



# Revaluing Roman Cyprus



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*Local Identity on an Island in Antiquity*

ERSIN HUSSEIN

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It is here that I must stress that any errors in, or limitations of, this work are my responsibility alone.

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# Conventions and Abbreviations

The names of ancient places and peoples are presented in this book based on personal preference and, as far as possible, aim to reflect the transliteration from the ancient Greek (e.g. Amathous, over Amathus; Kinyras, instead of Cinyras; and Teuker, rather than Teucer). Where relevant, the Leiden Conventions are used when specific details of inscriptions are discussed.

<i>AnnÉp</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
AM	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
BE	<i>Bulletin Épigraphique</i>
BMC Cyprus	G. Hill (1904) <i>Catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus</i> (Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum), London
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
c.	Casaubon pagination no.
CEG	<i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i>
CIA	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum</i>
CIG	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica</i>
FGrH	F. Jacoby (1923–) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , Leiden: Brill
FD	Th. Homolle et al. eds. (1909–) <i>Fouilles de Delphes</i> , Paris
ICA	I. Nicolaou (1963–) <i>Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae</i> , in <i>Berytus 14</i> (1963), and thereafter in <i>RDAC</i>
<i>I.Delos</i>	F. Durrbach, et al. eds. (1926–) <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> , Paris
<i>I.Ephesus</i>	W. Hermann (1979–1984) <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> , Bonn: Habelt
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i>
<i>I.Kition</i>	M. Yon, et al. eds. (2004) <i>Kition dans les textes. Testimonia littéraires et épigraphiques et Corpus des inscriptions. Kition-Bamboula</i> , V., Paris

<i>I.Kourion</i>	T. B. Mitford (1971) <i>The Inscriptions of Kourion</i> , Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i>
<i>Inscr.It.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae Academiae Italicae Consociatae ediderunt</i>
<i>I.Paphos</i>	J. B. Cayla (2003) <i>Les inscriptions de Paphos: Corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne</i> , PhD Dissertation, L'université de Paris IV-Sorbonne
<i>I.Salamis</i>	T. B. Mitford and I. K. Nicolaou (1974) <i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis</i> , Vol. 6, Nicosia, Cyprus
<i>JHS</i>	<i>The Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>LBW</i>	P. LeBas and W.H. Waddington (1870) <i>Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure</i> 3, I, Paris
<i>LGNP</i>	<i>The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names</i>
<i>OGIS</i>	<i>Oriens Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae</i>
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani</i>
<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue Archéologique</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i>
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i>
<i>Salamine de Chypre XIII</i>	J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, J. and Marcillet-Jaubert eds. (1987) <i>Salamine de Chypre XIII: Testimonia Salaminia 2, Corpus Épigraphique</i> , Paris: Diffusion de Boccard
<i>SB</i>	Regarding Cicero's <i>Letters to Atticus</i> , <i>SB</i> refers to D.R. Shackleton Bailey (1968) <i>Cicero's Letters to Atticus</i> , Vol. III., Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Regarding Cicero's <i>Letters to Friends</i> , <i>SB</i> refers to D. R. Shackleton Bailey (2001) <i>Cicero. Letters to Friends</i> , Volume I: Letters 1–113, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
<i>SCE</i>	E. Gjerstad, et al. eds. (1934–) <i>The Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Finds and results of the excavations in Cyprus, 1927–1931</i> , Stockholm
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SIG</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i>

# Introduction

This study addresses the traditional characterization of Roman Cyprus as an uneventful, insignificant, and ‘weary’ Roman province. It brings fresh insight to the study of its culture and society by taking an integrated approach and bringing together well-known and less familiar evidence to reassess local responses to Roman rule, the articulation of local identity, and cultural change in the Cypriot context. While it focuses primarily on material from the annexation of the island in 58 BC until the mid fourth century AD—or more specifically the refoundation of Salamis by Constantius II between AD 332 and 342—where relevant, space will be given to discussion of evidence from across all periods of the island’s ancient history to facilitate a meaningful investigation of the key themes of this work.

Chapter 1, ‘Ancient and Modern World Views: Cyprus and the Island Paradox’, surveys the transmission of ideas, from antiquity to the present day, about islandscapes and Cyprus’s geography to explore their impact on ancient narratives and modern scholarly approaches to the study of its Roman period. Taking cues from theories and models that have shaped the field of Roman studies more generally, the chapter reflects upon traditional approaches to the study of Roman Cyprus and discusses options for the way forward. Chapter 2, ‘The Roman Annexation and Administration of Cyprus’, further contextualizes the island’s role, status, and position in the eastern Mediterranean with an overview of the island’s annexation from Ptolemaic Egypt by Rome, its administration, and organization. Though these topics have been well studied, the chapter collates evidence relating to this period of transition in the island’s history and presents a revised list of proconsuls. It also re-evaluates the surviving evidence and sets the scene regarding the organization of the island and the multiple platforms for engagement between different groups. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the island’s internal

organization by looking at the character of its *koinon* to establish a frame of reference about locally driven aspects of its administration. The evidence explored highlights the bridge between the Roman administration and local communities. Chapter 3, 'Roman Citizenship in the Cypriot Context', revisits Mitford's 1980-published study 'Roman *Civitas* in Salamis' that drew conclusions about when, where, and how citizenship appeared in Cyprus based on the surviving epigraphic evidence. It refines and develops his observations about Roman citizenship on the island, many of which were speculative and remain dubious, through assessment of monuments of high-profile visitors, prominent local families, and individuals across the island, as well as Cypriots abroad. Chapter 4, 'Civic Identity', investigates the role of foundation myths and their associated stories in articulating collective identity to reassess the traditional characterizations of the island's *poleis*. Particular attention is paid to Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis. These settlements have been selected because they spread from the south-west to the east of the island, and their rich surviving evidence allows for useful comparisons to be made regarding the construction, articulation, and performativity of collective identity by multiple agents.

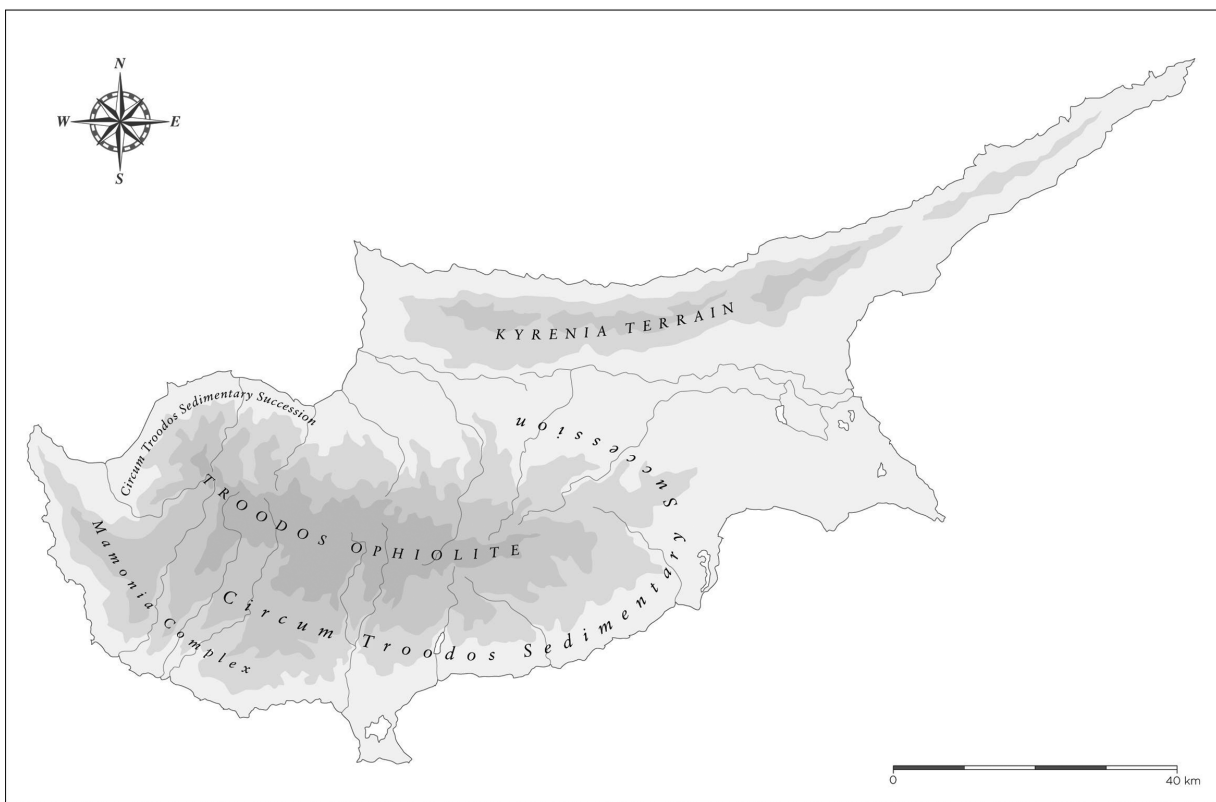
Ultimately, this monograph aims to draw attention to Roman Cyprus and champion it as a dynamic and rewarding case study for explorations of local experience and identity formation in the Roman provinces.



**Map 1** Map of Cyprus and key sites named in this study.

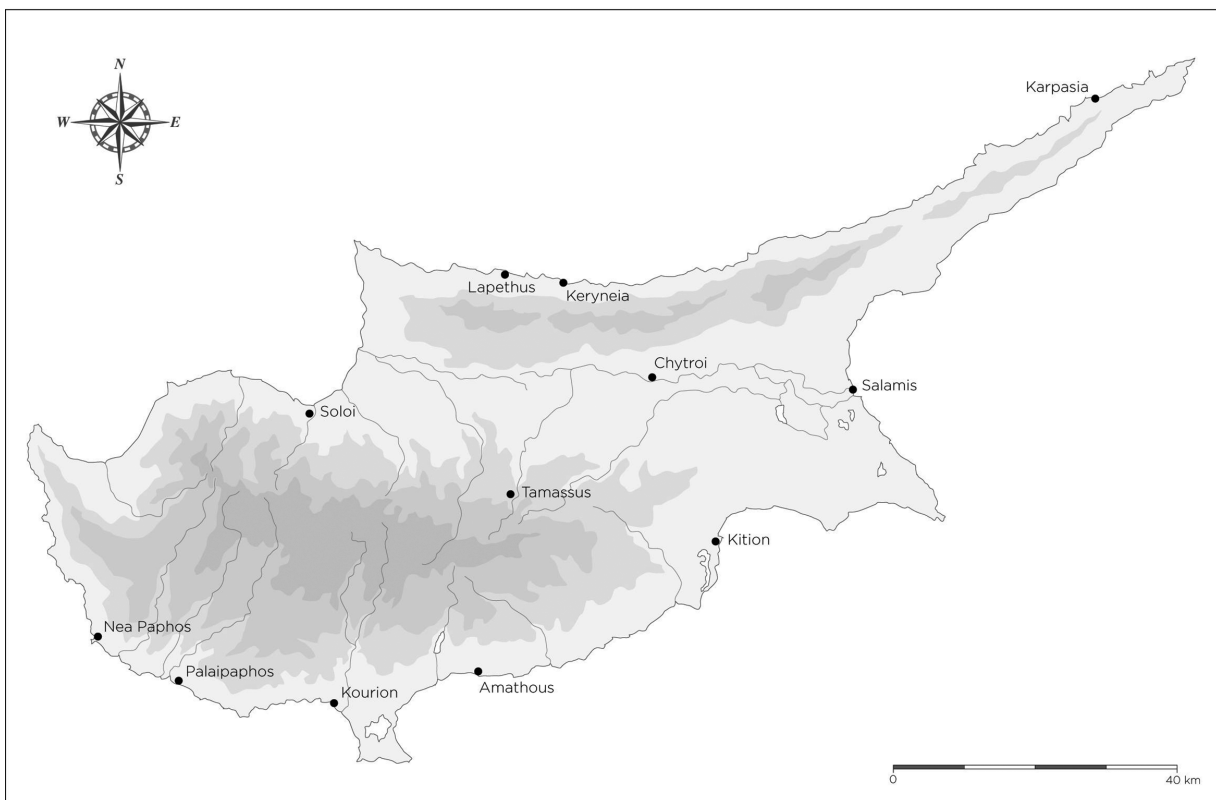
*Source* (all maps): Alex Swanston for The Map Archive.





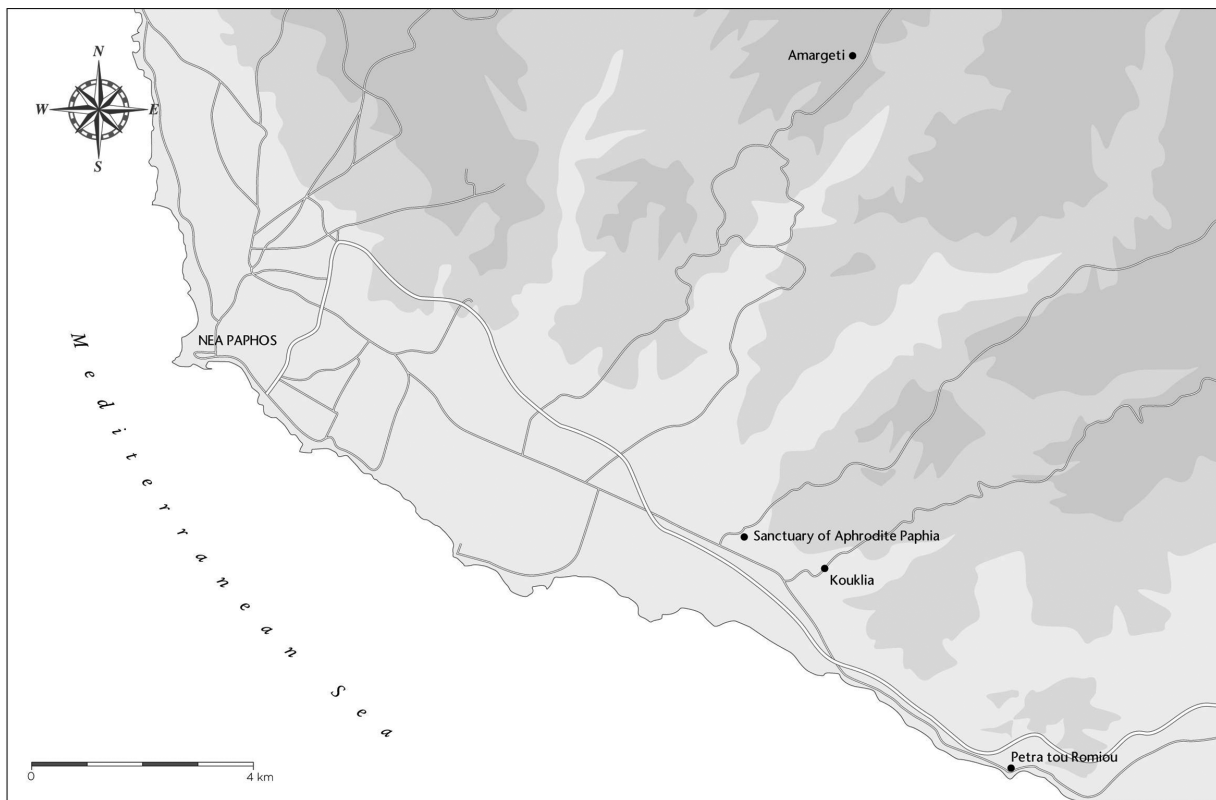
Map 2 The geological zones of Cyprus.





**Map 3** Key *poleis* of Roman Cyprus.





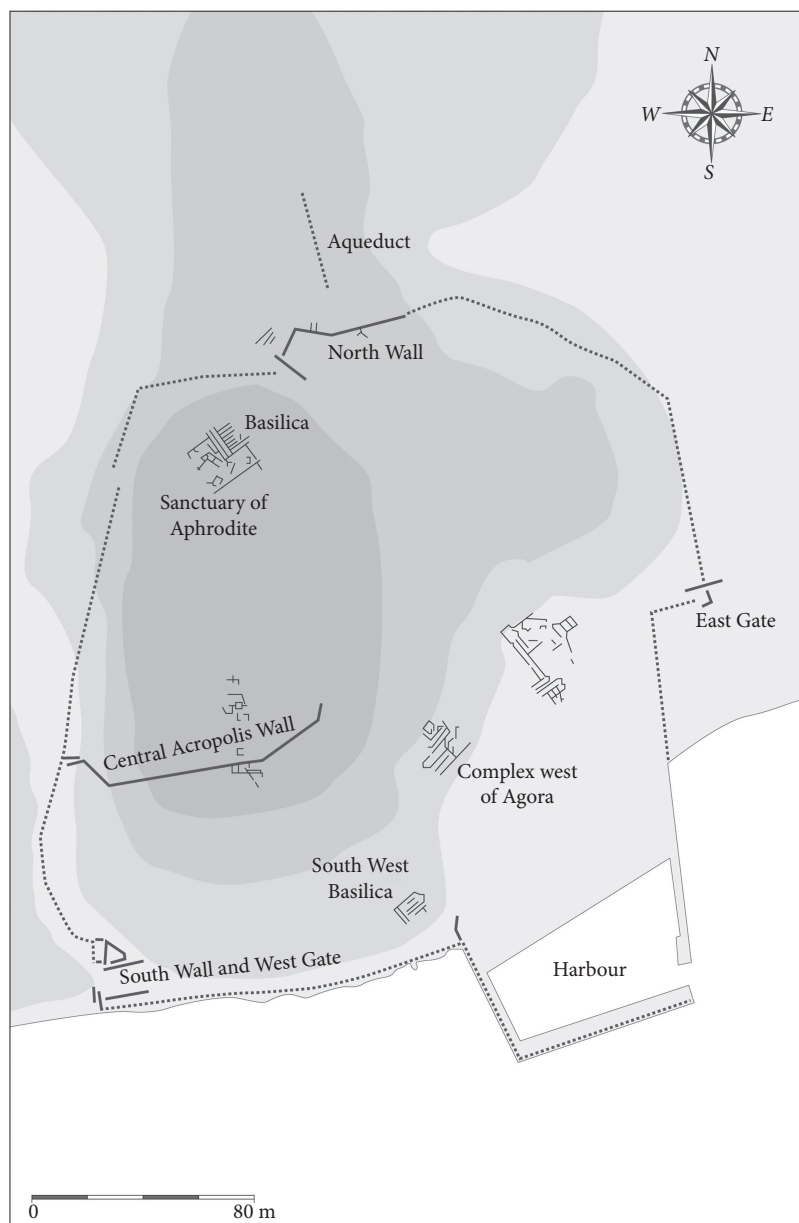
Map 4 Area plan of Paphos.





Map 5 Area plan of Kourion.





Map 6 Area plan of Amathous.





Map 7 Area plan of Salamis.



# 1

## Ancient and Modern World Views

### Cyprus and the Island Paradox

#### 1.1 The Importance of Geography

Three decades have passed since Anthony Snodgrass observed that Cyprus has been marginalized in scholarship on the Greco-Roman Mediterranean because it lies beyond the scope of classical histories.<sup>1</sup> Since then much has been achieved in scholarly discourse to highlight the status, role, and impact of ancient Cyprus in the history of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly as a rich space for the articulation of identity. That said, some periods of the island's history have fared better than others and it is clear that even more needs to be done to rigorously shake off the notion that Roman Cyprus was insignificant and instead show the contribution that it can make to the study of the Roman Empire. The traditional characterization of Roman Cyprus as a 'weary' provincial backwater 'without history' and a homogeneous culture dominated academic discourse for much of the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> Two recent investigations analyse the marginalization of the island's Roman period and the reduction of its character and history to a few key themes: e.g. its position and size as an island, abundant natural resources, and its role in the political struggles of Greece in ancient literary sources.<sup>3</sup> Both studies explore the island as a real and imagined landscape in ancient discourse, cogently linking this to its being

<sup>1</sup> Snodgrass (1988), 5; Kearns (2018), 46.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Chapot (1912), 76; Hill (1940), 226–56, in particular page 247; Karageorghis (1970), 199, 225; Mitford (1980a), 1290; Knapp (2008), 30.

<sup>3</sup> Gordon (2018), pp. 4–7 in particular, and Kearns (2018) provide comprehensive overviews of traditional and more recent treatment of Roman Cyprus.

overlooked in traditional scholarship.<sup>4</sup> Building upon these works, the present study will begin its investigation of local identity formation in Roman Cyprus with discussion of the island's treatment as an imagined landscape in ancient and modern literary discourse.

Critical assessment of the main ancient literary texts is a crucial starting point to explore and deconstruct the political, social, and ideological 'thresholds' that drove ancient, and subsequently modern, world views of the island and to reconsider how to approach the study of Roman Cyprus more generally.<sup>5</sup> After all, at the heart of this investigation lies the question of how best to tell Roman Cyprus's story, and this is a challenge when the written sources are scant, present an external view, and when the material evidence is problematic. This chapter will bring together the few geographical surveys of Cyprus written by outsiders (that is, non-Cypriots) during the Roman Empire.<sup>6</sup> These represent the culmination and transmission of ideas about the island based on key events, scenarios, and anecdotes—many of which can be traced to literature produced from the eighth century BC onwards. Providing the wider context for the passages, through discussion of the motivations and themes of the works in which they appear, will enable better understanding of how and why particular ideas about the island came to fruition and what purposes these served. This will also shed light on the perceived status, character, and role of Cyprus in relation to both Rome and the wider Empire. A summary of the formation and nature of islands is necessary to underpin the geography and space of Cyprus as an islandscape before close reading of the key accounts of Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Claudius Ptolemy, Pausanias, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the anonymous author of the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*. The chapter

<sup>4</sup> In the past, a significant number of diachronic studies of ancient Cyprus's history, culture, and society offered minimal discussion of the Roman period or, worse, stopped their investigations short of the period. E.g. Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899); Casson (1937); Karageorghis (1968); Brown and Catling (1975); Karageorghis (1981); Karageorghis (1982); Karageorghis, Matthäus, and Rogge eds. (2005); Karageorghis (2006).

<sup>5</sup> Kearns (2018), 47.

<sup>6</sup> On geography and travel in the Roman Empire see Nicolet (1991); Romm (1992); Adams and Roy eds. (2007); Raaflaub and Talbert eds. (2010); Adams and Laurence eds. (2011); Talbert ed. (2012); Roller (2015).

concludes with discussion of the wider research context and the way forward for this investigation.

## 1.2 The Formation of Islands and Their Status as Real and Imagined Landscapes in the Roman Empire

The size, geology, and geochemistry of islands depend upon their genesis. They are highly variable and unique landscapes with their own particular cultures. A singular definition of their characteristics would fail to represent their multiple conditions, such as the varying degrees of their insularity *and* connectivity.<sup>7</sup> As an oceanic island, Cyprus is testament to this. Its formation was initiated by the subduction of the African plate beneath the Eurasian plate, and uneven periods of tectonic activity caused its gradual rise from the seabed. During the process the Troodos Ophiolite, a fragment of oceanic crust, was brought to the surface.<sup>8</sup> This David Copperfield-esque ‘I am born’ narrative is necessary because the geology and geochemistry of the island, notably its mineral rich landscape, conditioned its future. The formation of the island into four major plains—the Keryneia Terrain to the north, the Mamonia complex to the south, the Troodos, and the Troodos Ophiolite (surrounded by the Circum Troodos Sedimentary Succession)—reflects this.<sup>9</sup> The discovery of copper in the fourth millennium BC prompted the development of settlements and ports, the movement of peoples, trade, and cultural exchange across the island. Subsequently, the island became synonymous with copper and was a major source of the metal for the region from the second millennium BC.<sup>10</sup>

Just as geographical and geological conditions are catalysts for connectivity and prosperity, they can also be destabilizing. The combination of Cyprus’s abundant resources and its location at an intersection of East and West meant that it was also vulnerable to invasion and, in many ways, fated to be conquered. The intervention and control of Cyprus by

<sup>7</sup> Baldacchino (2007), 165–7.

<sup>8</sup> Kassianidou (2013), 36–7. See also Robinson and Malpas (1990); Dilek and Flower (2003), 53–6; Constantinou (2007), 343; Constantinou (2012), 5.

<sup>9</sup> See Map 2.

<sup>10</sup> Kassianidou (2013), 37.

outsiders has been a popular trope in ancient literary works, and its relationship with neighbouring landscapes has long been debated, particularly as it was poised between mainland Greece, Persia, and Egypt throughout the Geometric to Hellenistic periods.<sup>11</sup> The impact of Cyprus's climate and position in a tectonically complex zone in the eastern Mediterranean (where the Eurasian, African, and Arabian tectonic plates meet) cannot be ignored either. For example, its notoriety as an earthquake hotspot and the destruction of its cities were remarked upon in antiquity as destabilizing.<sup>12</sup> The ancients' attempts to make sense of these varied and contradictory conditions shaped the complex and paradoxical narratives that developed surrounding island life and identity. On the one hand, islands were considered almost utopian in their isolation and self-sufficiency.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, the unfavourable conditions of some islands, such as the natural disasters that could befall them or their remoteness, were explained in terms of conflict between the gods and heroes or stood as a metaphor for abandonment.<sup>14</sup> Their association as spaces beyond the limits of civilized society took on particular meaning in the Roman Empire, when *deportatio in insulam* (exile to an island) was a punishment for a range of crimes.<sup>15</sup> Some of the

<sup>11</sup> Accounts of the island being bought, sold, and given as a gift at key moments in its history also act as a powerful trope to convey its vulnerability; E.g. Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6 c.685; Plutarch, *Antony*, 36 and 54; Cassius Dio, 42.35.5–6. The island was also famously bought by Richard the Lionheart and then later sold by him to Guy of Lusignan; e.g. Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, 5.37; Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi*, 3.2; Joachim (1989), 36–7; Hunt (1990), 178–9; Phillips (1995), 127–30. On the exact nature of Cyprus's relationships with its neighbours (Assyria, Egypt, and Persia) at various points during the Geometric and Archaic periods in particular see for example, Reyes (1994) and Radner (2010).

<sup>12</sup> Seneca, *Naturales Quaestiones*, 6.26.4, Seneca, *Epistula*, 91.9; Baldacchino (2007), 168. See Robinson and Malpas (1990); Morris (1996); Dilek and Robinson eds. (2003) more generally.

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Plato's *Timaeus*, 24e–25a prompted pseudoscientific inquiry and speculation about the inspiration for Plato's utopian landscape, Atlantis. The 'islands of the blessed', the early paradise inhabited by mythological heroes, feature repeatedly in ancient works; for instance, Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 155–73; Plato, *Menexenus*, 235c; Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.5 c.3, 3.2.13 c.150; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.37.

<sup>14</sup> For instance, note Typhon's failed attempt to overthrow Zeus, which resulted in his either being cast into Tartarus or buried under Mount Etna on Sicily or under the island of Ischia. The latter two versions of this myth explain understanding of the seismic activity of these volcanic islands. E.g. *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 305–55; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 820–80. Also see the present study, Section 4.3.3, for discussion of Ariadne's abandonment on Cyprus as opposed to Naxos.

<sup>15</sup> Stini (2011), particularly ch. 3 and pp. 29–54, examines the evolution of islands as places of exile.

most infamous examples of exile to islands in the history of the Roman Empire concern members of the imperial household, namely women, and are symbolic of ostracism from ‘civilized’ society.<sup>16</sup> Because of their position at the edge of boundaries and ability to be attached to multiple landscapes, it is clear that islands were acknowledged as liminal spaces where *anything* was possible.

### 1.3 The Geography of Cyprus according to Outsiders

Dating from the first century BC to the fourth century AD, encompassing several genres and representing multiple perspectives, the works of Strabo, Pliny the Elder, Claudius Ptolemy, Pausanias, Ammianus Marcellinus, and the anonymous *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* contain significant accounts of Cyprus’s landscape.<sup>17</sup> More than this, these key works reveal the perceived identity of the island and its situation under Roman rule in relation to ideas about Rome’s status and destiny as a civilizing force within the Mediterranean context and beyond. It is central that Strabo, Claudius Ptolemy, Pausanias, and Ammianus Marcellinus identified as belonging to rich cultural heritages rooted in Asia Minor, Egypt, Greece, and the Levant. On the other hand, Pliny the Elder was born in Roman Italy and fully entrenched in its social and political framework from birth. Although many of these authors and their works are familiar, briefly outlining their key qualities will aid discussion of the geographical surveys of the island as well as exploration of a range of evidence later in this study.

#### 1.3.1 Strabo

Strabo’s *Geographica* (*Geography*) presents us with the earliest, and lengthiest, description of Cyprus and its landscape relevant to our

<sup>16</sup> Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 65; Tacitus, *Annales*, 1.53, 14.63–4; Cassius Dio, 55.10.12–16.

<sup>17</sup> This survey is not exhaustive but contains the most significant texts and passages.

period.<sup>18</sup> The work represents a major juncture in the development of scientific and philosophical thought about space, place, and environment in antiquity. His geographical narrative was based on a mixture of first-hand accounts, close engagement with the works of his predecessors—particularly *periplus* narratives—and local knowledge of those he may have encountered on his travels.<sup>19</sup> Building upon the observations of Homer, whom he considered the first real geographer, and the findings of earlier geographers, astrologers, and astronomers, Strabo aimed to provide his reader with a revised and improved analysis of the known world ready for use as a practical travel guide if necessary.<sup>20</sup> While his exploration of the Empire's extent and peoples celebrates Roman imperialism and emphasizes the irresistible pull of Rome, there are moments in his narrative that make it clear that Greek culture and society reign supreme.<sup>21</sup> The duality of the work is reflective of Strabo's position as an individual who inhabited and experienced different spheres of the Roman Empire. He hailed from a once prominent family from the Roman province of Amasia, but he also experienced, and was influenced by, mixing with the highest circles of Roman society.<sup>22</sup>

The description of Cyprus appears at the very end of Book 14, following Strabo's survey of Ionia, Caria, Taurus, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, and marks the eastern limits of the Mediterranean. This then segues into the infamous description and ethnography of India and its peoples in Book 15, before returning clockwise to focus on the Levant, and Egypt and North Africa, in Books 16 and 17 respectively. Along with the position of the description in the work, the opening lines introduce the island as a bridge between the Mediterranean, the Near East, and

<sup>18</sup> Key studies include Clarke (1999); Dueck (2000); Dueck ed. (2017).

<sup>19</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 2.5.11 c.117; Clarke (1999), 240; Dueck (2000), 14–19.

<sup>20</sup> Discussion of Homer as the first geographer and the importance of astronomy and geometry can be found in Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.1–3 c.1–2, 1.1.11–13 c.7, 8.3.3 c.337, 8.3.23 c.348; Dueck (2000), 8–13. For the uses of the text see Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.19 c.11, 1.1.21 c.12–11, 1.22 c.13.

<sup>21</sup> On the centrality of Roman imperialism to the work and how Strabo's experiences at Rome influenced his writing see Clarke (1999), 220, 229; Dueck (2000), 85–106, 118–19. Examples of Strabo championing Greek culture can be found in Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.16 c.9, 1.2.3 c.15, 8.3.3 c.337; Dueck (2000), 75, 79, 81, 84.

<sup>22</sup> Dueck (2000), 5–8.

beyond—i.e. a place distant from the heart of the Roman Empire but with a culture and society that no doubt resonated with much of the Greek world.<sup>23</sup>

The sketch of the island is divided into six sections. Section 1 (14.6.1 c.681–2) situates the island in the Mediterranean according to the seas that surround it. Section 2 (14.6.2 c.682) outlines its circuit, distances from significant and well-known surrounding geographical points, and overall shape. Section 3 (14.6.3 c.682–3) is the lengthiest of the account and circumnavigates the island starting from the promontory closest to Cilicia (the point of departure from Asia Minor at 14.5 c.668–81) in a generally clockwise direction. Strabo's circuit of the island largely avoids the interior, suggesting a reliance on the *periplus* narratives of earlier geographers, known anecdotes, and other experienced travellers that he may have encountered on the neighbouring landscapes.<sup>24</sup> Although Strabo accompanied Aelius Gallus (prefect of Roman Egypt from 26–24 bc) on his mission to Egypt and resided in Alexandria for a number of years, the detached tone of the vocabulary of this particular account suggests that he did not visit the island.<sup>25</sup> Overall, treatment of the cities is brief and highlights only key harbours or notable peoples, save for Kourion, which will be discussed in more detail below.<sup>26</sup> At 14.6.4 c.684 he confirms the island's location and revises the measurements given by his predecessors Eratosthenes and Damastes.<sup>27</sup> Section 5 (14.6.5 c.684) emphasizes the economic excellence of the island and presents one of the most telling and enduring accounts of Cyprus's character based on its resources. Not only is the island capable of producing the triumvirate of Mediterranean foodstuffs (olive oil, wine, and grain) to the point of self-sufficiency, it abounds in metal and timber for the smelting process and for building ships.<sup>28</sup> Strabo's romanticizing of Cyprus's agricultural

<sup>23</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.1 c.681: *Λοιπὸν δὲ τὴν πρὸς νότον παρακειμένην τῇ χερρονήσῳ ταύτῃ περιδεῦσαι νῆσον τὴν Κύπρον...* (It remains for me to describe the island which lies alongside this peninsula on the south, I mean Cyprus...). A similar introduction can be found at 14.1.1. c.632 when he introduces Ionia and Caria.

<sup>24</sup> Thomsen (1995), 31; Clarke (1999), 198; Dueck (2000), 41–2; Kearns (2018), 55.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.3.1. c.664; Thomsen (1995), 31; Dueck (2000), 20–4; Kearns (2018), 58.

<sup>26</sup> The present study, Section 4.2.2. Also see Leonard (1995).

<sup>27</sup> Bekker-Nielsen (2014) addresses the accuracy of Strabo's calculations.

<sup>28</sup> Other ancient accounts that stress Cyprus's association with metal and timber include Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 7.195 (on Kinyras discovering copper); Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.20; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 17.48.3; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 24.4 (the latter three

excellence and productivity stands in contrast to Martial's jibe about the island's oppressive climate, which in fact suggests that its climate and environment were not as idyllic as some made out.<sup>29</sup> The final section (14.6.6 c.685) presents a brief digest of the events surrounding the annexation of the island and major historical figures. The summary of Rome's intervention is a positive one, with only the reputation of Publius Clodius Pulcher under light scrutiny for his role in the undoing of Ptolemy of Cyprus.<sup>30</sup>

Overall, Cyprus is presented as a physically remote landscape but a connected and self-sufficient one. The island's status as a Roman province complements Strabo's narrative that champions Rome and the benefits of *Pax Romana*. Its notoriety as an abundant landscape makes it an attractive prospect and one which was noted as able to thrive in this world order. The survey of Cyprus's cities, and the brief mention of their foundations, recalls its connectivity with other landscapes, but many of the island's historic and famed cultural connections with the East are brushed over. Instead, fuller treatment or further explanation is given to its associations with mainland Greece or with recent Roman history—themes which are of concern to Strabo's overarching exploration of the shifting Roman world in which he lived.

### 1.3.2 Pliny the Elder

Over the past few decades engagement with Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia* (*Natural History*) has moved beyond the characterization of it as a document containing an incredible range of anecdotes concerning all things 'animal, mineral, and vegetable' in the known world—from the banal to the fantastical—to serious consideration and recognition

accounts imply Cyprus's notorious timber resources for shipbuilding and the contribution by Cypriot kings to Alexander the Great's siege of Tyre in 332 bc).

<sup>29</sup> Martial, 9.90.9–15. Cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.2.1–2 c.14–15; Thomsen (1995), 31; Kearns (2018), 55–60, 66, on the impact of Stoicism on his work, which may account for the idealization of the island's abundance.

<sup>30</sup> See the present study, Section 2.2.2. Strabo wrote a history that did not survive, and a fuller account of historical events could have been included in this lost work: Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.23 c.13, 2.1.9 c.70, and 11.9.3 c.515; Clarke (1999), 2; Dueck (2000), 69–75.

of its organization, content, and scope as a cultural artefact.<sup>31</sup> Pliny the Younger describes his uncle's exhaustive methods for recording and processing information about the world in which he lived.<sup>32</sup> Knowledge of his research habits, notably the repeated collation and communication of evidence from a vast range of sources, prompts questions about the audibility of his voice in the narrative, as it could be perceived that his voice is buried by the full weight of his own scholarship. His authority and handling of the sources are in no doubt; his declaration in the preface of his methods and aims, followed by the sheer depth and breadth of information, assure the reader of this.<sup>33</sup> Like Strabo's *Geographica*, the *Naturalis Historia* is multivoiced and transcends time and space. It presents us with another systematic work championing Roman imperialism, power, and identity.<sup>34</sup> Rome lies at the heart of his world order and is conqueror of all.<sup>35</sup> The inclusion of Cyprus in it can, and now must, be considered more fully. The presentation of Cyprus in the work can be approached in two ways. First is the exploration of its description and place in the geographical and ethnographic survey of the Roman Empire and the lands that lay beyond it.<sup>36</sup> The other is the thematic investigation of Cyprus's association with copper in antiquity that is presented throughout the work but most fully in Books 33 and 34. For the purpose of this chapter, discussion of Cyprus will focus on the former and consideration of the island's identity as synonymous with copper will be highlighted elsewhere in this investigation.

Books 1 and 2 of the *Naturalis Historia* present a broad survey of the cosmos, the elements, and world geography. A survey of the known world, rich with ethnographies, follows in Books 3 to 6. The overall nature and direction of this first part of the work is clear: it sets the scene for thematic discussion of all things that inhabit the world that follows

<sup>31</sup> Key studies include Marchetti (1991); Beagon (1992); Murphy (2004).

<sup>32</sup> Pliny the Younger, *Epistula*, 3.5; Murphy (2004), 1–2.

<sup>33</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, *Preface*, 2–4, 12–15; Murphy (2004), 9–15. Cf. Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.12 c.7, 1.1.16 c.8.

<sup>34</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, *Preface*, 2–4 and 16. Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 14.2; Murphy (2004), 2–7.

<sup>35</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 3.1.

<sup>36</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, Books 1–6.

on from Book 7. The direction of the survey differs to Strabo's as it does not move in a linear fashion from west to east across the Mediterranean. Instead, the reader is swept across the Mediterranean starting from the straights of Herakles, Spain, Italy, and Magna Graecia in Book 3. Book 4 surveys mainland Greece, Germany, Britannia, and Spain again. The reader is directed south in Book 5 with the survey of Africa, the Levant, and Asia Minor, to end up in the Black Sea region. Book 6 transports the reader through India, Persia, and back to Africa. Discussion of the relative distances of places from one another and another overview of the earth's division rounds off the narrative.<sup>37</sup> Within this scheme Cyprus is first mentioned in Book 5, in relation to Cilicia and then as an island of note.<sup>38</sup> Pliny the Elder's survey is regrettably brief and, like Strabo's *Geographica*, devoid of an ethnography that we see characterizing descriptions of other landscapes.<sup>39</sup> He likely based his survey of the island on Agrippa's map of the Roman world, thought to have been located in the Porticus Vipsania near the Via Flaminia, Rome.<sup>40</sup>

The information provided in his account is confused and chaotic, as the following *oppida*, not *poleis*, of Roman Cyprus are recorded in no particular order: Nea and Palaipaphos, Kourion, Kition, Kyreneia, Salamis, Soloi, Tammasus, Epidaurum, Chytroi, Arsinoe, Karpasia, and Golgoi.<sup>41</sup> Kinyria, Marium, and Idalium are also named and, along with Epidaurum and Golgoi, they are otherwise unknown or their status in the Roman period can be called into question.<sup>42</sup>

Cyprus's situation on the periphery of the Empire warrants this light touch for a number of reasons. Pliny the Elder's treatment of islands as geographical phenomena is systematic and consistent, often presented

<sup>37</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.38–9.

<sup>38</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 5.22, 5.35.

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Strabo, *Geographica*, 15.39–73 c.703–20; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.21–3.

<sup>40</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1298; Murphy (2004), 23. Cf. Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 3.17. Jones (1937), 372, observed that Pliny's list was compiled from his reading of other historians and, 'it is to be feared, the mythologists'.

<sup>41</sup> *Oppida* implies that the settlements lacked self-government. The noun *civitas*, *-atis* (f), would have been more appropriate.

<sup>42</sup> See Franklin (2016), Appendix E, 545–8.

separately from focused descriptions of the mainland in his survey.<sup>43</sup> Only bigger islands of obvious geopolitical importance are given a more prominent space in the narrative.<sup>44</sup> While Cyprus is noted as an island of considerable size (*maximis*), its role is to head a series of chapters dedicated to individual islands and act as a marker for different distances.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.3.3 Claudius Ptolemy

During the second century AD, the geographer Claudius Ptolemy mapped the Roman Empire using co-ordinates of key locations.<sup>46</sup> His *Geographia* (*Geography*) presents a marked departure from the narrative geographies of Strabo and Pliny the Elder in its attempt to create a physical map of the Roman world.<sup>47</sup> While much has already been said regarding the accuracy of Ptolemy's geographical co-ordinates and spatial mapping, the co-ordinates for settlements and natural landmarks are worth noting here.<sup>48</sup> Starting at the west side of the island (15.14.1), Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, and the Akamas, Zephyrium, and Drepanum promontories are recorded. Moving across the southern coastline (at 15.14.2), the account names Kourion, Amathous, and Kition. The Phrurium, Curias, Dades, and Thronos promontories are documented, as well as two rivers, the Lycus and

<sup>43</sup> For examples of islands clustered in the work see Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 3.11 (Islands clustered near Italy including the Balearics); 3.30 (Islands of the Ionian Sea and the Adriatic); 4.19 (Clustered islands); 4.22 (Cyclades); 4.23 (Sporades); 4.27 (Islands of the Euxine and North Ocean); 4.29 (Islands of the Gallic ocean); 4.36 (Islands of the Atlantic Ocean); 5.7 (Islands in the vicinity of Africa); 5.34 (Islands which lie in front of Asia); 5.44 (Islands of the Propontis); 6.13 (Islands of Euxene); 6.36 (Islands of the Ethiopian Sea); 6.37 (The Islands of the Blessed).

<sup>44</sup> For examples of islands with chapters dedicated to them see Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 3.12 (Corsica); 3.13 (Sardinia); 3.14 (Sicily); 4.20 (Crete); 5.35 (Cyprus); 5.36 (Rhodes); 5.37 (Samos); 5.38 (Chios); 5.39 (Lesbos).

<sup>45</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 5.36 and 6.38.

<sup>46</sup> Key studies include Berggren and Jones (2000); Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 36–9; Stückelberger and Grasshoff (2006); Bekker-Nielsen (2010). On maps more generally see Dilke (1985); Talbert ed. (2012).

<sup>47</sup> Murphy (2004), 133–7.

<sup>48</sup> Bekker-Nielsen (2010) provides the most comprehensive assessment of Cyprus's entry in this work. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1298, which dismissed the value of the *Geographia* for the study of ancient Cyprus.

Tettius. Turning east (at 15.14.3), Salamis is logged along with the Pedalium, Elaea, and Clides promontories and the Pediaeus river. Finally (at 15.14.4), Karpasia, Aphrodisias, Makaria, Keryneia, Lapethus, Soloi, and Arsinoe are noted in the north. Within this section, the Crommyon and Callinusa promontories and the Lapethus river are named. According to Ptolemy, the island was divided into four districts: the eastern part of the island fell under the Salaminian district, the west was the Paphian district, the middle and south of the island was the Amathousian district and included Mount Olympios (now in the Troodos mountains), and the north was the Lapethian district.<sup>49</sup> At 15.14.6 Chytroi, Tremithous, and Tamassus, interior settlements, are presented, followed by a list of roads and rivers that emphasize the island's internal connectivity. In the south are the rivers Lycus and Tetius, in the east the Pediaeus river, in the north the Lapethus river. Combined with Strabo's survey, the twenty-nine surviving milestones from across the island, and an itinerary recorded by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (*The Peutinger Table*), Ptolemy's *Geographia* provides significant insight into the internal organization of the island during the Roman period, notably the development of its roads, that other accounts lack.<sup>50</sup> It is thought that the roads were free for all to use and were most likely utilized by the proconsul and his staff, pilgrims, and locals.<sup>51</sup>

Combined, the accounts of Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and Claudius Ptolemy confirm that there were at least twelve Cypriot *poleis* in Roman Cyprus.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Claudius Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 5.14.1–7.

<sup>50</sup> For the milestones that marked the roads of Roman Cyprus see Bekker-Nielsen (2004), Appendix: Roman milestones from Cyprus. Incidentally, the thirteenth-century copy of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* notably exaggerates the size of Cyprus in the Mediterranean and names twelve towns on the map: Paphos, Palaipaphos, Soloi, Tamassus, Tremithus, Kourion, Amathous, Kition, Lapethos, Kitari, Salamis, and Keryneia. Tamassus and Tremithus are marked as the only two internal towns. A concise introduction to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as a source is provided in Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 34–6.

<sup>51</sup> Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 65.

<sup>52</sup> George of Cyprus, *Descriptio Orbis Romani*, 1096–110 (seventh century AD) also lists twelve settlements. See Map 3. This map should be consulted alongside those produced by Bekker-Nielsen and Lund that convey the road system and the organization of districts under Roman rule respectively: see Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 108, Fig. 13; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 110, Fig. 14; Lund (2015), 15, Fig. 4 (based on Parks (1999)).

### 1.3.4 Pausanias

Pausanias's *Periegesis* (*Description of Greece*) is the outlier in this overview as Cyprus did not form part of this second-century AD survey of mainland Greece.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless, its inclusion is necessary because Pausanias's treatment of stories relating to the island's history, culture, and identity is of great significance for this investigation of local identity formation. The *Periegesis* is a work of great importance as it presents a counter-narrative to the Romano-centric works of, say, Strabo and Pliny the Elder. Pausanias's first-hand observations of the landscapes he travelled to are filled with historical and mythological digressions that underpin what is at the core of Greek culture and society. Recent engagement with the *Periegesis* has explored the role of oral history and storytelling in relation to the articulation of cultural identity and memory, particularly for Greeks living under Roman rule.<sup>54</sup> Storytelling and oral traditions cut across society and reveal something of the maintenance and performativity of local identity. It does not matter whether a story, myth, or legend was true or consistent with past versions of it; what mattered was the act of storytelling, as myths were often adapted and repeated in response to events, and the past was often revised to fit the needs of the present. Pausanias offers his readers a unique perspective of the Roman Empire, and it is, in many ways, as close to an account 'from the bottom up' that we will get from the literary sources produced during this time. His eyewitness accounts, enhanced by consultation with local guides and members of the communities he visited and his scholarly learning, allow us to observe how the materiality of monuments and space were experienced and understood.<sup>55</sup> For example, throughout the work landscapes and monuments act as mnemonic devices prompting

<sup>53</sup> Key studies include Habicht (1985); Elsner (1992); Arafat (1997); Alcock, Cherry, and Elsner eds. (2001); Pretzler (2004); Hutton (2005); Pretzler (2005); Pretzler (2007).

<sup>54</sup> See Pretzler (2004), Pretzler (2005), Pretzler (2007) in particular.

<sup>55</sup> Note the following phrases littered throughout the work: 'I have heard a man' (E.g. at Pausanias, 1.42.5, 10.33.18), 'It is said' (E.g. at Pausanias, 7.27.6, 8.48.1–3, 9.11.2, 9.20.1), and 'They say' (E.g. at Pausanias, 2.32.1–2, 3.19.9, 9.8.4–5, 9.20.1–2, 9.26.1–8).

anecdotes that preserve the memory of people, events, and places.<sup>56</sup> Pausanias is conductor of the information that he amasses: in some cases, regarding his descriptions of landscapes, peoples, and their history, there is a clear-cut answer to a question of local cultural importance; in others the participation of the reader in the construction of cultural identity is required, and Pausanias leaves it to them to draw their own conclusions.<sup>57</sup> An example of this, that relates to Cyprus, can be found in his description of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Pausanias is prompted by an inscription to comment on the famous sages of ancient Greece. He then goes on to discuss men who uttered oracles and amongst these was Euclus of Cyprus, who foretold the birth of Homer at Salamis.<sup>58</sup> Here the performative aspects of viewing an inscription inspire a digression and present the reader with a cultural hook by which many landscapes were linked—the epic poet Homer. Many places claimed Homer as their own, and so it is not unusual or unique to hear of the Cypriots doing so too.<sup>59</sup> The anecdote illustrates the agency of the island as a willing and keen participant in an important shared tradition. It also allows for Pausanias to emphasize the triumph of Greek culture and history by showing that Greece's appeal and reach extended beyond its mainland. By chance, an epigram from Kition in Cyprus, dated to the second to third centuries AD, celebrates Kilikas's (presumably a local) enthusiasm for, and skill in, recounting the Homeric myths and the courage of the Homeric heroes.<sup>60</sup> This monument brings to life the types of personalities that Pausanias would no doubt have engaged with on his extensive travels and the practice of storytelling in local contexts.

Cyprus's many cultural affinities with mainland Greece and its fringes are pointed out in multiple instances throughout the *Periegesis*. For example, the legends of Agapenor and Teuker, founders of Paphos

<sup>56</sup> E.g. at the Temple of Olympia at Olympias Pausanias (5.10.1–5.) marvels, 'many are the sights to be seen in Greece and many are the wonders to be heard'. The impact of the senses on reconstructing space, place, and memory is hinted at in Strabo, *Geographica*, 2.5.11 c.117.

<sup>57</sup> Pretzler (2005), 237, 242.

<sup>58</sup> Pausanias, 10.24.2–3. Euclus is also mentioned at *Periegesis*, 10.12.11.

<sup>59</sup> See Lefkowitz (2013), 15–8: they include Ithaca, Salamis, Ios, Egypt, Cyprus, Thessaly, Chios, Smyrna, Pylos, and Athens.

<sup>60</sup> *I.Kition*, no. 2083.

and Salamis respectively, particularly embed Cyprus into the familiar tradition of claiming Homeric heroes as foundation heroes.<sup>61</sup> In his survey of Arcadia, Pausanias recalls how Laodice (Agapenor's descendant) sent a robe, dedicated to Athena Alea, to Tegea, an act which links the two landscapes.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, at Athens the monuments of prominent Cypriots—such as King Evagoras of Salamis and Zeno of Kition—were set up amongst other heroes and notable Athenians and reflect Cyprus's sociopolitical alliance with Athens during the Classical period.<sup>63</sup> King Evagoras's claims of descent from Salamis's founder Teuker (originally from Salamis in Greece) adds a further layer to this association.<sup>64</sup> Furthermore, memories of the island's role as a Ptolemaic base and the disputes between the Ptolemies and the Antigonids serve to highlight the history of the island as a possessed territory in the Hellenistic period.<sup>65</sup>

Pausanias is not always to be trusted, though. His infamous description of the Athenian acropolis is highly selective: it makes a vague reference to the unmissable pedestal of Agrippa that was positioned at the west of the Propylaea, and it omits the circle temple of Roma and Augustus at the east of the Parthenon.<sup>66</sup> The account serves as a reminder that Pausanias prioritized certain kinds of information over others to suit his agenda celebrating Greek culture and society.

Overall, the integration of anecdotes about Cyprus throughout the text highlights the connectivity of the island to mainland Greece by evoking memories of its history, politics, or culture in relation to a range of landscapes (notably Arcadia, Athens, and Argos). Pausanias anchors Cyprus in the Greek world of the second century AD—and in doing so shows that the island belonged to a rich cultural network beyond the eastern Mediterranean—and the reader is offered an external view of Cyprus from landscapes other than Rome.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. Pausanias, 1.14.7, 2.32.6, 8.24.6, 8.53.7, 8.5.3, 9.19.1, 9.41.1–2, 9.41.2–3. See also Pretzler (2005), 245 and the present study, Section 4.2.

<sup>62</sup> Pausanias, 8.5.2–3. <sup>63</sup> E.g. Pausanias, 1.3.2.

<sup>64</sup> Pausanias, 8.15.6–7. Teuker is explored more fully in the present study, Chapter 4. Other references to Teuker, Ajax, and Telamon interwoven throughout the work include Pausanias, 1.35.4–5, 2.29.4, 10.31.1–2.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. Pausanias, 1.6.6, 1.6.8, 1.7, 1.9.1, 1.9.2, 1.29.13.

<sup>66</sup> Pausanias, 1.22.4.

### 1.3.5 Ammianus Marcellinus and the Anonymous *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*

The fourth-century AD historian Ammianus Marcellinus composed a history that begins in the year AD 96 and represents the penultimate major historical work of the Roman Empire.<sup>67</sup> Famously little is known about his life other than his Syrian origins and the fact that, like Strabo, he mixed with pagan senators.<sup>68</sup> The few references to Cyprus in this work are embedded within descriptions of the eastern provinces and are often incidental.<sup>69</sup> The most significant passage appears in Book 14 and bears familiar hallmarks regarding the island's history.<sup>70</sup> The brief account emphasizes two major aspects of its geography: its remoteness from the mainland (*insulam procul a continenti*) and its abundant resources, namely its harbours and agricultural productivity. Ammianus noted that Cyprus was made famous by two towns—Salamis and Paphos—where Jupiter and Venus were worshipped, respectively.<sup>71</sup> It is in the second part of the summary that the history of Roman Cyprus diverges dramatically from previous accounts, with Rome now presented in a negative light as predatory, greedy, and unjust in its behaviour towards the island and its leader, Ptolemy of Cyprus. The anonymous *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* was also composed during the fourth century AD and similarly presents what appears to be a condensed survey of Cyprus's location, character as an island, and history based upon ideas presented in earlier works.<sup>72</sup> Although the *Expositio Totius*

<sup>67</sup> Barnes (1998), 1–2. Key studies include Blockley (1975); Matthews (1989); Barnes (1998); Kelly (2008).

<sup>68</sup> Much has been made of the little biographical information offered at Ammianus Marcellinus, 31.16.9.

<sup>69</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, 1.11, 14.2, 14.8, 14.9, 31.5.

<sup>70</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.8.14–15.

<sup>71</sup> This observation echoes Pomponius Mela's *De Situ Orbis*, 2.102 and 2.112 (written during the first century AD), which reduces ideas about the island to the following points: its position between Cilicia and Syria (*inter Ciliciam Syriasque porrigitur*), that it was huge (*ingens*), that its major towns were Salamis, Palaipaphos, and Nea Paphos, and that Venus was worshipped there (... *quarum clarissimae Salamis, Paphos et quo primum ex mari Venerem egressam accolae adfirmant Palaepaphos*). This brief account of Cyprus is embedded within a survey that separates the treatment of islands in Book 2.97–126.

<sup>72</sup> Key studies include Wölfflin (1904); Klotz (1906); Vasiliev (1936); Rougé (1966); Rougé (1973); Humphries (2007); Grüll (2014).

*Mundi et Gentium* is more conversational and casual in tone, the author's preoccupation with trade is seen in their notable emphasis on ports at the expense of other locations, revealing the perceived economic importance of certain landscapes in the later Empire.<sup>73</sup> The passage echoes Ammianus's summary of the island, highlighting its location (notably its remoteness) and excellence (here as *primam et maximam*); prolific harbours; natural resources (emphasizing its self-sufficiency); the prominence of its two principal settlements, Salamis and Paphos (home to shrines of great antiquity and prestige); and its most momentous encounter with Rome—its annexation.<sup>74</sup> Both works repeat motifs and events recounted in earlier works, reducing the information to produce their brief digests.<sup>75</sup>

From the first to fourth centuries AD, understanding of the island's geography and location was rooted in its marginal status on the periphery of the Empire.

### 1.3.6 Ancient and Modern Imagined Islandscapes

Whether discussed as real or imagined constructs, islands are landscapes with significant cultural currency. The evidence from antiquity demonstrates that they could stand for either isolation or connectivity, exile or escape, punishment or paradise, and as landscapes of wretchedness or abundance and plenty.<sup>76</sup> One only needs to turn to a handful of examples to see that these contradictory perceptions of islands as landscapes of fantasy, escapism, danger, or experimentation, as well as insularity or connectedness, continued in the Western imagination. For example, William Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is a play representative of the whim and fancy that islands can pose, set in a seemingly remote landscape where the blurring of reality and illusion is key to the plot. William

<sup>73</sup> See Vasiliev (1936), 30–4, for discussion of whether this work was based on a schematic geography.

<sup>74</sup> *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*, 63 = Rougé ed. (1966); Vasiliev (1936), 18.

<sup>75</sup> E.g. Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 20–21, 52; *Pro Sestio*, 57; Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6 c.684; Pomponius Mela, *De Situ Orbis*, 2.102 and 2.112.

<sup>76</sup> Tsai and Clark (2003); Baldacchino (2005); Baldacchino (2007); Gillis (2007); Olwig (2007).

Golding's *Lord of the Flies* is a story of experimental anarchism that takes place when the protagonists are stranded on an island where the boundaries of 'normal' society are subverted. Johann David Wyss's *Swiss Family Robinson* represents a more positive story of shipwreck and survival, where a stranded family utilize and experiment with the resources of the island to survive. Returning to Shakespeare, Acts 2 to 5 of the tragedy *Othello* are set on Cyprus, and this is symbolic on a number of levels. Not only is the historical context brought to life, with the majority of the action taking place in a suspended landscape away from the controlled mainland territories of the warring sides, the Ottomans and Venetians, but the island itself is a loaded environment as the infamous home of Aphrodite, the goddess of love. This heightens the tragedy of Othello and Desdemona's marriage as it collapses, despite being presented as stable and loving at the start. The isolated and unstable character of the island is the ideal metaphor for Othello's psyche and ultimate downfall as he and Desdemona are torn apart by his insecurities.

In reality, islands have continued to represent isolation, exile, and danger as well as romantic backwaters. The isolation and exile of criminals and those afflicted with disease are well documented.<sup>77</sup> These aspects are also highlighted in Greek folklore, through tales of the presence and threat of *vrykolakas* (vampires) and their confinement to Greek islands.<sup>78</sup> Finally, Lawrence Durrell's 1957 account of his time on the island, *Bitter Lemons of Cyprus*, depicts aspects of daily life as slow, even lethargic, and often devoid of recognizable processes associated with Western Europe. This is dramatically conveyed throughout the work, from Durrell's drawn-out experience of buying a house to the descriptions of the key characters.<sup>79</sup> The popularity and renown of this portrait of the island could account for the quietist

<sup>77</sup> For example, Napoleon famously lived in exile on both Elba and St Helena. See Bell (2015), 9, 97–8, 103–7. The history of leper colonies, many on islands, provides sad and brutal insights into the history of segregating people afflicted with diseases. See Edmond (2006), in particular 143–77.

<sup>78</sup> Avdikos (2013).

<sup>79</sup> For instance, Durrell (1957), 22 (on the lethargy of the Cypriots); 29 (on the island as a gentle, romantic backwater); 35 (on the monotonous nature of island life); 47–74 (on the drawn-out process of purchasing a house).

interpretation and tone of some of the major scholarly works produced on Cyprus during the twentieth century.

### **1.4 Roman Cyprus: The Wider Research Context and the Way Forward**

Theories and models from disciplines across and beyond the humanities—namely, social sciences, postcolonial studies, geography, and mathematics—have had a profound impact on Roman studies. In pursuit of the best ways to approach cultural change, material culture, imperialism, and identity formation, particularly in the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars have fiercely debated their utility. Through this process many embraced new approaches, redefined traditional models, or rejected trends. Equally significant has been academic scrutiny of Mediterranean unity, and the emergence of studies focused on ecology and the environment has aided the deconstruction of ancient world views of the Mediterranean as the seat of ‘civilization’ and emphasized the importance of regional and local identities and their dynamics.<sup>80</sup> Against this backdrop, investigations of ancient Cyprus in general have advanced, but the study of Roman Cyprus has been slow on the uptake.<sup>81</sup> Opportunities continue to lie ahead because scholarly discourse has turned to more fluid, flexible, and nuanced thinking with regard to the evidence. Application of such thinking to the Roman Cypriot context will offer fresh insight into the island’s culture, society, status, and experience. More than this, potential for the province as a case study that can contribute to wider explorations of the Roman Empire can be more fully realized. The prospect is challenging because

<sup>80</sup> Essential reading about the history of the Mediterranean includes Braudel (1995); Horden and Purcell (2000); Abulafia ed. (2003); Abulafia (2011); Broodbank (2013). The application of network theory to the study of the ancient world has reinvigorated conceptions of space and reconsidered the agency of local people and communities. Key studies include Constantakopoulou (2007); Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou eds. (2009); Malkin (2011).

<sup>81</sup> Gordon (2018), 4–7.

debates regarding the impact and utility of interdisciplinary approaches are well established, and some narratives are burdened with an overwhelming number of voices as well as technical jargon reconfigured for application to the ancient world.<sup>82</sup> For example, the discussion on the relevance and usefulness of Romanization as a model for investigating cultural change has long dominated British scholarship. A sweeping tour through the highs and lows of the debate is unnecessary; while frustrations run deep about the dependency on Romanization to explain the process of cultural change in Rome's conquered territories, the repetitive nature of investigations relaying details of the debate has also been felt negatively by many scholars.<sup>83</sup> The dynamic alternatives championed by a number of scholars and applying them to the Roman Cypriot context also come with considerable baggage and present problems from the outset. In Cyprus no colonies were founded by the Romans, nor were any existing towns given colonial status; the island did not receive benefits, nor was it awarded any special status by Rome, despite being taxed.<sup>84</sup> The inhabitants of Cyprus did not engage in aggressive military action to resist Roman control of the island, nor is its Roman period characterized by internal turmoil because of Roman government, in contrast to some other provinces. For these reasons, this investigation will avoid a theory-laden approach. Instead, it will draw upon the vocabulary of a range of studies and models to acknowledge identity and experience—loaded terms in themselves—as fluid, nuanced, and situational.<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, it makes no claims that the works that have inspired it present the only ways forward.

Of great importance to this investigation of Roman Cyprus is the deconstruction of centre–periphery binaries that have driven traditional

<sup>82</sup> See Morley (2004), 1–30, on the 'problems' of theory.

<sup>83</sup> For a useful, concise summary of the use of Romanization in scholarship see Woolf (2001). Key studies regarding its use include: Haverfield (1912); Haverfield and MacDonald (1924); Millett (1990a); Millett (1990b); Woolf (1993–4); Freeman (1997); Mattingly (1997); Woolf (1998); Alcock (2001); Mattingly (2002); Hingley (2003); Quinn (2003); Mattingly (2004); Matz (2005); Schörner ed. (2005); Bekker-Nielsen (2006); Mattingly (2006); Fulford (2007); Mattingly (2010); Mattingly (2011). For negative responses regarding raking up the debate see in particular Alcock (2001), 227; van Dommelen and Terrenato eds. (2007), 9; Revell (2009), 9.

<sup>84</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1296.

<sup>85</sup> Important discussions, and critiques, of identity theory and case studies that focus on the articulation of cultural identity across the ancient world can be found in Goldhill ed. (2001); Webster (2001); Pitts (2007); Hölscher (2008); Revell (2009); Antonaccio (2010); Dench (2010); Fowler (2010); Hales and Hodos eds. (2010); Gruen ed. (2011); Hölscher (2011); Puddu (2019).

assessment of the island's culture and society. This chapter has achieved this through its overview of the major geographical surveys of the island, and it is clear that exploration of Roman Cyprus that places more emphasis on localness and regionality will enrich understanding of its history, experience, and identity under Roman rule. This, combined with consideration of the island's interactions with Rome, will also avoid a heavily Cypro-centric view of the evidence.<sup>86</sup> It is no coincidence that Map 1, a map of the key places listed in this work, highlights Cyprus's connectivity to important locations in the eastern and central Mediterranean and the Levant, and significantly reduces the presence of Italy. The remainder of the study will continue to pay attention to the importance of geography, natural and built environments, and the production and use of space in the articulation of local identity.<sup>87</sup>

Qualifying anything as 'local' presupposes a defined and excluded 'other', facilitated by the maintenance of boundaries through access to local knowledge. On this basis the articulation of identity, whether it is literary or material, is a 'performance'.<sup>88</sup> With this in mind, the following questions must be asked of the evidence:

- Who 'speaks' (i.e. who produced the source and for what purpose)?
- What recognition is there of the speaker and the audience?
- How are different groups self-defined or defined by others?
- What linguistic or symbolic currency can we see at play to articulate localness? In what ways does this include or exclude people or groups?
- How is the message of monuments or evidence conveyed in one setting and then another? How are space and environment used, if at all, to enhance the message?
- On how many levels, and in how many contexts, does the message 'speak'?

<sup>86</sup> A number of studies introduce the island by emphasizing the size and position of Cyprus, echoing ancient world views that champion its *arête*. E.g. Maier (1968), 15; Mitford (1980a), 1288; Karageorghis (1981), 8; Hadjidemetriou (2007), 9; Constantinou (2010), 23.

<sup>87</sup> In addition to works that deconstruct ideas about Mediterranean unity and stress local and regional cultures and identities, noted above, other useful points of departure for discussion of space and environments as active components of daily life, experience, and identity formation include Foucault and Miskowiec (1986) and Lefebvre (1991).

<sup>88</sup> See Goldhill (2010), 46–50 and Whitmarsh ed. (2010) more generally.

To answer the final question and explore Roman Cyprus's integration in the Roman Empire, Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, inspired by Edward Said's 'Imagined Geographies', is another useful point of departure.<sup>89</sup> While Anderson observed that nationalism is a modern phenomenon, formed at the turn of the eighteenth century, many of the observations and qualifiers he established regarding the character of nations are helpful for this study.<sup>90</sup> For Anderson, nations are imagined communities because they are sovereign and because members of their community, no matter how small, will likely not meet all other members and yet may feel an affinity with them. There is a sense of belonging which is facilitated by recognizable cultural symbols and emblems, such as a flag or an anthem.<sup>91</sup> While the compatibility of nationalism with antiquity and the application of this term to the ancient world require careful consideration, Anderson's approach prompts crucial questions about the way in which symbols and cultural markers unite communities in antiquity. Questions inspired by this work include:

- How might symbols, affiliation to institutions, and the performance of rituals inspire loyalty, commitment, and a sense of collective identity and belonging?
- How are these experienced, perceived, and articulated by different communities?
- What commonalities and differences are visible across competing narratives?
- In what ways is cultural memory preserved?

Reassessment of local responses to Roman rule, and identity formation, must now proceed with discussion of Cyprus's transition from Ptolemaic possession to Roman province.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. Said (1994), 1–15; Said (2003), 49–73.

<sup>90</sup> See also Özkirimle (2010) and Hirschi (2012).

<sup>91</sup> For instance, Anderson (2006), xiii, 6–7, 11.

## 2

# The Roman Annexation and Administration of Cyprus

### 2.1 The Need to Revisit Well-trodden Ground

The annexation of Cyprus from Ptolemaic Egypt by Rome, and its subsequent administration, has been studied at length.<sup>1</sup> That said, it is still necessary to outline the key aspects of this moment of transition in Cyprus's history because of recent scholarly engagement and interpretation of the events and their protagonists. For the sake of brevity, treatment will be light in places and key studies will be signposted for the reader instead. Reassessment of the surviving evidence for the administration of the island is also needed. This chapter will examine familiar and, until recently, overlooked material, to evaluate the nature of local interactions with Rome's representatives, in particular the Roman proconsul. When dealing with literary accounts that record Rome's engagement with Cyprus, particular attention will be paid to the author's motivations and aims. Analysis of the material evidence (which is predominantly epigraphic) will consider where monuments were set up, by whom, and why; the use of epithets; and the frequency with which the proconsul appeared across the Cypriot landscape. Building upon previous studies, it will also provide an up-to-date list of proconsuls attested in

<sup>1</sup> Engel (1841), 431–44; Cesnola (1877), 28–9; Sakellarios (1890), 379–83; Zannetos (1910), 414–21; Chapot (1912), 59–74; Oberhummer (1923), 105; Jones (1937), 371; Hill (1940), 205–11; Oost (1955); Vessberg (1956), 235–40; Olshausen (1963), 38–44; Badian (1965a); Badian (1965b); Mitford (1980a), 1289–91; Michaelides (1990), 110–2; Potter (2000), 772–86; Hölbl (2001), chs 7 and 8, esp. 222–56. Calvelli (2020) presents the most recent systematic discussion of the annexation of the island and its early administration.

Roman Cyprus.<sup>2</sup> The available evidence for their activities significantly outweighs information for other officials; therefore, this study will deal only with their representation and will not address records of their subordinates.<sup>3</sup> Focus on the evidence for the proconsul—the most senior authority on the island—is vital to begin this investigation of local responses to Roman power. Analysis will stop short of the middle of the fourth century AD.<sup>4</sup> Synopses of Cyprus under Ptolemaic rule and of the island's most important local institution—the *koinon Kuprion*—will frame assessment of the annexation and administration of the island by Rome. These topics engage with Cyprus's varied dealings with Rome and so will underpin discussion of identity formation that will follow in Chapters 3 and 4.

## 2.2 The Roman Annexation

### 2.2.1 From Ptolemaic to Roman Control

Cyprus's history, culture, and society in the Hellenistic Mediterranean were closely bound to the rise and fall of the Ptolemaic Empire.<sup>5</sup> While its role in the politics and administration of the Empire changed over time, Cyprus's early importance as a Ptolemaic stronghold has long been recognized.<sup>6</sup> Following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC, the island was a focal point of the power struggles of the Ptolemies and Antigonids, as each sought to possess it. Prior to this, autocratic rule had been the status quo for centuries, and the island's kings fostered political and cultural ties with other states and landscapes beyond the region

<sup>2</sup> Hill (1940), 226–7, 254–6; Mitford (1980a), 1292–308, 1375–80; Thomasson (1984), 299–305. See also Eck (1972–3), 250–3; Christol (1986); Potter (2000), 774–817. Note in particular Potter (2000), 788, n. 72.

<sup>3</sup> See Mitford (1980a), 1305–8.

<sup>4</sup> It will omit data that Mitford compiled in his original list for the fifth and sixth centuries AD, as evidence from these periods is sparse.

<sup>5</sup> Key studies of Hellenistic Cyprus and the historical dynamics of this period include: Roesch (1980); Mehl (1995a); Mehl (1995b); Mehl (1996a); Mehl (1996b); Mehl (1998); Mehl (2000); Hölbl (2001), 58–61; Cayla and Hermay (2003); Papantoniou (2012).

<sup>6</sup> Hill (1940), 184; Mitford (1953), 81; Bagnall (1976), 1, 38, 46; Watkin (1988), 112–30; Hölbl (2001), 23, 28.

depending on their needs.<sup>7</sup> During this turbulent period, the Cypriot kings were divided in their allegiances to the opposing leaders as control of the island switched between the two sides.<sup>8</sup> The eventual consolidation of Ptolemy I Soter's power in 295/4 BC marked the end of the city kingdoms and the beginning of a period of political, religious, and social transformation. The picture of the quality and character of Ptolemaic rule that emerges from the surviving evidence is mixed. For the sake of brevity, and to set the scene, this overview will pass comment on two aspects only: the island's administration and its economic situation.

On the whole, the surviving evidence from this period of Cyprus's history reveals more about the ruling Ptolemies than the experiences of their subjects. Whether ruling from Alexandria or from a residence on the island, their presence, and that of their court, was heavily felt.<sup>9</sup> Honorific monuments for the Ptolemies, their cult, administrative officials, and garrisoned soldiers attest to this and the role of the island as a military and naval stronghold.<sup>10</sup> The *strategos* (a supreme official) was a central figure in the administration of the island from the beginning of Ptolemy I Soter's reign.<sup>11</sup> It is thought that for a time the post was the most significant at the disposal of the Ptolemies outside Egypt; for example, *strategoï* often bore the title of *sungene* (kinsman), and their responsibilities and power extended beyond the civic and military spheres as they were eventually celebrated as high priests.<sup>12</sup> *Strategoï* and their families were not only close to the privileged circle of the

<sup>7</sup> Best illustrated by the dynamic and ambitious King Evagoras of Salamis, who fostered a particularly close relationship with Athens. See Isocrates, *Evagoras*; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 14.98.1–2; Pausanias, 1.3.2 and 8.15.7 For the inscription set up in Athens to honour Evagoras see *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 113. Isocrates in particular cultivates an image of the king that promotes Hellenic unity and is decidedly anti-Persian. Cf. Maier (1985) on how the classical kings in fact acted in their self-interests.

<sup>8</sup> E.g. see Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 19.62.1–6, 19.79.4–7, 20.21, 20.46.4–53, 20.73.1–2, 20.82.1–2, 21.1.4b.

<sup>9</sup> Mehl (1996b), 215; Potter (2000), 776–7.

<sup>10</sup> E.g. the monuments set up at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos by *strategoï* for the ruling Ptolemies: For ease see Mitford (1961a), inscription nos. 51, 53, 88, 93.

<sup>11</sup> Bagnall (1976), 38–9, 46–7, 49–50, and Appendix A: 252–62. Note also Hill (1940), 175: the post was not so important once the politics of the region had calmed.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. *SEG* 13.578 and 13.579 (at Palaipaphos); *LBW* 3.2781 (at Arsinoe); *IKourion* no. 45 (at Kourion); *SEG* 13.557 (at Chytroi); *Salamine de Chypre* XIII nos. 75 and 76 (at Salamis).

Ptolemaic royal court but honoured by soldiers, the Cypriot *poleis*, and sometimes by the local elite.<sup>13</sup> Very few leading citizens of Cyprus are known to have attained the distinction of being rewarded with a position close to the royal court.<sup>14</sup>

While the imposition of Ptolemaic rule implies that the island's inhabitants lived under an oppressive regime of sorts, it is thought that the island's revenue was greater than its expenditure because of its abundant natural resources.<sup>15</sup> While it is unclear how exactly the Cypriots, as subjects of Ptolemaic rule, reaped the rewards of this economic prosperity, the island clearly flourished socially because of the uneven development of a range of local civic and religious institutions across its *poleis*.<sup>16</sup> Whatever the specific details regarding the identities and experiences of the local elites across the island actively engaged in these institutions, it is important to stress that Ptolemaic Cyprus was by no means passive or in decline, as previously thought.

### 2.2.2 58 BC

In 58 BC Publius Clodius Pulcher (as tribune of the plebs) instigated the *leges Clodiae*, the terms of which included the following: that Ptolemy of Cyprus be dethroned; that Cato should carry out the mission; and that the property of Ptolemy of Cyprus belonged to the Roman state.<sup>17</sup> Later that year, Cato departed from Rome and set sail to Rhodes; from there he sent Canidius (described as a friend of his in Plutarch's account) to offer Ptolemy of Cyprus the priesthood of Aphrodite as compensation for the confiscation of his land and property.<sup>18</sup> Rather than accept these terms, Ptolemy of Cyprus committed

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Mitford (1961a), no. 84 (at Palaipaphos).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Mitford (1961a), inscription nos. 99 and 107.

<sup>15</sup> Hill (1940), 174–5, passed comment that the Ptolemies bled the island dry of its resources; Mehl (1995a), 117; Mehl (1995b), 31; Cayla and Hermay (2003), 254.

<sup>16</sup> Watkin (1988) and Papantoniou (2012) in particular emphasize how the island prospered.

<sup>17</sup> In general see Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 52–3; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 56–7, 60–2; Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.38.6 and 2.45.4; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 34–9; Florus, *Epitome*, 1.44.9; Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.3.23; Cassius Dio, 38.30.5 and 39.22–23; Rufus Festus, *Breviarium*, 13.1; Ammianus Marcellinus, 14.8.15. Also consult Calvelli (2020), chs. 1 and 2.

<sup>18</sup> Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 35.1–2.

suicide and, with him removed from the equation, Cato's mission became easier.<sup>19</sup> Arriving in Cyprus in 58 BC, Cato oversaw the forced sale of Ptolemy of Cyprus's property, exacting maximum profit where possible.<sup>20</sup> Clearly the prices that he drove were high, as he returned to Rome in 56 BC with funds that exceeded expectation to boost the Roman treasury.<sup>21</sup> The question of who was wealthy enough and in a position to purchase and manage the land remains ambiguous. The details are obscure because of the dominance of those close to the inner circle of the Ptolemies, the silence about their fate following the death of Ptolemy of Cyprus, and the invisibility of the local Cypriot elite.<sup>22</sup>

Overall, Rome's motivations to annex Cyprus from Egypt have been interpreted in various ways over the years. A popular narrative in some of the earliest scholarship echoes Cicero's protests at the illegality of the annexation and the injustice done to Ptolemy of Cyprus by Clodius Pulcher.<sup>23</sup> In these versions of the saga, Rome was characterized as a nefarious villain who had kept a watchful eye on Cyprus for a while and struck at the most opportune moment.<sup>24</sup> Later the idea that the annexation of the island was not unusual in the politics of Rome developed. A major factor was the personal motivations of prominent Roman statesmen of the time whose self-interests somehow brought calm and order to the region.<sup>25</sup> The ambitions of Clodius Pulcher, keen to exercise his power, and Cato the Younger, eager to prove his worth, stand out in particular.<sup>26</sup> More recent

<sup>19</sup> Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.5; Cassius Dio, 39.22.2; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 35.1 and 36.1. See Calvelli (2021), Section 3.4 for recent interpretation of this event.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6. c.685; Cassius Dio, 39.22.3–4; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 36.2.

<sup>21</sup> For Cato's return see Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 39.1; Cassius Dio, 39.22.1, 39.23.2. On the funds exacted for the treasury see Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 59; Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.5; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 38.1–2, 39.3; Rufus Festus, *Breviarium*, 13.1; and Calvelli (2020), chapter 4.

<sup>22</sup> Though note Morrell (2017), 120 and n. 149.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 52–3; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 56–7, 62; Cicero, *De Haruspicum Responsis*, 59; all of which portray Clodius Pulcher and his deeds in a negative light. This is echoed by later commentators of the island's history. See the present study, Section 1.3.5.

<sup>24</sup> Chapot (1912), 62–5; Oberhummer (1923), 105; Hill (1940), 207; Oost (1955), 101–2, nn. 32–6 and 104–8 in particular; Vessberg (1956), 235–40.

<sup>25</sup> Badian (1965a). Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1289–90, who described it as 'abrupt' and 'brutal' and cited the accounts of Hill and Badian alone.

<sup>26</sup> Potter (2000), 775; Fujii (2013), 14. See Morrell (2017), which reinterprets Cato's administration of the annexation as an exercise in upright government contra Oost (1955). Note also Drogula (2019): this biography of Cato the Younger interprets his mission to Cyprus as an opportunity for political advancement and does not doubt his intentions to embezzle. For an overview see Calvelli (2020), ch. 3.

reappraisal of the annexation has taken into account the wider political developments in the eastern Mediterranean and the Levant. The gradual expansion of Rome's territories eastwards and scrutiny of the concurrent, long-standing issue of piracy in the region cast alternative light on Rome's motivations.<sup>27</sup> With the creation of the province of Syria in 63 BC by Pompey and his defeat of the pirates combined with the failing thalassocracy of the Ptolemies, the island was positioned in a region that was gradually being unified, stabilized, and controlled by Rome, but whether it was inevitable that Cyprus would become a Roman territory remains questionable for some.<sup>28</sup> While consideration of the bigger picture is key, as it concerns the stabilization and economy of the region, early scholarship that lays the blame at the door of individuals should not be ignored. Many accounts emphasize the squabbles that occurred between Rome's nobility and reflect the issues driving developments in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>29</sup> However the story is told, what is certain is that the forced annexation of Cyprus was one of many key actions that secured the beginning of the end of Egypt's control over the region, thus finalizing the demise of the Ptolemies.

### 2.2.3 Reaction to Annexation

Writing long after the event, Cassius Dio summarized local reaction to the annexation.<sup>30</sup> He reported that the Alexandrian elders, prior to the annexation, were angry and frustrated with Ptolemy XII Auletes (brother of Ptolemy of Cyprus) because of the huge debts he ran up buying recognition from the Romans of his position. Furthermore, they had asked that he demand Cyprus back from the Romans or else renounce his friendship with them. Unwilling and unable to do so, Ptolemy XII Auletes then fled Egypt to Rome, accusing his countrymen

<sup>27</sup> Potter (2000), 763–5, 769–73.

<sup>28</sup> Potter (2000), 773.

<sup>29</sup> For instance, in 68 BC Publius Clodius Pulcher was kidnapped by pirates. A ransom was sought and Ptolemy of Cyprus sent so measly an amount that the pirates set Clodius Pulcher free without accepting it. Clodius Pulcher allegedly held a grudge against Ptolemy of Cyprus following this embarrassing incident. E.g. Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.3.23; Cassius Dio, 36.17.

<sup>30</sup> Cassius Dio, 39.12.1–3.

of expelling him from his own kingdom. This episode highlights that the inevitable loss of Cyprus to Rome was deeply felt in Alexandria. Of local reaction in Cyprus, Cassius Dio wrote that the Cypriots welcomed Cato, hoping to be φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι (friends and allies) rather than slaves, and these brief words have inspired varied interpretations of this event.<sup>31</sup> Hill suggested that Cassius Dio was naïve to write that the Cypriots could have hoped for such an outcome.<sup>32</sup> In turn, Jones wrote that the Cypriots came to regret their attempts at negotiation, as they enjoyed no privileges under Rome.<sup>33</sup> For Oost, the Cypriots were realistic in their supposed attempt to attain a certain level of independence from Rome.<sup>34</sup> Finally, Mitford concluded, without justification, that Cyprus shared the fate of Egypt as *dediticii* (enemies surrendered at discretion).<sup>35</sup> Interpretation of the anecdote should not be taken too literally but instead could take into account the following to understand better its purpose in Cassius Dio's work. First is the reality that, with little means of raising troops and no leader to rally behind, any resistance would have been futile and the Cypriots had no choice but to welcome Roman rule.<sup>36</sup> This appears the most practical response to the unfolding situation, but to interpret it as evidence of a marker of cultural submission and homogeneity, as some have done, is a mistake. In many ways, such pragmatism highlights a certain characterization of islanders as ever aware of their vulnerable situation and ability to play the game—in this case by Roman rules. Second, this version of events echoes earlier narratives about the triumph of Roman imperialism. The idea that the Cypriots wanted to be part of the Roman Empire, and welcomed the island's annexation, could be interpreted as a device that celebrates the might of Rome. Third, Cassius Dio could have dramatized events to reflect a number of key interpersonal dynamics that characterized this period of the Roman Republic. For example, the phrase φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι is evocative of a treaty and can be found repeated in Cicero's speeches: at the time of the annexation Cyprus was not an official enemy of Rome but a friend and an ally, and Cicero decried the poor treatment of Ptolemy of Cyprus at

<sup>31</sup> Cassius Dio, 39.22.3. <sup>32</sup> Hill (1940), 208, n. 2, following Chapot (1912), 67, n. 1.

<sup>33</sup> Jones (1937), 371. <sup>34</sup> Oost (1955), 99. <sup>35</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1290, 1296.

<sup>36</sup> Cassius Dio, 39.12.2–3, 39.22.2; Cesnola (1877), 29; Oost (1955), 99, 101. Note Potter (2000), 776 that the Cypriots could have truly welcomed the annexation.

the hands of his political nemesis, Clodius Pulcher.<sup>37</sup> Another take on the significance of the phrase *φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι* concerns the memory of how Cato carried out his mission. Cassius Dio's version of events could reflect Cato's clear desire to carry out his duty to the highest moral standard as it emphasises his peaceful and orderly reception. That said, this stands in contrast to the well-known exploitation of the Salaminians at the hands of his nephew's agents (which he must have known about) and the tensions that apparently followed between him and Clodius Pulcher upon his return to Rome over the naming of slaves from Cyprus.<sup>38</sup> Whatever interpretation is preferred, it is important to remember that the passages are more reflective of events back in Rome and the key personalities of the Republic rather than of the Cypriots themselves.

## 2.3 The Administration of Roman Cyprus

### 2.3.1 Initial Administration: 58–48/7 BC

Cato was awarded the extraordinary power of *imperium pro praetore* to oversee the annexation of Cyprus and to organize the sale of the seized property of Ptolemy of Cyprus, but no evidence suggests that he acted in the capacity of proconsul.<sup>39</sup> Following his departure, it seems that no special provisions were made for the administration of the island. Instead, it was the responsibility of the proconsul of Cilicia—a post held for inconsistent lengths of time.<sup>40</sup> The identification of L. Coelius Tarphinus (or L. Coelius Pamphilus) as the island's first proconsul between 58 and 56 BC is doubtful as it seems unlikely that another Roman of high status was working alongside Cato during this time.<sup>41</sup> P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther governed Cilicia between 56 and 53 BC,

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Cicero, *De Domo Sua*, 20–1, 52; Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 57.

<sup>38</sup> Cassius Dio, 39.23.2–3; see also Calvelli (2020), 294–5.

<sup>39</sup> Velleius Paterculus, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*, 2.45.5; Plutarch, *Cato Minor*, 39; Cassius Dio, 39.23; See Broughton (1952), 198, 211.

<sup>40</sup> Hill (1940), 226–7, 254–6; Mitford (1980a), 1291–2.

<sup>41</sup> *I.Paphos*, 318 and no. 160; Calvelli (2020), 91–4. See the present study, footnote 52 below. For the name of this individual see Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 5; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 36. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1249. This proconsul has been identified as L. Coelius Pamphilus by Mitford, who noted that his name had been misread as Tarphinus, Tamphilus, Garifinus by the editors of *JHS*, *IGR* and *PIR*. This reading was supported by *I.Paphos*, no. 160. Calvelli's study interprets the name as Tarphinus.

making him the likeliest candidate for the island's first officially named proconsul.<sup>42</sup> Spinther is known to have held the expected, formal meeting with his predecessor, and it has been assumed that he issued the customary edict as proconsul to the island.<sup>43</sup> Next, Appius Claudius Pulcher governed Cilicia between 53 and 51 BC and is characterized as a bad administrator by his successor, Cicero.<sup>44</sup> Famous for his reluctance to leave Rome, Cicero opted to stay in his post for the minimum time (51–50 BC), unlike his predecessors who regarded their positions in the provinces as opportunities for personal gain and had clung on to them for as long as possible.<sup>45</sup> He found that they had exacted from the island large sums of money as compensation for not having soldiers billeted in the *poleis* in the winter.<sup>46</sup> Cicero's administration of the island was tainted by the exploitation of the Salaminians at the hands of Scaptius and Matinius, the agents of Brutus, in 56 BC; his management and eventual resolution of the affair is indicative of how provincial communities could be exploited and how hands-off a proconsul could be, even in a moment of crisis.<sup>47</sup> It is noteworthy that Cicero did not set foot on the island, but instead sent his subordinate Volusius to attend to the matter. Despite this, Cicero's letters present an idealized picture of interactions between Roman officials and provincials. He boasted that he would not allow a single penny to be exacted from the island, nor would he allow any honours to be decreed to him, such as statues, shrines, or *quadrigae*, accepting verbal thanks alone.<sup>48</sup> In the years immediately after 50 BC, the evidence for the island's administration is sketchy, and it appears that the proconsuls were represented by their subordinates on

<sup>42</sup> Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 1.7.4 = SB 18.4; Cf. Broughton (1952), 199–200, 210, 229; Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 2; *I.Paphos*, 318. Mitford (1980a, 1292) challenged Badian's (1965a, 121) suggestion that he was the first proconsul of the island.

<sup>43</sup> Hill (1940), 226, n. 3; Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 3.7.5 = SB 71.5. Lentulus Ampio should be read for Lentulus Appio. Badian (1965a), 121: Badian connected Lentulus Spinther with a P. Lentulus who annexed Cyrene in 74 BC, suggesting that he was either the same man or closely related. For the nature of the edict: Badian (1965a), 115; Lintott (1993), 28.

<sup>44</sup> Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 3.8.2–5 = SB 70.2–5. Cf. Broughton (1952), 237, 242, 299; Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 3; *I.Paphos*, 318.

<sup>45</sup> Hill (1940), 277; Broughton (1952), 243, 250–2; Mitford (1980a), 1292, proconsul no. 4; *I.Paphos*, 318.

<sup>46</sup> Jones (1937), 371. See the present chapter, Section 2.5. and Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

<sup>47</sup> Engel (1841), 447–54; Oberhummer (1923), 105; Jones (1937), 371; Hill (1940), 226–30; Oost (1955), 105–7; Vessberg (1956), 238–9; Badian (1965a); Mitford (1980a), 1291.

<sup>48</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.7 = SB 114.7.

the island. We can note a C. Coelius Calvus, who remained as *pro quaestor* in Cilicia following Cicero's departure.<sup>49</sup> The arrival of P. Sestius in Cilicia is attested in the literary sources, and it is possible that he oversaw the administration of the island in 49 BC.<sup>50</sup> Also in 49 BC, the island's first *quaestor*, a Sextilius Rufus, was appointed.<sup>51</sup> The possible proconsulship of L. Coelius Tarphinius (or Pamphilus) was at one time dated to the end of the Republic, but the most recent interpretation situates him as an active official during the restoration of the island to Ptolemaic rule.<sup>52</sup> This individual should be omitted from any revised list of Roman proconsuls because of the uncertain nature of the evidence.<sup>53</sup> Finally, the governorship of a M. Vehilius is attested by a statue base dated either between 42 BC and 39 BC or after 22 BC.<sup>54</sup> It is more likely that he was active between 22 BC and 15 BC.<sup>55</sup>

### 2.3.2 Ptolemaic Restoration: 48/7–30 BC

Julius Caesar (as consul) returned Cyprus to Cleopatra VII as a gift in 48/47 BC, and it effectively came under the control of her sister and brother, Arsinoë IV and Ptolemy XIV Philopator.<sup>56</sup> Bronze coins that represent Cleopatra VII and Ptolemy XV Caesarion (her son with Julius Caesar) as Aphrodite and Eros respectively are noteworthy. Not only does this imagery emphasize Cleopatra's union with Caesar; it demonstrates a concerted attempt by the queen to secure her dynastic claim to the island through association with the island's most important deity.<sup>57</sup> Mark Antony is also documented as later presenting Cyprus as a gift to

<sup>49</sup> Broughton (1952), 261.

<sup>50</sup> Broughton (1952), 264.

<sup>51</sup> Cicero, *Ad Familiares*, 13.48 = SB 142. See Badian (1965a), 114; Mitford (1980a), 1292; *I.Paphos*, 318.

<sup>52</sup> Calvelli (2020), 93–4. As above, *I.Paphos*, 318, dates the monument and the proconsulship of this individual to 58–56 BC; Mitford (1980a), 1292, suggested a date between 50 and 48/7 BC. *I.Paphos*, 318, also suggested that a certain Potamon was an official in charge in 49–48/7 BC.

<sup>53</sup> Potter (2000), 788 and n. 72.

<sup>54</sup> *I.Paphos*, no. 242.

<sup>55</sup> The present chapter, proconsul number 43, and the present study, Section 3.2.1.

<sup>56</sup> Cassius Dio, 42.35.5; Mitford (1980a), 1292–3; Potter (2000), 783.

<sup>57</sup> *RPC* Vol. II, 576, no. 3901. Cf. Cassius Dio, 49.32.5.

Cleopatra VII and her sister Arsinoë.<sup>58</sup> During this period, Serapion was installed as *strategos* of the island in 43 BC (though he was later executed for treachery) and then Demetrios, a freedman of Caesar, was appointed to govern in 39 BC.<sup>59</sup> A statue base, discovered in the gymnasium of Salamis, dated to 38 BC, confirms Mark Antony's restoration of Roman Cilicia to Ptolemaic Cyprus.<sup>60</sup> The monument was set up by the *strategos* (Diogenes Noumenios) to a Stasikrates in the city of Salamis. Significantly, Diogenes Noumenios was celebrated as *sungene* (kinsman), which recalled the close relationship of the highest ranking official on the island with the royal Ptolemaic court. The last staged donation of the island to Cleopatra VII and her children was made by Mark Antony in 34 BC.<sup>61</sup>

### 2.3.3 After Actium: From Imperial to Public Province

In 30 BC Egypt finally fell under the control of Rome, and with it Cyprus. The status of the island and how it was governed in the immediate aftermath of Actium is unknown. When Octavian accepted the title Augustus in 27 BC he was granted control of provinces, with armies organized in places of strategic importance.<sup>62</sup> Cyprus was included in this new arrangement, and Augustus oversaw its administration through *legati* endowed with *imperium pro praetore*.<sup>63</sup>

In 22 BC the island was returned to senatorial rule and became a public province, governed by proconsuls selected by lot rather than by the Emperor.<sup>64</sup> This return marks an important point in the history of the

<sup>58</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6 c.685; Plutarch, *Antony*, 36.2, 54.4; Cassius Dio, 49.32.4–5, 49.41.1–2.

<sup>59</sup> Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 4.8.61, 5.1.9; Cassius Dio, 48.40.6; Mitford (1980a), 1292; Potter (2000), 783–4.

<sup>60</sup> *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 97. Cf. *I.Salamis*, 8, n. 1; Bagnall (1976), 262; Nicolaou (1976), 53; Mitford (1980a), 1290.

<sup>61</sup> Cassius Dio, 49.41.2.

<sup>62</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 17.3.25 c.840; Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 28, 47; Cassius Dio, 53.12.5–7, 53.13.1.

<sup>63</sup> Potter (2000), 784–5.

<sup>64</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.6 c.685; Cassius Dio, 54.4.1.

island, as it conditioned the relationship between Cyprus and Rome.<sup>65</sup> Once the region had been stabilized, the Cypriot proconsulship was not a position that would advance the ambitions of Romans seeking glory and recognition.<sup>66</sup>

Unlike their Ptolemaic and Republican predecessors, the proconsul was not in charge of an army and did not appear to be close to the central governing power.<sup>67</sup> In general, men who governed public provinces did not often rise above the praetorship, and this meant that Cypriots had limited access to high-ranking Roman nobility.<sup>68</sup> Very little is known about many of the Roman proconsuls of Cyprus from 22 BC onwards, with the exception of a few individuals. They were in office for one year, a dramatic contrast to the extended posts held by governors who exploited the provinces during the Republic.<sup>69</sup> Cyprus, it seems, was well governed from this point onwards by Rome.<sup>70</sup>

In general, proconsuls had little guidance on how to govern during their term in office, and they had to rely on his own good sense and any instructions that came from the Emperor.<sup>71</sup> Their responsibilities included dispensing justice by resolving disputes between individuals or communities, overseeing the maintenance of roads, ensuring that cities did not bankrupt themselves, and maintaining public order, morality, and peace in the cities and countryside. They also had to make

<sup>65</sup> Potter (2000), 786.

<sup>66</sup> At the Emperor's request, Publius Pacquius Scaeva was dispatched by the Senate *extra sortem* as proconsul to Cyprus to oversee the organization of the island's finances only four years after his first appointment. His appointment is commemorated in two inscriptions, at Histonium and Rome. His appointment perhaps signals that he was someone Augustus could trust to organize the affairs of the island. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1299, n. 47, 1342–3, Potter (2000), 785–6, 791. See also *CIL* 9.2845, 2846; *ILS* 915; *CIL* 6.1483, 1484.

<sup>67</sup> Despite this, monuments do suggest the presence of the military or individuals associated with the army in Roman Cyprus at times and include *IGR* 3.964; *I.Paphos*, no 161 (a funerary monument from the Paphos region); *CIL* 3.215 (a funerary monument from Salamis); *CIL* 3.12109; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 19 (a funerary monument from Salamis); *I.Paphos*, 444–5, no. 279 (an inscribed *gemma* that supposedly belonged to an officer of the *Legio XV Apollinaris*); *CIL* 3.215. Cf. Potter (2000), 813 (an inscription which provides evidence for the presence of the *Cohors VII Brevcorum* stationed in North Mesaoria at the foot of the Kyreneia mountain range)

<sup>68</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1305; Potter (2000), 789.

<sup>69</sup> Richardson (1976), 64; Mitford (1980a), 1299; Michaelides (1990), 115.

<sup>70</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1295, 1341–5.

<sup>71</sup> Potter (2000), 796 and n. 101. Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, Book 10 (correspondence between Pliny and the Emperor Trajan during his post as governor in Bithynia and Pontus (AD 110–13)); Madsen (2009), 11–26.

appointments to civic offices and ensure that the individuals elected by their communities were responsible and able to fulfil their duties.<sup>72</sup> The proconsul of Cyprus was accompanied by a small retinue, namely a *quaestor*, a *legatus pro praetore*, and then their staff, to whom he could delegate some responsibilities.<sup>73</sup> The Emperor could also make ad hoc appointments such as a *curator civitatis*, whose specific job was to curb the spending of cities, and a procurator.<sup>74</sup> The provincial procurator is to be distinguished from the procurators of mines and imperial properties.<sup>75</sup> Few references to the organization and operation of the mines during the Roman period exist. According to Josephus, in 12 BC Augustus leased half the revenue of the mines of Soloi to Herod in return for a payment of 300 talents.<sup>76</sup> In AD 166, Galen visited these mines and was given a tour by its procurator.<sup>77</sup>

Aggressive intervention from Rome was only needed once in the long history of its administration of the island—during the Empire-wide Jewish revolt of AD 115–17. Cassius Dio wrote that as many as 240,000 Greeks were killed by Jews during an uprising that occurred on Cyprus in AD 117, prompting Trajan to dispatch a small Roman army, the *Legio VII Claudia*, to the island to quash the insurrection and restore peace.<sup>78</sup> While the reported death toll is clearly exaggerated, more than anything this dramatic account contributes to the systemic marginalization of Jews by describing them as cannibals who were allegedly driven out of Cyprus and thereafter not allowed to set foot on it on pain of death.<sup>79</sup> For

<sup>72</sup> E.g. Potter (2000), 796–807, 812–7.

<sup>73</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1299, 1305–7; Potter (2000), 796.

<sup>74</sup> Appointments such as these would have been made in extreme circumstances and are attested at Paphos, Kourion, and Soloi. Often, procurators were connected with the Emperor's estates and were considerably powerful: see Mitford (1980a), 1307–8 (where four procurators are attested); Potter (2000), 800–3; cf. Nowakowski (2011) (who identifies six procurators).

<sup>75</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1307. For the mines of Cyprus: Davies (1928/9–1929/30); Bruce (1937); Hill (1940), 238; Mitford (1980a), 1297–8, 1327, 1347; Potter (2000), 802, 845–7; and Hirt (2010) in general for imperial mines.

<sup>76</sup> Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 16.4.5.

<sup>77</sup> Galen, *De Antidotis* (ed. Kühn XIV, 7). Note that a fragmentary inscription from the environs of Soloi (SEG 30.1658; Mitford (1980a), 1298, 1327) could refer to the activity of the mines there in the second century AD.

<sup>78</sup> Cassius Dio, 68.32; Eusebius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, 4.2.

<sup>79</sup> Literary sources document the settlement of Jews on Cyprus from the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (309–246 BC) and systematically stereotype the community by associating it with magic and sorcery. For example, Acts of the Apostles, 13:6 (where Bar-Elymas, a Jew, is specifically named as a *magus*, a magician); Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 30.1–2 and

Mitford, the total absence of Jewish symbols from this period onwards in Cyprus indicated their almost underground existence on the island following the revolt.<sup>80</sup> His interpretation of the *defixiones* (curse tablets) from Amathous as the work of Jewish *magoi* (magicians) fits this narrative of a secretive existence, but is entirely speculative.<sup>81</sup> All in all, the surviving evidence for the experience and identity of the Jewish community in ancient Cyprus is fragmentary, and it is impossible to draw any firm conclusions.<sup>82</sup>

## 2.4 Re-evaluating the Evidence

### 2.4.1 The Available Evidence for Study of the Proconsuls

As shown above, literary accounts are crucial for understanding the organization and character of Roman administration of the island from 58 BC to 22 BC. From 22 BC onwards it is the material record that is most instructive.<sup>83</sup> The majority of the evidence is epigraphic and includes honorific statue bases, building inscriptions, milestones, and a curse tablet. Although first published in 1890, the *defixiones* of Cyprus have been, until recently, overlooked as evidence for the study of Roman officials on the island and their interactions with local communities.<sup>84</sup> The *defixiones* are dated to the late second to third century AD

30.11 (which conflates the practice of magic by Zoroastrians with the Jewish community); Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 13.284 (for the settlement of Jews), and 20.141–4 (the story of a Jew from Cyprus accused of being a magician for engaging in trickery).

<sup>80</sup> Mitford (1990), 2205, and n. 157. His overviews of the Jewish communities in Cyprus can be found in Mitford (1950b), 110–16; Mitford (1980a), 1380–1; Mitford (1990), 2204–8.

<sup>81</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1380; Mitford (1990), 2204, 2205, and n. 156. Cf. Drew-Bear (1972), 102. Of more relevance are the possible Greek and Egyptian influences detected in these formulaic *defixiones* that hint at the connectivity between Cyprus and other landscapes: e.g. see Gager ed. (1992), 132–3; Wilburn (2012), 176.

<sup>82</sup> More recent studies of the Jewish community in Cyprus, with some comprising up-to-date summaries of the surviving material evidence, include Potter (2000), 809–11; Noy and Bloedhord eds. (2004), 213–26; and Davis (2016). See also Trebilco (1991). The worship of Theos Hypsistos, attested across the island, could also indicate the influence of Judaism on the religious sphere and is collated in Mitchell (1999), nos. 243–65.

<sup>83</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1297–8. As few as two proconsuls were named in the coinage minted in Cyprus. For example, the present chapter, proconsuls nos. 2 [A] and 10 [A].

<sup>84</sup> Key reading for the curse tablets of Amathous includes: Audollent (1904); *I.Kourion*, nos. 127–42; Drew-Bear (1972); Aupert and Jordan (1981); Aupert and Jordan (1994); Jordan

and represent one of the largest hoards discovered from the Roman Empire.<sup>85</sup> More than 200 lead curse tablets, and an additional 30 of selenite, were discovered in a shaft, or common grave, in Agios Tychonas, an area close to Amathous thought to have been used as a necropolis in the Roman period. Those published to date relate to judicial cases, and their texts are formulaic in their composition, usually including the names of those who employed the services of a professional *magus* and details of the targets. The *magus* would have inscribed the tablet or possibly selected one from a pile of pre-inscribed sheets, filling in the client's name, the names of the opponents, and sometimes providing a few details relating to the case.<sup>86</sup> The powerful incantations to tie up the physical and mental faculties of the targets, thus preventing them from pursuing their case successfully in court, are also a typical feature of the Cypriot *defixiones*.<sup>87</sup> Not only does this evidence provide us with confirmation of the proconsul of Cyprus overseeing matters of a judicial nature—the possibilities of which have to date been underplayed and only been suggested through comparative literary evidence—it is also the only evidence of sources of tension between some members of the local community and its administrators.<sup>88</sup> It is irrelevant whether the person cursing the proconsul is innocent or not; the proconsul's appearance in the text of a curse tablet demonstrates that, while the honorific nature of public monuments presents a positive relationship between the proconsul and the cities of Cyprus, their organizations, and local elites, other forms of written evidence, particularly from the private sphere, could reveal negative interactions. One tablet names a proconsul of Cyprus, a certain Theodorus.<sup>89</sup> Another curse tablet names a Theodorus, but it is not

(1985); Wilburn (2012), ch. 4. For general reading on judicial curse tablets see Faraone (1991); Versnel (1991); Gager ed. (1992), ch. 3.

<sup>85</sup> Wilburn (2012), 172.

<sup>86</sup> Wilburn (2012), 187–8, 200–9.

<sup>87</sup> Wilburn (2012), 170.

<sup>88</sup> Wilburn (2012), 173, 210–12.

<sup>89</sup> *I.Kourion*, no. 130: Theodorus is named as *hegemon* in lines 8, 13, and 19. It is worth noting that in line 8 his title is completely restored, but in lines 13 and 19 the title is fragmentary. While this is the only instance in which the title of *hegemon* is used to name a proconsul in Cyprus, it is not an unusual title and is attested in other provinces. See *I.Kourion*, 254–5; Wilburn (2012), 210.

clear whether he is the same individual.<sup>90</sup> It is possible that with further translations of the remaining tablets, the *defixiones* of Amathous could provide us with evidence that contradicts official representations, which are unsurprisingly positive, between the local community and Roman officials.

## 2.4.2 The Revised List of Roman Proconsuls

The following list presents the evidence for Roman proconsuls of Cyprus from 30 BC to the mid fourth century AD. The arrangement of the data is based on the evidence originally presented by Mitford and subsequent revisions presented by Thomasson and Potter. Thomasson omitted the following individuals, originally named in Mitford's list, in his study, no doubt because of the fragmentary or limited nature of the evidence:

- **Q. Am[ - - - ] Quinti[ - - - ]**, 'In or shortly after 2 BC'.<sup>91</sup> [A] Grant (1969), 144. Cf. *RPC* Vol. I.I, 577 on the 'defective' reading of this individual as a proconsul.
- **L. Vitellius**, 'around AD 30'.<sup>92</sup> Cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 500.
- **Unknown**, 'late second or early third century'.<sup>93</sup> [A] Salamis: *ICA* 7 (in *RDAC* 1968), 79, no. 13; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 249.
- **[ - - - ]tensinus [ - - - ]**, 'AD 212–17'.<sup>94</sup> [A] Salamis: *JHS* 12 (1891), 178–9, no. 9; *CIL* 3.12105; Mitford (1950a), 52–3, no. 21; ab *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 148. Cf. Corbier (1991), 655–701.
- **[ - - - ] Celsus**, date unknown.<sup>95</sup> [A] Kition: *CIG* II 2645; *I.Kition*, no. 2059.

In turn, Potter suggested that the following individuals be removed from Thomasson's list:<sup>96</sup>

<sup>90</sup> *I.Kourion*, no. 131.

<sup>91</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 12.

<sup>92</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1305.

<sup>93</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 56.

<sup>94</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 47.

<sup>95</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 50.

<sup>96</sup> Potter (2000), 788 and n. 72.

- **L. Coelius Tarphinus.**<sup>97</sup>
- **Paullus Fabius Maximus.** There is no firm evidence to attest his proconsulship in Cyprus.<sup>98</sup>
- [ - - - ]**arius Rufus.**<sup>99</sup> 18/17 BC? *PIR*<sup>1</sup> T 14; V 193. [A] Palaipaphos: *JHS* 9 (1888), 239, no. 49; *IGR* 3.952; *I.Paphos*, no. 163. Since the publication of Thomasson's study, a monument naming an individual with the *cognomen* Rufus has been discovered at Nea Paphos which could be attributed to this individual. [B] Nea Paphos: *ICA* 36 (in *RDAC* 1997), 269–70, no. 2; *I.Paphos*, no. 245.
- [ - - C]**orne[lius - - -]** under Trajan?<sup>100</sup> [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 168; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 237.
- [ - - - ] **Appian[us]**, AD 200.<sup>101</sup> [A] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 18; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 147.
- **Publicola Priscus.**<sup>102</sup> *PIR*<sup>1</sup> P 59. [A] Kourion: Robert (1948), 108–9; *I.Kourion*, no. 89; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 226–7. The identification of the individual named in this monument as L. Valerio Helvidio Prisco Publicola (cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 59) by Mitford dates the monument to the end of the second century to the third century AD. Robert's analysis of this epigram more securely dates the monument, and the office of the individual named, to the end of the third century AD and so contradicts Mitford's interpretation. For this reason, it is not possible to securely identify this individual. Nevertheless, Mitford's suggestion that the full name of the individual is not included on the monument, to fit the metre of the epigram, should not be disregarded, and it could still be possible that the individual named in the monument was an outsider—if not a Roman proconsul, perhaps a high-ranking official.

The revised list below records the following: the name of the proconsul (and, if relevant, reference to a *PIR* number); their date in office;

<sup>97</sup> The present chapter, Section 2.3.1.

<sup>98</sup> Listed as Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 1. Also note Fujii (2013), 151, n. 83.

<sup>99</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no 11; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 44. Cf. Fujii (2013), 15, n. 20.

<sup>100</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 34; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 22.

<sup>101</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 44; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 27.

<sup>102</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 49; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 43.

key references to literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence (including their find-spots); and light discussion of key features where interpreted differently by scholars. Additions include **L. Mar[ - - - ]**; **L. Bruttius Maximus**; **Creperius**; and an unknown individual, possibly named **Ulpus**. In the first list, the known proconsuls are presented, as far as possible, in date order. In the second, they appear as in Thomasson's study with the exception of monuments that preserve a general reference to a proconsul but do not preserve a name.<sup>103</sup> Finally, it is worth noting that the number of proconsuls of Cyprus attested in the surviving evidence represent 15–20 per cent of the known total.<sup>104</sup>

#### 2.4.2.1 Roman Proconsuls from 22 BC

1. [ - - - ]A, 9 BC.<sup>105</sup> [A] Salamis: *JHS* 12 (1891), 178, no. 8; *IGR* 3.992; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 100.
2. **A. Plautius**, Mitford (1980a) and *RPC* Vol. I.I. nos. 3906 and 3907: in or after 21 BC; Thomasson (1984): Under Augustus; Parks (2004): AD 1/2.<sup>106</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 455. [A] Grant (1969), 143; Parks (2004), 39–43, nos. 2a, 2b.
3. **P. Paquius Scaeva**, Mitford (1980a): possibly 22/21 BC and then 'at least four years after his first term of office'; Thomasson (1984): under Augustus (15/14 BC?).<sup>107</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 126. [A] Histonium: *CIL* 9.2845 and 2846; *ILS* 915. Cf. *CIL* 6.1483 and 1484.
4. **C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus**, Mitford (1980a): 'Praetor aerarii in AD 18 and proconsul shortly thereafter'.<sup>108</sup> Thomasson (1984): AD 22–35. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 600. [A] Casinum: *CIL* 10.5182; *ILS* 972.
5. **C. Lucretius Rufus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 14?; Thomasson (1984): under Tiberius.<sup>109</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 411. [A] Salamis: *JHS* 12 (1891), 174–5, no. 1; *CIL* 3.12104; Mitford (1950a), 52, n. 2, no. 20; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 132; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 4.

<sup>103</sup> I.e. proconsuls nos. 46–55 in this study.

<sup>104</sup> Potter (2000), 788. Cf. Mitford (1980a), 1299.

<sup>105</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 57; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 2.

<sup>106</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1299, proconsul no. 9; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 3.

<sup>107</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1299, proconsul nos. 8 and 10; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 4.

<sup>108</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 16; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 5.

<sup>109</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300 and n. 53, proconsul no. 15; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 7.

6. **L. Axius Naso**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 29/30.<sup>110</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1691. [A] Lapethus: *OGIS* 2.583; *LBW* 3.2773; *IGR* 3.933; Fujii (2013) Lapethus no. 2.
7. **L. Mar[ - - ]**, possibly L(ucius) Mar[cius Hortalus], under Tiberius.<sup>111</sup> [A] Salamis: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 133; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 5. Cf. Corbier (1991), 679–83.
8. **[- - ]tesinus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Titus?; Corbier (1991), *I.Paphos*, and Fujii (2013): under Tiberius?<sup>112</sup> [A] Palaipaphos: *JHS* 9 (1888), 251, no. 107b; *IGR* 3.944; Mitford (1947), 208, no. 3; Corbier (1991), 674–87; *I. Paphos*, no. 150; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 12.
9. **M. Firmius Secu[ndus]**, under Caligula.<sup>113</sup> [A] Palaipaphos: Mitford (1950a), 56, no. 30. The text of the inscription is completely erased but visible on the side of *JHS* 9 (1888), no. 35; but it does not feature in this early publication of discoveries from the sanctuary. According to Mitford, the name M. Firmius Secundus is visible, but there are no further traces of this individual; while the *nomen* is rare, a Firmius Catus is attested under Tiberius.<sup>114</sup>
10. **T. Cominius Proculus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 43/44.<sup>115</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1270. [A] Parks (2004), 69–73, no. 11b. [B] Kyrenia: Seyrig (1927), 153–4, no. 11; Mitford (1950a), 17, no. 9.
11. **Sergius Paullus**, Mitford (1980a): between AD 37 and 41; Thomasson (1984): between AD 46 and 48.<sup>116</sup> *PIR*<sup>1</sup> S 376. [A] Chytroi: *IGR* 3.935; Myres (1914), 319, 548, no. 1903. The restoration of this text in *SEG* 20.302, suggests that he was proconsul. [B] Salamis: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 105.

<sup>110</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 17; Thomasson (1984), 295, no. 6.

<sup>111</sup> See Corbier (1991), 655–701.

<sup>112</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 27; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 15. For the identification of this proconsul as Marcius Hortensinus and his promotion of the honour to Marcia (his ancestor) at Palaipaphos (discussed below in Section 3.2.2) see Calvelli (2020), 241–2.

<sup>113</sup> Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 8.

<sup>114</sup> Mitford (1950a), 57: cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, 4.31.

<sup>115</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 19; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 9.

<sup>116</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul number 18; cf. also number 20; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 10.

12. **T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 58/9; Thomasson (1984): AD 58–61.<sup>117</sup> *I.Paphos*, 399–400: between AD 57 and 62. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 84. [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1958), no. 1; *I.Paphos*, no. 238. [B] Near Capua: *CIL* 10.3853; *ILS* 992.
13. **Q. Iulius Cordus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 64/5 (or 65/6?).<sup>118</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 272. [A] Kition: *CIG* 2.2631; *IGR* 3.978; *I.Kition*, no. 2036. [B] Kourion: *CIG* 2.2632; *IGR* 3.971; *I.Kourion*, no. 84; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 220–3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2. [C] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 107; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 230–1.
14. **L. Annius Bassus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 65/6 (or 66/7).<sup>119</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 637. [A] Kourion: *CIG* 2.2632; *IGR* 3.971; *I.Kourion*, no. 84; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 220–3; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 2.
15. [- - -] **Milioni**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Nero.<sup>120</sup> [A] Near Soloi: Mitford (1950a), 28–31, no. 15; Christol (1986), 1–5.
16. **L. Bruttius Maximus**, Mitford (1980a) and Fujii (2013): AD 79/80; Thomasson (1984): AD 80/1.<sup>121</sup> [A] Amathous: Mitford (1946), 40–2, no. 16; Aupert and Hermay (2006), 88, B; Kantiréa (2008), 97; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 4. [B] Amathous: Aupert and Hermay (2006), 88, A; Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3.
17. **L. Plotius P**[- - -], Mitford (1980a): AD 80/1; Thomasson (1984): AD 81/2.<sup>122</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 511. [A] Milestone, Unknown: Mitford (1950a), 85, no. 46; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 275, no. 29. [B] Milestone, Salamis: *CIL* 3.6732; Mitford (1939a), 188–9; Mitford (1950a), 86–7, no. 46; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 252–4, no. 15. Mitford (1950a) and *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 511 presented the full name of this

<sup>117</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 21; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 11.

<sup>118</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 22; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 12.

<sup>119</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 23; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 13.

<sup>120</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 24; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 14.

<sup>121</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 28; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 16.

<sup>122</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302 and n. 59, proconsul no. 29; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 17.

individual as L. Plotius P[ulcher], though Thomasson was doubtful about this suggestion.

18. **Q. Laberius Iustus Cocceius Lepidus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 100/1.<sup>123</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 7. [A] Kourion:<sup>124</sup> *I.Kourion*, no. 108; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 231–2; Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 5. [B] Rome: *CIL* 6.1440.
19. **Q. Caelius Honoratus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 101/2; Thomasson (1984): between AD 101 and 104.<sup>125</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1244. [A] Kourion: *LBW* 3.2814; *IGR* 3.970; *I.Kourion*, no. 86; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 224–6. [B] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 109. [C] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 110.
20. **Q. Seppius Celer M. Titius Sassius Candidus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 113/14.<sup>126</sup> [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 87; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 226; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 188, no. 3. [B] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 111; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 190–5. Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 11. [C] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 23; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 123.
21. [- -]gius Pate[rnus?], Mitford (1980a): AD 113/14; Thomasson (1984): AD 116/17.<sup>127</sup> [A] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 12; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 38. It must be noted that while this individual is included in Thomasson's list, the inscription is very fragmentary and the title ἀνθυ[πάτου(?) is entirely restored. *I.Salamis*, 28, n. 5: suggests that individual could be the son of P. Valerius Patruinus (cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 103).
22. **C. Calpurnius Flaccus**, Mitford (1980a) and Fujii (2013): AD 122/3; Thomasson (1984): AD 123.<sup>128</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 268; F 171. [A] Salamis: *CIG* 2638; *IGR* 3.991; *I.Salamis*, no. 92 a; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII,

<sup>123</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 30; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 18.

<sup>124</sup> It is unclear why the references for this monument are repeated in Thomasson's list: an individual labelled as 'unknown' is cited on p. 302, no. 55. This inscription does not refer to another individual who could possibly be interpreted as an 'unknown' governor or Roman administrator.

<sup>125</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 31; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 19.

<sup>126</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 32; Thomasson (1984), 297, no. 20. On the date of his proconsulship cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 193. Also note Potter (2000), 788, n. 72.

<sup>127</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 33; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 21.

<sup>128</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 35; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 23.

- no. 125. [B] Salamis: *I.Salamis*, no. 92; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 140; Kantiréa (2008), 103, no. 84; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 16.
23. **Ti. Claudius Subatianus Proculus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 197/8.<sup>129</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 682. [A] Milestone, near Paphos: Mitford (1966), 89, no. 1; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 261–3, no. 21.
24. **Audius Bassus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 198/9.<sup>130</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1376. [A] Milestone, Paphos to Arsinoe: Mitford (1939a), 193–4, no. 5; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 10; *I.Paphos*, no. 301; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 236–7, no. 3. [B] Milestone, near Soloi: Mitford (1939a), 184–9, no. 1; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 1; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 247–50, no. 13. [C] Milestone, Paphos to Kourion: *LBW* 3.2806; *CIL* 3.218; *IGR* 3.967; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 16 *I.Paphos*, no. 307; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 266–8, no. 24. [D] Milestone, Paphos to Kourion: Mitford (1939a), 194–6, no. 6; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 15; *I.Paphos*, no. 306; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 270–2, no. 26. [E] Milestone, Nea Paphos: Mitford (1950a), 59, no. 32; Mitford (1966), 99; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 14; *I.Paphos*, no. 305; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 273–4, no. 27.
25. **Iulius Fronto Tlepolemus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): AD 210/11.<sup>131</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 328. [A] Nea Paphos: *I.Paphos*, no. 232; Fujii (2013) Paphos Nova no. 5.
26. **T. Caesernius Statianus Quinctianus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 212?; Thomasson (1984) and Fujii (2013): under Caracalla.<sup>132</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 180. [A] Palaipaphos: *JHS* 9 (1888), 252, no. 111; *IGR* 3.947; Mitford (1947), 212, no. 4 *I.Paphos*, no. 156; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 17.
27. **C. Iulius Avitus Alexianus**, Thomasson (1984): AD 217.<sup>133</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 190; 192. [A] Cassius Dio, 79.30.2–4.

<sup>129</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 42; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 24.

<sup>130</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 43; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 25.

<sup>131</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 45; Thomasson (1984), 298, no. 26.

<sup>132</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 46; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 28.

<sup>133</sup> Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 29.

28. **Ti. Claudius Attalus Paterclianus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 218/19; Thomasson (1984): AD 217/18 (or 217/19?).<sup>134</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 795. [A] Milestone, near Vouni: Mitford (1939a), 190, no. 2; Mitford (1947), 230, no. 15; Mitford (1980a), 1333, no. 2. Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 246–7, no. 12.

#### 2.4.2.2 Roman Proconsuls of Uncertain Date or Otherwise Unknown

29. **P. Cassius Longinus**, Mitford (1980a): early second century AD?; Thomasson (1984): under Trajan or Hadrian?<sup>135</sup> [A] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 88.
30. **Ti. Claudius Flavianus Titianus Q. Vilius Proculus L. Marcius Celer M. Calpurnius Longus**, Mitford (1980a): Antonine; Thomasson (1984): Hadrianic or Antonine?<sup>136</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 696. [A] Salamis: *ILS* 8835; *I.Salamis*, no. 24.
31. **Ti. Claudius Iuncus**, Mitford (1980a): mid second century AD; Thomasson (1984): unknown date.<sup>137</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 904. [A] Kition: *LBW* 3.2726; *IGR* 3.979; *OGIS* 2.584; *I.Kition*, no. 2061.
32. **Sextus Clodius [- -]nians**, Mitford (1980a): late Severan; Thomasson (1984): under Septimius Severus to Caracalla.<sup>138</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1155. [A] Kition: *LBW* 3.2728; *IGR* 3.977; *I.Kition*, no. 2035; Fujii (2013) Kition no. 11.
33. **Claudius Leontichus Illyrius**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): mid third century AD?<sup>139</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 892. [A] Lapethus: Mitford (1950b), 136, no. 10.
34. **Creperius**, second century AD. [A] Amathous: Le Glay (1986), 27–34; Marcillet-Jaubert (1987), 33–4; Hermary (1988), 102, no. 5.
35. **A. Didius Postumus**, Mitford (1980a): ‘Early imperial, perhaps Augustan’; Thomasson (1984): early empire.<sup>140</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 72. [A]

<sup>134</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 52; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 30.

<sup>135</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 37; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 31.

<sup>136</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 40; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 32.

<sup>137</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 38; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 33.

<sup>138</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 48; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 34.

<sup>139</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 53; Thomasson (1984), 299, no. 35.

<sup>140</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300, proconsul no. 14; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 37.

- Cos: *AnnÉp* (1934) no. 86; Sherwin-White (1975), 183. Cf. also [B] Tegea: *CIL* 3.7247; *ILS* 970.
36. **L. Gabo Arunculeius P. Acilius Severus**, Mitford (1980a): Antonine; Thomasson (1984): Not before Marcus Aurelius.<sup>141</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> G 12. [A] Brixia: *CIL* 5.4333.
  37. **Bassidius Lauricius**, around AD 358.<sup>142</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 133. [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1961b), 101, no. 5; *I.Paphos*, no. 244. For the new identification of this proconsul and his date in office see Cayla (1997) and *I.Paphos*, no. 244.
  38. **Paullus**, Mitford (1980a): AD 126? Thomasson (1984): unknown date?<sup>143</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 376. [A] Soloi: *IGR* 3.930; Mitford (1947), 201, no. 1.
  39. **D. Plautius Felix Iulianus**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Septimius Severus? (AD 196/7)<sup>144</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 464. [A] Palaipaphos: *JHS* 9 (1888), 248, no. 97; *IGR* 3.954 and *JHS* 9 (1888), 253, no. 114; *IGR* 3. 955. All fragments were joined together in Mitford (1947), 216–17, no. 6; *I.Paphos*, no. 167. [B] Palaipaphos: *JHS* 9 (1888), 249, no. 104a; *IGR* 3.956; *I. Paphos*, no. 168. [C] Kourion: *I.Kourion*, no. 90; Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 227–8. See also [D] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1961b), 103–5, no. 7; *I.Paphos*, no. 240.
  40. **L. Pontius**, Mitford (1980a): late Neronian; Thomasson (1984): late first century AD?<sup>145</sup> *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 793; 794. [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1958), 6–8, no. 2; *SEG* 18.588; *I.Paphos*, no. 237.
  41. **Theodorus**, Mitford (1980a): late third century AD; Thomasson (1984): post Diocletian?<sup>146</sup> [A] Amathous: Audollent (1904), no. 25; *I.Kourion*, no. 130; also see Wilburn (2012), 192, 210–11.
  42. [- - -] **Varus**, unknown date?<sup>147</sup> [A] Rome: *EE* IX 900; *Inscr.It.* IV: 1<sup>2</sup>, 132.

<sup>141</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 39; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 38.

<sup>142</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no 51; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 39. This proconsul was identified as Lauricius Vo[...] by both Mitford and Thomasson.

<sup>143</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1302, proconsul no. 36; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 40.

<sup>144</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1303, proconsul no. 41; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 41.

<sup>145</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 26; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 42.

<sup>146</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 54; Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 45.

<sup>147</sup> Thomasson (1984), 300, no. 46.

43. **M. Vehilius**, Mitford (1980a): between 42 and 39 BC?; Thomasson (1984): early imperial period?<sup>148</sup> Mitford correctly identified this proconsul as a certain M. Vehilius, not M. Ofilius or Uphilius as had previously been suggested.<sup>149</sup> [A] Nea Paphos: Seyrig (1927), 143, no. 4; Mitford (1958), 8; *I.Paphos*, no. 242.
44. **M. Verg(ilius?)**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): under Augustus?<sup>150</sup> *PIR*<sup>1</sup> V 272. [A] Coin in possession of Borghesi cited in Mitford (1980a), 1300. *RPC* Vol. I.I, 577: that this was a misread coin or a forgery.
45. **L. Vehilius**, Mitford (1980a) and Thomasson (1984): Neronian:<sup>151</sup> [A] Nea Paphos: Mitford (1950a), 28–31, no. 15; Christol (1986), 6–14; *I.Paphos*, no. 236. This individual was presented as L. Vilius in Thomasson's list.
46. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): between 30 and 22 BC.<sup>152</sup> [A] Salamis: *CIL* 3.12106.
47. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?<sup>153</sup> [A] Clusium: *CIL* 11.7114.
48. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): date unknown; Thomasson (1984): not before Marcus Aurelius?<sup>154</sup> [A] Suessula: *CIL* 10.3761.
49. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): 'early third century lettering'?<sup>155</sup> [A] Soloi: *SEG* 30.1567; cf. *SEG* 30.1657. While this fragment is omitted from Thomasson's study, the word ἀνθυπα[του - -] can be detected.
50. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?<sup>156</sup> [A] Tibur: *CIL* 14.4248.
51. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?<sup>157</sup> [A] Rome: *CIL* 6.1561.

<sup>148</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1294, proconsul no. 6; Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 47.

<sup>149</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1294, and nn. 24 and 26. Cf. Rüpke (2005), 945.

<sup>150</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1300 and n. 51, proconsul no. 13; Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 48.

<sup>151</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1301, proconsul no. 25; Thomasson (1984), 301, no. 49.

<sup>152</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1295, proconsul no. 7. <sup>153</sup> Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 50.

<sup>154</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1305, proconsul no. 58; Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 51. Cf. *PIR*<sup>1</sup> III, 500, no. 41.

<sup>155</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1305, proconsul no. 59.

<sup>156</sup> Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 52.

<sup>157</sup> Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 53.

52. **Unknown**, Mitford (1980a): first century BC or AD; Thomasson (1984): date unknown?<sup>158</sup> *I.Paphos*: suggests a date around the end of the first century BC. [A] Palaipaphos: *JHS* 9 (1888), 247, no. 91; *IGR* 3.957. *I.Paphos*, no. 164.
53. **Unknown**, Thomasson (1984): date unknown?<sup>159</sup> [A] Soloi: listed as ‘unpublished’ in Mitford (1980a), 1305, no. 59.
54. **Unknown**, date unknown? [A] Milestone, south of Paramali: *CIL* 3.219; *LBW* 3.2807; *IGR* 3.968; Mitford (1939a), 197; Mitford (1947), 217, no. 7; Mitford (1966), 93; Mitford (1980a), 1334, no. 21; 1338 erroneously identified as mile 8; Bekker-Nielsen (2004), 258-60, no. 20.
55. **Ulpius?**, After AD 212; probably mid third century AD. [A] Ancyra: Mitchell (1977), 70, no. 5; *BE* (1978), 484-5, no. 488; Mitchell and French eds. (2012), 204, no. 50.

### 2.4.3 Where Monuments were Set Up, by Whom, and Why

The proconsul was a highly visible figure across the island. In milestones his presence marked the organization of internal space.<sup>160</sup> He was also embedded in high-profile spaces across the *poleis* and their environs: for example, at Nea Paphos;<sup>161</sup> Salamis;<sup>162</sup> Kyreneia;<sup>163</sup> Kourion;<sup>164</sup> Kition;<sup>165</sup> Soloi;<sup>166</sup> Chytroi;<sup>167</sup> and Lapethus.<sup>168</sup> Within these contexts, proconsuls are recorded as fulfilling a variety of official duties, such as overseeing the construction and repair of buildings,<sup>169</sup> or overseeing

<sup>158</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1304, proconsul no. 55; Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 54.

<sup>159</sup> Thomasson (1984), 302, no. 56.

<sup>160</sup> The present chapter, proconsul nos. 17 [B], 23 [A], 24 [A-E], 28 [A], 54 [A].

<sup>161</sup> The present chapter, proconsul nos. 12 [A], 25 [A], 37 [A], 39 [D], 40 [A], 43 [A].

<sup>162</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 2 [A], 6 [A], 20 [C], 21 [A], 22 [A-B], 30 [A].

<sup>163</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 10 [B].

<sup>164</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 13 [B-C], 29 [A], 39 [C].

<sup>165</sup> The present chapter, proconsul nos. 13 [A], 31 [A], 32 [A].

<sup>166</sup> The present chapter, proconsul nos. 15 [A], 38 [A], 49 [A], 53 [A].

<sup>167</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 11 [B].

<sup>168</sup> The present chapter, proconsul nos. 6 [A], 33 [A].

<sup>169</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 10 [B], 13 [B], 15 [A], 21 [A], 33 [A], 37 [A].

statues and monuments set up for the Roman Emperor by a *polis* or by the *demos* and *boule*.<sup>170</sup> In addition to proconsuls fulfilling their duties, a range of inscription types attest to honours set up to them by the *poleis*,<sup>171</sup> *demos* and *boule*,<sup>172</sup> the *koinon Kuprion*,<sup>173</sup> and the *cives Romani*,<sup>174</sup> illustrating the relationships that a proconsul might form within local communities through their institutions. Statue bases and plaques naming proconsuls have been discovered at religious sites across Cyprus: for example, at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos;<sup>175</sup> at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion;<sup>176</sup> at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathous;<sup>177</sup> at a shrine in Lapethus;<sup>178</sup> at Chytroi;<sup>179</sup> and at the Temple to Zeus Olympios at Salamis.<sup>180</sup> Like those discovered in the *poleis*, monuments in sacred locations record the proconsuls fulfilling their official duties, such as overseeing the construction and repair of buildings (sometimes on behalf of the Emperor);<sup>181</sup> named in or supervising dedications to, or statues of, the Emperor by individuals or a *polis*,<sup>182</sup> or setting up statues to the Emperor.<sup>183</sup> Outside the island, few monuments commemorate or make mention of former Cypriot proconsuls.<sup>184</sup> In rare instances, inscriptions set up by individuals in their honour are attested: for example, T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus (by a certain Aristokles);<sup>185</sup> Titus Claudius Iunctus (by a Philodorus for an 'act of magnificence');<sup>186</sup> and Paullus (by an

<sup>170</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 5 [A], 22 [A-B], 25 [A], 32 [A].

<sup>171</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 13 [A], 39 [C].

<sup>172</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 20 [A], 39 [A].

<sup>173</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 45 [A]. The *koinon Kuprion* are discussed fully in the present chapter, Section 2.5.

<sup>174</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 43 [A]. The *cives Romani* are discussed more fully in the present study, Section 3.2.1.

<sup>175</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 8 [A], 9 [A], 26 [A], 39 [A-B], 52 [A].

<sup>176</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 14 [A], 18 [A], 19 [A-C].

<sup>177</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 16 [A-B], 34 [A].

<sup>178</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 6 [A].

<sup>179</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 11 [A].

<sup>180</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 7 [A].

<sup>181</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 16 [A-B], 18 [A], 19 [B, C], 20 [B], 34 [A].

<sup>182</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 6 [A], 8 [A], 13 [A], 26 [A].

<sup>183</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 7 [A]. Note also the monuments to Augustus and his grandsons set up by the *quaestor* Titus Apicatus Sabinus at Amargeti (Fujii (2013) Paphos (Amargetti), nos. 1–2.

<sup>184</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul nos. 3 [A], 4 [A], 12 [B], 18 [B], 35 [A], 36 [A], 42 [A], 47 [A], 48 [A], 50 [A], 51 [A], 55 [A].

<sup>185</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 12.

<sup>186</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 31.

Apollonius).<sup>187</sup> In the past, the proconsuls Sergius Paullus and Paullus (in the present chapter, proconsuls no. 11 and 38) were mistakenly identified as the L. Sergius Paullus whose conversion to Christianity in the first century AD was documented in Acts of the Apostles 13:2–13.<sup>188</sup> Rather than being taken to represent the early spread and worship of Christianity in Cyprus during the first century AD, this ‘conversion’ should be reconsidered as a cultural product of its time. The role of the proconsul, and what he embodies, in the episode is worthy of a minor digression here. Acts of the Apostles articulates the real struggle for monotheistic communities to find their place in the world order of the Roman Empire, an empire otherwise renowned for its tolerance of multiple religions.<sup>189</sup> Acts of the Apostles 13:9–12 in particular encompasses the intent of the work as a whole as it presents Rome (personified here by Sergius Paullus, a man of high rank and intelligence) versus the Jewish community.<sup>190</sup> In fact, the archaeological record from Cyprus signals a much later introduction and take-up of the religion, with the earliest Christian worshippers attested in the mid fourth century AD.<sup>191</sup>

Epithets to describe the proconsuls of Cyprus are few. The most common are variations of the adjective *hagnós* (pure or good).<sup>192</sup> These appear in monuments naming the following: Q. Iulius Cordus at

<sup>187</sup> E.g. the present chapter, proconsul no. 38.

<sup>188</sup> Davis (2019), 49–50. Monuments set up at Rome (*CIL* 6.31545 and *CIL* 6.253) have been linked to this proconsul. Acts of the Apostles documents Saul (also named Paul) and Barnabas’s travels from Antioch, where they were worshipping and feasting, across Cyprus, having received a divine vision to spread the word of God. Starting in Cyprus, at Salamis and assisted by John they attended the synagogues to undertake their mission. They traversed the island and upon reaching Paphos they were summoned by the proconsul, Sergius Paullus, who wished to hear them. Sergius Paullus was accompanied by Bar-Jesus (also known as Elymas), who is described as a false prophet, who attempted to block the missionaries from meeting with the proconsul. This encounter resulted in a miracle, the blinding of Bar-Jesus at the words of Paul, which then prompted Sergius Paullus’s conversion to Christianity.

<sup>189</sup> In general, Gray-Fow (2006) and Billings (2017). In particular, Billings (2017), 153–6.

<sup>190</sup> Billings (2017), 137.

<sup>191</sup> Recent systematic study of art and architecture, ceramics, mosaics, and inscriptions from across the island attests to the visibility of Christianity across the island in the public and private spheres from this time onwards; see Caraher, Davis, and Pettegrew eds. (2019), and see in particular Davis (2019) and Gordon and Caraher (2019) within this volume.

<sup>192</sup> Mitford suggested that *ἀγνείας* was an epithet typical of the second century AD for Roman governors in the Greek east: *I.Kourion*, 166. Cf. Robert (1948), 39, that the epithet denotes an individual with clean hands.

Kition;<sup>193</sup> Milonius;<sup>194</sup> and two inscriptions for D. Plautius Felix Iulianus.<sup>195</sup> The proconsul Iulius Fronto Tlepolemus is distinguished as *κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου* (the equivalent of *vir egregius*—an outstanding or illustrious man).<sup>196</sup> The superlative of the adjective *lampros* (meaning bright or shining) is used to praise Claudius Leontichus Illyrius.<sup>197</sup> Lucius Vehilius and Lucius Pontius Alefanus are honoured (separately) as patrons.<sup>198</sup> It is unlikely that these Roman officials were formal patrons of the cities and local communities: there is no evidence at all for the official ceremonies and responsibilities of a city patron.<sup>199</sup> Without comparable surviving evidence regarding the nature of the term ‘patron’ and the relationship between patrons and the cities of Roman Cyprus, it is difficult to estimate what it meant exactly in Roman Cyprus.

Few Roman proconsuls are represented more than once or twice in the epigraphic record, and these include Q. Caelius Honoratus (in three inscriptions); Q. Seppius Celer M. Titius Sassius Candidus (in three inscriptions); D. Plautius Felix Iulianus (in four inscriptions); and Audius Bassus (in five inscriptions).<sup>200</sup> The frequency of monuments to these proconsuls does not necessarily indicate their popularity, their survival is coincidental and simply attests the widespread presence of the Roman proconsul in the Cypriot context more generally.

## 2.5 The Local Level: The *Koinon Kuprion*

The *koinon Kuprion* (the league of Cypriots) was a local institution of great importance under Roman rule.<sup>201</sup> Recent study of *koina* more generally across the Roman Empire has led to more nuanced understanding of these local institutions, and it is against this that the

<sup>193</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 13 [A].

<sup>194</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 15 [A].

<sup>195</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 39 [A] and [C]. Cf. Publicola Priscus who is described as *ἀγνέας*. This monument is discussed in the present study, Section 4.3.2.

<sup>196</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 25 [A].

<sup>197</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 33 [A].

<sup>198</sup> The present chapter, proconsul no. 45 [A] and *I.Paphos*, no. 237. Other references: Mitford (1958), 6–8, no. 2; *SEG* 18.588. See Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 5.14, 6.28, 7.4.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. Eilers (2002).

<sup>200</sup> The present study, proconsul nos. 19, 20, 24, and 39.

<sup>201</sup> It is thought to have been founded under the reign of Ptolemy IX Soter II (116–107 BC) and based at Palaipaphos or Nea Paphos, the island’s provincial capital. See Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 233.

evidence from Cyprus must be reintroduced—though discussion here will be brief and will merely set the scene.<sup>202</sup> Despite their significance, many aspects of *koina* remain enigmatic, notably because information about their activities is absent from key sources.<sup>203</sup> Nevertheless, it is possible to draw general conclusions about them based upon the surviving literary, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence.

One of their most important roles was to promote the worship of the island's principal local deities and the imperial cult.<sup>204</sup> This was achieved through their capacity to oversee honours to prominent individuals involved in the organization of the worship of the Roman Emperor and who made significant contributions to their *poleis*, by the organization of festivals and athletic competitions, and by minting coins for local circulation.<sup>205</sup> The small corpus of surviving inscriptions discovered across the island shows that the *koinon Kuprion* rewarded locals across the island for their zeal and benefactions.<sup>206</sup> To date, no evidence attests the *koinon Kuprion* setting up monuments directly in honour of the

<sup>202</sup> The most recent systematic survey of the *koinon Kuprion* can be found in Potter (2000), 817–23, 824–9, 834–8. Cf. in general Vitale (2012); Kolb and Vitale eds. (2016); and Sørensen (2016a).

<sup>203</sup> Bekker-Nielsen (2016), 367–9.

<sup>204</sup> Mitford's 1990 article [The Cults of Roman Cyprus] remains an important survey to consult. It compiles the known evidence for the worship of gods and goddesses *polis* by *polis*, taking into account evidence from the Hellenistic period to provide an overview of change and continuity across the religious landscape. Mitford's overviews of Judaism and Christianity are outdated. See the present chapter, Sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.3. The worship and impact of the Roman Emperor in Roman Cyprus has been most recently explored by Fujii (2013). Three key points are relevant to the present study. First, inscriptions and sculptures illustrate that the Roman emperors were celebrated and worshipped as both mortal and divine within their own lifetimes across the island. Second, no structure has been discovered on the island that confirms the presence of a temple for the exclusive worship of the Emperor. It appears that he was worshipped as *theos synnaos* at the sanctuaries and temples of local deities, the sole exception being a sacred site that was rebuilt for Titus and Aphrodite at Amathous. Third, inscriptions attest three types of imperial priesthood across the island; these corresponded to three levels of the imperial cult—provincial, civic, and individual. The most important conclusion to draw from the evidence is that the worship of the Emperor across the island was not uniform but an exclusively local and situational cultural phenomenon. Cf. Price (1980), (1984a), and (1984b), and Fishwick (1990) and (1993).

<sup>205</sup> Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 278, 280; see also Mitford (1980a), 1367, n. 36 and 1371. For the mints of Cyprus see Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 278; *RPC* Vol. 1, 576; Parks (2004), 163–4. Cf. Madsen (2016) for a reappraisal of the role of *koina*, in Asia and Bithynia, in instigating worship of the Emperor in their provinces.

<sup>206</sup> E.g. the *koinon Kuprion* honoured: the present chapter, proconsul no. 45 (Vehilius Maturus?); *I.Paphos*, no. 239 (Ti. Claudius Onesikrates); *IGR* 3.962 (Apollonia Kratera and her husband Patrokles); Fujii (2013) *Paphos Vetus* no. 9 (Rhodokles, son of Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates); *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 48 (Empulon); Fujii (2013) *Salamis* no. 14

Roman emperors.<sup>207</sup> Under the reign of Claudius, they were reinstated with the power to issue bronze coins that were circulated locally.<sup>208</sup> The obverse often bore a portrait of the Roman Emperor and the reverse an image or symbol of local significance.<sup>209</sup> Their iconography would have no doubt fostered a sense of shared identity for those who recognized their relevance. Heavy promotion of the island's chief religious spaces, the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos and the cult statue of Zeus Olympios at Salamis, appears on the reverse of the majority of these coins.<sup>210</sup> Other more conventional images of triumph, peace, and prosperity utilized by the *koinon Kuprion* include a legend bearing their name on the reverse;<sup>211</sup> an eagle carrying a wreath;<sup>212</sup> a myrtle wreath;<sup>213</sup> a representation of Victory driving a chariot;<sup>214</sup> and a representation of Fortuna standing within a temple structure or holding a cornucopia.<sup>215</sup>

In general, *koina* could also ensure that their province gained the due recognition it deserved across the Empire as a whole, as they could represent a united front of its cities and represent their collective interest to the Senate and Empire. This might have involved acting as a mediating body to smooth out issues between cities or communities before a problem could potentially attract the attention, and no doubt criticism, of outsiders.<sup>216</sup> That said, while able to act with some independence and affect major decisions concerning a province, they did not have final authority.<sup>217</sup> They could also have protested against, or praised, the acts of governors, and debate continues about the role of *koina* in bringing

(Keiona Kallisto Attike); Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3 (Heraclides Hermonodantos); Fujii (2013) Kition no. 12 (Tiberius Claudius Mnaseae).

<sup>207</sup> Fujii (2013), 53.

<sup>208</sup> Under Claudius: Parks (2004), 68–9. The last attested coins minted by the *koinon Kuprion* were under the Severans. Parks (2004), 165–6.

<sup>209</sup> Parks (2004), 165.

<sup>210</sup> E.g. see Parks (2004), 75, coin 12a; Parks (2004), 76, coin 12b; Parks (2004), 79, coin 13a; Parks (2004), 80, coin 13b.

<sup>211</sup> Parks (2004), 69, coin 11a: obverse, Claudius with laurel; reverse, *Koinon*. Parks (2004), 69, coin 11b: obverse, Claudius; reverse, *Koinon*.

<sup>212</sup> E.g. Parks (2004), 123, coin 29a.

<sup>213</sup> E.g. Parks (2004), 119, coin 27.

<sup>214</sup> E.g. Parks (2004), 124, coin 29b.

<sup>215</sup> E.g. Parks (2004), 124, coin 29c; Parks (2004), 124, coin 30; Parks (2004), 125, coin 31.

<sup>216</sup> E.g. see Pliny the Younger, *Epistula*, 7.6. <sup>217</sup> Potter (2000), 817–21.

governors to justice in cases of malpractice.<sup>218</sup> In the Cypriot context, few examples of the *koinon Kuprion* fulfilling duties such as these stand out. For example, following the annexation of Cyprus by Rome, with the removal of direct government, they gained more significance as representatives of the island. As noted above, Cicero's boast that he refused the bribe of 200 talents offered to previous governors to prevent the stationing of troops on the island is an early mention of the negotiating power that the *koinon Kuprion* wielded.<sup>219</sup> For a short time, it appears that through them the *poleis* could negotiate with the new ruling power.<sup>220</sup> However, they are notably absent from Cicero's accounts of the drama between the Salaminians and Scaptius, and so the true extent of their capacity to negotiate with Roman administrators and protect the *poleis* is vague. The likely, but still debated, involvement of the *koinon Kuprion* in overseeing the creation of the remarkable inscribed oath of allegiance to Tiberius—a monument that articulates local identity while highlighting how Cypriot culture is aligned with Empire-wide concerns—must be included here too, as it will be discussed in much more detail in Chapter 4 of this study.<sup>221</sup> The embassy sent to Rome in AD 22 to secure the right of asylum for the island's oldest sanctuaries—Palaipaphos, Amathous, and Salamis—was no doubt *koinon*-led and demonstrates their role in securing recognition and benefits for their wider community.<sup>222</sup> Finally, the three inscriptions set up by the *koinon Kuprion* at Olympia, Capua, and Ancyra demonstrate how they ensured that the island was represented and embedded in moments of Empire-wide cultural significance, such as Hadrian's establishment of the Panhellenion, or the celebration of particular Roman administrators.<sup>223</sup>

Membership was one of the highest standings an individual could hold. Criteria for admission are obscure, and none of the evidence

<sup>218</sup> Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 278; Potter (2000), 817–21. Cf. Sørensen (2016b).

<sup>219</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5. 21. 7 = SB 114. 7. <sup>220</sup> Potter (2000), 777.

<sup>221</sup> See the present study, Section 4.3.1.2.

<sup>222</sup> Tacitus, *Annales*, 3. 62. Cf. Sørensen (2016b), 337, on *koina* regularly sending embassies to the Emperor.

<sup>223</sup> For the Emperor Hadrian at Olympia, *IG* 2<sup>2</sup> 3296; for Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus at Capua, the present chapter, proconsul no. 12; for Ulpian at Ancyra, the present chapter, proconsul no. 55. Key reading on the Panhellenion includes Spawforth and Walker (1985) and (1986); Willers (1990); Jones (1996); Spawforth (1999).

exclusively names members of the *koinon*, but the position of holding office was clearly highly coveted, and competition was a preoccupation of wealthy, influential, and experienced members of the local elite.<sup>224</sup> Under Roman rule, the administration of the *koinon Kuprion* by the high priest of the worship of the emperor was inferred by Mitford from the absence of any other high official.<sup>225</sup> Unlike elsewhere, internally in Cyprus members of the *koinon* are always represented as a collective, but in monuments discovered outside the island representatives are named.<sup>226</sup>

As a key local institution the *koinon Kuprion* bridged many interactions between Roman officials and other local institutions as it performed a number of duties that were of religious, political, and economic bearing.

## 2.6 Conclusions

Cyprus's transition from Ptolemaic to Roman rule was a period of significant change. The presence of the Ptolemies was felt deeply across the island in a number of ways. First, Cyprus was in the orbit of Alexandria and, whether the Ptolemies resided on it or ruled from Egypt, the pressures of supporting the royal court and its ideology (as living and divine figures) are visible in the epigraphic record. Second, the island was a significant stronghold and heavily garrisoned. Third, the highest sociopolitical and religious offices were dominated by those close to the royal court. While the island clearly flourished, the visibility of local elites from the Cypriot *poleis* is difficult to detect. Despite this, recent study of the religious sphere during this time demonstrates that it was a period of great transformation and not of decline and social passivity at the local level, as once thought. The advent of Roman rule brought with it significant administrative changes, and new dynamics were established as the island shifted from a position close to the hub of an empire to the periphery of another. The early phases of administration were haphazard and marred by the ineffectiveness of

<sup>224</sup> How they were appointed or elected is unclear and it is noteworthy that the title *koinarch* is missing from the Cypriot epigraphic record. Cf. Bekker-Nielsen (2016).

<sup>225</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1350; Potter (2000), 817–8.

<sup>226</sup> Potter (2000), 828–9.

governors ruling from Cilicia as well as exploitation at the hands of a few opportunists. The reforms introduced by Augustus established a framework of administration that would then set an improved tone between Roman administrators and locals. Cyprus was an easy province to govern from here on, but the fact that few men of note were sent to oversee its administration meant that locals and their communities had few opportunities to foster relationships with influential figures. These limitations did not prevent some Cypriots' efforts to maintain the necessary connections with their rulers across and beyond the island. Again, much like the framework implied by Ptolemaic rule, all was not as it seemed. The distance between Rome and Cyprus and the character of Roman administration should not automatically be interpreted as mutual indifference. Attention paid here to the activities and competencies of the *koinon Kuprion*, a key bridge between the Cypriot *poleis* and Roman officials, has already highlighted initiatives taken to foster good relationships with the Roman administration and to represent Roman Cyprus as fully engaged in the broader interests of Empire. Local responses to, and experiences of, Roman rule will become more apparent through exploration of individual and collective identity formation—the focus of the remainder of this investigation.

# 3

## Roman Citizenship in the Cypriot Context

### 3.1 ‘Roman *Civitas* in Salamis’—Mitford’s Survey Revisited

The last significant study on the spread of Roman citizenship across Cyprus, ‘Roman *Civitas* in Salamis’, was undertaken by Terence Bruce Mitford, and his findings were published posthumously in 1980.<sup>1</sup> His survey of the epigraphic evidence—the medium through which citizens are most identifiable in the provinces—collated the then known instances of citizenship and recognized its sporadic pattern.<sup>2</sup> While Mitford laid significant foundations for the study of this topic, understanding of Roman citizenship in the Cypriot context requires refinement. For example, his work notoriously included ambitious reconstructions of the most fragmentary inscriptions, and many conclusions drawn about reasons for awards being made and the ethnic make-up of the island’s community were speculative and remain dubious.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, no longer should consideration of this topic focus solely on when, where, and why locals were enfranchised; it should also assess how Roman citizenship was used to articulate identity, what identity (or

<sup>1</sup> Mitford (1980b). See also Mitford (1980a), 1362–5.

<sup>2</sup> No mention is made of Sherwin-White’s canonical 1973 study *Roman Citizenship*, and it is clear that Mitford’s posthumously published surveys were incomplete (see Mitford (1980b), 277, n. 10). In addition to Sherwin-White (1973), see Fernoux (2004) and Madsen (2009) for recent explorations of Roman citizenship in the provinces.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973a) and (1973b). Both articles critically review Mitford’s 1971 publication *I.Kourion* and respond to many ambitious restorations and interpretations presented in the work. Discussion of Mitford’s overall conclusions will be addressed later in the chapter.

identities) were projected, and what the evidence can tell us about how Cypriots responded to being part of the Roman Empire.<sup>4</sup>

The evidence to date does not point to Cypriots pursuing political careers at Rome and so as a community their experiences of the Roman Empire and its institutions were mostly confined to the island.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, it will be useful to consider the presence and activities of non-Cypriots across the island. The materiality and impact of monuments by Roman administrators were outlined in Chapter 2 and will not be repeated here.<sup>6</sup> Instead, discussion will focus on the evidence for other notable visitors. This will continue to establish the contact that locals and communities had with high-profile outsiders, will reveal how outsider identities were commemorated, and will provide useful comparative evidence for the analysis of strategies that locals used to articulate their new-found status. The chapter will then assess instances of citizenship to examine its spread across the island and how it was celebrated by individuals and communities. As the evidence under discussion is epigraphic, key questions focus on the materiality and performativity of identity, and include:

- What linguistic, visual, and material markers signal the articulation of identity formation? For example, how were epigraphic formulae, the tenancy of offices, and familial relationships recorded and presented in inscriptions?
- What could have been the visual impact of these monuments in their local settings?
- Do inscriptions reveal the successful integration of different communities and groups?

The chapter will then close with a brief overview of the epigraphic evidence for Cypriots abroad to consider the ways in which those who

<sup>4</sup> Madsen (2009), 87–90, provides a concise summary of how individuals became legally Roman.

<sup>5</sup> Though a small number of Cypriots are attested in the Roman army. See Mitford (1980a), 1345–7; Bekker-Nielsen (2002); cf. Madsen (2009), 64–79.

<sup>6</sup> See the present study, Section 2.4.

were successful outside the island engaged with the broader interests of the Empire.

### 3.2 High-profile Visitors

As the leading citizen of the Empire, the Roman Emperor was the most important visitor that a province could receive. According to Mitford and Nicolaou, both Trajan and Hadrian possibly visited Cyprus, but their conclusions were not based on secure evidence.<sup>7</sup> Although he was not emperor at the time of his visit, Titus's consultation with the oracle at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia in AD 69 is documented both by Suetonius and Tacitus.<sup>8</sup> Next in importance, as official representatives of Rome, were the proconsuls and their staff. Chapter 2 highlighted the handling of the initial administration of Roman Cyprus by notable Roman statesmen: Cato; P. Lentulus Spinther; Cicero; and Publius Pacquius Scaeva.<sup>9</sup> Following the settlement of Cyprus in 22 BC, Roman proconsuls were less high-profile, though some notables known from the epigraphic record include A. Plautus, C. C. Flaccus, Audius Bassus, and Titus Clodius Eprius Marcellus.<sup>10</sup> Literary evidence notes other significant individuals associated with the island in the Roman period, including Alexandra (daughter of Phasaelos and wife of a Cypriot called Timon; Phasaelos was the father-in-law of Herod);<sup>11</sup> Sergius Paullus;<sup>12</sup> Artemion (leader of the Jewish revolt that led to the uprising in Cyprus in AD 117);<sup>13</sup> Galen (physician to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius; Galen visited

<sup>7</sup> See *I.Kourion*, nos. 85 and 111; Nicolaou (1986), 436. See Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 223–4, 240, and Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 188–95, on the 'romanticized' visits of these emperors. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974), 192: *If* Trajan did visit the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, it would have been after the completion of the paving in the sanctuary, recorded in *I.Kourion*, no. 111, and not before as suggested by Mitford (at *I.Kourion*, 218). Fujii (2013), 55, n. 97: there is no credible evidence that Hadrian visited Cyprus, but it is possible that *I.Kourion*, no. 85 (Fujii (2013) Kourion no. 12), was composed to give the impression that the Emperor paid a visit.

<sup>8</sup> Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2–4; Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, 5. For further discussion of Titus's visit see Kantiréa (2007).

<sup>9</sup> The present study, Section 2.3.1. Out of this list, only Scaeva likely set foot on the island.

<sup>10</sup> The present study, Section 2.4.2.

<sup>11</sup> Josephus, *Antiquitates Iudaicae*, 18.5.4.

<sup>12</sup> The present study, Section 2.4.3.

<sup>13</sup> Cassius Dio, 68.32.2–3.

the mines of Soloi in AD 166);<sup>14</sup> the usurper Calocaerus;<sup>15</sup> and Iulius Avitus (dispatched to Cyprus by the Emperor Caracalla to advise the governor; Avitus died of natural causes on his way to the island).<sup>16</sup>

The epigraphic record confirms the presence of *negotiatores* (people who conduct business) during the Republic; a commemoration to Marcia (noted as a ‘first cousin’ of the Emperor Augustus in the monument set up to her at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos); L. Avianus Flaccus (a friend of Cicero); L. Pontius Alefanus (a friend of Pliny the Younger); and the famous poet Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda. In general, there is very little evidence that Romans of wealth and influence either acquired lands or settled in Cyprus following the early Empire.<sup>17</sup> The monuments of the *negotiatores*, Marcia, Nestor of Laranda, and his patron Sergia Aurelia Regina will be considered before the discussion of local Cypriots who were granted citizenship.

### 3.2.1 Trading Communities from Italy

Several trading communities from Italy resided on Cyprus prior to the annexation of the island, notably in the cities of Paphos, Salamis, and possibly Kition, where commerce was strong and flourishing.<sup>18</sup> Evidence from these contexts is unsurprising given the wide reach of Italian trading communities across the eastern Mediterranean, central Aegean, and Asia Minor during the second and first centuries BC.<sup>19</sup> Epigraphic evidence from important trading hubs such as Ephesos, Cos, and Delos reveals not only their presence and activities but also how they chose to set themselves apart from the local communities they inhabited. As a group, they often chose to distinguish themselves through representation as *cives Romani qui* [in whatever place] *negotiantur* in their public monuments. *Negotiator* is without a singular definition, but it is clear from literary accounts and inscriptions that these men were primarily involved with the work of the *publicani* (public contractors, often

<sup>14</sup> The present study, Section 2.3.3.

<sup>15</sup> Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus*, 41.11.

<sup>16</sup> Cassius Dio, 79.30.2–4. See Mitford (1980a), 1298.

<sup>17</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1297.

<sup>18</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1297.

<sup>19</sup> Key studies include Hatzfeld (1919); van Berchem (1962); Adams (2003), ch. 6.

responsible for collecting taxes and dues) amongst other things.<sup>20</sup> *Negotiatores* are thought to have lived together in their *conventus* (community) and were often acknowledged as *katoikoi* (resident aliens) by their neighbours.<sup>21</sup> Indications of their social make-up may be found in inscriptions from Delos, dated between the second to first century BC, which often contain details about the names, ethnicity, and/or place of origin for some individuals.<sup>22</sup> Use of the terms *Ῥωμαῖοι* (Romans) or *Ἰταλικοί* (*Italici* in Latin) frequently appear in their monuments. According to Hatzfeld, who conducted the first major study on trading communities, the two terms denoted the same group of people, and he regarded the use of *Ῥωμαῖοι* and *Ἰταλικοί* as interchangeable.<sup>23</sup> For others, there was a distinction between the two terms as they were used differently, though this was not straightforward. At Delos, for example, *Italici* was used exclusively in the plural to denote a collective identity, and *Ῥωμαῖοι* was used less frequently but behaved differently in the plural.<sup>24</sup> Not only did the use of these terms by Romans and Italians themselves at Delos—in monuments set up in Greek, Latin, or both languages—reveal the conscious construction and display of a particular, separate identity from the Delian community, but the use of the terms also marked the integration of these outsiders within Delos.

However *negotiatores* were named in their monuments, the settlement of Romans and other Italians in the Aegean and Asia Minor had a significant impact upon the cities in which they lived. Perhaps the most beneficial aspect to the integration of the Italian communities was that they acted as a link to the highest levels of Roman society for the local elites. Prominent men attached to these trading groups often took a direct and important role in the cities of their residence; they were influential individuals and held local offices, acted as local benefactors, secured favours from their connections, and could even obtain benefits for their new cities. Their participation in local cults and great centres of learning also illustrates the ways in which they integrated into their

<sup>20</sup> Van Berchem (1962), 305–13.

<sup>21</sup> Hatzfeld (1919), 202.

<sup>22</sup> Adams (2003), 643–4. Cf. *I.Delos*, nos. 1724, 2013, 2245.

<sup>23</sup> Hatzfeld (1919), 262.

<sup>24</sup> Van Berchem (1962), 306, n. 5, 309–10. Cf. Hatzfeld (1919), 245. For the Delian context see Adams (2003), 642–3, 651–8.

communities.<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the integration of Romans and Italians into the provinces did not always result in fruitful collaboration or heighten the profile of the province of residence; in some cases the arrival of these Italian communities caused great tension.<sup>26</sup> The infrequency of Italian names in Cypriot inscriptions makes it impossible to gauge the impact of this community across the island.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, a closer reading of the surviving epigraphic evidence from Cyprus can tell us about strategies of integration and separation adopted in their monuments.

The first mention of *negotiatores* in Cyprus is made by Cicero, seven years after the annexation, when he was proconsul of Cilicia.<sup>28</sup> Cicero's account of M. Iunius Brutus's dealings in Cyprus makes reference to Brutus's two agents, Marcus Scaptius and Publius Matidius, who were tasked with collecting repayment of the loan, plus interest, from the Salaminians.<sup>29</sup> By the time of Cicero's appointment as proconsul of Cilicia and Cyprus in 51 BC, tensions between Brutus's agents and the Salaminians were running high. Having secured some cavalry from Cicero's predecessor, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Scaptius barricaded a group of Salaminians in their local senate house, where five starved to death.<sup>30</sup> Cicero ordered the cavalry to leave Cyprus and in 50 BC entered into negotiations with Scaptius in an attempt to resolve the matter.<sup>31</sup> This whole affair illustrates the corruption of some individuals who sought business opportunities in the provinces and is reflective of the negative impact they had on some communities. Another account of *negotiatores* in Cyprus is provided by Caesar's commentary on the civil wars.<sup>32</sup> He reported that Pompey, detained in Cilicia and then Cyprus by bad weather in 48 BC, encountered Antiochians and *negotiatores* from Italy

<sup>25</sup> Hatzfeld (1919), 303–4; Sherwin-White (1978), 250–5.

<sup>26</sup> For the negative impact of *negotiatores* see Le Roy (1978).

<sup>27</sup> For an overview of *negotiatores* in Cyprus see Potter (2000), 765–8, 772–3. Cf. Hatzfeld (1919), 140–2.

<sup>28</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.6 = SB 114. 6.

<sup>29</sup> The whole episode is recounted in Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.10–12 = SB 114.10–12, 6.1.5–6 = SB 115.5–6, 6.2.7–9 = SB 116.7–9, 6.3.5 = SB 117.5. See Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 6.1.4, 6.1.6, 6.2.8 = SB 115.4, 115.6, 116.8 for Cicero's dealings with Scaptius and the pressure put on him as proconsul to appoint *negotiatores* as *praefecti*. See also Potter (2000), 780–1.

<sup>30</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.10 = SB 114.10, 6.1.6 = SB 115.6, 6.2.8 = SB 116.8.

<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *Ad Atticum*, 5.21.11 = SB 114.11, 6.1.5 = SB 115.5, 6.2.7 = SB 116.7.

<sup>32</sup> Caesar, *Bellum Civile*, 3.102–3. Cf. Hatzfeld (1919), 142.

trading on the island, who advised him it was unsafe to travel to Antioch. Having heard this news, Pompey set aside his plans to travel to Syria, seized all the money he found in the public bank, and managed to raise 2,000 soldiers, amongst whom were public officers, *negotiatores*, and his own servants, and then sailed for Pelusium, Egypt.

Epigraphic evidence recording *negotiatores* in Cyprus does not yield the same wealth of information that is known about them from other places where they were trading.<sup>33</sup> Only two inscriptions explicitly name *cives Romani qui* [in whatever place] *negotiantur*, and one further monument could be attributed to them. The earliest is a bilingual marble statue base discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, which records the *negotiatores* in business at Paphos as responsible for setting up the monument.<sup>34</sup> Many have debated its date and have turned to the layout of the text, notably the 'considerable' space between the Latin and the Greek, to resolve this. The original editors of the inscription concluded that the Latin was a later addition to the inscription.<sup>35</sup> This was dismissed by Mitford, along with the possibility that a line of Latin was missing from the top of the stone; he interpreted both texts as contemporaneous and dated the inscription to the reign of the Ptolemies.<sup>36</sup> For Mitford, the presence of an Italian trading group at Alexandria as early as the time of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II Tryphon (second century BC) meant it was not impossible to imagine that Paphos was home to its own community of Italians trading at a slightly later date.<sup>37</sup> Moretti, and later Cayla, dated the inscription to the first half of the first century BC.<sup>38</sup> The monument's date and the details of its accompanying statue remain unresolved. These uncertainties aside, the self-representation of the *negotiatores* is striking. The bilingual elements of the inscription express the same meaning, but the prominence of the Latin above the dedicatory heading to Paphian Aphrodite is out of character for a monument from this sanctuary. Surviving evidence

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Fernoux (2004), 113–17, 146–54.

<sup>34</sup> Key references: *JHS* 9 (1888), 234–5, no. 28; *CIL* 3.12101; *ILS* 7208; *IGR* 3.965; Mitford (1947), 226, n. 106; Mitford (1950a), 52, n. 2; Mitford (1961a), 41, no. 113; Moretti (1981), 260–4; *I.Paphos*, no. 136.

<sup>35</sup> *JHS* 9 (1888), 234–5.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. *OGIS* 2.133, 2.135.

<sup>36</sup> Mitford (1947), 226, n. 106.

<sup>38</sup> Moretti (1981), 260–4; *I.Paphos*, 285.

from this context shows that the name of the goddess with her Paphian epithet appears on statue bases from 221 to 205 BC.<sup>39</sup> During this period, her name started to appear at the top of pedestals bearing statues of notable individuals, such as high-ranking administrators of the island.<sup>40</sup> By contrast, the goddess appeared at the bottom in inscribed honours to the Ptolemies.<sup>41</sup> Under Roman rule, it was customary for her name to appear with her Paphian epithet at the heading of statue bases dedicated to the Roman Emperor, imperial household, or Roman administrators, with the name of the honorand in the accusative case.<sup>42</sup> Whether complete or not, the monument set up by the *negotiatores* is unique in this context because it is bilingual. If a line or two of Latin is missing from the top of the stone, then it could reveal more about their self-perception and the nature of the statue. To whom the statue was dedicated and what it might have represented is unknown as the normal epigraphic indicators are unclear.<sup>43</sup> Very little complete statuary has been discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, and the nature of the evidence is poor in comparison to other well-attested sacred sites such as Aphrodisias.<sup>44</sup> Whatever the accompanying statue represented, a dedication like this has the potential to demonstrate the combined impact of texts and images to articulate identity in a loaded environment: in this instance, Italian businessmen in a Greek sanctuary that would have been visually impressive adorned with statues of the ruling Ptolemies and their subordinates. If the monument were complete, it would be possible to observe how its linguistic and visual components came together to articulate identity in this setting. Nevertheless, this monument illustrates the observation of local customs and practice by a Roman community through setting up a dedication revering the island's chief deity, while making clear that they are outsiders through the use of Latin.

<sup>39</sup> *JHS* 9 (1888), 13, no. 32. Prior to this, and afterwards, she appeared as Aphrodite *simpliciter*, often at the bottom of inscriptions from the sanctuary rather than at the top. E.g. for ease see Mitford (1961a), nos. 22, 30, 31, 37, 38, 47, 48, 61.

<sup>40</sup> E.g. Mitford (1961a), nos. 23, 27, 28, 29, 32, 41, 62, 63, 66, 68, 85, 89, 98, 99, 100, 102, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110.

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Mitford (1961a), nos. 56, 88.

<sup>42</sup> E.g. *JHS* 9 (1888), nos. 6, 7, 8, 10, 25, 33.

<sup>43</sup> Greek epigraphic conventions utilize the accusative to denote the honorand of the monument or a divine figure. Here only the goddess's name is inscribed in the dative—a Latin epigraphic convention to denote the honorand. See Stewart (2003), 167–8.

<sup>44</sup> See Wieland and Frey-Asche (2011). Cf. Smith (2006) for statues set up at Aphrodisias.

Another statue base of a later date discovered at Ktima records the dedicators of a monument to a proconsul as the citizens of Rome of the diocese of Paphos, *c(ives) R(omani) Paphiae diocen(seos)*.<sup>45</sup> Although this inscription does not explicitly name the *negotiatores*, the monument represents another example of members of a community who identified as Romans. According to Cayla, the monument could have been set up by newly enfranchised local citizens rather than *negotiatores*, as several local families bearing the *nomen* Iulius were active in the Paphos region from the first century BC—the earliest known example of locals being granted citizenship on the island.<sup>46</sup> Proud of their new membership, this group may not have hesitated to use Latin to honour their proconsul.<sup>47</sup> If the monument represents this particular group of citizens, it would date to the 40s BC, but this is incompatible with the proconsulship of M. Vehilius, as it would place his term in office during the Ptolemaic restoration, which is unlikely.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, inscriptions from across the island reveal that local elites who had been awarded Roman citizenship represented themselves in public monuments using Greek, not Latin. Therefore, it is more likely that the *cives Romani* of this monument refer to the *negotiatores* and that it should be dated between 22 and 15 BC. Though fragmentary, the tone is very different to the monument set up at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, as it does not attempt to observe any local customs. The inscription exclusively uses Latin and the dedication is made to a representative of Rome. Not only does the text name the proconsul as the honorand (his name is in the dative case), it emphasizes his role as *Pontif(ex)* and Paphos as *Diocen(seos)*, suggesting a division of Cyprus into districts under Roman rule at the time. Traces of fixtures for a bronze statue on the pedestal indicate that the inscription would have been accompanied by an image of the proconsul. How exactly this would have enhanced the

<sup>45</sup> See the present study, Chapter 2, proconsul number 43. Młynarczyk (1990), table b, item 23, p. 159, states that the pedestal was dedicated to Aphrodite Paphia and discovered in the remains of a temple to the goddess at Nea Paphos.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. the present chapter, Table 3.1, Palaipaphos nos. 1–3.

<sup>47</sup> For Cayla, this could explain the unusual appearance of *Diocenseos*, but this is problematic.

<sup>48</sup> *I.Paphos*, 404–5: that he was probably the son or grandson of M. Vehilius, praetor in 44 BC.

overall articulation of Roman identity is uncertain, as the statue is missing.<sup>49</sup>

The third inscription naming *negotiatores*, discovered in Salamis and dated to the end of the first century BC to the first century AD, is extremely problematic because of its fragmentary nature.<sup>50</sup> It is uncertain what type of monument this would have been, and therefore only tentative interpretations of its details can be made. The monument appears to have been dedicated to *Deo Salaminio* and another deity.<sup>51</sup> *Caesari* or *Veneri* have been suggested over the years as the accompanying deity.<sup>52</sup> Though highly speculative, the pairing of Aphrodite and Zeus (as indicated by the proposed restoration of *Veneri* along with *Deo Salaminio*) is attractive because their renown across Cyprus was significant—they were worshipped island-wide.<sup>53</sup> Furthermore, Aphrodite as *Veneri* is attested in an inscription from Amathous, and both gods were celebrated on coins minted by the *koinon Kuprion* from the Ptolemaic to the Roman period.<sup>54</sup> If the *negotiatores* made a dedication invoking two of the island's deities, why not to the two most prominent ones? The restoration of the names in the last line may assist with dating the inscription. For Mitford, the individuals (that appear as '[ - - ]ino et L. Caeli[o - - ]' in line 4 of the text) were officers of the *negotiatores*.<sup>55</sup> Nothing more is known about L. Caelius, other than that he was active during the first century BC.<sup>56</sup> In general, the text of this inscription is reminiscent of the monument set up at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia because of the way in which the *negotiatores* refer to

<sup>49</sup> *I. Paphos*, 404. See Smith (1998), Part 3 for discussion of the significance of an individual's choice of pose and garb in honorific portraiture statuary in general as markers of cultural identity.

<sup>50</sup> Key references include *LBW* 3.2754; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 58. Cf. Mitford (1980b), 277.

<sup>51</sup> *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29: *Deo Salaminio* is not paralleled in any other inscriptions from Cyprus. Cf. Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. *LBW* 3.2754 supplied *Veneri*; Mitford (1980b), 277 supplied *Caesari*.

<sup>53</sup> See Mitford (1990) for a survey of the deities worshipped across the island. Also note Karageorghis (2005), 213–22 for the worship of Aphrodite across Salamis.

<sup>54</sup> Hermay (1988), 102, no. 5. See also Marcillet-Jaubert, J. (1987). On the coins of the *koinon Kuprion* see the present study, Section 2.5. For the worship of Aphrodite Cypria at Amathous, see the present study, Section 4.3.3.

<sup>55</sup> Mitford (1980b), 277.

<sup>56</sup> *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 29. Cf. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 124.

themselves as [*cives Rom*]*ani qui . . . [negoti]antur* and the use of Latin to mark their identity as outsiders.

According to Mitford, later inscriptions record the descendants of *negotiatores* who lived across the island. For example, Licinnia Agapomene, her daughters, and their husbands are commemorated at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia during the early Empire.<sup>57</sup> At Kition, L. Avianius Flaccus has also been connected with an unconfirmed trading community that resided there.<sup>58</sup> A marble statue base discovered south of the Salaminian agora was dedicated to Caius Iulius Nidas and erected by Caius Iulius Chius [- - -]dnianus and his wife Iulia Lampryis.<sup>59</sup> Mitford identified Caius Iulius Nidas as an agent of the *negotiatores* and speculated that Nidas and Chius were enterprising freedmen who earned their citizenship because of their services to Caesar at the time of his activity in the East.<sup>60</sup> The exact nature of Nidas's relationship with Chius and his wife is unclear, though it is possible that he was their son, as he also bears the *nomen* Iulius.<sup>61</sup> This monument stands out as another bilingual example: the Greek and Latin texts convey the same meaning, with the Latin clearly copied from the Greek.<sup>62</sup> The prominence of the Latin and the accompanying statue imply that Chius was proud of his citizenship. Although Iulia Lampryis is explicitly named as a freedwoman, Mitford's interpretation that Chius was of servile stock is speculative.<sup>63</sup> Whether or not the intended audience could read the text would not have mattered; the use of the two different scripts side by side is a powerful visual statement alongside the lost statue.<sup>64</sup> The only other known instance of a bilingual monument set up for or by a private individual is a funerary monument of Iulia Donata, another

<sup>57</sup> Mitford (1947), 226. *I.Paphos*, nos. 118 and 119 and *I.Paphos*, 267–70 discusses the monuments and *stemma* of the family. See also Cayla (2006).

<sup>58</sup> *I.Kition*, no. 2054; Mitford (1980a), 1297, n. 36; Mitford (1980b), 285.

<sup>59</sup> The present chapter, Table 3.1, Salamis no. 1. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 48: offer a reading of 'onianus' or 'Cadmianus' for the fragmentary [- - -]dnianus. For discussion of the significance of names ending in *-ianus* (i.e. that they can denote the adoption of a name through grants of citizenship), see Salomies (1992) and Corsten (2010).

<sup>60</sup> Mitford (1980b), 277.

<sup>61</sup> *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 48.

<sup>62</sup> *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 49. Bilingual inscriptions were rarely set up in Roman Cyprus by anyone other than the Roman administration. See the present study, Section 2.4.

<sup>63</sup> Mitford (1980b), 276–7; Potter (2000), 831: clearly Chius married his slave.

<sup>64</sup> Without image or squeeze it is impossible to see how prominent or emphasized some of the characters may have been.

freedwoman. Whether the decision to set up a bilingual monument was deliberate on the part of freedmen and freedwomen in Roman Cyprus, to express a particular identity, is impossible to consider fully because of the paucity of the evidence.<sup>65</sup> It is thought that the dedicatee was not of high standing but may have acquired some wealth to afford the monument.<sup>66</sup>

While the evidence from Cyprus tells us little about the place of origin or ethnicity of the *negotiatores* operating across the island, these strategies for articulating identity and their integration are clear from the contrived use of bilingual text or explicit use of Latin.<sup>67</sup> This suggests a conscious choice to emphasize both distance from, and integration with, the local community. Furthermore, ideas about Cypriots being rewarded for their service to individual Roman statesmen during the first century BC are entirely unsubstantiated, and we can infer little that is meaningful about local engagement with Rome during this time.

### 3.2.2 Marcia

The *boule* and *demos* of Paphos honoured Marcia at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos.<sup>68</sup> The plaque, which highlights her familial and marital pedigree, would not have appeared out of place in this context as the sanctuary was heavily adorned with statues of the emperor and his household.<sup>69</sup> Not only was she the daughter of Lucius Marcius Philippus and Atia (aunt of the Emperor Augustus), making her a cousin of the Emperor, she was also the wife of the proconsul of Asia, Paullus Fabius Maximus. The names of Marcia, Caesar Augustus, and Paullus Fabius Maximus are emphasized in the text as they are positioned at the beginning of lines 1, 2, and 3. It is

<sup>65</sup> The present chapter, Table 3.1, Kition no. 7.

<sup>66</sup> Potter (2000), 831. Cf. Smith (1998), 64–5. <sup>67</sup> Adams (2003), ch. 6.

<sup>68</sup> Key references include IGR 3.939; *OGIS* 2.581; *ILS* 8811; *I.Paphos*, no. 149; Fujii (2013), *Paphos Vetus* no. 4. Cf. *PIR* II, 340 no. 184, 48 no. 38; Corbier (1991), 655–701.

<sup>69</sup> The following members of the imperial household are honoured with monuments at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia: Agrippa (Mitford (1961a), 105, n. 47; *I.Paphos*, no. 142); Iulia as the wife of Agrippa (Fujii (2013) *Paphos Vetus* no. 1); Tiberius and Iulia, possibly on the occasion of their marriage (Fujii (2013), *Paphos Vetus* no. 2); Augustus (*I.Paphos*, no. 144); Livia (as Aphrodite?) (Fujii (2013), *Paphos Vetus* no. 3); Livia (Fujii (2013), *Paphos Vetus* no. 7).

noteworthy though that Marcia's relationship to the Emperor precedes her position as a wife.<sup>70</sup> But why was she commemorated in this setting by the *boule* and *demos* of Paphos? It is possible that she visited the sanctuary during a tour of the East, when her husband was proconsul of Asia Minor.<sup>71</sup> Paullus Fabius Maximus is thought to have been involved in the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar at Paphos during this time and so a visit could have coincided with this event. If Marcia did not stop by the sanctuary on her tour, the plaque honouring her by the *boule* and *demos* of Paphos could have been set up to suggest otherwise and advertise the draw of their great goddess. Another explanation could be that Quintus Marcius Hortalus, proconsul no. 8 (above) who was her descendant, promoted this honour to her in this location during his time in office. Either way, the monument makes clear the ties and links that the Paphians wished to make with Rome in order to boost their local standing.

### 3.2.3 Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda

Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda was a celebrated poet, particularly known for composing a lipogrammatic version of the *Iliad*.<sup>72</sup> Two monuments from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia commemorate him and his patroness Sergia Aurelia Regina.<sup>73</sup> The dedications imply that he was active in Cyprus, perhaps residing there for a while. Sergia Aurelia Regina was a self-styled *consularis femina* and is known from three inscriptions, two set up at the Sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite at Palaipaphos and one set up at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, where she was commemorated as a patron by two freedwomen.<sup>74</sup> She was descended from the *Sergii*, an illustrious family from southern Anatolia whose connections with Cyprus

<sup>70</sup> For a comparative monument to Marcia see *ILS* 7421; *CIL* 6.7884.

<sup>71</sup> The exact date of his proconsulship is unclear, though it is known that he promoted the introduction of the calendar in Asia in 9 BC and could have played a part in the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar in Cyprus. See Laffi (1967), 45–6, no. 63; Buxton and Hannah (2005); Fujii (2013), 150–1.

<sup>72</sup> For recent comprehensive studies of the poet see Ma (2007), Hussein and Raffa (2016).

<sup>73</sup> Monuments naming Nestor are known from across the Empire, including at Ephesus, Kyzikos, and Ostia. See Barbieri (1953); Guarducci (1977); Ma (2007).

<sup>74</sup> The inscription from Kourion provides the fullest account of her name and is presented in the present chapter, Table 3.1 as Kourion no. 2. The monuments from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos are fragmentary and have not been included in the table. References to these two monuments have been provided in footnotes 77 and 79 below.

are attested in the early Empire.<sup>75</sup> The monuments of individuals thought to be her relatives, a Sergia Demetria and an L. Sergius C. Arrianus, have been discovered at Nea Paphos and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia respectively.<sup>76</sup>

Sergia Aurelia Regina's dedication to Nestor at the Sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite, a pedestal dated to the late second to early third century AD, is noteworthy.<sup>77</sup> Nestor, as the dedicatee, is esteemed as τὸν ἀοίδιμον (famous in song) by Sergia Aurelia Regina who in turn describes herself as ἡ φιλόμουσ[ος] (lover of the muses) in line 2. The presentation of her status as a *consularis femina* in line 3 is unusual and acts as a playful double entendre in the inscription. The phrase σθεναρῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων ὑπάτη (*consularis femina* of mighty consular stock) is significant for a number of reasons. One would expect the word ὑπατικὴ (*hypatikē*, the Greek equivalent to the Latin *consularis femina*) to denote her status, but instead ὑπάτη ὑπάτων (the name of a musical note in the Greater Perfect System) is used. The note, ὑπάτη ὑπάτων, would have been one of the highest positioned on the instrument, but in fact would have made a low sound. In making such a pun, Sergia Aurelia Regina is modestly showing her deference to Nestor as a performer. The deliberate play on words here not only indicates that she is from mighty consular stock, and the reference would have been recognisable, but it also alludes to her place in the musical world as an amateur lyre player.<sup>78</sup> Although fragmentary, the second inscription from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia partially records Sergia Aurelia Regina's name in line 2 and her title ὑπατικῇν in line 3.<sup>79</sup> The restoration of lines 4 and 5 as [Νέστ]ωρ ὁ [ἀοιδὸς τ]ῇν εὐεργ[ί] [έτιν] is reasonable and indicates that the monument was set up by Nestor.<sup>80</sup> There is a clear dialogue between the texts of the two inscriptions with the dedication made by Sergia Aurelia Regina

<sup>75</sup> Potter (2000), 793, 830–1; Ma (2007), 105.

<sup>76</sup> Listed in Table 3.1 as Nea Paphos no. 3 and Palaipaphos no. 9.

<sup>77</sup> Key references include: *JHS* 9 (1888) 246, no. 86; *IGR* 3.958; *RDAC* (1984), 278–279. Cf. SEG 34.1426.

<sup>78</sup> Fraser (1984), 279; Ma (2007), 92; Hussein and Raffa (2016), 129–32.

<sup>79</sup> Key references include: *JHS* 9 (1888), 253, no. 113; *IGR* 3.959. The inscription is on a badly damaged, reused pedestal (*JHS* 9 (1888), 252, no. 112) dated to 222–209 BC.

<sup>80</sup> For the restoration see Hussein and Raffa (2016), 133. Cayla (*LPaphos*, 277) doubts whether it was set up by the poet because the inscription is not written in verse.

magnifying the details of Nestor's monument to her. Given the connection between the two monuments, did they stand as a pair in the sanctuary? If positioned together, the viewer would have been able to see this.<sup>81</sup> While a statue of Nestor survives elsewhere in the Empire, the same cannot be said for Sergia Aurelia Regina and so it is challenging to visualize their appearance. We could imagine that a statue representing her high status and modesty would have been likely and appropriate, though such a representation was often combined with sculptural features that portrayed women in public life as desirable and affluent.<sup>82</sup> Because of Sergia Aurelia Regina's association with Nestor in the two monuments from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, one cannot help wondering whether the third inscription discovered at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion was deliberately set up there to emphasize further her association with the arts because of Apollo's identity as a god of music.

Not only are the monuments of Marcia and Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda reflective of Cyprus's appeal to outsiders, whether tourists, pilgrims, or entertainers, they are both remarkable in that they highlight and emphasize their status as non-Cypriots.<sup>83</sup> In the same spirit, the self-presentation of Sergia Aurelia Regina emphasizes her local position within the Cypriot community and her connections with an outsider in a humorous and sophisticated way. Her activities, as a self-styled patron of the arts, can be considered as similar to those of other leading citizens who contributed to the cultural scene of their cities.<sup>84</sup>

### 3.3 Becoming 'Roman'?

#### 3.3.1 Instances of Roman Citizenship

The Roman *tria nomina* (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*)—the quintessential formula to mark Roman identity and legal status—was the most

<sup>81</sup> Hussein and Raffa (2016), 133–6.

<sup>82</sup> Smith (1999), 70; Dillon (2010), 135–63.

<sup>83</sup> On Cyprus's appeal to outsiders see Potter (2000), 841, 847–8.

<sup>84</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1370. Cf. van Bremen (1996), 41–81, on women and public offices in the Greek east during the Roman period.

obvious and commonly used way to advertise one's citizenship in the epigraphic record. It was not straightforward though, as the use of nomenclature, particularly in the Roman provinces, varied and was complex.<sup>85</sup>

For example, in the surviving epigraphic evidence from Pontus and Bithynia Madsen identified the following forms of the *tria nomina*.<sup>86</sup>

- all three names are Roman;
- the *praenomen* and *nomen* are Roman but the *cognomen* Greek;
- only one Roman name is used and the exact status of those who appear in this last category (a large group in this particular context) is difficult to ascertain.

Because of the varied use of nomenclature, notably the problematic appearance of one Roman name, the context of the surviving inscriptions must always be taken into account.<sup>87</sup>

The full extent of citizenship is particularly difficult to pinpoint in Roman Cyprus for a number of reasons. One, because the nomenclature of Cypriots—as we will see—generally follows the pattern outlined above, with the added feature of some individuals appearing with more than one *cognomen* in Greek that denotes the adoption or use of extra names. Two, the fragmentary nature of the epigraphic evidence and the complexities surrounding excavation render it difficult at times to consider that all-important context. Third, the funerary sphere—which normally yields considerable evidence for the study of this topic—is particularly unreliable because Cypriot epitaphs are notoriously brief in character. Often individuals are recorded with a single name, and only a few instances of a single Latin *nomen* have been discovered.<sup>88</sup> It is also worth noting though that some surviving statues from funerary contexts, sadly without any accompanying inscriptions, demonstrate that

<sup>85</sup> The classic article by Salway (1994) provides an overview of Roman nomenclature.

<sup>86</sup> Madsen (2009), 84. <sup>87</sup> Madsen (2009), 84–7.

<sup>88</sup> Listed in Table 3.1 as Amathous nos. 1 and 3, Kition no. 7, and Nea Paphos no. 4. Compare with *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 189, a lengthier monument in Latin that follows the expected Latin funerary epigraphic conventions, making it clear that these individuals named were not Cypriots.

individuals emulated Roman fashions (e.g. hairstyles) in their portraiture and hint at the ways in which popular trends appealed to and were adopted by Cypriots.<sup>89</sup> For these reasons, discussion of Roman citizenship here will be based on a conservative collation of data in Table 3.1 (below). The table presents the evidence by city (in alphabetical and, where possible, date order) and names individuals recorded in inscriptions with at least two elements of the *tria nomina*. The decision to discount extremely fragmentary texts or examples bearing a singular *nomen* has been made so as not to confuse or exaggerate the evidence.<sup>90</sup> It should be consulted as a qualitative, rather than a quantitative, record of the surviving inscriptions and, though conservative, it contains enough evidence to develop and refine the observations about the spread, concentration, and impact of Roman citizenship originally made by Mitford. Even with the exclusion of the most precarious evidence, the extent of Roman citizenship across the island from the first century BC to the third century AD is clear to see. It is also possible to discuss the interrelationships of family members across communities as well as consider the strategies utilized to articulate identity. The majority of monuments that firmly attest instances of citizenship are honorific, and any accompanying statues have not survived; and so, it must be noted that we have only one half of the ‘story’ as to how identity was articulated.

### 3.3.2 Key Groups and Dynamics

Of the surviving epigraphic evidence, clusters appear as expected in the major *poleis*—Nea Paphos (and at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos), Kourion, Amathous, Kition, and Salamis—and it is clear

<sup>89</sup> As discussed in Poyiadji-Richter (2009). For discussion of funerary practice in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus see Parks (1999) and Parks (2003). Cf. Puddu (2019).

<sup>90</sup> Note that Madsen (2009), 84–5, stresses that the appearance of a single *nomen* should not be assumed as evidence of a non-citizen. Examples excluded from Table 3.1 include SEG 52.1474 (from Amathous: Iulia); *IKition*, no. 2046 (from Kition: a Klaud[---]); *IKition*, no. 2051 (from Kition: Marcus); *IKition*, no. 2059 (from Kition: Isidorus); *IKourion*, no. 195 (from Kourion: Claudianos and Claudianos); RDAC (1966), 65 no. 14; (from Nea Paphos: Claudius). Some of the fragmentary inscriptions from Salamis for Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus include *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, nos. 30, 55, and 121.

**Table 3.1** Instances of Roman citizenship

Find-spot and inscription number	Name ( <i>praenomen, nomen, cognomen</i> )	Date	Key reference(s)
Amathous no. 1	Lucius Nomisius	1st cent. AD?	<i>RDAC</i> (2002), 369-70, no. 1.
Amathous no. 2	Lucius Vitellius Kallinikos	c.AD 100	<i>IGR</i> 3.975; <i>CIG</i> 2.2644; <i>LBW</i> 3.2824.
Amathous no. 3	Marcus Cosconius	2nd–3rd cent. AD	<i>RDAC</i> (1972), 260-1, no. 21.
Keryneia no. 1	Ti. Claudius Aineas	Flavian?	Mitford (1950a), 20, no. 10.
	Ti. Claudius Aineas		
Kition no. 1	Tiberius Claudius Hyllos Iustus	c.50–100 AD	<i>I.Kition</i> no. 2037; Fujii (2013) Kition, no. 4.
Kition no. 2	Tiberius Claudius Nikopolinos Hipparchos	1st cent. AD	<i>I.Kition</i> no. 2039; Fujii (2013) Kition, no. 5.
	Caius Gerellanus Rufus		
	Caius Gerellanus Capitos		
	Caius Gerellanus Rufus		
	Caius Gerellanus Gellianus		
Kition no. 3	Tiberius Claudius Isidoros	1st cent. AD	<i>I.Kition</i> no. 2043; Fujii (2013) Kition, no. 7.
	Tiberius Claudius Isidoros		
	Gegania Lucifera		
Kition no. 4	Caius Iulius Flavianus Hipparchos	1st cent. AD?	<i>I.Kition</i> , no. 2053.
	Iulius Hipparchos.		
	Caius Iulius Flavianus Mnaseas		
Kition no. 5	Tiberius Claudius Mnaseas Lucius	1st–2nd cent. AD	<i>I.Kition</i> no. 2038; Fujii (2013) Kition, no. 12.

Kition no. 6	Aurelius Ariston	2nd–3rd cent. AD	<i>I.Kition</i> , no. 2005.
	Aurelia Onesimiane		
Kition no. 7	Iulia Donata	Roman imperial period	<i>I.Kition</i> , no. 2094/3002.
Kition no. 8	Caius Tettius Caecilianus	Undated	<i>I.Kition</i> , no. 2055.
	Caius Tettius Caecilianus		
Kourion no. 1	Sextus Cornelius Tychicos	AD 102–17?	<i>I.Kourion</i> , no. 124.
Kourion no. 2	Sergia Aurelia Regina	Late 2nd cent. AD	<i>I.Kourion</i> , no. 98. Cf. <i>PIR</i> <sup>1</sup> III, 126, no. 27.
Kourion no. 3	Claudianus Thullikos	2nd–3rd cent. AD	<i>I.Kourion</i> , no. 125.
Kourion no. 4	M. Aurelius Heliodoros?	c.AD 220	<i>I.Kourion</i> , no. 103. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 229.
	M. Aurelius [–7–8–]es Amemptos		
Kourion no. 5	T. Aurelius Timon	3rd cent. AD	<i>RDAC</i> (1980), 265, no. 9.
Nicosia District no. 1	Marcus Aurelius Claudianus	Antonine	<i>BCH</i> 3 (1879), 166, no. 9; Mitford (1980a), 1359, no. 377.
Nea Paphos no. 1	Claudia Appharion	Mid 1st cent. AD	Mitford (1980b), 282, no. 46. Fujii (2013), Paphos Nova, no. 1.
	Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus		
Nea Paphos no. 2	Tiberius Claudius Onesikrates	Mid 1st cent. AD	<i>RDAC</i> (1963), 44–5, no. 6.
Nea Paphos no. 3	Titus Aurelius Timon Onesilos Hetereidion	Mid 2nd cent. AD?	<i>RDAC</i> (1987), 179–80, no. 14.
	Sergia Demetria		
Nea Paphos no. 4	Marcia(?) Neotera	2nd–3rd cent. AD	<i>RDAC</i> (1987), 180, no. 15;

*Continued*

**Table 3.1** *Continued*

Find-spot and inscription number	Name ( <i>praenomen, nomen, cognomen</i> )	Date	Key reference(s)
Palaipaphos no. 1	Iulia Sacricola	End of 1st cent. BC?	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 259, no. 3; Mitford (1947), 225–7, no. 10a.
	Caius Iulius Crispus		
	Licinnia Modesta		
	Caius Iulius Potamon		
	Caius Iulius Potamon		
	Licinnias Isoullneas(?)		
	Licinnia Agapomene		
Palaipaphos no. 2	Caius Iulius Potamon	Early 1st cent. AD	<i>BCH</i> 3 (1879), 169, no. 15; Mitford (1947), 225–7, no. 10.
	Caius Iulius Crispus		
Palaipaphos no. 3	Iulia Sacricola Modesta	1st cent. AD?	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 250, no. 106; Mitford (1947), 226–7, no. 10b.
	Caius Iulius Aristodamus		
	Caius Iulius Crispus		
Palaipaphos no. 4	Caius Iulius Hermogenes	Early Empire	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 237, no. 42. Cf. <i>LGPNI</i> (1987), 427.
Palaipaphos no. 5	Claudia Rhodokleia	1st cent. AD	<i>IGR</i> 3.951; <i>I.Paphos</i> no. 171; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus, no. 15.
	Caius Ummidius Quadratus		
	Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianos		
Palaipaphos no. 6	Claudia Appharion	1st cent. AD	<i>IGR</i> 3.950; <i>I.Paphos</i> no. 172; Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus, no. 16.
	Caius Ummidius Quadratus Pantauchianos		
	Caius Ummidius Pantauchos		

Palaipaphos no. 7	Cornelia Nike	1st cent. AD	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 245, no. 84; <i>IGR</i> 3.966. Cf. LGPN 1 (1987), 322.
Palaipaphos no. 8	Lucius Vitellius Crispinus	End of 2nd cent. AD?	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 234, no. 25.
	Ti. Flavius Crispinianus		
Palaipaphos no. 9	Lucius Sergius Arrianus	Undated	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 241, no. 56; <i>IGR</i> 3.960. Cf. <i>PIR</i> III, 221 no. 372.
	Sergia Demetria		
Palaipaphos no. 10	Marcus Canius Aelius Marcellinus	Undated	<i>JHS</i> 9 (1888), 246, no. 88.
	Marcus Canius Quintianus		
	Octavia Claudiane		
Salamis no. 1	Caius Iulius Nidas	Roman Republic	<i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 103.
	Caius Iulius Chius [ ... ]dnianus		
	Iulia Lampyris		
Salamis no. 2	Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus	Flavian	<i>I.Salamis</i> no. 101; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 106; Fujii (2013) Salamis, no. 11.
	T. Flavius Heliodorus		
Salamis no. 3	Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus	Flavian	<i>I.Salamis</i> , no. 132a; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 108; Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 12.
Salamis no. 4	Flavia Kratera	Flavian	<i>I.Salamis</i> , no. 107; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 114.
	Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus		
	[- - ]ene		
Salamis no. 5	Sergia Philia	Flavian	<i>I.Salamis</i> , no. 109; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 115.
	Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus		
	Tiberius Claudius Mentor		
	Claudius (son of Mentor)		

*Continued*

**Table 3.1** *Continued*

Find-spot and inscription number	Name ( <i>praenomen, nomen, cognomen</i> )	Date	Key reference(s)
Salamis no. 6	Sergia Philia	Flavian	<i>I.Salamis</i> , no. 108; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 116.
	Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus		
	Claudia Menodoris		
	Ti. Claudius Pankles Veranianus		
Salamis no. 7	Tiberius Claudius	1st cent. AD	<i>I.Salamis</i> , no. 111; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 117.
	Ti. Claudius Pankles Veranianus		
	Pankles		
Salamis no. 8	Ti. Claudius Heracleides	Flavian	<i>I.Salamis</i> , no. 111a; <i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 118.
	Ti. Claudius M[- - -]?		
	Claudia Veraniances		
	Tiberius Claudius Menodorus		
Salamis no. 9	Ceionia Callisto Attike	1st–2nd cent. AD	<i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII, no. 127; Fujii (2013) <i>Salamis</i> , no. 14.
	Flavius Fl[- - -]?		
Soloi no. 1	Ti. Flavius Zenon	Undated	<i>SCE</i> III (1937), 626 no. 12.

that a number of local families monopolized the local civic scene. Five stand out in particular. Three generations of one family, headed by Licinnia Agapomene (identifiable as the grandmother in the inscriptions) are visible in three monuments from Palaipaphos, and this comprises the earliest attestation of locals granted citizenship on the island.<sup>91</sup> At Kourion, a number of partially complete monuments hint at a familial group connected by the *nomen* Aurelius.<sup>92</sup> Five, possibly six, inscriptions attest to the rise of a Paphian family who were eventually granted citizenship by the proconsul Caius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus.<sup>93</sup> The monuments that record family members from this group before their enfranchisement are fragmentary, but three exist that document their activities as citizens, and these are complete and instructive.<sup>94</sup> Inscriptions from Salamis inform us of two other prominent families: a certain Hyllos and his descendants, and Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus and his family.<sup>95</sup> These latter three familial groups, and the tricky reconstruction of their relationships, have been studied extensively in recent years, and so this investigation will refrain from recounting all of their monuments.<sup>96</sup> The family tree of the *Ummidii* is the most straightforward and was correctly reorganized by Fujii in 2013.<sup>97</sup> The

<sup>91</sup> Table 3.1, Palaipaphos nos. 1–3. See also Section 3.2.1 above regarding Mitford's interpretation that this family were connected to *negotiatores*.

<sup>92</sup> See Table 3.1. Kourion nos. 4 and 5. Inscriptions concerning this familial group are extremely fragmentary and reconstructing individuals and the offices they held is problematic (e.g. *I.Kourion*, nos. 101 and 102. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1974b), 229.) and so several have been omitted from Table 3.1.

<sup>93</sup> Syme (1968), 73–5, 92; Corbier (1974), 44–50. See also Syme (1979). Mitford ((1980b), 282, n. 45) was hesitant to assume that this family obtained their citizenship in the year of the proconsulship of Caius Ummidius Durmius Quadratus. Eight inscriptions from Africa confirm individuals from this context who were granted citizenship by a proconsul and who took on the name of *Ummidii*. See Syme (1968), 92 and n. 96: three at *CIL* 8.14744 = 25,612 (Bulla Regia); 6202 (Arsacal); 7537 (Cirta); at Gigthis: *CIL* 8.28; *CIL* 8.29; *CIL* 8.30; *CIL* 8.22693; *CIL* 8.22743.

<sup>94</sup> Studied by Mitford (1980b); Fujii (2013), ch. 6, 116–18 in particular; *I.Paphos*, 333–5, 413–16; Cayla (2004). For the inscriptions of the family before their citizenship see Mitford (1947), 228–30, no. 13 (for Fujii, this inscription is too fragmentary to be connected securely to the family; see Fujii (2013) *Paphos Vetus* no. 6); Fujii (2013) *Paphos Vetus* no. 9; Mitford (1980b), 282, n. 43 (the inscription is also cited in Mitford (1980a), 1353, n. 324; *I.Paphos*, no. 173; Kantiréa (2008), 106; Fujii (2013), 116). For the three later inscriptions that record this family's enfranchisement see Table 3.1, Nea Paphos no. 1, Palaipaphos nos. 5 and 6.

<sup>95</sup> Table 3.1, Salamis nos. 2–9. <sup>96</sup> Fujii (2013), 118–20.

<sup>97</sup> For discussion of the relationship of the individuals named in the monuments see *I.Paphos*, 326–9; Cayla (2004); Kantiréa (2008), 105–7; Fujii (2013), 116–8.

Salaminian groups are more complicated. Hyllos was an active member of his community during the early first century AD, but it appears that the reward of citizenship for his—and his family's—endeavours was a long one. According to Mitford, at least four generations of this family zealously courted citizenship as they held roles such as the high priesthood of Cyprus for the divine Augustus Caesar, of Zeus Olympios and the Emperors, and acted as ambassadors to the Emperor.<sup>98</sup> Their eventual enfranchisement during the second half of the first century AD is attested to in a monument that possibly records the intermarriage of this family with that of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus. For example, Sergia Phila (Pankles's daughter) is named as the wife of Tiberius Claudius Mentor (a descendant of Hyllos).<sup>99</sup> In turn, Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus was a man of incredible wealth who made a considerable impact on his home city.<sup>100</sup> According to Mitford, holding public office—such as priesthoods of the Emperor—did not guarantee citizenship, but his evidence for this is based on what appears like some familial groups' long wait for citizenship (for example, the *Ummidii* of Paphos and Hyllos and his descendants based in Salamis). In contrast, no monuments of Licinnia Agapomene's family, the *Aurelii* of Kourion, or Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus and his descendants appear to have survived before their enfranchisement, and so it is impossible to chart their rise and observe how they projected their identities prior to their status

<sup>98</sup> Mitford (1980b), 278. The inscriptions noted by Mitford attesting various members of this family's activities are presented in Fujii's 2013 study as Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 2 (Hyllos son of Hyllos—*archiereus* of Cyprus for the divine Augustus Caesar); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 3b (unnamed); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6 (Herakleides, *archiereus* of Zeus Olympios and the emperors); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 9 (Herakleides); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 8 (unnamed). Note that two of the inscriptions do not name anyone but were attributed to Hyllos's family by Mitford. See Fujii (2013), 120, on the fragile interpretation of the family dynamics by Mitford. There has also been speculation about the commemoration of Ti. Claudius Hyllos Iustus at Kition, also known from a monument at Ephesos during the second half of the first century AD, who was connected to the family of Hyllos at Salamis, though it is unclear how. See Table 3.1, Kition no. 1, and *I.Ephesus*, no. 3060.

<sup>99</sup> Table 3.1, Salamis no. 5. See Mitford (1980b), 278 and n. 19, 279 and n. 23; Kantiréa (2008), 107–11; and Fujii (2013), 119.

<sup>100</sup> Best illustrated by a monument set up by his 'ancestral' friend Titus Flavius Heliodorus: Table 3.1, Salamis no. 2. His family may have originated from Lycia-Pamphylia, where several other *Sulpicii* are known; see Potter (2000), 830; Fujii (2013), 119. In general, for the family of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus see *I.Salamis*, 131–53; Mitford (1980b), 279; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 49–55; Kantiréa (2008), 107–11; Fujii (2013), 118–19. Note that the editors of *Salamine de Chypre* XIII considered the creation of a *stemma* in *I.Salamis* for this family as bold.

as Roman citizens.<sup>101</sup> What is clear, though, is that the citizens included in Table 3.1 held successive locally significant administrative positions relating to the affairs of their *poleis* as well as offices that concerned, and took them beyond, the province. For example, the following list outlines the offices held attested in their monuments:

- Tiberius Claudius Hyllus Iustus (Kition no. 1): *archiereus* of the island.
- Ti. Claudius Nikopolinos Hipparchos (Kition no. 2): *hieromnemon*, *archiereus* of the emperors for life and of the sacred senate, *agonothetes* four times and that of secretary of the council and the people, and *archon* of the city.
- Caius Gerellanus Rufus (Kition no. 2): *archon* of the city.
- Tiberius Claudius Isidoros (Kition no. 3): *archon* of the city and ambassador to the emperors at his own cost; *gymnasiarch* at his own cost.
- Tiberius Claudius Mnaseas Lucius (Kition no. 5): *archiereus* of the [emperors] and of [Roma?].
- Ti. Claudius Onesikrates (Nea Paphos no. 2): *archon*, *grammateus*, and *gymnasiarch*.
- Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus (Salamis no. 2): *gymnasiarch* and for life [and] *agonothetes*, *archiereus* of Cyprus three times; he also served as ambassador to the emperors three times.
- Flavius Fl[- -] (Salamis no. 9): *archiereus* of the emperors.

A number of these posts represent the highest-ranking and most prestigious positions that individuals could attain, but it does not appear that they were exclusively held by those with citizenship.<sup>102</sup> For example, two of the Roman citizens listed above (in Table 3.1, Kition no. 3 and Salamis no. 2) were ambassadors to the Roman Emperor, but a third—a Herakleides—does not appear to have been granted citizenship.<sup>103</sup> Also attested in inscriptions from across the island are non-citizens who were

<sup>101</sup> Mitford (1980b), 279; Fujii (2013), 119.

<sup>102</sup> See Kantiréa (2011), 252.

<sup>103</sup> Fujii (2013) Kition no. 3 (Herakleides).

high priests involved in the worship of the Roman emperors.<sup>104</sup> The title of *Philocaesar* (friend of Caesar) conferred by cities on individuals who had a particular involvement or responsibility in the organization of the worship of the Roman emperors, also appears on two monuments in Cyprus.<sup>105</sup> Equally notable are monuments to prominent individuals who held office and established sites of cult for the benefit of the wider community. For instance, an inscription discovered at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, dated to the second century AD, records honours conferred by the *koinon* *Kuprion* on Apollonia and her husband, Patrokles.<sup>106</sup> They are celebrated not only as founders of a *Tychaeum*, and as high priests for life of Tyche, but are noted for their zeal towards the province and goodwill towards their *patria*. Finally, some of the impressive number of monuments set up to Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus seem to have been dedications by non-citizens—perhaps a strategy to distinguish themselves through their connectivity with this prominent local figure.<sup>107</sup>

What does the evidence tell us then about local responses to Roman citizenship as an institution and the ways in which it was granted in Cyprus? A number of Mitford's main conclusions regarding these points require revision. First, that locals gained citizenship through personal favour from proconsuls or the Emperor does not appear to be the case. Overall, how locals in the provinces became legally Roman is unclear, as is the exact nature of the rights awarded them.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, the

<sup>104</sup> Other high priests of imperial cult who were not Roman citizens (listed in the order that they appear in Fujii (2013), 112–13) include Fujii (2013) Kition no. 2 (Euphamo, daughter of Euphamos); Fujii (2013) Lapethus no. 2 (Adrastos, son of Adrastos); Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 5 (Plous); Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 6 (a certain someone, son of Rhod[okleia]); Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 9 (Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates); Fujii (2013) Paphos Vetus no. 13 (Amyntor, son of Tryphosa and Lysias); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 2 (Hyllos, son of Hyllos); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 6 (Herakleides, son of Hyllos); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 10 (Diodoros, son of Diodoros); Fujii (2013) Salamis no. 12 (Zenon, son of Onesandros).

<sup>105</sup> Fujii (2013), Karpasia no. 1 (for a statue commemorating Phanokles) and Fujii (2013), Lapethus no. 2 (a monument marking the dedication of a shrine and statue to Tiberius by Adrastos). Neither of these individuals appear to have been citizens. See also Fujii (2013), 121.

<sup>106</sup> Key references: *JHS* 9 (1888), 237, no. 40; *IGR* 3.962; *OGIS* 2.585; *ICA* 10 (in *RDAC* 1971), 30, no. 38; *I.Paphos*, no. 182. Mitford (1990), 2182. A date of the early third century AD, based on the engraving on the monument, has also been suggested. Cf. *I.Paphos*, 345–6.

<sup>107</sup> E.g. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, nos. 109 and 110 are monuments set up to Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus by Onesandros and Krates respectively, though note Madsen (2009), 84–5.

<sup>108</sup> It is undeniable that becoming a Roman citizen improved one's legal, economic, and political rights and set people or groups apart from others in their local community. See Madsen (2009), 87–8.

**Table 3.2** *Imperial gentilicia* recorded in inscriptions in Cyprus<sup>109</sup>

	Iulii	Claudii	Flavii	Aurelii	Total
Keryneia		2			2
Kition	4	5		2	11
Kourion <sup>110</sup>				4	4
Nicosia District				1	1
Nea Paphos		2		1	3
Palaipaphos <sup>111</sup>	5	1	1		7
Salamis <sup>112</sup>	3	7	3		13
Soloi			1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>42</b>

appearance of *imperial gentilicia* across the island (noted in Table 3.2 above) can be observed and presents a clearer picture of the spread of citizenship in Roman Cyprus. We can *at least* tentatively note the attestations made in the table.

Evidence of *imperial gentilicia* has a bearing on how best to interpret local responses to the Roman citizenship. According to Mitford, at the advent of Roman rule individuals displayed pro-Roman sentiments to gain citizenship. The grant of citizenship to all freeborn members of the provincial communities (an act introduced by the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in AD 212) altered the mood towards Rome. He also concluded that at this juncture individuals, disenchanted with the situation, stopped pursuing citizen status and focused their energies on their cities.<sup>113</sup> Again, more careful consideration of the surviving evidence from the island and comparative contexts is needed. It stands to reason that provincials sought Roman citizenship because of the

<sup>109</sup> Based on Fernoux (2004), 201 and Madsen (2009), 89.

<sup>110</sup> Sergia Aurelia Regina, listed in Table 3.1. as Kourion no. 2, appears twice at Palaipaphos.

<sup>111</sup> As above, Table 3.1, Palaipaphos nos. 1–3, records three generations of the same family. Caius Iulius Potamon, Caius Iulius Crispus, and Iulia Sacricola (who appear in these monuments multiple times) have been counted only once. Claudia Appharion has been discounted from the tally here as she has been noted in the data for Nea Paphos.

<sup>112</sup> As noted above, the family tree of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus and his descendants is tricky to reconstruct. The tally of *imperial gentilicia* at Salamis is tentative and has been careful not to count members of this group that appear more than once.

<sup>113</sup> Mitford (1980b), 280.

collective benefits that it brought. Even if some of these were not fully realized in some provincial settings, it was an incredible badge of honour. That Cypriots became disenchanted with the citizenship during the third century AD, based on the fewer instances of *imperial nomina* in the epigraphic record, is an argument *ex silentio* and must now be abandoned. It appears from the evidence that citizens and non-citizens alike enthusiastically embellished their cities, were fully entrenched in civic life, and were careful to show that they embraced the ideology of their Roman rulers. A more pertinent question is what these commemorations of prominent locals, their achievements, and the articulation of identity tell us about their sense of belonging to and participation in Empire.

### 3.3.3 Articulating Identity and Belonging

To explore how local elites articulated their new-found status as Roman citizens, a closer look at the monuments of the *Ummidii* is most instructive because they are the most complete and vividly document their family dynamics and involvement in civic life.<sup>114</sup> Their study will also anchor discussion of the other evidence recorded in this chapter. As noted above, the three earliest monuments are extremely fragmentary, and so the three that document the later generations of the family will be considered here.<sup>115</sup>

The first monument is a statue base dated to the late reign of Nero and discovered at Nea Paphos.<sup>116</sup> It was set up by Claudia Appharion, the daughter of Teuker, for her son Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus. Although heavily restored, the inscription tells of his prominent role within the Paphian community as a *gymnasiarch* who provided olive oil and washtubs for the *Neroneia* at his own expense, as well as recording that he was a high priest.<sup>117</sup> The text emphasizes that he is her biological son through the use of [τὸν εἰ]αυτῆς υἱὸν in

<sup>114</sup> See Fujii (2013), 116–9, for a reconstruction of their family tree.

<sup>115</sup> See the present chapter, n. 94.

<sup>116</sup> Table 3.1, Nea Paphos no. 1.

<sup>117</sup> On the *Neroneia* see Fujii (2013), 129.

line 7, and this is relevant to another inscription set up to him by his father and stepmother, Caius Ummidius Quadratus and Claudia Rhodokleia. This second monument dedicated to Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus—a statue base found reused in a pavement at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos—is dated between AD 50 and 100.<sup>118</sup> Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus (the dedicatee) and Claudia Rhodokleia (his stepmother) are noted as high priest and high priestess in the text. The third inscription relating to this family is another dedication by Claudia Appharion (mentioned above) in AD 88.<sup>119</sup> This time she set up a monument for her grandson Caius Ummidius Quadratus, the son of Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus. Of the three, this monument contains the most detail about the rights conferred on this family as part of their status as citizens and how they celebrated this. First, Claudia Appharion is named again as the daughter of Teuker, coincidentally the name of Salamis's founder-hero, but she is also the high priestess of all the temples of Demeter across Cyprus. Whether her being named as the daughter of Teuker holds any significance is unclear, but her position as high priestess for Demeter across the entire island confirms her prominence and power island-wide. More than this, the reference to Claudia Rhodokleia as a high priestess in her dedication to her stepson, Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, further demonstrates the role that women from distinguished families played in the religious sphere.<sup>120</sup> Next her grandson, the honorand, is named. He is known not only as Caius Ummidius Quadratus but also as Pantauchianos. The use of τὸν καὶ (to denote that he is known by another name) from the beginning of line 4 indicates the attainment of multiple identities, with connections before and after

<sup>118</sup> Table 3.1, Palaipaphos no. 6.

<sup>119</sup> Table 3.1, Palaipaphos no. 5. *I.Paphos*, 80: Claudia Appharion may not have originated from Cyprus.

<sup>120</sup> On the whole discussion of onomastics and how particular names denoted ethnicity made by Mitford (e.g. Mitford (1980b), 276, on the ethnic identities of C. Iulius Nidas, C. Iulius Chius [- -]dnianus and Iulia Lamprys; Mitford (1980b), 278, on Hyllos's family as potential 'settlers of Macedonian origin'; and Mitford (1980b), 284, on Mnaseas and Hipparchus as names 'native to Phoenician' Kition) should be treated with some caution. See Madsen (2009), 86–7. The use of founder-hero's names in the Cypriot epigraphic record has been considered notable in some instances. E.g. see Cayla and Hermay (2003), 243, and Hornblower (2010).

the grant of citizenship.<sup>121</sup> He and his father, who is also named on the monument, are celebrated as high priests as well as belonging to the *Teretina*, a voting tribe of Rome. The inclusion of this latter detail must be considered a symbolic badge of honour in this context.<sup>122</sup> The extent to which information about Roman voting tribes resonated within the local community is uncertain.<sup>123</sup>

It is clear that Claudia Appharion was keen to celebrate the full names and rights associated with her family, and in doing so these monuments highlighted their Cypriot identities through familial ties, local offices held, and locally recognizable names, which reflected their power and prestige in the local community.

Collectively the inscriptions of this Paphian family are of great importance when considering the commemoration of Roman citizenship and local identity. More than this, they represent strategies deployed in monuments in high-profile environments to articulate a range of identities with maximum effect.

### 3.3.4 Cypriots Abroad

Activities of individuals beyond the island have been alluded to through discussion of *koinon*-led activities, which saw ambassadors to the Emperor dispatched to Rome and monuments erected by the *koinon Kuprion* and individuals for Roman governors.<sup>124</sup> A handful of inscriptions from a number of notable locations indicate the presence and

<sup>121</sup> Another instance of this being used can be found in the Table 3.1, Kition no. 6. Aurelia Onesimiane was also known as Olympiane.

<sup>122</sup> Key reading on Roman voting tribes includes Taylor and Linderski (2013).

<sup>123</sup> The following voting tribes are attested in monuments across the island and listed in Table 3.1:

*Claudia*: Palaipaphos no. 9; *Quirina*: Keryneia no. 1, Kition no. 3, Kition no. 5 (restored), Nea Paphos no. 2, Salamis no. 5, Salamis no. 6, Salamis no. 8; *Teretina*: Palaipaphos no. 6.

The following tribes are recorded in monuments honouring individuals who were outsiders:

*Palatina*: in one inscription from Salamis, key reference: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 189; *Stellatina*: in one inscription from Paphos District (a centurion), key references: Mitford (1950a), 54 n. 29; *RDAC* (1969), 77 (a); *Cypriot Inscribed Stones*, Nikosia 1971, 30 n. 37; *Velina*: in one inscription from Palaipaphos (a Roman tribune), key references: *JHS* 9 (1888), 247, no. 90; *IGR* 3.964.

<sup>124</sup> See the present study, Chapter 2, proconsul nos. 12 and 18.

achievements of Cypriots, hinting at the ways in which they participated in the broader interests of Empire.

The most significant group are four inscriptions from Delphi, dated to the second century AD, that document the conferral of honours upon individuals from Roman Cyprus. The earliest records the impressive career of the *aulos* player Publius Aelius Aelianus from Salamis.<sup>125</sup> According to the inscription, he won contests at Rome, Naples, Nicopolis, Nemea (three times), Argos (twice), and Isthmus (twice). He was also victorious at the Pythian Games and the *Hadrianeia* at Athens (three times), amongst others, and secured silver 166 times. His participation and successes in these contests, which increased in popularity and flourished under Roman rule, symbolize how individuals cultivated and expressed belonging to the cultural unity of empire.<sup>126</sup> In another monument, for reasons that are unclear, Fabius Falernos was granted 'all other things that are usually given to good and honourable men' (including the right to consult the oracle of Apollo, the treaty of friendship, the privilege of front seats at the games, and immunity from public service).<sup>127</sup> The other two monuments are decrees granting *proxeny* (an honorific status bestowed upon individuals from external states by a city, often for services such as hosting foreign ambassadors at their own expense) to Cypriots by the Delphians.<sup>128</sup> In one inscription, Bacchios (a Paphian), son of Tryphon and Caius (the latter by adoption), is granted the rights of citizenship and traditional honours at the same time as two fellow Athenians and another individual from Malios in Cilicia. All are noted as Platonic philosophers.<sup>129</sup> Similarly, a Quintus Al[---]mus (a Salaminian), son of Gellius Pyrrhos, received traditional honours with his wife, sons, and daughter.<sup>130</sup> The survival of evidence from earlier periods shows that Cypriots were always present and

<sup>125</sup> *FD*, III, 1.547. See Pouilloux (1976), 163. Though the detail that he hailed from Salamis is restored, the specification of Cyprus in the text makes clear that he was from the island and not the Salamis in the Saronic Gulf close to Athens.

<sup>126</sup> Compare more generally with van Nijf (2001). See also Guow (2009).

<sup>127</sup> *FD*, III, 3.248.

<sup>128</sup> See Mack (2015) for a recent study on proxeny networks and their development in the Roman Empire.

<sup>129</sup> *FD*, III, 4.94. See Pouilloux (1976), 163–4.

<sup>130</sup> *FD*, III, 4.444. See Pouilloux (1976), 162–3.

involved in the traditions of Greek culture, fully participating in *proxeny* networks and engaged in games and festivals.<sup>131</sup>

Another cluster of inscriptions naming Cypriots appears at Athens. Overall, the evidence dates from the fifth century BC to the second century AD and documents people from the following Cypriot *poleis*: Kition,<sup>132</sup> Kourion,<sup>133</sup> Marion,<sup>134</sup> Paphos,<sup>135</sup> Salamis,<sup>136</sup> Soloi,<sup>137</sup> or more generally from Cyprus.<sup>138</sup> As few as eight individuals are attested in funerary monuments relevant to this investigation (i.e. dating from the first century BC to the second century AD). All individuals commemorated are identified simply by their names and one of the following *poleis* is named: Paphos,<sup>139</sup> Kition,<sup>140</sup> Salamis,<sup>141</sup> and Soloi.<sup>142</sup> Presumably the provision of a home city or ethnic in inscriptions in this context can often be taken as evidence of residency in Athens or Attica, and it is likely that the individual could also claim the privileges of their home city if registered there.<sup>143</sup> That said, the brevity of the abovementioned funerary monuments naming Cypriots renders it difficult to draw conclusions about their status, identity, and experience. Other funerary monuments commemorating Cypriots discovered across the Roman Empire vary in date and location and include: an unnamed individual from Chytroi;<sup>144</sup> Demetrios, an athlete from Salamis;<sup>145</sup> Gnaeus Claudius, a Paphian who set up a monument to his stepson Pasikrates at Rome;<sup>146</sup> and

<sup>131</sup> E.g. at Delphi see Pouilloux (1976), 165, nos. 1–16.

<sup>132</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 2879–94.

<sup>133</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 3017–18.

<sup>134</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 3526–27.

<sup>135</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 5966–72.

<sup>136</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6505–18.

<sup>137</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6931–54.

<sup>138</sup> Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 3109–15.

<sup>139</sup> IG 2<sup>2</sup> 10048 = Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 5967 and 5968; IG 2<sup>2</sup> 10049 = Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 5970 and 5972.

<sup>140</sup> AM 67 (1942), no. 12 = Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 2882 and 2885.

<sup>141</sup> IG 2<sup>2</sup> 10,216 = Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6508 and 6515.

<sup>142</sup> IG 2<sup>2</sup> 10375 = Osborne and Byrne (1996), nos. 6932 and 6933.

<sup>143</sup> Osborne (1996), xxiv–xxv and nn. 4 and 6.

<sup>144</sup> IG 7.398; Nicolaou (1986), 434. The inscription was discovered at Oropos and has been tentatively dated to the second century AD.

<sup>145</sup> SEG 12.512; Gough (1952), 127–9; Nicolaou (1986), 433. This monument was discovered in Anazarbos (Cilicia) and dates to the reign of the Severans.

<sup>146</sup> Moretti (1961), 73, no. 10; BE (1962), no. 380; Nicolaou (1986), 434. The inscriptions has been loosely dated between the first and third centuries AD. Though of an unknown date, a

Tiberius Claudius Protogenes, a flautist from Salamis, who died, and was commemorated, in Sparta.<sup>147</sup>

Overall, this very brief survey of monuments shows that few Cypriots were successful beyond the island. The clusters of inscriptions at Athens and Delphi are notable. While it is difficult to ascertain what their activities were at Athens, the elaborate commemoration and honours bestowed on those at Delphi confirm the success of Cypriots in regional contests as well as indicating their residency (and that of their descendants) outside the island. At Delphi, at least, it seems that the consistent presence of Cypriots served to represent the traditions and customs of Greek culture.<sup>148</sup>

### 3.4 Conclusions

The foundations laid by Mitford for the study of the Roman citizenship in Cyprus remain important, but it is clear that his observations require honing. More cautious study of the surviving evidence from the island, assessment of outsiders in Cyprus, and the inclusion of evidence recording the achievements and activities of Cypriots abroad has enabled this. It remains the case that the chronological and geographical spread of citizenship, observed by Mitford, still stands. The highest attestations of citizenship on the island come, unsurprisingly, from Nea Paphos and Palaipaphos, Kourion, Salamis, and Kition, and these appear most concentrated at the advent of Roman rule and during the first century AD. Table 3.2, a conservative tally of *imperial gentilicia* recorded in inscriptions, does confirm that there were fewer attestations of citizenship (notably *Aurelii*) following the *Constitutio Antoniniana* of AD 212, but the number is not as dramatically low as Mitford made out. His conclusion that Cypriots, who once eagerly courted Roman institutions in the hope of gaining citizenship, became disenchanted and turned

dedication (*IGR* 1.1387) to Nymph Furrina at Rome by Artemis, also called Sidonia of Cyprus, is equally noteworthy.

<sup>147</sup> *IG* 5.1.758; Nicolaou (1986), 434. The inscription is generally assigned to the 'Roman period'. Note also the commemoration of another musician, Euphemos who is described as a Cypriot flautist, at San Sebastiano, Rome. The date of this monument (*IGUR* 2.551) is uncertain.

<sup>148</sup> Pouilloux (1976), 163–4.

their attention to their cities is redundant. Individuals with the *nomen* Aurelius comprise the third-highest group of *imperial gentilia*. Furthermore, as noted above, because of the fragile nature of the surviving evidence from Cyprus and the fact that much of the island remains unexcavated, it would be premature to draw such firm conclusions about Cypriot disenchantment with, or disengagement from, attaining Roman citizenship. Also, it is a fallacy that Cypriots only turned their attention to their cities following this disenchantment. The evidence from the island in general shows that locals always invested in their cities with pride. For example, the evidence for the *Ummidii* of Paphos, the *Sulpicii* of Salamis, Hyllos and his descendants in Salamis, and the leading individuals across the island shows that the local elites invested heavily in the social and cultural agendas of their cities from the start of the Roman period, regardless of whether they were enfranchised or not. Finally, a brief overview of the evidence of Cypriots attested at places such as Delphi shows that the island's inhabitants were fully invested in the broader interests of Empire—several citizens and non-citizens alike are recorded in the epigraphic record from this time as being so. Engaging with the Roman Empire and its institutions did not strictly include Roman citizenship or the cult of the Emperor but also meant games and contests that culturally unified parts of the Empire.

The monuments of outsiders and high-profile visitors reveal a range of strategies used to project identity and belonging, and they provide significant context for the evidence pertaining to locals granted citizenship in Cyprus. The monuments set up by *negotiatores* show a conscious decision to express a collective identity that emphasizes a separateness from local Cypriot communities (through the exclusive use of Latin or both Latin and Greek), but also suggests some degree of integration. Furthermore, the monuments set up by locals to celebrate high-profile visitors highlight the connections that a community may have had with the world beyond the island. The distinction of having a notable outsider engage with a local community was clearly important and monuments at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos in particular imply a competitive drive by the Paphians to celebrate the renown of their ancient sanctuary (e.g. note the celebration of Marcia and Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda).

The monuments of the Cypriot local elite differ to those of outsiders. It goes without saying that provincials displayed their new-found status in their monuments with pride, eager to be seen as 'Roman'.<sup>149</sup> Typical shared features include the advertisement of local religious positions and magistracies, particularly the worship of the Roman Emperor but also involvement in local religions and details of familial ties. Specific symbols used by Roman citizens to express their identity include the use of the *tria nomina* and the voting tribe to which the individual belonged. While undoubtedly eager and proud to celebrate their Roman citizenship, their local identity was not compromised because of the integration of a range of markers that confirmed many individuals and groups' long-standing and deep-rooted ties with the local context and engagement with institutions significant to the wider Empire.

The activities of, and honours awarded to, leading citizens had significant bearing on their wider community. The collective voice of the community, or at least of their representatives, is embedded in the processes that facilitated the commemoration of enthusiastic and distinguished individuals. They certainly did not operate in isolation; the approval, acceptance, and celebration of their actions in public monuments required considerable co-ordination and decision-making.<sup>150</sup> More than this, public monuments, restored buildings, resources provided for festivals, and handouts distributed to the wider community helped shape collective experiences and perpetuate cultural memory and local traditions. The collective consciousness and voice of a community also manifested themselves in other ways, and it is to this evidence that we now turn.

<sup>149</sup> Madsen (2009), 102.

<sup>150</sup> For discussion of collective decisions of the wider community, e.g. the *demoi* and *boule*, when setting up monuments, see more generally van Nijf (2000); Smith (2006); van Nijf (2010); and Ma (2013).

# 4

## Civic Identity

### 4.1 Approaching Collective Identity Formation

Traditionally, an understanding of Roman Cyprus's sociocultural dynamics hinged on a select number of well-known accounts concerning the island's history, and this had significant bearing on conclusions drawn about the character and experience of its *poleis* under Roman rule, with interpretations contradicting one another. On the one hand, take the surviving accounts of the island's annexation from Ptolemaic Egypt by Rome: Cassio Dio's summary of the Cypriots' collective response underpinned some interpretations of the island's supposed unified passivity and the homogeneity of its culture that followed.<sup>1</sup> On the other, well-documented dramatic episodes regarding the aftermath of the annexation, evidence for the use of calendars, and the title *metropolis* across the island were taken as evidence of internal rivalry and separateness.<sup>2</sup> Naturally, the perceived power struggle between the island's principal cities Nea Paphos and Salamis was particularly magnified.<sup>3</sup> Drawing firm conclusions on this anecdotal, fragmentary, and inconsistent evidence is fraught with difficulties, and due to this

<sup>1</sup> Cassius Dio, 39.22.3. For the enduring impact of this anecdote see the present study, Section 2.2.3.

<sup>2</sup> On the annexation see the present study, Chapter 2. While a compelling 'drama', accounts of the annexation and its aftermath prompted Mitford to characterize Nea Paphos as quick to ingratiate itself with Roman rule, but Salamis as reluctant because of its 'rough initiation'. E.g. see Mitford (1980a), 1322, 1295, and n. 29. The use of four calendars at different times is attested across the island: the Paphian and Salaminian calendars recorded by the fourth century AD Bishop of Salamis, Epiphanius, *Adv. Haeres.* 51.24.1, a Julio-Claudian calendar, and a Jewish calendar. On the use of calendars see Mitford (1980a), 1357–61 and 1365–9; Stern (2010); Fujii (2013), 111–12 and 144–56. See Clarke (2008) more generally. On the title *metropolis* in Cyprus: Mitford (1980a), 1310–2; Fujii (2013), 98–101. For general studies of the title and meaning of *metropolis*: Bowersock (1985); Bowersock (1995), 85–98; Potter (2000), 819–20; Puech (2004); Heller (2006), 197–210.

<sup>3</sup> See the present study, Section 1.3, for the origins of this focus on Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, and Salamis in the ancient literary sources.

alone the cities' rivalry should not be overstated.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, with much of the focus dominated by evidence from the Paphos region and Salamis, the picture of other *poleis* was, for a while, impressionistic at best. For example, Mitford's assessment of Kourion as a city that enjoyed an 'opulent Mycenaean culture' but 'made no palpable impact on the Roman world of its day' overlooked its inter- and intraregional connectivity and identity.<sup>5</sup> Over the latter half of the twentieth century, more nuanced understanding of ancient Cyprus's sociocultural landscape has been led by systematic archaeological investigation of the *poleis* and their environs. Likewise, rigorous analysis of material culture other than inscriptions and coins, the evidence types that have dominated explorations of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, has been invaluable, as this has honed understanding of the island's cultural dynamics. For example, ceramic studies have revealed that during the Hellenistic and Roman periods a socio-economic divide of the island did exist, notably between Paphos and the rest of the island. Imports from across the Empire show that the Paphos region sustained trade links with Rome and Italy, and the northern coastline of the island, from the Akamas peninsula eastwards, maintained connectivity with Rough Cilicia.<sup>6</sup>

Central to this investigation of collective identity formation are the foundation myths, and their associated stories, of the Cypriot *poleis*—study of which will contribute to the evolving picture of Roman Cyprus's sociocultural landscape. This chapter will focus on Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis in most detail. Admittedly, these comprise the southern coast of the island, but they have been chosen as ample evidence from these contexts survives in comparison to other settlements.<sup>7</sup> Investigation of these four *poleis* will aid understanding of collective identity along multiple interregional lines as opposed to continuing generic discussion of 'east' versus 'west'. Study of a few chosen *poleis*, rather than every *polis*, will also avoid a repetitive

<sup>4</sup> Fujii (2013), 154. Also note that Kition celebrated Tyre as its *metropolis* (*I.Kition*, no. 176), thus demonstrating the need to look beyond Nea Paphos and Salamis to explore identity formation and local responses to Roman rule.

<sup>5</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1316.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Lund (2015) and Papantoniou, Michaelides, and Dikomitou-Eliadou eds. (2019).

<sup>7</sup> For example, at Kition the archaeological levels for the Hellenistic and Roman periods are poor.

and cumbersome review littered with frustrated caveats regarding the fragmentary and inconsistent nature of some of the evidence. That said, where necessary reference will be made to other settlements. The chapter will begin with a survey of the foundation myths of the *poleis*, paying particular attention to the reception and adaptation of narratives in literary sources produced during the Roman Empire. Examination of the ways in which myths manifested themselves in local material culture will follow. This will include consideration of the surroundings and setting of each *polis*, though this is intended not to be a thorough exploration of their topography and environment but to demonstrate what is possible when the space surrounding the surviving evidence is studied more fully. Not only will a synthesized approach to the evidence enable the enduring stereotypes to be addressed; it will facilitate more nuanced discussion of the articulation of identity as it was perceived and driven by outsiders and local communities. It will also develop understanding of which narratives were prioritized by different groups.

## 4.2 What Foundation Myths Tell Us

Origin and foundation myths are complex cultural phenomena. They reflect the self-perception and collective consciousness of the community that they are about because they set the tone regarding the priorities of a group from its perceived origin.<sup>8</sup> Their creation, evolution, and diffusion imply at the very least the agency of multiple groups in the articulation and performance of identity—whether documented in literary texts or in material culture. With each reiteration of these myths, a community's sense of belonging to—or even separation from—different peoples and landscapes was maintained and given new meaning. With no such thing as a definitive version of a myth, multiple traditions often existed alongside one another, either in competition or as an accepted alternative interpretation. This is to be celebrated and embraced, for without appreciation of these variations the fluid, situational, and multifaceted nature of cultural identity in antiquity would be lost to us. The ancients knew

<sup>8</sup> Mac Sweeney (2015), 1.

the advantages their foundation myths could grant them politically, as well as their importance in the expression of singular and/or shared identity, and so they exploited the opportunities available to them.<sup>9</sup>

The foundation myths of the Cypriot *poleis*, and accounts about their protagonists, are well documented.<sup>10</sup> They have been investigated extensively, but considerable scope remains to explore their significance with regard to local identity formation and experience in Roman Cyprus. Popular narratives included foundations by heroes returning from the Trojan War or settlement by communities or heroes from mainland Greece, the Aegean, Asia Minor, or the Near East.<sup>11</sup> The existence of numerous traditions is unproblematic and reflects understanding of migration across the region in the distant past, particularly during the Late Bronze Age. Archaeological evidence for settlement or early human activity at sites, particularly at Paphos, Kourion, Amathous, and Soloi, generally corresponds with their supposed mythical foundation, thus revealing the ancients' perceived understanding of time and regional histories.<sup>12</sup> Though perpetuated in the works of outsiders, the Cypriot voice is implied in some of the surviving literary evidence (as we will see), but the extent to which some traditions were locally inspired, the point at which innovations were introduced, and the perception of competing narratives are not always clear.

#### 4.2.1 Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos

Literature from the eighth century BC documents the renown of Palaipaphos as Aphrodite's home—a key mythological underpinning of

<sup>9</sup> For example, an inscribed letter to Naryka from Hadrian (*SEG* 51.641) illustrates that settlements claiming to be foundations of Greek heroes could qualify as a *polis*. See Boatwright (2000) and Jones (2006). Furthermore, Plutarch, *Solon*, 10, documents the intercity conflict between Athens and Megara over possession of the island Salamis, where both cities argued their case by citing their local mythologies. See Pozzi and Wickersham eds. (1991); Rogers (1991); Wickersham (1991); van Bremen (1993); and, more generally, Mac Sweeney ed. (2015).

<sup>10</sup> E.g. Gjerstad (1944); Fraser (1979); Fortin (1980); Fortin (1984); Maier (1986); Demand (1996); Bekker-Nielsen (2000); Karageorghis (2005), 15–20; Fourrier (2008). See, more generally, Peltenburg et al. (2003) and Purcell (2005).

<sup>11</sup> E.g. see the present study, Section 1.3.4.

<sup>12</sup> In particular, see Fortin (1980) and (1984) for commentary on the foundation and historical settlement of Palaipaphos, Soloi, Kourion, Amathous, and Salamis.

the varied foundation myths concerning the Paphos region.<sup>13</sup> While accounts of her origins and journey before settling on the island differ slightly, they reveal local and external understanding of migration histories and Cyprus's culture and society as connected to its surrounding mainland—particularly Asia Minor, the Levant, Egypt, and the Near East throughout antiquity.<sup>14</sup> Evidence for the fusion of outside influences with local Cypriot culture that stimulated the varied transformation and worship of Aphrodite across the island is rich. The island's position as a conduit for practices and ideas from multiple landscapes to pass through inspired the observation that 'at the immigration service in Paphos, she [the goddess] changed her name to Aphrodite'.<sup>15</sup> While acting as a useful analogy regarding Cyprus's situation at a crossroads of the eastern Mediterranean, the goddess was far from homogeneous, and the development of her worship across the island was situational and local.<sup>16</sup>

The earliest written account known from the Roman period concerning Paphos's foundation is embedded in Strabo's sweeping geographical narrative of the island.<sup>17</sup> Here he credits the Homeric hero Agapenor for it. By 'Paphos' he clearly meant the site of Palaipaphos, not Nea Paphos.<sup>18</sup> Foundation of the former dates back to the Late Bronze Age and the latter to the fourth century BC, following the movement, and

<sup>13</sup> E.g. Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.362; Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.415. The most comprehensive presentation of the literary evidence, from antiquity to modernity, regarding the history of the site can be found in Näf (2013).

<sup>14</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 3.374, 5.131, 5.312, 5.348, 5.370–1, and 5.375–81. Homer names her as the daughter of Zeus and Dione in this tradition. By comparison Hesiod, *Theogony*, 190–200, states that she was born from the severed genitals of Ouranos off the coast of Cythera, a Phoenician settlement, before settling in Cyprus.

<sup>15</sup> Marcovich (1996), 57.

<sup>16</sup> For example, during the Roman period, her identities and cult at Palaipaphos and Amathous were distinct from one another. At Keryneia she was worshipped as Aphrodite Akraia, and at Soloi there was a temple to Aphrodite and Isis (Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3 c.682–3). The following are useful to consult regarding the development and character of the goddess's worship across the island throughout antiquity and her cultural affinities with other landscapes: Westholm (1936); Rutkowski (1979); Maier (1979); Marcillet-Jaubert (1987); Marcovich (1996); Anastassiades (1998); Bolger and Serwint eds. (2002); Serwint (2002); Anastassiades (2003); Webb (2003); Budin (2004); Greaves (2004); Aupert and Hermery (2006); Katarzyna (2008). Full discussion of the surviving evidence for the worship of Aphrodite across the island is presented in Karageorghis (2005).

<sup>17</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c.683.

<sup>18</sup> Młynarczyk (1990), 23–5, 28–9.

amalgamation, of inhabitants from Palaipaphos and Marion.<sup>19</sup> From this time onwards, the sanctuary at Palaipaphos served as the chief cult centre for Nea Paphos.

The next account of Palaipaphos's origins, provided by Tacitus (writing in the early second century AD), is equally brief, and it is here that Kinyras and a King Aerias are credited as founders.<sup>20</sup> These alternative traditions need not be interpreted as mutually exclusive. While King Aerias is little known and assigned to ancient memory by Tacitus, the fifth-century AD lexicographer Hesychius noted that *Aeria* was an ancient name for Cyprus.<sup>21</sup> Given that its root is the same as the nouns *aer*, *aeris* (air) and *aes*, *aeris* (copper, bronze), King Aerias could have embodied elements synonymous with the island—in this instance, 'all things heavenly' and copper.<sup>22</sup> The abstract concepts that this figure inspires not only evoke the Cypriot landscape itself but overlap with the identity of the better known Kinyras—a catch-all figure who epitomized many aspects of the island's culture and society. He was renowned as a priest of Aphrodite Paphia (and credited as responsible for many traditions practised at the sanctuary), as well as being associated with copper, Apollo, and gifted at playing the lyre.<sup>23</sup> In Homer's *Iliad* he is given place in epic tradition as host to Menelaus and providing him with a breastplate as a guest-gift.<sup>24</sup> The story does not end well in later accounts that develop this exchange. Kinyras is presented in an

<sup>19</sup> According to Watkin (1988), 307, Ptolemy I was responsible for transferring the population of Palaipaphos to Nea Paphos in the last decades of the fourth century BC. Others have fixed a date of around 312 BC for the foundation of Nea Paphos by King Nikokles, who was rewarded for his loyalty and gave him the domain. See Mitford (1961b), 137; Mitford (1980a), 1309; Mitford (1990), 2178; Młynarczyk (1980), 241; Młynarczyk (1990), 67–76; *I. Paphos*, 34. See also Gesche (1974) and Bekker-Nielsen (2000). Bekker-Nielsen in particular considers the evidence for the foundation of Nea Paphos by King Nikokles too good to be true.

<sup>20</sup> Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.3.1. Repeated in Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.

<sup>21</sup> Hesychius s.v. *ἀερία*; Karageorghis (2005), 14; Näf (2013), 15.

<sup>22</sup> Aphrodite's birth from the severed genitals of Ouranos (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 190–200); that the Cypriots acknowledged the tradition that the Phoenicians dedicated a temple to Aphrodite Ourania at Cythera and this preceded their sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos (Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.105.2–3); and the island's identity as synonymous with copper cannot be ignored here. For the history of scholarship on *aerias* as an epithet see Currie (2005), 276.

<sup>23</sup> Key examples of his exploits include Pindar, *Pythian*, 2.15; Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.3; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 7.56.195; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 3.40. Key studies on Kinyras include Baurain (1980); Maier (1986); Maier (1989); Cayla (2001); and Currie (2005), 275–85. Franklin (2016) presents the most recent and exhaustive study.

<sup>24</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 11.20.

unfavourable light as duplicitous and scheming. Kinyras promises to provide a fleet of fifty ships to Menelaus to help him in his cause against the Trojans. Instead, he sends a fleet of clay ships, headed by a single genuine one, that disintegrate shortly after they set sail.<sup>25</sup> The reason for this divergence from the Homeric tradition is well reasoned by Franklin. The emphasis on Kinyras's promise-breaking serves to highlight his 'un-Greekness' as he displays behaviour that goes against the expected norms of Greek society. For Franklin, this character development evokes a stereotype of Phoenician sneakiness and was in fact driven internally by Salamis, no less, as a way of articulating its rivalry and separateness from Paphos at some point during the Archaic period.<sup>26</sup> It appears an easy and effective agenda to push because Kinyras, like Aphrodite, did not originate from the island but settled there. While these are many, a brief overview of the key stories of Kinyras's origins and family tree produced during the Roman Empire demonstrates how multiple and conflated heroes, legends, and traditions were tied to the identity of the Paphian landscape. For example, Book 10 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* transports the reader to Paphos when Orpheus sings about its heroes. At 10.243–97 he recounts the story of Pygmalion, a king of Paphos, who fashioned a marble statue with which he fell in love, and so it was made real by Aphrodite. Orpheus also names a Paphos as the father of Kinyras, and the tragedy of Kinyras's incestuous relationship with his own daughter Myrrha comprises a significant part of his song.<sup>27</sup> Ultimately, their unnatural union results in the birth of Adonis, the well-known favourite of Aphrodite.<sup>28</sup> Composed slightly later, Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca* presents a version of Kinyras's genealogy in which he is the son of Sandocus and Pharnace of Cilicia, and from there he went on to settle in Cyprus and founded Paphos.<sup>29</sup> He then married Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion—this time identified more generally as a king of Cyprus—and from this union were born Oxyporus and

<sup>25</sup> Apollodorus, *Epitome*, E. 3.9. See also Alkidamas, *Odysseus*, 20–1; Eustathius, *Homer's Iliad*, 11.20. Detailed discussion of these sources can be found in Franklin (2016), 343–4.

<sup>26</sup> Franklin (2016), 343.

<sup>27</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.298–502.

<sup>28</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.503–59.

<sup>29</sup> Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.14.3–4. Cf. Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 58, 242, 270–1, and 275, which names Kinyras as the son of Paphos and a king of the Assyrians.

Adonis. In this latter version, Kinyras's Cilician roots corroborate observations made by other ancient authors that the origins and practices of the cult of Aphrodite Paphia were influenced by different landscapes. Furthermore, Kinyras's close familial ties to Pygmalion and Adonis are noted despite differing from Ovid's account regarding the exact nature of their relationship. Pausanias's version of Palaipaphos's origins is noteworthy as it fails to mention Kinyras at all and instead echoes Strabo by naming Agapenor as founder.<sup>30</sup> Kinyras's notoriety as a Paphian hero par excellence makes it impossible to imagine that Pausanias was not aware of his specific links to the site.<sup>31</sup> He does mention Kinyras in relation to Salamis elsewhere in his work, but clearly made a deliberate choice to exclude him from the history of the sanctuary and instead emphasize the alternative tradition that firmly situated a Homeric hero from mainland Greece in the landscape.<sup>32</sup> Pausanias's many references to Agapenor and Paphos throughout his work provide an alternative literary image of the island, through the Paphos region, as deeply connected to Tegea.<sup>33</sup> This is most emphatic through the story of Laodice (Agapenor's descendant), who sent a relic (a robe) to Athena Alea at Tegea and also went on to establish a temple to Aphrodite Paphia there.<sup>34</sup> Both passages make clear that Laodice dwelt in Paphos, but her interactions with mainland Greece counter the traditional colonization and migration narratives where heroes and their descendants are displaced from their homelands and settle elsewhere.<sup>35</sup>

Palaipaphos's three foundation traditions demonstrate a flexible perception and articulation of collective identity by outsiders—they all embody the deep-rooted historical connections of the Paphian region with a range of landscapes. Accounts of Kinyras's character, identity, and legend preserved—and developed—in texts produced during the Roman

<sup>30</sup> Pausanias, 8.5.2.

<sup>31</sup> Pausanias, 1.14.7, also echoes Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.105.2–3, that the worship of Aphrodite Ouranios was important to the Paphians and Phoenicians of Askalon.

<sup>32</sup> Pausanias, 1.3.2.

<sup>33</sup> See the present study, Section 1.3.4.

<sup>34</sup> Note that Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, 3.9.1, names Laodice as a daughter of Kinyras. See Franklin (2016), 365.

<sup>35</sup> Pausanias, 8.5.3, 8.53.7. See Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 51, and Franklin (2016), 359–68.

Empire are part of a long tradition that ties him and his exploits to Cyprus. In these later versions he is a central figure who binds together the myths of Aphrodite, Apollo, Myrrha, and Adonis. Prior to Greek and Roman literary visions of Cyprus, Kinyras was without doubt a common, potent figure who embodied the identity of multiple communities settled across the island.<sup>36</sup> Further consideration of the island's historical dynamics could account for the development of these legends and hint at innovations that were internally driven. For example, the lost poem of Xenophon of Cyprus, an eighth-century BC philosopher, which contained the love stories of Kinyras, Myrrha, and Adonis, would no doubt enrich understanding of local agency in driving these narratives and would complement the picture of Paphos's perceived identity as recorded by outsiders.<sup>37</sup>

#### 4.2.2 Kourion

Accounts of Kourion's origins are few and brief, but nevertheless informative. The earliest is recorded by Herodotus (writing in the fifth century BC), who names it as an Argive foundation or colony within his description of the Persian Wars.<sup>38</sup> The latest account is by Stephanus Byzantius (writing in the sixth century AD), who directly quotes Herodotus as his source but adds that Kourion was a son of Kinyras and founded the city.<sup>39</sup> Strabo's description of the *polis* in his *Geographica* is a significant anchor in this broad chronological framework and, unusually for his survey of Cyprus, provides some insight into the character and customs of the city.<sup>40</sup> For example, the inclusion of an elegiac poem, a composition by the third-century BC poet Hedylus, links Kourion's chief deity (Apollo Hylates) with the worship of Apollo at Delphi by evoking the

<sup>36</sup> See Franklin (2016), ch. 14, more generally.

<sup>37</sup> Karageorghis (2005), 22. Reference to this lost work is preserved in the Suda, *Lexikon*, *Ξενοφών Κύπριος*.

<sup>38</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae*, 5.113.1.

<sup>39</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Kourion, p. 110 Billerbeck.

<sup>40</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c.683.

Corycian hills where pilgrims travelled to consult the famous oracle.<sup>41</sup> The vivid description of deer traversing hills across the Cilician shore to the beach of Kourion makes the connection to mainland Greece even more alive. The detail regarding people being thrown off a cliff for touching the god's altar emphasizes Kourion as a place of local peculiarity. This, combined with the longevity of its association with mainland Greece, could indicate a perceived separateness from the rest of the island.<sup>42</sup> That said, the notion that Kinyras's son was responsible for the foundation also suggests that outsiders understood Paphos and Kourion as being connected through a shared local mythology.

### 4.2.3 Amathous

Similar to the foundation traditions of Kourion, a number of short anecdotes regarding the city's origins were produced across a large chronological window. The ninth-century AD Byzantine scholar Photius, quoting the fourth-century BC Theopompus, wrote that Cyprus was colonized by the Greeks of Agamemnon, forcing Kinyras and his subjects to leave Paphos to establish Amathous.<sup>43</sup> Pliny the Elder's inclusion of a 'Keryneia' in his survey of Roman Cyprus suggests that a settlement named after the hero existed at some point.<sup>44</sup> Nonnus's *Dionysiaca*, written in the early fifth century AD, elaborates a little further by stating that Amathous could once have been named Kinyreia.<sup>45</sup> Later, Stephanus Byzantius also notes that Kinyras's mother was named Amathousa, implying that the *polis* was named after her. He also added that Herakles's son, Amathous, was another possible founder.<sup>46</sup> Strabo's observation that Herakles possessed great geographical knowledge because of his adventures across many landscapes makes his

<sup>41</sup> See also Strabo, *Geographica*, 9.3.1. c.416–17, and Pausanias, 10.32.2–7, both wrote that the cave of the Corycian nymphs was sacred to Pan.

<sup>42</sup> Lavelle (1984).

<sup>43</sup> Photius, *Bibliotheca*, 176; Theopompus, *FGrH* 115.

<sup>44</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 5.35.130. Cf. Baurain (1981).

<sup>45</sup> Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, 23.451; Franklin (2016), Appendix E.

<sup>46</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Amathous, p. 174 Billerbeck.

presence in Cyprus unsurprising.<sup>47</sup> Tacitus presents another alternative origin story as he attributes Amathous's foundation to the son of King Aerias—one of the three named founders of Palaipaphos.<sup>48</sup> However they originated, all traditions evoke a range of mythological figures that shed light most on Amathous's perceived internal connectivity. Kinyras is embedded in the Amathousian landscape, thus linking the city with the Paphos region—something that is noteworthy given Amathous's long-celebrated history and identity as autochthonous and separate from the other *poleis*.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4.2.4 Salamis

Salamis has two foundations to speak of, one dating to the Late Bronze Age and another to the mid fourth century AD.<sup>50</sup> The former is of most importance to this study. Salamis's legendary founder was Teuker, the half-brother of Ajax, and he requires little introduction.<sup>51</sup> Upon his return to Salamis (in Greece) from the Trojan War, his father (Telamon) banished him as he had failed to avenge his brother's death and from there he settled his people in Cyprus, naming his new foundation after his homeland. In some versions of the myth he journeyed to Cyprus on the advice of an oracle of Apollo.<sup>52</sup> Virgil's *Aeneid* embellished the story further, adding that he established his colony with the

<sup>47</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 1.1.16 c.9. The synchronized worship of Melqart and Herakles across Cyprus, notably at Kition, has been well documented. See Quinn (2018), 113–32, for a reappraisal of the evidence in this context and beyond.

<sup>48</sup> Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.3.1. Repeated in Tacitus, *Annales*, 3.62.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Herodotus, *Historiae*, 5.105–14, reports that Amathous refused to join the philhellene league of King Onesilos of Salamis, who led a revolt against the threat of Persian rule in 500–494 BC. See Petit (1999) for a study of Amathous's so-called autochthonous identity.

<sup>50</sup> Salamis was renamed Constantia. The refoundation by Constantius II was strategic, as he had inherited the eastern portion of the Roman Empire after the death of his father, Constantine the Great in AD 337. See Eutropius, *Breviarium*, 10.9; St. Malalas, *Chronographie*, 12.48; and Aliquot (2010), 67. Mitford (1980a), 1321, dated the refoundation to AD 346. Watkin (1988), 329, placed it between AD 332 and 342.

<sup>51</sup> Sources citing Teuker as the founder of Salamis include Pindar, *Nemean*, 4.46; Euripides, *Helen*, 87–104; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1008–20; Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum, Pompei Trogi*, 44.3.2. General myths attesting Teuker's relationship with Ajax and his exploits at Troy are numerous and varied. E.g. Homer, *Iliad*, 8.266–334, 12.387–405, 15.436–83, 23.859–83; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 992–1001; Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 5.5.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. Pindar, *Nemean*. 4.46; Euripides, *Helen*, 87–104; Sophocles, *Ajax*, 1008–20.

aid of Carthaginian Dido's father, Belos.<sup>53</sup> Pausanias also wrote of his foundation as well as integrating anecdotes about Teuker more generally throughout his work.<sup>54</sup> In one digression he links Salamis with Paphos through Teuker's supposed marriage to Eune (either a daughter or granddaughter of Kinyras, or daughter of Kypros). The connection between the two *poleis* here is noteworthy, given the emphasis sometimes placed on the separateness of these two settlements based on their different geographical and cultural outlooks as well as their contrasting early experiences of Roman rule.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, the detail that the kings of Salamis claimed descent from Teuker down to the time of Evagoras shows further similarities with Paphos, as the legends of their foundation heroes were central to the ideology of those in power.<sup>56</sup> Franklin's assessment of Kinyras's placement in the Salaminian landscape continues to be instructive here and provides us with another plot twist in the characterization of our Paphian hero.<sup>57</sup> According to Franklin, the dynamic and ambitious King Evagoras was likely responsible for the innovation of Teuker's mythology as connected to Kinyras's through the marriage of their descendants as a means to bolster his position as ruler of Salamis. The bridging of the two foundation traditions, and reversing or minimizing the narrative that Kinyras was a liar and a cheat, ultimately boosted Evagoras's own pedigree because of Kinyras's prestige.<sup>58</sup> Contrary to this, as noted above, the complete removal of Kinyras from Palaipaphos's foundation tradition by Pausanias must be deliberate and downplays his pedigree as the Cypriot hero par excellence connected to this landscape. The foundation myths of Palaipaphos and Salamis recorded by Pausanias hint at the two characterizations of Kinyras, and how this works in the grand scheme of the *Periegesis* is ambiguous and presumably must be left up to the reader to decide.

Literary texts reveal that outsiders acknowledged Cyprus, and its *poleis*, as culturally belonging to multiple landscapes and used the foundation myths to articulate this. They also illustrate the perceived internal

<sup>53</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.619–22; Franklin (2016), 354; Giusti (2018), 135–40.

<sup>54</sup> Pausanias, 1.23.8, 1.28.11, 2.29.4, 8.15.7. <sup>55</sup> Pausanias, 1.3.2.

<sup>56</sup> Pausanias, 2.29.4. Also see Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 14.98.

<sup>57</sup> See the present study, Section 4.2.1. <sup>58</sup> Franklin (2016), 351–9.

connectivity of the island—something that is presented as highly integrated through their mythology. The question of how these myths manifested themselves in local contexts to articulate collective identity must now be answered. How far did they go—if at all—in the material evidence? Did they tell the same or similar stories, or did they perpetuate divergent narratives? The local agency of the *poleis*, alongside that of outsiders, in the expression of collective identity will become clearer through study of the surviving material culture.

### 4.3 Material Culture and Identity in the Local Context

#### 4.3.1 The Paphos Region

##### 4.3.1.1 In the Realm of Aphrodite Paphia

To comprehend how Paphos's identity was understood and articulated locally in the Roman period we can turn to the range of evidence produced and performed across the region. As noted above, the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos commands particular attention because her status as Cyprus's chief deity was infamous throughout antiquity, and the goddess's worship underpinned key ideas about Paphos's identity as a region and by extension that of the island.<sup>59</sup> Strabo's *Geographica* provides a useful account of the route from Nea Paphos harbour to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia taken by pilgrims attending the *Aphrodisia*.<sup>60</sup> From this we get some sense of the interplay between the coast as pilgrims arrived at the harbour, the urban setting of the provincial capital, and the natural groves and environment as people headed to the sanctuary.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately, evidence for the

<sup>59</sup> E.g. Homer, *Iliad*, 5.330, 5.422, 5.458, 5.760, 5.883; *Odyssey*, 8.362–3; and *Homeric Hymns*, 5, 6.1–21, and 10. See also Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.3; Suetonius, *Divus Titus*, 5.1; Hesychius s.v. *Ταμυράδαι*.

<sup>60</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3 c.683. See Maps 3 and 4. Vassiliou (2002) and Karageorghis (2005), 54, reconstruct the *Aphrodisia*, with the former presenting a vivid and speculative account.

<sup>61</sup> For an overview of the surviving evidence regarding the civic landscape and its institutions see Watkin (1988), 305–27. Hogarth (1889), Maier and von Wartburg (1988), Maier (1997), and Maier (2000) remain useful surveys of the history of excavation at Palaipaphos.

worship of Aphrodite Paphia and the organization of her cult is patchy at best. Very little survives of her temple at Nea Paphos, and the appearance of her sanctuary at Palaipaphos does not reflect its prestige. The surviving foundations of the complex at Palaipaphos reveal two sanctuaries of different orientation, both of which were thought to have been used at the same time during the Roman period.<sup>62</sup> Traces of its earliest phases, for example a monumental Mycenaean wall, still stand and raise questions about the amalgamation of old and new structures at the site and the effect this had on cultural memory and identity formation. An open-air temple or tripartite structure housed the cult statue of the goddess, and it likely stood in the Roman court, or *temenos*, of the old sanctuary. Variations of this instantly recognizable structure appear on Cypriot coinage and, for some, these represent different building phases of the sanctuary as some depicted the tripartite structure with a semicircular courtyard and others without.<sup>63</sup> It is perhaps more useful to consider the various representations of this space on the coinage as simply different interpretations of the sanctuary.<sup>64</sup> Other important details that aid visualization of the enclosure and the character of the cult documented on numismatic evidence include combinations of the following: a crescent or star above or alongside the tripartite structure; windows above the structure to indicate a viewing gallery; and torches in the wings of the temples that flank the cult statue of the goddess, which appears as a baetyl on all coins.<sup>65</sup>

In addition to naming the three foundation traditions of the sanctuary, literary texts contribute to the picture of its character. Incidentally, Aphrodite Paphia's cult was associated with sweet fragrances and flora

<sup>62</sup> Maier (2000), 496.

<sup>63</sup> E.g. coins depicting the semicircular courtyard: *RPC* Vol. I. no. 3906; *RPC* Vol. I. no. 3924; and *RPC* Vol. II. no. 1821. Coins without the semicircular courtyard: *RPC* Vol. II. no. 1802; *RPC* Vol. II. no. 1807; *RPC* Vol. II. no. 1809. See also Maier (1975), 70; Mitford (1990), 2179; Maier (2000), 502.

<sup>64</sup> See Price and Trell (1977), 15–19 and 33. Price and Trell (1977), 147–9, discusses the architecture of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos in full.

<sup>65</sup> Best illustrated by *RPC* Vol. II. no. 1809. See Marcovich (1996) for the significance of the star and crescent iconography to the Near Eastern goddess Ishtar, who is one of the many deities from other landscapes linked to the worship of Aphrodite Paphia in this context. A double gold ring from Cyprus depicting the cult statue of the goddess in the sanctuary also includes an image of the Egyptian goddess Isis. See Marshall (1907), 29, no. 175.

and fauna, particularly myrtle and the dove.<sup>66</sup> Tacitus's description of the sanctuary following his presentation of its founders is the most informative. His account emphasizes the site's peculiarity and antiquity through mention of the unusual appearance of the goddess's cult statue as a baetyl, and that rain did not fall there, nor was blood spilt on her altar.<sup>67</sup> Most significant is his summary of the organizational aspects of her worship, particularly the traditions of divination that were brought over to the island by the Cilician *Tamirades*. More than this, he states that it was agreed that descendants of Tamiras and Kinyras should preside over the rites performed at the sanctuary, but that in the Roman period only those of Kinyras were consulted as priests. Tacitus's account not only corroborates ideas about the influence of outside practices but also adds to the rich literary tradition that recognizes Kinyras as a founder and cult hero in this local context.<sup>68</sup> Priest-kings of Cyprus claimed descent from Kinyras and styled themselves the *Kinyrades*. Ideologically, Kinyras's status as Palaipaphos's founder continued in importance and is visible, for instance, in the surviving evidence surrounding Nea Paphos's foundation in the fourth century BC. King Nikokles, who is most often associated as the founder of Nea Paphos, claimed descent from Kinyras to embed himself in the region's religious landscape and to legitimize his power and authority.<sup>69</sup> For example, an oracular cave of Apollo Hylates at Nea Paphos bears a syllabic inscription that names Nikokles, or his father Timarchon, as

<sup>66</sup> Accounts from the Roman period include Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistarum libri*, 15.675f–676c (Aphrodite covers the ship of Herostratus with myrtle after he and his crew endure a storm at sea) and Pausanias, 6.24.7 (on the rose and myrtle as sacred to Aphrodite). Näf (2013), 19–21, provides a full account of symbols associated with Paphian Aphrodite by ancient authors. For a study of votive offerings to the goddess at the site see Wieland (2009).

<sup>67</sup> Tacitus, *Historiae*, 2.2–4. See also Maximus of Tyre, *Dissertationes*, 8.8; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*, 3.58; Hesychius s.v. *Κινυράδαι*; *Ταμυράδαι* and Myres (1940–5), 97, on the discovery of the monolithic black stone discovered on the site and its interpretation as the sacred representation of Aphrodite Paphia. A brief episode in Chariton, *Callirhoe*, 8.2.7–9, tells of ritual feasting that took place at the sanctuary. See also Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 11.210.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Ptolemy of Megalopolis, *On Philopator*, Book 1 = FGrH 161, and Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 3.40 (that Kinyras and his descendants were buried at the sanctuary); Currie (2005), 275–6.

<sup>69</sup> Franklin (2016), 407–17 explores the legacy of Nikokles as preserved by the material record.

responsible for introducing the cult to the area on the command of the great goddess of Cyprus.<sup>70</sup> Not only does this inscription mimic motifs of Kinyras's story (as an agent or high priest of a great goddess), it marks an attempt to raise the profile of his new foundation in the classical Greek world through the worship of Apollo—a god who featured alongside Aphrodite on his coinage.<sup>71</sup> Nikokles's efforts were not unique or unusual. For example, the legitimacy, status, and identity of King Evagoras and King Androkles (other notable kings from the Classical period) depended on the legendary foundations and religious landscape of Salamis and Amathous respectively.<sup>72</sup> After the Ptolemaic conquest of Cyprus, it is thought that the *Kinyrades* of Palaipaphos were forced to relinquish their authority as rulers but maintained the priesthood.<sup>73</sup> From the Hellenistic and Roman periods, very few inscriptions hint at the organization and administration of the cult at Palaipaphos.<sup>74</sup> One inscription dedicated in the second century AD from the sanctuary documents a local response to the narrative as it contains a fragmentary reference to the title of *kinyrarch*.<sup>75</sup> The title is not attested to epigraphically elsewhere in the Roman period, and it is difficult to conclude whether this was an archaistic revival or not.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>70</sup> For the syllabic inscriptions of King Nikokles, his genealogy, and rule in Cyprus, see Mitford (1939b); Młynarczyk (1980); Młynarczyk (1990), 67–85; *I.Paphos*, 39–44. Examples of evidence attesting to Nikokles's building projects at Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos and linking the foundation of the latter to him include *CEG* 2.870 (his construction of a Temple to Artemis Agrotera at Nea Paphos); Mitford (1961a), no. 1 (an altar from Palaipaphos that bears his name). Also see Maier and Karageorghis (1984), 224 (for the construction of a major harbour at Nea Paphos); *CEG* 2.871 (a monument from Ledra that names Nikokles as a descendant of Kinyras).

<sup>71</sup> Młynarczyk (1980), 243. For an example of the use of Aphrodite and Apollo on the coins of Nikokles see *BMC Cyprus*, 79.2.

<sup>72</sup> At Salamis: Pausanias, 2.29.4. Also see Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, 14.98. At Amathous: one monument records King Androkles setting up a statue of his son at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Cypria—a credible strategy to attract the favours of the goddess and to boost the revenue of the sanctuary. See Hermay and Hellmann (1980), 265. Cf. *I.Paphos*, 70–1.

<sup>73</sup> See Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, 20.21.3.

<sup>74</sup> See Mitford (1980a), 1315; Mitford (1990), 2180–1; Młynarczyk (1990), 113.

<sup>75</sup> Key references: *JHS* 9 (1888), 249, no. 101; Mitford (1947), 229, n. 121; Mitford (1990), 2181, n. 21; *SEG* 40.1365; *I.Paphos*, no. 181.

<sup>76</sup> Mitford (1947), 229, n. 121. Mitford (1980a), 1315 and n. 105. Mitford (1990), 2182. See also Franklin (2016), 417–21.

An aspect of Aphrodite Paphia's cult concerning Kinyras that has divided opinion is the supposed practice of sacred prostitution.<sup>77</sup> Stories about this ritual in Cyprus can be traced back to Herodotus, who draws comparison between Babylonian customs and the island.<sup>78</sup> The particular association of Kinyras and ram sacrifice, as part of the rituals including a festival to Adonis-Kinyras, also links Cyprus with the Phoenician city of Byblos and Locris in central Greece and—as we will see—the island's internal landscape.<sup>79</sup> Accounts by Christian authors exploited the sacred prostitution narrative for other means. Clement of Alexandria, Lactantius, and Firmicius Maternus railed against the wickedness of pagan religion by drawing upon associations of sacred marriage and sacred prostitution at the sanctuary.<sup>80</sup> For these authors the worship of Aphrodite Paphia involved immoral sexual practices and encouraged the indulgence of vices, and myths relating to Aphrodite and Kinyras were central to this. Rituals and re-enactments of sacred marriages were practised across the Greek world and, if anything, demonstrate an exchange of ideas across religious networks.<sup>81</sup> While the literary record insists on the practice, surviving material evidence gives very little away. One meagre reference to a 'sacred marriage' that took place within the cult of Hera exists in an extremely fragmentary inscription from Amathous.<sup>82</sup>

The surviving material evidence from the sanctuary and its environs corroborates ideas of Nea Paphos's and Palaipaphos's connectivity with Asia Minor, mainland Greece, the Levant, and the Near East. Most

<sup>77</sup> Currie (2005), 276–7, provides an overview of the evidence and the debate. One inscription from Kition (CIS I.86B.9) appears to hint at sacred prostitution. Critique of the existence of sacred prostitution can be found in Budin (2008).

<sup>78</sup> Herodotus, *Historiae*, 1.199.5. Note Currie (2005), 283 on Clearchus of Soloi's testimony.

<sup>79</sup> E.g. Lucian, *On the Syrian Goddess*, 6; John the Lydian, *On Months*, 4.65; Currie (2005), 277–83.

<sup>80</sup> Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*, Pompei Trogi, 18.5; Lactantius, *Divinae Institutiones*, 1.17.4; Firmicius Maternus, *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*, 10.1; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 2.12.

<sup>81</sup> E.g. Menander fr. 265 Körte; Pausanias, 9.2.5–4.3. See Avagianou (1991).

<sup>82</sup> IGR 3.974, lines 3–4. For Hermay (2010), 130, it is possible that the individuals named in the inscription as being joined in marriage were perhaps related to the worship of the local goddess Aphrodite as well as Hera. For the worship of Hera across Cyprus see Mitford (1980a), 1318; Mitford (1990), 2185–6; *LBW* 3.2822 of late third century BC. Other inscriptions for the worship of Hera from the Hellenistic period include: at Kourion, Hera Argeia is named on a statue base, *I.Kourion*, no. 41; at Palaipaphos, with Aphrodite and Zeus Polios—Mitford (1961a), no. 103; and of an unknown date at Idalion—*BCH* 3 (1879), 166–7, no. 10.

significant is that the mythology of Kinyras reigns supreme and is prioritized in the local context, though hard to trace materially in the Roman period. Notably, literature produced during the Roman Empire make little explicit fuss of what could be considered the most significant connection between Cyprus's chief deity and Empire-wide concerns in the Roman period—the status of Aphrodite as divine ancestress of the Roman Emperor. By contrast, the celebration of this aspect of the goddess's identity in the inscribed oath of loyalty to Tiberius is a powerful assertion of collective, local identity. It also has the potential to shed light on the significance of Kinyras in the religious landscape during the Roman period, and to this monument we will now turn.

#### 4.3.1.2 The Inscribed Oath of Allegiance to Tiberius

The oath of allegiance to Tiberius is a remarkable example of an inscribed oath to the Roman Emperor.<sup>83</sup> It is without doubt one of the most important documents from Roman Cyprus and, unsurprisingly, it has been studied at length.<sup>84</sup> Discussion here will highlight its key features to consider the articulation and performance of identity in a number of environments—as we will see, a unique opportunity afforded by this monument.

A small number of inscribed oaths survive and although their materiality (the oaths are engraved on varied materials and the conditions of some are extremely fragile today), locations, and dates differ, they are useful as comparanda. These monuments are known as the oath of Mytilene;<sup>85</sup> of Conobaria and of Samos;<sup>86</sup> of Phazimon-Neapolis;<sup>87</sup> of Miletos;<sup>88</sup> of Assos and of Aritium;<sup>89</sup> and finally of Sestinum.<sup>90</sup> The

<sup>83</sup> Key reading on oaths of allegiance includes: Herrmann (1968); Mitford (1960); Weinstock (1962); Herrmann (1968); Seibert (1970); González (1988); Cayla (2001); Cancik (2003); Connolly (2007). See Ando (2000) more generally.

<sup>84</sup> The most recent and fullest study of this inscription can be found in Fujii (2013), ch. 4. For the inscription see Fujii (2013), Paphos Vetus no. 8.

<sup>85</sup> 27 BC: *SEG* 35.907.

<sup>86</sup> Different oaths but both dated to 6-5 BC. Conobaria: González (1988), 113. Samos: Herrmann (1960), 70–84, nos. 1, 2, 3 = Herrmann (1968), 125–6, no. 6.

<sup>87</sup> 3 BC: *IGR* 3.137 = Herrmann (1968), 123–4, no. 4.

<sup>88</sup> Augustan: *SEG* 35.1130. Location: Mytilene.

<sup>89</sup> Different oaths but both dated to ad 37. Assos: *IGR* 4.251 = Herrmann (1968), 123, no. 3. Aritium: *CIL* 2.172 = Herrmann (1968), 122, no. 1.

<sup>90</sup> Undated: *CIL* 11.5998a = Herrmann (1968), 122, no. 2.

Cypriot oath is thought to have been sworn in AD 14, on the accession of the Emperor Tiberius.<sup>91</sup> It is possible that from this time onwards the taking of an oath of loyalty to a new Emperor was an essential part of the his accession and was renewed each year.<sup>92</sup>

While having much in common with the other inscribed oaths, the inscription from Cyprus displays some unusual characteristics and, when discovered, this altered scholarly thinking about the composition of these documents.<sup>93</sup> Typical features include the enumeration of the *theoi horkioi* (the gods by whom the oath is sworn); the oath proper; the desire to hold the same enemies and friends as Rome; and a reference to retaliation should the oath be broken. To summarize, the details of the Cypriot oath are as follows: four local gods are invoked (lines 1–4); a second tier of gods specific to the island, the saving Dioskouroi, and Hestia are listed (lines 4–7); the divine Augustus Caesar (emphatically identified as the descendant of Aphrodite) and other Roman gods are named (lines 7–11); the oath proper to Tiberius comprises the remainder of the text (to line 21). The inscription is incomplete and so could have opened with references to the date of the oath marked by the consular year of the Emperor and the Roman consuls respectively as well as details about its participants.<sup>94</sup> The text of the oath could have then continued with a list of important deities headed by Aphrodite of Paphos and of Amathous, and a second list of deities including the Zeus of Salamis and Ouranos, Helios, and Ge. Following this would then come the list of deities that begin the surviving text.<sup>95</sup> The inscription could have concluded with reference to any embassies sent to notify the Emperor

<sup>91</sup> Mitford (1960), 79; Fujii (2013), 77.

<sup>92</sup> Mitford (1960), 78; Herrmann (1968), 107–10; Briscoe (1971), 260; Mitford (1990), 2197; Fujii (2013), 88–9. The Oath of Phazimon in lines 35–40 declares that it was sworn throughout the district of the province and by the altars of Augustus, which is a helpful indication as to how the swearing of an oath of loyalty was communicated and enacted through a province, creating a sense of shared identity in the experience. Little is known about the practicalities of swearing oaths in the provinces, as the literary texts are remarkably silent. See Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 26; Pliny the Younger, *Epistula*, 10.52.

<sup>93</sup> Fujii (2013), 78 provides an overview of the oath's textual structure.

<sup>94</sup> As evidenced invariably in the oaths of Phazimon-Neapolis and Assos. See Mitford (1960), 75; Weinstock (1962), 309; Herrmann (1968), 124–5; Seibert (1970), 225; *I. Paphos*, no. 151; Fujii (2013), 80–81, and n. 26.

<sup>95</sup> Fujii (2013), 80–1: Ge and Helios are considered as conventional *θεοί ὀρκιοί* in Greek oaths and appear in the oaths of Phazimon-Neapolis, Assos, and Aritium.

of the swearing of the oath, as the Assians and Samians did.<sup>96</sup> Other notable omissions include the noun *horkos* (oath) and the verb *omnumi* (I swear).<sup>97</sup>

The most striking anomalous features of the text include the list of local gods and the emphatic reference to Aphrodite as the divine ancestress of the Emperor. The identity of the former is a matter of continued debate and has divided opinion about who exactly composed the oath, which in turn has a bearing on where the emphasis of the message of collective identity lies.

The qualification of the first group of deities listed in the inscription as local to Cyprus is made clear by the possessive determiner *hemeteros* (our) before their epithets in lines 1–4. The few epigraphic and literary references to some of the deities included in the inscription suggest that they were not of wide renown.<sup>98</sup> Aphrodite Akraia, Kore, and Apollo Hylates are attested, but the identity of the Apollo listed at the end of line 3 is something of an anomaly. Mitford restored his epithet  $K\epsilon[-]\nu\eta\tau\eta\nu$  as ‘Keryneia’ ( $K\epsilon[\rho]\nu\eta\tau\eta\nu$ ) based on the geographical positioning of an otherwise unknown cult of Apollo at Keryneia, and wrote that the deities hailed as ‘our’ were representative of the regions of Cyprus: Aphrodite Akraia represented the long eastern appendage of the island; Apollo Hylates and Keryneia its southern and northern coasts respectively; the Dioskouroi and Soloi the west of the island; and Kore the eastern portion of the central plain of the island.<sup>99</sup> This interpretation suggests that the document was composed to present a rounded picture of the island’s identity by giving equal emphasis to its local gods spread across its landscape. More recently, Cayla placed the responsibility for drafting the oath in response to Roman rule on Nea Paphos: he considered the deities invoked in the opening lines of the text as specific to the Paphos region and Apollo’s epithet in line 3 an etymological reading of

<sup>96</sup> See lines 20–3 of the oath of Samos. The oath of Assos was also faithfully reported to the Emperor.

<sup>97</sup> Fujii (2013), 78; Cf. Weinstock (1962), 309; Herrmann (1968), 102, n. 39; Seibert (1970), 225; *I.Paphos*, no. 151. The use of this vocabulary can be seen in the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis in lines 5, 9, and 26, and in the oath of Assos in lines 19 and 20.

<sup>98</sup> On the deities listed in the oath see Hermary (1982); *I.Paphos*, 74–5; Fujii (2013), 78–82.

<sup>99</sup> Mitford (1960), 76–7; Hermary (1982); Fujii (2013), 79, and n. 19.

Kinyras.<sup>100</sup> Furthermore, the hero's appearance with this epithet in this inscription signals his worship as a double hero across the region.<sup>101</sup> At Amargeti, 12 kilometres north of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos, lies the sanctuary of Opaon Melanthios (a god associated with the worship of Apollo and Pan), which potentially supports this interpretation.<sup>102</sup> For Cayla, the discovery of statuettes of Pan and Opaon Melanthios across the island could represent a masculine triad of mythological figures at the centre of Paphian legends (Apollo, Kinyras, and Adonis).<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, a dedication made to Caius and Lucius Caesar, the heirs of Augustus, at the sanctuary could symbolize their divinity as double heroes linked to the triad.<sup>104</sup> While the existence of a hero cult of Kinyras in ancient Cyprus is undeniable, the evidence for its continuation during the Roman period is fragile.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the appearance of Aphrodite Akraia, Kore, Apollo Hylates, and the Dioskouroi in the inscribed oath undermines the possibility that the group was intended to represent Paphian gods and that the text was exclusively drafted by Nea Paphos, as they were not specific to the region. Neither interpretation of the epithet can be ruled out with certainty. Whether the text was composed by Nea Paphos or by the *koinon Kuprion*, in collaboration

<sup>100</sup> I.e. *Κε[ν]υρ[ι]στῆν*. Cayla (2001); *I.Paphos*, 36–8; 75; recently corroborated by Franklin's confident reading of the inscription in Franklin (2016), 205 and 402. The inscription is incredibly difficult to read with the naked eye and, the squeeze made by Mitford (held at the Faculty of Classics Library and Archives, Cambridge) is also damaged. The publication of *Inscriptiones Graecae XV* (Cyprus) is in progress, and another inspection of the inscription and squeeze may confirm one of the interpretations. See Summa (2013) for an overview of the *Inscriptiones Graecae XV* project.

<sup>101</sup> Pindar, *Pythian*, 2.15, states that the men of Cyprus often echoed the name of Kinyras, who was Aphrodite's priest and loved by Apollo. See also *I.Paphos*, 299; Currie (2005), 275–85.

<sup>102</sup> See Map 4. For the identity of Opaon Melanthios see Masson (1994), 273: for a connection with Poseidon Melanthios according to Lycophron v. 767. For Cayla (*I.Paphos*, 73) the identity of Apollo Melanthios suggests that the divinity was chthonic in character, associated with vegetation and with Adonis. The inscriptions can be found in Masson (1994) and most recently in *I.Paphos*, 72–4, and nos. 312–36; Masson (1994), 275. For inscriptions that attest the worship of the Roman Emperors: Fujii (2013), Paphos (Amargeti) nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>103</sup> For example, a third-century BC limestone sculpture of Pan or Opaon Melanthios discovered at a sanctuary in Golgoi, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, inv. no. 74.51.2735. Cf. Myres (1914), no. 1115; *I.Paphos*, 71–2. This theory of triangulation is further supported by Cayla's consideration of the proximity of Nea Paphos, Palaipaphos, and the sanctuary at Amargeti in *I.Paphos*, 74.

<sup>104</sup> *I.Paphos*, 72–3.

<sup>105</sup> *I.Paphos*, no. 151; Fujii (2013), 80–1.

with Roman administrators, the oath represents the centrality of religion and mythology in the articulation of the island's identity.<sup>106</sup>

It is a remarkable local interpretation of an official document, and its message is of a community prepared at an opportune moment to align itself with the wider ideology of the Empire. The self-representation of the Cypriot community is one that is forthcoming in expressing a desire to celebrate a shared identity—an identity that is deep-rooted and links the island and the Emperor through Aphrodite. The monument expresses enthusiasm for Rome, but it is abundantly clear that the long-established traditions and identity of the local religious practices of Cyprus are carefully not compromised.

While this message is clear from reading the inscriptions as a text, how was it communicated in practice? Given the find-spot of this inscription, reused in the floor of a village church roughly 2 kilometres north of the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos, it is not unreasonable to suggest that this oath was sworn at the sanctuary at an altar or building to which the text would have been attached.<sup>107</sup> The materiality of what survives of the inscription gives little away regarding whether it was intended to be read. For example, the text is miniscule and difficult to see with the naked eye. That said, Tiberius's name heads the start of line 14 and juts out from the remainder of the text, implying that it was meant to stand out visually.<sup>108</sup> If it were meant to be read, then in what way? Did officials read out the text as they oversaw the annual swearing of the oath of loyalty? Was it only accessible or visible to them, or others in possession of local knowledge? Could visitors even access or read the text? Alternatively, was it read out to them? What knowledge (of Cyprus's and Rome's religious landscape and their shared cultural ties) was needed to fully understand its message? Did the antiquity and peculiarity of the cult of Aphrodite Paphia—as emphasized by the surviving evidence—enhance the message of the oath in any way? If so, how?

<sup>106</sup> As noted above, Section 3.2.2, the proconsul of Asia Paullus Fabius Maximus is thought to have aided the Cypriots in the composition of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, which named mythological figures central to the foundation myths of Rome as well as the imperial household. See Fujii (2013), 15, n. 20, 150, 151, n. 83.

<sup>107</sup> Mitford (1960), 75; Cayla (2001), 69; Fujii (2013), 77. Fujii (2013), 88: that it may have been attached to an altar-like structure or a building.

<sup>108</sup> Fujii (2013), 86.

No doubt the elements pertaining to the ideology of Rome and the Emperor would have been given more emphasis in Rome. It is highly questionable whether the status of the local deities would have struck a chord with this audience. Whatever the performative procedure of commemorating and reporting the swearing of this oath of loyalty, the remains of the inscription point to a deliberate and emphatic construction of identity.

#### 4.3.2 Kourion: City of Perseus

Spatially Kourion is similar to Nea Paphos; its chief cult centre is entirely separate from the *polis* proper.<sup>109</sup> The *polis* itself is elevated, and activities that would have taken place across its key hubs—say, in its agora, basilicas, and theatre—would have been framed by views of the sea. True to Strabo's description, the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates was—and remains—surrounded by woodland.<sup>110</sup> The sanctuary, a key location where the myths of the city manifested themselves in the material record, underwent considerable reconstruction during the first century AD, coinciding with building programmes that took place at the temples of Aphrodite Cypria at Amathous and Zeus Olympios at Salamis.<sup>111</sup> Architectural similarities, in particular the use of Nabataean capitals at Kourion and Amathous, at these sites suggest that they were designed by the same team of architects, and it is thought that the Temple of Apollo Hylates was archaized when rebuilt.<sup>112</sup> As noted by Fujii, the worship of

<sup>109</sup> See Map 5. For an overview of Kourion's civic institutions and buildings as evidenced by the surviving archaeological evidence see Watkin (1988), 273–87. See also Soren (1986); Soren ed. (1987); Soren and James (1988); Sinos (1990) for general surveys of the city and the history of excavation.

<sup>110</sup> Strabo, *Geographica*, 14.6.3. c.683; Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, 11.7.

<sup>111</sup> For the various building phases of the temple see Sinos (1990), 22, 135, 138; Kantiréa (2010). It is thought that the first large-scale temple was built at the end of the fourth to the beginning of the third century BC.

<sup>112</sup> Scranton (1967); Soren (1987a), 47; Soren (1987b), 206–16; Sinos (1990), 235; Hermary (1994), 328–9; Aupert (2009), 39–41. For the Nabataean architecture see Bessac and Raboteau (2002). Some of the most famous examples of Nabataean capitals can be found at Petra, capital of the Nabataean kingdom, e.g. at the Ed-Deir monastery. Negev (1974) provides an overview of the distinctive nature of Nabataean architecture.

Apollo Caesar alongside Apollo Hylates in the latter half of the first century AD suggests the integration of the Emperor within this religious context, but it is ambiguous and there is no indication that the imperial cult (in whatever form it took here) compromised the worship of the chief deity<sup>113</sup>.

A number of inscriptions discovered in this context demonstrate that Kourion was recognized as the city of Perseus, set up by its inhabitants and by outsiders, corroborating the literary accounts that acknowledge it as an Argive foundation.<sup>114</sup> Two stand out in particular. An honorific slab of marble discovered at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, and dated to the end of the third century AD, was likely fixed onto a pedestal bearing the statue of Publicola Priscus, an administrator.<sup>115</sup> It announces to the viewer that 'the city of Perseus set me up'. The text is in elegiac couplets, along with the use of vocabulary typical of honorific epigrams.<sup>116</sup> The discovery of a fragmentary marble tablet at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, dated to AD 130/1 and set up by a Roman official, presents another remarkable acknowledgement of the *polis*'s identity. This tablet records the introduction of a festival in honour of Antinous (Hadrian's lover), as Adonis, at Kourion and has been assessed at length most recently by Fujii.<sup>117</sup> For the sake of brevity, only its key features will be highlighted here. First, the composition of a hymn in the Doric dialect not only followed the traditions of chorus lyric but also stresses Kourion's Argive connection. Second, the evocation of the much-celebrated Antinous with Adonis is symbolic on two levels. Adonis, the well-known favourite of Aphrodite, symbolizes Antinous, as they both died young and in tragic circumstances.<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, the adaptation of the myth to this circumstance highlights the connection

<sup>113</sup> Fujii (2013), 61–5.

<sup>114</sup> See *I.Kourion*, nos. 25 (a syllabic inscription), 65, 66 (both from the Hellenistic period), 89 and 104 (from the Roman period).

<sup>115</sup> See the present study, Section 2.4.2. *I.Kourion*, no. 89. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear (1973b), 226–7.

<sup>116</sup> Robert (1948), 108–9.

<sup>117</sup> Fujii (2013), 129–31 (on this hymn in general) and Fujii (2013), *Kourion* no.13. Other references: *I.Kourion*, no. 104; Lebek (1973); Peek (1974); Goukowsky (2002), 219–21; Kuhlmann (2002), 256–7.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.708–39.

between Kourion, Paphos, and Amathous, and so the festival of Antinous has been identified as having roots in the worship of Adonis in Cyprus.<sup>119</sup> This monument was set up by a Roman administrator and shows that the myths of the Cypriot *poleis* had cultural currency and, when relevant, could be used to perpetuate the ideology of Rome—in this case the Empire-wide mourning of Hadrian's lover.<sup>120</sup> The inscription also pays homage to Kourion's identity as an Argive foundation by evoking the Phoronic blood of Perseus—from which the city sprang.<sup>121</sup> Phroneus, son of Inachos, was the first inhabitant of the Argolid and the discoverer of fire.<sup>122</sup> These striking assertions of identity by locals and an outsider were not unique to the Roman period. Prior to Roman rule, the appearance of Kourion on an inscribed list of donations made to the city of Argos, discovered in the second century BC at Argos, demonstrates that this narrative was locally driven.<sup>123</sup> The list reveals that, after Salamis and Kition, Kourion gave the most money to the city, perhaps to emphasize cultural affinity with Argos, surpassing Paphos's donation of 100 drachmas.<sup>124</sup>

Kourion's foundation as recorded in literary texts and in its surviving material evidence leaves us in no doubt about its identity. Whether preserved by outsiders or driven locally, the evidence prioritizes Kourion's internal links with Paphian mythology and its external connectivity with mainland Greece, notably Argos. That the city made no palpable impact on the Roman world of its day underplays its local, internal, and regional significance and casts it as a forgettable background within the Empire.<sup>125</sup> This was certainly not the case.

<sup>119</sup> Vout (2005) and Vout (2007) remain key studies for the study of Antinous. For the worship of the *Adonia* on Cyprus see Currie (2005), 280.

<sup>120</sup> The longevity of the festival here is in doubt. Pausanias, 8.9.7–8 discusses the celebration of the cult of Antinous after Hadrian's death.

<sup>121</sup> At lines 13–14.

<sup>122</sup> Tatianus, *Oratio Ad Graecos*, 39: for a summary of Argive kings and the identity of Phroneus. Fujii (2013), 130–1.

<sup>123</sup> Aupert (1982); Watkin (1988), 190–3.

<sup>124</sup> Salamis and Kition both donated 208 drachmas and 2 obols; Kourion donated 191 drachmas and 4 obols. Cf. Aupert (1982), 272–3 and n. 23; Watkin (1988), 192.

<sup>125</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1316.

### 4.3.3 Amathous: Aphrodite Cypria's Domain

The city of Amathous is very different in layout to the three *poleis* that comprise our case studies. While still close to the coastal road, the sanctuary of its chief deity, Aphrodite Cypria, commands the acropolis with the *polis* situated below.<sup>126</sup> Those wishing to visit the sanctuary continue to face an unforgiving hike up the dusty, hot path.<sup>127</sup> At its summit, the shadow of its harbour—which is now underwater—is visible and the city faces Egypt. Excavations have revealed that the first building phase of the temple to Aphrodite on the acropolis can be dated to the very end of the Hellenistic period in the first century BC.<sup>128</sup> The sanctuary was reconstructed significantly during the first century AD, so much so that its entire appearance altered and the temple to Aphrodite Cypria is the only sacred building known to have housed worship of the Emperor.<sup>129</sup>

While she was equally celebrated for her antiquity, the identity of Aphrodite Cypria was distinct from that of Aphrodite Paphia as she possessed a hybridity of gender. Catullus's description of her as *duplex Amathousiae* and Macrobius's reference to her as *barbata* evokes associations of the goddess as sexually hybrid that predate the Roman period by centuries.<sup>130</sup>

For example, the worship of Aphroditus—a male version of Aphrodite—at Athens from the fourth century BC is thought to have originated from Amathous, embodies this, and highlights that the two landscapes were linked through religious practices.<sup>131</sup> Amathous's connectivity with Athens and other landscapes overlaps and is visible in a

<sup>126</sup> For an overview of the city's buildings and civic institutions as attested by the material evidence see Watkin (1988), 195–203. Regular reports of the French mission at Amathous can be found in *BCH*.

<sup>127</sup> See Map 6.

<sup>128</sup> Aupert (2009), 34.

<sup>129</sup> Inscriptions attest the major reconstruction of the sanctuary of Aphrodite Cypria and her temple between 75 and 80 AD, then again later in the first years of the second century AD. See Hermary (1994); Fourrier and Hermary (2006); Fujii (2013), 60–1; Fujii (2013), Amathous nos. 2 and 3.

<sup>130</sup> Catullus, 68.51–2, 68.57; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3.8.2. Terracotta statues of the 'bearded goddess' discovered across the island attest this. See Hermary (1988), 109; Karageorghis (2005), 110–11. No cult statue of the goddess has been discovered, but see Hermary (1983); Hermary (1985); Aupert and Hermary (2006) for discussion of other statuary at Amathous, which includes the discovery of a marble head that has been tentatively identified as Aphrodite Cypria.

<sup>131</sup> See Marquardt (1982), 284.

range of literary traditions, and is articulated in the material record. Plutarch's *Theseus* preserves a version of Ariadne's life recorded by an Amathousian historian, Paion, whereby she is abandoned at Amathous, not Naxos, by Theseus and dies there in childbirth.<sup>132</sup> Within this context local rituals for Ariadne included men dressing as women to imitate the pain of labour.<sup>133</sup> The Amathousian interpretation of the myth also typifies Amathous's—and by extension the island's—many cultural affinities with Crete and Athens (Ariadne's and Theseus's respective homelands). Links with these landscapes were in fact celebrated across the island and can be found embodied in the literary and material records; for example, in the literary record Teuker's and Akamas's foundations of Salamis and Akamas respectively. The latter was a son of Theseus and further strengthened political and cultural ties between Athens and the island.<sup>134</sup> Furthermore, King Evagoras's alliance with Athens is notable and particularly emphasized by authors such as Isocrates, whose Panhellenic (and anti-Persian) agenda is clear to see.<sup>135</sup> The material record is equally rich. For instance, terracotta Cretan figurines from the eleventh century BC have been discovered across the island and appear to have been concentrated across Amathous.<sup>136</sup> Similarly, the iconography and styles represented in mosaics across Cyprus bear strong similarities to those of Crete and Africa.<sup>137</sup> The House of Theseus at Nea Paphos deserves particular mention, as it contains the impressive mosaic of Theseus and the Minotaur, evoking both Crete and Athens. Taurine iconography—central in this depiction of the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur—was a motif that featured in multiple contexts across ancient Cyprus.<sup>138</sup> It must be noted that this was

<sup>132</sup> Plutarch, *Theseus*, 20.1–8. The fragments of Paion can be found in *FGrH* 757. See also Karageorghis (2005), 82, on the 'tomb of Ariadne'. See Cueva (1996) for a study of Plutarch's version of the myth.

<sup>133</sup> Karageorghis (2005), 77: a sacred grove and cave associated with their joint worship have been identified.

<sup>134</sup> Pausanias, 1.5.2; Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Akamantion, p. 106 Billerbeck.

<sup>135</sup> See the present study, Chapter 2, n. 7.

<sup>136</sup> Karageorghis (2005), 77–8.

<sup>137</sup> Sweetman (2013).

<sup>138</sup> It is hard to ignore the two monumental vases discovered at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Cypria which bear representations of sacred bulls. One of the vessels remains *in situ*, the other is now in the Louvre, on display in Room 316 on the ground floor (Sully Wing). Bucrania (bull-masks) have also been found in Cypriot sanctuaries alongside terracotta figurines. See Hermay and Aupert (1979); Karageorghis (1976), 102, 105; Karageorghis (1982), 49, 1010, 141–3.

not specific to Crete or Cyprus but in fact ubiquitous across the ancient world. Nonetheless, it can be viewed as a marker of the connectivity of islandscapes such as these with multiple landscapes more generally.<sup>139</sup> In the Roman period, Amathous is the stage for two episodes of transformation in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*—one of which is dominated by the integration of the bull in Amathusian religious practices. Ovid recounts Aphrodite's act of vengeance on the Propoetides, a group of local women who refuse to worship her, and as punishment the goddess forces them into prostitution and then transforms them into stone figures.<sup>140</sup> This sets the scene for another transformation in this context involving the Kerastes, horned men turned into bulls, who sacrificed strangers at the entrance of the city.<sup>141</sup> While the image of horned men, supported by rich material evidence from across the island, is striking, details about human sacrifice, a taboo subject, are equally potent. No evidence survives to link human sacrifice as a Cypriot practice, and so this undercurrent to the narrative could simply serve to emphasize the strangeness of Amathous compared with the rest of Roman culture and society. More generally, as we have seen in Chapter 1, as a marginal territory the island was the ideal stage for some commentators to record activities taking place beyond the bounds of acceptable behaviour.

The relatively recent discovery of a jug bearing a votive to Helios-Adonis, dated to AD 18, also corroborates Aphrodite Cypria's association with a male deity (identified as Osiris by Pausanias).<sup>142</sup> It is possible that the jug was deposited in a well during a festival and was intended to act as a form of communication with the underworld. If deliberate, the

<sup>139</sup> For discussion of the potency of taurine iconography across the ancient world see, for example, Goldbrunner (2004); Hoover (2011); Marković (2015). These studies focus on the taurine imagery in the context of Seleucid legitimacy and on the religious significance of the bull in ancient Egypt. There are of course countless other examples to draw from.

See again Currie (2005), 280 for discussion of the ram as a symbol of connectivity between Cyprus, Syria, the Near East, and mainland Greece in the context of ritual sacrifices.

<sup>140</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.220–243; Aupert and Hermay (2006), 90–3; Fujii (2013), 59, n. 8, 59–60. Also see Mitford (1946), 40–2, no. 16; Mitford (1980a), 1318; Mitford (1990), 2185–7. Mitford interpreted the discovery of the fragmentary inscription of L. Bruttius Maximus (Fujii (2013) Amathous no. 3) as a sacred site marked out by seven free standing steles and connected the myth of the Propoetides. He interpreted the steles named in the inscription as representations of the stone forms that the Propoetides were transformed into by Aphrodite.

<sup>141</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.220–43.

<sup>142</sup> Pausanias, 9.41.1–3. Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v. Amathous, p. 174 Billerbeck, also recorded the worship of Osiris in Amathous.

worship of Adonis could have been linked with that of Aphrodite Cypria, and the festival of the *Adonia* could have taken place within her sanctuary, further strengthening internal connectivity with Paphos and Kourion, as we have seen articulated by the foundation myths perpetuated by outsiders.<sup>143</sup> More than this, the presence of Helios-Adonis points to Amathous's connectivity with yet another landscape—Egypt. The *defixiones* of Amathous further support the significance of Adonis in this context, as some refer to a story of him entering and leaving the underworld, but they also suggest the influence of Egypt locally because they are thought to have mirrored Theban practices as well as invoking the Egyptian deities, such as the god Osurapio (another name for Sarapis).<sup>144</sup> Cultural affinity with Egypt, highlighted by these examples, should be considered a continuation of the long-standing links of these landscapes prior to Roman rule.<sup>145</sup> Combined study of the literary and material evidence enriches our picture of Amathous's identity. As we have seen, the foundation tradition embeds Kinyras into the landscape, connecting it mythologically with the Paphos region, Kourion, and Salamis. The material evidence emphasizes its connectivity with Athens, Crete, and Egypt—showing that Amathous was part of the networks enjoyed by the island.

#### 4.3.4 Salamis: The Immateriality of Teuker

Salamis, the most easterly of our four *poleis*, is spread out, and three major hubs of the city remain visible: the impressive gymnasia and bath complex, the imposing *temenos* of Zeus Olympios that commands the

<sup>143</sup> Aupert (2008), 370; Aupert (2009), 43–4. Cf. Aupert (2008) in general for an exploration of the pairing of Adonis with other deities. A lamp of uncertain date naming Helios-Sarapis has been discovered in the Paphos region, which attests to the presence of Helios elsewhere. Cf. *I.Paphos*, no. 285.

<sup>144</sup> For discussion of some tablets mirroring Theban texts see Wilburn (2012), 197. For an invocation of Osurapio, amongst other deities, see *I.Kourion* no. 127, line 34. The details of this curse tablet are treated by Drew-Bear (1972), 95; Gager ed. (1992), 134–6.; Wilburn (2012), 188–91.

<sup>145</sup> E.g. the worship of Bes was popular throughout the Hellenistic period, and a sanctuary to the god was located in the agora. Hart (2005), 49–50; Aupert (2009), 30–1; Wilburn (2012), 175, 209. For the discovery of statues and statuettes of Bes see Karageorghis (1978), 881: 3–4.

agora, and a theatre complex that connects the two.<sup>146</sup> While the other three settlements have been, and continue to be, the subject of systematic archaeological exploration, Salamis has not been excavated since 1974.<sup>147</sup> The archaeological evidence from this site is yet to be fully realized, and so drawing firm conclusions about its culture and society remains premature.

For such a well-documented *polis* with an infamous founding hero it is striking that, to date, the material evidence from *any* period of Salamis's history does not preserve any trace of its foundation mythology as the other *poleis* do.<sup>148</sup> The lack of material cultural signs that point to any presence of Teuker means that we must consider the wider religious scene.

The cult statue of Salamis's chief deity, Zeus Olympios, was a familiar image across the island, as he was represented (standing with a libation bowl in his right hand and an eagle perched on a sceptre) on locally circulated coins.<sup>149</sup> At present, the epigraphic and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the customs, traditions, and character of his cult is slim.<sup>150</sup> The *temenos* of Zeus Olympios commanded the vast agora of Salamis and was raised on a high stylobate structured around a square *cella* with Corinthian columns. The first phase of its construction took place in the late Hellenistic period.<sup>151</sup> A ramp was then constructed during the late Republic or the reign of Augustus, and another major reconstruction of the temple took place during the imperial period.<sup>152</sup> One inscription merely attests to a notable high priest, and temple slaves are recorded in a fragmentary inventory of Flavian date.<sup>153</sup> Other deities

<sup>146</sup> See Map 7. For an overview of the city's buildings and civic institutions see Watkin (1988), 328–56.

<sup>147</sup> Useful surveys of the history of archaeology at this site include Karageorghis (1969); Argoud, Callot, et al. (1975); Karageorghis (1998); Karageorghis (2007). For the challenges of excavating in Cyprus also see Langdale (2012).

<sup>148</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1321; Mitford (1990), 2190.

<sup>149</sup> For the coinage of the *koinon* *Kuprion* see the present study, Section 2.5.

<sup>150</sup> Mitford (1990), 2189. For the inscriptions: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 21; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 48; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 47; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 102; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 17, no. 27; *SEG* 51.1299. The following inscriptions may provide evidence of Zeus Olympios in the epigraphic record: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 46; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 125.

<sup>151</sup> Mitford (1990), 2189.

<sup>152</sup> Mitford (1980a), 1322; Watkin (1988), 331; Fujii (2013), 61. For the Temple of Zeus in Salamis, see Argoud, Callot, et al. (1975); Yon (2009), 303–4, Figures 7, 8, and 9.

<sup>153</sup> For evidence of the high priest see Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 6. For the fragmentary text attesting to temple slaves see *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 125; Mitford (1990), 2189–90.

and mythological figures integrated into the fabric of the city suggest the continued influence and presence of established traditions and ties with outside landscapes as well as the expected acknowledgement of and reverence to Rome. These include statues and inscriptions that honour Artemis Paralia(?), Dionysus, the Dioskouroi(?), Hermes, Isis(?), Nemesis, a sacrifice to cattle, and Tyche.<sup>154</sup> While this evidence is fragmentary, a good number of monuments to the imperial household survive. For example, inscriptions discovered in or near the temple of Zeus Olympios,<sup>155</sup> monumental agora,<sup>156</sup> the gymnasium,<sup>157</sup> and the theatre<sup>158</sup> suggest the integration of the Roman Emperors, as mortal or with symbols alluding to their divinity, in high-profile public spaces of the *polis*. This is further corroborated by the survival of fragmentary statuary, including a marble-cuirassed statue representing Vespasian or Titus, which was discovered in the theatre of Salamis.<sup>159</sup> Discoveries amongst the ruins of the temple of Zeus Olympios include cuirassed statues of unidentified emperors,<sup>160</sup> statues of Apollo,<sup>161</sup> of Mnemosyne

<sup>154</sup> Artemis Paralia(?): *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, 23. Dionysus: *I.Salamis*, no. 30; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 43. The Dioskouroi(?): Mitford (1990), 2190; cf. *I.Salamis*, no. 28. Hermes: *I.Salamis*, no. 2; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 44; Mitford (1990), 2190. See also Vermeule (1976), 74, figure 4. Isis(?): *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 54. Nemesis: *I.Salamis*, no. 104. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 55; cf. Vermeule (1976), 75, figure 5, who suggests that the statue of Nemesis could indicate the presence of an urban shrine to the goddess in the city. Sacrifice to cattle: Mitford (1990), 2190, n. 72; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 40. Tyche: *I.Salamis*, no. 22; *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 59.

<sup>155</sup> E.g. Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 5 (a dedication to, or a statue of, Tiberius); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 8 (a dedication to Nero); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 10 (a statue of Vespasian).

<sup>156</sup> E.g. Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 1 (a statue of Livia); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 4 (a statue of Tiberius); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 18 (a dedication to Hadrian).

<sup>157</sup> E.g. Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 2 (a statue of Hyllos *archiereus* of Cyprus for the divine Caesar); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 9 (a statue of Nero); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 19 (a statue of Hadrian).

<sup>158</sup> E.g. Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 6 (a statue of Herakleides, high priest of Zeus Olympios and the Emperors); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 11 (a statue of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 16 (a dedication to Hadrian); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 17 (a dedication to Hadrian); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 20 (a statue of Commodus); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 21 (a statue of Commodus); Fujii (2013), Salamis no. 22 (a statue of Iulia Domna). For the theatre see Sear (2006), 383.

<sup>159</sup> For a complete overview of statues and monuments set up to the Roman Emperor as evidenced by inscriptions see Fujii (2013), Appendix, Table 2.

<sup>160</sup> Karageorghis (1964), nos. 48, 49, 50.

<sup>161</sup> Karageorghis (1964), nos. 51, 54.

and the muses,<sup>162</sup> as well as of Dionysos.<sup>163</sup> The visual impact of these monuments can be inferred, again, from the details provided in an inscription outlining Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus's benefactions. He is known to have set up gilded statues in the renovated theatre at Salamis as well as imperial statues in the gymnasium.<sup>164</sup>

The image of the Emperor and the imperial household throughout the city, alongside the worship of established local deities, indicates that Salamis appears to have maintained outward enthusiasm for its new rulers, while preserving its local traditions. It is also important to remember that much of Salamis remains unexcavated, and so the picture is more complicated than traditional assessment implies. The potential for the city's material culture to reveal more about its integration in the Roman Empire remains significant. For example, an unexcavated amphitheatre—a quintessential Roman building type and unusual to find in eastern parts of the Empire—has been identified.<sup>165</sup> Traditional assessment denies Salamis, and its inhabitants, credit as a community able to articulate a flexible identity that showed the assimilation of Empire-wide symbols as well as maintaining local and particular traditions.

## 4.4 Conclusions

Locating and understanding the articulation of collective identity and belonging—particularly locally driven narratives and agendas—across the Cypriot *poles* require careful thought, as the obvious markers are dominated by outside voices. Literary texts, notably those

<sup>162</sup> Karageorghis (1964), nos. 52, 53, 58.

<sup>163</sup> Karageorghis and Vermeule (1966), nos. 73, 77.

<sup>164</sup> E.g. the present study, Table 3.1, Salamis no. 2. To fully appreciate the deliberate placement of statues in and around civic buildings, and to consider their impact, see Smith (2006)—in particular Figures 3, 6, and 7, which provide a powerful visual document of the find-spots of portrait statuary and inscribed statue bases across the city, at the *bouleuterion*, and theatre respectively.

<sup>165</sup> Golvin (1988a), 256, and Golvin (1988b), Planche LXXI. Note also the tale of Anaxarete and Iphis, set in Salamis, as told by Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 14.698–771. Here Ovid claims that a statue of Anaxarete, who was turned into stone, stood in Salamis as well as a temple of Gazing Venus.

that preserve the foundation myths of the island and its settlements, contain some traces of locally driven initiatives, and the surviving material evidence from the island predominantly reflects the efficiency of -government. We have seen how inscriptions record the work of the Roman administration and the expected presence, veneration, and worship of the imperial household. These powerful markers of Empire were highly visible across the *poleis* and their environs, and can cloud judgement of the local voice.

Consideration of space and place, albeit brief in the present study, demonstrates how local factors such as the environment and geography of the island framed symbols of, and interactions with, Empire across the island. For example, the adjacency of the sea, sacred groves, and woodland, and the impact of earthquakes—which necessitated the rebuilding of key sites, resulting in a mixture of urban structures—cannot be ignored as a passive backdrop to provincial life. The appearance of urban hubs was also dictated by the practicalities of the combined execution of building projects which brought in skilled workers from a number of landscapes and highlight the regional, economic, and cultural connectivity of the island. Once the familiar, persuasive, and at times overpowering, images and signs of Rome are stripped back a little, and the local context brought to the fore a little more, the nuances of local identity are clearer to see.

Integrated study of literary texts, material culture, of local space and place reveals that the Roman Cypriot *poleis* were far from homogeneous, but distinct and evolving. More than this, the articulation of cultural identity and memory was driven externally and locally, and the *poleis* were celebrated equally as connected with, distinct from, and in some instances superior to, one another. Acknowledgement of their belonging to a number of external landscapes also reinforced their place in cultural networks that brought ideas from the eastern and central Mediterranean, Asia Minor, Egypt, the Levant, and the Near East into contact with one another. How these were expressed across the Cypriot *poleis*, and which relationships and networks were emphasized, naturally varied. Unsurprisingly, Aphrodite and Kinyras, and the myths associated with them, underpin many local and regional connections. Homeric heroes are equally embedded across the imagined and real Roman Cypriot

landscape and particularly highlight the island's active participation in the cultural, religious, and political networks of mainland Greece. The coexistence of concurrent myths acknowledged by outsiders and locals reflects their adaptability in response to cultural events and Cyprus's situation, positioned between multiple landscapes and as a conduit for influences and practices. The oath of allegiance to Tiberius (from Paphos) and the hymn to Antinous (from Kourion) epitomize the strategies deployed to articulate a flexible identity—one that asserts the significance of local culture as well as its affinity with Empire-wide concerns.

# Conclusion

Roman Cyprus presents a complex case study because of its traditionally perceived position at the outer limits of the Mediterranean, far from the Empire's centre—Rome. For much of antiquity, Cyprus was the subject of successive conquests, and the few written sources about the island and its people were composed by outsiders. Traditional academic discourse did little to deconstruct ancient literary commentary on the island's culture and history, and so it is unsurprising that Cyprus's status as an islandscape was one considered as connected, abundant, vulnerable, isolated, *and* unstable. Until recently the story of Roman Cyprus was one of weariness and without history. In ages of Empire, ancient and modern, this was always going to be the case. Accounts of the island produced during the Roman Empire marginalized and reduced key aspects of its history, culture, and society. Instead, ideas of Cyprus's abundance, peculiarity, and remoteness were promoted to suit narratives that centred around the might and power of Rome. Similarly, early and influential studies of Roman Cyprus produced during the first half of the twentieth century perpetuated and compounded the quietist characterization of the island projected by the ancient literary sources.

The objective of this study has been to address the legacy of ancient and more recent perceptions of the island's history and character under Rome and consider how best to tell the story of Roman Cyprus. Questions of how to approach the island's material culture, and reconcile it with the opinions of outsiders who dominated literary narratives about Roman Cyprus, and instead amplify the voices and experiences of those who inhabited the island under Roman rule have driven this investigation.

The present study finds itself in good company as it joins a growing body of scholarship that seeks to redress this image of Cyprus's experience and identity in the Roman Empire as passive. It presents a revised

introduction to the study of the island under Roman rule by reframing and collating the evidence (whether well-known, unfamiliar, or overlooked), and reviving discussion of key topics (e.g. its history as a conquered territory, its administration, and the articulation of local identity and experience), to show the contribution that Roman Cyprus can make to the study of the Roman Empire. Roman studies must continue to draw attention to voices, experiences, and perspectives from landscapes traditionally considered to be on the fringes of Empire. Exploration of the phenomena of cultural change, cultural identity, and identity formation requires more than bringing these spaces into the fold by casting the net wider from Rome. Observing the culture and society of the Roman Empire from multiple viewpoints ensures that the pull, character, and significance of its many environments (not just its centre) are understood more fully.

From these multiple vantage points, the history, culture, and society of Roman Cyprus are much richer and nuanced than previously understood. It is clear that the quietist characterization of Roman Cyprus must be abandoned completely. Reassessment of its transition from a Ptolemaic stronghold to a Roman province, the development of local institutions, and the activities of its local elites and communities confirms, instead, that in response to Roman rule the Cypriots were dynamic and proactive when engaging with the broad interests of Empire and articulating their identities and place within it.

This is evident from the relationship (official or otherwise) that individuals and communities fostered with Roman administrators, notable visitors, and city states across the Mediterranean.

The celebration of Roman citizenship across Cyprus and the achievements of those who were successful beyond the island in intellectual and athletic pursuits also demonstrate how the Cypriots were active participants in Empire and embraced opportunities to distinguish themselves in their monuments. More than this, the identities they projected were of people keen to embrace the ideology of Empire (whether to do with the worship of the Emperor and the veneration of his household, through participation in the Panhellenion, or the pursuit of traditional Greek cultural networks), but also eager to express shared belonging to the world of ancient Greece. The plural and flexible articulation of identity

and experience is paralleled in evidence pertaining to collective identity formation of the Cypriot *poleis*.

The use of myths, notably foundation myths and their associated stories, and the ways in which these manifested in local contexts demonstrate that the negotiation of status and identity was driven locally as well as by outsiders. The inscribed oath of allegiance (a spontaneous, local interpretation of an official document) and the hymn to Antinous (established by a Roman administrator) are perhaps the most remarkable examples of this in the local context; they embody how much of the evidence from Roman Cyprus presents us with a masterclass in how to assimilate and embrace the symbols, signs, and language of the ruling power while maintaining the traditions, identities, and connections with landscapes and peoples that were developed long before Roman conquest. The legacy of the perceived distant past, both by outside commentators and locals, is strong. In the local setting this is rarely compromised. For the Cypriot context, the now-familiar observation about Greeks under Roman rule ‘becoming Roman, staying Greek’ could be revised to ‘becoming Roman, staying Cypriot’. Here ‘Cypriot’ should be taken to mean Argive, Phocian, Cretan, Athenian, Cilician, Phoenician, Syrian, Egyptian, and so on, to reflect the island’s connectivity with multiple landscapes because of its status as an island at an intersection of the eastern Mediterranean. Since its beginnings, Cyprus was a conduit for peoples, ideas, goods, and the like, but it should not be taken as a passive imitator of the ideas and practices that passed through or by it. It developed its own distinct culture and identity—one that was flexible, situational, and dynamic—and held its own. The existence of plural and flexible identities is reflective of its status as an island poised between multiple landscapes.

Ultimately, Roman Cyprus and its environs must be acknowledged as a rich area of the Mediterranean, and more people should step into this space to look at the ancient world from its perspective. The island was no less part of the Roman Empire because the great and the good did not set foot there. Cyprus should not be overlooked, as its valuable contribution to the exploration of the Roman world is clear.

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