hellenistic works that we have already discussed lies in the *Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos* (Fig. 8). When we examined the latter stele, the emotion expressed by Herophanta toward her two children stood out as unusual, as stelai from Smyrna usually depicted figures standing aloof from each other. This emotion might serve as evidence of a new interest in children in the time that the stele was made, except for its presence in the *Stele of Ampharete*. Just as Herophanta is completely absorbed in watching her children, so too is Ampharete. Both women stare directly at the child (or children) that accompany them, their soft smiles conveying their affection. However, although both works communicate this emotion, it is the Classical work that does so the most clearly. In the case of the *Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos*, the emotion is conveyed entirely through the woman’s mien, with the inscription giving no mention

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of the depicted children. In contrast, as we have discussed, the entirety of the Classical Ampharete Stele is centered around the babe, from the iconography to the inscription. Despite the many claims that Hellenistic art marks a newfound interest in capturing children, it is the Classical works that do so first.

Classical Case Study #3

Our last Classical case study dates to around 420 BCE and is entitled the Stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares (Fig. 4). The work stands 1.19 meters tall and .74 meters wide and depicts a young woman holding out a bird to a little boy who kneels in front of her. The stele survives mostly intact, with only a few cracks visible and some wear on the face of the boy. In a similar fashion as the Ampharete Stele, the relationship between the two figures is initially misleading, seeming to be mother and son. However, the inscription on the top of the stele tells us otherwise, identifying them as brother and sister. It reads: “Here stands the monument of Mnesagora and Nicochares. They themselves are not able to be shown. Fate took them away, and they left great grief to both their dear father and mother because having died, they went to the house of Hades.”

What is notable about this inscription, however, is that it informs viewers that the monument was likely a cenotaph and that the siblings were buried elsewhere.

The woman, presumably Mnesagora, stands in profile view on the left side of the stele. She wears sandals, a thin chiton that reveals the shape of her right leg, and a mantle that is draped over her left arm. Her right-hand hangs loosely at her side while in her left hand she holds a dove by the wings. Her right leg is bent at the knee and raised slightly, anticipating taking a step forward. Mnesagora wears her hair in a bun at the back of her head in a style commonly

worn by both girls and mature women. Her head is tilted forward to gaze down at the boy at her feet, her attention focused on him.

The boy, Nicochares, kneels in profile at the feet of his sister, his arms stretched up towards the bird. He is nude and appears to be between two and four years old, with the chubby body and disproportionately large head common to children of that age. However, the child is much larger than his physiognomy would indicate he should be, with his head reaching almost halfway up the stele from a kneeling position. This perhaps is another instance of Classical artists still working to perfect their representation of children. Another interpretation is that the girl is not yet an adult, and therefore has a small stature that is distorting the proportions in the work.

The boy’s stance is unusual, and has been interpreted as an attempt to stand up,\textsuperscript{24} an interpretation that implies that he is younger than his physiognomy suggests. He leans forward, resting most of his weight on his bent right leg. The heel of his right foot is raised, with the ball of the foot pressing against the ground in a position that realistically echoes the individual movements that a small child might use when trying to stand up. Nicochares’ left leg, which is bent down with the knee and foot pushing down, completes the motion.

Whilst his sister’s attention is on him, Nicochares’ attention is fixated on the bird in her hands, his arms eagerly outstretched to take it, head tilted back to stare at it, and mouth parted in a gasp. This enthusiasm, when taken in conjunction with the boy’s awkward attempt to stand, indicates that perhaps Mnesagora is using the bird an incentive for him to stand up. This is further evidenced by the way she holds the dove, dangling it by its wings just out of reach. The inclusion of a dove on a grave stele portraying a boy is interesting. The previous examples of

\textsuperscript{24} Oakley, 2009, 221.
doves that we have seen have depicted them as the pets of little girls. This does not preclude this bird from being a pet, however. Indeed, the eagerness with which the boy reaches out towards it implies that it is indeed a pet. Nor does it mean that it does not symbolize Kore and the Underworld. However, its presence on a stelai is unusual and therefore worth noting.

Comparisons to Hellenistic Works

The Stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares has a number of both formal and thematic similarities to the Hellenistic works discussed previously. Formally, the treatment of Nicochares mirrors the representation of the little boys in the Three People Watching a Cockfight statue group (Fig. 7). While the boys in the terracotta group have slightly more plasticity to their stances than that which is seen on the stele, this might be attributed to a difference in medium. Terracotta is much easier to work with and as such, it may have been easier to imbue the works with this plasticity. Moreover, although the motions in the marble work are less realistic, the accuracy with which it mimics the physiognomy of real children is equal to that which is seen in the statue groups, with each group represented with realistically large heads and chubby bodies. We must be careful with how much weight we place on this comparison, however, due to the differences in medium and statue type.

Thematically, however, the Stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares echoes the Ampharete Stele and mirrors the themes found in Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideos (Fig. 8). Just as is the case with Ampharete and Herophanta, the attention of Mnesagora is focused entirely on the child who accompanies her. And although she lacks the gentle expression that graces the faces of

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25 The bird seen on the Ampharete Stele is the only exception to this, but in the case, not only is the species of bird unclear, the gender of the babe is unknown.
Ampharete and Herophanta, the affectionate way that she interacts with the child at her feet conveys the same tender emotions. This theme of expressing love towards children is also found in the inscription, which conveys the “great grief” that the parents feel about the loss of their two children, a loss which is once more symbolized by the presence of the dove. Once again it is obvious that expressions of affection towards children, and indeed an interest in children in general, existed long before the Hellenistic period.
The four Hellenistic case studies that we have examined clearly demonstrate that there was a definite interest in representing children in antiquity. However, the three Classical case studies that we have examined make it equally clear that this interest did not originate in the Hellenistic period. Although there are undeniable differences between Classical and Hellenistic representations of children, such as the change in style, an increased number of examples, and more realistic depictions of children in the Hellenistic period, the striking thematic and formal similarities that we have noted between the works of the two periods inform us that these differences did not necessarily signify a sudden and substantial change in social attitudes toward children. Yet we must keep in mind that, whether this is due to a gap in the corpus or to the fact that they were simply not made, there are no extant Classical terracotta statuettes depicting children. Consequently, although thematic parallels can be drawn between Classical and Hellenistic versions of this statue type, formal comparisons should be treated with caution.

The vast majority of Hellenistic representations of children are found on freestanding statues that were rendered either out of terracotta or out of marble. This is a trend that does not become popular until this later period and was generally more expensive than the relief sculptures that we examined earlier. As we have discussed, however, these freestanding
sculptures, although they were also carved out of marble, were most commonly made from terracotta, a significantly less expensive medium. This indicates that the interest in creating free standing sculptures of children can not necessarily be correlated to a desire to spend more money on memorializing children. Moreover, as we have seen, the manner in which children were portrayed did not differ significantly from the earlier Classical representations. In each instance, for example, extreme youth was conveyed through disproportionately large heads and chubby bodies. Thus, the way they were depicting children remained largely the same.

Another significant difference between Hellenistic and Classical art that must be taken into consideration is the increase in quantity of extant works depicting children. Bobou determined that there were 525 ‘types’ of terracotta statues that were used to depict children, and still more examples if one includes multiple works using the same ‘type.’¹ Moreover, this number excludes the countless Hellenistic representations of children in marble. The approximately 450 examples of Classical sculptural representations of children appear less significant in comparison.² However, this number does not take into consideration the numerous Classical votive reliefs that depicted children.³ Additionally, when one considers that there are just two extant Archaic funerary gravestones that portray children, the increase indicates a significant change. However, we must always keep in mind that the works that survive were only a small portion of a much larger original corpus, and consequently be cautious about how much significance we place on their quantity.

¹ Bobou, 2015, 55.
³ Oakley, 2009, 166.
Finally, many scholars have argued that there is an increase in the level of realism in Hellenistic depictions of children. This argument is perhaps valid, for as we saw with the Dove Stele (Fig. 2), the conventions of how to depict accurately the different stages of childhood had not yet been fully developed in the High Classical Period. However, the writings of Pliny – if we are to take them as a reliable commentary on an earlier period – would indicate that this does not mean that the artists had no desire or interest in representing children accurately, merely that they had not yet perfected the technique. Moreover, other Classical examples of children evince great strides in the artists’ abilities to represent children realistically. Therefore, one could argue that the impressive level of realism found in Hellenistic art is not evidence of a new interest, but rather the fruit of many decades of artisanal practice.

Despite these three differences between Hellenistic and Classical art, it is the thematic similarities that stand out most clearly. The affection toward children conveyed in the Stele of Herophanta and Posideos is not new, but rather mirrors the emotion found in the much earlier Ampharete Stele (Fig. 3) and the Stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares (Fig. 4). Similarly, the theme of the innocence of youth found on the ephedrismos statue group (Fig. 6) is also present on the Dove Stele, albeit in a more subdued fashion. Finally, the most prevalent similarity is the presence of doves, which appear first on the Dove Stele and the Stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares (and possibly on the Ampharete Stele) and then on the Hellenistic Stele of Apollonia, and which appear to have served as both a pet and as a symbolic reminder that the children now dwelled in the Underworld.

And so, we return to our central question: continuity or change? Is there any evidence of a shift in attitude towards children in the Hellenistic period? Clearly these case studies are just a small sample set from a much larger corpus, but the formal and thematic similarities seen in
them indicate that there are far more connections between the representations of children in the Hellenistic and Classical periods than scholars such as Bobou would argue. And although the existence of Hellenistic terracotta statuettes and the absence of Classical ones prove that the answer to our question is more complicated than we might wish, I find myself largely agreeing with Golden’s assessment that “much of what has been taken as characteristic of the Hellenistic attitude towards children is also evident earlier.” 4 And thus, on the basis of the evidence currently available to us, especially with regard to funerary relief sculpture, the Hellenistic depictions of children demonstrate continuity with, not radical change from, their visual predecessors.

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Ham, Greta L. “The Choes and Anthesteria Reconsidered: Male Maturation Rites and the Peloponnesian Wars.” In Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece: Literature, Religion,


Figure 1: Late Geometric IA Attic krater, Dipylon cemetery (Kerameikos cemetery), attributed to the Dipylon Master, 1.55 m., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, in Public Domain.
Figure 2: *Dove Stele*, marble grave stele, c. 450 BCE, 31 ¾ x 14 9/16 x 15 ½ in., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, in Public Domain.
Figure 3: *Grave Stele of Ampharete*, marble grave stele, 430-420 BCE, Kerameikos Cemetery (Place of Discovery), Athens, Kerameikos Museum.

http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/artifact?name=Athens%2C+NM+3845&object=Sculpture

Figure 4: *Stele of Mnesagora and Nicochares*, marble grave stele, c. 420 BCE, 1.19 x .74 m., Athens, National Museum.
Figure 5: Grave Naiskos of Demainete with an Attendant Holding a Partridge, marble grave naiskos, c. 310 BCE, 38 × 18 11/16 × 5 7/8 in., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, in Public Domain.
Figure 6: *Girls Playing Ephedrismos*, terracotta figurine, c. 300 BCE, H. 5 7/16 in., New York: Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, in Public Domain.
Figure 7: *Three People Watching a Cock Fight*, terracotta figurine, 330-100 BCE, 3 15/16 x 5 3/4 x 2 in., Turkey, Samsun (Place of Discovery), Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, in Public Domain.
Figure 8: Grave Stele of Herophanta and Posideo, marble grave stele, c. 150 BCE, 59 5/8 × 22 7/16 × 4 1/2 in., Smyrna, Turkey (Place of Discovery), Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, in Public Domain.
Figure 9: *Grave Naiskos of Apollonia*, marble grave naiskos with polychromy, 100 BCE, 44 1/4 \( \times 25 \times 7\,7/8 \) in., Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, in Public Domain.
Figure 10: *Figurine of a Seated Infant Girl Reaching Up*, tanagra terracotta figurine, 330-310 BCE, 5.8 x 5.5 cm, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.

Figure 11: *Herakles Farnese*, marble, early 3rd c. CE, Roman copy of a 4th c. BCE original, H: 3.17 m, Naples, Archaeological Museum.
Figure 12: Boy Strangling a Goose, Marble statue, Roman copy, original c. 150 BCE, H .85 m, Munich, Glyptothek, personal photograph taken June 2015.
Figure 10: Jean-Honoré Fragonard, *The Shepherdess*, oil on canvas, 1750/1752, 46 3/4 × 63 in., Milwaukee, Milwaukee Art Museum.