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C. SOSIUS: HIS COINS, HIS TRIUMPH, AND HIS  
TEMPLE OF APOLLO

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## C. SOSIUS: HIS COINS, HIS TRIUMPH, AND HIS TEMPLE OF APOLLO\*

FREDERICK W. SHIPLEY

[Among the many intellectual interests of a many-sided man, there were three which absorbed Mr. Wulffing's attention more than the rest: Roman Coins, Roman History and Roman Archaeology. I have selected this topic for presentation at this memorial meeting in honor of one of my best and oldest friends because it is one which relates itself to all three of his chief lines of interest.]

While gathering material for the chapter on the building activities of the *Viri Triumphales* from 44 B. C. to 14 A. D., which will appear in Volume IX of the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*,<sup>1</sup> I became interested in a group of problems concerning C. Sosius, one of the *Triumphales* of this period. Like so many of the generals of Octavian and Antony during the period of the second triumvirate, the activities of this staunch follower of Antony are mentioned only sporadically by the historians, and a sketch of his life and the part which he played in the drama whose last act resulted in the establishment of the Empire must be pieced together from many scattered and disconnected data. Among these data we have a series of coins bearing the name of C. Sosius, struck on the island of Zacynthus; three epigraphic references to the triumph which he celebrated on September 3, 34 B. C.; and two passages in Pliny which connect his name with a statue of Apollo brought from Seleucia, and a temple of Apollo in Rome. It is with the relation of these three sets of data to each other and to the scattered references of historians that this paper is primarily concerned.

A word is perhaps necessary, by way of preliminary, in regard to the political conditions in the Roman world from November 27, 43 B. C. to 31, the period roughly covered by

\* Presented at a memorial meeting in honor of John Max Wulffing held under the joint auspices of Washington University and the St. Louis Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, February 18, 1930.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 9-42.

these coins and the other data in regard to Sosius. The second triumvirate was a combination effected by Antony, Octavian and Lepidus for the purpose of uniting the various Cæsarian groups against the Senatorial party and the rising power of Brutus and Cassius in the East. Lepidus simply figures as third man in the combination, from which he was eliminated in 36 B. C. by Octavian. Antony and Octavian were the real factors. Antony had great prestige as the most experienced of the generals of the former dictator; the twenty-year-old Octavian had almost equal prestige as Cæsar's heir and adopted son. They were rivals from the day when Octavian landed in Italy after the murder of Cæsar. In the autumn of 44 and spring of 43, Octavian had commanded a detachment of the Senatorial army which fought Antony at Mutina. Expediency brought them together in the triumvirate; they fought the campaign of Philippi together in 42; but they continued to be rivals none the less. After Philippi, the shrewd Antony took over the richer eastern portions of the empire, and the more glorious program of carrying out Cæsar's almost completed plans for the Parthian War, sending his twenty-one year old colleague back to Italy and assigning to him the most difficult of all tasks, the problem of post war economic reconstruction and the appropriation of lands to satisfy the extravagant promises which they both had made to the veterans. Antony was not actuated by the most generous of motives. With Sextus Pompey in Sicily and Domitius Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic, both in command of outlaw fleets and throttling Italy's commerce and food supplies on both sides, and Antony's brother and his strong-willed and politically active wife obstructing the efforts of Octavian at post war settlements, the task was one with which an older head could hardly cope, much less the youthful and inexperienced Octavian. All this Antony foresaw. He no doubt hoped that circumstances would eliminate his rival. In fact, they nearly did so, but not quite. Octavian was able to main-

tain his difficult position in Italy and the West. The two remained partners, in form at least; they even became brothers-in-law in 40 B. C.; but they remained rivals none the less, Antony in the East and Octavian in the West, with each side jockeying for position. Each had his own set of followers who were pawns in the game and were appointed to the consulship several years in advance by an agreement made in 39 B. C. Antony shrewdly saw to it that as the triumvirate was due to expire either at the beginning or the end of 32, the consuls for 32 should be two of his own followers and agents. One of these was Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the other was C. Sosius, whose actions on the first day of their consulship precipitated the Civil War which ended at Actium with the elimination of Antony.

Let us first take up the coins. Besides the description in Babelon *Monn. Rep. Rom.*,<sup>2</sup> and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins of Rom. Rep.*,<sup>3</sup> they have been discussed by Percy Gardner in *Num. Chron.*, Volume V, 1885, 101-104, in which he has taken up the coinage of Zacynthus from the earliest times, and by Bahrfeldt in *Int. Jour. Numis.*, Volume XI, 1908, 215-229 in an article entitled, *Sosius, Proculeius, Crassus*. I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. von Bahrfeldt for permission to use the cuts given below.

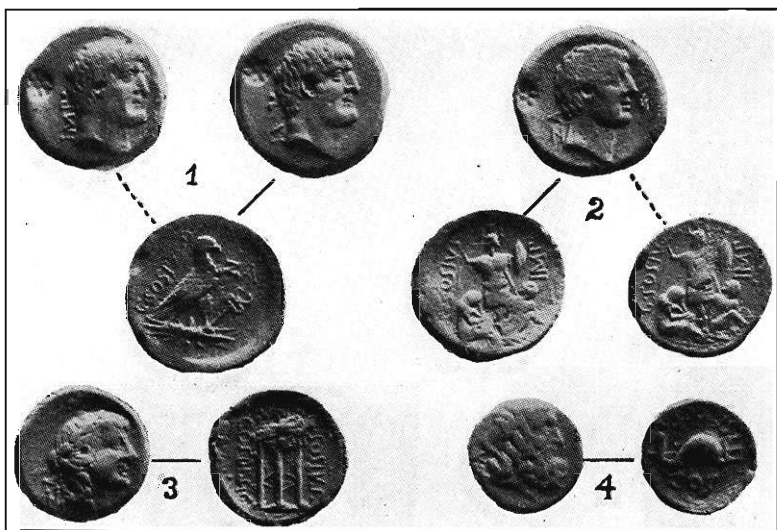
The coins which bore the name of Sosius all have either on the obverse or reverse the letters ZA. As a number of them were found on Zacynthus, and type 3 was traditional on that island, it has been rightly assumed that ZA stands for Zacynthus. This was one of the Ionian islands, the modern Zante, and was within the sphere of influence of Antony in the division of the Roman world which Octavian and Antony arranged between them after the battle of Philippi. The first two types carry on the obverse the head of Antony, who held the *imperium maius*, and as all of them date before the battle of

<sup>2</sup> II, 462f.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction xxxiv; Vol. II, p. 504, 508, 509, 524, 525.

Actium they were all struck under his hegemony though no reference to him appears upon types 3 and 4. Sosius was one of Antony's generals, and in the latter part of 32 B. C. and in the following year until the battle of Actium was a *praefectus classis* for Antony in the Ionian Sea and therefore operating in the vicinity of Zacynthus. But as the coins were struck at intervals ranging from 39 to 32 or 31 B. C., during part of which time Sosius was governor of Syria, we may assume with Gardner<sup>4</sup> that Sosius was for the entire period master of the revenues of the island, a conclusion in which Bahrfeldt concurs.<sup>5</sup>

The coins, bronze, are as follows:<sup>6</sup>



COINS OF C. SOSIUS

<sup>4</sup>*Op. cit.*, p. 102. Grueber, *B M C Rom. Rep.* II, 504, 509, while admitting this possibility, points out that each issue seems to be contemporaneous with his journeys eastward or westward, and therefore to mark his presence in the island.

<sup>5</sup>*Int. Jour. Num.* XI, p. 219. Proeuleius seems to have exercised a similar function over the revenues of the neighboring island of Cephallenia under Augustus (*op. cit.* p. 226).

<sup>6</sup>The cuts are reproduced from *Int. Jour. Num.* XI, plate XIII. The heavy

## NO. 1

*Obverse:* head of Antony r. bare; left, and close to neck I M P · (= *Imperator*); near left edge behind head a counter-mark resembling a star inscribed in a circle.

*Reverse:* eagle with closed wings, standing r. on thunderbolt; behind, C · SOSIUS · Q · (= *Quaestor*); before, caduceus and ZA (= *Zakynthos*).

As Antony is styled IMP · only, the date of this coin falls before the middle of 39 B. C. and not earlier than 42. Because of the Ptolemaic type of the reverse, Bahrfeldt<sup>7</sup> places it after the beginning of Antony's relations with Cleopatra in the autumn of 41, and fixes upon 40 B. C. as the probable date. Grueber<sup>8</sup> places it *circ.* 39 B. C.

Q no doubt stands for *quaestor*. This is a little surprising, as a C. Sosius, usually identified with Sosius of the coins, was praetor in 49 B. C. and had previously been quaestor to M' Aemilius, consul in 66 B. C.<sup>9</sup> If the identification is correct, his present quaestorship must have been a special commission of some importance, since Antony about this time (39 B. C.) named him for the consulship and in 38 B. C. appointed him governor of Syria. This question is discussed more fully on p. 79.

## NO. 2

*Obverse:* head of Antony r., bare; behind neck ZA. Counter-mark as in No. 1.

*Reverse:* military trophy, at the base of which are two cowering captives, a female figure on the left, and a male figure on the right. At the sides of the trophy, left, C. SOSIUS; right, IMP · (= *Imperator*).

This coin refers to the capture of Jerusalem by Sosius on October 3, 37 B. C. when, as governor of Syria, acting under orders from Antony, he undertook to place Herod on the

line — connects the obverse and reverse of the same coin. The broken line ---- connects obverse and reverse of the same type, but not of the same coin.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 220.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 504.

<sup>9</sup> *Cic. Ad. Att.* VIII, 6, 1; IX, 1, 2.

throne of Judaea. Sosius celebrated a triumph at Rome *ex Judaea* on September 3, 34 B. C. The coin may have been struck soon after the victory, or later on his way back to Rome to celebrate his triumph. The title IMP· indicates that Sosius was acclaimed *imperator* by his legions, and the title was confirmed by Antony. Grueber, *op. cit.* II, 509, suggests that the captives at the foot of the trophy represent Judaea and Antigonus. For the events connected with this coin, see p. 79 f.

## NO. 3

*Obverse*: head of Apollo r., laureate; hair long; behind neck ZA.

*Reverse*: tripod; on right, C·SOSIVS·; on left, COS·DESIG (= consul designatus).

Sosius was consul in 32 B. C., and therefore would be legally consul designate in 33. According to Appian, (B. C. V, 73) by the agreement of Misenum in 39 B. C. he became consul designate for 36. But, as the title is not used on coin No. 2 which was certainly struck in 37 or later, it is perhaps best to conclude that No. 3 was not struck until 33. This coin presents certain problems which will be discussed later (p. 80 f.).

## NO. 4

*Obverse*: head of Neptune r., laureate; behind neck ZA.

*Reverse*: dolphin encircling trident; above, C·SOSIVS; below, COS (= Consul).

Sosius entered on his consulship on January 1, B. C. 32. Early in January, he fled to Antony, along with his colleague Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, but must have continued to consider himself consul. Before Actium we find him in command of a detachment of Antony's fleet which moved to the Ionian Sea late in 32. It was probably while acting in this capacity that he struck this coin, with its symbol of sea power.

We shall have occasion later to discuss some additional points in regard to the coins. Let us now take up some of the other known data in regard to Sosius.



C. Sosius was the first and almost the only representative of the name to play an important role in history. Cicero in two letters of 49 B. C.<sup>10</sup> mentions a C. Sosius who was then praetor, and had been quaestor to M' Lepidus (consul in 66 B. C.), who was looked upon as a Pompeian, but who, instead of joining Pompey, continued to hold court in Rome. It has been supposed that this Sosius and the Sosius of the coins are one and the same. Possibly they were. In which case he joined Cæsar and, after Cæsar's death, Antony. But this identification presents a serious difficulty. We next find him (on coin No. 1, struck in 40 or 39 B. C.) acting in the capacity of *quaestor* to Antony after having already held not only the quaestorship but also the praetorship. The identification is therefore difficult but not impossible.<sup>11</sup> We have, as the other horn of the dilemma, to explain why Antony at the peace of Misenum in 39 should stipulate that a mere *quaestor* should be slated for the consulship of 36,<sup>12</sup> or why in 38 B. C. he made him governor of the important province of Syria with the title of proconsul.<sup>13</sup> If the Q of coin No. 1 stands for *quaestor*, Sosius must have held, as already suggested,<sup>14</sup> a special commission of some significance, which included the control of the revenues of an island of considerable strategic importance.

In 38 B. C. he succeeded P. Ventidius as governor of Syria,<sup>15</sup> with the rank of proconsul, and defeated the Aradii.<sup>16</sup> The next year, acting under the orders of Antony he marched against Jerusalem<sup>17</sup> with the object of placing Herod on the throne of Judaea. In 39 B. C., about the time of the peace of Misenum, Herod had appealed to Antony and Octavian

<sup>10</sup> *Ad Att.* VIII, 6, 1; IX, 1, 2.

<sup>11</sup> We have the case of Agrippa who took the aedileship for 33 B. C. after having held the consulship in 37.

<sup>12</sup> Appian, *B. C.* V, 73. His information is sketchy. Sosius actually held the consulship in 32 B. C.

<sup>13</sup> *Fasti Triumph. Capitolin. C. I. L.* I<sup>2</sup> p. 50.

<sup>14</sup> See p. 77.

<sup>15</sup> Dio XLIX, 22, 3 adds Cilicia to his province.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Joseph. *Ant.*, XIX, 15 f.; *Bell. Jud.* I, 17, 2-18, 3; Dio XLIX, 22.

against the rival claimant Antigonus, who had been set upon the throne with the aid of the Parthians, Rome's traditional enemies in the East. The task of placing him on the throne, then in possession of Antigonus, was assigned to Sosius who in conjunction with Herod took Jerusalem<sup>18</sup> after a five months' siege on October 3, B. C. 37. For this success Sosius was acclaimed *Imperator* by the legions and the title was confirmed by Antony, as is shown by the title IMP· on Coin No. 2, which was struck to commemorate this victory, either shortly after the event or perhaps on his way back to Rome to celebrate his triumph three years later. Grueber<sup>19</sup> believes that of the two cowering figures at the foot of the trophy the male figure on the right represents Antigonus, and the female on the left, Judaea. Sosius apparently remained as governor of Syria until relieved by Munatius Plancus in 35 B. C.

We have no record of his activities between this time and September 3, 34 B. C. when he celebrated at Rome his deferred triumph, which undoubtedly had been conceded to him by Antony along with the title of *imperator*. On his way back from the East he may have stopped at Zacynthus and there struck coin No. 2 in 35 or 34. The triumph is recorded with the date in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini*:<sup>20</sup> C·SOSIVS·C·F·T·N·PROCOS·EX·IVDAEA·AN·DCCXIX·III·NONAS·SEPTEMBR· It is also recorded in the *Tab. Triumph. Barberiniana*.<sup>21</sup> He is mentioned as *Triumphalis* in an inscription.<sup>22</sup> I shall have occasion to speak later about the triumph in connection with the problem of the temple of Apollo.

After his triumph Sosius appears to have remained in Rome as Antony's agent, along with Domitius Ahenobarbus, looking after Antony's interests during the somewhat tense two years which would conclude the ten years of the trium-

<sup>18</sup> Joseph. *Ant.* XIV, 16 1 f.; XV, 1, 1; *Bell.* I, 18, 2; Dio XLIX, 22, 3; Plut. *Ant.* 34, 6; Seneca *Suas.* II, 21; Tac. *Hist.* V, 9.

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 509.

<sup>21</sup> *C. I. L.* I, 3 p. 76.

<sup>20</sup> *C. I. L.* I, 3 p. 50.

<sup>22</sup> *C. I. L.* IX, 4855.

virate. As has already been mentioned, Antony had shrewdly seen to it that the consuls for the crucial year 32, the eve of the expiration of the triumvirate, should be his own agents. We have no information about the elections, but presumably they occurred at the usual time, July, in the year 33. Coin No. 3 has on it COS·DESIG. Technically, Sosius would not have been *consul designatus* until after the elections of 33 B. C., although it is possible that he used the title before that time by virtue of the fact that he had been named for the consulship by the triumvirs in 39.<sup>23</sup> But the fact that this title does not appear on coin No. 2 which was struck after October 3, 37 B. C. would seem to show that Sosius was not using the title in this informal sense and it is therefore safer to confine the title on the coin to the last half of 33 B. C. This date becomes important in connection with the problem of the temple of Apollo, to be discussed later.

On January 1, 32 B. C., Sosius entered on his consulship along with Domitius Ahenobarbus, a critical year, as we have said, since legally the triumvirate expired on that date or would expire on the last day of the year, depending on whether the ten years of the triumvirate should be reckoned from its beginning or from the formal renewal for five years on January 1, 36.<sup>24</sup> In the absence of Octavian, who absented himself deliberately in order that his enemies might declare themselves, the outspoken Sosius took advantage of the occasion to praise Antony and launch a bitter invective against Octavian. He would have proposed measures against him in the Senate had not one of the tribunes, Nonius Balbus, interposed his veto. Cæsar returned to Rome, called a meeting of the Senate which he surrounded with armed men, took his seat between the two consuls, and promised to lay before a subsequent meeting all the evidence which he had accumulated

<sup>23</sup> Antony himself had created a precedent for such a use of the term on coins ranging from 39 to 37 B. C. He is represented as COS. DESIG. ITER. ET. TER., although he was not consul for the second time until 34, and was to have been consul for the third time in 31.

<sup>24</sup> Gardthausen, *August. I*, 347.

against Antony. Sosius and Ahenobarbus, realizing that the game was up, did not wait for this third meeting, but fled to Antony before their consulship was more than a few days, or at most a few weeks, old.<sup>25</sup> This fact also becomes important in connection with the traditional dating of Sosius' rebuilding of the temple of Apollo (see p. 83 f.).

After the outbreak of hostilities, we find Sosius commanding a detachment of Antony's fleet shortly before the battle of Actium. With it he defeated a portion of Cæsar's fleet commanded by Lucius Tarius Rufus, but was himself robbed of the fruits of victory by Agrippa.<sup>26</sup> He commanded a division of Antony's fleet at Actium,<sup>27</sup> hid for some time after the battle, was subsequently captured, but allowed to go free by Cæsar.<sup>28</sup>

Coin No. 4, with the legend C·SOSIVS·COS, is to be referred to 32, probably the latter half, when his activities as a naval commander would best explain the three emblems on the coin: the head of Neptune, the dolphin and the trident.

After Actium we hear no more of Sosius for fourteen years. A personage of the same name is in the list of *XV viri sacris faciundis* in the records of the *Ludi Saeculares* of 17 B. C. It is not certain that he was our Sosius. It may have been a son. However, Wissowa seems to have connected coin No. 3 with the quindecimvirate, because of the tripod on the reverse. This problem is discussed on p. 85 f.

So much for his life, and coins No. 1, 2 and 4. Let us now return to his triumph of 34 B. C. and, incidentally, to coin No. 3.

It was customary for a *triumphalis* to commemorate his triumph by the erection of a monumental building.<sup>29</sup> The

<sup>25</sup> These events of January of this year are narrated in considerable detail in Dio I. 3.

<sup>26</sup> Dio L, 14, if the text is correct, says that he lost his life, but as he mentions him later in two different places (see Note 28) this statement is an obvious slip.

<sup>27</sup> Vell. II, 85; Plut. *Ant.* 65.

<sup>28</sup> Dio LI, 2, 4; LVI, 38, 2.

<sup>29</sup> I have discussed this subject in my chapter on the Building Activities of the *Viri Triumphales*, *Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*, Vol. IX, p. 11. f. (now in proof).

historians do not record any such commemorative building for Sosius. In fact, they do not even mention his triumph, concerning which we are indebted for our knowledge to the *Fasti Triumphales* carved upon the Regia, to the *Tabula Barberiniana*, and an inscription in which he is called *triumphalis*.<sup>30</sup> But from references in Pliny, it has been assumed that Sosius rebuilt the temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius, originally dedicated by Cn. Julius Cæsar in 431 B. C.,<sup>31</sup> and restored in 353.<sup>32</sup> Those responsible for this conjecture, however, did not think to connect the building with his triumph, but rather with his consulship, an impossible dating, as I shall presently endeavor to show.

Pliny, in his *N. H.* 13, 53, says: *Cedrinus est Romæ in delubro Apollo Sosianus, Seleucia advectus*. This was a statue of cedar wood, called *Apollo Sosianus*, and brought from Seleucia in the province of Syria, of which Sosius was governor from 38 B. C. to 36. It was while he was governor of this province that he captured Jerusalem in 37 B. C., for which exploit Sosius celebrated his triumph as is indicated in the *Fasti Triumphales Capitolini* by the addition of the words *ex Iudæa*. Pliny again in *N. H.* 36, 28, mentions a *templum Apollinis Sosiani*. We have, therefore, definite evidence that the name of a Sosius was connected with a statue and temple of Apollo, and the words *Seleucia advectus* make it certain that the Sosius was the man we are considering.

The old temple in the Campus Martius, as we learn from the *Hemerologium* of the Arval Brothers,<sup>33</sup> was in the vicinity of the later theatre of Marcellus: *Apollini ad theatrum Marcelli*. Asconius also has a reference which gives its location even more definitely. In commenting on Cicero, *In Toga Candida*, (Asc. p. 90) he emphasizes the fact that the temple of Apollo mentioned by Cicero was not the famous temple built by Augustus on the Palatine: *Sed*

<sup>30</sup> References given in notes 20-22.

<sup>32</sup> *Id.* VII, 20, 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Livy* IV, 29, 7.

<sup>33</sup> *C. I. L.* I, p. 215.

illam demonstrari, quae est extra portam Carmentalem, inter forum holitorium et circum Flaminium; ea enim sola tum quidem Apollinis aedes.

This would seem to imply that the only temple of Apollo at the time when Cicero delivered his speech in 64 B. C. was the temple in the Campus Martius. If this is the temple restored by Sosius, as the topographers believe, with but one dissenting voice,<sup>34</sup> one has to account for the adding to it of the name *Sosianus*. I think that the explanation is furnished by the above passage of Asconius. The new temple on the Palatine vowed by Octavian in 36 B. C. and dedicated in 28 B. C. became after Actium *the temple of Apollo par excellence*, and it became necessary to use some designation by which to distinguish the older temple, either an indication of place, such as *ad theatrum Marcelli*, *ad Octaviae porticum*, or the name of the restorer, *Apollinis Sosiani*.

I have said that before the final break there was considerable jockeying for position between the agents of Antony and the followers of Octavian. The fact that Octavian had vowed, and was engaged in building, a new temple to Apollo, made the reconstruction of the old one a rival enterprise. Even religion is made to play its part in politics. Shortly after Octavian had vowed his temple, Sosius returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph and to play his part as Antony's agent. He brings with him his statue of Apollo from Seleucia, a work no doubt of some prestige, both artistic and religious; and with it he undertakes to lend a new distinction to the old temple which he now rebuilt and thereby to counteract any religious advantage that would accrue to Octavian from the building of the new temple. This serves to explain how the name of Apollo Sosianus came to be attached to the old temple, to distinguish it from the new temple on the Palatine

<sup>34</sup> Delbrück, *Der Apollo-tempel auf dem Marsfelde*, p. 3, who makes the temple of Apollo Sosianus a different edifice from that *ad porticum Octaviae*. This conclusion hardly suits the statement of Asconius.

which, after its dedication in 28 B. C., became *the* temple of Apollo.

The topographers have connected the reconstruction of the temple by Sosius with his consulship in 32 B. C., or have arbitrarily and erroneously placed it in 31 B. C.<sup>35</sup> Sosius was indeed consul in 32 B. C. but, as we have seen (p. 81 f.), he left Rome and fled to Antony before the third meeting of the Senate for the month of January of that year, along with his colleague Domitius Ahenobarbus. He was with Antony at Actium. His absence from Rome, and his participation in the Civil War as a general of Antony, must have prevented any building operations on his part in 32 or 31. While he was pardoned by Octavian, it is not likely that, after the elimination of Antony, so rabid an Antonian would have been allowed to rebuild the old temple of Apollo in rivalry with the temple of Apollo which Octavian was himself then building. The rebuilding must, therefore, be placed before 32 B. C., when Sosius was an out and out opponent of Octavian. The only possible time seems to be between 34 and 32 B. C., when Sosius, after the celebration of his triumph, stayed on in Rome as Antony's agent and as *consul designatus*.

This brings us back to coin No. 3 with the head of Apollo on the obverse and the tripod on the reverse. Wissowa<sup>36</sup> connected the tripod with the quindecimvirate, since a C. Sosius is mentioned among the *XV viri sacris faciundis* on the inscription which records the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 B. C.<sup>37</sup> The connection is possible, and a similar explanation was offered by Borghesi<sup>38</sup> in regard to a coin of Cassius.<sup>39</sup> But the words COS · DESIG show that coin No. 3 was struck before the end of 33, about the time when Sosius brought to Rome the statue of Apollo and built or rebuilt the

<sup>35</sup> Those who place it in 31 B. C. may have been influenced by the fact that Dio L, 10, 3 mentions a fire which in that year destroyed the temple of Spes, some hundred metres away.

<sup>36</sup> Quoted in *Eph. Epig.* VIII, p. 241.

<sup>37</sup> *Act. Lud. Saec.*, CIL VI, 32323, line 150.

<sup>38</sup> *Oeuvres Compl.* t. I. p. 343 f.

<sup>39</sup> *B M C Rom. Rep.* II, 481.

temple, which subsequently bore the name of Apollo Sosianus. The coin type itself with the head of Apollo on the obverse and the tripod on the reverse was a traditional type<sup>40</sup> in the coinage of Zacynthus, an important center for the worship of Apollo. The type goes back to the fifth century and continues until after the Roman occupation of the island. This is the only<sup>41</sup> coin of Sosius which suggests any connection with the older coinage of Zacynthus. May not the bringing back of this traditional Apollo-tripod type at this particular time bear some relation to the active interest of Sosius in the Apollo cult as evidenced by his bringing the statue to Rome and the building of a temple of Apollo? If our Sosius is to be identified at all with the *XV vir sacris faciundis*, his election to that college in 34 B. C. or 33 B. C. is readily explained on the same grounds. It could hardly have occurred after the events of the year 32.

If the identification of the temple of Apollo Sosianus with the old temple on the Campus Martius is correct, it contained many other statues besides that which Sosius brought from Seleucia, which Pliny mentions quite incidentally to illustrate the use of cedar wood for statuary. In two passages from Book XXXVI he mentions other statues by famous artists: two statues of Apollo, one nude, Latona, Diana, and the nine Muses by Philiscus of Rhodes; a statue of Apollo Citharoedus by Timarchides;<sup>42</sup> and the famous group of Niobids which he hesitates whether to ascribe to Scopas or Praxiteles.<sup>43</sup> He also mentions paintings by Aristides of Thebes.<sup>44</sup> The temple

<sup>40</sup> See plates in Gardner, *op. cit.*; also p. 83.

<sup>41</sup> The reverse of coin No. 1 was apparently inspired by Ptolemaic coinage (Bahrfeldt, *op. cit.*, p. 220). The trophy on No. 2 is Roman in spirit. No. 4, with Neptune, dolphin and trident, while suitable to an island coinage, is the first example of its kind in the coinage of Zacynthus, and no doubt refers to the naval activities of Sosius as *praefectus classis*.

<sup>42</sup> XXXVI, 34-35: . . . . ad Octaviae vero porticum Apollo Philisci Rhodii in delubro suo, item Latona et Diana et Musae novem et alter Apollo nudus. Eum qui citharam in eodem templo tenet Timarchides fecit.

<sup>43</sup> XXXVI, 28; Par haesitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosiani, Niobae liberos morientes Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit. . . .

<sup>44</sup> XXXVI, 99.



must have been a veritable museum of art, but, as it was used for meetings of the Senate,<sup>45</sup> it must have been large enough to house such a collection. It is noteworthy that the temple had no less than four statues of Apollo if we include the statue of cedar-wood. The statues of Latona, Diana, and the nine Muses, and even the group of Niobids were all germane to the cult of Apollo. These statues may have stood in the older temple, but it is not unlikely that some of them at least were placed there by Sosius.

The topographers are pretty well agreed in identifying some ruins which still exist under the cloister of S. Maria in Campitelli with this temple of Apollo.<sup>46</sup> Their location in the angle between the Porticus of Octavia and the Theatre of Marcellus corresponds to the topographical references in ancient authorities,<sup>47</sup> and the periods to which they belong correspond in general to the time of the building of the temple and its various reconstructions. These remains form part of the wall of the podium, thirteen metres long, four metres high and over two metres thick. Frank<sup>48</sup> thinks that the *cappellaccio* core may belong to the early temple of the fifth century, but assigns the Monte Verde blocks of the podium to the reconstruction of 179 B. C., and the mass of concrete with the reticulate facing to the reconstruction of Sosius. The extension of the excavations now going on in the area of the Theatre of Marcellus might yield interesting results in regard to this temple.

<sup>45</sup> Livy, XXXVII, 58, 3; Cic. *ad Quint. Frat.* II, 3, 35.

<sup>46</sup> Jordan-Hülse 1, pt. 3, 535-538; Lanciani. *Ruins and Excavations*, p. 453; *Bull. Com.* XI, 188; Delbruck, *op. cit.*, p. 10; Frank, *Rom. Buildings of the Rep.*, 131-134; Platner-Ashby, p. 16.

<sup>47</sup> Livy, III, 63, 7: in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est; XXVII, 37, 11: ab aede Apollinis boves feminae albae duae porta Carmentali in urbem ductae; XXXIV, 43, 1 and XXXVII, 58, 3: extra urbem in aede Apollinis; Asconius, *loc. cit.* (p. 83); *Mon. Anc.* IV, 22: theatrum (of Marcellus) ad aedem Apollinis; *Fasti Arv.* CIL 1,<sup>2</sup> p. 215; Apollini ad theatrum Marcelli; Plin. *N. H.* XXXVI, 34 ad Octaviae . . . porticum.

<sup>48</sup> *Rom. Buildings of the Rep.*, 133-134.





