



Studies on the Ancient
Mediterranean World

University of Pavia University
of Pavia of Cyprus

A series edited by
Stefano Rocchi
and
Spyridon Tzounakas

Advisory Board

Alberto Canobbio
Chiara Carsana
Fabio Gasti
Maria Elena Gorrini
Maurizio Harari
Nikitas Hatzimihail
Demokritos Kaltsas
Theodoros Mavrogiannis
Fausto Montana
Margot Neger
Anna Panayotou
George Papasavvas
Elisa Romano
Georgios Xenis

€ 28,00

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.



ISBN 978-88-89951-44-6



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

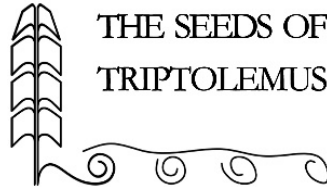


SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography (especially Pliny the Younger), Roman epic (especially 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 (15th - 18th 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

Studies on the Ancient Mediterranean World

3



A series edited by

Stefano Rocchi and Spyridon Tzounakas

Advisory Board

Alberto Canobbio, Chiara Carsana, Fabio Gasti, Maria Elena Gorrini, Maurizio Harari, Nikitas Hatzimihail, Demokritos Kaltsas, Theodoros Mavrogiannis, Fausto Montana, Margot Neger, Anna Panayotou, George Papasavvas, Elisa Romano, Georgios Xenis

University of Pavia

University of Cyprus

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
Archaeological Park, Diego Delso delso.photo CC BY-SA

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-
No Derivates 4.0 International (CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0).
<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

Share: You are free to share copy, redistributed the material in any medium or
format.

Attribution: You must give appropriate credit, provide a link to the license, and
indicate if changes were made. You may do so in any reasonable manner, but not
in any way that suggests the licensor endorses you or your use.

NonCommercial: You may not use the material for commercial purposes.

NoDerivatives: If you remix, transform, or build upon the material, you may not
distribute the modified material.

ISSN 2784-8000
ISBN 978-88-89951-44-6
Copyright © 2023 Deinotera Editrice
di R.P.C.T. s.r.l.
sede legale: Piazza Filattiera, 48, 00139 - Roma
<http://www.deinoteraeditrice.com>
Proprietà letteraria riservata - Printed in Italy
Finito di stampare nel mese di agosto 2023
presso Mediagraf, Padova

Edited by

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS



DEINOTERA
EDITRICE

CONTENTS

PREFACE	SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS	XI
---------	--------------------	----

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 <i>De domo sua</i> and <i>Pro Sestio</i>	SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS	3
The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: <i>A bellum iustum or iniustum?</i>	GEORGIOS VASSILIADES	17
Cyprus <i>in exemplis</i> : Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus	MARGOT NEGER	33

PART 2

THE CYPRIOT MYTHS IN OVID AND BEYOND

Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid's <i>Metamorphoses</i> and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype	SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS	57
Pygmalion's Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration	SOPHIA PAPAIOANNOU	75
The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian <i>Ekphraseis</i> : Pygmalion's Prequel to Arachne's Story	STELLA ALEKOU	91
From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion's Reception in W. S. Gilbert's Mythological Comedy <i>Pygmalion and Galatea</i>	STAMATIA KITSOU	103
The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's <i>Sardanapalus</i> : Transformations and a Play of Identities	STAMATIA KITSOU	113

PART 3

NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus	DANIELE CASTRIZIO	127
---	-------------------	-----

Pliny, <i>nat.</i> 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the <i>Splanchnoptes</i>	ANTONIO CORSO	143
An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite	ALESSANDRA BRAVI	149
BIBLIOGRAPHY		171
INDEX LOCORUM		207

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 15th to the 18th 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 ANCIENT SOURCES:
A *BELLUM IUSTUM* OR *INIUSTUM*?

Georgios Vassiliades
University of Cyprus

INTRODUCTION

The facts related to the annexation of Cyprus appear scattered throughout various sources, some of which are anecdotal in nature. Let us provide a brief overview of the major facts: as related by Strabo (14.6.6) and Appian (*BC* 2.23), when the famous demagogue Clodius was captured by pirates near Cilicia, he asked King Ptolemy of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy XII Auletes, the king of Egypt, to ransom him. Ptolemy of Cyprus sent such a small amount of money that the pirates freed Clodius without accepting it. After this event, Clodius intensified his attacks against the king and in 58 BC, when he became *tribunus plebis*, proposed a law according to which the island should be detached from the sovereignty of Ptolemy and annexed to the Roman *imperium*, while the king's fortune would be confiscated. Clodius' law was based on a controversial testament of Ptolemy X Alexander I or his son Ptolemy XI Alexander II, appointing the Romans heirs to his kingdom (including Cyprus).¹ Upon the approval of this law, Clodius proposed a new law which entrusted to Cato the mission of executing this decision.² When the king of Cyprus learned this news, he committed suicide, his fortune was auctioned and Cato removed a large amount of money to Rome.

It is clear that the annexation of Cyprus is difficult to analyse as a just or an unjust war, since no violent conflicts seem to have taken place. Nevertheless, as will be pointed out, the corresponding facts are viewed from this angle in contemporary and later sources, attempting to defend or to oppose Clodius' actions. The analysis of relevant Latin and, secondarily, Greek sources will show how the Roman authors and, probably, the Roman public opinion of the 50s morally evaluated the annexation of Cyprus on the basis of the moral and legal category of *bellum iustum*.

Without entering into detail, it would be useful to recall that the concept of *bellum iustum* dates back to the period of the *regnum* and was adapted to the

¹ On this testament, the identity of its author and the debate it raised in Rome, see CHAPOT 1912; DE SANCTIS 1932; LUZZATTO 1941; BRAUND 1983, 24-28; CALVELLI 2020, 139-153. All of them consider Ptolemy XI Alexander II as the author of the testament. Cf. BADIAN 1967, 178, who argues in favour of Ptolemy X Alexander I.

² See on these laws OOST 1955; BADIAN 1965; CALVELLI 2020, 44 ff.; 61 ff.

changing historical and political circumstances.³ According to a famous passage drawn from Livy's account of the ritual established by Ancus Marcius (1.32.5-14) to declare war, at least during the period of the *regnum*, the declaration of war was preceded by a long process involving religious or even magical elements.⁴ The *collegium* of *fetiales*,⁵ who were at the head of this ceremony, proceeded, first of all, to claim the stolen possessions (*repetitio rerum*), then to the notification of war (*denuntiatio belli*) and finally to the declaration of war (*indictio belli*).⁶ During the first centuries of the *res publica*, religious elements, intended to ensure that a war was just, were reinforced. The *repetitio rerum*, however, was gradually extended not only to the usurpation of possessions found in Roman territory, but to a wide range of causes (*causae*) which could be invoked by the *res publica* in order for a war to be considered just. The rigid ritualistic procedure in declarations of war also seems to have been progressively abandoned,⁷ but the observance of fetial law was still important when Rome entered the phase of Mediterranean expansion;⁸ the constitutional aspect of *bellum iustum* was also reinforced. In this context, no declaration of war and no peace treaty was considered valid, unless it had been ratified by the Roman people in the *comitia* or in the *concilium plebis*. During the late Republican period, the notion of *bellum iustum* gradually lost its religious and sacred aspect, while any claim to independence or any disregard of Roman authority appears to have been enough for a war to be considered just.⁹

Based on these premises, to what extent can the annexation of Cyprus be regarded as a just or an unjust war? The survey of relevant sources will show that no unanimous, one-dimensional answer was given to this question, and that there was instead a clear effort to shape public opinion in Rome in favour of the former or the latter view. To this end, we will not focus on

³ On the adaptation of the concept of *bellum iustum* to the changing historical and political circumstances, as described in this paragraph, see the detailed study of CHEMAIN 2015. More generally on the notion of *bellum iustum*, see DREXLER 1959; KORFMACHER 1972; ALBERT 1980; BARNES 1986; KASER 1993, 28-32; LORETO 2001.

⁴ See also on this ritual Dion. Hal. 2.72.1-9 with ALBERT 1980, 12-36; BARNES 1986, 43-45.

⁵ See SANTANGELO 2008 on the changing, but always important role of the *collegium* of *fetiales* in the declaration of wars throughout the Republican period.

⁶ See Cic. *off.* 1.36, with BARNES 1986, 50-52, on this triple ritual and the meaning of the phrase *res repetere*; SANTANGELO 2008, 81-82.

⁷ See on this point RICH 1976, 90-91; FERRARY 1995, 422-424.

⁸ See GIOVANNINI 2000, 94-101; SANTANGELO 2008, 72-77.

⁹ HARRIS 1979, 166-175 argues that this ritual was not observed, at least systematically, during the late Republican period and that the concept of the just war was not always binding for the Senate to declare a war, although some grievances had to be sought out.

sources referring to the conquest of Cyprus in a morally neutral way or when the moral judgement does not pertain to the decision to annex the island.¹⁰

THE CONQUEST OF CYPRUS IN LATIN SOURCES

CLODIUS' *LEGES* AS A FOUNDATION OF A *BELLUM IUSTUM*

It is a well-known fact that Clodius sent Cato to Cyprus after the approval of his law propositions by the people. The first *rogatio* of Clodius aimed at validating the controversial testament of King Ptolemy Alexander, on the basis of which Cyprus came under Roman rule. Following the approval of this law, Clodius secured the approval of a second law entrusting Cato, whom Clodius and the first triumvirate wanted to remove from Rome,¹¹ with the responsibility of executing the decision of the Roman people. Cato was also charged with the mission of bringing some Roman exiles from Byzantium back to Rome, either by passing a third law or by adding a relevant provision to the second law.¹² We do not know the circumstances of the approval of these laws. Nevertheless, this triple success of Clodius demonstrates that he had managed to win over a considerable segment of public opinion. Strabo indirectly refers to Clodius' influence on the people, stating that Cato's mission to Cyprus was the result of the growing power (ἴσχυσε τοσοῦτον) of the *tribunus plebis*: γενόμενος δήμαρχος ἴσχυσε τοσοῦτον ὥστε ἐπέμφθη Μάρκος Κάτων ἀφαιρησόμενος τὴν Κύπρον τὸν κατέχοντα.¹³

What arguments did Clodius use to influence the people? It goes without saying that the financial and political motives which led to this decision should not be underestimated. Some of the reasons invoked by modern historians are the following: the wealth of the island combined with the

¹⁰ The following sources fall into this category: Liv. *perioch.* 104.6; Pomp. Trog. *hist. prol.* 40; Plin. *nat.* 7.113; 29.96; 34.92; Plut. *Brut.* 3; App. *BC* 2.23; *Vir. ill.* 80.2; *Adnot. Lucan.* 3.164, p. 90 Endt.

¹¹ See on this Dio Cass. 38.30.4-5.

¹² OOST 1955, esp. 99-100 and 109 nn. 11-12, has shown that the mission to Cyprus was entrusted to Cato by a special law, different to that ordaining the confiscation of the possessions of the Cypriot king. The mission to bring back the Roman exiles from Byzantium was probably added as a complementary provision to the second law. CALVELLI 2020, 62-64 reaches the same conclusion. Cf. BADIEN 1965, esp. 116, who argues that the restoration of the Roman exiles from Byzantium was ordained by a third law.

¹³ Strab. 14.6.6.

shortage of public funds,¹⁴ the strategic position of Cyprus,¹⁵ Clodius' desire to get rid of the annoying presence of Cato in Rome,¹⁶ and the very existence of a testament providing the Romans with even questionable legal grounds.¹⁷ However, what is important for the present study is to investigate the arguments explicitly invoked by Clodius in order to morally and legally legitimate his expansionist initiatives against Cyprus in the eyes of the Roman people. This moral and legal legitimation of the proposed laws helped Clodius ensure the people's approval of his laws.

As Calvelli¹⁸ has recently demonstrated, based on the study of later sources, in the law on the confiscation of the possessions of the Cypriot king, Clodius used the verb *publicare*, a *terminus technicus* referring to the appropriation of property by the State to the benefit of the people.¹⁹ Even the use of this term reveals the clear intention of Clodius, famed for his demagogic style, to please the people and to stress that his actions aimed at the benefit of the people as a whole. Besides, during the second and especially the first century BC, the concept of *maiestas populi Romani* increasingly affected foreign policy decisions. In this context, any situation that might be considered to offend the *maiestas* of the Roman people should be redressed. Therefore, almost any war could be justified as a *bellum iustum*.²⁰

In the case in question, what might be considered an offense to the Roman people which could render the expansionist initiative against Cyprus a *bellum iustum*? The first relevant element is the accusation against the king-

¹⁴ See in this respect HILL 1940, 206; OOST 1955, esp. 99; 103 ff.; BADIAN 1965, esp. 117 ff.; FEHRLE 1983, 141-142; cf. RISING 2019, 194, and especially CALVELLI 2020, 132-139, who casts doubt on the role of the shortage of public funds in the decision to annex Cyprus.

¹⁵ CALVELLI 2020, 12-14, with earlier bibliography on the role of Cyprus as a commercial and strategic centre of the Eastern Mediterranean.

¹⁶ This idea is clearly articulated in ancient sources: Cic. *dom.* 21-22; 65-66; *Sest.* 60; Vell. 2.45.4 (*Idem P. Clodius in tribunatu, sub honorificentissimo ministerii titulo, M. Catonem a re publica relegavit*); Plut. *Cat. Min.* 34.1-3 and 6; *Pomp.* 48.6 (Κάτωνα προφάσει στρατηγίας εἰς Κύπρον ἀπέπεμψε); *Caes.* 21.8 (Κάτωνος μὲν οὐ παρόντος, ἐπίτηδες γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰς Κύπρον ἀπεδιοπομπήσαντο...); Dio Cass. 38.30.5 (βουλευθεὶς ὁ Κλώδιος τὸν τε Κάτωνα ἐκποδῶν, ὅπως ῥᾶον ὅσα ἔπραττε κατορθώσῃ, ποιήσασθαι...). See also on the same theory HILL 1940, 206; OOST 1955, esp. 98-99; ZECCHINI 1979, 78 ff.; FEHRLE 1983, 142-144; *contra* BADIAN 1965. CHRYSANTHOU 2022, 27-32 examines the relevant sources and attributes Plutarch's emphasis on Clodius' desire to get rid of Cato to the moral agenda of the biographer, who "allows Cato's virtuous character to shine in contrast to Clodius, who tries to fulfil an imperialistic desire" (32).

¹⁷ This point was recently raised by CALVELLI 2020, 139-153.

¹⁸ CALVELLI 2020, 25-43.

¹⁹ See ThLL X 2, 2444, 30-36; OLD, *s.v.* *publico* 1a, 2.

²⁰ CHEMAIN 2015, 258-272.

dom of Cyprus that it provided assistance to pirates. This is clearly stated in the *Scholia Bobiensia* on Cicero's *Pro Sestio* 57:

Hunc etiam Ptolemaeum regem Cypri amicum quodammodo a senatu appellatum fuisse, quandoquidem frater eius qui in Aegypto regnabat consecutus iam societatis et amicitiae honorem videretur. Ferente autem rogationem Clodio publicatum fuerat eius regnum, quod diceretur ab eo piratas adiuvari. (*Schol. Cic. Bob.* p. 133.3-6 St.)

Scholars are divided on the scholiast's latter statement. Despite the hesitancy of older scholars like Hill to accept the validity of this information, recent historians, such as Fezzi and Calvelli,²¹ argue that its trustworthiness should not be underrated: beyond the fact that it seems to have been no accident that when Clodius was captured by pirates, he chose to address himself specifically to the king of Cyprus, there is indeed important literary and epigraphic evidence confirming that the kingdom of Cyprus occasionally provided assistance to pirates in the Eastern Mediterranean. In any case, the impact of such an argument on Roman public opinion should not be overlooked, especially taking the recent struggles of the Romans against the pirates into account: let us recall that ten years earlier, in 67 BC, despite the warnings of the *tribunus plebis* Trebellius and the *princeps Senatus* Catulus that the extraordinary powers entrusted to Pompey represented a bad precedent for the Roman *res publica*, the Roman people, concerned about the material effects of pirate raids in Italy and the Mediterranean, approved the *lex Gabinia* with great eagerness and zeal.²² Moreover, given that the scholiast uses the *terminus technicus* which was probably included in Clodius' *rogatio*, it cannot be excluded that the subordinate causal clause expressed in the subjunctive (*diceretur*), showing that the reason is given on the authority of another, reproduces the arguments of Clodius himself, perhaps in the context of *contiones* preceding the passing of the laws.²³

Furthermore, it seems that the accusation that Ptolemy of Cyprus supported pirates exempted Clodius from following the formal procedure of declaration of war, which consisted of the following stages: identifying a just cause (*iusta causa*), claiming of rights (*repetitio rerum*) and official declaration of

²¹ HILL 1940, 206; cf. FEZZI 1999, 286; CALVELLI 2020, 122 ff.

²² See Cic. *Manil.* 44; Plut. *Pomp.* 26-27; Dio Cass. 36.28-35, on the events related to the passing of the *lex Gabinia*.

²³ See HIEBEL 2009, on the role of *contiones* in the decision-making process during the late Republican period.

war (*indictio belli*).²⁴ The jurist Pomponius sets pirates and robbers apart from other enemies and states that there is no obligation of official declaration of war against them:

‘Hostes’ hi sunt, qui nobis aut quibus nos publice bellum
decrevimus; ceteri ‘latrones’ aut ‘praedones’ sunt. (Pompon.
Dig. 50.16.118)

What Pomponius is saying, in fact, is that the *ius gentium* is not valid in the case of pirates and robbers. Cicero had claimed in the *Pro lege Manilia* that the war on pirates, entrusted to Pompey through the *lex Gabinia*, was a war common to all nations (Cic. *Manil.* 44: *commune omnium gentium bellum*). In his *De officiis*, Cicero will emphatically add that there is no obligation to observe any oath given to pirates, since the latter are not just a rival against whom we fight, but also the common enemy of humankind. Thus, neither the *ius iurandum* nor any rule arising from *fides* is valid in this case: *nam pirata non est ex perduellium numero definitus, sed communis hostis omnium; cum hoc nec fides debet nec ius iurandum esse commune* (Cic. *off.* 3.107). It follows that any act of violence against pirates is considered justified. The expansionist laws against Cyprus could thus be presented by Clodius as a *bellum iustum* on these grounds. Besides, this concept had probably been put into practice in the conduct of the Romans in the case of the *lex Gabinia*: whereas the sources reporting the circumstances of the passing of this law do refer to the pirates’ wrongdoings,²⁵ they make no allusion to any sort of negotiation between the pirates and the Romans before the decision to declare war or even to the necessity of following such a procedure. On the contrary, our sources tend to insist on the speed with which the law was adopted²⁶ and the war was completed by Pompey within just forty days.²⁷ In the case of the *lex Clodia*, the ‘war’ was not, of course, declared here against the pirates themselves, but against one of their supposed supporters. However, this detail was probably downplayed by Clodius in the context of his persuasive strategy.

Another element which may have been used by the *tribunus plebis* and his supporters as an argument for presenting the mission of Cato to Cyprus as a *bellum iustum* is the *locus communis* of the proverbial arrogance and avarice of

²⁴ On the several forms of *iustae causae* which could be adduced to declare a war see ALBERT 1980, 12-36.

²⁵ See Cic. *Manil.* 53; Plut. *Pomp.* 25; Flor. *epit.* 3.7; Dio Cass. 16.21.

²⁶ Plut. *Pomp.* 26; Dio Cass. 36.28.

²⁷ See Liv. *perioc.* 99; Vell. 2.32.4-5; Plut. *Pomp.* 27; cf. Dio Cass. 36.35, who mostly focuses on Pompey’s clemency towards the pirates who decided to surrender to the forces of the Roman general.

the Cypriot king.²⁸ The historian of the Tiberian period Velleius Paterculus, despite his generally critical attitude towards the annexation of Cyprus, whose glory, in his opinion, cannot be attributed to anyone (*nullius adsignanda gloria est*), does not hesitate to criticize the king of Cyprus. Let us recall that the latter committed suicide before Cato's arrival on the island, or perhaps as soon as he heard about the Roman plans.²⁹ Velleius notes that he committed suicide because he had a bad conscience; he also adds that the king deserved to be deprived of his kingdom and his fortune, because of his moral vices of every kind:

Cyprus devicta nullius adsignanda gloriae est; quippe plebis scito, ministerio Catonis, regis morte, quam ille conscientia acciverat, facta provincia est. (Vell. 2.38.6)

Idem P. Clodius in tribunatu sub honorificentissimo ministerii titulo M. Catonem a re publica relegavit: quippe legem tulit, ut is quaestor cum iure praetorio, adiecto etiam quaestore, mitteretur in insulam Cyprum ad spoliandum regno Ptolemaeum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum. Sed ille sub adventum Catonis vitae suae vim intulit. (Vell. 2.45.4-5)

What are the moral faults of which the king of Cyprus is accused and for which he deserved such a punishment? Valerius Maximus proposes Ptolemy as a negative *exemplum* of *avaritia* by relating an anecdote: when it was announced to him that his immense fortune would pass into the hands of the Romans, he decided to cast his belongings to the bottom of the sea; however, when he saw the ships loaded with gold and silver, he could not bear to see them sink, and thus withdrew his decision and returned to his palace (Val. Max. 9.4.ext. 1). The same anecdote appears in Rufius Festus, who in his *Breviarium* notes more succinctly that the king committed suicide when he learned that his fortune would be confiscated by the Romans, “in order to lose his life before his riches” (Ruf. Fest. 13.1: *ut vitam prius quam divitias amitteret*), although in the same passage, Festus is equally critical toward the Roman people, since the conquest of Cyprus is attributed to their *avaritia*. Cassius Dio adds the accusation of cowardice and ambition, attributing the king's suicide to the fact that he dared neither to resist the Romans, nor to be

²⁸ See on this point CALVELLI 2020, 202-213.

²⁹ See Strab. 14.6.6; Vell. 2.45.4-5; Plut. *Cat. Min.* 36.1-2; Flor. *epit.* 3.9.3-4; App. *BC* 2.23; Dio Cass. 39.22.2; Ruf. Fest. 13.1.

deprived of his power (Dio Cass. 39.22.2: μήτ' ἀντᾶραι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἐτόλμησε μήτ' αὖ στερηθεῖς τῆς ἀρχῆς ζῆν ὑπέμεινε).

Whereas Valerius Maximus, Rufius Festus and Cassius Dio imply an *a posteriori* justification of the Roman behaviour on the basis of the actual facts which occurred, Velleius Paterculus stresses that the Cypriot king deserved *a priori* to suffer all that befell him. The view of Velleius, who lived at a time not far removed from the historical facts, may allude to the arguments used by Clodius to support his *rogatio*. Nevertheless, why would the king deserve such treatment? A piece of information contained in Strabo's account may provide the key to answering this question. The Greek geographer states that the king of Cyprus, by refusing to offer enough money to ransom Clodius, was considered disagreeable and ungrateful to his benefactors, the Romans (Strab. 14.6.6: ἔδοξε πλημμελής τε εἶναι καὶ ἀχάριστος εἰς τοὺς εὐεργέτας). As has been recently pointed out by Calvelli, the “ungratefulness” of the Cypriot king may have consisted in the fact that contrary to his brother, the king of Egypt, he did not offer money to the Romans, in order to confirm their friendship and alliance and thus keep his kingdom, which had been ceded to the Romans on the basis of the recent testament of Ptolemy Alexander.³⁰ The verb ἔδοξε, a *terminus technicus* used in the people's resolutions,³¹ may reflect the debate on the law or perhaps the content of the law itself.

Therefore, the king of Cyprus was probably accused of breaking his relationship of friendship with the Romans. This accusation could provide a legal foundation for Clodius' laws, especially given that breach of friendship, which includes ungratefulness towards the Romans, is increasingly invoked as a *iusta causa belli* during the second and first century BC. In this way, the Romans presented what were basically expansionist wars as defensive.³² To sum up, the king of Cyprus was accused of sheltering piracy and breaking his friendship with the Romans. These two charges provided Clodius with a moral and legal foundation to present his proposed expansionist laws against Cyprus as a *bellum iniustum* and thus obtain the approval of the Roman people.

CLODIUS' LEGES AS A FOUNDATION OF A *BELLUM INIUSTUM*

Clodius' arguments did not, however, convince the whole of his audience. The emergence of an opposing point of view on the annexation of Cyprus is reflected in some contemporary and later sources which view Cato's mission to Cyprus as a *bellum iniustum*. Based on their content, one can reasonably

³⁰ See CALVELLI 2020, 155-158.

³¹ See LSJ, *s.v.* δοκέω 4b.

³² See on this point CHEMAIN 2015, 251-254.

assume that a segment of Roman public opinion condemned the Roman conduct against Cyprus as hardly consistent with the moral standards of Roman foreign policy.

First of all, Clodius' *leges* were considered unfair from a legal viewpoint. This criticism is reflected in the speeches delivered by Cicero during the few months following his recall from exile in 57 BC, not long after Cato's departure from Rome to Cyprus. Cicero's views are important to help us survey the way in which Roman public opinion interpreted the annexation of Cyprus, not only because they were contemporary with events, but also because they probably expressed the feelings of a major section of the Roman people, who seem to have gradually become alienated from Clodius and his intrigues.³³ It is worth remembering that when Cicero was recalled from exile, thanks to the activity of the *tribunus plebis* Milo and on the basis of a law passed by the Roman people, he is said to have arrived at Brundisium and been accompanied by the acclamations of the crowd during his voyage to and entry into Rome.³⁴ The speeches delivered in the immediate aftermath of his return from exile (*De domo sua*, *De haruspicum responsis*, *Pro Sestio*) also convinced their audience and, as a result, Cicero did in fact achieve his purpose in each case.

Cicero refers to the laws on the annexation of Cyprus in his speech *De domo sua*, where he tries to prove that most of the legal acts of Clodius, and especially the confiscation of Cicero's house on the Palatine, were illegal. The orator attempts to reverse Clodius' accusations against him of assigning extraordinary (*extra ordinem*) powers to Pompey during the war against Mithridates and Tigranes, when he underlines that Clodius is the last person in a position to make such an accusation, given that he has violated every notion of justice in the case of the Cypriot king (Cic. *dom.* 20-21):

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 Ptolomaeum, regem Cypri, fratrem regis Alexandrini, eodem iure regnantem causa incognita publicasses, populumque Romanum scelere obligasses, cum in eius regnum, bona, fortunas, patrocinium huius imperi inmisisses, cuius cum patre, avo, maioribus societas nobis et amicitia fuisset, huius pecuniae deportandae et, si ius suum defenderet, bello gerendo M. Catonem praefecis-

³³ See on this point Dio Cass. 39.22.1. On the historical context of these speeches and their rhetorical dimension against Clodius, see CALVELLI 2020, 25-26, with earlier bibliography.

³⁴ See Cic. *Att.* 4.1.4-5.

t i. Dices: quem virum! sanctissimum, prudentissimum, fortissimum, amicissimum rei publicae, virtute, consilio, ratione vitae mirabili ad laudem et prope singulari! Sed quid ad te, qui negas esse verum quemquam ulli rei publicae extra ordinem praefici?

Cicero accuses Clodius that, on the basis of an iniquitous law (*lege nefaria*) and an unknown or uncertain cause (*causa incognita*), he confiscated the property of an independent king (*eodem iure regnantem*) and rendered the Roman people accomplices to a crime (*scelere obligasses*), by persuading them to invade the kingdom, the property and the fortune of a monarch whose ancestors had been allies and friends of Rome (*societas nobis et amicitia fuisset*).³⁵

Therefore, whereas Clodius tried to persuade the Roman people that the expedition against Cyprus was a *bellum iustum*, Cicero reproaches him, on the contrary, of a loose interpretation of the concept of *bellum iustum*, concluding that the annexation of the island was not only a *bellum iniustum*, but, far worse, a crime (*scelus*). The vocabulary used in this respect is revealing. The adjective *nefaria* characterizing Clodius' law alludes to the archaic conception of war, which should be based on *fas*, that is to say on the gods' approval, in order to be in accordance with *ius* and thus a *bellum iustum*;³⁶ this is clearly not the case here. Cicero's criticism that the cause of war in this case remained unknown (*causa incognita*) shows that, according to the orator, there had been no *iusta causa* and the war was thus a *bellum iniustum*. This is a view clearly expressed by Cicero at *rep.* 3.35 (= *Isid. orig.* 18.1.3):

Illa iniusta bella sunt, quae sunt sine causa suscepta. Nam extra ulciscendi aut propulsandorum hostium causam bellum geri iustum nullum potest [...] Nullum bellum iustum habetur nisi denuntiatum, nisi indictum, nisi repetitis rebus.

The legal status of the king of Cyprus strengthens Cicero's argument concerning the unjustified nature of the decisions against the Cypriot king: contrary to Clodius who, as we have said, tried to highlight the connection of the king of Cyprus with the pirates, in order to avoid the formal stages of the declaration of war, Cicero underlines that he was a sovereign king (*eodem iure regnantem*). The orator thus implies that, if the Romans had wished to conduct

³⁵ *Cic. dom.* 20-21; see also *ibid.* 52; 59, where Cicero refers again to the alliance and friendship of King Ptolemy's ancestors with the Romans.

³⁶ See CHEMAIN 2015, 72 ff.; see also DREXLER 1959, 97-111, who examines the Roman idea pervading historical accounts, according to which a war, in order to be considered just, should be approved by the will of the gods.

a *bellum iustum*, they should have negotiated with the king and claimed their rights (*repetitio rerum*) before taking the decision to subjugate his kingdom. Cicero explicitly expresses this view not only in the above-cited fragment of the *De re publica*, but also in the *De officiis*: we should give even the enemies who offend us the opportunity to apologize for their mistakes and redress their injustice, before thinking of resorting to violence (Cic. *off.* 1.34).³⁷ Contrary to this principle, Cato was sent to Cyprus with the order and the power to declare war (*bello gerendo*) without any sort of negotiation, if the king of the island decided to defend his own rights (*si ius suum defenderet*).³⁸ The alliance and friendship of the ancestors of the king with the Romans (*patre, avo, maioribus societas nobis et amicitia fuisset*) render the king's right to defend himself even more inalienable.

Cicero's conclusion is that Cato's mission to Cyprus was decided *extra ordinem*, even if Cato's own behaviour and character remained irreproachable. Cicero attempts here to dissociate Clodius' nefarious actions from Cato, who had not yet returned to Rome, thus preparing for Cato's support of his analysis of Clodius' actions. Despite this effort, Plutarch and Cassius Dio inform us that the friendship between the two men was harmed when Cicero forcibly took away and destroyed, in Clodius' absence, the records of his tribuneship which Clodius had deposited on the Capitol, on the grounds that his election as a tribune was illegal. Cato objected that if Cicero's view was accepted, all his own proceedings in Cyprus should be considered invalid.³⁹ It follows that Cato probably distanced himself from the Ciceronian view that the annexation of Cyprus should be considered a *bellum iniustum*.

Some months later, in 56 BC, in his speech *Pro Sestio*, Cicero successfully defends the *tribunus plebis* Publius Sestius, who was accused of organizing armed gangs who attacked those organized by Clodius, in order to promote Cicero's recall from exile. The orator repeats the same charges against Clodius, including the laws against Ptolemy among his illegal actions. Nevertheless, this time, he is clearer regarding the legal status of the king of Cyprus (Cic. *Sest.* 57):

³⁷ On the conditions of *bellum iustum* according to Cicero see more generally BARNES 1986, 47-49, who mostly focuses on the stages of declaring a *bellum iustum* rather than on the question of *iustae causae*. On the Ciceronian theory of *bellum iustum* in Cicero's *De officiis* see KORFMACHER 1972. Cf. LORETO 2001, 13-26, who argues that there is no theory about the just causes of war (*iustae causae belli*) in Cicero.

³⁸ On the title *quaestor propraetor* held by Cato and his power to declare war see CALVELLI 2020, 49 ff.; see also on this question BADIAN 1965, 110-113.

³⁹ See Plut. *Cat. Min.* 40; *Cic.* 34; Dio Cass. 39.21.1-22.2, with the analysis of CALVELLI 2020, 280-289.

Rex Ptolomaeus, 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 regis praefecto 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.

The orator admits that the king of Cyprus had not yet been called *socius* by the Senate. This is an argument which had probably been raised by Clodius as a basis of his *rogatio*. Cicero attempts to reverse this argument by stating that, despite his imprecise status, the king of Cyprus was still the brother of the king of Egypt Ptolemy XII Auletes, on whom this honour had been bestowed.⁴⁰ He was also a member of the same family and was linked with Rome by the same old alliance (*eadem vetustate societatis*). Moreover, even if he was not formally an ally, he was a king and, in any case, he was not an enemy (*at non hostis*), especially given that he attempted no aggressive action against Rome and that he remained, on the contrary, quiet, peaceful and reliant on the power of the Roman people.

Cicero here indirectly alludes to the philosophical idea already present in the second century BC, but also in Cicero himself, according to which there is a bond (*societas*) uniting not only the citizens of the same State, the *ius civile*, but also all humankind; the relations of Rome with other peoples should be regulated by the *ius gentium*, which is equally binding on Roman citizens as the *ius civile*.⁴¹ According to the philosophical concept of the *ius gentium*, expressed by Cato the Elder a century earlier, even the intention of a rival to declare war on Rome should not constitute a just case of war. The context is well known: Cato defended the Rhodians for their neutrality during the war of the Romans

⁴⁰ CALVELLI 2020, 99-110 highlights the different legal status of the Ptolemies of Cyprus and Egypt and points to the absence of a formal alliance between Ptolemy of Cyprus and the Roman Senate.

⁴¹ Cic. *off.* 3.69: *Societas est enim — quod etsi saepe dictum est, dicendum est tamen saepius — latissime quidem quae pateat, omnium inter omnes, interior eorum, qui eiusdem gentis sint, propior eorum, qui eiusdem civitatis. Itaque maiores aliud ius gentium, aliud ius civile esse voluerunt, quod civile, non idem continuo gentium, quod autem gentium, idem civile esse debet.*

against Perseus, whereas other Romans claimed that the Rhodians deserved to be punished with a declaration of war, because many of them harangued the people in their assemblies, urging that if peace were not made, the Rhodians should aid the king in his contest with the people of Rome. The argument adduced by Cato is revealing for the strict preconditions which should be set to justify the declaration of war: the Rhodians did not make war; they only wished to do so; unaccomplished wishes or desires should not be punished as if they had been actions.⁴²

Within this context, the Roman people thus violated the *ius gentium* by deciding to attack the Cypriot king, who had not even shown any intention to move against Rome; despite their general tendency to restore dethroned kingdoms, in this case the Roman people violently confiscated the fortune of the Cypriot king, without any previous negotiation (*nullis rerum repetitis*). Cicero alludes by this phrase to the violation of the legal procedure which renders a war just (*bellum iustum*): according to Varro, no declaration of war (*indictio belli*) was ratified by the Roman people, unless the *fetiales* were sent in advance to claim restitution (*res repetitum*).⁴³

This conduct of the Romans against Ptolemy is then juxtaposed with their recent approach to the Armenian king Tigranes, who had hardly been peaceful vis-à-vis the Romans. Nevertheless, he was allowed to continue to be a king, while the unfortunate Cypriot king (*ille Cyprius miser*) suffered all this disaster (Cic. *Sest.* 59):

Qui [*scil.* Tigranes] 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

⁴² Gell. 6.3.36-38; 47: [36] *Verba autem ex ea oratione M. Catonis haec sunt; "Qui acerrime adversus eos dicit, ita dicit 'hostes voluisse fieri.' Ecquis est tandem, qui vestrorum, quod ad sese attineat, aequum censeat poenas dare ob eam rem, quod arguatur male facere voluisse? Nemo, opinor; nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim."* [...] [38] *Postea ita dicit: "Sed si honorem non aequum est haberi ob eam rem, quod bene facere voluisse quis dicit neque fecit tamen, Rodiensibus oberit, quod non male fecerunt, sed quia voluisse dicuntur facere?"* [...] [47] *Atque interim neque fecisse Rodienses bellum neque facere voluisse dicit, interim autem facta sola censenda dicit atque in iudicium vocanda, sed voluntates nudas inanesque neque legibus neque poenis fieri obnoxias; interdum tamen, quasi deliquisse eos concedat, ignosci postulat et ignoscentias utiles esse rebus humanis docet ac, nisi ignoscant, metus in republica rerum novarum movet; sed enim contra, si ignoscatur, conservatum iri ostendit populi Romani magnitudinem.*

⁴³ See Varro *Vit. Pop. Rom.* 2, fr. 72 P. = 75 R. (= Nonius, p. 850 L.): *itaque bella et tarde et magna diligentia suscipiebant, quod bellum nullum nisi pium putabant geri oportere: priusquam indicerent bellum is, a quibus iniurias factas sciebant, faetiales legatos res repetitum mittebant quattuor, quos oratores vocabant.* CALVELLI 2020, 103-104, also associates this passage with Cicero's argumentation against the acts of Clodius in *Pro Sestio*.

amicus, semper socius fuit, de quo nulla umquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum aut ad imperatores adlata nostros est, vivus, ut aiunt, est et videns cum victu ac vestitu suo publicatus. Em 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!

Cicero deplores here the moral decadence of Roman foreign policy, to which he also refers in his philosophical works. In *De re publica*, commenting on Gracchus' violation of the treaty rights of the Latins and the allies of the Romans, Laelius warns that ruling based on force and fear rather than justice places the stability of the *res publica* at risk (*rep.* 3.41). In *De officiis*, the Arpinate notes that "as long as the empire of the Roman People maintained itself by acts of service, not of oppression, wars were waged in the interest of our allies or to safeguard our supremacy; the end of our wars was marked by acts of clemency or by only a necessary degree of severity; the Senate was a haven of refuge for kings, tribes, and nations; and the highest ambition of our magistrates and generals was to defend our provinces and allies with justice and honour. And so our government could be called more accurately a protectorate of the world (*patrocinium orbis terrae*) than a dominion (*imperium*)".⁴⁴ The Roman approach had changed since Sulla, who used his habit of plundering and ruining within Rome also against allies of Rome (*off.* 2.27). Cicero treats the Romans' behaviour towards the king of Cyprus as symptomatic of their departure from their standards of *aequitas*, especially when compared with their unjustifiably clement attitude towards other kings.

In sum, Cicero seems to indirectly reply to the legal argument used by Clodius to lend legal validity to his laws. According to the orator's analysis, the invoked support of the Cypriot king to the pirates and his ungratefulness towards the Romans did not represent just causes of war (*justae causae belli*). In the above-cited passages, Cicero makes no allusion to the testament of Ptolemy Alexander, on which Clodius also based his promotion of the *de rege Ptolemaeo*. Nevertheless, Cicero's view on this question had already been clarified. In 65 BC he had delivered his speech *De rege Alexandrino*, of which only some fragments survive. It is well established, however, that in this speech Cicero tried to persuade the Senate not to concede to Crassus' demands to turn Egypt into a Roman province.⁴⁵ In his speech *De lege agraria*, spoken at the beginning of his consulship in 63 BC, Cicero expresses some doubts

⁴⁴ Cic. *off.* 2.26-27. The translation is that of MILLER 1913, for Loeb.

⁴⁵ See CRAWFORD 1994, 43-56, for the edition, the commentary and the reconstruction of the context of the fragments of this speech.

about the validity of this testament, without reaching a final conclusion on the matter; he does note, however, that some people argued that this testament did not exist and that the Roman people should not create the impression that they strive after all the kingdoms because of their wealth (*non oportere populum Romanum omnium regnorum appetentem videri*).⁴⁶ Cicero, without of course being aware of it, presents an *a priori* moral evaluation of the decisions of the Roman people in the age of Clodius: the annexation of Cyprus was not only not a *bellum iustum*, since it did not rely on *iustae causae*, but was also morally objectionable, since it was motivated by the cupidity of the Romans.

This viewpoint of Cicero is reflected in a historiographical *locus communis*, which shows that it was well received not only by the contemporary, but also by the later audience of the orator. The annexation of Cyprus is often interpreted as a symptom of moral decadence of Roman foreign policy. In a recent article in which I tried to reconstruct in what context reference is made to Cato's mission to Cyprus in fr. 1.10 M. of the preface of Sallust's *Histories*, I argued that this concept was already elaborated by the Roman historian, a contemporary of Cicero. Sallust, who often stresses in his monographs that moral corruption within Rome brings about the deterioration of Roman foreign policy, repeats the same theory in the preface of his *Histories*, presenting the annexation of Cyprus as a crying example.⁴⁷

Similarly, many later writers name the cupidity of the Roman people, who wanted to take advantage of the island's wealth, as the true cause of the annexation of Cyprus. For instance, the historian Florus disapproves of that decision, essentially summarizing Cicero's points. He notes that this people, the victor of nations (*victor gentium populus*), who used to offer kingdoms as a gift, attacked a king who was still alive and an ally (*socii vivique*), and conquered Cyprus without war (*sine bello*), because of the renown of its wealth (*divitiarum tanta erat fama*).⁴⁸ In the same context, Rufius Festus mentions that despite the fact that the king was an ally of the Romans and the sovereign ruler of the island, the financial difficulties of the Roman treasury were so pressing and the riches of Cyprus so immense that the law on the annexation of Cyprus was passed.⁴⁹ Ammianus Marcellinus states that he has no hesitation in admitting that the Roman people attacked the island mostly through avidity rather than justice (*avide magis ... quam iuste*): King Ptolemy, an ally and friend

⁴⁶ See Cic. *leg. agr.* 2.41 ff.; cf. CALVELLI 2020, 151-153, who doubts the validity of Cicero's arguments.

⁴⁷ See VASSILIADES 2018.

⁴⁸ Flor. *epit.* 3.9.

⁴⁹ Ruf. Fest. 13.

of the Roman people, was deprived of his fortune due to the shortage of public funds.⁵⁰

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the conquest of Cyprus by the Romans was probably a question which preoccupied the Roman public opinion of the late Republican period, as we can deduce from contemporary and later sources. It seems that the Roman people were divided on the moral evaluation of their own decision on the question of whether the annexation of Cyprus was a *bellum iustum* or a *bellum iniustum*. Therefore, on the one hand, Clodius promoted his laws for Cyprus by arguing that this aggressive initiative rested on a moral and legal foundation: based on a somewhat looser interpretation of the standards required for considering a war just, Clodius convinced the Roman people of his view that the Cypriot king's association with piracy and his breach of friendship with the Romans were adequate justifications for subjugating Cyprus. Clodius' approach had a minor impact on some later authors who believe that the king of Cyprus was justly punished by the Roman people for his moral vices. Cicero, on the contrary, insists on a stricter legal interpretation of *bellum iustum* and argues in his speeches in favour of the opposite view: Clodius' actions constituted a clear violation of the *ius gentium*, and thus the annexation of Cyprus could not be considered a *bellum iustum*. Cicero's view influenced the interpretation of the same facts by many later historians who see the conquest of Cyprus as a proof of Roman cupidity.

⁵⁰ Amm. 14.8.15.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ABBREVIATIONS

- ANS = American Numismatic Society.
- BMC Greek (Cyprus) = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 24: G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, London 1904.
- BMCRE = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London 1923-1976.
- CNNM = J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955-1958.
- DK = H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin ⁶1952.
- EAA = *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, Roma 1958-1997.
- ExcCyp = D. G. Hogarth *et al.*, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888) 147-271.
- FGrHist = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923-.
- FHG = K. Müller *et al.*, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Parisiis 1841-1938.
- GIC = C. Howgego, *Greek Imperial Countermarks*, London ²2005 (¹1985).
- IPaphos = J.-B. Cayla, *Les Inscriptions de Paphos: Corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne*, Diss. Univ. Paris-Sorbonne 2003.
- IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-.
- IGRom = R. Cagnat, *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris 1906-1927.
- LEWIS / SHORT = C. T. Lewis, C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879.
- LIMC = *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich / München 1981-2009.
- LSJ = H. Liddell, R. Scott, H. Jones, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford ⁹1940 (Supplement 1996).
- LTUR = E. M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, Roma 1993-2000.
- OLD = *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by P. G. W. Glare, Oxford ²2012 (¹1968-1982).
- P.Mil.Vogl. = A. Vogliano *et al.*, *Papiri della Università degli Studi di Milano*, Milano 1937-.
- P.Oxy. = *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London 1898-.
- RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft. Neue Bearbeitung*, hrsg. von G. Wissowa *et al.*, Stuttgart (then also München and Weimar) 1893-1978 (1980; 1997).
- RIC = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London 1923-1994.

- RIC² = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London ²1984.
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*.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACHARD 1981 = G. Achard, *Pratique rhétorique et idéologie politique dans les discours «optimates» de Cicéron*, Leiden.

AGRI 2014 = D. Agri, “Marching towards Masculinity: Female *pudor* in Statius’ *Thebaid* and Valerius Flaccus’ *Argonautica*”, in: *Latomus* 73, 721-747.

AHL 1984 = F. Ahl, “The Art of Safe Criticism in Greece and Rome”, in: *American Journal of Philology* 105, 174-208.

AKRIGG / TORDOFF 2013 = B. Akrigg, R. Tordoff (eds.), *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Greek Comic Drama*, Cambridge / New York.

ALBERT 1980 = S. Albert, *Bellum iustum: die Theorie des gerechten Krieges und ihre praktische Bedeutung für die auswärtigen Auseinandersetzungen Roms in republikanischer Zeit*, Kallmünz.

ALEKOU 2022 = S. Alekou, “Law in Disguise in the *Metamorphoses*: The Ambiguous *Ecphraseis* of Minerva and Arachne”, in: I. Ziogas, E. Bexley (eds.), *Roman Law and Latin Literature*, London, 227-248.

ALEKOU 2023 = S. Alekou, “Ovid’s ‘Good’ Women: The Cypriot *Exemplum* Against the Background of the Statue (R)evolution”, in: TZOUNAKAS / ALEKOU / HARRISON 2023, 221-248.

ALY 1919 = W. Aly, “Solon”, in: RE III A.1, 946-978.

AMANDRY 1987 = M. Amandry, “Le monnayage Julio-Claudian à Chypre. I. Auguste”, in: *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* ser. 6, 7, 17-31.

AMBROGI 2002 = A. Ambrogi, “Labrum”, in: M. De Nuccio, L. Ungaro (eds.), *I marmi colorati della Roma imperiale, catalogo della mostra (Roma 2002-2003)*, Venezia, 398-399.

ANDERSON 1972 = W. S. Anderson, *Ovid’s Metamorphoses: Books 6-10*, Norman (OK).

ARENA 2007 = V. Arena, “Roman Oratorical Invective”, in: W. Dominik, J. Hall (eds.), *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, Malden (MA) / Oxford / Carlton, 149-160.

ARIAS 1965 = P. E. Arias, “Una nuova rappresentazione di *Splanchnoptes*”, in: G. Becatti (ed.), *Studi in onore di Luisa Banti*, Roma, 23-27.

ASHERI / LLOYD / CORCELLA 2007 = D. Asheri, A. Lloyd, A. Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus, Books I-IV*, Edited by O. Murray and A. Moreno, with a Contribution by M. Brosius, Translated by B. Graziosi, M. Rossetti, C. Dus, and V. Cazzato, Oxford.

ASSMANN 2000 = J. Assmann, “Ägypten als Gegenwelt”, in: T. Hölscher (ed.), *Gegenwelten zu den Kulturen Griechenlands und Roms in der Antike*, München, 67-83.

AUPERT / HERMARY 2006 = P. Aupert, A. Hermary, “Nouveaux documents sur le culte d’Aphrodite à Amathonte. I. Aphrodite, l’empereur Titus et le hiéron dans les stèles: un nouveau sanctuaire amathousien d’Aphrodite. Texte et illustration”, in: *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 130, 83-99.

AVENI / AMMERMAN 2001 = A. F. Aveni, A. Ammerman, “Early Greek Astronomy in the Oral Tradition and the Search for Archaeological Correlates”, in: *Archaeoastronomy* 16, 83-97.

BABBITT 1927 = F. C. Babbitt, *Plutarch: Moralia*, vol. 1, Cambridge (MA) / London.

BADIAN 1965 = E. Badian, “M. Porcius Cato and the Annexation and Early Administration of Cyprus”, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 55, 110-121.

BADIAN 1967 = E. Badian, “The Testament of Ptolemy Alexander”, in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 90, 178-192.

BALARD 2007 = M. Balard, *Les marchands italiens à Chypre*, Nicosie.

BARGAINNIER 1970 = E. F. Bargainnier, *W. S. Gilbert and Nineteenth Century Drama*, Ann Arbor (MI).

BARNES 1986 = J. Barnes, “Cicéron et la guerre juste”, in: *Bulletin de la Société française de philosophie* 80, 37-80.

BARSBY 2001 = J. Barsby, *Terence: Phormio, The Mother-in-Law, The Brothers*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

BARWICK 1958 = K. Barwick, “Zyklen bei Martial und in den kleinen Gedichten des Catull”, in: *Philologus* 102, 284-318.

BARZANÒ 1983 = A. Barzanò, “Il santuario di Pafo e i Flavi”, in: M. Sordi (ed.), *Santuari e politica nel mondo antico*, Milano, 140-149.

BATTISTELLA / GALLI MILIĆ 2020 = C. Battistella, L. Galli Milić, “Foreshadowing Medea: Prolepsis and Intertextuality in Valerius Flaccus”, in: N. Coffee, C. Forstall, L. Galli Milić, D. Nelis (eds.), *Intertextuality in Flavian Epic Poetry: Contemporary Approaches*, Berlin / Boston, 205-241.

BENGTSON 1975 = H. Bengtson, *Die Staatsverträge des Altertums*, Band II: *Die Verträge der griechisch-römischen Welt von 700 bis 338 v. Chr.*, München.

BENNER 1987 = H. Benner, *Die Politik des P. Clodius Pulcher: Untersuchungen zur Denaturierung des Clientelwesens in der ausgehenden römischen Republik*, Stuttgart.

BERGER 1991 = A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, vol. 43, Philadelphia (PA).

BERNO 2005 = F. R. Berno, “Fuoco e fiamme su Cicerone: il personaggio di Clodio nella *De domo sua*”, in: *Pan* 23, 113-129.

BERNO 2007 = F. R. Berno, “La *Furia* di Clodio in Cicerone”, in: *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 37, 69-91.

BERRY 1996 = D. H. Berry, *Cicero: Pro Sulla oratio, Edited with Introduction*

and Commentary, Cambridge.

BESQUES 1983 = S. Besques, “Une Aphrodite au collier de Myrina signée par Ménophilos”, in: *Antike Kunst* 26, 22-30.

BIANCHI BANDINELLI / PARIBENI 1976 = R. Bianchi Bandinelli, E. Paribeni, *L'arte dell'antichità classica. Grecia*, Torino.

BLANK-SAGMEISTER 1991 = U. Blank-Sagmeister, *Valerius Maximus: Facta et dicta memorabilia. Denkwürdige Taten und Worte. Lateinisch/Deutsch*, Stuttgart.

BLASCHKA 2018 = K. Blaschka, “*Varietate delectent* – der Einsatz bildsprachlicher Elemente in den *Facta et dicta memorabilia* des Valerius Maximus”, in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 161, 367-394.

BLISS 1951 = F. R. Bliss, *Valerius Maximus and his Sources: A Stylistic Approach to the Problem*, Diss. Univ. of North Carolina.

BLÖSEL 2003 = W. Blösel, “Die *memoria* der *gentes* als Rückgrat der kollektiven Erinnerung im republikanischen Rom”, in: U. Eigler, U. Gotter, N. Luraghi, U. Walter (eds.), *Formen römischer Gesichtsschreibung von den Anfängen bis Livius*, Darmstadt, 53-72.

BLOME 2001 = P. Blome, “Die *imagines maiorum*. ein Problemfall römischer und neuzeitlicher Aesthetik”, in: G. Boehm (ed.), *Homo Pictor*, München / Leipzig, 305-322.

BLOOM 2003 = M. Bloom, *Waxworks: A Cultural Obsession*, Minneapolis (MN).

BLOOMER 1992 = W. M. Bloomer, *Valerius Maximus and the Rhetoric of the New Nobility*, Chapel Hill (NC).

BLUME 2001 = H.-D. Blume, “Komische Soldaten. Entwicklung und Wandel einer typischen Bühnenfigur in der Antike”, in: B. Zimmermann (ed.), *Rezeption des antiken Dramas auf der Bühne und in der Literatur*, Stuttgart / Weimar, 175-195.

BÖMER 1980 = F. Bömer, *P. Ovidius Naso, Metamorphosen. Kommentar 5: Buch X-XI*, Heidelberg.

BOHRER 2003 = F. N. Bohrer, *Orientalism and Visual Culture: Imagining Mesopotamia in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Cambridge.

BONNET 1996 = C. Bonnet, *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*, Roma.

BONNET / PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1999 = C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge, “Deux déesses en interaction: Astarté et Aphrodite dans le monde égéen”, in: C. Bonnet, A. Motte (eds.), *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique. Actes du Colloque en l'honneur de Franz Cumont, à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort, Rome, Academia Belgica, 25-27 septembre 1997*, Bruxelles / Rome, 249-273.

BOOTH 2007 = J. Booth (ed.), *Cicero on the Attack: Invective and Subversion*

in the Orations and beyond, Swansea.

BORBEIN 2016 = A. Borbein, “Die Skulpturen des Parthenon: Wie vollzieht sich Stilentwicklung?”, in: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 131, 93-147.

BOSCH 1929 = C. Bosch, *Die Quellen des Valerius Maximus*, Stuttgart.

BOULANGER / ROBERT 1999 = *Cicéron, Pour T. Annius Milon*. Texte établi et traduit par A. Boulanger. Introduction et notes par J.-N. Robert, Paris.

BOWEN / GOLDSTEIN 1988 = A. C. Bowen, B. R. Goldstein, “Meton of Athens and Astronomy in the Late Fifth Century B.C.”, in: E. Leichty, M. de J. Ellis, P. Gerardi (eds.), *A Scientific Humanist: Studies in Memory of Abraham Sachs*, Philadelphia (PA), 39-51.

BOYANCÉ 1941 = P. Boyancé, “*Cum dignitate otium*”, in: *Revue des études anciennes* 43, 172-191.

BOYLE 2011 = A. J. Boyle, *Oedipus, Seneca, Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford.

BOYLE 2014 = A. J. Boyle, *Medea, Seneca, Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford.

BRAGOVA 2016 = A. Bragova, “The Concept *cum dignitate otium* in Cicero’s Writings”, in: *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 22, 45-49.

BRAMSEN 1818 = J. Bramsen, *Letters of a Prussian Traveller*, 2 vols, London.

BRAUND 1983 = D. Braund, “Royal Wills and Rome”, in: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 51, 16-57.

BRAVI 2009 = A. Bravi, “Immagini adeguate: opere d’arte greche nel *Templum Pacis*”, in: COARELLI 2009a, 176-183.

BRAVI 2012 = A. Bravi, *Ornamenta Urbis. Opere d’arte greche negli spazi romani*, Bari.

BRISCOE 1998 = J. Briscoe, *Valeri Maximi Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, 2 vols, Stuttgart.

BRISCOE 2019 = J. Briscoe, *Valerius Maximus, Facta et dicta memorabilia, Book 8: Text, Introduction, and Commentary*, Berlin / Boston.

BROWN 2004 = P. G. McC. Brown, “Soldiers in New Comedy: Insiders and Outsiders”, in: *Leeds International Classical Studies* 3.8, 1-16.

BRYCE / CAMPBELL 1871 = H. Bryce, H. Campbell, *The Seven Books of Arnobius Adversus Gentes*, Edinburgh.

BUDIN 2004 = S. L. Budin, “A Reconsideration of the Aphrodite-Ashtart Syncretism”, in: *Numen* 51, 95-145.

BUDIN 2008 = S. L. Budin, *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*, Cambridge / New York.

BUDIN 2014 = S. L. Budin, “Before Kypris was Aphrodite”, in: D. T. Sugimoto (ed.), *Transformation of a Goddess: Ishtar - Astarte - Aphrodite*, Göttingen, 195-216.

BUTTERWORTH 1919 = G. W. Butterworth, *Clement of Alexandria, The Exhortation to the Greeks, The Rich Man's Salvation, To the Newly Baptized*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

CACCAMO CALTABIANO 1993 = M. Caccamo Caltabiano, *La monetazione di Messana: con le emissioni di Rhegion dell'età della tirannide*, Berlin / New York.

CACCAMO CALTABIANO 2002 = M. Caccamo Caltabiano, "Temporalità e iconografia del potere. Il simbolismo cosmico della corsa con la quadriga", in: L. De Salvo, A. Sindoni (eds.), *Tempo sacro e tempo profano. Visione laica e visione cristiana del tempo e della storia*, Soveria Mannelli, 31-45.

CAIRNS 2016 = F. Cairns, *Hellenistic Epigram: Contexts of Exploration*, Cambridge.

CALAME 2006 = C. Calame, "Jardins d'amour et prairies de l'au-delà: Rencontres rituelles avec les dieux et poésie en Grèce antique", in: *Poétique* 145, 25-41.

CALAME 2015 = C. Calame, "La fabrique symbolique de la femme et de l'homme en ses espaces: représentations poétiques et pratiques rituelles (Athéna et Aphrodite)", in: *Revue Européenne des Sciences Sociales* 53.2: *Les Symboles Et Les Choses*, 51-74.

CALVELLI 2009 = L. Calvelli, *Cipro e la memoria dell'antico fra Medioevo e Rinascimento: La percezione del passato romano dell'isola nel mondo occidentale*, Venezia.

CALVELLI 2020 = L. Calvelli, *Il tesoro di Cipro: Clodio, Catone e la conquista romana dell'isola*, Venezia.

CAMERON 1970 = A. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius*, Oxford.

CAPRIOLI / PENSABENE 2017 = F. Caprioli, P. Pensabene, "Frammenti editi dal Foro della Pace per una ricostruzione inedita degli elevati", in: P. Pensabene, M. Milella, F. Caprioli (eds.), *Decor. Decorazione e architettura nel mondo romano, Atti del Convegno, Roma 21-24 maggio 2014*, Roma, 557-574.

CARROLL 2010 = M. Carroll, "Exploring the Sanctuary of Venus and its Sacred Grove: Politics, Cult and Identity in Roman Pompeii", in: *Papers of the British School at Rome* 78, 63-106.

CARROLL 2015 = M. Carroll, "Contextualizing Roman Art and Nature", in: B. E. Borg (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Art*, Hoboken (NJ) / Chichester, 533-551.

CARROLL 2017 = M. Carroll, "Temple Gardens and Sacred Groves", in: W. Jashemski, K. Gleason, K. Hartswick, A. Malek (eds.), *Gardens of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 152-164.

CARTER 1975 = C. J. Carter, "Valerius Maximus", in: T. A. Dorey (ed.), *Empire and Aftermath: Silver Latin II*, London, 26-56.

CASTRIZIO 2018 = D. Castrizio, *Note di iconografia magnogreca*, Messina.

CELANT 2005 = A. Celant, “Le rose del *Templum Pacis* nell’antica Roma”, in: *Informatore Botanico Italiano* 37, 898-899.

CERUTTI 1996 = S. M. Cerutti, *Cicero’s Accretive Style: Rhetorical Strategies in the Exordia of the Judicial Speeches*, Lanham (MD) / New York / London.

CHAMOIX 1955 = F. Chamoux, *L’Aurige, Fouilles de Delphes*, Tome IV, *Monuments figurés: Sculpture*, fascicule 5, Paris.

CHAPOT 1912 = V. Chapot, “Les Romains et Cypre”, in: *Mélanges Cagnat: recueil de mémoires concernant l’épigraphie et les antiquités romaines dédié par ses anciens élèves du Collège de France à M. René Cagnat à l’occasion du 25^e anniversaire de sa nomination comme professeur au Collège de France*, Paris, 59-83.

CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002 = J. Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, Graecia Mendax. *Das Bild der Griechen in der französischen Reiseliteratur des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Wien.

CHEMAIN 2015 = J.-F. Chemain, *L’évolution de la notion de bellum iustum à Rome des origines à Saint Augustin*, Thèse de doctorat en droit, Univ. d’Angers.

CHRISTENSEN 1992 = J. Christensen, “Byron’s *Sardanapalus* and the Triumph of Liberalism”, in: *Studies in Romanticism* 31, 333-360.

CHRISTES 1988 = J. Christes, “*Cum dignitate otium* (Cic. *Sest.* 98) – eine Nachbereitung”, in: *Gymnasium* 95, 303-315.

CHRYSANTHOU 2022 = C. S. Chrysanthou, “Plutarch on Cato the Younger and the Annexation of Cyprus”, in: *L’Antiquité classique* 91, 27-46.

CLAASSEN 1999 = J.-M. Claassen, *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius*, Madison (WI).

COARELLI 1999 = F. Coarelli, “*Pax, Templum*”, in: *LTUR* IV, 67-70.

COARELLI 2009a = F. Coarelli (ed.), *Divus Vespasianus. Il bimillenario dei Flavi. Roma, Colosseo, Curia e Criptoportico ‘neroniano’, 27 marzo 2009 - 10 gennaio 2010*, Roma.

COARELLI 2009b = F. Coarelli, “I Flavi e Roma”, in: COARELLI 2009a, 68-97.

COBHAM 1908 = C. D. Cobham, *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus, with an Appendix on the Bibliography of Cyprus*, Cambridge.

COCHRAN 2013 = P. Cochran (ed.), *Byron and Latin Culture. Selected Proceedings of the 37th International Byron Society Conference*, Cambridge.

COLERIDGE 1901 = E. H. Coleridge, *The Works of Lord Byron: Poetry*, London.

CORBEILL 2002 = A. Corbeill, “Ciceronian Invective”, in: J. M. May (ed.), *Brill’s Companion to Cicero: Oratory and Rhetoric*, Leiden / Boston / Köln, 197-217.

CORBETT 1988 = M. Corbett, *Byron and Tragedy*, London.

CORDEA 2013 = D. Cordea, “Two Approaches on the Philosophy of Separate Spheres in Mid-Victorian England: John Ruskin and John Stuart

Mill”, in: *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 71, 115-122.

CORRIGAN 2013 = K. Corrigan, *Virgo to Virago: Medea in the Silver Age*, Newcastle upon Tyne.

CORSARO 2014 = A. Corsaro, “Gli scavi della Sovrintendenza Capitolina (1998-2000 e 2004-2006): il settore nord-occidentale del *Templum Pacis*”, in: MENEGHINI / REA 2014, 258-266.

CORSO 1988 = A. Corso, *Prassitele. Fonti epigrafiche e letterarie. Vita e opere*, vol. 1, Roma.

CORSO 1992 = A. Corso, *Prassitele. Fonti epigrafiche e letterarie. Vita e opere*, vol. 3, Roma.

CORSO 1996 = A. CORSO, “Prassitele”, in: EAA Suppl. II, vol. IV, 456-462.

CORSO 2004 = A. Corso *The Art of Praxiteles I*, Rome.

CORSO 2006 = A. Corso, “Miron e ovvero dell’arte animata”, in: *Numismatica e antichità classiche: quaderni ticinesi* 35, 475-504.

CORSO 2013 = A. Corso, *The Art of Praxiteles IV: The Late Phase of His Activity*, Rome.

COSTA 2007 = V. Costa, *Filocoro di Atene*, Tivoli.

COTOVICUS 1619 = *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum etc.* auctore Ioanne Cotovico, Antverpiae.

CRAIG 2004 = C. Craig, “Audience Expectations, Invective, and Proof”, in: J. Powell, J. Paterson (eds.), *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford, 187-213.

CRAIG 2007 = C. Craig, “Self-Restraint, Invective, and Credibility in Cicero’s *First Catilinarian Oration*”, in: *American Journal of Philology* 128, 335-339.

CRAWFORD 1994 = J. W. Crawford, *M. Tullius Cicero, the Fragmentary Speeches: An Edition with Commentary*, Atlanta (GA).

CROSBY 1991 = C. Crosby, *The Ends of History: Victorians and ‘The Woman Question’*, London.

CUEVA 1996 = E. P. Cueva, “Plutarch’s Ariadne in Chariton’s *Chaereas and Callirhoe*”, in: *American Journal of Philology* 117, 473-484.

CURRAN 1972 = L. C. Curran, “Transformation and Anti-Augustanism in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*”, in: *Arethusa* 2, 71-91.

CURRAN 1984 = L. C. Curran, “Rape and Rape Victims in the *Metamorphoses*”, in: J. Peradotto, J. P. Sullivan (eds.), *Women in the Ancient World*, Albany (NY), 263-286.

D’ANGELO 2018 = P. D’Angelo, *Sprezzatura: Concealing the Effort of Art from Aristotle to Duchamp*, New York.

D’ORTANGE MASTAI 1976 = M.-L. D’Ortange Mastai, *Illusion in Art: Trompe l’Oeil: A History of Pictorial Illusionism*, Norwalk (CT).

DAEMMRICH / DAEMMRICH²1995 = H. S. Daemmrich, I. G. Daemmrich, *Themen und Motive in der Literatur: Ein Handbuch*, Tübingen / Basel (1987).

DALFEN 2000 = J. Dalfen, “Ciceros *cum dignitate otium*: Einiges zur [nicht unproblematischen] Freizeitkultur grosser Römer”, in: E. Sigot (ed.), *Otium-Negotium: Beiträge des interdisziplinären Symposions der Sodalitas zum Thema Zeit*, Wien, 169-187.

DAVID 1998 = J.-M. David (ed.), *Valeurs et mémoire à Rome: Valère Maxime ou la vertu recomposée*, Paris.

DAVIS 2014 = P. J. Davis, “Medea: From Epic to Tragedy”, in: M. Heerink, G. Manuwald (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Valerius Flaccus*, Leiden / Boston, 192-210.

DAVIS 2020 = P. J. Davis, *Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica, Book 7, Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, Oxford.

DE SANCTIS 1932 = G. De Sanctis, “Il primo testamento regio a favore dei Romani”, in: *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 10, 59-67.

DE STOCHOVE 1643 = V. de Stochove, *Voyage du Sieur De Stochove Faict es années 1630. 1631. 1632. 1633*, Bruxelles.

DEACY 2013 = S. Deacy, “From ‘Flowery Tales’ to ‘Heroic Rapes’: Virginal Subjectivity in the Mythological Meadow”, in: *Arethusa* 46, 395-413.

DI BENEDETTO 1977 = A. Di Benedetto, “Vittorio Alfieri. Opere. Tomo I (testo e commento)”, in: R. Ricciardi (ed.), *La Letteratura Italiana. Storia e Testi*, Milano / Napoli, 449-1089.

DICKS 1970 = D. R. Dicks, *Early Greek Astronomy to Aristotle*, Ithaca (NY).

DORNINGER 2011 = M. E. Dorninger, “The Island of Cyprus in Travel Literature of the Fourteenth Century”, in: A. Grafetstätter, S. Hartmann, J. Ogier (eds.), *Islands and Cities in Medieval Myth, Literature, and History. Papers delivered at the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, in 2005, 2006, and 2007*, Frankfurt am Main / New York, 67-82.

DREXLER 1959 = H. Drexler, “*Bellum iustum*”, in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 102, 97-140.

DRUMMOND 1754 = A. Drummond, *Travels through Different Cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and Several Parts of Asia, as far as the Banks of the Euphrates, in a Series of Letters*, London.

DUFALLO 2013 = B. Dufallo, *The Captor’s Image: Greek Culture in Roman Ecphrasis*, Oxford.

DUNKLE 1967 = J. R. Dunkle, “The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late Republic”, in: *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 98, 151-171.

DUNKLE 1971/1972 = J. R. Dunkle, “The Rhetorical Tyrant in Roman Historiography: Sallust, Livy and Tacitus”, in: *Classical World* 65, 12-20.

DUNSCH 2015 = B. Dunsch, “*Sortitus exitum facilem*: Der Tod des Augustus bei Sueton”, in: *Philologus* 159, 327-364.

EBERT 1991 = J. Ebert, “Neues zum Olympischen Hippodromos”, in: A. D. Rizakis (ed.), *Achaia und Elis in der Antike*, Athen, 99-103.

EDEN / SAREMBA 2009 = D. Eden, M. Sarembea (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Gilbert and Sullivan*, Cambridge.

ELSNER 2007 = J. Elsner, *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text*, Princeton (NJ).

ENACHE 2008 = C. Enache, “Der unsichtbare Totengott. Platons Namendeutung des Hades im *Phaidon* (80d-81c) und im *Kratylos* (403a-404b)”, in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 151, 61-82.

ESCÁMEZ DE VERA 2017 = D. M. Escámez de Vera, *Propaganda y justificación religiosa en época imperial: el caso del Capitolio y el templo de Júpiter Óptimo Máximo en Roma*, Diss. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.

EVANS 1998 = J. Evans, *The History & Practice of Ancient Astronomy*, New York.

EVANS / BERGGREN 2006 = J. Evans, J. L. Berggren, *Geminus's Introduction to the Phenomena: A Translation and Study of a Hellenistic Survey of Astronomy*, Princeton (NJ).

FACCHIN 2014 = G. Facchin, “L’aula di culto della Pace: il periodo flavio”, in: MENEGHINI / REA 2014, 270-275.

FAIRCLOUGH / GOOLD ²1932 = H. R. Fairclough, *Virgil, Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid: Books 1-6*, Revised by G. P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) / London (¹1916).

FARAONE 2001 = C. A. Faraone, “The Undercutter, the Woodcutter and Greek Demon Names Ending in -tomos”, in: *American Journal of Philology* 122, 1-10.

FAVRO / JOHANSON 2010 = D. Favro, C. Johanson, “Death in Motion: Funeral Processions in the Roman Forum”, in: *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 69, 12-37.

FEHRLE 1983 = R. Fehrle, *Cato Uticensis*, Darmstadt.

FEJFER 2006 = J. Fejfer, “Sculpture in Roman Cyprus”, in: L. W. Sørensen, K. W. Jacobsen (eds.), *Panayia Ematousa*, vol. 2: *Political, Cultural, Ethnic and Social Relations in Cyprus: Approaches to Regional Studies*, Athens, 81-123.

FEJFER 2019 = J. Fejfer, “Just Facade? The Relationship between Sculpture and Architecture in the Roman East: Cyprus and Beyond”, in: S. Rogge, C. Ioannou, T. Mavrojannis (eds.), *Salamis of Cyprus: History and Archaeology from the Earliest Times to Late Antiquity. Conference in Nicosia, 21-23 May 2015*, Münster / New York, 609-658.

FERRARY 1995 = J.-L. Ferrary, “*Ius fetiale* et diplomatie”, in: E. Frézouls, A. Jacquemin (eds.), *Les relations internationales. Actes du colloque de Strasbourg 15-17 juin 1993*, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg. *Travaux du Centre de*

Recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce Antiques 13, Paris, 411-432.

FERRERO / RETTORI 2013 = G. G. Ferrero, M. Rettori (eds.), *Vittorio Alfieri. Vita - Rime - Satire*, Torino.

FEYERABEND 21609 = S. Feyerabend, *Reyszbuch des heyligen Lands etc.*, Franckfort am Mayn (11584).

FEZZI 1999 = L. Fezzi, “La legislazione tribunizia di Publio Clodio Pulcro (58 a.C.) e la ricerca del consenso a Roma”, in: *Studi classici e orientali*, 47, 245-340.

FEZZI 2008 = L. Fezzi, *Il tribuno Clodio*, Roma / Bari.

FIorentino / MARINÒ 2008 = G. Fiorentino, G. Marinò, “Analisi archeobotaniche preliminari al Tempio di Venere di Pompei”, in: P. G. Guzzo, M. P. Guidobaldi (eds.), *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana (scavi 2003-2006)*, Roma, 527-528.

FITCH 2018a = J. G. Fitch, *Seneca, Tragedies*, vol. 1: *Hercules, Trojan Women, Phoenician Women, Medea, Phaedra*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

FITCH 2018b = J. G. Fitch, *Seneca, Tragedies*, vol. 2: *Oedipus, Agamemnon, Thyestes, Hercules on Oeta, Octavia*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

FITZGERALD 2016 = W. Fitzgerald, *Variety: The Life of a Roman Concept*, Chicago / London.

FLAIG 1995 = E. Flaig, “Die *pompa funebris*. Adlige Konkurrenz und annalistische Erinnerung in der Römischen Republik”, in: O. G. Oexle (ed.), *Memoria als Kultur*, Göttingen, 115-148.

FLAIG 2003 = E. Flaig, *Ritualisierte Politik. Zeichen Gesten und Herrschaft im Alten Rom*, Göttingen.

FLAMERIE DE LACHAPELLE 2011 = G. Flamerie de Lachapelle, *Clementia. Recherches sur la notion de clémence à Rome, du début du Ier siècle a.C. à la mort d'Auguste*, Paris.

FLOWER 1996 = H. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture*, Oxford.

FOGAGNOLO / MOCCHEGGIANI CARPANO 2009 = S. Fogagnolo, C. Moccheggiani Carpano, “Nuove acquisizioni e ritrovamenti nell'aula di culto del *Templum Pacis*”, in: COARELLI 2009a, 184-189.

FOGAGNOLO / ROSSI 2010 = S. Fogagnolo, F. M. Rossi, “Il *Templum Pacis* come esempio di trasformazione del paesaggio urbano e di mutamenti culturali dalla prima età imperiale ai primi del '900”, in: *Bollettino di Archeologia online* 1, 31-46.

FORBES 1970 = C. A. Forbes, *Firmicus Maternus, The Error of the Pagan Religions*, New York / Ramsey (NJ).

FRANKLIN 2016 = J. C. Franklin, *Kinyras*, Washington DC.

FRAZER 1921 = J. G. Frazer, *Apollodorus, The Library*, vol. 2: *Book 3.10-end. Epitome*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

FRENZEL 2008 = E. Frenzel, *Motive der Weltliteratur. Ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*, Stuttgart (1976).

FRESA 1964 = A. Fresa, “L’Astronomia in Omero e la navigazione d’alto mare per la Magna Grecia”, in: *Atti dell’Accademia Pontaniana* 13, 65-77.

FRESA 1969 = A. Fresa, “La navigazione astronomica per la Magna Grecia”, in: *Annali dell’Istituto Universitario Navale di Napoli* 8, 241-257.

FUCHS 1982 = W. Fuchs, *Scultura Greca*, trad. it., Milano.

FÜRER VON HAIMENDORF 1621 = C. Fürer von Haimendorf, *Itinerarium Aegypti, Arabiae, Palaestinae, Syriae etc.*, Norimbergae.

FUHRMANN 1960 = M. Fuhrmann, “*Cum dignitate otium*. Politisches Programm und Staatstheorie bei Cicero”, in: *Gymnasium* 67, 481-500.

FUHRMANN 1999 = M. Fuhrmann, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Stuttgart.

FUJII 2013 = T. Fujii, *Imperial Cult and Imperial Representations in Roman Cyprus*, Stuttgart.

FUJII 2015 = T. Fujii, “Imperial Cult and Imperial Statues in Roman Cyprus: A Preliminary Report”, in: A. Jacobs, P. Cosyns (eds.), *Cypriot Material Culture Studies from Picrolite Carving to Proskynitaria Analysis, Proceedings of the 8th Annual Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology. Conference Held in Honour of the Memory of Paul Åström at the Vrije Universiteit Brussel (Belgium), 27th - 29th November 2008*, Brussels, 245-256.

GAIFMAN 2017 = M. Gaifman, “Aniconism: Definitions, Examples and Comparative Perspectives”, in: *Religion* 47, 335-352.

GALINSKY 1992 = K. Galinsky, “Venus, Polysemy, and the *Ara Pacis Augustae*”, in: *American Journal of Archaeology* 96, 457-475.

GARDNER 1958 = R. Gardner, *Cicero, Pro Sestio. In Vatinius*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

GASPARRI 2005/2006 = C. Gasparri, “Il Sofocle Lateranense: nuove considerazioni su un’officina di scultori di età medioimperiale”, in: *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 78, 139-181.

GEBAUER 2002 = J. Gebauer, *Pompe und Thysia*, Münster.

GEBHARDT 2009 = U. C. J. Gebhardt, *Sermo iuris: Rechtsprache und Recht in der augusteischen Dichtung*, Leiden / Boston.

GEERTZ 1976 = C. Geertz, “Art as a Cultural System”, in: *MLN* 91.6: *Comparative Literature*, 1473-1499.

GIANGRANDE 1974 = G. Giangrande, “Los tópicos helenísticos en la elegía latina”, *Emerita* 42, 1-36.

GIANOTTI 2023a = G. F. Gianotti (ed.), *La porta d’Oriente: Cipro e la molteplicità delle culture*, Torino.

GIANOTTI 2023b = G. F. Gianotti, “Cipro e i suoi miti: da Afrodite

Urania all'origine della Guerra di Troia", in: GIANOTTI 2023a, 9-37.

GIBSON 2019 = C. A. Gibson, "Temple Prostitution at Aphaca: An Overlooked Source", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 69, 928-931.

GIBSON 2023 = B. Gibson, "Travel, Classical Traditions and Empire: Western Travellers to Cyprus in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", in: TZOUNAKAS / ALEKOU / HARRISON 2023, 265-288.

GIDEL 1986 = H. Gidel, *Le vaudeville*, Paris.

GILMORE 2009 = D. D. Gilmore, *Misogyny: The Male Malady*, Philadelphia (PA).

GIOVANNINI 2000 = A. Giovannini, "Le droit fécial et la déclaration de guerre de Rome à Carthage en 218 avant J.-C.", in: *Athenaeum* 88, 69-116.

GIUDICE 2008 = E. Giudice, "Procne sulla Rocca rotonda", in: *Ostraka* 17, 69-89.

GODLEY ²1926 = A. D. Godley, *Herodotus, The Persian Wars*, vol. 1: *Books 1-2*, Cambridge (MA) / London (¹1920).

GOLDBERG / MANUWALD 2018 = S. M. Goldberg, G. Manuwald, *Fragmentary Republican Latin II: Ennius. Dramatic Fragments, Minor Works*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

GOLDHILL 2011 = S. Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity: Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity*, Princeton (NJ) / Oxford.

GORDON 2012 = J. M. Gordon, *Between Alexandria and Rome: A Postcolonial Archaeology of Cultural Identity in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus*, Diss. Univ. of Cincinnati.

GORHAM 1982 = D. Gorham, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*, London.

GRIFFIN 1977 = A. H. F. Griffin, "Ovid's *Metamorphoses*", in: *Greece & Rome* 24, 57-70.

GRILLI 1951 = A. Grilli, "Otium cum dignitate", in: *Acme* 4, 227-240.

GUERRINI 1981 = R. Guerrini, *Studi su Valerio Massimo*, Pisa.

GUERRINI 1986 = R. Guerrini, "Tito al santuario Pafio e il ricordo di Enea, Tac. *Hist.* 2,4", in: *Atene e Roma* 31, 28-34.

GUTZWILLER 1998 = K. Gutzwiller, *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*, Berkeley (CA).

GUTZWILLER 2005 = K. Gutzwiller (ed.), *The New Posidippus. A Hellenistic Poetry Book*, Oxford.

GUTZWILLER 2019 = K. Gutzwiller, "Posidippus and Ancient Epigram Books", in: HENRIKSÉN 2019, 351-370.

HÄGG 2012 = T. Hägg, *The Art of Biography in Antiquity*, Cambridge.

HAGENBICHLER 1992 = E. Hagenbichler, "Bescheidenheitstopos", in: *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik* 1, 1491-1495.

HALL 1999 = E. Hall, “Classical Mythology in the Victorian Popular Theatre”, in: *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 5, 339-366.

HALL 2007 = E. Hall, “Aristophanes in Performance”, in: E. Hall, A. Wrigley (eds.), *Aristophanes in Performance: 421 BC – AD 2007. Peace, Birds and Frogs*, Oxford, 66-92.

HALLIWELL *et al.* 1995 = S. Halliwell, W. H. Fyfe, D. C. Innes, W. Rhys Roberts, Revised by D. A. Russell, *Aristotle: Poetics. Longinus: On the Sublime. Demetrius: On Style*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

HAMILTON 1970 = E. Hamilton, “W. S. Gilbert: A Mid-Victorian Aristophanes”, in: J. Bush Jones (ed.), *W. S. Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship and Commentary*, New York, 111-133.

HARDIE 2002 = P. R. Hardie, *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion*, Cambridge.

HARRIS 1979 = W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome (327-70 B.C.)*, Oxford.

HVERKAMP / VISMANN 1997 = A. Haverkamp, C. Vismann, “*Habeas corpus*: The Law's Desire to Have the Body”, in: H. De Vries, S. Weber (eds.), *Violence, Identity, and Self-Determination*, Stanford, 223-235.

HEATH 1913 = T. L. Heath, *Aristarchus of Samos, the Ancient Copernicus*, Oxford.

HEBERT 1986 = B. Hebert, “Attische Gelehrsamkeit in einem alexandrinischen Papyrus? Bemerkungen und Vorschläge zu den Künstlerkanones der *Laterculi Alexandrini*”, in: *Tyche* 1, 127-131.

HELM 1940 = R. Helm, “Beiträge zur Quellenforschung bei Valerius Maximus”, in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 89, 241-273.

HELM 1955 = R. Helm, “Valerius Maximus”, in: *RE* VIII A.1, 90-116.

HENRIKSÉN 2019 = C. Henriksén (ed.), *A Companion to Ancient Epigram*, Chichester / Malden (MA).

HERMARY 2014 = A. Hermary, “Les fonctions sacerdotales des souverains chypriotes”, in: *Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 44, 137-152.

HERSHKOWITZ 1998 = D. Hershkowitz, *Valerius Flaccus' Argonautica: Abbreviated Voyages in Silver Latin Epic*, Oxford.

HIEBEL 2009 = D. Hiebel, *Rôles institutionnel et politique de la contio sous la République romaine (287-49 av. J.-C.)*, Paris.

HILL 1917 = G. F. Hill, “Greek Coins Acquired by the British Museum, 1914-1916”, in: *Numismatic Chronicle* ser. 4, 17, 1-30.

HILL 1940 = G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1: *To the Conquest by Richard Lion Heart*, Cambridge.

HÖLKEKAMP 1996 = K.-J. Hölkeskamp, “*Exempla* und *mos maiorum*. Überlegungen zum kollektiven Gedächtnis der Nobilität”, in: H.-J. Gehrke, A. Möller (eds.), *Vergangenheit und Lebenswelt. Soziale Kommunikation, Traditionsbildung und historisches Bewußtsein*, Tübingen, 301-338.

HÖLKESKAMP 2017 = K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Libera Res Publica. Die politische Kultur des antiken Rom – Positionen und Perspektiven*, Stuttgart.

HÖLKESKAMP 2020 = K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Roman Republican Reflections: Studies in Politics, Power, and Pageantry*, Stuttgart.

HÖLSCHER 2009 = T. Hölscher, “Rilievi provenienti da monumenti statali del tempo dei Flavi”, in: COARELLI 2009a, 46-61.

HOESCH 2006 = N. Hoesch, “Protogenes”, in: *Brill’s New Pauly, Antiquity volumes*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider; English edition by C. F. Salazar. Consulted online on 22 June 2021 <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e1011410>.

HOLFORD-STREVEENS 2003 = L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius: An Antonine Scholar and his Achievement*, Oxford.

HONSTETTER 1977 = R. Honstetter, *Exemplum zwischen Rhetorik und Literatur. Zur gattungsgeschichtlichen Sonderstellung von Valerius Maximus und Augustinus*, Diss. Univ. Konstanz.

HOSSENFELDER 1996 = M. Hossenfelder, *Antike Glückslehren. Quellen in deutscher Übersetzung*, Stuttgart.

HUGHES 2020 = B. Hughes, *Venus and Aphrodite: A Biography of Desire*, New York.

HULL 1975 = K. W. D. Hull, “Medea in Valerius Flaccus’s *Argonautica*”, in: *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society (Literary and Historical Section)* 16, 1-25.

HUNEKE 2016 = K. Huneke, *Pheidias und der Zeus of Olympia*, Norderstedt.

HUNTER 2006 = R. Hunter, *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome*, Cambridge.

HUSSEIN 2021 = E. Hussein, *Revaluing Roman Cyprus: Local Identity on an Island in Antiquity*, Oxford.

HYDE 2004 = M. J. Hyde (ed.), *The Ethos of Rhetoric*, Columbia (SC).

IACOVOU 2019 = M. Iacovou, “Palaepaphos: Unlocking the Landscape Context of the Sanctuary of the Cypriot Goddess”, in: *Open Archaeology* 5, 204-234.

IGNATIADOU 2016 = D. Ignatiadou, “The Aeneas Mirror”, in: A. Giumlia-Mair (ed.), *Proceedings of the XVIIth International Congress on Ancient Bronzes*, Smyrna, 95-101.

IOANNOU 2014 = C. Ioannou, “D’Aphrodite à Astarté Paphia”, in: *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 45 (= *Kypromedousa. Hommage à Jacqueline Karageorghis*), 107-118.

JANSON 1964 = T. Janson, *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions*, Stockholm.

JONES 1985 = B. W. Jones, “Titus in the East, A.D. 70-71”, in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 128, 346-352.

KAHN 1969 = A. D. Kahn, “Seneca and *Sardanapalus*: Byron, the Don Quixote of Neo-Classicism”, in: *Studies in Philology* 66, 654-671.

KALTSAS 2002 = N. Kaltsas, *Sculpture in the National Archaeological Museum, Athens*, Los Angeles (CA).

KANTIRÉA 2008 = M. Kantiréa, “Le culte impérial à Chypre: relecture des documents épigraphiques”, in: *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 167, 91-112.

KARAGEORGHIS 2005 = J. Karageorghis, *Kypris: The Aphrodite of Cyprus. Ancient Sources and Archaeological Evidence*, Nicosia.

KARAYANNI 2014 = S. Karayanni, “En-Gendering Cypriots: From Colonial Landscapes to Postcolonial Identities”, in: L. Wells, T. Stylianou-Lambert, N. Philippou (eds.), *Photography and Cyprus: Time, Place and Identity*, London / New York, 123-142.

KASER 1993 = M. Kaser, *Ius gentium*, Köln / Weimar / Wien.

KASTER 2005 = R. A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint and Community in Ancient Rome*, Oxford.

KASTER 2006 = R. A. Kaster, *Marcus Tullius Cicero, Speech on Behalf of Publius Sestius, Translated with Introduction and Commentary*, Oxford.

KELLY 2006 = G. P. Kelly, *A History of Exile in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge.

KENT 1990 = S. Kent, *Sex and Suffrage in Britain 1860-1914*, Princeton (NJ).

KENTY 2020 = J. Kenty, *Cicero's Political Personae*, Cambridge.

KIERDORF 1980 = W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris. Interpretationen und Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der römischen Leichenrede*, Meisenheim am Glan.

KIRSTEIN 2021 = R. Kirstein, “Half Heroes? Ambiguity in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*”, in: M. Vöhler, T. Fuhrer, S. Frangoulidis (eds.), *Strategies of Ambiguity in Ancient Literature*, Berlin / Boston, 157-173.

KLINE 2000 = A. S. Kline, *Ovid: The Metamorphoses*, online translation, accessed at: https://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/Metamorph10.php#anchor_Toc64105570.

KLOTZ 1942 = A. Klotz, *Studien zu Valerius Maximus und den Exempla*, München.

KONSTANTAKOS 2015 = I. M. Konstantakos, “On the Early History of the Braggart Soldier. Part One: Archilochus and Epicharmus”, in: *Logeion* 5, 41-84.

KORFMACHER 1972 = W. C. Korfmacher, “Cicero and the *bellum iustum*”, in: *The Classical Bulletin* 48, 49-52.

KOSTER 1980 = S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen*

Literatur, Meisenheim am Glan.

KREBS 2018 = C. B. Krebs, “More than Words. The *Commentarii* in the Propagandistic Context”, in: L. Grillo, C. B. Krebs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Writings of Julius Caesar*, Cambridge, 29-42.

LA ROCCA 2001 = E. La Rocca, “La nuova immagine dei fori Imperiali”, in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 108, 171-213.

LA ROCCA 2014 = E. La Rocca, “Il traiano di Italica e la Biblioteca di Adriano ad Atene: costruzione e fortuna di una morfologia architettonica”, in: E. Calandra (ed.), *Adriano e la Grecia: Villa Adriana tra classicità ed ellenismo: studi e ricerche*, Roma, 61-70.

LA ROCCA 2017 = E. La Rocca, “Augusto, il segno zodiacale del Capricorno e la decorazione frontonale di un’edicola dall’area del teatro di Marcello”, in: *Augusto. La costruzione del principato (Roma, 4-5 dicembre 2014), Atti dei convegni Lincei 309*, Roma, 107-163.

LAMBRUGO 2018 = C. Lambrugo, “Fiori e piante di Afrodite in Grecia”, in: G. Arrigoni (ed.), *Dei e piante nell’antica Grecia I. Riflessioni metodologiche, Efesto, Demetra in Grecia, Magna Grecia e Sicilia, Kore Persefone, Ecate, Apollo, Afrodite*, Bergamo, 329-382.

LANGLANDS 2008 = R. Langlands, “‘Reading for the Moral’ in Valerius Maximus: The Case of *Severitas*”, in: *The Cambridge Classical Journal* 54, 160-187.

LANGLANDS 2011 = R. Langlands, “Roman *Exempla* and Situation Ethics: Valerius Maximus and Cicero *de Officiis*”, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 101, 100-122.

LAWRENCE 2006 = S. J. Lawrence, *Inside out: The Depiction of Externality in Valerius Maximus*, Diss. Univ. of Sydney.

LAWRENCE 2016 = S. J. Lawrence, “Putting Torture (and Valerius Maximus) to the Test”, in: *The Classical Quarterly* 66, 245-260.

LEHOUX 2007 = D. Lehoux, *Astronomy, Weather, and Calendars in the Ancient World*, Cambridge.

LEWIS 1862 = G. Lewis, *An Historical Survey of the Astronomy of the Ancients*, London.

LIETZ 2010 = B. Lietz, “La dea di Erice nel suo contesto mediterraneo: un’identità contesa”, in: E. Acquaro, A. Filippi, S. Medas (eds.), *La devozione dei naviganti. Il culto di Afrodite Ericina nel Mediterraneo. Atti del convegno (Erice, 27-28 novembre 2009)*, Lugano, 89-95.

LIETZ 2012 = B. Lietz, “Il santuario e la dea di Erice: una vocazione politica?”, in: C. Ampolo (ed.), *Sicilia occidentale. Studi, rassegne, ricerche. Atti delle Settime Giornate internazionali di studi sull’area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo (Erice, 12-15 ottobre 2009)*, Pisa, 313-318.

LINDGREN LEAVENWORTH 2020 = M. Lindgren Leavenworth, “Footsteps”, in: A. Pettinger, T. Youngs (eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing*, Abingdon / New York, 86-98.

LINFORTH 1919 = I. Linforth, *Solon the Athenian*, Berkeley (CA).

LINTOTT 2008 = A. Lintott, *Cicero as Evidence: A Historian’s Companion*, Oxford / New York.

LORETO 2001 = L. Loreto, *Il bellum iustum e i suoi equivoci: Cicerone ed una componente della rappresentazione romana del Völkerrecht antico*, Napoli.

LUCARELLI 2007 = U. Lucarelli, *Exemplarische Vergangenheit: Valerius Maximus und die Konstruktion des sozialen Raumes in der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen.

LUZZATTO 1941 = G. I. Luzzatto, “Appunti sul testamento di Tolomeo Apion a favore di Roma”, in: *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 7, 259-312.

MACCARY 1970 = W. T. MacCary, “Menander’s Characters: Their Names, Roles and Masks”, in: *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 101, 277-290.

MADDOLI / NAFISSI / SALADINO 1999 = G. Maddoli, M. Nafissi, V. Saladino, *Pausania, Guida della Grecia, Libro VI, L’Elide e Olimpia*, Milano.

MAEYAMA 1984 = Y. Maeyama, “Ancient Stellar Observations: Timocharis, Aristyllus, Hipparchus, Ptolemy – the Dates and Accuracies”, *Centaurus* 27, 280-310.

MAFODDA 1996 = G. Mafodda, *La monarchia di Gelone tra pragmatismo, ideologia e propaganda*, Messina.

MAIER 1985 = F. G. Maier, *Alt-Paphos auf Cypern: Ausgrabungen zur Geschichte von Stadt und Heiligtum 1966-1984*, Mainz am Rhein.

MAIER 1997 = F. G. Maier, “A Hundred Years after Hogarth: Digging at Aphrodite’s Sanctuary at Palaipaphos”, in: *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 27 (= *Mélanges Olivier Masson*), 127-136.

MAIER 2000 = F. G. Maier, “The Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite in the Roman Period”, in: G. Ioannides, S. Hadjistryllis (eds.), *Proceedings of the Third Cyprological Conference*, Nicosia, 495-505.

MAIER 2004 = F. G. Maier, *Guide to Palaipaphos (Kouklia)*, Nicosia.

MAIER 2007 = F. G. Maier, “From Regional Centre to Sanctuary Town: Palaipaphos in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Period”, in: P. Flourentzos (ed.), *From Evagoras I to the Ptolemies: The Transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic Period in Cyprus*, Nicosia, 17-33.

MAIER / KARAGEORGHIS 1984 = F. G. Maier, V. Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology*, Nicosia.

MALTEZOU 2023 = C. Maltezo, “Cyprus of the Travellers (15th-16th Centuries)”, in: J. Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, M. Roussou-Sinclair, S.

Tzounakas (eds.), *Textualising the Experience – Digitalising the Text: Cyprus through Travel Literature (15th-18th Centuries)*, Athens, 57-66.

MANUWALD 2014 = G. Manuwald, “Valerius Flaccus 1980-2013”, in: *Lustrum* 56, 7-107.

MARCATTILI 2017 = F. Marcattili, “I santuari di Venere e i *Vinalia*”, in: *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Rendiconti ser. 9*, 28, 425-444.

MARCHESI ²1953 = C. Marchesi, *Arnobii Adversus Nationes libri VII*, Torino (¹1934).

MARKOVIĆ 2017 = N. Marković, “Titus and the Apis Bull: Reflections on the Socio-Political Importance of the Memphite Divine Bull in Roman Egypt”, in: C. Langer (ed.), *Global Egyptology: Negotiations in the Production of Knowledges on Ancient Egypt in Global Contexts*, London, 103-116.

MARTIN 1976 = R. H. Martin, *Terence, Adelphe*, Cambridge.

MASELLI 2000 = G. Maselli, “Amore indicibile: uso e riuso di un modulo narrativo in Euripide, Ovidio e Alfieri”, *Aufidus* 42, 85-108.

MASLAKOV 1979 = G. Maslakov, *Tradition and Abridgement: A Study of the Exempla Tradition in Valerius Maximus and the Elder Pliny*, Diss. Macquarie University, Sydney.

MASLAKOV 1984 = G. Maslakov, “Valerius Maximus and Roman Historiography. A Study of the *exempla* Tradition”, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 32.1, 437-496.

MASLOWSKI 1981 = T. Maslowski, *M. Tulli Ciceronis scripta quae manserunt omnia*, fasc. 21: *Orationes Cum Senatui Gratias Egit; Cum Populo Gratias Egit; De Domo Sua; De Haruspicum Responsis*, Leipzig.

MASSON 1961 = O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté*, Paris.

MATRAVERS 2016 = S. R. Matravers, *Commentary on Valerius Maximus' Book IX.1-10. A Discourse on vitia: An Apotroptic Approach*, Diss. Univ. of Birmingham.

MAVROJANNIS 2015 = T. Mavrojannis, “La grotte d’Adonis à Afka au Liban et l’ensemble «grotte-aire sacrificielle» sur l’acropole d’Amathonte à Chypre”, in: *Cahiers du Centre d’Études Chypriotes* 45 (= *Kypromedousa. Hommage à Jacqueline Karageorghis*), 119-138.

MAY 1988 = J. M. May, *Trials of Character: The Eloquence of Ciceronian Ethos*, Chapel Hill (NC) / London.

MAYER 1893 = M. Mayer, “*Splanchnoptes*”, in: *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 8, 218-229.

MAYOR 2018 = A. Mayor, *Gods and Robots: Myths, Machines, and Ancient Dreams of Technology*, Princeton (NJ).

MENEGHINI 2006 = R. Meneghini, “I Fori Imperiali: ipotesi ricostruttive

ed evidenza archeologica”, in: L. Haselberger, J. Humphrey (eds.), *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation - Visualisation - Imagination*, Portsmouth, 144-162.

MENEGHINI 2014 = R. Meneghini, “L’architettura del *Templum Pacis*”, in: MENEGHINI / REA 2014, 284-299.

MENEGHINI / CORSARO / PINNA CABONI 2009 = R. Meneghini, A. Corsaro, B. Pinna Caboni, “Il *Templum Pacis* alla luce dei recenti scavi”, in: COARELLI 2009a, 190-201.

MENEGHINI / REA 2014 = R. Meneghini, R. Rea (eds.), *La biblioteca infinita. I luoghi del sapere nel mondo antico, Roma, Colosseo 14 marzo - 5 ottobre 2014*, Milano.

MENEGHINI / SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2007 = R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani, *Fori Imperiali. Gli scavi del Comune di Roma (1991-2007)*, Roma.

MENEGHINI / SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2014 = R. Meneghini, R. Santangeli Valenzani, “Gli scavi del *Templum Pacis* (1998-2013)”, in: MENEGHINI / REA 2014, 255-257.

MEURSIUS 1675 = J. Meursius, *Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus, Sive De Nobilissimarum harum insularum rebus & antiquitatibus, Commentarii postumi, nunc primum editi*, 3 vols, Amstelodami.

MICHALOPOULOS 2022 = C. Michalopoulos, “Having Sex with Statues: Some Cases of Agalmatophilia in Latin Poetry”, in: A. Serafim, G. Kazantzidis, K. Demetriou (eds.), *Sex and the Ancient City: Sex and Sexual Practices in Greco-Roman Antiquity*, Berlin / Boston, 263-284.

MICHALOPOULOS / MICHALOPOULOS / VAIPOULOS 2021 = A. N. Michalopoulos, C. N. Michalopoulos, V. Vaiopoulos, *Ovid, Heroides 1-15*, Athens (in Greek).

MILLER 1913 = W. Miller, *Cicero, On Duties*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

MILLER / GOOLD 1977 = F. J. Miller, *Ovid, Metamorphoses*, vol. 1: *Books 1-8*, Revised by G. P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) / London.

MILLER / GOOLD 1984 = F. J. Miller, *Ovid, Metamorphoses*, vol. 2: *Books 9-15*, Revised by G. P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) / London.

MIONNET 1811 = T. Mionnet, *Description de Médailles antiques grecques et romaines V*, Paris.

MITFORD 1960 = T. B. Mitford, “A Cypriot Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius”, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 50, 75-79.

MITFORD 1980 = T. B. Mitford, “Roman Cyprus”, in: *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 7.2, 1285-1384.

MŁYNARCZYK 1985 = J. Młynarczyk, “Remarks on the Temple of Aphrodite Paphia in Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic Period”, in: *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, 286-292.

MŁYNARCZYK 2011 = J. Młynarczyk, “Descendants of the God-like

Kinyras: The Kings of Paphos in Archaeological Record”, in: A. Demetriou (ed.), *Proceedings of the IV. International Cyprological Congress*, Nicosia, 645-654.

MONRÓS-GASPAR 2015 = L. Monrós-Gaspar, *Victorian Classical Burlesques: A Critical Anthology*, London.

MONTEVECCHI 1981 = O. Montevicchi, “Vespasiano acclamato dagli Alessandrini. Ancora su P. Fouad 8”, in: *Aegyptus* 61, 155-170.

MOREAU 2002 = P. Moreau, *Incestus et prohibita nuptiae. Conception romaine de l'inceste et histoire des prohibitions matrimoniales pour cause de parenté dans la Rome antique*, Paris.

MORENO 1966 = P. Moreno, “Styppax”, in: *EAA* VII, 535-536.

MORGAN 1996 = G. Morgan, “Vespasian and the Omens in Tacitus *Histories* 2.78”, in: *Phoenix* 50, 41-55.

MUELLER 2002 = H.-F. Mueller, *Roman Religion in Valerius Maximus*, London.

MURGATROYD 2000 = P. Murgatroyd, “Plotting in Ovidian Rape Narratives”, in: *Eranos* 98, 75-92.

MURRAY 2016 = J. Murray, *Valerius Maximus on Vice: A Commentary on Facta et Dicta Memorabilia 9.1-11*, Diss. Univ. of Cape Town.

MURRAY / WARDLE 2022 = J. Murray, D. Wardle (eds.), *Reading by Example: Valerius Maximus and the Historiography of Exempla*, Leiden / Boston.

NAGLE 1983 = B. R. Nagle, “Byblis and Myrrha: Two Incest Narratives in the *Metamorphoses*”, in: *The Classical Journal* 78, 301-315.

NAGY 2019 = G. Nagy, *Hesiod, Works and Days*, online translation, accessed at: <https://chs.harvard.edu/primary-source/hesiod-works-and-days-sb/>.

NEGER 2019 = M. Neger, “Immanent Genre Theory in Greek and Roman Epigram”, in: HENRIKSÉN 2019, 179-194.

NEUGEBAUER 1949 = O. Neugebauer, “The Early History of the Astrolabe. Studies in Ancient Astronomy IX”, in: *Isis* 40, 240-256.

NEUGEBAUER 1975 = O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, New York.

NEUGEBAUER 1983 = O. Neugebauer, *Astronomy and History: Selected Essays*, New York / Berlin.

NEWTON 1974 = R. R. Newton, “Introduction to Some Basic Astronomical Concepts”, in: F. R. Hodson (ed.), *The Place of Astronomy in the Ancient World. A Joint Symposium of the Royal Society and the British Academy*, London, 5-20.

NICHOLAS 1962 = B. Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law*, New York.

NICHOLSON 1999 = A. Nicholson, “Byron and Ovid”, in: *The Byron Journal* 27, 76-81.

NISBET 1939 = R. G. Nisbet, *M. Tulli Ciceronis, De domo sua ad pontifices*

oratio, Oxford.

NORDEN 1898 = E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, 2 vols, Leipzig.

NOREÑA 2003 = C. F. Noreña, “Medium and Message in Vespasian’s *Templum Pacis*”, in: *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 48, 25-43.

NÓTÁRÍ 2016 = T. Nótári, “*Cum dignitate otium*: Remarks on Cicero’s Speech in Defence of Sestius”, in: *Fundamina* 22, 273-289.

NÜNLIST 1998 = R. Nünlist, *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart / Leipzig.

NUNZIATA 2020 = D. Nunziata, *Colonial and Postcolonial Cyprus: Transportal Literatures of Empire, Nationalism, and Sectarianism*, Cham.

O’BRYHIM 2015 = S. O’Bryhim, “The Economics of Agalmatophilia”, in: *The Classical Journal* 110, 419-429.

OLDFATHER 1933 = C. H. Oldfather, *Diodorus Siculus, Library of History*, vol. 1: *Books 1-2.34*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

OLSON 2008 = S. D. Olson, *Athenaeus, The Learned Banqueters*, vol. 3: *Books 6-7*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

OLSON 2010 = S. D. Olson, *Athenaeus, The Learned Banqueters*, vol. 6: *Books 12-13.594b*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

OOST 1955 = S. I. Oost, “Cato *Uticensis* and the Annexation of Cyprus”, in: *Classical Philology* 50, 98-112.

OSBORNE / RHODES 2017 = R. Osborne, P. J. Rhodes, *Greek Historical Inscriptions 478-404 BC*, Oxford.

OTIS ²1970 = B. Otis, *Ovid as an Epic Poet*, Cambridge (¹1966).

PACE 1945 = B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, vol. 1, Roma.

ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ 1996 = Κ. Παναγιωτάκης, *Τερεντίου, Οι Αδελφοί*, Αθήνα.

PANAYOTAKIS 2023 = C. Panayotakis, “Cyprus and its Myths on the Roman Stage”, in: TZOUNAKAS / ALEKOU / HARRISON 2023, 13-31.

PAPAKONSTANTINOU / STEVENS 2020 = N. Papakonstantinou, “*Raptus* and Roman Law: Teaching about Sexual Crime in the Schools of Rhetoric (Rome, Turn of the First and Second Centuries CE)”, Translated by A. Stevens, in: *Clio. Women, Gender, History* 52, 21-43.

PAPANTONIOU 2012 = G. Papantoniou, “From Segmentation to Unification: Sacred Landscapes and Sculpture in the Construction of Hellenistic Island Identities”, in: P. Scherrer, G. Koiner, A. Ulbrich (eds.), *Hellenistic Cyprus, Proceedings of the International Conference, Department of Archaeology, University of Graz, 14 October 2010*, Graz, 91-105.

PAPANTONIOU 2013 = G. Papantoniou, “Cyprus from Basileis to Strategos: A Sacred-Landscapes Approach”, in: *American Journal of Archaeology*

117, 33-57.

PAPANTONIOU / VIONIS 2017 = G. Papantoniou, A. K. Vionis, "Landscape Archaeology and Sacred Space in the Eastern Mediterranean: A Glimpse from Cyprus", in: *Land* 6(2): 40. doi:10.3390/land6020040.

PARKER 1976 = S. T. Parker, "The Objectives and Strategy of Cimon's Expedition to Cyprus", in: *American Journal of Philology* 97, 30-38.

PARKS 2004 = D. A. Parks, *The Roman Coinage of Cyprus*, Nicosia.

PARLATO 2008 = G. Parlato, "I fiori di Afrodite. Nota a *Cypr.* fr. 4, 6 Bernabé", in: *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 89, 145-149.

PATON / WALBANK / HABICHT 2011 = W. R. Paton, *Polybius, The Histories*, vol. 3: *Books 5-8*, Revised by F. W. Walbank and C. Habicht, Cambridge (MA) / London.

PELLING 2016 = C. Pelling, "Hegesander", in: *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.2966>.

PERKIN 1993 = J. Perkin, *Victorian Women*, New York.

PETERSON 1911 = G. Peterson, *M. Tulli Ciceronis orationes: Cum Senatui Gratias Eggit; Cum Populo Gratias Eggit; De Domo Sua; De Haruspicum Responso; Pro Sestio; In Vatinius; De Provinciis Consularibus; Pro Balbo*, Oxonii.

PETRIE 2000 = C. Petrie, "Victorian Women Expected to Be Idle and Ignorant", in: C. Swisher (ed.), *Victorian England*, San Diego (CA), 178-187.

PINA POLO 1991 = F. Pina Polo, "Cicerón contra Clodio: el lenguaje de la invectiva", in: *Gerión* 9, 131-150.

PINNA CABONI 2014 = B. Pinna Caboni, "La statua di culto", in: MENEGHINI / REA 2014, 313-316.

PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994 = V. Pirenne-Delforge, *L'Aphrodite grecque: Contribution à l'étude de ses cultes et de sa personnalité dans le panthéon archaïque et classique*, Athènes / Liège.

PIRONTI 2007 = G. Pironti, *Entre ciel et guerre: Figures d'Aphrodite en Grèce ancienne*, Liège.

PIRROTTA 2016 = S. Pirrotta, "Triumph of Hilarity? Some Reflections on the Structure and Function of the Final Scenes in Aristophanic Comedy", in: *Trends in Classics* 8, 33-54.

PITTARD 2021 = A. Pittard, "Exemplary Negotiations of *Patientia*", in: *The Classical Journal* 116, 331-354.

PLAISTED 1758 = B. Plaisted, *A Journal from Calcutta in Bengal, by Sea, to Busserah: From thence Across the Great Desert to Aleppo: And from thence to Marseille, and thro' France to England. In the Year MDCCL*, London.

PLATNAUER 1922 = M. Platnauer, *Claudian*, vol. 1, London / New York.

POCOCKE 1745 = R. Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some other Countries*, vol. 2, part 1: *Observations on Palæstine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia*, London.

POMARÈ 2014 = C. Pomarè, “*Sardanapalus*, or, Romantic Drama Between History and Archaeology”, in: L. M. Crisafulli, F. Liberto (eds.), *The Romantic Stage. A Many-Sided Mirror*, Amsterdam / New York, 255-278.

POOVEY 1988 = M. Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*, Chicago.

PORCACCHI 1572 = T. Porcacchi, *L’Isole piu famose del Mondo etc.*, in Venetia.

PRIoux 2019 = É. Prioux, “Meleager of Gadara”, in: HENRIKSÉN 2019, 389-405.

PROTHERO 1898/1901 = R. E. Prothero, *The Works of Lord Byron: Letters and Journals*, London.

PURCHAS 1617 = S. Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage or Relations of the World etc.*, London.

RACE 2008 = W. H. Race, *Apollonius Rhodius, Argonautica*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

RACKHAM 1952 = H. Rackham, *Pliny, Natural History*, vol. 9: *Books XXXIII-XXXV*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

RANKOV 1994 = B. Rankov, *Guardians of the Roman Empire*, London.

REA 2014 = R. Rea, “Introduzione storico-topografica”, in: MENEGHINI / REA 2014, 243-247.

REED 2007 = J. D. Reed, *Virgil’s Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton (NJ).

REINHOLD 1971 = M. Reinhold, “The Naming of Pygmalion’s Animated Statue”, in: *The Classical Journal*, 66, 316-319.

RÉMY 1928 = E. Rémy, “*Dignitas cum otio*”, in: *Musée Belge* 32, 113-127.

RICH 1976 = J. W. Rich, *Declaring War in the Roman Republic in the Period of Transmarine Expansion*, Bruxelles.

RICHARDS 2009 = J. Richards, *The Ancient World on the Victorian and Edwardian Stage*, Basingstoke, Hampshire.

RIGGSBY 2002 = A. M. Riggsby, “The *Post Reditum* Speeches”, in: J. M. May (ed.), *Brill’s Companion to Cicero: Oratory and Rhetoric*, Leiden / Boston / Köln, 159-195.

RIGGSBY 2004 = A. M. Riggsby, “The Rhetoric of Character in the Roman Courts”, in: J. Powell, J. Paterson (eds.), *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford, 165-185.

RISING 2019 = T. Rising, “Bread and Bandits: Clodius and the Grain Supply of Rome”, in: *Hermes* 147, 189-203.

RIZZA 1959/1960 = G. Rizza, “Una nuova pelike a figure rosse e lo *Splanchnoptes* di Styppax”, in: *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente* 37-38, 321-345.

RIZZO 1946 = G. E. Rizzo, *Monete greche della Sicilia*, Roma.

RIZZO 2001 = S. Rizzo, “Indagini nei fori Imperiali. Oroidrografia, foro di Cesare, foro di Augusto, *Templum Pacis*”, in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung* 108, 215-244.

ROBINSON 1993/1994 = A. Robinson, “Cicero’s References to his Banishment”, in: *Classical World* 87, 475-480.

RÖMER 1990 = F. Römer, “Zum Aufbau der Exempelasammlung des Valerius Maximus”, in: *Wiener Studien* 103, 99-107.

ROLFE 1914 = J. C. Rolfe, *Suetonius, Lives of the Caesars*, vol. 1: *Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Gaius, Caligula*, Introduction by K. R. Bradley, Cambridge (MA) / London.

ROLFE ²1931 = J. C. Rolfe, *Sallust*, Cambridge (MA) / London (¹1921).

ROLLER 2018 = M. B. Roller, *Models from the Past in Roman Culture. A World of Exempla*, Cambridge.

ROSA 2019 = M. de F. Rosa, “The Legend of Sardanapalus: From Ancient Assyria to European Stages and Screens”, in: M. S. M. Kong *et al.* (eds.), *Intelligence, Creativity and Fantasy: Proceedings of the 5th International Multidisciplinary Congress (PHI 2019), October 7-9, 2019, Paris*, London / Leiden, 328-333.

ROSATI 2021 = G. Rosati, *Narcissus and Pygmalion: Illusion and Spectacle in Ovid’s Metamorphoses*, Oxford.

RUDHARDT 1975 = J. Rudhardt, *Quelques notes sur les cultes chypriotes, en particulier sur celui d’Aphrodite in Chypre des origines au moyen âge*, Genève.

RUIZ DE ARBULO 2007 = J. Ruiz de Arbulo, “Bauliche Inszenierung und literarische Stilisierung: das ‘Provinzialforum’ von Tarraco”, in: S. Panzram (ed.), *Städte im Wandel: bauliche Inszenierung und literarische Stilisierung lokaler Eliten auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, Hamburg, 149-212.

RUNDELL 1979 = W. M. F. Rundell, “Cicero and Clodius: The Question of Credibility”, in: *Historia* 28, 301-328.

RUTTER 2000 = N. K. Rutter, “Magna Grecia e Sicilia”, in: F. Panvini Rosati, P. Calabria (eds.), *La moneta greca e romana*, vol. 1, Roma, 45-60.

RYAN 2017 = F. X. Ryan, “The Curiosity of Solon (V.M. 8.7.ext.14)”, paper published on Academia (<http://independent.academia.edu/FXRyan>).

RYLAND 2007 = *Tatian, Oratio ad Graecos*, transl. by J. E. Ryland, in: A. Roberts, J. Donaldson, A. C. Coxe (eds.), *The Anti-Nicene Fathers: The Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, vol. 2: *Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Theophilus, Athenagoras, Clement of Alexandria*, New York (Buffalo ¹1885), 65-83.

ΣΑΓΚΡΙΩΤΗΣ 2012 = Γ. Σαγκριώτης, “Η ρουσσική ‘τέχνη της υπεκφυγής’”, in: R. Azizoğlu, Γ. Φαράκλας (eds.), *Η δημοκρατία στην εξορία. Ένας οδηγός για την σκέψη*

του Ρουσσώ 300 χρόνια μετά την γέννησή του, Αθήνα, 21-35.

SALZMAN-MITCHELL 2005 = P. B. Salzman-Mitchell, *A Web of Fantasies: Gaze, Image and Gender in Ovid's Metamorphoses*, Columbus (OH).

SAMSON 2021 = S. Samson, "Pompey, Venus and the Politics of Hesiod in Lucan's *Bellum Civile* 8.456-9", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 70, 784-791.

SANDYS 1621 = G. Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey etc.*, London.

SANTANGELO 2008 = F. Santangelo, "The Fetials and their *ius*", in: *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 51, 63-93.

SANTINI 1996 = C. Santini, "Val. Max. 1,5,6: *Omen funesto per Pompeo*", in: G. Brugnoli, F. Stok (eds.), *Pompei exitus. Variazioni sul tema dall'Antichità alla Controriforma*, Pisa, 13-34.

SAVONAROLA 1713 = R. Savonarola, *Universus Terrarum Orbis Scriptorum Calamo Delineatus etc.*, Patavii.

SCAFFAI 1999 = M. Scaffai, "Mirra in Ovidio: tra elegia e tragedia", in: *Invigilata Lucernis* 21, 371-387.

SCHILLING ²1982 = R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste*, Paris (¹1954).

SCHMIDT 1997 = E. Schmidt, "Venus", in: LIMC VIII, 192-230.

SEAGER 2014 = R. Seager, "The (Re/De)construction of Clodius in Cicero's Speeches", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 64, 226-240.

SEEL 1985 = O. Seel, *M. Iuniani Iustini Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi; accedunt Prologi in Pompeium Trogum*, Stutgardiae.

SEGAL 1987 = E. Segal, *Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus*, New York / Oxford.

SEGAL 2001 = C. Segal, "Jupiter in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*", in: *Arion* 9, 78-99.

SEIBERT 1970 = J. Seibert, "Der Huldigungseid auf Kaiser Tiberius", in: *Historia* 19, 224-231.

SERGHIDOU 2001 = A. Serghidou, "Imaginary Cyprus: Revisiting the Past and Redefining the Ancient Landscape", in: V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus in the 19th Century AD: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, Oxford, 21-31.

SHACKLETON BAILEY 1979 = D. R. Shackleton Bailey, "On Cicero's Speeches", in: *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83, 237-285.

SHACKLETON BAILEY 1991 = D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero, Back from Exile: Six Speeches upon his Return, Translated with Introductions and Notes*, Atlanta (GA).

SHACKLETON BAILEY 2000 = D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Valerius Maximus. Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 2 vols, Cambridge (MA) / London.

SHARROCK 1991 = A. Sharrock, "Womanufacture", in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 81, 36-49.

SHARROCK 2020 = A. Sharrock, "Noua ... corpora: New Bodies and Gendered Patterns in the *Metamorphoses*", in: *Dictynna* 17, <https://doi.org/10.->

4000/dictynna.2277.

SHEAR 2016 = T. L. Shear, *Trophies of Victory: Public Building in Periclean Athens*, Princeton (NJ).

SHOWERMAN / GOOLD 1977 = G. Showerman, *Ovid, Heroides. Amores*, Revised by G. P. Goold, Cambridge (MA) / London.

SIANI-DAVIES 1997 = M. Siani-Davies, "Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Romans", in: *Historia* 46, 306-340.

SICHEL 1970 = W. Sichel, "The English Aristophanes", in: J. Bush Jones (ed.), *W. S. Gilbert: A Century of Scholarship and Commentary*, New York, 69-109.

SILK 2000 = M. S. Silk, *Aristophanes and the Definition of Comedy*, Oxford.

SIMON 1986 = E. Simon, "Die drei Horoskope der *Gemma Augustea*", in: *Numismatica e antichità classiche: quaderni ticinesi* 15, 179-196.

SIMON 1994 = E. Simon, "Pax", in: LIMC VII, 204-212.

SINCLAIR 1980 = B. W. Sinclair, *Valerius Maximus and the Evolution of Silver Latin*, London.

SKIDMORE 1996 = C. Skidmore, *Practical Ethics for Roman Gentleman: The Work of Valerius Maximus*, Exeter.

SPALTENSTEIN 2005 = F. Spaltenstein, *Commentaire des Argonautica de Valérius Flaccus (livres 6, 7 et 8)*, Bruxelles.

SPENCE 1984 = G. Spence, "Moral and Sexual Ambivalence in *Sardanapalus*", in: *Byron Journal* 12, 59-69.

SPENTZOU 2003 = E. Spentzou, *Readers and Writers in Ovid's Heroides: Transgressions of Genre and Gender*, Oxford.

STEDMAN 1996 = J. W. Stedman, *W. S. Gilbert: A Classic Victorian and his Theatre*, Oxford / New York.

STEEL 2007 = C. Steel, "Name and Shame? Invective against Clodius and others in the Post-Exile Speeches", in: J. Booth (ed.), *Cicero on the Attack: Invective and Subversion in the Orations and beyond*, Swansea, 105-128.

STEINBACH 2012 = S. L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, New York.

STEINER 2001 = D. T. Steiner, *Images in Mind: Statues in Archaic and Classical Greek Literature and Thought*, Princeton (NJ).

STEINER / NIMS 1985 = R. Steiner, C. Nims, "Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin: A Tale of two Brothers from the Aramaic Text in Demotic Script", in: *Revue Biblique* 92, 60-81.

STOCKS 2016 = C. Stocks, "Daddy's Little Girl? The Father/Daughter Bond in Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and Flavian Rome", in: N. Maniotti (ed.), *Family in Flavian Epic*, Leiden / Boston, 41-60.

STREIFER 2013 = M. Streifer, "Affirming Life Through Death: Female Subjectivity in the Tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri and Gabriele D'Annunzio", in: *La Fusta, Rutgers Journal of Italian Literature and Culture* 21, 1-26.

STUCCHI 1991 = S. Stucchi, “L’οἰκητήριον di Afrodite a Paphos”, in: *Archeologia Classica* 43 (= *Miscellanea Etrusca e Italica in onore di Massimo Pallottino*), 367-426.

SÜSS 1910 = W. Süss, *Ethos: Studien zur älteren griechischen Rhetorik*, Leipzig / Berlin.

SUTTON / RACKHAM 1942 = E. W. Sutton, H. Rackham, *Cicero, On the Orator: Books 1-2*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

TALIERCIO 1992 = A. Taliercio, *C. Valerio Flacco, Argonautiche, Libro VII, Introduzione, testo e commento*, Roma.

TANNERY 1893 = P. Tannery, *L’histoire de l’astronomie ancienne*, Paris.

TATUM 1999 = W. J. Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*, Chapel Hill (NC) / London.

TERNI 2006 = J. Terni, “A Genre for Early Mass Culture: French Vaudeville and the City, 1830-1848”, in: *Theatre Journal* 58, 221-248.

THEMANN-STEINKE 2008 = A. Themann-Steinke, *Valerius Maximus: ein Kommentar zum zweiten Buch der Facta et dicta memorabilia*, Trier.

THORSEN 2023 = T. S. Thorsen, “Venus and Adonis from Enheduanna to Shakespeare: The Significance of Ovid’s Cypriot Metamorphoses”, in: TZOUNAKAS / ALEKOU / HARRISON 2023, 153-173.

THURN 2001 = N. Thurn, “Der Aufbau der Exempelsammlung des Valerius Maximus”, *Historia* 129, 79-94.

TOD 1946 = M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC*, Oxford.

TÖLLE-KASTENBEIN 1994 = R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Das Olympieion in Athen*, Köln.

TOLIAS 2007 = G. Toliás, “*Isolarii*, Fifteenth to Seventeenth Century”, in: D. Woodward (ed.), *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3: *Cartography in the European Renaissance*, Chicago (IL), 263-284.

TOWNEND 1987 = G. B. Townend, “C. Oppius on Julius Caesar”, in: *American Journal of Philology* 108, 325-342.

TSITSIRIDIS 2011 = S. Tsitsiridis, “Greek Mime in the Roman Empire (P. Oxy. 413: *Charition* and *Moicheutria*)”, in: *Logeion* 1, 184-232.

TUCCI 2009 = P. L. Tucci, “Nuove osservazioni sull’architettura del *Templum Pacis*”, in: COARELLI 2009a, 158-165.

TURCAN 1982 = R. Turcan, *Firmicus Maternus, L’erreur des religions paiennes, text établi, traduit et commenté*, Paris.

TZOUNAKAS 2006 = S. Tzounakas, “Clodius’ Projected Manumission of Slaves in Cicero’s *Pro Milone*”, in: *Arctos* 40, 167-174.

TZOUNAKAS 2007a = S. Tzounakas, “*Neque enim historiam componebam*: Pliny’s First Epistle and his Attitude towards Historiography”, in: *Museum*

Helveticum 64, 42-54.

TZOUNAKAS 2007b = S. Tzounakas, “Transforming the Trial into a Battle: Military Language in the *Exordium* of Cicero’s *Pro Milone*”, in: *Eos* 94, 65-80.

TZOUNAKAS 2009 = S. Tzounakas, “The Peroration of Cicero’s *Pro Milone*”, in: *Classical World* 102, 129-141.

TZOUNAKAS 2015 = S. Tzounakas, “Catiline as Atreus in Cicero’s *First Catilinarian*”, in: G. Xenis (ed.), *Literature, Scholarship, Philosophy, and History. Classical Studies in Memory of Professor Ioannis Taifacos*, Stuttgart, 53-71.

TZOUNAKAS 2020 = S. Tzounakas, “Tacitus on Titus’ Visit to the Temple of Venus at Paphos”, in: *Studia Philologica Valentina* 22, 103-114.

TZOUNAKAS 2023 = S. Tzounakas, “The Ottoman Occupation of Cyprus in Johann van Kootwyck’s *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*”, in: J. Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, M. Roussou-Sinclair, S. Tzounakas (eds.), *Textualising the Experience – Digitalising the Text: Cyprus through Travel Literature (15th-18th Centuries)*, Athens, 169-184.

TZOUNAKAS / ALEKOU / HARRISON 2023 = S. Tzounakas, S. Alekou, S. Harrison (eds.), *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture*, Berlin / Boston.

ULBRICH 2010 = A. Ulbrich, “Images of Cypriot Aphrodite in her Sanctuaries during the Age of the City-Kingdoms”, in: A. C. Smith, S. Pickup (eds.), *Brill’s Companion to Aphrodite*, Leiden / Boston, 167-194.

URÍA 2006 = J. Uría, “Personal Names and Invective in Cicero”, in: J. Booth, R. Maltby (eds.), *What’s in a Name? The Significance of Proper Names in Classical Latin Literature*, Swansea, 13-31.

VALLET 1958 = G. Vallet, *Région et Zancle*, Paris.

VAN DEN BOOGERT / STEENBRINK 2017 = M. van den Boogert, K. Steenbrink, “Joannes Cotovicus”, in: D. Thomas, J. Chesworth (eds.), *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History*, vol. 9: *Western and Southern Europe (1600-1700)*, Leiden / Boston, 695-700.

VAN DER BLOM 2010 = H. van der Blom, *Cicero’s Role Models: The Political Strategy of a Newcomer*, Oxford / New York.

VAN DER BLOM 2014 = H. van der Blom, “Character Attack and Invective Speech in the Roman Republic: Cicero as Target”, in: M. Icks, E. Shiraev (eds.), *Character Assassination throughout the Ages*, New York, 37-57.

VAN NOORDEN 2014 = H. van Noorden, *Playing Hesiod: The Myth of the Races’ in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge.

VASSILIADES 2018 = G. Vassiliades, “Salluste, la *lex Clodia* sur l’annexion de Chypre, et la reconstitution de la préface des *Histoires*”, in: *Latomus* 77, 482-

506.

VERSTEEG / BARCLAY 2003 = R. VerSteeg, N. Barclay, “Rhetoric and Law in Ovid’s Orpheus”, in: *Law and Literature* 15, 395-420.

VERYARD 1701 = E. Veryard, *An Account of Diverse Choice Remarks etc.*, London.

VIDEAU 2010 = A. Videau, *La poétique d’Ovide, de l’épique à l’épopée des Métamorphoses. Essai sur un style dans l’histoire*, Paris.

VON ALBRECHT 1992 = M. von Albrecht, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur von Andronicus bis Boethius mit Berücksichtigung ihrer Bedeutung in der Neuzeit*, 2 vols, Bern.

VON ALBRECHT 2003 = M. von Albrecht, *Cicero’s Style: A Synopsis, Followed by Selected Analytic Studies*, Leiden / Boston.

VON MOOS 1996 = P. von Moos, *Geschichte als Topik. Das rhetorische Exemplum von der Antike zur Neuzeit und die historiae im Polycraticus Johannis von Salisbury*, Hildesheim / Zürich / New York.

WÄHLBERG 2009 = M. Wählberg, “L’anthropologie des Lumières et le mythe de l’hospitalité lapone – Regnard, Buffon, Maupertuis, Voltaire, Sade”, in: *Cahiers de l’Association internationale des études françaises* 61, 327-364.

WALTER 2003 = U. Walter, “Ahn Macht Sinn. Familientradition und Familienprofil im republikanischen Rom”, in: K.-J. Hölkeskamp *et al.* (eds.), *Sinn (in) der Antike. Orientierungssysteme, Leitbilder und Wertkonzepte im Altertum*, Mainz, 255-278.

WALTER 2004 = U. Walter, *Memoria und res publica. Zur Geschichtskultur im republikanischen Rom*, Frankfurt am Main.

WARDLE 1998 = D. Wardle, *Valerius Maximus: Memorable Deeds and Sayings, Book I*, Oxford.

WARDLE 2021 = D. Wardle, “Valerius Maximus on his own Activity (4.1.12)”, in: *The Classical Quarterly* 70, 756-761.

WARMINGTON ²1967 = E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin*, vol. 3: *Lucilius. The Twelve Tables*, Cambridge (MA) / London (1938).

WATSON 1853 = J. S. Watson, *Justin, Cornelius Nepos, and Eutropius, Literally Translated, with Notes and a General Index*, London.

WATTS 1923 = N. H. Watts, *Cicero, Pro Archia. Post Reditum in Senatu. Post Reditum ad Quirites. De Domo Sua. De Haruspicum Responsis. Pro Plancio*, Cambridge (MA) / London.

WEILEDER 1998 = A. Weileder, *Valerius Maximus. Spiegel kaiserlicher Selbstdarstellung*, München.

WELCH 2013 = T. Welch, “Was Valerius Maximus a Hack?”, in: *American Journal of Philology* 134, 67-82.

WELLESLEY 2000 = K. Wellesley, *The Year of the Four Emperors*, London.

WESTPHAL 2015 = H. Westphal, “*Imperium suum paulatim destruxit*: The Concept of *moderatio* in Valerius Maximus’ *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* 4.1”, in: *L’Antiquité classique* 58, 191-208.

WICKKISER 2010 = B. L. Wickkiser, “Hesiod and the Fabricated Woman: Poetry and the Visual Art in the *Theogony*”, in: *Mnemosyne* 63, 557-576.

WIEGAND 2013 = I. Wiegand, *Neque libere neque vere. Die Literatur unter Tiberius und der Diskurs der res publica continua*, Tübingen.

WILLIAMS 2009 = G. D. Williams, “The *Metamorphoses*: Politics and Narrative”, in: P. E. Knox (ed.), *A Companion to Ovid*, Chichester / Malden (MA), 154-169.

WILLIAMS 2010 = C. Williams, *Gilbert and Sullivan: Gender, Genre, Parody*, New York.

WIMMEL 1960 = W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom. Die Nachfolge seines apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit*, Wiesbaden.

WINTERBOTTOM 2004 = M. Winterbottom, “Perorations”, in: J. Powell, J. Paterson (eds.), *Cicero the Advocate*, Oxford, 215-230.

WIRSZUBSKI 1954 = C. Wirszubski, “Cicero’s *cum dignitate otium*. A Reconsideration”, in: *The Journal of Roman Studies* 44, 1-13.

WISSE 1989 = J. Wisse, *Ethos and Pathos from Aristotle to Cicero*, Amsterdam.

WÖRNER 1990 = M. H. Wörner, *Das Ethische in der Rhetorik des Aristoteles*, Freiburg / München.

WOERTHER 2007 = F. Woerther, *L’èthos aristotélien. Genèse d’une notion rhétorique*, Paris.

WOLF 2004 = W. Wolf, “Aesthetic Illusion as an Effect of Fiction”, *German Narratology* II.38.3, 325-350.

WOLFSON 1991 = S. J. Wolfson, “‘A Problem Few Dare Imitate’: *Sardanapalus* and ‘Effeminate Character’”, in: *English Literary History* 58, 867-902.

WOSK 2012 = J. Wosk, *My Fair Ladies: Female Robots, Androids, and Other Artificial Eves*, New Brunswick (NJ).

WREN 2001 = G. Wren, *A Most Ingenious Paradox: The Art of Gilbert & Sullivan*, Oxford.

WROTH 1899 = W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria (Catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum)*, London.

WUSSOW 2004 = S. Wussow, *Die Persönlichkeit des Cato Uticensis – Zwischen stoischer Moralphilosophie und republikanischem Politikverständnis*, Diss. Univ. Düsseldorf.

YPSILANTI 2005 = M. Ypsilanti, “Literary Loves as Cycles: From Meleager to Ovid”, in: *L’Antiquité classique* 74, 83-110.

ZECCHINI 1979 = G. Zecchini, “Catone a Cipro (58-56 a.C.): dal dibattito politico alle polemiche storiografiche”, in: *Aevum* 53, 78-87.

ZIOGAS 2011 = I. Ziogas, “Ovid in Rushdie, Rushdie in Ovid: A Nexus of Artistic Webs”, in: *Arion* 19, 23-50.

ZIOGAS 2013 = I. Ziogas, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women*, Cambridge.

ZIOGAS 2018 = I. Ziogas, “Law and Literature in the Ancient World: The Case of Phryne”, in: K. Dolin (ed.), *Law and Literature*, Cambridge, 79-93.

ZIOGAS 2021 = I. Ziogas, *Law and Love in Ovid: Courting Justice in the Age of Augustus*, Oxford.

ZITER 2003 = E. Ziter, *The Orient on the Victorian Stage*, Cambridge.

INDEX LOCORUM

- Adnotationes super Lucanum*
 3.164, p. 90 Endt: 19
 n. 10
- 1449b 24-28: 12 n. 28
 1450a 16-24: 118 n. 28
 1450b 8-10: 118 n. 28
 1453a 3-5: 12 n. 28
- Alfieri, Vittorio
Mirra
 2.2.130: 117
 2.3.128-129: 117
- Rhetorica*
 1356a 5-13: 14 n. 34
 1405b 23: 133 n. 16
- Ammianus Marcellinus
 14.8.15: 31-32 with n. 50
- Arnobius
Adversus nationes
 5.19.2: 60-61
 6.6: 155
 6.22: 76 n. 2
- Anthologia Latina*
 618.4 Riese: 136 n. 28
- Athenaeus
 4.174a: 146
 6.256c-d: 52
 6.256d: 52 n. 81
 12.516a-b: 64
- Antologia Palatina*
 7.86-87: 42 n. 49
- Apollodorus
Bibliotheca
 3.14.3: 66
Epitome
 3.30: 76 n. 2
- Byron, George Gordon
Sardanapalus
 1.1.43: 121
 1.1.62-66: 120
 1.2.46: 119
 1.2.406-407: 120
 1.2.497-502: 118
 1.2.537-541: 120-121
 1.2.641-651: 119
 1.2.654-656: 119
 2.1.343: 121
 2.1.405: 121
 3.1.397-399: 121
 4.1.156-158: 121
 5.1.466-467: 122
 5.1.487-491: 122
- Apollonius Rhodius
 3.1068: 68 n. 27
- Appianus
Bella civilia
 2.23: 17, 19 n. 10, 23 n.
 29, 50
- Aristoteles
 Fragmenta
 fr. 568 R.: 133 n. 17
Poetica

- Caesar
Commentarii belli civilis
3.102: 38 n. 33
2.27: 30
3.69: 28 n. 41
3.107: 22
- Cato
De agri cultura
51-52: 160 n. 45
133: 160 n. 45
De oratore
2.321: 15 n. 36
De re publica
3.35: 26
3.41: 30
- Catullus
64.55: 93
64.61-62: 93
Epistulae ad Atticum
4.1.4-5: 25 n. 34
13.45.3: 36 n. 24
- Cedrenus, Gregorius
Compendium historiarum
322 c: 146
Pro lege Manilia
44: 21 n. 22, 22
53: 22 n. 25
- Charito
Chaereas et Callirhoe
8.2.8-9: 156 n. 28
Pro Milone
87: 6 n. 11
- Cicero
Cato maior de senectute
26: 44
De domo sua
20: 4-6, 48 n. 67
20-21: 25-26
21-22: 20 n. 16
52: 26 n. 35
52-53: 4, 6-7
59: 26 n. 35
65: 4, 7-9
65-66: 20 n. 16
De lege agraria
2.41 ff.: 30-31 with n. 46
De natura deorum
3.82: 41 n. 44
De officiis
1.34: 27
1.36: 18 n. 6
2.26-27: 30 with n. 44
Pro Q. Roscio comoedo
37: 48 n. 66
Pro Sestio
57: 10-12, 27-28
57-59: 10
58: 11 n. 24
59: 13-14, 29-30
60: 20 n. 16
62-64: 10
98: 12 n. 26
Tusculanae disputationes
2.52: 40 with n. 42
5.5-6: 40
5.34: 53 n. 82
5.77: 41
- Claudianus
In Eutropium
2.praef.63-66: 64-65
- Clemens Alexandrinus
Protrepticus
2.13.4: 59-60
2.14.1-2: 59-60
3.40: 155

- 4.57.3: 76 n. 2
Stromateis
 1.132.3: 156 n. 28
- Cotovicus, Ioannes
Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum
 1.16: 70-71
- Cypria*
 fr. 4 Bernabé: 161 n. 48
- De viris illustribus urbis Romae*
 80.2: 19 n. 10
- Dio Cassius
 16.21: 22 n. 25
 36.28: 22 n. 26
 36.28-35: 21 n. 22
 36.35: 22 n. 27
 38.30.4-5: 19 n. 11
 38.30.5: 9 n. 19, 20 n. 16
 39.21.1-22.2: 27 n. 39
 39.22.1: 25 n. 33
 39.22.2: 23-24, 50 n. 76
 65.8: 158
 65.15: 159 n. 38
 66.1: 164 n. 55
 66.8: 164 n. 55
 73.24.2: 160 n. 40
- Diodorus Siculus
 2.23.1-2.27.3: 113
 2.23.4: 113
 4.22: 132 n. 12
- Diogenes Laertius
 1.62-63: 42 n. 49
 7.1: 53 n. 82
 7.12: 53 n. 82
 9.26: 40 n. 43, 41 n. 44
- 9.58-60: 41
- Dionysius Halicarnassensis
Antiquitates Romanae
 2.72.1-9: 18 n. 4
 9.54.5: 85 n. 13
- Empedocles
 31 B 128 DK: 156 n. 28
- Ennius
Euhemerus sive sacra historia
 10 Goldberg and Manu-
 wald: 61-62
- Euripides
Alcestitis
 348-354: 76 n. 2
- Firmicus Maternus
De errore profanarum religionum
 10.1: 61
- Florus
Epitoma
 2.13.88: 164
 3.7: 22 n. 25
 3.9: 31 with n. 48
 3.9.3-4: 23 n. 29
- Gellius
 6.3.36-38: 29 n. 42
 6.3.47: 29 n. 42
- Geoponica*
 11.17: 161 n. 50
- Germanicus
 558-560: 136-137 with
 n. 30

- Herodianus
1.14.2-6: 160 n. 40
- Herodotus
1.199.1: 58-59
1.199.5: 58-59
- Hesiodus
Opera et dies
54: 78-79
57-82: 78-80
61: 80
66: 78
71: 82
72: 82
74-76: 82
79-80: 80
80: 80 n. 7
81: 80 n. 7
82: 80
Theogonia
585: 77
585-616: 78
- Hesychius
γ 333: 155 n. 25
- Himerius
Orationes
17: 156 n. 26
- Homerus
Ilias
5.330: 151
23.19: 38 n. 36
Odyssea
8.277-282: 92 n. 7
8.362-366: 154
8.363: 151
16.32-36: 92 n. 7
23.252: 38 n. 36
- Horatius
Carmina
1.6: 36 n. 26
- Hyginus
Fabulae
103-104: 76 n. 2
- Hymni Homerici*
5.58-59: 169 with n. 75
- Inscriptiones
ExcCyp 6: 151 n. 9
I.Paphos 148: 151 n. 9
IG I³ 83: 146
IGRom III 941: 151 n. 9
- Iosephus
Antiquitates Iudaicae
19.1.13: 117 n. 20
Bellum Iudaicum
7.5.7: 159 n. 38, 162 with
n. 53
- Iustinus
Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi
18.5: 63-64
- Laterculi Alexandrini*
8.15-17: 146
- Livius
Ab urbe condita
1.32.5-14: 18
21.2.6: 41
24.5.10-14: 40-41
Periochae
99: 22 n. 27
104.6: 19 n. 10
112.1-10: 38 n. 33

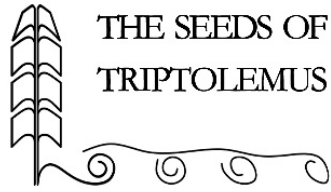
Lucanus	2.496-507: 101
8.456-459: 38 n. 33	6.23-25: 98
	6.24: 98
[Lucianus]	6.46-47: 101
<i>Amores</i>	6.87-100: 98
11: 151 with n. 7	6.98-100: 99
	6.103-105: 94
Lucilius	6.103-107: 94
1049 M. = 1046 W.: 67	6.103-126: 94
n. 23	6.104: 94
	6.130-136: 97
Lucretius	6.131: 96
1.31-32: 168 with n. 70	6.131-133: 96
	6.135: 100
Manilius	6.142: 97
4.546-555: 136 n. 29	6.144-145: 100
4.773-777: 136 n. 29	6.145: 102
4.791-796: 137 with n. 34	6.438-619: 97
	10.80: 66, 108
Marcianus	10.220-223: 65-66
<i>Dig.</i> 48.6.5.2: 101 n. 36	10.238-239: 98
	10.238-242: 77
Ovidius	10.238-246: 65-67
<i>Fasti</i>	10.239: 98
4.863-954: 159 n. 37	10.240: 66
5.23: 96 n. 22	10.242: 77
<i>Heroides</i>	10.243-244: 69
10.31: 93	10.243-297: 75, 81, 103
<i>Ibis</i>	10.244: 93, 98, 99
571-572: 41 n. 44	10.244-245: 77
<i>Metamorphoses</i>	10.245-246: 105
1.154: 102 n. 36	10.247-269: 81-82
1.163: 102 n. 36	10.248: 82, 95
2.401: 102 n. 36	10.249: 77, 93, 100
2.417-440: 101	10.250: 82, 93
2.433: 101 n. 36	10.250-252: 93-94, 108
2.441-465: 101	10.250-269: 95
2.447: 101 n. 36	10.251: 95
2.450: 101	10.252-253: 108
2.462: 101 n. 36	10.252-269: 108
2.466-495: 101	10.256: 82

- 10.256-257: 83
 10.256-258: 95
 10.259-265: 111
 10.260: 82
 10.263: 82
 10.264: 82
 10.264-265: 82
 10.266: 82
 10.273: 82
 10.274: 82
 10.274-276: 108
 10.275-276: 80-81
 10.280-289: 95
 10.281: 82
 10.284-286: 95
 10.289: 97
 10.292-294: 95-96
 10.293: 95, 96
 10.294: 96
 10.295: 100
 10.298-299: 99
 10.298-502: 116
 10.321-323: 116
 10.324-328: 119
 10.331-333: 119
 10.335-337: 116
 10.382-387: 117
 10.500-502: 117, 119
- Papyri
 P.Mil.Vogl. VIII 309: 35
 n. 22
 P.Oxy. XXXIV 2725: 158
 n. 35
- Pausanias
 6.1.6: 105 n. 13
 6.24.6-7: 161 with n. 49
 6.24.7: 160 n. 45
- Petrarca, Francesco
- Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini
 nostri Iesu Christi*
 52: 69 n. 32
- Philostephanus Historicus
 fr. 13 Müller (FHG III, p.
 31): 76 n. 2
- Photius
Bibliotheca
 372b: 156 n. 26
- Plato
Cratylus
 403a-404b: 38 n. 37
Phaedo
 80d-81c: 38 n. 37
 115a-118a: 44 n. 53
- Plautus
Poenulus
 339-340: 62 n. 13
- Plinius maior
Naturalis historia
 2.210: 153 n. 18
 7.87: 41 n. 44
 7.113: 19 n. 10
 13.26: 160 n. 45
 17.64: 160 n. 45
 17.97-98: 160 n. 45
 21.15-17: 160 n. 45
 22.44: 143
 27.3: 162
 29.96: 19 n. 10
 34.69: 169 n. 71
 34.79: 143-144
 34.81: 143
 34.92: 19 n. 10
 35.4-14: 88 n. 16
 35.6: 88 n. 16, 89

- 35.91: 167
 35.103: 83-84
 35.109: 164
 36.27: 168
 36.58: 163-164
- Plinius minor
Epistulae
 1.1: 36 n. 27
 1.12.6-8: 44 n. 54
- Plutarchus
Alexander
 8.5: 41 n. 44
 28.5: 41 n. 44
 52: 41 n. 44
Brutus
 3: 19 n. 10
Caesar
 21.8: 20 n. 16
Cato Minor
 34.1-3: 20 n. 16
 34.3-4: 9 n. 19
 34.6: 20 n. 16
 34-39: 45
 36: 50 n. 76
 36.1: 51 n. 78
 36.1-2: 23 n. 29
 39.1: 49 n. 71
 40: 27 n. 39
 45: 48 n. 68
Cicero
 34: 27 n. 39
Moralia
 50e: 52
 449e: 41 n. 44
 505d: 41 n. 44
Pericles
 13.8: 143
Pompeius
 25: 22 n. 25
- 26: 22 n. 26
 26-27: 21 n. 22
 27: 22 n. 27
 48.6: 20 n. 16
 77.1: 38 n. 33
- Solon*
 32.4: 42
- Theseus*
 20.3-5: 93 n. 13
- Polybius
 6.53.1-54.3: 85-88
- Polycharmus Naucratis
 FGrHist 640 fr. 1: 156
 n. 29
- Pompeius Trogus
Historiae Philippicae
prol. 40: 19 n. 10
- Pomponius
Dig. 50.16.118: 22
- Porcacchi, Thomaso
L'Isole piu famose del Mondo etc.
 p. 22: 72-73
- Rufius Festus
 13: 31 with n. 49
 13.1: 23 with n. 29
- Sallustius
De bello Iugurthino
 4.5-6: 85, 89
Historiae
 fr. 1.10 M.: 31
- Scholia in orationes Ciceronis codicis
 rescripti Bobiensis*
 p. 133.3-6 St. (*Sest.* 57): 21

- Seneca philosophus
Agamemno
 288: 67 n. 24
Hercules furens
 1240-1241: 67 n. 24
Medea
 488: 67-68
Oedipus
 1008-1009: 67
Phaedra
 250: 67
 250-252: 67 n. 24
- Seneca rhetor
Controversiae
 10.1.8: 48 n. 68
- Solon
 fr. 22.7 Diehl: 43
- Strabo
 14.6.3: 150 nn. 5 and 6
 14.6.6: 17, 19 with n. 13,
 23 n. 29, 24, 51 n. 78
- Suetonius
Divus Augustus
 5.1: 136 with n. 26
 9: 35 n. 21
 94.12: 135-136 with n. 25
 99-100.1: 44 n. 54
Divus Titus
 5.1: 165 n. 57
Divus Vespasianus
 4-7: 164 n. 55
 5.6: 156 n. 27
 18: 167
- Tacitus
Annales
 2.73.1: 88 n. 16
- 3.5: 88 n. 16
 3.62: 151 with n. 8
 3.62.5: 37 n. 29
 3.76: 88 n. 16
 4.9.2: 88 n. 16
- Historiae*
 2.2-4: 147
 2.3.1-2: 156 n. 28
 2.3.2: 153, 156 n. 27
 2.78: 164 n. 55
 2.78.3: 156 n. 27
 4.11: 158
 4.81-84: 164 n. 55
- Tatianus
Adversus Graecos
 34: 169 n. 73
 35: 169 n. 71
 37: 169 n. 71
- Terentius
Adelphoe
 228-231: 62-63
- Thucydides
 1.112.4: 143
- Valerius Flaccus
 7.461: 69
 7.461-466: 68-69
- Valerius Maximus
 1.praef.: 35-36
 1.5.6: 37-39
 1.6.12: 38 n. 31
 1.6.ext.praef.: 35 n. 20
 1.8.9-10: 38 n. 31
 1.8.ext. 13: 38 n. 31
 2.4.6: 38 n. 31
 2.7.5: 35 n. 20
 2.10.ext. 1: 35 n. 20

- 3.2.13: 38 n. 31
 3.2.23a: 38 n. 31
 3.3.*ext.* 1: 40
 3.3.*ext.* 2: 40
 3.3.*ext.* 3: 40, 41
 3.3.*ext.* 4: 39-41, 52
 3.3.*ext.* 5: 40
 3.3.*ext.* 6: 41
 3.3.*ext.* 7: 41
 3.4: 41
 3.8.7: 38 n. 31
 4.1.12: 35 n. 20, 36 n. 25
 4.1.14: 45-46
 4.1.*ext.* 7: 41 n. 47, 44
 n. 55
 4.3: 49
 4.3.1: 47
 4.3.2: 46-48, 51
 4.5.5: 38 n. 31
 4.6.4: 38 n. 31
 4.6.*ext.* 2: 38 n. 31
 5.1.9-10: 38 n. 31
 5.2.9: 38n. 31
 5.3.5: 38 n. 31
 5.3.*ext.* 1: 42
 5.3.*ext.* 2: 42
 5.3.*ext.* 3: 42-43
 5.3.*ext.* 3a: 42
 5.3.*ext.* 3b: 41-43, 44
 5.3.*ext.* 3c: 42
 5.3.*ext.* 3d: 42
 5.3.*ext.* 3e: 42
 5.3.*ext.* 3f: 42
 5.5.4: 38 n. 31
 5.7.*ext.* 2: 38 n. 31
 6.2.4-9: 38 n. 31
 6.2.11: 38 n. 31
 6.8.6: 35 n. 20
 6.9.9: 38 n. 31
 7.2.*ext.* 2: 44 n. 55
 7.2.*ext.* 2a: 41 n. 47
 7.6.*ext.* 3: 38 n. 31
 7.7.2: 38 n. 31
 8.1.*damn.* 5: 35 n. 20
 8.7.*ext.* 14: 41 n. 47, 43
 8.9.*ext.* 1: 41 n. 47
 8.14.3: 38 n. 31
 8.14.*ext.* 2: 41
 8.15.8-9: 38 n. 31
 8.15.10: 48-49
 9.1.8: 38 n. 31
 9.1.*ext.* 6: 51
 9.1.*ext.* 7: 51-52
 9.2.4: 38 n. 31
 9.4.*ext.* 1: 23, 49-51
 9.5.3: 38 n. 31
 9.11.4: 38 n. 31
 9.13.2: 38 n. 31
 9.14.1: 38 n. 31
- Varro
De vita populi Romani
 2, fr. 72 P. = 75 R.: 29
 n. 43
- Velleius Paterculus
 2.32.4-5: 22 n. 27
 2.38.6: 23
 2.45.4: 20 n. 16
 2.45.4-5: 23 with n. 29
- Vergilius
Aeneis
 1.415-416: 165 n. 57
 3.369 ff.: 164
 8.711-713: 164
Georgica
 1.32-35: 136 with n. 27
 2.541: 50 n. 73
- Zenobius
 1.80: 133 n. 18



ALREADY PUBLISHED TITLES

“Studi Draconziani”, Domenico Romano – a c. di Elisa Romano, premessa di Giuseppe Aricò, aggiornamento bibliografico di Fabrizio Bordone, pagine 160, 2022.

“OLTRE POMPEI – Graffiti e altre iscrizioni oscene dall'impero romano d'Occidente”, Stefano Rocchi, Roberta Marchionni - pagine 160, 2021.

