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The important geographical position of Cyprus, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and attempt to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture.



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3

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS (ED.)



3

Spyridon Tzounakas (ed.)

## THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES



SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography (especially Pliny the Younger), Roman epic (especially Lucan and Valerius Flaccus), Roman elegy (especially Tibullus), Cicero's orations, and Roman intertextuality. He has published many articles in international refereed journals and collective volumes, has edited a book on praises of Roman leaders, co-edited a book on the reception of ancient Cyprus in the culture of the western world and another one on Cyprus through travel literature (15<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> centuries), and completed a book on Persius' *Satires*. He is currently working on a volume on Pliny the Younger's intertextuality and on a research project on Persius' intertextuality.

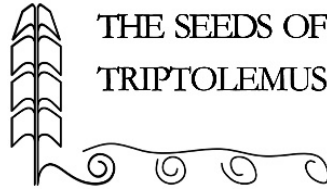




# THE SEEDS OF TRIPTOLEMUS

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3



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THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS  
IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES

On the cover: reworking of the mosaic of the House of Dionysus, Paphos  
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## PREFACE

*Spyridon Tzounakas*

This volume (*The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Roman Sources and Beyond: Eleven Studies*) emerged as a result of the papers presented in two Workshops that took place in Nicosia, on 29 May 2021 and 7 July 2021 respectively, within the context of my research programme entitled *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in the Culture of the Western World* (RACCWW). This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). The main aim of this research programme is to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture. The important geographical position of the island, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and supplement a volume with a similar title that ensued from an international conference held in Nicosia in February 2021: Spyridon Tzounakas, Stella Alekou and Stephen Harrison (eds.), *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter 2023 (Trends in Classics 139). For more information on the aims and the main findings of the research programme, see the “Introduction” there (pp. 1-10), as well as the website of the programme (<https://receptionofancientcyprus.com.cy>).

The present volume is divided into three parts. Part 1, entitled “The Roman Conquest of Cyprus and the Exemplarity of the Island”, includes three studies. Spyridon Tzounakas (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in the Rhetorical Strategies of Cicero’s *De domo sua* and *Pro Sestio*”) examines the way the Roman conquest of Cyprus is rhetorically exploited by Cicero in his attempt to denigrate Clodius’ image in two speeches. He argues that the case of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, is harmoniously incorporated in the broader argumentation of the speeches, reinforces the tragic aspects of Clodius’ opponents and works as an *exemplum* that illuminates Clodius’ stance towards Cicero and Sestius. Georgios Vassiliades (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: A *bellum iustum* or *iniustum*?”) continues the discussion of the Roman conquest of Cyprus. Through the analysis of relevant Latin and Greek sources, his chapter attempts to show how the Roman authors and, probably, the Roman public opinion of the 50s BC morally evaluated the annexation of Cyprus on the basis of the moral and legal category of *bellum iustum*. It is concluded that Roman public opinion, which is reflected in



contemporary and later sources, was divided on the moral evaluation of whether the annexation of Cyprus was a *bellum iustum* or a *bellum iniustum*, by thus adopting the arguments of Clodius or Cicero respectively. Margot Neger (“Cyprus *in exemplis*: Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus”) scrutinizes the presence of Cyprus in Valerius Maximus’ narrative techniques. The chapter investigates a series of anecdotes concerning the island of Cyprus in the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. The single *exempla* are both self-contained narrative units and parts of different thematic sections on various virtues and vices. The chapter argues that the anecdotes on incidents regarding Cyprus can be read not only within their respective section but also as a cycle which reaches from the first to the last book of the collection. It also examines how the island, its inhabitants and visitors are depicted in a literary work composed in the time of the emperor Tiberius.

Part 2, entitled “The Cypriot Myths in Ovid and Beyond”, deals with the Cypriot myths in Orpheus’ song in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and their reception in later literature and art. In his study “Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype” Spyridon Tzounakas examines various ancient sources (with special emphasis on Latin literature and the myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) that contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot women stereotype, which survives for centuries and is especially evident in travel writing from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Sophia Papaioannou’s study (“Pygmalion’s Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration”) on the one hand discusses the presence of the myth of Pandora in Pygmalion and Ovid’s engagement with one of the most celebrated myths of the Hesiodic corpus, while on the other, it examines the incorporation of the Pygmalion episode in the stories of agalmatophilia featuring famous works of art and creators as well as in the Roman ideology of the *imagines maiorum*. In Stella Alekou’s study (“The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian *ekphraseis*: Pygmalion’s Prequel to Arachne’s Story”) the myth of Pygmalion is examined as a prequel to that of Arachne, another famous artist in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. She reveals the ambiguous representation of love in these episodes, when Ovid exposes rape while apparently praising love, and argues that Ovid employs optical illusions to shed light on the image of love which in art appears as distorted, to address the politics of rape. The next study of this Part (“From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion’s Reception in W. S. Gilbert’s Mythological Comedy *Pygmalion and Galatea*”) also deals with Ovid’s Pygmalion. Here Stamatia Kitsou demonstrates that W. S. Gilbert exploited the main outline of the Ovidian myth and proceeded to a generic transformation composing the first mythological comedy with Galatea, the statue’s name after Rousseau, as a

protagonist. As Galatea's inanimation and interaction with the other characters of the play is problematic and a series of misunderstandings arises from her lack of social education, Gilbert proves himself to be prolific in social criticism and masterful, almost latent, considerations regarding the gender-based roles and their social construction. In her second contribution to this volume ("The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus*: Transformations and a Play of Identities"), Stamatia Kitsou investigates the presence of the Ovidian myth of Cinyras and Myrrha in Lord Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus*. She argues that for the formation of Myrrha's dramatic persona, Byron takes into account the Ovidian Myrrha (*met.* 10.298-502) and mainly the protagonist of the pre-Romantic tragedy of Vittorio Alfieri, *Mirra*; thus, he creates a play of mutual transformations and conflicting identities, while maintaining the core of his classical models.

Part 3, entitled "Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence", includes three studies. In the first of them, Daniele Castrizio ("A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus") deals, from an iconographic point of view, with an emission of bronze coins generally attributed to the island of Cyprus, and provides elements for a more precise dating of the coin series. Based on the writings of Manilius, this paper provides an interpretation of the importance of the zodiacal signs on ancient coins, and discusses the relationship between the zodiacal sign of Capricorn and the imperial propaganda at the time of Augustus. Next, Antonio Corso ("Pliny, *nat.* 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the *Splanchnoptes*") studies Pliny's inclusion of Styppax and of his bronze statue of the *Splanchnoptes* in his selective catalogue of the most important bronze statues and connects it to the political environment of the Flavian dynasty. Finally, Alessandra Bravi's article ("An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite") sheds new light on the visit paid by Titus to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos. Based on the archaeological data, she reconstructs the site as it looked at the time of the visit of Titus, and suggests a link between the sanctuary at Paphos and the *Templum Pacis*, inaugurated by the Flavians, where Venus has her own space. She concludes that the great eastern goddess Aphrodite/Isis/Astarte was the primary legitimacy of the *imperium* of the Flavians, since her oracle was needed to a plebeian family which could not claim mythical ancestors.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Research and Innovation Foundation of Cyprus, which generously supported our research project, to the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus, which immediately embraced our workshops, to my dear colleagues and collaborators Dr. Stella Alekou, Dr. Despina Keramida and Dr. Stamatia Kitsou for their valuable involvement in the preparation of these events, and, of course, to all the speakers and the participants in these two

workshops, who contributed to their success. Special thanks go to Stefano Rocchi, the Director of the series *The Seeds of Triptolemus*, who supported the preparation of the manuscript with his help and advice, as well as to our publisher, Dr. Zaira Maranelli, and to Dr. Marco Filippi, at Deinotera Editrice, for their assistance and patience. I also thank the anonymous readers for their invaluable comments and suggestions which helped to improve the quality of the volume.

*Nicosia, July 2022*

PART 1  
THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CYPRUS AND THE  
EXEMPLARITY OF THE ISLAND



THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF CYPRUS IN THE RHETORICAL  
STRATEGIES OF CICERO'S *DE DOMO SUA* AND *PRO SESTIO*\*

*Spyridon Tzounakas*  
University of Cyprus

Cyprus' strategic location in the Eastern Mediterranean, the island's wealth and the state of internal politics in Rome in the first years of the decade of the 50's BC, are some of the main factors that led to the island's annexation by the Romans in 58 BC. In his recent, impressive monograph, Lorenzo Calvelli<sup>1</sup> presented this topic in all its breadth and depth, examining a number of texts and making acute observations. The aim of the present study is not to add anything new to the knowledge of historical facts regarding the Roman conquest of Cyprus, but to explore how this topic is rhetorically treated by Cicero in the context of his attempt to mar Clodius' image<sup>2</sup> in two of his speeches, *De domo sua* and *Pro Sestio*. As I shall attempt to demonstrate in due course, Cicero not only criticizes the actions of Clodius and his compatriots, but presents the conquest of Cyprus as an example of injustice<sup>3</sup> both on the part of Roman foreign policy and of Clodius personally. In this way, Cicero on the one hand hopes to destroy any political aspirations his adversary may have had as a result of the part he played in the expansion of the Roman Republic, while on the other he attempts to denigrate Clodius' image with traits that could work effectively in combination with other negative elements of his portrayal in the context of a targeted *invectiva*.<sup>4</sup> Within this framework, the references to Cyprus seem to blend in harmoniously within the context, serve the broader aims of the particular rhetorical speeches and reinforce Cicero's argumentation with an additional parallel that acts as an *exemplum*,

\* This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). I am grateful to Stefano Rocchi for his valuable comments on an earlier version of my article.

<sup>1</sup> CALVELLI 2020. On the Roman conquest of Cyprus, cf. also, among others, OOST 1955; BADIAN 1965; MITFORD 1980; HUSSEIN 2021, 23-30, with a rich bibliography (23 n. 1).

<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive biography of Clodius, see TATUM 1999 and FEZZI 2008; cf. BENNER 1987.

<sup>3</sup> For more on the representation of the Roman conquest of Cyprus as a *bellum iniustum* in Cicero's works, see Vassiliades's article in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> On Cicero's invectives against Clodius, see e.g. KOSTER 1980, 116-120; PINA POLO 1991; BERNO 2005; BERNO 2007; STEEL 2007; SEAGER 2014; cf. RUNDSELL 1979. Generally, on Ciceronian invective, see e.g. CORBEILL 2002; CRAIG 2004; URÍA 2006; ARENA 2007; BOOTH 2007; KENTY 2020, 26-52; cf. also VAN DER BLOM 2014, who examines invective attacks against Cicero himself.

making the claim that his political adversary is constantly plotting against innocent and peaceful people all the more credible.

Let us briefly look at the events that led to this point. According to ancient sources,<sup>5</sup> as head of the Roman governor's fleet in Cilicia, Clodius is captured by pirates, to whom he promises a large sum of money as ransom for his release. The sum was to be given by Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, the younger brother of Egypt's king Ptolemy XII Auletes, who reigned in Cyprus from 80 to 58 BC. The king, however, offered a sum that was so small, the pirates decided to release Clodius without deigning to receive the money. This enraged Clodius, who accused the king of Cyprus of conspiring with the pirates and used the incident as a pretext to annex Cyprus in 58 BC (*lex Clodia de rege Ptolemaeo et de exulibus Byzantinis*).<sup>6</sup> The decision was realized by Marcus Porcius Cato in the same year and later on the island was added to the Roman province of Cilicia.

Cicero mentions Cyprus' annexation in two speeches composed near the time of the events of 58 BC, *De domo sua ad pontifices* of 57 BC and *Pro Sestio* a year later, in which he heavily criticizes Clodius for his actions in the particular events. In the first of these speeches, which mainly focuses on condemning Clodius for his part in the orator's exile, the matter of Cyprus appears in three different instances (*dom.* 20; 52-53; 65). The topic is introduced in paragraph *dom.* 20:

Sed cum illis possum tamen aliquid disputare: tua vero quae tanta impudentia est, ut audeas dicere extra ordinem dari nihil cuiquam oportere? Qui cum lege nefaria Ptolemaeum, regem Cypri, fratrem regis Alexandrini, eodem iure regnantem, causa incognita publicasses populumque Romanum scelere obligasses, cum in eius regnum, bona, fortunas patrocinium huius imperii immisisses, cuius cum patre, avo, maioribus societas nobis et amicitia fuisset, huius pecuniae deportandae et, si ius suum defenderet, bello gerendo M. Catonem praefecisti.

With these I have at all events some common ground whereon to dispute; but what impudence can rival yours when you dare to assert that no extraordinary powers should be given to anyone? You, by an iniquitous law, holding no inquiry, and involving the Roman people in your criminal act, outlawed Ptolemy, the king of Cyprus, who was brother

<sup>5</sup> For these sources, apart from CALVELLI 2020, see also Vassiliades's article in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> On this *lex*, see VASSILIADES 2018; CALVELLI 2020, 25-98.

to the king of Alexandria, and who held his kingdom upon a title equally good; you inflicted the patronage of this empire upon the realm, the property, and the fortunes of one with whose father, grandfather, and ancestors we had been on terms of alliance and friendship; and after all this, you gave to Marcus Cato supervision of the removal of his money, and the management of the war against him, should he defend his rights.<sup>7</sup>

In this paragraph Cicero refers to the *lex Clodia* that annexed Cyprus and confiscated the property of its king as *lex nefaria*, a characterization which connects Clodius with *nefas* and implies that his actions violated not only the legal framework, but also the highest moral principles.<sup>8</sup> This attempt to destroy Clodius' moral standing is further reinforced later on, when the phrase *causa incognita publicasset* indicates that there was no obvious reason behind Clodius' action, and therefore no justification for it. Furthermore, the phrase *populumque Romanum scelere obligasset* stresses, yet again, the illegal nature of Clodius' actions, referred to directly as *scelus*, while at the same time the consequences his actions will have on the image of the Roman people are highlighted, as they are presented as being complicit in his crimes. Cicero's mention of the *societas* and *amicitia* that existed between the Romans and the Cypriot king's ancestors (*cuius cum patre, avo, maioribus societas nobis et amicitia fuisset*)<sup>9</sup> moves in the same direction, as in this way Cicero implies that Clodius' actions violate longstanding agreements, expose the Roman people morally with regards to their foreign alliances and undermine the proverbial commitment of the Romans to the concept of *fides*. At the same time, Cicero is portrayed as respectful of the Roman people's commitments, as treading the path of a long tradition, and, generally, as adhering to the *mos maiorum* and, by extension, the principles of *Romanitas*. It is skilfully implied that Clodius constitutes a danger to the morals and legitimacy of the state and the audience is unavoidably led to an evocative comparison between Clodius and Cicero: while the latter is portrayed in the entirety of the speech as a defender of the

<sup>7</sup> Throughout this article, the Latin text and the English translation of Cicero's *De domo sua* are from WATTS 1923.

<sup>8</sup> See OLD, *s.v.* *nefas* 1: "An offence against divine law, an impious act, sacrilege" and 2: "An offence against moral law, a wicked act, crime"; ThLL IX 1, 429, 40 ff., where it is stated that *nefarius* can be something committed against the *res publica* or against the provinces (badly administrated). This *lex nefaria* here would go more or less in the same direction, against a friend king.

<sup>9</sup> On this alliance and the friendship between Rome and the Ptolemies of Egypt, see recently CALVELLI 2020, 101 with a rich bibliography.



Roman people's interests, Clodius, on the contrary, works against those same interests and exposes the Roman people morally.

The creation of contrasts and the drawing of dividing lines between the *probi* and the *improbi* is a rhetorical strategy Cicero uses frequently,<sup>10</sup> and, indeed, exploits in this case too. The image of a Clodius alienated from all that is moral and just, and equated with *nefas* and *scelus* is set against the descriptions of Ptolemy with the phrases *eodem iure regnantem* and *si ius suum defenderet* that implicitly connect the Cypriot king with justice (*ius*), making the allusion to Clodius' *nefas* and *scelus* even more striking.

Another aspect of Clodius' image that Cicero wants to highlight here is the greed (*avaritia*) of his political adversary and his preoccupation with material wealth, as is evident by the evocative use of the terms *bona, fortunas* and *huius pecuniae deportandae*. Thus, Cicero skilfully attaches materialistic and opportunistic characteristics to Clodius' actions, stripping them of any moral or legal pretensions. At the same time, by highlighting Clodius' *avaritia*, Cicero further reinforces his attempt to distance his adversary from the principles of *Romanitas* by disassociating him from all that the Romans considered to be moral and honourable. Furthermore, as *avaritia* constitutes one of the aspects of the stereotypical image of the tyrant (along with *vis, crudelitas, superbia* and *libido*) in the Roman imagination,<sup>11</sup> Cicero makes sure he stresses that trait in Clodius' image so as to succeed in his attempt to present his adversary as a potential tyrant<sup>12</sup> according to the precepts and the typology of Roman *invectiva*.

The matter of Cyprus is revisited in paragraphs *dom.* 52-53:

[52] Tam hercule est unum, quam quod idem tu lege una tulisti, ut Cyprius rex, cuius maiores huic populo socii atque amici semper fuerunt, cum bonis omnibus sub praecone subiceretur et exsules Byzantium reducerentur. [...]  
[53] Quod si iam populus Romanus de ista re consultus esset et non omnia per servos latronesque gessisses, nonne

<sup>10</sup> For Cicero's strategy to draw a separating line between the *probi* and the *improbi* in his rhetorical speeches, see e.g. ACHARD 1981, 110-142; CERUTTI 1996, 120; VON ALBRECHT 2003, 183 and 186-187 n. 40; TZOUNAKAS 2007b, 72-73.

<sup>11</sup> For the portrait of the tyrant in Roman political invectives, see especially DUNKLE 1967; DUNKLE 1971/1972; TZOUNAKAS 2015, esp. 58-60. For *avaritia* as a commonplace in the stereotype of tyrannical conduct, see e.g. DUNKLE 1971/1972, esp. 15; BOULANGER / ROBERT 1999, 108 n. 183; TZOUNAKAS 2006, 170 n. 16, where Clodius' greed, as presented at Cic. *Mil.* 87 (*nihil erat cuiusquam, quod quidem ille adamasset, quod non hoc anno suum fore putaret*), is discussed.

<sup>12</sup> For Clodius as *tyrannus*, especially in Cicero's *Pro Milone*, see e.g. TZOUNAKAS 2006, 170-173; more generally on the depiction of the tyrant in Cicero's works, see e.g. TZOUNAKAS 2015 with a rich bibliography.

fieri poterat ut populo de Cyprio rege placeret, de exsulibus Byzantiis displiceret? Quae est, quaeso, alia vis, quae sententia Caeciliae legis et Didiae nisi haec, ne populo necesse sit in coniunctis rebus compluribus aut id, quod nolit, accipere, aut id, quod velit, repudiare?

Yes, they were as inseparable, no doubt, as were the measures which, on another occasion, you embodied in the same law, enacting that the king of Cyprus, whose ancestors were always friends and allies of this people, should be disposed of, with all his property, by the auctioneer, and that the exiles should be restored to Byzantium. [...] If the Roman people had been consulted upon the subject at the time, instead of everything being done through the medium of slaves and robbers, is it not conceivable that, while accepting the measure dealing with the king of Cyprus, the people might have rejected that which dealt with the Byzantine exiles? What other force or significance, pray, has the law of Caecilius and Didius but this, that the people may not be called upon, by voting on several matters in gross, either to accept what it dislikes, or refuse what it wants?

Here Cicero again stresses both the lasting *societas* and *amicitia* the Cypriot king's ancestors enjoyed with the Roman people, as well as Clodius' decision to confiscate Ptolemy's property. Another new fact is added here, however: the *lex Clodia* for the annexation of Cyprus illegally included in the same law a clause regarding the confiscation of the king's property, and a second regarding the restoration of exiled citizens of Byzantium.<sup>13</sup> Thus, by criticizing Clodius' law, Cicero implies anew the connection of his adversary with illegal activity and, by contrast, of himself with lawfulness.

The third reference to the matter of Cyprus is found in paragraph *dom.* 65:

Cato fuerat proximus. Quid ageres? non erat ut qui modus odiis fuerat, idem esset iniuriae?<sup>14</sup> Quid posses? extrudere ad Cypriam pecuniam? praeda perierit: alia non deerit: hinc modo amandandus est. Sic M. Cato invisus quasi per beneficium Cyprium relegatur. Eiciuntur duo, quos videre improbi non poterant, alter per honorem turpissimum, alter per honestissimam calamitatem.

<sup>13</sup> See CALVELLI 2020, 70 ff.

<sup>14</sup> The text of this passage is elliptical and very uncertain; see PETERSON 1911, *ad loc.*; NISBET 1939, 130-131; SHACKLETON BAILEY 1979, 265; MASLOWSKI 1981, *ad loc.*; SHACKLETON BAILEY 1991, 66 and 229.

Cato had been my closest adherent.<sup>15</sup> What line of conduct were you to pursue? It was not to be thought of that you should affront all those against whom you felt animosity. What then could you do? Get him out of the way by sending him to collect money from Cyprus? But your booty would be as good as lost to you. Well, you will be at no loss to find more; but he must at all costs be removed from the scene. So the hated Marcus Cato is banished to Cyprus under show of having a favour bestowed upon him. There were two, of whom traitors could not endure the sight, and these were driven forth, one by the conferring of a distinction which was a deep insult, the other by the infliction upon him of a disaster which was to his eternal credit.

Here Cicero explores Clodius' possible motives in greater depth and attempts to interpret why his adversary sent Marcus Cato to the island. More specifically, without once failing to stress Clodius' materialistic motives, which he alludes to, in fact, not only by the phrase *ad Cypriam pecuniam*, but also with the particularly evocative word *praeda*, which implicitly compares Clodius to a robber<sup>16</sup> (and to a Verres), the orator attributes the delegation of the decision's realization for the conquest of Cyprus to Cato to an opportunistic attempt on the part of Clodius to dispose of the former politically, allowing Clodius to continue his illegal activities in Rome unhindered, deeming that the development will afford him even greater gains in future. Using a skilful rhetorical strategy, Cicero attempts to destroy the connection between Clodius and Cato, so as to pre-empt the possibility that the activities of his political adversary might appear to have had the approval of a leading Roman figure renowned for his morality, or even that Cato might have stood to gain anything out of the situation. On the contrary, Cicero presents Clodius' move as a sinister action motivated by his hatred of Cato (cf. *odiis, invisus*) and his inability to harm him in any other way (cf. *iniuriae*), an action he disguises as an act of benefaction (*quasi per beneficium Cyprium relegatur*). Cicero's rhetoric, however, is not limited to severing the Clodius / Cato connection, but also aspires to present the latter as being on the same side as himself. Thus, he mentions that Cato and he were close (*Cato fuerat proximus*) and that they were both hated by Clodius, while in the phrase *Eiiciuntur duo, quos videre improbi non poterant, alter per honorem turpissimum, alter per honestissimam calamitatem* Cicero and

<sup>15</sup> This translation has been rejected by SHACKLETON BAILEY 1991, 66 with n. 103, who translates: "Cato was to have come next".

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Cicero's frequent description of Clodius and his followers as *latrones* ("bandits"), which, as RIGGSBY 2002, 169 underlines, constitutes a recurring motif in the *post reditum* speeches.

Cato are shown to be perfectly connected as the two figures whose sight the *improbi* couldn't bear, and so deemed they should be banished from Rome. Thus, Cato's expedition to Cyprus should not be considered as a distinction (*honor*) conferred on him, but as something similar to Cicero's exile, ridding Clodius of the two figures that could have stood in his way. In the Cato / Cicero connection, an important part is played by the apposite choice of the verb *relegatur* in the phrase *quasi per beneficium Cyprum relegatur*, as Cato's expedition is likened to a *relegatio* and is therefore more strongly associated with Cicero's *relegatio*;<sup>17</sup> at the same time, as Calvelli aptly remarks, the analogy between Cato and Cicero is further reinforced by the chiasmic structure and the superlative adjectives in the phrase *alter per honorem turpissimum, alter per honestissimam calamitatem*,<sup>18</sup> where the oxymoronic meaning of the expressions *honorem turpissimum* and *honestissimam calamitatem* is also remarkable. It is worth noting that during the delivery of the speech Cato was absent from Rome, as he was still in Cyprus, a fact which allowed Cicero to refer to him more freely, without the danger of being disputed.<sup>19</sup>

It is obvious that by mentioning Clodius' part in the conquest of Cyprus, Cicero is trying to portray his political adversary in a bad light, exposing significant faults of his that are foreign to the Roman *mos maiorum*. By attacking his adversary's morals, Cicero is adhering to a rhetorical device well-established in antiquity<sup>20</sup> which he harmoniously introduces into the spirit of the *invectiva*. The orator's aim, however, is not confined to exposing Clodius' moral degradation as an *ethica digressio*; his remarks here also facilitate the broader argumentation and the aims of the rhetorical speech in general. Thus, the matter of Cyprus skilfully becomes an *exemplum* which can also be applied to the case of Cicero's exile. Clodius did not only behave unfairly towards Ptolemy and Cyprus by violating laws and moral principles to serve his own interests, but also towards Cicero, by sending him into exile and, yet again, violating laws and moral principles in order to serve his own interests. Consequently, Clodius' tendency to abuse people is shown to be a consistent trait which could easily be exploited by Cicero in his invective.

<sup>17</sup> According to CLAASSEN 1999, 160; 261-262 n. 49; 264 n. 95, *stricto sensu* Cicero's banishment from Rome in 58-57 BC was a case of *relegatio*; cf., however, KELLY 2006, 225-237, who also offers a brief description of *relegatio* as a method of coercion (65-67), and see VAN DER BLOM 2010, 194. For Cicero's avoidance of the ignominious term *exilium* for his banishment from Rome, see ROBINSON 1993/1994.

<sup>18</sup> CALVELLI 2020, 173.

<sup>19</sup> According to Plutarch (*Cat. Min.* 34.3-4), Cato was unwilling to go to Cyprus and he was forced by Clodius to accept this expedition. If this information is correct, it corroborates Cicero's allegations about Clodius. Cf. also Dio Cass. 38.30.5.

<sup>20</sup> Generally, for character depiction as a rhetorical device and a source of persuasion in Cicero's speeches, see, for instance, MAY 1988; RIGGSBY 2004.

Cicero's approach to the matter of Cyprus' conquest is similar in his *Pro Sestio* speech, where in 56 BC the orator defends his political friend Publius Sestius against charges of violence against the state (*vis contra rem publicam*). Sestius had supported Cicero during the time of Catiline's conspiracy and helped in Cicero's return from exile.<sup>21</sup> In this instance the matter of Cyprus is primarily found in paragraphs *Sest.* 57-59, while it is also mentioned in paragraphs *Sest.* 62-64. Let's start with paragraph *Sest.* 57:

Rex Ptolemaeus, qui si nondum erat ipse a senatu socius appellatus, erat tamen frater eius regis, qui cum esset in eadem causa, iam erat a senatu honorem istum consecutus, erat eodem genere eisdemque maioribus, eadem vetustate societatis, denique erat rex si nondum socius, at non hostis; pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Romani regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur —: de hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante eisdem operis suffragium ferentibus est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpura et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis praeconi publico subiceretur et imperante populo Romano, qui etiam bello victis regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus nulla iniuria commemorata, nullis rebus repetitis cum bonis omnibus publicaretur.

King Ptolemy, who if he himself had not yet been declared our ally by the Senate, was yet the brother of that king who, though his circumstances were the same, had already obtained that honour from the Senate, who belonged to the same race, had the same ancestors, and was united to us by the same long-standing ties. In short, he was a king, and if not yet an ally, was at least not an enemy. Living in peace and quietness under the protection of the rule of the Roman People, he was enjoying to the full his paternal and ancestral realm in kingly ease. While he was ignorant of what was afoot and suspected nothing, a proposal was brought forward and voted for by these same hirelings, that Ptolemy, seated on his throne, arrayed in purple, with sceptre in hand and wearing his royal diadem, should be delivered over to a public auctioneer; and that by the sovereign will of the Roman People, which has often restored their kingdoms even to kings who have been defeated in war, a friendly king, against whom no charge of wrong-doing had been brought,

<sup>21</sup> On Sestius and his depiction in the *Pro Sestio*, see KASTER 2006, 14-31.

nor demand for satisfaction made, should, together with all his goods, be put up for public auction.<sup>22</sup>

Initially, Cicero stresses the fact that although Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, was not yet a *socius* of the Romans by a decision of the Senate, his brother, king of Egypt, and his family, including his ancestors, were connected to the Roman people by a long-standing *societas* (*eadem vetustate societatis*),<sup>23</sup> and adds that Ptolemy was by no means an enemy (*hostis*) deserving such treatment at the hands of Clodius. Yet again, we note that Cicero is condemning Clodius' behaviour towards Ptolemy as improper and contrary to the rules of morality,<sup>24</sup> though this time he goes to lengths to be perfectly accurate as to Ptolemy's status, all the while implying that in his case also the spirit, if not the rule, of *societas* is being violated. It goes without saying that forensic speeches such as the *Pro Sestio* require a certain degree of factual accuracy so that the orator's reliability is not questioned, something that is not necessarily always the case with an *invectiva*.<sup>25</sup>

Cicero's attempt to expose Clodius' impropriety, which began with an intimation that he had treated a friend of Rome's as an enemy, continues with his praise of the king of Cyprus, ensuring this way that any action against him is shown to be even more inexcusable and condemnable. More specifically, the orator highlights Ptolemy's peace-loving and tranquil nature, his faith in the authority of the Roman people, his and his family's long-standing dedication to *otium* (*pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Romani regno paterno atque avito regali otio perfruebatur*). By mentioning these positive traits, Cicero implies that the king of Cyprus did not deserve the treatment he received by Clodius and reinforces the sense of injustice against him. At the same time, he tarnishes Clodius' image as he is seen to be harming the innocent, while establishing his image as one who turns against peace-loving and tranquil people. Having established such an image for his adversary, Cicero can then more easily claim that both Sestius and himself fell victim to this standard

<sup>22</sup> Throughout this article, the Latin text and the English translation of Cicero's *Pro Sestio* are from GARDNER 1958.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. SIANI-DAVIES 1997; CALVELLI 2020, 99-110.

<sup>24</sup> A more explicit characterization of this behaviour occurs in the next paragraph (Cic. *Sest.* 58): *Multa acerba, multa turpia, multa turbulenta habuit ille annus; tamen illi sceleri, quod in me illorum immanitas edidit, haud scio an recte hoc proximum esse dicamus*, "That year was marked by many cruel, many disgraceful, many revolutionary acts. Yet I almost think we may fairly say that the crime I have mentioned comes nearest to that crime, which their barbarism perpetrated against myself".

<sup>25</sup> On the audience's expectations for the veracity of invective, the credibility of the *ad hominem* attacks and their probative value in judicial oratory, in deliberations in the Senate and in the invective genre, see CRAIG 2004; CRAIG 2007; cf. RIGGSBY 2004.

practice of Clodius', while also indirectly placing himself and his client on the side of the innocent, peace-loving and tranquil citizens<sup>26</sup> who suffered at the hands of a malicious politician.

The figure of Ptolemy, who is presented as a friend (*rex amicus*), is made even more likeable (while, respectively, that of Clodius is made even more abhorrent), when directly afterwards the orator skilfully draws attention to the fact that everything happened without warning, without the Cypriot king knowing or suspecting anything (*de hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante*), without having committed some injustice or having been asked to do anything (*nulla iniuria commemorata, nullis rebus repetitis*).<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, it is mentioned that despite the fact that he was a king, his entire fortune was confiscated and he himself was deposed, with Cicero giving a vivid description of the king with his purple, his sceptre and his royal emblems. This description enables Cicero to present the king of Cyprus as one who has suffered undeservedly and lends him a tragic aspect by highlighting the terrible turn of his fortune. Thus, and in keeping with the Aristotelian remark regarding ancient tragedy, the audience begins to feel pity (ἔλεος) for the undeserving sufferer and fear (φόβος) for the persons like themselves.<sup>28</sup> The sense of injustice regarding Ptolemy's treatment and the extent of the abuse he suffered are reinforced even more effectively with the *a fortiori* argument<sup>29</sup> that although it was customary to return the kingdoms even of kings defeated in war, from Ptolemy, even though he was a friend, everything was taken away.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. e.g. the famous notion *cum dignitate otium* at Cic. *Sest.* 98, on which see, for instance, RÉMY 1928; BOYANCÉ 1941; GRILLI 1951; WIRSZUBSKI 1954; FUHRMANN 1960; CHRISTES 1988; DALFEN 2000; KASTER 2006, 31-37; LINTOTT 2008, 215-252; BRAGOVA 2016; NÓTÁRÍ 2016. Cicero's emphasis on Ptolemy's *otium* at Cic. *Sest.* 57 makes the connection between Clodius' victims even easier.

<sup>27</sup> The *rerum repetitio* was a necessary prerequisite for a *bellum iustum*, see CALVELLI 2020, 103 and Vassiliades's article in this volume.

<sup>28</sup> Arist. *Poet.* 1449b 24-28: ἔστιν οὖν τραγωδία μίμησις πράξεως σπουδαίας καὶ τελείας μέγεθος ἐχούσης, ἡδυσμένῳ λόγῳ χωρὶς ἐκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν ἐν τοῖς μορίοις, δρώντων καὶ οὐ δι' ἀπαγγελίας, δι' ἑλέου καὶ φόβου περαίνουσα τὴν τῶν τοιούτων παθημάτων κάθαρσιν, "Tragedy, then, is mimesis of an action which is elevated, complete, and of magnitude; in language embellished by distinct forms in its sections; employing the mode of enactment, not narrative; and through pity and fear accomplishing the catharsis of such emotion"; 1453a 3-5: οὔτε ἔλεον οὔτε φόβον, ὁ μὲν γὰρ περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον ἐστὶν δυστυχοῦντα, ὁ δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον (ἔλεος μὲν περὶ τὸν ἀνάξιον, φόβος δὲ περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον), "not pity or fear, since the one is felt for the undeserving victim of adversity, the other for one like ourselves (pity for the undeserving, fear for one like ourselves)". The Greek text and the English translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* are from HALLIWELL *et al.* 1995.

<sup>29</sup> See KASTER 2006, 248.

Another rhetorical device which aims to condemn Clodius' actions against the king of Cyprus is the comparison of Ptolemy's case with that of the Armenian king Tigranes II in paragraph *Sest.* 59:<sup>30</sup>

Rex igitur Armenius, qui et ipse hostis fuit populi Romani et acerrimum hostem in regnum recepit, qui conflixit, qui signa contulit, qui de imperio paene certavit, regnat hodie et amicitiae nomen ac societatis, quod armis violarat, id precibus est consecutus; ille Cyprius miser, qui semper amicus, semper socius fuit, de quo nulla umquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum aut ad imperatores allata nostros est, vivus, ut aiunt, est et videns cum victu ac vestitu suo publicatus. En, cur ceteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cum hoc illius funesti anni prodito exemplo videant per tribunum aliquem et sescentas operas se fortunis spoliari et regno omni posse nudari!

So then this king of Armenia, who was not only himself an enemy of the Roman People, but had received into his kingdom our bitterest foe, who had fought against us, engaged in close combat with us, who had all but struggled with us for power, reigns at the present day, and obtained by entreaty that title of Friend and Ally which he had forfeited by war. But that unfortunate king of Cyprus, who had always been our Friend and Ally, concerning whom no serious suspicion had ever reached the Senate or our commanders, saw himself, with his own living eyes, as they say, put up to auction together with every single thing he had in the world. Other kings, of course, should have good reason to regard their position as secure, when, with the precedent of that disastrous year before their eyes, they see some tribune or other and countless hirelings able to deprive them of their thrones and all they possess!

Although Tigranes had been an enemy of the Roman people, had fought against the Romans, and had received Mithridates, the bitterest foe (*acerrimum hostem*), as Cicero calls him, in his court, he continued to reign and had obtained by entreaty *amicitia* and *societas* with Rome, even though he had violated both by raising arms against it. Conversely, according to Cicero, even though Ptolemy had never been an enemy, but always a friend and ally of the

<sup>30</sup> CALVELLI 2020, 105-106, adroitly notes Cicero's skilful use of the rhetorical figures of *laudatio* and *vituperatio* in this passage.



Roman people,<sup>31</sup> and not one really serious (*durior*) suspicion had ever reached the Senate or the commanders regarding his person,<sup>32</sup> still, he was put up to auction alive and all that he possessed was confiscated. This description creates a pathetic atmosphere and justifies the use of the term *miser* (“unfortunate”) that Cicero used to describe the king at the beginning of the comparison (*ille Cyprius miser*). By evoking pity (*commiseratio*) for Ptolemy, the orator stresses the misfortunes the Cypriot king has suffered, and makes him more likeable, while increasing the audience’s indignation at Clodius’ behaviour. It is a common rhetorical strategy which turns around the persuasive rhetorical appeal to emotion (πάθος).<sup>33</sup> Consequently, it transpires that in the Ciceronian approach regarding the annexation of Cyprus all three Aristotelian persuasive methods are used: λόγος, ἦθος, πάθος. Thus, the expedition is found to be illegal (λόγος), Clodius is shown to be acting outside the limits of morality, while Ptolemy has not once behaved immorally and Cicero is portrayed as respectful of the *mos maiorum* and the Roman people’s commitments (ἦθος),<sup>34</sup> Ptolemy is deserving of pity and Clodius should be provoking the indignation of the audience (πάθος).

Apart from serving the rhetorical requirements for πάθος, the *commiseratio* for Ptolemy serves a number of other literary aims, especially Cicero’s attempt to attach tragic elements<sup>35</sup> to the particular incident, which we examined earlier. As pity is evoked for the person who has suffered undeservedly, it is implied that Ptolemy too is deserving of pity and is, therefore, a tragic figure. Furthermore, it is worth noting that by comparing Tigranes and Ptolemy, Cicero reaches the conclusion that Clodius’ approach was distressing and unsettling for other kings, as they felt that they too could lose their kingdoms. Thus, the Aristotelian tragic element of fear regarding the fear for the one like ourselves (φόβος περὶ τὸν ὅμοιον) which we saw earlier, is much clearer here.

Another conclusion we could reach is that Cicero wants to present the particular episode as a complete, organically coherent unit in the context of particular rhetorical principles. Thus, the way he presents Ptolemy is not so different from the theory Cicero discusses in his *De oratore*, where he discusses

<sup>31</sup> As KASTER 2006, 252 remarks, “C. bestows on Ptolemy the title he did not gain from the senate”.

<sup>32</sup> On the use of *durior* here, see CALVELLI 2020, 106; cf. KASTER 2006, 252.

<sup>33</sup> The appeal to pity (*commiseratio*) is a standard element in the peroration of a judicial speech; cf. e.g. BERRY 1996, 303-306; WINTERBOTTOM 2004; TZOUNAKAS 2009, esp. 132.

<sup>34</sup> On the appeal to ἦθος in rhetoric, see e.g. SÜSS 1910; MAY 1988; WISSE 1989; WÖRNER 1990; HYDE 2004; WOERTHER 2007. In his *Art of Rhetoric*, Aristotle believes that the persuasive rhetorical appeal to ἦθος is the most effective means of persuasion (Arist. *Rhet.* 1356a 5-13).

<sup>35</sup> For theatricalization in Cicero’s rhetorical speeches and the relation between oratory and theatre, see e.g. TZOUNAKAS 2015.

the need for a client to come across as a good person (*bonum virum*), superior and selfless (*liberalem*), unfortunate (*calamitosum*) and, finally, worthy of the judges' sympathy (*miseriordia dignum*).<sup>36</sup> In other words, his reference to Ptolemy seems to contain the characteristics of an embedded *Pro rege Ptolemaeo* or *In Clodium* speech which is harmoniously incorporated into the *Pro Sestio* and serves the deeper aims of the latter. For example, the comparison of the cases of Tigranes and Ptolemy exposes not only Clodius' lack of sound political judgement, his indifference for the law, or his disdain for the long-established moral principles that should be guiding Rome's foreign policy, but, also and at greater depth, it exposes Clodius' hypocrisy, opportunism and overall cruel and immoral behaviour, all of which are, after all, what is being criticized in the particular speech in his stance towards Cicero or Sestius. Consequently, we note that, just as in the case of *De domo sua*, the reference to Cyprus acts in this instance too as an *exemplum* which verifies and confirms the accusations levelled against Clodius regarding his overall behaviour towards Sestius and Cicero. Thus, the digression regarding the conquest of Cyprus which at first appears to be irrelevant, acts as a parallel example of illegal, indecent and immoral behaviour, shows that Clodius' tendency to turn against peace-loving people, including, by extension, Cicero and Sestius, is a permanent trait of character, and facilitates the defensive direction of the orator concerning his client's innocence, based on the argument that it was not Sestius who turned violently against the state, but that he, in fact, fell victim to Clodius' violence.

<sup>36</sup> Cic. *de orat.* 2.321: *Ex reo – reos appello quorum res est – quae significant bonum virum, quae liberalem, quae calamitosum, quae miseriordia dignum, quae valeant contra falsam criminationem*, "Points drawn from one's client – by clients I mean the persons concerned in the matter – are considerations showing him to be a man of high character, a gentleman, a victim of misfortune deserving of compassion, and any facts that will tell against a false charge". The Latin text and the English translation of Cicero's *De oratore* are from SUTTON / RACKHAM 1942.



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BMCRE = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London 1923-1976.

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- RIC<sup>2</sup> = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London <sup>2</sup>1984.  
RPC = *Roman Provincial Coinage*, London / Paris 1992-.  
RSC = H. A. Seaby, D. R. Sear, R. Loosley, *Roman Silver Coins*, London 1978-1987.  
SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, Lugduni Batavorum 1923-.  
SNG = *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, London 1931-.  
ThL = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Lipsiae (then also Stutgardiae, Monachii, Berolini, Novi Eboraci, Bostoniae) 1900-.  
VLQ = *Codices Vossiani Latini in Quarto*.

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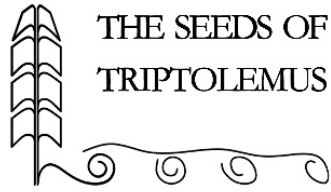
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