

CONTENTS

List of Illustrations · ix

Foreword by David M. Halperin · xiii

	Introduction	1
CHAPTER 1	Hippokleides Dances: Military Training and Other Dramas of Masculine Display	6
	<i>A Duel on the Border: The Trick of the Black Goatskin</i>	8
	<i>The Ephebate in Athens</i>	10
	<i>Dionysos and the Apatouria</i>	18
	Paideia/Andreia	23
	<i>Performances/Formations</i>	32
	<i>Playing with Manhood: Women in Armor, Men in Drag</i>	51
CHAPTER 2	Phallic Theatrics: Staging the Body Politic	63
	<i>The Politics of Costume</i>	67
	<i>Phallos Politikos</i>	83
	<i>Archaic Costume</i>	86
	<i>The Shape of the Theater</i>	96
	<i>Bodies, Costumes, Auditoria, Politics</i>	103
CHAPTER 3	Scenarios of Risk: Cockfighting and <i>Kindunos</i>	104
	<i>Cocky Ephebes</i>	109
	<i>The Theater of Youth</i>	113
	<i>The Drama of Danger</i>	116
	<i>Trials of Manhood</i>	118
	<i>The Ephebe of All Ephebes</i>	123

CHAPTER 4	An Oscar for Iphigeneia: The Canon according to Aristotle	127
	<i>Aristotle's General Theory of Narrativity</i>	130
	<i>Aristotle's Special Theory of Narrativity</i>	134
	<i>Loose Canons</i>	139
	<i>Aristotle on the Social Classes of Literature</i>	140
	<i>Aristotle on Comedy</i>	147
	<i>The Best Tragedy</i>	152
	 <i>Appendix I: Tragōidoi</i>	 157
	<i>Appendix II: Phluakes</i>	163
	<i>Afterword by Kirk Ormand</i>	167
	<i>Abbreviations of Classical Sources</i>	171
	<i>Abbreviations of Journals and Books</i>	173
	 <i>Bibliography</i>	 175
	<i>Index Locorum</i>	189
	<i>General Index</i>	195
	<i>A Note on the Author</i>	211

Introduction

INVESTIGATORS OF TRAGEDY's early days have for quite some time been stuck in an impasse, recycling constantly and inconclusively the same few bits of ancient information. Comedy seems, if anything, in a worse condition, so far as accounts of its emergence are concerned: with less anecdotal evidence, and with scripts later by half a century, its early days and development are even more of a mystery and equally the object—or victim—of far-fetched speculation about ritual, myth, and the seasons. The average skeptic (and I count myself one) would rightly doubt that anything new, much less true, could be said about such subjects. Nevertheless, the present book does try to offer an original approach to the old question of where tragic choruses came from—or, as I would prefer to put it, what they were doing in the life of the city. Part of the novelty of this approach lies in considering Athenian drama in the social context of its original performance at the festivals of Dionysos (the rural Dionysia, the Lenaia, and the City Dionysia) and in noticing the untranslatable cultural differences between the Athenian theater and ours.¹

The following chapters suggest that, in a large sense, Athenian dramatic festivals were the occasion for elaborate symbolic play on themes of proper and improper civic behavior on the part of men, predicated on the assumption

1. [This aspect of Winkler's work anticipates some of the excellent studies in recent years on the cultural production of tragedy in the Greek world. In particular, D. Carter 2011b includes a number of essays dealing with the finances and social organization of the Athenian tragic festivals and their relation to fifth-century Athenian government and society. See especially Wilson 2011 and D. Carter 2011a. Wilson 2007a provides numerous essays on what Greek documentary sources (especially inscriptions) tell us about dramatic festivals in Athens and elsewhere. Wilson 2000 offers a comprehensive account of the Athenian institution of the *khoregia* (private financial sponsorship of the costs of training and preparing a chorus for performance at a dramatic festival), especially as a vehicle for aristocratic competition within the democratic *polis*. Marx 2012 emphasizes the untranslatable cultural differences between Greek tragedy and modern tragedy and argues for the radical alterity of Greek drama, in ways often aligned with Winkler's general approach.]

that the principal component of proper male citizenship was military. At those festivals, just as at private symposia, such play with embodied definitions of good and bad masculinity occurred in both serious and facetious formats: tragedy and comedy alike were built on contrasts of behavior (and physique) represented in terms of the taut and the slack. A central reference point for these representations—the notional targets of their lessons (*paideia*) about the trials of manhood (*andreia*)—were the young men of the city.² These young men were also the choral performers of tragedy at least, and perhaps of comedy as well.

It is therefore with the young men of the Athenian *polis*, or city-state, that this study begins. It looks in particular at the figure of the *ephebe*, defined in terms of status (rather than in terms of birthdays or formal institutions) as a young, propertied, Athenian citizen male on the border between boyhood and manhood who is training to prepare himself for warfare as a *hoplite*, or heavy-armed foot-soldier in an infantry phalanx. It puts the *ephebe* into the larger web of social meanings and practices concerning *andragathiē*, or manly excellence, in Mediterranean societies. It then reaches out to touch on such subjects as tragedy, comedy, costume, military dancing, quasi-dramatic performances at private symposia, courtroom trials, melodrama, and Aristotle's *Poetics*.

If I may be allowed just one small attempt to elicit the skeptical reader's benevolence: I hereby acknowledge that each of the pieces of evidence I am about to assemble could, taken one by one, be construed in ways other than I have construed it here. Some of them are late, some are incomplete, most are relatively small and either ambiguous or inconclusive. Most have to do with performance and social context rather than with the dramas themselves. Indeed, it is because of these very features of the evidence, and especially because of our fetishizing of the "dramas themselves" and the Text, that no one has noticed the coherence that I am about to trace.

To arrive at the fuller cultural understanding of Athenian drama on offer here requires as thick a description as possible, and (to speak frankly) the overall persuasiveness of the present argument rests not on any one irresistible fact but on the ensemble of many details. My ideal reader, therefore, will be of two minds. On one level, they will check the weight and accuracy of each fact or interpretation to see how far it contributes to a reasonable and believable picture of what was once a living practice. On that level, the final judgment may have to be "Not Proven." But on another level, I expect the serious reader not to be content with a merely skeptical attitude to all this suggestive material but to take responsibility for explaining what the aggregate of the evidence assembled

2. See Rosen and Sluiter 2003 for a collection of essays exploring how the concept of *andreia* functioned in Greek and Roman society. Bassi 2003 is particularly helpful for the diachronic analysis of the term, as it developed from a concept of military valor to a democratic ideal in other spheres of social life.

here does mean. To make these readerly activities possible, I have laid out some of the significant evidence about Athenian fighting, dance training, and citizenship—topics usually slighted in accounts of Athenian drama.³

The subject treated here would traditionally be labeled “the origin of Greek tragedy.” But the word “origin” seems to me to claim much too much, suggesting as it does something primal—whether seminal or oval—before which there was nothing. Founding events do, of course, occur; the more usual social operation, however, is not to create but to adapt whatever is at hand. In hopes of avoiding the typical mystification that often attends discussions of origins, I would prefer to say that the hypothesis advanced here is about the early character of Attic tragedy (and comedy) rather than their absolute Beginning.

From the early days of tragedy to its later and more fully represented period, the character of its scripts changed in marked ways. That is an aesthetic history, which has been told many times on its own terms. But such a history, if it is to avoid being a Rorschach fantasy of the modern interpreter, needs to be founded on a concrete knowledge of dramatic performance—particularly on the shared and usually unspoken presuppositions of the composers, performers, and audience. This book, therefore, does not aim at a general interpretation of tragedy *based on* the surviving scripts. Rather, it tries to reconstruct from the facts of festival performance the framework of understanding that the audience originally brought to its viewing of the plays.

In other words, this study advances a hypothesis about performance and its social meanings, not primarily a hypothesis about the scripts that we call tragedies. The relation of those thirty-two extant scripts to the social and physical performance as I describe it is rather like that of a clay sculpture to the wire frame on which it is built up. The visible surface of the sculpture conceals the enabling framework at its core, and X-raying the core (the speculative enterprise undertaken here) may not be essential to some kinds of aesthetic appreciation of the surface. But what I am trying to do with Attic drama could not be accurately characterized as aesthetic appreciation. My goal is rather to explore, to reconstruct if you will, *the social meanings of the material and physical components* of its original production.

To change the artistic metaphor, you might say that I am concerned not with the individual paintings in a museum but with the question of how they were originally framed and hung and lit, and who was admitted to view them; only after I have advanced some answers to that question will I go on to ask,

3. [Of these three topics, the last has received considerable attention in the past three decades, though often focusing (as Winkler does not) on the texts of the tragedies themselves as evidence for citizenship and democratic discourse. See, among other works, D. Carter 2011b, 2008, Wilson 2007a, Meier 1993, and numerous articles on individual authors and specific plays. Of particular interest (and influenced by Winkler) are the essays by Pozzi, Mitchell-Boyask, Segal, Goff, Katz, Tyrrell, and Zweig in Padilla 1999.]

quite tentatively: by what criteria were some awarded prizes? In the case of tragedy, those criteria of original appreciation, I shall try to maintain, have much more to do with Attic *andragathiē*, the poetics of manhood, and the ethics of citizen-soldiery than they do with such abstract philosophical issues as fate and freedom. The world of values, choices, and social possibilities inhabited by Medeia, Xerxes, Deianeira, and Orestes is a world centered on the primary social role assigned to aristocratic soldiers, on whose *andragathiē* the survival and welfare of all people depend and in terms of which the reciprocal duties of all classes are defined or, in some cases, challenged. What we may learn from such a study is, as it were, how to light and hang the tragic pictures so that we are likely to be viewing them from the proper angle and thus can better estimate what the original audience was intended to notice.

The suggestion that the performance of tragedy had a military aspect, related (perhaps distantly) to the physical and moral training of young men, is based on the coincidence of three facts: the rectangular formation of tragic choruses, the identity of the choristers as young men, and the account given in chapter 42 of Aristotle's *Constitution of the Athenians*, which describes the institutionalized ephebate of the later fourth century BCE. Enrolled when they had reached their eighteenth birthday, the ephebes spent two years in training—the first year learning the use of weapons while stationed in Peiraeus (the port of Athens), the second on guard duty at the border forts of Attika. At the beginning of their second year, an assembly of all citizens was held and the ephebes displayed their ability to march and maneuver in close formation as a hoplite phalanx. Now the interesting fact about this performance, which was a kind of first-year graduation ceremony at which the young warriors received from the state a shield and a spear, is that it took place not on some marching field or parade ground outside the city but in the theater of Dionysos—in the same orchestral area where select groups of ephebes (if I may so call them) danced as the tragic chorus, in rectangular formation, performing what I would describe as an aesthetically elevated version of close-order drill.

Together these three facts suggest that there was an analogy between the movement and personnel of the tragic choruses and the movement and personnel of the ephebate on parade. The very persons (or rather a representative selection of them) who marched in rectangular rank and file in the orchestra as second-year cadets, performing for the assembled citizenry, also marched and danced in rectangular formation at the City Dionysia, though on that occasion they did so wearing masks and costumes.

Supporting this perception, but in the second rank, is the audience's character as a civic assembly—not a fortuitous gathering of "theatergoers" but a quasi-official gathering of (male) citizens, who were seated in tribal order, one tribe per wedge of tiered seats.⁴ (This was evidently the seating arrangement

4. On the question of the presence of citizen women in the audience, see chapter 2, n. 75.

used for the *Ekklēsia*, the Athenian Popular Assembly, when it met for official business on the Pnyx.) The more prominent citizens sat toward the front, with a special section reserved for the members of the *Boulē*, the Council. The layout of the auditorium thus displayed the organization of the body politic in terms both of tribal equality and of social hierarchy. Further, the entire festival had a civic-military aura, suggesting that *polis* and *tragōidia* in Athens were not so distant from each other as the modern understandings of “politics” and “tragedy” would imply.⁵

Readers of this book will find the evidence for the military meanings of Athenian tragic performance and for the audience’s identity as a civic collective laid out, respectively, in chapters 1 and 2. Following them, in chapter 3, is a hypothesis about how the ethics of citizen-soldiery and the social drama of masculine risk-taking might be related to the plots of tragedy. In the final chapter, chapter 4, I try to show that some oddities in Aristotle’s *Poetics*, long neglected if not repressed by modern readers, make sense when they are viewed in the light of the evidence presented in the previous chapters. The result, I hope, will be both a consistent and a plausible interpretation of Athenian drama as a social practice preoccupied specifically with rehearsals of manhood.

5. [Winkler’s observations here have gained indirect support from evidence for theatrical practices elsewhere in ancient Greece. Chaniotis 2007 points out that theaters in Macedonia, Kaunos, and Samos had markings for seating by tribe. See below, chapter 2, n. 76.]

INDEX LOCORUM

Adamantius Judaeus

Physiognōmonika

2.2.14: 159n10

Aelian

On the Nature of Animals

7.19: 159n10

Various History

2.28: 111

Agatharkhides

Eurōpiaka

FGrHist 86 F 8: 8n4

Aiskhines

Against Ktesiphon

3.76: 100n84

Against Timarkhos

1.49: 13

1.53: 111

1.151–52: 120nn40, 41

On the False Embassy

2.64–68: 101n87

2.76: 115n23

2.167: 13, 109n11

Aiskhylos

Agamemnon

377: 165

1416: 165

Persians

725–86: 120

Seven Against Thebes

533–35: 10

664–67: 12

Alkman

PMG 33 (fr. 146^A Bergk):

44n100

Andokides

1.137–39: 126n50

1.141: 118

[4].20: 41

[4].22–23: 122

Antimakhos

Frag. 36 (Kinkel): 165

Antisthenes

Ajax and *Odysseus*

Blass 1908, 175–82: 121n43

Aristeides

On Behalf of the Four

154, schol. on, 3.535–36, Dindorf:

44n98

Aristophanes

Akharnians

146, schol. on: 9n6,

22n55

243, schol. on: 22n54

1071–234: 42

Birds

70 & schol.: 112n15

794 & schol.: 99n80

902: 157–58n6

959: 157–58n6

1056–57: 157–58n6

1102–7: 100

1451: 15

Clouds

889, schol. on: 108n5

961–83: 106, 165n6

985–86: 106

985–89: 27

1009–18: 63

1009–23: 107

1085–1110: 107

1115–20: 100

1220: 15

Ekklēsiazousai

102, schol. on: 37n79

1140–43: 100

Knights

510: 122n45

573–77: 103n93

702–4: 103n93

Lysistrata

138–39: 147n36

Peace

882, schol. on: 99n80

Seasons (*Hōrai*)

Frag. 579 *PCG* (= fr. 568 Kock):

14n26

Thesmophoriazousai

832–35: 103n93

Aristophanes (*continued*)

Wealth (*Ploutos*)

558–62: 64

953, schol. on: 41n88

Aristophanes of Byzantium

Schol. on Ar., *Clouds* 889: 108n5

Aristotle

[*Athenaion Politeia*] (*Constitution of the Athenians*)

18.1: 85n42

22.2: 43n95

23.2: 17

33.2: 17

34.1: 115n23

42: 4, 16

42.3–4: 20n46

42.5: 110n12

Constitution of the Cretans

Frag. 519 (= schol. on Pindar,

Pythian 2.127): 26n63

[*De audibilibus*]

804a17: 159

[*De mundo*]

399a15–b10: 46

Eudemian Ethics

1230a3: 131n8

History of Animals

7.1: 159n8

7.1.581a18–27: 160n15

Nikomachean Ethics

3.1.1111a11: 133

4.8.1128a5: 150n42

4.8.1128a22–24: 148n37

On the Generation of Animals

4.4.770b35: 157n1

5.7.787b20–788a7: 160nn14, 16

5.7.787b32–788a2: 159n8

Poetics

1.1447a16–18: 143

2.1448a16–17: 141

3.1448a19–24: 141, 143

3.1448a25–27: 142, 144

5.1448b25–26: 141n28

5.1449a35: 149

5.1449b8–9: 148

6.1449b31–33: 143

6.1450a7–12: 143

6.1450a38: 131

6.1450b16–17: 143

6.1450b18–19: 131, 144

6.1450b19–20: 143

9.1451b21: 152

10.1452a12: 136

11.1452a29–32: 137, 152

11.1452b2: 152

11.1452b9–13: 148

13.1452b28: 149n40

13.1453a2: 150

13.1453a8: 149n40

13.1453a27: 150

13.1453a35–39: 150

14.1453b1–3: 146

14.1453b1–6: 132

14.1453b1–11: 143

14.1453b17–19: 152

14.1453b26–54a8: 132

14.1454a4–8: 132, 133

16.1454b25: 147n36

16.1454b25–30: 142

16.1455a2–4: 142

17.1455b16–23: 142

24.1460a25–26: 142

24.1460a34–36: 142

26.1461b28–29: 145

26.1462a2–4: 145

26.1462a15–17: 145n33

Politics

3.3.1276b4–6: 41

4.11.1295a26: 149n39

4.13.1297b18–22: 45n101

6.8.1322a27–8: 20n46

7.10.1330a14–25: 8n3

7.17.1336b37: 13n20

8.5.1340a14–b19: 150n42

[*Problems*]

19.6: 160n16

19.15: 42n92

Rhetoric

1.15.13: 120n38

2.2.1, 1378a31–33: 116n27

3.1.3–5: 146

3.2.9: 21n50

Arrian

Tactics

2.1: 17n36

Artemidoros

Oneirokritika (*Interpretation of Dreams*)

1.54: 18n41, 21n50

Asklepiodotos

Tactics

chs.10–12: 45n102

Athenaios

Deipnosophistai (Sophists at Dinner)

- 5.181C: 44n97
- 11.494F: 9n6
- 13.569D–F: 84n40
- 14.621D: 163
- 14.628E–F: 45–46
- 14.629B–C: 25
- 14.629C: 27n66
- 14.630A: 27n66
- 14.630D: 26n62
- 14.630E: 25n61
- 14.631B–C: 25n61
- 14.631C: 31
- 14.650F–651A: 8n4

Aulus Gellius

Attic Nights

- 1.11.17–19: 47

Bakchylides

- 18: 42n92

Censorinus

De die natali

- 5: 159n11

Comica Adespota (Fragments of Comedy)

- 1213 Kock: 112n15

Demosthenes

- 18.208: 117
- 19.247–48: 121n42
- 19.269: 117
- 19.285: 119n37
- 19.303: 14
- 21.15 & schol. on: 41
- 21.16: 48n112
- 21.17–18: 100n82
- 21.58–61: 41n89
- 30.15: 115n24
- 39.16: 41
- 44.37: 102
- 50.6–7: 17
- 54.3: 110n12
- 54.9, 14, 16, 20, 39: 112
- [59].27: 41

Diomedes

Ars Grammatica

- 3.8.1, 3.9a: 151n44

Dioskorides

- 4.50: 159n10

Empedokles

- 80 D–K: 165

Ephoros

- FGrHist* 70 F 149:
27–28

Etymologicum Magnum

- 118.55: 21n52
- 764, ad. Τραγωδία:
160n18

Eupolis

- PCG*, fr. 274: 42n91

Euripides

Andromakhe

- 1123: 26
- 1129–36: 26

Bakkhai

- 175–209: 29

Elektra

- 1314–15: 109n9

Herakles

- 190–94: 14n25

Iphigeneia among the Taurians

- 1450–66: 124–25

Ion

- 53, 653, 780, 805, 823, 1130,
1219, 1305: 115n 22

Medeia

- 250–52: 125n49

Orestes

- 655–57: 119
- 858: 119

[*Rhesos*]

- 510–11: 19n43

Fragments

- 672 (Nauck): 120n40
- 719 (Nauck): 120n39
- 812 (Nauck): 120n41

Eustathios

- 582.20: 9n6

Galen

Commentary on Epidemics 6

- 17.B.21ff. Kühn: 159n12

De semine

- 2.5 (4.633 Kühn): 159n12

De usu partium

- 14.7 (4.172–74 Kühn): 159n12

Harpokration

- s.v. *Epikratēs*: 11n12

- s.v. *Lampas*: 21n53

Herodotos

Histories

3.112: 159n10
6.83.1: 12
6.126.3: 6
6.127.4: 7
6.129.3-4: 7

Hesychios

s.v. *bryllikhistai*: 93n57
s.v. *Bouleutikon*: 99n80
s.v. *Hupokolpion tou khorou*:
46n105
s.v. *Koureōtis*: 9n6
s.v. *Laurostatai*: 46n105
s.v. *Omistēria*: 9n6
s.v. *tragizein*: 159n9

Hippagoras

FGrHist 743 F 1:
27n66

Hippokrates

Epidemics

2.5.1: 159n11
6.3.14: 159
6.4.21: 159

Opera Omnia

vol. IX, p. 402 (ed. Littré):
15n27

Homer

Iliad

4.374-48: 12n20
7.235-41: 23
16.611: 23
16.617-18: 23

Odyssey

18.175-76: 12n18
18.217: 12n18
18.269-70: 12n18
19.160: 12n18
19.532: 12n18

Horace

Satires

1.2.27: 159n10

Hyginus

Fabulae

4: 136
27: 136
88: 154n51
121: 137
122: 137n21, 138
187: 147n36
190: 152

Inscriptiones Creticae

I ix 1.31-36: 109n9

Inscriptiones Graecae

I³ 47, line 12: 22n54
II² 500.32-35: 103n93
II² 673: 22n54
II² 1358 B 17-18: 158
II² 1951.100: 47
II² 2318: 40n86, 43n95
II² 2320, fr. a col. 2, lines 1-3: 127n1
II² 2323: 95
II² 2323a 46-47: 40
II² 3606: 21n50
XII 5, 444: 95n64
XII 6, 172 A ll.3-8: 99n76

Isokrates

Against Demonicus

1.6: 63n2

Antidosis

15.287: 58n136

Trapezitikos

17.33-34: 100n82

Justin

3.3: 158n7

Khamaileon

Frag. 42 (Wehrli): 45-46

Letters of Themistokles

8 (Hercher 1873: 747): 14n27

Lucian

Anakharsis

37: 111

Lykourgos

Leokrates

1.37: 41
1.83-87: 120
1.198-101: 120

Lysias

3.47: 117
10.29: 64n3
10.31: 115n24
13.32: 102n88
13.55: 102n88
16.12-13: 117
16.14: 17
21: 40n86
21.3: 44n100
21.4: 26n63
31.7: 117

Marmor Parium

FGrHist 239 A 39: 95n64
FGrHist 239 A 43: 43
FGrHist 239 A 46: 43n95
IG XII 5, 444: 95n64

Martial

Epigrams
 3.24: 159–60

Menander

Epitrepontes
 325–33: 147n36

Nikander

Frag. 9 (= *FGrHist* 271–72):
 84n40

Oxyrhynchus Papyri

420: 134n15
 1365.22–8 (= *FGrHist* 105.2):
 20n46
 2455: 134n15, 135n17
 2457: 134n15

Pacuvius

Hermione
 186 Ribbeck: 27n65

Palatine Anthology

7.414: 164n3

Paulus

Festus
 101M: 159n11
 105M: 159n11

Pausanias

Description of Greece
 2.13.6: 157n1
 2.35.1: 21n51
 3.16.7–17.1: 93n58
 5.19.2: 13n20
 8.23.11: 93n58

Philemon

Frag. 4 (= *FGrHist* 271–72): 84n40

Philostratos

Lives of the Sophists
 2.550: 21n50

Photios

s.v. *synephebos*: 18

Plato

Kratylos
 408C–D: 157n4
Lakhes
 179A–180A: 13n21

Laws

1.633D ff.: 52n128
 6.760B–763C: 16n33
 7.786C: 24
 7.794D: 25n61
 7.795B: 25n61
 7.795D–E: 25n61
 7.796B: 30n70
 7.814E: 27
 7.815A: 26
 8.838C: 154n50
 12.943E–944A: 121
 12.945A: 117n29

Protagoras

309A–B: 13n20

Republic

392D–394D: 143n31

Symposion

173A: 32n75

Plato Komikos

Frag. 174.13: 45n103

Plutarch

Conjugal Precepts

139B: 159n10

Customs of the Spartans

40: 93n58

Greek Questions

13, 294B–C: 8n4

Life of Alkibiades

15.4: 14n27

Life of Kimon

8.7–9: 102–3n93

Life of Lykourgos

18: 93n58

Life of Theseus

18: 161n19

31: 93n58

Life of Phokion

12.3: 17n36

30.6: 41

Moralia

998E: 133

Roman Questions

11, 290A: 159n10

Sympotic Questions

5.8.2, 683D–F: 165

Pollux

4.104: 92n57
 4.122: 99n80
 9.149: 165
 10.164: 21n50

Semos of Delos

On Paians

FGrHist IV 496: 163

Seneca

Epistles

86.13: 159n10

Sextus Empiricus

Against the Mathematicians

3.3: 134

Simonides

PMG 550 (fr. 56 Bergk): 21n50

Solon

Frag. 27 (West): 12

Sokrates

*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*⁴ ii. 287: 46

Sophokles

Antigone

175–90: 121n42

670–71: 45n103

Oidipous at Colonus

1045: 45n101

Philoktetes

83–85: 119n36

Women of Trakhis

270–80: 19n44

Souda

s.v. *Bouleutikos*: 99n80

s.v. *Khionidēs*: 43n96

s.v. *Rhinthōn*: 164n3

Stephanos of Byzantium

s.v. *Rhinthōn*: 164n3

s.v. *tragos*: 157n3

Strabo

9.1.22: 8n3

10.4.16: 28

10.4.20: 28

Strattis

Frag. I 725 (Kock): 163

Themistios

Orations

21: 93n58

Theophrastos

Characters

5.7: 103n93

Thoukydides

History of the Peloponnesian War

1.25.4 : 22n54

4.94.1: 17n36

5.70: 47

8.93.1, 3: 102n88

8.97.2: 17

Thrasymakhos

Frag. B2 (Diels-Kranz): 120

Xenophon

Anabasis

2.6.28: 13n20

6.1.5–13: 24, 27

[*Constitution of the Athenians*]

1.2: 17

1.13–14: 86

Constitution of the Spartans

2.9: 93n58

Hellenika

2.4.32: 102n88

Kynēgetikos

1.18: 65

10: 118

12.1: 65

13.11: 65

Kyroupaideia (Education of

Kyros)

1.2.2: 13

1.2.4: 11n17

1.2.15: 17

Memorabilia

3.1.7: 45n101

3.5.6: 45

3.5.19: 17

3.5.25–28: 20n48

3.6.1: 20

3.6.9–11: 20, 109n10

3.12.2: 64

Symposion

2.13: 59n139

4.23: 13n20

Ways and Means (Poroi)

4.52: 15

GENERAL INDEX

Page numbers in *italics* denote figures.

- Academy, 22
 Achilles, 26, 81, 114, 120–21, 169
 Achilles Tatius, 211
 acrobatic dancers, 60–61
 acting, 143–46
 actors, xxii, 32–41, 33–40, 45, 60, 67–77,
 131–32, 143–46, *plates 1–4, 7, 10, 13*;
 phluakes, 163–65
 adolescence: Apatouria (clan festival)
 acknowledging, 9; changing of male
 voice in, xxi, 159–60; and dancing,
 25–26, 29–30. *See also* ephebes; *hēbē*;
 puberty
 Aelian, 111, 113, 159n10
 African theater, 155n
Against Konon (by Demosthenes), 109–110,
 112–13, 119
Against Meidias (by Demosthenes), 100
 Agamemnon, 119, 125, 137–38, 154, 158n6,
 165
 Agathon, 32n75, 152
 age, 49, 82, 129; age-classes, xxi, 12–15,
 18n41, 19, 20n46, 28, 41, 43–44, 49,
 98n75, 115; and manhood, 114; and
 three axes of value, 66
 agility, 23, 113
 Agora, Athenian, 42, 69, 70–71, 85, 109–10,
 114–15
 agriculture, 8n2, 20n48, 85, 88, 109
Aias (by Sophokles), 23, 121–22
 Aigeus, King, 42n92, 136–37
 Aigisthos, 114, 138, 150, 154–55
 Aiskhines, 13–15, 109n11, 111, 115, 120
aiskhrologia (foul language), 148n37
 Aiskhylos, 40, 48, 100n84, 101n87, 118n35,
 139, 158n7, 165, 169; *Persians*, 15n29,
 40n, 120–21, 136; *Prometheus Bound*,
 130; *Seven against Thebes*, 10, 11n15,
 12, 103, 136
Akharnians (by Aristophanes), 9n6,
 15n29, 22nn55–54, 42, 73n, 74n19, 118,
 122n45
 Alexander of Aphrodisias, 159
 Alexander the Great, 164
 Alexis, 163–64
Alkestis (by Euripides), 134n15, 139n25
 Alkibiades, 41, 122
 Alkmene, 68n11, 78–79
 Altalena Painter, 74n20
 ambidexterity, 25n61
 ambition, 13, 16, 50
 ambushes, 26, 30
 Ameinias, 40
 amphorae, 47n110, 48n116, 93
anagnōrisis. *See* Recognition
 Anakhsarsis, 111
 Anakreon, 52; Anakreontic singers, 60;
 Anakreontic vases, 52–53
 anal sex, 107, 107n, 112n15
 Anatolia, 23
 anatomy, 84. *See also* body/bodies
 Andokides, 41, 118n34, 122, 126n
andragathiē (manly excellence), xxiii, 2,
 4, 6–7, 50–51, 63, 101; and scenarios of
 risk, 104, 111, 113–15, 118–19, 121
andreia, 2, 10n9, 23–31, 85, 117n30, 121–23.
 See also courage; manliness
 androgyny, 79n29
Andromakhe (by Euripides), 26, 139n25
andropais anēr (man-boy man), 10
anēr (“man” in the sense of fully achieved
 male), 115, 119
 anger, Aristotle’s definition of, 116n27
 animals, 112n14; “animal chorus” vases,
 93; sacrifice of, 125, 134, 154, 157–58,
 160. *See also by description*, e.g.,
 cocks/cockfighting; goats
 Anthesteria (festival), 42, 72–74
Antheus (play by Agathon), 152
 anthropology, xxiii–xxiv, 103, 129
 anthropomorphism, 108
 Antigone, 82–83
Antigone (by Sophokles), 15n29, 45n103,
 82n37, 121, 132

- Antisthenes, 121–22
apatē (trick or deception), 19n43, 89
 Apatouria (clan festival), 8–10, 18–22
 Aphrodite, 161n
 Apollo, 93n57, 115, 121, 124, 137–38, 152; Apollo Delphinios, temple of, 161n
 Apollodorus, 154n51
 Apollo Lykeios (ephebic patron), 21n53
 Apollonia, 100n84
 Apuleius, 211
 Aratos, 44n100
 Archaic period, 11, 19, 31, 83, 117n30, and *passim*; costume during, 86–96
 architecture, 96–97
 Areopagos, Council of, 126
 Ares, 14
aretē (excellence, skill), 66, 141, 147
 Argos, 12, 124, 138
 Ariadne, xxv, 32
 Aristides, 44n98, 46n106
 aristocracy, 1n, 4, 10, 16–18, 43n95, 51, 113; and theater, 64, 66, 85–86, 95–96. *See also* elites; oligarchy
 Ariston, 109–10, 112, 119
 Aristophanes, 14–16, 40–42, 45, 63–68, 93–94, 98–100, 142–48 *passim*; *Akharnians*, 9n6, 15n29, 22nn55–54, 42, 73n, 74n19, 118, 122n45. *Birds*, 15, 99n80, 100, 108n6, 112n15, 138, 158n6; *Clouds*, 15–16, 27, 63–66, 71, 100, 105–8, 111, 113, 165; *Ekklesiastzousai*, 37n, 100; *Frogs*, 103; *Knights*, 103n93, 122n45; *Kokalos*, 147–49; *Lysistrata*, 94, 147n36; *The Seasons (Hōrai)*, 14; *Thesmophoriazousai*, 68n10, 81, 81–82, 103n93; *Wealth (Ploutos)*, 64; and Xenophon, difference between, 66n6. *See also* under comedy: Old
 Aristotle, 127–55; on anger, 116n27; on comedy, 130, 147–52; *Constitution of the Athenians*, xx, xxii, 4, 13, 16, 20n46, 43n95, 85n42, 86, 110n, 115n23; narrativity, general theory of, 130–34; narrativity, special theory of, 134–38; *Politics*, 8n3, 13n20, 41, 149n39; *Rhetoric*, 146, 147n35, 155; on the social classes of literature, 140–47; on tragedy, 127n, 131, 139–40, 148–49, 152–55. *See also* *Poetics*
 Aristoxenos, 31
 Arkadia, 24, 27
 Arkhelaos of Makedon, King, 120
 armed dancers, 27, 29, 54–59. *See also* *pyrrhikē* (armed dance)/pyrrhic dancers
 art/artists, 52, 74–75, 84. *See also* by *description*, e.g., black-figure art/artists; red-figure art/artists; vases/vase paintings
 Artemidoros, 18n41, 21n50
 Artemis, 9, 93n57, 124–25, 138; Artemis Tauropolos, 124–25; Artemis Wortheia, temple of, 89, 92–93
 Asklepiodotos, 45n102
 Assembly, Athenian Popular (*Ekklēsia*), 5, 101–2, 115, 118n35
 Asteas (painter), 78, *plate* 12
 Atarbos, son of Lys[istratos of Thorikos], 30
 Athamas (Thessalian king), 136
 Athena, 109, 124–26, 134n13, 154; Athena Areia, 14; Athena Phratia, 9; *dea ex machina*, 126
 Athenaios, 24, 45–46, 84n40, 163–64
 Athena Painter, the, 30
 Athenian colonies, 22n54
 Athenian Council. *See* *Boulē*; Council, Athenian; democracy
 Athenian Popular Assembly. *See* Assembly, Athenian Popular (*Ekklēsia*)
 athletic abilities required for fighting, 23
 athletic competition: as scenario of risk, 118. *See also* by *description*
 Atlas, 79
 Atreus, 153–55
 Attic vases, 10, 52, 64, 82, 108. *See also* vases/vase paintings
 Attika, xx, 4, 8, 20–21, 86, 109, 124–25, 158, and *passim*
 audience, 3; identity as civic collective, 4, 63–103. *See also* seating arrangements
 auditorium, 5, 67, 97–102, 129
 Augustus, 135
aulos, 23–24, 28, 47
aulos-players, 7, 28–29, 32–34, 36, 40, 47–49, 49, 52, 53–54, 58–59, 68, 93, 108, *plates* 1, 6; Pronomos as, 32–33, 36, 37n, *plate* 1
aulētrides (flute-girls), 53, 58, 58n136, 59

- Bacchic possession, 136
Bakchai (by Euripides), 29, 139n25
 Bakkhylides 18, 42n92
 barbiton, 52
 Barringer, Judith, 66n5
baryllika (dance), 93n57
 Bassi, Karen, 2n, 117n30
 battle. *See* combat; war/warfare
 beards, xxii, 10, 12–13, 41, 48, 52, 70, 85, 89–92, 90; beardlessness, xxii, 8, 10, 20–21, 26n62, 37–38, 41n87, 89
 beauty, 7, 10, 106–7; and the ideal male body, 64–66
 Beazley, J. D., 47n110, 74n20
Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World (Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin), xv
 Belated Recognition, 152. *See also* Recognition
 Belfiore, Elizabeth, 127n, 131nn6–8, 137n20
 bell-krater (bowl), 38, 41n87, 48–49, 56, 58–59, 77–79, 81–82, 133, *plates* 3–4, 6, 12–14
 belly, 64–65
 Benedictine order, 130n, 211
 “best men.” *See* *Kalokagathia*
 Bicknell, P. J., 102n87
 “billy goat singers” (*tragōidoi*), xxi, 31, 157–61
Birds (by Aristophanes), 15, 99n80, 100, 108n6, 112n15, 138, 158n6
 birth, 9, 125
 black-figure art/artists, 21n50, 47n110, 48n116, 52–53, 74n20, 87–89, 94–95, 111
 black goatskin, 8–10, 21–22, 158; and Dionysos Melanaigis, 21–22
 “black hunter,” 10, 18, 158
 Boardman, J., 89n
 boars, wild, 118
 body/bodies, 63–103; of a democratic citizen, 84, 110; male, social meanings/messages of, 65–66, 84, 103; taut vs. slack, 2, 64–66, 74, 83, 101, 165. *See also* masculinity; *specific physical features; specific topics, e.g.,* agility; strength, physical
 Boiotia, 8, 20, 42, 86
 borders, 8–10; border patrol (*phulakē*), 20; duel on the border, 8–10, 109. *See also* *peripoloi* (border guards)
 Borthwick, E. K., 27
 Bosphoros, 120
Boulē (Council), 5, 16, 36n, 41–42, 97–101. *See also* Council, Athenian
 Bourdieu, P., 85n44
 boys: citizen, xx, 2, 56; man-boy man (*andropais anēr*), 10. *See also* adolescence; ephebes
 bravery. *See* courage
 breasts, 78
 Brelich, Angelo, 8n3
 bribery, 100
 Broadway Musical style of Greek drama, 145
 brothels, 84
 Burian, Peter, 101n86, 102n91, 122n44
 Burkert, Walter, 103n94, 157–60
 Burnett, Anne Pippin, 130
 Buschor, Ernst, 22n54, 37n
 buttocks, 107n. *See also* rump
Cage aux folles, 82
 Cameron, H. D., 111n15
 Campbell, John, 113–14
 Cantarella, Eva, 111n14
 Cantarella, Raffaele, 151n44
 Capps, Edward, 95
 Carlsruhe Painter, 53–54
 Carpenter, Thomas, 88n50, 88n53
 Carter, D. M., 1n, 3n, 98n75, 118n35, 123n, 131n6, 168
 Carter, Jane, 91–92
 Cassidy, Butch, 8n4
 casuistry, 121–22
 cavalry, 17, 45n101, 50, 93, 117
 Ceccarelli, Paola, 10n9, 25n60
 centaurs, 68–69, 69
 Chantraine, Pierre, 165
 character, personal, 6, 63, 113–14, 127n, 149
 characters (as determining genre), 141
 childbirth, 125
 children, 74. *See also* boys; *specific topics, e.g.,* household; infanticide
 Choregos Painter, 79
 choruses, xix; “animal chorus” vases, 93; choral dancing, 16, 42n90, 46–47; circular (*kyklios khoros*), 44, 49, 50n; processional, 44n100; tetragonal, 44n97. *See also* comic chorus; dithyrambs/dithyrambic chorus; tragic chorus

- circular dancing, 45, 97n72; of dithyrambs, xxii, 31, 44–45, 49
- circular orchestra, 96–97
- citizenship, xix–xx, 1–3, 17, 41, 86, 117; citizen boys/males, xix–xx, 1–2, 56; citizen rights, 10; citizen-warriors, 4–5, 10, 15–16, 19–20, 28, 31, 42–43, 56n, 64, 107, 109, 111; citizen wives, 98, 98n75. *See also* democracy; *polis*
- city and country, 109
- City Dionysia. *See* Dionysia, City
- city-state. *See* *polis*
- civic duties. *See* military duties
- civic ideology, 51, 111, 122, 124
- civic male ideal, 88, 93n60
- civic training, xxii. *See also* ephebate
- clans (phratryies), 9, 18, 22n55, 115; Apatouria (festival), 8–10, 18–22
- class, 49, 57, 82, 103; and military ranking, 17–18; and three axes of value, 66. *See also* age: age-classes; social classes; status
- Classical period, xix–xx, xxv–xxvi, 19nn42–43, 22n56, 25, 104, 113, 167, and passim; art/artists of, 74–75. *See also by topic, e.g.,* Aristotle; democracy
- classics, xxiii–xxvi, 212
- clay masks, 89
- cleverness, 148n37
- clothing, 68n12, 76, 86n48, 93n57, 125; ephebic cloak, 21n50. *See also* costume; khitons
- Clouds* (by Aristophanes), 15–16, 27, 63–66, 71, 100, 105–8, 111, 113, 165
- clowns, 61, 147. *See also* *phauloi*
- cockiness/cocky behavior, 7, 109–15, 118
- cocks/cockfighting, 88–89, 93, 108–15, 117–18, 167; in vase paintings, 88–89, 104, 108
- colonette-krater, 88
- column-krater, 47–48, *plate 5*
- combat, 8, 22n56, 26, 109, 111, 117–18
- comedy, xxiii, 1–2, 74, 147–52, 163; Aristotle on, 130, 147–52; Middle, 37n, 148n37; New, 147–48; Old, 46n104, 68n10, 69, 147–48; romantic, 128. *See also* Aristophanes; costume
- comic chorus (*komōidoi*), 41, 43, 66n6, 95n64
- command words, in choral descriptions, 45–46, 45n102
- common good, 65, 67, 117
- competition: among the ten tribes, 43n95, 98, 101; athletic, as scenario of risk, 118; in *polis* society, 101, 122, 141; zero-sum, 116–18, 152. *See also by description, e.g.,* cocks/cockfighting; dithyrambs/dithyrambic chorus
- Connor, W. R., 8n2, 16n34
- Constitution of the Athenians* (by Aristotle), xx, xxii, 4, 13, 16, 20n46, 43n95, 85n42, 86, 110n, 115n23
- Constitution of the Athenians* (by Xenophon), 17, 86
- Constraints of Desire, The* (Winkler), xvii, xxiv
- contests: jury trials as, 126; of manhood, 119. *See also* competition; *by description*
- corruption, 14, 93n57, 100
- costume, xxiii, 2, 4, 67–82, 103, 108; archaic, 86–96; politics of, 67–82. *See also* masks; padding, stage; transvestism
- Council, Athenian, 5, 97–100, 117, 126. *See also* *Boulē*
- courage, 2n, 19n43, 23, 25, 27, 113, 116–17, 124. *See also* *andreia*; *kindunos*; manliness
- courtesans (*hetairai*), 56–59
- courting gifts, 111n14
- courts, 118n35, 123n. *See also* jury trials
- cowardice, 14n25, 27, 64, 120–21
- C Painter, 86n48
- Cropp, Martin, 136n19, 153n48
- cross-dressing. *See* transvestism
- Csapo, Eric, 33n76, 42n93, 43n95, 44n98, 44n100, 49n, 68n10, 75n23, 81n34, 87n48, 93n61, 95–97, 104n2, 108, 111–12nn14–17, 168
- cultural anthropology, xxiii
- daily life, 123, 151–52
- dance/dancers, 23–31, 40, 86; armed, 27, 29, 54–59 (see also *pyrrhikē*); dithyrambic, 44; martial, 25–26, 65; naked, 25, 28–29; padded, 86–89, 87–89, 165; women, 25n59, 53–61. *See also by description, e.g.,* military dancing; tragic dancing
- danger, 116–18. *See also* courage; *kindunos*; risk/risk-taking

- Dareios (Xerxes' dead father), 120
Davidson, James, 14n24
Davies, J. K., 11n12, 32n75, 35
Dawe, R. D., 139
Dayton, John, 19n43
dea ex machina, 126
debate (*agōn*), 63–64, 102, 108, 121–23;
casuistry, 121–22. *See also* under Aris-
tophanes: *Clouds*; jury trials
debts, 84
deception (*apatē*), 19n43, 89
decorum, 57, 60
Deianeira, 4
Delian League, 102
Delos, 22n54, 100n84, 163
Delphi, 26, 115n22, 138, 152, 154
demes, 8n3, 9, 17–18, 30, 32n75, 85, 102, 115
Demetrios, 32, 35n78, 40–41
democracy, xxiii, 1–3, 10, 18, 62–104,
110–11, 122–23; the Athenian Popu-
lar Assembly (*Ekklēsia*), 5, 101–2,
115, 118n35; the body of a democratic
citizen, 84, 110; the common good,
65, 67, 117; and seating arrangements,
97–102; structure of Kleisthenic,
97–98; and theatrics, 95–104. *See also*
Assembly, Athenian Popular; *Boulē*;
Council, Athenian; egalitarianism;
Ekklēsia; equality; Kleisthenes; *polis*;
tribes, ten/tribal communities
Demosthenes, 14, 41–42, 48n112, 110, 115n24,
117, 119–21; *Against Konon*, 109–110,
112–13, 119; *Against Meidias*, 100
desire, 106. *See also* lust
Dikaiarkhos, 135
Dikaionpolis, 42, 118, 122n45
Dinos Painter, 55, 59
Diomedes, 15n44
Dionysia, City, 1, 4, 41–44, 51, 60, 66n6,
158; as chief dramatic festival, xix–xx,
96–104; foundation myth of, 21–22;
history of performances at, 43; nature
of drama at, 130. *See also* dramatic
festivals
Dionysia, rural, 1
Dionysiac procession, 96n65
Dionysian dances, 18
Dionysos, 32–33, 38, 40, 47, 69–70, 83,
136, 157, 165; and the Apatouria,
18–22; Dionysos Melanaigis (of the
black goatskin), 21–22, 158; priest
of, 42, 73n, 104–5, 111; temple of, 96;
theater of, xxii, 4, 16, 31, 49, 70, 97n70,
104–5, 111
Dionysos, festivals of, 1–2, 33n76, 41, 73.
See also Dionysia, City; dramatic festi-
vals; Lenaia
Dionysos Melanaigis, 21–22
Dioskouroi, 13n20
display, masculine, 6–62, 113–22
dithyrambs/dithyrambic chorus, 41,
43–44, 48–49, 96n65, 99–101; circular
dancing of, xxii, 31, 44–45
dogs, 8n4, 159n10
dokimasia. *See* scrutiny
Dolon Painter, 83
Dorian, 47
Dover, K. J., 63n1
drag. *See* transvestism
drama, 121, 144–47, 169; Broadway Musi-
cal style of, 145; conflicts of feeling,
allegiance, and value in, 121; of danger,
116–18; of masculine display, 6–62,
113–22; as scenario of risk, 118; social
meanings of, xxi, 3, 123, 129, 147, 151,
168. *See also* comedy; tragedy
dramatic festivals, xix, xxii, 1–2, 18n39, 21,
43n95, 96–104, 129, 167. *See also* by
name
dream analysis, 18n41
drinking contests, 72–73
drinking parties, 60, 110
drinking songs (*skolia*), 60
drunkenness, 7, 74, 110–12, 115
duel on the border, 8–10, 109. *See also*
Melanthos
Duncan, Anne, 123n
Eco, Umberto, 130n
economics, 18, 116
education (*paideusis*), 6, 16, 27, 46n104,
63, 65–66, 105–9, 128–29
effeminacy, 37n, 112
egalitarianism, 84n45, 101, 103. *See also*
democracy; equality
Eion monument, 85
Ekklēsia (the Athenian Popular Assem-
bly), 5, 101–2, 115, 118n35
Ekklesiiazousai (play by Aristophanes),
37n, 100

- Elektra, 119, 135, 138, 139n25
Elektra (by Euripides), 109n9, 134n15, 135, 139n25
Elektra (by Sophokles), 135
eleos. *See* pity
 Eleusinian procession, 21n50
 Eleutherai, 8, 21–22, 109
 elites, 17–18, 36n, 101n85, 103–4. *See also* aristocracy; class; oligarchy; status
 Else, Gerald F., 130, 139
emmeleia (tragic dance), 25n61
 emotion, 122, 128n1, 129, 132, 134, 142n30, 143, 146–47, 155; pity and fear, 98, 119. *See also* self-control/self-restraint
 Empedokles, 165
 endurance, as sign of manhood, 23, 28–29, 111
 envy, divine (*phthonos*), 116n26, 120
 Epaminondas, 8n4
 ephebate, xix–xxiii, 4, 10–20, 50–51, 110n, 114, 158, 167; goal of, 20
 ephebes, xix–xxiii, 2, 9–18, 37, 105; and cockiness/cocky behavior, 7, 109–15, 118; goal of, 20; the ideal ephebe, 113–14; inherent theatricality of, 113–14; initiation of, xix, 21n53, 158; oath of, 14–15; Orestes as, 123–26; physical characteristics of, 64–66; responsibilities of, 160n17; and status, xxiii, 2, 12n17, 17–18, 38n80, 50–51, 114–15; theatricality of, inherent, xxii, 113–14; transition to manhood (from ephebe to hoplite), xxii, 50–51, 109; uniform of, 21n50. *See also* adolescence; *andragathiē* (manly excellence); ephebate; *hēbē*; puberty; warriors, young; *individual names*, e.g., Ariston; *specific topics*, e.g., beards; beardlessness; *tragōidoi*
 “The Ephebes’ Song: *Tragōidia* and *Polis*” (Winkler), xiv–xxxiii
 Ephialtes, 118n35
 Ephoros, 20n46, 27–28
 epics, 142–43, 145. *See also* *Iliad*; *Odyssey*
 Epigenes, 64
 Epikharmos, 148
 Epikrates, 11, 13
 Epiktetos, 28–29
 equality, 5, 84–85, 97, 100–101, 103–4. *See also* democracy
erōmenoi (boyfriends), 66, 106
 ethics of citizen-soldiery, 4–5
 Eukharides Painter, 29
 Eupolis, 13, 42n91, 69
 Euripides, 40, 82, 139; “alphabetical” plays, 139; *Alkestis*, 134n15, 139n25; *Andromakhe*, 26, 139n25; *Bakkhai*, 29, 139n25; *Elektra*, 109n9, 134n15, 135, 139n25; *Helen*, 123–24, 128n3, 139; *Herakles*, 14n25; *Hippolytos*, 19n42, 21n50, 139n25; *Ino*, 136–37; *Ion*, 114–15, 128n3, 139, 147–48; *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, 137–38; *Iphigeneia among the Taurians*, 123–24, 126–28, 137–39, 149; *Kresphontes*, 132–34, 136–37, 150, 153; *Kretans*, 147n36; *Kyklops*, 139n25; *Medeia*, 68n11, 125n, 134n15, 139n25; *Orestes*, 134n15, 139n25; *Phoinissai*, 122n44, 134n15, 136, 139n25; and post-Euripidean drama, 138n; [*Rhesos*], 19n43, 134n15, 139n25; *Suppliants*, 122n44, 136; *Telephos*, 68n10, 80–81, 120, 122n45, 133, 134n15
 excellence, 86; *aretē*, 66, 141, 147; hoplites as arena for voluntary, 50–51; of the ideal youth, 113; *spoudaioi* (men in pursuit of excellence), 141–42, 149–50; theater of, 6, 51, 60, 140. *See also* *andragathiē* (manly excellence)
 exile, 19n44, 109n9, 136
 exposure, 135n17
Fabulae (of Hyginus), 134–35
 family/families, 160n17; conflicts within, 131n6; trials of manhood and, 118–22. *See also* clans (phratries); household (*oikos*)
 fantasy military vases, 95
Far Side, The (cartoon), 133–34
 fatness. *See* taut vs. slack physique
 fear (*phobos*), 98, 119
 feminist anthropology, xxiii–xxiv
 fertility, 83, 85, 103
 festivals, 1–2, 8–9; religious, 66n6; Thesmophoria festival, women’s, 82; tragic, 1n, 102. *See also* by name; dramatic festivals
 fighting, 3, 8–10, 18–20, 27, 41–43, 45n101, 47, 84–85, 109–114; athletic abilities

- required for, 23. *See also* cocks/cock-fighting; combat; war/warfare
- flute-girls. *See aulētrides*
- Foley, Helene, 67n8, 74n21, 79n29, 88n51, 122n45, 131n6
- foreigners, 84, 119
- formations/performances, 32–51
- Foucault, Michel, xxiii
- “frog in one’s throat,” 159
- Frogs* (by Aristophanes), 103
- funeral urn, 82
- Furtwängler, Adolf, 32n73, 33, 37n79
- Galen, 159
- game hunting, 118
- games, 7, 146. *See also* sports
- gangs, 112, 163
- Gauthier, Philippe, 11n15, 13, 15
- Geertz, Clifford, xxiii
- gender, xv, xxiv, 49, 57, 82, 112, 129, 160n17, and passim; social messages of, 103; social practices of, xix; and three axes of value, 66. *See also andragathiē* (manly excellence), *andreaia*; manhood; manliness; masculinity
- generals, 46, 85, 102n93
- genitals, 21–22, 75–76, 83, 106. *See also* phallos/phallic imagery; testicles
- gifts, 74, 111n14
- Gilmore, David D., 114
- Giuliani, Luca, 32n72, 67n7, 68nn10–12, 75n23, 168
- Glaukon, 20, 109n10
- Gleason, Maud, xxv, 114n21
- Glendiots of Krete, 116
- goats, 22n54, 154; “billy goat singers” (*tragōidoi*), xxi, 31, 157–61; black goat-skin, 8–10, 21–22, 158; hermaphrodite, 157n2. *See also* satyrs
- goddesses, 9. *See also by name*
- gods, 12n18, 14, 21n53, 24, 46, 68n11, 109, 111, 116; *dea ex machina*, 126; and divine envy (*phthonos*), 116n26, 120; ephebes’ responsibility to, 160n17. *See also by name*
- Golden, Leon, 142n30, 144n
- Goldhill, Simon, 102, 103n93
- Gorgias* (by Plato), 118n35
- gossip, 155. *See also* scrutiny (*dokimasia*)
- Gouldner, Alvin W., 116n25
- Great Panathenaia (festival), 24n58, 27, 30, 48, 102
- Greek history, ancient, 157. *See also* Archaic period; Classical period; Hellenistic period; *specific topics and events*
- Greek language and spelling, 164, 169
- Green, J. R., 21n50, 67n9, 68n12, 79n31, 88n53, 93n60, 108n6, 163n1
- gymnasts (acrobatic dancers), 60–61
- gymnopaideia*, 25–28, 31, 169
- Hadrian, 98–99
- hair, cutting, 9–10, 152
- Haliartos, battle at, 117
- Halliday, W. R., 22
- Halperin, David, xiii–xxvi, 84
- hamartia* (tragic error), 139, 153
- Hammond, N. G. L., 42n93, 43n95
- Hansen, M. H., 101n87
- Harpokration, 11n12, 21n53
- Harrison, Evelyn B., 161n
- Harrison, J. E., 157n3
- Hēbē (divine consort of Herakles), 9n6
- hēbē* (youthful prime/coming manhood), 9, 11, 12n18, 12n20, 18, 41, 106. *See also* puberty; *tragizein*
- Hektor, 23, 121
- Helen, 133–34
- Helen* (by Euripides), 123–24, 128n3, 139
- Hellenistic period, 30–31, 102n88, 163–64, and passim
- helmets, 26, 29, 89
- Henderson, Jeffrey, 98n75
- Hephaistos, 21n53
- Herakles, 9n6, 14, 19n44, 32, 33, 68–69, 79, 79, 136
- Herakles* (by Euripides), 14n25, 139n25
- Hercher, Rudolf, 14n27
- hermaphrodite goat, 157n2
- Hermes, 78
- Hermion, 21n51
- Hermione* (by Pacuvius), 27n65
- herms, 66, 84–86, 103
- Herodes Attikos, 21n50
- Herodotos, 6, 12, 159n10
- heroes/heroism, 61, 101; heroic virtue, 104; hero warriors, in modern Greece, 113; tragic, 131. *See also* courage; excellence
- Herzfeld, Michael, 20n48, 85n44, 113, 116
- Hestia, 14, 109

- hetairai* (courtesans), 56–59
- hierarchies, 5, 101, 103–4, 116n27. *See also* class; status
- Hipparkhos, 85
- Hippokleides, 6–7, 50–51, 60, 62
- Hippokrates, 15n27, 159
- Hippolytos* (by Euripides), 19n42, 21n50, 139n25
- Homer, 9, 10n11, 120–21, 137, 142–45; *Iliad*, 12n20, 23, 67n7, 137; *Odyssey*, 12n18, 150
- homology, 45–47, 99
- honor, 50, 116, 160n17; and male identity, 23; rules of, in warfare, 19; and trials of manhood, 118–22. *See also time*
- hoplite revolution, 10, 86
- hoplites, xxii, 2, 4, 9–19, 26, 38n80, 43n94, 45–47, 108–9, 117; as arena for voluntary excellence, 50–51; and goal of ephebate, 20; *kinaidoi* as opposite of, 104n2; and status, 17, 50, 109; and transition to manhood (from ephebe to hoplite), xxii, 50–51, 109. *See also* phalanx/phalanx fighters; warriors
- hospitality, 116
- household (*oikos*), 9–10, 12, 85
- human sacrifice, 123, 125
- humor, 63, 153. *See also* comedy; laughter; playfulness; satyrs
- hunting, 65–66, 118; “black hunter,” 10, 18; game hunting, 118
- hupokrisis* (Aristotelian term for both acting and speaking before a jury), 146
- hupokritēs/hupokritai* (actor/actors), 41, 131, 144, 169
- hydria (water jar), 29, 58, 80–81
- Hyginus, 134–38, 147n36, 152, 154n51
- iambic form, 147, 163
- identity: civic and personal, 140; masculine, 61; proper/honorable male, 23; social/social meaning of, xix, 61, 122, 151–52. *See also* mistaken identity; *specific topics and descriptions*, e.g., warriors
- Ikaria, 95n64, 96n66
- Iliad* (by Homer), 12n20, 23, 67n7, 137. *See also* Achilles
- Illustrations of Greek Drama* (Trendall and Webster), 32n72, 32n75, 67, 68n11, and passim
- imitation: imitators (*mimētai*), 163; in tragedy, 143
- incest, 132, 135, 140, 145, 153–55. *See also* Oedipous
- infanticide, 136–37. *See also* Medeia
- infantry, 2, 10, 18–19, 45n101, 47. *See also* hoplites; phalanx/phalanx fighters
- initiation, xix, 21n53, 158. *See also* rites of passage
- innuendo, 148n37
- Ino* (by Euripides), 136–37
- insecurity, 122
- Ion* (by Euripides), 114–15, 128n3, 139, 147–48
- Ionians, 52
- Iphigeneia at Aulis* (by Euripides), 137–38
- Iphigeneia among the Taurians* (by Euripides), 123–24, 126–28, 137–39, 149
- irony, 64, 146
- Isaios, 119
- Isokrates, 100
- ithyphallic comic choruses, 66n6
- Ithyphalloi* (“Erect phalloses,” gang), 112, 163
- iunx* (love charm), 79
- Jones, John, 130
- judgment, good/sound, 23, 112, 117, 119
- jury trials, xxiii, 2, 50, 110, 112, 118–19, 121–23; as contests, 119, 126; *hupokrisis* (Aristotelian term for both acting and speaking before a jury), 146; as scenario of risk, 118; as showcases, 119. *See also* debate (*agōn*)
- Kadmos, 29
- Kalkhas, 152–53
- kalokagathia* (fine human qualities), 17, 86
- kalyx-krater, 60, 108n6, *plates* 7, 10
- Karia, 152–53
- katapugōn*, 107n
- kentron*, 108
- Khamailleon, 45–46
- khitons, 48, 52, 75–76
- khlamys (cloak), 21n50
- khoes (wine pitchers), 54, 57, 68–69, 69, 70n, 72, 72–74, 93–94, *plates* 9, 11
- khōra* (the agricultural countryside), 109
- khōregia* (private financial sponsorship of chorus), 1n, 18n39, 32n75

- khoregoi* (producers), 32n75, 40n, 41, 47, 74n19
- Kimón*, 103n93
- kinaidos*, 104n2, 112
- kindunos*, 111, 117–18, 121, 124–26, 140–41, 147, 151–52, 169; undergone by women, 125. *See also* danger; risk/risk-taking
- kinship, 9. *See also* clans (phratries); family/families
- Kitto, H. D. F., 44n97, 128n2
- Kleisthenes, 6–7, 23, 43, 51, 60, 85–86, 96n65; structure of Kleisthenic democracy, 97–98
- Kleon, 122n45
- Kleophon, 115
- Kleophon Painter, 49
- Klytaimnestra, 114
- Knights* (by Aristophanes), 103n93, 122n45
- Kock, Theodore, 14n26, 21n50, 82n36, 112n15, 163
- Kodros, King, 120
- Kokalos* (by Aristophanes), 147–49
- komōidoi*. *See* comic chorus
- komos vases, 93n61
- Konon, 110, 112, 115, 119
- Korinth/Korinthian vases, 7, 47n108, 47n110, 56n, 67, 86, 137; “Korinthian padded dancers,” 88
- koureion* (sacrifice), 9
- Kouretes, 28, 30n70
- kouroi* (young warriors), 9–11
- Krates, 148
- Kratinos, 48n114, 134n13
- Kreon, 45n103, 82
- Kreousa, 115n22
- Kresphontes* (by Euripides), 132–34, 136–37, 150, 153
- Kretans* (by Euripides), 147n36
- Krete, 21n50, 30n70, 109n9, 116, 161n
- kyklios khoros* (circular chorus), 44, 50n. *See also* dithyrambs/dithyrambic chorus
- Kyklops* (by Euripides), 139n25
- Kynēgetikos* (by Xenophon), 64–66, 118
- KY Painter, 87–88
- Kyroupaideia* (by Xenophon), 16–17
- Lakōnistai, 44n97
- Lamakhos, 42
- Laomedon (Trojan king), 32–33
- Larson, Gary, 133–34
- Latinization of Greek names, 169
- Lattimore, Richmond, 23, 130
- laughter, 133, 150
- laurostatai* (middle files), 46n105
- law: lawsuits, 107, 110. *See also* jury trials
- Lawler, Lillian B., 44n97
- Laws* (by Plato), 25–27, 30n70, 52n128, 117n29, 121, 154n50
- Lech, Marcel Lysgaard, 43n94, 44n98, 46n104, 97n70
- leisure, 13, 50
- lekythos, 30, 53–54, 59, 112–13
- Lenaia (Dionysian festival), 1, 41
- lesbianism, 153
- Lesbos, 37n
- Leukippe, 152–53
- liminality, 158
- lions, 118
- literary criticism, xxi, 130. *See also Poetics* (by Aristotle)
- Lloyd-Jones, Hugh, 154n51
- lone wolf tactics/training, 19–20
- Loraux, Nicole, 11n14, 15, 16n35, 51
- Louvre Centauromachy, Painter of, 54n131, 57
- Louvre K 420, painter of, 60
- love charm (*iunx*), 79
- Lucas, D. W., 131n9, 143n
- Lucian, 111, 113, 169
- lust, 159. *See also* satyrs
- Lykaon Painter, 56, *plate 6*
- Lykourgos/Lykourgan period, 8n3, 11, 13, 41, 50, 96–97, 110n, 120; pre-Lykourgan ephebic training, 15–17, 50
- lyre-players, 28, 32–33, 40, 48, 52–53, *plate 1*
- lyric poetry, 52n123
- Lysias, 16–17, 26n62, 40, 44n100, 64n, 102, 115n24, 117
- Lysistrata* (by Aristophanes), 94, 147n36
- maenads, 38
- magic, 211. *See also* Bacchic possession
- Magnesia, 24, 27
- man-boy man (*andropais anēr*), 10
- manhood, xix–xx, 109, 114–22, 167; *anēr* (“man” in the sense of fully achieved male), 115, 119; contests of, 119; heroic, 101; identity, proper/honorable, 23; *kindunos* as defining moment of,

- manhood (*continued*)
 117–18; and military skill, 23; “real men,” 27; social responsibilities of, 120; transition to (from ephebe to hoplite), xxii, 50–51, 109; trials of, 118–22; unrestrained, 66n6. See also *andragathiē* (manly excellence); *hēbē*; initiation; manliness; masculinity
- manliness, 7, 25, 27, 51, 98, 101, 112–14, 117. See also *andreia*; courage; manhood; masculinity
- Mannerist style, 47
- Marathon, 27, 106, 117, 158
- “marching,” 44–45
- Marmor Parium*, 43, 95, 157n5
- marriage, 7, 18n41, 154
- martial arts training/dancing, 25–26, 65
- Martin Classical Lectures, xiv–xvii, xxv, 128n1
- Marx, William, xxvi, 1n, 129n, 139n23
- masculinity, 61, 103; community ideals of, 114; and display/identity as performative, 6–62, 113–22; and taut vs. slack physique, 2, 64–66, 83, 101, 165. See also *andragathiē* (manly excellence); gender; manhood; manliness; *specific topics*, e.g., beards; gangs
- masks, 4, 16, 32, 35–41 passim, 48–49, 133; archaic, 87–93 passim, 90–92; clay, 89; politics of, 67, 69, 71, 75. See also transvestism
- maturity, 106, 112, 119
- McCulloch, H. Y., 11n15
- Medeia, 4, 68n11, 121–23, 125n, 132, 134n15, 136–37, 139n25
- Medeia* (by Euripides), 68n11, 125n, 134n15, 139n25
- Mediterranean world/culture, xxiii–xxiv, 2, 7, 27n64, 114, 140, 155
- Medus, 136–37
- Meidias, 68, 100
- Melanthos, 8, 10, 18–20, 22
- melodrama, xxiii, 2, 120, 124, 126n, 133, 138–40, 146–47, 155, 211
- Menander, 40, 98n75, 147
- Menelaos, 119, 154
- Merkelbach, R., 14n25, 42n92
- Merope, 132–34
- metics, 41
- Michigan Painter, 74n20
- Middle Comedy, 37n, 148n37
- middle files of soldiers or dancers (*laurostatai*), 46n105
- military (warriors). See warriors
- military aspect to tragic performance, 4–62
- military dancing, xxiii, 2, 24–25, 27n66, 31, 56, 97
- military duties, 4, 13, 15, 19, 20, 42, 50
- military exemptions, 41–42
- military skill, 23
- military status, xxi, 17–18, 50
- military training, xix–xx, 25n60, 45n102. See also ephebate
- military vases, 95
- Miller, Margaret, 52n123, 87n48
- mimesis, 142n30, 144n
- Minotaur, infant, 147n36
- mirrors, 16, 22, 57, 98, 122
- mistaken identity, 131–32, 135–39, 154. See also Recognition (*anagnōrisis*)
- Mitchel, F. W., 11n13, 11n15, 17n38
- mokhtheroi* (good-for-nothings), 149. See also *phauloi*
- moralists, 106, 108
- Munich Painter, 54–55, 58
- Munn, Mark, 8n3, 20n48
- muscle-building, 27
- Muses, 164n3
- music, 7, 21n51, 23–24, 28–37 passim, 40–42, 47–51 passim, 56, 86, 106, 141–145 passim; musical contests, 48n116. See also *by description*, e.g., *aulos*-players
- muthos*. See plot
- Mysians, 24, 27, 81
- mystery novels, 130n, 151
- myth, 1, 10, 18, 32n72, 42n92, 67n7, 68nn10–12, 114, 122, 131n8, 135, 152–53; foundation myth of City Dionysia, 20–22
- nakedness, 52, 58–60, 106; naked acrobatics, 60; naked actors (and stage nudity), 68–73, 76, *plates 9–11, 13–14*; naked dancers, 25, 28–29
- Name of the Rose, The* (Eco), 130n
- narrativity: Aristotle’s general theory of, 130–34; Aristotle’s special theory of, 134–38

- Near East, 91
Nemesis (by Kratinos), 134n13
 New Comedy, 147–48
 New Historicism, xiv, xxiii
 Nike, 68–69
 Nikias Painter, 68–69
 nimbleness, 23, 113
Nothing to Do with Dionysos? Athenian Drama in Its Social Context (Winkler and Zeitlin), xiv
 nudity. *See* nakedness
 nymphs, 23
- oath, ephebic, 14–15
 obedience, 15, 19, 101
 obscenity, 148n37
 Odysseus, 12, 119n36, 121, 150
Odyssey (by Homer), 12n18, 150
 Oidipous, 132, 140, 152–55
Oidipous at Colonus (by Sophokles), 45n101
Oidipous Tyrannos (by Sophokles), 127–28, 132
oikos (household), 9–10, 12, 85
 oinokhoē, 54, 57, 69, 70n, 72, 93–94.
See also khōes (wine pitchers)
 Old Comedy. *See under* comedy: Old
 oligarchy, 62; oligarchic revolution of 322, 111n15, 17n38; oligarchy of Phokion, 17n38; the pro-oligarchic elite, 36n.
See also aristocracy; elites; Sparta
 Olympic competitions, 6, 29
opsis (spectacle), 142–44, 146
 orators, 100, 110, 112, 117–22, 146
 orchestra, xxii, 4, 16, 44–45, 49, 67, 96–98, 160n17
 Orestes, 4, 71n, 74n19, 81, 114, 119, 123–27, 133, 137–38, 140, 150; as ephebe of all ephebes, 123–26
Orestes (by Euripides), 134n15, 139n25
 Ormand, Kirk, xxv, 131n6, 167–70
 Osborne, Robin, 14n25, 35n77, 85n41, 85n46, 109n10
 otherness/“that Other,” 83
 overacting, 146
 oxen, 24
- Pacuvius, 27n65, 138n
 padding, stage, 76–77; padded dancers, 86–89, 87–89, 165
 paederasty, 111n14, 120–21
 Paideia (figure), 35n78
paideia (lessons), 2, 10n9, 23–31
paides (children), 12, 26. *See also* boys; ephebes; slavery
paideusis. *See* education (*paideusis*); *paideia*
 Painter of Dijon, plate 14
 Palladion, theft of, 121
 Panakton, 8, 109, 114
 Panathenaia, the, 24n58, 27, 30, 48, 102
 Paphlagonians, 23–24
 Papposeilenos, 32–33, 48
 papyrus fragments/discoveries, 135n16, 139n24
 parasol, 52
 Parker, Douglass, 63n1
 Parker, Holt, 111n14
 Paros, 157n5. *See also* *Marmor Parium*
 Parthenopaios, 10
 passivity, sexual, 107
pathos, 148–49, 151, 153, 155
 patriotism, 13, 20, 50, 60, 120
 Patroklos, 26, 120–21
 Pausanias, 13n20
 Pegasos of Eleutherai, 21
 Peiraieus, ix, 4, 38, 40, 98n75, 102; the Peiraieus relief, 38–41, 40
 Peisistratos/Peisistratid tyranny, xxiii, 43, 85, 95
 Pélékidis, Chrysis, 11, 14–15, 16n33, 17n38
 Peleus Painter, 60n143
 pelikes, 38n82, 39, 60–61
 Pelopia, 154–55
 Peloponnesian War, 8n3, 36n
 penetration, 107, 112n15
 penis. *See* phallos/phallic imagery
 performance, 3, 66; codification of masculine identity through, 6; dramas of masculine display, 6–62, 113–22; performances/formations, 32–51. *See also by description*
 Perikles, 40n, 48n116, 97n70, 102n89
peripeteia (Reversal), 146–48
peripoloi (border guards), 13, 20n46, 20n49, 109, 125
 Perses, 136–37
 Perseus, 70–72
Persians (by Aiskhylos), 40, 48, 100n84, 101n87, 118n35, 139, 158n7, 165, 169

- Persian wars, 85, 111, 117, 120
 Persia/Persians, 111n17, 13, 24, 137; *ephēboi* in, 16–17
 Persikon (dance), 24
Phainomena (by Aratos), 44n100
 phalanx/phalanx fighters, 2, 4, 9–10, 14–16, 19–20, 28, 46–47
 phallos/phallic imagery, 64, 71, 74, 82–85, 88, 94, 103, 108, 112, *plates* 4, 9–11, 13–14; ithyphallic comic choruses, 66n6; *Ithyphalloi* (“Erect phalloses,” gang), 112, 163; long phallos worn in comedy, 68. *See also* genitals; satyrs
phauloi (low-class people, clowns), 141–42, 145, 149–50
 Pheidippides, 63, 66, 105, 107
 Phiale Painter, 38n82, 39
philia, 131n6
 Philo, *dokimasia* of, 117
 Philokleon, 74
Philoktetes (by Sophokles), 119n36
 philosophy/philosophers, 4, 105, 146. *See also by name*
 Philostratos, 21n50
phluakes/phluax (kind of comic play/theatrical presentation/actor), 75–76, 163–65
phluax vases, 68n10, 75–76, 79n31, 82, 163n1, 164n3
phobos. *See* fear (*phobos*)
Phoinissai (by Euripides), 122n44, 134n15, 136, 139n25
 Photios, 18
 phratries. *See* clans (phratries)
phthonos (divine envy), 116n26, 120
 physique. *See* body/bodies
 Pindar, 26n63
 pirates, 152
 pity (*eleos*), 98, 119
 Plato, 16n33, 24–27, 45, 85n42, 109n10, 117n30, 157n4; *Gorgias*, 118n35; *Laws*, 25–27, 30n70, 52n128, 117n29, 121, 154n50; *Protagoras*, 13nn20–21, 16n35; *Republic*, 141–43; *Symposion*, 13n20, 32n75
 Plato Komikos, 45n103
 playfulness, 60, 62, 93, 96, 157, 163–65, 211; *phluakes*, 163–65. *See also* comedy
 playwrights, 34, 70, 82n36, 112, 128n2, 135, 138, 144, 152. *See also by name*
 pleasure, 52n128, 84, 140, 142n30, 150, 159n10
 plot (*muthos*), 131, 142, 144, 147–48
 Plutarch, 8n4, 14n27, 41, 102n93, 133, 159n10, 161n
 Pnyx, 5, 101–2
Poetics (by Aristotle), xxiii, 2, 5, 98, 127–55; as literary criticism, 130. *See also* Aristotle
 poets, xx, 37n, 40, 52n123, 120n38, 135, 164n3. *See also by name*
polis, 5–10 passim, 13, 16–20, 23, 51, 63, 67, 98–102, 117–19, 141; identity of adult male as member of, 109; induction to, 9–10. *See also* citizenship; democracy
 political authority, 160n17
 political symbols/symbolism, 64, 86n46
Politics (by Aristotle), 8n3, 13n20, 41, 149n39
 Polygnotos, 58
 Polyphontes, King, 133
 Poppelreuter, Josephus, 93
 Porphyry, 159
 Poursat, J.-C., 25n59, 26n62, 29–30, 54n131, 55
 Price, Sarah, 52n123, 168
 priestesses, 93, 98n75, 125, 138
 “primitive,” 83, 88, 103
 Pritchett, William K., 19, 45n102
Prometheus Bound (by Aiskhylos), 130
 Pronomos, as *aulos*-player, 32, 36, 37n, *plate* 1
 Pronomos Vase, xxii, 32–38, 33–37, 40–41, 43, *plate* 1
 props, 143, 145
 prostitution, 112; public brothels, 84; sex industry, 53–60, 53, 58, 59, *plates* 6–8
Protagoras (by Plato), 13nn20–21, 16n35
 Psappho/Sappho, 82, 169
psiloi (unarmored fighters), 17
 Ptolemy II, 164
 Ptolemy Soter, 164
 puberty, xxi, 158–61. *See also* adolescence; ephebes; *hēbē*; *tragizein*
pyrrhikē (armed dance)/pyrrhic dancers, 10n9, 21n50, 24–31, 30–31, 53, 56, 58, 169. *See also* armed dancers
 Pyrrhos, 26
 pyxis, 53, 55–56

- Q Painter, 56n
 quarrels, 113–14
- rabbis, 118
 Radermacher, L., 68n10, 164
 rape, 132, 135, 140, 147, 154–55
 Recognition (*anagnōrīsis*), 135–39, 141, 147–48, 151–53, 155. *See also* Reversal (*peripeteia*)
 red-figure art/artists, 28–29, 33–39, 47–49, 52, 54–61, 69, 70n, 72–73, 75–77, 79–81, 83, 93, 108n6, 111, *plates 1–14*
 Reichhold, Karl, 32n73, 33, 37n79
 religious festivals, 66n6. *See also by name Republic* (by Plato), 141–43
 reputation, 61, 113, 116, 118, 122
 revenge, 116n27, 154–55
 Reversal (*peripeteia*), 146–49. *See also* Recognition (*anagnōrīsis*)
Rhesos (play attributed to Euripides), 19n43, 134n15, 139n25
Rhesos, myth of, 67n7
 rhetoric, 19n43, 118n35, 121–22, 146n35
Rhetoric (by Aristotle), 146, 147n35, 155
 Rhinthon of Tarentum, 164, 164n3
 Rhodes, Peter J., 14n25, 17n37, 43n95, 97, 131n6
 Rider Painter, the, 88–89
 risk/risk-taking, 5, 104–26; scenarios of, 50, 104–26, 118, 129, 146. *See also* danger; *kindunos*
 rites of passage, 25n60, 50–51, 93, 114, 158
 ritual, xix, 1, 19n43, 20, 22n56, 25n60, 85, 93n59, 102n88, 125–26, 167; ritual actions, two aetiologies of, 125
 romances, 128n3
 romantic comedy, 128
 Roos, Ervin, 48n116
 Rose, Herbert Jennings, 135, 138n
 Rosen, Ralph, 2n
 Roussel, Pierre, 12n19, 21n50
 ruggedness, 19–20
 rumor, 155. *See also* scrutiny (*dokimasia*)
 rump, 63, 77, 86, 107
 Ruschenbusch, E., 17n37
 Rusten, Jeffrey, 135
- sacrifice: animal, 125, 134, 154, 157–58, 160; human, 123, 125; *koureion*, 9
 salvation, 124, 126n
- Sappho/Psappho, 82, 169
 satyrs, 26n62, 32–38, 47n110, 48, 56n, 66n6, 74, 79, 87n49, 160n18, *plates 1, 4*; satyric chorus, 33–37, 41; satyr-plays, xxiii, 29, 33, 36n, 48n116, 79
 Sausage-Seller, 74
 Sayers, Dorothy, 151
 scenarios of risk, 50, 104–26, 129, 146: examples/venues of, 118. *See also* danger; *kindunos*
 Schiller Painter, 77
 Schmidt, Margot, 48
 scrutiny (*dokimasia*), xix–xx, 113–17
Seasons, The (by Aristophanes), 14
 seating arrangements, 4–5, 67, 97–99, 101, 104; and democracy, 97–99; by tribal affiliation, 4–5, 97–99
 secrecy, 154. *See also* mistaken identity
 self-control/self-restraint, 106, 159n10
 self-dramatization, 122
 self-reliance, 19–20
 self-sacrifice, 120
 Semos of Delos, 163
 Seneca, 128, 159n10
Seven against Thebes (by Aiskhylos), 10, 11n15, 12, 103, 136
 sex industry, 53–60, 53, 58, 59, *plates 6–8*. *See also* prostitution
 sex strike by wives in *Lysistrata*, 94
 sexual activity, 107, 107n, 112n15, 160
 sexuality, history of, xv, xxiii
 sexual pleasure, 84
 shame, 61, 120–21, 149, 155
 shamelessness (*anaideiē*), 7, 51
 sheep, 20, 114
 shipwreck, 152
 Siewert, Peter, 42n93, 52
 Simon, Erika, 38, 68n13
 Simonides, 21n50
 skill, 23, 66, 116. *See also aretē* (excellence, skill)
 Skinner, Marilyn B., 112n17
skolia. *See* drinking songs (*skolia*)
 skyphos, 94–95
 slack physique. *See* taut vs. slack physique
 Slater, William J., 44n98, 153n48
 slavery, 12, 64, 76, 84–85, 110
 Sluiter, Ineke, 2n
 Smith, Cecil H., 93
 Smith, Tyler Jo, 86–87nn48–49, 88n53

- Snodgrass, Anthony, 10n11, 47n108, 86n47
social classes, xxi; of literature, Aristotle
on, 140–47. *See also* class; status
Sokrates, 46, 59n139, 64–65, 109n10, 119,
141–42
Sokrates [II] of Anagyrous, 32n75
soldiers. *See* hoplites; warriors
solidarity, 98, 158
Solon, 84, 111, 149n40
Sommerstein, Alan, 11n14, 12n17, 15n32,
19n42, 51n121
songs, 50, 60, 96n65, 102, 164. *See also by*
description
sophists, 21n50, 65, 105, 107–8, 157
Sophokles, 27n65, 40, 119n36, 120–22,
130–39 *passim*, 142–47 *passim*, 169;
Aias, 23, 121–22; *Antigone*, 15n29,
45n103, 82n37, 121, 132; *Elektra*, 135;
lost and extant plays of, 139; *Oidipous*
at Colonus, 45n101; *Oidipous Tyrannos*,
127–28, 139, 149; *Philoktetes*, 119n36;
Thyestes in Sikyon, 135, 139, 153–55;
Tyro, 147n36; *Women of Trakhis*,
19n44
sōphrosunē, 106, 119
Sosibios the Spartan, 163–64
Souda, 21, 43n96, 99n79, 164
Sparta, 7–8, 28, 30n70, 44n100, 47, 67,
86, 88–94, 89–92; masks from, 90–92;
Peloponnesian War, 8n3, 36n; Sosibios
the Spartan, 163–64; war with, 115;
youth, training of, 19–20
spectacle. *See opsīs* (spectacle)
speech: truth-telling, 122. *See also* debate
(*agōn*); rhetoric
spelling, 169
sports, 118. *See also by description*
spoudaioi (men in pursuit of excellence),
141–42, 149–50
Stanton, G. R., 102n87
statues, 11n12, 21–22, 25, 93, 98, 124;
statue bases, 30–31, 98
status, xxi, 52, 56, 84, 103, 114–15, 117, 151;
ephebes and, xxiii, 2, 12n17, 17–18,
38n80, 50–51, 114–15; military, xxi,
17–18, 50. *See also* class; hierarchies
Stephanos of Byzantium, 157n3, 164n3
Stephens, Susan, xvi–xviii, xxv
Strattis, 163–64
strength, physical, 23, 26–29, 113, 116
Stronger Speech/Weaker Speech. *See*
under Aristophanes: *Clouds*
structuralism, xxiii, 18n41
submission, sexual, 37n, 107. *See also*
penetration
suicide, 122, 136, 155
Suppliants (by Euripides), 122n44, 136
survival, 19–20
swinging, represented on vases, 74
symposia, xxiii, 2, 52–53, 55–56, 93n60
Symposion (by Plato), 13n20, 32n75
Symposion (by Xenophon), 59n139, 60, 65
Syracuse, 164n3
Szemerényi, O., 22n55
Tanagra, 95. *See also* Thebes
Taplin, Oliver, 32n73, 75, 81, 108, 163n1,
164n3
Tarentum (town), 164
Tarporley Painter, 38n84, *plate 4*, *plate 10*
Tarquinia, Painter of, 74n20
Taurians, 123–27, 137–39
taut vs. slack physique, 2, 64–66, 74, 83,
101, 165
teasing, 60. *See also* playfulness
Teiresias, 29
Telemakhos, 12
Telephos (by Euripides), 68n10, 80–81,
120, 122n45, 133, 134n15
telesias (military dance), 27n66
temperament, 6. *See also* character, personal
temperance, 106
temples, 22, 73, 84, 89, 96, 115, 124–25, 161n
ten tribes. *See* tribes, ten/tribal
communities
terracottas, 67, 74–75, 82
testicles, 45n103, 159–60. *See also* genitals
testing. *See* scrutiny (*dokimasia*); trials of
manhood
tetragonal choruses, 44n97
theater. *See under* Dionysos: theater of
theater of excellence, 6, 51, 60, 140
theaters, shape of, 96–103, 167
theatron, 97n70
Thebes, 95. *See also under* Aiskhylos:
Seven against Thebes
Themisto (second wife of Athamas), 136
Themistokles, 111
Theonoe, 152–53
Theophrastos, 103n93, 151

- Theseus, 21n50, 42n92, 161n
 Thesmophoria festival, 81–82
Thesmophoriazousai (by Aristophanes),
 68n10, 81, 81–82, 103n93
 Thespis, 43, 48, 95n64
 Thestor, 152–53
 Thoukydides, 13, 15n29, 17, 47, 102
 Thrasyrnakhos, 120
 Thyestes (king in Greek mythology), 135,
 139, 153–55
Thyestes in Sikyon (by Sophokles), 135,
 139, 153–55
thyrsos, 48n117, 169
 Timaios, 44n97
 Timarkhos, 13, 120
timē, 50, 116, 160n17. *See also* honor
 tolerance, 112
 tondos, 28–29, 52–53
Towards Greek Tragedy (Vickers), 123–24,
 128n3, 130
 tragedy, xiv, xvii, xix, xxi, 1, 3–62, 128,
 167–69; Aristotle on, 127n, 131, 139–40,
 148–49, 152–55; ephebic themes in,
 xxi, xxiii, 123–26; “Fate and Freedom”
 interpretation of, 130–31; with happy
 endings, 131–34, 136–40, 148–53;
 historical reality of, 122; imitation in,
 143; military aspect to performance of,
 4–62; plot structure of, 148–49; risk-
 taking and, 5, 104, 114, 118n35, 121–26;
 vase paintings based on, 32. *See also*
 Agathon; Aiskhylos; costume; Eurip-
 ides; Sophokles; *and by name*
 tragic chorus, xxii, 1, 4–5, 29, 36n, 42–44,
 47, 49
 tragic dancing, xxii, 25n61, 31, 43n94,
 44n97, 44n100, 46n104
 tragic error (*hamartia*), 139, 153
 tragic festivals. *See* Dionysia, City; dra-
 matic festivals
 tragic heroes, 131
 tragicomedies, 128n3
tragizein, 159–60
tragōidoi (tragic choristers), 13, 16, 28–29,
 33n75, 43–45, 49–51, 157–61; “billy
 goat singers,” xxi, 31, 157–61
tragos (billy goat), xxi, 157n3, 158–61
 transvestism, 51–62, 82, 93n57, 160n17
 trapezoidal shape (orchestra, theatron),
 44, 96, 97n70
 Trendall, A. D., 21n50, 67, 165. *See also*
Illustrations of Greek Drama
 trials, jury. *See* jury trials
 trials of manhood, 118–22
 tribes, ten/tribal communities, 9–10, 18,
 97–102; competitions among, 43n95,
 98, 101; and Kleisthenic democracy
 structure, 97–98; seating by tribal
 affiliation, 4–5, 97–102
 trick or deception (*apatē*), 19n43, 89
 triremes, 17, 47
 Trojan War, 114, 121
 trophy warfare, 118
 truth, 110; truth-telling, 122
 tyrants/tyranny, 6, 18n39, 20n46, 23, 43,
 85, 102, 123n, 127
Tyro (by Sophokles), 147n36
 ugliness, 44n21, 91n, 93n57
 value, three axes of, 66
 values, Athenian, 123
 vases/vase paintings, xxv–xxvi, 36n, 39, 41,
 68, 70, 74–75, 128, and *passim*; based
 on tragic plays, 32; cocks as figuring
 frequently in, 104, 108. *See also* art/
 artists; Attic vases; *by painter/descrip-
 tion of painter*, e.g., Dinos Painter; *by
 vase (and other vessel) description*, e.g.,
 khoes (wine pitchers); *phluax* vases
 Vernant, Jean-Pierre, 90n56
 veterans, 95
 Vickers, Brian, 123–24, 128n3, 130
 Vickers, Michael, 74n20
 Vidal-Naquet, Pierre, 10, 18n40, 19n45,
 20, 38n80, 158
 violence, 8n4, 114, 152. *See also* rape; war/
 warfare
 virtue, 66, 104, 121, 129, 140–41. *See also*
aretē; excellence; skill
 Vitruvius, 96
 voice-change in adolescence, xxi, 159–60
 volute-krater, 32–33, *plate 1*
 waistline, 64–65
 warriors, xix, xx, 23, 113, 129; citizen-
 warriors, 4–5, 10, 15–16, 19–20, 28, 31,
 42–43, 56n, 64, 107, 109, 111. *See also*
 Achilles; cavalry; hoplites; infantry;
 warriors, young

- warriors, young, xx–xxii, 4, 13, 16, 20n46, 27, 42n92, 124; *kouroi*, 9–11, 91n. *See also* ephebes
- war/warfare, 19n43; athletic abilities required for, 23; border-fighting/duel on the border, 8–10, 109; desertion from ranks in, 121; rules of honor in, 19; trophy warfare, 118. *See also* combat; *entries beginning with* military; warriors; *specific wars*
- Ways and Means* (by Xenophon), 15
- wealth, 7, 13, 17, 50. *See also* aristocracy; class
- Wealth* (by Aristophanes), 64
- weapons, knowledge of, 23
- Webster, Thomas B. L., 32n72, 32n75, 67, 68nn10–11. *See also* *Illustrations of Greek Drama*
- whipping, 93
- White, Stephen, 127–28n1, 131nn6–7, 132nn10–11, 140n27
- whores. *See* prostitution
- “wide-assed” (*euruproktos*), 107
- Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, U. von., 11n14, 138n
- wild boars, 118
- Wilson, Peter, 1n, 3n, 18n39, 43nn94–95, 44n100, 50n, 96n68, 100, 102, 123n, 168
- wine, 74, 88, *plate 6*. *See also by vessel, e.g.,* khoes (wine pitchers); *entries beginning with* drinking
- wine cauldron, 88
- wineskin, 82
- Winkler, John J., xiii–xxv, 3n, 5n, 50, 128n1, 130n, 167–70, 211–12
- wit, 116, 148n37
- women, 82, 119; attending theatrical performances, 98n75; and childbirth, 125; citizen wives, 98, 98n75; dancers, 25n59, 53–61; *kindunos* undergone by, 125; Thesmophoria festival, women’s, 81–82; wives’ sex strike in *Lysistrata*, 94. *See also by topic/description, e.g.,* priestesses
- Women of Trakhis* (by Sophokles), 19n44
- wrestling, 6, 74n20, 130; wrestling school, 25
- Wyles, Rosie, 32nn72–74, 67n7
- Xanthos, 8, 22n56
- Xenophon, 11n17, 13, 15–17, 20, 23–24, 27, 45–46, 58–60, 109n10; and Aristophanes, difference between, 66n6; [*Constitution of the Athenians*], 17, 86; *Kynēgetikos*, 64–66, 118; *Kyrourp-aideia*, 16–17; *Symposion*, 59n139, 60, 65; *Ways and Means* (*Poroi*), 15
- Xerxes, 4, 120
- Xouthos, 115n22
- youth, 113–15; Athenian, 16, 115; ideal, 9, 113–14; Spartan, 19–20. *See also* adolescence; ephebes; *hēbē*; warriors, young
- Zeitlin, Froma I., xiv–xv, 131n6
- zero-sum competition, 116–18, 152
- Zeus, 14, 19n44, 78, 109, 119
- Zeus Phratrrios, 9