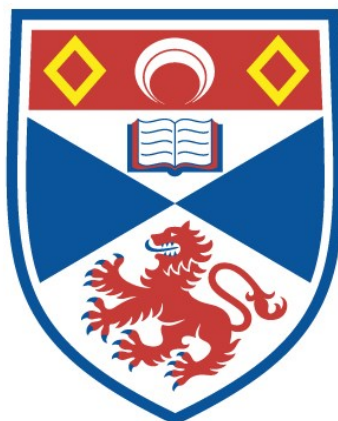


REACTIONS TO THE BEAUTIFUL BODY IN CLASSICAL ATHENS:
A TRI-GENRE APPROACH

Elsbeth Joy Hymes

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



2014

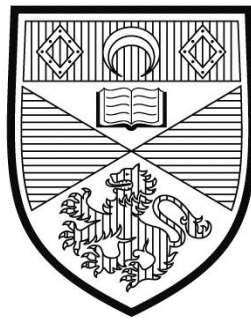
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Reactions to the Beautiful Body in Classical Athens: a
Tri-Genre Approach

Elsbeth Joy Hymes



University of
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews

June 2013

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Abstract

Economist Daniel Hamermesh's groundbreaking *Beauty Pays*, building upon his earlier research, opens with the sentence: "Modern man is obsessed with beauty." His book analyses how beautiful individuals benefit (mainly financially) from their appearances, a phenomenon he had previously termed the 'beauty premium'. Since his first article on the topic, many disciplines have followed suit, examining the beauty premium within their respective contexts of politics, law, and other social sciences. Contrary to the beauty premium is the concept of a beauty penalty, whereby the beautiful individual is harmed rather than benefited from his/her looks. Hamermesh's findings are by no means limited to the modern world and his opening sentence could be adapted to read: "Man is, and always has been, obsessed with beauty." In this thesis, I argue that beauty premiums and penalties can similarly be seen in operation in Classical Athens. I do so by identifying and analysing reactions to the beautiful human body via a cross-section of three popular literary genres: old comedy, the writings of Xenophon and attic oratory.

These genres show that reactions to beauty in Classical Athens were pervasive and yet variegated. Each section begins with a review of what aspects of the male and female body were considered beautiful within the respective genre. Then, I analyse the range of diverse premiums (as well as penalties) granted to beautiful individuals. Beauty, and reactions to beauty, may be a matter of individual preference, but the essential point is that it causes reactions. Each genre nuances these reactions in its own way. In comedy, beautiful characters, who have a range of personalities, are given both penalties and premiums on account of their appearance. Reactions to such beauty are, at times, mocked and, at other times, beautiful individuals are treated as prizes to be doled out to the main characters. Xenophon, on the other hand, urges beautiful individuals and their pursuers alike to ponder beauty and rethink granting undeserved premiums. Oratory unites both of these findings in the course of its subtle arguments presented to a jury. Overall this thesis draws attention to the multifaceted expectations of beauty, and the common societal reactions recorded in this cross-section of literature. It is my hope that this analysis will be

a useful point of contrast to classicists and all those studying the beauty premium in societies both modern and ancient.

Table of Contents

<i>Declarations</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>List of Figures</i>	<i>vii</i>
INTRODUCTION	1
OUR REACTIONS TO BEAUTIFUL BODY OF THE GREEKS—AND THEIR OWN	2
METHODOLOGY	11
VOCABULARY TERMS AND IDEAS	17
RESEARCH QUESTIONS	28
BAWDY BODIES: THE EFFECT OF BEAUTY IN COMEDY	37
SEEING COMIC BEAUTY	42
<i>Costume</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Fatness</i>	<i>48</i>
<i>Relative Beauty and Costume Change</i>	<i>51</i>
<i>Conclusions for “Seeing Comic Beauty”</i>	<i>55</i>
READING THE MALE COMIC BODY	56
<i>The Logoi: The Ideal Body</i>	<i>57</i>
<i>Young Men</i>	<i>69</i>
<i>Effeminate Male Beauty</i>	<i>74</i>
READING THE FEMALE COMIC BODY	82
<i>Decorating the Female Body</i>	<i>87</i>
REACTING TO COMIC BEAUTY	96
<i>Beauty and Sex as a Reward</i>	<i>97</i>
<i>Praxagora’s Attempt to Abolish the Beauty Premium</i>	<i>99</i>
<i>Beauty Believed: Attractive Orator</i>	<i>105</i>
CONCLUSIONS TO “BAWDY BODIES”	109
BEHOLDING THE BEAUTIFUL WITH XENOPHON	114
BEAUTIFUL WOMEN: ATHENIAN, FOREIGN AND HYPOTHETICAL IN XENOPHON	119
<i>Athenian Women: Hetaera, Wife and Cosmetics</i>	<i>120</i>

<i>Foreign Beauty</i>	131
<i>Beauty of Virtue and Vice</i>	137
BEAUTIFUL MEN: CRITOBULUS, AUTOLYCUS, AND CYRUS IN XENOPHON.....	141
<i>The Male Face: Subject of a Beauty Contest</i>	142
<i>Beauty Mixed with Modesty</i>	148
<i>Masculine Cosmetics</i>	155
XENOPHON’S CRITOBULUS ON BEAUTY: HIS BELIEFS AND EARLY YEARS IN XENOPHON	157
<i>Beauty and the Military Premium</i>	164
<i>Beauty and Age</i>	167
<i>Critobulus’ Struggle</i>	171
CONCLUSIONS TO “BEHOLDING THE BEAUTIFUL WITH XENOPHON”	181
THE BEAUTIFUL ON TRIAL	185
MALE BEAUTY TRIED AND PRAISED	192
<i>Timarchus Scrutinized: Youth and Beauty</i>	192
<i>How the Beautiful Act</i>	207
<i>Timarchus Scrutinized: Waning Beauty</i>	211
<i>Extolling Epikrates</i>	217
<i>Summary of “Male Beauty Tried and Praised”</i>	227
THE INFLUENCE OF FEMININE BEAUTY	229
<i>Sympathy Producing Beauty</i>	231
<i>Beauty Arousing Suspicion</i>	236
<i>Enhancing Beauty for Reactions</i>	241
<i>Summary to “The Influence of Feminine Beauty”</i>	249
CONCLUSIONS TO “THE BEAUTIFUL ON TRIAL”	250
CONCLUSION	254
FIGURES	261
BIBLIOGRAPHY	278

List of Figures

Figure 1: New York 24.95.104
400-390 B.C.
Greek, South Italian, Apulian

Figure 2: Louvre CA 2938
450-400 B.C.
Athens

Figure 3: Athens Agaora Museum P10798
475-425 B.C.
Athens

Figure 4a: Louvre N3408
425-375 B.C.
Libya, Cyrenaica

Figure 4b: Louvre N3408
425-375 B.C.
Libya, Cyrenaica

Figure 5: Gottingen Hu582a
350-325 B.C.

Figure 6: Milan, Museo Civico Archeologico AO.9.284
400-380 B.C.

Figure 7: London, British Museum F 151
380 B.C.

Figure 8: London British Museum E6
525-475 B.C.

Figure 9a: The J.Paul Getty Museum Inv. 80.AE.31
510 B.C.

Figure 9b: The J.Paul Getty Museum Inv. 80.AE.31
510 B.C.

Figure 10: Malibu, J.P Getty Museum 85.AE.304
460 B.C.

Figure 11 Berlin, Staatliche Mussen, no. 7383
499 B.C.

Figure 12: Munich, Antikensammlungen: J544
525-475 B.C.
Panathenaic Amphora

Figure 13: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: 1965.117
550-500 B.C.
Panathenaic Amphora

Figure 14: London, British Museum: E290
475-425 B.C.

Figure 15: Adolphseck, Schloss Fasanerie: 12
550-500 B.C.
Greece

Figure 16: Athens Agora Museum P 23900
425-375 B.C.
Athens

Figure 17: London, British Museum: E 70
500-450 B.C.
Etruria, Vulci

Figure 18: Hannover, Kestner Museum: 1966.99
500-450 B.C.

Figure 19: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
500-450 B.C.

Figure 20: Erbach, Grafliche Sammlung: XXXX215391
450-400 B.C.

Figure 21: Berlin, Antikensammlung: F2418
450-400 B.C.
Attica, Vari

Figure 22: Jena, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität: 800A=0410
400-300 B.C.
Athens

Figure 23: London, British Museum: D13
500-450 B.C.
Italy, Locri

Figure 24: London, British Museum, 1873.8-20.370.
400-300 B.C.
Panathenaic Amphora

Figure 25: Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, XV179
500-450 B.C.
Panathenaic Amphora

Figure 26: New York, Metropolitan Museum 16.71.
500-450 B.C.
Panathenaic Amphora

Figure 27: Oxford, Robinson Collection XXXX0.1626, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University:
1784, B5
525-475 B.C.
Italy, Chiusi

Figure 28: Berlin, Pergamon Museum: F2720
425-375 B.C.
Attica

Figure 29: Paris, Musée du Petit Palais: 318
475-325 B.C.

Figure 30: Copenhagen, National Museum: 3881
525-475 B.C.
Athens

Figure 31: Metropolitan Museum of Art 26.7.1438
18th century B.C.
Egypt

Introduction

Before we begin our journey into the past, let us first take a moment to set the scene by asking a simple question: how do we react when presented with a beautiful human form? Daily we are confronted with images which appear to us larger than life and airbrushed to perfection. We can proceed further down this line of questioning and ask what the merits of beauty are: how does beauty affect us individually and in the larger world where we have constructed within the realm of popular culture a 'cult' of beauty. Fame, it seems, has become something which now requires only a specific look—beauty—a phenomenon best attested by the sudden and sky-rocketing popularity of Kim Kardashian. She is known for her voluptuous body, complete with large bouncing breasts, rounded butt and olive skin: her merit is based on her appearance alone.¹ Gazing upon her image either in a glossy magazine or on TV, what feeling does Kim's beauty elicit from a majority of people, and what does that make them do? There is a socially-acceptable range of reactions. Some express their admiration and awe, while others bemoan her as proof of the death of pop culture as we know it, thus illustrating an obsessive shallowness and dedication to fakery. Some extreme forms of reaction may involve stalking her, having plastic surgery to look more like her (or what she represents) and beyond, but everyone reacts to the 'unfairness' of fame, granted solely by her beauty.

¹ She was first noticed in her sex tape, and is usually referred to as a 'reality TV star' because of the series *Keeping up with the Kardashians* which aired in 2007. But it is her appearance that has attracted attention to her.

Such is the case of the beautiful and the famous, but beauty is not limited to stardom, and indeed, Kim Kardashian and the like can seem to us unreal—almost *too* beautiful. There is another way in which we engage with and react to beauty on a daily basis. It is all around us; in meeting the new student or colleague or neighbor, we are presented with attractive human forms, and our eyes lead us around judging and acting on what we see. When presented with real-life beauty, what do we do? Once again, there is a range of reactions, but the inevitable first impression that we cannot help is a response to their appearance. When these situations present themselves, as they invariably do, how do we respond? Do we befriend them? Seek a sexual relationship with them? Do we assume them to be better, or smarter: or that, because of how they look, they have had everything handed to them? These everyday reactions are instantaneous. Indeed, these possible reactions have recently become of great interest to students in the social sciences, and were something which similarly preoccupied (either consciously or unconsciously) the Classical Athenians. It is only human nature, be it in modern man or an ancient Greek, to react, biologically or psychologically, to the beautiful body.² Whether individualistic or collective, responses are caused by direct confrontation with beauty.

Our Reactions to Beautiful Body of the Greeks—and Their Own

The study of the beautiful body in regards to Classical Athens is a broad field with deep roots, and any discussion of which must begin with Winckelmann's *History of*

² This is not to say that there is one supreme type of 'beauty' which all cultures recognize. While I will draw attention to features deemed beautiful in my sampling of Classical Greek literature, the reactions which beauty causes are my focus.

Ancient Art in 1764.³ This work, based on the material evidence of statues, was so influential that virtually all Classical and Art Historical scholarship in Germany and beyond was based upon his strong and personal reactions to the beautiful body.

Winckelmann writes of the Greeks that “among no people has beauty been prized so highly...”⁴ The ripple effects of his writing can still be seen today in more recent works such as Stewart’s *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* and Jenkins’ *The Greek Body*.⁵ Both attempt to place the beautiful body in a contemporary context, but this approach tends to lead to instances where some rather sweeping generalizations emerge. Stewart writes:

“the Greeks saw beauty or ugliness as active forces that attracted the eyes like a magnet...so just like a beautiful person, a beautiful work of art doubly energized the space between it and the observer.”⁶

In this way, he goes through the careful sculpting and drawing of the body with particular emphasis on how desire plays a role. The active force of beauty, something which in this study I shall further explore, includes desire, although it is by no means limited to it.

Jenkins, in a similar manner, writes:

“Just as great physical beauty was coupled with moral value, society in ancient Greece tended to attribute physical deformity to the punishment of the gods. Physical ugliness could be seen as a sign of bad character.”⁷

³ Winckelmann (1764), original title was *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* translated by Lodge (1850).

⁴ Winckelmann (1764) translated by Lodge (1850) 6. A note continues to explain this statement saying “The enthusiasm with which the youth and beauty of the bloom of life were extolled by the Greeks might be shown from many passages of the ancient writers, especially Plato.” He then quotes Xen. *Symp.* 4.11.

⁵ Stewart (1997), Jenkins (2009).

⁶ Stewart (1997) 19.

While this assertion has some evidence to support it there are exceptions which need to be acknowledged. My thesis will show such variation. From just this example, we are afforded a glimpse into the rich history and obsession with the body and the praise of its beauty, but I hope to push this further by collecting and analysing what reactions to this beauty have been recorded.

Textually based surveys of the beautiful body in Classical Athens largely follow the pioneering work of Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* and Foucault's *History of Sexuality* vol. 2.⁸ Both showcase the beauty of the adolescent Greek body. More than 'beautiful,' that body is seen as alluring. Winkler, reflecting that his attraction to classics in part was due to the glamorous myth and exceedingly beautiful bodies which scholarship perpetuated wrote:

"On closer inspection the Greece that was presented to me in grade school and high school turns out to have been in part a modern cultural fantasy developed mainly by German scholars such as Winckelmann from the eighteenth century on and in part a fantasy projected by the ancient Greeks themselves. It should have been obvious to me that no real place could have existed where all the men had the bodies of young athletes..."⁹

Winkler goes on to look at the sexual relationships and tensions via a more nuanced approach than those of Dover and even Foucault in order to penetrate into the lives of 'real people', but his comment on the presentation of Greece as beauty-obsessed is a *feeling* still alive in scholarship which this thesis seeks to inspect. As one can already see from existing

⁷ Jenkins (2009) 135.

⁸ Dover (1978) and Foucault (1987).

⁹ Winkler (1990b) 1.

scholarship, the study of beauty invariably becomes the study of sexuality. Halperin, taking an interesting view of the situation in Athens,¹⁰ writes:

“the *hora* (youthful “prime”) of males...represented the peak of males’ sexual attractiveness and exercised, while it lasted, an apparently irresistible charm on older residents of classical Athens, both male and female, free and slave.”¹¹

Halperin researches only the sexual advantage for any youth. Hubbard continues the tradition of noting the sexual power of beauty when he writes:

“whatever advantage an older lover might have in experience, social connections, or verbal charm, the youth had the countervailing power of Beauty on his side, which was a rarer commodity.”¹²

Beauty, in these accounts, is a purely sexual commodity¹³ when in fact a much broader range of connotations are possible and even likely. In her 1989 study ‘Nudity as a Costume in Classical Art’, Bonfante, focusing on material evidence, concludes that while nudity can be erotic, this is not the most common context (leading to a specific reaction), and that “when it is only erotic its meaning is least powerful.”¹⁴

More recently, Osborne’s *The History Written on the Classical Greek Body*, published in 2011, has sought to bridge the divide between textual and material evidence, and in the process highlights inconsistencies.¹⁵ Osborne’s main goal, however, is to develop a better

¹⁰ Halperin (1990).

¹¹ Halperin (1990) 90.

¹² Hubbard (2003) 11.

¹³ See also Cohen (1987), Golden (1984) and Hubbard (1998) for further study.

¹⁴ Bonfante (1989) 569. See also Osborne (1998) who revisits the costume of nudity.

¹⁵ Osborne (2011) 31-36. His review of scholarship on Greek statues begins a bit earlier, around 27f, and harshly critiques Spivey (1996) (1995), Clark (1956), Wyke (1999), and as far back as Winckelmann (1756).

methodology to handle material and textual evidence.¹⁶ In particular, Osborne attacks the tradition that Classical Greek men were obsessed with the gymnasium, sleek muscular physiques, and that they believed a good ‘work-out’ would make them beautiful.¹⁷ Reid’s *Athletics and Philosophy in the Ancient World*, published the same year, illustrates some of the holes in Osborne’s argumentation. For example, she explains (referring to Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* 1361b11) that “Aristotle understood that the pentathlete’s physical beauty derives from voluntary hard work...”.¹⁸ but Osborne reads the passage differently saying that, “it is beauty that makes a man suitable for athletics, and athletic success that is the proof of beauty, not athletics that makes him beautiful.”¹⁹ What is important for the purposes of this study is the reaction to that beautiful form (regardless of whether it was beautiful because it was exercised, or because athletics draws the beautiful to it).²⁰

¹⁶ Osborne (2011) 227. His overall interest in the body is as an example of his methodology which combines material and literary. He warns others that, “to write their history on the basis of what they [Ancient Greeks] said is to write the history of a fantasy.” Papalexandrou (2012) reviews Osborne’s book and laments the lack of skeletal analysis suggesting an interesting point for future research, but one which this work on the beautiful body cannot provide. He does however make a very good point, that despite Osborne’s cry for scholars to be more careful and use more sources, he has not in fact, presented any new evidence himself.

¹⁷ Osborne (2011) 29 writes, “these scholars are taking the visual evidence and plotting that onto the world classified by texts, the world of muscles, of the cult of bodily fitness, and of the gym. But the ‘texts’ that support this world are not ancient texts.”

¹⁸ Reid (2011) 74.

¹⁹ Osborne (2011) 37.

²⁰ Perhaps a bit more radically, Métraux (1995) argues that while beauty, health and athletics are certainly an ideal presented in sculpture, medical texts speak out against too much athletics and he posits (on p. 9) that “we might find that certain of our Greek companions had an unexpected distaste for such statues and regarded them as overdeveloped.” This is speculation, but the need to look at athletics and health side by side while trying to determine what is beautiful is admirable. As it stands, evidence continues to point towards a preference for athletic builds, developed by training.

The beautiful body discussed so far has been limited to the masculine, but in fact there is also literature which deals with the feminine, and indeed it is feminine beauty with which today's society (as the introductory example of Kim Kardashian already suggested) is much more comfortable. In terms of the beauty of women, Keuls' *The Reign of the Phallus* states in passing (while describing a depiction on a pot) a strong judgement on female beauty. Keuls writes,

“The scene sums up the Greek conception of physical beauty and sex: the male is the aggressor—the boy is pursuing the girl and reaching for her with his left hand—but it is his physical beauty and his organs which provide the sexual inducements.”²¹

Praise of the female form is much rarer than would be expected, but emphasis on enhancements such as clothing, perfume, and cosmetics stand in sharp contrast to the more 'perfect' beauty of the simple male nude.²² Once again, it is important to note the equation of beauty with sexual desire. Hawley's 'The Dynamics of Beauty in Classical Greece' focuses on his analysis of Euripides' *Medea* and *Electra*, and is limited to feminine beauty.²³ Ultimately he concludes that:

“the argument that beauty becomes more strongly 'feminised' in the fifth and fourth centuries is also more conclusive when one compares the references to male and female beauty in tragedy.”²⁴

²¹ Keuls (1993) 70, her figure 56.

²² And yet, Davidson (1997) xxiii writes blaming Foucault for the focus on male on male sexuality rather than a more balanced one: “Foucault's study of Greek sexuality has very little on women at all and gives the impression the Greeks were much more interested in boys.”

²³ Hawley (1998).

²⁴ Hawley (1998) 51, in Monserrat (1998).

This, however, is only the case in tragedy, and overall treatment of these texts and their direct relation to women of the time period perhaps requires more care. Much earlier, Pomeroy declared that “it is not legitimate for scholars to make judgements about the lives of real women solely on the basis of information gleaned from tragedy,”²⁵ and since then scholarship has moved away from trying to reconcile reality with heroic tragic women, instead opting for an analysis of their roles within drama alone.²⁶ While Hawley’s study is pivotal and an important work in the study of the beautiful body, it seems to have gone largely ignored until very recently. Robson’s forthcoming *Sex and Sexuality in Classical Athens* devotes an entire chapter to accumulating descriptions of the attractive body focusing on comedy, pottery and a few other sources such as Xenophon’s works, and his also forthcoming article ‘Boys like Girls? Gender and Sex Appeal in Aristophanes’ looks at the vocabulary used to describe beauty.²⁷ Robson’s works both point to a growing interest in studies of the body and particularly those with a slant on beauty of both genders.

What follows is built on the shoulders of these giants, and many others like them; but at this point, apart from utilizing their scholarship when appropriate, my work departs from theirs because this thesis is *not* about the beautiful body itself. It is about the *reactions to* the beautiful body in Classical Athens. Identification, discussion and analysis of these reactions are the core of this thesis. I have confined myself to Classical Athens

²⁵ Pomeroy (1975) 95.

²⁶ Moreover tragedy does not have any solid ceramic evidence associated with it, while for comedy and daily life scenes, depictions on pottery are indispensable. Taplin (2007) suggests numerous identifications with tragedy, but only five vases were painted in Athens making them of less use to the current study. For more on the difficulty of identifying tragic scenes on pots see Csapo (2010) 3.

²⁷ Robson (forthcoming a), (forthcoming b).

because it is from here that the bulk of information and literature has survived and I am therefore able to avoid unsupportable extrapolations about the Greek world as a whole. For the most part, when scholars have broached the subject of reaction, they did so only cursorily, and none of the above referenced works has done what I am attempting to do here—such was not their goal. In studies which look at the much later sources of the second sophistic, reactions to the stimulated eye (where stimulation comes from beauty) can be observed. Goldhill's 'The Erotic Eye: Visual Stimulation and Cultural Conflict' argues that for Hellenic authors (and Lucian in particular), the reactions to beauty are shown as something which must be appropriate in both actions and words thus carefully balancing erotic desire with appreciation and speechlessness with *ekphrasis*.²⁸ By calling beauty a 'stimulation' of the eye, Goldhill assumes some sort of reaction always occurs and he begins to map out what reactions are socially acceptable. It is possible to see these reactions to beauty, which are both necessary and fundamental to beauty, in classical Athenian literature too.

Scholars have, however, started documenting the reactions to the "ugly" or rather, deformed or disabled form in classical Athenian literature. Garland's *The Eye of the Beholder* begins the discussion of the deformed body, and his work is necessarily broad and general.²⁹ Vlahogiannis' 'Disabling Bodies' is a more detailed treatment, which ultimately

²⁸ Goldhill (2001). For example, of the beautiful house, Goldhill looks at Lucian's *De Domo*, and for the body, Lucian's *Eikones*. Webb (2009) 38, in defining the tool of *ekphrasis*, notes that it allows the audience's mind to mimic the act of seeing.

²⁹ Garland (1995).

concludes that the deformed were excluded from society.³⁰ This is interesting, as Vlahogiannis brings together an array of sources and finds a specific reaction to deformity. I will argue that it is much more complex in the case of beauty. Olyan's *Disability in the Hebrew Bible*, similar to Vlahogiannis' work, looks at specific disabilities, their appearance, and the reaction to them, but outside of a Greek context.³¹ While the Hebrew Bible is distant from the texts with which I work, Olyan finds considerable marginalization and stigmatization of disability. Such actions are a very clear and real reaction to physical appearance, although it also moves beyond it. That the reactions to ugliness have been analysed by scholars confirms the need for a study such as this. The preceding overview of scholarship on the beautiful (and ugly) body demonstrates that the material which has been accumulated thus far is vast, varied, and pivotal to any further understanding. This thesis, utilizing current scientific and literary theories,³² offers a much-needed evaluation of the reactions that Classical Athenian society had towards beauty which exposes how society, the body and beauty interact on a continual basis. This thesis will fill a gap in classical scholarship which has neglected reactions to beauty in the Classical era, but also

³⁰ See Vlahogiannis (1998) in Montserrat (1998) generally, and 21-24 for the section on beauty. There is also research that focuses more on disabilities, see Rose (2006).

³¹ Olyan (2008). Olyan's first chapter seeks to first establish an image of the beautiful body before he begins his treatise. He concludes that "in addition to such positively constructed characteristics as plumpness; thick hair on the head; ruddy, clear skin; beautiful eyes; symmetrical teeth and breasts; significant height; quickness and agility of movement; and physical strength, male and female beauty are not infrequently associated with a lack of 'defects'..." p 18. This offers an interesting comparison to the descriptions of beauty in Greece.

³² I will expand on these theories below at on page 14.

serve to illustrate for modern sociological studies how the phenomena can be traced to ancient times, but not in an entirely clear cut fashion.

Methodology

At its simplest, I am trying to put the popular reaction to the beautiful body in Classical Athens within its proper context by using as my evidence the works of Aristophanes, Xenophon and the Attic Orators. The most important word in the previous sentence is the word “popular” because it refers to two concepts. It first references the “popular” nature of the texts that will be examined; this is in terms of their widespread and mainstream appeal. The second idea “popular” conveys is the majority reaction to the beautiful body—that is, the largest amount of the Athenian populace. Aristophanes’ theatrical productions as part of Athenian consciousness contain sociological assumptions³³ and oratory presents real people (arguing for and against each other) who hope to persuade a group of Athenian citizens.³⁴ Xenophon, as an elite citizen who writes on various subjects, requires further explanation. Xenophon, like Plato, was a follower of Socrates. He frequently deals with the beauty of the physical body and his style which was significantly easier than Plato’s, suggests that his works were more straightforwardly

³³ Ehrenberg (1951) 8 writes: “It is my belief that nowhere but in comedy are the facts of social and economic life given merely as a background and to create an atmosphere.” Bowie (1993) 293 similarly writes: “[Aristophanes’ comedies] have much to say about conditions and affairs in ancient Athens, and indeed elsewhere, and the fact that they use comedy should not be a reason for underestimating the power of analysis and realistic sense of the world that we find in them.”

³⁴ Dover (1974) 5-6 writes of the need for oratory to be appealing to the masses: “[A speaker] could not afford to express or imply beliefs or principles which were likely to be offensive to the jury...”

didactic and therefore more readily accessible to a larger audience.³⁵ Xenophon's Sokratic works all feature some sort of everyday practice and moral values (albeit of elites and intellectuals) which cause him to be generally regarded as one of the best sources for popular literature because he was mostly likely to have been more widely read and appreciated.³⁶

All the surviving literature, however, is written by elite male citizens indicating that the 'mainstream' and 'orthodox' view I uncover should not be identified with the non-elite man, slave or woman. I am following Dover's *Greek Popular Morality*, which used a virtually identical approach in order to demonstrate the beliefs and opinions of Athenian society's norms.³⁷ A similar approach was employed by Mikalson in his *Athenian Popular Religion*, although he quickly cut out all tragedy and used comedy only to corroborate other texts.³⁸ At this point, my reader may ask why I have chosen not to include Plato, Aristotle, or the Greek tragedians. The omission, in terms of my cross-genre approach, is logically one of space since every text could add another piece to the puzzle of reactions to beauty. However, I have chosen to highlight only three specific genres and the reason why the others have not 'made the cut' can be explained. In terms of Plato (and consequently

³⁵ Waterfield (2004) 84.

³⁶ Mikalson (1983) 12 proclaims of his style that: "His writings show him far removed from the intense rationalism of Thucydides, his predecessor in history, and from the intellectual metaphysics of Plato, his fellow student of Socrates." This does not mean that Plato and Aristotle are of no use (or Thucydides, whom he mentions for that matter), but that they will not be a main focus of this study.

³⁷ Dover (1974) 1-8.

³⁸ Mikalson (1983) 3-12.

Aristotle), it is important to remember that he was an esoteric figure who did not write for mass-consumption. Dover asserts that:

“If we imagined that either Plato’s work or Aristotle’s represented an intellectual systematization of the principles which were manifested in the moral choices and judgments of the ordinary unphilosophical Greek, it is possible that we might go badly astray.”³⁹

While the views and ideas Plato expresses are interesting, they are nonetheless a ‘minority’ (Mikalson goes as far as to say “Plato and Aristotle cannot be assumed to have been widely accepted among the people”).⁴⁰ Beyond matters of how these texts are received is the issue of quantity; there is considerably less material on the physically beautiful body in Plato than there is in Xenophon since Plato quickly jumps to metaphysical and abstract concepts. As Hyland notes in *Plato and the Question of Beauty* notes, while Plato uses beauty of the human (female) body as a starting point for his dialogue on beauty (*Hippias Major*),⁴¹ it quickly surpasses physical beauty and does not speak of reactions to physical beauty. Riegel’s PhD thesis, *Beauty, TO KALON, and its Relation to Good in the Works of Plato* has now systematically shown Plato’s complex usage of the Greek τὸ καλόν by first admitting how beauty had a place of honour in Greek society, and then showing how Plato differed and carefully defined beauty.⁴² Once again, this ‘beauty’ is frequently not of the physical body, and while this understanding helps develop a framework for understanding τὸ

³⁹ Dover (1974) 1-2.

⁴⁰ Mikalson (1983) 9.

⁴¹ Hawley (2008) 14.

⁴² Riegel (2011).

καλόν, it is not the most fruitful path to take in a study seeking the reactions to the beautiful body.

In terms of tragedy, I have already discussed Hawley's work in this area, and while reactions to beauty occur within tragedy, and there is indeed much interesting material to be found here, it deserves its own separate treatment, hopefully at a later date. Indeed, even while Mikalson excluded tragedy from his *Athenian Popular Religion*, in 1992 he published *Honor Thy Gods: Popular Religion in Greek Tragedy*.⁴³ The reason for its exclusion in this thesis is intrinsic to the self-contained nature of tragedy, and its setting in mythical times—tragedy is something which sets itself apart from the audience in setting and characters, unlike Comedy which (through exaggeration) exposes the base level of human nature. The majestic and heroic nature of the genre separates the reactions to beauty from what the majority would do to what they *should* do. Dover includes tragedy only after several pages of cautionary preamble while trying to guess how each character would have come across to the wider audience.⁴⁴ In light of all this, it is more appropriate both for the purposes of this study and in deference to it as a genre, for the reactions to the beautiful body which occur in tragedy to be looked at independently.

My examination of Aristophanes, Xenophon and oratory is by no means an exhaustive one. The goal of this thesis is not to illustrate every instance of a beautiful body being reacted to in these genres, but rather to produce a representative sampling wherein I take the most striking examples in an effort to illustrate the reaction to beauty which can

⁴³ Mikalson (1992).

⁴⁴ Dover (1974) 14-18.

be seen throughout. Reactions to beauty which I have not recorded can be read according to the model I establish.

Two concepts which are fundamental to my approach have been termed ‘beauty premium’ and ‘beauty penalty’ by contemporary economists, political scientists, lawyers, psychologists and other various disciplines. A ‘beauty premium’ indicates special treatment based on an appearance positively perceived. The reverse of beauty premium is also within the feasible range of reactions and has been called ‘beauty penalty’, which indicates an active discrimination against a beautiful individual, although this is rarely discussed.⁴⁵ Hamermesh, an economist, first coined the term ‘beauty premium’ and published (co-published with Biddle) on it in 1994.⁴⁶ Many papers followed and he finally published his findings in book form in 2011 *Beauty Pays*.⁴⁷ For an economist, the premium is higher pay.⁴⁸ For political scientists, the premium is calculated by how many more votes

⁴⁵ Andreoni and Petrie (2008) 80 show that, while a beauty premium exists initially, once more information about the actions of a beautiful individual is provided, they are judged far more harshly than the average looking person of the same actions. This indicates that statistically the beautiful are more often given the benefit of the doubt, but this swiftly turns into a beauty penalty.

⁴⁶ Hamermesh and Biddle (1994).

⁴⁷ Hamermesh (2011).

⁴⁸ The economists have found a strong beauty premium. As stated in n.46. Biddle and Hamermesh (1994) started the interest, but since then it has expanded greatly and the following is by no means an exhaustive list. Mobius and Rosenblat (2006) are restricted to the labour market and find a ‘beauty premium’ — while employers expect beautiful individuals to perform their jobs better, but such a premium is not necessarily true. Doran and Hersch (2009) set out to prove it is the exception; they set out to disprove the theory of a beauty premium by supplying more information about the individuals. They conclude that beauty has little effect on wages. Robins et al., (2011) taking account of personality and grooming, however, continue to confirm the presence of a beauty premium.

a candidate receives, or an increase in persuasiveness on account of their appearance.⁴⁹ Rhode shows in *The Beauty Bias: the Injustice of Appearance in Life and Law* how laws are being passed in various countries to combat preferential treatment to beautiful individuals—she assumes a beauty premium from the outset.⁵⁰ Psychologists view the premium most generally combining and considering all the above factors as affecting the individual.⁵¹ Thus, the beauty premium refers to the general positive treatment of beautiful people and a range of benefits which they receive, and beauty penalty indicates the negative treatment. Darai and Grätz's *Facing a Dilemma: Cooperative Behavior and Beauty* provides an up-to-date review of the literature of the beauty premium in a majority of papers, dividing them into the basic subsections of labour markets, political elections, and pro-social behaviour as well as looking into sociology and psychology to tackle the stereotype that 'beauty-is-good'.⁵² The 'beauty premium' is a well-established term, and the idea of looking at the reactions that people have to beauty (how the beautiful consequently benefit or are harmed) is the unifying topic of these fields of study. What is interesting is the trend of these scientific papers to cite in passing the ancient Greeks and

⁴⁹ King and Leigh (2006) look at beauty in Australian elections and Berggren, Jordahl and Poutvaara (2007) look at beauty in electoral campaigns in Finland and find more significant results for females than males, but still a preference for the beautiful. Rosenblat (2008) looks at this idea of the beauty premium in terms of negotiation; or rather, how persuasive and useful appearance is in diplomatic relations.

⁵⁰ Rhode (2010).

⁵¹ On the side of psychology and sociology, the bibliography is even larger and has been around for much longer. Dion and Berscheid and Walster (1972), Hatfield (1986) and Etcoff (1999) are excellent examples of what is occurring in that field.

⁵² Darai and Grätz (2012). Their article looks at the stereotype of the beauty premium *and* the actions of the attractive individual making and showing evidence of a beauty penalty. See also above n. 48.

their supposed preferential treatment of beauty as an introduction.⁵³ I will test the accuracy of this assumption. When beauty is reacted to, I will question whether a beauty premium or penalty can accurately describe the reaction. The terms do not fit every situation perfectly but discussion of these terms with classical examples may help better to understand how robust the beauty premium is under different variables, and even highlight the need for more research on a beauty penalty. I am (as far as I know) the first Classicist to bring the terms beauty premium/penalty into discussions of the beautiful body and the reactions to it. Although the terms are most at home in the discipline of economics, they allow me to nuance and categorize my analysis of reactions to beauty in my three chosen genres. The use of these terms will also facilitate future interdisciplinary discussion.

Vocabulary Terms and Ideas

Before any substantial headway can be made regarding attitudes to physical beauty, either with a specific meaning or a general concept, the English terms I shall use to indicate this must first be identified and categorized and related to the ancient Greek terms. I have used the word ‘beauty’ quite loosely up to now, but careful distinction from

⁵³ Biddle and Hamermesh (1994) 1174 opens with a quote from Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 5.18-19 about Aristotle: “He [Aristotle] used to say that personal beauty was a better introduction than any letter” (their translation). On the popular front, Woodforde (1992) opens with the story of Narcissus in his *History of Vanity* and Etkoff (1999) begins *Survival of the Prettiest* referencing both Aristotle and Plato. Interestingly Dion and Berscheid and Walster (1972) begin with a much more appropriate reference to the widely-read (or rather heard) poetry of Sappho. Citing the philosophies of Aristotle (and also Plato) is not productive for what these studies often (but not always) were seeking to accomplish, and ultimately unhelpful to their cause because these are philosophical works that are seeking to reshape society rather than summarize its existing values.

this point on is necessary. ‘Beauty’ has its own set of connotations—it is pure and has an element of awe and is often used outside the context of the body. A much more basic (i.e. less nuanced and judgemental) description would be ‘good-looking’. Although a little awkward to write, I favour the term ‘good-looking’ over beauty as the most basic term and when the situation calls for a less biased word. ‘Physically beautiful’ and other such loaded combinations will be used to further clarify my meaning. At the other end of the spectrum ‘attractive’ will be used when good-looks are linked with love or *eros*. I shall use the more gendered words for ‘beauty’ such as ‘pretty’ and ‘handsome’ in a nuanced way: a ‘pretty man’ or a ‘handsome woman’ are not innocent comments on appearance, but rather, they signal a sort of gender-reversal which results in a praiseworthy body (i.e., although the man has feminine features he is still attractive, or vice versa). In this way there is a notable range in which to discuss the appearance of the beautiful body in English without using the specific word ‘beauty’. This continues, as I will show, with Greek vocabulary.

The most obvious Greek term and important starting point for this study is the adjective *καλός*. It is the most basic, general, and frequent word for beautiful, but has a wide scope: from a simple affirmative, to physical beauty and even to the more moral idea of good.⁵⁴ Scholarship on this particular Greek term is vast and conflicting. It is often taken

⁵⁴ The expansive range of *καλός* has been debated and attempts have been made to trace when different aspects of *καλός* came into play. It has been argued by Sider (1977) 465-466 that all three meanings of *καλός* were around and in use from the time of Homer and continued on, although the physical side was favoured; Wankel (1976) shares this view. This however is not undisputed. Dolan (1973) 368 argues that Homer used it exclusively for physical beauty and the other meanings

for granted to be mostly equivalent to the English word 'beautiful' although Umberto Eco is quick to write "the very word *kalon*, which only improperly may be translated by the term 'beautiful'..."⁵⁵ which chimes with Kosman's assessment of the term in 'Beauty and the Good: Situating the Kalon'.⁵⁶ Konstan's 'Biblical Beauty: Hebrew, Greek and Latin', while admitting how broad the adjective is, offers up the noun-form as a stricter, more physical version.⁵⁷ Riegel, in his systematic treatment, finds Plato's use of *καλός* to have an unavoidable ethical slant, but rejects translations other than 'beautiful' except in rare circumstances.⁵⁸ The presence of the term *καλός* (or the noun *κάλλος*) in a given text is insufficient to ascertain if the passage pertains to the discussion of physical beauty and, consequently, whether a reaction is imminent. Context, genre, and grammatical role in the sentence all need to be considered.⁵⁹ For example, the adverbial form, *καλῶς*, is most often used in a moral sense, a deed well done or something merely well said.⁶⁰ *καλός* can

crept in over time. For the moment, it is sufficient to note that as far as the fifth-century and onward, all three meanings are undisputedly in play.

⁵⁵ Eco (2004) translated by McEwen (2004) 39.

⁵⁶ Kosman (2010).

⁵⁷ Konstan (forthcoming). For the semantic range and other possible translations see Janaway (1995) 59-61.

⁵⁸ Riegel (2011).

⁵⁹ See Riegel (2011). Dover (1974) 69-73 has a short study on the word and shows how it, and its adverb, encroaches on the semantic territory of both *εὖ* and *ἀγαθός* in various contexts. Konstan (2012) also notes the wide range of the word in the LSJ, and for this reason proposes that it is *κάλλος* which is closer to the idea of 'beauty' in English than this adjective.

⁶⁰ The adverb is most often translated 'well' since it describes verbs and thus actions rather than physical bodies. At the same time using the adverb beautifully could also be accepted but this makes the English a bit awkward, supporting the idea that *καλός* is wider in its semantic field than beauty.

make up part of longer words, or have emphatic prefixes added.⁶¹ Riegel disagrees with translators who use other words such as ‘fine,’ ‘noble,’ or ‘well’ for the instances when *καλός* doesn’t deal explicitly with physical beauty. While this might help emphasize the meaning in context, it then loses flexibility.⁶² This wide semantic range gives *καλός* almost an ambiguous touch which is worth preserving as much as possible in any translation. A simple phrase such as *καλὸς γέρον* could thus mean a ‘noble old man’, ‘fine old man’, or even a ‘good-looking old man’. It is the English that requires the specification, but preserving the ambiguity of the Greek as much as possible allows for the old man to be all three. No matter how clear the context, because Greek uses the same word for these concepts, they all must be considered. But *καλός* is not the *only* term to denote a beautiful form—just as we are not similarly limited with only one word for ‘beauty’ in English.

Before continuing to other vocabulary, a short digression on the term *καλός* *κάγαθός* (which at first glance seems to combine the two ideas of physical beauty and moral goodness) is necessary because of its prevalence in Athenian literature and its controversial definition. It is a title which carries an expectation. Based on my above explanation of *καλός* *κάγαθός*, those who are honoured with it should be of utmost interest to this study. However, it is much more than just a combination of beauty and

⁶¹ It is a common compound which attaches the notion of ‘beautiful’ to another notion. The LSJ has about 3 pages dedicated to such compounds.

⁶² Dover (1978) 16. It can be used easily for male, female and neuter. Dover chose to keep the translation of ‘beauty’ for the word even when the English may seem slightly awkward; I will also try to keep my translations this way.

goodness. Along with these two lexical definitions of beauty and goodness, there is a widely accepted social meaning with ties to the aristocracy and a form of elitism and secondarily to a type of morality. Scholars are still trying to understand what exactly was implied by this term. Mooney and Coad's *Kalos kai Agathos: Homeric Origins* summarizes current scholarship on the term ultimately tracing it to Homeric times. At first, ἀγαθός was sufficient praise and recognition for the aristocracy.⁶³ Then, καλός (added with καί, turning ἀγαθός into κἀγαθός) was attached to add emphasis and further separate anyone attempting to gain undue praise.⁶⁴ Donlan's 'The Origin of Kalos Kagathos' only traces the phrase as far as Herodotus, and Bourriot's *Kalos Kagathos-Kalokagathia* argues that the phrase is originally from Sparta.⁶⁵ By the Classical period, the phrase is frequently employed by a number of authors, but there is additional evidence to support the idea that this phrase denoted both social class and, later, morality.⁶⁶ The context of the phrase is very important for discovering what slant it will take. It is also important to be open to the possibility that it expresses sarcasm, especially when the phrase is used in Aristophanes,

⁶³ Mooney and Coad (2004), also see Mooney and Coad (2006).

⁶⁴ Mooney and Coad (2004) 5. They agree with the analysis of Wankle (1961).

⁶⁵ Bourriot (1995) and Donlan (1973) 369. See also Ober (1989) 251 who gives a short view of its use as a political catch word; the first attested usage of this phrase is in Herodotus (1.30).

⁶⁶ Ehrenberg (1943) 85 sees the phrase as being highly social (especially in oratory and Aristophanes) and then being used (for a large part by Xenophon) as a moral idea. The date and political situation at the time of any given text will influence the term and help indicate whether it requires a more social or moral idea. De Ste Croix (1972) 372 and Dover (1974) 41-45 both argue that the word needs context and careful consideration. Most recently Huss (1999a) 62-64 in his commentary on Xenophon's *Symposium* differentiates between the concept καλός κἀγαθός, and the compound word καλοκἀγαθία. He separates the concept first by human or object, and then into political or moral meanings. The moral meaning has many subtle shades which are heavily dependent on the author of a given work and the context within it and so each much be looked at individually as they arise.

because as a social term, other classes can easily take this honoured title and use it derisively. Indeed, Aristophanes himself both praises and mocks the *καλοὶ καγαθοί*.⁶⁷ In philosophy, the phrase represents the concept of ‘the ideal man’ rather than a flesh-and-blood member of the elite. Xenophon in particular uses the word in this moral sense frequently throughout his works.⁶⁸ It is often translated as ‘gentleman,’ a word that is difficult to define in English.⁶⁹ Better than gentleman, it is easier to leave the phrase as literal as possible: ‘the beautiful and good’. These were the qualities that the aristocracy desired for themselves and they are also the qualities which Socrates wanted to instil in others.⁷⁰ To be *καλὸς καγαθός* is a high compliment that could suggest physical beauty, but in fact is more concerned with moral and social superiority. Only in specific contexts can a beautiful appearance be concluded.

Although *καλὸς καγαθός* has become something of a set phrase which should not necessarily be dissected into two parts of ‘beautiful’ and ‘good’, it seems that as authors in their genres, Aristophanes and Xenophon, support the utilization of opposing sides of the phrase, while oratory is able to adopt either depending on circumstance. Aristophanes’ comedies stress the ‘beauty’ aspect, thus recreating the class physically, and to a degree ignore the ‘good’ connotations of the phrase when mocking the class and showing them to

⁶⁷ Aristophanes uses the term to denote the class but can also use it to emphasize moralist people such as in *Eq.* 227, 735 and 738, but more commonly sarcastically or mockingly such as in *Eq.* 185, *Nu.* 101, 797, *V.* 1256, *Lys.* 1060.

⁶⁸ Xen. *Symp.* uses *καλὸς καγαθός* 14 times. See Halliwell (2008) 157 particularly n. 96.

⁶⁹ While ‘gentleman’ started out as a formal title and sign of nobility, it eventually became a moral term for a man who acted appropriately. In recent times the term is not in general use.

⁷⁰ Xen. *Symp.* 9.1, Socrates is called *καλὸς καγαθός* despite the fact that he is well known for being neither attractive nor part of the aristocracy. This once again emphasizes the moral aspect of *καλός*.

be arrogant and superficial.⁷¹ Conversely, Xenophon's works emphasize beauty as a non-physical and moral description. Whether exalted or derided the mere existence of such a term is telling about the position and relation of physical beauty to inner goodness.⁷²

Ultimately, this project is not a word study on κάλλος or its adjective, adverb and other forms. This section is here merely to indicate that κάλλος is a good starting point, just as the English word 'beauty' is. What *is* important are the reactions to the human form, which when viewed positively, cause reactions.

Words with strong connections to youth also have strong ties to beauty, and Robson comments that youth is one of the traits which both beautiful men and women share.⁷³ Xenophon often pairs καλός with ώραϊος, to emphasize the beauty of the individual. Not only is he traditionally beautiful, but ripe, in full bloom, and one could even suggest 'at peak beauty.' The noun form ώρα carries this idea as well. ήβη is another youth word that ties in to beauty. It can be a legal word to describe a boy who has just become a man, but once again it is at the same stage in life in which attractiveness is at its peak. The noun ήλικία,⁷⁴ which similarly relates to age, is qualified in context to show if it is used within this period of peak beauty. The verb ἀκμάζειν also has strong connections to this concept.

⁷¹ For example, *Ar. Nu.* 797; Strepsiades describes his son as καλὸς καγαθός just because of his looks and his family ties with expensive gambling habits.

⁷² Indeed, this is what Coad (2006) seeks to establish.

⁷³ Robson (forthcoming b).

⁷⁴ Aristophanes uses this word usually in reference to age of older men/women (e.g. *Nu.* 515, *V.* 245, *728 Ec.* 465, 1038), but *Xen. Symp.* 4.18 includes with it ideas of youth.

Certain colours also carry the idea of beauty along with them. In the case of women, having pale skin, and thus being pale, or λευκός, is a particular compliment to their beauty. It is also known that women had access to a powder that could artificially lighten the skin to enhance this beauty.⁷⁵ For men, being light skinned was a sure sign of effeminacy, which was not desired.⁷⁶ With regards to hair, colours of yellow, meaning fair hair such as ξανθός show beauty.⁷⁷ Any sort of shining, sparkling, or brilliance would also be a key word to look for in a text describing parts of the human body, for example λιπαρός or λαμπρός. Both are often used of the body as a compliment but also seem to have a meaning particular to Athens.⁷⁸ Aristophanes twice mentions a personified Athens as λιπαράς.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ For some examples of the usage of this make-up (ἐντριβεῖν: to rub make-up and ψιμύθος: white lead) see Xen. *Oec.* 10.2 where the wife does this hoping to gain favour, and Aristophanes (*Lys.* 149) where the women discuss using such powder to make themselves more irresistible to their husbands. There is also evidence of this make-up failing and in fact making the wearer even more repulsive with a fake white in Aristophanes' *Ec.* 878, 904, 929. The idea of 'white' being beautiful is exclusive to women, as it is a physical manifestation showing that they are ladies of leisure who stay at home and out of the sun. For further discussion see Ch. 2 below.

⁷⁶ See Aristophanes' *Ec.* 387 and 428. *Nu.* 1017 is the same idea, but instead of λευκός, the term χροιάν ὠχράν which is much more negative is used. For further discussion see Ch. 2 below.

⁷⁷ See Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 192 for discussion as relates to drama. This seems to be much attested in the tragedies of Euripides where the hero or heroine is thus described (e.g. *Helen* 1224), although beauty is not limited to the fair-haired. Curls (or εὐπλόκαμοι) are also considered beautiful, but this specification is primarily Homeric, see Homer *Il.* 6.380, 11.624, 14.6, 18.48, 22.442; Homer *Od.* 1.86, 2.119, 5.30, 58, 125, 390, 6.135, 198, 222, 238, 7.41, 246, 255, 9.76, 10.136, 144, 11.8, 12.132, 150, 449, 19.642, 20.80.

⁷⁸ Ar. *Nu.* 1002, and 1012 suggest that λιπαρός was one of the physical ideals that men desired to be and 1012 also mentions λαμπρός. See below at 59.

⁷⁹ See Ar. *Ach.* 639, 640 and *Eq.* 1329. Although the adjective is feminine to match the city name, the nature of the compliment seems to be masculine. Interestingly, in *Av.* 826, their new city is also complimented in this way.

Two other important words regarding beauty are εὐμορφος and εὐειδής. Both words are formed with the εὐ prefix, but they have specific reference to shape or form so that they are not as easily divorced from their physical meaning. There are many different words which, when combined with εὐ, connote physical beauty such as εὐπρεπής meaning generally good-looking, and εὐπρόσωπος pertaining specifically to the attractive face. Even more precisely, εὐσαρκος denotes a body which is ‘well-fleshed’ perhaps describing a quality of the body while simultaneously judging it positively. εὐσαρκος is a technical word common to medical or other texts that require exact descriptions of texture but it is also used to describe the attractive body in an exact manner.⁸⁰ This is not an exhaustive list of terms used to convey beauty within texts—these are merely a few of the most prominent terms used to describe and call attention to beauty throughout the following chapters. Most of the terms that will be of considerable importance are those that relate to physical bodies and are strongly grounded in the senses.

There are still a few additional points which need to be addressed regarding the terms and ideas which are of concern to my thesis. Although for the most part I shall limit myself to discussion of the physical body there are more nebulous areas which will also need attention. The idea of ‘dress’ and mannerisms can in fact alter the viewing experience and therefore any reactions to the beautiful body.

First, the dilemma of clothing and cosmetics must be addressed, both of which come under the heading of dress. The dress of men has not gained the same attention as

⁸⁰ I deal more in-depth with εὐσαρκος below at 191.

female dress recently, and the leading work on male dress is Geddes' article 'Rags and Riches: The Costume of Athenian Men in the Fifth Century' which shows how male dress changed, and was varied. Geddes ultimately suggests that the study of dress as an intentional aspect of appearance is revealing of a culture.⁸¹ Female dress has been an increasingly important point of scholarly interest. Llewellyn-Jones has written extensively on female dress including, *Aphrodite's Tortoise* specifically dealing with women wearing veils and how the use of veils and type are used for specific reasons in varied contexts.⁸² Glazebrook's 'Cosmetics and *Sophrosune*' looks at how all women, regardless of status, used cosmetics to enhance their appearances.⁸³ Clothing is more than just something with which to cover oneself, and divulges information about culture, beliefs, morality and even identity. The process of using clothing for beautification suggests the individual is actively seeking a reaction. Indeed, the interest in dress and thereby appearance is steadily growing especially when it comes to the female body and must be considered since it significantly alters its appearance. Such enhancements may improve the beauty of a given body, but since they are not strictly physical, they require additional explanation. Clothing of a certain style worn to conceal faults, and shoes to add height, can magnify whatever beauty was already present in Classical Athens. It is possible to go even further and suggest that such clothing creates an illusion of beauty – whether this is negative or not

⁸¹ Geddes (1987).

⁸² Llewellyn-Jones (2003). Llewellyn-Jones has also produced an edited volume *Women's Dress in the Ancient Greek World* (2002b).

⁸³ Glazebrook (2009), for a further engagement with Glazebrook and her argument see below on page 191.

depends on the author or genre judging it. Make-up, which was not limited to women, operates under a similar principle. To mention just a few ways in which this will be useful to my current study, I shall point out that while Xenophon praises the enhancements of the Persian Cyrus (eye make-up, flattering clothing and high-heels) his Ischomachus condemns such things as deceptive.⁸⁴ Aristophanes and other contemporary comedians mock the over-use of cosmetics but also differentiate some articles of clothing as appearance-enhancing.⁸⁵ The orator Lysias makes mention of cosmetics with the implication that they were worn as a means of serious and positive physical alteration.⁸⁶ Clothing and cosmetics should be used to see what features were being enhanced, and their effectiveness.

There is also the idea of *skhēma*, which deals with outward physical mannerisms and characteristics which are linked more to personality than the body's specific aesthetics.

Goldhill defines this as:

“the physical appearance presented to the gaze of the citizens—appearance which may be simply what is seen, a ‘form’, but which also may be a mere appearance, a semblance or concealment of true nature.”⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.40-41 and *Oec.* 10.1-8.

⁸⁵ To name a few examples, Ar. *Lys.* 43-48, *Ec.* 878, Eubulus *Stephanopolides* 98 and Alexis *Isostasion* 17-18.

⁸⁶ Lysias 1.14.

⁸⁷ Goldhill (1999) 4. At the same time Goldhill also laments that *skhēma* is “a complex term whose history has not yet be adequately researched in contemporary scholarship.” On account of this complexity, then, I have chosen to leave the word transliterated rather than translated to allow for a full range of meaning. Depending on the context, author, audience and time, I will point out how the nuance changes.

While the basic parameters of *skhēma* are still blurred, they seem to include simple observations about an individual's way of walking, and their gestures, or even more minute details such as facial expressions which can be noted in a given text or can be observed on pottery. Such descriptions do more than merely set the scene—they breathe life into the character and add an extra layer to the physical description. Similar to enhancements, these motions of the body are important to this study in cases where it is clear or implied that they add to or detract from the body's beauty.

Both dress and *skhēma* affect the manner in which beauty appears on the body in a way that can be accounted for within this study. It is my hope that a combination of literary genres, the images found on pottery, and a care to recognize these extra factors will help produce a more rounded image of how the beautiful body was perceived, judged, and reacted to in the classical era. This 'rounder' image may still be far from complete, but will allow for a more complex and intricate view of what was considered beautiful, and what the range of reactions to beauty was. Contradictions between texts, genres, authors, and material evidence serve to show not only a necessarily diverse understanding of beauty but also the breadth of which Athenian society was capable.

Research Questions

In light of the vast quantity of papers dealing with beauty premiums across many disciplines, there is an opportunity for an interdisciplinary dialogue fuelled by the questions which this thesis asks of the beautiful Greek body which have thus far been given insufficient classical scholarly attention. While scientists draw out and categorize

reactions from beautiful individuals (real or enhanced) which both they and the reactors personally see, I must first gather descriptions of generally accepted positive features and from there I can discern the imminent reactions. First, how do others react to a person who is beautiful? This question is the most complex because the answer entails a wide range of possible reactions, and is the question asked by economists, sociologists and psychologists (and really 'all of us') who are looking to better understand human behaviour. Through the course of this thesis, I will show that different reactions are found among various genres, and by piecing the evidence together a range of these reactions can be formed from which a deeper understanding is possible. Were the beautiful given special privileges and honoured above others? Was their beauty persuasive to the point that it was easier for them to get what they wanted? Both indicate a beauty premium. These ideas have long existed as mere assumptions, but it is necessary to see how the beautiful body was in fact viewed by contemporaries (through the depictions in texts and material evidence), and how persuasive beauty could be. Then, there is the other end of the spectrum as well—are there examples of someone's beauty being used against them or creating a strong prejudice indicating a beauty penalty?

The next question is what assumptions are made about a beautiful individual (i.e., must a beautiful person also be good?), this is still a type of reaction albeit a passive reaction. Dion, Berscheid and Walster's 'What is Beautiful is Good', published in 1972, tackles this very stereotype in the modern world, and begins by saying "The line of deduction advanced by most physiognomic theories is to imply that 'What is beautiful is

good...[Sappho, Fragments, No. 101],’ and that ‘Physical beauty is the sign of an interior beauty, a spiritual and moral beauty...[Schiller, 1882].’ “⁸⁸ This ‘stereotype’ has become ingrained through a long history of scholarship, of the Greeks and of the modern world.⁸⁹ Part of the problem with this is one of vocabulary and the ambiguous nature of καλός (discussed above). Though it falls temporally outside the scope of this present study, the description of Thersites in Homer’s *Iliad* 2.211-220 is an early example of this problem from the archaic period. Thersites’ ugliness is described only fractionally less than his terrible personality:

Θερσίτης δ' ἔτι μούνος ἀμετροεπῆς ἐκολῶα,
 ὃς ἔπεα φρεσὶν ἦσιν ἄκοσμά τε πολλά τε ἦδη
 μάψ, ἀτὰρ οὐ κατὰ κόσμον, ἐριζέμεναι βασιλεῦσιν,
 ἀλλ' ὅ τι οἱ εἴσαιτο γελοῖον Ἀργείοισιν
 ἔμμεναι· αἰσχιστος δὲ ἀνὴρ ὑπὸ Ἴλιον ἦλθε·
 φορκὸς ἔην, χωλὸς δ' ἕτερον πόδα· τῷ δὲ οἱ ὤμῳ
 κυρτῷ ἐπὶ στήθος συνοχωκότε· αὐτὰρ ὕπερθε
 φοξὸς ἔην κεφαλῆν, ψεδνὴ δ' ἐπενήνοθε λάχνη.
 ἔχθιστος δ' Ἀχιλῆϊ μάλιστ' ἦν ἠδ' Ὀδυσῆϊ·

But one man, Thersites of the endless speech, still scolded, who knew within his head many words, but disorderly; vain, and without decency, to quarrel with the princes with any word he thought might be amusing to the Argives. This was the ugliest man who came beneath Ilion. He was bandy-legged and went lame of one foot, with shoulders stooped and drawn together over his chest, and above this his

⁸⁸ Dion, Berscheid and Walster (1972) 285. I believe the Sappho quotation is fr. 50 in Campbell (1990) 97, which he translated as “...for he that is beautiful is beautiful as far as appearances go, while he that is good will consequently also be beautiful...” ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος ὅσον ἴδην πέλεται <κάλος>, ὁ δὲ κάγαθος αὐτίκα καὶ κάλος ἔσσεται.

⁸⁹ It may be nearly impossible to name all of this, but recently Nehamas (2007) 127 began his book perpetuating this stereotype by oversimplifying the situation and reactions to beauty. Ultimately, however, he admitted that “Beauty’s relation to morality is always in question.” He is unable to agree with Scarry (1999) 52 who carefully proclaims that “beauty really is allied with truth.” Both share, however, the same basic texts and agenda. They look to art and philosophy to develop a single idea of ‘beauty’ rather than embracing its intricate contradictions.

skull went up to a point with the wool grown sparsely upon it. Beyond all others Achilles hated him, and Odysseus.⁹⁰

Taking on double meaning, Nagy states “He [Thersites] is *aískhistos* ‘most base’ not only for what he says and does (or for what is said and done to him by Odysseus!) but also for his very ugliness.”⁹¹ Taking this idea even further, Thalmann later wrote about this passage that “His [Thersites’] grotesque ugliness, moreover, seems to play on the Greek tendency to regard physical appearance as a correlate of moral worth.”⁹² This example suggests that a beauty premium is deserved through its assessment of Thersites.

However, a second Homeric passage challenges if not contradicts the idea of a deserved beauty premium where the equating of appearance and morality is found incorrect (*Od.* 8.165-175). Here, Odysseus is taunted into participating in athletics by the Phaeacian Euryalus who says he does not look like an athlete. Odysseus’ response, although intended to counter Euryalus, is a cry for caution when looking at the body:

ἄλλος μὲν γὰρ εἶδος ἀκιδνότερος πέλει ἀνήρ,
 ἀλλὰ θεὸς μορφῆν ἔπεσι στέφει· οἳ δέ τ' ἐς αὐτὸν
 τερπόμενοι λεύσσουσιν...
 ἄλλος δ' αὖ εἶδος μὲν ἀλίγκιος ἀθανάτοισιν,
 ἀλλ' οὐ οἳ χάρις ἀμφὶ περιστέφεται ἐπέεσσιν,

For there is a certain kind of man, weaker in appearance, but the god crowns the form of his words, and they who look toward him are filled with joy at the sight...another again in his appearance is like the immortals, but upon his words there is no grace distilled. (169-171, 174-175)⁹³

⁹⁰ *Il.* 2.211-220, translation by Lattimore (1961) 81-82. The underlining is mine.

⁹¹ Nagy (1979) 262-263.

⁹² Thalmann (1988) 15.

⁹³ Translation by Lattimore (2007) 125, and adapted slightly.

Although Odysseus compares physical appearance to speech the message is clear: beauty of body and eloquence of speech need not coincide. It will be important for this study to note whether this was an assumption by the ancient authors or by scholars studying the work, and whether such an assumption is the norm. That this passage lacks the overt word for beauty (κάλλος) previously discussed further serves to reinforce the idea that there are many ways to discuss beauty without naming it as such. The human form, when 'weak in appearance' as it is here, is just as ugly as calling it such.

The last is beauty at its most basic level: who is beautiful, and what features (of either the body or face) are most attractive? How close a description of this 'ideal body' is available via texts and pottery? Comedy gives the most detailed descriptions of the body for both men and women as characters on stage declare their personal preference in terms of colour, size and texture. At times they even urge other characters to further beautify themselves. The texts of Xenophon focus more on the colour and texture of the body, and yet the idea that beauty of the body is indicated by each feature's usefulness gives a graphic analysis of the beautiful face. Oratory makes note of the colour and texture of the beautiful body, but ultimately relies heavily on how the beautiful body moves and how mannerisms can be a source of bodily beauty. The descriptions given will be analysed in their chapters 1, 2, and 3 respectively, thus creating a platform of what the beautiful body is within each genre so that reactions can be measured against particular appearances.

With these questions in mind, I have chosen texts representing multiple genres that deal with the subject of the beautiful body and that would be commonly known and

accepted by a majority of the Classical Athenian population.⁹⁴ Starting chronologically and with a visual dramatic performance, my first chapter “Bawdy Bodies” will first look at the genre of comedy, but focus on Aristophanes’ *Clouds*, *Thesmophoriazusae*, *Lysistrata*, and *Ecclesiazusae*. I shall argue that, despite the grotesque costuming, beauty *was* presented on the comic stage and that these comedies show an interest in reactions to such beauty. Beauty, on a base level, was pursued for one’s own personal appearance and sexually desired. Beautiful youths are negatively portrayed and certainly not perceived as ‘good’, but pursued nonetheless, as are deceptive, duplicitous wives. In spite of this negative stereotyping, beauty affords to its possessors premiums. The beauty penalty can also be seen (albeit passively) where a beautiful minor character, rather than profiting from their appearance, is possessed and abused. The beauty premium and penalty in comedy are not represented as cold, logical, or calculating but are instinctive reactions to beauty. The successful pairing of beauty with unworthy figures shows comedy’s unique ability to laugh at this sort of ‘injustice’ which the texts of the later chapters strictly admonish. The societal truth presented in comedy is such that you have two options: laugh at yourself, or cry at such a reality.

In my second chapter, “Beholding the Beautiful”, I shall address the literary and historical works of Xenophon, and particularly his *Symposium*, *Memorabilia*, and to a lesser extent *Oeconomicus*. Xenophon’s accessible style, with its overtly moral message and practical advice, provides a useful contrast to the comic material. Pursuit of beauty, and its

⁹⁴ I roughly calculate the classical time period as fifth and fourth century, although Ober (2008) 40 is more specific when he generalizes that most Greek historians would accept 508-322 B.C.

intoxicating power, are stated very much as a given because Xenophon senses a great power in beauty which is both persuasive and dominating as it forces action from its viewers. Beauty, no matter how pure and well-intentioned, can be dangerous. Thus I shall show that throughout Xenophon, men (as pursuers of beauty) are warned strongly about reacting too quickly because of beauty's corrupting qualities. Reactions are recorded, and Xenophon then passes judgment on these reactions urging his readers to react appropriately. Yet, preference is often given to the beautiful, despite the discouragement of the author. Xenophon's works are full of reactions to beauty (both appropriate and inappropriate) and through this chapter I shall show there is an ancient awareness of both beauty penalties and premiums.

The third genre, and my third chapter, "the Beautiful on Trial" will deal with oratory. Here, I shall focus on Aeschines' *Against Timarchus*, Ps. Demosthenes' *Erotic Essay*, Isocrates' *Helen*, Hyperides' *Phryne*, Demosthenes' *Against Boeotus II*, and Demosthenes' *Against Neaira*. In this chapter we see a further development of the stereotypes from chapter 1, and the advice on how to react to beauty from chapter 2. The beauty of youth and the effects of a specific daily regimen for the body are described and further processed by the orator as he tells the jury both how and why they should react to beauty. An appeal to beauty is an extra rhetorical tool which should not be overlooked and is more effective than expected. In oratory, the orator himself reacts first to beauty, and he then stipulates the reaction for the jury. Forcing the jury to see and then react to beauty allows an orator to create sympathy or stir up prejudice.

This study is a cross-section of reactions rather than an exhaustive list and these texts were decided upon because of the concentrated amount of material and for the broad, if not mainstream, characteristics of their respective target audiences. It should be noted that beauty is not just something which is *seen* by the eyes, but is judged by the beholder. It produces a variety of reactions, including sexual reactions, but not limited to such.

I have chosen my material so as to create a wide and varied view of beauty that allows for a diverse representation of views and reactions. It is essential, however, to remember the shortcomings of the available evidence. Dover, while discussing how to get to the bottom of what popular morality was, states:

“All we can claim in respect of the Athenians is that the available material shows us what moral principles were enunciated or (more often) taken for granted by a certain number of highly articulate men in public utterance.”⁹⁵

This is the same problem I face with the evidence of the beautiful body and yet, despite this, it is a worthwhile investigation. Olyan, in *Disability in the Hebrew Bible*, clarifies the situation even further, and one can simply replace his word ‘disability’ with ‘beauty’ to understand my stance:

“Thus, I focus on *representations* of disability in the biblical text. Although these representations are anything but an unproblematic window providing direct access into the day-to-day lives of ancient persons, they do teach us something about the ways in which disability was constructed and infused with meaning...and therefore, some of the ways in which ancient writers thought about disability and sought to shape the thinking of others.”⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Dover (1974) 4.

⁹⁶ Olyan (2008) 4.

Thus, within the rather strict parameters of diverse genres and authors with their own artistic ends and personal motives, this thesis will bring together the ideas about the beautiful body and organize them so that they can be compared to one another, and develop an overarching view of beauty from the classical period. From there, I will argue that the overarching view of beauty (which texts and material evidence reveal) is complex, and the ideas which modern economists and sociologists are discovering about our modern world are in fact relatable. There is evidence both of a beauty premium and of a beauty penalty, but more interestingly the way beautiful individuals are stereotyped, what is believed about them, how they are treated and how they ultimately behave will help us to understand Classical Athenian society better. Similarities or parallels can be drawn from this thesis and approach and applied to other genres, ancient cultures and even our own society. This research may serve to enlighten us about our own everyday choices and give a deeper understanding of human conditioning towards beauty.

Bawdy Bodies: The Effect of Beauty in Comedy

Comedy and specifically the works of Aristophanes (whose plays make up almost all of our understanding of Athenian Old to Middle Comedy), will be the starting point for this analysis of reactions to the beautiful body. This comic material is chronologically the oldest, and in addition to being a visual performance, it is much more descriptive than the other works I will consider. Evans hypothesizes, “when we come to Aristophanes we encounter the use of detailed portraiture as a comic device, though not employed with great frequency,”¹ and the graphic and outlandish descriptions along with other descriptions help establish what was found attractive, repulsive and other such stereotypes. As for frequency, Evans has underestimated the amount of material. The reason I begin with Aristophanes is because the success of a comedy depends on how well it connects to the audience. Comedy asks for nothing less than total engagement and mutual understanding for the jokes to work.² Although today we do not understand every humorous jibe (this is not to say that every audience member understood *all* the references) jokes classed as ‘body humour’ or that do not depend on specific knowledge remain amusing to us today. This need to relate to the audience on a base level is my primary reason for starting here.

The focus of this chapter is how beauty was shown on the comic stage, what types of reactions Aristophanes inserts and what presumptions are made on characters that are

¹ Evans (1969) 35.

² Robson (2006) 12-38 outlines the assumptions necessary for humour.

deemed good-looking. Much of the comic material focuses on the allure of specific bodily features which causes the text to be riddled with sexual undertones. Beauty, therefore, is frequently discernible on stage even when it is not a major theme. It is for this reason that I will first look at how beauty can appear, and then show how the particular relative beauty which does appear reflects subtle assumptions on the part of the author and the audience. Beauty is also an easy and visual way to create a range of stock character types to which others on stage have predictable reactions. This serves as a simple, comedic function and suggests conventional ideas about beauty.³ These beliefs about and reactions to beauty can be generally categorized or at least nuanced with the modern terms ‘beauty premium’ or ‘penalty’ as defined in the introduction, although they cannot be applied to every situation.⁴ I will then analyse the evidence of the reactions to beauty from both the small scale nuances and examples of when beauty plays a dominant role. The result of this is that beauty is seen on stage, and that when reference is made to such a positive appearance there is a reaction and evidence for both premiums and penalties.

The context of these comic plays, insofar as we are able to reconstruct them today, is complex. The comedies are dramatic performances and part of a competition during a ritual festival. Any assumption that the characters and setting are historically accurate

³ While it is difficult to gauge the audience’s reaction, the on-stage reactions act as a guide. Robson (2006) 40 (building on Segal (1996) 171 n. 36 albeit of tragedy) appeals to a virtual spectator and virtual audience which, while admittedly problematic, points to an underlying idea that what is presented is understood and accepted to a certain degree.

⁴ See above on page 14.

could lead to inaccurate conclusions;⁵ each must be looked at in the context of a drama that was performed in front of an audience within this complex framework before any useful information can be gleaned.⁶ On the comic stage, Aristophanes mocks everyone regardless of social standing: citizens both rich and poor, free men and slaves, women and all age groups from young to old. The range of characters allows for visual diversity and the characters react to the visual representations (who are also verbally described)⁷ which give shape to identifiable preconceived notions relating to the physical body and beauty.

⁵ For example, one of the longest debates is about how political Aristophanes was and can be traced back to the seventeenth century and is elaborated on by Walsh (2009). Attention sparked by Gomme (1938) and De Ste Croix (1972) are on two opposing sides: he is either entertaining just to win or he has a message and agenda to communicate. Since then the debate shifted from the political to incorporate ritual and festive contexts as well. Heath (2007) and Silk (2000) contribute more to the subject tackling the ideas (respectively) of how political, and how 'serious' Aristophanes is meant to be. Halliwell (1984) and (2008) 206-211 highlights the ritual and festival side. Zumbrunnen (2004) 657 analyses the plays not for what 'true' information is to be found, but rather for what stereotypes are in fact represented. Dover (1974) 18-22 gives a good idea of how to keep the specific context in mind when using the material presented in comedy.

⁶ Exactly who was in the audience—if only male citizens were present or if women were allowed—is uncertain. Who was there and watching the performances, however, could deeply impact any argument which catered to the idea that Aristophanes wrote 'for the audience.' The most recent comments include: Henderson (1991) who argues for their presence (see Plato *Gorgias* 502 and *Laws* 2.658, 7.817), and Goldhill (1994) who picks up the argument and resolves that there is insufficient evidence to prove or disprove the idea. It seems most probable, however, that whether or not women were there, the 'notional audience' consisted of citizen men only. Csapo and Slater (1995) 286 argue that there is much more evidence for than against their presence, and Hughes (2012) 207-208 gives a succinct summary of the century-old debate.

⁷ The language and vocabulary used in comedy about the body will be of great interest because the speech in comedy has been found to be the most closely associated with everyday language. Recently, the language which Aristophanes uses has been under analysis by scholars. The major works include Willi (2003), McClure (1999), and Henderson (1975). The focus varies from gendered speech to obscenities, and compared to other genres, the speech in comedy is found to be most closely associated with everyday language. Tragedy has a much more elevated poetic style. Histories, philosophies and legal speeches also have specialized vocabulary which, like today, is not necessarily how people speak.

In terms of creating a comprehensive view of reactions to beauty, the analysis of comedy shows the jocular and playful side of society but comedy also acts as a platform for criticism. On the surface, comedy utilizes the idea of beauty as a reward for its main characters widely across its plays, with the understanding that beauty is desirable and therefore an appropriate prize. But the issue goes much deeper: beautiful youths are abused and exploited by elder characters. And yet, the reverse is also shown when beautiful individuals are portrayed as vain and self-serving: beauty is used to exploit others. Beauty is a very visible theme to set upon the stage and both a beauty premium and penalty within Athenian society are discernible.

A general understanding of comic costuming is the essential starting point as this situates each play as part of the larger performance and challenges the traditional reading of comedy as presenting only grotesque bodies. As a result, the analysis of the reactions characters have to beauty will come at the end of the chapter after having established how beauty was shown on stage. I will begin with the evidence of costuming preserved on the later comic vases depicting performances.⁸ The comic body and its costume, although distorted, are varied. This variation causes differences by which some characters will look either better or worse than others on stage and thus allow for relative beauty. I will discuss this at length to demonstrate that there is a visual component and reaction to beauty in my section *Seeing Comic Beauty*. Alongside the material evidence I will also add the textual

⁸ The ceramic evidence available is dated later than Aristophanes' plays and a majority have been found in Southern Italy. These are depictions, or representations, of Attic Comedy. For more, see below on page 42.

evidence for relative beauty through the hag scene in *Ecclesiazusae* and end with the transformation of Demos in *Knights*.

Following my examination of the visual element which accompanies a dramatic performance, I will analyse the descriptions of beauty provided in the texts (organized by gender). I will show how each small detail alludes to a reaction, either on-stage or by the audience, to the appearance in my two sections *Reading the Male Comic Body* and *Reading the Female Comic Body*. I will start my analysis of the evidence with the quintessential *agon* scene of the Logoi in Aristophanes' *Clouds* which describes the ideal body. Next I will look at evidence for the young man's body and specifically how youths act, are expected to act, and what responses they evoke from the surrounding characters. This is followed by a brief look at attractive male dress followed by the beautiful body of the effeminate man as shown in *Thesmophoriazusae*. Beautiful in different ways, these bodies cause different reactions in their viewers. I will start my analysis of female beauty with the beautiful young girl from *Ecclesiazusae* and the women in *Lysistrata*. A brief look at how old women attempt to be beautiful is significant for understanding *how* women were considered beautiful.

In my final section, *Reacting to Comic Beauty*, I will look at the extended in-narrative reactions of the characters that occur on account of beauty, along with a glance at what the desired response from the audience would be. I will look at what the plays indicate that beauty accomplishes for the characters or plotline, starting with Praxagora's attempt to eliminate the beauty premium in *Ecclesiazusae*, and how she ultimately fails to accomplish

this. Then I will look at Praxagora's speech to the Athenian Assembly and how much her appearance affected the outcome. From the available evidence, I will show how beauty is frequent on the comic stage and causes a range of reactions and assumptions. The text describes the beautiful body, and consequently the characters (while mentioning all manner of descriptions of characters present or hypothetical) as well as how the audience unflinchingly passes judgment on that appearance and reacts to it. Comedy shows a complexity in the reactions to beauty. Beautiful characters are never portrayed as 'better' despite their appearance. Beauty is desired and praised, but is also under continual suspicion. Beauty can grant some premiums, but is just as likely to hold some type of penalty.

Seeing Comic Beauty

Costume

The costume of comedy is traditionally grotesque with a hideous mask, and full body suit which consists of a padded stomach, buttocks, drooping breasts, and for the males a large phallus. This distortion with padding labelled 'grotesque,' is not synonymous with 'ugly.' Indeed, both Foley and Revermann point out that the purpose of this costuming ultimately is humour and marks the unrealistic body as comic.⁹ It is rather ironic, then, that comic actors in this attire claim to be representative of normal citizens, in contrast to the more mythic characters of tragedy and the beast-like satyrs of their

⁹ See Foley (2000) 304-307 and Revermann (2006) 145-159.

eponymous plays.¹⁰ If these bodies were seen in a ‘real life’ context they would be hideous, but on the stage they are able to achieve various levels of appearance – even beauty – through the audience’s understanding of the context and comparison with the other actors on stage. Emphasis on the grotesque body shape and twisted masks ignores how the characters would appear in relation to each other. The identification of different characters demands variety, and beyond that, Aristophanes uses appearance to build character types.¹¹ Some would invariably look better on account of it. I argue here that it is possible to see beauty despite the grotesque nature of the costume – and even beyond ‘possible’ it is *necessary* to be able see the characters this way, otherwise the joke does not work.

The wearing of a large phallus and padding has been the subject of considerable debate in the mid-1950s between Beare and Webster. Current scholars like Hughes, Csapo and Revermann now view the debate as over and the phallus and padding are generally accepted.¹² But costumes were still varied. Indeed the standard treatment on costume by

¹⁰ See Foley (2000) 303-4 “...despite their grotesque costume, major comic characters are not only human (in contrast to the bestial satyr), but generally claim to be ordinary *citizens*.... It may require the comic costume to license its own grotesque deviations from the norms of public life...this dissonance between costume and role would explain the pointed artificiality of comic costume...”, Stone (1980) 31-38 and Stehle (2002) 372-374.

¹¹ On the use of costume in character development, Robson (2005) 73 writes “Aristophanes may be said to be playing with the way in which clothing projects identity to a dramatic audience. The less ‘personality’ a character has, the more he or she is defined by the clothing worn...”

¹² See the debate between Beare (1954) who argued that it was not as commonly worn and even less used by Aristophanes, and Webster (1955) who argued the phallus was usually, if not always present, just not visible. They published together at (1957) and finally ended with Beare (1959), though it was briefly revived by Killeen (1971). Csapo (1986) Revermann (2006) 145-158, and Hughes (2012) 18-10 gives the most recent account. The phallus at least seems to be standard but there is still an idea that the padding was not always grotesque.

Stone in 1980 indicates a great deal of variation.¹³ Padding was used for general distortion, as well as for specific characters to highlight either a disproportionate body or fatness.¹⁴

The texts themselves rarely allude to the costume,¹⁵ but much later southern Italian *phlyax* vases are a useful source for the comic costume; it should be remembered that there is a substantial time distance from the original fifth-century plays, and these vases should be, as Taplin's *Comic Angels* argues, understood as inspired by drama, rather than as an exact representation.¹⁶ Stone has very effectively shown that characters were not uniformly and equally padded. There was a great deal of variation that could leave some characters unpadded.¹⁷ Fig. 1 shows a good example of how padding worked—and Stone suggests that in fig. 2 the figure on the right is unpadded and fig. 4a is only lightly padded.¹⁸ Such variation can be used for character recognition but also casts judgements on their bodies.

Fig. 4b shows a comic Heracles with well defined lines on his leotard suggesting a

¹³ Stone (1980).

¹⁴ Beare (1954) 68 specifically argues against this padding being the norm. Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 222-3 makes the admission as to the lack of evidence, but does not push the matter much further. He claims that everyone being padded might negate some jokes such as at *Wealth* 558 where thinness and fatness come into play. Stone (1980) 127-143 has treated this idea in full. Foley (2000) 300 revisits this idea urging for reconsideration of this padding, as does Hughes (2012).

¹⁵ There is overall, a severe lack of fifth-century physical evidence for this as required costume, a point highlighted by Foley (2000) 298, also revisited by Stehle (2002) 372-376. See also Hughes (2012) 146f.

¹⁶ Taplin (1993). These "*phlyakes*"-vases are thought to represent Old Comedy even though they are after the fifth century. For more, see Hughes (2012) 182-183, who gives a good, brief summary of the controversy that arose over costuming in support of using these pots as to better understand Attic comedy. See also Taplin (1993) 30-47 as well as Beare (1954), Csapo (1986) 388. Although the padding and phallus are present, this does not mean that it was required. For example, a closer look at the Attic red-figure from the Vlastos Collection shows what appears to be a 'naked' Perseus who still has a non-distorted, if not well-defined, body suit. Scholars are now fairly unified in their support of using these ceramics as Attic comic material, as Hughes (2012) documents.

¹⁷ Stone (1980).

¹⁸ Stone (1980) 128.

completely different texture of body, and fig. 3 shows the same outlined body. To then compare these with fig. 1, there is a clear difference in body type. The clothed bodies of the men in fig. 5-7 show also show variation between even well-distributed amounts of padding.

Masks, while usually considered fairly uniform, take into account a few aspects of character: changing the basic colour for gender (or lifestyle choices such as the philosophers in *Clouds*) and beards in full for some men, or absent for effeminate.¹⁹ All masks were distorted in some manner, and it is because of this that the subject of beautiful characters on the comic stage has been ignored.²⁰ Trendall's analysis of masks shown on *phlyax* vases separates the masks into 21 different categories for men and 13 for women, so even on masks there is considerable room for diversity and certainly for degrees of beauty.²¹ Both Webster and Trendall have undertaken substantial study of masks, but there is a need for a continuation and updating of their work.

Answering Wiles' lament over the lack of scholarship on masks, Varakis presents such a study. She emphasizes the *skhēma* which the mask itself held for each character. Ultimately, she concludes that it was very difficult to differentiate characters based on their masks, emphasizing their movements onstage instead. Regarding the Demos in Aristophanes' *Knights*, however, she concedes that his transformation is an example of the

¹⁹ Stone (1980) 266-267, there are also exceptions made for the length of wigs. For more on masks generally see Hughes (2012) 166-177.

²⁰ See Hughes (2012) 176, and also Webster (1978) 13-26 for some reconstructed images of what the masks may have looked like.

²¹ Trendall (1959) 15-16.

beautiful body on the comic stage.²² As I have already discussed with the diversity in padding and other costuming aspects, so the variation in masks, even at a distance, would need to be discernible—and on this point I disagree with Varakis. Overall, I agree with Wiles and Varakis who argue that the mask must be seen as part of the whole costume along with padding and other elements. I would add that, while grotesque and twisted, there are observable degrees of difference between the characters for identification and character development which ultimately allows for beauty.

Aristophanes frequently parades ‘beautiful’ mute women at the end of his plays and other characters who are called beautiful on account of their youth and in comparison to the rest of the bodies on stage.²³ Athletic youths such as Pheidippides in the *Clouds* appear. Indeed, Foley pointed out the presence of handsome youths on the comic stage, and it needs to be further explored.²⁴ Pheidippides and other characters of the same type would need to be easily, and positively, distinguished from the older characters in terms of the type of padding, hair colour, mask and even (more speculatively) by his movements and actions on stage in order to properly create the stereotype of the young man.

Pheidippides’ appearance is pushed towards beauty when viewed in contrast with his old father, and later the sick bodies of the philosophers. It is through comparison that beauty easily enters the comic stage.

²² Wiles (2008) 377 and Varakis (2010) 27.

²³ See Zweig (1992) 77 for the sheer number of female characters, and also Hall (2000) and Hughes (2012) 206-214. These beautiful mute characters can be found at: *Eq.* 1389; *Pax* 551, 974, 705, 849, 871; *Ach.* 765, 1198; *V.* 1341, 1371; *Av.* 674, 1255, 1720; *Lys.* 87-92, 1114; *Th.* 1172, 1180; *Ec.* 1137.

²⁴ Foley (2000) 296 n.66 includes the examples of Pheidippides in *Nu.*, the young man in *Ec.*, the young man in *Av.*, the sons of Lamachus and Cleonymus in *Pax*, and the youth in *Pl.*

While discussion of the mute women invariably ends in some form of speculation, (i.e., whether they were real women, or actually naked), that they would be the most beautiful on stage by comparison has been more than adequately proven by Hughes' careful analysis.²⁵ As for speaking female characters, padding could be used to modify and highlight areas of beauty such as the breasts and buttocks.²⁶ This would exaggerate these features to an unpleasant degree in reality, yet allow for the body to be attractive on stage; a sort of pastiche of attractiveness, not dissimilar to cartoon and comicbook characters today. The female costume as portrayed on pottery is much more natural-looking than their male character counterparts (see figures 5-7). There is textual evidence in *Ecclesiazusae* in the scene where three old women, each progressively uglier than the last, fight over one young man that shows that degrees of ugliness are possible, and therefore degrees of beauty (*Ec.* 877f).²⁷ Women called 'beautiful' by other characters could have padding which hyperbolically emphasizes key points of the body rather than distorting it.²⁸

²⁵ Hughes (2008) 21-214, but also see Zweig (1992) who argues that some mute female characters were played by real women. For example: *V.* 1365 where Philocleon steals the cute dancing girl Dardanis; *Th.* 1175f the dancing girl (Elaphion) is used to get rid of the Scythian archer; *Lys.* 1114 the girl named 'Reconciliation'; *Av.* 1713 the marriage to the most beautiful girl. Calonic in *Lys.* would be a good representation of someone in comedy who is supposed to be good looking.

²⁶ See Alexis fr. 103, which tells of such activity, discussed in a later section.

²⁷ For more on this scene specifically, see my section 'Old women and beauty'. Revermann (2006) 145-158 discusses at length the use of ugliness as a comic trademark.

²⁸ See Stone (1980) 127-130.

Fatness

A short digression here about weight will show that although this padding distorted the bodies, the ideal weight of both men and women was different from today and this greatly affects how such padding was seen. Ideas of 'fat' and 'thin' would be different from a twenty-first-century western view where being thin is much desired by both sexes.²⁹ Because of current easy access to food which is unhealthy, as well as the possibility of living sedentary lives, it is easier to be not only obese, but obese to the point of morbidity.³⁰ Concepts of 'thin' and 'fat' in Classical Athens would have a significantly smaller range between them than the range which is possible now.³¹

Grmek, in studying osteoarchaeology, concludes that the general population of Greece was diverse, but on a whole, "thickset and sturdy."³² Pinault, focusing on women in particular, and Llewellyn-Jones question the discrepancy between depictions of slim women on pots and this probable more 'fleshy' reality.³³ Familiarity with slightly plumper women (although 'plumper' by today's standard is hardly difficult) should not automatically discount such as not beautiful. It is quite likely that a majority of women

²⁹ See Etcoff (1999) 177-179, 200-204. She traces the beginning of the still relevant 'thin' fad which has its roots in the 1960s.

³⁰ See Rosengren and Lissner (2008) for obesity as a current lifestyle.

³¹ There is a desire within the scientific community to trace a history of obesity, but all attempts thus far seem lacking. Bray (2009) 3-5 discusses the fact that Hippocrates knew about the hazards associated with obesity, but does not notice that such cautionary advice from Hippocrates usually takes the middle road approach, and in the section he has quoted that 'obesity was a cause of infrequent menses and infertility in women' (3) actually continues on to say that small women are more fertile than large and continues to give several other examples. See King (1998) 141 for a recent translation and context of this passage. Woodhouse (2008) is perhaps a bit too willing to equate current ideas of obesity with those during the classical period.

³² Grmek (1989) 110.

³³ Pinault (1993) and Llewellyn-Jones (2002) 194 n.24.

were heavier and did not routinely exercise. Indeed, Pomeroy sweepingly declares that “in ancient Greece a thin woman was not considered beautiful, but rather a pitiful creature who did not have enough food.”³⁴ Even further, not all figures on pottery are perfectly slim. Figure 9a and 9b have traditionally been interpreted as old and unattractive prostitutes, but figure 9a’s headscarf and earring could complement her double chin and may even suggest her wealth.³⁵

This connection between being fat and having wealth is perhaps best expressed in Aristophanes’ *Wealth* 558-561 where the character of Poverty tries to convince the others that on account of her they are both morally and physically better. Poverty makes men thin, and wasp-like (561). This certainly sounds like praise compared to the gouty, pot-bellied, thick-calved and morbidly obese rich counterparts (559-560). It is no surprise, then, that in the story of Heracles at the crossroads, the woman who represents vice and the life of luxury is fleshy and soft (*Xen. Mem.* 2.1.22). What *is* strange is that this softness, although not appealing to Xenophon (or Prodicus from whom Xenophon received this story), is seen as genuinely attractive.³⁶

Further attitudes towards weight are shown in Hippocrates’ *Aphorism* 1.3 which agrees with Plato and Aristotle who both support a diet and lifestyle which is temperate with regards to food, on being neither too thin, nor too fat.³⁷ An interesting fragment of

³⁴ Pomeroy (2006) 363.

³⁵ Sutton (1999) 197-198.

³⁶ See below on page 134 for more on this passage.

³⁷ This is one example, but Hippocrates’ texts are riddled with advice about an ideal weight and how an athlete should safely lose and put on weight. See also *Aphorisms* 1.4, 2.17-22. Interestingly,

Alexis' comedy (fr. 103) describes methods used by prostitutes to either downplay thinness by adding padding to the appropriate area or to hide fatness by borrowing the large padded breasts of the comic actors.³⁸ This fragment confirms that the overly thin could be as undesirable as the fat, while further supporting the idea that female characters in comedy would have oversized breasts as a point of comic beauty. Real prostitutes probably did not copy the comic actors, as this fragment suggests, but this provides a snapshot of how comedy portrayed the beautiful body and how the audience recognized the exaggerated features. Material evidence, leaving aside for the moment the comic vases discussed thus far, also shows a much more diverse weight range than statues or other monuments (just a few examples are figures 8-10). Figure 8, of a fat man among athletes, figure 9a and 9b of women in erotic contexts and figure 10 of a woman in a domestic setting do not necessarily indicate that these bodies are attractive, but they also need not be repulsive.

Aphorisms 2.35 comments that large bellied people are the most resistant to illness. This, however, is medical and not speaking of attractiveness. For more detail on the dietetics of Plato, see the lengthy discussion by Skiadas and Lascaratos (2001), some examples of these Plato passages are: *Laws* 831c-e on excess, and *Republic* 404a-c on not eating enough. See also Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* 1118a-1119a.

³⁸ Two fragments from Alexis' *Isostasion* remain, fragment 102 which is 4 lines long, and the more substantial fragment 103 which is about 26 lines long. The line of interest here is 10 to 15: οὐκ ἔχει τις ἰσχία, ὑπενέδυσ' ἐρραμμέν' αὐτήν, ὥστε τὴν εὐπυγίαν ἀναβοᾶν τοὺς εἰσιδόντας. κοιλίαν ἀδρᾶν ἔχει/ στηθὶ' ἔστ' αὐταῖσι τούτων ὧν ἔχουσ' οἱ κωμικοί/ ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι τοιαῦτα τοῦνδυτον τῆς κοιλίας/ ὡσπερ εἰ κοντοῖσι τούτοις εἰς τὸ πρόσθ' ἀπήγαγον. Translation by Rusten and Henderson (2011) 540: "One has no hips — she pads her underwear, so that the onlookers cry, "what a great bottom!" She's got a potbelly? They have the sort of breasts the comic actors use; by pushing them straight out like this, they swing the dress out away from the stomach as if with barge poles." See Arnott (1996) 268-281 for commentary. The supposed performance date ranges from 345 to 318. Alexis' career generally spanned Middle to New Comedy.

Relative Beauty and Costume Change

The evidence considered thus far has been mostly material, but there are textual scenes which also relate very specifically to the viewing experience. In the *Ecclesiazusae* scene mentioned briefly above, after the women have reorganized Athens, two young and beautiful lovers are denied each other and must, as the law states, first oblige the old and ugly. It begins with a solitary woman on stage (877-883).³⁹ She proclaims herself heavily made-up and standing in a highly desirable saffron dress.⁴⁰ She is not unlike the wives in *Lysistrata* who tempted their husbands, except here, any man will do. Her body is most likely distorted by comic padding, but with no point of comparison on stage it would be difficult for the audience to immediately identify her as ugly.⁴¹ The way she confidently describes herself and her beautification process further suggests an attempt to trick the audience into believing they will be witnessing a celebration complete with a ready, willing and made-up woman. The entrance of a young girl at 884 ends any chance that the first woman was good-looking. In comparison to the old woman, the girl is praised

³⁹ It is reminiscent of the introductions of this play with Praxagora waiting for her co-conspirators and *Lys*.

⁴⁰ Literally 'plastered with white lead,' καταπεπλασμένη ψιμυθίω 878. Glazebrook (2009) 238 suggests that the verb καταπλάσσω is not complimentary, but since the woman has described herself this way, it suggests that it is not completely pejorative. καταπλάσσω might have more to do with quantity or perhaps be common to comedy. The desirability of this dress is attested in *Lys*. 44-51, 219-220, 645.

⁴¹ Ussher (1973) Stone (1980) 133-135 believe this woman to be unpadded based on the young boy's comment at 1002, but Sommerstein (1998) 219 based on line 935 where the young girl is mocked for a disease sees this woman as fat, and the young one as 'well-proportioned'. The obscurity of the joke at 1002 which implies that she is unpadded makes it less convincing than 935 as well as the fact that it is easier to make her grotesque with padding than without. It seems most likely that this woman is padded but not large enough by comic standards to tip off the audience as to her true ugliness until the entrance of the young unpadded girl.

throughout as being young, with a few allusions to body parts, and the emphasis is on her youth.⁴² This scene reinforces my argument that it is necessary to see beauty on the comic stage in relation to the other characters; beauty can be displayed through degrees of comparison.⁴³ Her beauty can be further emphasized by the reactions shown by the young boy on stage who desires her, sings a duet of longing with her. His reactions strongly contrast the ugliness of the others as he tries everything in his power to avoid his legal obligation to them resorting to verbal abuse.

The second textual scene involves the rather extensive costume change of the Demos. Allusions to changes in physical appearance, either mysterious transformations or disguise by a new costume, can cause an effect beyond the physical, and are common. For example, old men are rejuvenated and can suddenly dance again (Blepyrus at *Ecclesiazusae* 1151 and Philocleon at *Wasps* 1497) but of particular interest is the beauty which is restored

⁴² She calls attention to her own thighs and breasts (900-902) and the young boy sexualizes her breasts and buttocks (963-964). There is high probability that the girl went without padding, due to an insult at 935 where she is said to be too thin. φθίνυλλα, Sommerstein (1998) translates the line as 'Miss. Anorexia' which seems to capture the insult. Although not noted by Stone (1980) 133-135, the young girl certainly would have been without padding. The older woman is called ὠσαπρά (884) which carries the idea of age, disease and ugliness. The rotting of the old puts it in direct contrast with the perfect bloom represented in the concept of ὦρα. The continued harvest and agricultural metaphors for beauty and sexuality are complicated, but their relativity to personal preference is shown in Plato's *Republic* Book 5, 474d-5a. The older woman specifies that she will provide a good time (ἀγαθὸν παθεῖν 893) if chosen, and that the young (νέαι 895) are not experts (σοφός 895) in sexual ways as she is. She refers to herself and her age group as πέπειραι (896) this time twisting the already complex image of fruit as a common metaphor for beauty and sexuality. LSJ first places it as a description of fruit, relating back to the ὦρα imagery, its usage as an opposite to νέαι appears to be unique to this instance. Ussher (1973) suggests a form of ripeness for marriage and cites Plutarch *Lycurgus* 15.3. Thus, she is the 'mature fruit' which is sexually ripe; she replaces ὦρα and the ripe, if not perfect, youthful body, for the more mature and considerably older πέπειραι. The metaphor works for fruit and harvest since a young fruit would be sour still, but fails to translate into human sexuality.

⁴³ See Revermann (2006) 150-152.

to Demos at *Knights* 1321. In *Clouds* 1172, we see a transformation of Pheidippides which is as detrimental to his appearance. Some changes may simply be a disguise for the sake of a story line, but others may represent an inner transformation of the character via a body or costume. Dicaeopolis in *Acharnians* 430, the Relative in *Thesmophoriazusaie* 215f, and the women in *Ecclesiazusaie* 60-66 alter their outside appearance, but are not ‘changed’. The descriptions are helpful because they are able to dictate appearance should the costume itself fall short or if the audience is seated too far away.⁴⁴

The rejuvenation scene of Demos in Aristophanes’ *Knights* is significant in terms of beauty and reactions to it.⁴⁵ The play centres on the Sausage Seller who competes with Cleon to gain Demos’ approval, and when the Sausage Seller triumphs, he transforms Demos. While others may regain their youthful libidos and gain suitably attractive partners, Demos is transformed into a young and beautiful man and indeed Varakis asserts that the transformed Demos is *the* single exception to the grotesqueness of the comic stage.⁴⁶ In this key passage at the end of *Knights* the Sausage-seller declares:

τὸν Δῆμον ἀφεψήσας ὑμῖν καλὸν ἐξ αἰσχροῦ πεπότηκα. (1321)

I’ve boiled Demos down for you and made him handsome instead of ugly.⁴⁷

Here καλός should be seen as handsome but also implies a strong internal effect—perhaps either a regression into youth or an increase in his ‘goodness’. The emphasis that is put on

⁴⁴ See Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 179 and Muecke (1982) 49.

⁴⁵ The transformation of Pheidippides from *Nu.* 1165f rivals this one in significance, but the end results in an ugly and deformed Pheidippides. And indeed, Stone (1980) 398-404 notes both complete and superficial costume changes. Of the complete, there are only two, from *Nu.*, and *Eq.*.

⁴⁶ Varakis (2010) 27

⁴⁷ Translation by Sommerstein (1981) 133.

this rejuvenation is above and beyond any other as his ugliness is described in full during the play, and he is magically made attractive.⁴⁸ His transformation includes not just youth, but he is described as gleaming (λαμπρός) like the athletic body praised in *Clouds*;⁴⁹ he is also violet-crowned, wears a golden cicada and smells of myrrh (1329-1332). The real magic, however, is that this change in appearance also changes Demos' behaviour for the better.⁵⁰ This illustrates the ultimate comic success story, far superior to any other change perhaps because Demos is the one character, as the embodiment of the people, who deserves it. Finally the idea presented is that youth and beauty, as well as dress, can make one better. His old age and appearance made him senile rather than wise, and now his youth allows him to think clearly.

The transformation, or rather beautification, of Demos is suggestively, and fairly uniquely, beyond 'skin deep'. He is rejuvenated and perception of him, on account of this, is altered.⁵¹ This scene with Demos is perhaps the most convincing piece of evidence because it would make little to no sense without a significant mask change resulting in an improved appearance. Beyond this scene's evidence for visual beauty on the comic stage,

⁴⁸ Olson (1990) shows that in addition to this 'make-over' the Demos is made younger contra Edmunds (1987) who sees all the alterations as merely the make-over of an old body. The magic here seems to be a reference to the story of how Medea killed Pelias by tricking his daughters into boiling him alive.

⁴⁹ See below on page 59.

⁵⁰ This is contra Scholtz (2004) 288 who views this as a beauty treatment only — while Demos may not have gained intelligence, he is now capable of listening and indeed the similarities between old men and children intellectually may make it look like no change has occurred, but with youth comes learning.

⁵¹ Other transformations: Philocleon in *V.*, Plutus in *Pl.* and Pisthetaerus and Euelpides in *Av.*. Of these three, Pisthetaerus' most closely mirrors Demos' in the 'rejuvenation' sense, although it still falls short—see Dunbar (2002) 511f but Stone (1980) 404 seems unconvinced that this was a full transformation as Cornford (1934) 23, 171 states.

it is also a powerful textual attestation of assuming positive traits about a beautiful person. This assumption can quickly lead to a beauty premium. After Demos' rejuvenation, whether or not he is changed inwardly, he is praised and prepared to receive beneficial treatment from the surrounding characters on account of his looks.

Conclusions for "Seeing Comic Beauty"

What has been shown, then, is that despite the commonly held belief that ugliness is the important marker of comedy, when costumes are seen in relation to each other, beauty is possible. Padding was not uniform, and characters wore different amounts—even on different parts of the body. The variety of masks also further points to a heterogeneous look of characters and some would shine through as beautiful on the stage when surrounded by the others. As a result, any character can be deemed more or less attractive based on the other characters present or the costuming of the chorus.

My point about weight has a more subtle significance, but is relevant because, while the padding did distort the body, especially in terms of figures which were deemed beautiful, the padding could demonstrate beauty for women. Weight is also important outside of comedy and its effect on beauty in general, and more specifically its effect on status and gender—this is something to be considered in all of my following chapters. On the comic stage, it is an issue of relativity since characters did not all look exactly the same. For one old woman in *Ecclesiazusae* to be uglier than the next is easy, but to distinguish the young girl from the old, there needs to be some type of visible distinction and therefore relative beauty. This idea is strengthened by the textual evidence and the costume change

of Demos. His outward transformation can be read as implying more than a simple make-over. Even more than change in personality, this scene showcases the idea of a beauty premium. In fact, the tongue-in-cheek comedy aspect works whether we are to believe that Demos has had an inward change or not. If he has not, he is still *treated* differently within the play—better—and this is a beauty premium. The reason I have dedicated time to showing this very visual side of comedy is to stress the connection between what is seen and what is heard on the comic stage. Reactions to beauty are both seen and stated.

Reading the Male Comic Body

Having looked at the visual side and the general environment in which these bodies were displayed, I will now show how the dialogue and general plot of the plays further highlight the beauty of particular comic characters, starting with the male characters. The bodies which are described will help to understand further common preferences, as well as supplement the visual experience. Robson's forthcoming works both deal with comic evidence and collect many observations about what is said on stage by asking how physical features and specific attributes were considered sexually attractive.⁵² While this gives insight into the study of sexuality, his work also highlights for the purpose of this thesis how sexual attraction is a large component of beauty (in comedy as well as other genres). This section will look first at the idealized bodies discussed in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, followed by analysis of the evidence of youthful characters and, lastly, look at the effeminate body type. In addition to the body, male dress will also be of

⁵² Robson (forthcoming a) (forthcoming b) 1.

interest, especially how it works to enhance the male figure or effeminize it. While this section is largely descriptive, there are still smaller reactions which help construct these beauty types. These small and simple reactions occur without major effects on the plot and reinforce the almost automatic nature of judgments and reactions to beauty. I will analyse the larger reactions to beauty below in *Reacting to Comic Beauty*.

The Logoi: The Ideal Body

The Logoi *agon* from Aristophanes' *Clouds* is perhaps the most-cited passage on masculine beauty because the Better Logos presents a preference for a clearly described male body which also seems to correlate to *kouros* statues. Thus it is naturally the first textual passage which I will analyse. Briefly, in Aristophanes' *Clouds* a father (Strepsiades) wishes to rid himself of a great amount of debt which his son (Pheidippides) has accumulated. Pheidippides must go to school to learn how to make the worse argument better. The scene which is of interest comes right before Pheidippides enters the school, and the Better and the Worse Logoi (or arguments) fight over who will educate him.⁵³

⁵³ The *agon* during which the Logoi debate to see who will be Pheidippides' teacher fits awkwardly within the play itself. Neither Logoi have yet to be convincingly reconciled with the doctrine which Socrates reveals to Strepsiades (225-790), nor is one of them actually successful in persuading Pheidippides to be educated, see O'Regan (1992) 102-105. It has also been noted that this is in particular a failure of the Better Logos to produce the better argument in this competition, Fisher (1984) 199. The two could represent two political views, two different eras, or even two education styles. For more on the rhetorical style and arguments of the speeches given, see Murphy (1938) 104-105. It has also been suggested that what follows in the debate between these Logoi is a parody of Prodicus' treatise on Heracles. See Papageorgiou (2004) 65-68 who connects Prodicus, which is preserved in Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.21-34 with this passage. The main issue that makes this thesis speculative in my opinion is the fact that it is still uncertain to what degree Prodicus' voice and content are preserved. See Gray (2006) for the argument against the passage being reliable and

Through their banter we learn that the Better Logos is old (915, 929), whereas the Worse Logos is young (917), and richly dressed (920).⁵⁴ The Worse Logos seems to portray what life is like for one of his students via his own appearance, but the Better Logos, in contrast, is a wizened man who offers discipline and ogles his students. Pheidippides during this scene has been described as an active youth and must undergo a costume change after he completes his education from something resembling what the Better Logos praises into the cursed body.

Aristophanes creates a sharp contrast between the two Logoi just by naming them 'Better' and 'Worse', showing which one should be preferred.⁵⁵ In summary, the Better Logos believes that the body is most beautiful when it is trained and exercised, thereby promoting the traditional style of education, whereas the Worse Logos relies on pleasure and ultimately fine clothing as a substitute. The descriptions given form two main male body types which appear over and over again in comedy, and both are found attractive.⁵⁶

The Better Logos promises his students: a shining chest (στῆθος λιπαρόν 1012), radiant skin (χροιᾶν λαμπράν 1012), large shoulders (ὤμους μεγάλους 1013), a humble

Sansone (2004) for it. This idea still seems quite speculative, but hypotheses such as these confirm that this passage is difficult to place within the broader context of the play.

⁵⁴ See Stone (1980) 362-363 and Revermann (2006) 209. Most disagree with the note from scholion in VE at 889 that the Logoi are dressed as fighting cocks, but are in fact human. See Stone (1980) 361 and Revermann (2006) 217-219.

⁵⁵ Neither Logos gives completely satisfying advice. See Fisher (1984) 195-197 for further elaboration.

⁵⁶ Both bodies are different from the students of Socrates or philosophers who are directly described as ὠχρῶντες and ἀνυπόδητοι (pale faced and shoeless) 103, θηρία (beasts) 184, and looking like τοῖς ἐκ Πύλου ληφθεῖσι, τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς (the Laconian prisoners from Pylos) 186. There are many more examples in which their appearance is indirectly mentioned.

tongue (γλωτταν βαιάν 1013), large butt⁵⁷ (πυγὴν μεγάλην 1014), and a small member (πόσθην⁵⁸ μικράν 1014). We can assume that these are features which the Better Logos finds most attractive, but would these features also be generally accepted as beautiful?⁵⁹ To answer this, I will analyse the features specified. After describing his own students, the Better Logos systematically curses the followers of the Worse Logos: they will have yellowish pale skin (χροιὰν ὠχροάν 1017), small shoulders (ὤμους μικρούς 1017), a weak chest (στῆθος λεπτόν 1018), a great tongue (γλωτταν μεγάλην 1018), a small butt (κωλῆν μικράν 1019) and a long ‘decree’ (ψήφισμα μακρόν 1019). The impressive enlargement of the shoulders and buttocks is replaced by enlargement of the tongue, since the followers of the Worse Logos will train their tongues daily instead of their bodies. The passage lends itself to analysis by first looking at the preferred colouring of a given feature, followed by size. The tongue and genitals have more metaphorical implications and so will be treated separately.

The skin and its colour are mentioned four times in the *Clouds* outside of the Better Logos’ speech, and only here is it described as radiant. Every other reference to skin is of

⁵⁷ The slang is used here to capture better the idea of πυγὴν. See Henderson (1975) 201-202 for more on the nuance.

⁵⁸ The nuance of the word is not so much obscene, as playful. Henderson (1975) 109 argues that it often refers to a young boy’s penis or just that the size is petite, which is doubly reinforced by the μικράν. Hodges (2001) 380 argues, however, that it is a misuse of the more scientific word for prepuce. Although πόσθην recalls the image of a small penis, it is actually referring to the prepuce which adds comedic value.

⁵⁹ Dover (1978) 70 provides a general treatment of this.

the pale, dull skin of the scholars.⁶⁰ Their paleness is ὠχροόν (1017) which indicates a life spent primarily indoors and perhaps even a sickly weakness—a colour which Sassi and Whitehorne have both argued are a trademark of the philosopher.⁶¹ Pale skin is not desirable for a man, but their skin is different from the desired whiteness of women, which is positively described as λευκός.⁶² And yet, a woman can also be ὠχροα, and therefore unattractive, such as the old woman in *Wealth* 422. Thus we have the positive and strongly masculine shining skin, the positive white skin of women, and the stale yellow colour which is both negative and unisex.

The skin's quality, including its colour and texture, are important signifiers of beauty and gender. The Better Logos' decision to bless his students with 'radiant' (λαμπράν) skin rather than a technical colour or tan indicates that the skin is viewed by different standards. The brightness of the skin, its sheen, indicates beauty without a colour shade but almost a glowing quality. Although I have translated it as radiant, here λαμπράν also carries the idea of health and youth.⁶³ Skin should be fresh, implying the need for exercise and time spent outdoors.

⁶⁰ 103 ὠχρῶντες Pheidippides describes all of the philosophers as pale-faced; 120 τὸ χρῶμα διακεκναισμένος literally means with the colour from his skin being scraped off. It evokes a degree of violence; 718 φρούδη χροιά Strepsiades bemoans the loss of his suntan due to his education; 1112 ὠχρὸν κακοδαίμονα is said by Pheidippides about how he will look after his education; and 1171 ὡς ἦδομαί σου πρῶτα τὴν χροῖαν ἰδὼν is said by Strepsiades when he sees Pheidippides after his education is finished.

⁶¹ Sassi (2001) 17 and Whitehorne (2002) 33-34.

⁶² See Sassi (2001) λευκός as the colour of women. When applied to women, it is nuanced as beautiful, for example Euripides (*Bacchae* 457) uses λευκός to mean 'fair' rather than just pale.

⁶³ For example, see Thucydides 6.54: γενομένου δὲ Ἄρμοδιου ὄρα ἡλικίας λαμπροῦ. This is often translated: Harmodius was then a most beautiful young man in the flower of his youth. It could

Another word for shining or brilliant λιπαρός, used of the chest, is commonly of an oily sheen, perhaps a reference to the practice of athletes who would oil their bodies.⁶⁴ The implication is that the Better Logos will facilitate an athletic lifestyle. In fact, this is not the first time the Better Logos has suggested that his students will have this shining chest; just before this section, at 1002, he integrates his ideal body with what their appropriate actions should be, saying that they should be in the gym with their bodies gleaming and blooming (λιπαρός γε καὶ εὐανθής). The shine from their skin, which represents an active life, is crucial. Since the paleness or perhaps dullness of the philosophers' skin is one of their key defining features, the fact that the Better Logos promises shining skin places this body from the beginning in a clear opposition to them. Pheidippides' own protestations against the philosophers' pallor indicate that gleaming skin would be his (and perhaps even the more commonly) preferred skin tone.⁶⁵

Large shoulders and buttocks are strong masculine traits and their description here makes both appear to be highly desirable attributes of the body. Such an appearance is not only attested in pottery, but the reverse is mocked in comedy.⁶⁶ Xenophon's Socrates (*Symp.* 2.17) calls attention to the fact that large shoulders and buttocks in general are

however, be nuanced: Harmodius was then shining in his beautiful youth. It is a fairly common way of describing outward appearance. See Tarrant (1960) and D'Angour (2011) esp. 143.

⁶⁴ More generally, LSJ comments that it is a healthy look of the human body and can be used of women too.

⁶⁵ In Olyan (2008), his analysis of the beautiful body in the Hebrew Bible reveals that the preferred skin tone is 'ruddy' or 'adomônî in 1 Samuel 16:12, 17:42, Song of Solomon 5:10 and Lamentations 4:7 for both men and women. Indeed the colour and texture of the skin is a very important aspect of the beautiful body.

⁶⁶ See Dover (1968a) who refers back to Comic Plato 184.3 for ἄπυγος. See also Dover (1978) 70.

desirable and masculine, but also serve a purpose. Wrestlers ought to be large all around, particularly in the shoulders (see figure 12), but runners should only have large legs (see figure 13).⁶⁷ Could this body described by the Better Logos be the comic exaggerated body of the pentathlete (which is praised by Aristotle), who, unlike wrestlers or runners, needed to excel in every area?⁶⁸ This would fit the model suggested here by the Better Logos.

Overall the Better Logos is preoccupied with young boys spending a great amount of time in the gymnasium training, and the large shoulders and buttocks, like the radiant skin before, could be interpreted as a result of daily training. And yet, Osborne has recently complicated this idea by stating that “Greeks were not ignorant that the activities of the gymnasium changed the body not just temporarily but over the medium to long term. Athletic activity is often represented either as a way for the body to become able to do things it could not normally do, or associated with general ‘good condition’ (*euexia*). But athletics is not presented as a way to makes the body beautiful.”⁶⁹ I have already shown the correlation to increased body size due to particular exercise as seen on vase paintings and observed by Xenophon—but in this particular passage the Better Logos is claiming

⁶⁷ In the Xenophon passage, Socrates contrasts the size of the shoulders with the σκέλος which is much broader (and politer) than πύγην since it includes the entire leg up to the waist, which would include the buttocks. There can be a sexual component to σκέλος when it is in comedy if the leg is upraised and thus revealing either the anus of a man or the genitals of a woman (Ar. *Eq.* 75, V. 1492, 1526, 1530, *Ec.* 265). This connection is not there in the Xenophon passage, but it does help to further link the idea of leg with πύγην. See Henderson (1975) 173.

⁶⁸ Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1.1361b10 praises this body not only as excelling in everything, but also as the most beautiful: διὸ οἱ πένταθλοι κάλλιστοι, ὅτι πρὸς βίαν καὶ πρὸς τάχος ἅμα πεφύκασιν. Xen. *Hell.* 4.7.5, the context is that of a simile, that Agesipolis must outdo his rival, like the pentathlete. See also Golden (1998) 71. Interesting, Autolykus from Xen. *Symp.* 1.2 was recently the winner of the pankration, which also involves a more rounded use of the entire body.

⁶⁹ Osborne (2011) 35.

that such size is more attractive, and is something he considers beautiful. Being healthy is a prerequisite to beauty. The legs and shoulders were key points of the body which denoted strength, speed, and further a life dedicated to training and ultimately pointing to a type of health which leads on to beauty. I will concede that perhaps not every healthy body is beautiful, but there is an assumption that every beautiful body is healthy. Interestingly, there is no mention of the abdomen which is often on display in material evidence.⁷⁰

The tongue, not exactly an obvious physical point of beauty, and placed in the middle of the list, acts to tie the promise together within the social context to which the Better Logos adheres. In other words, the followers of the Better Logos will not be able to be great public speakers and gain honour in the Assembly, but will continue the traditional ways. The small tongue presents a direct link between a physical feature and an aspect of personality: the followers of the Better Logos will not be sweet-talking sophists. It is worth mentioning that, elsewhere, the tongue which creates speech is recognized as that which separates humankind from animals.⁷¹ Lines 1013 and 1018 place the tongue within the context of a physical description, but seen within the context of the play, and

⁷⁰ Zanker (1995) 38 calls attention to the older body which has a bit of a belly, but the normal *kouros* statue would have had a well-defined abdomen. See Dover (1978) 70. When male figures are presented head on, they invariably have over-developed abdomens. When it is a side view, it is usually ignored. Perhaps it is of interest that in Aristotle's *Physiognomics* 814b7 the middle area is of the least importance to understanding the actions of an individual.

⁷¹ See Xen. *Mem.* 1.4.12 concerning the difference between humans and animals. Plato *Cratylus* 422e-426e shows (as an example) the more technical need to have a tongue for speech.

specifically line 424, it seems that the tongue embodies the idea of rhetoric.⁷² The tongue's description, size and shape serve as an excellent metaphor for the audience to follow, which Rosenbloom argues is a trope common in comedy and tragedy, although he does not address this specific passage.⁷³ A humble and un-exercised tongue, then, will result from following the Better Logos. The comic element, of course, exists in the mental image resulting from merely naming the tongue as a point of beauty and the absurdity of having a small and therefore perhaps slightly useless speech organ. The reverse can be applied to the image at 1018 with an oversized tongue falling out of the mouth, yet capable of rhetoric.

The aesthetic desire for a small member rather than large is attested both in pottery and *kouros* statues (figure 11-13).⁷⁴ This is specifically an *aesthetic* preference rather than sexual (although sex does play a large role) because the discussion is of the flaccid penis and focused on the prepuce. That a small penis, with a long and tapered foreskin (as seen in the figures 11-13 and suggested by the text) was beautiful can also be seen in figure 14. Here, Heracles, the epitome of manhood and beauty is shown with the same small penis

⁷² Line 424: "ἄλλο τι δῆτ' οὐ νομιεῖς ἤδη θεὸν οὐδένα πλὴν ἄπερ ἡμεῖς, τὸ Χάος τουτὶ καὶ τὰς Νεφέλας καὶ τὴν Γλῶτταν, τρία ταυτί;" Sommerstein translates: "Is it correct, then, that you will now recognize no god but those we recognize, the Void around us, the Clouds, and the Tongue, these three?" Here, the tongue is personified along with Chaos and the Clouds. See Rosenbloom (2009) 201.

⁷³ Rosenbloom (2009) specifically 200-207. For example, Pindar uses similar tongue imagery frequently (e.g. *Olympian Ode* 6.82), as do the tragic poets (e.g. Soph. *Ajax* 584). See Woodbury (1955).

⁷⁴ See Quinn (2007) 99 for more on *kouros*. See also Hubbard (2003) 96 n. 33, Dover (1978) 125-135, Jenkins (2009) 15, and Keuls (1993) 68-69 for discussion and images. Interestingly, in Aristotle's *Generation of Animals* 1.7 he seems to justify the Athenian ideal of the small penis by claiming they are more fertile.

with a long tapered foreskin next to the large flaccid penis of Geras (figure 14 offers a comparison, while figure 15 shows the more typically and obviously large penis of Geras next to a clothed Heracles).

The preference in size (seen as a positive physical feature) is further interpreted as self-control in the individual. Thus while suggesting sexual self-control this opinion, and reaction to such a penis, is not itself sexual. Robson, and Lear and Cantarella have all noted the extremely small size of the genitals, and Robson succinctly surmises that “the small penis was a potent symbol of youth and modesty to such an extent that not only boys but adult men, too, are often depicted on vases with ‘idealized’ immature genitalia.”⁷⁵ While ‘beauty’ is not directly mentioned by Robson, youth insinuates beauty. Modesty, considered likewise a positive trait, showcases the small-sized penis and hints that it was the preferred size. It may seem difficult to divorce the idea of sexual attraction while discussing male genitalia, and indeed, it is not even necessary. A large penis was unflattering, but far more sexually potent and stereotypical of the satyrs. It is important to note that the representations in art which show the genitals to be small are at the same time showing them unaroused. When there is an erection, the genitals grow to an enormous degree for which the Worse Logos is supposedly responsible (figures 9a, 9b). There is an unavoidable link between genital size, context and therefore arousal.

The Better Logos has thus far made a case for boys to have a sense of shame (973-976, 992), by hiding their genitals from view and blushing when appropriate first by

⁷⁵ Robson (forthcoming a) 15, Lear and Cantarella (2008) 64-5.

covering themselves and later by wiping the ground where they were sitting and where a potential impression of their genitals could have been made.⁷⁶ Blushing was an expected reaction for young boys. Plato's *Charmides* 158c shows how a blush makes the youth Charmides even more beautiful; the same can be said of Autolycus in Xenophon's *Symposium* 3.12. What is different, however, is that Aristophanes does not use the normal word for blushing (either ἀνερυθρίαω or ἐρυθρίαω), but rather the more violent φλέγασθαι. Both Dover's and Sommerstein's commentaries draw attention to the strong emotion attached to the word but do not argue anything further.⁷⁷ This sense of shame should be physically manifested by having an un-aroused member in any public situation. Thus member size links personality with a physical requirement. The Better Logos considers the youthful, athletic, and modest body not only to be the most attractive, but an appearance which should be striven for and can ultimately be achieved by anyone. No single feature is set in stone, but rather is made and maintained by a very specific lifestyle. Although not mentioned here, the practice of blushing, and the accompanying shame would be classified as *skhēma*, so even here there are small nuances to the body and how it must act which contribute to its beauty and perhaps even attract appropriate reactions.

This image of shining, strong-armed youths for which the Better Logos has a particular affinity is not unique. In fact Sommerstein's commentary⁷⁸ draws a parallel

⁷⁶ Dover (1968a) 216.

⁷⁷ Dover (1968a) 219, Sommerstein (2007) 209.

⁷⁸ Sommerstein (2007) 210.

between this passage and an Achaeus fragment which praises the same traits which the

Better Logos praises:

γυμνοὶ γὰρ ὤθουν φαιδίμους βραχίονας
ἦβη σφριγῶντες ἐμπορεύονται, νέω
στίλβοντες ἄνθει καρτερὰς ἐπωμίδας·

They thrust forth their naked shining arms which are bursting in their prime while they walk, gleaming with the bloom of youth on their strong arms.⁷⁹

This image of the gleaming athletic body of a boy is one of the central characteristics of old education, *paideia*.⁸⁰ The existence of this passage confirms that such features were positively viewed: beautiful in their description and received as the image of the healthy body. There is no reverse praising a pale body; the closest approximation of the Better Logos' cursed body could be the effeminate man who features quite prominently in Aristophanes. The difference is, as already stated, a matter of subtle semantics. The effeminate is pale like a woman, but the cursed body is like the philosopher's body unisex and far from beauty.⁸¹

The last two lines which close the Better Logos' speech are his last warning; if the Worse Logos is followed, the world will be reversed. What is beautiful (καλόν) will be believed to be ugly, and what is ugly (αἰσχρόν), beautiful (1020-1021). In a sense this

⁷⁹ See Achaeus fr. 4, preserved in Athenaeus 10.414D. Athenaeus prefaces this saying: καὶ ὁ Ἀχαιοὺς δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς περὶ τῆς εὐεξίας τῶν ἀθλητῶν δηγομένου φησι, "and Achaeus of Eretria, describing the good health of athletes says". The preceding fragments deal with also negative associations of athletes. The *Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* places this fragment in the play *Athla*.

⁸⁰ For more on the connection here to traditional *paideia*, see for example Robb (1994) 184, 191-192.

⁸¹ For example, describing the skin as ὠχρόν rather than λευκός. This is, for example, the case with Agathon in *Th.* 191, as well as the male imposters in *Ec.* 385, 387, 427, 428. Also see Sassi (2001) 1-19 on the idea of colouring. This holds true for the rest of the body.

negates his promise since in this reversed world, surely the pale skin, small shoulders, small chest and small butt with a large penis would become desirable traits. This sentence goes beyond the physical and refers to the moral choices which accompany the two lifestyles which are represented as two different bodies: he is passing a moral judgement based on the physical body types he has presented. This judgement is a reaction to the body. The double meaning of these words only serves to further push the idea here that the Better Logos sees one form of masculine beauty, and one lifestyle which is appropriate.

This passage has presented two different male bodies: a hyper-masculine and athletic body and an unworked body. The features which have been singled out here for beauty include skin colour and texture as well as the size of arms and legs, and these should be seen as elements of the beautiful male body. This passage has been largely descriptive but reactions to these bodies described are also there in the text and each character reacts to them differently. The Better Logos states his preference clearly, and Pheidippides also can be seen to desire the athletic body in as much as he speaks out strongly against the idea of him resembling the 'cursed' body promised by the Worse Logos. The Worse Logos and Strepsiades both silently condone the 'cursed' body. What is even further painted is that each form—each body—carries with it a particular personality. The first body causes a positive (and sexual) response from the Better Logos, as well as a positive reaction from Pheidippides. In the end, the Worse Logos is victorious over the Better Logos, yet still without success in persuading the on-stage audience, and

Pheidippides is dragged offstage for his education and transformation from a young attractive boy, into a pale and decrepit philosopher.⁸²

Young Men

The longest description given in comedy of what a young and beautiful boy should look like is given by the Better Argument, discussed above, but while we have been given the Better Argument's view on the accompanying character/body, and that the Better Argument would positively react to such a body (if not also sexually respond) it is uncertain how youths would be portrayed on the stage and how other characters would react to them. As mentioned briefly above, there are a few examples of young men on the comic stage (who, on account of their youth, we can presume a degree of attractiveness) and exploration of this material is extremely limited. Foley mentions these youths, and their potentially attractive appearance in a small footnote, and Bowie's *Myth Ritual and Comedy* looks at the young Sausage-seller (although he is not labelled beautiful) and the general behaviour of youths.⁸³ Even earlier in 1907 Bryant looks at youths from Aristophanes' time showing the stereotype of them as lads with "sunny ringlets and mantling cheeks" but also as "disreputable little rascals."⁸⁴ While Bryant's comments may seem inappropriate in scholarship now, his evaluation of youths captures a particular

⁸² Potentially the 'off-stage' audience is also left unconvinced; see O'Regan (1992) 102-105. There is some disagreement as to whether the final lines, and thus the education of Pheidippides, is left entirely up to the Worse Logos, or whether Socrates plays a role see Tomin (1987) 30 and Kleve (1989).

⁸³ Foley (2000) 296 n.66, Bowie (1993) 81f.

⁸⁴ Bryant (1907) 73, 94.

sentiment which I will highlight: youth and beauty, especially of young men carries a negative connotation ranging from an innocuous mischievousness to a more dangerous maliciousness. If the beauty of young men conceals such a nature (as I will show below), rather than what the Better Logos argued for, the reactions to these appearances will reveal a response to beauty but also give an impression of how these young characters were expected to act, regardless of Aristophanes' stereotyping. All of these show the intricate reactions to beauty.

Pheidippides, from *Clouds*, is described as a young man with long hair (8-16), able-bodied and solid (εὐσωματεῖ γὰρ καὶ σφριγᾶ, 799). Long hair has been a sign of masculine beauty since Homer, and his body is described as fit. Further, since Pheidippides' character is the son and he is on stage with his old father and deformed Socratic students he can be characterized as the most attractive character onstage.⁸⁵ The youth from *Ecclesiazusae* is praised for his curly hair (βοστρύχοι 955), and the chorus of *Wasps* speaks generically of the ringlets of youths (κυκίννους νεανιῶν 1070).⁸⁶ The young man from *Wealth* is described much more generally as εὐπρόσωπον καὶ καλὸν (fair of

⁸⁵ Odysseus in Homer *Od.* 6.230-1, 235 and 23.157-8, 162, see Ehrhardt (1971) 14. There is also evidence of hair representing beauty in the *kouroi* statues. See Richter (1960) 18 for more, and figure 8. Long hair for Spartans is first seen in Herodotus 7.208.3 and 209.3. Aristophanes' *Eq.* 579-580 shows long hair for Athens would be a luxury. Plato's *Phaedo* 89a-c shows Socrates playing with Phaedo's hair: not only is his hair shown as beautiful and well taken care of, but there is a social aspect involved as well where they decide to vow together not to grow their hair long until a particular argument is settled. David (1992) 15 and Ehrhardt (1971) 14-17 agree that long hair for men was a sign of wealth. More generally see Dover (1978) 78-81. Long hair was also a sign of beauty in the Hebrew Bible see Olyan (2008) and more specifically, Absalom's hair in 2 *Samuel* 14:22.

⁸⁶ Once again, the mention of ringlets confirms beauty aspect of hair on men, although not necessarily long. Sommerstein (1998) 221 agrees.

face and handsome 977). In terms of description, hair is frequently praised, and more importantly these youths are deemed attractive by other characters on stage. Despite the good looks of these young men, all of them are far from what could be classed as ‘good guys’.

Pheidippides, although he is a good looking youth, drives his father into debt even before his body is transformed and is the instigator of all Strepsiades’ problems. The youth from *Ecclesiazusae* seeks to break the law to satisfy his own lust (while heaping abuse upon older women), and the lad from *Wealth* cons an old woman (via assumed sexual favours, but emphasis on this passage is on his attractiveness) and discards her along with verbal abuse once he has enough money. Such actions of these youths are perfectly in line with the comic genre – watching a beautiful youth act completely respectably is simply not funny – but what does their appearance accomplish and how does this affect reactions to them? The beautiful are portrayed as selfish and rude, but are praised and desired for their appearance regardless.

In Aristophanes’ *Banqueters* there are two young men who have each chosen very different lifestyles. The existing fragments do not declare one more attractive than the other but they do highlight the two different styles of beauty, which once again recalls the bodies mentioned by Better Argument: the pale city boy and the tanned farmer.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Henderson (2007) 205 gives a possible brief synopsis, and refers to the two young men as Virtuous Boy and Buggered Boy. Particularly fr. 205 is helpful. See also Fisher (2000) 356, 360-371.

Sommerstein suggests that Fr. 229 is a description of a young man trained by sophists, which Henderson translates “and smooth as an eel, sporting golden ringlets.”⁸⁸

Other youths, not singled out by their appearance, portray the same negative behaviour. The young man from *Birds* (1667f) is there only because he wishes to be able to beat his father now, and later in life not care for him. In *Peace* (1265f) the two youths are mere copies of their fathers. More prominent, yet still young characters include the Sausage-seller from *Knights* and Bdelycleon of *Wasps*. The Sausage-seller is νεανικώτατε (most youthful, 611) and the play documents his pursuit of manhood (179, 1255).⁸⁹ His low background and short education are the only descriptions given of him and separate him from the rest of these youths. Bdelycleon, whose youth is implied rather than stated, demonstrates a greater responsibility than the other lads, but shares their expensive tastes.⁹⁰ These two more main youthful characters are not highlighted as attractive, they can still be considered here because they would appear on stage next to older, and therefore, uglier characters. The comic stage works off of this relative principle, as I showed at length at the start of this chapter and additionally, because of their youth, it can be assumed that they would appear *better* than their older counterparts on stage. There is a frequent equation of youth with beauty, but beyond this, young men are characterized as

⁸⁸ Sommerstein (1983) 219, Henderson (2007) 219: καὶ λεῖος ὡσπερ ἔγγελυς, χρυσοῦς ἔχων κικίννους. This is the same ‘ringlet’ as *V.* 1070. Aristophanes’ fr. 229 is preserved in Athenaeus 7.299A.

⁸⁹ For more on the Sausage-seller and the *Eq.* as a journey into manhood see Bowie (1993) 52f.

⁹⁰ Stone (1980) 270 counts Bdelycleon as costumed as a youth, but Foley (2000) 296 overlooks him completely. See also Bowie (1993) 81 who focuses on the youthful disposition of his father, which would place more emphasis on Bdelycleon as an adult figure.

brash and most of all, extravagant. From these above youthful characters there is a clear type emerging, of a young, beautiful boy who is continually up to no good. So now we must ask how the other characters on-stage react to this: despite their far-from-perfect attitudes, youths are longed after (sexually) by men and women. Pheidippides can be seen to get a type of comeuppance when he loses his positive appearance, but the youth from *Wealth* rejects his old and ugly lover with impunity. In other genres, the authors gush at the idea of a young man who is also good—because it is a rarity.⁹¹

Indeed while youth and beauty are two sides of the same coin, Aristophanes points towards the negative side of youth, and specifically the ‘youth of the day’.⁹² His criticisms are analogous to the behaviour about which Xenophon warns Critoboulos (*Mem.* 1.3.8-15, 2.6.22), which Aeschines admits (1.158-159) and the author of the *Erotic Essay* (Ps-Dem. 61.3-9) laments. It is this good-looking bad-boy whom Aristophanes depicts and who continues to surface in other genres as well. If a youth is expected to be beautiful but his behaviour is shown to be brash (according to Aristophanes), this could indicate a beauty penalty specifically for young men: but it does not. Characters in comedy, as well as in Xenophon and oratory, attest to continued association and relationships with beautiful yet ill-behaved young men. In fact, they gain favours through their appearance. The youth

⁹¹ For example, youths who combine virtue and beauty include: Epikrates in Dem. 61 (see below on page 214), and Autolyclus in Xen. *Symp.* (see below on page 145).

⁹² Dover (1974) 103 suggests that “the characteristic behaviour of young manhood was compounded of extravagance, pugnacity, thoughtlessness, drunkenness and sexual excess.” Golden (1990) 4-12 discusses the surprisingly negative portrayal of children in classical literature, which, although it relates to an age group younger than the one at hand, shows that youth would more quickly be associated with a lack of self-control than it would with innocence.

from *Wealth* is a clear beneficiary of the beauty premium, and I will stress again that while the arrangement insinuates sexual favours, such favours would be unwanted from an unattractive individual. The ridicule they receive, however, stereotypes them negatively.

Effeminate Male Beauty

Mocking the body of the effeminate man is a favourite trope of Aristophanes, and no play does it as clearly as *Thesmophoriazusae*. Considerable work has been done on the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and specifically the introductory scenes which are of great interest here. There are several good works on Agathon by Muecke, Duncan and Given.⁹³ All three look at connections between Agathon, his craft, genre and his ultimate effeminization, although Muecke captures more thoroughly Agathon's physical appearance. The recent commentary by Austin and Olson is a good starting point for tracing back the literature available.⁹⁴ What I am looking for here is if Agathon is attractive and if so, then *how*, and from there I will look at what reactions his appearance incurs.

The play begins with the character Euripides approaching Agathon to go to the women, to persuade them not to kill him. Euripides' reason for approaching Agathon is on account of his appearance.⁹⁵ First of all, Euripides himself would be recognized, but he continues on to describe his features which would hinder a disguise: grey hair and the

⁹³ Muecke (1982), Duncan (2001) and Given (2007).

⁹⁴ Austin and Olson (2004).

⁹⁵ The main character is Euripides' Inlaw, and it is through his eyes that Agathon, Cleisthenes, and the women are judged. Although Whitman (1964) 52 doubts that there is such a comic hero within this play, what is meant here is that he most likely had the most typical costume, and represented a sort of 'everyman'. Given (2007) 37 agrees. The Inlaw (which is how I refer to the character following Austin and Olson (2004)) has also been called Kinsman or Mnesilochus.

presence of a beard (*Th.* 190). Grey hair is a sign of his old age and the beard of his masculinity.⁹⁶ The effeminate Agathon lacks this beard, and with it the connotations it carries. Dover suggests that his beard is cut, but not shaven despite the verb used at 191. More importantly, Dover stresses that Agathon was of an age at which he would have ‘stubble’.⁹⁷ Euripides moves quickly from himself to a description of Agathon and his features.⁹⁸ Euripides says to Agathon:

σὺ δ' εὐπρόσωπος λευκός ἐξυρημένος
 γυναικόφωνος ἀπαλός εὐπρεπῆς ἰδεῖν

But you are good looking, are white and shaved,
 have a womanly voice, and are soft, and comely.⁹⁹

This could be captured on stage quite simply by Agathon wearing a white, feminine mask.¹⁰⁰

The first adjective εὐπρόσωπος is derived by combining εὖ (good) with πρόσωπος (front/face), ultimately meaning, good-looking.¹⁰¹ Agathon’s colouring is not the same unattractive pallid colour of Socrates’ followers in the *Clouds*, but rather the feminine

⁹⁶ See Woodbury (1979) 285 for grey hair and old age and see David (1992) 15 for beards as a sign of virility. See Stone (1980) 28-31 for the use of the beard on stage as well as off. Interestingly, it is the beard which is the key masculine feature which the women of *Ec.* (68f) must obtain.

⁹⁷ Dover (1978) 114.

⁹⁸ The description that Euripides gives of himself sets up the contrast between the two. See Muecke (1982) 49.

⁹⁹ Aristophanes’ *Th.* 191-192.

¹⁰⁰ Both Stehle (2002) 378, Stone (1980) 24 argue he wears such a mask.

¹⁰¹ It is used more frequently by Aristophanes than other authors: a total of 4 times of both men and women (here at *Th.* 191; *Pax* 617; *Ra.* 410; *Pl.* 976). Another comic author Cratinus fr. 337 also uses it. It is also used in Xen. *Mem.* 1.3.10 in conjunction with ὠγαῖος, in fullest bloom to show the age and high desirability. Aristotle, writing later also uses the term (*Magna Moralia* 2.6.36.3; *Poetica* 1461a14; *Politica* 1263b15) and twice more in fragments. Otherwise, usage is very sparse. There is a second metaphorical usage where πρόσωπος means mask rather than face or front, but this does not change the overall infrequency of the word.

λευκός. There is, then, a way for a man to be pale and still attractive: he need merely cultivate a feminine style of beauty — Agathon is pretty. In the *Ecclesiazusae* the masculine feature the women must emulate is the tan, which suggests the tan was masculine, if not desirable.¹⁰² The contrast between gender and skin colour is prominent.

By saying Agathon is shaved (ἐξυρημένος) it implies that he could, if he wanted to, grow a beard. This part of his appearance is a conscious decision. His goal, as with his skin, is to gain feminine beauty, but the question of whether a fully bearded man could be considered beautiful is still wide open. A comic fragment of Alexis (fr. 266), a poet of Middle/New Comedy, may shed additional light on the dilemma, writes:

<ἄν> πιττοκοπούμενόν τιν' ἢ ξυρούμενον
 ὄρᾱς, τοῦτον ἔχει τι θάτερον·
 ἢ γὰρ στρατεύειν ἐπινοεῖν μοι φαίνεται
 καὶ πάντα τῷ πάγωνι δρᾶν ἐναντία,
 ἢ πλουσιακὸν τούτῳ <τι> προσπίπτει κακόν.
 τί γὰρ αἱ τρίχες λυποῦσιν ἡμᾶς, πρὸς θεῶν;
 δι' ἃς ἀνὴρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν φαίνεται,
 εἰ μή τι ταύταις ἀντιπράττεσθ' ὑπονοεῖς;

If you see some man being waxed or shaved, he's involved in one of two things; for either he seems to me minded to go soldiering and do everything that doesn't suit a beard, or else some vice of the wealthy has befallen the fellow. What harm do

¹⁰² They discuss how they oil themselves and then stand in the sunlight (πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον 64). For more on the women and their disguise see Slater (1997). Along the same lines, in Plato *Republic* 556d, one of the key differences between the courageous and cowardly soldier involves the courageous soldier being raised in the sun (ἠλιωμένος), but does χροῖαν λαμπράν imply tan or at least time spent in the sun? Dover (1978) 76-77 emphasizes that the colour of skin is dictated by the activities that children are encouraged to do from a young age. Thus female children are encouraged to stay inside, and male children are to exercise outside.

hairs do us, by the gods? They're the proof each of us is a man—unless you suspect something's being done to contradict them?¹⁰³

This outcry against shaving beards, while insinuating either sexual deviance or unmanliness, is a pointed reaction to physical appearance but does not insinuate that the beard would be considered beautiful—rather shaving is ugly. Just as shaving alters his appearance, Agathon lacks the traditional masculine clothing and shoes (142).

Agathon is white like a woman, he alters his appearance by shaving, dresses in a feminine way, and he even has a woman's voice (γυναικόφωνος).¹⁰⁴ His body is soft (άπαλός) and comely (εὐπρεπής), both of which continue to mould him in a more feminine way. For women, άπαλός could certainly be a point of beauty but it implies a sort of weakness, if not an unathletic nature in a man.¹⁰⁵ This is the same 'softness' which Xenophon uses to describe the attractive female body of Vice in *Memorabilia* 2.1.22 and indeed is used positively of the young girl in *Ecclesiazusae* 902 and of Procne in *Birds* 668. Dunbar suggests 'delicate' as a translation which might further encapsulate the meaning.¹⁰⁶ All these positive usages pertain to the feminine. Agathon is attractive, then, because of his body's similarity to the female body, and it is for this very reason that

¹⁰³ Alexis Fr. 266 preserved in 13.565B, the translation is by Rusten and Henderson (2011) 555. For commentary see Arnott (1996) 743-747. Usually the beard is an indication of age, but David (1992) 15 discusses it as a sign of virility.

¹⁰⁴ Austin and Olson (2004) 229 notes that this is a hapax and suggests Aristophanes coined it.

¹⁰⁵ See Treu (1968) 141-142 for instances and 178-183 for a detailed analysis of this word. See also Kugelmeier (1996) 145-146 and Dover (1978) 79. It has strong ties to Aeolic poetry, and can vary in meaning from 'weak' to 'supple' or 'soft' which would denote a form of beauty.

¹⁰⁶ Dunbar (1998) 286.

reactions to him are strange and varied. He is good-looking like a woman.¹⁰⁷ Although all of this is clear from a combination of the description and costuming, Agathon himself never admits his effeminacy.¹⁰⁸ There is a complicated web of ideas entangled with the body and clothing of Agathon—but the one that is striking for the current argument is that this body which has been described, far from the idealized vision of the radiant and muscular youth, is found attractive.¹⁰⁹ The reaction to this effeminately beautiful body is stated after hearing Agathon sing.¹¹⁰ It is a combination of his appearance and his words which attracts the Inlaw to him (*Th.* 134).¹¹¹ The Inlaw sets out to clarify what gender Agathon is and in doing so calls attention to every aspect of his body and the subsequent costume.

The Inlaw's reaction to Agathon evolves as Agathon explains his working style: he dresses the way he wishes to write (*Th.* 166-170).¹¹² The Inlaw cannot help but react. The Inlaw, imagining Agathon in various states for writing his plays, responds to the

¹⁰⁷ Plato *Phaedrus* 239c seems to describe a similar body, but in a more negative light. The body is not specifically described other than it has been kept out of the sun and is soft. But the idea is that such a body is un-manly, yet still beloved. Is it beloved for its feminine style of beauty?

¹⁰⁸ Muecke (1982) 54.

¹⁰⁹ It should be noted however, that these descriptions are vague in comparison to *Ar. Nu.* focusing texture and colour without specifying a feature, and twice blanket complimenting Agathon's face and body as good-looking (εὐπρόσωπος, εὐπρεπής). Austin and Olson (2004) 119 note that Euripides begins and ends the speech with these two compliments.

¹¹⁰ See Stehle (2002) 378-9.

¹¹¹ Parker (1997) 397-405 discusses Agathon's song in particular. Although it is guessed that it is a parody, there is not enough remaining of Agathon's poetry for this to be confirmed.

¹¹² The representation of Agathon is mixed not only between the character, the playwright and ambiguous gender, but also with the genre of tragedy itself. What is interesting is that Aristophanes has chosen the effeminate body to portray all three (character, playwright and genre). See Duncan (2001) for a more detailed view of Agathon and how he is used in the play as a symbol of much more.

subsequent images with varied levels of sexual aggression (153, 157-8). In his current form Agathon is attractive to men in the same way that women are, and the overall reaction appears to be positive (if it is a positive thing to be desired by the Inlaw). The passage is largely descriptive of a second beauty type, and the reaction is of the desire to violently possess rather than lovingly nurture, since the Inlaw offers:

Ὅταν σατύρους τοίνυν ποιῆς, καλεῖν ἐμέ,
ἵνα συμποιῶ σοῦπισθεν ἐστυκῶς ἐγώ. (157-158)

Whenever you are composing Satyr plays, call me
so that I may collaborate at your rear with a hard on

From his physical appearance, dress and even language Agathon is feminine, and the Inlaw reacts to him accordingly. But Cleisthenes, another effeminate, who arrives later to defend the women is reacted to quite differently.

Cleisthenes declares himself to be an ally to women as soon as he arrives on stage at 571. His cheeks are the key point of his appearance and the fact that they are without hair (*Th.* 575, 583). It can be further assumed that he wore female clothing, and that his mask was pale. Indeed, Stone as well as Austin and Olson's commentary suggests this.¹¹³ Even beyond this, Webster suggests (and both Pickard-Cambridge and Stone agree) that figure 14 could be Cleisthenes, or what a comic effeminate may look like.¹¹⁴ These two presentations of the effeminate body highlight clothing and the absence of a beard more than anything else. Agathon is certainly shown to be attractive, based on the Inlaw's comments. The striking difference between him and Cleisthenes is that Cleisthenes'

¹¹³ Stone (1980) Austin and Olson (2004) 220.

¹¹⁴ Webster (1956) 113, Pickard-Cambridge (1968) 213 and Stone (1980) 342.

appearance is not mentioned for any sexual desirability, but rather as evidence of his deep affiliation with the women. Although both men are connected to the feminine way of life, subtle nuanced differences in the way they are described shows that the matter is not straightforward.

The pale, smooth-faced man, who is smaller and unathletic and described negatively by the Better Logos can also be attractive and desirable just like the supposed athletic ideal so long as the pale is λευκός rather than ὠχρός. The question of who found each form attractive is more difficult to say. Here the Inlaw is attracted to the smaller effeminate male form, while the Better Logos, and the older era and lifestyle he represents, prefers the athlete. Once again, attractiveness comes down to preference. While Aristophanes mocks the effeminate appearance of Agathon and Cleisthenes in his *Thesmophoriazusa* and the cross-dressed women in his *Ecclesiazusa*, it is clear that men who had a feminine air were considered beautiful. Since beauty in many cases sparks a type of erotic desire, it is interesting how both of these distinct body types, the effeminate and the athlete, are simultaneously desired. A single type of beauty is unnecessary. It is, however, informative to see how the two beauty types were reacted to differently.¹¹⁵ If Aristophanes looked down on this effeminate form,¹¹⁶ and perhaps others who were of like mind, these plays still attest to an allure of the effeminate body, just as much as the more traditional beauty of the athletic body. The beautiful body, thus far, is something for

¹¹⁵ To deal with these two images of attractive men, Dover (1978) 69-70 suggests that the trend changed from the athletic to the more effeminate around the fourth century.

¹¹⁶ This debate focuses more on a question of sexuality rather than on the actual body of the effeminate.

the older character to possess and enjoy, and the point of view of attractive character is ignored. In terms of treatment, then, these comedies have shown that beauty is just as likely to incur abuse (for the benefit of another main character) as it is to benefit the beautiful individual.

While male bodies dominate the comic stage only two types are deemed attractive. The depictions of both body types given in *Clouds* help in creating these two types with detailed descriptions, but these characters appear throughout Aristophanes' plays. Often the effeminate and luxury-loving man is shown as sexually desirable, while the body of the young man is criticized for unruly behaviour. Having said this, the opposite also occurs, where a young man is also sexually desirable and the effeminate is reproached for inappropriate behaviour. Both bodies are beautiful, and both require a degree of care and upkeep. Ideas of male beauty in comedy are tangled up with youth, sex and luxury. Within these comic texts, the male body is described, desired, pursued, and criticised. The criticism the beautiful bodies receive is in fact a component of comedy and is there to make fun of beauty: pursuers and possessors of beauty are equally mocked and hints of the beauty premium and penalty can be seen. This section so far has set out the primary male bodies, and the next section will consider the female body before looking at specific passages (of both male and female bodies), which show clearly calculated reactions to beauty.

Reading the Female Comic Body

Women in comedy have been of great interest to scholars, as it is here that it is possible to see women acting out and living their lives, while also sustaining an interesting comic stereotype as drunks and sexaholics. O'Higgins' book *Women and Humor in Classical Greece* has recently tackled the difficult question of what we can learn about the lives of Classical Athenian women from comedy which ultimately shows, "how the roles of women became increasingly differentiated over time and how they reflected certain social realities, if not the lives of actual women."¹¹⁷ The way women are portrayed and stereotyped, then, how their beauty is presented on stage and how others react to them on a small scale are the goals of this section. First, I will look at the descriptions of female beauty. When I say 'female beauty' this can, perhaps, get confused with the idea of sexual desirability, as has already been seen in the preceding section dealing with male beauty. The idea here, as well as previously, is that while the beautiful is not necessarily sexually attractive, it usually is. Every sexually attractive body naturally implies beauty (or at least a type of beauty). Female characters in Aristophanes, even more than men, react to each other's (and their own) beauty.

The emphasis on youth as a form of beauty holds true also for women, and is seen in *Ecclesiazusae* (900f). The young girl here, speaking of herself, offers up τὸ τρυφερόν (901), luxuriousness or voluptuousness, in contrast with the experience, if not wisdom, of

¹¹⁷ O'Higgins (2003) 13. While I have only mentioned O'Higgins here, the bibliography on women in comedy is long, so I will just name a few works: Zeitlin (1981), (1985), Taaffe (1987), Foley (1982), (2002).

the old woman.¹¹⁸ The girl proceeds to give examples of what exactly τὸ τρυφερόν entails: soft thighs (ἀπαλοὶ μηροί, 902)¹¹⁹ and firm breasts (μῆλοι 903).¹²⁰ She describes herself, drawing attention to her own beauty for the purpose of luring a potential lover. This softness is what was mentioned earlier as an attribute of Agathon that made him feminine, and here we get a chance to see it within the female context. In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.1.22, Heracles is presented with two women and two paths: virtue and vice.¹²¹ The comfortable path, which leads to vice, is presented by a woman who is maintained by plumpness, πολυσαρκία, and this same softness, ἀπαλότης (2.1.22). The fact that this woman was a temptation cements the idea that softness in women was a desirable trait.¹²²

A comic fragment of Cratinus (fr. 335), using two different words denoting the soft texture

¹¹⁸ τὸ τρυφερόν is a difficult word to translate; Lenfant (2007) 52 describes it as “an immoderate and enfeebling addiction to sensual pleasures,” and emphasizes the strong negative side of the word. He later concludes that it is Athenaeus' bias that warps many fragments to this side of the word. This definition however is still quite useful. See Ussher (1973) 199. It is interesting to note however, that this luxuriousness which the young girl offers here is positive for women, but insulting or effeminizes men, as can be seen throughout *V.* (551, 688, 1169). See Bernhardt (2007) 190-198 for how it is positive for women. Thucydides 1.6.3 also describes this luxuriousness as something which was once the way of life in all of Athens; it seems to describe features of the body and life style. Euripides tends to view the word quite negatively and his characters use it to speak against effeminate men in *Phoenician Women* 1491, and *Bacchae* 970. It will be personified later (973) when the young boy and girl sing their duet. There were laws restricting and regulating luxury if we can believe Plutarch's *Solon* 21.4. See also Ogden (2002) on the various restrictions on dress.

¹¹⁹ See above n. 81. Here the context clearly calls for the idea of beauty rather than weak.

¹²⁰ Literally ‘apple’ but used also of the famous Helen's breasts in *Lys.* 155. I have followed Sommerstein (1998) 215, which recommends ‘firm breasts’ as a translation.

¹²¹ This passage will be discussed fully below in Chapter 2, for the moment, the focus is on the soft nature of the vice, but both women are positively described and can be considered beautiful.

¹²² Dover (1978) 79 identifies ἀπαλός as an alluring trait denoting ‘supple’ with stronger ties differentiating the idea of adolescence from maturity than that of male to female attractiveness. It is used of a girl Dorkion attempting to be boy-like in Asklepiades 20 (in Hellenistic Epigrams 12.161).

of the female body also positively portrays softness and adds a further sexual desirability when the speaker discusses grabbing at her skin.¹²³

The beauty of female thighs and breasts can also be seen in *Lysistrata* 552, when Lysistrata calls upon Eros and Aphrodite to “breathe desire over our bosoms and our thighs”¹²⁴ singling out these parts as especially enticing, and beautiful. On the breasts, Gerber comments that they “are often depicted as the greatest source of a woman’s beauty,” referencing the story of how Aphrodite showed her breasts to Paris in order to win, and the revealing of Phryne’s breasts in Hyperides’ law case.¹²⁵ It is their firmness above all that is highlighted.

The Athenian women in *Lysistrata* react to the appearance of the Spartan Lampito by commenting on her appearance and reaching out to grope her her body. The Athenian women view her appearance in a positive light although in a way one might expect of a man:

οἷον τὸ κάλλος, γλυκυτάτη, σου φαίνεται.
ὡς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὡς δὲ σφριγᾶ τὸ σῶμά σου. (79-80)

Oh sweetie, how beautiful you look,
What lovely skin and what a healthy body you have

¹²³ Cratinus fr. 335 preserved in the *Etymologicum Genuinum*:

ὡς δὲ μαλακὸν καὶ τέρεν τὸ χρωτίδιον ἦν, ὧ θεοί·
καὶ γὰρ ἐβλίμαζον αὐτήν, ἢ δ' ἐφρόντιζ' οὐδὲ ἔν.
Gods! How soft and delicate her skin was.

I groped her, you see, and she didn’t mind a bit.

Translation by Rusten and Henderson (2011) 216.

¹²⁴ Translation by Sommerstein (1993) 73: γλυκύθυμος Ἔρωσ χή Κυπρογένει' Ἀφροδίτη ἴμερον ἡμῶν κατὰ τῶν κόλπων καὶ τῶν μηρῶν καταπνεύση.

¹²⁵ Gerber (1978) 207, see also Colluthus 155-158 and below on page 230.

Her beauty is plainly stated by other women, perhaps following the stereotype that Spartan women are the most beautiful in the world.¹²⁶ The women react to her beauty by instantly desiring to grab her — and here it bears remembering that these female characters come from a male mind — as an object, or sacrificial animal (83-84).¹²⁷ There is no sexual chemistry between the women characters, but in the groping of Lampito they provide a masculine reaction.

Rather than white skin, Lampito is ‘well-skinned’ or even ‘healthy’. εὐχροέω is also used to describe the skin of the fierce, and beautiful, male Spartan warriors in Xenophon’s *Spartan Constitution* 5.8, whose bodies are contrasted against the weak bodies of the untrained. Combined with σφοδράω (in full health), the image is once again of youth, strength and energy not attributed to Athenian women. The temptation is to see Sparta as having a different standard of beauty (which is in turn mocked here). Indeed Lampito continues to even provide an explanation: she looks the way she does, and is strong, because of exercise (82).¹²⁸ Lampito exhibits attributes which would be considered beautiful on an Athenian man, as suggested by the Better Argument.¹²⁹ In reference to Lampito’s breasts we are given τειθοί (83), which Henderson deems the standard term,

¹²⁶ Not only because of Helen, but Homer *Od.* 13.412 says “Σπάρτην ἐς καλλιγύναικα” or ‘in Sparta, the country of beautiful women.’ They are also declared as such also by the Delphic oracle. See Parke and Wormell (1956) vol. 1, 82-3 and vol. 2, 1-2 and also Pomeroy (2006) 362.

¹²⁷ Henderson’s (1987) 77 commentary suggests that Calonicē’s exclamation τὸ χροῖμα indicates “an emotional reaction”, citing Stevens (1976) 20-2. While this could also just be a simple mannerism, this verbal reaction of surprise is interesting to note.

¹²⁸ For the training of Spartan women see Xen. *Lac.* 1.4, Plutarch *Lycurgus* 14-15, and Pomeroy (2002) 13-19. Sommerstein (1990) 159 is sceptical that exercise continued into a Spartan woman’s married life, but Pomeroy (2002) 25 n. 101 finds it more than credible, and I find Pomeroy more convincing.

¹²⁹ Pomeroy (2006) 360 suggests that there is a closer affinity to ethnicity than gender.

but has connotations of nursing.¹³⁰ Generally, however, we have seen *μηλοῖ* to indicate firm breasts' of the young girl in *Ecclesiazusae* 903 as well as of Helen's exceptionally beautiful breasts in *Lysistrata* 155, but the image of firmness is essential to the breasts' beauty, and is repeated throughout comedy.¹³¹ Two other non-Athenian women make an appearance, a Boeotian and a Corinthian. Both Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Zweig argue that these two characters' bodies are physically stereotyped by their costuming, the Boeotian as streamlined (88) and the wealthy Corinthian as fat (90).¹³² Attention to the contrast between the three foreigners and the Athenian woman and the different styles would have been quite a spectacle.

The soft, luxurious body of the young girl paired with the firm breasts and healthy body of Lampito prompts reactions from viewers. Thighs and skin should be soft while breasts should be firm. These descriptions themselves provoke only very simple reactions such as sexual attraction or surprise. What follows is how women are able to further harness this beauty.

¹³⁰ Henderson (1975) 148.

¹³¹ Robson (forthcoming a, b), and Henderson (1975) 148-149 show also other 'firm' words denoting breasts including turnips and olives. See also Gerber (1978) and Olson (2002) 359 who adds beans, nuts and other fruits to the list of euphemisms for breasts. Reference to breasts in comedy include: *Ach.* 1199, *Lys.* 155, *Th.* 1185, *Ec.* 903, Aristophanes Fr. 599, 664; and Crates Fr. 43.

¹³² Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1927) 128-9. Zweig (1992) 80 also comments that while the Thracian and Corinthian are mute, it is more logical that they would be male actors.

Decorating the Female Body

The place where the changing of clothing and enhancements is most effective is in the female realm.¹³³ Cosmetics, clothing and accessories, are enhancements that are used by female characters to attain varied levels of beauty. What is unique about such usages is that they are applied with purpose: to gain a particular reaction from viewers. In this section I will explore the reactions which women in comedy set out to achieve, followed by how these actions are received by the male characters. The application of cosmetics and the use of any type of enhancement is a highly intentional action, which is helpful to the thesis as a whole in that it shows a consciousness of the power of beauty, thus contributing to our understanding of the presence of either a beauty premium or penalty.

¹³³ The wardrobe of both Agathon and Cleisthenes in *Ar. Th.* made them attractive, but also feminine. In *V.* there is a rare example of a man being dressed to better his appearance, and I consider this scene because it shows how a simple change in one's clothing is the first step towards acceptance into a particular group of men. When the old father (Philocleon) finally submits to his son (Bdelycleon), he must make his father more presentable to his symposiast friends by altering his appearance. Bdelycleon forces Philocleon to exchange his tattered cloak for a Persian one (*V.* 1137) and wear the popular Laconian shoes (*V.* 1158). The shoes are a stock wardrobe of comedy, they are assumed to usually be red and are of a fancier variety, see Bryant (1899) 81-83, 98 and Stone (1980) 225-227. The cloak, *kaunakes*, was a very expensive luxury item, see Cleland, et al. (2007) 103. Both of these items, which enhance the appearance, are not Athenian in origin, and part of the joke is that Philocleon refuses the shoes particularly on the basis that they make him unpatriotic and he has no wish to step on enemy soil (*V.* 1160-5). Philocleon goes through this limited, entirely physical, transformation before training to walk and speak in a more agreeable manner (*V.* 1169-1173). Bremmer (1994) 16-23 analyses the different styles of walking and finds this one in particular to be out of place. As his appearance is changed by foreign clothing, so his son urges him to become more diplomatic. Can such a character, have an inward reaction to these outer changes? In this play the answer is no. The changes, merely on the surface, do little but exasperate Philocleon; he will never be a beautiful youth nor diplomatic even with the addition of the most beautiful foreign clothing. His intolerance remains. What this passage hints at is the correlation between beauty enhancements with trade and items foreign to Athens. Philocleon's objections are to the clothing, and where they came from.

In Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, the women come together to boycott sex and thereby force their husbands to abandon war. Yet they do not sit by in a passive boycott but actively seek to beautify themselves so that the lack of sex is felt more acutely. Here, the enhancements and the beauty that they create have a very strong purpose: sexual stimulus. Since the beauty of these women is driven by a need for their beauty to gain them extra attention (if not become irresistible) to the point that they can achieve their own ends, this section begins with a presumed beauty premium.

Lysistrata begins with a small gathering of young Athenian women, and slowly more women from other Greek cities arrive. The old (and therefore by default ugly) women have assembled elsewhere to actively take over the acropolis (176), while the young women hear the plan first hand from Lysistrata. Played by men, and with words written by a male playwright, the character Calonice seems to describe what the male impression of a day in the life of an Athenian woman would have been like. Calonice asks of Lysistrata:

Τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασαίαιτο
ἢ λαμπρόν, αἶ καθήμεθ' ἐξηνθισμένοι,
κροκωτοφοροῦσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένοι
καὶ Κιμβερίκ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας; (42-45)

But what could women do that is clever or brilliant—we whose daily activity consists of primping, while wearing saffron gowns and beautifying ourselves and Cimberic slippers and slippers?¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Henderson (1987a) 72-73 explains the vocabulary a bit more: the saffron gown would be the finest kind a woman could wear, 'beautifying' most likely alluded to a form of cosmetics, and the Cimberic would be a type of expensive clothing. Glazebrook (2009) 238 notes that *kalopizein* used here is the most positive way to describe the application of make-up, while *kataplattein* and

For a woman to achieve beauty, it is an all-day-long process. Lysistrata agrees wholeheartedly with this, and repeats that it is the necessary action:

ταῦτ' αὐτὰ γάρ τοι κάσθ' ἄ σῶσειν προσδοκῶ,
τὰ κροκωτίδια καὶ τὰ μύρα καὶ περιβαρίδες
χῆγγουσα καὶ τὰ διαφανῆ χιτῶνια. (46-48)

Those things are exactly what I think will save us--our saffron gowns and our perfumes and our slippers and our rouge and our see-through shifts.

While the ultimate goal of such enhancements is to make the sex-strike unbearable this passage attributes feminine beauty to external products. A woman's job (in this context) is to look beautiful, and to do that she must apply make-up, perfume and wear clothing that is alluring down to the slippers. These objects represent feminine beauty and are the focus of much description. In her further planning, Lysistrata mentions again the importance not only of denying sex, but applying make-up, wearing only a small amount of clothing, and plucking themselves (149-151).¹³⁵ The women have great confidence in the ability of their products, and expect that they will be successful on account of their appearance. In sum, this plan only works under the assumption that a beauty premium of sorts exists.

These enhancements *make* the women more beautiful, and while at times the process of beautification can be mocked, when done correctly it can accomplish exactly what Lysistrata proposed. Even more products are listed in Aristophanes' fr. 332, from the

periplattin are should be viewed negatively and *entribein* as neutral. While interesting, I can clearly see this being the case for *kalopizein* which I have translated literally here as 'beautifying,' there is less evidence for the nuances of the other three verbs.

¹³⁵ For more on depilation, see Kilmer (1982).

lost *Thesmophoriazusae*.¹³⁶ Here the things needed by women to become attractive are given in a long list, hyperbolized by sheer amount and ridiculed by the high cost of it all. Yet the speaker, who is male, makes asides during his long list implying that these methods do in fact work. The unavoidable punishment for falling for the trap such beauty creates is exaggerated while still confirming the effect.¹³⁷ If the speculative argument of the plot proposed by Karachalios is believed (that it was a sort of reverse-*Lysistrata* where men deny sex to women), then it is all the more reason to see a longer listing of products, and this time by the men in whom it causes a reaction.¹³⁸

There remains, however, a tension between the effectiveness of make-up and other products meant to beautify a woman and the confusion shown by men towards these very

¹³⁶ Ξυρόν, κάτοπτρον, ψαλίδα, κηρωτήν, λίτρον, / προκόμιον, ὀχθοίβους, μίτρας, ἀναδήματα, / ἔγχουσιν, ὄλεθρον τὸν βαθύν, ψιμύθιον, / μύρον, κίσηριν, στρόφον, ὀπισθοσφενδόνην, / κάλυμμα, φῦκος, περιδέραια, ὑπογράμματα, / τρυφοκαλάσιριν, ἐλλέβορον, κεκρύφαλον, / ζῶμ', ἀμπεχόνην, τρύφημα, παρυφές, ξυστίδα, / χιτῶνα, βάραθρον, ἔγκυκλον, κομμώτριον, / ἕτερα θ' ὅσ' οὐδεὶς μνημονεύσειεν ποτε. / τὰ μέγιστα δ' οὐ λέγεις αὐτῶν ταυτί; / διόπας, διάλιθον πλάστρα, μαλάκιον, βότρως, / χλίδωνα, περόνας, ἀμφιδέας, ὄρμους, πέδας, / σφραγίδας, ἀλύσεις, δακτυλίους, καταπλάσματα, / πομφόλυγας, ἀποδέσμους, ὀλίβους, σάρδια, / ὑποδέρεις, ἐλικτήρας, ἄλλ' ἀφ' ὧν οὐδ' ἂν λέγων λέξαις. Translation by Henderson (2007) 269 “(A) razor, mirror, scissors, wax soup, wig, dress-trimmings headbands, barrettes, rouge—sheer devastation!—white face-powder, perfume, pumice-stone, brassiere, hairnet, veil, orchil paint, necklaces, mascara, soft gown, hellebore, headband, slip, shawl, negligee, bordered robe, long gown—the stocks, the death-pit!—striped jacket, curling-iron. And the best is still to come. (B) What’s next? (A) Earring, set gem, hoops, choker, cluster-pin, bracelet, brooches, wrist-band, necklaces, anklets, signets, chains, rings, plasters, bubble-hats, breast bands, dildos, carnelians, leis, hoops, and lots of other things that you (*masc.*) couldn’t name if you tried.”

¹³⁷ Much of the ‘sarcastic’ tone which Karachalios (2006) 16 and Butrica (2001) 68 observe is due to the context in which the fragment is preserved in Clement of Alexandria *Pedagogue* 2.124.1. Even if the next line (“I, for one thing, got tired even enumerating the number of accessories, and it surprises me how they do not wear themselves out when carrying such weight”) is meant to also be a part of the play, and indeed the extent of product is mocked, it does not need to be about the slander of women—potentially more about the cost of maintaining a woman with such high demands.

¹³⁸ Karachalios (2006) 14, 16 deal with fr. 332, and he draws his conclusions at 22. See also Butrica (2001) 68-69.

objects. Alexis' comic fr. 103 lists the ways in which a girl's appearance is altered for every specific undesirable trait, ranging from being too short or too tall.¹³⁹ Eubulus' comic fr. 97 describes what can go wrong when white lead is applied too heavily or it rains on a girl's made-up face.¹⁴⁰ The above processes of beautification seem fairly painless compared to the gruelling version which the Inlaw of Euripides in *Thesmophoriazusae* undergoes (216-217). While it is a given that he should shave off his beard, the need for him to singe off his pubic hair is purely for comedic value as well as an indication of a common practice among women.¹⁴¹

This section on make-up has shown that comic women characters were portrayed as believing strongly in the power that various enhancements had on their appearance and that by achieving heightened beauty they could further exacerbate the male sex drive, and consequently control their husbands. The role of beauty in this passage has, on a whole, been undervalued and needs to be seen as an important factor in Lysistrata's plan. While this is true on the comic stage, the mockery of the women and their enhancements is also a very real feature of the play. The weak Athenian men are susceptible to the trickery of cosmetics and their stifled sex drives are aggravated by the enhanced appearance of their

¹³⁹ Preserved in Athenaeus 13.568A. See Arnott (1996) 273-283 and Rusten and Henderson (2011) 539-540.

¹⁴⁰ Preserved in Athenaeus 13.557EF. See Hunter (1983) 67-69, 181-193 and Rusten and Henderson (2011) 478-479.

¹⁴¹ See Austin and Olson (2004) 125-6, and also Aristophanes' *Ra*. 516. The reverse of this scene, where the women of *Ec.* (60-1) refrain from shaving their arm pits points towards yet another part of female beautification regimen. For more, see Kilmer (1982) and specifically 111 who convincingly concludes that depilation by plucking or singeing was common for shaping pubic hair, and that "the literary evidence makes it clear that the point of this was to increase sexual attractiveness."

wives. Such a scenario is not funny unless it is applicable off the comic stage as well. The women's view of each other, descriptions of themselves and the reactions to beauty would all be for the benefit of a male audience. Cosmetic usage and other fancy bits of clothing mentioned would need to be widespread and identifiable by men in the audience.

The opening of *Lysistrata* is interesting in terms of beauty, not only because of the details of feminine grooming, but because it is unique in showing young (and therefore attractive women) rather than old. An example from *Ecclesiazusae* 877-1111 shows another side to cosmetics on the comic stage.¹⁴² Here we have a contest between beautiful youth and old age with enhancements. The young girl attacks methods of female beautification, both depilation (παρκαλέγειν, 904)¹⁴³ and applying cosmetics (ἐντορῖβειν, 904),¹⁴⁴ but it must be clarified that it is not the act of beautification, but who is practising it that is criticized.¹⁴⁵ Both verbs are neutral for make-up application, and the insult is the purpose of her beautification rather than its effectiveness: she is 'dressed up' for Death.¹⁴⁶ It is her

¹⁴² The passage is also full of imagery which has been analysed to understand the nuances of the scene. See Henderson (1991) 103-104 generally, and 162-165 on nautical imagery, and see also Whitehorne (1989) for nautical imagery specific to this passage. See Wheat (1992) for the connection to death and funerals. Two recent suggestions for re-analysing this scene prompt us to emphasize the social status of the characters involved as well as which character gives a particular imagery. Halliwell (2002) has recently shown the behaviour of the women to be prostitute-like, rather than citizen-like behaviour which comically confuses the scene. Slater (1997) has noticed that the death imagery against the old women comes only from the young man, and thus his slant needs to be taken into account during such readings.

¹⁴³ This most likely refers to plucking of the eyebrows.

¹⁴⁴ Also used neutrally if not positively at 732, and *Lys.* 149.

¹⁴⁵ There is nothing in the text to confirm whether or not the young girl is wearing a mask similar to the old woman, whose mask would certainly show some sign of being covered with cosmetics and having plucked eyebrows.

¹⁴⁶ For ἐντορῖβειν and its neutrality, see Glazebrook (2009) 238.

age that has separated the old woman from any potential human man and made her Death's beloved.

The old woman points to her sexual experience as a reason for her desirability, to which the girl snidely comments that it is her make-up, specifically rouge and white powder (ἔγχουσα and ψιμύθιον, 929), which will help her.¹⁴⁷ This time the young girl, rather than being repulsed that such a woman is attempting beautification, suggests that make-up is the only way in which the old woman can cover up her age and be desirable again. Eventually defeated, the old woman leaves the stage and an even uglier woman comes on next. This old woman is called ὦ κάκιστ' ἀπολουμένη (1052), and signalled as being destined for a miserable end. She is, compared to the first old woman, far worse (1053).¹⁴⁸ These women are the old, if not as good as dead, attempting to regain youthful beauty through make-up, yet failing. When the third old woman comes on stage it is no

¹⁴⁷ The young girl is convinced that youth (ᾠρα 922) is what the old woman is seeking, and that it is the only way to attract attention. The old woman merely says it is not for her age that she is desirable, thus contradicting the girl's earlier argument. If not her age, she must be referring back to the τὸ σοφόν which she discussed earlier. Ussher (1973) 205 explains this view fully.

¹⁴⁸ The young boy gives a comparison for her looks; she is like the mythical Empusa covered in bleeding blisters. A monster also appears in *Ra.* 288-95. Supposedly it was a female who could change form to seduce men. Although Empusa could take a beautiful form, it was evil. Obviously here the old woman is in her 'ugly form'. Dem. 18.130 calls Aeschines' mother an Empusa more as comment about her looseness than being ugly. For more on Empusa see Brown (1991). Sommerstein (1998) 228 suggests that the red bleeding blisters are meant to show her as over-rouged rather than as literal sores and this keeps in line with how both the first and third old women are described. Wheat (1992) 168 and Ussher (1973) take a more literal approach, and connect this with the blazing face of the Empusa in *Ra.*, which is far more graphic. Yet compared with lines 878, 904 for the first old woman and lines 1072-3 for the third, it seems much more probable to take it as an allusion to make-up representing the normal flames of the Empusa.

surprise that she is even uglier than the first two (1070). The third old woman is likened to a monkey wearing make-up (1072) or even a corpse recently revived (1073).¹⁴⁹

This passage allows us to examine make-up as a tool of the old versus the young. Although it is uncertain whether the girl's mask here is depicted with symbolic make-up similar to the old woman's or not,¹⁵⁰ there is much evidence to suggest that the wearing of cosmetics was common among younger ages off the comic stage. For example, the wife of Ischomachus in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* was quite young when she married,¹⁵¹ thus we can assume that she is still young when she is found to be wearing make-up in chapter 10. Likewise we can assume that the bride of Euphiletus from Lysias' *Against Erastosthenes* was young since she is still well within child-bearing years,¹⁵² but she also wore make-up (*Lysias* 1.14) when it was for her lover. Again, the young women from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* are commanded to wear make-up (44-50) as it will further entice their husbands. The women involved in the sex-strike are all young, and the older women are sent off to capture the Acropolis.

¹⁴⁹ Monkeys seem to be 'ugly' by Greek standards. Semonides fr. 7.71 in his satire on women, finds the woman based on the monkey to be the ugliest of all women. But it could also secondarily be referring to the shape of a monkey nose, which would be the unattractive snub or σιμός.

¹⁵⁰ Stone (1980) 25-27, 297 suggests that different types of make-up were applied to the female masks to give some diversity which was lacking on the normal female white mask. Men, in contrast had many different colours. The use of make-up on female masks would be quite important.

¹⁵¹ See Xen. *Oec.* 7.5, when she is described as not yet 15, οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα.

¹⁵² Pomeroy (1975) 64 and (1984) 89, 106 details the practice of very young girls marrying older men contrary to the advice of Plato *Laws* 785b and Hesiod *Works and Days* 698-9. This helps the assumption that this wife was young and still attractive.

From this evidence, make-up appears to be effective for the young and beautiful, and a source of criticism for older women.¹⁵³ While applying make-up may indeed help an older woman, as in *Wealth* 1065, the joke is that she would look much worse were she to remove her cosmetics. The use of make-up on older women throughout comedy is mocked as an attempt to recapture past beauty.¹⁵⁴

Unlike male beauty, there is only one way in which a woman is considered beautiful in Athens; her pale, soft skin, soft thighs and firm breasts combined with youth is a given. What follows after this is a long and taxing process. Because women must take such an active role in being beautiful, there is almost always a sense of purpose to their beauty; the desire to be beautiful is ever present. This vanity, in turn, suggests that these measures were effective: they increased the sexual allure of women, which in turn helped achieve the respective goals of the women. As we saw in *Ecclesiazusae*, however, there is an age limitation regarding the use of cosmetics. While white-lead will always work to smooth out wrinkles, there is a time when it is no longer effective in producing beauty.

Similarities between effeminate men and women are numerous, but beauty in general is shown in the case of women to involve, once again, more than just the physical body. Where beauty is, there is also youth, sex and luxury. Youth is the first requirement, and as we shall see in the next section, sex is the most common reaction.

¹⁵³ See Henderson (1987b) for comedy's usual portrayal of old women.

¹⁵⁴ Sommerstein (2001) 206 comments that old women use make-up and specifically white lead (*ψιμύθιον*) to conceal their wrinkles, and while later evidence stands to confirm this, the only contemporary evidence is also from comedy which may not be positive towards the elderly.

Reacting to Comic Beauty

So far I have shown that there is indeed a vast amount of material regarding good-looking appearances on the comic stage and I have answered the question of who was attractive and how. But even while particular points of beauty were being discussed there was always a layer, immediately following, which triggered a reaction: often this was sexual attraction. Now, it is important to focus wholly on the reactions, and while sex is still a focal point, the reactions which follow will be much stronger than those so far. This next section will show how these appearances influence the plot and how the characters react to beauty. During the discussion of the descriptions of the beautiful comic body, I suggested that young men were often viewed as 'up to no good' which should penalize them—and yet they still receive premiums. I also argued that the importance of enhancements for women suggests that these characters were playing for a beauty premium. Already I have shown how the idea of a beauty premium and penalty influence the genre, and now, having looked at the descriptions, the remainder of the chapter will focus on how common and to what extent these concepts infiltrate comedy.

Sexual desire as a reaction to beauty on the comic stage is quickly followed up by an action to satisfy that lust. This has already been discussed while considering the intentions and actions of the women in *Lysistrata*. They did not beautify themselves for vanity's sake but for an expressed purpose and with the knowledge that beauty would in fact stimulate the desired reaction in the men. The women of *Lysistrata* easily wield this power of beauty, a feat which places their men in their complete control. For the most part,

in comedy, beauty's control is related to sexual satisfaction. I will first explore more passages in which beauty causes such strong lust that action must be taken. There are, however, also passages in which reactions other than sex are triggered by beauty, which I will look at secondly.

Beauty and Sex as a Reward

While it could be argued that the most common reward for any great comic accomplishment is sex, *Ecclesiazusae* has clearly shown that if beauty is not involved it quickly turns into a punishment. The norm is for the comic man (or men) to receive a young and certainly beautiful woman at the closing of the play. In *Lysistrata* the men not only resolve things with their dolled-up wives, but they ogle and divide up the beautiful body of Reconciliation—particularly her ὁ πρωκτὸς ἄφατον ὡς καλός, 'buttocks of unmentionable beauty,' 1148. They are thus rewarded with a beautiful body twice—possession of their own cosmetically enhanced wife, and the peace offering of Reconciliation. While we do not see the reactions on stage, the implication of impending satisfaction and the celebratory tone emphasises how wonderful it is to finally be able to react sexually to the displayed bodies. The scene praises beauty and sex and possessing both is completely positive. The end scene of *Thesmophoriazusae* adds an interesting contrast to this. Here, a Scythian archer is granted two beautiful young girls not as a reward, but as a means of distracting from his task. At first he is content to just watch her dance, but at Euripides' encouragement she sits on his lap and is subsequently touched and her breasts praised (οἶμ' ὡς στέριπο τὸ τιττί', ὥσπερ γογγυλί 1185). The flute girl's

buttocks are praised (καλό γε τὸ πυγὴ 1187), and both girls carry off their distraction. Without features deemed beautiful, the plan would be unsuccessful. Two interpretations of this scene is possible—it shows the strong power of observing a beautiful body, but it then further hints at how that beauty is so debilitating that the Scythian archer neglects his duty. This goes beyond reaction, as we will see further developed in Xenophon, and pronounces a consequence for the lover beauty.

Examples of beautiful rewards and sex continue, in *Birds* when Peisistratos weds the beautiful queen (1713, 1723) whose beauty, while just one of many rewards, is the most celebrated. Philocleon abducts the beautiful flute girl Dardanis as his reward in *Wasps* (1342f), as Blepyrus is granted two young girls as escorts to the celebration dinner in *Ecclesiazusae* (1137). The chorus of *Acharnians* suggests, as a celebration, sex with a youthfully blooming maiden (1146-8 τῶ δὲ καθεύδειν /μετὰ παιδίσκης ὠραιοτάτης,) which then comes true at 1199 when Dicaeopolis enters with firm breasted women. *Wealth* 975f offers an interesting contrast; here it is the old woman who originally benefited (before Wealth's sight was restored) by having a young, handsome man at her side—but Chremylus promises her that he will return.

Emphasis on these endings and the celebration of sex are the normal focal points.¹⁵⁵

Injecting the criteria of 'beauty' adds a different nuance. The implicit sexual reaction to beauty is perhaps not exactly a premium or penalty (especially dependent on one's point

¹⁵⁵ Zweig (1992) 81, for example writes: "Scholars invariable interpret these nude female characters as embodiments of the sexual exuberance and celebration that are central features of Old Comedy and the festivals of fertility, and the scenes in which they appear as contributing in one way or another to this comedic abandonment to sexual play..."

of view). It does however place a value on beauty and gives it a rather large role in celebration.

Praxagora's Attempt to Abolish the Beauty Premium

Moving beyond beauty as a reward, *Ecclesiazusae* deals extensively with beauty and toys with the concepts behind the beauty premium and penalty. After the women of *Ecclesiazusae* take control of Athens, Praxagora reveals how she will eradicate the sexual advantage of beauty and provide free sex for everyone (520-729).¹⁵⁶ This develops into a *reductio ad absurdum* of the communistic plan.¹⁵⁷ Praxagora's explanations begin with making all land common property (597-8), as well as money and possessions (598-9).¹⁵⁸ Just as all possessions are to be held in common, there are new sex laws which give any man or woman the right to sleep with anyone else (613-615). Marriage becomes obsolete. However, Praxagora cannot make beauty common nor distribute beauty and physical attractiveness equally among all citizens the way she can wealth.¹⁵⁹ Thus when Blepyrus declares that everyone will go for the same person, the most attractive one (ὡραιστάτη, 616), Praxagora's system is dangerously close to failing. This wealth of beauty requires

¹⁵⁶ This section has been found to have such serious overtones that parallels between Praxagora's communal city and Plato's *Republic* have been drawn. See Barry (1942) 28-43 and Halliwell (1993) Appendix for comparison.

¹⁵⁷ Obsessive licentiousness is a common comic depiction of women, mentioned earlier at line 8 and 14. This is also shown in *Lys.* 1-5, 9-12; *Th.* 387-394. The stereotype is that women love sex and wine.

¹⁵⁸ The two men suggest various reasons as to how this system will fail when men refuse to give all their money and retain it instead. The argument that is most convincing is the hoarding of money so that one could hire a prostitute (611-613).

¹⁵⁹ Interestingly, Kurt Vonnegut's 1961 short story *Harrison Bergeron*, tackles this same issue of enforcing equality (including beauty). His science fiction solution is forced masks for beauty.

laws which strictly regulate it, thereby smashing the premium the beautiful receive, which is (in this case) first choice of sexual partner.¹⁶⁰

Praxagora explains that the plain women¹⁶¹ (αἱ φαυλότεραι, 617), specifically the ones with snub noses (σιμότεραι, 617),¹⁶² should sit by the great women (σεμναί, 617)¹⁶³ so that those desiring a woman will have to first oblige the plain one.¹⁶⁴ The ambiguous idea of 'plain' and 'great' could stand in for the ugly and ordinary poor, and the beautiful upper-class to reinforce the association of body with person, if Praxagora had not abolished this system. It is even further complicated since σεμναί women can be taken in both a positive and negative sense. Since Praxagora has wiped away any semblance of a class system with her new plan, a once complicated system is reduced to physical looks, a problem that can be clearly displayed on stage. Even when power, wealth, and family connections are gone, the reactions to appearances, which lead to the perks of beauty, cannot be banished.

¹⁶⁰ Although her solution does not actually allow for an equal society, in this section, she is seeking to achieve sex for the ugly and rejected. Despite the fact that this results in a lack of sex and fulfilment for the beautiful, she has in fact reached her goal: to provide for the poor and ugly. See Halliwell (2002) 127-129 and Slater (1997) 116-120.

¹⁶¹ This is not a negative word, but has the idea of ordinary rather than ugly. It is comparative and used here to describe a person's looks.

¹⁶² This is the type of nose which Socrates is also described as having in Xen. *Symp.* 5.6 and Plato *Theaetetus* 143e, 209c.

¹⁶³ The word σεμναί can be used of gods to denote their holy status, but when applied to humans it has a sense of great and majestic. However, along with the idea of greatness comes the negative idea of haughtiness and arrogance. In this first context at 617, it is most likely great and noble, but later at 631 it probably is the negative idea of arrogant.

¹⁶⁴ The words here could be more than physical and carry ideas of social classes. Ussher (1973) 161-162 analyses the vocabulary fully. Perhaps reminiscent of Plato's proposed eugenics. For example: φαυλότεραι is used again at 626 for appearance, and has been used by Herodotus (6.61.3) as both looks and in *Ra.* 475 as class. Likewise, σεμναί has heavy class connotations in this play at 632, and also *Nu.* 48.

It would be presumptuous to think that Aristophanes was making a bold statement about the inequality existing at the time, but there is certainly an awareness of a deeper, irreconcilable divide among Athenians which he portrays with the easily comprehensible contrast of the beautiful versus the ugly. Whatever the undertone may be, ideas of beauty and ugliness are features with which everyone can identify and this reflects how much power the beautiful had at this time. From this comic perspective, little to no emphasis is put on the personality of the desired individual. Rather, full satisfaction is based on the body. Praxagora's explanation at 614 is directed at two older and uglier men who—like the snub-nosed woman—stand to benefit from these laws.¹⁶⁵ The law now protects the ugly men and women at the expense of the young, beautiful men and women. In this way, the old, ugly, short men will sleep with the young, beautiful girls. The enforcers of the law will be the ugly who wish to get their 'fair share'.

¹⁶⁵ These plain men are called οἱ φαυλότεροι (626), but the beautiful ones are called καλός (626). There are some textual issues as to whether 'καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις,' should be inserted in line 628 making the beautiful men tall to possibly balance their shortness, 'καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς' at 629. This was originally proposed by Tyrwhitt, Naber. Ussher (1973) accepts this emendation, but Sommerstein (1998) instead leaves the more controversial οἱ φαυλότεροι at 628, but agrees that these words were an insertion that makes little sense, and indicating a preference for the καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις insertion. Whether or not καὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις should be inserted, there is a sense that tall is considered beautiful because the ugly are called short. Ussher finds the usage of μέγας (if this accepted) and μικρός reminiscent of epic language equating greatness with beauty. Ussher (1973) 163 specifically looks at Homer *Il.* 21.108. It is interesting that in *Nu.*, when the Better Argument was discussing the ideal body, no mention about height was made; the word μέγας, however did appear several times in conjunction with other attributes (i.e., the shoulders and buttocks), and μικρός was used positively for genital size. With such general words of size it is perhaps dangerous to assume they mean tall and short rather than a more generic big and small.

As if to test the equality that Praxagora has suggested, Blepyrus names a man presumed to have been short and snub nosed, Lysicrates.¹⁶⁶ The question is whether even Lysicrates will be able to take equal pride in his nose as a beautiful person does (630). In other words, he is asking whether the beauty premium has been obliterated. He is answered by the fully approving neighbour, who continues to declare this a most democratic idea (631).¹⁶⁷ From his joy over the situation we can assume that he is unattractive and cannot wait to see those who have benefited from good looks for so long, be below him. Yet once again, the vocabulary here is carefully chosen. The ones that the Neighbour will make a fool of are the great, or perhaps even arrogant, (σεμνός 631) who were previously mentioned at 617. His delight at now being able to have first choice of women, above the attractive and wealthy, seems to be in direct contrast with the goal of the new law which is to level the advantage of the beautiful and rich within democracy since he will now be placed at the top.¹⁶⁸

Wealth is easily re-distributed, but to create a truly communal system Praxagora needed to make the ugly equally desirable, thus changing people's reaction to beauty and overcoming the beauty premium. However, she succeeds in establishing her plan, which

¹⁶⁶ Mentioned again at 737, he was also known to have dyed his hair black. *Anthologia Graeca* xi.196-204 gives examples of how the snub nose was a negative look, once again reminiscent of Socrates' own unattractive face. The source for Lysicrates being a thief is problematic, and not much else is known of him. See Ussher (1973) 163 and Sommerstein (1998) 193.

¹⁶⁷ Here I follow Wilson (2007) and Sommerstein (1998) who attribute these lines to the Neighbour, or ΓΕΙΤΩΝ. Ussher (1973) gives the lines to Praxagora.

¹⁶⁸ See Halliwell (2002) 127-129. Wheat (1992) 170 also sees this as a reversal for the ugly and lower class rather than an actual equal and open society. Slater (1997) 110 calls attention to the *Schadenfreude* of the passage which would have an appeal to a majority of the audience.

results in a comic reversal of beauty and consequently of class and wealth.¹⁶⁹ In this section, physical beauty could be said to represent the problems which existed with wealth and social class. Beauty could not be distributed equally and as Praxagora tries to regulate it, others want it even more.

Praxagora's failure to regulate beauty is captured in the following scene. Two young, attractive characters who appear in *Ecclesiazusae* as part of the aftermath of Praxagora's plan act out the desire for beauty in a song. The young boy declares that he longs to avoid the law and only sleep with the 'young' girl (νέα 938). Despite Praxagora's efforts, we can now see that the beauty premium remains. He further clarifies this by saying he wants neither an old woman (προεσβυτέρων¹⁷⁰ 940) nor a girl with an up-turned nose (ἀνάσιμον 940): meaning ugly. He wants only a beautiful girl (τὴν καλὴν μόνην 947). What the boy considers intolerable is now what is proper and just according to the law. The young girl emerges and the two melt into an erotic duet filled with explicit sexual imagery and appearance as well as strong ties to high poetry.¹⁷¹ They both speak of strong longing and passion for each other, but their desire remains on the physical level despite the elevated language. The dangerous passion which the girl feels for the boy culminates

¹⁶⁹ See Slater (1997) 120.

¹⁷⁰ προεσβυτέρων is polite compared to σαπρά which the girl calls the old woman at 884 and 926.

¹⁷¹ Bowra (1958) sought to prove that the duet was evidence for a lost genre of lyric poetry with roots in the lower class. Ussher (1973) and Kugelmeier (1996) 144 see strong formulaic expressions as further evidence for this being a common love song. Olson (1988) has criticized this view, and Parker (1997) 544-549 provides even further evidence against Bowra's thesis. Origins aside, the explicit sexual references and mocking of high poetry are important to understanding the scene, and while Bowra's proposal is interesting, it is not provable, but his examination of the section is invaluable.

not with love for him, but an attraction to his beautiful curly hair (βοστρύχοι 955). Their mutual desire is based on the fact that they are both beautiful and therefore attract one another.¹⁷²

In the last lines of the song¹⁷³ the young boy praises the girl first as decorated with gold (ᾠ χρυσοδαίδαλον 972) and then compares her to various divinities.¹⁷⁴ The last comparison he makes is to the embodiment of luxury, Τρυφή (973). It is interesting that not only is this a rare personification but also rare in poetry and of a much lower level than the previous deities.¹⁷⁵ It is important to note that this τρυφή is the same τὸ τρυφερόν which the young girl claimed makes her far superior to the old woman and her τὸ σοφόν at line 901.¹⁷⁶ Thus while this description is comically lower than his previous compliments¹⁷⁷ it also reinforces that they are only after each other's beautiful and youthful bodies. This idea contributes to the greater idea of the play; it is τρυφή which Praxagora has tried to bring to all the citizen men of Athens: luxury without the need to work, but perhaps even more importantly, luxury equally for all.¹⁷⁸ But beauty of the

¹⁷² Both Bowra (1958) 380-1 and Olson (1988) 329 agree to the formulaic composure of the reprise and other stock sections.

¹⁷³ I follow Wilson (2007), Sommerstein (1998), and Ussher (1973) all of whom give the last lines to the young boy.

¹⁷⁴ Bowra (1958) 388 rejects a connection to Sappho and Anacreon and instead sees similarities with the love poetry found in Ibycus. Sommerstein (1998), however, still sees it as reminiscent of Sappho fr. 163.

¹⁷⁵ Found elsewhere in Alexis Fr. 232= Ath. 10.431a. Arnott (1996) 658 suggests in this instance that it is the name of a woman, possibly a *hetaera* and certainly beautiful. See also Bowra (1958) 389-90.

¹⁷⁶ See above on page 80.

¹⁷⁷ Surely it is better to be compared to Muses and Graces (972-973) than this once personified luxury.

¹⁷⁸ See Braund (1994) for the idea that luxury for all was an image central Athenian democracy. Donlan (1973) focuses on how Greek poetry speaks out against the luxury of the upper class. The

human body cannot be distributed in this way — despite laws — and so the plan to abolish the beauty premium fails.

Beauty Believed: Attractive Orator

The above passages discuss Praxagora's plan and its execution, but the play begins with Praxagora entering the Athenian Assembly to convince the men to turn control of the city over to the women. Here we are presented with a reaction to beauty which, although possibly fuelled by lust, results in something other than sex. It is useful here to remember from the *Clouds* what a desirable male body was according to the Better Logos. It was large, and powerful with radiant skin (1012-1014). The women who are disguised and take over are far from achieving this masculine beauty even as they attempt to cover up every bit of their bodies. Rather, they most likely have smaller, paler bodies which would be more similar to the 'cursed' body of the Worse Logos, with the assumed substitution of λευκός

concept of τρυφή within Greek society is complex; it was perhaps desired by individuals, but publicly each citizen was supposed to be equal and thus despite real wealth inequalities, the society had to operate on the semblance that no one person was above another. Outer luxuries such as clothes and exotic animals or food would be condemned. To name a few, Braund (1994) 42-43 specifically discusses peacocks; Miller (1992) addresses the idea of the parasol as a luxury item. The possession and use of luxuries was thus both to be desired yet denied. Elsewhere in Aristophanes as well as other sources τρυφή has a negative connotation linking it to the wealthy class, which seems to be lacking here. Previously mentioned, τρυφή is meant negatively in *V.* 551, 688, 1169, 1455; other mentions include: *Nu.* 48, *Lys.* 387, 405. According to Bernhardt (2003) 193 n.9 luxuries are normally enjoyed by women. Outside of Aristophanes, see Demosthenes 21.159 and 42.24 speak against the display of τρυφή. This negative feeling is gone because in the new utopia created by Praxagora, the voluptuousness of the girl's body is public for all. There are no longer wealthy people and poor people, and thus any luxury is truly a luxury for everyone to be publicly enjoyed. Aristophanes presents before the citizens a world where everyone can partake shamelessly in whatever luxury (a τρυφή which the young girl embodied), they want. In Praxagora's new world, this is allowed and even encouraged. A problem arises, however, because to make luxury and the enjoyment of beauty equal, the ugly must also be included and the promised enjoyment quickly fades as preference is given to the previous underdog.

for ὠχρός.¹⁷⁹ It is while addressing the male assembly that pale-masked Praxagora is called an εὐπρεπῆς νεανίας λευκός ('good-looking, pale youth' 427) who is ὅμοιος Νικία ('similar to Nikias' 428).¹⁸⁰ Not only is Praxagora in her cross-dressed state still found good-looking as a man, she is not dissimilar to a real young man; albeit a pale one, and perhaps similar to Agathon or Cleisthenes who were discussed earlier.¹⁸¹ The prediction from *Clouds* (1020-1021) seems to have come true: pale, small men are beautiful.

Praxagora's effeminate beauty and youthful appearance which could signify immaturity and hinder her words in the Assembly (anticipating a beauty penalty), in fact, act as a catalyst (indicating a beauty premium). In fact, a common trope in actual law courts is to ask the jury to forgive a speaker's youth in order to combat prejudice that could arise from a youthful appearance.¹⁸² While the Neighbour does not give the introduction to Praxagora's speech in this manner, such a tactic is similar to the catchphrase "don't hate me because I'm beautiful."¹⁸³ As the rest of the play shows, they

¹⁷⁹ As the chorus, these women most likely have uniform white female masks which have been disguised as 'masculine' with their fake beards. This does leave room for small amounts of individualization among the female chorus, but more importantly there is certainly a difference between them and Praxagora, just as there was also a difference between Lysistrata and her chorus of women. See Stone (1980) 58 n.68, 297-306 and 389, who pushes for the idea of uniformity of costume among the chorus, while allowing for more individual motions and stages of disguise of the chorus. She makes no comment as to a different appearance of the leads Lysistrata and Praxagora except to say that there is less diversity among the costumes of female characters.

¹⁸⁰ He is most likely the son of the famous general Nicias, and relatively young at this time. See Sommerstein (1988) 178 and Ussher (1973) 135.

¹⁸¹ This is simultaneously a punch line against Nicias as well as an indication that Praxagora's costume was a success.

¹⁸² Aristotle's *Rhetorica ad Alexandrum* Ch. 29=1437a suggests combating such prejudice by acknowledging it. Ober (1989) 170-7 discusses the trope.

¹⁸³ Originally from a Pantene shampoo commercial in the 1980s. The phrase was originally uttered by model Kelly LeBrock. It is still in circulation today.

do not hate her. It is acceptable, and even desirable for young men to be paler and not just hardened athletes who frequent the gymnasium. Their paleness can be attributed to their dedication to exercising their tongues, rather than bodies as, Better Logos declared.

The women are passable as men; this leads to the joke that perhaps all Athenian men are 'women'. This effeminization of masculine beauty guarantees success for the women. Praxagora's physical appearance is not praised according to female standards and therefore no assumptions should be made as to her regular female appearance, but she is described by the Neighbour as a physically good-looking male. Praxagora receives praise for both her looks and her policies. Granted, she has packed the crowd with her supporters, something that was not foreign to Athens,¹⁸⁴ but there are only minimal objections to her plan, voiced by the country folk (οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἀνεβορβόρουξαν 432).¹⁸⁵ The rest of the men, if we are meant to imagine that a few real males made it inside the Assembly, are swayed by the general feeling of approval voiced by the disguised women, if not by Praxagora's words and looks.

¹⁸⁴ Thucydides 6.13.1 voices a warning if not guidance to those in the Assembly that they should not be easily swayed for a particular action just because their neighbour is. See Boegehold et al. (1995) 71. The idea that the groups (whether prearranged or not) could in the heat of the moment overpower the Assembly is ever present. It must also be noted that expressing ties to a stronger military or even established political group was rare and any 'nobody' could potentially speak. The point was for the speaker to convince the masses. Lysias 14.23 uses this idea of supporters against Alkibiades. See Ober (1989) 123n. 47.

¹⁸⁵ Ussher (1973) 135 and Sommerstein (1998) 178 both agree that part of the reason for the countrymen to grumble is a customary opposition to the city men. More interesting, however, is that although the women seem to be greater in number we may be meant to imagine that there were a few 'real' men present such as these countrymen, and the two male speakers. They may have even been more scattered throughout the Assembly, but isolated and therefore easily swayed by the majority.

A brief look at the previous speakers reveals how much Praxagora's looks bolster her words, as well as grant her further attractiveness. Neocleides who is the first to speak, is *ὁ γλάμων* (bleary eyed 254, 398).¹⁸⁶ Making fun of sickness is not unusual, but his diseased appearance has become an epithet which both colours and hinders any proposal he makes (400-403). The people do not respect a person who is not in top physical condition.¹⁸⁷ The next speaker, Euaeon, although no comment is made about his physical condition, appears naked and begins to argue from his own state of poverty how to deal with the poverty of the state.¹⁸⁸ The image he presents of himself, destitute and naked, ultimately defeats him. It is after these two socially estranged and abnormal men that the good-looking Praxagora makes her speech. Her looks, although effeminate, support her while the crowd of women, creating a loud majority of praise for her plan, complete the illusion of her manhood with which she overtakes the Assembly. If the deception with which Praxagora becomes a man is ignored for a moment, this passage reveals that the Athenians are more willing to trust those who are attractive and healthy, and question those who are not. This comical rendition is important to see how much this scene, and these ideas, can be seen as ridiculing something in Athens or purely something sensed by Aristophanes that would be an effective general point of mockery. The influence of appearance (and specifically the preferential treatment of beautiful candidates) on the

¹⁸⁶ Neocleides is mentioned previously at 254 as a possible attacker of Praxagora in the Assembly.

¹⁸⁷ See Vlahogiannis (1998) 13-36 for more on the hindrances that various diseases and deformities caused for people in Athens.

¹⁸⁸ Ussher (1973) 132 and Compton-Engle (2005) 173 n. 32 suggest Euaeon is a descendent of Aeschylus. It may just be a clever play on his name meaning 'good lifetime' since he is a poor beggar.

outcome of modern elections has been demonstrated by various studies in locations across the modern world.¹⁸⁹ With that in mind, this comic portrayal of Praxagora's success can be assessed for potential value beyond comedy. At the very least, it points to something which scientists today are researching.

How, then, could this have operated in Athenian law courts? Shapiro recently examined the degrees of separation between the physical body of the orator and what would have been concluded about his character.¹⁹⁰ Ultimately she concludes that opponents could paint word pictures while simultaneously interpreting for the jury what that image *should* mean, and this is a point which I will re-visit myself in chapter 3. Here, in the comic Assembly then, with no opponents to tarnish Praxagora's appearance or comment on her effeminacy, and compared to the other speakers which the Neighbour described, it is easy to see how her appearance played a role in her success.

Conclusions to "Bawdy Bodies"

This chapter has shown that despite grotesque costuming, physical beauty was easily represented on the comic stage. This is possible in two ways: first, by recognizing the diversity of costuming which would allow for beauty relative to the others on stage and second, by specific character types, and even characters that are called beautiful.

While mute females (potentially played by real women) would set a very real standard of

¹⁸⁹ Todorov et al (2005) were the first to consider the influence of the face on electoral outcomes, and used the U.S.A. for the country of study. Many other studies followed which corroborate these finds such as King and Leigh (2009) in Australia and Berggren et al. (2007) in Finland.

¹⁹⁰ Shapiro (2011) 30-52.

beauty, the other speaking females and young men would be recognizably attractive. If this beauty were not possible, or not seen on stage, the scene of the two lovers in *Ecclesiazusae* would make little sense and the transformation of Demos in *Knights* would be meaningless. Proceeding from there, on top of the visual, the text significantly broadens our understanding of how beauty is being used in comedy.

The attractive male body, and especially that of the young man, is quite common, and these characters are described positively. They are able-bodied, and comment is made on their hair. Taking the description given by the Better Logos we can further see that skin colour and the texture of the skin are of vital importance to beauty, as is the size of the arms and legs. Moving on from youths, Aristophanes presents two attractive male bodies: the pampered effeminate and the disciplined athlete. The former shares many characteristics with beautiful women and while criticized extensively throughout Aristophanes' plays, the effeminate body is also shown as attractive.

For women, the colour of skin and texture of it is also important, although different from men in that they should be white and soft. Young women are often described by the enhancements they have utilized. Young, attractive women (whether in speaking roles or not) do seem to appear in Aristophanes' plays more frequently than young men, and yet it does not compare to the prevalence of older women. The image of the 'past-her-prime' woman trying to re-capture her beauty is a stock comic image. Such re-capture is, of course, available because even youthful women require enhancements.

Beauty is desired and pursued throughout almost every play with some type of sexual intent. Thus, it is possible to see sex as a driving reason for showing beauty on the comic stage and it is the lack of sex which forces characters into action. A common reaction to beauty on the comic stage is a desire for sexual intercourse and many of the plays centre around how this itch can be scratched or even utilised.

While this relationship between beauty and sex occupies much of the comic material there is another more complicated layer concerning the reactions to beauty. Young men, while beautiful, are consistently stereotyped negatively. Such stereotyping would logically suggest they suffer a beauty penalty but, in fact, they still maintain a degree of premiums. In my next chapters I will show how young men, while complimented for their beauty, are urged to act well, because the mischievous if not 'bad' comic youths are a stereotype of youths off the comic stage as well. It seems as though people expect beautiful youths to behave badly. When young women use any type of enhancement in comedy there is a reason for it, and they do so in order to trick men into giving them what they want. Comic women easily exploit the beauty premium.

When Praxagora is able to convince the few Athenian men in the assembly of her plan, her appearance is quickly mentioned, along with the appearance of the other men who speak. That her attractive and effeminate appearance contributes to her success stereotypes the Athenians as easily being persuaded by someone's beauty. Once again, it appears as though the beauty premium is a sociological phenomenon which can be seen in operation within these comedies. That Aristophanes intended his audience to laugh

implies that this would not only have been funny, but that it is a situation with which the audience would identify. Therein lies the humour. Without knowing more about Praxagora and her plan (along with the convenient placement of other women in the audience to vote for her) the fact that Aristophanes scripted her beauty, and success, attests to an understanding and acceptance of the beauty premium and ultimately the ability to see the humour in it. This is not a conscious knowledge of the beauty premium, but rather a reflex reaction to beauty. As *Ecclesiazusae* progresses, Praxagora must then seek to eradicate the very beauty premium which gave her an edge in the Assembly, but ultimately her attempts are unsuccessful. Her own success depended partially on the beauty premium, and her plan fails in it as well.

Beauty is incredibly versatile, persuasive, and simply desirable. Comedy reacts to beauty (with both penalties and premiums). It is best to end this chapter by simply stating that beauty was a strong driving force on this grotesque and distorted stage and showed that beautiful people are both bad and good, objects which are abused and manipulators which always get their way. Much more than the next few chapters, the reactions recorded here and presented by Aristophanes are arguably the 'most honest' in that they are fuelled by humour and the need to relate to the audience. The exaggerated and distorted aspect of comedy relies on very real, deep-felt and widely held assumptions. Beauty, while it is reacted to, is never highly elevated and often it is the failure of beautiful characters or their shortcomings to which the audience reacts positively. Thus, the plays of Aristophanes

accept beauty and use it but it is treated with suspicion and with an internal rationalization. Beauty is desired on-stage and that very reaction is mocked.

Beholding the Beautiful with Xenophon

Unlike Aristophanes, who is situated firmly in the genre of ‘comedy’, Xenophon, through the sheer breadth of his literary output, cannot be easily labelled. Xenophon wrote literary dialogues, history, novels, handbooks and more from the beginning of the fourth century.¹ To understand Xenophon’s literature and what his material brings to this thesis, it is important to know about Xenophon, the man. His only ancient surviving biography, by Diogenes Laertius, opens by describing Xenophon as αἰδήμων δὲ καὶ εὐειδέστατος εἰς ὑπερβολήν, “a man of rare modesty and extremely handsome;” (Diogenes Laertius *Lives* 2.48f).² That this is how Xenophon is described suggests that beauty was a strong theme for him throughout his literature (and personally, if we believe his biography). This chapter will show that a combination of modesty with beauty is the only type of beauty which Xenophon believes should evoke positive reactions. Xenophon was a member of the Athenian elite, and as such, was privileged above many Athenian citizens. He was an intimate of Socrates, participated in the expedition of Cyrus, and also formed a (non-sexual) relationship with Agesilaus the King of Sparta. He was exiled from Athens for a while, but was eventually allowed to return.³ Aside from being an avid writer, Xenophon was an aristocrat, historian, mercenary and (insofar as he was friends with Socrates) a

¹ Gray (2010) 1-28 provides a good introduction to the variety of material that Xenophon writes, and he pioneers many new genres.

² Translation by Hicks (1925). Whether or not this is a true statement, it is how Xenophon was later perceived.

³ For more on the general biography of Xenophon see Badian (2004). Overall, there are still many gaps in our knowledge of Xenophon life, which Badian points out.

philosopher. His personal status as well as the relationships that he developed can all be seen to influence his work.⁴

Xenophon was well-travelled and in witnessing the beautiful bodies of not only Athenians, but also Spartans, other Greeks, Persians and other foreigners, he developed his own framework of beauty stemming from his diverse experiences. Across *all* his writings and genres, we see in Xenophon a very definite and universal standard of beauty which transcends cultural barriers. Whether his preoccupation with beauty originated from his own beauty (if we believe Diogenes Laertius), or the rumours of his beauty started afterwards, beauty in Xenophon, when mentioned, takes a major role. The miscellaneous nature of Xenophon's literature allows us to see that the beautiful body is something that must be reacted to everywhere, and he exhorts his readers that there is a proper and improper way to react to beauty.

The aim of this chapter is to first show how Xenophon uses descriptions of and about the beautiful body throughout his works and, consequently, how seeing such beauty invariably causes one of two responses in the viewer—they are either inspired to do great things or possessed with an insatiable 'poison' of desire that leads to destruction. These points contribute to the larger goal of this thesis which demands a nuanced view of the reactions to the beautiful body in Classical Athens. Xenophon provides ample

⁴ Most recently, Gray (2011) looks at Xenophon's treatment of 'princes' and the development of a 'mirror of princes' genre. Most works which deal with Xenophon are divided by the genre he deals with, and Xenophon has gained popularity recently. Higgins (1977) provides a general overview of how to approach this multi-genre author—one must be careful to note humour and sarcasm, while Dillery (1995) looks at how Xenophon viewed and wrote about the history of his age, and two edited volumes Gray (2010) and Tuplin (2004) both look at genre-specific elements of Xenophon.

evidence of a strong beauty premium, as I will show in this chapter, but in his admission of a beauty premium he actively encourages all his characters, and therefore readers, against such action—at times even petitioning for a beauty penalty. Xenophon is concerned with how other people react to beauty, and through this, it is possible to also see how the beautiful themselves are treated. Ultimately it is Xenophon's view which is uncovered, but through the contrasting opinions of Xenophon's characters, it is also possible to see the cultural norms he supports and those he attacks.

Unlike drama and oratory, there is no corresponding visual element in Xenophon's writings.⁵ Dramas are performed on stage with costumes; in court, the orator and other involved individuals are all present and visible before the jury. For these works we (and the intended audience) must rely on imagination, fuelled by Xenophon's descriptions, alone. Xenophon's descriptions construct an image of what features were desirable at the time, and then shows the reactions that surrounding characters have to the beautiful body. By desirable, as I clarified in the previous chapter, I mean features which are aesthetically pleasing as well as those which are labelled 'sexually attractive'—by naming them as such, one is merely regarding the physical feature by a potential reaction it causes in viewers.⁶

⁵ By 'no visual element', I mean the characters involved and the action is missing. Xenophon's works may have been read aloud, and as such there would be some degree of expression from the reader. In terms of beauty, however, and the subjects discussed as beautiful, there would be no representation as there is in comedy and oratory.

⁶ These reactions are often of devotion and instant erotic love to which Xenophon, in one way or another inserts either his praise of the reaction, or a warning of danger with a reminder to practice self control, or *sophrosyne*. The idea of *sophrosyne* and its greater implications to Greek society have been looked at by Rademaker (2005), but he ignores Xenophon and his contribution to the word. For more see Johnstone (1994) who connects *sophrosyne* and *enkratia* in Xenophon and North (1966).

Both descriptions and reactions will be analysed to give a more comprehensive view of how Xenophon views and uses beauty for his own purposes. Xenophon records the strong reactions that he and everyone around him have to beauty. He also specifies *how* one should be beautiful despite the fact that beauty is reacted to regardless of how it fits into his particular mould. From stunned silence, gestures, the desire to kiss, the desire to give the beautiful money, or even force yourself on them, Xenophon develops his own theory of how one should react. All of this will help us understand how at least one man during the Classical period viewed this issue of beauty and how it should be reacted to, which in turn points to the bigger issue: everyone reacts to physically attractive appearances.

I will begin this chapter by looking at how Xenophon chooses to represent beautiful women. He does so in a markedly different manner from comedy and oratory, because ultimately Xenophon highlights similarities between male and female beauty and the other genres contrast it. There are three women in particular that shed light on the subject of beauty. In Xenophon's works, just as in comedy, enhancements and clothing play a big part in women's toilette, but rather than being recognized as effective, Xenophon repeatedly urges the women to focus instead on their natural beauty, and cultivate virtue. I will first look at the *hetaera*, Theodote, who is both beautiful and wealthy. The next woman is the wife of Ischomachus, whom Ischomachus carefully trains in various components of household care –including how a wife should look. The final woman is Panthea, the exotically beautiful wife of Abradatas whom Xenophon praises for her simple, unadulterated beauty. In this way, I will trace a progression from the woman

who uses the most enhancements, to the one who dabbles in them, to the one who has none whatsoever. The view of female beauty, as handed down within Xenophon's works, culminates with the beautiful bodies of Virtue and Vice.

Following this I will look at the idea of the beautiful man, which dominates Xenophon's texts. I will look at the beautiful Greek male, presented in the beauty contest in Xenophon's *Symposium*,⁷ which pits Socrates' wisdom against the beautiful body of Critobulus. In this episode, beauty wins. Immediately following this, I will show how Autolycus, who sets the mood for *Symposium*, is in fact the beautiful ideal for Xenophon, and the reaction of the crowd, silent awe, is the most appropriate. In light of this simple beauty, I will look at how Xenophon's Cyrus balances Persian luxurious beauty with the beauty of sweat and hard work which Xenophon advocates. In Xenophon's *Symposium*, Critobulus explains how and why the beauty premium works on an individual level, in the military and in any age group. Then, in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*, which deals with a young Critobulus (and young Xenophon), Socrates warns Critobulus to run away from the beautiful, and later in the *Memorabilia*, he learns from Socrates how to select 'beauty' in one's friends. In these three passages dealing with Critobulus, Xenophon develops fully the beauty premium as it functioned within society and, in reaction to it, he advises how to steer clear of the danger of beauty.

⁷ There are many different depictions of Greek symposia preserved on pottery, some are segregated by age, men with men (figure 19), and young men with other young men (figure 18), and others mix the two (figure 17). Some appear to be quite wild with nudity, vomiting, and female entertainers (figure 19). The Symposium which Xenophon writes about is a refined affair.

On the one hand Xenophon (as he portrays himself) enjoys the presence of beautiful individuals, as do his varied literary characters. But he is always mindful and cautious in his dealings with them. Beauty does not have a single, consistent effect on its viewers, and as such Xenophon's own evidence is varied—but what is pivotal is that beauty always causes reactions. From all this information I argue that while the beauty premium was normal, and a prevailing approach to beautiful individuals, Xenophon attempts to highlight, if not penalize, beauty to counteract the normal premium.

Beautiful Women: Athenian, Foreign and Hypothetical in Xenophon

While in comedy women had a semblance of attractiveness and described beauty, the women Xenophon describes and writes about have beauty which seems to rival the epic beauty Helen of Troy. With this extreme beauty, Xenophon reveals *how* he believes women should be beautiful, which is naturally. He then asserts how they should act to complete their beautiful appearance and even further dictates how he believes others should react to them. Despite Xenophon's own personal proclivities to natural beauty, he still recognizes the pull of other types of beauty (paired with different values), and the premiums that it can provide for its possessors. Why does Xenophon's preferred beauty type (natural beauty paired with virtue) result in penalty, while the other premium? Xenophon's example of the Prodicus story may help reveal his complicated sentiments.

Athenian Women: *Hetaera*, Wife and Cosmetics

Perhaps the most famous woman whom Xenophon describes is the beautiful Theodote. She emerges in the middle of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* after Socrates has already discussed various theories of beauty with a painter and a breast-plate maker (*Mem.* 3.10). Beauty in such objects can be seen as utilitarian, but this passage starts when Socrates and his friends hear of a woman whose beauty defies speech. From the start of the passage Theodote is named.⁸ She is a *hetaera* as is implied by the opening statement καὶ οἶα^ς σὺνεῖναι τῷ πείθοντι (3.11.1). Unlike citizen women, she may flaunt her beauty and converse openly with Socrates. She is, unsurprisingly, the first woman whom Winckelmann mentions who could have served as a model for the statues of goddesses.⁹ Goldhill analyses Theodote's importance starting with her beauty, and emphasises that this passage "is about the construction of the good—the self-controlled—citizen with regard to the erotic gaze, and the reciprocities of erotics in a social setting."¹⁰ This is important for the larger context of the episode. Her beauty is the essential starting point for this discussion of exchange and it is her beauty (despite Socrates' new ideas for further exchange), which benefits her, her servants and her clients.¹¹

⁸ Goldhill (1998) 113 points out that her name breaks down to 'god's gift.' Beauty was one of the main gifts from the gods. Thucydides quotes Pericles in his funeral oration (2.45.2), a woman is not to be named, or known even. For discussion on the naming of women see Schaps (1977).

⁹ Winckelmann (1764) translated by Lodge (1850) 45-6.

¹⁰ Goldhill (1998) 122.

¹¹ Of the women presented in this section, Theodote has received the most scholarly interest. The study of Theodote continues to be of great importance in general to ancient gender studies and even more about the status of *hetaerae*. See for example Kurke (1997), Henry (1995) and the edited volume Glazebrook (2006).

Socrates hears of her beauty, and visits with a few friends in order to behold (θεάομαι) her beauty that allegedly surpassed words (τὸ λόγου κρείττον).¹² Keeping in line with this bold declaration, no one attempts to describe Theodote's beauty — suggesting this pronouncement is true and perpetuating a stereotype that beauty of a certain calibre easily defied words. Indeed, a parallel can be drawn to the undescribed beauty of Helen for whom an awed silence emerges also from the texts.¹³ Goldhill reads this qualification of Theodote's beauty by rationalizing it as 'hyperbolic aposiopesis', which is one of the few options available for a description of beauty.¹⁴ Speechlessness is an unavoidable and acceptable (albeit not an optimal) reaction to extreme beauty.

With her body and face un-described, Xenophon paints a vivid picture of Theodote's surroundings which both complement and enhance her appearance. Theodote herself is expensively adorned (πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην 3.11.4), and the cost of such finery is observed.¹⁵ While Theodote's physical beauty surpasses speech, her extravagance

¹² Goldhill (1998) 115 notes about this expression that "beauty can only be troped, not accounted for."

¹³ Maguire (2009) 49 writes "what is consistent in descriptions of Helen of Troy, from Homer to the twenty-first century, is absence of detail." She only finds a few details in a three-page section titled 'detailing Helen' from which there is no evidence from Homer. Even before her, Evans (1969) 58 notes of Homer on Helen: "Nowhere, in fact, does the poet enter upon a detailed description of her in the *Iliad*, though the whole poem is based on her loveliness." Evans also notes on page 34 that in Euripides' *Helen* "beauty is conveyed...in the simplest fashion, by allusion to her εἶδος, her κάλλος, her καλὰ ὄμματα, for the dramatist like Homer, knows no detailed likeness could ever be drawn." Gorgias' *Helen* and Isocrates' *Helen* also follow suit in this tradition of silence.

¹⁴ Goldhill (1998) 114.

¹⁵ The display of opulence was normally disparaged in Athens, but as we just saw, there was a place in which it was accepted, if not expected. See Geddes (1987). Also see Braund (1994) who claims that display of luxury was acceptable so long as everyone had the same access. Interestingly, Ogden (2003) looks at fragments which deal with the controlling of women's dress — most of which is quite conservative in a later time period.

does not. What Socrates observes here causes him to probe into her financial situation. Moving on from Theodote herself, her mother is well-dressed and exudes a type of luxury.¹⁶ Beyond her mother, Theodote has many maidservants, again calling attention to the cost, which is in turn amplified by her good-looking maidservants. Reinsberg, and later Glazebrook, argue these maid-servants are marked as attractive because they are, like Theodote, for sale.¹⁷ If this assessment is correct, then there is even more evidence for (perhaps unsurprisingly) a correlation between beauty and cost. The appearance of the maidservants at once implies that good-looks are something to consider when purchasing a slave and that this could factor into the price. It also suggests that their services could be more costly. Overall, they fit well into the picture of Theodote's house, which has been building from her own unspeakable beauty.

Additionally the maidservants function as a beautiful robe—to enhance the wearer (or owner). Their beauty reflects back on Theodote, and the careful attention given to the body of Theodote's mother also reflects on her. This carefully constructed image exposes the heavy use of various expensive enhancements without actually naming them one by one. Ultimately Theodote is praised for her good house-keeping despite the expectation that Xenophon would detest such finery. This will be better understood after looking at

¹⁶ Xen. *Mem.* 3.11.4: καὶ μητέρα παροῦσαν αὐτῇ ἐν ἔσθῃτί τε καὶ θεραπείᾳ οὐ τῇ τυχούσῃ, I have translated as: And [Socrates seeing] that her mother, who was with her, was clothed and maintained meticulously. I have translated 'meticulously' from οὐ τῇ τυχούσῃ, which more literally means 'in no chance manner' but given the sense of the passage as a whole, 'meticulous' captures this idea fully.

¹⁷ Reinsberg (1989) 121-22 and Glazebrook (2006) 51-52 both agree that these girls are attractive because they are also in the sex industry.

the other beautiful women, and again after Socrates quizzes her on exactly what her beauty and this beautiful environment accomplish for her.

Everyone around Theodote recognizes her beauty, and her physical beauty surpasses her body and spills over onto each and every minute detail of her life: her house and surroundings, mother, servants, and goods are all meticulously maintained and beautiful. All of this contributes to her image and affords her a beauty premium. Socrates addresses his friends, questioning whether they as beholders benefited more or less than Theodote who was beheld. Socrates goes even further, asking who should be ‘grateful’ (χάρῳ ἔχειν 3.11.2) to whom. This expression is loaded with social and economic connotations.¹⁸ χάρῳ in this context is not referring to her display of beauty, but to the idea of benefit. Theodote readily agrees that she benefits more than the men because she has now gained more men who will spread the word of her beauty (which will increase her fame and bring more men her way to bestow premiums), whereas they have only been aroused. Socrates, upon seeing the benefits Theodote receives, inquires after her economic situation (3.11.4f).¹⁹ Unlike the common πορνή (where exchanges are strict and sex is

¹⁸ There is also the possibility for a sexual connotation within the verb χαρίζω as shown at 3.11.14, which could either mean to gratify, or to repay. Examples of such are: Plato *Symp.* 182a, where they discuss if it is shameful or not to gratify a lover: ὥστε τινὰς τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς αἰσχρὸν χαρίζεσθαι ἐρασταίς· as well as Ar. *Ec.* 629, where they discuss who will receive gratification from the opposite sex first: ταῖσι γυναιξίν πρῶτον τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ τοῖς μικροῖς χαρίζονται. Although there are other examples, the context has to be quite specific for this reading to work. Here it is quite subtle, and although it may imply a sexual gratification that is not the primary goal.

¹⁹ Llewellyn-Jones (2003) 142-143 discusses how Theodote, a *hetaera*, still wears a veil and expensive clothing. For the depictions of such on pottery, see Lewis (2002) 98-101.

basically a commodity²⁰), with Theodote the exchange is social and entails the reciprocal nature of *χάρις*, which is nuanced differently from before.²¹ Theodote needs friends to improve her situation, just as we will see of Critobulus (*Mem.* 2.6). Both are trying to establish a reciprocal exchange of *χάρις*; while Critobulus can offer back the same friendship, Theodote has only her beauty and, to continue the euphemism, her “company” to offer in exchange.

The conversation turns to hunting imagery and how Theodote can use her beauty to catch wealthier, beauty-loving friends (3.11.9.3-4); in short, he tells her how to improve her premium. Theodote, and her beauty, is comparable to a spider (3.11.6), an image which surfaced earlier in the *Memorabilia* when Socrates warned Critobulus and Xenophon (1.3.13) to avoid beauty.²² Rather than injecting poison Theodote is meant to weave webs to catch her prey. Socrates encourages this beautiful spider! The scenario originally

²⁰ Todd (2007) 328 n. 33 differentiates the two succinctly: “Whereas *porneuomai* etymologically denotes being ‘put up for sale’, *hetaereō* is ‘to be a companion’, the implications of which are long-term and in some sense exclusive...” See also Lanni (2010) 55 for more on the legal status.

²¹ See Kurke (1997) 107-108, Konstan (1997) 90-91 suggests that ‘friend’ or *philos* was the common word employed for the clients of a *hetaera*. This metaphorically takes her out of the ‘sex trade’ world and we are forced to view her and her companionship as similar to the relationship that men have with other men. And perhaps even that which orators have towards the *δῆμος*. See Ober (1989) 226-232, Cohen (2000) 113-114 calls her a ‘free’ sex worker—and shows that although she does in fact ‘work’ for her money, the language used to describe the situation does not say that explicitly. Goldhill (1998) 109-124 and Gray (1998) 45 compare Theodote with the preceding section in the *Memorabilia* 3.10 involving the painter, sculptor, and armour maker on account of proximity and discussion of beauty. But Xen. *Mem.* 3.10 deals with beauty as an abstract concept and of inanimate objects rather than the human body. Here at 3.11 *χάρις* emerges and therefore there are also strong parallels here with the Critobulus chapter on friendship (2.6). Henry (1995) 48-50 also supports this.

²² See below n. 168. The phalangium of *Mem.* 1.3.12 was actually a smaller version of the spider here: the difference between *τὸ φαλάγγιον* and *αἱ φάλαγγες*. Interestingly, Goldhill (1998) 117 suggests the web ties back into the traditional idea of women and their job of weaving—which also parallels women’s deceitful activities.

seemed to be developing towards an attack on beauty, and an admission of its danger, but Xenophon's Socrates describes metaphorically how to use beauty to one's advantage and procure the appropriate reactions for maximum benefit. His method, of course, involves moderation.

Her first and most obvious weapon to catch men is one that she already has and uses—her body (3.11.10). But Socrates wants Theodote to rely on more than just her beauty; she should use her soul if she is to catch the right sort of man. This method, he suggests, will grant her a certain power with her gaze as well as with her words. Despite the fact that Theodote's profession and livelihood are based strongly in the physical world, Socrates manages to incorporate the mind and soul.²³ Socrates wants her to inspire men with her beauty rather than poison them. What she needs to do, according to Socrates, is entertain her men while keeping moderation in mind: neither over-feeding nor offering them drinks before they have thirst.²⁴ The same self-control and discipline that is good for a man is also good for her. In this new system promoted by Socrates, is not the reaction now based on her treatment of the men, rather than a reaction to her beauty? Her current premiums, however, benefit only herself and Socrates is convinced that her physical beauty will never inspire if her soul is not also beautiful.

²³ Loraux (1989) shows how ancient Greeks viewed the association between body and 'other' which at times is soul. The idea of an immortal soul, according to Loraux, was shown clearly in Plato's *Phaedo* through Socrates. This is not necessarily the dominant opinion in Athens, but it is worth noting.

²⁴ These expectations are not unlike those expected of Ischomachus' wife in Xen. *Oec.*, and indeed, Kurke (1997) 141-142, and n.104 notes that this is a sort of female version of the moral *καλὸς καὶ γαθός*.

Theodote is persuaded thoroughly by Socrates' argument and wants him as one of her friends: Socrates has done what Theodote set out to do, which was to 'persuade' or even 'seduce' her to his side (albeit without the physical relationship). Now that she sees his value or 'inner beauty', she must pursue him. Her physical beauty now appears less desirable than what Socrates possesses, and consequently she must now react to him, and pursue (3.11.15).²⁵

Theodote's beauty, throughout the passage, is a commodity for mutual exchange in a way that would never be acceptable for a man or non-*hetaera*. Theodote is unique among both men and women in that she receives encouragement to use her physical beauty (jointly with other virtues to capture friends) contra Socrates' words in *Mem.* 1.3.8-15. There, Socrates tells Critobulus neither to cultivate his own beauty nor to pursue those beautiful of body.²⁶ Socrates cannot deny the effect that Theodote's beauty has on him, his companions,²⁷ and potentially her future friends. He even recognizes its usefulness for her. Theodote will be well provided for because of her beauty, which is evidence in support of a beauty premium.²⁸

Theodote's status as a *hetaera* and her open pursuit of beauty may make her seem aberrant among Athenian women: that she is not a legal wife makes her an exception.

²⁵ Theodote is not Socrates' only victim in regards to this. Alkibiades in Plato *Symp.* (212.d3ff) is also a prime example of this role reversal. For more on this reversal, see Edmunds (2000) and Sheffield (2001) for further discussion.

²⁶ For more, see below on page 167.

²⁷ He shows even his own arousal at the sight of her beauty when he is discussing who has benefited from the viewing. The major complaint then is that he has seen, but cannot touch (3.11.3).

²⁸ Critobulus later makes a similar claim 'ὁ δὲ καλὸς καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔχων πάντ' ἄν διαπράξαιτο' (Xen. *Symp.* 4.14.1). For more on this passage, see below on page 158.

What we have learned of her and her beauty further nuances the reactions to beauty which Xenophon records (and his negative assessment of the beauty premium), but the enhanced sort of beauty which Theodote represents and the premiums she receives can be seen in an episode involving an Athenian wife as well. Ischomachus' wife, who has been praised by both her husband and Socrates for her good nature and ability to learn in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, a literary, agricultural dialogue featuring Socrates, shows that even citizen women were concerned about their own beauty. In particular, the wife is concerned about the reaction her husband has to her appearance. This is a point which I will examine in further detail after a quick look at the passage.

With the purpose of pleasing her husband, Ischomachus' wife presented herself to him one day wearing white lead (ψιμύθιον), rouge (ἔγχουσα), and platform shoes (ὑποδήματα δ' ἔχουσαν ὑψηλά *Oec.* 10.2).²⁹ Thus she would seem to be paler, yet with a rosy complexion and taller. A rosy complexion and height can now be added to attractive feminine features. Ischomachus, upon seeing her, interrogates her about how she would feel if he deceived her into believing he had or owned more than he did in reality: reducing her cosmetics and high-heels to false advertising. He questions her as to whether she would prefer that he exercise to build up his strength, vigour and naturally glowing complexion, or substitute it with red lead (μίλτος), and eye make-up (ὑπαλειφόμενος ἀνδρεικέλω *Oec.* 10.5-6). This passage has troubled scholars, partly because it is not the convention for men to wear any make-up nowadays—but Hannah and Lee have both

²⁹ Walton (1946) discusses general use of make-up, and more recently Glazebrook (2009).

convincingly argued that this is not a simple exaggeration, but could, in fact be a common enough practice among men.³⁰ Interestingly, Ischomachus' wife replies that she also prefers the natural body.

Ischomachus continues to argue against the use of cosmetics and other tricks to alter appearance, advocating that they are deceitful.³¹ What this does mean, however, is that make-up and other enhancements work. The shoes *do* make her taller, and the pigments *do* enhance her appearance; but only for as long as she wears them. Ischomachus, who sees her everyday and at intimate moments, knows how she actually looks and therefore she should not use such tricks on him—she will be found out. The context of their married and intimate life together negates the purpose of such illusions. He continues a bit further (10.7-8) suggesting that the use of cosmetics was the normal preference even for citizen wives.³²

Glazebrook argues that while Xenophon disliked cosmetics, they were prevalent and were widely used by women.³³ Thus, if cosmetics were commonly used, Xenophon's view against, is the abnormal one. She maintains that only make-up around the eyes was

³⁰ The widespread use of μίλτος by men has only recently been suggested. See Hannah (2004) and Lee (2009) 169-170. For men and cosmetics, see below on page 151.

³¹ Fussi (2008) 244-246 calls attention to Plato's use of cosmetics in his *Gorgias* 465b. Plato shares a similar view of cosmetics which only temporarily and falsely enhance appearances. Henry (1995) 52 also highlights that it is the deceptive nature of cosmetics which is negative.

³² Glazebrook (2009) 244 rightly points out that finery and jewels are permitted to his wife at *Oec.* 9.6. This puts Ischomachus' wife use of high-heels in a bit of a grey area.

³³ Glazebrook (2009), contra Hawley (1998) 42, suggests that all cosmetics were the domain only of *hetaerae*.

the restricted domain of *hetaerae*.³⁴ True enough, the citizen women of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata*, *Ecclesiazusae* and the wife in Lysias' *Against Eratosthenes* are not mentioned as wearing eye-make-up, but in a long list of feminine enhancement products in Aristophanes' fr. 332 (from the lost *Thesmophoriazusae*) eye-make-up (ὕπογρᾶμματα) is included.³⁵ If the context of this fragment is a reverse-*Lysistrata* (where men deny their citizen wives sex after this women's festival as Karachalios argues—although this context is still speculative)³⁶ then this fragment alludes to citizen women wearing eye make-up. This fragment, while still open to further interpretation shows how common cosmetics were, including the eyes, which now may possibly enter back into the citizen woman's cosmetic regime alongside that of the *hetaerae*.

Xenophon openly dislikes female enhancements and insists that everyone recognize them as false beauty. Glazebrook has suggested Xenophon is attempting to redefine women's role more positively and move women away from enhancements which remind one of the deceptive, deadly, and costly beauty of Archaic Greek women.³⁷ What is important for this thesis is the connection between women and the extensive use of cosmetics which are confirmed as effective. Xenophon's vehement attack is itself a reaction, which recognizes the beauty achieved by enhancements.

³⁴ Glazebrook (2009) 236-7.

³⁵ Henderson (2007) 269 translates ὑπογρᾶμματα as 'mascara'. See above on page 87 especially n.136.

³⁶ Karachalios (2006) 17.

³⁷ Glazebrook (2009) 240-243. For example, the view of women as portrayed by in Hesiod's *Theogony* 590-599, and Semonides *On Women* 57-70 who captures the expensive side of a woman who uses make-up in his woman made from the mare. For more on the mare-woman see Gerber (1974).

However, there is a type of enhancement which Ischomachus encourages: exercise. Ischomachus tells his wife that standing watch over the servants, taking a walk, kneading dough and folding clothing are all activities that will benefit her body more than sitting around all day (10.11). These are all ways in which a respectable woman can be active within the house and Ischomachus claims it will truly improve her complexion (εὐχρωωτέραν φαίνεσθαι τῇ ἀληθείᾳ *Oec.* 10.11). Exercise makes the body more beautiful and, Xenophon would have us believe, removes the need for cosmetics. While wives cannot train athletically, the implication is that a man would become more beautiful by athletics. This is not overtly stated, of course, but perhaps Osborne is too cautious in saying, “athletics is not presented as a way to make the body beautiful.”³⁸ The chores Ischomachus suggests for his wife are not necessary for the state of the household—both Lee and Johnstone agree that there is no need for Ischomachus’ wife to do such menial tasks. Rather, doing them should be read as her choice to work and take exercise befitting to her.³⁹ A pot from Italy can be interpreted as reflecting these values of Xenophon, of work and its influence on beauty. The pot depicts a woman spinning with the inscription HE ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΕ (“the girl is beautiful” figure 23). While this inscription is the feminine version of the formulaic HO ΠΑΙΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ (the boy is beautiful), which is very frequently

³⁸ Osborne (2011) 35.

³⁹ Lee (2009) traces the differences and similarities between the regimens of men and women supporting the idea that while men were prescribed vigorous workouts, simple tasks such as domestic chores would suffice for women. Johnstone (1994) 238 clarifies that the wife is not doing such tasks to be productive, but for her own sake. More generally, see Lewis (2002) 60-62 about the importance of domestic tasks in day to day life.

found on pottery, it is also anonymous praise.⁴⁰ The juxtaposition of the working girl with a *kalos* inscription⁴¹ seems to illustrate this scene of Ischomachus' urgings to his wife. This taking of exercise, according to Ischomachus, interestingly is to improve her complexion (εὐχρωωτέραν) only, and makes no other comment upon her body. The skin and its colour is the focus—but the outcome for his wife would be a real beauty which cannot smear under touch and which is thus a more permanent enhancement.

Foreign Beauty

In Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, a work which is often labelled historical fiction, we are introduced to the beautiful prisoner of war, Panthea. She is neither an adorned *hetaera* like Theodote, nor an ordinary Greek woman like Ischomachus' wife. She is a Susan woman, captured, and yet despite the destitute situation, her beauty is captivating.⁴² This story, for my purposes, shows what Xenophon values in a 'universal' aspect of beauty since the passage deals with foreigners and in a story⁴³ where he is able to mould the ending to send a message about reactions to beauty.

When we first hear of Panthea in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, Xenophon boldly declares her the most beautiful woman in Asia (ἡ καλλίστη δὴ λέγεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ γυνή

⁴⁰ See Lissarrague (1999) 365 for more on the male formula, and its frequency. The female version is much less frequent, see Kreilinger (2007) 170-173.

⁴¹ These inscriptions are discussed by Slater (1999) and Kilmer (1993).

⁴² Panthea has a much larger scholarly corpus in later antiquity, but for this passage, Baragwanath (2010) sees her as one of many key examples Xenophon uses to highlight the positive nature of a self-controlled woman. See also Zimmerman (2009) and Gera (1993).

⁴³ Baragwanath (2010) 43 n. 8 writes "Only Panthea is straightforwardly fiction, but the patterns that pervade the representation of even those women who are historical figures suggest that all have been moulded into literary shape by Xenophon or his source." I mention this because Panthea's story is often cited an origin to the Greek novel, and she is very much a character.

γενέσθαι *Cyr.* 4.6.11)—perhaps not quite as daring as Theodote’s beauty which surpasses words, her beauty is the first attribute of which we learn. This title as the most beautiful woman in Asia perhaps gains significance in light of what Hippocrates says about the people of Asia: πολὺ γὰρ καλλίονα καὶ μείζονα πάντα γίγνεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ (‘For everything in Asia grows to far greater beauty and size,’ Hippocrates *Airs, Waters, Places* 12.10-11). Beauty, however, is just one of her many virtues as we find out when her story progresses.⁴⁴

Panthea is described to Cyrus by the man set to guard her, Araspas. He first enquires as to whether or not Cyrus has seen her himself (*Cyr.* 5.1.4). When Cyrus responds that he has not, Araspas urges him to do so by describing in detail his first encounter with her. She sat on the ground surrounded by her servants and wearing similar clothing to theirs. We can perhaps assume that just as Theodote as the mistress of her own house was instantly distinguishable from her attractive maidservants, so should Panthea have been easily identifiable from her servants. That it is difficult for Araspas to figure out which woman is the mistress suggests two options. Either he assumed she would be singled out by what she wore, and being the mistress, she could be adorned with jewellery and other finery despite her confinement. Or, the other assumption, which is revealed to be true a few sentences later, is that a mistress would be distinct from her servants by nothing more than her body and the way in which she carries herself. Since Panthea is dressed like her servants, Araspas demands that she stand up—and at that

⁴⁴ This story of Panthea can be compared to Kandaules and Gyges in Herodotus 1.8-13. See Tatum (1989) 165-172 and Baragwanath (2010).

point he can distinguish the mistress from the servants. She is superior in many ways, but the first aspect which Araspas mentions is her height (μέγεθος). Only after her height singles her out can Araspas also see her virtue and grace despite her dejection (*Cyr.* 5.1.4).

Before analysing her *skhēma*, a few words should be said about height and whether this is a feature which contributes to feminine beauty. In the previous passage, Ischomachus' wife also wore high-heels to artificially increase her height, and indeed, this trope is also pointed out in a comic fragment of Alexis—but Panthea is naturally tall.⁴⁵ Gera compares Panthea to the virtuous Penelope, and secondly to another beautiful female prisoner in Herodotus, but the height which Panthea exhibits sets her apart from these comparisons.⁴⁶ Panthea is much more aptly compared to the near-god-like beauty of Phye whose main attribute and claim to beauty is her height (Herodotus 1.60.17).⁴⁷ While height is a highly desired male trait today, it is perhaps difficult to see this as a point of beauty for women, and Etcoff comments generally of recent times that “Despite all the advantages of height, a tall woman was once considered socially handicapped because she had a smaller pool of potentially taller mating partners.”⁴⁸ Panthea's height automatically sets her apart from her servants and gives her an aura of authority. Height can be seen as a point of

⁴⁵ Alexis fr. 98.7-8.

⁴⁶ Gera (1993) 223-224.

⁴⁷ Herodotus gives her exact height as three *dactyloi* (fingers) short of four *pechus* (cubits). The actual lengths of these measurements are disputed and they vary with the city-state and century. See Jones (2000) and Morrison (1991) for discussion. Although Herodotus claims at 1.178.14 that the Greeks now use a standard form of measurement, there is still enough variation that the figures of Phye's height range from 1.72 meters to 1.91 meters. Morrison (1991) 300, following Dörpfeld (1890) 476, clarifies that the first figure is based on the Solon cubit which is 0.444 meters, and the second a pre-Solon cubit which is 0.492 meters.

⁴⁸ Etcoff (1999) 176 .

beauty and even further in many other locations. Indeed Gera and Pomeroy argue for an equation between stature and beauty.⁴⁹ Height, like weight, is also something which can be stunted by lack of proper nutrition, so there is also the biological aspect that height means health, and even a degree of wealth, as Boix and Rosenbluth argue.⁵⁰

That Araspas' rash assumption comes true (that Panthea can be physically distinguished from her servants despite enhancements) is significant for understanding how Xenophon views beauty and the need for an equally beautiful *skhēma*. Along with her impressive height, Araspas tells Cyrus that from merely standing he can see her virtue (ἀρετή) and good-mannerisms (literally good-*skhēma* εὐσχημοσύνη).⁵¹ How can he see this exactly? A good guess would be her mannerisms/gestures, as *skhēma* suggests, but as for the rest, Araspas seems to imply that it comes from her height since he cannot see most of her. Eventually she breaks down and cries exposing her face, neck and hands and from this he declares her beautiful (5.1.7). Panthea is a prime example of beauty and virtue—characters such a Panthea are the very reason that the beauty premium exists. She lacks

⁴⁹ Gera (1993) 223 n. 119 who suggests looking also at the previously mentioned Herodotus section and even further postulates that stature and beauty were easily equated. Pomeroy (1994) 306, comments that height is key of beauty and social status citing the tall Nausikaa (Homer *Od.* 6.102-7, Theocritus' Helen who is likened to a tall cypress and the foreign women in Xen. *An.* 3.2.25. Aside from Phye in Herodotus 1.60.17 there is also the Paionian girl at Herodotus 5.12.1 (for more generally on these women see Anhalt (2008)). The dream women in Aeschylus' *Persians* 184-185 are also beautiful and tall. In Homer μέγεθος is also often found in association with beauty, and it is a feminine and divine quality. See Homer *Od.* 5.217 on how Athena surpasses Penelope in beauty and stature, and 6.152 describing Nausikaa. Bazopoulou-Kyrkanidou (2005) traces some of the symptoms of gigantism to mythical heroes of extreme height.

⁵⁰ Boix and Rosenbluth (2007) conclude that while genetics plays a role in height, nutrition at a critical stage means that the wealthy in societies such as Athens would have been taller than the poor.

⁵¹ LSJ translates εὐσχημοσύνη as gracefulness or elegance; I have opted for a slightly more literal version, which preserves the *skhēma* nuance.

the products which distinguish the others—she is, perhaps, Xenophon’s ideal woman. Despite this, her beauty has disastrous consequences (both directly and indirectly) for herself and Araspas, and an example of the beauty penalty can be seen in full force.

While Theodote revealed the premiums possible from female beauty, Panthea suffers on account of her beauty, and despite her virtue. Cyrus refuses Araspas’ pleas to visit her as this would be the first sign of what her beauty could potentially do to him—control him and cause him to neglect his duties,⁵² to which Araspas forms a coherent and convincing argument. Araspas makes the careful distinction between the beauty of a human being (κάλλος ἀνθρώπου 5.1.9) and love. Araspas hypothesizes that mere beauty is an insufficient catalyst, that one can choose what one loves, and that there is not one form of beauty which causes everyone across the board to love it. His examples of a brother not loving his sister, however, foreshadow that both he and Cyrus, being unrelated to Panthea, are susceptible. Could Cyrus not look upon Panthea and feel inspired to be a better leader rather than neglect his duties and sit watching her all day?⁵³ This option is not broached. Indeed, rather than a spider, Cyrus labels such beauty a fire, which it is impossible to touch and not be burned, where such burning is falling in love on account of beauty (5.1.16).

⁵² Cyrus’ dedication to his duties and his empire demonstrate even further his greatness of character. See Hägg (2009) 85.

⁵³ Hägg (2009) 83-85 suggests that Cyrus’ dedication to his empire and ignoring all forms of love is what makes Xenophon’s historical fiction very different from the later novelists who tend to give much more emphasis to love.

Araspas, despite his wise-sounding argument, is proven wrong. He is overwhelmed by her beauty to the point that he is prepared to use force on Panthea. His planned attack on her is a penalty—and this physical (if not violent) need to possess her on account of her beauty is a beauty penalty. In comedy, there is no consideration of the beautiful women given as prizes to the comic heroes, since rather than a premium or penalty for the beautiful individual beauty is the prize. While comic ‘prizes’ are willing, the gifting of beauty is (especially for women) a complicated if not dangerous act. Here, Cyrus, while finding Araspas’ actions an understandable reaction to beauty, does not condone them. Cyrus’ choice to not look at all, and Socrates’ later recommendation to a young Xenophon and Critobulus to flee (*Mem.* 1.3.13), are appropriate and safe reactions to such beauty.⁵⁴ The aftermath confirms Xenophon’s belief in the destructive nature of beauty caused by unacceptable reactions to it. The virtue of the beautiful individual seems irrelevant: it is the virtue of the reactor under scrutiny. Indeed, Zimmermann points out that Panthea, unlike the beautiful women in the later Greek novel, is denied the more common happy ending.⁵⁵ Even after Araspas is sent away, and her beautiful husband arrives, they are reunited only briefly. He gallantly goes to fight for Cyrus, dies, and Panthea takes her own life.

As a prisoner of war, Panthea is utterly defeated, which is demonstrated in her self-presentation. Whether this is emotional defeat, or a plan to avoid unwanted attention (such as the possibility of being raped), Xenophon has a reaction to her own beauty. She

⁵⁴ See below on page 167.

⁵⁵ Zimmermann (2009) 102.

recognizes she is in further danger, not just because of who she is, but because she is beautiful.

With regards to feminine beauty, Xenophon has presented three very different women and scenarios, two of whom possess beauty far beyond the rest of their peers. When Theodote and Panthea are compared, they are opposites in their situations. Theodote is found in a luxuriously decorated house with gorgeous servants while Panthea is dressed as a slave and squats on the ground in despair. From Xenophon's point of view, the carefully constructed world of Theodote and whatever else she has to enhance herself is meaningless and a waste. In fact, that is where Ischomachus' wife comes in. While she may not be exquisitely beautiful—perhaps more of a 'girl-next-door'—she can be seen as an example of the difference between the two women. Her attempt at make-up, her husband's chastisement and ultimately her encouragement to take exercise indicates what Xenophon thinks feminine beauty should be.

Beauty of Virtue and Vice

In the figures of Theodote and Panthea, and Xenophon's (as well as his characters') reactions to them, we can see a dichotomy emerging. This dichotomy will make more sense by looking at a final episode from Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.1.21f.⁵⁶ Socrates, in conversation with Aristippus about how to raise a leader, gives a story of Prodicus as an extended and final example of how to accomplish such a task. The personified figures of

⁵⁶ This is Xenophon recording Prodicus, but since Xenophon's Socrates praises Prodicus as wise, and recounts the story, it is safe to say that he agreed with its overall message. As for how close an approximation to Prodicus' linguistic philosophy is preserved, see Gray (2006) and Sansone (2004).

Vice and Virtue in the story show even more clearly Xenophon's approach, appreciation and apprehension of beauty.

Vice and Virtue whom Xenophon recounts as engaging with Heracles at the crossroads are, to begin with, both tall. This is the only trait which the two women have in common. The woman who is later said to be named Virtue is described first. She was:

...εὐπρεπῆ τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐλευθέριον φύσει, κεκοσμημένην τὸ μὲν σῶμα καθαρότητι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα αἰδοῖ, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα σωφροσύνη, ἐσθῆτι δὲ λευκῇ, (2.1.22)

"...good-looking and freeborn in nature. For adornment, her body had purity, her eyes had modesty, her mannerisms restrained (*sophrosyne*), and her clothing white."

She is clearly stated as attractive, but the other parts of her body are described with abstract ideas which point towards her character as virtue, which Evans astutely notes is "entirely that of static appearance, interpreted in ethical terms."⁵⁷ Her companion, Vice, is given a fuller description:

τεθραμμένην μὲν εἰς πολυσαρκίαν τε καὶ ἀπαλότητα, κεκαλλωπισμένην δὲ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα ὥστε λευκοτέραν τε καὶ ἐρυθροτέραν τοῦ ὄντος δοκεῖν φαίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ σχῆμα ὥστε δοκεῖν ὀρθοτέραν τῆς φύσεως εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ὄμματα ἔχει ἀναπεπταμένα, ἐσθῆτα δὲ ἐξ ἧς ἂν μάλιστα ὥρα διαλάμποι κατασκοπεῖσθαι δὲ θαμὰ ἑαυτήν, ἐπισκοπεῖν δὲ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος αὐτὴν θεᾶται, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς σκιάν ἀποβλέπειν. (2.1.22)

"[she] had been fed to the point of being fleshy and soft. She was prettied up so that her complexion seemed to appear whiter and rosier than its reality, and so that her mannerisms seemed more genuine.⁵⁸ Her eyes were wide open, and she was wearing the clothes in which her bloom would be most conspicuous. She looked

⁵⁷ Evans (1969) 46.

⁵⁸ Literally ὀρθός means either 'straight' or 'correct' and in this context I have translated it as genuine preserve the relationship between reality as it *appears* on Vice versus her nature.

down at herself frequently, looked around to see if anyone else was looking at her and frequently looked at her own shadow.”

Analysis of this description indicates that her complexion is ‘fake’ from the use of cosmetics, her *skhēma* shows her to be vain, and she has spent much money on food (over-eating) and clothing which is expensive and shows off her figure.⁵⁹ We are not told whether she is attractive as explicitly as Virtue. But, if Vice is not attractive, does her body serve as the evidence for her lifestyle and therefore a deterrent for Heracles? This is unlikely, and a closer look at this passage reveals that although her appearance is contrived there *must* also be an element of success. First of all, her body is not described as either fat or grotesque but ‘fleshy and soft’. The young girl from Aristophanes’ *Ecclesiazusae* 902 had soft thighs, and this was taken as a compliment.⁶⁰ Gray professes the rarity of flesh words, all of which appear in this passage in Xenophon because he “seldom discusses the physical appearance of flesh...”,⁶¹ as part of a proof that this passage is a legitimate attempt to recreate Prodicus’ vocabulary. The main obstruction to understanding Vice as attractive is the description of being ‘fed to the point of being fleshy and soft’. This is a hindrance born out of modern preconceptions. Indeed, to afford the luxury of growing soft certainly has an allure and, as I have argued in the previous

⁵⁹ Evans (1969) 46 notes this description has physiognomic significance the plump means senselessness and the eyes shamelessness. Woodforde (1992) begins his *History of Vanity* with the story of Narcissus, but could easily have mentioned this scene here and the vanity which seems intrinsic to vice.

⁶⁰ See above on on page 80.

⁶¹ Gray (2006) 429.

chapter, 'softness' is a positive texture for the beautiful female body.⁶² The make-up *does* improve her complexion, and her clothing draws attention to her young, ripe body. If Virtue is more physically appealing it suggests a biased author who wishes to paint a picture that hard work is attractive. However, the description of Vice cannot banish the appeal of the soft body and the luxuries which enhance appearance.

Ultimately both Theodote's and Panthea's exceptional beauty have strong consequences for them and they can be compared with the crossroads women: Theodote with Vice and Panthea with Virtue. Socrates urges Theodote to be better, as he does for all the other (male) characters with whom he interacts in the *Memorabilia*. Socrates' advice to Theodote is meant to make her more like Virtue because at the moment she promises only vice. In doing so, she will lead others to virtuous reactions. These virtuous reactions to beauty would still provide her with the necessary premiums. Panthea, however, for all her beauty and combined virtue is penalized by Araspas' inappropriate reaction to beauty. While we might expect the wealthy and contrived beauty of Theodote to conclude badly and Panthea's purity to bring her great success, their stories show the reverse. The beauty premium goes to an *eros* enticing *hetaera* while a virtuous and chaste Panthea receives a penalty.

In terms of description then, Xenophon again lacks detail, but white skin, rosy cheeks and height are attributes of beauty and Panthea has further shown that the face, neck and even hands can be sources of beauty. When Xenophon retells, if not imitates,

⁶² Pomeroy (2006) 363 see also above on page 46.

Prodicus we learn that softness as a texture, and pale skin paired with rosy cheeks (which is accomplished either by rouge or the flush of work) are attractive and highly sought after. Though Xenophon, like the male characters who speak for him in his works, desires to reject the beautifully adorned bodies of Theodote, Ischomachus' wife, and Vice, outright in the hopes of promoting a simpler, more natural beauty as with Panthea and Virtue, he cannot help but react to both types of beauty. Beauty captivates him, even as he dismisses the kind he deems contrived, and the only allowable adornment is exercise or work done around the house. Regardless of suitability, Xenophon shows a Theodote who benefits from a perpetual beauty premium and the demise of Panthea (worsened by her beauty) reflects how the beauty penalty can work.

Beautiful Men: Critobulus, Autolycus, and Cyrus in Xenophon

Equally if not more fascinating to Xenophon is the beauty of men. In comedy, young men were notoriously rotten. Male beauty was frequently divided into effeminate and masculine forms—both of which were attractive. Xenophon promotes the beautiful youth who is modest and good as an astonishingly wonderful thing. Yet his fear of beauty does seem to confirm the frequently base nature of beautiful individuals alluded to in comedy. There is not much on male effeminate beauty in Xenophon, although he does speak out against a luxurious appearance finding it only fitting within the context of a foreign court.⁶³ Xenophon's characters pontificate on the beautiful form while openly reacting to it. Beauty is truly 'awful' in the original sense of the word, awe-inspiring, yet

⁶³ See below 151.

potentially horrifying. As I said earlier of his portrayal of beautiful women, Xenophon here also shows many reactions while pointing out that only one is appropriate.

The Male Face: Subject of a Beauty Contest

In Xenophon's *Symposium*, at the urging of Callias (the host of the evening), after guests have each explained of what they are most proud, Socrates and Critobulus enter a beauty contest, focused on the male face (*Symp.* 5.1f).⁶⁴ The jocular tone which surrounds this work, and recently emphasized by Halliwell and Pangle,⁶⁵ is important for understanding the following material and Xenophon himself states that this is an attempt at recreating just one average evening among the καλοὶ κάγαθοί (*Symp.* 1.1). Gray argues that it should further be understood as a dialogue revolving around the display of wisdom.⁶⁶

A beauty contest between Critobulus and Socrates hardly seems fair since Critobulus is an acknowledged beauty and Socrates is known for the opposite,⁶⁷ but the terms of this particular beauty contest are not the usual sort such as the *euandria* where there is some show of strength, in addition to showing off beauty.⁶⁸ Instead, it will be a competition between Socrates' wisdom, and the body of Critobulus. The challenge is:

⁶⁴ Critobulus, who is most proud of his beauty, will be looked at further below on page 154.

⁶⁵ Halliwell (2008) 139-154, Pangle (2010). Huss (1999b) also highlights this theme.

⁶⁶ Gray (1992).

⁶⁷ Despite this, Socrates seems the more confident of the two as he references his earlier speech about his ability to pimp (μαστροπός) and therefore subvert the judgment in his favour (5.1). See Thesleff (1978) 166.

⁶⁸ Beauty contests for men were a normal occurrence, usually with a sport activity and having weapons as a prize. Xen. *Mem.* 3.3.12-13 shows that at least at the Delos festival, there was some type of comparison of bodies. See Crowther (1985), Hawhee (2004) 167-168 and Hawley (1998) 37-41.

δίδασκε, εἴ τι ἔχεις σοφόν, ὡς καλλίων εἶ ἐμοῦ, “use your cleverness and prove that you’re better-looking than me,” (5.2).⁶⁹ Pangle questions the nature of the competition believing that the contest ought to have been between beauty and wisdom, and concludes Socrates chose to put his appearance forward instead.⁷⁰ The terms, stated clearly, are simply that Socrates is meant to convince the judges of his superior looks. Critobulus dares Socrates to show his wisdom and turn the light-hearted and jocular atmosphere into a more serious dialogue on the nature of beauty.

Socrates begins with his normal format of questioning while Critobulus answers. In a similar fashion to Plato’s *Hippias Major* 288b-289d, Socrates first seeks to establish the range of objects to which the term ‘beauty’ might apply: it is not just humans who are beautiful. Critobulus, perhaps already familiar with the argument, readily agrees that man is not alone in claiming beauty, unlike Hippias in his dialogue.⁷¹ They define beauty, as seen in humans, animals and objects, as beautiful when they are well suited to the task for which they were intended. Socrates proceeds, feature by feature, to show how his face functions better and therefore, according to this established definition, is more beautiful.

⁶⁹ Translation by Bowen (1998).

⁷⁰ Pangle (2010) 147, Gray (1992) 69 suggests this is a contest between the wisdom of silence and the wisdom of words.

⁷¹ Hyland (2008) 14. In fact, Critobulus not only answers but also finishes Socrates’ idea by naming animals and inanimate objects. Socrates then asks how it is possible for all these things to be beautiful if they are not at least similar. Critobulus, once again, knows the correct response, this time hinting at an argument analogous to *Mem.* 3.10.9-15, where Socrates sees beauty from the point of view of Pistias, the breastplate maker. Throughout *Mem.*, Xenophon shows Socrates’ quest for understanding beauty as a relative idea. Beauty then is always relative to the task. See Blanchard (1994) 689-696 for the relative idea of beauty within *Mem.*, and the specific passages *Mem.* 3.8.4f, and 4.6.9.

Since we know already who is more attractive (Critobulus) this can be used as a guide for what was generally thought attractive. Zanker speculates on the description of Socrates and his Silenoi features that “in real life, Socrates’ ugliness might have been of an entirely different nature.”⁷² The following descriptions are caricatures of what is ugly, and it is the comparison between the features which Socrates is said to possess and those of Critobulus which will provide details on the attractive face.

Socrates’ first example is his eyes,⁷³ which should provide optimal visual range. Socrates describes his own eyes as being shallow in his head⁷⁴ so that he can see more than Critobulus whose eyes merely look forward (5.5) and are presumably deep-set by comparison.⁷⁵ There is considerable emphasis on the unattractive bulging eye of Socrates leaving the beautiful eye undiscussed. In Xenophon’s *Cyropaedia* 8.1.41 there is mention of a Persian practice encouraged by Cyrus where make-up is applied to the eyes to make them appear better (εὐοφθαλμότεροι). Was the make-up used a dark ‘eye shadow’ equivalent which would give the eye a more deep-set look? If so, this would further

⁷² Zanker (1995) 37. See also 32-40, which deals specifically with Socrates before moving to a more general treatment of other intellectuals.

⁷³ It is also interesting to note that there is no mention of eye colour or such a preference. Eye colour may be a point of beauty in an ever globalizing world, but its absence here may be simply explained as there not being a great variation in eye colour. See Sassi (2001) 26-27, this theory is based on the fact that eye colour was frequently not recorded on the papyri from Greco-Roman Egypt. See also Evans (1969) 39-40.

⁷⁴ οἱ δὲ ἐμοὶ καὶ τὸ ἐκ πλαγίου διὰ τὸ ἐπιπλόλαισι εἶναι. Translation by Bowen (1998), “whereas mine can look sideways as well, because they protrude.” The key point here is that his eyes are on the surface, the idea that they are bulging out is implied by him saying he can see to the side as well as forward.

⁷⁵ Socrates’ protruding eyes are also mentioned in Plato’s *Theaetetus* 143e: a man who looks similar to Socrates is described as τὸ ἕξω τῶν ὀμμάτων. Along with these two references Huss (1999a) also notes two places where Socrates is described as wide-eyed, but this is more a reaction than a physical description.

suggest the attractiveness of the deep-set eye. Critobulus continues the discussion mentioning the eyes of crabs, and how their eyes, if we are convinced by Socrates, should be the most beautiful.⁷⁶

Next, Socrates compares their noses, bearing in mind that the purpose of a nose is to breathe. Socrates' flared nostrils (μυκτῆρες ἀναπεπταμένοι⁷⁷ 5.6) can inhale more air than Critobulus' small, straight nostrils. Likewise, Socrates' flat nose (σιμός)⁷⁸ does not interfere with his vision the way Critobulus' tall nose does (5.6). With the nose then, Socrates' argument is two-fold: short, wide nostrils allow for the most efficient intake of air and do not block the eyes. Critobulus' nose is the non-descriptive ὄϊς. There is however much more said about the shape of Socrates' nose; it is specifically mentioned in Plato (*Tht.* 143e, 209c). What makes his nose such a key point then? In Plato's *Symposium* 215a, it is said that Socrates looks like the Silenus, and specifically the satyr Marsyas.⁷⁹ The bulging eyes, nose and lips which so characterize the Silenoi are perhaps the features which

⁷⁶ The comparison of human features to that of animals is one of the key components in Aristotle's *Physiognomics*. In his section about the eye (*Phgn.* 811b.18-34), however, the crab is missing. Aristotle concludes that those with great souls (μεγαλόψυχοι) are the ones whose eyes are neither too large nor too small without mentioning their position in the head. The problem with using Aristotle's *Physiognomics* is that its purpose is to derive peoples' characters from their appearance, rather than to help state what was considered beautiful. It is however worth noting that the features of Socrates are more often associated with negative attributes. For more on the recent discussions of the physiognomics of Socrates' appearance, see Boys-Stones (2004) and McLean (2007) and the fragments of Phaedo's *Zopyrus* in Rossetti (1980).

⁷⁷ Aristotle's *Physiognomics* 811a.36 comments that those with these particular nostrils have a tendency toward passions (θυμώδης).

⁷⁸ See Huss (1999a) 325-326 for more details on the nose. In Xen. *Cyr.* 8.4.21, Cyrus suggests to a hook-nosed (γροπός) man that a snub-nosed (σιμός) woman would suit him.

⁷⁹ Unfortunately much of the portrait art that has survived till today are Roman copies, are more useful in terms of how Romans thought about Classical Greek culture, but may not be without some merit. For more on this point and on Socrates' appearance see Zanker (1995) 32-40 and Vermeule III (1958).

Socrates shares (see figures 20, 21 and 22), but of the three facial characteristics, the nose is the most prominent in art. The σιμός nose shape is not limited to Socrates, and it is used also in Aristophanes to emphasize an ugly appearance. In *Ecclesiazusae* 630 this nose type is singled out to embody the problem of how to equalize beauty so that everyone will be treated the same.⁸⁰ When looking at this type of nose on pottery, figures 20, 21 and 22 show how the entire face, rather than coming to a point like most profiles, actually indents. Since people are most frequently depicted in profile, this is a highly distinguishable mark.

The nose, as a physical feature of the body, is used by Plato and Aristotle to highlight specific points. In Plato's *Republic* 474d Socrates uses the nose as the key example which attracts Glaucon to his many beloved boys.⁸¹ Socrates explains how the lover of boys finds the snub nose charming (ἐπίχαρις) and the hooked nose kingly (βασιλικόν).⁸² There is no nose that is so unattractive as to deter such a lover from a youth: youth trumps negative facial features. However, the implication in the next line, that the one in between is well-proportioned (ἔμμετρος) is that there may be a specific preferred nose type. In Aristotle's *Politics* 1309b17 the ὑψηλή ῥίς is named the most beautiful.⁸³ This appears in the context of a metaphor for how to run the state. Everything should be in moderation,

⁸⁰ This is in question form: ἢ Λυσικράτους ἄρα νυνὶ ῥίς ἴσα τοῖσι καλοῖσι φρονήσει; σιμός is not specifically mentioned; the point is that it discusses the beauty of the nose. *Anthologia Graeca* xi.196-204 gives examples of how the snub nose was a negative look, once again reminiscent of Socrates' own unattractive face.

⁸¹ See Halliwell (1993) on how an individual boy can be used to stand in for an entire class.

⁸² This may be a reference back to the idea that Cyrus has a hook nose. See also Plutarch *Moralia* 821e.

⁸³ Unfortunately Aristotle's *Physiognomics* 811.a33, and a37 does not specify this nose type as being an indication of a great soul confirming the idea that the great souls are not necessarily the most beautiful.

although the ὑψηλὴ ῥίς is best, a little bit of snub or hook to the nose does not destroy it; only excess does. Aristotle's metaphor uses the nose because it is the most prominent feature on the face and most often mentioned.

After discussing the nose, Critobulus finishes the argument for Socrates by claiming Socrates' mouth (στόμα) must also be more beautiful since it is much bigger for biting and his thick lips (χείλη) softer for kissing (5.7). In turn, Socrates voices how their mouths compare according to Critobulus' standards providing the example of a donkey's mouth.⁸⁴ According to Critobulus, the mouth and lips are meant for eating and kissing; there is no mention of speech, which one might expect.⁸⁵ Compared to the eyes and the nose, there is less discussion of the mouth and lips, but medium lips seem to be preferred. This time Socrates himself draws the parallel between his own looks and that of the Silenoi.

Critobulus is convinced by this argument and ready to move to the next stage of the contest. Socrates argued for his utilitarian beauty, now Critobulus' beauty will speak for itself. He calls out for the vote, rather defeated, as he prepares himself for either some punishment (πάσχειν) or fine (ἀποτίνω 5.8).⁸⁶ It is only at this point where it seems

⁸⁴ Aristotle's *Physiognomics* 811a24-26 confirms that donkeys are the example for thick-lipped people, and the implication of this is that they are dull.

⁸⁵ See above on page 62, and in *Ar. Nu.* where the tongue stands in for speech, but the mouth is unaddressed.

⁸⁶ These are both official legal terms that seem slightly out of place both at a symposium and at a beauty contest; Gray (1992) 68-69 sees the whole beauty contest as reminiscent of an *agon* and riddled with legal words: 5.1 ἀγῶνα...ἀνθίστασαι; 5.2 ἀνάκρισις; 5.8 διαφερόντων...τὰς ψήφους; ἀποτεῖσαι and 5.10 διαφθείρειν...δικαστὰς καὶ κριτὰς.

Socrates has won, that the lamp is placed next to Critobulus (5.9).⁸⁷ The lamp showcases Critobulus' face and body (although his body is not given any verbal attention), so that no matter how well-suited for 'living' Socrates may be, he lacks beauty. Socrates has succeeded in convincing Critobulus of his utilitarian features' beauty by accentuating and exaggerating his own features for function's sake, but the judges are unconvinced and he loses the contest. Beauty is not something that can be won by argument. No skill with words can change appearance, and physical beauty defeats Socrates. Whether we the readers are meant to remain convinced, and some judgement is to be passed on the youths bestowing the prize of kisses can only be speculated. Either way, this is a strong statement of the powerful effects of beauty which we can take as a criticism of only those present, or apply it beyond.

Beauty Mixed with Modesty

Critobulus is not the only beautiful man present at Callias' symposium, indeed before it begins Xenophon sets the scene with what he believes is the best (if not only) way to be beautiful, and since it is a gathering of καλοὶ καγαθοί, their reactions can be deemed appropriate. It is under the spell of Autolycus' beauty⁸⁸ that the symposium begins, and it

⁸⁷ See Huss (1999a) 330 for the note on the word ἀντιπροσενεγκεῖν and the interpretation that the lamp was only now brought out.

⁸⁸ Autolycus was noted as a pankration winner in the late summer of 422 B.C. *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* 34.380, also see Pausanias 9.32.8. More on Autolycus can be found in the comic poets: 1) Kratinus' *Wine Flask* of 423, see *Poetae Comici Graeci* 4, Kratinus 214 Λύκων μέντοι πατήρ ἦν Αὐτολύκου, Ἴων... See Olson (2007) 80-87 for the possible storyline. 2) Aristophanes' *Lys.* 270 and *V.* 1301. 3) Eupolis' *Autolycus*, see Storey (2003) 81-94 for the story line, but it is suggested by Sommerstein (1996) 334 that this attention from the comic poets need not indicate any unsavoury actions on Autolycus' part. In connection with Eupolis' play it is also noteworthy that

is his beauty which gives shape to the rest of the dialogue (1.8-11).⁸⁹ After only a brief introduction in which Callias invites Socrates and his companions to the symposium, Xenophon writes detailing the start of the symposium:

εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν ἐννοήσας τις τὰ γιγνόμενα ἠγήσατ' ἂν φύσει βασιλικόν τι κάλλος εἶναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἂν μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ σωφροσύνης, καθάπερ Ἀυτόλυκος τότε, κεκτῆταί τις αὐτό,

Anyone reflecting on what was happening would have reckoned at once that beauty is something naturally regal, especially if its possessor combines it with modesty and good sense, as Autolycus did there, (1.8).⁹⁰

Beauty, in this situation is something naturally kingly (βασιλικός) but Xenophon qualifies it: only if beauty is paired with modesty (αἰδώς) and self-control (σωφροσύνη), and afterwards adds that this was the case with Autolycus. Xenophon continues comparing Autolycus to a shining beacon (ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῆ 1.9) and includes the reaction that everyone present has to him (1.9-10). Xenophon does not disclose the specific physical details which make Autolycus beautiful, but gives metaphors for how his beauty touches the others present. Not giving particulars leaves the audience/reader with no choice but to accept that Autolycus was beautiful and a trend which stretches back to and beyond Homer's non-description of Helen.⁹¹

Euripides wrote a satyr play entitled *Autolycus* which spoke out against athletes, Fr. 282, preserved in Athenaeus 10.413c. See Krumeich et al. (1999) 403-412. Although Kannicht (2004) 2.658 attributes the fragment to Kritias. The date is unknown.

⁸⁹ See Huss (1999a) 65-67 and (1999b) 391-393, Halliwell (2008) 19-24, 115, Bartlett (1996) 174 and Higgins (1977) 14 for more on the introduction and mood of the *Symposium*, and the idea of παιδιά.

⁹⁰ Translation from Bowen (1998).

⁹¹ See above n. 13.

There are three points deserving consideration here: first Xenophon's usage of 'kingliness', second his comparison of Autolycus to a shining beacon, and third the reactions of others which he provides. To begin, what is meant by this idea that beauty is something naturally kingly? In the context of Athens, a democracy, it may seem downright odd. They had no king.⁹² Why then would beauty be something attributed to kings, and more importantly why use the image of kings at all? Before answering this question, it is noteworthy that while Athens had no king, they were not strangers to tyrants. Xenophon's word choice reflects a benevolent power and his preference for a king is answered by recalling his life. Xenophon actively portrays kings and leaders in his historical works.⁹³ A king is mentioned similarly two more times in the *Symposium* (3.13, 4.12),⁹⁴ both times in reference to wealth (and perhaps power) and recalling the image of the most famous king at this time, the Persian king.⁹⁵ Here at 1.8, however, it is not about

⁹² That is with the exception of an office ἀρχων βασιλεύς which had connections to religious rituals.

⁹³ For example Xen. *Cyr.* and *An.* feature Cyrus heavily, and in *Ages.*, Xenophon shows the Spartan king.

⁹⁴ The word is also used by Nikeratos twice at 4.6, once in the verb form, and once in the noun form while describing what has been learned from Homer, and specifically in reference to Agamemnon. This context is different from these three occurrences of the word where it is used as a compliment and in reference to the king of Persia. It must also be noted, that here it is βασιλικός, the adjective, while the ones that follow are nouns. The comparison is used first in reference to what Lykos said, proclaiming that possessing such a loving and devoted son is better than all the wealth of the king (3.13). The second example by Critobulus shows that he prefers beauty to this same wealth of the king (4.12). Both of these examples highlight wealth, and it seems acceptable, if not noble, for both Lykos and Critobulus to reject the wealth of a king for its seemingly foreign and anti-democratic treasures.

⁹⁵ A quick look at the treatment of the Persian kings in Xenophon's other works as well as other authors are very useful. The main examples are Cyrus in Xenophon and others, and Xerxes in Herodotus. Xenophon portrays Cyrus as a good king being both beautiful and moderate in his desires. Plutarch highlights the fact that because of Cyrus' hook nose (γροπός *Moralia* 821e) consequently this feature is now considered beautiful among all Persians. Herodotus likewise

an actual monarch; the adjective is being used to mean more than mere wealth and power. Huss argues that ‘kingly’ means something specific to Xenophon; it is a way of life.⁹⁶ There are around seventeen usages⁹⁷ of the adjective in the works of Xenophon, seven of which occur within his Sokratic works. Despite being a slightly foreign concept, Xenophon had his own idea of what it is to act like or be like a king within an Athenian context otherwise the adjective would not appear in his Sokratic texts. The image constructed by the use of βασιλικός, then, in addition to power and wealth, attaches the idea of a king as the embodiment of καλοκαγαθία.⁹⁸ By using this adjective, Xenophon praises Autolykus’ beauty, and alludes to the power of beauty—the power to dominate others.

Autolykus is compared, in reaction to his beauty as well as the atmosphere surrounding him, to a ‘shining light’ in the night (ὥσπερ ὅταν φέγγος τι ἐν νυκτὶ φανῆ 1.9) and affecting the ψυχαί of the assembled men. The idea of beauty is often paralleled with concepts of light and shining, especially when contrasted against darkness, in this case, the night. The second half (in the night, ἐν νυκτί) in this context not only

declares Xerxes the most handsome man of all (*Cyr.* 7.187.14-16). In fact it is continually stressed that the Persian kings, are beautiful because they are kings. Throughout Herodotus, the beauty of the Persian kings is repeatedly mentioned, but nothing is said of the beauty of the Greek warrior. The ideas of kingship and beauty then are inseparable.

⁹⁶ See Huss (1999a) 92-93 for his view on Xenophon’s usage of βασιλικός. See also Carlier (2010) who looks a bit more closely at the association between Xenophon and his agenda with Cyrus.

⁹⁷ Of particular interest are Xenophon’s Sokratic works: *Mem.* 2.1.17, 4.2.11, *Oec.* 13.5, 14.6, 14.7, 21.11, *Symp.* 1.8. It is also used in his other works in a similar manner: *Hell* 5.3.19, *An.* 1.9.1, 2.2.12, 2.2.16, 3.5.16, *Cyr.* 1.3.18, 1.4.14, 8.5.3, 8.8.6, and *Ages.* 11.16.

⁹⁸ This is especially true in *Mem.* 4.2.11 where the two become virtually synonymous. The phrase said by Socrates is: τῆς καλλίστης ἀρετῆς καὶ μεγίστης ἐφίεσαι τέχνης· ἔστι γὰρ τῶν βασιλέων αὕτη καὶ καλεῖται βασιλική. Translation by Bonnette (1994): “you desire the noblest virtue and greatest art, for it belongs to kings and is called kingly.” Carlier (2010) 357 shows this portion to be very much in line with what Xenophon is seeking to accomplish with Cyrus throughout *Cyr.*

differentiates Autolyclus from the other members of the symposium but as the only light in the darkness, Autolyclus causes all eyes to turn to him.⁹⁹ Closer observation shows that the metaphor uses the highly emotional and metaphorical light word φέγγος, which gained popularity with Pindar. It continues to be used by poets during this time, and it fits with tragic vocabulary and is only attested here in Xenophon's works as metaphorical.¹⁰⁰

Xenophon's language here evokes a strong emotional response similar to Pindar, whom Lype and Tarrant have both shown, often qualifies the physical beauty of a person with shining and light imagery.¹⁰¹ Autolyclus' beauty recalls that of an older generation which is immortalized by the poets, and within this metaphor of light, glory and virtue lurk closely behind the image of beauty.¹⁰²

Under these images of Autolyclus, Xenophon indicates the reactions the diners had concerning Autolyclus' beauty: first, everyone was looking at him, and second, anyone who was looking (which is everyone) was affected in their souls. Commenting on Autolyclus' beauty is insufficient; Xenophon must also provide more details regarding what happens to the lovers of beauty. Just viewing a physically beautiful body touches

⁹⁹ This is interesting considering that later Critobulus will speak on his own beauty, but he is quite forgotten in this introduction.

¹⁰⁰ It is also used in Xen. *Cyn.* 5.4, 10.7 but here it is dealing with actual light.

¹⁰¹ For some examples of Pindar's usage of light with φέγγος look at his *Olympian Ode* 2.56, P. 4.111, 9.90, 8.97 and *Nemean Ode* 4.13, 9.42. See Lyde (1935) for how Pindar specifically uses light and he differentiates φέγγος from φάος, and compares his usage to tragedies. See also Tarrant (1960) for a more general approach to light as a metaphor. While Tarrant (1960) notes that φέγγος is common in Pindar, she does not cite it in her tragedy section.

¹⁰² For use of light as a sign of beauty in archaic Greece see Bremer (1976) 214-230, and Fowler (1984).

souls. Some guests fell silent, others gestured;¹⁰³ the point is that everyone not only looked at him, but reacted. Callias is singled out as overcome because of his personal interest in Autolycus. For Callias it is a combination of beauty with *eros* which has him captivated, yet despite this he is still self-controlled.¹⁰⁴ Goldhill, comparing briefly the reactions appropriate in Lucian with this scene writes:

“The silent and vague gesturing of the fifth-century sophisticates in the face of beauty contrasts strikingly with the careful and articulate poses of Lucian’s Empire figures, for who the antique philosopher’s response would look like a sign of lack of proper civilization.”¹⁰⁵

And yet, here, these reactions are appropriate, and encouraged by Xenophon.

In describing the beautiful male body, and face, Xenophon has reinforced physical features with function and beyond that morality. The differences between male and female beauty could be seen in the sense that men did not engage extensively with the enhancing products that women did—but that perhaps is too simple. For Xenophon, the humble beauty of Panthea, like the simple youthful glow of Autolycus, is not fully attractive without the extra sense of *sophrosyne*. And yet the virtue of the beautiful individual does not indicate how others will react to them.

¹⁰³ οἱ μὲν γε σιωπηρότεροι ἐγίνοντο, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐσχηματίζοντό πως. I have followed Bowen (1998) here on translating ἐσχηματίζοντό as gestured. Its noun counter-part σχῆμα has such a broad range of meanings, which should be remembered also for this situation.

¹⁰⁴ Xenophon gives two options for men under the influence of Eros, and Callias falls into the later, which Xenophon describes as “καὶ τὰ σχήματα εἰς τὸ ἐλευθεριώτερον ἄγουσιν.” Translation by Bowen (1998) “...and keep moderate their gestures like free men.” For more on the role of eros, see Pangle (2010).

¹⁰⁵ Goldhill (2001) 161.

To summarize, the ideal face has been described as having a tall nose, deep-set eyes, and moderately sized lips. Critobulus' victory is cemented as soon as the lamp is placed near him indicating that there really is no substitute for seeing beauty. Indeed, Herodotus' *Histories* 1.8.10 claims that the ears are not as trustworthy as eyes when it comes to beauty,¹⁰⁶ and this is exactly true. Based on the arguments given by Socrates that we 'hear', Critobulus' beauty seems unlikely to win. Once beauty is *seen*, that expectation is overturned. Additionally Xenophon captures the *feeling* of beauty when he describes being in the presence of beauty as a single star shining in the darkness, or being in the presence of a rich and powerful king. Such metaphors set beauty apart from the norm, and single it out as something obvious and impossible to ignore.

There is a power to beauty: Critobulus wins his competition and is triumphant over Socrates (who normally not only bests his opponent, but also confuses them) and Autolycus evokes silence in a crowded room, setting the tenor for the rest of the evening. These are both reactions, strong reactions, to physical beauty. Critobulus receives the immediate prize of 'kisses' and the long-term premium of having bested Socrates in this way. Autolycus' premiums are not displayed, but from the reactions of the men, he could ask for anything. At the same time, Xenophon tries to establish a way to diminish the premium through Socrates' arguments. The trick to overcoming the beauty premium is to not *look* (however difficult that may prove to be).

¹⁰⁶ ὦτα γὰρ τυγχάνει ἀνθρώποισι ἐόντα ἀπιστότερα ὀφθαλμῶν, "For ears do not happen to be as trustworthy for men, as the eyes." Herodotus 1.8.10.

Masculine Cosmetics

Xenophon begins his work *Cyropaedia* (the education of Cyrus) with a quaint story of Cyrus interacting with his grandfather. The elaborate clothing of Cyrus' grandfather makes him beautiful to the young Cyrus (*Cyr.* 1.3.2-3), and he recognizes when his mother asks him that it is a different type of beauty from that of his father, which is a much simpler and natural style. There is no mention of deceit as there was for women. I disagree with Gera's assessment, which attributes Cyrus' praise of his grandfather to his youthful misunderstanding, because the impression stays with Cyrus.¹⁰⁷ At the end of the work, this subject of dress is revisited. Cyrus embraces the ways of his grandfather. He recommends that members of his court wear shoes to make them appear taller, as well as make-up around the eyes, complexion and a specific robe which hides any faults the body may have (*Cyr.* 8.1.40-41). Artificial height for men is not commonplace today,¹⁰⁸ but height is certainly a criterion in today's society for male beauty.¹⁰⁹ Here, the purpose is to create an illusion. These men who are rulers need to look a certain way in order to bewitch those under them (καταγοητεύω *Cyr.* 8.1.40).¹¹⁰ Unlike the relationship between Ischomachus and his wife, these leaders are separated from their men so that this deception will never be discovered, cementing the illusion for those who serve them. The leaders stand in the

¹⁰⁷ Gera (1993) 291.

¹⁰⁸ In 18th century France, high heels for men were the fashion. Today, television host Ryan Seacrest is a known user of 'shoe-lifts', but is ridiculed for them.

¹⁰⁹ Etcoff (1999) 175 reminds us of the cliché description of an attractive man: "tall, dark, and handsome." Interestingly, tall, beautiful men are often appearing to people in dreams, such as Herodotus 5.56, 7.12.

¹¹⁰ Sadly the red lead (μίλτος) which Ischomachus mentions, and Hannah (2004) argues is a type of masculine cosmetic, does not appear here.

distance and are seen but not touched, while Ischomachus and his wife share a physical intimacy which cuts through any enhancements: fancy clothing and shoes are removed, and cosmetics smear and are wiped away.

Cosmetics for Xenophon have a very specific time and place. Gera rightly emphasizes that the use of various enhancing agents is not to be confused with ideas of luxury which are criticized openly as making people soft (*Cyr.* 8.8.15).¹¹¹ But the purpose of persuading others to wear Median robes and cosmetics is for a fearsome effect and to cover minor defects since impressive looking leaders inspire those under them. It is also important to remember that while Xenophon's Cyrus often acts very much like a Greek man, these stories of positive male enhancements all relate to foreigners.¹¹²

Xenophon's advice is the same for men as it was for women, although the activities of exercise in which they should engage differ greatly. Just as Cyrus praised and suggested that fine clothes and make-up should be used to enhance one's appearance in court, in the context of the military he praises exercise and sweat, which are a sign of hard work. Cyrus' endorsement (as Xenophon portrays him) of both sweat and finery is not contradictory, as Azoulay argues, but situation-specific.¹¹³ Indeed hard work and exercise

¹¹¹ Gera (1993) 291. She also suggests that make-up and elaborate dress are included in this. I agree that *Cyr.* 6.1.1 stresses that over pampering is negative.

¹¹² Ps. Xen. *Constitution of Athens* 1.10-12. For further discussion see Braund (1994) and Geddes (1987).

¹¹³ Azoulay (2004) 163-167.

are both very important to Cyrus for health reasons.¹¹⁴ The benefit of sweat is even deemed to be more 'beautiful' than elaborate clothing. Xenophon's Cyrus explains (*Cyr.* 2.4.6) that sweat adorns his body more appropriately than costly robes then because it shows his obedience to the order that he arrive quickly.¹¹⁵ What makes a thing/human beautiful is that it is suited for a particular task: the sweat shows beauty in a body which showed haste, but finery and its ability to be imposing also has an appropriate setting at court. Virtue in Xenophon's paraphrasing of Prodicus tells Heracles that if he wants a powerful body, it must be attained through sweat.¹¹⁶ The sweat is not beautiful at first to Cyaxares who wants to present him in Median finery, but he is quickly won over by Cyrus' argument. Cyrus' praise of sweat here may seem more at home in the context of his praise of Spartan discipline than of the splendour of the Persian court. Indeed Xenophon's close relations with both kings and their strong contrasting views serve to highlight their differences in terms of beauty. In terms of male enhancements, Xenophon prefers sweat and the work which it indicates, but he admits the merits of other types of dress for non-Athenians.

Xenophon's Critobulus on Beauty: His Beliefs and Early Years in Xenophon

Critobulus injects strong emotion and hyperbole into Xenophon's *Symposium* when he delivers his speech (4.10-18) on what he takes most pride in: his beauty. Regarding his

¹¹⁴ Ps-Xenophon attests that luxury items and enhancements in the form of expensive clothing are simply not worn by Athenian men. On the need to sweat, see specifically *Cyr.* 2.1.29 and 8.1.38 and Due (1989) 108. For more on hard work or πόνος see Johnstone (1994).

¹¹⁵ This does not mean as Gera (1993) 291 suggests that Cyrus found fault with expensive robes.

¹¹⁶ Xen. *Mem.* 2.1.28.

style, he seems to be giving two separate speeches in tandem. One speech deals with his own beauty and the premium he receives. The second speech is dedicated to the beauty of Kleinias and shows what Critobulus does for Kleinias (on account of Kleinias' beauty) as well as the benefits he receives from beholding Kleinias: motivation to be better.¹¹⁷

Critobulus switches between these two for the extent of his speech giving hope to the physically ugly, that they can still benefit from beauty: by beholding it.

Critobulus' speech begins not by defining what beauty itself is, but by establishing that he is beautiful. His method is simple; everyone tells him that he is good looking, therefore, he either is, or everyone is lying (4.10). Indeed the only proof that one can have that a person/thing is beautiful is for someone to declare it or see it with your own eyes. Isocrates' *Evagoras* 22 puts the proof quite simply while speaking of Evagoras (the king of Salamis):

καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ἂν τις ποιήσαιτο ... δὲ κάλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς ἰδόντας

"Witnesses could testify to each of these virtues...to his beauty, all those who saw him."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Who exactly this Kleinias is, is not quite clear, but he is also often thought to be the same boy whom Critobulus kisses in *Mem.* 1.3.10. Macleod (2008) 143 highlights some chronological issues: if it is the same boy, Critobulus in *Mem.* has actually kissed him, whereas in *Symp.* 4.24 there is no physical element. Either way, it builds the character of Critobulus as someone who easily kisses beautiful boys. There is also the issue of age. Critobulus and Kleinias would be youths around the same age, with Critobulus only being slightly older (as shown in Plato's *Euthydemus* 271b3). Most scholars (for example Bicknell (1975) 62 n. 64, and Davies (1971) 600 IV) see a fault in Xenophon's memory and claim that the boy is still Kleinias, son of Axiochos and the grandson of Alkibiades. However, Nails (2002) 100-101, 116-118 points out that it is much more likely that this 'son of Alkibiades' is actually Alkibiades IV (son of Alkibaides III and Hipparete, see Osborne et al. (1994) 24) and about eight years younger than Critobulus.

¹¹⁸ Translation by Mirhady and Too (2000) 145.

Appeal to popular opinion in order to determine beauty is also present in Plato's *Hippias Major*. Xenophon's Critobulus, like Hippias, sees popular opinion, or ὁ γε πᾶσιν δοκεῖ (*Hip Maj.* 288a), as the answer for what is beautiful.¹¹⁹ The answer for Hippias, as Hyland specifies, is not the truth, but agreement.¹²⁰ Critobulus is not seeking to establish a definition of beauty: he bases it on the agreement of those present since he addresses the group with the second person plural pronoun (ὕμεῖς 4.10).¹²¹ They all agree and Critobulus proceeds.

Next, Critobulus asks whether their feelings towards beauty are as strong as his own. He stresses how wonderful it is being beautiful (which he qualifies by assuming that the rest of the party feels the same) because it is, to him, better than the power and wealth brought by kingship. He does not elaborate further, but what is clear is: that he has a very strong reaction towards beauty, he needs to confirm that this is the norm, and there are two sides to beauty which must both be present for his argument to be complete. This

¹¹⁹ The context for *Hippias Major* is Hippias is as follows: Socrates asks Hippias for assistance on how to overcome a certain heckler; the heckler turns out to be Socrates himself. The debate context does not significantly alter the setting for the current comparison, although it may marginally magnify Hippias' dependence on popular opinion. Hippias fails to supply Socrates with an absolute definition for beauty. Instead he gives examples of the beautiful, and the better the example the more certain he is that everyone will agree thus allowing Socrates to win his hypothetical debate.

¹²⁰ Hyland (2008) 14, 16, 24 discusses how Hippias is not concerned with the truth, but what everyone agrees too, and only sees problem with an issue if it is likely to be raised. See Hippias' comments for example at 288a: Πῶς γὰρ ἄν, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἐλεγχθείης, ὁ γε πᾶσιν δοκεῖ καὶ πάντες σοι μαρτυρήσουσιν οἱ ἀκούοντες ὅτι ὀρθῶς λέγεις. See also 298b, 292e where he tells Socrates not to worry and that everyone will agree. Like Critobulus then, since everyone says it, it is beautiful.

¹²¹ It is used twice more once again in the nominative, and also in the accusative at 4.11. He is addressing those present here with the pronoun, although the idea is that they likely speak for a bigger majority of people since he has the reputation of being attractive.

third point dictates the organization of Critobulus' speech as he shifts between the view of being beautiful and that of a lover of beauty. Whichever view he is presenting, however, it is his unique position of knowing both sides that allows him to form his opinion of beauty. Having made his position on the value of beauty clear, Critobulus turns to the viewpoint of the lover of beauty.

The first part of his speech pertains to the pleasure he has just from seeing Kleinias, at 4.12. All the words pertain to vision, no other sense is represented:

νῦν γὰρ ἐγὼ Κλεινίαν ἥδιον μὲν θεῶμαι ἢ τᾶλλα πάντα τὰ ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλὰ· τυφλὸς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων μᾶλλον δεξαίμην ἂν εἶναι ἢ Κλεινίου ἐνόος· ἄχθομαι δὲ καὶ νυκτὶ καὶ ὕπνῳ ὅτι ἐκεῖνον οὐχ ὄρω, ἡμέρᾳ δὲ καὶ ἡλίῳ τὴν μεγίστην χάριν οἶδα ὅτι μοι Κλεινίαν ἀναφαίνουσιν.

These days I gaze upon Kleinias with more delight than on anything else at all that men think beautiful. I could take being blind to all the rest of the world rather than be blind to just Kleinias. I get angry with night and sleep because I can't see him, whereas I'm hugely grateful to daytime and sun because they reveal me Kleinias.¹²²

Critobulus declares that he could bear losing his sense of sight, only if he could still see Kleinias.¹²³ He is angry at the night and darkness, because, like blindness, it doesn't allow him the light necessary to see Kleinias.¹²⁴ Cairns comments generally of the idea of sight that "it is a cliché to comment on the importance of vision and the visual in Greek culture: this is the people for whom 'to see the light of the sun' is to be alive and the verb 'to know'

¹²² Translation by Bowie (1998) 49.

¹²³ Foucault (1987) 40 discusses briefly how the idea of the 'gaze' differed considerably to Greeks and was very much a part of Ἀφροδισίων. More generally, Goldhill (2000) 169 exclaims that "The pleasure of a citizen's *theoria* is taken for granted in both Xenophon and Plato as part of the social and psychological performance of the viewer," in the context of discussing the stage.

¹²⁴ It could be argued that we are meant to understand this passage as: at night, he must return to his own home and no longer be in his presence. This interpretation is unlikely since 4.12 is devoted to the sense of sight.

is a perfect tense of the verb 'to see'.¹²⁵ This attachment to seeing, and consequently to beauty, is Critobulus' point.

Kleinias' appearance alone is praised, and only *seeing* him gives Critobulus pleasure. Indeed, Critobulus may not be the only Athenian at this time to be taken by Kleinias' beauty. Robinson and Fluck document that his name appears on vases praising his beauty.¹²⁶ With the emphasis on seeing beauty, how much influence is *eros*? Since Critobulus has chosen beauty as his subject, he minimizes the role of *eros*, instead attributing any perks he receives to beauty. He states at 4.13, that these 'perks' mean that he does not have to do anything at all! Critobulus' argument seems to recognize the concept of the beauty premium and supports it. The overemphasis on 'seeing' in proximity to the mention of beauty is a trope of Xenophon's and cements Critobulus' argument.¹²⁷ Indeed, Baragwanath points out that it is *seeing* the beauty of Theodote, Panthea and also Candaules' wife in Herodotus which is of paramount importance.¹²⁸ There is no mention that either Critobulus or Kleinias have a sense of modesty or self-restraint (like Autolycus) and his arguments are all based on the physical body.

¹²⁵ Cairns (2005) 126.

¹²⁶ Robinson and Fluck (1979) 127-129 connect this Kleinias with 7 *kalos* inscription vases.

¹²⁷ Done also with Theodote in *Mem.* 3.11 and *Cyr.* 5.1.4-16 as Araspas tries to convince Cyrus to go *see* Panthea.

¹²⁸ Baragwanath (2010) 46 suggests a similarity between Theodote and Panthea with also Herodotus' Candaules and Gyges story. Despite the object here being a male, it matches the scenario.

Critobulus next tells of the usefulness¹²⁹ of beauty in comparison with other virtues such as strength, courage and intelligence, switching back to his own experience of being beautiful. Each virtue requires action by the individual to achieve an end; only the beautiful person can sit doing nothing and yet have all they need (4.13): this is a manifestation of the beauty premium. All virtues require some type of endurance, be it the quashing of fear in courage, the discipline of gaining strength or the slow growth of intelligence through study; except for beauty—the beautiful only need to sit where they can be seen. This suggestion of beauty as a virtue is far more telling of society's reaction to beauty than any type of argument convincing anyone that beauty makes people better. No matter how much emphasis Critobulus puts on the fact that he need only *see* the beautiful, this is unlikely to last: after all, *eros* is a reaction to beauty. Poets often complain that they require *χάρις* (in the form of attention or touch) from the beauties which they love.¹³⁰ Many are not content with only seeing beauty.¹³¹ Critobulus' own actions, recorded elsewhere by Xenophon, fall short of his approach here. Whether or not sight alone can

¹²⁹ More literally, that it is worthy (*ἄξιον*) to be proud (*ἐπὶ τίνι μέγα φρονεῖς*) of beauty. The idea is of its usefulness.

¹³⁰ See MacLachlan (1993) for the semantic range of the word, and Padilla (2000) 179-186 for an overview of the work that has been done to see how much *χάρις* was a part of everyday life. Konstan (1997) 80-82 gives a very different view of *χάρις* which is also worth noting that it had little to do with the upholding of friendship, see Morris (1986) 2 and Seaford (2004) 24 for its value in economy.

¹³¹ *Theognis* 1319-1322, 1263-22, 1331-33 all address this idea of the *erastes* asking for *χάρις* back from the beautiful one of desire, often implying that one day the tables will turn and they will become the seekers of beauty (or *eros*). See MacLachlan (1993) 67-70 for a discussion of the *χάρις* in these passages. There is both a sexual side and a more economical side of exchange and mutual gratification. This statement of the beautiful doing 'nothing' and Critobulus being content with looking at Kleinias (4.12) and then also continuing to give all he has (4.14) with no seeming expectation of return is an interesting view that seems more pure than reality. See also Dover (1978) 91-99.

satisfy also comes up when Socrates visits Theodote (*Mem.* 3.11). Socrates himself admits at 3.11.3 that after having beheld her, there is a longing for more. Not once does Critobulus mention kissing or even touching Kleinias here, but *Memorabilia* 1.3.8-15 and 2.6 both show a Critobulus who needs a physical side.¹³²

After speaking about the immense pleasure that can be derived from merely looking at beauty and the monetary premium (although such riches are inferior to beauty 4.15) that the beautiful receive from lovers such as himself, he asserts that he can make people more just, because showing his beauty brings people to all virtues (πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν 4.15). So far, Critobulus has emphasised what he is willing to sacrifice for beauty to show its importance to him, but, it also has benefits: beauty inspires (ἐμπνεῖν) everyone. Literally meaning blow, or to breathe on, ἐμπνεῖν is an interesting word choice. It shows how beauty physically affects the spirit.¹³³ Beauty breathes out and all those admiring inhale and are changed. As Critobulus has already demonstrated, those who are inspired are free with their money, and work harder. He also insists that beauty gives courage and teaches ἐγκράτεια by making lovers cautious since what they want *is* what is most shameful. The inspiration of which Critobulus speaks is described quite differently by Socrates. To him it is more similar to a bite from a beast which infects its victim (4.27-28).¹³⁴

¹³² All three passages will be given fuller attention later in this chapter.

¹³³ ἐμπνεῖν is more commonly used this way in Homer, where the idea is generally a divine being breathing either strength or courage into someone (*Il.* 10.482, 15.60, 15.262, 20.110, 17.456; *Od.* 9.381, 24.520), or even planting an idea (*Od.* 19.138). Dover (1988) 124 connects ἐμπνεῖν with the Spartan εἰσπνεῖν and explains the process well saying “here the inspiration proceeds from the *eromenoi* themselves, whose beauty arouses *eros* in the *erastai*.”

¹³⁴ It is also compared to a spider’s poison or a spider’s sticky web.

By calling beauty 'inspirational' Critobulus is doing two things: he makes beauty less passive and into an active force, whereby the attractive boy's beauty forces the viewer into some type of positive action. Beauty is no longer something that is just observed, it is something that once seen, changes the viewer. The second point is that he gives a positive, if not 'deeper' slant to those who pursue beauty. If you pursue beauty you will become more self-controlled and a better citizen.

Beauty and the Military Premium

Critobulus' next claim is that every general should be beautiful to ensure that his soldiers fight better for him (4.16). This is a fairly bold and complicated idea which deserves a short digression, and which will ultimately further nuance our understanding of the beauty premium. Critobulus' semantic choice here, as before, is important. His focus is on the bond between beauty and power rather than on the combined power of beauty and *eros* (more generally *eros* and the military) which is elsewhere the emphasis of such an army.¹³⁵ This connection between power and beauty, first established by Xenophon calling beauty 'kingly' continues, then, in a new form. There are many examples which link beauty, the military and leadership which are worth considering and which will shed light

¹³⁵ Ogden (1996) and Hindley (1994) both give detailed accounts of how *eros* plays a role in the military. One of the more controversial studies on this subject is the investigation into the myth of the Sacred Band, which Leitao (2002) has recently revisited and believes that such a band, if it existed was not erotic in nature. Further on in Xen. *Symp.* 8.34f Dover (1965) 12-13 has suggested an allusion to this very band. This is also of popular interest as Burg (2002) 5-27 provides a sourcebook for the role of *eros*, and particularly homosexuality in the military.

on this passage.¹³⁶ Xenophon's *Anabasis* 7.4.8, which details his own trip with Cyrus and ten thousand mercenaries, tells of an army comprised of beautiful soldiers, rather than an army of lovers.¹³⁷ According to Xenophon, Episthenes chose his men based on their good looks because he was such a lover of beauty. Such an army is the reverse of what Critobulus proposed. Continuing this digression, it is important to ask what the purpose of this army of beautiful men was. The only one who would be motivated by such a troop is Episthenes himself, since he handpicked the men to his own tastes.¹³⁸ The overall feeling, however, is the same: admiration of the form without further intimate attachments. If the assertion that an erotic bond between two soldiers causes them to fight better is true, and indeed Ogden concludes that it was at least perceived that this would make them better fighters,¹³⁹ then it is also in the realm of acceptability for beauty to be a cause for motivation. Critobulus' words and Episthenes' actions both force the combination of beauty and warfare.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁶ What is important here is power rather than a connection between beauty and courage. While courage can easily be attributed to those who are beautiful and courage can make a soldier appear more beautiful, but this is not an issue which Critobulus addresses. Generally see Robertson (2003) who examines beauty and *andreia* (one possible Greek word for courage) through Xenocles. Another example of the coupling of bravery and beauty is the poetry of Tyrtaeus fr.10; Verdenius (1969) gives a brief commentary on this fragment.

¹³⁷ Such a band of men, real or not, is discussed in Xen. *Lac.* 2.12, and Plato *Symp.* 182b and also discussed much later in Plutarch *Pelopidas* 18-19. For more on these bands of men see Ogden (1996) 111-119, and Leitao (2002).

¹³⁸ The Greek here is ambiguous as to whether Xenophon raised the army or if Episthenes did. In this case I follow Hindley (1999) 75 n.8 who sees the action done by Episthenes contra Ogden (1996) 126.

¹³⁹ Ogden (1996) 135-139.

¹⁴⁰ Leaving aside for a moment the idea that beauty inspires the troops, Xenophon tells the story of how Ariaeus pays attention to appearance giving preference to attractive men, Xen. *An.* 2.6.28.

When the two combine naturally it does indeed have the desired effect, as is the case with Abradatas, the fictional and good-looking king of Susa, and husband to the even more beautiful Panthea.¹⁴¹ He is first described as handsome (κάλλιστος *Cyr.* 6.4.4), and later dons beautiful armour before battle when Cyrus tells him that he should show his face to his troops to encourage them (τῷ μὲν προσώπῳ παραθαρρύνων, ταῖς δ' ἐλπίσιν ἐπικουφίζων *Cyr.* 7.1.18). Although this could be interpreted as Abradatas showing himself and inspiring his men by revealing that he, their king, is there fighting with them, the added element of his beautiful armour and the admission that he was a beautiful sight (6.4.11) suggests a layer of inspiration caused by his beauty.¹⁴²

Outside Xenophon, Herodotus also makes a point of highlighting when leaders are beautiful. Cyrus and Xerxes as kings and leaders are, of course, praised above all others,¹⁴³ but two generals Tigranes (Herodotus 9.96.13)¹⁴⁴ and Masistius (Herodotus 9.25.3-4) are singled out as being beautiful. Tigranes is put in charge of a large number of troops and handpicked by Xerxes and it is his beauty which contributes to his military career.¹⁴⁵ Herodotus describes Masistius as a brave general, but only at his death is he said to be

¹⁴¹ See Stadter (2010) 388-392 for more on the story of Abradatas and Panthea.

¹⁴² He is beautiful, but his wife's beauty did draw more attention. An interesting parallel can be drawn here between Abradatas and the beauty of Memnon who is said to be beautiful (Homer *Od.* 11.522), and inspires the Ethiopians to battle.

¹⁴³ Herodotus 1.112.3, and 7.187.14-16.

¹⁴⁴ The line is κάλλεϊ <τε> καὶ μεγάθει ὑπερφόρων Περσέων at first appears to be a simple 'beautiful' but the ὑπερφόρων carries the idea that he surpasses the Persians in his beauty and height. The pairing of beauty and height is common throughout the histories.

¹⁴⁵ Green (1996) 245, 278 in his interesting narrative explaining the Persian war emphasizes strongly the beauty of these two generals showing that it is an important idea put forth by Herodotus, but he does not show why.

beautiful and tall.¹⁴⁶ This detail is given to explain why the Greeks parade his dead body on a cart among the troops. Masistius' body is worthy of display, and the slaying of a beautiful, high ranking enemy is celebrated, and Visser goes even further suggesting that beauty is something easily worshipped.¹⁴⁷ Although other great, courageous generals are mentioned in Herodotus' *Histories* there is no mention of whether or not they were beautiful. Perhaps this is not enough evidence to say that others agreed with Critobulus' bold assertion, but it does support the idea that beauty when combined with leadership was an advantageous quality: a beauty premium. This section ends with another mention of the dangers and hardships he would endure for the beautiful Kleinias (4.16).

Beauty and Age

Critobulus adds that the beauty of a man can be seen at any point in life, contradicting the idea behind words like ὥρα (in bloom) and ἀκμάζειν (at peak) which insinuate only youthful beauty: there is only one specific, brief moment for beauty. Although both words may be used in a technical sense referring to the prime agricultural seasons¹⁴⁸ or a more generic culminating point,¹⁴⁹ in reference to age and the human body,

¹⁴⁶ Herodotus 9.25.3-4, again height would be a key indicator of their power and make his beauty more prominent.

¹⁴⁷ Visser (1982) 411 n. 28 connects the beauty and imposing statue of Masistius (who is worshipped, but highly regarded for his beauty) with Artachaees (Herodotus 7.116-117) who is later worshipped by the Acanthians despite being a foreigner and an enemy. This gives more force to the current passage.

¹⁴⁸ Seasons and various weather conditions are commonly described with the noun form ὥρα as well as the adjective ὥραϊος. The idea of blooming comes into play with the season of spring in life.

¹⁴⁹ The English word acme is derived from the noun ἀκμή with the focus being on the highest point. More often than this noun, the verb form ἀκμάζειν is used to describe people. When it is used to deal with age, it is sometimes qualified with ἡλικία which specifies a life stage. Other times it is

both carry an idea of beauty relative to a specific and brief time. Just like a flower in bloom has a point in time when it is most ripe and beautiful, there is also a peak time for human beauty. In fact, youth itself is representative of beauty. Critobulus challenges the concept which emphasizes the brevity of beauty as one of its appeals. He asserts that beauty should not be dishonoured as *ταχὺ παρακμάζον*¹⁵⁰ (4.17), emphasizing that beauty is not fleeting yet still allowing with his vocabulary for someone eventually to move ‘past their prime’. He develops this thought by listing various age groups, all of which may be considered beautiful. The grammatical and contextual point of comparison is the boy, *παῖς*. *παῖς* is named first and it is assumed that no one will contest this point, i.e., that boys are beautiful. The three other age groups which have potential beauty include: *μειράκιον*, *ἀνήρ*, *πρεσβύτης*.¹⁵¹ The youngest of the list, *μειράκιον*, is around the age of twenty, so although not technically a boy he is young enough to be considered a youth. It is common for this age to be beautiful and as such Critobulus does not defend it. It may be less common for a fully-grown man, *ἀνήρ*, to retain beauty but it is not unbelievable.

The last term, *πρεσβύτης*, or elder, usually is held in respect but considered for beauty; Pangle calls this a desperate attempt from Critobulus.¹⁵² Indeed, this is Critobulus’

used with *ῥώμη* to emphasize strength and vigour. It is important to note that as an age, to be *ἀκμάζειν* is different from a *μειράκιον* (Hippocrates *Epid.* 1.1.1, 1.2.8 and 1.2.9 make this distinction).

¹⁵⁰ The verb here *παρακμάζειν* is derived from *ἀκμάζειν*, and carries the idea of past the prime.

¹⁵¹ Huss (1999a) 237 breaks down the various age groups placing the *παῖς* as up to 15 (since around 15 would be when a *erastes* could first approach a boy), *μειράκιον* implies an age range of 14 to 18 and *ἀνήρ* until 50. See Hindley (1991) 178 for discussion and also Golden (1990) 12-22, and Buffière (2007) 606-608; the age break down only varies slightly.

¹⁵² Pangle (2010) 144.

only statement requiring evidence, which he provides by referencing a festival which selects beautiful old men (θαλλοφόρους...γέροντας 4.17).¹⁵³ Aside from this particular festival, in Aristophanes' *Wasps* 1192, the son instructs his elderly father on what proper symposium conversation consists, with the tale of Ephudion, the old man. Ephudion, who is old (γέρων) and grey (πολιός), is still physically fit. He possesses a deep rib-cage (πλευρὰν βαθυτάτην 1193), great arms, flanks and chest (χέρας καὶ λαγόνα καὶ θώρακ' ἄριστον 1193). This description shows admiration for the aged body, which is rare. Looking at Critobulus' list, his idea of beauty occupying every stage of life is less radical than it first appeared. The only age he needed to qualify was the beauty of old men.¹⁵⁴ Old age as destroyer of beauty is a common theme, well-captured in the Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite*: Aphrodite procures eternal life for her lover Anchises but not youth and thus she leaves him.¹⁵⁵ Old age and its ugliness are also a favourite motif of Anacreon and Mimnermus.¹⁵⁶ They both lament the loss of good-looks and resign themselves to lives in which they are undesirable and await death. This image is irreconcilable with the new

¹⁵³ He changes the word in Greek from *πρεσβύτης* to *γέρων* but the other word mentioned *θαλλοφόρους* is also worth noting. *Et. Mag.*441.5 refers to the activity of carrying olive branches. It becomes a joke in Aristophanes *V.* 544 where if the old man can no longer be in the law courts, this activity of carrying the olive branches will be the only thing he is good for, showing that the role is mostly visual show and no thinking. This festival which he references seems to only survive on the Parthenon frieze, especially slab X; see Bowen (1998). Huss (1999a) 237 notes what is missing from these beautiful old men is the sexual connotation that the younger ones possess.

¹⁵⁴ There is a great amount of prejudice of old men from earlier poetry. See Miller (1955), Bertman (1989) and Gilleard (2007).

¹⁵⁵ 220-237 gives a graphic description.

¹⁵⁶ See for example, Mimnermus 1.5: ἐπεὶ δ' ὀδυνηρὸν ἐπέλθῃ γῆρας, ὅ τ' αἰσχροὺς ὁμῶς καὶ κακὸν ἄνδρα τιθεῖ, but once old age with its sorrows advances upon us, it makes a man feeble and ugly alike (translation by Lattimore 1960), and Anacreon 15=Athenaeus 13.599c: Τὴν μὲν ἐμὴν κόμην, λευκὴ γάρ, καταμέμφεται πρὸς δ' ἄλλην τινὰ χάσκει, so she finds fault with my hair because it is white, and goes gaping after another (translation by Edmonds 1923).

view presented here by Critobulus: that beauty is neither fleeting nor is it restricted to youth. Indeed, we already looked at Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* 1.3.2, where Cyrus sees his grandfather and is impressed by his beauty.¹⁵⁷ It seems as though Critobulus is trying to twist physical beauty into something long-lasting for the sake of his argument and he bases it all on the festival. The key to maintaining beauty in spite of old age is to compare the old only with others of equal age. The festival's men are the most attractive of their age group and thus beauty is able to exist where it could not if there were no age limitation. His evidence accomplishes his goal and he is not contested on this point. Critobulus ends his speech with a challenge to Socrates, that his physical beauty will win him a kiss before Socrates' words can (4.18). This of course is the foundation for the beauty contest which takes place at 5.1f, and which Critobulus wins. Critobulus has championed how beauty can inspire and support men: beauty provides a living for the beautiful individual and inspiration to the viewer perhaps even praising the beauty premium as natural and good. This is paralleled in Theodote.

Critobulus, Autolycus, Kleinias, and even Theodote, have given us the beauty premium which existed at this time: the unavoidable perks of beauty that are given to them, some form of gain and the positive influence that they have on society, namely inspiration. This is perhaps exactly what most would expect of these Classical Athenians as lovers of beauty.¹⁵⁸ However beauty also can destroy those who look upon it and are

¹⁵⁷ See above on page 151.

¹⁵⁸ As said in Pericles' Funeral Oration in Thucydides 2.40.1.

filled with an obsessive longing for it, and from this longing the beautiful individual can also suffer dire consequences in the form of a beauty penalty.

Critobulus' Struggle

Despite all the promises which Xenophon's Critobulus declared in his speech about the motivational powers of beauty and the perks of being beautiful, Xenophon urges his readers against bestowing undue premiums on the beautiful. Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (1.3.8-15) begins with general information about Socrates and his devout nature which develops into an example of how Socrates dealt with desire and the power it gives a beautiful person. Xenophon claims that Socrates' general advice was to avoid the beautiful with respect to sexual relations (Ἀφροδισίων).¹⁵⁹ Touching beautiful people triggers such a strong desire that even those with great self-control succumb. The danger comes from a reaction to beauty: *eros*, which is strongest when combined with beauty. The following story illustrates this.

Socrates, addressing a young Xenophon, chastises Critobulus for having run off and kissed some beautiful boy. Many have thought this beautiful boy might be the very Kleinias who is the centre of Critobulus' attention in the *Symposium*,¹⁶⁰ but he is left unnamed and plays no part in the discussion other than to be Socrates' cause for concern.

¹⁵⁹ Foucault (1987) 38-52 specifically deals with this term Ἀφροδισίων. It needs to be considered as three parts, the desire, act and pleasure of sex all together. This is important for understanding Socrates' warning, which is not as simply the command to not have sex, but to not desire it as well. Gray (1998) 117 finds this passage an example of a 'normal' dialogue with the traditional question and answer.

¹⁶⁰ Xen. *Symp.* 4.12 see my previous section.

The boy who was kissed is described as ὄντα εὐπροσώπτατον καὶ ὠραιότατον (*Mem.* 1.3.10). Both superlative adjectives are simple descriptions. The first descriptor, εὐπρόσωπος, despite its infrequent usage, lacks vividness and is used only here in Xenophon.¹⁶¹ It is paired with ὠραῖος (full bloom), to show the age and high desirability.¹⁶² Emphasis is on the reaction to beauty rather than on the individual boy (plain superlative adjectives suffice), but instead an intricate analogy is given for the actions which such beauty stirs.

Socrates hyperbolizes that one kiss will take away all freedom (1.3.11), and with it the pursuits that accompany a καλὸς κάγαθός.¹⁶³ And indeed, Critobulus has said as much in the *Symposium* 4.14: he willingly and happily is a slave to Kleinias and his beauty.¹⁶⁴ Socrates' ultimate reason for avoiding the beautiful is: physical beauty stimulates an *eros* which even strong men cannot overcome. While it could be argued that

¹⁶¹ It is used most frequently by Aristophanes, see above on page 74, but even there, it is only a total of 4 times (*Pax* 617; *Th.* 191; *Ra.* 410; *Pl.* 976). Aristotle, writing a bit later also uses the term (*Magna Moralia* 2.6.36.3; *Poetica* 1461a14; *Politica* 1263b15) and twice more in fragments. Otherwise, usage is very sparse. There is a second metaphorical usage where πρόσωπος means mask rather than face or front, but this does not change the overall infrequency of the word.

¹⁶² ὠραῖος and its noun form ὄρα are both usually found near other beauty words, and the idea of full bloom does indeed imply a type of beauty.

¹⁶³ In what sense, then, is Socrates using the term καλὸς κάγαθός here? The number one option would seem to be the perfect ideal man, translated by many as 'gentleman', but more like the ideal and virtuous person. Such a man is virtuous and moral; the man that everyone should strive to be. Could this also, however, be politically slanted. Indulging in such 'kisses,' implies an uncontrolled life: Hawley (2007) 5-7 deals specifically with the implications of the kiss when it is in a sexual context. He recalls this passage here to remind of the dangers and loss of self-control, but does not note the atmosphere. Could Critobulus lose the ability to guide the city that which all Athenian citizens have a responsibility to do? If there is any such implication of Critobulus losing his ability to contribute to the city, it is because of what the kiss symbolises: a road to excess, devotion to the seeking of pleasure and time wasted.

¹⁶⁴ See Urstad (2008) 44-45 for the loss of freedom and the push for *sophrosyne*.

eros is the cause of problems and leads to a loss of control, beauty is the catalyst for *eros* and the irrational behaviour which follows and beauty strengthens the danger. Socrates' objection to beauty, Hindley argues, is not a position against homoerotic behaviour in general.¹⁶⁵ Rather, sexual activity, like eating, should be done in moderation only. Hindley shows that Xenophon often does not condemn homo-erotic relations.¹⁶⁶ It is about self-restraint. Critobulus and young Xenophon admire and desire the beautiful. They both would risk much for a single kiss.¹⁶⁷ Only Socrates sees the incident as a problem.

Socrates continues his chastisement of the boys, this time with an image of beauty as a poisonous spider (φάλαγγιον 1.3.12) to which Theodote was also compared.¹⁶⁸ Socrates insists that the καλὸν καὶ ὠραῖον (1.3.13) inject a poison similar to a spider's, which drives people mad. They are more dangerous than a spider, because they need not

¹⁶⁵ See also Hindley (1991) where he responds to Cohen (1987) to demonstrate that there was no law against homoerotic behaviour, rather it only applied to the specific charge of prostitution.

¹⁶⁶ Hindley (1999) 80, 85 and (1994) 347 argues this point very convincingly. It is Xenophon's and Plato's Socrates who seems to condemn homo-erotic relations. Some evidence from Xenophon's work which implies that he does not share Socrates' strong view that the good-looking must be avoided includes: *Hell.* 4.140, 4.8.39, *An.* 4.6.1-3, *Heir.* 1.29-38, *Cyn.* 12.20.

¹⁶⁷ Dover (1978) 64 n.6 explains that a kiss between Greek men who are not related and is purely a greeting was most likely uncommon. There is no doubt this kiss had sexual connotations. Hawley (2007) 6 explains further the role that a kiss plays between men, but also describes non-sexual and social aspects which accompany the kiss. *Xen. Ages.* 5.4-6 confirms that even a single kiss can be damaging to a reputation because of the bond which it creates. It seems that the context for a kiss must be considered and even when used as a greeting it may not be 'innocent'.

¹⁶⁸ See also Plato *Euthydemus* 290A, and Demosthenes 25.96 who use this spider and its poison venom as a warning. Aristotle's *History of Animals* 622b.28 says that there are many types of this spider, and only two are poisonous but they can weave. However, the modern day Phalangium (see Taylor (2004) 325f), commonly known as Harvestmen, although infamous for being highly poisonous does not actually have venom glands nor do they weave. Savory (1972) 124 suggests that Phalangium was a vague term used for a supposedly poisonous spider. Thus, although this spider cannot be given a clear modern equivalent, it must suffice that it was considered one of the most dangerous of spiders.

touch to spread their infection. This poison causes a loss of self-control which spirals into over-indulgence.¹⁶⁹ Lest one fall prey to bestowing unwarranted premiums on the beautiful, one needs to avoid them. Perhaps ‘avoidance’ is not a penalty per se, but the intrinsic distrust which Socrates seeks to instil of the beautiful, for their protection, is. Socrates advises Critobulus to exile himself and Xenophon to run away from the beautiful. That avoidance is the only solution to the problem of beauty is so frequent in Xenophon that one can’t help but trace its origin to this story in *Memorabilia* 1.3.8. Xenophon’s *Cyrus* (Xenophon *Cyr.* 5.1.7-18) likewise advises Araspas to avoid Panthea. The character of Socrates, in the works of Xenophon, presents himself as someone whose response to beauty and youth is to avoid them at all costs. But the dialogues often show Socrates frequently surrounded by beautiful youths.¹⁷⁰ In Xenophon’s *Symposium* 4.27, Socrates attempts to say he follows his own advice, but is corrected by Kharmides, who accuses him of sitting close to the beautiful Critobulus. Socrates calls Critobulus a beast (θηρίον 4.28) which has bitten him — this beast and its bite are comparable to the warning of Cyrus in *Cyropaedia* 5.1.16-18. Just looking at a beautiful person is likened to putting one’s hand

¹⁶⁹ The point is made further by a dubious line: at 1.3.13 Socrates claims that this can be inflicted on someone from afar because *eros* is a τοξότης, an archer. Dindorf (1862) deleted this line in 1.3.13 from the text as it was ‘un-Socratic’. Macleod (2008) agrees with this deletion, but Bandini (2000) has left it in.

¹⁷⁰ Plato *Symp.* (213b-c, 216d, 223a), Socrates sits by Agathon, then also Alkibiades; in Plato *Charmides* (154b) he seeks out the beautiful youth Kharmides to help. See also Plato *Euthydemus* 271b, *Lysias* 204e, 207a, *Meno* 76bc, *Phaedrus* 243e, 252b, *Alkibiades* 104a and *Phaedo* 89b. See Boys-Stones (2007) 35.

in fire. If a goal of recounting these stories about Socrates in the *Memorabilia* is to clear his name,¹⁷¹ there is no better way to do that than to show that he shunned beauty and youth.

Xenophon writes that Socrates avoids the most beautiful more easily than others avoid the ugly.¹⁷² The idea makes an assumption along the lines of ‘common knowledge’: that everyone shuns the ugly and prefers to keep company with the beautiful.¹⁷³ The contrast which is built here shows that Socrates goes against what most consider normal. In order for this to carry weight among Xenophon’s readership, the assumption made at the start must be readily accepted by everyone. Socrates is actually able to avoid the beautiful, a praiseworthy feat. It is normal to associate with the beautiful, even if the cost is a poisonous *eros* that drives one to insanity. The emphasis, however, is on the ease (due to his preparation) with which Socrates is able to avoid the beautiful. It is relative; Xenophon need only prove that Socrates more easily avoids youthful beauty than others for his case to be successful.¹⁷⁴ This passage serves as the negative counterpart to what Critobulus championed in the *Symposium*: beauty is dangerous.

¹⁷¹ For Xen. *Mem.* as a successful piece of rhetoric, see Gray (1998) 26 who states “The *Memorabilia* sets out to identify and question the arguments that convicted Socrates” and Waterfield (2004) for a broader sense.

¹⁷² τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀωρατάτων (1.3.14). It is the from the root word ὄρα with the negative ἀ.

¹⁷³ The whole line: αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα φανερός ἦν οὕτω παρεσκευασμένος ὥστε ῥᾶον ἀπέχεσθαι τῶν καλλίστων καὶ ὠραιστάτων ἢ οἱ ἄλλοι τῶν αἰσχίστων καὶ ἀωροτάτων. Translation by Macleod (2008): His own approach to those matters clearly showed him to be so well prepared that he avoided the most handsome and attractive young people more easily than all others avoid the ugliest and most unattractive creatures.

¹⁷⁴ For more on the idea of Socrates and his own moderation throughout *Memorabilia* see Blanchard (1994).

The next recollection which reinforces Xenophon's opposition to the beauty premium, again involving Critobulus, shows that he has become more serious and is listening to Socrates (2.6). Critobulus engages with Socrates (rather than being spoken about), on the subject of whom he should befriend and how he might capture them—with Critobulus having a particular interest in beautiful friends.¹⁷⁵ The discussion centres on how one might capture a truly worthy friend. Socrates suggests the *καλοὶ κάγαθοί* at 2.6.16.¹⁷⁶ He stresses that these men are able to endure hunger and thirst, but most importantly they are able to resist (despite deriving pleasure from) sexual relations (*Ἀφροδισίων*) with those in their youthful bloom (*ὠραῖος* 2.6.22). This is very carefully worded: it admits that sexual relations with the young would be pleasurable, and something even a 'good man' could enjoy. The confession makes the assumption that relations, specifically with youths in their prime, are desired by all.

¹⁷⁵ Throughout the whole chapter, hunting imagery is used. The idea is that he is supposed to hunt or *θηρατέος* his friends. This reoccurs in *Mem.* 3.11 with Theodote. Henry (1995) 47-48 sees this hunting imagery as sexually charged, and that Socrates is wilfully volunteering to help catch lovers, rather than just friends. This seems to hold true for the next passage with Theodote, but there does not seem to be the same sexual charge to this language. In addition, Socrates' stance against homoerotic relations would make any sort of sexual interpretation contradict a very stable part of Socrates' character. Rather, the hunting imagery could be seen as similar to what Xenophon shows throughout his *Cyn.* This hunting imagery is all about the elite, or *καλὸς κάγαθός* and the beauty that is in a gentleman's hunt: see Johnstone (1994) 227-229 for the hunt in *Cyn.* Konstan (1997) 37 gives an excellent definition for friendship in the classical world, and 55-86 explain in more detail the specific help and good will that was essential for one to be called a friend. It is interesting that Konstan divides the line between sexual relationships and friendship in light of the fact that Critobulus is so easily confused by it here.

¹⁷⁶ Socrates also went through a period where he hunted the *καλὸς κάγαθός* as he tells Critobulus in *Oec.* 6.12-17. Like Critobulus here, Socrates also was confused thinking that the phrase meant a good-looking man. See Bourriot (1995) 317-8.

Socrates declares that he can help Critobulus secure a friend, since he himself is ἐρωτικός (2.6.28). Hearing this, it is understandable that Critobulus thinks Socrates is here to help him find a lover; indeed he continues to use sexually ambiguous words. It is no surprise, then, when Critobulus asks specifically for those who are ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς καλοὺς τὰ σώματα ‘good in their souls and beautiful in their bodies’ (2.6.30). Although Critobulus has listened to Socrates, he still is not on the same page: Socrates is referring to beauty of the soul, whereas Critobulus is unable to separate the idea of beauty from the physical body. He does, at least, acknowledge that the state of their souls is important. Has Socrates called himself ‘ἐρωτικός’ to bait Critobulus into this very misunderstanding? It is certainly possible since Xenophon has elsewhere suggested Socrates was proud of his ability to procure people.¹⁷⁷ The beauty Critobulus seeks is a physical attribute and not moral or social as the term καλὸς καγαθός could suggest. This seems acceptable, if not predictable. He has therefore accepted half of Socrates’ argument about seeking good friends (or potential lovers) and added the requirement of physical beauty.

Reiterating his stance, already shown in *Memorabilia* 1.3.8-15, Socrates, guessing Critobulus’ intentions, warns him against touching the beautiful. Socrates explains why the beautiful should be avoided, giving graphic examples of the consequences from myth. The focus is completely on the viewer, or in this case, the one who seeks to touch beauty. He tells how humans fled from Skylla, but everyone remained around the Sirens. This was

¹⁷⁷ In Xen. *Symp.* 3.10, Socrates declares that he is most proud of his ability to pander: μαστροπεία.

because Skylla lashed out violently,¹⁷⁸ whereas the Sirens never touched but lured the sailors in from afar through song.¹⁷⁹ Beauty of the body has little or nothing to do with this. The beautiful bodies which Critobulus suggested have been long forgotten by Socrates— instead he is intent upon the beautiful souls. After everything which preceded this, Critobulus still cannot follow Socrates, nor can he promise to not kiss those who are beautiful (2.6.32).

To contrast with the beautiful, Socrates offers up the ugly as a counter example: he insists that no beautiful person will endure being touched, but that the ugly (αἰσχροῖ) do not mind (2.6.32). Socrates continues to speak and care about the souls of people, and not their physical bodies, whereas Critobulus sees first the physical and only when pushed can he see the importance of inner beauty. Socrates tricks Critobulus by not specifying whether it is beauty of body or of soul and consequently they are discussing two very different kinds of beauty. From the context, we can assume here that Socrates is dealing with the soul, thus the ugly ones who do not mind being touched may in fact be physically attractive and quite dangerous for Critobulus, who is not discerning. Socrates goes even further to say that these people enjoy (2.6.32) such advances and believe they are called beautiful for their souls. Here he finally specifies (2.5.32) that it is souls which are important and this inner beauty is what should be sought.

¹⁷⁸ Skylla is mentioned in *Od.* 12.85f. She is a six-headed monster who eats men. Odysseus and his men must pass by her as the lesser of two evils. The mention here shows Skylla's forceful removal of men versus the persuasive song of destruction that the Sirens (see *Od.* 12.184f) use. Interestingly, both cause death and destruction.

¹⁷⁹ Homer's *Od.* 12.184, see also Gray (2011) for Xenophon's interpretation of Homer.

Earlier at 2.6.12, Socrates mentioned the ugly in regards to the fact that all praise given to a person should be true. If a person is ugly, he should not be praised as beautiful for he will spot the lie and grow hateful.¹⁸⁰ Having established that false praise is unacceptable, here we seem to have misleading praise. The spiritually ugly person (who is potentially although not necessarily physically attractive) is being praised because of or for the physical acts they allow upon themselves. They are not receiving physical compliments, but moral ones. They are complimented for their acts of submission and not truly their souls. It is not the physically ugly that people shunned in at 1.3.14, but rather the spiritually ugly. They are the ones that delight in such physical advances. Although Socrates knows this, Critobulus does not.

Critobulus' final word is that he will 'kiss' (φιλέω) the beautiful, and κατα-φιλέω the good (2.6.33).¹⁸¹ He just does not grasp the idea that Socrates wants him to have friendship or a relationship without the physical and he will not give up physical beauty. He grasps that being good is of greater significance than being beautiful by using the κατα prefix to emphasize the importance and therefore special treatment of the good, rather than the beautiful. But even with the good, Critobulus shows his admiration in a physical

¹⁸⁰ This is true whether the person is morally or physically ugly, although it makes more sense if it is a physically ugly person with a beautiful soul, see above.

¹⁸¹ Hawley (2007) 8 claims that this compound makes the verb have a less respectable tone if not imply a sexual kiss. He bases this with regards to Plutarch's version of Aspasia; he also notes later that the κατα prefix usually shows downward movement. The argument that καταφιλήσοντος is used of disreputable kisses is perhaps supported initially by Theophrastus' *Characters* 17.3, but what follows implies only that the verb is more expressive, which Diggle (2004) rightly suggests. In this context, then, I must disagree with Hawley: καταφιλήσοντος shows extra favour, or perhaps a more intimate kiss. If not, such a statement from Critobulus would have a strong negative reaction from Socrates. Since he accepts this and moves on, the sense of the word here must strengthen it.

way. At this point, Socrates gives up on removing this physical desire within Critobulus and focuses instead on trying to make him a better person in order to attract the right sort of friends.

Although Critobulus demands physical beauty in his new friends, Socrates does not mention the poisonous nature that he feared so much in 1.3.8-15. Rather, he tries to turn Critobulus' attention away from the beautiful, promising him that they will run away from him. The confusion is purposeful, and they are having two very different conversations at the same time. Socrates is no longer concerned with the men who have beautiful bodies; it is Critobulus who brings them up. Socrates speaks only about those who are inwardly beautiful and are worth befriending, and it is they who are running away. It is difficult to untangle this section given Socrates' previous advice. Critobulus' dedication to physical beauty remains unchanged, and his reaction to beauty is physical. Either way Critobulus is on the hunt, despite the advice he was given to run away from beauty: Socrates' goal is to tweak his prey without him noticing, rather than having him turn and run from the beautiful as he did previously and here he suggests a different target. He should pursue those with beautiful souls.

Ultimately Xenophon's Socrates' advice changes in this second episode, as he redefined 'beauty' to no longer be something tied to the senses, and specifically the visual. In doing so, he tries to banish the beauty premium only to praise those whom he now calls beautiful—because of their souls. If we go back to the physical and visual meaning of beauty, the advice here remains the same as the previous—physical beauty does not

deserve a premium and to counteract the premium, a beauty penalty is inadvertently implied.

Conclusions to "Beholding the Beautiful with Xenophon"

In terms of descriptions of the beautiful body, Xenophon confirms some of the features already discussed as beautiful from comedy. The idea of white, soft textured skin for women, and a generous weight is highlighted, and additionally height is mentioned as a positive feature for women. The face, neck and hands have also been specified as showing great beauty. While castigating cosmetics and certain types of dress (usually expensive) as false beauty, Xenophon's texts point to their conventional usage and success in enhancing the female appearance.

For the male body, Xenophon provides facial details so that reconstruction of the beautiful male face has moderate lips, deep-set eyes and a tall nose. Xenophon poetically elevates beauty, drawing romantic imagery which evokes feelings rather than painting a vivid picture. The power and overwhelming nature of beauty are emphasized. Overall his preference for 'beauty' is that of a self-controlled lifestyle. How you present yourself should be by means of this naturalness alone. Thus it is unsurprising that he shuns expensive luxuries and attacks cosmetics. The only 'enhancement' Xenophon condones is the taking of exercise. Xenophon wants both men and women to practise the same basic beauty regime—which is a training of the mind. Yet the image of beauty which Xenophon presents does not end there. By his own definition, beauty must be paired with an amount of humility or moderation, but when he goes on to discuss the dangers of beauty and the

beautiful individual it is clear that beauty can and does exist outside of his carefully constructed instructions.

Xenophon describes for his reader how the beautiful body makes those who see it feel. He recognizes the power that the beautiful form has over a person. He is susceptible to it himself even while he praises and warns about beauty. From his collective writings it is easy to see Xenophon's personal struggle to understand reactions to beauty and his preoccupation with the subject which ultimately even works itself into his biography, as mentioned at the chapter's start. This chapter shows the fulfilment of what was discussed in my previous comedy chapter—the audience of a comedy readily engaged with beauty because it was something with which their daily lives were inundated. Beauty preoccupies Xenophon's mind as he seems to try different ways of overcoming its negative effects while harnessing its positive inspirations. Xenophon straddles the line of seeing the danger of beauty while still utilizing its power for his characters. There certainly is an admiration for physical beauty throughout his texts, but it is always dotted with warnings. This suggests that his view is not a blind following of the beautiful body, but a balanced approach. In the beauty contest we glimpse Critobulus' beauty and learn how to cope with intoxicating beauty. Throughout all his works, Xenophon attempts to make sense of the reactions to beauty he sees happening in the world around him. He has a clear dislike for enhancements—but even on this point he admits a time and a place for them is necessary: in Persia (or other non-Greek settings). It seems as if he wants to believe Critobulus' speech on how beauty makes everyone in the world 'better', but at the same time

recognises that there are countless examples of beauty causing harm. The beauty premium is visible throughout these texts as Xenophon can see the benefits it can give people, but he remains suspicious, citing also all the times that the beauty premium causes harm.

Xenophon's strict presentation, opinion, and judgement of beauty is useful beyond mere analysis of texts. His harsh approach and derision of enhancements via cosmetics or dress for both men and women stands in contrast with the evidence from comedy. His literature attempts to dissuade readers from a cultural norm which continues well past him, and even to modern times. His separation of physical, bodily beauty from morality or even any type of intrinsic goodness is very interesting—and yet he has examples of both beautiful, good individuals, beautiful, bad individuals and (of course, with Socrates as a prime example) ugly, good individuals. This categorization is not, in fact, new, as comedy has shown this less overtly, and oratory will also show this, but identification of physical beauty with a person's morality or virtue is of particular importance to Xenophon. Indeed, his teachings or urgings to his readers move beyond the literature, illuminating first his own point of view and consequently the views of classical Athenian society which can be teased out when he agrees and disagrees with the standard. Xenophon's interaction with the idea of beauty is based in his own culture, upon which he then suggests changes or alterations to that standard view.

Beauty in Xenophon (and within classical Athenian society as he knew it) points towards a beauty premium so strong that Xenophon warns susceptible individuals against prioritizing beautiful individuals. Despite this, Xenophon's Critobulus tells of how he

reaps the benefits of his own beauty, attesting to the beauty premium's potency. To convolute the situation further, Xenophon offers examples of the beauty penalty.

Xenophon, then, seems to encapsulate fully the problem of how one should react to beauty, and while knee-jerk positive or negative reactions occur, he recommends caution.

Recognizing the power that beauty has over the senses, Xenophon implies that it can be resisted, and further that physical beauty and the range of reactions to it which all seem so natural need re-thinking if not changing. Beauty, despite whatever Xenophon and his Socrates might want it to be, is not an intellectual exercise, but something which causes a reaction. Whether beauty is scrutinized by candle-light, silence-evoking, or carefully manufactured, Xenophon records these reactions, in spite of his aversion to certain types of beauty. Xenophon and his characters recognize and react to beauty across gender, status, age and ethnic boundaries.

The Beautiful on Trial

So far we have seen that comedy developed stereotypes of beautiful individuals and an assortment of reactions to them and that Xenophon promoted only one appropriate type of beauty and prescribed reaction. In oratory, where every piece of evidence is used to build a case, beauty forces action and acts as demonstrable proof. In this chapter on Attic Oratory we are presented in the most direct manner with the reactions to the beautiful body. The comic material and literature of Xenophon confirms the pervasiveness of reactions to beauty and here, in oratory, we can see a culmination of the concerns of the two previous chapters in how such reactions play out in a 'real life' courtroom. Some of the stereotypes seen in comedy re-emerge and an appropriate reaction to beauty is demanded by speakers.

This chapter will look at descriptions of the beautiful body and what reactions they are meant to, or do, produce in the jury. Persuasion is the key element for oratory.¹ Speakers aim to convince their audience to believe their words, and act accordingly. From the evidence I have gathered here, orators can regard beauty either with suspicion or great favour in order to guide the jury to one opinion or the other. This is achieved through

¹ To better understand the various contexts which oratory can appear in, it is useful to note that oratory is normally divided into three fields: deliberative, forensic and epideictic. Aristotle's *Rhetoric* 1358b separates out the three different types (see Kennedy's 2007 translation and commentary), and Hall (1995) 45-46 summarizes this succinctly: "Aristotle's famous tripartite division of rhetoric defines deliberative rhetoric as looking to the future and urging expedience, epideictic rhetoric as looking to the present and urging honour, but forensic rhetoric as looking to the past and urging justice." Despite this seemingly clear-cut definition, there is a large amount of overlap to be found. See Rountree (2001) 295-297 for more details on the differences and similarities these categories may have had.

emotional manipulation of their reactions to beauty. In terms of a beauty premium, oratory shows that beauty can be the 'get out of jail free' card but there is also a penalty when beauty can be damnable evidence. Reactions to beauty are emotionally charged and a nuanced understanding of beauty's role in legal argument is the only way to reconcile the differences in reactions to it.

The law-courts of Classical Athens were a part of a citizen's everyday life and taking part in such an activity was a point of pride.² Ultimately, the goal was the same as today—to persuade the jury to your point of view, even at times, regardless of the 'truth'.³ The idea of an impartial jury is currently regimented as strictly as possible⁴ and in the classical period jurors took an oath to the same end.⁵ In Europe and the USA only recently are there laws against discrimination against someone based on their 'natural' appearance such as height or weight. Static features such as clothes, hair, piercings or tattoos can and are discriminated against.⁶ There is and was an element of theatrics and spectacle for legal

² Carey (1994) 178.

³ See Ober (1989) 142-148 for the composition of the litigants, jury and the court. See also Lape (2006) 140.

⁴ See Abramson (2000). Rather, during the Classical period swaying the jury beforehand was necessary, see Todd (1990); Carey (1994) provides a good summary of the differences between the British legal system and the classical Athenian one.

⁵ Harris (2007) 57 shows that while there is no scholarly consensus on this yet, there was certainly something in place. He summarizes 4 main matters that were sworn upon: "1) To vote in accordance to the laws and decrees of the Athenian people (e.g. Aeschin. 3.6; Antiphon 5.7; Dem. 20.118). 2) To vote about matters pertaining to the charge (Aeschin.1.154; Dem. 45.50. Cf. Aeschin. 1.170). 3) To listen to both the accuser(s) and defendant(s) equally (Aeschin. 2.1; Dem. 18.2; Isoc. 15.21. Cf. Lucian *Cal.* 8). 4) To vote or judge (*dikasein*) with one's most fair judgement (*dikaiotatê gnômê*) (e.g. Dem. 23.96; 57.63)." A longer summary is also found at Dem. 24.149-51.

⁶ See Rhode (2010).

cases and maintaining such an atmosphere was essential to the viewing public.⁷ Because of this, in Classical Athens, politicians could enhance their image and political standing through prosecution, but since there were consequences for failure, the act of litigation was a tight-rope walk. Attention to the small details of who wrote the speech, who presented it and what relationships existed between the prosecution, defence and jury will be helpful in understanding the courtroom dynamic and more specifically, how accusations or praise of the body are received.

Like comedy, there is a corresponding visual element to oratory, but this time the bodies are those of real individuals under scrutiny. The key figures, guilty or innocent, can be seen by all and judged by anyone with eyes to see. These speeches are extremely helpful in understanding how the beautiful body was generally perceived because in an attempt to ‘win’ (either a case or a better reputation) the speaker must gain a majority agreement. Indeed, Dover details why oratory should be ‘trustworthy’ with regards to what was commonly believed to be moral, saying:

“A speaker in a law court stood to lose money, property, his political rights, even on occasion his life... He could not afford to express or imply beliefs or principles which were likely to be offensive to the jury...”⁸

In terms of beauty, arguments brought forth by orators should be expected to be generally well-received and believable to the jury. Throughout this chapter, orators will be seen to argue both sides—in favour of some form of a beauty premium or penalty—and this

⁷ Shapiro (2011) 22-23.

⁸ Dover (1974) 5-6.

stresses the general manner in which these sentiments on beauty were heard and reacted to by the jury.

Speeches of praise and blame have the same basic motive (successful persuasion) but with different audiences. The setting can vary from homes, festivals, and ceremonies,⁹ but competition remains and the relationships between those writing the speeches, those receiving praise and those listening are all factors.¹⁰ Like drama, oratory utilizes the audience's ability to hear as well as to see.¹¹ How often the orator stops to describe a body depends entirely on how useful it is to his argument. Additionally, there was often an opportunity for something to be seen which could play a part in swaying the given audience. Oratorical passages in which the body is mentioned need context: whether the body is being used as evidence or perhaps to praise or defame a given individual. How far the body and its appearance function as a testimony to the individual and how often such tactics are utilized will be noted. I will also look at how forensic orators attack the mannerisms (*skhēmata*) of their opponents.¹² For current purposes, mannerisms which help create an image, or portray the body, will be included as evidence about the physical body.

⁹ Rountree (2001) 296 n.11 cites as examples Gorgias' *Olympic Discourse*, Pericles' *Funeral Oration*, and Isocrates' *Helen* and *Evagoras* respectively.

¹⁰ There is, however, a slightly aristocratic atmosphere which surrounds such speeches which is cause for caution. See Ober (1989) 48.

¹¹ There is debate about whether the speeches which have survived today were actually read aloud, written afterwards or edited. MacDowell (2000) 23-28 gives a brief summary of some of the difficulties which are caused by this. Whatever the case may have been, there is still a secondary visual level in these speeches.

¹² See Bremmer (1992) and Hesk (2000) 225. Epideictic speeches of blame are in fact incredibly rare, see Rountree (2001).

Evans, in her meticulous study of descriptions of the body in the ancient world, unfortunately missed important evidence when she said of the Attic orators that “there is virtually no concern with the eulogy of the appearance, permanent or momentary, of an individual or for attack by the vituperative description of opponents.”¹³ I disagree.¹⁴ I will show that the beautiful body is used in many different ways as a rhetorical device stereotyping the actions of the beautiful and offering suggested reactions to the jury. Shapiro has shown how orators call attention to the body, specifically *skhēmata*, to argue effectively for or against an opponent. She adapted and expanded Hesk’s definition of physiognomics in the court room,¹⁵ and both looked at physiognomic arguments (connecting single features or manners of the physical body with character). I am interested in the reactions only to the beautiful body, and whether it is a physiognomic judgement, or purely aesthetic, both are based on the body (and its mannerisms) and provide further evidence of heavily nuanced reactions to beauty in Classical Athens.

In Aeschines’ *Against Timarchus*, a majority of the case is centred on Timarchus’ body, showing its youthful beauty and the degenerated, old body of the current Timarchus. I will start by looking at the youthful, beautiful body of Timarchus and compare it to the body of Epikrates who is heavily praised in Ps. Demosthenes’ *Erotic Essay*. Although one is a trial, and the other an encomium, both have very specific reactions to these youthful bodies. Beyond the speaker’s reaction, both speeches ask their

¹³ Evans (1969) 46.

¹⁴ Hesk (2000) 225 n. 61 agrees with this assessment saying that Evans is too pessimistic.

¹⁵ Shapiro (2011) 1-4. Hesk (1999) 218-221.

respective audiences to also react to beauty and chastise the youths for particular behaviour in contrast with to their bodies. This culminates with Aeschines' examples of other attractive youths who, through leading discerning lifestyles, maintain their beauty as they age. The reactions recorded are threefold: the reaction of the speaker, of the audience, and the beautiful individual. Like Xenophon, the speakers champion a single appropriate reaction, but in dealing with 'real' people, beauty is more nuanced and the range of reactions, appropriate or otherwise, are extensive. Beauty strengthens reactions such as sympathy, love, and outrage to the point that the beauty premium and penalty can be observed.

Perhaps the greatest 'trial' which featured the beauty of a woman is the mythical Helen, and indeed her beauty and fame tends to cast a shadow on all the women who follow her in oratory. Looking at Helen and her physical perfection offers a starting point of comparison for the 'real' women of Athens.¹⁶ Just as it is possible to say that models that have been airbrushed and grace the covers of popular magazines do not exhibit contemporary 'real world' bodies, they still show what is relevantly desirable, albeit naturally impossible. Thus Helen can be used to glimpse ideals and views about women. Isocrates and Gorgias both wrote about Helen: Isocrates praises her beauty and Gorgias

¹⁶ Citizen women (*astai*), slave women or non-citizens all feature in oratory as prosecuted despite their complicated legal status, and as such feminine beauty is broached. Rather than the feminine of 'citizen' *aste* is used to separate out the wives and daughters of citizen men from other women. See Gould (1980) 46 and Just (1989) 21.

defends her.¹⁷ After looking at Helen I will look at the interesting case of Phryne, who, along with Helen, helps to shape the role that the beautiful woman plays across oratory. The example of the Olynthian woman (Dem. 19.196-200) shows the abuse of a beautiful woman (such abuse could be termed a beauty penalty), which Demosthenes harnesses to create outrage. Demosthenes' mention of her beauty causes an emotional reaction which supports a beauty premium (the sympathy produced is stronger on account of her beauty). A short glimpse at Plangon, the step-mother in Demosthenes 40, places beauty as a quick, easy excuse for the over-indulgence of the father, and in the trial against Neaira female beauty is considered negatively. I will also look at enhancements and how they contribute to female beauty and ultimately influence the assessment and judgement of beauty leading to either positive or negative reactions. A woman's status either as a wife, free woman, or *hetaera* does not dictate her virtue (i.e., a wife is not always virtuous and a *hetaera* not always a source of vice) but there were differences in their individual treatment based on social status.¹⁸ I aim to show that the role that beauty plays in the general characterization of women (including habits and lifestyle), and the reaction to that beauty which the orator anticipates or vies for, reveal much about social conventional reactions to beauty.

¹⁷ Isocrates' *Encomium of Helen* is a speech praising the mythical Helen; it is a rhetorical exercise rather than a serious case where persuasion was imperative. Despite the highly rhetorical and almost philosophical nature of the text there are a few questions which it raises concerning female beauty that are worth mentioning. Isocrates showcases not only Helen's beauty but declares the superiority of beauty over strength and other virtues. Gorgias also wrote an *Encomium to Helen* before Isocrates. For comparisons of the Helen tradition and stories, see Zagagi (1985) and Worman (1997).

¹⁸ For example, the wife in Lysias 1 after her affair is certainly no longer thought virtuous, while Pericles' mistress Aspasia is often portrayed as self-disciplined and wise; see Henry (1995) for the portrayal of Aspasia.

Male Beauty Tried and Praised

Timarchus Scrutinized: Youth and Beauty

A brief word of summary: *Against Timarchus* is a politically motivated speech meant to silence Timarchus legally who was the leading prosecutor of Aeschines for his involvement with the embassy to make peace with Philip II of Macedon.¹⁹ This speech successfully prevented Timarchus from taking action against Aeschines since he would suffer *atimia*.²⁰ The attack is personal; it is not a pre-emptive defence against Aeschines' actions at the embassy, but is designed to show that Timarchus is unfit to prosecute anyone. The formal charge at 1.2 is a formal scrutiny or δοκιμασία.²¹ This is broken down into separate charges, with *graphe hetaereseos* taking the lead since he goes on to name four separate ways by which Timarchus needs to be judged (29-31). However, most are not followed up—they seem to be there only to confuse and create prejudice.²² Only the charge of prostitution and squandered patrimony are considered in full.

Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* was largely ignored in early scholarship until Dover's *Greek Homosexuality* used this speech to bring discussion of homosexuality to the forefront, since then has continued to be the standard starting point for understanding the speech in

¹⁹ Fisher (2001) is the most recent commentary, and Carey (2000) also provides a good, modern translation with a few notes.

²⁰ Aeschines was safe until Demosthenes prevailed against him three years later.

²¹ Aeschines mentions δοκιμασία again at 32 and δοκιμασία ῥητόρων at 28, and references his charge at 64 and 81.

²² For more on how Aeschines pretends to clarify, but actually confuses, see Wooten (1988) 42 and Dover (1978) 26-31.

its cultural context.²³ Since then, careful analysis of the prostitution laws has revealed that the only physical evidence Aeschines can provide for Timarchus' prostitution is his body.²⁴ Lape observes that Aeschines "repeatedly points to Timarchus's supposedly disgusting physical condition as if to summon his guilty body as a witness,"²⁵ and Shapiro argues based on the *skhēma* of Timarchus' body that "the signs of behaviour which here reveal the character of Timarchus' soul can have no source except the visible body..."²⁶ I will demonstrate, first by focusing on the beautiful body of young Timarchus, and then contrasting it with the state of his current body, how Aeschines manipulates the jury with evidence of Timarchus' body. What the jury believes is *likely* of Timarchus' beauty and the state of his current body points towards Athens' ingrained attitude towards beauty and a reaction against the 'abuse' of beauty.

Aeschines begins his narrative of Timarchus' life (37-70) and 'graciously' omits the early part of Timarchus' life when he was too young to know right or wrong (39).²⁷ This false generosity still declares that even at an extremely young age he was wronging his physical body.²⁸ It is worth mentioning that while Timarchus' early life is excluded, this is

²³ Dover (1978).

²⁴ While the speech features testimonies, at 160, Aeschines admits he has no written contract to evidence Timarchus' prostitution. Also Lape (2010), (2006), Cohen (2000), Halperin (1990), Fisher (2005), and Sissa (1999) all contribute greatly to further understanding this speech and how prostitution laws were situated.

²⁵ Lape (2006) 141.

²⁶ Shapiro (2011) 32.

²⁷ See Dover (1974) 103-106 and Golden (1990) 10-11.

²⁸ This is an orator's tactic called *paraleipsis* or *praeteritio*, see Fisher (2001) 168. Rather than ὕβρις, he uses the verb ἀμαρτάνω for 'wronging', which means that as a youth, the acts against his body were truly mistakes.

not something afforded to Neaira.²⁹ The narrative begins when Timarchus is no longer a παῖς but a μειράκιον who knows the laws of the city.³⁰ At this time he brings shame onto his body (40). It is not until 41 that we learn that Timarchus' youthful body is in good shape. The context is that Timarchus leaves the house of the physician to be with Misgolas who is looking for a young man (according to Aeschines' representation)³¹ to satisfy unstated, yet presumably morally questionable, actions: “εὔσαρκον ὄντα καὶ νέον καὶ βδελυρὸν καὶ ἐπιτήδειον πρὸς τὸ πρᾶγμα” (“since he was of good flesh and young and disgusting and suitable for the act” 41).

Aeschines uses the word εὔσαρκος of Timarchus, which is an uncommon compliment, and deserves further investigation.³² A similar usage is found in Xenophon's *Spartan Constitution* 5.8; εὔσαρκος implies a body which is in good condition, and more importantly refers to the flesh.³³ Aeschines uses this word to establish an immediate contrast to Timarchus' current body,³⁴ but generally εὔσαρκος is more common in technical texts. As such, Xenophon uses εὔσαρκος while describing the features of a desirable horse (*Eq.* 1.13.1 and 1.17.3).³⁵ Looking closely at the comparison of Aeschines'

²⁹ See below on page 235.

³⁰ For more on the vocabulary and age differences see Golden (1990) 12-22 and Hindley (1991) 178 n.50; however, age was not as strictly defined as it is today, see Robertson (2000) 159.

³¹ For more on Aeschines' use of Misgolas and Hegesandrus as witnesses see Martin (2008) 64.

³² See Dover (1978) 69 and Fisher (2001) 172-3.

³³ Carey (2000) 38 translates εὔσαρκος as 'a fine figure of a man', and Fisher (2001) 80 as 'a good body', but later in his commentary Fisher (2001) 172 gives the literal meaning 'of good flesh'.

³⁴ See below on page 208.

³⁵ In addition to this, it is used in the Hippocratic corpus seventeen times, and eight times in Aristotle. Sassi (2001) 52 translates εὔσαρκος as 'stocky' and shows it within the Hippocratic

use of εὔσαρκος with Xenophon, should this be seen as a technical or a praise word? In Xenophon's *Spartan Constitution* 5.8, εὔσαρκοι is paired with εὐχροῖ so that the passage describes men who have good skin and flesh on account of training and diet. Lipka calls attention to the balance necessary between food intake and exercise, and indeed the account shown is surprisingly technical considering that the subjects are human.³⁶

In an excerpt from Democritus which appears in Philodemus' *On Death*,³⁷ εὔσαρκος is paired with κάλλος and εὐχροῦς at 29 and at 30 the wrestler Milo of Croton is said to have been εὔσαρκος. These contexts use εὔσαρκος to refer to the physical body, specifically describing firmness: a body which is both well-formed and well-developed.³⁸ But it is also frequently in conjunction with active bodily cultivation. Osborne comments that the colour and consistency of flesh are of far more importance than muscles—and if the importance of the flesh is given its fair due it is now possible to see that while a rare compliment, it is a particularly graphic description and points to one of the most desirable features a body can have.³⁹ That Aeschines describes Timarchus as εὔσαρκος has subtle implications. It is nuanced first as beautiful and impressive, like the powerful Spartan warriors, but it is secondarily understood perhaps as cultivated, which a good master can scientifically manifest in his horse. These usages nuance εὔσαρκος and its application to

context as being a sign of good health. The word does not appear before the fifth century. For more on the training of horses see Anderson (1961).

³⁶ Lipka (2002) 158.

³⁷ For text and translation see Henry (2009) 68-69.

³⁸ It must have more in common with firmness, rather than softness, else μαλακός could be used. Osborne (2011) 37-40 describes how it is the flesh of the body, rather than the muscles that were of particular interest.

³⁹ Osborne (2011) 41, but also 32-37.

Timarchus as a beautifully manufactured appearance and yet an odd compliment. The focus is on the texture and feel of his flesh, which is powerful for what it implies of soldiers, athletes and horses—it is useful flesh. But on Timarchus, the purpose of such beauty is, perhaps, just to be touched.

If Timarchus was εὔσαρκος in his youth, but no longer, it amplifies Aeschines' goal which is to imply that one's actions have a visible effect on the body—Timarchus has since 'let himself go'. And yet while Aeschines pairs εὔσαρκος with νέος he pollutes the positive image with βδελυρία (disgusting behaviour). Of all the possible words for 'youth', νέος this is the vaguest. D'Angour uses it as a descriptive foil for a more subjective idea of newness⁴⁰ and it can be used of anyone as old as thirty.⁴¹ D'Angour goes on to later show how youth must be described as beautiful and 'shining', and he assumes 'youth' when some derivative of 'beautiful' appears rather than vice versa.⁴² The connection between youth and beauty is clear, even though νέος doesn't carry as strong a connection to beauty as other words (ὠραῖος in particular which is the 'bloom of youth' rather than just 'youth').⁴³ Later at 42, Aeschines calls the young Timarchus ὠραῖος, a word entrenched with beauty because it encapsulates desire, appropriate time, and most importantly youth. Youth, which at times appears to be fundamental to beauty, is important to the description of Timarchus, who loses his good looks as he ages. It is imperative to ask to

⁴⁰ D'Angour (2011) 23.

⁴¹ See Golden (1990) 107, also Dover (1978) 85 n. 43.

⁴² D'Angour (2011) 134-157.

⁴³ νέος is much more literally 'new' and when it operates as youth the emphasis is on age and a lack of experience, ὠρα is much more descriptive and has a more ambiguous age range. This appears shortly later at 42.

what extent any term for youth should imply beauty. In both earlier and later sources there seems to be a negative reaction to the aging body of a boy (usually regarding the growth of facial hair)⁴⁴ and there is a very limited time when a boy is literally *ώραῖος*—at the right time—making this an intrinsically short-lived beauty. What Aeschines has carefully built is an image of a very attractive Timarchus to contrast with his present state, while omitting words such as *κάλλος* that could be construed as having a virtuous meaning in the ears of the listeners.⁴⁵ Timarchus had technically amazing flesh—the correct colour and consistency are inferred from the word, but Aeschines warns us that he is *βδελυρός*.⁴⁶ Despite the long period between Aeschines and Aristophanes Timarchus' skin can be seen to create a strong contrast to the withered, pale coloured flesh of the philosophers in Aristophanes' *Clouds*,⁴⁷ and adhering to the 'shining' aspect of bodily features presented by Aristophanes' Better Logos. Combining beauty with a brash youth is an established tradition.

⁴⁴Homer (*Il.* 24.347-8 and *Od.* 24.278-9) argues the opposite, that the first touch of the beard is the time when a youth has the most 'grace'. In Plato *Protagoras* (309a-b), however, Socrates' friend references Alkibiades, whom he claims is very beautiful in spite of his beard. Contra Homer, the friend has assumed the beard would normally make one unattractive. The earliest example of pairing beard with a loss of beauty is Theognis 1327-1334, and Murgatroyd (1977) suggests Aristophanes' fr. 218, and around the same time, Bion of Borysthenes fr. 55 (preserved in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* 4.21b.23, and for more on this see Kindstrand (1976) 266-7), and there are many more later examples: Lucian *Erotes* 25-26 and Plutarch's *Eroticus* as pointed out by Halperin (1990) 88 n.4-5, see also Hubbard (2003) 5. Tarán (1985) gives many more examples of the growth of hair and loss of beauty in later epigrams.

⁴⁵ See above on page 18.

⁴⁶ The word repeatedly used is *βδελυρία* and it describes Timarchus' behaviour towards his body, at times his friends are also included: 1.26, 31, 41, 46, 54, 60, 70, 88, 95, 105, 107, 189, and 192. Theophrastus' *Characters* 11 devotes an entire section to this type of man. Diggle (2004) translates it as the 'repulsive man'. Shaprio (2011) 29 notes that this is the same word used to describe the violent oratory of Cleon in Aristophanes *Eq.* 136-7.

⁴⁷ See above on page 58 Ar. *Nu.* 103, 120, 718, 1112, 1171.

At 61, Aeschines further alleges that while Timarchus was good-looking, his looks were persuasive: οὐπω μὰ Δία ὥσπερ νῦν ἀργαλέος ὢν τὴν ὄψιν, ἀλλ' ἔτι χρήσιμος, (“not yet was his appearance painful as it is now, but it was still useful” 61). The ‘use’ that Timarchus derived from his appearance is evidence that he was a beneficiary of a beauty premium, and exploited it for immediate personal gain. The price of accepting such premiums is that Timarchus has lost, or given up, his freedom; of course, remembering that the accusation is one of prostitution (159). Aeschines uses the idea of usefulness to stand in for Timarchus’ youthful and good-looking appearance because Timarchus has figuratively used his beauty to pay his bills. Timarchus’ actions are not only an assault on his beauty, but his beauty is the physically visible sign which stands in for his deviant actions and amplifies the jurors’ disgust. While Timarchus benefits in the short term, when the jury hears of this premium, they are meant to react negatively.

The evolution of Timarchus’ body and the loss of his youthful beauty mean the loss of this premium. At 95 Aeschines confirms that as Timarchus grows old he loses his desirability (ἔξωρος).⁴⁸ The idea that is very subtly suggested here—and reiterated later (156-159)⁴⁹—is that it is easy for the young to be beautiful, but beauty is fleeting, disappearing with age if it is not morally cultivated. It is implied that Timarchus has

⁴⁸ See Yates (2005) 35 and see Williams (2010) 78f and especially 92-93 for the differences of ἔξωρος and the Roman term *exoletus*. This is most likely here because he has grown past the desirable age as the word implies, but it may also allude to the idea that at that time his body was already showing signs of his ὑβρις against his body. Sophocles’ *Electra* 618 uses the word to simply mean not suitable for one’s age, but otherwise this word is rarely seen in the Classical period. It gains a bit more popularity in the works of Lucian.

⁴⁹ See below on page 207.

youthful sexual attraction, and that his εὔσαρκος body comes from his age.⁵⁰ The treatment of Timarchus demonstrates the innate beauty of all youth. Aeschines argues throughout this speech that while youthful beauty is brief, the body can become a sort of roadmap of your lifestyle. He does not deny that this youthful beauty affords a premium to those who possess it.

Aeschines states that the young Timarchus' appearance surpassed others (τὴν ὄψιν ἐτέρων διαφέρον 75).⁵¹ Timarchus was exceptionally good-looking, transcending his peers, but Aeschines does not use κάλλος when speaking directly about him. Why? Does κάλλος suggest a degree of moral goodness at least in this context? Avoidance can be read as a subtle judgement: his appearance is good-looking but he can never be 'beautiful'. Aeschines repeatedly connects Timarchus' ὕβρις and βδελυγία with his appearance.

Fisher concludes that there are times where "the physical appearance of the male body in itself, its beauty or ugliness, its good or bad condition is the focus of considerable moral significance"⁵² in this speech, but the correlation between the condition of the body and its possible moral significance is not straightforward; it can have many combinations. While the ὕβρις of Timarchus has made his current body ugly, this was not immediately visible, as Aeschines himself states, so it was difficult to know how to react to his beauty.

⁵⁰ Osborne (2011) 38-40 addresses the value placed on 'flesh' rather than muscles.

⁵¹ The named lovers of Timarchus include: Anticles at 53, Pittalacus at 55f, and Hegesandrus at 56f. Fisher (2001) translates it as 'a youth of exceptional appearance', and Carey (2000) as 'a lad of unusual beauty'; It is also used in Plato's *Lysis* 207a1 to describe Lysis. Penner and Rowe (2005) 330 translate it as 'standing out by his looks'. However, I believe a more comparative aspect should be preserved translating it as "surpassing others in appearance" in this particular situation.

⁵² Fisher (2005) 74.

Pairing μειράκιον with νέος, Fisher comments, emphasizes Timarchus' boldness at spending all his time with lovers at such an age, as he was known to have had many.⁵³

A physical manifestation of Timarchus' boldness can be seen in his unblushing body at 105. Blushing is a sign that the individual has a sense of shame, and consequently adds desire and beauty. The verb here is ἐρυθρίαω, of which can be the culminating feature of beauty on a youth. In Xenophon's *Symposium* 3.12 and Plato's *Charmides* 158c the boys Autolycus and Charmides are declared better looking after —if not because of— their blush (ἀνερυθρίαω).⁵⁴ Timarchus' lack of it differentiates him from those who blush. The Better Logos in Aristophanes' *Clouds* also admired the blush of youth.⁵⁵ The blush as a physically visible reaction to outside stimulus which shows humility, then can be seen as an essential attribute for beautiful boy and a physiognomic sign of a certain type of beauty. Timarchus' inability to blush is a physical characteristic which has remained from his good-looking youth to his present state and represents Aeschines' main point: that Timarchus has no shame and will treat Athens the way he has treated his body.

⁵³ Fisher (2001) 212. This interpretation is supported by a similar phrasing in Pseudo Plato's *Eryxias* 397d, translation from Cooper and Hutchinson (1997) 1724: "καὶ δῆτα καὶ μειράκιόν τι σφόδρα νέον προσελθὸν καὶ στωμύλον, As a matter of fact a very outspoken young man came up and sat beside Prodicus." Yet it still seems odd to qualify μειράκιον with νέος: unless we take μειράκιον to be age specific, and νέος more as a mindset. Within the age bracket of νέος, males still have the tendency to be lacking in judgment and self-discipline when compared to their elders, see Golden (1990) 9-11.

⁵⁴ Other instances of the blushing of good looking youths include: Plato *Lysis* 204b-d, *Eryx* 395c and *Ion of Chios* (104 Leurini = *FGrH* 392 F6 = Ath. 603e-604d). Interestingly, much has been written about the blush and its role in Roman society (see Barton (1999) 212-234), and in the Greek novel (see de Temmerman (2007) and Lateiner (1998)) but there is very little on its place within Classical Greek society.

⁵⁵ Ar. *Nu.* 992, the verb here is φλέγω, to flame up/inflame may be used in a similar way to this blush, but it is a bit more general for a range of emotions and may not include an external sign. See Sommerstein (1982).

Remembering the context of the speech, by physically describing Timarchus, Aeschines has 'proved' that Timarchus is in fact guilty already of what he wanted to accuse Aeschines: hurting Athens.

At the houses Timarchus frequents in both brashness and without blushing, Aeschines divulges how Timarchus' appearance (which surpasses others, ὄψιν ἐτέρον διαφέρον 75) buys him expensive dinners (πολυτελής 75) and the most expensive entertainers. Timarchus enjoys these things, but does not contribute.⁵⁶ Aeschines asserts after this, he *does* pay them back: with sexual favours, the way a common prostitute would. Aeschines, relying on probability (*eikos*), finds it more likely than not that Timarchus (because of his looks) granted sexual favours.⁵⁷ Timarchus' actions (his non-contribution and over-night-stays) are enough for rumour and alleged prostitution. His looks, according to Aeschines, give him less credibility rather than more. Hubbard and Dover both agree his good looks make him more desirable than other boys of his age,⁵⁸ and it is a combination of staying over at his *erastes'* house and having multiple *erastai* and the fact that Timarchus' repayment of favours has not been seen by outsiders which supports Aeschines' claim that he has turned to prostitution. The benefits from a 'look only' view which Critobulus champions in Xenophon's *Symposium* (4.12) is not compelling here and

⁵⁶ See Davidson (1993) and Fisher (2001). Contributions were most likely reciprocated invitations rather than sharing the cost of the meal and entertainment.

⁵⁷ The idea that one could trade sexual favours for dinner is not uncommon: for example Ehippus *Sappho* Fr. 20, and Alexis *Sleep* Fr. 244 preserved in Athenaeus 572 c-d. See Fisher (2001).

⁵⁸ See Hubbard (2003) 11, also Dover (1978) 42-43.

indeed Aeschines' argument relies on the idea that the jury will believe that Timarchus was not only viewed, but touched.

That it is *likely* that good-looking youths are heavily pursued and therefore more *likely* to give in to their *erastai* is developed here. Having reminded the jury of Timarchus' youthful beauty, it is clear (according to his prosecution) that he did not resist. Rather, he abused his body and beauty for personal gain, thereby tarnishing his reputation.

Aeschines' attention to Timarchus' appearance, in conjunction with observations of his extravagant tastes and indulgences, are several factors to consider. But it is Timarchus' beauty that is the crucial feature to which Demosthenes (19.233) later responds.

Demosthenes states that appearance, and especially being better looking than others, by itself arouses suspicion, in a way that he was not aware of until the verdict of this case:

“εἰ δέ τις ὦν ἐφ' ἡλικίας ἐτέρου βελτίων τὴν ιδέαν, μὴ προῖδόμενος τὴν ἐξ ἐκείνης τῆς ψεῶς ὑποψίαν, ἰταμώτερον τῶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐχρήσατο βίῳ, τοῦτον ὡς πεπορνευμένον κέκρικεν.”

“If someone in his youth was rather more handsome than others, if this someone had no idea that his appearance might excite suspicion, and if he later lived a bit recklessly, Aeschines put him on trial for prostitution.” (Dem. 19.233)⁵⁹

Demosthenes essentially laments the power of the beauty penalty which he had underestimated. This biased recap of the trial *Against Timarchus* given by Demosthenes shows how important the physical body of Timarchus was to Aeschines' case: it was pivotal despite his denial of this. Indeed, while many details could have contributed to the verdict, it is the argument based on Timarchus' body which upsets Demosthenes enough

⁵⁹ Translation by Yunis (2005) 183. The context for this is Demosthenes criticizing Aeschines for putting forth a particularly moral argument against Timarchus, while not prosecuting Phryno.

to mention it. The fact that Aeschines won this case shows that there are serious drawbacks to being beautiful.

Lysias 10, the fourth speech in a long line of prosecutions, also exploits this idea when he challenges the idea that good-looking youths should be viewed positively:

“ὅσῳ μείζους εἰσὶ καὶ νεανία τὰς ὄψεις, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ὀργῆς ἄξιοί εἰσι. δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς μὲν σώμασι δύνανται, τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς οὐκ <εὖ> ἔχουσιν.”

“The greater and more youthful their appearance, the more they deserve your anger, for clearly they have powerful bodies but weak spirits.” (Lysias 10.29)

The speaker here, accused (falsely he claims) of killing his own father, casts this judgement on his accuser and his accuser’s father first by calling them cowards and then reconciling this with their appearance. Lysias, as speechwriter, must overcome a beauty premium here, because he realizes the appeal of the physical attractiveness of the opponents and as such appear braver rather than cowardly.⁶⁰ He pre-empts any sympathy for them by attributing their appearance to a careful cultivation of a false image.⁶¹ And indeed, Winkler also sees a connection of this distrust of the good-looking body and the attraction to Xenophon’s Socrates (*Mem.* 1.3.11): stay away from such bodies, lest they poison you.⁶² Perhaps this is best clarified by saying that a body is only good-looking rather than beautiful if it does not also have some other virtue. For Xenophon, that could be σωφροσύνη, and in the context of Lysias 10, it is courage that is wanting. In both

⁶⁰ Lysias links their attractive bodies to cowardice, which is a key of that speech since the opponents were said to have dropped their shields and run, Lysias 10.1, for more see Todd (2007) 628.

⁶¹ Shapiro (2011) 38-40 calls this passage a false physiognomic sign.

⁶² Winkler (1990b) 56. Interestingly, Xenophon does not make the same distinction that Aeschines does, and uses καλός for those that he categorizes as beautiful of body and those who are beautiful of soul—this supports the idea that Xenophon’s Socrates is intentionally confusing the concepts.

circumstances beauty must be united with something else and yet beauty is an essential element to cause reaction. There is an awareness of beauty as a catalyst for strong reactions.

Aeschines' argument maps how an attractive young man is vulnerable to a beauty penalty, and as such at 126 he warns the jury against listening to Demosthenes, who would say that he is prosecuting Timarchus because of his looks.⁶³ Aeschines' anticipation of Demosthenes, which forces words into Demosthenes' mouth, describes a prejudice against beauty. To be good-looking is not a crime, nor should those who have been so blessed be penalized as a result, but with beauty and youth comes a type of responsibility. Isocrates suggests that those who abuse their beauty and their youth by prostituting themselves are worse off than those who abuse the bodies of others.⁶⁴ In light of this, Timarchus' misadventures are amplified. The visual evidence of the body and its influence on the people speaks for itself—good looks are not the cause of Timarchus' promiscuous actions, but they support and add fuel to the case. Aeschines and Demosthenes are both arguing for special treatment based on the beauty of Timarchus, which suggests an appeal to vision and either a beauty premium or penalty would be understandable and plausible by those hearing the case.

⁶³ More literally, Fisher (2001) translates "So if, he argues, Timarchos was beautiful, and is mocked by slander based on that fact, and not because of his own actions, that is no reason why he should fall into misfortune."

⁶⁴ Isocrates *Helen* 58 ὥστε καὶ τῶν ἐχόντων τὸ κάλλος τοὺς μὲν μισθαρήσαντας καὶ κακῶς βουλευσαμένους περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν ἡλικίας μᾶλλον ἀτιμάζομεν ἢ τοὺς εἰς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων σώματ' ἐξαμαρτόντας. Translation by Mirhady and Too (2000) "...we disenfranchise those with beauty who have prostituted it and abused their own youth more than those who wrong the bodies of others."

Turning then, to the speech given by the general that starts at 132, Aeschines anticipates that an unnamed general, rather than Demosthenes, will defend Timarchus.⁶⁵ The general, according to Aeschines, will remind everyone that beauty (τὸ κάλλος) is in fact a blessing, with a ὥσπερ qualification; it is conditional on being together with *sophrosyne* (133). Such a stipulation is something which Xenophon spoke of repeatedly.⁶⁶ The general continues that beauty of the body (σώματος εὐπρέπεια) should not be a cause of slander mainly because it is so greatly desired by everyone. The emphasis at first is clearly and specifically on the body only—but it switches back to the idea of joint beauty of body and morals when the general comments that the people of Athens pray that their children will be καλοὶ καγαθοί⁶⁷ (134) and worthy of the city. Although complimentary to the children, the question is whether or not it indicates elitism and status rather than moral ‘goodness’.

Once a given child has been so blessed and is in a state of κάλλος καὶ ὥρα (beauty and bloom 134), he attracts attention from *erastai*. Aeschines makes the general switch between a desire for the purely physically good looking boys and those who are καλοὶ καγαθοί, making it difficult to see a firm stance—and more precisely what his point is. The confusion that beauty can be of the body and beyond is also what Socrates did to

⁶⁵ Fisher (2000) 274 finds speculation about the identity of the unknown general unprofitable, but Harris (1989) 127 implies that this means that Aeschines himself was unaware of who was going to defend Timarchus, making it a bit more difficult to predict the defence.

⁶⁶ See previous chapter and also Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.

⁶⁷ Bourriot (1995) 443–445 argues that here καλὸς καγαθός is a compliment and distinctive for both physical beauty and moral goodness. This is different, he argues, from the cases of Misgolas (41) and Hegesandros (69) where he sees the usage as heavily sarcastic.

confuse Critobulus into agreement in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 2.6. The blurring of the two is calculated, fusing the two concepts together which allows for the virtue to set off the reaction intrinsic to beauty while also giving a moralizing meaning to beauty. In 135 we learn that Aeschines competes as an *erastes*: but how far does he agree with the general? Indeed, scholars are divided on the topic, but the evidence Fisher presents is more convincing in this case,⁶⁸ that Aeschines and the general do agree at times since he has allowed him to make some valuable points: that it is fine and good to love the beautiful boys, but he is much stricter than the general by keeping his vocabulary firmly moral. By admitting that he himself enjoys the beauty of young boys—but only moral young boys (137)⁶⁹—Aeschines negated the attack on which the general and Demosthenes had been relying: that Timarchus was being victimized for his beauty. The attempt to reconcile the desire of beautiful boys with the need for decency is almost identical to what will be discussed in the *Erotic Essay*.⁷⁰

Having finished the hypothetical speech of the general, Aeschines asserts simply that he does not believe that every person surpassing in beauty (κάλλει διαφέροντας 136) is a prostitute (and he does not advocate a strict beauty penalty). He chooses his words carefully. One should love only those who are καλός καὶ σώφρων (137), which is free of

⁶⁸ Fisher (1998) 100 and Lape (2006) 149 n.31 disagree in that Fisher finds the general and Aeschines in agreement, and thus forming a common ground for what was most likely practiced, and Lape sees Aeschines highly moral language as undermining the general's argument. I find Fisher's argument more convincing. See Dover (1978) 54 for more on Aeschines as an *erotikos*.

⁶⁹ For more on Aeschines and his personal pursuit of beautiful boys, see Ludwig (2002) 187 and Yates (2005) 38.

⁷⁰ See below on page 214.

possible elite connotations. This is the point of their departure from each other concerning the love of beautiful boys. Aeschines chooses an undeniably moral word *σώφρων*, and the general is less concerned with morality, giving only a token nod to the idea that it is also desirable. We are presented with the distinction between beauty of the body and beauty of the soul which was lacking in Xenophon: the confusion which Xenophon's Socrates caused for Critobulus when describing what type of beautiful friend he should chase after (*Mem.* 2.6.28-39). We are also presented with the problem of whether or not a small amount of self-discipline and morality can be contained in the word *κάλλος* which has been thus far implied.⁷¹ Although Aeschines has avoided using both the adjective *καλός* and the noun *κάλλος* in connection with Timarchus and potentially implying a moral overtone, it is insufficient to stand on its own here and *sophrosyne* is required. What Aeschines has done with the general is quite subtle; because of this he has admitted his own love for young boys and justified it. Now, he must support the claim that not every beautiful boy is in fact a prostitute; this will be difficult since his prior aim was to stir up prejudice against Timarchus and his youthful beauty.

How the Beautiful Act

In the speech, Aeschines takes the time to list the names of real people (alive and dead) with whom the jury would be familiar. He does this for several reasons: to show his non-prejudice against beauty, that it is possible to be beautiful at any age, and to show that stereotypically beautiful yet bad people do exist. A brief look at these lists is relevant.

⁷¹ See above on page 18 and on page 194.

Despite Timarchus' actions, self-discipline can exist among those in youthful bloom (ἐν ἡλικίᾳ 155) and Aeschines provides examples of youths (μειράκια) and young boys (παῖδες 157). Aeschines emphasises before the list that it is *because* of their attractive bodies (διὰ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν) that they have gained lovers; indeed their bodily beauty caused the first attraction of lovers but they acted appropriately. They received the right kind of premiums and accepted them appropriately. The first youth is the nephew of Ipicrates, son of Teisias of Rhamnos and named Timarchus (157), an upper-class youth.⁷² This young Timarchus is praised as εὐπρεπῆς ὧν ἰδεῖν (157).⁷³ Next Aeschines names two more youths, Antikles the stadium runner and Pheidias, brother of Melesias.⁷⁴ Antikles would have had the good-looking body of an athlete and the discipline required for such training.

It is essential that Aeschines present the jury with an age range, to show men either Timarchus' age or older could be beautiful still, and respectable. It is pivotal to prove that there are no grown men who can retain their beauty once they have chosen an immoral life and he must select even men who had no enemies on the jury and were generally well-liked by everyone: this list must have been very carefully considered. Aeschines names

⁷² His uncle and father have been easily identified. See Davies (1971) 7737, and Fisher (2001) 299.

⁷³ The anecdote which follows is a cheap gibe at the Timarchus on trial. Although a beautiful youth could in fact be put on the comic stage despite having done nothing 'wrong,' Aeschines needs the jury to believe that Timarchus was not even considered during this joke. In fact, he was likely chosen for this section for the reason that he shared the defendant's name. This is most likely the case with Autolycus (see above on page 146). He was referenced in Kratinus' *Wine Flask* and Eupolis had a play titled *Autolycus* after him—yet it is probable that his reputation was intact despite this.

⁷⁴ Osborne et al. (1994) 3, both names are very common. Antikles has been suggested to be the Antikles who was the winner of the Olympics in the summer of 340, Osborne et al. (1994) 11.

five men: Criton son of Astyochos, Pericleides of Perithoidae, Polemagenes, Pantaleon son of Cleagoras and Timesitheos the runner (156). Criton has been identified and listed in other places, and true to Aeschines' word, he was in fact a respectable adult at this time.⁷⁵ The next three men have not been associated with any other known figures.⁷⁶ The last of the older men named is Timesitheos, whom scholars have tentatively suggested could be *Timasitheos* who later was praised as being a great arbitrator — this connection would make Timesitheos around seventy-five years old at the time of the trial and thus a very strong example for Aeschines.⁷⁷ Aeschines declares that all these men were, in their day, not only the most beautiful among their fellow citizens, but also of all Hellas. They are also men who have had chaste lovers and more importantly no one has ever criticized them (156). These individuals show that there is a way to be beautiful, have lovers, and still keep one's

⁷⁵ See Fisher (2001) 297 for a brief discussion and Osborne et al. (1994) 30, Davies (1971) 8828.

⁷⁶ Robinson and Fluck (1979) 164 suggest that this Pericleides could be one from 155 years prior whose beauty was praised on a vase. Although this connection is pure speculation, it is not in conflict with what Aeschines is trying to establish. To name someone from so long ago would be a big stretch, but naming a man who was dead and yet still remembered would certainly be worth mentioning. This idea could be supported by what Herodotus' Solon said at Herodotus 1.30-33. See also Osborne et al. (1994) 2 who use this suggestion in their prosopography. For Polemagenes see Osborne et al. (1994) 1. For Pantaleon see Osborne et al. (1994) 4.

⁷⁷ Originally suggested by Davies (1971) 3273, although Timesitheos is listed at 13648; although Fisher (2001) 298 does not strongly commit to this identification, he does point out that naming such an old man and highlighting his beauty and fame as a runner could only serve to strengthen Aeschines' case. What is so interesting about Timesitheos is that his epitaph as a runner, and thus as an athlete provides a visual example of what his body must have been like. A runner's body is described as having thick legs, but small shoulders in Xen. *Symp.* 2.17. See also Aristotle *Rhetoric* 1360b4 for the body types of different athletes. If this identification is accepted, will connect him to great political deeds and thus make him the embodiment of the type of man which Aeschines needs to show the jury exists. As an athlete he would also be immediately associated with a type of self-discipline, not necessarily a moral self-discipline, but nonetheless an admirable feature.

reputation completely intact.⁷⁸ A total of eight were named as examples of both beautiful and moral men and youths. Of the eight, two were probably athletes, and only two have been identified with certainty.

The men like Timarchus are referred to euphemistically by nicknames.⁷⁹ Aeschines claims his selection of names is based on neither infamy nor degree of moral depravity but his indifference. Aeschines must tread carefully; he must choose men with little political influence and who would evoke the strongest negative reaction from the public. Aeschines first names Diophantus, called the orphan (ὀρφανός 158), but he does not clarify whether or not he was beautiful—only that he shares Timarchus’ habits and is infamous.⁸⁰ Mnesitheus is not singled out as beautiful either. Aeschines elaborates on Cephisodorus who ruined the form of his beautiful youth (καλλίστην ὥραν ὄψεως 158). That his beauty is paired with his youth, almost seeming to qualify it before Aeschines announces that he ruined himself, is telling. Cephisodorus’ beauty is remembered, but so are his actions and the reactions which all Athenians had to the situation. He ruined his beauty by his

⁷⁸ As Fisher (2001) 298-299 comments, Aeschines declares that this difficult feat is possible without providing further evidence as to how these men accomplished this. Such information, however, is more important for modern scholars to know, and would not need to be reiterated for his audience. In fact Storey (2003) 85 in his reconstruction of *Autolycus* sees much more abuse being given to his family than the youth.

⁷⁹ The names of all the men that Aeschines’ categorizes as ‘bad’ are common. Nothing substantial has been found to connect them to known individuals. Whether this was Aeschines’ purpose in choosing common names so as to protect himself from future suits via ambiguity or not is uncertain. For statistical occurrences of the three names see Fisher (2001) 302f.

⁸⁰ He is named because he violated the city’s laws concerning *sophrosyne*. σωφροσύνη is translated here consistently by Fisher (2001) 108, Carey (2000) 76 and Adams (1966) 127 as chastity.

lifestyle; dishonourable actions have a physical effect on one's beauty.⁸¹ This seems like a reversal of the generally loved comic rejuvenation. There, older male characters can expect (if not hope for) a make-over regardless of whether or not it is deserved. In real life, there is only a continued slow decay. Aeschines names only three men and reiterates his point that there are two types of beautiful men: those who love with *sophrosyne*, and those who act against their bodies (159). Aeschines has created a successful loophole for beauty here, that sometimes bad people can be beautiful. It is a matter of fact that youths are beautiful, but only the good keep their physical beauty.

While the names themselves are almost devoid of meaning today, Aeschines' ability to point to specific individuals to strengthen his claims must be recognized as powerful—not dissimilar to the idea of precedent in modern legal systems. The good men provide evidence that Aeschines is not prejudiced against beauty, and the beautiful bad men appeal to the idea of case law since they were all viewed negatively. Although precedent as it stands today is a past legal decision used to help in current decision making,⁸² Aeschines' appeal to these named examples begs the jury to look at the past examples, people, beauty and characters and judge Timarchus.

Timarchus Scrutinized: Waning Beauty

Much of the evidence thus far has relied on beauty as far as it pertains to youths, with only a small portion admitting to the beauty of the mature man. This is also

⁸¹ Literally, dishonourable actions: ἀκλεής.

⁸² Duxbury (2008) 2 writes of modern British precedent that, "to follow a precedent is to draw an analogy between one instance and another."

something which Critobulus struggled to establish in Xenophon's *Symposium* (4.17), as well as whether or not beauty with a degree of old age is possible. Part of the reason why can perhaps be explained in this section, although it warrants remembering that Aeschines here is showing how lifestyle has a visible effect on the body. Beauty will always, and must, fade. Near the beginning of his speech, Aeschines asks the jury to recall a particular recent incident of Timarchus at the Assembly. We are told of Timarchus' wild (and unattractive) gestures along with a description of his body. Both contribute to understanding Timarchus and judgments passed on his body. Timarchus removed his arm from his cloak, and he threw the cloak off completely during an impassioned speech to the Assembly (26). Perhaps this act of immodesty would normally have been overlooked because oratory has changed since 'the old days', but in comparison to the past great orators, his actions are construed as beyond immodest. Aeschines' sudden exaltation of the past is reminiscent of a comic ploy – in this way he can criticize current politics without speaking against Athens.⁸³ Timarchus is not, in fact, the first orator to act this way. Aristotle cites Cleon as the first not only to use abuse, but to gird up his cloak (περιζώννυμαι, *Athenian Constitution* 28.3), and even Aeschines admits that it is now common to have one's arm out during a speech, but he uses sedate language to draw attention to the custom (τὸ τὴν χειρὰ ἔξω ἔχοντες λέγειν 25). Timarchus, however, has *thrown* off his cloak (ῥίψας θοιμάτιον 26) conjuring images of violence. Theophrastus, in his *Characters* 27.5, uses this exact phrase to describe the 'late learner' (ὀψιμαθητής).

⁸³ See Heath (2007) 14, 22 n.69 for the use of promotion of 'the old days' in comedy.

Theophrastus' context involves an older man attempting the activities of a young man, implying that this specific action is typical of a youth.⁸⁴ Timarchus, just like the 'later learner', does not seem to be aware that it is not appropriate for him to act in this manner. The combination of the savage cloak removal typical of brash young men, and the old and undisciplined body that is revealed at the most inappropriate time is the startlingly potent image which comes across.

To this image of a raging Timarchus, Aeschines evokes the names of three great orators, (Pericles, Themistocles, and Aristeides). Aeschines reminds the jury of their magnificent posture, begging them to contrast such strong stances to the present Timarchus. Because of their modest natures these past orators did not even raise their arms outside their cloaks when they spoke! For this he cites the statue of Solon at Salamis. Although Demosthenes later objects that this statue bears no resemblance to the real Solon since it was recently erected (Dem. 19.251-252), the mental image he builds for the jury is still impressive. Aeschines' point, despite being untrue, places Timarchus next to great and respected orators. By comparison, his body is not only inadequate but his obscene and inappropriate gestures and dress further ridicule him. The previously named orators, along with the statue, supply the necessary physical image to contrast with the image of Timarchus which Aeschines recounts. Solon's posture (*skhēma* 25)⁸⁵ is the embodiment of

⁸⁴ See Diggle (2004). Also Lysias 3.12, 35 use ῥίψας θοιμάτιον in the context of a man quickly throwing off his cloak to escape, and Plato's *Republic* 5.474a portrays a man getting ready to fight.

⁸⁵ Usually translated as posture, the word has a large semantic range from form/shape and appearance to characteristic. See Goldhill (1999) 4-5.

what Aeschines hopes to show is lacking in Timarchus.⁸⁶ Sissa colourfully summarizes that “Aeschines puts Timarchus’ displayed body in contrast with Solon’s invisible one.”⁸⁷

Although some bodily exposure would still have been within decency, Aeschines exaggerates his ‘throwing’ off of the cloak: he does not merely remove his arm for ease of movement. Timarchus addresses the Assembly like a nude athlete, specifically a pankratiast, exercising,⁸⁸ continuing the contrast between him and the modest and unmoving Solon statue.⁸⁹ This particular type of sport was known to exercise the entire body—and while it was in this event that Autolycus from Xenophon’s *Symposium* had been victorious, in execution the athletes’ limbs would all fly out in any way and position possible. Examples of this can be seen on several vase paintings, and unlike any other event the legs and arms can be found in awkward positions which further illustrate the contrast for Aeschines (see figures 22-24).

Aeschines continues by describing his naked body.⁹⁰ Rather than giving us the details (such as a soft, pale, and flabby body), we are given the conclusions which Aeschines has drawn: that it was a body which was bad (κακός) and shameful (αἰσχρός) because of drink (μέθη) and disgusting behaviour (βδελυγία 26). Aeschines reiterates

⁸⁶ Aeschines does not use the word σχῆμα later in this speech, but it is important here to establish what proper σχῆμα is for contrast. Dem. 45.65-69 shows how one can use the idea of σχῆμα to attack an opponent. For more on how σχῆμα is used, see Hesk (2000) 221-229.

⁸⁷ Sissa (1999) 160.

⁸⁸ γυμνός ἐπαγκρατίαζεν 26, is the phrase used. The pankration which was a mix of boxing, wrestling and kicking had distinct movements, which would be unseemly on an old body. See Fisher (2001) 153-155 and Miller (1991) 219.

⁸⁹ See Brauw (2001) 170-171 for more on the comparison between Timarchus and the statue of Solon.

⁹⁰ Although nudity was perfectly acceptable and even admired during athletics, it was completely unacceptable in the Assembly. See Fisher (2001) 153, Osborne (1998) 82.

again and again that Timarchus has abused his own body, and passes judgment as to why it appears the way it does. *κακῶς* and *αἰσχρῶς* both can stand for both moral and physical ugliness, and the effects of alcohol abuse, which *μέθη* implies, can be seen on the human body, but *βδελυγία* is reserved for deviant behaviour.⁹¹ It is important here that Aeschines establish a solid connection between appearance and behaviour not only so that he can convince the jury that Timarchus prostituted himself (without producing a legal contract),⁹² but also to cultivate prejudice against his current state of appearance. Many would recall the disgraceful event to which Aeschines refers (if not from seeing it in person, then through gossip⁹³), making the description mere embellishment; the moral judgments made from his body are essential. If this re-telling of Timarchus' activities is not enough to trigger the jury's memory, he adds that those of them who in their right minds (*εὖ φρονοῦντας*) were ashamed (*αἰσχυνθέντας* 1.26) that such a man was addressing them.

Aeschines is imposing his view of what the proper reaction should be to Timarchus' energized movements, clothing and body; he leaves no room for other opinions. Timarchus, then, is not only the opposite of Solon, but the rest of the speech recalls Timarchus' youthful and beautiful body as further contrast and to support his claims that Timarchus' current body (which was recently revealed in the Assembly) is the result of a life which was lived contrary to how Athenian citizens should live. The idea of

⁹¹ See above n. 46.

⁹² Aeschines addresses his lack of such documentation later, and how it is not necessary at 165; for more on contracts see Cohen (2000).

⁹³ For the transmission of gossip around Athens see Hunter (1990) and Lewis (1996).

beauty being the domain of the young, who are just beginning to form their habits and lifestyles, allows then for Aeschines' beautiful boys who can be either good or bad.

However, there is only one type of beautiful grown or old man: a good man. By the end of the speech Aeschines fully reveals the opinion on the body which he would have the jury believe: it is shaped by habit. Thus he then creates an analogy between the athlete and the prostitute which supports his lack of evidence for Timarchus' prostitution and makes the body of Timarchus solid evidence at 189. Everyone recognizes the athletic body even without observing it every day at the gymnasia.⁹⁴ Their bodies are in a condition of εὐεξία (in good health or habit).⁹⁵ This word blurs bodily health with their mind set and lifestyle choices; it should be noted that a healthy body is a criterion for beauty.⁹⁶ Everyone has a type of ἔξις, then, and that of the athlete produces εὐεξία, and that of the prostitute produces the reverse.

With a vast amount of Aeschines' evidence pertaining to Timarchus' physical description (specifically the degradation of his once beautiful, youthful form), the case is won. Aeschines combats the memory of an objectively attractive Timarchus. He admits his own love of beautiful youths, and by focusing his argument, then, on the degradation of

⁹⁴ Shapiro (2011) 32 n. 74 observes that this is an example of "you all know" topos.

⁹⁵ Hawhee (2004) 58 states, "The Greek word for bodily condition or bodily state, *hexis*, is indistinguishable from habits and practices." So here we have εὐεξία, so good bodily condition and good bodily habit. Although Worman (2004) 2 and Bourdieu and Thompson (1991) 86 are dealing more specifically with language and the mouth, the same point about the word *hexis* is made. LSJ makes further comment that εὐεξία is the opposite of ὑγίεια which is temporary great health and εὐεξία is health maintained. Since Aristotle, *hexis* has become a philosophical term, and although here Aeschines is using it in a philosophical manner, one must be careful not to put too many Aristotelian ideals into the word here.

⁹⁶ See above on page 61 and on page 83.

beauty stirs up emotional reactions from the jury. Aeschines demands outrage at Timarchus' mistreatment of his own beauty and denies the sympathy that the suffering a beautiful individual might cause. Beauty matters and juries react to appearances seen and described. The way Aeschines handles Timarchus' beauty is an important element to the emotional appeal of the speech which points to the overall idea that beauty is always reacted to and earns premiums and penalties for its possessors.

Extolling Epikrates

Leaving behind the law-courts and trials, Ps-Demosthenes' *Erotic Essay* praises the beauty of Epikrates. Written for a very different audience, but at a similar time as Aeschines' speech,⁹⁷ it seems to have much more in common with the atmosphere of the symposium or friendly competition than with that of a trial.⁹⁸ The opposite of Aeschines'

⁹⁷ Fisher (2001) places Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* at 346/5 BC, and while the *Erotic Essay* is considerably more difficult to date, Clavaud (1974) 85 suggests a range of 340/323 BC, Brown (1977) gives a very specific date of late 338 or early 337 and Worthington (2006) 17 suggests 350/335 BC. This still places this very much during Demosthenes' and Aeschines' lifetime.

⁹⁸ It is difficult to not immediately draw parallels between this speech and the one given by Plato's Lysias in *Phaedrus* 230e-234d, and a short digression here is appropriate. It has been heatedly debated whether this is Lysias' true speech as suggested by Diogenes Laertius 3.25, or a clever parody by Plato. Most now agree that it is a parody. For a bit of the history of the debate see, for example, Shorey (1933), and Dimock (1952) who attribute the speech to Plato. Döpp (1983) counters a few of their arguments. MacDowell (2009) 24 notes the similarity between the two regarding what seems to be its own 'genre' of erotic speeches. His n. 41 also shows that while speeches in this 'genre' have not survived, many were written: see Athenaios 255b, 562e, 674b, Diogenes Laertios 5.43, 81, 87. Despite the unique angle which the speech from the *Phaedrus* presents, that youths should submit only to those who do not love them, both appeal to youths, and request that they bestow their favour since this is in their best interest. Buccioni (2007) gives a good analysis of this speech emphasising that secrecy is the main allure of the non-lover argument, and that moreover this speech should to a degree be seen as 'showing off' to gain clients. Beauty is not a large factor of Plato's *Lysias* – in fact it is not until the end of his speech that he even addresses desire for an attractive body by discussing how *erastai* enjoy ὥρα of youths, but the non-lovers also value them in their old age and remain when ὥρα is gone. See Plato's *Phaedrus* 234a-b. The emphasis put on

Against Timarchus, this essay praises the beauty of a young man while urging him to dedicate himself to worthwhile activities such as athletics and philosophy. Much scholarship dedicated to looking at this speech debates whether or not it is the actual work of Demosthenes or not, with the most recent voice being MacDowell, who hesitantly believes it is a genuine work.⁹⁹ Brown states his frustration that the author only reiterates the same assertions “of how virtuous, comely, intelligent and modest he is, but without any specifics,”¹⁰⁰ and yet, something can come from these reiterations. MacDowell sees equal weighting between the themes of beauty, prudence and manliness in this speech.¹⁰¹ Beauty, however, is the first criterion for the speech and it is through beauty that the other two virtues are noticed in Epikrates and encouraged.

It is important to note that the introduction of this speech implies that the person being praised was present for the original reading, so there was a visual accompaniment. Does this speech lose its impact once Epikrates is removed? No, it was written to be read more than just once in front of Epikrates, as MacDowell astutely points out,¹⁰² which then begs the next question. Why not describe him in fuller detail so that his body, which has

beauty in Lysias’ speech is marginal, making it stand out in strong contrast to the current speech’s praise of beauty: both its power over all the *erastai* and its ability to corrupt the youths.

⁹⁹ MacDowell (2009) 29. Worthington (2006) 17 (see also 40) boldly declares, “...it is almost certainly spurious” following the tradition of Blass (1893) 406-408 and other earlier scholars, Dewitt (1949) 40-41 is more cautious, stating that the debate is still very much open. Clavaud (1974) 86 has perhaps wisely decided that if more proof is necessary for considering the work spurious, then the burden lies with those who believe that to bring forth a more convincing argument; Brown (1977) 93 indicates that there is ample circumstantial evidence in favour of its authenticity.

¹⁰⁰ Brown (1977) 89.

¹⁰¹ MacDowell (2009) 27.

¹⁰² MacDowell (2009) 25. At 61.2 the author suggests it was meant to last longer (τοις δ' εἰς τὸν πλείω χρόνον τεθησομένοις), and at 61.10 those who read this is written in the plural (τῶν ἀναγνόντων τόνδε τὸν λόγον).

sparked the composition of this essay, is preserved forever in writing? This is perhaps one of the few places where such a description would be completely appropriate, and yet the author glosses over his body declaring it beautiful as well as his mannerisms, with limited further evidence, which I will analyse below. That Epikrates' beauty is important if not central to this speech makes this curious indeed—but perhaps Isocrates' *Evagoras* can explain this, when he writes about the superiority of words as a memorial to a man.

Isocrates says:

Ἐγὼ δ', ὦ Νικόκλεις, ἡγοῦμαι μὲν εἶναι καλὰ μνημεῖα καὶ τὰς τῶν σωμάτων εἰκόνας, πολὺ μέντοι πλείονος ἀξίας τὰς τῶν πράξεων καὶ τῆς διανοίας, ἅς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἂν τις μόνον τοῖς τεχνικῶς ἔχουσιν θεωρήσειεν.

Nicocles, I think that statues of bodies are fine memorials, but that the images of deeds and of character are worth much more, and one can observe these only in skillfully produced speeches. (Isok. 9.73)

Isocrates later clarifies that the human body in actuality cannot make itself resemble a statue or a painting anyway (Isok. 9.75), but the point here is that despite giving emphasis to the beauty of Evagoras during the course of the speech, he implies that it is not necessary to record in detail, nor should it be, nor can it be recorded even by means of a statue. By lacking *skhēma* beautiful sculptures will always be inferior despite the possibility for perfection—that is how important *skhēma* is to appearance.

The author begins, as he must, with Epikrates' beauty: the very first feature which is recognized by anyone who sees him (61.10). It is particularly Epikrates' complexion

(χρῶμα) which causes his limbs and body to stand out.¹⁰³ Not being given the actual colour of his complexion (which I lament along with MacDowell), it is possible to guess that he has a tanned glow about him.¹⁰⁴ Rather than emphasising flesh texture, the focus is on the healthy colouring which covers his body. The emphasis seen in the previous chapters is helpful: the tanned skin versus the pale complexion of the students in the *Clouds*, the shining features the Better Logos praised and the description of the healthy tan described by Xenophon's Ischomachus in *Oeconomicus* 10. It is by sight, rather than by tactile sense that his body is praised. The glow of Epikrates' skin allows the rest of his body and his limbs to appear even more beautiful. To be εὔσαρκος like Timarchus, one must be seen *and* touched. The author pleads with his audience to *look* at Epikrates because no metaphor will suffice. A trope of the literature seen thus far, here the author explains his silence: mere words are insufficient.¹⁰⁵ With such a strong statement one might expect the eulogy to his beauty to be at an end—but he continues focusing on mannerisms (σχῆμα) and how they can ruin one's good-looks (εὐπρέπεια 61.12). This is what

¹⁰³ Of this beautiful Epikrates, who will be the main object of beauty throughout the speech, very little is known, and in fact it is uncertain whether or not he was fabricated. Worthington (2006) 38 speculates: "we do not know who Epikrates was, nor even if he was a real person..." Dewitt (1949) misleadingly footnotes a reminder that in Plato's *Phaedrus* 227b, Lysias' speech is delivered at the house of Epikrates. Brown (1977) 90-93 grasps on to the idea that Epikrates was an *apobates* winner as a means of confirming his existence. Panagiotou (1975) 390, suggests an approximate dramatic date of 416, since Lysias' later speech *Against Epikrates* is dated to about 392. There is also a possible reference to him in Aristophanes' *Ec.* 71. All of this points to someone far too old to be associated with the Epikrates here, under the assumption that this speech is dated to 350/323 BC. Nails (2002) 140 is also a bit confused since she also mentions this Epikrates alongside the Epikrates of *Phaedrus*, while drawing no significant connection. See also Osborne et al. (1994) 4 which also combines the Epikrates of *Phaedrus* with that of the current speech.

¹⁰⁴ MacDowell (2009) 26.

¹⁰⁵ Xen. *Mem.* 3.11 (with Theodote) also uses a similar excuse.

Aeschines has argued about Timarchus—a beautiful youth spoiled by actions and manners. The natural good-looks of these youths are a starting assumption because of their age. Of Epikrates' body, and therefore some sort of ideal of beauty at least for the author, we know that it is the glowing complexion with suitable mannerisms and gestures which cause his beauty.

Turning then to the face, which the author claims is most prominent part of the body, the feature the author dwells on are the eyes. He does not say whether they are deep-set or bulging as might be expected recalling Xenophon's *Symposium* (5.5), nor the colour, but he uses the eyes to stand in for his disposition. Eye colour, something which is so quickly noted now and a point of beauty is, as Sassi notes, rarely mentioned.¹⁰⁶ Rather, the eyes express one's *skhēma*. The eye itself is only generally discussed as a physiognomic feature by Ps. Aristotle.¹⁰⁷ The author here, however, does not supply Ps. Aristotle's physiognomic complement of a 'bright eye' (ὄμμα χαροπόν) which would fit nicely. Instead, he comments that he has good vision which reinforces the idea seen in Xenophon's works that beauty can have a utilitarian function especially when it comes to attributes of the face, each of which serve a specific purpose.¹⁰⁸ As far as the eyes' power to

¹⁰⁶ Sassi (2001) 26 notes of the Ptolemaic period in the cataloguing of personal appearance that, "the color of the eyes is only mentioned when they are light and that of the hair not at all."

¹⁰⁷ Swain (2007) 12 notes that the eye accounts for a huge portion of Polemon's physiognomy, but not in lesser detail in Ps Aristotle; Ps Aristotle does mention that the eyes of the brave man will be 'bright' χαροπόν 807b1, and those of the coward will be weak and blinking 807b8. He continues to give a general eye disposition for his following character types but it is given only passing attention.

¹⁰⁸ See above on page 138 on page 140 and again, Xen. *Symp.* 5.5.

emote is concerned, much can be said,¹⁰⁹ but the point which the author is making is that the eyes can, although not always, be a physical manifestation or evidence for virtue within. Epikrates' eyes express different virtuous emotions depending on his interaction with a given individual. His eyes indicate that he is gentle and kind (πρᾶον μὲν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον 13) to those who look at him, dignified and serious (μεγαλοπρεπῆ δὲ καὶ σεμνὸν 13) to those he speaks with and manly and wise (ἀνδρεῖον δὲ καὶ σώφρονα 13) in general to all men.

When the author returns to beauty of the body, he reiterates that it is impossible for him to express and praise Epikrates' beauty verbally (61.15). This time he pushes further suggesting that just as words fail, even the best sculptors would fail in capturing Epikrates' beauty, not for lack of skill but because he would remain motionless. Not only is his body beautiful but his mannerisms, the way he moves, the simplest gesture, and the glance of his eyes are all pleasing, so pleasing, in fact, that without them he is less. The idea of the inadequacy of sculpture and other art forms to fully capture beauty is common enough,¹¹⁰ but it is interesting here that the author calls attention to his own inability to describe beauty, while littering the text with grand praises. Praise is the purpose of the speech and the further goal is to persuade the audience to praise Epikrates. What he

¹⁰⁹ See for example, Cairns (2005) deals with many passages which relate to the eyes, although he does not refer to this speech. It is also supposed by Fortenbaugh (1985) 270-275 that Theophrastus' *On Delivery* advanced the idea that the eyes were an essential part of delivery. See also Gera (1993) 227 who makes a strong connection between the eyes and love.

¹¹⁰ This is a common idea in Isocrates see for example *Euaforas* 73 and *Nicoles* 36. Xen. *Mem.* 3.10.6-8 and Plato *Phaedrus* 275d also make mention of how sculpture falls short. Steiner (1998) presents an interesting view on this based more on visual evidence. Figure 4 gives an interesting visualization of this.

achieves through this is to link Epikrates' mannerisms to his character and appearance to show that one can actually *see* the difference between Epikrates and other youths who are also beautiful, but have been corrupted, as well as elevate him above any statue which might be perfectly sculpted, but lifeless (61.16). In statue form, all youths lacking *skhēmata* have an equal beauty. The remainder of the eulogy praises Epikrates' courage and his athletic abilities through which he further shows himself to be worthy of praise.

The way the author of *Erotic Essay* distinguishes Epikrates from other beautiful boys is to cast Epikrates' age-mates in a negative light (Dem. 61.3-9). The author observes that out of those who are both beloved and beautiful there are those who take too much pride in their appearance (61.3). Specifically their good-looking appearance is cited as evidence for them becoming self-important since he writes “ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τῆς ὀψεως εὐπρεπείᾳ σεμνυνομένων” (“but because of their good-looking appearance, they take themselves too seriously” 61.3)¹¹¹ which places blame on the physical quality of beauty as opposed to any other. Both ὄψις “appearance” and εὐπρέπεια “good-looking-ness” are used throughout the speech to indicate a reference to the physical body, while κάλλος is also frequently used of the body.¹¹² The speech is littered with κάλλος and its adjectival and adverbial siblings modifying any number of ideas, so the need to pin down the beauty

¹¹¹ Worthington (2006) translates this as “...but [they] take on grand airs because of their fine appearance...”, and Dewitt (1949) translates “but put on grand airs because of the comeliness of their appearance...” Both have chosen to translate σεμνύνω with a form of ‘take on grand airs’, this should be considered fairly negative, perhaps to the degree of ‘arrogance’ or because it is m/p, ‘take themselves too seriously’ could also be appropriate.

¹¹² For example, Epikrates (and sometimes the other boys) possess some type of κάλλος at 3, 8, 10, 12, 15, 16

of the physical body, and of his age is done so with more specific words. Indeed, Clavaud rightly clarifies that here ὄψις grounds the speech even further in the physical body.¹¹³ At 61.8 the author evokes the agreement of all men (δὲ πάντας ἄν ὁμολογήσαί μοι) and declares that for young men the most important thing to possess is beauty of appearance (κάλλος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ὄψεως). After this he adds three other categories in quick succession: self-control of the soul, courage of both (referring back to appearance and soul) and grace of words.¹¹⁴ Of all these, physical beauty is named first.

The beauty of the youths, then, has caused them to retreat from all *erastai* thereby saving themselves the trouble of distinguishing the good and pure ones from the others (61.3-5), a problem that the author hopes to avoid with Epikrates. These other boys represent that stereotypical youth from Aristophanes who, while beautiful, blunders around selfishly. Over-valuing beauty results in an inability to find good lovers, and hurts the youths and sets a bad example for all the others (4). Whether the youths' arrogance about their good-looks resulted from too much praise from various *erastai* or the many and various premiums granted to them, the suggestion is that youths can be corrupted through excessive positive treatment. His argument, however, is for discernment (4, 6) rather than complete abstinence and avoidance as Xenophon's Socrates suggested (*Mem.* 1.3.8-14). Beauty of the body is the first and most obvious attribute which is desired by all

¹¹³Clavaud (1974) 126 n.4 specifies the physical nature of ὄψις as well as frequency within the speech.

¹¹⁴ σωφροσύνην δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ψυχῆς, ἀνδρείαν δ' ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, χάριν δ' ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων διατελεῖν ἔχοντας, *Dem.* 61.8.

erastai; it is also the primary feature of importance to those *erastai* who are interested in satisfying themselves rather than looking out for the best interest of the beautiful youths.

On this surface level, the youths are right to be so careful of their youthful appearance and beauty since they are vulnerable to rumour, but they over-value their own importance because of their physical beauty. Thus one need also be a discerning *erastes* and only befriend youths who are beautiful and modest. The author here is careful with his wording; he writes *καλός* and *σώφρων* maintaining this desire for a youth who is physically attractive, but reiterating what exactly is missing in these other boys: modesty. This is the same claim made in Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* 137 by the imagined general; this is what Timarchus lacked.

The author has two self-professed goals in writing this, that Epikrates should, know his own good qualities so that he may understand why the author admires him, and secondly so that the author may further advise him thereby showing his good intentions (61.6), which Dover argues was the proper method of pursuit.¹¹⁵ More recently, Lear and Cantarella confirm by comparing pederastic depictions with literature that there is a dignity which the *erastai* and *eromenoi* should maintain—but which can be violated to the detriment of their reputation.¹¹⁶ After this, and doubling the length of the essay, the author writes protreptically that Epikrates should (along with training in courage and worthy sports) dedicate his time to the study of philosophy. While the father in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, Strepsiades, did not have the same agenda for his son, Pheidippides, the comic

¹¹⁵ Dover (1978) 81-100.

¹¹⁶ Lear and Cantarella (2010).

inversion gives the opposite outcome: Pheidippides' philosophical education destroys his beautiful appearance (*Clouds* 1170-7).

Almost identical to the urgings for Epikrates to pursue philosophy and be a better person, Aeschines in *Against Timarchus* creates the voice of his potential opposition in the form of an anonymous general (133-155). In doing this, Aeschines entertains quasi-philosophical ideas about beauty as he explains how Athens as a society seeks after beauty.¹¹⁷ Aeschines describes the difference between the 'prostitution' which Timarchus engaged in, and the pure love which is supposed to take place between two males in such a situation.¹¹⁸ Indeed, the author of the *Erotic Essay* gave specific clarification concerning his feelings lest he and Epikrates be confused with a less than honourable relationship. Ludwig has noticed a parallel between the words spoken by this general and the words which Aristophanes has his Better Argument recite.¹¹⁹ The relationship between these three texts, then, shows something quite unique. If we take the *Erotic Essay* to be one which should be taken in 'seriousness', Aeschines' version distorts its values as much as he feels he can get away with, and Aristophanes' comic characters go far beyond Aeschines. Indeed, as stated above, Pheidippides leaves the school physically diminished—but the point is, he has not been educated by the Better Argument, but by the Worse. The figure of Pheidippides offers a very interesting parallel to the beautiful young

¹¹⁷ Lape (2006) 145 suggests "the moral emphasis in Aeschines' speech is especially remarkable because it echoes language and ideas more commonly found in elite writers like Plato, Isocrates, Xenophon, and Aristotle."

¹¹⁸ Halperin (1990) 91 and Fisher (2001) 58-61 agree on this, but it is not uncontested. Contra this point, see Sissa (1999) 156-162

¹¹⁹ Ludwig (2002) 176 n. 25, he does not, however, give more details on the parallel.

Timarchus—both of whom end up ugly. The fact that similarities between this comic caricature of the beautiful young boy and Timarchus can be made, points to a long lasting stereotype. The attractive but misbehaving youths which Aristophanes portrays are still around now, and Aeschines shows, just as Aristophanes does, that time and life-style can change their positive appearance.

The author offers up what premiums he deems appropriate to the beautiful Epikrates, yet his descriptions of other youths in comparison allude to the need for careful discernment on the part of beautiful youths and lovers. The offered premium needs to be appropriate, as do the actions of the youth. And yet, without beauty of the body, this essay would not exist: the essay *is* a reaction to beauty (real or imagined). Epikrates' beauty makes him worthy of recording and the entire essay is the author's reaction to it.

Summary of "Male Beauty Tried and Praised"

Aeschines' *Against Timarchus* showcases a beauty premium. He established Timarchus' old and ugly body at the time of the trial, but recounted the days when he was beautiful to prove that life-style affects one's appearance, yet this alone was not enough. Aeschines further has to declare to the jury very carefully that he is not biased against the beautiful—nor is he penalizing him for beauty. Thus he throws out the cliché equivalent of "some of my best friends are beautiful" at 1.136-7. Aeschines' attack and victory are reactions to beauty which point to a perplexing view. The bodies of young Timarchus and Epikrates as ideal youths cause desire. Young Timarchus' body is very attractive and praised objectively as 'well-fleshed' (εὖσαρκος) and exceptional, while Epikrates was

well-complexioned and had beauty which defied words. Beauty can be recognized by sight or touch and both youths' beauty surpasses either words or peers, implying a competitive aspect of beauty. In contrast to Epikrates' mannerisms (the wilful and positive way he uses his eyes in particular), which are deemed appropriate, Timarchus' *skhēma* is under attack even at a young age when Aeschines declares that he does not blush. This is further reinforced by the later revealing of his body, exposed for all to see while gesturing obscenely. Both are objectively attractive, but it is their *skhēmata* which differ and have the ability to alter perception of them and therefore reaction.

Aeschines' case rests on first, on admitting Timarchus' good-looks, and then, skilfully twisting it, in comparison to his current body to incite the jury against him. A jury can be swayed to extra sympathy for an individual based on their positive appearance and the ugly human body can be effectively cited as evidence against them. The journey of Timarchus' body from attractive to ugly demonstrates his abuse of youthful beauty and causes a greater outrage. In this way Timarchus' youthful beauty penalizes him.

Despite this beauty penalty, beauty was desired by all in a sexual manner and was prized in their children. Thus Shapiro is rightly cautious in saying "it would be a mistake to see the verdict as simply a referendum on which was stronger, Athenian's suspicion of beauty or their esteem for it," but it does show that in this specific situation, the beauty penalty was the more persuasive while also acknowledging a vast array of feasible

reactions to beauty.¹²⁰ Beauty penalties are most often triggered, Antreoni and Petrie hypothesize, when extra information is given about the beautiful individual.¹²¹ In other words, their actions do not live up to high expectations which are assumed from their beauty. This is what we see in these examples from oratory. In Timarchus' example his ὄψις and the current state of his body act against him. Both Aeschines and the author of the *Erotic Essay* have high demands from such individuals while at the same time it is believed more *likely* that they are up to no good. Being beautiful, then, is more dangerous. The beautiful boy must strive to be more virtuous than others, for if he does not, he is much more quickly criticized. This immediate criticism is a penalty. With all eyes watching the beautiful boy, a beauty penalty, while unexpected, seems to occur much more easily since both Aeschines and the author tip-toe around the praise and favour they wish to bestow, but are quick to point out any flaws. Beauty paired with badness, while quite likely frequent, is treated with surprise and as a deception on the part of the beautiful individual.

The Influence of Feminine Beauty

The usefulness of male beauty and the attention it receives so far has shown diverse reactions harnessed for particular agendas to strengthen arguments of praise, blame or stir up prejudice. The treatment of women and beauty in oratory puts yet another layer on our understanding of the reactions that people had to beauty. Scholarship on

¹²⁰ Shapiro (2011) 189.

¹²¹ Antreoni and Petrie (2008) 80. See above on page 14.

women in oratory has become a very popular subject to understand the position women had in society.¹²² Because of societal differences between men and women, their beauty elicits different expectations and reactions. To begin with, the beauty of Helen, and the fictional oratorical works which seek to justify her actions or even exonerate her, help set the parameters for how beautiful women are approached. Despite the epideictic nature of such speeches, Helen as a mythical, unattainable and unparalleled beauty reveals what was at stake with either the praise or blame of female beauty and specifically its effects.¹²³ I will look briefly at Isocrates' *Helen*, followed by how Hyperides' defence of Phryne. Then I will look at Demosthenes' 19.196-200 where he presents the beautiful and virtuous Olynthian woman, who despite her beauty (or because of it) is mistreated by wild guests. This will move my discussion to Demosthenes 40 and his descriptions of Plangon and finally to Apollodorus' speech *Against Neaira*. Analysis of Neaira will show a complicated image of how Athenians reacted to beauty, and stands as a contradiction to Isocrates.

¹²² A brief bibliography of the subject would include: Levick (2012) provides a short yet strong up-to-date bibliography, Canterella (2005), Katz (1999), Blundell (1998), Foxhall (1996), Cohen (1996), Keuls (1993), Sealey (1990), Just (1989), Gould (1980), Schaps (1979), Pomeroy (1975) and less recently Gomme (1925). In general, there are two views (with a growing contingent occupying the middle ground) on the treatment of women in antiquity: those who argue that legal rights need not imply social rights, and the opposition who argue based on the laws the overall oppression of women.

¹²³ Pandora, also a great beauty has extensive and extravagant finery provides the mythical beautiful yet bad counterpart for Helen. In Hesiod's *Theogony* 574-581 Pandora is decorated with all manner of beautifying objects from garments and veils to flowers and crowns. Wickkiser (2010) 560 looks at some of the differences between the Pandora of *Theogony* and *Works and Days*, both are heavily adorned. There is no defence for Pandora as for Helen. It is tempting to think then, that Pandora is condemned for her actions *despite* her beauty, but it is much more likely that a negative beauty premium is at play and Pandora's beauty *increases* her guilt.

Sympathy Producing Beauty

The greatest description that Isocrates gives of Helen is that while young, she has already eclipsed others with respect to beauty.¹²⁴ Isocrates, like Homer, refrains from giving more specific details of Helen's beauty — κάλλος is a repeated descriptor (14, 16, 18, 54)—and twice she is said to surpass others in beauty (14, 18). Her beauty is a gift from the gods (16).¹²⁵ Gorgias mentions Helen's beauty only briefly (having omitted her beauty at the start when he says she is first among men and women by birth and descent) saying that she had godlike beauty (τὸ ἰσόθεον κάλλος Gorgias 11.4) and that it was her body (σῶμα) which caused great men to assemble. Gorgias eventually focuses on the sight (ὄψις) and power of Paris' beauty over Helen (Gorgias 18-19),¹²⁶ and much less emphasis on Helen herself, while Isocrates' main concern is the praise of Helen and her beauty.¹²⁷ Indeed, Zagagi goes so far as to say that "it is the glorification of beauty that transfers the argument from the field of apologetics to that of an encomium,"¹²⁸ since Isocrates has criticised Gorgias' work as not being a true encomium. Isocrates finds it necessary to announce Helen's beauty in comparison to others before he argues about the merits and virtue which beauty must naturally imply.

¹²⁴ Theseus is overwhelmed at 18 by Helen's still not-yet developed beauty: she is said to have surpassed others in beauty: ἰδὼν αὐτὴν οὐπω μὲν ἀκμάζουσας, ἤδη δὲ τῶν ἄλλων διαφέρουσας, τοσοῦτον ἠττήθη τοῦ κάλλους.

¹²⁵ Evans (1969) 58.

¹²⁶ Constantinidou (2008) 78 writes "the 'maddened' state of Helen because of her love for Paris...becomes in Gorgias' speech a gentle pleasure of her eyes from looking at the hero's beauty."

¹²⁷ Zajonz (2002) 253-73 and Constantinidou (2008) 70 n. 147 both notice this, while Constantinidou does assert that vision, and therefore beauty is a driving force behind Gorgias' speech as well. See also Papillion (1997), Poulakos (1986a) and (1986b).

¹²⁸ Zagagi (1985) 81.

On account of Helen's beauty alone, many (ancients, orators and even scholars today) are ready to offer explanations for her actions (i.e., her abandonment of Menelaus). Helen's treatment implies that if one is beautiful enough anything can be forgiven, overlooked, or at least presented favourably. Isocrates' argument in Helen's favour culminates when he declares that anyone who was beautiful triggers certain reactions: they are served as if they were gods!¹²⁹ This reaction is in line with how Critobulus feels about Kleinias in Xenophon's *Symposium* (4.12). Indeed, Edmunds argues that Helen's beauty is what Isocrates offers as the cause for her eventual immortality – such is the power of beauty.¹³⁰ Immortality is just one step towards deification, and Herodotus (6.61) is just one source which attests to Helen's status as a goddess.¹³¹ While Critobulus becomes a slave to Kleinias since he is not a god, the need to serve and give to the beautiful is a definite premium, and the more powerful the beauty the more feasibly it could lead to worship. This nuances the established idea of dangerous beauty which is so indicative of Helen, and some of the oratorical evidence already discussed. Isocrates illustrates the complexity of the situation and his refusal to hint at the possibility of a beautiful yet corrupted or 'evil' person is even more interesting. But this is not the only view despite Isocrates' stark insistence.

¹²⁹ Isocrates *Helen* 56: “τοῖς δὲ καλοῖς εὐθὺς ἰδόντες εὖνοι γιγνόμεθα καὶ μόνους αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς θεοὺς οὐκ ἀπαγορεύομεν θεραπεύοντες,” Translation by Mirhady (2000) “But we have goodwill toward beautiful people as soon as we see them, and we serve only them without fail, as if they were gods.”

¹³⁰ Edmunds (2011). Helen's immortality is broached by Isocrates at 61.

¹³¹ Herodotus 6.61 speaks of a temple to Helen at Therapne, as does Pausanias 3.19. See Edmunds (2011) for more on the cult of Helen.

While Isocrates frames his speech on Helen's beauty, Gorgias' Helen is a defence whereby he attempts to ascertain who is to blame for the situation. That her beauty is the reason for Gorgias' speech is debatable, but the question of whether one's beauty can influence judgments or the argument is valid both of Helen and of Athenian women in general. The *hetaera*, Phryne, defended by Hyperides for the charge of impiety (fr. 177),¹³² is a controversial speech because only a small number of fragments are left to us through biographers and much later rhetoricians.¹³³ The basic story which survives is that during his speech, Hyperides realizes that he is failing to convince the jury, and in a final effort to win sympathy he exposes her breasts and, by doing so, wins the trial.¹³⁴ Athenaeus references her beauty writing, οἴκτους ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως (pity from her appearance 13,590d), and later on uses καλή, and Plutarch records that καὶ τῶν δικαστῶν εἰς τὸ κάλλος ἀπιδόντων ἀφείθη, (and the jurymen seeing her beauty, she was acquitted 849e); both lack detail.¹³⁵ Those who look back to Classical Athens want to see the jury and people as easily and quickly swayed by the sight of beauty. This desire, ultimately, it is much more telling of what ancient scholars thought of Classical Athens' relationship to the beautiful body but it is still useful to mention it here. Quintilian seems to suggest that such an

¹³² ὠμιληκῶς δὲ καὶ Φρύνῃ τῇ ἑταίρᾳ ἀσεβεῖν κρινομένη συνεξητάσθη· αὐτὸς γὰρ τοῦτο ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ λόγου δηλοῖ. "Examine the one for condemning Phryne the hetaera of impiety, for he has shown this in the beginning of the speech." (fr. 177). See O'Connell (2013) 110.

¹³³ Cooper (1995) 304 however, suggests (and I am inclined to agree) that they are derived from earlier biographers: Ath. 13,590d-e and Pseudo-Plutarch *Lives of the Orators* 849d-e. He suggests both of these versions are from Hermippus (ca. 200 BC) who relied on Idomeneus (ca 300 BC).

¹³⁴ In addition, there is controversy over Hyperides' relationship with Phryne, her relationship with her accuser Euthias and the reason for her prosecution.

¹³⁵ See Morales (2012) for a more in-depth at the *ekphrasis* of Phryne as preserved by these later sources.

appeal to beauty was merely a stock argument, and that beauty was something which was rhetorically persuasive.¹³⁶ From what has been seen thus far, however, this does not seem to be the case: appearance and its change over time can be used as a subtle device to bias the jury, but it has not been used so boldly. Indeed the disrobing of Phryne as an appeal to beauty and consequently sympathy is so abnormal that Semenov proposed (based on Athenaeus 15,590d which alludes to Phryne as a servant of Aphrodite) that there is a parallel with the beautiful and tall Phye in Herodotus whose beauty deceives the Athenians into thinking she is Athena.¹³⁷ In exceptional circumstances involving women of unearthly beauty, these two stories justify the seemingly irrational and shallow decisions made by the viewers; it is an excusable if not a common reaction to ‘worship’ such god-like beauty. That Hyperides’ fragments (few though they are)¹³⁸ themselves do not contain a description or reference to Phryne’s appearance is unfortunate but that her beauty could be presented as a type of evidence is something that must be seriously scrutinized. In Phryne’s case the specific ‘premium’ she receives is in the law-court’s acquittal, and for the more sophistic display of Helen’s speech, she gains everlasting praise, fame.

Most cases, unlike the above, are not as clear cut. Demosthenes (19.196-200) retells the tale of an Olynthian woman to demonstrate the character of his opponents. There was a wild symposium in Macedonia, according to Demosthenes (who was absent from this

¹³⁶ Quintilian 2.15.9.

¹³⁷ Semenov (1935) 278-9, see Herodotus 1.60. Athenaeus 13,590 even states: ἐπερρητόρευσεν δεισιδαιμονῆσαι (he introduced superstitious fears).

¹³⁸ See Cooper (2001) 148, fr. 171-179. O’Connell (2013) suggests a further fragment: Pollux’s *Onomasticon* 9.123-124 on the Eleusian Mysteries.

gathering), during which Xenophron brought out a woman (γυναιῖκα). She was attractive (εὐπρεπής), free (ἐλευθέρα), and respectable (σώφρων 196). Although attractiveness would surely be a desirable trait in a female dinner companion, being free and respectable (i.e., being neither a *hetaera*, nor slave) changes the situation. MacDowell comments briefly that if Demosthenes had not said this it would be assumed that she was not free.¹³⁹

However, Kreilinger suggests that having free women, citizen women even, at a symposium is more probable than has been generally thought.¹⁴⁰ If she is correct, and I am inclined to agree, then while it is necessary for Demosthenes to specify her status, the other men have little justification for their actions. The emotional outrage this scene was meant to elicit can be evenly distributed between her beauty, status and modesty as contributing causes for igniting indignation over her treatment. The guests try to force her to drink and eat, then lie next to them, sing, and eventually they tear her dress and beat her until Iatrokles rescues her (197-8). The story is proclaimed false by Aeschines, but its truth has little to do with the bias that it creates against him.¹⁴¹ The purpose of Demosthenes' narrative (and the attractiveness of the Olynthian woman) is to show the actions of these men. The woman confuses the symposiasts who believe an attractive woman would only be present for their pleasure and enjoyment and further exasperates the men when she is unwilling to do as they ask. Aeschines' vehement denial of any such abuse, as well as his great worry that this story has been effective is a clear statement of its

¹³⁹ MacDowell (2000) 288.

¹⁴⁰ Kreilinger (2007) 240.

¹⁴¹ See Aeschines *On the Embassy* 4, and 154.

power. Emphasis is normally placed on the Olynthian woman's freedom, but it is important that her beauty, freedom and virtue be taken together for a fuller impact on the jury.¹⁴² Just as the beautiful Panthea in Xenophon (*Cyr.* 4.6.11, 5.1.2-17, 6.1.32) was desired for her beauty almost causing abuse, here also the Olynthian woman's beauty opens her up to attack.¹⁴³ Abuse caused by beauty is a penalty. The Olynthian woman is not being praised as Helen nor on trial as Phryne; her beauty intensifies the picture of her abuse and by highlighting beauty as a factor, Demosthenes is able to extract further emotions and a stronger reaction to the episode. More sympathy is bestowed on a beautiful woman, which is a premium.

Beauty Arousing Suspicion

These episodes promoting the vision of a beauty premium (even seeing a beauty penalty produces sympathy) fit in well with Isocrates' statements about beauty: that it had to also be virtuous. This however was not always the case. An orator can draw out a very different reaction to beauty, outrage, by showing a woman who benefits at the expense of the man, such as in Dem. 40.27. Here the speaker tells of the death of his mother, and how the good-looking appearance (εὐπρεπῆς τὴν ὄψιν) of Plangon (his step-mother) affects him.¹⁴⁴ Her attractive form here explains the current messy state the family is in – the

¹⁴² Demosthenes' relationship with the Olynthians can be a bit more complex, since he wrote three speeches urging Athens to give them assistance, Dem. 1, 2, and 3.

¹⁴³ Similar also to Panthea, see above on page 127.

¹⁴⁴ Some scholars doubt the authorship; see Scafuro (2011) 63-64. Mantitheos (via Demosthenes' written words) attacks Plangon's character as a means of attacking her son Boiotos. This is the second speech in the quarrel between Boiotos and Mantitheos (having denied Boiotos the ability to

father's weakness and passion (ἐπιθυμία 40.9, 51) for Plangon's beauty. Plangon is the reason for all the problems, and since her beauty contributes to what captured his father, he shifts the blame from his father, claiming a weakness for beauty which everyone can understand, and condemns Plangon as an evil exploiter. Plangon's beauty (whether or not she is still beautiful at the time of the trial is not said) does not cause sympathy for her among the jury. Indeed, the image of a beautiful woman exploiting a man so that he does not think clearly is the exact situation which Xenophon is continually warning his audience against when he compares beauty to a poisonous spider.¹⁴⁵ This episode describes a real-life beauty premium. Plangon used her beauty to arouse the father, and this is presented as an acceptable excuse. Of course, there is much more argued in the speech than this, but mention of her beauty suggests a plea for an emotional reaction to beauty. This time the expected emotional reaction is negative.

The evidence for a negative reaction to beauty continues in the case *Against Neaira*. The speech as a whole presents a detailed and biased view of Neaira and, in fact, this characterization of her (rather than seeking a historically accurate Neaira) shows what is believable and what reactions to beauty are feasible.¹⁴⁶ A brief summary of the speech: formally, Theomnestos (with the aid of Apollodorus) is prosecuting Neaira to attack

call himself Mantitheos) has Mantitheos defending his property, including his mother's dowry, against Boiotos. Mantitheos casts doubt on whether Plangon was ever married to his father (Dem. 40.8, 9, 51) about which Wolff (1944) 80 and MacDowell (2009) 71-76 both agree was likely, he uses her good-looks against her, portraying her as a sort of temptress.

¹⁴⁵ Xen. *Mem.* 1.3.8f and *Cyr.* 5.1.16.

¹⁴⁶ Glazebrook (2005) 162 is sceptical that this is not the true story of Neaira's life which recently Hamel (2003) has so colourfully retold. Indeed this more colourful retelling is exactly what is so interesting.

Stephanos, who has repeatedly prosecuted Apollodoros in a long feud. By proving that Neaira is a foreigner *and* Stephanos' legal wife, consequences for Stephanos would be severe; the characterization of her as an extravagant lover of luxury increases the prejudice against her and Stephanos.¹⁴⁷ Scholarship on Neaira is quite vast, especially in recent times with works by Miner, Glazebrook and Gilhuly tackling varied aspects of Neaira's portrayal and her status, and a detailed recent commentary by Kapparis declares the speech's importance on such a range of material that "there is hardly any modern study of classical Athens which does not draw information from this text."¹⁴⁸ Glazebrook cautions scholars against taking the narrative given by orators as historical fact when it comes to this speech, since the purpose of the speech is to portray the woman negatively.¹⁴⁹ This negative portrayal is exceptionally telling when it comes to Neaira's body. Can we believe, to some degree, what Apollodorus says about Neaira's beauty? In this circumstance with Neaira present,¹⁵⁰ her beauty is undeniable and therefore he must twist her beauty and urge the jury towards the beauty penalty. While looking over this speech, it is much more

¹⁴⁷ On proving Neaira a foreigner, Apollodorus seems convinced at 59.14, but continues to give evidence at 16, cites the law against marrying foreigners and starts his narrative at the end of 17 to prove her alien-ness. Gilhuly (2009) 30 notes, that despite this being the actual charge, the focus of the speech is much more focused on defaming character – and in fact, her status as an alien is never proved. Omitowoju (1997) 7-12 also provides an interesting reading to how Apollodorus goes about making his case on the given charge.

¹⁴⁸ Kapparis (1999) 2. See also Miner (2003), Glazebrook (2005), (2006), Gilhuly (2008). Other commentaries and translations also of great use include Patterson (1978), and Carey (1992).

¹⁴⁹ Glazebrook (2006) 131, (2005) 181-183.

¹⁵⁰ Whether or not Neaira is still beautiful at the time of the trial is debated by Dover (1968b) 35, see below on page 243.

important for my argument to notice what is most persuasive to the jury, rather than historical facts about Neaira.

Apollodorus begins recounting Neaira's childhood to make two main points: that she was a foreigner raised abroad as a *hetaera* and an adolescent beauty. Nikarete, Apollodorus tells us, was in the business of acquiring small children and her particular talent was for choosing children who are both good-looking (εὐπρεπής 59.18) now and would remain so into adulthood. Neaira was one of such children—not only good-looking but skilfully trained—and the others mentioned were great *hetaerae* in their own right (59.19). True to the prediction, Metaneira who is named next to Neaira, is known for both her beauty and her wit, presumably two features which the others possessed and were imperative to the profession.¹⁵¹ To this image of youthful good-looks, it is added that Neaira started her profession while she was yet too young, pre-pubescent even.¹⁵² After Nikarete profited from their youth (τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐκαρπώσατο 19) she sold them a final time, and again Neaira's beauty fetched a good price. The main reason Neaira was chosen by Nikarete was for her appearance and the direct correlation that her beauty had on the

¹⁵¹ See Kapparis (1999) 209, and for Metaneira's wit see Ath. 13, 587. Hyperides reportedly wrote: “ὥστε Λαῖς μὲν ἢ δοκοῦσα τῶν πῶποτε διενηνοχέναι τὴν ὄψιν καὶ Ὀκιμον καὶ Μετάνειρα...” (“and so Lais, who is said to have surpassed in appearance both Ocimon and Metaneira...”). Fr. 13 in Cooper (2001), preserved in Ath. 13,587c-d. Although Lais is the focus, and the fragment tells us nothing further, it can be assumed that for such a comparison to be even made it would create a certain mental picture for those listening. Again, the vocabulary which is used here should be noted: διενηνοχέναι τὴν ὄψιν praises appearance while maintaining at its heart a strong comparative element. Rather than being beautiful, an appearance which surpasses others places the body on a sliding scale rather than a simple declarative sentence. Beauty, then, has a competitive element, and while there continues to be no description, surpassing those who have been seen allows the speaker to give his opinion at the expense of the other women.

¹⁵² Too young is νεωτέρα 59.22, and pre-puberty implied by τὸ μῆπω τὴν ἡλικίαν 59.23. This is the very time which Aeschines did not record for Timarchus (Aesch. 1.).

amount of money she could charge. The connection between beauty and money continues as Neaira's story unfolds, but the additional charge for beauty is a premium not available to less attractive *hetaerae*. Like Timarchus, Neaira's beauty has been abused and sold. This is less of a problem for Neaira, but it is for her 'husband'. Her youthful beauty is also paired with descriptions of her misbehaviours to drive away sympathy and induce repulsion.

As Nikarete predicted, even after Neaira has had three children she is still beautiful, since Stephanos establishes her in a house and Apollodorus comments that she is indeed a beautiful *hetaera* (καλήν ἑταίραν 59.39). The picture Apollodorus paints here is that of a beautiful woman who is present because of the lust that Stephanos has for her, and secondarily to support Stephanos financially. Indeed, καλήν ἑταίραν while immediately connected to her 'person' also attests to her usefulness as a *hetaera*. Kapparis finds this financial reason less historically credible (and possibly a lie) since Neaira becomes his concubine. Apollodorus' choice of attack points to the monetary premium of beauty.¹⁵³ Just as beauty affords one more wealth, the reverse is also possible—spending time and money on one's appearance can increase beauty. Material possessions for women from clothing and jewellery to cosmetics are a change from the simpler declarations of beauty, yet still

¹⁵³ Kapparis (1999) 247-248.

beautiful.¹⁵⁴ While Helen, Phryne and the Olynthian were praised with only a few words, the description of various enhancements for Neaira and others has a different effect.

Enhancing Beauty for Reactions

Theodote in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.11) is able to support herself, mother and several attractive female servants in a lavish manner. Neaira, despite her beauty and unlike Theodote, is often running out of money (59.36, 42, 50). There must be, then, a fine line between the beautiful home of Theodote, and the excess which ruins Neaira.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, Glazebrook notes that extravagance is a key feature used to characterize *hetaerae* in oratory.¹⁵⁶ Demosthenes 48.55 ridicules a *hetaera*, and consequently the man who is providing for her, because of how her gold and clothing weigh her down while the women of his household (presumably citizen women) are poor.¹⁵⁷ And yet there is an element beneath the derision that while the courtesan has gone over the top, these items

¹⁵⁴ These enhancements of Neaira are discussed in terms of her extravagance (36) and the debacle over her taking and returning of clothes, jewels and slave girls (35, 46). These objects and lifestyle statements attest both to the idea of enhancing beauty and also have a monetary value. Dem. 41.27 shows an example of how such possessions can in fact have a monetary value and in that sense liquidized. Wolff (1944) 55-57 attempts to separate the dowry from the trousseau which is implied by *ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία*. See also Harris (1993).

¹⁵⁵ Part of Neaira's excess would certainly entail food and entertainment, but the focus here is on *ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία* which often are associated with her extravagance. Schaps (1979) 10-12 discusses the connection between women and their clothing. The phrasing of *ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία* may in fact mean more than just clothing and jewellery, but entail all objects which pertain to a woman. Isaeus 8.8 is a prime example of how *ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία* feels separate from the dowry proper.

¹⁵⁶ Glazebrook (2006) 127.

¹⁵⁷ Demosthenes 48.55 "ἐπειδὴν ὀρῶσι τὴν μὲν τούτου ἑταίραν περαιτέρω τοῦ καλῶς ἔχοντος καὶ χρυσία πολλὰ ἔχουσιν καὶ ἱμάτια καλά, καὶ ἐξόδους λαμπρὰς ἐξιοῦσαν, καὶ ὑβρίζουσιν ἐκ τῶν ἡμετέρων, αὐταὶ δὲ καταδεεστέρας περὶ ταῦτα ἔχουσιν ἅπαντα," translation by Scafuro (2011) 352 "...when they see this courtesan of his weighed down with golden jewellery and fine clothing beyond the bounds of decency, and setting forth on brilliant outings, and preening herself thanks to our family resources while these women are too poor for any of this..."

were not denied to citizen woman. What is the purpose of this luxury? To enhance beauty—the entire experience—and thereby further loosen the money bags of their customers.

Continuing on this tangent of the usefulness of enhancements to female beauty and thereby any premium monetary or otherwise, it shall be noted that while citizen women had no compelling need to entertain or enhance her beauty with expensive clothing, jewellery, and cosmetics these were still objects that were very much a part of their lives, and more importantly as dowry items went along with them in marriage or divorce. While Neaira and Theodote, both *hetaerae*, make no mention of cosmetics, it is quite interesting that the wife from Lysias 1 and the wife from Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* 10 are both users.¹⁵⁸ If Xenophon's relationship with make-up as portrayed in *Oeconomicus* is accepted as deviant, as Glazebrook suggests,¹⁵⁹ and there was widespread use of specifically white lead (ψιμύθιον) at least, then Lysias 1 stands out in its mention. Was make-up on citizen woman versus *hetaerae* perceived differently by the jury? Perhaps cosmetics are expected of a *hetaera* and so it is extravagance which is mentioned to excite prejudice against such beauty, whereas for a citizen wife, cosmetics are enough of an extravagance in and of themselves.

¹⁵⁸ Glazebrook (2009) 236 argues that eye make-up is distinctly used by *hetaerae* only but that white lead (ψιμύθιον) and rouge (ἔγχουσα) were common for every woman. She bases this distinction on the comic fragment: Euboulos Fr. 98, (from Ath. 13.557) which highlight prostitutes wearing all sorts of cosmetics. Alexis *Isostasion* fr. 103 (from Ath. 13.568a-d) is also worth noting here.

¹⁵⁹ Glazebrook (2009) 238.

In Lysias 1.14, 17 the use of make-up is one of several suspicious actions that the husband Euphiletos notices, although he believes the best of his wife after the birth of their child (1.6). When Euphiletos sees his wife in the morning wearing white lead he says nothing (1.14). There is a suggestive element that it is inappropriate for her to be wearing it so soon after her brother's death (1.14)—but this is not the main point.¹⁶⁰ The wife wearing white lead is only barely worth noticing, and it is only in combination with other actions that he connects all the dots which lead him to conclude there is an affair (1.17). Todd suggests that the observation of her wearing make-up may not even be true, but rather a trope of Lysias' since it seems so unlikely that she would do something which could so easily expose her.¹⁶¹ If Todd is correct, mentioning use of white lead in this context is a means of stirring up the jury. It implies that the jury would care and, more importantly, make some type of connection between cosmetics and sex-appeal, such as is readily suggested in several of Aristophanes' plays.¹⁶²

Cosmetics can be used, as Lysias shows, to enhance feminine appearance with specific sexual connotations. So, it is odd that Neaira and other *hetaerae* are not described

¹⁶⁰ See Carey (1989) 71 for further details.

¹⁶¹ Todd (2007) 106. The comic comparison with Aristophanes (*Lys.* 938-950) is a *reductio ad absurdum* that one could only engage in sexual acts along with perfume. The basic premise could also be implied to cosmetics in general.

¹⁶² See Aristophanes' *Ec.* 878, 929, 1072, Alexis' *Isostation* 17-18 (fr.103), Eubulus' *Stephanopolidea* fr.98 preserved in Ath. 13,557. Todd (2007) 106 suggests specifically comparing to Aristophanes' *Ec.* 522-526. ψιμύθιον is also mentioned later at 878, 928, 1072 and *Pl.* 1064 to negatively portray certain women, but Aristophanes' *Lys.* 43-48 also implies a sex-appeal element to cosmetics.

as wearing make-up even for characterization.¹⁶³ A fragment of Hyperides provides

evidence:

“τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς γυναικὶ καλλωπισμοὺς ὅπως βούλοιο
χρῆ γίγνεσθαι· τοὺς μὲντοι περὶ τὰς ἐξόδους οὐκέτι πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ πρὸς
τοὺς ἑτέρους <γιγνομένους> φοβητέον.”

“A woman should beautify herself however she wishes for her husband, but if she does so when she goes out, one should fear it is no longer for her husband that she has done it but for other men.”¹⁶⁴

καλλωπισμός broadly describes the process of making oneself more beautiful, including any cosmetics, clothing or jewellery of some kind which could be used to enhance the woman's appearance. Here the beauty of the woman is reserved specifically for her husband casting an overtly sexual tone to the process,¹⁶⁵ and the highly suspicious nature of physical enhancements. With suspicion removed in the case of a *hetaera* there is no need for the speaker to mention cosmetics: rather it is the much more expensive clothing which impacts a *hetaera's* appearance within oratory since this, more than cosmetics, establishes her as a lover of luxury and that she receives these items as gifts rather than a dowry.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ For Carey (1992) 144, it is impossible to believe that there is no make-up involved as he speculates about Neaira that “probably her dress and degree of make-up would clearly mark her out as a courtesan.” Distinguishing between *hetaerae* and citizen women, however, is not necessarily easy, see Dalby (2002) and for distinguishing on pots see Lewis (2002) 101-112.

¹⁶⁴ Hyperides fr. 206.

¹⁶⁵ A parallel to this can be found in the beauty of Kandaules' wife as told by Herodotus 1.8: the beauty of a wife is reserved only for the husband.

¹⁶⁶ The exact expense of clothing, cosmetics or perfume is difficult to ascertain. For example, Brun (2000) 281-282 deals with the cost and production of perfume. Theophrastus *Concerning Odours* (10.1) is aware that there are expensive and cheap types of perfume, and that the ingredient cost is very high (6.30). In the gospel of John 12:5, the cost of perfume is estimated at 300 *denarii* for an unspecified amount. Michell (1947) 6 calculates the approximate price of cosmetics in Rome, placing them as significantly cheaper than the cost of clothing.

The beautification of women of which Hyperides speaks is something which is most clearly seen in pottery where there are hundreds of vases depicting women in various states of dress in the process of enhancing their appearance which has been termed 'adornment' (figures 26-28). Blundell and Rabinowitz define this as "scenes where female figures are getting dressed, washing, or being washed, but also to those where the women are holding, and in some cases giving and receiving a variety of objects used for adorning the body, principally perfume jars, jewellery, wreaths, hand-mirrors, items of clothing (e.g., head-bands, sashes, veils, and shoes), and chests and caskets that might contain jewellery or clothing or possibly cosmetics."¹⁶⁷ I have included a small sampling to show that adornment scenes can range from a large group of women (figure 26), to a few (figure 27), to even a single figure holding a mirror (figure 28).¹⁶⁸ Rather than asking who these women are (which we cannot know) and for what they are preparing (which is also speculative) we should be asking *what* they are doing. It is quite simply the act of beautification, commonly shown by the easily recognizable necklaces, perfume (depicted in either an alabastron or lekythos), mirrors and decorative boxes.¹⁶⁹ While the boxes are by far the most numerous in adornment scenes, speculation on their contents from

¹⁶⁷ Blundell and Rabinowitz (2008) 115.

¹⁶⁸ The status of these women as prostitutes has been contested by Kreilinger (2006), and (2007) who suggests that these women (and in her case particularly nude women) could be seen as citizen women. Whether or not these vases depict a specific event (i.e., a wedding celebration), has been debated by Blundell and Rabinowitz (2008) Indeed both questions worth asking, my question is much more basic.

¹⁶⁹ Just a few statistics from the Beazley Archive Database (www.beazley.ox.ac.uk), reveals that there are 645 records for alabastron (and to a lesser degree 106 for lekythos), 944 for mirrors and many scenes tagged as wedding could be archived as adornment. Searching for specific objects shows that there is a large amount of material dealing with this subject.

clothing and jewels to cosmetics and indeed, even the ornate appearance of these boxes perhaps indicates that their contents are meant to make someone appear, or perhaps smell, more beautiful—it is suggested by Ziegler that wooden boxes from Egypt were used by Greek women for storing clothing (figure 29).¹⁷⁰ The sheer abundance of vases which deal with the beautification of women is strong evidence to suggest that there were many ways for women to enhance themselves and that to some degree this would be expected of them, and the frequent presence of Eros also points to the fact that the toilette which the women are performing will increase their sex appeal.¹⁷¹ It is even more interesting when one begins to notice that while a young boy on a given vase may be shown much more simply just being beautiful (figure 25), a woman cannot just stand there. In order to produce a reaction, she must act on her own beauty.

Having just specified that women need some type of action or reference to beautification, it is pertinent to look at the end of the speech against Neaira. One of Apollodorus' last efforts to sway the jury into believing in her disreputable reputation and overall evil nature is the visual evidence of her body. His final plea is for everyone to behold her appearance (τὴν τε ὄψιν αὐτῆς ἰδόντες 115) and ask themselves if she has done everything which was brought forward. It is a moment in which the speaker is

¹⁷⁰ While Ziegler (1932) 227-228 suggests that Greek women would store scents together with their clothing in these boxes, Dayagi-Mendels (1989) 37 places these boxes in their original Egyptian context as compartmentalized boxes for storing cosmetics. Figure 31 bears resemblance to the abundant representations of boxes on Greek vases.

¹⁷¹ Eros is frequently depicted giving necklaces, perfume or mirrors to the women, which further supports this point; the Beazley Archive Database has Eros with a necklace about 16 times, as shown in Figure 5.

asking the jury to draw their own conclusions based on her body.¹⁷² This body, of course would include her manner of clothing, cosmetics, overall presentation and *skhēma*. There is no need for him to give another word on the topic as her body speaks for itself. There are three basic theories about what opinions the jury would have drawn—all of which are pure speculation. Dover proposes two options: 1) that she looks old and harmless, but that they should not be deceived since she was once beautiful, or 2) she is still beautiful and thus he is trying to stop them from being swayed by her beauty.¹⁷³ This second option would be evidence that Apollodorus knew of a strong beauty premium and was attempting to counteract it. Ultimately Dover decides the second is the more probable, but Kapparis proposes a third option, that Apollodorus is merely having the jury identify her as the person who is guilty.¹⁷⁴ Kapparis makes his case based on simplicity: understanding the line as requesting everyone to look and *recognize* her. This third option is unlikely because while she may not be as famous as Apollodorus suggests at 59.26, pure recognition without further judgement upon her appearance is unlikely.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷² This comment would not make sense if Neaira were not present at this moment. Dover (1968b) 35 has connected this with Dem. 37.44 and the exhibition of a slave to show his current state. Dem. 19.116 makes a similar point, asking the jury to behold the individual. Both Dem. 37.44 and 19.116 demand the jury's attention by saying *θεάσασθε*, but here we have *ιδόντες*. Although all three invite a viewer to physically observe something, *ιδόντες* is the more physical of the two options—offering further confirmation of her presence.

¹⁷³ Dover (1968b) 34-36.

¹⁷⁴ Kapparis (1999) 410 proposes a different solution—that it is merely a call for her identification. Patterson (1978) 134 and Carey (1992) 115 both follow Dover seeing the two options for her appearance. Even earlier, Reiske (1827) 592 comments “*Neerae ἢ ὄψις videtur fuisse πορνική*” which although it does not indicate beauty specifically, it interprets the passage very much having to do with her physical appearance.

¹⁷⁵ Glazebrook (2005) 164 points out that while some scholars believe Apollodorus at 26 that she was well known to the point that she could be generally identified by everyone (for examples see Hamel

As soon as she is distinguished from the rest, she is put on display, certainly first to establish who she is, and additionally to allow the jury to react to her present appearance. Although ὄψις is a neutral word for appearance and only takes on the meaning of beauty when combined with something else, it points directly at her body. No hint as to which of Dover's readings is more likely is given by the text, but Apollodorus' attention to her 'looks' feeds into the idea of the importance that physical appearance had and that it is a viable tool for swaying a jury. Remembering Timarchus' body and how Aeschines described the decline of his body from beauty to repulsion, the silence of Apollodorus on the state of Neaira's appearance is notable. If Dover is right about her still attractive appearance, her frivolous lifestyle has not left a noticeable imprint on her and therefore Apollodorus cannot use the same arguments Aeschines did. On the other hand, if she ungracefully descended into old age, like Timarchus, her body has become a roadmap of her life. Since neither can be proven, the only thing left to ask is how her situation and treatment differs from Timarchus'. Overall, Apollodorus is less descriptive, accepting her beauty as a given. Also in contrast to Timarchus, there may be an idea of "upkeep" irrespective of her morality with Neaira as she would need to retain her clients. A part of this would involve living her life in a certain manner.

(2003)), the time span which has passed makes this unlikely, siding with Carey (1992) 95. Hunter (1990) makes a good case that in a society in which gossip is so prevalent that it is likely that the jury would at least be familiar with her—and if not the assumption that they should know her could impact them as well.

Summary to “*The Influence of Feminine Beauty*”

Looking at women in oratory, and specifically any premium they receive, shows that beauty is praised as the highest virtue available (as in the case of Helen) and is used to create such strong sympathy that a beautiful woman such as Phryne is victorious against attackers. Beauty intensifies whatever atrocity might be committed against a beautiful woman (as Demosthenes shows with the Olynthian woman). Beauty can give wealth as a premium as it did for Plangon and Neaira. However, all of this preferential treatment pointing towards a strong premium in favour of beauty is counterbalanced by a suspicion of beautiful women resulting in penalties. The Olynthian woman is physically assaulted, and Plangon is susceptible to the accusation equivalent to the modern ‘gold-digger’ which biases the jury against her son and his suit. Women (divided by status) and their association with enhancements and cosmetics shows that while few women are lucky enough to have such materials go unmentioned, for a majority it seems that while enhancements are effective in beautifying their appearance they point to two things which are negatively viewed: a planned sexual allure and a love of luxury which if left unchecked can bankrupt a man. The material evidence which frequently depicts scenes of adornment signifies the widespread nature of such female action along with its effectiveness. While surely most women in terms of beauty, general disposition, and access to enhancements lay somewhere in the middle, oratory uses feminine beauty to goad reactions from the jury demanding praise and sympathy but also condemnation and repulsion.

Conclusions to “The Beautiful on Trial”

Oratory, whether forensic, political or epideictic has a performative element to it which allows for a ‘real’ beautiful body to be not only described, and then judged, but also viewed; and indeed the physical body and its appearance was an effective rhetorical tool. While Shapiro argues that “the relationship between appearance and morality in the oratorical corpus is ultimately not evidence for Athenians’ social responses to images,” I disagree.¹⁷⁶ I have shown that it is possible to see reactions which the orator is trying to elicit from his audience, and therefore that we can see social responses to beauty.

Timarchus and Epikrates, two attractive, young boys, are discussed in terms of their beauty which is generalized as well-fleshed, young and good-looking. Epikrates is described more in terms of his *skhēmata* and how he is able to use his appearance, and particularly his eyes, to emote his own character. In contrast, Timarchus’ good-looks are much more animal-like regarding the texture of his flesh, which must be touched to be fully understood. Timarchus’ beauty, however, is fleeting and his hedonistic lifestyle eventually destroys it, according to Aeschines. While we don’t know what form Epikrates may have had later in life, the protreptic urgings for him to devote his life to the study of philosophy could be suggested as a way to maintain his beauty.

Youth is attractive, but both Aeschines and the author of the *Erotic Essay* indicate that youthful beauty can be dangerous. Beauty can make a young boy haughty and more *likely* prone to self-indulgence. The desire and attraction to beauty is unavoidable and with

¹⁷⁶ Shapiro (2011) 190.

it the desire to bestow special favours which can be seen since a young Timarchus and all the beautiful youths in the *Erotic Essay* receive such attentions and material benefits. And yet Aeschines must be very careful, and thus he clarifies that he is not prejudiced against beautiful boys. That this is necessary points to the opposite problem, that beautiful boys are objects of a beauty penalty, not a premium. In addition to Timarchus' body, Aeschines offers up further examples of beautiful boys and men, categorizing them by their goodness of character. *Against Timarchus* brings the beauty of the body to the fore of the speech and urges the jury to have a reaction to it—and specifically Aeschines urges that they have a negative reaction to Timarchus' youthful beauty, and (less controversially) a continued negative approach to his current body.

The difficulty which Aeschines must face—and which points to an Athenian norm—is that he must show how such a beautiful young lad like Timarchus could possibly turn out badly. Aeschines shows it is more than possible that a beautiful youth be bad. Such a character type has been around Athens for a very long time since Aristophanes portrays this type of youth. Despite this, a beauty premium is often granted to such individuals in the form of instant gratification of material possessions, sex, attention or sympathy in the courtroom. Aeschines' success is pivotal to understanding reactions to beauty. The *Erotic Essay* cautions Epikrates against acting like 'Timarchus' because being beautiful is only a premium if accompanied by a virtuous lifestyle. A beautiful Athenian youth, then, can expect many benefits from his looks from material gain to a rhetorical edge. However, not reciprocating affections can build grudges against

him and likewise over-indulgence will tarnish his reputation which can in one blow eliminate his premium and consequently make a penalty which is far more severe than for the average person.

The beauty of women in oratory can be cited as praise to sway a jury towards sympathy or blame to defame them. That expensive enhancements are more often associated with the negative—despite their effectiveness—adds an extra dimension. The application of cosmetics or the adornment of beautiful clothing on a woman is at once something which is fundamental to female beauty but can arouse suspicion if it is out of context. Why does a woman need to be beautiful except to attract or seduce a man? Such scenes are positively shown on wedding vases, or when *hetaerae* are described, but the ability of beauty to transform the supposed passive woman into an active attractor is something which is feared. An analysis of reactions to feminine beauty shows a starker contrast between the beauty premium and penalty. Women receive extreme premiums and penalties, while male beauty is marginally more balanced. Oratory has shown how versatile the portrayal of the beautiful body could be, and while beauty was loved and desired it was not regarded entirely positively.

Physical appearance and beauty in particular are malleable arguments for the skilled orator who can urge his audience towards ideas and emotions which play out as either a beauty penalty or premium. Oratory verifies that beauty of the body was reacted to rather than merely noticed. It was desired and beautiful individuals were pampered to—until irrefutable knowledge that their beauty was deceptive surfaced. Women were

much more easily found to have a deceptive type of beauty, but overall, male or female, the beauty premium existed until it became a penalty. Beauty was not ignored or overlooked. Beauty always caused a reaction or an opinion to be formed.

Conclusion

The chapters of this thesis have shown that beauty in Athens and during the Classical era is reacted to strongly in a range of both positive and negative extremes; such reactions still occur today. Reactions to beauty today are seen as 'shallow' and often blamed on society, media, and the technology which creates a modern myth of unreachable beauty, something which Wolf termed 'the beauty myth' – although hers is limited to looking at women only.¹ Men, it seems, while abundant in classical evidence are no longer primary in the modern discussion of beauty.² And yet, this is the human condition: before photo-shop and air-brushing bodily perfection in media, and the more invasive side of plastic surgery, this ideal was shown in art, desired, and even worshipped. This is not to deny the current dangerous trend which almost makes 'perfection' possible through these external measures, but rather to call attention to the similarities and the larger issue of how beauty is perceived, sought after and reacted to. The desire to grant premiums to those who are beautiful, and yet punish them severely if they do not live exactly up to expectation can be seen across the genres.

Descriptions of the beautiful body (both male and female) scattered throughout all three chapters has allowed for the identification of beautiful individuals, and a basic idea of what features were attractive which is the necessary first step to a project such as this

¹ Wolf (1991).

² Jones (2010) 6 comments "While the woman became the major consumer of beauty products as we know them today, this was not the case in many past societies. The paradigms of beauty in ancient Greece were primarily male."

seeking to analyse the reactions to beauty. The material falls short of elaborate *ekphrasis*, but it is not completely absent. The most beautiful individuals surpass peers, words and metaphors, but there are occasions where the classical era does speak out.

For a beautiful woman complexion was important: overall paleness (but not pallor) off-set by a healthy flush or redness of the cheeks whether natural or artificial. The texture of her skin should be soft, her breasts firm and hard (not necessarily large). Height was likewise a positive trait. On the issue of weight, it is safe to assume that the standard of beauty would not be as thin as it is today, but visual evidence suggests a thicker, though not obese, range.³ With the exception of Xenophon, most suggest that a beautiful woman would exude a sort of luxury. Whether *hetaera* or legal wife, the artificial means by which women could effectively change their appearance for the better was widespread. The evidence shown by Lewis and Kreilinger suggests a more sophisticated reading.⁴ In contrast to women, the beautiful boy was expected to be darker, perhaps reddish in colour or tan. Health was an important criterion for beauty manifested as a good complexion, which implied bright and shining skin. The texture, like the colour, can simply be 'well-fleshed', but the assumption is a youthful rather than feminine softness. Large shoulders, thighs and buttocks were desirable and that certain portions of the body increased in size due to particular activities suggests that this overall largeness was achieved from a balance. The thighs are especially significant to erotic male beauty. The face of an attractive man

³ Scholars are divided on this, for while some advocate a slimmer model, others argue for a more fleshy weight. See above on page 46 and also N.B. Lewellyn-Jones (2002), Pomeroy (2006).

⁴ Lewis (2002) 212 and Kreilinger (2007).

would have deep-set eyes, a tall nose and medium-sized lips—all in moderation.

Additional enhancing features were not popular among Athenian males, but hair-style, its length and curls could increase beauty.

Having pooled the knowledge of what attributes a classical Greek beautiful body would have, we can now turn to the individual chapters and genres to see how these beautiful individuals were reacted to socially. Each text shows a range of reactions, but never apathy. In chapter 1, it was established that beauty can and does appear on the comic stage in levels of degrees, despite the exaggerated costuming, and relatively to other characters. In fact, Attic comedy not only presents, but also describes and critiques much of the information we have about what was beautiful. Characters react on stage to beauty through jocular jibes and plot twists. The desire to sexually possess the beautiful prevails as a theme, and the silent reward of a beautiful woman to a leading character exposes how beauty was mostly viewed from the male perspective and without a thought to the woman—her beauty earns her a penalty while her beauty is the reward for another. Beauty is also used as a tool to develop character types which receive stalk reactions. Young boys, with their relative beauty are ogled and notoriously mischievous, selfish and generally bad. While they receive criticism, they are, nevertheless, pursued with abandon by others.⁵ The struggle over how beautiful people are/should be treated within society is prominent in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*.⁶ Whatever deeper comments about society the

⁵ See above on page 67.

⁶ See above on page 95.

play presents, beauty is the chosen medium by which everyone sees inequalities in the system. This is because everyone can immediately identify, and personally react to beauty. Regardless of law, beauty will reap benefits either for the beautiful individual or someone who gains control over such a beautiful individual. Both good and bad characters are beautiful in comedy and premiums and penalties are granted to them. Beauty does not exempt someone from comic mockery which is proof that while it is not revered beauty is powerful enough to serve as reward, and gain favour for a beautiful individual.

A very different view point from the reactions in comedy is found in the literature of Xenophon. In chapter 2, we saw that his historical fiction and Sokratic dialogues which contemplated the power of beauty to trigger reactions and accordingly demanded specific reactions. Beauty can provide motivation to make one better one's self, or hinder the viewer causing them to spiral out of control into obsession. Ultimately this is because Xenophon sees beautiful people (male and female) who are bad and good. Beauty may be the attraction to a given individual but the resulting inspiration or calamity stems from their morality. Both cases, however, start the same – the viewing of beauty and consequently an association which leads towards giving to the beautiful individual. This is an inside-out way of viewing the idea of the beauty premium. It looks at how individuals who are giving the premium are affected rather than those receiving. Because of this, Xenophon petitions for a different understanding of physical beauty, preaching at those who read him to be cautious. In the character of Critobulus, Xenophon reveals how the

system of benefits works (very positively) for both the beautiful and the viewer.⁷ Thus Xenophon understands and discusses the power that he sees in beauty and how that power works within Athenian society to the indiscriminate benefit of the beautiful. And yet, in his seeing and understanding, he presents other options and exceptions which further complicate and nuance beauty.

In chapter 3 we saw that oratory has the clearest goal in terms of its use and presentation of beauty, combining the reactionary frameworks seen already in the previous two chapters. What can be determined from the physical body—and particularly from beauty—is moulded by each orator. After a declaration of beauty or attraction, there is always a follow up to say *why* they have given this information. It develops characterization and evokes emotion (for good or ill). The beauty premium in the law courts affords the beautiful individual benefits (sympathy or praise) until any negative information is found, which not only cancels the beauty premium but evokes a strong penalty. It is through oratory that it is possible to really see how quickly beauty could change from a positive to a negative. That such tactics were used repeatedly suggests that this was something acceptable if not expected within the culture. Beauty is always prefaced with an interpretation to guide the jury towards a judgement. Beauty is a catalyst for action and strengthens reactions.

⁷ See above on page 154.

In looking at this range of literature, it is now possible to see the different sides and slants by which beauty was viewed and to which beauty was consequently reacted. It was both loved and hated, but more importantly it was something that was seen (or at times touched) and from that viewing influenced others. Beauty can and did give one a small edge in the beginning of life but in a competitive society this had to be carefully cultivated and maintained. The idea of a beauty premium which can be seen in various forms across these genres points to something in Athenian culture and the human condition. The power of beauty to force a reaction from us while bestowing premiums is perhaps the 'norm'. But the beautiful body is rarely viewed in a vacuum. As such, beauty can be seen as one of several factors of which it is the first and most instinctive judgement of a person. The desire for beautiful individuals to be good and the overwhelming disappointment when they are bad is consistent and the power that beautiful individuals have to attract attention and elicit strong reactions has been shown across genres and in all three chapters. So, while the Athenians were certainly lovers of beauty, they were not thoughtless lovers: beauty causes the first reaction, but not necessarily the final one. Love of the beautiful body was not seen as unimportant or arbitrary, there is an undeniable (even biological) attraction to physical beauty. This thesis has explored how Athenian literature and from that the general Athenian population reacted to beauty. While individual situations show a vast range, each and every reaction is accompanied by a vehement strength and passion

showing the high value placed on physical beauty but it did not mean that the beautiful were always good; only that this was their initial hope.

When an ancient text mentions the beauty of an individual, it is insufficient to assume a premium or a connection to 'goodness'. The assertion of beauty, the reaction of the author and the author's (stated or unstated) reason for appealing to beauty needs to be considered with a deeper and more nuanced approach, which is what this thesis in its cross-genre approach has attempted to show is a worthwhile and revealing endeavour. The popularity of looking at the beauty premium in economics and other disciplines is interesting when seen in contrast to this ancient evidence. While they set up their experiments and gathered their results which confirmed the existence of a beauty premium, such research was necessary partly because there is this idea that humans are capable of looking beyond physical beauty when in reality they are not. In classical Athens this illusion of objectivity does not exist. That is why it is easy to see the beauty premium in literature, and also why a beauty penalty is more readily visible. This thesis shows that physical beauty was praised in its own right without shame, was afforded many kinds of benefits within Athenian society, but alongside these positive reactions and premiums there were also suspicion and penalties.

Figures

Figure 1:



Detail of Figure 1:

Figure 2



Figure 3

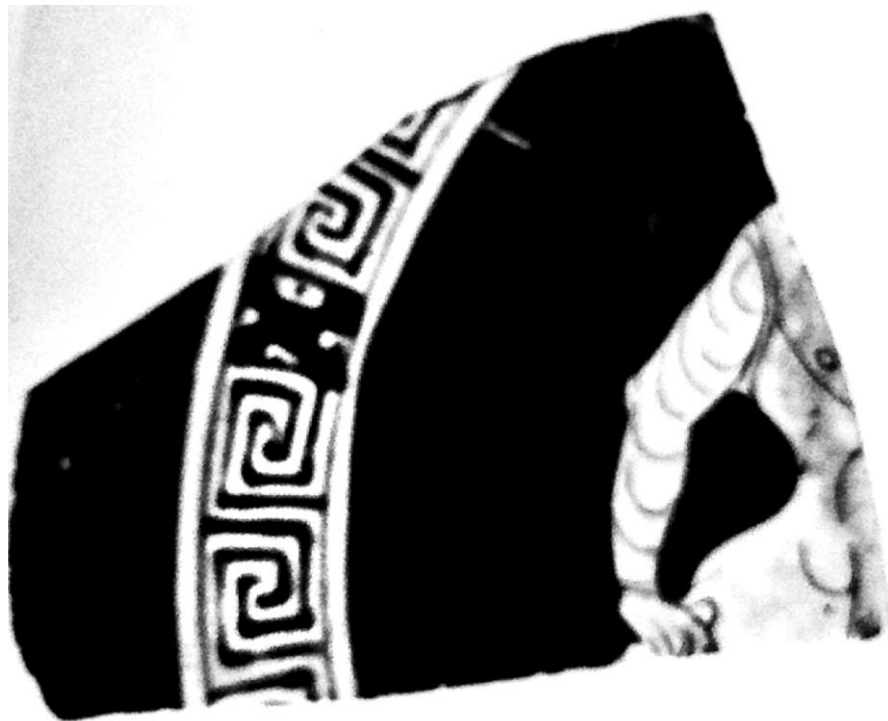


Figure 4a:



Figure 4b:



Figure 5:



Figure 6:

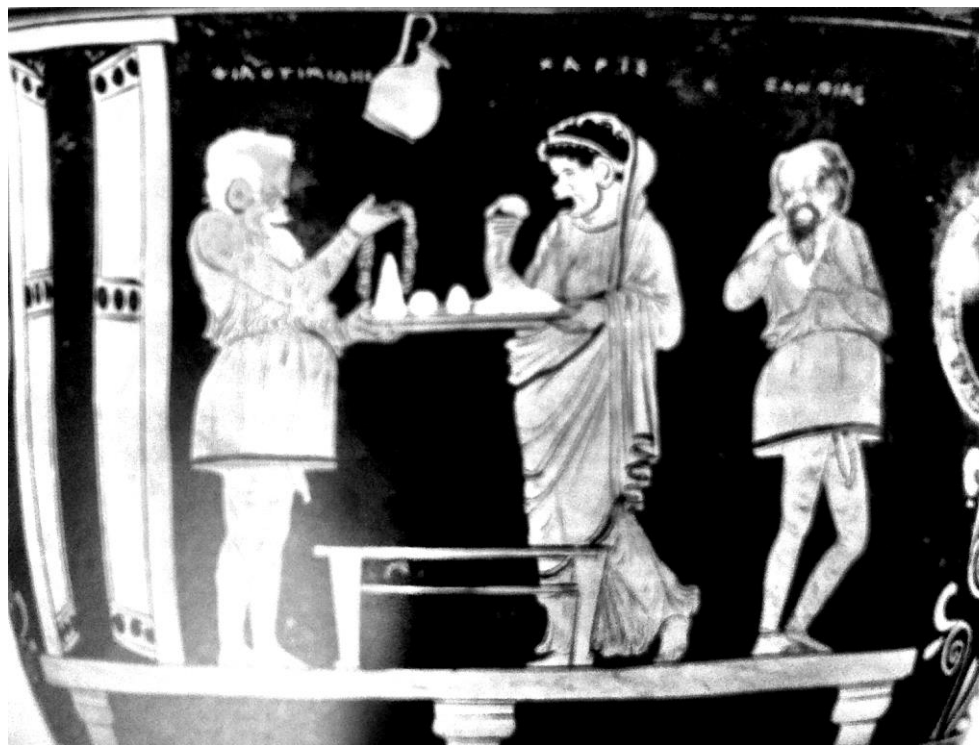


Figure 7:



Figure 8:

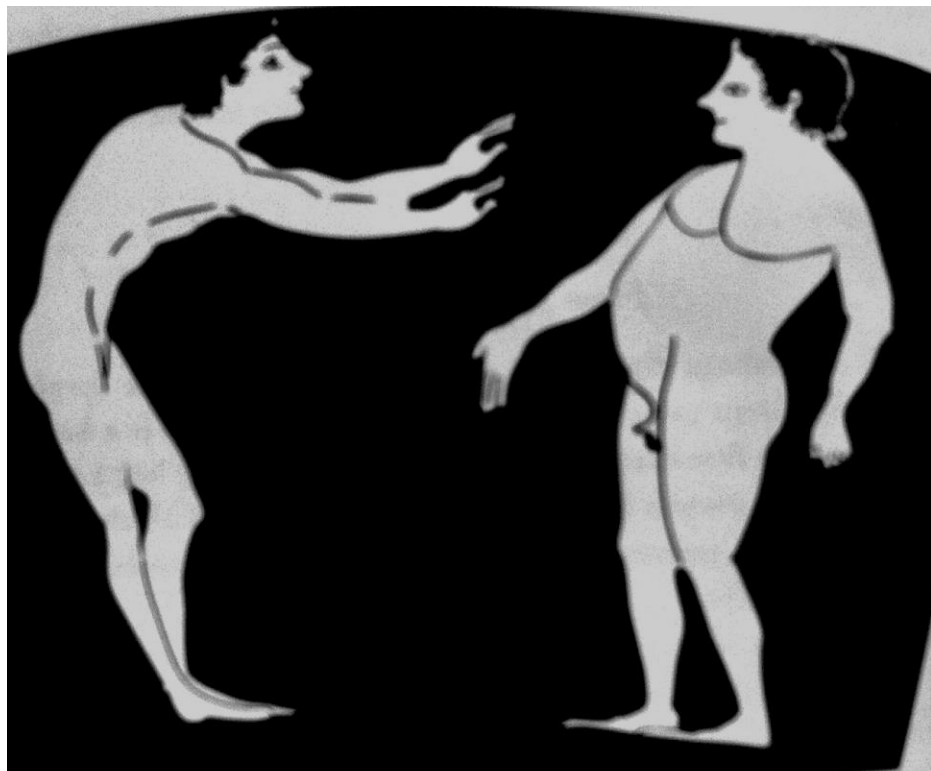


Figure 9a:
(Side A)

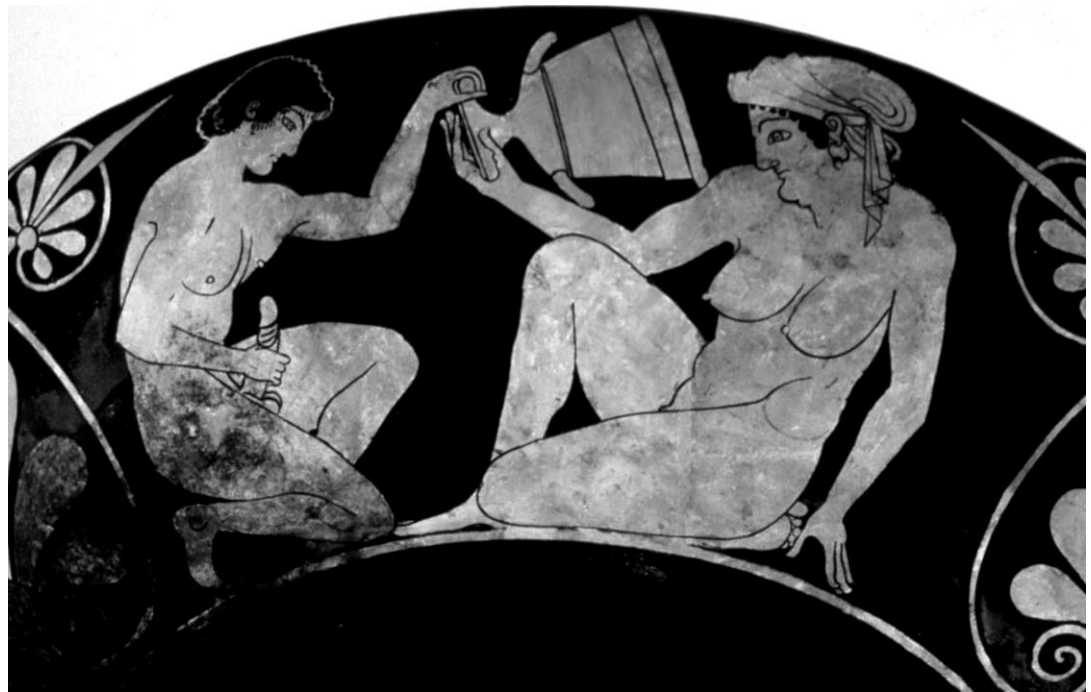


Figure 9b:
(Side B)



Figure 10:



Figure 11:



Figure
12:

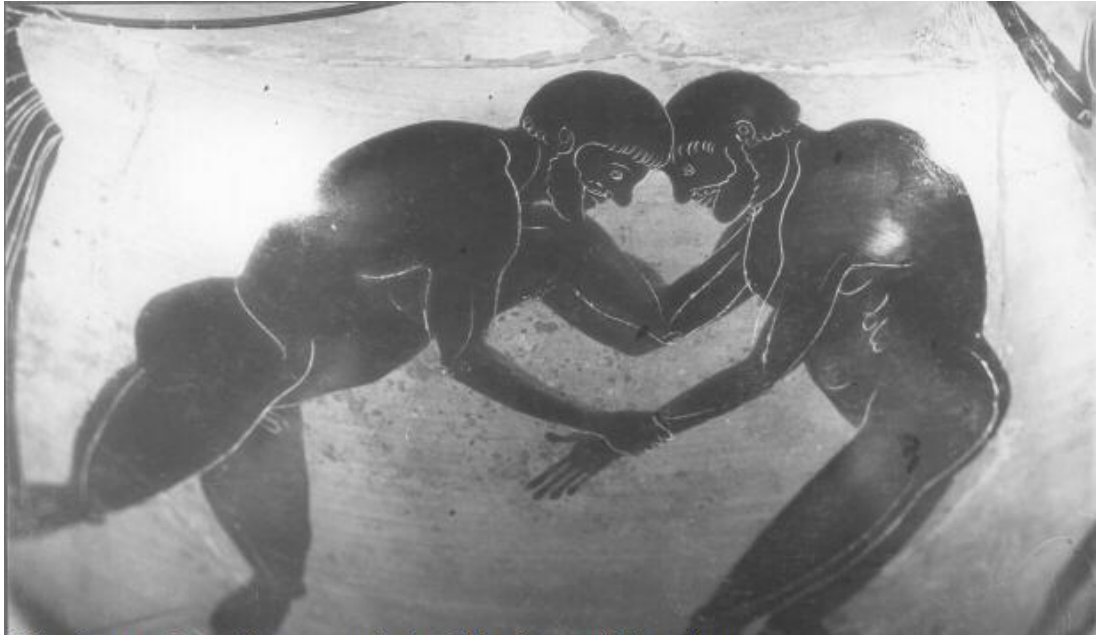


Figure 13:



Figure 14:



Figure 15:



Figure 16:



Figure 17:



Figure 18:



Figure 19:



Figure 20:



Figure 21:



Figure 22:



Figure 23:



Figure 24:



Figure 25:



Figure 26:



Figure 27:



Figure 28:



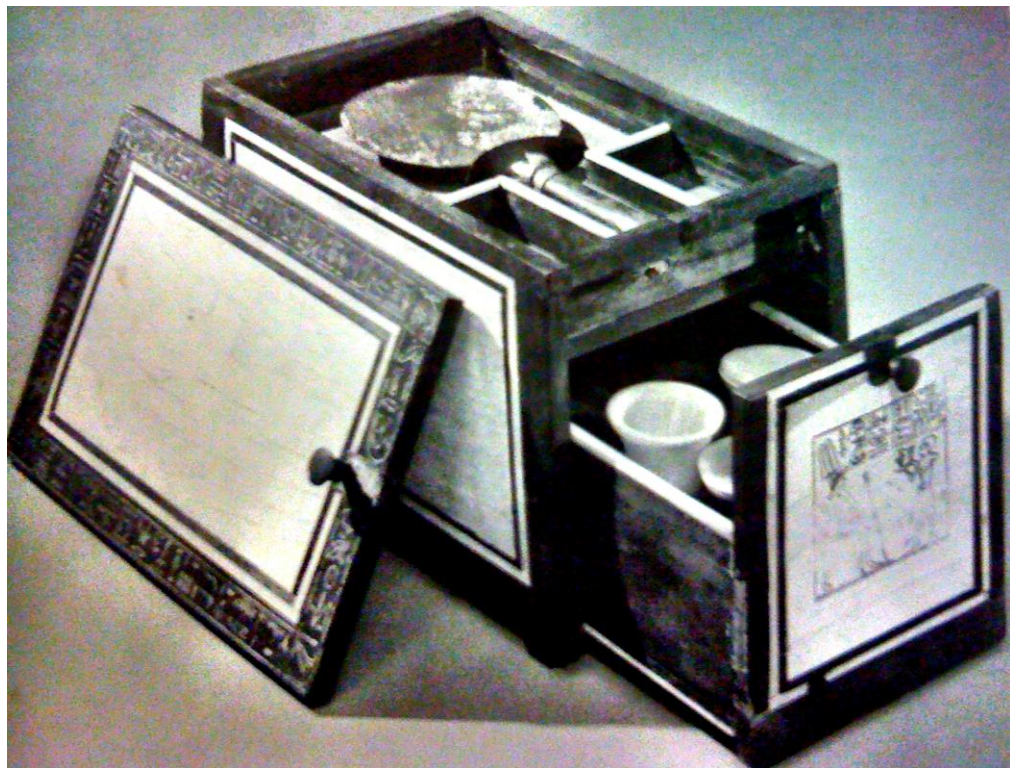
Figure 29:



Figure 30:



Figure 31:



Bibliography

Abbreviations

AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
CA	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
CQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CR	<i>Classical Review</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
TAPA	<i>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</i>

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