

Arsinoe Lokris

George Huxley

THE PRESENT STUDY discusses one question in these difficult lines of Callimachus' *Aitia* (fr.110.51–58) and suggests an answer to it:

ἄρτι [ν]εότμητόν με κόμαι ποθέεσκον ἀδε[λφραί,
καὶ πρόκατε γνωτὸς Μέμνονος Αἰθίοπος
ἔετο κυκλώσας βαλιὰ πτερὰ θήλως ἀήτης,
ἵππο[ς] ἰοζώνου Λοκρίδος Ἀρσινόης,
[.]ασε δὲ πνοιῇ με, δι' ἡέρα δ' ὕγρον ἐνεΐκας
Κύπρ]ιδος εἰς κόλ[ι]πους ἔθηκε
αὐτῆ, μιν Ζεφυρίτις ἐπὶ χρέο[ς]
....Κ]ανωπίτου ναιέτις ἀ[ἰ]γιαλοῦ.

The question is: why is the epithet *Λοκρίδος* given to Arsinoe in line 54?

In PSI IX 1092 line 54 has *Λοκρικός*, and if we were to follow H. Herter in preferring this,¹ the winged horse would be Zephyros of Epizephyrian Lokroi. In Dionysios Periegetes 29 Zephyros is called *Λοκρός*: ἦτοι ὁ μὲν (the stream of Okeanos) *Λοκροῖο παρ' ἐσχατίνην ζεφύροιο*, and in his comment *ad loc.* Eustathios explains that the ethnic is given to Zephyros because the wind Zephyros blows at Epizephyrian Lokroi (GGM II 223). An explanation mentioning Epizephyrian Lokroi is also found in a fragmentary scholium on the line of Callimachus.²

In his translation however Catullus (66.54) wrote

obtulit Arsinoes Locridos ales equos.

Locridos is an emendation by Bentley of *elocridicos* in V, but *Locricos* is also possible.³ If Catullus had *Λοκρίδος*, not *Λοκρικός*,

¹ In W. Kroll, C. *Valerius Catullus*⁵ (Stuttgart 1968) 299–300.

² E. Lobel, *P.Oxy.* XX 2258 (pp.84–85). H. Mattingly's numismatic argument for a connexion between Arsinoe and Epizephyrian Lokris lacks cogency: see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* II (Oxford 1972) 389 and 1025, on *AJA* 54 (1950) 126–28.

³ Kroll (*supra* n.1) 207 put *Locricos* in the text, but compare Lobel's remark (*supra* n.2) 94, "I should infer that Catullus (whose MSS. attest the variants *Locridis*, *Locricos*, written in some exemplar: *Locricos* or *-idis*), since he inserts *alis*, which has no direct representative in the Greek, would have preferred *Locridis*."

in the Greek text from which he translated, there would still be no problem, because the term *Λοκρίδος* could be supposed to have been transferred to Arsinoë but to belong to the wind. Thus the allusion would be to Arsinoë's temple at Cape Zephyrion between Nikopolis and Kanopos.⁴ P. M. Fraser is therefore inclined to think that the term "whether in the form *Λοκρικός* or transferred to Arsinoë" refers to Zephyros.⁵

Fraser notes, however, that there is evidence favouring the application of *Locridos* and *Λοκρίδος* to Arsinoë. In Ovid, *Ibis* 351–52, we find:

*quaeque sui venerem iunxit cum fratre mariti
Locris in ancillae dissimulata nece.*

Here the scholia explain that Locris was a handmaiden who was blamed for the adultery of Hypermnestra with her husband's brother; but the explanation can be rejected, for it results from a confusion of *Locris* with *λάτρις*, *ancilla*. Dismissing the scholia, Robinson Ellis⁶ proposed to identify Locris in *Ibis* with Arsinoë; he drew attention to Polyainos 8.57: "Arsinoë, after the death of her husband Lysimachos, when there was great disturbance in Ephesos and the walls were being thrown down and the gates opened by supporters of Seleukos, dressed a handmaid in royal clothes and caused her to lie in the royal litter, and posted many guardsmen around her. She herself, dressed in rags and with a dirty face, escaped alone by another gate, and after running to the ships sailed away. Menekrates, one of the commanders, coming upon the litter, stabbed at the handmaid in the belief that he was killing Arsinoë." Thus at Ephesos the handmaid both imitated and concealed the queen, and the words *in ancillae dissimulata nece* were accordingly translated by Ellis "when she had been disguised in the person of a slaughtered maid-servant." The brother of the husband, *frater mariti*, is Philadelphos, half-brother of Ptolemy Keraunos. Philadelphos was son of Ptolemy I Soter and Berenike I, and by Eurydike Ptolemy Soter had already fathered Ptolemy Keraunos. Arsinoë married Keraunos as her second husband (Just. *Epit.* 17.2.7) and Philadelphos as her third. We can therefore follow Ellis in identifying Locris in Ovid's *Ibis* with Arsinoë.

Since Locris in Ovid is Arsinoë, the case for keeping the term

⁴ For the position of the *naiskos* see Strabo 800.

⁵ *Supra* n.2: II 1025.

⁶ *P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis* (Oxford 1881) 128.

Λοκρίδος and for applying it to Arsinoe in Callimachus fr.110.54 is strong. Indeed *Λοκρίς* can be shown to be an apt title for Arsinoe. The queen was identified with Aphrodite: she received a dedication as Aphrodite Akraia Arsinoe and the sanctuary at Cape Zephyrion was dedicated to her as Aphrodite Zephyritis.⁷ According to ‘Hyginus’⁸ it was in the shrine of Aphrodite-Arsinoe-Zephyritis that Berenike (the consort of Euergetes I) dedicated the Lock of her own hair after her husband’s safe and victorious return from the Asian war; on the next day—*postero die*—the Lock was no longer to be seen there; and later Konon the astronomer announced that he had recognised it in the hitherto unnamed group of seven faint stars—near Leo and Virgo, and not far from the Great Bear—

*Virginis et saeui contingens namque Leonis
lumina, Callisto †iuxta† Lycaonia.*⁹

According to Fraser, the Lock states that it was wafted by Zephyros to the temple of Aphrodite Zephyritis,¹⁰ but his interpretation seems to be mistaken, because, as Fraser himself remarks, Berenike dedicated the Lock there. For the same reason the interpretation of Herter is open to doubt; according to him “Zephyros, der nicht, wie sonst die Winde, als Reiter, sondern als Roß vorgestellt ist, entführt die Locke nach dem Heiligtum am Zephyrion und legt sie der Arsinoe-Kypris in den Schoß.”¹¹ The horse cannot have taken the Lock to the shrine at Zephyrion, because the Lock was already there, having been placed in the temple by Berenike. During the night the horse Zephyros had been sent by Aphrodite-Arsinoe-Zephyritis to take the Lock from, not to, the sanctuary. From Zephyrion he flew to place it in the lap of the goddess—*Κύπρ]ιδος εἰς κολιππους . . . ἔθηκε*.

In line 8 Berenike is said to have dedicated her Lock to all the gods, *πάσιν ἔθηκε θεοῖς*. These words led Pfeiffer¹² to suppose that the Lock was placed by her in the Pantheon at Alexandria, but the existence of a Pantheon there is not attested for a date

⁷ Fraser (*supra* n.2) I 238–40.

⁸ [Hyg.] *Poet.Astr.* 2.24, with confusion of Berenike daughter of Magas with Berenike daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphos, who married Antiochos II.

⁹ Catull. 66.65–6. Parthenius’ *iuncta Lycaoniae* (ed. 1485) does not fit the astronomical facts.

¹⁰ *Supra* n.2: I 729–30.

¹¹ *Supra* n.1.

¹² *Callimachus* I (Oxford 1949) 112.

earlier than A.D. 205,¹³ and the supplement to the scholium on line 56 εἰς τ(ὸ) Πάνθειον]ν πεμφθέντος is unverifiable and hazardous.¹⁴ There is no reason to doubt the statement of ‘Hyginus’ that the Lock was placed in the temple of Aphrodite-Arsinoe-Zephyritis. There Berenike dedicated it to all the gods. In the line *ipsa suum Zephyritis eo famulum legarat* (Catull.66.57), therefore, the pluperfect verb indicates that the steed had been sent to Cape Zephyrion as the goddess’ emissary before he carried thence the Lock to her lap, *et Veneris casto collocat in gremio* (66.56).

The next problem, then, is to decide where Kypri(-Arsinoe) was at the time when the winged steed placed the Lock in her lap. She had sent him, her servant, to fetch the Lock, and he bore it through the air. Catullus, since the absence of the Lock was discovered on the next day, has the steed travel through the upper air at night—*per aetherias . . . umbras* (66.55). Thus he thought that the Lock was taken to the sky. The notion is entirely appropriate to the astronomical context. The horse is imagined flying to the home of Aphrodite in the heavens. Her heavenly home is the planet Venus, the morning and the evening star, and it is most suitable that Zephyros, son of Eos the Dawn and half brother of Memnon, should be the messenger who bears the Lock to the queen-goddess. ὕγρον is not otiose: the air is damp with dew at dawn as the steed flies to Venus.

When the Lock has been brought to her at her shining planet, Aphrodite-Arsinoe places the Lock in the sky, and there is a new Catasterism (fr.110.64): *Κύπρι]ς ἐν ἀρχαίοις ἄστρον [ἔθηκε νέον.*

Thus in an astronomical poem Callimachus does not fail to associate Arsinoe, who is also Kypri, with Aphrodite’s home in the heavens as well as with Zephyrion. Here indeed lies a solution to the problem of Arsinoe as Lokrian. The planet Aphrodite or Venus, the morning and the evening star, was outstanding in the cults of the eastern (Ἡῶοι, Opountian and Epiknemidian) and western (Φεσπάριοι, Ozolian) Lokrians of mainland Greece.¹⁵ The star is shown from the fourth century onwards on Lokrian coins, and it is also found on local issues of Amphissa and Skarpheia.¹⁶ By the

¹³ *Chron.Pasch.* 266c (Migne, PG 92.652–53): *τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὸ Σεβηριανὸν ἐκτίσθη γυμνάσιον καὶ τὸ ἐκείσε ἱερὸν μέγα τὸ καλούμενον Πάνθειον.* If the Pantheon was founded then, it cannot have been the scene of the dedication by Berenike.

¹⁴ Pfeiffer (*supra* n.12) 117.

¹⁵ See also Strabo 416 for the evening star on the public seal of the Ozolians.

¹⁶ B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*² (Oxford 1911) 336; *BMC Central Greece* (London 1884) 13 and 11.

eastern Lokrians Venus (Vesper or Hesperus) could be seen shining at eventide over or beside the great massif of Mount Oite, which rose due westwards of their territory, and that is why 'Oitaian' became a commonplace epithet of the evening star in learned and epithalamial poetry.¹⁷

The Ozolian Lokrians could not observe the evening star shining beside or over Mount Oite because they dwelt to the south of that mountain; but their cult of Basileia, whose worship was celebrated on high places, could well have been associated with Aphrodite's star—rather than with Hera or Artemis, the divinities suggested by Lerat, who himself remarked that the western Lokrians' cult was probably directed to "une reine du ciel."¹⁸ That the Vesparioi venerated the evening star, as did their eastern kinsmen the Opountians and Epiknemidians, is shown also by their public seal and by the star on the coins of Amphissa already mentioned. There is, moreover, said to have been a cult of Hesperus on Mount Oite itself:¹⁹ that is possible, for the summit of the mountain lay just beyond the western extremity of Epiknemidian territory, but we would expect the easterners usually to have observed and venerated Venus as an evening star from within their own country, at places east of Oite. The essential point here is that admiration of Aphrodite's planet, the evening and morning star, was a prominent feature of Lokrian cult. The Lokrians' devotion caught the attention of Callimachus the scholarly antiquarian. We are not surprised to find a neatly astronomical allusion to Arsinoe's divinity in an astronomical poem.

The steps in the argument can now be restated. Arsinoe Zephyritis was identified with Aphrodite. At her shrine at Cape Zephyrion in Egypt Berenike dedicated the Lock. Like Zephyrion, the planet Venus was a home of Aphrodite-Arsinoe. From (not to) Zephyrion Zephyros the winged steed, a servant of Aphrodite, carried the Lock to her in her heavenly home shortly before dawn. Aphrodite(-Arsinoe-Zephyritis) thereupon set the Lock as a constellation in the heavens near Leo.²⁰ Konon claimed to recognise

¹⁷ Verg. *Ecl.* 8.30; Catull. 62.7; *Culex* 203. See also R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Ciris. A Poem Attributed to Vergil* (Cambridge 1978) 250–52. The link between Greek and Roman poetry in the use of the commonplace was perhaps Parthenius who used the words *Τυφρηστῖον αἶπος* (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Τυφρηστός*, 643.24–25 Meineke).

¹⁸ L. Lerat, *Les Locriens de l'Ouest* II (Paris 1952) 158–61. Note also that Arsinoe was venerated in Alexandria as Basileia: see the street names discussed by Fraser (*supra* n.2) I 237–38; see also T. C. Skeat, *P.Lond.* VII 1986.14.

¹⁹ Serv. auct. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.30 (98.6 Thilo).

²⁰ For the position see also C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* (Berlin

the Catasterism as a group of stars for the first time. Aphrodite or Venus, the morning and evening star,²¹ was a special symbol of the Lokrians of mainland Greece and they venerated the luminary—as an evening star Aphrodite was in particular associated by them with Mount Oite. Thus Arsinoe, we infer, is Lokrian in Callimachus because Aphrodite, the planet Venus, is the Lokrians' star, and Ovid followed Callimachean precedent when he called her *Locris* in the *Ibis*.²²

THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY OF BELFAST
 May, 1980

1878) 98–99, and *Schol. in Aratum vetera*, ed. J. Martin (Stuttgart 1974) p.143.9–13.

²¹ Callimachus' interest in the planet's appearances is shown also by the corrupt fr.291; for the possibility that Oite was mentioned in the fragment see Lyne (*supra* n.17) 252. Finally, the notion, prompted by the image of Arsinoe seated upon an ostrich on Mount Helikon (Paus. 9.31.1), that the *ales equus* was a (flightless) ostrich merits attention for its oddity (Kroll [*supra* n.1] 207).

²² I am obliged to Professor E. G. Turner for reading the typescript of this paper and for suggesting improvements.