Roman annexations ended the independence of Hellenistic states, worn down by internecine wars and divided by implacable hatreds, but hardly changed the life-styles or sexual practices of Greek speakers who were left in charge of their poleis. Romans seized Macedonia in 147, to which they appended Greece in 146, dubbing it the province of Achaea, under the loose supervision of the Macedonian proconsul. In that same year they brutally sacked Carthage and Corinth, killing the adult males and selling the survivors off into slavery. In 133 the unmarried, childless eccentric Attalus III of Pergamum (138-133) willed his kingdom, which they named the province of Asia, to the Romans, saying that he did this to spare his subjects a brutal occupation, but cynics called him a misanthrope who wished his people to suffer the burdens and injustices of Roman rule. Lucullus defeated the semi-Hellenized Mithridates VI of Pontus (120-63), who had slaughtered 80,000 Italian merchants in Roman Asia and led a crusade to free Greece from the Roman yoke, which many Greeks including the Athenians joined enthusiastically. Sulla, who had
-driven Mithridates into exile, raped Greece and Macedonia as well as the Ionian cities to raise money for his double war against Mithridates and the Marians, who had taken over Italy in his absence and proscribed his friends and allies. Pompey, who had defeated the Cilician pirates, rampant since the decline of Rhodian power after the Romans set up the free market on Delos in 167, in an astonishing three months in 67 and resettled the survivors as colonists, annexed Mithridates’ kingdom as well as Syria and Palestine, the last remnants of the Seleucid Empire, in 63. Only the charms that Cleopatra VII (c.52-30) worked on Caesar and Mark Antony kept Egypt formally independent until Octavian occupied it after her suicide in 30. Cleopatra attempted to rule Rome by seducing first Caesar as his mistress and then Antony, whom she married, although the assertion that "Caesar invited her to Rome, where she lived as his mistress for the two years until his assassination" is highly questionable.²

Although Rome had become mistress of the Mediterranean by defeating Hannibal (202), Philip V of Macedonia (197), and Antiochus III of Syria (190), in rapid succession, she had done so with the alliance and invaluable support, often heroic, of certain of their Hellenistic rivals, including Pergamum and Rhodes and, more passively, Egypt, which had been in full decline since 200. In all her eastern campaigns, Rome depended heavily on her Hellenistic allies, usually weak states more hostile to each other than to Rome. In the end she betrayed friends and annexed them
piecemeal. The Hellenistic states no more stood together against Rome than the Greek poleis had against Macedonia. But divided and betrayed as they were, the Hellenistic states put up a valiant resistance which continued in Macedonia until the defeat in 168 of Perseus and even resumed by the pretender Andricus twenty years later, extreme examples of heroic bravery against great odds. These were not "effeminate" Greeks that the Romans labored so hard to conquer. Some, especially rulers after the Seleucid Antiochus IV (175-163), the oppressor of the Jews who is often depicted as mad or even as the Antichrist, do indeed deserve that description.

Ptolemy VII (145-144), who kept a harem of boys, was a literary dilettante who erected a temple to Homer and composed an Adonis in imitation of Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse. Like Antiochus IV, he violated the principle of moderation, a hallmark of classical Hellenism:

The Stoic Poseidonius, at least, who travelled with Scipio Africanus when he was invited to Alexandria, and saw Ptolemy, writes in the seventh book of his Histories: "Through indulgence in luxury his body had become utterly corrupted with fat and with a belly of such size that it would have been hard to measure it with one's arms; to cover it he wore a tunic which reached to his
feet and which had sleeves reaching to his wrists; but he never went abroad on foot except on Scipio's account" (Athenaeus, XII, 549).

Ptolemy XI (80-51), known as Auletes, the Fluteplayer, "in the tradition was a vicious dilettante of Nero's type, who by servility towards Rome ruled till 51, after losing Cyprus in 58."³ Two of his children, Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XII, reigned jointly (51-47) until her younger brother drowned in the Nile attacking Caesar.

The beginning of Roman rule in Greece and Macedonia had little, if any, more effect on most people than had the establishment of Macedonian rule. Long allied with and ruling Greeks in Italy, the Romans, who were tolerant if not already phil-Hellene, adopted local taxes and administrative methods. Like the Macedonians, they allowed poleis considerable autonomy and permitted the upper classes throughout the Middle East, mostly Greek-speaking, to rule, favoring stable, collaborative oligarchies over democracies which had resisted and rebelled more often. They did not abolish or undermine symposia, gymnasia, schools and academies, or religious cults. In fact, they imitated and imported them to Rome, with as many Greek works of art as they could obtain by love, money, or theft.

After the Roman conquest, as before under Hellenistic rule the Greeks continued their life styles, including late marriage
and pederasty, at least for the upper class, probably even less changed by Roman influence than the Romans were by theirs. Though dispersed, most Jews except a Hellenized upper class managed to preserve their sexual morality, polygamy, marriage ages of 18 for boys and 15 for girls, and other traditions throughout Hellenistic and Imperial times. Circumcised Copts, the largest unintegrated majority, resurged in the fourth century not only as Arian heretics but as Christian heroes such as Sts. Anthony and Pachomius. Syriac culture also resisted, providing Aramaic-speaking heretics and saints before and after Constantine. Likewise, no matter who has occupied their coasts, the Berbers have spoken their Nilotic or Hamitic language and preserved their polygamy and nomadism as they do today, perhaps even practicing infant sacrifices until prohibited by Tiberius, with wild nights of sexual abandon, originally copied from Carthage, until the coming of Islam or even beyond ( ) which though influencing them more than any other conqueror, was unable to destroy their language or culture.4 Terrain and climate encouraged Basques and Armenians to preserve their marital and sexual habits along with their ethnic identity. Greeks and Hellenized Orientals, who came to constitute much of the mob in Rome as slaves, freedmen, or even freemen, continued pederasty. Some of the rootless Romans, proletarians torn from farm, family, and community mingling with these exotic people, doubtless adopted their sexual and other habits. From the fringes of Wales and Cornwall, where Druids
still practised and the Bagaudae rebels spoke Celtic in the third and fourth centuries, to Petrarcan and Nabataean Arabia, extraordinary ethnic, religious, and sexual diversity lasted until Christians and Muslims fanatically exterminated non-conformists.

Prolonged overseas campaigns changed Roman society. The annexation of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica after the First Punic War (264-241) great wealth, prolonged absences, numerous slaves, and increasing exposure to and contact with cosmopolitan Greeks and Orientals made upper-class Romans sophisticated. Greek professionals, of whom Livius Andronicus, brought as a slave to Rome in 272 after the conquest of Tarentum, was the forerunner, came in great numbers after the annexation of Macedonia and Greece in 147 and 146 to teach advanced classes, lecturing in public for money on rhetoric, oratory, philosophy, and ethics. Well-to-do fathers now assigned educated Greek slaves to prepare their young sons at home so they could audit the public lectures as they grew older. Carthaginians, who had a Sacred Band of lovers and, as worshippers of Baal, may even have practiced ritualized homosexuality, and even the backward Spanish and Gallic tribes that they annexed, who like other Celts probably practiced homosexuality uninhibitedly, helped to undermine the mos maiorum.

Farmers returned from the campaigns with changed outlooks and habits, caused as much by being away from home and family as by foreign influences and military life. Rarely having remained
chaste during such long absences, upon returning many abandoned farms and even families to migrate to the city. Those farmers, however, and inhabitants of small towns, whether in the Latinized western provinces or in Italy itself, uncontaminated by great wealth or foreign immigrants, continued to observe the old _mos maiorum_ as proven by new men from Cicero through Vespasian to Aurelian. Simultaneously, an influx of unassimilated immigrants from various provinces and freed slaves of foreign origin changed the ethnic makeup of the city. Rome began to rival Alexandria as the largest Greek city. By 197 Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal, declared in indignation when the mob turned against him that the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber.

Although the wars of conquest and subsequent sacks were devastating—in 167 the Romans enslaved 150,000 Epirotes—they were brief and order was soon restored. Perhaps more devastating to the Hellenistic areas were the Roman civil wars, a great part of which were fought in the East, which broke out in 88 and continued until 30. There were thus two periods of disruption: the conquest and the civil wars. Athens, for example, benefitted enormously when she was assigned the free port of Delos in 167 but suffered severely when she tried to reassert her freedom by the sack which Sulla ordered in 88. Corinth, destroyed by Lucius Mummius in 146, had to wait until Caesar refounded her a century later. Although refounded, Thebes never regained her ancient grandeur and Sparta became merely a tourist attraction. The
Aetolian League, which had resisted Rome, collapsed with Perseus in 167, but the Achaean League, which supported her "too reluctantly" was disbanded.

In the long run the Pax Romana brought increased prosperity to the East and Hellenistic institutions were in fact rejuvenated and prolonged because of Roman rule. In fact, elements of the Roman upper class admired and imitated Hellenic and Hellenistic ideas and institutions, including pederasty, so that Hellenistic civilization won new converts in the West as well as supplied, often through slavery, innumerable people to Rome and other western cities where they continued to speak Greek and lived according to Greek habits. Thus pederasty along with the Greek language became more widespread as a result of the Roman conquest.

Although in many ways a period of decline, the Late Hellenistic Age, for which our sources are slimmer than they are for the several previous centuries, has as its greatest glory the winning over to Greek ideals and customs of the Roman upper classes. Although the process had begun in the Early Republic (509-264), by the end of which Romans had annexed all the Greek colonies in Italy, in the Middle Republic (264-133) it accelerated dramatically with the annexation of Sicily and then of Macedonia. In the Late Republic (133-30), as Romans annexed the weak Hellenistic states, almost all the upper class Hellenized. Many praised and practiced pederasty. Thus as Rome annexed the East, Hellenism conquered its conquerors: "Greece, though conquered,
conquered the barbarous victor, and brought the arts to rustic Latium” (Horace, *Epist.*, II, 1, 156).

Roman aristocratic pederasts, however, seem to have had no interest in educating or molding their beloveds who were usually slaves. Instruction not provided by the father was by slaves or Greek professionals, not erastai. Most boys and, by the late Republic or as Soranus said under the Empire, a substantial number of upper class girls, attended primary (6-12), middle (12-15), and high school (15-17). Educated Romans perused the Greek canon of texts and their Latin counterparts Vergil, Sallust, Plautus, and Cicero as introductory works. Then they went on in rhetoric to the Attic orators and philosophers, concentrating on law, the only subject besides engineering in which they excelled the Greeks, neither of which disciplines advance by inspiration, innovation, or speculation so much as by patiently accumulated erudition and careful attention to the works of respected forebears. Most boys admired their own stalwart heterosexual ancestors more than the mythological homosexual heroes of the Greeks even as ever more young aristocrats became bilingual.

**Hellenization**

Although Greek-style athletics began in Rome in 186, gymnasia with nude wrestling with or in front of elders were not imported until (Livy, ); nor did adult citizens instruct nude young noblemen one-to-one. Cases of homosexuality
during the Middle and Late Republic usually involved Greek-speaking regions, such as the area around Naples where many rich Romans had houses, or individuals otherwise influenced by Greeks.

The voluptuous Sulla even in his old age loved Greek men in their twenties or even older (Plutarch, Sulla, 2.6, 36.2). Cicero suspected C. Aurelius Cotta of pederastic leanings, merely because he had visited Greece so long and watched the ephebes exercise (de natura deorum, 79). There are many other examples. An anecdote from Persius (34-62) to which Quintilian lent support (4.33 ff.) c. 62 A.D., confirmed that in the Empire, as in the Republic, rustics criticized the homosexuality of the Hellenizing elites. The moralistic Sallust (86-35) attacked the luxury, greed, and ambition of the upper classes:

. . . the passion which arose for lewdness, gluttony, and the other attendants of luxury . . . men played the women, women offered their chastity for sale; and to gratify their palates they scoured land and sea; they slept before they needed sleep; they did not await the coming of hunger or thirst, of cold or of weariness, but all these things their self-indulgence anticipated. Such were the vices that incited the young
men to crime, as soon as they had run through their property (13.3-13.5).

More and more, fashionable, often foppish young nobles rejected the *mos maiorum* to practice homosexuality openly, the vocabulary for which contained many Greek loan words; to "laconize" meant anal copulation; to "Phoenicize" meant practice fellatio. The fact that some of them eschewed matrimony particularly after the demise of the Republic deemphasized the political import of aristocratic marriages, is no proof of exclusive homosexuality, for some just wanted to avoid expenses and duties. Bemoaning the large number who did not marry, in spite of Augustus's penalties on the celibate, Tacitus remarked that men and women gained by remaining childless. "To judge from literary evidence and the implications of Augustus' marriage laws celibacy was common, perhaps from the second century, among the upper class." Almost all, however, even in the early Empire, continued to perceive marriage as necessary for perpetuating family and ruling class and supplying the army with native officers. The idea that the model family of the Early Republic totally disintegrated in sexual license by the time of Christ can no longer be sustained.

PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

Composing almost all his extant plays after the outbreak of the First Macedonian War in 215, Plautus (254-184), who
introduced homosexual themes to Latin literature, portrayed numerous master-slave homosexual couples. To a lesser extent Terence (f.c. 150), also portrayed homosexuality. The fragments of the comic plays of Pomponius (f.c. 100-85) contain frequent allusions to male prostitutes. The cheapness of slaves encouraged the gross, sadistic, and bizarre forms that Roman homosexuality, occasionally as some have pointed out, as well as heterosexuality, assumed. It is fallacious to claim that Plautus merely reflected Middle and New Comedy, both of which virtually avoided mention of homosexuality. Even Terence and others who were closer to the Greeks reflected their own inclinations or the mores of their own society, segments of which were becoming sexually looser and more pederastic. Similar in lewdness to the Saturnalia and Ludi Florales, when naked crowds ran through the streets, the Fasti Praeneste, celebrated during Augustus's reign on April 25, was dedicated to male prostitutes, whom Plautus had already placed on the road to Tuscany awaiting customers.Prostitutes abounded for the poor, charging fees comparable to the hourly wage of unskilled laborers.

THE SCIPIOS AND CATO

Even Scipio Africanus, the most conspicuous of the early Hellenizers following in the shoes of Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse in 212, had strictures for those who went too far, describing P. Sulpicius Gallus as an homo delicatus:
For one who daily perfumes himself and dresses before a mirror, whose eyebrows are trimmed, who walks abroad with beard plucked out and thighs made smooth, who at banquets, though a young man, has reclined in a long-sleeved tunic on the inner side of the couch with a lover, who is fond not only of wine but of men--does anyone doubt that he does what ballet-boys commonly do? (Aul. Gell. 6.12.2).

Later his grandson by adoption Scipio Aemilianus condemned the flaming youth of Rome:

They learn shameful arts. Along with ballet-boys (cinaedi), and carrying their violins and saxophones (sambuca psalterioque), they attend the entertainers' schools; they learn singing--all these things that our ancestors wanted to be judged disgraceful, for freeborn persons. They attend, I repeat, the very dancing schools--unwed girls and freeborn lads among the ballet-boys. Though someone might have reported these doings to me, I could not have taken in the notion of noblemen instructing their own offspring in these things. Yet, when I was conducted to a dancing school, by Jove, there I
saw more than fifty lads and maids in the school, one of them a boy (and this caused me the sharpest pain, on our state's behalf), a boy marked out as noble (bullatum), son of a candidate for public office, under twelve years of age, dancing to castanets such a dance as some shameless slave could not decently have performed. (Macrob. 3.14.7)

In 186 Cato, the spokesman for the traditionalists, as censor dared to expel from the Senate Scipio Africanus, hero that he was, on a charge of immorality, reprobating him for having a hired catamite (Livy 39.42.9), and condemned everything foreign and innovative. Outraged Senators initiated one of the greatest witch-hunts in history in 186, charging the Bacchantes with every sort of sexual and other debauchery:

In the first place, then, a great part of them are women, and they are the source of this evil thing; next, there are males, scarcely distinguishable from females. Debauched and debauchers, frenzied devotees, bereft of their senses by lack of sleep, by drink, by the hubbub and the shouting that goes on through the night. Up to now this conspiracy has no strength, but it is gaining a vast increase in strength in that its followers grow more numerous as the days go by. . . . What kind of gatherings do
you suppose these to be, gatherings, in the first place, held at night, and, secondly, gatherings where men and women meet promiscuously? If you knew at what age male persons are initiated you would feel pity for them--yes, and shame.

Citizens of Rome, do you feel that young men, initiated by this oath of allegiance, should be made soldiers? That arms should be entrusted to men called up from this obscene shrine? These men are steeped in their own debauchery and the debauchery of others; will they take the sword to fight to the end in defence of the chastity of your wives and your children? . . . It was said that more than 7,000 men and women were involved in the conspiracy. . . . There were some who had simply been initiated and had made their prayers according to the ritual form, repeating the words after the priest--those prayers being the vows comprising the abominable conspiracy to practise every kind of crime and lust--but had not committed, either against themselves or against others, any of those acts to which they had bound themselves by their oath; such people were left in custody. But those who had polluted themselves
by debauchery or murder, who had defiled themselves
by giving false witness, by counterfeiting seals,
by forging wills, or by other kinds of fraud, were
condemned to death. The people executed outnumbered
those who were thrown into prison; but there was a
large number of men and women in both categories.
(Livy, 39. 15-18)

Polybius, the freed slave of Scipio's household, defended his
patron but admitted the decadence of many noble youths:

So far had the taste for dissipation and
debauchery spread among young men that many
of them were ready to pay a talent for a
male prostitute and 300 drachmae for a jar
of Pontic pickled fish. It was in this
context that Cato once declared in a public
speech that anybody could see the Republic
was going downhill when a pretty boy could
cost more than a plot of land and jars of
fish more than [slave] ploughmen. (XXXI, 25.4-6)

Based on a Hellenistic manual, Cato's De Agricultura
told how to make the most money exploiting slaves on a latifundium
by feeding them just enough to work them to death, because they
were cheaper to replace than to feed adequately, an example of
the increasing brutality of the Romans (who introduced
gladiatorial shows in 264) as well as the affordability of slaves that could be used for sex as well as ploughing. Unintentionally compounding the problem by introducing more slaves and more foreign contacts, Cato provoked the Third War (149-146) that destroyed Carthage and resulted in the enslavement of its survivors as well as those of its ally Corinth, likewise destroyed in the same year as a terrible object lesson for the other Greeks.

What can it mean to say these [homosexual] preferences are Greek? No one really supposes Roman men and boys had to read Greek sex manuals or receive coaching in the approved Spartan or Athenian positions. I think rather that sources mean little more than to point to a different attitude toward homosexuality, just as one might say today that public displays of grief are foreign (and we whose native language is English would not have to be taught to weep at the graves of our loved ones; only we pride ourselves on suppressing certain feelings). . . .

In contrast [to the Greek attitude], our own sources assume that Romans in mid-Republican days would have thought it a disgrace to the community and an outrage on nature for an older man to press himself undesired on a younger man, even a slave. It was almost as bad
to solicit intercourse without violence; and offering
it freely was beyond the pale, too. In the second century,
we have another Roman, evidently acquainted with what
the Greeks had to say in defense of Greek love, who
still condemned at least its open practice. That
was Cato, complicated and interesting man of his
times. . . .