BOOK REVIEWS

Mark Golden, *Children and Childhood in Classical Athens.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015[2]. XIX + 243 pp. ISBN 9781421416861.

The book under review is the revised second edition of Mark Golden's groundbreaking study on representations of children and youth in classical Athens. Its former edition, the first monograph on ancient Greek childhood written in English, was published in 1990, preceded only by few sporadic publications. The present version is released at a time when childhood in antiquity is already a worthy independent academic multidisciplinary field of inquiry, bulwarked by an impressive list of studies, including monographs, collections and multiple articles.[1]

This edition is thoroughly revised, incorporating up-to-date evidence and comprehensive coverage of author's research and current scholarship with a rewritten final chapter. Consideration of children's agency, the archaeology of childhood and child's iconographical representation, which constitute three prevailing trends in the historiography of childhood (pp. X-XIII), also imbue the book with corresponding new source material.

As in the previous edition, this publication is limited to Athenian citizen children legally defined *paides*, i.e. before the age of social maturity (boys younger than seventeen/eighteen and mid-teens girls before marriage). Likewise, it focuses on adults' attitudes to children, and the interrelationship between children and adults, providing comprehension of children's life and socialization through their familial and communal roles and activities during age-related changes. The book covers the period of two centuries (5-4 BCE) and relies primarily on literary sources (esp. Xenohpon, Plato and Aristotle, legal speeches, epitaphs and dramatic representations [pp.XVII-XVIII]). In addition to these, comparative materials, particularly from Greek art and archaeology, social history and anthropology are employed, cautiously and with discretion, to clarify issues in which sources do not allow for a satisfactory interpretation.

The book retains its previous structure and headlines, clustered into seven chapters. To these is appended an impressive bibliographical list and two useful detailed indexes (sources and subjects).

The first chapter, 'Characteristics of Childhood and Children', addresses conceptual parameters and terminological restrictions with which researchers contextualizing the experience of childhood in Athens need to contend. Golden first identifies the attributes of children which could be retrieved from diverse sources, categorized as 'negative', 'positive' and 'neutral' in relation to desirable adult male citizens' qualities. Devoid of nostalgia for childhood, when 'negative attributes predominate' (p. 4), children are characterized as inferior and imperfect. These traits manifest themselves in physical weakness, mental and intellectual imperfection and moral incompetence, frequently classed with other feeble social groups like women, old people, slaves and even animals. In regards to teens and youth Golden notes 'the common-sense conviction that children near or in their teens are very nearly able to act with adult force' (p. 18). Rarely seen positive attributes include seeing children as a source of enjoyment for their close adult relatives. Also, their innocence associated them with nature and the divine. The second section of the chapter targets the terminology of childhood in Athens, wherein Golden suggests that 'the Athenian vocabulary for *children* neither mirrors nor seriously misleads' (p. 11), pointing to the noticeable differences between prosaic and poetical common vocabulary, and emphasizing the difficulty in tracing tones and connotation of the two most common words for 'offspring' in Greek: *pais* and *teknon*. Though Athenians differentiated among the stages of childhood, they were rarely literal in their use. Otherwise coherent age-group divisions are 'only irregularly and imprecisely marked off in the Attic vocabulary' (p. 18). These can be discerned more precisely in

1 Partially listed in p. XII; See Vuolanto V. et al. (eds.), "Children in the ancient world and the early middle ages." *A bibliography (Eight Century BC – Eight Century AD)*, December 2016[8]. http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/forskning/prosjekter/barndom/biblio-2016.pdf.

iconographical representations, broadly discussed in the chapter with references to L. Beaumont's research (2012) which has considerable influence in present edition.

The majority of the topics and materials in the two following chapters did indeed receive adequate scholarly attention in last three decades, but mainly in religious and educative contexts. Golden takes the data in different directions. Chapter 2, 'The Child in the Household and the Community', scans children's involvement in the *oikos* and community, proving its centrality in socialization. Children are considered as an economic force and as helpers with menial work (mainly in middle-low socio-economic classes); as participants (passive, active and prominent) in ritual activities, in household (e.g. mourning) and public ceremonies (e.g. Dionysia, Anthestēria, Oschophoria). Noting how religion and the ritual system play an essential role in child's preparation for life as adults in society, in accordance with gender concepts and roles, Golden concludes with an argument that 'children were more developed as social creatures than their legal and political liabilities might suggest' (p. 43).

Chapter 3**,** 'The Child and His or Her peers', targets children's and youths' interaction with their peers in shared activities, illustrating how the extant evidence predominantly represents boys, thus determining female under-representation. Golden distinguishes accurately between activity which can be identified as children's own such as play and games and that which occurs under surveillance and close supervision of the adults and the *polis*: i.e., schooling and musical and athletic competitions, as part of public major religious festive events, restricted to males. He notes accurately that the competitive element which characterised core peer activities beyond household and neighborhood was 'a critical feature of Athenian boyhood as of adult life, provided opportunities for the display of individual talent and for attention and acclaim' (p. 55), pointing to the competitions' virtue in contributing to and building a sense of belonging to the civic community. Appositely, females were much less exposed to integration and activities with their peers outside the *oikos* and neighborhood, and their presence in the public arena, with opportunity to meet peers in great numbers, was probably limited to Arkteia and maybe Thesmophoria (pp. 65-67).

Chapter 4, 'Parents and Children', introduces the topic which extends across three sections (4-6) categorizing children's interpersonal relations with the members of the *oikos* (nuclear and extended family and others). Golden's aim is to outline societal and familial norms and expectations of such connections viz. conflicts which are generated because of the child's changing roles during maturation, including the emotional aspects of such connections.

In examining the child-parent relationship (presently central to the field of Childhood Studies), Golden underscores parental affection (*philia)* and love *(storgē)* which appear in all types of evidence (predominantly in Euripides), despite the high mortality rate of children and infant exposure, thus joining the attack on the 'emotional capital' theory developed by early modern Europe historians (listed in p. 71). He also points to different gender-dependent characteristics of child-parent bonds: intimate sentiments highlight mother-child ties (e.g. Xen. *Oec*.7.24, Arist. *NE*9.1166a8-9, *IG* II^2 7711 ll.6-7), while the relation to the father, who was master (*kyrios*) of the child and perceived as the 'real parent' (e.g. Aesch. *Eum*.657-666), demanded loyalty, obedience and respect.

Prolonged discussion of tensions and conflicts (mainly property and inheritance matters) ends the chapter (pp. 89-97), and constitute, along with pieces of Chapter 5, 'Brothers, Sisters, and Grandparents' (esp. pp. 109-114), the weakest link in this study. The focus of the discussions and examples in these sections are related primarily to adult offspring, thus, the information there appears less relevant to a specific picture of childhood.

Chapter 6, 'Outsiders and Alliances', is in essence an instructive drill in literary criticism with cautious references to the comparative approach (evidence from the antebellum American South) to unravel the contradictory role of slavery in socialization process of children in ancient Athens (pp. 122-136). The considerable role house slaves (*oiketai*) played in child's rearing and education

(esp. *paidagōgoi* and nurses) had the potential to create intimate bonds which may have persisted into adulthood (e.g. [Dem.] 47.56). Noting both the damage of such connections due to class inequality (e.g. Pl. *Lys*. 208C) and prevalent violence against slaves, Golden eloquently suggests that 'slaves and children were bound together in a sinister irony that did indeed result in intensified violence' (p. 134), while the 'positives aspects' and 'warm emotional ties' result in contradictions: abuse of slaves in comic representations and brutality toward them in everyday life. In other words, children were required, in the process of socialization, to subsume their emotional feelings toward individual slaves, based on personal experience, to the prevalent ideology of hostility toward slaves as a group in 'a society based on the humanization of slaves in general' (p. 136).

The final chapter, 'Change over Time', is more epilogue, more an invitation to further research, than summarized argumentation. Golden opens with a theoretical and methodological intention which thwarts attempts at identifying changes in attention and concern for children in classical sources, and argues that 'much of the impression of a change in attitudes toward children and childhood results precisely from gaps of our evidence' (p. 147). As for Athens, where indeed changes occurred during the classical period which *de facto* increased children's attendance in sources, Golden reached an *aporia*, throwing down a challenging and vital contemporary question — do children's greater 'visibility' and upgraded status indeed point to a real change in societal perceptions and adults' attitudes toward children?

To conclude, Golden's book is a worthy and exhaustive outcome of more than two decades of productive research by a challenging and enthusiastic scholar. The present publication, with its comprehensive scope of sources and broad interdisciplinary perspective in its critical approach, reliably delineates the complex and multifaceted picture of childhood in ancient Athens. This book is definitely a serviceable research tool for child's history in Antiquity and beyond, while the debates and questions it provokes confirm the assumption that acquaintance with childhood experience in classical Athens may deepen our understanding of the functionality of childhood in Western civilization.

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Jeremy LaBuff, *Polis Expansion and Elite Power in Hellenistic Karia*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016. 257 pp. ISBN 978-1498513999.

From its very origins, the Greek word *polis* has carried connotations of dominance. This word was likely derived from a Proto-Indo-European term meaning "hill top" (1220),[1] suggesting a defensible location with a commanding view of its surroundings. As these strongholds developed into administrative centers, the *polis* took on the additional sense of "community", leading to the contemporary rendering of the term as "city-state", yet retained its original connotation of authority. For instance, a fortified redoubt surrounded by urban sprawl (and often with governmental significance) was known as an ἀκρόπολις, literally meaning the "upper" or "higher" *polis*. Yet, as the history of the classical period amply demonstrates, the *polis* was not always as secure as its etymology suggests. Although many cities lost their autonomy and influence through conquest, a few voluntarily renounced their sovereignty through political agreements with other cities. These agreements contravene the etymological suggestion of the *polis* as an elevated center of authority, and the study of these agreements poses a fascinating question: What could possibly convince a *polis* to surrender the autonomy which was ideologically located at the core of its identity?

1 R.S.P. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, Leiden: Brill 2010, p. 1220.