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Acknowledgments

The entries in Tiresias VI are variable, with essays covering events from Classical periods in Greece to the Medieval world. From Ptolemaic propaganda to the Medieval Boy-Bishop, the papers in Tiresias VI explore a wide array of topic matters. It was a long journey to produce this edition of Tiresias, and the Classical and Medieval Studies Student Society would like to thank all the people whose efforts made the publication of this journal possible.

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Samantha Moser
Editor-in-Chief
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Table of Contents

The Gaze of the Viewer and the Hermaphrodite	Alex Sehl
Thorns Without a Rose: Wilderness and the Hunt in Bion's <i>Lament for Adonis</i>	Mae Redmond-Fernandes
Warp Weighted Loom	Dana Bernick
Styling Salvation: Criticism of Women's Dress in Cyprian, Tertullian, and Roman Moralizing Critique.....	Allyson Dawe
Ὅκ ἀέκσουαν: The Issue of Volition in Moschus' <i>Europa</i>	Allyson Dawe
An Inconspicuous Legacy: The Ptolemies and Propaganda on Delos.....	Samantha Moser
The Medieval Boy Bishop: Role Reversal or Reformation?.....	Ellen Siebel-Achenbach
The Sack of Delos with Truth and Light.....	Anthony Gallipoli

The Gaze of the Viewer and the Hermaphrodite

By Alexandra Sehl

Societies interests in gender is not a new concept, though modern society may be more open to the possible outcomes of these conversations, Ancient Greeks and Romans brought the conversation of gender into all aspects of life. This conversation did also include the acknowledgement of intersex individuals, specifically the hermaphrodite. Despite the innumerable examples of the perfect body and display of that body throughout Ancient Greece and Rome the sculptures of the hermaphrodite suggest that there was also an emphasis on the ‘Other’, and there was a use of the ‘Otherness’ of the hermaphrodite which made the Greek and Roman viewers take an inward look at their desires. This essay will cover the origin of the hermaphrodite, the sculptural ways in which the hermaphrodite was showcased, as well as compare the hermaphrodite throughout Greece and Rome.

Some of the first mentions of bisexual¹ beings are through sixth century cosmological dissertations that describe the origin of the universe. Pherecydes’ conceptualization of these origins is some of the first. According to him, there were three primordial forces, in the beginning, two of these forces were mated to create offspring whereas the third member, Time being a serpent created an egg that produced Phanes who possessed both male and female genitals. Later the mention of bisexual entities is brought up again through Empedocles of Akragas work *On Nature* where bisexuals are not gods but are early mortals composed of two halves, either male/male, female/female, or male/female.² Though these writings speak of different versions and ideas of bisexual beings, they do not fully encompass the idea or definition behind the hermaphrodite. Probably the most famous tale of the hermaphrodite is in Ovid’s *Metamorphosis* which tells the creation story of the god Hermaphroditus. In Ovid’s myth the son of Hermes and Aphrodite goes swimming nude in a pool, he finds in one of the Lycian cities. Once the youth strips off his clothing a spying nymph, Salmacis is taken by his beauty and tries to take him for her own. In her desperate struggle, she prays to the gods to never be parted from him, who then fuse the two keeping the sex of each.³ And though this is a Roman telling it is a Greek myth, just as the god Hermaphroditus was a Greek god, one which is thought to have a connection to fertility as well as a connection to medical or healing properties.⁴ This is the context that there is much evidence of this through earlier Greek hermaphrodite figures, these portrayals of figured moved from this votive focus

¹ In this essay the reference to bisexual is not in the modern concept of sexual attraction to both men and women, but the definition of a species has both male and female sex.

² Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths: Women, Sexuality and Gender in Classical Art and Archaeology*. London: Routledge, 2000. 226 - 227

³ Ovid, and George Sandys. *Ovid’s Metamorphosis*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1970.

⁴ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truth* 229

to a more personal and public show of the hermaphrodite figure sometime in the fourth century.⁵

Out of the remaining hermaphrodite sculptures we have left, there are three main types, the Pergamene, Borghese, Dresden, also known as standing, sleeping, and struggling.⁶ All three types of sculpture still have components that tie them together. All three types of sculpture still have components that tie them together. The hermaphrodite figures whether standing, sleeping or struggling will all have a more feminine shape, either flaccid or partially erect.⁷ In some cases the figure of the hermaphrodite shares a similar pose as both the fertility god Priapus, who also held a pose sometimes exposing his genitals from beneath his clothes and with a sometimes erect to a point where his penis is lifting the bottom of his dress. However, we can tell the difference between these two figures because Priapus is always shown with a large penis which emphasised his role as a fertility god.⁸

The poses of hermaphrodites, and more specifically the lifting of the clothing to reveal genitalia can be linked back as far as the second half of the second millennium where Syrian goddesses exposed their genitals.⁹ This pose is called the *anasyromenos* which comes from the Greek verb *ανασυρομαι* which translates roughly into ‘to pull up one’s clothing’. This type of act was also strongly associated with an Egyptian festival of Artemis where women on boats through the Nile would reveal themselves and call obscenities to the women on the land. This tradition came from the story of Baubo who rid Demeter of the grief from losing her daughter Persephone by lifting her dress and showing Demeter her genitals. This removal or manoeuvring of clothing to show one’s sex is also related to the emphasis or show of their power as well.¹⁰

Clothing played a large part in Classical sculpture, and it was no different when it came to the sculptures of hermaphrodites as well. Men were often shown nude to emphasise their masculinity, but even when a male body was clothed it was still very apparent about their sex. There are some rare exceptions to this but for most male sculpture’s genitalia can be made out even under clothing, if there was any clothing at all.¹¹ This differed for women who were almost always clothed in sculpture, as we know much Symposiastic ware contains nude women. The hermaphrodites that are in the *anasyromenos* pose still hold onto attic feminine ideals regarding nudity. They are exposed, but not exceedingly so and they are still partially if not completely draped other than the exposed male genitals.¹²

This style of pose, both the *anasyromenos* as well as the Pergamene were most popular in Classical Greek sculpture. The earliest surviving images as such are traced back to Athens beginning mostly in the fourth century. These standing figures stood

⁵ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 229

⁶ Von Stackelberg, Katharine T. “Garden Hybrids: Hermaphrodite Images in the Roman House.” *Classical Antiquity* 33, no. 2 (2014): 395–426. <https://doi.org/10.1525/CA.2014.33.2.395>.

⁷ Von Stackelberg, Katharine T. *Garden Hybrids* 396

⁸ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 229

⁹ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 224

¹⁰ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 224

¹¹ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 225

¹² Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 223

mostly with the frontal view showing and depicted most often what at first glance seemed like a modest woman, unable to meet the gaze of the viewer as she exposed herself to them. Only once the view trails their gaze downward do they realize that this figure is not a female, but dual sexed. This robs the viewer of the hoped show they were expecting and instead confronts them with this irregularity. This process of viewing a hermaphrodite in the traditional Greek Pergamene style could have been used as a shock or a joke factor. What the viewer does experience though, through their titillated expectation and the arousal that was marked in many of these Pergamene sculptures, is a mixing of their attraction with that of the sculpture's attraction.¹³

Greek sculptures of hermaphrodites were not only meant to be seen or used for this jovial display of catching viewers in shock. Many of the early hermaphrodite sculptures were created out of either terracotta or marble and though we have found many fragments of these where we would assume a public or private viewing and use, there is also evidence to suggest that the god Hermaphroditus was associated with healing. Where there have been many votives found with inscriptions to certain gods of healing like Apollo or Asclepius the god Hermaphroditus has also been mentioned.¹⁴ And though this evidence is limited this would suggest that perhaps Hermaphroditus had a bigger role than is known, also suggesting that they were associated with more than just fertility. It has also been theorized that they might have been a close god to those of Greeks at the adolescent age since the Greek sculptures of hermaphrodites are much slimmer and less defined than their Roman counterparts, and therefore closer in body image to that of adolescents.¹⁵

As the Classical period wound into the Hellenistic period Greek artists, and specifically sculptures, were still of prominence having honed their skills throughout the Classical period. With the decline of Greek polis and the uprise of the Roman Republic these sculptures needed to change their style to suit the major buyers. The popularity of the Pergamene declined during this time and instead moved to the favourability of the other two types of hermaphrodite sculptures. Gone now were the elegantly draped female bodies and shockingly exposed male genitals. What was brought in was now was either peacefully sleeping nude or draped figures, or those of the hermaphrodite in an intense struggle for dominance.¹⁶

The most well-known type of hermaphrodite sculpture throughout Classical sculpture is that of the Borghese figure.¹⁷ Most likely the most well-known to date, as well as the most replicated being the 'Sleeping Hermaphrodite' which is now located in the Louvre. There are many obvious differences between the Greek Pergamene style of sculpture and that of the more popular Borghese style. The first thing that might be noticed is that the figure is laid out seemingly sleeping, instead of standing.

¹³ Vout, Caroline. *Sex on Show: Seeing the Erotic in Greece and Rome*. London: British Museum, 2013. 78-79

¹⁴ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 224

¹⁵ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 228

¹⁶ Von Stackelberg, Katharine T. *Garden Hybrids* 399

¹⁷ Koloski-Ostrow, Ann Olga., and Claire L. Lyons. *Naked Truths* 220

This is a more passive stance than that of its predecessor, which would heighten at first glance the idea that this is a female figure. The new Roman versions of hermaphrodite sculptures, no matter the style, had more voluptuous figures, leaning away from the previously slim adolescent look and closer to a mature female figure.¹⁸ The Borghese style of the hermaphrodite figure was meant to be unravelled at a slower pace, instead of the viewer being immediately confronted with the frontal view of the Pergamene. The Borghese would have been meant to be approached from the back, making the viewer feel as if they have come upon a sleeping woman whose drapery has been disturbed in her sleep, now revealing her nude body. As the viewer circles around the figure, they would see the bare female breast, and it would not be until the viewer brought their eyes towards the genitals of the sleeping figures that they would realize what they were looking at. Causing the viewer, once again, the same kind of shock at the discovery and melding their sexual ideas with that of the sleeping figures.

The Roman counterpart of the Borghese was that of the Dresden, this sculpture type involved what is called *symplegma* is otherwise known as entanglement. This entanglement, though not always, was often calling forth the expectation of a sexual theme and are associated with the work of the famous Hellenistic sculpture Kephisodotos.¹⁹ The traditional Dresden that is seen involves a hermaphrodite and a satyr in an entanglement. At first glance, a view would most likely believe that the satyr has gotten a hold of the maenad and is attempting to have his way with them, as this would often be the case in art involving satyrs.²⁰ However, upon further inspection of the piece the viewer would find that this is not a maenad at all, but a hermaphrodite, and though the figure of the hermaphrodite is pushing the satyr's face away from them with their one hand their other hand is actually on the satyr's leg or foot, making escape impossible for them. This new knowledge of the struggle before the viewer takes the trope of the satyr and maenad and flips it on its head.²¹ The viewing of this piece does not hold the same type of shock value as the other hermaphrodites, there is a shock in the acknowledgement of the fact that the satyr might be about to be caught in its trap. Despite this, the shock is not at realizing this is a hermaphrodite, but more so at the role reversal happening, with the more feminine figure being the active party.

After analyzing the different types of hermaphrodite sculptures one rather obvious thing is that these sculptures were, in most cases, meant to bring a shock factor to their viewer. But the shock was not only meant to be associated with the fact that the figure was viewed as a hermaphrodite but it was also meant to confront the viewers with their sexual gaze. Each of the styles of the statue was meant to do so in a slightly different manner, but none the less these figures made the view confront how

¹⁸ Von Stackelberg, Katharine T. Garden Hybrids 400

¹⁹ Retzleff, Alexandra. "The Dresden Type Satyr-Hermaphrodite Group in Roman Theaters." *American Journal of Archaeology* 111, no. 3 (2007): 459–72. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40027079>.

²⁰ Von Stackelberg, Katharine T. Garden Hybrids 400

²¹ Retzleff, Alexandra. "The Dresden Type Satyr-Hermaphrodite Group in Roman Theaters 463

and what they were viewing, bringing the male and female, as well as the active and passive to the forefront.²²

This interest in the hermaphrodite figure goes beyond that of the curious minds of Ancient Greek and Roman people as we see these figures being constantly recognized, analyzed, and even replicated throughout history. There have been many different views or readings of these sculptures, most of which are reminiscent of the times in which the sculpture is being analyzed. The famous English poet Algernon Charles Swinburne wrote a poem on the 'Sleeping Hermaphrodite' where he contrasted his views with that of Ovid, whereas Ovid considered the hermaphrodite 'neither and both' Swinburne believed the hermaphrodite to be a whole.²³ This is the same piece that has been modified and replicated as well. Most recently the piece was replicated by artist Barry X Ball in 2011, where he scanned the original and created changes to it so that in his opinion it would be the best rendition. These changes included giving the sleeping figure a larger penis and creating it in a pure black medium.²⁴

These modern renditions and analyses however interesting and possibly relevant to the population today, or at the time of their creation, do not always align with that of what historians believe to have been the purpose behind these hermaphrodite sculptures. That purpose which is so often tied to content and context becomes disassociated and confused when not properly researched and represented. One must understand the Ancient Greek and Roman people to understand how these figures forced the viewers to confront their views and understanding of gender and sex.

²² Von Stackelberg, Katharine T. Garden Hybrids 403

²³ Østermark-Johansen, Lene. "BETWEEN THE MEDUSAN AND THE PYGMALIAN: SWINBURNE AND SCULPTURE." *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38, no. 1 (2010): 21–37. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1060150309990295>.

²⁴ Mcdermon, Daniel. "What the Sleeping Hermaphrodite Tells Us About Art, Sex and Good Taste." *The New York Times*. June 24, 2016. Accessed November 8, 2021. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2016/06/27/arts/design/statue-hermaphrodite.html>.

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Thorns Without a Rose: Wilderness and the Hunt in Bion's *Lament for Adonis*

By Mae Redmond-Fernandes

While the collectors of bucolic poetry who included Bion along with Theocritus and Moschus clearly established a literary tradition based on setting, the relationships between these authors and their depiction of the pastoral and the countryside is complex. The clear relationship between Bion and Theocritus in particular places Bion firmly in the bucolic tradition. However, his characterization of the setting of the *Lament for Adonis* is distinct among what Gutzwiller refers to as “herding poems”, lacking both the herdsman and his flock as well as the appropriate landscape (2007, 86). Bion depicts a particularly aggressive version of the countryside as wilderness and hunting ground, which plays into the overall disempowerment of Aphrodite central to the poem. The limits of Aphrodite’s power are clearly explored in the *Lament* as she faces death and is forced to defer to Persephone. However, the limits of her power are also revealed through her interactions with the wilderness, hunting, and wild beasts, an opposition which is clearly found throughout earlier Greek literature, from the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* to Euripides’ *Hippolytus*.

Two particularly significant Theocritean sources for the *Lament* are Idylls 1 and 15, both of which place Adonis in a pastoral setting. Idyll 1 is remarkable for its use of ‘pathetic fallacy’, as first the wild beasts, jackals, wolves, and the lion of the thickets, then his own cattle, and finally other herdsman lament the death of Daphnis (71-81). Bion instead takes the ‘pathetic fallacy,’ a recurring theme within bucolic poetry, a step further, giving the setting itself a more active role, as the hills, oaks, rivers, and springs cry out in lamentation. Zanker describes ‘pathetic fallacy’ not merely as a sympathy with human suffering but as a reaction shot of the landscape itself (2004, 49). He relates this to the “traditional view” of the state of the countryside as “an index of peace and order as maintained by its masters” (2004, 49). The setting of the *Lament*, correspondingly, which shows no sign of orderliness but, on the contrary, seems like an untouched wilderness shows a failure of control on the part of the characters of the poem. In Idyll 15, Theocritus recounts the visit of two women to a celebration of the *Adonia* at the palace of King Ptolemy, during which they hear a lament for Adonis, which Theocritus includes in full. This hymn does not focus at all on the death of Adonis, but instead praises Aphrodite’s power and briefly describes Adonis’ idyllic and artificial natural setting:

Every winged and walking creature is present here with him,
and green arbors, laden with soft dill
have been built; youthful Loves fly above him
like young nightingales in a tree,
when they try their fledgling wings, fly from branch to branch. (118-122)

Thus, Theocritus, despite the earlier author’s importance as a source for Bion, places Adonis in a very different setting. By his omissions, Bion narrows in on the scene of Adonis’ hunt and death, unrelieved by any pastoral ideal. The landscape which

Aphrodite experiences as she laments Adonis is not only bleak but aggressive, as she wanders through thickets (ἀνὰ δρυμῶς, 20) and long ravines (ἄγκεια μακρὰ, 23). Reed notes, in connection with these terms, that “the Greeks take little pleasure in the pathless woods, and δρυμοί or δρυμά emphasize the hostility of wild places to human endeavor” (1997, 205). This term is also found in Theocritus, where it is used by Daphnis to describe the home of the wild beasts (1.117). Even more demonstrative of the active opposition of the natural setting to Aphrodite are the thorns (βάτοι) which “cut her as she goes and shed her sacred blood” (21-22). The leader of the lament who speaks throughout the poem urges Aphrodite to leave this place, to mourn no longer in the thickets (ἐνὶ δρυμοῖσι), since a bed bereft of leaves is not good enough for Adonis (68-9). The absence of greenery also marks this setting as clearly non-idyllic. The significance of the power of this plant to wound the goddess is underlined by the use of the adjective ἱερὸν, emphasizing her divine power which she has lost. The organic source of Aphrodite’s wounds as they are inflicted is underlined by the unusual use of the verb κείροντι, which can be used to describe the ravaging of the countryside particularly by cutting down trees and crops, along with the participle δρέπονται, which means to pluck or cull, to describe the shedding of her blood. These lines are all the more dramatic, as Reed notes, because this is the first place in Greek literature where an Olympian god bleeds (1997, 207). Aphrodite’s wound in the *Iliad*, clearly evoked by this passage, and cited alongside the myth of Adonis by Theocritus, shed only divine ichor; Bion’s description of her blood here is a clear expression of Aphrodite’s disempowerment.

Adonis is also briefly mentioned in Theocritus’ Idyll 3, when the anonymous goatherd appeals to Adonis as an example of a herdsman successful in love:

Did Adonis not, pasturing his flock on the hills,
drive fair Cytherea to such great frenzies
that she did not lay him away from her breast even in death? (46-48)

Adonis is described in Bion’s *Lament* also “in the hills” (ἐν ὄρεσι, 7), but in clear contrast to Theocritus’ Idylls, there are no herds of any kind here. Instead, the only animals mentioned are the boar who is hunted by Adonis, referred to only paraphrastically through the description of the tusk in Adonis’ thigh, and the hunting dogs who lament around him. Moreover, Adonis’ natural setting in Bion is deserted, devoid of any herdsman or other people, besides the mountain Nymphs, who join in the howling of the dogs, and Echo, who laments with the various natural features. These semi-divine figures, however, act as personifications of natural phenomena who further the image of the wild landscape as an active character in the poem.

The *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* is an earlier exploration of the limits of Aphrodite’s power, to which Artemis is connected along with the virgin goddesses Athena and Hestia (*h. Aph.* 16-20). In her article on the hunt in the *Hymn*, Cyrino describes the archetype of the divine huntress, who shuns sexual relations, human company, and urban spaces, in favour of small groups of attendants and animal companions in the wilderness, the most powerful of which is of course Artemis (2013, 378). In the *Hymn*, Artemis is characterized as loving archery and slaying wild beasts in the mountains (οὐρεσι θήρας), which Cyrino interprets as “demarc[at]ing] the exact

sphere in which Aphrodite usually has no influence... the purely natural world where hunters seek and catch their prey” (*h. Aph.* 18; 2013, 382). As Clay observes, “not the community as a whole, but the couple, exclusive and private, constitute Aphrodite’s sphere” (2006, 161). Margulies supports an early role for Artemis in the myth of Adonis and Aphrodite, noting that Pseudo-Apollodorus, who recounts the killing of Adonis by Artemis, cited Panyassis and Hesiod as sources for this myth (2020, 495). Margulies also reads Artemis’ vow to kill the mortal beloved by Aphrodite in Euripides’ *Hippolytus* as a Classical attestation of this version of the myth (2020, 495-6; *Hipp.* 1420–2). Euripides’ *Hippolytus* also clearly expresses an opposition with Artemis which threatens the limits of Aphrodite’s power. In the prologue, Aphrodite expresses her displeasure at Hippolytus, who fails to honour her by shunning marriage and its bed (*Hipp.* 1-14). Instead, he honours the virgin goddess Artemis, hunting wild beasts with his dogs through the forest (ἀν’ ὕλην) (*Hipp.* 16-19).

The allotment of household and bedroom as Aphrodite’s realm is reflected in the *Lament*, where Aphrodite is first ordered to leave her bed and sheets to enter the thickets and hills where Adonis lies dead (3-4). Aphrodite then must return him to a more suitable place: her bed, identified as the location of their physical relationship, where he “toiled in holy sleep” (a euphemistic description of the activity sacred to Aphrodite, 68-73). Aphrodite refers to her own domain as the home (δῶμα), which, because of Adonis’ death has now been deserted by the Loves, isolating her whose power is essentially relational (59). Cyrino says that “just as the hunter actively crosses borders into the territory of the prey, the virgin denotes the limits of an enclosure waiting to be entered,” also noting that Aphrodite’s final speech to Anchises makes reference to nymphs as “ambiguously dimorphic or liminal characters... who dwell between the worlds of gods and mortals” (2013, 390). As mentioned above, nymphs are the only inhabitants of the setting of the *Lament* mentioned, as even the hunting dogs participated in Adonis’ crossing into the territory of the prey. Moreover, the reaction of nature in the *Lament* is the reverse of the *Hymn*, wherein the wild beasts of Artemis welcome Aphrodite to the mountainous terrain of Ida and fall under her erotic power (68-74). When Adonis left the house and bed of Aphrodite, before the action of the *Lament*, he deprived her of his worship in the form of love and her charm along with his loveliness by foolhardily going hunting and struggling with a wild beast (60-61). Throughout the *Lament*, the death of Adonis is primarily focused on as it represents the loss of Aphrodite’s power. The power of Aphrodite, as Clay notes, is visible in her superhuman beauty, since “the love goddess, it appears, cannot be other than lovely and desirable (2006, 175; see *Iliad* 111.396-97). However, in Bion, descriptions of Aphrodite’s beauty are noticeably absent, replaced by the dying beauty of Adonis. The relationship between Adonis and Aphrodite can also be conceived of in terms of a devotee and his goddess; for Aphrodite, their physical relationship gives her honour as does any sexual relationship, as alluded to in the *Hippolytus*, but in the *Lament* in particular, the focus on the death of Adonis’ kiss by which Aphrodite is “pleased,” ἀρέσκει, a verb which can connote making offerings or propitiation. Thus, the loss of this relationship with the lovely Adonis is a loss of divine status.

In Idyll 1, Theocritus has Daphnis list a series of more or less rural figures by whom Aphrodite has been conquered in love (1.104-113.) Daphnis first mentions Anchises, alluding to the relationship explored in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, set on Mount Ida, which Daphnis describes as an idyllic natural setting with buzzing honeybees. Adonis is mentioned next, described as both a shepherd and hunter. The final allusion is to the warrior Diomedes, who wounds Aphrodite in the *Iliad* (5.311–51). This catalogue fits into the “narrative motif of “putting Aphrodite in her place,” either by establishing the exclusively erotic profile of her area of concern or by sharply delineating its exact boundaries, [which] occurs with some frequency in her literary myths,” as Cyrino notes in her study of Aphrodite (2010, 31). Thus, that Bion does not allude to Adonis’ status as any kind of herdsman is a striking departure from these sources. As Anagnostou-Laoutides and Konstan explore, Aphrodite is traditionally attracted to pastoral figures, herdsman such as Anchises and Paris (2008, 499-500). Thus, Bion’s decision to describe Adonis only as a hunter furthers emphasizes Aphrodite’s loss of him and his distance from her. Throughout the *Lament*, not only is Adonis a hunter who has been killed by what he hunted, Aphrodite herself is portrayed as engaging in an erotic hunt for Adonis. Both, however, are unsuccessful. The repetition of ἄγριον (wild or savage) at the beginning of line 16 as a strained description of Adonis’ wound paraphrastically evokes the wild beast whom he hunted. The return of this word later to describe Hades himself highlights its importance as a characterization of the forces which oppose Aphrodite. She chides Adonis for going hunting at all, in words which echo the speech from the *Hippolytus* discussed above. The comparison of Aphrodite to a huntress who fails to catch her prey recurs throughout the poem. In the first description of Adonis’ body, the death of the kiss, which represents his relationship with and worship of Aphrodite is the focus, rather than his own death. In a striking metaphor, the colour draining from his lips is described as a rose, a representation of the beauty of nature, to which a surprising verb is attached as it flees (φεύγει) so that Aphrodite can never again bring it back (11). When Aphrodite first speaks in the central passage of the poem, she urges Adonis to wait, so that she can catch up with him (see Reed 1997, 221). The flight of Adonis from her, like an animal, is further emphasized by the repetition of φεύγεις at the end of one line and the beginning of the next (50-51). Finally, in line 53, the crux of the problem, the limit of her power is clearly stated: Aphrodite does not have the power to hunt Adonis.

Cyrino explains Aphrodite’s opposition to Artemis in terms of her aggressive sexuality, through which she displays “violent, forceful, or “masculine” behavior” (2013, 379). As Fountoulakis observes, Adonis is clearly portrayed, through his youthful beauty and the description of him as a παῖδα (18), in the role of an *eromenos*, therefore giving Aphrodite the dominant role in their relationship (2004, 111). Fountoulakis notes that hunting may be seen as a rite of passage marking the transition to manhood, forming a connection with Theocritus’ Idyll 13, which also portrays the end of an *erastes/eromenos* relationship (2004, 111; see also Mastronarde 1968, 274). Cyrino notes the failure of Aphrodite as a mother and a nurturer of boys in general, a task which was the domain of virgin goddesses such as Artemis, which

perhaps contributes to Aphrodite's failure in a pederastic relationship with a parental dimension (2010, 95). Cyrino also presents an opposition between the virginal female huntress and the male hunter, who conquers the chaotic aspect of nature to bring civilized order from the feminized natural world, giving Herakles as the prime example of this figure (2013, 378-9). This common opposition suggests a deeper connection between Bion and Idyll 13, in which Herakles, like Aphrodite, enters a sinister natural setting in which he is forced to confront the limits of his power with the death of his lover from "natural" causes. In both poems, nature is heightened and dangerous: Hylas drowns in a pool personified by the role of the water Nymphs and Adonis has been killed by a boar, likely under a divine influence. Herakles is also compared to a hunter, a lion, and the object of his affections, Hylas, to his prey, a fawn in the hills (ἐν οὐρεσιν). However, his hunt is similarly futile and has a similarly unfriendly setting, on untrodden thorns, though hills and thickets (οὐρεα καὶ δρυμούς). Mastronarde suggests that the detail of the untrodden thorns symbolizes the fact that Heracles, too, is foreign to the natural setting in which he is placed (1968, 279).

As Cyrino ultimately argues, "in her strategy of seduction, Aphrodite not only steals the virginity aspect from her divine rival, Artemis, she also appropriates a range of hunting imagery with which she subtly mirrors the properties and powers of Artemis in her capacity as a fearless predator." (2013, 381). While the *Hymn* portrays Aphrodite's power and success with this strategy, successfully hunting the hunter Anchises in his own territory, the *Lament* shows her failure. Cyrino claims that the conflation of the images of hunter and hunted is original to the *Hymn* (2013, 382). In the *Lament*, Bion plays on this theme throughout the poem, as Aphrodite fails to hunt Adonis, the failed hunter, himself slain by his prey, and Aphrodite herself receives an even greater wound (16-17). As Cyrino points out, Anchises "implicitly acknowledges his status as [Aphrodite's] captive prey" by expressing his willingness to go down to Hades after entering her bed; Adonis, on the contrary, is "not not willing" (οὐ μὲν οὐκ ἐθέλει) to return from Hades, but simply cannot (2013, 389; 96). The ultimate contrast, of course, is between the fruitfulness of Aphrodite's relationship with Anchises in the *Hymn* and the death of Adonis' before begetting a child, which is reflected by the barren landscape in which he dies.

Clearly Persephone and death represent one limit of Aphrodite's power in Bion's *Lament*, but the setting of the poem further delimits her power. The inhospitableness and aggression of the landscape subvert the idea, traditional in Greek literature, that love, the power of Aphrodite, has power over all of the gods, all mortals, and all of nature (cf. *h. Aph.* 1-6). In this poem, which shows Aphrodite at her least powerful instead of praising her, the wilderness setting instead highlights the limits of Aphrodite's power as outlined in the *Homeric Hymn*. Bion, writing in the aftermath of the moment of death, focuses in on the sinister world from which the beauty that Aphrodite cannot catch has fled with the rose of Adonis' lips.

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Warp Weighted Loom

By Dana Bernick

The warp-weighted loom was used in antiquity for weaving and worked through tension from free hanging weights attached to vertical fabric/thread called warps. There were other types of looms used at the time, including a horizontal ground loom and a vertical tapestry loom. These looms relied on two fixed beams to provide tension to the fabric being used. The warp-weighted loom is unique when compared to the other vertical loom because the weaving is started at the top and continues downwards. The loom parts were made from wood making it challenging to find archaeological remains, however, there are many depictions of weaving found on pottery from areas all around Greece. The weights used on the loom were often made from baked clay and their shapes vary, though they were typically a pyramidal or conical shape with a hole at the top where the warp threads would be tied in order to provide tension. Some weights were stamped before being baked which may have acted as a personalized mark for the artisan. When I was creating the weights for my miniature warp-weighted loom I individually shaped 8 weights out of terracotta coloured Sculpey clay due to its ability to be baked in a regular oven rather than needing an industrial kiln. I also added an uppercase delta (Δ) to each weight before baking as a personalized mark to mimic the stamps found on some ancient weights.

Sources that I used to research warp-weighted looms, their history, and their construction, include museum articles and online collections, articles, honours theses, DIY instructions, and references from Hesiod's "Works and Days".

Figure 1 & 2: Ancient Artistic Depictions of a Warp-Weighted Loom

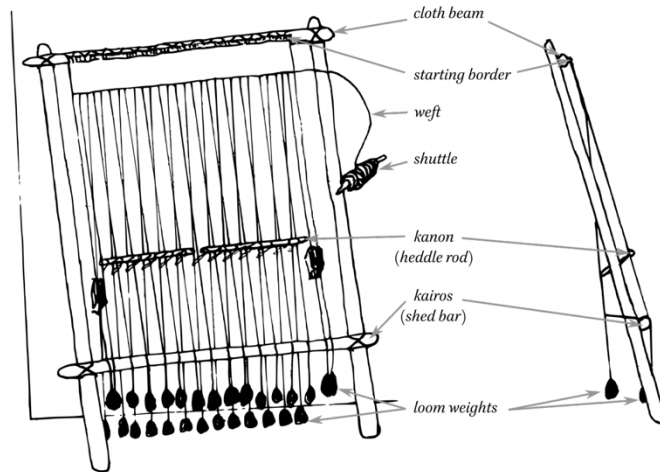


(Textile Research Centre in Leiden)

Key components of the frame of a warp-weighted loom include the cloth beam, which warp threads are attached to at the top of the loom, the shed bar at the bottom of the loom which divides the vertical threads, and the heddle rod which controls the warp during the weaving process when combined with the heddle support which it

rests on. The heddle rod separates threads that are in front and behind the shed bar to allow for a natural shed or an artificial shed for the weft (horizontal threads) to pass through and produce fabric.

Figure 3: Diagram of Warp Weighted Loom



(McLean, 2018)

To build a miniature warp-weighted loom I purchased a pre-made frame to attach a cloth beam and shed bar to. I used a pre-made frame because it had legs which would allow me to stand the loom. I did not use any of the loom capabilities of the frame and added all the features of a warp-weighted loom onto it. Often ancient looms would be built into the ground or stabilized vertically, but because of my need to transport my re-creation, I required a compact method of standing it.

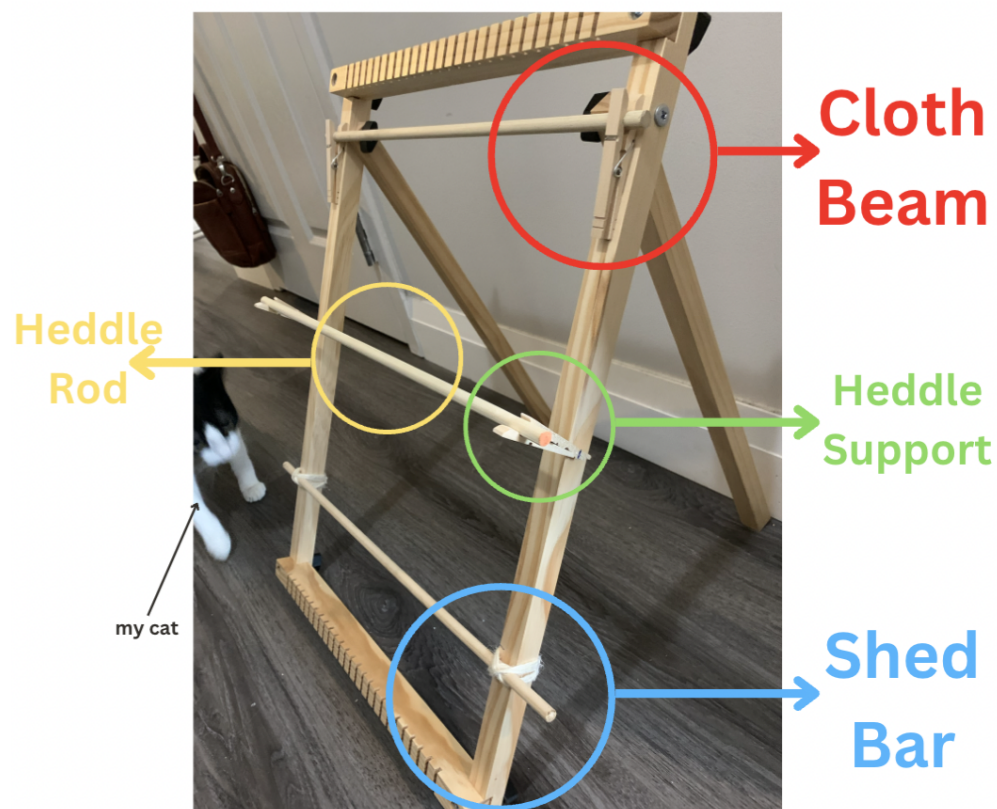
Figure 4: Loom Frame



Cloth beams would often be unfixed so that they could be rotated. Rotating the cloth beam allows the weaver to continue their fabric and make it longer than the height of the loom. To achieve this, because I did not have access to a drill to make holes in the frame, I attached wooden clothespins to the top of the frame. The clothespins hold the wooden dowel acting as the cloth beam and allow it to rotate or be removed.

For the shed bar at the bottom I attached a dowel using twine. Because this bar is fixed to provide a consistent shed, the twine secures the bar and does not allow it to move. If I had access to a drill or other proper woodworking tools I would have secured this bar between the frame rather than resting in front of it. To create the heddle support I deconstructed clothespins and glued them together so that a wooden dowel could rest lightly at the ends and attached the supports to the frame. Heddle supports do not need to hold the heddle rod securely as it will be moving back and forth to control the threads. The heddle rod is another wooden dowel and to attach the alternating warp threads to it I used a different coloured thread than the warp and simply tied knots.

Figure 5: Completed Loom Before Weaving



The process of preparing the loom to begin weaving was the most time-consuming aspect of the project. I had to measure the warp threads and when arranging them ensure that they were alternating properly. Once they were arranged properly on the cloth beam I attached the weights to the warp threads, with each holding 4 threads. Each weight has excess thread at the bottom tied out of the way so that it can be extended to continue weaving the fabric. After the threads were arranged and the weights secured I attached the threads with weights falling behind the shed bar to the heddle rod with yellow thread.

Figure 6: Arranging Warp Threads



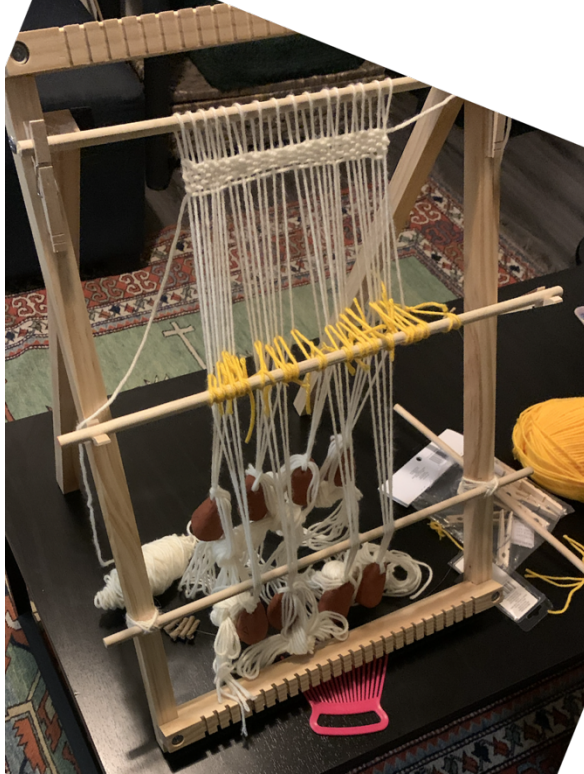
Figure 7: Securing Warp Threads to Heddle Rod



Once everything was secured I was able to begin weaving by alternating the heddle rod resting directly on the frame and on the heddle supports. Because of the scale of the loom combined with the quality yarn I used, as well as how much thread I wrapped around the shuttle, it took a lot of work to smoothly pass the shuttle through the warps. To solve this I did have to separate the threads with an extra dowel to pull them apart more so the shuttle had more space to pass through. This is a minor inconvenience and ultimately with a different thread, this could be minimized. Also

because I did not have access to a wooden comb to press the weft threads upwards once woven through, I used a plastic hair comb. This worked well enough at compressing the threads to create a more seamless weave.

Figure 8: Completed Loom with Weaving Started



(the image has been rotated slightly which caused the white corners)

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Styling Salvation: Criticism of Women's Dress in Cyprian, Tertullian, and Roman Moralizing Critique.

By Allyson Dawe

Despite the numerous conflicts between pagans and Christians, many cultural similarities existed between these groups, particularly regarding the treatment of women and ideals of female modesty. While authors such as Tertullian and Cyprian make no secret of their disdain for paganism and correlate it directly with immodest female dress, many of the same dress practices which they ascribe to pagans are also subject to intense moral critique by pagans themselves. Both Roman and Christian conceptions of dress hold “that virtue, particularly sexual virtue discloses itself on the clothed and groomed body”.¹ The main difference between these criticisms is their presumed basis, in the authority of God or the authority of the Paterfamilias. The similarities in moralizing criticism of dress are most prominent in descriptions of the styling and dyeing of hair, immodest makeup, excessively luxurious jewelry, and clothing as exhibiting an inappropriately public display of self and of wealth.

Tertullian decries women's elaborate hairstyling and the dyeing of hair in *De Cultu Feminarum*. He firstly claims that the act of plucking and cutting hair is an affront to the created body of women. Tertullian conceived “of cosmetic arts as deeply unnatural”, having been passed down to women by fallen angels.² Thus, one of the problems with cosmetics is that they are an affront to God's intended natural appearance for women. Tertullian also describes the negative and damaging effect of hair-dye on hair in his critique, describing it as poison (*medicaminum*).³ He also connects the dyeing of hair with paganism, describing dyes that make a woman look like a Gaul or a German, emphasizing the immorality of the act through a connection to immoral pagans.⁴ As Daniel-Hughes states Tertullian insists that “a Christian woman's very salvation hangs on her willingness to recite...virtue in her dress”, thus by poisoning her hair she also poisons her virtue and her potential salvation.⁵ This critique of hair dye also recalls Roman moralizing critiques which describe women's excessive use of cosmetic arts as morally and physically corrosive.⁶ In Ovid's *Amores*, he emphasizes the role of hair in appealing to lovers and clients for prostitutes. He then mocks the prostitute's hair-dyeing process as inducing baldness, making their inner lack of virtue match their physical lack of hair.⁷ Immodest dress causing physical decay is present in both Roman and Christian moralizing critiques. The idea of women's bodies as not only fleshier than men's but also closer to death and decay

¹ Carly Daniel-Hughes, *The Salvation of the Flesh in Tertullian of Carthage: Dressing for the Resurrection*. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 7.

² Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 76.

³ Ter. *Cult. fem.* 2.6.2.

⁴ Ter. *Cult. fem.* 2.6.1.

⁵ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 75.

⁶ Pat Watson, “A ‘Matrona’ Makes Up: Fantasy and Reality in Juvenal, Sat. 6,456-507.” *Rheinisches Museum Für Philologie* 150, no. 3/4 (2007), 377.

⁷ Ov. *Amores* 1.14.

is very present in *De Cultu Feminarum*, as Tertullian often compares heavily adorned women to corpses adorned for a funeral procession.⁸ For the Romans, the critique of hairstyling and dyeing focuses on its use to attract male sexual attention.⁹ Similarly, when Cyprian comments on the hairstyling of virgins, he asks a rhetorical question as to why a virgin would adorn herself “with dressed hair, as if she either had or sought for a husband?”¹⁰ This question makes clear that part of the problem, at least for virgins, with this form of adornment is the way it draws male attention to the body. Cyprian makes this explicit stating, “it is not right that a virgin should have her hair braided for the appearance of her beauty, ... when she has no struggle greater than that against her flesh”.¹¹ The moral and spiritual danger to the men around virgins is emphasized by Cyprian in his description of improper dress for virgins.¹² As Daniel-Hughes puts forth, Tertullian also perceived the unrestrained and adorned female body to “entail terrible threats to their male gazers and to themselves” regarding their salvation.¹³ Instead of these excessive forms of hairstyling, Tertullian proclaims that hair should remain in its natural form and be subject to simple arrangement (*bona simplicitate*) for the benefit of a woman’s modesty and the virtue of the men around her.¹⁴

Christian moralizing descriptions of cosmetics demonstrate similar concerns to those seen in critiques of hairstyling. Tertullian describes women who “rub their skin with medicaments, stain their cheeks with rouge, make their eyes prominent with antimony” as sinning against God.¹⁵ He then goes on to critique their use of cosmetics by calling these women liars who “wear a fictitious face”.¹⁶ In this passage, Tertullian critiques women for sinning by defacing the work of God with makeup and presents the application of makeup as revealing their own perfidious nature. As Raditsa states, Tertullian’s critiques ask the reader “how can someone...lie in looks, how can she pursue chastity and wear an adulterous appearance”.¹⁷ The anti-cosmetic tradition in Roman literature also quite notably focuses on women’s deception of men. Multiple Roman authors portray beauty achieved by the cosmetic arts as a form of deception and extend the metaphor of perfidiousness to connect cosmetics to infidelity.¹⁸ The connection between makeup and adultery can be seen in Juvenal’s sixth satire when a

⁸ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 76; *Cult. Fem.* 1.1.3.

⁹ Sharon L. James, “Necessary Female Beauty and Generic Male Resentment: Reading Elegy through Ovid.” In *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion: Gender and Reading in Roman Love Elegy* (University of California Press, 2003), 168.

¹⁰ Cyp. *Habit. vir.* 5.

¹¹ Cyp. *Habit. vir.* 5.

¹² E.W. Watson, “The ‘De Habitu Virginum’ of St. Cyprian.” *The Journal of Theological Studies* 22, no. 88 (1921), 366.

¹³ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 73-74.

¹⁴ L. Raditsa, “The Appearance of Women and Contact: Tertullian’s ‘De Habitu Feminarum’.” *Athenaeum* 63, (1985), 312.

¹⁵ Ter. *Cult. fem.* 2.5.2

¹⁶ Ter. *Cult. fem.* 2.5.5

¹⁷ Raditsa, “Appearance”, 311.

¹⁸ Fanny Dolansky, “Playing with Gender: Girls, Dolls, and Adult Ideals in the Roman World.” *Classical Antiquity* 31, no. 2 (2012), 270.

woman is described applying makeup for her extra-marital lover.¹⁹ Throughout this passage, the necessity of makeup to this woman's improper behaviour is highlighted using intertextual references to the Roman elegiac tradition of satirizing and associating immorality and sexual impropriety with cosmetics.²⁰ Cyprian's discussion of cosmetics explicitly brings in the implication of adultery alongside the idea of cosmetics as perfidious and disfiguring. He states that virgins who wear makeup "have polluted" their skin, that their "face is... taken possession of by a lie", and that they, in wearing makeup are "engaged in a worse adultery" than the physical act.²¹ The notion of dress as enhancing female beauty but defacing the moral character of a woman through the invitation of male attention is paramount in all these critiques. Tertullian implies by his many critiques that a woman who adorns herself in such a way "has laid herself open to the charge of adultery, *sturprum*" due to her negligence in presenting herself modestly.²² This ideal of the protective nature of modest adornment is also evident in Tertullian's conclusions about cosmetic usage by women. Tertullian urges women to draw "your whiteness from simplicity, your ruddy hue from modesty; painting your eyes with bashfulness" and that they are "already arrayed in the cosmetics...of prophets and apostles".²³ It is by retaining their proper private feminine role and clothing themselves in simplicity, modesty, and bashfulness that they can protect themselves "against the contagion of lust (*concupiscentia*)".²⁴ Jewelry is another component of women's dress that is heavily criticized by both Christian and Roman authors alike. Tertullian describes different pieces of jewelry as originating with the Phrygians and Babylonians.²⁵ By referencing the eastern pagan origins of gems and jewels, he takes on the Roman trope of eastern *luxuria* indicating social disruption and loss of traditional virtues.²⁶ Interestingly, Rome, as an enemy of Christians, is also included in Tertullian's description of jewelry, despite his usage of their rhetorical techniques. The idea of *luxuria* is at the core of Roman and Christian critiques of jewelry. Pliny the Elder derides women's fondness for gems, reproaching them with a charge of *luxuria*.²⁷ To Pliny, *luxuria* was evil and tantamount to a kind of mental illness.²⁸ This seems to be due, at least partially, to the function of jewelry in attracting attention in the public sphere. The same *luxuria* decried by Pliny is also used as a critique by both Cyprian and Tertullian. Cyprian refers to jewelry as "the ornaments of harlots", explicitly connecting their wearing with immoral sexuality, especially within his address to virgins.²⁹ For the Romans, jewelry was promoted as a

¹⁹ Juv. *Sat.* 6.457-507.

²⁰ Watson, "Fantasy", 383-4.

²¹ Cyp. *Habit. vir.* 17.

²² Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 79.

²³ Ter. *Cult. fem.* 2.13.7.

²⁴ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 79.

²⁵ Ter. *Cult. fem.* 1.1.3.

²⁶ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 77.

²⁷ Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 33.95.

²⁸ Ria Berg, "Wearing Wealth: 'Mundus Muliebris' and 'Omatus' As Status Markers for Women in Imperial Rome." In *Women, Wealth, and Power in the Roman Empire* (Rome: Institutum Romanum Finlandiae, 2002), 25-26.

²⁹ Cyp. *Habit. vir.* 12.

method of cultivating female beauty but was also linked with immodesty and adultery.³⁰ Cyprian also makes clear that, as can be seen in other critiques of ornamentation, the wearing of luxurious jewelry causes virgins to lose “the ornaments of the heart and spirit” and thus calls their virtue into question.³¹

Tertullian’s criticism of dress is again reliant on Roman ideals of modest dress. The excessively public nature of many garbs is called into question by Tertullian, a concern very common in Roman moralizing critiques. The predominant female dress practice in Rome was that “a Roman woman was to be *stolata*, but only if she had those virtues demanded of a Roman matron”.³² The ideal Roman woman is the “sexually faithful, domestically oriented, heir producing matron”, as can be seen in contemporaneous statuary evidence.³³ Tertullian demands not only that woman be seen in proper dress, but that the dress project their true and proper virtue. In fact, Tertullian’s warnings to women reflect the traditions of the ideal dress of a Roman matron. Tertullian tells women to clothe themselves “with the silk of uprightness, the fine linen of holiness” by remaining in the home, honouring their husbands, and doing their domestic duties.³⁴ The ideal Roman matron was similarly meant to fulfill a private and domestic role. This domestic ideal is emphasized by funerary inscriptions dictating the “virtues for which women were valued: chastity, marital fidelity, wifely and motherly devotion”.³⁵ Therefore, when women became a part of the public sphere through displays of excessive or immodest dress, they were subject to criticism of their moral character. As Daniel-Hughes points out, “women’s modest and simple dress were conceived as the regulation of her sexuality...adornment could indicate the opposite”.³⁶ Notably, both Cyprian and Tertullian also mention the dyeing of wool in different colours as being an affront for multiple reasons. They cite its rebellion against the natural intentions of God for the colours of wool and its use in calling attention to oneself within a public space against women’s proper domestic role. As well, Tertullian connects the dyeing of wool directly to the pagan tradition, telling “pagan history through women’s ornament”.³⁷ Despite Tertullian’s claims, bright and overly colourful clothing was subject to the same moralizing critique in Rome for much the same reasons of the impropriety of a woman being too public.³⁸ As well, Cyprian’s *De Habitu Virginum* mentions not only dyed wool and other fabrics but describes purple silk as a particularly immodest fabric for virgins.³⁹ Coen silk was associated with adultery, promiscuity, and even prostitution but was also worn by high

³⁰ Watson, “Fantasy”, 380-381.

³¹ Cyp. *Habit. vir.* 13.

³² Caroline Vout. “The Myth of the Toga: Understanding the History of Roman Dress.” *Greece & Rome* 43, no. 2 (1996), 215.

³³ Glenys Davies, “Portrait Statues as Models for Gender Roles in Roman Society.” *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome. Supplementary Volumes* 7 (2008), 208.

³⁴ Raditsa, “Appearance”, 317; *Cult. fem.* 2.13.7.

³⁵ Davies, “Portrait”, 208-209.

³⁶ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 23.

³⁷ Raditsa, “Appearance”, 299.

³⁸ Daniel-Hughes, *Salvation*, 77.

³⁹ Cyp. *Habit. vir.* 13.

status Roman women who were afforded the most respect in society.⁴⁰ Cyprian's use of silk is a particularly strong rhetorical choice, especially when considering its use in the corpus of Roman moralizing critique. In Juvenal's second satire, a man, Creticus, is described as pleading cases against adulteresses while wearing translucent silk, representing his immoral effeminacy and sexual hypocrisy.⁴¹ Similarly, the treatment of silk in Cyprian is in the context of calling out hypocrisy that "having put on silk and purple, they cannot put on Christ".⁴² In the eyes of Cyprian, despite the virgins' apparent modesty and devotion, due to the immodest nature of their dress their chastity, morality, and faith are called into question. As he states, "you cannot be excused on the pretence that you are chaste ... shameful dress and immodest ornament accuse you, nor can you be counted now among Christ's maidens and virgins".⁴³ In the eyes of both Cyprian and Tertullian, dress was enough to fully strip a Christian woman of her virtue as a virgin, simply due to the implication of an immodest mind, a sentiment we can also see in idealized notions of Roman dress.

Despite the differences between Roman and Christian explanations for their notions of ideal and immoral dress in women, their moral critiques reveal that they are both concerned predominantly with the public appearance of women, the restraint of women's behaviour, and their sexual morality. Tertullian and Cyprian both use the Roman tradition of moralizing critiques of women's dress to make their own moral argument regarding the proper comportment of women regarding hair, cosmetics, jewelry, and dress. While their professed reasoning often attempts to set themselves apart from their pagan contemporaries, the cultural basis of the dress practices they critique are quite obviously shared and thus, in their minds, require similar rhetorical interventions.

⁴⁰ Kelly Olson, "Matrona and Whore: The Clothing of Women in Roman Antiquity." *Fashion Theory* 6, no. 4 (2002), 398-399.

⁴¹ Christopher Nappa, "'Praetextati Mores': Juvenal's Second Satire." *Hermes* 126, no. 1 (1998), 101; Sat. 2.65-78.

⁴² Cyp. *Habit vir.* 13.

⁴³ Cyp. *Habit. ver.* 7.

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Οὐκ ἄέκουσαν: The Issue of Volition in Moschus' *Europa*

By: Allyson Dawe

A central point of contention in the interpretation of Moschus' *Europa* lies in the perceived willingness of Europa in her own abduction by Zeus. Volition is an issue which Moschus seems to be deliberately trying to bring out through his description of Europa as οὐκ ἄέκουσαν. In doing so, he contrasts her directly with the explicitly unwilling abduction of Persephone in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, which is alluded to throughout the poem and acts as a model for Europa's own abduction.¹ The lack of clarity regarding Europa's agency has led to much confusion regarding the tone of the poem and intent of Moschus in his description of Europa as 'not unwilling'. This paper will argue that the agency of Europa is intentionally put into doubt through the usage of the genre of epyllion and of epic language, the prominence of the power of the gods, and the marital motifs within the poem in order to highlight her complete passivity within the narrative. Therefore, instead of implying that Europa herself is a participant in her own abduction, the description of Europa as οὐκ ἄέκουσαν demonstrates that, despite being placed in the role of the heroine of this epyllion, Europa has been stripped of her agency before the narrative has begun.

The format of epyllion combined with the consistent usage of epic language and Homeric allusions throughout the *Europa* work to set up Europa as the heroine of this tale.² These elements also emphasize the powerlessness and passivity of Europa. The first word of this poem, Εὐρώπη, sets up Europa as the protagonist, in the fashion of other epyllions, such as Callimachus' *Hecale*.³ The dream of Europa is reflective of other epic and epyllionic dreams, particularly the dreams of Nausicaa in the *Odyssey* and of Medea in Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica*.⁴ While Nausicaa understands her dream and is told precisely what she must do to fulfil her destiny, Europa "cannot follow the instructions because she does not understand what is meant".⁵ Unlike Nausicaa, Europa does not need to know, understand, or participate in her own fate, as it is instead simply thrust upon her. The main allusion within the dream seems to be to Atossa's dream in Aeschylus' *Persians*.⁶ While the content of the play is seemingly quite disconnected from this narrative, as is pointed out by Kuhlmann, the comparison of Europa and Atossa highlights that both women stuck in powerless positions as passive participants.⁷ As well, this allusion foreshadows her fated motherhood from

¹ Jonathan Smart, "Intertextual Dynamics in Moschus's *Europa*." *Arethusa* 45, no. 1 (2012), 48-49.

² Valeria Pace, "Moschus' Europa as Epic Poetry Gendered Female." In *Women and Power in Hellenistic Poetry* (Peeters Publishers, 2021), 343.

³ Malcolm Campbell, *Moschus* (Hildesheim: Olms-Weidmann, 1991), 26.

⁴ *Od.* 6.15; *Ap. Rh.* 3.616.

⁵ Carol Una Merriam, *The Development of the Epyllion Genre through the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. (Lewiston, N.Y.: E., Mellen Press, 2001), 54.; Merriam, *Development*, 55.

⁶ *Aes. Pers.* 181-199.

⁷ Peter Kuhlmann, "The Motif of the Rape of Europa: Intertextuality and Absurdity of the Myth in Epyllion and Epic Insets". In *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Epyllion and Its Reception* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2012), 478.

the very first lines of the poem.⁸ Kuhlman also points out that the typical Hellenistic reader would recognize “a clear discrepancy between the evoked dark pre-text and the erotic plot of the epyllion itself”.⁹ These contrasts of epic and tragic allusion further highlights the ways in which Europa is not like her epic counterparts and indicates that, underlying the seemingly positive prophetic dream, something is not right.

The epic allusions within the ekphrasis of the golden basket of Europa to other epic ekphrasis, particularly to the shield of Achilles and Jason's cloak in lines 43-44, further this sense of the frustrated agency of an epic heroine.¹⁰ Smart interprets these allusions as not simply placing “Europa within a pattern of mythic narratives but also ... the basket within a tradition of literary ekphrasis”.¹¹ The references to the tools of epic heroes then also set up Europa as her own narrative's heroine. However, the contrast of the flower basket with the weapons of war described in the epic ekphrasis show the helplessness of Europa. Kuhlman argues that, in this ekphrasis, the weapon of war is transformed into an erotic vessel, thus depriving it of its violent potency.¹² Furthermore, the basket's function is to hold flowers plucked at their prime, calling ahead to Europa's own kidnapping from the meadow through standard erotic imagery and alluding to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*. The basket itself also depicts the rape of Io, foreshadowing the fate of Europa, through a representation of the suffering of women who become romantically entangled with Zeus. The comparisons between Io and Europa are made clear throughout the text, with Io introduced as ‘Ἰναχίς Ἰώ, εἰσέτι πόρτις ἐοῦσα’ and Europa as ‘Φοίνικος θυγάτηρ ἔτι παρθένος Εὐρώπεια’ emphasizing both women's roles as daughters and the liminality of their forms as both a heifer and virgin.¹³ The emphasis on Europa's lineage recalls the pedigrees of epic heroes. Moschus again subverts the epic model as, instead of famous epic heroes as her ancestors, the emphasis is on Europa's maternal lineage and the sexual violence which they had been subjected to. The basket itself is not the only inheritance of Europa passed down from her maternal line; instead, the sexual violence and resultant motherhood which Lybia and Io were subjected to by gods is also passed down to her.

Throughout the poem, the influence of the gods is emphasized to cast doubt upon Europa's agency. From the first line of the poem, the power of Aphrodite is felt with her epithet taking up the central position in the line as the subject of the sentence. From the very beginning of the poem, Europa is evidently being influenced by the goddess. Her god-inspired dream is suffused with violent innuendo and described “in language conventionally associated with violent acts of rape”.¹⁴ Despite this, she is not explicitly fearful and in fact seems to welcome the fated events. However, the role of Aphrodite in twisting Europa's interpretation of the dream must not be ignored. As

⁸ Campbell, *Moschus*, 22-23.

⁹ Kuhlmann, “Motif”, 478.

¹⁰ *Il.* 18.482; *Ap. Rh.* 1.729.

¹¹ Smart “Intertextual”, 44-45.

¹² Kuhlmann, “Motif”, 478.

¹³ Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter, “Epic in a Minor Key.” In *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 222; *Eur.* 45,7.

¹⁴ Campbell, *Moschus*, 24.

Campbell states “there is no real choice” for Europa after the dream as “the desire engendered in her by the ...dream sends her to the scene of abduction”.¹⁵ Again, Europa does not understand the overt or symbolic meaning of the dream. She does not recognize the foreign woman as a representation of her own violently enacted motherhood and instead desires (πόθος) her, indicating her childish naivete and manipulation by the goddess.¹⁶ Pace argues that the epyllion portrays the intent and power of Aphrodite in contrast to her epic portrayals, which belittle her, by showing the power of Aphrodite’s deceptions over Zeus.¹⁷ Thus, the references to Aphrodite throughout are doubly meaningful, both showing the powerlessness of Europa to resist the goddess’ influence as well as reminding us of Zeus’ penchant for being overcome himself. As Pace points out, Aphrodite sends the dream to Europa before Zeus has seen and fallen in love with the girl, an action again that is explicitly the work of Aphrodite.¹⁸ While Aphrodite is the original deceiver of Europa, Zeus and other gods also play a role in taking agency away from Europa. The deception of Zeus is explicitly stated: Zeus changes his shape to avoid the wrath of Hera and trick Europa.¹⁹ The Zeus-bull enchants Europa, first with a divine smell which seems to put the maidens at ease, and then explicitly by licking her neck.²⁰ Within the ekphrasis on the basket, the transformation of Io and slaying of Argus also implies the deception of Hera by Zeus. Pace also points out the influence of the other gods in helping Zeus. Throughout the poem, the influence and assistance of other gods is evident, such as Poseidon's assistance to Zeus in crossing the sea with Europa.²¹ The implication of gods aiding in the deception or subjugation of mortal women is also a prominent theme of the ekphrasis, not only in the depiction of Hermes slaying Argus, but also in the origin of the basket as a work of Hephaestus for Poseidon to give to Libya.²² It seems that on all sides Europa is under the influence and dominion of one god or another, stripping her of her agency in favour of the will of Aphrodite and Zeus.

The very pointed usage of οὐκ ἀέκουσαν is certainly a reference to the explicit unwillingness (ἀέκουσαν) of Persephone in the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*.²³ This allusion is further emphasized throughout the poem by Moschus’ consistent usage of thematically relevant alpha privatives, all calling back to ἀέκουσαν, e.g. ἀνύμφω, ἀκοιμήτοισι, ἄτρομος.²⁴ Smart argues in his article for an interpretation of the *Europa* which rests upon a juxtaposition between Europa and Persephone which he interprets as casting aspersions on both Persephone and Europa’s willingness.²⁵ However, taken in concert with all the evidence of distress, as well as the problems of deception throughout the poem, it is not prudent to view this line as demonstrating the positive

¹⁵ Campbell, *Moschus*, 25.

¹⁶ *Eur.* 25.

¹⁷ Pace, “Female”, 351.

¹⁸ Pace, “Female”, 345.

¹⁹ *Eur.* 77-79.

²⁰ *Eur.* 89-90, 94.

²¹ *Eur.* 116.

²² Merriam, *Development*, 57.

²³ *H. Cer.* 19.

²⁴ *Eur.* 41, 57, 143.

²⁵ Smart “Intertextual”,

volition of Europa. Rather, it seems that instead the term indicates that Europa's willingness is simply not at issue in this union. Whether Europa wishes for what is about to happen is not taken into account by those that impose their will, or willingness, upon her. The focus throughout is on the journey of Europa, away from home and her parents to the meadow, in which the plucking of flowers represents the end of virginity, to the sea, representing marriage and motherhood. Fantuzzi and Hunter state that this pattern evokes the pattern of marriage and of leaving behind the father's house.²⁶ This motif of leaving behind home and male protection is present also in the lament of Europa as she is carried off, which as Pace notes occurs only when she is unable to see her father's home.²⁷ The lack of male protection is also present in the ekphrasis of the basket in the figure of Argus being slayed, representing the removal of male guardianship.²⁸ Pace argues that despite her objections, Europa desires to take on powers separate from those of her parents through marriage and is given honours from Zeus because of Aphrodite.²⁹ However, Merriam makes a point to note the ambivalence of Europa and the poem towards her children and male family members through whom these honours would be transmitted to her.³⁰ Europa's fate within the poem as a woman is to bear children and to gain the fame of her eventual children by Zeus, as Zeus himself states in his final prophecy.

The question of Europa's true desire in this situation is never satisfactorily answered, instead being supplanted by the desires of others: Zeus, Aphrodite, and the narrator. While most interpretations have argued for the existence of a sexual awakening on the part of Europa, considering the deliberately uncertain tone of the poem, this conclusion should be reconsidered. The erotic elements, which most argue further this interpretation, are undeniably present and difficult to interpret. However, by addressing issues of focalization throughout the poem, these issues may be resolved. The narrator of the poem seems to cast the volition of Europa into question by using the language of erotic love poetry. He also seems to deliberately contradict himself in his description of Europa's distress at this incredible journey. She states explicitly the cause of her distress, 'ὄμοι ἐγὼ μέγα δὴ τι δυσάμμορος, ἢ ῥά τε δῶμα πατρὸς ἀποπρολιποῦσα'.³¹ Her distress at her departure from her father's home is further emphasized by her litany of questions to her divine captor, who then begins his final prophecy, 'θάρσει παρθενική', attempting to comfort her.³² Kuhlman argues that the narrator of *Europa* is presented as an incompetent narrator who takes a sympathetic-naive position towards the 'love' of Europa and Zeus.³³ Thus, the discrepancy between the narrator's and the reader's perception creates a tension that calls the narrative focus into question. Kuhlman argues that Europa's perception, in her brief speeches "is at least in part more trustworthy than the narrator's" contrasting

²⁶ Fantuzzi and Hunter, "Epic", 218.

²⁷ Pace, "Female", 345.

²⁸ Fantuzzi and Hunter, "Epic", 223.

²⁹ Pace, "Female", 353.

³⁰ Merriam, *Development*, 73.

³¹ *Eur.* 146-147.

³² *Eur.* 154.

³³ Kuhlmann, "Motif", 481.

the typical epic conventions of the extradiegetic narrator as a more reliable authority than characters who often interpret actions in incorrect or problematic ways.³⁴ Given this interpretation, the interpolation of the narrator on the hidden emotions or willingness of Europa should be read with considerable doubt. With this reinterpretation of the willingness of Europa, these epic aspects can then be seen to represent the quest which the powerless heroine Europa is undertaking, that of marriage and motherhood and the lack of clarity regarding her willingness demonstrates her complete lack of choice in the course of her fate.

³⁴ Kuhlmann, "Motif", 482.

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An Inconspicuous Legacy: The Ptolemies and Propaganda on Delos

By: Samantha Moser

The Ptolemies were both the longest and the last dynasty to rule over ancient Egypt. Stretching from the rule of Ptolemy I Soter (305 BCE), to the short reign of Caesarion (30 BCE), the Ptolemies were in power for almost three centuries. In order to maintain this power, the Ptolemies ruled with Hellenising policies and by transforming religion into a large-scale display of Greek and Egyptian syncretism.

Important to the development of the Ptolemaic ruling strategy was Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Although Ptolemy I was important to the transition of power following Alexander the Great's death in 323 BCE, Philadelphus was essential to the emergence of religious, and by extension, political propaganda. While Philadelphus is often characterised as a king who was unlike the other Ptolemaic leaders due to his lack of warrior-like characteristics,¹ this assumption underestimates the power he was able to amass by utilising religious propaganda. Philadelphus' strategy depended on more than militaristic power to extend his authority, and instead focused on solidifying links that would carry his, and future generations', image. Marquaille has previously argued this idea:

“Ptolemy II bound his power to the representation and extent of his realm of authority, in other words to the formation and advertising of Ptolemaic space that went beyond notions of control and administration through the creation of new means to link individuals from both inside and outside Egypt to his person and family.”²

This illustrates that Philadelphus had developed a form of propaganda that spread the Ptolemaic image to other territories and push their sphere of influence into the Mediterranean world. While there will be a focus on Philadelphus and the propaganda exhibited on Delos during his reign, this essay will not solely focus on his rule. This is due to the fact that following Philadelphus' death, Delos remains a hot spot of Ptolemaic imagery and items that provoke questions their reason for existence.

Nevertheless, it was important to mention Philadelphus' strategy because of the somewhat subversive nature of Ptolemaic propaganda outside of Egypt. Upon first glance, much of what is found in external territories does not seem to be directly connected to the Ptolemies. This is especially the case for many of the Cycladic islands, one of which in particular presents itself as a conspicuous mystery. This island is Delos.

Much of the physical forms of Ptolemaic propaganda on Delos, such as the sanctuaries and cult statues, resembled the universal ideology of the Ptolemies. As a result, it was present in indirect and unintentional forms rather than direct and intentional ones. In other words, evidence of Ptolemaic iconography that is found on

¹ W.W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (Oxford, 1913), 215-217.

² Céline Marquaille. “The Foreign Policy of Ptolemy II.” In *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his world*: 49-50.

this island is something that was not originally thought of to be propaganda by past scholars such as Bruneau and Roussel but is currently believed to have been present.

The first indication of intentional propaganda on external territories, such as Delos, comes hand-in-hand with the consideration of Ptolemaic interests during the first half of the 3rd century BCE. Ager notes that “for a state that was interested primarily in security rather than aggrandisement, the Ptolemaic regime was extraordinarily active outside its own borders.”³ During the reign of the first two Ptolemies, there was an interest in gaining or maintaining power over the Cyclades, in order to utilise the island for its port as Delos was active in trade and commerce. This was often done through acquiring control of the Nesiotic League. Ptolemy I was able to acquire hegemony over the Cyclades in 288 BCE, and following this Philadelphus maintained power until 245 BCE.⁴

In order to maintain hegemony over the Cycladic islands, while also dealing with other external conflicts such as the Chremonidean War, Philadelphus would have needed to acquire sea power, cultural power, and political power. These three forms of power were necessary in order to deal with threats of piracy in the Cyclades, the fact that Delos had been sacred to Apollo for years, and that other groups were competing for power. While control through the Nesiotic League was essential, the ability to acquire and maintain it relied on the Ptolemies’ ability to wedge themselves into the cultural landscape of the island. To acquire these forms of power, they established an image consistent to that which they had created in Egypt.

With this in mind, Delos like other Cycladic islands, was a hub for Ptolemaic propaganda meant to serve a political and pragmatic purpose. However, as Ptolemaic control diminished post Philadelphus, the question of why items that invoked Egyptian, and by extension, Ptolemaic iconography arises. It thereby seems likely that Ptolemaic propaganda existed in two forms for two separate reasons. It was either ‘true propaganda’ that was meant to solidify rule and gain political legitimacy, or ‘pseudo-propaganda’ that expanded the Ptolemaic sphere of influence (the places in which Ptolemaic royal iconography can be found), which increased the areas in which the Ptolemies had the potential to gain power in.

While the latter idea can be viewed as political in nature, as the method of propaganda used by the Ptolemies renders it difficult to create harsh divisions between categories of purpose, it is more discrete and thus any political legitimacy gained through it shall be viewed as a by-product. The importance of this idea is also amplified by Delos’ position, as it being a busy island for trade created more opportunity for the Egyptian cult to spread. Both purposes of propaganda, however, were fulfilled through the use of religious imagery found in the Egyptian cults on Delos.

To see traces of Ptolemaic propaganda in Delos a brief survey of Ptolemaic propaganda in Egypt is required. Much like how Delos had a religious history with

³ Sheila L. Ager. “An Uneasy Balance: From the Death of Seleukos to the Battle of Raphia.” In *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. 2003: 38.

⁴ S.G. Caneva. “Back to Rhodes: Pausanias, Rhodian inscriptions, and Ptolemy’s civic acclamation as Soter.” *Ancient History Bulletin* (2020): 26.

Apollo, the Ptolemies acquired a territory with a cultural system that differed from their own. In order to legitimise their role as the new rulers of Egypt, the Ptolemies relied heavily on religious propaganda. This began with Ptolemy I's introduction, or at least his heavy promotion, of the Greco-Egyptian deity, Serapis.⁵ To strengthen the association of the Ptolemies with Egyptian ideas, Ptolemy II also introduced a ruler cult, which both deified his father and created an image that was consistent with how Egyptian pharaohs had been previously perceived as gods.⁶

However, in order to maintain a channel open to Greece, the Ptolemies ruled in a way that actively incorporated elements of Greek religion. For example, while Philadelphus portrayed himself in the style of a Pharaoh through the act of marrying his sister, Arsinoe II, he was heavily associated with Serapis, who was always sculpted in the likeness of Zeus. Interestingly, a similar association between Arsinoe II and Isis occurred, wherein Isis was often represented in a form that assimilated her with either Demeter or Aphrodite. The use of Isis invoking propaganda and its connection with Queen Arsinoe II was a key element in maintaining hegemony over Delos, but this will be discussed later.

In general, Ptolemaic propaganda was religious in nature, with the ruling cult frequently assimilated with the main Egyptian deities. Such ideas are evidenced by both Egyptian traditions of joint-style temples and double or hyper style dedications.⁷ This assimilation of the gods and the ruling couple is highly important to identifying any kind of propaganda on Delos, as much of the pseudo-propaganda found reinforced this royal ideology and fulfilled the purpose of elevating the status of the Ptolemies. This propaganda is demonstrated in the three major forms on Delos: literary, architectural, and art, such as figurines or sculptures.

Before an analysis of propaganda on Delos can be done, an acknowledgement to the lack of evidence for Ptolemaic interaction with the Egyptian cults needs to be made. Bruneau states that the "l'introduction des cultes égyptiens à Délos ne semble rien devoir à l'influence lagide."⁸ Barrett also adds that dedications were often made in order to gain control over the economic importance of the port, and that the Ptolemies made many to the gods Artemis and Apollo in the early third century.⁹ As religious propaganda would require both Egyptian cults on Delos and some sort of interaction, it seems strange that there would not be any kind of interaction.

Importantly, both of these ideas are supported by evidence. In the Serapeum A, there is a column with an inscription called the 'Aretalogy of Serapis', which dictates both in plain prose and in poetic text how the Egyptian cults were brought to Delos. Instead of a mention of the Ptolemies, another man by the name of Apollonius I is

⁵ Stefan Pfeiffer. "The God Serapis, His Cult, and the beginnings of the Ruler Cult in Ptolemaic Egypt." In *Ptolemy II Philadelphus and his world*. (2003).

⁶ Pfeiffer, 2003.

⁷ Eleni, Fassa. "Serapis, Isis and the Ptolemies in Private Dedications: The Hyper-Style and the Double Dedications." *Kernos*. (2015). <https://journals.openedition.org/kernos/2333>.

⁸ Philippe Bruneau. *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos à l'époque hellénistique et à l'époque impériale*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard. 1970: 466.

⁹ Caitlín E. Barrett. *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos: A Study in Hellenistic Religion*. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 7,8.

mentioned as being responsible for the arrival of the Egyptian cults.¹⁰ Moreover, any evidence of Ptolemaic worship for the other gods is not found. However, given that Apollonius I was said to have brought the cults over when Delos was under Ptolemaic rule, even if there had been no official support, it would not have removed the connection between the Ptolemies and the Egyptian gods. Furthermore, a plausible reason for the lack of dedications is a wish to not seem too Egyptian in order to prevent disturbing conservative groups on Delos,¹¹ and that the Serapeum B and C were not established until after the Ptolemies had withdrawn from the Cyclades.

Literature produced during the Ptolemaic period is viewed as Hellenistic, but this does not mean that there is no propaganda within it. As much of the Hellenistic literature corpus was produced by men under sponsorship of the Ptolemies, it is reasonable to assume that some pieces were created for the sake of acting as propaganda. This propaganda does not necessarily need to be political, however in the case of Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* it seems to act as a method of gaining religious legitimacy in order to maintain hegemony over the island.

Primarily, as the hymn was written for, or with Philadelphus in mind, it follows that an attempt to gain political legitimacy through it would be made, as this was the period in which the Ptolemies were interested in hegemony over the Cycladic islands. In the *Hymn to Delos*, Callimachus accomplishes this through his comparison of Philadelphus with the Greek god Apollo.

This comparison between Philadelphus and Apollo is a striking form of Ptolemaic propaganda, as it manipulates the already established cultural fabric of Delos in a way which elevates Philadelphus' status, while also ensuring it does not disrupt it. While it might seem odd that a mortal was being implied to be a god, this was not abnormal for the Ptolemies to do. To add to this, the Ptolemies aligning themselves with Greek gods was also not abnormal. For example, Ptolemy I had a throne amongst others, which were presumably for gods, in a temple for Zeus in Ptolemaic Egypt.¹² Instead of a physical representation of Ptolemaic status, Callimachus accomplishes this by having Apollo prophesy the birth of Philadelphus. He wrote:

“But this utterance of her son held [Leto] back. “You should not give birth to me here, mother. I do not blame or grudge the island, seeing as it is rich and thriving in flocks, if any other is. But another god is destined to it from the Fates, the lofty blood of the Saviors. Under whose diadem will come, not unwilling to be ruled by a Macedonian, both lands and the lands that dwell in the sea, as far as the ends of the earth and where the swift horses carry the Sun.”¹³

¹⁰ Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 461.

¹¹ Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 461.

¹² E.E. Rice. *The Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983. 117.

¹³ Callimachus & Susan A. Stephens. *Hymn to Delos*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015: 161-170.

There are two important parts of this comparison. The first is that Apollo references Philadelphus as ‘another god’. This creates the image of Apollo stepping aside to allow Philadelphus the space to be born and fulfil a grand purpose – to be the pharaoh of Egypt, and the ruler of ‘both lands and the lands that dwell in the sea.’ In other words, Apollo is acknowledging the worthiness of Philadelphus to rule over the Cyclades. This does not mean that this is a form of permission for Philadelphus to replace Apollo on Delos, however it acts in a way that legitimises his religious legitimacy on the island, which will allow him to obtain more political power. Moreover, Callimachus choosing to have Apollo specifically prophesy Philadelphus’ birth, adds another layer of comparison between the two figures, as the birth of Apollo was a sacred idea on Delos. By having Apollo speak of another birth beyond his own, it adds an element of worthiness to Philadelphus as a potential leader and ruler, and thereby legitimises his power.

The idea of elevating Philadelphus’ status to that of Apollo’s, is not only seen in the *Hymn to Delos*. Theocritus’ *Hymn to Ptolemy* directly alludes to the birthing section of the *Hymn to Delos*. Not only does this connect the two hymns and act as propaganda for Philadelphus on Delos, but it reinforces the notion that a comparison to Apollo was being made. Theocritus wrote, “Cos gave a joyful cry when she saw [Philadelphus]; she took hold of the child with loving hands and said, “Blessed may you be, my boy, and may you honour me as much as Phoebus Apollo honoured dark-circled Delos.”¹⁴

The direct reference and play on the birthing scene of Apollo in the *Hymn to Delos* establishes Philadelphus’ role as a god in equal or competing status to Apollo is clear. Together, these ideas introduce a powerful religious figure without insulting the worship of Apollo. For the people on Delos, this hymn would introduce another figure that has a similar religious status to Apollo, and thus strengthen Ptolemaic influence over the island. This would thereby act as a form of propaganda that sanctioned Philadelphus’ rule, as he would have been demonstrated of being worthy of it. If this was performed during the Ptolemaia festival on Delos, which had first been approved by the Nesiotic League in 280 BCE, then this effect would be doubled.

Notably, the Egyptian literary motifs found in the *Hymn to Delos* are neither too overbearing as to present the Ptolemies in an Egyptian light, nor too underwhelming as to remove any religious connection the Ptolemies had to the Egyptian gods. Despite the fact that the *Hymn to Delos* alluded to many Greek ideas, most overtly demonstrated through the hymn’s use of Greek gods and the allusions to the *Homeric Hymn of Apollo*, Callimachus manipulated Greek motifs to recall Egyptian literature ideas. This form of manipulation is consistent with techniques used by Maiistas in his poetic version of the Aretalogy of Serapis.¹⁵

¹⁴ Theocritus. *Idylls*. Loeb Classical Library. https://www.loebclassics.com/view/theocritus-poems_ixxx/2015/pb_LCL028.xml. 64-66.

¹⁵ Jacopo Khalil. “The Aretalogy of Sarapis by Maiistas: Some Literary Remarks.” *Classics @ Journal*, no. 19 (n.d.). <https://classics-at.chs.harvard.edu/the-aretalogy-or-sarapis-by-maiistas-some-literary-remarks/#n.2>

While at some point in time, the *Hymn to Delos* had been viewed as a poem solely meant to complement a Delian festival or be a form of competition, challenges to this notion illustrate that it should and can be viewed as a purposeful literary affair.¹⁶ That being said, any allusions made to Egyptian ideas should be viewed as attempts to connect the Ptolemies to the image they had previously established for themselves in Egypt. Moreover, the purposeful use of Egyptian literary motifs in a Greek hymn point to the way in which the Ptolemies wished to be viewed on Delos.

As argued by Laukola, the use of allusions to past Egyptian texts are visible in the sections of the hymn that seem the most foreign for Greek audiences. An example of this is the use of *post-eventum* prophecies. While there are many instances in Greek myth where gods perform remarkable acts as infants, such as in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, the act of prophecy before birth steps away from Greek traditions. This motif, however, is common in Egyptian texts, where “Gods – and by extension the king – were often active in the womb.”¹⁷ This is demonstrated by a hymn from the Philae temple where Ptolemy I’s rule of Egypt is prophesied.¹⁸

These allusions illustrate that although Egyptian motifs were present in Delos, they were used in a way that hid them. While the hymn itself recalls Greek themes and ideas, the existence of Egyptian motifs amongst Hellenized ideas reflects the situation in Egypt at the time. For example, syncretism was commonly found in Egyptian religion. “Egyptian religion had never been exclusive; presenting themselves to immigrant and local populations in different forms, the gods of Egypt had a long and powerful life.”¹⁹ The Ptolemies encouraged a view of the Egyptian gods through an *interpretatio graeco*, and so any allusions to Egyptianizing ideas were likely meant to serve as subversive reminders to the Delian audience of how, while they were linked to Egypt, they were capable of acting ‘Greek’ as well.

These allusions would then strengthen the Ptolemaic connection to the Egyptian religious cults on Delos, and also Greek cults which were assimilated with the image of Egyptian deities. The assimilation is important, as it would both add another layer to Ptolemaic legitimacy and encourage worship that would outlast any Ptolemaic political control on Delos. This is something that is demonstrated by physical forms of Ptolemaic propaganda on Delos, which will now be discussed.

Architectural structures, such as the Serapeums and their temples, as well as altars for Philadelphus and Arsinoe also act as propaganda. The Serapeums on Delos are of great interest, as their Egyptianizing architectural features immediately connect them to the royal ideology of the Ptolemies. What is immediately clear about the existence of the Serapeums is that they imply a form of Ptolemaic propaganda, as the

¹⁶ Michael Brumbaugh. *The New Politics of Olympos: Kingship in Kallimachos’ Hymns*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2019: 163.

¹⁷ Susan A. Stephens. *Seein Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria*. California: University of California Press, 2003: 120.

¹⁸ Stephens, *Seein Double*, 120.

¹⁹ Dorothy J. Thompson. “The Ptolemies and Egypt.” In *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. (2020): 107.

religious situation at the time assimilated the worship of the Ptolemies and gods. The use of the temples will be discussed before any architectural features.

As previously mentioned, joint temples to the Ptolemies and the Egyptian gods existed in Egypt. This was commonly found for Egyptian queens and the goddess Isis, both on Egypt, such as in Philae, and in Delos, where it is likely that Queen Arsinoe II was worshipped alongside Isis in her temple.²⁰ This kind of propaganda on Delos would have had a political purpose, as the nature in which Arsinoe was worshipped aligned with the Ptolemaic need for sea power. Isis was heavily associated with the sea during the Ptolemaic thalassocracy, as illustrated by a ship found which had been inscribed with 'ΙΣΙΣ'.²¹ Arsinoe's connection to sea travel is demonstrated through the epithet 'Euploia', meaning 'of safe sailing', which she was worshipped with on Delos.²²

Moreover, Arsinoe II may have been worshipped jointly in the temple which belonged to Agatha Tyche, who had previously been invoked in situations where protection for sea travel was necessary. Pindar acknowledges this in his twelfth Olympian ode when he states that "it is you [Agatha Tyche] who on the sea guide swift ships."²³ As there is a temple of Agatha Tyche on Delos, it is reasonable to assume that Arsinoe Euploia may have been worshipped alongside Agatha Tyche in her temple. Although Agatha Tyche is a purely Greek god, the Ptolemies did not stray from using Greek images or gods in the presentation of their gods or ruling cult, such as the aforementioned connection between Zeus and Serapis. Following Arsinoe II's death in ca. 270 BCE, her assimilation and deification as a goddess of protection for seafarers continued beneath Philadelphus, who created Arsinoe-Aphrodite-Kypris as a way to further elevate her status.²⁴

The significance of the joint worship between Arsinoe and different deities lies in the resulting by-product of it becoming forms of pseudo-propaganda. As stated earlier, while the spread of Ptolemaic royal ideology was not directly meant to lead to political hegemony, it created links between the Ptolemies and the Egyptian cults, which would expand the area in which Ptolemaic iconography can be found. As Delos was a significant trading port, it follows that it was essential to the spread of this royal ideology. Moreover, the assimilation of Arsinoe II with a Greek god on Delos establishes a similar effect to that of elevating Philadelphus' status to Apollo.

Moreover, the dates when the Serapeums were established seem to establish them as forms of pseudo-propaganda. Dates for the construction of the Serapeums are not entirely clear, however they can be estimated. While the aretalogy of Serapis in the Serapeum A has been dated to the later quarter of the 3rd c. BCE, Bruneau argues that the cult had been established a few generations earlier at the beginning of the 3rd

²⁰ Kelly Moss. "The Development and Diffusion of the Cult of Isis in the Hellenistic Period." MA diss, The University of Arizona, 2017: 50.

²¹ Rolf Strootman. "The Ptolemaic Sea Empire." In *Empires of the Sea: Maritime Power Networks in World History*, Brill, 2020: 113-152. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1163/j.ctv2gjx041.9>.

²² Moss, "The Development and Diffusion of the Cult of Isis." 51-52.

²³ Pindar & William H. Race. *Olympian Odes*. Loeb Classical Library: 4,5,.

²⁴ Marquaille, "The Foreign Policy of Ptolemy II", 67.

century.²⁵ Bruneau's information on the Serapeum B is sparse. Of it, he states that "l'histoire nous en est mal connue: nous ignorons la date de fondation."²⁶ Kleibl, however, dates the Serapeum to 202 BCE.²⁷ Finally, the Serapeum C, has records from second and early first century BCE, which implies that it was active, at a minimum, during the reign of Ptolemy V.²⁸ If it was active before this time, it is unclear, but it is likely safe to date it to early second or late third century BCE. In any case, two out of three of the structures were established after the Ptolemies had withdrawn from the Cycladic islands.

This evidently begs the question of what propaganda could be found if there was no need for the Ptolemies to exert religious legitimacy in order to gain political control. With this in mind, it becomes clear that propaganda on Delos transforms entirely and solely fulfils the purpose of pseudo-propaganda: spreading the Ptolemaic royal image. To understand this, a focus on the reason for the erection of the Serapeum C is important, as it was presumably the last to be added and it was the first to be available publicly on Delos.

There are two possible reasons for the erection of a new sanctuary structure. Firstly, its creation could have been purely religious in nature and thereby highlights the pan-Hellenic appeal of Delos. This would create less of a direct connection to the Ptolemies; however, it would lay the foundation for circumstances necessary for the spread of Egyptian cults throughout the Mediterranean. As pseudo-propaganda does not require any direct interaction of the Ptolemies, it still follows that the erection of the sanctuary could have enhanced their sphere of influence. The second reason is that the temples were another attempt of the Ptolemies to gain legitimacy in the Cycladic islands so that they could increase their political prominence and regain a form of hegemony.

When taking into consideration Reger's arguments for political hegemony over the Cyclades in the second half of the third century, the latter of these two ideas seems plausible at first. The Ptolemies seem to attempt to re-assert connections to Delos in the later half of the 3rd century through the establishment of festivals. For example, Philadelphus issued another Ptolemaia festival in 249 BCE, just before the Ptolemies withdrew, and another festival called the 'Theuregesia' was established in 224-209 BCE.²⁹ If either of these dates coincided with the erection of a new Serapeum, then it could be seen as an attempt to add more religious legitimacy to their rule. However, as Reger states, "the foundation of such festivals does not necessarily imply hegemony; this one, like so many others, attests rather to the attraction of Delos as a pan-Hellenic sanctuary."³⁰ This illustrates that it is more likely that the

²⁵ Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 461.

²⁶ Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 461.

²⁷ Kathrin Kleibl. "Water-crypts in sanctuaries of Graeco-Egyptian deities of the Graeco-Roman Period in the Mediterranean Region." *Proceeding of the Fourth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists*. (2006): 3.

²⁸ Bruneau, *Recherches sur les cultes de Délos*, 462.

²⁹ Gary Reger. "The Political History of the Kyklades 260-200 B.C." *Historia. Zeitschrift Für Alte Geschichte* 43, no. 1 (1994): 47.

³⁰ Reger, "The Political History of the Kyklades," 47.

establishment of a new cult sanctuary would have been an example of pseudo-propaganda, as evidence for Ptolemaic hegemony or control is limited. Such an idea is reinforced by Barrett who states that “even if the Ptolemies’ days of real power in the Aegean were gone, they could at least still attempt to present themselves as *euergetai*.”³¹

Even if the Ptolemies had exerted some form of control, there is enough evidence of Egyptian cult migration into other areas of the Mediterranean world to state that the Ptolemaic propaganda found in the Serapeum temples functioned as a method of religious legitimacy for the Ptolemies. This legitimising feature of the cult temples is reinforced by the iconography, which invokes the Inundation festival, found in the Serapeum A and B.

The architectural style itself of the Serapeums does not reveal anything that clearly hints to Ptolemaic propaganda. Much of the architecture at the time in Egypt was influenced heavily by the appearance of Greek temples.³² For example, the Serapeum structure in Alexandria has Greek sanctuary features such as stoas and temples that reflect a Greek temple building tradition (although, which order the temples were built in, is unclear), rather than an Egyptian one.³³ The most Egyptianizing feature in the Alexandria Serapeum are its hieroglyphs, and the water crypt beneath it. This water crypt is a feature shared with the Serapeum A and B in Delos and is the strongest form of propaganda for the Ptolemies found within the architectural structure of the temples.

The position of these water crypts is the most important indication of their connection with the Inundation festival in Egypt. For both of these, water was either collected from the rain or filled by a canal which connected it to the Inopos river.³⁴ The importance of these water crypts stems in the notion of the Ptolemaic ruling cult and their connections to Egyptian deities. As the water crypts are positioned close to water, they have been connected with the nilometers in Egypt, which were built to measure the level of the Nile to determine when it would flood.³⁵ Despite the fact that this myth and tradition extended far before the Ptolemaic period, the Ptolemies still participated in this idea. For example, there was a nilometer at Isis’ sanctuary in Philae which had been constructed during their rule. The function of the water crypts on Delos parallels those of the nilometer in Egypt, as they were used in a purely cultic way, with access to them being restricted to priests. The only major difference between them is that the Serapeum A and B were not capable of being connected to the Nile, and so where they were placed in relation to the temples was less important.³⁶

³¹ Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos*, 13.

³² Earl B. Smith. *Egyptian Architecture as Cultural Expression*. New York: Century House, 1968.

³³ Judith S. McKenzie, Sheila Gibson, and A.T. Reyes. “Reconstructing the Serapeum in Alexandria from the Archaeological Evidence.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 94 (2004): 73-121.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/4135011>.

³⁴ Kleibl, “Water-crypts in sanctuaries of Graeco-Egyptian deities,” 3,4.

³⁵ Kleibl, “Water-crypts in sanctuaries of Graeco-Egyptian deities,” 4.

³⁶ Kleibl, “Water-crypts in sanctuaries of Graeco-Egyptian deities,” 7.

While it is possible that the people on Delos could have re-shaped the cult to function without any knowledge of Egyptian traditions, the connection to the Inundation festival illustrates that there were parallels between what occurred in Egypt and in Delos. Thus, these crypts act as forms of Ptolemaic pseudo-propaganda, as they are heavily connected to the religious image that the Ptolemies used to portray themselves as powerful rulers. This is strengthened by the fact that the Inundation festival had always been connected to Isis, as it is her lament over the loss of Osiris that caused the Nile to flood. As Isis was heavily associated with the Egyptian Queens, and Osiris by extension of Serapis with the King, then these crypts being objects of pseudo-propaganda makes sense, as it would invoke their image. Moreover, the association that had previously been made between Arsinoe II and Isis or Agatha Tyche, would continue through the use of this water iconography for other Ptolemaic queens. Therefore, even though the water crypts may have been built after Ptolemaic withdrawal, they would still invoke Ptolemaic images and act as a way for the Ptolemies to expand their influence.

Finally, it can be argued that any representation of the Egyptian gods on Delos is a form of Ptolemaic royal ideology, as the method in which the Ptolemies sculpted their images inherently tethered them to the gods. Barrett states that some of the evidence of Egyptianizing figures, such as images that recall the Ptolemaic royal iconography of Arsinoe II do “not make these figurines into Ptolemaic “propaganda” per se, as there is certainly no evidence for official Ptolemaic involvement in the production or distribution of figures on Delos.”³⁷ While this is true, when the Ptolemaic political strategy of ruling through divine connection is understood, the answer to this becomes obsolete as “in terms of Ptolemaic iconography, to depict one is to depict the other.”³⁸ The representations of the Egyptian gods on Delos, thereby carry the Ptolemaic image, and function as forms of pseudo-propaganda.

These representations provoke the invocation of previous assimilations made between Arsinoe II and Isis, with a primary example of them being the figurines of Isis-Aphrodite on the island. There were, at a minimum, 43 figurines that were identifiable with the goddess Isis, due to identifiable characteristics such as the “Isis knot”.³⁹ The most notable, and telling part, of these figurines is that it is difficult to discern if the figurine was meant to represent Isis, or if it was meant to represent Arsinoe II. The exact function of these figurines cannot be discerned due to disturbed context; however, it does not take away from the fact that the representation of the Ptolemies would have existed in the iconography found.

Not only does this reinforce any connection that had been previously formed, but these figurines, along with other forms of pseudo-propaganda demonstrate how Ptolemaic iconography could have easily expanded where Ptolemaic influence can be found. As mentioned, Delos, no matter the time period, was in a strategic location that made it a useful and beneficial port. This function continued until the island was

³⁷ Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos*, 24.

³⁸ Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos*, 137.

³⁹ Barrett, *Egyptianizing Figurines from Delos*, 136.

pillaged by Mithridates in 88 BCE, and then again by pirates in 69 BCE. Before this, Delos acted as a hub for cross-cultural exchange due to its amount of trade and the sheer amount of people that could have been on the island at one time. This benefitted the Ptolemies both when they had political control and when they did not.

On one hand true propaganda, which was directly used during the time of Philadelphus, Delos would have become a pivotal location. With Ptolemaic control over the Nesiotic League, Delos became an important stepping-stone for the diffusion of the Egyptian cults. Meadow has argued the importance of Delos as a step to the rest of Greece before. He noted that “the implication is that Delos is now established as an important node in a transportation network stretching to Greece, if not as a Ptolemaic granary, or ‘cleaning house’”.⁴⁰ This demonstrates that with the use of Delos as a trading port or storage facility, the Egyptian cults permeating into the rest of the Mediterranean was not a far-off possibility. The Nesiotic League’s positive perception of the Ptolemies also aided this.⁴¹ On the other hand pseudo-propaganda on Delos would have benefitted the Ptolemies, as the existence of the Egyptian cults on Delos would continue to act in the background by spreading their image. As ties between the Egyptian cults were linked tightly by Philadelphus, the influence would have spread as a result and thereby expanded their sphere of influence.

Overall, Delos was an important centre of Ptolemaic propaganda. As a primary method of establishing and legitimising Ptolemaic power was linking the ruling cult to the Egyptian gods, the existence of these cults on Delos is in itself an important form of propaganda. Moreover, with Ptolemaic control over the Nesiotic League established, Delos became an important position for trade, as it was a gateway to the rest of the Mediterranean. This idea is further illustrated by Rome’s declaration of Delos as a free port during the time in which it was competing with Rhodes. With this in mind, it is not impossible to say that the Ptolemies recognised the importance of Delos, and utilised religious propaganda in order to maintain hegemony and expand their influence to other areas in the Mediterranean.

⁴⁰ Meadows, Andrew. “The Ptolemaic League of Islanders.” *The Ptolemies, the sea and the Nile*. (2013): 33.

⁴¹ Marquaille, “The Foreign Policy of Ptolemy II,” 54,57.

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The Medieval Boy Bishop: Role Reversal or Reformation?

By: Ellen Siebel-Achenbach

A widespread practice in medieval Europe, boy bishops were a tradition in which a choirboy was chosen to assume the role of a bishop in a Cathedral, Abbey, or Church. Set between St. Nicholas' Day (December 6) and the Feast of the Holy Innocents (December 28),¹ the boy bishop would preside over worship services (with the exception of performing the mass),² decide on elements of the daily liturgy with other choristers,³ receive monetary offerings, and engage in visitations within the diocese.⁴ Dress was fundamental to the tradition, acting as a signifier of (limited) power transference in the inversion of ecclesiastical authority. Although dress was foundational in constructing this role reversal, its use also reinforced the hierarchies parodied by the boy bishop tradition because of its reliance on unchallenged status systems and the Church's association of "innocence" with youth. Ecclesiastical power is thus "playfully" transferred, not challenged, in the tradition's ceremonies: whereas the dress of a boy bishop signalled his personal power, it also reinforced the authority and hierarchical expectations of the broader office. Beginning with a brief history of the tradition, this paper will thus discuss the dual purpose of dress in boy bishop ceremonies, its meaning in the surviving visual culture, and opposition/support for the "deviant" practice in the Church. Although some evidence is drawn from continental European sources, the majority is centred on the English boy bishop tradition, where most evidence for practice survives.

A History of Boy Bishops

The earliest evidence for the boy bishop tradition is included in the chronicles of Ekkehard I of the Abbey of St. Gall (died 973), who notes an attempted disruption of the boys' procession by King Conrad I in 911 (by rolling apples across the monastery's floor).⁵ However, the practice only reached its height as part of a growing tradition of "ritual clowning" in the high medieval Church, wherein the power associated with ecclesiastical orders was emphasized⁶ in spiritual status inversions through catharsis and burlesques.⁷ Compared to the "impious" and "foolish" nature of the continental European boy bishop, the English tradition was characterized by a more serious approach to this spiritual inversion and broad popularity in lay

¹ Susan Boynton, "Boy Singers in Monasteries and Cathedrals," in *Young Choristers 650-1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 37-48, 46.

² Boynton, "Boy Singers in Monasteries and Cathedrals," 46.

³ Boynton, "Boy Singers in Monasteries and Cathedrals," 45.

⁴ Neil Mackenzie, "Boy into Bishop: A Festive Role-Reversal," *History Today* 37, no. 12 (December 1987): 10-16, 10.

⁵ Mackenzie, 11.

⁶ Susan Boynton and Eric Rice, "Introduction: Performance and Premodern Childhood," in *Young Choristers 650-1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 1-18, 5.

⁷ Robert Hornback, "The Reasons of Misrule Revisited: Evangelical Appropriations of Carnival in Tudor Revels," *Early Theatre* 10, no. 1 (2007): pp. 35-65, <https://doi.org/10.12745/et.10/1/744>, 40.

communities.⁸ Misrule practices declined as a result of increased regulation during the English Reformation, leading to boy bishop ceremonies being banned by Henry VIII in 1541. His royal proclamation positions the tradition's dress as indicative of its "false" and "superstitious" religious nature:⁹ "children be strangeleye decked and apparelid to counterfaite pritestes, bysshoppes, ...; and boyes doo singe masse and preache in the pulpit."¹⁰ Although boy bishops also declined in the Catholic Reformation, analogous (and often scandalous) customs survived in educational institutions.

The "transformed" boy bishop ceremony of Seville Cathedral, for instance, survived in student festivals at the local university until the eighteenth century.¹¹ In England, several Cathedrals revived the tradition in accordance with the ideals of the Oxford Movement,¹² a nineteenth and twentieth-century movement aimed at "returning" the High Anglican Church to its medieval Catholic foundations.¹³

The Purposes of Dress

As dress communicates the wearer's social status in the "microsocial order,"¹⁴ its use in medieval boy bishop rituals signified the transfer of limited power within "playful reversals of ecclesiastical hierarchy as acted out through ritual gesture and musical performance."¹⁵ This social function was combined with the individual embodied practice of boy bishops,¹⁶ wherein ecclesiastical vestments were used to position the wearer above his fellow choristers. Whereas equality in status and age amongst the choirboys was usually signified by their shared loose robes, expressing communal unity in spiritual pursuit through emphasis on "the interior self" (fig. 1),¹⁷ the vibrant colours, expensive materials, and unique instruments of the boy bishop marked him as a superior governing and spiritual authority (fig. 2):

The *Episcopus Choristarum* was a chorister-bishop chosen by his fellow children ... to bear the name and hold up the state of a bishop, answerably

⁸ S. E. Rigold, "The St. Nicholas or 'Boy Bishop' Tokens," *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology & History* 34, no. 2 (1978): pp. 87-101, 87.

⁹ Mackenzie, 15.

¹⁰ Children are strangely decked and dressed to become a counterfeit priests, bishops,...; and boys sing mass and preach in the pulpit (as quoted in Hornback, 38).

¹¹ Juan Ruiz Jiménez, "From *Mozos de Coro* Towards *Seises*: Boys in the Musical Life of Seville Cathedral in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries," in *Young Choristers 650-1700*, ed. Susan Boynton and Eric Rice (Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp. 87-103, 100.

¹² Mackenzie, 15-16.

¹³ William Davage, "The Congress Movement: The High-Water Mark of Anglo-Catholicism," in *The Oxford Handbook of the Oxford Movement*, ed. Stewart J. Brown, Peter B. Nickles, and James Pereiro (Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 517-529, 527.

¹⁴ Joanne Entwistle, "Fashion and the Fleshy Body: Dress as Embodied Practice," *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 3 (2000): pp. 323-347, <https://doi.org/10.2752/136270400778995471>, 325.

¹⁵ Boynton, "Boy Singers in Monasteries and Cathedrals," 46.

¹⁶ Entwistle, 344.

¹⁷ Similar to monastic dress traditions (Umberto Eco, "Lumbar Thought," in *Fashion Theory Reader*, ed. Malcolm Barnard (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), pp. 315-317, 317).

habited, with a crosier or pastoral staff in his hand, and a mitre upon his head;...¹⁸

Despite the tradition's limited episcopate, its dress thus functioned dually to both invert individual ecclesiastical authority and maintain the existence of strict Church hierarchies. For example, the choristers of Padua Cathedral used ornate ecclesiastical robes and a mitre to symbolize the boy bishop's power over the adult bishop.¹⁹ In a ceremony unique to the city, the boy was allowed to question the quality of the adult bishop's accomplishments in office, wherein his superior dress acted to impose a sense of authority and formality on the participants.²⁰

The dual function of boy bishop dress is also reflected in its connection to apostolic succession, as the action of bestowing vestments upon the boy (by the choristers) during the investiture ceremony mimics the combined power and piety transferred through episcopal *himations/palliums*.²¹ This partial status within apostolic succession reinforced the association of dress with embodied biblical authority in the Church. To a lesser extent, regular choristers used dress similarly to signify elevated role-reversal status in the liturgy by dressing in the silk copes normally reserved for cantors.²² In England, this dress was often combined with repetition of the "Deposuit potentes de sede et exaltavit humiles" ("He has brought down the powerful from their thrones and lifted up the lowly")²³ verse of the Magnificat at Second Vespers.²⁴ The boy bishop tradition thus maintained multiple hierarchical boundaries through simultaneous behaviours of conformity and resistance embodied in dress.²⁵

Boy Bishop Visual Culture

The most abundant source of visual evidence for the boy bishop practice is boy bishop tokens, small lead coins featuring motifs associated with the tradition that were circulated in "secular" communities (fig. 3). In the English Church, these tokens were promoted as a reminder to lay people of the importance of children in God's divine plan, emphasizing childhood "innocence" against the perception of greater susceptibility to sin amongst adults:²⁶ "for youth offers God the best of life, the flower, the vigour, ... Boys have even natural virtues – virginity, innocence, humility...."²⁷ Although some boy bishop tokens have been discovered in Northern

¹⁸ John Gregory as quoted in John Gough Nichols and Edward F. Rimbault, *Two Sermons Preached by the Boy Bishop at St. Paul's Temp. Henry VIII. [I.e. VII.] and at Gloucester, Temp. Mary* (Westminster, England: Camden Society, 1875), <https://archive.org/details/twosermonspreach--nichrich/page/vi/mode/2up?q=fellow>, vi-vii.

¹⁹ Mackenzie, 13.

²⁰ Eco, 316.

²¹ An Ancient Roman cloak favoured by philosophers (Carly Daniel-Hughes, "Belief," in *A Cultural History of Dress and Fashion in Antiquity*, ed. Mary Harlow (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2021), pp. 71-85, 83).

²² Mackenzie, 12.

²³ "Deposuit – Magnificat in D Major, BWV 243," Vocal Music Instrumentation Index, accessed March 7, 2023, <https://www.vmi.org/bwv-243-magnificat-in-d-major/8-deposit>.

²⁴ Boynton, "Boy Singers in Monasteries and Cathedrals," 46.

²⁵ Entwistle, 340.

²⁶ Mackenzie, 10-11.

²⁷ Guilelmus Peraldus, *De Eruditione Principum* as quoted in Mackenzie, 11.

France, the majority of archeological finds are related to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, one of the wealthiest Benedictine monasteries of medieval England and a popular centre for boy bishop festivities.²⁸ As the abbot of the monastery had the unusual privilege of operating a mint, it is possible that the tokens were created during the boy bishop's time in office in imitation of the right held by the abbot.²⁹

Several tokens found near Bury St. Edmunds feature similar iconography of a boy with a mitre, crozier, and vestments surrounded by an inscription of "SANCTE NICOLAE ORA PRO NOBIS" ("Saint Nicholas, Pray for Us," fig. 4).³⁰ The crozier of the figure is turned outwards, possibly indicating his status as a false bishop.³¹ "ECCE NOVA FACIO OMNIA AVE REX GENTIS" ("Behold, I make a new king of all nations") is inscribed on the token's back around a cross³² with "Sterling" pellets (a symbol of St. Nicholas).³³ The figure thus serves as a shared representation of the boy bishop and St. Nicholas, imbuing the tokens with the dual meaning of hagiographic history embodied in the rituals of the present.³⁴

The boy bishop tokens of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey may have been used as charitable tokens in the local community, distributed by boy bishops to the poor (especially children) during the Christmas season.³⁵ The tokens were possibly exchanged for sweetmeats and alms provided by the Abbey, as well as local craftsmen in the St. Nicholas Guild (a popular charitable lay guild).³⁶ As a result, the tokens also functioned to reinforce the association of the boy bishop with St. Nicholas's ecclesiastical authority in the "secular" community:

... he was St. Nicholas's bishop, and he was a 'bishop' (not an abbot, dean, or any other president), whose duty was to move about his 'diocese' and not to preside in one place. Once elected he was a 'bishop,' not by consecration, but by virtue of his pontificals alone. *Mitra fecit episcopum*.³⁷

The tokens' intended association between the figures is also suggested by the common inscriptions of prayers, indicating that they may have served an amuletic or devotional function.³⁸ The dual representative quality likewise reinforces the common association of the boy bishop with the childhood "purity" of St. Nicholas who, as Thomas Aquinas notes, was characterized by rare "virtue in the prime of his youth."³⁹ The tokens' circulation, even beyond the Christmas season, thus reinforced both the

²⁸ C.F. Tebbutt, "Boy Bishop Coins," *Folklore* 71, no. 2 (June 1960): pp. 104-105, 104.

²⁹ Daniel Henry Haigh, "Leaden Tokens," *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* 6 (April 1843-January 1844): pp. 82-90, 89.

³⁰ Haigh, 83.

³¹ Tebbutt, 105.

³² Tebbutt, 104.

³³ Rigold, 90.

³⁴ Rigold, 90.

³⁵ Rigold, 92.

³⁶ Rigold, 92.

³⁷ Rigold, 90-91.

³⁸ Rigold, 91.

³⁹ As quoted in Peter A. Kwasniewski, "A Tale of Two Wonderworkers: St. Nicholas of Myra in the Writings and Life of St. Thomas Aquinas," *Angelicum* 82, no. 1 (2005): pp. 19-53, https://hosted.desales.edu/w4/philtheo/loughlin/ATP/Sermons/Nicholas_Essay.pdf, 32-33.

authority of the formal episcopal office and perceptions of youthful “innocence” in the lay community.

Although highly contested, there is another commonly attributed source of visual evidence for boy bishop dress: two English “boy bishop” effigies. Located in St. Oswald’s Church of Filey, Yorkshire (fig. 5), and Salisbury Cathedral (fig. 6), the tombs have been long thought to represent boy bishops who died during their month in episcopal office.⁴⁰ In the case of Salisbury, this assumption dates to the seventeenth century and is based on the clean-shaven face, small stature, and minimized sexual organs (under a robe) of the figure:

...in the cathedral of Sarum there lieth a monument in stone, of a little boie habited all in episcopal robes, a miter upon his head, a crosier in his hand, and the rest accordingly... it seeming almost impossible to everie one, that either a bishop could bee so small in person, or a childe so great in clothes.⁴¹

These features, however, may have been incorporated into the effigy of an adult bishop because of the Church’s association between youthful appearance and moral innocence.⁴² The minimalization of the bishop’s genitals in the effigy, for instance, may reflect the theological emphasis on virginity as a sign of spiritually “pure” status: “...by God’s mercy you were still keeping as a man the vow you took as a boy. If you will keep it intact until the end, you will surely look with great confidence on the Judge who is terrifying to other men.”⁴³

Clerical Opposition and Support

Although the boy bishop tradition was generally supported by medieval clerics as an accepted deviance within social boundaries, there were frequent attempts to impose limitations on the practice. Controversy was often centred on the election of the boy bishop, resulting in some Cathedrals requiring the clergy to choose the boy (rather than the choristers) based on a list of criteria. For instance, the clergy of York Minster stipulated in 1367 that the boy bishop should have a good singing voice and be “the longest serving ... who has proved to be the most useful in the Cathedral, provided that he is sufficiently good-looking,” thus highlighting the Church’s association between outer appearance and inner morality.⁴⁴ However, clerical support for the tradition in the late Middle Ages is indicated by representations of the boy bishop in church spaces, as is the case for a poppyhead in St. Laurence’s Church, Ludlow, Shropshire (fig. 7).⁴⁵ The small clean shaven figure’s position in the quire

⁴⁰ Mackenzie, 10.

⁴¹ John Greco as quoted by Nichols and Rimbault, vii.

⁴² Katherine Harvey, “Episcopal Virginity in Medieval England,” *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26, no. 2 (2017): pp. 273-293, <https://doi.org/10.7560/jhs26205>, 284.

⁴³ Letter of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (to Gilbert Cirspin, winter of 1073) as quoted in Harvey, 283.

⁴⁴ Mackenzie, 11.

⁴⁵ Peter Klein, “The Poppyhead at Ludlow: Boy Bishop and Lord of Misrule?,” *Shropshire History and Archaeology: Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Historical Society* LXXIV (1999): pp. 72-82, 80.

stalls (near the altar) suggests that the parish's clergy considered the tradition to be beneficial to the community, even accepting donations for the ceremony from a local clothier and bailiff in 1510: "A short skarlett gowne to the use of the Bishop which shall be ordeyned yarly at Seynt Nicholas daye in the Churche of Ludlowe to make a robe thereof to do hym honour yerely that daye."⁴⁶

The shifted social meaning between the English medieval boy bishop tradition and Reformed ceremonies of misrule was signified by changing dress practices.⁴⁷ Donated by Bishop Geoffrey Blythe of Chester in 1505-1506, the vestments of the late medieval boy bishop at King's College Cambridge included:

...a gowne of skarlett with a whode for the same furred with white, ... a miter of white damaske with ... perles and vj other stones, ... ffyne knytt gloves, ... a noche of gold having a precius stone in the myddes and iij grete perles aboute [it], ... rynges of gold for the bisshop.⁴⁸

The Lord of Misrule of the Reformation, however, was given "olde ... vestmente[s]" representing proverbial 'Romish rags'" for use in "burlesques" of Catholic ritual that directly mocked the boy bishop tradition.⁴⁹ Whereas the Catholic tradition, centred on "spiritual, Pauline inversion,"⁵⁰ utilized luxurious dress to construct both inversion and reinforcement of ecclesiastical hierarchy, the Reformed misrule practices relied on a ragged appearance to directly challenge the authority of the Church in religious ritual.

Conclusion

Following its twentieth-century revivals, the tradition of boy bishops continues today and, in some cases, has grown to include girls.⁵¹ Dress remains as central to the modern ceremony as the medieval equivalent, acting to signify the transference of power in a limited inversion of ecclesiastical authority. While the dress practices associated with the tradition function to validate this role reversal, the position of dress also reinforced the medieval Church's perceptions of childhood "innocence/playfulness" and ecclesiastical hierarchies that boy bishop ceremonies sought to parody. The tradition's reliance on unchallenged ecclesiastical power structures thus created a "playful" and acceptable perception of the practice amongst clergy and lay communities.

⁴⁶ A short scarlet gown to be used by the bishop who is ordained yearly on Saint Nicholas day in the Church of Ludlow, so that a robe can be made for his yearly honour on that day (as quoted in Klein, 80).

⁴⁷ Hornback, 39.

⁴⁸ A scarlet gown with a hood of white fur, ... a mitre of white damask with ... pearls and other stones, ... fine knit gloves, ... a gold crozier (?) with a precious stone in the middle and great perals about it, ... rings of gold for the bishop (as quoted in Hornback, 39).

⁴⁹ Hornback, 39-40.

⁵⁰ Hornback, 40.

⁵¹ "First Female Bishop – and Only Five Years Old!" Anglican Communion News Service, December 9, 2014, <https://www.anglicannews.org/news/2014/12/first-female-bishop-and-only-five-years-old!.aspx>.



Figure 1: Olivetan Master (Girolamo de Milano) and the Master of the Lodi Choir Books, illumination of monks wearing identical white robes while singing the Office in a Gradual (used by the Olivetan Benedictines), ca. 1439-1447. Ink and gold leaf on vellum, Santa Maria di Baggio, Lombardy, Italy (<https://churchlifejournal.nd.edu/articles/benedictine-silence-in-the-pandemic-classroom/>).



Figure 2: the boy bishop of Bamberg with mitre and crozier in the Index omnium festorum et sanctorum secundum ordinem Stephaninae ecclesiae Bambergae, sixteenth-century. Staatsbibliothek Bamberg HV.Msc.476, Bamberg, Germany (<https://www.liturgicalartsjournal.com/2021/01/customs-and-traditions-boy-bishop.html>).

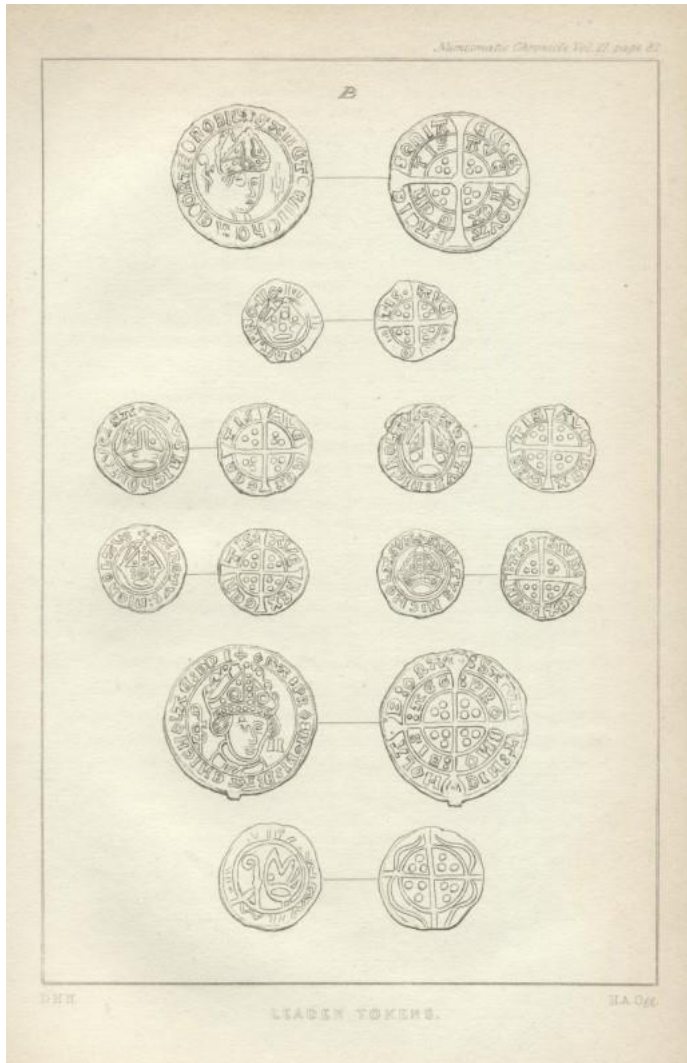


Figure 3: Daniel Henry Haigh, drawings of lead boy bishop tokens, 1844. Ink on paper (Haigh, 82-83).



Figure 4: front and back of a boy bishop token from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Cast lead (Tebbutt 104-105).



Figure 5: possible boy bishop effigy. Carved stone, St. Oswald's Church, Filey, Yorkshire, United Kingdom (<https://www.alamy.com/uk-england-yorkshire-filey-saint-oswalds-parish-church-interior-boy-bishop-figure-image218379118.html?imageid=7C8D3367-06C9-4A7E-BBCA-B16ED08ED45D&p=75234&pn=1&searchId=3469eee149734dc197f7dfcee79944f9&searchtype=0>).



Figure 6: possible boy bishop effigy. Carved stone, Salisbury Cathedral, Salisbury, United Kingdom (J. M. Rosenthal, <https://www.stnicholascenter.org/around-the-world/boy-youth-bishops/in-medieval-salisbury>).



Figure 7: boy bishop poppyhead, fifteenth-century. Carved wood, St. Laurence's Church, Ludlow, Shropshire, United Kingdom (https://www.flickr.com/photos/ana_sudani/1222134_0573/in/photostream/).

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The Sack of Delos With Truth and Light

By: Anthony Gallipoli

By the late second century BCE, the Aegean basin was under the control and influence of the expanding Roman Republic. The Cycladic island of Delos played an integral role in the Roman economy. While the Roman Republic expanded their territory and exploited the economic benefits of conquest, especially from Delos, a dangerous rival emerged from the east known as King Mithridates VI Eupator Dionysius of Pontus. Numerous instances of political squabbling soon occurred between Rome, Pontus, and other kingdoms in Anatolia. War soon broke out between Rome and Pontus, known as the First Mithridatic War in 89 BCE.¹ The topic of this project concentrates on the Sack of Delos by Mithridatic forces in 88 BCE. The thesis of this project is that the island of Delos was sacked due to Mithridates' VI overwhelming religious and ideological beliefs concerning the practices on Delos and the knowledge that causing the ruin of the island would hurt the Roman economy and their ambitions in Asia.

The structure of this project will start with an introduction of Mithridates VI and the Roman Republic. Next, an in-depth analysis will be given of the political situation prior to the breakout of war that was briefly alluded to earlier. Subsequently, we will conduct an analysis of the Asiatic Vespers in Asia Minor. Afterwards, an investigation of the Delian economy will be discussed. In the following section, we will review what the Mithridatic forces did while on Delos. Following that, this project will address the results of the First Mithridatic War and detail what happened to Delos after the sack in 88 BCE. The last section will serve as the conclusion to tie together all of the previous sections and illustrate why Mithridates VI sacked Delos for profound religious and ideological reasons as well as a strategic method of harming the Roman economy and their ambitions for expansion into Asia.

Giving an introduction and background of the main participants in this war is necessary for the contextual clarity of this project as it is for demonstrating why Mithridates VI sacked Delos for religious, ideological, and strategic reasons. Before we arrive at that premise, we shall first introduce Mithridates VI. In 135 BCE, Mithridates VI, a boy of both Greek and Iranian descent was born in northeastern Anatolia.² His birth was legendary in the ancient world as Justinus noted, "The future greatness of this prince even signs from heaven had foretold; for in the year he was born, as well as in that in which he began to reign, a comet blazed forth with such splendour, for seventy successive days on each occasion, that the whole sky seemed to be on fire."³ This event was not mere fabrication and propaganda as Han Dynasty

¹ Joshua J. Mark, "Mithridates VI," *World History Encyclopedia*. December 4, 2017. https://www.worldhistory.org/Mithridates_VI/.

² Brian C. McGing, "Mithradates VI," *Encyclopaedia Iranica Online*, 2020, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-iranica-online/*-COM_862.

³ Just. *Epit.* 37.2.

royal astronomers witnessed the event in China concurrently.⁴ Mithridates' VI birth was viewed in Anatolia and elsewhere in the Near East as a sign of hope and the curvature of the comet's tail bore resemblance to the preferred weapon of choice of Mithra; the ancient Iranian sun god who Mithridates VI was named after.⁵

Mithridates VI, according to Justinus, claimed descendancy from Cyrus II, Darius I, Alexander the Great, and Seleucus Nicator.⁶ As a baby, Mithridates VI was struck by lightning which left a scar on his forehead in the form of a crown, inspiring his nickname after the Greek god of liberation: Dionysus.⁷ Mithridates VI was well-educated in Mediterranean history and consciously believed that he was descended from Alexander the Great in particular, as he reportedly had possession of Alexander's cloak and the possession of robes in ancient Persian rituals was believed to transfer the qualities, energies, and authority of the original owner.⁸

Growing up, Mithridates' VI father was poisoned in 120 BCE.⁹ As a result of this and to avoid attempts against his own life, Mithridates VI soon self-exiled himself for many years before returning in roughly 115 BCE.¹⁰ When he returned from his exile, he seized the throne and removed his brother and mother from power immediately.¹¹ Mithridates VI reportedly had an impressive memory and could speak the languages of all twenty-two nations he ruled.¹² Furthermore, Mithridates VI was a tall and physically imposing individual noted for his athletic achievements in chariot racing.¹³

In ancient Persian culture, a war between Light and Truth against Darkness and Lies raged.¹⁴ Debt was an unacceptable moral condition as it prohibited the use of free will, and thus precluded the ability to fight Darkness.¹⁵ Furthermore, in Persian tradition, slavery was outlawed.¹⁶ To Mithridates VI, the Sack of Delos must have been absolutely justifiable if not a cathartic moment for him, especially so given that his nickname was Dionysus, and that Delos was a great slave market of his enemies that represented and perpetuated the eternal evils of Darkness and Lies: the Roman Republic.

During the mid second century BCE, the Roman Republic was expanding throughout the Mediterranean at a fast rate. By 168 BCE, Rome had defeated King Perseus in the Third Macedonian War and became entrenched in Greek affairs by that

⁴ Adrienne Mayor, *The Poison King: The Life and Legend of Mithradates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010), 28.

⁵ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 32.

⁶ Just. *Epit.* 38.7.

⁷ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 36.

⁸ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 38.

⁹ Brian C. McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus* (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1986), 43.

¹⁰ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 43.

¹¹ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 47.

¹² Stavros Christodoulou, "The Pontic Kingdom Under Mithridates VI," *Balkan Studies* vol 50, (2015): 30, <https://www.imxa.gr/files/bsfiles/50/1.Christodoulou-web.pdf>.

¹³ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 50.

¹⁴ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 47.

¹⁵ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 47.

¹⁶ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 20.

period.¹⁷ As a result of this war, Rome gave Athens the dominion over Delos in 166 BCE in an effort to undercut the economic power of the unfriendly island known as Rhodes and instituted a tax-free status on Delos in order to disrupt Rhodes' economic power in the region.¹⁸ In 148 BCE, Rome defeated Andriscus in the Fourth Macedonian War and maintained a steady presence in Greek affairs onwards.¹⁹ Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, during 146 BCE, Rome destroyed Carthage after three exhausting Punic Wars that originally started in the mid third century BCE.²⁰ From all this conquest, Rome absorbed a significant amount of slaves and plunder, yet their campaigns did not cease.

Shortly after destroying Macedon, Rome fought a collection of Greek states in the short-lived Achaean War of 146 BCE.²¹ The key event of this war for our purposes is the destruction of the city of Corinth, a prosperous trading location.²² Before Corinth's ruin in 146 BCE, it was in economic competition with Delos according to Strabo as Romans frequented the island.²³ After 146 BCE, Delos, according to Strabo, became more famous and prosperous as well.²⁴ According to Strabo, this was due to the fact that Delos was situated in the perfect location for favourable sailing to anywhere in the Mediterranean and it had a convenient harbour as well as "immunities of the temple."²⁵ With the two previous economically significant cities of Carthage and Corinth in ruins, Delos became an important economic island in the Mediterranean, one unlike the cities of Carthage and Corinth, was Roman-controlled albeit through Athens.

Now that we have given the appropriate context and background of the main participants of this war, we can move onto an in-depth analysis of the political situation between Rome and Pontus prior to the outbreak of war. Upon seizing the throne of Pontus, Mithridates VI immediately set forth on expanding his empire around the Black Sea by seizing the region of Colchis located on the eastern coast of the Black Sea.²⁶ Mithridates VI continued to campaign around the Black Sea and expanded his empire by diplomacy and might as he first accepted the inclusion of numerous cities along the Black Sea into his empire in exchange for protection from the Scythians.²⁷ These diplomatic efforts increased the size of his armies and he was able to defeat the Scythians and the Sarmatians who were located to the north and west of the Black Sea respectively.²⁸ As a result of this campaign, Mithridates VI

¹⁷ Harriet I. Flower eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 289.

¹⁸ "Delos (Cyclades) 423 Dilos – Δήλος," *ToposText*, Accessed November 27, 2012. <https://topostext.org/place/374253PDel>.

¹⁹ Flower, *The Cambridge Companion to The Roman Republic*, 293.

²⁰ Flower, *The Cambridge Companion to The Roman Republic*, 262.

²¹ William Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 240.

²² Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome*, 240.

²³ Strab. 10.5.

²⁴ Strab. 10.5.

²⁵ Strab. 10.5.

²⁶ McGing, "Mithridates VI."

²⁷ McGing, "Mithridates VI."

²⁸ McGing, "Mithridates VI."

achieved his goal of expanding his empire around the Black Sea which secured a network of subjects and allies that provided his empire with the necessary manpower and resources to continue to grow.²⁹ As the king of a burgeoning power, Mithridates VI was widely admired, partly because he reformed several tax and law codes thus helping to raise the overall standing of living for his subjects, which was commensurate with his beliefs of fighting for Truth and Light.³⁰

After his Black Sea campaign, Mithridates VI focused his attention on expanding his empire in Anatolia. In approximately 110 BCE, Mithridates VI toured Anatolia and the Aegean Sea as a part of an incognito fact-finding mission to scout his future enemies for opportunities to be exploited.³¹ His mission seemingly confirmed his ambitions as Mithridates VI designed plans to expand into Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia, which was western and southern Anatolia, respectively.³² In 108 BCE, Mithridates VI partitioned Paphlagonia with Bithynia.³³

The Romans were in the midst of the Jugurthine and Cimbric Wars and as a result, mustered an unsuccessful diplomatic protest declaring that each participant leave.³⁴ Near the end of the second century BCE, discord occurred between Bithynia and Pontus over the possession of Cappadocia and each king appealed to the Roman Senate over the possession of it.³⁵ Rome ordered both states to evacuate Cappadocia and Paphlagonia as Rome declared each region to be free.³⁶ Mithridates VI retreated but did not quit on his ambitions, instead he found an ally in Armenia to assist him.³⁷

In 96 BCE, Tigranes I became the King of Armenia and Mithridates VI, keenly aware of the benefits of allies for warfare considering his Black Sea campaign, married one of his daughters to Tigranes I shortly after he became king.³⁸ By approximately 93 BCE, Tigranes I invaded Cappadocia and deposed their king on behalf of Mithridates VI.³⁹ Mithridates VI simultaneously conquered Bithynia and deposed their king as well.⁴⁰ Rome decided to send a force to restore each king to their respective kingdom and Mithridates VI, again aware of Roman power, withdrew temporarily.⁴¹

The withdrawal by Mithridates VI did not last long as Manius Aquillius, the Roman Consul in Asia Minor, convinced King Nicomedes IV of Bithynia to attack Pontus for their wealth.⁴² Rome forbade Mithridates VI to attack Nicomedes IV in

²⁹ McGing, "Mithridates VI."

³⁰ Mark, "Mithridates VI."

³¹ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 120.

³² J. Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C.," *Military History Encyclopedia on the Web*, December, 11, 2008. http://www.historyofwar.org/articles/wars_first_mithridatic.html.

³³ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 68.

³⁴ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 69.

³⁵ Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C."

³⁶ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 77.

³⁷ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 77.

³⁸ Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C."

³⁹ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 138.

⁴⁰ Mark, "Mithridates VI."

⁴¹ Mark, "Mithridates VI."

⁴² Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C."

response, leaving Mithridates VI with no choice but to go to war against the Roman Republic starting in 89 BCE.⁴³

By the time Mithridates VI went on his fact-finding mission, Stavros Christodoulou may be correct in his assertion that a future Roman-Pontic war was almost inevitable due to the competing expansionist ambitions in the region.⁴⁴ Gaius Marius' visit with Mithridates VI during 99 BCE in Cappadocia suggested to Brian McGing that Rome wanted to know the likelihood of a war and this seems to at least partially confirm Christodoulou's theory that war with Mithridates VI was eventual, otherwise Marius' following quote loses its weight against a king they knew to be ambitious and thereby troublesome for Roman desires: "O King, either strive to be stronger than Rome, or do her bidding without a word."⁴⁵

While Rome was aware of Mithridates VI and a war with him in the future was possible, the Roman Senate wanted no trouble in the eastern provinces considering they began fighting their Italian allies during the Social War starting in 91 BCE.⁴⁶ Mithridates VI was surely aware of the dire fighting and the dearth of Roman resources at the time and as a result, took care to present himself as the victim in these political squabbles.⁴⁷ Presenting himself as the victim in these circumstances had tactical and symbolic importance. First, by being able to present himself as the victim of Roman imperialism, he could court more allies in Asia against the Mediterranean superpower.⁴⁸ Next, by approximately 102 BCE, Mithridates VI began to call himself Eupator Dionysus.⁴⁹ Effectively presenting himself as the New Dionysus, Mithridates VI clearly sought to free his subjects from barbarian and Roman rule.⁵⁰ Being the victim in these circumstances only added validity and power to his claims.

Returning to Mithridates VI fact-finding mission in 110 BCE, he visited Delos, an island frequented and dominated by Italian merchants.⁵¹ The small Greek population on the island made him the patron of Delos, while Mithridates VI, "gave votive tablets to the Temple of Asclepius and to Zeus on Mount Kynthos and he inscribed two tablets in the Temple of Serapis, the Egyptian god of healing and dream interpretation. This commercial nexus of the Aegean was crucial for winning Greek support."⁵² Being named the patron of a Greek island that was owned by a foreign power perpetuating Darkness and Lies by way of the sacrilegious practice of slavery throughout the Aegean perhaps gave Mithridates VI the inspiration to transform Delos from a commercial nexus of eternal evils to a symbol of Greek freedom, and as a New Dionysus fighting for Truth and Light, he crafted a strategy in the following years to

⁴³ Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C."

⁴⁴ Christodoulou, "The Pontic Kingdom Under Mithridates VI," 11.

⁴⁵ Plut. *Mar.* 31.3.

⁴⁶ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 81.

⁴⁷ McGing, *The Foreign Policy of Mithridates VI Eupator King of Pontus*, 87.

⁴⁸ Brian C. McGing, "Mithridates VI Eupator: Victim or Aggressor?," *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom: Black Sea studies*, edited by J.H. Munk, Vol. 9. (Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2009), 210. http://mithridat-eupator.ru/biblioteka/Mithridates_VI_and_the_Pontic_Kingdom_Hojte_2009.pdf.

⁴⁹ Christodoulou, "The Pontic Kingdom Under Mithridates VI," 19.

⁵⁰ Christodoulou, "The Pontic Kingdom Under Mithridates VI," 19.

⁵¹ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 112.

⁵² Mayor, *The Poison King*, 112.

play to his reputation as well as his goals of Greek freedom from foreign and especially Roman, domination.

Mithridates VI, much like his idol Alexander the Great, was well-versed in a number of topics. We have already seen how and why Mithridates' VI religious and political hatred of the Roman Republic developed over the course of his life, however, Mithridates VI realized he needed an actionable plan in order to combat the expanding Darkness and Lies in Asia Minor, courtesy of the Roman Republic. As a result, Mithridates VI became thoroughly educated in Roman history and understood how their political and economic spheres functioned.⁵³ He understood by this time that Rome, "must kill to live and lives to kill."⁵⁴ Corroborated by the nearby ruins of Corinth and Rome's acquisition of Phrygia in Asia Minor in 133 BCE, Mithridates VI surely knew it was an eventuality that he would be declared the next enemy of Rome.⁵⁵ However, Mithridates VI was also aware of Rome's weakness for revolts in Italy such as the slave revolt in Sicily in 132 BCE and Aristonicus' revolt during the late 130s and early 120s BCE.⁵⁶ Mithridates' VI plan was to first liberate Greek lands from Roman presence and then to strike at what was most dear to the Romans according to Mithridates VI himself: "the whole race had the disposition of wolves, being insatiable of blood and tyranny, and eager and hungry after riches."⁵⁷

Before we begin to understand the significance of why he attacked Delos and thereby the Roman economy, first we must analyze how he liberated the Greeks from Roman presence. His plan was to use the Roman method of blood and tyranny against the Romans, perhaps as that may have been the only method they would have understood, in Mithridates' VI mind that is. His plan involved months of collusion, was executed in a single day, and is known as the Asiatic Vespers.

In 88 BCE, months away from the Sack of Delos, Mithridates VI was in contact with dozens of cities in Asia Minor, all who despised Roman rule as the Romans had launched thousands of people and even cities into debt.⁵⁸ The reason for his contact with these cities was simple, yet brutal. They planned the death of every Roman man, woman, and child in Asia Minor.⁵⁹ Many of the Romans who settled in Asia Minor were originally able to because of rapacious Roman policies and taxation methods used in Asia Minor.⁶⁰ Cicero even quipped that, "the Roman name is held in loathing, and Roman tributes, tithes, and taxes are instruments of death."⁶¹

Even worse for the non-Roman population in Asia Minor, the Roman Republic was fervent about slavery irrespective of local tradition and religions present in the area.⁶² Slaves in Asia Minor were typically non-Italian and coupled with severe

⁵³ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 109.

⁵⁴ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 110.

⁵⁵ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 110.

⁵⁶ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 111.

⁵⁷ Just. *Epit.* 38.6.

⁵⁸ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 19.

⁵⁹ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 13.

⁶⁰ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 19.

⁶¹ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 19.

⁶² Mayor, *The Poison King*, 20.

Roman taxation, often indigenous families had to sell their own children into slavery to survive.⁶³ Slaves were often tattooed non-discreetly about their status as property.⁶⁴ By the time of the Asiatic Vespers, Italy had approximately 1.5 million slaves, while in Roman Asia, the proportion of slaves to non-slaves was even higher.⁶⁵

Mithridates VI must have considered his plan a success as reportedly 80,000 to 150,000 Roman and Italian people died in a single day.⁶⁶ Appian gave a detailed account of the planned atrocities. “Kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with himself. He threatened to punish any who should bury the dead or conceal the living, and offered rewards to informers and to those who should kill persons in hiding, and freedom to slaves for betraying their masters. To debtors for killing money-lenders he offered release from one-half of their obligations.”⁶⁷ In many cases, family members were killed in front of each other in gruesome fashion and despite the practice being taboo itself, people were slain in sacred temples as well.⁶⁸

Foreign domination had been wiped away and Greek liberation in the form of Truth and Light in Asia Minor had arrived. The Asiatic Vespers allowed Mithridates VI to expand into Asia Minor and liberate his subjects from the harsh Roman rule. Stopping the expansion of the Roman Republic, now Mithridates VI could continue his war against the Darkness and Lies, and based on his knowledge of Rome, the best way to do this was to hurt their economy, thereby halting their expansion. Delos was emblematic of the eternal evils Mithridates VI was fighting against, as the religious and ideological issues he had with the island originated from the economic practices conducted on the island under Roman auspices.

We will now shift the focus of this project to an investigation of the Delian economy. According to Strabo, slave trading in the Mediterranean was highly profitable and slaves were easy to capture.⁶⁹ Strabo continued on this point by acknowledging that Delos was in a favourable location and the slave market at Delos was quite profitable as approximately ten thousand slaves could arrive, be sold, and be transported in a single day.⁷⁰ Strabo added in a common saying then apparently about Delos, “Merchant, come into port, discharge your freight—everything is sold.”⁷¹ Furthermore, pirates frequently dealt in the slave market on Delos during this period as the apparent origin of such high traffic of the slave trade on Delos could be traced back to the Roman conquests of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BCE.⁷²

Even if the veracity of Strabo’s claim of ten thousand slaves being transported and sold on Delos in a single day is questionable, Delos was certainly the most

⁶³ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 20.

⁶⁴ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 20.

⁶⁵ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 20.

⁶⁶ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 13.

⁶⁷ App. *Mith.* 4.22.

⁶⁸ App. *Mith.* 4.22.

⁶⁹ Strab 14.5.

⁷⁰ Strab 14.5.

⁷¹ Strab 14.5.

⁷² Strab. 14.5.

significant slave market in Greece as commercial merchants across the Mediterranean formed trade associations on Delos, the most notable association being the Italian Hermaists.⁷³ Clearly then, we can see where the origin of Mithridates' VI issue developed with Delos as they openly perpetuated the eternal evils of Darkness and Lies. Certainly implicit in this statement however, is that the Roman and Italian merchant slave trade on Delos involved large numbers of non-Italian slaves as detailed above. This must have played a role in Mithridates' VI desire to sack and purge Delos, as his subjects lost their free will and thereby were forced to capitulate to the Darkness and Lies of the Roman Republic.

Delos served as the earliest and largest Roman commercial settlement in the Aegean.⁷⁴ The foreign presence on Delos, especially by Roman and Italian merchants, only increased during Roman times.⁷⁵ During the height of Delos' peak economic importance in Roman times, the population of the island swelled to approximately 20,000 or 30,000 people and its commercial importance across the Mediterranean is demonstrated by a wealth of material objects found on Delos of a non-Aegean background.⁷⁶ Delos served as the commercial nexus to Roman Italy for luxury goods and slaves as Roman and Italian merchants could access the eastern Mediterranean as well as the Middle Eastern markets for luxury goods and slaves, and as Nicholas Rauh discussed, outside influences imported from Delos began to influence Roman culture and their economy.⁷⁷ Mithridates' VI analysis of the island being emblematic of all he strove to eradicate as well as Delos being the key target in harming the Roman economy and thereby their war machine itself, was absolutely true.

Nicholas Rauh wrote how Delos became Roman Italy's principle port in the Aegean which made trans-Mediterranean luxury and slave trading possible as well as lucrative.⁷⁸ What assisted in this economic boom, especially in terms of the slave trade on Delos and what made it so lucrative for the Romans was due to the Seleucid collapse in Syria in the late second century BCE, which introduced a period of increased slave trading from the Near East of non-Italians.⁷⁹ Romans also received tax exemptions on any slave 'merchandise' they brought from Asia Minor.⁸⁰ After the conclusion of the Third Punic War in 146 BCE the Roman economy became dependent on a massive influx of slaves for production, especially in Italy and Sicily as the massive slave revolts in the late second century BCE will attest to.⁸¹ Furthermore, as Rauh noted, the majority of the leaders of these slave revolts were of Syrian descent, which further supports both the importance of Delos as a significant importer of slaves to Roman Italy, and that Rome's economy became dependent on

⁷³ "Delos (Cylades" 423 Dilos – Δήλος."

⁷⁴ Nicholas K. Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce: Religion, Economy, and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos* (Amsterdam: J.C. Gieben, 1993), 1.

⁷⁵ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 22.

⁷⁶ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 27.

⁷⁷ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 28.

⁷⁸ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 41.

⁷⁹ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 44.

⁸⁰ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 46-47.

⁸¹ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 48.

slave labour, so Mithridates' VI analysis of Delos as the key crux of Rome's economy was correct.⁸²

To be fair, while Delos' commercial fame derived from its slave trade, that was not the only goods traded on the island. As noted earlier, the trade market on Delos involved the sale of luxury goods. Items such as spices, incense, gems, statues, and other expensive items from the Middle and Far East were commonly traded on Delos.⁸³ Additionally, Delos became a production centre for perfume as well as purple dye.⁸⁴ When considering that many works of art were sold as well on Delos to wealthy Roman aristocrats, the notion of Delos being a key crux in the transformation of Roman culture and economy becomes clear.⁸⁵ Mithridates VI certainly heard of this gradual transformation of Roman culture from one of austerity to luxury and more importantly, the rapid dependence of the Roman economy on slave labour. With this in mind, Mithridates VI combined his religious and ideological motives along with his strategic purpose to weaken the Roman Republic's economy and ability to fight while fulfilling his destiny of being the New Dionysus by bringing about Greek liberation.

During the First Mithridatic War, each individual city-state had to decide whether to side with the Roman Republic or Mithridates VI and this decision was not easy considering the history of harsh reprisals that each participant was capable of.⁸⁶ By the end of the second century BCE, Athens endured a slave revolt that hurt the Athenian economy while the political leaders had gained wealth and power from their commercial trade efforts on Delos.⁸⁷ In 88 BCE, anarchy was declared and the Roman Senate was blamed for the Athenian circumstances.⁸⁸ A wealthy book collector known as Apellicon of Teos failed in his efforts to recover the Delian treasury for the Athenian government.⁸⁹ Due to Delos' commercial prosperity, Athenian leaders knew that whoever controlled Delos and their economy, controlled Athens itself.⁹⁰

Mithridates VI was almost certainly aware of the importance of Delos in both practical and symbolic aspects. As a result of this awareness and knowledge of the Athenian's failure to acquire the Delian treasury, Mithridates VI sent one of his generals named Archelaus with an overwhelming force to Delos.⁹¹ Delos, understandably as we have already demonstrated, was the highest priority target for

⁸² Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 48.

⁸³ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 52.

⁸⁴ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 53-54.

⁸⁵ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 56.

⁸⁶ T. Naco del Hoyo, B. Antela-Bernárdez, I. Arrayás-Morales, and S. Busquets-Artigas, "The 'Ultimate Frontier': War, Terror and the Greek Poleis between Mithridates and Rome," in *Frontiers in the Roman World: Proceedings of the Ninth Workshop of the International Network Impact of Empire*, eds. Ted Kaizer and Olivier Hekster, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 292.

https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004215030/Bej.9789004201194.i-378_017.xml

⁸⁷ Naco del Hoyo, Antela-Bernárdez, Arrayás Morales, and Busquets-Artigas, "The 'Ultimate Frontier'", 292-293.

⁸⁸ Naco del Hoyo, Antela-Bernárdez, Arrayás Morales, and Busquets-Artigas, "The 'Ultimate Frontier'", 293.

⁸⁹ Naco del Hoyo, Antela-Bernárdez, Arrayás Morales, and Busquets-Artigas, "The 'Ultimate Frontier'", 293.

⁹⁰ Naco del Hoyo, Antela-Bernárdez, Arrayás Morales, and Busquets-Artigas, "The 'Ultimate Frontier'", 297.

⁹¹ App. *Mith.* 5.28.

Archelaus, especially considering its support for Rome.⁹² According to Appian, Archelaus killed 20,000 men of mostly Italian descent and sent the sacred treasury of Delos to Athens.⁹³ Additionally, Archelaus made a special effort to destroy the harbour and he enslaved the remaining women and children.⁹⁴

When considering that Delos had an approximate population of 20,000 to 30,000 people prior to its ruin, it is clear that the island was a priority for reasons beyond its mere political support. This comprehensive destruction of Delos and the elimination of the entirety of its foreign population residing on the island supports the thesis of this project that states Mithridates VI sacked Delos for profound religious, ideological, and strategic reasons. As we have seen that Delos was both critical for winning Greek support as well as harming the Roman Republic, utter ruin of the harbour, market, and other institutions on Delos was necessary to signal the liberation of Asia Minor and the Aegean by the New Dionysus as well as to undercut the increasingly trans-Mediterranean and slave trade reliant Roman economy. Mithridates' VI actions in Roman Asia were successful as he produced a financial crisis in Rome during a time of civil strife in Roman Italy.⁹⁵

Now that we have given a detailed analysis of the Asiatic Vespers and the Sack of Delos, we can proceed to give a brief summary of the First Mithridatic War, starting after those aforementioned events in 87 BCE. The Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix landed in Greece and proceeded to lay siege to Athens, soon conquering and sacking the city itself in 86 BCE.⁹⁶ Later on in 86 BCE, Sulla and his legions met with Mithridates' VI general Archelaus at the Battle of Chaironeia where Sulla routed Archelaus and killed over 90% of his 120,000 man army.⁹⁷ Soon after the Battle of Chaironeia, Sulla again defeated Archelaus at the Battle of Orchomenos.⁹⁸ The territory Mithridates VI held in Asia Minor began to rebel shortly after these defeats and coupled with another Roman invasion force that landed in Asia Minor, Mithridates VI sued for peace.⁹⁹ Mithridates VI was to give up all his conquests in Greece and Asia Minor and was required to pay a war indemnity.¹⁰⁰ Clearly, this did not stop Mithridates VI as another two wars would be fought between Rome and Pontus over the next two decades.

The Sack of Delos brought about the island's decline in commercial importance in the Aegean almost immediately. Strabo noted how once Mithridates VI withdrew to Asia Minor, Delos was desolate and remained that way since.¹⁰¹ The damage caused by Mithridatic forces on Delos was deemed irreversible and the once

⁹² Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 68.

⁹³ App. *Mith*, 5.28.

⁹⁴ Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 68.

⁹⁵ Mayor, *The Poison King*, 21.

⁹⁶ Donathan Taylor, *Roman Republic at War: A Compendium of Battle from 498 to 31 BC*. (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2017), 71-72.

⁹⁷ Taylor, *Roman Republic at War*, 105-106.

⁹⁸ Taylor, *Roman Republic at War*, 201.

⁹⁹ Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C."

¹⁰⁰ Rickard, "First Mithridatic War, 89-85 B.C."

¹⁰¹ Strab. 10.5.

famous slave trade on Delos never recovered.¹⁰² This Delian decline was cemented when the island was sacked again by pirates in 69 BCE.¹⁰³

In this project, we have analyzed the religious, ideological, and strategic mindset of Mithridates VI in an attempt to demonstrate why he comprehensively sacked Delos in 88 BCE. From the day of his birth, Mithridates VI became a symbol of hope and liberation throughout the Near East. He took these prophecies seriously as he cultivated his image as a New Dionysius that as a representative of Truth and Light, fought the eternal evils of Darkness and Lies. These eternal evils were more than just a rhetorical device for a speech. The Darkness and Lies that Mithridates VI fought against were the untenable moral condition of debt and the traditionally illegal practice of slavery in ancient Persian religion. The Roman Republic in Mithridates' VI mind, was responsible for the perpetuation of these forces in his homeland. Delos, as the infamous slave port of trans-Mediterranean trade for Roman Italy was the focal point of his religious and ideological objections to the eternal evils that the Roman Republic spread in his domain. The economy of Delos, for all its notoriety and prosperity, was the weak-link in the Roman economy at the time as the Republican economy was making a rapid transition in becoming highly dependent on slave labour in Italy. Mithridates VI calculated that should the Delian distribution centre be demolished, it would severely hamper the Roman economy which thereby would slow the expansion of the Roman war machine in the Near East, especially due to the Social War raging in Italy at the time. Mithridates VI noted how money drove the imperialist ambitions of Rome and deprived of these connections, it would either temporarily slow their ability form armies or due to a Roman's rapacious nature, lead to rash military decisions which Mithridates VI believed he could take advantage of.

Delos was the focal point of the Roman Republic's expansionist efforts into the Near East while simultaneously representing the heart of all the issues Mithridates VI had with the Roman Republic. Delos' legacy as a cultural crossroads in the Aegean was solidified with the actions of Mithridates VI and the Roman Republic.

¹⁰² Rauh, *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce*, 69.

¹⁰³ "Delos (Cyclades) 423 Dilos – Δήλος."

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