speaker is, e.g. ωριγενησειπεν (Origen said) or ηρακλειδησειπεν) (Heracleides said).[4] The only difference between this and the practice which Theodoret seems to be describing in his prologue is that the indications of the names of the speakers are embedded in the body of the text in the former, while they are written on one side or on a margin in the latter. Since the Toura papyrus is not the autograph copy, we cannot know for certain when each of the two ways of identifying speakers (punctuation and name) was introduced into the text. It is quite possible that the 'duplication' occurred early on, when the σημεῖα or short-hand notes taken down during the actual events were transcribed into legible long-hand by a copyist.

This use of the names of the speakers in dialogues might even have been quite common in third-century Christian circles. The earliest surviving MSS of the anonymous *de recta in Deum fide* (attributed to Adimantius; third century CE) include the names of the participants in abbreviation, e.g., ΜΕΓ for Μεγέθιος and ΕΥΤΡ for Εὐτρόπιος. Admittedly these may be later scribal additions, but in addition to the anchor-point of Rufinus of Aquileia's Latin translation, the extant manuscripts of which shared very similar abbreviations of the interlocutors, the variations and errors in the transcriptions of the names in some of the Greek MSS compelled their editor to posit: 'In der alten Hs., aus welcher alle unsere Hss. stammen, waren die Namen der Mitredner nur mit den ersten Buchstaben angedeutet.'[5] With a total of seven protagonists in the dialogue, and with little internal indication of who the speaker is, the use of an 'artless' technique to keep the identity of the speaker clear probably suggested itself.

Thus even if we should be tempted to credit Theodoret with contributing something new to the literary form of the dialogue, it will not be for introducing the practice of naming the new speakers at every turn, but only for putting those names outside the body of the main text, most likely on the left-hand side, where they become much more noticeable. In this particular respect, even though Theodoret himself cannot properly be called the Father of the modern dialogue form, his *Eranistes* bear witness to a significant shift in emphasis of the genre as a whole in the post-classical period.

In late Antiquity, the dialogue form was seen as a suitable vehicle for carrying out the wars of sectarian rivalry among Christians and was put to use in apologetic and polemical efforts as well as in prophylactic and catechetical exercises—sometimes if only to breathe some life into tiresome, pedantic patristic florilegia of proof-texts. According to Hirzel, 'Der dialogische Form, die, bei ihrem ersten Hervortreten in der Geschichte, der Kritik der Meinungen und der Befreiung des Geistes gedient hatte, war in den Katechismen das Gefäss des rohesten Dogmatismus geworden. Daher besiegelt die Katechismenlitteratur das Ende des antiken Dialog.'[6] If one's goal in composing a dialogue was to inculcate the correct dogma in one's readers (and to offer them memorable weapons with which to refute opposing positions), to allow them to take up the views and arguments of the wrong side by mistake, however understandable, would be much more serious a matter than simply creating a 'muddle' at a public reading or at an intimate symposium.

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[4] See Scherer ed., *Entretien* (1949) 82 and especially plate 1.

[5] W. H. Van de Sande Bakhuyzen ed., *Der Dialog des Adamantius* ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΝ ΟΡΘΗΣ ΠΙΣΤΕΩΣ GCS iv (Leipzig 1901) xviii. See also C. P. Hammond, 'A product of a fifth-century scriptorium preserving conventions used by Rufinus of Aquileia. Part I: Rufinus and western monastic libraries and scriptoria', first of a series of three articles, in *JTS* n.s. xxix (1978) 366–91. This evidence, however, is not at all certain, as the acute anonymous reader of this note points out, because of some amount of confusion in the manuscript tradition itself about the attribution of names. Yet the types of deviations which resulted suggest that some might have come from conflicting interpretations of the sharply-abbreviated indications of speakers contained in the earliest MSS, see Van de Sande Bakhuyzen, xvi–xviii, n.4. In addition, the *de autexusio* of Methodius of Olympus is another (late) third-century dialogue in which the three protagonists, an orthodox Christian = ΟΡΘΟ(ΔΟΞΟΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ), a Valentinian Christian = ΟΥΑΛ(ΕΝΤΙΝΙΑΝΟΣ) and his companion = ΕΤΑΙΡΟΣ, were named in abbreviation probably from early on in the tradition; see Greek text in G. N. Bonwetsch, ed., GCS xxvii (Leipzig 1917): the F MS (Cod. Laurent. Plut. IX, 23, 10th century) consistently has ΟΡΘ for ΟΡΘΟΔ.

[6] R. Hirzel, *Der Dialog. Ein literarhistorischer Versuch* (Leipzig 1895) ii 265.

The introduction of athletic nudity: Thucydides, Plato, and the vases*

A swell of recent books on Greek athletics has resurrected, often no higher than a footnote, an old question: when did Greek athletes begin to exercise nude? Bronze Age archaeology and the Homeric poems make it fairly certain that athletic nudity was not practiced before the late eighth century.[1]

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[1] Minoan art regularly shows athletes wearing loincloths; see the boxers and wrestlers on the rhyton from Hagia Triada, S. Marinatos, M. Hirmer, *Crete and Mycenae* (New York 1960) pls 106–7; the boxers of Thera, S. Marinatos, *Die Ausgrabungen auf Thera und ihre Probleme* (Vienna 1973) pl. 3; D. Levi, 'Le cretule di Hagia Triada e di Zakrò', *AsAtene* vii–ix (1925–6) 156. In Homer heroes don loincloths for athletic contests; see *Il.* xxxiii 710, 683–5, *Od.* xviii 66–69, 74ff. with D. H. *Ant. Rom.* vii 72.3–4, and L. Bonfante, 'Nudity as a costume in classical art', *AJA* xciii (1989) 543–70, esp. 547–48.

The evidence for its introduction is, however, contradictory. A complex, confused, and predominantly late tradition crediting the innovation variously to the Olympic victor Orsippos of Megara (or of Sparta), Akanthos of Sparta, or to an unnamed Athenian athlete, places it in the eighth or seventh centuries.[2] But both Thucydides and Plato report that it was only shortly before their time that Greeks stopped wearing the zoma and began to compete nude.

> [Λακεδαιμόνιοι] ἐγυμνώθησάν τε πρῶτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ φανερὸν ἀποδύντες λίπα μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι ἠλείψαντο. τὸ δὲ πάλαι καὶ ἐν τῷ Ολυμπικῷ ἀγῶνι διαζώματα ἔχοντες περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα οἱ ἀθληταὶ ἠγωνίζοντο, καὶ οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ πέπαυνται.
>
> [The Lakedaimonians] were also the first to exercise nude and stripping down openly to rub themselves with oil after exercising. In ancient times, even at the Olympic games, athletes competed wearing loincloths over their genitals, and it is not many years ago that they ended the practice.
>
> Th. i 6.5

> . . . οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ εἶναι καὶ γελοῖα ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοὺς ἄνδρας ὁρᾶσθαι, καὶ ὅτε ἤρχοντο τῶν γυμνασίων πρῶτοι μὲν Κρῆτες. ἔπειτα Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐξῆν τοῖς τότε ἀστείοις πάντα ταῦτα κωμῳδεῖν.
>
> . . . not long ago it seemed shameful and laughable to Greeks, just as it seems now to most barbarians, for men to be seen nude, and when the Cretans first introduced nude exercising, followed by the Lakedaimonians, it was possible for the sophisticated people of that time to ridicule all these things.
>
> Pl. *R.* v 452c

That 'nude' rather than 'lightly clad' is the regular meaning of the words γυμνός and γυμνάζω, and that this is their meaning in these passages, has been demonstrated.[3]

The questionable nature of the early Olympic lists and of the anecdotal material attached to them precludes confident acceptance or rejection of an eighth century invention of athletic nudity as claimed by the 'Orsippos-Akanthos' tradition. Other literary evidence is no more conclusive. Although it is highly likely that the gymnasion, which took its name from the practice of athletic nudity,[4] was an established institution in sixth century Athens, there is no reliable evidence that the name was used this early.[5] Similarly the erotic content of a Theognidean couplet implies that here γυμνάζω means 'to exercise nude,'

> Ὄλβιος ὅστις ἐρῶν γυμνάζεται, οἴκαδε δ' ἐλθών
> εὕδει σὺν καλῷ παιδὶ πανημέριος.
>
> Happy is the man who is in love while he exercises and returning home sleeps with the beautiful boy the whole day through.
>
> Thgn. 1335-6

but there is no assurance that these lines were written by Theognis.[6]

Yet an early date for the change to athletic nudity is attested by archaeology; how early is problematic. Although seemingly nude boxers

[2] The dates are given variously as the fourteenth (724 BC), fifteenth (720 BC), and thirty-second (652 BC) Olympiad; but the last is a patent error, see L. Moretti, *Olympionikai, i vincitori negli antichi agoni olimpici* (Rome 1957) 62. A number of sources place the innovation during the time when Hippomenes was archon of Athens, a period which spanned the thirteenth to fifteenth Olympiads. The earliest source for Orsippos as innovator is an epigram preserved on a late Megarian inscription (*CIG* i 1050 = *IG* vii 52 = Kaibel, *Epig. Gr.* 843) dated to the Hadrianic period by Dittenberger, to the fifth century AD by Moretti, 61. A. Boeckh (*CIG* i 1050, p.555) suggested the epigram was composed by Simonides. For the later sources and discussion see *CIG* i 1050, pp.554-5, F. Pfister, *RE* xvi (1935) s.v. 'Nacktheit' 1544-6, Moretti, 61-2; and W. E. Sweet, 'Protection of the genitals in Greek athletics', *The ancient world* xi (1985) 43-6 = *Sport and recreation in ancient Greece* (New York, Oxford 1987) 124-9.

[3] E. H. Sturtevant, '*GYMNOS* and *NUDUS*', *AJPh* xxxiii (1912) 324-9 and J. C. Mann, '*GYMNAZO* in Thucydides i.6.5', *CR* xxiv (1974) 177-8, have shown that the meaning given in *LSJ*, γυμνός 5, 'lightly clad', is not supported by all the passages cited, e.g., Dem. xxi 216, Ar. *Nu.* 498, *cf.* Pl. *Lg.* xii 954a. The meaning is valid when the limitation is stated, as at Pl. *Lg.* xi 925a, or when γυμνός is used figuratively or hyperbolically, e.g. Ar. *Eccl.* 409, *Lys.* 150-51. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion* (Paris 1960) 21 n.2, held γυμνάζω did not mean 'nude exercising' before the classical period, but Delorme based his position on misinterpretations of Th. i 6.5 and Pl. *R.* v 452c; see below. That 'Orsippos-Akanthos' competed naked, rather than lightly clad, is clearly stated in the accounts of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (*Ant. Rom.* vii 72.3) and Pausanias (i 44.1). At *Amat.* 751f., Plutarch, writing of a contemporary setting, anachronistically states that athletic nudity was introduced recently; surely a thoughtless repetition of Plato who is quoted in this section of Plutarch's dialogue.

[4] On the Greek mainland an athletic training ground was generally called the 'nude place', while on Crete where the tradition of the loincloth was maintained into classical times, it was termed the 'running place'; see Suda, s.v. δρόμος and Paus. iii 14.6, and S. L. Glass, 'The Greek gymnasium', in *The archaeology of the Olympics*, ed. W. J. Raschke (Madison 1988) 159.

[5] Dem. xxiv 114 and Aeschin. i 138 state that restrictions on activities in gymnasia figured in Solon's legislation, see Glass (n.4) 160, but note the doubts of Delorme (n.3) 36-37 and D. G. Kyle, *Athletics in ancient Athens* (Leiden 1987) 22, 72-3. For the evidence connecting the Academy and the Peisistratid dynasty see P. Natorp, *RE* i.1 (1893) s.v. 'Akademia' 1133, and Delorme, 36-37, and the doubts of Kyle, 73 and J. P. Lynch, 'Hipparchos' wall in the Academy at Athens', in *Studies presented to Sterling Dow*, ed. K. J. Rigsby (Durham 1984) 173-9. Theopompos (*FGrH* 115 F 136) states that the Lykeion was founded by Peisistratos, but Philochoros (*FGrH* 328 F 37) records that Perikles built it; see Delorme, 43, Kyle, 79. Delorme, 36-42, believed that public gymnasia were founded and supported by the Peisistratids, but see the cautious scepticism of Kyle, 73, 79.

[6] J. Carrière, *Théognis: poèmes élégiaques* (Paris 1948) translated 'fréquente au gymnase', but for the erotic association of γυμνάζω, *cf.* Alkibiades' attempted seduction of Sokrates, συνεγυμνάζετο οὖν μοι καὶ προσεπάλαιε πολλάκις οὐδενὸς παρόντος, Pl. *Sym.* 217c. If the couplet were by Theognis it would speak for the practice of nude exercising in mid-sixth (Carrière, 4), or perhaps even late seventh century Megara (M. L. West, *Studies in Greek elegy and iambus* [Berlin, New York 1974] 65-71.)

appear on geometric vases, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the figures are meant to be divine or human, and whether they are in fact nude, and always difficult to know whether they represent the practice of nudity or an artistic convention. The same difficulties affect geometric bronze statuettes of standing nude males.[7] Kouroi, both the early seventh century figures of bronze and lead, and the large stone variety which begins to appear in the mid-seventh century, are clearly nude, but again there is controversy over whether these statues are meant to represent mortal youths or Apollo. Also, since the canonical type carries no attribute which explicitly denotes an athlete, the connection between the kouros and athletic nudity is impossible to prove.[8] Nude athletes may perhaps be seen on early seventh century protoattic vases, and what seem to be nude wrestlers appear on a later protoattic vase, the Kynosarges amphora,[9] but the earliest unambiguous representation of nude athletes is found on a bronze relief of late protocorinthian style, dated to *c.*650 BC by Payne, which shows two nude boxers with a tripod between them. A little later nude runners racing towards a tripod are represented on some early Corinthian vases (*c.*625-600 BC [PLATE VI(*a*)]). Soon afterwards nude wrestlers appear on late Corinthian vases (*c.*575-550 BC) and on an early Boeotian tripod-kothon (*c.*570-560 BC). What is clearly a palaistra scene with nude athletes decorates an early Attic vase.[10] From the mid-sixth century nude male athletes appear so frequently on black figure vases that it is difficult to believe that nude competition and exercise were not the norm at that time in Attica.[11] So scholars who simply reject the early 'Orsippos-Akanthos' tradition in favor of the later date of Thucydides and Plato[12] ignore a considerable amount of evidence which indicates both an early innovation and the prevalence of athletic nudity in Athens from, at the latest, 550 BC, a date which cannot be squared with Thucydides' words (see below).

Attempts to explain the discrepancy between the visual evidence and the earliest explicit literary sources have been unconvincing. It has been suggested that sixth century representations of nude athletes merely reflect artistic convention or idealization. It is true that interest in the male physique, particularly developed in artists, caused nudity to appear in what might seem odd circumstances—a nude youth beating a child, a nude butcher, nude warriors—but the almost exclusively nude representation of athletes in sixth century Greek art has no parallel in any other category of males represented, including heroes. The appeal to idealization is seriously undercut by

[7] For geometric boxers see M. Laurent, *BCH* xxv (1901) 150, fig. 3, C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum* (Boston, New York 1905) 113, no. 11, *cf. Arch. Zeit.* 1885, pl.8, 2, and recently G. Ahlberg-Cornell, *ActaArch* lviii (1987) 55-86, esp. 62-63. For eighth century bronze statuettes see G. M. A. Richter, *Kouroi: archaic Greek youths*[3] (London New York 1970) 26-27, figs 3-16. The difficulty in discerning and interpreting nudity on geometric vases is caused by the silhouette technique, by the abstract element in early Greek art which tended to reduce all figures to basic elements, and by the use of male and female physical attributes to distinguish gender. For nudity on geometric vases see G. Becatti, *Enc. dell'Arte Antica* (1963) s.v. 'nudo' 578, J. L. Benson, *Horses birds & man—the origin of Greek painting* (Amherst 1970) 106-7, G. Ahlberg, *Prothesis and ekphora in Greek geometric art* (Göteborg 1971) 72-4, and Bonfante (n.1) 549.

[8] The controversy over kouros as Apollo or youth is old. For kouroi representing athletic nudity see Richter (n.7) 1-2, citing Paus. viii 40.1, and Becatti, *Enc. dell'Arte Antica* v, 579. B. S. Ridgway, *The archaic style in Greek sculpture* (Princeton 1977) 43-59, esp. 53ff., denied the athletic connection and argued that kouroi portray not generic youths but Apollo. Recently A. F. Stewart, in *Corinthiaca: studies in honor of D. A. Amyx*, ed. M. Del Chiaro, W. R. Biers (Columbia, MO 1986) 54-76, argued for kouroi as generic youths embodying the aristocratic ideal. Large stone kouroi first appear *c.*650 BC and show a rapid and wide distribution during the latter half of the seventh century; see Ridgway, 46ff. For the smaller figures in bronze and lead see Richter, figs 111-25, 157-68.

[9] What may be nude runners appear on the neck of the protoattic amphora at Oxford, 1935.19; see M. Vickers, *Greek vases* (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1978) no. 3 and C. King, *AJA* lxxx (1976) 79-80, pl. 13, figs. 1-2. For the Kynosarges amphora, see C. Smith, *JHS* xxii (1902) 32 and 41 with pl. iia, with J. M. Cook, *BSA* xxxv (1934-5) pl. 56.

[10] H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (Oxford 1931) 222, pl. 45, 3 for the nude boxers on the bronze found at Corfu. For the early Corinthian runners see Payne, 467A = D. A. Amyx, *Corinthian vase painting of the archaic period* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1988) i, 339 (Brit. Mus. 1885.12-13.10 [A1394]); Amyx, *CV* 102; Amyx *CV* 339; and perhaps Payne 552 = Amyx *CV* 124, 43. For other examples see Amyx, *CV* ii, 649. Compare the seventh century Corinthian bronze relief showing four nude runners, H. Payne, *Perachora* (Oxford 1940) 7-8, pl. 40. For late Corinthian nude wrestlers see Payne 1471 = Amyx, *CV* 263 with Payne 1433. The Boeotian tripod-kothon is in *The Norbert Schimmel collection* (Mainz 1974) ed. O. W. Muscarella, nr. 53, see H. A. Shapiro, *Art, myth and culture: Greek vases from southern collections* (New Orleans 1981) nr. 55. The palaistra scene is on the early Attic vase, Brit. Mus. B596, with the comments of C. Smith, *JHS* xxii (1902) 43-4. Also see the nude wrestlers on an Attic 'Tyrrhenian' vase, *ABV* 100, 70 (Brit. Mus. 1847.8-6.26 [B48b]) with A. E. J. Holwerda, *JdI* v (1890) 253-4, and the comment of J. D. Beazley, *The development of Attic black-figure*, revised ed. (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1986) 21, 'An increasing interest in athletic contests is among the characteristics of Attic vase painting in the second quarter of the sixth century.'

[11] B. A. Legakis, *Athletic contests in archaic Greek art* (University of Chicago diss. 1977), catalogued over 800 representations of nude athletes in sixth century Greek art, the great majority appearing on some 600 Attic vases. If representations of hoplitodromoi, nude except for helmet and shield, are added, the total comes to over 830 nude athletes represented. See J. Boardman, *Athenian black figure vases* (New York 1974) 211. For illustrations of nude wrestlers see a band cup painted by Lydos and potted by Nikosthenes (*c.*540 BC), Boardman, fig. 70 (*ABV* 113, 80); of nude wrestlers, boxers, runners, and jumpers a vase of Nikosthenes, Boardman, fig. 151 (*ABV* 223, 65). Nude runners appear on an early panathenaic amphora, *ABV* 120, and on a panathenaic amphora by the Euphiletos painter, *ABV* 322, 4. B. A. Legakis, 'Nicosthenic athletics', *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty museum* i (1983) 41-53, has a good discussion and fine illustrations of nude athletes, particularly boxers, by Painter N.

[12] So A. W. Gomme, *A historical commentary on Thucydides* i (Oxford 1945) 106, who drastically down-dated Orsippos, and now D. Sansone, *Greek athletics and the genesis of sport* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, New York 1988) 109. H. A. Harris, *Greek athletes and athletics* (Bloomington, London 1964) 64, misreading Th. i 6.5, ignored the difficulty, as did J. A. Arieti, 'Nudity in Greek athletics', *CW* lxviii (1975) 431-2.

the realistic and often graphic details frequently seen on the vases, among them blood dripping from the noses of nude boxers on vases as early as 570-60 BC.[13] Others have pleaded for restricting the meaning of Thucydides' words. Long ago August Boeckh had argued that in the early period only runners competed nude—both Orsippos and Akanthos were said to have won running events—while wrestlers and boxers, for whom the loincloth would supposedly have been less of an impediment, continued to wear it. Accordingly, Thucydides' statement would pertain to wrestlers and boxers who began exercising nude only in the fifth century. Thucydides, however, plainly writes that Olympic athletes, not just wrestlers and boxers, abandoned the loincloth.[14] Following the same road, but traveling in the other direction, R. L. Howland concluded that while boxers and wrestlers might have competed nude, it is unlikely that Greeks ever stripped completely naked for running events.[15] But nude athletics, in fact, present no difficulties for conditioned males, and the large number of nude runners, boxers and wrestlers appearing in sixth century Greek art makes both interpretations very unlikely.[16]

Another solution posits an early adoption of athletic nudity, unknown to Thucydides, followed by a sixth century re-introduction of the loincloth which remained the fashion for a generation or so, after which nudity reappeared in the fifth century. This complex scenario was first proposed in a study of ancient nudity and undress by Walter Müller who cited a number of 'sixth century' works on which figures wearing the zoma appear, and who explained the sixth century re-introduction of the garment as a special concession by Dorian Greeks at the panhellenic Olympic games to 'starken, ionischen Einflusses'.[17] But Müller's distinction between Ionian and Dorian is overdrawn, and his reference to the Olympic games as port d'entrée for an Ionian aversion to nudity runs against the strong association of Olympia with athletic nudity as witnessed both by the 'Orsippos-Akanthos' tradition and by Thucydides' use of the emphatic καί, 'in ancient times *even* at the Olympics athletes wore loincloths' (i 6.5).[18] In addition, much of Müller's visual evidence is misleading since almost all of the objects he cited are in fact seventh century or earlier. Most of his sixth century examples are of women in tight briefs, and as this type of zoma remained standard attire for female athletes, acrobats, and dancers into the classical period and beyond, these pieces have no bearing on the problem of male athletic nudity.[19] Müller's examples of sixth century works showing males wearing loincloths are few—the Clazomenian sarcophagi where the figures in loincloths represent non-Greeks, and some 'fikellura' vases with beardless komasts in briefs—and not to the point, since not one shows an athlete so dressed.[20]

[13] This despite J.-P. Thuillier, *Les jeux athlétiques dans la civilisation étrusque* (Rome 1985) 393, who championed idealization, but added that this was 'tout à fait exceptionnelle ... dans l'art de la Grèce'; see also Thuillers' 'La nudité athlétique (Grèce, Étrurie, Rome)', *Nikephoros* i (1988) 35 and his review, 'Sport de combat', *JRA* i (1988) 98. C. Bérard, *AION* viii (1986) 196, gave a sensitive appraisal of the relationship between 'actual' and 'artistic' idealization of nude athletes, 'l'usage régulier des huiles parfumées donne à la peau "bronzée" une apparence satinée qui n'est pas sans évoquer l'élaboration et l'entretien de la patine des statues; ainsi s'établissent et se renforcent de curieux rapports sensuels entre les statues des athlètes vainqueurs et les formes vivantes qu'elles reproduisent dans une perfection idéale.' A bloody-nosed boxer is shown on a Boeotian tripod-kothon, *ABV* 29, 1 (*CVA* Berlin 4, pl. 197, 6); see also Berkeley 8.2319 (a column-krater *c.*540 BC). For this and other aspects of graphic realism see Legakis (n.11, *Athletic contests*) 124-80, esp. 153 and 160. For the nude child-beater see *ABV* 70, 7. For the nude butcher, see *ABV* 430, 25; perhaps not so odd, *cf.* a clothed cobbler, *ABV* 396, 21. On nude and near nude warriors see the comment of Boardman (n.11) 208.

[14] Boeckh, *CIG* i 1050, p.555; followed by J. Jüthner, *Die athletischen Leibesübungen der Griechen*, ed. F. Brein, i (Vienna 1968) 49-50 and by Kl. Palaeologos, in *The eternal Olympics*, ed. N. Yalouris (New Rochelle 1979) 124. The reference at the end of Th. i 6.5 to barbarian, particularly Asiatic, boxers and wrestlers wearing loincloths is a fortuitous consequence of the general analogy made between contemporary barbarian and ancient Greek practices and cannot be taken to refer to Olympic practices. Neither should it be interpreted to mean that among the Greeks of Thucydides' day only wrestlers and boxers competed nude, as suggested by R. L. Howland, *OCD*[2] 142 and *JHS* ciii (1983) 198; see Mann (n.3) 178 and below.

[15] Howland, *OCD*[2] sv. 'athletics' 142; *JHS* ciii (1983) 198.

[16] Legakis (n.11, *Athletic contests*), 33-47, 127-39, 189-94, 226, catalogued over 250 representations of nude runners, over 135 representations of nude boxers, and over 75 representations of nude wrestlers in sixth century Greek art. For conditioned nude males and the contraction of the genitals caused by the cremaster muscle see Sweet 'Protection' (n.2) 46-49 = *Sport*, 130-1, whose research included questioning nudists as well as members of the University of Michigan Classical Studies department.

[17] W. A. Müller, *Nacktheit und Entblössung in der altorientalischen und älteren griechischen Kunst* (Borna, Leipzig 1906) 91-95.

[18] The connection between nudity and Olympia is supported by Philostr. *Gym.* 17. A bronze shield strap from Olympia dated to the sixth century shows two nude boxers; see E. Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder*, Olympische Forschungen ii (Berlin 1950) 192-3, pls 14 and 66.

[19] Müller (n.17) 93, 144. All but one of Müller's bronze mirrors depict women. For the zoma as standard female attire, see L. Bonfante, *Etruscan dress* (Baltimore 1975) 19 n.8 and A. Kassatz-Deissmann, 'Zur Herkunft des Perizoma im Satyrspiel', *JdI* xcvii (1982) 64-90. On female athletes see Jüthner (n.14) 100-102, and Bérard (n.13) 195-202. For the geometric date of Müller's Cretan bronze plate see H. A. Boyd, *AJA* v (1901) 146-48. The Corinthian gold plate of Theseus was dated *c.*650 BC by A. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* xlii (1884) 106; see K. Schefold, *Frühgriechische Sagenbilder* (Munich 1964) 27, fig. 7. Müller's bronze statuettes from Olympia (A. Furtwängler, *Die Bronzes von Olympia* [Berlin 1890] 26) and Athens (A. De Ridder, *Bronzes de l'acropole d'Athènes*, [1896] nos 696 and 706), as well as the bronze kriophores from Crete (K. A. Neugebauer, *Die minoischen und archaisch griechischen Bronzen*, Staatliche Mus. Berlin, inv. 7477, no. 158, pl. 19), are all seventh century; see G. Kaulen, *Daidalika* (Munich 1967) 6-10, 60-3.

[20] The 'fikellura' vases are dated to the latter half of the sixth century. R. M. Cook, *BSA* xxxiv (1933-4) 1-98, esp. 14-16, Groups H and J, pls 5-11, argued that they were produced in Rhodes or Samos, but recently P. Dupont, *Dacia* xxvii (1983) 19-49, esp. 27-28 and 34, made a good case that they are Milesian. For the Clazomenian sarcophagi see K. F. Johansen, *ActaArch* xiii (1942) 1-64 and for loincloths or breeches on the barbarians see E. Pottier, *BCH* xvi (1892) 249. G. Dontas, *BCH* xciii (1969) 49-50 n.4, listed sixth century figures in loincloths. For the perizoma vases see below.

Nevertheless, Müller's theory has been adopted in various forms by students of Greek athletics. Bruno Schröder repeated it without discussion in *Der Sport im Altertum* and E. A. Gardiner, remarking on a series of Attic vases with athletes wearing the perizoma, asked whether a late sixth century attempt to introduce the loincloth, and an ensuing temporary fashion, might explain Thucydides' statement about the late abandonment of the garment. Gardiner's brief aside eschewed details and explanations, but his introduction of the so-called perizoma vases into the discussion was widely influential.[21] The case was argued fully by N. G. Crowther who provided a plausible explanation for a re-introduction of nudity after the Persian Wars—heightened contempt for things oriental—and reasonably proposed that while nudity might have been introduced early at the Olympics, it would have become a general Greek practice only over a period of time, at different times in different places. But Crowther was unable to account for a late sixth century re-introduction of the zoma, and since Thucydides plainly states that loincloths were given up not many years ago by Olympic athletes, Crowther was driven to conclude that 'Orsippos-Akanthos' did not set a permanent fashion at Olympia or elsewhere, and that in the late sixth and early fifth centuries Greek athletes did not exercise nude. For support he appealed to the perizoma vases and because he could not think of a reason why naked athletes would be portrayed in art as clothed, Crowther claimed that the figures in loincloths seen on these vases represent the actual attire of Athenians.[22] The importance of the perizoma vases for a solution of our problem requires that they be investigated with care.

A number of late sixth century Attic black figure vases show athletes, komasts, and more rarely hoplites, wearing white cloths wrapped around their waists and legs (PLATE VI(*b*) and (*c*)).[23] Beazley classified such vases under the rubrics 'perizoma group' and 'class of one-handled kantharoi', attributing most of the former group to the Michigan and Beaune painters and most of the latter to various hands of a single workshop.[24] But the relevance of these to the question of Greek athletic nudity is dubious, since there are strong indications in both their shapes and decoration that the vases were produced specifically for an Etruscan market.[25] All but eleven of the vases in Beazley's two classes are either stamnoi, tall kyathoi (one-handled kantharoi), or small neck-amphorae. The tall kyathos is a distinctively non-Attic shape, being a direct but simplified copy of an Etruscan prototype, the Attic stamnos seems to have been modeled on an Italic-Etruscan prototype, in particular the 'stamnoid krater', and the small neck-amphora is a shape which was commonly exported to Etruria, being a particular favorite at Tarquinia.[26] Only three vases, of those whose provenances are known, were found outside of

[21] B. Schröder, *Der Sport in Altertum* (Berlin 1927) 22-23. E. A. Gardiner, *Athletes of the ancient world* (Oxford 1930) 191, pl.63, followed in his invocation of the perizoma vases by Mann (n.3) 177-78; J. Mouratidis, 'The origin of nudity in Greek athletics', *Journal of sport history* xii (1985) 213-14; Glass (n.4) 158-9; Sansone (n.12) 108, and F. A. Beck in his review of M. B. Poliakoff, *EMC* xxxii (1988) 421.

[22] N. B. Crowther, 'Athletic dress and nudity in Greek athletics', *Eranos* lxxx (1982) 163-68.

[23] The loincloths are unlike the tight briefs worn by female athletes or those seen on male figures on sixth century 'fikellura' vases; Kossatz-Deissmann (n.19) 75. For different types of loincloths see Bonfante (n.19) 24-6, fig. 23.

[24] The vases are dated to *c.*510-500 BC; see *ABV* 343-6, with J. D. Beazley, *Paralipomena*[2] (Oxford 1971) 156-8 and T. H. Carpenter, *Beazley addenda*[2] (Oxford 1989) 93-94. Missing from these publications are a stamnos discovered at Orvieto and published by M. Bizzarri, 'La necropoli di Crocefisso del Tufo in Orvieto', *StEtr* xxx (1962) 77, nr. 170, pl. viiib; a small stamnos at the Villa Giulia discussed by B. Philippaki, *The Attic stamnos* (Oxford 1967) 14, pl. 11, 3-4; a small stamnos in a private collection discussed by C. Isler-Kerényi, *Stamnoi* (Lugano 1977) 18; and a one-handled kantharos, Basel Market, *MMAG* Auktion 56, 19 Feb. 1980, no. 72, p. 27. On the classification see J. D. Beazley, F. Magi, *La raccolta Benedetto Guglielmi nel museo gregoriano etrusco* (Rome 1939) 54, 'Si può parlare di un "gruppo del perizoma", purche non si creda che tutti i vasi con questo particolare appartengano al gruppo'. I have found no example of this type of perizoma on any Greek vase which does not belong to the 'perizoma group' or the 'class of one-handled kantharoi', although figures wearing white perizomata do appear on a 'Pontic' vase of Etruscan manufacture—an oinochoe dated *c.*530-510 BC; L. Hannestad, *The followers of the Paris painter* (Copenhagen 1976) n.44.

[25] The suggestion was made by E. Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen im Würzburg* (Munich 1932) 63, who later argued for a branch workshop, 'Filialen griechische Töpfer in Italien?', *Gymnasium* lxxxiv (1977) 428. W. Technau (n.24) concluded that the vases were made either in Attica for export or in Etruria by an emigrant Attic potter; *cf.* now D. W. J. Gill, *Antiquity* lxi (1987) 82-87. Export to an Etruscan clientele was deemed very likely by T. B. L. Webster, *Potter and patron in classical Athens* (London 1972) 197; Boardman (n.11) 112; E. Simon, *Führer durch die Antikenabteilung des Martin von Wagner-museums der Universität Würzburg* (1977) 107 (L328); Kossatz-Deissmann (n.19) 74; T. Rasmussen, 'Etruscan shapes in Attic pottery', *AK* xxviii (1985) 33-39, and Sweet (n.2). A. W. Johnston, *PP* xxvii (1972) 416-23, argued from the 'SO' graffiti on some of these vases that Sostratos was the middleman who imported them. The case for an Etruscan market is argued by Isler-Kerényi (n.24) 20-3 and Bonfante (n.1) 564-65.

[26] The borrowing of Etruscan shapes is treated by Rasmussen (n.25) who described the tall kyathos as common in Etruscan bucchero and also present in Etruscan black figure from Vulci, and who called the protuberances on the rime on either side of the handles of the Attic kyathoi an Etruscan feature. Etruscan bucchero kantharoi are found in Greek contexts beginning in the early sixth century; see A. W. Johnston, *BICS* xxix (1982) 35-42, esp. 38; H. A. J. Brijder, *BABesch* lxiii (1988) 103ff.; M. S. Venit, *Hesperia* lviii (1989) 99-113, and J. MacIntosh, *Hesperia* xliii (1974) 34-45. For the Etruscan origin of the stamnos see Isler-Kerényi (n.24) 15 and 20. On the export of Attic neck-amphorae to Etruria see A. W. Johnston (n.25) 423, and 'The development of amphora shapes, symposium and shipping', in *Ancient Greek and related pottery*, ed. H. A. G. Brijder (Amsterdam 1984) 208-11, esp. 210. Only one of the twelve small neck-amphorae, *ABV* 345 in the Villa Giulia (M.493), display figures wearing perizomata. The eleven vases of anomalous shapes are four oinochoai, *ABV* 344, 12, *Par*[2] 157, 13, 14, 15; four lekythoi, *ABV* 345, 1, 2, described as connected with the Michigan Painter, and bottom (at The Hague), described as not closely related to the Michigan Painter, and *Par*[2] 157, bottom (in Prague), described as connected to the Michigan Painter; and three panathenaic amphorae, described as recalling the Michigan Painter, *ABV* 344 (Syracuse 20067), *ABV* 344 (Vatican 374), and *Par*[2] 156.7[ter].

Etruria and these are anomalous in shape and decoration. A lekythos from Athens has only full-dressed figures, while an oinochoe from Kamiros shows nude and youthful komasts, and a panathenaic amphora from Gela displays nude and youthful athletes. In addition to their depiction of nudity, the latter two vases are aberrant in that the komasts and athletes are youths, whereas the great majority of figures shown wearing perizomata are older men, long-bearded and, for athletes, runners as well as boxers, heavy (PLATE VI(*b*)).[27] The decoration of many of the vases also displays a feature which is singularly Etruscan. Symposia are portrayed on the shoulders, occasionally on the bodies of sixteen stamnoi. But instead of the scantily clad hetairai usually seen on Greek vases, here we find fully-dressed women reclining side by side on equal terms with respectably attired men, just as they are seen in Etruscan funerary painting and sculpture (PLATE VI(*b*)).[28] A standard Greek scene has been adapted to reflect the Etruscan practice, shocking to Greeks, of husbands and wives attending banquets together.[29] But the most significant and often overlooked fact for the purpose at hand is that of the fifty odd vases in Beazley's 'perizoma' and 'one-handled kantharoi' groups, a mere seventeen display figures wearing the perizoma, and athletes in perizomata appear on only eleven vases. Moreover, of the seventeen vases showing figures in perizomata, eleven display the distinctively Etruscan mixed gender symposion scenes, and of the eleven vases showing athletes in perizomata, eight have mixed gender symposion scenes. Conversely, of the sixteen vases which have mixed gender symposia, eleven show figures wearing perizomata, while none display nudity; one has a servant at a symposion wearing a perizoma. The shapes of these vases point to the same conclusion. Of the seventeen vases showing figures in perizomata, eleven are stamnoi, five are kyathoi (one-handled kantharoi), and one is a small neck-amphora. All of the vases displaying figures in perizomata and mixed gender symposion scenes were found in Etruria.[30] Finally, not only are representations of the

[27] Boardman (n.11) 112, called them 'flabby athletes'. On *ABV* 343,6 (Oxford 1965.97) (PLATE VI(*b*)) Vickers (n.9) fig. 30, saw 'tubby boxers' and 'equally tubby runners', and referred to the former as 'elderly boxers'. P. Mingazzini, *Catalogo dei vasi della collezione A. Castellani* (Rome 1930) 259, called the athletes 'uomini anziani', and G. Cultrera, *NSc.* vi (1930) 61, described long-bearded komasts in perizomata on *ABV* 345, 5 (Tarquinia And. 41016,3) as 'tre vecchi'. Contrast these to the mature or youthful males usually seen at gymnasia and symposia on Greek vases. Of the vases which show figures in perizomata *ABV* 343, 2 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93) is exceptional for its mostly slim athletes; on Group of Vatican G.58, *ABV* 345, 2 (= *Beazley Add*² 94) one of seven athletes—a runner—is unbearded and slim, and on the Beaune Painter, *ABV* 344, 1 (= *Para* 158, *Beazley Add*² 94) two of the five long-bearded athletes in perizomata—also runners—are not overweight. All others fit Boardman's characterization. The Athenian lekythos is *ABV* 345, bottom, now in The Hague, the Rhodian oinochoe is *ABV* 344, 12, and the Sicilian panathenaic amphora is *ABV* 344. The provenances of *ABV* 343, 1, 2, 6, 344, 3, 4, 346, 7, 8 are unknown; though 343, 2 is probably from Vulci; see Philippaki (n.24) 13.

[28] The sixteen stamnoi are: by the Michigan Painter, *ABV* 343, 1 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93), on body and shoulder; *ABV* 343, 2 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93), with slave in perizoma; *ABV* 343, 3 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93); *ABV* 343, 4 (= *Beazley Add*² 93), on body and shoulder; *ABV* 343, 5 (= *Beazley Add*² 93); *ABV* 343, 6 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93), commented on by Vickers (n.9) fig. 30; *ABV* 343, 7 (= *Para* 156); by the Beaune Painter, *ABV* 344, 1 (= *Para* 158, *Beazley Add*² 94); *ABV* 344, 2 (= *Para* 158); *ABV* 344, 3 (= *Para* 158); *ABV* 344, 4; *ABV* 345, 5 from Tarquinia (= *Beazley Add*² 94), on body and shoulder; *ABV* 345, 6 (= *Beazley Add*² 94), with P. Brandt, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* (Leipzig 1925) i, 285, on body and shoulder; and not in the Beazley indices, an unnumbered vase in the Villa Giulia, Philippaki (n.24) 14, pl. 11, 3-4; a vase in a private collection, Isler-Kerényi (n.24) 18-23, on body and shoulder; and a vase from Orvieto, M. Bizzarri, *StEtr* xxx (1962) 77, nr. 170, pl. viiib. Compare all these to, from the class of one-handled kantharoi, *ABV* 346, 9, men and women seated in conversation. For men and women in Etruscan funerary art see O. J. Brendel, *Etruscan art* (Harmondsworth 1978) 189-90, 231-32. The difference between Greek and Etruscan banquets and usual depictions of women at symposia is discussed by B. Fehr, *Orientalische und griechische Gelage* (Bonn 1971) 234 n.806a; also see I. Peschel, *Die Hetäre bei Symposion und Komos* (Frankfurt am Main 1987).

[29] The adaptation was noted and discussed by F. Poulsen, *Etruscan tomb painting* (Oxford 1922) 32-7, and L. Bonfante, 'Etruscan couples and their aristocratic society', *Women's studies* viii (1981) 157-89, esp. 162 and 167; reprinted in *Reflections of women in antiquity* ed. H. Foley (London, New York 1981) 323 and now Bonfante (n.1) 564-5. On the exclusion of women from Greek symposia see Isaeus iii 4. For Greek shock at Etruscan mixed banquets, see Athenaeus xii 517d, quoting Theopompos, and i 23d quoting Aristotle; see J. Heurgon, *Daily life of the Etruscans* (New York 1964) 34-5.

[30] Significantly, the panathenaic amphorae in Beazley's 'perizoma group', *ABV* 344 from Gela, *ABV* 344 (= *Para* 156, 7bis, *Beazley Add*² 94) from Vulci, and *Para* 156, 7ter (= *Beazley Add*² 94), depict only nude athletes without perizomata. All vases whose provenance is known and which show perizomata were discovered in Etruria. I am indebted to the kindness and expert opinion of Francesca R. Serra Ridgway who examined *ABV* 344, 11 (Tarquinia RC 5994) and found no perizomata represented. I have examined either the vases or photographs of all other members of the classes 'perizoma' and 'one-handled kantharoi' except the following: *ABV* 346, 12, *Para* 157, 9ter, 9^{6}, 9^{7}, 13, 15, and 158, Dover (Timothy Cobb collection). Judging from their published descriptions (none depict athletes) it seems unlikely that any of these have figures wearing the perizoma. Of the vases examined only the following represent athletes in perizomata: the perizoma group—the Michigan painter, *ABV* 343, 2 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93); *ABV* 343, 3 (= *Beazley Add*² 93); *ABV* 343, 6 (= *Para* 156, *Beazley Add*² 93); *ABV* 343, 7 (= *Para* 156); the small stamnos of Philippaki, 14, pl. 11, 3-4 (not in *ABV*); Bizzarri's stamnos from Orvieto, *StEtr* xxx (1962) 77, nr. 170, pl. viiib (also not in *ABV*);—the Beaune painter, *ABV* 344, 1 (= *Para* 158, *Beazley Add*² 94); *ABV* 344, 4; the small neck-amphora *ABV* 345 (Villa Giulia, M.493);—the group of Vatican G.58, *ABV* 345, 2 (= *Beazley Add*² 94, Cab. Méd.354); *ABV* 345, 3 (= *Para* 158). Vases which represent non-athletes in perizomata are: the perizoma group—the Beaune painter, *ABV* 344, 2 (= *Para* 158); *ABV* 344, 3 (= *Para* 158); *ABV* 345, 5 (= *Beazley Add*² 94);—the group of Vatican G.58, *ABV* 345, 1 (= *Beazley Add*² 94);—the class of one-handled kantharoi, *ABV* 346, 7 (= *Beazley Add*² 94); and *ABV* 346, 8 (= *Beazley Add*² 94).

perizoma rare, they appear to have been intentionally added (PLATE VI(*c*)).[31]

Since male nudity was not a native Etruscan practice—there are many Etruscan representations in stone and bronze, and on vases, of warriors and athletes wearing loincloths[32]—it is reasonable to conclude that the painting in of white loincloths on a small number of Attic vases, like the inclusion of fully-dressed respectable women in symposion scenes, was an attempt by Athenian potters to cater to the tastes of certain Etruscan buyers.[33] Crowther objected to this interpretation, citing examples of naked athletes on Etruscan frescoes. But male nudity, like so much else in Etruscan art, was taken over intact from the Greek.[34] Prior to *c.*600 BC nudity was virtually unknown in Etruscan art.[35] In addition, the handling of nudity in their art shows that the Etruscan attitude towards it remained ambivalent and was clearly different from that of Greeks. Certain stock motifs from Greek art in which nudity is regular are often found in Etruscan representations with the figures, such as Herakles or centaurs, wearing loincloths,[36] and on the frescoes of the Tomba delle Iscrizioni (*c.*520 BC) a few servants or worshipers appear naked, but all other figures are clothed, the athletes and komasts wearing loincloths.[37] Whether or not Etruscans ever adopted the Greek practice of nude exercising, as opposed to the artistic convention of depicting nude athletes, is problematic. A perfectly reasonable supposition, supported by parallels from other ancient cultures, is that Greek athletic nudity was acceptable to many Etruscans, but objectionable to others.[38] But the mere presence of male nudity in Etruscan art hardly justifies Crowther's assumption that in the late sixth century athletic nudity was as acceptable to Etruscans as it was to contemporary Athenians; indeed according to his argument more acceptable. When compared with the hundreds of contemporary Attic vases depicting nude athletes, eleven vases showing athletes in the perizoma, which carry other signs of being designed for an Etruscan clientele, provide slim support for the idea

[31] Note the comments of Langlotz (n.25) i, 63, 'Die Genitalien sorgfältig graviert, dann—auf Wunsch des Käufers?—weiss übermalt.' and Technau (n.24) 127, 'und ein Hinweis auf die um die Hüften geschlungenen Mäntel der Figuren zeigt nur um so deutlicher, dass der weiss aufgemalte Schurz eine nur auf diesen schwarzfigurigen Gefässen vorkommende und eine nur zu absichtlicher Verhüllung angebrachte Tracht ist'.

[32] Examples were collected by Bonfante (n.19) 19-29, pls 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 42, 45, and Thuillier (n.13) 59-65, 113, fig. 61, and 370-4. Also see the 'swordsmen' series, E. Richardson, *Etruscan votive bronzes* (Mainz 1983) figs 98-146, and the early kouroi, figs 159-60, 161-2, 191-93, 197.

[33] So Bonfante (n.1) 564-6. For Athenian potters catering to Etruscan tastes see C. Scheffer, 'Workshop and trade patterns in Athenian black figure', in *Proceedings of the third international symposium on ancient Greek and related pottery*, ed. J. Christiansen, T. Melander (Copenhagen 1988) 536-46.

[34] Crowther (n.22) 167. For athletes on frescoes see Thuillier (n.13) 122-38. Nude athletes are seen in the Tomba degli Auguri (*c.*520 BC), M. Moretti, *Pittura Etruria in Tarquinia* (Rome 1974) pls 14 and 17;the Tomba Cardarelli (510-500 BC), S. Steingräber, *Etruscan painting* (New York 1985), nr. 53, pl. 56; the Tomba del Maestro delle Olimpiadi (*c.*500 BC), Steingräber, nr. 83, pls 113-15; the Tomba delle Bighe (*c.*490 BC), Steingräber, 289, nr. 47, pl. 38; the Tomba di Poggio al Moro (475-450 BC), Steingräber, nr. 22, pls. 191-2; the Tomba di Montello (*c.*480 BC), Steingräber, nr. 17; and perhaps in the Tomba di Orfeo ed Euridice (*c.*480-470 BC), Steingräber, nr. 18; belted nude athletes appear in the Tomba delle Olimpiadi (*c.*510 BC), Steingräber, nr. 92, pls 121-6; infibulated nude athletes in the Tomba della Scimmia (480-70 BC), M. Pallottino, *Etruscan painting* (New York 1952) 62-3. But all these paintings show strong Greek influences and may have been done by Greek artists; see Steingräber, 283, 289, and 329. The Chiusi reliefs display numbers of nude athletes, see Thuillier, 138-43; add J.-R. Jannot, *Les reliefs archaïques de Chiusi* (Rome 1984) C I, 26b (Rome Vatican 14234), but these reliefs show direct Attic influence; see Jannot, 421. Nude athletes also appear on Etruscan vases, see Thuillier, 148-52 and J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan vase painting* (Oxford 1947) pls ii, 1 and 2, v, 1, ix, 1; as well as on bronze mirrors, statuettes, situlae, and on gems, see Thuillier, 122-61.

[35] A. Hus, *Recherches sur la statuaire en pierre étrusque archaïque* (Paris 1961) 298, 'Inconnue avant 600 . . . la nudité est essentiellement étrangère à l'Etrurie qui ne l'accepte—avec réticence que sous l'action de l'Orient', and Richardson (n.32) 96, 'The complete nudity, in the history of Etruscan sculpture, is the most un-Etruscan detail about the figures. There are no naked male figures in the Orientalizing repertory, and in the course of the Archaic period the only other nude figures in Etruria are athletes and naked warriors of the Middle [*c.*550-515 BC] and the Late Archaic [*c.*520-450 BC]; both these types are as "Greek" as the kouri'. The exception is the small bronze group with a nude wrestler from Poggio Civitate (Murlo), now dated to the late seventh century; K. M. Phillips Jr., *PP* xxxv (1980) 202-06. Although of Etruscan workmanship, Greek influence is likely; *contra* Thuillier (n.13) 75-7. The group was found in an archaeological context containing Greek imports; K. M. Kyle Jr., *OpusRom* ix (1973) 179-82. Similar conclusions about Greek influence on Etruscan nudes were reached by Bonfante (n.19) 21, 25 and by R. D. DePuma, 'Nude dancers: a group of bucchero pesante oinochoai from Tarquinia', in *Proceedings of the third international symposium of ancient Greek and related pottery* (n.33) 130-43.

[36] For Etruscan statuettes of Herakles in loincloth, see E. Galli, *StEtr* xv (1941) 27-76, pl. 6, 1; centaurs, G. Q. Giglioli, *StEtr* iv (1930) 360, pl. 27, and see Bonfante (n.19) 28, 115 n.53, and figs 45, 86. Thuillier (n.13) 59-65 and 373-74, figs 6, 61, 14 and 15, contrasted nude boxers fighting over a tripod as seen on a late protocorinthian bronze and on a shield strap from Olympia, with similar figures in loincloths seen on an Etruscan bucchero of the last third of the seventh century and Etruscan buckles from Casola d'Elsa from the early sixth century.

[37] For the Tomba delle Iscrizioni see Poulsen (n.29) 16, figs 7, 8, and 9, and Steingräber (n.34) 314 with O. M. Stackelberg's drawings. M. Pallottino, *MonAl* xxxvi (1937) 318, identified the two naked figures as worshiper and cult statue.

[38] It may well be that male nudity in Etruscan art was entirely an artistic convention, as argued by Bonfante (n.19) 24-6, 28 and (n.1) 563-6, *contra* Thuillier (n.13) 369-403. Recently B. d'Agostino, 'Image and society in archaic Etruria', *JRS* lxxix (1989) 1-10, discussed the complex attitudes of the new elite which emerged in Etruria during the second half of the sixth century and the effects of strong Attic influences in the early fifth century. There is evidence that native Etruscan aversion to representations of nude males continued after the waning of Attic influences. The early Hellenistic Tomba dei Velii shows a banquet scene with one nude servant (all the others wear loincloths) discreetly covering his genitals with a jar; A. E. Feruglio, *et al.*, *Pittura Etruria a Orvieto* (Rome 1982) 15-17. I will address the question of the Etruscan reception of athletic nudity in a future article.

that Athenian athletes wore such garments in the late sixth century. Crowther's case, like all which argue for the late sixth century use, or re-introduction, of the zoma, stands or falls on the evidence of Thucydides and Plato alone. A closer look at the passages in question is therefore desirable.[39]

Thucydides' treatment of athletic nudity, together with a discussion of the evolution of Greek dress (i 6.3-6), occurs in the larger context of an outline of earlier Greek history (i 1-18). The so-called Archaeology is cogent and compelling, but also schematic and vague. With few facts and fewer dates it is carefully distinguished by its author from his proper historical analysis of the Peloponnesian War (i 1.2, 21.1, 20.1). The digression on dress and nudity contains only three significant chronological indicators, all characteristically imprecise: 'no long time ago'—οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ—wealthy old Athenians wore extravagant attire (i 6.3), 'in ancient times'—τὸ δὲ πάλαι—athletes at the Olympic games wore loincloths (i 6.5), the wearing of loincloths ceased 'not many years ago'—οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ (i 6.5). Although vague, Thucydides' last statement must mean that loincloths were first abandoned at the Olympic games sometime in the early fifth century; at odds with the archaeological evidence and irreconcilable with the 'Orsippos-Akanthos' tradition.[40] Why Thucydides made this claim can perhaps be discovered by examining the logic of his chapters five and six.

The argument of the Archaeology is that previous Greek wars were not great because in earlier times the Greeks lacked the material resources and the political security needed to support such wars. Beginning with the most ancient events, Thucydides traces the development of political unification and material progress among the Greeks.[41] But faced with what he considered unreliable traditions, Thucydides produces in the Archaeology a reconstruction of the past based on a general theory about the growth of political power, and a series of analogies with contemporary phenomena. He compares Greek customs in ancient times with contemporary practices of less advanced Greeks or barbarians in order to demonstrate (δηλοῦσι i 5.2, σημεῖον δ' ἐστὶ i 6.2) the veracity of the traditional evidence.[42] In describing Minos' suppression of piracy, Thucydides argues that in early times piracy, and brigandage in general, was a common and even respectable occupation. He adduces the evidence of the Homeric poems, and to support it introduces the comparison with the practices of backward contemporaries (i 4-5.3). It is here that the digression on social customs and attire occurs.

It is important to notice, however, that the same general scheme of material progress outlined in the Archaeology is repeated here, and that in this sense the digression on social customs and attire is an Archaeology in miniature. Thucydides traces the progression of Greek social customs in three stages from (1) a period of insecurity when men had to carry weapons (i 5.3-6.2), to (2) a time when citizens could go about unarmed and in luxurious attire (i 6.3), to (3) the modern condition where dress was marked by egalitarian simplicity and athletes exercising nude (i 6.4-5). Thucydides specifies that stage two was introduced by the Athenians, stage three by the Spartans.[43] But it was

[39] Extrapolating from Legakis's catalogues (n.11, *Athletic contests*), one finds for the entire sixth century some 600 Greek vases displaying nude athletes; over half of these vases are dated *c.*510-500 BC, the period of the perizoma vases. Among recent studies only M. B. Poliakoff, *Combat sports in the ancient world* (New Haven 1987) 165-66 n.12, has rejected the evidence of Thucydides and Plato together with the perizoma vases. Bonfante (n.1) 564-5, rightly rejected the perizoma group vases, but, 557-58, tried to rescue Th. i 6.5 and Pl. *R.* v 452c by arguing that they refer to 'the normalization of nudity in real life, to its civic significance, not to its earlier appearance in religious ritual and art' and went on to write that Thucydides saw nudity as a function of democracy. It was the authority of Thucydides and Plato which led J.-P. Thuillier to dismiss the hundreds of mid-sixth century Attic vases depicting nude athletes as 'idéalisation', but to conclude that the far fewer instances of athletic nudity in late sixth century Etruscan art represent 'les realia sportifs de le civilisation étrusque'; see his review of Poliakoff, *JRA* i (1988) 98, repeated in *Nikephoros* i (1988) 30, 34-6. S. Instone, *JHS* cix (1989) 256 and *Omnibus* xx (1990) 1-2, invoked the perizoma group vases to argue that Th. i 6.5 means that loincloths were recently abandoned at the Olympic games, but continued to be worn for training into Thucydides' own time! But the visual evidence provides no basis for a distinction between nude competition and non-nude training. The scenes and athletic postures on the eleven vases which depict athletes wearing perizomata are standard and have hundreds of parallels on vases displaying nude athletes.

[40] οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ (i 6.3) and οὐ πολλὰ ἔτη ἐπειδὴ (i 6.5) can only refer to the recent past and to judge from similar expressions (i 8.1-2 and 8.3), and archaeological evidence adduced by Gomme (n.12) 103, these can mean anywhere from twenty to seventy years. On the other hand τὸ δὲ πάλαι (i 6.5) must refer to things considerably further back in time. Following Herbst and Steup, Gomme argued, 91 and 135, that in the Archaeology Thucydides used τὸ δὲ πάλαι and similar phrases to refer to the period before 510 BC.

[41] On the development of material culture see E. Täubler, *Die Archaeologie des Thucydides* (Leipzig 1927) 7-8 and J. de Romilly, *Historie et raison chez Thucydide* (Paris 1956) 241. Täubler, 58-61, saw a break in the tracing of progress at i 12; de Romilly, 289-91, insisted on an unbroken progression; V. Hunter, *Past and process in Herodotus and Thucydides* (Princeton 1982) 23ff., argued for elements of regression in the generally progressive development outlined in the Archaeology. For Thucydides' use of the theme of human progress in the Archaeology and elsewhere see J. H. Finley, *Thucydides* (Ann Arbor 1963) 82-93, W. R. Connor, *Thucydides* (Princeton 1984) 26 n.19; S. Hornblower, *Thucydides* (Baltimore 1987) 129-30, and Hunter, 46-8, who described Thucydides' idea of progress as strictly quantitative and therefore different from the modern notion of progress which is directed towards an open-ended future.

[42] For the character of the Archaeology see the remarks of M. I. Finley, *The use and abuse of history* (New York 1975) 19. Its method was analyzed by Täubler (n.41), de Romilly (n.41) 241 ff., and Hunter (n.41) 32-4; see also Connor (n.41) 20-32, Hornblower (n.41) 87, and J. H. Finley (n.41) 49.

[43] Thucydides' section on apparel was criticized as 'eine missglückte Anmerkung' by E. Schwartz, *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (Bonn 1919) 170, note. For the digression's relationship to Minos, piracy, and the general argument of the Archaeology see Täubler (n.41) 21-3, 27-8 and de Romilly (n.41) 253, who noted the chiastic order of the argument; also see with caution A. Heubeck, *Hermes* xciv (1966) 308-14.

Thucydides' practice, especially in the Archaeology where he lacked reliable sources, to support every general statement with proof.[44] To bolster the statement that the Athenians were the first to live a more luxurious type of life, he writes that wealthy old Athenians wore linen chitons and long hair in a bun—κρωβύλος—'not long ago'. Here Thucydides follows an established tradition; comic poets of the mid-fifth century wrote of an earlier period of Athenian luxury which lasted down to the time of Themistokles. Vase paintings indicate that the elaborate hair style went out of fashion at Athens between 480 and 470 BC, with the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of Thucydides' audience. Few, if any contemporary Athenians would remember it.[45] The next step in the social progression was made at Sparta where 'in dress and other ways the wealthy took up a way of life which placed them as much as possible on an equal footing with the many' (i 6.4). Thucydides, perceiving a connection between Spartan egalitarianism and athletic nudity, then writes that the Spartans were the first to exercise nude. To explain and emphasize he adds that 'in ancient times' Greek athletes had worn loincloths even in the Olympic games and, following his comparative method, points out that in this they were like contemporary barbarians (i 6.5). So Thucydides' chronological scheme of material progress holds that the introduction of the modern practice of nude exercising, like that of simple attire, came after the stage of luxurious attire. But if the grandfathers and great-grandfathers of contemporary Athenians had worn linen chitons and long hair with golden claps 'not long ago', then the chronologically posterior stage of exercising nude also had to have been adopted 'not long ago'. In order to fit the logic of his schematic picture of social progress, Thucydides down-dates the introduction of athletic nudity. Since this is not the only inaccuracy in chapter six of book one, it may be that Thucydides, carried along by his argument, simply made an error. But later in the Archaeology (i 10.3-5), in order to advance his thesis that the Peloponnesian War is the greatest in Greek history, Thucydides calculates the number of men who had sailed to Troy and concludes that the total was small. An author who could call an expeditionary force of *c.*100,000 men 'not many', might also, to suit his scheme, call a period of well over a century 'not many years'. In addition Thucydides, who was pleased to criticize and correct the Athenians, may have been motivated by differences between himself and his fellow citizens in their attitude towards barbarians. The historian came from a family proud of its non-Greek ancestry. His grandmother, or great-grandmother, was in all likelihood a Thracian princess and his father bore the Thracian royal name Oloros. But the attitude of a large part of Thucydides' audience would have been different. Most of them were born after Perikles' citizenship law of 451-0 BC which mandated that citizens have Athenian mothers as well as fathers. Continuing Athenian concern with the purity of the citizenry is demonstrated by the re-enactment of the citizenship law in the last years of the fifth century—some years earlier it had lapsed. So Thucydides would have had special cause to enjoy informing, or misinforming, his full-blooded Athenian contemporaries that 'not many years ago' their ancestors, together with all Greeks, had exercised as barbarians do.[46]

The Platonic notice on the introduction of athletic nudity is found in book five of the *Republic* where Sokrates, arguing for the proposition that women should exercise nude, admits that the idea seems ludicrous, but informs his interlocutors that it was 'not long ago—οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ—that Greeks thought, as barbarians still do, that it was shameful and laughable for men to be seen nude, and that when nude exercising was first practiced by the Cretans, then by the Spartans, it was ridiculed (452c-d). Plato's reliability as an historical source is a large and difficult subject, but it is the case that his historical references usually serve a didactic purpose, and the claim that nude exercising was a recent phenomenon clearly serves the immediate need of the argument at *R.* 452c-d. The veracity of this claim is, however, open to serious doubt since it is chronologically at variance with what Plato elsewhere writes about the introduction of distinctive Cretan and Spartan practices.

[44] For the frequency of the technical vocabulary of evidence (σημεῖον, τεκμήριον, μαρτύριον, παράδειγμα) in the Archaeology see Täubler (n.41) 103-7, de Romilly (n.41) 242, Connor (n.41) 28, Hornblower (n.41) 100-06, and J. H. Finley (n.41) 79-80 and 296. Also see de Romilly's comments, 258-9, on Thucydides' distinctive use of the particles τε and δέ in his elaboration of statement and proof.

[45] Gomme (n.12) 104, compared Th. i 6.3 to Ath. xii 553e where lines of Telekleides and Kratinos are quoted. Gomme, 103, dated the fashion by reference to vase-paintings and wrote that 'Thucydides in his youth will have known older men who remembered it.' The regular generation of thirty years varied. Long generations of forty years, and short generations of twenty-five years are attested; see J. K. Davies, *Athenian propertied families 600-300 BC* (Oxford 1971) 336-37.

[46] Thucydides criticizes the Athenians at i 20.2 and vi 54.1-2. On the citizenship laws see P. J. Rhodes, *A commentary on the Aristotelian Athenaion Politeia* (Oxford 1981) 33-134. On Thucydides' ancestry see Davies (n.45) 233-36. Thucydides' wildly inaccurate statement at i 10.5, called inconsequential and not fully thought out by Gomme (n.12) 114, 'patently absurd' by Hunter (n.41) 35, is essential to his thesis that the Trojan War was not as great as the Peloponnesian. Connor (n.41) 21 n.6, noted that the Greek victories of Salamis, Artemision, Thermopylae, and Plataea are treated just as cavalierly at i 23.1. At i 4.1 Thucydides' uses a questionable tradition (Minos as the founder of the first thalassocracy) as the basis for an historical argument; *cf.* Herodotus' more cautious treatment of Minos and Polycrates at iii 122.2. The other error in chapter six is at i 6.3 where Thucydides states that luxurious fashion, linen chitons *et al.*, spread from Athens to Ionia. Most scholars think the reverse to be true; see W. Amelung *RE* iii.2 (1899) s.v. 'chiton' 2309-10, citing Hdt. v 87-88 and the Semitic etymology of the word, and see Gomme 103. Hunter, 49, argued that Thucydides was interested not in chronology *per se*, i.e., precise dates, but in relative time within an otherwise meaningful process or scheme of historical development; *cf.* de Romilly (n.41) 294. Hunter also has interesting remarks, 237-40 with n.13, on the distinction between chronological and logical time.

Plato attributes the institutions of the Cretans and Spartans to their νομοθέται; for the Cretans Minos, who spoke with Zeus, and for the Spartans Lykourgos. In fact Plato is somewhat inconsistent about the latter. In his earlier works he seems to regard Lykourgos as the sole Spartan lawgiver (*Phdr.* 258b-c, *Symp.* 209d, *R.* 599d-e; a tradition also found in Herodotus i 65, and Xenophon, *Lac.* i), while in the *Laws* he posits a three-phase reform of the Spartan constitution. In any case it is clear that Plato follows the *communis opinio* in holding that the social and political organizations of both Cretans and Spartans were old.[47] But Plato also states in a number of places (*Lg.* i 633a, 636a, 636b-c; *cf. Prt.* 342c and e, and *R.* 548b) that it was their lawgivers who established gymnasia as a characteristic and central institution for both Cretans and Spartans. That here gymnasia means places where nude exercising is practiced is clear from *Lg.* i 636c where an explicit causal connection is claimed between the institution of the gymnasion and homosexual behaviour. For it was the nudity practiced at the gymnasion which made it the natural and normal place to observe, admire, and make advances to handsome youths.[48] But if gymnasia were established by the lawgivers, then nude exercising cannot be properly described as having come into practice 'not long ago'.

Although Plato was not an historian, it seems unlikely that he simply invented the recent introduction of male nudity to fit his argument at *R.* 452c-d. Where did he find the idea? Thucydides is never mentioned in Plato's works and prominent scholars have opined, in strong terms, that Plato never read Thucydides.[49] But aside from its intrinsic improbability, there are substantive reasons for rejecting Platonic ignorance of Thucydides.[50] Dionysios of Halikarnassos states that in the *Menexenus* Plato modeled Sokrates' funeral oration on that of Thucydides' Perikles, and the two speeches, though different in many ways, display significant parallels. Most important, Plato's use of Aspasia as the putative author of the epitaphioi of both Perikles and Sokrates is difficult to explain if Plato were unfamiliar with the speech at Thucydides ii 35-44.[51]

Evidence of Thucydidean ideas can also be found in the *Republic*. Similarities in diction and thought, which go beyond a shared fondness for making fine semantic distinctions, exist in Thucydides' famous description of the inversion of the meanings of words which accompanied factional wars between democrats and oligarchs (iii 82.4) and Plato's treatment of the same phenomenon occasioned by internal stasis between democratic and oligarchic elements in the soul (*R.* 559a-560e). Compare Thucydides' πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἑκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει ῥᾳδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο (iii 82.1), to Plato's ὥσπερ ἡ πόλις μετέβαλλε βοηθησάσης τῷ ἑτέρῳ μέρει συμμαχίας ἔξωθεν, ὁμοίας ὁμοίῳ (559e), and Καὶ ἐὰν μέν γε οἶμαι ἀντιβοηθήσῃ τις τῷ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὀλιγαρχικῷ συμμαχίᾳ, . . . στάσις δὴ καὶ ἀντίστασις καὶ μάχη ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὑτὸν τότε γίγνεται (559e-560a), and Thucydides' τόλμα μὲν γὰρ ἀλόγιστος ἀνδρεία φιλέταιρος ἐνομίσθη, and τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα (iii 82.4) to Plato's σωφροσύνην δὲ ἀνανδρίαν καλοῦντές τε καὶ προπηλακίζοντες ἐκβάλλουσι (560d).[52]

[47] For Minos see *Lg.* i 624a-b, for Lykourgos and Minos, *Lg.* 630d and 632d. On Plato and Crete see G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan city* (Princeton 1960) 17-35; on Lykourgos and Plato's three phase reform at Sparta, Morrow, 40-73, esp. 67ff. The *Minos* places Lykourgos' reforms 'less than three hundred years ago' (318d), and has them derived from Crete (320a-b).

[48] Pl. *Lg.* i 636b-c: καὶ δὴ καὶ πάλαι ὃν νόμιμον δοκεῖ τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καὶ τὰς κατὰ φύσιν τὰς περὶ τὰ ἀφροδίσια ἡδονὰς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θηρίων διεφθαρκέναι. καὶ τούτων τὰς ὑμετέρας πόλεις πρώτας ἄν τις αἰτιῷτο καὶ ὅσαι τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα ἅπτονται τῶν γυμνασίων'. For the close connection between nude exercising and homosexual practices see Aeschin. i 138-39, Τὸν δ' ἐλευθέρον ἀλείφεσθαι καὶ γυμνάζεσθαι . . . ἀλλ' οὐ τὸν ἐλεύθερον ἐκώλυσεν ἐρᾶν καὶ ὁμιλεῖν καὶ ἀκολουθεῖν, οὐδὲ βλάβην τῷ παιδί, and 135, also Ar. *Pax* 762f., Pl. *Chrm.* 154a-c, *Symp.* 217c; and in general, K. J. Dover, *Greek homosexuality* (London 1978) 54-5. On the regular meaning of γυμνάζω as 'nude exercising' see above n.3.

[49] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'Die Thukydideslegende', *Hermes* xii (1877) 328 n.3, wrote 'Platon und Aristoteles ignorieren ihn [Thukydides] geflissentlich', and in *Platon*[2] i (Berlin 1920) 435-6, 'An Benutzung des Thukydides ist nicht zu denken'; and J. de Romilly, *Thucydide et l'impéralisme athénien* (Paris 1947) 304 wrote 'Et en définitive il n'y a pas un mot chez Platon qui suppose connues les analyses de Thucydide', = *Thucydides and Athenian imperialism*, trans. P. Thody (New York 1963) 366.

[50] See W. V. Harris, *Ancient literacy* (Cambridge, London 1989) 84-6, for the circulation of literary works and their limited audience in fifth and fourth century Athens. A number of Thucydidean passages to which Plato might have responded were proposed by M. Pohlenz, *Aus Platos Werdezeit* (Berlin 1913) 240ff., disputed by Schwartz (n.43) 152-3. For possible Thucydidean influence in *Laws* see R. Weil, *L'"archéologie' de Platon* (Paris 1959), but also C. Macdonald, *CR* ix (1959) 108-9, and R. W. Sharples, *LCM* viii (1983) 139-40, comparing *Laches* 194e and Th. ii 40.3. Prodikos may lurk behind both passages; see *La.* 197d and n.52 below. Others who held that Plato had read Thucydides are Th. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker* ii (Leipzig 1902) 579; Schmid-Stählin, *GCL* i.5, 126; and P. Shorey, *What Plato said* (Chicago 1933) 2-3, 6, and 8.

[51] D. H. *Dem.* 23. Compare Pl. *Mx.* 238d-e with Th. ii 65.9, and *Mx.* 238d with Th. ii 37.1; see R. Clavaud, *Le Ménexène de Platon et la rhétorique de son temps* (Paris 1980) 92, 105, and 119-21. For Aspasia see Pl. *Mx.* 235e-236c. Scholarly opinion on the nature of the *Menexenus* and its relationship to Thucydides was critically surveyed by Clavaud, 37-77. L. Coventry, 'Philosophy and rhetoric in the *Menexenus*, *JHS* cix (1989) 3 n.8, recently added another good reason to think that Plato both knew and alluded to Pericles' oration in Thucydides.

[52] This parallel was adduced to show Thucydidean influence on Plato by Gomperz (n.50) 579; E. Barker, *Greek political theory* (London 1919, repr. New York 1961) 209 n.2, and Pohlenz, (n.50) 252. In denying Thucydides' influence on Plato, Wilamowitz, *Platon*[2] (n.49) 436, posited Prodikos as a common but independent source for these passages. While it seems undeniable that Prodikos' work on synonyms influenced both Plato and Thucydides (the Platonic references are collected in Diels-Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[6] ii, 308-19; probable passages in Thucydides are i 69.6, ii 62.4, and iii 39.2; see J. H. Finley [n.41] 280 n.28 and for a long enthusiastic list see H. Mayer, *Prodikos von Keos* [Paderborn 1913] 64-79), there is nothing in the testimonia or fragments of Prodikos which

Not surprisingly, in the respective passages on athletic nudity the diction is similar: οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδή (Th. i 6.3), οὐ πολλά ἔτη ἐπειδή (Th. i 6.5), οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐξ οὗ (Pl. 452c) and ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔστιν οἷς νῦν (Th. i 6.5), ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων (Pl. 452c). But more striking is Plato's use of a distinctively Thucydidean analogy in comparing the customs of Greek ancestors with those of contemporary barbarians. Certain types of historical arguments frequently used by Thucydides, from probability and analogy, are occasionally found in Hekataios and Herodotus. When explaining how in ancient times Ionians called books skins—διφθέραι—Herodotus writes that many contemporary barbarians still write on skins (v 58.3), and when arguing that the language of the ancient Pelasgians was not Greek (i 57), Herodotus points to what he thought were contemporary Pelasgians.[53] But these particular and rather obvious uses of historical analogy are different from Thucydides' employment of it as a general tool which was, to judge from the emphasis he places on it, an original methodological contribution.[54] The difference can be clearly discerned in Herodotus' notice of the barbarian aversion to nudity (i 10.3) where no direct comparison is drawn and no temporal contrast made. The entire sentence is cast in the present tense (φέρει), and it lacks the temporal designations (νῦν or μέχρι τοῦδε) found in both Thucydides and Plato. There is nothing quite like the comparison of contemporary barbarian customs to those of Greeks of the past before Thucydides, and Jüthner was probably right to claim that Plato learned this historian's method of analogy from Thucydides.[55]

In all probability Plato was familiar with Thucydides' work and took the information about the recent introduction of athletic nudity directly from his history. Yet even if we were to agree that Plato never read Thucydides, it would not preclude the latter's influence. Thucydides' work was known to intellectuals of the first half of the fourth century. Isocrates seems to have read it and Xenophon composed the first two books of the *Hellenika* at about the same time that Plato was writing the *Republic*, if not earlier.[56] In particular, Thucydides' pronouncement on the recent introduction of athletic nudity would certainly have occasioned discussion at the gymnasia and would have been of interest to men like Plato who frequented them.[57]

This still leaves a slight discrepancy in that Plato writes that the Cretans were the first, followed by the Spartans, to exercise nude, while Thucydides gives primacy to the Spartans. But the tradition that the Spartans derived their institutions from their Dorian cousins in Crete was general in the fifth and fourth centuries. Herodotus (i 65.4-5) writes that the Spartans themselves claimed that Lykourgos took his reforms from Crete.[58] In his earlier dialogues as well as in the *Laws* Plato stresses the connection between the Cretan and Spartan constitutions.[59] So in giving primacy to the Cretans at *R.* 452c, Plato merely adds a generally

explains all the similarities between Th. iii 82.4 and Pl. *R.* 559e-560. Note Gomperz's words, 'Den Einwand, Platon habe des Geschichtswerk des Thukydides nicht gekannt, lasse ich nicht gelten. Das ist an sich unglaublich, und überdies scheint mir zwischen Staat VIII 560D-E und Thukyd. III 82/3 eine Übereinstimmung zu bestehen, die kaum eine zufällige sein kann.'

[53] For argument from probability in Hekataios see *FGrH* I F 26. Also see Hdt. ii 22, and 120, with further examples and comments by A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus, Book II introduction* (Leiden 1975) 162-63. For analogy see Hdt. ii 10 with Lloyd, 164, and H. Erbse, 'Zur Geschichtsbetrachtung des Thukydides', *Antike und Abendland* x (1961) 19-34, who argued that Herodotus not only anticipated Thucydides in applying arguments from probability to history, but that he made better use of them. Hdt. v 58.3 was noted by E. E. Sikes, *The anthropology of the Greeks* (London 1914) 10, and the argument on Pelasgians at Hdt. i 57 by de Romilly (n.41) 250. The location of Herodotus' contemporary Pelasgians (Creston or Cortona) is a notorious problem; see W. W. How, J. Wells, *A commentary on Herodotus* i (Oxford 1912) 79-80, 442-66, and 455-6.

[54] As a way to verify an otherwise unreliable tradition, Thucydides refers to his comparative method with δηλοῦσιν δὲ τῶν τε ἠπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν (i 5.2); καὶ μέχρι τοῦδε πολλὰ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τῷ παλαιῷ τρόπῳ νέμεται (i 5.3); πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλα τις ἀποδείξειε τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑλληνικὸν ὁμοιότροπα τῷ νῦν βαρβαρικῷ διαιτώμενον (i 6.6). See Connor (n.41) 27-29 and the remarks of de Romilly (n.41) 250-51, 'et Thucydide a, là aussi, insisté sur cette nouveauté [la méthode comparatiste]. Sans doute ne faisait-il pas—ici pas plus qu'alleurs—oeuvre entièrement originale: Hérodote savait, à occasion, conclure du présent au passé ... mais il s'agissait, en l'occurrence, d'un fait isolé, et d'un cas où la continuité semblait évidente. Au contraire, Thucydide recourt fréquemment au même procéde, n'hésitant pas à rapprocher les Grecs d'autrefois et les barbares de son temps ... Cela est si vrai qu'il n'hésite pas à ajouter, en une sorte de parenthèse bien révélatrice, un commentaire de portée générale, dégageant comme une loi'. On the overall originality of method in the Archaeology, see de Romilly, 243 and 248.

[55] J. Jüthner, 'Hellenen und Barbaren', *Das Erbe der Alten* viii (Leipzig 1923) 24. Platonic borrowing from Thucydides at *R.* 452c had been noted earlier by Sikes (n.53) 20 and Pohlenz (n.50) 252. The differences between Herodotus' and Thucydides' uses of arguments from probability and analogy are analyzed by Hunter (n.41) 102-7.

[56] For Thucydides' influence on Isocrates see de Romilly (n.49) 220-21, 298-300 = Eng. ed., 261-62, and 358-61. The composition dates of Plato's and Xenophon's works are problematic. The *Republic*, certainly a mature work, is generally considered to be a middle dialogue; see E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[6] ii, 1 (Hildesheim 1963) 487-558; W. D. Ross, *Plato's theory of ideas* (Oxford 1951) 2-10; and for a recent computer-based analysis of the dating of the dialogues by stylometry, G. R. Ledger, *Re-counting Plato* (Oxford 1989) chapter 9, esp. 212-16. Xenophon probably began his literary production in the 380's, but the beginning of the *Hellenika* could have been written as early as the 390's; see H. R. Breitenbach, *RE* ix.A2 (1968) s.v. 'Xenophon (6)' 1656-1701, esp. 1670-78, and W. P. Henry, *Greek historical writing* (Chicago 1967).

[57] The dubious tradition that Plato had been a champion wrestler can be traced back to the late fourth century; see Apul. *De Dog. Plat.* 1.2, Diog. Laer. *Vita Plat.* 3.4, and for further references and comment, A. S. Riginos, *Platonica* (Leiden 1976) 41-2, 49-51. But Plato's work certainly betrays a knowledge of and interest in athletics; e.g., *Lg.*, vii. 896a, and see Kyle (n.5) 137 and 255.

[58] A tradition which is followed cautiously by Aristotle (*Pol.* 1271b 20f., 1272a 1f.) and also found in Strabo x 4.17-19, citing Ephorus, and Lucian, *Anach.* 29.

[59] *Prt.* 342cff., *Cri.* 52e, *R.* 544c; noted by Crowther (n.22) 168. See also Morrow (n.47) 33-4.

held opinion which he consistently follows, but which Thucydides had characteristically scorned.[60]

Whatever its origin, it seems that nude exercising was generally practiced by the mid-sixth century at Athens and probably earlier in Sparta and at the Olympic games. The statement to the contrary of Plato was derived, probably directly, from that of Thucydides; both should be rejected as rationalizing attempts by their authors to fit the complex evolution of a social practice into a schema or argument. In considering the diffusion of athletic nudity among the Greeks, K. J. Dover's cautious words on homosexuality are worth repeating: 'regrettable though it may seem to those would like the shape of the past to be bold and simple, we are probably confronted with a phenomenon which varied not only from place to place but also from time to time'.[61] It is clear that in some places athletic nudity had been introduced a long time before Thucydides or Plato.

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[60] See Th. i 18.1 with Gomme's commentary (n.12) 128-31.
[61] Dover (n.48) 186.

Aristotle on equality and market exchange [1]

Commercial buying and selling had replaced mutual gift giving long before Aristotle's time, and he gives fair exchange primacy over the other forms of justice in book five of the *Nicomachean Ethics* just because it provided *philia* for an activity which he knew to be more basic than any other in the life of the *polis*.[2] He calls it 'the salvation of states', and repeats the judgement in the *Politics*.[3]

Yet the account of fair exchange in *EN* v 5 has a reputation for obscurity which ought to seem surprising. There is no agreed meaning for the formula 'as builder to shoemaker, so many shoes to a house' (1133a23-5, 32-3), and chapter 5 has become the poor relation in book five partly for this reason.[4] The formula has a simple explanation, however, which has been overlooked because of a mistaken belief that inequality enters into it.

There has been almost unanimous agreement that the phrase 'as builder to shoemaker' registers some sort of inequality, and that the formula means that the inequality sets the standard for reckoning how many shoes should be given for a house. (I shall call this the standard view.)

There the agreement ends, however, and for the rest, there is a wealth of conjecture about the inequality Aristotle is supposed to have in mind. Since he does not even hint what it might be, the conjectures are all unsupported and none has been found convincing. The confusion has so blighted the chapter that Finley drew a fairly representative conclusion: 'that this is not one of Aristotle's more transparent discussions is painfully apparent'.[5] Aristotle's claim to be considered the first to analyse issues in what is now called economics rests chiefly on this chapter, and if the chapter were as obscure as it is reputed to be, and as it would be if inequality had the part usually given to it, that claim would be more difficult to sustain.

I

'As builder to shoemaker', on the standard view, measures some property in which the two are unequal. Williams thought the property to be 'the worth of the architect as compared with the worth of the cobbler', and Grant the 'quality of the labour'. Rackham considered that 'different kinds of producers have different social values and deserve different rates of reward'. Burnet, following Jackson, thought unequal friendship to be the key, and that 'the ὑπερέχων is apt to expect to get more services from his friend than he gives in proportion to his own superiority'. Meek suggests that a producer is measured for his status and skill, and Soudek that he is measured for his skill alone.[6]

None of these suggestions explains how the ratio 'as builder to shoemaker' might set the standard for a fair exchange. A qualitative comparison will not do. The ratio must be quantitative and precise enough for calculating the number of shoes for a house, because that is supposed to be its purpose. Some of the suggestions are qualitative, others quantifiable only arbitrarily, and others are not independent of the ratio in which the products are exchanged.

Ritchie, Ross, Hardie, Schumpeter and Gordon have suggested labour time.[7] This has the advanta-

[1] I am grateful to Malcolm Schofield, C. J. F. Martin, Pat Shaw and Gianfranco Lotito for their criticism.

[2] D. G. Ritchie took this view, and concluded that fair exchange was wrongly considered to be merely another subdivision of particular justice; see his 'Aristotle's subdivisions of particular justice', *CR* vii (1894) 185-92. It seems to have been a commonplace in Plato's time that cities were formed in the first place in order to acquire a greater abundance of necessities by dividing labours; see *Rep.* ii 369b-371e.

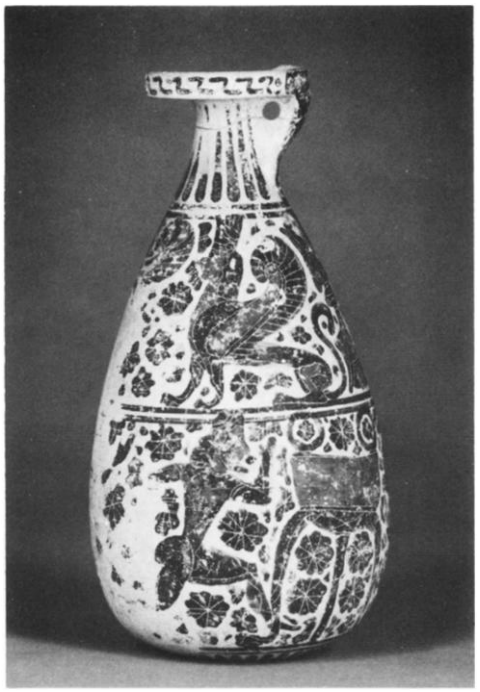
[3] 1132b33, Jowett. 'Wherefore the principle of reciprocity, as I have already remarked in the *Ethics*, is the salvation of states', *Politics*, 1261a30-31.

[4] There are two reasons. The second is that Aristotle's discussion of *summetria* which is the heart of the chapter, has not generally been understood. See n.16 below.

[5] M. I. Finley, 'Aristotle and economic analysis', *P&P* xlvii (1970) 3-25; reprinted in M. I. Finley ed., *Studies in ancient society* (London 1974) 33. All references to Finley will be to this article in the latter publication.

[6] R. Williams, *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle* (London 1869) 154. A. Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle* (London 1874) ii 118. H. Rackham, *The Nicomachean Ethics* (London 1926) 283n. J. Burnet, *The Ethics of Aristotle* (London 1900) 225n. R. L. Meek, *Studies in the labour theory of value* (London 1956) 295n. J. Soudek, 'Aristotle's theory of exchange: an enquiry into the origin of economic analysis', *Proc.Am.Philos.Soc.* xcvi (1952) 46, 60.

[7] D. G. Ritchie, *op. cit.* 186. W. D. Ross, *Ethics Nicomachea* (Oxford 1925) 1133a5n. W. F. R. Hardie, *Aristotle's ethical theory* (Oxford 1968) 191-201. J. Schumpeter, *History of economic analysis* (Oxford 1954) 60-62. Barry J. Gordon, 'Aristotle and the development of value theory', *Quarterly journal of economics* lxxvii (1964) 115-128.



(*a*) Corinthian alabastron, Brit. Mus. 1885.12–13.10 [A1394].

(*b*) Attic black-figured stamnos, Oxford 1965.97.

(*c*) Attic black-figured stamnos, Würzburg 328.