Pederastic eros and politics: a matter of worldview. The development of ancient Greek pederastic discourses

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Pederastic eros and politics: a matter of worldview.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ANCIENT GREEK PEDERASTIC DISCOURSES.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

The present thesis will investigate the development of the discourses revolving around the social phenomenon of pederasty in the ancient Greek world, the custom of, as is now the consensus, -erotic and pedagogical- relations between an adult male and an adolescent boy. The adult partner is generally referred to as the "ἐραστής" (erastes) -lover- and the adolescent one as the "ἐρόμενος" (eromenos) -beloved.[1] The etymological analysis of the ancient Greek word "pederastia" -a derivative of which is the modern term pederasty- reveals a compound of the word "παῖς" (pais),[2] meaning boy, and a derivative of the verb "ἐρῶ" (ero), meaning to love, therefore revealing the intimate nature of the practice. Those relations are commonly regarded "as a hallmark of Greek culture",[3] a fact that is well attested, in material remains (statues and figurines with clear pederastic and homosexual connotations, vases decorated with pederastic scenes and inscriptions), epigraphic data and literary sources alike.

Even Herodotus claims that:

> [Πέρσαι] ἐπιτηδεύουσι καί δή καί ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισί μίσγονται
>
> [The Persians adopted] the practice of having sex with boys, which they learned from the Greeks. (Herodotus 1.135)

The topic of pederasty has generally been associated in scholarship with the broader concept of male homosexuality and the study of male sexual practices and identities in antiquity; and it has proved to be a complex one. Indeed, given the multitude of evidence from the Greek world and the complicated, fragmentary and reticent -often highly idealized and allusive- nature of the many extant sources. A huge corpus of modern scholarship and academic debates exist on the matter.

Historiography and main question

Historiographically, the omission of the study of pederastic relations (or homosexuality for that matter) before the nineteenth century, can certainly not be overstated. Any piece of academic publications seems to have ignored the topic completely, a fact that comes as no surprise when considering both the historiographical trends and the social realities of the era. The references to the custom in nineteenth century historiography, indicates that they at least acknowledged the existence of such practices, but they impressed upon them "the puritanical morals", the prejudices and the attitudes of their respective

[1] Andrew Lear, "Ancient Pederasty: An Introduction," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014) 106-131, at 106.

[2] As Allison Glazebrook notes in her 2015 article, "the term pais frequently has an erotic connotation in the context of the symposium implying a beloved [...] By the classical period the pais is more commonly known as the eromenos. The courting lover is known as the philos and then later as the erastes. Conventionally, modern scholars (particularly in the context of vase painting) prefer these later terms". Allison Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," in *Sex in antiquity: exploring gender and sexuality in the ancient world*, ed. Mark Masterson et all (London: Routledge, 2015) 157-178, at 174. This thesis will follow this particular convention and thus, refer to the senior partner of the relationship as either erastes or male; and to the junior partner as eromenos, youth or boy.

[3] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 106.

societies. [4]

It was only during the final three decades of the 20th century, that academic historiography saw a revolution in the field of ancient sexualities. The two scholars, whose works boosted the research in the field, were Kenneth Dover and Michel Foucault. The later with his multivolume *"History of Sexuality"*, introduced a reconfiguration of the very notion of sexuality, as a product of current social, political and discursive practices.[5] What Foucault offered to the debate was a more nuanced and 'historically-grounded' understanding of sexuality in general -and ancient sexuality in particular. He states that "the term itself did not appear until the beginning of the nineteenth century […and…] the use of the word was established in connection with other phenomena".[6] For Foucault himself:

> To speak of "sexuality" as a historically singular experience also presupposed the availability of tools capable of analyzing the peculiar characteristics and interrelations of the three axes that constitute it: (1) the formation of sciences (savoirs) that refer to it, (2) the systems of power that regulate its practice, (3) the forms within which individuals are able, are obliged, to recognize themselves as subjects of this sexuality.[7]

With regards to ancient homosexuality in particular, Foucault, restates that an attempt at implementing a modern notion of such an experience "is plainly inadequate as a means of referring to an experience, form of valuation, and a system of categorization so different from ours".[8] Moreover, he argues that, in ancient Greek discourses, the division, the boundary between morality and immorality was self-mastery, rather than the sex of the subject of desire, which is the preoccupation of modern Western discourses regarding sexuality. [9]

As stated before, it was with Dover's 1978 seminal monograph "*Greek Homosexuality*", that the debate around ancient male sexuality was renewed; this time, by refraining from any moral condemnation of homosexual practices.[10] His work offered an overview of the various aspects of homosexual practices, including pederasty, this time grounded in literary evidence from the Greek world. Thus, Dover succeeded in placing "our understanding of ancient Greek sexual practices on a more secure basis".[11] What both Foucault and Dover managed to do, was discuss pederastic relations "primarily in terms of a dominant/submissive dichotomy, which they believed was the most crucial element and motivation of the practice".[12] In the highly debated -among classical scholars- second volume of his "*History*", dubbed "*The uses of*

[4] Caitlin Deegan, "Higher Love: Elitism in the Pederastic Practice of Athens in the Archaic and Classical Periods" (Dissertation, Arizona State University, 2012), 1.
[5] Ibid., 5.
[6] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, volume 2: The Use of Pleasure*. (New York: Vintage Books, 1985), 3.
[7] Ibid., 4.
[8] Ibid., 187.
[9] Ibid., 20-24, 35-37.
[10] Deegan, "Higher Love," 1.
[11] Kirk Ormand and Ruby Blondell. 2015, "One Hundred and Twenty-five Years of Homosexuality," in *Ancient Sex: New Essays*, ed. Kirk Ormand and Ruby Blondell (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015) 1-22, at 1.
[12] Deegan, "Higher Love," 5.

pleasure", Michel Foucault -influenced by Dover's insights- claimed that pederasty was "problematized in Greek culture, […being…] the object of a special -and especially intense- moral preoccupation" and thus "subjected to an interplay of positive and negative appraisals so complex as to make the ethics that governed it difficult to decipher". [13]

Those arguments by Dover and Foucault gave rise to the debate that characterized the academic field of ancient male sexuality from its very inception, up until the turn of the century. The debate was among the scholars who, following Foucault, claimed that sexuality, as an essential element of one's self, did not exist in antiquity and thus patterns of sexual preference manifest themselves with different significance in different societies (called the "social constructionists"),[14] and those who disagreed with Foucault (generally referred to as the "essentialists"),[15] arguing for patterns of same gender attraction that are universal and transhistorical.[16] This debate between the academic supporters and the disputants of Foucault brought about a large corpus of publications regarding ancient sexuality and the pederastic custom, which allowed for a more nuanced and detailed understanding of this institution. Aspects of the phenomenon like its origins, the places where it was practiced, who participated with regards to their age, status and class, as well as the elements (erotic and non-erotic) that those relationships were supposed to include were vehemently discussed, and thus new understandings emerged.[17]

This debate has certainly been highly influential, with a number of scholars still producing literature about the historiography of it, or commenting on those same arguments. Those understandings, have allowed a new generation of scholars -unhampered by a strict preoccupation to prove or disprove Foucault's and Dover's arguments- to discuss pederastic relations (and homosexuality in general) in the fashion in which its ancient practitioners might have experienced it.[18] The field has arguably reached a new stage. A stage in which the insights of Dover, Foucault and their followers, as well as their counter-arguments, have been nuanced and incorporated into a mainstream academic consensus. Thus, a new wave of scholarship has emerged that is no longer preoccupied with those debates.[19] The so-called "sexuality wars" in Classics were largely over.

More recently however, the interests of scholars along with the questions asked about the pederastic institutions have altered. Trying to decipher and label the ancient practices in modern terms is no longer the main concern, but instead "the ways that

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[13] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 191-192.

[14] Among those scholars are most notably, David Halperin, John Winkler and later researchers who followed their arguments and expanded on them (for instance Craig Williams and Kirk Ormand).

[15] As essentialists we can regard scholars like John Boswell, Edward Stein and more contemporary ones such as Thomas Hubbard and James Davidson.

[16] Blondell and Ormand, "One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Homosexuality," 1-14; Thomas K., Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: a sourcebook of basic* documents. 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 2-3; Kirk, Ormand, "Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Discipline of Classics," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014), 54–68.

[17] Blondell en. Ormand, "One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Homosexuality," 1-22; Ormand, "Foucault's History," 54–68; James N. Davidson, "Dover, Foucault and Greek Homosexuality: penetration and the truth of sex." *Past & Present* 170, no.1 (2001): 3-51.

[18] Deegan, "Higher Love," 2.

[19] Blondell en. Ormand, "One Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Homosexuality," 14-16.

discourses about sex functioned within their respective cultures".[20] A developmental approach of the subject has therefore been applied, which has led to the majority of the literature being produced, following a somewhat similar structure. In particular, scholars have been utilizing a standard set of parameters and investigating the same aspects of the custom, in their attempt to approach ancient pederasty.[21]

This developmental approach however, has allowed the emergence of new useful insights of the pederastic custom. For instance, the concept of problematization of pederasty, introduced by Foucault, has been further nuanced. Research has shown that, despite the appearance of a 'problematization' of pederastic relations in Athenian discourses, during democracy, this was not the case for other, more traditional city-states; and therefore, a single, universal discourse does not exist in the totality of the Greek world.[22] Other publications have argued, for a more refined and detailed approach when it comes to public attitudes towards the practice during the same period. Thus, the idea of a negative public perception of pederasty has been dismissed, by showcasing a variety of attitudes, that range from positive to neutral. [23] These assertions have brought to the fore the inherent linkage that exists between sexual discourses and politics.[24] Those nuanced approaches will be utilized and the questions asked will be explored further in this thesis, as their insights can prove highly valuable for both the evolutionary approach attempted and the intended contextualization of Athenian discourses with those of other city-states.

Moreover, scholarly debate has added another level of nuance regarding pederastic practices. Scholars are not considering anymore homosexuality merely, but instead, a number of institutions, that contain homosexual components. Those institutions, such as pederasty, were dubbed as 'homosocial', a distinction that has allowed for new depths in scholarly debates. By categorizing pederasty as a 'homosocial' activity or institution "allows for an emphasis on the way in which pederastic practice operated at an interpersonal level and prevents superfluous focus on the sexual aspects of the practice".[25] Thus, pederasty is to be understood "not simply as

[20] Ibid., 14.

[21] Those parameters usually include the origins of the custom; the age of the participants; the spaces, public and private, related with the custom; the heavy aristocratic connotations associated with it; the limits of the public approval of the custom and the loss of its prominence in late antiquity. See for instance: Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 106-131; Andrew Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized? A diachronic view," in *Sex in antiquity: exploring gender and sexuality in the ancient world,* ed. Mark Masterson et all (London: Routledge 2015), 115-136; Deegan, "Higher Love"; James N. Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek love: a radical reappraisal of homosexuality in ancient Greece*. (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007).

[22] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 115-118.

[23] Julia Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," in: *Ancient sex: New Essays*, ed. Kirk Ormand and Ruby Blondell (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2015), 177-207.

[24] For instance, Thomas Hubbard was one of the pivotal scholars whose work explored this intrinsic linkage, by noting the elite nature of pederastic relations along with the sociopolitical tensions that arose from popular, "democratic", discourses, particularly in Attic comedy. Thomas K. Hubbard, "Popular Perceptions of Elite Homosexuality in Classical Athens," *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics* 6, no. 1 (1998): 48-78. Since the turn of the century more scholars like Victoria Wohl and Velvet Yates have explored the political aspects of ancient pederastic discourses in their work. Their work pertains mainly to Classical Athens and the connection between democratic politics and the use of sexual terms. See: Victoria Wohl, *Love among the ruins, the erotics of Democracy in Classical Athens.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002); Velvet Lenore Yates, "Anterastai: competition in eros and politics in Classical Athens." *Arethusa* 38, no. 1 (2005): 33-47.

[25] Deegan, "Higher Love," 3.

an expression of homosexuality, but as a facet of society influenced by a panoply of economic, social and political motivations".[26] Therefore a question of whether or not modern homosexual concepts are echoed in ancient pederastic institutions is not only obsolete, but also irrelevant.

During the past five years however, there has been a decline in the amount of relevant literature produced. The scholarly interest seems to have shifted away from pederastic relations, with other aspects of sexuality and gender expression in antiquity now receiving the majority of interest. Despite this shift in focus, the study of ancient pederastic relations still has many aspects ripe for further study. Namely, the majority of the extant literature too often examines homosexuality/pederasty in isolation, and does not distinctly contextualize, or tries to understand the evolution of discourses, within the evolving political and social nature of the polis. An explanatory framework often overlooked in favor of other societal factors, such as the changes in pedagogy, which took place during the late fifth century, with the rise of private education and the Sophists' movement, and the monetized culture of classical Athens.[27] Nevertheless, it was the political changes which created such a cultural and political milieu, that deeply affected not only the way people participated in politics, but also transformed their worldview.

In the same vein, the present thesis is not intended to map out concepts, not least utilize modern experiences to make sense of ancient institutions. Its purpose is to build upon those past debates and decipher the development of ancient discourses by explicitly link them with the respective historical, socio-political (and cultural) framework in which they were produced. An aspect not fully explored is this connection of the evolving socio-political framework with the evolution of the pederastic discourses. Thus, the main research question that this thesis will attempt to answer is, why and in which ways did political shifts bring about a change in ancient greek discourses revolving around pederasty?

Methodology

The evolutionary approach

By taking the city-state of Athens as a central case study (the best attested example in terms of availability of sources), this thesis will investigate how the discourses revolving around pederastic practices evolved throughout the course of their existence; and how this evolution can be linked with the various changes of political system that occurred. The thesis will initially explore the institutionalization of pederasty as an approved aristocratic custom, related to the emergence of the city state, and subsequently, the intense 'problematization' of pederasty as a result of an ever-changing socio-political landscape and the transition of Athens from aristocracy to democracy. Finally, Athenian discourses will be contextualizing with those of other city-states, that did not undergo such political shifts -like Sparta and Crete -, in order to better illustrate the connection between politics and mentality. After all, the scholarly consensus seems to indicate that "the best account of Greek pederasty must take into account the issue of variation over time and place in a more than parenthetical way".[28]

[26] Ibid., 3-4.
[27] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 130.
[28] Ibid., 117.

One can thus map out a rough evolutionary scheme: from initial tribal initiation rites and the correlation between pederasty and hunting, to its institutionalization and its clear connection with the aristocratic elites,[29] it was a phenomenon that was thought to have "excluded the lower classes until the introduction and dissemination of democracy following the sixth century". [30] Now, the very transition from tyranny to democracy is attributed by both Herodotus and Thucydides to the pederastic couple of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Under democracy though, "the attitudes towards pederasty shift towards the negative", [31] while the custom continues being practiced -with various degrees of approval-, until its eventual vanishment due to vast changes in sexual morality in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Once further nuanced, this evolutionary scheme will be used to compare the Athenian attitudes, with those present in different city states, that did not experience such radical political shifts like Sparta.

An attempt to link changes of mentality with political changes, is not a new methodological approach in ancient history studies. Oswyn Murray with a series of articles and publications has successfully illustrated how another defining characteristic of Greek culture and society, the 'symposion', experienced important transformations under the ever-changing political and social landscape.[32] Murray has argued that "patterns in the consumption of food are almost always governed by cultural symbols and […] reflect a society's dominant models of social relationships and groupings".[33]Those sympotic groupings were thus understood as the cultural expressions of a societal organization, which is based on 'hetaireioi', groupings of male companions who were preoccupied with warfare and eventually came to be the aristocrats of the archaic period.[34] Thus all the historical forms that sympotic feasting undertook can be directly explained and linked with the political and societal transformations of that elite. A similar methodological approach will be attempted for a different distinctively Greek phenomenon that of institutionalized pederastic relations. After all, Murray himself has stated the close correlation between pederasty and the 'symposion'.[35] Once nuanced, Murray's insights will be applied as the framework in which pederastic relations will be studied.

Concepts

A further point of complication emerges when modern homosexual identities are being considered. When universal, transhistorical and transcultural experiences and concepts – like sexuality and sexual expressions- are studied in their diachrony, it is only unavoidable that modern concepts might be retroactively applied to past ones. The picture becomes even more complex in the case of pederasty, as not only it has ceased

[29] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 113; Deegan, "Higher Love," 118-120.
[30] Ibid., 119.
[31] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 126.
[32] See: Oswyn Murray, "The Greek Symposion in History," in *Tria corda: scritti in onore di Arnaldo Momigliano*, ed. E. Gabba (Como: New Press, 1983), 257-272.
[33] Oswyn Murray, "Sympotic history," in *Sympotica: a symposium on the symposion*, ed. Oswyn Murray (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) 3-14, at 3.
[34] Murray, "The Greek Symposion in History," 259-265, 271-272.
[35] "It is indeed the *symposion* which, with its daytime extension the *gymnasium*, explains both the origin and the persistence of the aristocratic phenomenon of homosexuality in Greek society. In short, I suggest that almost all of the distinctive features of the high culture of archaic Greece are expressions of the sympotic way of life". Ibid., 264.

to exist today as a social institution, but also modern-day pedophilia is considered so heinous to be made illegal.[36] Therefore, it is not clear -nor a consensus exists among scholars- whether "one can map the modern concept of homosexuality onto Greek pederasty".[37] However, the historiographical outline of the extant literature and debate in the field has eloquently proved that such questions are now irrelevant and the new stages the field of study of ancient sexualities has reached. Thus, the present thesis will not try to posit a link between these past practices and modern concepts of sexuality and sexual expression.

Sources and source criticism

Those relations, and how people understood and discussed them, have left an imprint on sources, both literary and material. This thesis will study those discourses. In particular, how pederasty is talked about in poetry, philosophy, legal speeches and theater, as well as, how it is represented iconographically. By observing how the representations of pederastic relations and the themes associated with them, were developed over time, a contextualization and an association with the political evolutions inside the ancient polis will be attempted.

The evidence which will be utilized in this attempted analysis of the phenomenon pederasty in ancient Greece is primarily literary. What should be clarified beforehand is that pederasty is represented very differently – often conflictingly- in different sources. Thus, an attempt to organize and present those sources in chronological order might shed some light upon the evolving attitudes and discourses around the phenomenon. However, a problem arises as some scholars have utilized evidence – usually visual- of latter periods to compliment and explain earlier literary references and vice versa. Thus, one should be mindful of such occurrences in modern scholarly studies; a chronologically organized approach can prove quite useful when attempting to trace continuity or breaks in the evolution of pederastic relations. One should also be mindful of the reticence and the idealized nature of sources of evidence, in a sense that they do represent how pederasty was supposed to be practiced, rather than what actually happened in reality.

The literary evidence utilized will cover a rather broad range; namely fragments of the pederastic verses in archaic sympotic poetry to late fourth century philosophical texts will be used. This broad range of textual evidence is deemed necessary "given that there is no ancient text that specifically discusses the customs of pederasty," so an examination of "a myriad of sources which allude to the subject, often discussing it from the viewpoint of a cultural insider" seems appropriate. [38] Hubbard's 2003 monograph, "*Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: a sourcebook of basic documents*" will be a study often cited as it provides an overview of the various literary sources describing or alluding to pederastic and homosexual relations both chronological and by genre, translated in English. As far as archaic discourses are concerned, elegiac poetry, in particular that of Theognis and Anacreon, will be utilized primarily. Both of

[36] For this thesis I purposely want to make a distinction between the institutionalized and socially acceptable custom of ancient 'pederasty' and modern day 'pedophilia', which according to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) is placed under disorders.
[37] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 122.
[38] Deegan, "Higher Love," 14.

the poets "present the two best-preserved bodies of verse on pederastic themes".[39] Thus, they will be employed in connection to the idealized aristocratic views of pederasty that their poetry conceptualizes. Furthermore, in order to illustrate the problematization that classical discourses contain, I will analyze fragments from Attic courtroom oratory speeches in order to examine the legality and, inadvertently, the audience's conceptions and prejudices around pederasty and homosexuality, and therefore, trace the changing attitudes towards pederastic relations in the city of Athens, after the establishment of democracy. Moreover, pederastic allusions in the popular genre of Attic comedy, particular that of Aristophanes will be utilized, along with the extant discussions regarding "legitimate love" (dikaios eros),[40] in the philosophical treaties of Plato and Xenophon.[41] Complementary, ancient historiographers will also be utilized. It is important to keep in mind that those sources come with their own set of limitations and biases, as most of them are elite in nature and often times ignore public perceptions. Those who are more popular, or geared towards a popular audience (i.e., courtroom oratory and comedy), were made with very specific intentions, to achieve a goal or entertain, and thus, might not be accurately indicative of the attitudes of the whole audience.

A discourse regarding such a complex and multi-faceted phenomenon, like ancient Greek pederasty, will be severely lacking if visual evidence were not to be included. Especially since, more often than not, the visual representations in material remains are way more revealing than literary sources. For reasons as such, I have chosen to supplement my primary textual analysis, with a complementary, thematic, one of the extant visual sources. The bulk of visual evidence used will stem from Attic black and red figure vases, from the archaic and classical periods. With approximately 1,000 known pederastic scenes depicted,[42] Attic pottery constitutes the most complete set of evidence that we have. A selection of the most characteristic examples will be made, with regards to the research question. By comparison and close reading of visual and literary representations of pederastic courtship, we can observe the thematic convergences and divergences. The study of visual evidence can be revealing when trying to understand the evolution of pederastic discourses from the institutionalization of pederasty as an elitist practice during the archaic period, to the changing attitudes towards it during democracy.

Artistic representations are also quite useful in examining whether this change of attitude, coinciding with political and social change, affected the iconographic modes used. It is important to consider however, that "vase painting is not documentary photography, but an artistic genre; through a language of repeated elements, it presents

[39] Andrew Lear, "Anacreon's "Self": An Alternative Role Model for the Archaic Elite Male," American *journal of philology* 129, no.1 (2008): 47-76, at 49.
[40] This concept refers to the correct and expected mode of behavior in pederastic relations. Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 118-119.
[41] Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus* are the works more often cited and those that provide a more complex discourse and discussion regarding the attitudes towards the custom. In particular, Plato's Phaedrus, while highly metaphorical, provides one of the most explicit descriptions of pederastic love-making when it refers to the lovers "grasping, kissing and laying down with each other". Ibid., 125; Thomas K. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: a sourcebook of basic documents.*1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 249-250.
[42] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 109; Eva Cantarella and Andrew Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty: boys were their gods* (London: Routledge, 2008), xvii.

a certain vision or version of practices, just as literary genres do" and it thus "presents a highly idealized vision of elite males and their activities". [43] The questions should thus be, why the artists made such choices, and what these choices, these iconographic discourses, do reveal. Moreover, one should consider both the trends of the workshops that produced them, and the needs of the markets that those wares were geared towards.

Complementing the analysis of textual sources with the material ones is a necessary process, and was deemed as such even from the earliest scholarly attempts to understand the custom. Indeed, Dover argues that "we may find that a vase-painting and a passage of literature separated by two hundred years or more contribute significantly each to the understanding of the other even when either of the two in isolation would be open to a variety of interpretations".[44] Therefore, a comparative approach will be utilized in this thesis as the different types of evidence complement each other, thus providing a fuller and more holistic image of the realities of the custom.

Outline of the thesis

This first introductory chapter has outlined the basic research question of the thesis, along with the trends and focus of existing historiography, the methodological framework that will be followed as well as the main categories of sources that will be utilized, their strengths and weaknesses.

Therefore, the two following chapters will deal with the evolving pederastic discourses and their connection to political developments. Chapter 2 will discuss the institutionalization of pederasty and its emergence as a well-defined aristocratic custom during the formative archaic period (7^{th}-6^{th} centuries B.C.). The emergence of the custom will be correlated with the emergence of polis, hoplite warfare and the subsequent emergence of an aristocracy of leisure that values privacy and exclusiveness. Chapter 3 concerns the so-called classical period, and will span over the 5^{th} and 4^{th} centuries B.C. The fifth century is an intermediary period, with intense political and social shifts. It is a century rich in events (military, political, social and cultural) that brought about intense societal changes that also saw the emergence of a problematization in pederastic discourses. During the 4^{th} century, the intense changes of the previous period are more clearly manifested in pederastic discourses. It is the period, when pederasty in Athens was "hyper-problematized", as Andrew Lear suggests.[45] Finally, I will present the conclusions of the arguments outlined in the previous chapters, while briefly contextualizing the Athenian discourses with those from Sparta, so as to illustrate any differences in approaches regarding ancient pederasty; with the final attempt of showcasing how and why the political shifts created a cultural milieu which, produced and constructed its own ideas around pederastic relations.

[43] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 111.
[44] K. J. Dover and American Council of Learned Societies, *Greek homosexuality*. Updated and with a new postscript. (Cambridge, Mass..: Harvard University Press, 1989), 8.
[45] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 115-136.

Chapter 2. Οἱ ἀγαθοί ἐρασταί. (The noble lovers) [46]

(Because) I am wishing you well, I myself will instruct you those things,

Kyrnos, that I learned as a child from the noble. (Theognis 27-28)

2.1. Introduction

This particular chapter concerns the pederastic discourses that developed during the archaic period, which conventionally includes the seventh and the sixth centuries BC.[47] During the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., the Greek world saw a period, during which culminated a series of new developments and changes, that were set in motion during the preceding centuries. These changes impacted the Greek world not only demographically, economically and militarily but also, they had profound effects – and molded- what came to be known as the Greek archaic culture and society. It has been generally accepted that at the end of the Dark Ages the region experienced a demographic boom.[48] Moreover, during this period the political transformations that brought about the formation of the city-state as a political unit, occurred.[49] Along with the rise of the city-state a new mode of combat, that of hoplite warfare, emerged.[50] This

[46] Here the use of the word "ἀγαθοί" is intentionally ambiguous; denoting both the noble by birth (i.e., the aristocratic 'class') the *aristoi*, the *esthloi* and a type of behavior that is characterized by virtue, loyalty, kindness and bravery.

[47] This thesis investigates transformations of discourses regarding sexual mores while, attempting to link those with political transformations. Evolutions of such kind do not adhere to strict chronological bounds. Thus, a more flexible treatment of those bounds is necessary, in order to more eloquently illustrate these changes.

[48] Marek Wecowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*. 1st ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 320.

[49] A thorough and inclusive study of the phenomenon of the Greek city-state (*polis)*- so central to, and a marked characteristic of, the Greek world and culture- cannot be exhausted at the limited bounds of a master's thesis. For the specific purposes of this thesis, I have relied upon the work of scholars such as: Mason Hammond and Lester J. Bartson, *The city in the Ancient World*. Reprint 2014. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014); Herman Mogens Hansen, *Polis an Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-state*. 1st ed. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). See also, the relevant chapters in the edited volume of H. A. Shapiro, *The Cambridge Companion to Archaic Greece*. (Cambridge [etc.]: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The surplus of people, along with the relative stability that characterized the region, after centuries of turmoil following the collapse of the Mycenean palatial system, triggered a series of developments that culminated in the land-owning aristocracy ceasing control and replacing the traditional kingship of the Homeric and Geometric world. This was the result of their rising power and self-assertion, based on land-owning. The space within the land-owning elites managed to assert their dominance was that of the *polis*. Although the origins of the *polis* are very hard to trace, they emerged as a system of a community with its own political organization approximately around the start of the archaic period. The specifics for each *polis* can vary, nevertheless the primary means that led to the founding of a polis were either by colonization *(apoikismos)* or by coalescence *(synoikismos)*. This new political system that emerged needed to meet three requirements in order to be successful. It needed to be free from external influences, self-governing and self-sufficient. Interestingly, the Greeks themselves defined *polis* as a settlement and a community simultaneously, and it is this latter aspect – the sense of community and commensality- that interests us.

[50] The citizen-soldiers of the Greek city-states were called 'hoplites' after *hoplon*, the word describing fighting equipment consisting of spears and shields. Their battle formation, the phalanx was such so as the hoplites had to ensure that their ranks remained closed. As a result, the 'neighbours' shields were used to cover the unprotected right sides of their bodies. This subsequently, forged strong bonds between the citizen-soldiers and a sense of solidarity. At first the hoplites originated from the more

led to a subsequent political domination of the aristocratic elites and a dissemination of a lifestyle that is markedly aristocratical and leisurely. Defining features of the lifestyle emerging during this period, were the symposion, the occasion of communal banqueting where wine consumption occurred, and the gymnasium, the spaces where youths trained.[51] Those instances happen to be the loci where a distinct 'homosocial and pederastic culture' occurred. What this chapter will attempt to do is analyze the pederastic discourses -textual and iconographic- produced over those centuries, mainly in the city-state of Athens, and link those with those spaces of distinct 'pederastic culture'. This heuristic approach aims at contextualizing and understanding those discourses as a by-product of this leisurely, aristocratic lifestyle centered around instances such as the symposion, the gymnasium and hunting.

2.2.The earlier evidence /discourses

The origins of the custom of pederasty in the Greek world are generally hard to trace. There are several, often times conflicting, theories about the origin of the custom in the Greek world, with the extant evidence in support of those theories being scarce at best. They can be revealing however, in the ways that pederasty was considered, thought about and represented at this early stage.

Historiographically, there have been two main groups of scholars who, have attempted to provide an explanation regarding the origins of the pederastic practices in the Greek world. The 'initiation school', as Lear dubs them,[52] having compared anthropological and mythological evidence, argued that pederasty should be considered as an adolescent initiation rite of Indo-European origin.[53] Contrary to that argument, Dover postulated that Greek homosexuality -and thus pederastic customs- was not an Indo-European relic; instead, it begun during the seventh century BC, and no overt

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elite social strata, but after the end of the 6th century the middle classes were supplying hoplites too. See: Lukas De Blois and R.J Van Der Spek, *An Introduction to the Ancient World.* 3rd ed. (Milton: Routledge, 2019), 94; Hans Van Wees, *Greek warfare: myths and realities.* 7th reprint 2015. (London [etc.]: Bloomsbury, 2015), 47-60. Regarding the connection between hoplite warfare and the rise of the archaic greek polis see: Gregory F. Viggiano, "The Hoplite Revolution and the Rise of the Polis," in *Men of Bronze*, ed. Donald Kagan and Gregory Viggiano (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015), 112–133.

[51] As symposion we must define the ritualized drinking party that was the second half of a typical greek banquet, following the meal (deipnon). Here drinking and consuming wine took center stage. The protocols of drinking and banqueting emphasized community and equality for its participants as well as, a sense of conviviality. Interestingly, one of the main values that is emphasized throughout those banquets is moderation at all levels. Wine is mixed with water and in order to for anyone to attend, they must be able to restrain themselves. The same sense of moderation is applied to pederastic courtship, an intrinsic aspect of sympotic culture. Sean Corner, "Sumposion," in *A Companion to Greek and Roman Sexualities*, ed. Thomas K. Hubbard (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2014), 203-217, at 203-206. For the emergence of the symposion as a characteristic of the greek world see: Wecowski, *The Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*. In the work of Oswyn Murray the evolution of the symposion and the sympotic culture is being examined, through political lenses. See: Murray, "The Greek Symposion in History".

[52] The scholars that formed the initiation school -most prominently the 1980s group of Patzer, Sergent and Bremmer – expanded on a theory first proposed by the German classical philologist Erich Bethe in 1907. Andrew Lear, "Noble Eros: The idealization of pederasty from the Greek Dark Ages to the Athens of Socrates" (PhD dissertation, University of California, 2004), 26.

[53] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 117. See also: Jan Bremmer, "An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty," *Arethusa* 13, no. 2 (1980): 279-98.

evidence exist of it exist in either the Homeric epics or the myths.[54] A larger treatment of the debate regarding the origins of homosexuality and pederasty would defeat the purposes of this thesis. Nevertheless, the key points raised by both groups, as well as the evidentiary material used, can "provide evidence -if slight in quality-for the greater Greek context in which we must view our more abundant Athenian sources of evidence".[55] In that sense it is important to examine these early pederastic allusions and discourses and determine firstly when and how pederasty became an almost quotidian practice- albeit an elite one- and which elements were more pronounced on those discourses; the institutional nature of the practice or the didactic one. This process will allow us to both better contextualize the later Athenian discourses and investigate how the socio-political changes of the period influenced -or rather are being echoed in- those early discourses.

Indeed, determining with certainty when pederastic practices emerged is almost impossible, nor when they became institutionalized as an acceptable practice. The general consensus tends to follow once more, Dover's argument of the seventh century B.C. as a *terminus post quem*,[56] with some evidence however, pointing to that limit being a century earlier. Scholars, like Andrew Lear and Thomas Hubbard, present in their works evidence dating back to the eighth century BC. Indeed, further stretching the terminus a century back, can provide a more plausible explanation for the rise of the phenomenon and its already wide-spread prominence by the seventh century.[57] Regionally, the earliest accounts of the custom originate in "Dorian Greece", namely from Crete, Thera and Sparta with no evidence existing in other regions before the seventh century terminus.[58]However, it is unsafe to conclude, much like the 'initiation school' did, that pederasty was an innate custom in Dorian Greece with a specific character; after all "it is never safe to build an *argumentum ex silentio*". What we can safely conclude though is that Dorian Greece indeed indicates the earliest evidence of the phenomenon, which might have been diffused from there to the rest of the *poleis*. An attempt to contextualize the evidence (often scarce, reticent and allusive) can provide some possible hints not only for the existence but also for the content of pederastic practices.

The earliest evidence that we can safely connect to pederastic relations is a group of sculptures excavated at a sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Kato Syme in Crete (figure 1). These statues represent initiator/initiand couples, or rather erastes/eromenoi couples, with the sexual aspects of the bond being quite explicit. Figure 1. depicts a double statuette, dating to the mid-late eighth century BC, representing two largely nude, except for their helmets, ithyphallic figures, an adult

[54] Dover, *Greek homosexuality*, 185-196. Scholars that have agreed with Dover's assertions and skepticism include Percy and Scanlon. See also: William Armstrong Percy, *Pederasty and pedagogy in archaic Greece*. (Urbana [etc.]: University of Illinois Press, 1996); Thomas F. Scanlon, *Eros and Greek Athletics*. (Oxford [etc.]: Oxford University Press, 2002).
[55] Lear, "Noble Eros," 26.
[56] Dover, *Greek homosexuality*, 1-17; Thomas F. Scanlon, "The Dispersion of Pederasty and the Athletic Revolution in Sixth-Century BC Greece," *Journal of homosexuality* 49, no. 3-4 (2005): 63-85, at 64.; William Armstrong Percy, "Reconsiderations about greek homosexualities," *Journal of homosexuality* 49, no. 3-4 (2005): 13-61, at 15-21.; Deegan, "Higher Love," 18.
[57] Lear, "Noble Eros," 48-49.
[58] Ibid., 47; Scanlon, "The Dispersion of Pederasty," 63-67.

bearded male and a beardless boy, holding hands.[59] The initiatory nature of such votive offering is attested by the fact that as early as the archaic period, the function of these deities when worshiped together "was to oversee the transition of young men to adulthood".[60]What therefore becomes evident is the connection between adolescent initiation, pederasty and activities such as hunting and warfare. Archaeological evidence shows that "the sanctuary was used for rites of maturation and that it provided a place for the activities of youths who were trained in the wilderness […] presumably […] to be hunters and to capture wild animals".[61]This is further attested by votive plaques found in the precinct of the sanctuary suggesting the initiatory character of many activities of the young men at the sanctuary of Kato Syme.[62] This process however, seems to have been facilitated and enabled through such relationships that the double statuette of the bearded man and the beardless youth indicate.

Another set of evidence comes from a group of slightly later inscriptions (late eighth-early seventh century BC) from the island of Thera -a Spartan/Dorian settlement- behind the remains of the temple of Apollo Karneios, with several of them referring to penetrative sex between males, seemingly the records of a cultic ritual of pederastic nature.[63] Lear asserts the pederastic context of the inscriptions as "there are no Greek parallels for the invocation of a deity in an obscene boast; thus, this seems to be the record of a cultic ritual (and it also makes clear the pederastic nature of the sex act in question".[64] This fact is further supported by the archaeological context, as it seems that a cult of Apollo was already in place at the island at the time of the inscriptions.[65]The physical context of the inscriptions can provide us with further equally interesting information about the associations of pederastic practices at this early stage. The inscriptions were found at a gymnasium, at the precinct of the sanctuary, but despite both the temple and the gymnasium being later in date than the inscriptions, we must relatively safely assume that a dance-floor existed in the earlier precinct, a fact that is further attested by the vocabulary of another group of inscriptions alluding to dance.[66] Moreover, lexically these inscriptions are closely linked to the pederastic ones as they use the same terms to praise the dancers (aristos, agathos) as the pederastic ones.[67]

Therefore, what becomes clear from the archaeological and the epigraphical evidence is the initiatory nature of the practice at a Dorian context at this early stage, as well as its link with dancing and athletics. This link is particularly interesting given that athletic contest, and the gymnasium in particular, were common loci for pederastic

[59] Lear, "Noble Eros," 44-45; Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 107-108; Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 118.
[60] Nano Marinatos, "Striding Across Boundaries: Hermes and Aphrodite as gods of initiation," in *Initiation in ancient Greek rituals and narratives: new critical perspectives*, ed. David. B. Dodd et al. (London: Routledge, 2003), 130-152, at 131.
[61] Ibid., 135.
[62] Ibid., 136-137.
[63] Lear, "Ancient Pederasty," 107-108; Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 118; Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 82-83.
[64] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 118.
[65] Lear, "Noble Eros," 31; Eva Cantarella, *Bisexuality in the ancient world*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 7-8.
[66] "Empedoklis engraved this and danced, by Apollo" (536); "Eumelos is the best dancer (aristos orkhestas)" (540b); "Bardakas dances well (orkheitai agathos)" (543). Lear, "Noble Eros," 31.
[67] Ibid.

practices in later periods and even "were among the most crucial catalysts" for the dispersion of the phenomenon in the other greek poleis from the seventh and sixth centuries onwards.[68] Indeed, the connection with athletics and the aspect of nudity that is attached to it, regardless of that aspect being erotically charged or otherwise,[69] seems to be intrinsically connected with loci of intense 'homosocial' activity in later periods, namely the gymnasium. Given, the prevalence of gymnic athletics in the sixth century and the sheer quantity of archaic vases depicting naked athletes and pederastic scenes associated with the gymnasium (as the next section will illustrate) we can safely fit these earlier evidences in the same category of erotic and pederastic discourses and thus understand them as such.

There is no relevant literary evidence from this period, only survivals and allusions in later texts. Nevertheless, a critical treatment of those can aid in better contextualizing the extant archaeological and epigraphical data. An account by the historian Ephorus, preserved by Strabo, presents a ritual from classical Crete -usually seen as an archaic survival- that includes a mock abduction by an erastes of his eromenos, followed by a period in which man and boy hunt together in the countryside and finally a ritual of return leading to a change in the boy's status.[70] Moreover, later, sources such as Xenophon and Plutarch, are describing Sparta's educational system (agoge) as originating from a multi-year initiation system, in which pederasty played a prominent role.[71] What becomes apparent, even for the sceptics of the 'initiation argument', is that ritual initiation did indeed have a connection with these early pederastic discourses. Moreover, an attempt to outline the geographical and chronological contours of pederastic diffusion must include those earlier discourses and start from a non-Athenian perspective, namely Crete and Sparta. Indeed, the Spartan institutionalized agoge, and similarly the Cretan one, were formally established by the seventh century BC, with initiatory, and didactic, pederasty occupying a formal part in those systems.[72] A further aspect that corroborates the central role that pederasty had in those system(s) is the assertion that institutionalized pederasty was the mechanism by which the Spartan syssitia - those were military institutions attributed to Lycurgus that functioned as organizational units of warfare- recruited their members.[73] Furthermore, it is also justified to posit a link between the prominence of pederasty in Spartan agoge and the city's athletic preeminence in the late eighth to sixth century in Olympia. This pre-eminence "is most likely due to a new cultural focus after the seventh century Spartan cultural 'revolution', in which the *agoge* was established, with open pederasty as a likely by-product of the *agoge*".[74]

However, one must be cautious with those discourses, as many of them are later and contain "self-conscious archaisms".[75] Therefore, despite not being able to safely prove a connection and a continuation- based on the conservative nature of the cities-

[68] Scanlon, "The Dispersion of Pederasty," 64.
[69] Scanlon for instance, argues rather convincingly in favor of the erotic associations of nudity and its linkage with Spartan pederasty and athleticism in the first place. Ibid., 63–85.
[70] Lear, "Noble Eros," 27-29; Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 118-119.
[71] See: Xenophon, *Constitution of the Lacedemonians* 2.12-14; Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 17-18; Ibid.
[72] Scanlon, "The Dispersion of Pederasty," 82-83.
[73] H.W. Singor, "Admission to the Syssitia in 5th century Sparta," in *Sparta: new perspectives*, ed. Stephen Hodkinson et al. (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2009) 67-89, at 76.
[74] Scanlon, "The Dispersion of Pederasty," 81.
[75] Lear, "Noble Eros," 46.

between those rituals reconstructed by the evidence, with the rituals and education system of archaic Crete and Sparta; we can rather safely trace the origins of Greek pederasty. The evidence presented help us gaze into "the distant past of pederasty; and non-Athenian pederasty in the classical period- and in both cases, they safely indicate that pederasty had a formal role in various kinds of initiation and/or education".[76] They represent the earliest known discourses regarding Greek pederasty and they are full of educational and somewhat idealized allusions and undertones. They can thus serve, as a non-Athenian 'discourse', that can help us better contextualize, understand and contrast them with both the archaic and the classical Athenian discourses. In particular, these non-Athenian perspectives, especially the information provided by Xenophon, could be utilized as a means to better illustrate the diachronic Spartan idealization of pederasty in contrast to the problematization, innate in late-classical, Athenian discourses, and therefore, posit a connection between them and the political systems that produced them. Moreover, they provide indications of the main themes and associations that are linked with archaic pederastic discourses, namely their idealized nature, the connection with hunting and athletics, as well as the initiatory and/or didactic undertones of said relations.

2.3. The 6th century: The case of Archaic Athens, an idealized image of pederasty.

Moving forward to the sixth century, the scarcity of evidence gives place to an abundance of both literary and iconographic discourses that describe or depict pederastic relations. The focus of interest now shifts to the city-state of Athens. The Athenian polis provides us with the largest corpus of pederastic, iconographic discourses, appearing on the numerous black-figure and red-figure vases produced by local workshops over this period. Textual evidence is drawn from poetry, namely lyric and elegiac, as is the case of the work of Theognis and Anacreon, which constitute the greatest quantity of the extant corpus, and choral poetry and Pindar. Despite the textual sources being non-Athenian in origin- Theognis originated from Megara and Anacreon from the city of Teos in Asia Minor- they are valuable sources of information with regards to the customs in effect in Athens. The poetry of Theognidea for instance (a collection of poems attributed to both Theognis and others composed from 640 to 479 BC),[77] does not only represents a perspective of Megarian society, as it can hardly "distinguish itself from what we know of such poetry in Athens of the 6th and 5th centuries";[78] therefore provides us with a larger tradition of Archaic elegy. The same argument applies to Anacreon's work. The poet was popular in Athens, having spent a portion of his life living in the city. What is more his attitudes towards pederasty are echoed to some fragments by Athenian poet and lawgiver Solon.[79]

The discourses of the period portray pederasty as mainly operating within a framework of aristocratic activities and as highly idealized. The aspect of problematization that scholars such as Dover and Foucault have pointed out in Classical

[76] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 118-120.
[77] Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 161; Andrew Lear, "The Pederastic Elegies and the Authorship of the Theognidea," *Classical quarterly* 61, no.2 (2011): 378-393, at 378-380; Lear, "Noble Eros," 13,21-22.
[78] Douglas Gerber, "Theognis," in *A Companion to the Greek Lyric Poets*, ed. Douglas E. Gerber and Robbins MacLachlan (Leiden: Brill, 1997) 117-128, at 120.
[79] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 121.

Athenian sources is largely absent in the Archaic ones. Despite each of the poetic traditions presented offering a different view of pederasty, none presents a negative view of the custom per se. There isn't what Foucault has pointed out as an "interplay of positive and negative appraisals".[80] As Lear has argued, "none expresses concern for the "morals" or reputation of an eromenos. Instead, each connects pederasty to the highest values in his ideology".[81]

2.3.1. The literary pederastic discourses.

Poetry during the sixth century is intrinsically linked with the aristocratic class and lifestyle and with the loci where this was more prominent; namely the symposion- which despite it being a more socially widespread phenomenon this period, as recent studies have argued,[82] it still bears the unmistakable markings of the aristocratic class- and the athletics/the gymnasium. Elegiac poetry was composed for and performed at the symposion,[83] while choral poetry was mainly revolving around athletes and the gymnasium. Both were instances and "places of homosocial leisure and sport and of the tempering of body and soul".[84] All of the poets present a marked ideological stance with regards to pederasty, despite it being different from case to case. Therefore, the poetic I and self, serve as an exemplary model, that is linked with the symposion (or the gymnasium for that matter) and pederasty. In this context "pederastic desire" emerges as "part of the ideal human behavior" and the discourses acquire a pedagogical tone.[85]

This pedagogical tone is especially distinct in Theognidea, as well as one of the main themes that emerges time and again in the text.[86] The poetic 'I' addresses a boy/youth (Kyrnos in this particular case)[87] and attempts to provide advice and guiding that he himself learned as a youth from his elders.[88] This guidance (upothisomai, emathon) largely consists of learning the *esthla*, the noble/proper things, the proper attitudes and behaviors that are associated with the members of the elite. The eromenos is advised to drink and banquet only with those of noble character- and status- as they will be teaching him the worthy things, whereas if he associates himself with base men, he will destroy his common sense (note the lexical link between *esthla* and *esthloi/agathoi* and the juxtaposition with *esxroisin/kakoisi*).[89] Thus, we can observe

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[80] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 191.
[81] Lear, "Noble Eros," 54.
[82] Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 161; Sean Corner, "Transcendent drinking: the symposium at sea reconsidered," *Classical quarterly* 60, no.2 (2010): 352–380.
[83] Corner, "Sumposion," 203.
[84] Ibid. 211.
[85] Lear, "Noble Eros," 62.
[86] Ibid. 21-22.
[87] The subject of the address is either named, like in the case of Kyrnos, or an unnamed youth (pais).
[88] Theognis, 27-28. See the cited excerpt at the start of the chapter. See also: "σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ οἷά τε παιδὶ πατήρ ὑποθήσομαι αὐτὸς / ἐσθλά …" (As a father to his son, I myself will teach you / noble things …) (Theognis 1049-1050). Here I use the translation provided by Lear, "The Pederastic Elegies," 382.
[89] σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ εὖ φρονέων ὑποθήσομαι, οἷάπερ αὐτὸς /Κύρν' ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν ἔμαθον./ πέπνυσο, μηδ' αἰσχροῖσιν ἐπ' ἔργμασι μηδ' ἀδίκοισιν/ τιμὰς μηδ' ἀρετὰς ἕλκεο μηδ' ἄφενος./ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἴσθι· κακοῖσι δὲ μὴ προσομίλει/ ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχεο·/ καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν πῖνε καὶ ἔσθιε, καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν/ ἵζε, καὶ ἄνδανε τοῖς, ὧν μεγάλη δύναμις./ ἐσθλῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄπ' ἐσθλὰ μαθήσεαι· ἢν δὲ κακοῖσι/ συμμίσγῃς ἀπολεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐόντα νόον./ταῦτα μαθὼν ἀγαθοῖσι ὁμίλει, καί ποτε φήσεις/ εὖ συμβουλεύειν τοῖσι φίλοισιν ἐμέ. (Theognis 27-38); Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 162.

that the instructions, which the poetical 'I' proposes, are closely linked with membership in his socio-political group. Through the pederastic relation, the youth "must learn to be loyal to this group in order to learn by being loyal to it".[90] What we therefore see is "an erotic relation fully embedded in a political one".[91] The "eromenos in the Theognidea is in relationship", and thus owes loyalty to both "the erastes and his *philoi*; the pederastic relationship in these poems is *déjà toujours* a political one".[92]

This theme of loyalty to both the erastes and his socio-political group exists in the Theognidean tradition along with those of deceit, reciprocity and an encouragement of a moderate lifestyle. Again, those concepts share an ideological, and lexical connection between erotic and political contexts. Therefore, when the poet accuses his subject that with his promiscuity, he has become a disgrace to their friends;[93] what he means is that his immodest behavior (*margosyne*) has made him a disloyal and deceitful partner and thus not appropriate for both his partner and their social grouping. In short, he failed to properly participate in learning loyalty.[94] He has turn out to be "an untrustworthy and an unworthy companion".[95] A companion becomes worthy when the relationships that they establish with their erastes is a reciprocal one. The boy is expected to reciprocate the courting of the male, otherwise he is met with complains,[96] while the erastes are expected to treat their eromenoi accordingly,[97] mentor them and instill into them important social values along with self-restrain. A failure to comply would associate both parties with base people (*deiloi, kakoi*). Verses 949-954 are particularly interesting as they emphasize the self-moderation of his erotic feelings that an *agathos* lover is able to showcase when courting an eromenos. [98]

Therefore, it would not be wrong to argue that through such poetry the youths attending the symposia, the loci where such poems where performed at, were taught how to best conduct themselves with their lovers and how to behave in accordance to a specific behavioral model that fit the aristocratic elite, a model of self-restrain, modesty, loyalty and reciprocity. This argument is further corroborated if we take into account another model of behavior that is present in the poetic tradition of Theognidea, that of the hetaira-prostitute. "You get gratitude from a boy. No one has a faithful companion in a woman, but she always loves the one close at hand" (Theognis 1367-1368).[99] The woman in question, given the sympotic context, can safely be identified with an *hetaira*, a female companion (perhaps a prostitute) that was present at the symposia. The poet

[90] Lear, "The Pederastic Elegies," 385.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Ibid.
[93] ὦ παῖ, μαργοσύνης ἀπὸ μὲν νόον ὤλεσας ἐσθλόν,/αἰσχύνη δὲ φίλοις ἡμετέροις ἐγένου. (Theognis 1271-1272).
[94] Lear, "The Pederastic Elegies,"385.
[95] Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 162.
[96] "Boy, you repay badly the one granting you favors. You offer no gratitude in exchange
for kindnesses. You never benefit me. But I who have by now often done you a favor
win no special regard." (Theognis 1263-1266). I follow the translation of Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 162.
[97] "Just as a lion relying on his might and with his speed overtaking a fawn separated from
a deer, I do not drink its blood; I do not sack the city, after mounting its lofty walls;
nor yoking horses, do I mount the chariot. Although doing, I do not do; though
finishing, I do not finish; while I can accomplish, I do not accomplish; even though I
can obtain [my desire], I do not." (Theognis 949-954). I follow the translation of Ibid., 164.
[98] Ibid., 162-165.
[99] Ibid., 163.

here asserts that pederastic courtship can create very strong bonds, if it adheres to certain rules and aims at certain goals, which are not to be expected from a woman, that is available, sexually promiscuous and by all accounts a prostitute. She is not a faithful companion (*pistos hetairos*) as she is available for the one close at hand (*ton pareonta*). In short, she collects all those attributes that boys are to avoid and is thus juxtaposed as a negative role-model, the opposite of an agathos eromenos.[100]

If the role-model present in Theognidea is the loyal, moderate and reciprocal erastes and consequently a very political one; the one echoed in Anacreon's poetic tradition could not have been further from this. Anacreon's poetry is more leisurely than pedagogical/political, the poetic self that emerges "eschews politics and pedagogy […] is bisexual and promiscuous", while the poems themselves "center on desire, seduction and rejection".[101] As the poet exclaims in Elegy 2:

> I do not like the man who, drinking wine by the full mixing-bowl,
>
> Talks of strife and tearful war,
>
> But the man who mixes together the shining gifts
>
> Of the Muses and Aphrodite and keeps lovely good cheer in mind. [102]

It becomes evident that this poetry has a different tone from the didactic Theognidean verses; it is a poetry of leisure, a poetry of passion and submission. This fits nicely with the needs of an elite of leisure centered around the symposion during the sixth century BC. However, this preoccupation with leisure does not make Anacreon a bad lover, similar to those in Theognidea. Instead, he conforms to a different set of ideals, "involving withdrawal from the political world and a focus on protecting the self from the overwhelming experience of passion".[103] The apparent immoderation that he expresses, is echoed in the ways he courts the subject of his interests. "I love Cleobulus, I am mad for Cleobulus, I gaze at Cleobulus";[104] the assimilation of desire with madness and gazing is evident on this excerpt.[105]

However, Anacreon is aware of his obsessions, his desires and his lack of control, and this very awareness is in itself a form of moderation, of metacontrol. As Andrew Lear has argued, "this consciousness, […], both underlies the "self's" paradoxical metacontrol over his lack of control and is in itself a form of metacontrol. As such, it can help explain how Anacreon's immoderate "self" might provide a model of interest to an Archaic Greek male: he does not have the virtues of the Theognidean model, but he can afford to do without them because his self-awareness and resulting paradoxical powers allow him a more convincing form of control over the passions than the Theognidean model has. He can let go because he is simultaneously aware that part of him does not".[106]

The poetry of Anacreon is very similar to that of Solon in the sense that here

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[100] Ibid., 163-164.
[101] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 120.
[102] Here I use the translation proposed by Lear in his 2008 article. Lear, "Anacreon's "Self"," 54.
[103] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 120.
[104] Here I use the translation proposed by Hubbard in his 2003 book. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome*, 37.
[105]Lear, "Anacreon's "Self"," 68.
[106] Ibid., 72.

too the eromenos is presented principally as a sex object. Two pederastic poems are attributed to the Athenian poet and lawgiver, the analysis of which reveals both a correlation with the aristocratic elite and the two previously mentioned poetic traditions, asserting the view that they too can be used in an Athenian pederastic paradigm. In one of these poems, he describes as (*olvios*) happy the man who has beloved boys, horses, hunting dogs and friends/allies in foreign lands.[107] What Solon describes here is an ideal aristocrat. The mentions of horses, dogs and allies can be collated with esteemed elite activities as hunting and guest-friends. Thus, by association boys (i.e., pederastic relations) are too perceived as a class marker, "they are among the things that make an aristocrat fortunate".[108]

Pindar belongs to a later generation of poets, his poetic tradition however, is marked by pederastic undertones. The locus now shifts from the symposion to the gymnasium, with his choral poems utilizing pederastic 'imagery' and associations to praise athletes and athletic victors. For instance, he finds it appropriate to utilize the myth of Ganymede, now adapted and utilized to echo a pederastic ethos,[109] in order to praise an athletic victor, as a form of public flattery.[110] Pindar's poetry clearly asserts that athletic success would render a youth desirable to any potential lovers, therefore emphasizing the connection between athletic victory and pederasty.[111] This is very indicative for both the gymnasium and the athletics as a locus associated with pederastic activity and for the highly idealized image that was associated with pederastic courtship and couples in this period.

Thus, pederasty appears to be far from problematized in Archaic poetry, as Lear argues. Instead, what emerges is a highly idealized view of the custom, that occupies a high position in the different systems of value that the various poets present.[112] Despite those value systems being different form poet to poet, we can generally conclude that pederasty is indeed associated with the elite. Pederasty is functioning either as a means for the elites to propagate their values and introduce the younger members to their ranks, thus, creating proper aristocrats; or as a means of leisure. This pedagogical and leisurely character, as well as the spatial associations of pederasty – the connection with the symposion/gymnasium or the hunt- can also be seen in the Athenian iconographic discourses of the period. However, Lear's assertions about the lack of concern regarding the morals and the reputation of the beloved, could use further nuancing. While it is undisputable that pederasty was highly idealized, discourses simultaneously present a model image of how an eromenos should behave, especially when considering Theognis' poetry. For in order to construct such an idealistic image, what is required is

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[107] "Ὄλβιος, ᾧ παῖδές τε φίλοι καὶ μώνυχες ἵπποι/ θηρευταί τε κύνες καὶ ξένοι ἀλλοδαποί". (Solon 23, West).

[108] Lear, "The Pederastic Elegies," 391; Lear, "Noble Eros," 90-91.

[109] Vernon Provencal, "Glukus Himeros," *Journal of Homosexuality* 49, no. 3-4 (2005): 87-136, at 111-113.

[110] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 120.

[111] "I expect my song to make the crowned Hippocleas / Still more splendid to look upon to both his age-mates and older men. / And a heartthrob for young maids" (*Tenth Pythian Ode* 57-59). Here I follow the proposed translation found at Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome*, 49. The victor is rendered more attractive due to his athletic success and becomes a desirable partner for both males and females and all-age groups. Marina Fischer, "Sport Objects and Homosexuality in Ancient Greek Vase-Painting: the new reading of Tampa Museum Vase 86.70," *Nikephoros: Journal for Sports and Culture in* Antiquity 20, no.4 (2007): 1- 28, at 17.

[112] Lear, "Noble Eros," 111.

a counter-model, the unfaithful eromenos that acts like a *hetaira*. In short, what was idealized is a proper way of pederastic conduct, one that emphasized moderation and loyalty. Inadvertently, the opposite type of behavior was being implicitly condemned.

2.3.2. The visual depictions of pederasty: a thematic analysis in the context of the literary sources.

Similar to the textual evidence, the pederastic scenes depicted in vases "unanimously present a highly idealistic/idealized vision/version of pederasty".[113] This idealization is achieved through two principal ways; the formulaic representation of the figures and the scenes and their associations. The representation of pederastic couples follows quite a precise set of conventions in general, with exceptions existing and said conventions evolving over time.[114] In particular, the couples are portrayed by utilizing iconographic conventions that can be understood as costume and mask.[115] The three principal elements of the figures that we can see as constituting the 'costume and mask' are their muscularity, their genitalia and their height and facial hair as a marker of age.[116] Furthermore, pederastic scenes are iconographically connected with a "nexus of ideal pederastic activities -athletics, the hunt, and the symposion- either by blending the iconographies of pederastic courtship with those of other activities/scene types or by juxtaposing images on different sides if vases".[117]

Ideal figures

In his work Andrew Lear proposes an ideological framework through which vase figures are to be contextualized and understood.[118] He proposes that vase figures are ever-malleable and easily adaptable to fit the intentions of the painter. Therefore, they are to be understood not "as portrayals of people but as stick-figures […] that have been posed, filled out and dressed in specific ways to express the painters meaning"; thus, an interpretative process of the discourses presented in vases must take into account the elements of the figures' outfits (i.e., their posture, the gestures, any extant props or complementary iconographic elements and their masks-beardedness or beardlessness).[119]

An overview of the iconographic depictions presented in Figures 2-4 eloquently illustrates the idealized depiction of pederastic relations in black-figure vases. All three vases present courtship scenes,[120] which were the commonest depictions of pederastic

[113] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 121.
[114] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 24.
[115] Ibid., 27-28, 63.
[116] Ibid., 63.
[117] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 121; Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 27, 90-95.
[118] In his 2004 doctoral thesis, Lear claims that this proposed hermeneutic framework is influenced by the work and concepts introduced by scholars such as Sir John Beazley, Mary Beard, D. Steiner and G. Ferrari. Lear, "Noble Eros," 116-127.
[119] Ibid., 127.
[120] The basic categorization of pederastic courtship scenes in types (i.e., type a', b' and c') is attributed to Sir John Beazley, who was the first with his seminal 1947 study to establish such a typology of courtship scenes, that continues to be a useful tool even as new vases with pederastic scenes emerge. The three scene types that he distinguished are: Type alpha (a'), which includes scenes that the erastes makes the so called "up-and-down" gesture- reaching for his eromenos' chin and genitals at the same time – he also categorized kissing scenes as type a'. As type betta (b') Beazley categorized the scenes

relations, an artistic choice that is in itself evocative of the idealistic vision of pederasty at this stage.[121] In particular, Figure 2, dubbed as "the finest of these paintings" by John Beazley,[122] represents a naked, bearded erastes courting his -equally naked- beardless eromenos, by making the typical 'up-and-down' gesture.[123] A similar scene is depicted in Figure 3, where the central figures in the scene appearing on the vase's belly, are of a naked pederastic couple; with the erastes (left) bending, presumably assuming the position to engage in intercrural intercourse, while reaching down to his partners genitals with his one hand, and touching his beard with his other one. The eromenos (right) is depicted in an upright position, touching his erastes hand.[124] There are also two figures of naked men dancing, which flank the couple. Figure 3, presents a variation of an 'up-and-down' scene, mixed with elements of a court giving scene. The erastes (yet again naked and bearded) is patting the head of the youth while his hand hasn't yet reached his partners genitals. The eromenos is similarly depicted naked, beardless with long-hair and in an upright position, holding two fighting-cocks, a gift he has just accepted from his erastes; interestingly a stag is also present at the scene, placing it in the context of hunting.[125]

The standardized way in which the figures are represented closely adheres to the ancient Greek ideal of masculine beauty. Dover asserts that physical characteristics such as "broad shoulders, a deep chest, big pectoral muscles, big muscles above the hips, a slim waist, jutting buttocks and stout thighs and calves" were especially revered in men.[126] Moreover, the nakedness of the figures also constitutes a type of costume; one that closely resembles athletic victors, figures that were exalted and highly idealized in Greek culture.[127] Another feature that further intensifies the idealization, are the unrealistically small and non-erect genitalia of the figures. This fact is evident in the above-mentioned Figures, where the erastes appear to be non-erect despite the

in which the erastes offers the boy a court-giving gift. Finally type gamma (c') concerns the scenes which depict lovers engaging in intercourse, most commonly intercrural intercourse. Apart from this standard classification one could identify scenes with two or more erastes competing for an eromenos, symposiastic scenes and scenes of mythological nature that have pederastic allusions (namely scenes where Eros appears, or scenes with Zeus and Ganymede). See: John D Beazley and Donna Carol Kurtz, *Some Attic Vases in the Cyprus Museum*, Rev. ed, (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1989); Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 25.

[121] This is not to say that pederastic scenes did not include depictions of explicit sexual acts, but rather the preeminence of depictions of courtship. However, when homosexual sexual acts were explicitly presented, those were either intercrural (i.e., penetration of eromenos thigs) -and thus adhering to the pederastic ideal- or anal, as a kind of a counter model to the prevalent idealistic one. The presentation, nature and implications of depicted sexual acts will be discussed at a later segment.

[122] Beazley, *Some Attic Vases*, 201.; Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 27.

[123] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 28-29; Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 121-122.

[124] This has been interpreted by Lear as a gesture of acceptance, thus recognizing agency to the eromenos. Lear here is agreeing with De Vries' assertions. Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 31; Keith DeVries, "The 'Frigid Eromenoi' and their Wooers Revisited," in: *Queer Representations: reading lives, reading cultures*, ed. Martin Duberman. (New York: New York University Press, 1997) 14–24.

[125] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 29-30; Lear, "Noble Eros," 131-133.

[126] Dover, *Greek homosexuality*, 70. See also: Ross Brendle, "The Pederastic Gaze in Attic Vase-Painting" *Arts* 8, no. 2 (2019): 1-14, at 6.

[127] This connection of beauty and athletics is highly reminiscent of Pindar's poetry, where the beauty of the eromenos is exalted and directly connected with athletic victory and the space of the gymnasium.

highly eroticized nature of the scenes.[128] A similar trend is especially evident in the portrayal of the eromenos; a red-figure amphora attributed to the Kleophrades painter (Figure 5), presents a young victorious athlete who despite having reached adolescence, as his sideburn suggests, has the penis of a small child.[129] Given the associations of smaller genitalia with ideals such as modesty and self-restrain, and a literary tradition that exalt modesty as a modus vivendi, it becomes apparent that there is indeed an association between pederasty and such virtues.[130] This idealized portrayal of male beauty closely resembles the archaic kouroi statues (figure 6), that denote elite luxury with a sense of restraint and self-control especially via "the unobtrusive and undersized penis" of the statue. This portrayal of elitist 'ideology', which is signified by ideals like modesty can be seen as a means to reinforce elite group solidarity.[131] A similar hermeneutical framework should thus be applied to pederastic vase iconography, where "through the elements of costume and mask, the lovers […] are portrayed as athletic, modest, and self-restrained, and adhering […] to a set of ideals closely related to those that we find associated with pederasty in our textual sources".[132]

Noble associations

A significant aspect of pederastic relations that textual sources stress is their pedagogical character. Iconographic discourses emphasize this aspect in similar ways, by associating pederasty with activities "which the Greeks considered admirable in men and educative for boys", mainly by portraying "erastai as serving as role models for these activities and as praising and/or fostering these activities in their eromenoi".[133] This association is achieved through the inclusion of props that function as a synecdoche (i.e., "the representation of the whole by a part of that whole")[134] or via the juxtaposition of courtship scenes with other scenes of esteemed elite activities. In a more or less direct way, activities like hunting, athleticism and the symposion have been iconographically associated with pederasty, as Figures 2-5 suggest.[135] The court giving scene appearing in the tondo of a red-figured kylix painted by Douris (Figure 7), is apparently set in the gymnasium, as the rub-down kit -a necessary part of exercise equipment- appearing at the right of the couple suggests. Interestingly, the cane on which the erastes leans on could denote leisureliness, thus associating pederastic

[128] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 65.
[129] Ibid., 65, 96-97.
[130] Ibid., 24-25, 65; Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 170.
[131] Josephine Crawley Quinn, "Herms, Kouroi and the political anatomy of Athens," *Greece and Rome* 54, no. 1 (2007): 82-105, at 98-100. In his work, Andrew Stewart also argues for an interpretation of kouroi statues which emphasizes the erotic aspect of these statues. Andrew Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece*. (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 63-70.
[132] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 72.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid., 26.
[135] Apart from the athletic associations that the nakedness and the built of the figures suggest; iconographic elements such as the eromenos javelin in Figure 2, and the wreaths that the couple on Figure 4B wear, iconographically link these scenes with athleticism and the gymnasium. Moreover, Figures 4A and 5 can be linked with hunting, via the inclusion of elements such as the dog the eromenos is holding from the leash (Figure 4A) and the hare and hunting stick (Figure 5) as a synecdoche of this activity. Finally, the dancing naked figures that flank the coupes of Figure 3 have been interpreted as komast dancers, therefore suggesting a sympotic setting. 'Komos' was the dancing 'party' that followed the symposion, after the attendants had consumed a significant quantity of wine. Ibid., 28-32, 96-97.

courtship with the leisure that elites strive to illustrate.[136] The erastes is ready to presents his boy with a gift, a hare; a common pederastic gift, [137] that can be associated hunt and viewed as a type of pedagogical gift.[138] Similarly, the wares of Figures 8-9 are set in the gymnasium, as it is suggested by the props used.[139] It thus becomes clear that the world of the gymnasium is one fit for pederastic courtship, a sensual space in which the artist saw fit to portray youths displaying themselves to the gaze of their erastes for admiration. In short, nudity and athleticism constitute them as sexually desirable.[140] The pederastic undertones of the scenes are further corroborated by the inscribed texts, characterizing them as 'Kalos' (fair). Nevertheless, this display of desirability is mitigated by a sense of moderation and self-control. This is evident in Figure 9, where the genitalia of the youths are ligatured, a possible sign of sexual control.[141]

Apart from the uses of props as synecdoche of an activity, pederastic scenes can be associated with those aspects of elite lifestyle, by their juxtaposition with relevant scenes in the same vase. A black-figured funerary lekythos (Figure 10), shaped like an aryballos (an oil-flask associated with the gymnasium), presents a typical courtship scene in the upper register, where a bearded erastes with a dog makes an up-and-down gesture towards his eromenos, there is also a line of competitors waiting while bearing different gifts. Lear notes that "In the register below the courtship scene, youths ride horses. In the lowest register, there is a cockfight, and two hounds chase a hare which is being hit by a *lagobolon* (throw-stick), thrown by an unseen hunter. Thus, the same animals given as gifts in the top register reappear in the lower register, which suggests that the two scenes complement each other".[142] Here pederastic courtship is associated

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[136] Ibid., 40.

[137] See Ibid., 39 for a list of the most common courtship gifts appearing in pederastic vases. The gifts might be "fighting-cocks, hares" and other animals like "deer/stags, foxes, a kind of cat […]and possibly hunting-dogs […]. There are also many non-animal gifts: musical instruments, mainly lyres; gymnasium apparatus, in particular strigils (a scraper used for personal hygiene); toys; fronds, flowers, fruit; legs of meat, loaves of bread, and various sacks, some of which clearly contain astragaloi (knucklebones which the Greeks used in a game like rolling dice) and some of which, as mentioned above, may possibly contain money". One can therefore assume, that money could be seen as an appropriate gift for pederastic courtship during this period. See also: Lear, "Noble Eros," 227-231, 296-297.

[138] Lear discusses at length the pedagogical nature of the court gifts in his work, inspired mainly by the work of Koch-Harnach which he further nuances. He argues that in some instances, the gifts, especially animal gifts can indeed be seen as pedagogical in nature especially those connected with hunting or musical instruments, hence, connecting pederasty with pedagogy. Nevertheless, other gifts like the strigils (Figure 8) flowers, fighting cocks, bags of astragaloi and even lyres in some readings, can hardly be understood as pedagogical in nature. What he proposes is that court giving scenes do not adhere to a pedagogical scenario per se, but are to be understood as illustrating a nexus of esteemed elite activities that pederasty was associated with. Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 72- 87.

[139]The strigil the erastes is holding and the turning-post behind the naked eromenos in Figure 8 clearly suggest a gymnasium setting. Moreover, the nude central figure (to whom the name Antiphon is attributed), in the calyx krater by Euphronios, appears to be ready to throw a discus under the watchful eye of another youth (named Hipparchos). In any case the props act as a synecdoche for the gymnasium. Ibid., 47-48; Robin Osborne, *The Transformation of Athens: Painted Pottery and the Creation of Classical Greece*. 1st ed, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 64.

[140] Osborne, *The Transformation of Athens*, 64-66.

[141] Although the act of ligatured genitalia can be interpreted in practical terms, relevant to the athletic activities displayed, "the presence of ligaturing among bearded men in the *komos*, […] makes clear that the ligatured penis was also a sign of sexual control that drew attention to the potential for sexual excitement". Osborne, *The Transformation of Athens*, 66.

[142] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 73.

with other aspects of elite lifestyle like hunting, horse riding and athletics. A similar instance occurs in Figure 3. In the register above the courtship scene, at the neck of the vase there is a wrestling scene. Also, at the reverse (not illustrated here) there is a scene of a youth in a chariot. These scenes should therefore be understood as illustrating different aspects of elite lifestyle.[143]

A very interesting sub-category of pederastic scenes are those associated with the symposion. It comes as no surprise that "it is on vessels for banqueting that we find scenes of courtship and lovemaking", given that the majority of erotic lyric poetry was composed for the purposes of such banquets.[144] A scene that beautifully illustrates the interconnectedness of these three aspects is found in a red-fired kylix (figure 11), that shows a bearder erastes reclining on a couch (symposion), petting a hare (functioning as a synecdoche of an eromenos) and singing some verses from Theognis' poetry.[145] One should keep in mind that despite the functionality of sympotic vessels the imagery on them was an attempt to engage the participants, entertain them but "force the viewer to reflect on the practice and its participants, including him/herself. Just like sympotic poetry, the vessels have the potential to engage the attention of its viewers just as poetry recited engrosses its listeners, and to teach as well as entertain".[146]

Figures 12-15 are kylikes, wide, shallow drinking vessels that were commonly used at symposia. Kylikes offer a unique opportunity as they can be styled both on their exterior (Figure 12) and their interior (Figures 13-15). The designs in their tondo (interior) as particularly interesting as in order for them to be visible, the participants should have consumed their wine first. These scenes "were experienced in a much more personal and intimate manner than most vase imagery, and most art for that matter".[147] The imagery displayed can either be directly associated with the symposion as the reclining couples being intimate, while holding sympotic wares suggest,[148] or be associated with other aspects and phases of courtship, or other pederastic loci like the gymnasium, and even domestic spaces.[149] Again these depictions combine elements that denote an elite lifestyle.

Ideal intercourse

Literary evidence suggests that eromenoi should not display sexual feelings for their erastes; they are expected to be loyal, feel gratitude and admiration, return the (sexual) favors to their erastes but not feel lust. This act of returning the favor/love, the *anteros*,[150] is portrayed in iconographic discourses with a portrayal of the eromenos as uninterested or unstimulated during intercourse.[151] Figures 14 and 15 are typical

[143] Ibid., 31.
[144] Corner, "Symposion," 203; Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 165.
[145] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 34-35.
[146] Glazebrook, '"Sex Ed" at the archaic symposium," 165.
[147] Brendle, "The pederastic gaze," 4.
[148] See Figures 12-13.
[149] Figure 14 displays a kissing scene, situated at an indoors domestic setting as indicated by the column and the chair, while Figure 15 is set in the gymnasium as the nudity of the figures and the aryballos suggest and they are probably preparing to engage is intercrural intercourse. Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 55-56, 60-61.
[150] The term *anteros* was used to describe the erotic rivalry for the affection of an *eromenos* and is now also used to denote the expected return of affection from the eromenos to the erastes. Judith M. Barringer, *The Hunt in Ancient Greece*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 70.
[151] Cantarella and Lear, *Images of ancient pederasty*, 64-68.

examples of the manifestation of *anteros*. The eromenos in Figure 14 shows his return of affection by caressing his lover head and leaning for a kiss, while in Figure 15, the eromenos having already received his gift, which he holds in his hands "swinging it triumphantly", has his arm in the erastes' neck displaying affection.[152] Undeniably, the scene is set right as the couple is about to engage in intercourse; what is interesting is the realistically erect genitalia of the erastes, in contrast with the non-erect penis of the boy. This is typical of vase painting, where eromenoi are portrayed as uninterested in sex, even in scenes with high sexual tension, a fact that is illustrated in their non-erect genitalia. Similarly, a black-figured amphora (Figure 16) which shows couples in various stages of courtship, presents a scene intercrural intercourse where the eromenos penis is not erect. This artistic choice coincides with the idealized portrayal of pederasty that lies in literary sources, hence the unbent posture of the eromenos, the non-erect genitalia and the display of *anteros* emphasize self-control and moderation.[153] Moreover, the presence of gifts (Figure 15, 17) in intercrural scenes, emphasize the aspect of exchange. In this light "the eromenos is not (viewed by his culture as) a victim […] he is an active participant in an exchange, who gives not himself but access to his genitals and thighs in return for a gift".[154]

What thus becomes apparent from an analysis of visual discourses, is their thematic convergence with the literary sources of the period. The idealistic representation of the bodies of the lovers, along with the association of those bodies - either by physical proximity, or through the inclusion of props- with elite activities, forces one to conclude to the idealization of the custom over the archaic period.

[152] Ibid., 55.
[153] Ibid., 64-68.
[154] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 125.

Chapter 3. Re-thinking pederasty in a democratic context.

There isn't one single form of love. So, love is neither right or wrong in itself. Done rightly, it is right; done wrongly, it is wrong. It is wrong if you satisfy the wrong person for the wrong reasons and right if you satisfy the right person for the right reasons.

(Plato, Symposium 183e.)

3.1. Introduction

This next chapter is going to examine the thematic evolution of Athenian pederastic discourses during the so-called Classical period, i.e., the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. It will decipher the extant sources around pederasty inside the new democratic political context that came into existence after 508 B.C. with the reforms of Cleisthenes and the overthrow of Tyranny of the family of Peisistratus's. Following its victory in the Persian Wars (499-479 B.C.), the city-state of Athens experienced an unprecedented glory and feeling of power, which was subsequently translated into the forge of the first Delian League. The Athenian statesman Pericles became the prime factor and person behind this increase of Athens' power during the first half of the 5th century. Moreover, the progressive democratization of the political system with the increased participation of citizens from the lower strata of Athenian society into the decision-making process and the political bodies brought forth a series of changes that transformed Athenian society as a whole.[155] After its defeat however in the conflict with the Sparta and its allies (Peloponnesian War 431- 404 B.C.), and the death of Pericles and the rise of the demagogue political leaders, Athenian society experienced a period of revisionism and questioning every aspect of its traditional culture and morality.[156] In this socio-cultural milieu, the pederastic discourses started explicitly illustrating a problematization when it comes to pederastic courtship.

3.2. The early 5th century: Constructing the ideal democratic lovers

Despite the scarcity of 5th century literary sources that explicitly refer to pederastic relations, the few texts that we possess can illuminate the attitudes regarding pederasty in Athens at this intermediary period, from the Cleisthenes' reforms up until the 430s. The main texts which allude to pederastic relations are the poems of Pindar;[157] as well as, the historiographical works of Herodotus and Thucydides, some excerpts of scolia (drinking songs) and the fragmentary play *Myrmidons*, attributed to Aeschylus. Those sources, all prior to Aristophanic comedy, continue to present a somewhat idealized version of pederasty, reinterpreted and contextualized into the new democratic paradigm. What becomes apparent is that the new political context of the democratic *polis* "transmutes elite faction-cementing pederasty into erotically-powered heroism"

[155] See: De Blois and Van Der Spek, *An Introduction to the Ancient World*, 119-127.
[156] Percy, "Reconsiderations about greek homosexualities," 33.
[157] For an analysis of the pederastic themes present in the poetry of Pindar see section 2.3.1. of the thesis. Pindar will be briefly examined anew in this section, in relation to the use of mythological themes as a way of idealization.

by emphasizing the emanation of democracy from the heroic actions of a pederastic couple -that of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.[158] Such relationships were viewed as formative for the younger citizens, a means through which they form bonds of solidarity and acquire virtues such as heroism, bravery (andreia) and faithfulness (filia), which they can reproduce to the civic body.[159]

Indeed, pederasty at this state became strongly associated with democracy, even from its infancy, as Lear notes in his thesis.[160] The most indicative instance of pederasty, as well as the most famous pederastic couple, is Harmodios and Aristogeiton who slayed Hipparchus, the son of the former tyrant Peisistratus and the brother of the current tyrant Hippias, at the Panathenaic festival of 514 BC. Their act, the details of which are presented in the work of Herodotus and Thucydides,[161] despite being triggered by private interest and because of a love affair,[162] was unanimously hailed during the 5th century as the cornerstone for the foundation of democracy in the city.[163] The act of the tyrannicide not only "inaugurated democracy", as Wohl notes, "but also enshrined within democratic discourse a specific mode of male sexuality".[164] The Tyrannicides were simultaneously lovers and tyrant-slayers, thus politics and sexuality became intrinsically connected in the minds and discourses of the Athenians. Democratic freedom and democracy came to be a correlative of sexual freedom, and of a form of relationship with pederastic characteristics, with the city and the civic body reaping the rewards of this eros.[165] Both contemporaneous and later sources present this couple as a prime example of *dikaios eros*, the appropriate mode of behavior for such a coupling. From the contemporaneous sources, of interest are the drinking songs (scolia), possibly dating at those very first years of the democracy, which refer to the couple yet again as the founders of the democracy and associate them with the heroes of epic tradition. Those implications are made clear from the Fragment 893 which reads:

They killed the tyrant

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[158] Lear, "Noble Eros," 269.

[159] Diego Paiaro, "Eros and politics in democratic Athens: the case of the Tyrannicides," *Clio, Women, Gender, History* 43 (2016): 139-151, at 145.

[160] Lear, "Noble Eros," 254. However, I do disagree with his following assertion that "democracy per se is not a likely agent for this change", as the changing Athenian attitudes that he connects with the evolution of pederastic discourses can be understood as deeply political in nature and thus, highly influenced by political change as well.

[161] See Herodotus 5.55, 6.123 and Thucydides 6.52-60

[162] "Τοιούτῳ μὲν τρόπῳ δι᾽ ἐρωτικὴν λύπην ἥ τε ἀρχὴ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ ἡ ἀλόγιστος τόλμα ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμα περιδεοῦς Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι ἐγένετο." (Thucydides 6.59) Hipparchus attempted to seduce the young Harmodios and as soon as his advances were rejected, he banned his sister from marching in the Panathenaic procession, as a means to insult Harmodios. Furious by such an insult, Harmodios with the help of his erastes Aristogeiton, assassinated the tyrant in the procession of the Panathenaea in 514 BC. For further information on the tradition of Harmodios and Aristogeiton as the 'founders of democracy' see footnote no 5 in Wohl, *Love Among the ruins*, 4-5.

[163] Despite the care that the accounts of both historiographers display in correcting the popular tradition for the restoration of democracy (they are both stressing the fact that the couple has only assassinated the tyrants' brother and as an immediate aftermath of the assassination the tyrant's rule became more severe) the persistence of the popular belief in the public's subconscious that the act of the couple was the reason for the foundation of democracy, makes the connection between pederasty and democracy clear. Lear, "Noble Eros," 263-264.

[164] Wohl, *Love Among the ruins*, 4.

[165] Ibid.; Ibid., "The Eros of Alcibiades," *Classical Antiquity* 18, no.2 (1999): 349-385, at 355-357.

And made Athens equal-righted.[166]

Given the elite environment those songs were performed at, the symposion, it can be argued that they reflected the views of an aristocratic faction, rather than the sentiment of the *demos* (the people). However, similar scolia were sung at Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* by the "distinctly non-aristocratic" chorus of old men, in their attempt to "save the city from the 'tyranny' of women", a fact that only further illustrates the anti-tyrannical and deeply democratic signifiers that the story of the Tyrannicides came to express.[167] Furthermore, an additional fact that signifies the contextualization of the pederastic myth (and subsequently the idealization of pederastic relations) in the new democratic and civic framework is the assertion of Thucydides that while Harmodios was of illustrious birth, Aristogeiton was in fact a middling citizen, a *μέσος πολίτης*.[168]It was his middling status that allowed other Athenian citizens, despite their status, to identify with him. Through Aristogeiton the entirety of the *demos* could not only identify with the battle against political tyranny, but also participate in a model erotic bond which benefited the city. As Aristogeiton fought for his beloved and for democracy, similarly every Athenian citizen will fight for their eromenoi and the city.[169]

However, the most important source for the Tyrannicides is the two monuments that were erected for them in the Agora. The first group statue, attributed to Antenor was erected sometime after the foundation of democracy and was carried off by Xerxes during the events of 480 BC. After the Persian wars a second complex was erected in the Agora by the sculptors Kritios and Nesiotes (Figure 18). The monument, albeit political, clearly utilizes modes of pederastic iconography in the representation of the figures. The nudity of the figures, their muscular built and the markers of age difference such us the representation of Aristogeiton as a mature bearded man compared to the beardless and youthful Harmodios, evoke the idealized figures examined in black-figure and red-figured pottery, and therefore the implications are similar.[170] What is more, the epigram by Simonides at the base of the statue reads as follows:

[Indeed, a great light came to the Athenians when Aristogeiton and?]

Harmodios [killed Hipparchos?]

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[166] Here I follow the translation proposed by Lear in his thesis. See: Lear, "Noble Eros," 265. Cf. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome*, 53-54.

[167] Cf. Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 631-635; Wohl, *Love Among the ruins*, 6. See also: Lear, "Noble Eros," 265.

[168] "γενομένου δὲ Ἁρμοδίου ὥρᾳ ἡλικίας λαμπροῦ Ἀριστογείτων ἀνὴρ τῶν ἀστῶν, μέσος πολίτης, ἐραστὴς ὢν εἶχεν αὐτόν." (Thucydides 6.54.2.). On the other hand, Herodotus 5.57 mentions both erastes and eromenos as members of the Gephyraioi, an elite clan of Athens. See also: Wohl, *Love Among the ruins*, 7.

[169] Ibid., 8. Wohl furthers this argument by proposing that Aristogeiton not only "offers an easy conduit for the fantasied identification … of the demos as a whole with this foundational narrative", but also "his love for the aristocratic Harmodios makes the *mesos polites* himself an aristocrat by association. Through this identification the demos can imagine itself as both an erotic and a political elite, lover of pretty aristocratic boys and slayer of tyrants".

[170] Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body*, 70-75; Paiaro, "Eros and politics," 144.

. . . they made their fatherland [equal in the law?].[171]

The epigram is not only reminiscent of the scolia that claim Harmodios and Aristogeiton as founders of the democracy (they made their fatherland equal in the law) but also claims that through their action they brought great light (φόως γένεθ') to the Athenians, a lexical choice reminiscent of the heroic epics and associated with another famous eromenos Patroclus.[172] The monument was clearly intended to represent the couple as role-models for the citizens,[173] and therefore testifies to an idealized view of pederastic relations re-contextualized into this new civic and political reality. Stewart asserts that the new political reality "only placed the homoerotic bond at the core of Athenian political freedom, but asserted that it and the manly virtues of courage, boldness, and self-sacrifice that it generated were the only true guarantors of that freedom's continued existence".[174]

Therefore, the love of the erases for his eromenos transmutes into a love for democracy, for the *demos* a whole. Similarly, the competition of different erastes for the desired eromenos now transmutes in the public discourse into a competition for the *demos* an "ideal, perpetual eromenos" as Yates notes.[175] This notion manifests through the use of pederastic vocabulary and metaphors in political discourses. In his funerary speech for the war dead of the first year of the Peloponnesian War (winter of 431/430 BC.) the Athenian statesman Pericles invites the gathered audience "ἐραστάς γιγνομένους (τῆς πόλεως) αὐτῆς", as Thucydides reports.[176] This metaphor is in all probability attributed to the statesman himself and is indicative of the new meaning that pederastic relations acquire in the new democratic setting. Given the public setting of the speech we can safely assume the idealized way in which the audience are expected to view pederasty.[177] Not only that, but also the competitive spirit that archaic elite erastai showcased when pursuing their eromenon, is now expected for the citizens in their pursuit of the *demos*. Yates further notes that in this metaphor, the *demos* act like an idealistic eromenos; one who is perpetually pursued but does not allow anyone to successfully woo him. The *demos* do not succumb to anyone, for he would succumb to becomes ipso facto a tyrant, and democracy ceases to exist.[178] This metaphor clearly echoes the idealized pederastic pursuit, where the eromenos is expected to showcase *anteros* but never willingly submit to his erastes; therefore, showcasing the appropriate idealized mode of pederasty, what is called "legitimate eros".

Another indicative example of the newly signified Athenian attitudes towards pederasty comes from the tentatively dated fragmentary play *Myrmidons* attributed to Aeschylus. The two relevant fragments (135 and 136) pertain to another famous, heroic,

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[171] See: *IG* I^3 502. "ἦ μέγ' Ἀθηναίοισι φόως γένεθ', ἡνίκ' Ἀριστογείτων /Ἵππαρχον κτεῖνε καὶ Ἀρμόδιος
[(τύραννον)]/ ἰσόνομον πα]τρίδα γῆν ἐθέτην."
[172] Lear, "Noble Eros," 264-265; David Sider, "Simonides and the language of heroes," in *Traditions épiques et poésie épigrammatique, Actes du colloque des 7, 8 et 9 novembre 2012 à Aix-en-Provence*, ed. Y. Durbec and F. Trajber (Leuven – Paris – Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017) 13-26, at 16-21.
[173] Lear, "Noble Eros," 266-268.
[174] Stewart, *Art, Desire, and the Body*, 73; Cf. Lear, "Noble Eros," 268-269.
[175] Yates, "Anterastai," 41.
[176] Thucydides II.43.1. (To become lovers of this city).
[177] Lear, "Noble Eros," 271-272; Yates, "Anterastai," 41.
[178] Ibid., 45.

and mythological pederastic couple that of Achilleas and Patroclus, and present Achilleas mourning and addressing his dead beloved by saying:

> (my) reverent congress with your thighs
>
> You did not respect my pure reverence for your thighs,
>
> ungrateful for our intense kisses. [179]

In the first excerpt Achilleas mourns for the fact that with his death his beloved Patroclus ended their erotic bond (the reverent congress with his thighs), as he goes on to complain that Patroclus was ungrateful, meaning he did not give him *charis* (favor) in return for his love. Those excerpts present pederastic themes already familiar from the elegiac poetry like that of Theognis and Anacreon, namely loyalty and reciprocity. Moreover, the double mention of Patroclus thigs can only be understood in the context of an erotic relationship and its reminiscent of the intercrural intercourse presented in vase painting as well as of the lyric poets' exaltation of the eromenos' smooth thighs.[180] The relationship of Achilleas and Patroclus, which was idealized through such instances such as the tragedies of Aeschylus, was used by poets like Pindar to praise athletic victors. In his tenth Olympian ode, the poet utilizes the myth of the pederastic couple, in all his idealization, to praise an athletic victor, along with his trainer, with whom he insinuates were a pederastic couple.[181] Verses 20-21 eloquently illustrate how this coupling allowed the athlete to build character along with achieving athletic victory, the example of the mythological couple only adds to the laudatory and exalting tone of the poem.

Nevertheless, these discourses are interesting for they are not occurring at a private elite symposion, but rather, especially in the case of Myrmidons and Pericles' speech, at public festival. This only corroborates the acceptance of this idealized view of pederasty from the Athenian audience in the 5th century.[182] Therefore, under this new democratic paradigm pederastic discourses continue to express a rather idealized view of courtship and love, which is now contextualized anew into the civic and political framework of an open, public and democratic *polis*.

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[179] Here I follow the excerpts as well as the translations provided by Lear. See: Lear, "Noble Eros," 269-270. Cf. Aeschylus, Myrmidons: "μηρῶν τε τῶν σῶν εὐσεβής ὁηιλία"; "Σέβας δε μηρῶν ἁγνόν οὐκ ἐπηδέσω, ὦ δυσχάριστε τῶν πυκνῶν φιλημάτων."

[180] Cf. Theognis 1327-1334: "Boy, as long as your cheek is smooth, I'll never/ Stop praising you, not even if I have to die. / For you to give still is fine, for me there's no shame in asking, / Since I'm in love. At your knees . . . I beg, / Respect me, boy, give pleasure, if you're ever/ To have the gift of Cypris with her wreath of violets, / When it's you who's wanting and approach another. May the goddess/ Grant that you get exactly the same response." For the translation see:
Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome*, 44.

[181] Pindar, 10th Olympian 16-21. "Victorious as a boxer in the Olympics, let Hagesidamus give thanks to Ilas, just as Patroclus did to Achilles. A man aided by the arts of a god would whet one who is born to excellence and spur him toward awesome fame." Here I follow the translation of Thomas K. Hubbard, "Pindar's *Tenth Olympian* and Athlete-Trainer Pederasty," *Journal of Homosexuality* 49, no. 3-4 (2005): 137-171, at 138.

[182] See Lear, "Noble Eros," 270-271.

3.2. Late 5th/ 4th century: The appearance of problematization and the quest for the "legitimate eros".

"But then, […] something happened". This is how Lear chooses to preface the chapter regarding the Classical Athenian pederastic discourses, in his 2015 article. [183] It is almost impossible to argue against the evidence, as after about 430 B.C. an ever-growing number of literary genres seemingly moves away from the archaic idealization of pederasty, and even the proto-democratic concept of *eran* the *polis*, manifested through the Tyrannicide paradigm and in the speech of Pericles. This is the age of Old Comedy, whose most prominent representative, Aristophanes, does not hesitate to openly criticize and even mock pederastic courtship, in plays such as *Knights, Wasps* and *Wealth*. Moreover, Attic oratory texts, such as Aeschines' *Against Timarchos*, targeted at a popular Athenian audience of jurors, not only openly condemn pederastic relations, with "ad hominem attacks directed at citizens' homoerotic activities", but also utilize pederasty -or rather a specific mode of it- in order to construct an argument against their target.[184] Even texts geared towards a more elite audience, like the philosophical works of Plato (in particular *Phaedrus* and *The Symposium*), as well as the Symposium attributed to Xenophon, present "multi-sided debates about this practice" attributing both positive and negative attributes to it.[185]

How could the sociopolitical milieu that exalted pederasty as a hallmark of democracy have produced discourses that shifted this much, in a span of only a generation? This shift of attitudes has been explained (by Dover and more recently and thoroughly by Hubbard) by the so-called "elite theory";[186] this theoretical framework proposes a popular disdain for the elite practice of pederasty, expressed mainly through the popular literary genres of comic and oratory, whereas the more 'scholarly' and elite genres, like Plato's work, reserve a laxer and at times laudatory attitude towards the practice. In short, it treats pederastic discourses as a field where class-conflict and thus problematization creeped into, around the turn of the 5th century.[187] However, this traditional view of pederasty has been itself problematized by a number of scholars who have persuasively argued against this class division.[188] Indeed, pederasty could be viewed as a social practice rather costly (monetary and time wise) and leisurely which could have attracted men of a certain social and economic status, owning the funds necessary to partake in it. However, this very fact would not a priori exclude any adult Athenian from participating in it. Citing a number of scholars Shapiro even concludes that "Athenians of all classes saw pederasty as 'classy'", associating the practice with a possibility of social elevation, through aspiration and approbation of pederastic courtship and its symbolic capital.[189] After all Aristogeiton, a middling citizen

[183] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 127. See also: Thomas Hubbard, "History's First Child Molester: Euripides' *Chrysippus* and the Marginalization of Pederasty in Athenian Democratic Discourse," in *Greek Drama III: Essays in Memory of Kevin* Lee, ed. J. Davidson et al. (London: Institute of Classical Studies, 2006) 223-244, at 223-231.
[184] Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 178-180.
[185] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 128.
[186] Here I borrow the term utilized by Lear in his 2015 article. Ibid., 129.
[187] Ibid., 129; Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 178.
[188] Most notably see: Holt Parker, "Popular Culture," in *A Cultural History of Sexuality I: Sexuality in the Classical World,* ed. M. Golden and P. Toohey (Oxford: Bloomsbury, 2011) 125-144; Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 177-207; Wohl, *Love Among the ruins*, 3-29.
[189] Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 179-180, particularly notes no. 11 and 13.

according to Thucydides' account, is exalted as both a democratic hero and a model of proper pederastic conduct. Thus, it would not be a stretch to argue that, given the progressively increased participation of Athenians in traditionally elite and pederastic spaces, such as the symposion and the gymnasium, from the 4th century B.C. onwards and the subsequent internalization of such values; the practice could have been recontextualized to fit the needs of this much larger demographic.[190] Finally, in his work Parker have successfully managed to nuance the meaning of elite and popular in the context of the ancient city state and provide some much needed depth in the discussion.[191]

We are therefore facing again the same question. How and why this undeniable shift happened? A closer thematic analysis of the texts (both 'popular' and 'elite') and a contextualization of them in their political and cultural milieu can aid in explaining this change, this anew interpretation of the practice into the new post 430 B.C. reality. What seems to be happening in -both 'popular' and 'elite'- discourses of the period is a categorization of two modes of pederastic courtship, a proper and an improper one, a quest so to speak, to define what Aeschines has dubbed as *ἔρωτα δίκαιον* (legitimate love).[192]This *ἔρως δίκαιος*, where an erastes is in love with the soul rather than the body of his eromenos, is also discussed about in a number of philosophical texts.[193]

Comedic invective and pederasty

As a starting point for the analysis, one should examine the most 'popular' of the genres, and the one that is traditionally though to treat pederasty in the most invective and less idealistic way; Aristophanic comedy. Indeed, the playwright does not hesitate to represent an almost amoral version of pederastic courtship, moving away from any sign of idealization present in archaic and early classical sources.[194] In his 424 play *The Knights*, a sociopolitical satire of late 5th century Athens, pederasty is a distinct feature, which is utilized "as a metaphor for political exploitation and manipulation".[195] Throughout the play the city's leading political figures are portrayed as slaves to the

[190] Ibid., 180; Nick Fisher, "Symposiasts, Fish- Eaters and Flatterers: Social Mobility and Moral Concerns in Old Comedy," in *The Rivals of Aristophanes: Studies in Athenian Old Comedy*, ed. David Harvey and John Wilkins (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2000) 355–396, at 369-370.

[191] Holt Parker tries to nuance the concept of "popular" in the ancient world and draws some rather interesting conclusions. After recognizing the difficulty into giving a concrete definition of what can we indeed dub as popular, he goes on to explain why it is the case. According to him "popular" is a term connected with "class", another aspect that cannot be clearly demarcated when it comes to pre-industrial societies. Thus, an object, a text or a discourse cannot be safely associated with a particular social class without the danger of drawing false analogies to modern times. Moreover, any attempt to isolate a so-called "popular" from an "elite" culture, runs the risk of misjudging the imprint that one has left on the other, as these two spheres often intersected. Lastly, when it comes to sexuality, he prefers the use of the term "common culture- a set of knowledge and practices shared by nearly everyone, regardless of status." Parker, "Popular Culture," 125-127.

[192] See: Aeschines, Against Timarchos. 1.136. The phrase *dikaios eros*, legitimate love, as a concept for the correct mode of pederastic relations originates from this speech by Aeschines and was popularized in historical research by the work of Kenneth Dover. Dover, *Greek homosexuality*, 42-43. One should also pay attention to the remarks made by Julia Shapiro in her 2015 article that "no classical text suggests that the bare fact of sexual contact with youths, without the benefit of a 'proper' pederastic relationship, was morally improving for either party". Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 179 note no 5.

[193] Cf. Plato, Symposium 182e, 183d-e; Xenophon, Symposium 8. 12-27.

[194] Lear, "Noble Eros," 278; Ibid., "Was Pederasty Problematized," 129.

[195] Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 87.

Demos, i.e. the will of common people. One politician in particular, Paphlagon, a comedic caricature of Cleon, dubbed as "erastes of the people" uses his position and charm to dominate. Until two other slaves/ politicians recruit a common sausage vendor, as an antagonist to Paphlagon, in order to court the Demos and depose Paphlagon from his privileged position.[196] The two rivals engage in a mock, parodical pederastic courtship, as Anterastai competing for the affection of the people (the Demos) while using distinct pederastic language.[197] Paphlagon boasts that he cherishes the Demos, being his erastes only for the rival Sausage-seller to respond claiming that he is the one proper erastes seeking only to do good things for his subject of desire; the Demos however, like any ungrateful boy reject the good and decent men, offering himself only to lamp-sellers, cobblers, shoemakers and leather-mongers, i.e. people of lower classes not trained to proper pederastic conduct.[198] This theme of the ungrateful eromenos return later in the play (1340-1344), when again the Sausage-seller scolds Demos for falling for anyone claiming at the citizens assembly that he is his lover and he cares for him. The mockery of pederastic courtship is further achieved throughout the play by the crude and invective jokes used by the two anterastai. Paphlagon claims that he "can make the Demos expand and contract at my pleasure", only for the Sausage-seller to crudely remark that he can achieve the same trick with his anus.[199]Apart from the coarse, explicit language being used in the context of courtship; the reversal of sexual roles, with the erastes being the one penetrated signifies a reversal of the traditional, idealized ideas about the custom. Moreover, the Sausage- seller will not hesitate to turn the model of the modest, proper and sexually disinterested eromenos at its head, by admitting that in his youth he prostituted himself.[200] The erastes will not hesitate at almost the end of the play to offer the Demos as a courting gift a well-endowed boy, who he can use as he wishes, only for the eromenos to happily exclaim that they are getting back to the old ways.[201]

This version of pederasty is certainly comical, crude and subversive. The values of modesty, self-restrain along with the educational interest have given ways to an overt sexualization, reversed and interchangeable sexual roles and courting gifts that cater to the sexual needs. Aristophanes' Demos denies himself the educational prospects of a proper pederastic courtship, as in 737-740 he succumbs to mere workmen, who cannot offer him the prospect of elite educational activities, only bribe him with sexual favors and gifts.[202] He becomes a mercenary eromenos.[203]

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[196] Ibid., 87-88.

[197] See: Aristophanes, Knights 730-740, 1340-1344. For the translation, Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 89-93.

[198] Aristophanes, Knights 730-740. Here I follow the translation suggested by Hubbard. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 91. The reference to shoemaker and leather-seller can be seen as a direct attack on Cleon who owned himself a tannery. See: Ibid., note 8.

[199]For the translation see: Ibid.; Lear, "Noble Eros," 276.

[200] Aristophanes, Knights 1241-1242.

[201] Aristophanes, Knights 1384-1348. (-Along with these, here is a folding chair/ And a well-hung boy, who will carry it for you, / And if you ever want to, make him a split-bottom too. – Happy me, I'm getting back to the old days!) For the translation see: Lear, "Noble Eros," 277.

[202] Ibid., 279.

[203] I borrow the term used in Shapiro's 2015 article. For instance, see her discussion about comedy and mercenary lovers in Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 190- 196.

However, I argue that this problematization is not completely novel, as an interest about the proper conduct of both parties and especially the disinterested eromenos, not engaging in anal intercourse and only allowed to showcase *anteros*, were themes already present, although implicit, in the works of archaic poets. One is easily reminded of Theognis' words accusing the boy, the subject of his desire, about disloyalty and promiscuity and not showing him *charis.* Aristophanes has simply reversed the archaic, idealistic model in a way to scold and mock the known modes of courtship. Moreover, we should not neglect the political undertones and commentary hiding behind this mockery of pederasty. *Knights* is first and foremost a political satire, targeted at demagogues like Cleon, active at the Athenian political scene in the post-Periclean era. It can be seen as an evolution of political discourses urging the *demos* to behave as an ideal eromenos, perpetually pursued and never succumbing to any lover/politician for he would be a tyrant.[204] Pederasty in the *Knights* is not itself the joke, but rather "the vehicle to for a joke about the demos loving (i.e., voting for) such *nouveau riche* politicians as Cleon and Hyperbolus".[205] Furthermore, with the Demos exclamation at 1348, what is implied is a criticism of the perceived hypocritical idealized archaic sources and their insincere concern about the correct mode of pederastic conduct. It can be thus argued, that the criticism of comedy is not directed towards the practice itself, but rather a debased and reversed mode of it;[206] an illegitimate, mercenary courtship.

Interestingly, the work of Aristophanes has been used as a prime argument in corroboration of the 'elite theory'. Hubbard has argued in his 1998 article that "the greatest scorn in Aristophanes is heaped upon visible effeminates […] these were merely the most obvious members of an etiolated socio-political elite whose sexual mores invert Athenian norms".[207] A more pedantic analysis of Aristophanes' work however, reveals a different story. Effeminacy (and a perceived sexual passivity) was indeed a very common *topos* for comedic ridicule, often jokingly associated with cowardice and the receipt of political favors; however, an explicit connection of effeminacy with elite pederastic courtship is nowhere to be found in comedy. Aristophanes does ridicule effeminate men however, they are do not display a distinct interest in boys, while other more masculine presenting (and by association sexually active) characters are involved in pederastic courtship, much like the Demos in *the Knights.*[208] Thus, the binary of morality displayed was not a distinction between an active/virtuous/anti-elite individual and a passive/degenerate/elite one.

Moreover, the political views expressed by the playwright can be seen as popular, however, they are far from populist – and thus, anti-elite and by extension condemning pederasty. For it is the people (the *demos*) and the populist politicians those who receive the harsher critiques in his work. Aristophanic criticism is more prominent when it comes to the demagogues and the populist politicians, active in the Athenian political scene after the death of Pericles, and the Sophists and their followers – those happened to have been young males of the elite who could afford their services. In the

[204] Yates, "Anterastai," 45.
[205] Lear, "Noble Eros," 279.
[206] Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 181.
[207] Hubbard, "Popular perceptions," 59.
[208] See also: Lear, "Noble Eros," 285-286.

Knights the one ridiculed the most apart from Paphlagon (Cleon), the populist politician, is the Demos himself. Moreover, Aristophanes seems to be way more reserved when criticizing the old aristocracy, those who are traditionally associated with the practice pederasty.[209] Indeed, his main reproach for the old/ elite ways is the hypocritical façade of interest for the eromenos and moderation. Aristophanes criticizes the distorted way in which pederasty is being conducted and through criticism, he inadvertently illustrated a correct mode of pederastic conduct, a *dikaios eros.*

One of the bigger points of Aristophanic criticism- one which appears again both in oratory and philosophy- is a preoccupation with the honor of eromenos, and whether or not he had succumbed to his erastes through money. In short, if he has become a mercenary *eromenos.* This preoccupation is evident, again through layers of comic subversive images and inventive, in the speech between Carion and Chremylos in *Wealth*.[210] Far from the standard interpretation of this passage as a total condemnation of pederasty by equating boys with *hetairai* prostitutes,[211] what can be deduced from that is Aristophanes' cynicism about the existence of a virtuous lover, or beloved, and the respectable façade of traditional pederastic courtship, another indirect jab at old aristocracy. Interestingly, money here has become a measure of morality and an inappropriate courting gift; a notion far removed from archaic vase painting which presents no evidence that money were distinctly excluded as an appropriate and respectable courting gift, thus adding another layer to the preoccupation with the ethics of the partners, to what we call problematization.[212] However, the moral code present here is consistent with the general discourse of the era, in criticizing the wrong mode of courtship. Should one also look at the parabasis of *Wasps* (1023-1028), they will find what has been dubbed as the playwrights' personal testimony about pederasty. The chorus sings about the poet, claiming that despite his fame he never seeked sexual favors, or made fun of any *eromenos* on stage following the request of their hurt lovers.[213] Far from a total condemnation of pederasty as an elite custom, Aristophanes

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[209] Lear, "Was Pederasty Problematized," 129; J. Robson, *Aristophanes: An Introduction*. (London: Duckworth, 2009), 162-187.

[210] See Aristophanes, Wealth 149-159. (Chremylos: And they say the Corinthian hetairai, at any rate,
Whenever some poor man happens to come on to them,
they don't even pay attention, but if the man is rich,
right away they turn their butts toward him.
Carion: And in fact, they say that boys do this same thing,
not for the sake of their lovers but for money.
Chr: Not the good boys, but the whores,
since the good boys don't ask for money.
Ca: What then?
Chr: One asks for a good horse, another for hunting dogs, . . .
Ca: Perhaps because they are ashamed to ask for money:
in name, they hide their wickedness.) Here I follow the translation provided by Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 192.

[211] See: Dover, *Greek homosexuality*, 145-146; Hubbard, "Popular perceptions," 51-53.

[212] Lear, "Noble Eros," 296-297. See also this thesis page 24, especially note number 139.

[213] "And he says that when he became famous and honored as no poet ever was among you, he did not end up conceited, nor did he puff up his pride, nor did he go about the wrestling-grounds making sexual advances. And, if some lover was after him to lampoon his boyfriend, out of spite after a lovers' quarrel, he says he never ever obeyed any of them, because he has a certain fairminded understanding, in order that he not make the muses with whom he deals into procuresses." Here I follow the translation suggested by Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 194.

distances himself from those *erastes* who do not seek a legitimate love, but rather ones for superficial benefit.

A similar attitude found: the philosophical texts of Plato and Xenophon

Those similar problematizations of pederastic courtship are echoed in philosophical texts, a literary genre geared towards an elite audience, which is thought to have been more accepting towards the custom. In a scene from the Platonic Symposium, Pausanias in response to Phaedrus speech he claims:

> There isn't one single form of love. So, love is neither right or wrong in itself. Done rightly, it is right; done wrongly, it is wrong. It is wrong if you satisfy the wrong person for the wrong reasons and right if you satisfy the right person for the right reasons. The wrong person is the common lover I was talking about- the one who loves the body rather than the mind. […]
>
> Our customs are intended to test these lovers […] get the boys to satisfy the good ones and avoid the bad. That's why we encourage lovers to chance after boys, but tell the boys not to be caught. […] So, it can only be right for a boy to satisfy his lover if […] both the lover's behavior (*is proper*) and the boy's desire for wisdom and goodness (*are present)*. Then the lover and the boy have the same aim, and each has the approval of convention.[214]

What is illustrated here is the extent of the problematization of pederastic discourses in late Classical Athens. Pausanias uses a very different vocabulary from Aristophanes to express sentiments similar to those of the comedic playwright. He speaks of a proper and an improper way of pederastic conduct, and claims that Athenian customs urge the boys to pursue pederastic courtship for the sake of education and goodness, while urging the erastes to respectively chase after boys. On the opposite end of the spectrum lies the mercenary eromenos, the one who is attracted to his erastes by his wealth and the improper erastes, who seek to court boys by capitalizing on their fame and money, like Aristophanes says.[215] Therefore, the two genres express very similar attitudes when it comes to pederastic courtship and form a common set of discourses, one that can be seen as the evolution of an earlier highly idealistic one, adapted to the political reality of uncertainty and questioning innate to late Classical Athens.

A further similarity can be traced when it comes to the issue of money and the motives of the lovers in pursuing pederastic courtship. Yet again Pausanias, disparages the youths who choose their lovers according to their wealth, only to find out they have been lied to. He condemns both the eromenos for opting for someone based on monetary incentive, and the dishonest erastes who lie about his economic status in order to successfully woo a boy. This according to him is the model for the mercenary eromenos, a youth motivated not by the desire for wisdom, but rather for his desire for money and luxury, a character trace that was disgraceful.[216] What Plato exhibits here

[214] Plato, Symposium 183e-184e. I provide here the translation from Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 186-187. The Italics are mine.
[215] Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 195.
[216] Plato, Symposium 185a. (For if a youth had an erastes whom he thought wealthy and he gave in to him on account of his wealth but was deceived and didn't get the money, since the erastes turned out to be poor, this is no less disgraceful: for such a person may be said to have

through Pausanias' words is a similar moral compass to Aristophanes; a preoccupation with the correct mode of behavior in courtship, and a condemnation of any monetary aspect of pederastic relations rather than any active/passive or masculine/effeminate dichotomy. What is even more interesting is the fact that those sentiments are expressed inside an elite text, and thus presumable addressed towards such an audience. The predominately elite men/boy couples that attend the symposia, drink and talk about love and the correct modes of it. Therefore, even the elites of Athens talk and think (and even question and problematize) about pederasty in very similar manners during the late 5th and the 4th centuries.

Nevertheless, in order to fully illustrate the "interplay of positive and negative appraisals",[217] as Foucault and his followers have put it, of the discourses of the period, it is fruitful to examine whether any passage exists that explicitly attributes positive values to the practice. An undeniable idealization of pederasty can be found in Phaedrus' speech in the Platonic *Symposium*, which is coincidentally the inaugural speech of the conversation about Eros. Even from the beginning of his speech Phaedrus (178a-180b) focuses on pederastic love, while providing a number of mythological and heroic examples – namely, the primordial nature of the god Eros, and the pederastic couple of Achilleas and Patroclus, thus, giving a highly idealized image of this mode of love.[218] He explicitly claims that there is "nothing better in life for a young boy, as soon as he is old enough, than finding a good lover, nor for a lover than finding a boyfriend".[219] It is through this relationship that the young boy is instilled with the values that allow him to achieve anything that is good and proper; especially bravery and loyalty and thus, they will not show cowardice to avoid dishonoring their lover.[220] What becomes apparent is the connection between pederasty (a correct, idealistic mode of it at the very least) and military courage. Similar sentiments are echoed in Critoboulos' speech, this time in Xenophon's *Symposion* (4.10-18).[221] In 4.15 the speaker claims that beautiful boys can inspire their erastes in being more generous and also modest through self-control, while in 4.16 he proposes that the city should elect beautiful generals, so as to inspire their soldiers, a proposition very similar to the one by Phaedrus in the Platonic dialogue. These pieces present a highly idealistic mode of pederasty, seen primarily in a context of military valor and self-evolution.[222] This idealistic tone is also retained in Socrates' speech with Diotima in the Platonic dialogue where pederasty is exalted among all modes of sexuality as the means to achieve

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shown his character, that he would do anyone any service for money, and this is not a fine attitude.) Here I provide the translation proposed by Lear in his doctoral thesis. Lear, "Noble Eros," 297.

[217] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 191.

[218] See: Plato, Symposium 178a-180b. In particular Phaedrus claims "Eros is a great god, a marvel to men and gods alike (…) He is entitled to our respect, as the oldest of the gods, as I can prove. (…) And being very old he also brings us very great benefits." And later that "the man whom the gods honored above all was Achilles, the son of Thetis. They sent him to the Islands of the Blessed (…) out of loyalty to his lover Patroclus he chose without hesitation to die – not to save him, but to avenge him (…) The gods were full of admiration, and gave him the highest possible honor, because he valued his lover so highly". Here I follow the translation proposed by Hubbard in his book. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 181-183.

[219] For the translation see Ibid., 181.

[220] Ibid., 181-182.

[221] See Ibid., 210-213.

[222] Lear, "Noble Eros," 302.

spiritual perfection; and while the consummation aspect might be absent from this passage, in another Platonic dialogue, *Phaedrus*, it is Socrates again who explicitly mentions male affection again in a highly idealistic light, as a way to achieve control and moderation.[223]

"Legitimate eros" in courtroom oratory

Should one briefly examine the legal speeches delivered in Athens during this period, they will find some of the harshest condemnations of pederastic courtship among all the existing genres, while allowing the researcher to glimpse into the attitudes that forged the popular pederastic discourses. These speeches were delivered to mass audiences of jurors, aiming at convincing them to decide in favor of the speaker and thus, reflect values and ideological stances very close to that of the jury. [224] For instance, Aeschines in his speech against Timarchos, delivered in front of the jury of Areopagus at 346 B.C., [225] the orator uses Timarchos' past pederastic relations, and his conceived effeminacy, as a charge to make him less desirable in the jury's eyes and thus unfit to occupy a public office.[226]

However, a more pedantic analysis of the speech reveals that was is used as a condemning proof is not pederasty in itself, but rather a wrong mode of conduct, an illegitimate mercenary eros. In short, Timarchos is unfit for a public office, not so much based on the argument that he was an eromenos, but rather based on a hypothetically constructed argument that his luxury lifestyle proves him being a mercenary eromenos, akin to prostitute.[227] Timarchos is attacked for exploiting his older, rich lovers in order

[223] See: Plato, Symposium 208e-209e; Plato, Phaedrus 255e-256a. In particular in the dialogue of Phaedrus it is explicitly mentioned that: "So, when the lover is near, the boy's pain is relieved just as the lover's is, and when they are apart, he yearns as much as he is yearned for (…), his desire is nearly the same as the lover's (…) he wants to see, touch, kiss and lie down with him; and of course, as you might expect, he acts on these desires soon after they occur. When they are in bed, the lover's undisciplined horse has a word to say to the charioteer that after all its sufferings it is entitled to a little fun. Meanwhile, the boy's bad horse has nothing to say, but swelling with desire, confused, it hugs the lover and kisses him in delight at his great good will. And whenever they are lying together it is completely unable, for its own part, to deny the lover any favor he might beg to have. Its yokemate, however, along with its charioteer, resists such requests with modesty and reason. *Now if the victory goes to the better elements in both their minds, which lead them to follow the assigned regimen of philosophy, their life here below is one of bliss and shared understanding. They are modest and fully in control of themselves now that they have enslaved the part that brought trouble into the soul and set free the part that gave it virtue*." Italics are mine, for the translation see Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 250.

[224] Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 197; Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 118.

[225] Shapiro also notes that the make-up of even the most elite court, that of Areopagus, has shifted by the end of the 5th century, since the archons, the body from whom the court jurors were chosen after they had completed their office tenure, were chosen by lot, thus, representing a wide range of social and economic backgrounds. Therefore, a speech delivered to such an audience can indeed be a reflective source of the people's attitudes. Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 188.

[226] See: Aeschines, Against Timarchos 1. 75-76, 110,131.

[227] Cf. Aeschines, Against Timarchos 1. 75-76, where the orator claims the following "What is one to say when a young lad leaves his father's house and spends his nights in the homes of others, a lad of unusual beauty, and enjoys lavish dinners without making any contribution and keeps fluteplayers and the most expensive courtesans and plays at dice, while he pays out nothing himself but another man pays for him? Does one need to be clairvoyant? Isn't it obvious that the man who makes such enormous demands of others must himself inevitably provide certain pleasures in return to the men who pay out the money in advance? By Olympian Zeus, I can find no more decorous way of referring

to gain personal gain, rather than aiming at achieving a pedagogical element, like the one that Pausanias mentions in his speech in the Symposium. He has thus become, a mercenary eromenos, accepting gifts -namely admission to the symposia, offering sexual favors in return. This problematization of the gifts, and their monetary nature, being unfit in the framework of a proper pederastic conduct can also be seen in Aristophanes, at the passage of wealth I have previously cited; therefore, placing this discourse in the same category with comedy and philosophy. In short, the eromenos is not reprimanded for being one, instead, he is despised for acting like a prostitute, accepting gifts in return for sexual favors, for his personal advancement.

Aeschines is therefore, in accordance to the other existing Athenian discourses, not condemning pederasty as a whole, only the wrong mode of conduct, the preoccupation with sexual favors in exchange for personal gains, rather than an interest in education and loyalty. Moreover, what he does in another passage is claiming the correct mode of pederasty as a characteristic of proper democratic citizens- i.e., himself and the jury- as a way to flatter his audience.[228] In a way to alienate Timarchos' actions from any sense of proper conduct, Aeschines claims that, he wishes not to connect all pederastic desires with prostitution, especially as he himself has felt that desire as well. Instead, he distinguishes "desire for those who are noble and decent (…) characteristic of the generous spirit", with "debauchery based on hiring someone for money (…) characteristic of a wanton and uncultivated man".[229] Through this discursive strategy, Aeschines claims to be a part of a proper pederastic conduct, which is by extend fit to serve the city, and ipso facto democratic; from an improper one, a characteristic of Timarchos and the decadent elites. One can thus argue, that the orator reaps the symbolic capital of legitimate eros in order to prove that after all "pederasty is democratic(!)".[230]

In general, one can note a convergence of all literary genres discussing pederasty, in the ways the choose to portray the practice and the elements that they are exalted and problematized in those. This 'problematization' of pederastic discourses after the 430s, can be understood as an evolution of the existing discourses. The previous idealistic ways through which pederastic relations were talk about in sources, seem to have formed a correct and appropriate way of talking and/or conducting courtship; this is the 'legitimate eros'. Sources of the period want to question and scold what the understand as a previously faulty and immoral way of courting young boys, one that involves gifts in exchange for sexual favors. This shift can be understood as a result of the general questioning and revisionism occurring in Athenian politics after the death of Pericles, the collapse of the city of the Peloponnesian War and the appearance of demagogue politicians. These political changes have resulted into a socio-cultural milieu, propelled by the Sophist movement, which questioned everything that is deemed as traditional. Questioning pederasty, was only natural to follow.

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to the grotesque acts that you have practice (…)". Here I follow the translation found in the book by Hubbard. Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 142.

[228] Cf. Aeschines, Against Timarchos 1. 132-141.

[229] Here I follow the translation of Hubbard, *Homosexuality in Greece and* Rome, 148.

[230] Shapiro, "Pederasty and the Popular audience," 180 quoting Parker, "Popular Culture," 130.

Chapter 4. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to examine the chronological development of Athenian pederastic discourses, from the seventh century up to the late classical period, through the lenses of the evolving system of political participation during the same period. Applying a similar methodological framework with the evolutionary scheme that Oswyn Murray proposed in his articles studying the evolution of the symposion – now with the purpose of studying pederasty – can therefore prove a helpful tool to understand this diachronic evolution from a political angle. This examination has primarily been based on literary sources, in order to observe and decipher the themes and tones present at each step of this evolutionary process. In particular, this study has examined archaic lyric poetry, excerpts from historiography, comedy, drama and comedy as well as, courtroom oratory and philosophical texts. The insights and themes gathered from said texts were further enhanced with a thematic analysis of various visual depictions of pederastic courtship, found in Attic black-figured and red-figured wares, as well as some characteristic examples of monumental sculpture. This has allowed an observation of how the same themes manifested themselves in the material culture of the given period.

From the preceding analysis of the discourses, one can safely deduce that such a thing as a single view/ attitude towards pederasty did not exist in Athens diachronically, much less when the totality of the so-called Greek world is considered, and other, non-Athenian discourses are also analysed. Therefore, instead of talking about pederasty as a custom in the singular, it would be more appropriate to examine the several 'modes' of conducting the custom throughout the period.

To be sure, archaic Athenian discourses portray pederasty as highly idealized while, mainly existing within a framework of aristocratic activities, namely the symposion and its day-time extension the gymnasium, hoplite warfare and hunting. Pederastic courtship is closely linked with these, predominately elite spaces and nexus of activities, with a lifestyle of leisure and competition. Archaic pederastic discourses are centered around this lifestyle and emphasize the values of the upper class, functioning as a didactic tool to introduce the younger members of the elite into the proper modes of behavior and instill them with values thought of as ideal. This thematic and spatial connection with aristocratic spaces, activities and values is further corroborated by the material representations of the custom, which again emphasize the same values through an idealistic depiction of pederastic scenes, or through blending pederastic iconographic depictions with other elite activities. What is absent is any "interplay of positive and negative appraisals" as Foucault has suggested.[231] However, the strong didactic and pedagogical undertones of the discourses can be understood as constructing a model of proper pederastic conduct and behavior, which anyone and especially younger boys should aspire to. This inadvertently constructs an improper mode of behavior, a bad way to pursue courtship, which is implicitly condemned.

The political evolutions that Athens underwent from the last decade of the 6th century until the first decades of the 5th century B.C., with the transition towards democracy and a progressively increasing participation of a larger part of Athenian society in politics, has formed the new paradigm inside which pederastic discourses

[231] Foucault, *The Use of Pleasure*, 191.

were recontextualized and transformed thematically. Sources from the 5th century generally present the same idealized view of pederasty as did the archaic ones. However, pederasty now has been reinterpreted and recontextualized into the new political realities of the city. Democracy initially claimed pederasty as its own. Even its 'birth' was attributed by both historiographic sources, but most importantly popular sentiment, to the pederastic couple of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The Tyrannicides thus became the ideal lovers, whose virtues restored democracy in Athens and must therefore serve as a model for the entirety of the civic body, if democracy is to be continued. Thus, pederastic discourses of the period move from the previous nexus of esteemed elite activities and were henceforth presenting the ideal erastes as a lover of the city primarily. Pederasty – and its proper mode of conduct- became a didactic tool for the proper *polites*. The love of his erastes for his eromenos transmuted into a love for the city and democracy, and the *demos* (the civic body of people) was thought of as an ideal eromenos, one that is perpetually courted and sought after though never yielding to anyone.

After the 430s B.C. one can observe the explicit appearance of a problematization when it comes to pederastic discourses. This phenomenon was innate and specific in the Athenian sources of the period (late 5th/early 4th century). Political events like the Athens defeat in the Peloponnesian War, the death of Pericles and the rise of the demagogue politicians created a 'climate' of doubt and insecurity, inside which all traditional values (which also included pederasty) were heavily questioned. This is reflected in the pederastic discourses of the period, that now explicitly present the custom as a subject of a multi-sided debate. Some sides defended and continued to idealize pederastic courtship, while others heavily questioned all of its components and morality. A more pedantic analysis of the themes appearing in pederastic discourses reveals however, a remarkable convergence of all literary genres discussing pederasty, in the ways the choose to portray the practice and the elements that they were exalting and problematizing. All the extant sources seem to be doing, is contouring the elements of what has been dubbed as legitimate eros, a correct and proper mode of pederastic courtship. During this discursive process a lot of previously established pederastic elements came into question. The traditional, archaic idealization as well as pederasty's didactic elements came into question, as they were deemed a façade which obscured the real intentions of reveling and asking sexual favors from younger boys. Even the traditional pederastic gifts associated with courtship were viewed as monetary incentives for boys to exchange sexual favors. What is being condemned is the wrong mode of pederastic conduct, one which is preoccupied with sexual favors in exchange for personal gain.

This evolution of discourses has been attributed to a break with the traditional view about pederasty and pedagogy, and was thought of as a product of Socrates' and the sophists' teaching, which questions traditional aristocratic values. In short, as soon as they enter the picture, the old pedagogical aristocratic bonds are questioned and break, and therefore, the discourses reveal this problematization. These assertions, mainly echoed in the works of Andrew Lear have certainly shed a new light on pederastic discourses in late Classical Athens.[232] However, it can prove fruitful to rethink about the bigger picture and the political changes in effect. Indeed, the reforms

[232] Lear, "Noble Eros," 306-310.

of Cleisthenes and the progressive 'democratization' of Athens under Efialtes and Pericles, did not lead directly to a change of perceptions about pederasty. That would be a very naïve claim. Nor did the progressive and increased participation of an ever-growing number of social strata of Athenian society, in both politics and traditionally pederastic spaces like the gymnasium and the symposium, gave rise to so-called anti-pederastic sentiments, as a mean of an anti-elite reaction (like Hubbard has claimed).[233] What this progressive participation in politics along with the two distinct features of Athenian democracy – *isonomia* and *isigoria*- did, was create a cultural milieu, where the way to talk about sexual mores was a matter of popular discussion and problematization. Therefore, what changed was not only the ways people court and interact with each other, but also the literary and artistic depictions of such interactions. These political changes thus, created the framework inside which pederastic discourses were constantly evolving and recontextualized.

A further corroboration of this argument is the fact that such an evolutionary process is largely absent from other city-states such as Sparta. In Sparta the institutionalized pederasty remained in effect, with it being the mode of inducting and recruiting younger members into the syssitia, the war unites. Pederasty was diachronically linked with military life and was though of as a pedagogical and initiatory tool. Here the self-conscious archaism of the sources acts primarily as evidence in favor of continuation and diachronicity, rather than accurately describing an earlier stage of the custom. As a result, a city-state with more a traditional political system did not underwent a process of recontextualization and problematization of discourses, as Athens did. Further research is still ripe for this subject, as a full diachronic comparison of the pederastic discourses of the two city-states could further nuance those claims will gaining better insight at how a political framework and ideology is diffused through all levels and aspects of a given society and transmutes attitudes and values.

Indeed, democracy can be understood as such an all-impactful ideology. An ideology which is so central and formative for a whole society; one that creates a socio-cultural milieu inside which all aspects of civic interactions, and thus the way people court each other transform. What is more, the concept of *isigoria*, so central to ancient Athenian democracy, gives access to the totality of the civic body to participate not only in political matters but also, in a discursive practice which forges societal values and interactions. Therefore, it would not be a stretch to claim that democracy apart from a political system is indeed a worldview.

[233] Hubbard, "Popular perceptions," 48-78.

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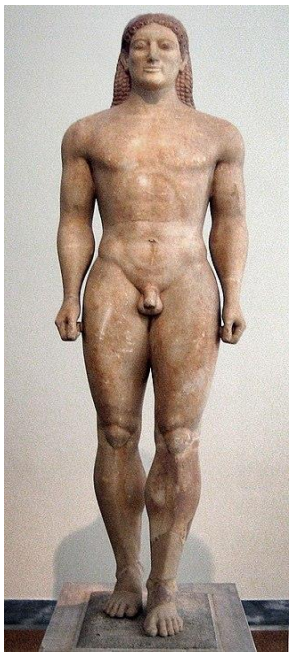

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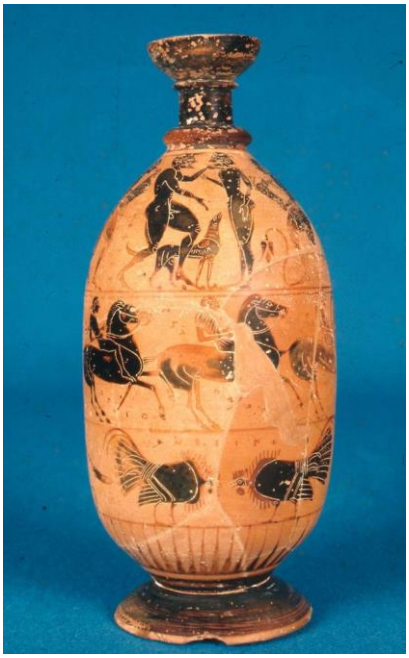

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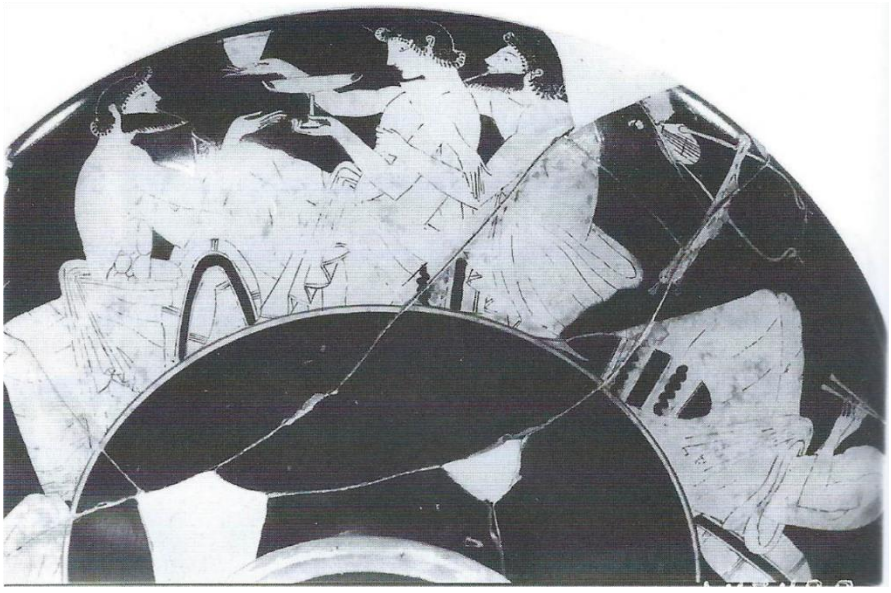

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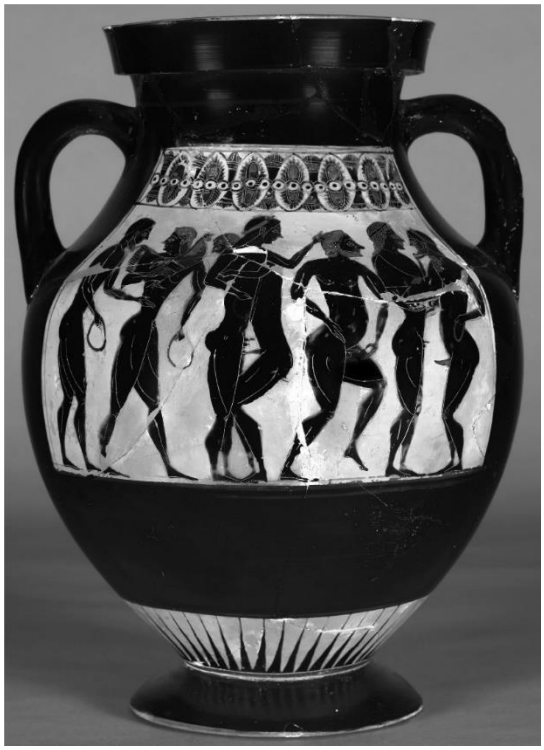

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