Aye me, the pain and the grief of it! I have been sick of Love's quartan now a month and more. He's not so fair, I own, but all the ground his pretty foot covers is grace, and the smile of his face is very sweetness. 'Tis true the ague takes me now but day on day off, but soon there'll be no respite, no not for a wink of sleep. When we met yesterday he gave me a sidelong glance, afeared to look me in the face, and blushed crimson; at that, Love gripped my reins still the more, till I gat me wounded and heartsore home, there to arraign my soul at bar and hold with myself this parlance: "What wast after, doing so? whither away this fond folly? know'st thou not there's three gray hairs on thy brow? Be wise in time . . . (Theocritus, Idylls, XXX).

Writers about pederasty, like writers about other aspects of ancient Greek culture, have tended to downplay the Hellenistic period as inferior. John Addington Symonds, adhering to the view of the great English historian of ancient Greece, George Grote, that the Hellenistic Age was decadent, ended his Problem in Greek Ethics with the loss of Greek freedom at Chaeronea:

Philip of Macedon, when he pronounced the panegyric of the Sacred Band at Chaeronea, uttered the funeral oration of Greek love in its nobler forms. With the decay of military spirit and the loss of freedom, there was no sphere left for that type of comradeship which I attempted to describe in Section IV. The philosophical ideal, to which some cultivated Attic thinkers had aspired, remained unrealised, except, we may perhaps suppose, in isolated instances. Meanwhile paiderastia as a vice did not diminish. It only grew more wanton and voluptuous. Little, therefore, can be gained by tracing its historical development
further, although it is not without interest to note the mode of feeling and the opinion of some later poets and rhetoricians.¹

Dover, who might have been forced to deal with anal penetration if he had reviewed the Hellenistic poets, recognized the essential continuity but not its changes:

Since, however, the distinctive features of Greek civilisation were fully developed before the end of the classical period, I have not judged it useful to accumulate evidence [of homosexuality] which shows only that characteristically Greek attitudes and behaviour survived for a long time as ingredients of a Greco-Roman cultural amalgam, nor have I said anything about characteristically Roman elements in that amalgam.²

Even Licht, who was more comprehensive than either, saw pederasty declining in the Hellenistic Age:

In the post-classical period of Greek literature, which is comprised under the name of the Hellenistic Age, and is generally taken to begin with the death of Alexander the Great (323 B.C.), erotic plays a great, nay, almost a greater part than in the so-called classical period. It is a characteristic feature that the more foreign elements penetrate into the Greek spirit the more pederasty retires into the background; the female element begins to occupy more space when, especially in the large cities, the intercourse of young men with the hetairae increased.

Many poems of this age have been lost and we are referred to their Roman imitations by Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid, from which we are enabled to draw an a posteriori conclusion as to the strongly marked sensuality of those poems.³

Like Meier, whom he essentially translated and expanded, Pogey-Castries did not recognize a distinct Hellenistic period as Droysen had done in the 1870s and consequently treated it without
any special consideration. Only Buffiure, himself editing the twelfth book of the Greek Anthology, the greatest monument to later Greek pederasty, who arranged his work topically, generally eschewing analysis and avoiding value judgments, did not condemn the Hellenistic period and devoted ample space to its authors. Partly this neglect stems from prejudice against a people who could no longer defend their freedom from Macedonians and Romans and partly it was owing to ignorance because the sources for Hellenistic history are more epigraphical and archeological than literary and only fully exploited in the twentieth century.

The great pioneer of Hellenistic studies, especially of epigraphy, papyrology, and numismatics, Rostovsteff, who flourished in the first half of the twentieth century, redressed the balance. He redeemed Hellenism, as Hellenistic culture is often termed, from neglect and denigration. Rostovsteff and his followers such as Tarn and Cary, have held the day since the middle of this century. Scholarship on Greek pederasty, however, repressed by Hitler and the extreme homophobia that followed the Second World War, epitomized by Freudian psychology in England and America, prevented the rehabilitation of Hellenistic culture from extending to a proper reevaluation of its pederastic and other homosexual practices and its pederastic art and literature, which continued to be unjustly deemed decadent and inferior, even by Dover. The Germans even more, from Bethe to Patzer, more interested in the "pure" heroic form of Dorian love, neglected the Hellenistic Age. The old denigrating view of the Hellenistic world is not dead even among generalists:

The Hellenistic list, apart from scientists, is remarkably short—Polybius, Theocritus, Callimachus, Zeno, Epicurus, Plutarch—and most of them lived in the first century after Alexander. 'An observer in the third century B.C.,' wrote E. R. Dodds, would have been painfully surprised 'to learn that Greek civilisation was entering... on a period of slow intellectual decline which was to last, with some deceptive rallies and some brilliant individual rear-guard actions, down to the capture of Byzantium by the Turks; that in all the sixteen centuries of existence still awaiting it the Hellenic world would produce no poet as good as Theocritus... no mathematician as good as Archimedes, and that the one great name in philosophy [Plotinus] would represent a point of view believed to be extinct--transcendental Platonism.'

Foucault, who did view the Hellenistic period as crucial, mistook it as an increasingly sex-negative praeparatio evangelica,
overemphasizing the admonitions of glum Stoics and grim physicians, totally failing to realize the continuity and grandeur of the pederastic institutions formulated in the late Archaic period:

The evolution that occurred—quite slowly at that—between paganism and Christianity did not consist in a gradual interiorization of rules, acts, and transgressions; rather, it carried out a restructuration of the forms of self-relationship and a transformation of the practices and techniques on which this relationship was based.⁵

One cannot pretend that little of importance happened during the three centuries from Aristotle to Seneca or that Romans had become completely Hellenized or the Greeks Latinized. The Romans absorbed and adapted this Hellenistic rather than the pure Hellenic tradition and disseminated it to Western Europe. Upper-class Greeks under Roman rule continued their patterns of late marriage as well as exuberant pederasty. Few Romans and fewer Jews imitated them. The Roman Empire had more diversity than even the Hellenistic kingdoms it annexed.

ANACREONTEA

DIFFUSION AND DIVERSITY

The conquests of the homophile Alexander the Great and the subsequent propagation of Greek culture throughout the Middle East inaugurated the Hellenistic Age, in some respects the apogee of Greek history. Alexander's generals deserted his heirs and fought over the spoils of his empire. By 280 these Diadochi (successors) had partitioned it into three disparate but roughly equal states: Ptolemaic Egypt, Seleucid Syria, and Antigonid Macedonia. Never before or since have Greeks ruled over such extensive lands, had such wealth and power, and syncretized so many cultures. Alexander's release of the Great King's treasure hoards stimulated commerce and investment in the vastest market yet unified.

Increased contacts with and borrowings from Egypt and the Near East inspired a burst of creativity and originality which, since the Dark Age had often underlain Greek intellectual advances. Now more than ever Oriental cultures influenced not only medicine, science, engineering, and religion, but literature, art, and philosophy. The early Hellenistic period was the golden
age of Greek mathematics, astronomy, physics, medicine, botany, geography, engineering, accounting, chronology, lexicography, and literary criticism. Greek population exploded, not in the homeland which so many left but in Asia and Egypt, to which they migrated to seek greater opportunities. Many, especially the elites, in the conquered lands also Hellenized. If most Greeks lost their freedom, they gained a world.

If the Greeks could claim no other achievements than those they accomplished between the deaths of Alexander in 323 and of Antiochus IV in 163, they would rank second of ancient peoples, next only to the Romans. Depending upon one's taste in art and attitude towards religion, they might rank beneath Egyptians and Babylonians in achievements other than military, in which only the Assyrians and Persians excelled third- and second-century Hellenes.

The list of heroes is long: Antipater, Lysimachus, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antigonus Gonatas, Ptolemy I "Soter," Antiochus III, "World Conqueror," Philip V, Perseus, Eumenes of Pergamum, Agis IV, Cleomenes III, Aratus of Sicyon, Philopoemen. Berenice governed Egypt for Ptolemy II. Caesar's mistress Cleopatra VII was arguably the greatest female ruler of antiquity, but many other strong-minded Hellenistic princesses preceded her and Agis IV's Spartan widow Agiatis, who also inspired Cleomenes III and his mother Cratesiclea, could equal any heroine in the tragedies.

If the Greeks were overwhelmed by the might of Macedon and then of Rome, this does not prove that they degenerated or became effeminate. Plutarch described the people of Alexandria as cowardly for refusing to join Cleomenes III of Sparta in his heroic attempt to overthrow the effeminate Ptolemy IV in 219 (see below), but the Alexandrians showed their mettle fifty years later when they rose to depose the puppet ruler that Antiochus III, the Seleucid king, attempted to impose on them, and elected their own. If women in general, and princesses in particular, rose in status, this does not prove that pederasty declined. It was Hellenistic culture and manners which inspired the Romans to imitation: Catullus, Lucretius, Horace, and Virgil all used Hellenistic pederastic models. Neither Roman nor Renaissance artists and writers viewed Hellenistic models as degenerate.

The acquisition of the Persian Empire and other lands even beyond its extensive frontiers altered and diffused Hellenic culture. The Greeks who settled among subject populations in Asia and Africa and often took foreign wives changed more radically than those who returned after the campaigns and far more than those who stayed at home. But even those at home imbibed foreign influences and many emigrated to Greece from the East, sometimes involuntarily as slaves. Even the Greeks of Sicily and Italy experienced transformations before Romans annexed them that have caused historians to use "Hellenistic" or sometimes "Hellenism" to differentiate the new hybrid culture from "Hellenic." Hellenism
varied in each major region: Greek and the Aegean, Magna Graecia and Sicily, and Egypt and Asia, where many ethnic local groups adhered to their old customs, languages, religions, and sexual practices under Greek rulers. Thus the Hellenistic oecumene foreshadowed in diversity the Roman Empire which absorbed it. Increasing, indeed, unceasing contact with Egyptians, Jews, Syrians, Persians, even Indians and Scythians resulted in much more diversity among Greeks.

The magnificent and munificent Diadochi and their early successors, philosopher-kings and patrons of art and learning, became models for enlightened despots from Augustus and Hadrian to Frederick II and Joseph II. Never had so many prospered so much as in the third century B.C. If parts of Greece itself languished, the libraries and museums for which Alexandria provided the models allowed scientists and literary critics to scale heights undreamt and engineers, town planners, canal builders, surgeons, physicians, and estate managers to apply science and technology as never before to benefit humanity. Although heroes in the cities of Greece frequently rebelled, their attempts to regain freedom were foredoomed by the power of the bureaucratic monarchs, but Greek men and women had never been so well off.

In the new colonies, of which Alexander founded seventy and his successors hundreds more, Greeks recreated the institutions they knew at home: gymnasia, schools, symposia, and seclusion of women, with greatly expanded trade, pederasty was no longer needed for birth control. It also lost to a certain extent another of its raisons d’être, namely training of citizens to maintain the freedom of their city state, less necessary now that mercenaries served despots. These uprooted professional mercenaries, if they did not fail to marry, often postponed marriage or, leaving their wives at home for long periods, took up with camp followers, often as not with boys rather than women. Commanders often allowed mercenaries to keep their boys, but occasionally ordered the boys and women out, showing that they were routinely accepted. This practice foreshadowed that of the Roman legions. Though we have no instances of Hellenistic commanders suborning their subordinates, as was the case in Roman armies, the practice probably occurred without the violent objections that caused them to be recorded by Roman historians.

Good citizens were needed as much as ever and if mercenaries took over most of the fighting, citizen hoplites mounted many revolts against kings and tyrants or served along with mercenaries as allies or subjects of monarchs. Military training remained part of a gentleman's education. At home and now in Asia and Egypt as well ephebes continued to be trained and taught manners by erastei. Besides, even classical Athens had its areas for casual cruising and its male prostitutes of every type. Modern
authors overstate the degree to which casual sex increased over
the classical type. Citizen levies did not disappear entirely.
The Achaean and Aetolian leagues acquitted themselves valiantly,
and in Sparta Agis and Cleomenes attempted to revive Spartan
militarism along with the "Lycurgan constitution." In Athens,
where from time to time militias rebelled, and most other poleis,
militias became primarily social clubs and ephebes served more
often to aid their former eromenoi in courts than in phalanxes.
The professionalization of armies and schools diminished the
strength of the one-to-one pedagogical relationship of erastes and
eromenos.

Hellenistic writers from the early Alexandrian scholars to
the latest contributors to the Greek Anthology speak more of boys
picked up on the street, of lower class youths whom they did not
intend to instruct or mold, than of the upper class boys courted
in gymnasia and symposia as in the Archaic and classical periods.
Yet symposia and gymnasia continued, and indeed multiplied.
Gymnasia became more splendid, with elaborate buildings, baths,
and often libraries, surpassing those of the homeland. Along
with the formal schools, which were more emphasized than earlier,
gymnasia and symposia remained essential for the training of the
elite. Pederasty flourished in gymnasia and symposia across Asia
and Egypt. Syracuse, ruled by the tyrant Agathocles, who had
begun as a call boy, reached its acme of prosperity and there
Archimedes, perhaps the greatest Greek scientist, worked until he
was slain by a soldier during the Roman conquest.

The increasing education of upper class women, especially in
Egypt and even Asia, perhaps because they were richer there,
along with the power of princesses, who had never been very
oppressed in Macedonia and now often dominated royal courts,
upgraded women's status and the intimacy of the relationship
between husband and wife, so eloquently testified to on grave
stones and vase paintings. Gentlemen ordinarily continued to
wait, however, until 30 to marry and to prefer brides of 15 to
18. Ordinary men, at least during the century of economic boom
following Alexander's death, married earlier, perhaps in their
mid- or even early twenties, women (still 15 to 18) but therefore
nearer their own age, as had long been the normal practice of the
Macedonian royal and noble houses, anxious for heirs.

Ptolemy I, Alexander's successor in Egypt (304-285),
transferred the capital from Memphis to the city at the Nile's
western mouth founded by Alexander to accommodate large fleets and
thus secure his communications with Europe. This Alexandria,
which soon became the greatest metropolis and emporium of the
Mediterranean, with between 500,000 and 1,000,000 inhabitants, far
greater than that of Athens at its zenith, linked Europe, where
Ptolemaic fleets often ruled even the Aegean, with Africa, and via
the canal built by the ancient Pharaohs that the Ptolemies
reopened between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea also with
India. In its harbor was the great Pharos, a lighthouse accounted
one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, symbolizing its
maritime dominance.

Ptolemy II (285-246) and Ptolemy III (246-221) made
Alexandria the world's intellectual capital by endowing the Museum
as well as the great Library and the Serapeum, a temple created
for a new cult, with a smaller library. The original research the
Ptolemies funded was technical. After his exile from Athens,
Aristotle's student Demetrius of Phalerum helped inspire Ptolemy
II to found the Library, which grew to contain, according to a
scholion of the twelfth-century Byzantine scholar Tzetzes, 490,000
volumes, apparently by the time of Callimachus, its second
director. Even the Serapeum library contained, according to
Tzetzes, 42,800 volumes.

Like Samos and Athens in their heyday, Alexandria achieved
its eminence through the influx of Ἰμιγράται. Callimachus as well
as Apollonius and Theocritus, all outsiders, vied with one another
in editing classical Greek texts in the Library and in writing
pederastic verses. Like New York, with a true cacophony of
languages, Alexandria became the largest Greek as well as the
largest Jewish city. It attracted Jews from Palestine even before
their homeland fell into Seleucid hands (198) and the zealous
hellenizer Antiochus IV (175-163) began to persecute them and the
Diaspora began in earnest, continuing during and after the
Maccabean uprisings. In the first century A.D. Josephus preserved
a condensed version of the letter of Aristeas, which conveyed the
legend that in Alexandria, whose synagogues overshadowed those in
Jerusalem, Ptolemy II commissioned seventy-two Jewish scholars to
translate the Pentateuch into the koine, as the simplified Greek
of the newly acquired colonial regions was called. Alexandria
outdistanced its rival Antioch, founded on the Orontes in Syria by
the second ruler of the Seleucid dynasty.

Seleucus I, who had been appointed satrap of Babylonia in
321, managed to reconstitute the bulk of Alexander's empire,
stretching from Asia Minor almost to the Indus, and ably ruled his
variegated lands until his assassination in 281. His son by the
elder of his father's two wives, Antiochus I (281-261) founded
more colonies, often founded near native settlements and thus
serving as centers of Hellenization, than any Hellenistic king
except Alexander himself. The early Seleucids tried to encourage
Greek settlement in poleis or military colonies across their huge
domain of western Asia (1,500,000 square miles at its height).
The new poleis contained all the appurtenances of Greek culture:
gymnasia, temples, altars, schools, and symposia but of course
they also imbibed much oriental influence.

Antiochus moved the new capital he founded on the left bank
of the Orontes and named it for himself. Like Alexandria a great
trade emporium, Antioch, however, never became a seat of
learning. Perhaps its greatest luminary was Euphorion of Chalcis,
whom Antiochus III made director of its Library, whose verses
influenced Catullus and Vergil. Antioch gained notoriety as a
city of pleasure, particularly in its park, Daphne. The other
great Seleucid foundation was Seleucia, on the Tigris. The
Seleucids attempted to revive Babylonia, of whose culture they
were as much in awe as were the Ptolemies of that of Egypt, and
supported the old Babylonian religion to counteract the
nationalistic Zoroastrianism of their Persian subjects. Babylon
itself, ravaged by Antigonus I of Macedonia, was refounded a
century later, probably by Antiochus IV.\footnote{7}

The sprawling dominions of the Seleucids, which gradually
contracted as one area after another on its perimeter declared
itself independent, differed from compact Ptolemaic Egypt or the
ethnically homogeneous Macedonia. The Seleucids fought four wars
with Egypt over the control of Syria and Palestine (273-200),
which Antiochus III (223-187) finally obtained in 198. Only Roman
intervention prevented him from partitioning Egypt with Philip V
of Macedonia (221-179). Richer than any Seleucid from his
control of the trade outlets of Syria and Palestine but
ignominiously thwarted by Rome when he too attempted to annex
Egypt, Antiochus IV (175-163) launched an aggressive campaign of
hellenization, founding new cities or hellenizing established
ones, in a belated effort to unify his empire. His attempt
forcibly to hellenize his Jewish subjects led to the Maccabean
revolt. Although the Jews eventually acknowledged Seleucid
suzerainty in 161, for all intents and purposes they had won their
independence. After Antiochus IV, internal dissension and
external aggression--from Rome in the West and Parthia in the
East--hastened the collapse of the Seleucid realm.

Founded by Antigonus I, the "One-Eyed" (382-301), and his son
Demetrius Poliorcetes (336-283) but reconstituted by Demetrius' son
Antigonus II Gonatas (c.320-239), the Antigonid dynasty in
Macedonia lasted until 168 when the Romans defeated and took
captive Perseus, the last king. Macedonia was the least populous,
smallest, and because it lacked major cities, commerce, and
industry, the poorest of the three great Hellenistic monarchies.
Because of its ethnic unity and tradition of free soldiers and
gallant noble cavalry, it was able to rival them in power.
Usually, the Antigonids could control Greece with the aid of
allied cities and leagues, although it had to contend there with
hostile elements, often of democratic or even communistic
leanings, which the Ptolemies with their far-ranging fleets often
supported, before Rome seriously began to interfere across the
Adriatic in 201.

The only Macedonian monarch after Alexander with serious
cultural interests was Antigonus Gonatas, a convert to Stoicism himself, who invited leading scholars to his court. Pella, however, with a population of , hopelessly small and poor in comparison with Alexandria, Antioch, Athens, and even Rhodes, could not hope to compete as a major cultural center. Its kings never established libraries or patronized schools on any significant scale. Remaining largely rural as it did, and with but little influx of Asians or Africans, indeed with Greeks themselves limited largely to coastal cities, it is likely that Macedonia maintained a separate culture. Except for its semi-Hellenized upper class, Macedonians continued to practice the male adolescent bonding affections exemplified by Achilles and Patroclus, Alexander and Hephaestion.

Pergamum, in Mysia fifteen miles inland, became prominent under the Attalids, who made it the capital of their kingdom. In 263 its ruler, Eumenes I (d. 241), adoptive nephew of the eunuch Philetaerus, vassal of Seleucus who defeated the Gallic invaders (278-276), with Ptolemaic help declared his independence of the Seleucids. Eumenes' cousin and successor, Attalus I (241-197), who assumed the title of king, defeated the Gauls and allied with Rome against Philip V of Macedonia. While the Attalids allowed the constitution of the poleis to continue to exist, these monarchs in time came to resemble their Hellenistic counterparts, relying more heavily on a Greek-speaking bureaucracy and a predominantly Greek semi-professional army. Skillfully exploiting the silver mines and surplus grain and corn from their countryside and encouraging the textile and parchment industry, they gained great wealth which they lavished on the beautification of their capital—an outstanding example of town planning with public buildings that terraced the hillsides culminating in the fortresses and palace on the acropolis.

Although Pergamum, controlling 70,000 square miles and inhabitants, ranked fourth in size and population among the Hellenistic monarchies, in culture it may have outdistanced Macedonia and was second only to Egypt. Attalus I and his successors made their court a center of learning, patronizing artists, writers, and philosophers. The Pergamene library, which swelled to 200,000 scrolls (second only to Alexandria), and the royal art collection rivaled that of the Ptolemies, and the schools of sculpture could claim first place.

Rhodes, an island of 420 square miles off the mainland of Caria, managed to avoid domination by any of the great Hellenistic powers. Escaping in 333 from over twenty years of Persian domination, the Rhodian republic achieved domestic stability by wisely compromising between the interests of the wealthy and the proletarians. Strategically located as it was on the sea routes connecting the main parts of the Hellenistic world, it gained through the carrying trade great prosperity. During the third
century it became by far the richest polis, maintaining its independence as a buffer state among the four major Hellenistic kingdoms. This emporium suppressed piracy with its efficient fleet, whose officers came from the leading families and crews from the poorer citizens. With Pergamum it helped bring about Rome's first major intervention in the east in 201 and for this and later cooperation was rewarded by Rome with territory in Lysia and Caria. As punishment for its equivocation during the Third Macedonian War, Rome elevated Delos to the status of a free port in 167, whose competition along with increasing piracy reduced Rhodes' harbor dues within three years to 150,000 from 1,000,000 drachmas. It became a cultural and educational center, though clearly ranking beneath Pergamum.

By the reign of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III, the multi-ethnic metropolises of Antioch, Seleucia, and Alexandria, both rivalling Pella in power, surpassed it as well as Athens, Syracuse, and Corinth in trade and wealth, if not also knowledge. Within a hundred years of Alexander's death, Rhodes, a center of grammar, oratory, and philosophy, and Pergamum, with its Library and art, challenged Athens, Antioch, and Alexandria. These and other opulent cities of Asia teemed with illiterate, unscrupulous, violent mobs of paupers, mostly un-Hellenized non-Greeks, envious of the luxurious palaces that stood out among the slums. (Because aliens often assumed Greek names when they hellenized and because of the numerous mixed marriages, it is impossible to tell what proportion of Greek speakers were descended from Greeks.) Male and female prostitution flourished even more than it had in Athens and Corinth, whose transit trade made it alone grow wealthier and attract more foreign immigrants than other major cities of the homeland, before the Romans sacked it in 146. Life was cheap and money bought anything, as the saying went in Alexandria, "except snow." It also bought anybody except the pious.

Persian, Egyptian, and Syrian customs of keeping effete boys, eunuchs, and/or pathics as well as temple prostitutes influenced the Greeks. "According to a neo-Babylonian text of ca. 500 B.C., 'love of a man for a man' is governed by the constellation Scorpio. Astrological lore, with its sexual component, passed from the Near Eastern peoples to the Greeks [in this period]." In sex as well as in art, restraint diminished. Even in the purer Greek colonies, and by imitation also in cities of the homeland and such western centers as Tarentum and Syracuse, "Oriental degeneracy" influenced moral conduct.

No more decorous than the monarchs, many nouveaux riches and other classes of society deserted the classical ideal of the golden mean as still practiced in gymnasia and symposia for excesses and one-night stands as increasingly praised by poets and condemned by philosophers. Neither always promiscuous nor
mercenary, pederasty in the less cosmopolitan homeland still often decorously followed the golden mean, but even there it was not as exclusive as in classical times and more mercenary.

In graffiti, not normally stemming from the upper classes, it was almost always the elder who boasted of his triumphs; the passive younger was not supposed to enjoy it. The pederastic inscriptions discovered in August 1980 on Thasos (second half of the fourth century) were more delicate and sensitive, alluding to beauty rather than to sexual intercourse, than those of Thera.10

As in earlier times, slaves, active sailors, soldiers on campaign, or others temporarily cut off from females, must have indulged in same-sex relations, not always pederastic. Cynics, Platonists, and Stoics often opposed marriage and many supposedly avoided women totally, preferring their young male disciples. Slaves, deprived of partners, always famous for masturbation, continued their old methods of sexual gratification. Like slaves, many lower-class males must have been too poor to afford prostitutes, mistresses, or wives. About one-third seem never to have married.11

Three new types of homosexuality appeared alongside the old-fashioned paiderasteia: boy camp followers or subordinates; effeminates and eunuchs; and slaves. They foreshadowed the practices of Romans, in whose writings they are better evidenced. It may be that pederasty differed in Alexandria and other eastern metropolises from that of small towns in old Greece, its colonies in the West, and in some of the new colonies in Syria. The masses of non-Greeks, including most Jews, continued their sexual usages.

Hellenistic sexuality was as diverse as Hellenic culture. The wealthy Hellenized Jew Philo Judaeus (c.20 B.C.-c.45 A.D.) of Alexandria, who persistently condemned pederasty along with venality and other "corruptions," distinguished three types, somewhat overlapping, of homosexuality in his native city: Old-fashioned paiderasteia, which Philo ridiculed as mere lovesickness; flamboyant effeminates, called "men-women" (androgyanoi) by Philo; and galli, religious-ecstatic castrates. The insouciance of the Archaic lyric poets was revived, or rather continued, since it had never died out in the classical period, by Alexandrian imitators, in life as well as in verse. Cornelius Nepos (99-24) reported that "in Crete it is thought praiseworthy for young men to have had the greatest possible number of love affairs" (Praef., 4). These boy-chasers were by no means necessarily effeminate.

Building on the Classical critics of pederasty, some physicians and philosophers went so far perhaps as to recommend total abstinence or mutual fidelity within heterosexual marriages,
as at least one of their Stoic successors did under the Roman Empire. Foucault traced that evolution but went too far in claiming that criticism predominated. He disregarded contrary or neutral opinions such as those of the Epicureans who thought that sex was as morally indifferent as diet. He erroneously argued that criticism of pederasty, begun by the great fourth-century philosophers of Athens, increased throughout the Hellenistic Age and in this respect foreshadowed and influenced even more hostile Roman imperial and Christian attitudes.\textsuperscript{6} Pederasty actually spread to the middle classes and to all areas that Greeks influenced. More and more lower-class and Hellenized people in Rome and the East, even assimilationist Jews, adopted pederasty which was increasingly divorced from its pedagogical and military functions.

**DEMOGRAPHY**

With the exception of Greece itself, the population of the lands under Greek control expanded dramatically. By the close of Ptolemy II's reign, Egypt numbered 7,000,000 and the number of villages had risen from pre-Ptolemaic times (Diodorus Siculus, XXXI, 6.8), which may have been due to inclusion of villages formerly omitted as well as to new settlements.\textsuperscript{16} Beloch estimated the size of the population of the Seleucid empire at the time of Antiochus I at 30,000,000.\textsuperscript{17} Pliny reported Seleucia's population at 600,000 (Natural History, VI, 122) and Strabo stated that Antioch was smaller than Seleucia or Alexandria (XVI, 2.5, 750).

In Greece, families remained small. Recent studies indicate that Hellenistic women bore fewer children (with lower survival rates) than Classical ones: 3.6 births and 1.6 survivors versus 4.6 and 3.0 respectively.\textsuperscript{18} The considerable surplus, still apparent in 300, gradually vanished, and by 200 many regions experienced a dearth. By 150 population had declined throughout Hellas.

Using inscriptions from the third and second centuries, Tarn argued that one child families were typical after c.230:

the one child family was commonest, but there was a certain desire for two sons (to allow for a death in war); families of four or five were very rare; more than one daughter was very seldom reared; and infanticide on a considerable scale, particularly of girls, is not in doubt.\textsuperscript{19}

Because each fertile marriage must produce an average of three children to keep a population stationary, the population born in Greece must have decreased substantially by 100 B.C. The precautions against overpopulation were no longer needed. Only
the Jews and Egyptians protested against infanticide on moral grounds.

In sharp contrast to the Cretan lawgivers, Lycurgus, Solon, Plato, and Aristotle, all fearful of overpopulation, Polybius (c.200–after 118) criticized infanticide on practical grounds, along with the refusal of greedy men to marry, as one of the causes of depopulation:

In our own time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth-rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics. If, then, any one had advised us to send and ask the gods about this, and find out what we ought to say or do, to increase in number and make our cities more populous, would it not seem absurd, the cause of the evil being evident and the remedy being in our own hands. For as men had fallen into such a state of pretentiousness, avarice and indolence that they did not wish to marry, or if they married to rear the children born to them, or at most as a rule but one or two of them, so as to leave these in affluence and bring them up to waste their substance, the evil rapidly and insensibly grew. For in cases where of one or two children the one was carried off by war and the other by sickness, it is evident that the houses must have been left unoccupied, and as in the case of swarms of bees, so by small degrees cities became resourceless and feeble. About this it was of no use at all to ask the gods to suggest a means of deliverance from such an evil. For any ordinary man will tell you that the most effectual cure had to be men's own action, in either striving after other objects, or if not, in passing laws making it compulsory to rear children.

(XXXVI 17.5–10)

Although Glotz maintained that infanticide was prevalent, Gomme denied it, both using literary evidence.20 Inscriptions from the end of the third and throughout the second centuries conclusively prove its prevalence.

Of some thousand families from Greece who received Milesian citizenship c.228–220, details of 79, with their children, remain; these brought 118 sons and 28 daughters, many being minors; no natural causes can account for those proportions. Similarly
Epicteta's relatives, c. 200, numbered 25 males to 7 females. Of the Miletus families, 32 had one child and 31 two; and they show a certain striving after two sons. The inscriptions at large bear this out. Two sons are fairly common, with a sprinkling of three; at Eretria, third century, certainly two families in 19 had more than one son, which is lower than the Miletus immigrants, but agrees with the evidence from Delphi; at Pharsalus possibly one in seven; and one must allow for some sons having emigrated. But more than one daughter was practically never reared, bearing out Poseidippus' statement that 'even a rich man always exposes a daughter.' Of 600 families from Delphic inscriptions, second century, just 1 per cent. reared 2 daughters; the Miletus evidence agrees, and throughout the whole mass of inscriptions cases of sisters can almost be numbered on one's fingers, with one strange local exception: a second-century list of women subscribers from Paros perhaps shows 20 sisters (8 families) out of 62 names, but the islands were prosperous and untouched by war, and in population questions must be classed with Asia, not Greece. Some allowance must be made for the loss of fertility; thus at Rhodes adoptions were so common that we get (c. 100) seven adopted sons in a list of 40 magistrates, and on her deme Telos a case of three in four, while adoption, even of daughters, was not uncommon elsewhere; people do not kill their own children to adopt others. Telos too boasts a family of seven, perhaps the only known Hellenistic family over five, except the eight children of Cleopatra Thea by three marriages; but the prevalence of artificial restriction is shown by the revival of families of four and five at Athens during her after-bloom of prosperity in the late second century.21

Although Polybius, who did not himself condemn pederasty, did not say so, this dearth of people coincided with intensified criticism of pederasty. We hear little criticism except among Romans of late marriage. Gentlemen, unlike commoners, did not marry earlier than they had in the classical period. Middle- and lower-class men did marry earlier at least temporarily because of
the rise in wages in Greece between 330 and 230. They seem also to have practiced pederasty with less taste and more indiscriminately, with less regard for military or educational goals than the upper classes had in the classical period. Like Greek and Oriental freedmen, eastern slaves in Rome practiced homosexuality among themselves but then most slaves were deprived of regular female companionship. In the first century A.D., however, eighteen-year-old Pythion on Thasos, of a family of archons, married Epicydilla, who was fifteen. At 18 Cleopatra VII married her brother of 12. Patterns varied more in Hellenistic times but little evidence indicates that Greek men changed their ways to marry younger after the population dearth nor even under the influence of Romans, who married much younger.

PEDERASTIC RULERS

Like demography, politics reflected and influenced sexual tastes. Some, led by Alexander, who imitated Achilles in so many other ways, revived the custom of coeval teenage lovers, which had never totally died out even at the height of pederasty and was strong among Macedonian nobles including Alexander's "Companions." Others followed him in adopting the Persian penchant for eunuchs and effete dancing boys, a practice not unknown even in classical Athens.

Like many of their other activities, the sex life of Hellenistic kings is poorly documented. While they seem to have preferred women, many were avid boy-chasers. The pederasty of six in this period is attested: Agathocles of Syracuse (317-289), Demetrius Poliocertes (307-283), his son Antigonus II Gonatas (283-239), Antiochus II (261-242), Cleomenes III of Sparta (235-219), and Ptolemy IV (221-205).

Polybius stated in his Histories that the Sicilian historian Timaeus (F124b), to blacken the name of Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse (who eventually called himself king), depicted him as a youthful prostitute:

Agathocles, in his first youth, was a common prostitute [pornos] available to the most dissolute, a jackdaw, a buzzard, putting his rear parts in front of anyone he wanted (XII, 15.1f.).

Dover explained the symbolism:

The jackdaw here probably symbolises impudence and shamelessness; the buzzard, in Greek triorkhes, 'having three testicles,' presumably
symbolises insatiable lust, which is assumed to characterise the true pornos.\textsuperscript{23}

Symonds suggested that Agathocles may have operated from a brothel "by inclination, however, if the reports of his biographers be not calumnious."\textsuperscript{24}

Demetrius once claimed to be ill with a fever. When his father came to visit him, the fever had broken. "It has just left me," said Demetrius. "I know," replied the father, "I saw it [him] as it [he] was leaving." The masculine gender in Greek allowed a play on words because on entering the father had noticed a beautiful young boy leaving his son's bedroom. Demetrios engaged in all kinds of debaucheries after "liberating" Athens (Plutarch, \textit{Demetrius}).

Atheneus told about the heroic conqueror Antigonus Gonatas:

Aristocles the harp-singer was the beloved of King Antigonus, concerning whom Antigonus of Carystus, in his Life of Zeno, writes as follows: "King Antigonus used to have revels at the house of Zeno. On one occasion, coming away from a drinking-party at daybreak, he rushed to Zeno's and persuaded him to join in a revel at the house of Aristocles the harp-singer, whom the king loved greatly" (XIII, 603).

The deified Antiochus II had an eromenos, Themison, a native of Cyprus, honored almost as much as Hadrian's Antinous. He was proclaimed at the festivals as Themison of Macedon, the Heracles of king Antiochus, according to Pythermus of Ephesus in the eighth book of his Histories. Not only that, but all the inhabitants also sacrificed to him, calling upon him by the name of Heracles-Themison; and whenever any distinguished person offered sacrifice, Themison was always present in person, reclining on a separate couch and clad in a lion's skin; he also carried a Scythian bow and held a club (Atheneus, VII, 289f-290a=\textit{Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum} ed. Muller IV p. 488 no. 2 = \textit{Fragmente der griechischen Historiker} ed. Jacoby, no. 80 p. 160 frag. 1.).\textsuperscript{25}

After Cleomenes, who had an erastes named Xenares, and his twelve companions found no response in Alexandria to their call to
overthrow the corrupt Ptolemy IV, they as if to condemn the cowardly population resolved to kill one another. Cleomenes enjoined the last survivor, Pantaenus, to make sure they were all dead before Pantaenus took his own life:

This man, being of a very handsome person, and a great lover of the Spartan discipline, the king had made his dearest friend [eromenos]; and he now bade him, when he had seen him and the rest fallen, die by their example. Pantaenus walked over them as they lay, and pricked every one with his dagger, to try whether any was alive; when he pricked Cleomenes in the ankle, and saw him turn upon his back, he kissed him, sat down by him, and when he was quite dead, covered up the body, and then killed himself over it (Plutarch, Cleomenes).

Under the dissolute Ptolemy IV Philopator, Egypt began to decline:

He neglected the business of state, made himself difficult to approach, hardly deigned to receive the members of his court or the officials responsible for internal affairs, and treated with contempt or indifference those who handled his country's interests abroad . . . and gave his whole attention to ignoble love affairs and to senseless and continuous drinking (Polybius, V, 34).

Plutarch described him as

a loose, voluptuous, and effeminate prince, under the power of his pleasures and his women . . . so besotted with his women and his wine, that the employments of his most busy and serious hours consisted at the utmost in celebrating religious feasts in his palace, carrying a timbrel, and taking part in the show; while the greatest affairs of state were managed by Agathoclea, the king's mistress, her mother, and the pimp Oenanthes (Cleomenes).

When Cleomenes, then a virtual prisoner of his, learned that Nicagoras the Messenian had arrived in Alexandria bringing a gift of war-horses to Ptolemy IV, he remarked with a smile: "I could wish you had rather brought young boys and music-girls; for those are the king's chief occupation" (Plutarch, Cleomenes).
Although Greeks described as "effeminate" all those who indulged in excessive sex, it is inconceivable that Ptolemy IV did not take boys to bed. On the other hand, those who controlled their emotions and limited their sexual activity, whether with women or boys, were considered virile. It was not the sex of the partner but the amount of control that mattered, as Foucault stressed:

What differentiates men from one another, for medicine and moral philosophy alike, is not so much the type of objects toward which they are oriented, nor the mode of sexual practice they prefer; above all, it is the intensity of that practice. The division is between lesser and greater: moderation or excess. It is rather rare, when a notable personage is depicted, for his preference for one form of sexual practice or another to be pointed up.²⁶

"HENS IN THE COOP" AT THE LIBRARY

In spite of a basic continuity, Hellenistic paideia differed from Classical and a fortiori from Archaic. Monarchies supported by mercenaries and obsequious bureaucrats increasingly eclipsed democracies, independent poleis, and citizen militias. Of course, well-rounded citizens continued to govern poleis as magistrates or part-time as councillors, in the prytanaeum, or merely assemblymen, now mostly oligarchic as the monarchs directly or indirectly controlled them. Each polis and even Greek-speaking villages developed schools whose instructors were usually paid by the pupils' parents, sometimes by the city or a wealthy benefactor who might be the monarch. The state often intervened in appointment of teachers and organization of schools.²⁷

The Greek language and culture became the force that bound Hellenes together and in fact identified them as such, setting them off, whatever their origins, from "barbarians." The instrument for their cultivation was the school. This new focus on the role of formal teaching in school with a corresponding lowering in the emphasis on preparation for fighting as a heroic hoplite, reduced the role of the erastes while elevating that of the paidagogoi and sophists. Homer, Euripides, Menander, and Demosthenes became the standard texts for secondary schools. By the middle of the second century the educational canon for advanced students included physicians, philosophers, and poets, with ten each of sculptors, historians, painters, and Attic orators.²⁸ The prescribed texts, with the inevitable interpretation that Achilles and Patroclus were lovers, contained a good deal on pederasty. The master-student relation lent itself to cementing
bonds of affection, a situation replicated in muted form in the public schools and all-male colleges of Victorian England. The old lover-beloved relationship diminished in intensity and importance along with citizen armies and the increase in professional schooling.\textsuperscript{29}

In small classes, students and teachers were intimate not only in the three lower levels of schools that became standard, ages 6-12, 13-15, and 16-20, but even more so in the exclusive advanced academies of Athens, Alexandria, Antioch, Rhodes, and Pergamum. Besides the cash nexus between instructors and students, deemed unworthy and demeaning by conservatives in earlier times, the underpaid, socially unesteemed teachers and, indeed, often fellow students as well were not necessarily from the same class, city, or race. Fees were the main prerequisite for Greek speakers to enter the system, but even though literacy increased, never more than 10\% of Greek speakers attained literacy and the rate for females, which also increased over classical times, probably never reached even 2\%.\textsuperscript{30} Many of the schools were, however, expensive, elitist, and cliquish. Members of the exclusive academies dined and lived communally in a sort of college as students did in some urban intermediate schools to which boys came from the small towns or countryside to board, quite unlike their classical day-school counterparts. In cities, most privileged boys still lived at home until 18, when their ephebate commenced.

City streets in Asia and Africa, more than in the older Hellenic areas, teemed with abandoned children or orphans of all ages who might have amounted to 10\%--as many as went to school--and of course were readily available, as indeed such are in most cities of the world today, for sexual purposes to anyone offering them food, clothes, shelter, or money. Those more fortunate but still able to afford school labored in their family businesses or were hired out for pittances or apprenticed, often under very stringent conditions, as early as six years of age and they too could often be seduced for sex with or without payment. Upper-class boys continued to be chaperoned through the streets, thronged with potential seducers. Middle-class girls were more protected than their brothers.

The classical ideal of "a sound mind in a sound body" persisted along with physical training. In Athens, Aristotle's student, the physician Diocles of Carystus (340-260) prescribed an ideal daily schedule for males, including morning and afternoon exercises, making us realize "how the whole life of the Greeks (unlike that of any other people) revolved around their gymnastics."

Diocles says so several times [that] the aim of all this is to attain the best possible
permanent general condition for general health and for every kind of physical exertion. . . . The writer of On Diet also recognizes that a certain social difficulty exists—that some compromise must be found between the doctor's ideals and the actual conditions of the patient's life. He reaches the same conclusion as Diocles. He draws up an ideal regime for the man who has nothing to do but keep fit, and then makes allowances for those who have to work and have little time left for the care of the body. We must not imagine that the Greek doctors wrote only for the rich. Contemporary philosophers did the same thing—they described a bios to be lived by the man who was entirely at leisure, and then left individuals to make their own deductions from this ideal. . . . Plato speaks of the three physical virtues—health, strength, and beauty—as joining to form one chorus with the virtues of the soul—piety, courage, temperance, and justice. . . . In this higher sense, we may say that the Greek ideal of culture was the ideal of health. . . .

Cynics and other outsiders mocked such ideals, but they remained rejected fringe groups.

In Athens, where instruction became an ever more important industry as its political power and wealth waned, sophists instructed youths from abroad in advanced institutions such as the Academy, the Lyceum, the "Stoa," and Epicurus' garden, which only a handful even of the rich could ever afford. Even there slave pedagogues, along with pedotribes and paid tutors gradually took over more and more of the instruction of young aristocratic boys from lovers. Along with elaborate structures, gymnasia acquired bigger, more sumptuous baths, classrooms, and even sometimes libraries and lecture halls. Though athletics did not disappear, physical exercise lost much of the prestige that it still had in late classical times. Early morning classes displaced gymnastics as the first drill of the day for boys. The old military virtues were gradually deemphasized as mercenaries replaced militiamen. The erastes-eromenos relationship became increasingly peripheral to education but remained central to male bonding and thus to socialization and advancement, even if less essential than earlier.

The Athenian cultural hothouse that, fueled by pedagogical pederasty, had produced the most amazing intellectual advance in history, cooled. Worldweariness pervaded the Alexandrian literati, who edited or imitated the classics. In Athens as in Alexandria a scribal culture characteristic of Near Eastern despotisms encroached on the pedagogical pederasty developed in the Archaic and perfected in the classical age, producing pedantic
scholarship and academic art. At the expense of "music," which included poetry and literature, character formation, and logic, masters emphasized memorization.

STOICISM AND EPICUREANISM

The fruitful combination of pederasty with philosophy which had yielded such progress in Archaic and Classical times continued in Hellenistic. Plato's observation that what distinguished Greeks from barbarians was nude exercise (gymnasia), pederasty, and philosophy continued to be true even in Africa and Asia. In Egypt, where "gymnasia were founded in all the nome capitals (metropoleis) and even in villages where Greeks were numerous," the legal distinction "alumnus or graduate of a gymnasium" set off a Hellene whether of Greek, mixed, or native descent genetically from a Copt, Jew, or other despised and unprivileged outsider. Jews who Hellenized and attended gymnasia, sometimes resewing their foreskins to undo what the Greeks considered the maiming (?) disfigurements of circumcision, also sometimes adopted pederasty to the disgust of the orthodox who at this very time relegated homosexuality to the worst category of abomination, precisely because it as well as nudity and philosophy was the badge by which their oppressive conquerors could best be identified.

Philosophy's beginnings were entirely Hellenic. During the classical period Greeks opened up almost every subdivision of the discipline and posed almost every problem, so that Raphael in his School of Athens (1509-1511) could depict almost all subsequent philosophers as disciples of either Plato, the idealist, or Aristotle, the materialist or nominalist. All other schools of Greek philosophy can be traced back to their teacher Socrates, who like them taught erastei and eromenoi in gymnasia and symposia.

All of these institutions that fostered rational conversations between young males seeking love from one another continued into Hellenistic times. Indeed, philosophy may have advanced even more than science during the Hellenistic Age. Although the works of most of these Hellenistic philosophers are almost entirely lost, like those of the dramatists, physicians (except those in the Hippocratic Corpus), and scientists, for which we have to rely on summas, quotes, and commentaries from the time of the Roman Empire (except for Latin summaries in Lucretius and Cicero), they not only developed major new schools of ethics--Epicureanism and Stoicism--but made technical advances in logic, especially the New Academicians, disciples of Carneades (214/3-129/8). Every major philosophical school owed its progress to pederasts, who passed the headship from erastes to eromenos, and the largest and most influential, the one that was to exert the greatest influence on Christianity, Stoicism, not only recommended boy-love but allowed erastei to keep their eromenoi.
long after they developed beards—until the age of 28. The Epicureans, whom the Christians detested most for their atheism and whose works consequently perished, were the only ones treating women as equals and not recommending boy-love, perhaps not even practicing it.

Foucault trod a well-worn path in seeking precedents of Christian morality in Hellenic philosophers and physicians. Like Dover, he fell into an old error in supposing that what survived Christian destruction and neglect typified the writings prior to their triumph. Asserting that the criticism by Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon of the poets' uninhibited joy in physical pederasty increased in breadth and intensity after Alexander, he incorrectly deduced that pederasty declined because of this critique and parallel warnings from physicians and failed to pay adequate attention to those authors, now mostly lost poets, who continued the older traditions. The average educated Greek hardly heeded or even heard or read the rhetoric of such ascetics as Diogenes the Cynic, Zeno of Citium, and Epicurus or the precautions recommended by physicians.

A number of ancient philosophers praised physical pederasty unreservedly but even more, including Plato and Aristotle, practiced it in greater or lesser degree. Anecdotes about the philosophers mostly stem from late sources, often considered unreliable, such as Atheneus (f.c. 200 A.D.) and Diogenes Laertius (f.c.200-250). Nevertheless, they represent a tradition that cannot be disproved. Although Philostratus (c.170-c.250), mentioned some classical sophists, he skipped all but two Hellenistic philosophers, concentrating on those who lived during the early Roman Empire. Eunapius (c.345-c.420) began his Lives only with Plotinus in the third century A.D. Like Roman emperors, however, philosophers hardly behaved "normally."

The headship of the Platonic Academy itself often continued to pass from lover to beloved as it had in the fourth century. Xenocrates, head of the Academy (339-314) was the erastes of Polemon, who succeeded him in 314 and was himself succeeded in 270 by his eromenos Crates. More interested in conduct than dialectic, Polemon said: "Love is a service of the gods whose aim is the interest and safety of youths" (Plutarch, Romulus, 36). Crantor (c.340-290), another beloved disciple of Polemon, was the erastes of Arcesilaus (c.318-242), founder of the New Academy, a reordering of the old one much influenced by Skepticism. Never marrying or producing any children (Diogenes Laertius, IV, 43), Arcesilaus was the lover of many youths:

He lived openly with Theodete and Phila, the Elean courtesans, and to those who censured him he quoted the maxims of Aristippus. He was also fond of boys and very susceptible.
Hence he was accused by Ariston of Chios, the Stoic, and his followers, who called him a corrupter of youth and a shameless teacher of immorality. He is said to have been particularly enamoured of Demetrius who sailed to Cyrene, and of Cleocharis of Myrlea; of him the story is told that, when a band of revellers came to the door, he told them that for his part he was willing to admit them but that Cleocharis would not let him. This same youth had amongst his admirers Demochares the son of Laches, and Pythocles the son of Bugelus, and once when Arcesilaus had caught them, with great forbearance he ordered them off (Ibid., 40-41).

Without reconciling them, Plato had speakers stake out all the possible positions on pederasty, even the total promiscuity of the poets. The new schools elaborated one or another of Plato's themes: Cyrenaics, Epicureans, Peripatetics, Cynics, Skeptics, and Stoics, all restricting pederasty to one degree or another except the Cyrenaics, Cynics, and Skeptics.

A proponent of suicide, Hegesias, who headed the Cyrenaic school between Paraebotes, the successor of Aristippus, and Anniceris in the reign of Ptolemy Soter (d.c. 283), was banished from Alexandria for the scandal his lectures provoked. His successor Anniceris stressed the value of "sympathetic" pleasure.35 Remembered for having destroyed belief in the gods, Theodore of Cyrene (f.c. 300), "The Godless", the grandson of that Aristippus who founded the Cyrenaic school, asserted that one could use boys sexually without scruple and as one wished and that beautiful people, including females, were made for lovemaking (Diogenes Laertius, II, 8, 13).

Born to a father with Athenian citizenship, Epicurus of Samos (341-270), who renounced civic life, studied with Nausiphanes on Teos, from whom he imbibed the atheistic materialism of the Ionian physicists, particularly the atomic theory of Democritus. Although he later did military service as an ephebe at age eighteen at Athens, serving with the comic poet Menander (Strabo, XIV, 638), and studied there, he never adopted the Platonic theory of the ideas or the soul, which derived from Westerners such as Pythagoras and the Eleatics. Most original perhaps of all Hellenistic philosophers, he was much maligned by the Stoics, who said there were two kinds of love, the spiritual, that they recommended, and the physical that he advocated.36 Christians, who found Epicurus' atheistic materialism even more repugnant, destroyed his works, except three of his letters and two collections of maxims, including the 37 books entitled On Nature
and those of most of his disciples. The best exponent to survive Christian hostility was the Roman poet Lucretius (d. 55 B.C.). But a library unearthed at Herculaneum in 1750 revealed fragments of *On Nature* by Epicurus, others from his disciple Metrodorus of Lampsacus, and 69 titles and two substantially complete texts by Philodemus of Gadara, an Epicurean who lived in the late Roman Republic.\(^37\)

Epicurus' letter to Menecaeus succinctly expressed his philosophy:

> When we say that pleasure is the goal we do not mean the pleasures of the dissipated and those which consist in the process of enjoyment . . . but freedom from pain in the body and from disturbance in the mind. For it is not drinking and continuous parties nor sexual pleasures nor the enjoyment of fish and other delicacies of a wealthy table which produce the pleasant life, but sober reasoning which searches out the causes of every act of choice and refusal and which banishes the opinions that give rise to the greatest mental confusion (*Ep. Men.*, 131-2).

Since the responsibility of instructing a boy and elevating his soul was too great for a wise man to bear, an Epicurean should not be a lover. The wise man would only have sex occasionally, because the risk of inconvenience is greater than any real advantage.\(^38\)

Following Aristotle's example, several of his disciples wrote treatises on love, fragments of which have survived. Assisted by the scholarly Demetrius of Phalerum, governor of Athens (318-308), Theophrastus of Lesbos (372/371-288/285), who succeeded Aristotle in 322, obtained buildings, including a shaded walkway from which Aristotle's school took its name--Peripatetic--and presided over the Lyceum for approximately 35 years. He composed two treatises on botany, the main subject left uncovered by his master, in nine and six books each. Fragments survive of his *History of Physics*, *On Stones*, and *On Sensation*, The Ethical Characters, which has come down to us as a collection of student notes, formed the first recorded attempt at systematic character analysis. His Eroticus argued that love is like wine--pleasant and beneficial in moderate doses, causing trouble in excess:

> Theophrastus, in his essay *On Love*, quotes the tragic poet Chaeremon as saying that just as wine is mixed to suit the character of the drinkers, so also is the emotion inspired by
Eros; when he comes in moderation, he is gracious, but when he comes too intensely and puts men to utter confusion, he is most cruel. . . . Wherefore this poet, aptly distinguishing the influences of Eros, says: "With two arrows (verily) from the Graces he stretches his bow, the one bringing a happy lot, the other, utter confounding of life" (Athenaeus, XIII, 562e).

Theophrastus also reported a goose that fell in love with a philosopher and another with a boy, a fact shown centuries later by Konrad Lorenz to be possible:

In Aegium a goose fell in love with a boy, as Clearchus records in the first book of his Love Stories. Of this boy Theophrastus in his essay On Love says that he was named Amphilochochus and that his family was from Olene [in Elis]: and that Hermeias, the son of Hermodorus, a Samian by birth, says that a goose became enamoured of the philosopher Lacydes (Op. cit., 606c).

In his will, Theophrastus left the school's property to a circle of his colleagues. They elected Strato as successor (c.287-269). Under Theophrastus and Strato, Academics continued the comprehensive, collaborative, and systematic pursuit of knowledge which Aristotle himself had initiated. Theophrastus' system of bequeathing the school's property to a group of worthy scholars who then proceeded to elect their heads continued with Lyco (c.269-226/4), Ariston of Ceos (226/4-c.190), and perhaps their successors, who are mostly obscure. After Strato, however, hindered by the neglect or perhaps, according to Strabo (XIII, 1.54) even temporary loss of most of Aristotle's scientific works, Academics concentrated chiefly on trivial moralizing, criticizing the classics, and writing scandalous lives.

From the same Lesbian town as Theophrastus, Phanias of Erise (f.c. 320) expanded the fifth book of Aristotle's Politics, which attributed the fall of tyrants to arrogant attempts on boys. Assassinations of Tyrants for Vengeance recounted the stories of Antileon and Hipparinus and of Chariton and Melanippus, also told by his contemporary, the Platonist Heracleides of Pontus (Athenaeus, XIII, 602a). Sometimes considered a Peripatetic, Phanias, who also wrote an Eroticus, left Athens to found a school in his native city.

Known for his sensational Bioi (ways of life rather than biographies) as well as paradoxes, an encomium on Plato, and mystical and zoological treatises, the sensational polymath Clearchus of Soli on Cyprus (c.340-c.250), whose censoring of
luxuries indicates a Peripatetic orientation, and was probably a student of Aristotle, wrote an Erotica of at least two books of which no fewer than ten fragments survive. One tells of a man saved when shipwrecked by a dolphin that he had rescued from a fisherman's net. In addition to discussing heterosexual love affairs, he reported the words of the hetaira Glycera to the pederasts: "You love boys because they resemble women" (Athenaeus, XIII, 605d). Attacking false lovers who were really interested only in the boy's freshness and physical charm, he elaborated among other subjects Aristotle's thesis on the importance of a boy's eyes for love:

For in truth, as Clearchus says in the first book of his Love Stories, quoting Lycophronides: "Neither in boy, nor in gilded maid, nor in deep-bosomed matron is the countenance fair if it be not modest. For it is modesty that sows the seed of beauty's flower." And Aristotle also has said [Fr. 96 Rose] that lovers look to no other part of their favorite's body than the eyes, in which dwells modesty (Ibid., 564b).

Ariston of Ceos, Lyco's successor as head of the Lyceum, may have been influenced by the Cynic Bion of Borysthenes (discussed below). Four fragments survive of his work on love, where he discussed the role of symposia--still of crucial importance--and approved the Academician Polemon's admonition that all who go to drinking parties take precaution that the day after be as pleasant as the day of it. He followed Aristotle in trying to explain rationally the origins of the customs of wearing wreaths as crowns and to identify the nectar of the gods--typical Peripatetic trivialities.

Horace dubbed Bion of Borysthenes (c.325-c.255) the "black salt" (Ep., II, 2, 60) because he brought out the weaknesses and vices of humanity. Son of a freedman and a hetaira, Bion was bought by a rhetorician who left him his estate. In 314 he went to study in Athens; later Antigonus Gonatas invited him to his court at Pella, where he rivaled Stoics sent by Zeno, who refused to come in person. He was accused of going from village to village on Rhodes buying boys (or adopting them so he could have them for sex) and of seducing his students. "If Socrates desired Alcibiades but abstained, that was pure vanity; if he didn't, then he didn't do anything extraordinary" (Diogenes Laertius, IV, 49). This apparent approbation of pederasty may have been owing to the influence of Theodorus of Cyrene. He boasted that the wise man should have sex with his boys openly:

The wise man would indulge his passions
openly without the least regard to circumstances. Hence he would use such arguments as this. "Is a woman who is skilled in grammar useful in so far as she is skilled in grammar?" "Yes." "And is a boy or a youth skilled in grammar useful in so far as he is skilled in grammar?" "Yes." "Again, is a woman who is beautiful useful in so far as she is beautiful? And the use of beauty is to be enjoyed?" "Yes." When this was admitted, he would press the argument to the conclusion, namely, that he who uses anything for the purpose for which it is useful does no wrong. And by some such interrogatories he would carry his point (Diogenes Laertius, II, 99).

The eclectic Bion, who according to Diogenes Laertius was a Peripatetic, preached the Cyrenaic thesis that one attains happiness by adapting to circumstances. He loved to contradict cynically the opinion that the passive partner was less honorable: "It is preferable to give one's beauty to someone else rather than to receive it from another, for receiving it ruins body and soul."

He also argued that whiskers delivered eromenoi from the tyranny of their evil lovers (Plutarch, Eroticus, 770b). This beggar of the streets insulted passers-by, especially for carefully manicured hair or other signs of luxury. Epictetus said that the Cynics did not find beautiful any girl or frivolity, boy or cake (Diatr., 22, 10-15), but living as they did in the streets they could not conceal their vices behind house walls.

In the late fourth century Pyrrho of Elis founded Skepticism. While less shocking than Cynics, upon whom they often relied because the Cynics tended to refute established beliefs, Skeptics were even more nihilistic. Refuting all beliefs by citing opposing opinions, they came to no conclusions, refusing even to say that nothing was true. Relying on Academic writers, knowing nothing of the writings of Pyrrho's contemporary follower Timon of Phlius, Cicero described Pyrrho as a dogmatic moralist (Fin., IV, 43), while Diogenes Laertius had Pyrrho declare that nothing was really good or bad, merely convention:

He denied that anything was honorable or dishonorable, just or unjust. And so, universally, he held that there is nothing really existent, but custom and convention govern human action; for no single thing is itself any more this than that (IX, 61).

Aenisidemus of Knossus (f.c. 50 B.C.) revived Pyrrhonism. In his
Pyrrhonian Sketches, the physician Sextus Empiricus (f.c. 200) left us the most complete account we have of Skepticism.

Virulent rivals of Epicureans, Stoics viewed the ecumene as a polis and emphasized the soul, which Socrates had done so much to define. Much influenced by Cynics, early Stoics liked to shock. Sex of any sort, neither good nor bad, was no more important than other bodily functions. Not sexual desire but love, a sentiment that united two spirits, the female being equal to the male, could not, according to some, be with a woman. Wives should be in common and one could have sex with the first woman one came upon, ideas shared with the Cynics and echoing Plato's Republic. Furthermore, love, the object of which was indifferent, was a sentiment to be cultivated, not a passion aroused by the arrows of Eros. The interior beauty Stoics sought is the flower of virtue:

They say that the wise man will feel affection for the youths who by their countenance show a natural endowment for virtue. So Zeno in his Republic, Chrysippus in Book I of his work On Modes of Life, and Apollodorus in his Ethics.

Their definition of love is an effort toward friendliness due to visible beauty appearing, its sole end being friendship, not bodily enjoyment. At all events, they allege that Thrasonides, although he had his mistress in his power, abstained from her because she hated him. By which it is shown, they think, that love depends upon regard, as Chrysippus says in his treatise Of Love, and is not sent by the gods. And beauty they describe as the bloom or flower of virtue. . . .

It is also their doctrine that amongst the wise there should be a community of wives with free choice of partners, as Zeno says in his Republic and Chrysippus in his treatise On Government [and not only they, but also Diogenes the Cynic and Plato]. Under such circumstances we shall feel paternal affection for all the children alike, and there will be an end of the jealousies arising from adultery. . . . (Diogenes Laertius, VII, 129-131).

From Cyprus and probably of Phoenician ancestry, Zeno of Citium (335-263) founded Stoicism. Having journeyed to Athens in 313 to study at the Platonic Academy, he converted to Cynicism
instead. His first treatises were permeated with Cynic doctrines. He was also attracted to Socratic philosophy, which he synthesized with Heraclitus' physics and Aristotle's logic to construct his own philosophy. In ethics, its most distinctive aspect, Zeno taught that virtue is the only good and moral weakness or vice the only real evil. To his school, which derived its name from the Stoa Poikile (Painted Porch) in Athens, under which he taught seated, he drew a wide following. When one of his admirers, Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedonia, invited him to his court at Pella, he declined, citing his advanced age, and dispatched a disciple instead (Diogenes Laertius, VII, 6-9).

Zeno did not abuse the sexual liberty that he preached:

[He] might have a young girl to wait on him in order not to seem a misogynist. He shared the same house with Persaeus and when the latter brought him a little flute-player he lost no time in leading her straight back to Persaeus... Being enamoured of Chremonides, as he and Cleanthes were sitting beside the youth, he got up, and upon Cleanthes expressing surprise, "Good physicians tell us," said he, "that the best cure for inflammation is repose."... To a lover of boys he remarked, "Just as schoolmasters lose their common-sense by spending all their time with boys, so it is with people like you" (Diogenes Laertius, VII, 12-13, 17-18).

Sextus Empiricus quoted Zeno as saying that incest was normal, beginning with Zeus and Hera and Oedipus and Jocasta. However, Antigonus of Caristus, a bronze-worker and associate of the Academy at Athens c.240 whom Attalus I patronized at Pergamum, claimed that Zeno "never resorted to a woman, but always to boy-favorites" (Athenaeus, XIII, 563e).

From Cleanthes (331-232), Zeno's successor as head of the Stoa, not a single fragment survives. An anecdote has him fending off suggestive questions from a pretty boy:

Hecato once said in his Sentences when a certain handsome youth said, "If one striking the belly [gaster gastrizei] then the one striking the thighs [meroi merizei] then he [Cleanthes] said "You can have the diamerismoi young man; for words having parallel forms do not always have parallel meanings." (Diogenes Laertius, VII, II, 172 [in Latin in the Loeb]).
He composed a treatise On Love and another one on The Art of Love (Ibid., 175).

Chrysippus (c.280-207), last of the famous early Stoics, author of 705 works (Ibid., 181), condemned the treatises of the female pornographer Philaenis of Leucas (f.c. 350) on Pleasures and the Good describing the sexual positions and movements to promote pleasure between lesbians, which he concluded did not help one live better. According to Democritus, one of the banqueters in Athenaeus' Deipnosophistae:

"And now, my friends, I admire Chrysippus, the leader of the Porch, for many reasons, but I commend him still more for putting Archestratus, so famous for his Discourse on Cookery, on the same level always with Philaenis. To her is ascribed the authorship of the scandalous treatise on love which Aeschrolion of Samos, the iambic poet, says the Sophist Polycrates forged to defame the woman, though she was most chaste. Aeschrolion's iambics go as follows: 'I, Philaenis, decried of all men, lie here in long-abiding old age. Do not, vain sailor, as you round the headland, make of me a mockery and laughter and insult. For, I swear it by Zeus and by his Sons in the world below, never was I lewd or common toward men. Polycrates it was, by birth Athenian, sly in words, an evil tongue, who wrote what he wrote. I know naught of it.' But however that may be, the admirable Chrysippus says, in the fifth book of the treatise On Pleasure and the Good: 'Then there are the books by Philaenis, and the Gastronomy by Archestratus, and powerful stimulants to love and sexual intercourse; similarly slave-girls, skilled in such motions and postures, and ever intent on the practice of these things.' And again: 'That is the kind of thing they learn by heart, and they buy what has been written by Philaenis and Archestratus and the authors of similar trash.' And in the seventh book he says: 'Just as one may not learn by heart the writings of Philaenis or the Gastronomy of Archestratus with the idea that they can contribute anything to better living' (VIII, 335b-e).

Like Cleanthes and Apollodorus of Seleucia ( ), who composed an Ethics and a Physics, he favored the philosophical love of
boys. Like Zeno they recommended that the philosopher marry, and have children, and otherwise participate in the life of the polis (Diogenes Laertius, VII, 129).

Without rejecting eromenoi with beautiful bodies, Stoics emphasized the beauty of their souls. Zeno (Politeia), Cleanthes (The Art of Love), Chrysippus (On Dion), and Apollodorus (Ethics) wrote erotica (Diogenes Laertius, 24, 174, 129, 36, 129, 131, 178) as did less famous Stoics. According to Cicero they denied the name of love to physical sex (Tus., 33, 70), but he is late as well as Roman, and they may have changed their tune for the moralistic Roman patres they served. The poet Hermias of Curium (f.c. 200), followed by Atheneus, reproached the Stoics for indiscriminate pederastic appetites:

And yet Alexis says in Helen: "For anyone who loves only the ripe beauty of the body, but knows no other reason for loving, is a lover of his pleasure, not of his friends, and though a mortal, plainly wrongs Eros, a god, because he makes Eros distrusted by all the pretty boys." After Myrtilus had recited these lines from Alexis, he then cast a glance at those who hold to the principles of the Porch, first quoting the verses from the Iambics of Hermelias of Curium: "Hear ye Styacs, vendors of twaddle, hypocritical mouthers of words who alone by yourselves gobble up everything on the platters before the wise man can get a shave, and then are caught doing the very opposite of what you solemnly chant; oglers of boys you are, and in that alone emulating the founder of your philosophy, Zeno the Phoenician, who never resorted to a woman, but always to boy-favorites, as Antigonus of Carystus records in his Biography of him" (Atheneus, XIII, 563d-f).

Stoics apparently kept their eromenoi til age 28, when the mind is fully developed, if we are to believe Myrtilus, one of Atheneus' Deipnosophistae: "[you] are always repeating that one should not love bodies but soul; you, who say that favorites should be retained until twenty-eight years old" (XIII, 563e). Their founder had said that sexual intercourse with an eromenos or another boy did not make a man or woman better or worse. Eromenos and concubine were equal from the point of view of convenience, because Stoics were indifferent to acts of the flesh. "And you see the Stoics declare that it is not abnormal to live with a
whore and even to live from her wages" (Sext., 200-201). Like Cynics, early Stoics assure us that sex was an indifferent act (Sextus, Pyrrhonian Sketches, III, 198).

Foucault argued that sophrosyne, a state of temperance resulting from self-control, was recommended to enhance health and virtue by most Hellenistic as well as most fourth-century philosophers and physicians. Cynics, Cyrenaics, and Skeptics, most poets, many rulers, and the populace either disagreed or disregarded such advice if indeed they heard of it. For many it was no longer so crucial to perfect warriors and citizens as to make individuals content and inured as much as possible against adversity caused by the caprice of tyrants and other forces clearly beyond the control of the polis. Morality was individualized, with "different styles of moderation or strictness, each having its specific character or 'shape.' Pythagorean austerity was not the same as that of the Stoics, which was very different in turn from that recommended by Epicurus."

Cyrenaics, however, for the first time, philosophically justified sexual as well as other hedonism and promiscuity to which Cynics and Skeptics were totally indifferent. These schools excused license as much as others censored it. A progressive circumscription, more than a denigration of pederasty, caused a preoccupation indeed, but only in certain circles with health and a fear of disease and degeneracy. Perhaps Foucault skipped from the fourth-century philosophical and medical texts to those of the first two centuries of the Christian era because of the paucity of Hellenistic sources, presupposing an agreement among them that did not exist. In contrast to the hedonism of the lyric and bucolic poets and epigrammists, most philosophers whose works survived the triumph of Christianity had preached that the self had to be controlled, corrected, transformed, and purified but what of those works the Christians destroyed or let perish by neglect? And what of that majority not influenced by intellectuals?

The individual's feeling of isolation and impotence with the partial eclipse of the polis caused a religious revival. A widespread and vigorous ritual observance of and belief in Olympians, local and rustic deities in town and country, and mystery religions (e.g., the Eleusinian Mysteries) inspired the masses and even the unscholarly majority of the middle and upper classes. When the Greeks conquered the Near East the native gods did not disappear. Their cults flourished throughout the Hellenistic and into the Roman period, spreading to Greece, Sicily and even to Rome: Attis, Baal, Cybele, Isis, Mithra, Sabazius, and Serapis, many of which were to become rivals to Christianity as serious as Graeco-Roman paganism, with which they peacefully coexisted. In religion alone, the Greeks absorbed more from their
subjects than they gave to them. None of the Greek or Oriental
gods except Jahweh and Ahura Mazda seems to have prohibited
homosexuality, and indeed, according to Jewish and Christian
testimony, some such as Baal encouraged it and with male as well
as female prostitution. These tendencies increased in the later
Hellenistic Age.

**BUCOLIC AND EPIGRAMMATIC POETS**

Imitating the melic poetry that had flourished in the Aegean
c.600, learned Alexandrians of the Golden Age (280-240) composed
pederastic verse. Whether ideal or sensual, pederastic love held
a central position. Poets continued to address or complain about
eromenoi in a new medium—the epigram. The striking resemblance
between Hellenistic and Archaic poetry did not stem merely from
archaizing imitations by the great Alexandrians but
unconsciously from a similar devotion to individualism, whether
Archaic poets had dared to be themselves because of their secure
status as aristocrats or strove to please and flatter tyrannical
patrons. Although living under despots whom they often flattered,
Hellenistic erotic poets expressed their private sentiments
freely. Big city inconveniences produced a longing for the rural
life expressed in pastorals that artificially invoked the rural
delights and landscapes naturally present in the Archaic verses.

Working in the libraries of vast metropolises, yearning for the
bucolic life and the fields and pastures which were never far from
the small-town homes of the Archaic poets, many poets doubled as
literary scholars and textual critics and edited the works of
Homer and the tragedians as well as the Archaic poets in the forms
we now possess. With the anonymity that metropolises provided,
they could cruise the streets, baths, parks, and gymnasia even
anonymously without worrying about the scrutiny of family or
peers. They took advantage of this to love many boys, all of whom
seem to have had Greek names, even though they may have been of
native stock, for whose **paideia** they felt no responsibility.

Some poets were as insouciant and promiscuous as Anacreon and
Ibycus, others as decorous and world-weary as Theognis, ironically
expressing a certain regret if not bitterness that the boys were
too coy, mercenary, and fickle, sentiments less common among the
more joyous Archaic poets. The boys they were pursuing were not
named as aristocrats and apparently the erastai did as little for
them as they had to. If the Archaic poets had written for knights
and the Athenian ones for hoplites, the Hellenistic seem to have
transcended all class and ethnic lines. They did not restrict
their cruising to symposia and gymnasia as had Athenian gentlemen
but anticipated Nero and Elagabalus in their licentiousness and
the catholicity of their boy-love. Although we cannot imagine
that they did not make love to slave-boys, as became the Roman
habit, and even adult men, far more than was the case in the
Archaic and classical ages, we have no proof that they did unless one assumes that most eunuchs were slaves.

In fact, no period is as rich in surviving pederastic poems, most of which were in the form of epigrams, quite different from those composed for fallen heroes. Originally simply an inscription and then one rendered more memorable by being set to verse, the epigram was developed by Hellenistic poets into a short poem culminating in an ingenious or witty attitude, usually in elegiac couplets. Asclepiades of Samos developed the pederastic epigram, which became the commonest and greatest vehicle for expressing pederastic sentiments through the rest of antiquity, the Middle Ages, and beyond. 42 Besides composing epigrams, his student Theocritus himself created the poetic convention later known as Arcadian pastoral or idyll, a number of which contain rustic manifestations of homoerotic sentiments, providing models that were also to echo through much of the subsequent history of Western poetry. 43 Callimachus, a number of his surviving epigrams concern boy love, displayed the characteristic Hellenistic penchant for recondite allusions to and quotations from older literature. Apollonius of Rhodes, Callimachus' pupil, who wrote the epic of the Argonauts in spite of Callimachus' dictum that a big poem is a big nuisance, elaborated therein Heracles' grief on the loss of his eromenos Hylas. Rhianus of Bene rose from slavery to rival the greatest Alexandrian erotic poets. Of Phanocles, whose date and birthplace are unknown, we have less; his six fragments perhaps belonging to one elegy cited by St. Clement. Dioscorides imitated earlier Alexandrian epigrammists.

About 290 Asclepiades of Samos, who has eleven epigrams in Book XII of the Greek Anthology, lamented:

I'm only twenty-one and already life is a burden. I keep falling in love and getting burned. If I died, what would happen? Love would continue its childish games—a throw of the dice and ... snake-eyes! (46).

At least for the moment he was happy being monogamous:

I am a little love that flew away, still easy to catch, from my mother's nest, but from the house of Damis I fly not away on high; but here, loving and beloved without a rival, I keep company not with one in happy union (105).

It seems that Asclepiades was a pedophile:

My Love, not yet carrying a bow, or savage, but a tiny child, returns to Cypris, holding a golden writing tablet, and reading from it he lisps the
love-charms that Diaulus' boy, Philocrates, used to conquer the soul of Antigenes (162).

He glorified friendship between boys:

Love has discovered what beauty to mix with beauty; not emerald with gold, which neither sparkles nor could ever be its equal, nor ivory with ebony, black with white, but Cleander with Eubiotus, two flowers of Persuasion and Friendship (163).

Ptolemy II's protege, Theocritus, about whose life little is known, the leading poet of Alexandria, wrote verses to and about boys. His refined Idylls, imitated most notably by Vergil, surpassed in polish if not intensity some of the Archaic poets that he imitated. Eight of the thirty ascribed to him dealt exclusively with boy love, though the authorship of two of the eight is uncertain. Born in Syracuse and well-acquainted with southern Italy as well as Alexandria, Miletus, Ephesus, Rhodes, Paros, and Teos, he (c.301-c.260) may have studied medicine and poetry on Samos and Cos. He returned to Syracuse, where Hiero II patronized him. Unhappy with the troubled state of that tyrant, Theocritus migrated to Alexandria, where Ptolemy II patronized him and he composed most of his mimes.

There, in a typically crabby academic fashion, perhaps also congenial to homosexuals, as at least some of our critics would allege, but with a genuine feel for history and a desire to analyze it, Theocritus sided with the contention of his colleague and fellow pederast Callimachus, upon the appearance of Apollonius of Rhodes' Argonautica, that the long epic was an anachronism. Like Callimachus and most other Hellenistic poets, he favored brief, elegant, and artificial poems, frequently with exotic or new themes containing novel descriptions and observations.

In Theocritus the old values and motifs of paiderasteia shone through, inspired by the verses of Ibycus, Anacreon, and Pindar, proving their vitality in literature as well as in life, during the Hellenistic Age. He used two archaic terms for lover and beloved, eispnelas and aites: "inspirer" and "inspired." Written perhaps while he was sojourning on Cos, his bucolic poems were set in his western homeland. In Idyll XIII, dramatizing Heracles' affection for his eromenos Hylas, he took the opportunity to describe his own feelings on pederasty. Immortals and mortals alike felt the pain of love. Resolved to instruct his curly-haired eromenos, Heracles strove to make him brave and famous, and to rear him as a father would his son:

From what God soever sprung, Nicias, Love was not, as we seem to think, born for us
alone; nor first unto us of mortal flesh that cannot see the morrow, look things of beauty beautiful. For Amphitryon's brazen-heart son that braved the roaring lion, he too once loved a lad, to wit the beauteous Hylas of the curly locks, and, even as father and son, had taught him all the lore that made himself a good man and brought him fame; and would never leave him, neither if Day had risen to the noon, nor when Dawn's white steeds first galloped up into the home of Zeus, nor yet when the twittering chickens went scurrying at the flapping of their mother's wings to their bed upon the smoky hen-roost. This did he that he might have the lad fashioned to his mind, and that pulling a straight furrow from the outset the same might come to be a true man (1-15).

Theocritus' urging a boy to keep faith with his erastes, not to be a coquette or employ venality, adhered to the rules laid down by Theognis. With the passing of transitory youth, love evolved into an enduring and solid friendship during manhood:

In sack, out sooth goes the saying, lad, and now that you and I are a-drinking we must fain be men of truth. I for one will tell what doth lie in my mind's hold, and it is that you will not that I should love you with my whole heart. I know it; for such is the power of your beauty that there's but half a living left me to love you withal, seeing my day is spent like as a God's or in very darkness according as you do choose. What righteousness is here, to deliver one that loves you over unto woe? Trust me, if you'd only hearken to your elder 'twould be profit unto you and thanks unto me. Listen then: one tree should hold one nest, and that where no noisome beast may come at it; but you, you do possess one bough to-day and another to-morrow, seeking ever from this unto that; and if one but see and praise your fair face, straightway are you more than a three years' friend to him, and as for him that first loved you, in three days, lad, you reckon him of those men whose
very manhood you seem to disdain. Choose rather to be friends with the same body so long as you shall live; for if so you do, you will have both honour of the world and kindness of that Love who doth so easily vanquish the mind of man and hath melted in me a heart of very iron.

O by those soft lips I beseech you remember that you were younger a year agone, and as we men wax old and wrinkled sooner than one may spit, so there's no re-taking of Youth once she be fled, seeing she hath wings to her shoulders, and for us 'tis ill catching winged beasts. Come then, think on these things and be the kinder for't, and give love for love where true loving is; and so when Time shall bring thee a beard we'll be Achilles and his friend. But if so be you cast me these words to the winds, and say, and say in your heart, "Peace, man; begone," then, for all I would go now for your sake and get the Golden Apples or fetch you the Watch-dog o' the Dead, I would not come forth, no, not if you should stand at my very door and call me, for the pain of my woodness would be overpast (XXIX, 1-40).

Idyll XXX (quoted at the beginning of this chapter) described a man well past the age of sexual conquests who cannot rid himself of the attraction for a not particularly good-looking but charming boy, perhaps reflecting some aspects of Theocritus' own life. Idyll V is in the form of a dialogue among genuine rustics, including a goatherd and a shepherd, whose speech is unequivocal and sometimes unrefined:

COMATAS: When I was poking you and you were sore; and these she-kids were bleating and the billy-goat bored into them.

LACON: I hope you won't be buried, hunchback, deeper than that polang!
But a truce, man; hither, come thou hither, and thou shalt sing thy country-song for the last time. . . .

LACON: O tale of woe! here's Lacon, though, fills cheese-racks well-nigh twenty
And fouls his dear not a youth but a boy mid
flowers that blow so plenty.

COMATAS: Don't you remember when I poked you, and you grinning jerked your tail finely at me, and clung to that oak-tree?

LACON: That indeed I don't remember; however, when Eumaras fastened you up here and cleaned you out--that anyway I know all about.

LACON: When fair Eumedes took the pipe that was his lover's token He kissed him sweet as sweet could be; his lover's love's unbroken (41-47; 82-84; 117-122; 128-131).

In VII, poets dressed as shepherds competed:

"The Loves have sneezed, for sure they have, on poor Simichidas: For he loves maid Myrto as goats the spring: but where he loves a lass His dear'st Aratus sighs for a lad. . . . Aristis knows Aratus' woes. O bring the lad, sweet Pan, Sweet Lord of lovely Homole, bring him unbied to 's fere, Whether Philinus, sooth to say, or other be his dear. . . . From Byblis' fount and Oecus' mount that is fair-haired Dion's joy, Come shoot the fair Philinus, shoot me the silly boy That flouts my friend! Yet after all, the pear's o'er-ripe to taste, And the damsels sigh and the damsels say 'Thy bloom, child, fails thee fast'; . . . One scholar o' that school's enough to have met his death i' the ring. 'Tis peace of mind, lad, we must find, and have a beldame nigh To sit for us and spit for us and bid all ill go by" (97-128).

It is possible that Idyll VIII, featuring two youths at the very beginning of puberty, one enamored of a boy, the other of a girl, was not by Theocritus:

MENALCAS: Where sweet Milon trips the leas There's fuller hives and loftier trees; Where'er those pretty footings fall Goats and sheep come twiners all;
If otherwhere those feet be gone,
Pasture's lean and shepherd lone. . . .

I would not Pelops' tilth untold
Nor all Croesus' coffered gold,
Nor yet t'outfoot the storm-wind's breath,
So I may sit this rock beneath,
Pretty pasture-mate, wi'thee,
And gaze on the Sicilian sea
(45-48; 49-54).

Following the cruel execution of a fellow erotic poet, Sotades of Maroneia, who had denounced Ptolemy's marriage, shocking to Greeks, to his full sister Arsinoe II with the line, "You are thrusting the prick into a hole unholy" (Atheneus, XIV, 621a), Theocritus may have abandoned Alexandria for Cos, where he died at a ripe old age. Incidentally, Sotades invented a minor Ionic meter which encouraged variations. Some fragments from his transcription of the Iliad into "sotadean" verse survive. He addressed the following to Philinus, father of the flute-player Theodorus: "And he, uncovering the hole of the back-privy, sent forth through the wooded chasm a clap of thunder impotent, such as an old ox lets loose when ploughing" (Athenaeus, XIV, 621b).

Theocritus' rival scholar at Ptolemy's court in Alexandria, Callimachus of Cyrene (305-240), was much admired by Catullus and Ovid. Having migrated to Alexandria at an early age, he never became director of the Library. He finished the job that Peisistratus had started by fixing Homer's text, also penned love poetry that emphasized putting the eromenos aside when he sprouted facial and body hair. An original and refined poet, Callimachus is credited in Suda with more than 800 books. An antiquarian, he produced the Aetia (Causes) in four books, explaining the legends about early customs and rites. He made a Register of the Athenian dramatic poets, an essay about Democritus' writings, and numerous encyclopedias and collections of paradoxes and glosses. Of his lyrics, few survive. Only his hymns and epigrams were transmitted in medieval manuscripts. The rest that we have were recovered on papyri. Approximately sixty of his epigrams survive.

The twelve of Callimachus' erotic epigrams that appear in Book XII of the Palatine or Greek Anthology often gave new twists:

I detest long-winded poetry and don't care for a life that's loose and undirected. I hate, too, a lover who's popular. I don't drink from a fountain—public things disgust me. You are beautiful, Lysianias, quite beautiful. But before I can tell you this with any grace, I hear
you're sleeping around (XII, 43).

It is but the half of my soul that still breathes, and for the other half I know not if it be Love or Death that hath seized on it, only it is gone. Is it off again to one of the lads? And yet I told them often. 'Receive not, ye young men, the run-away.' Seek for it at . . . ; for I know that it is somewhere there that the gallows-bird, the love-lorn, is loitering (XII, 73).

The huntsman on the hills, Epicydes, tracks every hare and the slot of every hind through the frost and snow. But if one say to him, "Look, here is a beast lying wounded," he will not take it. And even so is my love; it is wont to pursue the fleeing game, but flies past what lies in its path (XII, 102).

Ranking third among the great Alexandrians, Apollonius (b.c.295) from Alexandria or perhaps Naucratis, a pupil of Callimachus, held the directorship of the Library, perhaps succeeding the founding director famous for classifying the epic and lyric poets Xenodotus, against whom he directed a diatribe (Against Xenodotus) from c.260, until the appointment of Eurgetes in 247. We do not know at what age he began writing poetry, but Theocritus' and Callimachus' attacks on his Argonautica, much of which had been adaptations of Callimachus' verses, led to a bitter feud exacerbated by Callimachus' jealousy that he himself had never been elected director. This quarrel, so typical of those of modern "queens," was aptly described by the Skeptic Timon of Phlius (c.320-230): "Many there be that batten in populous Egypt, well-propped pedants who quarrel without end in the Muses' bird-cage" (Athenaeus, I, 22d). This greatest Alexandrian epic, divided into four books, was the only one before Vergil that could be compared with Homer. In one episode, Apollonius recounted the tale of Heracles and his eromenos Hylas, including his abduction by nymphs, and the sorrow of Heracles at his loss. He was the first to make heterosexual love--Medea's for Jason--upon which Virgil borrowed for the story of Dido's love for Aeneas, play a central role in an epic. Very erudite and somewhat disjointed, the work contains delightful descriptions, often borrowing vocabulary from Homer adopted to depict romantic sentiment, and vividly portrayed awakening love in a girl's heart. As a scholar he wrote on Archilochus and Hesiod.

Another poet of the third century, Diotimus, a few of whose sepulchral and epideictic verses survive in the Greek Anthology, attempted to prove in his Epic of Heracles that the hero's labors were for the love of his eromenos Eurystheus (Athenaeus, XIII,
Rhianus of Bene on Crete (b.c. 275), a slave and head of a palaestra before he acquired an education and became famous as poet and Homeric scholar, worked, it seems, at Alexandria. His editions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were more conservative than those of Xenodotus. To a certain extent Rhianus sided with Apollonius against Callimachus, preferring the epic. Besides epics including a *Heracleias* and a *Messeniaca*, which Pausanias used for the history of the Second Messenian War, some of which were modelled on Homer, he wrote subtly erotic verses. Most of his epigrams are pederastic:

> The Hours and Graces shed sweet oil on thee, and thou lettest not even old men sleep. Tell me whose blest darling thou art and which of the boys thou adornest. And the backside's answer was, "Menecrates' darling" (Pal. Anth., XII, 38).

He loved two boys at the same time:

> Two loves, descending on me like the tempest, consume me, Eumachus, and I am caught in the toils of two furious passions. On this side I bend towards Asander, and on that again my eye, waxing keener, turns to Telephus. Cut me in two, I should love that, and dividing the halves in a just balance, carry off my limbs, each of you, as the lot decides (Op. cit., 88).

Boys were irresistible:

> Boys form a labyrinth with no exit. Wherever you look you're caught! There's Theodorus with his perfect buns; Philocles, short and well built. And Leptines--seeing him you'll be glued to the spot; his eyes could melt marble. They set you on fire from head to toe. Welcome, oh you beautiful boys! May you live on and on til old age dusts you with powder (Op. cit., 93).

He bewailed his failure at attracting boys:

> I caught the fawn and lost him; I, who had taken countless pains and set up the nets and stakes, go away empty-handed, but they who toiled not carry off my quarry, O Love. May thy wrath be heavy upon them (Ibid., 146).

A friend of Theocritus, Aratus of Soli (c.315-240/239), is
best known for his astronomical and meteorological treatise, Phaenomena, in 1,154 lines, composed at the instigation of his patron, Antigonus Gonatas, who c.277 invited the sage to the Macedonian court at Pella. This only Hellenistic scientist known to be pederastic subsequently migrated to the Syrian court of Antiochus I (293/2-261) and there before returning to Macedonia, where he died, finished editing the Odyssey. Aratus has left us a pederastic epigram preserved in the Greek Anthology:

Philocles of Argos is "fair" at Argos, and
the columns of Corinth and tombstones of
Megara announce the same. It is written
that he is fair as far as Amphiaraus'
Baths. But that is little; they are
only letters that beat us. For they
are not stones that testify to this
Philocles' beauty, but Rhianus, who
saw him with his own eyes, and he is
superior to the other one (XII, 129).

Phanocles (f.c.250) entitled his garland of elegies that traced boy love among the gods and heroes including Dionysius for Adonis, Tantalus for , and Agamemnon for Argynnus, Love stories, or Beautiful Boys (Erotes). A twenty-eight line fragment tells of Orpheus’ liaison with his eromenos Calais and his death at the hands of Thracian women. Church Fathers like Clement, Lactantius, and Orosius later used his work to show the depravity of pagans.

MATHEMATICS, SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

In earlier times, scientists were not clearly differentiated from philosophers, about whom we know a good deal of their leanings and/or activities. In general, little has been written about the sex lives of scientists. Some claim that their sex lives are not interesting, only their discoveries. There are those who claim that scientists lead dull lives either because they are so engrossed with their work that they have little time for sexual activities or that they have low sexual drives. In any case, for Greek as for other scientists we are poorly informed about their sex lives. There is reason to suppose that Hellenistic scientists were no less pederastic than other educated people. We only know that Aratus of Soli was pederastic (see above).

In mathematics some of the greatest advances were made in the Hellenistic period, typically in technical detailed specialties rather than in general fields. Later, when they were summed up during the Roman Empire, the originals being much more complex were discarded and we know them only second-hand. Hellenistic
mathematics began c.300 with Euclid's brilliant summing up of
geometry. His Elements, a wonderful systematic arrangement of the
theories mostly made by others since Pythagoras, is the most
successful textbook in history, still used in the nineteenth
century. But the systematization in itself, which rendered the
recopying of his models superfluous, so that their works did not
survive, set a standard for later systematizations.

Other mathematicians made the most original advances.
Archimedes of Syracuse (c.287-212), the greatest ancient
mathematician as well as scientist, discovered the ratio of volume
between an inscribed sphere and a cylinder, came close to
perfecting the value of $\pi$, devised a system for denoting huge
numbers in words, and founded infinitesimal calculus. Apollonius
of Perge (f.c. 210), author of the Conics, a treatise on conic
sections, fixed its terminology, and Hipparchus of Nicaea (c.190-
after 126) differentiated trigonometry from other branches of
mathematics. They are mostly known today through Ptolemy (f.c.
150 A.D.) and other later synopses and commentaries.

The Alexandrians made advances in the sciences most closely
related to mathematics, most notably astronomy, including
measurements of the earth's circumference and physics, especially
hydraulics and optics. Archimedes invented hydrostatics, the
science concerned with the equilibrium and pressure of liquids.
Using his knowledge of hydrostatics, he created a planetarium
powered by water. He also invented the windlass, a winch to haul
heavy objects such as an anchor, the compound pulley, and the
endless screw designed to pump out water from ships and fields.
Archimedes worked on optics, but his treatise on reflection in
mirrors has not survived. Aristarchus of Samos (f.c. 250), a
student of Theophrastus' successor Strato, propounded the
heliocentric theory of the universe and declared that the earth
gyrates around its own axis. Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c.275-194),
a student of Callimachus and the Peripatetics Arcesilaus and
Ariston, royal tutor at the Ptolemaic court, renowned for the
breadth of his learning, came to within two hundred miles of
measuring the actual circumference of the earth (24,662 vs. 24,857
miles).

In chemistry Hellenistic scientists hardly had an interest.
The momentum in biology and zoology established by Aristotle and
Theophrastus in botany diminished after their deaths and was never
taken up in Alexandria or in any other Hellenistic educational
center except anatomy and other subfields useful to medicine. The
increasing knowledge of geography did not lead them to any new
breakthroughs in geology although in classical and even Archaic
times hints and suggestions that could have led to a theory of
evolution in biology and the formation of the earth were not
followed up.
Alexandrian medicine began with the completion of the Hippocratic corpus, mostly written between 430 and 330, but to which certain tracts were subsequently added. We know of their works as of those of so many Hellenistic scholars through later compilations and digests from the imperial period. Celsus (f.c. 30 A.D.), Dioscorides of Anazarbus (f.c. 50), Rufus and Soranus of Ephesus (f.c. 100), Galen of Pergamum (129-199), and Aretaeus of Cappadocia (c.150-200), along with the Hippocrates, whom they collected and preserved, dominated medicine until modern times (Celsus having been lost but recovered during the Renaissance): "In diagnosis, prognosis, surgery, and therapeutics alike they were unsurpassed until the nineteenth century, and to some of their methods we have reverted in the twentieth."^54

The disputes of the Dogmatists, Empirics, and Methodists, the leading schools formed at Alexandria, dominated medicine with their lively and often bitter debate reminiscent of the quarrels of the Library there. The medical schools there and ones at Pergamum, Smyrna, and perhaps other places left Athens in the background, but no general licensing process prevented charlatans and quacks from practicing. The Asclepian temples, like European spas, attracted gossips and promiscuous types, at times resembling brothels (Herondas, Mimes). How many cures in them were psychosomatic is as easy to answer as in the case of healings in Christian shrines. Alexandrian and other legitimate physicians, like the scientists trained at gymnasia, supped and drank at symposia, and like the literati with whom they associated and the rulers and upper class to whom they ministered, but about whose private lives we are better informed, probably loved boys.

Startling advances occurred in anatomy and physiology. Praxagoras of Cos (f.c. 300) discovered the diagnostic use of the pulse. His student Herophilus (f.c.250) and his younger contemporary Erasistratus, who became physician at Seleucus I's court, benefitting not only from Egyptian skills in mummification but also from the dissection and even vivisection of condemned slaves, systematically investigated the nervous system and the valves of the heart, presuming connections between veins and arteries. According to the Roman physician Celsus:

Moreover, since pain and various kinds of disease arise in the internal parts, they (sc. the so-called Dogmatists) hold that no one who is ignorant about those parts themselves can apply remedies to them. Therefore it is necessary to cut open the bodies of dead men and to examine their viscera and intestines. Herophilus and Erasistratus proceeded in the best way: they cut open living men--criminals they
obtained out of prison from the kings—and they observed, while their subjects still breathed, parts that nature had previously hidden, their position, colour, shape, size, arrangement, hardness, softness, smoothness, points of contact and finally the processes and recesses of each and whether any part is inserted into another or receives the part of another into itself (De Medicina, 23ff.).

In spite of the startling discoveries, the basic approach of Greek physicians to sexology remained unchallenged in recommending moderation in all things, including sex. Under Aristotelian and Hippocratic influence, Hellenistic physicians, like classical ones, maintained that the absence of sex could cause women to become hysterical. None ever recommended abstinence; in fact, they thought it harmful. Galen, for example, believed in a link between continence and hysteria:

When girls approach the age of marriage but are not married they frequently undergo experiences, at the onset of their first menstrual period, to which they have not been exposed before. For at this time the blood travels to the womb as if to flow out of the body. Since the orifice by which it should flow out is not open, and as the blood arrives in ever great abundance as a result of the girl's diet and the rate at which she is growing, then the blood, having no means of leaving the body, rushes to the heart and the diaphragm. As these organs fill with blood the heart becomes sluggish; this gives way to numbness and then delirium... When these organs are full, shivering and fever set in. These fevers are called erratic. In this state the woman has a fit caused by the acute inflammation, she has murderous desires brought on by the putrid condition of her internal organs, fears and terrors when she sees shadows, and the pressure around her heart makes her feel that she wants to strangle herself. Her mind, which is confused and distressed because her blood has
become corrupt, becomes in its turn deranged. The patient says terrible things. She has visions which tell her that it would be better or would serve some purpose to jump, to throw herself into a well, or to strangle herself. If she does not have visions she feels a certain pleasure at the thought of death which appears to her as something desirable (On the Affected Parts, V).

Like their classical predecessors, Hellenistic physicians did assign sex less of a role in caring for the self than diet and exercise, on which Hellenistic like classical manuals put the main emphasis:

The area that a properly designed regimen ought to cover was defined by a list that became almost conventional as time went on. It is the list found in Book VI of the Epidemics; it included "exercises [ponoi], foods [sitia], drinks [pota], sleep [hypnoi], and sexual relations [aphrodisia]"—everything that needed to be "measured." Among the exercises, those that were natural (walking, strolling) were distinguished from those that were violent (foot races, wrestling); and it was determined which ones ought to be practiced and with what intensity, depending on the time of day, the season of the year, the age of the subject, the food he had consumed. Exercises might be combined with baths—hot or cold, and also depending on season, age, activities, and meals already eaten or to be prepared. The alimentary regimen—food and drink—had to take into consideration the nature and quantity of what one ingested, the general condition of the body, the climate, and the activities one engaged in. Sleep, too, comprised different components, which could be made to vary according to the regimen: the time allotted to it, the hours one chose, the quality of the bed, its hardness, its warmth.
Hence regimen had to take account of numerous elements in the physical life of a man, or at least that of a free man, and this meant day by day, all day long, from getting up in the morning to going to bed at night.\textsuperscript{56}

Few, if any, physicians in any place or time have ever recommended sex without limitation. Hellenistic like Hippocratic ones prescribed regimens designed for the leisureed elite. Very few even of educated Greeks read the highly technical physicians whom Foucault cited as influencing conduct. With such methodology one could deduce the behavior of modern Americans from the preachings of evangelists and the dogmas of the Holy Office (Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith) or at the opposite pole from the advice of eugenicists.

Like Aristotle, Hippocrates experienced a revival in Hellenistic research institutions. All the complete medical treatises which have survived from the classical age and a few Hellenistic ones bear his name. They survived as a corpus with a fixed form as long as Greek medicine did. The corpus as we have it is not that of Hippocrates but a composite of old medical writings of the medical archives at Cos by Alexandrian physicians of the third century, who preserved Hippocrates and other classical authors without revising or purging them of heterogeneous material. Some were literature, or at least written for publication, some collections of original notes, others again were esoteric commentaries not for the public, but for the author's colleagues. Some were not even from the Coan school.\textsuperscript{57}

**PRINCESSES AND FEMMES FATALES**

Despite a growing Oriental influence, to which one may greater ascribe seclusion, princesses gained political importance. The strong-willed Olympias, the mother of Alexander, was archtypical. Powerful Hellenistic princesses, Arsinoes, Berenices, and Cleopatras, sometimes acting as regents, seemed both virtuous and clever. The most famous, Cleopatra VII (c.52-30), attempted to rule Rome by charming first Julius Caesar and then Mark Antony, although the assertion that "Caesar invited her to Rome, where she lived as his mistress for the two years until his assassination" is highly questionable.\textsuperscript{23} The heroic and beautiful wife of Cleomenes III of Sparta, Agiatis, "inspired" him to admire Agis IV, whose brother she had formerly wed.

More women now attended primary and even secondary schools.\textsuperscript{24} Hipparchia (third century) fell in love with and married the impoverished sage Crates, adopting his shabby dress and going
about with him, making love to him in public (Diogenes Laertius, 6. 96-98). We also know the names of several victorious female athletes: Cynisca of Sparta, Bilistiche of Magnesia, Aristoclea of Larisa, and Zeuxo of Argos, who lived between the fourth and second centuries.

Because Macedonian kings often practiced polygamy, wives and concubines struggled with one another to secure the succession of their sons. The strong-willed Olympias, Alexander's mother, was archtypical, intriguing and perhaps even murdering to achieve power for herself and her son whom she sought to dominate. Powerful Hellenistic princesses, Arsinoes, Berenices, and Cleopatras, sometimes acting as regents, seemed both virtuous and clever. After executing all her rivals for treason, Arsinoe II (c.316-270), sister and second wife of Ptolemy II, assumed a major role in government; her statesmanship dramatically elevated Egypt's military, political, and cultural stature. Praised by both Callimachus and Theocritus, Arsinoe became the first royal female (in Egypt) to have her likeness depicted on coins. Princesses also served as pawns in dynastic matches, sometimes with disastrous results. Berenice Syra (c.280-246), daughter of Ptolemy II, wed to Antiochus II (261-246), fell victim to the jealousy of Antiochus' repudiated wife Laodice who, to ensure the succession of her son Seleucus, murdered her, her baby, and the king, thus provoking the Third Syrian War.

Among virtuous women, Agiatis, the heroic and beautiful wife of Cleomenes III of Sparta, incited him to admire his predecessor, the idealistic Agis IV (244-241), whose brother she had formerly wed. Bravely putting the interests of Sparta above her safety by agreeing to serve as hostage with her grandson on the demand of king Ptolemy IV, Cleomenes' mother Cratesiclea told her distressed son: "Go to, king of Sparta; when we come forth at the door, let none see us weep, or show any passion that is unworthy of Sparta, for that alone is in our own power; as for success or disappointment, those wait on us as the deity decrees" (Plutarch, Cleomenes). After Cleomenes' violent end, Ptolemy ordered that "his children, mother, and the women that were with her, should be killed." Among them was the wife of Cleomenes' eromenos Panteus, "a beautiful and noble-looking woman, who had been but lately married," who had against her husband's wishes escaped from Sparta to be with him in Egypt. Plutarch poignantly described their last moments:

She gave her hand to Cratesiclea, as she was going with the soldiers to execution, held up her robe, and begged her to be courageous; who of herself was not in the least afraid of death, and desired nothing else but only to be killed before the children. When they were
come to the place of execution, the children were first killed before Cratesiclea's eyes, and afterwards she herself, with only these words in her mouth, "O children, whither are you gone?" But Panteus' wife, fastening her dress close about her, and being a strong woman, in silence and perfect composure, looked after every one that was slain, and laid them decently out as far as circumstances would permit; and after all were killed, rearraying her dress, and drawing her clothes close about her, suffering none to come near or be an eye-witness of her fall, besides the executioner, she courageously submitted to the stroke, and wanted nobody to look after her or wind her up after she was dead (Cleomenes).

Some women received honors and even citizenship for distinguished service. A few achieved fame as philosophers and poetesses. The Palatine Anthologist included verses by three notable ones. Some have compared Erinna of Telos (end of fourth century) with Sappho. Fragments of her Distaff of three hundred lines survive, addressed to her girl friend Baucis, who died shortly after her marriage:

Pillars of death, carved sirens, tearful urns,
In whose sad keeping my poor dust is laid,
To him, who near my tomb his footsteps turns,
Stranger or Greek, bid hail; and say a maid Rests in her bloom below; her sire the name
Of Baucis gave; her birth and lineage high;
And say her bosom friend Erinna came
And on this tomb engraved her elegy.58

A refugee from Gallic tyranny in Miletus, Anyte of Tegea wept for the virgin Antibia and two other maidens, Thersis and Philaenis, who died before marriage:

I weep for Antibia, a virgin. Many suitors wanted her and came to her father's house, because she was known for her beauty and cleverness. But deadly Fate sent all their hopes rolling away.

Instead of a bridal bed and holy rites of marriage, your mother set here on your marble tomb a maiden, like you in size and beauty, Thersis. So now we can speak to
you although you are dead.

Often here on her daughter's tomb, Cleina in her sorrow cried for her dear child who died too soon, calling back Philaenis' soul. Before she could be married, she crossed the pale stream of Acheron.⁵⁹

Nossis of Locri in Italy offered a lock of Simaetha's hair to Aphrodite and sang the charms and beauty of Thaumarete and Callo:

This picture captures Thaumaretes' form--how well he painted her looks and her beauty, her gentle eyes. If your little watch-dog saw you, she would wag her tail, and think that she saw the mistress of her house.

This picture--the image she made herself, Callo set here in blonde Aphrodite's house. How gently she stands there. Her charm blooms. I greet her: there is no blemish at all in her life.⁶⁰

Both are from the third century. All the surviving fragments are addressed to women. Often romanticized in New Comedies, hetaira remained the most sophisticated of women.⁶¹

We also know the names of several victorious female charioteers. Cynisca (f.c.300), from the Spartan royal house, claimed to have "won a victory with my swift-running horses" and boasted that she was "the only woman from all Greece to have won this crown." Bilistiche of Magnesia, mistress of Ptolemy II, won two victories and was deified. Aristoclea of Larisa (f.c.200) won in the two-horse chariot race. In the second century B.C. six women, none Athenian, were cited in the Panathenaic victor lists.⁶²

Especially in areas outside the old homelands, Greek women, generally now part of a privileged ruling minority, gained more legal independence. More became literate. Even in the homeland the status of women rose. The New Comedy and vase painting as well as steles, sarcophagi, and sculpture depict them more often and often more tenderly or sympathetically. Even philosophers who did not treat them as equals recognized them as having souls and therefore worthy of respect. Papyri from Egypt reveal that some conducted business in their own name and generally exercised more independence than their classical sisters had.

In the "dialogues on love," their champions argued that women were better objects of affection than boys. These Eroticae borrowed from one another. Their substance can be deduced from the two that have survived intact: the Pseudo-Lucian's and
Plutarch's, both from the second century A.D. (The so-called Erotic by Demosthenes represented a third strain quite different in substance.) In the earlier of the two, Affairs of the Heart, Pseudo-Lucian had the exclusive devotee of boys, the Athenian Callippus, debate the Stoicizing advocate of women, Charicles from Corinth, renowned for its female prostitutes, who said that it was unnatural for the male to become soft and warned against transgressing the laws of nature. Lycinus the judge commented ironically that it really came down in both cases to caresses, kisses, and hands wandering underneath tunics, but finally decided in favor of boys. Eros (love for boys) brought order out of chaos, thus improving nature with civilization, an amalgam of Epicurean and Platonic theories. Women, however ugly they appear to the pederast, unlike boys, reciprocate the enjoyment of their men. The victory of the hard-pressed pederast finally hinged on his advice to remain as chaste as Socrates sharing his bed with Alcibiades. In another interlocking dialogue, however, the conditional nature of the victory of pederasty, because of its connection to philosophy and absence of sex, was noted in such a way as to question whether it was realistic to avoid physical enjoyment. A fragment preserved by Pseudo-Lucian (28, CAF, III, 497) from a lost comedy, has a woman objecting to love of boys: "I do not want a man who wants one himself."

In his Erotic, Plutarch (46-120) pitted a typical erastes in his twenties against a wise and wealthy widow of like age (who could do for a boy as much as any erastes), for the affection of an attractive honorable ephebe whom the widow kidnapped to the chagrin of the pederast. A debate ensued between an advocate of boy-love and the one of woman-love. The pederast contrasted as usual the artificiality of women with the naturalness of boys and animalistic heterosexuality with pederastic intellectuality. Plutarch certainly recognized the inspiration of both kinds of love but he had the woman-lover, quoting Plato, stigmatize pederasty as being "unnatural," hoisting boy-lovers on their own petard for posing as philosophers and sages when they were really interested in "the sweetness of their thighs and their lips:" if love was incompatible with sex, pederasts had to abstain from physical pleasures, if not, women were no less inspiring than boys and able to do everything for a male that pederastic tradition claimed an erastes could do, including providing intellectual and moral inspiration and example. (In a fanciful essay, Gryllus, Plutarch has an intelligent pig assert that animals are better than human beings because they do not practice pederasty, an idea already adumbrated by Plato.) Thus Plutarch gave to marriage all the advantages traditionally imputed to male love.

In that dialogue, Peisias and the philosopher Protogenes, probably an Epicurean, seem to have been vehement advocates of virile homosexuality. The Erotic, in fact, next to Plato's Phaedrus and Symposium, is the most complete systematic exposition
of pedagogical homosexuality and the last from antiquity to survive intact. Plutarch wrote approvingly: "The newborn is subject to the nurse, the boy to the schoolmaster, the ephebe to the gymnasiarh, the adolescent to his erastes, and the adult to the law and the strategos" (Eroticus, 754d). Plutarch no more wished to condemn homosexuality, which he realized led to virtue and friendship, than to condemn slavery. His real argument is that love of women can be just as inspiring as love of boys.

Herodas (or Herondas), the spelling of whose name is as uncertain as the time and place of his life, who lived sometime in the third century B.C., is known for his mimes, often scurrilous subtle, brief, realistic presentations. Before the discovery of a papyrus in 1889 containing mimes 1-7, only fragments were known. Resemblances to the works of Theocritus and references to harsh critics which may have been his disciples indicate that he may have been contemporary with the great Alexandrians.

In his sixth mime, called The Two Friends or The Private Conversation, Metro visits Corytto and they cynically discuss ollisboi, or dildos:

Metro had heard that her friend Corytto already possesses one, or, as she calls it, a baubon. This has been lent by Corytto to an intimate friend, before she has made use of it herself; but this friend, Eubule by name, has indiscretely passed it on to someone else, so that Metro herself has also seen it. She is terribly anxious to borrow the instrument and also to know the name of the maker who supplies such commodities. She is informed that his name is Cerdon, but is not satisfied, since she knows two master-workmen of this name, "to whom she would certainly not care to entrust such work"; and it is remarkable how well informed she is as to the cobbler's of the little city, their expertness in their line of business, and as to the names of their customers. Corytto afterwards describes the master-worker more exactly and falls into raptures over the marvellous baubons made by him. Metro then goes off to get such a treasure for herself.

In 5, The Jealous Mistress, Bitinna, enraged at his infidelity, has her slave lover carried off to be flogged, then
sends her maid Cydylla to bring him back to be branded, but Cydylla ultimately cajoles her mistress into pardoning him. In 2, The Pimp's, perhaps Herodas' masterpiece, he parodies legal procedures by having Battarus haranguein court an unctuous but menacing merchant who acts as a pimp for breaking into his house and attempting to abduct one of his slave girls. In 1, The Bawd, an old man, Gryllus, urges Metretriche, whose husband or lover has gone off to Egypt, to accept a young athlete as her lover, but she refuses.

Herodas' frank and cynical description of seamy episodes and sexual escapades in Hellenistic cities discloses that slaves were involved with mistresses and although the surviving ones do not describe the involvement of Greek men with male slaves, the general tenor and subject matter seem to foreshadow Martial's and Juvenal's verses which do. The characters they were writing about, like those of Petronius,' were often of Greek background or even Greek speakers.

Like Herodas, Theocritus described independent women. In The Ladies at the Adonis Festival (Idyll XV), Gorgo persuades Praxinoa to go out with her to the festival for Adonis being held at Alexandria. Before departing, they pratter on about the incompetence of one's husband and the silly extravagance of the others. Leaving the baby at home with a nurse, gossipping continuously about clothes, they venture out amongst the crowds who nearly trample them. Although a bystander objects, they hardly cease their "cooing" and they conclude: "What clever things we women are!"