



SEXUALITY *in* GREEK *and* ROMAN CULTURE

MARILYN B. SKINNER

SECOND EDITION



WILEY Blackwell

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SEXUALITY
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CULTURE

MARILYN B. SKINNER

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Housman: Actually, “*trochos*” is Greek, it’s the Greek word for hoop, so when Horace uses “*Graecus trochus*” it’s rather like saying “French *chapeau*”. I mean he’s laying it on thick, isn’t he?

Jackson: Is he? What?

Housman: Well, to a Roman, to call something *Greek* meant – very often – sissylike, or effeminate. In fact, a hoop, a *trochos*, was a favourite gift given by a Greek man to the boy he, you know, to his favourite boy.

Jackson: Oh, beastliness, you mean?

Tom Stoppard, *The Invention of Love*



Tondo of a red-figure cup by the Pedieus Painter, c.510 BCE

Contents

List of Illustrations and Maps	xi
Preface to the Second Edition	xiii
Preface to the First Edition	xv
Acknowledgments	xviii
Abbreviations	xix
Chronological Charts	xxvii
Maps	xxxii
Introduction: Why Ancient Sexuality? Issues and Approaches	1
<i>Thinking about Sexuality</i>	3
<i>Sex Changes</i>	4
<i>Checking the Right Box</i>	8
<i>Davidson and his Critics</i>	12
<i>The Language and Ethos of Boy-love</i>	13
<i>Foul Mouths</i>	19
<i>Conclusion</i>	23
<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	24
<i>Notes</i>	24
<i>References</i>	25
<i>Further Reading</i>	27
1 The Homeric Age: Epic Sexuality	29
<i>The Golden Goddess</i>	30
<i>Dynamics of Desire</i>	35
<i>The Baneful Race of Women</i>	37
<i>Love under Siege</i>	40
<i>Receptions of Helen</i>	43

	<i>The Beguilement of Zeus</i>	45
	<i>Alternatives to Penelope</i>	46
	<i>Achilles in the Closet?</i>	51
	<i>Conclusion</i>	53
	<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	54
	<i>Notes</i>	55
	<i>References</i>	55
	<i>Further Reading</i>	57
2	The Archaic Age: Symposium and Initiation	58
	<i>When the Cups Are Placed</i>	59
	<i>Fields of Erotic Dreams</i>	62
	<i>Singing as a Man ...</i>	67
	<i>... and Singing as a Woman</i>	71
	<i>Boys into Men</i>	74
	<i>Girls into Women</i>	84
	<i>Sappho on the Lips of Men</i>	89
	<i>Conclusion</i>	91
	<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	92
	<i>Notes</i>	93
	<i>References</i>	96
	<i>Further Reading</i>	99
3	Late Archaic Athens: More than Meets the Eye	101
	<i>Out of Etruria</i>	102
	<i>Lines of Sight</i>	106
	<i>Birds of a Different Feather</i>	108
	<i>Flirtation at the Gym</i>	109
	<i>Party Girls</i>	118
	<i>In the Boudoir</i>	127
	<i>Bride of Quietness</i>	129
	<i>Conclusion</i>	131
	<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	133
	<i>Notes</i>	134
	<i>References</i>	136
	<i>Further Reading</i>	138
4	Classical Athens: The Politics of Sex	139
	<i>More Equal than Others</i>	141
	<i>Pederasty and Class</i>	146
	<i>Interview with the Kinaidos</i>	154
	<i>In the Grandest Families</i>	161
	<i>What the Neighbors Might Think</i>	166
	<i>Criminal Proceedings</i>	167

<i>His and Hers (or His)</i>	170
<i>Conclusion</i>	176
<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	177
<i>Notes</i>	177
<i>References</i>	179
<i>Further Reading</i>	182
5 The Early Hellenistic Period: Turning Inwards	184
<i>Court Intrigues</i>	188
<i>Who Is Buried in Philip's Tomb?</i>	192
<i>Medicine and the Sexes</i>	194
<i>From Croton to Crete</i>	198
<i>Safe Sex</i>	203
<i>Athenian Idol</i>	208
<i>Conclusion</i>	214
<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	215
<i>Notes</i>	215
<i>References</i>	217
<i>Further Reading</i>	220
6 The Later Hellenistic Period: The Feminine Mystique	221
<i>Disrobing Aphrodite</i>	222
<i>Hellenes in Egypt</i>	226
<i>Love among the Pyramids</i>	230
<i>New Gods for Old</i>	236
<i>To Colchis and Back</i>	238
<i>Desiring Women – and their Detractors</i>	241
<i>Conclusion</i>	245
<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	247
<i>Notes</i>	247
<i>References</i>	249
<i>Further Reading</i>	252
7 Early Rome: A Tale of Three Cultures	253
<i>The Pecking Order</i>	256
<i>Imported Vices</i>	259
<i>Bringing Women under Control</i>	261
<i>Butchery for Fun</i>	269
<i>What a Piece of Work Is a Man!</i>	270
<i>Conclusion</i>	274
<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	274
<i>Notes</i>	275
<i>References</i>	277
<i>Further Reading</i>	279

8	Republican and Augustan Rome: The Soft Embrace of Venus	280
	<i>Only Joking</i>	282
	<i>Young Men(?) in Love</i>	286
	<i>Sulpicia Unveils Herself</i>	291
	<i>Mother of All Empires</i>	293
	<i>Domestic Visibility</i>	303
	<i>Going Too Far</i>	306
	<i>Conclusion</i>	309
	<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	310
	<i>Notes</i>	311
	<i>References</i>	312
	<i>Further Reading</i>	314
9	Elites in the Empire: Self and Others	315
	<i>Risky Business</i>	317
	<i>Boys Named Sue</i>	322
	<i>Them</i>	324
	<i>Roads to Romance</i>	329
	<i>Rock-star Rhetoric</i>	329
	<i>'Greek Love' under Rome</i>	334
	<i>Roads to Nowhere</i>	338
	<i>Conclusion</i>	344
	<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	345
	<i>Notes</i>	345
	<i>References</i>	347
	<i>Further Reading</i>	349
10	The Imperial Populace: Toward Salvation?	350
	<i>The 99%</i>	353
	<i>Gravestones and Walls</i>	355
	<i>In the Eye of the Beholder</i>	361
	<i>The Warren Cup</i>	368
	<i>"O Isis und Osiris ..."</i>	370
	<i>Christian Continenence</i>	377
	<i>Things Fall Apart</i>	380
	<i>Conclusion</i>	383
	<i>Discussion Prompts</i>	385
	<i>Notes</i>	386
	<i>References</i>	389
	<i>Further Reading</i>	392
	Afterword: The Use of Antiquity	393
	Glossary of Terms	398
	Index	411

Illustrations and Maps

Illustrations

Frontispiece	Tondo of a red-figure cup by the Pedieus Painter, c.510 BCE.	
1.1	Guido Reni (1575–1642). “The Abduction of Helen,” 1641.	44
2.1	The funeral banquet. Greek wall painting from the Tomb of the Diver, early fifth century BCE.	61
2.2	Polyxena sarcophagus, c.525–500 BCE. Women at symposium.	74
3.1	<i>Kalyx krater</i> (mixing bowl) by the Niobid Painter, c.460–450 BCE.	104
3.2	Image of satyrs on a red-figure <i>kylix</i> by the Nikosthenes Painter, sixth century BCE.	105
3.3	Red-figure cup by the Kiss Painter (name vase). 521–510 BCE.	108
3.4	Attic black-figure <i>kylix</i> , c.520–500 BCE: courtship between man and boy.	110
3.5	Attic black-figure amphora with male courtship scene, c.550–540 BCE.	110
3.6	Attic black-figure tripod <i>pyxis</i> with three male couples.	111
3.7	Attic red-figure <i>kylix</i> attributed to the Carpenter Painter, 510–500 BCE.	113
3.8	Peithinos cup, side A, sixth century BCE: young men and boys.	114
3.9	Peithinos cup, side B: sixth century BCE: youths courting young women.	115
3.10	Tondo of Peithinos cup: sixth century BCE: Peleus wrestling with Thetis.	116
3.11	Red-figure <i>oinochoê</i> , side A: running youth.	117
3.12	Red-figure <i>oinochoê</i> , side B: stooping barbarian.	117
3.13	Red-figure <i>krater</i> by the Dinos Painter, fifth century BCE: lovemaking scene.	118
3.14	Red-figure <i>hydria</i> by the Shuválov Painter, fifth century BCE: erotic scene.	119
3.15	Red-figure <i>psykter</i> signed by Euphronius: courtesans at a symposium.	122
3.16	<i>Kylix</i> (wine cup) by Douris with erotic scene, c.480 BCE.	124
3.17	Red-figure <i>kylix</i> by the Pedieus Painter, c.510–500 BCE: orgy scene.	125

3.18	<i>Loutrophoros</i> depicting a bridal procession, c.450–425 BCE.	131
3.19	Late Attic red-figure <i>hydria</i> by the Meidias Painter, fl. 410 BCE.	132
4.1	Late Attic red-figure <i>kalyx krater</i> , c.420 BCE: scene from comedy.	149
5.1	“Alexander Sarcophagus,” late fourth century BCE, detail: Alexander hunting lion.	190
5.2	Ivory head of Philip II from royal tombs at Vergina, fourth century BCE.	193
6.1	Praxiteles, Cnidian Venus. Roman copy after Greek original, c.350–30 BCE.	223
6.2	Gold octodrachm of Ptolemy II and Arsinoë II, Egypt, c.285–246 BCE.	235
7.1	Sarcophagus and lid with husband and wife, c.350–300 BCE.	255
7.2	Exterior of bull ring, Merida, Spain.	273
8.1	Fresco in the Villa of the Mysteries, Pompeii.	296
8.2	Peace or Tellus Mater: panel from the Ara Pacis, Rome, 13–9 BCE.	304
8.3	Marcus Agrippa with imperial family: south frieze of the Ara Pacis, Rome.	305
9.1	Colossal bust of Antinous.	335
10.1	Marble grave relief of Aurelia Philematium. Rome, Italy, c.80 BCE.	356
10.2	Fresco of Priapus weighing his penis from the Casa dei Vettii, Pompeii.	363
10.3	Ithyphallic bronze <i>tintinnabulum</i> from Pompeii.	364
10.4	Fresco of erotic scene from Pompeii, House of Caecilius Iucundus.	366
10.5	The Warren Cup, side A: lovemaking, man and youth.	368
10.6	The Warren Cup, side B: lovemaking, man and boy.	368

Maps

1	Greece and the Aegean World	xxxii
2	The Hellenistic World	xxxiii
3	Italy	xxxiv
4	The Roman Empire under Trajan and Hadrian 98–138 CE	xxxv

Preface to the Second Edition

Publication of a second edition of *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture* gives me the opportunity to correct shortcomings noted by reviewers and readers of the first edition, incorporate new findings and update an ever-increasing bibliography, expand treatment of several topics, add more images, restructure the final chapters chronologically, and carry the narrative of ancient sexual ethics down to the Christian era. Students, I hope, will welcome a few features to make the work more user-friendly: for each chapter, the inclusion of a text box containing intriguing facts tangential to the main topic and the addition of discussion prompts and further readings at the end, as well as a glossary at the back defining boldfaced terms employed in the text. Many of these changes were suggested by respondents to electronic surveys conducted by the publisher. I deeply appreciate the thoughtful feedback those participants provided; as a teaching tool the book has benefited greatly.

While I have preserved all of the original content, I have rewritten entire portions of text, especially in the introduction, the chapters on classical Athens and the Hellenistic period, and the concluding chapters on imperial Rome. Perceptive reviewers observed that the previous edition was as much about gender as it was about sexuality. Indeed, it is almost impossible to disentangle the two, even conceptually. The introduction has been enlarged, then, by a theoretical explanation of relationships among the terms “sex,” “gender,” and “sexuality” as they will be encountered here. Though finding it hard to cover all the material I wished to include, I have added longer discussions of Aeschines’ speech *Against Timarchus*, the historical backdrop to Alexander the Great’s conquests, polygamy within the Argead dynasty, and the influence of Egyptian sexual customs and religion upon Greek writings produced in Ptolemaic Alexandria, as all seemed germane to main chapter themes. Finally, I have separated my account of sexual mores under the Caesars into two parts: one chapter on changing elite attitudes, Greek and Roman, toward the human body and the marriage bond, using literature and official public art as my chief witnesses, and the other on conditions and trends affecting the populace as a whole, presenting a fuller context for studying the rise of Christianity and its focus upon sexual denial. Although that last chapter is still eclectic, I believe it is more cohesive, and I trust that in providing

detailed economic, legal, and demographic information I have not strayed too far from my goal of showing how an ascetic movement underpinned by eschatology might fit into the big sociological picture.

Because this book is a textbook, I have used commonly transliterated forms of proper names: “Aeschylus” instead of “Aiskhylos.” Exceptions are gods and mythic heroes, as students ought to know both Greek and Roman alternatives, and technical terms: *hetairai*, not “hetaeras.” Instructors might like to have my reason for supplying what I term “discussion prompts.” Initially I planned to include a set of review questions with factual answers to help students prepare for examinations. That practical notion became unfeasible, however, as I realized that I did not know what a teacher would emphasize in a given chapter and what she might prefer to leave out, depending on the level and size of the course, the length of the instructional period, and the various uses to which an assigned textbook might be put. The prompts I devised instead can function in numerous ways. Because they permit open-ended responses, classmates may debate them in breakout sessions or blog about them. They offer a choice of topics for short writing assignments. In combination with primary sources they can be used for open-book tests. Finally, ingenious students will doubtless be able to recast some of them as pick-up lines. Whatever the situation, prompts, as the noun implies, invite reflection upon personal experiences while one is seeking to grasp the workings of a foreign set of gender and sexual protocols. Whether such a process will render readers more comfortable with antiquity, I do not know. I suspect, though, that it will render them less comfortable with their own habits of thinking, and that is a good thing.

As before, I am indebted to colleagues who generously commented on drafts and offered timely assistance. On the subject of demographic projections Bruce Frier gave invaluable advice. Kristina Milnor sent a chapter of her forthcoming monograph on Pompeian graffiti. Konstantinos Nikoloutsos helped me look at Alexander through the eyes of a queer theorist. Gil Renberg supplied a bibliographic reference that complicated my view of the Warren Cup. On behalf of the Troy Project, C. Brian Rose authorized re-use of a drawing by Nurten Sevinç originally published in *Studia Troica* (1996). Archaeological illustrator Christina L. Kolb produced a detailed rendering of a much discussed scene on the so-called “Getty Birds” vase. Once more, my apologies if I have overlooked mentioning someone’s scholarly contribution to the finished volume.

My thanks as well to those associated with Wiley-Blackwell who worked hard with me to produce an improved second edition: Haze Humbert, Acquisitions Editor, for commissioning the undertaking and soliciting suggestions from instructors; Ben Thatcher, Project Editor, for guiding me through the maze of getting permissions – again; Nora Naughton of NPM Ltd, the project production manager; Doreen Kruger, the meticulous copyeditor; and Elizabeth Saucier, Editorial Assistant, and her marketing staff for the arresting cover design. Finally, my express gratitude once again to Jeff Carnes for preparing an even more complicated index this time around.

Preface to the First Edition

The immediate decade has seen an explosion of curricular interest in ancient sexuality, a topic once warily neglected in the classroom. Undergraduate courses on gender and sexuality in Greece and Rome are now regularly offered by a large number of college and university classics programs in the United States, Canada, Great Britain, and Australia. They have proven enormously popular, and not just because their subject matter is intrinsically fascinating. Students who encounter the strange ways in which the educated classes of antiquity spoke about themselves as men and women and the odd cultural meanings they imposed on what takes place in the bedroom cannot help but begin to reconsider their own assumptions about themselves as members of a (supposedly) given sex and actors in a (supposedly) universal tragicomedy of desire and mating. Learning to view intimate matters from an alien perspective is a scary experience, particularly for young adults. This textbook is designed to help undergraduates engage with ancient sexuality in all its otherness. It is also designed for the general reader, who may have heard rumors about exciting new questions being broached in a proverbially conservative discipline.

As an academic field of study, Greco-Roman sexuality has only just become legitimate, to say nothing of trendy. Already, though, the literature is enormous and continues to grow, so that giving an overview of current thinking necessarily attempts to hit a moving target. The intellectual energy of specialists and the cutting-edge quality of their research guaranteed that the study changing the way everyone looked at a particular issue inevitably appeared just weeks after my own discussion of that issue was written. I have tried to keep abreast of developments as much as possible. For that reason, the bibliography is weighted heavily toward work published in the past ten or fifteen years. Instructors who wish to present this material in the context of more traditional accounts of social and political history may need to assign short readings from standard reference works. They may also want to select an accompanying sourcebook, although I have incorporated fairly lengthy chunks of ancient texts. All translations of Greek and Roman primary sources, except where indicated, are my own.

In composing what is, to my knowledge, the first overall survey of ancient sexuality, I have employed two different approaches to contemporary scholarship. As an expositor, I have attempted to compile and synthesize conclusions drawn from recent analyses and, in dealing with controversial questions, to explain the point of contention and present arguments from both sides. As a practicing investigator, however, I have sometimes taken positions when a given account appears to me the more plausible one. Because discussion in certain areas is intensely focused, and fundamental assumptions about the symbolic content of Greek and Roman sexual discourses are not always expressly articulated, I have formulated general observations on the semiotics of ancient sexuality that may themselves be starting points for further debate. I welcome such disagreement. As I maintain throughout this volume, the field is in its infancy – a textbook written for courses taught years from now will take for granted concepts that have not yet occurred to present-day researchers. Debate is the matrix of new understanding.

While writing this book, I realized that I was uniquely equipped to tell the story of how our picture of ancient sexual mores has changed in the past quarter-century, not because of any greater depth of erudition but rather thanks to two generations' worth of hindsight. My college years fell in the late 1950s and early 1960s, before the cultural watersheds of the sexual revolution, the Vietnam War, and the second wave of feminism. I went to school, as young women of my background did in those days, to find a man to provide for me and my offspring and graduated four years later with no husband and a solid liberal arts education, which has served me in much better stead. During the next decade I was in a position, first as an adjunct instructor and then as a doctoral student, to observe how female undergraduates, not too much younger than I, were coming of age in a cultural landscape that had meantime changed dramatically, how they were confronting the world with wholly different expectations about their future. The sense of dislocation I experienced guaranteed a lasting emancipation from prior habits of thought: I would never again assume that notions of sex and gender were intrinsically correct just because they had been drummed into me when I was a child growing up in sheltered suburbia. Agnosticism and inquisitiveness subsequently attracted me, as a freshly degreed college professor, to the revolutionary domain of women and gender studies and finally into the history of sexuality. There I have had a privileged opportunity to indulge the kind of curiosity that, as Michel Foucault proclaimed in *The Use of Pleasure*, is “worth acting upon with a degree of obstinacy: not the curiosity that seeks to assimilate what it is proper for one to know, but that which enables one to get free of oneself” (1986: 8). It is in that spirit that this textbook is written: to arouse in younger persons the same impulse to think alternatively, especially about their own intimate experiences.

The difficulties that this large project presented were made easier through the assistance of many colleagues, associates, and friends. First, I wish to thank the editorial staff of Blackwell Publishing. Simon Alexander, the Publishing Coordinator for Classics, kept me working to deadline and thoughtfully replied to my proposals about cover design. Al Bertrand, the Commissioning Editor, thoroughly critiqued chapter after chapter, offering invaluable advice and support. Editorial Controller

Angela Cohen helped keep track of permissions requests and supplied counsel on many technical problems of book preparation. The suggestions of several anonymous readers who responded to the initial book proposal aided me considerably as I subsequently revised the outline. Finally, my special thanks to Laura McClure, the Press referee who reviewed the entire manuscript, for her warm enthusiasm and generous assistance.

Several fellow classicists read individual excerpts from the book or provided me with work-in-progress. Elizabeth Belfiore offered expert bibliographical and scholarly advice on Greek tragedy and Plato and allowed me to consult her forthcoming study of the Platonic representation of Socrates in the *Symposium*. Jeffrey Carnes sent me a draft of his paper on ancient sexuality and recent Supreme Court decisions, a presentation that has become even timelier as the legal dispute over gay marriage intensifies. Laura McClure provided advance proofs of the opening chapters of *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus* (2003) and responded thoughtfully to my discussion of the courtesan figure. Kristina Milnor gave permission to cite her working paper no. 14, “No Place for a Woman? Critical Narratives and Erotic Graffiti from Pompeii,” available from the University of Michigan Institute for Research on Women and Gender. Amy Richlin sent her own provocative survey of imperial Roman sexuality prepared for a forthcoming Blackwell’s Companion volume; as always, it has been a cognitive delight to grapple with her ideas. Brian Rose supplied me with an offprint of the first publication of the Polyxena Sarcophagus and helped me contact the author, Dr Nurten Sevinç, for permission to reproduce her illustration of the find. My apologies to anyone if I have inadvertently overlooked mentioning his or her intellectual contribution to the volume.

Needless to say, this textbook reflects the feedback of students who have been exposed to my thinking in various courses on Roman literature and women and gender in antiquity. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to the undergraduates in my Fall 2001 Freshman Colloquium CLAS 195, “Encounters with Classical Antiquity,” and the graduate students in my Spring 2002 seminar CLAS 596, “Greek and Roman Sexuality,” for serving as willing guinea pigs in thought experiments about the ancient world. Students at Carleton College in Northfield, Minnesota, Macalester College in St Paul, Minnesota, and members of the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Studies at the University of Minnesota peppered me with insightful questions when I presented parts of the book on a lecture tour in April, 2004. Holly Cohen, my research assistant, spent hours in the library probing into strange byways of ancient culture. Serpil Atamaz Hazar, a doctoral student in the History Department, translated my letters to Dr Sevinç into Turkish and her replies into English. To all of them, and to my long-suffering colleagues in the Department of Classics at the University of Arizona, let me express my deep gratitude.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of the names of ancient authors and their works follow, whenever possible, the practice of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 4th edition (2012). Otherwise, Greek authors and titles are abbreviated as in Liddell and Scott, *Greek–English Lexicon*, 9th edition, revised by H. Stuart Jones and supplemented by various scholars (1968), referred to as *LSJ*. Latin authors and titles are abbreviated as in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (1982), commonly cited as *OLD*. Names of authors or works in square brackets [—] indicate spurious or questionable attributions. Numbers in superscript following a title indicate the number of an edition (e.g., *OCD*⁴). Abbreviations and descriptions of works of secondary scholarship are also usually taken from *OCD*⁴.

General

<i>ad loc.</i>	<i>ad locum</i> , at the place being discussed in the commentary
<i>ap.</i>	<i>apud</i> , within, indicating a quotation contained in another author
<i>c.</i>	<i>circa</i> , about or approximately
<i>cf.</i>	compare
<i>ch.</i>	chapter
<i>ff.</i>	following pages
<i>fig., figs.</i>	figure, figures
<i>fl.</i>	flourished
<i>fr., frr.</i>	fragment, fragments
<i>ibid.</i>	<i>ibidem</i> , in the same work cited above
<i>inv.</i>	inventory number
<i>n., nn.</i>	note, notes
<i>pass.</i>	<i>passim</i> , throughout
<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>pr.</i>	preface

Greek Authors and Works

Ael.	Aelian
<i>VH</i>	<i>Varia Historia</i>
Aeschin.	Aeschines
Andoc.	Andocides
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Palatine Anthology</i>
Antiph.	Antiphon
Ap. Rhod. <i>Argon.</i>	Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i>
Ar.	Aristophanes
<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Acharnians</i>
<i>Eccl.</i>	<i>Assemblywomen</i>
<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Knights</i>
<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Lysistrata</i>
<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Frogs</i>
<i>Thesm.</i>	<i>Women at the Thesmophoria</i>
Arist.	Aristotle
[<i>Ath. pol.</i>]	<i>Constitution of the Athenians</i>
<i>Eth. Eud.</i>	<i>Eudemian Ethics</i>
<i>Eth. Nic.</i>	<i>Nichomachean Ethics</i>
<i>Gen. an.</i>	<i>On the Generation of Animals</i>
<i>Metaph.</i>	<i>Metaphysics</i>
[<i>Oec.</i>]	<i>On Household Management</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	<i>Politics</i>
[<i>Pr.</i>]	<i>Problemata</i>
<i>Rh.</i>	<i>Rhetoric</i>
Arr.	Arrian, <i>Anabasis of Alexander</i>
Artem.	Artemidorus, <i>Oneirokritika</i>
Ath.	Athenaeus, <i>Deipnosophistae</i>
Callim.	Callimachus
<i>Aet.</i>	<i>Aetia</i>
<i>Hymn 5</i>	<i>Hymn to Athena</i>
Cass. Dio	Cassius Dio
Dem.	Demosthenes
Din.	Dinarchus
Diod. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert.	Diogenes Laertius
Epict.	Epictetus
<i>Disc.</i>	<i>Discourses</i>
Epicurus	Epicurus
<i>RS</i>	<i>Principal Doctrines</i>
<i>Sent. Vat.</i>	<i>Vatican Sayings</i>
Eub.	Eubulus
Eur.	Euripides
<i>Alc.</i>	<i>Alcestis</i>

<i>Hipp.</i>	<i>Hippolytus</i>
Gal.	Galen
<i>Ars med.</i>	<i>Art of Medicine</i>
<i>Libr. propr.</i>	<i>On My Own Books</i>
<i>PHP</i>	<i>On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato</i>
<i>UP</i>	<i>On the Use of the Parts of the Body</i>
Hdt.	Herodotus
Hermesian.	Hermesianax
Hes.	Hesiod
<i>Op.</i>	<i>Works and Days</i>
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogony</i>
Hipp. <i>Haer.</i>	Hippolytus, <i>Refutation of All Heresies</i>
[Hippoc.]	Hippocrates
<i>Genit.</i>	<i>On Generation</i>
<i>Loc. Hom.</i>	<i>Places in Man</i>
<i>Mul.</i>	<i>Diseases of Women</i>
<i>Nat. Hom.</i>	<i>On the Nature of the Human Being</i>
Hom.	Homer
<i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
<i>Od.</i>	<i>Odyssey</i>
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ap.</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Apollo</i>
<i>Cer.</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Demeter</i>
<i>Ven.</i>	<i>Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite</i>
Hyp.	Hyperides
Iambl. <i>VP</i>	Iamblichus, <i>Life of Pythagoras</i>
Isae.	Isaeus
Isoc.	Isocrates
[Longinus] <i>Subl.</i>	[Longinus], <i>On the Sublime</i>
[Luc.] <i>Am.</i>	[Lucian], <i>Affairs of the Heart</i>
Lucian <i>Eun.</i>	Lucian, <i>The Eunuch</i>
Lucill.	Lucillius
Lys.	Lysias
Men.	Menander
<i>Sam.</i>	<i>Samia</i>
Muson.	Musonius Rufus
Nic.	Nicander
NT	New Testament (Authorized Version)
1 Cor.	First Epistle to the Corinthians
Rom.	Epistle to the Romans
OT	Old Testament (Authorized Version)
Lev.	Leviticus
Parth. <i>Amat. narr.</i>	Parthenius, <i>Sufferings in Love</i>
Paus.	Pausanias, <i>Description of Greece</i>
Philostr.	Philostratus
VS	<i>Vitae sophistarum (Lives of the Sophists)</i>

Pind.	Pindar
<i>Ol.</i>	<i>Olympian Odes</i>
Pl.	Plato
<i>Criti.</i>	<i>Critias</i>
<i>Leg.</i>	<i>Laws</i>
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Meno</i>
<i>Min.</i>	<i>Minos</i>
<i>Phdr.</i>	<i>Phaedrus</i>
<i>Prot.</i>	<i>Protagoras</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	<i>Republic</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>
<i>Ti.</i>	<i>Timaeus</i>
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>Alex.</i>	<i>Life of Alexander</i>
<i>Amat.</i>	<i>Dialogue on Love</i>
<i>Caes.</i>	<i>Life of Caesar</i>
<i>Cat. Mai.</i>	<i>Life of the Elder Cato</i>
<i>Cic.</i>	<i>Life of Cicero</i>
<i>Crass.</i>	<i>Life of Crassus</i>
<i>De cupid. divit.</i>	<i>On the Desire for Riches</i>
<i>De Is.</i>	<i>On Isis and Osiris</i>
<i>De mul. vir.</i>	<i>On the Virtues of Women</i>
<i>Lyc.</i>	<i>Life of Lycurgus</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Per.</i>	<i>Life of Pericles</i>
<i>Pomp.</i>	<i>Life of Pompey</i>
<i>Sol.</i>	<i>Life of Solon</i>
Polyb.	Polybius
Porph. <i>Abst.</i>	Porphyry, <i>On Abstinence</i>
Pythag. <i>Ep.</i>	<i>Letters of Pythagoras and the Pythagoreans</i>
Sor. <i>Gyn.</i>	Soranus, <i>Gynecology</i>
Stob.	Stobaeus
Str.	Strabo
Theoc. <i>Id.</i>	Theocritus, <i>Idylls</i>
Theophr.	Theophrastus
<i>Char.</i>	<i>Characters</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides
Xen.	Xenophon
[<i>Ath. pol.</i>]	<i>Constitution of the Athenians</i>
<i>Lac.</i>	<i>Constitution of the Spartans</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	<i>Recollections of Socrates</i>
<i>Oec.</i>	<i>On Household Management</i>
<i>Symp.</i>	<i>Symposium</i>

Roman Authors and Works

Apul.	Apuleius
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Fl.</i>	<i>Florida</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Aug. <i>RG</i>	Augustus, <i>Res Gestae (Things Accomplished)</i>
August.	Augustine
<i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessions</i>
<i>De civ. D.</i>	<i>City of God</i>
Aur. Vict. <i>Caes.</i>	Aurelius Victor, <i>Lives of the Caesars</i>
Cael. Aur. <i>Morb. Chron.</i>	Caelius Aurelianus, <i>On Chronic Diseases</i>
Catul.	Catullus
Cic.	Cicero
<i>Att.</i>	<i>Letters to Atticus</i>
<i>Cacl.</i>	<i>On Behalf of Caelius</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>On his House</i>
<i>Fam.</i>	<i>Letters to his Friends</i>
<i>Fin.</i>	<i>On the Supreme Good and Evil</i>
<i>Inv. rhet.</i>	<i>On Devising a Speech</i>
<i>Marcell.</i>	<i>On Behalf of Marcellus</i>
<i>Nat. D.</i>	<i>On the Nature of the Gods</i>
<i>Off.</i>	<i>On Duties</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philippics</i>
<i>Planc.</i>	<i>On Behalf of Plancius</i>
<i>Rosc. Am.</i>	<i>On Behalf of Sextus Roscius of Ameria</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
<i>Tusc.</i>	<i>Tusculan Disputations</i>
Columella, <i>Rust.</i>	Columella, <i>On Agriculture</i>
Curt.	Q. Curtius Rufus, <i>History of Alexander</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digest of Roman Law</i>
Gai. <i>Inst.</i>	Gaius, <i>Institutes</i>
Gell. <i>NA</i>	Aulus Gellius, <i>Attic Nights</i>
Hor.	Horace
<i>Carm.</i>	<i>Odes</i>
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satires</i>
Jer. <i>Adv. Iovinian.</i>	Jerome, <i>Against Jovinian</i>
Just. <i>Epit.</i>	Justin, <i>Epitome (of Trogus)</i>
Just. <i>Inst.</i>	Justinian, <i>Institutes</i>
Juv.	Juvenal
Liv.	Livy
Lucr. <i>DRN</i>	Lucretius, <i>On the Nature of Things</i>
Macrob. <i>Sat.</i>	Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i>
Mart.	Martial

Nep.	Cornelius Nepos
NT	New Testament
1 Cor.	First Epistle to the Corinthians
Rom.	Epistle to the Romans
OT	Old Testament
Lev.	Leviticus
Ov.	Ovid
<i>Am.</i>	<i>Amores</i>
<i>Ars am.</i>	<i>Art of Love</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Her.</i>	<i>Heroides</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
<i>Pont.</i>	<i>Letters from Pontus</i>
<i>Tr.</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
<i>Passio Perp.</i>	<i>The Passion of Saints Perpetua and Felicity</i>
Paulus <i>Sent.</i>	Iulius Paulus, <i>Sententiae</i>
Petron.	Petronius
<i>Sat.</i>	<i>Satyricon</i>
Plaut.	Plautus
<i>Aul.</i>	<i>The Pot of Gold</i>
Plin. <i>HN</i>	Pliny (the Elder), <i>Natural History</i>
Plin. <i>Ep.</i>	Pliny (the Younger), <i>Letters</i>
Prop.	Propertius
Quint. <i>Inst.</i>	Quintilian, <i>Institutes of Oratory</i>
Sall.	Sallust
<i>Cat.</i>	<i>Catiline</i>
Sen.	Seneca (the Elder)
<i>Controv.</i>	<i>Controversiae</i>
Sen.	Seneca (the Younger)
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Moral Epistles</i>
<i>Helv.</i>	<i>Letter to Helvia</i>
<i>Q Nat.</i>	<i>Natural Questions</i>
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae (<i>Lives of the Later Emperors</i>)
<i>Alex. Sev.</i>	<i>Severus Alexander</i>
<i>Hadr.</i>	<i>Hadrian</i>
<i>Heliogab.</i>	<i>Heliogabalus</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Div. Aug.</i>	<i>Life of the Deified Augustus</i>
<i>Calig.</i>	<i>Life of Caligula</i>
<i>Div. Claud.</i>	<i>Life of the Deified Claudius</i>
<i>Dom.</i>	<i>Life of Domitian</i>
<i>Galb.</i>	<i>Life of Galba</i>
<i>Div. Iul.</i>	<i>Life of the Deified Julius</i>

<i>Ner.</i>	<i>Life of Nero</i>
<i>Tib.</i>	<i>Life of Tiberius</i>
Tac.	Tacitus
<i>Agr.</i>	<i>Agricola</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annals</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
Tert.	Tertullian
<i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apology</i>
<i>De praescr. haeret.</i>	<i>Prescription against Heretics</i>
Tib.	Tibullus
Ulp.	Ulpian
Varro, <i>Rust.</i>	Varro, <i>On Agriculture</i>
Verg.	Vergil
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
<i>G.</i>	<i>Georgics</i>

Works of Secondary Scholarship

ABV	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Black-figure Vase Painters</i> (1956)
AE	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue Archéologique</i> and separately (1888–)
ARV ²	J. D. Beazley, <i>Attic Red-figure Vase Painters</i> , 2nd edn. (1963)
<i>Coll. Alex.</i>	J. U. Powell (ed.), <i>Collectanea Alexandrina</i> (1925)
CIG	A. Boeckh (ed.), <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (1828–77)
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863–)
CLE	F. Bücheler and E. Lommatzsch (eds.), <i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> (1895–1926)
<i>CR Acad. Inscr.</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres</i>
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz (eds.), <i>Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th edn (Berlin, 1952)
<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby (ed.), <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (1923–)
Gow	A. S. F. Gow (ed.), <i>Machon: The Fragments</i> (1965)
GP	A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds.), <i>The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigrams</i> , 2 vols. (1965)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–)
<i>IL Jug</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia repertae et editae sunt</i> (Ljubljana 1963–86)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892–1916)
Kock	T. Kock, <i>Comicorum Atticorum Fragmenta</i> (1880–8)
Kühn	K. G. Kühn, <i>Medicorum Graecorum Opera</i>

Littré	E. Littré, <i>Oeuvres complètes d’Hippocrate</i> , 10 vols. (1839–61)
Lutz	C. E. Lutz, <i>Musonius Rufus: “The Roman Socrates”</i> (1947)
Marx	F. Marx, <i>C. Lucilii Carminum Reliquiae</i> (1904–5)
Nauck ²	A. Nauck (ed.), <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 2nd edn. (1889)
Pack	R. A. Pack (ed.), <i>Artemidori Daldiani onirocriticon libri V</i> (1963)
PColon.	<i>Kölner Papyri</i> (1976–)
PDidot.	<i>Papyrus Firmin-Didot</i> , H. Weil, <i>Un Papyrus Inédit</i> (1879)
Pf.	R. Pfeiffer (ed.), <i>Callimachus</i> , 2 vols (1949–53)
PKöln	<i>Kölner Papyri XI</i> (2007)
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.), <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> (1962)
POxy.	<i>Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> (1898–)
PSI	<i>Papiri Greci e Latini, Pubblicazioni della Società italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i> (1912–)
S-M	B. Snell and H. Maehler (eds.), <i>Pindari carmina cum fragmentis</i> (1987–8)
Suppl. Hell.	H. Lloyd-Jones and P. Parsons (eds.), <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> , Texte und Kommentare no. 11 (1983)
Suppl. Mag.	R. W. Daniel and F. Maltomini (eds.), <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> , <i>Papyrologica Coloniensia</i> 16/1–2, 2 vols. (1989–91)
SVF	H. von Arnim, (ed.), <i>Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta</i> (1903–)
Us.	H. Usener (ed.), <i>Epicurea</i> (1887)
V	E.-M. Voigt (ed.), <i>Sappho et Alcaeus: Fragmenta</i> (1971)
van der Horst	P. W. van der Horst, <i>Chaeremon: Egyptian Priest and Stoic Philosopher</i> (1984)
West ²	M. L. West (ed.), <i>Iambi et Elegi</i> , 2nd edn. (1989)
Wimmer	F. Wimmer (ed.), <i>Theophrasti Eresii opera</i> (1931)

Chronological Charts

Greece

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date CE</i>	<i>Political Events</i>	<i>Cultural Events</i>
BRONZE AGE	1450–1200	Mycenaean civilization at its zenith	
DARK AGE	1184	Traditional date of fall of Troy	
	c.800		Invention of Greek alphabet
	776		First Olympic games
	c.750	Rise of the <i>polis</i> Overseas colonization begins	Homer
ARCHAIC AGE	c.700	Development of oligarchic symposium culture	Hesiod; <i>Homeric Hymns</i> Archilochus Sappho Anacreon
	594	Archonship of Solon	
	560–514	Pisistratid dynasty rules Athens	
	c.530		Pythagoras emigrates to Croton
	525		Red-figure pottery technique
CLASSICAL PERIOD	490	Battle of Marathon	Pindar
	458		Aeschylus' <i>Oresteia</i>
	451/50	Pericles' Citizenship Law	

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date CE</i>	<i>Political Events</i>	<i>Cultural Events</i>
HELLENISTIC PERIOD	431–404	Peloponnesian War	
	431		Euripides' <i>Medea</i>
	429	Death of Pericles	
	428		Euripides' <i>Hippolytus</i>
	411		Aristophanes' <i>Lysistrata</i>
	399	Trial and execution of Socrates	
	c.399–347		Plato's dialogues
	c.350		Praxiteles' Aphrodite of Cnidus
	338	Battle of Chaeronea	
	336	Philip II of Macedon assassinated	
	335		Aristotle founds the Lyceum
	331	Battle of Gaugamela	
	323	Death of Alexander the Great	
	321–292		Career of Menander
	306		Epicurus founds the Garden
	305	Ptolemy I Soter king of Egypt	
	301		Zeno founds the Stoa
283–246	Reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus	Apollonius, Callimachus, Theocritus	
c.100		Meleager's <i>Garland</i>	
30	Death of Cleopatra VII		

Rome

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date CE</i>	<i>Political Events</i>	<i>Cultural Events</i>
ARCHAIC PERIOD	753	Traditional date of the founding of Rome	
	6 th century	Etruscan domination of Rome	
	510–509	Expulsion of Tarquins and founding of the Republic	
REPUBLIC	218–201	Second Punic War	
	c.205–184		Career of Plautus
	186	Suppression of Bacchic rites	Scipionic Circle of P. Cornelius
	149–146	Third Punic War	Scipio Aemilianus
	146	Sack of Corinth	Terence, Lucilius, Polybius
	133	Tribunate of Tiberius Gracchus	
LATE REPUBLIC	123–121	Tribunates of Gaius Gracchus	
	106	Birth of Cicero	
	100	Birth of Julius Caesar	
	90–88	Social War: revolt of Rome's Italian allies	
	87–82	Civil wars of Marius and Sulla	
	63	Consulship of Cicero; suppression of Catilinarian conspiracy	
	60	Formation of First Triumvirate	
	c.57–54		Career of Catullus
	c.54		Lucretius' <i>On the Nature of Things</i>
	49	Caesar crosses Rubicon	
	48	Pompey defeated at Pharsalus	
	44	Caesar assassinated	
	44–42	Civil wars between Brutus and Cassius and Marc Antony and Octavian	
c.39–38		Vergil's <i>Eclogues</i> published	
31	Battle of Actium		
c.35–30		Publication of Horace's <i>Satires</i>	

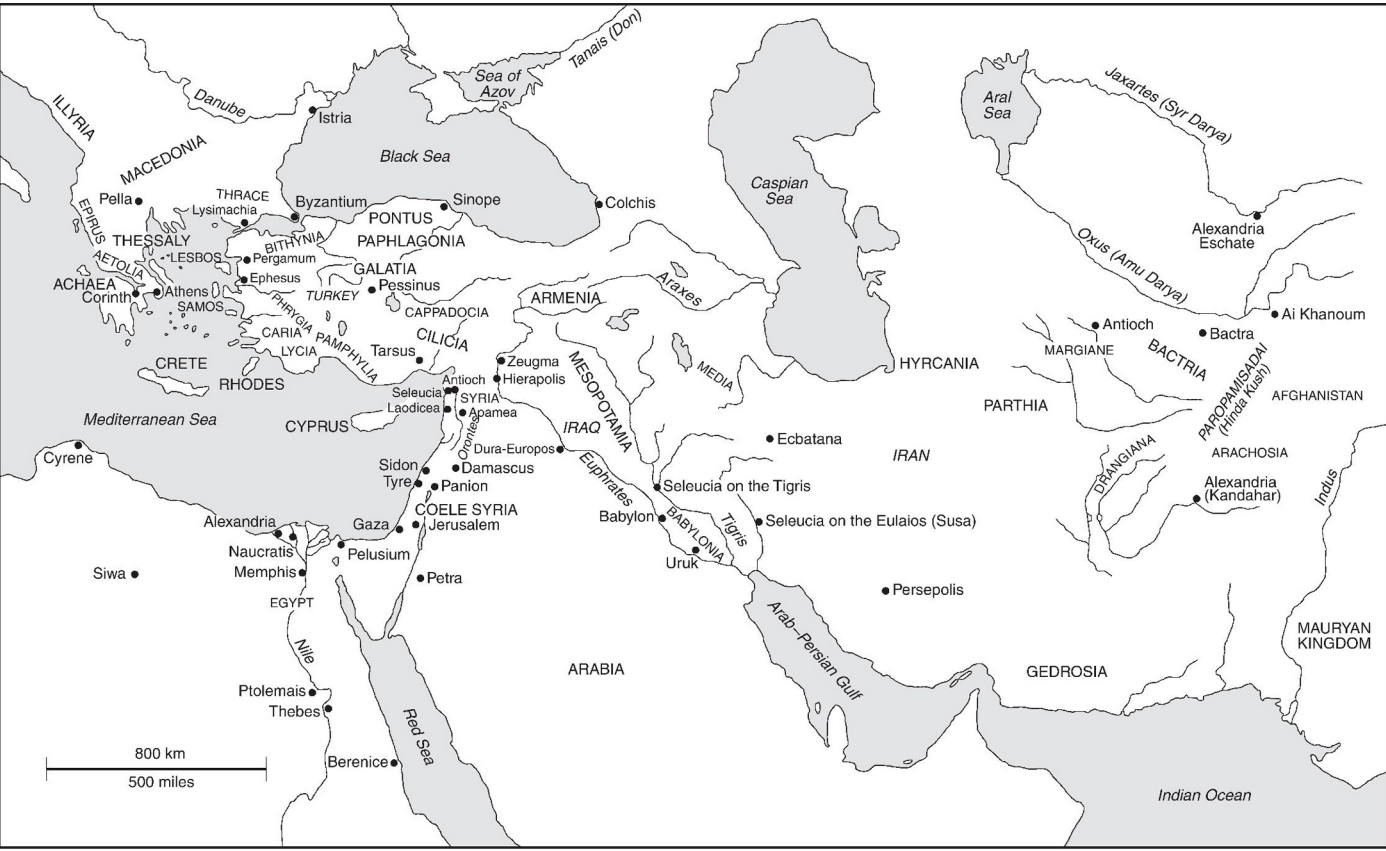
xxx Chronological Charts

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date CE</i>	<i>Political Events</i>	<i>Cultural Events</i>
AUGUSTAN AGE	c.29–23		Books 1–3 of Propertius' elegies
	27	Augustus (Octavian) invested with supreme powers by Senate	
	after 27		Tibullus' elegies
	23		Horace's <i>Odes</i>
	19		Deaths of Tibullus and Vergil; publication of Vergil's <i>Aeneid</i>
	18	Julian laws on marriage and adultery	
	16		Propertius' fourth book
	9		Dedication of <i>Ara Pacis</i>
	8		Relegation of Ovid
	14	Death of Augustus	
ROMAN EMPIRE	14–37	Reign of Tiberius	Career of Seneca the Elder
	37–41	Reign of Caligula	
	41–54	Reign of Claudius	
	54–68	Reign of Nero	Petronius; Seneca the Younger; Musonius Rufus
	60–230		Second Sophistic; Greek novels
	69	Year of the Four Emperors	
	69–79	Reign of Vespasian	
	79	Eruption of Vesuvius	Death of Pliny the Elder
	81–96	Reign of Domitian	
	93	Persecution of Stoic opposition	
	98–117	Reign of Trajan	Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, Martial
	117–138	Reign of Hadrian	Juvenal, Plutarch, Herodes Atticus
	130		Death of Antinous
c.155–180		Career of Apuleius	
157–216		Career of Galen	
161–180	Reign of Marcus Aurelius		
165/6–189	Antonine Plague		

<i>Period</i>	<i>Date CE</i>	<i>Political Events</i>	<i>Cultural Events</i>
LATE ANTIQUITY	193–211	Reign of Septimius Severus	Tertullian
	212	Roman citizenship extended to all free persons in empire	
	218–222	Reign of Elagabalus	
	235–270, 275–284	Periods of civil disorder	
	284–305	Reign of Diocletian	
	313	Edict of Milan; religious toleration for Christians	
	320	Abolition of Julian penalties for celibacy	
	342	Outlawing of passive sexual conduct for males	
c.390		Composition of <i>Historia Augusta</i>	
533	Sanctions against active male homoeroticism		



Map 1 Greece and the Aegean World



Map 2 The Hellenistic World



Map 3 Italy



Map 4 The Roman Empire under Trajan and Hadrian 98–138 CE

Introduction: Why Ancient Sexuality? Issues and Approaches

Lawyers have little time for Platonic love. In a trial in America that attracted nationwide media attention, however, one point of constitutional law turned on arguments involving pronouncements about sex by the fourth-century BCE philosopher **Plato**. Plaintiffs in *Evans v. Romer*, heard in a Colorado district court in October 1993, were attempting to invalidate an amendment to the Colorado state constitution, Amendment 2, approved by referendum a year before. This amendment prohibited public agencies, municipalities, and school districts from adopting laws or policies granting protected status on the basis of sexual orientation. Its opponents argued that putting gays, lesbians, and bisexuals at such specific disadvantage violated their right to equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution because it did not serve legitimate government interests and placed unique burdens on their ability to participate equally in the political process. Plaintiffs also challenged it on First Amendment grounds, including violation of the prohibition against the establishment of religion. Since many Christian denominations take the position that homosexual acts are morally wrong without exception, Amendment 2, they alleged, was an intrusion of fundamentalist Christian bias against homosexuals into secular law.

Here is where Plato enters the courtroom. To refute the latter contention, the state called in John M. Finnis, a specialist in moral philosophy, as an expert witness. In an affidavit, Finnis asserted that condemnation of homosexual activity had its basis in **natural-law theory**, the notion that human morality is governed by inherent principles evident to reason, and was clearly articulated by the founders of the Western tradition of rational philosophy: “All three of the greatest Greek philosophers, **Socrates**, Plato and **Aristotle**, regarded homosexual conduct as intrinsically shameful, immoral, and indeed depraved or depraving” (Finnis 1994: 1054). Appearing for the plaintiffs, Martha Nussbaum, an authority on Greek philosophy, contested that claim. Finnis’s understanding of the Greek classical tradition was based on an

erroneous reading of poorly translated texts, she maintained; there was no evidence that ancient philosophers considered same-sex erotic attachments immoral. Condemnation of such relationships “as a violation of natural law or the natural human good” was therefore “inherently theological” (Expert Witness Summary at 2, quoted by Clark 2000: 4). By inference, then, it was an establishment of religion.

As an example of what she said were the misleadingly translated passages that had given Finnis the wrong impression, Nussbaum cited the 1926 Loeb Library version of Plato’s last treatise, the *Laws*. There, the philosopher several times appears to condemn same-sex copulation explicitly, at 636c and again at 836c and 841d, as “contrary to nature.” She testified, however, that the translator, R. G. Bury, had rendered the Greek in keeping with the shame and embarrassment about homosexuality commonly felt at that time, giving it a far more negative cast than was appropriate. In a subsequent article defending her testimony, Nussbaum explained that Plato repeatedly expresses fears about the threat posed to rational judgment by all the physical drives – hunger and thirst as well as sex. He focused on the dangers of same-sex relations in the *Laws* not because he viewed them as wrong, but because they were “especially powerful sources of passionate stimulation” (Nussbaum 1994: 1580). As for the statements that homosexuality is “contrary to nature,” that is, to the practices of the animal kingdom, Nussbaum noted that they occurred each time in imaginary public pronouncements and construed them as rhetorical devices for convincing the ordinary man. Appeals to animal nature would carry little weight with Plato himself because he would say that a rational being cannot be guided by the behavior of nonrational creatures (1994: 1576–7, 1631, 1633, 1639).

After Nussbaum had finished her direct testimony, Robert George, a political scientist from Princeton, was brought in on rebuttal. Ensuing controversy dealt with the correct translation of certain passages of Plato’s *Laws* and, in fact, upon the single word *tolmêma* (“act of daring”) at 636c, which Nussbaum asserted was morally neutral and her opponent claimed to be pejorative. Both sides based their arguments for the meaning of the word upon the entry given in the most authoritative dictionary of ancient Greek, though they relied upon two different editions of the same dictionary. There is no need to go into all the philological technicalities, or all the courtroom charges and countercharges, whose repercussions continued on in print as fiercely argued follow-up discussions by participants appeared in academic and legal journals. Eventually, both the Colorado District and Supreme Courts found for the plaintiffs, and the United States Supreme Court ruled in 1996 that Amendment 2 was unconstitutional.

None of the judicial opinions issued by the various courts cited evidence from Greek texts in making a determination. Nevertheless, the philosophical and ethical issues raised in the Amendment 2 case indicate that informed discussion of Greco-Roman sexual protocols has the potential to shed valuable new light on modern controversies about sexuality. What was unfortunate about *Evans v. Romer*, as observers have since pointed out, was that the actual courtroom exchanges focused narrowly on Plato’s attitude toward male–male *copulation*, which is, indeed, of a piece with his distrust of all forms of sexual pleasure, including that provided by