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Ek tou Homerou ad Homerum: A Survey of the Roman Imperial Iconography of Homer

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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS

Department of Classics

ἐκ τοῦ Ὅμηρου ad Homerum:
A survey of the Roman imperial iconography of Homer
by
Juan Dopico

A thesis presented to the
Graduate School of Arts & Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree
of Master of Arts

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Ad maiorem gloriam Dei

et

pro genitoribus meis, Alexandro Mariaeque, hoc operum factum est.

si hortum in bibliotheca habes, nihil deerit (Cic. ad fam. IX, 4)

Introduction

This thesis examines the changes in the iconographic development of Homer during the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods in material culture, coins, and with special attention to Roman mosaics.¹ This comparative study of Greco-Roman art will show that the iconographic changes of Homer mark changing cultural attitudes. More specifically, this study will argue that the image of Homer in Roman mosaics seems to appear with intellectual figures and motifs of literature and to designate social intellectualism. Because of this, it seems that the iconography of Homer during the Roman imperial period allows the patron to express his literary and intellectual pretension. By placing the changes in Homer's iconography in the first three centuries AD, I hope to open conversation concerning Roman influence, patronage, and societal attitudes in both literature and art during the Second Sophistic with special attention to the Platonist literary tradition.

The issue of Roman patronage of Greek culture during the Second Sophistic has already been duly noted in literature and archaeology. For example, Whitmarsh has argued that "figures like Antipater, Crinagoras, and Philip were deeply implicated in the Roman project".² Moreover, Alcock noted that the changing landscapes of Achaia (the Roman province of Greece) were a result of "well-born and wealthy Romans, many of whom traveled to Greece, and especially Athens".³ This is apparent in building projects in Athens funded by Roman patronage.⁴ These literary and archaeological studies have reevaluated the Second Sophistic not as simple Roman absorption of Greek culture, but rather as a complex phenomenon in which cultural ideas transcend geographical and

¹ No study is complete without reference to Greek and Roman literature, whose authors appear whenever they may elucidate the social milieu in which the piece of art is found.

² Whitmarsh (2013), 151.

³ Alcock (1993), 16.

⁴ Enos (2008), 141-44: Some examples include Marcus Aurelius establishing the imperial chair of rhetoric at Athens in AD 174. Enos also notes that the *bema* at Athens, which served as equivalent to the Roman *rostra*, was not popularized until Roman building in Athens and reference to it in literature is rare prior to the Romans.

cultural boundaries.

The problem, then, is why such treatment is lacking in other fields such as Greco-Roman art. To what extent did Roman art and patronage absorb and copy Hellenistic models? Did Roman art innovate in any way? Furthermore, to what extent did Roman art and patronage either influence or reflect intellectual developments during the Second Sophistic, especially in literature? To these questions, the treatment of Homer is useful because his iconographic changes during the Second Sophistic occur in Roman contexts which reflect and parallel his treatment in literary and intellectual circles, in particular the Middle and Neoplatonists whose treatment of Homer we shall now examine.

Although the Middle and Neoplatonist treatments of Homer show no comprehensive unified approach, Homer typically appears as an authoritative figure. For example, in his *De audiendis poetis*, Plutarch wants to show that poetry has both good and bad, that it has an educative purpose, and that it introduces the student to philosophy.⁵ When arguing that poetry is an imitation of real life, Plutarch uses Homer as the foremost and authoritative example (συνεκυφέρει μίμησις, ὥσπερ ἡ Ὀμήρου πολλὰ πάνυ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς χαίρειν φράζουσα).⁶ As Hunter and Russell point out, Plutarch satirically summarizes Stoic interpretative tradition and drives a wedge between Homer and the Stoics.⁷ In using Homer in this way, Plutarch is able to define his own interpretative model of poetry in opposition to the Stoic tradition. Consequently, the use of Homer not only lends authority to Plutarch's work, but also enables Plutarch to create his own positive definition and identity of poetry.

In contrast to Plutarch, the Middle Platonist Philo of Alexandria (d.c. AD 50) extends the

⁵ Plut. *De Audiendis* 16a. ἀλλὰ ἐν ποιήμασιν προφιλοσοφητέον ἐθιζομένους ἐν τῷ τέρποντι τὸ χρήσιμον ζητεῖν καὶ ἀγαπᾶν...ἀρχὴ γὰρ αὕτη παιδείσεως

⁶ Plut. *De Audiendis* 25b-c διὸ καὶ κακίας καὶ ἀρετῆς σημεῖα μεμειγμένα ταῖς πράξεσιν ἢ μὴ παντάπασι τῆς ἀλεθείας ὀλιγωροῦσα συνεκυφέρει μίμησις, ὥσπερ ἡ Ὀμήρου πολλὰ πάνυ τοῖς Στωϊκοῖς χαίρειν φράζουσα μήτε τι φαῦλον ἀρετῆι προσεῖναι μήτε κακία χρηστὸν ἀξιοῦσα, ἀλλὰ πάντως μὲν ἐν πᾶσιν ἀμαρτωλὸν εἶναι τὸν ἀμαθῆ, περὶ πάντα δ' αὖ κατορθοῦν τὸν ἀστεῖον.

⁷ Hunter and Russell (2011), 142.

meaning of Homeric texts by drawing upon Stoic precedents of allegoresis.⁸ For example, as Lamberton points out, Philo in his essay *On Providence* uses the Homeric phrase “let there be a single king” (*Il.* 2.204: εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω) to describe a more appropriate relationship between God and the world.⁹ Although his method contrasts with Plutarch’s, it is also clear that Philo clearly respected Homer not only as a poet (*De conf. ling.* 4: ὁ μέγιστος καὶ δοκιμώτατος τῶν ποιητῶν), but as a theologian as well.¹⁰ Although both interpretative strategies of Plutarch and Philo are different, they both use Homer in an authoritative manner for intellectual purposes.

Similar treatments of Homer, deployed in order to give authoritative weight, occur in the Neoplatonists Numenius, Plotinus, Porphyry, and Proclus. For example, in *Enneads* 6.5, Plotinus invokes *Iliad* 1.199-200, where Achilles is restrained by Athena, in order to portray a moment of divine epiphany and to invoke the abstract concept of τὸ ὄν.¹¹ Furthermore, in echoing Numenius, Plotinus takes the Homeric εἶδωλον as the lower expression of the higher soul which is in contact with the material world.¹² Similarly, in his *Cave of the Nymphs*, Porphyry cites eleven lines of the *Odyssey* 13.102-12 whose contradiction “lovely and murky cave” (*Od.* 13.103: ἄντρον ἐτήρατον ἡεροειδές) he explains as caused by perceptions occurring at multiple levels.¹³ Finally, Proclus creates a Homer who “contemplated the same transcendent truths and that [his] writings, properly interpreted, can be shown to have handed down the same teachings about those truths”.¹⁴ In these examples, the use of both Homer and Homeric passages becomes a tool that allows a Platonist to elaborate and to define his or her philosophical precepts.

Consequently, although interpretative strategies vary from one Platonist to another, it is clear

⁸ Lamberton (1986), 45-6.

⁹ For translation, see *ibid.*, 52. For explanation of the passage, see *ibid.*, 52.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 51.

¹¹ *ibid.*, 93-4.

¹² *ibid.*, 103.

¹³ *ibid.*, 127: Lamberton’s translation and explanation.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, 183.

that Homer appears in an authoritative fashion. In doing so, the use of Homer enables the Platonist either to create an interpretative identity of poetry as in the case of Plutarch or to positively define philosophical concepts as in the case of Porphyry. More simply put, the use of Homer becomes a tool for explanation, elaboration, and, by extension, self-identification. As Lamberton shows, the tendency to emphasize the authority of Homer stems “in part, no doubt, because of the need to offer an authoritative scripture able to bear comparison with the scriptures of the increasingly threatening Christian tradition”.¹⁵ But how should one explain the other part as in the case of Plutarch when Christianity was not as prominent as it was for Proclus? But more importantly, are these literary attitudes reflected elsewhere, for example in art?

The extent to which a figural image on a work of art can represent abstract concepts or describe something about its patron depends on various conditions. The medium of the work, such as sculpture or mosaic, might have determined what was depicted. For example, mythological scenes, such as the rape of Persephone or the death of Meleager, usually appear in Roman sarcophagi to express the horror of death.¹⁶ Next, the context of the work, such as time period or architectural setting whether public or private, might also have influenced what scenes appear on a piece of art. Finally, different geographic regions, such as Trier, Germany or Gerasa, Jordan, might have employed unique motifs that may color or nuance an interpretation of a similar image.

This complex relationship of image, medium, and context provides difficulties for the interpretation of the iconography of Homer because as we shall see in the first chapter one or more of these elements is missing. However, this relationship may be elucidated by one crucial assumption about Roman patronage practices without which it will be very difficult to give plausible explanations for the artistic use of the intellectual type of Homer. Namely, it seems that an image was chosen for its

¹⁵ *ibid*, 16.

¹⁶ Mayer (2012), 148-9

decorum (“appropriateness”), a term that governed all aspects of Roman public life.¹⁷ For example, in his *de Officiis* I.122 and I.134, Cicero informs the reader what is appropriate for humor and recreation. In respect to art, Vitruvius states that a piece of art is *decor* if it has been put together with authority (*auctoritas*) and if it is appropriate to its own *natura* (character).¹⁸ Because the concept of *decor* or *decorum* is a social term, it presupposes “an intimate involvement of the patron in art production” who works with the artist in choosing an image that is appropriate to social norms and architectural contexts.¹⁹ Furthermore, because *decor* or *decorum* relies on social consensus, Roman patronage behavior is primarily concerned with issues of self-representation.²⁰ For example, Cicero, although an advocate of peace, kept a statue of Mars perhaps demonstrating his awareness of societal attitudes towards war; Cato the Younger went to Cyprus to confiscate and sell Egyptian royal property, although keeping a statue of Zeno for himself and, thus, calling to attention his own Stoic proclivities.²¹ Finally, because a work of art is *decor* or a *decorum* if it is consistent with its *natura* (character), it is now necessary to consider the character (*natura*) and behavior of Roman mosaics. General observations of the architectural contexts, functional uses, types of images found, and other developments will provide a framework for what ranges of meanings and interpretations are plausible for the iconographic development of Homer.

With respect to the architectural contexts of Roman mosaics, it should be immediately recognized that the majority of mosaics found in antiquity come from private houses and semi-public

¹⁷ Perry (2005), 31.

¹⁸ Vitr. *De arch.*I.2.5: *decor autem est emendates operis aspectus probatis rebus compositi cum auctoritate. is perficitur statione, quod grace thematismos dicitur, seu consuetudine aut natura.* Perry (2005), 32. Interestingly, for an analysis on Vitruvius’ terminology of criteria for architecture, see Marvin (2008), 169. Marvin points that out of five of the six criteria *ordinatio, dispositio, eurythmia, symmetria, decor,* and *distributio*, only for *decor* Vitruvius never gives a Greek alternative.

¹⁹ Perry (2005), 34.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 65.

²¹ For Cicero’s collecting habits and his concern for those pieces that suited his personality, see Marvin (1989). For Cato the Younger, see Pliny *NH.* 43.92. For other examples of this behavior such as Herodes Atticus in the second century AD, see Perry (2005), 65 ff.

locations such as *basilicae* and baths. Furthermore, mosaics are rarely found in temples of state cult or major civic buildings, such as a *curia*.²² This is important because the Roman *domus* or *villa* was the focal point of “structuring social encounters and so of producing social relationships”.²³ The size of the Roman *domus* and *villae* generally signals the social status of the owner in which houses with impluviate *atriums* are identified with the elite, row-houses with open courts with the 'middle-class' (Mayer draws upon Wallace-Hadrill's analysis), and smaller houses associated with the peasant small-holders.²⁴ Within the Roman *domus*, the *atrium* served as the nucleus of less privileged activity such as that of clients whereas the peristyle (a later import) provided a space for privileged friends in its more lavish spaces.²⁵ In addition, the Roman *domus* was also a key image and motif in literature. In his *Mostellaria*, Plautus compares his upbringing to that of building a house (called here an *aedis*):

*haec argumenta ego aedificiis dixi; nunc etiam volo
dicere ut homines aedum esse similis arbitremini.
primum dum parentes fabri liberorum sunt:
i fundamentum substruunt liberorum;
extollunt, parant sedulo in firmitatem,
et ut <et> in usum boni et in speciem
populo sint sibi que, hanc materiae reparant
nec sumptus ibi sumptui ducunt esse;
expoliunt: docent litteras, iura, leges,
sumptu suo et labore
nituntur ut alii sibi esse illorum similis expetant.
Mostellaria 118-128*

I have spoken these instances from houses; even now I want to speak so that you consider men to be similar to houses. In the first place then, parents are the artisans of children: they lay the foundations for their children; they raise them up, they carefully prepare them in firmness, and so that they may be both for the people and themselves good in service and in view, by no means they spare possessions nor they consider expense in that to be of an expense; they refine them: they teach them letters, ordinances, laws, they use their own expenses and work so that others may want to be similar to them.

The parents are like the builders of a house in the upbringing of their children. One should also note that there is also a public element to the private nature of the house. The private upbringing of children

²² Wallace-Hadrill (1997), 219.

²³ Elsner (1995), 59.

²⁴ On impluviate houses, see Mayer (2012) who draws upon Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1997).

²⁵ *ibid*, 239.

teaches them to be good citizens and private individuals (*in specie / populo sint sibi*). A similar theme occurs in Quintilian who wrote in the 1st century AD. The Roman *domus* becomes a place where the orator (a public figure) can privately strengthen his faculties of memory:

domum forte magnam et in multos diductam recessus. in ea quidquid notabile est animo diligenter adfigunt, ut sine cunctatione ac mora partis eius omnis cogitatio possit percurrere Quint. *Inst.* XI.2.18.

[such as] perhaps a great house which is divided into many recesses (rooms). In it they add diligently to the mind whatever is notable so that without hesitation and delay thought may run through all its parts.

Each physical room of the Roman *domus* provides the orator an individual physical space for a specific thought or memory. For Quintilian, the process of moving from one thought to another in the mind mimics the actual physical movement from one room to another. In a way, the *domus* becomes an extension of the individual, where some spaces, such as the *atrium*, may signal one's "piety to divine protectors and social and genealogical status to the world outside".²⁶ As Bergmann notes, the Roman *atrium* and its smoky hearth are "the focus, [holding] busts and epitaphs of ancestors and a shrine to the indwelling spirit of the house".²⁷ Furthermore, the *atrium* is a transitory space, and the principles of *decorum* would call for works of art that reinforce this transitory character of the *atrium*. A very good example of this is the painted panels in the *atrium* of the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii that depict both Briseis being led to Achilles and Zeus lifting the veil of Hera; both Briseis and Hera are transitioning from their single status to partnership or marriage.²⁸ In this example, the painted panels are consonant with both the transitory nature of the *atrium* and the transitory nature of Roman social practices of marriage.²⁹ Consequently, the Roman *domus* serves as a focal point for both Roman social practices and self-expression.

²⁶ Bergmann (1994), 225.

²⁷ *ibid*, 225.

²⁸ *ibid*, 245.

²⁹ For more on the Roman wedding, in particular its public and social focus on women, see Hersch (2010), 1-14.

Similar to the painted panels above, different kinds of mosaics and where they are laid might make it possible to ascertain to some degree not only the tastes and preferences of the patron but also reinforce social and cultural attitudes. Floors, covered in *opus signinum*, or other mortar aggregates, were used for heavily used parts of the house whereas the *opus sectile* and *emblemata* were used for private rooms or reception areas, such as the *triclinium* for select guests.³⁰ A figural mosaic might have an entirely different audience and context if found in the *atrium* where a patron would meet his client than if the same mosaic was found in the *triclinium*. For example, the House of the Bear in Pompeii, whose floors were laid before AD 62, contains black-and-white mosaic *signinum* in the *fauces* and the *atrium* whereas a polychromatic floor depicting heads of Cupids and Gorgons is used in the fountain *nymphaeum* in the peristyle garden.³¹ In this example, only select guests would be able to see the polychromatic floor of Cupids and Gorgons in the *nymphaeum* if invited by the patron. The use of both black-and-white mosaics in more public, heavily worn areas of the house and polychromatic mosaics in more private areas reinforces cultural and social hierarchies.

Moreover, mosaic pattern development is highly uniform throughout the Roman imperial period across various regions. The earliest Roman mosaics found in Fishbourne, Sussex in the first century AD, for example, are black-and-white geometric *opus sectile*.³² By the second century, mosaics in Britain, although rare, become polychromatic with floral and classicizing figural representations along with geometric patterns, as in the case of a Cupid mosaic also found in Fishbourne.³³ Beginning in the third and fourth centuries, the mosaics in Britain increasingly disregard classicizing naturalism, such as the Venus mosaic found in Rudston.³⁴ A similar pattern of development during the Roman imperial

³⁰ Dunbabin (1999), 307.

³¹ *ibid*, 307-308.

³² *ibid*, 88.

³³ *ibid*, 89-90.

³⁴ *ibid*, 99-100.

period occurs in the provinces of North Africa which contain the largest number of extant mosaics. Black-and-white mosaics with geometric patterns were primarily used in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD (e.g. House of the Cascade at Utica) although the process was gradual in the 1st century BC.³⁵ During the second century AD, the mosaics became polychromatic with vegetal, floral, and classicizing figures such as the mosaic found in Carthage depicting the busts of the Muses.³⁶ Then, by Late Antiquity, the mosaics became abstract and linear in their schemes. This is typical of the period in North Africa as well as the rest of the Roman Empire.³⁷ Even the mosaics of Greece conform to this development of black-and-white mosaics within the first century AD, then polychromatic floors of naturalizing and classicizing motifs in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, and, finally, linearity and abstraction in figural representations during Late Antiquity.³⁸

It must be stressed, however, that these generalizations are not iron clad but broad sketches which help one understand mosaic development as a whole. It is impossible to ascertain when workshops decided to switch from one mosaic type to another since older types of mosaics do not necessarily disappear when new types are first developed. Furthermore, there are some regions that do not follow the typical pattern of development, such as Syria and the Levant. On the one hand, Antioch-on-the-Orontes and its suburbs Daphne and Seleucia are not known to contain black-and-white examples from the first century AD. Mosaics such as the Judgment of Paris found in the Atrium House are polychromatic with naturalizing and classicizing geometric shapes and figures.³⁹ Nevertheless, a departure from classicism and naturalism also occurs by the 3rd and 4th centuries AD as in the example of the mosaic of the Musicians from Mariamin, which is hieratic and frontal.⁴⁰ On the other hand, the

³⁵ *ibid*, 103.

³⁶ *ibid*, 104.

³⁷ *ibid*, 115.

³⁸ *ibid*, 214-215

³⁹ *ibid*, 161-162

⁴⁰ *ibid*, 171. The hieratic and frontal development of art also has a close parallel in The Imperial Procession at the temple of Ammon at Luxor which demonstrates a hieratic organization is contemporaneous. On the Imperial Procession, see Elsner

mosaics from Palestine, for the most part, are rarely found in secular contexts, except perhaps the Herodian mosaics and some found in private houses in Jerusalem. Rather, the majority of the mosaics are found in sacred buildings, which mark a distinct departure with the rest of the Roman Empire.⁴¹ Although specific dates are impossible, shifts in the development and use of mosaics are, nevertheless, traceable and recognizable.

What one will find in any systematic analysis of mosaic motifs is the Roman preoccupation with portraying one's status either intellectually or with some other social value such as *virtus*. For example, in his analysis of the mosaics of Antioch, Glanville Downey suggests that the personified μεγαλοψυχία mosaic in Daphne, Antioch, dating to the fifth to sixth century AD, represents Aristotle's definition of μεγαλοψυχία (*Nic. Eth.* 4.3.3. 1123b δοκεῖ δὴ μεγαλόψυχος εἶναι ὁ μέγλων αὐτὸν ἀξιῶν ἄξιος ὧν "It seems that he is of greatness in soul who considers himself worthy of much and is worthy [of much]").⁴² Along with the personified μεγαλοψυχία, the mosaic depicts hunters chasing animals in scenes known as *venationes* that symbolically represent the ideal or greatness of a man by his dominion over animals as far back as the Hellenistic period.⁴³ However, *contra* Downey, the only discernable connection here between Aristotle and the scenes of *venatio* is the presence of the personified μεγαλοψυχία. Although the personified μεγαλοψυχία of the mosaic may not be that of Aristotle, *venatio* scenes do seem to convey greatness or virtue. For example, Steven Tuck shows that hunting scenes in imperial imagery display *virtus* such as the Hadrianic tondi.⁴⁴ Similarly elsewhere in Sicily, whose mosaic workshops were closely associated with those of North Africa, *venatio* scenes seem to convey *virtus* or μεγαλοψυχία, the most famous being that of the Great Hunt in Piazza Armerina.⁴⁵

(1995), 173-174, and Varner (2004), 215.

⁴¹ Dunbabin (1999), 187.

⁴² Downey (1938), 356-7. For other interpretations of this mosaic, see *ibid*, 357, n. 19.

⁴³ *ibid*, 357.

⁴⁴ Tuck (2005), 237.

⁴⁵ It has been argued that the Sicilian workshops borrowed the hunting repertory from the North African Workshops. However, it also seems that the Sicilian workshops influenced those of N. Africa according to Wilson (1982), 413-15. What

What is important, however, is that scenes of *venatio*, although Hellenistic in origin, were used by the Romans to describe their perception of *virtus*.⁴⁶ By hunting and defeating exotic animals, Roman elites could display their manly *virtus* as well as their social elite status. For example, in Varro's *De Re Rustica* III.3.7-8, Merula comments on how the Roman villa includes enclosures for hunting (*sic in secunda parti ac leporario pater tuus, Axi[i], praeterquam lepusculum e venatione vidit numquam*). This passage shows how hunting becomes a pastime for wealthy Romans.

So far it is necessary to recapitulate what has been discussed. First, the Platonist treatment of Homer seems to demonstrate that Homer can be used in authoritative ways in order to demarcate an interpretative strategy of poetry as in the case of Plutarch. By Late Antiquity, this use of Homer begins to acquire symbolic and allegorical dimensions in which Homeric passages serve to elaborate, explicate, or define philosophical precepts. Second, the image of a Roman mosaic may be *decor* or a *decorum* if it is appropriate to the cultural, social sensibilities of the patron and its architectural contexts. The images that tend to be a *decorum* seem to enable the patron to express an abstract concept such as *virtus* or reinforce his or her social status. With these points established, we shall now turn to the examination of the iconography of Homer in the pages that follow, showing that the image of Homer might convey socially the patron's intellectual or literary pretension.

The first chapter will explore the iconography of Homer in different material evidence during the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. During the Hellenistic period, the Archelaos relief, coinage, and funeral epigraphy seem to demonstrate a unified conception of Homer as a divine figure. Here, it should be noted that the term "divine" will be left intentionally vague. The term (θεῖος) "divine" can mean either that Homer is a god or that the term "divine" is a high form of praise. The

all of this may show, however, is that the repertoire of motifs was highly uniformed in the Mediterranean and that workshops tended to move from place to place.

⁴⁶ Tuck (2005), 221.

distinction between the two conceptions is unclear and may rely on a comprehensive interpretation of an art work that includes the medium and architectural, geographical, and temporal contexts of the piece of art. However, even if a comprehensive approach is insufficient, there is the possibility that both conceptions of the “divine” are not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, after the Hellenistic period, the iconography changes but only in mosaics and epigrams which exclude the use of the “divine”. Because of the mosaics’ private and functional uses, it seems that patrons employed the images of Homer to display their literary pretension and intellectualism, even perhaps their *ingenium* (“talent” or “natural capacity”). However, some imperial coinage from Asia Minor continue the Hellenistic pattern of depicting Homer similar to that of the Archelaos relief and other Hellenistic coins. This seems to suggest that the development of Homer as an intellectual figure used to express the patron’s erudition and intellectual authority is an outgrowth of specifically Roman patronage and ideology as well as dependent on regional geographies.

Nevertheless, because of the paucity of Hellenistic and Roman imperial examples displaying Homer, Chapter Two will explore whether a similar trend to that of Homer can be found in other cultural figures. Because of their connection to Homer, Chapter Two will examine the iconography of the Muses, whose pattern of development is similar to that of Homer. The iconography of the Hellenistic period first displays the Muses with their attributes, and usually in close association with Apollo and a victorious poet. Hellenistic literature also mirrors the shifts in iconography. However, under the Roman Empire, Roman mosaics, although adopting the attributes of the Muses from the Hellenistic period, seem to show a shift from Apollo to literary and intellectual figures. As a result, in Roman mosaics the Muses seem to become personifications of genres of literature. Furthermore, this development seems to also occur in Roman literature. Nevertheless, two mosaics from Roman North Africa display the Muses with Apollo, indicating the longevity of the Hellenistic archetypal pattern. Finally, funerary epigrams in both Hellenistic and Roman periods display a pattern of their own in

which the patron almost always employs the Muses in order to eulogize the deceased.

Finally, it is important to explore the extent to which Roman patrons employ Hellenistic motifs, models, and iconographic archetypes, especially with regard to Roman elite values. If Hellenistic motifs and iconographic patterns were sufficient to express the values of Roman patrons and elites, this would suggest that the shift in iconography of the Muses and Homer in Roman mosaics occurred in order to express the changing values of the wealthy. The image of Homer would then serve to abstractly represent intellectualism among Roman patrons. Chapter Three will establish a cultural link between Orpheus and Homer in both Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. Whereas in the Hellenistic period both figures were connected with poetry and Apollo, Homer and Orpheus became putative founding and Greco-Roman cultural figures in the literature of the Roman Empire. Establishing this link between the two figures, Chapter Three will examine the iconography of Orpheus. From the late Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, Orpheus exclusively appears in both mosaics and coinage charming the animals. Furthermore, Orpheus mosaics and imperial coinage can convey Roman ideologies of stability and power through his mystical and musical powers which contrast the technical and intellectual skill of Homer's words.

Chapter 1: The Image of Imperial Homer

This chapter will show that the depiction of Homer during the Roman imperial period falls into two similar yet distinct traditions. The first is that which portrays Homer as a divinely inspired poet who is at the forefront of literature during the Hellenistic period. The second tradition, appearing no earlier than the 1st century AD, seems to be a Roman innovation which uses the iconography of Homer to convey social elite intellectual activity. In order to show this, the chapter will first analyze the material evidence in the Hellenistic period, namely, the Archelaos relief, Greek coinage, and funerary epigrams. From the examples of the Hellenistic period, it is clear that Homer is a divinely inspired poet who is apotheosized. Once this has been established, the chapter will move onto the material evidence from the Roman imperial period. Five of the six Roman mosaics at issue depict a non-divine Homer with other literary or intellectual figures. The sixth mosaic, dating to the late 4th century AD, provides an exception to the pattern of the imperial period by which the patron desires to display his intellectual erudition, especially when the architectural contexts are known. Further exceptions can be found on a geographical scale, such as Asia Minor where coins and funerary epigrams retain the divine Homer. Finally, the use of Homer to portray intellectual activity also manifests itself in funerary epigrams dating no earlier than the Roman imperial period. Although the evidence is sparse, it seems that the intellectual Homer dates no earlier than to the Roman imperial period.

To begin, reliefs, coins, and funerary epigraphy all depict Homer as a divine figure during the Hellenistic period. One of the most notable examples is the Alexandrian relief signed by Archelaos of Priene (Fig.1). Due to the style of the drapery on the Muses, Pollitt suggests that the relief dates to around 225-200 BC.¹ Three registers divide the relief and contain distinct but interlinked scenes. In the

¹ Pollitt (1986), 16. However, M. Schede (1920) has suggested the date of ca 125 BC. See also Pinkwart (1965a), 55-65, and Watzinger (1903).

top register Zeus sits with a scepter in hand alongside both an eagle and the female figure of Mnemosyne.² In the middle register, Apollo stands holding a *kithara*. Accompanying Apollo to his right are the Muses, indicated by their attributes such as globe or lyre, and a victorious poet with a tripod. Finally, in the bottom register, Homer sits enthroned like Zeus above while holding a scroll in one hand and a scepter in another.³ Behind Homer, Chronos and Oikoumene stand about to crown him. To the right of Homer are personifications of the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, Myth, History, Tragedy and Comedy.⁴ The faces of Chronos and Oikoumene, however, display characteristics of Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoë III, who had established an official cult for the poet by founding the first *Homereion*.⁵ Shrines to Homer elsewhere seem to have received royal patronage as well, in particular Smyrna and Pergamum.⁶ Indeed, the founding of the *Homereion*, represented by the sacrificial scene of the bottom register of the Archelaos relief, seems to have celebrated a festival at Alexandria.⁷ A fragment of the *Tabula Iliaca* (Fig.2) dating to the Late Hellenistic period also depicts Homer reading while seated on top of an altar.⁸ Therefore, returning to the Archelaos relief, the overall impression is that Zeus is the source of poetic inspiration whose foremost recipient, Homer, serves perhaps as a divine figure and a symbolic ancestor of any victorious poet.⁹ Here, the status of divinity may serve either to compliment

² Pollitt (1986), 16.

³ *ibid.*, 16

⁴ *ibid.*, 16.

⁵ Onians (1979), 103; Pollitt (1986), 16; R.R.R. Smith (1991), 187; Newby in Newby and Leader-Newby (2007), 172. Additionally, on the facial characteristics of Ptolemy IV and his wife Arsinoë III, see Watzinger (1903), 17-20, who compares the Archelaos relief to the coinage of Ptolemy IV.

⁶ For a discussion of the shrines to Homer in their entirety, see Pinkwart (1965b), 169-73. For specifically Smyrna, see Pinkwart (1965b), 90. Finally, for Pergamum, see Moreno (1994), 561-3.

⁷ Pollitt (1986), 16. Furthermore, Newby in Newby and Leader-Newby (2007), 166-167 has compared the Archelaos relief to votive reliefs. In particular one votive relief from the Piraeus, dating to the early fourth century BC, displays three personified figures of Tragedy, Comedy, and Dithyramb approaching a reclining Dionysos. The procession of personified literary genres should recall the bottom register of the Archelaos relief where personified Myth, History, Poetry, Tragedy, and Comedy partake in sacrificing a bull. In 176, Newby discusses the festive aspects of the relief, pointing to the Mouseia festival at Thespiae: *IG VII 1760, ll. 14-17; 1762, ll. 1-4* (discussed by Pallone [1984], 189).

⁸ Zanker (1995), 194-5, fig. 103.

⁹ Pollitt (1986), 16. For the allegorical analysis and the divinity of Homer also see Brilliant (1963), 21, who titles the relief as “Apotheosis of Homer”. Bieber (1955), 127-129, and Decharme (1904), 270-354, have also treated the allegorical nature of the relief. Nevertheless, Newby in Newby and Leader-Newby (2007), 156, puts it succinctly, “Thus the relief has been interpreted as an allegory of poetic inspiration...Its foremost recipient is Homer, whose epics of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*

Homer or to indicate that Homer is actually a god, perhaps signaling a change in the conception of gods during the Hellenistic period where men and gods are on the same level. Furthermore, it should be noted again, that the use of “divine” as a compliment or a claim of actual godhood are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Whatever the case may be, the Archelaos relief and other *Homeria* do give a divine status to Homer in a ritual setting.

A similar sentiment of Homer’s divine status in the Hellenistic period can be found in various Greek coins. For example, the city of Ios during the 2nd and 1st centuries BC minted coins which display on their obverses Homer with a *τατνία* (filet) and hairstyle typically associated with Zeus and Apollo (Fig.3).¹⁰ On the reverses are either divinities or other images such as palm trees.¹¹ Furthermore, the city of Chios issued a coin on whose obverse Homer reads the *Iliad*; the city of Kolophon minted a bronze *obol* portraying on its obverses Homer sitting enthroned while holding a book roll in his left hand; and finally, Smyrna casted a bronze coin which also depicts Homer sitting enthroned with a book roll in hand.¹² Writing about Smyrna at the later date of the 1st century AD, Strabo remarks that Smyrna laid special claim to Homer by building a shrine to Homer and by naming the aforementioned bronze coin like the *Homereion*, which dates back to the Hellenistic period.¹³ Finally, the coins of Kolophon and Smyrna which display Homer in a similar manner also depict on their obverses Apollo. Because the coins are similar to the Archelaos relief in this respect, perhaps there is a repeated pattern during the Hellenistic period that displays the divine Homer at the forefront

(crouching by his side) will last forever and have given rise to other literary genres as well as inculcating moral virtues in their readers”.

¹⁰ Zanker (1995), 165.

¹¹ For full description, see Wroth (1886), 101 and for photos see pl. xxiii 8-11.

¹² For Chios, see *ibid*, 166. For Kolophon, see Milne (1949), 79-81, and pl. x. 178m, who dates the coin to the 1st century BC. For Smyrna, see *RPC* 1.1, Smyrna nos. 2463-91, 417-21, in which the death of Julius Ceasar (44 BC) serves as a *terminus ante quem*.

¹³ On the building the shrine to Homer, see Strabo *Geographica* XIV.1.37: ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξόανον. On the name of the coin, see *ibid*, XIV.1.37: μεταποιῶνται γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι διαφερόντως τοῦ ποιητοῦ, καὶ δὴ καὶ νόμισμά τι χαλκοῦν παρ' αὐτοῖς Ὀμήρειον λέγεται.

of poetry and literature. In order to do so, the iconography borrows motifs used to portray the gods and applies them to Homer. The tentative result is that Homer is apotheosized.

Finally, the idea of a divine Homer also appears in a number of funerary epigrams. Often in these epigrams, the epithet θεῖος (“divine”) describes Homer. Because funerary epigrams are found in contexts whose religious aspects are not always clear, there is a greater possibility that the “divine” epithet serves as a compliment, albeit with some reservations. For example, in the *Palatine Anthology* Antipater of Sidon, a Greek poet living in the second half of the 2nd century BC, has the following pseudo-epigram attributed to him:

Τὰν μερόπων Πειθῶ, τὸ μέγα στόμα, τὰν ἴσα Μούσαις
 φθεγξαμένην κεφαλάν, ᾧ ξένε, Μαιονίδεω
 ἄδ' ἔλαχον νασίτις Ἴου σπιλᾶς· οὐ γὰρ ἐν ἄλλα
 ἱερόν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοὶ πνεῦμα θανῶν ἔλιπεν,
 5 ᾧ νεῦμα Κρονίδαο τὸ παγκρατέζ, ᾧ καὶ Ὀλυμπον
 καὶ τὰν Αἴαντος ναύμαχον εἶπε βίαν
 καὶ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῖοις Φαρσαλίσιν Ἴκτορα πῶλοις
 ὅστ' ἔα Δαρδανικῶ δρυπτόμενον πεδίῳ.
 εἰ δ' ὀλίγα κρύπτω τὸν ταλίκον, ἴσθ', ὅτι κεῦθαι
 10 καὶ Θετίδος γαμέταν ἅ βραχύβωλος Ἴκος. *Anth. Pal.* VII.2

O Stranger, I, this stone native to the island of Ios, received the Persuader of mortals, the great mouth, and the great head of Maionides that sang equal to the Muses; for in no other [island] but me, when he died, he left his holy breath with which he spoke of the all-powerful nod of the son of Cronos, with which he spoke of both Olympus and the fighting-at-sea life of Ajax and the Hector tearing the bones by means of Pharsalid horses of Achilles in the Dardanain field. But if I cover one of such small age, know that the small-earthly Ikos even guards the spouse of Thetis.

In this sepulchral epigram, Antipater of Sidon raises Homer, indicated by the patronymic Μαιονίδεω, to the level of divinity. At a cursory glance, this may serve to compliment Homer. However, instead of being inspired by the gods, Homer does the inspiring by leaving his holy breath (ἱερόν...πνεῦμα) for the island of Ios in this example. Antipater goes so far as to equate Homer with the power of Peitho indicated by Τὰν μερόπων Πειθῶ in apposition to κεφαλάν. In another epigram, Antipater of Sidon states that Kolophon “is yoked under” or “submits” (ὕπέζευκται) before Homer just as Poseidon

“submits” before Zeus (*Anth. Pal.* VII. 409).¹⁴ Thus, in these pseudo-epigraphic sources there seems to be a strong tradition of a divine Homer.

The divine Homer of the Hellenistic period, however, seems to have disappeared from the iconographic record during the Roman Empire in most geographic regions except Asia Minor. Elsewhere in the Roman Empire Homer appears as an intellectual figure in the extant epigraphic and mosaic record. Although Homer has been part of philosophical discussions since the Classical period and the “divine” Homer seems to indicate high opinions of Homer, it is salient that in art the intellectual type of Homer seems not to predate the imperial period. In particular, Roman mosaics seem to gravitate to associating Homer with other literary figures such as Cicero or Vergil and intellectual figures such as Thucydides or Pythagoras. If so, the material evidence outside of Asia Minor seems to form an iconographic tradition by which the patron can display his intellectual activity or pretension, especially when the architectural context of a mosaic is clear.

The first example of the intellectual Homer is the so-called Monnus mosaic from Trier (Fig.4), named after the inscription *MONNVS FECIT* (*CIL* XIII. 3710). It was found in 1884 inside an apsidal hall of a large Roman building.¹⁵ The layout of the mosaic is typical of the third century AD workshops in the Rhineland: crowded ornamental compositions in which bands of guilloche separate panels or compartments of varying shapes (octagons in the case of the Monnus mosaic).¹⁶ The center octagon containing the inscription *MONNVS FECIT* also has labeled figures below. Although the figures themselves, along with most of the panel, are not preserved, the labels identifying the figures remain intact: *Ingenium* on the left, Homer in the center, and Calliope on the right.¹⁷ Only the top of Homer's

¹⁴ *Anth. Pal.* VII.409: εἰ δ' ὕμνων σκάπτρον Ὅμηρος ἔχει, | καὶ Ζεὺς τοὶ κρέσσων Ἐνοσίχθωνος · ἀλλ' Ἐνοσίχθων | τοῦ μὲν ἔφου μείων. Ἀθανάτων δ' ὕπατος, | καὶ ναετὴρ Κολοφῶνος ὑπέξενκται μὲν Ὅμηρον, | ἀγείται δ' ἄλλων πλάθεος ὕμνοπόλων.

¹⁵ Lewis (1898), 204.

¹⁶ Dunbabin (1999), 79.

¹⁷ Daniel (1996), 32.

head survives whereas a shoulder and parts of the head of *Ingenium* survive. Around this center panel there are guilloches followed by eight other octagonal panels that should contain the other eight muses since the panels at 9:00 and at 10:30 are not preserved.¹⁸

In each of these octagonal panels of the Monnus Mosaic a single Muse accompanies a single male figure who is the supposed discoverer of a specific genre of literature. In the panel at 3:00, Clio, the muse of history, is accompanied by Cadmus. This Cadmus is either Cadmus of Miletus who is credited with inventing historical prose or the related Phoenician-Theban Cadmus who supposedly imported the Phoenician alphabet to Greece.¹⁹ Depicted between them are a pillar and a globe whose meaning is unclear.²⁰ Another example of a Muse and a male figure is the octagonal panel at 1:30 which depicts the Muse Euterpe and Hyagnis who was known as the inventor of flute playing.²¹ Another panel depicts Urania teaching Aratos with pointer and globe.²² In addition to these paired figures are eight panels around Homer and Calliope that have other Roman and Greek intellectuals and literary figures of which the following survive: Hesiod, Cicero, Livy, Menander, Vergil, and Ennius.²³ By virtue of those images, the mosaic is a hodgepodge of intellectual and literary figures mashed together without discernable significance. This might suggest that the patron did not care for the specific details of what each figure might have represented, but rather wanted to give the impression that he was an intellectual.

This interpretation might be further elucidated from the presence of the personified *Ingenium* (“natural capacity”, “character”, or “talent”). The most salient point here is how the presence of a

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 32.

¹⁹ *ibid.*, 33. For Cadmus of Miletus the first writer of history, Pliny *HN* 7.20 and Josephus c. *Apionem* 1.3; for Cadmus of Miletus the inventor of Greek prose, *Suda* κ 22 and Pliny *HN* 5.112; for the Phoenician-Theban Cadmus who brought the Phoenician alphabet, Herodotus 5.57-60, Diodorus Siculus 5.74, Pliny *HN* 7.192, and Tacitus *Ann.* 11.14; and for the Phoenician-Theban Cadmus who is the inventor of writing, Solinus 7.23 (*Cadmus litterarum primus repertor*).

²⁰ Parlasca (1959), 44.

²¹ Daniel (1996), 33.

²² Parlasca (1959), 44.

²³ Lewis (1898), 224-8. Livy only survives slightly (Parlasca 1959, 42).

personified figure urges one to interpret abstractly parts of the mosaic, if not the entire mosaic.

Because the personified *Ingenium* is next to Homer, we may ask whose *ingenium* is being portrayed: the patron's or Homer's or simply the general conception of *ingenium*? Another question concerns whether or not the personification of *Ingenium* may connote a divinity in the same way as the Muses.²⁴

There is no easy or clear answer to these questions and, perhaps, to a different viewer at a different time, this personified *Ingenium* might represent any one of these variations of *ingenium*. However, the presence of the inscription *MONNVS FECIT* suggests that the personified *Ingenium* should be considered as a way of speaking about a quality of a person and not a separate divinity. Indeed, in Latin poetry, *ingenium* “natural capacity” is the opposite of *ars* “technique”, as for example in Ovid's *Tristia*.²⁵ Furthermore, in contexts of education *ingenium* also is used to describe one's natural capacity to learn. For example, Cicero states that a man with *ingenium* can excel in learning.²⁶ Both the range of contexts in which *ingenium* appears and its contrast to *ars* suggest that *ingenium* is quality of a person, namely his or her “talent”. Indeed, the idea that the personified *Ingenium* simply represents “talent” is more consonant with the theme of the mosaic as a whole. Furthermore, the proximity of the inscription *MONNVS FECIT* might offer an interpretation in which the mosaicist might have wanted to bring attention to his own talent as well. There is also the possibility that Homer's *ingenium* is celebrated due to the fact that the image of Homer is in the center flanked by the personified *Ingenium*. It is quite possible, therefore, that Homer becomes a model of *ingenium* to which patron, mosaicist, or viewer may aspire and emulate.

²⁴ For the range of objects, including divinities that are personified in the Ancient World, see Stafford and Herrin (2005), Introduction xx ff. For the ambiguity of Muse as personification, especially in literature, see Murray in Stafford and Herrin (2005), 147-59. Furthermore, in Chapter Two of this thesis, we shall delve into the matter.

²⁵ *Ov.Tr.III.3.73-4: hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor Amorum | ingenio perii Nero poeta meo.* For a fuller treatment of Ovid's *ingenium* and *ars*, see McGowan (2009), 197-201.

²⁶ *Cic. Lig 10: homo cum ingenio tum etiam doctrina excellens.* For *ingenium* as a talent in oratory, see Suetonius *Cal.* 3 and Dio 56.24.7, 26.1, who speak about Germanicus' speaking ability. For a fuller treatment of *ingenium* in education and for civic purposes, see Corbeill in Too (2001).

However, the inclusion of other literary figures suggests that Homer was not the only role model. Busts of figures such as Cicero or Cadmus, whichever one it may be, indicate that rhetoric and history have a part in *ingenium* as well. For example, in Book X of *Institutio Oratoria*, Quintilian in his discussion of *heci*s (oratorical skill) argues that one may acquire *heci*s through reading and writing literature.²⁷ Quintilian even adds that poetry is essential for the orator in order to learn how to excite emotion from his audience and to provide refreshment for one's own mind from the day-to-day activities of the courts.²⁸ The study of different literary genres and emulation of role models in those genres thus provide an avenue for *ingenium*. Yet, the centrality of Homer along with the personified *Ingenium* does suggest that by learning Homer, or epic poetry, one would achieve the pinnacle of intellectual pursuits.

Furthermore, the juxtaposition of female Muse and male recipient reinforces this notion of intellectual activity. On the one hand, Cadmus, Aratos, and Hyagnis are seated and are depicted as recipients of what each Muse teaches. Indeed, as Bunnell Lewis points out, Cicero in his *Tusculan Disputations* equates the Muses with knowledge (Cic. *Tusc.*V. 66. *quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina...*). The *id* serves to equate its antecedent *Musis* with *humanitate* and *doctrina*. In a sense, each Muse is simply a personified branch of knowledge (see Chapter 2). Finally, for Cicero, the purpose of learning is to gain both virtue and health of the mind (*Tusc.*V.67 *bonum autem mentis est virtus*).

On the other hand, both the juxtaposition of figures and the themes of erudition occur on Roman sarcophagi as well. For example, a strigilated sarcophagus (Fig.5) in the Museo Nazionale Romano in

²⁷ *Inst.Orat.* X.1.1-2: *sed haec eloquendi praecepta...illis firma quaedam facilitas, quae apud Graecos heci*s nominatur, accesserit: ad quam scribendo plus an legendo an dicendo conferatur, solere quaeri scio. Quod esset diligentius nobis examinandum [citra] si quamlibet earum rerum possemus una esse contenti; verum ita sunt inter se conexas et indiscretas omnia ut, si quid ex his defuerit, frustra sit in ceteris laboratum. Nam neque solida atque robusta fuerit umquam eloquentia nisi multo stilo vires acceperit, et citra lectionis exemplum labor ille carens rectore fluitabat...

²⁸ *Inst.Orat.* X.27:...praecipue velut attrita cotidiano actu forensi ingenia optime rerum talium blanditia reparantur...

Rome, which displays a bucolic scene, depicts a male figure with one hand clutching a scroll and another hand raised in the gesture of philosophers.²⁹ Furthermore, generally his wife accompanies him in what are typically known as *clipeus* portrait motifs.³⁰ Below the motif, there is a pastoral bucolic scene symbolizing the idyllic life. Another bucolic sarcophagus now in Pisa (Fig.6) contains a male figure in a medallion who is surrounded by sheep and the Muses.³¹ These bucolic scenes belong to the *humana vita* type where the patron wishes to speak about his life and primarily his *pietas* and *virtus*.³² Consequently, the juxtaposed figures of male founder and Muse might call to mind in the Roman viewer similar images from Roman sarcophagi. If so, then the Monnus mosaic stresses the *virtus* or more simply the achievements of these legendary founders.

Finally, because the mosaic's architectural context is unknown save that it was found in an apsidal hall, it is impossible to conclude with certainty what the patron might have wanted to express or do with the mosaic. However, some general observations of architectural developments in the Roman Rhineland may provide some insight. The regions of Trier and the Gallic Rhineland displayed early signs of Romanization with villas appearing in the second quarter of the first century AD.³³ For example, the timber from the villa at Borg, near Trier, dates to ca. AD 20-30.³⁴ Furthermore, the Anthée villa type, characterized by its axial orientation and double courtyard, has the strongest distribution in modern day Picardy, Centre, Cher, Burgundy, Trier, Switzerland and Belgium.³⁵ Yet, more importantly, the axial nature of the Rhineland villa is a feature also shared by villas of North Africa, such as the

²⁹ Koortbojian (1995), 81. For the image of the sarcophagus in Rome see Figure 41 in Koortbojian. For a full catalogue, see R. Belli in Guiliano, ed., *Museo Nazionale Romano: Le Sculture*, 1/8 (1), pp. 154-157, for this sarcophagus (ca. AD 250-300).

³⁰ Birk in Birk and Poulsen (2012), 114.

³¹ Koortbojian (1995), 81-2. For the image of the sarcophagus in Pisa see Figure 43 in Koortbojian.

³² *ibid*, 82.

³³ Roymans and Habermehl in Roymans and Derek (2011), 83.

³⁴ *ibid*, 90.

³⁵ *ibid*, 84-6.

Maison au Portique from third-century AD Volubilis.³⁶ Furthermore, the villa at Reinheim, Germany shows another development consistent across the empire. In its third building phase, dating to the first half of the third century AD, room 64 had its west wall converted into an apse.³⁷ These axial and apsidal developments in the Rhineland paralleled developments elsewhere in the Roman Empire in which libraries and *triclinia* generally acquired apsidal features all of which are rooms used by guests one way or another.³⁸ Thus, the apsidal feature of the room in which the Monnus Mosaic was found, might have been used for receiving guests. If so, there is the possibility that the patron of the Monnus Mosaic wished to convey his literary *ingenium* to his guests. However, what can be said with a greater degree of certainty is that the Monnus mosaic is the first example which marks a distinct new development in the iconographic representations of Homer.

Another example that breaks with Hellenistic patterns is a mosaic also from the Rhineland workshops that contains all the same themes as the Monnus mosaic. This mosaic (so-called Homer and the Muses Mosaic) from modern day Vichten (Fig.7), dating to ca. AD 240, also depicts Calliope and Homer in a central octagonal panel although the personified *Ingenium* is not present.³⁹ In the panel, Homer sits frontally with his right hand apart. Because the raised separate right hand is in the middle of the panel, it calls attention to itself and to Homer. The closest comparandum to this phenomenon occurs in imagery of emperors, such as an *aureus* of Caracalla struck in AD 208 during Severus' joint rule with Caracalla and just before his joint rule with Geta beginning in AD 209 (Fig.8).⁴⁰ It displays Septimius seated frontally raising his right hand while his sons, Geta and Caracalla, turn towards

³⁶ Hales (2003), 199.

³⁷ Florian Sărățeanu-Müller in Roymans and Derek (2011), 307.

³⁸ For apsidal rooms beginning as early as the 2nd century AD in general, see Bowes (2010), 52. For apses connoting reception/dinning spaces, see Hales (2003), 77; Bowes (2010), 86; and Ellis in Ray Laurence and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1997), 41-2.

³⁹ Krier et al (2002), 46.

⁴⁰ *BMC* V, 271 Nr. §; C. 455 (AU). For comparisons to other art media, see Brilliant (1963), 205 n.42. For Septimius Severus rule and Caracalla's elevation to Caesar, see Boatwright, Gargola, and Talbert (2004), 406-13.

Septimius looking up from their seats. The raised right hand is a feature of Roman imperial scenes such as the *adlocutio* or *libertas*. Its origins lay in Etruscan-Italic sculptures, especially prominent in the Etruscan “Orator” statue in Florence (Fig.9).⁴¹ The gesture connotes dignity by signaling the address of a magistrate and drawing the eye of the viewer from the person’s hand to the person himself.⁴² Returning to the mosaic, the raised right hand thus emphasizes Homer’s status. Complementing the function of the right hand is Calliope who is turned and brings the viewer’s eyes towards Homer. Furthermore, Calliope links together Homer’s status and literature by pointing down to a *cista* full of scrolls. Finally, the juxtaposition of the two figures, the clutching of the scroll, and the raised hand recall not only the Monnus Mosaic, but also the *humana vita* type of Roman sarcophagi.

Moreover, as in the Monnus mosaic, bands of guilloches separate the center panel in a crowded design from the other eight octagonal panels that contain the other eight Muses who also have labels above them. Nevertheless, the mosaic of Vichten lacks additional male figures who are founders of their respective literary genres as well as the personified Seasons. However, as in the case with guilloches, the portrayal of all the Muses, octagon panels, and the juxtaposition of Homer and Calliope, it is clear that there is a shared repertoire between the mosaic of Vichten and the Monnus Mosaic. For example, in both mosaics the Muse Euterpe holds (Monnus) or plays (Vichten) two Roman *tibia* that are consistently longer than the Greek *auloi*.⁴³ The panel of the Muse Clio in the Vichten mosaic also contains the strange pillar and globe motif found in the Monnus mosaic. Urania is also depicted with a globe in both mosaics. Furthermore, because the mosaic was found in a reception room, one may suppose that the patron also wanted to convey his literary and intellectual pretension, primarily through the status of Homer exemplified by the extended right hand.⁴⁴ Consequently, in this example, the

⁴¹ Brilliant (1963), 30-1. See n.42.

⁴² *ibid*, 30-31. For the characterization of the magistrate’s dignity see also E.Laughton (1961), 27-49.

⁴³ Nervegna (2010), 42.

⁴⁴ Krier et al (2002), 45.

iconography of Homer abstractly displays elite intellect. This also might be the purpose of the Monnus mosaic which has a shared repertoire with the mosaic from Vichten. If so, the mosaics from the Rhineland workshops seem to show a tradition utterly different from the epigrams and coinage of the Hellenistic period. Homer is not a divine or apotheosized figure. Rather, he is on the same human level with Cicero, Vergil, or Hesiod. Homer is an imitable intellectual elite figure whose images perhaps convey a social intellectual status in the Rhineland.

Although the first two examples are from the West, a mosaic found in Gerasa, Jordan suggests a similar pattern in the depiction of Homer in the East. The so-called Mosaic of the Muses and Poets (Fig. 10) was discovered *in situ* in a rectangular room (perhaps a *triclinium*) in 1907, and disassembled into 22 sections in 1908, and then re-assembled in 1979 and 1980.⁴⁵ A border of guilloche 20 cm wide encloses a frame that contains a looping garland and medallions of personified Seasons in each corner.⁴⁶ The garland along with two birds encloses a bust of a Muse or a bust of a famous literary figure.⁴⁷ In between the personifications of Spring and Summer is Calliope within one garland and Homer in another to her right.⁴⁸ The bearded Homer wears a *pallium* and does not have his head crowned by a laurel nor does he hold a scroll as in the previous examples. Furthermore, Homer is sidelined and does not dominate the mosaic as in the Monnus Mosaic or the mosaic from Vichten. Rather, he is part of a larger decorative border along with other literary personages and their accompanying Muses, as seen below. Between the personifications of Summer and Autumn along the

⁴⁵ For the architectural context of the room, see Hachlili (2007), 248 and Grossman (2006), 149. . Although Grossman gives no particular reason as to why he believes the mosaic was found in a *triclinium*, his reconstruction might shed some light. His reconstruction of the original layout of the mosaic has the mythological scene of Heracles and Dionysus in a \supset pattern. These scenes would then match the arrangement of the Muses and male *literati* (see below) and would allow the viewer to see them right side up (151). This pattern also might designate where the couches should be placed within the *triclinium*. For the dissembling of the mosaic, see Piccirillo (1993), 282. Because the mosaic was dissamled and reassembled there is no real way of telling if Grossman's conjectures are correct.

⁴⁶ *ibid*, 282.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, 282.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, 283.

length of the mosaic lies Clio followed by Thucydides instead of Cadmus found in the Monnus Mosaic.⁴⁹ Other literary figures are Anacreon and Alcman on either side of Erato. To the right of Alcman is Euterpe followed by Stesichoros.⁵⁰ These literary figures along with the Muses frame another central scene separated by a border of an alternating geometric design that includes large rhombuses and smaller diamonds. These panels perhaps depict a Dionysiac procession: one scene has a drunken Silenus on the back of a donkey accompanied by a Satyr while Herakles undresses a woman with a second woman looking on; a second shows a Satyr standing near a young woman on a bed; a third displays two Satyrs and a Maenad together with a boy holding a thyrsus; in a fourth, Dionysus and Ariadne are drawn on a chariot by two centaurs who are playing the lyre and a double flute; and in the fifth a bearded Pan rides a goat.⁵¹

The presence of Dionysus and a Satyr in central panels is a common motif both in sarcophagi and in mosaics elsewhere in the Roman Empire. They generally evoke personified themes of drunkenness and sexuality of Bacchic revelry.⁵² For example, the sarcophagus of Endymion at Palazzo Braschi depicts a lascivious Satyr and the androgynous god Dionysos.⁵³ A mosaic found in Sephoris, Israel (ca. 3rd century AD) also contains the inscription MEΘH “drunkenness” above a wearied Herakles and a victorious Dionysus.⁵⁴ This motif, typically called the Drinking Contest, exudes a moralizing message and a preoccupation with drinking that has gone too far.⁵⁵ Additionally, Dionysus during the Hellenistic period was also established as Musagetes, a patron of literary arts and a role usually assigned to Apollo.⁵⁶ Therefore, the mosaic from Gerasa perhaps demonstrates the patron's

⁴⁹ *ibid*, 283.

⁵⁰ Grossman (2006), 149-150.

⁵¹ Piccirillo (1993), 283.

⁵² For sarcophagi, see Koortbojian (1995). For mosaics, see Kondoleon (2000).

⁵³ Koortbojian (1995), 136-7.

⁵⁴ Kondoleon (2000), 68-9.

⁵⁵ *ibid*, 68.

⁵⁶ Hanfmann (1958), 84.

preoccupations with Dionysiac revelry and literary discussions, both of which are typical of Roman *cenae* or *symposia*. If so, the mosaic might be programmatic in which it alerts the viewer to the discussions or warnings that the patron might want to give. Although importance is given to Dionysus with Homer and other literary figures taking a secondary role, it is important to remember that the mosaic from Gerasa like the Monnus mosaic depicts Homer with other intellectual figures. This suggests that there might be a shared iconographic repertoire across the mosaics of the Empire albeit with some regional differences. If so, then there is the very real possibility that Homer is viewed broadly as an intellectual figure among Roman patrons.

This possibility is strengthened by another provincial mosaic found in Seleukeia (or Lyrbe) (Fig.11). Known as the Seven Sages Mosaic, this floor also depicts Homer with other figures such as Thucydides or Cadmus.⁵⁷ Dating to sometime after the second century AD, the mosaic laid in the niche of a room that was claimed by Inan to be a library.⁵⁸ The damaged mosaic has a border of simple guilloches as in the example from Jordan that separates smaller panels from one another and the central panel. In the smaller panels there are busts of philosophers, orators, and political figures such as Pythagoras, Demosthenes, and Solon. In the center panel there are three inscriptions from left to right: ΙΑΙΑC, ΟΜΗΡΟC, and ΟΔΥC[CEI]Α. All that remains of the image is the head of the personified *Iliad* holding a spear in her right hand. Although depiction of Homer is not preserved in this mosaic, some reconstructions are possible. The Seven Sages Mosaic of Gerasa has earlier Hellenistic and Roman precedents, such as the Memphis Serapeum's sculptural group of poets and philosophers.⁵⁹ Furthermore, a Roman mosaic from Pompeii also depicts the Seven Sages in standard Greek clothing

⁵⁷ Inan (1998), 104. The name of the city has been called into question. Horsley (2000), 46 only mentions that the city might be Lyrbe.

⁵⁸ Inan (1998), 86-91. However, Horsley remains skeptical. For the date, see Inan (1998), 107. As with the architectural context, Horsley (2000), 47, offers an alternative speculating that the mosaic was laid down in Late Antiquity.

⁵⁹ Onians (1979), 159. For ancient testimony, the canon includes Thales, Sidon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilon, Bias, and Pittacus (Plat. *Prot.* 342e–343b; Plin. *N.H.* 2.53; Plut. *Moralia* II, *Septem Sapientium Convivium*; D.L. *Vitae* 1.13; Decimus Ausonius *Ludus Septem Sapientium*). For dating Thales as the first of the Seven Sages, see Mosshammer (1976).

seated in a semicircle.⁶⁰ The figure farthest to the right is holding a scroll and a figure third from the right has one arm propped in contemplation. These motifs along with other figures seem to give a thematic expression of learning and intellectual conversation. Similar to the Pompeian mosaic is another mosaic found in Apamea, Turkey that portrays Socrates surrounded by other sages (Fig. 12).⁶¹ Socrates wears a *pallium* and raises his right hand, pointing two fingers upwards in a gesture of teaching.⁶² Recall the Vichten mosaic in which Homer extends his right hand in similar fashion and the attention to a person's status and authority the gesture conveys. In light of these examples that employ repeated use of the same repertoire spanning across centuries it might be possible to reconstruct an image of Homer who has a beard, wears a *pallium*, and with an extended right hand.

Finally, if the Seven Sages Mosaic from Gerasa actually laid in a library, then the mosaic serves both as a functional and as a decorative piece. On the one hand, it might serve to emphasize whose works one may expect to find in the library. By employing the motif of the Seven Sages, the mosaic can also suggest a prescription for what the viewer should read if he or she seeks wisdom. On the other hand, the theme of the mosaic serves as an appropriate decoration for the library. Whatever the functional purpose of the mosaic or the function of the room might have been, the general sensation of the mosaic seems to convey intellectual and literary themes. If so, similar to previous examples, the use of literary and intellectual themes in the Seven Sages Mosaic from Gerasa might convey social elite status although this is by no means certain.

The final example comes from Kisamos, Crete (Fig.13). The mosaic was found in a Roman villa whose other mosaics date to the late 2nd to early 3rd century AD.⁶³ In the northern end of the villa

⁶⁰ A comparable mosaic was found in Sarsina. The Sarsina and Pompeii mosaics derive from a common source, Elderkin (1935), ff. 92, and for photo, see pl. XVII.

⁶¹ Balty (1995), 266.

⁶² *ibid*, 266.

⁶³ Markoulaki, Christoudoulakos, and Phragkonikolaki in *Creta romana e protobizantina: atti del congresso internazionale*, Vol II (2004), 370. Furthermore, this villa is Roman because it contains a *lararium* (Αμέσως μετά την είσοδο υπήρχε το οικιακό ιερό 370) and a *tricinium* (room 1: Το μεσαίο (δωμ. 1) είναι τυπικό δείγμα τρικλινίου με παραστάσεις νεκρών

and to the west of a *triclinium*, there is an apsidal room which contains a mosaic whose center scene is from Menander's comedies, *Sikyonios* and *Theophoroumene* as indicated by their inscriptions.⁶⁴ Around the center scene are busts of poets in medallions of which only a bearded Homer is preserved and who has a *ταινία* surrounding the locks of his hair.⁶⁵ While the use of the *ταινία* might recall the Hellenistic coins that portray Homer in similar fashion, indicating perhaps a divine Homer, the surrounding scenes of the *Sikyonios* and *Theophoroumene* ought to dissuade us from such immediate conclusions. Menander and New Comedy were popular during the imperial period because Menander served as a pedagogical text. Indeed, Homer and Menander are coupled together in our literary sources for this very purpose: Quintilian (*Inst.* 10.1.69), Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* 18.607), and Ausonius (*Protrepticus* 45-7).⁶⁶ Curiously, however, the *Theophoroumene* is rarely cited in our literary and epigraphic sources despite the popularity both of Menander and the relative popularity of *Theophoroumene* scenes.⁶⁷ In fact, there are ten monuments, five terracotta figurines, and three mosaics, all spanning some six centuries, that portray scenes from the *Theophoroumene*.⁶⁸ Furthermore, New Comedy scenes, in particular the *Theophoroumene*, were found in domestic spaces, primarily in rooms for entertaining guests.⁶⁹ Although the mosaic of Kisamos is found in an apsidal room whose function is unknown, its location next to the *triclinium* might suggest a room used for the reception of guests. Additionally, the peripheral position of Homer in a simple medallion with other literary figures recalls the mosaic at Gerasa. The peripheral nature of Homer and the centrality of New Comedy scenes seem to suggest an importance on New Comedy. Furthermore, the apsidal nature of

φύσεων σε ἐπάλληλες ζώνες 470).

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, 370-1. For the inscriptions, see *SEG* LIV 857.

⁶⁵ Markoulaki, Christoudoulakos, and Phragkonikolaki in *Creta romana e protobizantina: atti del congresso internazionale*, Vol II (2004), 371.

⁶⁶ Nervegna (2010), 54.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 55.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 28-32.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, 59-60.

the room, the room's location next to a possible *triclinium*, and the literary nature of the mosaic, particularly New Comedy, recall patterns already discussed. Although it is impossible to ascertain the patron's intentions apart from perhaps his or her taste for New Comedy, nevertheless Homer appears once again with other literary and intellectual figures.

Thus far, five different mosaics have demonstrated some general tendencies that should be mentioned here. First, portrayals of Homer in Roman mosaics tend to amalgamate preexisting Hellenistic motifs such as book scrolls and crowns. Second, the Romans innovated in some ways: removal of divine associations, addition of literary and intellectual figures, and use of the extended right hand in order to designate social status. The Monnus Mosaic depicts Homer alongside both the personified *Ingenium* and literary figures from various genres juxtaposed to the appropriate Muse, recalling the *clipeus* motif found in *humana vita* type of Roman sarcophagi. The Vichten mosaic replicates juxtaposition only in Homer and Calliope in the center panel. Yet, it also adds a laurel, a book scroll, and Homer with his right hand raised with two fingers pointed up in the center panel clearly displaying a literary focus. The mosaic of Gerasa shares many similarities with the Monnus Mosaic in depicting Homer, the Muses, and various literary figures, but its main concern may be a moralizing discussion on drunkenness and revelry. The Seven Sages Mosaic of Seleukeia is the first example that directly links Homer to the philosophers, whereas the previous examples have linked Homer to intellectual pursuits indirectly. Finally, the mosaic from Kisamos links Homer with busts of other poets. In each of these instances not only does there seem to be the theme of the literary and intellectual life, but also these themes appear in conjunction with motifs expressing status or authority. Notwithstanding the paucity of evidence, the iconography of Homer seems to appear whenever the patron might have wanted to express literary and intellectual status.

However, there are some exceptions to these five mosaics, suggesting that geographic regions might not only account for the use of different motifs, but also entire archetypal patterns as well. One

such example is an *opus sectile* panel found in Kenchreai, Greece (Fig.14). The panel was found in a shipping crate lying in an apsidal space (called the “Fountain Court”) which had a fountain in the middle of the apse.⁷⁰ The Fountain Court was part of an Iseon, a shrine to Isis.⁷¹ The *opus sectile* panels have as a *terminus ante quem* the year AD 375 and were perhaps made in AD 365.⁷² The *opus sectile* panels contain marine panoramas as well as two consular figures, Plato, Theophrastus, and Homer (labelled OMH POC). In his glass panel, Homer stands frontally in hieratic fashion on a pedestal framed by borders of palmette and lotus motif.⁷³ In his left hand there is a scroll or some book like object.⁷⁴ On the same side there is a long staff that leans upon his shoulder.⁷⁵ Over his right shoulder is draped a *pallium*.⁷⁶ His right hand is raised in some gesture, perhaps reaching to his beard in contemplation.⁷⁷ Finally, his hair is fastened by a *ταυρία*, his eyes have a gazing look, and his face is bearded.⁷⁸ Unlike our previous examples, three distinct features stand out that would suggest a reading of the image that recalls the Archelaos relief.⁷⁹ The first is the gaze of Homer which is reminiscent of the Constantinian gaze and, thus, is “typical of the spiritualizing tendency that developed in the third century and continued in the fourth reaching a climax in the fifth”.⁸⁰ Second, Homer has a long staff that recalls the scepter from the Archelaos relief, especially when, thirdly, Homer has a full beard and a *ταυρία*. Despite the spiritualizing trend, the panels of the Fountain Court interpreted together display no

⁷⁰ Scranton in Ibrahim, Scranton and Brill (1976), 1. Foschia (2009), 222.

⁷¹ *ibid*, 222.

⁷² Scranton in Ibrahim, Scranton and Brill (1976), 1. Radiocarbon studies of the crates narrows the range of the years to AD 320-410 (Brill 249-50). Whereas Scranton concludes even further based on the evidence of a coin, dating to AD 365 and found on the sill of the door between the Fountain Court and the Cellar of the Temple (Scranton 268). Furthermore, Oliver (2001), 356, points to both the seismic disturbances of AD 365 and AD 375 and the abandonment of the destroyed complex in which the panels were found.

⁷³ Ibrahim in Ibrahim, Scranton and Brill (1976), 168. Forschia (2009), 222.

⁷⁴ Ibrahim in Ibrahim, Scranton and Brill (1976), 169.

⁷⁵ *ibid*, 169.

⁷⁶ *ibid*, 169.

⁷⁷ *ibid*, 169.

⁷⁸ *ibid*, 169-70.

⁷⁹ *ibid*, 171-3.

⁸⁰ *ibid*, 173. For the gaze of Constantine in art, especially coinage, see Elsner in Lenski (2012), 262, who states that the enlarged eyes are from Hellenistic models of ideal kings.

religious scenes particular to the Iseion.⁸¹ Instead, Forschia suggests that the panels give a general impression of Greek *paideia*.⁸² However, without knowing how the panels would have decorated the Fountain Court, it is impossible to offer any definite interpretations.

With the exception of the Kenchreai *opus sectile*, the extant pattern of Roman mosaics for the image of Homer portrays Homer with other literary and intellectual figures. In doing so, Homer becomes a fellow literary or intellectual figure depending on the mosaic. These mosaics then seem to give an abstract expression of intellectual life that can be used by the patron in various ways depending on the architectural context. For example, the patron of the mosaic from modern-day Vichten perhaps wanted to display his intellectual erudition. Nevertheless, due to the fragmentary evidence of the mosaics and their paucity, it is difficult to make any definite conclusions. Therefore, a look into funerary epigrams during the Roman Empire will be able to illuminate to some extent the attitude already found in the five Roman mosaics outlined above.

Funerary epigrams from the some regions of the East during the Roman Empire also remove divine associations from Homer exemplified by the epithet θεῖος.⁸³ These epigrams, similarly to the mosaics, are concerned with literary excellence or virtue (ἀρετή) as in the example of *GVI* 1737 found on a funerary relief in Rhosos, Syria (3rd century AD):

ἄ μὲν Ὀδύσσειος γαμετὰ μύθοισιν Ὅμηρου
τὰν ὕμνοισ <ἀ>ρε|τὰν ἔσχεν αἰὲς γλυμμέναν... *GVI* 1737.

The Odyssean wife in the stories of Homer obtained virtue that is eternally famous in songs.

The epigram seems to identify the deceased woman as Penelope described by Homer in the *Odyssey*.

In doing so, the woman by means of her fidelity perhaps acquired eternal distinguished excellence

⁸¹ Forschia (2009), 222.

⁸² *ibid*, 222.

⁸³ *GVI*: **620** (Chios. I/II AD ?), **1182** (Relief. Miletopolis, Phrygia II AD), **1288** (Stele? Corcyra. II/III AD ?), **1305** (Stele. Kition, Cyprus. 2nd half of the II AD), **1332** (Relief. Athens. I/II), **1727** (IV AD ? – *Anth. Pal.* VII. 159), and **1737** (Relief. Rhosos, Syria. III AD).

(<ἀ>ρε|τὰν ἔσχεν αἰὲς κλυμέναν) in hymns (ὕμνοις). Another poignant example that has the theme of literary excellence is an epigram on a stele from Kition, Cyprus dating to the second half of the second century AD:

μὴ σπεύσης, ὦ ξεῖνε, παρελθέμεν, | ἀλλὰ με – βαιὸν
 στῆθι – μάθης | Κιλικῶν ἔξοχον ἠιθέων, |
 ὅς ποθ' Ὀμηρεῖαισι μετέπρεπον | ἐν σελίδεσσιν,
 4 δεικνὺς ἠρώων | ἠνορέην προτέρων ·
 ἐν δὲ | πατρὴν ζητεῖς, Κίτιον μάθε · | πεντάκι δ' ὀκτώ
 Μοῖρα μ' ἐτῶν | ζωῆς νόσφισεν ἠδ' ἐτάρω<v>. GVI 1305.

Do not hurry, O Stranger, to pass by, but – stay awhile –
 learn that I was prominent among Cilician heroes,
 I who once was distinguished in the pages of Homer
 4 by displaying the manhood of earlier heroes;
 and (if) you seek a fatherland, notice Kition;
 but Fate deprived me at the age of forty of life and of comrades.

The deceased was *prominent* among heroes (ἔξοχον ἠιθέων) and he distinguished himself (μετέπρεπον) in Homer's pages (Ὀμηρεῖαισι μετέπρεπον | ἐν σελίδεσσιν). Nevertheless, what is more striking about this epigram is that there are no Cilician heroes in the *Odyssey* or *Iliad*. Furthermore, what connection is there between the island of Cyprus and the region of Cilicia in Asia Minor? The term ἠνορέη may provide some insight. It appears in the *Odyssey* and *Iliad* in contexts of strength.⁸⁴ It also occurs once in Apollonios' *Argonautica* in the context of force.⁸⁵ Finally, it shows up in Pindar's *Nemean 3* in the context of triumph.⁸⁶ Overall the term contains connotations of physical force in military or competitive settings. The earliest event for a Roman in which Cilicia and Cyprus were joined together in contexts of force was after the Battle of the Cilician Gates in 39 BC. After the battle between Romans and Parthians, Demetrius, the governor of Cyprus appointed by Mark Antony, crossed over into the mainland in order to pursue Labeinus who had earlier defected to the Parthians at the Battle of the Cilician Gates.⁸⁷ Another event of violence in Cyprus was the Kitos War of AD 115-117, which also

⁸⁴ *Il.*4.303 ἵπποσύνη τε καὶ ἠνορέηφι πεποιθώς; *Il.*8.226 ἠνορέη πίσυνοι καὶ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν; *Il.*17.326 κάρτεϊ τε σθένει τε πεποιθότας ἠνορέη τε; and *Od.*24.509 ἀλκῆ τ' ἠνορέη τε κεκάσμεθα.

⁸⁵ A.R.3.189 πολλάκι τοι ρέα μῦθος, ὃ κεν μόλις ἐξανύσειεν ἠνορέη, τόδ' ἔρεξε.

⁸⁶ *Pi.N.*3.20 ἀνορέας ὑποτάταις ἐπέβα.

⁸⁷ Dando-Collins (2011), 35.

broke out in Egypt and Mesopotamia.⁸⁸ However, it is not certain which legions participated in quelling the revolt in Cyprus, although Fuks points to a Marcus Turbo, a governor of Egypt.⁸⁹ Returning to the epigram, however, it is uncertain to what Cilician heroes (2 Κιλικῶν ἔξοχον ἠιθέων) refer. However, it seems that the epigram links literary skill (3 Ὀμηρεΐαισι μετέπρεπον | ἐν σελίδεσσιν) with military skill (ἠνωρέη). Consequently, in these examples, the use of Homer in the epigram allows the patron to bring a literary distinction to the deceased. In doing so, the epigraphic evidence seems to treat Homer in ways similar to the Roman mosaics.

However, as the Kenchreai *opus sectile* panel has demonstrated, there are exceptions to archetypal patterns even in funerary epigrams. These exceptions come from Bithynia in Asia Minor and might suggest that the reception of the intellectual Homer varied from region to region. The first, *GVI* 1730, dating to the 1st century AD, states that the divine Homer was amazed at the tomb of Hector (1: Ἐκτόρεον τύμβον, <τ>ὸν ἐθαύμασε θεῖος Ὅμηρος, | - - -). The second, *GVI* 689, found on a gladiator's sarcophagus, also attaches the epithet θεῖος to Homer (1: τὸν Φρυγίη[ς πρόμαχον, τὸν θαύμασε] θεῖος Ὅμηρος |).⁹⁰ In addition to these epigrams, there are thirty series of Roman imperial coins across an array of provincial mints from Asia Minor, ranging from the late 1st century AD to the late 3rd century AD, that portray Homer in a manner similar to the Hellenistic coins discussed above.⁹¹ On both obverses and reverses there is either a bust of Homer with ταυνία or a seated Homer holding scroll or scepter in hand. On the other side of these coins that depict Homer there is either an imperial figure such as Commodus or a divinity. Note how the cities of Ios, Chios, and Kolophon continue to

⁸⁸ Fuks (1961), 99.

⁸⁹ *ibid.*, 100-1.

⁹⁰ *SGO* II (09/06/93 Nikomedia), does not restore this line of the inscription: 1 τὸν Φρυγίη[ς πρόμαχον (?) - - -] θεῖος Ὅμηρος. However, the epithet is secure.

⁹¹ All examples are in the *RPC*. For Ios, see: IV 5273 and IV 7947. For Nicaea in Bithynia-Pontus, see: IV 5527, IV 5644, IV 6034, IV 6246, IV 8432, IV 9532, and IV 10392. For Tium in Bithynia-Pontus, see: IV 5574. For Amastris in Bithynia-Pontus, see: IV 4902, IV 4903, IV 4904, IV 4905, IV 4906, IV 4907, IV 4908, IV 4910, IV 4913, IV 5477, IV 10200, and IV 10959. For Chios, see: IV 1000 and IV 3302. For Cyme, see: IV 215 and IV 2469. For Kolophon, see: IX 582, IX 586, IX 589, and IX 595.

portray the divine Homer of the Hellenistic period. Because of the persistence of this iconographic type, perhaps these coins issued by public authorities seem to indicate an “advertisement” not only of their Hellenic origins but also of Homer’s origins. If these examples serve as any indication, there seems to be a longevity of the Hellenistic archetypal pattern known in the epigraphic and numismatic repertoire. The persistence of the Hellenistic pattern in Asia Minor may indicate that the perceptions of Homer may vary from one region to another during the imperial period.

To conclude, both Roman mosaics and the funerary epigrams under the Roman empire perhaps used Homer in ways distinct, but not utterly separate from the Hellenistic pattern. The iconographic tradition of Homer in the Hellenistic period depicts Homer as a divinely inspired poet at the pinnacle of literature. This is especially manifest in the Archelaos relief where Homer sits like Zeus before the personifications of Tragedy and Comedy. Furthermore, the Hellenistic tradition continues well into the Roman imperial period, especially in the coinage from the region of Bithynia. However, the Roman mosaics develop a new pattern of iconography for Homer, only retaining Hellenistic motifs such as a book scroll or laurel crowns. But more importantly, the images in mosaics contain no divine elements and include other literary or intellectual figures, thus equating Homer to other intellectual and literary figures. Whereas both traditions overlap in employing themes and motifs of literature, the two traditions seem to differ in contexts and purposes. Furthermore, because of a continuing presence of the Hellenistic repertoire in Roman coinage, the Roman mosaics maybe formed a new and separate tradition. Furthermore, the presence of two patterns would present options from which the patron may choose in order to express his desired intentions and views. With architectural contexts permitting, perhaps the patrons of mosaics might have chosen a separate tradition of Homer in order to display their intellectual erudition. The intellectual type of Homer thus seems to have been designed out of Roman patronage practices and ideology.

Chapter 2: The Image of Imperial Muses

Because of the fragmentary and scant depictions of Homer discussed in the previous chapter, it is necessary to determine whether similar trends occur with other cultural figures. Since the Muses are associated with poetry, divinities, and Homer, this installment will examine the iconographic, epigraphic, and literary developments of the Muses during the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. From the onset, it should be recognized that the nature of the Muses is ambiguous and occupies a space between mythology and metaphor.¹ Therefore, it is very difficult to assess when the Muses are divine personages or literary abstractions. Nevertheless, both the iconographic and architectural contexts can solve this dilemma with some reservations. The evidence seems to indicate that the Muses undergo a similar treatment to that of Homer, from divine poetic inspiration to literary personifications.

Beginning with the Hellenistic period, the Archelaos relief and other material culture, such as marble plates and pottery, display the Muses with Apollo. Additionally, the Muses appear with individualized attributes and no longer inhabit their traditional abodes of Mt. Helicon or Mt. Olympus for the first time in art.² Moving onto the funerary epigrams, the Muses either appear collectively or individually with no distinction, thus indicating a separate tradition altogether. Next, in contrast to the epigrams, the literature of the Hellenistic period bears a closer resemblance to artistic depictions. Apollonios of Rhodes and Callimachos invoke individual Muses based on their characteristics for literary and poetic purposes.

Finally, during to the Roman Empire, distinguishing between a divine or abstract Muse becomes more difficult. There is no reason to exclude the possibility that an image of the Muse may

¹ For the original proposition of the problem, see Gombrich (1971), 249. For a definition of the Muses as indefinites of the qualities they are associated, see Murray in Stafford and Herrin (2005), 147.

² Queyrel “Mousa, Mousai” in *LIMC* VI.1, 678, points out in her commentary on the representative sample of Muse depictions that “Le IV...marque en fin des scènes de M. seules jouant ou chantant sur l’Helicon. Elles apparaissent toujours aux côtes d’Apollon”. All entries of the Muses can be found in Queyrel “Mousa, Mousai” in *LIMC* VI.1 (1992), 657-81.

depict both a divine Muse and a literary abstraction, especially since imperial iconographic depictions of the Muses borrow heavily from the motifs of the Hellenistic period. Here, I suggest that architectural contexts and the Roman conception of *decorum* (“appropriateness”) should act as our guiding principles. Namely, that if a mosaic uses other literary and intellectual images, the more appropriate interpretation (not the only interpretation) might be that the Muses are literary abstractions. This seems to be more plausible by that fact that there are two separate archetypal patterns in Roman mosaics. The first pattern depicts the Muses as personifications of literary genres either alone or alongside intellectual (and literary) male figures who are identifiable as in the case of Monnus Mosaic (Fig.4) or unidentifiable as in the case of the Literatenmosaik (Fig.16). The second is Hellenistic and depicts the Muses in the company of Apollo alone. The former suggests perhaps an intellectual and literary outlook whereas the latter proposes not only a continuation of Hellenistic paradigms but also the theme of divine poetic inspiration. Then, the funerary epigrams during the imperial period, although not departing from the Hellenistic pattern, shares a close resemblance to the first Roman mosaic tradition by using the Muses to convey themes of literature. Finally, Latin Literature, as in the case of Pliny the Elder and Apuleius, treats the Muses as literary abstractions. Consequently, the depictions of the Muses as literary abstractions in Roman mosaics may indicate an intellectual or literary pretension of the patron. Furthermore, once again, as in the case of the iconography of Homer, the association of the Muses with intellectuals in art cannot be found earlier than the imperial period.

Starting with Hellenistic art, it is useful to once again begin with the Archelaos relief (Fig.1). In its second register, Apollo holds a *kithara* in his left hand and wears the long *khiton* of the *kitharoidos* (a poet who sings along with the *kithara*).³ Next to Apollo, stand the nine Muses with their appropriate attributes of large lyre, small lyre, flute, scroll, or globe.⁴ Finally, on the right edge of the

³ Pollitt (1986), 16.

⁴ Onians (1979), 105.

middle register a poet stands on a pedestal in front of a tripod.⁵ In occupying the space between Apollo and poet, the Muses serve to link both Apollo and poet, bringing poetic inspiration from Apollo to poet. It is important to note that the Muses are not simply just literary metaphors of a specific genre of literature. Murray has pointed out that there are already personifications of Tragedy and Comedy in the bottom register of the relief, and concludes that the Muses constitute the process of poetic inspiration (respective to the appropriate genre).⁶ To Murray's conjecture, we can add that in the Archelaos relief, the Muses are very real divine personages because the middle register which the Muses occupy also contains a physical setting of a cave or a shrine (perhaps Delphi), and not the traditional abode of Mt. Olympus and Mt. Helicon.⁷ The inclusion of the physical setting suggests that not only the Muses metaphorically bring poetic inspiration from Apollo to the victorious poet alongside the tripod, but also that the Muses physically do so. Furthermore, the presence of a victorious poet with a tripod suggests that this poetic inspiration is not only divine, but also agonistic, namely, useful for poetic competitions.

The agonistic poetic theme is not unique to the Archelaos relief during the Hellenistic period, but also appears in other art works. For example, one of three marble plate reliefs dating to about 340 BC depicts Marsyas and Apollo. A second plate depicts three Muses. The third shows one Muse with an open scroll, another Muse with a closed scroll, and a third Muse with a *kithara*.⁸ The scene of Apollo, Marsyas, and the Muses occurs elsewhere a handful of times in different variations.⁹ For example, an Apulian *pelike* dating to 340-330 BC depicts two Muses facing Apollo, Marsyas, and a

⁵ Pollitt (1986), 16 elaborates that “[the poet] has sometimes been interpreted as Callimachos or as Apollonios of Rhodes, but this is simply speculation. There were undoubtedly many poets of lesser renown who competed for royal largesse and for fame at the court”.

⁶ Murray in Stafford and Herrin (2005), 154-5, 159.

⁷ Pollitt (1986), 16 states that at the middle of the register there is a round object representing the *omphalos* stone, the symbol of the seat of Delphi. If Pollitt's conjecture is correct, the setting of the middle register is Delphi.

⁸ no. 106 in Queryel (1992). Pseudo-Apollodoros recounts the tale in his *Bibliotheca* (*Apollod.*1.4.2): Marsyas challenged Apollo to a musical contest of the lyre. Apollo tells Marsyas to turn the lyre upside down and play. However, Marsyas could not play the lyre upside down and lost the contest. As a result, Apollo slew Marsyas.

⁹ Those not discussed are no. 101, 108, 109, 113, 114, 115, and 119 in Queryel (1992).

possible third Muse in the presence of Pan, Nike, and Artemis.¹⁰ Here, the presence of Nike stresses the competitive aspect between Apollo and the poet Marsyas. Nevertheless, the Muses appear with Apollo outside of competitive scenes as well. One example is a Campanian bell crater dating to 360-340 BC that depicts Apollo with a *kithara*, a Muse with a lyre, and another Muse with a *himation*.¹¹ Another is a Campanian cup that displays Apollo with a crown of berries and a Muse holding a *plectrum* and large *kithara*.¹²

However, there are also examples in which the Muses appear by themselves or with other poets while Apollo is absent. For example, a lid of an Apulian bell-crater dating to 370-60 BC depicts only a single Muse playing a lyre and holding a *plectrum*.¹³ Furthermore, another four examples display the Muses and Orpheus.¹⁴ One of these examples is an Apulian hydria dating to about 350 BC that shows Orpheus wearing Thracian clothing and holding a lyre, one Muse holding a lyre, and another Muse holding a scroll.¹⁵ Another is Apulian lekythos which dates to about 350 BC and shows Orpheus sitting on a rock accompanied by Muses; one of them holds a fan, another holds two phialai, a third with a foot raised converses with Orpheus. From these examples, the Muses constantly appear with some music instrument or alongside other poetic figures. Here, it is important to note that these figures are strictly poetic and not necessarily intellectual figures such as Pythagoras, Cicero, or Cadmus. Therefore, the Muses in these examples are strictly tied to contexts of poetic inspiration and, in the case of the *kithara*, music.

Although Apollo is absent in many of these examples, the general pattern of the Hellenistic art is the association of the Muses with Apollo to convey musical and poetic inspiration in agonistic

¹⁰ no. 116 in Queryel (1992).

¹¹ no. 46 in Queryel (1992).

¹² no. 70 in Queryel (1992).

¹³ no. 3 in Queryel (1992).

¹⁴ Those not discussed are no. 83 and 90 in Queryel (1992).

¹⁵ no. 82 in in Queryel (1992).

contexts. Noting the dates of the examples above, the older examples do not display Apollo whereas the later examples, especially the Archelaos relief, display Apollo and, furthermore, specific attributes to the Muses such as globe, lyre, or book scroll. The growing presence of specific attributes suggests a Hellenistic tendency to individualize, or rather make visual distinctions between the specific Muses such as Erato or Clio.

Turning to Hellenistic literature, this tendency to individualize the Muses becomes more apparent by invocations to specific Muses. Both Apollonios of Rhodes and Callimachos invoke Erato and Clio respectively in their works with respect to what branch of literature or music they represent. For example, commencing Book 3 of the *Argonautica*, Apollonios of Rhodes invokes the Muse of erotic love poetry, Erato:

Εἰ δ' ἄγε νῦν Ἐρατώ, παρ' ἔμ' ἴστασο καί μοι ἔνισπε
 ἔνθεν ὅπως ἐξ Ἴωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων
 Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι· σὺ γὰρ καὶ Κύπριδος αἴσαν
 ἔμπορες, ἀδμηΐτας δὲ τεοῖς μελεδήμασι θέλγεις
 παρθενικὰς· τῷ καὶ τοι ἐπήρατον οὖνομ' ἀνήπτται.

Come now Erato, stand beside me and tell to me next
 how Jason brought back the fleece to Iolkos
 by the love of Medea; since you share in the power of Cypris,
 and you enchant the unwedded maidens with your cares;
 for you even the name "lovely" is attached. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* III.1-5

As Efrossini Spentzou points out, Erato is intricately connected with Eros (ὑπ' ἔρωτι) to orient the reader to the plot of the book (*Il.* 2-3: ὅπως ἐξ Ἴωλκὸν ἀνήγαγε κῶας Ἰήσων | Μηδείης ὑπ' ἔρωτι).¹⁶

The motivational force of Medea is her own love and, consequently, she becomes her own Muse.

Indeed, Medea is struck by the very same charms that Erato employs on maidens (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.*

III. 471: ἡ μὲν ἄρ' ὣς ἐόλητο νόον μελεδήμασι κούρη).¹⁷ But most importantly, Eros approaches

¹⁶ Spentzou in Spentzou and Fowler (2002), 99-100. In his commentary, Hunter (1989), 95, n.1-5, has also noted the functional use of the invocation of Erato. The tripartite division of the *Argonautica* is marked "by invocations at the heads of Books 1,3, and 4. The start of Book 3 also marks, however, a central division of the poem into two halves".

¹⁷ Spentzou in Spentzou and Fowler (2002), 102. Hunter (1989), 96-7, n. 4-5, agrees noting that the powers of Aphrodite and Eros are ascribed to Erato. In particular, Hunter points out that the term θέλγεις is a "very common of the power of *eros*...but here particularly appropriate as the story of Medea is the story of 'the bewitcher bewitched'". The point here is

Medea, tells her his scheme, and prepares Jason’s role after Aphrodite has persuaded Eros with the golden ball (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* III.129-55).¹⁸ The power of Medea and of Erato to bewitch (θέλγεις) is erotic. Furthermore, when Medea is struck by the arrows of love, she is transformed into a laboring old woman who reminds the reader of the toll of art (Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* III.284-98).¹⁹ Consequently, since Medea becomes the Muse whose drugs and magic aid Jason, Jason becomes a stand-in for the poet.²⁰

This treatment is not unique to Apollonios of Rhodes. In fact, Callimachos treats the Muses in the same way in his *Aetia* 1-2. These works are narratives which contain epic invocations as well as dialogues, most likely in sympotic fashion as fr. 43.12-17 seems to indicate.²¹ In one particular instance in fr. 43., Callimachos poses some questions over the *aition* of the sacrificial meal for the anonymous founder of Zancle in Sicily. After doing so, Callimachos displays his knowledge by cataloguing Sicilian foundation legends (28-55). Clio’s answer waits until lines 56-62:

56 Κλειώ δὲ τὸ [δ]εύτερον ἤρχ[ετο μὴ]θ[ου]
 χεῖρ’ ἐπ’ ἀδελφειῆς ὄμογ ἐρεισαμένη·
 “λαὸς ὁ μὲν Κύμης ὁ δὲ Χαλκίδος, ὃν Περιήρης
 ἤγαγε καὶ μεγάλου λῆμα Κραταιμένεος,
 60 Τρινακρίας ἐπέβησα[ν], ἐτείχισσαν δὲ πόλιν
 ἄρπασον οἰωνῶν οὐχὶ φυλα[σσομένοι]
 ἔχθιστον κτίστησιν, ἐρωδιὸ[ς εἰ μὴ ἐφέ]ρπει ...

The second time Clio began the story
 leaning her hands upon the shoulder of her sister,
 “the people partly of Cumae and partly of Chalcis, whom
 Perieres and the will of great Krataimenes led,
 set foot on Trinakries, and they were building walls on the city,
 not heeding the *harpasos*, the most hateful of birds to the colonists,
 unless a heron should accompany ...

that Medea, Eros, and Erato take up each other’s roles and functions.

¹⁸ Spentzou in Spentzou and Fowler (2002), 103. Furthermore, Hunter (1989), 113, n. 135, notes that the golden ball symbolizes Eros’ universal power.

¹⁹ Albis (1996), 70-92. Spentzou admits that Albis makes a different conclusion in which the narrator is the mouthpiece of the Muse because of the invocation of the god Eros in book (see Spentzou and Fowler (2002) n.29 on page 102).

²⁰ Spentzou in Spentzou and Fowler (2002), 100.

²¹ Harder (1988), 8-10.

In the passage, the reasons why Callimachus uses Clio, as the Muse of history, to give an *aition* of Zancle is unclear.²² One possible solution is that Clio has an implicit role in epicinian poetry.²³ Furthermore, Callimachos in his *Aetia* already turns to Clio in fr.7a in order to give an etiology of the cult of the Charites at Paros. But in the passage above, when Clio leans on her sister's shoulder, she evokes a conversation between her and Callimachos and, thus, performs the dialogic nature of a symposium.²⁴ This image has parallels in art. For example, an Apulian bell-crater dating to about 350 BC depicts Orpheus with two warriors and one Muse laying her hand upon the shoulder of another Muse.²⁵ Returning to Callimachos, the dialogue between Muse and poet over *aition* creates a certain sense of subjectivity and individualization by the recollection of stories as from memory or dreams (ἤρχ[ετο μ]θ[ου]).²⁶ Consequently, both Apollonios of Rhodes and Callimachos invoke individual Muses for their own purposes that have a one to one correspondence with the Muse. The theme of love in the *Argonautica* befits the invocation of Erato whereas the conversational and historical nature of the *Aetia* suits an invocation of Clio.

However, unlike Hellenistic art and literature, Hellenistic funerary epigrams do not distinguish individual Muses, such as Clio or Erato. The twenty-one known funerary epigrams that are relevant here and scattered throughout the Eastern Mediterranean mention the Muses only by the term Μοῦσα or Μοῦσαι.²⁷ The general usage of the term Muse (or Muses in plural) might indicate a separate pattern whose closest resemblance to Hellenistic art and literature is twofold. The first is the

²² Harder (2012), 334.

²³ *ibid.*, 335.

²⁴ *ibid.*, 336.

²⁵ *ibid.*, 336. Also see, no. 90 in Queryel (1992).

²⁶ Harder (1988), 12-3.

²⁷ The epigrams not discussed are the following from *GVI*: **101** (Stele. Pantikapaion. III/II BC), **555** (Relief [Funeral banquet]. Rhodes. II BC), **749** (Base. Thyrrheion, Acarnania. III BC), **750** (Block. Thyrrheion, Acarnania BC), **756** (Marble plate. Miletus. End of the II BC), **767** (Stele. Chersonnesos. End of the I BC), **842** (Marble panel. Salamis, Cyprus. Era of Ptolmey Philometor), **945** (Stele. Chios. II BC), **950** (Phrygia. I BC?), **1006** (Base. Rhenea. I BC), **1074** (Stele. Demetrias. Thessaly. Beginning of III BC), **1121** (Stele. Samos. II/I BC?), **1259** (Stele. Larymna, East Lokris. II BC?), **1343** (III BC – *Anth. Pal.* VII 355), **1361** (Left half of a stele. Athens. II BC), **1451** (Stele. Rhodos. ca. 200 BC?), **1875** (Stele. Alexandria. I BC), **1989** (Stele. Pantikapaion. II/I BC), and **1991** (Stele. Larymna, Lokris. I BC?).

connection of the Muses to literature and poetry, and the second is the lack of reference to the Muses' traditional home of either Mt. Olympus or Mt. Helicon. The epigrams generally invoke the Muses in order to discuss the capabilities of the deceased in general or abstract concepts such as writing and wisdom. For example, *GVI* 945, found on a stele from the island of Chios and dating to the 2nd century BC, recalls the deceased and his youth:

ἔβδομον εἰς δέκατόν τε βίου λυκάβαντα περῶντα
 Μοῖρά με πρὸς θαλάμους ἄρπασε Φερσεφόνας ·
 λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾶς με δραμεῖν μόνον ἤθελε δαίμων,
 4 τὸν δὲ μακρὸν γήρωσ οὐκ ἐτίθει δόλιχον ·
 ἄρτι δ' ἐφηβείαις θάλλων Διονύσιος ἀκμαῖς
 καὶ σελίσιν Μουσῶν ἤλυθον εἰς Αἴδαν.
 ἀλλὰ πάτερ μᾶτέρ <τε>, προλείπετε πικρὸν ὄδυρμόν ·
 8 τέρμα γὰρ εἰς με βίου Μοῖρ' ἐπέκρανε τόδε.

Fate carried me, reaching the seventeenth year of life,
 off to the chambers of Persephone;
 for a god was only wanting that I run the torch of life,
 4 but it was not setting out a long course of old age;
 I, Dionysios, went to Hades while just flowering in the
 youthful prime and in the writings of the Muses.
 But, father and mother, you forsake a bitter lamentation;
 8 for Fate brought to pass this here boundary of life for me.

Here the most salient characteristic of the deceased is his prime of life and his writing capabilities denoted by *θάλλων* and *σελίσιν*. Because “writings of Muses” make it impossible to determine what genre (or what Muse) it was in which the deceased was flowering, the sentiment is the general skill of “writing” or knowing how to write. By displaying one’s capability in “writing”, perhaps the patron wanted to display the deceased’s erudition. A more poignant example of literary erudition is the funerary epigram *GVI* 1881, found on a relief from Sardis and dating to 2nd-1st centuries BC (Fig.15):

κομψὰν καὶ χαρίεσσα πέτρος δείκνυσι. τίς ἐντί; –
 Μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα· Μηνοφίλαν. –
 τεῦ δ' ἔνεκ' ἐν στάλα γλυπτὸν κρίνον ἠδὲ καὶ ἄλφα,
 4 βύβλος καὶ τάλαρος, τοῖς δ' ἐπι καὶ στέφανος; –
 ἢ σοφία<μ> μὲν βίβλος, ὁ δ' αὖ περὶ κρατὶ φορηθεὶς
 ἀρχὰν μανύει, μουνογόναν δὲ τὸ ἔν,
 εὐτάκτου δ' ἀρετᾶς τάλαρος μάνυμα, τὸ δ' ἄνθος
 8 τὰν ἀκμάν, δαίμων ἄντιν' ἐλήισατο. –
 κούφα τοι κόνις ἀμφιπέλοι τοιῆδε θανούση.
 αἶ, ἄγονοι δὲ γονεῖς, τοῖς ἔλιπεις δάκρυα.

A stone shows a refined and elegant [person]. Who is it?
 The letters of the Muses reveal: Menophila.
 On account of whom are there on this stele a carved white lily and grain,
 4 A book and a basket, upon which there is a crown?
 On the one hand, the book represents wisdom, on the other the thing wrapped around
 the head [i.e. crown] represents power, and the one represents a single child,
 the basket represents the representation of well-disciplined virtue, the flower
 8 Represents prime of life, which a god despoiled.
 May the light dust be around this dead one!
 Alas! The parents are childless, to whom you left tears.

At a first glance, it simply seems that the epigram tells the reader how to interpret the set of images found on the stele. However, the epigram is no mere epigram. In fact, the epigram is the writing of the Muses (2 Μουσῶν μανύει γράμματα). By using the same word μανύει, the epigram assumes its position as the writings of the Muses. What is striking, however, is that the roll of papyrus, which indicates wisdom and culture, is usually an exclusive feature for men.²⁸ Instead, funerary images for women usually included jewels or objects from the dressing table.²⁹ Thus, not only does the epigram give a literary explanation of the symbolic images on the stele to the passerby but also calls considerate attention to the erudition of Menophila (5 ἢ σοφία<μ> μὲν βίβλος).³⁰

However there is one exception to the general treatment of Muses in funerary epigrams during the Hellenistic period. The funerary epigram *GVI 547*, preserved by Stephanus Byzantinus whose *floruit* was in the 6th century AD, perhaps laid on the Sacred Way in Athens in the fourth century BC. It mentions the Muses in their traditional abode of Mt. Olympus:

ἦδε χθὼν κόλποισι Φασηλίτην Θεοδέκτην
 κρύπτει, ὃν ἠὔξησαν Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες ·
 ἐν δὲ χορῶν τραγικῶν ἱεραῖς τρισὶ καὶ δέκα ἀμίλλαις
 ὀκτῶ ἀγηράτους ἀμφεθέμην στεφάνους.

This here earth covers with its bosom Theodektes of Phaselis
 whom the Olympian Muses glorified;
 and among the thrice ten holy conflicts of tragic choruses
 I put around myself eight ageless crowns.

²⁸ Fantuzzi and Hunter (2005), 337.

²⁹ Zanker (1993), 222.

³⁰ *SGO* I 04/21/11, 408-9.

Here, although the Muses retain their traditional abode of Mt. Olympus, they are all associated with tragedy without distinction despite the fact that only Melpomene is the Muse of Tragedy. This example along with the artistic depictions of the Muses during the Hellenistic period seems to show a gradual transition from the traditional Olympian Muses to the Hellenistic Muses. Both the individualization of the Muses and their connection to Apollo, then, were a gradual process even in the Hellenistic period, perhaps culminating in the period of the Archelaos relief in the late 3rd and early 2nd centuries BC.

To conclude my discussion of the Hellenistic treatment of the Muses, artistic depictions of the Muses demonstrate a pattern which individualizes the Muses by their attributes and associates them with Apollo. Hellenistic literature, such as Apollonios of Rhodes and Callimachos, depicts individual Muses and thus seems to parallel the artistic developments. Nevertheless, Hellenistic funerary epigrams do not have individualized Muses, but connect to Hellenistic art and literature primarily by treating the Muses as literary figures. Despite the increasing literary treatment of the Muses in the Hellenistic period, an intellectual, yet seemingly pretentious handling of the Muses as personified literary genres in art will wait until Roman mosaics. Whereas the Hellenistic period seems to gravitate towards displaying individualized Muses with Apollo as figures perhaps of agonistic poetic inspiration, the Roman mosaics seem inclined to depict the Muses either alone or with other literary figures such as Cicero, Vergil, or Hesiod. However, there are some mosaics that display the Muses with Apollo, thus suggesting that there is a separate Hellenistic tradition of iconography from which patrons might have chosen. Indeed, funerary epigrams during the Roman Empire continue the pattern found in Hellenistic epigrams by associating the Muses in general with literature and wisdom.

Beginning with Roman mosaics under the Roman Empire, it is useful to note that Roman mosaics employ Hellenistic motifs such as book scroll and, more importantly, the attributes of the Muses such as globe, lyre, or *kithara*. However, as with the Monnus Mosaic (Fig.4), the mosaic at

Vichten (Fig.7), and the Muse and Poets Mosaic in Gerasa (Fig.10), the Muses appear with other literary and intellectual figures as well as Homer. To these examples, one may add a total of nine other mosaics. Three more come from the Trier workshops: the Literatenmosaik (Fig.16); the Muse Mosaic from Johannisstraße in Trier (Fig.17); and the Nine Muse Mosaic found in Neustraße, Trier (Fig.18). Another five mosaics from the Roman province of North Africa: the Vergil Mosaic at Sousse (Fig.19); the Nine Muse Mosaic from the House of the Months at El Djem (Fig.20); and the Muse and Poet (or Philosopher) Mosaic from Sfax (Taparura) (Fig.21). The last two African examples along with the Gerasa example depict the Muses with some divine figure: the Muse and Seasons Mosaic from Leptis Minor (Fig.22) and the Muse and Apollo Mosaic from Sousse (Fig.23). The last mosaic, which depicts the nine Muses, is a recent find from Zeugma whose final publications are still forthcoming (Fig.24).

But it is the mosaics from Germany, specifically the Trier workshop, that give the most comprehensive picture for any particular region. Therefore, if any conclusions are to be drawn, the German mosaics should serve as the best starting point. The Literatenmosaik (Fig.16) occupied the hall of the basilica (so-called “Procuraten-Palast” in Trier) during its third and final building phase which dates to the early Severan period approximately ca. AD 200.³¹ It is a three paneled mosaic whose southern end in the western side of the basilica had been destroyed. In one panel, there are six rectangular fields separated by interlocking and crowded rosettes.³² Three fields survive depicting one male figure in each.³³ In the middle row, one field depicts a male with his right arm raised and two fingers pointed outwards.³⁴ In another field, a different male figure holds his hands together and is turned in contemplation.³⁵ The last surviving field depicts a male with scroll in hand.³⁶ In what

³¹ Parlasca (1959), 27.

³² *ibid*, 28.

³³ *ibid*, 28.

³⁴ *ibid*, 28.

³⁵ *ibid*, 28.

³⁶ *ibid*, 28.

remains of the center panel of the mosaic, there is an (destroyed) octagon field around which alternate four similar trapezoidal hexagon fields of which one survives and four similar square fields of which two survive.³⁷ In the two square fields there is a single male figure who holds a stylus and a codex. In the surviving hexagon field there are two Muses who are seated and who are identified as Muses by feathers in their hair.³⁸ The significance of the iconographic motif of a feather in the hair of the Muses has not to the best of my knowledge been explained before. The earliest attestation of feathers and Muses occurs in Pausanias where the Muses celebrate their poetic victory against the Sirens by plucking a feather.³⁹ Recall that the Archelaos relief has also put the Muses in an agonistic context with Apollo, a tripod, and a victorious poet. In contrast, Pausanias does not include either of the three figures found in the Archelaos relief. A similar treatment of the Muses in competition occurs in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.⁴⁰ It seems, therefore, that the Muses with feathers in their hair may abstractly represent a poetic victory independent of the poetic inspiration that comes from Apollo. Furthermore, the appearance of feathers in the hair of the Muses does not seem to predate the imperial period.

Returning to the Literatenmosaik, the idea of status is also indicated by other gestural markers that were discussed before in the mosaic from Vichten. For example, the left Muse in the Literatenmosaik sits in profile with legs crossed and holds her right hand up in conversation.⁴¹ Her

³⁷ *ibid*, 28.

³⁸ *ibid*, 28.

³⁹ The only direct source for this mythological story in literature is Pausanias. In IX.34.3, Pausanias relates this story in relation to a sanctuary of Hera in the market place of Coroneia in which an image of Hera holds the Sirens in her hands. Interestingly, Pollard (1952), 60, points out that the Muses and the Sirens are utterly dissociated from each other in Homer and Hesiod. Indeed, as Gresseth (1970), 101, demonstrates, Homer does not even state whether or not the Sirens are anthropomorphic, but rather it is Euripides (*Hel*.167) who first discusses a bird-form Siren.

⁴⁰ Recall the possibility that, in some instances, such as the Archelaos relief, the Muses and Apollo are depicted in agonistic and victorious contexts. What is interesting here is that the victorious context of the Muses is dissociated with Apollo, and, in the case of the Sirens, it is associated with a sanctuary of Hera instead. Another instance in which the Muses are victorious in another poetic context without Apollo is Ovid's *Metamorphosis* V.250ff. Here the Muses are in the presence of Minerva. It seems that during the Roman Empire, the Muses are able to stand alone independent of any particular god in order to display poetic victory and achievement. For further information regarding the political power undertones of this passage of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* V.250ff, see Johnson and Malamud (1988), Ahl (1985), and Harries (1995).

⁴¹ Parlasca (1959), 28.

gesture is reminiscent of the imperial *adlocutio* gesture, for example the *aureus* of Caracalla (see Chapter One). Furthermore, the right Muse sits frontally and holds a scroll in one hand.⁴² Thus, because of the feather and gestures of the Muses and the presence of a male figure with stylus and codex, the themes of the mosaic seem to be those of victory, social status, intellectual life, and literature. Furthermore, because the mosaic decorated a basilica, the mosaic would have been seen by a number of people. Although it is impossible to understand the patron's intention with certainty, there is the possibility among many others that the patron wanted to reinforce some aspect of his individual self by commissioning and displaying a lavish mosaic floor in the basilica. If the literary themes serve any indication, perhaps the patron wanted to show his literary pretension.

A similar association between Muse and literature can be found on the Muse Mosaic from Johannisstraße, Trier (Fig.17). The mosaic belonged to a Roman house with two building periods whose specific archeological contexts cannot be determined because only scant remains survive.⁴³ The mosaic, however, belongs to the later phase and dates to the later 4th century AD.⁴⁴ The mosaic has one square field and four octagon fields separated by crowded ornaments of narrow scrolls.⁴⁵ In the top octagon, sitting with a lyre is a Muse whose identification is either Terpsichore or Erato since the type of lyre cannot be determined.⁴⁶ The right octagon portrays Melpomene seated in profile and holding a tragic mask.⁴⁷ In the bottom octagon is Euterpe, identified by a flute.⁴⁸ The left octagon, although almost completely destroyed except for a book scroll, might depict Clio.⁴⁹ Finally, the center square portrays a frontally seated Muse who cannot be identified because of the missing attribute.⁵⁰

⁴² *ibid*, 28.

⁴³ On the architectural phases and data, see Parlasca (1959), 61-2, and Hoffman (1999), 35.

⁴⁴ Parlasca (1959), 62.

⁴⁵ *ibid*, 61.

⁴⁶ Hoffmann (1999), 36.

⁴⁷ *ibid*, 36.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, 36.

⁴⁹ Parlasca (1959), 61.

⁵⁰ Parlasca (1959), 61; Hoffman (1999), 36 speculates that it is Polyhymnia because she is typically depicted without any

Another example of this is the Nine Muse Mosaic from Neustraße, Trier (Fig.18). With a *terminus ante quem* of AD 220 the mosaic belonged to a hypocaust chamber whose architectural context is uncertain, but might be a Roman bath complex.⁵¹ The mosaic has nine square panels in a three-by-three pattern that depicts individual busts of the Muses (from top left to bottom right): Thalia with a mask and staff; Terpsichore with delicate lyre; Clio with a scroll; Polyhymnia with scroll; Calliope with the attribute destroyed; Erato with a heavy lyre; Urania with globe; but the last two are unidentifiable because the attributes are not present.⁵² The separate panels and attributes give the sense that the each Muse is a separate individual. Although the Muses appear by themselves in art during the Classical and Hellenistic period, such as the lid of an Apulian bell-crater dating to 370-60 BC mentioned above, note the key iconographic differences between these two examples.⁵³ In the Nine Muse Mosaic from Neustraße, Trier, individual Muses appear in separate panels with their own attribute, as busts, and not with any image indicating a physical landscape. The fact that the Muses appear in bust form seems to be an iconographic invention during the Roman imperial period with no extant examples prior. Furthermore, the lack of landscapes, the absence of other figures, primarily Apollo, and the use of attributes for identification perhaps signal that the Muses are literary abstractions in these German examples. This by no means excludes the possibility that there is a divine element, although this also might be unlikely. Finally, the Nine Muse Mosaic from Neustraße, Trier (Fig.18) lies in what perhaps is an atypical location. Typically, hypocausts had floors and walls in *opus*

attribute.

⁵¹ For the date, see Parlasca (1959), 33. For the architectural context, see Hoffman (1999), 37.

⁵² Parlasca (1959), 32. Hoffman (1999), 39. Here, there is disagreement between Parlasca and Hoffman with respect to the identity of the Muses in the middle row. Parlasca believes that the order should be Polyhymnia on the left and Calliope in the center because “vielleicht ist es Calliope, die Anführerin ihrer Schwestern”. On the other hand, Hoffman conjectures that it can be either since Polyhymnia is “öfter ohne Attribut dargestellt”. Despite Hoffman’s observation, one is inclined to agree with Parlasca that Calliope should be in the center. As seen in Chapter One, both the Monnus Mosaic and the Mosaic of Vichten portray Calliope in the center. Furthermore, the recently found mosaic at Zeugma also places Calliope in the center. These examples might indicated an iconographical pattern in which Calliope appears in the center.

⁵³ For the discussion of the Apulian bell crater, see p. 39 above. Also see no. 3 in Queryel (1992).

signinum and *tegulae mammatae* (“tiles with nipples”) respectively which were conducive for heating.⁵⁴ Perhaps, the mosaic shifted from its original location and was part of a room that was used as a library or a classroom.⁵⁵ This would fit with the mosaic’s literary theme. However, this is also uncertain since the broader architectural plan of the building is unknown. Furthermore, if the original setting of the mosaic had been the hypocaust, this would have been perhaps an ostentatious contribution by the patron since hypocausts demanded floors and material conducive for heat and heavy use.

Thus far, the Romano-German treatment of the Muses seems to indicate a pattern in which the Muses are literary abstractions of specific genres that help convey the patron’s pretension to be an educated and elite intellectual. This pattern does not seem unique to the provinces along the Rhine. In North Africa, three mosaics seem to demonstrate the same. The first example is the Vergil Mosaic (Fig.19) that was found in the *oecus* of a Roman villa at Sousse and dates to late 2nd or early 3rd century AD due to the style of the draping of Vergil’s toga.⁵⁶ The mosaic portrays Vergil seated frontally with his right hand raised almost to his chin and his left hand clutching an open scroll whose text is a key line from the opening of the *Aeneid* (I.8-9): MVSA MIHI CAVSAS MEMORA QVO NUMINE LAESO QUIDVE.⁵⁷ To his left stands Calliope holding an open scroll whereas to his right stands Melpomene holding a tragic mask in one hand and resting her head on another. The open scrolls and a quotation from Vergil’s *Aeneid* might possibly indicate the desire of the patron in order to show his literary erudition as well as his fondness for Vergil and the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, there seems to be an aspect of social status represented by the *toga praetexta* worn by Vergil. Although Vergil was part of

⁵⁴ Yegül (2010), 81-7.

⁵⁵ For libraries and education in Roman bath complexes, see *ibid*, 123-6.

⁵⁶ For the architectural context, see Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaïfer, H.Slim, L. Slim (1995), n. on Fig.167, 292. For the dating, see *ibid*, 222.

⁵⁷ *ibid*, 222.

Maecenas' circle, Vergil was never part of the Senate.⁵⁸ In noting the developments of the Roman toga in the imperial period, Rothfus remarks that under Augustus the “very awkwardness of the newer, fuller garment would contain its own reward as a conspicuous declaration that the wearer was a man of wealth and education”.⁵⁹ In essence, the *toga praetexta* in its very use symbolizes elite and aristocratic status. In placing the non-senatorial Vergil in a *toga praetexta*, perhaps the patron might have wanted to demonstrate the authority and social distinction of Vergil. By extension, there is the possibility that poetry allows one to acquire the elite social status conferred by the *toga praetexta* when the inscription containing *Aeneid* I.8-9 is taken into account. The idea is that literature and poetry confer social status. In showing his literary pretension primarily by quoting a passage of the *Aeneid*, there is the possibility that the patron might have wanted to convey his elite intellectual status. This may further be elucidated by the fact that the mosaic laid in an *oecus*, a room purposely designed for reception in which a guest would have seen the mosaic.⁶⁰ Consequently, Vergil and the Muses might have demonstrated a type of literature that confers the social distinction of the *toga praetexta*.

Similarly, the Nine Muse Mosaic at El Djem (Fig.20) was discovered in the *oecus* at the west wing of the House of the Months. Dating to the Severan Period, the Nine Muse Mosaic displays regional motifs of abstract vegetal designs that decorate and separate the nine medallions that contain a single bust of a Muse.⁶¹ The medallions, which face the viewer as he or she enters the room, are arranged in a three-by-three pattern like the Neustraße example.⁶² The Muses are arranged as follows

⁵⁸ Conte (1994), 262-3.

⁵⁹ Rothfus (2010), 444. For a fuller discussion on the Roman toga, see Goette (1990). For power and the Roman toga, see Zanker (1990). For the *toga praetexta* reinforcing other social codes, such as *pudicitia* and children, see Sebesta in Cleland, Harlow, and Llewellyn-Jones (2005), 113-20.

⁶⁰ Hales (2003), 198-203. The nature of the *oecus* to North African Roman villas gives the room a special importance within the villa. It is placed on a central axis that is a common feature of Italian houses (203). Furthermore, water features were generally oriented towards the *oecus* (201) as in the Maison des Néréides. Finally, the *oecus* was also used as a receptive space or as a *triclinium* as the Maison au Corège de Vénus and the Maison aux Travaux d’Hercule indicate (203).

⁶¹ For the architectural context, see Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaïfer, H.Slim, L. Slim (1995), n. on Fig.168, 292. For a description of the mosaic, see *ibid*, 223. For the date, see Kondoleon (1994), 126.

⁶² Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaïfer, H.Slim, L. Slim (1995), 223.

from top left to bottom right: Thalia with a *pedum* and grimacing slave mask; Euterpe with two *auloi*; Clio with a veil, stylus, and writing tablets; Melopomene with an old hero's mask; Erato with a lyre; Terpsichore with a *plectrum* inside a turtle case; Polyhymnia with an embroidered mantle; Urania with celestial globe and an instructional pointer; and finally Calliope with an open scroll.⁶³ By using literary motifs, such as writing scrolls, the images of the Muses are literary. Furthermore, the lavish polychromatic floor laid in the *oecus* would have been seen by visitors. Here, the simplest explanation is that the patron is demonstrating his fondness for the Muses and literature. However, there is the chance, like in the previous examples, that the patron might be calling attention to his own literary pretension in multiple genres.

Another example is the Muse and Poet (or Philosopher) from Sfax (Fig.21). It was found in an unspecified room of a Roman villa and dates to the third quarter of the 3rd century AD due to the pose of the Muses and the drapery of their clothing.⁶⁴ The mosaic panel contains a large central wreath that holds nine smaller wreaths.⁶⁵ One circle is surrounded by eight other circles, and the triangular corners within the mosaic contain personified Seasons.⁶⁶ In the center circle is an unidentifiable bearded man holding a pair of *volumina* and a *capsa* his feet.⁶⁷ He wears a *toga praetexta* and sits frontally. His head is turned towards a female figure behind him and his right hand is outstretched in the *adlocutio* gesture. The female figure who lacks a specific attribute may be a Muse because of the feather in her hair.⁶⁸ In the surrounding eight circles is each of the Muses identified by their attributes: Calliope with her right arm raised to her breast and left hand lowered; Thalia with a hooked staff and

⁶³ *ibid*, 223. The fact that Polyhymnia does not have an attribute apart from the embroidered garment and that Erato is in the center of the El Djem mosaic might support Hoffman's conjecture concerning the centrality of Polyhymnia in the Neustraße mosaic.

⁶⁴ Parrish (1984), 218-20.

⁶⁵ *ibid*, 219.

⁶⁶ *ibid*, 220.

⁶⁷ *ibid*, 219.

⁶⁸ *ibid*, 219.

comic mask; Terpsichore with a square-shaped lyre and an elaborate costume; Erato with a horn-tipped lyre and *plectrum*; Clio with a black *libellus*; and Urania with a small globe and pointer.⁶⁹ Polyhymnia, Euterpe, and Melpomene are not identified. As seen beforehand in the Vergil mosaic from Sousse, there is perhaps the idea that literature brings social distinction represented by the *toga praetexta*, *volumina*, and *capsa* of scrolls. The *toga praetexta* specifically calls attention to some identity claim being made whatever it may be. Once again, there is also the prospect that the patron simply likes Muses. However, this plausibility does not exclude the chance that the patron is making some identity claim of literary and elite distinction.

Yet, the next two African examples are exceptions to the corpus of Muse mosaics found so far. As discussed earlier, none of the previous examples apart from Gerasa has depicted the Muses with gods. Nevertheless, the Muse and Seasons Mosaic from Leptis Minor (Fig.22) and Muse and Apollo Mosaic from Sousse (Fig.23) depict the Muses with Apollo. The Muse and Seasons Mosaic from Leptis Minor (Fig.22), dating to the Severan period, was found in the *triclinium* of a Roman villa on the plateau of the modern village of Lemta.⁷⁰ The mosaic field has a pattern of ‘Herakles knots’ and is shaped like a “T”. Medallions of the nine Muses and possibly Apollo dominate the long vertical portion of the “T” while medallions of personified Months, which appear in chronological order, are in the horizontal portion of the “T”.⁷¹ The surviving Muses with greenish white feathers all appear with their attributes: Melpomene with a tragic mask; Polyhymnia with no specific attribute; Thalia with a comic mask; Urania with a globe and pointer; Euterpe with *tibiae*; Erato with a horn-tipped lyre; Clio with a black *libellus*; and Calliope with a *volumen*.⁷² Furthermore, Apollo appears naked with a golden

⁶⁹ *ibid*, 219-20.

⁷⁰ *ibid*, 208-10.

⁷¹ *ibid*, 208.

⁷² *ibid*, 209-10.

laurel wreath, a radiate crown, and a lyre in his own medallion.⁷³ Because of its location in the *triclinium*, the patron seems to want to call attention to his poetic excellence by the presence of the feathered-haired Muses and Apollo.

The same union of both Hellenistic motifs and imperial innovation occurs in the Muse and Apollo Mosaic from Sousse (Fig.23). It was found in a room of unspecified function within a Roman house, dating to before the 3rd century AD on stylistic grounds, namely, the two-stranded guilloche circles within the larger square field of the mosaic.⁷⁴ In the central *tondo* stand both a half-nude Apollo near a tripod and Erato leaning upon her horn-tipped lyre.⁷⁵ Furthermore, in triangles from top to bottom are the feather-haired Muses with their attributes: Terpsichore with her lyre; Calliope (?); Urania (?) with a black rod; Polyhymnia (?) with only a triangular point remaining; Melpomene with a tragic mask; Euterpe with a two *tibiae*; Thalia with a comic mask and shepherd's crook; and Clio with a *libellus*.⁷⁶ On the one hand, the presence of Apollo and a tripod recall the Archelaos relief specifically and, thus, the Hellenistic theme of poetic contest. On the other hand, the presence of the feather-haired Muses also recalls the feather's associations of victory and power, indicating the fluidity of motifs in different archetypal patterns. Thus, the two examples above seem to indicate that Hellenistic motifs and patterns were acceptable in at least some Roman contexts even where one might not expect such continuity, like North Africa. However, these two examples lack the right hand gesture and *toga prae-texta* motifs. Consequently, there seems to be two kinds of iconographic patterns of the Muses in the empire: poetic victory and achievement in the Apolline example and literary-intellectual achievement represented by intellectual figures and hand gestures.

⁷³ *ibid*, 209.

⁷⁴ *ibid*, 221. For date, see *ibid*, 223.

⁷⁵ *ibid*, 222.

⁷⁶ *ibid*, 222.

Both the German and North Africa examples demonstrate a pattern in which the Muses serve as literary abstractions, often in contexts in which the patron seems to want to portray his or her social status as an intellectual elite. The two exceptions from Leptis and Sousse might indicate a separate cultural Hellenic pattern that displays poetic and musical achievement. It should be noted that none of the motifs found in one pattern cannot be seen in another. Furthermore, these patterns depend highly on the context of the mosaic and the arrangement of the motifs. However, whether or not the intellectual and literary pattern can be applied to the eastern portion of the Roman Empire is speculative. Apart from the mosaic of Gerasa, Jordan, there is only the recent find of a mosaic at Zeugma (Fig.24). The mosaic was found in a Roman neighborhood dating to the 1st to 2nd centuries AD.⁷⁷ Although the exact archaeological contexts, and hence its architectural plans are yet unknown, the mosaic depicts individual busts of the Muses in separate medallions and with their own label.⁷⁸ Critically, each Muse has a feather crown upon her head. In the center is Calliope whose circular frame is a yellow-red wave pattern. The other eight Muses face the viewer, and their circular frames alternate between interlocking guilloche and wave patterns. Furthermore, each of the Muses wears different colored garments. This along with the labels serves to individualize the Muses despite the lack of personal attributes. Notwithstanding the extant evidence, the feather and bust form of the Muses exclude any possibility that the mosaic dates before the imperial period. Finally, both the appearance of imperial innovations in the East and the archetypal patterns of the Hellenistic period in North Africa seem to indicate that iconographic patterns and motifs are not divided into a West versus East divide.

⁷⁷ Brunwasser (2012), 2.

⁷⁸ *Hurriyet Daily News* (2014) reports that the mosaic was found in a building called the Muzalar House (<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/new-mosaics-unearthed-in-ancient-city-of-zeugma.aspx?PageID=238&NID=73808&NewsCatID=375>). A later note from *Archaeology* on November 4, 2014 reports the same (<http://www.archaeology.org/news/2682-141104-turkey-zeugma-new-mosaics>). However, the excavations are still in progress and the context of the room is still unknown.

Rather Roman and Hellenic influences are fluid and should be taken into account on a case-by-case basis.

Consequently, these examples along with the Monnus Mosaic (Fig.4), the mosaic at Vichten (Fig.7), and the Muse and Poets Mosaic in Gerasa (Fig.10) seem to evince a pattern in which the Muses are abstract literary genres and convey victory and excellence, especially when feathers are present. In doing so, it seems that patrons broadly throughout the Roman Empire wished to demonstrate their intellectual status, culturally or socio-politically depending on the accompanying motifs found in the mosaics. It may be that under the Roman Empire literary and intellectual status took on socio-political dimensions in art depending on context and motif.

Whether or not the Muses in Roman literature convey social distinction will now occupy the present focus. It has been stated that the Muses in Roman literature become a trope for the author to discuss issues such as authority, desire, knowledge, identity, gender, and literature.⁷⁹ Whereas Spentzou and Fowler evaluate the Muses in Augustan poetry, it is also necessary to look beyond the Augustan period and to ascertain the accuracy of this claim. As we shall see, the Muses do seem to be used by a Roman author in order to discuss the topics listed by Spentzou and Fowler. For example, in his discussion on man and nature in Books 33-37 of his *Natural Histories*, Pliny the Elder gives a discussion on what constitutes *luxuria* (“uncontrolled use” or “abuse”) in the natural arts.⁸⁰ For Pliny, this usually pertains to *deliciae* (ornaments) as in the case of amber (37.49-50). Furthermore, the problem of human greed and dishonesty seems to be severe for Pliny, since, as Gibson and Morello note, he gives advice on how to distinguish counterfeit gems (37.197-198).⁸¹ It is in this context that Pliny discusses a *delicia* or a gem that portrays the Muses and their attributes (37.5).⁸² Note that in this

⁷⁹ Spentzou in Spentzou and Fowler (2002), 22.

⁸⁰ Donohue (1992). Isager (1991), 216-7.

⁸¹ Eugenia Lao in Gibson and Morello (2011), 47. This is also pointed out by Isager (2013), 218.

⁸² Plin. *Nat* 37.5. *namque habuisse dicitur achaten, in qua novem Musae et Apollo citharam tenens spectarentur, non arte,*

passage, Pliny is not concerned with what the Muses represent, but rather the broader social implications an ostentatious gem may have. It seems that gems portraying such lavish images such as the Muses are nothing but extravagant ornaments (*deliciae*) and products of wasteful and abusive behavior (*luxuria*). Note that even here the Muses are in contexts of social status, particularly rich wasteful aristocrats.

As with Pliny, a similar, but positive, treatment occurs in Apuleius' *Florida*. Apuleius, who wrote contemporaneously with the North African mosaics in the late 2nd century AD, states in *Fl.*XX.1-11:⁸³

Sapientis uiri super mensam celebre dictum est: 'prima', inquit, 'creterra ad sitim pertinet, secunda ad hilaritatem, tertia ad uoluptatem, quarta ad insaniam'. uerum enim- uero Musarum creterra uersa uice quanto crebrior quantoque meracior, tanto propior ad animi sanitatem. prima creterra litteratoris rudimento excitat, secunda grammatici doctrina instr[auit], tertia rhetoris eloquentia armat. hactenus a plerisque potatur. ego et alias creterras Athenis bibi: poeticae commotam, geometriae limpidam, musicae dulcem, dialecticae austerulam, iam uero uniuersae philosophiae inexplabilem scilicet <et> nectaream. 5
10

There is a saying of wise men about a rich table, it says, “the first bowl pertains to thirst, the second to cheerfulness, the third to passion, the fourth to madness”, but on the other hand a bowl of the Muses, the reverse, however much thicker and however much purer, by as much it is better for the health of the mind. The first bowl stirs [you] in the teaching of a schoolmaster, the second covered [you] in the instruction of the grammarian, the third arms [you] with the eloquence of an orator. As far as these it is drunk by many. I have drunk from other bowls at Athens: the excited [one] of poetry, the clear [one] of geometry, the sweet [one] of music, the dry [one] of conversation, and truly the undrinkable nectar sweet [one] of all philosophy.

In what follows, Apuleius goes on to give a list of all the figures he wishes to emulate such as Empedocles, Socrates, and Plato (Ap. *Fl.* XX.12-13). As noted by Todd Lee, *prima creterra* creates a progression of studies that are bound together in to a “system of interconnected disciplines”.⁸⁴ The bowl is common to all genres. However, the metaphor also extends in the reverse. The cup, or source

sed naturae sponte ita discurrentibus maculis, ut Musis quoque singulis sua redderentur insignia). The fact that Pliny is the earliest literary source for the association of the Muses with different genres was noted by Onians (1979), 105.

⁸³ Conte (1994), 553.

⁸⁴ Lee (2005), 181 n.20.1.

of the disciplines, has an actual physical location given by the locative *Athenis*. Consequently, the Muses themselves constitute the different genres of literature. Furthermore, the inclusion of *litteratoris rudimento* and *grammatici doctrina* indicates the necessary steps in intellectual instruction. Finally, Apuleius concludes Book XX in praise of Carthage since it has the most educated men and it is the fountain of inspiration for the Roman world (XX. 21-26 *quam Karthigini benedicere, ubi tota ciuitas eruditissimi estis...Karthago Camena togatorum*). For Apuleius, education and poetry (i.e. the Muses abstractly) bring glory, blessings, and by extension social status, indicated by the toga (*togatorum*) ascribed to Carthage. Here, as in the Vergil mosaic at Sousse above, the toga indicates elite Roman social status. The political dimensions of Apuleius' statement suggests that Carthage can be as Roman as Rome itself. For Apuleius, literature, represented by the Muses, is a way of showing, if not acquiring, that social distinction of *Romanitas*. As both of these imperial examples illustrate, Roman literature employs the Muses in social, political, and moral contexts that are parallel to Roman mosaics in some ways.

However, with regard to funerary epigrams during the Roman Empire, there seems to be no break in the pattern or ideas expressed in the funerary epigrams dating to the Hellenistic period. The key difference between the two periods lies in the volume of epigrams found, insofar as the imperial period contains almost double the size of the Hellenistic period at forty eight funerary epigrams that mention the Muses.⁸⁵ Such robust activity under the Empire might suggest an increasing concern or

⁸⁵ As above, the following epigrams from *GVI* are the ones not discussed, but ought to be documented: **127** (Stele. Thespias. II/III AD), **370** (Relief. Athens. II AD), **381** (Stele. Tyana, Cappadocia. II/III AD), **430** (Stele. Athens. I AD), **440** (Stele. Caesarea, Cappadocia. II/III AD), **445** (Tabula ansata. Nikopolis, Armenia. III AD), **479** (Stele. Lato, Crete. II AD), **522** (Rome. II/III AD), **576** (Apameia. II/III AD), **588** (Stele. Athens. III AD), **674** (Marble panel. Rome. III AD), **675** (Relief. Aquileia. III AD), **695** (Stele. Philippopolis. III AD), **721** (Marble panel. Rom. II AD), **777** (Sarcophagus. Apollonia, Thrace II AD), **963** (Relief. Athens. II/III AD), **967** (near Teos. III/IV AD), **985** (Altar. Thyatira [Stratonice ?]. II AD), **1021** (Rome. I/II AD), **1049** (Sarcophagus m. Relief. Rome. II/III AD), **1064** (Base. Larissa, Thessaly. I/II AD), **1182** (Relief. Miletopolis, Phrygia II AD), **1199** (Marble plate. Origin unknown. II AD), **1244** (Relief. Athens. II/III AD), **1247** (Relief. Alexandria. »Lettres gravées à la pointe de l'époque Constantinienne« – Néroustos-Bey), **1320** (Altar [Base]. Xanthos, Lydia. II/III AD), **1324** (Altar shaped base with sarcophagus. Buthynia. II AD), **1326** (Pillar. Rom. II AD), **1337** (Philippolis, Thrace. III AD), **1528** (Stele. Sikinos. III AD), **1546** (Rom. I/II AD), **1578** (Alexandria. III AD – Athens. VI AD), **1645** (Stele with buckler on which is this epigram. Ephesus. I AD), **1651** (Marble pannel. Sidon. III AD), **1684** (Relief. Chersonnesos. I/II AD), **1828**

demand to display the intellect and wisdom of the deceased. However, this is most likely from accident of survival and transmission.

Nevertheless, as with the Hellenistic period, funerary epigrams under the Roman Empire associate the Muses collectively with literature and wisdom. For example, *GVI* 371, an epigram from Rome dating to the 2nd-3rd century AD, states that the deceased is an attendant of the Muses as well as a wise man (1: [Μουσά]ων θεράπων, ἀνήρ | [σ]οφὸς ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι |). In *GVI* 1956, an epigram inscribed between two stones from Akmonia (Phrygia) dating to the 1st-2nd centuries AD, the deceased Pollianos addresses the passersby after he prepared the writings of the Muses (*Il.*4-5: Πολλιανὸς (δῖς) Φωτεινοῦ πᾶσ[ιν τάδε Μουσῶν] | 4 γράμματα τε[υ]ξάμενος ταῦτ[α λέγω παρόδοις]). As in *GVI* 1881 (see above), note how the epigram transforms itself into the writings of the Muses. The reconstructed τάδε, which modifies γράμματα, points to the epigram itself. More notably, *GVI* 733, an epigram on a pillar also from Rome (3rd century AD), displays similarities to Apollonius' *Argonautica*:

ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι δάμαρ ὑπάτου ἥρωος ἀγαυοῦ
 Ἀρρίου μου φίλιου, τῷδε μιγεῖσα μόνῳ ·
 ἦν δὲ κὲ ἐκ προγόνων ποτὲ τοῦνομα Πουβλιανή μοι
 4 (Σκιπιάδαι δ' ἔπελον εὐγενίη τ' ἔπρεπον),
 χηρείαις αὐτὴ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μείνασα
 κῶκυμόρων τεκέων πένθει τακομένη
 ἐμ βιώτῳ δὲ πόνον πουλὺν δ' ἀνέτλην μογέουσ[α],
 8 Μούσαισιν μοῦνον τὴν φρένα θελγομένη.

Here I lie, the wife of the highest noble hero,
 my dear Arios, with whom alone I mingled;
 at one time there was the name for me Poubliane from my ancestors
 4 (They were the Skipiadae and became illustrious in antiquity),
 I remaining for a long time in widowhood
 and melting in the grief of early-dying children;
 Suffering I endured much toil in life,
 8 while I was bewitched in my heart alone by the Muses.

(Stele. Sparta. II/III AD), **1862** (Stele. Hadrianoi, Mysia. I/II AD), **1924** (Relief [Boy with book scroll; on the gable there is a wreath with *tainiai*]. Rome. After 94 AD), **1925** (On the street from Napoli towards Nola. I AD?), **1927** (Stele. Thespiiai. I/II AD), **1938** (Base with relief [Busts]. Rome. II AD), **1996** (Stele. Athens. II/III AD), **2030** (Oblong marble block. Syros. II/III AD), and **2050** (Rome. Beginning of II. AD).

The Muses are responsible for bewitching mortals in both the *Argonautica* (III.5 θέλγεις) and in this epigram (8 θελγομένη). The idea seems to be that Poubliane is “put under the power” or “under the spell” of the Muses. A tempting but uncertain extension of the similarities between this epigram and the opening of Book 3 of the *Argonautica* is to consider a possible association between Poubliane and Medea. Recall the observations that in the *Argonautica* Eros and Erato are conflated especially since θέλω is a term reserved for the powers of Eros.⁸⁶ Indeed, Medea appears elsewhere in epigrams and is a popular subject in funerary sarcophagi in order to invoke pity.⁸⁷ However, this may not be the case or even necessary since the grief of early-dying children (6 κώκυμύρων τεκέων πένθει τακομένη) and the bewitching of her heart may be sufficient to elicit such emotions from the reader (8 Μούσαισιν μούνον τὴν φρένα θελγομένη). What is more significant is that the Muses have a magic-like quality. This perhaps may suggest among many other possible explanations another conception of the Muses as charmers.

In addition to showing the deceased’s erudition or eliciting emotions through allusions to myth, funerary epigrams of the imperial period portray individuals as Muses. For example, *GVI* 1323, found on a stele from Smyrna (ca. 2nd century AD), calls the wife of the deceased a tenth Muse (*ll.* 5-9):

ἴστε δὲ καὶ γαμέ[τιν, ξένοι, | αὖ σγῖν ἔνθα μεθ’ αὐτοῦ
 Τατιαν[ὴν Μουσῶν | ἀνέ]ρα τὴν δεκάτην,
 ἥτις σωφρ[οσύνη τ’ ἐρι]δαί]νετο τῇ Διὸς Ἥρα
 8 καὶ σ[οφί]η [κλυτὴ ἦν, ἦν | θ’ εἴ]λον Κύπριδι κλήρω
 θρησ[κεῦσαι τρι]άδω]ν δέκα φένγος ἀθρήσ[ασαν]

Know, o strangers, that the wife, Tatiane, the tenth [one] of the Muses,
 holds with herself [her] husband in this spot,
 (she) who strove with Hera [wife] of Zeus in prudence,
 8 and was renowned in wisdom, whom observing the light
 the thrice ten religious rites in the allotment of Cypris seized.

⁸⁶ See above p.41, n. 16.

⁸⁷ For Medea in epigrams, see Gutzwiller (2004) and in particular, pp.363-4. Gutzwiller shows that Medea appears in epigrams, for example *Anth. Pal.* XVI.143, to convey emotions of anger and pity. For Medea on sarcophagi see, Koch and Sichtermann (1982), 159-61. For interpretation of myths on sarcophagi, see Koortbojian (1995) and in particular, pp.8-9, where myth in sarcophagi typically present analogies and not identifications. For a general survey of the appearance of Medea and other myths on funeral sarcophagi as images expressing certain emotions, see Mayer (2012), 148-9.

Note here that the expressed characteristics of the wife, the tenth Muse, are strife with Hera in prudence (7 ἦτις σωφρ[οσύνη τ' ἐρι|δαί]νετο τῆ Διὸς Ἥρα) and her renown in wisdom (8 καὶ σ[οφί]η [κλυτὴ ἦν). Here, as in the Roman mosaics and in the Hellenistic epigrams, the Muses appear in the intellectual contexts of prudence and wisdom. In *GVI* 1981, two epigrams found on marble panels from Rome dating to the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD, the deceased, possibly named Mousa, receives tears around her tomb (*Il.5-6*: γηραλήη δὲ κόμη<v> πολίην τίλλουσα καθ' ὄραν | ἠρίον ἀμφὶ τεόν, Μοῦσα, χέω δάκρυα). Interestingly, this might be an attestation for the term Mousa as a name instead of simply a reference to a Muse or a rhetorical device such as “my Muse”. If so, this shows that the abstract qualities of the Muses are also things that people may have for themselves. A similar description occurs in *GVI* 1996, three separate epigrams on a stele from Athens dating to the 2nd – 3rd centuries AD. Here, the land of the Muses buries the deceased (9 ἐνθάδε Μουσάω[ν θνητ]ῶν [κα]τὰ σῶμα καλύπτει). *GVI* 1996 by calling Athens the land of the Muses brings to mind the passage from Apuleius’ *Florida* discussed above where Athens is the location in which one acquires all the Muses. In doing so, the epigram not only calls attention to the deceased’s burial location, but also signals the literary importance of Athens itself. Consequently, all these epigrams to some degree or another show both an uninterrupted tradition with the Hellenistic pattern of funerary epigrams and their own highly literary nature.

In conclusion, the Roman treatment of the Muses has many precedents in the Hellenistic tradition. On the one hand, some of the mosaics from North Africa display a persistent Hellenistic pattern in which Apollo and the Muses convey poetic inspiration and achievement. On the other hand, the funerary epigrams from the Hellenistic period and the Roman Empire demonstrate almost complete congruency in displaying the literary wisdom of the deceased through the Muses. Nevertheless, the addition of the feather motif, extended right hand gesture, and the *toga praetexta* in certain mosaics seem to indicate a shift in the iconographic depiction of the Muses and by extension literary erudition.

Whereas the Hellenistic literary erudition depends on Apollo, poetic inspiration, and poetic victory (see tripod motif), the Roman mosaics gravitate to a brand of intellectualism that might be tied with elite social status. As Spentzou remarks, the Muses in both Roman art and literature are indeed a trope “at given points to talk about power, authority, desire, knowledge, identity, gender, genres of writing, the past, the future”.⁸⁸

⁸⁸ Spentzou in Spentzou and Fowler (2002), 22.

Chapter 3: Orpheus and Homer

As a point of comparison to Homer and the Muses, Orpheus provides a useful example because not only does Orpheus share iconographic similarities with Homer during the Hellenistic period, but also Orpheus, as well as Homer, becomes an authoritative and foundational figure in Roman imperial literature. In the previous two chapters, I have argued that Roman mosaics seem to demonstrate both a shift away from Hellenistic patterns and a new development in the iconography of Homer and Muses by which the patron might establish socially his literary intellectualism. The remaining problem, however, is whether or not a new development of iconography was needed in order to express Roman social values. If not, this would suggest that not only were Hellenistic patterns suitable to Roman ideology, but also shifts away from Hellenistic patterns demarcate an effort to bring artistic models in line with Roman values. As we shall see, this chapter will demonstrate by examining the images of Orpheus that shifts away from Hellenistic patterns and new developments in iconography are not needed by the Roman elite in order to convey Roman values such as *virtus*. In fact, the iconography of Orpheus will demonstrate that Hellenistic archetypal patterns were suitable for Roman purposes. The treatment of Homer as an intellectual figure and a marker of identity in art in later centuries of the Empire thus seems to have very real Roman origins.

As for Orpheus, studies have already catalogued, categorized, and interpreted his depiction on mosaics in great detail. Therefore, in the pages that follow, there will be a brief account of the development of the iconography of Orpheus that is built from Jesnick's comprehensive work.¹ This chapter begins by examining the relationship between Homer and Orpheus, establishing that both figures appear in contexts that convey poetic inspiration in the Hellenistic period, but become

¹ Stern (1965); Panyagua (1967); idem (1972a); idem (1972b); idem (1973); Stern and Leglay (1975); Ovadia and Mucznik (1980); and Jesnick (1997) who incorporates the aforementioned studies.

foundational figures in the Roman imperial period. With their connection established, a brief survey of the iconography of Orpheus in the Hellenistic period will show the development of the artistic motif of Orpheus as a charmer of animals. Then, I will show that during the Roman Empire that motif becomes the sole image of Orpheus on mosaics and coins. Finally, closer examination will reveal that this late Hellenistic pattern of depiction is used to convey Roman concepts of *virtus*, dominion, and social order without any changes to the iconographic pattern.

Beginning with the Hellenistic period, Orpheus appears in contexts of poetic inspiration just as Homer. Recalling the Archelaos relief and Homer's relationship to Apollo and the Muses, Orpheus also appears with both figures. For example, a Lucanian volute crater (380-70 BC), an Apulian lekythos (ca. 350 BC), and an Apulian volute crater (ca. 350 BC) depict Orpheus with the Muses.² More significantly, a fresco from Pompeii depicts Orpheus wearing a Phrygian cap and the long *khiton* of Apollo *Kitharoidos*.³ At times, the iconographies of Orpheus and Apollo are so similar that the two figures are indistinguishable. For example, a Boeotian cup (ca. 6th -5th BC) depicts a musician playing a lyre, enthroned on a seat, and accompanied by birds. Here, birds are not sufficient for identifying the figure as Orpheus because birds are part of oracular iconography and thus appropriate for Apollo.⁴ Indeed, as Jesnick points out, Apollo also charms animals in one of the choral odes of Euripides' *Alcestis*.⁵ Another example that recalls Euripides' *Alcestis* is an Etruscan bronze mirror (430-390 BC) that shows a lyrist of ambiguous identity who is accompanied by birds, a hind, and a lynx.⁶ Finally, an

² no. 83,89, and 90 in Queryel (1992), 657-81.

³ Panyagua (1967), 195-6; idem, (1972) no.185, fig.27. Jesnick (1997), 12.

⁴ Jesnick (1997), 9.

⁵ *ibid.*, 9. Eur. *Alc.* 568-87 {Χο.} ὃ πολύξεινος καὶ ἐλευθέρου ἀνδρὸς ἀεὶ ποτ' | οἶκος, | σέ τοι καὶ ὁ Πύθιος εὐλύρας Ἀπόλλων (570) | ἠξίωσε ναίειν, | ἔτλα δὲ σοῖσι μηλονόμας (573) | ἐν νομοῖς γενέσθαι, | δοχμῶν διὰ κλειτύων (575) | βοσκήμασι σοῖσι συρίζων | ποιμνίτας ὑμεναίους. | σὺν δ' ἐποιμαίνοντο χαρᾶι μελέων βαλιαί τε | λύγκες, | ἔβα δὲ | λιποῦσ' Ὅθρυος νάπαν λεόντων (580) | ἄ δαφρινὸς ἴλα· | χόρευσε δ' ἀμφὶ σὰν κιθάραν. (583) | Φοῖβε, ποικιλόθριζ | νεβρὸς ὑψικόμων πέραν (585) | βαίνουσ' ἐλατῶν σφυρῶι κούφωι, | χαίρουσ' εὐφροني μολπᾶι.

⁶ R.Eisler (1925), fig.34, 97, n.2; Guthrie (1935.), 66, fig.9; Panyagua (1967) 187-8; idem (1972) no.94, 420-10 BC. Schöeller (1969) 24, pl. V, 4. Stern (1980), fig.2; Jesnick (1997), 9, fig.3. Edmonds (2013), 104, also argues that the figure is generally identified as Apollo who, as Orpheus later on, appears quite often with animals.

engraved sardonyx (135-80 BC) is the first clear example in which Orpheus appears naked and with a troupe of animals.⁷ Thus, both Orpheus and Homer are closely related to divine poetic inspiration and Apollo during the Hellenistic period.

Furthermore, under the Roman Empire, both Orpheus and Homer are treated as authoritative and foundational figures. Recall the introduction where it was shown that the Middle and Neoplatonists began to use Homeric texts in order to create for themselves a context, canon, or tradition where Homer's works bring prestige to their own.⁸ Similar to Homer, Orpheus becomes emblematic of Greek culture and religion, especially at the hands of Christians and Platonists beginning as early as the 1st century AD. For example, in joking with his friends, the Platonist Plutarch remarks that he is avoiding the egg because of an Orphic superstition.⁹ Writing a little after Plutarch in the second century AD, the geographer Pausanias in evaluating various Orphica establishes Orpheus at the head of Lykomidai ritual and opines that:¹⁰

ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἤδη, τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας
ἕκαστον τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύστατον καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν πεποιημένους
Λυκομίδαι δὲ ἴσασι τε ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις. κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα
φέροιντο ἄν μετὰ γε Ὀμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐς πλεόν ἐκείνων
ἤκουσι. Paus.IX.30.12

⁷ Jesnick (1997), 13, also see her n.45.

⁸ Lamberton (1986), 14-5.

⁹ Plut. *Quaest. conu.* 2.3.I 635e (*OF* 653 B = *OT* 203 K): ὑπόνοιαν μέντοι παρέσχον, ἐσπιῶντος ἡμᾶς Σοσσίου Σενεκίωνος, ἐνέχεσθαι δόγμασιν Ὀρφικοῖς ἢ Πυθαγορικοῖς καὶ τὸ ὄν, ὥσπερ ἔνιοι καρδίαν καὶ ἐγκέφαλον, ἀρχὴν ἠγούμενος γενέσεως ἀφοσιοῦσθαι. For further exploration on the passage, see Edmonds (2013), 25 who points out the passage of Plutarch above and its relevance to Orphism.

¹⁰ Johnston in Graf and Johnston (2007), 67; Edmonds (2013), 7, defines that something is “Orphic” if there is a special claim to divine connection, a claim of extreme antiquity, or if something is marked by extra-ordinary strangeness, perversity, and alien nature. Furthermore, Edmonds (2013), 3-4, states that “Orphica” is any text or ritual ascribed to Orpheus. *Contra* Edmonds, Albinus (2000), 101-2, argues that Orphica contain a theogeny and are generally referred to as *Hieroi Logoi* which include works from Pherecydes of Syros as well as *Oracles of Musaeus: The Initiations, The Mixing-Bowl, The Robe, The Net and The Peplos*. Finally, returning to Pausanias, Book 9 on Boiotia gives an etiological account concerning the tomb of Orpheus at Lebertha. However, the Lykomidai are an Athenian clan with a cult center and Mysteries at Phyla, not Boiotia. Liapis (2007), 399, n. 96, conjectures that Pausanias is making a connection between Orpheus and the Eleusinian Mysteries. Although the historic discrepancies are not yet solvable, the salient point is that Orpheus was considered by ancient sources to be inherently connected with Mysteries and other similar cultic rites.

Whoever has already busied himself concerning poetry, knows that the hymns of Orpheus are very short, and all together not made into a great number. The Lykomidai know them and sing them in accompaniment with their actions [*id.* rituals]. On the one hand, they may be said to be second after the hymns of Homer in the beauty of words, but on the other hand in honor from the god, they have come far ahead than those [i.e. the hymns of Homer].

Here, Pausanias' treatment of Orpheus is in tune with Plutarch. Both authors ascribe origins of a certain superstition or ritual to Orpheus. It seems that in literary circles of the second century AD Orpheus begins to acquire an authoritative role as a founder of specific Greek religious rites.

Furthermore, this authoritative role begins to expand to include Greek religion in general both in the attacks of Greek religion by Christian apologists and in the later treatment by Neoplatonists. For example, Clement of Alexandria, writing in the late 2nd to early 3rd century AD, places Orpheus at the head of Greek religious tradition because he gave an exposition of orgiastic rites (τὴν τῶν ὀργίων ἱεροφαντίαν) and a “theology of idols” (τῶν εἰδώλων τὴν θεολογίαν).¹¹ On the one hand, the term ἱεροφαντία and its cognates particularly connote the exposition of ritual, such as for initiates into Mysteries, most notably in Hierocles Platonicus (5th century AD).¹² And on the other hand, θεολογία conveys either a science of the divine or an invocation of a god.¹³ In addition to Clement, as Edmonds points out, Athenagoras, a near contemporary of Clement, quotes Herodotus on the importance of Homer and Hesiod for systemizing the knowledge of the gods. After doing so, Athenagoras then places Orpheus prior to Homer.¹⁴ As with Pausanias, Athenagoras treats both Orpheus and Homer as authoritative founding figures.

Similarly, the Neoplatonists also used Orpheus as the authoritative spokesman for the Greek

¹¹ Clem. Al. *Protr.* 7.43.4 (OF 375, 377iii = OF 246 K).

¹² For the range of meanings of the term, see *LSJ*, 823, s.v. ἱεροφαντέω. For the term in Hierocles the Stoic, see Hieroc. *in CA* 20p.466M. For a full exploration of Hierocles Platonicus' life and Neoplatonic philosophy, see Hadot and Chase (2004).

¹³ *LSJ*, 790, s.v. θεολογία. For the term's mystical connotations since the 5th century BC, especially in philosophical circles, see Lamberton (1986), 22-31.

¹⁴ Athenagoras *Leg.* 17.1-2, citing Hdt. 2.53 (OF 88oi B = OT 10 K). For further treatment on Christian apologists, see Edmonds (2013), 30-37.

religious tradition. For example, in his *Life of Pythagoras*, Iamblichus remarks how wisdom of Pythagoras descended from Orpheus, stating that Pythagoras' ideas came from the writings of Orpheus through the mediation of the initiatory priest of Aglaophamos.¹⁵ Even Proclus drew from the Orphica when claiming that Greek theology is the offspring of the Orphica transmitted through Aglaophamos to Pythagoras.¹⁶ Not only do these examples demonstrate that Orpheus and Homer are founding figures, but also display the popularity of Orpheus in literature. The popularity of Orpheus also extends beyond philosophical and literary circles, especially in light of the fact that one hundred and three Roman mosaics are known to depict Orpheus and that there are also six series of imperial coins that display Orpheus.¹⁷ To these mosaics and coins, the paper shall occupy itself after an immediately following, yet brief sketch of the artistic developments of Orpheus during the Hellenistic period.

During the Hellenistic period, the iconographic tradition of Orpheus contains the most variation with the charming animal type arriving later in the period. During the earlier parts of the period, depictions of Orpheus depended on the material context on which he appeared. For example, funerary material culture such as an Apulian volute crater (ca. 330 BC) depicts Orpheus in the Underworld with Eurydice.¹⁸ In other contexts, Orpheus appears with other figures, especially Thracian men and divinities.¹⁹ However, as mentioned above, by the Late Hellenistic period, the iconography of Orpheus

¹⁵ Iambl. *VP* 28.145-7 (*OF* 507i B = *OT* 249 K). Edmonds (2013), 39.

¹⁶ Procl. *Theol. Plat.* 1.5: ἅπασα γὰρ ἡ παρ' Ἑλλησι θεολογία τῆς Ὀρφικῆς ἐστὶ μυσταγωγίας ἔκγονος, πρώτου μὲν Πυθαγόρου παρὰ Ἀγλαοφήμου τὰ περὶ θεῶν ὄργια διδαχθέντος, δευτέρου δὲ Πλάτωνος ὑποδεξαμένου τὴν παντελεῖα περὶ τούτων ἐπιστήμην ἕκ τε τῶν Πυθαγορείων καὶ Ὀρφικῶν γραμμάτων. Edmonds III (2012), 42. For a comprehensive sifting of Neoplatonic material in relation to Orpheus, see Brisson (1995); idem (2002); and idem (2009).

¹⁷ Jesnick (1997), 124. Jennison's list includes the most recent finds. For a fuller detail of earlier catalogues, see the following: Stern (1955) who lists 46; Panyagua (1973) who lists 67; Liepmann (1974) who lists 70; Ovadia and Mucznik (1980) who includes the mosaics of Late Antiquity; Toynbee (1964) and D.J.Smith in A.L.F. Rivet (1969) who solely work on the British Orpheus mosaics; Michaelides in V.Karageorghis (1986) who lists 83 examples. For Jesnick's criteria, see pgs.120-7. For the series of coins, see *RPC*: IV.16273, IV.15287, IV.15276, IV.15679, IV.15595, and IV.15129.

¹⁸ Garezou "Orpheus" in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 81-105, provides the entries for Orpheus. For this Apulian volute crater, see no. 80 in Garezou (1994). For other examples of Orpheus with Eurydice, see no. 86 in *ibid.* Without Eurydice, see no. 72-8, 85 in *ibid.* With Orpheus possibly at the threshold of the Underworld, see no. 81 in *ibid.*

¹⁹ For Orpheus and the Argonauts, see no. 6 in *ibid.* For Orpheus among Thracians, see no. 15, 17, 25-27 (25-7 include Thracian women) in *ibid.* For Orpheus attacked by Thracian woman, see no. 28, 32-51 in *ibid.*

with animals becomes the most prevalent. The iconography seems to have developed around the 2nd century BC with an engraved sardonyx (discussed above) being one of the earliest extant examples (135-80 BC).²⁰ Furthermore, the earliest extant sculpture of Orpheus and animals is a peperino figure (ca. 1st century BC) (Fig.25) that was found in a cemetery near the Porta Tiburtina and displays Orpheus with owl on his knee, a feline at his feet, and the traces of another bird on his back.²¹ This latter example might demonstrate the speed of reception in Rome within a century if the sardonyx remains the earliest extant example. Nevertheless, the development of this archetypal pattern has various interpretations. Gareizou argues that “c’est probablement pendant la période hellénistique, quand les scènes d’inspiration bucolique jouissent d’une faveur particulière, que le sujet d’O. parmi les animaux se forme”.²² On the other hand, Jesnick (drawing upon Jennison) attributes the development of the motif to the “expansion of the animal industry, trade and spectacle, in the Hellenistic kingdoms, allowing greater availability of exotic beasts”.²³ Nevertheless, these possibilities are not mutually exclusive and may coincide as in the case of the Roman mosaics.

Borrowing from the Late Hellenistic period, Roman mosaics and imperial coinage almost exclusively portray Orpheus playing the lyre and accompanied by animals. Out of one hundred and three Roman mosaics depicting Orpheus, only a handful do not display Orpheus with the animals. Interpretation, however, depends on the details, such as types of accompanying animals, architectural context, and the region in which the mosaic was found. However, due to the scope of this chapter, not all meanings and contexts can be explored.²⁴ Instead, the mosaics selected for discussion are the ones that have motifs very similar to those of Homer, such as poetry, and literature, and that express motives

²⁰ Jesnick (1997), 13. Stern (1980), 160.

²¹ Jesnick (1997), 13-4. Strong and Toynbee (1995), 39, fig.10.

²² Gareizou “Orpheus” in *LIMC* VII.1 (1994), 102.

²³ Jennison (1937), cf. Introduction; Jesnick (1997), 13.

²⁴ For a more full detail, please refer to Jesnick (1997).

such as a desire to express social status or *virtus*. Although the motives of choosing to display either Orpheus or Homer may be similar, there is a clear distinction in both meaning and significance of their iconography. In the case of Orpheus on Roman mosaics and coinage, the imagery represents the dominion and subjugation of the exotic, wild, unknown.

In Roman mosaics, the motif of Orpheus, a charmer of animals, might be a symbol for Roman *virtus*, stability, and order over unknown and exotic forces. For example, the Orpheus mosaic from Oudna (230-50 AD) in modern Tunisia (Fig.26) was found in a *frigidarium* of a private residence.²⁵ Orpheus sits semi-frontally, wearing a Phrygian cap and holding a lyre. Around him are a snake in a bush, a hartebeest, and a monkey along with the inscription: MASURI. IN PRAEDIS LABERIORUM LABERIANI ET PAULINI. MASURI (Of Masurus. In the estate of Laberianus of the Laberii and of Paulinus. Of Masurus).²⁶ Monkeys in North African mosaics were popular figures which invoked scenes of *venatio* and the circus.²⁷ Furthermore, the repertoire of Orpheus mosaics in North Africa heavily borrows from *venatio*. One such example is an *opus sectile* of Orpheus from Carthage that also depicts a racehorse, a circus, and charioteers. Another example is the mosaic from Rougga in Tunisia which depicts an Orpheus panel next to panels containing scenes of amphitheater and circus.²⁸ The juxtaposition of Orpheus mosaics to scenes of *venatio* or the amphitheater has some possible explanations. First, Orpheus might have been a popular figure in North Africa because his image of an animal charmer is appropriate for a region that exports exotic animals for aristocratic *venationes* or games at the arena. Indeed, the *venatio* was a popular aristocratic pastime and was joined ideologically to aristocratic farming in Roman literature as far back as the second century BC during the Roman

²⁵ Jesnick (1997), 130, no. 15.

²⁶ *ibid*, 130, no. 15.

²⁷ Jesnick (1997), 86. For the ape in *venatio*, see Levi (1936), 273-7.

²⁸ Jesnick (1997), 130, no. 11, no. 16.

Republic.²⁹ Nevertheless, the appropriateness of the image of Orpheus for both *venatio* scenes and amphitheater does not exclude a thematic interpretation. Orpheus as a charmer of animals is a popular image throughout the Empire with or without *venatio* scenes, for example Roman Britain (see Jesnick's catalogue). Therefore, there is the possibility that Orpheus represents abstractly the concept of dominion, pacification, and other similar ideas. Returning to the mosaic at Oudna, Orpheus with his charming lyre does not simply lull the exotic animals. He dominates and pacifies them as if he were mirroring a hunter in the arena. Because this mosaic lies next to *venatio* mosaics that convey aristocratic values of dominion and subjugation, Orpheus through the music of his lyre might represent a civilizing force that brings "peace, concord, and eternal stillness".³⁰

However, dominion is not the only meaning that Orpheus mosaics may possess. For example, the mosaic of Orpheus found at Nea Paphos on Cyprus (Fig.27), having a *terminus post quem* of the end of the first century AD, seems to convey the patron's social status through the musical arts.³¹ Orpheus sits on a rock in Thracian garb, long sleeved tunic, and a Phrygian cap.³² His right hand, which grasps a *plectrum*, is extended and his left hand holds the *kithara*.³³ Recall the significance of the extended right hand in imperial imagery such as the *aureus* of Caracalla that conveys authority. Furthermore, exotic animals such as fox, bear, boar, bull, leopard, lion, tiger, and parrot, surround Orpheus and recall the mosaic from Oudna described above.³⁴ Finally, Orpheus wears a long Thracian

²⁹ For a full treatment on hunting in Roman literature, see Green (1996). However, some examples include: Varro's *De Re Rustica* III.3.7-8 in which Merula comments on how villas had enclosures for hunting (*sic in secunda parti ac leporario pater tuus, Axi[i], praeterquam lepusculum e venatione vidit numquam*), Sallust's *Catiline* IV.1 which characterizes farming as hunting (*igitur, ubi anumus ex multis miseriis atque periculis requievit et mihi relicuam aetatem a re publica procul habendam decrevi, non fuit consilium sorcordia atque desidia bonum conterere, neque vero agrum colando aut venando...*), and Horace's *Epist.* I.18-49-52 which calls defeating boars a solemn Roman practice (*Romanis sollemne viris opus, utile famae | vitaeque et membris, praesetim cum valeas et | vel cursu superare canem vel viribus aprum | possis*). For the hunting horn (*bucina*) in Latin poetry of Late Antiquity, see Roberts (1982).

³⁰ Jesnick (1997), 77.

³¹ Michaelides in Price (1991), 8.

³² *ibid.*, 8.

³³ *ibid.*, 8.

³⁴ Michaelides in Price (1991), 8-9.

garment that is similar to the *khiton* of Apollo *kitharoidos*.³⁵ The *kitharoidia* (public performances of the *kithara*) also had socio-political dimensions in terms of authority and power in Roman literature. Some poignant examples are the criticisms of the emperor Nero that he is a bad example of a *kitharoidos*.³⁶ Therefore, the use of *kithara* and the *khiton* of Apollo *kitharoidos* in this mosaic brings to attention the social dimensions of the *kithara*. In doing so, music (*kithara*) becomes a force that brings order and stability (or, as in the case of Nero, destruction) by taming the unknown and exotic, represented by animals. Although this mosaic from Nea Paphos does not use motifs of *venatio*, but rather the *kithara* and *kitharoidos*, thus indicating regional differences, both the mosaics of Oudna and Nea Paphos demonstrate that the image of Orpheus represents aristocratic notions of social stability and order.

Nevertheless, a pressing issue must be addressed in regards to Orpheus mosaics, namely whether or not the mosaics have any ties to “Orphic” cult. Out of Jesnick’s catalogue, only two mosaics might be interpreted to have cultic associations: the Littlecote Orpheus mosaic (Fig.28) and the Palermo mosaic from Piazza della Vittoria (Fig.29). The Littlecote mosaic (Fig.28) has no other parallel in the Empire with respect to its iconography. Orpheus appears in the center compartment of the mosaic with a fox. In the four surrounding compartments there are four running beasts, three of which have reins: bull, goat, hind and a dark feline, perhaps a panther. On these animals ride Demeter (bull), Persephone (goat), Aphrodite (deer), and Leda/Nemesis (the feline). Walters interpreted the Littlecoat mosaic as a reflection of the pursuit of Dionysos-Zagreus by the Titans in which Dionysos transformed himself into an animal only to be caught and dismembered by the Titans.³⁷ The story

³⁵ Jesnick (1997), 70-1.

³⁶ For a full treatment of the culture of the *kithara* beginning with its civic functions in Greek *poleis*, see Power (2010). For *kithara* and political order, see Dio Chrysostom’s oration (36.20) delivered to the Alexandrian populace who compares the populous to Nero and his *kithara*. Furthermore, Suetonius in *Nero* 20.1 tells that an earthquake occurred while Nero was performing in a theatre. For the same story, see also Tacitus’ *Annals* 15.34.1. Finally, Dio Cassius 62.18.1 recounts that Nero sang while Rome burned (also in Tacitus’ *Annals* 15.39.3).

³⁷ Walters (1979 & 1980), 9.

appears in Plato's *Meno*, Diodorus of Siculus, and the Christian apologist Lactantius.³⁸ Yet, what seems to make these accounts Orphic are both the strangeness of the story and the departure from traditional accounts, such as Zeus and Semele being the parents of Dionysos and not Zeus and Persephone.³⁹ There is nothing strange about the Littlecoat mosaic except that it is the only one of its kind in the Empire. However, this might be due to the accident of survival. Furthermore, Dionysos is not explicitly present in this mosaic although Dionysos was also a popular subject in mosaics, such as Drinking Contest scenes or even conventional scenes with the Seasons that convey a sense of renewal and fertility.⁴⁰ Consequently, the Littlecote mosaic seems to show no demonstrative signs of cultic associations.

The second example is a mosaic, dating to the 3rd century AD, which was found in the Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo (Fig.29). It lay on the north side of a Roman villa in a room immediately adjoining a rectangular room that comes after an *atrium*.⁴¹ It depicts Orpheus seated on a rock and surrounded by animals. The reason this mosaic has been interpreted as cultic is due to the mosaic of the adjoining rectangular room (for our purposes, we will call it the "Loves of Zeus" mosaic (Fig.30)). The Loves of Zeus mosaic depicts various figures from bottom left to top right: a tragic poet; an unidentified seated figure with *capsa*; another unidentified seated figure; Antiope and Zeus (as satyr); Danaë and Zeus (as rain of gold); Leda and Zeus (as a swan); a bust of Helios; Dionysos on a griffin; a bust of Neptune; a Nereid on a marine deer; Europa and Zeus (as a bull); a Nereid on a marine monster;

³⁸ Plat. *Meno*. 81b8-c4. Johnston in Graf and Johnston (2007), 68-9 points out that the ancient grief of Persephone (παλαιῷ πένθεος) is Dionysos. Furthermore, Diod. *Hist.* V.75.4 reports a similar story: τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι φασὶν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην, ὃν Ὀρφεὺς κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς παρέδωκε διασπώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων. Finally, in his attack on pagan tradition, Lactantius mentions that Orpheus brought the rights of the god Liber into Greece and that Orpheus himself was torn to pieces: *Illi utique breui desinunt falli, horum uanitas et durat, et semper crescit. Sacra Liberi Patris primus Orpheus induxit in Graeciam, primusque celebravit in monte Boeotiae Thebis, ubi Liber natus est, proximo, qui cum frequenter citharae cantu personaret, Citeron appellatus est. Ea sacra etiam nunc Orphica nominantur, in quibus ipse postea dilaceratus, et carptus est, et fuit per eadem fere tempora, quibus Faunus* (Lact. *Inst. Div.* I.22).

³⁹ For strangeness as quality of Orphic, see footnote 10 in this chapter.

⁴⁰ Jesnick (1997), 113. For the date, see *ibid*, 29.

⁴¹ Carmerato-Scovazzo (1975), 232, n.4.

Athena on a he-goat (?); a female figure on a bird; a Nereid on a sea horse; Bellerophon and Pegasus; a Nereid on a sea monster; and, finally a bust of Hercules.⁴² In between these panels are medallions containing busts of the Seasons and Winds.⁴³ According to Levi, in Orphic exegesis Zeus in his many forms made love “in the air” and so created the world.⁴⁴ However, none of the literary sources that mention the “loves of Zeus” have demonstrable outward signs of cultic associations by referring or alluding to a ritual or the eschatology of the Orphic gold tablets (4th- 1st cent BC).⁴⁵ Moreover, the image of Dionysos on a griffin in the Palermo mosaic also does not necessarily convey Bacchic ritual. The griffin during the Roman Empire connotes the exotic and is often associated with the god Apollo. For example, a mosaic found in Maison des Masques dating to the third century AD displays a poet in thought surrounded by a *volumen*, tragic masks, and a tripod (an object usually associated with Apollo) surrounded by two griffins.⁴⁶ Therefore, returning to the mosaic from Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo, it is not so certain that two mosaics in separate rooms should be interpreted together in a comprehensive program, especially since the functions of the rooms are unknown.

Consequently, Orpheus mosaics do not seem to show any clear signs of cultic function. Rather, these mosaics, especially those in which Orpheus charms the animals, seem to convey social order in many ways, whether that is by coupling animal charming with *venatio* or by music represented by the

⁴² *ibid.*, 233-49.

⁴³ *ibid.*, 249-52.

⁴⁴ Levi (1942), 50-5, pl.V-VII; Eliade (1982), 189.

⁴⁵ Graf and Johnston (2007), 1-49 has provided an edition of the tablets and some common elements of the tablets contain ritual terms such as *μῦσται* and *βάχχοι*. None of these terms show up in the sources that tell of the “loves of Zeus”. For example, concerning Antiope and Zeus, *Od.* XI.261-5 and Apollod. III.5.5 make no mention of ritual nor connect Antiope with Dionysos or Orpheus. Furthermore, Euripides’ *Antiope* is too fragmentary to offer any conclusions. In regard to Danaë and Zeus, Apollod.II.4.1, *Ov.Met.*IV.610-11, IV.112-13, XI.116-19 and *Ov.Ars.*II.19.27-30 do not mention Orpheus or Bacchus. As for Zeus and Leda, Apollod.III.10.5-6 and *Ov.Met.*VI.108-9 also contain no reference to Orpheus or Bacchus. On the subject of Zeus and Europa, Apollod.III.1.1 and *Ov.Met.*II.833-III.10 also lack Orphic and Bacchic references. Finally, Ovid’s story on Orpheus (*Met.*X.143 cf.) has been much discussed with special reference to Vergil’s Orpheus story in *Georgics* 4. Neither Ovid’s nor Vergil’s accounts seem to have cultic associations, except for Ovid’s account of the Maenads in *Met.*XI.1-66. For further reading on Ovid and Vergil’s use of the myth of Orpheus, see Anderson in Warden (1982) and Segal (1989).

⁴⁶ Dunbabin (1978), 131.

kithara and *kitharoidos*. Indeed, the image of Orpheus charming the animals also appears in six series of imperial bronze coins from Alexandria (Fig.31) dating to the Antonine period. Four of these coins, all dating to AD 141/2, portray the laureate head of Antoninus Pius on the obverse and on the reverse depict Orpheus seated on a rock, holding a lyre, and charming a number of animals.⁴⁷ It is not possible to say with any certainty why the mints of Alexandria portrayed together images of both Orpheus charming the animals and Antoninus Pius. One possible explanation among many is that the imperial *aes* coinage of Antoninus Pius and their depictions seem to be mostly concerned with the *anona* (16% of *aes* coinage have themes involving grain) or with the beneficial conditions of Antoninus' rule.⁴⁸ If so, then the Orpheus series might also imply prosperity and stability. On the other hand, Alexandria during the second century AD was a hotbed for social tension and violence, and, in particular, a Jewish revolt which broke out in Alexandria in the years of AD 115-117.⁴⁹ Then, after the Jewish revolt in Judaea in AD 132, violence broke out again in Alexandria in AD 175.⁵⁰ If the Orpheus coins were minted with the instability and violence of the region in mind, then the coins might seem to advocate stability by the power of the emperor. Although no reason for the appearance of Orpheus in Antonine coinage can be certain, both possible interpretations show that Orpheus appears in contexts in which stability and order are of concern.

At this point, it is necessary to review what has been discussed. On the one hand, literature during the Roman Empire mentions Orpheus as a figure that represents Greek religious tradition (e.g. Plutarch, Pausanias, Lanctantius, Athenagoras, Clement, Iamblichus, and Proclus) or a musical poet who has suffered in love (Ovid and Vergil). To the latter, one may add Seneca the Younger's tragedies

⁴⁷ *RPC* IV: 15276, 15287, 15679, and 16273.

⁴⁸ Rowan (2013), 224-5, see especially fig.11 which gives a chart of the distributions of images in Antonine *aes* coinage.

⁴⁹ Harker (2008), 59. Also, see Goodman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* XI (2000), 670, who notes that the violence in the region during the years 115-17 forced Marcus Turbo to withdraw from his Parthian campaigns in order to suppress the revolt.

⁵⁰ For the revolt in Judaea, see Eck (1999), 76-9. For the revolt in Alexandria, see Harker (2008), 51.

where Orpheus is a singer in the choral odes.⁵¹ On the other hand, the iconography of Orpheus in mosaics and coinage conveys aristocratic or political conceptions of stability and order represented by Orpheus's ability to subdue and tame exotic animals through the *kithara*. The connection between these two traditions seems to lie in the possibility that Orpheus is a powerful mystical, musical, or poetic figure that brings order either by establishing rites and rituals or by charming animals. Should the imperial coins from Alexandria serve as any indication, Orpheus as a stabilizing, or even civilizing force, fits right in with Roman ideologies of *virtus* and order. Consequently, no adaptation of the Late Hellenistic pattern of Orpheus and animals was needed.

In contrast to Orpheus, the iconographic pattern of Homer in mosaics did change from a figure of divine poetic inspiration into another literary intellectual figure on the same level as a Cicero, Vergil, Herodotus, or Socrates (see Chapter One). The difference between the two figures has been mentioned in passing once before in this chapter in a citation of Pausanias (IX.30.12) where the hymns of Orpheus and Homer were compared. On the one hand, Orpheus' hymns, because of their ritual use, surpass those of Homer's by the honor of the god (τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐξ πλείων ἐκείνων ἤκουσι). On the other hand, the virtue of Homer's hymns lies in the fact that they are beautiful or well-ordered (κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν). This "beauty of words" gives the impression that the Homeric hymns are those of a rhetorician or an intellectual of some sort, and not a founder of religious practices. A similar comparison between Orpheus and Homer found in a funerary epigram written by a certain Nikarchos may elucidate this point:

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν κιθάραι πλεῖστον γέρας εἴλετο θνητῶν,
Νέστωρ δὲ γλώσσης ἠδὲ λόγου σοφίῃι,
τεκτοσύνηι δ' ἐπέων πολυίστωρ θεῖος Ὀμηρος,
Τηλεφάνης δ' αὐλαῖς, οὗ τάφος ἐστὶν ὄδε. *Anth. Pal.* VII.150

⁵¹ Segal (1989), cf.95 argues that Seneca creates Orpheus into a poet-hero mediating between human aspiration for a Golden Age and disobedience to the gods and violations of nature's law; For specific references to Orpheus in Seneca the Younger's tragedies, see *Sen. Her. F.* 568-71; *Sen. Her. O.* 1031-5, 1090-99; and *Sen. Med.* 228-35, 346-9, 455-60. A poet-hero who mediates between forces would parallel the civilizing aspects of Orpheus in mosaics where Orpheus subdues exotic beasts. Nevertheless, the examples from Seneca all place Orpheus in the realm of music.

Orpheus by the *kithara* won the greatest honor of mortals,
Nestor by the wisdom of his sweet speaking tongue,
the divine and very learned Homer by the carpentry of his words,
and Telephanes by the *aulai*, whose tomb is this one here.

Here, once again Orpheus takes the honor and pride of position over Homer, recalling Athenagoras' treatment above where Athenagoras attacks the Greek religious tradition by attacking Orpheus. Furthermore, in a similar fashion to the passage in Pausanias, Homer gains his honor through the carpentry of his words (τεκτοσύνη δ' ἐπέων). Τεκτοσύνη is a term of craftsmanship and appears in *Odyssey* Book V.249-51 where Odysseus is compared to a man who rounds off the hull of a ship (ὄσσον τίς τ' ἔδαφος νηὸς τορνῶσεται ἀνήρ | φορτίδος εὐρείης, ἐὺ εἰδὼς τεκτοσυνάων, | τόσσον ἔπ' εὐρείαν σχεδίην ποιήσατ' Ὀδυσσεύς.). Thus, Homer becomes an artisan of words. The problem, then, is what kind of artisan Homer becomes. Τεκτοσύνη is not used to describe poetry before this epigram.⁵² However, the term πολυίστωρ might give insight. This term only appears in contexts that demonstrate erudition and intellectualism. For example, Strabo uses πολυίστωρ to describe Homer, who, for Strabo, is not only a poet but also a historian.⁵³ Furthermore, πολυίστωρ appears in grammarians and scholiasts, in particular to describe the philosopher Alexander "Polyhistor" whose work perhaps

⁵² The closest contemporaneous example of similar usage comes from Lucian's *De Astrologia* 2.2 where he argues that one cannot dismiss an astrology because of a bad astrologer since no one dismisses craftsmanship because of a bad artisan or music because of poor musicians (οὐδέ μιν οὔτε ὑγία οὔτε ἀληθέα νομίζουσιν, ἀλλὰ λόγον ψευδέα καὶ ἀνεμώλιον, οὐ δικαίως, ἐμοὶ δοκέει, φρονέοντες· οὐδὲ γὰρ τέκτονος ἀϊδρή τεκτοσύνης αὐτῆς ἀδικίη οὐδὲ ἀλλητέω ἀμουσίη μουσικῆς ἀσοφίη, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἀμαθέες τῶν τεχνῶν, ἐκάστη δ' ἐν ἑωυτῇ σοφίη.). Furthermore, in *De Astrologia* 10, Lucian states that Orpheus brought astrology to Greece not because he was interested in study of that craft but for his witchcraft and mystical language ("Ἕλληνες δὲ οὔτε παρ' Αἰθιοπῶν οὔτε παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἀστρολογίης πέρι οὐδὲν ἤκουσαν, ἀλλὰ σφίσιν Ὀρφεὺς ὁ Οἰάγρου καὶ Καλλιόπης πρῶτος τάδε ἀπηγήσατο, οὐ μάλα ἐμφανέως, οὐδὲ ἐς φάος τὸν λόγον προήνεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἐς γοητεῖν καὶ ἱερολογίην, οἷη διανοίη ἐκείνου). Even here, Orpheus appears as a mystical figure. But more importantly, studies and craftsmanship seems to be opposed to magic and the mystical.

⁵³ Young (2010), 47. Strabo's treatment of Homer as a historian is well known and Strabo quotes Homer over seven hundred times in order to describe locations. For example, Strabo quotes the unnamed poets' work (*Il.* VIII.485) when describing the Iberian city of Tartessus (νύκτα μέλαιναν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν *III.* 2.12). For a full catalogue of Strabo's use of Homer, see Kahles (1976). For a full treatment of Strabo's use on poetry, see Deuck in Deuck, Lindsay, and Potheary (2005).

was an Academic treatment of Pythagorean ideas.⁵⁴ Thus, whereas Alexander is πολυίστωρ for his philosophy, Homer is πολυίστωρ both for his knowledge (see Strabo) and for his craft in words. In other words Homer is an intellectual just as much as Alexander.

To conclude, whereas the figures of Homer and Orpheus shared points of contact in Hellenistic art primarily in contexts of Apolline poetry, the Roman imperial period seems to show a crystallization between the two figures primarily in the iconographic record. Although literature, especially Christian and Platonist, used both figures in order to discuss Greek religion and culture, there was a clear distinction between the two, most evident in Pausanias and Strabo. This suggests two things. The first is that Hellenistic patterns and ideologies seemed to be acceptable and congruent with Roman elite social attitudes as in the case of Orpheus. The second, which relies on the first claim, is that the previous Hellenistic model of Homer did not seem to be congruent with the prevailing Roman elite attitudes towards Homer during the Roman Empire. Because Roman elite attitudes treated Homer as an intellectual elite on par with figures such as Cicero, Livy, Demosthenes, or Pythagoras, perhaps a new repertoire, which can be found across the Empire as Chapter One has shown, was necessary.

⁵⁴ See Aelius Herodianus' (whose *floruit* is 2nd century AD) *De Prosodia Catholica* (part, volume. page. line): 3,1.32.2; 3,1.33.18; 3,1.56.12; 3,1.58.35; 3,1.90.30; 3,1.92.7; 3,1.92.30; 3,1.95.24; 3,1.143.27; 3,1.159.11; 3,1.170.12; 3,1.189.4; 3,1.205.14; 3,1.207.21; 3,1.256.16; 3,1.268.25; 3,1.268.27; 3,1.282.17; 3,1.294.2; 3,1.295.13; 3,1.307.1; 3,1.309.23; 3,1.315.7; 3,1.335.11; 3,1.344.32; 3,1.366.17; and 3,1.371.15. For edition, see A. Lentz (repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1965), vol. 3,1. Also, see Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* (ca. 3rd century AD): VII.par.127.5. Finally, also see Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* I.240.1 and Diogenes of Laertius *Life of Protagoras* VIII.25-36. For a full treatment of Alexander Polyhistor, see A. A. Long in Schofield (2013), 139-59.

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the development of the image of Homer in art paralleled the literary treatment of Homer, in particular the Platonic tradition during Roman Empire. In both instances, Homer seems to have been used in intellectual contexts in which either the author or patron wished to make some sort of identity claim. The introduction briefly demonstrated how Plutarch used Homer in order to establish himself against the Stoic tradition of poetic interpretation. Furthermore, Neoplatonists such as Proclus employed Homer in order to clarify or explain a philosophical concept. With respect to Roman art, especially Roman mosaics, the underlying assumption was that the social nature of *decorum*, Roman patronage practices, and architectural contexts of the Roman *domus* conditioned the patron to consider socially his self-image when choosing a work of art. In respect to Homer, the patron would have been concerned to some extent with both his self-image and defining himself as an intellectual and literary elite.

With these starting points established, Chapter One sought to demonstrate how the iconographic pattern of Homer developed in various ways with the material evidence withstanding scrutiny. During the Hellenistic period, the Archelaos relief, coinage, and funerary epigrams seem to demonstrate a unified conception of Homer, namely a divinely inspired figure who is at the forefront of literature. However, during the Roman Empire, the unified picture of the Hellenistic period disintegrates. Roman mosaics with the exception of the Kenchreai *opus sectile* seem to exclusively employ Homer in contexts of literature alongside other intellectual figures. Because there seems to be a trend that these images appeared in rooms of reception, there is the possibility that the patron wanted to express his or her literary pretension and intellectualism. Naturally, this does not exclude the more simple explanation that the patron might have just enjoyed his or her Homer. However, this leads us to the question whether there was a similar trend in other famous or mythological personages or why the

Hellenistic model in some instances was not acceptable to Roman elites especially if it is a matter of just enjoying Homer. Nevertheless as the coins and funerary epigrams of Asia Minor have shown, the reception of the intellectual type of Homer varied across regions.

Because of the paucity of examples displaying Homer in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it was necessary to explore whether a similar trend could be found in other figural depictions. Thus, Chapter Two explored whether or not the iconography of the Muses underwent similar changes in both the Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. The answer seemed to be in the affirmative. Hellenistic iconography first displayed the Muses with their attributes and in close association with both Apollo and a victorious poet. Hellenistic literature also mirrored the shifts in iconography. However, under the Roman Empire, Roman mosaics, although adopting the attributes of the Muses from the Hellenistic period, seem to show a shift with whom the Muses appeared from Apollo to literary and intellectual figures. Furthermore, Roman mosaics also added the feather motif in the hair of the Muses. As a result of the iconographic shifts, the Muses seem to become personifications of genres of literature. This was elucidated further by the passages from Apuleius' *Florida* and other Roman literature. Nevertheless, two mosaics from Africa seem to indicate the longevity of the Hellenistic pattern. Consequently, the imperial period showed a disintegration of a unified conception of the Muses that was replaced by a growing tradition in which the Muses were literary abstractions. Finally, funerary epigrams in both Hellenistic and Roman periods displayed a pattern of their own in which the patron almost always employed the Muses in order to eulogize the deceased.

Finally, it was important to explore the extent to which Roman patrons employed Hellenistic motifs and models, especially with regard to elite Roman values. If Hellenistic motifs and patterns of Orpheus were sufficient in order to express the values of Roman patrons and elites, this would suggest that the shift in iconography of Homer and the Muses in Roman mosaics occurred in order to express the values of the elite. Consequently, then the image of Homer as an artistic type to express

intellectualism seems to be a product of Roman elites. The third chapter first began by demonstrating the connection between Orpheus and Homer in both Hellenistic and Roman imperial periods. Whereas in the Hellenistic period both figures were connected with poetry and Apollo, Homer and Orpheus became cultural founding figures in the literature under the Roman Empire. Establishing this link between the two figures, the chapter moved on to an examination of the iconography of Orpheus. From the late Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity, Orpheus exclusively appeared as a charmer of animals in mosaics and coinage. Furthermore, Orpheus mosaics and imperial coinage conveyed Roman ideologies of stability and order through his mystical and musical powers. The mystical, musical, and cultic qualities of Orpheus served as a foil to the technical and intellectual skill of Homer's words. Therefore, Chapter Three seemed to confirm the initial suspicion that the iconographic development of Homer and the Muses in Roman mosaics might have arose from social proclivities and attitudes, primarily those concerned with the self-image of the patron as an intellectual.

Finally, when considering Roman reception of Hellenistic art or literary models, primarily in the intellectual trends of the Second Sophistic, one should not dismiss the fact that cultural influences are fluid. All three chapters show how motifs both from the Hellenistic and imperial periods varied across time and geographic regions. But more importantly, these three chapters have shown how new imperial motifs and combinations colored interpretations of pre-existing patterns, such as an *adlocutio* gesture, a *toga praetexta*, or a feather in the hair of the Muses. What is notable about the imperial motifs is that many of them seem to convey or express a mark of social status. If the intellectual Homer type of the imperial period serves as any indication, the Second Sophistic is a period where Roman patrons and their ideologies meet Greek literature and art in new ways. Lest it is forgotten, Roman patronage contributed to the growth of the Second Sophistic. Marcus Aurelius established the

imperial chair of rhetoric at Athens in AD 174.¹ The *bema* at Athens, which served as equivalent to the Roman *rostra*, was not popularized until Roman building began in Athens and its reference in literature was rare prior to the Romans.² In other words, the Second Sophistic was highly fluid period in which cultural distinctions blended by one culture influencing another and vice versa. The intellectual Homer grew out of Hellenistic motifs that were molded, shaped, or even in some case removed in order to be consonant with Roman ideologies.

¹ Enos (2008), 141. Avotin (1975).

² Enos (2008), 144. McDonald (1943) 84, n.156. For ancient sources on *bema*, see Athenaeus' *Dipnosophistae* 5.212e.

List of Abbreviations

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJ</i>	<i>The Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>AJN</i>	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
<i>AJPhil.</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
<i>BMCR</i>	<i>Bryn Mawr Classical Review</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>Cl. Ant.</i>	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>CMGR I</i>	Gilbert Charles-Picard and Henri Stern, <i>La Mosaique gréco-romaine. Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Paris 1963</i> (1965).
<i>CMGR II</i>	Henri Stern and Marcel Le Glay, <i>La Mosaique Gréco-romaine II: Actes Du Iie Colloque International Pour L'étude de la Mosaique Antique, Vienne, 30 Août-4 Septembre 1971</i> , (Paris 1975)
<i>CPhil.</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>The Classical Review</i>
<i>CSCA</i>	<i>California Studies in Classical Antiquity</i>
<i>GVI</i>	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers- Inschriften I: Grab-Epigramme</i> (1955)
<i>Hesp.</i>	<i>Hesperia: the Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>HSPh</i>	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873-)

<i>JLA</i>	<i>Journal of Late Antiquity</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> (1981-)
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell and Scott, <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , 9th edn., rev. H. Stuart Jones (1925–40); Suppl. by E. A. Barber and others (1968)
<i>NMM</i>	<i>Numismatic Notes and Monographs</i>
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of Cambridge Philosophical Society</i>
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i>
<i>Röm.Mitt.</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
<i>SGO</i>	R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> , 5 vols (1998-2004)
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>TAPhS</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philosophical Society</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

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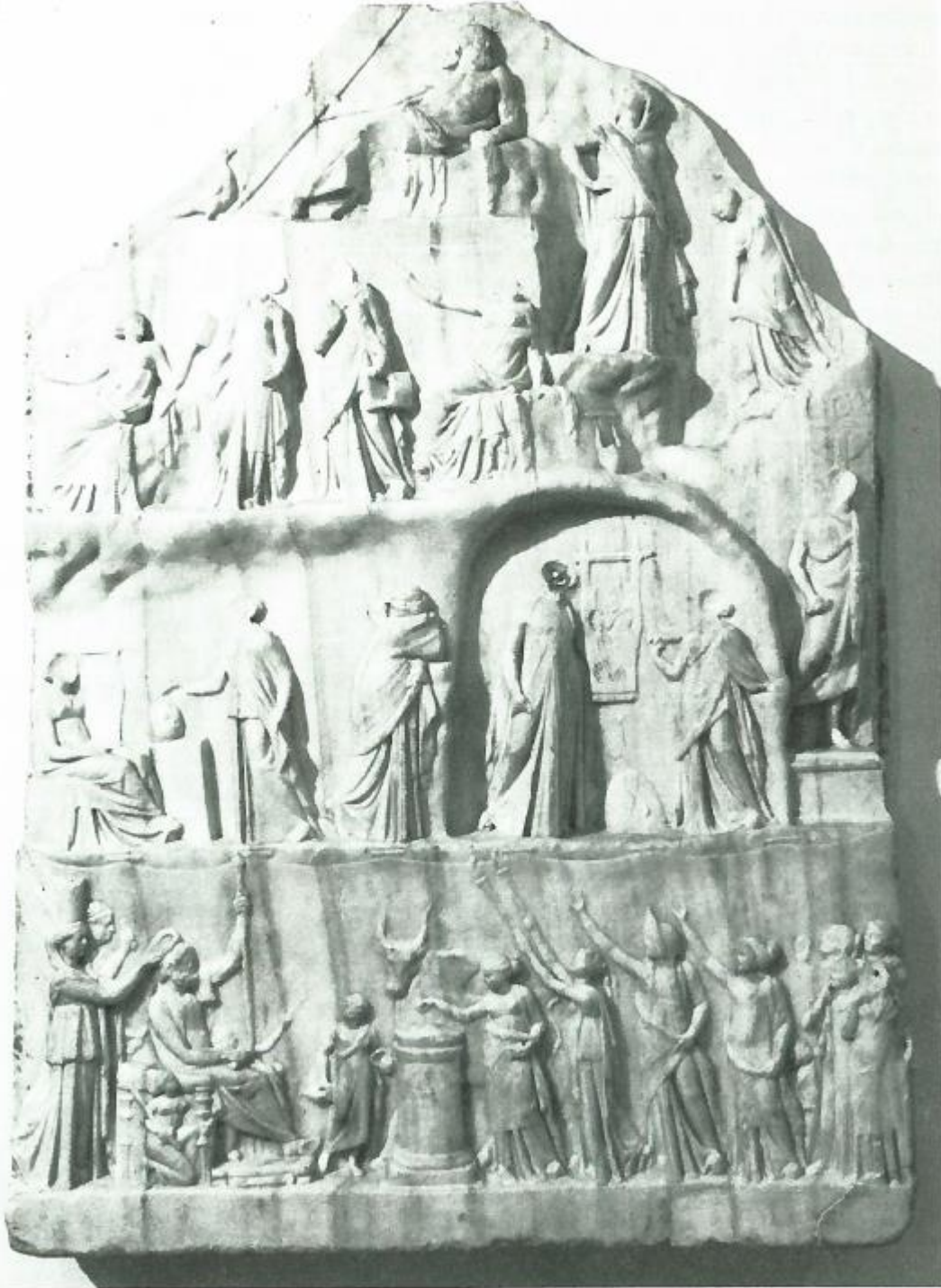
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Appendix of Figures

Figure 1: Archelaos Relief (“Apotheosis of Homer”).

Source: British Museum, London; Pollitt (1986), 15.



4 Relief by Archelaos. Ca. 220–150 B.C. London, British Museum. H. 1.18 m.

Figure 2: Fragment of a Tabula Iliaca. Homer reading on top of an altar. Augustan (?).

Source: Zanker (1995), 195, fig. 104.



FIG. 104 Homer seated on an altar, reading. Fragment of a Tabula Iliaca. Augustan (?). Berlin, Staatliche Museen.

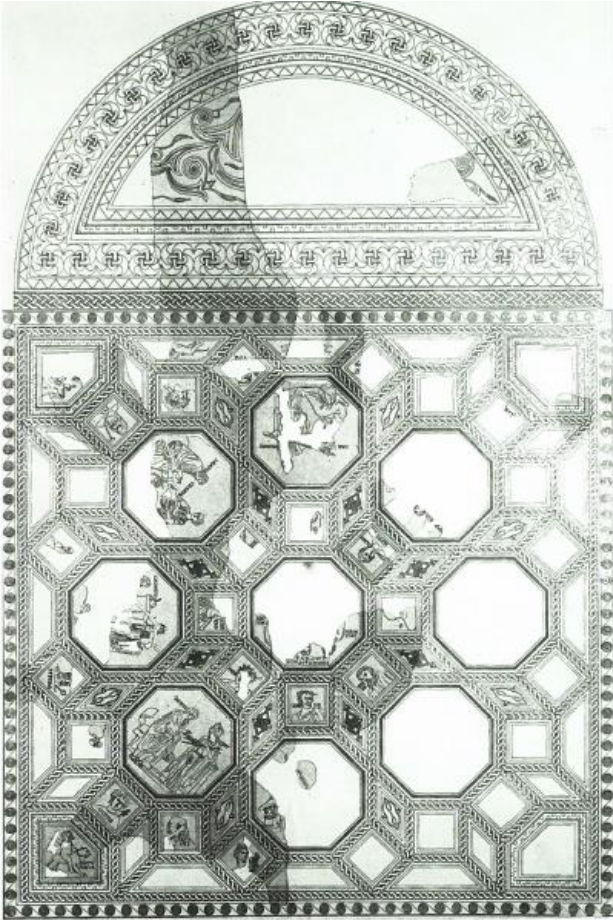
Figure 3: Bronze coin of Ios.

Source: Warwick Wroth (1886), pl. xxiii 8-11.



Figure 4: Monnus Mosaic, Trier.

Source: Parlasca (1959), Tafel 41.1; Tafel 47.1.



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Figure 5: Strigilated Sarcophagus and Bucolic Scene.

Source: Museo Nazionale, Roma, Koortbojian (1995), Fig. 41.



41. Bucolic scene on a strigilated sarcophagus (detail). Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome

Figure 6: Muses and Bucolic Sarcophagus.

Source: Museo Nazionale, Pisa, Koortbojian (1995), Figure 43.



43. Muses/Bucolica sarcophagus. Camposanto, Pisa

Figure 7: Homer and the Muses at Vichten.

Source: Musée national d'histoire et d'art Luxembourg,
Courtesy of Franziska Dövenner.



Figure 8: *Aureus* of Caracalla, AD 208.

Source: Brilliant (1963), 205.



Fig. 4.115. AU of Caracalla with the Severan family enthroned.

Figure 9: Etruscan “Orator” Statue.

Source: Brilliant (1963), 35.

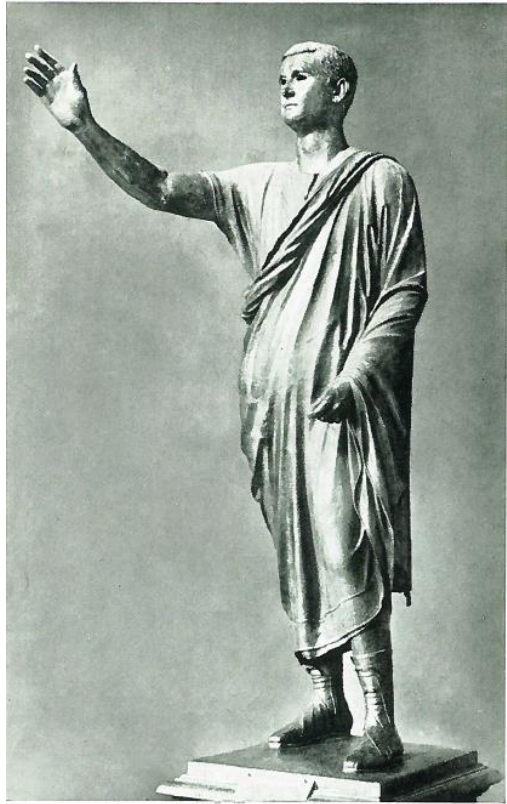


Fig. 1.43. “Orator”, Florence.

Figure 10: Mosaic of Muse and Poets from Gerasa.

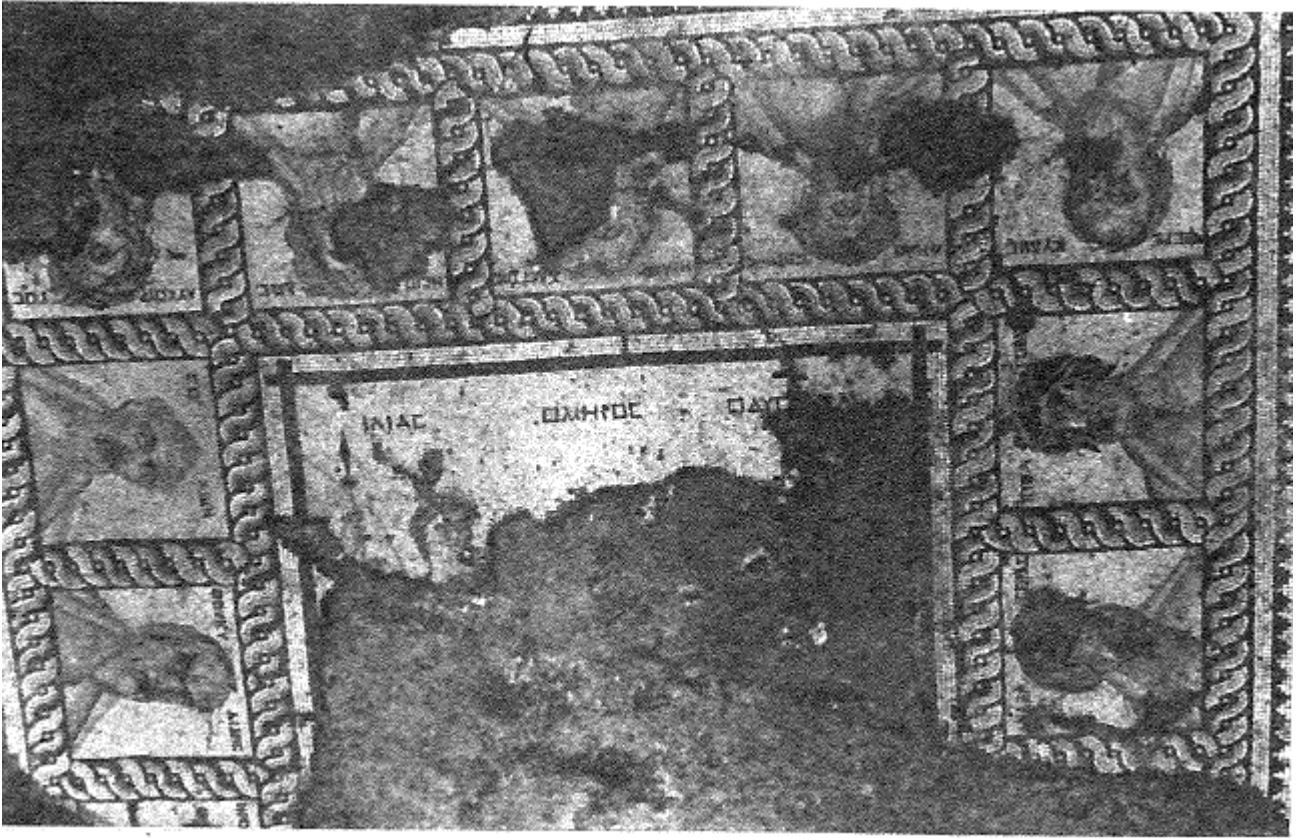
Source: Grossman (2006), 150;
Krisleit (1984), Tafel 16.



4. Mosaikfragment
mit Darstellung des Homer

Figure 11: Homer and the Sages at Seleukeia or Lyrbe.

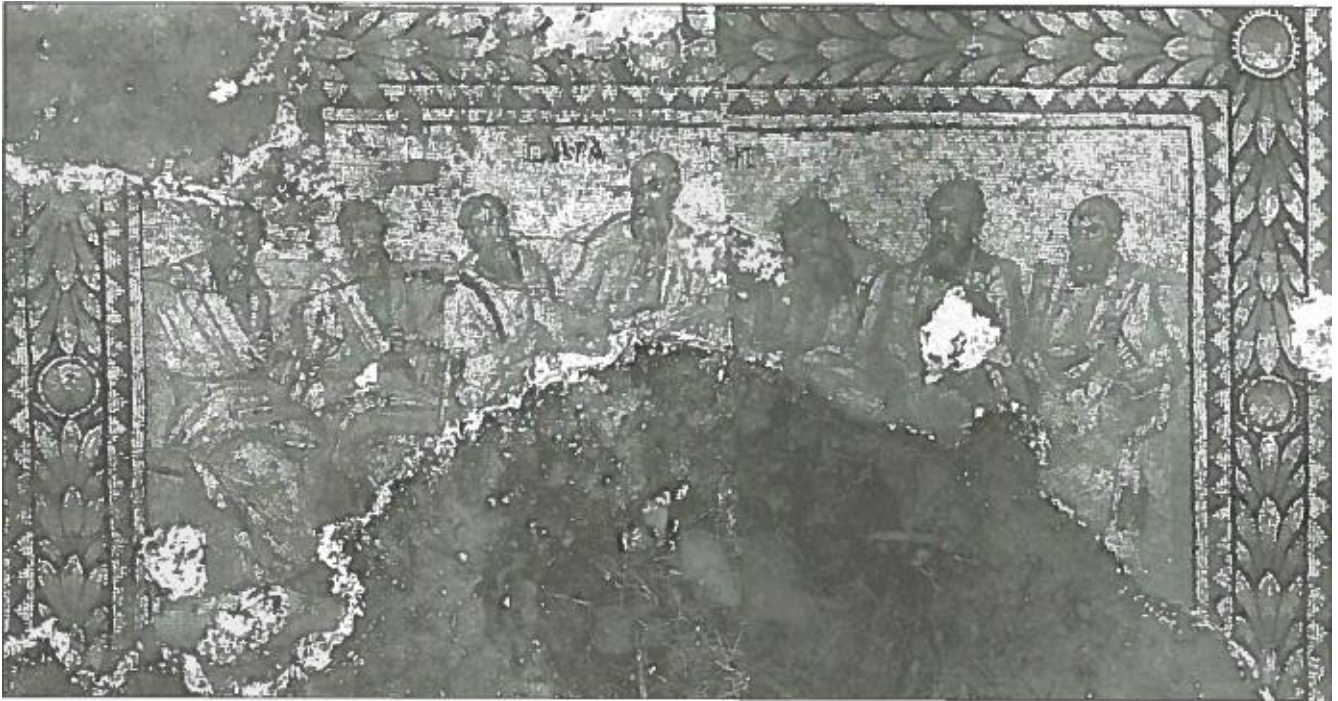
Source: Inan (1997), 87.



tes. 78 – Yedi Bilgeler Mozayiği / *Sieben-Weisen-Mosaik.*

Figure 12: Socrates and the Sages at Apamea.

Source: Balty (1995), planche XLVIII.2.



2. Apamée. Edifice sous la cathédrale : Socrate et les Sages.

Figure 13: Homer and Theophoroumene Mosaic at Kisamos.

Source: Markoulaki, Christoudoulakos, and Phragkonikolaki in *Creta romana e protobizantina: atti del congresso internazionale*, Vol II (2004), 370.

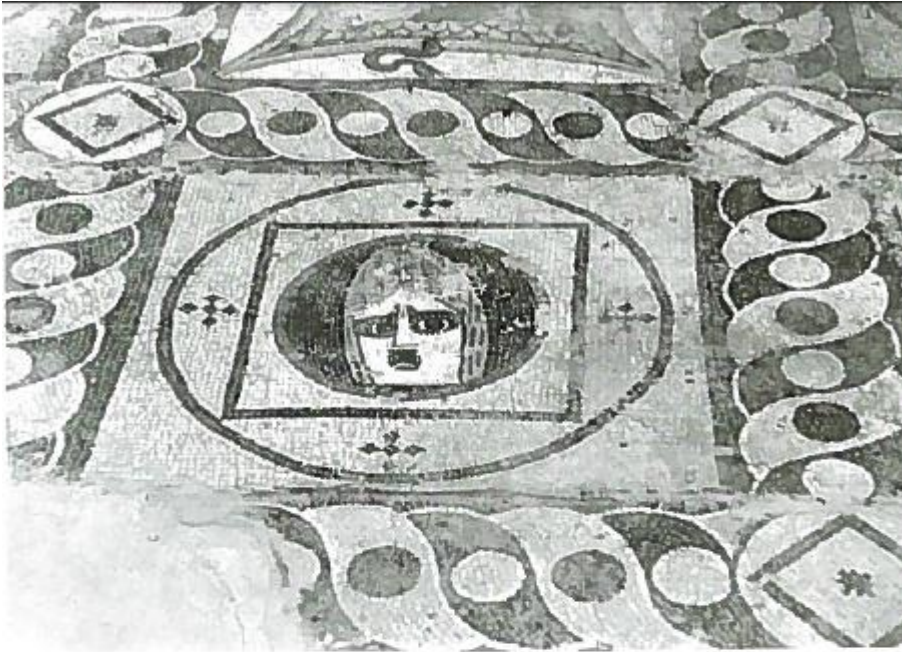


Figure 14: *Opus Sectile* panel of Homer from Kenchreai.

Source: Ibrahim, Scranton, and Brill (1976), fg.32.



32. Panel No. 29 — VI. 3. A (Homer) as Cleaned
in situ, from Back

Figure 15: Funerary Epigram on a relief from Sardis during the 2nd-1st centuries BC.

Source: SGO I 02/02/11, pg.408.



Figure 16: Literatenmosaik. Images from top left to bottom right: Gesturing Muse, the Muses, *Literati*, and Drawing of the entire mosaic.

Source from left to right: Parlasca (1959), Texttafel B.1; *ibid*, Tafel 26.4; *ibid*, Tafel 27.1, 2; *ibid*, Tafel 4.

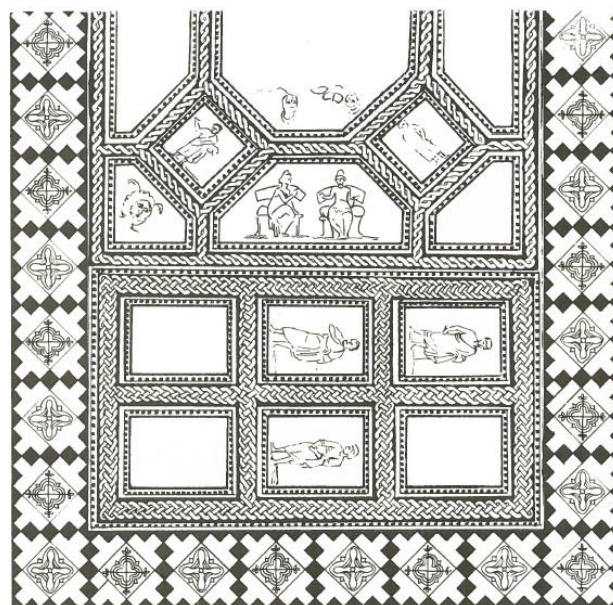
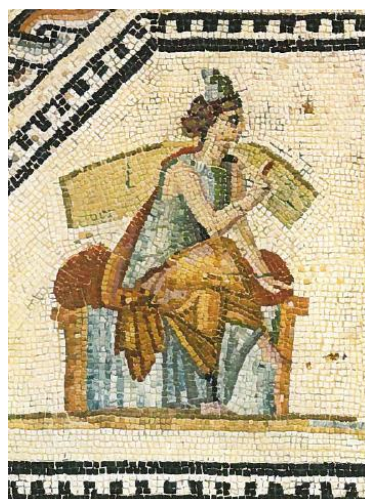


Figure 17: Muse Mosaic from Johannisstraße.

Source: Hoffman (1999), 35.

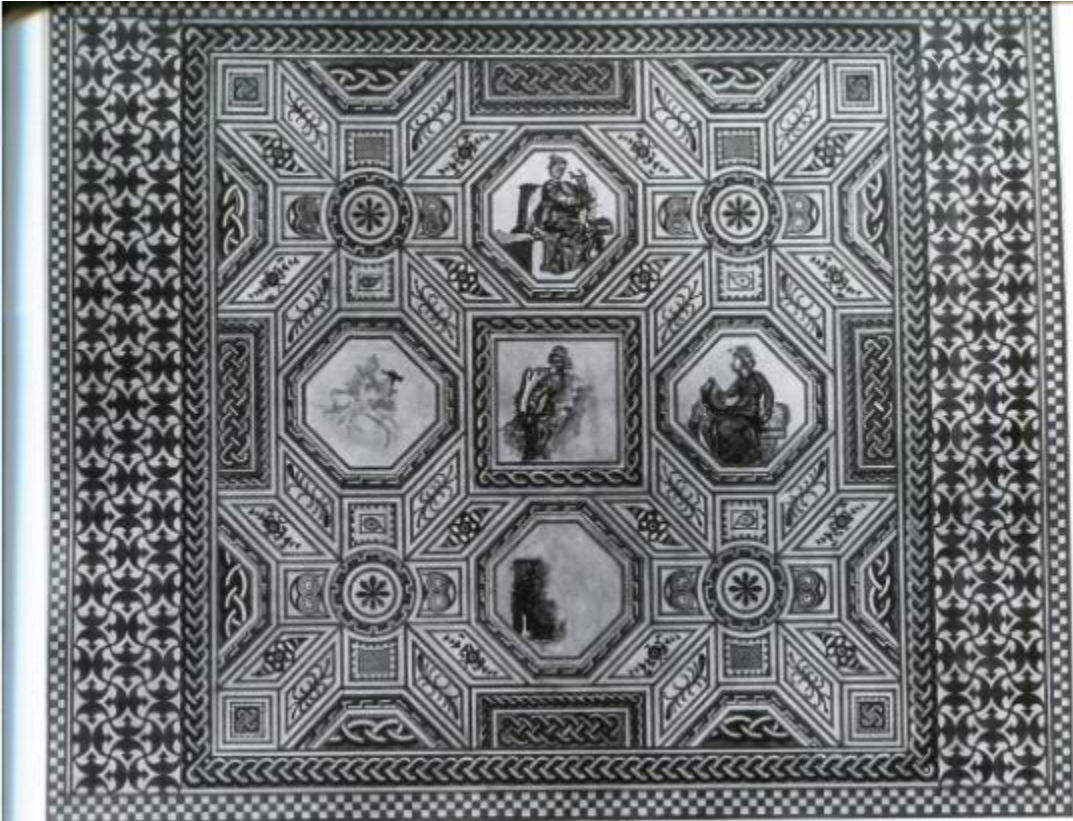


Figure 18: Nine Muse Mosaic from Neustraße.

Source: Hoffman (1999), 38.



Figure 19: Vergil Mosaic from Sousse.

Source: Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaïfer, H.Slim, L. Slim (1995), 224.

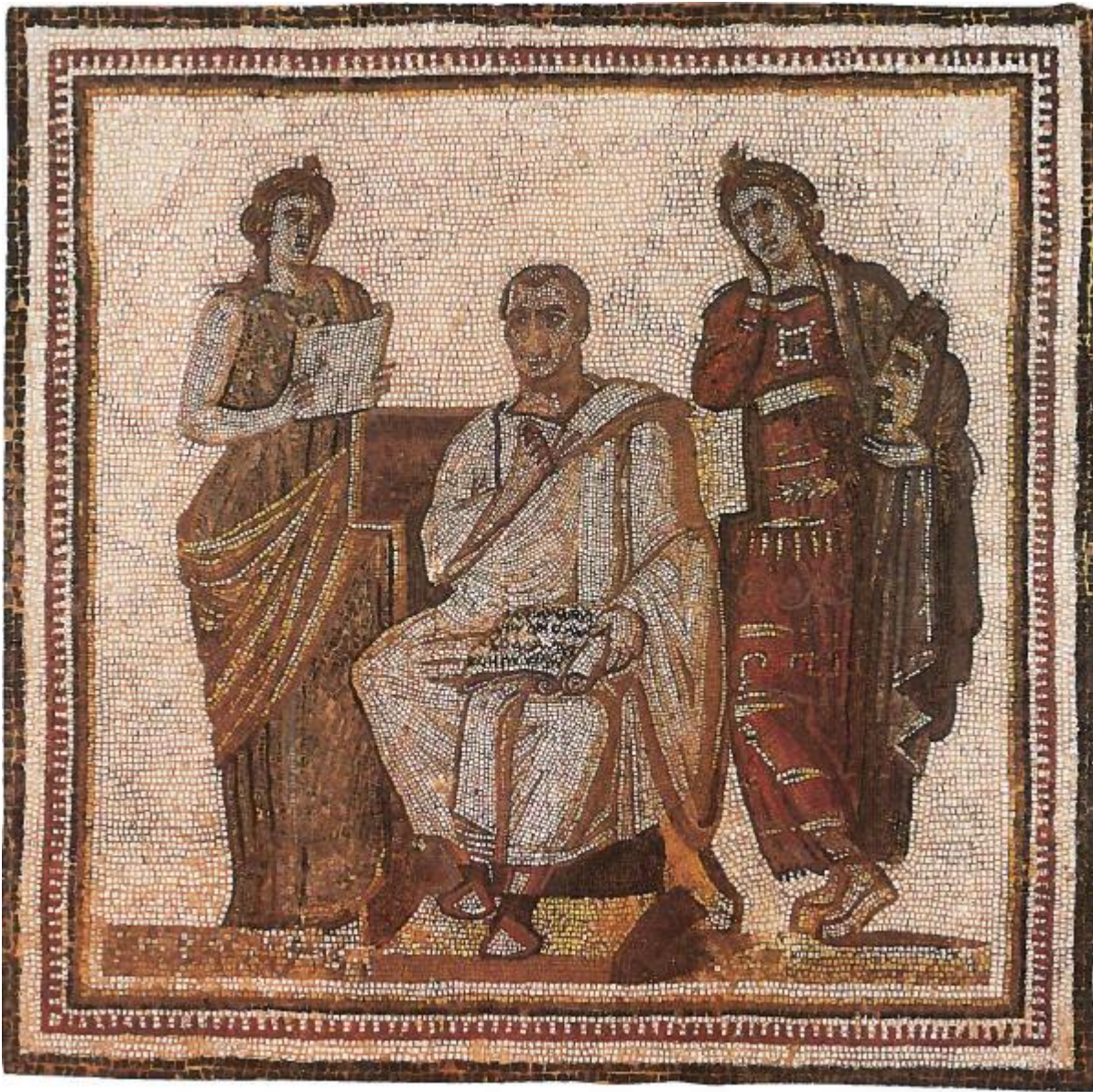


Fig. 167 The poet Virgil and two Muses. Sousse, Bardo Museum, 47 × 47 in. (1.2 × 1.2 m).

Figure 20: Nine Muse Mosaic from El Djem.

Source: Blanchard-Lemée, Ennaïfer, H.Slim, L. Slim (1995), 225.

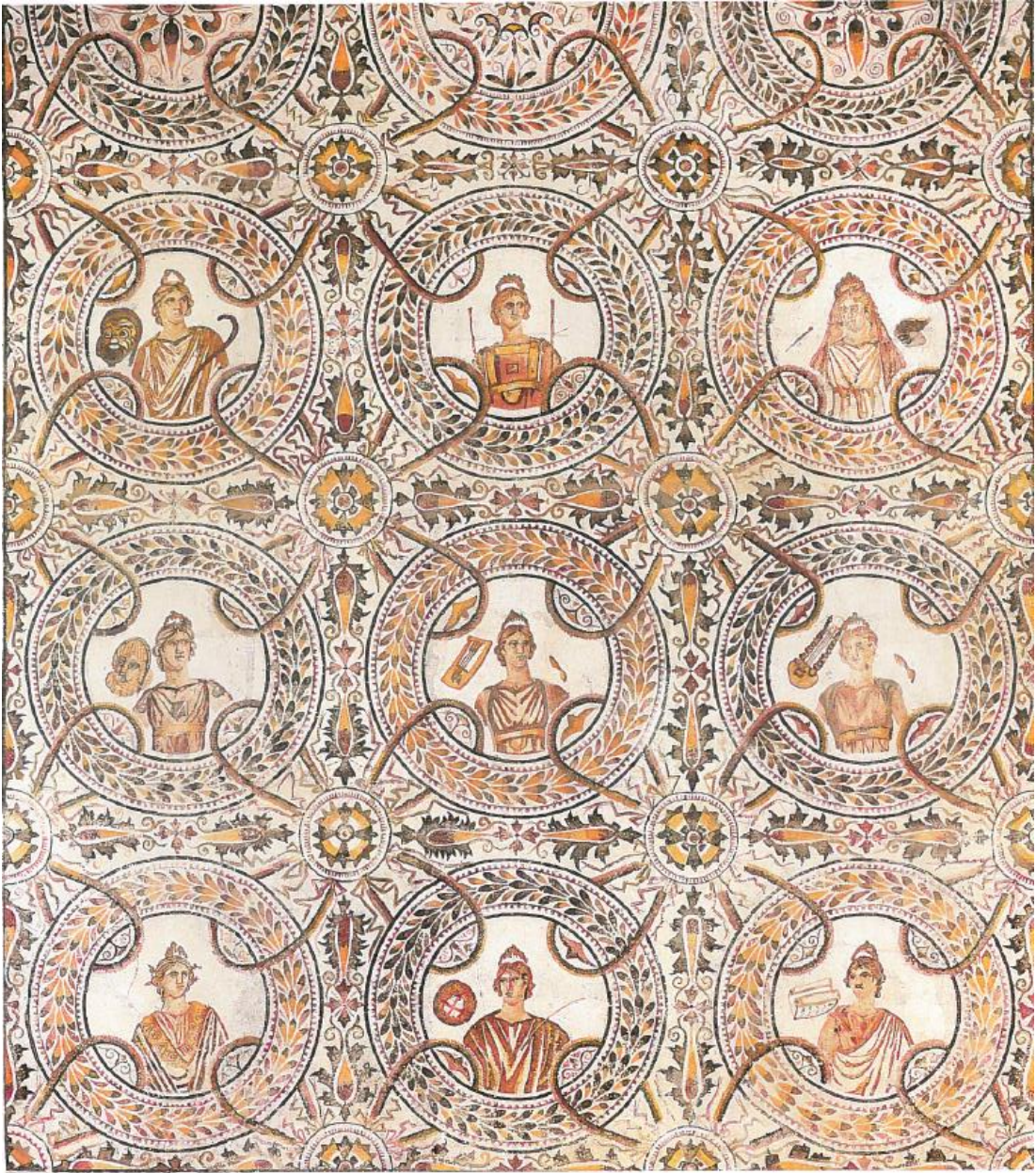


Figure 21: Muse and Poet (or Philosopher Mosaic)
from Sfax.

Source: Parish 1984, pl. 78.

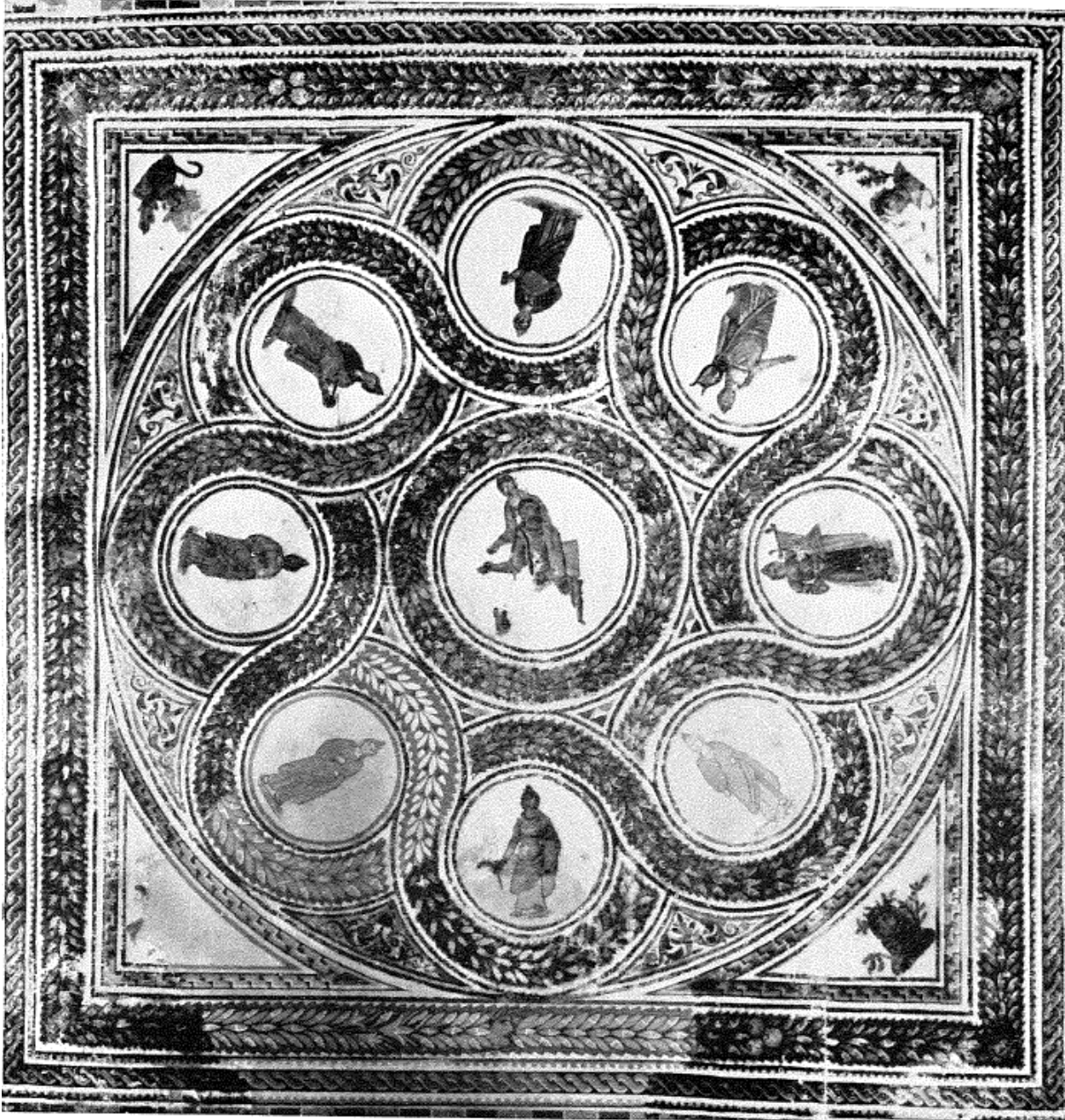


Figure 22: Muse and Seasons Mosaic from Leptis Minor.

Source: Parrish (1984), pl.71.

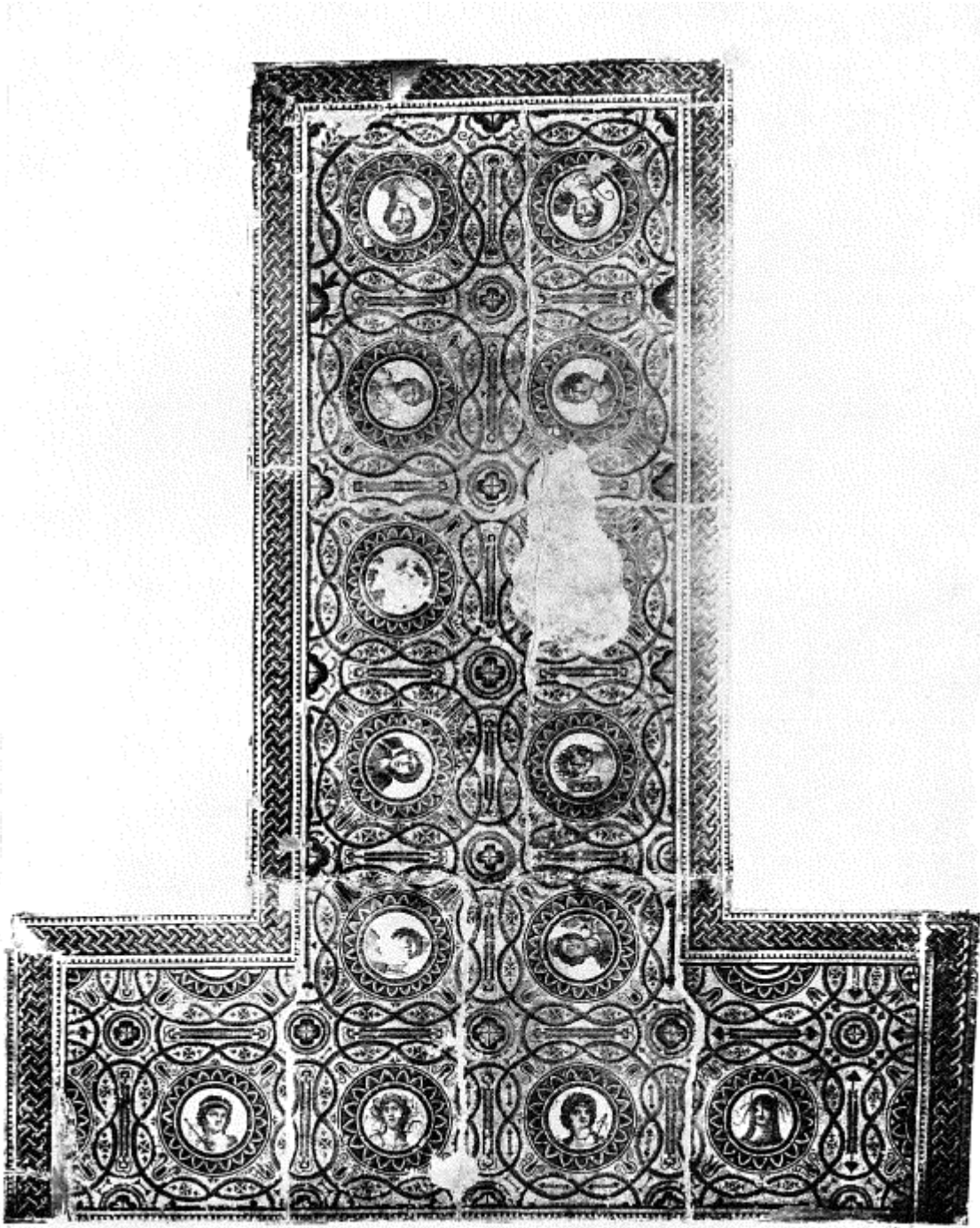


Figure 23: Muse and Apollo Mosaic from Sousse.

Source: Parrish 1984, pl. 70.



Figure 24: Nine Muse Mosaic at Zeugma.

Source: *Archeology* (<http://www.archaeology.org/news/2682-141104-turkey-zeugma-new-mosaics>).



(Kutalmis Gorkay/Zeugma Archaeology Project)

Figure 25: Orpheus sculpture from a cemetery near Villa Tiburtina (ca. 1st century BC).

Source: Strong and Toynbee (1995), fig.10.



10. Orpheus, from near Rome, second-first centuries B.C.(?). Peperino. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori

Figure 26: Orpheus Mosaic from the private *frigidarium* of a villa at Oudna.

Source: Jesnick Photo (1997), 263, fig.139.



Figure 27: Orpheus Mosaic from a room of a villa at Nea Paphos.

Source: Price (1991), pl.1.

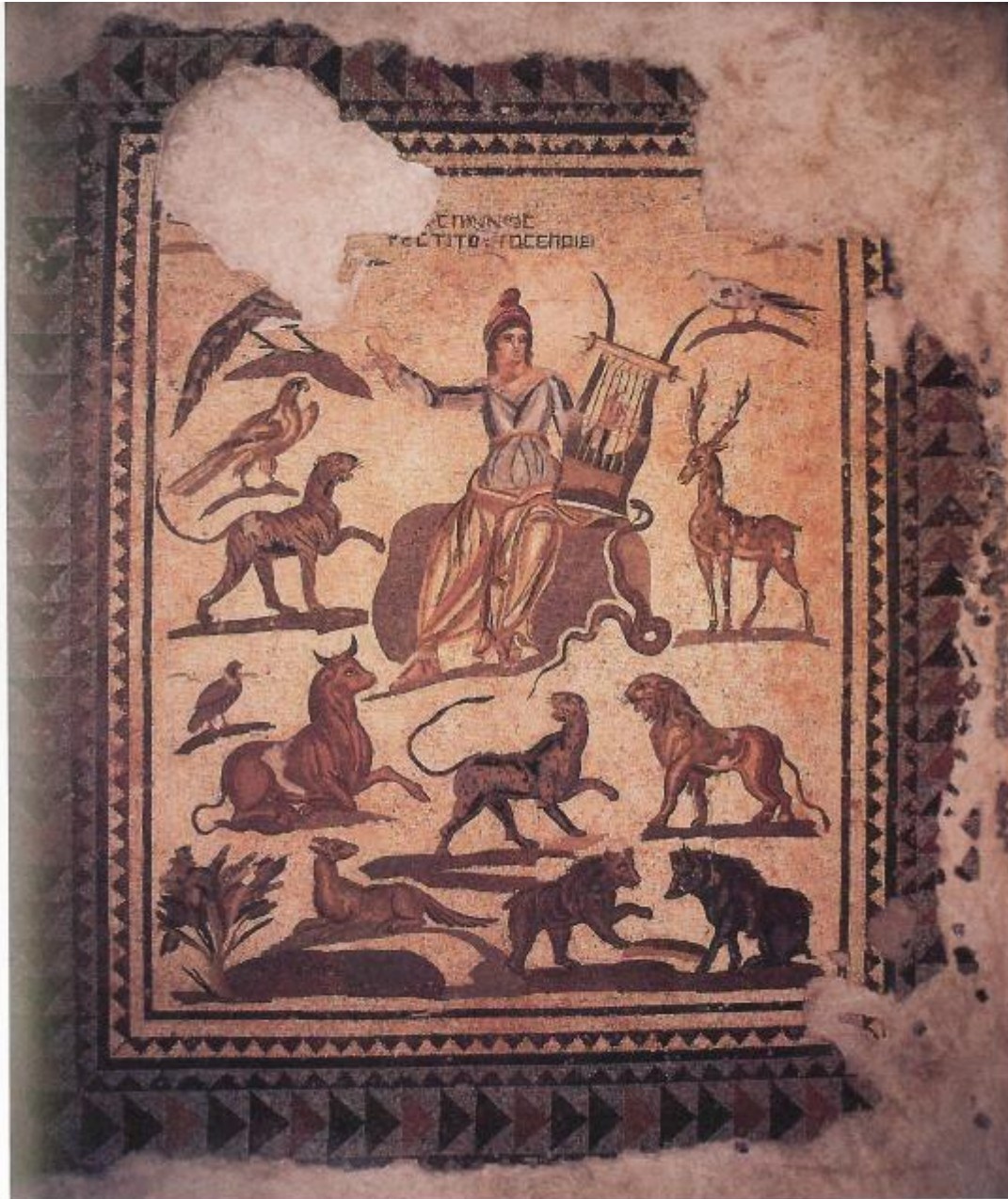


Plate 1. The Orpheus Mosaic after conservation.

Figure 28: Orpheus Mosaic from Littlecote, Wiltshire.

Source: Photo Association for Roman Archaeology (Jessick [1997], 259, fg.132).

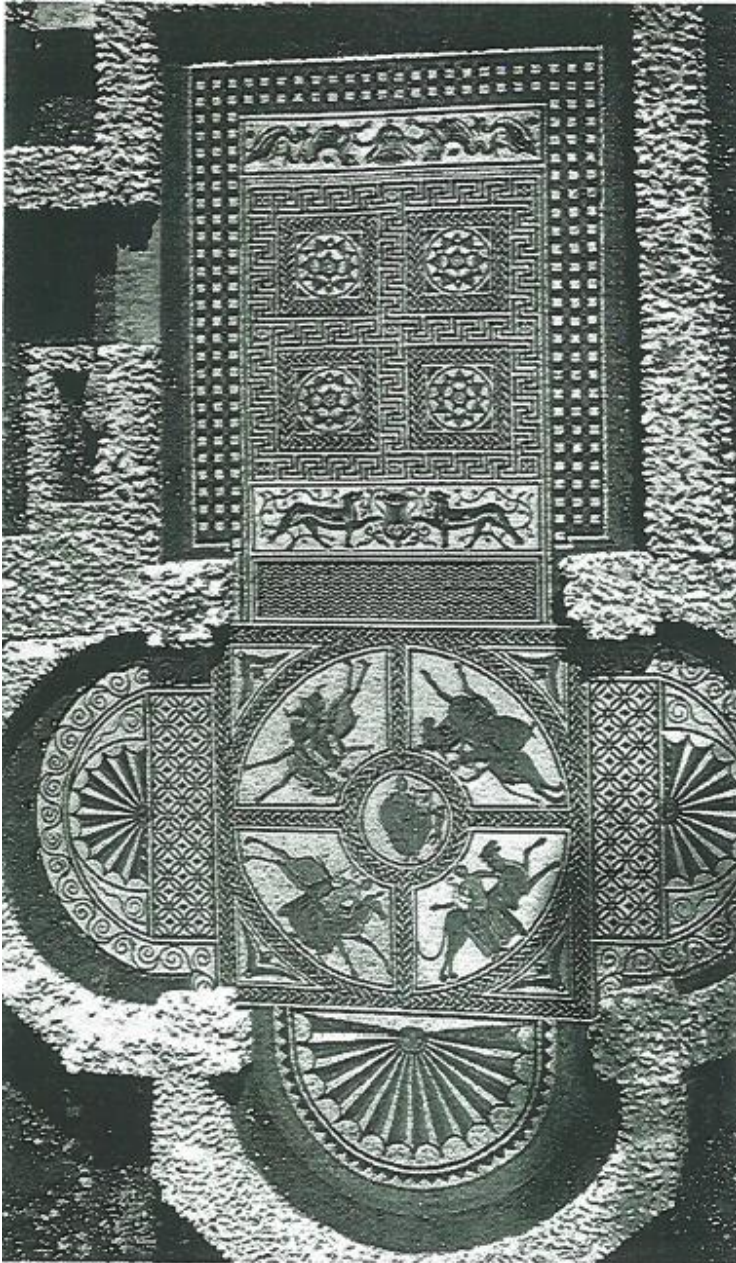


Figure 29: Orpheus Mosaic from a Roman villa at Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo.

Source: Museo Archeologico Regionale, Palermo.



Figure 30: “Loves of Zeus” Mosaic from a rectangular room of a Roman villa at Piazza della Vittoria in Palermo.

Source: Carmerato-Scovazzo (1975), tav. LVI.




Figure 31: Antonine Coins from Alexandria.


Source: RPC online

(http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/search/icono/?provinces=any&stype=icono&design_group=2&design-0=200&step=3&next=Finish).




Volume: 4 **Nº:** [16273](#) **Purse:** 
City: Alexandria **Province:** Egypt **Person:** Antoninus Pius
Obv. design: laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r.
Rev. design: Orpheus seated on rocks, r., holding lyre, surrounded by animals
Metal: Bronze **Average diameter:** 36 mm **Average weight:** 28.60 g




Volume: 4 **Nº:** [15287](#) **Purse:** 
City: Alexandria **Province:** Egypt **Person:** Antoninus Pius
Obv. design: bare head of Antoninus Pius, r.
Rev. design: Orpheus seated on rocks, r., holding lyre, surrounded by animals
Metal: Bronze **Average diameter:** 33 mm **Average weight:** 24.84 g




Volume: 4 **Nº:** [15276](#) **Purse:** 
City: Alexandria **Province:** Egypt **Person:** Antoninus Pius
Obv. design: laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r.
Rev. design: Orpheus seated on rocks, r., holding lyre, surrounded by animals
Metal: Bronze **Average diameter:** 35 mm **Average weight:** 22.68 g




Volume: 4 **Nº:** [15679](#) **Purse:** 
City: Alexandria **Province:** Egypt **Person:** Antoninus Pius
Obv. design: laureate-headed bust of Antoninus Pius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r.
Rev. design: Orpheus seated on rocks, r., holding lyre, surrounded by animals
Metal: Bronze **Average diameter:** 34 mm **Average weight:** 27.41 g



Volume: 4 **Nº:** [15595](#) **Purse:** 
City: Alexandria **Province:** Egypt **Person:** Lucius Verus
Obv. design: laureate-headed bust of Lucius Verus wearing cuirass and paludamentum, l.
Rev. design: Orpheus seated on rocks, r., holding lyre, surrounded by animals
Metal: Bronze **Average diameter:** 31 mm **Average weight:** 19.23 g



Volume: 4 **Nº:** [15129](#) **Purse:** 
City: Alexandria **Province:** Egypt **Person:** Marcus Aurelius
Obv. design: laureate-headed bust of Marcus Aurelius wearing cuirass and paludamentum, r.
Rev. design: Orpheus seated on rocks, r., holding lyre, surrounded by animals
Metal: Bronze **Average diameter:** 33 mm **Average weight:** 28.94 g