

# **Ancient Pedophilia**

A Senior Honors Thesis

Presented in partial fulfillment of the requirement for graduation with distinction in Classics in the undergraduate colleges of the Ohio State University

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May, 2009

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## Abstract

Despite the significance of ancient sexuality in modern debates, from the work of Michel Foucault to *Romer v. Evans*, there has been little discussion of the use of ancient sources by certain modern groups, like the North American Man/boy Love Association (NAMBLA), to legitimize pedophilic practices as a form of modern pederasty. Although other movements have used these materials for legitimization, I argue that groups such as NAMBLA do so incorrectly both in regard to the ancient sources they claim to be reborn and in the context of modern society in which there are serious ramifications for their actions with, and their desire for, children. This argument is based around the definitions of both pederasty and pedophilia, the discourse of pederasty in antiquity, the impossibility of its existence in the modern world and the discussion of pedophilia in the modern world with its existence in antiquity. The conditioning factors which increase the prevalence of pederasty and/or pedophilia are also discussed in the context of ancient Greece, ancient Rome, and modern society; these factors include: the subjugation or rise in power of women, the process of citizenship, and the education of children in antiquity. In writing this paper I hope to disprove hereafter any claims by modern pedophiles that they are the pederasts of ancient Greece reborn.

## Ancient Pedophilia

On December 14, 1993, a court case, *Romer v. Evans*, was held in Colorado in which plaintiffs went against the state regarding Amendment 2, which had recently been passed into law in 1992. Amendment 2 denied the right of minority status and protection under the law for homosexual men and women to defend themselves on the grounds of sexual discrimination at the workplace, and to dissolve any ability these groups had of claiming minority status. The group of plaintiffs appealed to the Colorado Supreme Court, which handed the case over to District Judge H. Jeffrey Bayless. Both the plaintiff's and the state's defense, by Supreme Court mandate, brought forth expert witnesses to discuss the philosophical, psychological, and moral reasons to either support or refute the amendment. Martha C. Nussbaum on the plaintiff side and John M. Finnis of the defense used examples and references from ancient Greece in denial or support for the law respectively.<sup>1</sup> Nussbaum and Finnis both argued using passages from Plato, Xenophon, Aristophanes, and many other ancient Greek sources. This portrays the precedence of using the ancient world as an authority for the understanding of modern phenomena, such as homosexuality.<sup>2</sup>

The Colorado case is pertinent to this paper because of one of the major arguments that John M. Finnis brought against Martha Nussbaum. Finnis said that the issue of the ancient Greek mode of “homosexuality” involved a grown man and a boy. Finnis claimed that Nussbaum and her associates neglected the age of the boys in the relationships and the age of consent issues involved therein.

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<sup>1</sup> Nussbaum (1994) 1517-1518

<sup>2</sup> I do not mean modern homosexuality is only a phenomenon, but that this terminology did not exist before the nineteenth century.

Nussbaum in response stated:

The conventional use of the term “boy” to designate a male in his capacity as an object of male desire is somewhat misleading, because males were customarily supposed to be sexually desirable to other males mostly in the period of life that extended from around the time of puberty (which probably began quite late in the ancient Mediterranean) to the arrival of the full beard...By “boy,” then, the ancients designated what we would call an adolescent rather than a child. Moreover, “man” and “boy” can refer in both Greek and Latin to the senior and junior partners in a paederastic relationship...regardless of their actual ages.<sup>3</sup>

The age and consent of the “boys” in such relationships will be discussed later in the paper, as well as their modern equivalents.

Analyzing ancient sexual practices has been a prevalent theme throughout Western society’s history. However, it did not gain momentum and respect as a scholarly discipline until the work of Michel Foucault, and without him cases such as the one mentioned above would not be possible.

According to David Halperin:

By documenting the existence of both a discursive and a temporal gap between two dissimilar styles of defining and disqualifying male same-sex sexual expression, Foucault highlights the historical and political specificity of sexuality both as a cultural concept and as a tactical device and so he contributes to the task of “introducing” the history of sexuality as a possible field of study and as a radical scholarly and political project.<sup>4</sup>

Foucault not only tried to describe what sexuality was, but to specify what it did and how it worked in a societal setting both in antiquity and in modernity.<sup>5</sup> Foucault argued that it was not sexuality that defined groups of people in antiquity, as the terms “homosexual” and “heterosexual” do today, but

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<sup>3</sup> Nussbaum (1994) 1551-1552

<sup>4</sup> Halperin (1998) 99

<sup>5</sup> Halperin (1998) 110

gender.<sup>6</sup> Sex was categorized into certain sexual acts in ancient Greece and Rome; these acts did not define one's personality, simply certain sexual acts that one exhibited in juxtaposition to other sexual acts.<sup>7</sup> Modern society, on the other hand, is inclined to believe that a person's sexual acts are fundamentally wrought out of an innate inclination towards one of three sexual identities: heterosexuality, homosexuality, or bisexuality. By studying the beliefs of ancient Greece and Rome, Foucault distinguishes the modern conceptions very clearly from the ancient ones. Studying the sexual practices of ancient Greece and Rome and comparing the literary tradition to ancient laws helps the scholar gain insight into modern society and the differences between federal, domestic, and religious practices of today in order to help people better understand their own contemporary culture as well as bring clarity to misconceptions of ancient ones.

This paper will address one of these misconceptions, namely the existence of pedophilia in the ancient world. It is necessary to analyze another relationship that was socially acceptable in antiquity: pederasty. The analysis of pederasty in these ancient societies will help to make a cohesive argument for the absence or existence of pedophilia in ancient Mediterranean history. One of the precedents from the philosophical discourses of Foucault and the Colorado court case is the use of the ancient world to legitimate the gay rights movement. However, there is another group aside from the gay rights movement that identifies itself as the descendants of the pederasty of ancient Greece, the group known as the North American Man/Boy Love Association. Because NAMBLA's use of antiquity to legitimize itself has been an uncharted problem of modern society, I will discuss this group's situation and how I do not think NAMBLA members are accurate in their claim that they are modern pederasts.<sup>8</sup> In order to

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<sup>6</sup> Although Foucault discusses the role of women in society in all of his philosophical studies, he predominantly refers to the sexual practices of men. Matters such as female sexuality and lesbianism are not thoroughly discussed.

<sup>7</sup> Halperin (1998) 100

<sup>8</sup> By denouncing the way NAMBLA uses the ancient world as an authority for their actions, I do not, in any way, desire to undermine the gay rights movement which also harkens back to pederasty as its predecessor. If anything, as a side effect of writing this work, I hope to strengthen the gay rights movement's claim of origin by denouncing NAMBLA. I hope to do this by bringing clarity overall to an area of thought that is much debated in modern society: the use of ancient literary works to produce definitions of modern socially acceptable or unacceptable human sexuality categories.

achieve all of these goals, I will argue that the pederasty of ancient Greece is not the same phenomenon as pedophilia in the modern world, after a detailed introduction of both ideas respectively. After this, I will discuss the perplexing type of erotic “pederastic” relationship that was characteristic in Rome, followed by further examination of the existence of pedophilia in antiquity.

Pederasty is a phenomenon that existed in ancient Greece. To begin with, pederasty was a relationship that was an institutionalized part of the aristocratic, male society between an adult male, the *erastes*, and a pre-adolescent boy, the *eromenos*. The adult male was generally over the age of twenty-five and the boy was generally between the ages of fifteen to eighteen. Louis Crompton defined pederasty as:

A relation between an older male and someone younger, usually a youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty. The older man was called the *erastes* or lover. Ideally, it was his duty to be the boy's teacher and protector and serve as a model of courage, virtue, and wisdom to his beloved, or *eromenos*, whose attraction lay in his beauty, his youth, and his promise of future moral, intellectual, and physical excellence.<sup>9</sup>

The *eromenos* was generally expected to stop being in a passive relationship with an older male when his beard first started to develop. The men who had relationships with prepubescent boys around twelve or younger were generally looked down upon for their actions. According to Colin Spencer, this reproach was not for any legal reasons, but due to the fact that the Greeks thought the prepubescent boys did not have the mental capacity to be fully aware of what they were doing.<sup>10</sup> According to Foucault it was not acceptable to have sex with those too young because:

...it arrests growth and disturbs the development of the signs of puberty.

Later he mentioned:

All the physicians are in agreement that puberty for boys is situated at about the age of fourteen.

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9 Crompton (2003) 3-4

10 Spencer (1995) 50

But all are in agreement as well that access to the *aphrodisia* should not be had so early...In any case several years should pass during which the body is forming the seminal liquids without it being advisable to evacuate them.<sup>11</sup>

The *eromenos*, however, was underage and under the authority of his paternal guardian until the age of eighteen. Due to this, pederastic relationships could only function with the support and accordance of the child's parents, mainly that of his father. In order for this arrangement to work, the *erastes* had to have good standing in the community, be fairly affluent, and follow the correct procedures in conformity to the Greek ideal of *sophrōsyne* (moderation).<sup>12</sup>

In the Dorian style pederasty, the *erastes* would mention that he was going to abduct the boy to the boy's family and friends; if the man was not considered acceptable, they would give chase and capture the man and the boy before the relationship could take place. If, however, the man was considered acceptable, the family would only feign chase and then meet up with the boy and his male lover and hold a celebration before allowing the relationship to continue.<sup>13</sup> The *eromenos* did have a say in the compact, and could refuse the suitor even before his father agreed to the courting. The boys were expected to follow the ideal of *sophrōsyne* just as the suitors; there were many procedures that they had to follow so that they did not face legal ramifications from the relationship when they became adult men later in life. They were supposed to refuse and play hard to get and supposed to set conditions for their surrender, in which they would receive gifts from their *erastes*.<sup>14</sup> According to Foucault:

In regard to the Greek boy, the importance of his honor did not concern...his future marriage;

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11 Foucault (1984) 129

12 *Sophrōsyne* has a very basic meaning of moderation and self-control; as such, it pertained to numerous affairs of mankind in ancient Greece. Self-control and temperance applied to hunger, frugality, drinking, and sexual appetites. It was an important virtue for both sexes in antiquity; however Foucault only focused on the necessity and vitality of *sophrōsyne* to men, primarily in the pederastic relationship. How an *erastes* and an *eromenos* acted to one another and in the eyes of their friends, family, and community was considered self-control and moderation. Not giving into ones desires was an extremely important concept and code of conduct. If a man gave into his desires he emasculated himself, because it was women of the two sexes which were thought to not be able to resist temptation. Skinner (2006) 153

13 Crompton (2003) 7

14 Foucault (1985) 224

rather, it related to his status...Their dubious reputation could be held against them – without the substantial judicial consequences that certain kinds of misconduct might produce.<sup>15</sup>

Later he states:

“But it was especially in the sphere of amorous conduct that the distinction between what was honorable and what was shameful operated.”<sup>16</sup>

Dorian style pederasty shared many things in common with Athenian pederasty. A major issue that both mutually agreed upon was that the citizen youth should not sell themselves too short or surrender their virtue in order to become prostitutes.

In Athens, accusing politicians of prostituting themselves when they were young and in pederastic relationships was a common affair. Regarding the ramifications of such an action, Aeschines, in *Against Timarchus*, states:

First of all, as soon as he was past boyhood he settled down in the Peiraeus at the establishment of Euthydicus the physician, pretending to be a student of medicine, but in fact deliberately offering himself for sale, as the event proved. The names of the merchants or other foreigners, or of our own citizens, who enjoyed the person of Timarchus in those days I will pass over willingly, that no one may say that I am overly particular to state every petty detail. But in whose houses he has lived to the shame of his own body and of the city, earning wages by precisely that thing which the law forbids, under penalty of losing the privilege of public speech, of this I will speak.<sup>17</sup>

Later he states:

Timarchus did not hesitate, but submitted to it all, though he had income to satisfy all reasonable desires. For his father had left him a very large property, which he has squandered, as I will show in the course of my speech. But he behaved as he did because he was a slave to

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15 Foucault (1984) 207

16 Foucault (1984) 208

17 Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 1.40



the most shameful lusts, to gluttony and extravagance at table, to flute-girls and harlots, to dice, and to all those other things no one of which ought to have the mastery over a man who is well-born and free. And this wretch was not ashamed to abandon his father's house and live with Misgolas, a man who was not a friend of his father's, nor a person of his own age, but a stranger, and older than himself, a man who knew no restraint in such matters, while Timarchus himself was in the bloom of youth.<sup>18</sup>

Prostitution, for men, was allowed in Athens, but was considered a dirty trade; and, as these passages by Aeschines confirm, it was thought a serious offense for citizens to prostitute themselves. Tutors<sup>19</sup> and family members<sup>20</sup> that had been accused of prostituting boys could be sentenced to death, according to Marilyn Skinner.<sup>21</sup> Boys that took money in the pederastic relationships were accused of prostitution and the procedures mentioned above were waged against them.<sup>22</sup>

The pederastic relationship served several very important functions in ancient societies. The

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18 Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 1.42

19 Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 1.9-1.11: "In the first place, consider the case of the teachers. Although the very livelihood of these men, to whom we necessarily entrust our own children, depends on their good character, while the opposite conduct on their part would mean poverty, yet it is plain that the lawgiver distrusts them; for he expressly prescribes, first, at what time of day the free-born boy is to go to the school-room; next, how many other boys may go there with him, and when he is to go home. He forbids the teacher to open the school-room, or the gymnastic trainer the wrestling school, before sunrise, and he commands them to close the doors before sunset; for he is exceedingly suspicious of their being alone with a boy, or in the dark with him. He prescribes what children are to be admitted as, pupils, and their age at admission. He provides for a public official who shall superintend them, and for the oversight of slave-attendants of school-boys. He regulates the festivals of the Muses in the school-rooms, and of Hermes in the wrestling-schools. Finally, he regulates the companionships that the boys may form at school, and their cyclic dances. The teachers of the boys shall open the school-rooms not earlier than sunrise, and they shall close them before sunset. No person who is older than the boys shall be permitted to enter the room while they are there, unless he be a son of the teacher, a brother, or a daughter's husband. If anyone enters in violation of this prohibition, he shall be punished with death. The superintendents of the *gymnasia* shall under no conditions allow anyone who has reached the age of manhood to enter the contests of Hermes together with the boys. A *Gymnasiarch* who does permit this and fails to keep such a person out of the gymnasium, shall be liable to the penalties prescribed for the seduction of free-born youth. Every *choregus* who is appointed by the people shall be more than forty years of age."

20 Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 1.13: "At any rate the law says explicitly: if any boy is let out for hire as a prostitute, whether it be by father or brother or uncle or guardian, or by anyone else who has control of him, prosecution is not against the boy himself, but against the man who let him out for hire and the man who hired him; against the one because he let him out for hire, and against the other, it says, because he hired him. And the law has made the penalties for both offenders the same. Moreover the law frees a son, when he has become a man, from all obligations to support or to furnish a home to a father by whom he has been hired out for prostitution; but when the father is dead, the son is to bury him and perform the other customary rites."

21 Skinner (2006) 13

22 Foucault (1985) 224

most important function was that it trained the *pais* (child) to become a fully-functioning man in his community. This education was completed through many different methods, including practice at the gym, hunting expeditions with the *erastes*, philosophical conversations on morality and ethics, and training in the things of war. In Crete, for example, the affair lasted two months.<sup>23</sup> According to Daniel H. Garrison:

As Greece developed from a congeries of tribes, villages, and warlords to an urban civilization, pederasty developed from a rite of passage to an educational institution that was at once ethical, strongly personal, and elitist. Its emphasis on physical virtues applicable to warfare gave it an ascetic cast, though it was driven by an erotic and therefore inherently sensuous energy...It is not a deviant practice...It is, instead, the most intensive form of initiation a society that offers it can have.<sup>24</sup>

In the Spartan mode, the boy was initiated in a longer period of time into the community than the Cretan model. At the end of such a relationship, the *eromenos* would be nearly a full-fledged man and have received from his *erastes* his first suit of armor, set of weapons, a drinking cup for the purpose of drinking wine at the *symposia*, which only citizen men were allowed to attend. He would have also received a sacrificial animal to offer to the gods. These gifts made the boy into a young man due to the significant correlation between military service in ancient Greece and citizen status. If one was a citizen, one was also a soldier- the best example of this is the Hoplite citizen body of Sparta in antiquity. The giving of a sacrificial animal was also a vital gift to the young men, because sacrificial offerings to the gods also provided meat to the community as a whole. This action thereby made him a contributor to the well-being and prosperity of the city he resided in by his ability to provide food to the masses. All of these actions brought *kleos* (report or excellence) unto the name of his father's house and

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23 Crompton (2003) 7; Garrison (2000) 164

24 Garrison (2000) 167

raised the family's overall standing in the community.<sup>25</sup>

Although it seems that the *eromenos* was the only one that gained status from this type of relationship in antiquity, the *erastes* also benefited from such a courtship. The *erastes* gained *kleos* if the child was from a rich family, was excellent at the gymnasium, or was an excellent pupil in matters of philosophy. If the young boy turned out to be an excellent man, it reflected well upon his mentor, thereby gaining the *erastes* honor. In one Spartan case, a mentor was looked down upon because his pupil cried out in battle; this clearly shows a cultural tradition of improper code of conduct reflecting on the teacher.<sup>26</sup> Additionally, Plato, according to Garrison has shifted the emphasis from the boy to the *erastes* as the one that benefits from such a relationship, because he learns the “rudimentary form of beauty from the boy, and furthers the *erastes'* studies in philosophy.”<sup>27</sup>

Having discussed the archetype model of pederasty, does pedophilia then emulate this model? In order to answer this question it is necessary to discuss pedophilia in its most characteristic form.

Pedophilia is a concept which should first be approached in its modern context.<sup>28</sup> Literally, pedophilia comes from the Greek words, *pais* (child) and *philia* (love). This type of relationship consists of an adult male or female with a prepubescent boy or girl. According to Duane Dobbert in his book, *Halting the Sexual Predators Amongst Us*, pedophilia is defined as a “sexual activity with a

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25 Spencer (1995) 40

26 Crompton (2003) 7-8; Wilkinson, (1979) 117: “The law held the lover responsible for the boy's development, and the boy's reputation, good or bad, reflected on him.”

27 Garrison (2000) 168; Plato's *Symposium*, 208e-209a: When someone, ascending from things here through the right love of boys, begins to see that, the beautiful, he would pretty well touch the end. For this is the right way to proceed in matters of love, or to be led by another- beginning from these beautiful things here, to ascend ever upward for the sake of that, the beautiful, as though using the steps of a ladder, from one to two, and from two to all beautiful bodies, and from beautiful bodies to beautiful practices to beautiful studies, and from studies one arrives in the end at that study that is none other than the study of that, the beautiful itself, and one knows in the end, by itself, what is to be beautiful.

28 Additionally to historicizing, it is important that the modern component of this study reflect the ancient model. By this, I mean that it is necessary to study modern, western societies, due to the fact that these societies are the states directly descended from Greece and Rome. Although there is much interesting information on Asia, the Americas, Africa, and the Pacific these societies had very limited contact with Greece and Rome in antiquity, and although many of these areas were eventually Hellenized or Romanized, they have thousands of years of their own history to build rituals, customs, and beliefs off of. Additionally, a large majority of the people living in these areas, like the Americas, are predominantly of European ancestry, which is then based off of Greek and Roman models of conduct. If I were to write this paper from an Eastern perspective, for instance, the reader could clearly refute my argument because our own society is not based off of Eastern principles, but Western ones. In using Western, documented fact, the information I portray thereby becomes tangible, important, and harder to refute.

prepubescent child (generally age 13 or younger).”<sup>29</sup> There are two types of pedophilia, according to Jeff Fowler, what he calls the fixation and regression paradigms. In the fixation model, offending adults are not adjusted to social norms: they “identify” with children and come across as child-like, they might possibly resort to hoarding items of the child they are attracted to, and they often rehearse the action in their head before it happens.<sup>30</sup> In the regression model, the person is attracted to his/her own age group until adulthood: they are “normal” in their sexual behaviors in comparison to similarly-aged people, and they either do not realize they are attracted to children until adulthood or they repressed it early in their development due to social constraints and aversion.<sup>31</sup> Jeff Fowler also states regarding men who sexually abuse children:

[Sic] Beckett *et al.* (1994) in a report of men in treatment found: typically emotionally isolated individuals, lacking in self confidence, under assertive, poor at appreciating the perspective of others and ill equipped to deal with emotional distress. They characteristically denied or minimized the full extent of their sexual offending and problems. A significant proportion was found to have little empathy for their victim; strong emotional attachment to children and a range of distorted attitudes and beliefs, where they portrayed children as able to consent to and not be harmed by sexual contact with adults...The men with the most problems in the above areas tended to be the most serious offenders.<sup>32</sup>

In Mohr, Turner, and Jerry’s study, there is a quote by Richard von Krafft-Ebing which explains this further:

There are cases in which the sexually needy subject is drawn to children not in consequence of degenerated morality or physical impotence, but rather by a morbid disposition, a psychosexual perversion, which may at present be named “paedophilia erotica.” He considered that these

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29 Dobbert (2004) 57

30 Fowler (2008) 35

31 Fowler (2008) 34

32 Fowler (2008) 30

subjects were a small minority and that the largest number of cases of immorality with children could be reduced to conditions of “acquired mental weakness.”<sup>33</sup>

Pedophilic relations with children have numerous legal ramifications in almost all societies in the modern world. Pedophiles are not an accepted part of society, and as such their actions are not condoned. The issue of consent is a major point in the conflicts against a pedophile's actions. Most modern societies have an age of consent between the ages of sixteen and eighteen; the United States is sixteen. Some societies have lower ages of consent; Canada has an age of fourteen, and the Netherlands an age of twelve. In Mohr, Turner, and Jerry's study, a data set is shown which displays the ages of children in pedophilic crimes; the mean age of crimes is in the eight to eleven year old bracket with outliers as early as zero to three years of age, and a second highest frequency occurring in the twelve to fifteen age range. Out of one hundred cases examined, three children fell into the zero to three category, twelve in the four to seven, twenty-seven in the eight to eleven range, and twelve to fifteen in the twelve to fifteen.<sup>34</sup> The authors went on to examine other cases, and they found that this distribution was characteristic of all the cases they analyzed; the highest amounts of cases occur in the eight to eleven year old category.<sup>35</sup>

Pederasty and pedophilia appear similar on the surface, in that they both incorporate adults with children in some form of relationship- acceptable by society or not. What then, if anything, makes them two different entities? To begin with is the age of the participating members. In ancient Greece, children before the age of fourteen were guarded closely from demoralizing situations.

In *Politics*, the critical ages are two, five, seven, and fourteen....from two until five, the child should continue to exercise through play, but both the forms of play and the stories told to children of this age must be supervised by officials...Children are to be reared at home until the

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33 Mohr, Turner, and Jerry (1964) 12

34 Mohr, Turner, and Jerry (1964) 23: four of the cases were unknown ages

35 Mohr, Turner, and Jerry (1964) 25-27

age of seven, and protected as much as possible from indecent talk and images.<sup>36</sup>

In ancient Greece, to be a citizen, one had to be a male that was either born into the system or married into it. Moreover, a boy did not become a man without crucial rites of passage that symbolically transitioned him into the adult class.<sup>37</sup> The ability to provide for one's family and community was essentially what made a man into a citizen, whether that provision was military service, food production, or leadership.<sup>38</sup> A young boy learned these things from his father, as well as social institutions such as pederasty. Rites of passage equaled citizenship in ancient Greece. According to Mark Golden, children were not born into ancient Greece as citizens, but on the contrary, their future existence was based solely on the decision of their father or head of household.<sup>39</sup> If they were allowed to live, numerous rites of passage occurred in which the child was introduced to the household<sup>40</sup>, as well as to the community, and bestowed a name.<sup>41</sup>

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36 Golden (1990) 20-21; Aristotle, *Politics*, 7.1336a25-7.1336b25: "...and the next period to this, up to the age of **five**, which it is not well to direct as yet to any study nor to compulsory labors, in order that they may not hinder the growth, should nevertheless be allowed enough movement to avoid bodily inactivity; and this exercise should be obtained by means of various pursuits, particularly play...The Tutors must supervise the children's pastimes, and in particular must see that they associate as little as possible with slaves. For children of this age, and up to **seven** years old, must necessarily be reared at home; so it is reasonable to suppose that even at **this age** they may acquire a **taint of illiberality** from **what they hear and see**. The lawgiver ought therefore to banish indecent talk, as much as anything else, out of the state altogether (for light talk about anything disgraceful soon passes into action)--so most of all from among the young, so that they may not say nor hear anything of the sort; and anybody found saying or doing any of the things prohibited, if he is of free station but not yet promoted to reclining at the public meals, must be punished with marks of dishonor and with beating, and an older offender must be punished with marks of dishonor degrading to a free man, because of his slavish behavior. And since we banish any talk of this kind, clearly we must also banish the seeing of either pictures or representations that are indecent. **The officials must therefore be careful that there may be no sculpture or painting that represents indecent actions**, except in the temples of a certain class of gods to whom the law allows even scurrility; but in regard to these--the law permits men still of suitable age to worship the gods both on their own behalf and on behalf of the children and women. **But the younger ones must not be allowed in the audience at lampoons and at comedy, before they reach the age at which they will now have the right to recline at table in company** and to drink deeply, and at which their education will render all of them immune to the harmful effects of such things." (bold font added by me; note how Aristotle mentions "the right age for reclining" as the age for being allowed to view comedies- this was the age of eighteen in Athens.) \*See footnote 115

37 "Children as a group failed to measure up to adult male standards of strength, spirit, and sense; they were therefore excluded from the political and legal privileges of citizens who had come of age. Again, just as childhood was widely believed to be divisible into stages leading to mature...so also young Athenians took their place in household and in the world beyond by degrees. Some, but by no means all, of this process of integration into the adult community was signaled by formal ritual acts." Golden 22 (1990)

38 Spencer (1995) 40

39 Golden (1990) 23; Even children with two citizen parents were not immediately accepted without the acceptance of their birth by their father or head of house.

40 Golden (1990) 23; The *Amphidromia* was a ceremony that took place on the fifth or seventh day after birth. Sacrifices were given, and the father carried the child around the household hearth to introduce him/her to the house.

41 Golden (1990) 23-24

In antithesis to this is the modern concept of citizenship. Rites of passage are completely secondary to one's ability to become a citizen. In most societies, when one ages to a certain point, one became a citizen, regardless if they actively benefit their community. Although there are still rites of passage assimilated into society, the pertinence and correlation between adulthood and rituals has been significantly reduced. Additionally, when a human being is born he or she is awarded citizen status with all of the rights therein given to one of that rank.

The education of children is also an important facet to compare. In ancient Greece, the *paideia* (education) of children was carried out by the parents, other family members, and traveling scholars. The main goal of Greek education, according to Hyperides:

None of us, I think, is unaware that our aim in training children is to convert them into valiant men; and that men who have proved of exceptional courage in war were well brought up in childhood needs no stressing. The simplest course, I think, will be to tell you of their courage under arms, revealing them as authors of many benefits conferred upon their country and the rest of Greece.<sup>42</sup>

The moral virtue of being a good citizen by serving valiantly transcends into political and civic excellence, and accordingly, “it is in this moral realm that the *polis* can be said to educate its citizens.”<sup>43</sup> Boys in the pederastic relationships were educated by their *erastes* about civic life. Children in the modern context, however, are educated in centralized locations which are regulated by the government. Education is, to an idealized extent, standardized in contemporary culture, and overseen by instructors that must meet governmental requirements. There is no place in current society for a legally or publicly acceptable version of the pederastic method of educating young people.

An addendum to the education and civic overtones that distinguish these two concepts is the locational distinction. Pederasty took place in the open, almost always with the acceptance of the

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42 Hyperides, *Epitaphos* 6.8-10

43 Golden (1990) 64-65

*eromenos* and his parents, as well as his extended family and the overall support of the community members.<sup>44</sup> Although it was a relationship between two people, the *erastes* and the *eromenos*, it also had the potential to be extremely beneficial or detrimental for everyone. Pedophilia, however, takes place in seclusion and hiding. According to Jeff Fowler, fixated pedophiles “will be patient when forming relationships with children and careful that the elements of secrecy and privacy are maintained.”<sup>45</sup> A case study was done by Mohr, Turner, and Jerry, to analyze the places in which pedophilic relations took place; forty-five percent of cases took place in the house of the offender or of the victim. The other forty-two percent took place in “the open” in a place of work, the car of the offender, a public building (theatre, etc.), or a public place (street/park).<sup>46</sup> When one analyzes this second sequence of places, one still gets the sense that the action was in a secluded, hidden area. Parks, streets, work, and public places are not thought to be “normal” areas for sexual encounters, and as such can be considered abnormal and secluded from the community. Although other sex acts have been reported to occur in these areas, pedophilia is already a secluded and immoral action. It is more significant that it exists solely on secrecy. Although the pedophile might say that he went ahead with the relationship in accordance with the child's consent, in modern society, children are not able to give their consent before the age allotted by the government. Alike in this regard with ancient Greece, children under the legal age are subject to the authority of their parents in modern states. A society does not benefit from a pedophilic relationship in any way.<sup>47</sup>

One different cultural value of modern western society compared to ancient Greece is that the status of women has increased with the privatization of sex. This difference accounts prodigiously for the changes between modernity and antiquity. As women rise in status, they have more of a say in how

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44 As mentioned above in the section on Spartan and Cretan pederasty.

45 Fowler (2008) 45

46 Mohr, Turner, and Jerry (1964) 29; Results are for 87% of the sample, because the other 13% were in unknown or unspecified areas.

47 Mohr, Turner, and Jerry (1964) 35-37; Although most of the cases studied in, *Pedophilia and Exhibitionism* turned out to be normal functioning adults, there were several cases of children that were either institutionalized with permanent mental retardation, turned to prostitution, or faced some other emotional, mental, or sexual damage.



their household, community, and moreover their state is governed. A direct consequence of women gaining status is the awareness for the need of children's civil liberties. When both of these conditions are met, the all-encompassing power of men is diminished severely, as is their complete dominance of civil and domestic lawmaking. This is clearly seen in the comparison of ancient Greece to modern, Western culture.

Women in the *poleis* of ancient Greece were restricted severely in what they could do. Women were categorized into one of three castes in the archaic and classical periods at Athens: chaste wife<sup>48</sup>, pious daughter, or amoral prostitute.<sup>49</sup> According to David Halperin, Athenian women were life-long statutory minors and were therefore *always* in the legal custody of a male relation.<sup>50</sup> The wife and daughter were expected to remain within the household and take care of domestic affairs. The wife gained honor by the household duties and management of the domestic affairs; this is how she insured that her husband maintained his respect for her.<sup>51</sup> The pious women were not allowed to be seen by men other than those of their family unless their guardian, husband or father, was present. As Halperin claims:

Citizen women were also protected by the social custom of secluding them, to the greatest extent possible, in the interior, domestic space of the Greek household and of keeping a close watch on their activities and movements<sup>52</sup>

A daughter was expected to remain pious by respecting the gods, and learning domestic responsibilities from her mother and husband. A son, however, was expected to go out and gain experience with women, either by having sex with slaves, the women of his *polis* (in secret), or prostitutes.

When a woman became married, she moved into her husband's household. Concepts like

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48 Foucault (1985) 154-156; In marriage, a man chose the time for which he desired marriage; for a woman, however, her family chose and she was generally given around the age of fifteen to someone twice her age or more.

49 Skinner (2006) 145; "If women were compelled to work outside the home, only a few respectable professions were open: midwifery (though it required a capital outlay for equipment), wet-nursing, weaving, and selling vegetables from a market garden. Most, probably, turned to prostitution." Skinner (2006) 150

50 Halperin (1990) 92

51 Foucault (1985) 162

52 Halperin (1990) 92

spousal abuse and honor killings, although they existed in antiquity, were much more difficult to prove, let alone deal with in ancient Greece. The main domestic problem brought before a court was shaming or dishonoring a male citizen; this charge included everything from stealing from his household, killing one of his slaves, to having sex with his wife.<sup>53</sup> The wife in question would be killed or divorced and sent back to a male guardian from her father's household. The accused man generally paid a fine, but in certain examples he was killed as well. Even if the woman was forced into sex, or even brutally raped, the act brought shame on the husband.<sup>54</sup>

The Greek's views on sex also differ greatly from that of modern western society. In Greece, a pious woman was expected to only have sex with her husband as a matter of necessity for maintaining her position in the household.<sup>55</sup> As I have mentioned, however, men were never held to this expectation. As Foucault mentions:

As for the self-restrained attitude of the husband, it is never defined as the monopoly over all his sexual activity which he would concede to his wife. What is at stake in this reflective practice of marital life, what appears as essential to the orderliness of the household, to the peace that much reign within it, and to the woman's expectations, is that she be able, as the lawful wife, to keep the preeminent place that marriage has assigned her: not to see another woman given preference over her, not to suffer a loss of status and dignity, not to be replaced at her husband's side by another - this was what mattered above all else to her. For the threat to marriage did not come from the pleasure which the husband happened to enjoy here or there, but from the rivalries that might form between the wife and the other women over one's position in the household...The "faithful" husband was not the one who linked the state of marriage to the renunciation of all sexual pleasure enjoyed with someone else; it was the husband who

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53 Skinner (2006) 112; Solon's reforms included laws against adultery and allowed a father to sell an unchaste daughter into slavery.

54 Halperin (1990) 92

55 Foucault (1985) 163

maintained the privileges to which the wife was entitled by marriage.<sup>56</sup>

Women still had cause to fear another woman gaining a higher status, because what their husband said was law. If their husband decided he wanted another woman to run his household, he would be able to do so. A woman's sexual fidelity was a given in this model, which is why her prestige was based solely on her ability to administer the household.<sup>57</sup>

As far as what was sexually permissible for adult men, as long as they were the "active" penetrating component of the union, it was allowed. A man was allowed to copulate with women, boys, and slaves. Even the relationship of two adult males was acceptable for the penetrating male to partake in; the penetrated male was strongly looked down upon, however, and there was a great chance that he would lose his citizen privileges, if his unethical actions were discovered.

In this model one can clearly see how men were able to act as they pleased without regard of the consequences, as long as they did not insult another male citizen by dishonoring him. Because of this freedom, men commonly had multiple women that they were entertaining at any given time. A man generally had a wife to produce heirs, take care of the household, and provide him with a dowry from her father's household; a concubine, which was a live-in mistress, that helped with the household, and whatever else the husband wanted; finally, he would have a *hetaira*, literally a "female companion," that accompanied him when he went to *symposia* (drinking parties). Men would sometimes also have common prostitutes to take care of their immediate needs, and mistresses that did not live in the men's own houses, but in other houses which the men had bought for them. The *hetaira* is the closest thing to a modern woman in antiquity,<sup>58</sup> for she was able to freely traverse the *polis* even outside of religious holidays, when "normal" women were permitted to be in the public sector.<sup>59</sup> Additionally, *hetairai*

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56 Foucault (1985) 163-164

57 Foucault (1985) 165

58 I do not mean this in a negative way, nor in the sexual way in which these women served men in antiquity. I simply mean to compare them to modern women due to their presence in the public sector, and their "acceptance" as conversational equals to the ancient Greek men.

59 Skinner (2006) 168: Because of her marginalized position, as woman and sex-worker, paradoxically [this] allows her to

were literate, well-educated conversationalists that were trained in every aspect of social gatherings, whether it was reciting poetry, playing the *kithara*, or dancing.<sup>60</sup> Sexual intercourse with a prostitute was only a concern when it was done in excess.<sup>61</sup> The sexual freedom expressed by *hetairai* and other prostitutes in ancient Greece actually increased gender discrimination to the disadvantage of females. As Martin claims:

Sexual expression, far from having liberated women, has historically often led to increased male access to women's bodies, allowing exploitation not just sexually but economically and politically as well.<sup>62</sup>

In ancient Greece, this can be seen under the reforms of Solon. Solon institutionalized prostitution in Athens and made women affordable to all citizens, regardless of financial situation. The increased availability of women in the city lowered the value of women overall, forcing citizen women even further into seclusion in the household. Because the sexual availability of women was increased, a woman had to worry even more about her husband potentially replacing her sexually with other women. Women also faced discrimination as a result of the rapidly expanding power of Athens during the fifth century BCE, in which it was transitioning from an agricultural state to a heavily urbanized one. Women were thus drawn further into the *oikos* (household) by means of the rapid transition of the growing democratic power.<sup>63</sup> In his funeral oration, Pericles gives an example:

On the other hand, if I must say something on the subject of female excellence to those of you who will now be in widowhood, it will be comprised in this brief exhortation. Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of whether for good or for bad.<sup>64</sup>

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insult kings with impunity.

60 Skinner (2006) 167

61 Skinner 2006) 170

62 Martin (1982) 10

63 Foley (1975) 32

62 Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian Wars*, 2.6.46

This quote by Thucydides clearly portrays a Greek male view on females: the more one can be hidden away free from blame, the more excellent one is. So even though women had more influence in the household during this period, they were not able to use this power to influence state policy or their husbands.<sup>65</sup>

Women did start to gain more status beginning in the Hellenistic age. Marilyn Skinner attributes this to numerous factors:

All these historical occurrences had enormous practical consequences for women. In some areas, declining numbers of men left poor girls without husbands and brothers unprotected and vulnerable physically and economically. Wealthier women, on the other hand, benefited financially from the loss of male kin, since they alone might be left as heirs. Rich women gained greater visibility by serving first as public priestesses and then starting in the late Hellenistic period, as honorary magistrates for their cities. During their terms of office, they donated buildings and sponsored civic events; thusly, by putting their resources back into their community, they purchased prestige and gratitude for themselves and their kin. (Kron 1996: 171-181; van Bremen 1996: 11-40)<sup>66</sup>

Women gain power by investing more of themselves into the community, which is really an extension of the power they held in previous periods of Greek history in the household. In previous eras, they gained honor by overseeing the household affairs. Then, in the Hellenistic era, they gained honor by making sure the entire city or state ran smoothly. Thus it is by the improvement of community and human bonds that women gain influence.

Having discussed what the differences are between pedophilia and pederasty, and having proven that, while sharing common traits they are clearly different, it is now necessary to look at the perplexing case of the modern pederast. There are certain groups in the modern western world that

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65 Foley (1977) 33

66 Skinner (2006) 150

claim they are the modern equivalent of ancient pederasty. Foremost of these groups is the North American Man Boy Love Association, hereafter referred to as NAMBLA.<sup>67</sup> Although there are other groups active today,<sup>68</sup> this group is based in North America, has always had the largest membership count, and has also been the most publicly active in pursuing their goals. Much like how the gay movement has hearkened back to ancient Greece as the beginning of homosexuality, so too does NAMBLA and other associations like it in order to legitimize what they aim to do. NAMBLA states that the gay movement and groups like NAMBLA used to work together back in the 80's toward sexual liberation.<sup>69</sup> Groups such as NAMBLA were eventually removed from larger, umbrella homosexual rights networks, such as The International Lesbian and Gay Association, in order for the groups like ILGA to regain social acceptance.<sup>70</sup> Since this time, Gay rights groups have worked towards equality in

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67 NAMBLA (1987): “[NAMBLA] is an organization of men, women, and young people formed to support men and boys involved in consensual sexual and other relationships with each other, and to enlighten people about the positive nature of such relationships and the horrible effects of society's current hostility against them.”

68 The MARTIJN Association: <http://www.martijn.org/page.php?id=200000>; Project Truth

69 Thorstad (1985): “The issue of love between men and boys has intersected the gay movement since the late nineteenth century, with the rise of the first gay rights movement in Germany. In the United States, as the gay movement has retreated from its vision of sexual liberation, in favor of integration and assimilation into existing social and political structures, it has increasingly sought to marginalize even demonize cross-generational love. Pederasty - that is, love between a man and a youth of 12 to 18 years of age - say middle-class homosexuals, lesbians, and feminists, has nothing to do with gay liberation. Some go so far as to claim, absurdly, that it is a heterosexual phenomenon, or even "sexual abuse." What a travesty!”

70 The International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) was denied renewal of its special consultant status for the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) after it was shown that they incorporated groups such as NAMBLA into their memberships. According to a press release on 4/30/02 by the ESOSOC:

“The representative of Egypt said the NGO had had due time in the Committee, where two votes had been conducted. A representative of the NGO had not denied certain allegations that before 1993 it had supported paedophilia. Positions the NGO had adopted after 1993 were just an attempt to restore its status. One week before the beginning of the special session on children, adopting France’s proposal would be the wrong signal to send.

“Speaking in explanation of position, the representative of the Sudan said that the time allotted to the consideration of ILGA had been quite sufficient, but the Association had failed to provide crystal-clear evidence that it had rid itself and its members of paedophilia. The vote in favour of not granting status to that NGO would reaffirm the will and commitment of the international community to protect children.”

“Also speaking in explanation of vote, the representative of Pakistan agreed that ILGA had received a fair hearing at the NGO Committee. When that NGO’s status was reviewed in 1994, there was substantial proof that some of its elements not only condoned, but also promoted and practised paedophilia. The NGO had still not responded to questions from the NGO Committee and had not convinced the NGO Committee that it had effectively disassociated itself from paedophilia. The notion that the United Nations should consult with paedophiles was ridiculous. “We are trying to create a world friendly to children”, he said. “In such a world, there is no place for paedophilia.”

<http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2006/ecosoc6242.doc.htm>; 2006

In short, ILGA does not support paedophilia, and never has. This is unequivocally demonstrated through ILGA’s policy statements, constitutional provisions and endorsement of the relevant international instruments. Comprehensive membership safeguards are in place to ensure that no group violating these principles is admitted to the membership.

the work place, in the military, and domestic issues such as gay marriage. NAMBLA and other groups like it, however, are still oriented solely towards the sexual liberation of children in all societies. Since pederasty is nothing like modern homosexuality, why then is the homosexual argument for hearkening back to ancient pederasty acceptable, but not the NAMBLA argument? Why is the modern “pederast” argument illegitimate? The invalidity of their argument is due to the fact that they are going about everything in the wrong way.

The NAMBLA group bases its beliefs and practices on another society's customs and habits. Moreover, instead of adapting these ancient customs to their own modern society, they are trying to resurrect a previous “ideal” in which what they desire to do was socially acceptable.<sup>71</sup> They seek to abolish age of consent laws both state by state and nationally. They also reject the role and influence that the government has in deciding the welfare of children in the private sector. According to a question and answer section in one of their own publications:

Q: At what age should a young person be allowed to have sex?

A: Age influences the way people express their sexuality, but desire and consent are the most important factors determining when a person is ready for sex. NAMBLA's position is that all people should have the right to decide for themselves when to have sex. Sexual freedom is a basic right. All people, including young people, must be treated as individuals and not as objects...NAMBLA opposes all “age of consent” laws because they do not recognize or respect individual differences and needs. Gay youths especially need to be free from the embarrassment and self-hatred that peers and family usually make them feel. They must have the right to be as open about their love as their straight friends, without experiencing hostility. Boy lovers often

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[http://www.ilga.org/news\\_results.asp?LanguageID=1&FileID=861&ZoneID=7&FileCategory=10](http://www.ilga.org/news_results.asp?LanguageID=1&FileID=861&ZoneID=7&FileCategory=10); 2006

<sup>71</sup> However, one can see that they even do this improperly, because they claim the pederasty of ancient Greece was between an adult male and a youth aged twelve to eighteen. See Nussbaum's comments on the age of an *eromenos* above.

act as counselors to gay boys in their times of crisis and guilt.<sup>72</sup>

As one can see in this quotation, NAMBLA is rejecting modern age of consent laws completely. They say they are pederasts reborn, however, and the combination of this assertion with their rejection of societal law is paradoxical. Pederasty worked within the structure of the ancient Greek *polis*, and served as an integral rite of passage for a boy to become a man. The relationship followed strict guidelines, which were set down in accordance with all involved parties. NAMBLA however is trying to break down the state's institution by working outside of the community. This circumvention of societal rules alone distances them from the pederasty they claim. In ancient Greece, the father or head of household was always the final arbiter of justice for his offspring and anyone else in his *oikos*; therefore an *erastes* could proceed with a pederastic relationship if he had the approval of the boy's father.<sup>73</sup> The government, as things are now, has the final say in matters concerning children that it declares morally, physically, or ethically compromising for them. Therefore, even if one or both parents do agree to this relationship, their decision means nothing in the larger scheme of things, aside from the fact that they would be considered an accomplice to the crime and face punishment. This entire process debilitates the modern pederast's cause and makes modern pederasty an unacceptable possibility.

Even if the NAMBLA members attempt to execute this activity legally, there are numerous reasons why it could never succeed. To begin with, societies no longer benefit from such relationships. All children are now legally required to be educated at state expense, whereas in the ancient *poleis* of Greece only the social elite and the merchants had the money to afford a traveling scholar or to send their children to academy.<sup>74</sup> Children of the lower class families did not have the luxury or time to

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72 NAMBLA (1987) 6: A subsequent question: "How can a boy really give informed consent?" is answered: "Why doesn't anyone ever ask if a young person can really give informed consent to something like playing Little League or being sent to summer camp? The chances for both physical and mental injury are certainly present there. No matter the age, no person has a total understanding of all the ramifications of anything...This whole notion of informed consent is just one more way in which adults attempt to restrict the power of young people.

73 As mentioned above in the sections on Spartan and Cretan pederasty

74 Cohen, Rutter (2007) 101-114



devote to a pederastic relationship.<sup>75</sup> The lower classes required their children to work, or find some other means of contributing to the family.<sup>76</sup> Present society has no place for an educational relationship between an adult and a child that often involves a sexual component. To add to this, the space where the relationship occurred is entirely different between where the *erastes* courted the *eromenos* in ancient Greece, and their, so called, modern equivalents. The ancient Greek version was in the open with the acceptance of both community and family; the modern version takes place in secrecy, with only the “consent” of the child and the adult. Very few people, if any, know what is transpiring between the adult and child; the relationship does not benefit anyone other than those participating, or the adult alone. In another publication by NAMBLA, *Boys Speak out on Man/Boy love*, the “accounts” of numerous boys are presented in order for the reader to analyze what actually happens in a man-boy love relationship, and how it varies from society’s assumptions. Although I am rather skeptical about the validity of these accounts- that they are actually written by underage boys, and not adults- for the sake of their (NAMBLA's) argument, I will assume they are true. The accounts of the boys can be compared and contrasted to one another, and the information presented within each can be thoroughly examined as well. The first boy, Theo, is thirteen years and nine months old. When asked about his relationship with his male lover, he gave the following responses:

Interviewer: “You say that fairly often you have the feeling of being afraid in connection with sex with Bert. Can you tell me about that?”

Theo: “If I forget myself and say something to somebody, and he spreads it around, that I'm afraid of.”

I: “Why are you afraid of that?”

T: “Because if people get to know about it you'll get a bad name.”

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I: “You say that sometimes you feel naughty. Can you tell me about that?”

T: “Ah yes...Because I do it and nobody really knows about it, my mother and so on.”

I: “But why do you feel naughty then? I sometimes do things which nobody knows about, too.”

T: “Well, because...normal kids just don't do that.”

I: “So you're not ashamed of yourself?”

T: “No, just if other people get to know about it.”

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75 Golden (1990) 34: “As of some modern small-scale societies, that children in larger families tended to work more and earlier than those who had fewer siblings...the contributions of poorer children were probably of special importance to their families. Phrynichus had to tend sheep in the fields while a wealthier boy was at school in the city.”

76 Golden (1990) 34

I: "You say that you almost never feel angry. But you have felt that way occasionally? Can you say something about that, when it happens?"

T: "I'm ashamed of it or something."

I: "And that makes you a bit angry? Do you think you ought to be ashamed of yourself, or not?"

T: "Yes, that I'd be ashamed of it if somebody got to know about it; Yes, if somebody else knew about it."

I: "But if nobody else knew about it, do you think it's something you should be ashamed about?"

T: "No, I don't think so, no. Only if other people got to know about it."

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I: "Can you remember the first time you had sex with Bert?"

T: "No, because I was asleep."

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I: "Are there people who know you have sex with Bert?"

T: "My father and mother know about it."

I: "What do they think about it?"

T: "Well, that it's normal."<sup>77</sup>

Notice how there is an inconsistency in the boy's interview; not even a page separates answers that contradict one another. Theo mentioned that his mother did not know about the relationship in the first question, and that it shamed him; however, he then said that both of his parents knew and approved. Additionally, there is the question involving the first time he had sex with Bert. Theo mentioned that he was asleep, and from this, one can infer he was not an active promoter of the sexual encounter. Therefore, even though the boy stayed with Bert after this action, the sexual aspect of the relationship was first promoted by the adult man in the situation and without the pleasure or benefit of the boy as the main goal. According to NAMBLA's own statutes they are founded on the idea of consensual relationships, yet they are portraying this questionnaire in which a boy is being unknowingly sexualized.

Moving on to Gerrit, a sixteen year old:

Interviewer: "And your father and mother trouble you about it?"

Gerrit: "Yes...when I come home in the evening it is always, 'What did you do today with Barend?' So I say I have sketched. That is the unpleasant side of my relationship with Barend, that all these people pester you, but sex is not unpleasant, just the trouble people

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<sup>77</sup> Miller (1986) 9-11; Miller 11:

I: "Are there still things of importance which I have forgotten to ask which should be written down?"

T: "Yes, there should be laws *for* children, that change everything, so children will be able to say what they think about society. To me that's *very* important. That children don't just have to do things for other people: do the shopping, do the dishes, and if you're not so good in school then you get punished, and if you don't do this and don't do that, then you're in trouble, too. All of this has got to be stopped. Laws have to be passed so children themselves can decide about themselves."

make, at schools, aunts, uncles – 'What is that boy doing over there? – that sort of thing goes all through the family.'"<sup>78</sup>

One can clearly see from these two examples that the relationship happened via the deception of his family and in seclusion. As mentioned earlier, the institution of pederasty functioned on the consent of the family and acceptance by the young man's community, not in seclusion and without consent. Additionally, Theo mentioned having met his male lover through another male lover that he also occasionally consorted with.<sup>79</sup> Gerrit mentioned that he originally met Barend in a park, having appreciated the older man's boat. The boat is a central object in reuniting them several months later, and incorporating Barend into his life. Garret additionally mentioned that he had met a friend of Barend that was similar in ideology to his own views and those of Barend - he was likewise a boy lover.<sup>80</sup> If these facts are compared to the list of tendencies that are typical of a pedophile mentioned earlier these men fit the model of a fixated pedophile:<sup>81</sup>

- They adopt a relationship approach which has a seductive element
- The fixated pedophile will be patient when forming relationships with children and careful that the elements of secrecy and privacy are maintained
- Fixated pedophiles often have friends who are pedophiles and may only have such friends. Information will be shared between them about vulnerable children and families.
- They will have significant cognitive distortions which can be presented in a very convincing fashion.<sup>82</sup>
- They will target vulnerable families whose children they can exploit more easily. Families who have previously suffered...will be targeted.<sup>83</sup> They may engage with the parent to gain access to the children.

The titles of the interviews, as well as the stories sent in by previous boys who had experienced boy love are interesting to note: "If it wasn't for Mark I'd Probably be Dead Today," "Thank God for Boy Lovers," "For the First Time in My Life I Felt Wanted," "It was Me Who Started It," "The Best Thing that Ever Happened to Me." All of these stories follow a common storyline, in which the boys were lost

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78 Miller (1996) 12

79 Miller (1996) 9

80 Miller (1996) 11

81 As mentioned in, Fowler (2008) 46

82 Gerrit also mentions repeatedly that he despises "know-it-alls" and that no one understands nor listens to him better than Barend and Barend's friend he was introduced to.

83 Miller (1996) 11; In Gerrit's case, his older brother had had sexual relations with the same man several years earlier.

emotionally or actually and the man came into their lives and changed everything. Most of the stories go further and say that the sex is great, and primarily focus on this aspect. The accounts of these boys, if they are in fact true, portray children in compromised positions being saved by the male lovers; however, in reality, the actions of the men coincide with pedophilia much closer than they do pederasty.<sup>84</sup> This is due to the location, methodology, cultural acceptance, and lack of educational value portrayed within the stories that the NAMBLA members themselves have published. Therefore, although these modern groups proclaim they are pederasts reborn, they are committing pedophilic acts under false pretenses. In spite of NAMBLA's claims, pederasty cannot possibly exist in a world such as ours today.

To study this further, it is necessary to explore another society that was trying to synthesize Greek concepts into its own culture. Rome dealt with numerous Greek institutions such as Hellenic deities, mythology, and religious cults as well as political principles like democracy. Although the Hellenic deities and stories were easily appended to the Roman versions, the Greek Aphrodite becoming Venus, Zeus becoming Jupiter, the Greek institution of pederasty was not so easily added. In Rome, men were seen even more as the aggressive penetrator than in ancient Greece.<sup>85</sup> Men were able to take wives at the age of fourteen and were considered the “giver of pleasure.” Actions such as lesbianism were considered great crimes because they denied the male the ability to grant pleasure to the woman, and because the woman was actively seeking pleasure for herself by her own means. Acceptable sexual gratification existed only for the active male in any relationship.<sup>86</sup> Therefore, the problem of pederasty in society can be seen, as it forces one male citizen to take a passive role in the relationship. Roman citizen boys were not able to be penetrated because it violated Roman sexual mores.

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84 Members of The MARTIJN Association, a group based in Holland even proclaim themselves to be pedophiles in their forums: <http://www.martijn.org/page.php?id=200000>; <http://www.martijn.org/mforum/YaBB.pl?board=General>

85 Spencer (2003) 72

86 Spencer (2003) 72-73

Regardless of this aversion to the penetration of boys by the state, numerous men still attempted to court citizen boys. The *Lex Scantinia* was put forth by Scantinius in 149 B.C.E. in order to put limits on sexual actions that could occur in ancient Rome. One of the limitations created by this law was that of prohibiting the pursuit and love of Roman free-born boys.<sup>87</sup> According to Quintilian: "He dishonored a well-born youth, and the youth, on being dishonored, hung himself, yet the author of his dishonor is not to be capitally punished as being the cause of his death, but is to pay ten thousand sesterces, the fine imposed on him who is guilty of such a crime."<sup>88</sup> This crime would be placed under the Latin legal term *stuprum*,<sup>89</sup> also known as sexual crime and social disgrace. Because this law did not scare men off from attempting to court the young, citizen boys, according to Eva Cantarella, an additional governmental edict was created by an unknown praetor to not only protect women on public highways but also the *praetextati*, the boys that wore the same tunic as religious leaders but were not full-fledged citizens yet. As well as protecting the boys from verbal assault in public spaces, it also insured that they would not become a passive member in a relationship with an older man and face the crime of *impudicitius* also known as the loss of his virginity by being penetrated.<sup>90</sup>

So then, who does partake in a Roman pederastic relationship? If a freeborn Roman boy was allowed to partake in a pederastic relationship, he would not benefit from the action either in the eyes of the state or communally. Boys in Rome were allowed to take wives at the age of fourteen, and they "exercised their rights without the involvement of a tutor."<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the youth in Rome were well ahead of the youth in Greece, having already married before the general age range of an *eromenos* in a pederastic relationship.<sup>92</sup> To take part in a relationship as a passive individual in Rome would garner an

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87 Spencer (2003) 72

88 Quintilian, *Instituto Oratoria* 4.2.69

89 Williams (1999) 62; *Stuprum* is a word that originally meant "disgrace" "...So too, of course, did relations with freeborn Roman men and boys [gain one *stuprum*]"

90 Cantarella (2002) 115

91 Spencer (2003) 75

92 The Stoics were an exception to this rule in ancient Greece, a man in their model could be the *eromenos* in a relationship up to the age of twenty-eight. Halperin (1990) 81

individual much shame. If a boy continued such a relationship, after breaking the law to be in it to begin with, until he was twenty-eight he would be placed into the immoral category of the *cinaedi*, a group of effeminate men that played the passive role in sexual activities.<sup>93</sup> Additionally, the Romans grappled with the problem that pleasure was not equal in this relationship, thereby making it impossible for two citizens to partake; one would have to be in a subordinate role, and even as a soon-to-be citizen, one had too much dignity at stake to be lost.<sup>94</sup>

In Rome, pederasty was associated with slavery.<sup>95</sup> Because young boys were legally off limits, this only left slaves and freed men as potential passive partners of a pederastic relationship. Slaves were always a viable option for a citizen man to have sex with, as long as they were his own slaves, because any shame brought down upon them was an inherent part of their subordinate nature.<sup>96</sup> A slave's body was always entirely at his master's disposal, and among the services expected of a slave by a master was the fulfillment and satisfaction of the owner's sexual desires.<sup>97</sup> One could also sleep with the slaves of another male citizen, provided permission was given. This contrasts greatly with the Greek model of pederasty, however, because it is not with a freeborn boy that this relationship is happening. Slaves had none of the luxury of being able to refuse their master's advances; Williams uses the term *necessitas* to refer to the duty a slave must give his master. Additionally, even though slaves would often gain their freedom and move into the *libertini* (freedman) class in Rome, they were still often subject and indebted to their former masters and obligated to continue giving them sexual favors.<sup>98</sup> This obligation prolonged the amount of *stuprum* and *pudicitia* (shame) they incurred in the eyes of those living in their communities. This relationship did not benefit them as a pederastic relationship would an *eromenos* of ancient Greece; it simply facilitated the desires of the former

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93 Williams (1999) 142-143

94 Foucault (1984) 192

95 Crompton (2003) 413

96 Foucault (1984) 190

97 Williams (1999) 31

98 Williams (1999) 100

master.<sup>99</sup>

Another variance from the Greek model is that of the role of women in ancient Rome. The women of ancient Rome were not forced to remain within their houses as in Greek societies. Roman women were allowed to attend banquets, and they were educated. They were actively involved in the public space of Rome, provided that they were above suspicion, and proved that they led pious lives.<sup>100</sup> Their power and influence in society was due to the fact that heterosexual sexual relations were more valued in Rome than they were in ancient Greece;<sup>101</sup> and although men still engaged in fulfilling their desires with slaves and prostitutes, they were held more accountable for it by their wives.<sup>102</sup> Foucault warrants that the role of women increased also due to the stance of philosophers and moralists in Rome shifting the love and ardor given to pederasty in the Hellenistic age to the heterosexual marriage. All of the beneficial side effects of a pederastic relationship – the conversation, the education, the companionship – all became associated with a man-woman union. The first and second centuries CE saw a major shift from the discourse on boys to women even before the advent of Christianity and the repression of male-male sexual acts by later Roman emperors.<sup>103</sup> This started with the marriage reforms of Augustus, primarily the *Lex Julia de adulteriis coercendis* passed in 18 BCE, which made adultery a severe offense. Regarding Plutarch's *Dialogues*, Foucault states:

Everything that the erotics of boys was able to claim as properly belonging to that form of love...will be reutilized here, without anything from the great pederastic tradition being overlooked...In particular, it will be applied not only to the fondness for women, but to the conjugal relationship itself.<sup>104</sup>

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99 Williams (1999) 100

100 Spencer (1995) 70

101 Williams (1999) 62: "Sexual relations with freeborn Romans other than one's wife met with the disapproval of traditional moralists...Thus adultery constituted a variety of *stuprum*, as did relations with freeborn unmarried women, girls, and widows."

102 Spencer (1995) 71; Cantarella (2002) 151 Martial is found inside a boy by his wife, and she complains and tells him that she has a backside as well.

103 Foucault (1985) 253

104 Foucault (1984) 203

This quote refers to the ancient philosophy on sex with women in comparison to sex with boys. The relationship with a woman was carnal, lustful, and based on deceit.<sup>105</sup> A woman was a man's social inferior, and as such she could never compare to another man, let alone a boy. Women also disguise themselves with make-up and rich decorum, whereas the love of boys is pure and philosophical. The beauty of a male youth is natural, and he is the near equal of adult men both legally and intellectually. These are the reasons given for why the relationship with a boy is much preferred to that of a relationship with a woman in ancient Greece, because nothing more can come of the latter relationship, whereas a lasting relationship and companionship comes from the former. Men were held accountable for their actions with married women, as well as other modes of sexual gratification by the reforms of Augustus.<sup>106</sup>

As a result of these reforms, sexually unacceptable behaviors went “underground” in the sense that people concealed their promiscuous behaviors that fell outside the acceptable forms of sexual behavior in a marriage. The “true” pederasty in Rome had to go into hiding much earlier than the Augustan reforms, dating as far back as the *Lex Scantinia*. They also fell out of common practice in everyday law, as Foucault claims:

Marriage, as an individual tie capable of integrating relations of pleasure and of giving them a positive value, will constitute the most active focus for defining stylistics of moral life...But it will undergo a kind of philosophical “disinvestment.”<sup>107</sup>

Therefore, I believe that this was not pederasty, but pedophilia being experienced between an adult man and a citizen youth. The issue of consent was not valid in this relationship, because the state did not

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105 Achilles Tatius, *Leucippe and Klitophon*, 2.35-38: “Menelaus said, “...A woman's every word and ever gesture is feigned. If she appears beautiful, it is due to the fussy contrivance of unguents. Her beauty is of scented oil, or hair-dye, or rouge. If you strip her of these many deceits, she is like the jackdaw stripped of feathers in the fable. But the beauty of boys is not watered with scents of unguents or with deceitful and alien smells; the sweat of boys smells sweeter than all the scented unguents of women.”

106 Williams (1999) 120-121

107 Foucault (1984) 192



approve, regardless if the parents did.<sup>108</sup> The action brought shame down upon the child's father, and the child did not benefit from the relation in a way a boy would in ancient Greece. There is a concern over the education of boys in the age range typical for pederastic advances in Rome:

Of these professors the morals must first be ascertained, a point of which I proceed to treat in this part of my work, not because I do not think that the same examination is to be made, and with the utmost care, in regard also to other teachers (as indeed I have shown in the preceding book), but because the very age of the pupils makes attention to the matter still more necessary. For boys are consigned to these professors when almost grown up and continue their studies under them even after they are become men. Greater care must in consequence be adopted with regard to them in order that the purity of the master may secure their more tender years from corruption and that his authority deter their bolder age from licentiousness. Nor is it enough that he give, in himself, an example of the strictest morality, unless he regulate also, by severity of discipline, the conduct of those who come to receive his instructions.<sup>109</sup>

Much like Aristotle, Quintilian spoke about when a boy should be entrusted to a rhetorician and how it was necessary to validate the morality and ethical code of the teacher in order to protect the boy's virility and chastity. The education of children has always been a forefront concern due to their role in posterity. Foucault comments that this wariness highlighted by Quintilian, as well as the increased importance of marriage, reduced the significance of pederasty in Rome.<sup>110</sup>

Moreover, the relationships with slaves were not pederastic either. According to Plutarch,<sup>111</sup> "It is not manly or refined to be in love with slave-boys, for this love is copulation, as is the love of

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108 Williams (1999) 62: "The Greek tradition of pederasty, whereby citizen males might openly engage in romantic and sexual relationships with freeborn adolescent males who would one day be citizens, in Roman terms was *stuprum*; it was a disgraceful, illicit behavior."

109 Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 2.2

110 Foucault (1984) 190

111 Plutarch was a Greek writing in the Roman Empire that also addressed the practices of Classical Athens.

women.”<sup>112</sup> This is because a slave was at the complete whim of his master both in mind and body, and although a slave could sporadically win his freedom, he was still bound by *necessitas* (duty) to his former master. Maximus of Tyre set up an argument in his lectures on Socratic love in which he described two modes of male-male love:

In terms of qualities that belong to each: the first comprises virtue, friendship, modesty, candor, and stability; the second comprises excess, hatred, immodesty, infidelity. In terms of the ways of being that characterize them: the one is Hellenic and virile; the other is effeminate and barbaric. And lastly, in terms of the behaviors in which they are manifested: with the first, the lover takes care of the beloved, accompanies him to the gymnasium, goes hunting with him, into battle with him; he will be with him in death; and it is not in darkness or solitude that he seeks his company; with the second, on the other hand, the lover flees the sun, seeks darkness and solitude, and avoids being seen with the one that he loves.<sup>113</sup>

This quote demonstrates the Greek ideal of pederasty in juxtaposition to a more immoral and unethical version, in which the lover approaches his beloved in seclusion and hiding. As mentioned above in the NAMBLA section, this is a distinguishing feature of pedophilia, not pederasty.

Additionally, the positive attributes associated with this mode of relationship were in the process of being transferred to heterosexual relationships as women gained more status throughout the empire. St. Augustine, in his *De Bono Coniugali*, mentions that even sterile marriages are important due to the *societas* (companionship) that one gets from one's spouse; and, this adds to the communion, companionship, education, and child rearing seen in “normal” marriages.<sup>114</sup> The praise for pederasty was declining throughout the west even before the death penalty was enacted for the condemnation of passive male-male sexual acts under the reigns of Constantius and Constans in 342 CE. This was

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112 Plutarch, *Moralia*, 751.4

113 Maximus of Tyre, *Lectures*, 25.2-4

114 Finnis (1994) 1064-1065; St. Augustine, *De Bono Coniugali*, 9.9: “Society, springing from the primitive friendship of man and woman, is continued in children--not just from their association in love and friendship but from their sexual relationship, or physical intimacy, within the context of such friendship.”

followed by the punishment of all male-male sexual acts via burning and castration in 533 C.E. by the emperor Justinian.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, pederasty did not exist as an institution in ancient Rome, but a form of pedophilia.

Having examined the existence of pedophilia in ancient Rome, can pedophilia also be found in ancient Greece? To do this, it is necessary to look at the literary evidence of mythology which was written by the Greeks in order to explain everyday phenomena.<sup>116</sup> Myth gives a view into the contemporaneous culture in which it was written or passed down; because even if the mythological story was written in a previous time period, if it did not contain cultural significance, it would be discarded or altered.<sup>117</sup> There are numerous Greek mythological accounts that have the characteristics of a pederastic relationship; as I have argued though, pederasty cannot be pointed to in order to find pedophilia.<sup>118</sup> However, there are times when it seems that the two ideas are synonymous with each other in Greek texts; and I want to conclude using this perplexing example of how the story of Ganymede and Zeus is pedophilia, not pederasty. Theognis refers to Ganymede in a fragment of a pederastic poem:

To love boys (*paidophilein*) is delightful ever since the son of Cronus, the king of immortals, loved (*eramai*) Ganymede and captured him and led him to Olympus and gave divinity to him because he had the lovely blossom of boyhood. So do not marvel, Simonides, when it is revealed that I am overpowered by love (*eros*) for a beautiful boy (*kalos pais*)<sup>119</sup>

The term *paidophilein*, literally “to love boys,” describes the desire of Theognis to pursue the relationship with the boy. This passage alone could have been used by NAMBLA members to legitimate their practices and prove once and for all that pederasty was equivalent to pedophilia, and

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115 Spencer (1995) 75

116 Mythology is a source which has very little historical fact, but has the distilled and condensed examples of Greek institutions.

117 Foley (1975) 32

118 To do this would be to do exactly as NAMBLA does and subjugate ancient society to modern anomalies.

119 Theognis, 1345-1350

that the ancients made no distinction between the two actions. However, there are two issues that make this impossible for NAMBLA. In the aforementioned fragment, Theognis is defending his actions to Simonides who is “marveling” at what he, Theognis, does with boys. The wonderment conveys a sense that Theognis’ desire for boys was morally questionable, or disapproved of by his society, represented by Simonides. Additionally, the story of Ganymede and Zeus, which Theognis uses to defend himself, does not follow a typical pederastic modus operandi itself. In the mythological account, Ganymede was a Trojan youth that, on account of his beauty, was snatched away to serve as cupbearer for the gods as well as to function as the boy lover of Zeus at Olympus. There are two different versions for the abduction.<sup>120</sup> In one, Ganymede is abducted due to the appreciation all of the gods had of him, the most attractive human, to serve as cupbearer; however, in the other, he was snatched away by the desire of Zeus alone, much to Hera's vexation. Regardless of which account is taken, the boy's father was not confronted for his approval of the relationship, nor were any of the boy's family or friends. Tros, Ganymede's father, did not even know what had happened to his son until Zeus sent Hermes to tell him of the fate that had befallen his son. Zeus gives a gift of swift horses to *Tros* and then Tros is happy with the fate of his child:

Verily wise Zeus carried off golden-haired Ganymedes because of his beauty...But grief that could not be soothed filled the heart of Tros; for he knew not whither the heaven-sent whirlwind had caught up his dear son, so that he mourned him always, unceasingly, until Zeus pitied him and gave him high-stepping horses such as carry the immortals as recompense for his son. These he gave him as a gift.<sup>121</sup>

Although this seems straight-forward, there are some problems with this pederastic model that need to be discussed. First, Zeus had decided that he was not going to inform the father about the abduction of his beloved son; it was only after he saw the grief it caused Tros that he informed him. Second, he

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120 Gantz (1993) 559-560

121 *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* lines 205-218

bought Ganymede from Tros with a gift of horses. If this account is compared to other models that do not come from mythological accounts, there are large inconsistencies between the two. However, it also differs from other mythological accounts of pederastic relationships. Zeus in this example would be considered an immoderate individual that had surrendered to his lust and thereby emasculated himself.<sup>122</sup> He also stole the child away from his father without the consent of either the father or the boy's family. Moreover, by taking away this child, his community does not benefit. Ganymede does not come back to his community with all the knowledge he garnered, having spent time under an immortal *erastes*, to conduct his adult life in Troy – as we will shortly see with the care of Pelops; instead he maintains his youth perpetually for the desire of Zeus. He serves eternally as the passive partner in a “pederastic” relationship and because of this has lost his manhood. He has also been “bought” by Zeus who gave the horses to his father in return for his eternal service. This relationship is not then a pederastic one, but a relationship that exists somewhere between pederasty and pedophilia, because although Ganymede does benefit by becoming immortal, he is also eternally kept from developing into a man, serving as the eternal cupbearer to the gods.<sup>123</sup>

The myth of Poseidon and Pelops demonstrates a more conventional model than that of Zeus and Ganymede. Pelops, having been restored back to life after his father, Tantalus, had butchered him and served him to the gods for supper, became the boy lover of Poseidon. Poseidon took him up to Olympus and taught him many arts including how to drive his magic chariot.<sup>124</sup> After a time, the gods banished Pelops back down to earth, but Poseidon gave numerous gifts to Pelops before his return. A while after he had arrived back into Greece, he desired to marry a certain Hippodameia, and he called

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122 For giving into desire and emasculation of male identity, see footnote 10

123 Powell, (2004) 42; According to Barry Powell, boys stopped being cup bearers at the age of eighteen, when they became full-fledged members of the *symposium*. 42

124 Calimach (2002) 15-18: Although Pelops is snatched away, and his mother, Dione, searched for him because she had not been invited to the feast in which he had been butchered, this is not like the kidnapping problem in the Ganymede account. Sadly, Dione was his mother, not his father, and as such this mattered less. Tantalus was a common companion up on Olympus while Pelops was under the tutelage of Poseidon; he was also the reason for Pelops being expelled. Tros, in the Ganymede story, was Ganymede's father, and as such his *paterfamilias*, who was supposed to know exactly where his statutory family members were at all times.

upon Poseidon for help in the affair so that he could win Hippodameia over. He asked Poseidon to “restrain the bronze spear of Oenomaus and speed him in the swifted chariot to Elis.”<sup>125</sup> Pelops in this example serves as an *eromenos* for Poseidon, but he returns home and develops into a man. The relationship portrayed here is one of education and life-long friendship. The Ode even mentions, “And when he blossomed with the stature of fair youth, and down darkened his cheeks, he turned his thoughts towards an available marriage.”<sup>126</sup> The relationship, therefore, stops when the first beard is appearing on his face, and follows with the typical Greek model. If this were to take place in Athens, Pelops would not be accused of compromising himself, nor would he have his political abilities taken away for prostituting himself. These models, although mythological in origin, display two of the most well known cases of pederasty. However, I do not think the Ganymede story is pederasty, but instead a form of pedophilia due to its inconsistencies with the accepted methods of Athens, Sparta, and Crete.

Although the gay rights movement does not exist in the same way as the institution of pederasty did in antiquity, they are more accurate in their proclamation of hearkening back to pederasty as the foundation of the modern gay rights movement as compared to groups like NAMBLA. Pederasty in antiquity did not exist based on sexual preference for one gender or another, but rather on the sexual actions involved in the action and who partook in the active or passive role. The homosexuality of modern society is established on the principle of consent and now, after an arduous battle, societal acceptance. The legal right is the major theme that links pederasty and modern homosexuality. Because pederasty in ancient Greece, and the form of that relationship found in Rome, prospered on the union of an adult male and a boy youth, much how the ancients viewed the relationship as individual sexual acts and not as a sexuality as we do in modern society, they also perceived the encounter in terms of status, not gender.<sup>127</sup> Much like this, pederasty was an accepted form of sexual act that existed in

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125 Pindar, *The Olympian Odes* 1.41-1.50; 1.75-1.99

126 Pindar, *The Olympian Odes* 1.65-1.70

127 Williams (1999) 64: “No ancient source ever claims that indulgence in or approval of male homoerotic desires or activities *tout court* was learned, borrowed, or imported by Romans from Greece; the only practice that was associated with

ancient Greece based heavily on the approval of the guardian of the *eromenos*, his family, and his community. Because pederasty cannot inhabit a society such as ours today, with legal ramifications for illegal sexual acts (including crimes against children) consensual homosexuality seems to be the only viable method of same-sex relationship acceptable. I do not feel that groups such as NAMBLA should make the claim that they are the descendants of Greek institutions when they reject the laws and regulations of their own, modern societies and refuse to adapt. Additionally, NAMBLA should not be using pederasty to affirm their beliefs. The ancient Greeks and Romans were as condemning of men who focused solely on the love of boys as modern society, because this relationship was supposed to be more than carnal pleasure. They also condemned men focusing on the sexual aspect of the relationship alone, and those that attempted to take advantage of boys that were either slaves or too young to know maturely what they were doing.

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Greece was the peculiarly Hellenic tradition of relations with freeborn youth. The practice born in the Greek gymnasias to which Cicero refers is not homosexuality but pederasty, the courtship of free youths by older males, and the central issue was status rather than gender.”

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