CHAPTER III:

SPARTAN HEGEMONY, 404-371

This then is the fourth type of madness, which befalls when a man, reminded by the sight of beauty on earth of the true beauty, grows his wings and endeavours to fly upward, but in vain, exposing himself to the reproach of insanity because like a bird he fixes his gaze on the heights to the neglect of things below; and the conclusion to which our whole discourse points is that in itself and in its origin this is the best of all forms of divine possession, both for the subject himself and for his associate, and it is when he is touched with this madness that the man whose love is aroused by beauty in others is called a lover. ... (Plato, Phaedrus, 250)

Then if any device could be found how a state or an army could be made up only of lovers and beloved, they could not possibly find a better way of living, since they would abstain from all ugly things and be ambitious in beautiful things towards each other; and in battle side by side, such troops although few would conquer pretty well all the world. For the lover would be less willing to be seen by his beloved than by all the rest of the world, leaving the ranks or throwing away his arms, and he would choose to die many times rather than that; yes, and as to deserting the beloved, or not helping in danger, no one is so base that Love himself would not inspire him to valour, and make him equal to the born hero. (Plato, Symposium, 179)

Boy-love continued to be an integral part of Greek culture in the fourth as it had been in the fifth and sixth centuries. In spite of the relative hard times from the Peloponnesian War to the Macedonian conquest, Greeks built more and larger gymnasia and sang love-songs at symposia where erastei pursued eromenoi as keenly as ever without heed for the advice of carping philosophers and cautious physicians. It was not merely in philosophy, sculpture, architecture, and oratory, all of which depend on one's taste, but in heroism and generalship as well, the display for
which chronic wars and revolutions gave ample opportunity, that Greeks reached their apex in the fourth century. The death of Socrates and the deed of the tyrannicides Antileon and Hipparinus preceded the Sacred Band that defeated Sparta and faced Philip and the conquests of Alexander. If Hellenes resisted the King of Kings in the fifth century, they conquered all his realms in the fourth and more besides, creating the largest empire yet. Then they inspired and improved its every part. If not more beautiful, the buildings at least were larger in the new cities of Asia and Africa, for they belong to the Hellenistic Age, but the splendid gymnasia and schools of Athens, imitated by Syracuse and by so many lesser poleis in Sicily and southern Italy as well as in Greece and the Aegean.

To call the Greeks of the fourth century degenerate would be to denigrate what might be their greatest achievements and to deny the loves of Plato, Aristotle, Epaminondas, Philip, and Alexander would constitute the height of hypocrisy. Pederasty remained as central and as inspirational to Greek life as it had been before. Even in dry science the sculptor Agoracritus of Pharos, a pupil of Phidias, loved the distinguished astronomer and mathematician Eudoxus of Cnidus (c.390-c.340), who perhaps was also the beloved of Theomedon the physician (Diogenes Laertius, VIII, 86), as well as Lysander of Sparta.1

Because taste is subjective, it is not reasonable to claim that the fourth century witnessed a degeneration from the finer sensibilities and higher standards of the fifth. Many prefer Praxiteles to Phidias, or Lysippus to Polyclitus. Neither Aristotle nor Plato was necessarily a whit inferior to Socrates, whom some dub a mere quibbler, but no fourth century tragedies have survived for us to compare with those of the fifth. Oratory peaked with Isocrates and Demosthenes. From the fourth century we have few lyricists or elegiasts praising boy-love, if indeed, as many now theorize, the Theognidea were mostly from the fifth century and the Anacrontea were mostly from the Hellenistic Age. Except for certain verses in the Greek Anthology, including Plato's, between Pindar and Theocritus there were no great pederastic poets. Although intellectually as vital and as creative as the fifth, the prosaic fourth century, philosophical and oratorical rather than lyrical, contributed fewer boy-love poems than either the fifth or third which consciously revived topoi as well as forms from the Archaic Age.

Politics and demography changed dramatically. The Peloponnesian War was a greater watershed in Greek history than the Civil War was in American history. Plague killed many times more Athenians during that war than did the Spartans and the Persian fleet. The population of Athens never regained pre-war heights before the twentieth century. Fearing an aggressive Sparta, by 394 the Persians were backing Conon's and Ipicrates's
bloody attempt to restore the Athenian empire. Thinned out by wars, Spartiates became too few to confront Philip of Macedon. Spearheaded by the Sacred Band of lovers, Thebes rose meteorically to overshadow the old rival poleis. Athens became embroiled in wars between upsurging Thebes and declining Sparta and then in the sanguinary struggles to avenge the Phocians' brutal pillage of the treasury of Delphi and then to stop Philip, who had gained prestige by defeating the Phocians, and topple Alexander. Like the Pied Piper, Alexander made the population shortage worse by leading off many Greeks to Asia, more males than females, to which, as to Egypt, his successors continued to lure them, for wars among the Diadochi continued to bleed Hellas during the late fourth century.

The lethal century from 431 to Alexander caused an acute shortage of citizens. Those whose patrimonies Solon's reforms and those of other sages in other poleis had intended to save from fragmentation owing to too many progeny were now in short supply. Partly because more rather than fewer ephebes were needed, Plato, the first to claim that it was "against nature" because it did not lead to reproduction, Xenophon, and Aristotle found a ready audience for their criticism of pederasty. The old-style life of gentlemen survived from Solon's establishment to the lifetime of Socrates, whose death in 399 was as great a watershed in Athenian intellectual life as the war was to demography.

Like Aristophanes, Socrates's students complained of the passing of the "good old days" and of gentlemanly erastai and properly modest eromenoi. Criticism of pederasty increased and the taste of those practicing it, now including nouveaux riches, often greedy merchants, changed, aped, or scorned, as the case might be, the manners of the old gentlemanly class, the old landholders, who had largely died out during the war and revolutions that accompanied and followed it, in Athens and elsewhere, lost its wealth due to Spartan occupation or ravaging of the countryside (where their estates lay), or been pushed aside. Their wealth and sophistication made the lifestyle of the often boorish country gentleman seem simplistic and dull. Anticipated by Alcibiades, the flaming youth now became more flamboyant. The marked increase in the number of male prostitutes, at least as far as we can tell from surviving sources, some of whom were available for a pittance, indicates not only a more mercenary type of sex in a more monetized economy, but that many middle and even lower class citizens had developed a taste for boy-love.

Although pederastic vase painting virtually ceased before the war, hardly anyone believes that old-fashioned pederasty, pederastic symposia, or even the courting of boys by the gifts of small animals portrayed on vases, ceased or even declined then. But afterwards life did not return to normal, even in the realm
of courtship and love-making. This is not to say that the growing criticism of physicians and philosophers had much effect on the conduct of even the upper classes who alone read their difficult works and could afford their services, unsuited for the working lower middle and lower classes who, after all, then and now, would hardly want to follow the precepts of Plato or that of the typical physician whose regimen would remove most of the pleasures of life. The critics reached but a small audience. The practice of pederasty nonetheless changed essentially with its democratization and the collapse of the old aristocratic classes and their value systems. Throughout most of Hellas, pederasty became less heroic and deviated more from its Spartan model designed to train invincible warriors, for the merchants rose relatively to landowners in most poleis. Increasingly paid teachers, often resorting to the strap, instructed boys in classrooms, replacing infatuated erastai in symposia and gymnasias.

Even before Philip's victory at Chaeronea extinguished Greek liberty, the education of an upper-class Athenian boy came to resemble that received by a young gentleman of Hellenistic times more than that of Miltiades or Cimon. Although brave hoplites as well as persuasive orators and sophisticated politicians were in desperate demand as long as freedom endured and even afterwards, the training of them became professionalized and routinized after the Peloponnesian War and the dependence of the polis upon the erastes/eromenos relationship seems to have diminished. The revival of that relationship in the Sacred Band made the Theban army invincible until Philip himself, after overpowering them with his massive cavalry and overwhelming numbers, wept over the fallen heroes at Chaeronea.

However similar they were in literary genres, more dramas and better histories survive from the fifth than from the fourth century, but far more orations and philosophical treatises from the fourth. Nine comedies and 33 tragedies survive from the hundreds of each that were performed from the fifth, but from the fourth we have nothing but fragments of tragedies and only four comedies (two of Aristophanes and two of Menander, better considered a Hellenistic writer, whose works have been recovered from the sands of Egypt), usually considered Middle Comedy. For the fifth century we have the excellent histories of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon, after whose termination date of 362 we have to rely mainly on the late and unreliable summary of Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch's Lives. From the fifth century not a single complete work of philosophy survives; from the fourth we have the voluminous writings of Plato and Aristotle. In fourth-century Athens a public record office was founded.

The bulk of Greek philosophy that survives was written in the fourth century. The greatest source for fourth century pederasty is Plato, the theorist of love who in his long life went from
enthusiasm to hostility. All Socrates's other students took differing positions on pederasty, from the enthusiastic approval of the Cyrenaics to the dire disapproval of any physical contact by Xenophon who, however, frequently recorded instances of pederasty without condemnation. Believing that some men were born with and others developed an inclination for pederasty, Aristotle seems not to have been as enthusiastic as the young Plato or as hostile as the old.

Momigliano has observed that only the works of the most serious Greek historians are extant and that "If we still had the library of Alexandria, we would be shocked by the historical trash which we would find in it." "Rhetoric" and the desire to amuse predominated over concern for fact in most historians. Ephorus investigated the origins of pederasty and Theopompos its course in the royal house of Macedonia but nowhere did it play as great a role as in Thebes with its invincible Sacred Band of lovers described by Xenophon and much later by Plutarch.

In the fourth century, verbal, witnessed declarations began to yield to written contracts, pleas, and affidavits. The oldest extant contract was drafted in 311 at Elephantine in Egypt. If it is correct, as is usually assumed, that all of Lysias's surviving orations were delivered after 400, we have 124 between 400 and 322; only the fifteen speeches of Antiphon antedate 400. Almost all of the surviving political orations of the Greeks also come from the fourth century. From Athens alone the Loeb Classical Library has devoted seven volumes to Demosthenes, three (not all of which are orations) to Isocrates, and one each to Aeschines, Isaesus, and Lysias, with two volumes entitled Minor Attic Orators that contain speeches by Antiphon, Demades, Hyperides, Andocides, Lycurgus, and Deinarchus. These composed the canon made in Hellenistic times of ten Attic orators. Amazingly, the earliest oration to survive by an orator from another city was . Like most of their contemporaries, the orators believed that pederasty was good if it followed the rules that citizens should not be passive, should not sell their bodies, and otherwise behave decorously. Providing more details than Demosthenes does, Lysias and Aeschines go more deeply into two sordid cases than any other ancient source before Petronius's lurid Satyricon, composed perhaps for the emperor Nero's delectation. But this chance survival does not necessarily indicate that Greek love was purer in earlier times, just that we have no comparable accounts. Lysias's Against Simon involves a violent young drunk's attempt to steal a boy kept by a middle-aged man for whom he seems to have affection. Against Timarchus, in which Aeschines attempts to disbar Timarchus by charging him with prostitution, is almost too disreputable to believe.

Only fragments survive of tragedies. Though no fourth-century pederastic comedies are extant, pederasty was occasionally
made the subject of a comedy: Antiphanes's Paiderastes, Diphilos's (c. 360/50-c.300) Paiderastai, Strattis's version of the story of Chrysippus, and that of Ganymede by Alcaeus Comicus (f.c.388), Antiphanes, who presented his first play in 385, and Eubulus, who mounted his between 376 and 373. Athenaeus conserved a fragment (25 C) of Eubulus about the Greek army before the walls of Troy:

Not one of them has seen the prettiest end of a woman and near ten years they have satisfied one another. What a bitter campaign! After having taken the city by assault they returned from it with wider assholes than the gates of the city they conquered.

Of Middle Comedy we are less informed than of earlier Old or New, not only because no complete work survives but also because there are fewer fragments and paraphrases or allusions to it. Plautus and especially Terence preferred New Comedy models. The Suda informs us that Alexis of Thurii in Magna Graecia (c.375-c.275) produced 245 comedies. His Agonis featured the pederast Misgolas who had a special attraction to flute-playing youths (and maidens). As the orator Aeschines reported: "It is this Misgolas, son of Naucrates, of [the Attic deme] Collytus, in other respects a man of beautiful body and soul; but he has always been fond of boys and is constantly in the habit of having about him players on the lute, both male and female" (Against Timarchus, I, 41). Fr. 3 of the Agonis depicts a girl beseeching her mother: "O mother dear, do not give me, I beg, to Misgolas, for I do not play the lute." Antiphanes's Fishermen (fr. 26, 14-18) and Timocles's Sappho (fr. 30) also alluded to Misgolas. We also have a tantalizing fragment from Alexis's Hypnos (Sleep): "The young man does not eat chives, to avoid disgusting his lover when he kisses him" (242). In Timocles's Orestautocleides cited by Aeschines (Against Timarchus, I, 52), the unfortunate pederast is chased by hetairai, in the same fashion that Orestes was by the Furies, eleven of whom keep Autocleides under observation at all times, even during sleep (fr. 25).

Erotic scenes on vases had gone out of fashion before the Peloponnesian War. After homoerotic vase paintings disappeared, sculpture, although hampered by the fact that in that medium it was uncommon to represent two free-standing individuals, continued as the main Greek visual expression of homoeroticism. It reached a new high of eroticism with Praxiteles, Lysippus, and Leochares. Like his earlier rival Phidias, the Athenian Praxiteles (f.c. 350), judged most successful in portraying emotion in marble, dramatically changed sculpture. One of the most famous works, the Aphrodite of Cnidus, perhaps the most discussed statue in Antiquity, first portrayed a life-size, completely nude woman so realistically that Aphrodite purportedly asked, "When did Praxiteles see me so?" (       ). The Dionysus with the infant
Hermes at Olympia, one of the few original marbles surviving from the classical period, partly because of the polished surface and delicate musculature seems to some more homoerotic than any fifth century statue as do some of his satyrs. In spite of his famous mistress Phryne, his bronzes as well as his marbles still today probably excite more homosexuals than any other Greek sculpture.

Lysippus of Sicyon (f.c.328) was the only sculptor that Alexander permitted to figure him—which he did many times. Copies of Lysippus's Erotis and satyrs seem to some particularly stimulating. Famed for the new slender proportions of his figures, precision in detail, and capturing the moment, he was far the most productive sculptor in antiquity. Leochares, whose signature on the Acropolis dates to about 350, decorated the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus' west side with slim, tall, striking figures, somewhat resembling his contemporary Lysippus's slimmed-down figures, and might be considered effeminate, like his Apollo Belvedere in the Vatican, which Winckelmann particularly extolled. His undated Zeus as an eagle with Ganymede is the most famous representation of the scene.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHANGES

Some assume that the readiness with which men volunteered for the hard and dangerous life of mercenaries is an indication of overpopulation in the fourth century, even though among Greeks no war was as sanguinary as the Great Peloponnesian War, until Alexander and his successors lured many to the Near East. According to Isocrates, "It is easier to raise a bigger and better force from the floating population than from the citizen population" (4.42). The less widespread fourth-century wars did not disrupt trade as much as the Peloponnesian War had and except to Spartans and perhaps Thebans were not as deadly. Some areas, like Phlius, a great exception to the general shrinkage between 479 and the mid-fourth century, which increased its hoplites five-fold, experienced net growth in part because slaves or other immigrants swelled certain populations.

The urban population increased. Mercenaries came mostly from those who moved from country to town but remained unemployed or underemployed like the Roman proletariat. Athens imported more cereals, but this does not necessarily mean more mouths to feed because more wines and oils were exported from the Attic countryside in which agriculture became more specialized from infusion of capital for expensive vineyards and olive groves. The city of Athens itself contained c.330 almost one-half of its citizens; a century earlier it had contained just over one-third. According to Aristotle, "in ancient times, and among some nations, the artisan class were slaves or foreigners, and therefore the majority of them are so now. The best form of state
will not admit them to citizenship . . . (Politics, 1278a).

Sparta's victory in the Peloponnesian War was extremely costly. Her enormous losses were never repaired. If the number of Spartiates had long been declining from the 9,000, for which cleroi were provided at the end of the Second Messenian War, there were still, according to Herodotus (VII, 234), 8,000 at the time of Xerxes' invasion. Low birth rates owing to long and frequent absences of men on campaigns, late marriage, perhaps also pederasty, anal intercourse with wives, and exposure, which was carried out with the intent that the weak and deformed male infants would die, compounded war casualties. According to Thucydides (V, 68.3), by 418 the number of Spartiates had been reduced to 3,072. On the island of Sphacteria alone in 424 the Spartans lost 420 hoplites--128 killed and 292 captured, of whom 120 were "equals" (IV, 41). Even after the tide turned irreversibly for Sparta after the Athenian disaster at Syracuse, casualties mounted. Probably Spartans resorted to earlier marriages with hasty trips home from the front and the allowance of virile young men to father children on wives of older, impotent, absent, or less active fellows, practices mentioned during their previous crises during the Messenian Wars. But nothing stemmed the decline or replaced the losses during the war.

No one has been able to estimate how far the number of Spartiates rebounded after the war. From the testimony given about female heiresses and the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few with a consequent loss of equality, we can assume that they did not recover to the 7,000 or 5,000 of earlier times. Critical of a fallen Sparta after the debacles at Leuctra (371) and Mantinea (362), Aristotle explained that the excessive reduction of the number of Spartans caused the undesirable concentration of property that had weakened the state:

For we find that some Spartans have come to have far too many possessions, others very few indeed; hence the land has fallen into the hands of a small number. Here there have been errors in the legal provisions too. For their lawgiver, while he quite rightly made it a disgrace to buy and sell in someone's possession, left it open to anyone to transfer it to other ownership by gift or bequest--and yet this inevitably leads to the same result. Moreover, something like two-fifths of all the land is possessed by women. There are two reasons for this: heiresses are numerous and dowries are large. It would have been better to have regulated dowries,
prohibiting them altogether or making them small or at any rate moderate in size. But as it is an heiress may be given in marriage to any person whatever. And if a man dies intestate, the person he leaves as heir gives her to whom he likes. So although the land was sufficient to support 1,500 cavalry and 30,000 heavy infantry, the number fell to below 1,000. The sheer facts have shown that these arrangements were bad: one single blow was too much for Sparta, and she succumbed owing to the shortage of men (Politics, 1270a).

The disastrous Spartan routs by the Thebans at Leuctra, where the Spartans and their allies lost half of their force of 11,000, including 400 Spartans (one-fourth of citizen hoplites), and Mantinea accelerated the population decline which had been endemic since 479 and catastrophic since 431. The ranks of Spartans dwindled as more and more became unable to contribute to the syssitia while a minority, buying up land and impoverishing many, enriched itself from the plunder of the Spartan empire after 404. By 400 Sparta could count on a maximum of 3,000 hoplites. During the fourth century, Spartans were compelled to fill their depleting numbers by recruiting ever more periokoi into the army and even by emancipating thousands of helots and training them as hoplites. The decline continued with only 900 in 339 and 700 in the third century before Agis IV and Cleomenes III redistributed the wealth and created new citizens in a valiant but tardy attempt to revive the state.

In Sicily, Thessaly, Messenia, and Arcadia new cities were founded. With a population between 300,000 and 400,000 in town and country, Syracuse apparently surpassed Athens during the Peloponnesian War more because of Athenian shrinkage than Syracuse's growth. One authority claims, not too plausibly, that Acragas was not far behind. He estimates the total population of Greek Sicily at 800,000 and Magna Graecia at approximately the same. The number of citizens may have declined in other poleis besides Sparta as many sank into poverty and did not marry or raise children while the lower classes increased their numbers.

**HARMOSTS AND SPARTAN OPPRESSION**

In spite of diminished numbers, Spartans managed to dominate Greece from 404 to 371 in part because of the great prestige from victory in the Peloponnesian War. The Spartan hegemony was, however, shaky because of the shortage of manpower. Perhaps this is why Spartans resorted to brutality which, of course, had become the norm in the last stages of the war. Their policy soon
caused discontent and led to revolts, the first of which was the overthrow of the Thirty Tyrants in Athens; an exhausted Sparta declined to intervene. But the behavior of individual Spartans soon shattered the myth of their morality and undermined faith in the Spartan system which had been so prominent among the Athenian elite. Spartan decline in manpower, control, and prestige between 403 and 362 affected the writings of pro-Spartan aristocrats such as Plato and Xenophon as well as of less biased theorists such as Aristotle and Polybius.

Sparta's triumph in the Peloponnesian War put her at the head of Hellas more than ever before and her prestige reached a new height. The otherwise hostile Athenian orator Lysias declaimed admiringly at the Olympic festival:

Sparta is justly acclaimed as the leader of Greece because of her innate worth and military skill. Unique in her immunity from invasion, faction, or defeat, she trusts for her defence not in walls but in her unchanging institutions. (33.7)

The Spartan liberators soon proved to be as oppressive as the Athenians had been. The experience the Spartans had in ruling came mainly from ruling helots and they began to rule the free Greeks as arbitrarily as the helots. Absent from the tight restraints of home, they not only gave up their Lycurcan habits of frugality and self-control, but indulged in ostentatious luxury and hedonism, practiced venality and extortion, and raped boys and women. Even the staunch Spartanophile Xenophon acknowledged the decline in morals:

If someone were to ask me whether I felt that the laws of Lycurgus still remained unchanged, I could not confidently say yes. I know that in the past the Spartans preferred to stay in Sparta in moderate prosperity rather than expose themselves to the flattery and corruption involved in governing other cities. In the past they were afraid of being proved to have gold, but there are those now who even pride themselves on possessing some. In the past the purpose of the expulsion of foreigners and the ban on foreign travel was to prevent citizens from being infected with idleness by foreigners; now I understand that the apparent leaders of the state are eager to govern foreign cities for the rest of their lives. There was a time when they worked to be worthy to lead, but now they are far more interested in ruling than in being worthy of their position. This is the reason why, whereas formerly the Greeks used to come to the Spartans
and ask them for leadership against reputed wrong-doers, now many are encouraging one another to prevent a revival of Spartan power. There is, however, no cause for surprise that such reproaches are being cast at them; they obviously obey neither the gods nor the laws of Lycurgus (**Cons.**, XIV).

Sparta reluctantly became an imperial power. Her institutions were too conservative and rigid to fit the needs of her Aegean empire. After the conquest of Athens, the former Athenian-dominated poleis were placed under native oligarchies, often decarchies under dictatorial Spartan harmosts ("regulators") generally supported by Peloponnesian garrisons virtually independent of the home country. Corrupt and overbearing, both became notorious for plundering, extortion, exploitation, oppression, murder, reprisals, and the seduction and even rape of boys and women: "Gylippus was condemned for peculation; Clearchus ruled harshly at Byzantium; Callibius struck Athenian citizens in the street; and many other harmosts, undermined by the flattery of their partisans, behaved like petty tyrants.*** Justice seemed to be at the bottom of their agenda. Aristodemus, harmost of Oreos, on Euboea, fell in love with a boy who refused to yield to his brutal passion. Unable in his attempts to seize him by force, Aristodemus took him to his ship where he finally killed the unwilling boy (Plutarch, *Amatoriae narrationes*, 3). During the Delian League the Athenians committed but few abuses of power. Unlike that League, founded with the ostensible object of protecting the Greeks from Persian domination, Spartan hegemony was merely a military despotism serving only the city's aggrandizement. Indeed, Sparta's victory had been achieved with Persian naval and financial assistance and the price was the relinquishing of Ionia to Persian control. Through their abuses the Spartans lost their honor upon which to a considerable degree their prestige had rested as the liberators of Greece.

The admiral Lysander, the architect of the Spartan empire, gave himself the airs of a monarch, "behaving with a pomp and splendor that would be excessive even in royalty" (**Xenophon**, *Hellenica*, III, 4.9), at his headquarters on Samos, where he enjoyed semi-divine status. The suspicious Spartans summoned him home. The letter he bore from the Persian satrap Pharnabazus, which he thought was an encomium, turned out to contain accusations against his rule. The embarrassed Lysander avoided an inquest by requesting permission to fulfill a vow of journeying to the temple of Zeus-Ammon in Libya. Sparta modified her oppressive system by allowing the subject cities to choose their governments while retaining the supervision of the harmosts and their garrisons.

Lysander's installation of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens was
the most famous of Spartan oppressions, but it was the first to fall. We have mentioned that the Athenians overthrew the Thirty in 403, only one year after Lysander had set them up because of their intolerable acts of murder, exile, and confiscation. Rather than trying to reinstate them, the young king Agesilaus abandoned his mentor Lysander's policy and accepted the fait accompli. But despite this and other rifts among the Spartan leaders, harmosts and decarchs with Spartan support continued to oppress other poleis.

Sparta irritated her main allies, Corinth and Thebes, by excluding them from the fruits of victory. When Sparta interfered with their internal affairs they declared war upon her in conjunction with Argos, Sparta's traditional enemy. The radicals brought Athens into the league, exacerbating the Corinthian War (395-94). The Spartans recalled King Agesilaus from Asia Minor but the small victories he won were more than offset by the Athenian admiral Conon's crushing victory off Cnidus in 394, who in the following year rebuilt the Long Walls to Piraeus demolished by Lysander. The overwhelming victories of Conon were aided by the Persians, who had come to fear Sparta. Athens recovered Scyros, Imbros, and Lemnos, and rebuilt much of the old Delian League. In 390, using peltasts (light-troops), the Athenian general Iphicrates slaughtered 250 Spartan hoplites—one-sixth of the Spartan army, forcing Spartans to deploy their hoplites primarily in large-scale campaigns.\textsuperscript{11}

The Persian king dictated the peace (387), recovering Ionia for himself, requiring Athens to dissolve her league, Thebes to grant independence to the Boeotian cities, and Corinth to separate from Argos. Even in their weakened condition, the Spartans were to enforce the peace. Sparta's clumsy and frequently insolently brutal attempts to control Greece, in which she allied with Dionysus of Syracuse, the tyrant attempting to dominate Sicily and Magna Graecia, under Agesilaus, who decided right or wrong, whether it was advantageous to Sparta, using a policy of blood and iron, roused much of Hellas against her, including in 377 the Second Athenian Confederacy, much more just and democratic than the old Delian League. A conclusion to the war that broke out in 377 was being negotiated by a general congress including Dionysus and the king of Macedonia Amyntas, when Thebes and Sparta quarrelled over Epaminondas, the Theban leader's pretense to sign for all Boeotia, reigniting the war to the ultimate ruin of Sparta.

The treacherous seizure of the Theban Cadmea in 382 by the Spartan commander Phoebidas, acting on his own initiative, proved fatal to Sparta. Although not ordering this infamy, the Spartans sanctioned it, hoping to extract advantage from possession of this citadel. Refugees in Athens soon plotted to liberate their city. There they formed the Sacred Band of lovers of crack troops
and inflicted on Sparta her most crushing defeats, Leuctra and Mantinea (see below).

XENOPHON

Xenophon (c.430-after 355) expressed opinions at once more readily comprehensible, in a lucid, simple style understandable even by commoners, and more widely held than those of Plato. Praising the life of a country gentleman and recommending moderation in all things, like Plato, the archconservative Xenophon urged a return from democratic degeneracy to the good old-fashioned customs still exemplified in oligarchic Sparta and insisted on an entirely chaste pederastic relationship of the type he asserted Spartans practiced. Like other Athenian gentlemen, Xenophon as a boy had presumably been someone's eromenos and, as a young man, someone’s erastes, though he mentioned neither fact. Perhaps like Pericles he had no sexual interest in boys or men. Pederastic love was ethical: "By the very fact that we breathe our love into beautiful boys we keep them away from avarice, increase their enjoyment in work, trouble, and dangers and strengthen their modesty and self-control." 47

Xenophon praised the extraordinary sophrosyne of his hero and patron, the Spartan king Agesilaus, who refrained from kissing a young Persian whom he loved, an affront to Persian custom, because he was afraid to exacerbate his passion (Agesilaus, 5.4). In the Cyropaedia, a historical novel in which he laid out a theory of education quite at odds with that in Plato's Republic in emphasizing traditional methods, there was no ambiguity or change in his opinions, as in Plato. A joke put into the mouth of Cyrus presupposes that the acquisition of an eromenos is "the Greek way" (II, 2.28). Araspas said that to be "compelled" to eros by beauty was an immoral evasion (V, 1.9-19). Later, however, in charge of a beautiful woman, Pantheia, wife of Abrodatas, for whom he "was overcome by eros, hardly surprisingly," in consequence "was compelled to try to persuade her to have intercourse with him. When persuasion failed, he threatened her that "if she wouldn't do it willingly, she'd do it unwillingly" (VI, 1.31).

Xenophon laconically portrayed the pederasty of soldiers in the Anabasis, his most famous work, though offhandedly and without censure. Often commenting on the conduct of mercenaries, he observed that Clearchus, the most prominent of Cyrus the Younger's generals, was as willing to spend money on war as on a paidika or some other pleasure (II, 6.6). When an order was given to release captives, "the soldiers obeyed, except for individual misappropriations through desire for a boy or a woman among the beautiful" (IV, 1.14). Menon treated as his paidika Tharypas, who had a full beard, although Menon was still beardless (II, 6.28). He described a man willing to die for a boy whom he knew only by
A certain Olynthian, Episthenes, a paiderastes, saw a handsome boy just in the first years of maturity . . . about to be executed. He ran to Xenophon and begged him to intervene in defence of a handsome boy. Xenophon approached Seuthes and asked him not to execute the boy, explaining Episthenes' inclination and adding that when on one occasion he had put together a company with an eye solely to the beauty of its members Episthenes had been a brave fighter at their side. Seuthes asked 'Episthenes, would you be willing to die on behalf of this boy?' Episthenes stretched out his neck and said, 'Strike, if the boy says so and if he is going to be grateful.' Seuthes asked the boy if he should strike Episthenes instead of him. The boy would have none of it, but begged him not to slaughter either of them. Then Episthenes put his arm round the boy and said, 'Now, Seuthes, you've got to fight me for him, because I won't let him go!' Seuthes laughed and pursued the matter no further (VII, 4.7).

In his historical works, Xenophon treated pederastic incidences without apparent prejudice. Exhibiting heroic loyalty, the paidika of the Spartan commander Anaxibias, who sought death in battle to atone for his military carelessness, stayed with him to the end (Hellenica, IV, 8.39). The wife of the tyrant of Pherae, Alexander (369-358), who had quarrelled with and imprisoned his eromenos, murdered her husband after he suspected that she was in love with the boy (ibid., VI, 4.37). In a joke about subjects loving good tyrants and tyrants forcing boys, Xenophon quipped without any apparent disapproval of sexual favors freely granted by a reciprocally affectionate eromenos:

People wouldn't simply love you, they'd be in love with you; and you wouldn't have to make any attempt on the beautiful—you'd have to put up with their attempts on you! (Hiero, 11.11).

Xenophon had Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, converse with Simonides:

Are you saying [said Simonides] that eros for paidika does not arise in a tyrant [as in other people]? If not wrong, how is it then that you are in love with Dailochus . . .? Hiero replied . . . 'My passion for Dailochus arises from the fact that human nature perhaps compels us to want from the
beautiful, but I have a very strong
desire to attain the object of my
passion [only] with his love and
consent' (ibid., 1.31-3).

In his Symposium and Memorabilia, Xenophon provided, next to
Plato's, the most extensive record of his beloved master's
teachings and conduct. As with Achilles and Patroclus, Theseus and
Pirithous, and Orestes and Pylades (Symposium, 8.13-36), his
Socrates seems more chaste, austere, and down to earth than
Plato's:

Do not beautiful boys with their kisses
inspire you with something fearful, even
though you cannot see it? Do you not know
that that animal called Beautiful and
Blooming is much more dangerous than
poisonous spiders? These can only hurt
by contact, pours in its poison that
clouds the understanding, even from a
great distance, if one only looks at
it. Therefore, my dear Xenophon, I
advise you, when you see a beautiful
boy, to take flight as rapidly as
possible (Smp., 3.8-14).

Eros caused men to fall in love with boys (8.10, 8.37). Socrates,
who said that he could not think of a time when he was
not in love (8.2), remarked that he always fell in love with those
"of naturally good quality and zealous in the pursuit of arete,"
with the brave and virtuous. He questioned whether physical
beauty directed his own eros in any way and apologized for his
"boorishness" for being over-serious at a party where people
wished to feel at their ease (8.41). A jesting passage about
"procuring" enthusiastic pupils for teachers (4.62-4) followed a
discussion of the meanings of desire and love (8.2, 8.8), where it
was argued that one could be erastes and eromenos at the same
time but not in relation to the same person. It was worse to persuade
a boy to have sex than to force him because getting him to consent
perverted his soul. While a woman could participate in a man's
sexual climax, a boy could not and consequently would scorn his
lover: "Also, the boy does not share in the man's pleasure in
intercourse, as a woman does; cold sober, he looks upon the other
drunk with sexual desire" (8.21). Such hatred led frequently to
crimes. Zeus loved Ganymede's soul, not his body. Socrates
denied that Homer intended any erotic element in his portrayal of
Achilles and Patroclus, citing other pairs of comrades in legend
such as Orestes and Pylades and Theseus and Perithous who "are
celebrated not for sleeping together but because they admired each
other for their accomplishment of the noblest achievements in
joint endeavor" (8.31).
To his banquet, Callias, aged thirty, invited three couples to honor his eromenos for his victory in the pancration at the Panathenea, the sixteen-year-old Autolykos, whose dazzling beauty shone "like a light in the dark," as Xenophon noted, properly chaperoned by his father. It was taken for granted that an eromenos's family would try to shield him from erastai (8.19). The frank and charming Cristobulos was beside himself with love for Clinias, slightly his senior: both unbearded aristocrats. A middle-aged slave master became jealous that the aristocrats might seduce his beloved boy, who was dancing for the guests. Upon learning that he slept every night with his boy, Socrates rejoined that he must have truly remarkable skin, unique in fact in that it did not corrupt those who slept with him (Symp., 27-28). This is the only example we have from pre-Hellenistic Greece, except for troops on the move or in camp, of a man who slept with his slave-boy. Of course, the relationship was between an entertainer, who by definition was not a gentleman, and a slave. It may explain why no hard evidence for bestiality exists among the Greeks: slaves, like beasts, were not worth writing about, whether they were having sex with one another or with their masters.

Like the Symposium, the four books of Xenophon's Memorabilia glorified Socrates, rehabilitating him after his conviction by showing that, sexually pure, he in no way corrupted the youth by teaching atheism or subversion. Although physicians warned that total abstinence unsettled or even damaged the body, the only sure way for the soul was complete abstinence (Mem., I, 3, 8-9):

And he [Socrates] said that those whose aberrations are slight are not regarded by most people as insane, but just as one calls strong desire 'eros,' so one calls substantial distortion of a person's thinking 'insanity' (ibid., III, 9.7).

Given to excess, Vice said to Virtue:

You will give no thought to war and action, but will pass your time considering what agreeable food or drink you can find, or what sight or sound would give you delight, or what smell or touch, and what paidika's company would make you happy (1.24).

Xenophon applied the masculine form of pornos to men or boys who sold their bodies (I, 6-13). Using the word "men" (andres) like women, representing the male sex rather than "youths" or "boys" was probably deliberate in order to make a disagreeable impression on the reader (II, 1.30). Perhaps wishing to distance his mentor from a former student of his, the hated tyrant Critias,
Xenophon claimed that Socrates won Critias's hatred by reproaching him for his lust:

He saw that Critias was in love with Euthydemus and wanting to deal with him in the manner of those who enjoy the body for sexual intercourse. Socrates tried to dissuade Critias, saying that it was mean and unbefitting a good man to importune his eromenos, in whose eyes he wishes to appear meritorious by beseeching him as beggars do and requesting charity, and that too when what he asks is not a good thing. Critias took no notice and was not dissuaded. Then, it is said, Socrates, in the presence of Euthydemus and many others, said that he thought Critias was no better off than a pig if he wanted to scratch himself against Euthydemos as piglets do against stones (Mem. i 2.29f).

Sexual restraint was a sentiment also expressed in Xenophon's Economicus:

'In my opinion,' said Ischomachus, 'those who are distraught over sex cannot be taught to care about anything more than that. It is not easy to discover any hope or concern more pleasurable than concern for paidika . . .'
(12.13f.).

Dover pontificated: "Xenophon's Socrates lacks the sensibility and urbanity of the Platonic Socrates, but there is no doubt that both of them condemn homosexual copulation." Yet at one point in his Symposium Xenophon depicted Socrates as coquettish:

'Are you the only one, Antisthenes, who isn't in love with anyone?'
'By God I am!' said Antisthenes, 'I'm in love with you!'
Socrates, making fun of him, as if putting on airs, said 'Now, don't bother me now! Can't you see I'm busy?'
Antisthenes replied 'You--your own pimp!--always behave like that. Sometimes you make your 'sign from a god' the excuse and don't talk to me, and sometimes you're after something else.' 'O, I beg you, Antisthenes, 'said Socrates, 'please don't beat me up! Any other bad temper I put up with from you, and I'll go on putting up with it, because I'm fond of you. But look, let's keep our eros quiet, because it isn't my soul you're in love with, but my good looks' (8.4).

Many, however, still see Plato's Socrates as the leading theoretician of pederastic love. In sharp contrast to Aristophanes's derision in the Clouds, Xenophon portrayed Socrates as an old-fashioned patriot, pragmatic and practical. With a theory more popular in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially in Germany, than in ancient times, Maximus of Tyre, inspired by Xenophon, did suppose that both Sappho and Socrates practiced "pure" educational rather than "gross" pederasty:

What then is the passion of the Lesbian songstress but the love-technique of Socrates? For both of them seem to me to have some idea of love, the former the love of girls, the latter of youths. What then an Alcibiades, Charmides, and Phaedrus were to Socrates, a Gyrinna, Atthis, and Anactoria are to Sappho; what rivals such as Prodicus, Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and Protagoras were to Socrates, so are Gorgo and Andromeda to Sappho. Now she scolds and refutes them, and at the same time employs the same irony as Socrates (Dissertations, 24, 9).

LYSIS, CHARMIDES, AND PROTAGORAS

Contrary to Dover's opinion that continence (the ability to resist bodily temptation) was "fully in accord with Greek moral tradition" and discussed before 400, Plato's theory of sexual abstinence, even chastity, was eccentric and wayward though eventually influential. Plato invented the idea of homosexual sublimation. He held that acting out new sexual impulses reduced the benefits that one inspired by pederastic love otherwise received for which he used metaphorical wings in the Phaedrus. He used erastes in two senses, for spiritual as well as physical lover. Lustful love will ultimately change to hate. As he grew older, Plato apparently felt increasing disgust for physical sexual acts.
As Homer supplied the models for lovers in Achilles and Patroclus, Plato supplied the theory of pederastic love in two of his dialogues: the Phaedrus and Symposium. Although the speakers seem more enthusiastic in Phaedrus, the theories advanced in Symposium, more multi-faceted and complex, have attracted more attention over the centuries, from Renaissance Italy to contemporary England. [Quote Ficino, the earliest Renaissance commentator, and Gesner, the moralistic eighteenth century German scholar.] Licht, an enthusiastic homosexual himself and supporter of Magnus Hirschfeld's emancipation movement, called the Symposium "the most important homosexual prose work in ancient Greek literature." Dover, who devoted only a fraction of the number of pages to Plato that he did to the squalid case of Timarchus, reverted to Gesner's theory that Plato like Socrates was consistently hostile to sexual acts between males throughout his life and that the Phaedrus foreshadowed the Laws:

Modern readers of Phaedrus and Symposium, which they may well have seen in the pornography section of a bookshop, are apt to believe that what they find therein is the quintessential doctrine of the Greeks on the whole topic of homosexuality, expressed in definitive terms by their acknowledged spokesman. Yet Plato's right to speak even for Greek philosophy--to say nothing of a right to speak for Greek civilisation--was not conceded by other pupils of Socrates... Condemnation (explicit in Laws, foreshadowed in Phaedrus) of the consummation of homosexual desire as 'unnatural' is not quite as important historically as might appear at first sight, since the contrast between 'nature' and the laws and conventions of society had been discussed--in general terms, without specific reference to homosexuality--before Plato was born, and in praising the ability to resist temptation to bodily pleasure Plato was fully in accord with Greek moral tradition.

To appraise Plato's attitude, we must determine which works attributed to him are authentic and when each of the nine that deal with pederasty was composed in an effort to see whether his thoughts on the topic were consistent or changed over the years, if indeed we are able to decide from his dialogues which of the speakers's views he endorsed. Except for the Letters and Epigrams, all of Plato's surviving writings are dialogues. If we include the Apology, because it partakes of the dialogue form,
ancients considered ten spurious, of which five have survived from Diogenes's list (3.62) and two others, On Justice and On Virtue, not included by Diogenes. In the third century B.C., Aristophanes, the head of the library at Alexandria, arranged the rest in triads and others, perhaps the emperor Tiberius's favorite astrologer Thrasyllus, in nine tetralogies.

Even some ancients, however, doubted the authenticity of some of those 36: Alcibiades II, Rivals, Hipparchus, and Epinomis. According to Diogenes Laertius, Philippus of Opus composed the Epinomis (3.37). Favorinus (f.c. 130 A.D.) attributed the Alcyon to Leon (Diogenes Laertius, 3.62), but Athenaeus to Nicias of Nicaea (XI, 506c), although we know nothing of either. Until Grote (1794-1871) demanded further authentication, moderns accepted the canon, but often on grounds no better than those of the Stoic Panaetius who reportedly denied the genuineness of Phaedo because he did not believe that Plato would expend such efforts to prove the immortality of the soul. Of the 21 dialogues rejected by nineteenth century scholars, all are now accepted as genuine except Alcibiades I, Ion, Menexenus, Hippias Major, and Epinomis, around which dispute still rages. Most scholars still reject the following: Alcibiades II, Hipparchus, Rivals, Minos, Theogis, and Clitophon, all of which are relatively brief and insignificant. Aristotle, directly or indirectly, referred to 23 dialogues of Plato. Besides the epigrams of doubtful authenticity, thirty-six works are commonly attributed to Plato (if one counts the 12 or 13 epistles as one item, of which at least numbers VII and VIII appear genuine). Of the 36, 28 are probably genuine. In Plato's dialogues intellectuals, visitors and μιχρίμψ as well as natives, present the divergent views on pederasty they propounded in Athens.

Like all the other dialogues except the Laws, the scenes are set in Athenian high society that Aristophanes took such joy in satirizing for the middle and lower classes. A number of Plato's other dialogues involve pederastic couples and discuss the duties of lovers: in the Meno, the Thessalian Meno and Aristippus (70b, 76b, 80c), in the Phaedo, Simmias and Cebes (73d), in several dialogues, Socrates and Alcibiades; in the Republic, Glaucon is teased as erotikos (474d-475a); in Parmenides, Ženo and Parmenides (127b).

Plato's epigrams and letters confirm that he was a boy-lover. Although Atheneus (XIII, 589) and Diogenes Laertius (III, 31) said that he had a mistress, Plato, who unlike most upper-class Greeks probably never married or had children, was perhaps exclusively homosexual. Dover suggested that "we must however leave open the possibility that his own homosexual emotion was abnormally intense and his heterosexual response abnormally deficient." Apparently relying on a treatise, On Pleasure in Ancient Times, falsely attributed to Socrates' pupil Aristippus of Cyrene, founder of the Cyrenaic school, Diogenes Laertius assigned
Plato four principal eromenoi: Dion, Aster, Phaedrus, and Alexis (III, 29-31).

Converted to Plato's philosophy when Plato sojourned at Syracuse in 389, when he was 19, Dion, son-in-law and brother-in-law of Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, who wrote poetry and philosophy and picked the historian Philistus (c.430-356) as his prime minister, tried to have Dionysius's son and heir made into a philosopher-king by Plato. When forced into exile, Dion studied for several years in Plato's Academy. In 357 he returned to liberate Syracuse, but his despotism led to his murder in 354 (see above). A few of the 32 epigrams attributed to Plato in the Palatine Anthology are probably genuine, but most seem Hellenistic. In one of them he composed a sort of funeral inscription to Dion, regretting his premature death: "Dion, you whom my heart loves with a wild love!" (Palatine Anthology, VII, 99).

Plato also apparently suffered from his love for Alexis, who composed 245 Middle Comedies including one on the same Phaedrus Plato loved and wrote about in the Protagoras, Symposium, and Phaedrus itself, before dying in 287 at 106 years of age. The following are verses from Alexis's Phaedrus preserved by Athenaeus speculating on the nature of Eros:

As I was walking up from the Peiraeus, I was moved by perplexity over my troubles to meditate in philosophic mood. And I think that the painters, or, to put it most concisely, all who make images of this god, are unacquainted with Eros. For he is neither female nor male; again, neither god nor man, neither stupid nor yet wise, but rather composed of elements from everywhere, and bearing many qualities in a single frame. For his audacity is that of a man, his timidity a woman's; his folly argues madness, his reasoning good sense, his impetuosity is that of a wild animal, his persistence that of adamant, his love of honor that of a god. Now all this, Athena and the gods are my witnesses, I cannot explain, but still it is something like this, and I have come close to the general idea (XIII, 562b-c).

He wrote the following funeral inscription to Alexis, compared by an Alexandrian to Phaedrus:

Now when I said nothing except just that Alexis is fair, he is looked at everywhere and by everyone when he appears. Why, my heart, dost thou point out bones to dogs and have to
sorrow for it afterwards? Was it not thus that I lost Phaedrus? (Palatine Anthology, VII, 100).

Two other poems said to be by Plato himself praised Aster ("Star" in Greek), a student of his in astronomy: "Thou lookest on the stars, my Star. Would I were heaven, to look on thee with many eyes" (Palatine Anthology, VII, 669-670; Diogenes Laertius, III, 29-32). One other verse ascribed to him associated Plato with Agathon (not the pederastic dramatist), whom he kissed on the mouth: "When I kissed you, Agathon, I felt your soul on my lips; as if it would penetrate into my heart with quivering longing" (Palatine Anthology, V, 78), although Diogenes Laertius did not mention Agathon with the four others, perhaps because the dramatist was twenty years older than Plato.25

Sometimes Plato denominated as erastes an admirer of an elder's skill or erudition:

Hence an aristocratic family of Thessaly are 'erastai' of the sophist Gorgias (Meno 70b), the 'fans' of the sophists Euthydemos and Dionysodoros are their 'erastai' (Euthd. 276d), and when he introduces Hippokrates to the eminent Protagoras (Prt. 317cd):

Suspecting that Protagoras wanted to show off to Prodikos and Hippias that erastai of his had come to the house, I said, 'Well, why don't we invite Prodikos and Hippias and those with them to come and listen to our discussion?

These passages may be jocular, in a way familiar to us throughout the literary presentation of Socrates (cf. Pl. Smp. 216e and the joke about 'procuring' pupils for philosophers in Xen. Smp. 4.62), but when a certain Aristodemos is described in the opening scene of Plato's Symposium (173b) as 'erastes of Socrates more than anyone at that time' we may well feel that 'erastes' is so freely used in the Socratic circle that the boundary between the serious and the playful or between the literal and the figurative is overrun.26

Socrates's ironic statements perplexed the ancients. Plato, who lived to eighty, apparently changed his own opinions but no agreement has ever been reached about the order in which the
dialogues appeared, much less how to interpret them. Pagan philosophers of every school and even their Christian opponents used Plato's works to justify their conflicting positions on pederasty. Indeed proponents and opponents still cite Plato as supporting drastically opposite opinions, including views on pederasty, with conviction. In Laws the older, more disillusioned Plato, speaking through "the Athenian" claimed that men became fully educated only at 50, after a life of discipline and learning, but this would hardly have been his opinion at forty when many believe that he composed the Symposium.

Partly because Plato worked for more than half a century, the relative and absolute dates of his productions are much disputed. Four main criteria are adduced: a. literary criticism, in which drama and "authentic Socratic dialogue diminishes," as Plato ages and finally disappears in Laws; b. philosophical criticism, rendered difficult because Plato never spoke for himself, though it is apparent when Parmenides objected to the "ideas" propounded in Phaedo and Republic, which thus seem to be earlier; c. style and linguistic evidence, now also assessed by computers. Such methods suggest that Timaeus, formerly classified as one of the latest, may in fact be earlier; d. cross-references and external evidence. Mention in one dialogue of another, which are few, seems determinative as to their relative dates, but scholars cannot always agree about historical allusions or how the dialogues relate to events in Plato's own life, such as his three visits to Sicily. Most modern authorities agree, whatever criteria they are using, that of the eight authentic dialogues that treat pederasty, directly or indirectly, three belong to the early period: Lysis, Charmides, and Protagoras, four to the middle: Republic, Symposium, Phaedrus, and Euthydemus, and only Laws to the late period.27

As Grote argued in 1875, none of the dialogues was apparently written before the death of Socrates, although Diogenes Laertius had Socrates exclaim, when he heard Plato read Lysis: "By Heracles, what a lot of lies the young man tells about me!" (3.35). In 1920 Wilamowitz, however, thought that dialogues picturing Socrates as mischievous and almost impish must have been written before his martyrdom and Ritter in 1888 had denied that Lesser Hippias could have postdated Socrates's tragic death because it portrayed him as "the worst pettifogger and twister of words, the worst of all Sophist babblers." Friedlander argued that Laches and Charmides antedated the dialogues about Socrates' trial and death. In 1969 Fischer assumed that Plato had already begun to write when at eighteen he met Socrates.28

Although attempts have been made to reconcile them, the eight dialogues that discuss homosexuality progress from approval to condemnation in an order that is chronological, although remaining much debated except that Laws was undeniably last: Protagoras,
Lysis, Charmides, Euthydemus, Symposium, Republic, Phaedrus, and Laws. In addition, Meno, Parmenides, and Gorgias, where Socrates described himself as "erastes of Alcibiades and of philosophy" (481d), mention or allude to lovers. Scholars have not determined whether the Erastae ("The Lovers") is by Plato. In it, Socrates discussed with a boy the proposition that little knowledge in many fields is not the same as genuine instruction in philosophy. Some other of the dubious dialogues we have mentioned discussed pederasty: Alcibiades I and II, [which others?]

In Protagoras and other early dialogues, Socrates is jocularly portrayed as a quibbling boy-chaser even though his boy-friend Alcibiades had sprouted a youthful beard at an age which certain erastai considered most alluring:

Where have you come from, Socrates? No doubt from pursuit of the captivating Alcibiades. Certainly when I saw him only a day or two ago, he seemed to be still a handsome man, but between ourselves, Socrates, man is the word. He's actually growing a beard (309a).

A character described "lakonizers" as men with cauliflower ears (342b). Plato portrayed Pausanias himself as the erastes of Agathon when the boy was about eighteen, "a young boy--a lad of fine character I think, and certainly very good-looking" (315d-e).

Three dialogues, Lysis, Charmides, and Euthydemus were set in gymnasia. Lysis, the beautiful twelve-year-old crowned with a wreath, kalos k'agathos, is the "king" of the palaestra, admired alike by peers, older youths, and visiting adults, supposedly for moral as well as physical qualities. Menexenus, another beautiful twelve-year-old of the type most palaestras seem to have apotheosized, was also present. Socrates warned Hippothales, who was 15 to 18, that his composing verses about the victories, wealth, and mansions of Lysis' distinguished ancestors would make the boy haughty, and although the traditional way, was not the best way to court. The discussion then turned to whether the beloved was, or would become in return, the lover (203a-207e).

Another king of a gymnasium, Charmides, seemed to Socrates, who, getting an erection, had trouble restraining himself, to be loved by everybody.

Then I just didn't know what to do, and all the confidence that I'd previously felt, in the belief that I'd find it easy to talk to him, was knocked out of me. When Critias told him that I was the man who knew the cure (sc.
for headache), and he looked me in the eye—oh, what a look!—and made as if to ask me, and everyone in the wrestling-school crowded close all round us, that was the moment when I saw inside his cloak, and I was on fire, absolutely beside myself. . . All the same, when he asked me if I knew the cure for his head, I did somehow manage to answer that I knew it (155c-e).

All became agitated and fixed their eyes on him when he appeared (153c, 154d, 155c-d). His poise and ability as well as his physical beauty intoxicated.

At the beginning of the Euthydemus, two Sophists drew a crowd of boys and youths under a gymnasium's portico. Numerous young erastai, the most ardent of whom was Ctesippus, trailed the juvenile but accomplished Clinias, all of whom formed a circle around Socrates and the Sophists, who emulated each other in performing.

SOCRATES' OTHER STUDENTS

Socrates's other students ranged from Cynics through Xenophon and Isocrates, rivals and critics of Plato, to Critias and Alcibiades, for whose treasonable conduct he was held responsible at his trial. Almost nothing, only tiny fragments, from the Cynics have survived, but numerous legends about their actions and a few of their maxims in later, not too trustworthy accounts. Xenophon both supplemented and contradicted the image Plato gave of him and of his other disciples and rivals, but we cannot say which of the two was more faithful to Socrates's doctrines. Isocrates propounded more practical and popular policies that may have greatly influenced the unification of Greece under Macedonians and their colonization schemes and ideological plans than Plato did.

Like the Israelite prophets usually poor men from small towns, the Cynics (dogs) often expressed the prejudices of the underprivileged. Never embarrassed by anyone or anything, they disdained all forms of conventional sex. The training of an eromenos, like the maintenance of a wife and the rearing of children, would have overburdened such egomaniacs. Present at his master's death, Socrates's disciple Antisthenes (c. 444-c.365) pushed his mentor's asceticism and scorn for convention to the extreme, preaching the end of the state, community of wives, and rearing children in common. Wise men should produce exceptional children by several well-selected wives. But when asked whether a wise man should love a boy, Antisthenes replied ambiguously, "The wise man alone knows what boys he should love" (Diogenes
Laertius, VI). Xenophon has him say, "If my body perchance needs sex I satisfy myself with whatever comes along with the result that those whom I approach make love to me in a superior fashion because I am the only one who really wants them" (Symposium, IV, 38).

Of Antisthenes's disciple Diogenes, often called founder of the Cynics (traditionally 412-323, but probably c.400-c.325), we have numerous legends difficult to sort out. An iconoclastic preacher and bumptious moralist, he begged for his living at Athens, where as a boy he had fled with his father who was charged with embezzlement from the mint at Sinope. Anticipating Hellenistic philosophy by extreme individualism and disregard for the polis, he became very popular there during the life of Alexander the Great, to whom he replied when the conqueror asked what he wished: "Yes, I would have you stand from between me and the sun" (Plutarch, Alexander). Long-haired and bearded, sleeping in a tub, wrapped in a rough cloak, shamelessly urinating and defecating in public, this exhibitionist spent his time forcing people to talk. He explained why he was masturbating in the Agora: "If only I could so easily satisfy hunger by rubbing my stomach" (Diogenes Laertius, VI, 46-59). Humorously chiding boys for being coquettish and woman-like, he caustically called pederasty an occupation for idlers but congratulated a boy because lovers of his body were encouraging him to discover the beauty of his soul. He forcibly rescued a boy whom messengers enticed to sup with a lascivious satrap and returned him to his family. More than even Antisthenes, he supported community of wives and abolition of marriage.

Diogenes's Theban student Crates (c.365-285) wandered in poverty with his wife Hipparchia, who adopted his shabby dress and made love to him in public (Diogenes Laertius, VI, 96-98). One day he tapped the thighs of Asclepiades's beautiful eromenos, asking, "Is Asclepiades there?" When the boy hit him, Crates recited verses from the Iliad, showing his indifference to insults and blows. Supposedly he taught Zeno the Stoic to scorn public opinion by forcing him to walk through the streets covered by a puree of beans, but Stoic fancy of a pedigree linking Zeno to Socrates through Crates, Diogenes, and Antisthenes is open to doubt.

Xenophon (c.430-after 355) expressed opinions at once more readily comprehensible, in a lucid, simple style understandable even by commoners, and more widely held than those of Plato. Praising the life of a country gentleman and recommending moderation in all things, like Plato, the archconservative Xenophon urged a return from democratic degeneracy to the good old-fashioned customs still exemplified in oligarchical Sparta and insisted on an entirely chaste pederastic relationship of the type he asserted Spartans practiced. Like other Athenian gentlemen,
Xenophon as a boy had presumably been someone's eromenos and, as a young man, someone's erastes, though he mentioned neither fact. Perhaps like Pericles he had no sexual interest in boys or men. Pederastic love was ethical: "By the very fact that we breathe our love into beautiful boys we keep them away from avarice, increase their enjoyment in work, trouble, and dangers and strengthen their modesty and self-control." 47

Xenophon praised the extraordinary sophrosyne of his hero and patron, the Spartan king Agesilaus, who refrained from kissing a young Persian whom he loved, an affront to Persian custom, because he was afraid to exacerbate his passion (Agesilaus, 5.4). In the Cyropaedia, a historical novel in which he laid out a theory of education quite at odds with that in Plato's Republic in emphasizing traditional methods, there was no ambiguity or change in his opinions, as in Plato. A joke put into the mouth of Cyrus presupposes that the acquisition of an eromenos is "the Greek way" (II, 2.28). Araspas said that to be "compelled" to eros by beauty was an immoral evasion (V, 1.9-19). Later, however, in charge of a beautiful woman, Pantheia, wife of Abrodatas, for whom he "was overcome by eros, hardly surprisingly," in consequence "was compelled to try to persuade her to have intercourse with him. When persuasion failed, he threatened her that "if she wouldn't do it willingly, she'd do it unwillingly" (VI, 1.31).

Xenophon laconically portrayed the pederasty of soldiers in the Anabasis, his most famous work, though offhandedly and without censure. Often commenting on the conduct of mercenaries, he observed that Clearchus, the most prominent of Cyrus the Younger's generals, was as willing to spend money on war as on a paidika or some other pleasure (II, 6.6). When an order was given to release captives, "the soldiers obeyed, except for individual misappropriations through desire for a boy or a woman among the beautiful" (IV, 1.14). Menon treated as his paidika Tharypas, who had a full beard, although Menon was still beardless (II, 6.28). He described a man willing to die for a boy whom he knew only by sight:

A certain Olynthian, Episthenes, a paiderastes, saw a handsome boy just in the first years of maturity . . . about to be executed. He ran to Xenophon and begged him to intervene in defence of a handsome boy. Xenophon approached Seuthes and asked him not to execute the boy, explaining Episthenes' inclination and adding that when on one occasion he had put together a company with an eye solely to the beauty of its members Episthenes had been a brave fighter at their side. Seuthes asked 'Episthenes, would you be willing to die on behalf of this boy?' Episthenes stretched out his neck and said, 'Strike, if the boy says so and if he is going
to be grateful.' Seuthes asked the boy if he should strike Episthenes instead of him. The boy would have none of it, but begged him not to slaughter either of them. Then Episthenes put his arm round the boy and said, 'Now, Seuthes, you've got to fight me for him, because I won't let him go!' Seuthes laughed and pursued the matter no further (VII, 4.7).

In his historical works, Xenophon treated pederastic incidences without apparent prejudice. Exhibiting heroic loyalty, the paidika of the Spartan commander Anaxibias, who sought death in battle to atone for his military carelessness, stayed with him to the end (Hellenica, IV, 8.39). The wife of the tyrant of Pherae, Alexander (369-358), who had quarrelled with and imprisoned his eromenos, murdered her husband after he suspected that she was in love with the boy (ibid., VI, 4.37). In a joke about subjects loving good tyrants and tyrants forcing boys, Xenophon quipped without any apparent disapproval of sexual favors freely granted by a reciprocally affectionate eromenos:

People wouldn't simply love you, they'd be in love with you; and you wouldn't have to make any attempt on the beautiful—you'd have to put up with their attempts on you! (Hiero, 11.11).

Xenophon had Hiero, tyrant of Syracuse, converse with Simonides:

Are you saying [said Simonides] that eros for paidika does not arise in a tyrant [as in other people]? If not wrong, how is it then that you are in love with Dailochus . . . ? Hiero replied . . . 'My passion for Dailochus arises from the fact that human nature perhaps compels us to want from the beautiful, but I have a very strong desire to attain the object of my passion [only] with his love and consent' (ibid., 1.31-3).

In his Symposium and Memorabilia, Xenophon provided, next to Plato's, the most extensive record of his beloved master's teachings and conduct. As with Achilles and Patroclus, Theseus and Pirithous, and Orestes and Pylades (Symposium, 8.13-36), his Socrates seems more chaste, austere, and down to earth than Plato's:

Do not beautiful boys with their kisses inspire you with something fearful, even though you cannot see it? Do you not know
that animal called Beautiful and Blooming is much more dangerous than poisonous spiders? These can only hurt by contact, pours in its poison that clouds the understanding, even from a great distance, if one only looks at it. Therefore, my dear Xenophon, I advise you, when you see a beautiful boy, to take flight as rapidly as possible (Smp., 3.8-14).

Eros caused men to fall in love with boys (8.10, 8.37). Socrates, who said that he could not think of a time when he was not in love (8.2), remarked that he always fell in love with those "of naturally good quality and zealous in the pursuit of arete," with the brave and virtuous. He questioned whether physical beauty directed his own eros in any way and apologized for his "boorishness" for being over-serious at a party where people wished to feel at their ease (8.41). A jesting passage about "procuring" enthusiastic pupils for teachers (4.62-4) followed a discussion of the meanings of desire and love (8.2, 8.8), where it was argued that one could be erastes and eromenos at the same time but not in relation to the same person. It was worse to persuade a boy to have sex than to force him because getting him to consent perverted his soul. While a woman could participate in a man's sexual climax, a boy could not and consequently would scorn his lover: "Also, the boy does not share in the man's pleasure in intercourse, as a woman does; cold sober, he looks upon the other drunk with sexual desire" (8.21). Such hatred led frequently to crimes. Zeus loved Ganymede's soul, not his body. Socrates denied that Homer intended any erotic element in his portrayal of Achilles and Patroclus, citing other pairs of comrades in legend such as Orestes and Pylades and Theseus and Perithous who "are celebrated not for sleeping together but because they admired each other for their accomplishment of the noblest achievements in joint endeavor" (8.31).

To his banquet, Callias, aged thirty, invited three couples to honor his eromenos for his victory in the pancration at the Panathenea, the sixteen-year-old Autolycos, whose dazzling beauty shone "like a light in the dark," as Xenophon noted, properly chaperoned by his father. It was taken for granted that an eromenos's family would try to shield him from erastai (8.19). The frank and charming Cristobulos was beside himself with love for Clinias, slightly his senior: both unbearded aristocrats. A middle-aged slave master became jealous that the aristocrats might seduce his beloved boy, who was dancing for the guests. Upon learning that he slept every night with his boy, Socrates rejoined that he must have truly remarkable skin, unique in fact in that it did not corrupt those who slept with him (Symp., 27-28). This is the only example we have from pre-Hellenistic Greece, except for
troops on the move or in camp, of a man who slept with his slave-boy. Of course, the relationship was between an entertainer, who by definition was not a gentleman, and a slave. It may explain why no hard evidence for bestiality exists among the Greeks: slaves, like beasts, were not worth writing about, whether they were having sex with one another or with their masters.

Like the Symposium, the four books of Xenophon's Memorabilia glorified Socrates, rehabilitating him after his conviction by showing that, sexually pure, he in no way corrupted the youth by teaching atheism or subversion. Although physicians warned that total abstinence unsettled or even damaged the body, the only sure way for the soul was complete abstinence (Mem., I, 3, 8-9):

And he [Socrates] said that those whose aberrations are slight are not regarded by most people as insane, but just as one calls strong desire 'eros,' so one calls substantial distortion of a person's thinking 'insanity' (ibid., III, 9.7).
Given to excess, Vice said to Virtue:

You will give no thought to war and action, but will pass your time considering what agreeable food or drink you can find, or what sight or sound would give you delight, or what smell or touch, and what paidika's company would make you happy (1.24).

Xenophon applied the masculine form of pornos to men or boys who sold their bodies (I, 6-13). Using the word "men" (andres) like women, representing the male sex rather than "youths" or "boys" was probably deliberate in order to make a disagreeable impression on the reader (II, 1.30). Perhaps wishing to distance his mentor from a former student of his, the hated tyrant Critias, Xenophon claimed that Socrates won Critias's hatred by reproaching him for his lust:

He saw that Critias was in love with Euthydemus and wanting to deal with him in the manner of those who enjoy the body for sexual intercourse. Socrates tried to dissuade Critias, saying that it was mean and unbefitting a good man to importune his eromenos, in whose eyes he wishes to appear meritorious by beseeching him as beggars do and requesting charity, and that
too when what he asks is not a good thing. Critias took no notice and was not dissuaded. Then, it is said, Socrates, in the presence of Euthydemus and many others, said that he thought Critias was no better off than a pig if he wanted to scratch himself against Euthydemos as piglets do against stones (Mem. i 2.29f).

Sexual restraint was a sentiment also expressed in Xenophon's Economicus:

"In my opinion," said Ischomachus, 'those who are distraught over sex cannot be taught to care about anything more than that. It is not easy to discover any hope or concern more pleasurable than concern for paidika . . .'
(12.13f.).

Dover pontificated: "Xenophon's Socrates lacks the sensibility and urbanity of the Platonic Socrates, but there is no doubt that both of them condemn homosexual copulation." Yet at one point in his Symposium Xenophon depicted Socrates as coquettish:

'Are you the only one, Antisthenes, who isn't in love with anyone?'
'By God I am!' said Antisthenes, 'I'm in love with you!'
Socrates, making fun of him, as if putting on airs, said 'Now, don't bother me now! Can't you see I'm busy?'
Antisthenes replied 'You--your own pimp!--always behave like that. Sometimes you make your 'sign from a god' the excuse and don't talk to me, and sometimes you're after something else.'
'O, I beg you, Antisthenes, 'said Socrates, 'please don't beat me up! Any other bad temper I put up with from you, and I'll go on putting up with it, because I'm fond of you. But look, let's keep our eros quiet, because it isn't my soul you're in love with, but my good looks'
(8.4).

Many, however, still see Plato's Socrates as the leading theoretician of pederastic love. In sharp contrast to Aristophanes's derision in the Clouds, Xenophon portrayed Socrates
as an old-fashioned patriot, pragmatic and practical. With a theory more popular in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially in Germany, than in ancient times, Maximus of Tyre, inspired by Xenophon, did suppose that both Sappho and Socrates practiced "pure" educational rather than "gross" pederasty:

What then is the passion of the Lesbian songstress but the love-technique of Socrates? For both of them seem to me to have some idea of love, the former the love of girls, the latter of youths. What then an Alcibiades, Charmides, and Phaedrus were to Socrates, a Gyrinna, Atthis, and Anactoria are to Sappho; what rivals such as Prodicus, Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and Protagoras were to Socrates, so are Gorgo and Andromeda to Sappho. Now she scolds and refutes them, and at the same time employs the same irony as Socrates (Dissertations, 24, 9).

A student of Gorgias and Prodicus, both of whom Plato as well as Socrates criticized, Isocrates (436-338), Plato's main rival in pedagogy, emphasized traditional rhetoric and literature, now buttressed by Thucydides' new scientific history, rather than mathematics and logic. Less explicit than Plato and Xenophon on pederasty, this son of a wealthy Athenian, of whom 21 of the 60 orations ascribed to him in Roman times survive, many of which he wrote for others after the loss of his father's fortune in the war, triumphed on pedagogy. In Praise of Helen (X, 58), which Buffinre opined was written between 390 and 380 "after Plato's Phaedrus (!)," which most authorities now date much later, from 370 to 360 (see above), he extolled the much maligned queen. Her abduction had caused the Greeks to put aside their mutual quarrels to unite against the Trojans as he was advising the Greeks to do in a moral crusade against the barbaric, inferior Persians. In that work, Isocrates opined that boys who gave in or used their beauty to advance themselves were scorned and those who preserved their virginity were treated as heroes who served their nation (X, 58). Like Plato and others, Isocrates believed that a boy should be chary of granting his favors.

Emphasizing marital fidelity, Isocrates c.372 had Nicocles brag that everyone recognized his sophrosyne (self-control resulting from temperance or moderation) because he had never had intercourse with anyone other than his wife (To Nicocles). Like the gnomic poet Theognis, he approved the right kind of friendship (Cyprian Orations).

Inspired by Pericles's funeral oration, Isocrates's great Panegyricus, composed in 380, argued that in contrast to Spartan
exclusivity, the essence of Athenian culture was to attract strangers: "The man who shares our paideia is a Greek in a higher sense than he who only shares our blood" (Panegyricus, 51). After the breakdown of the polis system only Pan-Hellenism, not the individual rectitude envisioned by Plato, offered the Greeks salvation. Many youths must have concluded that Isocrates' patriotic nationalism, expressed in many orations after 375 exhorting leaders to unite the Greeks against the Persians before the Philippus of 346, was preferable to either extreme of skepticism or cynicism on the one hand or to philosophical idealism on the other. The plans of Isocrates to settle Greek colonists in Asia Minor to rule over barbarians seem primarily to have been designed to remove the impoverished from Greece (Philippus, 120). Apparently he did not foresee the prosperity that could and did result from the expansion of trade to the areas that would eventually be settled by Greeks. He was, however, more perspicacious than either Plato or Aristotle in proposing solutions to the poverty that caused discord between classes in most poleis and the destructive rivalry among city-states.

The Athenian orator and atthidographer (writer on Attic history) Androtion (c.410-340), a student of Isocrates like the historians Theopompos and Ephorus, who prescribed study of philosophy and oratory for success in public affairs, probably composed the Eroticus, the ascription to Demosthenes having been repudiated as early as the first century B.C. by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Demosthenes, 44), about the middle of the fourth century. First he eulogized the beauty, especially his eyes, which marvelously reflected his sweetness and humaneness, and character of Epicrates, an 18- to 20-year-old eromenos who managed somehow never to offend any of his numerous erastai although he never gave in to gratify them sexually too much either. As in Plato's early dialogues, it is not clear whether sex was prohibited or only limited to what was discreet or reasonable. This popular view of an eromenos was composed not long after the time of Plato, Xenophon, and Isocrates.

**SICILIAN TYRANTS**

The Sicilise Greeks had prospered during the fifth century, unthreatened by Carthage between Hiero's decisive victory at Himera in 480 and the new Carthaginian attack in 410. Sicilian cities, like those of Magna Graecia, may well have profited selling supplies to the belligerents in the Peloponnesian War by taking over trade abandoned by Corinthians or Athenians. It has been estimated, perhaps overgenerously, that the population of Greek Sicily and Magna Graecia might each have reached 800,000 by the beginning of the fourth century (see above). The two great rival cities of Sicily, Syracuse, which faced its mother city Corinth, and Acragas, which faced Carthage, together controlled
more than half of Greek Sicily and were much larger than the various Italian cities which disputed Magna Graecia. Threatened by Carthage, which had colonies in the west of Sicily, as well as by native Sicels and Sicens, the Greek cities in Sicily could not cease from feuding among themselves. In such precarious conditions democrats and oligarchs within each city feuded, with the result that Magna Graecia saw more than its share of tyrants seize power. The majority of these tyrants were pederastic.

The Carthaginians profited from the depletion of Syracuse's strength owing to the Athenian attack of 415 and the subsequent division of the city between radical and moderate factions. Using the pretense of intervening in a boundary dispute between Salinus and Segesta, the Segestans, no longer being able to rely on Athens, called in Carthage in 410. Hannibal, grandson of Hamilcar who had fallen at Himera seventy years earlier, led the invasion. He took Salinus in nine days, mercilessly slaughtering and enslaving its inhabitants. Next, Hannibal captured Himera and solemnly sacrificed 3,000 men with torture who had survived the immediate massacre to appease his grandfather's shade and returned jubilantly to Africa.

When Greek marauders attacked Carthaginian territories in Sicily, the Carthaginians renewed their attack, this time against luxury-loving Acragas (modern Agrigento), which some experts estimate that at its height was almost as populous as Syracuse, having like it a large and fertile contado. In 406 Hannibal besieged the city and, in spite of temporary reverses, overcame resistance by bribing not only Acragas's Campanian mercenaries but also its Spartan commander Dexippus. The Acragigentines fled their city, a unique event for a metropolis in Greek history, forsaking their gods and elderly. They left behind unfinished the largest Greek temple in Europe. Acragas was the first city in Sicily to be captured by a foreign army.

Threatened now themselves, the Syracusans repudiated the generals who had abandoned Acragas and elected Dionysius. Assisted by the bodyguard the citizens had given him, the wily general made himself tyrant even though officially Syracuse remained a republic with a popular Assembly and Council and he modestly called himself archon of Sicily. After several years of fighting, he managed to confine the Carthaginians to the western tip of Sicily. Dionysius devoted much of his energy to building up his political and military power. Relying on Sicel and Italian mercenaries instead of untrustworthy Greek citizens, he distributed confiscated estates to them. On the island of Ortygia in the bay of Syracuse he built an impregnable fortress. His army and fleet became the most formidable in Hellas. Desirous of expanding his domination, he extended, with the help of uncivilized Lucanians, his rule to the mainland as far as Croton. Utterly ruthless, he removed rebellious subjects from
conquered areas to Syracuse and sold many others into slavery. He planted colonies along the Adriatic to dominate central European trade, regarding them as steppingstones to the conquest of Greece itself. He even allied with Sparta, the recipient of funds from the ambitious Lysander. Even in the western Mediterranean Dionysius seized the iron-producing island of Elba, founded a naval station on Corsica, and with the help of Gauls attacked the Etruscan coast.

Dionysius's son and successor, Dionysius II (367-357) inherited his father's empire but not his character. His main advisor, the high-minded Dion, minister of his father, suggested to the feeble ruler that he invite his friend Plato, who had already made an unsuccessful attempt to enlighten Dionysius I, to educate him in statecraft. Unfortunately, Dionysius soon wearied of the rigorous curriculum and Plato returned to Athens. Plato later came back for one more abortive sojourn. During a visit by Dionysius to Magna Graecia, his erstwhile minister Dion, whom he had banished, arrived in Syracuse with a small army and seized it. In spite of Plato's guidance during his stay at the Academy, after coming to power he himself behaved so despotically that his soldiers assassinated him after a reign of only three years (354). Although he recovered Syracuse in 346, rebels assisted by a Carthaginian fleet blockaded Dionysius on Ortygia and he was compelled to surrender to the Corinthian hero Timoleon in 344, who had been summoned by Syracusan aristocrats. Virtually a dictator, Timoleon's campaign to oust tyrannies from Sicily was interrupted in 341 (or 339) when the Carthaginians invaded. At the river Crimisus (Crimesus, Crimissus) he intercepted and destroyed their 2,500-strong Sacred Band of lovers: "In the end, even the Carthaginians who composed the Sacred Battalion, twenty-five hundred in number and drawn from the ranks of those citizens who were distinguished for valour and reputation as well as for wealth, were all cut down after a gallant struggle" (Diodorus Siculus, XVI, 80.4). After concluding peace with the Carthaginians and defeating internal foes, Timoleon renounced his powers and he died c.334 on an estate near Syracuse conferred on him by grateful citizens.

From Phanias of Eresos, on Lesbos, a disciple of Aristotle (f.c. 300) who wrote Assassinations of Tyrants for Vengeance, a fragment has survived recounting the story of the tyrannicide lovers Antileon and Hipparinus of Heraclea in Lucania (c.380), a colony founded in 433 by Tarentum, preserved by Parthenius of Nicaea, a contemporary of Vergil:

In Heraclea, a city of lower Italy, a boy named Hipparinus, handsome to look at and of noble family, was loved by Antileon, who in spite of many efforts could not win his favour. In the gymnasia he was always by his
side, saying again and again how much he loved him, and protesting that he would undergo any labour and do everything he ordered. The boy, for a joke, ordered him to bring the bell from a fortified place which was strongly guarded by Archelaus, tyrant of the Heracleotes, thinking that he would never be able to accomplish this task. But Antileon secretly entered the fort, ambushed and slew the keeper of the bell, and afterwards, when he had come to the boy—who kept his promise—they became very intimate, and henceforward loved each other greatly. It chanced, however, that the tyrant himself became enamored of the lad and when he threatened violence Antileon, being angry, exhorted him not to imperil his life by refusing, since the tyrant had power to carry out his wishes and his threat; but he himself attacked and slew the tyrant when leaving his house, and having done this, he ran away and would have escaped had he not got mixed up with some herds of sheep and been captured. Wherefore, the city having been freed by the death of the tyrant, brazen statues were set up by the people of Heraclea to both Antileon and the boy, and a law was passed that in future no one should drive herds of sheep through the streets (Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, II, 298, 16, ed. C. Muller).

THE HIPPOCRATICS ON SEXUAL TYPES

Foucault argued that just as post-Socratic philosophers advised abstention from homosexual activity to liberate the mind from distractions and the soul from bondage to passions, most Greek physicians sought ever more to limit such activity because it enervated and debilitated the body and eventually to abstain from it totally. Thus he perceived that like Greek philosophy, medicine prepared the way for Christian doctrine. His teaching was misleading in three respects. First, although most physicians did indeed, like most philosophers, recommend the golden mean, not one ever advised total abstinence from sex any more than from food or exercise. Almost all felt that abstinence would cause hysteria in mature women and nervous disorders or some other malfunctions in males. Second, until well into the Roman imperial period, none seem to have felt that homosexual activity was more strenuous or more debilitating to the body than heterosexual. Therefore, it was medically indifferent which of the two activities one indulged in. Third, criticism of pederasty
did not begin, as he thought, with physicians or philosophers but with tyrants fearing that it might cause sedition and generals fearing that it might cause negligence.

As in engineering, science, and all aspects of material culture, far more than in philosophy and politics, the Greeks borrowed much medical lore from Egyptians and Semites. Greek physicians, perhaps as early as the late Archaic Age, renounced the idea that gods caused disease just as physicists denied that they caused rain. The Hippocratics reconciled pragmatic medicine with the scientific theories of the Ionians and the quite different ones of Sicilians to form a new science that differed from others in constantly testing its hypotheses with practice though lack of suitable technology limited their progress. They had theories about masculinity. In the first century A.D. the physician Celsus rightly referred to Hippocrates as "the first who separated medicine from philosophy" ( ), relying on observation and reason rather than on preconceptions. Recommending moderation in diet, which had to be related to climate, age, gender, and to balance the four humors, the Hippocratics stressed exercise as the other mainspring of health.

Sex, too, though less essential to good health, should be enjoyed but only in moderation. The author of Airs, waters, and places attributed the effeminacy of certain Scythian men to climate. Their teachings and methodology influenced Plato and even more Aristotle to seek the type, form, or idea behind multifarious physical phenomena and to recommend the golden mean.  

Composed between the sixth century B.C. and the start of the Christian era, the Hippocratic Corpus became the foundation of medical thinking in the classical world. Its 70 to 100 treatises cover pathology, diagnosis, prognosis, treatments, the maintenance of health, physiology, embryology, gynaecology, surgery, and medical ethics. A few, carefully composed lectures seem to address a lay audience as well as doctors. Practical manuals abounded. Textbooks on particular subjects or works argue a thesis, while composite collections of diverse material, probably by several hands with additions and interpolations, are more common. A large number of medical writers worked on the Corpus, in many cases with quite opposed viewpoints on causation and treatment as well as on the aims and methods of medicine. Several of the treatises were probably by writers of the rival Cnidian school, but all of them are anonymous, as is characteristic in antiquity of all writings of a technical nature. Consequently, the ancients questioned the authorship of all the treatises. The only piece in the Corpus of whose author we can be somewhat certain is the greater portion of *The Nature of Man* by Hippocrates's son-in-law Polybus.

Because of the sparse and conflicting information, neither
ancients nor moderns have ever succeeded in identifying the
genuine works of Hippocrates himself, a native of Cos during
Socrates's lifetime. Most detailed sources are late and
unreliable. Plato, Aristotle, Aristotle's student Meno, a
historian of medicine of whom a large fragment survives, the
physician Soranus of Ephesus (f.c. 100 A.D.), the Suda lexicon
(eleventh century), and the pedantic Byzantine grammarian John
Tzetzes (twelfth century) adduce details which are probably
apocryphal. The Corpus itself can only be dated back to the
third century B.C. Alexandrian lexicographers and commentators
who attributed the medical works they gathered from the fifth and
fourth centuries to Hippocrates. No orthodox canon of the
Hippocratic Corpus was ever made in antiquity.

Plato is our only source for free and slave physicians each
treating members of their own class (Laws, 720). We do know
from case histories that the patients came from all segments of
society, slave and free, rich and poor, citizen and foreigner
(Epidemics) and that the status of doctors varied. Plato ranked
Hippocrates with the sculptors Polycleitus and Phidias
(Protagoras, 311b ff.). Socrates deferred to Hippocrates
(Phaedrus, 270c ff.). In the Symposium Plato put the physician
Eryximachus on a par with his other guests, among whom were
Alcibiades and Aristophanes. Aristotle, the son of a doctor at
Philip of Macedon's court, distinguished three kinds of medical
experts: the run-of-the-mill practitioner, the "master-
craftsman," and the one "who is educated in the art," a student
but not always a practitioner of medicine. According to him,
those who investigate nature must

inquire into the first principles of
health and disease . . . Generally, then,
most of those who study nature end by dealing
with medicine, while those of the doctors
who practise their art in a more philosophical
manner take their medical principles from
nature. . . . The more subtle and inquisitive
doctors speak about nature and claim to derive
their principles from it, while the more
accomplished investigators of nature
generally end by a study of the principles of
medicine (De sensu, 436a 17ff.; De respiratione,
480b 26ff).

Quite often medical writers agreed with philosophers; their
controversies improved methodology. No phrase better
exemplified the outlook of philosophers, who borrowed so much of
their skepticism, caution, and pessimism from physicians, than
the opening sentence of the Hippocratic Aphorisms: "Life is
short, art is long to acquire, opportunity fleeting, experiment
dangerous, and judgment difficult." Poets, who also emphasized
the brevity of life, relied on instinct and intuition rather than judgment. Both Plato and Aristotle borrowed the comparison of the skillful doctor and pilot overcoming the crises from On Ancient Medicine.

[They] used the medical concepts of filling and emptying in discussing the theory of lust, and had concluded that lust was one of the spheres in which there could be 'a More or a Less' needing regulation. . . . The medical doctrine of the correct treatment for the body is, so to speak, raised to a higher power when it is embodied in the Socratic doctrine of the correct care and treatment of the soul.56

Unlike Homeric surgeons stitching wounds or physicians administering potions, Hippocratic doctors contrived to preserve health by a balanced regime of diet, exercise, rest, and sex. They viewed diseases, enemies of nature or the body, as types of disequilibrium or upsets of the body's natural condition. Physicians had to fight disease or enlist nature's help to cure illness. Surgery for fractures and dislocations, cautery and trepanning, as well as blood-letting, purges, emetics and suppositories, baths, fomentations, ointments and plasters were the major forms of treatment. Surgery and pharmacology now occupied an inferior position to diet and exercise.57 The doctor cooperated with the gymnastic trainer to advise care for the body. On Regimen in Health and On Diet, both ascribed to the fifth-century Herodicus of Selymbria, who had first assigned the crucial role in maintaining health to exercise, referred to the soul more than any other work in the Corpus. Philosophers and physicians did not recommend earlier marriages for males, in spite of the periodic acute shortage of soldiers and sailors owing to natural disasters, war casualties, and emigration because they subscribed to the belief, perhaps originated to delay marriages, that fathers between 30 and 55 produced the strongest offspring.58

The Decorum prescribes that the physician visit the patient often and that in his absence should entrust the patient to a student rather than a layman. The famous Oath, which assumed the form we have it today in the third century [A.D.], perhaps the last piece of the Corpus, prescribed in addition:

Whenever I go into a house, I will go to help the sick and never with the intention of doing harm or injury. I will not abuse my position to indulge in sexual contact with the bodies of women or of men, whether they be freemen or slaves.
Whatever I see or hear, professionally or privately, which ought not to be divulged, I will keep secret and tell no one.  

Foucault wrongly imagined that academic philosophers had much effect on even upper-class, much less lower-class or slave sexuality, even in Athens. To a lesser extent than Plato were Isocrates, Xenophon, and even Aristotle, all critics, representative of Athenian beliefs or conduct. The average Greek aristocrat was far more uninhibited, pleasure-loving, and sensual than philosophers who prided themselves on being above the passions that enthralled the masses. One should also imagine, more than Foucault seemingly did, that Athenians were no more likely than modern Americans to follow their doctors' advice for austere living and mild pleasures. Most important of all, no religious taboo existed that condemned pederasty, only an abstract ideal of "self-control" that carried no penal or social sanctions.