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



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3

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS (ED.)



3

Spyridon Tzounakas (ed.)

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

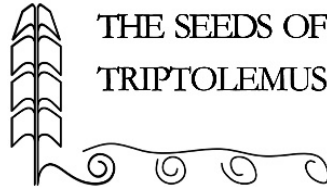


SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography (especially Pliny the Younger), Roman epic (especially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

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3



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

Spyridon Tzounakas

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

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

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

Part 2, entitled “The Cypriot Myths in Ovid and Beyond”, deals with the Cypriot myths in Orpheus’ song in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and their reception in later literature and art. In his study “Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype” Spyridon Tzounakas examines various ancient sources (with special emphasis on Latin literature and the myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) that contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot women stereotype, which survives for centuries and is especially evident in travel writing from the 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 3
NUMISMATIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

A COIN SERIES WITH CAPRICORN AND SCORPION FROM CYPRUS

Daniele Castrizio

University of Messina

The stars, with their movements, complex but constant, constituted an essential part of the practical life of the ancient Greeks, who drew from them useful information about the calendar of agricultural work, activities related to the sea and religious festivals, but they also served as a clock during the night, allowing them, e.g., to set the night watch.

The study of the stars, constellations and the motion of the planets has been approached, over the centuries, by philosophers, scientists and even geographers. Astronomical knowledge is deeply rooted in the ancient Mediterranean culture and finds expression in three main traditions, somewhat overlapping: astronomy linked to its service in daily life by Homer and Hesiod; the scientific astronomy that developed from the 5th century BC; a literary tradition derived from Hesiod, but much influenced by the *Phenomena*, the astronomical poem of Aratus of Soli written in the 3rd century BC.¹

While astronomy related to pragmatic functions remained virtually unchanged from the archaic period until the end of the ancient world, the classical period has seen the development of scientific, on mathematical bases related to the observation of the sky. From the beginning of the 5th century BC, if not a generation before, Cleostratus of Tenedus had sung in verse the twelve signs of the zodiac, and in 432 BC Meton and Euctemon had observed the summer solstice at Athens, to measure a precise length of the year.

Magna Graecia, with Parmenides of Elea among the first to postulate the sphericity of the earth, was certainly involved in the development of astronomical scientific observations, although perhaps such an interest must have been originated by Pythagoras of Samos and his school as early as the end of the 6th century BC. The typologies of the ancient coins, as I will attempt to prove in this article, did not have to be detached from this ferment linked to astronomy.

We modern people, because of light pollution, have forgotten to observe our sky, now black, relying totally on the science of astronomers. For the ancients, unlike us, it was not important to know how many light years a star was distant, or what its physical implications with Newton's laws of universal

¹ For studies on ancient astronomy, see e.g. LEWIS 1862; TANNERY 1893; HEATH 1913; NEUGEBAUER 1949; FRESA 1964; FRESA 1969; DICKS 1970; NEWTON 1974; NEUGEBAUER 1975; NEUGEBAUER 1983; MAEYAMA 1984; BOWEN / GOLDSTEIN 1988; EVANS 1998; AVENI / AMMERMAN 2001; EVANS / BERGGREN 2006; LEHOUX 2007.

gravitation were. For our ancestors, the constellations were indispensable to know when to sow the crops, when to graft, when to prune, and, in everyday life, to determine the ‘hours’ of night-time. All this made the knowledge of the motions of the sky almost indispensable, and certainly much more meaningful and daily than those who today study the stars with astronomical or astrological motivations.

In numismatic studies, nevertheless, little space is reserved for the study of stars, constellations, and zodiacal signs, present as types on coins. Among the contrary examples, however, there is an anepigraphic bronze coin issue of the island of Cyprus, characterized by two zodiacal signs present on the front and on the back. These coins, which in the past were attributed to Commagene, based on the monetary discoveries, are now considered by scholars certainly Cypriot. I propose, therefore, a brief exemplary journey among the stars on coins, to clarify some iconographic aspects concerning this issue, and then conclude with a new proposal for dating the series of Cyprus, taken exclusively from its own typology.

“The type of the obverse was a quadriga with the name of the Syracusans above, written in full in the first issues and later shortened. This was the first appearance in Sicily of a type that would later be copied throughout the island and that reflected the competitive interests of the Syracusan breeders of horses: the *Gamóroí*”.² That is what N. Keith Rutter said, describing the adoption of the quadriga as the citizen type on the obverse of the Syracusan tetradrachms³ (fig. 1).



Fig. 1

His words, far from being arbitrary or tied to a particular conviction of the scholar, reflect the scientific vulgate on this typology.

² Cf. RUTTER 2000, 54.

³ RIZZO 1946, pl. XXXIV, 6. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 59, Auction date: 4 April 2011, Lot number: 526.

The link between the Sicilian aristocracy and the chariot races, moreover, is proved by numerous literary and archaeological testimonies. Just think of the splendid epinicians of Simonides, Bacchylides and Pindar, or recall the bronze statue of the Charioteer of Delphi⁴ to dispel any doubt about it. Certainly, the Sicilian aristocracy found in the race of the quadrigas their status symbol *par excellence*: expensive and necessary for a long and constant training, the *tethrippos* could be the prerogative of a few privileged members of the main *gene*, and not only in Western Greece.⁵ The participation in the Panhellenic Competitions at Olympia, Nemea, Delphi and at the Isthmus of Corinth was the manifestation of belonging to the class of the powerful of the earth, whose value and opulence was recognized all over the Greek world.

While agreeing on the role of the chariot races for the affirmation of the Sicilian aristocracy, we must, however, remark how strongly we find ourselves at odds with two statements by Rutter. Firstly, from a methodological point of view, we cannot accept the hypothesis that the type of quadriga has had a great fortune in many Sicilian mints only because it “reflected the competitive interests of the Syracusan rulers horse breeders: the *Gamóroi*”. Such an explanation does not consider the importance of the passionate and ‘parochial’ defence of the own typology among the Greek people: a sign of affirmation and prestige, the coin type visually represented the freedom of the issuing city. Precisely for this reason, from the numismatic point of view, a State’s acceptance of a foreign typology on its own coinage is an indication of the submission to a foreign State, a kind of admission of their limited autonomy.

If we did not accept such an interpretation, it would not be possible to understand the affirmation of the crab of Agrigento on the didrachms of Himera⁶ (fig. 2), rightly dated after the homonymous battle of 480 BC, in which the Agrigento-Syracuse supremacy in central Sicily was imposed. In the same sense we can interpret the presence of the quadriga after the battle of Himera on the coins of Leontinoi⁷ (fig. 3) and, before the turn of the half of the 5th century BC, also on the coinage of Himera or Selinunte.

⁴ CHAMOIX 1955; BIANCHI BANDINELLI / PARIBENI 1976, n. 407; FUCHS 1982, 303-304.

⁵ On the political significance of the chariot race with the quadrigas, see MAFODDA 1996, 25; 93.

⁶ SNG ANS 158. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 27, Auction date: 12 May 2004, Lot number: 86.

⁷ Cf. RIZZO 1946, pl. XXII, 15. Leu Numismatik AG, Auction 81, Auction date: 16 May 2001, Lot number: 77.



Fig. 2



Fig. 3

The second point of opposition concerns the interpretation of the quadriga. Rutter believes that the intention of the government of the *polis* of Syracuse was to praise its competitive aristocracy. This interpretative approach has been adopted several times by the numismatists, indicating in some types of tetradrachms during the 5th century BC the resumption of some details of the world of the chariot races, such as the cross of the finish line⁸ (fig. 4), or the presence of a wheel in the exergue of the coin, indicating the detachment of the wheel from its hub⁹ (fig. 5).



Fig. 4

⁸ Cf. SNG ANS 1257. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Triton XXII, Lot 120.

⁹ Cf. SNG ANS 266. The New York Sale, Auction 30, Lot 49.



Fig. 5

It is, with all evidence, the same line of interpretation that explains the presence of the barley grain on the coinage of Metapontum as the advertisement of its export product, or the bunch of grapes in Naxos as propaganda for the excellent Sicilian wine. Banalizations like this exclude the possibility of a truthful and satisfactory interpretation of these types, which recall, using their own symbols, the goddesses Demeter and Persephone the one, and the god Dionysus the other.

Maria Caltabiano sharply noted that on the Sicilian coins were found female deities driving the quadrigas, such as Demeter, Persephone, and Athena. The presence of female deities ensures that, in the case of a male charioteer, he is “Apollo or a deity with a solar nature, that allow us to identify in the quadriga the chariot pulled by the four white horses with which the Sun fulfils in the sky its daily journey”.¹⁰

Celebrated as one of the most beautiful coins of Antiquity, the *Akragas* decadrachm is an issue dating from the Athenian defeat under the walls of Syracuse in 413 BC until the capture of the *polis* by the Carthaginians in 406 BC. On the obverse we can see a flying quadriga, guided by a young naked charioteer, between an eagle, in the top, and a crab, in the bottom¹¹ (fig. 6).



Fig. 6

¹⁰ CACCAMO CALTABIANO 2002, 38.

¹¹ Cf. SNG München, nr. 89.

The quadriga appears manifestly in flight, with the horses and the cart resting on an imaginary arch, which originates from the legs more to the left of the animals and ends with the wheel more to the right.

To fully understand the meaning of this typology we must, however, proceed to a complete exegesis of the iconography. If the *communis opinio* accepts that, in this case, it is the chariot of the sun and not a generic agonistic chariot, there is not a convergence of opinions about the eagle in flight and the crab placed under the main type. Their presence was motivated by political necessity, because the eagle and the crab were the peculiar types of the silver coins, or they wanted to give concreteness to the flight of the quadriga, making the eagle the symbol of the sky, and the crab that of the sea.

Such interpretations do not fully convince us, because, in our opinion, they seem to accept an overly superficial explanation of the meaning of the monetary images. Much more pregnant and richer in concepts it seems to us, instead, an exegesis that considers the fact that both the Eagle and the Cancer are the two constellations that, significantly, mark from the astronomical point of view the summer solstice. Observing, in fact, the sky at dawn on the solstice day, the sun appears to rise from the constellation of *Aquila*, typical of the summer sky, while, on the diametrically opposite side, the zodiacal constellation of Cancer appears. We wonder: could there be a more refined and learned way to celebrate the sun that wins its annual race and crosses the solstice line?

After examining the most obvious cases, which show the representation of the quadriga of the sun on the Sicilian emissions, I would like to refer to an exemplary case. It is the release of silver tetradrachms from the mints of *Rhegion* and *Messana* immediately following the Battle of Himera.

Rhegion and *Messana*, which were on the losing side in 480 BC, had to agree to change their traditional typology, which saw the head of the solar lion and a head of calf,¹² borrowing the Syracuse typology of the solar quadriga, sign of subordination to Syracuse. Aware of the ideological and propagandistic meaning of the images, the rulers of the cities of the Strait

¹² The typology of the head of the calf recalled that the name Italia was mythologically linked to that calf of the herd stolen from Heracles to Gerion, which, starting from the coast of the peninsula, had swam through the Strait (Diod. 4.22). Heracles, investigating the name given by the natives to the animal, would have decided to call *Vitalia*, “Land of calves”, the lower part of today’s Calabria. The tyrant Anaxileos, who had undertaken an action of military control over the Aspromonte behind the polis of *Rhegion*, had decided to claim his possession of Italy also on monetary issues.

decided not to adopt exactly the Syracuse typology. Instead, they put a biga¹³ on the new tetradrachms of Attic-Syracuse weight¹⁴ (fig. 7), which fulfilled three requirements: first, it showed *Rhégion*'s belonging to the system of Syracuse alliances; secondly, it placed on the coin the solar god of the *polis*; it celebrated, finally, the victory of its tyrant Anaxileos in the Olympic games of 480 BC with the biga.¹⁵



Fig. 7

Aristotle cites in detail this victory¹⁶ (the lavish, excessive, banquet offered by the tyrant; the episode of the poet Simonides, in charge of the epinician, who, reluctant, was convinced only by a fair sum of silver). Aristotle also argues that the reverse with the hare, from which the nickname of *lagones* (= hares) was given to the coins of *Rhégion*, would witness the introduction to Sicily of this animal by Anaxileos. The philosopher erroneously assumes that Anaxileos wanted to boast of having imported hares to Sicily,¹⁷ as if they had not always been present there. The mistake of Aristotle, in our opinion, was induced by the reading of the comedy *The Islands*, written by the Syracusan comedian Epicharmus, in which the inhabitants of Karpathos made the mistake of introducing the hares to their island, with the result that they devoured the crops.¹⁸ From this comedy was derived the saying “the Carpathian and the hares”, but it can be explained easily if we consider how the coin type of Karpathos presented some dolphins¹⁹ (fig. 8), just like the

¹³ It does not seem out of place to notice how the god of the sun is not depicted on an impetuous quadriga of horses but takes place on a chariot of patients and placid mules, remarking the ‘Pythagorean’ regularity of its celestial course.

¹⁴ Cf. CACCAMO CALTABIANO 1993, 27; SNG ANS 625-631. Classical Numismatic Group, Electronic Auction 167, Auction date: 27 June 2007, Lot number: 22.

¹⁵ On the date of the victory of Anaxileos, see VALLET 1958, 366.

¹⁶ Arist. *Rhet.* 1405b 23.

¹⁷ Arist. fr. 568 R. ap. Poll. 5.75.

¹⁸ Zenob. Ath. 1.80.

¹⁹ SNG von Aulock 2743. Roma Numismatics Limited, Auction 16, Lot 299.

silver drachms of *Zankle*²⁰ (fig. 9). Beware of Anaxileos, who with the hares will stop the emission of the dolphins of *Zankle*, after the conquest of the polis by *Rhegion*, and the foundation of *Messana*.



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

In any case, the type with the hare, which lent itself to easy ironies (the Syracusan comedian Xenarchus, instigated by Dionysius the Elder against *Rhegion*, joked about hares/coins and hares/cowards),²¹ had to have a very strong symbolic motivation. For our part, we believe that the solution can be found only by understanding that the hare represents the constellation of the *Lepus*, which together with the most famous of the *Taurus* is the ‘celestial door’ from which the chariot of the sun passes at the beginning of spring.²² Moreover, as shown by a later bronze coin of *Messana*, the hare is depicted as it is hit by the *lagobolon*, the curved stick for hunting the hare thrown by Orion²³ (fig. 10). The ‘death of the hare’, that is the disappearance of the constellation of *Lepus* below the horizon, marks the beginning of spring: in

²⁰ SNG ANS 302. Stack’s, Stack & Kroisos Collections, Lot 2283.

²¹ Cf. PACE 1945, 348.

²² Cf. CASTRIZIO 2018, 83-95.

²³ SNG ANS 382. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 216, Lot 146.

the myth, Orion, the constellation that dominates at every spring equinox, kills the hare, which is reborn at the beginning of winter. In the representations of Orion in the 9th century, it is observed that the celestial hunter still has in his hand the *lagobolon*, ready to be thrown against the hare below him²⁴ (fig. 11).



Fig. 10



Fig. 11

“While in retirement at Apollonia, Augustus mounted with Agrippa to the studio of the astrologer Theogenes. Agrippa was the first to try his fortune, and when a great and almost incredible career was predicted for him, Augustus persisted in concealing the time of his birth and in refusing to

²⁴ Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 79, folio 58^v.

disclose it, through diffidence and fear that he might be found to be less eminent. When he at last gave it unwillingly and hesitatingly, and only after many urgent requests, Theogenes sprang up and threw himself at his feet. From that time on Augustus had such faith in his destiny, that he made his horoscope public and issued a silver coin stamped with the sign of the constellation *Capricornus*, under which he was born”.²⁵ The famous passage of Suetonius, which is the basis of the interpretation of the presence of Capricorn on many monuments and coins of the time of Augustus, is contradicted, however, by the same Suetonius, who in another passage, states “Augustus was born just before sunrise on the ninth day before the Kalends of October in the consulship of Marcus Tullius Cicero and Gaius Antonius”,²⁶ i.e. on the 23rd of September.

According to his actual date of birth, therefore, Augustus was of the sign of *Libra*, as Virgil also states in the *Georgics*: “or whether you add yourself as a new star to the lingering months, where, between the Virgin and the grasping Claws, a space is opening (lo! for you even now the blazing Scorpion draws in his arms, and has left more than a due portion of the heaven!)”.²⁷ Even according to an epigram of the *Latin Anthology*²⁸ and some verses of Marcus Manilius,²⁹ the birth of Augustus under the zodiacal sign of *Libra* seems to be unequivocal.

How to overcome, then, this aporia? Scholars have found several solutions, although none are fully convincing. For some scholars, more than *Libra*, the zodiacal sign of the moment of his birth, the *Capricornus* would have been important, the sign of his conception nine months before. Other theories have valued a verse in the *Aratea* of Germanicus, in which the *Capricornus* leads the *numen* of *Augustus* to the “maternal stars”,³⁰ whether they are the

²⁵ Suet. *Aug.* 94.12: *In secessu Apolloniae Theogenis mathematici pergulam comite Agrippa ascenderat; cum Agrippae, qui prior consulebat, magna et paene incredibilia praedicerentur, reticere ipse genituram suam nec velle edere perseverabat, metu ac pudore ne minor inveniretur. Qua tamen post multas adhortationes vix et cunctanter edita exsilivit Theogenes adoravitque eum. Tantam mox fiduciam fati Augustus habuit, ut thema suum vulgaverit nummumque argenteum nota sideris Capricorni, quo natus est, percusserit.* The Latin text and the English translation of Suetonius follow ROLFE 1914.

²⁶ Suet. *Aug.* 5.1: *Natus est Augustus M. Tullio Cicerone C. Antonio cons. VIII. Kal. Octob. paulo ante solis exortum ...*

²⁷ Verg. *georg.* 1.32-35: *anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas, qua locus Erigonen inter Chelaeque sequentis / panditur (ipse tibi iam brachia contrahit ardens / Scorpios et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit).* The Latin text and the English translation of Virgil’s *Georgics* follow FAIRCLOUGH / GOOLD ²1932.

²⁸ *Anth. Lat.* 618.4 Riese (... *et Libram qui Caesar habet ...*).

²⁹ Manil. 4.546-555; 773-777.

³⁰ Germ. 558-560: *hic, Auguste, tuum genitali corpore numen / attonitas inter gentis patriamque parentem / in caelum tulit et maternis reddidit astris.*

stars of the *Libra* or the *Sidus Iulium*,³¹ according to the conception that was already Pythagorean of this zodiacal sign as ‘Door of souls’. A further explanation concerns the position of the moon and the *Pars Fortunae* at the time of the birth of *Augustus*, both in the sign of *Capricornus*.³² Nevertheless, in the Augustan propaganda, the dominant role was assumed by *Capricornus* and not by *Libra*.³³ Cf. Manilius, who wrote: “but you, Capricorn, are the King of all that is placed under the setting sun (...)”.³⁴

There are many depictions of *Capricornus* associated with Augustus in coins and imperial monuments around the world. The typology of the *Capricornus* is found on important coin series in various metals and of various ticks: *Cistophori* of Pergamon³⁵ (fig. 12); *Aurei*³⁶ (fig. 13) and *Denarii* struck in a Gallic or Hispanic mint, often identified as *Colonia Patricia*,³⁷ *Denarii* coined in *Lugdunum*;³⁸ *Aurei* probably from *Ephesus*³⁹ and *Denarii* of unknown oriental mint;⁴⁰ *Denarii* of Pythodorus, Queen of the Pontus between AD 8 and 22/23⁴¹ (fig. 14). The King of Mauritania Iubas II resumed *Capricornus* on his coins, because he was benefitted by Augustus with the grant of the Kingdom⁴² (fig. 15). Taking advantage of his birth date, we also find the typology of *Capricornus* in the coinage issues of Titus, born on December 30, in AD 39⁴³ (fig. 16).

³¹ LA ROCCA 2017, 109-110.

³² LA ROCCA 2017, 109.

³³ LA ROCCA 2017, 110, with complete previous bibliography.

³⁴ Manil. 4.791-796: *Tu, Capricorne, regis quidquid sub sole cadente / est positum gelidamque Helicen quod tangit ab illo / Hispanas gentes et quot fert Gallia dives / teque feris dignam tantum Germania matrem / asserit ambiguum sidus terraeque marisque / aestibus assiduis pontum terrasque sequentem*. Cf. LA ROCCA 2017, 113-114.

³⁵ RIC 489. C. 17. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 94, Lot 4.

³⁶ RIC 81. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 107, Lot 261.

³⁷ RIC² 126.

³⁸ RIC 174. C. 147.

³⁹ RIC² 521.

⁴⁰ RIC² 542.

⁴¹ RPC 3803. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 333, Lot 46.

⁴² CNNM 213. Soler y Llach (formerly Martí Hervera & Soler y Llach), Subasta 1076, Lot 109.

⁴³ RIC II² 19. Gemini, LLC, Auction 13, Lot 161.



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15

of the coins is lower than the other coins of Cyprus, Amandry believes that the chronology of the coin is to be placed towards the end of the reign of Augustus.⁴⁸

The coin series had originally been attributed to the Kingdom of Commagene, I believe because of two bronze coin series, minted by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, who reigned from AD 38 to 72. In the first series we see on the front the head of the King turned to the right, while at the obverse we find a Capricorn within a laurel wreath⁴⁹ (fig. 18).



Fig. 18

In the second, however, on the obverse we have two riders facing left, identified by legend as ‘the sons of the King’, *Epiphanes* and *Kallinikos*, and on the reverse a Capricorn⁵⁰ (fig. 19). It should not be forgotten that Antiochus IV minted several bronze coins with the type of the zodiacal sign of *Scorpio*⁵¹ (fig. 20).



Fig. 19

⁴⁸ AMANDRY 1987, 29.

⁴⁹ RPC I 3855. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 103, Lot 84.

⁵⁰ RPC I 3861. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Triton V, Lot 560.

⁵¹ RPC I 3854. Savoca Numismatics London, Monthly London Auction 4, Lot 386.



Fig. 20

Because of these comparisons, the coin series with *Capricornus* and *Scorpio* was attributed by Wroth,⁵² based on the studies of Mionnet,⁵³ to a mint of Commagene, but already Hill, based on the consideration that “these coins are found in quantities in Cyprus”,⁵⁴ had succeeded in attributing these coinages to the Senatorial Province of Cyprus, established in 22 BC. The presence of the zodiacal sign of Capricorn led scholars to date the series to the years of Augustus, but the type on the reverse was never considered for the chronology of the coin.

If it is ascertained that the Capricorn is the zodiacal sign in which Augustus was recognized, it must be considered that the *Scorpio* was present in the representations of the final phase of his reign. E.g., observing the *Gemma Augustea*, kept at the *Kunsthistorisches Museum* of Vienna, it can be noted how the character that is shown while descending from a quadriga was identified as Tiberius,⁵⁵ born on 16 November 42 BC, under the sign of *Scorpio*, which is seen as the coat of arms of the shield placed on the trophy that the Roman legionaries are raising in the immediately lower register (fig. 21).

The importance of the zodiacal sign of Tiberius is also known for the creation of the *Castra Praetoria* to permanently house the nine *cohortes praetoriae*, the Praetorian Guard, when, in honour of the Prince, the *Scorpio* became the emblem of the military corps.⁵⁶

⁵² Cf. WROTH 1899, XLVIII and 102.

⁵³ Cf. MIONNET 1811, 110.

⁵⁴ HILL 1917, 24.

⁵⁵ Cf. SIMON 1986, 181-184.

⁵⁶ Cf. RANKOV 1994, 10.



Fig. 21

In view of the presence of the two zodiacal signs, and especially the attestations of statues and epigraphs relating to the deification of Tiberius found in various Cypriot localities, it can be assumed that the bronze series was coined towards the end of the reign of Augustus, after AD 12, when Tiberius was part of the imperial power, by the will of his stepfather. It is also possible, at the level of hypothesis, that the Cypriot coins are of the time of the advent to the throne of Tiberius himself, in AD 14, and that the good omen zodiacal sign, typical of Augustus, joined to that of the new Caesar, emphasized the concept of continuity in dynastic harmony: the father is succeeded by the son.

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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.

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- 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*.

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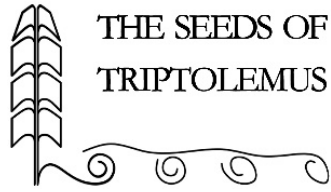
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