CHAPTER IX:
LATE HELLENISTIC DECADENCE, 146-31

The South Wind, blowing fair for sailors, O ye who are sick for love, has carried off Andragathus, my soul's half. Thrice happy the ships, thrice fortunate the waves of the sea, and four times blessed the wind that bears the boy. Would I were a dolphin that, carried on my shoulders, he could cross the seas to look on Rhodes, the home of sweet lads... . . .

Love in the night brought me under my mantle the sweet dream of a softly-laughing boy of eighteen, still wearing the chlamys; and I, pressing his tender flesh to my breast, culled empty hopes. . . (Meleager, Greek Anthology, XII, 52, 125).

It is probably true that the late Hellenistic Age was less creative than the earlier. Certainly, as one state after another succumbed to the Romans, it was less successful militarily although Greeks often resisted Roman encroachment and rebelled against it fiercely. It is not fair, however, to denigrate the period completely, as was the fashion during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century when Tarn, the greatest English scholar in the field, ascribed Hellenistic decadence to the dilution of good Greek blood by "inferior" Oriental and African types:

I myself venture to entertain considerable doubts whether the true Greek, the racial aristocracy of the Aegean, really degenerated. This is not the more usual view; but I have given the facts as they appear to me, and they should enable the reader to form his own conclusions. One is the steady diminution of the true Greek after c. 200, combined with the intrusion, or admixture, of alien stocks, which, whatever their latent capabilities, often had not at the time the intellectual, political, or social energy of the Greek. The other is the behaviour of the Roman Republic, which tended to break the Greek spirit and
probably ended by convincing many people
beside the kings of Syria and Egypt that
efforts doomed beforehand were not worth
while.¹

If Alexander and his successors in the first Hellenistic
period fused Greek and Oriental cultures to form Hellenism and
spread it to Egypt and western Asia, the Greeks of the second
Hellenistic period won over enough of the Roman elite to establish
an ineradicable foothold in the West. On these bases arose the
Graeco-Roman synthesis of the early Empire which became the
foundation of Western culture. Thus, if the early Hellenistic won
the East, the later Hellenistic won the West. Just as Greek
culture, in winning over and mixing with Oriental ones was
altered, so in the later Hellenistic age when it won over Rome it
was also there altered.

The Romans never institutionalized pederasty. It was foreign
to the mos maiorum and to the family structure in which boys as
young as 14 and rarely after 21 married brides of 13 by parental
arrangement. Avant-garde patricians took slave-boys for their
delectation but they only rarely seduced aristocratic boys and
Greek philosophers and rhetoricians teaching at Rome, often as
slaves and freedmen, downplayed or omitted the pederastic
component of their ethics so as not to offend Roman patres and
matrons.

If the main cultural influences flowed from Greece to Rome,
some flowed back the other way. It was, in any case, mainly the
upper classes who Hellenized at first, unless one counts the
miserable proletarians who commingled in the city itself with
freedmen and slaves, Oriental and Greek, that may have come to
constitute one half of Rome's population not long after the end of
the Republic. In those teeming slums anything went and the old
moralistic family restraints that still bound most peasants and
small townsmen of Latin Italy collapsed.

DEMOGRAPHY

Our evidence for late as well as for earlier Hellenistic
population is so meager that, in the words of a distinguished
authority:

we must admit that it does not allow us
to form even an approximate idea
of the density of the population of the
Hellenistic world, of its fluctuations, or of
the relative size of the various elements in
the population, such as the proportion of free
citizens to metics and slaves in the cities,
and of natives to immigrants in the eastern monarchies.  

Ancient sources agree, without adducing any statistics, that the wars, insecurity, and economic dislocations after 200 seriously depopulated Greece itself and that this demographic decline lasted until the establishment of the Pax Romana under Augustus. It is probable that Macedonia also suffered a decline in its population for the same reasons.  

Scattered evidence suggests that outside Greece and Macedonia the population actually increased throughout the Hellenistic period. For the population of the Seleucid kingdom, figures exist from ancient authorities only for Antioch and Seleucia (Strabo calculated that Antioch's population was only slightly smaller than Alexandria's [XVI, 2.5] and Pliny estimated Seleucia's at 600,000 [Natural History VI, 122]). Diodorus Siculus (XXXI, 6-8) received from officials c.60 data on the population of Egypt, about which, thanks partly to the recovery of papyri, we know the most. He implied that Ptolemaic Egypt contained 30,000 villages from Ptolemy II till his own day and that the total population was 7,000,000, possibly not including Alexandria, according to the ancients not in Egypt but by it, the free population of which he estimated at over 300,000 (XVII, 52.6), the slaves being enumerated in a special register. In Augustus' reign, Strabo estimated that Alexandria had 500,000 and in 37 A.D. some modern scholars have estimated it at more than one million. In the first century Josephus arrived at a similar estimate: 7,500,000, excluding Alexandria (Bellum Judaicum, II, 16.4, 385). Rostovsteff calculated that there were in Diodorus' time 150,000 "Greeks," meaning ethnic Greeks as well as Hellenized natives, residing in Alexandria.  

**PEDERASTIC POETS**  
The Palatine Anthology, representing about 320 poets, contains many Hellenistic epigrams and epitaphs imitating Archaic poems. Although several are attributed to them, an eminent authority opined that "none of the poems of the early Greek lyricists and Gnomic writers are received." The Stoic philosopher who criticized Eratosthenes, Polemon, flourishing in Alexandria between 202 and 181, collected some of the epigrams that appear as Book XI of the Anthology from public buildings and monuments in various cities. The imitativeness of most of this poetry in no way proves that pederasty did not continue. These sparkling epigrams deal in compressed fashion with a whole array of themes: love's ardent madness and its playfulness; the fleeting splendor of the love object as adulthood steals in to efface his boyish charms; unresponsive or capricious boys; and fears of loss, often expressed mythologically in the conceit of Zeus' abduction of
Ganymede. Nowhere in the Anthology is love portrayed as Platonic; it is all sexual. "Multiple erotic encounters... are referred to in several poems of the Greek Anthology..." Alexandrians constantly complained how venal boys in their day were, in contrast to those of the golden age, in demanding expensive gifts and money. There is no reason to suppose that pederasty had died out even in Greek-speaking cities of southern Italy, where Latin influence was strongest, by Petronius's time.

Basing his work on Asclepiades and Callimachus, Dioscorides (f.c. 230), authored about forty epigrams, some on famous poets, in the Anthology. He became indignant at the pecuniary demands of boys:

> When you look on Hermogenes, boy-vulture, have your hands full, and perhaps you will succeed in getting that of which your heart dreams, and will relax the melancholy contraction of your brow. But if you fish for him, committing to the waves a line devoid of a hook, you will pull plenty of water out of the harbour; for neither pity nor shame dwells with an expensive screw-boy (XII, 42).

He also composed tenderly on pederasty:

> If Demophilus, when he reaches his prime, gives such kisses to his lovers as he gives me now he is a child, no longer shall his mother's door remain quiet at night (14).

> Love, the murderer of men, moulded soft as marrow the back-side of Sosarchus of Amphipolis in fun, wishing to irritate Zeus because his thighs are much more honeyed than those of Ganymede (37).

> Zephyr, gentlest of the winds, bring back to me the lovely pilgrim Euphragoras, even as thou didst receive him, not extending his absence beyond a few months' space; for to a lover's mind a short time is as a thousand years (171).

Of the iambics and epigrams of Alcaeus of Messene (f.c. 200), fifteen epigrams survive in the Anthology. Some of them, addressed to Philip V of Macedon, were the first to contain political invective. He was conscious of the passing of youthful beauty:
Protarchus is fair and does not wish it; but later he will, and his youth races on holding a torch (XII, 29).

Your leg, Nicander, is getting hairy, but take care lest your back-side also gets the same unnoticed. Then shall you know how rare lovers are. But even now reflect that youth is irrevocable (Ibid., 30).

Although called "bucolic," Moschus and Bion may not have composed pastorals in the technical sense. A Syracusan student at Alexandria under the grammarian Aristarchus of Samothrace, Moschus (c. 150) was also a grammarian, the probable author of a treatise on the Rhodian dialect. He authored the 165-line poem on Zeus's rape of Europa and mentioned several Priapi (III, 27). Author of Lament for Adonis, Bion, born near Smyrna after Moschus, also wrote lyrics. One of them praised Lycidas: "I have sung of another than Lycidas, but my song then sounded like a lamentable stammer; I sang of the marvels of Eros and Lycidas, the beautiful and now my love-song would resound loftily and glorious." His eighth poem catalogues and extols friends like Achilles and Patroclus, Theseus and Perithous, and Orestes and Pylades. One of his longest fragments beseeches Hesperus, the evening star, for aid in his quest of a lover:

Evening Star, which art the golden light of the lovely Child o' the Foam, dear
Evening Star, which art the holy jewel of the blue blue night, even so much dimmer than the moon as brighter than any other star that shines, hail, gentle friend, and while I go a-serenading my shepherd love show me a light instead of the moon, for that she, being new but yesterday, is all too quickly set. I be no thief nor highwayman--'tis not for that I'm abroad to-night--but a lover; and lovers deserve all aid (IX).11

Probably the most delightful products of Hellenistic pederastic feeling occurs in Book XII of the Greek Anthology, whose original core was material gathered by the Helleno-Syrian poet and philosopher Meleager of Gadara (f.c. 100 B.C.) and subsequently enlarged several times. In his Garland, Meleager collected verses of four Hellenistic poets: Asclepiades (c.320), Dioscorides (end of third century), and Euphorion (c.150), besides contributing some of his own, all later incorporated in the Greek Anthology, indicating the enduring vitality of pederasty in the
Greek areas. His Garland was supplemented with another one which appeared about 40 A.D. compiled by Philip, a native of Thessalonica who lived in Rome, possibly earning a living as a rhetor. Both formed the basis for the Greek or Palatine Anthology, the largest anthology of the classical world.

The Greek Anthology, whose authors imitated the earlier Greek lyric poets, present a varied picture from elegant courtships to pick-ups on the streets. Even the Anthology describes the attributes of the boys and longings of lovers more than physical acts. The three types of actors described by Aristophanes in Plato's Symposium appeared: A. A small percentage aroused only by males; B. A larger one aroused only by females; C. The largest percentage able to be aroused by either. Of course, the societal norms of different regions could influence the distribution of the three types. Over time too, there can be exchanges within regions. There is, however, no proof that there was more physical contact in Hellenistic cities than in early Sparta although there was less pedagogy in the streets of Alexandria than in Spartan syssitia.

Author of 60 poems in Book XII, 55 of which are pederastic, Meleager arranged erotic lyrics by 46 authors, each a flower in alphabetical order. He called this collection "the wreath" or "garland." He dedicated it to his beloved Procles:

Love hath wrought for thee, Cypris, gathering with his own hands the boy-flowers, a wreath of every blossom to cozen the heart. Into it he wove Diodorus the sweet lily and Asclepiades the scented white violet. Yea, and thereupon he pleated Heraclitus when, like a rose, he grew from the thorns, and Dion when he bloomed like the blossom of the vine. He tied on Theron, too, the golden-tressed saffron, and put in Uliades, a sprig of thyme, and soft-haired Myiscus the ever-green olive shoot, and despoiled for it the lovely boughs of Aretas. Most blessed of islands art thou, holy Tyre, which hast the perfumed grove where the boy-blossoms of Cypris grow (XII, 256).

Meleager, who knew Syrian and Phoenician and lived a long time at Tyre before passing his old age at Cos, found a plethora of beautiful, available boys in both places:

Richly laden ocean ships that sail down the Hellespont, taking to your bosoms the good North Wind, if haply ye see on the beach of Cos Phanion gazing at the blue sea, give her this message, good ships, that Desire carries
me there not on shipboard, but faring on my feet. For if you tell her this, ye bearers of good tidings, straight shall Zeus also breathe the gale of his favor into your sails (53).

Delicate children, so help me Love, doth Tyre nurture, but Myiscus is the sun that, when his light bursts forth, quenches the stars (59).

Another of his poems runs:

If you love boys and have tasted their bitter honey, aid me--pour cold water around my heart, quickly, water from newly melted snow for I've just seen Dionysius and the fire is burning out of control (81).

He clearly preferred boys to women:

It is Cypris, a woman, who casts at us the fire of passion for women, but Love himself rules over desire for males. Whither shall I incline, to the boy or to his mother? I tell you for sure that even Cypris herself will say, "The bold brat wins" (86).

In the following epigrams, Meleager described several boys whom he admired:

Delightful is Diodorus and the eyes of all are on Heraclitus, Dion is sweet-spoken, and Uliades has lovely loins. But, Philocles, touch the delicate-skinned one, and look on the next and speak to the third, and for the fourth--etcetera; so that thou mayst see how free from envy my mind is. But if thou cast greedy eyes on Myiscus, mayst thou never see beauty again (94).

Philocles, if thou art beloved by the Loves and sweet-breathed Peitho, and the Graces that gather a nosegay of beauty, mayst thou have thy arm round Diodorus, may sweet Dorotheus stand before thee and sing, may Callicrates lie on thy knee. May Dio warm this your horn (that hits its target well), stretching it out in his hand, may Uliades peel it, may Philo give you a sweet kiss, may Theron chatter away, and may you press
Eudemus’ breast under his cloak. For if
God were to grant thee all these delights,
blessed man, what a Roman salad of boys
wouldst thou dress (95).

The following epigram from the philosopher Crates of Mallos
(f.c.168) among others in the Anthology deals with oral sex:

Choerilus is far inferior to Antimachus, but
on all occasions Euphorion would ever talk of
Choerilus and made his poems full of glosses,
and knew those of Philetas well, for he was
indeed a follower of Homer (XI, 218).

Choerilus of Samos (f.c. 400), author of a Persica and possibly a
Samiaca, was an epic poet who spent his last years at the court
of the Macedonian king Archelaus. The epigram employs puns to
depict Euphorion of Chalcis, the head of the library at Antioch,
as a practitioner of osculation. As explained by W. R. Paton:
"But Euphorion always and everywhere had a woman's sow in his
mouth, and he used to make his poems all tongue-kissings, and knew
with expert accuracy the tricks of osculation; for he was indeed
the real thigh-man."12

Polystratus, who lived in the second century B.C., admitted
that he loved two boys at the same time:

A double love burns one heart. O eyes that
cast yourselves in every direction on
everything that ye need not, ye looked on
Antiochus, conspicuous by his golden
charm, the flower of our brilliant youth.
It should be enough. Why did ye gaze on
sweet and tender Stasicrates, the sapling
of violet-crowned Aphrodite? Take fire,
consume, be burnt up once for all; for the
two of you could never win one heart
(XII, 91).

Glaucus complained that boys were too demanding:

There was a time long, long ago, when boys
who like presents were won by a quail, or
a sewn ball, or knuckle-bones, but now
they want rich dishes or money, and those
playthings have no power. Search for
something else, ye lovers of boys
(XII, 44).

An epigram, possibly by Artemon, sang the praises of the
beautiful Athenian boy Echedemus:
As Echedemus was peeping out of his door on the sly, I slyly kissed that charming boy who is just in his prime. Now I am in dread, for he came to me in a dream, bearing a quiver, and departed after giving me fighting cocks, but at one time smiling, at another with no friendly look. But have I touched a swarm of bees, and a nettle, and fire? (XII, 124).

The Epicurean Philodemus of Gadara (c.110-c.40/35) composed polished erotic epigrams, some 25 of them preserved in the Greek Anthology. Rivaling those of his fellow Gadaran Meleager in skilfull construction, they influenced Ovid and Horace, who produced imitations. Indeed, Cicero seems to have thought that the versatile Philodemus was primarily a poet, not philosopher. In the following selection, he lamented that advancing age was sapping his sexual power:

Yes, my dear Aphrodite, I who could once do it five and nine times can manage hardly one from early night to sunrise. And, oh dear, this thing (it has often been half-dead) is gradually drying out-right. This is the calamity of Termerus that I suffer. Old age, old age, what shalt thou do later, if thou comest, since already I am thus languid? (XI, 30).

Octavia's friend Crinagoras (f.c. 70-25) of Mytilene, addressed his eromenos Eros, who died on the island that he wished to rename, along with others nearby, Islands of Love:

Other islands ere this have rejected their inglorious names and named themselves after men. Be called Erotides (Isles of Love), ye Oxeiai (sharp islands); it is no shame for you to change; for Eros himself gave both his name and his beauty to the boy whom Dies laid here beneath a heap of clods. 0 earth, crowded with tombs, do thou lie light on the boy and do thou lie hushed for his sake (XII, 628).

Automedon, who lived in the first century B.C., poked fun at those who took advantage of their position to exploit boys sexually:

Yesterday I supped with the boy's trainer,
Demetrius, the most blessed of all men. One lay on his lap, one stooped over his shoulder, one brought him the dishes, and another served him with drink—the admirable quartette. I said to him in fun, "Do you, my dear friend, work the boys at night too?" (XII, 34).

Several epigrams in the Anthology express the Greek distaste for boys with body hair. Automedon was characteristic:

Beard and rough hair on the thighs, how quickly time changes all! Connichus, is this what you have become? Did I not say, "Be not in all things harsh and discourteous; Beauty has its own Avenging Deities"? So you have come into the pen, proud youth; we know that you wish for it now; but then, too, you might have had sense (XI, 326).

Appearing in the Garland of Philip of Thessalonica, one of Statilius Flaccus' epigrams expressed similar regret for his commitment to a boy with facial hair:

When I saw Polemo off, his cheeks like thine, Apollo, I promised to sacrifice a fowl if he came back. I do not accept him now his spiteful cheeks are bristly. Luckless wretch that I was to make a vow for the sake of such a man! It is not fair for the innocent fowl to be plucked in vain, or let Polemo be plucked, too, Lord of Delos (27).

Diocles warned a boy:

One thus addressed a boy who did not say good-day: "And so Damon, who excels in beauty, does not even say good-day now! A time will come that will take vengeance for this. Then, grown all rough and hairy, you will give good-day first to those who do not give it you back (XII, 35).

Philip himself (f.c. 40 A.D.) reproached a would-be lover with body hair:

When you were pretty, Archestratus, and the hearts of the young men were burnt for your wine-red cheeks, there was no talk of
friendship with me, but sporting with others you spoilt your prime like a rose. Now, however, when you begin to blacken with horrid hair, you would force me to be your friend, offering me the straw after giving the harvest to others (XI, 36).

Author of about eighty poems in the *Anthology* similar in outlook and style to those of his contemporary Ovid, Antipater of Thessalonica (f.c. 11 B.C.-12/15 A.D.) was a client of the learned Lucius Calpurnius Piso. His epigrams are noted for their wit:

When Priapus saw Cimon's prick standing upright, said he: "Oh dear! I an immortal am left behind by a mortal" (XI, 224).

He praised lesbian poetesses:

These are the divine-voiced women that Helicon fed with song, Helicon and Macedonian Pieria's rock: Praxilla, Moero; Anyte, the female Homer; Sappho, glory of the Lesbian women with lovely tresses; Erinna; renowned Telesilla; and thou, Corinna, who didst sing the martial shield of Athena; Nossis, the tender-voiced, and dulcet-toned Myrtis—all crafts-women of eternal pages. Great Heaven gave birth to nine Muses, and Earth to these nine, the deathless delight of men (IX, 26).

Bianor suggested a master-slave relationship:

This man, a cypher, mean, yes a slave, this man look ye, is lord of some other's soul (XI, 364).

Although ten of Addaeus the Macedonian's epigrams appear in Philip's *Garland*, only four can be confidently ascribed to him:

If you see a beauty, strike while the iron is hot. Say what you mean, grab his testicles full-handed. But if you say "I reverence you and will be like a brother," shame will close your road to accomplishment (X, 20).

There are also many anonymous epigrams in the *Anthology*. The
much-discussed issue of body hair is addressed in the usual manner:

Enjoy the season of thy prime; all things soon decline: one summer turns a kid into a shaggy he-goat (XI, 51).

The rose blooms for a little season, and when that goes by thou shalt find, if thou seekest, no rose, but a briar (XI, 53).

Other poems describe the power of physical love:

Caught, Thrasybulus, in the net of a boy's love, thou gaspest like a dolphin on the beach, longing for the waves, and not even Perseus' sickle is sharp enough to cut through the net that binds thee (XI, 52).

Antipater kissed me when my love was on the wane, and set ablaze again the fire from the cold ash. So against my will I twice encountered one flame. Away, ye who are like to be love-sick, lest touching those near me I burn them (XII, 79).

Stranger, if thou sawest somewhere among the boys one whose bloom was most lovely, undoubtedly thou sawest Apollodotus. And if, having seen him, thou wast not overcome by burning fiery desire, of a surety thou art either a god or a stone (XII, 151).

It appears that a bloodied youth appealed to some:

When Menecharmus, Anticles' son, won the boxing match, I crowned him with ten soft fillets, and thrice I kissed him all dabbled with blood as he was, but the blood was sweeter to me than myrrh (XII, 123).

Cinaedi (effemmates), however, were not idolized:

They denied their manhood and did not become women, nor were they born men, as they have suffered what women do; nor are they women, since a man's nature was theirs. They are men to women and women to men (XI, 272).
One poem indicates anal sex:

Homer taught you to call the voice enope,
but who taught you to have your tongue enope
(i.e. in a hole)? (XI, 338).

One writer expressed his frustration in his pursuit of a courtesan, a young girl, and a boy:

No longer do I love. I have wrestled with three passions that burn: one for a courtesan, one for a maiden, and one for a lad. And in every way I suffer pain. For I have been sore exercised, seeking to persuade the courtesan's doors to open, the foes of him who has nothing, and again ever sleepless I make my bed on the girl's couch, giving the child but one thing and that most desirable, kisses. Alack! how shall I tell of the third flame? For from that I have gained naught but glances and empty hopes (XII, 90).

Another author was madly in love with two boys:

Two loves, descending on me like the tempest, consume me, Eumachus, and I am caught in the toils of two furious passions. On this side I bend towards Asander, and on that again my eye, waxing keener, turns to Telephus. Cut me in two, I should love that, and dividing the halves in a just balance, carry off my limbs, each of you, as the lot decides (XII, 88).

Yet another one seemed disillusioned about pursuing boys:

Rest, ye lovers of lads, from your empty labor; cease from your troubles, ye perverse men; we are maddened by never fulfilled hopes. It is like to bailing the sea on to the dry land and reckoning the number of grains in the Libyan sand to court the love of boys, whose vainglorious beauty is sweet to men and gods alike. Look on me, all of you; for all my futile toil of the past is as water shed on the dry beach (XII, 145).

Though it may be Christian, the following anonymous epigram may come from Philip's Garland:
Wine and baths and venerean indulgence make the road to Hades more precipitous (X, 112).

In spite of occasional disillusionment and frustration with boys, the authors of the Anthology were overwhelmingly pederastic, sometimes, it seems, exclusively so:

The love of women touches not my heart, but male brands have heaped unquenchable coals of fire on me. Greater is this heat; by as much as a man is stronger than a woman, by so much is this desire sharper (XII, 17).

Persistent Love, thou ever whirlest at me no desire for woman, but the lightning of burning longing for males. Now burnt by Damon, now looking on Ismenus, I ever suffer long pain. And not only on these have I looked, but my eye, ever madly roving, is dragged into the nets of all alike (XII, 87).

First mentioned by Aulus Gellius c. 160 A.D., the collection known as the Anacreontea commented upon by other writers differs from the one we have:

A young man of equestrian rank from Asia, of a happy disposition, of good education, and considerable fortune, and moreover, a gifted and enthusiastic lover of music, one day, by way of celebrating his birthday, gave a dinner in a little suburban retreat to a company of his friends and instructors. Among the guests, besides myself, was a Spanish rhetorician named Antonius Julian, a public teacher distinguished for his eloquence and well read in ancient history and literature. When the chief courses were disposed of and the time was come for wine and conversation, Antonius expressed a wish that we might be favored with a performance by the first-rate singers and players of both sexes whom he knew our young friend to have at command. In due time the young musicians were summoned, and proceeded to give delightful renderings not only of a number of the songs of Anacreon and Sappho, but also of some
charming erotic elegies, as they are called, of modern composers. There was one piece which more than any other took the fancy of the audience, an extremely pretty little ode of the aged Anacreon, which I quote here to enable the burner of the midnight oil for a moment to exchange his labours for the rest and relief that come with music: 'Take your tools, but make for me,' etc. (Attic Nights).

Odes 4 and 8 appear in the Greek Anthology (XI, 47, 48) and were probably included in the collection made by Philip of Thessalonica c.40 A.D. Edmonds concluded:

Not one of these little songs can be dated as high as the Athenian Age; so their exclusion from a collection that ends with the year 330 is easily justified. . . . Style and matter preclude an earlier date for any poem than 150, or at most 200, B.C. 13

The light-hearted songs do not usually specify whether the love object is male or female:

Comrades, give me Homer's lyre . . .
Bring cups today . . . I'ld
tippling be, And dance and sing
(But decently), To th' merry
string. (2)

But this I know, the nigher Death's day
The more should old men play. (7)

First twenty loves, nay thirty-five
set down, From Athens town
And love in bunches then from
Corinth city . . .
And don't forget, Egypt nor
Crete, where all waves may be had
And love runs mad . . . (14)

Limn me thus the lad I love
Sleek and shining make his hair . . .
Make his forehead soft as dew . . .
for his downy cheek
In a rosy apple seek . . .
Where those tender thighs commence
Mix love with shamefast innocence. (17)
Pour balm and play my fill
With pretty girls or boys. (38)

An old man merry gives me joy,
I love a dancing boy;
If the old man dance boys among,
Though's hair be old, his heart
is young. (39)

EROTIC TALES AND ROMANCES

An innovation of the late Hellenistic Age was the adventure romance or Milesian tale, so-called from Aristides of Miletus, who authored or arranged the erotic, even obscene short stories known as the Milesian Tales c. 100 B.C. The papyrus fragments of the Ninus-Romance indicates that the novel developed in Hellenistic times either from the Alexandrian love-elegy or from historiography that degenerated into fables. A less plausible thesis ascribes it to a religious prototype. Tedious sentimentality and the moral rectitude of the protagonists indicate an unsophisticated audience for these rarely pornographic prose works. Contemporary intellectuals did not esteem Greek novels enough to refer to them, although the authors were skilled at intriguing the lower middle classes. In some the evidence, which comes mainly from fragments of the Roman imperial period and late Latin imitations of this popular genre indicate like the New Comedy that the average man was more interested in rebellions, adventures, and heterosexual romance than in pederasty.

But while the majority of surviving examples concern the separation, trials, and reunion of heterosexual lovers, they do often contain homoerotic episodes and characters as secondary but salient motifs. A fine instance is The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon by Achilles Tatius of Alexandria who, although he lived in the second century A.D., in Greek letters his age constitutes a continuation of the Hellenistic era. The main homosexual incident is a debate on the respective merits of love for women and pederasty. This kind of counterposing exposition was to have a considerable posterity—in Islam, in medieval Europe (e.g., the Altercatio Ganimedis et Helene), and even in Japan (e.g., the Dembu monagatari).

Although it is debated how much this genre influenced Greek romances, they helped mold later realistic novels: Lucian's The Golden Ass, Petronius's Widow of Ephesus in the Satyricon, and Apuleius's Metamorphoses. They became the prototype for the erotic Milesio variae fabulae of the Romans. A Hellenistic romance did serve as the prototype of Musaeus' Hero and Leander, composed in the late fifth century A.D. Plots of all later
romances that have survived follow the same pattern, one set in Hellenistic times: a pair of lovers are separated and unable to marry before marvelous adventures. Characters and plots sometimes derive largely from New Comedians as well as from Oriental sources. Virginity and reciprocal fidelity became prized just as they were increasingly by contemporary philosophers.

ART

It has been commonly and correctly observed that the Romans were pupils of the Greeks and made few contributions of their own to the amalgam that they bequeathed to Western Civilization except in law and engineering, fields in which they clearly excelled their Greek mentors. They developed a literature that rivaled their Greek archetypes, with great poets, historians, and philosophers. In science and art, however, they were unable to approach the Greek geniuses. One might argue that there was not a single Latin scientist or artist of the first rank. Only in portraiture, connected with their virtual ancestor worship and idealization of patriots, did the Romans equal or surpass their Greek masters.

Basically, the Romans imported Greek art, looting masterpieces, beginning with Tarentum in 272 and Syracuse in 212, and then the Greek mainland. When they could not get originals, they were satisfied with copies. Mummius, the conqueror of Corinth, who reportedly could not distinguish a statue of Zeus from one of Poseidon and a masterpiece from hack work, ordered those who lost any paintings and sculptures from the city to replace them with others and auctioned off masterpieces without any notion of their value (Dio Chrys. 37.42; Vell. Pat. 1.13.4; Pliny, Natural History, 35.24). Athens became virtually a workshop turning out copies. Indeed, "Athens' commercial resurgence after 146 was partly due to her supplying Rome's need, both by original work based on older statues and by good copies, and other cities imitated her."\(^{14}\)

Roman connoisseurs built artistic collections as avidly as they collected Greek manuscripts for their libraries, where they could be as satisfied as with the originals. Most sculptors and painters at Rome were of Greek origin. A Roman company, the Cossutii, engaged sculptors in Greece to mass produce statues to meet the ever widening demand at home.\(^{15}\) The frescos which decorated villas were inspired by Greek originals, as the famous four styles at Pompeii demonstrate. However great the craze for things Greek during the Late Republic, it accelerated in the reign of Augustus and culminated in the reign of Hadrian.

In the Aegean basin great works continued to be produced. The Laocoon, depicting the unfortunate priest of Troy and his two
sons struggling against coiling serpents, was sculpted c.100 in Pergamum and signed by three Rhodians, Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus. Praised by Pliny as a work excelling all other sculptures and paintings (Natural History, 36.37), it was used by Lessing and Goethe to support their theories of Greek aesthetics. Despite its technical virtuosity and knowledge of human anatomy, by 1900 it had fallen into disfavor. Criticized as histrionic and strained, like the satyr Marsyas being flayed by Apollo from the same school, the Laocoon could once again regain its due and be appreciated as one of the world's greatest masterpieces.

PHILOSOPHY

Those who see Stoicism as a precursor of Christianity emphasize the triumph of Stoic philosophy among Romans and the role Panaetius had in spreading that doctrine in Rome in the second half of the second century B.C. Stoic missionaries to Rome omitted their school's long-standing agreement that lovers could keep their beloveds until 28, preaching instead sexual restraint. Although Stoicism as thus modified did appeal to the conservative segment of the Roman upper class, exemplified by Cato the Younger, who adhered to the mos maiorum, it was only during the Empire that it triumphed in Rome over its rival Epicureanism. During the Late Republic, many of the Hellenizers preferred Epicureanism, even in a form which condoned hedonism including sumptuous banquets and sexual license. Lucretius, to whose De Rerum Natura we owe our most detailed exposition of Epicureanism, which the Christians so hated because of its atheism, Lucullus, Sulla, and Caesar, all Epicureans of one type or another, represented as important a cross section of the Roman upper class as Stoics did. Like most, Cicero was an eclectic who borrowed as much from Skeptics and Platonists as from the Stoics.

Although Roman poets, orators, and historians of the Late Republic became disciples of Hellenistic as well as of classical models, it was only the late Hellenistic philosophers--Polybius having moved to Rome during the Middle Republic--who actually migrated to Rome and made it the center of Greek philosophy. If Carneades, visiting Rome as ambassador for Athens in 155, was among the first to lecture on philosophy at Rome, Philodemus and Panaetius, the leading Epicurean and Stoic of their day, actually lived there and developed the doctrines of their respective schools under Roman influence. They and other representatives of the various schools of Greek philosophy, lecturing in Rome, attracted numerous disciples. There they toned down their pro-sex, pro-pleasure philosophies in order to conform to the mos maiorum. This did not deter devotees of Hellenism such as the voluptuary Lucullus and Caesar from indulging in uninhibited pleasures. For our purposes the most momentous change was the dropping of boy-love, or rather of the ideal of keeping an
eromenos until 28 from the Stoic agenda. Stoics in Rome, often acting as tutors or at least lecturing to young men, were under pressure from grave patres familias not to corrupt their youthful offspring whom they married off, usually in their late teens, to Greeks of 12 to 14. Also, grave matrons desirous of retaining their husband's affections and desirous for offspring from their sons and daughters did not wish their male descendants to be taught male love.

The Epicureans, on the other hand, reduced their founder's insistence on the full equality of women which would have sat badly with the paternalistic Romans, where women-folk, although much less secluded and repressed than Athenian matrons nevertheless fell under the patria potestas and never had an equal legal status to that of males, no matter how much influence they might actually exercise. While some Stoics in Late Republican Rome moved towards recommending reciprocal fidelity in marriage—a position that we have no surviving record of before Musonius Rufus, who flourished in the Principate, practitioners of Epicureanism, if not expounders of it, interpreted its emphasis on pleasure to justify their excesses of eating, drinking, sex, and general extravagance and self-indulgence in spite of its founder's clear instructions to the contrary.

Horrified at their atheistic individualism, the Roman Senate expelled in 173 Alcius and Philiseus, the first apostles of Epicurus to proselytize in Rome, barely a decade and a half after they had brutally suppressed the Bacchantes, and twelve years later enacted a general expulsion of all philosophers and rhetors. At the beginning of this period (163) not a single Roman had studied in Greece, but by its end (30) upper-class Romans normally undertook a grand tour that usually included study. Just as milords or rich Americans making the tour, they often "came out," i.e., had pederastic or other homosexual experiences abroad that they had not had in their more "uptight" homelands where they were likely to be observed by gossipy friends or worse, their parents' friends. Viewing the seductive homoerotic Greek art and immersed in the pederastic literature, which they were taught to admire, how easy it must have been for them to succumb to the wiles of attractive Greek boys, all too aware of the advantages they could derive from a wealthy Roman admirer. Male prostitutes were, of course, everywhere available throughout Hellas by this time. Most attended symposia, even if they did not always frequent gymnasia. Only Caesar, however, is reported to have succumbed to an older Greek.

Only five years after the expulsion of the Epicureans, Crates of Mallos, ambassador of Attalus II of Pergamum, while recovering from a fractured leg began to deliver lectures, arousing Roman interest in scholarship. First director of the Pergamene library, an authority on Homer, Hesiod, Euripides, and Aristophanes, he and
his school developed principles of literary criticism, reaching *a priori* allegorical interpretations that made Homer support Stoic positions contradicting those of his rivals, Aristophanes of Byzantium (c.257-180) and Aristarchus of Samothrace (c.217-145), who pioneered the scientific collation of Homeric and other texts. Varro (116-27) reflected this debate, which no compromise was able to settle.

Having succeeded Hagesias as head of the Academy, Carneades of Cyrene came in 155 with Critolaus the Peripatetic and Diogenes of Babylon the Stoic as Athenian ambassadors to Rome, where he gave philosophic lectures, taking one side one day and the opposite the next, which outraged the patres in the Senate. Although he published nothing, Clitomachus (187-110/09), who originally bore his Carthaginian name, Hasdrubal, and other of his students recorded his theories. Founder of the Third or New Academy, he adopted an essentially skeptic position, arguing that one cannot know whether "presentations" which our mind perceives are true or false. Consequently, although we may be persuaded about probabilities, upon which we must act, we must refrain from convictions. Refuting dogmatic philosophers with all their inconsistencies, he inspired Cicero's skeptical position about deities, prophecies, and the fates (*On The Nature of the Gods*, 3, and *Div.*, 2).

Scipio's friend and client Panaetius (c.185-109) of Rhodes is credited with introducing Stoicism to Rome. Muting and then refuting their founder's espousal of pederasty, the Stoics at Rome were far from unanimous on sexuality, but did not dare to teach Greek love to the offspring of such a family-centered aristocracy as patronized them. He founded the Middle Stoa, abandoning the idea of successive world conflagrations and embracing Aristotle's teaching of the unity of matter. After a period of study at Pergamum under Crates of Mallos, he went to Athens for further study under the Stoics Diogenes the Babylonian and Antipater of Tarsus, and then returned to his homeland at Rhodes. In *On Marriage*, fragments of which Stobaeus preserved, Antipater, a student of Diogenes of Seleucia or Babylon, the first Stoic to write favorably of marriage and women, defended traditional Roman ideas of marital purity. Neither Antipater, the chief of the Second Stoa, or Apollodorus of Seleucia (c. 150), who is traditionally assigned to the First Stoa, and praised pederasty, taught at Rome. Around 144 Panaetius visited Rome, where he became a member of the circle of Scipio Aemilianus (185-129), with whom he journeyed to the East. He remained mainly in Rome from 140 to 129, when following the death of Antipater he returned to Athens to assume headship of the Stoa, which he held until his death. Attempting to make Stoic ethics conform to the *mos maiorum* by stressing magnanimity, generosity, and justice at the expense of the Early Stoic admonitions to refrain from wrongdoing and to practice equanimity, Panaetius and his disciple Hecaton,
along with Poseidonius, the greatest exponents of the Middle Stoa, influenced such leading Romans as Cicero, Cato the Younger, and Brutus.

A younger contemporary and fellow townsman of the pederastic poet and philosopher Meleager, Philodemus of Gadara arrived in Rome c.75 in the aftermath of the first war against Mithridates. His patron and probable disciple Lucius Calpurnius Piso, whose daughter Julius Caesar married, gave him a villa at Herculaneum. In 55 Cicero praised him with some irony (Pis., 28, 68ff.). Like many of the brilliant students, including Varro, Vergil, and Horace, he and Siron drew into their circles, he became hostile to Antony. Philodemus, who wrote Cynic diatribes, is considered an aretologist, a professional who recited amusing stories for dinner parties similar to mime writers. Both groups could analyze morals and ethics in a manner that was meant to be more than after dinner entertainment and often exalted the character and virtues of epicures.\[17\]

Cicero treated him mainly as a poet, but Philodemus popularized for Romans Greek philosophy as interpreted by Epicureans, which he did in ten books. One of his most interesting theories was art for art's sake. Cicero also criticized Philodemus for corrupting his students, but he presumably used Philodemus to describe the Epicurean teachings in Concerning the Ends of Things and On the Nature of the Gods, as Horace may have for The Art of Poetry. Ovid, Horace, Catullus, and Martial drew inspiration from his verses. Rufus Varius, Quintilius, and probably Vergil and Horace are addressed in a surviving fragment of Philodemus's On Flattery. Korte rightly dubbed him "the bridge from the Hellenistic world to the Roman."\[18\]

Philodemus was the most influential Greek philosopher to teach in Rome during the Late Republic. He may have taught all the leading poets in Maecenas' circle. At least four leading statesmen, Lucullus, Sulla, Caesar, and Crassus were won over to an Epicurean outlook, although perhaps a crude one, while only Cato the Younger became a serious Stoic. Philodemus, like some of his Roman followers, was frankly pederastic, as some of his 25 epigrams in the Greek Anthology, which Horace and Ovid imitated, shows. Though his treatises are lost, probably owing to Stoic and Christian hostility, his thoughts have been preserved by the most philosophically sophisticated of Roman Epicureans, Lucretius.

Among Roman poets of love, Lucretius, the earliest to survive, wrote didactic verses glorifying Venus, "Mother of Rome." The fact that we know almost nothing about him allowed hostile writers to conjecture that, crazed by a love potion, he committed suicide, or that he wrote in "lucid intervals" that interrupted his madness. In the earliest surviving criticism, Cicero opined that Lucretius wrote "with many highlights of genius, but with
much art" (Epist. Quintus., Feb. 54). Dedicated to the distinguished Gaius Memmius c.55, De Rerum Natura, surviving in but one manuscript, more mutilated by lacunae and obscurities than any other Latin text, gives far the most complete summary of Epicurean doctrines. Like certain Greek models, the poem attempted to explain metaphysics and physics in verse, but Roman readers preferred to emphasize the lack of moralizing that the materialistic atomic theory allowed, so different as this was from the mos maiorum and Stoicism, the rival philosophy imported at about the same time from the Greek East.

Lucretius' theories of sex appear at the end of Book IV. Repeating Epicurus' concept that the pleasures to be derived from sex with boys or women or from eating fish at a meal are similar in nature and value and that objects of desire are culturally and socially conditioned, he described the wet dreams of adolescent males as a natural phenomenon to which the body is subject so that the mind "is pierced by love" for the human form lusted after whether for "a lad with womanish limbs or a woman." Venus inspired both types of love, but one so stricken should avoid the object of his passion. Love and marriage should be avoided at all costs, otherwise you find yourself thus passionately enamoured of an individual, you should keep away from such images. Thrust from you anything that might feed your passion, and turn your mind elsewhere. Vent the seed of love upon other objects. By clinging to it you assure yourself the certainty of heart-sickness and pain. With nourishment the festering sore quickens and strengthens. Day by day the frenzy heightens and the grief deepens. Your only remedy is to lance the first wound with new incisions; to salve it, while it is still fresh, with promiscuous attachments [my italics]; to guide the motions of your mind into some other channel.

Do not think that by avoiding grand passions you are missing the delights of Venus. Rather, you are reaping such profits as carry with them no penalty. Rest assured that this pleasure is enjoyed in a purer form by the healthy than by the love-sick. Lovers' passion is storm-tossed, even in the moment of fruition, by waves of delusion and incertitude. They cannot make up their
mind what to enjoy first with eye or hand. They clasp the object of their longing so tightly that the embrace is painful. They kiss so fiercely that teeth are driven into lips. All this because their pleasure is not pure, but they are goaded by an underlying impulse to hurt the thing, whatever it may be, that gives rise to these budding shoots of madness.

Their days are passed at the mercy of another's whim. Their wealth slips from them, transmuted to Babylonian brocades. Their duties are neglected. Their reputation totters and goes into a decline. It is all very well for dainty feet to sparkle with gay slippers of Sicyon; for settings of gold to enclasp huge emeralds aglow with green fire, and sea-tinted garments to suffer the constant wear and stain of Venus. A hard-won patrimony is metamorphosed into bonnets and tiaras or, it may be, into Grecian robes, masterpieces from the looms of Elis or of Ceos. No matter how lavish the decor and the cuisine—drinking parties (with no lack of drinks), entertainments, perfumes, garlands, festoons and all—they are still to no purpose (IV, 1078-1140).

Roman voluptuaries seized eagerly upon the advice to be promiscuous. Totally rejecting the Greek theories of paiderastia, which entailed restraint and responsibility, they indulged their passions, like their other appetites, in prolonged orgies, banquets, and drinking bouts replete with vomitoriums, which in no way resembled the ideal of decorous Greek symposia. They refused to become lovers of women whose "days are passed at the mercy of another's whim." Obsessed with passing pleasures, Roman Epicureans ended up in the same boat.

Relative of Metellus Macedonicus (d. 115) and Metellus Numidicus (f.c. 109-98), and the only officer to support the march on Rome of Sulla, whom he served as literary executor, editing Sulla's Commentarii, and guardian for his son, Lucullus (c.110-56) enormously enriched himself during the proscriptions and later in his successful wars against Mithridates and subsequent settlement of Asia Minor. He underwrote extravagant games. After his army mutinied and he experienced difficulties with Pompey and Caesar, he retired to indulge in every luxury. "Lucullan banquets" became proverbial, as did his patronage of art and literature, before
Thus leaders of all the three main schools all spent considerable time at Rome, which has helped some to maintain that Rome became the center of philosophy, although it may be unfair to Athens. The official schools continued to teach in their traditional locations, one head succeeding another. Only the Peripatetics failed to stir the Romans and they had, in any case, sunk to pedantry. By the last century of the Republic upper-class Romans took a Greek curriculum alongside the Roman one. The elite had Greek tutors but also went east for a grand tour that often involved study as well. Few actually enrolled in the philosophical schools at Athens, but many went there or to Rhodes to study rhetoric and while doing so imbibed philosophy incidentally. The philosophical schools continued much as before, no more changed by Romans than by the Hellenistic monarchs.

Born at Alexandria c.170, Dionysius Thrax, who taught literature and grammar at Rhodes and Rome, composed the first manual of Greek grammar, which had the longest lifespan next to Euclid's geometry. Showing Stoic ideas, this epitome, though lacking a discussion of syntax, defined and classified parts of speech, accents, syllables, letters, stops, and inflections, preserving the technical breakthroughs of his brilliant predecessors at Rhodes and Alexandria who had developed this science.

Educated by the earliest Roman philologist, Lucius Aelius Stilo, and later at Athens by the Academic Antiochus of Ascalon, after having fought for Pompey, Marcus Terrentius Varro (116-27) won the favor of Caesar, who in 47 named him head of the public library he was building in imitation of the great one at Alexandria. Although his libraries were pillaged in the civil war, he was permitted to study peacefully. He edited almost 500 books and 55 titles of his are catalogued. Only a part of De lingua latina survives and Book 3 of Res rusticae. Of his 40 books of Menippean satire, modelled on those of the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara (f.c.250), 600 fragments and 90 titles survive. His Hebdomades discussed 700 illustrious Greeks and Romans. Treating virtually every branch of learning, this polymath was the greatest Roman scholar and the best Republican student of the Greeks, admired and imitated by most later Romans, first and foremost by his younger contemporary Cicero.

Though Varro's works are mainly lost, those of his disciple Cicero mostly survive. Cicero, the greatest Latin author, perhaps less scholarly than Varro, was a master of style and an important politician in his own right. He covered the whole field of knowledge except for science and medicine, summing up in his skeptic eclecticism Greek theories from all philosophic, aesthetic, and rhetorical schools. No Latin author has preserved
for us more information about the Greeks than Cicero, who in sexual as in other interests was an inconsistent moderate, mixing puritanical injunctions based on the mos maiorum with the most sophisticated pederastic predilections of the Greeks.

Born at Arpinum in 102 of middle class Latin background, unlike the Roman aristocracy who married in their teens, Cicero postponed marriage until age 28 in order to consolidate his career, gain patronage, and obtain a high-placed wife. He studied philosophy under Antiochus of Ascalon at Athens, which he continued under Posidonius and rhetoric under Apollonius at Rhodes, and met the Roman philosopher Rutilius Rufus, a disciple of Panaetius, at Smyrna (79-77). He became primarily a Skeptic in the tradition of the New Academy, but he did not hesitate to intermix Stoic, Platonic, and even Cynic ideas, not always with strict logic. Through his brilliant speeches, modelled upon Isocrates' periodic ornate sentences, he won case after case. His prosecution of the aristocratic Verres in 70, who had looted Greek treasures while proconsul of Sicily, brought him prominence. He accused Verres' son of effeminacy: "And when Verres began to reproach Cicero with effeminate living, 'You ought,' replied he, 'to use this language at home, to your sons;' Verres having a son who had fallen into disgraceful courses" (Plutarch, Cicero, 7.5). Soon fees and his friendship with the banker Atticus enriched him. As consul in 63, he prosecuted Catiline, whom he accused of plotting a sort of communist revolution, and denounced him as sexually loose (Catalinian Orations, 1.4.7, 2.2.4., 2.4.8., 4.6.12.).

Although boasting of kissing the lips of his already full-grown male slave secretary Tiro (Pliny the Younger, VII, 4, 3-6), actually only "defending his practice of writing light erotic verse," Cicero in the last days of the Republic still fulminated against the new immorality, sexual and otherwise. Defending the mos maiorum, he condemned his enemies for their flagrant homosexuality, although his own detractors accused him of loving the handsome Octavius, hounded by his enemies for other supposed homosexual liaisons. Cicero copied the Greeks in denigrating adversaries as pathics (passive sodomites), abusers of their mouths through receiving penises, prostitutes, or effeminate given to philandering or adultery with women or males. Having supported Pompey, Cicero then switched his allegiance to Caesar. His oratorical masterpieces, the denunciations of Antony after Caesar's assassination, modelled upon Demosthenes' Philippics, caused Antony to have him proscribed contrary to the wishes of his fellow triumvir Octavian whom, it was said, Cicero loved, although virtually no one believes that they had sexual relations. As in a number of earlier forensic and political denunciations, he did not hesitate to smear Antony for homosexual acts (Philippics, 2.77, 2.184ff.). His vast correspondence included Cato the Younger, whom he held up as a model of decorum against Caesar's
dissoluteness.

In spite of Cicero's prudishness, at other times he himself seemed to admire Greek pederasty and even feel love for beautiful young men like Octavian and for slaves. He excused Caelio's indiscretions when defending him. Other authors copied him without using offensive language themselves and implying more than they specified. With tongue in cheek, Cicero pontificated that tragedies always deal with sex crimes and comedies depended heavily on double entendres and other sexual jokes. As Lilja points out: "Cicero condemned homosexual relationships between honorable citizens, specifically the passive partners, but he did not mind citizens' private affairs with their own slaves."\(^{21}\)

**ASTROLOGICAL CHARACTEROLOGY**

Alongside the enlightened, rational beliefs of those educated in the tradition of Greek philosophy, flourished a vast body of folk religion and superstition that at times found acceptance even in the highest strata of society.\(^{22}\) Even after imbibing Greek culture, the Romans regularly consulted augurs before undertaking any important affair of state. Only if the omens were favorable could they proceed.\(^{23}\) Syncretism was a feature of Greek religious life from the earliest times. The native survivals of earlier stages of barbarism and of borrowing from Oriental civilization were powerfully reinforced by the cultural interface with the magical lore of Egypt and Mesopotamia that the conquests of Alexander the Great began. Because ancients never amassed such a body of science and technology as Western Europeans had by the end of the nineteenth century, the "myth of the mystic East" exerted far more appeal in antiquity than in our century. Edward Carpenter argued at the turn of the century that one variant of the homosexual personality is uncommonly gifted with extra-sensory perception and with thaumaturgic powers.\(^{24}\) Even today the occult underworld has more than its share of homosexual practitioners. The Stoic school of philosophy founded by the exclusively boy-loving Zeno of Citium did much to propagate the belief in sympathetic magic and in the role of fate as all-determining in human affairs.\(^{25}\) Ultimately this subculture of superstition and magic was to prove fertile ground for the spread of syncretistic tendencies influenced by Judaism and then the victorious march of Christianity, with tragic consequences for the paiderasteia of the Hellenes.

Astrology, the belief that heavenly bodies influence events on earth, which originated in Mesopotamia and came to Greece late, did not reach its full development until late Hellenistic times in Egypt. Although earlier texts are mainly lost, works from the Roman period seem faithfully to reflect the thinking of late Ptolemaic Alexandria, center of both astronomy and astrology.
Astrology influenced philosophers and such statesmen as the Roman writers Sulla and Caesar, as well as Hellenistic ones. The common folk were even more devoted to it as they stood in awe of magic and of dream interpretation. The texts pertaining to these disciplines reflect the ideas of the Greco-Roman world on sexuality and sexual orientation.

Cuneiform texts found in Ashurbanipal's library in Nineveh, assembled from still older sources that must have existed about 1000 B.C., arranged 1000 omens in 70 tables. The planets were associated with particular divinities, with Ishtar, the goddess of love and the moon, Marduk, the savior god, Ninurta, the god of warfare and hunting, Nebo, the god of learning and wisdom, and Nergal, the god of pestilence and death, whom the Greeks adopted as Aphrodite, Zeus, Kronos, Hermes, and Ares, the Romans as Venus, Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Mars, a scheme that survives in the names of the days of the week. These omens, as well as learned accounts of celestial signs, envisage general rather than specific events: the welfare of the country, peace, order, and fertility. The only individuals these heavenly portents implicate are the king and members of his family, embodying as they did the states of Assyrians and Babylonians. It was thanks to the development of systematic mathematical theory that the personal horoscope emerged as a rather late innovation, the oldest extant dating from 409 B.C. From the older omen of general import evolved a pseudo-science that held that the positions of the planets upon the day of his birth determine the destiny of a particular individual. While late Babylonian and early Greek astronomy and astrology overlapped, the profound individualization of the discipline was the Greek contribution to astrological lore.

Foreign to the early stages of Greek civilization, astrology appeared first only in the fifth century in some passages in medical authors. Eudoxus of Cnidus (ca. 391-338 B.C.) traveled to the court of Nectanebo of Egypt, where he spent one and a half years familiarizing himself with Babylonian astrology; although he approved of its meteorological forecasts, he rejected the calculation of birth horoscopes ( ). Zeno of Citium (333/32-262 B.C.), who was probably of Phoenician origin, honored the divine force of nature at work in the stars and taught the notion of the "sympathy" of the universe and of "fate" (heimarmene). He and all his successors, with the sole exception of Panaetius, admitted the prophetic element in astrology. At the beginning of the first century Poseidonius was particularly influential in this regard. One tradition held that Berossus, a priest of Bel from Babylon, founded a school of astrology on the island of Cos, already famed for its medical lore, and so introduced astrology into the Hellenistic world about 280 B.C. In his Babyloniaca he purportedly treated the astronomical and astrological lore of his native city. Quite recently this tradition has been called into question. The astrological lore
has been ascribed to a "pseudo-Berossus" allegedly created by the Greeks themselves as an authoritative counterpart and rival to Eudoxus of Cnidus on the basis of the real figure who wrote an account of his native Babylonia, with the mythical shading into the historical, that served as a source for later Jewish and Christian apologists seeking confirmation of the Biblical accounts of Babylon and its role in sacred history.\(^{28}\)

More than in Greece proper, this "wisdom of the East" flourished in Hellenistic Egypt, which had earlier been under Persian as well as Assyrian rule. In the Ptolemaic period Babylonian-Greek astrology and astronomy, blended with native lore, produced a wealth of literature that has come down in the form not just of manuscripts copied during the Byzantine era, but even of papyri preserved by the Egyptian sands that show the astrologer face to face with his client. One of the important consequences of the publication in 1936 of the *Liber Hermetis Trismegisti* from a Latin manuscript of the year 1431 was the finding that the social order reflected in astrological literature down to the end of the Arabic and Latin Middle Ages remained that of Ptolemaic Egypt; the older texts were mechanically copied and quoted for the subsequent 1500 years.\(^{29}\)

Crucial for the understanding of ancient beliefs in the potency of the sun, moon, and planets is the fact that for the geocentric astronomy of that day the movements of the planets ("wandering stars" in Greek) were utterly mysterious and unpredictable; they could not be reduced to any mathematical schema. What importance astrological forecasts were assumed to have is shown by laws forbidding anyone to draw the Emperor's horoscope, and by one interpretation of the death of Antinous as a self-willed sacrifice to avert Hadrian's own astrologically anticipated demise.

Three astrologers offer particularly interesting material on pederasty and tribadism in the Greco-Roman world: Teucer of Babylon, Claudius Ptolemy of Alexandria, and Firmicus Maternus. The first of these probably lived toward the middle of the first Christian century in the Egyptian city named Babylon. A text of his on the "libidinizing decans" was published in the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*; it contains the expressions *malakos* and *arsenokoites*, "effeminate" and "man-lover", that recur in the condemnatory passage in 1 Corinthians 6:9 which John Boswell has tried without success to denature. The first of these, *malakos* with the variant *malthakos*, is attested as far back as the fifth pre-Christian century in Old Attic comedy, but the second, *arsenokoites* with the variant *arrhenokoites*, appears only here and in a text of Bardesanes (Bar Daisân) of Edessa on astrological climatology.\(^{30}\)

Claudius Ptolemy, the renowned mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, geographer, and theoretician, author of works on
optics and harmonics, lived in Alexandria under the Good Emperors. The astronomical observations upon which the *Megale syntaxis* (Almagest) rests were made between March of 127 and February of 141, while the astrological work entitled Tetrabiblos was composed subsequently. Preserved in 34 Greek manuscripts and in Latin and Arabic translations, this manual of astrology in four books continued to be consulted down to the Renaissance. The Ptolemaic authorship of the Tetrabiblos has been repeatedly challenged, but convincingly proven by Franz Boll in an article of 1894.  

This astrological literature is rich in allusions to sexual characterology, as it propagated the belief that birth signs determined the sexual orientation or *inclinatio* of the subject—not, it is true, simply as "homosexual" or "lesbian", but always in a manner that is unmistakably clear to the reader who grasps the precise meaning of the Greek or Latin terminology. Thus the ancient astrologer specified not just whether the subject of the horoscope would be attracted to his own sex, but what sorts of partners he would seek, what roles he would assume, what acts he would perform, and whether he would engage in such conduct openly and scandalously or furtively and in secret. The definition of the subject's sexual identity was therefore clearer and sharper than the one-dimensional "homosexual" or "lesbian", while on the other hand the pre-Christian society of the ancient Mediterranean world wholly lacked the political nuance of such a term as "gay".  

The ancients were not ignorant of homosexuality as a sexual orientation rather than mere behavior, as some moderns believe. The Church's ignorance on the subject of the determined and unalterable nature of certain homosexual inclinations and drives of various individuals whom it persecuted resulted from a deliberate suppression of the heritage of pagan antiquity, including the erotic aspects of astrological characterology. The interpretations and horoscopes from the early centuries of the Christian era are as sophisticated as the case histories of a Krafft-Ebing in the late nineteenth century, even if they could scarcely anticipate genetics and evolutionary biology. However, recent translators of Ptolemy and other astrologers, while carefully modernizing the technical language of astrology, have either failed to appreciate the subtleties of the sexual terms or anachronistically superimposed upon them the vocabulary of late nineteenth-century forensic psychiatry.  

Claudius Ptolemy, in his Tetrabiblos, composed probably under Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, devoted an entire chapter to the "morbid alteration of the active element of the soul", which he ascribed to the "configurations of the planets". The relationship of the sun and moon to Mars and Venus is crucial for the sexual inclinations of the subject:  

If the luminaries are attended in masculine
signs, males exceed in the natural, females in the unnatural, so as merely to accent the virility and activeness of the soul. But if likewise Mars or Venus as well, either one or both of them, is made masculine, then the males become ridden with craving for natural intercourse..., while the females lust for unnatural unions, invite by eye contact, and are so-called tribades, for they have relations with females and perform male roles. If Venus alone is constituted in a male fashion, they do these things discreetly and not openly; but if Mars is likewise so constituted, without reserve, so that at times they even designate the women with whom they have such relationships as their lawful wives.

But on the other hand, when the luminaries in the aforesaid configuration are unattended in feminine signs, then the females exceed in the natural, the males in the unnatural, so that their souls become soft and effeminate. If Venus too is made feminine, the women become depraved, adulterous, and lustful.... The men, on the other hand, become effeminate and submissive with regard to unnatural unions and women's roles, and are used as pathics, albeit privily and secretly. But if Mars also is constituted in a feminine manner, their shamelessness is overt and undisguised, and they perform the aforenamed acts of either sort, accepting the status of harlots and common prostitutes who submit to everyone's abuse and degrading acts until they are stigmatized with the reproach and insult that accompany such practices. And the rising and morning positions of both Mars and Venus have a reinforcing effect, to make them more virile and notorious, while setting and evening positions make them more feminine and demure. And likewise if Saturn is present, his influence is added to the foregoing in the direction of the licentious and impure and disgraceful, while Jupiter's is in the direction of the decorous, restrained and modest....

Elsewhere Ptolemy contrasts the alliance of Saturn with Venus in "honorable positions" with the "opposite kind", where Saturn
makes them lewd, sexually aggressive, performing ignoble acts, promiscuous and impure in sexual intercourse, seducers of female persons and especially their own kin, yielding, reproachful, depraved, haters of beauty, fault-finding, spreaders of malicious gossip, drunkards, servile, adulterers, bound by no law in sexual relationships, both active and passive, lusting for intercourse with their elders, for infamous and lawless and brutish acts, impious, despisers of the gods, deriders of the mysteries and sacred rites, absolutely faithless, poisoners, scoundrels who will stop at no crime.

Jupiter allied with Venus in "dishonorable positions" makes the subjects

pleasure-loving, fond of soft living, womanish, talented in dancing, feminine in character, spendthrifts, bad for women, erotic, lustful, promiscuous, gossipy, adulterous, fond of adornment, somewhat effeminate, lazy, profligate, fault-finding, passionate, overdressed, female in mind, obsessed with religious rites, panderers, frequenters of mysteries, but faithful and free of malice, gracious, easy to approach, good-natured, and inclined to liberality in misfortune (Ptolemy, Tetrabiblos, IV 13).

This list of character traits perfectly delineates a certain type of feminine-identified homosexual that is certainly familiar enough to the gay subculture of modern America—a further proof that the homosexual personality is stable across centuries and even cultures.

Julius Firmicus Maternus, a Sicilian of senatorial rank, composed in Latin the eight books of the Mathesis about 335-337 A.D. for his friend Lollius Mavortius, the governor of Campania. Using Nechepso, Dorotheus of Sidon, and the Roman astronomer Manilius as his sources, he composed a defense of astrology in the first book, followed by seven that deal with basic concepts and doctrines such as the 12 regions, the heavenly axes, and the horoscopes in the signs of the zodiac in their connection with one or more planets in their diverse aspects. Next he gave predictions relative to children, parents, diseases, marriage, sexual orientation, royal genitures, professions, and violent death.

Maternus' Latin treatise on astrology meticulously preserved the earlier characterological schema:
Mars and Venus in conjunction in a morning rising and in a masculine sign make women viraginous and sterile. In an evening rising in feminine signs, in a man's chart, if Saturn is in any aspect, they make cinaedi serving in temple choirs.... But if Venus is in opposition or square aspect and there is no influence of Jupiter, women with be born with masculine character, but men will become castrates or eunuchs or cinaedi. .... If Venus is not with the moon but is in an evening rising located in the first degree of a feminine sign, aspected to the moon also in the last degrees of a sign, this makes men cinaedi and women prostitutes, both of which hide their practices. But if, with all as we have described, Saturn in a feminine sign is in a square aspect to Venus or the moon, this will make deformed persons, paupers, and cinaedi.

If all are located as we have said, and Mars is found with Saturn, he makes castrates. If Venus is in the last degrees of her sign and in aspect to Saturn and Mars, the cinaedi will be fortunate and be entrusted with temple duties; in a woman's chart they foretell noblewomen implicated in the vices of prostitutes.... Venus and Mars in tropical signs, if they are in opposition or square aspect to each other in feminine signs, make cinaedi, but secret ones. Located as we have said, but without the influence of Jupiter, they make women harlots who prostitute themselves and men overt cinaedi. (Firmicus Maternus, Mathesis, VII 25)

The characterological analysis of the ancients thus turned particularly upon the active-passive dichotomy, but also upon a public-private dichotomy--the degree of reticence in which the subject enveloped his sexual life. Some of the interpretations must have been grounded in the astrologer's everyday observation of homosexual character types in Alexandria, Antioch and other Hellenistic cities. Modern editors and translators have not always correctly interpreted the technical language of astrology, which has its own precise nuances. It is remarkable that words elsewhere found only in astrological literature could surface in the Hellenistic Fachprosa of the New Testament, accepting as it did vulgar terms of the koine scorned by purists and especially by Atticists. This overlap in vocabulary points to the origin of Christianity itself in the syncretizing tendencies of the
Gnostic-occult subculture of the Eastern Mediterranean. However, when astrology revived in the Latin West from the eleventh century onward, the new handbooks were bereft of the references to homosexual inclinations that had figured in the ancient sources. For the ensuing nine centuries Latin Christianity imposed obligatory heterosexuality upon the astrologer's interpretations; even when translators rendered the Greek texts into the vernacular, they simply omitted the passages on homosexual and lesbian character types.

Once Copernican astronomy had abolished the mystery that attended the movements of the planets in the Ptolemaic system, the scientific world began to lose interest in the discipline. The last Western intellectual to take it seriously was Claude de Saumaise (Claudius Salmasius) in the mid-seventeenth century. The Newtonian model of the universe, with its precise determination of mathematical-physical causality, relegated astrology to the status of a "pseudo-science," though Newton himself, dubbed "the last of the magicians," was fascinated by alchemy. It was only toward the end of the nineteenth century that Franz Cumont and Franz Boll began to study and publish this part of the "non-classical" heritage of antiquity. But among the lay public astrology has held its ground, and even in our own time one's birth sign is for many almost a calling card, while newspapers and magazines regularly print astrological columns for their readers.

The fascination with astrology parallels the emotional need for religion. Clients ask astrologers the same questions today as in Alexandria two thousand years ago: "Shall I recover from an illness? Will a business venture succeed? What will be the best time to undertake a journey? Shall I be happy with my new lover? What will be the fates of my children?" The need of the individual human being to relate his own existence, however ephemeral and insignificant, to the forces that govern the cosmos remains unabated; the wish to perceive oneself as part of some universal order of things, to discover a model of the cosmos that is not indifferent to one's fate, but ever watchful and determining, compels belief in a system of ideas decisively rejected by modern science and philosophy.

ART

The value of different styles or genres of art depends to a very great extent on one's taste. Most critics have now rejected
the claims prevalent during the nineteenth century that classical Greek art represented perfection, the acme of human achievement against which all others must be measured. Never since Winckelmann first exalted Greek art in 1764 has it been relegated to such a low status as in today's relativistic world. Primitives of all kinds, including even Archaic Greek works, have been equated to or even elevated above classical Greek art. But Hellenistic art, which Winckelmann knew, usually from Roman copies, better than classical, from which he did not distinguish it (the distinction between Hellenistic and classical only being introduced by in ), was downgraded after the difference was recognized by the purists and has not been rehabilitated as it should be.

During the Hellenistic Age, Greek art, architecture, sculpture, and painting saw the same sorts of technical improvements, experimentation, and striving for novelty that mathematics, science, medicine, and philosophy saw. It also experienced royal and later Roman patronage and expanded over a vast territory many times the size of the Greek world before Alexander. Hundreds of new cities had to have theaters, gymnasiums, temples, and colonnades, replete with statues and paintings. Never before in history had architects and artists been in such demand as in the early Hellenistic Age. Never had so many resources gone into buildings and their decorations. Every year archaeologists excavate far more Hellenistic buildings and statues than they do classical and Archaic, if only because so many more existed and on so grander a scale.

In Greece itself, sculpture became less innovative. Descendants and pupils continued the traditions of Praxiteles at Athens and of Lysippus at Sicyon. Both schools were highly erotic, with the Praxitelean emphasizing female and effeminate male nudes and resisting the extravagance of the Rhodian and Pergamene schools, while the Lysippean held more to masculine male sensuality. Both also emphasized portraiture.

The center of creative art shifted from Athens and all the rest of Greece, Sicily, and Magna Graecia, now increasingly depopulated and impoverished, to Asia. In Egypt, of course, there were few Greek settlements and the grandeur of Egyptian art inhibited the free spread of Greek styles there. Although very few of the Alexandrian and Seleucid foundations in Asia have been excavated--not even Antioch itself--the finds in Asia Minor and Rhodes, which did become the centers of creativity, indicate extraordinary progress in art. Ephesus, one of the richest of the Ionian cities, whose great temple of Artemis, one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, has been fully excavated, revealed a prytaneum, gymnasium, temples, baths, arcaded streets, and a library.
One of the greatest achievements was in city planning, best exemplified in Pergamum. Both the new foundations and extravagant patronage in a much richer and more populous oecumene gave architects unparalleled opportunities. They coordinated the exteriors of buildings to make a whole city a work of art, with the aesthetically complementary structures arranged in a utilitarian as well as graceful manner. It was not only in number and size but in design that Hellenistic cities surpassed classical ones. The Ionian order predominated over the Doric, the preferred style of late Archaic and classical, not only in Ionia, itself now more populous and prosperous than ever before, but wherever Greeks built in Asia and Egypt as well as in new construction at home. The fetish for the Doric, modeled as Vitruvius claimed on the proportions of the male body, as innately superior and entirely Greek to the degeneration of the slenderer Ionic as inferior and under oriental influence is pure cant and should no longer be used to disparage Hellenistic buildings. In fact, there is no reason to deem even the ornate Corinthian order as inferior just because it evolved later, i.e., during the period and was preferred to the older ones by the "tasteless" Romans. Whether it was basically evolved by Romans rather than Greeks, it came into wide use early in the Hellenistic Age. Even the more complicated type with two rows of leaves was exemplified by the mid-fourth century tholos at Epidaurus.

The Attalid dynasty at Pergamum after 263 not only accumulated the second best library (Mark Antony is said to have presented Cleopatra with its 200,000 volumes to compensate for losses due to burning of part of her library's books during Caesar's battles in Alexandria), but created through their patronage a great art collection--the first in history--and commissioned so many works that their capital assumed leadership in Greek art. To commemorate his great victory over the Gauls c.230, Attalus I built a grandiose monument featuring the sculpture of the "Dying Gaul" in bronze, of which we have marble copies, showing heroism and pathos. The ambitious and striking monumental altar for Zeus erected by Eumenes II (197-159) is one of the greatest works of art ever produced. The frieze, dominated by a struggle between nude gods and fierce giants, perhaps reflecting the wild Gauls the Pergamenes had recently defeated, depicts the victory of Greeks over barbarians and stands in relation to Hellenistic art the way the Parthenon friezes to the classical.

An extraordinary feat, equalling or exceeding the Lighthouse in Alexandria, another of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World, was the Colossus of Rhodes, which in hollow bronze towered more than 100 feet over the harbor entrance. Built to celebrate the victory of the Rhodians over the besieging army of Demetrius Poliorcetes in 304, it collapsed during an earthquake in 225. Other colossi also failed to incorporate the more detailed
knowledge of anatomy gained from the dissection and vivisection carried out by physicians in Alexandria that some of the lesser sculptors demonstrated.

The old judgment that Hellenistic art became "effeminate" is as false as it is unclear. If it means that women's figures occurred more frequently and in a more often nude or seductive pose or rendering, that is true. If it means that many young males became less muscular, with larger hips, softer, more effeminate breasts, and more foppish poses, that is also true. On the other hand, attractive male nudes constituted a much smaller proportion of the whole than formerly, but still they dominated sculpture until the Christian triumph.

We have no pederastic vase paintings and far fewer than before, percentagewise, that stress male beauty. Unlike sculpture, Hellenistic vases, of which there are few except from southern Italy, portrayed rococo scenes of heterosexual domesticity. None portray homosexual acts and few are homoerotic. Animals and genre scenes likewise predominated in mosaics, which became very popular during the Hellenistic period.

Portraiture, which had begun in Pericles' time, became far more frequent and much more realistic. There was an interest in the exotic, as evidenced by the depiction of black African heads. Scholars and writers as well as rulers were portrayed. Genre sculptures included warts and other deformities as well as geese and other less than inspiring animals. Sculptors caught action, following Lysippus, and emotion following Scopas, as their classical predecessors had never even dreamed of doing. Realistic flagellation scenes prefigured those of St. Sebastian. Often they did indeed over-stress originality and technique at the expense of balance and simplicity. If many imitated or even reproduced classical models for Hellenistic patrons or new cities before they met the insatiable demand that was soon to come from the Romans, others created a new "baroque" art that deserves to be rehabilitated as European baroque has just been and liberated from the shadow of the classical just as baroque has been from that of the Renaissance.

Painting evolved from the decoration of temples to include that of house walls and for galleries of patrons. As the Roman murals at Pompeii, derived from Hellenistic models, show, technical progress continued. More elaborate groups in better perspective with greater range of colors characterized the art copied in the mosaic of Alexander defeating Darius at Issus. Although almost always subordinate to human figures as in sculpture, in other works landscape took a more prominent role, but to a lesser degree the male nude predominated.

Deep reliefs contrasted light and dark. Racial differences,
strong emotions, and deformities as well as old age and infancy were emphasized. The so-called "Sarcophagus of Alexander," showing his victory at the Granicus, contains partially clothed and nude males in a ruthless struggle emphasizing both motion and emotion more than classical friezes.

Statements such as "Hellenistic art shows fewer representations of male homosexual activity, and focuses instead on tender heterosexual scenes of couples in bed in a private and comfortably furnished setting,"\(^\text{65}\) distort the truth. This was true perhaps of vase paintings and even stelae or to a lesser extent sarcophagi, but hardly of monumental sculpture in which homoeroticism remained pervasive. The female nudes, the Winged Victory of Samothrace, the Aphrodite of Melos and the Aphrodite Anadyomene of Cyrene—the first two often cited as the greatest masterpieces of Hellenistic sculpture—are not representative. Male nudes continued as in Archaic and classical times to dominate Greek sculpture because upper class males continued to frequent gymnasia and symposia and to form pederastic attachments. In general, except for realistic genre scenes and portraits, Hellenistic male sculptures became more effeminate even than fourth century ones with contortions, often having an erotic effect such as reclining nudes with protruding genitals, predominating over the serene and sedate poses of classical statues.

Rivaling the Aphrodites and the Victory of Samothrace is the Apollo Belvedere, modeled upon Leocares's Ganymede, whose rather decorous subject with the eagle courting him from a pedestal is less sensuous than the Apollo with his buttocks coquettishly half exposed, used by Renaissance artists for their Ganymedes. The "Sarcophagus of Alexander" continued the masculine tradition of Phidias and in sculpture as in other genres the Hellenistic is too varied to allow generalizations. The homoerotic Dying Gaul from Pergamum inspired Michelangelo. Statues and pictures of hermaphrodites, especially beautiful sleeping ones gracefully resting half on their sides, adorned private houses, gymnasia, and baths: blooming youths with luxuriant female hips and male genitals. Eros, Dionysus, and Priapus are represented as hermaphrodites. Sometimes hermaphrodites are posed having sex with Pan or with satyrs.\(^\text{66}\)

**DREAM INTERPRETATION**

For the ancients dreams, which have in all ages been objects of divination, constituted a direct influence of divine or demonic powers. Either the dreamer himself or a professional dream interpreter could distinguish true from false dreams. The interpretation had to take account of the person of the dreamer as well as the apparition. Dreams of kings and political leaders
refer to the welfare of the state while those of slaves are
unreliable and have no far-reaching significance. The appparition
itself may have either an allegorical or an obvious, perhaps
literal meaning. Allegorical dreams are in this manner always
ture when correctly understood. In Homer the import of the dreams
is usually self-evident. Only one is allegorical (Odyssey, 19,
535): an eagle slew twenty geese so Odysseus will overcome the
suitors. Herodotus juxtaposed allegorical and realistic dreams.
The allegorical dream became more frequent from the fifth century
onward. Attic tragedians used the dream and its interpretation as
a dramatic device.

Independently of practice and its rules, philosophers sought
to explain the phenomenon of the dream and place dream
interpretation on a theoretical basis. Pythagoreans believed that
demons communicated dreams (Diogenes Laertius 8, 32). When the
soul detaches itself from the body during sleep, its impressions
and experiences possess a higher component of truth. (Cicero, De
divinatione 1, 63) On the other hand, the atomists could not
accept such an explanation; Epicurus was a decided opponent of
dream divination. Adopting the Pythagorean view of the role of
demons in dreams, Plato connected them with the imperative for
purification of the soul (Republic 571c-572b). Agreeing that
demons brought them, Aristotle ascribed dreams to physiological
causes rather than divine influence: blood pressure, digestion,
and the like. (De divinatione 463b 12ff.) Thus dreams indicate
illness. Medical literature was concerned with the interpretation
of dreams primarily from physiological standpoints. The
diagnostic value of dreams emphasized by modern psychotherapy was
already known to the ancients. Stoics ascribed a high content of
truth to dreams, on whose meanings Chrysippus (ca. 277-ca. 204
B.C.) composed a work in two books. Poseidonius assembled a
collection in five books, whose organizing principle was the
method of interpretation. The treatise's theoretical nucleus was
the presentation of the sympathetic relationships. According to
Poseidonius, dream interpretation was possible under three
conditions: 1) participation of the human soul in divine powers on
the basis of sympathetic affinity; 2) by demons of the air; 3) by
direct connection of the gods with the sleeper. (Cicero, De
divinatione 1, 64) Of Stoic origin, and probably from
Poseidonius, is the taxonomy of dreams according to their truth
content. Late Platonism or Neo-Platonism adopted these
interpretations and utilized dream divination for its theurgical
operations.35

Independent of these philosophical theories, professional
dream interpreters created an extensive literature. The only
complete work that has been preserved is the dream book of
Artemidorus of Daldis in Lydia, a renowned dream interpreter and
soothsayer in the second half of the second post-Christian
century. In an Atticizing style he composed an Oneirocritica in
five books; 1-4 treat the theory and practice of dream interpretation, while 5 collects 95 remarkable dreams that came true. He fused material from a great variety of sources; alongside Stoic theories his practice betrays the influence of Babylonian and Egyptian traditions. His Oneirocritica, the sole surviving example of a genre that flourished in antiquity, quotes predecessors including Nicostratus of Ephesus, Panyasis of Halicarnassus, Apollodorus of Telmessus, Phoebus of Antioch, Dionysus of Heliopolis, the naturalist Alexander of Myndus, and Aristander of Telmessus. He also mentions the three books of the treatise of Geminus of Tyre, the five books of Demetrius of Phaleron, the twenty-two books of Artemon of Miletus.

Artemidorus intended his own work for several classes of readers: novices anxious to learn the rudiments of the art, those previously disappointed by erroneous interpretations, and professionals aspiring to increase their expertise. His text reflected at length on a vast accumulation of traditional lore. Reflecting the current modes of appreciating dream experiences and generally accepted attitudes, it offers no prescriptions, moral severity, value judgments on sexual behavior, or new demands in regard to sexual conduct. The philosophical content is methodological, not moralizing. The dream material, the scenes experienced by the dreamer, and the social situations and events which they foretell, belong to the familiar landscape of everyday life.

The dreams themselves are classified in a manner that restricts the work of the dream interpreter to a particular species of phenomena, namely allegorical dreams of ordinary souls which, not being transparent to the dreamer, call for decipherment. A major problem for the interpreter is to decide whether the dream announces a favorable or unfavorable event, whether it is a lucky or unlucky omen. Moral interpretations of sexual acts do surface in practice, but Artemidorus never judges the act itself if it were committed in the real world, only whether it is good or bad, advantageous or unfortunate to have such a dream. The hermeneutic principles therefore apply not to the act but to the actor as he figures in the dream, to the fortune or misfortune that is fated to befall him. This mode of understanding fully corresponds to the principle that for the ancients the act was less significant than the role played by the participants, and above all the active-passive or upper-lower class dichotomy which reflected the social status of the partner.

Apart from numerous scattered observations, Artemidorus devotes four chapters (Oneirocritica, 1, 77-80) to sexual dreams. He organizes his analyses around the distinction between three categories of acts: lawful (kata nomon), unlawful (para nomon), and unnatural (para phisin). None of these terms is clearly
defined, and the opposition between "unlawful" and "unnatural" is not strictly maintained, as some acts figure under both rubrics. However, a certain consistency does emerge from the details of the three sets.

"Lawful" acts encompass a variety that surprises the modern reader: marriage and adultery, frequenting of prostitutes, intercourse with slaves in the household, a servant's masturbations. The "unlawful" category essentially comprises incest, understood in the sense of relations between parents and children. Brother-sister incest is assimilated to that between father and daughter; brother-brother incest is sometimes placed in this category, sometimes classified as "unnatural".

Sexual relations between a father and his son or daughter almost always have an unfavorable meaning. If the child is quite young, the physical injury attendant upon such an action presages illness or death. If the child is older, the dream is still unlucky because it entails impossible or unfortunate happenings. To have intercourse with one's son, to "expend" one's seed in him, is a useless act, a profitless expenditure that presages a considerable loss of money. To be coupled with him when he is grown up, when father and son cannot coexist in the same household without conflict because both want to be the dominant figure, is necessarily an ill omen. In only one instance is such a dream positive: when the father undertakes a trip with his son and therefore has business in common to perform with him, but if the father is assigned the passive role (whether the father or the son is the dreamer), then the meaning is unfavorable: the hierarchical order, the poles of dominance and activity are reversed, and the sexual possession of the father by the son foretells hostility and conflict. Incest with the mother is always conceived as mother-son, never as mother-daughter incest, so that there is no lesbian allusion in this series, but the act is often interpreted as a good omen, a harbinger of success in one's career or in political life.

"Unnatural" acts in Artemidorus fall into two different categories, one involving a position departing from the "natural" one, the other involving the nature of the partner. The dream interpreter takes as his starting point the assumption that nature has assigned a particular form of sexual union to each species and that this is invariable: in human beings the male penetrates the female face to face while lying on top of her. All other positions are inventions of excess and intemperance. Such unnatural acts are harbingers of defective or ruinous social relations (hostility, economic losses). Artemidorus' condemnation of oral-genital relations reflects the violent reprobation commonly voiced in antiquity: loathsome acts whose imagery in a dream can be positive only if it alludes to the professional activity of the dreamer (orator, flute player, or professor of
rhetoric). A waste of semen, such a practice in a dream foretells a useless expenditure, a severance of relations, hostility and even death.

The very nature of the partners creates five possibilities of "unnatural" acts: sexual relations with the gods, with animals, with cadavers, with oneself, or between two women. The fourth category does not mean masturbation, rather self-fellation, a kiss applied to one's own sexual organ, or the swallowing of one's own semen. The meaning of the dream is that one's children will die, or that the dreamer will be bereft of wives or mistresses or be reduced to extreme poverty. Lesbian relations differ from male homosexual ones, which are not placed in this category but allocated to others (mainly the "lawful" one), in that they entail a penetration which is anatomically impossible and can be effected only with a dildo. Such a dream portends useless activity, that the dreamer will be separated from her husband or become a widow. The relationship between the partners may also signify the communication or the knowledge of feminine "secrets".

Artemidorus' analysis of erotic dreams has two salient traits: the dreamer is always present in his own dream and the sexual images are not a pure fantasmagoria that unfolds independent of him. Also, sexual acts and pleasures are only rarely the matters signified or foretold. Not presaging a sexual episode or gratification, the sexual dream typically harbings an event in the social life of the dreamer, assigns him a specific role in family, professional, business or public life. The ambiguity of certain Greek words favored such an interpretation: *soma* designates the "body" but also "wealth" and "property"; *usia* means "substance" and "fortune" but also "semen"; *blabe*, "injury" or "damage", can also signify "reverse of fortune" or "financial loss" and in addition being the sexual victim or passive partner. For a handsome boy to dream of becoming a bridge means that he will become a prostitute, taking the passive role in relations with other males; for a rich man the same dream foretells being the object of contempt and as it were trampled underfoot. "Debt" and its "repayment" overlap semantically with "sexual urge" and its "gratification". Artemidorus' interpretations, like those of the modern psychotherapist, often turn upon analogy and wordplay, or associations formed in myth and literature.

Not only for experts, the *Oneirocritica* was also written to guide men in leading their lives in Greco-Roman society: heads of households, businessmen, professionals, participants in the political life of the polis. The characters in the dreams are ill-defined, they have no physical traits, only a social profile: young or old, rich or poor, bringing gifts or demanding presents, superiors or inferiors, members of one's own household or outsiders, freemen, married women, slaves, or professional prostitutes. The sexual act is defined by simple penetration,
with no prolonged lovemaking, only minor variants of position and above all the active-passive dichotomy. Hence the relationship is always one of dominance and submission, of superiority and inferiority that are immediately translated into the broader realm of social relations. The sexual act becomes an exercise in profit and loss: profit the gain in pleasure, loss the expenditure of semen. Schematic and colorless as these parallels seem to the modern reader, they correspond perfectly to the "grid" which the ancient mind superimposed upon the manifold variety of sexual partners and modes of gratification.

The male, and the married male in particular, is the key figure in this analysis. Even if marriage is the best possible setting for sexual pleasures, the married man may also have his mistress, dispose of the persons of his slaves of both sexes, and frequent prostitutes. Sexual relations between males are taken as a matter of course, with due regard for the age and status of the partners. Usurpation by a woman of the male role is in this androcentric scheme qualified as particularly "unnatural". The dream interpretation thus faithfully reflects the experience of aphrodisia, sexual pleasure, as it was judged by potential readers of the manual in antiquity.  

Seeing no essential differences between Hellenistic and Roman imperial philosophy and medicine, Foucault described each as more uniform than diverse in theory. Likewise, he conveniently assumed that Artemidorus, the only one whose works have survived in toto, was typical of the other eleven or twelve other known analyzers of dreams and that this popular genre was more illustrative of common practices and beliefs than the works of philosophers and physicians to whom he devoted most of The Care of the Self. Artemidorus, who saw allegorical connotations or prognostications in sexual dreams, thought that the dreamer always appeared in his own dreams. Whether the dream was favorable or not depended on the age, rank, wealth, propinquity, sexual role (active or passive), and other characteristics of a partner of the same (or opposite) sex as it did in the theories of some of his predecessors. Artemidorus did not, however, recommend restraint.

"In his work on dreams, Artemidorus distinguished 'natural' and 'unnatural' sex, and although he classed lesbianism as unnatural, male homosexuality, he assumed, was not." 

**SEXUAL MAGIC**

Magic sprang from the same fundamental situation as religion and astrology. Human beings sought favor or aid from superior, supernatural powers to avert their hostility or baleful action. Such superior forces exert a reciprocal influence on each other by virtue of their common orientation toward the numinous. The believer in magic does not distinguish the miracle effected by
divine power from that produced by the thaumaturge.

The term derives from the name of the Persian magi, variously understood as priests, theologians, dream interpreters or astrologers. The Iranian lore, especially demonology, that reached Greece found a reception there, particularly in the later period, almost as warm as in Hellenistic metropolises in Asia and Egypt. All apotropaic acts, those warding off evil, are primarily magical, but magic may also serve to obtain positive benefits and advantages. It embraces the whole existence of man and his environment (plants and animals). The principal areas of application are love charms, weather charms, conjuring, and philosophically inspired theurgy.

The doctrine of the sympathy of the cosmos taught by the Stoic and later the Neo-Platonic philosophers offered a network of possibilities for communication. Just as injury to one part of the body involves the entire body in sympathy, all parts of the nature surrounding man stand in correlation. Plotinus, who combatted magical practices, but at the same time based his doctrine of emanations on the sympathy theory of Poseidonius, who conceived the universe as a single, living whole (hen zoon), outlines this primary conception; magic he conceived as a depraved imitation of nature. True magic rests upon affinity and antipathy in nature. All processes in the cosmos occur either as sympathy or as resistance. The task of the magician is to find the magical ingredients that generate such sympathy or resistance. To his theory of sacrifice Iamblichus transferred this notion: sympathy and antipathy are for him a universal principle. The chain doctrine of Proclus links the cosmos with sympathetic forces; divine power reaches even into the dregs of matter. For Hellenistic magical practice the so-called physica literature assembles sympathetic means which as organic or inorganic substances stand in relation to supernatural beings. By analogy with these substances of natural origin the magical name is also designated as onoma physicon. Medical sympathetic drugs are called physicum, and precious stones and amulets are physica remedia. The Egyptian god Thoth, identified with the Greek Hermes, was reputed the inventor of the doctrine of sympathy and antipathy, as were also Zoroaster and Ostanes, since Egypt and Babylonia were originally the centers of the magic arts.

Indo-Europeans were familiar with magical practices and also with shamanism. The Homeric poems suppress the magical element, albeit the Iliad and the Odyssey differ in this respect. Homer mentions neither divine compulsion nor amulets; the sacred power of the king is not enveloped in taboos and finds no expression in ritual. In the Odyssey traces of older magical beliefs may still be discerned: the sirens' song is one episode; with such incantation the sons of Autolycus heal Odysseus' wound. Hermes carries the golden magic wand that has apotropaic effect but can
also procure wealth. Athena and Circe use transformation charms. The putting out of the Cyclops' eye has been ascribed to an apotropaic charm against the evil eye. These remnants of folk belief in magic do not further reach the surface, so that Zeus in contrast with Osiris is never associated with magic. Another example of the spread of magical beliefs is the hymn to Hecate, who according to Pausanias must have had an important cult center in Aegina (Hesiod, Theogony 411-452). Attic tragedians knew magic as a literary motif. Without positively affirming or promoting them, Aeschylus mentions necromancy, healing, and prophecy, but not magic. Attic comedy pokes fun at magical beliefs, even if it alludes to love charms. Plato sharply condemned magic as degrading man to the level of an animal. Magic was officially forbidden in fourth-century Athens and punishable by death. Hellenistic literature on the other hand makes magic a theme that influences public opinion. Apollonius of Rhodes is a treasure trove of magical practices. To this period belongs the flourishing physical literature, compendia of sympathetic minerals, plants, and animals. Large collections were made by Bolus of Mendes in the Egyptian Delta (third pre-Christian century); this material, ascribed to Democritus or to Persian sources, was further exploited by Pliny in his Natural History and so transmitted to the Latin West in the Middle Ages.

The Roman Law of the Twelve Tables punished black magic as practiced in rural areas by death. Latin literature of the classical and post-classical periods made extensive use of magical themes, combining Hellenistic literary models with the practice of the Roman demimonde. Horace, Propertius, and Tibullus all have magical elements ranging from love charms to black magic. Ovid's Metamorphoses have a direct link with the belief in the possibility of magical transformation. The epic and post-classical tragedy make magic and necromancy part of their repertoire. Seneca's tragedies with their scenes of the supernatural show a world diametrically opposed to the Stoic logos, but correspond to the taste of their time. Lucretius and Cicero on the other hand condemned magic from both philosophical and conservative political standpoints. The ruling elite, as exemplified by Maecenas, Augustus's minister of culture, firmly opposed any innovations in belief and religious practice. (Cassius Dio, 52, 36, 3) After Tiberius, who like Augustus opposed Egyptian and Jewish religiosity, Roman orthodoxy gradually yielded. Egyptian and Persian magic, often mediated through Hellenistic thought and practice, gained in influence, Pliny the Elder utilized the physical literature for his scientific writings, and later Apuleius derived material from the Greek magical tradition.

The homoerotic elements in the magical literature are largely confined to love charms, the purpose of which was to gain the affection of one's love object by magical means. Since ancient
society did not have the concept of "homosexual", the formulae preserved in the magical papyri and other sources tend to be open-ended: the object could be either a woman or a desired boy. In the Lithica there are some curious passages on stones with the power to turn a man into a malakos, hence the passive-effeminate submitting to the practitioner of the charm. In one of the papyri from Roman Egypt edited by Preisendanz there are two passages with an explicitly Lesbian content.41

PAGAN GODS AND GODDESSES OF LOVE

Despite the religious skepticism of the upper classes under the impact of Greek philosophy, the masses adhered to traditional pagan cults well into the Imperial age. The gods and goddesses were involved in life's basic patterns, in the rites of passage: birth, marriage, and death. Various pollutions that specific rites could dispel marked changes of status. Ritual observance restored mortals to a state fit for keeping company with divinities. Purification rites continued, wherever people were born, had sexual unions, or died. Owners of property aspired to be remembered by ceremonies, often performed at their tomb or grave, for which they left endowments. Mindful that their own families were likely to die out, they looked to these more enduring monuments and associations created to perform the ceremonies. Private and household cults flourished and even proliferated in the Hellenistic period. Houses and gardens contained many small shrines which were dedicated not merely to the Roman forces of hearth and store but to the personal gods of the Greek East, Isis, Serapis, and many others.

Pagan cults had their own rules of behavior, specifying prohibitions, such as temporary abstinence from drink, sexual activity, and other sources of pollution. Sometimes the worshipper had to avoid certain foods. Some ceremonies excluded certain types of people. The rules were obviously meant to protect the shrine and the ritual acts from the defiling influence of "impurity".

Because citizenship defined a civic community of belonging and participation, each city had its own calendar of festivals, of which the Athenian is the best known. Many of the ceremonies evoked the concerns and relationships of citizens and families. Certain festivals were the business of women only, and they evidently were concerned with gender roles and took contrasting forms to that end. Others were means of promoting fertility or of honoring the dead. Children and marriage, the continuity of the family, clan, and city, the bounty of the vintage and the harvest--these were the collective values that cultic rites evoked. Their sequence in the calendar projected an image of stable, enduring order, maintained across seasons, decades and
generations. The rites, even if modified in the course of time, took on a new meaning with age.\textsuperscript{42}

Although of growing importance in Hellenistic times, the so-called mystery religions became stronger in the Imperial period. Myth, expressed in artistic imagery, was probably understood as a religious allegory. Such cults combined myths and ceremonies kept strictly hidden from the uninitiated. The mystery's rituals were a preliminary to consulting an oracle, a part of the cult of Attis or Dionysus, or even an element of king or emperor worship. They did not necessarily pertain to the initiate's own future, or even the fate of his soul. More than Christianity was ever to do, these mystery cults brought their followers together by virtue of mastering a secret body of doctrine, a revelation which some god such as Thoth-Hermes supposedly bequeathed to them.

The masses retained their belief in the efficacy of pagan deities. In the middle of the second Christian century, Pausanias heard stories from believers of divine epiphanies explaining the origin of the cities, cults, and statues that he encountered in his travels. The tales of divine punishment and self-manifestation reflected two extremes: fear of the jealousy and anger of the immortals and an intimacy displayed in the particular favors bestowed by the gods upon noble and pious heroes who had suffered or died with honor. Thus, local legends reinforced "the wisdom of self-restraint and vigilant worship on the part of the mortal inhabitants." Communities were constantly reminded of the potential anger and favor of the gods by these sanctuaries and monuments that dotted rural areas and often dominated cities. Pausanias did discredit the most fanciful stories he heard and rationalized many more, but what he heard or saw on his itinerary strengthened his instinct to accept that a substantial truthful basis underlay many of the myths. At many sites, cults traced their origins to the appearance there by a god or hero or simply from hearing his voice, as became the convention of Attic dramas, as Sophocles demonstrated on the stage in his Ajax. En route to Delphi, Pindar met the divinity. Later writers credited him with several meetings of his with deities or their apparitions, after which he supposedly founded cults in their honor, as any believer would. This living and impassioned religiosity encouraged Hellenes to write inspired, exquisite religious verses.\textsuperscript{43}

It is not true, as some claim, that Aphrodite, the Greek goddess of female beauty and of love, was the goddess only of heterosexual love and Eros the god exclusively of homosexual love. But usually Eros, presiding as he did in gymnasia, as much in the old Hellenic foundations as in the new Hellenistic ones, did favor erastai and eromenoi in spite of the fact that prayers were sometimes offered to him at weddings, and Aphrodite over heterosexual marriage in Hellenistic as in earlier times. In
fact, Eros became younger, often infantile, and more effeminate in Hellenistic times and is often depicted as hermaphroditic, thus encouraging affection for effeminates and even pedophilia. For example, Meleager composed to Eros a touching prayer concerning his love which was still passionate in middle age. Theocritus has Eros sharpening on a whetstone his unerring arrows. Athenaeus's thirteenth book, treating exclusively amorous affairs and scattered remarks in his other books, tells us much about Eros in Hellenistic as in earlier times. Plutarch has Eros inspire the lover to "go through fire, water, and raging storm" (Lovers, 670d). At Thespiae, at Eros's festivals, prizes were given for the best songs on the love of boys. In the Anacreontea the writer confesses that Eros has crushed him with as potent a blow as a smith wielding his hammer. Meleager has Eros, representing love of boys, defeat Cypris, i.e. Aphrodite as the goddess of heterosexual love, concluding his epigram, "The bold brat wins" (see above). There may have been more statues and festivals of Eros than of Aphrodite.

Indo-European and Hellenic, Aegean and Anatolian, Semitic and Mesopotamian elements fused into the single figure of Aphrodite. The very name Aphr-odite "walking on the foam" probably reflects the transformation by folk etymology of an earlier, exotic designation. Homer's "golden" Aphrodite, the daughter of Zeus and Dione, an old Indo-European sky goddess, who in the epic is already in an advanced stage of disappearance, is a "lover of smiles", the mistress of the Graces, tender and unwarlike. Charm, beauty, and seductiveness pervade her epiphanies and actions. The Mediterranean islands on the periphery of the Orient and the mountainous and coastal regions of Asia Minor were centers of her cult. The themes of her marital union with Hephaestus and her extramarital one with Ares certainly do not derive from the Greek need for a contrast between the beautiful and the ugly, between the graceful and the strong. On the other hand, an Aphrodite Areia was the object of a Mediterranean warrior cult associated with the Thraco-Phrygian Amazon ruler Ares, and the connection of a Microasiatic goddess of mountains and caves with dwarflike smith-demons as parhedroi, from whose circle the lame artist Hephaestus was supposed to derive, form the quite obscure background of the classical figure. Cyprus or Cythera is the scene of the myth of the birth of Aphrodite Anadyomene, while Trojan Ida is the setting of her festive procession as "mistress of the beasts" to be wedded to the Phrygian shepherd Anchises.

These data reinforce and expand the mythical accounts, and confirm the Semitic component of her image that the Greeks themselves perceived, which shaped the character of the Cypriot cult center at Palaepaphus. The consort relationship of Aphrodite (w)anassa "mistress" with the hypostatized "Lord" (Adonis < Semitic adon) under various names such as Pygmalion, Ao, Gingras, Kiris, Gauas forms a direct parallel to the syzygy of the Syro-
Phoenician Baalat-Ishtar of Byblos and Aphaca with Tammuz-Adonis. The institution of a sacral kingship going back to the Adonis double Kinyras, which included ritual community of table and grave with the goddess, and the cult of "high places" on the mountain peaks of Dali, Paphus and Cape Pedalion, reinforce the ties with Asia Minor, but rest upon an earlier Minoan-Mycenean foundation. The purely Oriental aspect of her cult is the sacred prostitution reflected in the legend of the daughters of Kinyras, and practiced by the goddess's hierodules, apart from Cyprus, above all at Corinth, where the cult of Aphrodite Urania had arrived from Ascalon on the Palestinian coast through Cythera. This phenomenon parallels the role of the gedeshim and gedeshoth in the Ishtar-Tammuz cult in Canaan during the period of the Kings, against which the prophets and religious reformers of Ancient Israel inveighed so mightily. Another cult center was the Sicilian Eryx, where the Punic Tanit Caelestis had superseded an older Mediterranean mother goddess. The Oriental Aphrodite of the hetairai, the "goddess with the sandal", could only with some effort and rather sporadically be transformed into a marriage goddess on the Greek model.

Related feminine divinities of the Aegean isles and Anatolia could easily be assimilated to the figure of Aphrodite. Thus the Carian Aphrodite of Ninoe-Aphrodisias is the outcome of the blending of Semitic and Hurrian concepts against a "Pelasgian" background. Aphrodite is moreover the successor of a great pre-Hellenic divinity, who as mistress of the doves ruled the sky over the breadth of the sea and conferred life upon plants and animals, and who as "princess of the labyrinth" and "dying goddess" was closely akin with chthonic powers. The heritage of this omnipotence explains the hermaphroditic Aphrodite-Aphroditos and her birth without progenitors from the foam of the sea, a mythic expression of her primordial association with a creation epic and with fate as the "eldest of the Moirai". The Cretan Epimenides expressed a conception that in the Orphic system led to the splitting of the original figure into a first and second Aphrodite, one the daughter of Uranos, one the offspring of Zeus ( ). Plato later wrote of the two Aphrodites, one the daughter of Dione, who presided over the "vulgar" eros, the other Aphrodite Urania, the goddess of the heavenly eros which for the philosopher corresponded to man-boy love. Greek religion thus placed love under the aegis of Aphrodite, who gave her blessing to heterosexual and homosexual alike.46

The class character of ancient Greek and Roman society effectively kept the enlightened ideas of the Hellenic philosophers restricted to a comparatively small circle of individuals, never exceeding 10%, who had the wealth and leisure to obtain a higher education. The illiterate masses remained sunk in a world of superstitious beliefs and of credulity in the pagan gods and the efficacy of their cults. If change did occur,
it was in the direction of a more syncretistic type of occultism, well exemplified by the reception of Babylonian astrology and by incantation formulae where Oriental elements are clearly discernable, such as the name IAO (the Jewish pronunciation of the tetragrammaton YHWH as yaho), which occurs hundreds of times in Greek and Coptic magical papyri from Egypt. This "myth of the mystic East" was ultimately to further the acceptance of Christianity, which combined the philosophical essence of Hellenistic Judaism with a Gnostic cosmology, a Biblical pseudo-history, and a far-reaching missionary agenda aimed at overthrowing the whole of Greco-Roman paganism and replacing it with a monotheistic cult. Christianity has always operated with the irrational and magical postulates of the folk religion of antiquity, reinforced by the dualistic and sex-negative ideology of Gnosticism, as opposed to the rationalistic and mechanistic assumptions of the enlightened thinkers of Hellas and Rome and, of course, of modern physics and biology. In contrast to earlier syntheses of Hellenic and Oriental elements, this new religion also propagated the wholly negative evaluation of homosexuality which Biblical Judaism shared with Zoroastrianism, and was ultimately to make homosexual activity the object of a delusional system tenaciously held by Western civilization--a set of irrational beliefs and prejudices against which the gay rights movement is struggling to this day.