THE GRACCHI

Perhaps the most Hellenized of all were Scipio Aemilianus's iconoclastic brothers-in-law Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. Their mother Cornelia, a paradigm for matrons because she produced twelve children, lamented that she lived for the day when people would start calling her the mother of the Gracchi instead of the daughter of Scipio Africanus (Plutarch, Tiberius Gracchus). By then many aristocrats purchased Greek pedagogues and tutors for their sons. At a later time to be sure but doubtless with precursors during the late Republic, Soranus (c.100) even recommended Greek wet-nurses to accustom their charges from birth to the most beautiful of languages.

In a speech of 124 B.C., Gaius Gracchus [one of the foremost Hellenizers] prides himself that there had been 'no very lovely boys standing about in his quaestor's headquarters' and that 'your sons {that is, young Romans of all sorts} were treated with more decorum than in a general's tent . . . If any prostitute entered my home or anyone else's slave-boy was sought on my behalf, consider me the lowest and vilest of mankind.' The story
does not quite confute Balsdon: 'it is hard to believe that there was not a great deal of homosexuality in the army;' but it certainly indicates what values were acceptable.\textsuperscript{72}

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, \textit{Sulla}, 2.6, 36.2).

\textbf{SOCIAL AND CIVIL WARS}

A long and bitter struggle within the ruling class, most of whom had visited the East by 191, between the Hellenizers and the traditionalists highlighted the first half of the second century. Scipio, who also directed the defeat of Antiochus III at Magnesia in 190, developed his circle of Philhellenes, including in the next generation Aemilius Paulus, conqueror in 168 of Perseus of Macedon at Pydna after which a mania for banqueting occurred and some brazen young aristocrats aped the homosexual habits of the Greeks (Polybius, XXXI, 25). To perpetuate his lineage without sons of his own, Scipio's eldest son adopted one of Paulus's sons by his first marriage, known as Scipio Aemilianus; likewise the
grandson of Fabius Cunctator, the old consul who stopped Hannibal, adopted the younger of Aemilius Paulus's sons. Adoption, so common henceforth among the Roman upper classes, facilitated pederasty by providing the necessary heirs without heterosexual intercourse and indeed suspicions abounded that sometimes the adopted were the beloved as Antony said of Caesar with Octavian and in Statius (Silvae, 2.1).

TRIUMVIRS

CICERO AND CATALINE

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).

CATULLUS AND LUCRETIUS

Roman erotic poets had fresh Greek inspiration from
Meleager's "Garland," composed c.100. Although the Greeks
continued most creatively in this genre, the Latin poets Catullus
(84-54), Tibullus (c.55-19), and Propertius (c.54-c.16) wrote
pederastic verses. Catullus, who copied Sappho, Tibullus, judged
by Quintilian best of the Latin elegists, and Horace (65-8),
inspired by Alcaeus, continued homosexual and erotic themes now
imitating the Greek lyricists and elegists. In Latin erotic
poetry, as in Greek after the fifth century, the boys have no
family, no career, and no identity other than athletics and
slavery except Juventius, Catullus's love, apparently
aristocratic. Like most of the Hellenistic poets those from Rome
often sang of boys who demanded gifts or were even outright
prostitutes. The older, still beardless boy was considered better, i.e., 18 was preferred to 13. Even in the wilder circles no Latin or Greek poet advised to enjoy another adult male sexually.\textsuperscript{84}

Both the stance of Priapus and the threats against adulterers demonstrate that a threat to penetrate another male, in Latin literature and seemingly in Roman reality, was used as a sign of superior virility and power. How often the actual penetration was carried out cannot now be known, except for an occasional anecdote (e.g., Val. Max. 6.1.13, carried out by slaves); the number of threats would seem to indicate that the punishment was carried out sometimes. On the other hand, accusation of having raped a (male) narrator has largely negative force; Catullus takes the pose of victim in order to insult the overly Priapic male (28).\textsuperscript{85}

**GREEK PEDERASTY AT ROME?**

Almost all have abandoned the theory, popular a generation or two ago, that "the Romans" only copied Greek literary formulas without practicing pederasty.\textsuperscript{61} True, Latins like Greeks portrayed reciprocal homosexuality only rarely and poets like Petronius and Martial often apologized for talking dirty. Latin poems, as common to boys as to women, (none were written by boys and almost none by women) showed, as Cicero said, "either slavish adulation or fiery lust" ( ). On the other hand, the theory,
pushed especially by Veyne, that the upper classes at least adopted pederasty wholesale from the Greeks ("Greek love can equally be called Roman")\textsuperscript{62} is also false. Upper-class Roman males continued to marry girls of 12 to 14 and Roman customs did not change after contact with the Greeks or their conquest of the Mediterranean.

Unlike the Greeks, Romans never institutionalized pederasty. On the other hand, like most primitive societies and all Mediterranean civilizations except Persian and Judaic they apparently did not outlaw it as such or any other form of homosexuality, even prostitution, before the Christian takeover. Like almost all other societies, they did prohibit homosexual rape, undue pressure on subordinates for homosexual favors, and probably seduction of free boys under a certain age.\textsuperscript{63} In sharp contrast to the Greek practice of delaying marriage until 30 to brides of 15 to 18, aristocratic boys married on the average at age 16 girls of 12 or 13.\textsuperscript{64} Thus unlike the Greeks they had a socially approved, even obligatory, sexual . By the time Rome defeated Carthage, upper-class Hellenizers began to ape Greek manners but they took slave rather than free boys as catamites. Critics of the old school, often political rivals, branded them as effeminates, referring to a \textit{mos maiorum}—ancestral custom. Supposedly in earlier, purer days of a small agricultural community, Romans had practiced sexual restraint within a monogamous marriage and maintained an economical, simple, hardy
The startling increase in creativity in the late Republic and early Empire coincided with the zenith of Roman pederasty. Exactly those individuals most pro-Hellenic and most inclined to pederasty led the Roman literary, artistic, and even political advance: Scipio Africanus, the Gracchi, Lucullus, Sulla, Catiline, Cicero, Cinna, Caesar, Antony, Octavian, Caligula, Nero, and Hadrian, to mention only statesmen. All the contemporary authors, Plautus, Terence, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Cicero, Seneca, Petronius, Quintillian, Martial, and Juvenal, not to mention the poets of the Greek Anthology, testify to this influence. The anti-pederasts from Cato the Censor to Musonius Rufus were less inventive. Just as the decline of pederasty in the Hellenistic Age led to less creativity except in science, during the late Republic and early Empire Hellenism stimulated the intellect. Although the lover no longer generally instructed the beloved, Romans who practiced pederasty made the greatest innovations while upper-class homophobes fought progress.