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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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SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS (ED.)

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS

3



THE SEEDS OF
TRIPTOLEMUS

3

Spyridon Tzounakas (ed.)

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



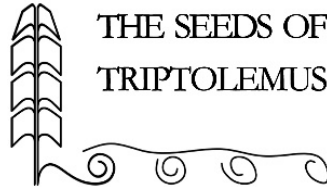
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SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography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

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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

PLINY, *NAT.* 34.81: THE BRONZE SCULPTOR STYPPAX OF CYPRUS
AND THE *SPLANCHNOPTES*

Antonio Corso

University of Cyprus

Styppax was a Greek from Cyprus,¹ who moved to Athens probably following the war on Cyprus of 451-449 BC between the Athenians and the Persians. During this war, the Athenians, after their unsuccessful siege of Citium, were able to prevail upon the Persians near Salamis of Cyprus both by land and sea (Thuc. 1.112.4).² This fact would suggest that Styppax may have been a Salaminian.

According to ancient tradition, he made a bronze votive statue, erected in the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Acropolis of Athens which represented a young craftsman who had fallen down from over a pediment of the Parthenon,³ was seriously wounded and miraculously recovered. The young man was represented, while attending a sacrifice of animal entrails roasting and with full cheeks blowing on the fire. The *anathema* was a thanks offering to Athena, who was thought to have appeared to Pericles in a dream and revealed to him the medicinal plant, which healed the young man. The statue was a dedication by the same Pericles. The completion of the architectural frame of the pediments of the Parthenon around 438 BC constitutes the *terminus post quem* for the dedication of this statue: this information is argued by Pliny (*nat.* 22.44 and 34.81) and by Plutarch (*Per.* 13.8). The early Hellenistic Athenian antiquarian Philochorus has been sometime regarded the primary authority for this information handed down by Roman imperial writers.⁴

The statue was therefore erected sometime in the years after 438 BC. The subject of a young man surprised by the viewer while in mid-action is typically Myronian. Moreover, the theme of a young man, attending a sacrifice and blowing on the fire, seems close to creations of Lycius, the son of Myron, as

¹ On Styppax, see MORENO 1966, 535-536 and CORSO 2004, 40-44, from where some ideas are repeated here. With this article I go much deeper into the question of the *Splanchnoptes* than I did before: I take into consideration the new example of the *Splanchnoptes* published very recently by IGNATIADOU 2016 and I explore the connection of this type with cult practises of Cyprus. Finally, I try to place the information by Pliny within the Flavian historical context.

² On Cimon's expedition to Cyprus, see PARKER 1976, 30-38.

³ On the Parthenon and Pericles' building policy, the bibliography is of course huge. Here I cite only SHEAR 2016.

⁴ See COSTA 2007.

it is argued especially by Pliny (*nat.* 34.79).⁵ Representations of sacrificing youths, devoted to this specific action on vase painting and on a mirror and dated to the late 5th century BC and to the early 4th century BC (figs. 1 and 2), are probably inspired to this renowned creation.⁶



Fig. 1: Splanchnoptes on Attic *pelike* by the Academy Painter, of the late 5th century BC, Catania, Museo Archeologico dell'Università, nr. 9418.



Fig. 2: Splanchnoptes Satyr on bronze mirror of the beginning of the 4th century BC, from grave nr. 3 of Aenea, at Thessaloniki, National Archaeological Museum, underside, drawing E. Mavrovitou.

⁵ See CORSO 2006.

⁶ See RIZZA 1959/1960; ARIAS 1965; GEBAUER 2002, 432-436; IGNATIADOU 2016.

A Roman statue of Hadrianic period from the Olympieion of Athens (fig. 3) reveals a substantial agreement with the figures on vase-painting and is thus likely to derive from Styppax' statue, as a variation if not as a copy.⁷



Fig. 3: Splanchnoptes, marble statue from the terrace of the Olympieion, at Athens, National Archaeological Museum, nr. 248.

Both the relevant passages of Pliny and this statue reveal the enduring fame of this masterpiece in the period from the Flavians until Hadrian. The statue perhaps of a *splanchnoptes* from near the Olympieion of Athens probably reveals also that sacrifices of *splanchna* were being operated on this terrace.⁸ This Hadrianic example should also be explained in the context of the deep nostalgia for the age of Pericles which is typical of the middle-imperial culture

⁷ See MAYER 1893 and KALTSAS 2002, 89, nr. 154.

⁸ On the Olympieion, see TÖLLE-KASTENBEIN 1994.

and which determined the carving of many statues inspired by masterpieces of Pericles' Athens during this period.⁹

The sinuous style of this type is one of the moments of the progressive meditations of S-shaped figures, which seem to have been carried out in the Myronian school. Moreover, the image is enlarged on one side, with the representation of the spit. The act of blowing on the fire (the latter element having not been represented) endows the creation with the flavour of an idyllic picture.

However, the type of figure adopted for this creation is still a late-Severan one: this fact perhaps may be explained with the circumstance that Styppax had not been educated to bronze sculpture in one of the centres of elaboration of the classical styles, such as Athens and Argos.¹⁰ In any case, the re-interpretation of an earlier style, according to a stage-like conception of the image, relates this sculptor also to Alcámenes.¹¹

Styppax, perhaps in the late 30s of the 5th century BC, moved to Olympia, where he made the *hippaphesis* of the local hippodrome,¹² as we know from *Laterculi Alexandrini* 8.15-17.¹³ Cedrenus, *Compendium historiarum* 322 c, suggests that Phidias was charged of the chryselephantine Zeus of Olympia¹⁴ thanks to the crucial influence of Pericles.¹⁵ Thus it is at least possible that another artist close to the circle of Pericles, Styppax, was commissioned this important task in the hippodrome of the *Altis* thanks to the lobby of the same important statesman. In this period Elis tries to get rid of the hegemony of Sparta by moving closer to Athens: this policy will peak with the formal alliance between Elis, Mantinea, Argos and Athens of 420-419 BC (IG I³ 83).¹⁶

Probably a Cypriot bronze sculptor had been charged of the dedication of the *Splanchnoptes* because this moment of a sacrifice was particularly regarded on Cyprus, as we know from Hegesander of Delphi, *Hypommemata*,¹⁷ in Athenaeus 4.174a, who records the local epiklesis of Zeus *Splanchnotomos* on Cyprus¹⁸ probably in the 2nd century BC.

⁹ See e.g. GASPARRI 2005/2006.

¹⁰ On the stylistic milieu of this period, see BORBEIN 2016.

¹¹ On Alcámenes, see GIUDICE 2008.

¹² On the Hippodrome of Olympia, see EBERT 1991.

¹³ On the *Laterculi Alexandrini*, see HEBERT 1986.

¹⁴ On Phidias and the Zeus of Olympia the bibliography is of course huge. Here I cite only HUNEKE 2016.

¹⁵ I vindicated this testimony in CORSO 1992, 131-132.

¹⁶ See TOD 1946, 72; BENGTON 1975, 193; OSBORNE / RHODES 2017, 165.

¹⁷ On Hegesander, see PELLING 2016.

¹⁸ On this epiklesis, see FARAONE 2001.

Finally, the divination through the *splanchna* was practiced on Cyprus at Paphos in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, as we know from Tacitus, *hist.* 2.2-4: Tacitus refers to this practice in the context of his history of the Flavian period and in particular of the visit paid by Titus to Paphos,¹⁹ but he also stresses the remote antiquity of this tradition.²⁰ Thus Styppax may have specialized in representing young men roasting *splanchna* already on Cyprus.

Pliny's inclusion of Styppax and of his bronze statue of the *Splanchnoptes* in his selective catalogue of the most important bronze statues with the specification that the sculptor was a Cypriot and the positive prediction for the Flavian rule of the empire argued at Paphos handed down by Tacitus may be linked: Pliny with the above mentioned specification may have paid an oblique homage to the good omen lavished on Titus by Sostratus, priest of Paphian Aphrodite, through the examination of the *splanchna*.

¹⁹ On this passage, see BARZANÒ 1983 and TZOUNAKAS 2020.

²⁰ On the preservation of remote traditions in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos in the early imperial period, see FRANKLIN 2016.

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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.

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.

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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.

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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*.

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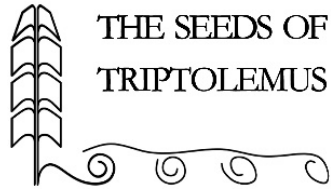
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