

**Greece and Rome:
An Integrated History
of the Ancient Mediterranean
Part I**

Professor Robert Garland



THE TEACHING COMPANY ®

PUBLISHED BY:

THE TEACHING COMPANY
4151 Lafayette Center Drive, Suite 100
Chantilly, Virginia 20151-1232
1-800-TEACH-12
Fax—703-378-3819
www.teach12.com

Copyright © The Teaching Company, 2008

Printed in the United States of America

This book is in copyright. All rights reserved.

Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above,
no part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in
or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted,
in any form, or by any means
(electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise),
without the prior written permission of
The Teaching Company.

Robert Garland, Ph.D.

Roy D. and Margaret B. Wooster Professor of the Classics
Colgate University

Professor Robert Garland is Roy D. and Margaret B. Wooster Professor of the Classics at Colgate University, where he is currently serving his 13th year as Chair of the Department of the Classics, and where since 2006 he has also served as Director of the Division of the Humanities. He received his B.A. in Classics from The University of Manchester in 1969, where he graduated with First Class Honors. He obtained his M.A. in Classics from McMaster University in Ontario in 1973 and his Ph.D. in Ancient History from University College London in 1981. He is the recipient of the George Grote Prize in Ancient History (1982). He was a Fulbright Scholar and Junior Fellow at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, DC (1985–1986), and a visiting scholar at the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton (1990). He has taught at the University of Reading, the University of London, Keele University, and the University of Maryland at College Park. He was also the Benjamin Meaker Distinguished Visiting Professor at the University of Bristol (1995).

His research focuses on the social, religious, political, and cultural history of both Greece and Rome. He has written 10 books and many articles in both academic and popular journals. His books include *The Greek Way of Death* (2nd ed., Bristol Classical Press, 2001); *The Piraeus: From the Fifth to the First Century B.C.* (2nd ed., Bristol Classical Press, 2001); *The Greek Way of Life: From Conception to Old Age* (Duckworth and Cornell, 1990); *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion* (Duckworth, 1992); *Religion and the Greeks* (Bristol Classical Press, 1994); *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World* (Duckworth and Cornell, 1995); *Daily Life of the Ancient Greeks* (Greenwood, 1998; Greek translation, 2001); *Surviving Greek Tragedy* (Duckworth, 2004); *Julius Caesar* (Bristol Phoenix Press, 2004); and most recently, *Celebrity in Antiquity: From Media Tarts to Tabloid Queens* (Duckworth, 2006). He has been a consultant and discussant for several television productions on the ancient world.

Table of Contents

Greece and Rome: An Integrated History of the Ancient Mediterranean

Professor Biography	i
Course Scope	1
Lecture One Who Were the Greeks? Who Were the Romans?	2
Lecture Two Trade and Travel in the Mediterranean	4
Lecture Three Democratic or Republican	6
Lecture Four Law and Order	8
Lecture Five Less than Fully Human	10
Lecture Six Close Encounters, 750–272 B.C.	12
Lecture Seven The Velvet Glove, 272–190 B.C.	14
Lecture Eight How the Two Polytheisms (Almost) Merged	16
Lecture Nine The Iron Fist, 190–146 B.C.	18
Lecture Ten The Last Hellenistic Dynasts, 146–31 B.C.	20
Lecture Eleven Why the Greeks Lost, Why the Romans Won	22
Lecture Twelve Philhellenism and Hellenophobia	24
Lecture Thirteen The Two Languages	26
Lecture Fourteen Leisure and Entertainment	28
Lecture Fifteen Sex and Sexuality	30
Lecture Sixteen Death and the Afterlife	32
Lecture Seventeen From Mystery Religion to Ruler Cult	34
Lecture Eighteen Greek Cities under Roman Rule	36
Lecture Nineteen Greeks in Rome, Romans in Greece	38
Lecture Twenty The Hellenism of Augustus	40
Lecture Twenty-One Art, Looting, and Reproductions	42
Lecture Twenty-Two Architecture, Sacred and Secular	44
Lecture Twenty-Three Science and Technology	46
Lecture Twenty-Four Disease, Medical Care, and Physicians	48
Lecture Twenty-Five The Greek Epic and Its Roman Echo	50
Lecture Twenty-Six Tragedy and Comedy	52
Lecture Twenty-Seven Love Poetry, Satire, History, the Novel	54
Lecture Twenty-Eight Greek Influences on Roman Education	56
Lecture Twenty-Nine Greek Philosophy and Its Roman Advocates	59
Lecture Thirty Hellenomania from Nero to Hadrian	62
Lecture Thirty-One Jews, Greeks, and Romans	64
Lecture Thirty-Two Christianity’s Debt to Greece and Rome	67
Lecture Thirty-Three The Apotheosis of Athens	69
Lecture Thirty-Four The Decline of the West	71
Lecture Thirty-Five The Survival of the East	74
Lecture Thirty-Six The Enduring Duo	76
Maps	78
Timeline	91
Glossary	96

Table of Contents
Greece and Rome: An Integrated History of the Ancient Mediterranean

Biographical Notes..... 99
Bibliography 106

Greece and Rome: An Integrated History of the Ancient Mediterranean

Scope:

Most courses on Greek or Roman history are just that—courses on *either* Greek *or* Roman history. This one will venture into relatively unexplored territory by investigating the numerous ways in which two very different cultures intersected, coincided, and at times collided. The relationship between the Greeks and the Romans has virtually no parallel in world history in that their contact created a unique fusion of cultural expression identified as “Greco-Roman.” The backdrop to this course is the Mediterranean, which not only served to facilitate trade and other encounters but also gave a degree of uniformity to the lives of the peoples living around its circumference.

Traditionally, ancient historians have tended to characterize Greco-Roman culture in terms of Rome’s “debt” to Greece. This course will demonstrate that while the Romans did indeed owe a great deal to Greek creativity and inventiveness, they transformed everything that they borrowed into a distinctly Roman form. Moreover, though many Greeks disdained Romans as the uncultivated product of an upstart and inferior civilization, they benefited greatly from the relationship, notably because of the stable political conditions that prevailed under Roman rule in the eastern Mediterranean from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. onwards. These conditions provided the seedbed in which Hellenism could continue to flourish and evolve until late antiquity and beyond.

Our course has three specific foci: The first is political and military. It begins in the middle of the 8th century B.C., when Rome was founded and when the Greeks were beginning to establish colonies in Italy. It continues down to A.D. 500, well into the Byzantine era, named after Constantinople, formerly Byzantium, which became the new capital of the Roman Empire. The lectures will trace the course of events that determined the relationship between the two peoples throughout this period of 1,500 years. It will give emphasis to the cultural contacts that took place in Campania (southern Italy) and Sicily before Rome subjugated the whole of Italy; to the military successes Rome achieved against Pyrrhus of Epirus, who established control of southern Italy and posed a threat to Rome’s increasing dominance; to the wars that the Romans fought against the Hellenistic monarchs who assumed control of the fragmented empire of Alexander the Great; and to the wars they fought against Mithradates VI of Pontus, who led a rebellion against Roman rule in Asia and mainland Greece.

The second focus of the course is on those aspects of life in the ancient Mediterranean which, broadly speaking, all ancient peoples faced, and to which they responded somewhat similarly. These include attitudes toward death, sexuality, and leisure. We will also examine attitudes toward women, foreigners, and slaves, whom all Mediterranean cultures treated as inferior to the male citizen body. The interaction between the two peoples is colored and even dominated by the fact that the Romans, having subjugated the Greeks, then set the latter to work as slaves. This was particularly true in areas that we consider to be the reserve of professionals, such as in medicine and education.

The third focus of the course is the variety of ways in which the Greeks and Romans interacted with one another on a cultural level. The forms of cultural expression that we will investigate include religion, art, architecture, medicine, science, technology, various literary genres, education, and philosophy. Although Greek cultural achievements provided the original point of departure in all these areas, the Romans were never merely derivative.

The course will then return to the period when the Jews, Christians, Greeks, and Romans came increasingly into contact and conflict with each other. We will see how Greece (notably Athens), thanks to imperial patronage, recovered much of its former cultural glory; how a shift in the balance of power between the western and eastern halves of the empire occurred after the foundation of Constantinople by Emperor Constantine I in A.D. 330; and finally how a “parting of the ways” took place when the two halves finally split after the death of Theodosius I in A.D. 395. Even then, however, their destinies remained entwined, as the Byzantine Emperor Justinian sought to recover control of Italy before the Lombards effectively erased his achievement.

Throughout our course we will call upon a wide variety of sources—literature, archaeology, the visual arts, coinage, inscriptions—in order to assemble the fascinating but complex picture of two peoples in constant and indissoluble contact.

Lecture One

Who Were the Greeks? Who Were the Romans?

Scope: Talking about the Greeks and the Romans as collective entities is deeply problematic. To this day the origins of the Greeks continue to be a highly contested area of scholarship. On the basis of language, we can hypothesize that the people whom we call “the Greeks” first occupied the mainland sometime between the 15th and 13th centuries B.C. According to legend, there were two main ethnic groups: the Ionians, who lived in Greece from time immemorial, and the Dorians, who invaded Greece in a migratory movement.

The origins of the Romans are almost equally problematic. According to legend, they were descended from Trojan refugees who fled to Italy after the sack of Troy and intermarried with the local inhabitants. This legend became engrafted onto the legend of Romulus, the eponymous founder of the city of Rome. Whatever the truth behind the stories, they help us to answer the important question: Who did the Greeks and the Romans *think* they were?

Outline

- I. The innovative nature of an integrated history of Greece and Rome.
 - A. Most of the greatest scholars have confined their research to either Greek or Roman history.
 - B. It has only been fairly recently that a handful of scholars has begun to study the two cultures in tandem.
 - C. Only by studying the two cultures in connection with each other can we come to a proper understanding of that unique cultural entity that is “Greco-Roman.”
- II. How Greek and Roman history differ from each other.
 - A. Greek and Roman identity are inherently problematic. Whereas “Roman” ultimately comes to mean everyone who lived in the Roman Empire, “Greek” refers exclusively to those who spoke Greek.
 - B. Greek history does not have a single geographical and political focus of interest comparable to the enduring importance of the city of Rome for Roman history.
- III. Who were the Greeks?
 - A. To this day scholars hotly debate “the coming of the Greeks,” namely the entry of Greek speakers into mainland Greece.
 - B. The first culture that we can identify as Greek are the Mycenaeans, a people whose culture was centered at Mycenae in the Argolid and who have left us a Greek-language script known as Linear B.
 - C. Mycenaean civilization collapsed around 1200 B.C., thereby ushering in a break in cultural continuity that we call “The Dark Age.”
 - D. The Greeks traced their ancestry back to a mythical figure called Hellen, the patriarch of the Hellenic race.
 - E. They divided themselves ethnically into Ionians and Dorians, both of whom claimed descent from Hellen, though modern scholars dispute the ethnic divide.
 - F. The Ionians believed themselves to be autochthonous (indigenous), whereas the Dorians believed themselves to be the descendants of Heracles, who had returned to claim their lands.
 - G. Greek identity only began to take shape as a political idea around the time of the Persian Invasion, when the concept of the “barbarian” or non-Greek also began to take shape (480s B.C.).
- IV. Who were the Romans?
 - A. The Romans traced their descent from a Trojan refugee called Aeneas, who landed in Italy not far from the future site of Rome. His son Ascanius, according to legend, founded the city of Alba Longa, a precursor of the city of Rome.
 - B. Legend has it that sometime later Rhea Silvia, the daughter of the king of Alba Longa, was raped by Mars, the god of War, and gave birth to twins, Romulus and Remus. It was Romulus who founded Rome and became its first king.

- C. A Greek mythographer called Hellanicus (5th century B.C.) was the first to suggest that Aeneas was the patriarch of the Roman race, and another Greek called Alkimos first engrafted the Aeneas legend onto the Romulus legend.
- D. Excavations at Lavinium in Latium have brought to light possible evidence of a hero-shrine in Aeneas's honor dated to the 4th century B.C.
- E. Archeology tells us that Rome began as a small village in the middle of the 8th century B.C.—around the time of its traditional foundation date. Rome as an urban entity, however, did not take shape until about 650 B.C.
- F. Some time in the late 7th century B.C. the Etruscans arrived in Rome and became the conduit through which Greek culture entered Rome. Rome's last three kings were said to have been Etruscan.

Suggested Readings:

Drews, *The Coming of the Greeks*.

Finley, *The Legacy of Greece*.

Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*.

Horden and Purcell, "What Is the Mediterranean?" in *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*.

Wiseman, *Remus: A Roman Myth*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In the absence of any developed concept of nationhood, in what sense can we talk about the Greeks and the Romans as ethnically distinctive societies?
2. What criteria can best be used to determine a people's identity?

Lecture Two

Trade and Travel in the Mediterranean

Scope: Trade and travel were widespread throughout the Mediterranean basin from early times onward. The region's economic and cultural development was founded on regular exchanges between people and goods. From Neolithic times onward, essential raw goods were passing from one community to another. Although many Mediterranean cultures were self-sufficient, some depended on trade for their livelihood. Evidence for trade and travel over a large distance in the Greek world already exists in the poems of Homer. Trading contacts between the Greeks and Phoenicians resulted in an era of the flowering of Greek culture that we call the Orientalizing period (roughly 725–630 B.C.). Trade was one of the impetuses behind the colonization movement that resulted in the expansion of the Greek world at the same time.

First Rhodes and then Delos benefited from the expansion of the Greek world eastward as a result of the conquests of Alexander the Great. However, piracy remained an obstacle to trade into Roman times. Though originally an agricultural community, Rome became increasingly dependent upon imports of basic foodstuffs and luxury items. In addition, regional specialization developed, with specific parts of the empire devoting themselves to the production of specific goods.

Travel by sea was much slower than travel by land. The Romans were the first to build roads that joined communities together. Even within their empire, however, the transportation of goods overland was laborious, due to the lack of navigable rivers. Despite the dangers of travel, a large number of people were constantly on the move, often as a result of forced relocation.

Outline

- I. There are several reasons why an understanding of trade and travel in the Mediterranean is central to our course.
 - A. Whenever exchanges took place between different peoples, exchange between their cultures also took place.
 - B. As early as 8200 B.C. there is evidence of trading activity in the Mediterranean.
 - C. Very few Mediterranean cultures remained self-sufficient, even if they were to begin with.
- II. There are a number of facts relating to trade in the Mediterranean that remained constant throughout antiquity.
 - A. Commodities transported in largest quantity include wine, olive oil, grain, and pottery.
 - B. The commonest form of container was a two-handled jar with a narrow neck known as an amphora, which was in use from the 14th century B.C. to the 6th century A.D.
 - C. Wherever possible, trade was conducted by sea.
 - D. Most trade was in the hands of professional merchants. States played little part.
- III. One of the most important Mediterranean peoples to devote themselves primarily to trade were the Phoenicians.
 - A. The Phoenicians traded in textiles, metals, foodstuffs, craft goods, and purple dye, from which their name (from the Greek *phoinios*) possibly derives.
 - B. The Greeks first encountered the Phoenicians at Al Mina, where, too, they probably first learned of the Phoenician alphabet. As a result of contact with the Phoenicians, Eastern ideas and motifs began to influence Greek culture.
- IV. Despite the importance of trade, traders tended to be viewed with suspicion and contempt.
 - A. Both Homer and Hesiod exhibit evidence of prejudice against traders.
 - B. An exception is Sostratus of Aegina (late 6th/early 5th century B.C.), who, according to Herodotus, was the wealthiest trader of all time.
 - C. In Classical Athens most of the trade was conducted by metics, foreigners from other Greek cities who for the most part resided permanently in the port of Piraeus.
 - D. Prejudice against traders was linked to their kinship with pirates.
 - E. In the Hellenistic period Rhodes and Delos became centers for transit trade.

- V. Trade continued to develop and expand under the Romans.
 - A. Roman aristocrats affected a disdain for mercantile wealth but benefited from it.
 - B. Trade in the Mediterranean reached its peak in the period from 100 B.C. to A.D. 300, as evidenced by the number of shipwrecks.
 - C. Specific regions, such as France, Syria, and Egypt, specialized in specific products.
 - D. Pompey the Great brought piracy under control in 67 B.C., but it was never entirely eliminated from the Mediterranean.
- VI. Transporting goods on land was slow and laborious.
 - A. There are very few navigable rivers flowing into the Mediterranean.
 - B. The most common method of transportation on land was the two-wheeled cart and the four-wheeled wagon.
 - C. Whereas Greek roads merely facilitated travel within a state's territory, the Romans provided the Mediterranean with a coordinated road system.
 - D. Major Roman roads include the Via Appia (Rome to Brundisium), the Via Flaminia (Rome to Ariminum), and the Via Egnatia (Adriatic coast to Byzantium).
- VII. Travel was hazardous and slow but widespread.
 - A. In the absence of passenger ships, travelers had to request accommodation on merchant ships.
 - B. On land, most people traveled by foot.
 - C. Even major roads were infested with robbers.
 - D. The movement of whole peoples was a common occurrence.
 - E. Due to the slow pace of movement throughout the Mediterranean, information tended to travel very slowly.

Suggested Readings:

Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*.

Garnsey, Hopkins, and Whittaker, eds., *Trade in the Ancient Economy*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the principal differences between the Greek and Roman world in terms of trading patterns and dependency upon trade?
2. To what extent is it true to say that the Roman Empire was “built on water” (Keith Hopkins)?

Lecture Three

Democratic or Republican

Scope: The most evolved political entity in the Greek world was the autonomous city-state or polis. The polis system lasted into late antiquity. It was in Athens, the most advanced of the city-states, that radical democracy first evolved in 462/1 B.C. Athenian democracy was very different from what we understand by democracy today. It excluded women and it could not have functioned had Athens not been a slave society. Sparta, Athens's main rival for power in the 5th century B.C., was also a slave-based society. In addition to the *poleis* (plural of polis), there were also several monarchies and tribal organizations where a sense of community was much less developed.

Following the expulsion of the kings in c. 510 B.C., Rome introduced a system of government known as the Republic, which was unparalleled in terms of its intricate system of checks and balances. Like Classical Greek democracy, it gave precedence to aristocrats, both in the running of its domestic affairs and in its dealings with the subjects in its provinces.

The sense of community was founded on the principle of citizenship, the *demos* or "people" in the case of Athens; "the Senate and the People of Rome" (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*) in the case of Rome. Even within the citizen body, however, there were deep social divisions. In fact, inequality lay at the heart of the ancient community. The political authority that was invested in ordinary Roman citizens never came close to equaling that which was invested in Athenian citizens. As a consequence, Rome never fully evolved into a true democracy, though it did offer more opportunities for social mobility than the Greek world.

Outline

- I. The polis, the city-state, was the most distinctive political entity in the Greek-speaking world.
 - A. The polis, which consisted of an urban area and surrounding territory, evolved in the 8th century B.C.
 - B. There were probably as many as 1,500 city-states in the Mediterranean, the southern shore of the Black Sea, eastern Sicily, southern Italy, southern coast of France, and the eastern coast of Spain.
 - C. Each polis had its own law code, army, system of government, and set of gods.
 - D. In less urbanized regions there were the tribal affiliations or *ethnê*.
- II. Until the rise of Macedon in the middle of the 4th century B.C, Athens, which was a democracy, was one of the most important *poleis* in the Classical era.
 - A. Athenian democracy was participatory rather than representative.
 - B. Only adult males had the right to attend the Assembly and serve on the juries.
 - C. The Assembly was dominated by democrats in the 5th century B.C.
 - D. The extraordinary accomplishments of Classical Athens in drama, philosophy, and architecture, etc., were only made possible by the exploitation of slave labor and by the tribute that she exacted from her so-called allies.
 - E. Athenian democracy was favored both by the hoplite phalanx, a close-packed formation of citizen soldiers who fought in rank alongside one another, and by the trireme or three-banked warship that was powered by citizen rowers who pulled their oars alongside one another.
- III. The other most important city-state in the same era was Sparta, which had a mixed constitution consisting of dual monarchy, council, and popular assembly.
 - A. Though Spartan citizens had political rights, it was the kings and the Council of Elders (*Gerousia*) who exercised power.
 - B. Sparta became powerful by conquering Messenia and enslaving its population, whom it called "helots."
 - C. Sparta became a militaristic society some time in the 6th century B.C., and by 500 B.C. was head of the Peloponnesian League.

- IV. Rome was much more heterogeneous than any Greek city.
- A. Rome from c. 753 to 510 B.C. was ruled by kings, but whereas Greek kings were hereditary, Roman kings were chosen on their merits.
 - B. The Republic consisted of three elements—elected magistrates, popular assemblies, and the Senate.
 - C. Despite the intricate checks and balances designed to restrict the amount of power that any single individual could wield, the Republic was a political system that lent itself to bribery and corruption.
- V. “Community” in the Mediterranean world meant those who possessed political and legal rights.
- A. To the extent that both the Greeks and the Romans acknowledged a sense of community, they did so exclusively rather than inclusively.
 - B. The Athenian citizen body was the *demos* or people, while Rome comprised “the Senate and the People of Rome” (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*, abbreviated SPQR).
 - C. Non-citizens, including women, minors, foreigners, and slaves, were regarded as inferior.
 - D. Whereas the Greeks did not generally make grants of citizenship to foreigners, the Romans gradually extended their citizenship until A.D. 212, when all freeborn males living within the empire were declared citizens.
- VI. Class prejudice was rampant in Greek and Roman society.
- A. Both the Greeks and the Romans put a high premium on birth.
 - B. Both the Greek and Latin languages equated aristocracy with moral superiority.
 - C. Roman society offered many more opportunities for social mobility, as epitomized by the story of the slave Servius Tullius, who became the sixth king of Rome.
- VII. Family structure in both Greek and Roman society was comparable, though there were also important differences.
- A. In both societies the family was a tight-knit structure.
 - B. In both societies the family was a religious unit.
 - C. However, the Roman family invested much more authority in the head of the household or *paterfamilias* than the Greek family.
 - D. In addition, in the Roman system the client-patron relationship reinforced social divisions.

Suggested Readings:

Crawford, “The Roman Governing Classes,” in *The Roman Republic*.

Davies, *Democracy and Classical Greece*.

Herman Hansen, *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*.

Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Does our modern notion of “community” have any relevance for our understanding of the ancient world?
2. In what ways were the Romans and Greeks (a) most similar and (b) most dissimilar in the ways in which they identified themselves as a “community”?

Lecture Four

Law and Order

Scope: Greek and Roman law appear to be distinct entities in origin. Nonetheless, a comparison between the two societies reveals salient characteristics that help us to identify important similarities as well as differences. Though the earliest surviving lawcode dates to the middle of the 7th century B.C., the only Greek city we can study in some detail is classical Athens, which has bequeathed to us a fairly comprehensive picture of its legal workings and machinery. It was Athens that first established trial by jury and that sought to differentiate crime in terms of motive.

The earliest Roman law code is the Law of the Twelve Tables (c. 450 B.C.). Subsequently Roman law evolved piecemeal, since it was the Romans who established the principle that the law was an organic entity that had to adapt to changing social, economic, and political conditions. In A.D. 530 the Byzantine Emperor Justinian appointed a commission to codify Roman law and to preserve the opinions of jurists.

In the absence of a police force, common criminals were only rarely brought to trial. Law enforcement was therefore largely left in the hands of private individuals. In both societies the law observed important distinctions between citizens, noncitizens, and slaves. A further distinction was made on the basis of social class.

Outline

- I. Greek law established itself in different city-states over a long period of time.
 - A. The chorus in Aeschylus's *Eumenides* (produced 458 B.C.) enacts the foundation charter of the establishment of trial by jury in Athens.
 - B. In the *Iliad* XVIII, Homer provides the first literary description of a judicial arbitration in the Greek world (approximately 725 B.C.).
 - C. The earliest surviving Greek law code is from Dreros on Crete, and is dated c. 650 B.C., which is also the date of the earliest extant public inscriptions.
 - D. Athens's earliest surviving law code is ascribed to Dracon (621 B.C.), who prescribed severe penalties for even minor offences.
 - E. The Athenian Solon introduced many new laws in 594/3 B.C. as part of a broad-ranging legislative package.
- II. The Athenian court system was different from our modern system in a number of ways.
 - A. As there was no public prosecutor, charges had to be brought by private individuals.
 - B. Juries, who were all male and who voted in secret ballot, numbered between 200 and 1,000.
 - C. There was a presiding magistrate but no judge.
 - D. There were no lawyers, though wealthy citizens hired speech writers.
 - E. The most common punishment was a fine.
- III. Roman law codes and legal process reflect the inherent legalistic mindset of the Romans.
 - A. The origins of Roman law are unknown, though there was a legend that the Romans sent a delegation to Greece as they were preparing to draw up their first law code.
 - B. The Romans established the principle that law is an organic entity which evolves over time according to changing social and political conditions.
 - C. A striking feature of the Law of the Twelve Tables (c. 450 B.C.), the earliest Roman law code, is the power of life and death that it invested in the head of the family.
 - D. Roman law evolved piecemeal until the Emperor Justinian appointed a commission to codify it and preserve the opinions of Roman jurists (published in A.D. 533).
 - E. Roman law observed distinctions between citizens and noncitizens, as it did between persons of higher and lower social rank, known respectively as *honestiores* and *humiliores*.
 - F. It was in Rome that the concept of the lawyer first evolved around 300 B.C.

- G. The Romans invested much more authority in an appointed judge (known as a *iudex*) than the Greeks did.
- IV. Both law enforcement and punishment were meted out in a somewhat arbitrary fashion.
- A. Neither society had a police force comparable to those that exist in modern societies, and only a small percentage of crimes committed ever reached the attention of the courts.
 - B. The primary task of the “police,” such as it existed, was to put out fires and maintain public order.
 - C. Only when a crime had been committed against the state did the state become involved.
 - D. Many crimes would have been settled by the interested parties, without reference to the courts.
 - E. Whereas common criminals were frequently executed, often in very painful ways (such as being thrown from a rock and left to die), persons of rank were usually fined, deprived of civic rights, or sent into exile.
 - F. Incarceration was rarely employed, except as a temporary expedient.
 - G. Slaves, since they were thought of as property, had no legal redress.

Suggested Readings:

Crook, *Law and Life of Rome 90 B.C.–A.D. 21*.

MacDowell, *The Law in Classical Athens*.

Nippel, *Public Order in Ancient Rome*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is there any evidence that we could use to establish the degree to which Greek and Roman society was law-abiding?
2. In what ways did wealth and status influence the handing out justice in the Greek and Roman worlds?

Lecture Five

Less than Fully Human

Scope: Both in Greece and Rome the highest status was that of a freeborn male. Those who were debarred from full participation in the life of the community included slaves, foreigners, women, and the disabled. Significantly, we possess virtually no first-hand testimony from individuals in any of these groups. Foreigners were routinely the butt of racist slurs, though the Roman Empire flourished precisely because of its willingness to incorporate and integrate foreigners into its ranks. Those at the bottom of the social ladder in both societies were the slaves, who in many cases were only marginally regarded as human. Roman society, however, offered far more opportunities for advancement for qualified and hard-working slaves than Greek society did. Greek slaves were highly prized because of their unrivalled expertise as teachers and physicians. In neither society did women possess political or legal rights, being regarded as intellectually and biologically inferior to men. The disabled were routinely treated with prejudice by virtue of the fact that they were unable to contribute to the welfare of the community.

Outline

- I. Slavery was universal throughout the Mediterranean world in antiquity.
 - A. In both Greece and Rome slaves were only marginally regarded as human.
 - B. Aristotle in the *Politics*, however, made a distinction between natural slavery (slaves born into this condition) and legal slavery (freeborn individuals who became slaves through warfare, etc.).
 - C. Both Greek and Roman law only accepted the testimony of a slave in a court of law if it was given under torture.
 - D. Slavery was not a single condition or status but one that varied according to the qualifications, trustworthiness, and circumstances of the slave in question.
 - E. There was virtually no task that was not performed by slaves, including much work that we regard today as the provenance of highly qualified professionals.
 - F. Given the harsh conditions of life in the ancient world, slavery was sometimes preferable to freedom.
 - G. Conditions varied greatly, however, in line with the type of work being performed, with slaves working on big estates or down in the mines being treated the most harshly.
 - H. A major difference between Greece and Rome was that in Rome it was much more common for slaves to be freed after years of loyal service (a process known as “manumission”).
 - I. In addition, many Roman freedmen became extremely wealthy and powerful, notably those in the imperial court, such as Pallas and Narcissus, who worked as private secretaries for the Emperor Claudius.
- II. Women were denied equality and treated as inferior to men.
 - A. Both Greek and Roman society were deeply sexist by the professed standards of modern Western society.
 - B. Neither Greek nor Roman society offered an outlet for female talent, except in the areas of entertainment and prostitution.
 - C. Even Livia, the wife of the emperor Augustus, was constrained in ways that would be intolerable for a modern Western woman today.
 - D. Whereas married Roman women (known as *matronae*) participated in convivial and social gatherings, Greek women, in Athens at least, were excluded from such events.
 - E. Although we hear of few women intellectuals (the exception is a mathematician called Hypatia, A.D. 370–415), we do hear of several Greek poetesses, most notably Sappho, and one Roman poetess called Sulpicia.
 - F. Whereas Greek women were socially invisible, high-born Roman women enjoyed some degree of freedom and political influence.
 - G. Aristotle defined a woman as an infertile male, and Roman law codes regularly refer to the feeble mental powers of women.

III. The disabled had to face considerable prejudice.

- A. Both Roman and Spartan law required that deformed infants be “exposed,” that is to say, left in the wild to die.
- B. Both the deformed and the disabled were regarded as disfavored by the gods.
- C. The prejudice against the disabled is especially striking, given that the majority of the population eventually became disabled either through age or injury.

IV. Foreigners were regarded with suspicion by both the Greeks and the Romans, even though the Romans acknowledged their usefulness more readily than the Greeks did.

- A. A latent racism characterized the relationship that the Greeks and the Romans had with foreigners, and indeed with each other.
- B. The Greeks were especially hostile to the Jews, and in A.D. 38 ethnically motivated riots broke out in Alexandria.
- C. Although the Romans were forced to take steps to accommodate foreigners into their ranks, the Greeks remained deeply hostile to other races.

Suggested Readings:

Cartledge, *The Greeks*.

Dench, “Domination,” in *Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*.

Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*.

Lefkowitz, *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome*.

Pomeroy, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*.

Wiedemann, “Slavery,” in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How did the Greeks and the Romans most strikingly differ from us in their estimate of what it means to be a human being?
2. Which would you least have liked to be in the Greco-Roman world: a slave, a woman, a foreigner, or a disabled person?

Lecture Six

Close Encounters, 750–272 B.C.

Scope: From very early in their history the Romans were subject to Greek influence, both directly from Greek colonists who had settled in Campania in southern Italy and indirectly from the Etruscans, who were in contact with Greek traders from far afield. Greek trading posts began to be founded in Italy in the middle of the 8th century B.C., though scholars have detected evidence of a Greek presence in Italy as early as the Mycenaean era. The density of the Greek-speaking population in southern Italy was such that the region became known as Magna Graecia or “Great Greece.” Greek vases from the 6th century B.C. have been found in Rome, and Greek influence on Roman religion began in the 5th century.

Rome’s political involvement in the region dates from the beginning of the 3rd century B.C., when she began to be looked upon as the protector of Magna Graecia, weakened by decades of internecine strife and incursion from hostile neighbors. In 280 B.C. Tarentum became suspicious of Rome’s growing influence and appealed to King Pyrrhus of Epirus, who invaded Italy and achieved some initial success against the Romans before being forced out. Pyrrhus’s defeat created a sensation throughout the Greek world, and Tarentum’s fall to Rome in 272 B.C. effectively marked the end of Greek independence in Magna Graecia.

Outline

- I. There were Greek-speakers trading in Italy nearly a thousand years before Rome was founded, and Greek settlers were establishing colonies when Rome was in its infancy.
 - A. The Mycenaean Greeks arrived in Greece as early as 1600 B.C., establishing trading posts at Taranto, Syracuse, and elsewhere.
 - B. The collapse of the Mycenaean world around 1200 B.C. was followed by the Dark Age, which brought about a break in the continuity of Greek civilization.
 - C. When Greek civilization recovered in the 8th century B.C., Greek cities began to establish colonies in Italy and elsewhere. The earliest and most northern settlement (perhaps a trading post rather than a colony) in Italy was Pithekoussai in the Bay of Naples, founded in c. 750 B.C.
 - D. The Greeks founded so many colonies in southern Italy between 740 B.C. (Cumae) and 433 B.C. (Heraclea) that the region became known as Magna Graecia, “Great Greece.”
 - E. The Greek colonies of southern Italy and Sicily were extremely prosperous. They are noted in particular for their temples, as at Acragas, among the most impressive Greek temples of all.
- II. The Romans preserved legends that dated their first contact with the Greeks to as early as the 7th century B.C.
 - A. A Corinthian named Demaratus is said to have settled at Tarquinii in Etruria in the middle of the 7th century B.C. and to have taught the Etruscans the art of molding clay.
 - B. Demaratus’s son Lucomio is said to have become Rome’s fifth king, named Tarquin the Elder.
 - C. Support for the legend is provided by the discovery of clay beds in Rome dating to the last quarter of the 7th century B.C., since these suggest that the Romans learned the art of molding clay from the Etruscans.
 - D. Another Roman legend maintained that the Sibylline Books (books of prophecy compiled by the Greeks) came to Rome some time before 510 B.C.
- III. Historical evidence for political contact between the Greeks and Romans first dates to the 4th century B.C. and is unbroken thereafter.
 - A. The first evidence of direct contact occurred in c. 333 B.C. when Alexander of Epirus entered into negotiations with the Romans.
 - B. From c. 500–290 B.C. the Romans were mainly occupied with conquering Italy and warding off invasions from the Gauls.
 - C. In the 280s B.C. the south Italian city of Thurii appealed to Rome for help against the Lucanians, an Italic people.
 - D. When Rome gave help to Thurii, Tarentum became suspicious and appealed of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus.
 - E. Pyrrhus defeated the Romans at Heraclea in 280 B.C., achieving a so-called “Pyrrhic victory.”

- F. The Romans eventually defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum in 275 B.C.
- G. The fall of Tarentum in 272 B.C. marked the end of Greek independence in Italy.

IV. What the war against Pyrrhus teaches us:

- A. Characteristically the Greeks waged wars in defense of liberty and self-determination.
- B. Internecine strife undermined the ability of the Greeks to mount effective resistance against Rome.
- C. Greek potentates habitually promoted themselves as the incarnations of great leaders like Alexander the Great.
- D. The Romans were able to take advantage of Greek political struggles.
- E. Roman determination in battle proved irresistible.

V. The Greeks now began to recognize Rome's rise to power.

- A. There is very limited evidence of interest in the Romans before the Pyrrhic Wars.
- B. After the wars, Greece became fascinated with Rome, as the writings of the Greek historian Timaeus of Tauromenium indicate.
- C. Even so, it was by no means evident to the Greeks in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. that Rome was poised to become a Mediterranean power.

Suggested Readings:

Crawford, *The Roman Republic*.

Franke, "Pyrrhus," in *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Ridgway, *The First Western Greeks*.

Wardle, *The Mycenaean World*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How can we best characterize the initial contacts that took place between the Greeks and the Romans?
2. Why was Pyrrhus unsuccessful in his war against Rome?

Lecture Seven

The Velvet Glove, 272–190 B.C.

Scope: The world of the Greeks that the Romans encountered was the Hellenistic world that had been created by the conquests of Alexander the Great. From 272 to 190 B.C., the Romans exercised considerable restraint in their dealings with rival factions. Even so, the wars that they fought allegedly in defense of Greek freedom were not without benefit to themselves. The two major motivations that fueled their involvement with the region were security and plunder. There is no evidence to suggest that they had any interest in acquiring an empire at this stage of their history.

In 264 B.C. the Romans became embroiled in the First Punic War. After defeating the Carthaginians, they were drawn into the First Illyrian War in 229 B.C., when for the first time they crossed the Adriatic in order to rid the sea of pirates. The outbreak of the Second Punic War in 218 B.C. constituted a turning point in the history of the Mediterranean, since it was evident that the victor would dominate the entire region. Rome was again victorious, though she came close to defeat at the hands of the Carthaginian general Hannibal. One of the big losers was Philip V of Macedon, who had sided with the Carthaginians. After his defeat in 197 B.C., however, the Romans announced that they were liberating Greece. Following the defeat of the Seleucid king Antiochus III in 190 B.C., the Romans again withdrew from Greece. This marks the high-point of what is sometimes called Roman “political philhellenism.”

Outline

- I. Alexander the Great’s empire was held together by the force of his own personality, and when he died it immediately fragmented.
 - A. The period in which the Romans first encountered the Greeks is known as the Hellenistic era (323–31 B.C.).
 - B. Alexander’s former kingdom fragmented into three main blocks: Macedonia ruled by the Antigonid dynasty, Syria-Mesopotamia ruled by the Seleucid dynasty, and Egypt ruled by the Ptolemaic dynasty.
 - C. The first rulers, all of whom had served as generals in Alexander’s army, were called the Successors.
 - D. In mainland Greece, though individual states were virtually powerless by themselves, two federated leagues, the Aetolian League to the north and the Achaean League to the south, emerged as counterweights to Macedon’s growing power.
 - E. Two other major states were Pergamum and Rhodes, both wealthy trading centers.
- II. Before the Romans became heavily involved in Greek affairs they fought wars against both the Carthaginians and the Illyrians.
 - A. Rome’s first major challenge in the Mediterranean came from Carthage, a Phoenician city in modern-day Tunisia, which headed a loosely organized maritime empire.
 - B. The First Punic War, which was fought over Messana, a Greek colony that controlled the Sicilian Straits, ended in Rome’s victory (264–241 B.C.).
 - C. In 229 B.C. the First Illyrian War broke out, so-named for a non-Greek people who may have been the ancestors of modern-day Albanians. Rome was again victorious.
 - D. According to the Greek historian Polybius, when the Second Punic War broke out in 218 B.C., it was apparent that no matter who won the subjugation of Greece would follow soon afterward.
 - E. The war began inauspiciously for Rome, due to the fact that the Carthaginian commander, Hannibal Barca, inflicted heavy casualties upon the Romans, most notably at the battle of Cannae in 216 B.C.
 - F. In 214 B.C. the Greek city of Syracuse sided with Carthage and fell to Rome after a two-year siege. It is said that the siege was protracted by the ingeniousness of the scientist Archimedes.
 - G. After the fall of Syracuse, many prisoners of war were taken to Rome and many art treasures were plundered.

- III.** It was during the Second Punic War that the Romans first became embroiled in fighting the Macedonians.
- A.** In 215 B.C. Philip V of Macedon joined forces with the Carthaginians and campaigned against the Illyrians, thereby initiating the First Macedonian War.
 - B.** In 205 B.C. Rome made a peace treaty with Philip V, as a result of which she was able to defeat the Carthaginians.
 - C.** The year 205 B.C. is when Polybius begins his description of the events whereby Rome “in only 53 years gained control of the entire inhabited world.”
 - D.** After the Second Punic War had ended, in 200 B.C. the Romans initiated the Second Macedonian War by invading Macedonia—allegedly to protect the Greeks from Philip’s advance.
 - E.** After defeating Philip at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly in 197 B.C., the Roman general Flamininus proclaimed the freedom of Greece at the Isthmian Games.
- IV.** The Seleucid king Antiochus III immediately took advantage of the power vacuum created by the defeat of Macedon.
- A.** In 196 B.C. Antiochus III, known as “The Great,” invaded Thrace.
 - B.** Four years, later at the request of the Aetolians, he invaded mainland Greece.
 - C.** After driving Antiochus out of Greece and defeating him at Magnesia in Lydia in 190 B.C., the Romans again withdrew.
 - D.** By the terms of the Peace of Apamea, Antiochus was forced to give up a number of cities in Asia Minor, which were given to Rome’s leading allies in the war, Pergamum and Rhodes.

Suggested Readings:

Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*.

Walbank, “The Coming of Rome,” in *The Hellenistic World*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What is the explanation for the Roman decision to free the Greeks in 196 B.C.?
2. Did Rome have anything resembling a coherent foreign policy in the period from 230 to 190 B.C.?

Lecture Eight

How the Two Polytheisms (Almost) Merged

Scope: Religion is one of the ways through which Greek culture made its deepest impact on the Romans, since all levels of society came under its influence. Until the rise of Christianity, both the Greeks and the Romans were polytheists. This means that they adhered to systems of belief that were inclusive, largely tolerant, and in constant flux. But though both religious systems had several points in common, Roman religion was in origin animistic, whereas Greek religion was anthropomorphic. Because the Romans did not visualize their gods as human beings in the way the Greeks did, there were relatively few home-grown Roman myths. This contrasts sharply with Greece, whose mythology is unrivalled.

Greek religion had already begun to influence Roman religion in the monarchical period. The process was masterminded by the so-called Sibylline Books, which were said to have come from the Greek colony at Cumae and which sponsored the entry of many Greek cults and practices into Rome. Greek gods first began to take their place in the Roman pantheon in the early part of the 5th century B.C. Later, the Romans sought to identify their gods with Greeks, a process known as “syncretism.” All distinction between Roman gods and Greek gods was officially annulled in 217 B.C. By assimilating their gods to those of their subject peoples, the Romans were able to eliminate an important potential for revolt.

Outline

- I. The study of Greek and Roman religion is complicated by the fact that there are few exact English equivalents for key religious concepts in antiquity.
- II. Virtually all ancient Mediterranean religions had a number of points in common.
 - A. With the exception of Judaism all were polytheistic.
 - B. Their gods were vengeful and vindictive.
 - C. Religious observance was based on the principle of reciprocity.
 - D. Sacrifice was the principal act of worship.
- III. There were many correspondences as well as many differences between Greek and Roman religion.
 - A. In a number of ways Greek and Roman religious systems were very similar: both were polytheistic, both lacked an agreed-upon dogma, and both lacked a centralized hierarchy.
 - B. They differed in the fact that Roman religion was in origin animistic (it subscribed to a belief in divine powers that had no physical identity), whereas Greek religion was more anthropomorphic (it pictured the gods in human guise).
 - C. Though generalizations must be treated with caution in matters having to do with belief, it seems that the Romans were more punctilious in their religious observance than the Greeks.
- IV. Etruscan influence on Roman religion preceded that of the Greeks.
 - A. The practice of surrounding a city by a furrow known as a *pomerium* was Etruscan in origin.
 - B. The Etruscans taught the Romans the art of haruspicy (examination of entrails).
- V. The Romans borrowed from Greek religion in numerous ways.
 - A. The Romans were not only tolerant of other people’s gods, but also considered it to their political advantage to be inclusive, a circumstance that made them inherently hospitable to foreign cults and religious practices.
 - B. Most new cults and religious practices entered Rome at times of crises under the instruction of books of Greek prophecy known as the Sibylline Books.
 - C. The first Greek gods entered the Roman pantheon in 496 B.C. in response to a famine.
 - D. The entry of Greek gods into Rome was greatly facilitated by the process of pairing each with a Roman equivalent (e.g., Zeus with Jupiter), a process we call “syncretism.”
 - E. The Romans first made contact with the great oracular shrine at Delphi in 394 B.C.

- F. The cult of the healing god Aesculapius was introduced into Rome in 293 B.C. in response to the plague.
 - G. In 217 B.C., following their defeat at the hands of the Carthaginians at the Battle of Lake Trasimene, the Romans officially annulled all distinction between Greek and Roman gods.
 - H. In 216 B.C. the Romans, so demoralized by their defeat at the Battle of Cannae, took the radical step of performing human sacrifice.
 - I. In 205 B.C. the cult of the “oriental” goddess Cybele was introduced into Rome as the *Magna Mater*, Great Mother, ostensibly to hasten the onset of victory over the Carthaginians.
 - J. The Romans also adopted the Greek practice of worshipping abstract concepts such as Fortune, Peace, and Concordia.
 - K. Contact with religious groups known as Orphics and Pythagoreans informed their views of the afterlife, particularly in regard to reincarnation.
- VI. Despite the borrowings from Greek religion, Roman religion retained its distinctiveness in a number of ways.
- A. The Romans did not for the most part think of their gods with the same anthropomorphic intensity as the Greeks.
 - B. Roman religion was more closely allied to the Roman value system than was Greek religion.
 - C. The dead played a larger part in the lives of the Romans than they did in the lives of the Greeks.
 - D. Roman politics and religion were very closely interwoven, as we see from Julius Caesar’s exploitation of his position as *pontifex maximus* or supreme pontiff.

Suggested Readings:

Dowden, *Religion and the Romans*.

Garland, *Religion and the Greeks*.

MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*.

Warrior, *Roman Religion*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the principal borrowings of the Romans from the Greeks in the field of religion?
2. Does the generally tolerant attitude of the Romans toward foreign religions serve as a model for the contemporary world, or is it only conceivable in a polytheistic society?

Lecture Nine

The Iron Fist, 190–146 B.C.

Scope: In 190 B.C. the Romans abandoned the “velvet glove” policy that had characterized their relationship with the Greeks and adopted a much more hard-line attitude, in which self-interest came increasingly to the fore. Over the next 45 years almost the whole Greek-speaking world came under Roman domination. The events of this period are traced by Polybius, who came to admire the Roman system and the Roman character, though we cannot know to what extent his viewpoint would have been shared by his fellow Greeks. Polybius, who came from a politically prominent family, was one among a thousand Achaean hostages who were seized by the Romans after their defeat of Perseus, king of Macedon, in 168 B.C. His history records how in less than half a century Macedon lost its political importance, the Seleucid king Antiochus IV was humiliated, the Achaeans were humbled, the island of Rhodes was deprived of its economic status as a trading power in the Mediterranean, and Epirus and Corinth were devastated.

The social and economic consequences of Roman domination were devastating. Mainland Greece was severely depopulated as a result of tens of thousands of its inhabitants being deported to Rome to serve as slaves. Many of its art treasures were looted, which was a phenomenon that would continue down through the centuries. The sole benefit for the region was that the Romans imposed stability, though the Greeks would continue to resist Rome’s authority for nearly a century. It was also in this period that Rome increasingly fell under the spell of Hellenic culture.

Outline

- I. Our most valuable source for the period from 190–146 B.C. is the Greek historian Polybius, who greatly admired Rome’s achievements.
 - A. The subject matter of Polybius’s history, which comprised 40 books, was the whole of the Mediterranean.
 - B. Polybius believed that the Roman constitution exemplified an admirable balance between monarchy (the consuls), aristocracy (the Senate), and democracy (the assemblies or *comitia*).
 - C. He was the first Greek historian to have access to Roman sources.
 - D. He tried to establish a high standard of accuracy by talking to eyewitnesses, by being critical of his sources, and by familiarizing himself with topography.
- II. Rome’s relations with Macedon worsened when Philip V died and his son Perseus came to the throne in 179 B.C.
 - A. When Perseus succeeded his father, Philip V, as king of Macedon, he initially renewed the treaty with Rome.
 - B. Perseus’s imperialistic ambitions alarmed Rome and led in 171 B.C. to the outbreak of the Third Macedonian War, which Rome deliberately and cynically provoked.
 - C. After Perseus’s defeat at Pydna in southern Macedonia in 168 B.C., Macedonia was divided into four independent republics.
- III. Over the next 20 years the Mediterranean witnessed many instances of Roman brutality.
 - A. In 167 B.C., 1,000 Achaeans—including the historian Polybius—were deported to Rome in reprisals for the Achaean League’s lukewarm support in the war against Perseus.
 - B. For the same reason Epirus was given over to plunder and 150,000 of its inhabitants enslaved.
 - C. The Romans punished Rhodes economically by establishing the island of Delos as an economic rival.
 - D. In 146 B.C. Corinth was sacked by Rome.
- IV. There are several possible reasons for the change in Roman foreign policy.
 - A. The Romans had become impatient with uprisings in the Greek world.
 - B. Greece had become a testing-ground for ambitious Roman generals, who sought to prove their generalship by subjugating it totally.
 - C. They had realized that Greece was a highly profitable source of slave-labor.

- V. The consequences of Roman domination for the Greek world were for the most part extremely negative.
 - A. Centuries of squabbling among the Greeks finally came to an end.
 - B. The democratic institutions on which Greece prided itself were either disbanded or rendered ineffective.
 - C. The Greeks were required to be subservient to their Roman masters on a personal basis.
 - D. The pre-existing balance of power in the Greek world came to an end.
 - E. The Roman conquest of Greece resulted in economic impoverishment, large-scale depopulation, and massive enslavement.
 - F. The one positive outcome was that Hellenism made increasing inroads into Roman culture, so that for the first time the term “Greco-Roman” becomes a meaningful concept.

Suggested Readings:

Crawford, “The Conquest of the East,” in *The Roman Republic*.

Derow, “Rome, the Fall of Macedon, and the Sack of Corinth,” in *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Errington, “Rome against Philip and Antiochus,” in *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*.

Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Roman foreign policy change so dramatically after the defeat of Antiochus of Syria?
2. What, if anything, did the Romans seek to gain by acting so brutally toward the Greek world in the years from 167 to 146 B.C.?

Lecture Ten

The Last Hellenistic Dynasts, 146–31 B.C.

Scope: From 146 B.C., when the Romans destroyed Corinth, to 31 B.C., when Octavian defeated Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium, Greek independence throughout the Mediterranean came to an end, albeit not without a struggle. The year 31 B.C. also conventionally denotes the end of the Hellenistic period. Rome was now the undisputed ruler of the entire Mediterranean world.

Hellenistic monarchy was a phenomenon which came into being on the death of Alexander the Great. It adopted a specific set of tactics, most notably ruler cult, to justify its existence. Most dynasts claimed their entitlement to power through a connection to Alexander the Great. The shakiest claim was that of the Attalid dynasty, whose wealth derived from the theft of a sizeable amount of treasure from one of Alexander's generals. Under the rule of the Attalids, Pergamum became a center of Hellenic culture second only to Athens. Though Pergamum succumbed peacefully to Roman rule in 133 B.C., Rome's exploitation of the province of Asia caused considerable resentment. This resulted in an uprising engineered by Mithradates VI of Pontus, which was eventually put down by Sulla in 87 B.C. Roman reprisals were extremely severe and Greece was devastated economically. The Romans annexed what remained of the Seleucid Empire in 64 B.C. The final dynast to succumb to Rome was Cleopatra VII, who in 31 B.C. backed Antony in the war against Octavian.

Outline

- I. Although Greek monarchy was a very ancient system, it persisted into the Classical and Hellenistic periods.
 - A. Kingship, which was familiar to Homer, is the oldest governmental system of which we have record in the Greek world.
 - B. It was undoubtedly favored by many Greek states before they evolved into aristocracies, oligarchies, and democracies.
 - C. Several states still had kings in the Classical era and beyond, notably Sparta and Macedon.
- II. The relationship between the Romans and Hellenistic monarchs was complicated by the Romans' dislike of kings.
 - A. Hellenistic monarchs were different from their predecessors in that they sought to present themselves as enlightened despots who practiced philanthropy and beneficence, consistent with Plato's image of the "philosopher king."
 - B. Their claims to being associated with a divine protector eventually resulted in their being worshipped as gods, a phenomenon known as "ruler cult."
 - C. The pioneer in this movement was Ptolemy I of Egypt, who established a cult of Alexander the Great in Alexandria.
 - D. Because the Romans traced the establishment of their republic back to the expulsion of their kings, they were deeply hostile to the institution of monarchy, a fact that complicated their relationship with the Greek world.
 - E. Paradoxically, however, the Romans eventually came to accept a variant of Hellenistic monarchy when Augustus established the Principate.
- III. Pergamum, a center of Hellenic culture second only to Athens, succumbed peacefully to Roman rule.
 - A. The first of the Attalids was Philetaerus, who used a store of treasure that he had acquired from Lysimachus—one of Alexander the Great's generals—to establish a new dynasty and a new kingdom.
 - B. Pergamum became one of the leading Hellenistic cities, and a cultural Mecca to rival any in the Greek world.
 - C. In a bid for recognition, Attalus II paid for the construction of a stoa in the Agora in Athens (150 B.C.).
 - D. When Attalus III died in 133 B.C., he bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans.

- IV.** The Pontic kingdom became a center of Greek rebellion against the Romans.
- A.** As Rome took control of Asia Minor, it began to exploit the province ruthlessly for tax purposes.
 - B.** Hatred toward Rome became so acute that in 88 B.C. Mithradates VI of Pontus invaded Asia and fomented an uprising that resulted in the massacre of thousands of Roman businessmen.
 - C.** His forces later invaded mainland Greece and sought to establish a naval base in Athens's port town, Piraeus.
 - D.** The Roman general Sulla marched south to Athens and inflicted terrible destruction on the port but largely spared Athens itself.
 - E.** Sulla made peace with Mithradates in 85 B.C.
 - F.** As a result of the reprisals which Sulla inflicted on the region, mainland Greece underwent severe economic decline.
 - G.** A generation later a modest revival took place when Julius Caesar and Augustus planted colonies for veterans.
- V.** The Seleucid kingdom held on a little longer than the Pontic kingdom.
- A.** Even after Antiochus II had been forced to give up his kingdom north of the Taurus Mountains in 188 B.C., he still retained a sizeable empire in the East.
 - B.** From 120 B.C. onward, the Seleucid Empire began to lose territory to the Parthians.
 - C.** In 64 B.C. Pompey annexed Syria and the Seleucid kingdom collapsed.
- VI.** Egypt was the final part of Alexander the Great's vast empire to come under Roman rule.
- A.** In the centuries previous, the ruling Ptolemaic dynasty had sought to avoid conflict with the Romans.
 - B.** Once Cleopatra allied herself to Mark Antony in his war against Octavian, it became inevitable that Egypt's fate would depend on Rome.

Suggested Readings:

Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*.

Hansen, *The Attalids of Pergamum*.

Walbank, *The Hellenistic World*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways and to what degree did Hellenistic monarchy present a credible alternative to Roman imperialism? Was it inevitably destined to succumb to Rome's power?
2. How did the Hellenistic monarchs seek to accommodate themselves to Rome's increasing power?

Lecture Eleven

Why the Greeks Lost, Why the Romans Won

Scope: For both the Greeks and the Romans, warfare (rather than peace) was the normal state of affairs. Both cultures put an extremely high value on military success, and both prided themselves on their bravery. Originally, service in the military was regarded as a privilege associated with citizenship, though over time the link between the two was severely weakened. In the Greek world, before the rise of the mercenary in the 4th century B.C., Sparta was the only state with a professional full-time army. By the time the Romans appeared on the scene, however, Sparta, like all the other city-states in mainland Greece, had long since ceased to be a military power. Though the Greeks repeatedly lost in battle against the Romans, it was not entirely due to the superior professionalism of the Roman army. The inadequacies and inefficiencies of Hellenistic monarchy, which failed to elicit any patriotic fervor, were also to blame. In addition, the Romans integrated the practice of warfare into the career structure of aspiring politicians and into the fabric of the republican state in a way that had no equivalent in the Greek world. The harsh treatment meted out to the Greeks was also due to the fact that they failed to demonstrate consistent loyalty to the Romans after their liberation from Macedon in 196 B.C.

We should note that both peoples were capable at times of committing what today would be regarded as war crimes, though the Romans did so on a larger scale and more repeatedly than the Greeks, whose wars for the most part did not aim to alter the balance of power.

Outline

- I. There are many allusions to warfare in Greek and Roman literature and art.
 - A. The first glimpse of the Greeks at war comes in the *Iliad*, which covers a period of 10 days in the 10th and final year of the Trojan War.
 - B. In the Archaic period, the most prestigious grave marker in the Greek world was the statue of a naked youth (known as a kouros), often placed over the grave of a young man who died in battle.
 - C. The Romans produced no work comparable to the *Iliad* in its understanding of war. The closest is Virgil's *Aeneid*, though it is highly unlikely that Virgil had firsthand experience of the battlefield.
- II. Service in a Greek army or navy was the responsibility and the prerogative of citizens.
 - A. Until the rise of the mercenary, most soldiers and sailors were amateurs who were called up on an irregular basis.
 - B. Service in the cavalry, the infantry, or the navy depended on one's economic status.
 - C. Only Sparta, whose citizens were required to serve from ages 20 to 60, had a professional standing army.
 - D. Only in times of crises were slaves enlisted.
- III. In early Rome, as in Greece, service in the army and navy was a privilege.
 - A. Noncitizens served as auxiliaries.
 - B. In 107 B.C., faced with a manpower crisis, the general Gaius Marius took the revolutionary step of abolishing the minimum property qualification and enlisting citizen volunteers.
 - C. Roman armies now increasingly owed allegiance to their commanders for parcels of land at the end of their service, a fact that ultimately contributed to the breakdown of the republic.
 - D. The Romans first developed a navy to fight the Carthaginians in the First Punic War (264–241 B.C.).
 - E. Most of the rowers in Rome's navy were auxiliaries.
- IV. A variety of sources, literary as well as artistic, provide evidence of conditions of service in the Greek and Roman army.
 - A. Xenophon's *Anabasis* provides insight into the conditions of mercenary service among the Persians at the end of the 4th century B.C.
 - B. Julius Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* is written in the form of dispatches from the front line by a commander-in-chief waging war in hostile territory.

- C. Trajan’s Column, which was erected in Rome in A.D. 113 and which is decorated with a 200-meter-long frieze in low relief, provides a visual testimony of service in the Roman army during the two Dacian campaigns, which the Emperor fought against the people who inhabited the lower Danube region.
- V. There are a number of compelling political, social, and economic reasons for Rome’s subjugation of the Greeks, though pusillanimousness on the part of the Greeks was not one of them.
- A. The Greeks utterly failed to grasp the objectives of Roman foreign policy and continued to engage in internecine strife long after Flamininus had declared them nominally to be free.
 - B. Hellenistic monarchy was partly to blame for Greece’s failure, both by failing to arouse the same patriotic fervor that Rome did and by being a defective political system, notably in Egypt, where anarchy was rife.
 - C. Warfare for the Greeks had no overarching aim, whereas the Romans used it to bring about an enduring change, by spreading Roman values and the Roman way of life.
- VI. There were important developments in the organization of the Roman army from the reign of Augustus onward.
- A. Augustus established the army at around 28 legions (a legion consisted of 4,500–6,000 men).
 - B. In later antiquity, small mobile units were formed which could be dispatched quickly to centers of disturbance.
 - C. German prisoners and volunteers were conscripted into the army.

Suggested Readings:

Connolly, *Greece and Rome at War*.

Haynes, “War and Peace,” in *Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*.

Warry, *Warfare in the Classical World*.

Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent were the Romans more successful in war than the Greeks? Why was this the case?
2. Why were the Greeks never able to mount a successful campaign against the Romans? Why did they keep thinking that they could?

Lecture Twelve

Philhellenism and Hellenophobia

Scope: How the Greeks and the Romans regarded one another as representatives of different cultures is a highly complicated question made more difficult by the fact that there are relatively few sources on the Greek side. The Romans reveal two opposite tendencies, namely philhellenism and hellenophobia, though these were by no means mutually exclusive. Racism was deeply embedded in all ancient cultures, and the Greeks and the Romans considered each other to be inferior. Since, moreover, the two peoples were in contact on a daily basis, notably in their roles as master and slave, invidious comparisons must have been the norm. Elite Romans were, however, deeply appreciative of the achievements of Greek civilization, and this no doubt rubbed off in their dealings with Greeks of their own class. One of the most important philhellenes in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. was Scipio Aemilianus, who associated with a number of highly distinguished Greeks living in Rome, among them the historian Polybius.

Overall, the Roman response to Greeks and their culture was complex and even contradictory, as epitomized by Cato the Elder who was deeply imbued in Greek culture but who publicly denounced its impact. Prejudice against the Greeks on the basis of racial stereotyping comes through in a wide range of Latin literature, and though we should not assume that the authors condone racist attitudes, taken collectively their writings demonstrate profound insight into its workings.

Outline

- I. Relations between the Greeks and the Romans were highly ambivalent.
 - A. The relationship between the Greeks and the Romans was inherently asymmetrical in that the Romans were the victors and the masters, whereas the Greeks were the defeated and the slaves.
 - B. Although the two peoples had different roots, spoke different languages, did not see the world alike, and did not share the same political interests they were inescapably joined.
 - C. Racism was an acceptable feature of ancient societies and there were no legal safeguards to prevent anyone from being the victim of a racial slur or even a racially inspired attack.
 - D. Even in antiquity, educated people were fascinated by perceived racial differences between Greeks and Romans.
 - E. There is no evidence that the Romans modified their political dealings with the Greeks as a result of Hellenism's impact upon their culture.
 - F. The family most closely associated with philhellenism is that of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and his adopted grandson, Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus.
 - G. Cato the Elder unsuccessfully fought a rearguard action against Greek influence with passionate stubbornness, notwithstanding the fact that he was himself deeply influenced by Hellenism.
 - H. The Greeks were not the only people who were the butt of Roman racial prejudice.
- II. Several leading Latin authors over many centuries allude to racism, although we should not assume in all cases that they themselves were racist.
 - A. A character in a play by Plautus (beginning of 2nd century B.C.) equates "Greek" with moral decadence.
 - B. Cicero (middle of the 1st century B.C.) describes the Greeks as "deceitful, untrustworthy, servile, and given to obsequiousness."
 - C. In Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid* (late 1st century B.C.) the duplicity of a Greek named Sinon leads to the fall of Troy.
 - D. In Satire III (early 2nd century A.D.) Juvenal constructs a racial stereotype of the *Graeculus* or "little Greek."
 - E. Moving testimony to a deep and abiding friendship between a Greek and a Roman, though, is provided by Polybius, who gives an account of his relationship with the younger Scipio.
- III. Educated Romans were fully aware that, although the Greek world had succumbed politically, Greek culture was in no way inferior to Roman culture.

- A. The frankest acknowledgment of Greek cultural superiority is Horace’s observation: “Greece, the captive, made her savage victor captive.”
 - B. Ambitious Romans, including generals and orators, regularly compared themselves with their earlier Greek counterparts, notably Alexander the Great and Demosthenes.
 - C. The Romans claimed superiority in the art of government, which Virgil in *Aeneid* Book VI defined as “spare those who are subjugated; and to render unwarlike the proud.”
 - D. The Romans also claimed to be morally superior to the Greeks, whom they regarded as degenerate.
- IV. The Greeks demonstrated little deference toward their Roman masters.
- A. The Greeks felt very secure in the achievements of their culture.
 - B. On a priori grounds they believed themselves to be culturally superior to the Romans, in the same way that they regarded all non-Greeks to be inherently inferior.
 - C. They directed racist slurs against the Romans, e.g., by calling them *Opici*—the name of an Italian people whom they considered to be stupid.

Suggested Readings:

Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus*.

Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*.

Plutarch, “Life of Cato” in *Makers of Rome*.

Rawson, “Reaction and Acceptance,” in *Cambridge Ancient History*.

Wardman, “The Greek Character,” in *Rome’s Debt to Greece*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is it appropriate to describe the Greeks and Romans as “racist”? If so, how does the racism of the Greeks and Romans compare with modern racism?
2. With what legitimacy and sincerity did hellenophobes like Cato promote fear and loathing of Greek culture? What results did they hope to achieve?

Lecture Thirteen

The Two Languages

Scope: Greek was already a highly sophisticated vehicle of literary expression at a time when Latin was still in its infancy. The first literary works in Latin were crude, though by the 2nd century B.C. Latin was beginning to develop rapidly in its capacity to express subtle thought patterns, largely in response to exposure to Greek culture. Even so, there remained a lingering belief that Greek was “superior” to Latin. Many other languages were spoken on the Italian peninsula besides Latin, though by the 1st century B.C. Latin had begun to oust its rivals. The only ancient languages besides Greek and Latin whose literature has survived are Hebrew and Coptic.

Because the Greeks were reluctant to learn Latin, it was primarily the Romans who became bilingual, though Greek slaves would have been required to learn at least rudimentary Latin. Well-educated Romans learned Greek from an early age and used it as a way of parading their cultural sophistication. Many Roman emperors were fluent in Greek. Even so, there was prejudice against spoken Greek in certain quarters. The Romans never sought to impose Latin, and Greek remained the language of administration and law in the eastern half of the Empire in late antiquity and beyond. When the empire split into two halves, bilingualism died out.

Outline

- I. Both the Greek and Latin languages have continued to evolve over time even after late antiquity, and Latin constitutes the root of many modern European languages.
 - A. Greek is the oldest European language and can be traced back 3,300 years.
 - B. Ecclesiastical Latin continues to be used by the Roman Catholic Church.
 - C. Medieval Latin became the language used by all educated people in Europe until the 18th century.
 - D. The transformation of Latin into the Romance languages—Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian—occurred as a result of the Germanic invasions of the 4th century and later.
- II. Greek was already being spoken in the Mediterranean by the second half of the 2nd millennium B.C.
 - A. Greek poetry was already a highly evolved medium of literary expression by the late 8th century B.C. when Homer was composing, and Greek prose was becoming a sophisticated tool by the late 6th century B.C.
 - B. The Greek language, which was one of the chief means by which the Greeks defined their sense of ethnicity, was not entirely uniform but consisted of many different dialects.
 - C. Scholars do not know to what extent Macedonian should be categorized as a dialectal form of Greek.
 - D. Partly to overcome racial prejudice against Macedonians, Philip II made Attic the official language of his court.
 - E. As a result of the conquests of his son Alexander the Great, a variant of Attic known as *koiné* (meaning the “common language”) was spoken throughout the Hellenistic world.
- III. By comparison with Greek, Latin was a late starter.
 - A. The first works of Latin literature were crude in style, and literary Latin remained rudimentary until the 2nd century B.C.
 - B. Many other languages were spoken in the Italian peninsula besides Latin, including Oscan, Umbrian, Ligurian, Faliscan, and Celtic, but the most important of these was Etruscan, of which there is evidence up to the late 1st century A.D.
 - C. By the 1st century B.C. the Latin tongue had begun to predominate throughout Italy.
- IV. There were many languages spoken in the Roman Empire.
 - A. The Romans did not seek to eliminate other languages, and Greek remained the language of culture and education throughout the empire.
 - B. In the countryside in particular there were many different languages spoken, including Punic, Aramaic, and Arabic.

- C. In addition to Latin and Greek, we have literary remains only of Coptic and Hebrew.
- V. Greeks who spoke Latin, Romans who spoke Greek.
- A. There was an inherent rivalry between supporters of Greek and Latin as to which of the two was “superior.”
 - B. The Greeks were reluctant to speak Latin, in part because they refused to acknowledge that there was anything worth reading in Latin.
 - C. Members of the professional classes and slaves who were Greek needed at least a smattering of Latin.
 - D. When an embassy of Greek philosophers addressed the senate in 155 B.C., they had to do so through an interpreter.
 - E. By the 1st century B.C. most members of the Roman elite were probably bilingual.
- VI. Why the Romans learned Greek.
- A. Most teachers were Greek and so they conducted their classes in Greek.
 - B. The ability to speak Greek was a sign of education.
 - C. Familiarity with Greek enabled a speaker to make learned allusions and employ Greek phrases.
- VII. The two languages in the Imperial period.
- A. By the 1st century A.D. it is estimated that there were more Greek-speakers than Latin-speakers in the Roman Empire.
 - B. Jesus, like many who lived in the Greek East, probably had a first language (Aramaic), some Greek, and a few words of Latin.
 - C. Bilingualism began to decline in the 4th century A.D., when the empire split into two parts.
 - D. By the late 4th century few Romans and Greeks could communicate in a common language.
 - E. Greek continued to be spoken in southern Italy, and survives in this region to this day.

Suggested Readings:

Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*.

Langslow, “Languages and Dialects” in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean*.

MacMullen, “Provincial Languages in the Roman Empire,” in *Changes in the Roman Empire*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Analyze the role that the acquisition of the Greek language played among the Roman elite.
2. Trace the steps by which the Latin language came to prevail in the Italian peninsula.

Lecture Fourteen

Leisure and Entertainment

Scope: In order to appreciate what leisure meant in antiquity, we need to understand how the Greeks and Romans interpreted its opposite—work. Physical labor was exclusively performed either by slaves or by those at the bottom of the social and economic ladder. For those in either category, leisure was virtually nonexistent. The wealthy, by contrast, filled their vacant hours by relaxing at the *gymnasium* or the baths. In the evenings they might attend a club or participate in a drinking party. A drinking party could take a variety of forms and be either well-ordered or disorderly, depending on the disposition, level of cultivation, and mood of the drinkers. The Greek *symposium* provided an occasion when men could converse with “female companions” (in some cases prostitutes), without their wives or daughters. Wives and daughters were, however, permitted to attend the Roman *convivium*.

Since the seven-day week was unknown in classical antiquity, leisure time—meaning days when shops were closed and public business was suspended—was dictated by the vagaries of the religious calendar. In the world of archaic Greece, the only form of mass entertainment were the panhellenic (all-Greek) games that attracted large crowds. In time, however, plays, public recitations, and musical performances became extremely popular and attracted audiences in the tens of thousands. In the Roman world, gladiatorial contests and chariot contests ultimately outdid other forms of entertainment. The Greeks differed from the Romans in having little taste for the dubious delights of the gladiatorial arena.

Outline

- I. The investigation of leisure in antiquity is complicated by the fact that neither the Greeks nor the Romans had an exact terminological equivalent.
 - A. The nearest Greek word for “leisure” is *scholê*, which gives us our word “school,” a meaning that it also held in antiquity.
 - B. Work, *ascholia*, was thus defined as an absence of leisure.
 - C. Leisure for the Greeks meant having the time to fulfill one’s duties as a citizen, notably by spending time in the agora, the communal meeting place in the heart of a city, where political, legal, commercial, philosophical, and social exchanges took place.
 1. The Roman word for “leisure” is *otium*; “work,” *negotium*, was similarly seen as an absence of leisure.
 2. It follows that neither people was burdened by anything remotely equivalent to the Protestant work ethic, or by the desire to succeed in life, as we understand that phrase.
 3. The Roman Empire instilled in the urban *plebs* or common people the expectation that they would receive free handouts of corn.
- II. The well-to-do would have had a considerable amount of leisure time available.
 - A. The *gymnasium* was the most popular daytime venue for elite Greek males.
 - B. Roman baths, some of which, like the imperial baths in Rome, were vast in scale, provided bathers with a variety of recreational facilities.
 - C. Greek and Roman clubs, which were particularly numerous in trading centers in the Hellenistic period, not only had a religious dimension, but also facilitated social contacts.
 - D. The primary outlet for social intercourse in the home was the drinking party—the Greek *symposium* or the Roman *convivium*.
 - E. Drinking parties took a variety of different forms, depending on the mood, temperament, etc., of the guests.
 - F. Whereas the Romans permitted freeborn women to attend drinking parties, the Greeks limited access to hired female companions (*hetairai*; Latin *hetaerae*).
 - G. Days when public business was suspended were determined by the calendar.
- III. The word “entertainment,” which has no close equivalent in either Greek or Latin, can be understood as encapsulating a whole host of activities that involved spectatorship.

- A. The most popular forms of spectatorship in the Greek world were the Olympic and other panhellenic games, which also included musical contests and, in the Imperial period, panegyrics in honor of the emperor.
 - B. Greek drama, both tragedy and comedy, was performed at festivals in honor of Dionysus.
 - C. Processions and games were an essential feature of many festivals.
 - D. The Roman appetite for gladiators was not matched by the Greeks, who had little appetite for witnessing violence.
 - E. Gladiatorial combat, which began as a way of honoring the dead, reached the peak of its popularity in the early 2nd century A.D.
- IV. Greek entertainers virtually monopolized many forms of entertainment.
- A. Rhapsodes, who recited excerpts from Homer, achieved enormous popularity in both the Greek and Roman world.
 - B. Actors achieved high visibility, but with the exception of Roscius, Roman actors rarely achieved the same status as their Greek counterparts.
 - C. Mimes, whose performances were often erotic, were among the biggest celebrity artists in the Roman world.
 - D. Pantomimes, solo dancers who mimed all the characters in a story to musical accompaniment, gave highly sophisticated performances.
 - E. However, Roman charioteers attracted the largest crowds of all and were feted by their fans accordingly; in the Greek world it had been the owner of the victorious team of horses who was crowned the victor.

Suggested Readings:

Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*.

Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*.

Slater, *Dining in a Classical Context*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Outline the structure of an average day in the life of an elite Greek and an elite Roman.
2. In what ways did social and economic factors influence the ways in which the Greeks and the Romans relaxed?

Lecture Fifteen

Sex and Sexuality

Scope: Sex and sexuality constitute a problematic area of investigation since they did not have the same value and significance in antiquity as they do in modern Western society. One of the most profound differences between “them” and “us” lies in the fact that there was an inherent asymmetry to most sexual relations in terms of age, social status, and gender. Sexuality was intimately linked to the structure of power relationships. For instance, homosexuality typically took the form of a relationship between a freeborn man on the one hand, and a slave or social inferior on the other. Frequently, too, there was a significant age difference between the two partners. This was true, as well, of marriage, since a husband was commonly a decade or more older than his wife.

Because of the availability of slaves and prostitutes, there were many readily available outlets for male sexual satisfaction outside marriage. Though wives were required to be completely faithful, it was generally accepted that husbands would not be. There were also important differences between the Greeks and the Romans in their sexual practices and attitudes, notably in regard to images of nakedness. Fascinating though the topic of sex and sexuality is, our investigation is hampered by the fact that we have virtually no evidence relating to the sexual desires, fantasies, and practices of women, children, or slaves.

Outline

- I. In studying sexuality, it is important to acknowledge a number of methodological issues and difficulties.
 - A. Preferred forms of sexual activity, even sexual preference itself, are intimately related to societal norms and expectations.
 - B. We will inevitably have to draw out evidence from various times and places.
 - C. We should not assume that the Greeks and the Romans were devoid of sexual hang-ups, as indicated by the fact that the term for the private parts in both languages translates as “the shameful things” (*aidoia* in Greek; *pudenda* in Latin).
 - D. Some leading scholars argue that sexuality is a specifically modern construction that can only be understood in connection with an industrialized and modern society.
 - E. The societies of Greece and Rome were very different from ours in that they had different value systems, a different model of the human personality, and a different vision of what it means to be human.
 - F. Most of what we know about Greek and Roman sex and sexuality comes to us through the filter of freeborn males.
 - G. We thus know much more about male sexuality than female sexuality, with a disproportionate emphasis upon homosexual over heterosexual practices.
- II. Greek and Roman cultures had several characteristics in common.
 - A. The performing of a sexual act was not defined purely by sexual desire: It was also about power relationships, and thus about degree of emotional attachment, social inequalities, and age differences.
 - B. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans objected to representations of the male organ being displayed in public, since it symbolized fertility and was thought to ward off evil.
 - C. Both the Greeks and the Romans were coy in regard to representations of the naked female body, and it was virtually impossible to praise a woman for her beauty without impugning her chastity.
 - D. Neither the Greeks nor the Romans permitted freeborn girls to engage in premarital sex, whereas it was acceptable for freeborn young males to have sex with prostitutes and slaves.
 - E. Sexual desire was depicted in literature as lying largely outside the domain of marriage, though the Roman poetess Sulpicia is said to have written sensual love poems to her husband Calenus.
- III. In other respects, there were marked differences between the two cultures.
 - A. Whereas the Greeks condoned male nakedness, the Romans regarded it as shameful and degrading.
 - B. Whereas many Greeks, including leading thinkers such as Plato, condoned and even approved of homosexuality, the Romans, officially at least, always regarded it as both effeminate and degenerate.

- C. From the Late Republican period onward Roman women of social distinction, including members of the imperial household, became sexually liberated in ways that would have been unthinkable in any other period of Greek or Roman history.

IV. Classical authors left behind a rich and diverse literature about sexual desire.

- A. Sappho of Lesbos wrote hauntingly of the physical effects of unrequited love for young girls.
- B. Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* is built on the premise that the Peloponnesian War will end if wives deny husbands their sexual favors.
- C. Euripides's *Hippolytus* explores the devastating effects of an older woman's passion for her stepson.
- D. Latin love poetry shows a range of attitudes toward love: Catullus writes viscerally of erotic passion, whereas Ovid mocks the subject mercilessly in his *Art of Love*.

Suggested Readings:

Halperin, Winkler, and Zeitlin, eds., *The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*.

Johns, *Sex or Symbol? Erotic Images of Greece and Rome*.

Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*.

Questions to Consider:

1. To what extent is it accurate to describe sexuality as a "social construction"?
2. What factors inherent in their society might have made the Romans less tolerant of homosexual impulses than the Greeks?
3. Is it possible to apply the term "moral" to the sexual practices of the Greeks and Romans?

Lecture Sixteen

Death and the Afterlife

Scope: Death was a vital and ubiquitous presence in the lives of everyone living in the Mediterranean region throughout all periods of antiquity. Virtually everyone had a regular opportunity to observe death's onset, quite apart from those who confronted it on the battlefield. Death was therefore incorporated into the life of the community, so to speak, in a way that made it central to that community's self-representation, since funerals were used as opportunities to advertise a family's wealth and prestige. The proper disposal and care of the dead, which were chiefly entrusted to women, were the family's most sacred obligation. We know most about the burial practices of the well-to-do, since it was they who had the means to place costly items in the tomb and to indulge in an extended funerary ritual. There is little evidence relating to the disposal of the bodies of the poor and of slaves.

Despite death's ubiquity, we are rather poorly informed about the beliefs of the majority regarding the afterlife. In the case of both the Greeks and the Romans, most of our evidence comes from the literary record, which, by definition, is anything but representative. Even so, it is possible to detect remarkable consistency in such beliefs over time, notably with regard to Hades, the domain of the dead. Though both cultures placed considerable emphasis on continuing ties between the living and the deceased, the Romans incorporated the dead into their lives to a much greater degree than the Greeks.

Outline

- I. Death was a ubiquitous presence, striking persons of all ages from birth onward.
 - A. John Bodel estimates that in the time of Augustus the death rate in Rome was 4 percent per annum, about 30,000.
 - B. Suetonius states that a plague in the reign of Nero carried off 30,000 Romans in the autumn alone.
 - C. On the evidence of comparative data from preindustrial societies, infant mortality may have been as high as 25 percent.
 - D. A well that was excavated in the Agora in Athens contained the remains of 449 fetuses and neonates, 40 percent of which reveal evidence of pathological abnormalities.
- II. The disposal of the dead demonstrates important cultural differences.
 - A. Herodotus was aware of striking, even contradictory cultural attitudes toward death and burial among the different peoples whom he describes, declaring, in the words of Pindar that "custom is lord of all."
 - B. Both the Greeks and the Romans practiced both inhumation and cremation, though with different degrees of frequency.
 - C. There is no evidence to indicate that inhumation and cremation ever reflected contrasting views of the afterlife.
 - D. Death in antiquity was used in a variety of ways to advertise socio-economic status.
 - E. We know most about the burial practices of the well-to-do, and very little about those relating to the poor and to slaves.
 - F. Professionals were rarely engaged, except in the transporting of the body to the grave.
 - G. Physicians had little to offer the dying and were probably rarely in attendance.
 - H. It was felt that the gods, for fear of incurring pollution, avoided the dying and offered no consolation.
 - I. No priest officiated at the grave.
 - J. No words are preserved of any burial service, though it was the practice to eulogize the dead before burial itself took place.
 - K. Funerals differed vastly in scale, and might be used to make political statements.
 1. The funeral of Julius Caesar was used by Mark Antony to undermine the position of his assassins.
 2. Ptolemy, who later became the founder of the Ptolemaic dynasty, abducted the corpse of Alexander the Great to promote himself as its guardian and thus claim seniority over the other Successors.

- III. In both societies the corpse was thought of as polluting, though more so by the Greeks.
- A. In Greek society, persons who came in contact with the dead were debarred for some time from full participation in the community.
 - B. The dead were buried outside the city alongside major thoroughfares, which were lined with grandiose and imposing tombs.
 - C. In Athens, the most prestigious street for burial was in the Kerameikos or Potters' Quarter; in Rome the equivalent was the Appian Way.
 - D. In the early Imperial period, structures called *columbaria*, which could accommodate many thousands of cinerary urns, became popular.
- IV. There were many competing beliefs about the afterlife.
- A. No ancient text provides us with a reliable description of the afterlife, i.e., one that we can assume would have reflected popular belief accurately.
 - B. Literary descriptions are found in Homer (*Odyssey* Book XI), Aristophanes (*Frogs*), Plato (*Phaedo*), Plautus (*Mostellaria*), Cicero (*Dream of Scipio*), and Virgil (*Aeneid* Book VI).
 - C. Mystery religions offered initiates the promise of blessedness in the hereafter, in contrast to the fate of those who did not undergo initiation and who suffered accordingly.
 - D. There is also evidence for disbelief in the afterlife, notably in *On the Nature of Things* (*De rerum natura*) by the Epicurean poet Lucretius.
- V. Both the Greeks and the Romans took steps to foster links between the living and the dead, though overall these links were stronger in the case of the Romans.
- A. In Athens, relatives of the deceased were expected to bring food offerings to the dead.
 - B. The Roman dead, known as the "gods who are the departed" (*di manes*) or "the greater ones" (*maiores*) received cult in the home.

Suggested Readings:

Garland, *The Greek Way of Death*.

Hope, "Contempt and Respect: The Treatment of the Corpse in Ancient Rome," in *Death and Disease in the Ancient City*.

Toynbee, *Death and Burial in the Roman World*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Were there any psychological consequences that resulted from death's ubiquity in classical antiquity?
2. How much evidence is there to suggest that either the Greeks or the Romans feared the afterlife?

Lecture Seventeen

From Mystery Religion to Ruler Cult

Scope: This lecture covers the period from 217 B.C. to the early Imperial era. At the end of the 3rd century B.C., the Romans were still open to religious innovation, largely because they were experiencing a crisis of confidence in the dark days of the Second Punic War (218–201 B.C.). In the 2nd century B.C., however, they became far less hospitable to foreign gods, partly because they no longer regarded themselves as dependent on the gods' goodwill, and partly because they feared the possible nationalistic implications of foreign deities. Now, for the first time in their history, Romans used their authority to ban Greek cult practices, particularly those associated with the gods Dionysus and Bacchus, believing them to be subversive. Later in the century the Romans opposed the introduction of the Egyptian goddess Isis, though eventually they admitted her into their pantheon.

On assuming power, Augustus introduced ruler cult as a way of solidifying his position and unifying the empire. In line with his policy of supporting traditional values consequent upon their breakdown after a protracted period of civil war, he also took steps to revive traditional Roman religion. All subsequent emperors supported imperial cult, which over the next three hundred years helped to elevate the emperor into an autocrat.

Outline

- I. Resistance to foreign gods became entrenched among the Romans from the early 2nd century B.C. onward, in marked contrast to the preceding period.
 - A. From 201 B.C. onward the Romans never again faced a threat of the magnitude posed by the Carthaginians, and so no longer saw themselves needing the support of foreign gods.
 - B. The most striking instance of Roman hostility and suspicion toward foreign gods is the decree that was passed in 186 B.C. banning the performance of rites in connection with the cult of Bacchus, god of wine, intoxication, ecstasy, drama, and liberation (the so-called “Bacchanalian decree”).
 - C. The Romans seem to have believed that Bacchism was fomenting a sense of Greek ethnicity that challenged Rome's dominance of Italy.
 - D. Bacchism was objectionable to the Romans because it offered an alternative to conventional, state-sponsored religion by being conducted in secret, and as such it was treated as a conspiracy or *coniuratio*.
 - E. Rome's reaction anticipates her later reaction to both Judaism and Christianity.
 - F. Other instances of opposition to nontraditional Roman religion include the expulsion of Epicurean philosophers in 173 and 161 B.C., and the opposition to the Egyptian goddess Isis in the 1st century B.C.
 - G. Isis was not finally recognized until the reign of Gaius; her cult then grew considerably in popularity and she figures prominently in Apuleius's novel *The Golden Ass*.
- II. Augustus sought to bring about religious revivalism as part of a widespread campaign to improve societal values.
 - A. As a result of prolonged civil war in the 1st century B.C. down to the establishment of the Principate in 27 B.C., Roman religious observance had become neglected and many temples had fallen into ruin.
 - B. Rome's defeat at the hands of the Parthians was ascribed by the Augustan poet Horace to neglect of the gods—evidence for the belief that the gods punish human wickedness.
 - C. As well as taking other steps to reinvigorate Roman religion, Augustus claimed to have restored 82 temples.
 - D. Augustus also established a new cult of his deified uncle, Julius Caesar (*divus Iulius*), and a cult of Mars *Uitor* (“Avenger”), which he had promised if he killed Caesar's assassins.
 - E. Augustus styled himself “son of the deified” (*divi filius*), though he did not claim divine status for himself.
- III. There is evidence for religious revivalism in Greece from the late 1st century A.D. onward.
 - A. As late as the 2nd century A.D. the Greeks were largely worshipping their traditional gods.
 - B. Several cults underwent revival, notably that of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, possibly to encourage tourism.

- C. The panhellenic games continued to be popular, attracting Emperor Nero.
 - D. One of the most spectacular Athenian festivals was the Mounychia, celebrated in Piraeus, Athens's port, which included a rowing race and mock sea battle.
- IV. Augustus adopted ruler cult, very tentatively, to legitimize his rule and unify his empire.
- A. Ruler cult was institutionalized by Alexander's Successors, who used it as a way to legitimize their shaky claims to be the founders of new dynasties.
 - B. The first recipient of divine honors in the Greek world was the Roman general Titus Quinctius Flamininus.
 - C. The fact that Julius Caesar had sought deification in his lifetime had undoubtedly added to his unpopularity.
 - D. Though Augustus seems to have felt a personal reluctance regarding ruler cult, he conceded that it was an effective political weapon at a time of constitutional change.
 - E. It would be wrong to dismiss imperial cult as a cynical ploy to elicit and demonstrate favor which had no real religious dimension to it.
- V. Jesus and Judea.
- A. Jesus conducted his ministry in the Roman province of Judea, governed by a prefect called Pontius Pilate.
 - B. Although the Gospels themselves scrupulously avoid any suggestion that Jesus had a political agenda, many were probably drawn to him in the belief that he did have such an agenda.
 - C. The most vigorous champion of Christianity in the generation after Jesus's death was Paul, who undertook three missionary journeys.

Suggested Readings:

Burkert, *Ancient Mystery Cults*.

Price, *Rituals and Power*.

Weinstock, *Divus Julius*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did the Romans become less hospitable to foreign cults from the 2nd century B.C. onward?
2. What were the incentives and disincentives to the spread of imperial cult throughout the Roman Empire?

Lecture Eighteen

Greek Cities under Roman Rule

Scope: Although perhaps as much as 90 percent of the population of the Roman Empire lived in the countryside, a number of cities became major *metropoleis* on a scale hardly equaled until recent times. With the exception of Rome, all the greatest cities were predominantly populated by Greeks. One of the largest was Alexandria, founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. After Alexander's death, Ptolemy I, who declared himself king of Egypt, chose Alexandria as his capital. The city grew rapidly in the 3rd century B.C. and became the second most populous city in the ancient world, consisting primarily of Greeks, Egyptians, and Jews. Alexandria was still an important city in Byzantine times and remained so until the Arab conquest.

Another great city was Antioch in Syria, founded by Seleucus I Nicator in 300 B.C. as the capital of the Seleucid Empire. Its population mainly consisted of Athenian and Macedonian colonists, though there was also a large Jewish community. Antioch became the capital of the Roman province of Syria. Apamea, also founded by Seleucus I, became the military headquarters of the Seleucid Empire. Another great city was Pergamum, which under the Attalid dynasty became one of the most powerful cities in the eastern Mediterranean. However, no city exceeded Ephesus in luxury. It had street lighting and streets paved with marble. Corinth, which had been destroyed in 146 B.C., was refounded by Julius Caesar as a Roman colony, though in time its Greek population came to exceed the number of Romans who resided there.

Outline

- I. Over the course of time the Roman Empire became progressively urbanized.
 - A. Contact between Greek and Roman culture took place predominantly in an urban context.
 - B. Although the percentage of urban dwellers increased over time, even in the time of the Roman Empire, the majority of the population probably lived in the countryside.
 - C. Yet many who lived in the countryside were dependent on cities.
 - D. Many new *poleis* grew under Roman rule, especially in northern Turkey.
- II. There were profound differences between the classical Greek state and its manifestation under Roman rule.
 - A. Interstate warfare was banned.
 - B. The Romans did not tolerate democracy. They installed pro-Roman aristocracies, which worked closely with the Roman governor.
 - C. The varieties of cultural differences that the city states had exhibited previously now diminished greatly.
 - D. Even so, the Greeks continued to identify themselves foremost as members of a particular polis.
- III. Six of the nine most populous cities in the Roman Empire were Greek-speaking—the other three being Rome, Carthage, and Lugdunum (Lyons).
 - A. Cities in mainland Greece did not prosper initially under Roman rule, though there was some revival in the second half of the 1st century A.D.
 - B. Athens in particular became depressingly sycophantic in its relations with Hellenistic potentates.
 - C. The greatest Greek foundation of the Hellenistic era was Alexandria, established by Alexander the Great, which became home to the largest Jewish population outside Egypt.
 - D. Alexandria was famous for its lighthouse and boasted the largest library in the ancient world, housed in its famous Museum (*mouseion*, literally “college of the muses”).
 - E. It prospered under Roman rule, due to its important location for trade, and was the port from which cargoes laden with grain would leave Egypt for Rome.
 - F. Antioch (modern Antakya) in the Roman province of Syria was founded by Seleucus I Nicator in 300 B.C. to be the capital of the Seleucid Empire. It was annexed by Rome in 64 B.C., and became the capital of the province of Syria and an important center for Christianity.

- G. Ephesus, first ruled by the Seleucids and then the Attalids, became the capital of the Roman province of Asia. It had a sizeable Jewish community and was visited by Saint Paul. It was one of the wealthiest and best-appointed cities in the ancient world, with street lighting and streets paved with marble.
- H. Pergamum, which was the capital of the Attalid dynasty, promoted itself as a “second Athens.” Its so-called Great Altar (first half of 2nd century B.C.), which has a frieze depicting a gigantomachy (battle between gods and giants), is one of the most spectacular works of Hellenistic architecture.
- I. After being destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C., Corinth was refounded as a Roman colony by Julius Caesar, primarily to provide a home for his veterans. From 27 B.C. it was the administrative capital of the province of Achaea.

IV. The effects of Roman rule in the Greek cities.

- A. Whereas Alexander the Great had sought to export democratic institutions, under the Romans these institutions were either suspended or curtailed in power.
- B. Plutarch’s “Precepts of Statecraft” (c. A.D. 100) provides invaluable insight into the toadying kind of behavior required of Greek politicians under Roman rulers.
- C. A generation or two later Aelius Aristides wrote a fulsome panegyric, *To Rome* (c. A.D. 160), in which he praised the Romans for bringing about something of a Greek Renaissance.

Suggested Readings:

Alcock, “The Problem of Roman Greece,” in *Graecia Capta*.

Millar, *Rome, the Greek World and the East*.

Plutarch, “Precepts of Statecraft,” in *Plutarch’s Moralia*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways did Greek cities benefit from Roman rule?
2. Why did the Greek city prove so durable as an urban model?
3. What were the chief amenities of a Greek city, and what do these amenities have to tell us about the Greek concept of an urban entity?

Lecture Nineteen

Greeks in Rome, Romans in Greece

Scope: Greeks first began coming to Rome in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Some, like Livius Andronicus, were slaves, whereas others were clients of wealthy and prominent Romans. The most famous of these was the Greek historian Polybius, who became a close friend of Scipio Aemilianus. The entry of Greeks into Rome in the first half of the 2nd century B.C. was bitterly opposed by Cato the Elder, though he could do little to stem the tide. Educated Greeks began to arrive in Rome in increasing numbers in the first half of the 1st century B.C., many of them seeking refuge at the time of the Mithradatic Wars. From the next century onward, most Greeks with talent and ambition came to Rome, whether as teachers, physicians, or entertainers. There were also several influxes of slaves as a result of Rome's wars against the Greeks. The large number of Greeks in Rome led to considerable hostility on the part of some Romans, who resented their ability to secure jobs.

It became customary in the 1st century B.C. for privileged Romans to complete their educations in the Greek-speaking world, notably in Athens and Rhodes. From the 1st century A.D. onward, mainland Greece became a tourist center for Romans with leisure, and several emperors undertook tours of Greece. We also hear of wealthy Romans who were so enamored of Greek culture that they decided to take up permanent residence in Greece, notably in Athens. There were also numerous Roman soldiers stationed permanently in the province.

Outline

- I. Greeks in Italy.
 - A. The Mycenaean, a Greek-speaking people, were living in Italy as early as 1600 B.C.
 - B. There were Greek colonies in Italy from the middle of the 8th century B.C.
- II. Greeks in Rome.
 - A. There is no evidence of Greeks in Rome before the first half of the 3rd century B.C.
 - B. One of the earliest known to have been in Rome at this date is Livius Andronicus, poet and dramatist, who arrived as a slave perhaps as early as 272 B.C. before earning his freedom, and who possibly became the first Greek teacher to work in Rome; he was also the first dramatist to have a play performed in Rome (240 B.C.).
 - C. Greeks also resided in Rome as clients of Roman patrons. The most celebrated of these was the historian Polybius, who arrived as a hostage in 168 B.C., and who became attached to the circle of Scipio Aemilianus.
 - D. Opposition to Greeks and Greek influence was led by Cato the Elder, who was probably instrumental in securing the expulsion of Greek philosophers from Rome in 173 and 161 B.C.
 - E. In 155 B.C. a delegation of Greek philosophers representing the Stoic, Aristotelian, and Platonic schools was permitted to address the Roman senate.
 - F. In the early 1st century B.C. many Greek intellectuals, including Philo, head of the Platonic Academy, fled to Rome to escape the upheavals caused by the Mithradatic Wars.
 - G. From the 1st century A.D. onward, Greeks with talent and ambition made their way to Rome, seeking fame and fortune, among them the physician Galen.
 - H. Tens if not hundreds of thousands of Greek prisoners of war were brought to Rome in the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C., the first big influx occurring after the defeat of Perseus in 168 B.C.
 - I. Ramsey MacMullen estimates that in Cicero's day (mid-1st century B.C.) Rome had become the Mediterranean city with the largest number of Greek speakers.
- III. Romans in Greece.
 - A. By the early decades of the 1st century B.C. it had become fashionable for Romans to complete their educations in centers of learning such as Athens or Rhodes.

- B. Leading Romans who spent time studying abroad in the 1st century B.C. include Cicero, Marcus Brutus, and Octavian.
 - C. From the early Imperial period onward, partly as a result of imperial initiative, mainland Greece began to attract Roman tourists. The first Roman tourist of whom we have record was L. Aemilius Paullus, the Roman victor at the battle of Pydna in 168 B.C.
 - D. The increasing popularity of tourism in mainland Greece is reflected in the work of Pausanias, who wrote a *Guide to Greece* in 10 books in the second half of the 2nd century A.D.
 - E. In response, the Greeks expanded the number of games that were celebrated and increased the value of the prizes offered, to attract both spectators and competitors from abroad.
 - F. A small group of Romans became so besotted by Greek culture that they took up permanent residence there, notably in Athens. They include Cicero's friend and correspondent Titus Pomponius Atticus, who moved there in 85 B.C.
 - G. From the period of the Illyrian and Macedonian wars onward (later 3rd century B.C.), Roman soldiers served in Greece, though once the province was pacified only a skeletal force would have remained.
 - H. The only permanent group of Romans who were resident in Greece in large numbers comprised army veterans and freedmen assigned land in the region.
- IV. Greeks and Romans in close proximity to one another?
- A. There is little evidence of Greeks and Romans living next door to one another.
 - B. We also have few records of intermarriage, although unofficial marriages probably took place between Roman legionaries and Greek women in the provinces.

Suggested Reading:

Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens*.

Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is it likely that relations between individual Greeks and Romans changed over time? If so, how are they likely to have changed, and what conditions would have promoted such a change?
2. What forms of interaction between the Greeks and the Romans are likely to have been most conducive to an increased understanding of one another?

Lecture Twenty

The Hellenism of Augustus

Scope: The world which Augustus ruled from 27 B.C. to A.D. 14 marks the moment in our course when an entity called “Mediterranean man” first comes into being—people with a shared vision and living under similar conditions. At the same time, it was a world that had become deeply influenced by Greek culture, particularly at the top end of the social scale. Nowhere was this truer than among the members of the imperial court.

Hardly surprisingly, therefore, Augustus turned to the Greeks for inspiration when he was considering how to advocate and promulgate his thinly disguised autocracy known as the Principate. Ruler worship, which enabled the Roman emperors to demand absolute obedience and loyalty from their subjects, was an entirely foreign concept to the Romans, and one which owed its inspiration primarily to the model of Hellenistic monarchy. Similarly, the image of himself that Augustus circulated in a variety of artistic media was derived from the Greek style of idealized portraiture. His building program was also inspired by Greek precedent, notably in the case of the colossal family tomb, aptly called the Mausoleum, which he erected in the Field of Mars. Lacking much aptitude as a military leader, Augustus sought to model himself on the image of Alexander the Great, even though his military accomplishments were few. Finally, Augustan literature, which did so much to promote the ideals and aspirations of the Augustan Age, was heavily indebted to Greek literature. In conclusion, the Augustan Principate was deeply indebted in a variety of ways to the achievements and examples of the Greeks.

Outline

- I. With the absorption of Egypt into the Roman Empire, the Hellenistic period ends and the Principate begins.
 - A. Achaea, consisting of the Peloponnese, became a separate province in 27 B.C., and Egypt now came under the personal control of Augustus.
 - B. The Greek-speaking world, like most of the Roman Empire (Judea is an exception), remained at peace for 200 years.
 - C. Bruce Frier estimates that on the death of Augustus in A.D. 14 there were 45 million persons living in the empire, 20 million in the East and 25 million in the West.
 - D. Under the form of government established by Augustus, known today as the Principate (from *princeps*, “first citizen,” “chief”), the republican constitution remained nominally intact, though it was in effect a disguised autocracy.
 - E. Augustus’s constitutional powers included holding a perpetual tribune of the people, holding regular consulships, being governor of several provinces, and ultimately becoming supreme pontiff.
 - F. Although there were at least six plots against him, Augustus enjoyed enormous popular support.
 - G. Our modern impression of Augustus has been greatly influenced by Sir Ronald Syme’s *The Roman Revolution* (1939), which takes a somewhat hostile view of him.
 - H. The modern countries of Yugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria were conquered during his reign.
 - I. Augustus tried to establish borders at the rivers Elbe and Danube, though his general Publius Quinctilius Varus suffered a severe defeat at the hands of a German named Arminius in 9 B.C.
- II. Augustus drew inspiration from Hellenism in fashioning and promulgating the ideals and values of the Principate.
 - A. Augustus was deeply influenced by Greek culture and turned to Greece for inspiration when he pondered how to package his new constitutional system.
 - B. He incorporated and developed the concept of ruler cult. At the same time, he was careful to avoid suggesting that he sought divine honors, even though in the East he permitted non-Romans to build temples jointly to Roma the personification of Rome, and himself.
 - C. He adopted the image of the Hellenistic dynast as an enlightened and benevolent ruler, and indulged in munificence on a scale that was unprecedented.

III. Augustan art and architecture drew from Greek models.

- A. Rejecting the truth-to-nature tradition of Roman portraiture, Augustus adopted the idealized classical and Hellenistic models of Greek sculpture to disseminate a carefully constructed self-image throughout the empire.
- B. The most famous surviving portrait of him is the Prima Porta, so-named after its findspot in Rome, which draws heavily from the “Spear Carrier” of the Greek sculptor Polykleitus (c. 440 B.C.).
- C. Augustus used the language of Greek architecture for his own propagandist purposes, as in the construction of the mausoleum or family tomb in Rome.
- D. He also used it to express the ideals of the Principate, as in the case of the Altar of Augustan Peace, completed in 9 B.C., whose frieze was inspired by that of the Parthenon in Athens.

IV. Augustan literature, notably poetry, which the *princeps* commissioned for his propagandist purposes, was heavily indebted to Greek literature.

- A. Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which offers a total re-evaluation of Roman identity, draws very heavily from both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.
- B. Another Augustan poet was Horace, who wrote one poem that unequivocally celebrates Augustus’s achievements, notably his “Centennial Hymn.”

Suggested Readings:

Millar, *Rome, the Greek World and the East*.

Price, *Rituals and Power*.

Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Augustus borrow the model of Hellenistic monarchy in order to promote the ideals of the Principate?
2. In what ways does Augustan literature show dependency on Greek literary forms?

Lecture Twenty-One

Art, Looting, and Reproductions

Scope: The Romans first began to encounter Greek art in the Second Punic War in the form of loot, when victorious generals brought back art treasures from plundered Greek cities that they then dedicated in Rome's temples. It was, however, toward the end of the 1st century B.C. and largely under the direction of Augustus that Roman art began to take on a distinctively Greek character. Workshops in Greece began to produce copies and re-workings of famous Greek originals, which were shipped over to Italy. Roman consumer demand thus began to dictate Greek artistic output, largely in the classical style. Our knowledge of Greek sculpture derives primarily from these copies. There were, however, important differences in the uses to which the Greeks and the Romans put art. Whereas all Greek art in the major media was religious, the Romans produced a number of "propaganda" monuments decorated with reliefs to express current ideologies.

Roman painting was heavily influenced by Greek models. Many of the murals and mosaics from Herculaneum and Pompeii were copied from Greek originals. It used to be thought that Roman landscape painting was original, but it has a Greek precursor in the paintings of the royal Macedonian tombs at Vergina. Eventually, however, Roman painting developed a distinctive style of its own. The only branch of sculpture in which the Romans made a highly original contribution was portraiture, the realistic tendency of which departed sharply from the idealized features that characterized Greek art. In conclusion, art is one of the most complicated areas of interaction between the two cultures, since a work of art commissioned for a Roman by a Greek is neither purely Greek nor purely Roman.

Outline

- I. Early Greek and Roman art existed in many media, from the major arts of sculpture, painting, and mosaic to the minor arts of jewelry, gemstones, and pottery.
 - A. When Mycenaean civilization began to collapse around 1200 B.C., there was a break in the Greek artistic tradition that lasted some 400 years—a period known as the "Dark Ages."
 - B. Recovery began around 800 B.C., contemporary with the development of a distinctive pottery style known as "geometric," so named for its decorative motifs.
 - C. Greek pottery is found in Etruscan graves from the 8th century B.C. onward, providing evidence of Greek traders in the region at this date.
 - D. The earliest monumental Greek sculpture types, the naked standing male (kouros) and the draped female (korê), date to 650 B.C.
 - E. The earliest sculpture found in Rome, the bronze she-wolf, dates to c. 500 B.C., and was possibly made by an Etruscan artist.
- II. The first Roman direct encounter with Greek art first took place through looting.
 - A. Livy tells us that the capture of Syracuse by Marcus Marcellus in 212 B.C. first instilled in the Romans an insatiable appetite for Greek sculpture.
 - B. By divorcing sculptures from their original context, the Romans created the notion of a "work of art"; they were also the first Mediterranean people to use works of art to demonstrate cultural sophistication and wealth.
 - C. Moralists saw Rome's appetite for Greek sculpture as a sign of her decadence and as evidence of the pernicious effects of Greek culture.
 - D. One of the largest influxes of artistic treasures into Rome occurred as a result of Aemilius Paullus's victory over the Macedonian king Perseus in 168 B.C.
 - E. In terms of looting, the worst offender in the 1st century B.C. was Verres, governor of Sicily from 73–71 B.C., who plundered his province and whom Cicero successfully prosecuted.
 - F. Although pretentiousness was a major stimulant to looting, we need to acknowledge, too, that the Roman elite had a genuine appreciation for Greek art.

- III. As looting could not satisfy the demand for Greek art, a trade in reproductions evolved.
- A. Workshops in Greece began to produce copies of Greek originals in the so-called neo-Attic style, and Greek artists migrated to Rome.
 - B. Many of the most celebrated Greek sculptures fall into the category of “Roman copy of a lost Greek original,” including the Apollo Belvedere, the *Discus Thrower* of Myron, and the *Spear Carrier* of Polycleitus.
 - C. One of the best examples of the collecting habits of wealthy Romans is the so-called Villa of the Papyri in Herculaneum, which is thought to have belonged to Caesar’s father-in-law, a very wealthy philhellene called Lucius Calpurnius Piso.
- IV. Many Roman works of art, though they display a dependence on Greek originals, also demonstrate a striking independence.
- A. The Altar of Augustan Peace, though inspired in part by the Parthenon, promotes a distinctively Augustan ideology.
 - B. Although very little Greek mural painting has survived, it is evident that the Romans drew inspiration from it for their murals.
 - C. A great deal of Roman mural painting has survived on public and private buildings in Pompeii and Herculaneum, both buried as a result of the volcanic eruption of Vesuvius in A.D. 79.
 - D. Well-to-do Romans adorned the walls of their private houses with murals—a practice that does not seem to have been current in the Greek world.
 - E. Notable examples are the architectural vistas from the villa of Publius Fannius Synistor at Boscoreale and the landscape paintings from the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta.
 - F. Roman portraiture was arguably the most original artistic genre, being extremely realistic, unlike Greek portraiture, which was heavily idealized.
 - G. The origins of Roman portraiture are thought to derive from the death masks of ancestors, which were worn at funerals.
 - H. The Romans used portraiture in a way that had no Greek precedent: namely, to disseminate the image of a living emperor for propaganda purposes, as from the reign of Augustus onward.

Suggested Readings:

Beard and Henderson, “Moving Statues: Art in the Age of Imitation,” in *Classical Art: From Greece to Rome*.

Fullerton, *Greek Art*.

Ling, “Hellenistic and Roman Art,” in Boardman, Griffin, and Murray, eds., *Greece and the Hellenistic World*.

Onians, *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*.

Questions to Consider:

1. “Formal, passionless, and purely derivative,” is this a fair description of Roman art?
2. Are there any great Roman works of art that do not demonstrate the influence of the Greek artistic tradition?

Lecture Twenty-Two

Architecture, Sacred and Secular

Scope: The focus of Greek architecture was the temple, which, until the rise of Christianity, remained the most prestigious building type. There were three orders of Greek architecture—Doric, Ionic and Corinthian—which the Romans took over and adapted. The Romans also placed particular emphasis upon the temple, though in time they began to develop other important structures of a more utilitarian nature.

The emergence of a distinctive Roman style of building dates to the 2nd century B.C. It is connected with the invention of a new building material, namely concrete. Concrete enabled a wholly different type of architecture to emerge. Whereas the Greeks had largely limited themselves to the post and lintel system, the Romans solved complex structuring problems by exploiting the arch, the vault and the dome. The Romans placed much more emphasis upon secular buildings and constructions that were intended to serve the needs of vast numbers of people than the Greeks did. Among the most impressive secular constructions are the aqueducts, amphitheaters, baths, and circuses. One of the most important new type of buildings developed by the Romans was the basilica, a rectangular hall divided into naves and aisles by interior colonnades, which became extremely important in the Christian era.

Outline

- I. Although Greek and Roman architecture are deeply interconnected in terms of style, they also display profound differences in terms of function, building methods and materials, and sheer scale.
 - A. The Augustan period was pivotal in the development of Roman architecture.
 - B. The only surviving Roman treatise on architecture—by Vitruvius—was written in the Augustan era.
 - C. As a result of Augustus’s preference for marble, a widely diffused marble trade established itself throughout the Mediterranean.
- II. Both for the Greeks and the Romans, the temple was the most important and prestigious type of building, even though the Romans conceived of temples very differently from the Greeks.
 - A. The basis of all temple architecture was a stepped platform, on which stood an oblong sanctum or sanctified space.
 - B. There were originally two orders of Greek architecture, Doric and Ionic, to which the Romans added Tuscan and Composite.
 - C. Two of the principal differences between Greek and Roman temple design are: (1) Greek temples could be approached from any angle, whereas Roman temples can be entered only from the front, and (2) Roman temples stand on much higher podiums than Greek temples.
- III. The emergence of a distinctive Roman style of building dates to the 2nd century B.C. and is connected to the invention of concrete.
 - A. With the development of concrete construction vaulting became commonplace, thereby enabling Roman architects to achieve much larger interior spans than their earlier Greek counterparts could have constructed.
 - B. The arch enabled the Romans to build utilitarian structures including bridges, aqueducts, viaducts, and sewers, all of which were essential to the running of the empire.
 - C. The most distinctive building that evolved from the use of concrete was the basilica (from the Greek *basilikē stoa* or “royal hall”), a rectangular space divided into two or more naves and aisles by interior colonnades.
 - D. The dome, an entirely Roman invention, is used most spectacularly in the Pantheon (c. A.D. 117–138), whose dome is 43 meters in diameter.
- IV. The Romans used architecture in a manner and on a scale that was foreign to the Greeks.
 - A. Whereas the classical and Hellenistic Greek state by and large did not see as one of its main functions to provide basic civic amenities, the Romans emphatically did.

- B. The Romans placed much more emphasis upon secular and utilitarian buildings than the Greeks, and used architecture to serve the needs of vast numbers of people.
 - C. The largest buildings in Rome were the public baths built by the emperors Trajan, Caracalla, and Diocletian, which could accommodate thousands of bathers at one time.
 - D. The amphitheater, where gladiatorial combats took place, was, like the vast public baths, symbolic of Roman civilization. The largest is the Colosseum in Rome, which had a seating capacity of 45,000.
- V. Roman domestic architecture was highly innovative.
- A. The apartment block or *insula* (literally “island”) illustrates how the Romans were required to think in terms of large numbers.
 - B. We know relatively little about Greek domestic architecture, due to the fact that the chief building material was unbaked mudbrick.
 - C. Unlike Greek houses, Roman houses show no evidence of the segregation of the sexes.
 - D. The Roman villa showed the influence of Greek architecture in the addition of an external peristyle or colonnaded court.
 - E. One of the most lavish country villas is the one at Tivoli, erected by Hadrian in A.D. 125–128.
- VI. From the second century onward, cities all around the Mediterranean were competing with the capital for imperial patronage.
- A. Lepcis Magna in North Africa came to prominence due to the fact that it was the birthplace of Septimius Severus (reigned A.D. 193–211).
 - B. Augusta Treverorum became second only to Rome in the West because of its strategic location on Rome’s northern border.
 - C. Constantine chose Constantinople as the new capital of the empire.
- VII. Another important development was the emergence of a style of architecture which, though Greco-Roman, took on the features of the local culture and which served local, primarily religious needs.
- A. Palmyra in Syria was an important trading post on the caravan route to Arabia, India, and China.
 - 1. The architecture developed there was an amalgam of Greek, Roman, Semitic, and Parthian elements.
 - 2. One of the most striking buildings is the Temple of Bel (called Ba’al in the Hebrew Bible), a Hellenistic-style Greek temple built under Roman rule and adapted to the needs of a Semitic cult.
 - B. Dura Europus, a city on the Euphrates, has the oldest preserved synagogue in the Mediterranean region, as well as the oldest identifiable church.
 - 1. Originally a Babylonian community, Dura Europus was refounded by the Seleucid dynasty in 300 B.C., and then captured by the Parthians about 200 years later.
 - 2. It became a major garrison town on Rome’s eastern frontier in A.D. 165.
 - C. A very Greek-looking temple to a Syrian thunder god, identified with Jupiter Heliopolitanus, completed around the middle of the 3rd century A.D. at Baalbek (a town in the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon), was one of the grandest structures in the entire Roman Empire.

Suggested Readings:

Landels, “Engineering,” in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean*.

MacDonald, *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*.

Stamper, *The Architecture of Roman Temples*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways does Roman architecture improve upon Greek architecture?
2. Discuss the various ways in which Roman architecture was shaped to address the specific needs of the Roman people.

Lecture Twenty-Three

Science and Technology

Scope: Science in all its variety was to a large extent the discovery of the Greeks. Their interests included anatomy, astronomy, biology, botany, optics, and zoology. Even in Roman times, Greek practitioners of science remained dominant. The widely divergent attitudes to “pure” science manifested by the Greeks and the Romans is one of the most striking and entrenched differences between the two peoples. It was a Greek astronomer named Sosigenes who, at the request of Julius Caesar, worked out the exact length of the solar year. The most influential astronomer of antiquity was Ptolemy of Alexandria (c. A.D. 100–170), whose principal work in 13 books is known by its Arabic title as the *Almagest*. Although based on a geocentric conception of the universe, it became the standard work on astronomy for 1000 years. Oddly as it seems to us, science was not on the educational curriculum in Greece or Rome, nor was much emphasis placed upon mathematics.

Technology is a difficult subject to investigate. There was little incentive to liberate mankind from the performing of arduous and time-consuming physical activities in antiquity. In both the Greek and the Roman worlds, energy was mostly produced by either humans or animals. In the case of humans, work was overwhelmingly done by slaves. The only areas where there was considerable motivation for technical advance were large-scale building and siegecraft.

Outline

- I. Greek scientific wizardry continues to intrigue and impress us even today.
 - A. One of the most extraordinary examples of Greek scientific accomplishment is the so-called Antikythera Mechanism (1st century B.C.), a bronze object consisting of cogs, wheels, and dials, which is believed to have been used to map the motions of the Sun, the Moon, and the planets.
 - B. Arguably the most famous Greek scientist was Archimedes (c. 287–212 B.C.), author of a treatise titled “On Floating Bodies,” which demonstrates the principle of buoyancy; he met his death during the siege of Syracuse.
- II. In the ancient world, science—which comes from the Latin word *scientia*—was a subdivision of philosophy, which denoted intellectual inquiry in general.
 - A. There was no word in Latin or Greek that meant “science” in our sense. Instead, the ancients tended to think of science in its discrete entities.
 - B. Most of the branches of science that we recognize today had already been identified by the Greeks, including anatomy, astronomy, biology, botany, geometry, gynecology, mathematics, optics, pharmacology, physiology, and zoology. The social sciences were less an object of study, though there was interest in anthropology, ethnography, and political science.
 - C. There were probably many more competing scientific ideas in the ancient world at any one time than there are in the modern world.
 - D. Science was not separated from ethical and religious inquiry; in particular, there was no firm and fast division between astronomy and astrology.
 - E. There was nothing comparable to a science laboratory, and collections of specimens were owned privately.
 - F. Although most scientists were Greek, science continued to flourish under Roman rule.
 - G. Several Romans, including Varro (1st century B.C.), Celsus (early 1st century A.D.), and Pliny the Elder (mid-1st century A.D.), produced compendia or encyclopedias on science.
- III. Mathematics was less emphasized, and less developed, than we might expect.
 - A. There were no symbols for mathematical operations.
 - B. The Greeks used letters of the alphabet for numbers, whereas the Roman system of numbering was far more economical.
 - C. The first extant mathematical treatise, known as the *Elements*, was written by Euclid (fl. 300 B.C.).

- IV. The sense of order that scientists detected in the organization of the heavens contributed to a sense that there was no real division between astronomy and astrology.
- Thales of Miletus (7th–6th centuries B.C.) was allegedly able to predict solar eclipses.
 - Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) demonstrated that the earth is spherical.
 - Heraclides of Pontus (387–312 B.C.) proposed that the earth rotates on its axis once a day.
 - Aristarchus of Samos (early 3rd century B.C.) proposed that the sun is at the center of the universe.
 - Eratosthenes of Cyrene (275–194 B.C.) worked out the earth’s circumference with a high degree of accuracy.
 - Hipparchus of Nicaea (fl. 135 B.C.) discovered the precession of the equinoxes.
 - Largely through the influence of Posidonius (c. 135–51 B.C.), astrology became popular in Rome.
 - Sosigenes of Alexandria worked out that a solar year is 365.25 days in length (46 B.C.), and thus established the so-called Julian calendar, which is named after Julius Caesar, who employed his services.
 - Astrologers, such as Thrasyllus, who served under Tiberius (r. A.D. 14–37), became trusted members of the imperial household.
 - The greatest astronomical work of antiquity was Ptolemy’s *Almagest* (2nd century A.D.), even though it was based on a geocentric conception of the universe.
- V. Technology played a rather limited role in the ancient world.
- Most arduous and time-consuming physical tasks were performed by slaves.
 - Most mechanical devices were made of wood and so had to be replaced constantly.
 - Energy was produced mainly by humans or animals—chiefly donkeys, oxen, and mules.
 - The rather limited list of technical inventions in antiquity includes the crane, the sundial, and Archimedes’s screw.
 - Two areas of considerable technological progress include siegecraft and glass manufacturing.

Suggested Readings:

Flemming, “Knowledge and Empire,” in *Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*.

Irby-Massie and Keyser, *Greek Science of the Hellenistic Era*.

Rihll, *Greek Science*.

Walbank, “Cultural Developments: Philosophy, Science and Technology,” in *The Hellenistic World*.

White, *Greek and Roman Technology*, especially ch. 4.

Questions to Consider:

- What (if any) was the relationship between science and technology in the classical world?
- What invention would have most radically altered the lives of the ancients?
- What instruments did Greek scientists use to make their discoveries?

Lecture Twenty-Four

Disease, Medical Care, and Physicians

Scope: The invention of rational medicine is one of the most important discoveries of the Greeks. Some 60 treatises constitute the Hippocratic corpus—an extremely influential set of works ascribed to the legendary Hippocrates of Cos. They are remarkable for the absence of any appeal to magic, religion, or superstition, and represent a colossal breakthrough for science. Interestingly, there was little resistance from those associated with the cult of the healing god Asclepius, and it was also the case in Roman times that faith-based healing and rational medicine coexisted peacefully.

Although the Romans were initially suspicious of Greek doctors, they came increasingly to rely on them. It was a Greek named Erasistratus who was perhaps the first to perform dissections on human cadavers and even on live humans as well. The outstanding physician in later antiquity was Galen of Pergamum (c. A.D. 129–204), who began his career tending injured gladiators. Some 350 treatises are attributed to him. His teachings were extremely influential during the Middle Ages and even beyond. We know of no particularly famous Roman doctors, with the possible exception of Aulus Cornelius Celsus (fl. 1st century A.D.). The absence of any original Roman treatise on medicine is a reflection of the fact that the majority of medical practitioners in the ancient world were Greek, some of whom became extremely wealthy.

Outline

- I. Killer epidemics were so frequent, particularly in densely populated cities or in cities that were under siege, that they mostly go unrecorded in our sources.
 - A. The most detailed description of a plague is provided by Thucydides, who describes an outbreak that occurred in Athens in 430 B.C.
 - B. Similar outbreaks occurred in Rome, whenever the rural population had to take refuge inside the city walls.
 - C. An outbreak of plague, possibly smallpox, in A.D. 165 may have reduced the empire's population by 10 percent.
 - D. An outbreak of bubonic plague in A.D. 541 was at least equally devastating.
 - E. The increasingly devastating effects of plague demonstrate the truly integrated nature of life in the Mediterranean in later antiquity.
- II. Ancient diseases are notoriously difficult to identify, even when paleopathologists have skeletal evidence with which to work.
 - A. Major killers seem to have included gastroenteritis, dysentery, diarrhea, beriberi, rickets, scurvy, malaria, typhoid, pneumonia, and tuberculosis.
 - B. Many people regularly dealt with pain on a level unimaginable in the West today.
 - C. Standards of hygiene were deplorably low.
 - D. Methods for the disposal of human waste and garbage were barely adequate.
 - E. Life expectancy was much lower than it is today, though ancient evidence tends to be extremely unreliable.
- III. Medical care was not widely available.
 - A. Only the wealthy could afford the services of a physician.
 - B. There were no hospitals, no mental institutions, and no old people's homes.
 - C. Women probably received less medical attention than men.
 - D. There were very few long-term invalids, except among the very wealthy.
 - E. Many medical procedures, such as trepanation, though barbaric by the standards of our day, were regularly performed.
- IV. A serious interest in medical healing in the Greco-Roman world dates from the end of the 6th century B.C.
 - A. The cult of the healing Asclepius (Latin: Aesculapius) gained importance in Greece from the late 6th century B.C., first at Epidaurus in the northeast Peloponnese, later at Athens in 420 B.C., at Pergamum probably by the 4th century B.C., and at Rome in 291 B.C.

- B. Rational medicine originates around the time of the legendary physician Hippocrates of Cos (469–399 B.C.).
 - C. Some 60 medical treatises are ascribed to Hippocrates, though the majority of these are the work of his pupils and others who were later connected with the Hippocratic medical tradition.
 - D. Rational medicine met with very little resistance from the priesthood of Asclepius; indeed, faith-healing and medical interventions by physicians frequently occurred side by side.
- V. The leading physicians were virtually all Greek.
- A. Erasistratus and Herophilus, who both practiced in Alexandria in the first half of the 3rd century B.C., are said to have performed dissections on human cadavers.
 - B. The Romans never produced any corpus of medical treatises remotely comparable to that ascribed to Hippocrates.
 - C. The only possible candidate for writing an original treatise is Celsus (fl. 1st century A.D.), a Roman who wrote an encyclopedia of medical lore, but it is not known whether Celsus actually practiced medicine himself.
 - D. Dioscorides of Cilicia (1st century A.D.) wrote on the medical properties of minerals, animal by-products, and herbs.
 - E. Soranus of Ephesus (early 2nd century A.D.) wrote an important work on gynecology.
 - F. The outstanding physician of later antiquity was Galen (c. A.D. 129–204), who wrote 350 treatises on all branches of medical inquiry.
- VI. Throughout antiquity, most ordinary medical practitioners were also Greek.
- A. The first Greek physician to practice in Rome was Archagathus, who arrived in 219 B.C. and who earned the name “butcher” (Latin *carnifex*) because of his fondness for performing surgery.
 - B. In the early republican era, suspicions about Greek physicians ran so high that the Romans sometimes suspected them of secretly using poison.
 - C. A more favorable and appreciative view of Greek physicians took root toward the end of the 2nd century B.C. under the influence of Asclepiades of Bithynia, who sought to bring about a fusion between Greek and Roman medical lore.
- VII. From Democedes of Croton (c. 500 B.C.) to Galen in the 2nd century A.D., the ancient world repeatedly produced physicians who, despite their relatively low social status, were courted by the rich and powerful.

Suggested Readings:

Jackson, *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*.

King, *Greek and Roman Medicine*.

Scarborough, *Roman Medicine*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Examine the ways in which temple medicine and rational medicine coincided. Why do you suppose there was so little tension between the two?
2. Can we identify a changing attitude toward the medical profession and its practitioners over time on the part of the Romans? If so, what do you think might have produced the change?

Lecture Twenty-Five

The Greek Epic and Its Roman Echo

Scope: The origins of epic poetry are impossible to trace, but probably lie in hymns to the gods. Even by the time of Homer, the genre had existed for a very long time. As literacy gained sway epic died out, though Homer's influence was undiminished. Epic enjoyed a revival in the 3rd century B.C. at Alexandria, where Apollonius of Rhodes wrote a highly sophisticated poem titled the *Argonautica* about the adventures of Jason and the Argonauts. Roman epic was greatly indebted to Greek models. Livius Andronicus translated Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin. The first Roman epic poet was Gnaeus Naevius (c. 270–201), who wrote a poem titled *The Punic War*. His lead was followed by Quintus Ennius (239–169 B.C.), who wrote a poem called the *Annales*, which covered the whole of Roman history from the foundation of Rome down until his own time and became central to a Roman education.

The place of the *Annales* in the Roman curriculum was supplanted two centuries later by the *Aeneid*, an epic poem that Virgil composed at the request of Emperor Augustus. Virgil borrowed heavily from Greek poets, including both Homer and Apollonius, as well as from his Latin predecessors. He succeeded in composing an epic that was truly Roman in tone, while at the same time one that emphasized the enormous cost of Rome's achievement in pacifying the known world. The *Aeneid* represents not only the most successful but also the most sustained fusion of Greek and Roman literary form and style. Epic continued to flourish in the Imperial era. The last epic poem of which we have record was written in the 4th century A.D.

Outline

- I. We begin our investigation of the impact of Hellenism upon Roman literature with epic for the following reasons.
 - A. It is the oldest surviving literary genre.
 - B. It had a higher status than any other genre.
 - C. Some of the greatest works in both Latin and Greek are epics.
 - D. Epic underwent profound transformation under the Romans, while remaining largely true to its Greek roots.
- II. There are a number of characteristics that both Greek and Roman epic have in common.
 - A. An epic is a very lengthy narrative poem.
 - B. It is written in the dactylic hexameter.
 - C. It adopts a self-consciously elevated style.
 - D. It uses many similes, partly to extend the focus of action.
 - E. It incorporates elaborate speeches.
 - F. Its subject matter is great events, great men, great achievements, and sometimes, too, great mistakes.
 - G. The hero usually undertakes a journey, internal as well as external.
 - H. The hero makes painful discoveries about himself and the world.
 - I. The gods play a major part in the action.
 - J. Epic tells us something profound about man's place in the universe and his relationship with the gods.
- III. Greek epic, which is the earliest literary genre, underwent a revival in the Hellenistic period.
 - A. The poems of Homer (fl. c. 725–700 B.C.) were based on events thought to have occurred during and after the Trojan War.
 - B. The *Iliad* covers about 10 days in the 10th and final year of the war, whereas the *Odyssey* deals with Odysseus's return home 20 years after the end of the war.
 - C. The Cyclic poets also composed epics that dealt with the Trojan War, but only fragments of their work have survived.
 - D. The other epic poet of archaic Greece whose work has survived is Hesiod, whose major works include the *Theogony* and the *Works and Days*.

- E. In Hellenistic times, Apollonius of Rhodes wrote an epic titled *Argonautica* (*The Voyage of the Argo*), which greatly influenced Virgil.
- IV. Roman epic before Virgil was already using the genre to explore themes relating to Roman history.
- A. Roman epic began with a translation of Homer's *Odyssey* into Latin by Livius Andronicus (c. 280–c. 205 B.C.).
 - B. Gnaeus Naevius (c. 270–201 B.C.) wrote an original Roman epic, which gave prominence to Aeneas.
 - C. Ennius wrote an epic called the *Annales* (c. 180 B.C.) that covered the whole of Roman history down to his own day, which greatly influenced Virgil.
- V. Virgil's *Aeneid*, though inspired by Homer, significantly departs from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in a number of ways.
- A. Virgil borrowed heavily from Greek poets, including both Homer and Apollonius of Rhodes, as well as from his Latin predecessors.
 - B. The first half of the *Aeneid* draws primarily from the *Odyssey*, being about wanderings, and the second half from the *Iliad*, being about war.
 - C. The *Aeneid* demonstrates how differently from the Greeks the Romans saw their place in the world.
 1. It is infused with quintessential Roman values, including *fides* (faithfulness) and *pietas* (piety).
 2. Its gods are more formidable than Homer's gods, being ruthless and unyielding in pursuit of their objectives.
 3. The *Aeneid* exhibits a profound sense of historical perspective.
 4. It exudes a pervasive sense of melancholy.
 5. Whereas the *Iliad* (nearly) ends on a note of redemption, the *Aeneid* ends with an uncharacteristic outburst of rage on Aeneas's part.
- VI. Later Roman epic continued to be a vibrant genre.
- A. Ovid, who belonged to the generation after Virgil, and who was a poet with a very different sense of interests and priorities, composed the *Metamorphoses*, a patchwork of more than 200 tales on the subject of transformation.
 - B. Lucan (A.D. 39–65) wrote an epic poem about the civil war between Pompey and Caesar, which is sometimes described as an “anti-*Aeneid*.”
 - C. Silius Italicus (A.D. 26–102) wrote an epic on the Second Punic War.
 - D. A generation later, Statius wrote an epic called the *Thebais* (*Story of Thebes*), based wholly on legend.
 - E. The last epic poet to write in Latin was Claudian (c. A.D. 370–404), the Greek author of a poem on a contemporary event called the *Gildonic Revolt*.
 - F. The last epic poet to write in Greek was Nonnus (fl. A.D. 450–470), the author of a poem called the *Dionysiaca*, and of another based on the Gospel of Saint John.

Suggested Readings:

Fagles, *The Aeneid of Virgil*.

Rutherford, “Epic,” in *Classical Literature: A Concise History*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Why did Virgil use a genre that was 700 years out of date to write about the origins of the Roman state?
2. How does Aeneas exemplify the Roman virtues?
3. What is most distinctly Roman about the *Aeneid*?
4. Are Virgil's borrowings from his Greek precursors purely formal?

Lecture Twenty-Six

Tragedy and Comedy

Scope: It was the Greeks who, in the late 6th century B.C., invented Western drama. Early on, two genres evolved, tragedy and comedy, both of which were taken over and adapted by the Romans. The Romans' first experience of drama may have come about by watching plays in the Greek cities of southern Italy and Sicily. The first dramatist to translate Greek plays into Latin was Livius Andronicus, a Greek prisoner of war, in c. 240 B.C. Most early Roman dramatists, including Andronicus, Naevius, and Ennius, wrote both tragedies and comedies. Roman tragedy was often infused with a spirit of patriotism that was alien to its Greek counterpart. No Roman tragedy from the Republican era has survived. The comic playwrights Plautus (c. 254–c. 184 B.C.) and Terence (c. 195–159 B.C.) were both heavily influenced by the Greek dramatist Menander, whose plays drew their inspiration from romantic love. The writing of Roman tragedy underwent something of a revival in the late 1st century B.C., notably in the plays of the Younger Seneca, though it seems to have ceased to be performed on the stage.

Although they were intrigued and fascinated by the theater, the Romans never entirely rid themselves of their suspicion and distrust of it. Drama thus remained somewhat peripheral to the Romans, partly because the establishment suspected the theater of fostering sedition and moral degeneracy. As a result, actors were designated as *infames*, “without honor,” and denied full citizenship. It was not until 55 B.C. that Rome finally acquired a permanent stone theater. The contrast with the Greek world, where even quite minor cities had possessed theaters for hundreds of years, could not be more pronounced.

Outline

- I. The origins of Greek drama are difficult to trace.
 - A. According to tradition, the first dramatist was an Athenian named Thespis (fl. 530s B.C.).
 - B. Thespis allegedly introduced a first actor or protagonist; this originally was a member of the chorus, who stepped outside the chorus and engaged in dialogue with it.
 - C. Later, a second actor and later still a third were introduced, and in the case of comedy a fourth.
- II. Greek tragedy is the unified product of a specific historical moment.
 - A. Almost all the plots of Greek tragedy are drawn from heroic myth.
 - B. The chorus consists of 12 to 15 people.
 - C. The chief exponents of Greek tragedy were Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, all of whom were Athenians living in the 5th century B.C.
 - D. Thirty-two Greek tragedies have come down to us, their survival due in part to the fact that the Romans read and studied them.
- III. Greek comedy evolved considerably over time.
 - A. Hellenistic scholars divided Greek comedy, whose heyday lasted from 500 to 250 B.C., into three phases—Old, Middle, and New.
 - B. The only Old Comedies that have survived are by Aristophanes.
 - C. Old Comedy was by some standards of propriety, obscene.
 - D. The plots usually take as their starting point a contemporary situation, like the Peloponnesian War, and then go on to propose a fantastic solution.
 - E. Middle Comedy, which is far less focused on contemporary Athenian reality, is represented primarily by Aristophanes's *Wealth*.
 - F. The greatest exponent of New Comedy was Menander, who made his debut in 323 B.C.
 - G. New Comedy focused upon the family, gave prominence to romantic love, exploited devices such as mistaken identity, and used stereotypes.
- IV. There are a number of major differences between the Greeks and the Romans in their attitude toward the theater.

- A. Though the Romans developed their own very lively theatrical tradition, they never incorporated it into the lifeblood of their community in the way the Greeks did.
 - B. Even in its heyday, Roman drama remained a somewhat peripheral cultural enterprise.
 - C. The Roman establishment feared that the theater could be used as a venue for expressing political and social unrest.
 - D. It was also highly suspicious of actors, whom it charged repeatedly with licentiousness.
 - E. Prejudice against actors in the Roman world may well have been partly due to the fact that most of them were Greek.
- V. Roman tragedy demonstrates an important break between the Republican and Imperial eras.
- A. The two earliest Roman dramatists known to us are Livius Andronicus and Gnaeus Naevius, both of whom wrote both tragedies and comedies.
 - B. The first Latin poet to specialize in tragedy was Marcus Pacuvius (220–c. 130 B.C.).
 - C. The last Republican tragedian was Accius (170–c. 85 B.C.).
 - D. One of the features of Roman tragedy that distinguishes it from Greek tragedy is that it was often infused with a spirit of patriotism.
 - E. Roman Imperial tragedies were written to be recited and not performed, notably the plays of Lucius Annaeus Seneca.
 - F. Although Seneca’s tragedies drew heavily from Euripides, they differ from his in characterization, extremity of emotion, and macabre descriptions of acts of appalling bloodthirstiness.
- VI. Roman comedy, though its plots derive from Greek New Comedy, is highly expressive of Roman taste.
- A. Roman comedy may have had its roots in a native Italian tradition known as Atellan drama, which took its name from a city called Atella in Campania.
 - B. The only Roman comedies that have survived in their entirety are the *fabulae palliatae*, “dramas in a Greek cloak” (or *pallium*), which were inspired by the plays of Menander.
 - C. Both Plautus (c. 254–184 B.C.) and Terence (c. 195–159 B.C.) drew inspiration from Greek comedy, though they adapted the genre to Roman taste.
- VII. Important changes in the theater and in theatrical productions took place under the Romans, including the elimination of the chorus, the use of the raised stage for acting, the enclosing of theatrical space, and the introduction of the curtain.

Suggested Readings:

Baldock, *Greek Tragedy: an Introduction*.

Euripides, *Four Plays*.

Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*.

Plautus, *Four Comedies*.

Rutherford, “Drama,” in *Classical Literature: A Concise History*.

Terence, *The Comedies*.

Questions to Consider:

1. “Greek plays in Roman dress”: Is that an accurate summary of Roman comedy?
2. What were the chief differences between Greek and Roman tragedy?

Lecture Twenty-Seven

Love Poetry, Satire, History, the Novel

Scope: The earliest works of Greek literature predate any surviving works of Latin literature by 500 years. In fact, Greek literature was already well past its climax when Latin literature was still in its infancy. Hardly surprisingly, Roman writers in almost every genre drew heavily from their Greek predecessors, though in no instance were their works purely derivative. Either the Romans adapted the genre to their taste or else they completely transformed it. The supreme achievements of Latin literature, such as the poetry of Virgil or the historical writings of Tacitus, are fully up to their Greek precursors. The only literary genre which the Romans invented was satire. The study of Greek and Roman literature is not only instructive in itself, but also elucidatory of the different preoccupations of the Greek and Roman reading publics.

This lecture will examine four genres: love poetry, satire, historiography, and novels. Poetry arrived in Rome in the middle of the 3rd century B.C. Initially it was regarded as a rather trivial pursuit and not something to which a serious-minded Roman would devote himself. Roman love elegy, which is one of the greatest glories of Western literature, not only focused on the individual in a way that was entirely foreign to Greek poetry, but also related to social realities in a way that was entirely unprecedented. “History” comes from the Greek word *historia*, which means “inquiry.” Although Roman historical writing took its inspiration from Greek models, its focus was much narrower. Satire owes less directly to the Greeks, though it also has its Greek antecedents. Whereas the Greek novel placed considerable weight upon the sexual fidelity of its principal characters, the Roman novel parodied this theme. The latter also included much earthy realism that particularly appealed to Roman taste.

Outline

- I. Both Greek and Roman love poetry were written in a variety of meters, reflecting the sentiments of the poem.
 - A. The persona assumed by the poet tended to express feelings of unhappiness.
 - B. The Romans began to write love poetry in the first half of the 1st century B.C., its finest exponents being Catullus, Propertius, and Ovid.
 - C. Latin love poetry differs from Greek love poetry in several ways.
 1. It engages the reader more in the emotional world of the beloved.
 2. It is often grounded in a convincingly presented and contemporary social reality.
 3. It seems to function in part as a reaction to the grim political realities of the late 1st century B.C.
 - D. One of the most popular meters is the elegiac couplet, invented by the Greeks and adopted by the Romans, which consists of a hexameter (six-foot line) followed by a pentameter (five-foot line).
- II. Although Latin historiography was influenced partly by Greek models, it also sprang from a native tradition.
 - A. The Greeks initiated the tradition of historical inquiry at a time when prose itself was developing.
 - B. The earliest surviving history is that of Herodotus, who wrote both about the Persian Wars and about the peoples the Persians conquered (499–479 B.C.).
 - C. Thucydides, born a generation later, wrote about the Peloponnesian War (431–404 B.C.).
 - D. Xenophon wrote a *History of Greece* which took up the narrative at the point where Thucydides left off in 410 B.C., and continued it down to 362 B.C.
 - E. The roots of Roman historiography lie partly in the so-called annalistic tradition, which derived from the yearly annals (*annales maximi*) kept by the priestly authorities.
 - F. The earliest Roman historian was Quintus Fabius Pictor (late 3rd century B.C.), who wrote his history in Greek, since most of his readers were either Greeks or Romans who could read Greek.
 - G. The first history written in Latin for exclusively Roman readers was the *Origines* of Cato the Elder, who began his work in 168 B.C.
- III. There are several important differences between Greek and Roman historical writings.
 - A. Unlike the Greeks, whose interests extended to other lands and peoples, the Romans were preoccupied with the Roman state.

- B. Roman historical writings contained a persistently moral dimension that was alien to the Greeks.
 - C. Greek historians tended to be outsiders, including Herodotus a traveler, Thucydides only after exiled from Athens, and Xenophon who was a mercenary, whereas most Roman historians, including Sallust, Tacitus, and Dio Cassius, were all senators and thus establishment figures.
- IV. Greek historians wrote about the Romans throughout antiquity.
- A. Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 350–260 B.C.), whose main subject was Sicily, included an outline history of Rome down to 264 B.C.
 - B. Polybius, who is our major source for the period from 264 to 146 B.C., was fascinated by Rome’s rise to power, and sought to explain Roman institutions to the Greeks.
 - C. Plutarch, born in the late 1st century A.D., wrote a series of biographies of famous Greeks and Romans called the *Parallel Lives*.
 - D. Appian, born late 1st century A.D., covered the entirety of Roman history down to his own day.
- V. Roman satire, though not entirely original, became a thoroughly Roman vehicle of expression.
- A. Satire can be written in any meter, though the hexameter became the preferred form.
 - B. Although the Romans believed satire to be a homegrown invention, its origins can be traced back to the Greek poet Archilochus (7th century B.C.).
 - C. The Romans regarded Lucilius, born 180 B.C., as the “Father of Satire.”
 - D. Horace wrote two books of satires which he called *Conversations*, *Sermones* in the late 30s B.C.
 - E. In the hands of Juvenal, who was writing in the early decades of the 2nd century A.D., satire became a devastating condemnation of the current age.
- VI. In novel-writing, both Petronius and Apuleius exceeded their Greek predecessors.
- A. The origins of the novel are uncertain, but can be traced back to the very beginnings of Greek literature.
 - B. The staple features of the novel include exotic locations, evil villains, separation from and reunion with one’s loved ones, disguise and recognition, reversals of fortune, and a happy ending.
 - C. Of the five surviving Greek novels, the most widely read today is Longus’s pastoral novel titled *Daphnis and Chloë* (late 2nd to early 3rd century A.D.).
 - D. Though only two Roman novels, Petronius’s *Satyrikon* and Apuleius’s *The Golden Ass*, survive, they both far outstrip their Greek models in originality, inventiveness, social realism, exuberance, and wit.

Suggested Readings:

Apuleius, *The Golden Ass* or *Metamorphoses*.

Juvenal, *Sixteen Satires*.

Ovid, *The Erotic Poems*.

Petronius, *The Satyrikon*.

Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*.

Rutherford, “History, Biography, and Fiction” and “Erotic Literature,” in *Classical Literature: A Concise History*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Examine the various ways in which Roman poetry borrows from Greek mythology.
2. Is Juvenal a trustworthy witness to the ills of his age? Is his anger merely a pose?
3. What justice is there in the claim that the Roman novel parodies its Greek counterpart?

Lecture Twenty-Eight

Greek Influences on Roman Education

Scope: Every Greek city-state had its own system of education. Little is known about Roman education until the 2nd century B.C. when the Romans began to employ Greeks as teachers. As a result, the Roman school curriculum now became closely modeled on the Greek. In fact it almost became an instrument for inculcating an appreciation of the superiority of Greek culture. The main subjects that were taught at the primary and secondary levels were reading, writing, and literature.

At the tertiary level, young men learned rhetoric and philosophy. In Greece in the Classical era, rhetoric was a necessary and vital attribute for anyone who wished to make a mark for himself in a democratic society such as Athens. In the 4th century B.C., schools of rhetoric began to flourish. As the Greek states lost their independence, however, rhetoric ceased to have any political importance, though it still remained the centerpiece of higher education. The teaching of rhetoric entered Rome in the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C., followed about a generation later by the teaching of philosophy. During the Imperial era, rhetoric became increasingly focused on the law courts, as political oratory ceased to have the same importance as under the republic. It is a striking fact that Roman education provided little in the way of practical training. It is also noteworthy that the Romans were prepared to leave their children's education largely in the hands of foreigners.

Outline

- I. Athenian education was entirely private.
 - A. It was the father's responsibility to ensure that his offspring received a proper upbringing.
 - B. Athenian teachers seem to have been poorly paid and had low social status.
 - C. Education for boys generally lasted from ages 7 to 14; we know little about the education of girls.
 - D. The curriculum included literature, music, and athletics.
- II. Spartan education, by contrast, was public.
 - A. At age seven, Spartan boys were removed from their homes and introduced into a public educational system called the *agôgê*, meaning "leading forth."
 - B. The underlying objective of the *agôgê* was to produce a thug—albeit one whose thuggery was placed at the service of the state.
 - C. Although the curriculum included writing, dancing, and music, the overriding objective of education was discipline.
 - D. At age 11, Spartan boys acquired an older "lover," who was known as an *erastês*.
- III. Girls received little education.
 - A. Spartan girls received some formal education, though the details are obscure.
 - B. There is little evidence for girls' education elsewhere in the Greek world.
 - C. The poetess Sappho is thought to have been associated with a school for young women on Lesbos (second half of the 7th century B.C.).
 - D. Women were occasionally admitted to philosophical schools, especially those associated with Pythagoras and Epicurus.
- IV. Roman primary and secondary education largely derived from the Greeks.
 - A. In early Rome, parents did most of the teaching, and their main objective was to inculcate a sense of tradition.
 - B. Plutarch tells us that Cato the Elder taught his son to read, hunt, ride a horse, box, fight in armor, and swim.
 - C. From the 270s B.C. onward, Greek prisoners of war were employed as teachers.
 - D. The Roman educational system now came to be based on the Greek model, which meant that the Romans acquired a deep appreciation for Greek language and literature.

- E. Primary education began at the age of seven with exercises in reading and writing.
 - F. Secondary education began at the age of 12 with the learning of Greek literature.
 - G. If parents were wealthy enough to have their sons stay on past the age of 12, which was when most children left school, they continued to follow much the same curriculum.
 - H. Although the *Annales* of the epic poet Ennius (239–169 B.C.) was always on the Roman curriculum, from the late 1st century B.C. onward historians such as Sallust and Livy, orators such as Cicero, and poets such as Terence, Horace, and Virgil, were also studied.
 - I. It is partly thanks to the Roman educational system that Greek literature, including tragedy, has survived.
- V. Levels of literacy varied greatly throughout the Mediterranean.
- A. Athenian democracy depended upon a high level of functional literacy.
 - B. In Sparta, where literacy served little practical purpose, its incidence would have been far lower.
 - C. Literacy in the Mediterranean probably reached its peak in the Hellenistic cities, since many provided elementary education for free.
 - D. Literacy is also likely to have been particularly high in Roman Egypt, largely because it was an extremely bureaucratic society.
 - E. There were numerous slaves who could read and write.
- VI. Rhetorical training was the preferred form of higher education in the Roman world.
- A. Skill in rhetoric was first taught by the Sophists in the 5th century B.C.
 - B. Both in Greece and in Rome, the ability to speak in public was the hallmark of a well-educated gentleman.
 - C. Schools of rhetoric began to emerge in the Greek-speaking world in the 4th century B.C., such as the one run by the Athenian Isocrates.
 - D. Rhetoric became incorporated into Roman education in the 1st century B.C.
 - E. There were two types of rhetorical exercises: *suasoriae*, which explored dilemmas faced by mythological and historical characters, and *controversiae*, in which advocates argued the niceties of some complicated legal issue.
 - F. The earliest surviving Roman treatise on rhetoric is an anonymous work titled *Rhetoric to Herennius* (85 B.C.).
 - G. Cicero’s rhetorical treatises were greatly indebted to Greek techniques.
- VII. In time, the study of philosophy also became popular among the Roman elite.
- A. Philosophy first made its mark in the education of elite Romans around the middle of the 2nd century B.C.
 - B. Rhetoric continued to be much more popular than philosophy, however, largely because it appealed more to the practical bent of the Romans.
 - C. In A.D. 71, Vespasian established the first state-salaried professorships in philosophy and rhetoric in both Athens and Rome, thereby recognizing their equal importance.
 - D. There were no philosophical schools in Rome itself until Plotinus, the founder of Neoplatonism, established one there in A.D. 244.
 - E. From the 1st century B.C., many upper-class Romans studied in Athens and Rhodes.
- VIII. There is discussion of educational theory in several of Plato’s dialogues, including the *Protagoras*, *Meno*, *The Republic* and *The Laws*.

Suggested Readings:

Deward, “Greek Education and Rhetoric,” in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean*.

Wooten, “Roman Education and Rhetoric,” in *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What do you suppose were the chief consequences to Roman society of handing over the education of Roman children to foreigners?

2. Is it possible to identify a rationale underlying the educational program in classical antiquity? Why do you suppose the curriculum was so limited?

Lecture Twenty-Nine

Greek Philosophy and Its Roman Advocates

Scope: According to tradition, the father of philosophical inquiry was Thales of Miletus, who sought to investigate the material cause of existence. Athens, the birthplace of Socrates and Plato, became a leading center of philosophy in both the Classical and Hellenistic periods. As a practical people, the Romans were inherently suspicious of Greek philosophy when they first encountered it. Spearheading the opposition was Cato the Elder. By the end of the 2nd century B.C., however, philosophy had made considerable headway in Rome. Even so, the Romans had little use for speculations about the nature of the universe, and mainly confined themselves to questions of an ethical or religious nature. The leading schools of philosophy were the Epicurean and Stoic. Arguably the greatest philosophical work in Latin is by Lucretius (c. 98–55 B.C.), whose epic poem in six books titled *On the Nature of the Universe (De rerum natura)* is a tribute to the Greek philosopher Epicurus. Cicero (106–43 B.C.) is chiefly important as a philosophical synthesist. The most celebrated proponent of Roman Stoicism was Seneca the Younger (c. 4 B.C.–A.D. 65). The last of the Stoics was the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121–180), author of the *Meditations*.

Soon after Marcus Aurelius's death, Neoplatonism, which incorporated elements from Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, was founded. Neoplatonism, which sought to demonstrate how the soul could reach God, had a profound effect upon early Christian thinking. It remained the dominant philosophical movement until Justinian ordered the closing of all philosophical schools in A.D. 529.

Outline

- I. Classical philosophical inquiry demonstrates a specific set of limitations and limited focus.
 - A. It was an inherently elitist occupation, in which only the wealthy had the leisure and the resources to indulge.
 - B. It focused on the welfare of the elite and did not concern itself with that of the human race in general. Leading philosophers often commanded large sums of money.
- II. Greek philosophy, initially concerned with natural philosophy (“What is the world made of?”) later came to focus on ethical inquiry.
 - A. The initial preoccupation of Greek philosophers like Thales of Miletus (c. 625–547 B.C.), dubbed the “Father of Philosophical Inquiry,” was with the explanation of material existence.
 - B. Around 450 B.C., with the advent of the Sophists (meaning “sages” or “experts”), philosophical inquiry became more focused on human conduct.
 - C. One of the most famous Sophists was Protagoras of Abdera (490–420 B.C.), who declared, “Man is the measure of all things.”
 - D. Their most bitter foe was Socrates, who objected both to the fact that Sophists charged fees for their services and that they taught philosophical relativism.
 - E. Socrates's pupil Plato (c. 429–347 B.C.) used his master as the principal speaker in almost all his *Dialogues*.
 - F. The work of Plato's pupil Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) covers every branch of philosophical inquiry and science that was current in his day.
 - G. The center of philosophical inquiry in both the Classical and Hellenistic periods was Athens, which was where Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum were established, and which was also the birthplace of both Epicureanism (c. 300 B.C.) and Stoicism (early 3rd century B.C.).
- III. The Romans were initially extremely suspicious of philosophers.
 - A. However, in 155 B.C. they permitted the heads of three of the major philosophical schools in Athens to visit Rome.
 - B. Despite opposition from Cato the Elder, by the final decades of the 2nd century B.C. Romans were traveling to the Greek-speaking world to study philosophy.

- C. In addition, Greek philosophers visited or resided in Rome in the early 1st century B.C., including Philo, head of the Academy, and Posidonius, a Stoic philosopher.
 - D. Rome was not the only philosophical hub in Rome: Philodemus of Gadara, who resided in the Bay of Naples, became an important popularizer of philosophy for the Romans.
- IV. Epicurean philosophy combined theories about the material universe with questions of ethics.
- A. The Romans' knowledge of Epicureanism derived primarily from Lucretius (c. 98–55 B.C.), who rendered Epicurus's doctrine into Latin hexameter verse in a poem titled *On the Nature of the Universe (De rerum natura)*.
 - B. Epicureanism, which was uncompromisingly materialistic, taught that humans should not pursue wealth or power or glory, but be content with very little.
 - C. It also advanced an atomic theory, which was linked to moral philosophy.
 - D. Epicureanism sought to rid humans of the fear both of the gods and of death.
- V. Cicero did much to educate the Roman reading public about Greek philosophy.
- A. It was largely thanks to Cicero that Romans acquired a smattering of Greek philosophy.
 - B. Although Cicero made little original contribution to philosophy, he presented it in a style that made it palatable to his Roman readers.
- VI. Stoicism was the most important philosophical movement among the Romans in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.
- A. Stoicism taught that the highest aim of life, the *summum bonum*, was virtue, and that to be virtuous was to be happy.
 - B. Stoicism permeates Virgil's *Aeneid*, whose hero demonstrates true stoical fortitude in the face of adversity and loss.
 - C. There were four great Stoic writers in the Roman Imperial period: Seneca the Younger, Musonius Rufus, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius.
 - D. Seneca, who was the last Roman to write philosophy in Latin, promoted the virtue of *humanitas*, "humanity," which makes him very attractive to modern readers.
 - E. Musonius (A.D. 25–100) recommended that girls should receive the same education as boys.
 - F. Epictetus (A.D. 55–135) was the author of the *Enchiridion*, a guidebook to the morality of its period.
 - G. The last great Stoic was Emperor Marcus Aurelius, author of the *Meditations*, through which runs a pervasive note of resignation, even pessimism.
- VII. Neoplatonism, which appeared soon after the death of Marcus Aurelius, was the last philosophical school to emerge in antiquity.
- A. Neoplatonism was a revival of Platonism, though it also incorporated elements from Pythagoras, Aristotle, and the Stoics.
 - B. Its leading exponents were Plotinus (A.D. 205–70), Porphyry (A.D. 232–305), and Proclus (A.D. 412–88).
- VIII. Both philosophy and philosophers were important in antiquity.
- A. Training in philosophy provided an essential foundation for physicians, politicians, and lawyers.
 - B. Philosophers were prominent in public life, serving as diplomats and ambassadors.
 - C. Philosophers were often critical of the political establishment, as in the case of Socrates, who was executed by the Athenian demos in 399 B.C.

Suggested Readings:

Lucretius, *On the Nature of the Universe*.

Rutherford, "Thinkers," in *Classical Literature: A Concise History*.

Questions to Consider:

1. In what ways, if at all, did the Romans make a contribution to the Greek philosophical tradition?
2. Does Lucretius have anything original to say?

3. “Full of platitudinous truisms.” Is this a balanced critique of Marcus Aurelius’s *Meditations*?

Lecture Thirty

Hellenomania from Nero to Hadrian

Scope: The obsession with Greek culture was so great on the part the emperors Nero and Hadrian that it is appropriate to describe it as “hellenomania.” Hellenomania was, however, by no means exclusive to these two, but part of a much more widespread tendency. Elite Romans of this period were attracted to the Bay of Naples, which had remained a center for Greek culture. Nero’s tour of Greece in A.D. 66, though prompted by his desire to make a name for himself by becoming a victor in the panhellenic games, did result in the economic improvement of the country after a long period of neglect and impoverishment. Likewise Hadrian, who affected Greek manners, did much to restore Athens to its former position as the cultural center of the Greek world. Under his patronage, the city underwent architectural improvement. In addition, Hadrian paid for the construction of aqueducts, baths, bridges, stoas, and temples in other parts of Greece.

Rome’s benevolent attitude toward “old” Greece contributed to its material prosperity and improved cultural standing. This lasted well into the 3rd century A.D., when invaders from the north began to infiltrate the borders of the Roman Empire. In conclusion, hellenomania was a complicated phenomenon, in which cultural, economic, political, and purely emotional factors all had play. It was based on an idealized view of the Greek world, which conveniently ignored current political realities. It was also a somewhat expensive commodity, which went out of fashion when the empire’s fortunes began to decline.

Outline

- I. Neapolis (later Naples) throughout antiquity was a center for philhellenes.
 - A. Although Neapolis had been sacked in 82 B.C. by Sulla, it quickly recovered and became a fashionable resort for wealthy Romans who were attracted by its Hellenic ambience and local beauty.
 - B. Several emperors owned property in the Bay of Naples, including Augustus, Tiberius, and Nero.
 - C. Tiberius withdrew to the island of Capri in A.D. 26, where he ruled and remained until his death in A.D. 37.
 - D. Prominent Romans who owned property in the Bay area include Lucius Calpurnius Piso, Virgil, Marcus Agrippa, and Petronius.
- II. Emperor Nero (reigned A.D. 54–68) was one of the greatest philhellenes.
 - A. Nero was extremely cultivated in all things Greek, and did much to foster an appreciation for Greek customs and culture.
 - B. He introduced public games into Rome called *Neronia*, based on the Greek model.
 - C. He sought to achieve stardom by being crowned victor in dramatic, lyric, and chariot contests at all the great panhellenic games.
 - D. He presented himself as a great benefactor of Greece by “liberating” the country in A.D. 67, in the same way that Flaminius had “liberated” it in 196 B.C.
 - E. There is evidence to suggest that Nero’s initiative did have some economic benefit for Greece.
 - F. He attempted to cut a channel through the Isthmus of Corinth to improve communications and trade.
 - G. When Nero died, Emperor Vespasian rescinded his decree granting freedom to the Greek cities, declaring that they had “unlearned” the ways of freedom.
- III. Hadrian (reigned A.D. 117–138) was also a great philhellene, whose impact on the Greek-speaking world was more enduring.
 - A. Hadrian was so obsessed with Greek culture that he was nicknamed *Graeculus*, “the little Greek.”
 - B. His attachment to Athens was deep, and he visited the city three times during his reign.
 - C. He served as an Athenian magistrate in A.D. 111–112.
 - D. He was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.
 - E. His love for a beautiful youth called Antinoüs seems to have been inspired in part by the Greek erotic ideal of a sublime male partnership that Plato explores in the *Symposium*.

- F. He founded a school of Greek grammar and literature in Rome, known as the Athenaeum.
- G. His villa at Tivoli, built between A.D. 118 and 134, which represents a highly personal attempt to import Greece into Rome, is a tribute to Greece's architectural and natural beauty.
- H. In return for all his generosity, the Athenians set up a statue of Hadrian in the Parthenon.
- I. His cult title was *Panhellenios*, meaning "of all the Greeks," and games, known as *Hadrianeia*, were established in his honor.

IV. No later emperor was as deeply imbued as Nero and Hadrian with the love of Greek culture.

- A. Although Hadrian's successor Antoninus Pius (reigned A.D. 138–161) was not an active philhellene, there is some evidence to suggest that a reverse tendency akin to "philromanism" begins to take hold in the Greek world.
- B. Antoninus's successor, Marcus Aurelius (reigned A.D. 161–180) was arguably the embodiment of Plato's "philosopher king," as described in *The Republic*.
- C. With the death of Marcus Aurelius, imperial philhellenism begins to wane, as emperors begin to turn their attention to threats of incursions on Rome's borders.

Suggested Readings:

Birley, *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*.

Boatwright, "The Athenaeum and other Manifestations in Rome of Hadrian's Philhellenism," in *Hadrian and the City of Rome*.

Champlin, *Nero*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the chief reasons why Roman emperors lavished benefactions on the Greek world?
2. How did Emperor Nero's attitude toward Greece differ from that of the emperor Hadrian?
3. What were the chief consequences for the Greeks as well as the Romans of "Imperial Hellenomania"?

Lecture Thirty-One

Jews, Greeks, and Romans

Scope: The relationship between the Jews, the Greeks, and the Romans was at times extremely fraught with suspicion, largely because of the inherent conflict between monotheism and polytheism. Both the Greek polis and the Roman republic were in a sense based on the principle that their security and welfare depended on the devotion that the gods received from the citizenry. This meant that the Jews could never fully involve themselves in the affairs of state. There was, however, a sizeable Jewish population living in Rome in the 1st century B.C. The Romans first became involved in Judea when Pompey the Great imposed indirect rule on the kingdom in 67 B.C. Tensions between Jews and Greeks living in Alexandria—the city with the largest population of Hellenized Jews outside Judea—were fuelled by Emperor Gaius, and erupted in A.D. 38. This led to the slaughter of many Jews and Greeks. Augustus had sought to avoid giving offense to the Jewish population of Judea on the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C. by granting certain privileges, in A.D. 6 he was forced to impose direct rule, largely due to the incompetence of Herod's sons. Relations between Rome and Judea became increasingly strained, as the province drifted into anarchy. Eventually, in A.D. 66 the Jewish Revolt broke out. Despite fierce resistance the Romans crushed the rebels and razed Jerusalem to the ground. A second ill-fated revolt known as the Bar-Kochba Revolt broke out in A.D. 132, provoked by Hadrian's decision to refound Jerusalem as a Roman colony.

Outline

- I. The Jews deserve special attention in our course.
 - A. They teach us how the Greeks and Romans responded to the challenge of dealing with a people who marginalized themselves from mainstream culture.
 - B. They were truly a Mediterranean people, since they did not dwell exclusively in their homeland.
 - C. They have bequeathed us an extensive literary tradition.
- II. Judea had a long history of involvement first with the Ptolemies, then with the Seleucids, and finally with Rome.
 - A. On the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., Palestine became first part of the Ptolemaic Empire and then part of the Seleucid Empire.
 - B. When the Seleucid king Antiochus IV proclaimed the abolition of Jewish worship, the Jews, led by Judas Maccabaeus, revolted in 168 B.C.
 - C. The revolt was successful and there followed a century of Jewish independence under the Hasmonean dynasty (142–63 B.C.).
 - D. In 63 B.C., Pompey the Great conquered Judea and imposed indirect rule on the kingdom.
 - E. The Jews favored Julius Caesar in the ensuing civil war and were rewarded afterward by being permitted to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem.
 - F. Herod the Great, who ruled from 37–4 B.C. as a client king of Rome and who was thoroughly Hellenized, undertook an ambitious building program, the crowning glory of which was the Temple.
 - G. On Herod's death, Augustus divided up his kingdom between Herod's three sons, dubbing Archelaus, the most senior, an *ethnarch*, and both Herod Antipas and Philip *tetrarchs*.
 - H. Due to their incompetence, Augustus annexed Judea in A.D. 6 and made it a minor Roman province to be administered by a *praefectus*, a military governor.
 - I. Though Augustus sought to avoid giving offense to the Jews by granting them privileges, Jewish sentiment became increasingly inflamed against Roman rule after his death (in A.D. 14).
 - J. Four major incidents occurred during the period of office of Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26–36).
 - K. In A.D. 37, Gaius Caligula appointed Marcus Iulius Agrippa ruler of part of Judea in an attempt to quell the unrest.

- III.** Communal violence between Jews and Greeks broke out in Alexandria in A.D. 38.
- A.** It is said that under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (reigned 323–283 B.C.), the Hebrew scriptures were translated into Greek for the benefit of Jews living in Egypt and elsewhere who did not know Hebrew.
 - B.** The translation was known as the *Septuagint*, meaning “70,” and was so named for the translators, who worked in Alexandria.
 - C.** In A.D. 38 the Alexandrine Greeks forced their Jewish counterparts to relocate into a ghetto.
 - D.** The immediate cause was the controversial arrival of Herod Agrippa—recently appointed king of Judea by Gaius Caligula—whom the Jews hailed but the Greeks mocked.
 - E.** In A.D. 39, both the Greeks and the Jews dispatched embassies to Gaius; only in response to Herod Agrippa’s intervention did the emperor back down from plans that the Jews had regarded as humiliating.
 - F.** The leader of the Jewish embassy was a pro-Roman Hellenized Jewish philosopher called Philo, who later wrote an account of the embassy.
 - G.** On the death of Gaius in A.D. 41, the Jews launched an attack on the Greeks, which Emperor Claudius quelled, administering a stern warning to both the Jews and the Greeks.
 - H.** The communal violence was due partly to rivalry between Jews and Greeks about their respective statuses in Alexandria, and partly to the problematic relationship that they both had with the Romans.
- IV.** The Great Jewish Revolt posed one of the most severe threats to Roman rule.
- A.** When Herod Agrippa died in A.D. 44, Judea was again placed under direct Roman rule, though this time its governors were known as “procurators.”
 - B.** By the late 50s B.C. the province was drifting irretrievably into anarchy.
 - C.** Our major source for the ensuing revolt is the Jewish historian Josephus (born A.D. 37), author of *The Jewish War*, who epitomizes the cultural interaction between Jews, Greeks, and Romans during this period.
 - D.** When the revolt broke out in A.D. 64, the rebels appointed Josephus as the governor of Galilee.
 - E.** Having surrendered to the Romans, Josephus ingratiated himself with the future Emperor Vespasian, who was conducting the campaign against the rebels.
 - F.** When the backbone of the revolt was crushed by Vespasian’s son Titus in A.D. 70, Jerusalem was destroyed and the Jews were exiled.
 - G.** The collision between the Jews and Rome was almost inevitable, due in part to the specific nature of Judaism, which was inherently in conflict with Roman rule.
 - H.** It took the Romans four legions, 20 units of auxiliaries, and units from elsewhere in the region to crush the revolt.
 - I.** Jewish resistance was not finally crushed until A.D. 73, when the Romans finally took Masada, the fortress held by a fanatical group known as the Zealots under their leader Eleazar ben Yair.
- V.** A second revolt, known as the Bar-Kochba Revolt, so named for its charismatic leader Simeon Bar Kochba, broke out in A.D. 132.
- A.** The revolt was provoked in part by Rome’s destruction of the Temple and in part by Hadrian’s decision to refound Jerusalem as a pagan city named Aelia Capitolina.
 - B.** Roman losses were heavy, and the revolt took three years to suppress; it is estimated that over half a million Jews died.
 - C.** The province was renamed Syria Palestina.
- VI.** Whatever struggles other Mediterranean peoples living under Roman rule may have been involved in do not receive anything like the same prominence in our sources.

Suggested Readings:

Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*.

Josephus, *The Jewish War*.

Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*.

———, “Greek Culture and the Jews,” in *The Legacy of Greece*.

Schäfer, *A History of the Jews in Antiquity*.

Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule*.

Tcherikover, “Jewish Community and Greek City,” in *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the principal sources of tension between the Greeks and the Jews, and between the Romans and the Jews? To what extent were they identical, and to what extent were they specific to each?
2. Was the Jewish Revolt avoidable?

Lecture Thirty-Two

Christianity's Debt to Greece and Rome

Scope: Christianity's has an immense debt to the Greeks and Romans. The religion would not have taken the shape and direction it did were it not for the fact that it took root in the Greco-Roman world, whose resources and general mindset immensely aided the spread of its ideas. The Greek language was the language of the educated classes in Judea and throughout the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire. That is why the Gospels were written in Greek. One of the most important influences was that of Greek philosophy, Neoplatonism in particular. Another important influence was that of the so-called Greek mystery religions, which focused upon the fate of the dead in the world to come and which held out the hope of a blessed existence in the hereafter.

On a more practical level, the Roman Empire guaranteed freedom of movement, protection for travelers, and religious tolerance—all crucial factors in the establishment of the early Jesus movement. It was also the case that by making martyrs out of the early Christians, the Romans gave the early Jesus movement a visibility that it would not otherwise have achieved. Opposition to Christianity continued with sporadic persecution for several centuries. The persecution instituted by Emperor Decius in A.D. 250 all but succeeded in crushing the religion. In A.D. 313, however, religious toleration was proclaimed throughout the empire, though paganism remained a vital force, particularly in the eastern part of the empire, for several centuries.

Outline

- I. The Greeks made a number of contributions to Christianity.
 - A. When Alexander the Great died (323 B.C.), Judea came under the rule of the Seleucid monarchs.
 - B. Because Greek was the language of the educated classes in Judea and throughout the eastern provinces, the new Testament was written in Greek.
 - C. This meant that the early Christians were able to engage in dialogue with the cultured elite throughout the Mediterranean, such as Saint Paul's visit to Athens, where he addressed a group of Epicureans and Stoics.
 - D. The doctrine of the Virgin conception is perhaps based on a mistranslation of the Greek Septuagint.
 - E. Platonic philosophy, primarily through the medium of Neoplatonism, made a sizeable impact upon the thinking of the early Christians, notably in regard to the concept of the soul.
 - F. The belief that divine retribution is meted out to the wicked in the next world is already present in Greek thinking in Homer, though the first evidence for it goes back to the 3rd millennium B.C.
 - G. It is possible that the author of Saint Luke's Gospel was influenced by the inspiring description of Socrates's death in Plato's *Phaedo*.
 - H. Both the Gospels and the Acts of Saint Paul owe a debt to the Greek novel, notably in the use of similar literary motifs.
 - I. Greek mystery religions, like Christianity, appealed to all social strata, and there is a notable correspondence between the figure of Demeter, the grieving mother of Persephone, and the *mater dolorosa*, the grieving mother of Christ.
 - J. Asclepius, the divine healer, demonstrates qualities similar to Christ's, being accessible to the sick and being sympathetic to the human condition.
 - K. The belief that a human being could be divine is detectable in the Greek world from the beginning of the 4th century B.C. onward, the first example being the divine honors accorded to a Spartan admiral called Lysander.
- II. The Romans also made contributions to early Christianity.
 - A. Jesus's mission was of no interest to the Roman authorities, though the fact that Judea was a Roman province with a strongly nationalistic tradition contributed to the strength of Jesus's appeal for the Jews.

- B. The fact that the Roman Empire was already habituated to the worship of an individual who claimed a central role in the religion of the entire empire helped to prepare its subjects for the spread of a monotheistic religion.
- C. Saint Paul’s missionary journeys were greatly assisted by the fact that the Roman Empire permitted freedom of movement, upheld the principle of religious tolerance, and provided safeguards to its citizens.
- D. Roman persecution helped to galvanize the Christian community, and martyrdom—which provided the Christians with a stage upon which to proclaim the indestructibility of their faith—accorded Christianity greater visibility and attention than it might otherwise have achieved.

III. There were several persecutions of Christians by the Romans.

- A. The first recorded instance of Christian persecution took place in A.D. 64 under Emperor Nero, who falsely accused the Christians of setting fire to Rome.
- B. Pliny the Younger’s correspondence with Emperor Trajan, dating to A.D. 112, reveals a policy of tolerance to Christian provincials in the face of local hostility.
- C. Emperor Marcus Aurelius condoned severe persecution at Lyons and Vienne in the year A.D. 177, when 48 Christians were tortured and executed.
- D. In 249 the Emperor Decius ordered a general supplication to the pagan gods for the safety and victory of the emperor.
- E. More persecutions of Christians took place under Valerian in A.D. 257 and 258, provoked by threats to Rome’s security.
- F. Gallienus halted the persecutions in A.D. 260.
- G. In A.D. 304 Diocletian passed an edict sanctioning the killing of Christians who refused to sacrifice to the gods, but it failed utterly.
- H. In A.D. 313 Constantine and Licinius affirmed religious freedom throughout the empire.

IV. Shortly after the Edict of Milan had been passed, Christianity went on the offensive and pagans became the victims of persecution.

- A. Christianity did not immediately oust polytheism; indeed, there is evidence of pagan worship as late as the 6th and 7th centuries.
- B. It had been the Greek-speaking East where Christianity first took root, but it was also the Greek-speaking East where opposition to Christianity was strongest.

Suggested Readings:

The Acts of the Apostles.

Armstrong, “Greek Philosophy and Christianity,” in *The Legacy of Greece.*

Chadwick, *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition.*

Frend, *The Rise of Christianity.*

Questions to Consider:

1. How did Christianity benefit chiefly from contact with the Greeks?
2. In what ways did the Roman Empire facilitate the spread of Christianity?

Lecture Thirty-Three

The Apotheosis of Athens

Scope: With the loss of political freedom, Greece entered into a new kind of relationship with Rome. Mainland Greece in particular sought to project itself culturally. No city had better credentials to launch herself as a cultural center than Athens, whose unparalleled achievements and proud history of resistance to foreign invasion particularly appealed to Roman taste. From the 2nd century B.C. ambitious individuals, eager to draw attention to themselves on the world stage, indulged in lavish building programs there. Shorn of independence, the Athenians continued to involve themselves in politics, though they showed a fatal knack for backing the wrong side. When Sulla captured the city in the 80s B.C. he all but destroyed it, in reprisals for the support they had given to Mithradates. In the Imperial period, however, Athens again became the recipient of many lavish and extravagant benefactions.

Athens suffered invasion from the Goths in A.D. 262 and again from the Heruli in A.D. 268. Though this period witnessed widespread destruction, some rebuilding took place after the invaders had been driven back. The city was one of the last bastions of paganism in its fight against the irresistible advance of Christianity. Under the Ottoman Turks the city lost all its prestige and did not revive until the 19th century, when it became the capital of the newly formed Greek nation state.

Outline

- I. Athens's relations with Rome in the 3rd and 2nd century B.C. were for the most part cordial.
 - A. Athens's first contact with Rome occurred in 228 B.C. when the Romans sent an embassy to various Greek cities, including Athens, to explain their involvement in the Balkan peninsula.
 - B. When Athens appealed to Rome for help in 200 B.C. after Philip V of Macedon seized some of her triremes, Rome came to her aid.
 - C. In 196 B.C. Athens, along with other Greek states, was declared "free."
 - D. Athens supported Rome in the Third Macedonian War, and as a reward for her help received Delos in 166 B.C.
 - E. The heads of the three leading Athenian philosophical schools visited Rome and addressed the senate in 155 B.C.
 - F. In the Hellenistic period Athens began to attract royal patronage, the most notable instance being that of Eumenes II, who in c. 150 B.C. funded a stoa on the east side of the Agora.
 - G. Athens contributed five triremes to the Roman fleet during the Third Punic War, which resulted in the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C.
 - H. From 130 B.C. onward, a few Romans were awarded Athenian citizenship.
- II. A catastrophic change occurred in 88 B.C. when the city made the disastrous mistake of inviting Mithradates VI to liberate her from Roman rule.
 - A. Because Athens supported Mithradates, Sulla wreaked havoc on Piraeus, her port town.
 - B. Because he largely spared Athens itself, however, the defeated Athenians hailed him as their liberator.
- III. Despite the fact that she consistently backed the wrong side during Rome's internal struggles, Athens began to attract Roman benefactors.
 - A. Titus Pomponius Atticus made generous donations when Athens was short of corn.
 - B. Julius Caesar began work on a new forum in the center of the city in the 50s B.C.
 - C. In the civil wars that were fought on Greek soil from the early 40s B.C. to the late 30s B.C., Athens consistently backed the wrong side.
 - D. Athens lent support to Pompey in his war against Caesar, to Brutus and Cassius in their war against Octavian and Mark Antony, and later to Mark Antony in his final showdown against Octavian.
 - E. The most spectacular building put up in the Augustan period was the odeon or concert hall, paid for by Augustus's right-hand man Agrippa.

- F. Following his victory at Actium (31 B.C.), Octavian immediately headed to Athens, where he distributed corn and was initiated into the Eleusinian Mysteries.
- G. In A.D. 100, a Romanized Greek called T. Flavius Pantainus built a modest library in Athens.
- H. Hadrian endowed the city with a number of new facilities and completed the great temple of Olympian Zeus.
- I. In the late 2nd century A.D. a wealthy Athenian called Herodes Atticus gave Athens an impressive new odeon on the southwest slope of the Acropolis.

IV. Athens's decline began in the middle of the 3rd century A.D.

- A. The city was invaded by the Goths and the Heruli in A.D. 260s, but it recovered and became again a cultural center.
- B. Even after the Visigoths had laid siege to Athens in A.D. 395, the city acquired a new gymnasium.
- C. Athens was one of the last cities to resist Christianity.
- D. Its cultural importance ended in A.D. 529 when Emperor Justinian forbade any pagan to teach philosophy in Athens.

Suggested Readings:

Camp, *The Athenian Agora*.

Oliver, *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens*.

Shear, "Athens: From City-State to Provincial Town," in *Hesperia*.

Swain, *Hellenism and Empire*.

Thompson, "The impact of Roman architects and architecture on Athens: 170 B.C.–A.D. 170," in *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*.

Questions to Consider:

1. "A sad litany of catastrophes and compromises": Is that an accurate description of the history of Athens under Roman rule?
2. How actively and by what means did Athens seek to promote herself as a cultural leader in Roman times?

Lecture Thirty-Four

The Decline of the West

Scope: This lecture covers the period from the death of Emperor Severus Alexander in A.D. 235 to the end of the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy in A.D. 540. Although it is conventional to look at the period from A.D. 235 onward in terms of the empire's "decline and fall," in line with Edward Gibbon's magisterial *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published between 1776 and 1787, it is more appropriate to think in terms of "upheaval and transformation." Following the death of Severus Alexander, there followed half a century of anarchy provoked by invasion and internal instability until the accession of the emperor Diocletian, who established a system of government known as the Tetrarchy or Rule of Four. Although the Tetrarchy was short-lived, Diocletian's division of the empire into a Western and Eastern half for administrative and military purposes breathed new life into it. Meanwhile, Rome itself had begun to decline in importance and was replaced as the capital by Constantinople. Even so, the sack of Rome by the Visigoths in A.D. 410 severely undermined confidence. The western part of the Roman Empire survived until A.D. 476 when the last Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed by a barbarian named Odoacer, though this event had very little impact. Odoacer was murdered in A.D. 494 and the Ostrogoths ruled as kings of Italy until A.D. 540.

Though the emperors in Constantinople would continue to claim overlordship in the West for many centuries to come, from A.D. 476 the two halves of the empire went their separate ways. The Roman West had to make accommodation with the barbarian invaders, though it did not in conventional terms "collapse." It is also important to resist labeling the successive tribes of invaders as completely uncivilized barbarians. Many of them had been long since habituated to Roman civilization and, driven forward from pressures in their own homelands, were seeking accommodation within it.

Outline

- I. There are competing scholarly theories to explain Rome's so-called "decline and fall."
 - A. Edward Gibbon, author of *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1787), advanced the hypothesis that Rome's collapse was largely due to the rise of Christianity, which undermined the civic pride and fighting spirit of the Romans.
 - B. Henri Pirenne, author of *Mohammed and Charlemagne* (1937), argued that the barbarian invasions merely caused the Roman Empire to undergo a transformation.
- II. Before talking about the so-called "decline and fall," we consider the Roman Empire during A.D. 96–235.
 - A. Gibbon maintained that "the period in the history of the world, during which the conditions of the human race were most happy and prosperous" was from A.D. 96 to 180—the reigns of the emperors Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius.
 - B. The Roman Empire reached its greatest extent under Trajan, covering an estimated two million square miles.
 - C. The population reached its peak in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–180), with an estimated 38 million living in the Latin West and 23 million in the Greek East.
 - D. A catastrophic plague, probably smallpox, occurred in A.D. 165, which probably reduced the population by about 10 percent.
 - E. Around the same time, the empire first experienced serious incursions as Germanic tribes exerted heavy pressure on her borders.
- III. The half-century from A.D. 235 to 284 witnessed incursions and inner turmoil.
 - A. In 251 Emperor Decius was killed in battle by the Goths.
 - B. In 260 Emperor Valerian was captured by the Persians.
 - C. In 267 the Heruli reduced Athens to rubble.
 - D. There were possibly as many as 25 emperors whose accession was ratified by the Senate in this period.

- IV.** The administrative changes introduced by Diocletian (ruled 284–305) brought about a revival in the Empire’s fortunes.
- A.** Diocletian made himself more remote from his subjects than any of his predecessors had been, so much so that historians sometimes refer to this period as “the Dominate.”
 - B.** He divided the empire into two halves for administrative purposes by drawing a line through Illyria (Yugoslavia) in the north, and between Libya and Egypt in the south.
 - C.** Each of the two halves acquired a ruler who took the title “Augustus.”
 - D.** In 287 Diocletian appointed Maximian to be the “Augustus” in charge of the West, while retaining the East for himself.
 - E.** In 293 he provided Maximian and himself with two junior rulers or deputies, each known as “Caesar,” thereby establishing a system of government known today as the Tetrarchy, meaning “Rule of Four.”
 - F.** Partly as a result of these changes, the empire survived in the West for over a century and in the East for a thousand years.
 - G.** To deal with external threats, resources were shifted from the Mediterranean basin to the frontiers of the empire, which became more populous and more prosperous.
- V.** In the period from A.D. 378 to 460 there were many so-called “barbarian” invasions.
- A.** In 378 the Goths defeated the eastern army at Hadrianopolis, killing the emperor Valens.
 - B.** In 402 Honorius chose Ravenna to be the capital of the Western Roman Empire, mainly because of its secure situation.
 - C.** When Honorius refused to negotiate, Alaric the Visigoth sacked Rome in 410.
 - D.** Carthage fell to the Vandals in 439, a terrible blow that cut off two-thirds of Rome’s grain supply.
 - E.** In 455 the Vandals sacked Rome.
 - F.** The geographical extent of the Western empire now shrank to Italy and southern Gaul.
 - G.** The last emperor in the West was named Romulus Augustus, and when he was deposed in 476, the Western empire in effect ceased to exist.
- VI.** Scholars remain divided as to why the Western Empire “declined.”
- A.** No fewer than 210 theories and suggestions have been put forward to explain the so-called “decline and fall” of the Roman Empire.
 - B.** Essentially the range of possible explanations fall under one of two headings: (a) external threat (b) internal weakness.
 - C.** Pressure from the so-called “barbarians” was the biggest single cause.
- VII.** After the Western Empire had detached from the Eastern half, Italy was ruled first by a German, then by an Ostrogoth.
- A.** In 476 Odoacer became the first barbarian ruler of Italy.
 - B.** Anxious to avoid conflict with Constantinople, Odoacer showed deference to the Byzantine Emperor.
 - C.** Odoacer was murdered in 493 by Theodoric the Ostrogoth, who claimed the title “ruler and conqueror of the barbarians.”
 - D.** Theodoric appointed a Greek scholar called Boethius, author of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, to a high-level administrative position.
 - E.** Arnaldo Momigliano aptly described the so-called “fall” of the Empire in the West as “noiseless.”
 - F.** Italy remained under the rule of the Ostrogoths until 540, when the Byzantine emperor Justinian made a last attempt to reunite the two halves of the Empire.

Suggested Readings:

Brown, *The World of Late Antiquity*.

Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Jones, “Background: The Principate,” in *The Decline of the Ancient World*.

Ward-Perkins, *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How significant was the “fall” of the Western empire?
2. The historian Moses Finley described the 4th century A.D. as “the worst and blackest period in human history.” Is that accurate?

Lecture Thirty-Five

The Survival of the East

Scope: Due to squabbles over the succession, the Tetrarchy did not survive the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in A.D. 305. When Constantine defeated a usurper called Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge outside Rome in 312, he claimed he had had a vision of a cross. The following year he and the Eastern emperor Licinius promulgated a policy of religious tolerance. In A.D. 326, after defeating Licinius and becoming sole emperor, Constantine chose the site of the old Greek city of Byzantium as the new capital of the Roman Empire. It remained the capital of the Eastern Roman Empire until its capture by the Ottoman Turks in 1453. It is now appropriate to speak of the Byzantine Empire, though there is no consensus as to when the Byzantine era of history begins. The constitution of Constantinople was based on the Roman model, with a senate and annually elected magistrates. In deference to Greece's past, Constantine encouraged a revival in Greek literature; but Constantine's court was predominantly Latin-speaking, and Greeks were required to learn Latin, for instance, to pursue careers in law. Even so, Constantine and his successors were heirs to the Hellenistic Greeks, and thus in that sense the last heirs of Alexander the Great.

From Constantine onward, Christianity made important advances against paganism, which was eventually outlawed by Theodosius (ruled 379–95). Even at the end of the 4th century, however, half the population adhered to polytheistic belief. On Theodosius's death the empire split into two halves. Nonetheless Emperor Justinian (ruled 527–565), still haunted by the vision of an integrated empire, made it his objective to recover Italy. Though he achieved some success, shortly after his death the Lombards recovered all the territory he had acquired.

Outline

- I. Constantine was able to reunite the Roman Empire.
 - A. Having defeated Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge despite being heavily outnumbered, Constantine was hailed as the emperor of the West (312).
 - B. Constantine claimed that before the battle he had had a vision of a cross accompanied by the words "In this sign you will conquer."
 - C. In 313 Constantine and Licinius, emperor of the East, passed the Edict of Milan, which guaranteed toleration to both pagans and Christians.
 - D. It is not known whether Constantine was a practicing Christian, though he sought to present himself to his subjects as a man of profound piety.
 - E. Christians now began to secure positions in administrative and social circles that had been denied them under the pagan emperors, though even by the year 400 it is estimated that over 50 percent of the population of the empire was still pagan.
 - F. In 324 Constantine defeated Licinius and became sole emperor.
- II. Soon after his victory over Licinius, Constantine founded Constantinople as a "New Rome."
 - A. The center of gravity of the empire now shifted from Italy to Asia Minor.
 - B. Constantinople remained the capital of the Byzantine Empire until 1453, when Constantine XI fell fighting the Ottoman Turks on the city walls.
 - C. Constantinople was unique among all the cities in the empire in being planned from the start primarily as a Christian city.
 - D. A large number of pagan art treasures were brought from Greece to adorn the new capital, including the tripod of Apollo from Delphi.
- III. Constantine sowed the seeds for the final triumph of Christianity.
 - A. Persecution of the Christians continued until 324 in the East.
 - B. Julian, known as "the Apostate," fought a rearguard action against the advance of Christianity until his untimely death in 363.

- C. Under Theodosius I (reigned 379–395), sacrifice was forbidden and paganism virtually outlawed.
 - D. Christianity represented a massive upheaval in the way in which individuals saw their place in the Mediterranean world.
- IV. Historians refer to “the Byzantine Empire” in deference to the importance of Constantinople.
- A. Theodosius I was the last emperor to rule both East and West; when he died, his elder son Arcadius ruled from Constantinople and his younger son Honorius ruled from Milan.
 - B. Theodosius II (ruled 408–450) was the first Roman emperor both to have been born in Constantinople and to rule there throughout his reign.
 - C. Scholars do not agree as to when the Byzantine period “officially” begins.
 - D. The subjects of the Byzantine Empire continued to identify themselves as Romans (hence their name, *Rhomaioi*) and their cultural values continued to be Roman.
 - E. There was no longer any division between church and state.
 - F. By 600 Greek had become the official language of the Byzantine Empire.
- V. There were a number of basic reasons why the Eastern empire endured.
- A. The Eastern Empire was more populous, politically more stable, and economically more prosperous than the Western Empire.
 - B. Whereas the frontier of the Western Empire consisted of the Rhine and the upper Danube, the Eastern Empire had to guard only the lower Danube from barbarians.
- VI. Justinian’s legacy was mixed.
- A. When Justinian succeeded to the throne in 527, he made it his objective to recover at least part of the Western empire.
 - B. He eventually defeated the Ostrogoths and reconquered Italy in 554.
 - C. He reconstructed the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and masterminded the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, but he also forbade the teaching of philosophy in Athens.
 - D. His military achievement was short-lived, and in 568 the Lombards entered northern Italy and acquired all the territory he had taken from the Ostrogoths.
 - E. Ravenna, the seat of the exarchate, became the center of resistance to Lombard rule until the middle of the 8th century.

Suggested Readings:

Browning, *The Byzantine Empire*.

Jones, “Diocletian” and “Constantine” in *The Decline of the Ancient World*.

Lenski, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*.

Millar, *A Greek Roman Empire*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What do you suppose were the chief consequences of splitting the empire into two halves for ordinary Greeks and Romans?
2. What criteria can we best use to assess the achievement of Constantine?

Lecture Thirty-Six

The Enduring Duo

Scope: To this day, Greece and Rome still provide symbolic pegs of reference on which to hang a lot of polarizing argumentation. The fact remains however, that though the Greeks and the Romans were separate entities after the empire had divided into two parts, their distinct and distinctive contributions to Western culture are inconceivable except in conjunction with one another. It is all too easy to regard the Greeks as sensitive aesthetes and the Romans as coarse-grained technocrats, but the truth is far more complex. A central purpose and preoccupation of this course has been to place them in dialogue together.

The short answer to any question about the West's indebtedness to the ancient world is that if the Romans had not appreciated, preserved, and adapted Greek culture, we would probably know next to nothing about it. The contribution of the Greeks to philosophy may have been philosophy itself, but if Lucretius and Cicero had not taken the trouble to learn Greek, little if anything would have survived. The same is true in so many other branches of literature, culture, and thought. If most people today rank the Greeks as immeasurably greater artists than the Romans, the law code that is associated with the emperor Justinian is one of the greatest legacies to the West. It is also important to appreciate the fact that the Romans, by building on the accomplishments of Alexander the Great, created a world in which ideas could travel freely and where men and women could, for the most part, live in peace. It was a degree of stability that the world had never experienced previously and rarely since. In conclusion, "Greco-Roman" as an expression of cultural and political interrelatedness is unique in human history.

Outline

- I. Why study the Greeks and the Romans?
 - A. The connections between the Greeks and the Romans remind us that culture is not created and owned by one people alone, but is enriched by the contributions of others.
 - B. Their relationship is analogous to that of the British and the Americans, though theirs was an indissoluble union of greater intensity that underwent several mutations over the course of time.
 - C. By studying the Greeks and the Romans in an integrated way, we come to understand how each profoundly influenced the other.
- II. What the Romans got out of the relationship.
 - A. They profited from the Greeks in numerous professional areas.
 - B. Hellenism was at the center of what it meant to be an educated and cultivated Roman.
 - C. By studying Greek culture intensely, the Romans immersed themselves in a venerable and rich tradition.
- III. What the Greeks got out of the relationship.
 - A. The Romans provided the Greeks with the kinds of facilities and advantages that Roman civilization brought to every people living within their empire.
 - B. The Romans offered an appreciative context in which Greek culture could flourish, continue to develop, and survive.
 - C. By building on the accomplishments of Alexander the Great and the Hellenistic world of his creation, the Romans came to govern an empire in which ideas could travel freely and where men and women could, for the most part, worship freely and live in peace.
- IV. The Romans were not the only Mediterranean people to fall under the spell of the Greeks: so, too, did the Etruscans, the Jews, and the Muslims, among many others.
- V. The antithesis between Greece and Rome has had a legacy far beyond the period covered by this course.
 - A. Greece and Rome have often provided an oppositional point of reference (e.g., feminine versus masculine, innovation versus conservatism, idealism versus practicality, etc.) in the minds of those individuals and cultures that have fallen under their spell.

- B. During the late 18th century and continuing into the 19th century, Germany saw itself as Greece, and France saw itself as republican Rome.
 - 1. In Germany in the 1770s, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and Johann Joachim Winckelmann projected Germany as the living embodiment of the Hellenic spirit.
 - 2. The thesis that the Germans were the heirs to Hellenic culture gained currency when the French Revolution broke out in 1789 because the French, who opposed Germany's rise to power in Europe, identified themselves with early republican Rome.
 - 3. Germany's attachment to the Greek spirit continued into the 19th century; the Bavarian Crown Prince Otto von Wittelsbach became the first king of the newly created kingdom of Greece when the Greek War of Independence came to an end in 1832.
 - 4. In 1872, Friedrich Nietzsche published *The Birth of Tragedy*, in which he claimed that Germany was experiencing the main epochs of Greek history in reverse order.

VI. In the 19th century, Britain saw itself both as classical Greece and as imperial Rome.

- A. The Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) inspired an outpouring of philhellenism, in which leading English Romantics, most notably George Gordon, Lord Byron, saw themselves as latter-day classical Greeks.
- B. When the house of a Portuguese Jew was burned down in an anti-Semitic riot in Athens in 1850, the British, taking the lead of the Foreign Secretary Lord Palmerston, cast themselves in the role of the Romans, with a similar obligation to protect the rights of all their subjects.

VII. Greece and Rome continue to represent opposing points of view in the contemporary world.

- A. Pundits identify America with Rome and cast “old Europe” as the contentious and cantankerous Greeks.
- B. However, we need both the Greeks and the Romans in order to help us to make sense of who we are and of how we arrived here; the understanding of Greece and Rome is also about the forging of our collective Western self.

Suggested Reading:

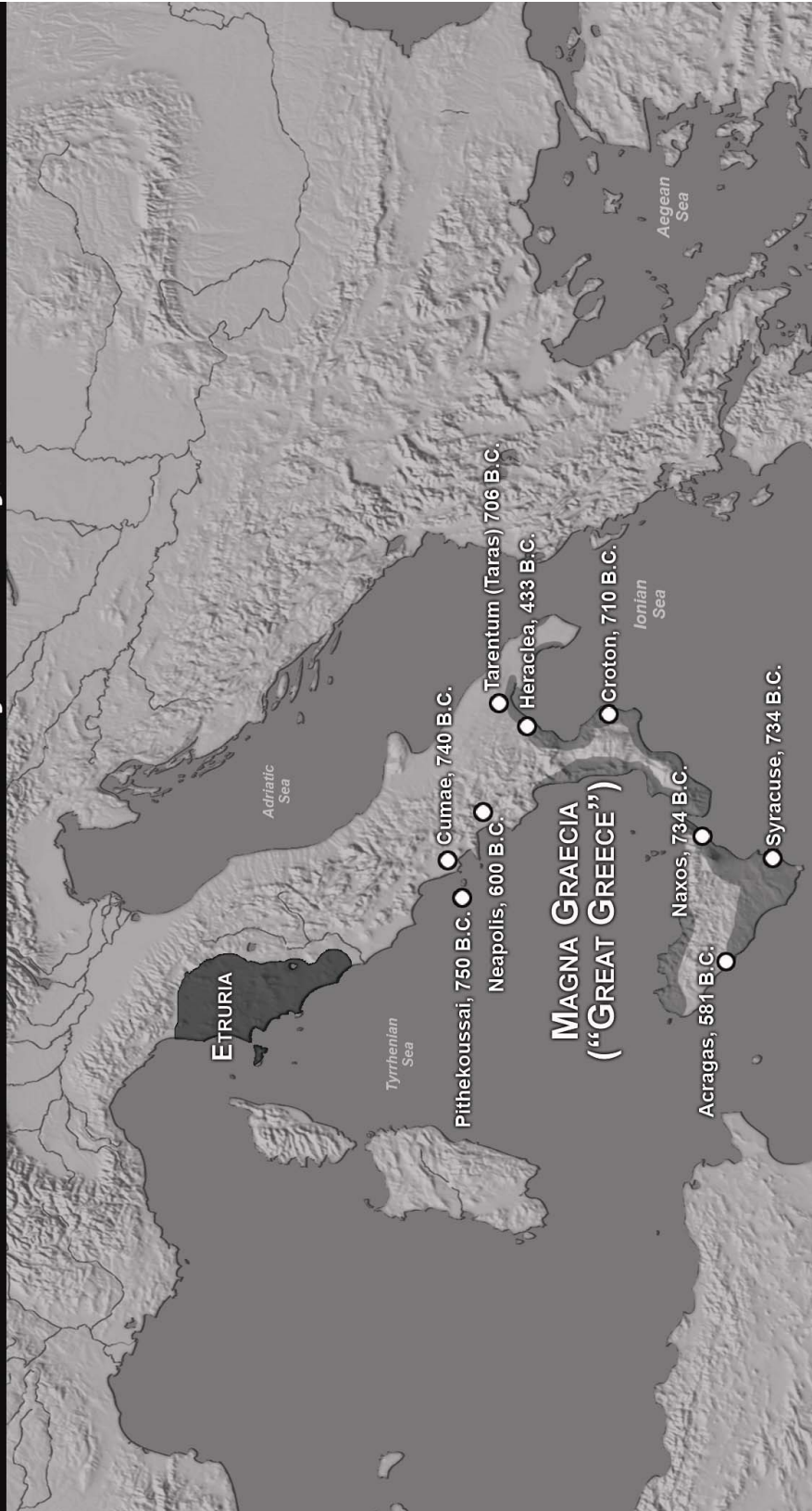
Winterer, *The Culture of Classicism*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What are the chief advantages in studying Greek and Roman history together as a single unit?
2. What are the chief disadvantages and limitations upon undertaking a study of this kind?
3. What are the chief ways in which the dichotomy between Greece and Rome continues to reverberate today?

Maps

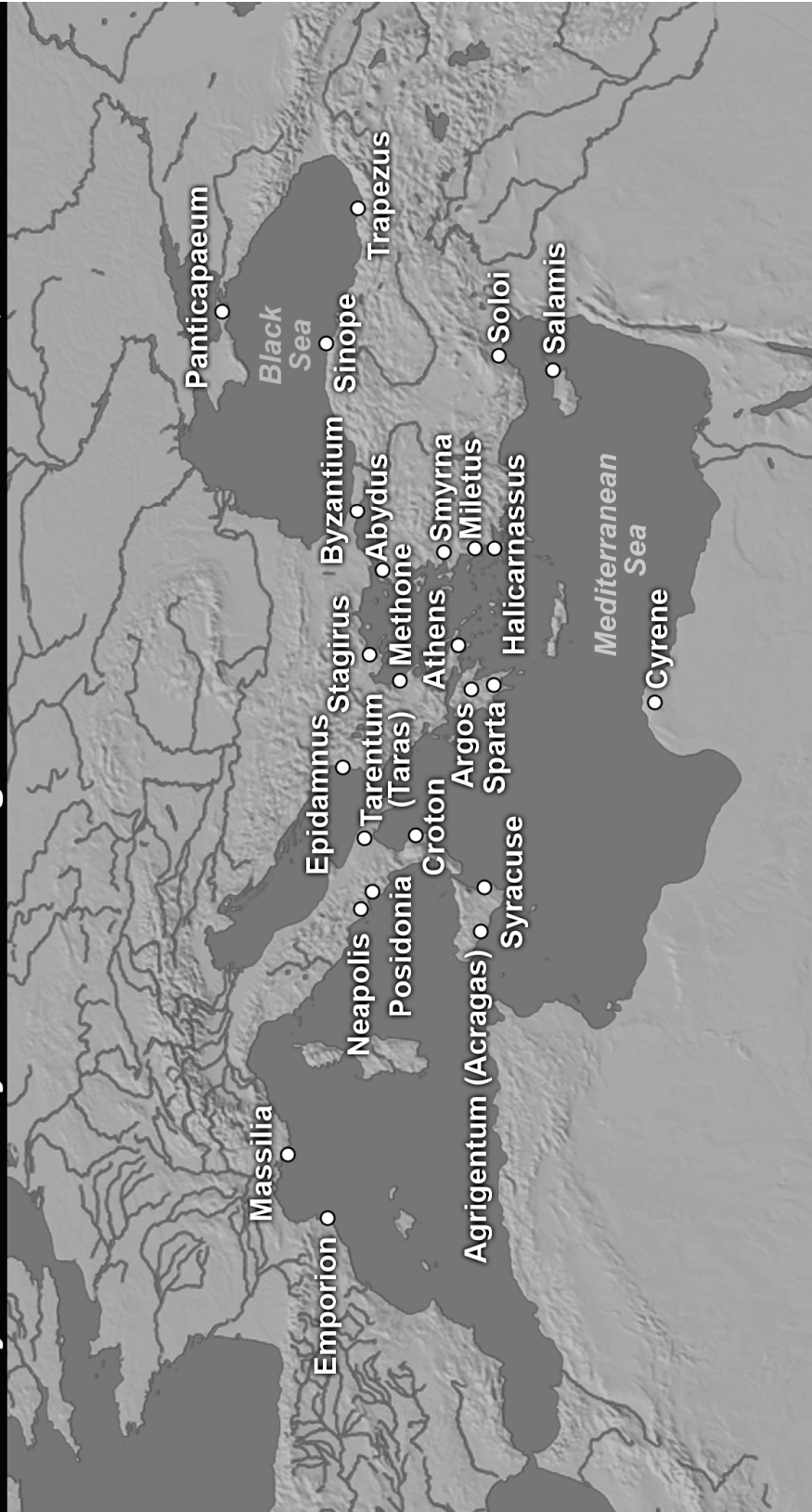
Greek Colonies of South Italy and Sicily, 750–433 B.C.



The Athenian Empire and Sparta's Peloponnesian League, 431 B.C.



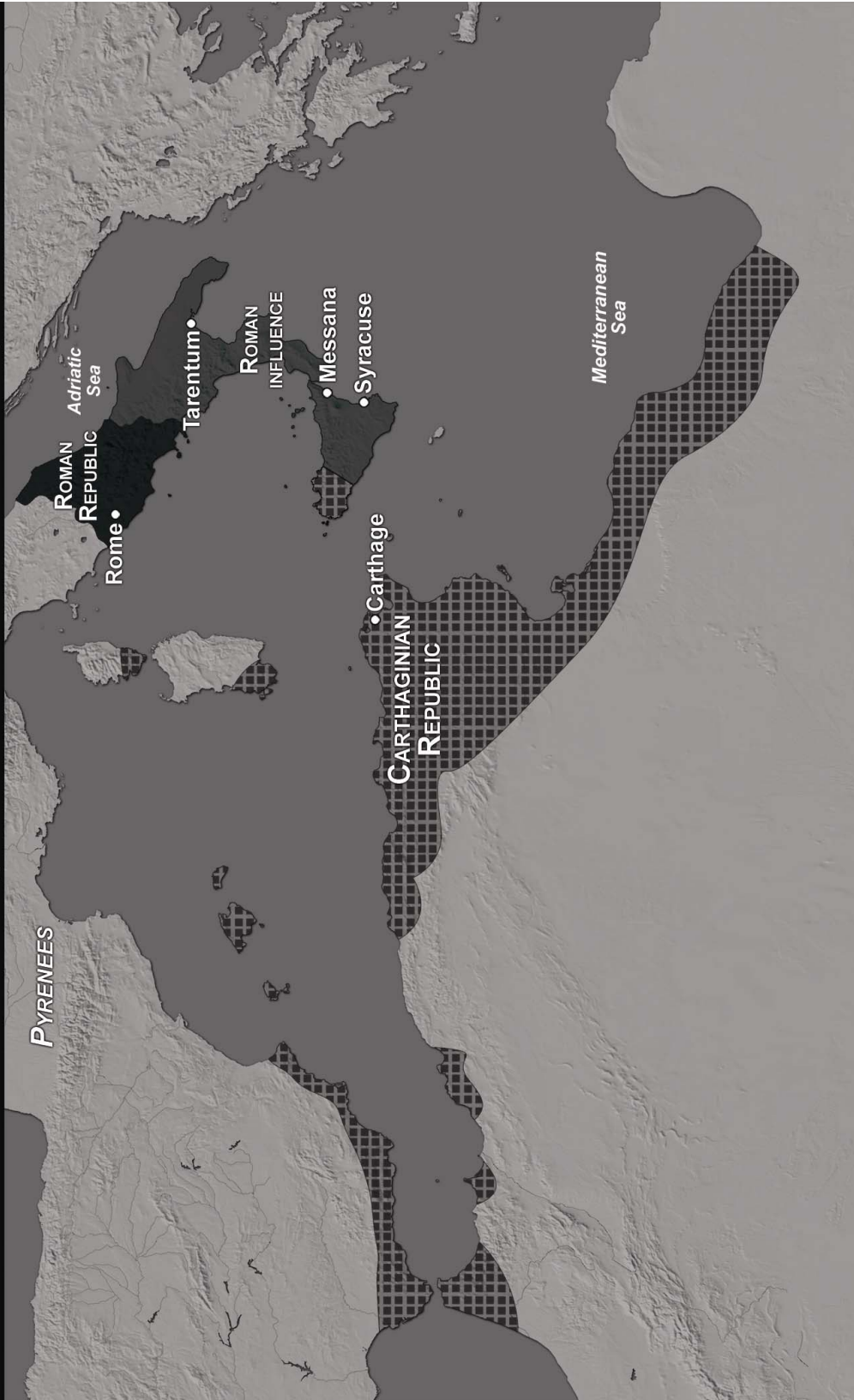
Major Greek City-States throughout the Mediterranean, 400 B.C.



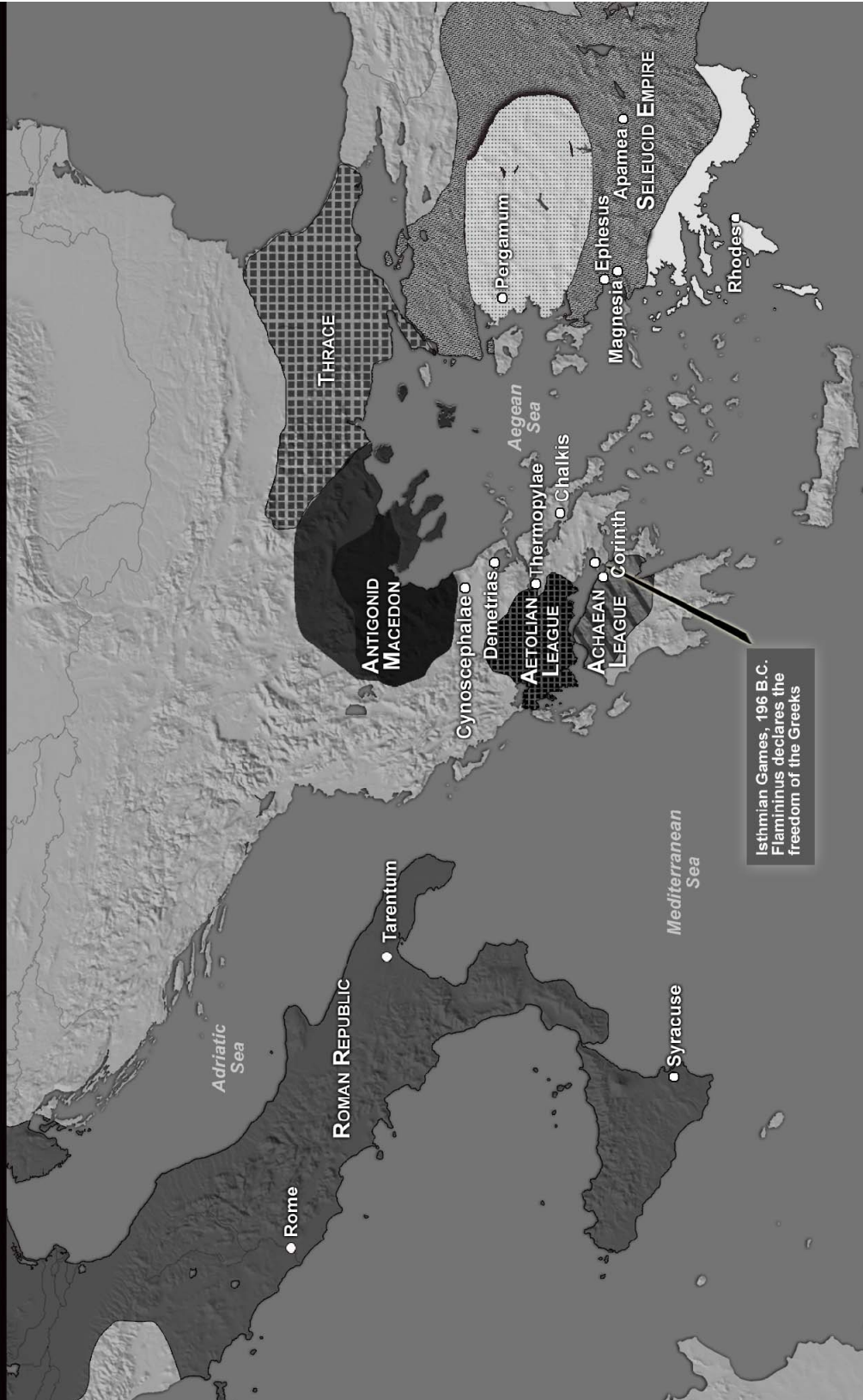
The Hellenistic World, 270 B.C.



Rome and Carthage before the First Punic War, 264 B.C.



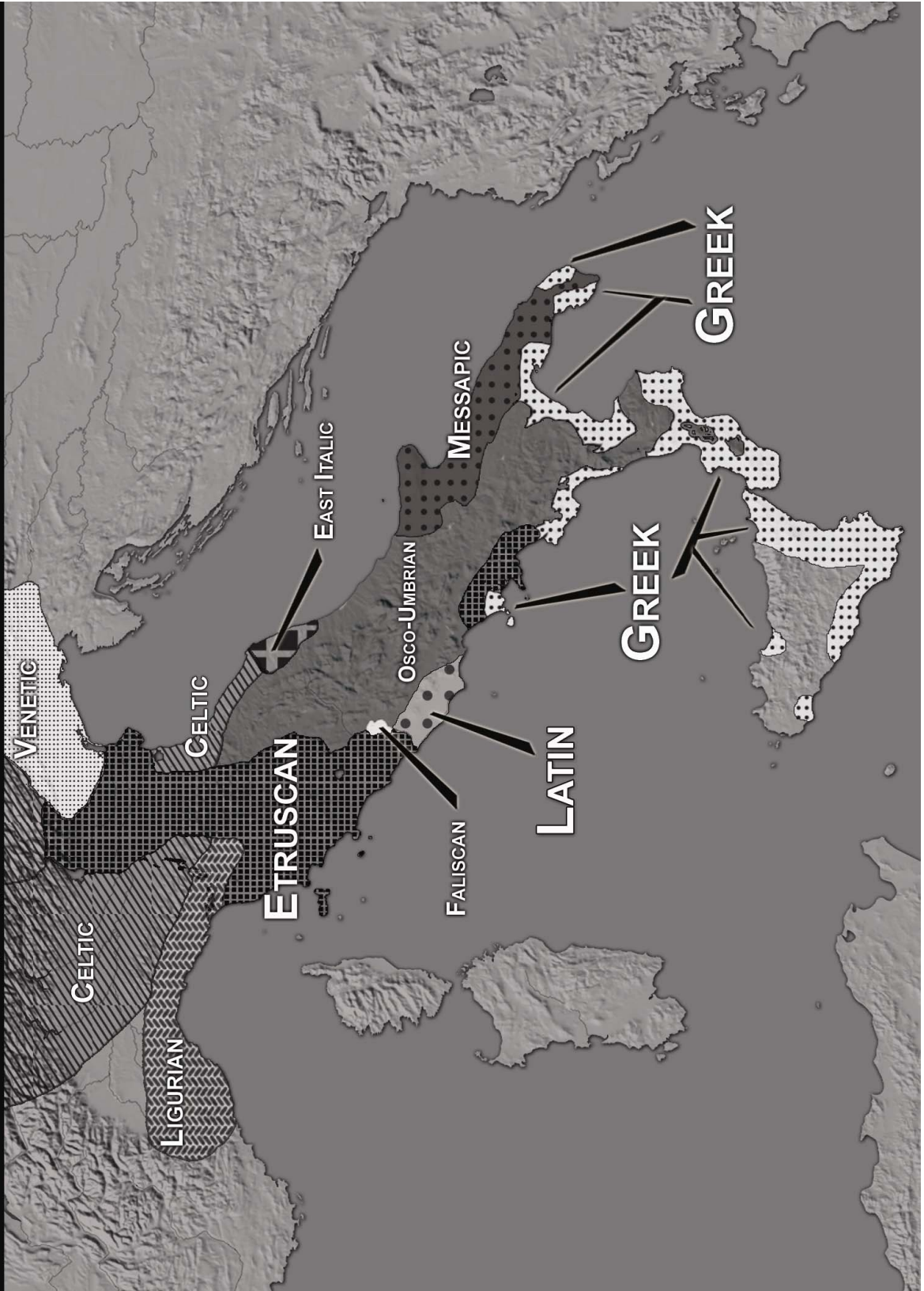
Rome and Mainland Greece, 196 B.C.



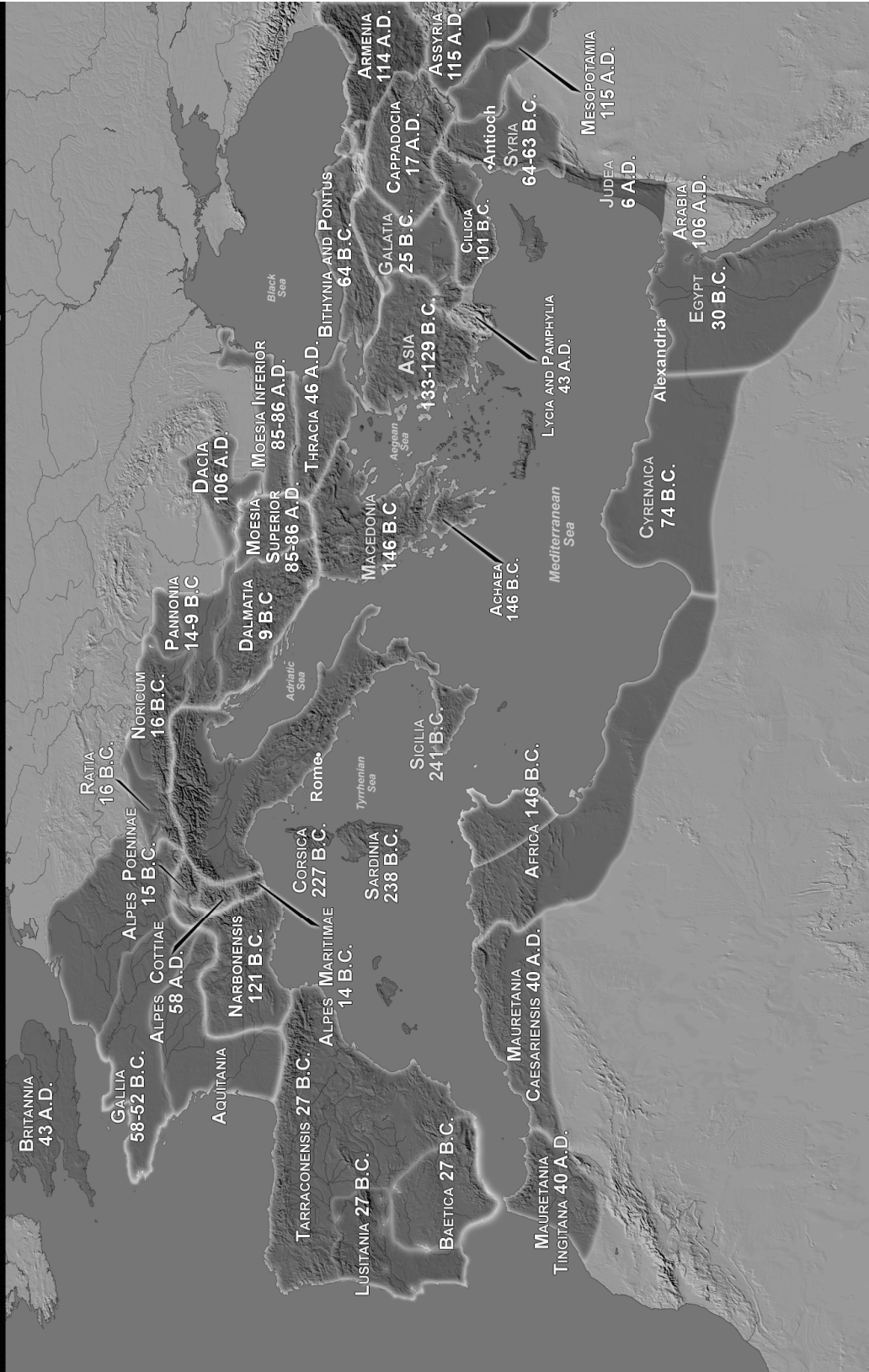
Major Military Encounters between Greeks and Romans, 280 B.C.–31 B.C.



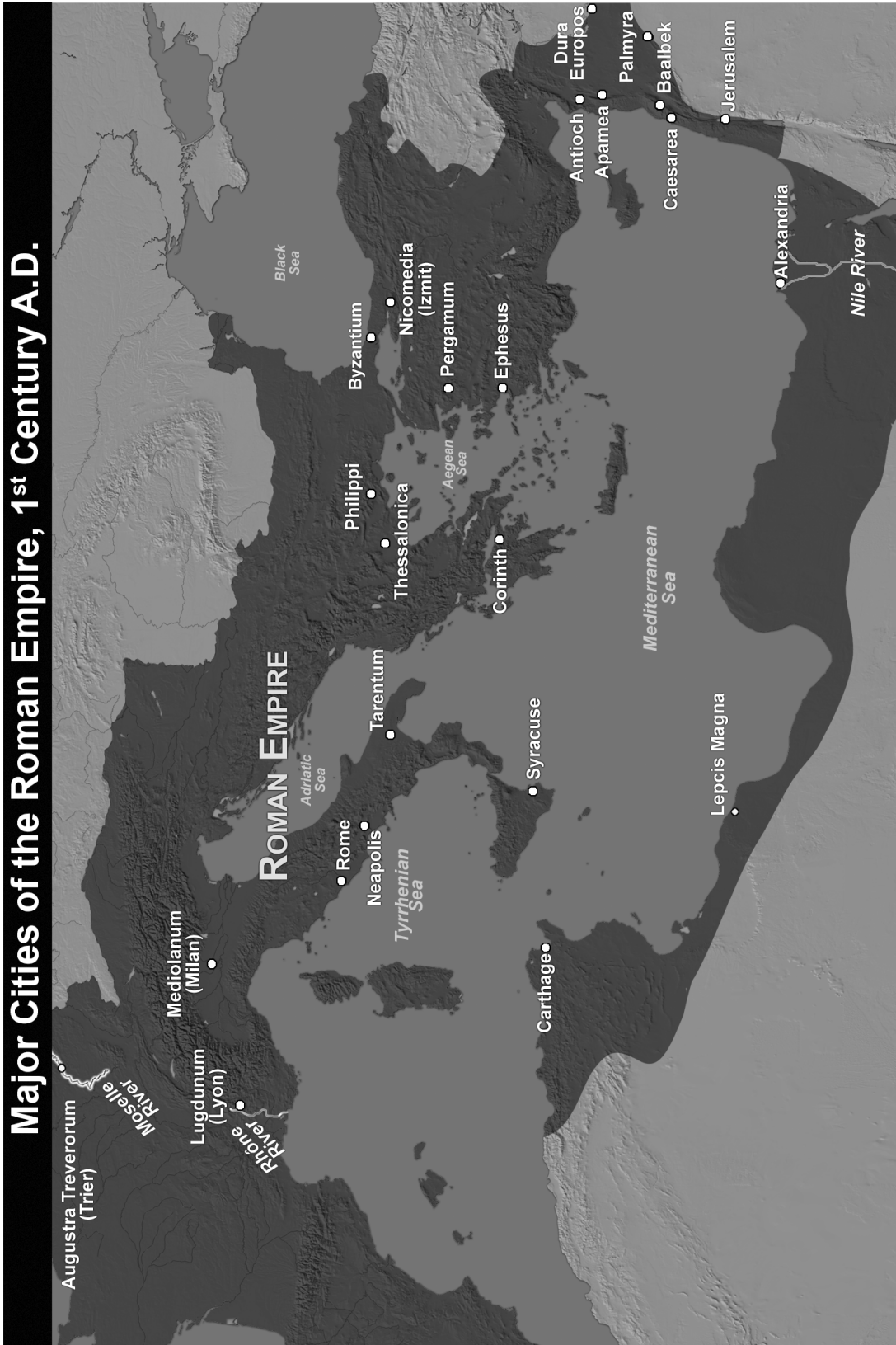
Languages of the Italian Peninsula, 450–400 B.C.



Roman Provinces and Dates Added to the Empire



Major Cities of the Roman Empire, 1st Century A.D.



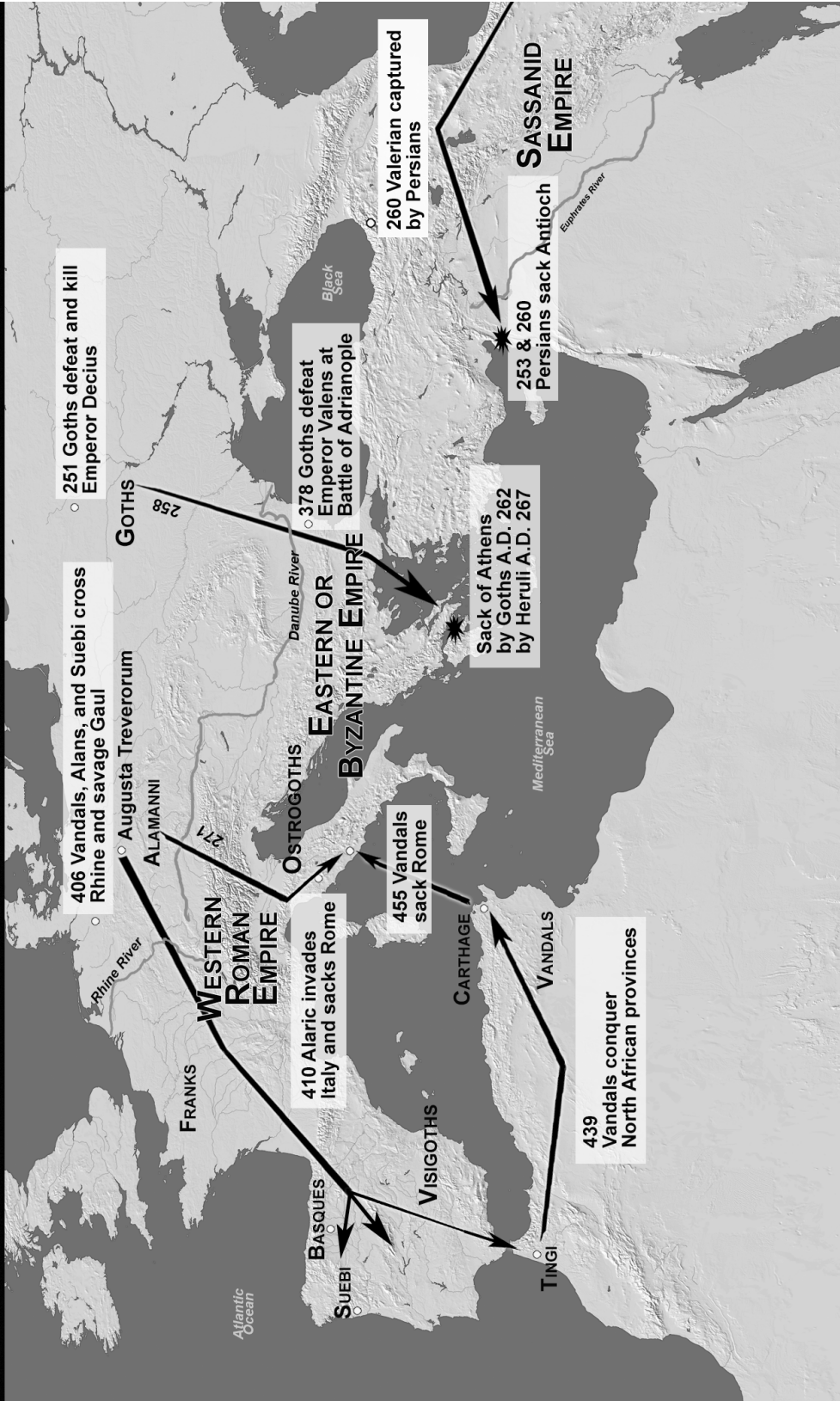
The Province of Judea at the Time of the Great Revolt, A.D. 66



Informal Division of the Empire under Diocletian, A.D. 293



Invasions of the Empire, A.D. 250–455



Timeline

- c. 1600–c. 1100 B.C. Mycenaean Period.
- c. 1100–c. 900 B.C. The Dark Age.
- c. 900–c. 725..... The Geometric Age.
- c. 725–c. 625..... The Orientalizing Period.
- c. 650–480 B.C. The Archaic Period.
- 480–323 B.C..... The Classical Period.
- 323–30 B.C..... The Hellenistic Period.
- 27 B.C.–A.D. 192 Early and High Imperial Period.
- A.D. 193–c. 337..... Crisis and Late Empire.
- c. A.D 337–1453..... The Byzantine Era.

B.C.

- c. 775–750 Greeks from Euboea found Pithekoussai in Bay of Naples.
- c. 753 Foundation of Rome.
- c. 753–715 Reign of Romulus, first king of Rome.
- c. 753–509 Regal period of Roman history.
- c. 750–725 Greeks from Euboea found Cumae.
- c. 706/705 The Spartans found Tarentum (Taras in Greek).
- c. 700 The Greek alphabet is introduced into central Italy, adapted by the Etruscans, and spreads throughout Italy.
- c. 656 Emigration of the Corinthian Demaratus to Etruria.
- c. 600 The Cumaeans found Neapolis (Naples).
- 510..... The Athenians drive the tyrant Hippias into exile.
- 509..... The Romans expel Tarquin the Proud, the last king of Rome, and establish the Republic.
- 509–30 B.C..... Roman Republican era.
- c. 500 Greek cults begin to enter the Roman pantheon.
- 474..... The Syracusans defeat the Etruscans in a naval battle off Cumae.
- 343–290..... The Samnites lead the resistance of the Italic tribes to Rome’s increasing dominance in Italy.
- 338..... Philip II of Macedon defeats a coalition of Greek states at Chaeronea.
- 333..... The Romans negotiate a treaty with Alexander I of Epirus.
- 323..... Death of Alexander the Great; his empire fragments; Palestine becomes part of the Ptolemaic Empire.
- 326..... The Romans gain control of Neapolis (Naples).
- c. 315 The Sicilian Timaeus is exiled to Athens where he writes a history, including an account of Rome’s rise to power.

- c. 311 Zeno of Citium, later to become the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, arrives in Athens.
- 293 Cult of the Greek healing god Asclepius enters Rome.
- 281 Tarentum, suspicious of Rome's growing power in southern Italy, appeals to Pyrrhus, king of Epirus.
- 280 Pyrrhus crosses into Italy and defeats the Romans at Heraclea.
- 279 Pyrrhus defeats the Romans at Ausculum.
- 275 The Romans defeat Pyrrhus at Malventum and drive him out of Italy.
- 272 Greeks in Magna Graecia become subject to Rome.
- 264–241 First Punic War.
- 240 Livius Andronicus produces both a tragedy and a comedy at the Roman Games.
- c. 239 The Acarnanians appeal to Rome.
- c. 235 The Latin epic poet and tragedian Gnaeus Naevius produces his first play.
- 230 Murder of Roman envoy provokes the First Illyrian War.
- 228 The Romans send an embassy to Athens and other Greek states.
- 219 Archagathus becomes the first Greek physician to practice in Rome.
- 218–201 Second Punic War.
- 217 All distinction between Greek and Roman gods is officially annulled.
- 216 The Romans defeat at the battle of Cannae.
- 215–205 First Macedonian War; Philip V makes peace at Phoenice.
- 211 The Romans sack the city of Syracuse; following the sack, Greek art begins to arrive in Rome.
- 205 The cult of Cybele is introduced to Rome from Pessinus.
- 200–197 Second Macedonian War.
- 204 The epic poet Ennius arrives in Rome.
- 200 Date of the performance of the earliest known comedy by Plautus.
- c. 200 Quintus Fabius Pictor writes a *History of Rome* in Greek.
- 200–197 Second Macedonian War.
- 197 The Romans defeat Philip V at Cynoscephalae.
- 196 Titus Quinctius Flaminius proclaims Greek freedom at the Isthmian Games.
- 190 The Romans defeat the Seleucid king Antiochus III at Magnesia.
- 188 As a result of the Peace of Apamea, Antiochus III loses most of Asia Minor.
- 186 The Senate outlaws the rites of Bacchus.
- 184 Cato the Elder is elected censor.
- 173 The Romans expel two Epicurean philosophers from Rome.
- 171–168 Third Macedonian War.
- 168 Cato the Elder begins work on his history of Rome called the *Origines*; the Romans defeat the Macedonian king Perseus at Pydna; Antiochus IV invades Egypt but leaves under Roman ultimatum.

- 168–167 Judea, led by Judas Maccabaeus, successfully revolts from rule of Antiochus IV.
- 167 Macedonia is divided into four republics; deportation of 1,000 Achaeans to Rome, among them the historian Polybius; sack of Epirus.
- 160 Terence produces his last comedy.
- 161 Expulsion of philosophers from Rome.
- 155 Delegation of three Athenian philosophers addresses the Roman Senate.
- 149–148 Fourth Macedonian War.
- 150 Attalus II of Pergamum finances construction of a stoa in the Athenian agora.
- 146 Macedonia becomes a Roman province; sack of Corinth; the Achaean League is disbanded; sack of Carthage.
- 133 Attalus III of Pergamum bequeaths his kingdom to Rome.
- 129 Annexation of *provincia Asia*, the province of Asia (western Asia Minor).
- 89–88 Mithradates VI, king of Pontus, posing as the liberator of all Greeks, leads a rebellion and massacres Romans in Asia, thereby initiating the First Mithradatic War (88–85 B.C.); Athens defects from Rome to his side.
- 86 Athens falls to Sulla.
- 82 Sulla sacks Neapolis.
- 70 Cicero successfully prosecutes Gaius Verres for looting art treasures from Sicily.
- 69 Pirates sack the island of Delos.
- 63 Pompey the Great conquers Judea and reduces it to the status of a client kingdom.
- 55 The first permanent theater is built in Rome.
- 46 A Greek scientist called Sosigenes calculates the exact length of the solar year.
- 44 Assassination of Julius Caesar; Corinth is re-founded as a Roman colony.
- 37 The Romans appoint Herod the Great king of Judea.
- c. 33 Saint Paul is converted to Christianity.
- 31 Octavian defeats Mark Antony and Cleopatra at Actium; Annexation of Egypt as a province.
- 27 Octavian establishes the Principate and takes the name “Augustus”; Achaea is formally created as a province.

A.D.

- 6 Judea is annexed to Rome.
- c. 30 Crucifixion of Jesus.
- 37 Birth of Josephus, Jewish historian.
- 38 The first recorded outbreak of violence against Jews living in the Roman Empire occurs in Alexandria by Greeks.
- 6–41 Rome rules Judea through prefects.
- 41 The Romans appoint Agrippa I king of Judea.
- 60 Saint Paul arrives in Rome.

- 62/3 Lucan publishes the first books of his epic poem titled the *Civil War*.
- 64 The first recorded instance of persecution of Christians takes place under Emperor Nero; completion of the Temple in Jerusalem.
- 66 The Great Jewish Revolt breaks out.
- 66–67 Nero tours Greece and liberates it.
- 68–9 Following the suicide of Nero, first Galba (murdered), next Otho (committed suicide), and then Vitellius are proclaimed emperor. After the murder of Vitellius, Vespasian becomes emperor and establishes the Flavian dynasty.
- 70 Destruction of Jerusalem; Emperor Vespasian again reduces Achaia to provincial status.
- 73 The Romans take Masada, thereby ending Jewish resistance in the Great Revolt.
- 117–38 Under Emperor Hadrian the Roman Empire reaches its maximum extent.
- 131 Hadrian founds the Panhellenion in Athens.
- 132–35 The Bar-Kochba Revolt in Judea.
- 165 Plague, possibly smallpox, reduces the population of the empire by around 10 percent.
- 177 Aurelius condones the persecution of Christians in Lyon.
- c. 180–190 Apuleius writes the *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass*.
- 192 Murder of Emperor Commodus.
- 193 Accession of Emperor Septimius Severus.
- 212 Caracalla grants citizenship to all free citizens living within the Roman Empire.
- 250 Decius orders the first major persecution of Christians.
- 251 Decius is killed in battle by the Goths.
- 262 The Goths invade Athens.
- 267 The Heruli sack Athens.
- 286 Diocletian establishes the Tetrarchy (“Rule of Four”).
- 293 Diocletian divides the empire into two halves.
- 302, 304 Diocletian orders the widespread persecution of Christians.
- 305 Abdication of Diocletian and Maximian.
- 311 Galerius issues an edict of toleration towards the Christians.
- 312 Constantine defeats Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge.
- 313 The Edict of Milan promulgates a policy of religious freedom.
- 315 The Arch of Constantine is built.
- 324 Constantine re-unites the Empire and becomes sole emperor.
- 330 Constantine dedicates Constantinople on the site of Byzantium.
- 361–363 Reign of the Emperor Julian the Apostate.
- 378 The Goths defeat the Eastern Roman army at Hadrianopolis, killing the Emperor Valens.
- c. 384 Saint Jerome completes his translation of the Gospels into Greek.

- 395 Theodosius I abolishes pagan rites; on his death the Roman Empire splits into two halves; Alaric the Visigoth lays siege to Athens.
- 402 Honorius makes Ravenna the capital of the western Roman Empire.
- 410 Alaric the Visigoth sacks Rome.
- 439 Carthage falls to the Vandals.
- 455 The Vandals sack Rome.
- 476 The deposition of Romulus Augustulus presages the “fall” of the Roman Empire in the West; Odoacer becomes the first barbarian ruler of Italy.
- 485 Death of Proclus, the last important Neoplatonist philosopher.
- 493 Odoacer is murdered by the Ostrogoth Theoderic.
- 529 Justinian orders that the philosophical schools be shut down.
- 529–534 The codification of Roman law is completed under Justinian.
- 532 Justinian suppresses the Nika Riot.
- 542 “Justinian’s Plague” kills an estimated 25,000,000.
- 554 Justinian succeeds in re-taking Italy.
- 568 The Lombards enter Italy and recapture territory taken by Justinian.
- 582 The Slavs sack Athens.
- 751 The last exarch of Ravenna is killed by the Lombards.
- 1204 Sack of Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade; Athens falls to the Franks.

Glossary

acropolis: Literally “upper or higher city,” this was a defensible rock on which many of the most venerable cults were located. Though almost every polis had an acropolis, the Acropolis of Athens is the most famous. The Roman equivalent is the *arx*, a term used especially of the citadel or fortified summit on the Capitoline Hill in Rome, the Arx Capitolina.

agora: A level space in the center of a Greek town that was the civic, commercial, legal, and political heart of the polis.

Antonines: Line of emperors that begins with Antoninus Pius and ends with Commodus, (138–192); followed by the Severans.

Archaic: The period of Greek history conventionally dated c. 650–480 B.C.

Asia Minor: A term used to denote the westernmost part of the continent of Asia.

Assembly: Together with the Council, the Assembly comprised one of the two primary organs of Greek governance. Whereas all citizens participated in the Assembly, the Council comprised only a select few (500 in the case of Athens, elected by lot). The nearest Roman equivalent to the Assembly and Council were the several *comitia* and the Senate, though the *comitia* privileged the wealthy and election to the Senate was contingent upon holding public office.

Byzantine: There is no scholarly consensus as to when the Byzantine era actually begins. Some place it as early as the reign of Constantine I (307–337) on the grounds that it was he who established the empire’s capital at Constantinople (former Byzantium), others as late as the reign of Theodosius I (379–95), on the grounds that the division of the empire into two halves became an established political fact on his death. The Byzantine era may be said to end in 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks.

Classical: The period of Greek history conventionally dated 480–323 B.C. The epoch begins with the final defeat of the Persians and ends with the death of Alexander the Great.

consul: One of two senior magistrates of the Roman Republic.

Dark Age: A term used to indicate the period of Greek history which witnessed a decline in the arts and in communication. Though the Dark Age centered on the years from 1100 to 900 B.C., it began around 1200 B.C. with the destruction of Mycenaean civilization, and it continued into the early Geometric Period (the early part of which, known as the Proto-Geometric, saw only a very limited range of motifs on pottery) until about 800 B.C., when prosperity and the arts revived.

democracy: Greek democracy differed from modern Western democracy in that it was participatory, not representative. This meant that every citizen had the right to speak and vote in the assembly. Though the Romans also permitted the entire citizen body to vote, their electoral system greatly favored the well-to-do.

Dorian: A term used by the Greeks to identify one of the principal ethnic groups. Dorians, who occupied most of the Peloponnese and some of the islands of the Aegean, spoke a common dialect.

Doric: A term used to describe both one of the orders of Greek architecture and one of the dialects of ancient Greece.

Epicureanism: Philosophical school founded by Epicurus in c. 306 B.C. Most of our knowledge of it derives from Lucretius’s poem *On the Nature of the Universe* (*De rerum natura*—sometimes translated as *On the Nature of Things*), which pays tribute to Epicurus’s materialistic explanation of the world.

ethnos: A term used to describe a large group of people who shared a common identity but who associated with one another more loosely than those who lived together in a polis.

Etruria: Name of the region of central west Italy that was inhabited by the Etruscans. It extended from the River Arno in the north to the River Tiber in the south.

Flavians: Line of emperors that begins with Titus Flavius Vespasianus and ends with Domitian (A.D. 69–96).

forum: Typically a rectangular flat space in a Roman town, which served for gatherings of various kinds. It was usually flanked by public buildings, as in the case of the Roman Forum (*Forum Romanum*) in Rome.

Geometric Age: A term used by art historians and others to denote the period of Greek history when geometric designs (including the meander pattern or “Greek key”) dominated the decoration of Greek pottery, about 900–725 B.C.

Hellenic: Another word for “Greek.”

Hellenistic: The period of Greek history conventionally dated 323–31 B.C. The epoch begins with the death of Alexander the Great and ends with the battle of Actium.

Hellenes: The name used by the Greeks for themselves both in ancient and modern times.

helot: Term of uncertain etymology used to describe the conquered peoples of Messenia (the southwest region of the Peloponnese that lies to the west of Laconia, the Spartan heartland), who worked as serfs for the Spartans.

hetaira: Literally a “female companion,” a term used of women, usually foreigners, who hired out their services at symposia.

Hippocratic: A term used, with varying degrees of accuracy, to describe the school of medicine associated with the legendary Hippocrates, the so-called founder of rational medicine.

hoplite: Heavily-armed Greek infantryman, named for the circular shield or *hoplon*. Hoplites, who fought in strict battle formation, dominated land battles in Greece from the 7th century B.C. onward.

Illyria: A somewhat ill-defined territory on the western side of the Balkans that extended from the head of the Adriatic in the north to Epirus in the south.

Ionians: A term used by the Greeks to identify one of the principal ethnic groups. Ionians, who occupied Attica, Euboea, the Cyclades, and the central western coast of Asia Minor, spoke a common dialect.

Ionic: A term used to describe both one of the orders of Greek architecture and one of the dialects of ancient Greece.

Julian calendar: The 365.25-day solar year introduced by Julius Caesar.

Julio-Claudians: Line of emperors descended from the Julian and Claudian families that begins with Augustus and ends with Nero, (27 B.C.–A.D. 69); followed by the **Flavians**.

kouros: A term meaning “youth” used by art historians to describe marble Archaic statues of naked standing males that stood either in sanctuaries or beside graves.

Macedon, Macedonia: The kingdom that lay between the Balkans and the southern peninsula of mainland Greece. Though the Macedonians considered themselves to be Greek, other Greek speakers regarded them as semi-barbarians.

Magna Graecia: Literally “Great Greece,” the term was in vogue in antiquity and denoted the coastal region of Italy that was colonized by the Greeks. Some ancient writers interpreted it to include Sicily and Campania.

metic: Resident aliens, who lived in a Greek state and who enjoyed certain privileges, excluding citizenship.

Neoplatonism: A term of reference without ancient authority used to denote the revival of Platonic philosophy in the 3rd century A.D. Neoplatonism remained the dominant philosophical school of thought until A.D. 529, when Emperor Justinian closed the school at Athens.

Orientalizing period: A term used by art historians and others to denote the period of the influence of Near Eastern textiles on the decoration of Geometric pottery, about 725–625 B.C.

panhellenic: Literally “all-Greek.” The term refers to events and institutions in which all Greek speakers were free to participate.

Panhellenion: An organization of Greek cities from the eastern Mediterranean with its center in Athens. It was established by the Emperor Hadrian in A.D. 131/2.

paterfamilias: The head of the Roman family.

Peloponnese: The term used to denote the part of mainland Greece that lies south of the Isthmus of Corinth. Literal meaning is “the island of Pelops.”

phalanx: The principal hoplite formation, which was usually eight deep in the Archaic and Classical periods. Philip II of Macedon introduced a new formation that was 16 men deep.

polis: Usually rendered “city-state,” the polis was an independent entity consisting of an urban center and surrounding territory. The polis was the most evolved social and political system in the ancient Mediterranean. It continued to exist long after Rome’s rise to power.

Principate: A term of reference without ancient authority used to denote the system of government established by Augustus in 27 B.C. “Principate” derives from *princeps*, “first citizen,” which was Augustus’s preferred description of himself.

satrap: The governor of a division of the Persian Empire.

Severans: Line of emperors that begins with Septimius Severus and ends with Severus Alexander, (A.D. 193–235).

Sophists: Itinerant professors who flourished in the Greek world in the 5th century B.C. They gave lectures and taught classes, notably on rhetoric. Plato’s hostility towards them, based on the belief that they contributed toward Socrates’ execution, has colored our modern perception of Sophists.

Sparta: In earlier times, one of the two (with Athens) foremost powers in mainland Greece. By the time the Romans arrived in Greece, Sparta had long since been in decline.

stoa: A colonnaded building which served many purposes and which provided shelter from the elements, as well as storage facilities.

Stoicism: Philosophical school founded by Zeno of Citium in c. 313 B.C., which was so-named from the *stoa poikile* or Painted Stoa, situated in the northwest corner of the Agora in Athens. Stoicism flourished in the Roman Imperial era. Three of its greatest exponents were Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius.

Successors: The title given to the kings who carved up the empire of Alexander the Great when he died in 323 B.C. In the first generation these were Antigonos I Monophthalmos (“One-eyed”), Seleucus I Nicator, and Ptolemy I.

Tetrarchy: A term of reference without ancient authority used to denote the system of collegiate government established by Diocletian in A.D. 293 whereby the Roman Empire was ruled by two senior commanders (both named “Augustus”) and two junior commanders (both named “Caesar”).

toga: The distinctive dress of a freeborn Roman male. It was manufactured from undyed wool and was semi-circular in shape.

trireme: A modern term for a Greek warship with three banks of oars with which the Athenians dominated the eastern Mediterranean in the 5th century B.C.

triumph: The highest award for a victorious Roman general. Only a general who had been voted a triumph was permitted to enter Rome at the head of his army. Plunder and prisoners of war were displayed in the procession. To qualify for a triumph, the general had to have slain at least 5,000 of the enemy.

tyranny: A technical term for a type of monarchy that was set up by aristocratic usurpers in Greek states. Tyranny first flourished in the 7th and 6th centuries B.C. Some of the first tyrants contributed significantly to the cultural development of their cities. Later tyrants, however, tended to be military despots.

Biographical Notes

Accius (170–c. 85 B.C.): Prolific Roman writer of many tragedies, many of which were inspired by the plays of Euripides.

Aeneas: Legendary Trojan hero, who fled to Italy and founded the Roman race in Italy. His travels and exploits are the subject of Virgil's epic, the *Aeneid*.

Aeschylus (c. 525–456 B.C.): Greek tragic poet. Seven of his plays survive, including the trilogy called the *Oresteia*.

Aesculapius: Roman name for the god of healing, modeled on the Greek god Asclepius (Askelepios).

Alaric (c. A.D. 370–410): King of the Visigoths (r. c. A.D. 395–410), who sacked Rome in A.D. 410 and died soon after.

Alexander I: King of Epirus, 342–330 B.C. He conquered much of southern Italy and is said to have negotiated a treaty with the Romans before being murdered.

Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.): Arguably the greatest general of all time, Alexander came to the throne at the age of 20 on the death of his father, Philip II of Macedon. After defeating the Persians, he undertook two further expeditions, first to Bactria and second to India. His empire extended from the Adriatic to the Punjab, and from south Russia to Ethiopia. He died of unknown causes at the age of 32.

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. A.D. 325–395): A Greek born at Antioch, Ammianus was the last great historian to write in Latin. The extant books of his history cover the second half of the 4th century A.D.

Antiochus III (c. 242–187 B.C.): Known as “the Great,” Antiochus was a Seleucid king, ruled 223–187 B.C., who expanded his empire greatly to the east. At the request of the Aetolians he invaded Greece but was defeated by the Romans at Thermopylae in 191 B.C.

Antiochus IV (c. 215–c. 164 B.C.): Known as Epiphanes, the god made manifest. Antiochus was a Seleucid king, ruled 175–164 B.C., who invaded Egypt but was ordered out by the Romans. His attempt to Hellenize Judea provoked a successful revolt under Judas Maccabaeus in 168 B.C.

Appian (died c. A.D. 160): Greek historian born in Alexandria, who is the author of a partially extant history of Rome (*Romaika*) from Rome's beginnings to the reign of Vespasian.

Apuleius (born c. A.D. 125): Latin philosopher and rhetorician, whose most famous work *Metamorphoses* (or *The Golden Ass*) is the only Latin novel that has survived intact.

Aristarchus of Samos (c. 310–230 B.C.): Greek astronomer and mathematician, credited with being the first scientist to propose a heliocentric hypothesis.

Aristides (A.D. 118–c. 180): Greek rhetorician who gave many public demonstrations of his speaking skills and wrote many speeches, the most famous of which is an encomium in praise of Rome.

Aristophanes (c. 445–c. 385 B.C.): Athenian comic dramatist. He is the only author of Old Comedy and Middle Comedy whose plays are extant.

Aristotle (384–22 B.C.): Greek philosopher, who studied under Plato and tutored Alexander the Great. He returned to Athens and taught at the Lyceum. His work incorporates every branch of science and philosophy known at the time.

Attalus II (220–138 B.C.): King of Pergamum, ruled 159–138 B.C., who dedicated a stoa in the Athenian Agora.

Attalus III (c. 170–133 B.C.): King of Pergamum, ruled 138–33 B.C., who bequeathed his kingdom to Rome.

Atticus (110–32 B.C.): Wealthy Roman, with whom Cicero corresponded on a regular basis. The correspondence is preserved in Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*. He was deeply influenced by Greek culture and lived in Athens from the mid-80s to the 60s B.C., acquiring the *cognomen*, “Atticus,” meaning “of Attica” (the territory surrounding Athens).

Attila (c. A.D. 404–453): King of the Huns, 437–452, who established his rule over central and western Europe.

Augustus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14): Formerly Octavian, he was the grandnephew of Julius Caesar. He defeated Cleopatra and Mark Antony at Actium in 31 B.C.; he took the title “Augustus” in 27 B.C. and ruled as Rome’s first emperor until his death in A.D. 14.

Cato the Elder (234–148 B.C.): Roman politician and writer, who held the rank of censor in 184 B.C. He was Hellenism’s most outspoken opponent, even though he was deeply influenced by Greek culture himself. He was the author of the first known prose work in Latin, a history of Rome titled the *Origines*.

Catullus (c. 84–c. 54): Latin poet, author of 113 extant poems in various meters, many of them on the subject of love.

Celsus (active during the reign of Tiberius, A.D. 14–37): Author of an encyclopedia of which only eight books on medicine survive.

Cicero (106–43 B.C.): Roman orator and politician, whose philosophical works provided a synthesis of Greek philosophy, which he thus made palatable to Roman readers. He supported Pompey in the Civil War against Julius Caesar and met his death bravely at the hands of assassins working on behalf of Mark Antony.

Claudian (c. A.D. 370–404): Latin poet, who moved to Rome and became court poet to the Emperor Honorius. Claudian, though a Greek, was the last epic poet to write in Latin.

Cleopatra VII (c. 69–30 B.C.): The last Ptolemaic queen of Egypt, ruled 51–30 B.C., who had an affair first with Julius Caesar and later with Mark Antony. Octavian declared war on her in 32 B.C., and she and Mark Antony were defeated at Actium in 31 B.C. She subsequently committed suicide to avoid capture.

Constantine I (c. A.D. 273–337): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 307–337, who established a new capital of the Roman Empire at Constantinople in 330. It was under Constantine’s guidance that the empire became Christian.

Cybele: Oriental goddess also known as the Great Mother, whose cult was introduced to Rome in 204 B.C.

Decius (c. A.D. 200–51): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 249–251, who instituted the first large-scale persecution of the Christians.

Demaratus: According to Roman tradition, Demaratus was a refugee from Corinth, who took up residence in Greece and was the father of Tarquin the Elder, the penultimate king of Rome. His story provides evidence for cultural contact between mainland Greece and Rome in the second half of the 7th century B.C.

Diocletian (c. A.D. 240–313): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 284 to 305, who restored the frontiers of the empire, after it had begun to collapse. He divided the empire into eastern and western halves and established the Tetrarchy or “Rule of Four.” He promoted paganism and persecuted the Christians.

Diogenes the Cynic (c. 400–c. 325): Greek philosopher, who was the foremost advocate of Cynic philosophy. He advocated self-sufficiency and lived an ascetic life.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (late-1st century B.C.): Greek historian who lived in Rome for many years. His most important work is his *Roman Archaeology* (also known as *Antiquities*), which traced Rome’s rise down to the first Punic War.

Dracon (fl. 7th century B.C.): Athenian lawgiver, who was the author of the first Athenian law code (621 B.C.). Dracon is said to have prescribed death for most offenses.

Ennius (239–169 B.C.): Generally regarded as Rome’s greatest early poet, he wrote in many genres. His greatest work was the *Annales*, an epic poem on Rome’s birth and growth, which became central to the Roman curriculum until it was displaced by Virgil’s *Aeneid*.

Epictetus (A.D. 55–135): Phrygian slave, who became a Stoic philosopher. His most popular work was a handbook of practical wisdom known as the *Enchiridion*.

Epicurus (341–270 B.C.): Greek philosopher, who founded the Epicurean school of philosophy. He established his school, known as the Garden, in Athens.

Eratosthenes of Cyrene (B.C. 275–194): Greek scientist who worked out Earth’s circumference with considerable accuracy.

Euripides (c. 480–406 B.C.): Greek tragic poet, 18 of whose plays have survived, including *Bacchae*, *Medea*, and *Trojan Women*. Euripides was a major influence on Roman republican tragedy.

Flamininus (c. 228–174): Roman general who defeated Philip V of Macedon in 197 B.C. and who proclaimed the freedom to the Greeks at the Isthmian Games in 196 B.C. He later received divine honors from the Greeks.

Galen of Pergamum (c. A.D. 129–c. 204): The most important medical figure in late antiquity. Galen began his career as a physician of gladiators and made it his goal to be proficient in all aspects of medical knowledge. He was celebrated as a philosopher as well as a doctor, and was extraordinarily prolific and left his mark on every branch of medical inquiry.

Hadrian (A.D. 76–138): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 117 to 138, who was deeply influenced by Greek culture and was one of Athens's greatest benefactors. He visited Greece in A.D. 124/5, 128, and 131. Though his reign was largely peaceful, he provoked the Bar-Kochba Revolt (A.D. 132–35) by refounding Jerusalem as a Roman colony.

Hannibal (c. 246–182 B.C.): Carthaginian general, who led Carthage against Rome in the Second Punic War. Despite winning many victories, he failed to capture Rome and was eventually defeated at Zama in North Africa in 202 B.C.

Hellanicus (late 5th century B.C.): Greek chronicler and mythographer who is said to be the first writer to claim that Aeneas was the patriarch of the Roman race.

Hellen: Eponymous founder of the Greek or Hellenic race.

Herod Agrippa I (A.D. 10–44): Grandson of Herod the Great and king of Judea (A.D. 41–44).

Herod the Great (c. 73–4 B.C.): Hellenized king of Judea, which he ruled 37–4 B.C. When he died his kingdom was divided between his three sons.

Herodes Atticus (c. A.D. 101–77): Athenian Sophist who is chiefly celebrated as the benefactor of several Greek cities, including Athens where he built an impressive concert hall.

Herodotus (484–c. 425 B.C.): Greek historian whose *Histories* recount the story of the Persian Wars, as well as Persia's rise to dominance.

Hippocrates of Cos (fl. end of 5th century B.C.): Legendary founder of scientific medicine. Virtually nothing is known of his life, though a vast corpus of medical treatises are ascribed to him.

Homer (fl. c. 725–700): Greek poet (or poets), regarded as the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Honorius (A.D. 384–423): Roman emperor in the West, ruled A.D. 395–423, who abandoned Rome and moved his court to Ravenna in A.D. 402.

Horace (65–8 B.C.): Roman poet and satirist who was deeply influenced by Greek poetry. He is regarded as the greatest lyric poet of his age. His supreme achievement is the three books of *Odes* (19 B.C.).

Isis: Egyptian goddess whose cult became widespread throughout the Greco-Roman world. Isis particularly appealed to women.

Isocrates (436–338 B.C.): Athenian orator who founded a school of rhetoric.

Jerome. See **Saint Jerome**.

Josephus (c. A.D. 37–100): Jewish historian, author of the *Jewish War*. He was one of the leaders of the Great Jewish Revolt. He was captured and pardoned by Vespasian.

Judas Maccabaeus (fl. 160s B.C.): Jewish revolutionary who led a successful revolt against Antiochus IV in 167 B.C.

Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.): Roman general and dictator; in 49 B.C. he instigated the Civil War against Pompey, which he won. He was assassinated in 44 B.C.

Julian the Apostate (A.D. 332–363): Roman emperor, ruled 361–363, who attempted to initiate a pagan revival to prevent the advance of Christianity. His efforts ended with his untimely death in battle.

Justinian I (c. 482–565): Byzantine emperor, ruled A.D. 527–565, whose extensive conquests in Spain, North Africa, and Italy overstretched the empire’s resources. He is celebrated for initiating a major re-codification of Roman law. He began work on the Church of Holy Wisdom (Hagia Sophia) in Constantinople, the largest church in antiquity.

Juvenal (c. A.D. 55–128): Roman satirist, 15 of whose satires survive. His invective had many targets, including the influence of the Greeks in Rome.

Licinius (c. A.D. 250–325): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 308–324, whose defeat by Constantine I in A.D. 324 left Constantine sole emperor of the Roman Empire.

Livius Andronicus (c. 280–205 B.C.): Greek poet who came to Rome as a prisoner of war and was sold into slavery as a teacher. He is said to have been the first dramatist to produce plays in Rome, both a tragedy and a comedy (240 B.C.), which he wrote in Latin.

Livy (59 B.C.–A.D. 17): Roman historian who was the author of a monumental history of Rome in 142 books from its foundation down to his own day; 35 books have survived.

Lucan (A.D. 39–65): Latin epic poet, who wrote about the civil war between Julius Caesar and Pompey known as the *Civil War* or *Pharsalia* (*The Battle of Pharsalus*).

Lucretius: Roman poet and philosopher who lived in the 1st century B.C. He is the author of *De rerum natura* (*On the Nature of the Universe* or *On the Nature of Things*), a hexameter poem in six books which elucidates the philosophical theories of the Epicurus.

Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 121–180): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 161–180, who was the author of the *Meditations*, a compilation of personal reflections written in Greek which largely derives from Stoic philosophy.

Marius, Gaius (c. 157–86 B.C.): Roman politician and general, who in 107 B.C. removed the minimum property qualification for service in the Roman army.

Mark Antony (c. 82–30 B.C.): Roman politician and general, who with Octavian defeated Caesar’s assassins at the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. He was later defeated by Octavian at Actium in 31 B.C. and fled to Egypt with Cleopatra, where he committed suicide.

Mausolus (died 353 B.C.): Satrap of Caria, which he ruled 377/6–353/2 B.C. His tomb, known as the Mausoleum, was the inspiration behind Augustus’s tomb in Rome.

Maxentius (c. A.D. 279–312): Claimant to the Western Roman Empire who was defeated and killed by Constantine I at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge.

Maximian (c. A.D. 240–310): Promoted to the rank of Augustus by Diocletian in A.D. 285, Maximian ruled the western half of the Roman Empire until his abdication in A.D. 305.

Menander (c. 342–292 B.C.): Greek comic poet whose plays were highly influential in the development of Roman Comedy.

Mithradates VI (120–63 B.C.): King of Pontus, whose expansionist ambitions led to the three so-called Mithradatic Wars against Rome. In 88 B.C. he ordered the massacre of Romans and Italians who were resident in the province of Asia. He was eventually defeated and fled to the Crimea, where he committed suicide.

Mummius (2nd century B.C.): Roman general best remembered for overseeing the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C.

Naevius (c. 270–c. 201): The first Roman epic poet, author of the epic titled *The Punic War*.

Nero (A.D. 37–68): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 54 to 68, who following a great fire in Rome, persecuted the Christians living in the city, allegedly holding them responsible. In A.D. 67 he began a tour of Greece, during which he ostentatiously proclaimed its freedom. After being declared a public enemy by the Senate, he took his own life.

Nonnus (5th century A.D.): Greek epic poet, who was the author of the *Dionysiaca* in 48 books, as well as of an epic version of Saint John’s Gospel.

Octavian: See **Augustus**.

Odoacer (c. A.D. 433–493): First barbarian king of Italy who ruled A.D. 476–93. Having deposed Romulus Augustulus, he ruled Italy as the deputy of the eastern emperor. He was murdered by Theoderic II, king of the Ostrogoths.

Ovid (43 B.C.–A.D. 17): Latin love elegist and author of a hexameter poem in 15 books known as the *Metamorphoses*.

Pacuvius (220–c. 130 B.C.): Roman tragedian, who was much admired by Cicero. None of his plays are extant.

Paul. See **Saint Paul**.

Pausanias (2nd century A.D.): Greek travel writer whose *Guide to Greece* served as a guide for Roman and Greek tourists to mainland Greece.

Perseus (c. 213/12–c. 167 B.C.): King of Macedon, ruled 179–167 B.C., whose ambitious policy led to the Third Macedonian War. He was eventually defeated at Pydna in 168 B.C., he died in prison.

Petronius (1st century A.D.): Roman novelist, author of the *Satyrikon*, and probably to be identified with one Titus Petronius, a member of Nero's inner circle who was later accused of treason and committed suicide. The *Satyrikon* is most famous for the section generally known as "Trimalchio's Dinner."

Philip II (382–336 B.C.): King of Macedon, ruled 359–336 B.C., who was the father of Alexander the Great. Having defeated a coalition of Greek states at Chaeronea in 338 B.C., he was on the point of leading an expedition against Persia when he was murdered.

Philip V (238–179 B.C.): King of Macedon, ruled 221–179 B.C., who engaged in two disastrous wars against the Romans. His eventual defeat by Flamininus at Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. resulted in Rome's much-touted proclamation of Greek "freedom." In effect, his ill-conceived policies were contributory to the Roman subjugation of mainland Greece.

Philodemus of Gadara (c. 110–c. 37 B.C.): Epicurean philosopher whose writings are preserved in papyri found in a villa at Herculaneum.

Pictor, Quintus Fabius (3rd century B.C.): The first Roman to write a history of Rome. Significantly, he wrote his history in Greek.

Plato (c. 429–c. 347 B.C.): Greek philosopher, pupil of Socrates and founder of the Academy in Athens. He is the author of some 30 *Dialogues*, in the majority of which Socrates is featured as the principal speaker.

Plautus (c. 254–184 B.C.): Latin comic poet. His plays, 21 of which survive, are inspired by Greek originals, notably Menander.

Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23/4–79): Roman scholar who was the author of a compendium of knowledge known as the *Natural History* in 37 books. Pliny died during the eruption of Vesuvius.

Pliny the Younger (c. A.D. 61–c. 112): Latin writer who became governor of Bithynia in A.D. 110 and who corresponded with Trajan.

Plotinus (A.D. 205–269/270): Greek Neoplatonist philosopher who came to Rome and taught philosophy. He is the author of the *Enneads*.

Plutarch (c. A.D. 46–after 120): Greek prose writer, author of 23 parallel biographies of famous Greeks and Romans as well as four singletons, and of the *Moralia* (*Moral Essays*) covering a wide variety of philosophical as well as antiquarian subjects.

Polybius (c. 200–c. 118 B.C.): Greek historian who was deported to Rome in 167 B.C. as one of 1,000 Achaean hostages; there he became a close friend of Scipio Aemilianus. He wrote a history of Rome, which covered the period from 264–146 B.C.

Pompey the Great (106–48 B.C.): Roman politician and general, who rid the Mediterranean of pirates in 67 B.C. Pompey entered into a civil war with Julius Caesar in 49 B.C. After being defeated at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 B.C., he fled to Egypt and was murdered soon afterward.

Pontius Pilate (died after A.D. 36): Prefect of Judea from A.D. 26–36 in the time of Jesus and responsible for ordering his crucifixion.

Proclus (c. A.D. 410–485): Greek Neoplatonist philosopher, born in Constantinople, who was the last important philosopher of Neoplatonism.

Ptolemy of Alexandria (c. A.D. 100–170): Greek astronomer and geographer, who was the author of the *Almagest*, which became the standard work on astronomy for 1,000 years.

Pyrrhus (319–272 B.C.): King of Epirus, reigned 297–272 B.C., who fought several battles against the Romans on behalf of the Greeks in south Italy and Sicily and who secured a “pyrrhic” (i.e. very costly) victory at Heraclea. He was eventually repulsed and driven back to mainland Greece.

Pythagoras (fl. later 6th century B.C.): Greek philosopher and mathematician who established a religious community at Croton in south Italy. His ideas, or more accurately the ideas that became attached to his name, remained very influential throughout antiquity and he was regarded, justifiably or not, as a holy man and sage.

Quintilian (c. A.D. 33–100): Latin author and teacher of rhetoric. His only extant work, known as the *Institutes*, lays out the educational training of a would-be orator. Quintilian was deeply immersed in Greek rhetorical technique.

Romulus: Eponymous legendary founder of Rome and twin brother of Remus. After killing Remus, Romulus became the first king of Rome.

Romulus Augustulus (fl. second half of 5th century A.D.): The last Roman emperor to rule the western half of the empire. His reign lasted from A.D. 475–6, after which he was pensioned off.

Roscius (died 62 B.C.): The most famous Roman actor of his day. He specialized in comic roles, though he also performed in tragedy. He was a friend of Sulla, who promoted him to the equestrian class.

Saint Jerome (c. A.D. 342–420): Christian ascetic and scholar who is best known for translating the Hebrew Bible into Latin (the so-called *Vulgate*).

Saint Paul (c. 4 B.C.–c. A.D. 65/67): A Jewish convert to Christianity who became one of its most fervent advocates. He undertook three missionary journeys and wrote a number of epistles to Greek-speaking church communities. He arrived in Rome in A.D. 60 and was eventually executed by Nero.

Sallust (c. 86–c. 34 B.C.): Roman historian, author of two monographs titled *The Catilinarian Conspiracy* and *The Jugurthine War*.

Scipio Aemilianus (c. 185–129 B.C.): Roman general and leading philhellene, associated with Polybius and other Greek intellectuals.

Seleucus I Nicator (c. 358–281 B.C.): One of the “Successors” of Alexander the Great, Seleucus founded the Seleucid Empire and became its first king in 305 B.C.

Seneca the Younger (c. 4 B.C.–A.D. 65): Roman philosopher and dramatist who was the author of nine tragedies, as well as many essays on philosophy and rhetoric. He was tutor to Nero, who later forced him to commit suicide.

Septimius Severus (A.D. 145/6–211): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 193–211, who undertook an ambitious building program both in Rome and in Leptis Magna, his birth town. His death heralded a period of disorder and near anarchy in the Roman Empire that lasted half a century.

Silius Italicus (A.D. 26–102): Latin epic poet who wrote an epic poem on the Second Punic War.

Socrates (469–399 B.C.): Greek philosopher, who was tried and executed by the restored Athenian democracy following the end of the Peloponnesian War. His calm acceptance of death, as described by Plato in the *Phaedo*, served as an inspiration throughout antiquity.

Solon (c. 630–c. 560 B.C.): Athenian lawgiver, who introduced a comprehensive social, economic, and political package, which paved the way for the development of democracy.

Sophocles (c. 496–406 B.C.): Greek tragic poet, seven of whose tragedies survive, including *Antigone* and *Oedipus the King*.

Soranus (2nd century A.D.): Greek physician from Ephesus who wrote an influential work on gynecology which has survived.

Sostratus of Aegina (fl. 600 B.C.): Greek trader, judged by Herodotus to be the wealthiest man of his day.

Statius (c. A.D. 45–96): Latin epic poet, the author of the *Thebais*, an epic poem about Thebes in twelve books, and the unfinished *Achilleis*.

Suetonius (c. A.D. 69–c. 140): Roman biographer, chiefly known for the *Twelve Caesars*, which consists of biographies of Julius Caesar and the emperors from Augustus to Domitian.

Sulla (c. 138–78 B.C.): Roman general who fought successfully against Mithradates VI. As reprisals for the support the Athenians gave to Mithradates, he sacked Piraeus, the port town of Athens.

Tacitus (c. A.D. 56–c. 120): Roman historian whose principal works are the *Histories* (covering the period A.D. 68–96) and the *Annals* (covering the period A.D. 14–68). He is our best source for the early Principate.

Terence (c. 195/185–159 B.C.): Latin comic poet who wrote six comedies. His work demonstrates considerable indebtedness to Greek comedy, notably to Menander.

Theodosius I (c. A.D. 346–395): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 379–95, who was the last to rule both the eastern and western halves of the empire. He fought several wars against the Goths, but eventually made a treaty with them, allowing them to settle within the empire. He was a pious Christian, who vigorously persecuted the pagans. He permitted extremist Christians to destroy pagan temples.

Thucydides (c. 455–400 B.C.): Greek historian of the Peloponnesian War who was exiled from Athens in 424 B.C. His history breaks off—in mid-sentence—in 411 B.C.

Tiberius (42 B.C.–37 A.D.): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 14–37, who retired to the island of Capri in the Bay of Naples in A.D. 26.

Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 350–260 B.C.): Greek historian from Sicily whose history included a description of Rome’s rise to power. His was the earliest account to be undertaken by a Greek historian.

Trajan (A.D. 53–117): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 98–117, who fought two successful campaigns against the Dacians, and who corresponded with Pliny the Younger over how to treat Christians.

Vespasian (A.D. 9–79): Roman emperor, ruled A.D. 69–79, who was governor of Judea in A.D. 68 at the time of the Jewish Revolt.

Virgil (70–19 B.C.): Latin poet whose most important work is the epic poem called the *Aeneid*. It describes the wanderings of Aeneas and his eventual discovery of a home in Italy and is greatly influenced by both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Unfinished at Virgil’s death, it was published on Augustus’s orders.

Xenophon (c. 428–c. 354 B.C.): Athenian mercenary and historian, who wrote a history of Greece known as the *Hellenica*, which covered the period from the end of the Peloponnesian War to 362 B.C., as well as the *Anabasis* or *The March Up-Country*, an account of the 10,000 mercenaries, who, under his leadership, successfully fought their way to safety in hostile territory.

Zeno (c. 335–c. 262 B.C.): Greek philosopher from Citium in Cyprus, who came to Athens and founded the Stoic school, so named from the “Painted Stoa,” where he taught.

Bibliography

Works of Reference:

Cambridge Ancient History. Various editors. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press. There is nothing remotely comparable to this splendidly authoritative series. Each chapter in every volume is written by a leading scholar in the field, and where relevant I have recommended specific chapters under Suggested Readings. The coverage is comprehensive—not only political and military history, but also all aspects of life and learning from agriculture to zoology. The volumes that are relevant to this course (all in their second edition except XIII and XIV) are:

VII, Part I	<i>The Hellenistic World</i>
VII, Part 2	<i>The Rise of Rome to 220 B.C.</i>
VIII	<i>Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 B.C.</i>
IX	<i>The Last Age of the Roman Republic 146–43 B.C.</i>
X	<i>The Augustan Empire, 43 B.C.–A.D. 69</i>
XI	<i>The High Empire A.D. 70–192</i>
XII	<i>The Crisis of Empire, A.D. 193–337</i>
XIII	<i>The Late Empire A.D. 337–425</i>
XIV	<i>Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors A.D. 425–600</i>

Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome, vols. 1–3. Edited by Michael Grant and Rachael Kitzinger. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1988. Extremely useful collection of essays that cover social, cultural, religious, etc., aspects of Greco-Roman civilization.

Encyclopedia of Greece and the Hellenic Tradition, vols. 1 and 2. Edited by Graham Speake. London and Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 2000. Useful entries on all aspects of Greek culture from antiquity to the present day.

Oxford Classical Dictionary. Edited by S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth. Oxford: Oxford Classical Press, 2003. 3rd ed. Revised. Justifiably billed as “the ultimate reference work on the Classical World.”

Suggested Readings:

Alcock, Susan. *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1993. Excellent study of the plight of Greece under Roman rule.

Apuleius. *The Golden Ass or Metamorphoses*. Translated with an introduction and notes by E. J. Kenney. London and New York: Penguin Books, 1998. Highly readable Roman picaresque novel.

Astin, Alan. “Cato and the Greeks.” In *Cato the Censor*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978. Useful interpretation of Cato's view of Hellenic culture.

———. *Scipio Aemilianus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967. Illuminating biography of a key philhellene.

Baldock, M. *Greek Tragedy: An Introduction*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1989. Good, brief introduction.

Balsdon, J. P. V. D. *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome*. London: Bodley Head, 1974. Somewhat dated but very informative.

———. *Romans and Aliens*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979. Invaluable discussion of a topic that continues to be at the forefront of Classical inquiry, with plenty of discussion of Rome's relationship with the Greeks.

Beard, Mary and Henderson, John. *Classical Art: From Greece to Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001. Entertaining and provocative account of Greek and Roman art, with fascinating insights into its modern reception.

Birley, Antony. *Hadrian: The Restless Emperor*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. Useful account of arguably the greatest Roman philhellene.

Boardman, J., Griffin, J., and Murray, O. eds. *Greece and the Hellenistic World*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. Well-illustrated and lively set of essays.

Boatwright, M. *Hadrian and the City of Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987. Includes account of the effects of Hadrian's philhellenism in Rome.

- . *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000. Gives brief but detailed discussion of Hadrian's benefactions to Athens.
- Brown, Peter. *The World of Late Antiquity*. New York: Norton, 1989. A pioneering work that advocates the now more popularly held view that Late Antiquity was characterized not so much by decay as by important cultural changes.
- Browning, Robert. *The Byzantine Empire*. Rev. ed. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1992. A historical account of the Byzantine Empire from A.D. 500–1453, with an excellent first chapter on the period from A.D. 500–641.
- Burkert, W. *Ancient Mystery Cults*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1987. Excellent introduction to the subject by one of the foremost scholars of Greek religion.
- Camp, John. *The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the Heart of Classical Athens*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1986. The authoritative description of Athens' premier civic space.
- Cartledge, Paul. *The Greeks*. Rev. ed. Oxford and New York: Opus Books, 1993. Very readable account of how Greek citizens defined themselves in relation to non-Greeks, women, foreigners, and slaves.
- Casson, L. *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986. Essential reading for understanding seafaring throughout the Mediterranean from 3000 B.C. onward.
- Chadwick, H. *Early Christian Thought and the Classical Tradition*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1966. Good discussion of the influence of Greek philosophy on early Christian writers, including Justin, Clement, and Origen.
- Champlin, E. *Nero*. Cambridge, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003. Attempts to reevaluate Nero on his own terms by accentuating the positive aspects of his early years.
- Connolly, Peter. *Greece and Rome at War*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981. Detailed and well-illustrated treatment of the subject.
- Connolly, Peter and Dodge, Hazel. *The Ancient City: Life in Classical Athens and Rome*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1981. Well-illustrated introduction to the physical aspects of city life in antiquity.
- Crawford, M. *The Roman Republic*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. Charts Rome's rise to power down to the assassination of Julius Caesar.
- Crook, J. A. *Law and Life of Rome 90 B.C.–A.D. 212*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967. An investigation of law in its social context.
- Davies, J. K. *Democracy and Classical Greece*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. Describes the evolution of Greek democracy in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.
- Dench, Emma. "Domination." In *Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*. Edited by Greg Woolf. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Useful introduction to differences in social and economic status in the Roman world.
- Deward, Carolyn. "Greek Education and Rhetoric." In *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol 2. Edited by Michael Grant and Rachael Kitzinger. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1988. Offers useful introduction to Greek education, as well as to the evolution of the Greco-Roman educational system.
- Dowden, Ken. *Religion and the Romans*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1992. Good, brief introduction.
- Drews, Robert. *The Coming of the Greeks*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. Inevitably speculative account of the origins of the Greeks that situates their original homeland in eastern Anatolia (modern Armenia).
- Euripides. *Four Plays*. Translated by S. Esposito, et al. Focus Classical Library, 2002. Includes *Medea* and *Bacchae*.
- Finley, M. I. *The Legacy of Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. Outstanding collection of essays, which examines the significance of Hellenism's impact on European culture.
- Frend, W. H. C. *The Rise of Christianity*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984. Very solid and comprehensive account with plenty of attention to the early splinter groups.
- Fullerton, M. *Greek Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Succinct introduction with lavish color illustrations.
- Garland, Robert. *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*. London and Ithaca: Duckworth Publishers, 1995. Provides discussion of the social and religious consequences of deformity and disability.

- . *The Greek Way of Death*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1985. Explores death as a rite of passage.
- . *Religion and the Greeks*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1994. Basic introduction to the subject.
- Garnsey, P., Hopkins, K., and Whittaker, C. R., eds. *Trade in the Ancient Economy*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983. Essential essays on many aspects of ancient trade, both Greek and Roman.
- Grabbe, Lester, L. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*. 2 vols. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992. Very useful selection of sources.
- Grant, M. *The Collapse and Recovery of the Roman Empire*. London and New York: Routledge, 1999. Brief, well-illustrated synopsis of 3rd-century A.D. Rome.
- Gruen, Erich. *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, vols. 1 and 2. 1984. Masterly account of Rome's political impact on the Greek world combined with an interesting assessment of Greece's response to Roman rule.
- Hall, Jonathan. *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. New York and Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1977. Sensitive exploration of the Dorian/Ionian divide, which draws from anthropological parallels.
- Halperin, D., Winkler, J., and Zeitlin, F., eds. *The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1990. Stimulating essays on many aspects of a complex subject.
- Hansen, E. V. *The Attalids of Pergamum*. 2nd ed. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971. Lengthy but standard account of Pergamum with useful discussion of its culture and art.
- Hansen, Mogens Herman. *Polis: An Introduction to the Ancient Greek City-State*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2006. Very accessible introduction to the subject covering such basic topics as origins, size, political organization, etc.
- Heather, Peter. *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History of Rome and the Barbarians*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Lively and entertaining discussion that proposes the thesis that the Empire was responsible for its own downfall.
- Hope, V. M. and Marshall, E. *Death and Disease in the Ancient City*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000. Accessible collection of interdisciplinary essays linking disease to death.
- Hopkins, Keith and Beard, Mary. *The Colosseum*. London: Profile Books, 2005. Engaging discussions of what actually took place in the arena, as well as of why we continue to be interested in the subject today.
- Horde, P. and Purcell, N. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000. Offers a comprehensive overview of the ancient Mediterranean with interesting connections between history and environment.
- Hunter, R. L. *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1985. Good introduction to the subject, spiced with a lively appreciation of the humor inherent in the subject.
- Irby-Massie, Georgia and Keyser, P. T. *Greek Science of the Hellenistic Era: A Sourcebook*. London and New York: Routledge, 2002. Extracts culled from the great age of Greek science.
- Jackson, Ralph. *Doctors and Diseases in the Roman Empire*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988. Very accessible and wide-ranging account of how medicine was practiced in the Roman Empire.
- Johns, Catherine. *Sex or Symbol? Erotic Images of Greece and Rome*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982. Well-illustrated, but not necessarily for display on the coffee table!
- Johnson, M. and Ryan, T. *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Literature and Society: A Sourcebook*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005. Very useful collection.
- Jones, A. H. M. *The Decline of the Ancient World*. London and New York: Longman, 1966. Fine narrative of the period from the accession of Diocletian to the end of the 6th century A.D., with valuable chapters on administration, economy, army, etc.
- Jones, C. P., Segal, C. P., Tarrant, R. J., and Thomas, R. F. *Greece in Rome: Influence, Integration, Resistance*. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 97. 1995. Valuable collection of papers on many aspects of Greco-Roman culture, including literature, religion, philosophy, and art.
- Juvenal. *Sixteen Satires*. 3rd ed. Translated by Peter Green. London and New York: Penguin Books, 1999. Spirited and forceful translation of one of Rome's most original poets.
- King, Helen. *Greek and Roman Medicine*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 2001. Succinct introduction to the subject.

- , ed. *Health in Antiquity*. London and New York: Routledge, 2005. Wide-ranging set of essays that address the effects of poor health and disease on the populations of Greece and Rome.
- Langslow, David. “Languages and Dialects.” In *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*. Edited by Michael Grant and Rachael Kitzinger. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1988. Good thumbnail sketch of all the languages spoken in the ancient Mediterranean.
- Lefkowitz, Mary and Fant, Maureen. *Women’s Life in Greece and Rome*. 2nd ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992. Invaluable selection of sources for all periods.
- Lenski, N., ed. *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Constantine*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Essays covering many aspects of Constantine’s reign.
- Lloyd, G. E. R. *Methods and Problems in Greek Science*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1991. Essays on topics such as experiment, dissection, and the connection between science and morality.
- Lucretius. *On the Nature of the Universe*. Translated by R. E. Latham. Rev. with introduction and notes by John Godwin. London and New York: Penguin Books, 1994. Lucretius’s homage to Epicurus: How to live without fear of death or fear of the gods.
- MacDonald, W. L. *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, vols. 1 and 2. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982, 1986. Very well-illustrated, detailed, and comprehensive treatment.
- MacDowell, Douglas. *The Law in Classical Athens*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978. The best introduction to the intricacies of the Athenian legal system.
- MacMullen, Ramsey. *Changes in the Roman Empire: Essays in the Ordinary*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990. Important set of essays, some of which examine the Greco-Roman melting pot. A selective but insightful investigation.
- . *Paganism in the Roman Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981. Usefully situates paganism in its social context.
- Macready, S. and Thompson, F. H., eds. *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987.
- Millar, Fergus. *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II (408–450)*. Berkeley, etc.: University of California Press, 2006.
- . *Rome, the Greek World and the East*. Edited by H. Cotton and G. Rogers. Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press, 2002. Sets the Greco-Roman phenomenon in its Mediterranean context. Immensely learned and highly readable.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1990. Very important treatment of Greece’s involvement with other cultures.
- . “Greek Culture and the Jews.” In M. I. Finley’s *The Legacy of Greece*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. Learned and sensitive discussion of a complex subject.
- Murphy, Cullen. *Are We Rome? The Fall of an Empire and the Fate of America*. New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2007. Wide-ranging, provocative discussion on the similarities between contemporary America and the Roman Empire.
- Nippel, W. *Public Order in Ancient Rome*. New York and Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Interesting discussion of how in the absence of a police force self-regulation effectively served as a restraint in Roman society.
- Oliver, J. H. *The Civic Tradition and Roman Athens*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1983. Dated but still useful account of how Athens functioned as a civic entity under Roman rule.
- Onians, John. *Classical Art and the Cultures of Greece and Rome*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999. Makes stimulating connections between physical environment, cultural consciousness, and artistic production from 7th century B.C. to 6th century A.D.
- Ovid. *The Erotic Poems*. Translated with an introduction by Peter Green. London and New York: Penguin Books, 1982. Ovid’s playfulness is well captured.
- Petronius. *The Satyricon*. Translated with an introduction and notes by J. P. Sullivan. London and New York: Penguin Books, 1986. Definitely not for the faint-hearted, but one of the most revealing descriptions of Roman life to come down to us.

Plautus. *Four Comedies*. Translated with an introduction by Erich Segal. Oxford: Oxford's World Classics, 1998. Very good introduction to Rome's most prolific comedian.

Plutarch. "Life of Cato." In *Makers of Rome*. Translated with an introduction by Ian Scott-Kilvert. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1965. Vital for an understanding of one of the most controversial Republican figures.

———. "Precepts of Statecraft." In *Plutarch's Moralia*, vol. 10. Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1991. Useful insights into the plight of Greek politicians under Roman rule.

Polybius. *The Rise of the Roman Empire*. Translated by Ian Scott-Kilvert with an introduction by F. W. Walbank. Harmondsworth, Middlesex and New York: Penguin Books, 1979. The only surviving historical account of the first half of the 2nd century B.C., critical in Rome's relations with the Greek world.

Pomeroy, S. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves*. New York: Schocken Books, 1995. Good introduction to women's roles in antiquity.

Price, Simon. *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*. New York and Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1984. Probably the most sensitive analysis of ruler cult and mindset underpinning it.

Ridgway, David. *The First Western Greeks*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1992. Detailed archeological treatment of the first Greek settlements in Italy.

Rihll, T. E. *Greek Science*. (Greece and Rome: New Surveys in the Classics no. 29). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. Excellent introduction, demonstrating a close connection between science and society.

Rutherford, Richard. *Classical Literature: A Concise History*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2005. Comprehensive introduction to classical literature, arranged genre by genre.

Scarborough, J. *Roman Medicine*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1969. Satisfactory, general introduction.

Schäfer, P. *A History of the Jews in Antiquity*. Translated by D. Chowcat. Luxembourg: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995. Excellent introduction to the political history of the Jews under Greek and Roman domination, with discussion of social, economic, and religious consequences.

Sear, Frank. *Roman Architecture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982. Well-illustrated discussion of Roman architecture from late Republic to A.D. 330, including the Greek East.

Skinner, M. B. *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2005. Fascinating and wide-ranging collection of essays, which seek to engage the reader with "ancient sexuality in all its otherness."

Slater, W. J., ed. *Dining in a Classical Context*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1991. Highly informative set of essays that explore the social and cultural importance of the ancient drinking party.

Smallwood, E. M. *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian*. Leiden: Brill, 1976. Detailed but highly readable historical account.

Stamper, John. *The Architecture of Roman Temples: the Republic to the Middle Empire*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Contains useful chapters on Augustan Rome and Hadrian's Pantheon.

Tcherikover, Avigdor. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. Translated by S. Applebaum. Jewish Publication Society of America: Philadelphia, 1959. Useful narrative of Jewish involvement with the Hellenistic Greeks.

Terence. *The Comedies*. Translated with an introduction by Peter Brown. Oxford: Oxford's World Classics, 2008. The Roman playwright whose sophisticated humor was favored by the Roman elite.

Thompson, Homer. "The Impact of Roman Architects and Architecture on Athens: 170 B.C.–A.D. 170." In *Roman Architecture in the Greek World*. Edited by Sarah Macready and F. H. Thompson. London: Thames and Hudson, 1987. Important discussion of an overlooked subject.

Toynbee, Jocelyn. *Death and Burial in the Roman World*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Press, 1996. Good exploration of the archaeological evidence for Roman burial practices.

Travlos, John. *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*. New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971. Still the best-illustrated book on Athens (albeit in black and white), with good coverage of the Roman period.

Virgil. *Aeneid*. Translated by Robert Fagles. New York: Penguin Books, 2006. Arguably the key work for understanding how Greek impacted Roman literature.

Walbank, F. W. *The Hellenistic World*. Rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993. Covers both the cultural as well as the political developments of the Hellenistic era.

Wardman, Alan. *Rome's Debt to Greece*. London: Paul Elek, 1976. Somewhat dated but still a valuable account of the interaction between Greek and Roman culture.

Ward-Perkins, Bryan. *The Fall of Rome and the End of Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006. Stimulating polemic that challenges the view that the Roman Empire merely underwent transition, arguing instead for the demise of civilized comforts and values.

Wardle, K. A. and Wardle, D. *The Mycenaean World*. London: Bristol Classical Press, 1997. Useful brief introduction.

Warrior, Valerie. *Roman Religion*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Brief but lively introduction with many useful illustrations.

Warry, John. *Warfare in the Classical World: An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Weapons, Warriors and Warfare in the Ancient World*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995. Good coverage of a vast subject from Mycenaean times to the coming of the barbarians.

Weinstock, Stefan. *Divus Julius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971. Masterly discussion of the steps by which Julius Caesar was accorded divine status.

White, K. D. *Greek and Roman Technology*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984. Standard account, enlivened by numerous illustrations.

Wiedemann, T. E. "Slavery." In *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*. Edited by Michael Grant and Rachael Kitzinger. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Excellent, brief introduction, covering both Greek and Roman slavery.

Winterer, Caroline. *The Culture of Classicism: Ancient Greece and Rome in American Intellectual Life 1780–1910*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins, 2002.

Wiseman, T. P. *Remus: A Roman Myth*. New York and Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Detailed analysis of the myth of Rome's origins.

Woolf, Greg, ed. *Cambridge Illustrated History of the Roman World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Very readable essays, all lavishly illustrated.

Wooten, Cecil. "Roman Education and Rhetoric." In *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, vol. 2. Edited by Michael Grant and Rachael Kitzinger. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1988. Useful introduction to Roman education from primary to tertiary level.

Zanker, Paul. *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus*. Translated by Alan Shapiro. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990. Fascinating account of the ways in which Augustus used imagery to construct the propaganda of the Principate.