

PART X:
359-323—THE AGE OF ARISTOTLE AND ALEXANDER

The 5th century was really the century of Athens, and of Sparta to a lesser degree. The first part of the 4th century saw a dispersal of power to include Thebes and Corinth, in addition to those traditional powers. This outward shift in focus continued as Thessaly and then Macedonia became important players in the political fortunes of Greece. The defeat of the Theban Sacred Band in 338 by Philip of Macedon at Chaeronea, where his son Alexander played a crucial role, effectively ended the era of the independent city-states of Greece. Symonds ended his *A Problem in Greek Ethics* with the loss of freedom which he thought also ended that heroism that pederastic love had inspired.

Philip, as mentioned before, had taken and applied Theban formations and tactics to his own army. As a youth Phillip had been given to Epaminondas, whose *eromenos* he may have become, as hostage to Thebes, during which time he acquired intimate knowledge of the Theban phalanx. At Chaeronea, it is said that Philip, looking out over some of the dead on the battlefield, "when he learned that this was the band of lovers and beloveds, he wept and exclaimed, 'May utter destruction fall upon those who suppose these men did or suffered anything disgraceful'" (Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas*, 18.7; *HGR* 2.14). Now that he had Greece under his control he could set out to conquer Persia, to which goal the mastery of Greece was only a necessary step. His assassination two years later, quite possibly by one of his former *eromenoi*,⁷³ left him little time to enjoy his success or carry out his plans for Persia.

Those plans would fall to his successor Alexander. His conquests would further open up Greece to increased interactions with other cultures, a development that would have as much influence on Greece as on the rest of the Hellenistic world from Afghanistan to Egypt. Alexander, like his father, certainly had homosexual relationships. It is, however, difficult to categorize any of them as pederastic in the usual sense. The closest to a traditional pederastic relationship we hear of is his love for Bagoas, "a eunuch of remarkable beauty and in the very flower of boyhood, who had been loved by Darius" (Quintus Curtius Rufus, 6.5.23; quoted in Green, 1991, p. 333). A closer parallel would be with the Ganymede myth, where a king, albeit Zeus, takes a foreign boy, who will never become a man, to be his lover. It is hard to imagine this as a pedagogical relationship.

Like Achilles and Patroclus, coevals, Alexander's friendship from boyhood with Hephaestion is even more problematic. They seem to have viewed themselves as modern-day versions of the Homeric lovers, for we hear of them paying homage at Troy to those two fallen heroic comrades. According to Aelian, an early third-century CE writer, "Alexander laid a wreath on Achilles' tomb and Hephaestion on Patroclus', hinting that he was the object of Alexander's love [*eromenos*], as Patroclus was of Achilles" (12.7, Trans. N. G. Wilson). Like his role model Achilles, Alexander wished never to lose his youthful beauty, so he introduced shaving. In the opening sections of her recent article Jeanne Reames-Zimmerman (1999) argued that the relationship of Alexander and Hephaestion was homosexual. She showed that the 'Dover model,' based as it was on mostly Athenian sources and Athenian vase paintings, cannot account for many of the practices found in other places, such as Sparta, Thebes, or Macedonia. She noted, for instance, that "Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F225) reports that Macedonians not only engaged in homoerotic affairs, but took a passive role even after their beards were grown" (p. 86). Her article surveyed the evidence for homosexual affairs in Macedonia up to the time of Alexander. She concluded about the nineteen-year association that, "in terms of affectional attachment, *Hephaestion*—not any of Alexander's three wives—was the king's life partner. Whatever the truth of any sexual involvement, their emotional attachment has never been seriously questioned" (p. 92f.).

One important consequence of Alexander's conquests is the spread of many Greek institutions to newly founded cities and to Greek colonies set up in preexisting non-Greek cities and even to some Hellenized Jews in Jerusalem itself: gymnasia, symposia, athletic contests, even language. Most of these institutions would continue to have a vigorous life down to the breakup and then collapse of the Roman Empire and the domination of the Christian religion.

A marker of this cultural influence can be seen in the *ephebeia*, an institution in existence in Athens from at least the 330s, but likely in some form prior to that. From the beginning associated with the city gymnasium, it demarcated the passage from adolescence to manhood (ages 18-20) and consisted in military training at first, but later became much more educationally oriented. This institution spread throughout the Hellenistic world to become virtually universal. It is last attested at Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, in 323 CE. Its "final disappearance in the 4th cent. reflects the depleted finances of the late Roman city and the eventual devaluation of physical education."⁷⁴ This devaluation was part and parcel

of the devaluation of the body and the stigmatization of sexuality by the Christian church.

Another development that was to have long-term effects, both on Western society in general and on the conception of same-sex relationships, was the rise of the scientific enterprise. Already evident in the Ionian physicists and Hippocratic theorists, it got tremendous impetus from Plato's student and Alexander's tutor, Aristotle. Although he provides us with historical information on pederasty in Greece and Macedonia, pederasty is almost completely absent from his philosophy.⁷⁵ He does discuss sexual relations between men, but in several of these places it is clear that it is not pederasty that is at question.

For Aristotle an understanding of the causation of homosexuality, or more precisely male-male sexual pleasure, is more important than evaluating it morally. His approach is actually rather modern-looking in that he looks for its biological and psychological causes; men that enjoy intercourse with other men do so because they are born that way or have become that way through some sort of childhood habituation. Those that are that way naturally have a kind of natural deformity or natural disease. This belief of Aristotle's is quite possibly the ultimate source for the notion of homosexuality as a disease. It should be noted, however, that there is no opprobrium connected with it, in fact the opposite: "no one would label men who are subject to this condition because of nature 'unrestrained'" (*Nic. Ethics* 7.5.3-5; *HGR* 5.13). A passage in *Problems* (4.26; *HGR* 5.16), which may or may not be by Aristotle, gives a very detailed biological/physiological explanation, based on misdirected flow or blockage of secretions, to account for why certain men enjoy being penetrated. Even if not by Aristotle it is certainly Aristotelian.

Overall Aristotle's remarks dovetail with other features of his biology and philosophy; the human male is the highest of animals, a deviation from that is the human female, which Aristotle also calls a natural deformity (*Generation of Animals* 4.3 767b8ff.), and he gives reduced amount of heat as the physiological cause for this deviation.⁷⁶ So too are natural slaves deformities in that they lack full deliberative power. Although Aristotle is not explicit about this, his use of the term natural deformity for men who achieve pleasure through intercourse with other men may indicate a similar view to that of women and natural slaves. However reprehensible we might find this terminology, we should remember that in all these cases Aristotle sees the condition as natural and not a reason for any sort of condemnation.

In their own different ways, Alexander and Aristotle changed the worldview of the Greeks forever. Whole new vistas were opened up for culture and thought, and Greek art kept pace with these other dynamic transformations. From Sicyon, the most prolific of Hellenistic sculptors, Lysippus (fl. 370-310), who was Alexander's favorite portraitist, altered the standard for the male nude. In distinction to Polyclitus, his new slimmer canon, with a proportionately smaller head and a different slant for the body, created a new style (Pliny *N.H.* 34, 65). The saccharine flavor of the heterosexual themes in the New Comedy coincide with the introduction of the female nude and the more effeminized male nude by the followers of Praxiteles.

Though the Greek world had never been a fully homogeneous culture, there had been some commonalities reflected in language and literature and worldview. As many of these elements flowed out into the broader Hellenistic realms of the 4th and 3rd centuries, the original Greek lands imported various new elements, such as Eastern and middle-Eastern cults and religions. Society and institutions became more complex. However, many of the original Greek institutions retained their influence until Christianity shut down gymnasia and Plato's academy along with the other Athenian schools and philosophies: the Peripatetic, the Stoic, and the Epicurean.

PART XI: POST-323-GREECE UNDER ROME

Alexander had so transformed Hellenism Johann Gustav Droysen coined the word Hellenistic (Greek-like) to describe the new culture a blend of Greek and "Oriental."⁷⁷ This hybrid culture included so many strange lands and peoples that it could no longer be called Hellenic—even in the homeland. But among Greek speakers of whatever descent common institutions and culture persisted: gymnasia, symposia, seclusion of ladies, late marriage for gentlemen, and pederastic pedagogy. Almost all Romans and other Latin speakers, however Hellenophilic, continued quite different and to each other shocking social customs. On this subject, Cornelius Nepos eloquently wrote:

Many things that among the Greeks are considered improper and unfitting . . . are permitted by our customs. Is there by chance a Roman who is ashamed to take his wife to a dinner away from home? Does it happen that the mistress of the house in any family does not

enter the anterooms frequented by strangers and show herself among them? Not so in Greece: there the woman accepts invitations only among families to which she is related, and she remains withdrawn in that inner part of the house which is called the gynaeceum, where only the nearest relatives are admitted.⁷⁸ . . . For it was not shameful for Cimon, the best man of the Athenians, to marry his sister, given that his fellow citizens did the same thing. But by our standards, this is considered an abomination. Quite young men in Crete are praised for having had as many lovers as they could. No widow in Sparta is very celebrated if she does not come to dinner hired for a wage. Olympic victors generally received great praise in all of Greece, and to enter the stage for public entertainment was not shameful among those same peoples, when for us all of those things are held in some cases as causes of disgrace, in others as base and lacking in dignity. (in Hubbard, 2003a, p. 336)

Thus the unheard-of destruction and devastation in the wars of Alexander's successors, so many of which were fought in and over Greece itself, and in the Roman conquests of the Hellenistic states and as well as in the Roman civil wars, which were mainly decided in the Greek-speaking East, the Hellenes continued their basic social and sexual lifestyles. Fashions continued to change from generation to generation but with widely different speed and style in the vast areas of the Hellenistic and Roman world, both of which had several centers to be emulated. The fundamental structure, however, of gymnasia and symposia endured to flourish again under the Pax Romana with an intellectual flowering that Philostratus dubbed the Second Sophistic. At this time Plutarch, Lucian, and Athenaeus and the continued rivalry and debates as to whether the love of women excelled that of boys flourished attesting to pedagogical pederasty. Nepos succinctly captured the basis of Greek society and culture and its enduring difference from the Romans.

EPILOGUE

In my earlier work, *Pederasty and Pedagogy*, I established that a major revolution occurred in Greek society around 630 BCE—the institutionalization of pedagogical pederasty and its closely associated customs, such as nudity in athletics and at gymnasia (both connected to the rise of the pan-Hellenic games), symposia, seclusion of ladies, and delayed marriage for upper-class males. That these institutions pre-

ceded and coincided with breakthroughs in art, philosophy, and political institutions, I claim not to be altogether unrelated causally.⁷⁹

Herein I have argued that the portrayal of pederasty and other forms of male homosexual acts and sentiments in ancient Greece changed from generation to generation with close parallels in literature and art, and that throughout this period lustful pederasty coexisted with pedagogical pederasty, not necessarily as two separate phenomena, but as two ways in which the Greeks understood the desire and the relationship involved in boy-love. In so doing, the Greeks channeled the (private) energy of the libido into paths that benefited the *polis* as a whole. As Hubbard (2000) aptly puts it when describing the simplistic bifurcation that has tended to dominate studies of Greek pederasty: "Oscar Wilde's and J. A. Symonds' idealistic version of Greek love was just as much an over-simplification of the complex historical phenomenon as Halperin's ghastly nightmare vision of a society where the penetrating phallus was the universal wrench of subordination" (p. 11).

Dover, who confined himself to sources from the Archaic and Classical periods (thus disdaining Plutarch as well as Lucian and Athenaeus) and to vases (which indeed, as he says, emphasize lust over pedagogy) as opposed to sculpture (the most important aspect of Greek art), completely ignored the idealized male nude, the importance of which Andrew Stewart has so incisively demonstrated. Dover, along with Foucault and Halperin, has been justly criticized by James Davidson in a recent article. Though proclaiming, and perhaps imagining, himself to be unprejudiced, Dover's myopic view of the institution of pederasty shows that he suffers from a lack of understanding of homosexuality verging on homophobia.⁸⁰ His conception of homosexuality, and of same-sex behavior among the Greeks, relies heavily on the psychoanalytic work of his friend Devereux, whom Dover himself quotes as telling him, "I hate queers."⁸¹ However, Dover does deserve credit for reopening the debate suppressed by Hitler, and that had not been seriously broached in England either since Symonds.⁸²

Believing that enough of what I argue will stand scrutiny, I hope we can begin the process of restoring Greek pederasty to the great central role that it played in Greek history and warfare, politics, art, literature and learning, in short to the Greek miracle, in which changes in homosexual representations and practices both reacted to and contributed to transformations in the political, economic, and cultural realms. Much that is beautiful and good in Western civilization was passed to it from the glorious flame of Greece, a flame ignited by the erotic spark between man and boy.

NOTES

1. Xen. *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, 2.12 (passage 2.10 in Hubbard, 2003a, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents*, henceforth = HGR).

2. *Altertumswissenschaft* ('scientific knowledge of antiquity') was an attempt by German scholars, such as Humboldt and Wolff, to put Classical philology, and study of the ancient world in general, on a more professional and institutional basis. The movement, which inaugurated the modern study of Classics, saw Classical literature and values as means to both the education and the character-formation of young students. See the collection of articles in Most, 2002.

3. Winckelmann's (1849) groundbreaking work led to a renewed obsession with the ancient world and its esthetics. His own (homosexually based) response to the art of the Greeks is quite interesting, especially given its influence on subsequent European thought (e.g., the Romantics). Winckelmann was often moved to spiritual, esthetic, and erotic ecstasy by the male nudes of the classical period in a way reminiscent of the erotically charged rapture of medieval mystics. In describing the Apollo Belvedere he states, "from admiration I pass to ecstasy, I feel my breast dilate and rise as if I were filled with the spirit of prophecy; I am transported to Delos and the sacred groves of Lycia—places Apollo honoured with his presence—and the statue seems to come alive like the beautiful creation of Pygmalion." For Winckelmann's homosexuality and esthetics see Aldrich (1993, chap. 2), from which the preceding quotation is taken (p. 51). See also Potts, 1994.

4. Crompton's *Byron and Greek Love* (1985) and *Homosexuality and Civilization* (2003); see also John Lauritsen's and Wayne Dynes' articles in this book.

5. One problem with defining homosexuality in purely physical terms, as Dover does, is that there can be no homosexuality unless there is clear proof of a sexual act or the explicit statement of the desire for such an act. The term homosocial, a term currently in vogue, does not quite catch the erotic tenor of certain relationships *even* where sexual acts do not occur.

6. In Homer it is hard not to view Patroclus as a spouse-figure to Achilles. Certainly the desire by Patroclus and Achilles to be buried in the same urn could be viewed in terms of a married couple ("may the same urn hide our bones" *Il.* 23.91), and when Achilles tries to throw his arms around the ghost of Patroclus we are reminded of other similar scenes in ancient literature usually reserved for fathers, mothers, or spouses. Furthermore, there may be an indication, in Homer, that the other Achaeans recognized this quasi-spousal relationship. In the embassy scene in book 9, Achilles' former mentor Phoenix tells the story of Meleager and his unabating anger, meant to provide a parallel, a tale of warning, to Achilles. Meleager, in the story, is a stand-in for Achilles, and Patroklos is subtly likened to Meleager's wife, Kleopatra. The parallel even runs to the similar roots in their names ('patr' and 'kl' meaning something like 'glory of the father,' as Herakles means 'glory of Hera'). Through this story Phoenix attempts to persuade not only Achilles, but Patroclus as well, who is meant to catch his parallel to Kleopatra. So too, later on, his mother, Thetis, tells Achilles—who, while mourning Patroclus, is abstaining from food, drink and sex—that he should eat and drink, and that it is good to sleep with a woman *also* (*Il.* 24.130f.), the language used emphasizing 'woman' (*gunaikei per*).

7. Within the *Greek Anthology* are epigrams from as late as the reign of Justinian (AD 527-65) or Justin II (AD 565-78), when Agathius collected poems of his contem-

poraries. However, none that have come down to us from this late period have pederastic themes, a fact that does not preclude their existence, since pederastic poetry was certainly a common epigrammatic *topos*.

8. I wonder why, in the often precious debates about Black Athena (Bernal, 1985-1991; Lefkowitz & Rogers, 1996), neither side refers to pederasty. Bernal told me on the phone several years ago that, though he hadn't yet done so, he intended to in a future volume. Meanwhile Lefkowitz and her husband, Lloyd-Jones, and most other Hellenophiles, in this no-holds-barred debate, conveniently ignore it. Black Athena and its critics fail, in my opinion, to emphasize the importance of pederasty and athletic nudity amongst the ancient Greeks. Bernal does not wish to attribute these to Egyptians or Semites, and the classicists generally avoid these distasteful habits of their heroes, except for Dover, and Halperin, and their countless followers who marginalize their importance.

9. This article owes much of its accuracy to the contributions of Thomas K. Hubbard and a PhD candidate in Classics who has worked with him at the University of Texas, Mark R. Warren. I would also like to thank Beert Verstraete for his unflagging help over the years and Gregory Nagy for his inspiration to be bold in questioning the dogma of classicists. We have used various translations with the result that "youth" and "boy" are used herein interchangeably. If a prepubescent male is meant, I use the word "young boy" or "child." I would also like here to acknowledge my indebtedness to Andrew Porter of the University of Missouri at Columbia for his various felicitous contributions and insights.

10. For a scathing attack on pederasty in Plato and its insidious, perverting influence on western culture, one should browse John Jay Chapman's appalling *Lucian, Plato and Greek Morals* (1931).

11. On the history of the publication of *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, see John Lauritsen (Ed.), *Male Love* [which includes Symond's *A Problem in Greek Ethics*], (New York: Pagan Press, 1983), pp. iii-iv. Already his earlier work, *Studies of the Greek Poets* (1873) had prejudiced Oxford against giving him a professorship; see Phyllis Grosskurth, *The Woeful Victorian: A Biography of John Addington Symonds*, (New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1964), p. 271.

12. In general he states that he is inclined to treat homosexuality "as a subdivision of the 'quasi-sexual' (or 'pseudo-sexual'; not 'parasexual')" and to retain the word 'sexual' for heterosexual relations, an inclination he defends in his 1989 Postscript (pp. vii-viii and 206); compare the use of the term 'pseudo-homosexuality' by Devereux, a psychoanalyst and anthropologist who was originally intended to co-author *Greek Homosexuality* with Dover. The civilization of ancient Greece is neither unique, nor first, in exhibiting homosexual behavior and desire, but rather it is the first that western culture was forced to deal with in a systematic way. Dover is correct, of course, in the fact that many of the Greeks felt desire for those of the same sex, and were not in the least ashamed to incorporate it into its high literature, discuss it philosophically, or depict it artistically. What is unique to the Greeks, and which Dover does not quite see as the unique element, is how the Greeks molded those behaviors and desires, transforming them into a creative social institution that released much of the erotic energy in ways that elevated not only literature, philosophy, and art, but even the military and *polis* as a whole.

13. Certainly there were those who had homoerotic experiences in these other cultures, but this must be kept distinct from what I want to examine here, that is, pederastic pedagogy. That homosexual relations were known in other cultures can be seen from

the polemic against homosexuality found in the Pentateuch, which suggests that it was practiced without rebuke by the Hebrews' neighbors.

14. Since most Greek males, even those who were pederastic in early adulthood, married and had sexual relations with their wives, we would consider few of them to be exclusively homosexual or gay in the modern sense, but among those who had the time and money to indulge their proclivities more may have had homosexual experiences than Kinsey's 37%. Kinsey's number is based upon American males who climaxed with another male at least once after age 16 and more. Although desire as well as experience figured in the Kinsey scale—from 0's (those who never had a homosexual experience to climax after age 16) to 6's (those who had only homosexual experiences and/or desires after age 16)—the ancient Greeks, like all other peoples, can fit into his classification, whatever one thinks about the essentialism versus constructionism debate. I presume that very few upper class Greeks were either 0's or 6's.

15. The more the complexities of human psychosexuality come to light, the less valid it is to talk about homosexuality in the singular: "while homosexual desires and activities are probably ubiquitous, the specific forms that they assume are intimately shaped by particular sociohistorical contexts. Instead of talking about homosexuality, we should really speak in terms of *homosexualities*, plural, for there are many variations on the theme of same-sex relations" (Bagemihl, 1999, p. 44). So too Lingiardi (2002), an Italian psychoanalyst of the Jungian stripe: "now that psychoanalysis is no longer so intent on establishing a link between homosexuality and perversion, it has become clearer and clearer that the range and variation in psychosexual structures is such that the plural is called for when making statements about heterosexualities or homosexualities" (p. 15).

16. Greek homosexual practices and representations of them certainly varied synchronically as well as diachronically. There were not only class differences, such as between those who had the leisure to spend their time at gymnasia or symposia and those who could not afford to do so, but also geographical differences between *polis* and *polis* or the sundry regions (which I sketched in *Pederasty and Pedagogy*), and also between rustics who could rarely, if ever, go to gymnasia and symposia, which were mostly phenomena of the cities, and the urban elites who could. The article by Charles Hupperts in this collection underlines this variability: Greek homosexuality was not uniformly intergenerational and pederastic. While not ignoring these other distinctions and tensions, I will focus in this article on the generational differences, which tended to affect styles and attitudes but did not necessarily increase or decrease the number of males engaging in homosexual activities or the frequency of the acts themselves.

17. Dates concerning the ancients in this article are all BCE, unless otherwise indicated. On the earlier periods, namely the pre-Archaic and Archaic, the reader should consult my book, *Pederasty and Pedagogy in Archaic Greece*, where I establish these points in more detail.

18. Bagemihl (1999), in his thorough and quite fascinating book on animal homosexuality, provides scientifically documented data on some 300 species, and these are restricted, for reasons of space, to bird and mammals. "Homosexual behavior occurs in more than 450 different kinds of animals worldwide, and is found in every major geographical region and every major animal group. It should come as not surprise, then, that animal homosexuality is not a single, uniform phenomenon. Whether one is discussing the forms it takes, its frequency, or its relationship to heterosexual activity, same-sex behavior in animals exhibits every conceivable variation" (p. 12). Studies

show that “nearly every type of same-sex activity found among humans has its counterpart in the animal kingdom” (p. 44).

19. See Dover (1988) for a critique of these attempts to argue for pederastic initiation rites in pre-historic Greece.

20. See Percy, 1996, chap. 5.

21. “There seems to be no pederasty in Homer: Ganymede is Zeus’s cup-bearer, not his favourite; between Achilles and Patroclus there is simply a boyish friendship and a comradeship in arms” (Marrou, 1964, p. 480).

22. See Lingiardi (2002) for an exploration of the Ganymede story as Jungian archetype-motif. See, of course, also Vernon Provençal’s article in this collection for a detailed study of how the Ganymede myth evolved from Homer onwards.

23. The highly artistic and Hellenic-inspired photographs of Baron Wilhelm von Gloeden provide superb examples.

24. This paragraph was largely conceived by Warren Johannsen.

25. See Burg (2002) for a selective history of ‘gays’ in the military from Homer to the Clinton era.

26. The fascination with male beauty will inform the art, especially the sculpture, of the Greek world. See Hawley’s article (1998) for the existence of male beauty contests at Athens, Sparta, and Elis, among other places.

27. This is true from the time of Theognis to Hellenistic times and beyond. “Boy, as long as your cheek is smooth, I’ll never stop praising you, not even if I have to die” (Theognis 1327-34; *HGR* 1.67). “Nicander’s light is out, all his body’s bloom is gone, and not even the name of his charm is left, whom before we thought among the immortals. But think, young men, only mortal thoughts, for hairs do exist” (Anonymous Hellenistic poet, *Anth. Pal.* 12.39; *HGR* 6.55).

28. On the earliest Greek alphabetic inscriptions, see Pomeroy et al., 73-75.

29. See Cartledge’s article “The Birth of the Hoplite,” in his collection *Spartan Reflections*, pp. 153-166.

30. Archilochus is said, by a 2nd c. CE source (Oenomaus), to have written poetry about *kinaidoi* (‘perverts,’ often passive homosexuals; the word is used by Oenomaus and not likely by Archilochus), but we have no fragments to such effect. See *HGR* 1.3.

31. “The most widely accepted generalisation about Greek homosexuality at the present time is that it originated in the military organisation of Dorian states” (Dover, 1989, p. 185). Dover considers the theory of a Cretan or Spartan origin for institutionalized pederasty a non-answer. Even so, he does admit that the “earliest representation of homosexual ‘courting’ is from Crete: a bronze plaque of the period 650-625 BC, in which a man carrying a bow faces a youth who has a wild goat over his shoulders, and the man grasps the forearm of the youth (Boardman [1973] fig. 49)” (p. 205). On the crucial role played by Sparta in the “dispersion” of institutionalized pederasty, see Thomas Scanlon’s article in this collection.

32. Xen. *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* 2.12-14 (*HGR* 2.10). Lycurgus allowed for boy-lovers to spend time with and educate his beloved based on admiration for the boy’s soul, but not to lust after the boy or lay hands on him. Even Xenophon, who seems to have believed that sexual acts did not occur in the Spartan system, admits that “it does not, however, surprise [him] that certain people do not believe this.”

33. See Lelis, Percy, and Verstraete, 2003, pp. 4-8 for a recent discussion of the late age of marriage for males in the ancient Greek world (by way of comparison with ancient Roman society).

34. Socrates, born into the artisan class, was certainly welcome at the *symposia* of his rich friends.

35. The nude male figure would dominate sculpture for the next two and half centuries (and beyond), during which time sculptures of female figures were all clothed. Boardman (1986) draws similar connections to the ones I am making in this article: "The images were of man, the male body, and generally naked. In classical Greece athletes exercised naked, warriors could fight nearly naked, and in everyday life the bared young male must have been a fairly common sight. Artists did not need to look for naked models of their idealized athlete figures; they had grown up in a society in which male nudity was commonplace and a well developed body was admired" (p. 276).

36. See Brongersma, 1990. Inscriptions dating from either the 7th or 6th centuries attest to same-sex relations on Thera, an island geographically close to Crete, and known to have been influenced by both the Cretan and the Spartan cultures. "The Spartans brought to Thera their 'gymnopaideia' in honour of Apollo Karneios. Athenaios writes in his fourteenth book that all boys ('paides') participating in the gymnopaideia danced completely naked ('gymnos')—hence the name—and that the boys made graceful leaps with their bodies, interrupting their motions with soft gesticulations of their hands and enchanting movements of their feet in imitation of fighting and wrestling" (p. 38). Brongersma defends (*contra* Dover, 1989, p. 122f.) the theory originated by Hiller von Gärtringen, who discovered the inscriptions and published them in 1897, that these writings were "a testimony to ritual sacred acts" (Brongersma, 1990, p. 31), specifically to the god Apollo, whose temple is nearby. One inscription reads "by Delphinus Apollo, here Cimon penetrated the son of Bathycles, brother of . . ." (*HGR* 2.22). An association with Apollo, the eternal epebe, would be quite appropriate, especially in consideration of his own pederastic loves (Hyacinthus, Cyparissus).

37. However, the poet always tends to be concerned about the faithfulness of the boy, and there are certainly issues concerning the boy's character in Theognis and others. With that said, lyric and epigrammatic poetry of the pederastic kind is very aware of physical beauty, as well as its ephemeral nature.

38. = *HGR* 1.28.

39. See Parker (1996), who humorously debunks the tradition that Sappho ran a 'finishing school' for girls, or for that matter any other kind of educational institution. He, curiously ignoring his earlier proper skepticism of various attempts to reconstruct her *milieu*, concludes with the suggestion that Sappho belonged to a sympotic circle of age-equal women. In her article in this collection, Anne Klinck convincingly reaffirms the intergenerational nature of Sappho's relationships.

40. See the various *testimonia* in Edmonds (1928, pp. 141-181). Halperin, in his 2002 article, says that it "took six centuries for Sappho's same-sex erotic attachments to attract recorded comment. . . . Sappho was represented in classical Athenian comedies of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. as the lover of various men, sometimes even as a prostitute . . . the first writers to touch on the question of Sappho's erotic deviance, so far as we know, were the Roman poets of the late first century B.C. and early first century A.D. [Horace and Ovid]" (p. 231f.).

41. Halperin (2002): it is the "constant and inescapable relation to a social structure that varies relatively little, both historically and culturally, which endows female same-sex relations with a greater degree of continuity, of thematic consistency, over time and space, making each historical instance both different and the same, both old and new. It is also the threat that love between women can pose to monopolies of male authority that lends plausibility to the hypothesis that a notion of female-female eroti-

cism may have been consolidated relatively early in Europe, even before similar notions emerged that could apply to all forms of male homoeroticism. Perhaps lesbianism was the first homoeroticism to be conceptualized categorically as such" (p. 260).

42. Peisistratus was said to have been the *eromenos* of Solon, and in turn had Charmus as his *eromenos* (Plut. *Solon* I). Athenaeus records the rivalry of Polycrates of Samos and Anacreon, the poet, over the same *eromenos* (12.540e-f).

43. Platthy (1968, pp. 97-110) collects the *testimonia* for the establishment of a library by Peisistratus. Many of the *testimonia* deal more specifically with the Homeric texts. On a library in general, see Gellius *NA* 17.1-2 and Isidorus *Etym.* 6.3.3-5.

44. Boardman clearly indicates his great mentor Beazley had a homosexual side like so many other earlier admirers and collectors of these erotic vases. In his *magnum opus* he twice opines that the younger partners on all of these Greek vases tended to be between 12 and 14, when any connoisseur of the male body would know that they tended to range from 14 to 18, and given that the onset of puberty occurred later in the ancient world at an average age of about 16-18 for males, 14-16 for females.

45. One is left wondering exactly how an artist would depict, on a scene of courtship, one person's interest in the other's soul, or even why the artist would want to depict it on a vessel intended for a drinking party.

46. See Vickers and Gill (1994, chap. 1), who demolish the notion that Greek pottery, in general, was an especially valuable commodity in the ancient world.

47. What evidence does Emily Wilson, in a *Times Literary Supplement* review (2004), have that a phallus "was used . . . as a protective image at the doorway of most ordinary houses [even in Attica]"? This reviewer totally misunderstands that these were boundary markers originally set up by the tyrants later and placed in front of a few of the fanciest houses. She went on to state that "in antiquity, the phallus was primarily a religious symbol" and that "in modern times, it is [primarily] an obscenity." By whatever name the phallus, membrum virile, penis, prick, dick, it is always been the same, a very versatile organ and useful in many ways if often abused.

48. For the view that these vases depicted men in drag, see W. J. Slater, Artemon and Anacreon: No Text Without Context. *Phoenix*, 32 (1978), 185-194.

49. In his 1966 article, Podlecki, developing ideas of Jacoby (*Atthis*, 1949, chap. 2), examines the political reasons for the rise of the legend, seeing it as part of aristocratic intra-class rivalry wherein the anti-Alcmeonid nobles had reason to elevate the status of the tyrannicides. Hubbard (2003a) locates it instead in an inter-class tension: "one can perhaps see an attempt by mainly upper-class enthusiasts of pederasty (whose sympathies might otherwise be suspected of being undemocratic) to contextualize their practices as integral with Athens' developing democratic constitution by granting pederasty a prominent place in the democracy's foundational mythology" (p. 55f.). Monson (2000) argues instead that a "number of factors combined to make the tale particularly attractive to various classes of people" (p. 45).

50. "Some time after the middle of the [5th] century a decree [*IG I² 77*] confirming the right of the oldest living descendant of each to public maintenance in the Prytaneion was passed, almost certainly on the motion of Pericles himself" (Podlecki, 1966, p.129).

51. However we are to understand the nudity of the earlier *kouroi*, Osborne (1997) maintains that, with the more individualized sculpture of the 5th century, these nude male figures "can no longer make a pretence at sexual innocence: the viewer stands to the statue in a relationship of desire" (p. 512).

52. Achilles is here addressing the dead body of his beloved Patroclus (*fr.* 228). Athenaeus (13.601; *HGR* 2.21) reports that “love affairs were such an open and everyday matter that the great poet Aeschylus, and Sophocles too, put sexual themes on the stage in their tragedies, Aeschylus showing Achilles’ love for Patroclus, Sophocles love of the boys in *Niobe* (which is why some people call this play *Paiderastría*)—and their audiences enjoyed such themes.” See Crompton, 2003, p. 51.

53. See Hubbard, 1987 for an analysis of this theme in *OL* 1. Hubbard, 2002 examines the pederastic theme in another Pindaric poem (*fr.* 123) through comparisons with homoerotic pottery of the period and a Lacanian analysis of the ‘gaze.’

54. Quotation in Monoson, 1994, p. 253; Trans. Hornblower.

55. = *HGR* 2.21. See Crompton, 2003, p. 51f., for a good summary description of pederasty in tragedy.

56. When Aristophanes chooses to ridicule an historical individual, it is almost invariably an Athenian. Socrates likely becomes ‘the Sophist’ for him because the other major Sophists were all non-Athenian.

57. *Logos* is a notoriously difficult word to translate, having a wide range of meanings. The appropriate meanings here are speech, word, argument, or thought, all of which are at play in this passage.

58. Considering that he is a well-respected scholar of Aristophanes (and deservedly so), Dover, in his *Greek Homosexuality*, has a surprisingly superficial analysis of homosexuality in Aristophanes.

59. All quotations from the *Clouds* are from Jeffrey Henderson’s excellent Loeb translation.

60. Notice here how close this description corresponds to the *kouroi* statues, which have grown more erotic over the two centuries leading up to Aristophanes’ time.

61. The claims of Worse Speech echo in many ways those of the character Callicles in Plato’s *Gorgias*.

62. It is often conjectured that the same actor who plays the role of Socrates, who is offstage at this point, also plays the character of Better Speech. If so, then this highlights Aristophanes’ contentions about Socrates and his ilk, almost as though he were bringing on Socrates’ subconscious in the figure of Better Speech.

63. No less an authority on literary theory than Aristotle classified the Socratic dialogue as its own genre (*Poetics* 1447b10f.). Alexamenus of Teos, a disciple of Socrates, seems to have been the first to use this form.

64. Fragment from Aelius Aristides, *In Defense of Oratory* 74, quoted in and translated by Johnson (2003, p. 97), who collects all the fragments of Aeschines’ *Alcibiades*. Johnson’s work also includes the texts of the (possibly pseudo-) Platonic *Alcibiades* I, pseudo-Platonic *Alcibiades* II, and the Alcibiades scene from the end of the *Symposium*.

65. “The loss of the Messenian Helots was the greatest blow the Spartans had ever suffered. It meant the definitive end of their status as a first-rate power. . . . [They lost] territory which was as populous as Lakonia and which they had exploited for some three and a half centuries” (Cartledge, 2002, p. 255).

66. The fullest account of the Sacred Band comes in Plutarch, *Life of Pelopidas*, 18-19.

67. Beert Verstraete, in a soon-to-be-published review in *Phoenix of The Sleep of Reason* (Nussbaum and Sihvola, Eds.), suggests that the story of the sacred band, however much it is dubious, reflects powerful and durable Greek ideas vis-à-vis male homoeroticism.

68. See Hindley's two articles for Xenophon's view on male love.

69. Foucault's excessive focus on the Greek notion of *enkrateia* in Xenophon and Plato (1985, Pt. 1, chap. 2 of *The Use of Pleasure*) leads to his extrapolation of the ideals of Socrates and Plato to Greek society in general. Even Xenophon, as we've seen, doesn't fully subscribe to this ideal, although he may find it admirable and appealing, and even applicable where appropriate.

70. It is interesting to note that Plato depicts a mutual love (*eros* and *anteros*) between the lover and the boy, and a love that remains beyond usual age boundaries of *erastes* and *eromenos*; they are seen as life partners in some sense, even into the after-life. Furthermore, although lovers that consummate their love form a relationship inferior to one built purely on philosophical love, they are still accorded happiness by Plato, and there is not the condemnation found in the *Laws*, a late work of Plato.

71. Perhaps the best illustration of the dialectical method is the *Symposium* itself, where each speech builds on the previous ones to certain degrees, and ideas conceived and elucidated in one part of the dialogue are enriched, altered, and brought to fruition in latter parts.

72. On Paeonius' initiation of the "subjective approach" in Greek sculpture, see Stewart, vol. I, 81, and on the influence of "sophistic relativism" on his work, Stewart I, 91.

73. For the story of his assassination by Pausanias, one of his former *eromenoi*, who had been disgraced (reminiscent of, but not exactly parallel to, the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton since Harmodius had never been the beloved of Hipparchus), see Green, 1991, pp. 105-110. The original story can be found in Diodorus (16.93-4; 17.2.1) and Justin (9.6.4-8). Aristotle (*Pol.* 1311b2) mentions it, but without reference to Pausanias' status as a beloved.

74. S. Hornblower and A. J. S. Spawforth (1996). *Epheboi*. In Hornblower and Spawforth, (Eds.), *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (3rd ed., p. 527). Oxford.

75. For what Aristotle does have to say about pederasty, and about love and sex in general, see Sihvola, 2002. Overall, his comments seem fairly non-prejudiced, even positive.

76. The teleological cause is a separate issue, and one that Aristotle does not discuss in relation to homosexuality.

77. See Droysen's *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, first published in 1836.

78. Ferrero, *The Women of the Cæsars* (1911), p. 3.

79. Some reviewers opined incorrectly that I agreed with Dover, others with Sergent, and still others that I was hopelessly ignorant and tendentious. In a review, Paul Cartledge (1997), on the other hand, perceived that I was "the first to try to move beyond Dover." In a review in *Gnomon* (1999) the most distinguished, and waspish, of my critics, Sir Kenneth Dover, only quibbled: while correcting me on minor points and disdaining me as a medievalist, he did not address my principal thesis as to the origin and influence Greek pederasty.

80. Davidson (2001), while attempting to remain diplomatic, states, "I have no wish either to impress Dover or to accuse him of homophobia, but it is clear that *Greek Homosexuality* shares Devereux's goal of shielding the Greeks from attacks that homophobia might inspire. . . . What happened in Greece [according to Devereux and Dover] was not homosexuality, just sex, part of the marginalia of any normal person's sexuality—superficial, episodic or gestural, but always quasi-sexual" (p. 34).

81. "According to Dover, Devereux did not like homosexuals, announcing 'I hate queers' shortly after agreeing to collaborate with him on his book, and Devereux's concept of pseudo-homosexuality is a clear attempt to distance the Greeks from perverts."

The account of Devereux's statement comes from K. J. Dover, 1994, *Marginal Comment: A Memoir*, London, p. 123.

82. The notable exception being *Greek Love* (1965) authored by J. Z. Eglinton (pseudonym for Walter Breen). See the article on Breen and mine on Johansson in Bullough, 2002.

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