Happy is he who has boy-friends \([\text{paides}]\), whole-hooved steeds, hunting hounds, and a friend in foreign parts . . . till in the flower of youth he love a lad with the desire of thighs and sweet lips. (Solon, frgs. 23, 25)

Solon, although the city \([\text{Athens}]\) followed the whole Ionian manner of life and luxury and a carefree existence had made the inhabitants effeminate, worked a change in them by accustoming them to practise virtue and to emulate the deeds of virile folk. And it was because of this that \([\text{the lovers}]\) Harmodius and Aristogiton, their spirits equipped with the panoply of his legislation, made the attempt to destroy the rule of the Pisistratidae \([\text{tyrants}]\). (Diodorus Siculus, \textit{Library of History}, IX, 1.3)

Although Athens triumphed as the metropolis of Greece only after the decline of Samos following the crucifixion of Polycrates in 522, its rise to greatness began three-quarters of a century before with Solon. In 594 that lawgiver avoided civil strife by abolishing slavery for debt and giving poor citizens the right to vote but not the right to hold office. One of the Seven Sages of Greece, he institutionalized pederastic pedagogy, set up the first gymnasia and symposia, and reorganized the state in a fashion to avoid class warfare. His pederastic cousins, the Pisistratids (561-510), who set up a tyranny in Solon's lifetime, wisely abetted the rise of Athens that he had begun. Patronizing the arts, they began to make Athens a cultural center. After 570 Athenian vases, many featuring pederastic scenes, predominated over the non-pederastic Corinthian ones throughout Hellas. Son and brother of the tyrants, Hipparchus, who served as their minister of culture, began a library and attracted Ionian scholars fleeing Persians, especially after the eclipse of Samos. Thus, before the heroic tyrannicidal lovers Harmodius and Aristogeiton, the first Athenians ever depicted in free-standing statues, assassinated Hipparchus in 514 and before Cleisthenes institutionalized full democracy in 508, Athens was well on its way to becoming the commercial and intellectual hub of Greece.

Rising since the time of Solon, Athens profited from the
decline of its Greek rivals. In the east the Persian invasions and in the west Carthaginian attacks weakened the overseas Greeks. Although benefitting from the eclipse of Samos in 522, Athens only finally secured its preeminence by destroying the Persian fleet at Salamis (480). In the same year a supreme effort of the western colonists led by Gelon of Syracuse managed to stop the Carthaginian advance at Himera, initiating a strenuous, draining two-century-and-a-half stalemate in Sicily. Paramount thereafter in the East, Athens's only maritime rivals in the West were Dorian Corinth and its colony Syracuse, both of which practiced a less intellectual version of pederasty.

During the Pentecontaetia, the fifty years between the triumph over the Persians at Salamis and the outbreak of the great war with Sparta, Athens reached its apex. From 479 to 461 under the elegant pederast Cimon's inspiration Athens freed the Ionian cities one by one, uniting them with her other allies in the Delian League, thus gaining loot and new trading partners yearly. Bolstered with such wealth and attracting exiles and Êmigrâès from every part of Hellas, proud Athenians with their pederastic pedagogy melded and mixed Ionian, Dorian, Magna Graecan, and Sicilian traditions. This first democratic metropolis produced cultural breakthroughs before unimaginable. Even before Pericles began to embezzle the Delian League's treasury from the sacred island to Athens further to beautify and magnify the city, it had surpassed all other poleis culturally.

As Pericles declared, when Athens reached its apex militarily, economically, and demographically on the eve of the Great Peloponnesian War, it had indeed become the "school of Hellas." Pederasty, more of the Ionic cultural rather than the Doric heroic type, contributed essentially to the Athenian, as it had to the Ionian and Sicilian cultural advances. Despite frequent contentions reflected by Plato and Xenophon that a purer pederasty culminated in Euboea, Sparta, Crete, and a baser one in Elis, or Boeotia, love inspiring citizens to creativity as well as to heroism reached its apogee in Athens during the centuries before and after Salamis.

Admittedly, it cannot be proven that without pederastic pedagogy Athenian accomplishments would not only have been different but lesser and fewer. Nevertheless, evidence does exist to establish at least the plausibility of that hypothesis. Nietzsche, Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Jaeger, and Marrou, to name four great continental scholars who seem to a greater or lesser homophobic, as well as the English partisan of male love Symonds, attest the preeminent excellence of Greek education. Symonds unequivocally ascribed that excellence to pederasty: "here alone in history have we the example of a great and highly-developed race not only tolerating homosexual passions, but deeming them of spiritual value, and attempting to utilise them for the benefit of
What many describe as the greatest burst of creativity ever, that of classical Athens, is to me as to him inconceivable without the contribution of pederasty to pedagogy.

Even in formal schools and higher academies, in both of which Athens far outstripped Ionia, love, the norm between archaic tutor and tutee in gymnasia and symposia, so well depicted on vases, persisted. Athens' middle if not its lower classes began to ape upper-class mores, as one can see from pederastic graffiti and comedies. If Solon's edict barred slaves from gymnasia, most urban citizens may in time have come to frequent them; special ones served bastards and metics (resident aliens). Tragedians praised pederasty and comedians lampooned it before "packed houses," while orators routinely caricatured their opponents as "effeminates." All sorts of pederasty and certain other forms of homosexuality, stern Dorian as well as insouciantly hedonistic Ionian forms continued from the Late Archaic through the fifth century in Athens.

The rise of Athens coincided with the conquest by homophobic Persians of Ionia and the hostility of tyrants to pederasty. Tyrants often regarded it as seditious. Periander of Corinth may have been the first to condemn pederasty and half a century later Polycrates burned the palaestras at Samos. In exile after 510, Hippias, the last Athenian tyrant, joined the chorus criticizing pederasty. The switch c.520 from the more explicit black-figured to the more demure red-figured vases may have indicated a growing concern if not critique of upper-class pederasty. The greatest poet of the first half of the fifth century and the last of the lyric poets, Pindar, praised pederasty but, like the scenes on the contemporary red-figured pederastic vases, more modest than the earlier black-figured, his verses were more decorous and sexually demure than were those of his predecessors, excepting all but the lighter moments of the dour Theognis. We do not know what Cleisthenes, the first democratic leader, thought or did about pederasty, but Pericles' distaste for its excesses is apparent. The homoerotic vases ceased to be produced after 460. The lower-classes' ridicule of their betters' sexuality is first fully recorded by comedians contemporary with Socrates, who began philosophical investigation of the custom and criticism of its excesses.

In Athens, where it is best documented, pederasty was, as Plato said, complex (as it was in Sparta), but in different ways: voluntary, intellectual

**HEROES OF THE PERSIAN WARS**

All the heroes of the Persian Wars, which ushered in the age of the Greeks' greatest achievements, were pederastic, as were the
artists and writers who celebrated their victories. Though we have no explicit evidence about Miltiades or Leonidas as we do about Themistocles, Aristides, Pausanias, and Cimon, nevertheless, as all Athenian aristocrats and Spartan kings and nobles of this period seem to have participated in pederasty, we can assume that Miltiades and Pausanias also did so. There is no life at all of Leonidas and only a brief one of Miltiades by Cornelius Nepos that does not discuss his erotic predilections. Like the heroes, the intellectuals were also pederastic. Simonides, the pederastic poet, composed the epitaph for those who had fallen at Thermopylae. The first sculpture that the Athenians erected upon the retreat of the Persians in 477-76 was one of the pederastic tyrannicides Harmodius and Aristogiton to replace Antenor's bronze that the Persians had carried away. Simonides composed the quatrain on its base. One of the heroes of Marathon, Aeschylus, soon glorified Achilles' love for Patroclus in his Myrmidons. His successor Sophocles, a fervent pederast, loved Agathon, the last of the great tragic actors. The greatest poet of the century, Pindar, celebrated the beauty of the youthful victors in the Games, while he competed with another pederast, Simonides, at the court of the pederastic tyrant, Hiero of Syracuse. Invited to Athens by Cimon, Polygnotus and Milcor, the greatest painters of the age, depicted Theseus and Pirithous, by then famous as proto-Athenian lovers, and of the Argonauts, among whom Heracles lost his beloved Hylas. Most obvious were the last of the red-figured pederastic courting scenes, which were soon to come to an end in the more democratic environment. The most famous of all eromenoi, Leagros, who appears on more vases than any other, flourished in this period.

From the mainland, only Athens and Plataea aided the Ionian rebels in 499. The land-locked Spartans (always fearful of a helot revolt), the westward-looking Corinthians, and their Peloponnesian allies, saw less the opportunity to benefit from renewed trade with Ionia than the danger from intervening. Too small to ensure success, the expedition called forth Persian vengeance. With 10,000 Athenian hoplites, Miltiades, scion of Megacles, who had attempted to secure a tyranny before Solon, repulsed the Persian punitive expedition in 490 at Marathon, confirming the Athenians in self-confidence in their institutions: gymnasia, pederasty, and even their new democracy. Defeated again, as he had been by the Scythians earlier, an incident which helped inspire the Ionians to revolt, Darius determined to punish Athens in order to regain his prestige and overawe his Ionian subjects, but died, distracted by a revolt in Egypt, before he could execute his vengeance.

Darius's unbalanced son Xerxes launched the great expedition in 480, having the Hellespont manacled and whipped when it impudently upset his pontoon bridge. The fleets of his Phoenician and Ionian subjects resupplied his troops, estimated by Herodotus
at the grossly exaggerated number of 1,700,000. As they marched along the relatively unboundeous coast of Thrace, Macedonia, and Thessaly, the inhabitants of those regions "medized," overwhelmed by the odds, but the Athenians roused the rest of Greece to resist. The Spartan king fell gallantly at Thermopylae, making his people the outstanding heroes of Hellas. But the decisive event was the battle in the bay of Salamis, where the Athenian fleet, built on the advice of Themistocles, financed from the profits of the recently discovered silver mines at Laurium, destroyed the Persian fleet under the eyes of Xerxes. The following year at Plataea a combined Hellenic army under the leadership of the Spartan king Pausanias routed Xerxes's rearguard under his uncle Mardonius.

The Athenians ungratefully ostracized the architect of their victory, Themistocles (c.528-462), sometime between 476 and 471. His rival Aristides the Just (c.530-468) assessed impartially the cities around the Aegean and the islands which wished to liberate Ionia as well as to defend themselves from Persians to contribute ships according to their ability or money to construct and man them. According to Plutarch, the "great enmity" between Themistocles and Aristides "arose, it appears, from a very boyish occasion, both being attached to the beautiful Stesilaus of Ceos, as Ariston the philosopher tells us; ever after which they took opposite sides, and were rivals in politics" (Themistocles). Themistocles, born of a metic mother, upgraded the Cynosarges, the gymnasium for bastards and/or metics, after which it may have attracted some higher class citizens.

CIMON AND AESCHYLUS

The aristocratic Cimon, son of Miltiades, who had bequeathed him a vast fief in Thrace, took charge. He led the Delian fleet in yearly expeditions which freed the Ionian cities from Persia from 473 and brought back great booty to be divided among the liberators. He developed the elite gymnasium, the Academy, until in 461 his ungrateful fellow citizens ostracized him. Plutarch informs us that Cimon, who had married his father's daughter by another wife, loved the painter Polygnotus of Thasos (Cimon), the first great Greek monumental painter (c.475-447). Pausanias saw his murals of scenes from the Iliad and Odyssey, which featured such pederastic heroes as Achilles and Periathos, at Athens, Thasos's ally, where he was drawn by patronage, Plataea, and Delphi. Aristotle claimed that he and his friend Sophocles depicted men as better than we are—as he might have said of their Sicyonian contemporary, Polyclitus (see below).

At first wealth stimulated art and literature more than philosophy and science and directed culture in a rather popular, less pederastic way. Though Aeschylus himself and his slightly
older contemporary Phrynichus wrote lyrics and tragedies before Salamis, after Athens' triumphs tragedians produced the first great literature. Drama developed for the many was much less homoerotic than lyric poetry directed to the few. From Aristotle's *Poetics*, the majority have deduced that tragedy as well as comedy and satyr plays developed out of rites for Dionysus. If Arion (fl. 628-625) developed the dithyramb connected with goat singers and perhaps with masks at Corinth, out of which the tragic chorus evolved, that is the most we can ascribe to the Suda's connecting him to the birth of tragedy. The Pisistratids may have encouraged dramatic performances. Else argued not only that tragedy developed only in Athens but that it did not do so gradually. He held the theory that Gilbert Murray popularized in the English-speaking world, that Thespis, who performed about 534 in Athens, created the *tragoedia* by introducing the first actor and Aeschylus the tragic drama with a second actor, in contrast to Aristotle's "having developed out of the Satyricon" and "having gone through many changes" (*Poetics*, IV, 1449A14). Actors in any case only gradually predominated over chorus, which was often composed of satyrs.

Pickard-Cambridge argued that no one had demonstrated the long-accepted dogma of the classical anthropologists at Cambridge that Greek tragedy derived from the ancient sexually loaded ritual of the seasonal god, the Eniartus-Daymon, or that it had any connection to primitive rituals in Mexico, Polynesia, or Egypt, in spite of the religiosity of Aeschylus's dramas. The redating of Aeschylus's *Suppliants* to the 460s from much earlier years, placed even before the battle of Marathon by some, proved that it was not a surviving example of the primitive "lyrical tragedy," expressing deep religious emotions conveyed in dithyrambs and maybe influenced by the Eleusinian mysteries and the cult of the dead, as had earlier been argued. Thus the predominant viewpoint that Nietzsche, who in *The Birth of Tragedy* defined the satyr as "the archetype of man, the embodiment of his highest and intensest emotions . . . wisdom, harbinger, speaking from the very heart of nature," had begun is wrong. The only contact between tragedy and ritual, except the satyr plays is perhaps that the tragedies were regularly performed at the Dionysia in Athens.

Tragedies and comedies, with males playing the female roles in both, were presented in the same theaters and perhaps before roughly comparable audiences. The theater developed along with the drama. At first the spectators merely ringed the chorus. A tent was provided for dressing and a platform for actors as they were introduced. When the chorus was provided with an orchestra behind which a scene (from the Greek word for "tent") or stage buildings towered, the spectators were confined to two-thirds of a circle facing the orchestra and stage. Gradually these temporary wooden structures were replaced by stone. Early on often
performed in the Agora, productions were moved to the Lyceum. The
Suda related that in 499, during the performance of one of the
competitors in the tragic contest, Pratinus of Philus, said by
Suda to have invented satyr plays, the benches collapsed, making
the Athenians resolve to build the Theater of Dionysus in stone.
But as Aristophanes spoke of wooden benches (Acharnians, 424-5),
and as the sausage-seller offered the knight a cushion to palliate
his discomfort for "sitting on the hard rocks" (Knights, 745),
Haigh concluded, therefore, that stone construction began after
499, was progressing until after 330, and was completed by 325.53

The size of the theater increased with the growth of the
population. Spectators without tickets, of which archaeologists
have uncovered some examples, could view the spectacle from the
poplar (tree), as the saying went. As special assemblies of the
people, normally held in the fifth and fourth century in the Pnyx,
were held there, for example, in 411 after the overthrow of the
400, as Thucydides mentioned, and after the mid-third century it
became the regular meeting place for the Assembly, the overall
capacity, perhaps including standing room and seating in the
aisles, could be very large and overflowing up the hill. Used by
rhapsodists for recitations and harp-players when their audiences
were too large for the Odeum, it had excellent acoustics.
Orphaned sons of soldiers were paraded there when they were
dismissed from state control. Tribute from the allies was
displayed in the orchestras. Deserving citizens were crowned
there. An annual cockfight to commemorate the Persian invasion
was staged there. Thus this rather busy theater could accommodate
the majority of the Athenians interested in assembling for
whatever purpose and therefore the common man would normally
predominate in it, which may have seated 27,500 or less precisely
30,000 at its maximum, about one-fifth of the total number of the
city's inhabitants,54 but was far smaller than the stadium
specifically intended to accommodate commoners constructed by the
wealthy benefactor Herodes Atticus c.140 A.D., which held up to
44,000.

After the rains stopped, twice a year during the Linnea (late
February-early March) and during the Dionysia (April), when many
foreigners came, the Athenians presented plays. In these holidays
they forgot business and politics, closed the law courts, and even
released prisoners from jail. Soon after sunrise most citizens
went to the theater to see three tragedies performed in one day.
As recently as a century ago many scholars argued that women were
excluded because of the coarseness of the comedies while claiming
that they were admitted to the tragedies, but it seems that both
women and boys were admitted to both, in part because they took
place on the same days one after another without an interval.
Even slaves were not barred. Plato said that tragedy addressed
"boys, women, men, slaves, and free citizens without distinction,"
though he felt that boys would prefer the comic poets while young
men and women would prefer the tragedies (Gorgias, 502b-e; Laws, 8.17a-e, 658a-d). Aristophanes said that boys and women were in the audience (Clouds, 537-539; Peace, 765-6, 962-67; 50). Many other citations from Aristophanes and New Comedy imply that women were admitted. Sphyromachus ordained that men, women, and courtesans should sit in separate sections of the theater (scholia on Aristophanes, Ecclesia, 22). Plato did not want the young to view or hear salacious words but recommended strict censorship in the Laws. Aristotle strongly urged that boys not be allowed to see or hear indecencies (Politics, VII, 17).

Admission was originally free, but because of fights over the seats a small entry fee was imposed of 2 obols. Pericles, to please the poor, gave every citizen the price of a ticket for the three days of the performances and later demagogues not only paid for the tickets but paid citizens a bounty to attend other festivals as well. Perhaps as many as 20 rows at the front were reserved for ephebes. A large portion of the audience was uncultured. Plato complained that they had corrupted the dramatists by dragging them down to their own level (Laws, 659b-c). Even Aristotle, who divided the audience into refined and rough, objected that actors and musicians had to debase themselves to the standard of the sections of the audience (Politics, VIII, 7) who were ignorant of the basic mythology necessary to follow most tragedies (Poetics, C13), but the audiences demonstrated excellent taste in awarding victories to Sophocles, Euripides, and Aristophanes.

Early on tragedy had pederastic themes, although it was generally based on myths that predated the institutionalization of pederasty in Greece and therefore tended to revolve around heterosexual themes. Aeschylus, who fought at Marathon and Salamis and who is the first dramatist of whom more than tiny fragments survive, won his first dramatic victory at the Festival of Dionysus in 484. A member of the older generation that still appreciated homoerotic vases, he may have used Stesichorus's pederastic interludes for his lyric trilogy, the Oresteia (458), according to Atheneus (XIII, 601a). This genius, of whose 70 plays only 7, plus brief fragments preserved by scholiasts or commentators, survive, raised tragedy to a new height in part by adding a second actor.

Inspired by the dramatic arrangement of the Iliad, Aeschylus began his Myrmidons, part of a lost trilogy, the Achilleis, so popular that Aristophanes cited it four times in three of his comedies (twice in the Frogs, and once each in the Birds and the Ecclesiazusae) with a chorus scolding the sulking Achilles for abandoning his fellows. When an emissary failed to induce the hero to return to battle, his eromenos Patroclus agreed to fight the formidable Hector. When Antilochus brought the news of Patroclus' death to Achilles, who was playing a game of dice, as
he is often portrayed on vases, his grief gushed forth, as a surviving fragment has it: "Wail for me, Antilochus, rather than for the dead man--for me, Achilles, who still live." Patroclus' corpse was brought to the stage. According to Lucian, Achilles lamented: "Achilles, bewailing the death of Patroclus with unhunbanded passion, broke forth into the truth in self-abandonment to woe" (Amores). In Athenaeus's more explicit version of Aeschylus' Myrmidons, Achilles cried: "Hadst thou no reverence for the unsullied holiness of thighs, O thou ungrateful for the showers of kisses given" (XIII, 602e).\footnote{56} In his Eroticus, Plutarch described the scene which reflected emotions connected with post-Homeric pederasty. Transposing the ages given to them by Homer, Aeschylus made Achilles into an erastes older than Patroclus. Aeschylus's Laius, the first part of a tetralogy about the Theban king who raped the boy Chrysippus, the son of his host Pelops, which gained him the first prize in the 78th Olympiad (467), is lost except for "two unimportant glosses of words."\footnote{57} A fragment of his lost satyr play, Net-Fishers, describes the satyr Silenus's reaction to the amazement displayed by a child he adopted on seeing his erection: "What a cocklover the little fellow is."\footnote{58}

In spite of the growth of the drama for the masses, the old lyric poetry for aristocratic symposia continued after the homoerotic vases went out of style. Before about one thousand lines of Bacchylides' (c.510-c.430) verses were discovered in 1896 in a papyrus of the first century B.C., he was known almost exclusively by reputation. A rival of Pindar, the last of the old lyric poets, he wrote dithyrambs. Like his uncle Semonides he moved to Athens to make a living and in 476 they were attracted like Pindar to the court of Hiero of Syracuse. For Athenian competitions he composed maiden songs (odes), paeans, processional songs, and lyrics. Now we can appreciate the words of the promiscuous bard: "O fair is Theocritus! thou'rt not alone in loving him" (VIII, 69a). Pindar also as we have seen composed for Athenian patrons.

Also continuing the old aristocratic traditions, the red-figured which replaced the black-figured in the 520s predominated until pederastic vases ceased soon after 470 or 460. Though most antedated the victory over the Persians, their greater number of surviving examples reflect more the growing export trade in Athenian olive oil than their late appearance. Athenian agriculture specialized with profit derived from trade and victory from grain to the more capital-intensive olive and vine. On the red-figured vases the hunting motif, violence, and crudity diminish. The erastes becomes often younger than before, sometimes not even bearded, and the eromenos so much younger that often he is smaller and less muscular than his black-figured counterparts. A kiss replaces the touching on the chin and genitals of figures who are with increasing frequency at least
partially clothed. The courting often took place in the palaestra instead of in the countryside. Though red-figured vase paintings are our most numerous portrayals of pederasty, pederastic scenes on them diminish after 500 and cease after 471, the date of the ostracism of Themistocles, marking the rise of a new generation.

From the middle of the sixth century to the last quarter of the fifth the fashion of naming boys grew on red-figured vases, which after 471 also deemphasized gift-giving and other courting scenes. The increasing use of the same names on many vases indicate that they were made not for an erastes or eromenos, but for a public enamored of a favored athlete. Buffiume, probably following Licht, mistakenly supposed that those portrayed were the eromenoi of the artists: most portrayed their patrons' eromenoi or athletes loved by the public.

Koch-Harnack incorrectly postulated that literary allusions to animal gifts, confined to Aristophanes, Petronius, and the Suda were mostly conventions, because the practice had ceased with the scenes of courtship on vases. In fact, erastai kept on giving gifts after the fashion pairing them on vases ceased. After 470 explicitly homosexual scenes become less numerous, yielding pride of place to intimate conjugal heterosexual scenes, often taking place in boudoirs, replete with pillows and other comfortable aids, but our pederastic texts about courtship as in Plato's dialogues are almost all later by a century. The virtual absence of representations of anal, as distinct from intercrural, sex with males except for occasional orgies involving ephebes or satyrs (it is shown more often as is oral sex with female prostitutes) on any vases does not prove Dover's theory that it did not occur but only that the Greeks did not like to publicize it. (Graffiti give a different view.) Artistic convention discouraged it because it was more effective to reveal the head of the penis (as in modern "come shots") and vase painting does not lend itself to complex renderings of three-dimensional occurrences.

A contributory influence to the process of effeminization was the sculpturing of pederastic figures of the gods and mythological heroes which only rarely appeared in Archaic sculpture, the most important exception for our purposes being Zeus' abduction of Ganymede found at Olympia and dating to . The oldest surviving one is from about . The statue of Harmodius and Aristogiton may be the first pederastic couple depicted in sculpture in the round if we assign to mythology the couple of kouroi Cleobulus and Biton who harnessed themselves to their priestess mother's chariot to get her to the temple on time. The Persians destroyed most of the Athenian sculpture from this period when they pillaged the Acropolis in 480. Fortunately, the fragments were buried there and have been excavated so that we have a better idea of the kouroi and korai. Though the females
were clothed, the drapery was drawn tight around their rear, producing a sexy look.\textsuperscript{60} The famous "Critios" boy (c.480), which foreshadowed much classical sculpture in its serene idealized perfection, was also excavated on the Acropolis. After the war the Athenians were busy rebuilding their city but they swore an oath not to rebuild the Acropolis, to keep it destroyed as a memorial to Persian barbarism. Consequently the only important sculpture from this period was the redone.

Pederasty continued in a more discrete, less aristocratic form as Athens became more democratic after 461. Shortly after Cimon's ostracism in that year, when a democratic faction won control of Athens, taste altered dramatically. The old aristocratic cult of paidika and of round chariots proclaimed in Ionian coiffures and elegant dress, became more reticent, continuing its pederastic activities discreetly in private symposia sometimes still cultivated in comasts, revelling through the streets to serenade a boy at his front door, but generally becoming less ostentatious and more sedate. Even the now distinguished Pindar, who continued, it is true, to praise the beauty of boy victors, wrote in a much more sedate vein than his predecessors had. The heterosexual taste of the common citizen was catered to by the playwrights and even by the sculptors who, although they continued to emphasize male beauty, were erecting public monuments, statues to gods and friezes for their temples, that were hardly even overtly pederastic. In fact, criticism of unbridled pederasty probably already existed in this period, anticipating that of Socrates.

The book by Carola Reinsberg, \textit{Ehe, Hetärenlub und Knabenliebe im antiken Griechenland} (1989), echoes traditional homophobia. It claims that what began as an aristocratic system of pedagogy by which the youth were socialized degenerated into sensuality in the democratic period (p. 187), a theory that should long ago have been abandoned since it only restates the homophobic rationale that "such relationships might have had a positive function at an earlier stage in human society, but today they are completely outmoded." Second and astonishingly, she denigrates the gift-giving of the erastes to the eromenos as bordering on prostitution (p. 182), without realizing that such practices have been part of courtship through history, in heterosexual as well as homosexual affairs. She quotes Plato's \textit{Laws} to the effect that the Greeks even regarded some expressions of male homosexuality as "crimes against nature" (using the language of Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code) without taking into account that Plato never urged criminal sanctions against homosexual activity, that the headship of the Platonic academy passed for several generations from lover to beloved and that the Stoics later asserted that one could keep one's eromenos until he was twenty-seven. Were all these philosophers depraved or degenerate? She does concede at the outset of her discussion that "the only true love was love for the
boy" (p. 163), but her whole approach is so dominated by anachronistic beliefs in the "sinfulness" of sexual longing and the "defiling" character of sexual activity that she merely replicates the old, essentially homophobic dogma that condemns all sexual pleasure unless it is somehow "redeemed" by the noble and self-sacrificing motives of the two partners. She does acknowledge: "That sexuality played a decisive role in pederasty and does not stem from the lustful imagination of a few scholars is clear to every unprejudiced observer when he sees the archaic vase paintings on which a man, an erastes, gropes the genital organs of a youth, an eromenos. This gesture, which in early Greek art also appears in heterosexual pairs, is an unmistakable expression of sexual desire. The openly expressed homosexual eroticism becomes more concrete in later, red-figured vase depictions. . . . That sexual intercourse occurred at all times in boy-love emerges unambiguously from the literature" (p. 189). If anything the reverse is true: only a handful of classical scholars have ever honestly admitted that there was an overt sensual element in Greek pederasty. She shuns discussion of the origins of pederasty, while naming such recent authors as Patzer: "The origins and source of Greek boy-love can yield no information on the question of the social value, as despite passionate discussion these could not be fully clarified. The sexual core of Greek boy-love cannot be seriously called into doubt by any of the various theories of its origin." She does add: "In Homeric society, to judge by the epics, there was no boy-love, unless one assumes that Homer consciously avoided mentioning it" (p. 212).

**INCREASING DEMOCRACY; PERICLES**

After 461 there were no more Ionian cities for the Delian League to liberate and the non-Greek ports on the south coast of Asia Minor would not rise on the appearance of the Delian fleet. Thus suddenly, when Cimon's talents as admiral were no longer needed, thousands of rowers, who came from the lower classes in Athens and Delian ports, lost their principal means of earning cash while the booty that poured in no longer stimulated commerce or building. Simultaneously, the growth of commerce was curbed by the fact that the Delians gained no new trading partners as they had formerly when the cities they liberated joined their alliance. A general depression ensued.

The old leadership became discredited because of the slump which depressed wages and commerce more than food prices and land values. Ephialtes and other radicals formed a democratic party aiming to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor. Whether Ephialtes planned the extensive public works projects that Pericles soon undertook, we do not know because he was assassinated in 461 by those who opposed his measures to deprive the Areopagus of its principal powers. His ambitious young
lieutenant Pericles rose to control of the party during the crisis that ensued and was elected strategos for the following thirty years with one exception. Although ostensibly one of the ten elected annually to that board, he became de facto master of Athens by popular programs and a winning personality that knew not only how to form policy but to convince others to follow them.

To employ his supporters, Pericles reconstructed the temples on the Acropolis that the Persians had destroyed. Phidias, the sculptor of the Parthenon, was charged by Pericles's enemies with peculation and the costs were so high that Pericles moved the Delian treasury, whose wealth had piled up as contributions poured in but no naval expeditions were launched, to Athens and began to embezzle from it to pay for his extravagant building projects, to subsidize lavish dramas, and pay for jurors. As various Delian allies protested the continuation of the contributions, Pericles compelled them to pay by intimidating individual objectors who had to face trials in Athens and threatening whole cities which resisted. Finally, the hostility brought about by his arbitrary actions, applauded by Athenians who benefited from the exploitation, sought Spartan help to free them from Athenian tyranny. The Spartans, jealous if not intimidated by the growing power of Athens, and urged on by their own allies such as Corinth and Megara, who were suffering from Athenian commercial inroads, opted to liberate the discontented members of the Delian League and in 431 the Great Peloponnesian War began.

Ironically, Pericles (c.495-429), the most famous Athenian democrat, came from the most aristocratic of families, the Alcmaonidae who, with Spartan help, had expelled Hippias. Famed for his beauty as well as his excellent character, about which we are better informed perhaps than about any other Greek's, he left no record of an erastes or eromenos. Unlike Sparta and Crete, Athens imposed no penalties for those abstaining from pederastic relationships. According to Plutarch, who used reliable, contemporary sources for his Life, he condemned unseemly, outrageous pederasty: "And once when Sophocles who was commanding with him on a naval expedition, said something in praise of a handsome boy, he replied, 'Not only his hands, Sophocles, must a commander keep clean but his eyes as well'" (Pericles, VIII, 8). His opposition did not arise from fear, as had that of the tyrants, but like that of so many later philosophers, who may have based their thought on the maxim of the Delphic oracle of nothing in excess, condemned excessive boy-chasing and perhaps had a personal distaste as some men and boys in every generation must have felt. He seemed devoted to his learned and witty hetaira from Miletus, Aspasia, whom he took after he divorced his wife to escape an unhappy marriage.

The elaboration of athletic facilities increased as Athens became the school of Hellas. Pericles rebuilt the Lyceum after
the Persians destroyed the simpler gymnasium founded there by Pisistratus. As the nobility gave way to the nouveaux riches and actually declined in numbers, especially after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, which ravaged their country estates, equestrian training continued but was less dominant than before. The variety and number of events at games increased as lower-class spectators multiplied faster than privileged participants. Our literary and epigraphic records become fuller, recording more names of men of the hoplite class, or even wrestlers, often from the thetes class, who often became trainers. Contrary to a widely held opinion, prizes had never been insignificant and the awards of laurel and decanters of oil had long been supplemented by monetary prizes and since Solon at least the privilege of dining at the prytaneum.

Of the 1,388 lines ascribed to Theognis, only the 164 of Book II are overtly pederastic. The 1230 of Book I are not with a very few exceptions, of which one or two because of the ambiguity of pronouns could have been addressed to either sex but almost certainly were to boys:

In youth a man may sleep all night with one [gender indeterminable] of his age and have his full of delights and may sing in revels to the pipe . . . .

Except for Pindar, whose allusions are so subtle that many have argued that he was not pederastic, Theognis was the only other pederastic poet of whom we have medieval manuscripts. Of Book II, probably preserved by a monk in the early Middle Ages, only one copy survived, The rest we know only from inscriptions, from papyri preserved in the sands of Egypt, or from fragments preserved by other writers as examples of grammar, vocabulary or style or sources for mythology or history. Medieval Christians recopied Theognis' platitudinous moralisms because they contained what they deemed to be good advice and salutary exhortations. Of all the pederastic poets Theognis, who may have flourished as late as 480, was the most sour on the world, distrustful and scornful of his fellow human beings, and concerned about the brevity and unpleasantness of human life. In short, this honest aristocrat who shunned wealth and praised self-control and piety had an attitude most like that of Christians. Whoever preserved his poems carefully separated out from the main body those that were imaginably pederastic. Somehow they survived in Book II. Book I contained a number of poems by earlier poets, including Tyrtaeus, Mimnermus, and , and new variants that do not seem to have been by Theognis. It also has a passage elsewhere assigned to Socrates' contemporary Eue .

2 Nagy (1990)
Many of the poems in Book I praising love and wine in moderation seem gayer and some doubt that even they are by such a dour poet. Some believe that they were simply tacked on, others that they had been inserted into the Corpus and then later reworked. Amongst others, Van Groningen declared they were not by Theognis at all.  

Book II contains many by later writers. The second book of Theognis is a compilation. The name and fame of the author protected the first book from perishing. Later the copy appended—nobody knows when or where—to the manuscript in the tenth century survived with Book II appended. Dubbed the Pseudo-Theognidea by some, Book II seems to be the product of different hands from the fifth or others say even the fourth century. Because they seem less light and graceful than verses of the Alexandrians, some of the final poems in Book I, praising drink and love, are so incongruous that they too do not appear to some to belong to Theognis himself; they and others may have been added to the Corpus and then taken out by Byzantine monks to form Book II. Hardly anyone would accept Nietzsche's ascription to Mimnermus or A. Couat's of 1893 to a Byzantine.

Book II may have been part of a fifth century Athenian book of drinking songs (skolia) like its democratic counterpart, Athenian Drinking Songs. Both praised drink and boy-love. Popular, as if improvised, they bemoan life's brevity and condemn eromenoi's inconstancy and ingratitude. Many express satisfaction or joy in the relationship:

Thou hast a disposition like a gadding young wagtail's, lad; for thou'rt loved now by these and now by those. (1257-8)

Like are the minds of a lad and of a horse; the horse weepeth not because his rider is in the dust, but hath his fill of barley and carrieth another in his turn; and in like manner a lad loveth him that is present to him. (1267-70)

I know well enough thou didst cheat me, lad; for I can e'en see through thee. Those with whom thou art now so close and friendly, abandoning for worthless thy friendship for me, with them thou wast not friendly before; whereas I, I thought to make thee of all my comrades the truest, and now thou hast another to thy friend. I that did well by thee lie neglected; I would that no man living who shall see thee may be willing to set his
love on thee. (1311-18)

Happy he that loveth as he taketh his practice and when he goeth home sleepeth the day out with a fair lad. (1335-6)

A pleasant thing hath lad's-love ever been since Ganymede was loved of the great Son of Cronus, the king of the Immortals, who seized and brought him to Olympus and made him a God, what time his boyhood was in its lovely flower. In like manner, Simonides, be not thou astonished that 'tis come out that I too am taken with the love of a fair lad. (1345-50)

On the neck of the lad-lover there ever sitteth a galling yoke that is a grievous memorial of love-of-strangers. (1357-8)

Gratitude belongeth, 'tis sure, to a lad; but a woman-comrade is never true; she loveth him that is present unto her. (1367-8)

Far from the Spartiate ideal, most of the lovers are sadly disabused. The lesser poets who composed them, some of whose works may survive in the Greek Anthology, are impossible to name with certainty. Aphrodite, who usually inspires heterosexual love, rather than Eros, as is the usual case for pederastic affairs, endows boys with their ephemeral charms, torments lovers, and sometimes delivers them from their passions:

My lad, so long as thy cheek be smooth I will never cease to pay my court, no, not if I have to die. (1327-8)

I no longer love a lad; I have shaken off sore troubles and gladly 'scaped grievous distress; I am delivered of my longing by the wraithed Cytherea, and thou, lad, hast no favour in my eyes. (1337-1340)

Although scholars agree that most of the poems addressed to Cynrus were authentic, some appear in Book II: 

Woe 's me! I love a smooth-skinned lad who exposeth me to all my friends, nor I am loath; I will bear with many things that are sore against my liking, and make it no secret; for 'tis no unhandsome lad I am seen to be taken with (1341-44).
O most beautiful and charming of boys, 
stand before me and listen to a few 
words from me (1365) . . . O boy, since 
the goddess Cypris has given you 
charming grace and your beauty of 
form is the admiration of all, listen 
to these words and place my gratitude 
in your heart, knowing how hard it is 
for men to hear love (1319).

Theognis's rival Phocylides, from whom only sixteen fragments survive, was also widely imitated. The pseudo-Phocylidea, according to Bergk following Bernays (1855), are "probably by a Hellenizing Jew" whose works sometime between 50 B.C. and 50 A.D. In the Judaic tradition they excoriate both pederasty and lesbianism. Many of the poems of the Theognidea may have been by Eunus of Paros, named by Plato as a Sophist, whose Erotica, which the fourth century Latin poet Ausonius—a lukewarm Christian—mentioned, may have been in prose.

Like their predecessors, they introduced new theories—perhaps methods—of boy-love and other aspects of sexuality. Intellectuals of every persuasion as well as merchants and laborers from all parts flocked to the booming metropolis which was also swollen by an influx of slaves. Although Pindar and the eclectic philosopher Diogenes of Apollonia (f.c.440-430) only visited without staying there, many moved there permanently.

Banished by the tyrant Lygdamis, who had executed his cousin, an epic poet, before 454, Herodotus of Halicarnassus, originally Doric-speaking but now Ionicized, lingered in Samos before moving to Athens, from where he went to Italy to help found the new colony of Thurii in 443 and probably survived the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Inspired by Hecataeus of Miletus, he brought the spirit of inquiry (Historiae) from Anatolia to Athens. His wide travels that may have taken him to Spain reinforced the geographical bent he inherited from the Ionians. The nine books of his History divide into triads: the first, covering Cyrus and Cambyses; the second, Darius; the third, Xerxes, with many digressions. He was acutely aware of ethnic differences, believing the Persians learned pederasty from the Greeks and that the Egyptians did not practice infanticide.

Just when Myron and others were reviving sculpture, which had languished in the immediate aftermath of the Persian sack of Athens, a change in taste occurred as aristocrats yielded to democratic prejudices after 470. Pederastic vases became scarce. Koch-Harnack mentioned a few later ones portraying gifts to eromenoi: #133, from 450 to 440 (Athens Museum); #151 dated 440 (the Louvre); #170, dated later fifth century by Watzinger.
(Tübingen), and her latest vase dates from 430-425 (#171, Fogg) and depicts courting with animal gifts. In the 1920s Beazley dated #181 (Ashmolean) to the fourth century, when Attic vase painting had virtually disappeared.  

Koch-Harnack, who did not realize that the Suda uncritically quoted ancient citations regardless of their reliability, thought that gift-giving ceased when pictures of it ceased on the vases. The fad of such vase scenes ended long before erastai quit giving birds, animals, or honey-cakes to eromenoi, just as pederasty continued long after it enjoyed a vogue on vase scenes. In fact, the vase scenes ended before Aristophanes and Plato, two of our chief sources for Athenian pederasty, wrote. In 423 Aristophanes (Birds, 705ff.) faithfully reflected customs, including gifts of animals to boys, showing they were still in vogue. After 460 most vases depict heterosexuality with "a startling increase in the number of depictions of women in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C." There were many scenes of heterosexual copulation. The polychrome and black-and-white vase paintings that came into style did not represent pederasty. Nevertheless, pederastic practice postdated surviving vase scenes.

**SOPHOCLES AND THE PARTHENON**

First competing against Aeschylus in 468, Sophocles (496-406), who added a third actor, composed 113 plays of which only seven, all later than 440, survive. Gaining the first prize twenty-four times and never falling below second place, he wrote at least four pederastic ones. Achilles' Loves, probably a satiric play, seems to take place on top of Mt. Pellon or in the cave of the centaur Cheiron, who observes of his pupil Achilles, in a phrase preserved by Hesychius: "He hurls glances from his eyes, which wound like spears" (Fr. 161). Stobaeus has preserved a simile that likens love to ice:

This love-disease is a delightful trouble;
Well might I shadow forth its power as thus:
When the clear, eager frost has fallen, boys
Seize with their fingers the firm frozen ice,
And first they feel an unaccustomed pleasure,
But in the end it melts, and they to leave it
Or in their hands to hold know not how;
Even so the same desire drives wilful lovers
To do and not to do by frequent changes. (Fr. 153)

Finally, when Achilles' mother Thetis withdraws her son from the tutelage of the lustful Cheiron, the chorus of satyrs attempts to comfort him (Fr. 157). In his Erotica (760 E), Plutarch discussed Niobe: "When the children of Niobe, in Sophocles, are
being pierced and dying, one of them cries out, appealing to no other rescuer or ally than his lover: Ho! comrade, up and aid me!"

The Colchian Women alluded to Ganymede: "Inflaming with his thighs the royalty of Zeus" (Atheneus, XIII, 602e). A fragment from the Oenomaus describes Pelops:

Such is the charm to ensnare love, a kind of lightning-flash that Pelops has in his eyes; with it he is warmed himself, but scorches me with the flame, measuring me with even glance of eye, just as the craftsman's rule is laid straight when he proceeds according to the pattern line (Atheneus, XIII, 564b).

Fragments of the works of the versatile Ion of Chios (c.490-c.421), another of the refugees drawn to Athens by its wealth, are traditionally included in corpora containing elegists, tragedians, historians, or pre-Socratic philosophers. The 36 lines that survive from his elegies, one of which petitioned Dionysius to grant "drink, fun, and integrity," were more elegant than those of his predecessor Xenophanes or his successor Critias.

He produced his first tragedies between 451 and 448 and he competed again in 429 and 428. Fourth century Athenians consigned him, along with Agathon, Neophron, Achaeus, Philocles, and about twenty others to the second echelon of tragedians behind Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. We have 86 fragments or references to his tragedies. He may have written one about Gyges of Lydia (TGF, II, F664). His Triagmos in prose opens by saying that the arete of each individual consists of "understanding, power, and fortune." His Foundation of Chios was apparently in prose, although Xenophanes had written poems about the foundation of Colophon and the colonization of Elea and Mimnermus's elegies had referred to early events at Colophon and Smyrna. From Ion's other historical works, known as The Visits, or The Sojourn, Atheneus makes a long citation about Sophocles:

Sophocles was fond of young lads, as Euripides was fond of women. The poet Ion, at any rate, in the work entitled [The Visits] writes as follows: "I met Sophocles the poet at Chios when he was sailing as general to Lesbos; he was playful at wine, and clever. A Chian friend of his Hermesilaus, who was the proxenus [consul] of Athens, entertained him, when there appeared, standing beside the fire, the wine-pourer, a handsome, blushing boy; Sophocles was plainly stirred and said: 'Do you want me to drink with pleasure?' And when the boy said 'Yes' he said, 'Then don't be too rapid in handing me the cup and taking it away.' When the boy blushed still
more violently he said to the man who shared his couch: 'That was a good thing Phrynichus wrote when he said: "There shines upon his crimson cheeks the light of love."' To this the man from Eretria (or Erythrae), who was a schoolmaster, made answer: 'Wise you are, to be sure, Sophocles, in the art of poetry; nevertheless Phrynichus did not express himself happily when he described the handsome boy's cheeks as crimson. For if a painter should brush a crimson color on this boy's cheeks he would no longer look handsome. Surely one must not compare the beautiful with what is obviously not beautiful.' Laughing loudly at the Eretrian Sophocles said: 'So, then, stranger, you don't like that line of Simonides, either, though the Greeks think it very well expressed . . . [Then] Sophocles returned to his conversation with the boy. He asked him, as he was trying to pick off a straw from the cup with his little finger, whether he could see the straw clearly. When the boy declared he could see it Sophocles said, 'Then blow it away, for I shouldn't want you to get your finger wet.' As the boy brought his face up to the cup, Sophocles drew the cup nearer to his own lips, that the two heads might come closer together. When he was very near the lad, he drew him close with his arm and kissed him. They all applauded, amid laughter and shouting, because he had put it over the boy so neatly; and Sophocles said, 'I am practicing strategy, gentlemen, since Pericles told me that whereas I could write poetry, I didn't know how to be a general. Don't you think my stratagem has turned out happily for me?' Many things of this sort he was wont to say and do cleverly when he drank or when he did anything. In civic matters, however, he was neither wise nor efficient, but like any other individual among the better class of Athenians" (XIII, 603f-604d).

Dover, from whom the whole paragraph is paraphrased, concludes: "Fifth-century Athens enabled and encouraged Ion to produce tragedies. He repaid this debt, unknowingly, by planting the seed from which the Platonic dialogue grew."68

While the upper classes courted boys at gymnasia, now frequented by Sophists, and sang pederastic skolia at symposia,
the lower classes, not needed as rowers in such peaceful times, labored to build the Parthenon, begun in 447 and finished in 432, under the direction of Ictinus. Phidias not only executed a chryselephantine statue of Athena in 438 for the interior but supervised both of the lavish friezes of the exterior. His friezes, while emphasizing the masculine beauty, including male nudes as well as draped or partially draped male figures, exhibit restraint that inhibits eroticism. He inscribed "beautiful Pantarces" (the name of his eromenos) on the finger of his chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia, erected c.430 (Pausanias, v, II, 3; vi, 10, 6; 15, 2; Clement of Alexandria, Protrepticon, 35c).

Phidias's rival, Polyclitus of Argos, who worked mainly if not exclusively in bronze, placed various statues of athletes at Olympia, where some of their inscribed bases have been uncovered, as well as elsewhere. Roman copies of his "Doryphorus" (spear-bearer), identified through Pliny's description (34.55), exhibit the harmonious proportions and meticulous details for which he was renowned. Many feel that the copy of his more youthful strigal-scraper is more erotic. His other athletes were also copied rather than his chryselephantine statue of Hera made for the temple of Argos and preferred by Strabo (VIII, 372) to Phidias's Zeus. Though also restrained, Polyclitus's athletes appear more homoerotic than Phidias's. Roman marble copies of the "Discuss Thrower" and of "Marsyas" by Polyclitus's slightly older contemporary Myron (f.c.480-c.445) seem to some more erotic still.

**SOPHISTS**

Most of the philosophers were Sophists, paid teachers, of whom some became rich from their fees. They were criticized by old-fashioned Athenians not only for accepting money in return for teaching, but also for their novel and often impious ideas that ran counter to tradition. Priding themselves on "the ability to make the worse seem the better cause," they converged on Athens from all corners of the Hellenic world, giving no moral guidance to replace the traditions they lampooned. Such men as Protagoras of Abdera, Gorgias of Leontini, Anaxagoras of Lampsacus, Prodicus of Ceos, and Hippas of Elis, claiming an amazing intellectual versatility, undermined ancient values by preaching moral relativism and professing skepticism. Irrationality took refuge in the "mysteries" and belief in the Olympians declined. But the youth flocked to them. Plato later entitled two of his dialogues after them: Protagoras and Gorgias.

Anaxagoras (c.500-c.428) of Lampsacus, a Phocaean colony in the northern Troad, who studied with pupils of Anaximenes of Miletus (f.c. 546), was the first foreign philosopher to make Athens his home, arriving in 480 probably accompanying the army of
Xerxes, and became tutor and friend of Pericles. It has been alleged that he transported Ionian homophilic concepts to Athens. The first to distinguish parts of speech and moods of verbs and the first to teach for money, Protagoras of Abdera (c.485/481-c.411) learned philosophy in Ionia, perhaps as a pupil of Democritus. Pericles had him frame laws for the colony of Thurii (Plutarch, Pericles, XXXVI) in 444. In addition to Truth and On The Gods, Diogenes Laertius attributed works about education, politics, rhetoric, and ethics.

Hippias (c.485-415) of Elis, in northwestern Peloponnesus, where Plato said people were too stupid to court boys, wrote a great number of works on a wide range of subjects, including an elegy describing the drowning of a boys's chorus from Messenia. The lyric poet Diagoras (f.c.450) from Melos, called the Atheist because of his opposition to the gods, lampooned three times by Aristophanes, has left us only three fragments. Accused by his enemies of immorality and impiety, Pericles's mistress, Aspasia (f.c.445), from Miletus, became a friend of Socrates and professed rhetoric.