

Over the course of the fifth century, a new abstract vocabulary arose in Greek for discussions of manliness and courage (Bassi, 37-46). Courage is a particularly pregnant value term both in antiquity and today, since labeling someone ‘courageous’ implies powerful commendation of that person or his actions (Sluiter & Rosen, 2-8). This paper will show how Thucydides’ account of the Peloponnesian War reflects one aspect of the discourse of manliness, namely the relationship of ethnicity and gender to the term *andreia*. The word *andreia* is post-Homeric, occurring for the first time at Aeschylus’ *Seven Against Thebes* 52, when the Argive warriors are described as having *thumos* burning with *andreia*. It may seem natural that the word be applied solely to men, but the only appearance of *andreia* in the extant plays of Sophocles describes Electra (Sophocles, *Electra* 985). Herodotus uses the word more frequently, but he applies it to a woman and an effeminate man, although he marks these off as special cases by expressing his amazement (*thôma*) at these individuals’ exploits (Herodotus 7.99.1, 7.153.3; Harrell, 77). Herodotus also freely labels non-Greeks, such as the Lydians or the Getae, as *andreios* (Herodotus 1.79.3, 4.93).

Unlike Sophocles and Herodotus, Thucydides reserves *andreia* for Greek men alone. Although his *Histories* include accounts of fearsome barbarians and valiant women, neither Thucydides himself nor his speakers associate other ethnicities or women with *andreia*. Outside of direct or indirect speeches, Thucydides uses the word *andreia* only four times (3.82.4, 5.72.2, 6.69.1, 6.72.2). Karen Bassi has shown that Thucydides’ usage at 3.82.4 points to the importance of the relationship between abstract terms and their referents in Athenian political rhetoric and the contested value of *andreia* as an ethical term in the fifth century (Bassi, 27-32). Therefore, Thucydides’ choice of other terms to describe women and non-Greeks in battle elucidates not only the author’s own view of *andreia* but also the discourse within and between Greek *poleis* about the meaning and value of manly virtue.

The Illyrians’ reputation as *machimoi*, warlike, is functionally identical to the Spartans’ reputation for *andreia*, since both groups scare their opponents into retreating before battle is fully joined (Thucydides 4.125.1, 5.72.2). Yet Thucydides does not reserve this adjective for non-Greeks, since he also calls the Greeks who fought in the Trojan War *machimoi* (1.10.4). When joined with Thucydides’ explanation that the ancient customs of all Greeks can still be seen in primitive and remote areas (1.5-1.6), it becomes clear that being warlike rather than courageous is a matter of cultural and material development rather than inherent racial differences. When the Greeks lived in un-walled villages ruled by monarchies, i.e. before the development of the polis, they too were *machimoi* rather than *andreioi*.

During the *stasis* at Corcyra, “the women daringly (*tolmêrôs*) assisted, attacking with tiles from rooftops and enduring the melee beyond their nature” (Thucydides 3.74.1). Associating this action with *andreia* would have strengthened the claim that the women acted beyond their nature, yet Thucydides avoids this. In fact, women typically join in the fighting only against a background of social or political upheaval, and 3.82.4 shows that these are the very situations in which notions of *andreia* are confounded (Loraux, 18-20). Thucydides’ account of the incorrect evaluation of actions in *stasis* implies that the Corcyraeans could have associated these women with *andreia*, but women do not show *andreia* in Thucydides’ evaluation. Throughout the *Histories*, the appearance of women in anything other than a passive role highlights the non-rational features of an episode (Wiedemann, 169). When Nicias says, “men (*andres*) are the city, not walls or ships,” he implicitly identifies citizenship with the ability to defend the city (Thucydides 7.77.7; Kearns, 338). Thus, Thucydides denies that non-Greeks and women show *andreia* because he links this virtue with the rational men of a fully developed and functional *polis*.